

Arok Elessar Wolvengrey

## Semantic and Pragmatic Functions in Plains Cree Syntax

This dissertation explores the morphosyntax of the Plains dialect of Cree - an Algonquian First Nations language of Canada - and the ways in which Semantic, Pragmatic and Syntactic Functions are (or are not) instantiated. The language-specific forms of two main morphosyntactic components of language, word order and case-marking, are discussed in this functional approach. This is of particular interest to syntactic theory, given the common characterization of Cree, and Algonquian languages in general, as having “free” word order and lacking case-marking altogether. In contrast to this “traditional” view, both case-marking (or “role-indexing”) and word order are shown to serve very important functions in Cree syntax, even if not occurring in the forms more familiar from Indo-European languages.

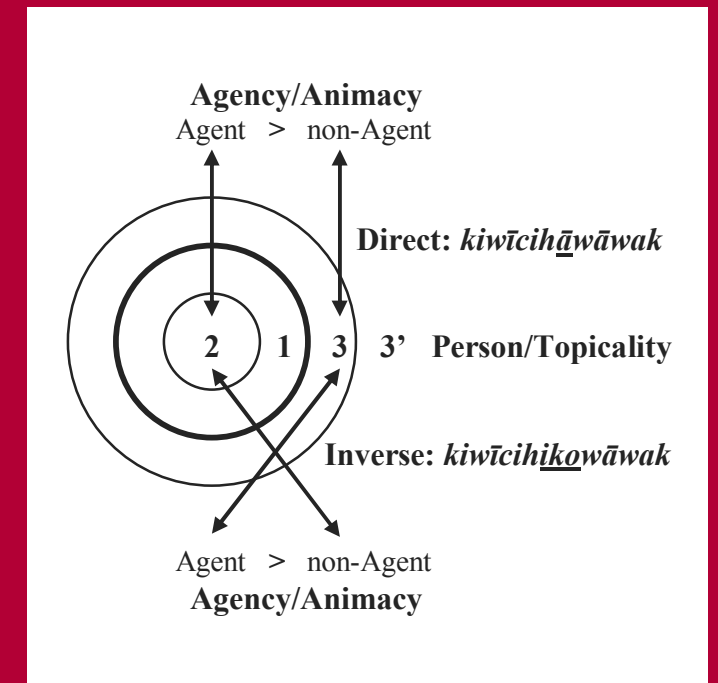
Part I focusses on the verbal cross-reference system of Algonquian languages and particularly the Direct-Inverse system of alignment. A functional account explains the Inverse system in terms of the interaction between semantic and pragmatic hierarchies which completely obviates the need for a third level of syntactic functions. Cross-linguistically, word order is usually couched in terms of subject and object placement, but without recourse to such notions, the actual determinants of Plains Cree word order are considerably more complex. Part II provides a variety of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic constraints on Cree word order while building a number of basic word order templates. The Pragmatic Functions of Topic, Focus and Contrast prove particularly important in understanding clausal and extra-clausal word order placement in Plains Cree.

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# **Semantic and Pragmatic Functions in Plains Cree Syntax**

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# Abbreviations

1	first person
1p	first person plural exclusive
1s	first person singular
2	second person
21	first and second person plural inclusive
2p	second person plural exclusive
2s	second person singular
3	animate third person
3p	animate third person plural
3s	animate third person singular
3'	animate third person obviative
3''	animate third person further obviative
0	inanimate third person
0s	inanimate third person singular
0p	inanimate third person plural
0'	inanimate third person obviative
0's	inanimate third person obviative singular
0'p	inanimate third person obviative plural
X	unspecified actor or possessor
A	agent or actor; first participant in a transitive construction
A1	first participant
A2	second participant
A3	third participant
APH	Algonquian Person Hierarchy
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
cmpl	conjunct marker/complementizer
CNJ	conjunct order; conjunct marker/complementizer
Comp	complement clause
DEL	delayed imperative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	direct theme
DISJ	disjunct
ECC	extra-clausal constituent
ep	epenthesis
EVID	evidential
excl	exclusive
Exp	experiencer



FDG	Functional Discourse Grammar
FG	Functional Grammar
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
GEN.OBJ	general object
HP#	House People text number citation
IMM	immediate imperative
IMP	imperative order
InAct	inanimate actor
incl	inclusive
INDP	independent order
INV	inverse theme
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IPC	indeclinable particle
IPH	indeclinable particle phrase
IPL	indeclinable locative particle
IPN	indeclinable prenoun
IPP	indeclinable pre-particle
IPT	indeclinable temporal particle
IPV	indeclinable preverb
L1	first language, birth or mother language
L2	second language
LOC	locative
N	noun
NA	animate noun
NDA	dependent animate noun
NDI	dependent inanimate noun
NEG	negative
NI	inanimate noun
NOM	nominalization
NUM	numeral
O	object or second participant (patient, recipient or benefactive) in a transitive or ditransitive construction; Algonquian “goal”
O1	primary or sole transitive object (equivalent to A2); Algonquian “goal”
O2	secondary object (equivalent to A3)
Obl	oblique
OBV	obviative
P	patient or object-like participant in a mono-transitive predication
P	clausal position
P1	first or initial position in Functional Grammar, equivalent to P <sup>I</sup>
P <sub>1</sub>	speaker, first speech act participant
P2	Theme position in Functional Grammar, equivalent to P <sup>prc</sup>
P <sup>2</sup>	second clausal position
P <sub>2</sub>	addressee, second speech act participant
p <sup>2+1</sup>	immediately post-second clausal position

P3	Tail position in Functional Grammar, equivalent to P <sup>post</sup>
P4	vocative position in Functional Grammar, P <sup>pre</sup> and/or P <sup>post</sup>
PØ	immediately preverbal position in Functional Grammar, equivalent to P <sup>M-1</sup>
Pa	immediately postverbal clausal position, equivalent to P <sup>M+1</sup>
P <sup>centre</sup>	clausal position, between extra-clausal constituents
P <sup>F</sup>	final clausal position
P <sup>F-1</sup>	immediately pre-final clausal position
P <sup>I</sup>	initial clausal position
P <sup>I+1</sup>	immediately post-initial clausal position
PL	locative proform
pl	plural
P <sup>M</sup>	medial clausal position
P <sup>M-1</sup>	immediately preverbal clausal position
P <sup>M+1</sup>	immediately postverbal clausal position
P <sup>post</sup>	post-clausal position
P <sup>pre</sup>	pre-clausal position
POSS	possessor
PR	pronoun
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfective aspect
PRG	progressive aspect
PROX	proximate
PRSP	prospective aspect
PST	past tense
PT	temporal proform
Q	interrogative
QNT	quantifier
R	recipient or benefactive participant in a ditransitive predication (see A2, O1)
RCPL	reciprocal
RDPL	reduplication
REF	referential
RFLX	reflexive
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
S	sole intransitive participant/intransitive subject, equivalent to A1
Sa	actor-like or agentive intransitive participant in a Split- Intransitive language
SAP	speech act participant
SFH	Semantic Function Hierarchy
sg	singular
Sp	object-like or patient intransitive participant in a Split- Intransitive language
SRO	standard roman orthography, the standard Cree alphabet
T	theme, patient or object-like participant in a ditransitive predication (see A3)

TG	Transformational Grammar
TH	theme, VTI equivalent to VTA direct and inverse themes
V	verb
V <sub>0</sub>	verb with no animate participants
V <sub>1</sub>	verb with one animate participant
V <sub>2</sub>	verb with two animate participants
VAI	animate intransitive verb
VII	inanimate intransitive verb
VOC	vocative
VTA	transitive animate verb
VTI	transitive inanimate verb
X	unspecified actor or possessor; variable
XAct	unspecified actor
XP	phrase of variable constituency
!	emphatic

# Acknowledgements

Professor J.R.R. Tolkien is my father in Linguistics. He is the reason I love language and do what I do. He is the reason I am a linguist. As in all things, though, we are shaped by more than one person and, if we are fortunate, more than one parent.

Where father Tolkien left off, my Cree mother, Freda Ahenakew took over. *mistahi kikihcēyimitin, nēkā! kisākihitin*. Freda gave me a real love of the Cree language and she is why I am a “Cree linguist”. In part, this is written for *nikāwīs* to say thank you for guiding me here.

To my “real” parents, my late mother, Dorothy, and my late father, Keith Thue, who adopted and raised me and gave me a better home than I could ever have hoped for, I can never express my full love and gratitude, nor my deep regret at my inability to complete this before their passing. My father was the kindest, most wonderful man who ever lived. I love you, Dad. My mother, who had to live in the shadow of her children's adoration of their father, shone in her own right. I love you, Mom.

Before turning to my professional influences and my most important personal thanks, I will risk what some will feel to be utterly frivolous acknowledgements but which I find to be absolutely vital distractions. Thank you to KISS, Bob Dylan, Led Zeppelin, Joe Satriani and Steve Vai; the Arsenal and Celtic Football Clubs and the Dutch National Soccer team; and the imaginations of Douglas Adams, Guy Gavriel Kay, Tad Williams, Wendy Pini, Peter Jackson, and George Lucas.

From the beginning of my formal (or better yet, functional) training in Linguistics, I have had the privilege of teachers who have placed the languages they study ahead of the theories which serve to account for them. I would particularly like to acknowledge Dr. Mary Marino of the University of Saskatchewan and Dr. H.C. Wolfart of the University of Manitoba who were my undergraduate and graduate advisors at these institutions. The team of H.C. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew have been an inspiration in all I do. As Freda gave me a love of the Cree language, Chris Wolfart deepened and broadened that appreciation from Cree to the Algonquian family. In this vein I must personally thank Dr. David H. Pentland and Dr. John D. Nichols as well, and I have gained immensely from the work of many other Algonquianists, among whom I am most grateful to Amy Dahlstrom, Matthew Dryer and, most recently, Clare Cook and Jeff Mühlbauer. I am

also grateful to Dr. Lorna MacDonald and Dr. Richard Carter for adding to Dr. Marino's early training in syntax and recognizing Chomsky as one among many, and not necessarily The One.

Upon leaving the University of Manitoba, I had the great fortune to not only begin my professional career but continue my training as well with the tremendous colleagues I gained when I joined the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC; now the First Nations University of Canada (FNUniv)). In the Department of Indian Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, I have been able to work with both theoretical and applied linguistics, linguists and language teachers both, not to mention some amazing students. I am extremely grateful for the guidance, friendship, and encouragement of Dr. Jan van Eijk and Dr. Brent Galloway who I joined in what remains the entirely too small Linguistics program. Since Brent's retirement, I've also had the privilege of working with Dr. Olga Lovick and would like to return her encouragement of my work with an equal measure for her Athapaskan studies. To my Cree and Saulteaux colleagues and students, I will never be able to properly express my gratitude, even in the right languages. To my Saulteaux colleagues, Margaret Cote, Eliza Smith, Stella Ketchemonia, and Lynn Cote: *mīkwēc*. To my Cree colleagues and students, all of whom have helped me with my all-too-slowly growing understanding of the language: *kinanāskomitināwāw*. In addition to one for whom I reserve my most special thanks, I would in particular like to express my gratitude to the late Dr. Ahab Spence, to my colleagues, past and present, including Solomon Ratt, Doreen Oakes, Darren Okemaysim, Donna Paskemin, and Sheila Kennedy, and to the numerous students, all of whom cannot be named here, but especially Pauline Busch, Rena Scribe, Eileen Thomas, Delvin Stanley, Johnny Swiftwolfe, Guy Albert, Neil Sapp, Bill Cook, and Jeff Sanderson. The last four gentlemen named, along with Solomon Ratt, Doreen Oakes and Sheila Kennedy, were particularly helpful in assessing the grammaticality and interpretation of Cree examples cited in the current work or others underlying them.

In addition to my colleagues and students at SIFC/FNUniv, I have also benefitted greatly through my participation in the Saskatchewan Cree Language Retention Committee with a tremendously dedicated group of Cree language professionals from throughout the province, including *nimisak* Dolores Sand and Brenda Ahenakew, and Minnie McKenzie, Edie Hyggen, Barbara Mcleod, Judy Bear, Elizabeth Lachance, Rita Lowenburg, Josie Searson, Grace Cook, Kevin Lewis, Leda Corrigan and Laura Burnouf.

The journey on the road towards a functional analysis of Cree word order would not have been complete without a rather unexpected but welcome

detour out of Cree country, across the water, to the Netherlands. I am exceptionally grateful to Professor Doctor Kees Hengeveld for his belief in the project and all of his encouragement and aid in ensuring that I would finally finish (or even really begin) the writing. In the end, this was only made possible through an extremely productive and enjoyable four-month research leave at the University of Amsterdam, facilitated by Kees, and my dear friend, Gerry Wanders (“I love you to death”). Even more unexpected and just as welcome was the number of wonderful new colleagues and friends who contributed to that memorable stay in Amsterdam. It was a pleasure and a privilege to interact with all the members of the ACLC, and to participate in the Functional Discourse Grammar Research Group with Kees, Gerry, Evelien Keizer, Hella Olbertz, Wim Honselaar, Marize Dell’Aglia Hattner, Daniel (“Keeper of the Map”) García Velasco, Sterre Leufkens, Marlou van Rijn, Lucia Contreras García, Magaly Grandez Avila, and our esteemed Sith Guardian of the Phonological Level, Gareth O’Neill.

Finally, I return to the closest members of my family to express my deepest thanks and love, and to thank the Creator for blessing me with them. To the Thues (my brother Marlow, sister-in-law Tracey, and nieces Sara and Katie), the Remendas (my sister Audra, brother-in-law Peter, and niece Natasha), the Carteris (*nōsisimak* Sophie and Paz, *nicāpānisak* Meika and Giuseppe), the Murrays (Debra and Lawrence), my brother-in-law Mike Littlechief, and my dear uncle Ken Thue, thank you for all your love and encouragement.

To my daughter, Crystal, I am so proud of you. I love you and wish all the best in life for you and Mike (Lysohirka), and my grandson Dawson, and the one on the way.

To my son, Elessar – for all the distractions which so delayed the completion of this work: soccer and music and life – it has all been worth it. I love you very much and will support you in all that you do. *sōhkēyimo!*  
*āhkamēyimo!*

Most important of all, I give the greatest part of my love and gratitude to my colleague, partner, best friend, soulmate and wife, Dr. Jean Okimāsis. Without your knowledge, patience, encouragement and love, none of this would be remotely possible. You represent so much that is good in my life, and most of what may be good in this work, having helped me to learn in spite of my natural tendency to err. I can never begin to tell you all that you mean to me. *ā, wāsēyāwiskwēw, mētoni mistahi kisawēyimitin, anohc ēkwa tahkinē.*

Arok Wolvengrey  
*ihkopīwi-pīsim*, 2010



# I

## **Introduction to Cree Morphosyntax**





# Chapter 1

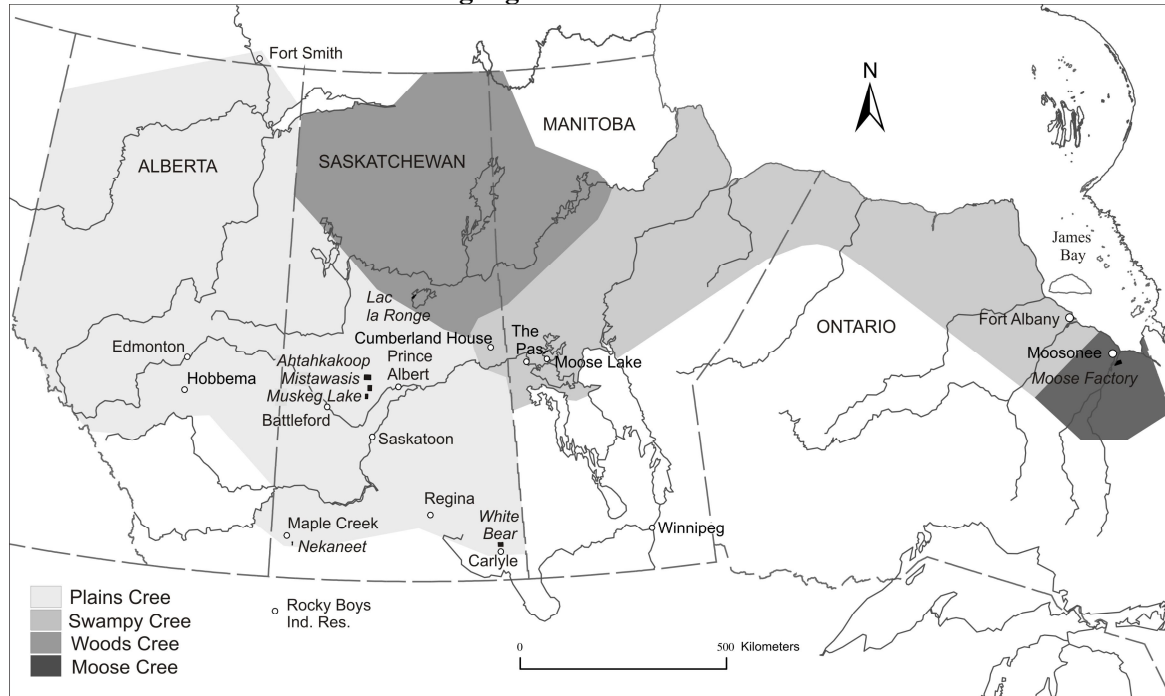
## Plains Cree, Grammar, and Cree Grammar

This is a dissertation on the linguistic structure of a First Nations language of Canada. Narrowing the scope somewhat, it deals with the morphosyntax of the Cree language. Even more specifically, it surveys word order variation in the Plains Cree dialect, and discusses the reasons behind and limits to this variation. The discussion following this introduction takes several features of linguistic analysis, as well as features of the Cree language, for granted. As such a reader without a specialized knowledge of linguistics may initially find many of the topics somewhat opaque, if not downright confusing. And yet, it is hoped that the contents of this work will be largely accessible to anyone with an interest in the Cree language, regardless of specific training. For this reason, the introduction will seek to provide a necessary, if very basic background to the main topics of this dissertation: the Cree language, grammar, and Cree grammar.

### 1.1 *nēhiyawēwin*: The Cree Language

Language is a universal human tool of communication. Virtually all of us as human beings learn at least one spoken language as a matter of course and learning that language is, barring disability, as natural to us as learning to walk. But though “language” in general is universal, the exact surface details can vary greatly, and this has given rise to a vast diversity in human languages which, despite the current endangerment and loss of so many languages, still number in excess of 6,000 worldwide. The universality of language means that any normal human can and will learn the language(s) that he or she is exposed to as a child. The mutability of language entails that speech changes and diversifies over time and space. Those who grow up hearing Cree spoken will learn to speak Cree. The exact form of Cree that one can learn is dependent on the location in which you experience the “Cree language”.

**Figure 1.1**  
**Cree Language and Dialect Continuum<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> Map prepared by Diane Perrick, Canadian Plains Research Center, Regina, Saskatchewan. Sources include Ahenakew (1987b:x), Wolfart and Carroll (1981:xvi), and the Brock University Map Library (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Crimapo.png>).

### 1.1.1 Geographic and Genetic Location

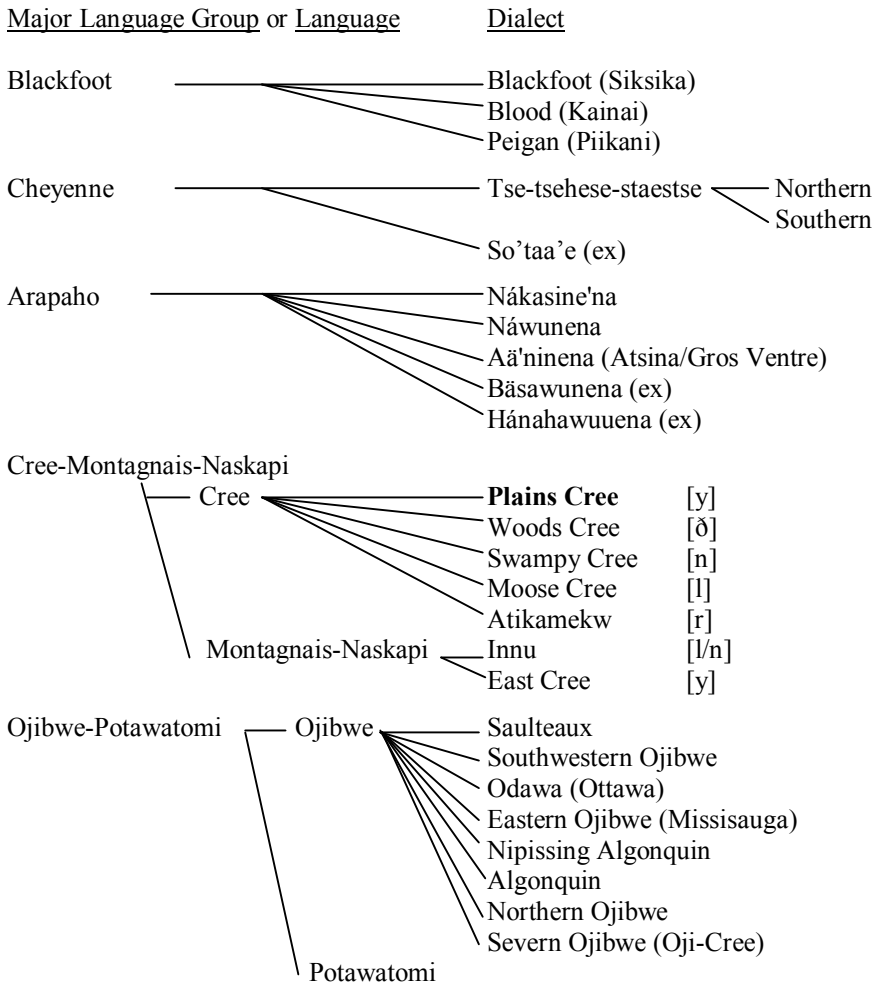
The exact boundaries of the Cree language are difficult to map due to the difficulty in defining what exactly is meant by “Cree”. The name itself is not a traditional indigenous name, but rather appears most likely to be a shortening of French *Cristenaux* (“like Christians”) to *Cris* and hence Cree. In its broadest application, “Cree” is the term applied to a wide dialect continuum ranging from northeastern British Columbia and communities in the southwestern Northwest Territories, through much of north and central Alberta, south-central Saskatchewan, central Manitoba, and northwestern Ontario across James Bay and Hudson’s Bay on into central and northern Quebec and Labrador (see Figure 1.1 on the preceding page). The Cree language, thus broadly defined, is part of the much larger Algonquian language family and shares a genetic affinity with Ojibwa, Fox, Menominee, Blackfoot, Micmac, and many other languages similarly descended from their common ancestor language known only through reconstruction as Proto-Algonquian (see Figure 1.2, on the two pages following).

Within the Cree language continuum, those groups occupying the easternmost territories are generally treated as separate, both culturally and politically if not always linguistically, from Cree proper. The names Montagnais and Naskapi have both been used for the Innu of Quebec and Labrador, such that these names are most commonly (mis)understood as dialects of *innu-aimun*, a language separate from, albeit closely related to, Cree. The less commonly delineated “East Cree” or “East Main Cree”, as spoken in western Quebec along the east coast of James Bay, is similarly part of this eastern dialect continuum. All three share the feature of /k/-palatalization. In contrast, the Attikamekw of south-central Quebec, which do not share /k/-palatalization with the other easternmost dialects, have most recently also been listed as a distinct language group (cf. Canada census data, 1996: <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>), but have historically been referred to as the “R-dialect” of Cree (cf. Rhodes and Todd 1981). All “Cree” groups to the west of Quebec are consistently referred to as dialects of a single Cree language, though subdivided by features of the sound system and rough geography. The primary feature used to differentiate these Cree dialects is the reflex of Proto-Algonquian \*/r/ which has five main variants including the /r/ of Attikamekw, as well as /l/, /n/, /ð/ and /y/.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Bloomfield (1925a) had originally reconstructed this segment as \*/l/, and this had long been the prevailing view. More recently, Goddard (1994) has convincingly argued that \*/r/ would seem the likelier candidate. I follow this latter interpretation, though nothing in the current work hinges on the distinction.

**Figure 1.2**  
**Algonquian Language Family<sup>3</sup>**



(continued on next page)

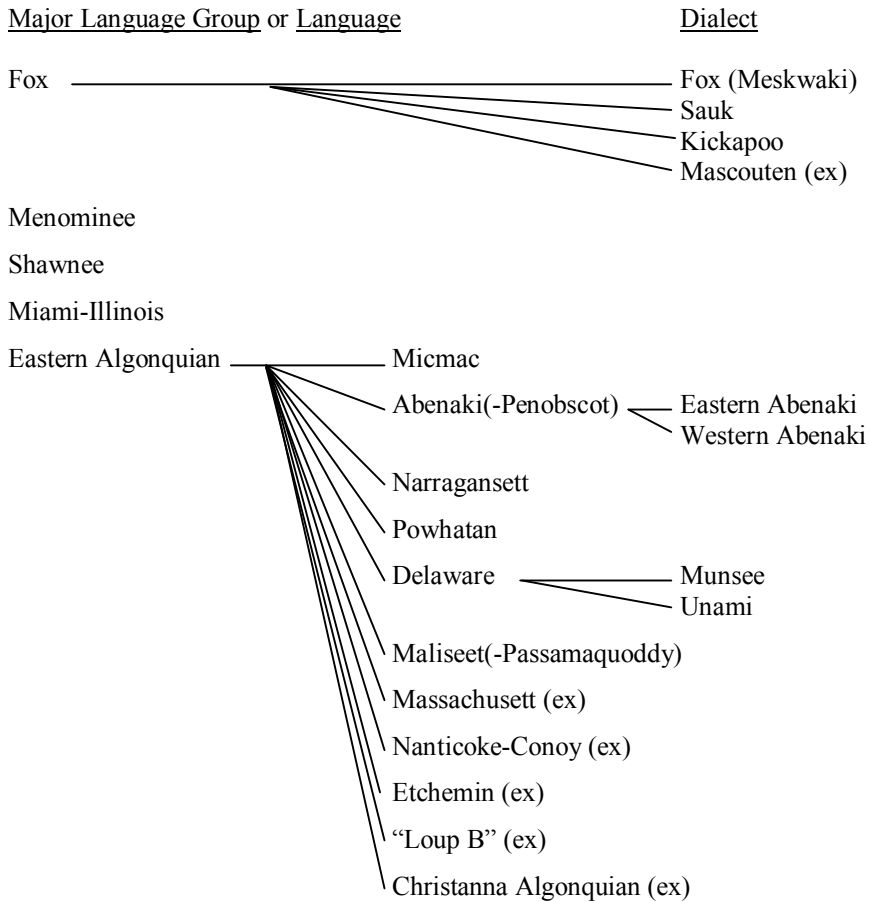
<sup>3</sup> In this table, (ex) indicates that the language is extinct and no longer spoken by any speakers – a situation that could include language loss among speakers or the complete extermination of the people who did once speak the language. Sources for this representation of the Algonquian language family include Campbell 1997, Rhodes and Todd 1981, Valentine 2001 and the following websites dedicated to the Blackfoot, Cheyenne, and Arapaho respectively:

<http://www.native-languages.org/blackfoot.htm>

<http://www.everyculture.com/North-America/Cheyenne-Orientation.html>

<http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/tribes/arapaho/arapadiv.htm>

**Figure 1.2 continued**  
**Algonquian Language Family**




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Speakers of the “L-dialect” or Moose Cree (*ililīmowin*) occupy a relatively small area around Moose Factory and Moosonee on the southwest coast of James Bay (cf. Ellis 1995:xii-xiv). To the north and west through much of northwestern Ontario and central Manitoba even unto Cumberland House in Saskatchewan is the large area occupied by the Swampy Cree or speakers of the “N-dialect” (*ininīmowin*). However, additional features of dialect divergence, by no means always well-documented, are evident throughout this vast territory. For instance, Ellis (1995:xiii-xiv) indicates that “Kashechewan Cree” appears to be a sub-dialect of “mixed n-l usage” spoken at Albany Post, intermediate between the Moose Cree to the south

and the Swampy Cree across the river and to the north.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, a very important sound feature which differentiates eastern and western Cree dialects bisects Swampy Cree territory. Eastern dialects, including Montagnais-Naskapi, Attikamek and Moose Cree, as well as Eastern Swampy Cree as spoken in the more easterly Swampy Cree territory, make a distinction between /s/ and /ʃ/ as distinct phonemes. In the western dialects, however, including Western Swampy Cree, this contrast has been lost, so that no distinction is made and both sounds have merged to western /s/, usually pronounced as [s] but with variation between [s] and [ʃ] not infrequent.

To the north of the Swampy Cree in Manitoba, and westward through central Saskatchewan, the “TH-dialect” (*nīhiḏawīwin*) is spoken. This dialect, delineated by the use of /ḏ/, is commonly referred to as Woods or Woodland Cree, though in Manitoba and some areas of northeastern Saskatchewan the term Rock Cree is often preferred. To the south of the Woods Cree in Saskatchewan, on the Plains and in the Parkland, the “Y-dialect” or Plains Cree (*nēhiyawēwin*) is spoken, and this dialect stretches furthest westward also spreading throughout central Alberta and even into northeastern British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. Over this large territory, Plains Cree can be found in many regional forms which have not been exhaustively surveyed. For instance, Plains Cree as spoken at White Bear First Nation in southeastern Saskatchewan appears to be influenced somewhat by Saulteaux (or Plains Ojibwa) speech (cf. Bakker 1991, 1997; Rhodes 2008) and this is not surprising, for White Bear is a multilingual and multicultural reserve shared by the descendants of Cree, Saulteaux, Nakota, and Dakota speakers. In contrast, the Cree of Nekaneet First Nation in the Cypress Hills of southwestern Saskatchewan does not share this influence while exhibiting certain features of its own (Doreen Oakes, personal communication). Slightly different again is the Plains Cree speech of west-central Saskatchewan, such as in the Battleford area, and on into Alberta, as among the Hobbema bands. Furthermore, many of the northwesternmost areas of Plains Cree speech in both Saskatchewan and Alberta are characterized by a sound change not otherwise found in Plains Cree but, in fact, shared with the Woods Cree dialect. The merger of /e:/ and /i:/ to /i:/ alone thus unites some speakers of the “Y-dialect” with speakers of the “TH-dialect” in opposition to other Plains Cree speech. Areas in which Plains

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<sup>4</sup> Oji-Cree is another language or dialect that has commonly been cited as a mixed dialect, but in this case a mixture of two distinct Algonquian languages: Cree and Ojibwa. Most recent accounts place this as a dialect of Ojibwa, with Cree influences, and hence it will not be included in the current discussion of Cree dialects.

Cree speech (*nēhiyawīwin*) exhibits this sound change are referred to as “Northern Plains Cree” in Saskatchewan, but merely as “Northern Cree” in Alberta (cf. Waugh 1998:xix).

Despite the sub-dialectal variation that is evident across the Plains Cree area, and which still requires detailed description, it is the “Y” or Plains Cree dialect, *nēhiyawēwin*, that will be central to the discussion of Cree morphosyntax in this work. Data will be drawn from a number of sources, both oral and published. Language consultants include fluent speakers of Cree from a number of Saskatchewan First Nations and these have been recognized in the acknowledgements to this text. Published data is primarily taken from the text collections of Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart, in particular Ahenakew’s (1987b) first major edition of collected texts, *wāskahikaniwiyiniw-ācimowina / Stories of the House People*, as narrated by two fluent male speakers from the Ahtakakoop (*atāhkakohp*) and Mistawasis (*mistawāsis*) First Nations in central Saskatchewan (see Figure 1.1). Examples from this and other written sources will be cited as appropriate.

## 1.1.2 Typological Background

Cree, as mentioned above, is an Algonquian language and as such it shares many of the typological features which characterize Algonquian languages in general and mark them in many ways as unique.

### 1.1.2.1 Phonology

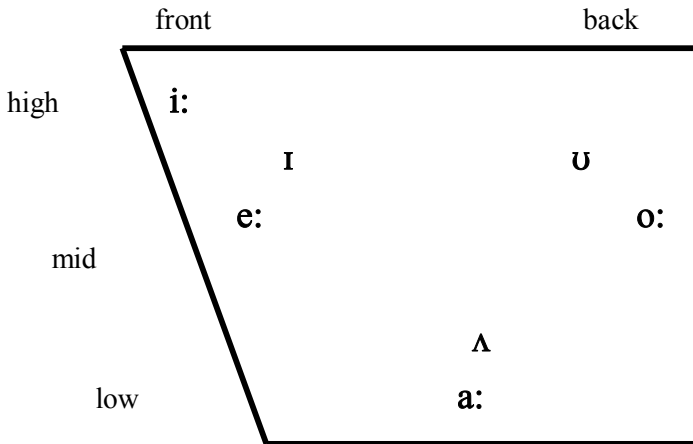
The sound systems of Algonquian languages tend to have fairly restricted numbers of phonemes, and Cree certainly displays a very small phonemic inventory. The Plains Cree dialect has just 17 phonemes, ten consonants and seven vowels, as illustrated in Table 1.1 and Figure 1.3. The IPA symbols are given here, but they differ little from the standard roman orthography (SRO), a phonemically-based writing system now in increasingly common use throughout much of western Cree territory and advocated by First Nations University and the Saskatchewan Cree Language Retention Committee among other education authorities.



**Table 1.1  
Plains Cree Consonants**

manner of articulation		place of articulation				
		bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
obstruents	stops	<b>p</b>	<b>t</b>		<b>k</b>	
	affricates		<b>ts</b>			
	fricatives		<b>s</b>			<b>h</b>
sonorants	nasals	<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>			
	glides			<b>j</b>	<b>w</b>	
	liquids					

**Figure 1.3  
Plains Cree Vowels**



As it is the SRO which is used in all Cree data given in this work, Table 1.2 is included to provide a conversion of the IPA symbols to the Cree SRO.

**Table 1.2**  
**Plains Cree Phonemes as represented in the SRO**

	Consonants										Vowels						
IPA	p	t	k	ts	s	h	m	n	j	w	i:	ɪ	e:	ʊ	o:	ʌ	a:
SRO	p	t	k	c	s	h	m	n	y	w	ī	í	ē	o	ō	a	ā

The affricate /ts/ (“c”) is generally alveolar in Plains Cree, though it can fluctuate to a more alveopalatal [tʃ] pronunciation, which is its usual form in most other Cree dialects. The vowels appear in long and short pairs (with the exception of /e:/), and length is the main contrast, though there is also a quality difference with the short vowels pronounced somewhat lax. There is also some fluctuation in the pronunciation of /o:/, which can be heard closer to /u:/ at times, though again this is more common outside of the Plains Cree dialect area.

The same phonemic inventory applies for Western Swampy Cree, and though Woods Cree adds interdental /ð/, this is balanced by its loss of the vowel /e:/. Only Northern (Plains) Cree has an even smaller inventory, having neither /ð/ nor /e:/. Eastern Cree dialects all add alveopalatal /ʃ/, as well as sometimes having a liquid, /l/ or /r/, corresponding to Woods Cree /ð/. Among the consonants, obstruents are phonemically voiceless (and unaspirated) while sonorants are voiced. This briefest of descriptions is meant only to provide a rough guide to the pronunciation of cited Cree examples while more detailed information on the Plains Cree sound system can be sought in appropriate reference works (e.g. Okimāsis 2004; Okimāsis and Wolvengrey 2008; Wolfart 1996; Wolvengrey 2001).

### 1.1.2.2 Morphology

Morphologically, the Cree language exemplifies the complex, head-marking patterns that characterize the Algonquian family as a whole. Despite the somewhat reduced complexity in Plains Cree as compared to the more eastern dialects, Plains Cree word formation remains a daunting challenge to English speakers attempting to learn the Y-dialect. As many of the most important features of Cree morphology will be vital to the topic of this dissertation, much fuller treatments will be found in subsequent sections and chapters with only the barest outlines offered here.

**1.1.2.2.1 Animacy**

The most important grammatical distinction to be found in Cree, and throughout the Algonquian family of languages, is the “gender” or noun classification distinction between “animate” and “inanimate”. Much has been written concerning the elusive semantic basis for this distinction (cf. Goddard 2002 for a summary of selected “descriptions of Algonquian gender, 1634-2000”), with a fairly common theme being the anthropologically-based attribution of spiritual power to the animate at the apparent expense of the inanimate (e.g. Darnell and Vanek 1976). Even more basic is the use of the terms “living” vs. “non-living” as an oversimplified starting point for animate and inanimate, and this may yet hold more truth than expected focussing as it does on the importance of “life”, but more will be said about this in the next chapter. Regardless of the ultimate basis of the animacy distinction, the importance of this difference to the grammar of the Algonquian languages and certainly to Cree is beyond doubt. In fact, it could (and will) be argued that the animacy distinction has become even more important to Cree grammatical distinctions than throughout the remainder of the Algonquian family (see Chapter 2).

**1.1.2.2.2 Person**

The division of referents into animate and inanimate naturally has a large impact on the domain of person-marking, which in Cree occurs not only in the form of independent pronouns, but also possessive inflection on nouns and participant cross-reference on verbs. These are exceptionally important head-marking patterns of the Algonquian languages. The basic person distinctions made in Plains Cree are as displayed in Table 1.3 on the following page.

In contrast to the traditional division of singular versus plural, the table reflects a clear distinction in the Cree verbal reference system between speech act participants and third person referents. First (1) and second (2) persons occur in both singular (s) and plural (p) (exclusive) forms. First person plural exclusive (1p) excludes the addressee and second person plural exclusive (2p) excludes the speaker. First and second person plural inclusive (21) can refer minimally to speaker and addressee and optionally others.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> It is not traditional to refer to the second person plural as “exclusive”, nor to the “first person plural inclusive” as “first and second person plural inclusive”. This is done here to minimize the inherent bias in favour of a first person perspective. As will be seen in section 2.2.2.3, a first person bias is inappropriate for the Cree referential system.

**Table 1.3**  
**Person Distinctions in Plains Cree**

<b>1s</b>	first person singular
<b>2s</b>	second person singular
<b>1p</b>	first person plural exclusive
<b>21</b>	first and second person plural inclusive
<b>2p</b>	second person plural exclusive
<b>3s</b>	animate third person proximate singular
<b>3p</b>	animate third person proximate plural
<b>3'</b>	animate third person obviative
<b>0s</b>	inanimate third person proximate singular
<b>0p</b>	inanimate third person proximate plural
<b>0's</b>	inanimate third person obviative singular
<b>0'p</b>	inanimate third person obviative plural

In ways quite distinct from the speech act participants, third person reference is subdivided by several features. In addition to the basic singular versus plural dichotomy, two exceptionally important Algonquian divisions involve animacy and “obviation”. Given the importance of the animacy distinction, there is naturally a subdivision of third person reference into animate and inanimate third persons, though no further subdivision by natural gender is made. It has become traditional in Cree grammatical literature to reserve the abbreviation 3 for animate third person reference, while inanimate third person reference is abbreviated 0. Personal pronouns exist in Cree for the first, second and basic animate third person reference, as given in Table 1.4, but no personal pronouns exist for inanimate referents, nor for the special animate distinction of the “obviative”.

**Table 1.4**  
**Plains Cree Personal Pronouns**

person	singular	person	plural
1s	niya	1p	niyanān
		21	kiyānaw
2s	kiya	2p	kiyawāw
		3p	wiyawāw
3s	wiya		

### 1.1.2.2.3 Obviation

The phenomenon of “obviation” has received a great deal of attention in the literature, concentrating on one or both of its apparent functions (cf. Goddard 1984, 1990; Aissen 1997; Russell 1996; etc.). Though more will be said about this in section 2.2.1 of the following chapter, here we can note that it serves to provide clausal disjoint reference between two distinct third person referents, known as the “proximate” and “obviative” respectively. At least as important is the role obviation plays in allowing for referent tracking in cross-clausal discourse (cf. Russell 1991; Cook and Mühlbauer 2006; Mühlbauer 2008). When two or more distinct third person referents are present in a clause or unit of discourse, only one of these referents can typically retain the privileged and unmarked “proximate” status while all others must be marked as “obviative”. Many attempts have been made to characterize the exact function of proximate versus obviative assignment, with such terms as topic, focus, and point-of-view all having been resorted to, usually with a cautionary note that this is a sort-of answer, but not the complete picture. However, I would argue that using a term like “topic” and equating the proximate with the more prototypically topical third person referent is exactly the function conveyed by this Algonquian phenomenon. Hence, obviative marking is used to show which elements are prototypically less topical, less given, less likely to be of current central interest in the discourse, or whose point-of-view we are not, at that precise moment, going to take. Essentially, the proximate picks out the third person referent highest in topicality or discourse saliency. In some instances, assignment of proximate/obviative status is open to the free choice of the speaker (based on

context, assessment of addressee's perspective, etc.), while in other instances the assignment of obviation is dictated by overriding grammatical principles.

One such instance of grammatical principle occurs in possessive marking when one third person is indicated as the possessor of another third person referent. When this occurs, the possessor must always outrank the possessum in topicality. It is possible for both to be marked as obviative, but only the possessor can ever occur as proximate. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate this with a first person possessive in (1) contrasting with a third person possessive in (2). With no other third person referent to compete with, the third person possessum in (1) remains proximate, and can be marked as singular (a) or plural (b).

- |     |    |                  |    |                   |
|-----|----|------------------|----|-------------------|
| (1) | a) | <i>nimosōm</i>   | b) | <i>nimosōmak</i>  |
|     |    | ni- mosōm        |    | ni- mosōm -ak     |
|     |    | 1 NDA.3s         |    | 1 NDA 3p          |
|     |    | grandfather      |    | grandfather       |
|     |    | “my grandfather” |    | “my grandfathers” |

In competition with the third person possessor in (2), the third person possessum must be marked with the obviative suffix *-a* (as in 2a) which neutralizes number-marking and leaves the animate obviative referent ambiguous between singular and plural. (2b) and (2c) show that as an animate obviative, neither the singular or plural forms are acceptable.

- |     |    |                          |    |                        |
|-----|----|--------------------------|----|------------------------|
| (2) | a) | <i>omosōma</i>           |    |                        |
|     |    | o- mosōm -a              |    |                        |
|     |    | 3 NDA 3'                 |    |                        |
|     |    | grandfather              |    |                        |
|     |    | “his/her grandfather(s)” |    |                        |
|     | b) | * <i>omosōm</i>          | c) | * <i>omosōmak</i>      |
|     |    | o- mosōm                 |    | o- mosōm -ak           |
|     |    | 3 NDA.3s                 |    | 3 NDA 3p               |
|     |    | grandfather              |    | grandfather            |
|     |    | “his/her grandfather”    |    | “his/her grandfathers” |

In situations like this when an animate possessum is obligatorily marked as obviative, the person represented and introduced by the kinship term may well be the ultimate topic of the entire conversation. However, the fact that this participant must first be introduced by means of his or her relationship to another person, is indicative that this other person (i.e. the proximate) is at

first treated as more topical, more salient, well-known or given, and necessary to setting the proper reference. In other words, the proximate possessor, who may be destined to be utterly ignored for the remainder of the conversation, is initially more well-known to the speech act participants (SAPs), or at least assumed by the speaker to be more well-known to the addressee(s). Hence, the proximate possessor may be used to establish the reference of the ultimate topic (3b), which begins as a less-salient obviative participant that must be defined in terms of his or her more topical kin (3a).

- (3) a) *nikī-wāpamimāwa anihi otānisa mēriy kā-kaskitēwāniskwēyit.*  
 “I saw that daughter of Mary’s with the black hair.”
- b) *ēwako cōniy isiyihkāsow. wī-pē-ay-atoskēw*  
*kihci-kiskinwahamātowikamikohk.*  
 “That one’s called Joanie. She’s coming to work  
 at the University.”

In the conversation that follows (3), *mēriy* need never be mentioned again. Her daughter, *cōniy*, after being introduced, immediately becomes the proximate and the topic of the conversation. However, for the brief period that her identity was not sufficiently defined for the addressee(s), *cōniy* had to be treated as a less-salient obviative participant whose existence needs to be defined in terms of reference to someone whose identity was more salient to the addressee(s). In prototypical terms, the proximate is the more topical participant, the obviative less so. The pragmatic discourse status of the proximate versus obviative will prove important in Chapter 3.

Another instance in which a grammatical principle applies is when an animate third person obligatorily outranks an inanimate referent, so that the inanimate must always be treated as obviative. This is simply one small part of an overarching hierarchical alignment system that will be treated in much greater detail in Chapter 2. It is mentioned here to emphasize a recurring theme in the following grammatical analysis of Cree: the importance of being (grammatically) animate.

Concluding the current discussion, we can note that, although the category of obviation is important for both animate and inanimate referents, there are slight differences in how it manifests itself in animate and inanimate reference. Although some Algonquian languages retain a singular/plural distinction for obviative referents (e.g. Ojibwa, at least in some contexts), animate obviative referents in Cree, as demonstrated in (2) above, are never marked for number, and thus require context to disambiguate between singular and plural. This holds for both nominal and

verbal animate obviative reference, and is why the abbreviation 3' is used, devoid of any marking for number. In contrast, inanimate reference does retain the number distinction for proximate and obviative alike. Plains Cree is actually exceptional among the Cree dialects in having lost the obviative marking on inanimate nouns and pronouns, such that the proximate and obviative have syncretized (i.e. 0s and 0's have syncretized as a singular form; 0p and 0'p have syncretized as a plural form). However, the distinction is retained in verbal cross-reference in the inanimate intransitive verbal paradigms (see section 2.3.1.1). Table 1.5 illustrates some of these distinctions and syncretizations in the demonstrative pronouns of Plains Cree, which further incorporate a three-way division of distance from the speaker.

**Table 1.5  
Plains Cree Demonstrative Pronouns**

	Animate			Inanimate			
	3s	3p	3'	0s	0's	0p	0'p
proximal	awa	ōki	ōhi	ōma		ōhi	
medial	ana	aniki	anihi	anima		anihi	
distal	nāha	nēki	nēhi	nēma		nēhi	

In addition to the aforementioned neutralization of proximate and obviative among inanimate demonstratives and nouns, the columns for the third person animate obviative and the inanimate plural have been highlighted (in grey) to draw attention to their formal identity. This feature, common in Algonquian demonstrative systems, is at times cited in favour of complete neutralization of the animate obviative with the inanimate, but since these categories are still kept distinct in verbal paradigms, their formal syncretism is taken here to be an indication only that they are functionally similar in that both share a position lower on a topical person hierarchy than proximate animate referents. Again, this will be more fully explored in section 2.2.

#### 1.1.2.2.4 Verb Classification

While grammatical gender is generally a linguistic feature of nouns and



pronouns, the animacy of Cree referents has far-ranging consequences throughout Cree grammar with agreement patterns required between nouns and modifiers such as demonstrative pronouns. The most important gender agreement pattern is to be found in the verbal system.

The linguistic classification of verbs in Cree has followed the traditionally identified Algonquian pattern of a four-way division based on the criteria of Transitivity and Animacy. This has been the standard interpretation since at least the works of Bloomfield (cf. 1946, 1958, 1962), but Fidelholtz (1999:95, fn. 1) notes that this approach was implicit as early as Jones (1911). The presentation of Algonquian transitive and intransitive verbs, each in pairs based on altering the animacy of one participant, is also a feature of many missionary documents dating from much earlier (cf. Howse 1844 for an early Cree example). The system which has been so consistently recognized allows for the division of verbs into four distinct classes. This four-way division can be represented as in Table 1.6.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 1.6**  
**Algonquian Verb Classification**

		Transitivity	
		Intransitive	Transitive
Animacy	Inanimate	VII	VTI
	Animate	VAI	VTA

<sup>6</sup> Often the abbreviations are shortened to omit the V (i.e. II, AI, TI, TA), or the V is added to the end as a direct acronym of the spoken classification (i.e. IIV, AIV, TIV, TAV). However, the V-initial abbreviations will be preferred here marking first the important fact that we are, in all cases, referring to verbs.

In this representation, the class of verbs (V) as a whole is divided on the basis of transitivity creating two distinct subsets which are then further divided on the basis of the animacy of one of the participants. In the case of intransitive verbs, it is of course the animacy of the sole participant (S) that determines the classification. If the sole participant is inanimate, the verb is an inanimate intransitive verb (VII). If the sole participant is animate, the verb is an animate intransitive verb (VAI). In the case of transitive verbs, the first argument or “actor” is always taken to be sentient or volitional as it must be capable of acting upon an object, experiencing a stimulus, etc.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is the animacy of the second argument (the object, patient, or what has been traditionally referred to as the “goal” in Algonquianist literature) which determines the verbal classification. If the second argument is inanimate, the verb is a transitive inanimate verb (VTI), and if the second argument is animate, the verb is a transitive animate verb (VTA).

Another way in which this can be displayed in order to demonstrate the classification, as well as to teach the terminology involved, is as in Table 1.7.

**Table 1.7**  
**Algonquian Verb Types**

<b>Word Class</b>	<b>Animacy of First Participant</b>	<b>Transitivity of Verb</b>	<b>Animacy of Second Participant</b>	<b>Verb Class</b>
<b>Verb</b>	<b>Inanimate</b>	<b>Intransitive</b>		<b>VII</b>
<b>Verb</b>	<b>Animate</b>	<b>Intransitive</b>		<b>VAI</b>
<b>Verb</b>	Animate	<b>Transitive</b>	<b>Inanimate</b>	<b>VTI</b>
<b>Verb</b>	Animate	<b>Transitive</b>	<b>Animate</b>	<b>VTA</b>

Here we first specify the word class (V) being introduced, then the animacy of the first participant (A or I). The first participant has certainly been linked to the term “subject” as appropriate to the context of teaching, but this terminology is avoided here in anticipation of the subsequent discussion of grammatical roles in Chapter 3. Table 1.7 further shows that the animacy of

<sup>7</sup> It is possible to code an inanimate actor, but this requires a secondary derivation from the basic verb type with animate actor; see section 2.2.5 for further discussion of the inanimate actor.

the first participant is only an issue for intransitive verbs and the transitivity distinction must actually be made first in order to know which participant's animacy determines the classification. When the verb is transitive, it is the second participant (i.e. "patient", "object" or "goal").<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that these traditional abbreviations do not keep the specification of transitivity in a consistent place (e.g. immediately after the verb), but have the animacy specified before transitivity for intransitive verbs and after for transitive verbs, as in Table 1.7. Substituting the traditional English (or French) terms "subject" and "object" for first and second argument in the above chart would even more forcefully suggest a possible source for this in the English (or French) word order of SV(O).

Thus, a system is in place for cross-referencing the animacy of participants on the verb and this system is vital for an understanding of Cree morphosyntax, functioning as it does to differentiate participants, much as do "word order" and/or "case-marking" in other languages. With the introduction of these two terms we are stepping firmly into the territory of morphosyntax, requiring some theoretical background before resuming our discussion of the specific syntactic features of Plains Cree.

## 1.2 Some Important Components of Morphosyntax

Linguistics, or the study of language, comprises many subdisciplines. Among these, the core areas of study are: Phonetics and Phonology or the study of sound and sound systems; Morphology or the study of word structure; Syntax or the study of phrase, clause and sentence structure; Semantics or the study of meaning, and Pragmatics or the study of language in linguistic and socio-cultural context. As these hasty definitions indicate there is often an apparently firm line drawn between Morphology (or the structure of words) and Syntax (or the combination of words into larger combinations such as phrases or clauses). However, such a division is dependent on a uniform definition of the concept "word" across languages, and this should by no means be taken for granted.

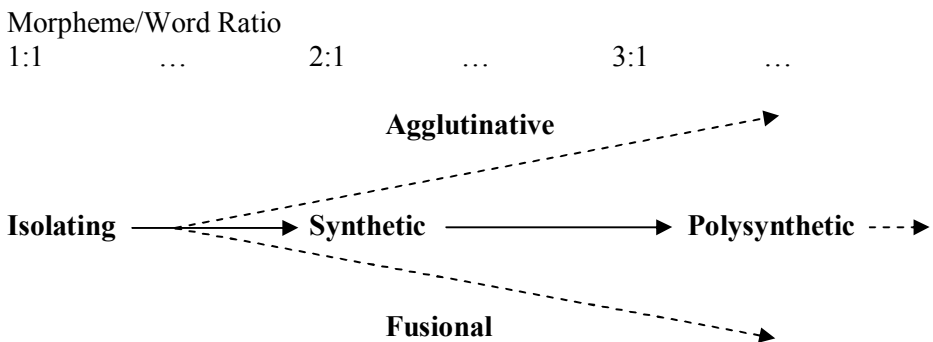
For those familiar first and foremost with the English language, the word "word" might well be taken for granted as always representing a single unit of meaning within the language. Even when we admit to ourselves that English words can contain more than one meaning (e.g. *words* being made

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<sup>8</sup> It has been noted, in discussions of the potentially ergative nature of Algonquian languages, that the combination of the intransitive participant and the transitive object is reminiscent of an ergative pattern (cf. Hewson 1987, Campana 1989; see section 1.2.2 below). Though the classification of Algonquian languages as ergative is generally rejected, the presence of ergative patterning is certainly important, as will become evident in section 2.2.1.

up of our original *word* plus plural inflection *-s*, or *worker* being derived from the verb root *work* and the agentive suffix *-er*) adding bound elements (“affixes”) to our basic English words somehow doesn’t count for much. After all, instances of these types of word formation (inflectional and derivational morphology) are relatively restricted in English when compared to many languages of the world. In fact, English tends towards the “isolating” end of a word-formation spectrum, otherwise best exemplified by the Chinese languages (see Figure 1.4).

**Figure 1.4**  
**Word Formation Classification**



Isolating languages are those which demonstrate limited word-formation strategies as measured by a ratio of meaningful elements (or “morphemes”) per word. As word-formation complexity increases so that the average morpheme/word ratio approaches an average of 2:1, the term “synthetic” begins to be applied. Additionally, synthetic languages can exhibit two subtypes of synthesis, depending on the type of morpheme predominantly found within a given language. When the morphemes present within a word each represent a single meaning (e.g. the English “plural” *-s*), then a string of such morphemes is referred to as “agglutinative”. In contrast, when a high percentage of morphemes are themselves complex in their inner structure, containing more than one element of meaning (e.g. the English “third person singular, present tense” *-s*), the term “fusional” is applied. Turkish is often cited as a prime example of an agglutinative language, while Latin is the prime fusional example. However, it is more common for both patterns to be found among non-isolating languages so that at best any synthetic language can merely be classified as having agglutinative or fusional tendencies. Finally, the occurrence of many languages in which word-formation is

consistently complex (with perhaps an average morpheme-to-word ratio of 3:1 or higher), regardless of agglutinative or fusional morphology, has led to the use of the term “polysynthetic”. In demonstrating the complexity of polysynthetic languages, examples are often drawn from numerous North American First Nations languages including the Inuktitut dialects or the Algonquian language family.

Given this range of word formation complexity across language, it stands to reason that the definition of “word” cannot be uniform across language. Hence, it is harder to maintain a uniform boundary between morphology and syntax across language and thus a uniform definition of syntax is also problematical. In the following sections, the most essential components of morphosyntax cross-linguistically will be discussed with an aim to introducing those elements most salient for the subsequent discussion of Cree morphosyntax.

### **1.2.1 Word Order**

Because so much of our linguistic knowledge has been based on the study of English, assuming an Anglocentric or isolating definition of the word, syntax is often reduced simply to word order. For isolating languages this is a safe strategy, and there is no single language, no matter how complex its word-formation processes, that does not use the order of words to some purpose. However, the purposes to which word order can be utilized are many, as are the phrasal categories which can be investigated through syntactic analysis. Beginning with the basic word level categories found in a language, each can act as head of a phrase which is expanded by the addition of modifiers, the position of which with respect to the head constitutes word order.

Word level categories can be divided in a number of ways in the description of any individual grammar. One basic distinction is between lexical or open word classes and functional or closed word classes. Nouns (N) and Verbs (V) are universal lexical word classes, while other classes may not occur in every language. English, for example, adds the classes of Adjective (A) and Adverb (Adv). Some languages do not have a distinct class of Adjectives, but do have a distinct class of Particles (P; including what might otherwise be classed as adjectives, adverbs, adpositions and other elements). Within the class of Particles, we cross the line between lexical and function words where we might find restricted subclasses of the lexical categories, such as Pronouns and Auxiliary Verbs, as well as additional function words like Coordinators, Subordinators, Interjections, etc. Word order syntax primarily seeks to describe the phrases that are built

around each lexical head word, and the clauses and sentences that are built with these phrases and function words.

The most important cross-linguistic typological classification built on word order involves the clause-level constituency of the verb (or predicate) and its arguments (or terms). While the constituency of arguments or noun phrases (NP) can be described in its own right, it is the position of the arguments with respect to the verb that is frequently used to classify a language. Furthermore, it is the transitive verb, requiring two arguments (often referred to as “subject” and “object”), that is determinative of a language’s word order classification. Given these three elements - the verb (V), the subject (S) and the object (O) - we might expect six logically possible word orders, as shown in Table 1.8 (cf. Givón 1984:190-198).

**Table 1.8**  
**Typological Word Order Variation**

Type	Order of Constituents			Example Language
SOV	S	O	V	Dakota
SVO	S	V	O	English
VSO	V	S	O	Jacalteco (Mayan)
VOS	V	O	S	Malagasy
OVS	O	V	S	Hixkaryana
OSV	O	S	V	Warao

In actual fact, these six types do not all occur with equal frequency among the world’s languages suggesting that the factors for choosing one order over another are not random, though neither are they universal. While the subject-initial SOV and SVO types are extremely common, the object-initial OVS and OSV are virtually unattested and even the language examples given in Table 1.8 are questioned by some linguists. Verb-initial patterns are intermediate in occurrence. Another way to view this classification is to note that the first three types, in which the subject always precedes the object regardless of the verb’s position, are predominantly favoured among the world’s languages. Orders in which the object precedes the subject are simply rare.

Despite its frequent use as a syntactic classification of the world’s languages, there are two problems with this word order typology. Not all

languages use a consistently rigid word order and not all languages necessarily make use of the grammatical concepts of “subject” and “object”. Even in languages where it is possible to delineate grammatical subjects and objects, considerable variation in word order placement is possible. Thus, not all languages can be fit into the neat six-way word order typology suggested in Table 1.8. Some languages, such as Ute, may have a predominant word order, but nevertheless exhibit considerable variation (Givón 1983). What such variation demonstrates is that word order is not always bound completely to the syntactic roles of subject and/or object, or conversely that syntactic roles are not always determinative of word order. Instead, Givón (1984:204-206) demonstrates that word order variation in Ute is due in large part to pragmatic factors and accounts for that variation by means of a pragmatic ordering principle (*emphasis* as in original):

- (4) “more surprising/disruptive/new information  
*precedes* more continuous/predictable/old information

However, this is not meant to be a universal principle, and Givón (1984:206-207) also shows that the opposite ordering principle seems to hold for Mandarin. Thus, ordering variation dictated by pragmatic factors is something that can be present in the grammar of any language, but the exact form it takes is language-specific.

The potential for this type of variation is captured well by the Placement Rules of Functional Grammar, where constituents are given their surface word order by means of language-specific rules which can be based on syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic functions of the underlying clausal structure (cf. Dik 1997a:391-394). These rules make use of word order templates such as the following from Moutaouakil’s (1989:10) analysis of Arabic.<sup>9</sup>

- (5) (P4) P2, P1 PØ V S N/A O X, P3 (P4)

Within such a template, we find the representation of pragmatically important positions (P), clause-internally or externally. One such position is the commonly occurring “P1” which constitutes a clause-initial position which can then be filled by a specific constituent (e.g., subject or topic, in a rigid word order language) or a range of different constituents (in a flexible word order language). Exactly what constituent(s) can occur in P1 or in other

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<sup>9</sup> The Functional Grammar word order template, and positions, cited here will be modified as per advances in Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) when we come to discuss Cree word order in Chapter 4.

special clausal positions, or even if such positions are utilized at all, is a language-specific matter, though it is quite common to find pragmatic functions such as topic and focus (and many refinements of these pragmatic roles) occupying special clausal positions, and the grammaticalization of such pragmatic functions to “subject” and “object” gives rise to the word order typology cited above in Table 1.8.

Many syntactic frameworks, such as Transformational Grammar and Relational Grammar and their successors, take the grammatical relations of subject and object as universal for grammar, but this is by no means a universally held view in linguistics. From the perspective of Functional Grammar, these syntactic functions provide an optional third level of structure in addition to obligatory pragmatic and semantic functions and as such it is perfectly plausible that the grammar of a language will not make use of syntactic functions at all. This possibility will not only prove very important for our subsequent investigation of Cree morphosyntax, but it relegates the typology in Table 1.8 to one which characterizes only those languages which do make use of syntactic functions. The absence of syntactic functions (or grammatical relations) from the grammars of even a small percentage of the world’s languages will ultimately require the introduction of a broader word order typology.

Finally, associated with the factors which may determine word order in language are grammatical features which allow for greater variation. For instance, if a language has an alternative means of tracking syntactic or semantic functions, then word order will not need to be utilized for this purpose. Thus, working side-by-side with clausal position to indicate important functions is a means of indexing particular functions morphologically. The predominant means by which such indexing is achieved is referred to as “case-marking”.

### **1.2.2 Case-Marking**

Traditionally, case-marking has been defined as nominal inflection indicating the syntactic role which the noun has in a clause. Such a definition is fairly limiting since it restricts the constituent being marked to nominal status and suggests that the only means of marking is by the attachment of a bound morpheme. In actual fact, the range of formal marking patterns is somewhat broader than this, while the number of functional strategies achieving this same purpose is considerably greater.

For instance, given just our initial definition, English would be completely devoid of a case-marking system since English nouns are not marked for their role in the clause. As exemplified in (6), the noun phrase



“the cat” can be the subject (6a) or object (6b) of an English sentence, and its form does not change despite an important change in its role.

- (6) a) The cat chased the dog.  
 b) The dog chased the cat.

For English nouns, it is solely the word order position which functions to indicate role. However, English pronouns often (though not always) do take special forms which indicate role (7a-b), while also adhering to word order position (as indicated by the ungrammatical examples (7a'-b')).

- (7) a) I help her.            a') \*Her help I.  
 b) She helps me.        b') \*Me helps she.

This allows us to broaden the definition of case-marking in two ways. First, pronouns (as substitutes for entire noun phrases) can also be case-marked so that case-marking is not limited to nouns. Second, case-marking itself need not take the form of a simple bound morpheme but can instead be bound up in a complex or “portmanteau” morpheme. With respect to this second observation, English pronouns do not occur as invariable stems with case-marking affixes added to indicate role. Instead, each pronoun serves the multiple functions of indicating person, number and syntactic function with no internal synchronic morphological analysis possible.

Neither of these extensions of case-marking are novel or controversial and English is certainly recognized as having the remnant of a once richer case-marking system, the kind which is still evident in German. Nevertheless, the traditional definition of case-marking has continued to be restricted to marking on nouns and independent pronouns even as observations on pronominal form have broadened the definition of pronoun. From Jelinek's (1984) “Pronominal Argument Hypothesis”, even formal syntacticians have recognized that bound pronominal elements found as part of the verbal complex - particularly in so-called “pro-drop” or “null-subject” languages which do not require independent pronouns - cannot be relegated to a role of “verb agreement” and must instead be analyzed as pronouns in their own right. However, this revelation has not always led to a concomitant expansion of the formal definition of case-marking to include bound pronominal inflection of the verb. Functionally, though, systems such as found in Dakota, where verbal person prefixes may provide the only indication of person and role, can and certainly should be included in a typology of case-marking (cf. Givón 1984). The problem has perhaps merely been one of formal terminology and what has been needed is a fuller

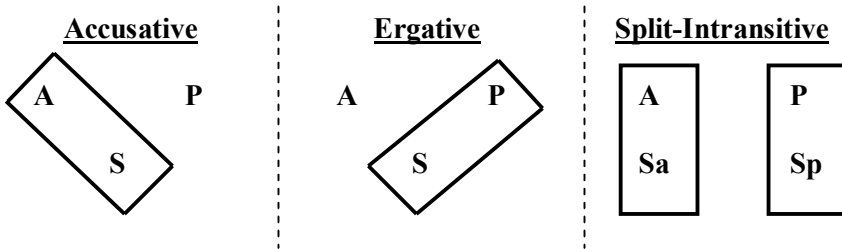
typology of “role-indexing” into which all formal means of fulfilling the important function of indicating participant role (including both word order and case-marking) can be fit (see section 1.2.3 immediately below). This also will prove very important in the subsequent discussion of Cree role-indexing and syntax.

An additional aspect of case-marking that must be recognized is the range of case-marking types, even traditionally defined, to be found cross-linguistically. Again taking English as a point of departure, the remnant of case-marking found in English points to the importance of the division of the grammatical relations “subject” and “object”. Thus, English subjects exhibit both preverbal position and, pronominally, subject (or nominative) case, while non-subject pronominals, including direct objects, indirect objects and objects of prepositions, take object (or accusative) case and follow their verbs or prepositions. The terms nominative and accusative, borrowed from Latin grammar, indicate that English has an “Accusative” system in which “subjects”, whether transitive or intransitive, are treated alike, and objects are marked differently. Such a system may be so familiar that it comes as a surprise to many English students of linguistics that it is not the only possible system. As illustrated in Table 1.9 and Figure 1.5 (on the following page), however, other systems do exist. At the heart of case-marking typology is the recognition that the terms “subject” and “object” are not necessarily equivalent across all languages and are, in fact, no more universal for case-marking than they are for word order. The abbreviations found in Table 1.9 are those, as found in more recent typological studies, which allow us to avoid the use of the English or Accusative-biased terms Subject (S) and Object (O). While S has been retained, it is limited in reference to the sole intransitive participant. Among the two core relations in a monotransitive construction, the abbreviations A (for agent, actor, etc.) and P (for patient) are used.

**Table 1.9**  
**Case-Marking Typology**

<b>Transitive Participant Agent/Actor</b>	<b>Intransitive Participant</b>	<b>Transitive Participant Patient</b>	<b>Type</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>Accusative</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>Ergative</b>
<b>A</b>	<b>Sa</b>    <b>Sp</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>Split-Intransitive</b>

**Figure 1.5**  
**Case-Marking Types**



The key feature of this typology is that it recognizes that there is no necessary relationship between the sole intransitive participant (S) and either of the two main participants of a transitive clause: the agentive or actor-like one (A) and the patient-like one (P). Thus, an Accusative language like English (or Dutch or Latin, etc.) groups S and A together as if they are the same type of constituent (nominative or “subject”) and treats the P constituent as the odd one out. But this is by no means a universal pattern. In contrast, “Ergative” languages like Inuktitut (or Basque or Tibetan, etc.) make the opposite choice, grouping the S and P constituents (“absolutive”) together as similar and treating the A constituent (the “ergative”) abnormally. Though these two systems appear to be diametrically opposed, both are motivated at least in part by pragmatic features. Accusative languages group A and S together due to their prototypical topicality, while Ergative languages group P and S together due to prototypical focality as evidenced through discourse pragmatics (cf. Du Bois 1987). When both motivations are given some attention in the grammar of a language, it is even possible for both Accusative and Ergative patterns to be found, creating a so-called “Split-Ergative” system (cf. Silverstein 1976). This is another important point to be kept in mind when investigating the potential indexing system present in Cree.

Furthermore, both Accusative and Ergative systems treat all intransitive participants as if they are similar, but even this is not a universal pattern as demonstrated in “Split-Intransitive” languages.<sup>10</sup> In languages of this type, such as Dakota (or Choctaw or Kamayura, etc.), semantic roles take precedence and at a bare minimum, agent-like or active intransitive participants (Sa) are differentiated from patient-like (or “stative”) intransitive participants (Sp). In a split-intransitive system, each of these subtypes of S is then grouped with its semantic counterpart transitive participant, so that Sa and A are marked similarly as agent-like participants

<sup>10</sup> Split-Intransitive languages are also often referred to as “Active-Stative” languages.

and Sp and P are marked similarly as patient-like participants.

Thus, case-marking, even traditionally defined, provides us with a variety of patterns which can serve one of the same functions as word order can, namely the indication of semantic or syntactic role within the clause. Once the range of means by which roles can be indicated is expanded, including recognition of the number of different case-marking types found in the world's languages, this provides us with a much better understanding of this important functional domain. In turn, this will put us in a better position to analyze the roles, if any, that word order and case-marking have in Cree morphosyntax.

### **1.2.3 Alignment**

Reference was made above to the need for a more encompassing typological classification of "role-indexing" systems, and in recent years this has begun to emerge in the recognition of "alignment". Thus, the patterns discussed in the preceding section on case-marking have been found to be relevant to a number of strategies beyond the strict traditional definition of case-marking itself. Our earlier discussion of word order highlighted its common, though not universal, role in differentiating grammatical relations or syntactic functions. Often word order and case-marking are complementary in this domain, such that a language without case-marking will require a strict word order bound to role identification, while a language with a strong case-marking system may have freer word order or, at the very least, order dictated by factors other than grammatical relations.

Word order and case-marking are thus two strategies for role-indexing across languages. Just as we can identify an Accusative or Ergative pattern among case-markers, such a pattern can also manifest itself in word order, and we have already explicitly recognized this in the accusative pattern of English word order. This is not accusative case-marking, but can be referred to as an instance of accusative alignment in which the word order systematically treats A and S as similar (i.e. through preverbal placement) while P receives different coding (i.e. through postverbal position). These patterns can be recognized in a number of other strategies as well. Alongside the word order of languages like English, we can find that the order of bound pronominals attached to verbs (or "slot assignment" as in Swahili; van Eijk, personal communication) can reflect one or another alignment pattern. Similarly, we can use the notion of alignment to extend the traditional definition of case-marking from affixes at the level of the word (i.e. noun or pronoun) to the function of adpositions at the phrasal level as signals of role-indexing. All such strategies can be used to indicate the semantic and/or

syntactic role of participants, and all can (at least theoretically) follow alignment patterns equivalent to the major case-marking types.

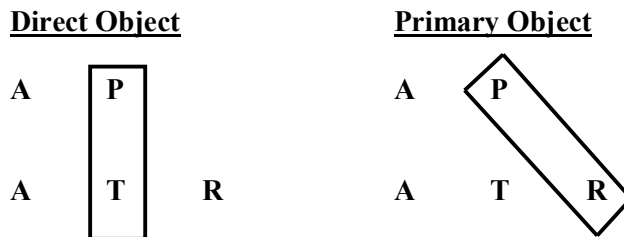
At this point, we can expand alignment beyond the comparison of one-place intransitive and two-place monotransitive constructions illustrated in Table 1.9 and Figure 1.5. Another comparison that is now commonly made is between two-place monotransitive and three-place ditransitive constructions. Figure 1.6 thus extends the number of roles which might be tracked in alignment systems by adding the third participant in ditransitive structures.

**Figure 1.6**  
**Identification of Participants in 1-, 2- and 3-Place Predications**

<b>Intransitive</b>	<b>S</b>		
<b>Monotransitive</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>P</b>	
<b>Ditransitive</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>R</b>

Again, the abbreviations have been chosen to treat each of the participants as maximally distinct, with the exception of A for the agent of monotransitive and ditransitive constructions alike, which are commonly held to align with one another.<sup>11</sup> Given this identity of A, the question then becomes one of the alignment of the monotransitive patient (P) with either the ditransitive patient or theme (T) or the ditransitive recipient, benefactive or goal (R), as illustrated in Figure 1.7.

**Figure 1.7**  
**Direct-Indirect versus Primary-Secondary Objects**



<sup>11</sup> Sometimes even agents of monotransitive and ditransitive constructions are differentiated by the use of A1 and A2, but these abbreviations will be used elsewhere in this work to represent semantic arguments of the predicate, such that all three types illustrated in Figure 1.6 will have an A1 and both transitive subtypes will have an A2.

The former alignment, in which the semantically similar constituents P and T (as patients or themes of their respective constructions) are marked similarly, as exemplified in languages like French, is the more common system cross-linguistically. This is also often assumed to be the basic or most normal situation in English where objects are commonly divided into “direct” and “indirect”. However, as the examples below illustrate, English can choose either option, again using the word order position (emphasized here by underscore) to treat the ditransitive patient (in (9)) or recipient (in (10)) like the object of a monotransitive (in (8)).

(8) She wrote the letter.  
A    V        P

(9) She sent the letter to her friend.  
A    V        T                    R

(10) She sent her friend the letter.  
A    V        R                    T

Note in all examples that the agent is similarly treated in this accusatively aligned language as the preverbal “subject”. In (9), the theme *the letter* is chosen as the “direct” object, with the recipient coded by the preposition “to”. In (10), the recipient has been placed in the important postverbal position as direct object, in which case it no longer requires a prepositional marker. Many languages, such as French, only allow constructions as in (9), where the monotransitive patient and ditransitive theme are obligatorily treated alike. Others, like English, allow for a choice of direct object assignment. A smaller set of languages only allow the alignment choice of example (10), treating the ditransitive R like monotransitive P obligatorily. In contrast to the “direct-indirect” object terminology traditionally used for languages like English (or, more properly, French), Dryer (1986) introduced the terms “primary” and “secondary” object, and these terms, sometimes in the form “primative-secundative”, are now becoming standard in expressing this alignment pattern.

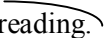
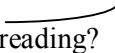
Again, we must recognize that alignment can be reflected in a wide array of strategies. Thus, while word order indicates the choice of a direct or primary object in English, this can also be accomplished cross-linguistically by case-marking, adpositional marking, and verbal cross-referencing. Regardless of the morphosyntactic device(s) in use in a language, they all function to signal important relationships between participants. The notion of alignment will prove very important to the investigation of Cree

morphosyntax.

#### 1.2.4 Intonation

An additional and often overlooked means by which grammatical structure is indicated is through the use of intonation and intonational contours. The dismissal of prosodic features as integral to syntax has less to do with their obvious contribution to syntactic structure as to a formal compartmentalization of syntax as completely independent and autonomous of such other linguistic domains as phonology or semantics. Functionally, any device, whether primarily classified as phonological, morphological, or syntactic, which helps us determine the relationship and meaning of words within phrases, clauses and sentences, must also be recognized as contributing to morphosyntax. Another reason why prosodic features are overlooked in formal syntactic analyses is that intonation tends to mark pragmatic functions like topic and focus, rather than delineating grammatical relations, and only fairly recently are these phenomena receiving increased attention.

It is clear, however, that prosodic features can serve the same function as otherwise accomplished by word order. For instance, two options for indicating the difference between declaratives and interrogatives in English are to change word order (as in (11) or to change the intonational contour (as in (12)).

- (11) a) She is reading.                      b) Is she reading?  
 (12) a) She is reading.                       b) She is reading? 

In (11), the statement in (a) can be turned into a question by reversing the order of subject pronoun (*she*) and auxiliary verb (*is*). The question mark (?) in (11b) primarily indicates the new interrogative force introduced by the word order change. In (12), rather than using a word order change, it is merely a change in the intonation which signals a difference between the declarative in (12a), with falling intonation, and the interrogative in (12b), with rising intonation. In these examples, the falling or rising intonation is indicated graphically by the addition of an overposed line, but in standard English writing only the presence of the question mark indicates that an interrogative is intended. Since word order provides us with syntactic information, and intonational contours provide us with the same information, it follows that intonational contours handle some of the work otherwise done by syntax.

Another important use of intonation, again often contrasted with word order change, is in focus-marking. In English, a word order change, via a special cleft-focus construction, can be used to place contrastive focus on an element. In (13b), the object (*a wolf*) is fronted, among other changes required, and no longer occurs in its normal postverbal position, as in (13a). A similar effect can be induced without a word order change, but by simply adding extra emphasis (or intonation) to the object noun (as indicated in (14b) by boldface and small caps).

- (13) a) Peter saw a wolf.                      b) It was a wolf that Peter saw.  
(i.e. in contrast to a lion, or a sunset, etc.)
- (14) a) Peter saw a wolf.                      b) Peter saw a **WOLF**.  
(i.e. in contrast to a lion, or a sunset, etc.)

Again, intonation provides us with the same information that word order does. Both strategies contribute to our understanding of the pragmatic and/or semantic import of an utterance. Thus, intonation can be an important part of the grammatical structure of a language and of languages in general. Ideally, intonation, word order, and case-marking (or any other morphological strategy serving the same function in an alignment system) must all be taken into account to provide a complete picture of the grammatical structure of a language.

### 1.3 Some Potential Components of Cree Morphosyntax

The Cree language, particularly the Plains dialect, is among the most well-studied of all North American First Nations languages. Long before detailed linguistic analyses were begun, the importance of the Cree as one of the groups most relied upon by French and English traders and missionaries in Canada ensured that word lists, ecumenical translations and even grammars began to appear shortly after contact. Interestingly, despite many of the early contacts being with the more northern and eastern groups, it was Plains Cree that ultimately received the most attention, apparently due to the fact that it was used as a lingua franca on the Canadian Plains and even further eastward, a fact not lost on those preparing Bible and hymnbook translations. By the time that works which are classified as truly linguistic in nature were begun in the early 1900s, including the classificatory work of Michelson (cf. 1912, 1939) and the recording and analysis of texts by



Bloomfield (cf. 1930, 1934), Plains Cree had become the focus of almost all attention, at least among the western dialects. Plains Cree was one of the four main “central” Algonquian languages studied by Bloomfield, although his concentration and contribution here was in the collection of texts, the compilation of a lexicon, and the use of the phonology and morphology in his reconstructions of Proto-Algonquian. Though he compiled grammatical sketches of Fox (1925b, 1927), Menomini (1962) and Eastern Ojibwa (1958) (the latter two published posthumously under the editorship of Charles F. Hockett), Plains Cree was not so treated. It was left for H.C. Wolfart (1973) to produce the first extensive linguistic description of Plains Cree grammar. In this 80-page work, both dense and concise, Wolfart situates the language geographically and genetically, discusses aspects of the Phonology, and details much of the Morphology of noun, pronoun, particle, and verb, before concluding with a sample text. Thus, there is no space whatsoever devoted to phrasal or clausal Syntax. The description concentrated on the extremely rich morphology, as did subsequent work of the 1970s and early 1980s, including teaching materials such as the revision of Edwards (1982), and Okimāsis and Ratt (1984). Despite a growing bibliography of materials on Plains Cree by the mid-1980s, very little attention had as yet been given to syntax, beyond general statements or unanalyzed examples of utterances to be found in non-technical language teaching materials.

This slowly began to change with the work of Wolfart’s student, a fluent Plains Cree speaker, Freda Ahenakew. In Ahenakew’s (1987a) M.A. thesis, a small but significant portion, the final chapter, was dedicated specifically to syntactic matters. However, an even more important contribution was made through Ahenakew’s subsequent work in collecting oral texts. The publication of a series of text compilations, edited and translated by Ahenakew and Wolfart, stimulated much interest and work on Plains Cree, leading to an increasing concentration on the syntax of the language. The following sections will briefly review some of this more recent work on Cree morphosyntax with respect to the main components of grammar introduced previously.

### **1.3.1 Word Order**

Since syntax is essentially equated with word order, we will begin our survey of previous studies of Cree morphosyntax with what has been written concerning Cree word order. As already indicated above, earlier linguistic materials dealing with Cree and the Algonquian languages in general tended quite naturally to be preoccupied with the extremely rich morphological patterns in evidence. As classic examples of polysynthetic languages, the

Algonquian family exhibits intensely complex verbal structures and Cree is certainly no exception to this. The verb, in all its glory, was early observed capable of standing in place of an entire English sentence, as in (15).<sup>12</sup>

- (15) *nikī-nōhtē-nitawi-kiyokawāw.*  
 ni- kī- nōhtē- nitawi- kiyokaw -ā -w  
 1 IPV IPV IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 PST want go to visit 1s-3s  
 “I wanted to go visit him/her.”

As will be further explicated in Chapter 2, a verb stem like *kiyokaw-* in (15) is classified as a VTA stem which requires two arguments and will be marked separately for person (*ni-*; *-w*) and theme (direct *-ā*). Additionally, it can take a number of “preverbs” which, as in this example, indicate such categories as tense (*kī-*), modality (*nōhtē-*) and direction (*nitawi-*). Examples such as this exhibit a very strict word-internal morpheme order, but it is what occurs outside the verb that has drawn the attention of syntacticians. Associated with the verb’s morphological complexity, observations have long been made that the participants need not be lexicalized (i.e. do not occur as nouns or independent pronouns, as in (15)). Furthermore, if they were to be lexicalized, then there is an apparent freedom of placement such that word order does not serve the same purpose as in strict word order languages like English. There simply does not seem to be any preferred word order along the lines of the important placement of subject, verb, and object. This phenomenon, observed in an increasing number of “exotic” languages gave rise to the use of the phrase “free word order language”. Cree has long been included under this description and has been described as such in works as late as Dahlstrom (1991:1-2), Reinholtz (1995:396), and Wolfart (1996:391-392).

This terminology may never have been meant to be understood as literally “free”. Nevertheless, it is an awkward way to state that Cree does not put word order to the same use that English does and to admit to a lack of understanding of the principles behind the actual use of word order in

<sup>12</sup> Here and throughout this work, Cree examples will frequently be represented in a five-line analysis:

- 1) the actual Cree example, italicized and represented in the standard roman orthography (a (morpho)phonemic system rather than phonetic (cf. Okimāsis and Wolvengrey 2008));
- 2) a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis;
- 3) a grammatical gloss of each morpheme;
- 4) a lexical or further grammatical gloss or, in the case of direction markers, a further explication of the person interaction, as appropriate;
- 5) English translation(s).

Cree. Therefore, it is heartening to see, in the most recent literature, an increasing awareness that grammatical relations are not the only means by which to judge or describe Cree word order.

In her introduction to the discussion of discontinuous constituents in Swampy Cree, Reinholtz (1995) lists some salient features of Cree syntax which characterize it as a “nonconfigurational” language in the sense of Hale (1982, 1983), particularly its “comparatively free word order”. However, in subsequent papers, similarly introducing “comparatively free” word order variation, Reinholtz (1997:1; 1999a:201) adds a footnote in which it is acknowledged that preferences of word order could be attributable (in yet to be explicated ways) to such notions as “focus” or “discourse-related constraints”. Though much subsequent work (e.g. Blain 1997, Déchaine 1999, Hirose 2003, etc.) has concentrated on attempts to formalize verb structure and word order variation, few as of yet have truly attempted to explain the variation in terms of features of discourse pragmatics and to replace “free word order” with “pragmatically-conditioned word order”. In other words, we know that variation exists, and we know that it is not free, but beyond vague notions of “focus”, few contributions to the linguistic literature have really paid much attention to the contexts under which certain word order choices are made.

Exceptions to this can be found in Reinholtz and Wolfart’s (2001) discussion of the clitic properties of the emphatic particle *ani* (as well as the Cree question particles: Plains *cī* and Swampy *nā* (cf. Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001:430, fn.7)) as marking elements under contrastive focus in sentence-initial position. Wolvengrey (2003), in responding to Reinholtz (1997), similarly points to a number of uses of demonstrative pronouns including immediate post-initial position in which the function is one of marking (contrastive) focus. Thus, an example such as (16) clearly illustrates that the various functions of what otherwise seem to be three identical formal occurrences of the Cree demonstrative pronoun *awa* are differentiated in the word order: namely predicative, focussing and referential (Wolvengrey 2003:24).

(16) *aw āw āwa.*

awa	awa	awa
PRED	FOC	REF
(be) the one	here	this

“**This (animate) one** here is it” / “It is **this one here!**”

Most recently, Junker (2004) has discussed the role of focus in East Cree word order and Mühlbauer (2005) has, in an unpublished paper, presented an

interesting representation of constituent order in Plains Cree which, though couched in formal Minimalist terms, nevertheless explores the discourse function that word order plays in the interpretation of nominals. In studies of related Algonquian languages, such an approach is also becoming more frequent, beginning even earlier with such works as Tomlin and Rhodes (1992) on Ojibwa, and the influential paper by Dahlstrom (1995a) presenting a word order template for Fox/Meskwaki which has since provided others with a model to test within the Algonquian family. This latter work will prove particularly important for the current study of Plains Cree. Other notable Algonquian studies include but are not limited to Valentine (2001) on Nishnaabemwin (Ojibwa) and Shields (2004) on Menomini.

The primary focus (if I may use the term) of the latter half of the current work (Chapters 4 through 6) will continue these recent attempts to uncover the semantic and pragmatic contexts under which certain word order choices are made. Preliminary to this, however, will be a reanalysis and explication of the Algonquian, and specifically Plains Cree, system which is in place allowing for the word order to be, if not free, then free of the need to indicate semantic and/or syntactic roles. The most common means to circumvent such a need for rigid word order is typically to be found in the use of case-marking cross-linguistically.

### 1.3.2 Case-Marking

This section, dedicated to a discussion of case-marking as identified in Cree (or in Algonquian in general) could be kept exceptionally brief. Following the traditional definition of case-marking (as attached to nouns and/or independent pronouns), Cree has been almost universally described as devoid of case-marking. Nouns and independent pronouns are simply free of any morphological variation indicating the familiar grammatical relations (i.e. subject, object, indirect object or even possessor). The only possible candidate for a case-marker on nouns is marking for obviation, but this is consistently and accurately demonstrated to function on the levels of clausal disjoint reference and discourse tracking and cannot be tied to any particular semantic or syntactic roles (see also Chapters 2 and 3). Concomitantly, independent personal pronouns, in addition to being optionally inserted into a structure, can represent the sole intransitive subject/actor (S, as in (17)), a transitive agent/actor (A, as in (18)), a transitive patient/object (P, as in (19)), a transitive recipient/“goal” (R, as in (20)), and a possessor (POSS, as in (21)), all without any change in form, as demonstrated with the first person singular pronoun, *niya*.

- (17) ...
- ē-kī-wīcihisoyān niya*
- , ... (Lafond and Longneck 1992:272-273)

ē-	kī-	wīcihisoyān	-yān	<b>niya</b>
IPV	IPV	VAI	1s	<b>PR.1s</b>
CNJ	PST	help.oneself		<b>I/me/mine</b>

“... I helped myself, ...”

- (18)
- niya ānima ē-kī-osīhtāyān*
- ... (Lafond and Longneck 1992:270-271)

<b>niya</b>	ānima	ē-	kī-	osīhtā	-yān
<b>PR.1s</b>	PR.0s	IPV	IPV	VTI	1s(-0)
<b>I/me/mine</b>	that	CNJ	PST	make	

“I had built that too, ...”

- (19) “
- hāw, niya ōma kā-āyimōmit,*
- ”
- ta-itēyihtam.*
- <sup>13</sup>

<i>hāw</i>	<b>niya</b>	<i>ōma</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>āyimōm</i>	-it
IPC	<b>PR.1s</b>	IPC	IPV	VTA	INV
o.k.	<b>I/me/mine</b>	!	CNJ	speak.about	3s-1s

<i>ta-</i>	<i>itēyiht</i>	-am
IPV	VTI	3s(-0')
FUT	think.of	

“He will think, ‘He’s talking about **me!**’ ”

- (20)
- awa niya ē-kī-miyit ōhi.*
- (Lafond and Longneck 1992:310-311)

<i>awa</i>	<b>niya</b>	ē-	kī-	<i>miy</i>	-it	<i>ōhi</i>
PR.3s	<b>PR.1s</b>	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	PR.0’p
this	<b>I/me/mine</b>	CNJ	PST	give	3s-1s	these

“He gave **me** these [sc. glasses].”

- (21)
- niya cī ōma?*
- <sup>14</sup>

<b>niya</b>	<i>cī</i>	<i>ōma</i>
<b>PR.1s</b>	Q	PR.0s
<b>I/me/mine</b>	this	

“Is this **mine?**” (e.g. asking whether drink or food is meant for me)  
 or “Is this **me?**” (e.g. asking about an unrecognized picture)

<sup>13</sup> This example comes from a story narrated by Elder John Moosomin (as originally published in Moosomin, et al. 1989:5), but was retranscribed from the original tape by Jean Okimāsis for an as-yet unpublished revision.

<sup>14</sup> A textual example of an independent pronoun used as a possessive, in this case second person *kiya*, can also be cited:

(e.g.) *kiya, ē-nisitohtahkik.* (F. Ahenakew in Lafond and Longneck 1992: 302-303)

<i>kiya</i>	ē-	<i>nisitoht</i>	-ahkik
PR.2s	IPV	VTI	3p(-0')
you/yours	CNJ	understand	

“Yours (i.e. children), they understand it (i.e. Cree).”

Thus, case-marking has been rejected as a feature of Cree. Despite this, it has been noted that nouns can be marked as locatives, as in (22b) and (23b).

(22) a) *sākahikan*  
 NI.0s  
 “lake”

b) *sākahikanihk*  
*sākahikan* -ihk  
 NI LOC  
 lake in/on/at  
 “in/on/at the lake”

(23) a) *nikī-wāpahtēn sākahikan.*  
 ni- kī- wāpaht -ēn sākahikan  
 1 IPV VTI 1/2(-0) NI.0s  
 PST see lake  
 “I saw a lake.”

b) *nikī-wāpahtēn sākahikanihk.*  
 ni- kī- wāpaht -ēn sākahikan -ihk  
 1 IPV VTI 1/2(-0) NI LOC  
 PST see lake in/on/at  
 “I saw it in/on/at the lake.”

With the locative suffix interpreted as an inflectional suffix on nouns, the example in (23b) illustrates that the presence of the locative prevents the noun from being interpreted as a core constituent (e.g. object) of the verb. Since this means the locative suffix would then be telling us something about the role of the noun in the sentence, it should logically be considered case-marking. Even so, the general attitude towards this can be summed up by paraphrasing one leading Cree scholar who simply stated that, even if we interpret the Locative as an instance of case-marking, we cannot build a case system on a single case (Wolfart: personal communication).

However, it might not be just a single case. Although it is becoming archaic in many areas, special address or vocative forms remain in use, especially in the use of a distinct plural suffix. (24) illustrates the difference between a regular plural and a vocative plural, and again this has the effect, in (24b), of eliminating the vocative noun from being construed as a core referent of the verb (in this case, the object/patient).

- (24) a) *nimosōmak nipēhtawāwak.*  
 ni- mosōm -ak ni- pēhtaw -ā -wak  
 1 NDA 3p 1 VTA DIR 3p  
 grandfather hear 1s-3p  
 “I hear my grandfathers.”
- b) *nimosōmitik, nipēhtawāwak.*  
 ni- mosōm -itik ni- pēhtaw -ā -wak  
 1 NDA 2p.VOC 1 VTA DIR 3p  
 grandfather ! hear 1s-3p  
 “My grandfathers! I hear them.”

Here, then, for those subdialectal areas in which these forms persist, we have a second candidate for nominal case-marking. But though both the locative and vocative indicate that a noun is not one of the core arguments of the verb, this alone does not seem to have qualified as case-marking for Cree or Algonquian scholars since no nominal marking can be found that is specific to the identification and differentiation of the core arguments. Thus, a rather narrow definition of case-marking has been maintained, at least among Algonquianists. Among more functionally-oriented analysts, the definition of case-marking has long been expanded to include a variety of strategies (cf. Givón 1984), and some recent typological works have even included Direct-Inverse under the title of case-marking (cf. Song 2001).

### 1.3.3 Alignment

In the current work, I advocate the recognition of an overarching functional classification of all such devices that serve to indicate, directly or indirectly, the role that the participants have in the clause. As a preliminary step, we can permit the Cree locative and vocative to be recognized as nominal case-marking in the traditional sense. In much the same way, English prepositions act as functional heads to indicate the role of the noun for many oblique cases (but notably not subject and object!). Formally, English prepositions are not affixed to the noun and so this may not fit the narrow definition of case-marking, but functionally these are all indicators of the role or semantic function of participants. One possibility, therefore, is to extend the definition of case-marking to all strategies other than word order that serve to indicate semantic role, and this has at least been implied in some functionally-based literature (cf. Givón 1984; Song 2001). Conversely, if the traditional definition of case-marking is deemed inviolable, then we

simply need another term which encompasses all strategies within this important functional domain: word order, morpheme order, case-marking, adpositional strategies (phrase-level rather than word-level “case-marking”), and any other forms possible. As introduced above, and in the most recent literature, the term that has come into use is “alignment”. Sections of Chapter 2 and 3 will be devoted to portraying the Direct-Inverse system among Transitive Animate Verbs (VTAs), as an alignment system which is functionally equivalent to case-marking. This is the system that allows for the “comparatively free word order” through its disambiguation of the role of participants. It can thus be interpreted as either a fourth major type of case-marking, alongside accusative, ergative, and active-stative, or as a unique strategy that joins word order and case-marking as a third major type of role-indexing alignment.

Finally, it must be noted that in addition to the current analysis, one other contemporary interpretation of Direct-Inverse as case-marking has been championed by Déchaine and Reinholtz (cf. 1998, 2007). Their interpretation does bear some resemblance to the view to be forwarded in this work, but from the very different perspective of the Minimalist Program. As such, their analysis is tied very much to the structural definition of subject and object, whereas the functional approach espoused in Chapter 3 will reject the necessity for referring to a separate level of grammatical relations or syntactic functions whatsoever.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.3.4 Intonation

Despite the acknowledged necessity to include information on intonation (emphatic stress, phrasal and clausal intonational boundaries, etc.) in any full treatment of the grammar of a language, extremely little is currently known about phrasal and clausal stress and intonational patterns in Cree. And it is an unfortunate fact that the current work will not add a great deal to this understanding. Intonationally, declarative utterances in Plains Cree end in a falling tone (25), but so also can yes-no (26) and content questions (27).

- (25) *ninōhtē-sēwēpitamawāw nīwa.*
- |     |        |             |       |    |    |      |    |
|-----|--------|-------------|-------|----|----|------|----|
| ni- | nōhtē- | sēwēpitamaw | -ā    | -w | n- | īw   | -a |
| 1   | IPV    | VTA         | DIR   | 3s | 1  | NDA  | 3s |
|     | want   | phone       | 1s-3s |    |    | wife |    |
- “I want to phone my wife.”

<sup>15</sup> The current functionalist interpretation of direct-inverse received its earliest preliminary formulation in a paper delivered at the 25<sup>th</sup> Algonquian Conference in Montreal, Quebec (Wolvengrey 1993).



- (26) *kimihtātāw cī?*  
 ki- mihtāt -ā -w cī  
 2 VTA DIR 3s Q  
 miss 2s-3s  
 “Do you miss her?”
- (27) *tānispīhk ē-wī-sēwēpitamawat?*  
 tānispīhk ē- wī- sēwēpitamaw -at  
 IPC IPV IPV VTA DIR  
 when CNJ PRSP phone 2s-3s  
 “When are you going to phone her?”

In the case of yes-no questions, however, it is also possible to omit the question particle *cī* and simply indicate the interrogative status of the utterance with a rising intonation, as in (28).

- (28) *kimihtātāw?*  
 ki- mihtāt -ā -w  
 2 VTA DIR 3s  
 miss 2s-3s  
 “You miss her?”

A practical application of such observations allows for a more accurate rendering of certain boundaries in running speech, but far more detail is still required. In practice, certain boundaries (such as between clausal and extra-clausal constituents) will be marked in data analyzed within the current work, but the phonological or intonational cues that lead to such identification will not be codified or referred to specifically. It is hoped that rare works on Cree prosody such as Wolfart (1989) and Cook (2006) will soon be joined by additional in-depth studies of Cree intonation.

## 1.4 Algonquian Studies, Functional Grammar and the Current Work

Having just stated one of the outstanding issues in Cree syntax that will not be specifically addressed in the current work, we will return now to our introduction of topics that will be important in the coming chapters. As stated above, this is a study of an Algonquian language and as such it falls within the tradition of Algonquianist work and terminology. However, it is also among the first in-depth studies of an Algonquian language to be placed

within the framework of Functional (Discourse) Grammar (cf. Wolvengrey 2005 on Cree, and Genee 2009 on Blackfoot), and as such it must necessarily fall within a tradition of functional studies. Though these two things are by no means incompatible, the terminology of these traditions do occasionally clash, and some further issues particular to Algonquian languages will require introduction before we can move forward.

### **1.4.1 Terminological Preliminaries**

One of the more distinctive aspects of the description of Algonquian languages is to be found in Bloomfield's use of "actor" and "goal" as names roughly synonymous with "subject" and "object". The actor is essentially the first argument in verbal constructions indexing one (intransitive), two (monotransitive) or three (ditransitive) semantic roles. This term has no real semantic equivalent in Functional Grammar (FG), but does correspond quite directly with the macro-role Actor as utilized in Foley and Van Valin's (1984) Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) and adopted into Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; cf. Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008). Thus, its use here would not be inappropriate and certainly it will appear in the names of such typically Algonquian constructions as the "inanimate actor" (see Chapter 2) and the "unspecified actor" (see Chapters 2 and 3). Outside of this context, however, the phrase "first argument" (A1) will be preferred for reasons that hopefully will be made clear in the following chapters. Ultimately, Bloomfield's choice of the term "actor" may tie it too closely to the semantic role of "agent", but either term is certainly preferable to the term "subject", biased as that is towards accusative case-marking systems.

The term "goal" provides a different set of problems, as it has been used to mean a great variety of things in linguistic theory in general. Within Functional Grammar, Dik (1997a:120-121) uses "Goal" to refer essentially to the semantic patient which he treats as the most common candidate for the second argument (A2) and, in fact, the obligatory second argument of ditransitive constructions. In the latter sense alone, this matches perfectly Bloomfield's use of "goal" for Algonquian languages, since Bloomfield's "goal" indeed refers to the obligatory second argument of Algonquian ditransitives. However, as we will see in Chapter 2, this is not the semantic patient, but rather the recipient or beneficiary. Furthermore, in Functional Discourse Grammar, Dik's use of "Goal" has been replaced by Role and Reference Grammar's use of "Undergoer" for the macro-role most commonly associated with the patient or affected object, while the term "Goal" is relegated to specifying the destination as a subtype of a third important macro-role, the "Locative" (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

While the FDG concept of Locative includes both recipient and goal, neither are the typically preferred choice for the second argument of a ditransitive. Conversely, as we have already seen in section 1.3.2 above, the locative is quite important for Cree, but from an Algonquian perspective, locatives and recipients can in no way be equated. Hence, we have a terminological impasse. The Algonquian use of “goal” is not completely compatible with FG and less so with FDG, while the FDG use of “Undergoer” simply does not fit the facts of Cree and the Algonquian languages. Additionally, the term “object” is just as inappropriately biased in linguistic typology as “subject”. Thus, all three terms will be avoided in favour of simply referring to the second argument (A2), unless the precise semantic role is important to the discussion.

From the interpretation and identification of the arguments of verbs, we can turn to the variety of ways in which arguments can be marked in Cree and Algonquian verbal constructions. The category of person was introduced earlier in section 1.1.2.2.2, but person cross-reference manifests itself in three distinct verbal Orders (each with numerous subdivisions of “mode”, “tense”, “submode” and “inflection”; cf. Ellis 1970) in Algonquian. These are the Independent, Conjunct and Imperative Orders. In Plains Cree, because of the near or complete loss of certain “Modes” (i.e. the first level of subcategorization of the basic “Orders”) rendering “Order” and “Mode” virtually interchangeable, the practice has often been to conflate the Orders and Modes into a single category of “Mode”<sup>16</sup>. This practice is not followed here, however, where the superordinate terminology of “Order” is preferred in reference to the most common or sole Mode of each Order.

This is not meant to introduce confusion to the discussion of these Algonquian verbal divisions, but rather to avoid the confusion that the term “mode” might otherwise introduce within the general context of linguistic terminology. In the sense that “mode” is sometimes used interchangeably with “mood” to refer to the rough equivalent of illocutionary force and therefore the common cross-linguistic distinction between declarative, interrogative and imperative, only the Cree Imperative fully fits this description. Interestingly, in Ellis’ (1970:83) categorization of Cree verbal paradigms, the Imperative is the only Order which contains no distinctions of Mode, showing that mood was not intended, but merely a neutral division of different “modes” or ways of marking each Order. The Imperative Order

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<sup>16</sup> For example, following the apparent loss of the Dubitative Mode of the Independent Order, the Indicative Mode of the Independent Order is the sole remaining Mode and is thus typically referred to simply as the Independent Mode (cf. Ahenakew 1987a; Okimāsis 2004) or the Indicative Mode (Okimāsis and Ratt 1999). This latter usage is in turn made possible by reference to the Indicative Mode of the Conjunct Order as simply the Conjunct Mode.

(IMP) also only permits a subset of the person category, limited to second person forms and the first and second person inclusive, and thus represents both true imperatives and hortatives.

In contrast, the Independent (INDP) and Conjunct (CNJ) Orders cannot be equated directly with mood/mode or illocutionary force since both are declarative and both can occur in interrogatives (as in (29)); see also Chapter 6).<sup>17</sup>

- (29) a) *kinōhtēhkatān cī?*  
 ki-            nōhtēhkatē        -n            cī  
 2.INDP        VAI                    1/2.INDP    Q  
                   be.hungry  
 “Are you hungry?”
- b) *ē-nōhtēhkatēyan cī?*  
 ē-            nōhtēhkatē        -yan            cī  
 IPV            VAI                    1s.CNJ        Q  
 CNJ            be.hungry  
 “Are you hungry?”

Though these Orders have been roughly equated with main and subordinate clause structure, their actual distribution and function varies across Algonquian languages and has proven particularly opaque in Cree (though see Cook 2008 for an excellent recent analysis of Plains Cree clause typing). It is true that the Independent is most closely associated with the main clause, but the Conjunct also appears to function in main clauses, and thus a distinction of mood/mode seems inappropriate. Furthermore, the distinction between Independent and Conjunct Order verbs appears to have little to no bearing whatsoever on clausal word order, which forms the important topic of investigation of the latter half of the current work. Thus, we only require a neutral term which distinguishes these verb forms, and Order will suffice.

### 1.4.2 The Shapes of Things to Come

This brings us back around to the actual topics of the remainder of this work. Chapter 2 begins by furthering our earlier discussion of animacy and illustrating its pervasive importance throughout Plains Cree grammar. This

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<sup>17</sup> These examples were originally supplied by Solomon Ratt (personal communication) to demonstrate the difference in discourse status (not indicated here) between the Independent and Conjunct. After sharing these examples during a discussion at the 38th Algonquian Conference (2006), they were also cited by Cook (2008:156).

includes its role in the pragmatic and semantic hierarchies which allow for the function of the direct-inverse system which will be described in detail. In turn, this leads us to two important observations. Chapter 2 concludes with a lengthy discussion of the role of animacy in the entire verbal system of Plains Cree, while Chapter 3 picks up on the important interaction of the semantic hierarchy and pragmatic discourse status which obviate the need for a third level of syntactic functions. Together, Chapters 2 and 3 thus also demonstrate the systems which allow for “comparatively free word order” in Cree. Chapters 4 through 6 then seek to dispel the myth of free word order through a careful look at word order tendencies, primarily through an examination of data from narrative text. As mentioned earlier, the primary source for this study will be the ten texts from *wāskahikaniwiyiniw-ācimowina/Stories of the House People*, as narrated by two fluent male Plains Cree elders, Peter Vandall and Joe Douquette (Ahenakew 1987b).

Chapter 4 begins by demonstrating word order variability before introducing a framework within Functional (Discourse) Grammar for the description of Plains Cree clausal word order. The chapter then concludes with an examination of some semantic constraints on word order and a look at constituent order in postverbal position. In Chapter 5 and 6, we turn our attention to the more complex constituency of preverbal positioning. Chapter 5 concentrates on syntactically-motivated positions, including one that highlights another prominent, pragmatically-motivated clausal position. This provides the link to Chapter 6 and the investigation of the importance of pragmatic functions within Plains Cree word order. In addition to an examination of many patterns in clausal word order, pragmatic functions also allow us to account for a large number of extra-clausal constituents.

# Chapter 2

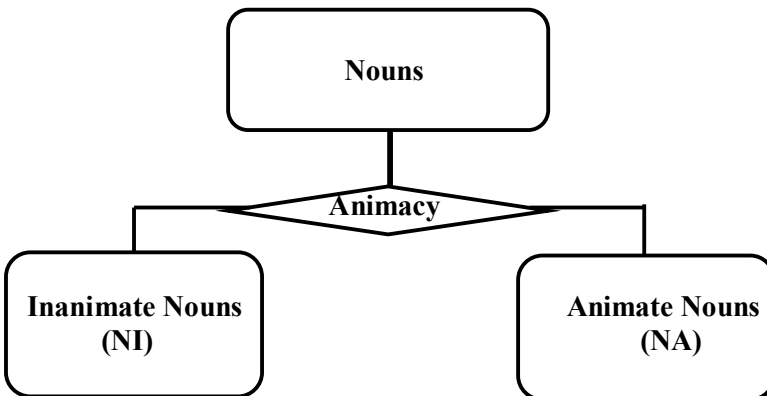
## Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

The current chapter will review several fairly well-known and important phenomena of Cree and Algonquian languages in general, including animacy, direct-inverse alignment, and verbal classification. However, it will also seek to offer new perspectives on these phenomena, with special relevance for Cree. The first, most vital aspect of the Algonquian languages is to be found in the Animacy distinction, and this will not only be introduced in section 2.1, but remain a pre-eminent notion for the subsequent discussion of the direct-inverse system in section 2.2 and the overall morphosyntactic organization of the Cree verbal system in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

### 2.1 The Importance of Being Animate

The Cree and general Algonquian nominal system is characterized by the division of all nouns into two classes or genders, Animate and Inanimate, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1**  
**Nominal Animacy Classification**



The terms animate and inanimate are meant to reflect what appears to be the primary semantic basis underlying the system - a division between living and non-living entities. It is certainly true that all words representing human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, etc., as well as most trees and certain plants, are classified as animate. However, many items which might be classed as semantically inanimate are also included in the Algonquian animate class thus making it a grammatical gender rather than purely semantic. Many attempts have been made to find and describe the underlying semantic basis for this classification (cf. Goddard 2002 for a review), with a large proportion attempting to isolate a single overriding criterion for animacy. One of the popular attempts rests on the notion of spiritual power (cf. Darnell and Vanek 1976, Darnell 1991:99) and the attribution of life. Of course, in order for this to be a fully valid explanation in Plains Cree, Cree speakers would have to attest to a belief in the spiritually powerful nature of animate *asikanak* “socks” and *ayōskanak* “raspberries” in contrast to inanimate *maskisina* “shoes” and *otēhimina* “strawberries”. In the absence of this, such examples tend to be used to refute a pure equation of the animate class with “living things” or the “spiritually active or powerful”. Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude has always been one in which there is something about the animate class that marks the nouns so designated as special, and as will be seen below, this is sometimes backed up by pointing at the greater morphosyntactic markedness of the animate.

More recently, a different approach to the problem of animacy has been suggested. Mühlbauer (2008), taking cues from Goddard (2002), has proceeded from the hypothesis that it is the inanimate class that is semantically marked (for “extentionality” or the inability to be attributed with a potential perspective), while the animate class is, in contrast, simply unmarked for the feature of extentionality (i.e. are, or are potentially, “intentional” and might therefore be attributed with a perspective). This appears primarily to be a reaction against the inability of past accounts to isolate the long-sought-after single feature that can explain the classification of all animates in contrast to inanimates. However, it simply replaces it with the diametrically opposed position of trying to find a single predictive feature for inanimates. As such, the feature of extentionality seems fairly opaque and it is unclear whether it can really be shown to be psychologically salient to fluent adult speakers or, even more importantly, how it could be shown to provide a transparently predictive basis to ease learnability and consistent transmittability through the generations. With this in mind, the examples cited earlier can be revisited. How, for instance, would a child or adult determine that shoes and strawberries are extentional (or

perspectiveless) while socks and raspberries just might someday offer their perspective on things?

In the current work, the animate class will be shown to be of vital importance to the entire (re-)organization of Cree grammar, particularly through the verbal system. It is therefore, desirable to have an account of the animate-inanimate distinction which follows the traditional quest to explain the markedness of the animate class. Although it is beyond the scope of the current work to offer such an account in detail, a model of the type of account envisioned can be found in Quinn's (2001) preliminary paper on the gender distinction in the related Eastern Algonquian language Penobscot.<sup>18</sup>

Quinn's multi-variant approach seeks to identify a number of factors or foci around which animate nouns cluster, with some foci potentially viewed as more central or important than others. The variability and language-specific nature of this type of analysis is appropriate given attested variability across the Algonquian languages, or even within dialects of a single language, but that variability is nowhere so great that we should not still expect to find a core of essential features underlying the animate class for all languages. This core could presumably be projected back to Proto-Algonquian, but given the estimated 2,500-3,000 year time-depth of the family,<sup>19</sup> shifts over such a time period should not be surprising. Still, in seeking potential features, it is not inappropriate to look first at the notion of "living" which, although not 100% predictive, is still an obvious factor.

For Plains Cree, and perhaps others among its Algonquian relatives, it may be appropriate to suggest that, rather than "living", the more accurate description would be to attribute much animate markedness simply to the notion of "life". In this sense, "living" or "having life" becomes just one of the determinants open to the language's speakers and learners in mapping the animate class. Under "life", we can unarguably expand the class of living creatures to include elements of spiritual life, whether *ahcahkwak* "souls", *cīpayak* "ghosts", *manitowak* "spirits", etc., and from there include items of a highly spiritual nature such as *ospwākanak* "pipes" which allow for communion with the spiritual world. Though most body parts are inanimate (as is *miyaw*, the "body" as a whole, perhaps separated as it is from the animating soul), those involved in bringing about (e.g. *mispayowak* "ovaries", *mitisowayak* "testicles") and nurturing (e.g. *mitohtōsimak*

<sup>18</sup> Dahlstrom (1995b), in writing primarily about Fox/Meskwi, has earlier suggested a similar multi-variant approach to the marking of the Algonquian animate, though without a full attempt to isolate specific foci.

<sup>19</sup> This estimate is originally from Siebert (1967), but although his reconstruction of the Algonquian homeland in the Great Lakes region has been largely superseded by suggestions of a more westward, possibly Plateau-centered origin, the estimated time-depth of Algonquian spread throughout the midwest has not been greatly altered (cf. Denny 1991, Goddard 1994).



“breasts”) life are animate. Additionally, “life” could also be a contributing factor in the identification of certain articles of clothing as animate, such as *asāmak* “snowshoes”, *astisak* “mitts”, *mitāsak* “pairs of pants” and *asikanak* “socks”. Though today we might recognize only some of these as specialized for the winter cold, traditionally they are all items of clothing restricted to winter and required in one way or another for the preservation of life from exposure.<sup>20</sup>

In conjunction with winter, it is interesting to note that the words for “snow” (*kōna*) and “ice” (*miskwamiy*) are also animate in comparison with inanimate “water” (*nipiy*). Given the obvious importance for human life of “water” and “fire” (*iskotēw*), the inanimacy of these two latter nouns certainly provides a challenge to the current analysis. However, *nipiy* and *iskotēw* are ubiquitous, year-round phenomena. Fire has no other form, and water, as already mentioned, can occur in the special forms of snow and ice. It is just these special forms that are marked as animate. This simply reinforces the notion that animacy is marked, or that the marked will be classified as animate.

With regard to the marking of sheer otherness, we can perhaps include here the animate classification in Cree of words for western-imported fruits such as “apples” (*picikwāsak*), “oranges” (*osāwāsak*), and “bananas” (*wākāsak*).<sup>21</sup> Most native berries are inanimate, though there are exceptions, such as *ayōskanak* “raspberries” and *sāpōminak* “gooseberries”, which remain to be explained. And it is entirely possible that the reasons for such classification will simply remain opaque to analysts and even modern speakers of the languages. Classifications and the reasons underlying their form can shift through the generations in the same way as all other aspects of language. One example of this can be found in the common inanimate gender of *akohp* “blanket” in Cree generally and in most Algonquian languages. However, in at least some Woods Cree speech communities, *akohp* is now treated as animate. It remains to be seen whether an ubiquitous, year-round (and therefore inanimate) household item has been reanalyzed due to a particular use as an important article of winter clothing. Regardless of the reason for the shift, it is evidence that there is an evolving system in place, transmitted from generation to generation, in which occasional changes occur in the underlying classificatory principles.

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<sup>20</sup> *mitāsak* are traditionally “leggings” not necessarily worn year-round, but certainly required in winter. *asikanak* were moccasin liners used as extra insulation against the winter cold.

<sup>21</sup> Although some uncertainty or conflict in the classification may be evident in the fact that all three of these are derived from inanimate intransitive verbs (VII): *pitikwā-* “be rounded, in a lump”; *osāwā-* “be yellow/orange”; *wākā-* “be bent, curved”.

Leaving aside conjecture on the ultimate semantic basis of the animate-inanimate distinction, we will turn now to a survey of its importance to Plains Cree morphosyntax. As previously mentioned, the animate class is commonly identified as the marked class semantically, and this has some basis in modern Plains Cree morphology. The most obvious way in which animate (NA) and inanimate (NI) nouns are differentiated morphologically is in the way each class is marked in the plural. The regular inanimate plural marker is *-a*, while the regular animate plural marker, evident in many of the examples already cited above, is *-ak*.<sup>22</sup>

- (1) NI: sg: *maskisin* “shoe” pl: *maskisina* “shoes”  
 (2) NA: sg: *mahihkan* “wolf” pl: *mahihkanak* “wolves”

Although it is not necessarily true historically or comparatively, this specific modern Cree pattern of gender-marked plurals gives the formal impression that there is a basic plural *-a* to which /k/ is added to further mark animacy.

In contrast, most singular nouns in Cree are morphologically unmarked for gender. A small class of single-syllable stems do actually retain the archaic Proto-Algonquian singular suffixes, inanimate *-i* and animate *-a*, which then alternate with the regular plural suffix.

- (3) NI: sg: *wāwī* “egg” pl: *wāwā* “eggs”  
 (4) NA: sg: *niskā* “goose” pl: *niskak* “geese”

Outside of this very small sub-class, however, Cree singular nouns do not advertise their respective gender. Nevertheless, the inherent gender classification is always active, as illustrated whenever nouns collocate with a variety of pronouns and especially with verbs. In the following examples, a Cree noun of each gender will show agreement with a demonstrative (used as a determiner) (5-6), with a verb (7-8), and with both (9-10).

- (5) NI: sg: *ōma maskisin* pl: *ōhi maskisina*  
           ōma maskisin                   ōhi maskisin -a  
           DEM.0s NI.0s                   DEM.0p NI 0p  
           this shoe                       these shoe  
           “this shoe”                     “these shoes”

<sup>22</sup> These inflections have been reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian as inanimate *\*-ali* (or *\*-ari*) and animate *\*-aki*, respectively (cf. Bloomfield 1946; Goddard 1994).

(6) NA:	sg:	<u><i>awa mahihkan</i></u>		pl:	<u><i>ōki mahihkanak</i></u>	
		awa mahihkan			ōki mahihkan	-ak
		DEM.3s NA(3s)			DEM.3p NA	3p
		this wolf			these wolf	
		“this wolf”			“these wolves”	

(7) NI:	sg:	<u><i>ē-wāpiskāk maskisin</i></u>	
		ē- wāpiskā -k maskisin	
		IPV VII 0s NI.0s	
		CNJ be.white shoe	
		“a white shoe”	

	pl:	<u><i>ē-wāpiskāki maskisina</i></u>	
		ē- wāpiskā -ki maskisin -a	
		IPV VII 0p NI 0p	
		CNJ be.white shoe	
		“white shoes”	

(8) NA:	sg:	<u><i>ē-wāpiskisi mahihkan</i></u>	
		ē- wāpiskisi -t mahihkan	
		IPV VAI 3s NA.3s	
		CNJ be.white wolf	
		“a white wolf”	

	pl:	<u><i>ē-wāpiskisicik mahihkanak</i></u>	
		ē- wāpiskis -cik mahihkan -ak	
		IPV VAI 3p NA 3p	
		CNJ be.white wolf	
		“white wolves”	

(9) NI:	sg:	<u><i>wāpiskāw ōma maskisin</i></u> .	
		wāpiskā -w ōma maskisin	
		VII 0s DEM.0s NI.0s	
		be.white this shoe	
		“This shoe is white.”	

	pl:	<u><i>wāpiskāwa ōhi maskisina</i></u> .	
		wāpiskā -wa ōhi maskisin -a	
		VII 0p DEM.0p NI 0p	
		be.white these shoe	
		“These shoes are white.”	

(10) NA: sg: *wāpiskisiw awa mahihkan.*

wāpiskisi	-w	awa	mahihkan
VAI	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s
be.white		this	wolf

“This wolf is white.”

pl: *wāpiskisiwak ōki mahihkanak.*

wāpiskisi	-wak	ōki	mahihkan	-ak
VAI	3p	DEM.3p	NA	3p
	be.white		these	wolf

“These wolves are white.”

In full sentences like those in (9) and (10), it is possible to have every word indexed for the animacy of the participant(s). Even in the Independent Mode, where the third person singular marker *-w* appears to occur in a form neutralized for gender (compare *wāpiskā-w* and *wāpiskisi-w*, the singular forms in (9) and (10)), the very form of the verb stem itself indicates the gender of the participant with which it collocates. More will be said about this Algonquian pattern of verbal agreement and specifically its form in Plains Cree in the remaining sections of this chapter. In anticipation of this discussion, we can already see that the marking of the animate-inanimate distinction is exceptionally important within Cree grammar. Although animacy is generally cited as only one of the two important factors contributing to Algonquian verb classification, it will be argued that, in Cree, shifts in the verbal paradigms have resulted in, or indeed been caused by, the elevation in status of animacy to that of primary determinant.

In the discussion which follows, the importance of animacy within the Cree verbal system will be explored. Section 2.2 will concentrate on the most complex verb class, the Transitive Animate or VTA class, in which two animate participants interact. This is the class of verbs which is organized along principles of hierarchical alignment known as the Direct-Inverse system. The pragmatic and semantic principles underlying this system will be discussed in terms of their function to isolate or assign semantic roles to the participants largely without recourse to word order, case-marking, or grammatical relations/syntactic functions. Section 2.2 will thus serve to introduce the functional equivalent of case-marking in Cree, while setting up the further discussion of syntactic functions in Chapter 3 and of word order in Chapters 4 through 6.

In addition to the basic monotransitive interactions, various additional valence-changing operations which crucially affect the animate participants of VTA stem forms (e.g. ditransitives and inanimate actors in section 2.2,

reflexives and reciprocals in 2.3, and unspecified actors in 2.4), will be investigated. These will highlight the importance of animate participants within the overall verbal classification system, which will be continued in section 2.3 on the traditionally-assumed role of transitivity in verbal classification and concluded in section 2.4 with a reanalysis of the Cree verbal system in which animacy is isolated as the most fundamentally important factor in the organization of Cree grammar.

## 2.2 Direct-Inverse Alignment: Person, Topicality, Agency and Animacy<sup>23</sup>

The most complex verbal patterns in Cree and throughout the Algonquian family are to be found in the Transitive Animate (VTA) paradigms. Minimally, VTA stems make semantic reference to two participants, both of which must be classified as animate. As animates, both the first argument (A1; i.e. agent, “actor”, etc.) and the second argument (A2; e.g. patient, “goal”, etc.) can take the full range of animate person marking forms possible in Cree. This makes for a large number of possible person interactions (see Table 2.1), though various factors reduce the actual number of permitted interactions to a slightly more manageable number.

**Table 2.1**  
**Possible Animate Person Interactions**

		A2								
		1s	2s	1p	21	2p	3s	3p	3'	3''
A1	1s	1s-1s	1s-2s	1s-1p	1s-21	1s-2p	1s-3s	1s-3p	1s-3'	1s-3''
	2s	2s-1s	2s-2s	2s-1p	2s-21	2s-2p	2s-3s	2s-3p	2s-3'	2s-3''
	1p	1p-1s	1p-2s	1p-1p	1p-21	1p-2p	1p-3s	1p-3p	1p-3'	1p-3''
	21	21-1s	21-2s	21-1p	21-21	21-2p	21-3s	21-3p	21-3'	21-3''
	2p	2p-1s	2p-2s	2p-1p	2p-21	2p-2p	2p-3s	2p-3p	2p-3'	2p-3''
	3s	3s-1s	3s-2s	3s-1p	3s-21	3s-2p	3s-3s	3s-3p	3s-3'	3s-3''
	3p	3p-1s	3p-2s	3p-1p	3p-21	3p-2p	3p-3s	3p-3p	3p-3'	3p-3''
	3'	3'-1s	3'-2s	3'-1p	3'-21	3'-2p	3'-3s	3'-3p	3'-3'	3'-3''
	3''	3''-1s	3''-2s	3''-1p	3''-21	3''-2p	3''-3s	3''-3p	3''-3'	3''-3''

<sup>23</sup> A small portion of this section was previously published in much reduced form as part of Wolvengrey 2005.

The first thing that we must note is the inclusion of a ninth possible animate person distinction to those introduced in Chapter 1: the “further obviative” (abbreviated 3”). This is required due to the specific nature of third person interactions which do not allow two proximate referents to interact. Instead, third person interaction must always include at least one obviative referent and it is in fact possible for both third person referents to be marked as obviative. In such a case in Cree, although no overt nominal marking ever differentiates the two obviatives, there is nevertheless an implied ranking required, and there are also distinct forms indicating whether a proximate third person referent is acting on an obviative or a further obviative (though the latter are truly marginal, and completely non-distinct when reversing the direction of interaction). This ranking of third persons is the key to the occurrence of “inverse” or hierarchically aligned systems in the statistically rare languages where such systems are found (Klaiman 1992; Siewierska 2005). In Cree, as in Algonquian languages in general, the ranking of persons is pervasive and encompasses not just third person interactions, but all person distinctions, as will be demonstrated below.

We can also see that Table 2.1 has been divided into four sections based on the type of interactions evident. Strictly third person interactions (in the lower right hand corner of the table) have already been noted. There is also a section in which only speech act participants interact with one another (in the upper left), and two sections (lower left and upper right) in which speech act participants and third persons interact. These divisions prove very important for the Cree and Algonquian VTA paradigms, since we will recognize distinct subsets of the paradigms for the local or speech act participant set (sometimes simply called the “you-me set”), the third person set, and the mixed set (showing interaction between speech act participants and third persons in both directions). The notion of the direction in which the action takes place is also very important since this lies at the heart of the direct-inverse system which characterizes all person interactions in the VTA paradigms.

Two other important restrictions reduce the possible interactions in Table 2.1 from actual occurrence in the VTA paradigms. The first of these is to be found in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (e.g. 1s-1s, 21-21, 3p-3p, etc.) which, as will be illustrated subsequently in section 2.3.1.4, are represented by detransitivized stems that do not fit the VTA pattern. The final restrictions occur within the local or speech act participant range of interactions. Specifically, the Algonquian VTA only permits a very select subset of the logically possible interactions among local participants. It is, for instance, impossible for the singular and plural of the same person to

interact (\*1s-1p, \*2p-2s, etc.). Additionally, it is impossible to express interactions in which first person (singular or plural exclusive) or second person (singular or plural exclusive) interact with a first and second person plural inclusive. This, along with the elimination of reflexives and reciprocals mentioned above, means that the inclusive is absent from the local set interactions.

The result of all of these restrictions is to reduce the possible person interactions from the full theoretical number displayed in Table 2.1 to the actually attested 44. The way in which these are accommodated in the Cree VTA paradigms is to mark the occurrence of each person, devoid of any assignment of semantic or syntactic role, and allow a separate “theme” or direction-marking morpheme to signal the way in which the persons involved interact. This system is illustrated by the examples in (11) and (12).

- (11) *niwīcihānānak.*  
 ni- wīcih -ā -nān -ak  
 1 VTA DIR 1p 3p  
 help 1p-3p  
 “We (excl) help them.”

- (12) *niwīcihikonānak.*  
 ni- wīcih -iko -nān -ak  
 1 VTA INV 1p 3p  
 help 3p-1p  
 “They help us (excl).”

The only difference between these two examples is in the alternation of theme markers between the direct (DIR) theme *-ā* in (11) and the inverse (INV) theme *-iko* in (12).<sup>24</sup> The person indexers are invariant despite the changing semantic interpretation. Thus, the first person plural is indicated by the circumfix *ni-* *-nān* whether it is the first argument of the verb (e.g. agent) and thus translated “we”, as in (11), or the second argument (e.g. patient or recipient) and thus translated “us”, as in (12). Similarly, the third person plural marker *-ak* remains invariant regardless of its role as first argument in (12) or second argument in (11). This is a key aspect of the Direct-Inverse system. Person markers alone do not indicate role, but only specify the participants involved. It is the theme marker which indicates which of the two participants is the actor and which the patient. This involves the interaction or “alignment” of two hierarchies: a Person (or Pragmatic/

<sup>24</sup> The inverse theme is */-ikw/* (or even *\*-/ekw/*) underlyingly, but morphophonological rules will yield a surface form of *-ik*, *-ikw* or *-iko*.

Topicality) Hierarchy and a Semantic Function Hierarchy. The exact forms of the hierarchies which function in Cree are similar, though not identical, to the person and semantic function hierarchies most commonly cited in Functional Grammar (cf. Dik 1997a), requiring some Algonquian-specific modifications.

### 2.2.1 Universal and Algonquian-specific Hierarchies

The universally relevant Person Hierarchy is given in (13) (Dik 1997a:36). This person hierarchy is in fact a hierarchy of pragmatic topicality in the sense that speech act participants are prototypically more topical or given in any speech act, while third person referents must be introduced into the discourse in order to be considered topical.

- (13) *The Person Hierarchy*  
 Speech Act Participant > Non-Participant

Though the exact way in which this is reflected in Cree will be illustrated in greater detail subsequently, the examples already cited in (11) and (12) illustrate that Cree adheres to this universal ranking of local participants over third persons as expected. The basic difference between speech act participants and non-participants is reflected in the differences in the form of person-marking (cf. 1p circumfix *ni-* *-nān* with 3p suffix *-ak*) and their relative position attached to the verb (regardless of semantic function), while the more basic direct theme *-ā* indicates action from a speech act participant towards a third person, and the more marked inverse theme *-iko* reverses the interaction. However, the Algonquian Person Hierarchy (APH), given in (14), indicates that Cree requires a further subdivision on either side of the universal hierarchy.

- (14) *The Algonquian Person Hierarchy*  
 Speech Act Participants > Non-Participants  
 2 > 1 > 3 > 3'

The division of third person participants into proximate (3) and obviative (3') on the basis of discourse topicality has already been briefly introduced in the previous chapter (see section 1.1.2.2.3). Thus, the Algonquian languages have extended the universal hierarchy by dividing the less topical third persons into those which are relatively higher and lower in topicality within a given discourse. The other extension of the Person Hierarchy can be seen in the Algonquian-specific ranking of second person over first person.



This particular ranking is more difficult to attribute to topicality as there does not appear to be a universal preference for first or second persons. While many may assume a more prominent, egocentric role for first person, it is important to note that there is at least some evidence of constructions cross-linguistically which seem to favour second person over first. One such construction is Spanish “clitic-climbing” as discussed by Myhill (1988, cited in Dik 1997a:38). It is possible that certain construction types, or tendencies in certain languages, favour deference to the addressee over the primacy of the speaker and that this has been extended to a general ranking in Algonquian which further facilitates the form and function of the person/topicality hierarchy.

The three divisions thus created in the Algonquian Person Hierarchy are mirrored in the three main divisions of the VTA paradigms. Following the current discussion of the hierarchies required to describe these subsystems, each will be described in full, beginning in section 2.2.2.1 with the “mixed” set which reflects the division of the universal Person Hierarchy. This will be followed in section 2.2.2.2 with a description of the “third person” set which takes care of proximate and obviative interaction, and then section 2.2.2.3 will outline the “you-me” or “local” set in which only speech act participants interact.

Whether following a universal pattern (local over non-local) or one specific to the Algonquian languages (second over first; proximate over obviative), the Algonquian Person Hierarchy functions to indicate the prototypical topicality of the participants.

(15) *Algonquian Person/Topicality Scale*

2 > 1            >            3            >            3'  
 high -----Topicality----- low

The APH thus represents the dimension of Pragmatics, via prototypical topicality, in the Direct-Inverse system of Algonquian languages like Cree (cf. Wolvengrey 1993; Blain 1997).

Even anticipating its justification through the following sections, the Algonquian Person Hierarchy does not, in and of itself, explain the Direct-Inverse system. It is the interaction of the APH, and each construction-specific person identification, with another hierarchy that allows this system to function as it does. In order to link the participants to specific semantic roles, we need to look at a Semantic Function Hierarchy, such as that given by Dik (1997a:37) and provided here in (16).

(16) *The Semantic Function Hierarchy*

Agent > Goal (Patient) > Recipient > Beneficiary >  
Instrument > Location > Time

As a first approximation, this hierarchy has been found to be relevant to a great many constructions and is often assumed to be universal (cf. Dik 1997a:262-269). However, Givón (1984:134) has offered a different semantic case-role hierarchy, cited in (17), in which “Dative” refers to Recipient and Benefactive. These roles are thus elevated above Patient in the purportedly “universal” hierarchy.

(17) *The Semantic Case-Role Hierarchy*

Agent > Dative > Patient

This modification proves particularly important for Cree. Though examples like (11) and (12) above, and the majority of the examples of the VTA paradigms that will follow, are monotransitive, VTA stems also include some basic and many freely derived ditransitive constructions. Ditransitive stems, which make reference to the three highest roles in these two semantic hierarchies, thus provide a test for the Algonquian-specific ranking of patients versus recipients (and beneficiaries). Whether monotransitive or ditransitive, VTA stems only cross-reference two animate participants. In the ditransitive examples in (18) and (19), we find that the verb always agrees with the agent and the recipient or beneficiary, whether the patient is inanimate (in the (a) examples) or animate (in the (b) examples).

(18) a) *nikī-miyāw ana awāsis maskisina.*

ni-	kī-	miy	-ā	-w	ana	awāsis	maskisin	-a
1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s	NI	0'p
	PST	give	1s-3s		that	child	shoe	

“I gave that child shoes.” / I gave shoes to that child.”

b) *nikī-miyāw ana awāsis astisa.*

ni-	kī-	miy	-ā	-w	ana	awāsis	astis	-a
1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s	NA	3'
	PST	give	1s-3s		that	child	mitten	

“I gave that child mittens.” / I gave mittens to that child.”

- (19) a) *mīcimāpoy nīkī-kīsisamawāw nīkosis.*  
 mīcimāpoy ni- kī- kīsisamaw -ā -w ni- kosis  
 NI.0s 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s 1 NDA.3s  
 soup PST cook.for 1s-3s son  
 “I cooked my son some soup.” / “I cooked soup for my son.”

- b) *pahkwēsikana nīkī-kīsisamawāw nīkosis.*  
 pahkwēsikan -a ni- kī- kīsisamaw -ā -w ni- kosis  
 NA 3' 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s 1 NDA.3s  
 bannock PST cook.for 1s-3s son  
 “I baked my son some bannock.” / “I baked bannock for my son.”

Essentially, the animacy of the patient is irrelevant in ditransitive constructions as the verb is otherwise occupied marking the animacy of the agent and recipient/beneficiary.

Furthermore, if we attempt to create a situation in which all three participants are human or the patient outranks the recipient, Cree speakers will fairly uniformly change the construction to avoid the ditransitive and create a biclausal structure. In (20), we have two out of a number of ways provided by one fluent speaker as options to express the elicited sentence, “He gave his son to the church”.

- (20) a) *kī-isisahwēw okosisa ta-atoskawāyit ayamihēwiyiniwa.*  
 kī- isisahw -ē -w o- kosis -a  
 IPV VTA DIR 3s 3 NDA 3'  
 PST send 3s-3' son  
  
 ta- atoskaw -ā -yit ayamihēwiyiniw -a  
 IPV VTA DIR 3' NA 3'(?)  
 CNJ work.for 3'-3'' priest  
 “He sent his son to work for the priests.”

- b) *kī-pakitinēw okosisa ta-nitawi-ayamihēwiyinīwiyit.*  
 kī- pakitin -ē -w o- kosis -a  
 IPV VTA DIR 3s 3 NDA 3'  
 PST allow 3s-3' son  
  
 ta- nitawi- ayamihēwiyinīwi- -yit  
 IPV IPV VAI 3'  
 CNJ go.to be.a.priest  
 “He allowed his son to go and be a priest.”

It is evident that in Cree the recipient and/or beneficiary must outrank the patient, allowing us to formulate the following Algonquian-specific semantic function hierarchy.

- (21) *The Algonquian Semantic Function Hierarchy*  
Agent > Recipient/Beneficiary > Patient/Theme

This of course matches Givón's case-role hierarchy cited above in (17). It is important to note, however, that Givón (1984:139) refers to his case-role hierarchy as a "topic hierarchy of the major case-roles", belying an underlying interaction with or modification by some other, pragmatically-based hierarchy. This is most likely an Animacy Hierarchy of the type provided by Dik (1997a:37) and repeated here as (22).

- (22) *The Animacy Hierarchy*  
human > other animate > inanimate force > inanimate

In comparison, we have already introduced the importance of the basic animacy distinction in Cree, and this might be translated into a simplified hierarchy of the type in (23).

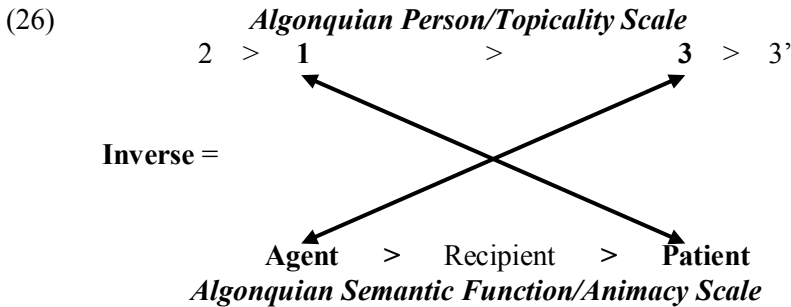
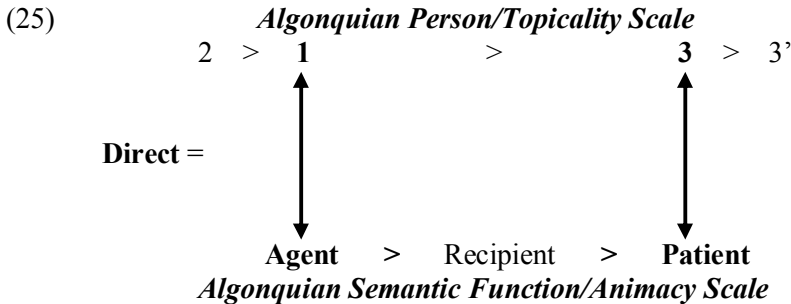
- (23) *The Cree Animacy Hierarchy*  
Animate > Inanimate

However, the ditransitive examples above show that something akin to the higher division in (22) of human versus other animate is also active in the Cree system. Transitive Animate Verbs agree with the two participants which are prototypically most likely to be animate, or even human - the agent and recipient - and the patient or theme of a ditransitive simply does not measure up to this criterion. Animacy, whether in terms of the strict grammatical gender distinction of Algonquian, or the prototypical association of animacy to semantic functions, as in (24), is a vital consideration within Cree grammar.

- (24) *The Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Scale*  
Agent > Recipient/Beneficiary > Patient/Theme  
high -----Animacy----- low

With the Person/Topicality and Semantic/Animacy scales of (15) and (24) respectively, we have the two main components that allow the Direct-

Inverse system to function. In any given Transitive Animate Verb in Cree, the two highest-ranking semantic roles present will be marked by person cross-reference on the verb. Rather than having distinct person markers specific to each semantic function, or a grammaticalized set of syntactic functions, the assignment of specific role to the participants is facilitated by the separate theme or direction marker attached to VTA stems. The categories of Direct and Inverse, with their associated morphemes, indicate whether the highest ranking topic (person) occupies the higher or lower ranking semantic role and, conversely, whether the lower ranking person occupies the lower or higher ranking semantic role. The relationships which call for Direct and Inverse theme marking can be illustrated as in (25) and (26).



These diagrams can be matched with the examples originally given as (11) and (12) and repeated here as (27) and (28) respectively.

- (27) *niwīcihānānak.*  
 ni- wīcih -ā -nān -ak  
 1 VTA **DIR** 1p 3p  
 help 1p-3p  
 “We (excl) help them.”

- (28) *niwīcīhikonānak.*  
 ni- wīcīh **-iko** -nān -ak  
 1 VTA **INV** 1p 3p  
 help 3p-1p  
 “They help us (excl).”

In (27), as modelled in (25), the more topical participant (1p) occupies the higher ranking semantic role and the less topical participant (3p) occupies the lower ranking semantic role. Thus, all is in proper alignment with the prototypical discourse universe, and the direct theme suffix *-ā* acknowledges this. In (28), as modelled in (26), we have the opposite situation in which the more topical participant (1p) occupies the lower ranking semantic role and the less topical participant (3p) occupies the higher ranking role of agent. This is the opposite of our prototypical expectations and the inverse theme suffix *-iko* indicates that the prototypical discourse universe as we know it is no longer in proper alignment.

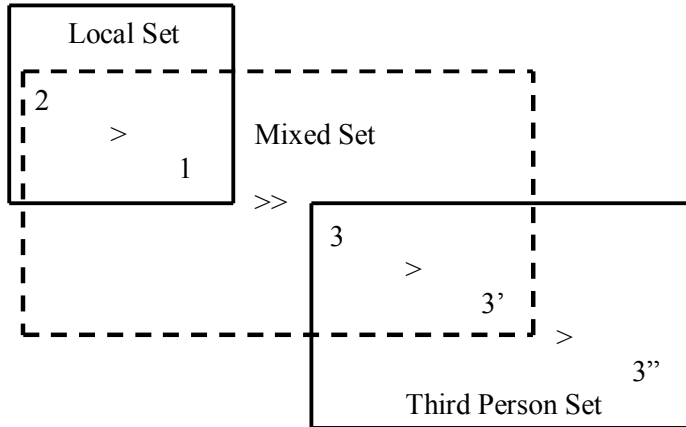
Note that these are essentially the same criteria that lead to the occurrence of split-ergative systems in some languages. In such systems, we find some constructions marked in an accusative alignment pattern while others are marked ergatively. As Silverstein (1976), Delancey (1981) and Dixon (1994) have described split-ergativity, the splits among the case systems tend to follow a variety of referential hierarchies including the animacy hierarchy. However, due to the nature of the coding system (quite frequently case-marking), it is always obvious what is being marked accusatively versus what is being marked ergatively. For instance, in the Australian language Dyirbal, we have a morphological split in which local pronominals follow an accusative pattern, while third persons follow an ergative pattern (Dixon 1994:161). This means that local pronouns are marked differently when they occur as transitive patients (P) in comparison to transitive agents (A) or intransitive participants (S). In reference to the hierarchies discussed above, this means that the highly topical speech act participants are marked as different when in the lower-ranking semantic function of patient. Conversely, third persons forms, which are of lower topicality than the local forms, are marked just when they occur in the high ranking semantic role of agent, where we more typically expect highly topical material. What this split is essentially doing is marking local pronouns when they are out of place (as P), and third person forms when they are out of place (as A). This is very similar to what is occurring in the Algonquian Direct-Inverse system, with a twist.

In Cree, the marking is unique in that it is not tied to the form of the verbal person markers (i.e. pronominals) or lexicalized NP participants. Thus, it is not possible to see whether Inverse marking is meant to signal that a highly topical participant is in a semantic role lower than expected (which would otherwise be an accusative pattern) or that a less topical participant is in the agent role (and, hence, ergatively marked). The Direct-Inverse system marks both situations that lead to either Ergative or Accusative at one and the same time based on the prototypical alignment of highly topical persons in highly agentive roles. When these match, all is right with the prototypical world and Direct theme marking prevails. When the opposite is true, the prototypical world is turned upside down, and the Inverse theme marks this abnormal state of affairs, with both a highly topical participant in a lower semantic role (Accusative) and a less topical participant in a highly agentive position (Ergative). Thus, the Direct-Inverse system manages to mark both of the perspectives that each of the two most common case-marking and/or alignment systems of the world mark separately, and this is accomplished by a complete separation of person marking from semantic function. This is clearly the functional equivalent of case-marking, though accomplished in a way quite distinct from the traditional means of nominal case-marking.

### 2.2.2 Hierarchically-aligned VTA Paradigms

Having described the basic pattern behind the Direct-Inverse system, and its functional equivalence to both Accusative and Ergative case-marking, we can now look in more detail at the actual manifestation of this system in the VTA paradigms. As previously mentioned, the paradigms occur in three distinct subsets based on the three segments of the Algonquian Person/Topicality Scale, graphically displayed in Figure 2.2 (on the following page). All examples given thus far have illustrated the Mixed Set interactions between speech act participants on the one hand and third persons on the other. As the most complex of the subsets, and the one reflecting the universal Person Hierarchy, this will be fully described first, followed by the Third Person Set and finally the Local Set. Each section will also include a description of the basic verbal orders in which the paradigms may occur. All sets occur in the Independent and Conjunct Orders with full direct and inverse morphology. The Imperative Order is restricted in a number of ways, as it can only be directed towards second persons. Thus, all imperatives are direct, and only the Mixed and Local Sets contain imperatives since commands cannot be directed at third persons, but both third and first persons can serve as the patient or goal of an imperative.

**Figure 2.2**  
**VTA Paradigm Subsets**



### 2.2.2.1 Mixed Set: Speech Act Participants and Third Persons

The mixed set of the VTA paradigms represents all possible interactions between speech act participants (i.e. 1s, 2s, 1p, 21, and 2p) and third persons (3s, 3p, 3'). Examples given thus far have all been from the mixed set, and most specifically from the Independent Order. The Independent Order in Cree marks a very clear distinction between the two halves of the Person Hierarchy, with prefixes marking only the basic involvement of the speech act participants. If a second person is involved (i.e. 2s, 2p or 21), the prefix *ki-* is used. Otherwise, the prefix *ni-* signals first person involvement (i.e. 1s or 1p).<sup>25</sup> Local plurals and third person reference, in contrast, occur as suffixes, but are also quite distinct from one another in form. Table 2.2 gives all 15 possible mixed set direct forms, divided into three subsets based on whether the second argument (A2) is 3s, 3p, or 3'.

Following the stem, each ending consists of anywhere from two to four distinct morphemes which follow a strict order. The most important element is the theme or direction marker, and the direct theme for the mixed set is always *-ā*. Immediately following this theme sign is either an indication of the plurality of the speech act participant or, if the local referent is singular,

<sup>25</sup> The preference of the second person *ki-* over first person *ni-* when both first and second person occur together in the inclusive (21) is important for the ranking of second person over first in the Algonquian Person Hierarchy, but this will be highlighted especially in the discussion of the local set.



**Table 2.2**  
**VTA Independent Order Mixed Set Direct Interactions**

A1	prefix	stem	A2			example
			-3s	-3p	-3'	
1s-	ni-		-āw			niwīcihāw
2s-	ki-		-āw			kiwīcihāw
1p-	ni-		-ānān			niwīcihānān
21-	ki-		-ānaw			kiwīcihānaw
2p-	ki-		-āwāw			kiwīcihāwāw
1s-	ni-			-āwak		niwīcihāwak
2s-	ki-			-āwak		kiwīcihāwak
1p-	ni-			-ānānak		niwīcihānānak
21-	ki-			-ānawak		kiwīcihānawak
2p-	ki-			-āwāwak		kiwīcihāwāwak
1s-	ni-				-imāwa	niwīcihimāwa
2s-	ki-				-imāwa	kiwīcihimāwa
1p-	ni-				-imānāna	niwīcihimānāna
21-	ki-				-imānawa	kiwīcihimānawa
2p-	ki-				-imāwāwa	kiwīcihimāwāwa

the third person marker *-w*.<sup>26</sup> If the third person is plural, an invariant plural marker *-ak* is added. This accounts for the first two very common sets of forms in Table 2.2, but the final set represents somewhat more marginal forms in which the speech act participants interact directly with an obviative third person. The three distinct subsets of the paradigm can thus be exemplified in (29).

- (29) a) *nikī-wīcihāw cān.*  
 ni- kī- wīcih -ā -w cān  
 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s NA.3s  
 PST help 1s-3s John  
 “I helped John.”
- b) *nikī-wīcihāwak cān ēkwa mēriy.*  
 ni- kī- wīcih -ā -w -ak cān ēkwa mēriy  
 1 IPV VTA DIR 3 3p NA.3s IPC NA.3s  
 PST help 1s-3p John and Mary  
 “I helped John and Mary.”

<sup>26</sup> These could be treated as mutually exclusive, though in the analysis below, the third person singular is represented as a zero allomorph in the presence of the local plural. The alternation of third person allomorphs *-w* and *-∅* is common in the Cree paradigms in general.

- c) *nikī-wīcīhimāwa cān otānisa.*  
 ni- kī- wīcīh -im -ā -w -a cān o- tānis -a  
 1 IPV VTA DISJ DIR 3 3' NA.3s 3 NDA 3'  
 PST help 1s-3' John daughter  
 "I helped John's daughter(s)."

As can be seen in (29c), there are two additional morphemes present when the second argument is obviative. In place of the third person pluralizer *-ak*, the obviative marker *-a* occurs just as it does on Cree animate nouns marked in the obviative (i.e. replacing the plural and neutralizing number marking). Additionally, the morpheme *-im* intercedes between the stem and the theme marker. The traditional analysis of this morpheme in Plains Cree is to treat it as a marker of the obviative object (Wolfart 1973:47; Ellis 1970:85), and its absence from the inverse paradigms (see immediately below) is commonly taken as support for this. However, as will be attested in the Third Person set, the presence of an obviative object is not sufficient to trigger the occurrence of *-im*. Instead, the morpheme is glossed as disjunct (DISJ) in (29c) in anticipation of an alternative analysis suggested by its distribution in the mixed and third person set paradigms where it occurs only when the persons interacting are separated by more than a single degree on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy. Thus, when the speech act participants act on a third person, these are adjacent on the hierarchy. It is only when the local referent is acting on an obviative that *-im* occurs to mark the added distance between the participants. Discussion of this point will be continued subsequently in section 2.2.2.2 on the third person set.

The morphemes that we have thus isolated within the complex verbal endings occur in a specific order and this is summarized in Table 2.3.

**Table 2.3**  
**VTA Independent Mixed Set Direct Morpheme Order**

	SAP	stem	disj	theme	obv	SAP-pl	3s	3p / 3'	interaction
<b>1s</b>	ni-		-im	-ā			-w	-ak : -a	1s-3(p')
<b>2s</b>	ki-		-im	-ā			-w	-ak : -a	2s-3(p')
<b>1p</b>	ni-		-im	-ā		-nān		-ak : -a	1p-3(p')
<b>21</b>	ki-		-im	-ā		-naw		-ak : -a	21-3(p')
<b>2p</b>	ki-		-im	-ā		-wāw		-ak : -a	2p-3(p')

Only the theme sign and one person suffix (SAP plural or third person

singular) are obligatory. The third person can also be marked for plural or as an obviative. In the latter case, the disjunct *-im* must also precede the theme marker. One additional column has been included in Table 2.3, labelled obviative (obv), in anticipation of the discussion of the inverse, to which we will now turn.

Table 2.4 can be compared directly with Table 2.2 above. Here we have the inverse forms of the mixed set interactions which, for the most part, involve only the substitution of the inverse morpheme */-ikw/*, surfacing as either *-ik* or *-iko*.

**Table 2.4**  
**VTA Independent Order Mixed Set Inverse Interactions**

		A1				
A2	prefix	stem	3s-	3p-	3'-	example
-1s	ni-		<b>-ik</b>			niwīcihik
-2s	ki-		<b>-ik</b>			kiwīcihik
-1p	ni-		<b>-ikonān</b>			niwīcihikonān
-2l	ki-		<b>-ikonaw</b>			kiwīcihikonaw
-2p	ki-		<b>-ikowāw</b>			kiwīcihikowāw
-1s	ni-			<b>-ikwak</b>		niwīcihikwak
-2s	ki-			<b>-ikwak</b>		kiwīcihikwak
-1p	ni-			<b>-ikonānak</b>		niwīcihikonānak
-2l	ki-			<b>-ikonawak</b>		kiwīcihikonawak
-2p	ki-			<b>-ikowāwak</b>		kiwīcihikowāwak
-1s	ni-				<b>-iko<sub>y</sub>iwa</b>	niwīcihiko <sub>y</sub> iwa
-2s	ki-				<b>-iko<sub>y</sub>iwa</b>	kiwīcihiko <sub>y</sub> iwa
-1p	ni-				<b>-ikonāna</b>	niwīcihikonāna
-2l	ki-				<b>-ikonawa</b>	kiwīcihikonawa
-2p	ki-				<b>-ikowāwa</b>	kiwīcihikowāwa

Only the forms with an obviative first argument differ greatly in their pattern from the direct paradigm. In this subset, neither *-im* nor any equivalent morpheme occurs to express the extra degree of separation on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy of the two participants. The presence of *-y<sub>i</sub>*, which will be seen again in the Third Person Set, and throughout all paradigms in which obviative forms occur, is sometimes interpreted as a marker of the obviative actor and therefore the inverse counterpart to *-im*. The local plural forms dispell this notion, and it is in fact the presence of *-y<sub>i</sub>* in the singular forms which is somewhat aberrant from its occurrence in all other forms only to mark the presence of an animate third person obviative

referent as the highest ranking argument of a verb. Since, *-a* is also present to mark the obviative referent, *-ýi* is not strictly necessary (and is absent, as already noted, from the plural speech act participant forms). It is possible that the singular forms simply bely the increasingly frozen nature of *-ýiwa* as a unit which is no longer seen by speakers as transparently analyzable into constituent parts.

These observations inform the current analysis of the inverse forms in Table 2.5. Though unused in the inverse, the “disjunct” column is retained in order to facilitate comparison with Table 2.3.

**Table 2.5**  
**VTA Independent Mixed Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	SAP	stem	disj	theme	obv	SAP-pl	3s	3p / 3'	interaction
<b>1s</b>	ni-			<b>-ikw</b>	<b>-ýi</b>		(-w)	<b>-ak</b>   <b>-a</b>	3(p'')-1s
<b>2s</b>	ki-			<b>-ikw</b>	<b>-ýi</b>		(-w)	<b>-ak</b>   <b>-a</b>	3(p'')-2s
<b>1p</b>	ni-			<b>-ikw</b>		-nān		<b>-ak</b>   <b>-a</b>	3(p'')-1p
<b>21</b>	ki-			<b>-ikw</b>		-naw		<b>-ak</b>   <b>-a</b>	3(p'')-21
<b>2p</b>	ki-			<b>-ikw</b>		-wāw		<b>-ak</b>   <b>-a</b>	3(p'')-2p

Again, the only essential suffixes are the theme sign */-ikw/* and a marker of local plurality or the third person singular, obscured as it is by the morphophonological rule which drops */w/* after a consonant at the end of a word. Other than this predictable difference in third person singular marking, the only real differences involve the obvious alternation of direct *-ā* and inverse *-ikw* theme signs, along with the disjoint and obviative suffixes.<sup>27</sup> Person marking, both prefixal and suffixal, remains invariant and signals only the participation of persons in the predication. The theme sign signals whether a higher-ranking speech act participant is acting upon a lower-ranking third person referent (i.e. direct), or whether the inverse relationship holds.

Though the paradigmatic details differ slightly, the same basic observations hold for the VTA Conjunct Order Mixed Set. In the Conjunct Order, the verb is commonly marked by one of a number of preverbal complementizers (e.g. *ē-* is the most neutral and given in the tables below), while all person marking occurs in the form of suffixes. When plural speech act participants are involved, the forms match very closely to the Independent pattern. Singular speech act participant forms, however, retain

<sup>27</sup> For this reason, Wolfart (1973:47) refers to all three of these suffix positions as “thematic”.

archaic portmanteau endings which cannot be analyzed into separate markers for theme and/or either participant.

**Table 2.6**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Mixed Set Direct Interactions**

		A2				
A1	cmpl	stem	-3s	-3p	-3'	example
1s-	ē-		<b>-ak</b>			ē-wīchak
2s-	ē-		<b>-at</b>			ē-wīchāt
1p-	ē-		<b>-āyāhk</b>			ē-wīchāyāhk
21-	ē-		<b>-āyahk</b>			ē-wīchāyahk
2p-	ē-		<b>-āyēk</b>			ē-wīchāyēk
1s-	ē-			<b><i>-akik</i></b>		ē-wīchakik
2s-	ē-			<b><i>-acik</i></b>		ē-wīchacik
1p-	ē-			<b><i>-āyāhkik</i></b>		ē-wīchāyāhkik
21-	ē-			<b><i>-āyahkok</i></b>		ē-wīchāyahkok
2p-	ē-			<b><i>-āyēkok</i></b>		ē-wīchāyēkok
1s-	ē-				<b><i>-imak</i></b>	ē-wīchimak
2s-	ē-				<b><i>-imat</i></b>	ē-wīchimat
1p-	ē-				<b><i>-imāyāhk</i></b>	ē-wīchimāyāhk
21-	ē-				<b><i>-imāyahk</i></b>	ē-wīchimāyahk
2p-	ē-				<b><i>-imāyēk</i></b>	ē-wīchimāyēk

The portmanteau morphemes (indicated in the above table in bold and italics) thus mark both participants and the direction of their interaction within one indivisible marker. Though this is formally quite different from the agglutinative pattern of the other forms, with full separation of theme and persons, the result is the same. The form of the person markers cannot be tied directly to semantic role. The suffix ***-ak*** thus indicates that both a first person singular and a third person singular are involved, and furthermore that the first person is the actor and the third person the patient. Similarly, ***-at*** indicates that both a second person singular and a third person singular are involved, and furthermore that the second person is the actor and the third person the patient.<sup>28</sup> Inverse forms, to be shown below, reverse the direction of action. Whether these person interactions are represented by a single portmanteau morpheme or a series of agglutinative forms, the function is the

<sup>28</sup> It is possible to analyze these markers as strictly referring to first and second person subjects/actors with  $\emptyset$  marking for the third person patient, but this ignores the fact that these forms are not attested as markers of first and second person respectively in any other context than in connection with a third person referent, which returns us to the portmanteau analysis.

same. Table 2.7 summarizes the conjunct endings of the direct mixed set.

**Table 2.7**  
**VTA Conjunct Mixed Set Direct Morpheme Order**

	cmpl	stem	disj	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	interaction	
<b>1s</b>	ē-		-im				-ak	-ik	1s-3(p/?)	
<b>2s</b>	ē-		-im				-at	-ik	2s-3(p/?)	
<b>1p</b>	ē-		-im	-ā			-yāhk		-ik	1p-3(p/?)
<b>21</b>	ē-		-im	-ā			-yahkw		-ik	21-3(p/?)
<b>2p</b>	ē-		-im	-ā			-yēkw		-ik	2p-3(p/?)

The essential endings consist of either the singular speech act participant-involved portmanteau morphemes, or the combination of the same direct theme marker *-ā* and a plural speech act participant suffix. Third person singular is not otherwise marked, as in the Independent forms, but a consistent third person plural suffix *-ik* can be attached to all forms. Although no marker for the third person obviative alternates with this plural *-ik*, the disjunct *-im* intercedes between stem and theme (or portmanteau suffix including thematic specification) to indirectly indicate the presence of an obviative referent. The forms with a third person obviative first argument are truly marginal, but are included here to illustrate their idiosyncracies in comparison with the rest of the paradigm. For most modern speakers, these forms are no longer used, having been simply dropped in favour of the basic 3s forms.

The same patterns as found in the direct Conjunct are evident in the inverse paradigm given in Table 2.8 and summarized in Table 2.9 (on the following page). As with the Independent inverse, the 3' actor forms, where these still exist, contain an additional marker of the obviative though, in connection with the plural speech act participants, this takes a special form which is found nowhere else. This complication undoubtedly harkens back to an older stage of the language which, due as much to its now aberrant pattern as its status on the margins of the paradigms, is being lost.<sup>29</sup> Without these forms, the presence of *-im* in the direct paradigm is the only structural difference between the Conjunct direct and inverse. Only the theme suffixes alternate, whether the theme alone (e.g. *-ā* and *-ikw*), or the portmanteau morphemes which include the thematic information.

<sup>29</sup> Although the singular forms are recognized by some speakers, the forms involving local plurals no longer seem to be active at all.

**Table 2.8**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Mixed Set Inverse Interactions**

A2	cml	stem	A1			example
			3s-	3p-	3'-	
-1s	ē-		<i>-it</i>			ē-wīcihit
-2s	ē-		<i>-isk</i>			ē-wīcihisk
-1p	ē-		<i>-ikoyāhk</i>			ē-wīcihikoyāhk
-21	ē-		<i>-ikoyahk</i>			ē-wīcihikoyahk
-2p	ē-		<i>-ikoyēk</i>			ē-wīcihikoyēk
-1s	ē-			<i>-icik</i>		ē-wīcihicik
-2s	ē-			<i>-iskik</i>		ē-wīcihiskik
-1p	ē-			<i>-ikoyāhkik</i>		ē-wīcihikoyāhkik
-21	ē-			<i>-ikoyahkok</i>		ē-wīcihikoyahkok
-2p	ē-			<i>-ikoyēkok</i>		ē-wīcihikoyēkok
-1s	ē-				<i>-iyit</i>	ē-wīcihiyit
-2s	ē-				<i>-iyisk</i>	ē-wīcihiyisk
-1p	ē-				<i>-ikowāyāhk</i>	ē-wīcihikowāyāhk
-21	ē-				<i>-ikowāyahk</i>	ē-wīcihikowāyahk
-2p	ē-				<i>-ikowāyēk</i>	ē-wīcihikowāyēk

**Table 2.9**  
**VTA Conjunct Mixed Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	cml	stem	disj	theme	obv?	SAP	3s	3p	interaction
<b>1s</b>	ē-				-y(i)	<i>-it</i>		<i>-ik</i>	3(p')-1s
<b>2s</b>	ē-				-y(i)	<i>-isk</i>		<i>-ik</i>	3(p')-2s
<b>1p</b>	ē-			<b>-ikw</b>	-wā	-yāhk		<i>-ik</i>	3(p')-1p
<b>21</b>	ē-			<b>-ikw</b>	-wā	-yahkw		<i>-ik</i>	3(p')-21
<b>2p</b>	ē-			<b>-ikw</b>	-wā	-yēkw		<i>-ik</i>	3(p')-2p

The final paradigm of the VTA mixed set to be discussed here is the Imperative Order with its subdivisions, as displayed in Table 2.10. As imperatives, they are restricted to second person addressees, which include not only true commands directed towards a second person singular or plural addressee, but also a hortative form which a speaker can address to the inclusive first and second person plural (21). Furthermore, Cree imperatives

can be divided into “Immediate” and “Delayed” tenses (cf. Ellis 1970) marking a difference in the immediacy with which the command is expected to be carried out. Finally, the third person goal of the action being commanded can occur in all of the three familiar divisions of singular, plural and obviative.

**Table 2.10**  
**VTA Imperative Order Mixed Set Interactions**

		A2					
		A1	stem	-3s	-3p	-3'	example
Immediate	2s-			-Ø			wīcih
	2p-			-ihk			wīcihihk
	21-			-ātān			wīcihātān
	2s-				-ik		wīcihik
	2p-				-ihkok		wīcihihkok
	21-				-ātānik		wīcihātānik
	2s-					-im	wīcihim
	2p-					-imihk	wīcihimihk
	21-					-imātān	wīcihimātān
Delayed	2s-			-āhkan			wīcihāhkan
	2p-			-āhkēk			wīcihāhkēk
	21-			-āhkahk			wīcihāhkahk
	2s-				-āhkanik		wīcihāhkanik
	2p-				-āhkēkok		wīcihāhkēkok
	21-				-āhkahkok		wīcihāhkahkok
	2s-					-imāhkan	wīcihimāhkan
	2p-					-imāhkēk	wīcihimāhkēk
	21-					-imāhkahk	wīcihimāhkahk

Though the markers for the speech act participants are quite different in the Imperative Order, even differing between Immediate and Delayed, other features and their associated morphemes are repeated from the other mixed set direct paradigms. The Delayed Imperative is most consistent, utilizing the direct theme *-ā* in all forms along with a special marker of the delayed imperative, *-hk*, and forms of the conjunct second person suffixes. Though no marker is ever used for the third person singular, the third person plural *-ik* can be added or, if an obviative patient is indicated, the disjunct *-im* appears.

The Immediate Imperative contains more idiosyncratic forms of local reference, but the third person plural *-ik*, and disjunct *-im* recur. All of these



observations are summarized in Table 2.11, where Immediate and Delayed remain separated due to the differences in form of the local markers.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 2.11**  
**VTA Imperative Mixed Set Morpheme Order**

		stem	disj	theme	del	SAP	3s	3p	interaction
IMM	2s		-im			-Ø		-ik	2s-3(p'')
	2p		-im			-ihkw		-ik	2p-3(p'')
	21		-im	-ā		-tān		-ik	21-3(p'')
DEL	2s		-im	-ā	-hk	-an		-ik	2s-3(p'')
	2p		-im	-ā	-hk	-ēkw		-ik	2p-3(p'')
	21		-im	-ā	-hk	-ahkw		-ik	21-3(p'')

With the exception of the person prefixes used in the Independent Order, the order of morphemes in the mixed set VTA paradigms is very consistent and is schematized as in Figure 2.3. This is essentially a simplified version of the order of morphemes specified in Wolfart's (1973) analysis since not all factors have yet been taken into the current account.<sup>31</sup>

**Figure 2.3**  
**Traditional VTA Mixed Set Suffix Order**

stem	disj	theme	obv	del	SAP	3s	3p
------	------	-------	-----	-----	-----	----	----

The most important features pertain to the separate indication of person and role facilitated by the theme marker. Participants have a specific order regardless of their semantic role in relation to the predicate. The disjunct morpheme, discussed further in the next section, adds to the information concerning the position of the participants relative to one another on the

<sup>30</sup> Table 2.11 should not be interpreted to imply that the delayed imperative marker (del) is in the same paradigmatic position as the obviative in the inverse paradigms. Wolfart (1973:47) analyzes these as adjacent.

<sup>31</sup> Wolfart (1973:47-49) also discusses additional preterite morphemes in the same position as the delayed imperative marker, as well as preterite and dubitative morphemes separating SAP and third person suffixes and a final-position mode sign for the subjunctive/iterative following third person markers. With the exception of the latter named paradigms, the other forms are now virtually unused in modern Plains Cree and will not be discussed further here. The position of these additional morphemes has no effect on the current analysis, except in terms of the obviative suffix to be discussed immediately.

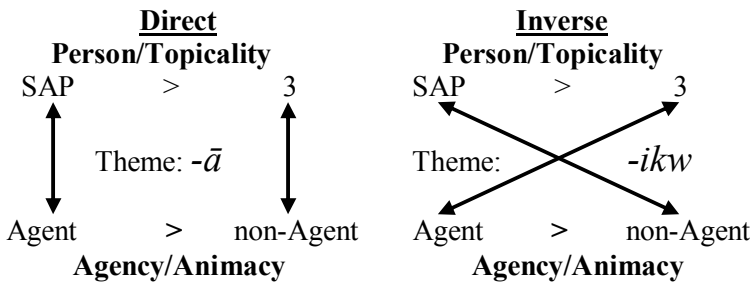
Algonquian Person Hierarchy. Only the obviative, as a marker of a division of the third person, seems out of place, and this is the morpheme that was most inconsistent in the mixed set paradigm, occurring out of its usual environment in a few aberrant and now archaic forms. In most instances of the use of the obviative morpheme, in fact, it is found directly adjacent to other markers of the third person. It is entirely possible that, as with much concerning the historical shift in Cree paradigms, an old pattern is giving way to a new one and the obviative *-yi* is shifting in use and position to join the other third person markers as represented in the revised Figure 2.4.

**Figure 2.4**  
**Revised VTA Mixed Set Suffix Order**

stem	disj	theme	del	SAP	obv	3s	3p
------	------	-------	-----	-----	-----	----	----

Many of these observations will be confirmed and extended through our survey of the Third Person Set. Figure 2.5 is provided to summarize the direct and inverse relations of the Mixed Set VTA paradigms, reinforcing our earlier examples in (25) and (26) while including the specific mixed set theme signs *-ā* and *-ikw*.

**Figure 2.5**  
**Mixed Set Direct and Inverse**



The only forms in which these theme signs do not occur are the Immediate Imperative 2s and 2p forms, which have no theme sign, and the Conjunct 1s and 2s forms in which direction is bound together with features of both persons. Whether in this remnant of an older fusional morphology, or in the analogically extended agglutinative patterns now evident through almost the entire mixed set, the Direct-Inverse system is active in virtually every form.

### 2.2.2.2 Third Person Set: Proximate and Obviative

The patterns found for the mixed set also apply to the third person set with some specific modifications. Since the third person set excludes reference to the speech act participants, the forms of this set allow for extensive underspecification of the third person referents such that it has been noted that third person set VTAs only formally mark for a single third person participant (Wolfart 1973:51-52). However, it can also be noted within the paradigms that the marker present always indicates the highest ranking third person involved in the predication such that again the Person Hierarchy is invoked. Table 2.12 gives all of the direct Independent Order third person forms, while Table 2.13 schematizes the order of morphemes in line with the previous mixed set observations.

**Table 2.12**  
**VTA Independent Order Third Person Set Direct Interactions**

A1	prefix	stem	A2		example
			-3'	-3''	
3s-			-ēw		wīcihēw
3p-			-ēwak		wīcihēwak
3'-				-ēyīwa	wīcihēyīwa
3s-				-imēw	wīcihimēw
3p-				-imēwak	wīcihimēwak
3'-					

Among the differences between this paradigm and the mixed set Independent Order are the obvious absence of a person prefix and the replacement of  $-ā$  by  $-ē$  as the direct theme sign in the third person set. Together, the lack of person prefixes and the specific form of the direct theme sign serve as signals that only third person interactions are possible, which in turn allows for the underspecification of person-marking. The person-marking that is present always indicates the highest ranking third person involved, whether proximate (singular or plural) or obviative.

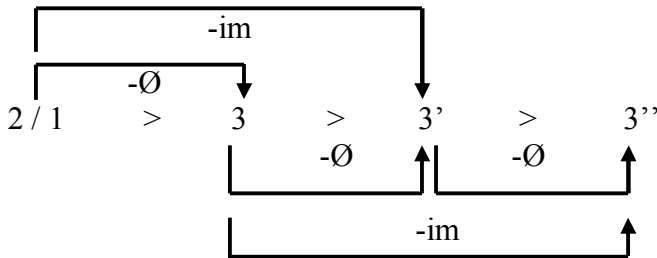
**Table 2.13**  
**VTA Independent Third Person Set Direct Morpheme Order**

	SAP	stem	disj	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	interaction
3s			-im	-ē			-w		3s-3'(?)
3p			-im	-ē			-w	-ak	3p-3'(?)
3'				-ē		-yī	-w	-a	3'-3''

One modification that has been made from the earlier mixed set tables is the transposition of the order of SAP and obviative morphemes. In all third person forms in which the obviative morpheme occurs, and this will be shown in section 2.3 below to apply to all paradigms and not just the VTAs, it is always adjacent to basic third person *-w*. The few aberrant and archaic forms of the mixed set which may have contradicted this at one time are simply being overwhelmed by the prevalence of Independent *-yiw(a)* as a unitary marker of an obviative referent.

Another point we can return to here is the presence of *-im* in the direct third person paradigms. Here it is clearly not a marker of an obviative goal, since the basic forms without *-im* represent the interaction for third person singular and third person obviative. Instead, *-im* is added when the goal is an extra degree of obviation removed from the actor. In this case, it occurs to mark the 3s/3p-3'' forms, while in the mixed set it indicated the fact that a speech act participant was acting on an obviative third person rather than a proximate. These relationships can be schematized as in Figure 2.6, illustrating the use of *-im* to mark an extra degree of separation on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy. The relationships above the hierarchy represent those evident in the mixed set, and those below in the third person set.

**Figure 2.6**  
**Hierarchical Disjunct Morphology in the VTA Direct**



Notice also, for the purposes of this schema, that first and second persons are treated as equals on the Person Hierarchy. This avoids the necessity of treating second person acting on third person as the equivalent of two degrees of separation as might be suggested by the earlier depiction of the Algonquian Person Hierarchy. This in turn suggests that the relative ranking of second and first persons may well facilitate the function of the system, but that perhaps the second over first ranking is not as strong a differentiation as the third person distinctions of proximate and obviative. Conversely the

distinctions of proximate, obviative and even further obviative, as attested through the use of *-im*, are shown to be salient despite the perceived formal underspecification. This might also provide support for the preference of speakers of Algonquian languages, if not Algonquianist linguists, to refer to the distinction of proximate and obviative as one between third and fourth persons rather than a mere distinction of degrees of third person. The further implications for the ranking of local referents will be explored in the section on local interaction.

In comparison with the direct forms, Table 2.14 shows the slightly reduced inverse possibilities. Here there are no separate forms to indicate a further obviative acting upon a proximate, so no inverse forms exist to express the interaction between two referents at two degrees of separation on the Person Hierarchy.

**Table 2.14**  
**VTA Independent Order Third Person Set Inverse Interactions**

A2	prefix	stem	A1		example
			3'-	3''-	
-3s			-ik(ow) <sup>32</sup>		wīcihik(ow)
-3p			-ik(o)wak <sup>32</sup>		wīcihik(o)wak
-3'				-iko'yīwa	wīcihiko'yīwa
-3s					
-3p					
-3'					

Other than the absence of an equivalent for direct disjoint *-im*, the inverse pattern matches the direct, substituting only the inverse theme *-ikw* for direct *-ē*, as a comparison of Table 2.15 with Table 2.13 above illustrates.

**Table 2.15**  
**VTA Independent Third Person Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	SAP	stem	disj	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	interaction
<b>3s</b>				<b>-ikw</b>			(-w)		3'-3s
<b>3p</b>				<b>-ikw</b>			-w	-ak	3'-3p
<b>3'</b>				<b>-ikw</b>		-yī	-w	-a	3''-3'

<sup>32</sup> Sub-dialectally, the long-established forms *wāpamik* and *wāpamikwak* are sometimes replaced by *wāpamikow* and *wāpamikowak*, thus further regularizing the inverse theme to *-iko* and the third person singular to *-w* throughout.

These Independent Order paradigms are matched almost identically in the Conjunct Order where only the form of the third person markers differ. As Tables 2.16 and 2.17 show, the direct theme in the Conjunct is *-ā* rather than *-ē*, thus matching the mixed set theme rather than the third person Independent, but this is a formal difference which does not mask the functional equivalence of the theme signs. Third person singular and plural morphemes are similarly different in form but equivalent in function.

**Table 2.16**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Third Person Set Direct Interactions**

			A2		
A1	cmpl	stem	-3'	-3''	example
3s-	ē-		-āt		ē-wīcīhāt
3p-	ē-		-ācik		ē-wīcīhācik
3'-	ē-				
3s-	ē-			-imāt	ē-wīcīhimāt
3p-	ē-			-imācik	ē-wīcīhimācik
3'-	ē-			-āyīt	ē-wīcīhāyīt

**Table 2.17**  
**VTA Conjunct Third Person Set Direct Morpheme Order**

	cmpl	stem	disj	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p	interaction
<b>3s</b>			-im	-ā			-t		3s-3'(?)
<b>3p</b>			-im	-ā			-t	-ik	3p-3'(?)
<b>3'</b>					-ā		-yi	-t	3'-3''

The only structural difference between the Independent and Conjunct paradigms (comparing Tables 2.13 and 2.17) is the absence of a second obviative marker alternating with the third person plural in final position in the Conjunct. Similarly, Tables 2.18 and 2.19 give the inverse paradigms which are again virtually identical to the Independent inverse (see Tables 2.14 and 2.15). In this case, the inverse morpheme *-ikw* remains consistent.

**Table 2.18**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Third Person Set Inverse Interactions**

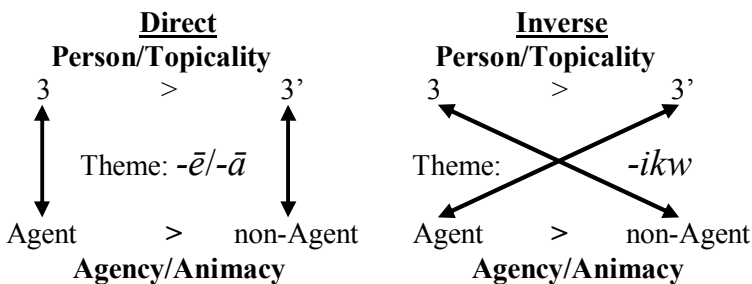
A2	cml	stem	A1		example
			3'-	3''-	
-3s	ē-		-ikot		ē-wīcihikot
-3p	ē-		-ikocik		ē-wīcihikocik
-3'	ē-				
-3s	ē-				
-3p	ē-				
-3'	ē-			-ikoýit	ē-wīcihikoýit

**Table 2.19**  
**VTA Conjunct Third Person Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	cml	stem	disj	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	interaction
3s				-ikw			-t		3'-3s
3p				-ikw			-t	-ik	3'-3p
3'				-ikw		-ýi	-t		3''-3'

This completes the Third Person Set paradigms, since no Imperative Order forms are possible without a second person addressee. The third person forms thus merely confirm the observations of the mixed set, with the proviso that the obviative marker *-ýi* is always directly attached to the third person markers, whether Independent *-w* or Conjunct *-t*. Figure 2.7 illustrates the Direct and Inverse relations as represented in the Third Person Set.

**Figure 2.7**  
**Third Person Set Direct and Inverse**



**2.2.2.3 Local Set: Speech Act Participant Interaction**

The Local Set interactions will be described in the same way as we have looked at the Mixed and Third Person Sets. Within this set we will find the traditional justification for the ranking of second person above first person. However, we will also find some typical person underspecification made possible by the form of the Local Set direct and inverse morphemes which serve to narrow the possible referents to the speech act participants. In some cases, especially in the Independent Order, only markers of the second person are present, while in others, especially in the Conjunct, only markers of the first person occur. However, in no instance can these be systematically equated with a particular semantic or syntactic role.

Before providing the Local Set tables, the most outstanding features of the Local Set must be explicitly introduced. These are the Independent Order person prefix and the differentiation of the direct and inverse theme signs. As with the precedence of marking second person over first in forms of the first and second person inclusive (21), all Independent Order Local Set forms take the second person prefix *ki-*, whether second person is to be interpreted as agent or patient. This in combination with the direct theme *-i*, used when the second person is agent, and the more marked indirect theme *-it(i)*, used when the first person is agent, provide the main justification for ranking second person above first in the Algonquian Person Hierarchy. The forms in which second person acts on first seem to be more basic, and hence direct, while the inverse is marked in a somewhat more complex way which follows the pattern found particularly in the Mixed Set.

Table 2.20 gives the limited number of direct Local Set forms in the Independent Order. Though four rows are given, it can in fact be seen that the 2s-1p and 2p-1p forms are neutralized such that the number of the second person referent is left ambiguous in favour of specifying the plurality of the first person. This is one instance in which the first person seems to take precedence over the second person.

**Table 2.20**  
**VTA Independent Order Local Set Direct Interactions**

			A2		
A1	prefix	stem	-1s	-1p	example
2s-	ki-		-in		kiwīcihin
2s-	ki-			-inān	kiwīcihinān
2p-	ki-			-inān	kiwīcihinān
2p-	ki-		-ināwāw		kiwīcihināwāw



In fact, though all forms take the second person *ki-* as prefix, the person suffixes following the direct theme sign *-i* show a mixture of agreement patterns, as reflected in Table 2.21.

**Table 2.21**  
**VTa Independent Local Set Direct Morpheme Order**<sup>33</sup>

	2	stem	theme	1s/2s	1p	2p	interaction
2s	ki-		-i	-n			2s-1s
2s/2p	ki-		-i		-nān		2s/2p-1p
2p	ki-		-i			-nāwāw	2p-1s

When both persons are singular, the underspecified *-n* occurs. As will be seen in sections 2.3 and 2.4 below, this typically only marks singular speech act participants such that here it is not clear that the first person is really marked at all. Similarly, the 2p-1s form contains only the suffix *-nāwāw* which commonly marks the second person plural. In contrast, when the first person plural is indicated, the suffix *-nān* occurs, leaving the number of the second person underspecified, as already noted.

Table 2.21 differs from the forms of the preceding tables illustrating morpheme order in a number of ways. Since there is no possibility of more than a single degree of separation on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy, there is no need of a position for the disjunct morpheme *-im*. Nor is there any need for positions for the third person suffixes. In contrast, what has been given as a single position for speech act participants must now be expanded to recognize different markers occurring in, as will become apparent, a fairly idiosyncratic way. This also results in the difficulty of drawing the table in such a way as to provide just a single line for each of 2s and 2p, as was done, for instance, for all speech act participants in the mixed set tables. In this part of the local paradigm, this is due to the fact that the number of the second person is unspecified in the presence of 1p, but conversely 1s is underspecified in the presence of 2p. That this has nothing to do with the semantic role of the participants is attested in the inverse paradigms of Tables 2.22 and 2.23, which show the exact same asymmetrical pattern as viewed earlier, with only the substitution of the inverse morpheme *-iti* for the

<sup>33</sup> Though the speech act participant morphemes have been given in this and subsequent Local Set charts in a specific “order”, this is merely for the purposes of illustrating that one or another person is marked and should not be equated with an actually attested or proposed order among these affixes. In the Independent paradigms, it would be possible to separate a singular *-n* from the remaining suffixes, but no such equivalent occurs in the Conjunct so not separating the *-n* has the effect of keeping the paradigms more consistent.

direct *-i*.

Thus, the prefix *ki-* signals the presence of a second person referent, and the theme signs indicate the fact that this is a local interaction, with the action between two singular referents underspecified, and the marking for the plural referent taking precedence over any marking for the singular. When both participants are plural, the first person exclusive takes precedence rendering the second person number ambiguous.

**Table 2.22**  
**VTA Independent Order Local Set Inverse Interactions**

		A1			
A2	prefix	stem	1s-	1p-	example
-2s	ki-		-itin		kiwīcihitin
-2s	ki-			-itinān	kiwīcihitinān
-2p	ki-			-itinān	kiwīcihitinān
-2p	ki-		-itināwāw		kiwīcihitināwāw

**Table 2.23**  
**VTA Independent Local Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	2	stem	theme	1s/2s	1p	2p	interaction
2s	ki-		-iti	-n			1s-2s
2s/2p	ki-		-iti		-nān		1p-2s/2p
2p	ki-		-iti			-nāwāw	1s-2p

It is, in these paradigms, possible to interpret the local direct and inverse theme signs as markers of first person object and subject respectively, since the interactions are limited to just first or second person. However, such limitations do not occur in the other sets and do not allow such an interpretation. Thus, for a unitary analysis to exist throughout the system, the direct-inverse analysis is preferred.

The same basic paradigmatic pattern is present in the Conjunct Order, with the exception that the suffix in use when first and second singular participants interact is not ambiguous as in the Independent, but does specify a particular referent. In the direct, agreement is with the second person singular and, in the inverse, agreement is with the first person singular. This pattern is illustrated in Tables 2.24 through 2.27.

**Table 2.24**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Local Set Direct Interactions**

		A2			
A1	cmpl	stem	-1s	-1p	example
2s-	ē-		-iyan		ē-wīchīyan
2s-	ē-			-iyāhk	ē-wīchīyāhk
2p-	ē-			-iyāhk	ē-wīchīyāhk
2p-	ē-		-iyēk		ē-wīchīyēk

**Table 2.25**  
**VTA Conjunct Local Set Direct Morpheme Order**

	cmpl	stem	theme	2s	1p	2p	interaction
2s	ē-		-i	-yan			2s-1s
2s/2p	ē-		-i		-yāhk		2s/2p-1p
2p	ē-		-i			-yēkw	2p-1s

**Table 2.26**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Local Set Inverse Interactions**

		A1			
A2	cmpl	stem	1s-	1p-	example
-2s	ē-		-itān		ē-wīchitān
-2s	ē-			-itāhk	ē-wīchitāhk
-2p	ē-			-itāhk	ē-wīchitāhk
-2p	ē-		-itakok		ē-wīchitakok

**Table 2.27**  
**VTA Conjunct Local Set Inverse Morpheme Order**

	cmpl	stem	theme	1s	1p	2p	interaction
2s	ē-		-it	-ān			1s-2s
2s/2p	ē-		-it		-āhk		1p-2s/2p
2p	ē-		-it			-akok	1s-2p

In these cases, of course, no person prefix is present, so we could again try to interpret the direct 2s marker and inverse 1s marker as subject

agreement. However, this would combine with the earlier suggestion that the theme signs were subject markers to yield double-marking for subject with no marking for object, and just in these particular forms. Marking for first person plural exclusive continues to take precedence over second person and second person plural is marked at the expense of first person singular regardless of semantic role. Again, the direct-inverse interpretation of these paradigms yields a unitary analysis, while attempts to find something more akin to English subjects and objects is severely limited. What small evidence there may be is more likely to be useful in the search for the ultimate origin of the current system in a diachronically earlier accusatively or even ergatively aligned system. However, it is clear that even the idiosyncratically distributed person marking in these forms has been brought into alignment with the direct-inverse system that is now pervasive throughout all VTA forms.

The final VTA paradigm to be illustrated here is the Local Set Imperative Order, both Immediate and Delayed, which allows for commands directed at a second person with the speaker as patient. As with the Mixed Set, these can only be direct and all forms include the direct theme *-i*. Except for the absence of the second person prefix, the Immediate Imperative forms are almost identical to the Independent Local Set, as is seen when comparing Table 2.28 below with the earlier Table 2.20.

**Table 2.28**  
**VTA Imperative Order Local Set Interactions**

		A2				
		A1	stem	-1s	-1p	example
Immediate	2s-			-in		wīcihin
	2s-				-inān	wīcihinān
	2p-				-inān	wīcihinān
	2p-			-ik		wīcihik
Delayed	2s-			-ihkan		wīcihikan
	2s-				-ihkāhk	wīcihikāhk
	2p-				-ihkāhk	wīcihikāhk
	2p-			-ihkēk		wīcihikēk

The only difference between the Immediate Imperative and Independent endings is in the 2p-1s form where the Independent uses the common 2p Independent suffix *-nāwāw*, and the Immediate Imperative uses the common 2p Imperative suffix *-k*. The Delayed Imperatives follow the Mixed Set

pattern with substitution of the Local Direct theme *-i* in place of *-ā*. These Imperative Order morphemes are given in Table 2.29.<sup>34</sup>

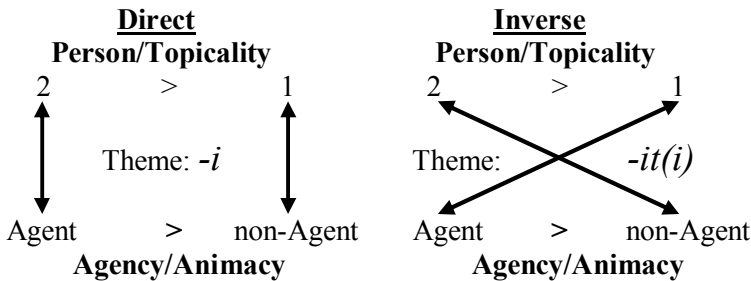
**Table 2.29**  
**VTA Imperative Local Set Morpheme Order**

		stem	theme	del	(1s/2s)	1p	2p	interaction
<b>IMM</b>	2s		-i		-n			2s-1s
	2s/2p		-i			-nān		2s/2p-1p
	2p		-i				-k	2p-1s
<b>DEL</b>	2s		-i	-hk	-an			2s-1s
	2s/2p		-i	-hk		-āhk		2s/2p-1p
	2p		-i	-hk			-ēk	2p-1s

As with each of the Local Set paradigms, the suffixes occur in a particular pattern. The 2s-1s endings are somewhat split, with the Immediate Imperative having the underspecified speech act participant *-n*, while the Delayed has the second person *-(hk)an*. This is related to the similarities of Immediate forms to the Independent, and the Delayed forms to the Conjunct respectively. In each case, however, the first person plural is marked at the expense of second person number, while the 2p-1s forms use 2p forms from other paradigms (i.e. VAI and VTI) where these are not linked in any specific way to first person.

Thus, the Local Set paradigms follow the same Direct-Inverse pattern as found in the Mixed and Third Person Sets, and this is illustrated in Figure 2.8.

**Figure 2.8**  
**Local Set Direct and Inverse**



<sup>34</sup> These VTA forms can be compared with the VAI and VTI Imperative Order forms in section 2.3. As with previous Local Set morpheme order tables, the separation of 1s/2s, 1p and 2p into separate columns is not meant to indicate an actual ordering, but simply allows us to see the idiosyncractic agreement patterns of the suffixes.

Whereas the Mixed Set appears to have universal motivation in the topicality of speech act participants over third persons, and the Third Person Set is built on the Algonquian topicality-based distinction of proximate and obviative, the Local Set is much harder to associate with topicality. The most obvious features, the second person Independent prefix *ki-* and the alternation of less-marked *-i* and more-marked *-iti* theme signs, point to the second person outranking first. However, we have also seen that the first person plural is marked in the suffixes at the expense of number-marking the second person altogether. Though second person plural seems to outrank first singular, the singulars seem to be related in a constantly changing form from one paradigm to the next, with first or second taking precedence, or the marking simply being neutralized. This could suggest a modified speech act participant hierarchy, as in (30).

$$(30) \quad 2 > 1p > 2p > 1s/2s$$

Conversely, and more likely, it could simply indicate that the ranking of first and second persons is not based on the same type of topicality scale as the Mixed and Third Set interactions.

Still, even if not universal, this is not necessarily an arbitrary or accidental decision. The key may well be found in the Imperative forms, since here the counterpoint of direct-inverse is not an issue. Commands can simply not be directed anywhere other than at second persons, rendering the second person the one participant which can be interpreted as the first argument. The second person can then act on third persons (as in the Mixed Set), and this interaction is part of the universal ranking of speech act participants over third persons. Despite lacking universal motivation in general, it is in the Imperative that second person must act on first and the converse (or inverse) is not possible. In these interpersonal interactions perhaps we see the motivation for extending the pattern of second person acting on first throughout the system and extending what is otherwise a topicality hierarchy with an Algonquian-specific ranking of second over first.

### 2.2.3 The Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy Explored

Thus far, we have concentrated primarily on the Person/Topicality scale and the way in which verbal person indexing reflects this hierarchy and contributes to the Direct-Inverse system. The function of the theme markers to associate the participants with particular semantic functions has been

described but mostly taken for granted. The current section will explore some of the combinations of semantic functions possible in VTA predications, and seek to demonstrate, reinforce and expand the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy.

### 2.2.3.1 Monotransitives

The most prototypically transitive relation is between a highly agentive first argument (A1) and a highly affected patient as second argument (A2) in a monotransitive construction. Thus, the more violent interactions, as exemplified by verbs like *nipah-* “kill s.o.” or *pakamahw-* “hit s.o.” (as in (31)), etc., tend to be used to illustrate the agent acting on patient or what Dik (1997:121) classified as Agent-Goal.

#### (31) Agent-Patient:

- a) *nikī-pakamahwāw.*  
 ni- kī- pakamahw -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST hit 1s-3s  
 “I hit him/her.”
- b) *nikī-pakamahok.*  
 ni- kī- pakamahw -ik(w) (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s  
 PST hit 3s-1s  
 “S/he hit me.”

VTA predications, however, are certainly not limited to this prototypical situation, and the semantic role of both participants can vary considerably. Some examples include the following in which we can find an agent acting on an experiencer patient (32), a recipient (33) and an experiencer recipient (34).<sup>35</sup>

#### (32) Agent-Patient(Exp)

- a) *nikī-sēkihāw.*  
 ni- kī- sēkih -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST scare 1s-3s  
 “I scared him/her.”

<sup>35</sup> The examples with recipient as A2 are ditransitive in form; see also section 2.2.3.2 below.

b) *nikī-sēkihik.*

ni-	kī-	sēkih	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	PST	scare	3s-1s	

“S/he scared me.”

## (33) Agent-Recipient

a) *nikī-wāstinamawāw.*

ni-	kī-	wāstinamaw	<b>-ā</b>	-w
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s
	PST	wave.to	1s-3s	

“I waved to him/her.”

b) *nikī-wāstinamāk.*

ni-	kī-	wāstinamaw	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	PST	wave.to	3s-1s	

“S/he waved to me.”

## (34) Agent-Recipient(Exp)

a) *nikī-asotamawāw.*

ni-	kī-	asotamaw	<b>-ā</b>	-w
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s
	PST	promise.to	1s-3s	

“I promised him/her.”

b) *nikī-asotamāk.*

ni-	kī-	asotamaw-	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	PST	promise.to	3s-1s	

“S/he promised me.”

Additional examples cited by Dik (1997a:121) of agents acting on locatives (and directions and sources) would not be coded as VTA stems for the dual reasons that locations cannot be animate and locatives (including directions and sources) would be coded as locative obliques in Cree. One example of this is given in (35), in which the verb is not transitive let alone VTA, and no inverse form (i.e. “Town is walked to by me.”) is possible. In this situation, the direction can be coded by means of a postposition (35a) or encoded in the verb root (35b).



## (35) Agent-Direction

- a) *ōtēnāhk isi nikī-pimohtān.*  
 ōtēnaw -ihk isi ni- kī- pimohtē -n  
 NI LOC IPL 1 IPV VAI 1/2  
 town towards PST walk  
 “I walked towards town.”
- b) *ōtēnāhk nikī-itohtān.*  
 ōtēnaw -ihk ni- kī- itohtē -n  
 NI LOC 1 IPV VAI 1/2  
 town PST go.to  
 “I went to town.”

Another common pattern is to have an Experiencer as first argument, though as Dik (1997a: 115-117) notes, it is rare to find a language that codes experiencers in any way different from agents. Cree certainly follows the common cross-linguistic pattern, with experiencers coded in the same way as agents. Examples (36) and (37) exemplify this for verbs of sensory perception. Although the experiencer alternates between lacking control in (36) and exerting control in (37), both follow the agent-patient pattern of the previous examples.

## (36) Experiencer [-control]-Reference

- a) *nikī-pēhtawāw.*  
 ni- kī- pēhtaw -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST hear 1s-3s  
 “I heard him/her.”
- b) *nikī-pēhtāk.*  
 ni- kī- pēhtaw -ik(w) (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s  
 PST hear 3s-1s  
 “S/he heard me.”

## (37) Experiencer [+control]-Reference

- a) *nikī-nitohtawāw.*  
 ni- kī- nitohtaw -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST listen.to 1s-3s  
 “I listened to him/her.”

- b) *nikī-nitohtāk.*  
 ni- kī- nitohtaw **-ik(w)** (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s  
 PST listen.to 3s-1s  
 “S/he listened to me.”

The same is true of verbs of cognition, as in (38) and (39).

(38) Experiencer [-control]-Reference

- a) *nikī-pawātāw.*  
 ni- kī- pawāt **-ā** -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST dream.about 1s-3s  
 “I dreamt about him/her.”
- b) *nikī-pawātik.*  
 ni- kī- pawāt **-ik(w)** (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s  
 PST dream.about 3s-1s  
 “S/he dreamt about me.”

(39) Experiencer [+control]-Reference

- a) *nikī-māmitonēyimāw.*  
 ni- kī- māmitonēyim **-ā** -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST think. about 1s-3s  
 “I thought about him/her.”
- b) *nikī-māmitonēyimik.*  
 ni- kī- māmitonēyim **-ik(w)** (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s  
 PST think.about 3s-1s  
 “S/he thought about me.”

In addition to agents and experiencers, the first argument of VTAs can also include what Dik (1997a:118, 120) refers to as a “Positioner”, or the controller of a situation which does not involve any activity, but which is nonetheless related to the agent through the feature of volitional control. The following examples have Positioners as first arguments, combined with Patient (40), Experiencer Patient (41) and Recipient (42) respectively as

second argument.

(40) Positioner-Patient

a) *nikī-kisātāw.*

ni-	kī-	kisāt	<b>-ā</b>	-w
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s
	PST	stay.with	1s-3s	

“I stayed with him/her.”

b) *nikī-kisātik.*

ni-	kī-	kisāt	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	PST	stay.with	3s-1s	

“S/he stayed with me.”

(41) Positioner-Patient(Exp)

a) *nikī-māmaskātēyihāmihāw.*

ni-	kī-	māmaskātēyihāmih	<b>-ā</b>	-w
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s
	PST	amaze	1s-3s	

“I amazed him/her.”

b) *nikī-māmaskātēyihāmihik.*

ni-	kī-	māmaskātēyihāmih	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	PST	amaze	3s-1s	

“S/he amazed me.”

(42) Positioner-Recipient

a) *ninanāskomāw.*

ni-	nanāskom-	<b>-ā</b>	-w
1	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s
	be.grateful.to	1s-3s	

“I am grateful to him/her.”

b) *ninanāskomik.*

ni-	nanāskom	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)
1	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s
	be.grateful.to	3s-1s	

“S/he is grateful to me.”

As with agents, positioners combining with locatives will similarly fail to be coded as VTA stems since the locative cannot be animate. Such verbs, as in (43), are coded as intransitive. However, it is possible to derive a VTA from such a verb which has the effect of adding an associative or referent as the second argument, as in (44a-b), while the locative is rendered optional at best.

## (43) Positioner-Locative

*sākahikanihk nikī-ayān.*

sākahikan	-ihk	ni-	kī-	ayā	-n
NI	LOC	1	IPV	VAI	1/2
lake			PST	be.there	

“I was at the lake.”

## (44) Positioner-Associative

a) *nikī-wīc-āyāmāw (sākahikanihk).*

ni-	kī-	wīci-ayām	-ā	-w	(sākahikan	-ihk)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s	(NI	LOC)
	PST	be.with	1s-3s		(lake	)

“I lived with him/her (at the lake).”

b) *nikī-wīc-āyāmik (sākahikanihk).*

ni-	kī-	wīci-ayām	<b>-ik(w)</b>	(-w)	(sākahikan	-ihk)
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s	(NI	LOC)
	PST	be.with	3s-1s		(lake	)

“S/he lived with me (at the lake).”

VTA stems with an associative second argument are freely derived from intransitive verbs by adding the preverb *wīci-* and the suffix *-m* (often with lengthening of the derived stem’s final vowel). The first argument retains its original semantic function, as illustrated in both (44) above and in (45). The original intransitive with agentive first argument is given in (45a), and the derived transitive with associative second argument is in (45b).

(45) a) *nikī-nikamon.*

ni-	kī-	nikamo	-n
1	IPV	VAI	1/2
	PST	sing	

“I sang.”

- b) *nikī-wīci-nikamōmāw.*  
 ni- kī- wīci-nikamōm- -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST sing.with 1s-3s  
 “I sang with him/her.”

The nature of VTA stems also precludes a number of other possible monotransitive constructions. It is not possible for a Force (or “the non-controlling entity instigating a Process” (Dik 1997a:118)) to be coded as the animate first argument of VTAs except through a specially derived Inanimate Actor paradigm, which will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.5 below. Similarly, “Processed” arguments, or those entities that undergo a process are most often equated with transitive patients and/or linked with locative second arguments. In the first instance, these would indeed be second arguments rather than first. In the second instance, locative arguments again fail to serve as the second animate argument of VTAs. One final semantic function that can serve as A1 is the entity primarily involved in a State, or “Zero” in Dik’s (1997a:118) terminology. One example of such an undergoer of state occurring as the first argument of a VTA is given in (46). Here, the second argument is classified by the seemingly quite vague role of “Reference” or “the second or third term of a relation with reference to which the relation is said to hold.”

(46) Zero-Reference

- a) *ninaspitawāw.*  
 ni- naspitaw -ā -w  
 1 VTA **DIR** 3s  
 resemble 1s-3s  
 “I resemble him/her.”
- b) *ninaspitāk.*  
 ni- naspitaw -ik(w) (-w)  
 1 VTA **INV** 3s  
 resemble 3s-1s  
 “S/he resembles me.”

Despite the apparent vagueness of the “Reference” role, it could be argued that this is, in fact, used far more extensively in many frameworks, under the guise of such terms as objective, patient, or theme, to characterize second arguments in general whether or not they seem to be greatly affected by an action or situation.

Thus a number of different semantic roles can fill the first argument position of monotransitive VTAs, most of which can be conflated with agent or actor function in other frameworks, and thus outranking the second argument regardless of its role. Even where the first argument appears to be a patient or undergoer, the second argument is a lower ranking theme or reference. Regardless of the role associated with the first argument, the direct-inverse system links it to the more or less topical participant as appropriate.

### 2.2.3.2 Ditransitives

This situation is of course complicated somewhat when we add a third participant in ditransitive structures. However, as we have already seen above in section 2.2.1, Cree ditransitives follow a very restricted pattern which eliminates most of the possibilities cited by Dik (1997a:122). Contrary to the Semantic Function Hierarchy, the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy obligatorily treats Recipients (and Beneficiaries) as more prominent than Patients due to the importance given to animate referents. Recipients and Beneficiaries are prototypically animate, while patients may or may not be. Thus, a Cree ditransitive construction allows for cross-reference on the verb for only the two higher ranking participants, the Agent and the Recipient/Beneficiary. The French pattern, treating the patient as the direct object, or the English pattern, allowing for a choice of direct object, are simply not possible, so rather than the Agent-Patient-Recipient pattern given by Dik (1997a:12), Cree has a ranking of Agent-Recipient-Patient in which the patient must be treated as less topical than agent and recipient and the direct-inverse system indicates only the interaction of the two more topical, animate participants, as in (47) and (48).

#### (47) Agent-Recipient-Patient

a) *nikī-miyāw anima masinahikan.*

ni-	kī-	miy	-ā	-w	anima	masinahikan
1	IPV	VTA	<b>DIR</b>	3s	DEM.0's	NI.0's
	PST	give.to	1s-3s		that	book

“I gave him/her that book.”

b) *nikī-miyik anima masinahikan.*

ni-	kī-	miy	-ikw	(-w)	anima	masinahikan
1	IPV	VTA	<b>INV</b>	3s	DEM.0's	NI.0's
	PST	give.to	3s-1s		that	book

“S/he gave me that book.”

## (48) Agent-Recipient-Patient

- a) *nikī-osīhtamawāw anima wāskahikan.*  
 ni- kī- osīhtamaw **-ā** -w anima wāskahikan  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s DEM.0's NI.0's  
 PST make.for 1s-3s that house  
 "I built him/her that house." / "I built that house for him/her."
- b) *nikī-osīhtamāk anima wāskahikan.*  
 ni- kī- osīhtamaw **-ikw** (-w) anima wāskahikan  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s DEM.0's NI.0's  
 PST make.for 3s-1s that house  
 "S/he built me that house." / "S/he built that house for me."

The example in (48) also illustrates the fact that most Cree ditransitives are clearly derived structures adding the complex suffix *-amaw* to a VTI stem which would normally refer to an animate agent and an inanimate patient.<sup>36</sup> The derivation is thus historically an applicative, but synchronically an obligatory one since a recipient or beneficiary cannot be added into the structure in any other way, as attested by the ungrammaticality of (49).

(49) \**nikī-osīhtān anima wāskahikan nīwa ohci.*

- |     |     |                  |     |         |            |    |      |    |      |
|-----|-----|------------------|-----|---------|------------|----|------|----|------|
| ni- | kī- | osīhtā           | -n  | anima   | wāskahikan | n- | īw   | -a | ohci |
| 1   | IPV | VTI <sub>2</sub> | 1/2 | DEM.0's | NI.0's     | 1  | NDA  | 3s | IPC  |
|     | PST | make             |     | that    | house      |    | wife |    | for  |
- "I built that house for my wife."

The recipient or beneficiary must be the second highest ranking participant in the ditransitive, obligatorily outranking the patient regardless of its grammatical animacy (as attested by the earlier examples in (18) and (19)). In contrast, it is entirely possible to incorporate a less individuated or non-referential patient in the verb stem itself, thus rendering the verb monotransitive, as in (50).

- (50) a) *nikī-wāskahikanihkawāw.*  
 ni- kī- wāskahikanihkaw **-ā** -w  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 PST build.house.for 1s-3s  
 "I built a house for him/her." / "I house-built for him/her."

<sup>36</sup> The suffix *-amaw* is historically derived from an inanimate object or theme marker *-am* plus the animate applicative *-aw*, now frozen as a unit. More will be said about the inanimate object theme marker in section 2.3 below.

- b) *nikī-wāskahikanihkāk.*  
 ni- kī- wāskahikanihkaw -ikw (-w)  
 1 IPV VTA INV 3s  
 PST build.house.for 1s-3s  
 “S/he built a house for me.” / “S/he house-built for me.”

Other potential ditransitive structures in which the three participants do not match the agent-recipient-patient pattern are generally not coded as ditransitives, as exemplified in the following structures in which locatives are combined with agents and patients. In (51a), a basic locative noun co-occurs with the verb which agrees with the two animate participants, agent and patient. If the patient is not animate, as in (51b), the verb cannot be a VTA.

## (51) Agent-Patient-Locative

- a) *akocikanihk nikī-ahāwak nitastisak.*  
 akocikan -ihk ni- kī- ah -ā -wak nit- astis-ak  
 NI LOC 1 IPV VTA DIR 3p 1 NA 3p  
 shelf PST put 1s-3p mitt  
 “I put my mitts on the shelf.”
- b) *akocikanihk nikī-astān nitastotin.*  
 akocikan -ihk ni- kī- astā -n nit- astotin  
 NI LOC 1 IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> 1/2 1 NI.0s  
 shelf PST put hat  
 “I put my hat on the shelf.”

In (52) and (53), the locatives are a direction and source respectively. In each of the (a) examples, the verb is coded as a monotransitive VTA with a locative oblique. In each of the (b) examples, the direction or source morphemes have been incorporated in the verb, but the pattern of agreement remains as a monotransitive VTA despite the apparent promotion of the locative to complement status. VTA stems simply will not cross-reference any more than the two highest ranking animate participants.

## (52) Agent-Patient-Direction

- a) *nikī-pimohtahāw otēnāhk isi.*  
 ni- kī- pimohtah -ā -w otēnaw -ihk isi  
 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s NI LOC IPL  
 PST take.along 1s-3s town towards  
 “I took him/her towards town.”



- b) *ōtēnāhk nikī-itohtahāw.*  
 ōtēnaw -ihk ni- kī- itohtah -ā -w  
 NI LOC 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 town PST take.along.there 1s-3s  
 “I took him/her to town.”

## (53) Agent-Patient-Source

- a) *nikī-nīhtināw akocikanihk ohci.*  
 ni- kī- nīhtin -ā -w akocikan -ihk ohci  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s NI LOC IPL  
 PST take.down 1s-3s shelf from  
 “I took him/her/it(animate) down from the shelf.”

- b) *akocikanihk nikī-ohtināw.*  
 akocikan -ihk ni- kī- ohtin -ā -w  
 NI LOC 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s  
 shelf PST obtain.from.there 1s-3s  
 “I got him/her/it(animate) from the shelf.”

One final pattern that deserves remark is in the different perspectives that Dik (1997a:126) refers to as the “giving model” and the “operating model” for the representation of the concept “teach” in the languages of the world. The giving model would see teaching represented analogously to the Agent-Patient-Recipient model of “give” (as in French ditransitives), with the topic of instruction coded as the transferred patient and the learners as recipients. In contrast, the operating model would treat the learners as patients undergoing an operation with reference to the topic of instruction, or where the topic of instruction is coded like an instrument facilitating the teaching or a direction towards which the learners must move. Within the operating model, we can reject the instrumental or directional as appropriate for Cree, as the topic of instruction is not coded in any way as an oblique case. It is, however, equally possible to interpret the Cree example in (54) as coding the unmarked topic of instruction as Reference in an Agent-Patient-Reference combination or as the unmarked patient in a typical Cree ditransitive Agent-Recipient-Patient combination.

## (54) Agent-Goal-Reference or Agent-Recipient-Patient

- a) *nikī-kiskinwahamawāw nēhiyawēwin.*  
 ni- kī- kiskinwahamaw -ā -w nēhiyawēwin  
 1 IPV VTA **DIR** 3s NI.0’s  
 PST teach 1s-3s Cree  
 “I taught him/her Cree.” / “I taught Cree to him/her.”

- b) *nikī-kiskinwahamāk nēhiyawēwin.*  
 ni- kī- kiskinwahamaw **-ikw** (-w) nēhiyawēwin  
 1 IPV VTA **INV** 3s NI.0's  
 PST teach 3s-1s Cree  
 “S/he taught me Cree.” / “S/he taught Cree to me.”

As *kiskinwahamaw*- “teach s.o. (it)” mirrors other Cree ditransitives, including *miy*- “give s.o. (it)”, it is most consistent to interpret this as an example of the giving model. Note, however, that the Cree pattern of treating the recipient as the second argument actually has the effect of neutralizing the distinction between the giving and operating models. Animacy dictates that we rank the students above the topic of instruction.

It is thus apparent that many ditransitive structures are not distinctly coded as such in Cree due to the fact that the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy only permits the VTA verb to cross-reference certain combinations restricted to the two highest ranking animate participants. Although derivational morphology, through such elements as the benefactive *-amaw* or relative roots like *it-* or *oht-*, may indicate an increased semantic valency, the inflectional morphology only marks the participation of a maximum of two animate participants fulfilling the two highest semantic functions associated with the verb.

#### 2.2.4 The Direct-Inverse System and the Algonquian Circle of Reference

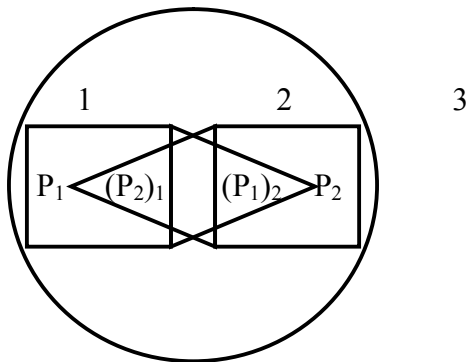
In the preceding sections, we have surveyed both the Mixed, Third Person and Local Sets of the full VTA paradigms, and the semantic functions associated with those participants. Each paradigmatic set illustrates the consistency of the Direct-Inverse system in relating participants unmarked for anything other than person to the semantic functions inherently associated with the predicate by way of a Semantic Function Hierarchy modified by the all-important criterion of Animacy.

The principles underlying the Direct-Inverse system are clearly relevant to the cross-generational transmission of Plains Cree grammar. Paradigmatic shifts over time, whether in relation to Proto-Algonquian (cf. Goddard 1967), or simply between Cree dialects (cf. Ellis 1970) have allowed for the almost complete regularization of the Direct-Inverse system such that semantic functions can be aligned with participants on a person-topicality scale without recourse to specific case forms. That this is not simply an underspecification of syntactic case but of the complete absence of a

separate level of syntactic functions will be the topic of Chapter 3.

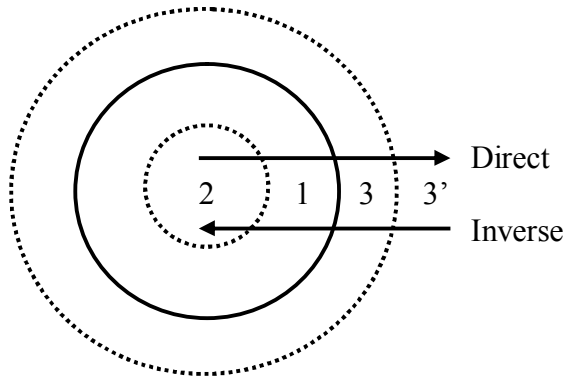
Although the relationships involved in the Direct-Inverse system are commonly and necessarily described in terms of hierarchical relations, such recourse to ranking participants on a hierarchy does not necessarily match well with the egalitarian cultural worldview of Cree speakers. This is another area in which the otherwise most questionable portion of the Algonquian Person Hierarchy, that of the speech act participants, might prove its importance. Instead of merely framing the interactions in terms of a linear hierarchy, we might look to a depiction of the speech act itself in which only first and second persons interact, while third persons are peripheral. Figure 2.9 (on the following page) illustrates the importance of the speech act participants in verbal interaction, adapted in part from Dik (1997a:8-11), with the substitution of 1 for the Speaker (S) and 2 for the Addressee (A), but with graphic exclusion of third persons outside the immediate speech act. A speech act minimally requires communication between two participants, each taking turns being speaker and addressee. The speaker formulates an utterance on the basis of his/her own pragmatic knowledge and intentions ( $P_1$ ), but modified by the speaker's assessment or anticipation of the addressee's knowledge ( $(P_2)_1$ ). The addressee must then decode or reconstruct the message based on his/her own knowledge ( $P_2$ ) as modified by an assessment of the knowledge possessed by the original speaker ( $(P_1)_2$ ). Verbal interaction then involves a sequence of formulation, coding, decoding and formulation in response. First and second person are inherently given, while any third person reference, lying as it does outside the immediate context of the speech act, must always be first established before it can emulate the topicality of the speech act participants.

**Figure 2.9**  
**Speech Act Interaction**



This is essentially a graphic re-representation of the universal Person Hierarchy, as long as we assume no ranking of the speech act participants. But we have also seen that Cree and Algonquian languages in general make two further distinctions. Third persons are ranked as per relative topicality through the division of proximate and obviative, while second persons, perhaps simply for the purposes of the system, are ranked above first person. This latter relationship is akin to the speaker giving deference to the addressee and/or the addressee's knowledge and adapting the formulation of an utterance based on that deferential consideration. The speaker (1) thus places the addressee (2) in a position even more central to the speech act while, outside the speech act itself, the proximate third person (3) is closer to the center than is the obviative (3'). The basic Algonquian Person Hierarchy can thus be redrawn as in Figure 2.10 representing at least a partial Algonquian Circle of Reference, which can even be adapted to the representation of the Direct-Inverse system, since all direct actions move from the center outwards, while inverse actions move from a more peripheral position towards the center.

**Figure 2.10**  
**Direct-Inverse and the Algonquian Circle of Reference**



Framing the Algonquian Person Hierarchy in terms of a Circle of Reference is not only theoretically valid but also has the benefit of depicting it in a culturally appropriate and respectful way. This in turn may allow for greater success in teaching the grammatical concepts behind the Direct-Inverse system as well perhaps as providing for greater acceptance among speakers and learners of Cree of the ability of linguistic theory to provide insight into the structure of the language.

It is possible to expand the Circle of Reference depicted in Figure 2.10 to include the further obviative, and even the inanimate third person, though

only the former will be represented in the true VTA paradigms. If the object of a transitive verb is inanimate, it will not be represented by a VTA stem at all, but rather by a VTI (though see sections 2.3 and 2.4 subsequently). If we wish to try to represent the inverse relation in which an inanimate acts upon an animate patient, this is possible in what has been referred to as the VTA Inanimate Actor paradigm. However, though this paradigm is built on the basic VTA stem, and utilizes the inverse morpheme in the consistent shape *-iko*, the inflections associated with this paradigm are identical to the animate intransitive verb (VAI) forms. The Inanimate Actor paradigms will be described in the following section, serving to introduce the discussion of the other verb classes and the overall verbal system in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

### 2.2.5 Inanimate Actor VTA

In order to indicate that an inanimate actor (i.e. a “Force”) is interacting with an animate recipient or patient, a set of paradigms, both Independent and Conjunct, are used which have traditionally been analyzed as an extension of the VTA Mixed and Third Person Set inverse paradigms. As indicated in Tables 2.30 through 2.33, where all animate persons are given in the role of A2 and are marked by specific affixes, the traditional analysis suggests that the VTA stems are marked by the inverse morpheme *-iko* and thus follow the VTA inverse pattern.

Tables 2.30 and 2.31 illustrate the endings and implicit VTA structure respectively of the Independent Order Inanimate Actor forms. However, in this instance, if we look for a marker of the inanimate actor/participant, nothing will be found, nor can anything indicate whether the inanimate actor is singular or plural, proximate or obviative.

**Table 2.30**  
**VTA Independent Order Mixed and Third Person Set Inanimate Actor Interactions**

		A1		
A2	prefix	stem	0s/0p/0's/0'p-	example
-1s	nī-		-ikon	niwīcihikon
-2s	ki-		-ikon	kiwīcihikon
-1p	nī-		-ikonān	niwīcihikonān
-21	ki-		-iko(nā)naw	kiwīcihiko(nā)naw
-2p	ki-		-ikonāwāw	kiwīcihikonāwāw
-3s			-ikow	wīcihikow
-3p			-ikowak	wīcihikowak
-3'			-iko'yīwa	wīcihiko'yīwa

**Table 2.31**  
**Independent Inanimate Actor Morphemes**

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	0	interaction
1s	ni-		-iko	-n					0-1s
2s	ki-		-iko	-n					0-2s
1p	ni-		-iko	-nān					0-1p
21	ki-		-iko	-(nā)naw					0-21
2p	ki-		-iko	-nāwāw					0-2p
3s			-iko			-w			0-3s
3p			-iko			-w	-ak		0-3p
3'			-iko		-yi	-w	-a		0-3'

The lack of marking for the lower ranking participant is not unusual, as was seen in the survey of the Third Person Set. However, the Mixed Set now mirrors this by only including markers for the speech act participants. These markers differ in a number of ways from those found elsewhere in the general VTA paradigms, since no third person markers are present whatsoever, and a number of speech act participant suffixes from the VAI and VTI paradigms (see section 2.3 below) appear here in place of those familiar from the VTA paradigms. These include the speech act singular *-n* and the forms of the 2p (*-nāwāw*), and extended 21 (*-nānaw*, rather than its alternant *-naw*) suffixes. Finally, all variation in the theme sign has been levelled to create a consistent suffix *-iko*. Despite the differences between Independent and Conjunct Orders, a couple of these differences from the regular VTA paradigms also occur crucially in the Conjunct, as demonstrated in Tables 2.32 and 2.33.

**Table 2.32**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Mixed and Third Person Set Inanimate Actor Interactions**

		A1		
A2	cmpl	stem	0s/0p/0's/0'p-	example
-1s	ē-		-ikoyān	ē-wīcihikoyān
-2s	ē-		-ikoyan	ē-wīcihikoyan
-1p	ē-		-ikoyāhk	ē-wīcihikoyāhk
-21	ē-		-ikoyahk	ē-wīcihikoyahk
-2p	ē-		-ikoyēk	ē-wīcihikoyēk
-3s	ē-		-ikot	ē-wīcihikot
-3p	ē-		-ikocik	ē-wīcihikocik
-3'	ē-		-iko'yit	ē-wīcihiko'yit

**Table 2.33**  
**Conjunct Inanimate Actor Morphemes**

	cmpl	stem	theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	0	interaction
1s	ē-		-iko	-yān					0-1s
2s	ē-		-iko	-yan					0-2s
1p	ē-		-iko	-yāhk					0-1p
21	ē-		-iko	-yahk					0-21
2p	ē-		-iko	-yēk					0-2p
3s	ē-		-iko			-t			0-3s
3p	ē-		-iko			-t	-ik		0-3p
3'	ē-		-iko		-yī	-t			0-3'

All but two endings are identical with the VTA inverse forms, but the differences in the 1s and 2s endings are very important, again substituting the VAI suffixes *-yān* and *-yan* respectively. These are the only two person markers which actually differ between the VAI and VTA Conjunct paradigms, such that all other person suffixes are shared between both types. Thus, if we look only at the person suffixes separate from the inverse *-iko*, we find a paradigm identical to the VAI Conjunct (cf. Table 2.33 with Table 2.42 in section 2.3.1.2 below and see further in Appendices A and B). It is interesting to note that, while Inanimate Actor forms clearly remain transitive verbs in both semantic and syntactic valence, as exemplified in (55) and (56), the marking appears rather to reflect that of the animate intransitive (VAI) paradigm.

(55) *maskihkīsa anihī nikī-wīchihikon.*

maskihkīs -a anihī ni- kī- wīchih-iko -n  
 NI 0p IPC 1 IPV VTA-InAct 1/2  
 pill FOC PST help  
 “Those pills helped me.”

(56) Q: *kimiyomahcihon cī ēkwa?* (“Are you feeling well now?”)

A: *āha, ē-kī-wīchihikoyān anihī maskihkīsa.*

āha ē- kī- wīchih-iko -yān anihī maskihkīs -a  
 IPC IPV IPV VTA-InAct 1s DEM.0p NI 0p  
 yes CNJ PST help those pill  
 “Yes, those pills helped me.”

What we see here is an extension of the VTA pattern in which only the two highest ranking third persons are cross-referenced on the verb. In the

case of Inanimate Actors, however, one of those important participants is not animate at all and there is no marker of its presence. Instead, the person cross-reference is only with the sole remaining animate participant, just as in an animate intransitive construction. Furthermore, when this occurs with a ditransitive, the results are the same, even if the patient of the verb is grammatically animate, as in (57). Just as in the earlier discussion of ditransitives, it is only the two highest ranking participants that matter, and if one of these is not animate, only the sole remaining animate participant receives marking in the same manner as with an intransitive verb.

- (57) *wahwā! ōm ōma nikī-miyikon sōniyāw.*  
 wahwā ōma ōma ni- kī- miy-iko -n sōniyāw  
 IPC PR.0s IPC 1 IPV VTA-InAct 1/2 NA.3s  
 oh.my this FOC PST give money  
 “Oh my! This here gave me money!”  
 [context: surprise at the function of an ATM machine]

Although the valency of these monotransitive and ditransitive verbs remain intact, there are further indications that the verb is being marked in line with intransitive morphology. Nouns such as those given in (58) follow a pattern of derivation in which the nominalizing suffix *-win* attaches to a VAI verb stem. The examples in (59) illustrate this exact same pattern, but the nouns appear to be built originally from a VTA stem plus the theme *-iko* before attachment of the suffix *-win*. These in turn parallel the very common general object nouns exemplified in (60), again formed through suffixation of *-win* to VAI stems, but which were first clearly derived from VTI and/or VTA stems plus the detransitivizing general object marker *-ikē*.<sup>37</sup>

- (58) a) *nēhiyawēwin* ← *nēhiyawē + -win*  
 NI VAI  
 “Cree language” “speak Cree”
- b) *pimipahtāwin* ← *pimipahtā + -win*  
 NI VAI  
 “run; running; election” “run”
- (59) a) *atoskākowin* ← *atoskaw + -iko + -win*  
 NI VTA  
 “work done for one” “work for s.o.”

<sup>37</sup> The general object *-ikē* attaches to VTI stems and to VTA<sub>2</sub> stems (i.e. those which end in a vowel-glide sequence). Otherwise, the general object marker for most VTA stems is *-iwē*.



- b) *asotamākowin* ← asotamaw + -iko + -win  
 NI VTA  
 “promise made to one” “promise (s.t.) to s.o.”
- (60) a) *otinikēwin* ← otinikē + -win ← otin + -ikē  
 NI VAI VTI  
 “shopping” “shop” “take s.t.”
- b) *asotamākēwin* ← asotamākē + -win ← asotamaw + -ikē  
 NI VAI VTA  
 “promise (made by one)” “promise (others)” “promise to s.o.”

In the examples in (59), *-iko* would seem to have been treated derivationally, before the addition of derivational *-win*, just as in (60). Note particularly the symmetry of the examples in (59b) and (60b) both meaning “promise” but differing in the direction of the obligation with *asotamākēwin* indicating a promise one has made to others, and *asotamākowin* being a promise others have made to you. If this is not the path of derivation in (59), then we would have to postulate a particularly rare occurrence of a derivational suffix following an inflectional suffix, counter to universal patterns of word formation.

The main difference between the two structures is that the verb stems ending in the general object *-ikē* are truly detransitivized, and no longer permit an object, as in (61), in contrast to what we have already seen for the inanimate actor forms.

- (61) *nikī-nitawi-otinikān* (\**kīkwaya*).  
 ni- kī- nitawi- otinikē -n (kīkway -a)  
 1 IPV IPV VAI 1/2 (NI 0p)  
 PST go.to shop (thing )  
 “I went shopping.” \*“I went shopping for things.”

Another difference can be found in the common use of general object *-ikē* verbs in command form, while inanimate actor forms with *-iko* are never used in the imperative. This is certainly natural, however, given the inherent meaning of such formations. Any command would necessarily be of a form analogous to English “be promised something!” which is just as impermissible as the Cree formation. The inanimate actor can simply not be addressed in the imperative and the patient or recipient, as in the original VTA stem, cannot exert control. It is just as pragmatically impermissible to

utter commands such as *kinwāskosi!* “be tall!” with what are otherwise perfectly regular VAI stems.

Thus, despite some clear syntactic differences, something about the two structures, general object and inanimate actor, results in a similar morphological treatment. It is not their overall valency which corresponds, but simply their valency in animate participants. Full VTA inflection is only in evidence when both highest ranking participants are animate. Once one of those participants is rendered inanimate or removed altogether, the verb is no longer treated like the prototypical transitive structure represented in the VTA paradigms. This observation holds considerable consequences for the remainder of the Cree verbal system.

### 2.3 Plains Cree Verbs: Transitivity vs. Animacy

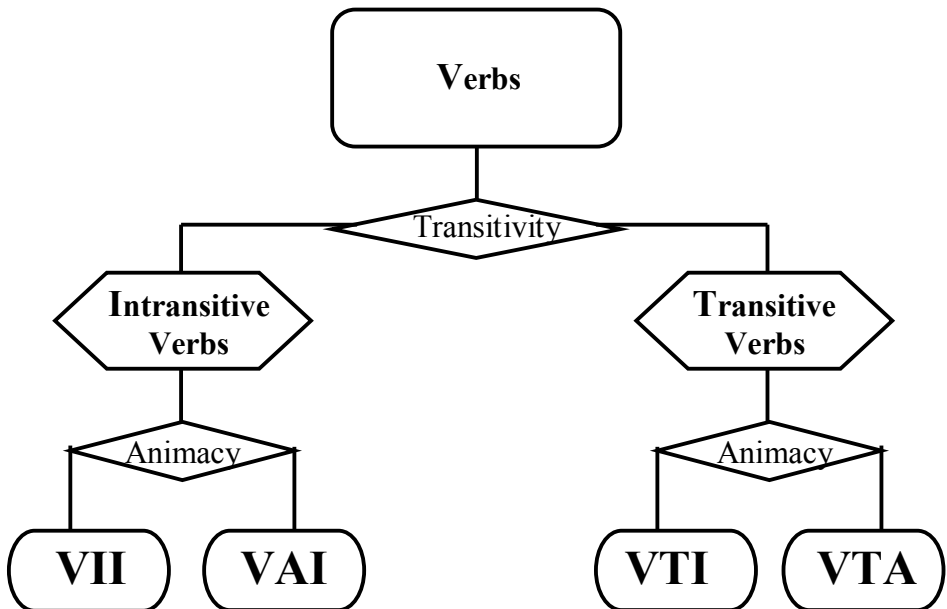
In the preceding discussion of Plains Cree VTA stems, we have looked in detail at one of the four main classes of Algonquian verbs. All four were briefly introduced in Chapter 1 where the following table was given, repeated here as Table 2.34.

**Table 2.34**  
**Algonquian Verb Classification**

		Transitivity	
		Intransitive	Transitive
Animacy	Inanimate	VII	VTI
	Animate	VAI	VTA

As implied in this table, and through most general discussions of the traditional Algonquian classification of verbs, the criterion of transitivity is given pride of place. Only once verbs have been divided by this important verbal criterion is the Algonquian animacy distinction used to further subdivide the verb classes. In recognizing this, the classification as it stands can be represented as in Figure 2.11.

**Figure 2.11**  
**Transitivity over Animacy**



### 2.3.1 VII, VAI and VTI

Although the basic patterns are well known among Algonquianists, and the Plains Cree verbal paradigms are available in a number of excellent resources (e.g. Wolfart 1973, 1996; Ahenakew 1987a; Okimāsis 2004), it will be useful to review some of the basic features of the VII, VAI, and VTI classes in comparison with the VTA stems already discussed previously. This will provide the background to the current (re-)analysis of the specific Plains Cree instantiation of this system.

## 2.3.1.1 Inanimate Intransitive Verbs (VII)

Inanimate Intransitive Verbs make reference to only a single inanimate participant. The range of person marking is therefore quite limited, though augmented by the aforementioned Algonquian division of third persons into proximate and obviative based on discourse topicality. The Independent (Tables 2.35 and 2.36) and Conjunct (Tables 2.37 and 2.38) Order paradigms thus each contain four possible person distinctions. As with third person verbal reference in general throughout the Cree paradigms, inanimate third person reference is marked by suffixes in both permissible Orders (VII stems do not permit the Imperative Order as inanimate participants cannot be commanded to act).

**Table 2.35**  
**VII Independent Order, Indicative Mode**

person	VII stem	endings	example	gloss
0s		-w	wāpāstēw	“It is faded”
0p		-wa	wāpāstēwa	“They are faded”
0’s		-ýiw	wāpāstēýiw	“(The other) is faded”
0’p		-ýiwa	wāpāstēýiwa	“(The others) are faded”

**Table 2.36**  
**VII Independent Morpheme Order**

	stem	obv	0s	0p
0s			-w	
0p			-w	-a
0’s		-ýi	-w	
0’p		-ýi	-w	-a

**Table 2.37**  
**VII Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode**

person	cmpl	VII stem	endings	example	gloss
0s	ē-		-k	ē-wāpāstēk	“(as) it is faded”
0p	ē-		-ki	ē-wāpāstēki	“(as) they are faded”
0’s	ē-		-ýik	ē-wāpāstēýik	“(as) (the other) is faded”
0’p	ē-		-ýiki	ē-wāpāstēýiki	“(as) (the others) are faded”

**Table 2.38**  
**VII Conjunct Morpheme Order**

	cmpl	stem	obv	0s	0p
<b>0s</b>	ē-			-k	
<b>0p</b>	ē-			-k	-i
<b>0's</b>	ē-		-ýi	-k	
<b>0'p</b>	ē-		-ýi	-k	-i

The basic pattern exhibited in these tables is already familiar from the preceding discussion of the VTA Mixed and Third Person Sets. The inanimate third person affixes are similar, if not identical, to their animate counterparts, while the order of elements is identical with an obligatory third person marker, which can be augmented by a following marker of plurality and/or a preceding marker for obviation. The obviative suffix *-ýi*, as will continue to be seen, is identical throughout all Cree verbal paradigms wherever the obviative third person is the highest ranking participant involved.

Slight variations in these paradigms are possible due to phonologically-conditioned stem type (cf. Appendices A and B), and a subset of impersonal verbs (primarily weather terms) occurs but is distinct only in forbidding plural reference (i.e. singular proximate (0s) and singular obviative (0's) both occur). Because of the absence of animate reference, first and second person forms are not possible, and thus the VII paradigms are very distinct from all other verb types and at the opposite end of the spectrum from the complex VTA paradigms.

### 2.3.1.2 Animate Intransitive Verbs (VAI)

In contrast to the VII stems, the sole referent of an animate intransitive verb can take the full range of animate person reference. Thus, the VAI Independent (Tables 2.39 and 2.40) and Conjunct (Tables 2.41 and 2.42) Order paradigms (on the following pages) consist of eight distinct person forms. In comparing the basic VAI paradigms with the VII tables from the previous section, we find that this is not the only striking difference. In the Independent VAI paradigm, we encounter person prefixes, but only for the speech act participants. In both Independent and Conjunct Orders, the distinction of form between speech act participants and third person reference is very highly marked, just as we have already seen in the VTA paradigms.

**Table 2.39**  
VAI Independent Order, Indicative Mode

person	prefix	VAI Stem	endings	example	gloss
1s	ni-		-n	<b>niwāpāson</b>	“I am fair/pale”
2s	ki-		-n	<b>kiwāpāson</b>	“You are fair/pale”
1p	ni-		-nān	<b>niwāpāsonān</b>	“We are fair/pale”
2l	ki-		-(nā)naw	<b>kiwāpāso(nā)naw</b>	“We are fair/pale”
2p	ki-		-nāwāw	<b>kiwāpāsonāwāw</b>	“You (all) are fair/pale”
3s			-w	wāpāsow	“S/he is fair/pale”
3p			-wak	wāpāsowak	“They are fair/pale”
3'			-yīwa	wāpāsoyīwa	“(The other(s)) is/are fair/pale”

**Table 2.40**  
VAI Independent Morpheme Order

	SAP	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'
<b>1s</b>	ni-		-n			
<b>2s</b>	ki-		-n			
<b>1p</b>	ni-		-nān			
<b>2l</b>	ki-		-(nā)naw			
<b>2p</b>	ki-		-nāwāw			
<b>3s</b>					-w	
<b>3p</b>					-w	-ak
<b>3'</b>				-yī	-w	-a

In comparison with the VTA Independent forms, the third person markers are identical, though there are some small differences in the form of the speech act participant suffixes. When these latter are compared with the suffixes found in the Inanimate Actor paradigm, however, we see that they are identical (compare Tables 2.31 and 2.40). In fact, with the exception of the inverse theme traditionally included in the Inanimate Actor paradigm, the forms are identical, lending further weight to the similarity of these forms despite the difference in transitivity. The same is true of the Conjunct Order paradigms, where Table 2.42 can be compared with the Inanimate Actor Table 2.33 given earlier.

**Table 2.41**  
VAI Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode

person	cmpl	VAI Stem	endings	example	gloss
1s	ē-		-yān	ē-wāpāsoyān	“(as) I am fair/pale”
2s	ē-		-yan	ē-wāpāsoyan	“(as) you are fair/pale”
1p	ē-		-yāhk	ē-wāpāsoyāhk	“(as) we are fair/pale”
2l	ē-		-yahk	ē-wāpāsoyahk	“(as) we are fair/pale”
2p	ē-		-yēk	ē-wāpāsoyēk	“(as) you (all) are fair/pale”
3s	ē-		-t	ē-wāpāsoṭ	“(as) s/he is fair/pale”
3p	ē-		-cik	ē-wāpāsoḥik	“(as) they are fair/pale”
3'	ē-		-yit	ē-wāpāsoyit	“(as) (the other(s)) is/are fair/pale”

**Table 2.42**  
VAI Conjunct Morpheme Order

	cmpl	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'
<b>1s</b>	ē-		-yān			
<b>2s</b>	ē-		-yan			
<b>1p</b>	ē-		-yāhk			
<b>2l</b>	ē-		-yahk			
<b>2p</b>	ē-		-yēk			
<b>3s</b>	ē-				-t	
<b>3p</b>	ē-				-t	-ik
<b>3'</b>	ē-				-yi	-t

In the Conjunct paradigms, we see that the similarities and differences are being accentuated. The third person forms occur in the same pattern in all paradigms, with only the substitution of forms specific to inanimate or animate reference as evident when comparing VII and VAI endings. Cross-cutting Orders and verb classes alike, we again see the presence of the morpheme *-yi* signalling the obviative status of the cross-referenced participant which indicates that it is outranked by a more salient third person referent in the clause or preceding discourse. Speech act participant reference also shares a number of identical forms with the VTA patterns, but where they differ, they are instead identical to the Inanimate Actor suffixes.

With the full range of person reference available, VAI stems can also occur in the Imperative Order (Tables 2.43 and 2.44). This is restricted to

second person forms, whether true imperatives directed to the second person singular (2s) or plural exclusive (2p), or the hortative directed by the speaker to the group of which she is a part (i.e. plural inclusive (21)). As already introduced for VTAs, an additional feature of the Imperative Order is that it occurs in the two forms, Immediate (IMM) and Delayed (DEL) Imperative. The division is analogous to a tense distinction (as it is classified by Ellis 1970:83), though the delayed imperative suffixes appear to share features with the Conjunct Order inflections.

**Table 2.43**  
**VAI Imperative Order**

	person	VAI Stem	endings	example	gloss
IMM	2s		-Ø	nikamo	“Sing!”
	2p		-k	nikamok	“Sing (ye)!”
	21		-tān	nikamotān	“Let’s sing!”
DEL	2s		-hkan	nikamohkan	“Sing later!”
	2p		-hkēk	nikamohkēk	“Sing (ye) later!”
	21		-hkahk	nikamohkahn	“Let’s sing later!”

**Table 2.44**  
**VAI Imperative Morpheme Order**

		stem	del	SAP
IMM	2s			-Ø
	2p			-k
	21			-tān
DEL	2s		-hk	-an
	2p		-hk	-ēk
	21		-hk	-ahn

The three local forms represented in the Imperative Order are thus marked as follows in the the Conjunct and Imperative respectively: 2s *-yan/-an*; 21 *-yahk/-ahn*; 2p *-yēk/-ēk*. The alternation of [y]-initial forms with those that lack [y] will be very important in the subsequent discussion of the agreement patterns exhibited in all paradigms.



Not all VAI stems are felicitous in the Imperative, since the action needs to be something that a volitional agent can control. Thus, a different verb has been used to exemplify the Imperative in Table 2.43 in comparison to the earlier VII and VAI paradigms. One final comparison must be made between VAI and VII stems themselves. Note that it is not only the form of the person affixes that differentiates the verb types but the very form of the stem itself. Thus, from the paradigm examples above, the VII stem *wāpāstē* “be faded” can be compared with VAI *wāpāso-* “be pale, be fair-complexioned”. A great many such pairs occur within the language, relating these two intransitive verb forms.

### 2.3.1.3 Transitive Inanimate Verbs (VTI)

In contrast to both VII and VAI stems, transitive inanimate verbs (VTIs) pattern with VTA stems by making reference to two participants. In the case of VTIs, these will be an animate actor or first argument and a second argument which is inanimate. As such, this should, at least theoretically, allow for a doubling of the possible paradigmatic forms since now each of the animate persons can act upon an inanimate patient (or “goal” in the Algonquianist sense) in either the singular or plural. The extent to which this occurs actually shows considerable variation across the Algonquian languages. For instance, Micmac has extensive agreement with singular and plural inanimate objects (as well as adding a dual distinction for subjects; cf. Fidelholtz 1999). Blackfoot allows singular and plural object marking but only when speech act participants are acting, not with third person agents (i.e. where the inanimate patient would necessarily be obviative; cf. Frantz 1991). Saulteaux (Ojibwa) marks the inanimate object as singular and plural only when the actor is singular (1s, 2s and 3s; cf. Cote 1985), and a similar situation seems to pertain for Western Abenaki (cf. Goddard 1967). Cheyenne only marginally appears to mark the number distinction for inanimate objects when the animate actor is plural (i.e. 1p, 2p and 3p; cf. Leman 1980). In contrast with all of these, Cree does not mark a number distinction for objects at all, as illustrated in Tables 2.45 and 2.46.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the double paradigms provided for each of the other verb classes, the morpheme order analysis will be reserved for more detailed discussion below.

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<sup>38</sup> The forms of these paradigms are based on Wolfart 1973 and Ahenakew 1987a.

**Table 2.45**  
**VTI Independent Order, Indicative Mode**

person	prefix	VTI Stem	endings	example	gloss
1s	ni-		-ēn	<b>niwāpahtēn</b>	“I see it/them”
2s	ki-		-ēn	<b>kiwāpahtēn</b>	“You see it/them”
1p	ni-		-ēnān	<b>niwāpahtēnān</b>	“We see it/them”
2l	ki-		-ē(nā)naw	<b>kiwāpahtē(nā)naw</b>	“We see it/them”
2p	ki-		-ēnāwāw	<b>kiwāpahtēnāwāw</b>	“You (all) see it/them”
3s			-am	<b>wāpahtam</b>	“S/he sees it/them”
3p			-amwak	<b>wāpahtamwak</b>	“They see it/them”
3’			-amiyiwa	<b>wāpahtamiyiwa</b>	“(The other(s)) see(s) it/them”

**Table 2.46**  
**VTI Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode**

person	prefix	VTI Stem	endings	example	gloss
1s	ē-		-amān	<b>ē-wāpahtamān</b>	“(as) I see it/them”
2s	ē-		-aman	<b>ē-wāpahtaman</b>	“(as) you see it/them”
1p	ē-		-amāhk	<b>ē-wāpahtamāhk</b>	“(as) we see it/them”
2l	ē-		-amahk	<b>ē-wāpahtamahk</b>	“(as) we see it/them”
2p	ē-		-amēk	<b>ē-wāpahtamēk</b>	“(as) you (all) see it/them”
3s	ē-		-ahk	<b>ē-wāpahtahk</b>	“(as) s/he sees it/them”
3p	ē-		-ahkik	<b>ē-wāpahtahkik</b>	“(as) they see it/them”
3’	ē-		-amiyit	<b>ē-wāpahtamiyit</b>	“(as) (the other(s)) see(s) it/them”

Without any number distinction among the inanimate objects of Cree VTI stems, the divisions of these tables are identical to the VAI paradigms given in section 2.3.1.2, though considerable differences appear in the respective endings. The similarities and differences will be the subject of sections 2.3.2 and 2.4 in which two alternative analyses of the VAI and VTI paradigms in Cree will be discussed. For now, we can note that the considerable differences that one might expect between intransitive VAIs and the transitive VTIs do not seem to be evident in the Cree paradigms. The lack of distinctiveness between VAI and VTI paradigms is reinforced by the pattern (if not the actual suffixes) of the VTI Imperative Order, given in Table 2.47, in comparison with VAI Table 2.43.

**Table 2.47**  
**VTI Imperative Order**

	person	VTI Stem	endings	example	gloss
IMM	2s		-a	nitona	“Look for it!”
	2p		-amok	niton <b>amok</b>	“Look (ye) for it!”
	21		-ētān	niton <b>ētān</b>	“Let’s look for it!”
DEL	2s		-amōhkan	niton <b>amōhkan</b>	“Look for it later!”
	2p		-amōhkēk	niton <b>amōhkēk</b>	“Look (ye) for it later!”
	21		-amōhkahk	niton <b>amōhkahk</b>	“Let’s look for it later!”

Still, these verbs are fully transitive and, just as there are many pairs of intransitive VAI and VII stems, so too do the vast majority of VTI stems have corresponding VTA stems:

- (62) VTI: *wāpaht-* “see s.t.”      VTI: *niton-* “look for s.t.”  
 VTA: *wāpam-* “see s.o.”      VTA: *nitonaw-* “look for s.o.”
- VTI: *pakamah-* “hit s.t.”      VTI: *wēpin-* “throw s.t. out”  
 VTA: *pakamahw-* “hit s.o.”      VTA: *wēpin-* “throw s.o. out”

As will be seen subsequently, this feature of paired VTI and VTA stems can in turn be used as a test of the (in)transitive status of certain verbs which present problems for this classification.

### 2.3.1.4 Transitive Animate Verbs Revisited

Though VTIs and VTAs do share the feature of transitivity, we have already seen that transitive animate verbs differ greatly by forming a far more extensive and truly distinct class in Cree and throughout the Algonquian family. We have also seen, in the Inanimate Actor paradigms, a situation in which transitivity seems to be overridden in favour of simply marking the involvement of the important animate participants.

Two other construction types associated with VTA stems can now also be cited with regard to this pattern. As noted in the earlier discussion of person interactions coded by VTA stems, reflexive and reciprocal actions are not

represented within the full VTA paradigms (see section 2.2 and particularly Table 2.1). Both reflexive (RFLX) and reciprocal (RCPL) constructions are built on VTA stem forms, but only as modified by detransitivizing derivational suffixes, creating new stems that fit exactly the pattern of the animate intransitive (VAI) paradigms. For the purposes of illustration, a fully transitive interaction based on the VTA stem *wīcih-* ‘help s.o.’ is again illustrated in example (63), with both direct (63a) and inverse (63b) morphology, while a reflexive derived by the addition of *-iso*, and a reciprocal derived by the addition of *-ito*, are shown in examples (64) and (65) respectively. The derived stems, *wīcihiso-* ‘help oneself’ and *wīcihito-* ‘help one another’ take VAI and only VAI stem inflections and can only ever reference a single participant, as illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (64b) and (65b) respectively.

- (63) a) *kikī-wīcihānawak.*  
 ki- kī- wīcih -ā -naw -ak  
 2 IPV VTA DIR 21 3p  
 PST help 21-3p  
 ‘We (incl) helped them.’
- b) *kikī-wīcihikonawak.*  
 ki- kī- wīcih -iko -naw -ak  
 2 IPV VTA INV 21 3p  
 PST help 3p-21  
 ‘They helped us (incl).’
- (64) a) *kikī-wīcihisonaw.*  
 ki- kī- wīcihiso -naw  
 2 IPV VAI 21  
 PST self.help  
 ‘We helped ourselves.’ (e.g. ‘We did it on our own.’)
- b) *\*kikī-wīcihisonawak.*  
 ki- kī- wīcih -iso -naw -ak  
 2 IPV VTA RFLX 21 3p  
 PST help self  
 ‘??’

- (65) a) *kikī-wīcihitonaw*.  
 ki- kī- wīcihito -naw  
 2 IPV VAI 21  
 PST one.another.help  
 “We helped each other.” (e.g. ‘I helped you and you helped me.’)
- b) \**kikī-wīcihitonawak*.  
 ki- kī- wīcih -ito -naw -ak  
 2 IPV VTA RCPL 21 3p  
 PST help one.another  
 “??”

Because of the clear presence of the VTA stem form *wīcih-* within these constructions, Okimāsis and Ratt (1999:83) originally represented these in restricted reflexive and reciprocal VTA paradigms. For the purposes of illustration, only the reflexive Independent Order paradigm will be represented here, modified slightly in Table 2.48 to match the forms of the tables used throughout the current work (cf. Okimāsis and Ratt 1984:83).<sup>39</sup>

**Table 2.48**  
**VTA Independent Order Mixed and Third Person Set Reflexives**

		A2		
A1	prefix	stem	endings	example
1s-	ni-		-ison	niwīcihison
2s-	ki-		-ison	kiwīcihison
1p-	ni-		-isonān	niwīcihisonān
21-	ki-		-iso(nā)naw	kiwīcihiso(nā)naw
2p-	ki-		-isonāwāw	kiwīcihisonāwāw
3s-			-isow	wīcihisow
3p-			-isowak	wīcihisowak
3 <sup>2</sup> -			-isojīwa	wīcihisojīwa

This in turn lends itself to the following morphemic analysis in Table 2.49.

<sup>39</sup> Reciprocals are nearly identical, though typically restricted to only plural reference, which thus usually eliminates 1s, 2s, and 3s reciprocal constructions. The Conjunct Order presents no deviations from the patterns noted here for the Independent.

**Table 2.49**  
**Independent Reflexive Morpheme Order**

	SAP	stem	reflx	SAP	obv	3s	3p/3'	interaction
1s	ni-		-iso	-n				1s-1s
2s	ki-		-iso	-n				2s-2s
1p	ni-		-iso	-nān				1p-1p
21	ki-		-iso	-(nā)naw				21-21
2p	ki-		-iso	-nāwāw				2p-2p
3s			-iso			-w		3s-3s
3p			-iso			-w	-ak	3p-3p
3'			-iso		-yi	-w	-a	3'-3'

This in fact mirrors the original Inanimate Actor paradigm given in Table 2.31, substituting only the reflexive (refl) morpheme *-iso* for inverse *-iko*. Interpreting the reflexive *-iso* (and reciprocal *-ito*) as derivational in these constructions is far less controversial than the above extension of such an analysis to the Inanimate Actor, and is the standard analysis in Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a), while also being adopted more recently by Okimāsis (2004). The result of removing the reflexive morpheme from Table 2.49 and treating it as part of the derived stem leaves yet another paradigm set identical in form to the intransitive VAI pattern. Although built on VTA stems, reflexives and reciprocals are simply coded as intransitive verbs in Cree.<sup>40</sup> Since the first and second arguments of a reflexive are one and the same entity, there is semantically only one distinct animate participant involved. This is extended to reciprocals where, as in example (65a) above, the individuals within a plural group might each act on the other, such that those acting and those affected by the action are one and the same, and hence only one distinct animate participant is semantically present. Reflexives and reciprocals therefore present two more examples in which transitivity appears to be outranked by the importance of animacy, and this continues to have important consequences for the Plains Cree verbal system.

### 2.3.2 The Cree Verbal System Revisited

Having briefly surveyed the four-way Algonquian verbal classification, we have noted that VII and VTA stems are optimally differentiated. VIIs are restricted to the limited number of inanimate person distinctions without

<sup>40</sup> Examples of lexicalized reciprocals, at least as an alternate strategy, can be found in English as well. For instance, we can replace “we talk to each other” with “we interact” (Hengeveld: personal communication).

animate person reference, while VTAs show a high number of interactions between two distinct animate participants. Between these two extremes, we have the VAI and VTI paradigms which, though arguably closer to each other than either is to the VII or VTA paradigms, still generally exhibit differences which keep them distinct. These differences have been accentuated over time in some of the languages (e.g. Micmac and Ojibwa), reinforcing the Algonquian distinction. However, we have also begun to see that these two paradigms have actually been reshaped and made more similar in Cree. The actual picture is considerably more complex and the aim of the remainder of the current section is to take a much closer look at the Plains Cree VAI and VTI paradigms and offer a reanalysis of these paradigms, which, though fairly minor in itself, has considerable consequences for the entire Cree verbal classification system, its saliency for speakers, and its learnability for both L1 and L2 speakers.

Even the general Algonquian classification has apparently exhibited inconsistencies at least as far back as Proto-Algonquian (cf. Bloomfield 1946, Goddard 1967). The most striking exceptions are to be found in what Bloomfield (1946:95) termed the set of “pseudo-transitive” verbs.<sup>41</sup> This is a set of semantically transitive verbs, present in most if not all Algonquian languages, which pattern morphologically exactly like the intransitive VAI class, contrary to the requirements of the categories just described. In other words, there is a fairly large class of verbs, which we might expect to be classified as VTIs but which pattern as VAIs instead. Given the important status of the transitivity distinction, such a clear break from the classification has puzzled analysts since it was first noted. It has also clearly had an effect on the speakers of Algonquian languages, since various changes in the classification system have been observed across the Algonquian family. This anomalous class of “pseudo-transitives” is behind the changes already alluded to in such languages as Ojibwa and Micmac, where these verbs have been reanalyzed and reshaped into truly transitive verbs which now fit the classification much better. The very fact that such changes have been made illustrates the saliency of the classification system itself for these languages. However, “pseudo-transitives” remain exceptional to the system in a number of languages, including Cree.

The examples which follow illustrate the basic VAI (66) and VTI (67) third person actor patterns, for both the Independent (a) and Conjunct (b) Orders, and can be compared with the paradigms given in sections 2.2.1.2

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<sup>41</sup> The term “pseudo-transitive” seems to imply that this set is pretending to be transitive when it is not. It is actually the opposite case. They are fully transitive verbs both semantically and syntactically, but which morphologically appear as if they are “pretending” to be intransitive.

and 2.2.1.3 respectively. In each example, a lexical inanimate third person obviative referent (0's) is optionally included to illustrate either the impossibility of including an object with the intransitive verb in (66), or the optionality of lexicalizing the object with the transitive verb in (67).<sup>42</sup>

- (66) a) *pimohtēw* (\**mēskanaw*).  
 pimohtē -w \**mēskanaw*  
 VAI 3s NI.0's  
 walk road  
 "S/he walks / S/he is walking." \*"S/he walks the road."
- b) *ē-pimohtēt* (\**mēskanaw*) ...  
 ē- pimohtē -t \**mēskanaw*  
 IPV VAI 3s NI.0's  
 CNJ walk road  
 "(as) s/he walks/ \*"As s/he is walking  
 / (as) s/he is walking ..." the road..."
- (67) a) *wāpahtam* (*mēskanaw*).  
 wāpaht -am *mēskanaw*  
 VTI 3s(-0') NI.0's  
 see road  
 "S/he sees it." "S/he sees a/the road."
- b) *ē-wāpahtahk* (*mēskanaw*) ...  
 ē- wāpaht -ahk *mēskanaw*  
 IPV VTI 3s(-0') NI.0's  
 CNJ see road  
 "(as) s/he sees it ..." "(as) s/he sees a/the road ..."

The differences between the third person forms of the VAI and VTI paradigms seem quite clear. The VAI stem, *pimohtē-*, ends in a vowel and takes the suffixes *-w* in the Independent Order and *-t* in the Conjunct Order. In contrast, the VTI stem, *wāpaht-*, ends in a consonant and takes the Independent suffix *-am* and the Conjunct suffix *-ahk*.<sup>43</sup> However, Cree also

<sup>42</sup> The inanimate referent, ungrammatical in (66) and acceptable in (67), is covertly marked for obviation since it is the lower-ranking third person participant in the clause. The examples in (66) can be made felicitous with the inclusion of the inanimate noun only if the noun is placed in the locative (e.g. *mēskanāhk* "on the road"), thus removing it from consideration as a possible argument of the verb.

<sup>43</sup> This analysis follows Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a) who include everything following a consonant-final VTI stem (e.g. *wāpaht-*) as part of the person inflection, without



exhibits a large class of “pseudo-transitive” verbs, as exemplified in (68).

- (68) a) *kīsihtāw (mēskanaw)*  
 kīsihtā -w mēskanaw  
 VAI 3s(-0') NI.0's  
 finish road  
 “S/he finishes it.” “S/he finishes (making) the road.”
- b) *ē-kīsihtāt (mēskanaw) ...*  
 ē- kīsihtā -t mēskanaw  
 IPV VAI 3s(-0') NI.0's  
 CNJ finish road  
 “(as) s/he finishes it ...” “As s/he is finishing the road ...”

Here, the grammatical inclusion of the object *mēskanaw* “road” illustrates the transitivity of the verb, as does the fact that, as with pseudo-transitives in general, this stem, *kīsihtā-* “finish s.t.”, pairs with a VTA stem *kīsih-* “finish s.o.”. However, the morphological pattern is clearly identical to that of the VAI stem in (66), with a vowel-final stem, *kīsihtā-*, plus the Independent third person suffix *-w* and the Conjunct third person suffix *-t*. Cree “pseudo-transitives” simply seem to pattern exactly like animate intransitive (VAI) verbs morphologically.

In order to show that this is not necessarily the case in all Algonquian languages, the Saulteaux (Ojibwa) cognates of these three Cree examples are given in (69) through (71). The Saulteaux VAI examples in (69) are very similar to Cree (as in (66)), with the exception that the Saulteaux Independent third person is unmarked (i.e. a  $\emptyset$ -morpheme).

- (69) a) *pimohsē (\*mīhkana)*.  
 pimohsē - $\emptyset$  \*mīhkana  
 VAI 3s NI.0's  
 walk road  
 “S/he walks / S/he is walking.” \*“(S/he walks the road.)”
- b) *pimohsēt (\*mīhkana) ...*  
 pimohsē -t \*mīhkana  
 VAI 3s NI.0's  
 walk road  
 “(as) s/he walks / (as) s/he is walking ...” \*“(As s/he is walking the road ...”

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necessarily recognizing any specific marker for the inanimate object. Details of this analysis and alternatives will be dealt with subsequently.

In (70), the Saulteaux VTI Conjunct form (70b) is again very similar to the Cree equivalent illustrated earlier in (67b). There is, however, a considerable difference in the Independent forms where Saulteaux includes a third person prefix *o-* and the suffix *-ān* can then be analyzed as marking the inanimate obviative object.<sup>44</sup>

- (70) a) *owāpantān (mīhkana)*.  
 o- wāpant -ān mīhkana  
 3s VTI 0's NI.0's  
 see road  
 "S/he sees it." "S/he sees a/the road."
- b) *wāpantank (mīhkana) ...*  
 wāpant -ank mīhkana  
 VAI 3s-0' NI.0's  
 see road  
 "(as) s/he sees it ..." "(as) s/he sees a/the road ..."

Finally, in Saulteaux, the equivalent of the Cree "pseudo-transitive" retains a Conjunct form comparable to Cree and of a typical VAI pattern (see (71b)). However, for Saulteaux at least, this is attributed not to the VAI pattern as such, but simply the morphophonemic shape of the verb stem (i.e. vowel-final) requiring the *-t* third person suffix.<sup>45</sup> The Independent form, with its third person prefix *o-* and object suffix *-n* clearly shows that it is being marked as a VTI. Because these are still somewhat distinct from the basic VTI pattern, verbs like *kīšihtō-* are classified as VTI class 2 verbs in Ojibwa dialects (cf. Cote 1985; Nichols and Nyholm 1995).

- (71) a) *okīšihtōn (mīhkana)*  
 o- kīšihtō -n mīhkana  
 3s VTI-2 0's NI.0's  
 finish road  
 "S/he finishes it." "S/he finishes (making) the road."

<sup>44</sup> It is even possible to mark this obviative object as plural on the verb and noun: *owāpantānan mīhkanan* "s/he sees (them) the roads".

<sup>45</sup> It will be argued subsequently that such an explanation is certainly available for Cree as well. This is not to suggest that the historical pathway to such a system has been straightforward. Instead, it may have needed a considerable amount of analogical levelling to arrive at such a state.

b)	<i>kāših̄tōt</i>	( <i>mīhkana</i> ) ...	
	<i>kāših̄tō</i>	-t	<i>mīhkana</i>
	VTI-2	3s(-0's)	NI.0's
	finish		road
	“(as) s/he finishes it ...”		“(as) s/he is finishing the road ...”

In Saulteaux and the Ojibwa dialects in general, “pseudo-transitives” have been shifted to emphasize the transitivity of the verbs and create a slightly different class of VTI stems, known as VTI class 2. In Cree, “pseudo-transitives” pattern exactly like VAIs morphologically. This has resulted in a number of different means of dealing with this apparently aberrant class of verbs, with each analysis ultimately based in a preference of either the morphology or the syntax and semantics of the verbs. For instance, Wolfart (1973), Ahenakew (1987a) and Wolfart and Ahenakew (1998) choose to classify these verbs as VAIs on the basis of their inflectional patterns. In contrast, Okimāsis and Ratt (1984, 1999) and Okimāsis (2004) reject this due to the use of the syntactic terms “transitive” and “intransitive” in the traditional titles of the verb classes themselves. As language instructors, they find it impossible to teach definitions of transitivity to their students and then defy those definitions by classifying “pseudo-transitives” as VAIs or “animate **intransitive** verbs”. Hence, despite the morphological identity of the paradigms, the “pseudo-transitives” have been classified as VTI class 2 based on their transitivity (cf. Okimāsis 2004:70-72).<sup>46</sup> This corresponds exactly with the class 2 VTIs found in Ojibwa and other Algonquian languages such as Micmac, providing for continuity with sister languages within the Algonquian family. In an attempt to reconcile these positions, and in trying to recognize both the morphological identity with VAIs and the semantic and syntactic transitivity of these verbs, both Ellis (1995) and Wolvengrey (2001) each suggest compromises by using the abbreviations VAI-T and VAI*t* respectively, but without any suggested modification of the basic classification.

Although the “pseudo-transitives” are the most obvious problem for the four-way classification, there is a much smaller though still significant set of verbs which exhibit the opposite behaviour. These “pseudo-intransitives” are semantically intransitive, but appear to follow the VTI pattern. Examples from Cree include the following, given in (72) and (73), in which the impermissible inclusion of an object illustrates their intransitive status.

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<sup>46</sup> Due to other morphological considerations, “pseudo-transitives” are generally divided into two distinct classes, which are thus classified as VTI classes 2 and 3.

(72) *ostostotam* (\**sihkowin*).<sup>47</sup>

ostostot	-am	* <i>sihkowin</i>
VTI?	3s(-0's?)	NI.0's
cough		spittle
“S/he coughs.”		*“S/he coughs up spittle.”

(73) *māham* (\**cīmān*).

māh	-am	* <i>cīmān</i>
VTI?	3s(-0's?)	NI.0's
paddle.downstream		canoe
“S/he paddles downstream.”		*“S/he paddles a canoe downstream”

Another fact that suggests stems such as these are not transitive is that they have no VTA counterparts, as do regular VTI stems and “pseudo-transitives”. And yet, due solely to their morphology, they have unquestionably been classified as VTI stems in Cree.

We thus have an Algonquian classification, based primarily on transitivity, which is very imperfectly reflected in the modern Cree data. We also have several different analyses of this system and how best to fit it to the Algonquian classification. In section 2.3.3 below, the two leading analyses will be examined with respect to the transitivity-based ideal, with suggestions for modification in order for the classification in Cree to better adhere to the Algonquian system. Following this, however, a quite different analysis will be offered in section 2.4, based on the primacy of animacy rather than transitivity, which will break with the Algonquian classification in favour of the facts of Cree specifically.

### 2.3.3 Transitivity-based Cree Verb Classifications

In section 2.2.1.3, some examples of the VTI paradigms were given following a particular analysis which, though commonly cited, is not without alternatives. This analysis, as exemplified in Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a), will be examined in its own light, before an alternative treatment, given in Okimāsis and Ratt (1984, 1999) is similarly examined. This will be followed by suggestions for an improved classification allowing for the retention of the Algonquian transitivity-based classification, though section

<sup>47</sup> A more appropriate word might be *akik* “rheum, mucous”, but this is animate in Cree, and would not be possible as the object of a VTI. It is in fact possible to say something like “cough up (mucous)/bring up (mucous)”, but this requires a completely different stem, the VTA *pāpayih-* “bring s.o. forth”, which has a “pseudo-transitive” (VAI/VAI-T/VAIt/VTI class 2) counterpart *pāpayihtā-* “bring s.t. forth”.

2.4 will then further argue that retention of the Algonquian classification comes at the cost of ignoring some extremely salient features of Cree specifically.

### 2.3.3.1 Wolfart and Ahenakew

The VTI Independent, Conjunct and Imperative Order paradigms cited in section 2.3.1.3 above follow the analyses of Wolfart (1973) as favoured by Ahenakew (1987a). Several features of these paradigms will be examined. First and foremost, the inflected verb has been segmented in order to allow for the simplest possible, invariant stem form. Everything that is not entirely consistent is attributed to the person-marking endings. Second, the endings are attributed to agreement with the animate actor, without any specification of a feature of agreement with the inanimate object. Combined, these two decisions may have been based on simplicity and form, but they are made at the expense of several features of the Cree paradigms, whether internally to the VTI paradigms themselves, or in the form of person cross-indexing across the Cree verbal paradigms in general, or through the historical derivation of the forms. Each of these will be examined below.

The endings from Wolfart and Ahenakew's VTI paradigms are summarized in Table 2.50.

**Table 2.50**  
**VTI Inflectional Analysis #1**  
**Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a)**

person	VTI Stem	VTI endings			
		Independent	Conjunct	Imperative (Imm)	Imperative (Del)
1s	wāpaht-	-ēn	-amān		
2s		-ēn	-aman	-a	-amōhkan <sup>48</sup>
1p		-ēnān	-amāhk		
21		-ē(nā)naw	-amahk	-ētān	-amōhkahk
2p		-ēnāwāw	-amēk	-amok	-amōhkēk
3s		-am	-ahk		
3p		-amwak	-ahkik		
3'		-amiyiwa	-amiyit		

<sup>48</sup> Delayed imperative endings are generally represented as lengthening the preceding vowel (at least historically), and so these forms are represented in Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a) with a long [o:]. This is not done in Okimāsis and Ratt (1984, 1999) as the distinctiveness of vowel length is being obscured before pre-aspirated consonants in Plain Cree.

The main problem centers around the analysis of third person forms in the Independent Order which all include the sequence /am/. The identification of *-am* as agreement for the third person actor allows for both an invariant stem and the consistent interpretation of all inflection to be markers of the animate actor, features often felt to be a virtue of this analysis. Looked at in isolation, it is true that *-am* is restricted to third person forms in the Independent. However, this ignores the fact that this same marker occurs in numerous places (sometimes extended as *-amo*) in the Conjunct and Imperative Orders, where it is apparently more commonly associated with speech act participants than with third persons. Such a distribution requires consideration and at least initially suggests that *-am* should not be equated with the third person actor.

A second problem with the VTI identification of *-am* with third person actor is that it ignores the fact that this morpheme nowhere else marks animate third person forms. Table 2.51 compares some other forms of animate (and inanimate) third person agreement, illustrating a limited number of possibilities.

**Table 2.51**  
**Third Person Verbal Cross-Reference**

	person	Independent	Conjunct
VII	0s	<b>-w / -Ø</b>	<b>-k</b>
	0p	<b>-wa</b>	<b>-ki</b>
VAI	3s	<b>-w / -Ø</b>	<b>-t (/ -k)</b>
	3p	<b>-wak</b>	<b>-cik (/ -kik)</b>
VTI	3s	<b>-<u>am</u></b>	<b>-<u>ahk</u></b>
	3p	<b>-<u>amwak</u></b>	<b>-<u>ahkik</u></b>
VTA Direct	3s(-3')	<b>-w</b>	<b>-t</b>
	3p(-3')	<b>-wak</b>	<b>-cik</b>
VTA Inverse	(3'-)3s	<b>-Ø (/ -w)</b>	<b>-t</b>
	(3'-)-3p	<b>-wak</b>	<b>-cik</b>

Inclusion of Wolfart and Ahenakew's VTI forms shows, in fact, that /am/ stands out like a sore thumb, found nowhere else. Instead, third person Independent reference is quite consistently handled by the suffix *-w*, although the alternative of zero-marking (-Ø) is also a possibility. The plural then simply adds the same animate nominal pluralizer *-ak*. In fact, removing /am/ from the VTI forms, leaves -Ø and *-wak*, allowing the third person to be marked consistently across all animate paradigms. The situation is similar in

the Conjunct where *-t* is the fairly consistent marker of the third person singular, to which can be added plural *-ik* (along with palatalization of the *-t* to [c]). A marginal variant of *-t* is *-k*, mostly limited to inanimate reference but also found in a subclass of VAI verbs to be discussed subsequently (see especially Table 2.57 in section 2.3.3.3 below). If this (and plural *-kik*) is segmented from the VTI conjunct, we are left with /ah/ rather than /am/. However, this is simply /am/ disguised by historical sound change of nasals to [h] before consonants (cf. Pentland 1979).<sup>49</sup>

This then is our third important criterion, the historical origin of *-am* which is essentially an object marker for the inanimate patient. As such, the consistency with which it occurs in all forms of the conjunct is explained (even where *-am* appears as [ah]). What is unexplained and continues to be problematical for a unitary analysis are the forms in which /am/ does not appear to occur in any form. This, more than anything else, mediated against an analysis in which *-am* could be treated as an object marker, since it cannot be found in all instances in which we might expect it. Instead, the Wolfart-Ahenakew analysis favours unity of form, and settles for marking the VTI paradigms as maximally distinct, not only from VAI but all other paradigms in Cree. It only does so, however, for standard VTI forms, or what are elsewhere referred to as VTI class 1 forms. For pseudo-transitives, unity of form suggests that these are fully VAI forms and so Wolfart and Ahenakew (1998) continue to treat them as such, despite the fact that this means referring to a subclass of transitive verbs as “intransitive”.

### 2.3.3.2 Okimāsis and Ratt

In a slightly different analysis, Okimāsis and Ratt (1984, 1999) take their cues from the transitivity-based terminology and group regular VTIs and pseudo-transitives alike under the title VTI, necessitating the division of VTIs into classes 1, 2 and 3. The majority of pseudo-transitive verbs form class 2, which is further morphologically marked by the fact that these stems all end in /ā/ (or even /-htā/). Class 3 is a minor group of pseudo-transitive verbs, most commonly exemplified by *mīci-* “eat s.t.”, which do not end in /ā/ and so are exceptional. This analysis allows for all transitive verbs with an inanimate object to be classified as such, and this exactly matches at least two analyses of Ojibwa dialects (cf. Cote 1985; Nichols and Nyholm 1995). However, it also creates three sets of paradigms - VTI classes 2 and 3 and the basic VAI paradigms - which are completely identical to one another.

Another important feature of the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis, however, is

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<sup>49</sup> Compare also the *Saulteaux* form given earlier in example (70) containing the cognate ending *-ank*, showing assimilation of place to [k] but no loss of nasalization and voicing.

that they do not segment the VTI class 1 forms in the same way as Wolfart and Ahenakew. Table 2.52 shows that a different stem form is assumed, which in turn has consequences for the endings.

**Table 2.52**  
**VTI Inflectional Analysis #2**  
**Okimāsis and Ratt (1984, 1999)**

person	VTI Stem	VTI class 1 endings			
		Independent	Conjunct	Imperative (Imm)	Imperative (Del)
1s	nitona	*-n	-mān		
2s		*-n	-man	-Ø	-mohkan
1p		*-nān	-māhk		
21		*-(nā)naw	-mahk	*-tān	-mohkahk
2p		*-nāwāw	-mēk	-mok	-mohkēk
3s		-m	-hk		
3p		-mwak	-hkik		
3'		-miyiwa	-miyit		

\*A stem-final vowel alternation from /a/ to [ē] is required before \*-marked endings.

In choosing the 2s(-0) Immediate Imperative form of the VTI class 1 verb (e.g. *nitona*) as the stem, this allows a unitary analysis of all VAI and VTI 2s immediate imperatives as equivalent to the basic stem. This makes sense from a language-teaching standpoint, since the 2s VTI Imperative can be spoken and used as a word, whereas the form of the stem advocated by Wolfart and Ahenakew can never stand as a word by itself in Cree. Thus, the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis avoids the positing of an abstract stem that may not be perceived by speakers to have independent existence in the language. However, it does introduce a complication to the stem form that Wolfart and Ahenakew avoid. In noting that the /a/ of the stem does not occur in all forms, Okimāsis (2004) posits a stem-vowel alternation which changes /a/ to [ē] in all Independent Order speech act participant forms, as well as the 21 Immediate Imperative (i.e. those forms marked by \* in Table 2.52). Positing a stem-final vowel alternation might appear ad hoc, if it was the only such occurrence in the language. However, a similar phenomenon occurs when a VAI stem ends in /ē/. Such stems require an alternation of /ē/ to [ā] in the



speech act participant forms of the Independent Order. Thus, both VAI and VTI stems appear to undergo a very similar, almost complementary stem-alternation, as demonstrated when comparing the 2s Immediate Imperative (a) and 1s Independent (b) data of VAI and VTI stems in examples (74) and (75) respectively.

- (74) a) *pimohtē!*  
 pimohtē  
 VAI  
 walk  
 “Walk!”
- b) *nipimohtān.*  
 ni- pimoht/ē/ > [ā] -n  
 1 VAI 1/2  
 walk  
 “I walk.”
- (75) a) *nitona!*  
 nitona  
 VTI cl1  
 look.for.0  
 “Look for it!”
- b) *ninitonēn.*  
 ni- niton/a/ > [ē] -n  
 1 VTI cl1 1/2  
 look.for  
 “I look for it.”

A further consequence of this analysis is that both /a/ and [ē] are removed from endings listed in the Wolfart and Ahenakew analysis, rendering a number of the VTI class 1 forms identical to the corresponding VAI (and VTI class 2 and 3) forms. Table 2.53 shows a comparison of the Independent Order and Immediate Imperative VAI and VTI class 1 forms under this analysis. The current analysis brings the two paradigm sets much closer together, such that the only differences left are associated with the presence of [m] (or [mo]) in the VTI class 1 forms.

**Table 2.53**  
**Select VAI and VTI class 1 Similarities**

person	Independent		Immediate Imperative	
	VAI (VTI cl2&3)	VTI cl1	VAI (VTI cl2&3)	VTI cl.1
1s	-n	-n		
2s	-n	-n	-Ø	-Ø
1p	-nān	-nān		
2l	-(nā)naw	-(nā)naw	-tān	-tān
2p	-nāwāw	-nāwāw	-k	-mōk
3s	-w	-m		
3p	-wak	-mwak		
3'	-yīwa	-mīyīwa		

In the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis, /am/ cannot be treated as a unitary morpheme, since /a/ is part of the stem, leaving /m/ to associate with the endings. This aberration is not unduly troubling to Okimāsis and Ratt as it thus remains the marker that sets VTI class 1 apart from classes 2 and 3.

A similar comparison of the Conjunct Order and Delayed Imperative forms, shows that considerably more differences still remain between the VTI class 1 and all other VAI and VTI class 2 and 3 verbs, but again these are largely due to the unexplained presence of [m] in these inflectional forms. Only the alternation of *-t* and *-k* as third person markers would appear, at first glance, to be unrelated to the /m/.

**Table 2.54**  
**Select VAI and VTI class 1 Differences**

person	Conjunct		Delayed Imperative	
	VAI (VTI cl2&3)	VTI cl1	VAI (VTI cl2&3)	VTI cl.1
1s	-yān	-mān		
2s	-yan	-man	-hkan	-mōhkan
1p	-yāhk	-māhk		
2l	-yahk	-mahk	-hkahk	-mōhkahk
2p	-yēk	-mēk	-hkēk	-mōhkēk
3s	-t	-hk		
3p	-cik	-hkik		
3'	-yīt	-mīyīt		

Thus, the two analyses surveyed here differ in a number of ways, both with points in their favour, both still unable to account for all the facts of Cree VAI and VTI verbs. While Wolfart and Ahenakew provide the simplest stem form, its status as abstract from any spoken word is problematical in the classroom. While Okimāsis and Ratt avoid this by using an actual word form as their stem, this forces the need to describe a stem-form alternation. While Wolfart and Ahenakew provide a maximally distinct VTI paradigm in contrast to the VAI, they must classify many transitive verbs under the title of “intransitive”. Okimāsis and Ratt avoid this, but at the expense of duplicating identical paradigms under different classifications. Neither analysis fully addresses the status of /am/ as historically descended from an object marker, something that would clearly mark VTIs (at least class 1) as fully transitive. The problem then would be to find something similar among the pseudo-transitives, and neither analysis attempts to do so. Wolfart and Ahenakew might have done so, but the attribution of *-am* as a subject rather than object marker in the third person Independent prevented this. For Okimāsis and Ratt, a unitary *-am* does not exist. Finally, neither analysis takes into account several other features of the Cree verbal system, such as “pseudo-intransitives” which can be used to regularize the classification in favour of transitivity or animacy. Each possibility will be explored below.

### 2.3.3.3 Transitivity Regularized

In order to best fit the Cree paradigms to the Algonquian transitivity-based model, we need to recognize all semantically transitive verbs as belonging to the class of VTI. This has already been done within the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis. However, we must also recognize the occurrence of *-am* (and possible alternate forms) as, if not agreement morphology with the inanimate object, then at least as a marker of the transitive status of VTI class 1 stems, separate but linked to the stem, and separate from the suffixal actor marking. This entails treating *-am* as a transitive inanimate “theme” sign along the lines of the theme or direction markers which are so important to the direct-inverse system of the VTA paradigms (review section 2.2 and see Appendix A for further details). Whereas VTA themes specify the (reversible) direction of interaction between two animate participants, the VTI theme system can be much simpler, specifying only the fact that there is interaction between the animate actor and an inanimate goal. Simpler in function, that is, although perhaps not in form. As we have seen above, the fact that *-am* (or even *-a*) does not occur consistently throughout the VTI paradigms has steered earlier analyses away from the position that will be suggested here. The key to the

suggested analysis in Table 2.55 (on the following page) comes in choosing the basic stem form of Wolfart and Ahenakew and joining this to an extended version of the stem-alternation of Okimāsis and Ratt. In this model, the abstract stem (as per Wolfart and Ahenakew) is first extended by a VTI theme showing variation (as per Okimāsis and Ratt), to which only then are actor agreement suffixes added.

Allowing for both a basic stem and a stem extended by one or more variants of the theme sign, will actually account for a bewildering array of derivational data involving VTI class 1 stems. In the following examples, we will see a variety of derivations which appear to be based on a basic stem form, a stem extended by the theme *-a*, a stem extended by the theme *-am*, and a stem extended by the theme *-amw* ~ *-amo*.

**Table 2.55**  
**VTI Class 1**

		VTI class 1 endings							
		Independent		Conjunct		Imperative (Imm)		Imperative (Del)	
person	VTI Stem	theme	person	theme	person	theme	person	theme	person
1s	niton-	-ē	-n	-am	-ān				
2s		-ē	-n	-am	-an	-a	∅	-amo	-hkan
1p		-ē	-nān	-am	-āhk				
2l		-ē	-(nā)naw	-am	-ahk	-ē	-tān	-amo	-hkahk
2p		-ē	-nāwāw	-am	-ēk	-amo	-k	-amo	-hkēk
3s		-am	-∅	-ah	-k				
3p		-am	-wak	-ah	-kik				
3'		-am	-iyiwa	-am	-iyit				

In (76) and (77), we find two common derivational patterns which detransitivize a VTI class 1 stem through the addition of the suffixes *-ikē*, and *-ikātē* respectively. The suffix *-ikē*, already briefly introduced in section 2.2.5 above, generalizes the object and converts the VTI class 1 verb to a fully intransitive VAI stem. (76a) shows the VTI verb (with theme), while (76b) shows a derived VAI. (76c) illustrates the fact that the detransitivizing suffix is added directly to the base stem, without inclusion of any of the suggested theme forms.

- (76) a) *nitonam.*  
 niton        -am    -Ø  
 VTI        TH     3s  
 look.for    3s-0'  
 "S/he looks for it/them."
- b) *nitonikēw.*  
 nitonikē    -w  
 VAI        3s  
 search  
 "S/he is searching."
- c) niton- + -ikē        >    nitonikē-  
 VTI        GEN.OBJ        VAI

The suffix *-ikātē* removes any possible specification of the animate actor and converts the VTI class 1 verb to a fully intransitive VII stem. (77a) shows the VTI verb (with theme), while (77b) shows a derived VII. (77c) illustrates the fact that the detransitivizing suffix is again added directly to the base stem, without inclusion of a theme marker.

- (77) a) *miskam.*  
 misk            -am    -Ø  
 VTI            TH     3s  
 find            3s-0'  
 "S/he finds it/them."
- b) *miskikātēw.*  
 miskikātē    -w  
 VII            0s  
 be.found  
 "It is found."
- c) misk- + -ikātē        >    miskikātē-  
 VTI        XAct        VII

Thus, we have at least two derivational examples which illustrate the importance of the bare stem, supporting both Ahenakew and Wolfart and the current analysis.

However, we can also find forms that point towards derivation from the /a/-final stem-forms suggested by Okimāsis and Ratt. In the following

examples, the derivation of diminutive verbs is illustrated. In (78), a VAI stem is first illustrated (a) and then shown in diminutive form (b) with the derivation itself illustrated in (c). (79) shows this same derivational relationship between a VTI stem (a), a derived diminutive VTI (b) and the derivation.

- (78) a) *pāhpiw*.  
           *pāhpi*        -w  
           VAI         3s  
           laugh  
           “S/he laughs.”
- b) *pāhpi*si*w*.  
           *pāhpi*si**   -w  
           VAI         3s  
           laugh.a.little  
           “S/he laughs a little.” / “S/he smiles.”
- c) *pāhpi*- + -*si*        >   *pāhpi*si**-  
           VAI        DIM         VAI
- (79) a) *pakamaham*  
           *pakamah*    -am   -Ø  
           VTI cl.1    TH    3s  
           hit         3s-0'  
           “S/he hits it/them.”
- b) *pakamahasiw*  
           *pakamahasi* -w  
           VTI cl.3    3s  
           hit.a.little  
           “S/he taps it/them.”
- c) *pakamah-a* + -*si*        >   *pakamahasi*-  
           VTI cl.1        DIM         VTI cl.3

In order to treat the diminutive derivation as unitary in this instance, the VTI stem to which the derivation applies requires the inclusion of the thematic *-a* (or simply the stem following Okimāsis and Ratt 1984). Examples like these provide further problems of classification, since these VTI diminutives do not remain class 1 as evidenced by the inflectional pattern. Under the

Wolfart-Ahenakew model, VTI diminutives would need to be classified as VAIs, but they are still transitive. Essentially, to recognize that the result remains a semantically transitive verb, the diminutive derivation must be interpreted as creating a whole new group of transitive verbs. These in turn, morphologically, can be classified as VTI class 3, thus extending and further justifying the necessity for this classification.

Another derivation that at times appears to require the inclusion of /a/ as part of the stem is the causative, which most frequently applies to VAI stems, as exemplified in (80), but can also mark some VTI stems, as in (81), in the derivation of VTA stems.

- (80) a) *nikamow.*  
 nikamo -w  
 VAI 3s  
 sing  
 “S/he sings.”
- b) *nikamohēw.*  
 nikamoh -ē -w  
 VTA DIR 3s  
 make.sing 3s-3’  
 “S/he has ((an)other(s)) sing.”
- c) nikamo- + -h > nikamoh-  
 VAI CAUS VTA
- (81) a) *wāpahtam.*  
 wāpaht -am -Ø  
 VTI cl.1 TH 3s  
 see 3s-0’  
 “S/he sees it/them.”
- b) *wāpahtahēw.*  
 wāpahtah -ē -w  
 VTA DIR 3s  
 show 3s-3’  
 “S/he shows (it) to (an)other(s).”
- c) wāpaht-a + -h > wāpahtah-  
 VTI cl.1 CAUS VTA

This latter stem, *wāpahtah-* alternates with a form, *wāpahtih-*, which would not require the thematic *-a* in the derivation. Yet further variation occurs in this pattern demonstrating the fluctuating nature of the combination of VTI stem and theme. Some VTI causative derivations, rather than being based on the bare or /a/-extended stem, are based on the stem as extended by *-am*, as in (82), or even *-amo*, as in (83).

- (82) a) *kaskēyihtam.*  
 kaskēyiht -am -Ø  
 VTI cl.1 TH 3s  
 be.sad.over 3s-0'  
 "S/he is sad over it."
- b) *kaskēyihitamihēw.*  
 kiskēyihitamih -ē -w  
 VTA DIR 3s  
 make.sad 3s-3'  
 "S/he makes ((an)other(s)) sad."
- c) kaskēyiht-am + -h > kiskēyihitamih-  
 VTI cl.1 CAUS VTA
- (83) a) *nisitohtam.*  
 nisitoht -am -Ø  
 VTI cl.1 TH 3s  
 understand 3s-0'  
 "S/he understands it."
- b) *nisitohtamōhēw.*  
 nisitohtamōh -ē -w  
 VTA DIR 3s  
 make.understand 3s-3'  
 "S/he makes ((an)other(s)) understand."
- c) nisitoht-amo + -h > nisitohtamōh-  
 VTI cl.1 CAUS VTA

Another pattern which includes *-am* is exemplified in the ditransitive derivation of VTI to VTA stems.



- (84) a) *nitonam.*  
 niton            -am   -Ø  
 VTI            TH   3s  
 look.for       3s-0'  
 "S/he looks for it/them."
- b) *nitonamawēw.*  
 nitonamaw    -ē    -w  
 VTA            DIR   3s  
 look.for.for   3s-3'  
 "S/he looks for (it) for (an)other(s)."
- c) niton-am + -aw    >    nitonamaw-<sup>50</sup>  
 VTI            BEN            VTA

Finally, a second pattern which illustrates the extended theme *-amo* can be found in the comparison of abstract noun derivation from VAI (see example (85)) and VTI stems (see example (86)) respectively.

- (85) a) *nikamow.*  
 nikamo        -w  
 VAI            3s  
 sing  
 "S/he sings."
- b) *nikamowin*  
 NI  
 song
- c) nikamo- + -win > nikamowin-  
 VAI            NOM            NI
- (86) a) *kiskēyihtam.*  
 kiskēyiht    -am   -Ø  
 VTI cl.1    TH   3s  
 know        3s-0'  
 "S/he knows it."

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<sup>50</sup> This derivation is commonly represented as adding the complex benefactive suffix *-amaw* to a VTI stem, though this is itself historically derived from the VTI inanimate object marking *-am* and the animate marker *-aw*. It is certainly true here that *-am* has lost all force as a marker of inanimacy, since the patient of ditransitive verbs can be inanimate or animate.

- b) *kiskēyih tamowin*  
NI  
knowledge
  
- c) *kiskēyih t-amo + -win* > *kiskēyih tamowin-*  
VTI cl.1                    NOM                    NI

In past analyses, many of the derivational suffixes that can be used on both VAI and VTI stems have necessarily been described as having at least two allomorphs. Under the current analysis, the diminutive *-(a)si*, the causative *-(a(m(o)))h*, the benefactive *-(am)aw*, and the nominalizer *-(amo)win* each receive a unitary analysis, with variation attributed to the form of the VTI theme that accompanies the stem in derivation.

Having provided some examples illustrating the variable nature of the VTI stem, and attributing this to a variable theme sign, it remains to be seen if this VTI class 1 analysis can be extended to the pseudo-transitive verbs (i.e. VTI classes 2 and 3). Table 2.56 (on the following page) illustrates an attempt to do this for class 2 verbs, though a further level of abstraction is needed in separating the final vowel from the stem as a theme.

This may seem unwarranted and unnecessarily complicating, but just as derivational evidence showed the importance of the bare, consonant-final VTI class 1 stem, so too does this same evidence isolate a bare class 2 stem from the thematic vowel. Example (87) illustrates the general object derivation via the suffix *-ikē*, first encountered above in (76).

**Table 2.56**  
**VTI Class 2**

		VTI class 2 endings							
		Independent		Conjunct		Imperative (Imm)		Imperative (Del)	
person	VTI Stem	theme	person	theme	person	theme	person	theme	person
1s	osīht-	-ā	-n	-ā	-yān				
2s		-ā	-n	-ā	-yan	-ā	∅	-ā	-hkan
1p		-ā	-nān	-ā	-yāhk				
2l		-ā	-(nā)naw	-ā	-yahk	-ā	-tān	-ā	-hkahk
2p		-ā	-nāwāw	-ā	-yēk	-ā	-k	-ā	-hkēk
3s		-ā	-w	-ā	-t				
3p		-ā	-wak	-ā	-cik				
3'		-ā	-yīwa	-ā	-yīt				

- (87) a) *osīhtāw.*  
 osīht-            -ā    -w  
 VTI cl.2        TH    3s  
 make            3s-0'  
 "S/he makes it/them."
- b) *osīhcikēw.*  
 osīhcikē        -w  
 VAI              3s  
 manufacture  
 "S/he is manufacturing (things)."
- c) osīht- + -ikē > osīhcikē-  
 VTI                    VAI

The palatalization of /t/ to [c] in *osīhcikē-* shows the direct attachment of [i]-initial *-ikē* to the bare stem *osīht-*.

Example (88) illustrates the same point for the passivizing derivational suffix *-ikātē*.

- (88) a) *osīhtāw.*  
 osīht-            -ā    -w  
 VTI cl.2        TH    3s  
 make            3s-0'  
 "S/he makes it/them."
- b) *osīhcikātēw.*  
 osīhcikātē      -w  
 VII                0s  
 be.made  
 "It is made."
- c) osīht- + -ikātē > osīhcikātē-  
 VTI                    VII

The benefactive derivation is also very common with VTI class 2 stems, again illustrating that it is the bare stem *osīht-* (extended with *-am* just as a class 1 VTI) rather than *osīhtā-* which undergoes the derivation.

- (89) a) *osīhtāw*.  
 osīht-            -ā            -w  
 VTI cl.2            TH            3s  
 make                3s-0'  
 "S/he makes it/them."
- b) *osīhtamawēw*.  
 osīhtamaw       -ē            -w  
 VTA                DIR            3s  
 make.for            3s-3'  
 "S/he makes (it) for (an)other(s)."
- c) osīht- +    -am +    -aw            >    osīhtamaw-  
 VTI cl.1? TH        BEN            VTA

Other derivations, such as the diminutive (e.g. *osīhcāsi*- "make a little of s.t."), pattern just like VAI stems, but these retain the *-ā* theme. The diminutive of a class 2 VTI, remaining transitive, would need to be re-classified as a VTI class 3 just as with the VTI class 1 derivation seen earlier.

In practice, because the stem never occurs without the thematic vowel *-ā* outside of certain derivational relationships, the extended stem *osīhtā-* can remain the standard cited stem-form. We need only note that VTI class 2 verbs end in a thematic *-ā*, which is not the same as the final [ā] of such VAI stems as *nipā* "sleep", *pimipahtā* "run", etc.

The exceptional VTI class 3 forms, such as *mīci*- "eat s.t.", remain exceptional under this analysis as they do not contain any VTI theme sign (or conversely they can be interpreted as taking a  $-\emptyset$  theme sign; cf. Nichols and Nyholm 1995 for a similar analysis of the Ojibwa equivalent). Class 3, however, is no longer as exceptional as it once was, as we have added a potentially very large class of diminutive verbs (theoretically doubling the number of VTIs), as derived from VTI classes 1 and 2 alike. Thus, we have reached a more precise, if somewhat more abstract, classification of VTI stems into three morphologically distinct classes, further extending the analysis of Okimāsis and Ratt, through the recognition of Wolfart and Ahenakew's base stem forms and a historically motivated transitive theme.

This, however, remains only half the story, since none of this addresses the heretofore ignored classification of verbs which appear to follow the VAI pattern. Though the basic pattern was given in Tables 2.39 through 2.44 in section 2.3.1.2 above, this is not the only pattern animate intransitive verbs exhibit. The basic pattern applies to vowel-final stems only and although this

is the most common type of VAI stem, two other possibilities exist.

The second most common type of VAI stem ends in /n/, usually as part of such stem final morphemes as /-sin/ “lying; prostrate”, /-cin/ “punctured; pierced”, or /-akocin/ “swift movement”. Wolfart (1973), Ahenakew (1987a) and Okimāsis (2004) all describe this variant of the VAI paradigms, but despite certain differences from the vowel-final VAI pattern, the /n/-final pattern has somehow never been granted the status of VAI class 2. This is precisely what is done in Table 2.57 (on the following page), where the most frequent difference is simply the addition of an epenthetic [i] between the final /n/ of the stem (in this case, *pimisin-* “lie down”) and the regular person inflections. This is represented in the table as “ep”, where it takes the place of the VTI theme sign.

The most important differences occur where this epenthesis does not take place: the third person singular and plural forms of both the Independent and Conjunct Orders. In the Independent forms, we find a Ø-morpheme rather than the more usual -w, though the [w] appears again once the plural is added (e.g. -wak). Even more exceptional is the occurrence in the Conjunct of a third person form -k (with plural -kik) in place of the expected -t (and -cik). Furthermore, where -k(ik) occurs, the stem final /n/ changes to [h] preceding it. This is the result of the same historical process mentioned earlier that changed the /m/ of -am to [h] before -k in the VTI class 1 stems. The parallels between these VAI class 2 and VTI class 1 endings in the third person singular and plural Conjunct forms are remarkable and will be discussed further in section 2.4.1.2 below.

**Table 2.57**  
**VAI Class 2**

		VAI class 2 endings							
		Independent		Conjunct		Imperative (Imm)		Imperative (Del)	
person	VAI Stem	ep	person	ep	person	ep	person	ep	person
1s	pimisin-	-i	-n	-i	-yān				
2s		-i	-n	-i	-yan	-i	-Ø	-i	-hkan
1p		-i	-nān	-i	-yāhk				
2l		-i	-(nā)naw	-i	-yahk	-i	-tān	-i	-hkahk
2p		-i	-nāwāw	-i	-yēk	-i	-k	-i	-hkēk
3s			-Ø		*-k				
3p			-wak		*-kik				
3'		-i	-ýiwa	-i	-ýit				

\*The stem final /n/ must change to [h] preceding the /k/-initial suffixes marked by \*.

Finally, we return to the existence of the small class of “pseudo-intransitive” verbs, exemplified earlier in (72) and (73), which are semantically intransitive but which appear to follow the VTI class 1 pattern exactly. These are truly exceptional verbs, and cannot be made to fit the VTI class 1 pattern proposed above since no transitive theme sign should occur on an intransitive verb. Nevertheless, as intransitive verbs, they are distinct from VAI class 1 and 2, and thus must be recognized as VAI class 3.

Again, we find interesting parallels in Ojibwa. The example in (90) shows a *Saulteaux* VAI verb which ends in /am/, which is a third basic pattern to the classification of *Saulteaux* VAIs, exactly parallel to that proposed here for Cree (see the earlier example (72)).

- (90) *ohsohsotam* (\*owē).  
 ohsohsot-am                      \*owē  
 VAI                                      PR.0's  
 cough                                    that  
 “S/he coughs.”                      \*“S/he coughs that.”

Additionally, *Saulteaux* has a number of verbs stems which can be marked as either intransitive (and thus follow this VAI class 3 pattern) or transitive (and thus follow the VTI class 1 pattern) without any change in the stem form. The interpretation of transitivity is based on the morphological pattern which matches the syntactic ability to exclude (91a) or include (91b) a lexicalized pronominal or nominal as an object of the verb.

- (91) a) *kikhkēntam* (\*owē).  
 kikhkēnt-am                      \*owē  
 VAI                                      PrI.0's  
 know                                    that  
 “S/he knows.”                      \*“S/he knows that.”
- b) *okikhkēntān* (owē).  
 o-    kikhkēnt    -ān    owē  
 3    VTI        0's    PR.0's  
       know                    that  
 “S/he knows it.”                    “S/he knows that.”

The occurrence of such patterns in *Saulteaux* and other Ojibwa dialects, suggests that, regardless of the marginality of the classification to Cree, there are cognate patterns elsewhere in the Algonquian family, thus providing some validation of this classification.

The result of this lengthy discussion is a classification of Cree VAI and VTI verbs which allows us to systematically preserve the Algonquian distinction of transitivity as the primary criterion upon which the verbal system rests. Table 2.58 illustrates this classification in which VAI and VTI stems each fall into three distinct classes.

**Table 2.58**  
**Cree Transitivity-based VAI and VTI Classification**

Stem Class	VAI	VTI
Class 1	vowel-final	/am/-theme
Class 2	/n/-final	/ā/-theme
Class 3	/am/-final	∅-theme

Ultimately, in order to reach a form of the paradigms that regularizes the Algonquian transitivity classification for Cree, the suggested analysis has had to accept complications from both previous analyses. For the VTI classes, we have an abstract stem extended by a variable VTI theme sign (either *-am* with all its allomorphs, *-ā*, or *-∅*). The VAI classification is somewhat more concrete, based on the stem shape, but even here the “pseudo-intransitives” of class 3 simply follow VTI class 1 alternations without recourse to a distinct “intransitive theme”. Furthermore, the fact remains that of these six morphosyntactic divisions created to preserve the importance of transitivity to the classification, only three are actually morphologically distinct in any way. VAI class 1 and VTI classes 2 and 3 can be treated as equivalent (and hence the reason for Wolfart and Ahenakew’s treatment of them all as VAIs). VAI class 3 is indistinguishable morphologically from VTI class 1. VAI class 2 is a lone class which nevertheless shares certain features with both VAI class 1 and VTI class 1 verbs alike and thus appears to be intermediate.

### 2.3.4 Further Questions

Although the preceding section has been dedicated to an attempt to regularize the use of transitivity as an organizing principle for Cree verbal classification, the results may not appear entirely convincing. A level of abstraction and complication is needed to fit the facts to the classification

which amplifies rather than simplifies the burden of learning the range of paradigms. There are also a great many other general features of transitivity which are not built into this system and which the Cree data show to be utterly irrelevant.

In section 2.3.1.1 above on VII stems, it was simply stated that the class of VII also includes a subclass of impersonal verbs. We can observe, though, that the form of cross-reference remains the same whether there is a semantic referent, as in (92), or whether no such entity can be specified, as in (93).

- (92) *mihkwāw (maskisin).*  
 mihkwā -w maskisin  
 VII 0s NI.0s  
 be.red shoe  
 “It is red.” “A/the shoe is red.”

- (93) *mamēnaskwāw (\*kīsik).*  
 mamēnaskwā -w \*kīsikw  
 VII 0s NI.0s  
 be.partly.cloudy sky  
 “It is partly cloudy.” \*“The sky is partly cloudy.”

The semantic and syntactic differences between these types do not trigger the need for entirely separate paradigms in Cree or any of the Algonquian languages.

At the other end of the spectrum, the VTA paradigms include both monotransitive and ditransitive verbs without any significant inflectional changes between them. VTA verbs only reference the two highest ranking animate participants, such that a third referent (the patient) can be either inanimate, as in (94), or animate, as in (95), without any effect on the verb.

- (94) *wāskahikanis nikī-osīhtamawāw niwīkimākan.*  
 wāskahikanis ni- kī- osīhtamaw -ā -w ni- wīkimākan  
 NI.0's 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s 1 NDA.3s  
 cabin PST make.for 1s-3s spouse  
 “I built a cabin for my wife.”

- (95) *pahkwēsikana nikī-osīhtamawāw niwīkimākan.*  
 pahkwēsikan -a ni- kī- osīhtamaw -ā -w ni- wīkimākan  
 NA 3' 1s IPV VTA DIR 3s 1 NDA.3s  
 bannock PST make.for 1s-3s spouse  
 “I made bannock for my wife.”



There are also a number of derivational patterns which have the effect of converting one type of verb into another, based presumably on transitivity distinctions and certainly couched in those terms historically. Thus, we have already seen how the creation of reflexive and reciprocal verbs from monotransitive VTA stems has the effect of detransitivizing the stem, which as a result is classified as a VAI. Similar examples are given here, as (96) and (97) respectively, including with each an example of the VTA stem (a) from which they are derived.

- (96) a) *nikī-wīcihāw.*  
 ni- kī- wīcih -ā -w  
 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 PST help 1s-3s  
 “I helped him/her.”
- b) *nikī-wīcihison.*  
 ni- kī- wīcihiso -n  
 1 IPV VAI 1/2  
 PST help.self  
 “I helped myself.”
- c) wīcih- + -iso > wīcihiso-  
 VTA RFLX VAI
- (97) a) *kikī-wīcihāwāwak.*  
 ki- kī- wīcih -ā -wāw -ak  
 2 IPV VTA DIR 2p 3p  
 PST help 2p-3p  
 “You (pl) helped them.”
- b) *kikī-wīcihitoṅāwāw.*  
 ki- kī- wīcihito -ṅāwāw  
 2 IPV VAI 2p  
 PST help.one.another  
 “You (pl) helped each other.”
- c) wīcih- + -ito > wīcihito-  
 VTA RCPL VAI

This is not surprising since both the reflexive and the reciprocal function to remove the distinction between the actor and patient (or recipient) of

monotransitive verbs. With this lack of distinctiveness, these verbs are treated as intransitives in Cree and thus classified as VAIs. However, we can perform the exact same derivation on ditransitive verbs, rendering the actor and recipient indistinct, but crucially leaving reference to the patient intact.

- (98) a) *mōsowiyās nikī-kīsisamawāw.*  
 mōsowiyās      ni-    kī-      kīsisamaw    -ā      -w  
 NI.0's            1    IPV      VTA            DIR      3s  
 moose-meat            PST    cook.for      1s-3s  
 "I cooked moose-meat for him/her."
- b) *mōsowiyās nikī-kīsisamāson.*  
 mōsowiyās      ni-    kī-      kīsisamāso    -n  
 NI.0's            1    IPV      V??            1/2  
 cabin                    PST    make.for.self  
 "I cooked moose-meat for myself."
- c) kīsisamaw- + -iso > kīsisamāso-  
 VTA                    RFLX                    ?VAI/VTI cl.3?
- (99) a) *mōsowiyās kika-kīsisamawānaw.*  
 mōsowiyās      ki-    ka-      kīsisamaw    -ā      -naw  
 NI.0's            2    IPV      VTA            DIR      21  
 moose-meat            FUT    cook.for      21-3s  
 "We will cook moose-meat for him/her."
- b) *mōsowiyās kika-kīsisamātonaw.*  
 mōsowiyās      ki-    ka-      kīsisamāto            -naw  
 NI.0's            2    IPV      V??                            21  
 cabin                    FUT    make.for.one.another  
 "We will cook moose-meat for one another."
- c) kīsisamaw- + -ito > kīsisamāto-  
 VTA                    RCPL                    ?VAI/VTI cl.3?

When this occurs, regardless of the syntactic presence or absence of a patient argument, the verb appears to convert to a VAI stem. At least, this is how such verbs have traditionally been analyzed (cf. Wolfart and Ahenakew 1998, Waugh 1998, Wolvengrey 2001), but as the examples show the verb is still semantically and syntactically transitive, permitting the specification of a lexical patient. As such, under the analysis of the preceding section, we

should in fact consider these transitive inanimate verbs, and thus fit them into the ever growing and increasingly unexceptional set of VTI class 3.

Just as the morphology of Cree ditransitive verbs ignores the patient or third argument in a ditransitive structure, the patient of the corresponding detransitivized ditransitives remains similarly invisible to the paradigms. In exactly the same way, the general object derivation (exemplified originally in (87) and repeated here as (100)) which changes a VTI (class 1 or 2) stem to a VAI, is matched by a general object/recipient operation on VTA stems. With a monotransitive example, as in (101), this also converts the verb to a VAI. In (102), when the operation applies to a ditransitive, the same result pertains through the deletion of the recipient, even though the patient remains semantically and can occur syntactically.

(100) a) *nitonam.*

niton	-am	-Ø
VTI	TH	3s
look.for	3s-0'	

“S/he looks for it/them.”

b) *nitonikēw.*

nitonikē	-w
VAI	3s
search	

“S/he is searching.”

c) niton- + -ikē > nitonikē-  
VTI GEN.OBJ VAI

(101) a) *nitonawēw.*

nitonaw	-ē	-w
VTA	DIR	3s
look.for	3s-3'	

“S/he looks for (an)other(s).”

b) *nitonākēw (\*ayisiyiniwa).*

nitonākē	-w	*ayisiyiniw	-a
VAI	3s	NA	3'
search		person	

“S/he is searching (for people).” \*“S/he is searching for people.”

c) nitonaw- + -ikē > nitonākē-  
VTI GEN.OBJ VAI

(102) a) *kīsisamawēw*.

kīsisamaw      -ē      -w

VTA              DIR      3s

cook.for          3s-3'

“S/he cooks (it) for (an)other(s).”

b) *kīsisamākēw (wāposwa)*.

kīsisamākē      -w                      wāposw      -a

V?I              3s                      NA              3'

search                              rabbit

“S/he is cooking it (for others).” “S/he is cooking rabbit (for others).”

c) *kīsisamaw-* + *-ikē*                      > *kīsisamākē-*  
VTI                      GEN.OBJ                      ? VTI/VAIcl.3 ?

The more we scrutinize patterns of transitivity, the less the Cree classification really seems to account for. On close inspection, so many patterns require classification in the previously very small and exceptional VTI class 3, that it would now have to be larger than any other division in the VTI and VAI categories. Plus, as noted above, it is morphologically equivalent to two of the other three largest classes, the VTI class 2 and VAI class 1. The pattern itself, divorced from any notions of transitivity, is by far the most common one in Cree grammar. Morphologically, only VAI classes 2 and 3 and VTI class 1 are now left as fairly minor deviations from a very pervasive pattern. Perhaps it is time to look at the pattern in a slightly different way.

## 2.4 An Animacy-based Approach to Cree Verb Classification

Attempts to balance the facts of modern Cree verbal paradigms with the traditional four-way transitivity-based Algonquian classification have been shown to be problematical at best. The simplest analyses begin to ignore transitivity to a greater or lesser extent, and are complicated by the attempts to keep the notion of transitivity central. There is something fundamentally incorrect about the application of the four-way Algonquian classification to Cree. As first represented above in Figure 2.11, the Algonquian Transitivity-based classification needs to be rethought for Cree specifically.

Though holding to the Algonquian pattern, at least in part, Wolfart and Ahenakew also deviate from the syntactic terminology traditionally used for the classification, in order to recognize the morphology. As we have seen,

this approach is inconsistent and creates its own problems due to the retention of syntactic terminology. Okimāsis and Ratt choose to adhere to the syntactic terminology, at the expense of duplicating paradigms which are morphologically indistinct. This does allow for a closer retention of the Algonquian pattern and more consistency between Cree and other Algonquian languages. In the immediately preceding section, we saw an attempt to fully regularize the pattern so that the syntactic terminology of transitivity is correctly represented in many of its uses, but even this falls short of accounting for all transitivity data and we continue to ignore certain regularities of the morphological patterns which no longer fit the traditional pattern or follow the syntactic criterion of Transitivity at all. In this section, a different pattern, based solely on the morphological patterns as shaped by the overriding primacy of the notion of animacy in Cree, will be described.<sup>51</sup>

### 2.4.1 Morphology Regularized

We have already seen that certain morphological patterns are clearly not tied to the notions of transitivity. Certain intransitive verbs, (“pseudo-intransitives” or what were above classified as VAI class 3), pattern just like VTI (class 1) and the large classes of “pseudo-transitives” (VTI classes 2 and 3) pattern just like VAIs. VAI n-stems, as will be explored further below, though clearly intransitive, also share certain features, variable across Cree dialects, with the VTI class 1 patterns. Transitivity has very little link remaining, beyond its Proto-Algonquian heritage, to the Cree verb classification. Furthermore, the truly distinct verbs, the VIIs and VTAs, are characterized primarily by their participants and particularly the animacy of their participants. With this notion as our new starting point, we can review some of our previous observations about the verb classes, beginning with the truly distinct VII and VTA classes.

#### 2.4.1.1 Animacy Over Inanimacy

Inanimate Intransitive Verbs (VII) as a class require no reanalysis. We have seen in section 2.3.1.1 the four-way person division based on the sole inanimate participant. To the basic paradigms of Tables 2.35 and 2.37,

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<sup>51</sup> I introduce a “different pattern” rather than a “new pattern”, because while the articulation may be new, the idea is not. The fundamental shift in Cree paradigms to be discussed below has been unofficially recognized for quite some time. In the early 1990s, and undoubtedly earlier, both H.C. Wolfart and David Pentland (personal communication) noted the misfit of Cree paradigms to the older Algonquian pattern. More recently, Drapeau (2006) discussed a similar observation for Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi).

however, we can add an example of the subclass of impersonal verbs which, with no semantic referent whatsoever, are never marked in the plural. Tables 2.59 and 2.60 illustrate this impersonal verb pattern, with the example stem *tahkiyowē-* “be a cold wind”, in which the singular forms match the regular pattern singulars in much the same way as English uses “it” periphrastically in such instances.

**Table 2.59**  
**VII Independent Order, Impersonal Verb**

person	VII Stem	endings	example	gloss
0s		-w	tahkiyowēw	“It’s a cold wind”
0p				
0’s		-yiw	tahkiyowēyiw	“It’s a cold wind”
0’p				

**Table 2.60**  
**VII Conjunct Order, Impersonal Verb**

person	IPV	VII Stem	endings	example	gloss
0s	ē-		-k	ē-tahkiyowēk	“(as) it’s a cold wind”
0p	ē-				
0’s	ē-		-yik	ē-tahkiyowēyik	“(as) it’s a cold wind”
0’p	ē-				

Thus, the VII pattern actually accounts for two subsets of what are undoubtedly intransitive verbs, but only one of these subsets is characterized by the actual presence of an inanimate participant. This would seem to reinforce the importance of transitivity for this class and downplay the participant itself, since the presence of an inanimate participant is irrelevant. Conversely, we can revise our definition of VIIs as, not the intransitive verbs which take an inanimate participant, but as the intransitive verbs which do not take an animate participant. And this slight shift in our focus is key. VIIs are not marked by the presence of the important animate class.

The other truly distinct class of Cree verbs are the VTAs, and we have already defined this class as marking the presence and interactions between two distinct animate participants. We have further seen that the addition of a third participant in ditransitive structures has no effect whatsoever on the inflectional morphology, whether the third participant is inanimate (as in the earlier example (94)) or animate (as in (95)). Additionally, processes of detransitivization, whether through reflexivization (see example (98)),

reciprocalization (see example (99)), or the generalization of the object (i.e. second argument; see examples (101) and (102)), has the same effect whether the verb is semantically monotransitive or ditransitive. VTA verbs simply mark the presence of two important animate arguments, never more or less. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the derivation which creates ditransitive verbs is always based on a VTI (class 1 or 2) stem. Thus, the verb which is becoming a ditransitive must begin, not as a VTA which already has two animate participants, but as a VTI with only one animate participant. Both VTIs and VTAs are transitive, and they differ not in the animacy of their object, but whether or not that second argument is animate. Viewed from this slightly different perspective, VTAs are doubly marked by the presence of two animate participants, while VTIs and the intransitive VAIs share the presence of only a single animate participant.

Time and again, we have seen that the presence of an inanimate participant is ultimately irrelevant to Cree verbal classification. VII verbs are VIIs whether there is a semantic referent or not. They are unified by the absence of an animate participant. VTAs can have two or three participants, but only the two vital animate referents are marked. Any change to the status of the second animate argument results in a shift to a VAI/VTI-like pattern. If a third argument is present, however, the stem may show the derivational process, and the syntax can reflect the difference in (di)transitivity, but the inflectional pattern is impervious. In (103), the stem is ditransitive, having been derived from a VTI class 2 stem (*ayamihtā*- “read s.t.”), and a patient object can be specified. In (104), the verb has taken a more indirect route, being first detransitivized (VAI *ayamihcikē*- “read”) and then retransitivized to become a monotransitive VTA (which does not permit a patient argument). In both cases, the verb takes the basic VTA inflection, agreeing with the actor and recipient.

(103) *nīwī-ayamihtamawāw* (*masinahikan*).

nī-	wī-	ayamihtamaw	-ā	-w	masinahikan
1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NI.0s
	PRSP	read.to	1s-3s		book

“I’m going to read it(/a book) to him/her.”

(104) *nīwī-ayamihcikēstamawāw* (*\*masinahikan*),

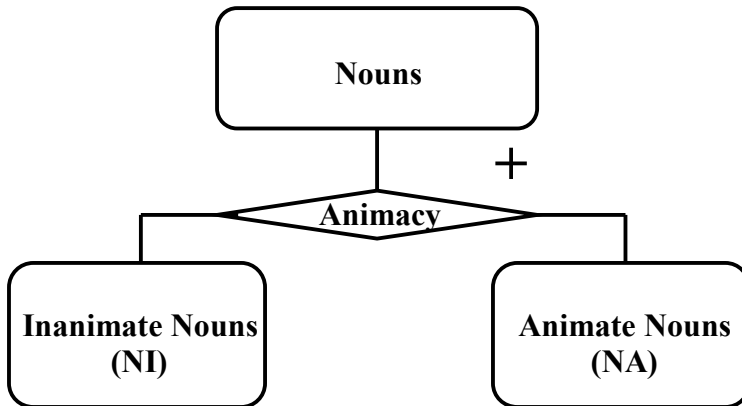
nī-	wī-	ayamihcikēstamaw	-ā	-w	*masinahikan
1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NI.0s
	PRSP	read.to	1s-3s		book

“I’m going to read (\*a book) to him/her.

If VII is the class of verbs with no animate participants and VTA is the class of two animate participants, where does that leave our confused and overlapping VAI and VTI classes? Clearly what these two have in common, regardless of transitivity, is the presence of a single animate referent. As with VIIs and VTAs, the presence or absence of an inanimate participant is, beyond some historical remnants, utterly irrelevant. The paradigms in Cree have been systematically reshaped to mark the presence of marked participants, the animate class.

Thus, we can return to the simple division among Nouns based on the sole criterion of Animacy, as displayed first in Figure 2.1 and repeated here as Figure 2.12 with the additional recognition that the animate class is marked, and conversely, “inanimate” is simply unmarked and/or unremarkable.

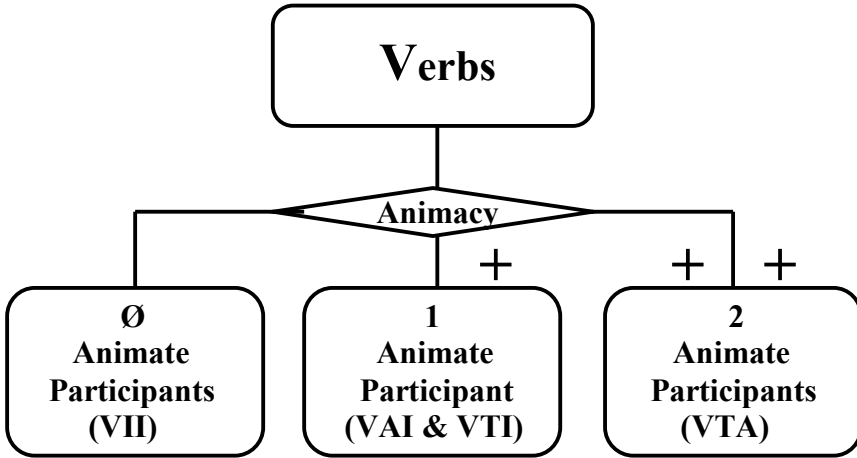
**Figure 2.12**  
**Animacy-based Nominal Classification**



From this, we can suggest that, rather than beginning with or even including the feature of Transitivity as a determining factor in Cree verb classification, we should allow Animacy, or the presence of Animacy, to be the primary feature. This will not entail a two-way division since the presence of Animacy will depend on the participants present in a construction. Thus, in constructions such as those we have surveyed above, we would expect to have a minimum of zero animate participants and a maximum of two. Figure 2.13 reflects the three logical possibilities.

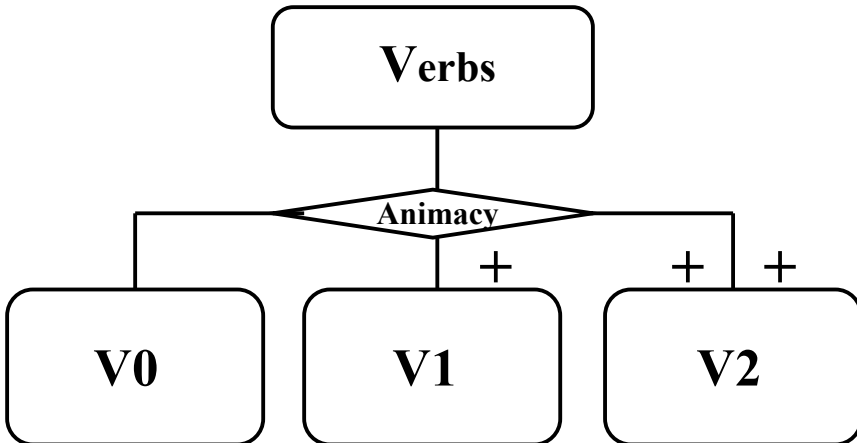


**Figure 2.13**  
**Animacy-based Verbal Classification**



Of course, the inclusion of the old transitivity-based class titles is merely for exposition, as it is precisely the transitivity-based terminology that has caused so much confusion. The transitivity of a construction, the actual valence of the verb, is irrelevant. Only the number of animate participants matters, and this allows us to give appropriate names to these three distinct verb classes in Cree, as in Figure 2.14, based solely on the number of animate participants present.

**Figure 2.14**  
**Cree Animacy-based Verb Classes**



### 2.4.1.2 Morphophonological Subclasses

Within these three large verb types, subdivisions remain possible, but the most appropriate classes may still be motivated primarily on the basis of morphophonology rather than syntax. V0 (still equivalent to VII) can be divided into Vowel-final (or *V*-final) and *n*-final stems, both of which can be found among intransitives and impersonals alike. V2 (still equivalent to VTA) can and has been subdivided into four distinct classes on the basis of various stem shapes and morphophonemic processes at the stem boundary (cf. Ahenakew 1987a, Okimāsis 2004). And finally, the heretofore heterogeneous V1, encompassing all of the VAI and VTI variation, can fall into the three main paradigmatic divisions recognized earlier, but without the complicating factor of transitivity. These subtypes mirror the three classes suggested for VAI stems in Table 2.58 above. Vowel final (*V*-final) stems encompass the main VAI pattern and VTI classes 2 and 3 (clearly cross-cutting transitivity). The *am*-final VTI class 1 and VAI class 3 pattern would form a third large subclass, while the *n*-stem VAI pattern, fluctuating as it does across dialects, is an intermediate pattern between *V*- and *am*-final. These divisions are given in Table 2.61, and are fully exemplified in Appendix B.

**Table 2.61**  
**Cree Morphologically-based Verb Subclasses**

	V0	V1	V2
subclass 1	V0 <sub>1</sub> vowel-final	V1 <sub>1</sub> vowel-final	V2 <sub>1</sub> regular stems
subclass 2	V0 <sub>2</sub> /n/-final	V1 <sub>2</sub> /n/-final	V2 <sub>2</sub> vowel-glide
subclass 3		V1 <sub>3</sub> /am/-final	V2 <sub>3</sub> consonant-/w/
subclass 4			V2 <sub>4</sub> /t/-stems

The V1<sub>1</sub> patterns are thus identical to the originally given VAI paradigms (Tables 2.39 through 2.44). Divorced from transitivity, we can now follow Wolfart and Ahenakew's analysis and include all VTI class 2 and 3 stems, as well as all derived patterns such as VTA-derived reflexives, reciprocals, general objects, and VTI-derived general objects, but also extend the class to include VTA inanimate actors, VAI and VTI diminutives, and the heretofore ignored VTA ditransitives when undergoing many of these derivations. V1<sub>2</sub>

patterns encompass only the original *n*-final VAI stems, largely differing only in the necessity of an epenthetic [i], but displaying the VTI-like third person endings with *-k*. V1<sub>3</sub> stems are VTI class 1 and VAI class 3 ending in *-am*, which can now be included as a stem- extending theme which need not be tied to transitivity synchronically. The following three tables summarize these patterns for the Independent, Conjunct and Imperative respectively, comparing the endings. In the case of the Independent paradigms, the identical prefixes are given only once.

**Table 2.62**  
**V1 Subclass Independent Endings**

			endings					
			V1 <sub>1</sub>	V1 <sub>2</sub>		V1 <sub>3</sub>		
person	SAP	stem	person	ep	person	theme	ep	person
1s	ni-		-n	-i	-n	-ē		-n
2s	ki-		-n	-i	-n	-ē		-n
1p	ni-		-nān	-i	-nān	-ē		-nān
2l	ki-		-(nā)naw	-i	-(nā)naw	-ē		-(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-nāwāw	-i	-nāwāw	-ē		-nāwāw
3s			-w		-Ø	-am		-Ø
3p			-wak		-wak	-am		-wak
3'			-ýiwa	-i	-ýiwa	-am	-i	-ýiwa

**Table 2.63**  
**V1 Subclass Conjunct Endings**

			endings					
			V1 <sub>1</sub>	V1 <sub>2</sub>		V1 <sub>3</sub>		
person	empl	stem	person	ep	person	theme	ep	person
1s	ē-		-yān	-i	-yān	-am		-ān
2s	ē-		-yan	-i	-yan	-am		-an
1p	ē-		-yāhk	-i	-yāhk	-am		-āhk
2l	ē-		-yahk	-i	-yahk	-am		-ahk
2p	ē-		-yēk	-i	-yēk	-am		-ēk
3s	ē-		-t		-k	-ah		-k
3p	ē-		-cik		-kik	-ah		-kik
3'	ē-		-ýit	-i	-ýit	-am	-i	-ýit

**Table 2.64**  
**V1 Subclass Imperative Endings**

		endings					
		V1 <sub>1</sub>		V1 <sub>2</sub>		V1 <sub>3</sub>	
person	stem	person	ep	person	theme	ep	person
2s		-Ø	-i	-Ø	-a		-Ø
2p		-k	-i	-k	-amw	-i	-k
2l		-tān	-i	-tān	-ē		-tān
2s		-hkan	-i	-hkan	-amw	-i	-hkan
2p		-hkēk	-i	-hkēk	-amw	-i	-hkēk
2l		-hkahk	-i	-hkahk	-amw	-i	-hkahk

Having separated theme and/or epenthesis from the person markers, very little variation in person suffixes is evident whatsoever across the subclasses, and treating theme and epenthesis together as stem extensions can further simplify the tables. The Imperative forms are extremely regular, complicated only by the theme alternation in V1<sub>3</sub>. In the Independent, the third person *-w* alternates with *-Ø* based on whether the stem (or extended stem) ends in a vowel or a consonant (*-n* or *-(a)m*) respectively. The greatest differences are found in the Conjunct, where each of the speech act participant suffixes has a variant with or without initial [y]. The alternation is complicated further in Plains Cree in the V1<sub>2</sub> subclass since both epenthesis of [i] and the [y] are present. If we only compare V1<sub>1</sub> and V1<sub>3</sub> endings, we might conclude that [y] is merely epenthetic between vowel-final stems and vowel-initial suffixes. Dialects other than Plains would confirm this, where *n*-final VAI stems (or V1<sub>2</sub>) include neither epenthesis nor [y] (e.g. Swampy Cree *ē-pimisinān* “(as) I lie down” in place of Plains *ē-pimisiṇiyān*). Such dialects have V1<sub>2</sub> (or VAI) forms much closer to V1<sub>3</sub> (or the largely VTI pattern) and the more regular rule of [i]-epenthesis between consonant-final stem (or extended stem) and consonant-initial suffix (with the exception of suffix-initial /w/). However, the shift in *n*-final stems in Plains Cree has brought them closer in line with V1<sub>1</sub>, freezing the [y] as part of the suffix and obscuring a pattern important to the current analysis. This Plains Cree-specific variation (now found in some areas of Woods Cree as well) has perhaps obscured the current analysis from being adopted earlier, but in all Cree dialects the *n*-final stems are somewhere intermediate between V1<sub>1</sub> and V1<sub>3</sub>.<sup>52</sup> The current classification thus has the benefit of pointing to the real

<sup>52</sup> In some areas of Plains Cree speech, the shift is almost or absolutely complete with the epenthetic vowel extended even into the third person forms, requiring *-w* and *-t* endings in the

morphophonological source of variation in these subclasses, developed to a large extent diachronically through analogical levelling.

Finally, the third person alternation of *-t* and *-k* in the Conjunct is clearly explained. Although *-k* is the general marker in the V0 (VII) for an inanimate third person, both *-t* and *-k* alternate in the V1 paradigms, and this alternation is based solely on whether the stem (or extended stem) ends in a consonant (e.g. *-n* or *-(a)m*) or a vowel. Transitivity has nothing whatsoever to do with this. The occurrence of *-k* or any of the other indicators of the erstwhile VTI class 1 paradigms need not be tied to transitivity, nor can they be taken as marking a greater degree of transitivity (cf. Wolvengrey 1991). This is merely a morphophonological pattern, useful for teaching the highly patterned Cree paradigms, while attempts to link this to the syntactic criterion of transitivity needlessly complicate the learning process for L2 learners.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.4.2 Testing the Classification

In the preceding discussion, a large number of verbal constructions in Cree have been exemplified as we have built towards an argument in favour of a three-way verbal classification based solely on the number of animate participants present. One construction that has not yet been detailed is variously known as the Indefinite Actor or Unspecified Actor construction. The former term was suggested by Hockett (editing Bloomfield 1958), and in common use for almost 40 years, but later recanted (Hockett 1996) due to the fact that “indefiniteness” is not a factor in the interpretation of the construction. Hockett (1996) actually suggests “actorless” as a replacement for “indefinite”, but this is also inaccurate. These are not “actorless” constructions in either the sense that a state does not take an agent or actor as its argument, or that an impersonal verb is simply without an argument at all. The construction does not remove the semantic argument from the understanding of the state of affairs, but it does render it obligatorily unspecified and unindexed on the verb. This is illustrated in examples (105) and (106), where first we see an indefinite pronoun marking the actor or first argument in a monotransitive VTA construction, followed by an unspecified

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Independent and Conjunct respectively. This effectively shifts all *n*-final stems to *i*-final stems which thus fall into the V1<sub>1</sub> pattern. In some subdialects then, V1<sub>2</sub> or *n*-final stems no longer exist as a separate subclass simplifying the alternations further.

<sup>53</sup> Transitivity can, of course, still be taught and should include such divisions as impersonal, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive, as well a variety of stems which incorporate an adverbial complement (e.g. “relative root” verbs). Morphological patterns can be used to a certain extent to aid this but issues of transitivity should not be tied to morphology in the same way that the converse has been argued for here.

actor construction, built on the same VTA stem, in which the inclusion of an indefinite pronoun (or any other specification of actor) is ungrammatical.

(105) *awiyak nikī-wāpamik.*

awiyak	ni-	kī-	wāpam	-ikw	-Ø
PR.3s	1	IPV	VTA	INV	3s
someone		PST	see		3s-1s

“Someone saw me.”

(106) (\*awiyak) *nikī-wāpamikawin.*

(awiyak)	ni-	kī-	wāpam	-ikawi	-n
PR.3s	1	IPV	VTA	X	1/2
someone		PST	see		

“I was seen.”  
\*“Someone saw me.”

The exact nature of Unspecified Actor constructions has long been debated, with the very use of the term “unspecified actor” favoured over passive as a result. In the discussion that follows, three separate unspecified actor constructions - one built on VAI stems, one built on VTI stems, and one built on VTA stems - will be exemplified and discussed. The fact that the construction thus seems to pay attention to the Algonquian division between these three classes and the criterion of transitivity provides a challenge to the current analysis of a reduction to three main verb classes, but the inflectional forms utilized in these constructions will bear out the animacy-based approach. Once we remove the animate actor from any of these constructions, the verb takes the inflectional endings appropriate for a verb with one less animate participant.

#### 2.4.2.1 VAI Unspecified Actor

With intransitive verbs with an animate actor, our erstwhile VAI class, the removal of an actor renders the verb impersonal or generic. The basic VAI Unspecified Actor forms are given in the examples in (107) below, though the actual forms show significant dialect variation. In place of the Independent ending *-(nā)niwan* (in (107b)) we also encounter *-(nā)niwīw*, and even *-(nā)niwīn*, (though this latter form is more likely restricted to Woods Cree). The Plains Cree Conjunct form *-hk* (exemplified in (107c)) has been replaced as archaic in the other Cree dialects, where it is more likely to be matched with Conjunct forms of the Independent suffix (e.g.

-(*nā*)*niwahk*, -(*nā*)*niwik*).

- (107) a) *wīkihtowak*.  
 wīkihto        -wak  
 VAI            3p  
 be.married  
 “They are married.”
- b) *wīkihtonāniwan*.  
 wīkihto        -nāniwan  
 VAI            X  
 be.married  
 “There is a wedding.”
- c) *ē-wīkihtoḥk ...*  
 ē-            wīkihto        -hk  
 IPV    VAI            X  
 CNJ    be.married  
 “(as) there is a wedding ...”

The unspecified actor endings evident are directly comparable with the endings of many VII impersonal verbs, as in (108).

- (108) a) *kimiwan*.  
 kimiwan        -Ø  
 VII            0s  
 rain  
 “It is raining. / There is rain.”
- b) *ē-kimiwahk ...*  
 ē-            kimiwan        -k  
 IPV    VII            0s  
 CNJ    rain  
 “(as) it is raining ... / (as) there is rain ...”

The convergence of the archaic VAI Unspecified Actor Conjunct with /n/-final VII Conjunct may be purely accidental historically, but the more recently innovated and transparent Independent ending contains the same -(*w*)*an* stem-final morpheme that characterizes many VII stems. This latter change is not accidental, as the Unspecified Actor is being reshaped in the image of the VII paradigm. With the removal of the single animate

participant, a V1 stem is now marked as an impersonal V0.<sup>54</sup>

### 2.4.2.2 VTI Unspecified Actor

The VTI (class 1) Unspecified Actor has similarly lost its older Independent Order suffix but retains an archaic Conjunct suffix, *-amihk*, clearly related to the *-hk* of the VAI form by the inclusion of the VTI theme *-am*. However, the incidence of the occurrence of *-amihk* is on the decline, as attested in comparisons of the texts collected by Bloomfield in the mid-1920s with modern Cree texts such as those collected in the 1980s by Freda Ahenakew (Wolvengrey 1991). In its place is a derivational pattern that converts the VTI stem (classes 1 and 2) to a VII stem which can then be fully inflected in both the Independent (b) and Conjunct (c) Orders.

- (109) a) *pīkonam*.  
 pīkon        -am    Ø  
 VTI<sub>1</sub>        TH    3s  
 break        3s-0'  
 "S/he breaks it."
- b) *pīkonikātēw*.  
 pīkonikātē        -w  
 VII                0s  
 be.broken  
 "It is broken."
- c) *ē-pīkonikātēk ...*  
 ē-        pīkonikātē        -k  
 IPV        VII                0s  
 CNJ        be.broken  
 "(as) it is broken ..."
- d) *ē-pīkonamihk ...*  
 ē-        pīkon        -am    -ihk  
 IPV        VTI<sub>1</sub>        TH        X  
 CNJ        break        0'  
 "(as) it is broken ..." / "(as) (people) break it."

<sup>54</sup> The assimilation is not absolutely complete. While Unspecified Actors do not take plural forms, as expected, neither have they been attested in the VII singular obviative. Thus, they remain even more restricted than impersonal VII stems.



The alternative older Conjunct suffix *-amihk* is also given in (109d), where the translations suggest a slight shift in focus between the old and new constructions. The older *-amihk* construction appears primarily to generalize or downplay the actor, while the newer construction built with *-ikātē* deletes it even more fully and concentrates attention on the inanimate patient. Verb stems derived with *-ikātē* are VII stems in every way. With the removal of the sole animate participant, again the verb (VTI or V1) shifts to the stem class which has no animate participants, VII or V0. The examples in (110) show that this applies equally to VTI class 2 stems.

- (110) a) *kīsihtāw*.  
 kīsiht -ā -w  
 VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3s  
 finish 3s-0'  
 "S/he finishes it."
- b) *kīsihcikātēw*.  
 kīsihcikātē -w  
 VII 0s  
 be.finished  
 "It is finished."
- c) *ē-kīsihcikātēk ...*  
 ē- kīsihcikātē -k  
 IPV VII 0s  
 CNJ be.finished  
 "(as) it is finished ..."
- d) *\*ē-kīsihtamihk ...*  
 ē- kīsiht- -am -ihk  
 IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH X  
 CNJ finish 0'  
 "(as) it is finished ..." / "(as) (people) finish it."
- e) *? ē-kīsihtāhk ...*  
 ē- kīsihtā -hk  
 IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> X  
 CNJ finish  
 "(as) it is finished ..." / "(as) (people) finish it."

(110d) shows that, with VTI class 2 forms, the older unspecified actor Conjunct suffix *-amihk* cannot occur. Although there is some limited possibility that the basic VAI *-hk* suffix can be added directly to the VTI class 2 stem with its /*ā*/ theme, even this is not favoured. The pattern of shifting from V1 to V0 is dominant, and seems to be gaining at the expense of an older pattern that did more closely reflect the Algonquian pattern.

### 2.4.2.3 VTA Unspecified Actor

Not surprisingly, the VTA Unspecified Actor is the most complex of the Unspecified Actor paradigms, and it is also at the heart of the debate on the passivity of these constructions. As elsewhere in Cree paradigms in general, the inflectional endings fall into two distinct groups: those used with speech act participants, and those used with third person reference. When the second argument (patient or recipient/benefactive) of a VTA verb is a speech act participant, the stem must be modified by the suffix *-ikawi* to indicate the unspecified status of the actor (i.e. first argument), reflecting a similarity though not identity with the VTA inverse morpheme *-iko*. In contrast, when the second argument is a third person, the verb appears to take the direct theme *-ā* and accompanying transitive morphology. This formal difference has suggested to previous analysts that the unspecified actor (XAct) remains a participant (abbreviated X) which can be located on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy intermediate between the speech act participants and third persons, as follows:

#### (111) Extended Algonquian Person Hierarchy

SAPs		XAct		Third Persons						
2	>	1	>	<b>X</b>	>	3	>	3'	>	0

Thus, VTA Unspecified Actor forms with speech act participants as second arguments are equated with the inverse forms, while third person forms are equated with direct forms. The suggestion then is that these are not fully passives since the second argument has not been promoted to subject status, although the actor has apparently been demoted (and obligatorily so). Certainly, this formal pattern is suggestive of the historical derivation of the markers for the Unspecified Actor, but another interpretation is possible synchronically which perhaps matches more closely with the actual function of these constructions in Cree discourse (to be explored further in Chapter 3).

The pattern of speech act participant forms has already been exemplified in (106) above, but Table 2.65 illustrates the Independent Order forms for all

local and non-local referents, while Table 2.66 gives the Conjunct Order equivalents, with the unspecified actor suffix indicated by X. The local forms in both Orders are straightforward and follow the same pattern as evident in reflexive, reciprocal, and general object derivations, except that now it is the first argument that is rendered indistinct and the second argument that is retained. The inflectional endings now match precisely those of the old VAI (or new V1<sub>1</sub>) classification indicating the presence of only a single animate argument.

**Table 2.65**  
**VTA Independent Order Unspecified Actor**

person	prefix	VTA Stem	X	endings	example	gloss
1s	ni-		-ikawi	-n	<b>niwāpamikawin</b>	“I am seen”
2s	ki-		-ikawi	-n	<b>kiwāpamikawin</b>	“You are seen”
1p	ni-		-ikawi	-nān	<b>niwāpamikawinān</b>	“We are seen”
2l	ki-		-ikawi	-(nā)naw	<b>kiwāpamikawi(nā)naw</b>	“We are seen”
2p	ki-		-ikawi	-nāwāw	<b>kiwāpamikawināwāw</b>	“You (all) are seen”
3s			-ā	-w	<b>wāpamāw</b>	“S/he is seen”
3p			-ā	-wak	<b>wāpamāwak</b>	“They are seen”
3'			-ā	-yīwa	<b>wāpamāyīwa</b>	“(The other(s)) is/are seen”

**Table 2.66**  
**VTA Conjunct Order Unspecified Actor**

person	prefix	VTA Stem	X	endings	example	gloss
1s	ē-		-ikawi	-yān	<b>ē-wāpamikawiyān</b>	“(as) I am seen”
2s	ē-		-ikawi	-yan	<b>ē-wāpamikawiyān</b>	“(as) you are seen”
1p	ē-		-ikawi	-yāhk	<b>ē-wāpamikawiyāhk</b>	“(as) we are seen”
2l	ē-		-ikawi	-yahk	<b>ē-wāpamikawiyāhk</b>	“(as) we are seen”
2p	ē-		-ikawi	-yēk	<b>ē-wāpamikawiyēk</b>	“(as) you (all) are seen”
3s	ē-			-iht	<b>ē-wāpamiht</b>	“(as) s/he is seen”
3p	ē-			-ihcik	<b>ē-wāpāmihcik</b>	“(as) they are seen”
3'	ē-			-im-iht	<b>ē-wāpamimiht</b>	“(as) (the other(s)) is/are seen”

What prevents the complete reanalysis of the VTA Unspecified Actor to yet another VAI (V1) stem derivation is the disparity of the local versus third person forms. The local suffix *-ikawi* essentially mirrors the suffix *-ikātē* which as we saw earlier derives VII (V0) through the VTI Unspecified Actor. However, if we treat this similarly as stem derivation, we have the unusual if not completely unheard of situation in which a set of stems can only be marked for local reference. The third person forms simply take a distinct set of suffixes, and these differ in Independent and Conjunct Orders.

The Independent Order third person Unspecified Actor VTA suffixes are formally identical to those which occur in the VTA Direct Mixed Set with first or second person actors and third person patients. Thus, a typical analysis of these forms treats them as direct forms with a third person patient in which the actor may have been demoted but no promotion of patient to subject status has occurred (cf. Ellis 1970).

(112) a) *niwāpamāw.*  
 ni- wāpam -ā -w  
 1 VTA DIR 3s  
 see 1s-3s  
 “I see him/her.”

b) *kiwāpamāw.*  
 ki- wāpam -ā -w  
 2 VTA DIR 3s  
 see 2s-3s  
 “You see him/her.”

c) *wāpamāw.*  
 Ø- wāpam -ā -w  
 X VTA DIR 3s  
 see X-3s  
 “(Someone) sees him/her.” / “S/he is seen (by someone).”

The third singular VTA Unspecified Actor in (112c) thus looks exactly like the fully transitive first and second person actor VTA Direct forms in (112a) and (112b) respectively. In terms of transitivity, however, we can repeat the test from examples (105) and (106) to show that third person patient inverse forms, as in (113), remain transitive, while the Unspecified Actor form in (112c), repeated here as (114), forbids the inclusion of any specification of the actor. This again proves both the inappropriateness of the term “indefinite actor” and shows the verb to be intransitive, regardless of the

common translations offered in previous analyses.

(113) *awiya kī-wāpamik cān.*

awiya	kī-	wāpam	-ikw	-Ø	cān
PR.3'	IPV	VTA	INV	3s	NA.3s
someone	PST	see	3'-3s		John

“Someone saw John.” / “John was seen by someone.”

(114) (*\*awiya*) *kī-wāpamāw cān.*

(awiya)	Ø-	kī-	wāpam	-ā	-w	cān
(PR.3')	X	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NA.3s
(someone)		PST	see	X-3s		John

“John was seen.”  
 \**“Someone saw John.”*  
 \**“John was seen by someone.”*

Thus, the temporary analysis in (114) is a bit of a cross-breed between the traditional analysis of the Unspecified Actor as true actor with a third person patient, while the syntax of the clause indicates the third person is the sole participant allowed by this verbal construction.

It is quite likely again that the Unspecified Actor form is here reflecting its historical derivation, but even this is not fully disambiguated in comparison to certain VAI forms, since each share the *-w* third person suffix in the Independent Order. Such are the similarities between the two forms that at least one fairly recent VAI verb coinage in Cree is apparently due to a historical misanalysis of an Unspecified Actor form by Cree speakers. The verb *ayamihā-* “pray (in a Christian manner)” is a relatively recent addition to Cree vocabulary, where it now co-exists alongside the traditional term *kākīsimo-* “pray (in a traditional manner)”. Interestingly, the new stem appears to be built on a base VAI stem *ayami-* “speak” and the transitivized VTA *ayamih-* “speak with s.o.”. Although Plains Cree has almost completely replaced *ayami-* with *pīkiskwē-* “speak”, *ayami-* is retained in all other dialects, and the causative *ayamih-* is also found in all dialects including Plains Cree. Thus, building an Unspecified Actor form of this VTA stem results in the form in (115a) which can be compared with the VAI *ayamihā-* “pray” in (115b).

(115) a) *ayamihāw.*

ayamih	-ā	-w
VTA	X	3s

speak.to  
 “S/he is spoken to.”

- (b) *ayamihāw*.  
 ayamihā -w  
 VAI 3s  
 pray  
 “S/he prays.”

The two verb forms are homophonous, and there is a fairly clear semantic pathway from “He (God, the Creator) is spoken to” or “(Someone) speaks to Him (God, the Creator)” to “Someone speaks/prays (to the Creator)” to “S/he prays”. This might explain the origin of the VAI stem, but it would not be possible without the similarity of the third person VTA Unspecified Actor to the corresponding third person VAI paradigms in the Independent Order. Thus, the historical relationship of the VTA Unspecified Actor to the VTA Direct is no longer as straightforward as it may once have been and another interpretation, of this form as equivalent to a VAI form, is just as salient. This is reinforced by the semantic intransitivity of the Unspecified Actor. Without that important animate actor, only a single animate participant remains and thus the paradigm can be interpreted as following the VAI (or V1) pattern. Furthermore, in some more easterly dialects of Cree, the Unspecified Actor form under discussion here is in the process of being, or has already been, completely replaced by a new construction in much the same way as the VAI and VTI Unspecified Actor forms before it. The new suffix in such dialects, *-ākāniwi(w)* or *-ākāniwan*, no longer matches any other VTA form, but bears a clear resemblance to the VAI Unspecified Actor suffix illustrated in section 2.4.2.1 above, and the stem thus derived easily fits the VAI (V1) paradigms (Ellis 1970:84-85).<sup>55</sup>

The only forms of the VTA Unspecified actor that are truly exceptional are the third person Conjunct forms, where again the historical VTA source is suggested, especially in the occurrence of the obviate *-im* marker as part of 3' *-imiht*. Except for this clearly aberrant form, the proximate suffixes do contain *-t* and *-cik* as in VAI and VTA paradigms alike. In the dialects discussed by Ellis, it is entirely possible that these forms too have become archaic and been entirely replaced by the newer, innovative and more VAI-like suffixes. In Plains Cree, however, the best we can say is that there is some, though not complete, formal similarity to the VAI endings, and, as with Independent Order forms, the actor has been obligatorily omitted and cannot be included syntactically. Again, with the removal of one of the

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<sup>55</sup> It is, however, unclear from Ellis' (1970) statements as to whether these innovative forms are restricted to third person reference and/or the Independent Order, or if they have spread to replace the local forms as well, and/or if they are used in the Conjunct.

animate participants, the VTA Unspecified Actor renders the verb equivalent to a VAI (VI).

### **2.4.3 Cree Verbal Constructions and Animate Participants**

The preceding survey of the main Cree verbal paradigms, as well as some of the derivations and constructions that allow for fluid movement back and forth between them, has highlighted the importance of the feature animacy within Cree grammar. The division between animate and inanimate has always been recognized as an important principle for Cree nouns, but has generally been treated as secondary in importance behind transitivity in the classification of Cree verbs. This follows an Algonquian pattern for which there is abundant indisputable evidence even where exceptions exist. The very fact that some languages have made adjustments to better reflect this classification is proof of its saliency. However, by the same token, the current analysis seeks to recognize the fact that the considerable historical changes which have resulted in the current Cree verbal system have had the effect of, if not been caused by, the increased importance of animacy as a determinative factor at the expense of transitivity. Although we might seek to regularize the Algonquian system, as in section 2.3, we have continued to find limits to its applicability. Instead, a more consistent analysis is available if we abandon transitivity as the main factor and look first to animacy. The three-way division based on the presence of animate participants has been shown to account for the data more effectively, and many of these observations are summarized in Tables 2.67 and 2.68 on the following pages. Table 2.67 lists a number of the constructions that we have surveyed above grouped as per the traditional four-way verbal classification, but with specification of the number of participants and specifically the number of animate participants. Table 2.68 then rearranges these constructions in terms of the current analysis of section 2.4, emphasizing the formal similarities which both suggest and support the three-way classification based on the exceptionally important criterion of animacy. The current analysis allows us to recognize the feature of animacy as pre-eminent within Cree grammar, and also provides us with a means of better capturing the morphophonologically-based distinction present in a way considerably more salient to modern Cree speakers than exception-riddled classifications based on transitivity. Far from being a linguistic game of paradigmatic reshuffling, the current analysis allows for a more appropriately Cree methodology in Cree language instruction and can contribute to enhanced learnability thereby.

**Table 2.67**  
**Traditional Classification and Cree Verbal Participants**

<b>Cree Verbal Constructions</b>	<b># of Inanimate Participants</b>	<b># of Animate Participants</b>	<b>Total Valency</b>
VII Impersonal	0	0	<b>0</b>
VII	1	0	<b>1</b>
VAI	0	1	<b>1</b>
VAI Unspecified Actor	0	0	<b>0</b>
VAI (VTI-derived) General Object	0	1	<b>1</b>
VAI (VTA-derived) General Object	0	1	<b>1</b>
VAI (VTA-derived) Reflexive	0	1	<b>1</b>
VAI (VTA-derived) Reciprocal	0	1	<b>1</b>
VAI/VTI "Pseudo-transitive"	1	1	<b>2</b>
VTI "Pseudo-intransitive"	0	1	<b>1</b>
VTI (class 1)	1	1	<b>2</b>
VTI Unspecified Actor	1	0	<b>1</b>
VTA Direct (monotransitive)	0	2	<b>2</b>
VTA Inverse (monotransitive)	0	2	<b>2</b>
VTA Inanimate Actor (monotransitive)	1	1	<b>2</b>
VTA Unspecified Actor (monotransitive)	0	1	<b>1</b>
VTA Direct (ditransitive)	1 (or 0)	2 (or 3)	<b>3</b>
VTA Inverse (ditransitive)	1 (or 0)	2 (or 3)	<b>3</b>
VTA Inanimate Actor (ditransitive)	2 (or 1)	1 (or 2)	<b>3</b>
VTA Unspecified Actor (ditransitive)	1 (or 0)	1 (or 2)	<b>2</b>



**Table 2.68**  
**The Importance of Animate Participants in Cree Verbal Morphology**

<b>Cree Verbal Constructions</b>	<b>Total Valency</b>	<b># of Inanimate Participants</b>	<b># of Animate Participants</b>	<b>Verb Class</b>
VII Impersonal	0	0	0	<b>V0</b>
VAI Unspecified Actor	0	0	0	
VII	1	1	0	
VTI Unspecified Actor	1	1	0	
VAI	1	0	1	<b>V1</b>
- VAI (VTA-derived) Reflexive	1	0	1	
- VAI (VTA-derived) Reciprocal	1	0	1	
- VAI (VTI-derived) General Object	1	0	1	
- VAI (VTA-derived) General Object	1 (or 2)	0 (or 1)	1	
VTA Unspecified Actor (mono- and ditransitive)	1 (or 2)	0 (or 1)	1	
VTI "Pseudo-intransitive"	1	0	1	
VAI/VTI "Pseudo-transitive"	2	1	1	
VTA Inanimate Actor (mono- and ditransitive)	2 (or 3)	1 (or 2)	1	
VTI (class 1)	2	1	1	
VTA Direct (mono- and ditransitive)	2 (or 3)	0 (or 1)	2 (or 3)	<b>V2</b>
VTA Inverse (mono- and ditransitive)	2 (or 3)	0 (or 1)	2 (or 3)	

## 2.5 Conclusions

The animacy classification is clearly at the heart of Plains Cree grammar. It is the guiding principle in the organization of both nouns and verbs in the language and contributes to one of the two important hierarchies that allow for the unique functioning of the Algonquian direct-inverse system. The Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy is rigidly defined and assigned in Cree verbal structure, and this Algonquian-specific SFH differs from Dik's (1997a:37) SFH only due to the overriding importance of animacy in Cree grammar. Animate participants must be treated as more salient/important than inanimates, and thus prototypically animate recipient/benefactive participants outrank patient/theme participants for the status of A2 when present. This need not entail a recasting of the Functional (Discourse) Grammar Semantic Function Hierarchy, but should indicate that other factors, including other hierarchies, may take language-specific precedence, requiring language-specific modifications. The reclassification of the Cree verbal system described here is another such example of a language-specific system which suggests that Cree has clearly diverged from even its Algonquian relatives.<sup>56</sup>

More consistent with the general Algonquian pattern are the consequences of these organizing principles, particularly the direct-inverse system, to which we will now turn. Chapter 3 will conclude our morphosyntactic survey with a look at whether or not syntactic functions are required given the semantic and pragmatic principles upon which the verbal system is organized. From there, the latter half of this work, Chapters 4 through 6, will begin to address the problems of "free word order" that these same principles have apparently made possible.

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<sup>56</sup> Though the three-way verbal reclassification is offered as a valid Cree innovation, and valuable for language instruction, the more traditional four-way division will continue to be used in the glossing of examples in this work for the sake of cross-Algonquian comparisons.



# Chapter 3

## Syntactic Functions and Pragmatic Discourse Status<sup>57</sup>

In traditional Algonquianist terminology, the term “actor” has been used as virtually synonymous with “subject”, and the term “goal” has substituted for “object”, but the very fact that Bloomfield (1946) preferred these non-standard syntactic terms for Algonquian is indication that he was not necessarily convinced that they really were equivalent to subject and object as grammatical relations. In the current chapter, the status of the syntactic functions subject and object will be discussed. This will primarily consist of a review of the debates over the status of two constructions in particular, both introduced in the preceding chapter: the Inverse, and the Unspecified Actor. Both of these constructions have at various times been analyzed as active or passive. The current analysis will illustrate the problems of making a determination of syntactic function status for the participant(s) involved in these constructions.

### 3.1 Inverse

The inverse has been variously and contradictorily analyzed as an active (e.g. Dahlstrom 1991, Wolfart 1991, etc.) and a passive (e.g. Jolley 1982, Rhodes 1976 on Ojibwa, etc.). The passive analysis has often hinged at least in part on the identity of form of the person markers. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the person markers are almost completely identical across all Cree paradigms of the same Order (i.e. Independent, Conjunct, Imperative), and this similarity of form has at times been taken to indicate a similarity of syntactic role (i.e. subject), necessitating the interpretation of the inverse as passive. In contrast, as Wolfart (1991) points out, the notion of a voice alternation between active and passive typically presupposes the presence of two semantically equivalent, though stylistically different alternative expressions. This criterion argues against the interpretation of the inverse as a passive since there are no stylistic alternatives to either the mixed set or

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<sup>57</sup> A considerable portion of the current chapter has been previously published as section 3 of Wolvengrey (2005:427-440).

local set direct and inverse forms. The only way to express a second person acting on first person, or a speech act participant acting on a third person is through a direct VTA form, as in (1), and the only way to express that a third person is acting on a speech act participant, or that a first person is acting on second person, is through an inverse construction as in (2).

- (1) a) *kiwīcihin.*  
 ki- wīcih -i -n  
 2 VTA DIR 1/2  
 help 2s-1s  
 “You help me.”
- b) *kiwīcihāwak.*  
 ki- wīcih -ā -wak  
 2 VTA DIR 3p  
 help 2s-3p  
 “You help them.”
- (2) a) *kiwīcihitin.*  
 ki- wīcih -iti -n  
 2 VTA INV 1/2  
 help 1s-2s  
 “I help you.”
- b) *kiwīcihikwak.*  
 ki- wīcih -ikw -wak  
 2 VTA INV 3p  
 help 3p-2s  
 “They help you.”

In order to interpret the examples in (2) as passive, we would have to acknowledge that it is not possible to create passives such as “I am helped by you,” or “They are helped by you,” but obligatory to produce passives equivalent to “You are helped by me,” and “You are helped by them.” The status of the (a) and (b) examples differ considerably in connection with the universal and Algonquian-specific person/topicality hierarchies. The (b) examples represent the universal hierarchy, following universal tendencies to topicalize speech act participants before third persons. As such, obligatory passivization in cases like (2b) might not be so unlikely as an extension of what will be a prototypical tendency in discourse across languages. The (a) examples, however, are from the Algonquian-specific local set with second

person outranking first. As discussed in Chapter 2, although motivation for this ranking does exist, it is on a completely different level to the mixed set relationships, such that an analysis of (2a) as obligatorily passive seems unwarranted at best, and no more likely cross-linguistically than if we were to suggest that (1a) is really an obligatory passive equivalent to “I am helped by you.”

In contrast to both of these sets, the third person set does seem to exhibit the possibility for a stylistic alternation depending on the potential to alter both proximate-obviative assignment and verbal direction. In the following examples beginning with (3a), shifting either the obviation (3b) or the direction (3c) has the effect of changing semantic role assignment, while shifting both (3d) will leave the semantic interpretation identical to (3a), but illustrate the pragmatic uses of these Algonquian grammatical devices.

- 3) a) *cāniy kī-wīcihēw mērīwa.*  
 cāniy kī- wīcih -ē -w mēriy -wa  
 NA.3s IPV VTA DIR 3s NA 3'  
 Johnny PST help 3s-3' Mary  
 “Johnny helped Mary.”
- b) *cānīwa kī-wīcihēw mēriy.*  
 cāniy -wa kī- wīcih -ē -w mēriy  
 NA 3' IPV VTA DIR 3s NA.3s  
 Johnny PST help 3s-3' Mary  
 “Mary helped Johnny.”
- c) *cāniy kī-wīcihik mērīwa.*  
 cāniy kī- wīcih -ikw (-w) mēriy -wa  
 NA.3s IPV VTA INV 3s NA 3'  
 Johnny PST help 3'-3s Mary  
 “Mary helped Johnny. / Johnny was helped by Mary.”
- d) *cānīwa kī-wīcihik mēriy.*  
 cāniy -wa kī- wīcih -ikw (-w) mēriy  
 NA 3' IPV VTA INV 3s NA.3s  
 Johnny PST help 3'-3s Mary  
 “Johnny helped Mary. / Mary was helped by Johnny.”

In (3), the shift of obviation from *mērīwa* in (a) to *cānīwa* in (b) results in a reversal of semantic role interpretation. The difference between (a) and (c) is a shift in direction, but this similarly reverses the semantic role

interpretation, such that (b) and (c) are semantically equivalent. Only where both obviation and direction have been changed (as between (a) and (d)), does the semantic interpretation remain unchanged. The difference between (a) and (d) (or for that matter (b) and (c)) is purely a pragmatic one, based on the speaker's choice of proximate / topic assignment.

Thus, the third person set differs from the mixed and local sets in allowing for situation-specific, speaker-determined assignment of relative topicality, and stylistic variation is allowed. The glosses of the inverse examples in (3c) and (3d) suggest this variation through the inclusion of passive variants, often (though not always) preferred by Cree speakers when translating into English. The passive is the English construction required to reflect the pragmatic status signalled by direction and proximate/obviative assignment in Cree. In English, the more topical patient is marked as more topical by assigning it the syntactic role of subject and placing it in preverbal position accordingly. The Cree construction also recognizes the higher topicality of the patient (i.e. through proximate status), but does not require that a specific word order position be associated with it. The really crucial difference is in how the less topical agents are dealt with. An English passive detransitivizes the verb and either demotes (to oblique status marked by "by") or completely deletes the less topical agent. In contrast, the Plains Cree examples in (3) do not seem to indicate any detransitivization of the verb, with both participants capable of being fully lexicalized and participating in the clause. Furthermore, though the relative topicality of the participants is signalled through proximate / obviative assignment, the syntactic status of the participants is unclear and has been the subject of much debate.

Dahlstrom (1991) provides a couple of tests, to be discussed below, which lead her to conclude that the Plains Cree inverse is as fully active as the direct. Perlmutter and Rhodes (1988) argue that the inverse is passive in Ojibwa, reversing the syntactic status of the arguments, thus making the patient into a subject, but only demoting the agent to object status, not oblique as more common cross-linguistically. The observation of the apparent full syntactic valency of both highest-ranking participants has lead most analysts, regardless of which side of the active-passive fence they choose, to at least acknowledge that the inverse is somewhat different from a "normal" passive cross-linguistically. It has also lead some (quite appropriately I would argue) to perch directly on the fence and suggest that "the inverse construction ... is 'sort of' a passive and 'sort of' not" (Dryer 1996:37) or that it is somehow both active and passive at the same time (Wolvengrey 1993). This latter viewpoint will be maintained here, where the differences of the inverse from both active and passive constructions are

attributed to the lack of grammaticalized syntactic functions in Cree.

### 3.1.1 A Test for Object

In Dahlstrom's (1991:61) analysis, she develops a chart, reproduced here as (4), based on third person set forms illustrating her conclusions that both the direct and inverse are active, while only "indefinite" (i.e. unspecified) actor paradigms can be analysed as passive. In the terms of the current analysis, Dahlstrom's chart can be translated to introduce a level of Syntactic Functions between the Semantic Functions on the left and the Pragmatic ranking of topicality on the right. Her analysis stems from a number of tests for objecthood and subjecthood which will be examined below.

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

One test for object status involves floating quantifiers. Dahlstrom (1991) argues that floated quantifiers cannot be construed with subjects in transitive structures.<sup>58</sup> In the relevant construction, a quantifier appears in preverbal position, separated from the noun with which it is semantically linked (i.e. which it modifies), as illustrated in (5) (Dahlstrom 1991:83, cited following Bloomfield 1934:78).

- (5) *piyisk kahkiyaw mēstinam otayāna; ...*  
 piyisk kahkiyaw mēstin -am -Ø ot- ayān -a  
 IPT QNT VTI TH 3s 3 NDI 0'p  
 finally all use.up 3s-0' possession  
 "At last he had spent all his belongings;..."

<sup>58</sup> This is interesting given Cirillo's (2009:62, 261) observation that most floating quantifiers construe with subjects, and can only construe with objects in "scrambling" languages. Cree can certainly be included in the list of languages which permits "scrambling" or freer word order variation, but it would still be odd if floating quantifiers couldn't construe with both subject and object, assuming for the moment that both syntactic roles exist in Cree.



In transitive structures, with two participants, the possibility for ambiguity exists if the quantifier might in fact be construed with either argument of the verb. However, Dahlstrom (1991:82) argues that such ambiguity does not exist because of a “constraint on the interpretation of the quantifier ... [which] cannot be construed as modifying the subject of a transitive verb.” In (5) above, and in most of the other examples offered by Dahlstrom, this ambiguity does not in fact exist, since the proximate subject is singular and cannot therefore be construed with the quantifier. However, Dahlstrom does include in her argument two examples in which the required ambiguity does exist (i.e. both participants are or are at least potentially plural). These are reproduced here as (6)<sup>59</sup> and (7).

- (6) *nisto nipahēwak maskwa nāpēwak.*  
 nisto nipah -ē -wak maskw -a nāpēw -ak  
 NUM VTA DIR 3p NA 3' NA 3p  
 three kill 3p-3' bear man  
 “The men killed three bears.”  
 \**“Three men killed a bear/bears.”* (adapted from Dahlstrom 1991:83)

- (7) *kahkiyaw sākihikwak otānisiwāwa iskwēwak.*  
 kahkiyaw sākih -ikw -wak o- tānis -iwāw -a  
 QNT VTA INV 3p 3 NDA 2p/3p 3'  
 all love 3'-3p daughter  
  
 iskwēw -ak  
 NA 3p  
 woman  
 “Their daughters love all women.”  
 (i.e. “All women are loved by their daughters.”)  
 \**“All their daughters love the women.”* (Dahlstrom 1991:87)

In (6), following the grammaticality judgements of Plains Cree speakers, since confirmed by my own informants, the numeral quantifier (*nisto*

<sup>59</sup> This example is identical to the one given in Dahlstrom (1991:83) except for the substitution of the obviative noun *maskwa* “bear(s)” for the original obviative noun *mōswa* “moose”. This change was made only to render some of the following examples more pragmatically acceptable to the judgements of speakers who see the killing of men by bears as more likely than the killing of men by moose. This substitution has no other bearing on the arguments put forth here.

“three”) can only be construed with the goal (*maskwa* “bear(s)”) despite the fact that the agent (*nāpēwak* “men”) is also plural. Furthermore, *nipahēwak* is a direct VTA unambiguously identified as an active verb in which the patient is then equated with “object” in Dahlstrom’s analysis. It is this identification of the patient with “object”, and the fact that the quantifier only construes with the patient, that allows Dahlstrom to extend the analysis of patient as object to the inverse. The example in (7) shows that the quantifier (*kahkiyaw* “all”) can only be construed with the inverse patient (*iskwēwak* “women”), again following confirmed native speaker grammaticality judgements. Thus, it appears from these two examples that a quantifier can only be associated with the patient of a monotransitive VTA, regardless of its status as obviative (*maskwa*) or proximate (*iskwēwak*) or of the status of the verb as direct or inverse. For Dahlstrom, then, this illustrates that the patient is the object in both direct and inverse VTA constructions. However, this can be disproven.

A simple test exists which can illustrate that the interpretation of a floated quantifier has nothing whatsoever to do with a participant’s status as patient (or agent). This entails modifying the examples in (6) and (7) by reversing the direction markers on the VTA stems. Thus, in (8), for instance, the direct theme marker present in (6) has been changed to an inverse theme, with no other changes occurring between the two constructions. This has the effect of reversing the semantic roles of the participants, i.e. changing the assignment of agent and patient. If Dahlstrom’s analysis is correct, the quantifier must now construe with the new “object” or patient. This is not the case.

- (8) *nisto nipahikwak maskwa nāpēwak.*  
 nisto nipah -ikw -wak maskw -a nāpēw -ak  
 NUM VTA INV 3p NA 3’ NA 3p  
 three kill 3’-3p bear man  
 “Three bears killed the men.”  
 (i.e. “The men were killed by three bears.”)  
 \*“Bears killed three men.”

In (8), then, we have the exact opposite situation to that found by Dahlstrom with examples like (6). Similarly, if we modify the example in (7) by changing the direction marking, the result is as given in (9) where the quantifier must still construe with *iskwēwak* even though it is now the agent of the direct-marked verb.

- (9) *kahkiyaw sākīhēwak otānisiwāwa iskwēwak.*  
 kahkiyaw sākīh -ē -wak o- tānis -iwāw -a  
 QNT VTA DIR 3p 3 NDA 2p/3p 3'  
 all love 3p- 3' daughter  
  
 iskwēw -ak  
 NA 3p  
 woman

“All women love their daughters.”

\*“(The) women love all their daughters.”

With data such as the examples in (6) and (7) alone, Dahlstrom concluded floating quantifiers associate only with patients and that the inverse is therefore active with a patient as object. However, if only examples such as (8) and (9) had been investigated, the conclusion would have been the opposite; that floating quantifiers provide a test for subjecthood rather than objecthood (and that, as a consequence, perhaps, the inverse would again have been analyzed as a passive of sorts).

The fact that all of these examples are grammatical in Plains Cree suggests that the status of a participant as agent or patient has no necessary bearing on the interpretation of a floating quantifier. Data such as this cannot be used as a test for subject or object at all. Floating quantifiers are construed with patients in (6) and (7), but with agents in (8) and (9). Floating quantifiers are construed with proximate participants in (7) and (9), but with obviative participants in (6) and (8). Additionally, word order also fails to have any bearing on interpretation. In (6) and (8), it is the participant immediately following the verb (and therefore closest to the floating quantifier), while in (7) and (9), it is the participant in sentence-final position (further away from the quantifier) that associates with the quantifier.

Further modifications of these important examples serve to reinforce the observation that word order appears irrelevant. Reversing the order of the two NPs in sentences (6) and (8) yields (10) and (11) respectively.

- (10) *nisto nipahēwak nāpēwak maskwa.*  
 nisto nipah -ē -wak nāpēw -ak maskw -a  
 NUM VTA DIR 3p NA 3p NA 3'  
 three kill 3p-3' man bear

“The men killed three bears.”

\*“Three men killed a bear/bears.” (adapted from Dahlstrom 1991:83)

(11) *nisto nipahikwak nāpēwak maskwa.*

nisto	nipah	-ikw	-wak	nāpēw	-ak	maskw	-a
NUM	VTA	INV	3p	NA	3p	NA	3'
three	kill	3'-3p		man		bear	

“Three bears killed the men.”

(i.e. “The men were killed by three bears.”)

\*“Bears killed three men.”

Changing the word order has no effect on the interpretation. (6) and (10) are interpreted identically, while (8) and (11) are similarly unchanged in meaning. In all four of these examples, regardless of semantic role and word order, the quantifier associates with *maskwa*. If neither word order nor semantic function can be used to predict this phenomenon, we must look elsewhere, particularly at pragmatic roles or pragmatic information status.

In each of the *maskwa* examples (6, 8, 10, 11), the only common denominator is the obviative status of the noun. As has already been observed, though, (7) shows that it is not always the obviative with which the quantifier is associated. However, I would like to suggest that there is a fundamental difference in the information status of the obviative participant in (6) versus (7) and that this difference underlies the interpretation of floating quantifiers in the data.

In examples (6) and (8) we have already noted that the quantifier must be construed with the obviative participant. Why should this be? This is a difficult question to answer and one which might lead to many random hypotheses. Is it something specific to bears? Is there something in the difference between bears and men semantically (e.g. only men are +human)? The first thought was never to be taken seriously and is easily discarded since Dahlstrom’s original sentence included *mōswa* “moose” rather than *maskwa*, such that whatever holds for bears must also hold for moose. This still leaves the possibility that *nāpēwak* “men”, as a human referent, somehow outranks a non-human referent such as *maskwa* “bear(s)”. This possibility can also be rejected by observing the result of simply reversing the assignment of proximate and obviative in (6) and (8) above, yielding (12) and (13) respectively.

(12) *nisto nipahēwak maskwak nāpēwa.*

nisto	nipah	-ē	-wak	maskw	-ak	nāpēw	-a
NUM	VTA	DIR	3p	NA	3p	NA	3'
three	kill	3p-3'		bear		man	

“The bears killed three men.”

\*“Three bears killed a man/men.”

(13) *nisto nipahikwak maskwak nāpēwa.*

nisto	nipah	-ikw	-wak	maskw	-ak	nāpēw	-a
NUM	VTA	INV	3p	NA	3p	NA	3'
three	kill	3'-3p		bear		man	

“Three men killed the bears.”  
 (i.e. “The bears were killed by three men.”)  
 \*\*“A man/men killed three bears.”

Once *maskwak* is marked as proximate, and *nāpēwa* is marked obviative, the quantifier continues to construe with the obviative participant. Thus, the notion that the semantic feature [+human] plays any role can be discounted as well. It is, for these examples, simply the obviative status of the noun which appears determinative. Hence, an explanation for this is still required.

I believe the answer is to be found in the pragmatic information status indicated in these examples by the choice of obviation. In each of the examples including *maskwa(k)*, the choice of obviative is not obligatory. The contrast between (14) and (15), for instance, shows that the same basic semantic proposition (that of men killing bears) can be imparted by two different structures, involving a shift of obviative assignment in conjunction with a change in direction marking. These examples mirror in structure the earlier examples (3a) and (3d), and are identical to (6) and (13) respectively, with the removal of the complicating quantifier.

(14) *nipahēwak maskwa nāpēwak.*

nipah	-ē	-wak	maskw	-a	nāpēw	-ak
VTA	DIR	3p	NA	3'	NA	3p
kill	3p-3'		bear		man	

“The men killed a bear/some bears.”

(15) *nipahikwak maskwak nāpēwa.*

nipah	-ikw	-wak	maskw	-ak	nāpēw	-a
VTA	INV	3p	NA	3p	NA	3'
kill	3'-3p		bear		man	

“A man/some men killed the bear.”  
 (i.e. “The bears were killed by a man/some men.”)

Thus, the contrast between (6) and (14) is only that a quantifier has been included in (6), and must be associated with the obviative referent. Similarly, the contrast between (13) and (15) is only that (13) includes a quantifier which also must be construed with the referent assigned obviative status.

Without the quantifier, the underlying proposition is unaffected. However, the information status is certainly affected by the choice of the obviative. This is illustrated by the definite/indefinite contrast in the English glosses in (14) and (15). The obviative referent is given an indefinite reading, while the proximate is definite. This correlates with the information status of the obviative as less topical, more likely to be new information and quite possibly indefinite. In contrast, the proximate referent is most likely the sentence or discourse topic and, therefore, is much more likely to represent given, definite information. Even in contextless, “out-of-the-blue” sentences, informants will associate any possibly ambiguous descriptive information (such as quantifiers) as modifying the referent most in need of further specification. Salient, topical, proximate referents do not need further specification; they are known. Less topical, new and indefinite information coded as obviative participants, on the other hand, may well require further specification to establish proper reference. The result, as illustrated in all of the *maskwa(k)* examples, is that the quantifier is always interpreted as providing further specification of the obviative referent. Pragmatic factors dictate where neither syntactic word order nor semantic role plays a part.

Returning to example (7), repeated here as (16), we observe that it is the proximate patient, rather than the obviative agent with which the quantifier must construe.

(16) *kahkiyaw sākihikwak otānisiwāwa iskwēwak.*

kahkiyaw	sākih	-ikw	-wak	o-	tānis	-iwāw	-a
QNT	VTA	INV	3p	3	NDA	2p/3p	3'
all	love	3'-3p			daughter		
	iskwēw	-ak					
	NA	3p					
	woman						

“Their daughters love all women.”

(i.e. “All women are loved by their daughters.”)

\*“All their daughters love the women.”

This would seem to parallel the *maskwa* example cited first as (6) in which the quantifier could only construe with the “object”, and contradict the analysis offered immediately above. Similarly, however, we have already seen how this example can be altered (as (9) above, repeated here as (17)) to reveal that it is not the patient which must be construed with the quantifier at all, but rather the proximate noun *iskwēwak*, regardless of its semantic role.

(17) *kahkiyaw sākīhēwak otānisiwāwa iskwēwak.*

kahkiyaw	sākīh	-ē	-wak	o-	tānis	-iwāw	-a
QNT	VTA	DIR	3p	3	NDA	2p/3p	3'
all	love	3p- 3'			daughter		

iskwēw	-ak
NA	3p
woman	

“All women love their daughters.”

\*“(The) women love all their daughters.”

Though *iskwēwak* “women” is now indisputably the actor of the direct VTA verb in (17), the quantifier must remain associated with this participant. While these examples together give further evidence against Dahlstrom’s analysis of the patient as object, they also present an obvious problem for the current analysis for, as already noted, the quantifier is always construed with the proximate participant, *iskwēwak*, not the obviative.

In these examples, however, the information status of proximate and obviative referents is not identical to that in the *maskwa(k)* examples. Here, because of the presence of a possessive relationship between the two referents, the assignment of obviation to the possessum is obligatory. It follows from the necessity of establishing the possessum’s reference via the possessor that the possessum is less salient in the discourse than the possessor. It therefore has a similar status to the obviative referents in the *maskwa(k)* examples; they represent new information. The real difference lies in the status of the proximate referents. Whereas the proximate referents in the *maskwa(k)* examples are interpreted as highly topical, the proximate participant in (16) and (17) need not be interpreted as being highly topical or given information at all. Instead, it may also be new (or re-introduced) information, and only marginally more topical than the possessum.

Faced with two referents low in topicality, the quantifier must be construed with one of them. The evidence from the *iskwēwak* examples indicates that it is the proximate referent, the referent through which the possessum must take its own reference. Thus, the quantifier is construed with the proximate in these examples in order to further establish the reference of the possessor, which is itself necessary to properly establish the reference of the possessum. This does not, however, explain why the quantifier cannot be construed with the obviative possessum, and this is a question which I leave for further investigation.

In conclusion, the test for objecthood suggested by Dahlstrom (1991) is

not valid. Neither syntactic nor semantic roles play a part in establishing the association of floating quantifiers with nominals. In the additional absence of strict word order constraints on interpretation, the only available explanation for this phenomenon is that the pragmatic information status of the arguments contributes to or even dictates the disambiguation of reference of floating quantifiers. Thus, contrary to Dahlstrom's conclusions, what the floating quantifier test really begins to suggest is that it may not make any sense at all to refer to the Plains Cree inverse (or the direct) as active or passive. Since both active and passive structures are defined cross-linguistically by the required assignment of syntactic roles, and nothing in our observations of this section suggests that syntactic functions are being assigned, the terms do not seem applicable. The underlying pragmatic factors that often lead to the grammaticalization of syntactic functions are, however, fully present, and this will be reinforced through a review of another test for grammatical functions. Though this also crucially involves the status of the inverse, another construction will prove even more important.

## 3.2 Unspecified Actor

### 3.2.1 A Test for Subject

A second test provided by Dahlstrom (1991), and complementary to the first in some ways, is the "copying-to-object" test for subject status. This test, which will be introduced below, is used to provide evidence not only of the active status of the inverse (as refuted above) but also of the passive status of the "indefinite" or unspecified actor. It is towards this latter construction that we will now turn.

The unspecified actor paradigms were introduced in Chapter 2 where it was noted that these constructions do not permit lexicalization of the agent, and verbal cross-reference is reduced by one animate participant. In the case of V1 paradigms (i.e. VAI and VTI), this will result in patterns identical to V0 (i.e. VII), while in the case of V2 paradigms (i.e. VTA), valence is reduced and the construction is marked in many ways like the V1 (i.e. VAI<sub>1</sub> and VTI<sub>2&3</sub>) pattern. Also introduced was the morphological split between speech act participant and third person forms in the VTA unspecified actor, such that local participants appear to be marked similarly to inverse forms with the suffix *-ikawi*, while third persons seem to be marked by the direct theme *-ā*, at least in the Independent. This formal difference has led to the suggested modification to the Algonquian Person Hierarchy, cited as (111) in Chapter 2 and repeated here as (18), including an abstract Unspecified



Actor (XAct or X) which takes its place between the local and third person referents (cf. Jolley 1982, Déchaine and Reinholtz 1998).

(18) Extended Algonquian Person Hierarchy

SAPs		XAct		Third Persons						
2	>	1	>	X	>	3	>	3'	>	0

Interestingly, though they both represent the APH as in (18), Jolley (1982) argues that “indefinite actors” are passives with promotion to subject, while Déchaine and Reinholtz (1998) argue that promotion to subject does not occur. Ultimately, both positions hinge on one or the other possibility. Theoretically, both possibilities should not be substantiated in one and the same construction and we must therefore search for tests which illustrate which is the correct choice.

Dahlstrom (1991:76) discusses both inverse and unspecified actor data as part of her copying-to-object test for subject. In Cree, the verb in a main clause which takes a subordinate clause complement can occur as either a VTI or a VTA stem. In the former case, as in (19), the VTI stem takes the entire subordinate clause state of affairs as the inanimate complement.

(19) *nikiskēyih̄tēn ē-kī-sēkīsicik.*

ni-	kiskēyih̄t	-ē	-n	ē-	kī-	sēkīsi	-cik
1	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
	know	1s-0		CNJ	PST	be.scared	

“I know that they were scared.”

However, it is also possible to include a VTA in the main clause, which then must agree not with the subordinate clause as complement, but with an animate participant in the subordinate clause. This is equivalent to the “raising-to-object” operation prevalent in the literature (cf. James 1984 on Moose Cree), but because the participant is then obligatorily marked in both clauses in Cree, Dahlstrom (1991) refers to this as “copying-to-object” in preference to “raising”. In such cases, the participant has not been raised out of the subordinate clause leaving the verb in infinitive form as might be done in a language like English. Example (20) illustrates this, with a main clause VTA co-referencing the same third person participant as the sole referent in the subordinate clause.

(20) *nikiskēyimāwak ē-kī-sēkiscik.*

ni-	kiskēyim	-ā	-wak	ē-	kī-	sēkisi	-cik
1	VTA	DIR	3p	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
	know	1s-3p		CNJ	PST	be.scared	

“I know they were scared. / I know them to have been scared.”

[lit: ‘I know (about) them that they were scared.’]

In (20), the lower clause consists of an intransitive (VAI) verb so that only the lone participant is possibly available to copy to object (or second argument) of the main clause. However, Dahlstrom (1991:67-73) applies this test to examples in which the subordinate clause includes a transitive VTA stem, in both the direct and inverse, and determines that, in either case, it is only the agent of the subordinate verb that can copy to object. She then turns to the example given here in (21), in which the subordinate clause consists of an unspecified actor VTA, to test whether the patient argument can copy to object (Dahlstrom 1991:74).

(21) *nikiskēyimāwak ē-kī-sēkihihcik.*

ni-	kiskēyim	-ā	-wak	ē-	kī-	sēkih	-ih	-cik
1	VTA	DIR	3p	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	3p
	know	1s-3p		CNJ	PST	scare	X-3p	

“I know they were scared.”

[lit: ‘I know (about) them that they were scared.’]

The only difference between this example and the one immediately preceding is the replacement in the subordinate clause of an intransitive verb agreeing with one animate participant in (20) with a VTA unspecified actor form agreeing with one animate participant in (21). The morphological parallels are clear, as discussed in Chapter 2, but the grammatical roles or syntactic functions remained the question of Dahlstrom’s investigation. Since the unspecified actor form in (21) is based on a VTA, the question could be seen as whether the semantic agent would copy to object or at least block the patient from doing so. However, as we can see, it is indeed the patient of the lower clause which is coreferential with the second argument of the main clause. Since this shows that agents are not the only semantic role which can apparently copy to object, and that the unspecified actor or agent of the lower clause VTA does not play a role, Dahlstrom concludes that the patient of an unspecified actor form must be the subject. Hence, for Dahlstrom, the copying-to-object test points to the active status of both direct and inverse, and the passive status of the unspecified actor.

However, another interpretation of the data is again available. In direct

and inverse alike, the agent (i.e. the highest ranking semantic function present) must be the argument copied to object. With an unspecified actor form, the agent has been obligatorily demoted and cannot participate in the syntax, leaving the patient as the highest ranking participant on the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy (SF/AH). It is the only possible option, just as when an unquestionably intransitive verb occurs in the subordinate clause, as in (20) above and in (22) (cf. Dahlstrom 1991:67).

(22) *nikiskēyimāw ē-nōhtē-sipwēhtēt.*

ni-	kiskēyim	-ā	-w	ē-	nōhtē-	sipwēhtē	-t
1	VTA	DIR	3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	3s
	know	1s-3s		CNJ	want	leave	

“I know he wants to leave.”

[lit: ‘I know him (and) he wants to leave.’]

Unless another test can confirm Dahlstrom’s hypothesis, control by the highest ranking role on the SF/AH is at least as plausible an analysis, and one that does not require recourse to a level of syntactic functions. In fact, additional data does exist which will confirm that the patient of an unspecified actor VTA cannot be equated with a “subject”.

The data in the following examples, (23-25), illustrate that pragmatic context dictates whether the agent or patient of an unspecified actor can exert control over a higher predicate (represented by the preverb *kakwē-*). In one and the same construction, both are possible.

(23) *kakwē-wāpamikawi!*

kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-Ø
IPV	VTA	XAct	2s.IMP
try	see	(X-)2s	

“Try to be seen!”

\*? “Try for someone to see you.”

In (23), the verb is inflected as a second person singular imperative. The context for this example is that it is uttered as advice given to a dancer before entering the circle at a pow-wow. As such, the second person is expected to take volitional control of the event (i.e. to bring about the event of his/her being seen). The English translation indicates this with a passive construction. The examples in (24) and (25) stem from similar contexts in which the patient can be expected to take volitional control. Again, a passive translation is called for, consistent with a promotion of the unspecified actor verb’s patient to “subject” status.

(24) *nikī-kakwē-wāpamikawin ē-mēkwā-nīmihitoyān.*

ni-	kī-	kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-n
1	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1/2
	PST	try	see	(X-)1s	

ē-	mēkwā-	nīmihito	-yān
IPV	IPV	VAI	1s
CNJ	while	dance	

“I tried to be seen while dancing.”

(25) *ohcitaw ta-kakwē-wāpamikawiyān (nōhtē-otahowēyani).*

ohcitaw	ta-	kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-yan
IPC	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	2s
necessary	CNJ	try	see	(X-)2s	

“You have to try to be seen (if you want to win).”

In (24), the unspecified actor verb is in the Independent Order, while in (25) the verb is in the Conjunct Order and therefore introduced by a complementizer (CNJ), but this difference does not appear to matter. In (24) and (25), the patient takes volitional control over the action meant to bring about the event. If this was always the case, the analyses of Dahlstrom (1991) and Jolley (1982), among others, would hold. However, the data in (26)-(28) show that pragmatic contexts also exist in which the unspecified actor retains volitional control, and the patient thus remains merely a patient.

(26) *tahto-kīsikāw māna ē-kī-kakwē-wāpamikawiyān.*

tahto-kīsikāw	māna	ē-	kī-	kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-yān
IPT	IPT	IPV	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1s
every.day	usually	CNJ	PST	try	see	(X-)1s	

“Someone’s always trying to see me every day.”

(27) *māka mīna kapē-kīsik nikī-kakwē-wāpamikawin. (mistahi nicanawīn.)*

māka mīna	kapē-kīsik	ni-	kī-	kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-n
IPH	IPT	1	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1/2
as.usual	all.day		PST	try	see	(X-)1s	

“As usual, someone tries to see me throughout the day. (I’m very busy).”

(28) *otākosīhk ēsa ōma ē-kī-kakwē-wāpamikawiyān, ...*

otākosīhk	ēsa	ōma	ē-	kī-	kakwē-	wāpam	-ikawi	-yān
IPT	IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1s
yesterday	evidently	FOC	CNJ	PST	try	see	(X-)1s	

“I understand someone tried to see me yesterday, ...”  
 or “I understand there was an attempt to see me yesterday, ...”  
 (... , *māka anima mēkwāc ē-māmawapiyāhk ōta kā-pē-takohtēcik.*)  
 (“... , but they arrived here while we were in a meeting.”)

We do not expect to find imperatives among these examples, but both Independent and Conjunct Order inflections are represented. The context for all three examples is similar, with some indication that an unspecified actor (whether definite or indefinite, specific or non-specific) has made an attempt or is constantly making attempts to see the first person goal. In (26) and (28), the verb occurs in the Conjunct Order, while in (27) the verb is Independent. Hence, neither interpretation is specifically associated with the Independent or the Conjunct. It is merely pragmatic context which determines the interpretation of control.

Finally, it can be noted that the exact same verb form occurs in both (24) and (27), repeated here as (29). Devoid of context, either interpretation is open to Plains Cree speakers, and either English translation is possible.

(29) *nikī-kakwē-wāpamikawin.*  
 ni- kī- kakwē- wāpam -ikawi -n  
 1 IPV IPV VTA XAct 1/2  
 PST try see (X-)1s  
 “Someone tried to see me. / I tried to be seen.”

What these examples have illustrated is that the VTA unspecified actor paradigm does not have a grammaticalized subject or object. The actor is unspecified, but not pragmatically absent, and may act as controller given an appropriate context (as in (36)-(38)). This could be interpreted as an example of the demotion of the agent without apparent promotion of a patient to subject status. In contrast, appropriate contexts can also be found which dictate that the patient will serve as a controller (as in (23)-(25)), in which case passivization including promotion to “subject” appears to occur. In this construction in Plains Cree, though, both options are possible, and the choice is not grammaticalized but remains open to determination by pragmatic context. The debate over whether unspecified actor forms are full passives or not has hinged entirely on the identification of the goal with either “subject” or “object” status. The debate has now been unhinged. There is no necessarily grammaticalized subject or object at all. The choice of controller is left entirely to pragmatics as one and the same construction serves the purpose for two distinct constructions, with two different grammaticalized subjects, in languages like English.

### 3.3 Conclusions

Ultimately, searching for tests for “subjecthood” and “objecthood” in Cree is futile, since the grammatical relations of “subject” and “object” are not important for this language. In Plains Cree, the interaction of pragmatic and semantic functions is enough to disambiguate all necessary interactions without recourse to a third level of grammatical or syntactic functions. In Chapter 2, we saw the vital interaction of the Algonquian Person/Topicality Hierarchy (AP/TH) and the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy (SF/AH) in establishing the direct-inverse system. There, it was the Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy which took pride of place in the morphosyntactic organization of verb stems. Here again it can be seen to play its part in limiting grammatical processes to the highest ranking semantic functions present. However, pragmatic discourse status also proves to be exceptionally important in allowing Plains Cree to do without the strict grammaticalization of syntactic functions common, but not universal, cross-linguistically. As such, the two-way voice division between active and passive that results from grammatical subject choice in languages like English is not found in Cree. Instead, we find both the direct and inverse functioning as partially equivalent to the active, and the inverse and unspecified actor forms as partially equivalent to the passive. These differences are represented in Figure 3.1, with Figure 3.2 providing examples of the main construction types.

**Figure 3.1**  
**English and Plains Cree Voice**

English		Cree
Active		VTA Direct (and other Verb Classes)
Passive	by	VTA Inverse (and Inanimate Actor)
	by	Unspecified Actor

**Figure 3.2**  
**English and Cree Voice Examples**

English	Cree
Active:  <i>John helped the child.</i>  <i>A child helped John.</i>	VTA Direct: <i>cān kī-wīcihēw awāsisā.</i> <i>awāsisā anihī kī-wīcihēw cān.</i>
Passive: (+by-phrase) <i>John was helped by a child.</i>	VTA Inverse:  <i>cān kī-wīcihik awāsisā.</i> <i>awāsisā anihī kī-wīcihik cān.</i>
(-by-phrase) <i>John was helped.</i>	VTA Unspecified Actor: <i>cān kī-wīcihāw.</i>

In English, the main grammatical distinction is between the Active and Passive. Either the agent (or other highest ranking semantic role; e.g. experiencer) is coded as a subject, with object status going to a lower-ranking participant, or the agent (experiencer, etc.) is demoted while a participant with another semantic role (commonly patient) is promoted into subject status. Regardless of whether the agent is demoted to oblique status (in a ‘by’ phrase) or completely omitted, it is the promotion of the patient (recipient, etc.) which dictates that a passive occurs. Subject assignment is vital to this division.

In contrast, no grammatical subject choice occurs in Cree. As such, both the Direct and Inverse, as with all other verb types, simply code the presence of the participants, and link them to their respective semantic functions via their relative topicality. The active has been described as “uncontroversially active” (Dahlstrom 1991:75), but this is simply because of the matching of highest semantic role with highest topicality, the same pragmatic situation that calls for an active in languages like English. The Inverse, on the other hand, as we have seen, occurs when the opposite is the case: the highest ranking semantic role is lower in topicality, and a lower semantic role is higher in topicality. In the former case, we might expect demotion of the

agent (experiencer, etc.), and in the latter, promotion of the patient (recipient, etc). This is precisely the pragmatic situation that calls for the passive in languages like English, albeit one with an obligatory agentive by-phrase. However, the inverse simply presents these pragmatic facts without forcing a syntactic choice of subject. In some cases, the highest ranking semantic role acts as syntactic pivot, while in others, pragmatic discourse status allows for the correct interpretation. Syntactic functions are unnecessary.

Finally, we have a fairly clear equivalence between the English-like passive without a by-phrase and the Cree unspecified actor paradigms. The difference here is merely in the optional presence of the oblique by-phrase in the passive structure versus the obligatory absence of the highest ranking semantic role in the unspecified actor paradigms. The only way in which a lower-ranking semantic function can take precedence over a higher-ranking one (e.g. patient over agent) is for the higher-ranking role to be completely removed syntactically (e.g. via unspecified actor marking). As we have seen, though, there is no necessary concomitant re-assignment of perspective (i.e. grammaticalization of syntactic functions) involved. Patients remain semantic patients and are only potentially raised in status through a particular pragmatic interpretation of the clause, not through a syntactic shift in perspective. Additionally, though some remnant of an older syntactically-based operation is still present in the VTA unspecified actor (at least in western dialects like Plains Cree), the VTI and VAI unspecified actor forms have been shifting towards derivational structures. This further removes any possibility that we can interpret the unspecified actor as fully equivalent to an English-like passive. There is no choice of subject involved and no demoted participant can optionally occur.<sup>60</sup> The Direct-Inverse system in Cree makes this third level of perspectivizing functions or grammatical roles unnecessary.

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<sup>60</sup> Recall the obligatory ranking of semantic functions in Cree ditransitive verbs, as discussed in section 2.2.3.2. An unspecified actor form of a ditransitive VTA only allows the recipient to act as the highest ranking semantic role. Again, no choice of subject is permitted.





## **II**

# **Plains Cree Word Order**



# Chapter 4

## Semantic Functions and Word Order

Having completed a general survey of basic Plains Cree verbal morphosyntax, and particularly the direct-inverse system, we have seen the system which is responsible for the “comparatively free” word order to which previous studies have so often referred. In the remainder of this work, we will turn our attention to a survey of some aspects of Cree word order in the attempt to demonstrate that Plains Cree word order is not in fact free at all.

As explained in the preceding two chapters, the heart of all claims of free word order in Cree is due to the fact that the direct-inverse system is very effective in linking the arguments of a verb with their semantic roles without recourse to specific word order, nominal case-marking or syntactic functions. In terms of the order of the core arguments, there are several questions we must now ask. In the current chapter, we will first look at the type of data that has led to the characterization of Cree as a “free word order language”, concentrating as have all others on the variability of the placement of the core arguments, and then explore one particular word order account that has been applied to Algonquian languages. Following this, we will explore whether or not the direct-inverse system ever fails to fully identify semantic roles and, if so, what are the consequences. Once such situations have been dealt with, we can then look at whether or not any other factors dictate a means for predicting word order variation. Chapter 5 will look at some instances of purely syntactic word order, while Chapter 6 will survey pragmatically-oriented constituent placement and summarize basic Plains Cree word order in terms of a full word order template.

### 4.1 Word Order Variability

Variability in the order of the core constituents in the Plains Cree clause has been cited by a number of authors (e.g. Dahlstrom 1991, Reinholtz and Wolfart 1996, Mühlbauer 2005). This is often couched in terms of the order of Subject (S), Object (O), and Verb (V) and the six logically possible word orders, as in (1).

(1)	S	O	V
	S	V	O
	V	S	O
	V	O	S
	O	V	S
	O	S	V

In terms of the current analysis, what this variation must be equated with in Cree requires a simple substitution of first argument (A1) for subject and second argument (A2) for object as in (2).

(2)	A1	A2	V
	A1	V	A2
	V	A1	A2
	V	A2	A1
	A2	V	A1
	A2	A1	V

Such schemas are then generally accompanied by six logically possible and semantically equivalent variants with Cree nouns and verb replacing the abbreviations, such as those given in (3) as adapted from Reinholtz and Wolfart (1996:392).

(3)	SOV:	<i>awāsisak</i> [children(3p)]	<i>sīsīpa</i> ducks(3')	<i>nipahēwak.</i> kill]
	SVO:	<i>awāsisak</i> [children(3p)]	<i>nipahēwak</i> kill	<i>sīsīpa.</i> ducks(3')]
	VSO:	<i>nipahēwak</i> [kill	<i>awāsisak</i> children(3p)]	<i>sīsīpa.</i> ducks(3')]
	VOS:	<i>nipahēwak</i> [kill	<i>sīsīpa</i> ducks(3')	<i>awāsisak.</i> children(3p)]
	OVS:	<i>sīsīpa</i> [ducks(3')	<i>nipahēwak</i> kill	<i>awāsisak.</i> children(3p)]
	OSV:	<i>sīsīpa</i> [ducks(3')	<i>awāsisak</i> children(3p)]	<i>nipahēwak.</i> kill]
		"The children killed some ducks."		

Less commonly, actual textual examples are given to demonstrate Cree variability. Still, both Dahlstrom (1991) and Reinholtz and Wolfart (1996) do provide such examples, as repeated here under (4) and (5) respectively. Dahlstrom's (1991:1-2) original citations from the Bloomfield text

collections of 1930 and 1934 are here adapted to the SRO and augmented with a morphemic analysis (lines 2 and 3 of each example) so as to match the current usage.

(4) a) SOV: *kītahtawē iskwēw otawāsimisa wīcēwēw, ...*

[Bloomfield 1934:158]

kītahtawē	iskwēw	ot-	awāsimis	-a
IPT	NA.3s	3s	NDA	3'
presently	woman		child	
	wīcēw	-ē	-w	
	VTA	DIR	3s	
	accompany	3s-3'		

“Once a woman went with her children, ...”

b) SVO: *awa oskinīkiskwēw kīwēhtahēw anihi awāsis, ...*

[Bloomfield: 1930:10]

awa	oskinīkiskwēw	kīwēhtah	-ē	-w
DEM.3s	NA.3s	VTA	DIR	3s
this	young.woman	take.home	3s-3'	
	anihi	awāsis	-a	
	DEM.3'	NA	3'	
	that/those	child		

“This young woman brought the lad home, ...”

c) VSO: *ēkosi nātēw awa iskwēw ōhi kaskitēwastimwa.*

[Bloomfield 1934:74]

ēkosi	nāt	-ē	-w	awa	iskwēw
IPC	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s
so	fetch	3s-3'		this	woman
	ōhi	kaskitēwastimw	-a		
	DEM.3'	NA	3'		
	this/these	black.horse			

“So then the woman went and got the black horse.”

d) VOS: *nakatēw mahkēsīsa wīsahkēcāhk.*

[Bloomfield 1930:36]

nakat	-ē	-w	mahkēsīs	-a	wīsahkēcāhk
VTA	DIR	3s	NA	3'	NA.3s
leave	3s-3'		fox		wīsahkēcāhk

“Wisahkechahk left Fox behind.”

e) OVS: *owīcēwākana miskawēw awa nēhiyaw.*

[Bloomfield 1934:34]

o-	wīcēwākan	-a	miskaw	-ē	-w	awa	nēhiyaw
3s	NDA	3'	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s
	companion		find	3s-3'		this	Cree

“That Cree found his companions.”

f) OSV: *pēyak [awa iskwēw] nayōmew.*

[Bloomfield 1934:258]

pēyak	awa	iskwēw	nayōm	-e	-w
NUM	DEM.3s	NA.3s	VTA	DIR	3s
one	this	woman	take.on.back	3s-3'	

“The woman took one on her back.”

The concomitant examples in Reinholtz and Wolfart (1996:397) are not attributed to specific sources other than “spontaneous text”, though most appear to be from the same Bloomfield texts including the OSV example (5e) which is the same cited by Dahlstrom.

(5) a) SOV: *kētahtawē iskwēw awa onāpēma mowēw.*

kētahtawē	iskwēw	awa	o-	nāpēm	-a
IPT	NA.3s	IPC	3s	NDA	3'
presently	woman	FOC		husband	

mow	-ē	-w
VTA	DIR	3s
eat	3s-3'	

“Then that woman ate her husband.”

b) SVO: *tāpwē awa iskwēw pakamahwēw ēsa ōhi wīhtikowa.*

tāpwē	awa	iskwēw	pakamahw	-ē	-w
IPC	DEM.3s	NA.3s	VTA	DIR	3s
truly	this	woman	hit	3s-3'	

ēsa	ōhi	wīhtikow	-a
IPC	DEM.3'	NA	3'
EVID	that/those	windigo	

“Truly the woman struck down that windigo.”

c) VSO: ... *namōya wāpamēw awa iskwēw ocawāsimsa ...*

namōya	wāpam	-ē	-w	awa	iskwēw
IPC	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s
NEG	see		3s-3'	this	woman

oc-	awāsims	-a
3	NDA	3'
	child	

“...the woman did not see her children ...”

d) VOS: *mistahi miywēyimēw ōhi oskinīkiskwēwa awa nōtokēsiw.*

mistahi	miywēyim	-ē	-w	ōhi	oskinīkiskwēw	-a
IPC	VTA	DIR	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
a.lot	like		3-3'	this	young.woman	

awa	nōtokēsiw
DEM.3s	NA.3s
this	old.woman

“The old woman became very fond of the young woman.”

e) OVS: *owīcēwākana miskawēw awa nēhiyaw.*

[Bloomfield 1934:34]

o-	wīcēwākan	-a	miskaw	-ē	-w
3s	NDA	3'	VTA	DIR	3s
	companion		find	3s-3'	

awa	nēhiyaw
DEM.3s	NA.3s
this	Cree

“That Cree found his companions.”

f) OSV: *āw, wāposo-mīcimāpoy niya ē-wī-mīciyān.*

āw	wāposo-mīcimāpoy	niya	ē-	wī-	mīci	-yān
IPC	NI.0s	PR.1s	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	1s(-0)
oh	rabbit.soup		CNJ	PRSP	eat	

“Well, as for me, I am going to eat rabbit soup.”

Both Dahlstrom (1991:2, fn.1) and Reinholtz and Wolfart (1996:397) remark on the extreme rarity of OSV examples especially with two full lexical nouns or NPs, and this is a point we will return to subsequently.

When examples such as these are compared with the schematically



designed ones of (3), it becomes obvious that constituents other than simply the three main constituents are likely to be present. Also, just because all six constituent orders can be found does not mean that all six will be found in equal percentages. In actual fact, a survey of the distribution of monotransitive Cree verbs in the set of texts published in *wāskahikaniwiyiniw-ācimowina / Stories of the House People* (Ahenakew, ed. 1987b; abbreviated HP) illustrates (in Table 4.1) a number of important facts about the variation in the order of the main constituents. Most importantly, although all six orders are attested, they do not occur with equal distribution, such that some are preferred and others comparatively rare. Thus, not only the variation needs to be explained, but also the prevalence of some orders over others.

**Table 4.1**  
**Word Order of Core Monotransitive Constituents in the HP Texts**

Order of Lexical/Pronominal Constituents	Number of Textual Examples	Percent of Total Examples
A1 A2 V	6	2.1%
A1 V A2	6 (+2 CCI)	2.8%
V A1 A2	3	1.0%
V A2 A1	2	0.7%
A2 V A1	11	3.8%
A2 A1 V	3	1.0%
A1 V, ( <del>A2</del> )	10 (+1 RCI)	3.8%
V A1, ( <del>A2</del> )	14 (+1 CCI)	5.2%
A2 V, ( <del>A1</del> )	50 (+4 RCI)	18.9%
V A2, ( <del>A1</del> )	76 (+9 CCI)	29.7%
V, ( <del>A1, A2</del> )	88	30.8%
All Examples	269 (+17)	100.0%

Additionally, Table 4.1 does not contain only six rows for the six logically

possible orders. Extra rows have been included to illustrate the common occurrence of monotransitive clauses where one or both of the first and second arguments remain unlexicalized or unpronominalized. In fact, only 33 (or 11.5%) of the 286 monotransitive clauses included in the text survey actually contained both arguments in lexical or pronominal form. The percentage of occurrence of overt first arguments is not much higher, with an additional 26 examples including only a lexical or pronominal A1 without an overt A2, such that the first argument is overt in a total of only 59 (or 20.6%) of the 286 examples. The total number of instances in which the second argument is overt is considerably higher, adding another 139 examples where it is the only overt argument to the 33 clauses with both overt arguments and yielding a total of 172 (or 60.1%) of the 286 examples with overt A2. These statistics are very much in line with Du Bois' (1987) findings on argument lexicalization in his landmark paper on "The Discourse Basis of Ergativity." It is simply rare for monotransitive "subjects" or first arguments to be lexicalized. It is far more common, in languages like Cree where obligatory verbal cross-reference is the only required indication of arguments, to encounter clauses in which one or even both arguments are left covert. This fact makes the observation of the word order of the three core constituents all that much more difficult given the considerable rarity of examples which include both arguments in actual clausal position at all.

Some of the findings of Table 4.1, with regard to the argument lexicalization and order, can be restated to give another picture of the patterns present. Table 4.2 illustrates the order of lexical/pronominal first arguments as well as the occurrence of clauses with no overt A1, while Table 4.3 does the same for the second argument. Again, the word order variation will require explanation.

**Table 4.2**  
**Overt and Covert Monotransitive First Arguments in the HP Texts**

Order of Lexical/Pronominal Constituents	Number of Textual Examples	Percent of Total Examples
A1 V	28	9.8%
V A1	31	10.8%
V, (A1)	227	79.4%
All	286	100.0%

**Table 4.3**  
**Overt and Covert Monotransitive Second Arguments in the HP Texts**

Order of Lexical/Pronominal Constituents	Number of Textual Examples	Percent of Total Examples
A2 V	74	25.9%
V A2	98	34.3%
V, (A2)	114	39.9%
All	286	100.0%

To these tables documenting the two arguments of monotransitive constructions, we can also add another, Table 4.4, which illustrates similar variation in the clausal positioning of the sole argument of intransitive constructions.<sup>61</sup>

**Table 4.4**  
**Overt and Covert Intransitive Sole Arguments in the HP Texts**

Order of Lexical/Pronominal Constituents	Number of Textual Examples	Percent of Total Examples
S V	37	13.8%
V S	41	15.3%
V, (S)	190	70.9%
All	268	100.0%

Statistics such as these reinforce rather than solve the enigma of “free word order” in Plains Cree. Other than a very slight, almost negligible, preference for postverbal position for both first (intransitive and monotransitive) and second arguments, there is nothing here to suggest a

<sup>61</sup> In fact, the low level of lexicalization of the intransitive argument is somewhat surprising in comparison with the findings of Du Bois (1987) which grouped S with O (patient or second transitive argument). This is perhaps in part a result of the considerable first person narrative included in the current texts in which the vast majority of intransitive verbs have no lexical or independent pronominal specification of the first person argument.

patterned choice of one position over another. Looking back at Table 4.1, the minimal statistics available on the variation of both arguments and the verb reveal little more, although A2 V A1 (OVS) seems fairly common relative to the other possible orders, while A1 V A2 (SVO) and A1 A2 V (SOV) are also reasonably prevalent. In contrast, both possible orders in which both arguments are postverbal, V A1 A2 (VSO) and V A2 A1 (VOS), are just as rare in the current sample as A2 A1 V (OSV).

Junker (2004) observes a prohibition of OSV order in East Cree, a language closely related to the western Cree dialects but distinct according to mutual intelligibility. However, this prohibition applies only for examples including third person direct VTA stems such that an obviative cannot precede a proximate if both are preverbal. Once the verb is marked in the inverse, the prohibition is against SOV, but this again means the obviative cannot precede the proximate when both are preverbal. For East Cree, the discourse status of the less topical obviative prevents it from preceding the more topical proximate in preverbal position.

It is possible that a similar constraint occurs in Plains Cree given the earlier mentioned statements of Dahlstrom (1991) and Reinholtz and Wolfart (1996) concerning the rarity of OSV word order. Dahlstrom's (1991:2) example, first given above as (4f) and repeated here as (6) has a numeral quantifier, *pēyak* "one", representing the obviative second argument rather than a lexical obviative noun.

- (6) *pēyak [awa iskwēw] nayōmew.* [Bloomfield 1934:258]  

<i>pēyak</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>iskwēw</i>	<i>nayōm</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-w</i>
NUM	DEM.3s	NA.3s	VTA	DIR	3s
one	this	woman	take.on.back	3s-3'	

"The woman took one on her back."

Reinholtz and Wolfart's (1996:397) example, given above as (5f) and repeated here as (7), does not even include a VTA stem at all, let alone direct, but rather a VTI<sub>3</sub> (*mīci-* "eat s.t.") with an emphatic use of the first person singular pronoun as first argument or agent, such that the second argument (*wāposo-mīcimāpoy* "rabbit soup") is not obviative.

- (7) *āw, wāposo-mīcimāpoy niya ē-wī-mīciyān.*  

<i>āw</i>	<i>wāposo-mīcimāpoy</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>wī-</i>	<i>mīci</i>	<i>-yān</i>
IPC	NI.0s	PR.1s	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	1s(-0)
oh	rabbit.soup		CNJ	PRSP	eat	

"Well, as for me, I am going to eat rabbit soup."

Junker (2004:349, fn. 5) cites personal communication with Wolfart to the effect that 1) this is a pragmatically odd sentence uttered by a fairly young child and that 2) no other examples could be found to fit the OSV pattern, let alone including a third person direct VTA. This could suggest, as it does for Junker, that there is a similar prohibition in Plains Cree against such a structure. Although such examples, as with the elicited example in (8), are not rejected by Plains Cree speakers, their rarity does suggest that there is a strong tendency to avoid this word order permutation.

- (8) *anihi iskwēwa awa nāpēw nōhtē-wīcisimōmēw.*  
 anihi iskwēw -a awa nāpēw  
 DEM.3' NA 3' DEM.3s NA.3s  
 that/those woman this man
- nōhtē- wīcisimōm -ē -w  
 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 want dance.with 3s-3'
- “This man wants to dance with that woman.”

As such, we will need to look for solutions in the discourse pragmatic status of the obviative versus proximate, since, as Junker (2004) shows, this prohibition in East Cree is not linked to semantic or syntactic role.

Furthermore, the three examples of A2 A1 V order found in the House People texts, given here in (9)-(11), also contain VTI stems rather than (direct) VTA forms.

- (9) *ēwako anima okiskinahamākēwin wiya nēhiyaw ē-ayāt, ...* [HP2:17]  
 ēwako anima o- kiskinahamākēwin wiya  
 DEM.0' IPC 3 NI.0's IPC  
 that FOC teaching for
- nēhiyaw ē- ayā -t  
 NA.3s IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> 3s(-0')
- Cree CNJ have
- “That was the education system of the Crees, ...”

- (10) ..., “*ēwako kiya ka-tōtēn anohc kā-kīsikāk!*” [HP4:20]  
 ēwako kiya ka- tōt -ē -n  
 DEM.0s PR.2s IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2  
 that 2.FUT do 1s-0

anohc	kā-	kīsikā	-k
IPT	IPV	VII	0s
now	CNJ	be.day	

“..., ‘This is what you will do today.’”

(11) ..., *kahkiyaw tāpiskōc ēkoni ōhi wīstawāw ē-nātāmototahkik*, ...  
[HP10:139]

kahkiyaw	tāpiskōc	ēkoni	ōhi	wīstawāw
QNT	IPC	DEM.0’p	DEM.0’p	PR.3p
all	seems	these	these	

ē-	nātāmotot	-ah	-kik
IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3p(-0’)
CNJ	seek.help.from		

“..., they too want to seek help from all these things, it seems, ...”

Thus, they do not meet the stricter criteria set by Junker, but they do still represent the OSV ordering and will still require explanation. One observation we can make about these three examples is that the clause-initial second argument (or object) in all cases contains a resumptive pronoun linking it to a previously mentioned topic. This element is the singular *ēwako* “that aforementioned” in (9) and (10) and the plural *ēkoni* “those aforementioned” in (11). Whether alone, as in (10), or as part of a larger phrase like *ēwako anima okiskinahamākēwin* in (9) or the discontinuous *kahkiyaw ... ēkoni ōhi* in (11), the resumptive pronoun provides a link to a topic of the (often immediately) preceding discourse. This would appear to contradict Junker’s (2004:353) findings for East Cree that the first of two preverbal arguments is contrastively focussed rather than topical.

However, contrast of one sort or another is also present in these three Plains Cree examples. In each case, the first argument, which follows the resumptive topic phrase, is marked by an emphatic pronoun or a topic-changing particle. In (10), the second person pronoun *kiya* adds extra emphasis to the fact it is the singular addressee who is the one who must carry out the required task. In (11) the third person plural *wīstawāw* “they, too” adds these participants as additional referents to whom this situation pertains. This particular pronoun is from a special set, given in Table 4.5 (cf. the personal pronouns of Table 1.4 in Chapter 1), to which no consistent terminology seems to be applied in the Algonquianist literature other than to refer to them as “emphatic”.

**Table 4.5**  
**Plains Cree Additive-Focal Pronouns**

person	singular	person	plural
1s	nīsta	1p	nīstanān
		21	kīstanaw
2s	kīsta	2p	kīstawāw
		3p	wīstawāw
3s	wīsta		

If not for the use of “inclusive” in distinguishing certain person distinctions within the pronominal paradigm, that term might have been applied to this entire pronominal paradigm in the sense that they indicate that another referent is included in the set to which a state of affairs pertains. As such, the term “additive-focal” is used here in order to suggest their function in bringing attention to an additional referent to whom the state of affairs applies. As such, the new referent contrasts with any previously mentioned or understood referents in the given context.

Finally, in example (9), the first argument, *nēhiyaw* “Cree”, is preceded by the emphatic and/or contrastive particle *wiya*, itself apparently derived from the third person singular pronoun *wiya*. Here it draws attention to *nēhiyaw* in contrast to *mōniyaw* “white man” and the imposition of western culture. That *wiya* as a particle is both contrastive and divorced from necessary third person reference is evident in such examples as the following:

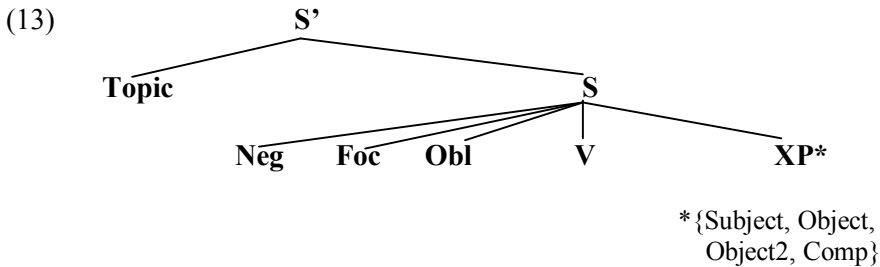
- (12) *niya wiya ninōhtē-sipwēhtān.*
- |       |      |     |        |          |     |
|-------|------|-----|--------|----------|-----|
| niya  | wiya | ni- | nōhtē- | sipwēhtē | -n  |
| PR.1s | IPC  | 1   | IPV    | VAI      | 1/2 |
|       | FOC  |     | want   | leave    |     |
- “As for me, I want to leave.”

It is thus clear from examples such as these, and the growing recognition that pragmatic factors are important in determining Cree and/or Algonquian word order, that any attempt to explain the exhibited variability will

necessarily involve a word order template that takes into account a variety of factors beyond the usual reliance on syntactic roles.

## 4.2 Clause Structure Models

The Algonquian clause can and has been modelled in a number of ways. Perhaps the most commonly cited model is that given by Dahlstrom (1995a:3), as shown in (13), in specific reference to Meskwaki (Fox) with tentative extensions to Algonquian as a whole. This model has been cited by a number of Algonquianists with respect to a number of Algonquian languages (e.g. Valentine (2001) for Nishnaabemwin; Junker (2004) for East Cree; Shields (2004) for Menominee; Mühlbauer (2005) for Plains Cree; among others) and has been expanded upon and modified in a number of ways (cf. Dahlstrom 2003; Mühlbauer 2005)).



In this model, the only explicit hierarchical relationship is between a clause-initial Topic expression and the remainder of the clause, which then consists of positions for Negation (**Neg**), a Focus element (**Foc**), an Oblique (**Obl**) position preceding the Verb (**V**), and a single post-verbal position (**XP\***) which can contain, in no particular order, the grammatical relations of Subject, Object (or Primary Object; i.e. A2), Object2 (or Secondary Object; i.e. A3), and Complement clauses. Dahlstrom (1991:76-79) had also earlier argued that Plains Cree had an immediately preverbal position, potentially the same as the Oblique position in the framework in (13).

In the current work, I will translate this model, as a working hypothesis, in order to discuss clausal position from the perspective of Functional Grammar (FG; Dik 1997), as modified by Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld and McKenzie 2008). Thus, in (14), I present, as a first working hypothesis, a simplified word order template, eschewing all mention of hierarchical structure in an FG framework. Though the FG model contains a very detailed hierarchical or layered structure of the clause, this is not necessarily directly reflected in surface clausal word order. The template



in (14) is abstracted from Dik (1997) and Moutaouakil (1989).

(14) (ECC), **P1** **PØ** **V** **Pa** **Pf**, (ECC)

In this template, P1 represents (a specialized) clause-initial position, PØ represents an immediately preverbal position, V is the Verb occupying a medial position, Pa represents an immediately postverbal position, and Pf represents clause-final position. In addition to this, I have indicated the potential occurrence of Extra Clausal Constituents (ECCs) both preceding and following the clause proper. Though most if not all previous analyses of Cree focus solely on clause-internal constituents, it is impossible to ignore the extra-clausal positions as well and it is vital to recognize pre- and post-clausal constituents in any discussion of Plains Cree word order. In Dik's (1997) terms, "Theme" is used for at least one type of pre-clausal topic constituent, while "Tail" refers to a similar postclausal constituent. These terms could be used here, though it will be argued that topical arguments are just one of the possible constituent types which can fill the extra-clausal positions. Better yet are the FDG use of P<sup>pre</sup> and P<sup>post</sup> for the pre-clausal and post-clausal positions respectively (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:312) which need not be tied solely to one type of constituent. Similarly, Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008) also introduce further refinements to the clause-internal constituents, which allow us to translate (14) into the more consistent template in (15).

(15) P<sup>pre</sup>, **P<sup>I</sup>** **P<sup>M-1</sup>** **P<sup>M</sup>** **P<sup>M+1</sup>** **P<sup>F</sup>**, P<sup>post</sup>

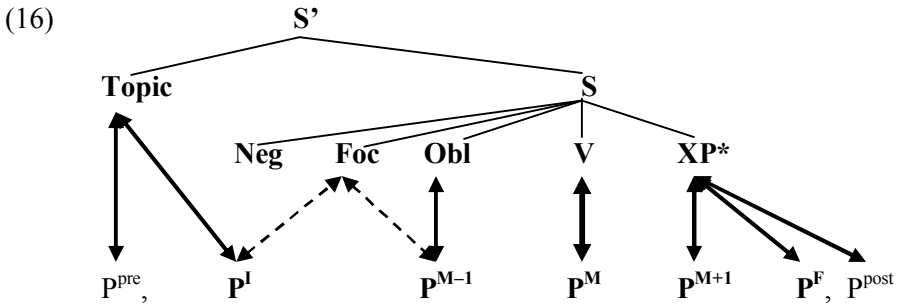
Here, the initial (P<sup>I</sup>), medial (P<sup>M</sup>) and final (P<sup>F</sup>) positions represent absolute positions in the clause, with P<sup>M</sup> hypothesized as the primary position for the Cree predicate (and therefore the verb). The immediately preverbal (P<sup>M-1</sup>) and immediately postverbal (P<sup>M+1</sup>) positions are not absolute but relative to P<sup>M</sup>.<sup>62</sup>

When this new template is compared to Dahlstrom's, as in (16), the general F(D)G template as first formulated in (14) and (15) appears less detailed, especially in preverbal position, but it can and will be developed further as we explore various topics through the following sections and chapters. Ultimately, these templates are meant to represent the same thing, namely Cree word order. However, the benefit of the F(D)G framework is

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<sup>62</sup> For full details on the clausal word order template of Functional Discourse Grammar, see Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008). Other positions, both absolute and relative, are possible, and will be introduced subsequently as required, but the template in (15) provides a remarkably accurate starting point for the discussion of Plains Cree clausal constituent order.

that it must necessarily be coupled with a functional explanation of the placement of constituents in certain positions, rather than simply listing constituents in an unmotivated linear or hierarchical order.<sup>63</sup> In (16), then, the initial hypothesis is furthered by equating each of the constituents in Dahlstrom’s model (with the exception, at this time, of Negation which will not be discussed in this work) with one or more positions in the FDG template as follows:



Thus, Dahlstrom’s Topic position is here equated primarily with the FG Theme as one of a number of possible pre-clausal constituents, but it is also suggested that topics, as well as focal (Foc) elements may be placed clause-internally in initial position ( $P^I$ ), with Topics taking precedence when present, as suggested by the preliminary data in examples (9)-(11). Dahlstrom’s Oblique position translates directly to an immediately preverbal position, which is one of the topics pursued in Chapter 5, while, normally, a verb functions as the predicate in medial position around which other constituents pivot. However, in the case of non-verbal predications, this position might not be filled by a verb at all. In both templates, then, there is an assumption that a verb occupies a clause-medial position, surrounded by a number of other elements. In Hengeveld and Mackenzie’s (2008:311-312) FDG, such a position is termed  $P^M$  and constituents which are placed in pre-medial or post-medial position can be associated with this medial position as  $P^{M-n}$  and  $P^{M+n}$  respectively.

Finally, the unordered postverbal mass in Dahlstrom’s template can be further delineated by recognizing that languages may have a number of

<sup>63</sup> This statement mirrors a common criticism by Functionalists levelled at Formalist frameworks, in which it has commonly been perceived that mere descriptions are elevated to the level of unassailable truths by recourse to “Universal Grammar”, which is no explanation at all.

specialized post-verbal positions, including a position immediately following the verb ( $P^{M+1}$ ), a clause-final position ( $P^F$ ), and a position for post-clausal constituents ( $P^{post}$ ). Postverbally, then, we already have a potential means of giving more detail in clausal and extra-clausal ordering than Dahlstrom's template provided. Preverbally, more detail will be needed. Already, though, our discussion has at least suggested possible Cree placement rules associating particular constituents with template positions, as in (17).

- (17)  $P^{pre}$  = Topical argument  
 $P^I$  = Topical Argument; Focal Argument  
 $P^{M-1}$  = Oblique Argument; Focal Argument ?  
 $P^M$  = Verb  
 $P^{M+n}$  = Arguments (unordered as of yet, as per Dahlstrom 1995a)  
 $P^F$  = ?  
 $P^{post}$  = ?

It will be the task of the remainder of this chapter and chapters 5 and 6 to explore a variety of constructions and constituents with the aim of confirming or disproving this initial template and accompanying placement rules and, if possible, expand both in an attempt to better characterize Plains Cree clausal and extra-clausal word order.

The discussion that follows will be divided into three sections loosely reflecting the three distinct pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic levels of the FDG model,<sup>64</sup> and these sections will be quite unequal given their relative importance to Plains Cree word order. The vital importance of pragmatic notions such as topic and focus, theme and tail, will provide us with the most fruitful revelations, but this discussion will be postponed until Chapter 6. Despite the lack of syntactic function assignment to the core verbal arguments, there are still a number of important syntactically-motivated positions, such as the preverbal oblique ( $P^{M-1}$ ) and a potential clause-second position ( $P^2$ ) which will be explored in Chapter 5. In Chapters 2 and 3, and section 4.1, we have already seen that the coding of semantic functions through the direct-inverse system is largely responsible for both the relative freedom of core argument word order placement and the lack of grammaticalized syntactic functions. There would seem little left to say about the possible effect that semantic functions might have on word order, but the remainder of this chapter will be taken up with two related topics involving the order of core verbal arguments. First, in section 4.3, we will take a look at a possible semantic constraint on word order in the rare

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<sup>64</sup> FDG is actually divided into four distinct levels, but the phonological level is, as mentioned in Chapter 1, not taken into account in the present work.

instances in which the direct-inverse system fails to disambiguate role. This will be followed in section 4.4 by a closer look at the postverbal ordering of arguments.

### 4.3 Semantic Function Ordering

It is clear that the word order variation of arguments is made possible by the verbal cross-reference system, particularly the direct-inverse alternation coupled with the assignment of obviation. In order to determine whether there are ever any instances in which the direct-inverse and obviation systems fail and require word order to disambiguate reference, we need to look at instances in which reference to two or more arguments might be ambiguous. Because the system of obviation allows for no more than one proximate third person per clause, forcing all others to be marked as obviative, the only place we can find the requisite ambiguity is in situations in which at least two or more third person referents are demoted to obviative status. Within a single main clause, this is most likely to occur with ditransitive structures in which only one of three referents can be a proximate third person. The example in (18) illustrates such an occurrence with the ditransitive verb *asam-* “feed (it/him) to s.o”.

- (18) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw atimwa kinosēwa.*  
 ana nāpēw kī- asam -ē -w atimw -a kinosēw -a  
 DEM.3s NA.3s IPV VTA DIR 3s NA 3' NA 3'  
 that man PST feed 3s-3' dog fish  
 “That man fed (a/the) dog(s) fish/That man fed fish to (a/the) dog(s).”

Here, only the proximate third person argument, *ana nāpēw* “that man” can be construed as the actor, but the two obviative or fourth person participants, *atimwa* and *kinosēwa*, are not differentiated as per role assignment to the semantically required patient and recipient. Nevertheless, speaker judgments consistently yield the interpretation given in (18), with the first of two obviative participants construed as the recipient or second argument (A2) marked in the direct-inverse pattern. This might seem to follow from the pragmatic context in which one would normally feed fish to dogs, rather than the reverse. However, when the order of the two obviative arguments is reversed, as in (19), the interpretation, though often eliciting surprise and/or humour, is just as consistent in construing the first of the obviative arguments as the recipient, despite the fact that this might now run counter to the preferred contextual reading.

(19) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw kinosēwa atimwa.*

ana	nāpēw	kī-	asam	-ē	-w	kinosēw	-a	atimw	-a
DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NA	3'	NA	3'
that	man	PST	feed	3s-3'		fish		dog	

“That man fed (a/the) fish dog / That man fed dog to (a/the) fish.”

Thus, in the situation represented in (18) and (19), the interpretation is determined by the word order of the two participants following the verb. The agent/actor is again necessarily the proximate noun, *nāpēw*, but the other two participants are ambiguously obviative. In this case, the interpretation, in spite of any possible pragmatic interpretations or objections, is that the recipient precedes the patient (i.e. the eater precedes the eaten). It must be noted, however, exactly how precariously balanced examples of this sort are between disambiguation through morphosyntactic coding by proximate/obviative and animacy features and through interpretation of pragmatic context. In the former case, the specification of a potentially carnivorous animate being as food is required to force the possible ambiguity. Examples (20) and (21) show that if an inanimate food is included, no such ambiguity can possibly exist and word order no longer constrains the interpretation.

(20) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw atimwa wiyās.*

ana	nāpēw	kī-	asam	-ē	-w	atimw	-a	wiyās
DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NA	3'	NI.0's
that	man	PST	feed	3s-3'		dog		meat

“That man fed (a/the) dog(s) meat / That man fed meat to (a/the) dog(s).”

(21) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw wiyās atimwa.*

ana	nāpēw	kī-	asam	-ē	-w	wiyās	atimw	-a
DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NI.0's	NA	3'
that	man	PST	feed	3s-3'		fish	dog	

“That man fed (a/the) dog(s) meat / That man fed meat to (a/the) dog(s).”

In terms of pragmatic context, something as simple as suggesting a closer relationship between the man and one of the obviatives will also skew the interpretation in favour of real world pragmatics and nullify any possible word order effects. In (22) and (23), this is done by changing the impersonal form of *atimwa* “dog(s)” to *otēma* “his dog(s)” and specifying a relationship between the man and the dog(s). In doing so, the pragmatic aversion to an interpretation in which the man would possibly feed his own dog(s) to the fish becomes strong enough, at least for some speakers, to force a single reading regardless of the word order shift.

(22) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw otēma kinosēwa.*

ana	nāpēw	kī-	asam	-ē	-w	o-	tēm	-a	kinosēw	-a
DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	3	NDA	3'	NA	3'
that	man	PST	feed	3s-3'			dog		fish	

“That man fed his dog(s) fish / That man fed fish to his dog(s).”

(23) *ana nāpēw kī-asamēw kinosēwa otēma.*<sup>65</sup>

ana	nāpēw	kī-	asam	-ē	-w	kinosēw	-a	o-	tēm	-a
DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NA	3'	3	NDA	3'
that	man	PST	feed	3s-3'		fish			dog	

“That man fed his dog(s) fish. / That man fed fish to his dog(s).”

Thus, the actual real world contexts leading to examples such as (18) or (19), not to mention the linguistic contexts in which three (or even two) participants would be lexicalized in a single clause, while not completely non-existent, are extremely limited. Ultimately, we need to go to the very limits of possibility to find examples where speakers cannot manipulate the direct-inverse system and information parcelling to completely disambiguate all participants.<sup>66</sup>

Turning now to simple monotransitives with two referents, it would be extremely rare, if not completely unheard of, to encounter two obviative participants, both lexicalized, in a main clause in Cree (cf. Cook and Mühlbauer 2006). Although grammatically correct, the contexts in which both participants would need to be lexicalized as obviative in a main clause, as in (24), are simply rare. Normally, there will be a clear contextual distinction between two third person participants, such that one is viewed or represented as more topical and hence proximate, while only one requires demotion to fourth person/obviative status, as in (25).

<sup>65</sup> For some speakers, this will still cause amusement over the possibility that the man might be feeding his own dogs to the fish. As such, this word order would simply be avoided.

<sup>66</sup> Of course, the linguistic point could be taken to even further extremes since the original examples in (18) and (19) only represent two possible word orders. Given the four constituents present (and not allowing for the discontinuity of *ana* and *nāpēw* as constituents within the actor NP, which is possible in certain contexts, and which would expand the number of word order elements to five with exponential growth in re-ordering possibilities), we could actually test a total of 24 different word orders. The actor *ana nāpew* could be placed in virtually any position (or omitted) without loss of understanding that he is in fact the actor, but again, no matter where the two obviative referents occur they are ambiguous and only word order could possibly suggest a means of assigning appropriate semantic functions. Still, this stretches even further towards the bounds of anything that a fluent speaker would ever need to say in Plains Cree (or any other language, for that matter).

- (24) ? *anihi mahihkana kī-wāpamēyiwa wāposwa.*  
 anihi mahihkan -a kī- wāpam -ē -yiwa wāposw -a  
 DEM.3' NA 3' IPV VTA DIR 3' NA 3'  
 that/those wolf PST see 3'-3" rabbit  
 "The/that/those wolf(/ves) saw (a) rabbit(s)."

- (25) *ana mahihkan kī-wāpamēw wāposwa.*  
 ana mahihkan kī- wāpam -ē -w wāposw -a  
 DEM.3s NA.3s IPV VTA DIR 3s NA 3'  
 that wolf PST see 3s-3' rabbit  
 "The wolf saw (a) rabbit(s)."

From an example such as (25), one can presume that *ana mahihkan* "the wolf" is in some way known to the speech act participants, quite likely through previous verbal introduction into the discourse, and that it is therefore a topical argument. In contrast, nothing signals concomitant topicality for the second argument, *wāposwa* "rabbit(s)", and it is not inappropriate to presume that it is being newly introduced into the discourse. Signals of the pragmatic and semantic status of the participants in this sentence include the proximate or unmarked status of *mahihkan* "wolf", its collocation with the proximate demonstrative *ana* "that; the", the marking of *wāposwa* "rabbit(s)" as obviative, and the direct theme *-ē* in the verbal morphology indicating that the action flows from a higher ranking to lower ranking third person referent (i.e. proximate 3s to obviative 3'). Because of all of these (c)overt signals, themselves directly related to choices of the speaker as influenced by discourse context, the participants' roles are clearly delineated without recourse whatsoever to word order. As such, the following five word order choices in (26) can also be interpreted as semantically equivalent:

- (26) *ana mahihkan wāposwa kī-wāpamēw.*  
*wāposwa ana mahihkan kī-wāpamēw.*  
*wāposwa kī-wāpamēw ana mahihkan.*  
*kī-wāpamēw wāposwa ana mahihkan.*  
*kī-wāpamēw ana mahihkan wāposwa.*  
 "The wolf saw (a) rabbit(s)."

In contrast, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, if the more topical (proximate) argument is to be equated with the lower-ranking semantic role of patient, while the less topical (obviative) argument is to be equated with the higher-ranking semantic role of agent, then the only essential change required is the

substitution of the inverse theme *-ikw* in place of direct *-ē*, as in (27). Word order remains functionally divorced from semantic and prototypical pragmatic role designation and the variants in (28) can be cited as semantically, if not pragmatically or contextually, equivalent.

- (27) *ana mahihkan kī-wāpamik(ow) wāposwa.*<sup>67</sup>  
 ana mahihkan kī- wāpam -ikw (-w) wāposw -a  
 DEM.3s NA IPV VTA INV 3s NA 3'  
 that wolf PST see 3'-3s rabbit  
 “(A) rabbit(s) saw the wolf.” / “The wolf was seen by (a) rabbit(s).”

- (28) *ana mahihkan wāposwa kī-wāpamik(ow).*  
*wāposwa ana mahihkan kī-wāpamik(ow).*  
*wāposwa kī-wāpamik(ow) ana mahihkan.*  
*kī-wāpamik(ow) wāposwa ana mahihkan.*  
*kī-wāpamik(ow) ana mahihkan wāposwa.*  
 “(A) rabbit(s) saw the wolf.” / “The wolf was seen by (a) rabbit(s).”

Thus, the systems of direction and obviation reduce occurrences in which word order is required to disambiguate semantic or prototypical pragmatic role assignment to virtually nil. However, it is again possible to create contexts in which such an ambiguity might occur, and this will provide a test as to whether word order might still play a part. Such an ambiguity is only possible when two “third person” participants are both formally obviative, and it is only in such an instance that word order will ever play a significant role in delineating the semantic roles of clausal arguments.

In order to test the following sentences, we set up a scenario in which we are observing a documentary starring John, a noted wildlife photographer, who is at this moment (on screen) located on a hill observing simultaneously a lone wolf and a lone rabbit. Furthermore, the documentary is merely about John’s photographic art, not about or sympathetic to any particular species (e.g. wolf vs. rabbit), and this will help eliminate any possibility of preconceptions leading to a preference for the topicality of one referent over another. Outside of such contextual clues, each of the following sentences should be interpreted as being the very first thing we hear the narrator of the documentary (not John himself) say about this particular scene.

In example (29), the scene is presented (by the presumed-impartial narrator) from the perspective of *cān* (John) and the photographic decisions

<sup>67</sup> The form *wāpamik(ow)* is cited with the optional ending due to subdialectal variation within Plains Cree. Nothing hinges on this variation since it does not modify the analysis in any way.



*cān* will make based on his own observations of and beliefs about what is about to unfold. The sentence that the narrator uses is:

(29) *cān kiskēyih̄tam [anihi mahihkana ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi wāposwa].*<sup>68</sup>

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyih̄t</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	wolf	

<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yit</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>
IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
CNJ	PST	see	3'-3''		that/those	rabbit	

“John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit].”

In this complex sentence, the main clause “*cān kiskēyih̄tam ...*” establishes *cān* as the main topic of the documentary and presents the observations from *cān*'s point of view. As such, *cān* is coded as the proximate third person argument (by virtue of the absence of an obviate marker) and this allows the audience to identify *cān* as the proximate third person singular (3s) referent required by the verbal morphology on the VTI *kiskēyih̄tam* “s/he knows it”. In establishing *cān* as the proximate/most topical third person referent, all other third person referents must then be coded as less topical by means of obviate-marking. As such, both referents in the subordinate clause are marked as obviate in deference to our topic *cān*. The obviate-marking occurs both in terms of the nominal suffix, *-a*, and in the collocation of both nouns with the obviate demonstrative pronoun *anihi*. Thus, both third person referents in the subordinate clause (*anihi mahihkana*, *anihi wāposwa*) are formally marked identically as obviate referents. Morphologically, the transitive animate verb indicates that the action is

<sup>68</sup> As illustrated in Chapter 3 through Dahlstrom's (1991) copying-to-object test, it might be preferred in some instances to substitute the VTA form, *kiskēyimēw*, in place of VTI *kiskēyih̄tam*. The difference is that the verb *kiskēyih̄tam* treats the entire subordinate clause as its (inanimate) complement, while *kiskēyimēw* implies that the more topical obviate argument is being singled out as the complement of the matrix verb as well as being indexed in the subordinate clause. In this instance it is not preferred as it would imply a more social or intimate relationship between the two referents than is justified given our carefully constructed context. Even if it were possible, the choice would have no essential effect on the grammaticality judgements that follow. The choice of *kiskēyimēw* would, however, have a stronger effect on possible word order variation in the subordinate clause as we would expect such a verb to lead naturally to the specification of the thus even more topicalized obviate referent (as in (ex<sub>1</sub>) and failure to do so is questioned or completely rejected by speakers (as in (ex<sub>2</sub>)).

(ex<sub>1</sub>) ✓ *cān kiskēyimēw anihi mahihkana ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi wāposwa.*

(ex<sub>2</sub>) ✗ *cān kiskēyimēw ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi mahihkana anihi wāposwa.*

direct (-ā) between two obviative participants, with no indication of rank between them. As such, the morphology tells us nothing about which of the obviative referents should be interpreted as the actor and which the goal. Such a situation, devoid of any other means of disambiguation, should result in confusion or random association of referents to semantic roles. However, fluent speakers consistently interpret this sentence as parsed in (29), associating the preverbal obviative referent as the first argument (i.e. the one seeing or making visual contact), and the postverbal obviative referent as the second argument (i.e. the one being seen). If, as in (30), the positions of these two arguments are reversed, the roles are reversed, and it is again the preverbal argument that is interpreted as first argument, the postverbal as second argument.

(30) *cān kiskēyihtam [anihi wāposwa ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi mahihkana].*

cān	kiskēyiht	-am	-Ø	anihi	wāposw	-a
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	rabbit	

ē-	kī-	wāpam	-ā	-yit	anihi	mahihkan	-a
IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
CNJ	PST	see	3'-3''		that/those	wolf	

“John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf].”

This suggests that word order is being used to disambiguate the meaning in favour of the association of the first-mentioned or preverbal argument with first argument status, and the second-mentioned or postverbal argument with second argument status. The word order is effectively A1 V A2. However, the examples here are built around a direct-marked verb in the subordinate clause and it is important to determine the corresponding judgments if the verb is placed in the inverse.

The inverse counterpart to (29) is given in (31). Again we have consistent agreement among informants, but now the first-mentioned preverbal obviative participant is construed with the role of patient, ranked as more topical in inverse verbs, while the postverbal referent is interpreted as the lower ranking obviative and thus the first argument.

(31) *cān kiskēyihtam [anihi mahihkana ē-kī-wāpamikoyit anihi wāposwa].*

cān	kiskēyiht	-am	-Ø	anihi	mahihkan	-a
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	wolf	

ē-	kī-	wāpam	-iko	-yit	anihi	wāposw	-a
IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
CNJ	PST	see	3"-3'		that/those	rabbit	

“John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf/that the wolf was seen by the rabbit].”

Reversing the subordinate clause word order in (32) (analogous to (30)) yields the same result, with preverbal second argument and postverbal first argument.

- (32) *cān kiskēyihitam* [*anihi wāposwa ē-kī-wāpamikoyit anihi mahihkana*].
- |       |                  |       |    |            |        |    |
|-------|------------------|-------|----|------------|--------|----|
| cān   | kiskēyihit       | -am   | -Ø | anihi      | wāposw | -a |
| NA.3s | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH    | 3s | DEM.3'     | NA     | 3' |
| John  | know             | 3s-0' |    | that/those | rabbit |    |

ē-	kī-	wāpam	-iko	-yit	anihi	mahihkan	-a
IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
CNJ	PST	see	3"-3'		that/those	wolf	

“John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit / that the rabbit was seen by the wolf].”

Here in fact is not a link between word order and semantic role at all, but simply a link between the linear order in which two obviatives are introduced and their precedence in rank on the topicality scale. With this in mind, we might well be able to reinterpret the ditransitive data in (18) and (19) to suggest that the linear precedence of recipient (A2) before patient (A3) is similarly derived from the linkage of the first-mentioned obviative with the highest available semantic function, which in (18) and (19) was the recipient.

Although the examples in (29) and (30), (31) and (32), in which the two ambiguous obviative referents are kept maximally distinct by placement on opposing sides of the verb, are perhaps the most preferred, it is also possible to create examples in which both arguments are preverbal, or conversely, both are postverbal. For each set, we will first explore the results with direct verbs, and then look at inverse verbs. In (33-36), the two obviative referents are given in preverbal position with the subordinate clause verb in final position. In (37-40), both referents will be placed after the verb.

In (33), *anihi mahihkana* precedes *anihi wāposwa*, though both are now preverbal and the favoured interpretation remains, as in (29), that “the wolf” sees “the rabbit”.

(33) *cān kiskēyihtam [anihi mahihkana anihi wāposwa ē-kī-wāpamāyit].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	wolf	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yit</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'
that/those	rabbit		CNJ	PST	see	3'-3''	

“John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit].”

It must be noted, however, that one fluent Plains Cree informant rejected (33) (and subsequent examples (34-36)) where the two obviative participants were adjacent to one another, preferring only those in which the verb interceded. For the example above, this one informant stated that it was now unclear as to which animal was seeing the other. This is important in pointing to the fact that in using examples like this, we are approaching the limits of what speakers can readily parse, and may quite likely have already left the realm of a natural use of the Cree language, something that must be kept in mind as we conclude this line of testing.

In (34), we reverse the order so that *anihi wāposwa* precedes *anihi mahihkana*, and the interpretation is (except for the one informant), as in (30), that “the rabbit” sees “the wolf”.

(34) *cān kiskēyihtam [anihi wāposwa anihi mahihkana ē-kī-wāpamāyit].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	rabbit	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yit</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'
that/those	wolf		CNJ	PST	see	3'-3''	

“John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf].”

Thus, when both arguments precede the verb, the favoured interpretation effectively yields A1 A2 V word order. Again, though, these two examples can be altered to use an inverse verb in the subordinate clause (as in (35) and (36)) and the results then correspond to (31) and (32).

- (35)
- cān kiskēyihtam [anihi mahihkana anihi wāposwa ē-kī-wāpamikoyit].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	wolf	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-iko</i>	<i>-yit</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'
that/those	rabbit		CNJ	PST	see	3''-3'	

“John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf / that the wolf was seen by the rabbit].”

- (36)
- cān kiskēyihtam [anihi wāposwa anihi mahihkana ē-kī-wāpamikoyit].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	DEM.3'	NA	3'
John	know		3s-0'	that/those	rabbit	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-iko</i>	<i>-yit</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'
that/those	wolf		CNJ	PST	see	3''-3'	

“John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit / that the rabbit was seen by the wolf].”

In these inverse forms, the first-mentioned obviative takes the more topical role of second argument and the following obviative becomes first argument, thus reversing the word order to A2 A1 V.

Finally, we can test the subordinate clause when both obviatives follow the subordinate verb. Here more than elsewhere we are clearly challenging the boundary of what is acceptable or natural as the following examples met with a contradictory array of reactions from informants. Examples (37) and (38) include a direct subordinate verb followed by both obviative participants, and although the discussion will here center on (37), it is applicable to both. Informants gave an array of interpretations pertaining to these examples, showing no consistency whatsoever. One informant felt, as with the double preverbal arguments of (33) and (34), that the roles could not be assigned and the sentences were therefore uninterpretable. Another view follows that expressed thus far, that the first mentioned obviative must be linked to the highest ranking role, such that the word order would be V A1 A2. In direct contrast to this, yet another informant felt, counter to the preverbal orders, that the postverbal arguments indicated a V A2 A1 order in

which the immediately postverbal argument is linked to the patient role.<sup>69</sup>

(37) *cān kiskēyihtam [ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi mahihkana anihi wāposwa].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yit</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'
John	know	3s-0'		CNJ	PST	see		3'-3''

<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
that/those	wolf		that/those	rabbit	

?? "John knows [?one of them saw the other?]."

? "John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit]."

? "John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf]."

(38) *cān kiskēyihtam [ē-kī-wāpamāyit anihi wāposwa anihi mahihkana].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-yit</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3'
John	know	3s-0'		CNJ	PST	see		3'-3''

<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
that/those	rabbit		that/those	wolf	

?? "John knows [?one of them saw the other?]."

? "John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf]."

? "John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit]."

Thus, there is no clear or consistent picture of how to deal with examples such as this and we have clearly crossed a boundary of what is acceptable in the language.

For completeness sake, we will include the final two examples, (39) and (40), in which both arguments follow an inverse subordinate verb, but the

<sup>69</sup> Thus, in one view, this is not a possible structure in Plains Cree: since the direct-inverse has nothing to say, it is rejected. In another, the linear ordering always provides a link between the first-mentioned obviative and the highest ranked role (i.e. first argument in direct, second argument in inverse). In this view, the order in direct is always A1 A2, while the order in the inverse is always A2 A1. In yet a third view, there is an interesting twist introduced in that the first-mentioned obviative is linked to the highest ranked role, but only if that first-mentioned obviative precedes the verb. If both follow, there is an interesting reversal. Thus, the possible word orders in the direct would be A1 V A2, A1 A2 V, and V A2 A1, giving some evidence for a preference of immediately postverbal or at least verb-adjacent order for the second argument. In the inverse, the opposite would pertain with the possible orders as A2 V A1, A2 A1 V, and V A1 A2. However, as such judgments were only given by a single speaker, it remains to be hypothesized what could underlie such an interpretation.

confusion is similar to the examples above.

- (39) *cān kiskēyihtam [ē-kī-wāpamikoyit anihi mahihkana anihi wāposwa].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-iko</i>	<i>-yit</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'
John	know	3s-0'		CNJ	PST	see	3''-3'	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
that/those	wolf		that/those	rabbit	

? “John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf / the wolf was seen by the rabbit].”

? “John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit / the rabbit was seen by the wolf].”

- (40) *cān kiskēyihtam [ē-kī-wāpamikoyit anihi wāposwa anihi mahihkana].*

<i>cān</i>	<i>kiskēyiht</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	<i>-iko</i>	<i>-yit</i>
NA.3s	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3'
John	know	3s-0'		CNJ	PST	see	3''-3'	

<i>anihi</i>	<i>wāposw</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>anihi</i>	<i>mahihkan</i>	<i>-a</i>
DEM.3'	NA	3'	DEM.3'	NA	3'
that/those	rabbit		that/those	wolf	

? “John knows [that the wolf saw the rabbit / the rabbit was seen by the wolf].”

? “John knows [that the rabbit saw the wolf / the wolf was seen by the rabbit].”

We have reached the absolute limits of what the direct-inverse system can handle, but we have also reached the limits of what any speaker deems possible within the language. Clearly, the direct-inverse system is taking care of virtually every possible structure within the language and word order simply does not appear to require any link to semantic role. Outside of potentially ambiguous examples like those explored above, we must continue our search for word order tendencies, and possible functional correlates, within the actually attested patterns of the language itself. As a starting point, we will go from the indeterminacy of the final examples above to an examination of the word order found when arguments and other constituents occur postverbally in actual Plains Cree narrative.

#### 4.4 The Position of Postverbal Constituents

As evident in Tables 4.1 through 4.4 above, slightly over half of all lexical and pronominal arguments found in the House People texts occur in postverbal position. Examples (41) through (43) show just three instances of this, with an intransitive A<sup>1</sup> in (41), a monotransitive A<sup>1</sup> in (42) and a monotransitive A<sup>2</sup> in (43).

- (41) *kayās iyikohk ē-kī-kanātahk ōma askiy.* [HP2:10]  
 kayās iyikohk ē- kī- kanātan -k ōma askiy  
 IPT IPC IPV IPV VII 0s DEM.0s NI.0s  
 long.ago so.much CNJ PST be.clean this land  
 “Long ago **this land** was so clean.”

- (42) *..., iyikohk ē-kī-pē-itōtākohyahk awa wāpiskiwiyās, ...* [HP2:8]  
 iyikohk ē- kī- pē- itōtaw -iko -yahk  
 IPC IPV IPV IPV VTA INV 21  
 so.much CNJ PST come do.so.to 3s-21

awa wāpiskiwiyās  
 DEM.3s NA.3s  
 this White-man

“..., what **the White-Man** has been doing to us, ...”

- (43) *iyikohk ē-kī-manācihācik okēhtē-ayimiwāwa kayās, ...* [HP2:44]  
 iyikohk ē- kī- manācih -ā -cik  
 IPC IPV IPV VTA DIR 3p  
 so.much CNJ PST respect 3p-3’

o- kēhtē-ayim -iwāw -a kayās, ...  
 3 NDA 3p 3’ IPT  
 elder long.ago

“So much did they respect **their elders** long ago, ...”

Even in these limited examples, several questions arise. The apparently consistent occurrence of the quantificational particle *iyikohk* in immediately preverbal position will be discussed in Chapter 5 (see section 5.1.2.1). The variable order of the temporal particle *kayās*, clause-initial in (41) and clause-final in (43), must also be noted. Of particular importance here is that the temporal particle follows the second argument, *okēhtē-ayimiwāwa* “their elders”, in postverbal position. Thus, in addition to investigating the order of



postverbal arguments, we must also take into account other constituents which can occur postverbally and their relative positioning with regard to arguments.

The difficulty in characterizing particular orders of arguments and/or oblique modifiers in postverbal position stems from the rarity in which we find more than a single postverbal constituent. Despite the small amount of data present in the House People texts, however, some attempt to characterize the tendencies in postverbal constituent order will be made in the following sections.

#### 4.4.1 Postverbal Arguments

Constructions in which arguments follow the verb, or simply verb-initial orders, have been considered unmarked in a variety of Algonquian languages. Tomlin and Rhodes (1979), for instance, made the early suggestion that VOS was the basic word order in Ojibwa, but had apparently changed this to VSO by their 1992 republication, since Mühlbauer (2005) cites this and considers VSO basic for Plains Cree as well. Junker (2004), however, in writing about East Cree, suggests that VSO is only basic for VTA inverse constructions, while VOS is basic when the VTA is marked as direct, since the East Cree data appear to indicate that the obviative must be closer to the verb than the proximate. In the data from the House People texts, seen in Table 4.1 above, there are only five example clauses in which both arguments occur postverbally, and these are split with three V A1 A2 (VSO) and two V A2 A1 (VOS). These examples are all given below in order to highlight any features which might either suggest the appropriateness of the particular attested word order or mark it as odd, hence justifying the rarity with which these orders are found. As many of these features remain to be explored in the following chapters, only an introduction can be attempted here, with further discussion to follow subsequently.

The three examples of V A1 A2 order are given in (44) through (46). In (44), the first argument (A1) is represented by a rare occurrence of the third person independent pronoun *wiya* preceding the second argument (A2) *opimācihiwēwin* which is marked by a possessive co-referential with the first argument. The sentence would have been equally grammatical without any specification of A1 (as is far more usual) or with a full nominal (e.g. *nēhiyaw* “Cree”) in place of *wiya*. Also, though the order of possessor-possessum is not essential, it is certainly far more common and may have constrained the A1 A2 order evident here.

(44) ...; *ēkota ē-kī-ohtinahk wiya opimācihiwēwin*, ... [HP4:61]

<i>ēkota</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>ohtin</i>	<i>-ah</i>	<i>-k</i>
PL	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s
there	CNJ	PST	obtain.from	3s-0'	

<i>wiya</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>pimācihiwēwin</i>
PR.3s	3	NI.0's
		livelihood

“...; that is where they got their livelihood, ...”

The next example, (45), is exceptional in having two elements, *ōma* and *kayās*, interceding between the verb and the postverbal arguments. The temporal particle, *kayās* “long ago”, has already been seen above in its more usual positions either clause-initially or clause-finally, and this will be discussed further in the next section. The particle *ōma* could be interpreted as a demonstrative pronoun, but this does not fit the sentence at all. As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6, Plains Cree demonstratives serve a number of functions including focus-marking. This seems to be the case here where *ōma* is apparently marking the verb exceptionally in initial rather than medial position. If so, this might explain the displacement of the temporal particle, but it is unclear what effect this would have on the ordering of the arguments.

(45) -- *ē-kī-wīhtahkik ōma kayās kisēyiniwak ēkoni ōhi*, ... [HP4:123]

<i>ē-</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wīht</i>	<i>-ah</i>	<i>-kik</i>	<i>ōma</i>	<i>kayās</i>
IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3p	IPC	IPT
CNJ	PST	tell	3p-0'		FOC	long.ago

<i>kisēyiniw</i>	<i>-ak</i>	<i>ēkoni</i>	<i>ōhi</i>
NA	3p	PR.0'p	PR.0'p
old.man		these	these

“-- the very things the old men had long ago predicted, ...”

One additional notable feature of this example is the occurrence of the resumptive topic pronominal reference *ēkoni ōhi* representing the A2 in apparent final position. Although resumptive topic pronouns can be found postverbally, they more commonly occur preverbally and especially in clause-initial or even pre-clausal position. However, when a resumptive topic pronoun is found postverbally, it almost exclusively appears to be in final position. Of 15 postverbal occurrences of resumptive pronouns, 11 occur as (part of) the sole postverbal constituent, and three others are final

following some other constituent, which leaves only one example which is non-final. Interestingly, two of the five exceptional examples with two lexical/pronominal postverbal arguments, (45) above and (47) below, account for two of the three examples in which a resumptive unambiguously follows more than just the verb and appears in final position. It remains to be seen whether postverbal resumptive topics are truly placed in P<sup>F</sup> or whether this is merely a coincidence based on the fact that there is rarely more than a single constituent following the verb in any Cree clause. This is a topic that will be resumed in section 4.4.3.

The final V A1 A2 example is given in (46) and it also presents similar problems to both (44) and (43) and several more. As in (43), we again have a pronoun as A1 and its possessed noun as A2, perhaps reinforcing the ordering of possessor-possessum rather than A1 A2.

(46) ..., *ē-pē-isi-pakitinamāhk nīstanān ōma nipīkiskwēwininān ōma.* [HP6:4]

ē-	pē-	isi-	pakitin	-ah	-āhk	nīstanān	
IPV	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1p	PR.1p	
CNJ	come	thus	leave	1p-0			
	ōma	ni-	pīkiskwēwin	-inān	ōma		
	DEM.0s	1	NI	1p	IPC		
	this		speech		FOC		

“..., for us [too] to come and offer our speech.”

Furthermore, the first argument and first postverbal constituent is the additive-focal pronoun *nīstanān*. This is an abnormal position for these contrastive elements which otherwise are found predominantly in preverbal position. Of 24 such pronouns in the House People texts, 19 are preverbal (plus one pre-clausal), and the example in (46) is one of only three postverbal (and one post-clausal) occurrence.

As in (45), example (46) is also complicated by the use of *ōma*, in this case twice. The first appearance of *ōma* could be associated with the preceding additive-focal *nīstanān* or with the following second argument *nipīkiskwēwininān* as a demonstrative pronoun. It is the latter interpretation, based on native speaker judgements, which is favoured here and reflected in the example's gloss. The second occurrence of *ōma*, however, must be interpreted as a focal particle (see further in Chapter 5), but then it is a question as to whether it is exceptionally marking the clause-final second argument, or whether it is reinforcing the entire clause. Again, native speaker judgements favour the latter interpretation such that the entire V A1

A2 sequence is being emphasized. The use of focal particles for marking a constituent larger than a single word (or phrase) is both important and complicating to an account of pragmatically-oriented word order, as discussed further in Chapter 6. As important as this is, however, it does little to shed light on the choice of V A1 A2 (VSO) order here.

In contrast, we also have two examples of V A2 A1 (VOS) order. Some of the same features of the three preceding examples can be found here as well. In (47), the second argument is a possessed noun, *onēhiyāwiniwāw* “their Creeness” similarly pre-modified by the demonstrative use of *ōma*, just as in (46). However, the possessum is followed by its possessor, the first argument *ēkonik ōki osk-āyak* “these here young people”. Thus, the possessor-possessum order seen in (44) and (46) is violated and placed in doubt as a guiding principle of Cree word order.

- (47) *kāwi ē-nōhtē-kīwētōtahkik ōma onēhiyāwiniwāw ēkonik ōki*  
*osk-āyak.* [HP10:7]
- |             |           |               |                  |            |             |            |  |
|-------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|------------|-------------|------------|--|
| <i>kāwi</i> | <i>ē-</i> | <i>nōhtē-</i> | <i>kīwētōt</i>   | <i>-ah</i> | <i>-kik</i> | <i>ōma</i> |  |
| IPL         | IPV       | IPV           | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH         | 3p          | DEM.0's    |  |
| back        | CNJ       | want          | return.to        | 3p-0'      |             | this       |  |
- 
- |           |                    |              |               |            |               |            |
|-----------|--------------------|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>o-</i> | <i>nēhiyāwiwin</i> | <i>-iwāw</i> | <i>ēkonik</i> | <i>ōki</i> | <i>osk-āy</i> | <i>-ak</i> |
| 3         | NI.0's             | 3p           | PR.3p         | DEM.3p     | NA            | 3p         |
|           | Creeness           |              | these         | these      | young.one     |            |
- “..., these young people wanted to return to their Creeness.”

Still, the form of the clause-final A1 cannot be overlooked since it contains the resumptive animate plural pronoun, *ēkonik* “those aforementioned”. As discussed above in connection with example (45), such resumptive pronouns are not commonly found postverbally but, when they are, they are almost exclusively final. It is perhaps this tendency which has allowed the possessor to be placed after the possessum, but this would entail a pragmatic interpretation for clause-final position (P<sup>F</sup>). More will be said of this possibility below.

Finally, we have example (48) which also contains its own complications. First, the second argument appears to be in the form of a very complex noun phrase, *kānāta ōma misiwēskamik k-ēspīhcāk* “the full extent of Canada”. Only after this complex structure does a candidate for A1 appear, *nēhiyaw awa*. This is problematical in two ways. First, the verb calls for a plural first argument, and *nēhiyaw* is singular as reinforced by the form of the animate singular demonstrative pronoun/focal particle, *awa*. It is actually quite common for a singular noun like *nēhiyaw* to occur as a collective in the

House People texts, but in such cases, the verb is also generally in agreement with this singular referent, in contrast to this example. Second, the occurrence of *awa* following *nēhiyaw* suggests that it is acting as a focus particle rather than a demonstrative, but this would be even more exceptional in final position than the use of *ōma*. Thus, it appears more likely, given the lack of agreement and the odd position for focus, plus the complex noun phrase preceding it, that the phrase *nēhiyaw awa* is actually not part of the verbal clause at all, but a post-clausal specification and reinforcement of the topical participants in collective form.<sup>70</sup>

(48) *pēyakwāw ē-kī-tipēyihahkik kānāta ōma misiwēskamik k-ēspīhcāk*  
*nēhiyaw awa, ...* [HP1:17-18]

pēyakwāw	ē-	kī-	tipēyih	-ah	-kik
IPT	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3p
once	CNJ	PST	own	3p-0'	

kānāta	ōma	misiwēskamik	kā-	ispīhcā	-k
NI.0(°)s	DEM.0s	IPL		IPV	VII 0s
Canada	this	all.over.the land	CNJ	extend.so	

nēhiyaw	awa,
NA.3s	IPC
Cree	FOC

“At one time the Crees owned Canada, as far as this land extends, ...”

[lit: ‘At one time they owned Canada, as far as the land extends, the Cree [did]’]

As such, this would not be an actual example of V A2 A1 order at all, and if we remove this example from our statistics, we are left with only the single example, (47), which may itself be exceptional due to the resumptive pronoun in final position. By process of elimination, the evidence for V A2 A1 (VOS) becomes extremely slight and this may provide support for Mühlbauer’s assertion that V A1 A2 (VSO) is more basic or preferred. Nevertheless, the evidence for this order is also less than overwhelming.

One further pattern of argumentation that must be mentioned is the extremely strong tendency for complement clauses to occur postverbally.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> It is also possible that another phrasal boundary occurs between *kānāta* and *ōma misiwēskamik k-ēspīhcāk*, such that the latter is also post-clausal. Following some of the same argumentation above, the verb *k-ēspīhcāk* also fails to agree with the inanimate obviative status required of *kānāta* as second argument of the main verb *ē-kī-tipēyihahkik*.

<sup>71</sup> The major exception to this is the preverbal placement of quotations before the quotative verb, as will be explored in Chapter 5.

This can range from something as simple as a verbal complement, (49), to a more elaborate clausal structure, (50), to an extremely complex set of coordinated complement clauses, (51).

- (49) ..., *nama kīkway nitayān ta-kikiskamān*, ... [HP8:23-34]  
 nama kīkway nit- ayā -n ta- kikisk -am -ān  
 IPC PR.0s 1 VTI<sub>2</sub> 1/2 IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1s  
 NEG something have CNJ wear 1s-0  
 “..., I had nothing **to wear**, ...”

- (50) ...; *ē-kī-wīhtamāwasocik tānisi kik-ēsi-pimātisit osk-āyisiyiniw*, ... [HP2:14-15]

ē- kī- wīhtamāwaso -cik  
 IPV IPV VAI 3p  
 CNJ PST tell.one’s.children

tānisi kika- isi- pimātisi -t oski-ayisiyiniw  
 IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s  
 how CNJ thus live young.person

“...; they told their children **how young people should live**, ...”

- (51) ..., *mitoni ē-kī-kiskinahamawāt otawāsimisa k-ēsi-nanahihtākot, ēkā kīkway kik-ōtinamāsoyit kīkway ahpō piko kīkway ka-pistinamiyit kīkway*. [HP2:18-21]

mitoni ē- kī- kiskinahamaw -ā -t ot- awāsimis -a  
 IPC IPV IPV VTA DIR 3s 3 NDA 3’  
 really CNJ PST teach 3s-3’ child

ka- isi- nanahihtaw -iko -t ēkā kīkway  
 IPV IPV VTA INV 3s IPC PR.0’  
 CNJ thus pay.heed.to 3’-3s NEG something

kika- otinamāso -yit kīkway ahpō  
 IPV VAI 3’ PR.0’ IPC  
 CNJ take.for.self something even

piko kīkway ka- pistin -am -iyit kīkway  
 IPC PR.0’ IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3’ PR.0’  
 just something CNJ take.in.error 3’-0’ something

“..., they really taught their children **how to pay heed to them, not to steal anything nor even to take anything by mistake**.”

Though the evidence is again very scant for the relative ordering of nominal and clausal arguments, example (51) does give one instance of a second argument (A2), *otawāsimisa*, preceding the complex, coordinated clausal complement (A3). Of all but one other example of clausal complements in the House People texts, the complement, no matter how complex, is the sole postverbal constituent. That one other example is given in (52) where the temporal particle *ēkwa* intercedes between the verb and the complement clause. Thus, in all examples of complement clauses in the data examined here, the complement clause always occurs in final position.

- (52) *namōya kiskēyhtam ēkwa tānisi kik-ēsi-kakēskimāwasot*  
*ayisiyiniw,...* [HP2:66-67]
- |        |                  |       |    |      |        |
|--------|------------------|-------|----|------|--------|
| namōya | kiskēyht         | -am   | -Ø | ēkwa | tānisi |
| IPC    | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH    | 3s | IPT  | IPC    |
| NEG    | know             | 3s-0' |    | now  | how    |
- 
- |       |      |                        |    |            |
|-------|------|------------------------|----|------------|
| kika- | isi- | kakēskimāwaso          | -t | ayisiyiniw |
| IPV   | IPV  | VAI                    | 3s | NA.3s      |
| CNJ   | thus | counsel.one's.children |    | person     |
- “..., now people do not know **how to counsel their children**, ...”

If it were only the relative ordering of arguments that was in question here, the weight of complement clauses might simply dictate that other postverbal arguments will occur earlier in  $P^{M-1}$  relegating the complement clause to  $P^{M+2}$ . However, the evidence of this single example in (52), scant as it is, will take on greater significance when we see the usual clause-final positioning of non-argument modifiers including temporals like *ēkwa*. Thus, it is possible that the weight of the complement clause actually dictates a syntactic position in clause-final position ( $P^F$ ).

#### 4.4.2 Postverbal Modifiers

In contrast to the preferred preverbal position of many verbal modifiers, to be discussed in Chapter 5, it is rare to find most such modifiers in postverbal position. The exceptions to this are the very prevalent temporals and locatives discussed below. Before exploring these, however, we can see occasional examples of such modifiers as manner, (53) and (54), and degree (55a and b).

- (53) “*kiyām, nika-minahāw mēskoc!*” [HP5:52]  
 kiyām ni- ka- minah -ā -w mēskoc  
 IPC 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s IPC  
 anyway CNJ provide.drink.to in.exchange  
 “ ‘Anyway, I will give him a drink **instead!**’ ”
- (54) “... *ē-kī-sēkahoyān kwayask, ...*” [HP8:128]  
 ē- kī- sēkaho -yān kwayask  
 IPV IPV VAI 1s IPC  
 CNJ PST comb.one’s.hair properly  
 “ ‘... and I combed my hair **properly,**’ ... ”
- (55) a) ..., *pīhc-āyihk k-āpihk nayēstaw* [HP4:128]  
 pīhc-āyihk k-ā api -hk nayēstaw  
 IPL IPV VAI X IPC  
 inside CNJ sit only  
 “..., we **only** sit indoors ...”
- b) *ēkā ē-wayawīhk mistahi, ...*  
 ēkā ē- wayawī -hk mistahi  
 IPC IPV VAI X IPC  
 NEG CNJ go.out a.lot  
 “... and do not go outside **very much,** ...”

As these examples show, however, it is difficult to say much more about the position of such modifiers other than that they are postverbal since they so rarely co-occur with other modifiers or arguments. They could be immediately postverbal or clause-final or both. There is only one example in the House People texts which suggests that modifiers such as these will follow arguments, and that is given in (56) where the manner adverbial *ēkosi isi* “like that” follows the third argument *kīkway* “things”.

- (56) *ēkosi isi ē-wīhtamawicik kīkway ēkwa ē-pīkiskwāsicik kīkway*  
*ēkosi isi, ...* [HP10:133-134]  
 ēkosi isi ē- wīhtamaw -it -ik kīkway  
 IPC IPC IPV VTA INV 3p NI.0’  
 thus thus CNJ tell.to 3p-1s thing  
 ēkwa ē- pīkiskwāt- -it -ik kīkway ēkosi isi  
 IPC IPV VTA INV 3p NI.0’ IPC IPC  
 and CNJ speak.to 3p-1s thing thus thus  
 “... they tell me things like that and speak to me about things like that, ...”



The manner adverbial is more likely to occur preverbally and even clause-initially, and this is exactly what has occurred in the first clause of the coordinate sentence, also included in example (56). The manner adverbial thus occurs initially in the first clause and finally in the second, illustrating the symmetry of the narrator's word order choice. It is perhaps a desire for symmetry which results in the otherwise rare occurrence of the manner adverbial in final position.

Conversely, it is also possible that this order simply reflects a preference for argument-modifier order in postverbal position which is obscured by the paucity of data. As in most cases of postverbal nominal arguments, any modifier typically occurs as the sole constituent in postverbal position. The same is true of the much more prevalent postverbal occurrences of temporal and locative elements, which can occur as simple particles, as in (57) and (58) respectively, or in more complex clausal constructions, (59) and (60).

(57) “*mētoni ē-wāpāstēk piyis,*” ... [HP8:28]

mētoni	ē-	wāpāstē	-k	piyis
IPC	IPV	VII	0s	IPT
really	CNJ	be.faded		finally

“‘**Finally** it was really getting faded,’...”

(58) *ēkwa ninīhcipayihon ōta,* ... [HP8:57]

ēkwa	ni-	nīhcipayihon	-n	ōta
IPT	1	VAI	1/2	PL
then		jump.down		here

“At this I jumped down [**here**], ...”

(59) ..., “*ēwako kiya ka-tōtēn anohe kā-kīsikāk!*” [HP4:20]

ēwako	kiya	ka-	tōt	-ē	-n
DEM.0s	PR.2s	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2
that	you	2.FUT	do	1s-0	

anohe	kā-	kīsikā	-k
IPT	IPV	VII	0s
now	CNJ	be.day	

“..., ‘This is what you will do **today**.’”

(60) ..., *ē-pē-pīhtokwēyāhk itē ē-pē-ācimōhikawiyāhk*. [HP2:3]

ē-	pē-	pīhtokwē	-yāhk	itē
IPV	IPV	VAI	1p	IPL
CNJ	come	enter		where

ē-	pē-	ācimōh	-ikawi	-yāhk
IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1p
CNJ	come	tell.stories	(X-)1p	

“..., we have come in here [a recording studio] **where we are expected to tell stories.**”

Again, these examples merely allow us to locate the modifiers postverbally, but this could be interpreted as in immediately postverbal position, clause-final position or both. What is needed are examples in which these modifiers interact with one another and/or with arguments. The scarce data on the ordering of temporals and locatives with respect to one another will be dealt with immediately below, while their co-occurrence with arguments will be explored in the following section.

Unfortunately, there is extremely little data on the interaction of temporals and locatives in postverbal position. One apparent example is given in (61), with the locative *ōta* “here” preceding the temporal clause *kā-māyahkamikahk* “the bad times [i.e. the Northwest Resistance of 1885]”.

(61) -- *nitōtēminānak ēkotē itāmowak ōta kā-māyahkamikahk* -- [HP5:3-4]

ni-	tōtēm	-inān	-ak	ēkotē	itāmo	-wak
1	NDA	1p	3p	PL	VAI	3p
	friend			over.there	flee.there	

ōta	kā-	māyahkamikan	-k
PL	IPV	VII	0s
here	CNJ	be.a.bad.occurrence	

“-- friends of ours had fled there **at the time of the trouble [the Riel rebellion] [here] --**”

However, *ōta* is clearly providing a location for the “rebellion”, in opposition to the location to which the participants, *nitōtēminānak* “our friends”, had fled. Thus, *ōta* “here” could be interpreted as in preverbal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) with regard to the temporal clause, *kā-māyahkamikahk*. This is consistent with the other locative in example (61), *ēkotē* “over there”, which is similarly in preverbal position, and consistent with one tendency for locative position in general (see Chapter 5 and Wolvengrey 2010).

Conversely, another interpretation that is possible is that the entire sequence, *ōta kā-mayahkamikahk*, is functioning as a locative (i.e. “here where the trouble was”), in which case the locative is in P<sup>F</sup>. In either of these interpretations, the example has nothing to say about the relative order of locatives and temporals.

Having eliminated (61), we are left with only one other example in the House People texts, given in (62), with both temporal and locative reference in postverbal position. Here the temporal particle *kēyāpic* “still” precedes the locative *nīkihk* “at my home”.

- (62) “*wā, nitayān ōma kēyāpic nīkihk,*” ... [HP8:186]  

<i>wā</i>	nit-	<i>ayā</i>	-n	<i>ōma</i>	<i>kēyāpic</i>	n-	<i>īk</i>	-ihk	
IPC	1	VTI <sub>2</sub>	1/2	PR.0s	IPT	1	NDI	LOC	
well		have		this	still		home		

“ ‘Well, I still have [another bottle] at my house,’ ...”

A second example, (63), spontaneously produced by an informant, contradicts this order by giving the locative *ēkota* “there” preceding the temporal *otākosīhk* “yesterday”.

- (63) *ā, nīkī-wāpamāw ana ēkota otākosīhk.*  

<i>ā</i>	ni-	<i>kī-</i>	<i>wāpam</i>	-ā	-w	<i>ana</i>	<i>ēkota</i>	<i>otākosīhk</i>	
IPC	1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	PR.3s	PL	IPT	
oh		PST	see	1s-3s		that	there	yesterday	

“Oh ya, I saw that one there yesterday.”

It is impossible to reach a conclusion based on such a small and contradictory set of evidence. These two examples do, however, place both the temporal and locative modifiers after a demonstrative pronoun, *ōma* “this (inanimate)” and *ana* “this (animate)” respectively, which in each example represents the second argument. Thus, we finally appear to have some evidence that the argument must occur in immediately postverbal position, while the modifiers come later or in final position.

#### 4.4.3 Interaction of Postverbal Arguments and Modifiers

The final examples of the previous section, (62) and (63), have already suggested the general ordering of arguments and modifiers in postverbal position. When both are present, the argument immediately follows the verb, while the modifier comes last. This is exemplified further for temporal particles by (64).

- (64) ..., *iyikohk ē-kī-itēyatit nēhiyaw kayās*. [HP3:10]  
 iyikohk ē- kī- itēyati -t nēhiyaw kayās  
 IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s IPT  
 so.much CNJ PST be.so.many Cree long.ago  
 “..., there were so many Crees long ago.”

It is also the case that the sole example where a postverbal argument represented by a resumptive pronoun does not occur clause-finally is when a temporal particle follows it.

- (65) *manitow kīstanaw ē-kī-miyikoyahk ēwako anima nistam*, ... [HP2:62]  
 manitow kīstanaw ē- kī- miy -iko -yahk  
 NA.3s PR.21 IPV IPV VTA INV 21  
 God CNJ PST give 3s-21  
  
 ēwako anima nistam  
 PR.0' PR.0' IPT  
 that that at.first  
 “To us, too, God had given this in the beginning. ...”

This reinforces the relative ordering of arguments before temporal modifiers, and suggests that temporals will preferentially occur in final position (P<sup>F</sup>), since this particular type of modifier does not otherwise appear to allow anything to follow it.

Locatives similarly follow arguments, as illustrated in (66) and (67), which are two of the seven examples in the House People texts. In (66), the third argument *kahkiyaw kīkway* “everything” precedes clause-final locative phrase *opimācihowinihk isi* “towards his livelihood” (plus a post-clausal respecification of that locative; see Chapter 6).

- (66) *ē-kī-osīhtamāsot kahkiyaw kīkway opimācihowinihk isi*,  
*opimohtēhonihk isi*. [HP2:32]  
 ē- kī- osīhtamāso -t kahkiyaw kīkway  
 IPV IPV VAI 3s QNT NI.0('p)  
 CNJ PST make.for.self all thing(s)  
  
 o- pimācihowin -ihk isi o- pimohtēhon -ihk isi  
 3 NI LOC IPL 3 NI LOC IPL  
 livelihood to journey to  
 “They made everything themselves for their livelihood, for their life.”

In (67), the locative *kistikānihk* “on the field(s)” is in final position following the second argument, *maskihkiy nanātohk* “all kinds of chemicals”.

- (67) ..., *iyikohk ē-astāt maskihkiy nanātohk kistikānihk*,... [HP4:57]  
 iyikohk ē- astā -t maskihkiy nanātohk kistikān -ihk  
 QNT IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> 3s NI.0’s Qnt NI LOC  
 so.much CNJ put chemical all.kinds field  
 “..., they put in so many chemicals of all kinds [and use them] on the fields, ...”

The order of argument and then locative seems to be particularly strict and there are no counterexamples in the House People texts. For temporal particles, only a single example, given in (68b), seems to reverse the argument-modifier order. (68a) is given for the preceding context. (68c) through (68e) provide three possible alternatives to (68b).

- (68) a) *anohc kā-kīsikāk ēkwa, awāsis kā-wihtamāht kīkway, ā, nama kīkway ka-tōtam, iyikohk ē-kihtimikanēt*, ... [HP4:24-27]  
 “Today, when children are told something, well, they are so lazy that they will not do anything.”

- b) ..., *ē-kihtimikanēcik ēkwa anohc kitawāsimisinawak kōsisiminawak*.  
 ē- kihtimikanē -cik ēkwa anohc  
 IPV VAI 3p IPT IPT  
 CNJ be.lazybones now today  
 kit- awāsimis -inaw -ak k- ōsisim -inaw -ak  
 2 NDA 21 3p 2 NDA 21 3p  
 child grandchild  
 “..., our children and grandchildren are so lazy today.”

- c) ..., *ē-kihtimikanēcik ēkwa anohc*.  
 “..., they are (so) lazy today.”
- d) ..., *ē-kihtimikanēcik kitawāsimisinawak kōsisiminawak ēkwa anohc*.  
 “..., our children and grandchildren are (so) lazy today.”
- e) ..., *ē-kihtimikanēcik ēkwa anohc, kitawāsimisinawak kōsisiminawak*.  
 “..., they are (so) lazy today, our children and grandchildren.”

The immediately preceding narrative makes it clear that the example in (68b) is simply a reiteration of what has already been said in the generic context of the laziness of children today. The immediately preceding verb is repeated, or perhaps replaced, with plural rather than (collective) singular agreement which will require a change from the previously supplied collective singular topic *awāsis* “child(ren)”. Before this revised topic is provided, however, a repetition of the earlier temporal specification is offered, and only then are the two nominals, *kitawāsimisinawak kōsisiminawak* “our children and our grandchildren”, silently conjoined and representing the sole argument of the verb, added to conclude the clause. There are two possible interpretations of this word order, and these follow from observation of the acceptable options in (68c) through (68e).

In (68c), we see the common structure in which the verb is followed only by the temporal particle. In conjunction with the opening temporal in (68a), this represents a common framing structure in Cree narrative and (68c) would have proven a perfectly natural stopping point for (68b), if not for the narrator’s need to respecify the topical participant(s). It would also have been acceptable to insert the topics, as in (68d), in immediately postverbal position preceding the temporal particle, which would again have concluded the clause. In this light, it is entirely possible that the topic is actually being given not in clause-final position, but as represented in (68e), as a post-clausal respecification of the topic. This is not an uncommon structure, as will be seen in Chapter 6, and would allow for the temporal modifier to occur in final position (as in (68c)) rather than, exceptionally, in postverbal but pre-argument position as suggested by the original representation in (68b).

Conversely, if the original punctuation of (68b) holds, and the temporal modifier truly precedes the argument within the clause, another interpretation is possible which is merely a variant of the post-clausal interpretation of (68e). Given the fact that the topic does require respecification, it is possible that such respecifications are accomplished by exceptionally placing the argument in clause-final position ( $P^F$ ) rather than the expected immediately postverbal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) otherwise seen fairly exclusively for arguments. This exceptional placement, as also suggested above in section 4.4.1 for resumptive topics and for complement clauses, would mean that clause-final position has a number of disparate potential functions. Normally, semantically-defined constituents like locative or temporal modifiers occur in  $P^F$ , but at least temporal modifiers can be displaced (to  $P^{F-1}$ ) if syntactically-defined complement clauses, or pragmatically-defined resumptive or respecified topics take precedence for  $P^F$ . For now, this must remain a suggestion in need of confirmation through

future research.

#### 4.4.4 Postverbal Constituents Summarized

The tentative findings of section 4.4 have at least begun to suggest some clarification for the unordered mass of postverbal constituents as represented in Dahlstrom’s (1995a) word order template. Relative to the clause-medial position of the verb, these positions and the constituents which might potentially fill them are summarized in Table 4.6.

**Table 4.6**  
**Postverbal Constituent Order and Function**

Options	P <sup>M</sup>	P <sup>M+1</sup>	P <sup>M+2</sup>	P <sup>F-1</sup>	P <sup>F</sup>
1	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Argument</b> (if present) - potentially favouring the highest ranking argument A1 > A2 > A3	<b>Argument</b> (if displaced from P <sup>M+1</sup> )	<b>Modifier(s)</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F</sup> )	<b>Resumptive/ Respecified Topic</b> (if present)
2		<b>Argument</b> (if present)		<b>Modifier(s)</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F</sup> )	<b>Complement Clause</b> (if present)
3				<b>Modifier(s)</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F</sup> )	<b>Modifier</b> (if present) - possible preference to Locatives

Note that only the verb is here characterized as obligatory within the clause, though this too remains to be confirmed. It is entirely possible that neither arguments (nominal or clausal) nor modifiers will be present in any given clause, in which case neither postverbal (P<sup>M+1</sup>) or clause-final (P<sup>F</sup>) positions would be filled. Normally, a single argument might be lexicalized in postverbal position, and on the rare occasions that two (or more) would be, one (or more) would have to be displaced to a subsequent position (i.e. P<sup>M+2</sup>, then P<sup>M+3</sup>). In contrast to the placement of arguments in immediately postverbal positions, modifiers such as locatives, temporals, and others, are placed in clause-final position (P<sup>F</sup>). On the rare occasions that more than one might occur, all but one would be displaced (i.e. to P<sup>F-1</sup>, then P<sup>F-2</sup>, etc.). Unlike the fairly consistent placement of nominal arguments in P<sup>M-1</sup>, other

elements appear to be able to pre-empt modifiers from P<sup>F</sup>. Thus, complement clauses appear to take precedence over modifiers for final position due to syntactic weight. It is also possible, though requiring confirmation through further research, that an argument can be given pragmatic prominence as a resumed or respecified topic by placement in clause-final position. In either of these cases, any postverbal modifiers present would be displaced to P<sup>F-1</sup> (or P<sup>F-2</sup>, etc.).

Thus, we have the beginnings of an account of Plains Cree word order, though one that still leaves many questions unanswered. Since postverbal position in general has been characterized as unmarked for Algonquian languages, it is perhaps not surprising that it is so difficult to find examples with a large number of postverbal constituents. So much of what might be unmarked is given information and a more common alternative with given information is to leave it unspecified. Conversely, if word order is used for pragmatic marking, we might expect to find a variety of elements out of an unmarked (e.g. postverbal) position.

In the remainder of this work, we will turn primarily to the even more complex situation pertaining to preverbal position. In chapter 5, various syntactically-motivated positions will be investigated, while chapter 6 will be devoted to the much more fruitful and complex investigation of pragmatically-conditioned word order in Plains Cree.





## Chapter 5

# Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

The current chapter will explore some syntactically-motivated positions within the constituent order of Cree clauses. “Syntactically-motivated” is used here in the sense of constituents which, among the apparent variability of Cree word order, do not exhibit such variability but rather show restrictions which suggest a grammaticalization to a single position. In the preceding chapter, the apparent placement of complement clauses in clause-final position ( $P^F$ ) constitutes an example of this. The template which we began to develop allows for both absolute and relative ordering, with for instance  $P^F$  as an absolute position and  $P^{F-1}$  as relative to  $P^F$ . Another absolute position which has been, and will continue to be, taken for granted in this respect is the clause-medial  $P^M$  occupied by the predicate (in most cases a verb). As we continue to build the template around this predicate-medial position, all such arguments will in turn become arguments justifying the placement of the predicate in  $P^M$ .

In previous accounts of Cree word order, at least one syntactically-motivated clausal position has been identified. This is the immediate preverbal position introduced briefly in Chapter 4 and discussed most prominently by Dahlstrom (1991) as part of what she identifies as a  $V'$  constituent, though without a necessary expansion to, or even identifiable with, a full VP. In the current work, this immediately preverbal position will necessarily be identified as  $P^{M-1}$ . Dahlstrom (1995a:3) identifies this as the position for oblique (Obl) arguments, “subcategorised for by certain verbs”, in her word order template. For Plains Cree specifically, however, she had earlier included in this position not only oblique arguments of the verb such as locatives, but also the floated quantifier (Dahlstrom 1991:76-83). Section 5.1 below will investigate these and further possibilities for inclusion in  $P^{M-1}$ .

Two other phenomena will also be investigated in the current chapter for potential identification of syntactically-based (extra-)clausal positions. Section 5.2 will begin a discussion of clause linkage, investigating the position of connective particles in apparent clause initial position, but suggesting that many are in fact completely independent of clause-internal positioning. Section 5.3 will continue this discussion with an introduction of

P<sup>2</sup> through the so-called “inversion” of connective particles into second position. This position will be intricately tied to the overall pragmatically-oriented placement of elements in initial position (or P<sup>1</sup>) and the interdependence of P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup> in presenting pragmatically highlighted material will thus form a bridge to the discussion of pragmatic ordering in Chapter 6.

## 5.1 P<sup>M-1</sup>

It is possible for a Cree clause, as in (1), or sentence, as in (2), to consist of a single verb.

- (1) ..., *ē-kī-papāmipicit*, ... [HP3:4]  
 ē- kī- papāmipici -t  
 IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 CNJ PST travel.about  
 “..., they were travelling around ...”
- (2) *nikawacin*.  
 ni- kawaci -n  
 1 VAI 1/2  
 be.cold  
 “I am cold.”

Clausal examples of only a single verb are actually fairly rare in narrative, generally restricted to the occasional verbal conjunct, complement or adjunct. While normal conversation might yield a larger number of single-word utterances, full sentences of only a single word are almost non-existent in narrative, with not a single example in the entirety of the House People texts, unless one extracts imperative verbs out of quotations.<sup>72</sup>

Once we expand our survey to allow for two or more words, appropriate examples become far more prevalent. However, the range of constituents that can occur alone in preverbal position is very diverse, and we can by no means assume that all occupy one and the same clausal position, as many may co-occur and/or potentially occur in initial position (P<sup>1</sup>). This section will explore some of the candidates for the position immediately preceding the verb, or P<sup>M-1</sup>. Some of the constituents that will be examined are illustrated in the following examples. These include verbal modifiers such as degree (3), manner (4), temporals (5), locatives (6), and negation (7), in

<sup>72</sup> Example (2) is reduced from HP7:28-30, “ ‘mitoni nikawacin konita ē-nanamacyān,’ itwēw.”

addition to quantification (8) and the often-related occurrence of a preverbal argument (9).

- (3) ..., **mitoni** *nitawēyih tamwak nēhiyawak kahkiyaw*, ... [HP1:3]  
 mitoni nitawēyiht -am -wak nēhiyaw -ak kahkiyaw  
 IPC VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3p NA 3p QNT  
 really want 3p-0' Cree all  
 “All the Cree really want it.”

- (4) **ēkosi** *isinākwan*, ... [HP4:82]  
 ēkosi isinākwan -Ø  
 IPC VII 0s  
 thus appear.so  
 “That is the way it looks, ...”

- (5) ..., **kapē-kīsik** *niwa-wītapimāw*. [HP5:7]  
 kapē-kīsik ni- wa- wītapim -ā -w  
 IPT 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 all.day RDPL sit.with 1s-3s  
 “... (and) I sat with him all day.”

- (6) ...; **ēkota** *ē-kī-ohtinahk wiya opimācihiwēwin*, ... [HP4:61]  
 ēkota ē- kī- ohtin -ah -k wiya o- pimācihiwēwin  
 PL IPV IPV VTI TH 3s PR.3s 3s NI.0's  
 there CNJ PST obtain.from 3s-0' livelihood  
 “...; that is where they got their livelihood , ...”

- (7) ..., **ēkā** *ē-kiskēyih tamāhk*. [HP2:48]  
 ēkā ē- kiskēyih -am -āhk  
 IPC IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1p  
 NEG CNJ know 1p-0  
 “..., without us knowing about it.”

- (8) ..., **kahkiyaw** *ē-pihcipoh tāt awa mōniyāw*. [HP2:30]  
 kahkiyaw ē- pihcipoh -ā -t awa mōniyāw  
 QNT IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> TH 3s DEM.3s NA.3s  
 all CNJ poison 3s-0' this white-man  
 “..., the Whites have poisoned all.”

- (9) ..., *wiyās ē-osīhtāt* ... [HP4:65]  
 wiyās ē- osīht -ā -t  
 NI.0's IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> TH 3s  
 meat CNJ make 3s-0'  
 “..., they [the Cree] prepared the meat, ...”

With the exception of preverbal non-oblique arguments, which will be addressed in chapter 6, and negation, which will not be addressed in this work, a variety of these particle types will be surveyed in the following sections. Before investigating any of these in particular, however, we will look at a certain kind of verb, or preverbal element, which appears to require an antecedent, often found in immediately preverbal position. These verbs and preverbs are commonly described in the Algonquianist literature as containing “relative roots”, which function to add an oblique argument to the verb.

### 5.1.1 Relative Root Antecedents in P<sup>M-1</sup>

Wolfart (1973:66) mentions the fact that relative root verbs require an antecedent (in the form of a particle, clause, quotation, etc.), at least suggesting the positioning of said antecedent before the verb, as reinforced by the few examples cited. He also lists the most common relative roots as “*it-* ‘thither, thus,’ *oht-* ‘from there,’ and *tahto-* ‘so many’”. Though Cook (2008:63-66) primarily investigates the former two as the most common roots, she also expands the list by adding *isko-* ‘to such an extent’, and recognizes the three forms in which these relative roots occur: as a true verbal root, as a preverb, and as a (postpositional) particle. Table 5.1 (on the following pages) further expands the list of relative roots while providing examples of these “roots” in their three possible uses. The added roots are both less common and less commonly identified as relative roots, though their syntactic behaviour suggests, at least in part, that they too can be included in the current survey. Still, gaps exist in the chart showing the limitations to which these more marginal examples fit the full pattern of the most common roots */it-/* and */oht-/*.

When in the form of particles, relative roots function as adpositions. The most common particles, *isi* “thus, thither” and *ohci* “from, thence”, are exclusively postpositional, illustrating their need for an antecedent, while others, such as *isko* “up to”, *kiki* “with” and *asici* “with”, may favour postpositional placement but are somewhat more variable. *tahto* seems most typically prepositional (e.g. *tahto iskwēw* “each woman”) but its use here is quantificational in nature and thus follows the common position for

**Table 5.1**  
**Form and Function of Plains Cree Relative Roots**

Relative Root	Verb Initial	IPV	IPC
/it-/	<i>itohtē-</i> “go there” <i>ōtēnāhk kī-itohtēw.</i> “S/he went to town.”  <i>ispayi-</i> “happen thus” <i>ēkosi kī-ispayiw.</i> “That’s how it happened.”	<i>isi-</i> “thither” <i>misiwē ē-isi-wēpinahk.</i> “S/he threw them all over the place.”  <i>isi-</i> “thus” <i>tānisi ē-is-āyāt.</i> “How’s his/her health?”	<i>isi</i> “towards” <i>ōtēnāhk isi</i> “towards town”  <i>isi</i> “thus” <i>ēkosi isi</i> “that way”
/oht-/	<i>ohtohtē-</i> “come from there” <i>ōtēnāhk kī-ohtohtēw.</i> “S/he came from town.”	<i>ohci-</i> “source; from there” <i>nīkihk kā-pē-ohci-wayawīt.</i> “S/he came out of my house.”  <i>ohci-</i> “source; by means of” <i>ēwako ohci-pimācihow.</i> “S/he makes a living from that.”	<i>ohci</i> “from; out of” <i>ōtēnāhk ohci</i> “from town”  <i>ohci</i> “by means of” <i>mōhkomān ohci</i> “with a knife”
/tat-/ (cf. /it-/)	<i>tatahkamikisi-</i> “be busy there”	<i>tasi-</i> “for such a time”	<i>tasi</i> “there”
/(i)tahtw-/	<i>itahtopionē-</i> “be such an age; be so many winters old” <i>ayinānēw</i> <i>ē-itahtopionēt.</i> “S/he is 8 years old.”	<i>tahto-</i> “as many as; each, every”	<i>tahto</i> “each, every, so many, so much” cf. <i>tahto iskwēw</i> “each woman”
/iskw-/	<i>iskokāpawi-</i> “stand to such a height”	<i>isko-</i> “so far; to such an extent”	<i>isko</i> “so far; to such an extent” <i>ēwako isko</i> “up to that point”
/kik-/	<i>kikāpohkē-</i> “make soup (with it)” <i>macipakwa</i> <i>ē-kikāpohkēt.</i> “S/he added herbs to the soup.”	--	<i>kiki</i> “with; added” <i>pahkwēsikan kiki</i> “with bannock” cf. <i>kiki sōniyās</i> “with money”

**Table 5.1**  
**Form and Function of Plains Cree Relative Roots**  
 continued

/asit-/	<i>asitahpit-</i> “tie s.t. fast (to it)” <i>āsokanihk</i> <i>kī-asitahpitam</i> <i>ocīmān.</i> “S/he tied his/her canoe to the pier.”	--	<i>asici</i> “with” <i>wiyin asici.</i> “with fat”
/asiw-/	<i>asiwatē-</i> “be inside (it)” <i>otasiwacikanihk</i> <i>ē-asiwatēyik.</i> “It’s inside his pocket.”	--	--

quantifiers preceding nouns. Forms in which these relative roots occur as the initial root of a verb stem, or at least a preverbal particle augmenting a verb stem, also vary as to the extent that they require preverbal position for the oblique referent that they introduce as a verbal complement. However, in most cases, preverbal position is at least strongly preferred. In the discussion that follows, a number of these relative roots will be surveyed and this will include an investigation of some distinct constructions. A particularly important construction is found in direct quotations.

### 5.1.1.1 Quoting Speech, Thought and Names

In traditional Cree narrative and story-telling, whether the legends or sacred stories known as *ātayōhkēwina*, or historical and personal accounts or the telling of news – collectively known as *ācimowina* – the direct quote is favoured over the representation of speech indirectly. The most common quotative verbs are the VAI *itwē-* “say so” and the VTA *it-* “say so to s.o.”. In particular, *itwē-* is often used formulaically in the third person singular present tense Independent form, *itwēw*, as in (10).

- (10) ..., “*wā, nīsta kayās nikī-ocihcikiskisin,*” *itwēw*, ... [HP7:10-11]  
*wā nīsta kayās ni- kī- ocihcikiskisi -n itwē -w*  
 IPC PR.1s IPT 1 IPV VAI 1/2 VAI 3s  
 well long.ago PST remember.back say.so  
 “‘Yes, I too remember a long way back,’ he said.”

This example, from *wāskahikaniwiwiniw-ācimowina / Stories of the House People*, is one of ten such structures, all including *itwēw*, in the very short text 7, “The Longest Memory”, which contains only 35 clauses (counting both the quotatives and the verbs/clauses within the quotes). Other texts in the *House People* collection which contain extensive quotation include: text 5, “A Fast Learner” (30 quotatives: 26 *itwēw*, 4 *nititik*); text 6, “Wishful Thinking” (28 quotatives: 16 *nititāw*, 8 *nititāwak*, 3 *nititikwak*, 1 *nititwān*); text 8, “Rags to Riches” (129 quotatives: 113 *itwēw*, 1 *ē-itwēt*, 1 *k-ēt wēt*, 2 *k-ēsit*, 2 *nititāw*, 9 *nititik*, 1 *nititikonān*); text 9, “The Best Dancer” (39 quotatives: 36 *itwēw*, 1 *nititwānān*; 1 *ē-itwēhk*, 1 *k-ēt iht*); and text 10 “Life of a Trapper” (78 quotatives: 74 *itwēw*, 1 *kī-itwēw*, 1 *nititwān*, 1 *nititāw*, 1 *ē-kī-isit*). Altogether, these texts thus contain 314 quotatives, 259 (or 82.5%) of which are in the form *itwēw*. Regardless of form, which we will return to below, the vast majority of these quotative verbs are immediately preceded by the quotation itself. A very small set of apparent exceptions is illustrated in (11a). Here, the resumptive manner particle, *ēkosi* “thus”, acts as a place-holder in the preverbal position, while the much more extensive sequence of quotation to which it refers, beginning with (11b), follows over the next 14 clauses plus seven instances of the quotative *itwēw*.

- (11) a) *ēkwa ēkosi kī-itwēw ana kisēyiniw.* [HP10:143]  
 ēkwa ēkosi kī- itwē -w ana kisēyiniw  
 IPC IPC IPV VAI 3s DEM.3s NA.3s  
 and thus PST say.so that old.man  
 “And this is what that old man said.”
- b) “*kayās ōma nīstanān,*” *itwēw*, “...,” *itwēw.* [HP10:144-147]  
 “ ‘We too [had it] long ago,’ he said, ‘...,’ he said.”

Similarly, (12) contains another resumptive element, in this case the demonstrative pronoun *ēwako* “that aforementioned”, immediately preceding the quotative verb, *ē-itikocik*. The resumptive pronoun is presumably used here in reference to the immediately preceding clause which is not in the form of a quote. In either case, the quote is still preceded by an element representing its antecedent.

- (12) *ēwako ēkā kā-miywāsik, ēwako ē-kī-itikocik okēhtē-ayimiwāwa,* ... [HP2:22-23]  
 ēwako ēkā kā- miywāsin -k ēwako  
 PR.0s IPC IPV VII 0s PR.0s  
 that NEG CNJ be.good that



ē-	kī-	it	-iko	-cik	o-	kēhtē-ayim	-iwāw-a
IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3p	3	NDA	3p 3'
CNJ	PST	say.so.to	3'-3p			elder	

**“They were told by their elders that this is not right, ...”**

(i.e. ‘That this is not right, they were told that by their elders.’)

Finally, sharing features of both (11a) and (12), (13) does not appear to have a true antecedent specified prior to the quotative, but has a very extensive quotation placed after the quotative verb.

(13) *ēwako anima ohci kā-itwēyāhk, ē-kī-kanātahk ōma kitaskīnaw ...*

[HP2:49-50]

ēwako	anima	ohci	kā-	itwē	-yāhk
PR.0s	IPC	IPL	IPV	VAI <sub>1</sub>	1p
that	FOC	from	CNJ	say.so	

ē-	kī-	kanātan	-k	ōma	kit-	askiy	-inaw
IPV	IPV	VII	0s	DEM.0s	2	NI.0s	21
CNJ	PST	be.clean		this		land	

“That is why we [the two speakers] said that it was clean, this land of ours, ...”

In this case, the entire situation being referred to is again not in the form of an actual quote. It also appears to have been postposed, perhaps because of its weight, to a later position, as per Dik’s (1997a:411-412) “language independent preferred order of constituents” (LIPOC) principle. This pattern of placing a heavy constituent later in the clause has already been seen with reference to Cree complement clauses, but it is quite uncommon with quotations in Cree. Such a pattern, when used at all, can also include the preverbal placement of the non-resumptive manner particle *omisi* “this way”, with right dislocation of the actual quotation, as in (14). In contrast, resumptive *ēkosi* is more commonly placed in preverbal position to sum up a preceding quote or sequence of quotation, as in (15) and (16).

(14) *omisi nika-itwān: “...”*

omisi	ni-	ka-	itwē	-n
IPC	1	IPV	VAI	1/2
this.way		FUT	say.so	

“I will say it thus: ‘...’”

(15) *ēkosi kī-itwēw.*

ēkosi	kī-	itwē-	-w
IPC	IPV	VAI	3s
thus	PST	say.so	

“That’s what s/he said.”

(16) *ēkosi piko ē-wī-itwēyān.*

[HP6:59]

ēkosi	piko	ē-	wī-	itwē-	-yān
IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	VAI	1s
thus	only	CNJ	PRSP	say.so	

“That’s all I’m going to say.”

Thus, in over 300 examples in the selected House People texts, virtually every example has a quote immediately preceding the verb, and the apparent exceptions either have a place holder in preverbal position, or exceptionally use displacement to postverbal/clause-final position, or both.<sup>73</sup> The near exceptionless placement of quotes in immediately preverbal position is fairly remarkable for a “free word order language”, especially given the ease with which quotatives can be freely placed before (17a) or after (17b) quotations in the strict word order language, English.

(17) a) She said, “It’s hot in here.”

b) “It’s hot in here,” she said.

Furthermore, in instances of multiply embedded quotes, the pattern of preverbal position is strictly maintained in Cree discourse.<sup>74</sup>

(18) ‘.... “ēkotē ay-itāpīhkan!” nititāw awa niskīsik,’ itwēw.

ēkotē	ay-	itāpi	-hkan	nit-	it	-ā	-w
PL	IPV	VAI	2s.IMP-DEL	1	VTA	DIR	3s
over.there	RDPL	look.there			say.so.to		1s-3s

awa	ni-	skīsikw	itwē	-w
DEM.3s	1	NDI.3s	VAI	3s
this		eye	say.so	

“ ‘ .... “Take a look around over there!” I told my eye,’ he said.”

<sup>73</sup> Only five other possible exceptions to this pattern occur in the texts, and these will be discussed subsequently in the appropriate sections. However, all of these additional exceptions also have explanations grounded in discourse-oriented Cree word order principles.

<sup>74</sup> See also Wolfart (1998:173).

In (18), the entire quote (including an inner quote) is the oblique argument preceding *itwēw*. The embedded quote, “*ēkota ay-itāpihkān!*” is the oblique argument preceding *nititāw*, which is in turn followed in this instance by specification of the addressee in P<sup>M+1</sup>.<sup>75</sup> Even within the embedded quote, the locative proform *ēkotē* “over there” immediately precedes the relative root verb *itāpi-* “look there”, continuing the pattern. This will be more fully explored in the following subsections on the relative roots in non-quotative function.

The form of quotative verbs also deserves comment. For the most part, Cree quotative verbs can take the full range of verbal forms appropriate to them (i.e. *itwē-* can occur in all possible VAI forms, *it-* in all VTA forms). In the formalized storytelling in many of the House People texts, however, the vast majority of quotatives occur in the underspecified Independent form, *itwēw*. Though this is appropriate for the third person referent being quoted, it is underspecified in the absence of a past tense marker, and perhaps also in its appearance in the Independent Order, so much rarer in all other contexts than the Conjunct. Another apparent example of underspecification occurs in text 6, “Wishful Thinking”, where the quotative *nititāw* “I tell him/her” occurs twice as often as *nititāwak* “I tell them”. Again, both are also used without overt tense-marking despite obvious past time reference, as in (19). The plurality of the second argument is more often unmarked, especially in the earlier part of the text (see (20)), despite the fact that the participant being told is in fact always plural. In contrast, however, the less common rejoinder, *nititikwak* “they tell me”, always marks the plural in this text, as in (21) which follows (20) immediately.

- (19) “*ōta nāway ōma kā-ispayik ōma, ē-kī-kisiwāhit pēyak kisēyiniw, nīci-kisēyiniw, mitoni oti,*” ***nititāwak ōki awāsisak,*** ... [HP6:6-8]

nit-	it	-ā	-wak	ōki	awāsis	-ak
1	VTA	DIR	3p	DEM.3p	NA	3p
	say.so.to	1s-3p		these	child	

“ ‘...’ I told these children, ....”

- (20) “*ā, nōsisimitik, kiwī-ācimostātināwāw pēyak kīkway ācimowinis, anohc mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kisēyiniw,*” ***nititāw.*** [HP6:11-13]

nit-	it	-ā	-w
1	VTA	DIR	3s
	say.so.to	1s-3s	

“ ‘...,’ I said to them.”

<sup>75</sup> In this instance, a normally inanimate noun, the dependent body part *-skīsikw-* “eye”, is treated as animate by the speaker and marked with the animate demonstrative *awa* “this” in order to allow it to act as an addressee.

- (21) “*kīkwāy ēkwa,*” *nititīkwak.* [HP:14-15]  
 nit- it -ikw -ak  
 I VTA DIR 3p  
 say.so.to 3p-1s  
 “ ‘...,’ they said to me.”

With regard to this underspecification, especially of the form *itwēw*, it is interesting to note the recent analysis of *itwē-* as a marker of evidentiality. Blain and Déchaine (2007) characterize *itwē-* specifically as a quotative or “presentational” evidential, and furthermore suggest both the quotative verb *itwē-* and the reportative evidential *ēsa* commonly occur in second position. The importance of second position in Plains Cree, including the position of some evidentials, will be discussed below and in Chapter 6. For the time being, we can note again the formal similarity of  $P^{M-1}$  to  $P^1$  if only one element precedes  $P^M$ , and thus the formal similarity of  $P^M$  to  $P^2$  in the same contexts. However, there are rare examples, such as (23b), in which the quote and quotative are also preceded by elements much more commonly found in  $P^1$  and/or  $P^{M-n}$ . The context for (23) is set up by the question in (22) which itself follows a father’s instruction to his daughter to run and ask his brother a favour, and the daughter’s return from the errand.

- (22) *ā, tānisi ē-itwēt?*<sup>76</sup>  
 ā tānisi ē- itwē -t  
 IPC IPC IPV VAI 3s  
 well how CNJ say.so  
 “Well, what did he say?”
- (23) a) “*namōya*” *itwēw nōhcāwīs,*  
 namōya itwē -w n- ohcāwīs  
 IPC VAI 3s 1 NDA.3s  
 no say.so paternal.uncle  
 “Uncle said, ‘No’,
- b) *māka nikāwīs “āha” itwēw.*  
 māka ni- kāwīs āha itwē -w  
 IPC 1 NDA.3s IPC VAI 3s  
 but maternal.aunt yes say.so  
 “But Auntie said, “Yes”.”

<sup>76</sup> The position of *tānisi* in complement clauses and questions will be discussed respectively in section 5.1.1.2 below and in Chapter 6.

In particular, the placement of the contrastive *nikāwīs* preceding the quote mirrors other relative root and contrastive focus structures still to be explored subsequently. Examples such as (23b) thus provide evidence that the quote is in P<sup>M-1</sup> rather than an earlier position such as P<sup>1</sup>, and the quotative verb functions still as a verb rather than an evidential particle.<sup>77</sup> It remains true, though, that such examples are very rare and this undoubtedly has to do with both the complex structure of quotatives being placed in preverbal position, and the highly formulaic structure of quotative storytelling. The House People texts illustrate the latter point in that *itwēw* is used most commonly to repeatedly emphasize the fact that every other word being uttered is quoted from a previous speaker. In being faithful to the original narration, there is little room for additional information beyond the quoted material.

In terms of the complexity of quotes themselves, they can take the full range of clausal, extra-clausal and sentential forms found in normal discourse. Anything that can be said, can be quoted. The examples in (23) illustrated the one extreme, a single word quote, while the following examples illustrate some of the more complex possibilities. In (24), the quote contains two clauses, a greeting and a question. In (25), the quote contains a clause preceded by an interjection, *wahwā* “oh my”, and including a verb with premodifying quantifier phrase *ayiwāk mistahi* “very much” and postmodifying second argument *awa nitōkimām* “this boss of mine”. The quote in example (26) also contains two complete clauses, the first of which is preceded by an interjection, *ā* “oh”, and followed by a vocative, *nimosōm* “Grandfather!”, while the second is a question.

(24) “*tānisi, nimosōm! kiwīsakēyihētēn cī?*” *ē-isicik māna*. [HP6:79-81]

tānisi	ni-	mosōm	ki-	wīsakēyihētēn	-ē	-n	cī
IPC	1	NDA.3s	2	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2	Q
how		grandfather		be.hurt.by	2s-0		

ē-	it	-it	-ik	māna
IPV	VTA	DIR	3p	IPC
CNJ	say.so.to	3p-1s		usually

“ ‘How is it, grandfather! Does it hurt?’ they always say to me.”

<sup>77</sup> Another even more complex example can be found in the following, supplied by a consultant.

i) *kētahtawē pēyak ana nāpēsis* “Stick ’em up” *itēw anihī owīcēwākanisa*, “Cowboys” *ē-isi-mētawēcik*.

“Suddenly this one boy said, ‘Stick ’em up,’ to his companions, as they were playing ‘Cowboys’.”

- (25) “*wahwā, ayiwāk mistahi nitakahkēyih tamihāw awa nitōkimām,*”  
*itwēw, ...* [HP8:165]<sup>78</sup>

wahwā	ayiwāk	mistahi	ni-	takahkēyih tamih	-ā	-w
IPC	IPC	IPC	1	VTA	DIR	3s
oh.my	more	much		please		1s-3s

awa	nit-	ōkimām	itwē	-w
DEM.3s	1	NDA.3s	VAI	3s
this		boss	say.so	

“ ‘Oh my, I greatly pleased my boss,’ he said, ...”

- (26) “*ā, ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoyin, nimosōm! kīkwāy ēkwa wā-asamacik,*”  
*nititikwak ōki osk-āyak ē-pim-ācimostawakik ēkwa.* [HP6:75-78]

ā	ēkosi	ani	ē-	kitimaho	-yin	ni-	mosōm
IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV	VAI	2s	1	NDA.3s
well	thus	!	CNJ	be.pitiful			grandfather

kīkwāy	ēkwa	wā-	asam	-at	-ik	nit-	it	-ikw	-ak
IPC	IPT	IPV	VTA	DIR	3p	1	VTA	INV	3p
what	then	RDPL	feed	2s-3p			say.so.to	3p-1s	

“ ‘Well, in that case you will be in rough shape, grandfather! What would you feed them?’ these young ones said to me as I was telling them this story.”

Further examples could be supplied, but these suffice to illustrate a wide range of clausal structure contained within quotes. As the examples show, the quote precedes the verb of quotation irrespective of the complexity of the quote itself.

Finally, we can note some additional relative root verbs which follow the same pattern as quotatives. These are verbs of thought and verbs of naming or calling. Although the evidential status of such verbs as VTI<sub>1</sub> *itēyih*- “think so of s.t.” and VTA *itēyim*- “think so of s.o.” may require independent justification (as through the use of reportative evidential *ēsa*, cf. (28)), the syntactic structure of placing the quote immediately preceding the verb is maintained. (27) and (28) illustrate this pattern, although this is not as common with relative root verbs of thought as it is with the quotative stems.

<sup>78</sup> I have supplied a comma after the interjection, *wahwā*, that was not present in the original edition. However, such an interjection is not integrated into the clause internal syntax of Cree any more than “ouch” is in English.

- (27) “*wā, mahti nika-nitawi-kwāskwēpicikān sīp̄thk!*” *k-ētēyihthak,*’  
*itwēw.* [HP5:28-29]  
 wā mahti ni- ka- nitawi- kwāskwēpicikē -n sīpiy -ihk  
 IPC IPC 1 IPV IPV VAI 1/2 NI LOC  
 well let’s.see FUT go angle river  
 kā- itēyihth -ah -k itwē -w  
 IPV VT<sub>I</sub><sub>1</sub> TH 3s VAI 3s  
 CNJ think.so.of say.so  
 “ “Oh yes, I will go down to the river to fish!” he thought,’ he said.”

- (28) *awīna ētokwē ōma omēskanaw?*’ *itēyihtham ēsa awa nāpēsis.*  
 [Smith 1989:46-47]  
 awīna ētokwē ōma o- mēskanaw itēyihth -am -Ø  
 PR.3s IPC DEM.0’s 3s NI.0’s VTI TH 3s  
 who I.guess this road think 3s-0’  
 ēsa awa nāpēsis  
 IPC DEM.3s NA.3s  
 EVID this boy  
 “ ‘I wonder whose path this is?’ the boy thought.”

More common with such verbs are examples in which, as was already shown for the quotatives of speaking, an adverbial (29), pronominal (30) or placeholder (31) occurs in preverbal position.

- (29) “*ēy, ēkāy nānitaw itēyihth,* my girl,” *nititik* Alec Bishop, ...  
 [Bear 1998:134-135]  
 ēy ēkāy nānitaw itēyihth -a *my girl* nit- it -ik  
 IPC IPC IPC VT<sub>I</sub><sub>1</sub> TH 1 VTA INV  
 hey NEG anything think.so 2s-0 say.so.to 3s-1s  
 “ ‘Hey, do not think about it, my girl,’ Alec Bishop said to me, ...”
- (30) ..., *tāpiskōt namōya kīkway ē-itēyihthakik onēhiyāwiwiniwāw.*  
 [HP1:13]  
 tāpiskōt namōya kīkway ē- itēyihth -ah -kik  
 IPC IPC PR.0’s IPV VT<sub>I</sub><sub>1</sub> TH 3p  
 seems NEG something CNJ think.so 3p-0’  
 o- nēhiyāwiwin -iwāw  
 3 NI.0’s 2p/3p  
 Creeness  
 “ ..., it is as if their Creeness means nothing to them.”

- (31) *nīst ākosi nititēyihtēn, ē-pē-itāpit mān ānima ita k-āpiyāhk.*  
[Bear 1998:130-131]

nīsta	ēkosi	nit-	itēyiht	-ē	-n
PR.1s	IPC	1	VII	TH	1/2
	thus		think.so		

“I thought so, too, as it looked at us where we sat.”

In (31), the antecedent is in the preceding discourse, while *ēkosi* holds its place in preverbal position. In (32), the first element occurs in preverbal position with the remainder of the thought postposed.

- (32) “*misawāc, ē-itēyihtamān, ayisiyiniw anima k-ēsi-pimātisit aya, ...*”  
[Minde 1997:6-7]

misawāc	ē-	itēyiht	-am	-ān	...
IPC	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1s	
anyway	CNJ	think.so	1s-0		

“‘Anyway,’ I think, ‘the way that people live, ...’

Turning to relative root verbs of naming, (such as VAI *isiyīhkāso*- “be so named”, VII *isiyīhkātē*- “be called such”, etc.), we again find an extremely strong tendency to place the name of things in preverbal position. Examples (33-36) not only illustrate this, but the latter three examples also demonstrate the occurrence of a variety of other elements preceding the quoted name, which cannot therefore be confused with placement in P<sup>1</sup>.

- (33) ..., *nētē aya, ‘Nelson House’ isiyīhkātēw, ...* [HP10:18]  

nētē	aya	<i>Nelson House</i>	isiyīhkātē	-w
PL	IPC	NI.0s	VII	0s
over.yonder	umm	Nelson House	be.called.so	

 “..., at a place called Nelson House, ...”

- (34) ..., *ēwako awa onīkānohtēw ‘pinkow’ kī-isiyīhkāso, ...* [HP9:28]  

ēwako	awa	onīkānohtēw	pinkow	kī-	isiyīhkāso	-w
DEM.3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VAI	3s
that	this	lead-dog	Bingo	PST	be.called.so	

 “..., the lead-dog was called Bingo, ...”

- (35) *ēwako awa ‘piyēsīs’ kī-isiyīhkāso awa kā-wī-ācimak; ..* [HP8:1-2]  

ēwako	awa	‘piyēsīs’	kī-	isiyīhkāso	-w
DEM.3s	DEM.3s	NA.3s	IPV	VAI	3s
that	this	Bird	PST	be.so.named	



awa	kā-	wī-	ācim	-ak
PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR
this	CNJ	PRSP	tell.about	1s-3s

“His name was *piyēsīs*, the one of whom I will tell; ...”

- (36) *ēkwa wiyawāw kayās kikēhtē-ayiminawak ‘nīmihitowikamik’*  
*kī-isiyīhkātamwak – ...* [HP3:18]
- |      |         |          |     |            |       |     |
|------|---------|----------|-----|------------|-------|-----|
| ēkwa | wiyawāw | kayās    | ki- | kēhtē-ayim | -inaw | -ak |
| IPC  | PR.3p   | IPT      | 2   | NDA        | 21    | 3p  |
| and  |         | long.ago |     | elder      |       |     |
- 
- |                  |     |                  |     |      |
|------------------|-----|------------------|-----|------|
| nīmihitowikamikw | kī- | isiyīhkāt        | -am | -wak |
| NI.0’s           | IPV | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH  | 3p   |
| Dance-Lodge      | PST | call.so          |     |      |
- “..., and our elders long ago called it a ‘Dance-Lodge’ – ...”

Although Cook (2008:66, fn. 10) cites the acceptability among some of her informants of examples in which the name can follow such verbs, all consultants I have questioned with regard to such examples strongly disprefer or completely reject this. It is perhaps possible, now that few if any monolingual speakers of Cree remain, that the postverbal pattern is beginning to appear simply due to interference from the growing dominance of English. Even so, textual examples in Cree narrative are still lacking for the placement of names following these relative root verbs. At best, we might occasionally see again a pattern present with quotatives where a placeholder occurs in preverbal position with the name postposed.

- (37) *an āna wiya omisi isiyīhkāsow, ‘mahkikotēwi-kispakasakēwi-atāmipēko-kohkōs’.*

ana	ana	wiya	omisi	isiyīhkāso	-w
PR.3s	IPC	IPC	IPC	VAI	3s
that	FOC	FOC	this.way	be.named	

mahkikotēwi-kispakasakēwi-atāmipēko-kohkōs  
 NA.3s  
 hippopotamus

“That one there is called, a ‘big-nosed, thick-skinned, underwater pig’.”

Even this is fairly rare, perhaps because most names are not of a complexity requiring displacement to postverbal position following LIPOC.

After surveying these verbs of quotation, thought and naming, it is hopefully clear that immediately preverbal or P<sup>M-1</sup> is the preferred position for the oblique quote or name referenced by the relative root. However, this does not necessarily imply that this is a pattern specific to relative root verbs. In order to demonstrate that the pattern is different in the absence of the relative root, we can compare the preceding examples with some semantically similar forms involving verbs of “telling”, such as VTI<sub>1</sub> *wīht-* “tell s.t.”, VTA *wīhtamaw-* “tell (it) to s.o.”, etc. With such verbs, quotes are fairly rare, with the subject of what is told usually represented indirectly by means of a complement clause. In such cases, as in (38) and (39), the complement follows the verb.

- (38) *ē-wīhtamawācīk tānisi ē-wī-itōtahkīk, ...* [HP3:32-33]  
 ē- wīhtamaw -ā -cīk tānisi ē- wī- itōt -ah -kīk  
 IPV VTA DIR 3p IPC IPV IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3p  
 CNJ tell.about.to 3p-3’ how CNJ PRSP do.so 3p-0’  
 “..., announcing what they would do, ...”

- (39) *...; ē-kī-wīhtamāwasocīk tānisi kīk-ēsi-pimātīsīt osk-āyīsīyīniw, ...* [HP2:14-15]  
 ē- kī- wīhtamāwaso -cīk tānisi  
 IPV IPV VAI 3p IPC  
 CNJ PST tell.one’s.children how

kīka- isi- pimātīsī -t oskī-āyīsīyīniw  
 IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s  
 CNJ thus live young.person

“...; as they told their children how young people should live, ...”

Example (40) and (41) do include rare quotes, but these too follow the verb. As most evident in (41), but present in all of these examples, the complement clause appears in clause-final position (P<sup>F</sup>), as was found in Chapter 4, and no preverbal placeholder is required.

- (40) *ōkī kēhtē-ayak ē-kī-wīhtamāwasocīk, “ēwako kīya ka-tōtēn anohc  
 kā-kīsīkāk!”* [HP4:19-21]  
 ōkī kēhtē-ay -ak ē- kī- wīhtamāwaso -cīk  
 DEM.3p NA 3p IPV IPV VAI 3p  
 these elder CNJ PST tell.one’s.children

ēwako kiya ka- tōt -ē -n anohc kā- kīsikā -k  
 PR.0s PR.2s IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2 IPT IPV VII 0s  
 this you 2.FUT do.so 2s-0 now CNJ be.day  
 “..., the elders told their children, “This is what you will do today!” ”

(41) ..., *ē-kī-pē-wīhtahkik aniki kisēyiniwak*: “*ēkosi ōma wī-ispayin*, ...”  
 [HP4:88-89]

ē- kī- pē- wīht -ah -kik aniki kisēyiniw -ak  
 IPV IPV IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3p DEM.3p NA 3p  
 CNJ PST come tell 3p-0’ those old.man

ēkosi ōma wī- ispayin -Ø  
 IPC PR.0s IPV VII 0s  
 thus this PRSP happen.so

“..., the old men had predicted them all along: ‘This is what is going to happen, ...’ ”

Thus, to conclude this subsection, we have seen a clear preference for if not complete restriction to preverbal position for the oblique antecedents of relative root verbs of quotation and naming. This is not a pattern shared by verbs of telling which lack the relative root, strongly suggesting that it is the antecedent of the relative root which is being placed in P<sup>M-1</sup>. This is a pattern shared with relative root verbs in general as will be described in the remainder of section 5.1.1.

### 5.1.1.2 Other Instances of /it-/ ~ isi- ~ isi

The relative root /it-/ occurs in a large number of verbs as the stem “initial” morpheme joined to (“medials” and) “finals”. In such cases, it primarily refers to antecedents with locative (e.g. *itohtē-* “go there”) or manner (e.g. *ispayi-* “happen so”) function (cf. Wolvengrey 2001:37-38, 40-44). /it-/ can also be fairly freely prefixed to existing vowel-initial stems to create additional relative root stems (e.g. *atoskē-* “work”, *itatoskē-* “work thus”). Alternatively, the preverb form of /it-/, *isi-* “thus” can also precede any stem to add an oblique manner reference.

When the relative root /it-/ occurs, the antecedent will typically occur in preverbal position, as with quotatives and names. This is true of manner (42) and locative (43) antecedents.

- (42) ...,
- āsay mitoni pītos nititamahcihon*
- , ... [HP10:84]

āsay	mitoni	pītos	nit-	itamahciho	-n
IPT	IPC	IPC	1	VAI	1/2
already	really	different		feel.so	

“..., I felt much better already, ...”

- (43) ...,
- ōtēnāhk ē-wī-itohtēyān ici*
- ; ...

[Lafond and Longneck 1992:252-253]

ōtēnaw	-ihk	ē-	wī-	itohtē	-yān	ici
NI	LOC	IPV	IPV	VAI	1s	IPT
town		CNJ	PRSP	go.there		later

“..., I’m going to town later; ...”

Additionally, the preverbal antecedent can itself be a placeholder referring to a previously specified or deictically indicated antecedent. Again, examples of manner (44) and location (45) can be found in immediately preverbal position.

- (44)
- ēkwa namōya ēkosi ta-kī-itōtahkik osk-āyak*
- . [HP1:14]

ēkwa	namōya	ēkosi	ta-	kī-	itōt	-ah	-kik	osk-āy	-ak
IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI	TH	3p	NA	3p
and	NEG	thus	CNJ	PST	do.so	3p-0’		young.person	

“Now, the young people should not do that.”

- (45) --
- nitōtēminānak ēkotē itāmowak ōta kā-māyahkamikahk*
- 

[HP5:3-4]

ni-	tōtēm	-inān	-ak	ēkotē	itāmo	-wak
1	NDA	1p	3p	IPT	VAI	3p
	friend			there	flee.there	

ōta	kā-	māyahkamikan	-k
IPT	IPV	VII	0s
here	CNJ	happen.bad	

“-- friends of ours had fled there at the time of the trouble [the Riel rebellion] --”

Evidence is very slim for the presence of corresponding manner and locative relative/ interrogative pronouns in complement clauses since these are usually the only preverbal element present in the complement clause, as in (46).

- (46) (*ēkosi namōya kikiskēyihētēnānaw*) **tānitē** *ē-isi-pimohtēcik ēkwa*  
*kitōsk-āyiminawak, ...* [HP2:85-86]

tānitē	ē-	isi-	pimohtē	-cik	ēkwa
PL	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p	IPT
where	CNJ	there	walk		now

kit-	oski-ayim	-inaw	-ak
2	NDA	21	3p
	young.person		

“(So we do not know) where our young people are going, ...”

However, there is some evidence that even these elements occur in immediately preverbal position. In (47), the clause in question is the complement of the main clause verb *nakacihētāw*. This would contrast with the obligatory placement of interrogative pronouns in initial position, as will be detailed in Chapter 6.

- (47) (*cikēmō pē-nakacihētāw ‘nōtikwēsiw’ k-ēsiyīhkāsot,*) *kahkiyaw kīkway*  
*tānis ē-pē-isi-manācihtāt.* [Kā-Nīpitēhtēw 1998:46]

kahkiyaw	kīkway	tānis	ē-	pē-	isi-	manāciht	-ā	-t
QNT	NI.0	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>2</sub>	TH	3s
all	thing	how	CNJ	come	thus	respect	3s-0'	

“(Of course the ‘old woman’, as she was called, had come to be experienced) in always treating everything with respect.”

[i.e. she was experienced in ‘how to treat everything with respect’]

Though preverbal position is a very strong tendency, other positions are possible. One option involving clause-initial position (P<sup>1</sup>) will be discussed in section 5.4, while another, more infrequent option is exemplified in (48). Here, the locative complement of the verb is represented not by a locative particle or noun but by an entire clause, and this clause, due to its weight, occurs in postverbal position.

- (48) *nitawi-itohtēw sīpiy ōma itē ē-pimihtiniyik, ...* [HP5:31-32]

nitawi-	itohtē	-w	sīpiy	ōma	itē	ē-	pimihtin	-iyik
IPV	VAI	3s	NI.0's	IPC	IPL	IPV	VII	0's
go	go.there		river	FOC	where	CNJ	lie.along	

“He went to where the river was flowing by, ...”

Thus, the same patterns found for verbs of quotation and naming are also present for other verbs containing the /it-/ root (or the preverb form *isi-*) with

P<sup>M-1</sup> as the most important position. This pattern remains fairly consistent for other relative roots as well.

### 5.1.1.3 /oht-/ ~ ohci- ~ ohci

The second most common relative root is /oht-/, which can also occur as a preverb /ohci-/ and postpositional particle *ohci*, primarily marking locative, source or instrument (cf. Cook 2008:63). Each of these forms are exemplified in (49) through (51), with the antecedent in preverbal position including the entire locative phrase with postpositional *ohci* in (51).

(49) ..., *nipiy piko ita ē-kī-ohtahipēt*, ... [HP4:111]

nipiy	piko	ita	ē-	kī-	ohtahipē	-t
NI.0's	IPL		IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
water	anywhere	CNJ	PAST	dip.liquid.from		

“..., they could get water anywhere, ...”

(50) ..., *nayēstaw paskwāwimostoswa ē-kī-ohci-pimātisicik ēkospī ōki ayisiyiniwak*. [HP3:5]

nayēstaw	paskwāwimostosw	-a	ē-	kī-	ohci-	pimātisi	-cik
IPC	NA		3'	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
only	buffalo		CNJ	PST	from	live	

ēkospī	ōki	ayisiyiniw	-ak
PT	DEM.3p	NA	3p
at.that.time	these	person	

“..., and the people lived only on buffalo then.”

(51) “..., *ayis ēkota ohci kiy-ōhciyākēyān*,” [HP6:69]

ayis	ēkota	ohci	kiy-	ohciyākē	-yān
IPC	PL	IPL	IPV	VAI	1s
because	there	from		win.from.there	

“‘..., for with this I would surely score,’ ...”

The postposition *ohci* provides somewhat more freedom, however, since the only requirement is for it to occur following its antecedent. If this is not bound to the verb and verbal position in P<sup>M</sup>, then the phrase containing *ohci* need not occur preverbally, as in (52).

(52) ..., *mīna wīkiwāwa ē-kī-osīhtamāsocik pahkēkinwa ohci*. [HP4:69]

mīna	w-	īk	-iwāw	-a	ē-	kī-	osīhtamāso	-cik
IPC	3	NDI	2p/3p	0'p	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
and		home			CNJ	PST	make.for.self	

pahkēkinw	-a	ohci
NI	0'p	IPC
hide		from

“..., and they also made their own homes with hides.”

#### 5.1.1.4 Other Relative Roots

The same patterns already exemplified for /*it-*/ and /*oht-*/ are also evident for other roots, only some of which are commonly included in the list of relative roots. Due to the paucity of data on some of these in the House People texts, a full discussion of each one will not be attempted, but several observations will be offered.

An apparent root /*tat-*/ is attested in a very small number of verbs including VAI *tatahkamikisi-* “be busy there”, VAI *tatāhpi-* “laugh there”, and possibly VTI<sub>1</sub> *tatwēwit-* “make noise while others are speaking”.<sup>79</sup> This also seems to be related to a free particle *tasi* “there”, which should presumably in turn be related to the homonymous preverb *tasi-* “for such a time, for the duration”. Note, however, that there is a mixing of locative and temporal meanings. In the locative function, /*tat-*/ would overlap with /*it-*/ and the example in (53) would seem to confirm this, allowing for the locative interpretation, while the similar and more common VAI *itahkamikisi-* “do things thus, be thus occupied” containing /*it-*/ is typically restricted to the manner interpretation.

- (53) *wā, ēkota ē-tatahkamikisiyān ayi, ...* [HP8:36]  

wā	ēkota	ē-	tatahkamikisi	-yān	ayi
IPC	PL	IPV	VAI	1s	IPC
well	there	CNJ	be.busy.there		umm

“Well, I was busy there, ...”

As will be a common refrain with regard to the more marginal relative roots, additional data will be required to provide a more accurate picture of /*tat-*/, and especially the particle and preverbs *tasi* and *tasi-*.

Another root that may be influenced by /*it-*/ is the root /*tahtw-*/ “so many” which occurs in the extended form /*itahtw-*/ in a limited number of forms. Most prominent is the VAI stem *itahtopiponē-* “be so many years (winters)

<sup>79</sup> It is possible that what appears as a relative root /*tat-*/ is derived from reduplication of verb stems which originally contained the relative root /*it-*/, but which lost the initial vowel, leaving an initial [t] to be reduplicated. Along these lines, we can find /*t-*/initial stems like *tāstapī-* “be in a hurry; be active and quick” and a reduplicated counterpart *tatāstapī-* “be quick”. Such an origin would explain the locative interpretation, but not necessarily the related particle *tasi* which instead points to a Proto-Algonquian root \**taθ-*.

old” (and its alternate form *tahtopiponē-*) occurs quite consistently with the age specified in preverbal position, as in (54).

- (54) ..., *ayinānēw ē-itahtopiponēt*, ... [Bear 1998:124-125]  
 ayinānēw ē- itahtopiponē -t  
 NUM IPV VAI 3s  
 eight CNJ be.so.many.years.old  
 “..., she was eight years old, ...”

In most other cases, the root */tahtw-/* more commonly indicates an indefinite number (i.e. “so many; quite a number”) or even a universal quantifier (cf. *tahto* “each, every”, *tahtwāw* “each time, every time”), and does not require further specification in the way that other relative roots do. However, certain additional verb stems, such as VAI *tahtotipiskwē-* “spend so many nights”, at least have the potential to be used in the same way. One additional particle that does act consistently as a relative root is *tahtwāpisk* “dollar(s)” (literally: “so much metal”) which allows for a preceding numeric specification of the dollar amount (e.g. *nīsitanaw tahtwāpisk* “20 dollars”).

The root */iskw-/* “so far, up to, to such an extent” is considerably more productive and a fairly large number of verb stems are built including this as the initial element (cf. Wolvengrey 2001:38-39). Unfortunately, it is only the particle *isko* which is at all prevalent in the texts consulted, so that little can be concluded from the available data. One example, given in (55), does suggest the preverbal ordering, though in this case the preverbal specification of location is separated from the relative root verb *ē-iskwāpēkamok* by the quotative *itwēw*. It is therefore possible, as suggested by the translation provided in the original, that the locative must here be treated as an extra-clausal constituent, with perhaps a hand gesture sufficing as the antecedent for */iskw-/*.

- (55) ..., ‘*mitoni ākwāc ōta naniwāhk ōta,*’ *itwēw*, ‘*ē-iskwāpēkamok ōma*  
*niskīsik,*’ *itwēw*. [HP10:62-63]  
 mitoni ākwāc ōta n- aniwāy -ihk ōta itwē -w  
 IPC IPL PL 1 NDI LOC PL VAI 3s  
 really way.down here cheek here say.so  
  
 ē- iskwāpēkamo(n) -k ōma ni- skīsikw itwē -w  
 IPV VII 0s DEM.0s 1 NDI.0s VAI 3s  
 CNJ run.so.far this eye say.so  
 “..., ‘it was hanging way down my cheek here,’ he said, ‘my eye was  
 hanging this far,’ he said.”



Consultants also more readily accept examples with a preverbal antecedent, as in (56), so this does seem a preferred strategy at least in out-of-the-blue contexts.

- (56) *nikotwāsik misit ē-iskokāpawit ana pēyak nāpēw.*  
 nikotwāsik misit ē- iskokāpawi -t ana pēyak nāpēw  
 NUM IPC IPV VAI 3s DEM.3s NUM NA  
 six feet CNJ stand.so.tall that one man  
 “That one man stands six feet tall.”

Two additional roots, /*kik-*/ and /*asit-*/, were included in the earlier Table 5.1 due to the occasional use of the corresponding particles, *kiki* and *asici*, as postpositions, in which case they both are translatable as “with”.<sup>80</sup> However, these are truly marginal as relative roots since the preverbal position is by no means obligatory nor is the root always associated with an oblique argument at all. The VTI<sub>1</sub> *kikisk-* “wear s.t.” and VTA *kikiskaw-* “wear s.o.”, for example refer simply to the article of clothing as the second, obligatory argument, as illustrated in (57).

- (57) ..., *niwī-pē-kikiskēn ēkwa pahkēkinwēsākay kīhtwām*, ... [HP6:64]  
 ni- wī- pē- kikisk -ē -n ēkwa  
 1 IPV IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2 IPT  
 PRSP come wear 1s-0 now  
  
 pahkēkinwēsākay kīhtwām  
 NI.0s IPT  
 buckskin.coat again  
 “..., I am going to wear my buckskin coat next week, ...”

Two examples that appear to permit the relative root reading are given in (58) and (59). In (58), the preverbal locative *kwāskwēpicikanihk* is distinct from the second argument and indicates the place where the second argument will be attached, as per the VTI<sub>2</sub> *kikamohtā-* “attach s.t. (to something)”.

- (58) ..., *kwāskwēpicikanihk ka-kikamohtāt*, ... [HP5:35]  
 kwāskwēpicikan -ihk ka- kikamoht -ā -t  
 NI LOC IPV VTI<sub>2</sub> TH 3s  
 fish-hook CNJ attach.to 3s-0’  
 ..., that he could put on the hook, ...

<sup>80</sup> It has been suggested that *kiki* is possibly restricted to use with ingredients or things “added to”, while *asici* is somewhat freer and can also mark an associative.

In (59), the VAI *kikāpohkē-* permits the oblique *macipakwa* as the ingredient to be added in the process of making soup.

(59) ..., *ēkota macipakwa ē-kikāpohkēt.*

[Lafond and Longneck 1992:288-289]

ēkota	macipakw	-a	ē-	kikāpohkē	-t
PL	NI	0'p	IPV	VAI	3s
there	weed		CNJ	add.to.soup	
“..., she used herbs to make the soup.”					
[i.e. she added herbs to the soup.]					

Similar textual examples remain to be found for */asit-/*, though the elicited example in (60) is at least promising.

(60) *āsokanihk kī-asitahpitam ocīmān.*

āsokan	-ihk	kī-	asitahpit	-am	-Ø	o-	cīmān
NA	LOC	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s	3	NI.0's
pier		PST	tie.tight.to	3s-0'			canoe
“S/he tied his/her canoe tightly to the pier.”							

The last root included in Table 5.1 has not frequently if ever been previously included in a list of Algonquian relative roots. */asiw-/* is the initial morpheme present in a number of Cree verbs, including VII *asiwatē-* “be inside (of it)”, VAI *asiwaso-* “be inside (of it)”, VTI<sub>2</sub> *asiwatā-* “put s.t. inside (of it)”, and VTA *asiwah-* “put s.o. inside (of it)”. Although not without exception, such verbs quite consistently occur with a preverbal specification of the “container”, as exemplified in (61) through (64). (61) and (62) contain straightforward examples of locative nouns immediately preceding the */asiw-/*-root verbs.

(61) ..., *iyikohk kipahotowikamikohk ē-asiwasocik ōki osk-āyisiyiniwak.*

[HP2:71]

iyikohk	kipahotowikamikw	-ihk	ē-	asiwaso	-cik
IPC	NI	LOC	IPV	VAI	3p
so.much	prison		CNJ	be.inside	
ōki	oski-ayisiyiniw	-ak			
DEM.3p	NA	3p			
these	young person				

“..., so many of the young people are locked up in jail.”

- (62) ..., *iskotēwāpoy wiya mōtēyāpiskohk otasiwacikanihk ē-asiwatēyik.*  
[HP5:54]
- |             |      |             |      |       |            |      |
|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------|------------|------|
| iskotēwāpoy | wiya | mōtēyāpiskw | -ihk | ot-   | asiwacikan | -ihk |
| NI.0's      | IPC  | NI          |      | LOC 3 | NI         | LOC  |
| alcohol     | FOC  | bottle      |      |       | pocket     |      |
|             | ē-   | asiwatē     | -yik |       |            |      |
|             | IPV  | VII         | 0's  |       |            |      |
|             | CNJ  | be.inside   |      |       |            |      |
- “..., for he had whisky in a bottle that was in his pocket.”

In (63), the location is first introduced by a clause, and then the resumptive locative proform *ēkota* “there” repeats this location preceding *asiwatā-*, just as in the earlier examples of the quintessential relative root /*it-*/ with quotations, locatives and manners as antecedents.

- (63) ..., *konita ēkota mahihkani-wāti ē-ayāk, ēkota nitasiwatān, ...*  
[HP8:130-131]
- |        |       |               |                  |      |          |    |
|--------|-------|---------------|------------------|------|----------|----|
| konita | ēkota | mahihkani-wāt | -i               | ē-   | ayā      | -k |
| IPC    | PL    | NI            | 0s               | IPV  | VAI      | 0s |
| merely | there | wolf-den      |                  | CNJ  | be.there |    |
|        | ēkota | nit-          | asiwat           | -ā   | -n       |    |
|        | PL    | 1             | VTI <sub>2</sub> | TH   | 1/2      |    |
|        | there |               | put.inside       | 1s-0 |          |    |
- “..., and stuck them into a wolf-den that happened to be there, ...”

Finally, (64) presents a fairly complex locational referent in the form of a headless relative clause including a relative root verb of naming and its preverbal oblique complement, ‘*āhkosīwikamik*’ *k-ēsiyīhkātēk* “that which is called a hospital”. Despite its complexity, however, it still occurs in preverbal position.

- (64) *namōya wīhkāc ‘āhkosīwikamik’ k-ēsiyīhkātēk nitasiwason, ...*  
[HP10:123-124]
- |        |        |                |     |            |           |
|--------|--------|----------------|-----|------------|-----------|
| namōya | wīhkāc | āhkosīwikamikw | kā- | isiyīhkātē | -k        |
| IPC    | IPT    | NI.0s          |     | IPV        | VII       |
| NEG    | ever   | hospital       |     | CNJ        | be.called |
|        | nit-   | asiwaso        | -n  |            |           |
|        | 1      | VAI            | 1/2 |            |           |
|        |        | be.inside      |     |            |           |
- “I have never been inside what is called a hospital, ...”

These examples illustrate a consistent pattern of immediately preverbal positioning for the oblique complement of verbs beginning with the root /*asiw-*/ in Plains Cree, which in turn matches the pattern seen for other relative roots. This suggests that we are justified in adding /*asiw-*/ to the list of relative roots, for Cree at least. These and most examples cited in section 5.1.1 point to the importance of immediately preverbal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) for the oblique arguments of certain verbs: those containing relative roots requiring antecedents.

### 5.1.2 Quantifiers, Intensifiers and Degree Modifiers

Another class of elements commonly found in immediately preverbal position are verbal modifiers of degree, intensity and/or quantification. As mentioned previously, Dahlstrom (1991:76-83) specifically included quantifiers as occurring preverbally in a  $V'$  constituent. This section will explore these claims and further investigate the position of quantification and intensification in association with the verb.

#### 5.1.2.1 *mitoni*, *mistahi*, *iyikohk*

There are a number of verbal modifiers which occur very consistently in immediately preverbal position. Among the most prominent are the degree adverbials *mitoni* “really, very” (which also occurs in the form *mētoni*) (65), *mistahi* “really; much” (66), and *iyikohk* “so much” (67).

(65) ..., *anohc mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kisēyiniw*, ... [HP6:12]

anohc	mitoni	ē-	wīsakahcahw	-it	awa	kisēyiniw
IPT	IPC	IPV	VTA	INV	DEM.3s	NA.3s
today	really	CNJ	make.envious	3s-1s	this	old.man

“..., today, I was really envious of this old man, ...”

(66) *tāpiskōt mistahi ē-nēpēwihikocik onēhiyāwiniwāw*. [HP1:8]

tāpiskōt	mistahi	ē-	nēpēwih-iko	-cik o-	nēhiyāwiwin	-iwāw
IPC	IPC	IPV	VTA-InanAct	3p 3	NI.0's	3p
seems	much	CNJ	be.shamed.by		Creeness	

“..., it seems that [the young people] are very much ashamed of their Creeness.”

- (67) *kayās iyikohk ē-kī-kanātahk ōma askiy.* [HP2:10]  
 kayās iyikohk ē- kī- kanātan -k ōma askiy  
 IPT IPC IPV IPV VII 0s DEM.0s NI.0s  
 long.ago so.much CNJ PST be.clean this land  
 “Long ago this land was so clean.”

All three of these particles are also able to pre-modify elements other than verbs, so a second pattern that sometimes appears is when other elements intervene between these degree modifiers and the verb. However, here, these modifiers form part of a different preverbal constituent.

- (68) *mitoni māh-mēskoc ācimowak, ...* [HP7:6]  
 mitoni māh-mēskoc ācimo -wak  
 IPC IPC VAI 3p  
 really each.in.turn tell.stories  
 “They were taking turns telling stories, ...”

- (69) *mistahi kōna nikī-īkatēwēpahwāw.*  
 mistahi kōna ni- kī- īkatēwēpahw -ā -w  
 IPC NA.3s 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 much snow PST sweep.aside 1s-3s  
 “I swept aside a great deal of snow.”

- (70) *iyikohk minihkwēwin ōma ē-pimohtēmakahk ē-misiwanācihikoyahk;*  
 [HP2:69-70]  
 iyikohk minihkwēwin ōma ē- pimohtēmakan -k  
 IPC NI.0s IPC IPV VII 0s  
 so.much drinking FOC CNJ walk.along  
 ē- misiwānācih-iko -yahk  
 IPV VTA InAct 21  
 CNJ destroy 0s-21

“..., there is so much drinking going on and it is destroying us; ...”

As evident in (69) and (70), *mistahi* and *iyikohk* double as quantifiers, and this will prove important for the claim that quantifiers can occur in  $P^{M-1}$ , as explored further below.

A third pattern that occurs, although less commonly with *iyikohk*, is when the degree modifier appears at the end of the clause, in which case it is often emphasized intonationally, or even offset from the clause itself (see also

sections 4.4.2 and 6.2.2.1.4).

(71) *ī, nikisiwipayin mitoni, ...* [HP8:43]

ī	ni-	kisiwipayi	-n	mitoni
IPC	1	VAI	1/2	IPC
look!		get.angry		really

“Look, I got really angry, ...”

(72) *..., mitoni kī-kanātaniyiw opimātisiwiniwāw, mistahi.* [HP3:57]

mitoni	kī-	kanātan	-iyiw	o-	pimātisiwin	-iwāw	mistahi
IPC	IPV	VII	0's	3	NI.0's	3p	IPC
really	PST	be.clean			life		really

“[And the Crees] led a really clean life, very clean.”

Note the co-occurrence of *mitoni* and *mistahi* in (72). Though not attested in the House People texts, it is not uncommon in ordinary speech to give additional emphasis to something by the combination of both of these elements, *mitoni mistahi* “really very much”.

These patterns account for nearly all examples of these particular modifiers in the House People texts, as well as other modifiers with similar function such as *apisīs* “a little”, *namōya kakētihk* “a great deal”, etc., and we can note the overlap with quantification. The few exceptions will again be dealt with in the discussion of P<sup>I</sup> in Chapter 6.

We have now seen that the oblique arguments of relative root verbs, and verbal modifiers can both occur in P<sup>M-1</sup>. There is, however, surprisingly little textual evidence for the interaction of these two types of verbal modifier. If combined at all, it is usually the case that the degree adverbial modifies the oblique, rather than the verb, and so forms a constituent with the oblique in P<sup>M-1</sup>, as in (73).

(73) *..., āsay mitoni pītos nititamahcihon, ...* [HP10:84]

āsay	mitoni	pītos	nit-	itamahciho	-n
IPT	IPC	IPL	1	VAI	1/2
already	really	different		feel.so	

“..., I felt much better already, ...”

Another option is that modifiers such as *iyikohk*, in their quantificational use, can themselves act as the oblique argument of a relative root verb. This is shown in examples (74) and (75).

- (74) ..., **iyikohk** *ē-kī-itēyatit nēhiyaw kayās*. [HP3:10]  
 iyikohk ē- kī- itēyati -t nēhiyaw kayās  
 IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s IPT  
 so.much CNJ PST be.in.such.numbers Cree long.ago  
 “..., there were so many Crees long ago.”
- (75) ..., **iyikohk** *ē-itakihtēk --* [HP4:141]  
 iyikohk ē- itakihtē -k  
 IPC IPV VII 0s  
 so.much CNJ cost.thus  
 “..., everything is so expensive – ”

Such examples might thus give rise to the idea that quantifiers in general can occur in the preverbal position (but see the discussion of *kahkiyaw* in section 5.1.2.2 below).

Another thing that both of these preverbal elements have in common is that both can, on very rare occasions, be incorporated inside the verbal structure. In (76), the adverbial *mitoni* occurs inside the verbal structure, in the normal position of a preverb.

- (76) *ē-kī-mitoni-kiskēyihahkik*, ... [HP2:12]  
 ē- kī- mitoni- kiskēyihah -ah -kik  
 IPV IPV IPC VTI TH 3p  
 CNJ PST really know 3p-0s  
 “..., they knew it well, ...”

In (77), it is another particle, *nānitaw* “about; any”, acting in tandem with the relative root preverb *isi-* which is incorporated inside the verbal structure rather than occurring in  $P^{M-1}$ . This element much more commonly occurs in  $P^{M-1}$ , either preceding a verb with a relative root or relative root preverb, as in (78).

- (77) ..., *namōya mistahi wīhkāc ē-kī-nānitaw-isi-sōhkahāt-tōtātocik*, ... [HP3:13]  
 namōya mistahi wīhkāc  
 IPC IPC IPT  
 NEG much ever  
 ē- kī- nānitaw- isi- sōhkahāt- tōtāto -cik  
 IPV IPV IPC IPV IPV VAI 3p  
 CNJ PST any thus exceeding do.so.to.one.another  
 “..., they did not very often commit violent crimes against one another, ...”

- (78) *ēkā nānitaw k-ēsi-māyiniḱēyit, ...* [HP3:52]  
 ēkā nānitaw ka- isi- māyiniḱē -yit  
 IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3'  
 NEG any CNJ thus act.badly  
 “..., not to commit any crimes, ...”

The fact that both can occasionally be incorporated inside the verbal complex suggests that both are rather closely tied to the verb, and P<sup>M-1</sup> might thereby be a position that allows this, albeit rarely.

In the equally rare instances that both a verbal modifier and an oblique co-occur without forming a single constituent, the oblique seems to take precedence. In (79), the oblique manner argument *kwayask* occurs before the relative root VTA (*i)tōtaw*- “do so to s.o.” while *mitoni* occurs postverbally, thus avoiding a conflict in P<sup>M-1</sup>.

- (79) *ēkwa, wahwā kwayask nitōtāk mitoni, ...* [HP8:143]  
 ēkwa wahwā kwayask ni- tōtaw -ik -Ø mitoni  
 IPT IPC IPC 1 VTA INV 3s IPC  
 now oh.my correctly do.so.to 3s-1s really  
 “Oh my, and he really treated me very well, ...”

In (80), the oblique locative occurs preceding the relative root verb *asiwaso*-, while *iyikohk* is thus displaced to P<sup>M-2</sup>.

- (80) *..., iyikohk kipahotowikamikohk ē-asiwasocik ōki osk-āyisiyiniwak.* [HP2:72]  
 iyikohk kipahotowikamikw -ihk ē- asiwaso -cik  
 IPC NI LOC IPV VAI 3p  
 so.much prison CNJ be.inside  
 ōki oski-ayisiyiniw -ak  
 DEM.3p NA 3p  
 those young.person  
 “..., so many of the young people are locked up in jail.”

Ahenakew’s (1987b:43) original translation, included in (80), suggests an alternative analysis in which *iyikohk* is not modifying the verb, but rather the postverbal argument. If so, then this says nothing about the relative ordering of verbal modifiers and oblique arguments, but does anticipate the subsequent discussion of (floating) quantifiers. In this case, it would be a (floated) quantifier which is being placed preverbally, but not in P<sup>M-1</sup> which is occupied by the oblique argument. In either interpretation, the oblique



argument is taking precedence for the immediately preverbal position  $P^{M-1}$ .

### 5.1.2.2 *kahkiyaw* and other Quantifiers

As we have seen, certain particles with quantificational function, such as *iyikohk*, can apparently occur in  $P^{M-1}$ . However, in this position, they appear for the most part to function as verbal modifiers or oblique verbal complements, rather than as floated quantifiers of core arguments. Yet floated quantifiers, constringing with core arguments (A1, A2 and maybe A3), are precisely those which Dahlstrom (1991:76) included in her V' constituent in preverbal position. This section will investigate the position of such quantifiers, the most prominent of which is the universal quantifier *kahkiyaw*.

In the vast majority of the examples including *kahkiyaw* in the House People texts, it combines with the (pro)nominal *kīkway* “(some)thing” to form the unitary pronominal phrase *kahkiyaw kīkway* “everything”. Though this can occur postverbally, as in (81), it is far more commonly found in preverbal position, as in (82).

(81) ..., *ē-kī-kitahamāht kahkiyaw kīkway*. [HP2:16]

ē-	kī-	kitahamaw	-iht	kahkiyaw	kīkway
IPV	IPV	VTA	X-3s	QNT	NI.0'
CNJ	PST	warn.against		all	thing

“..., they warned them against everything.”  
[i.e. “they were warned against everything.”]

(82) ..., *kahkiyaw kīkway ē-pē-maskamikoyahk*, ... [HP2:9]

kahkiyaw	kīkway	ē-	pē-	maskam	-iko	-yahk
QNT	NI.0'	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	21
all	thing	CNJ	come	rob.from	3p-21	

“..., [the Whiteman has been] robbing us of everything, ...”

*kahkiyaw* can also combine with demonstrative pronouns and/or resumptive pronouns like *ēkoni*. Such combinations can again occur preverbally (83) or postverbally (84), with preverbal position greatly preferred.

(83) ..., *ēkosi ēkwa kahkiyaw ēkoni ōhi ta-tāpwēhtamēk*, ... [HP4:108]

ēkosi	ēkwa	kahkiyaw	ēkoni	ōhi	ta-	tāpwēht	-am	-ēk
IPC	IPT	QNT	PR.0p	PR.0p	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	2p
thus	now	all	those	these	CNJ	believe	2p-0	

“..., now you have to believe all these things, ...”

- (84) ..., *ē-kī-kanātēyimācīk kahkiyaw ēkoni anihī*. [HP4:75]  
 ē- kī- kanātēyim -ā -cik kahkiyaw ēkoni anihī  
 IPV IPV VTA DIR 3p QNT PR.3' PR.3'  
 CNJ PST respect 3p-3' all those those  
 “..., and their attitude towards them all was one of respect.”

In (85), however, *kahkiyaw* occurs in preverbal position, separated from the pronominal sequence *ēwako anima* with which it construes, such that this appears to be a classic example of a floated quantifier.

- (85) *anohc kā-kīsikāk ēkwa kahkiyaw pīkopayin ēwako anima*. [HP2:83-84]  
 anohc kā- kīsikā -k ēkwa kahkiyaw pīkopayin -Ø  
 IPT IPV VII 0s IPT QNT VII 0s  
 now CNJ be.day then all be.broken  
  
 ēwako anima  
 PR.0s PR.0s  
 that that  
 “Today all this is shattered.”

However, *kahkiyaw* can also occur on its own as an argument of the verb. In (86) it cannot be considered a floated quantifier since no other element is present with which it can construe. (87) illustrates the same thing in postverbal position.

- (86) *ēkosi kahkiyaw ē-kī-māmawōhkamātocik*, ... [HP4:22]  
 ēkosi kahkiyaw ē- kī- māmawōhkamāto -cik  
 IPC QNT IPV IPV VTA 3p  
 thus all CNJ PST work.with.one.another  
 “So they all worked together, ...”
- (87) *pōti ōki wayawītimihk kī-āpiwak kahkiyaw*, ... [HP8:202]  
 pōti ōki wayawītimihk kī- āpi -wak kahkiyaw  
 IPC PR.3p IPL IPV VAI 3p QNT  
 lo! these outside PST sit all  
 “..., here they were all sitting outside, ...”

What all of these examples suggest is merely that, as has been observed and discussed in Chapter 4, arguments can occur in either preverbal or postverbal position, and this is exactly what has frequently led to the description of Cree as a free word order language. However, we can also note the absence

of examples in which the quantifier is placed postverbally while the remainder of the constituent with which it construes occurs preverbally.<sup>81</sup> This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, but for now it is important that there are limits on the apparent freedom.

Additionally, all examples thus far have shown *kahkiyaw* (alone or as part of a constituent) in immediately preverbal position, as per Dahlstrom's placement of the floated quantifier in V'. However, this is not strictly true. Examples including an oblique argument of a relative root verb (88) or even simply an oblique locative adverbial (89) show that these elements take precedence over the quantified argument for placement in P<sup>M-1</sup>.

- (88) *kahkiyaw kīkway 'mīnisa' k-ēsiyīhkātēki, ...* [HP4:63]  
 kahkiyaw kīkway mīnis -a kā- isiyīhkātē -ki  
 QNT NI.0p NI 0p IPV VII 0p  
 all thing berry CNJ be.called.so  
 "All these that are called 'berries', ..."

- (89) *kahkiyaw kīkway wayawītimihk ē-atoskēhk ...* [HP4:132]  
 kahkiyaw kīkway wayawītimihk ē- atoskē -hk  
 QNT NI.0p IPL IPV VAI X  
 all thing outside CNJ work  
 "..., and all work was outdoors, ..."

Examples in which the universal quantifier *kahkiyaw* occurs are conspicuous for the absence of the intensifiers such as *mitoni* "really". It is possible that intensification is simply not required (if not completely redundant) in contexts in which universal quantification is already marked. Other quantificational particles, such as *nanātohk* "various" and *pēyak* "one", do co-occur with intensifiers, and when they co-occur, as in (90), the quantified argument must again precede the intensifier in P<sup>M-1</sup>.

- (90) *pēyak awa nāpēw mitoni kīskwēpēskiw, ...* [HP5:19]  
 pēyak awa nāpēw mitoni kīskwēpēski -w  
 NUM DEM.3s NA.3s IPC VAI 3s  
 one this man really be.a.drunkard  
 "There was this one man who was a real drunkard, ..."

Based on examples such as these, it would appear that non-oblique

<sup>81</sup> It is, in fact, possible to find the quantifier in postverbal position, but only if it is offset from the clause intonationally (e.g. *ēkosi ēkwa ēkoni ōhi pīkopayinwa, kahkiyaw!* "So now these are broken, all of them!")

arguments, including quantified arguments, or simply quantifiers whether alone or “floated” apart from the remainder of the argument, appear to occur in  $P^{M-1}$  only when other elements, like oblique arguments or verbal intensifiers are absent. In such instances, they then appear to be displaced to  $P^{M-2}$ . Whether this is indeed the most appropriate clausal position for quantifiers and other preverbal arguments will be taken up again in Chapter 6. For now, we can simply note that quantifiers representing arguments act like those arguments, and oblique arguments take precedence for placement in  $P^{M-1}$  whether quantified or not. “Floated” quantifiers appear in the same position as full noun phrases, such that the only thing special about such quantifiers in Cree is not their position, but simply that they can be separated from the remainder of the argument with which they construe.

To summarize section 5.1, we have seen that oblique arguments of relative root verbs display far less variation than many elements in Cree word order. Such elements very rarely occur outside of  $P^{M-1}$ , and although other elements can occur in this position, it is the oblique argument which will take precedence if there is competition for this position. Other elements such as verbal modifiers of degree and intensification, which also appear preverbally, can be displaced to  $P^{M-2}$ , or occur postverbally, and thus show less syntactic restriction than the obliques. Non-oblique arguments (including quantifiers of those arguments) might similarly appear in  $P^{M-1}$  and be displaced to  $P^{M-2}$  when co-occurring with oblique arguments or verbal modifiers, but this remains an open question to which we will return in Chapter 6.

## 5.2 Clause Linkage

A second syntactically motivated word order phenomenon is found in the domain of clausal and sentential cohesion. Ogg (1991) offers a survey of Plains Cree connective particles at the phrase, clause and sentence level, concentrating on temporal sequencing. For both clausal and sentential discourse cohesion, she identifies two main positions in which connective particles are commonly found, initial and “inverted” (into second position) and both will be reviewed in the following two subsections.

### 5.2.1 Coordinators (and Subordinators)

The most prominent position of coordinating conjunctions such as *ēkwa* “and; then”, *māka* “but”, and *ahpō* “or” is at the beginning of a clause and/or sentence, as illustrated in the following examples. (91-93) provide sentence-initial examples, while (94-96) give examples of the coordinators in

sentence-internal, but apparent clause-initial position.

- (91) *ēkwa namōya ēkosi ta-kī-itōtahkik osk-āyak.* [HP1:14]

ēkwa	namōya	ēkosi	ta-	kī-	itōt	-ah	-kik
IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3p
and	NEG	thus	CNJ	PST	do.so.to	3p-0'	

oski-ay	-ak
NA	3p

young.person

“Now, the young people should not do that.”

- (92) *māka ohtitaw ē-kī-is-ōhpikihitocik aniki nēhiyawak wīstawāw, ...*

[HP3:61]

māka	ohtitaw	ē-	kī-	isi-	ohpikihito	-cik
IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
but	on.purpose	CNJ	PST	thus	raise.one.another	

aniki	nēhiyaw	-ak	wīstawāw
DEM.3p	NA	3p	PR.3p
those	Cree		they.too

“But the Crees, too, had their own rules, ...”

- (93) *ahpō piko iyikohk ē-kī-mawimoscikēcik wīstawāw, ...* [HP4:32]

ahpō	piko	iyikohk	ē-	kī-	mawimoscikē	-cik	wīstawāw
IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p	PR.3p
or	just	so.much	CNJ	PST	pray		they.too

“They, too, prayed a lot, ...”

- (94) *nitawi-itohtēw sīpiy ōma itē ē-pimihtiniyik, wā,*

*ēkwa nama kīkway ayāw ka-mīcimīhkahcikēsī, ...* [HP5:31-34]

wā	ēkwa	nama	kīkway	ay	-ā	-w
IPC	IPC	IPC	PR.0's	VTI <sub>2</sub>	TH	3s
oh	and	NEG	something	have	3s-0'	

ka-	mīcimīhkahcikēsī	-t
IPV	VAI	3s
CNJ	use.as.bait	

“He went to where the river was flowing by, oh, but he had nothing to use as his bait,”

- (95) “..., *namōya kīkway kīkī-miyitin, māka pēyak kīkway kiwī-miyitin,*” ...  
[HP5:10-11]

māka	pēyak	kīkway	ki-	wī-	miy	-iti	-n
IPC	NUM	NI.0s	2	IPV	VTA	INV	1/2
but	one	thing		PRSP	give	1s-2s	

“ ‘..., I cannot give you anything, but one thing I am going to give you,’ ...”

- (96) ..., *ēkā kīkway kīk-ōtinamāsoyit kīkway ahpō piko kīkway*  
*ka-pistinamiyit kīkway.* [HP2:20-21]

ahpō	piko	kīkway	ka-	pistin	-am	-iyit	kīkway
IPC	IPC	PR.0's	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3'	PR.0's
or	just	something	CNJ	take	accidentally	3'-0'	

something  
“..., not to steal anything nor even to take anything by mistake.”

It seems natural to interpret each of these coordinators as occurring in the initial position of its respective clause, and this is indeed the interpretation that Ogg (1991:21-22) offers. Furthermore, in recognizing the prominence that initial position (or P<sup>1</sup> in our current terminology) lends to a constituent, Ogg (1991:21-22) suggests that initial position emphasizes the linkage itself. The function of these connectives, as Ogg (1991:17, following Grimes 1975) points out, is to provide discourse cohesion in the context of narrative. Outside of that narrative context, these connectives are virtually superfluous and fully omissible, as Ogg (1991:34) confirms.<sup>82</sup>

The omissibility of connectives is suggested in various ways in the examples above. In translation, the corresponding English clause linker can be offset from the clause, as in (91) “*Now, ...*”, or commonly omitted from the translation altogether, as in (93). Furthermore, the Cree connective in initial position can simply be omitted leaving a fully grammatical clause or sentence, as in (97) which repeats (91) without the connective *ēkwa*.

- (97) *namōya ēkosi ta-kī-itōtahkik osk-āyak.*
- |        |       |     |     |                  |       |      |              |     |
|--------|-------|-----|-----|------------------|-------|------|--------------|-----|
| namōya | ēkosi | ta- | kī- | itōt             | -ah   | -kik | oski-ay      | -ak |
| IPC    | IPC   | IPV | IPV | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH    | 3p   | NA           | 3p  |
| NEG    | thus  | CNJ | PST | do.so.to         | 3p-0' |      | young.person |     |
- “The young people should not do that.”

<sup>82</sup> Ogg's original argument is based on the omission of the coordinator from examples in which it occurs in second position (to be discussed below in section 5.3), but the argument holds for coordinators in initial position as well.

The presence of one of these coordinators in apparent initial position has no other effect on the syntax of the clause. This is reminiscent of the lack of impact that certain coordinators have on Dutch word order. In main clauses, Dutch maintains a very strict verb-second (V2) position (i.e. the finite verb occurs in P<sup>2</sup>), as exemplified in (98) (cf. Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:338-340; 344-350). In the grammatical sentences in (98a) and (98b), the finite auxiliary verb *heb* “have” occurs in P<sup>2</sup>. In (98a), the subject *ik* “I” occupies P<sup>1</sup>, while in (98b), the temporal adverbial *gisteren* “yesterday” takes this position and the subject must follow P<sup>2</sup>. The ungrammaticality of (98c) is due to the fact that we have tried to place the subject in P<sup>2</sup> displacing the finite auxiliary and this is not permitted in Dutch.

- (98) a) P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      P<sup>M</sup>      P<sup>M+1</sup>      P<sup>F</sup>  
*Ik*      ***heb***      *gisteren*      *de wolf*      *gezien.*  
 I      have      yesterday      the wolf      seen  
 “I saw the wolf yesterday.”
- b) P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      P<sup>2+1</sup>      P<sup>M</sup>      P<sup>F</sup>  
*Gisteren*      ***heb***      *ik*      *de wolf*      *gezien.*  
 yesterday      have      I      the wolf      seen  
 “Yesterday I saw the wolf.”
- c) P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      P<sup>2+1</sup>      P<sup>M</sup>      P<sup>F</sup>  
 \**Gisteren*      *ik*      ***heb***      *de wolf*      *gezien.*  
 yesterday      I      have      the wolf      seen  
 \*“Yesterday I saw the wolf.”

But if a coordinator such as *maar* “but” is added, as in (99), this does not force displacement of the subject (or any other element) in P<sup>1</sup>.

- (99) a) -      P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      P<sup>M</sup>      P<sup>M+1</sup>      P<sup>F</sup>  
*Maar*      *ik*      ***heb***      *gisteren*      *de wolf*      *gezien.*  
 but      I      have      yesterday      the wolf      seen  
 “But I saw the wolf yesterday.”
- b) -      P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      P<sup>2+1</sup>      P<sup>M</sup>      P<sup>F</sup>  
*Maar*      *gisteren*      ***heb***      *ik*      *de wolf*      *gezien.*  
 but      yesterday      have      I      the wolf      seen  
 “But yesterday I saw the wolf.”

- c)            -            p<sup>1</sup>            p<sup>2</sup>            p<sup>2+1</sup>    p<sup>M</sup>            p<sup>F</sup>  
 \*Maar        gisteren     ik        **heb**     de wolf     gezien.  
 but          yesterday    I        have     the wolf     seen  
 \*‘‘But yesterday I saw the wolf.’’

In the Dutch examples, then, the coordinator *maar* simply does not count within the Dutch word order template.

Similarly, Cree coordinators do not appear to count as clause-initial elements. In example (100), this is made explicit when the coordinator is offset from the following coordinated clause by enough of an intonational pause (as represented by the comma).

- (100) ‘‘ ..., **ēkwa**, *kwayask ēkwa*<sup>83</sup> *ka-pāh-pakāsimoṇ mīna*,’’ *nititik*.  
 [HP8:118-119]  
 ēkwa    kwayask    ēkwa    ka-    pāh-    pakāsimo    -n    mīna  
 IPC    IPC        IPT    IPV    IPV    VAI        1/2    IPC  
 and    correct    then    CNJ    RDPL    bathe                    also  
  
           nit-    it            -ik        -Ø  
           1        VTA        INV        3s  
                   say.so.to    3s-1s  
 ‘‘ ‘‘..., and then have a good swim, too,’ he told me.’’

Additionally, the coordinator is often associated with pre-clausal orientations (see also section 6.2.1) as in (101) and (102), where it is also omissible.

- (101) -- **ēkwa** *kayās*, *ahpōnāni kayās kīkway sōniyāw*, *nama kīkway*.  
 [HP4:142-143]  
 ēkwa    kayās        ahpōnāni        kayās        kīkway        sōniyāw  
 IPC    IPT        IPC            IPT        PR.3s        NA.3s  
 and    long.ago    of.course.not    long.ago    something    money  
  
           nama        kīkway  
           IPC        PR.0s  
           NEG        something  
 ‘‘-- long ago, of course, there was no money, ...’’

<sup>83</sup> The second instance of *ēkwa*, here found in second clausal position, will be discussed in section 5.3 below.



- (102) *māka kayās, iyikohk isko ē-kawikīhkācīk, ...* [HP2:76]  
 māka kayās iyikohk isko ē- kawikīhkā -cik  
 IPC IPT IPC IPL IPV VAI 3p  
 but long.ago so.much up.to CNJ be.bent.with.age  
 “Long ago, on the other hand, [they lived together] so long, into their  
 old age, ...”

In addition to the coordinators surveyed thus far, there is also evidence that subordinating conjunctions behave similarly, functioning outside the syntax of clausal order. In (103), *āta* “although” introduces a full clause which can otherwise stand on its own, and this is also true of the clause following *ayis* “because” in (104).

- (103) *āta tāpiskōc ēkāya kīkway wiyasiwēwin wiyawāw*  
*ē-ohci-tāwiskākocīk ...* [HP3:59]  
 āta tāpiskōc ēkāya kīkway wiyasiwēwin  
 IPC IPC IPC PR.0’s NI.0’s  
 although seems NEG something law  
  
 wiyawāw ē- ohci- tāwiskaw-iko -cik  
 PR.3p IPV IPV VTA InAct 3p  
 CNJ PRF strike 0’-3p  
 “..., even though it looked as if they were not subject to any formal  
 law ...”

- (104) *ayis cikēmā kī-na-nākatōhkātito kī-kitimākēyihto; ...* [HP4:42-43]  
 ayis cikēmā kī- na- nākatōhkātito -w  
 IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 because of.course PST RDPL look.after.one.another  
  
 kī- kitimākēyihto -w  
 IPV VAI 3s  
 PST pity.each.other  
 “..., because they naturally took care of one another, and had  
 compassion for one another; ...”

This contrasts with many subordinators in Dutch, which participate fully in the syntax of the clause, occupying P<sup>1</sup>, displacing the subject to P<sup>2</sup>, and causing an entirely different clause structure from that seen above for main clauses. This is illustrated in (105), which can be compared with the earlier Dutch examples given in (98) and (99).

- (105) a) P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      p<sup>M</sup>      p<sup>M+1</sup>      p<sup>F</sup>  
*dat ik gisteren de wolf heb gezien.*  
 that I yesterday the wolf have seen  
 "... that I saw the wolf yesterday."
- b) P<sup>1</sup>      P<sup>2</sup>      p<sup>M-1</sup>      p<sup>M</sup>      p<sup>F</sup>  
*dat ik de wolf gisteren heb gezien.*  
 that I the wolf yesterday have seen  
 "... that I saw the wolf yesterday."

The presence of a distinction between main and subordinate clause structures is characterized by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:354) as "cross-linguistically quite exceptional". As such it is not surprising to find that Cree main and subordinate clauses appear to share a very similar if not identical structure, and this has in fact caused much difficulty in differentiating the two.

Another element in Cree that to a large extent shares the coordinator function is *mīna* "and, also; again", which thus overlaps with the function of *ēkwa*. However, *mīna* is much more commonly found as a coordinator at the word or phrase level, where it can occur postpositionally, while it rarely occurs alone to coordinate clauses (cf. Ogg 1991:44-64). Instead, at the level of the clause or sentence, it commonly co-occurs with *ēkwa* in the frozen phrasal form *ēkwa mīna*, again showing its preference for postpositional placement or second position. As a unit, *ēkwa mīna* acts just as other coordinators, appearing to occur in initial position, as in (106), or offset from the clause, as in (107).

- (106) *ēkwa mīna iyikohk ē-kī-kanātēyimāt otawāsimisa ōsisima, ...* [HP2:33]  
 ēkwa mīna iyikohk ē- kī- kanātēyim -ā -t  
 IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 and also so.much CNJ PST respect 3s-3'  
 ot- awāsimis -a ōsisim -a  
 3 NDA 3' 3.NDA 3'  
 child grandchild  
 "They also had such respect for their children and their grandchildren, ..."

- (107) *ēkwa mīna, ēkā wīhkāc kinwēsk ē-wīkihtocik, ...* [HP2:73]  
 ēkwa mīna ēkā wīhkāc kinwēsk ē- wīkihto -cik  
 IPC IPC IPC IPT IPT IPV VAI 3p  
 and also NEG ever long.time CNJ be.married  
 “Also, they never live together for long, ...”

Thus, the evidence is largely in favour of exempting coordinators (and at least some subordinators) from the clausal template, at least when they occur in what otherwise appears to be initial position. This essentially means that the coordinator stands as the head of a coordinator phrase (CP) and takes a full clausal complement.

One piece of potential counterevidence, however, can be found in examples such as (108) where *ēkwa* is followed by the emphatic particle *ani*.

- (108) ‘*wahwā, ēkwa ani kā-pakāsimoyān, ’ itwēw, ...* [HP8:126]  
 wahwā ēkwa ani kā- pakāsimoyān itwē -w  
 IPC IPT IPC IPV VAI 1s VAI 3s  
 oh.my then ! CNJ bathe say.so  
 “ ‘Oh my, and then I did have a swim,’ he said, ...”

On independent grounds, Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) have argued that *ani* is very strict in its occurrence in second position clausally (i.e. P<sup>2</sup>). This would suggest that *ēkwa* is in initial position in the clause, rather than external to it, as maintained above. In fact, it is possible to retain both analyses once a fine distinction is recognized in the function of *ēkwa* in Plains Cree. As a coordinator, *ēkwa* “and” functions differently, with different word order constraints, than *ēkwa* “now; then” as a temporal particle. In (108), it is the temporal particle *ēkwa* which occurs in first position and is emphasized by *ani*.

The convergence of coordinators and temporal particles is interesting since it is both of these particle types which Ogg (1991) groups together in her study of temporal cohesion, finding that all occur in either initial or second position. The importance of second position for connectives, and in general, will be introduced in section 5.3. Before turning to this alternative strategy, however, we will investigate the word order patterns of temporal particles.

### 5.2.2 Temporals

Ogg (1991) includes in her survey of temporal connectives, such particles as *anohc* “now, today”, *kayās* “long ago”, *kētahtawē* “presently, one time;

suddenly”, *piyis* “finally”, and *kēyāpic* “still”. Each of these can be found in the House People texts, as exemplified in (109) through (113) where they are found primarily in initial position (a), with occasional examples found in final position (b), as already seen in Chapter 4. It is interesting to note that virtually all textual examples of these temporal particles which Ogg (1991) cites and describes as inverted into second position can instead be interpreted as either following a connective (and so still in clause-initial position) or following the verb in a two-word clause, and so in clause-final position.

- (109) a) ..., **anohc** mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kisēyiniw, ... [HP6:12]  
 anohc mitoni ē- wīsakahcahw -it awa kisēyiniw  
 IPT IPC IPV VTA INV DEM.3s NA.3s  
 today really CNJ make.envious 3s-1s this old.man  
 “..., today, I was really envious of this old man, ...”

- b) ..., *tāpiskōc simākanisak k-ētwečik anohc*, ... [HP3:17]  
 tāpiskōc simākanis -ak kā- itwē -cik anohc  
 IPC NA 3p IPV VAI 3p IPT  
 like policeman CNJ say.so today  
 “..., just like the police when they say something today, ...”

- (110) a) **kayās** iyikohk ē-kī-kanātahk ōma askiy. [HP2:10]  
 kayās iyikohk ē- kī- kanātan -k ōma askiy  
 IPT IPC IPV IPV VII 0s DEM.0s NI.0s  
 long.ago so.much CNJ PST be.clean this land  
 “Long ago this land was so clean.”

- b) ..., *iyikohk ē-kī-itēyati nēhiyaw kayās*. [HP3:10]  
 iyikohk ē- kī- itēyati -t nēhiyaw kayās  
 IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s IPT  
 so.much CNJ PST be.such.in number Cree long.ago  
 “..., there were so many Crees long ago.”

- (111) a) **kētahtawē** kā-wāpamāt kinēpikwa ē-ati-sipwētācimopahtāyit, ... [HP5:38-39]  
 kētahtawē kā- wāpam -ā -t kinēpikw -a  
 IPT IPV VTA DIR 3s NA 3’  
 suddenly CNJ see 3s-3’ snake  
 “All at once he saw a snake slithering away, ...”

- b) “*nācimihtē!*” *k-ēsit kētahtawē*, ... [HP8:31-32]  
 nācimihtē kā- it -it kētahtawē  
 VAI IPV VTA INV IPT  
 fetch.wood CNJ say.so.to 3s-1s presently  
 “‘Go for fire-wood!’ she said to me at one time, ...”

- (112) a) *piyis mitoni ēkā nānitaw ayiwāk ē-kī-tōtahk*, ... [HP8:157]  
 piyis mitoni ēkā nānitaw ayiwāk ē- kī- tōt -ah -k  
 IPT IPC IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3s  
 finally really NEG any more CNJ PST do.so 3s-0’  
 “Finally he really couldn’t do any more, ...”

- b) ..., *mētoni ē-wāpāstēk piyis*, ... [HP8:28]  
 mētoni ē- wāpāstē -k piyis  
 IPC IPV VII 0s IPT  
 really CNJ be.faded finally  
 “..., finally it was really getting faded, ...”

- (113) a) ... *kēyāpic ōma ka-wāpamināwāw ta-pimi-nistōskwēwēyān ōma*, ... [HP6:84-85]

kēyāpic ōma ka- wāpam -i -nāwāw  
 IPT IPC IPV VTA DIR 2p  
 still FOC 2.FUT see 2p-1s

ta- pimi- nistōskwēwē -yān ōma  
 IPV IPV VAI 1s IPC  
 CNJ along have.three.wives FOC

“..., you will see me with my three wives yet, ...”

- b) *ā, ē-kakāyawātisit kēyāpic*, ... [HP10:128]  
 ā ē- kakāyawātisi -t kēyāpic  
 IPC IPV VAI 3s IPT  
 well CNJ be.active still  
 “Well, he was still very active, ...”

“Inversion” into second position, in the sense used by Ogg, is thus not actually a feature of these temporal particles, though it might appear so if only a verb precedes the temporal in the clause. They can also co-occur with coordinators, as in (114) and (115), which, as described above, will not displace them from first position.

(114) *ēkwa kīkisēpā kā-waniskācīk, ...* [HP3:37]

<i>ēkwa</i>	<i>kīkisēpā</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>waniskā</i>	<i>-cīk</i>
IPC	IPT	IPV	VAI	3p
and	in.the.morning	CNJ	arise	

“And in the morning, when they arose, ...”

(115) -- *ēkwa anohc kahkiyaw kīkway ē-wēhciskowipayīk kīkway, ...* [HP4:85]

<i>ēkwa</i>	<i>anohc</i>	<i>kahkiyaw</i>	<i>kīkway</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>wēhciskowipayī</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>kīkway</i>
IPC	IPT	QNT	NI.0s	IPV	VII	0s	NI.0s
and	today	all	thing	CNJ	become.easy		thing

“-- today everything comes easy, ...”

The interaction of *ēkwa* and *anohc* is particularly interesting since both orders are attested, but by far the most common order is as seen in (116) with *anohc* preceding *ēkwa* at the beginning of the clause. Here *anohc* is in initial position as a temporal particle, and is emphasized as such by the presence of clause-linking *ēkwa* “inverted” (following Ogg) into second position.

(116) *anohc ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima māci-pīkonikātēw, ...* [HP2:66]

<i>anohc</i>	<i>ēkwa</i>	<i>kahkiyaw</i>	<i>ēwako</i>	<i>anima</i>	<i>māci-</i>	<i>pīkonikātē</i>	<i>-w</i>
IPT	IPT	QNT	PR.0s	PR.0s	IPV	VII	0s
today	now	all	that	that	begin	be.broken	

“Today all that is beginning to break down, ...”

In contrast, when in final position, the order is generally reversed, as in (117).<sup>84</sup>

(117) ..., *iyīkohk kīkway iyīkohk ē-itakihtēk ēkwa anohc, ayānis, nanātohk kīkway.* [HP4:151-152]

<i>iyīkohk</i>	<i>kīkway</i>	<i>iyīkohk</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>itakihtē</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>ēkwa</i>	<i>anohc</i>
IPC	PR.0s	IPC	IPV	VII	0s	IPT	IPT
so.much	thing	so.much	CNJ	be.worth.so		now	today

“..., so expensive is everything today, clothes, everything.”

Ideally, it would be possible to characterize *ēkwa*, when occurring in second position, as entirely different in function than *ēkwa* as a sentence or

<sup>84</sup> Though there are elements following *ēkwa anohc* in this example, they are post-clausal afterthoughts providing additional information and offset from the clause by pauses as indicated by the commas.

clausal connective. For instance, if its function in (116) was merely as a second temporal particle forming a temporal phrase with *anohc* in P<sup>1</sup>, then the two different positions of preverbal *ēkwa* could be more easily explained. However, *ēkwa* occurs in second position fairly frequently and is not limited to following temporal particles (see (118) for another example of this), but can follow other typically initial elements as well, as exemplified in (119) and (120).

- (118) *ēkoni ōhi, mastaw ēkwa ēkoni ōhi ē-pimipayiki ...* [HP4:53]  
 ēkoni ōhi mastaw ēkwa ēkoni ōhi ē- pimipayi -ki  
 PR.0p PR.0p IPT IPC PR.0p PR.0p IPV VII 0p  
 those these recently now those these CNJ progress  
 “They are new, these [diseases] that are going around, ...”  
 [i.e. “These things, they are going around recently now, ...”]

- (119) *wa, tāpwē ēkwa ē-pēyakwahpitak misatim, ...* [HP8:34]  
 wa tāpwē ēkwa ē- pēyakwahpit -ak misatimw  
 IPC IPC IPC IPV VTA DIR NA.3s  
 well truly then CNJ harness.one 1s-3s  
 “So then, sure enough, I hitched up a horse ...”

- (120) *ēkosi ēkwa nī-pē-ka-kiyokāk ana ēwako ana, nisis ana, ...* [HP5:6]  
 ēkosi ēkwa nī- kī- pē- ka- kiyokaw -ik -Ø  
 IPC IPC 1s IPV IPV IPV VTA INV 3s  
 so then PST come RDPL visit 3s-1s  
  
 ana ēwako ana  
 PR.3s PR.3s PR.3s  
 that that that  
 “So he had come to visit me, this uncle of mine, ...”

This alternative strategy which sees *ēkwa* occurring in second position (P<sup>2</sup>) is part of a wider phenomenon in Cree syntax which is integrally tied to the importance of P<sup>1</sup>. While this will form a large part of the subject matter for Chapter 6, we can at least continue our introduction to P<sup>2</sup> as pertains to clausal cohesion.

### 5.3 P<sup>2</sup> Introduced

The second important position that Ogg (1991) discerns for sentential and clausal connectives is second position. As we have seen above, examples of

temporal particles in general do not actually adhere to this, occurring either in initial position (though occasionally preceded by an extra-clausal coordinator), or in final position. Nevertheless, the coordinators proper do exhibit the tendency to “invert” into second position as observed by Ogg. Two simple examples of this can be found in (121), in both a common greeting (a) and common response (b) in Plains Cree.

- (121) a) *tānisi ēkwa kiya?*  
 tānisi ēkwa kiya  
 IPC IPC PR.2s  
 how and/now  
 “And how are you?” / “How are you now?”
- b) *mōya nānitaw. kiya māka?*  
 mōya nānitaw kiya māka  
 IPC IPC PR.2s IPC  
 NEG any but/then  
 “I’m fine. And you?”

### 5.3.1 Coordinators and Emphatic Particles

In the greeting in (121a), *tānisi ēkwa kiya?*, *ēkwa* can be interpreted as either a temporal particle displaced from P<sup>1</sup> by the interrogative proform *tānisi* “how” (see Chapter 6), or as a connective placed in P<sup>2</sup> both in deference to the focussed question word and in order to mark that focus. Additional examples of *ēkwa* will be seen below, frequently occurring in second position. In (121b), the rejoinder, *kiya māka?* “and you?” is a very clear example of a connective particle occurring after a contrastively focussed pronoun (again, see Chapter 6). Further examples of *māka* in this position are given in (122) through (124).

- (122) (*tāpwē māka, ēkosi kī-itācimāw awa*) [HP8:154]  
 tāpwē māka ēkosi kī- itācim -ā -w awa  
 IPC IPC IPC IPV VAI XAct 3s PR.3s  
 truly but thus PST tell.so.about X-3s this  
 “(it is true, this was said about him)”
- (123) ‘*mitoni māka otākosin,*’ ... [HP8:60]  
 mitoni māka otākosin -Ø  
 IPC IPC VII 0s  
 really but be.evening  
 “‘It was well into the evening already,’ ...”



- (124) *ēkosi isinākwan, ēkosi māka nīsta nititēyihētēn, ...* [HP4:82-83]  
 ēkosi isinākwan -Ø ēkosi māka nīsta nit- itēyihēt -ē -n  
 IPC VII 0s IPC IPC PR.1s 1 VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2  
 thus appear.so thus but think.so 1s-0  
 “That is the way it looks, and that is also what I think, ...”

In these examples, we find a number of elements in initial position with *māka* following. In (122), the propositional particle *tāpwē* is found unexceptionally in initial position emphasized by *māka*. In (123) and (124), however, we find two particles, *mitoni* and *ēkosi* respectively, which were earlier characterized as occurring in immediately preverbal (P<sup>M-1</sup>) position. Such examples account for the last of the few exceptions mentioned, but they too are patterned exceptions involving placement in initial position for emphasis. In such structures, the “inversion” of the coordinator serves to emphasize the element in P<sup>1</sup>.

This need not be accomplished by coordinators, as other emphatic particles are often found in second position. Examples (125) and (126) demonstrate the use of two emphatic particles, *ani* and *oti* respectively, in conjunction with *mitoni*.

- (125) -- *mitoni ani kā-nāpēhkāsocik aniki, ...* [HP3:19]  
 mitoni ani kā- nāpēhkāso -cik aniki  
 IPC IPC IPV VAI 3p PR.3p  
 really ! CNJ be.brave those  
 “..., the braves ...”  
 [i.e. “those who are really brave”]

- (126) ‘*mitoni oti ē-minihkwēt tāpitawi māna, ’ itwēw.*’ [HP5:20]  
 mitoni oti ē- minihkwē -t tāpitawi māna itwē -w  
 IPC IPC IPV VAI 3s IPT IPC VAI 3s  
 really ! CNJ drink continually habitually say.so  
 “ ‘He was really drinking all the time,’ he said.”

Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) discuss a number of P<sup>2</sup> elements, but concentrate on “emphatic” *ani* which they characterize as exceptionally strict in its position following (or encliticization to) a single word in initial position. Included in their Swampy Cree data, Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001:430) show that *ani* must encliticize to the first word even if this intercedes between two words which form a unitary constituent, such as *awa iskwēw* “this woman” in their example (6) provided here in terms of the current analysis in (127).

- (127) a) *awa ani iskwēw kiskinohamākēpan.*  
 awa ani iskwēw kiskinohamākē -pan  
 DEM.3s IPC NA.3s VAI PST  
 this ! woman teach  
 “This woman was teaching.”
- b) \**awa iskwēw ani kiskinohamākēpan.*

The second position of *ani* is confirmed by examples from the House People texts. Although not commonly found in this data, *ani* occurs only in second position following such elements as the intensifier *mitoni* (already demonstrated above in (125)), temporal *ēkwa*, as in (128), and *ēkosi* in (129).

- (128) ‘*wahwā, ēkwa ani kā-pakāsimo yān,*’ [HP8:126]  
 wahwā ēkwa ani kā- pakāsimo -yān  
 IPC IPT IPC IPV VAI 1s  
 oh.my now ! CNJ swim  
 “ ‘Oh my, and then I did have a swim,’ ”

- (129) *ā, ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoyin, nimosōm!* [HP6:75]  
 ā ēkosi ani ē- kitimaho -yin ni- mosōm  
 IPC IPC IPC IPV VAI 2s 1 NDA.3s(VOC)  
 ah thus ! CNJ be.rough.on.oneself grandfather  
 “Well, in that case you will be in rough shape, grandfather!”

Particles like *ani* and *oti*, then, are exceptionally strict in occurring in second position, displacing other particles, like the coordinators surveyed above, to what then appears to be third position. However, a different way to interpret these is that *ani* is an enclitic on the first word in a potential phrase and so does not take second clausal position at all. This would allow for such examples as found in (130) to be interpreted as having the full phrasal manner adverbial *ēkosi isi* in initial position, while *ani* is, phrase-internally, attached to the first word in the phrase.

- (130) *ēkos ān isi nēhiyaw māna ē-kī-pimācihot.*  
 ēkosi ani isi nēhiyaw māna ē- kī- pimāciho -t  
 IPC IPC IPC NA.3s IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 thus ! thus Cree habitually CNJ PST make.a.living  
 “That’s the way the Cree used to live.”

Such an interpretation would also allow for the alternation given in (131),

where the very common combination of *ēkosi ēkwa* (as textually attested in (a)) would be interpreted as above, with *ēkwa* inverted into second position, while the addition of *ani* (checked through elicitation in (b)) does nothing to change this, since *ani* can be interpreted as attaching to *ēkosi* in initial position.

- (131) a) ***ēkosi ēkwa ē-nōhtēhkatēyahk mihcētawāw***; ... [HP4:139]  
 ēkosi ēkwa ē- nōhtēhkatē -yahk mihcētawāw  
 IPC IPT IPV VAI 21 IPT  
 thus now CNJ be.hungry many.times  
 “So we go hungry many times now; ...”
- b) ***ēkosi ani ēkwa ē-nōhtēhkatēyahk mihcētawāw***; ...  
 ēkosi ani ēkwa ē- nōhtēhkatē -yahk mihcētawāw  
 IPC IPC IPT IPV VAI 21 IPT  
 thus ! now CNJ be.hungry many.times  
 “So we go hungry many times now; ...”

Taking this even further, with phrasal *ēkosi isi* in initial position, even with *ani* inserted within the phrase, *ēkwa* can follow this whole sequence, and still be considered an example of a coordinator “inverted” into the second clausal position.

- (132) ***ēkos ān isi ēkwa nikī-ati-sipwēhtānān***.  
 ēkosi ani isi ēkwa ni- kī- ati- sipwēhtē -nān  
 IPC IPC IPC IPC 1 IPV IPV VAI 1p  
 thus ! thus and.then PST progressively leave  
 “So then that’s the way we left.”

Interestingly, this interpretation also accounts for examples in which both emphatic particles, *ani* and *oti*, co-occur. Examples of this include the frozen particle constructions *miton ot āni* “exceptionally, exceedingly” and *tak ot āni* “it is a very good thing”. Given the fact that *oti* precedes *ani* in such constructions, these could constitute counterexamples to Reinholtz and Wolfart’s analysis of *ani* as occurring in second position. In contrast, the data is consistent with the current interpretation that both particles act as enclitics on the first word in a phrase, rather than occurring in second position in the clause. This essentially means that two different “second positions” are important in Plains Cree: phrasal P<sup>2</sup>, in which enclitics like *ani* attach to the first word of a phrase (especially, but perhaps not exclusively in clausal P<sup>1</sup>), and clausal P<sup>2</sup> in which particles such as the coordinators can be

placed as the second clausal constituent (or be “inverted” in Ogg’s terminology) in order to avoid detracting from an emphasized element or phrase in clausal P<sup>l</sup>, and/or to lend it additional prominence.

### 5.3.2 Demonstratives, Focus Particles and Copulas<sup>85</sup>

It is important to note that *ani*, as an emphatic particle, is derived historically from a demonstrative pronoun (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001:428, citing Pentland 2000). Although *ani* is no longer used as such (having been replaced diachronically by *anima* “that (inanimate)”), other synchronically active demonstrative pronouns show this same tendency towards dual or even multiple function. For instance, it has long been known and taught that demonstrative pronouns can occur on either side of the noun in Cree (cf. Edwards 1982; Ellis 1983; Okimāsis and Ratt 1999:23).<sup>86</sup> Examples of both noun and demonstrative pronoun occurring together in isolation, as in (133), clearly illustrate that the ordering of these two elements is crucial. In (133a), with demonstrative-noun (DEM-N) order, the resultant structure is a Noun Phrase (NP). When the order is reversed (i.e. N-DEM), as in (133b), the demonstrative serves to introduce the noun as predicate. Furthermore, (133c) shows that the demonstrative can stand alone in both positions in which case the interpretation is also equational.

- (133) a) *awa mahihkan*  
           awa                  mahihkan  
           DEM.3s              NI.3s  
           this                  wolf  
           “this wolf”
- b) *mahihkan awa.*  
           mahihkan          awa  
           NA.3s              PR.3s  
           wolf                  this  
           “This is a wolf.”

<sup>85</sup> In part, this section begins as a rethought and rewritten version of a paper previously published as Wolvengrey 2003, “The Function and Word Order of Plains Cree Demonstratives”.

<sup>86</sup> All of these teaching texts were in use much earlier than their (re)publication dates suggest. The Edwards text was first printed in 1954, Ellis’ *Spoken Cree* was originally published in 1962, and the earliest edition of *Cree, Language of the Plains* was issued as a course text and workbook by the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in 1984, copyright Jean L. Bellegarde (nee Okimāsis).

- c) *awa awa.*  
 awa            awa  
 PR.3s        PR.3s  
 this         this  
 “This is the one.”

This dual function of demonstratives in Cree, perhaps best exemplified by Ahenakew (1987a), is generally taken for granted by speakers. Examples such as that in (133a) are simply noun phrases in which the demonstrative may serve to emphasize or point out the noun (i.e. providing contrastive emphasis or deictic reference; cf. Ahenakew 1987a:149). Additionally, Cyr (1996) has shown that the demonstrative in this pre-nominal position frequently serves as a marker of definiteness in Plains Cree. In contrast, when demonstratives follow (either a noun or another demonstrative), Ahenakew (1987a:148) refers to their function as “equational”, forming a second, separate noun phrase in apposition to the preceding noun or demonstrative pronoun. In essence, it appears to act as the demonstrative “subject” of a non-verbal identificational predication (cf. Hengeveld 1992). This would imply, however, that a copular verb is completely absent from the structure. Although this is the usual analysis for Cree, and the one adhered to here for this equational structure, there is additional evidence that demonstrative pronouns such as *ōma* “this (inanimate)” can also serve as copulas in certain contexts. In (134a), the equational construction is offered again, but with a first person pronoun in place of the demonstrative argument of (133b). In (134b), both of the same elements are present, but now *ōma* intervenes, seemingly serving the function of a copular link. This same effect can be accomplished through the verbalization of the nominal by addition of the suffix *-iwi*, as shown in (134c).

- (134) a) *mahihkan niya.*  
 mahihkan    niya  
 NA.3s        PR.1s  
 wolf         I/me  
 “I am (named) Wolf” / “I am a wolf.”
- b) *mahihkan ōma niya.*  
 mahihkan    ōma        niya  
 NA.3s        IPC        PR.1s  
 wolf         =         I/me  
 “I am a wolf.”

- c) *nimahihkaniwin.*  
 ni- mahihkaniwi -n  
 1 VAI 1/2  
 be.a.wolf  
 “I am a wolf.”

The construction in (134b) is largely restricted to first and second person referents which appear to dictate the use of the inanimate demonstrative *ōma*. *ōma* cannot occur in this function with a third person referent, and example (135a) illustrates how its presence forces a very different interpretation. Nor can an animate demonstrative, such as *awa*, serve the same function for first or second persons, as exemplified in (135b). The animate demonstrative can, however, appear to serve this function with a third person (exemplified in (135c)), in at least one reading of the expression.

- (135) a) *mahihkan ōma wiya.*  
 mahihkan ōma wiya  
 NA.3s PR.0s PR.3s  
 wolf this his/her  
 “This (inanimate thing) is Wolf’s. / This belongs to Wolf.”
- b) *mahihkan awa niya.*  
 mahihkan awa niya  
 NA.3s IPC PR.1s  
 wolf FOC mine  
 “This wolf is mine. / The wolf here is mine”
- c) *mahihkan awa wiya.*  
 mahihkan awa wiya  
 NA.3s IPC/PR.3s PR.3s  
 wolf = /this  
 “This one is a wolf.”  
 or “This (animate thing) is Wolf’s. / This belongs to Wolf.”

Thus, we have now seen demonstratives used prenominal as nominal modifiers, alone as arguments unto themselves, and, in a more limited sense, possibly even developing towards copular usage. The diversity of functions of Cree demonstratives does not end here. The glosses for (135b) actually suggest yet another possible interpretation of the function of the demonstrative *awa*. This is highlighted by the expansion of our original examples from (133) as in (136) through (138). In all three examples, the second occurrence of *awa* has

been added between the original constituents (i.e. between demonstrative and noun, noun and demonstrative, demonstrative and demonstrative).

- (136) *aw āwa mahihkan*
- a)    *awa*    *awa*    *mahihkan*  
       PR.3s    PR.3s    NA.3s  
       this     this     wolf  
       “This is the wolf.”
- OR b) *awa*    *awa*    *mahihkan*  
       DEM.3s    IPC     NA.3s  
       this     FOC    wolf  
       “this here wolf”

In (136), two interpretations are possible. In (a), we have a predication similar to (133c) with the first two instances of *awa* forming the equational construction along with the additional displacement of the noun *mahihkan* appositionally. More important is the second possibility in which the structure remains interpretable as a single noun phrase and the second instance of *awa* encliticizes as a focus particle to the first, demonstrative use of *awa*. This focus particle interpretation is the only one available in (137), where the first instance of *awa* encliticizes to *mahihkan*.

- (137) *mahihkan aw āwa.*
- mahihkan*    *awa*    *awa*  
       NA.3s     IPC     PR.3s  
       wolf        FOC    this  
       “This here is a wolf.” / “This is a wolf here.”

This pattern is taken to its extreme in (138) where *awa* serves all three functions.

- (138) *aw āw āwa.*
- awa*        *awa*        *awa*  
       PR.3s     IPC        PR.3s  
       this        FOC        this  
       “This here is the one.” / “This is the one here.”

This same pattern can be accomplished with a large variety of other demonstrative combinations, including those in (139).

- (139) a) *ōm ōm ōma.*  
 ōma            ōma            ōma  
 PR.0s        IPC            PR.0s  
 this         FOC            this  
 “This is the (inanimate) one here.”
- b) *an ān āna.*  
 ana            ana            ana  
 PR.3s        IPC            PR.3s  
 that         FOC            that  
 “That is the (animate) one there.”
- c) *anim ānim ānima.*<sup>87</sup>  
 anima        anima        anima  
 PR.0s        IPC            PR.0s  
 that         FOC            that  
 “That is the (inanimate) one there.”
- d) *nāh ān āna.*  
 nāha            ana            ana  
 PR.3s            IPC            PR.3s  
 that.yonder    FOC            that  
 “That is the (animate) one yonder there.”
- e) *nēm ānim ānima.*  
 nēma            anima        anima  
 PR.0s            IPC            PR.0s  
 that.yonder    FOC            that  
 “That is the (inanimate) one yonder there.”

Thus, demonstratives serve a wide variety of uses in Plains Cree. The proximal (*awa* and *ōma* “this” and medial (*ana* and *anima* “that”) demonstratives have been extended for use as focus particles which encliticize to the first word of a phrase. As such, they share this feature with emphatic particles like *ani* and *oti*, suggesting that these all occur in phrasal P<sup>2</sup> rather than clausal P<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore,

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<sup>87</sup> Though the fuller form, *anim ānim ānima*, is given here, some speakers prefer a slightly shorter alternative, *an ānim ānima*. This latter example appears to include the older/archaic form of the medial inanimate singular demonstrative, *ani*, in preference to the more common and current *anima*, possibly merely in avoidance of the triple repetition of a three-syllable particle, despite already being reduced by sandhi.



there is even some evidence that at least the proximal demonstratives are developing a copular use in certain constructions. Because of this diversity of function, it can be difficult to determine the exact role that demonstratives play in many constructions. This is the case in the following examples which begin with a resumptive proform in initial position, followed by a number of elements, mostly in the form of demonstratives. In some cases, the demonstrative is an argument in argument position, in others it combines with the initial resumptive element as a focus marker, and in yet others, no demonstrative is present at all. In (140a), the manner adverb *ēkosi* which would normally appear in P<sup>M-1</sup> preceding the verb occurs initially. That the accompanying demonstrative *aniki* is not a focus marker but an argument of the verb is illustrated in both (b) and (c) where the demonstrative *anima* serves this emphasizing function by encliticizing to *ēkosi*. In (140b), *aniki* remains in preverbal argument position, but in (140c) *aniki* occurs postverbally.

- (140) a) ..., *ēkosi aniki ē-kī-itāpatisicik*. [HP3:56]  
 ēkosi aniki ē- kī- itāpatisi -cik  
 IPC PR.3p IPV IPV VAI 3p  
 thus those CNJ PST be.useful.so  
 “..., that was their purpose.”  
 [i.e. “Thus those were used/useful.”]
- b) ..., *ēkos ānim āniki ē-kī-itāpatisicik*.  
 ēkosi anima aniki ē- kī- itāpatisi -cik  
 IPC IPC PR.3p IPV IPV VAI 3p  
 thus FOC those CNJ PST be.useful.so  
 “..., it was thus that they were used/useful.”
- c) ..., *ēkos ānima ē-kī-itāpatisicik aniki*.  
 ēkosi anima ē- kī- itāpatisi -cik aniki  
 IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3p PR.3p  
 thus FOC CNJ PST be.useful.so those  
 “..., it was thus that they were used/useful.”

In contrast with the example in (140a), and parallel to (140b and c), the next examples show the focalizing use of *anima* when following a variety of other resumptive particles including a locative (*ēkota* “there, at that aforementioned place” (141)), a temporal (*ēkospīhk* “at that aforementioned time” (142)), and an argument (*ēwako* “that aforementioned one”).

(141) ..., **ēkota anima** ē-kī-ohci-pimātisit. [HP4:62]

ēkota	anima	ē-	kī-	ohci-	pimātisi	-t
PL	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
there	FOC	CNJ	PST	from	live	

“..., and that was their source of life.”  
[i.e. “it was from there that they lived.”]

(142) **ēkospīhk anima** nīsta ēkotē ē-kī-itisahokawiyān.

ēkospīhk	anima	nīsta	ēkotē	
PT	IPC	PR.1s	PL	
at.that.time	FOC		over.there	

ē-	kī-	itisahw	-ikawi	-yān
IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1s
CNJ	PST	send.there	(X-)1s	

“I, too was sent there at the time.”  
[i.e. “it was at that time that I, too was sent over there.”]

(143) **ēwako anima** okiskinahamākēwin wiya nēhiyaw ē-kī-ayāt, ... [HP2:17]

ēwako	anima	o-	kiskinahamākēwin	wiya	nēhiyaw
DEM.0'	IPC	3	NI.0's	IPC	NA
there	FOC		education	for	Cree

ē-	kī-	ay	-ā	-t
IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>2</sub>	TH	3s
CNJ	PST	have	3s-0'	

“That was the education system of the Crees, ...”  
[i.e. “for that was the education system which the Cree had.”]

The example in (143) is particularly interesting since *anima*, in its use as a focus particle, occurs in phrasal P<sup>2</sup> within the phrase *ēwako okiskinwahamākēwin* “that aforementioned education system of his”. Furthermore, the coordinative use of *wiya* “for, because” then follows this phrase in clausal P<sup>2</sup>, just as do other coordinators as demonstrated in section 5.3.1, and all of this precedes the argument *nēhiyaw* “Cree” which in turn precedes the verb.

## 5.4 Conclusions

In the current chapter, we have investigated a number of important, syntactically-defined preverbal positions in Plains Cree, each one relative to another important position within the clause, or in relation to the clause

itself. Although our clausal template is not yet complete, the picture of preverbal order that has begun to emerge in this chapter is summarized in both (144) and Table 5.2 below.

- (144) a) - P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> ? (P<sup>M-2</sup>) P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup>  
 b) [ P<sup>1</sup> -P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2+1</sup> ]

In (144a), we have our main preverbal clausal positions. These include an extra-clausal position (-) for coordinators and subordinators, which have no effect on the ordering of other clausal constituents, and the immediately preverbal position, P<sup>M-1</sup>, in which both oblique arguments and verbal modifiers can occur. When both of these latter constituents are present to compete for P<sup>M-1</sup>, oblique arguments take precedence which, in turn, forces verbal modifiers to find an alternative position. This might be clause-final position, as seen in Chapter 4, but some limited data suggests a mere displacement to P<sup>M-2</sup> is also possible. Though the core verbal arguments (i.e. A1, A2, A3) also often appear to occur in immediately preverbal position, the evidence suggests that both oblique arguments and verbal modifiers take precedence. Conversely, these arguments can also appear in initial position, so that it remains to be seen, through our survey of the function of preverbal arguments in the next chapter, exactly how to best account for preverbal arguments. At this point, it is possible to view verbal arguments as placed relative to the verb but displaced by obliques and modifiers, or perhaps relative instead to clause-initial position. Given this uncertainty, a question mark (?) has been included in the template in (144a) in reference to core verbal arguments.

**Table 5.2**  
**Preliminary Preverbal Constituent Order and Function**

Options	-	P <sup>1</sup>	P <sup>2</sup>	P <sup>M-2</sup>	P <sup>M-1</sup>	P <sup>M</sup>
1	<b>Coordinator or Subordinator</b>	see Chapter 6	<b>Inverted Coordinator and Subordinator</b>	<b>Verbal Modifier</b> (if displaced from P <sup>M-1</sup> )	<b>Oblique Argument</b> (if present)	<b>Verb</b>
2		see Chapter 6	<b>Focal Demonstrative</b>	Argument? (see Chapter 6)	<b>Verbal Modifier</b> (if present)	
3		see Chapter 6			Argument? (see Chapter 6)	

In addition to these positions, we have also begun to see the importance of second position ( $P^2$ ). In attempting to illustrate  $P^2$ , however, we have discovered that there appear to be two different levels in which  $P^2$  is important, and therefore two different instantiations of  $P^2$  that we must pay attention to within Cree structure. Clausal  $P^2$  is included in the clausal template in (144a), while (144b) represents a phrasal template in which  $P^2$  enclitics attach to the first word in a particular phrase. In both cases, the function of  $P^2$  has been primarily to isolate and emphasize an element in initial position or  $P^1$ . Without specifically investigating it yet, we have already seen that  $P^1$  can contain a wide variety of elements, and this provides our link to the importance of Pragmatic Functions in Plains Cree word order. The main topic of investigation in Chapter 6 will be the pragmatic ordering principles which dictate the occurrence of elements in  $P^1$  and elsewhere in the clause.



# Chapter 6

## Pragmatic Functions and Word Order

In the preceding chapters, we first surveyed the effectiveness of the Direct-Inverse system in freeing Cree word order from the necessity of strict, grammaticalized positions for semantic or syntactic functions. However, we then began to see that the lack of syntactic functions does not mean that word order is unimportant, and that a variety of semantic and syntactic word order restrictions are present. The current chapter will conclude this survey of important word order positioning within Plains Cree discourse, with a focus on pragmatic functions. As such, we will not only discuss several important pragmatically-motivated clausal positions, but will then also look at the function of extra-clausal positions preceding and following the clause proper. Extra-clausal positions have been characterized as serving important pragmatic functions, such as Theme and Tail in Functional Grammar (Dik 1997b). In many ways, these extra-clausal constituents are similar to, or extensions of, clausal functions such as the variety of Topic types (e.g. New Topic, Resumed Topic, SubTopic, etc.), as well as Focus and Contrast (cf. Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008). Each of these functions will be introduced first within the discussion of pragmatically-motivated clausal word order.

### 6.1 Clausal Constituents

Several clausal positions already discussed previously will also be important for pragmatic interpretation. The introduction of  $P^2$  constituents in the previous chapter crucially depends on the importance of the initial position ( $P^1$ ), and these two positions will now be illustrated through a number of constructions which will point to the function of both Focus and Topic as essential factors in Cree word order. Furthermore, the syntactically important relative preverbal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) will also be investigated for its potential to host arguments bearing particular pragmatic functions, as suggested by the frequent preverbal placement of arguments which are clearly not placed in  $P^1$ . These positions will be treated in turn below.

### 6.1.1 P<sup>I</sup>

Perhaps the most well-known and strict word order positions in Cree are associated with yes-no question formation (cf. Edwards 1982:49-1,3; Ellis 1983:29; Wolfart 1996:394-395; Okimāsis and Ratt 1999:16-17; etc.). Yes-no or polar questions are most commonly characterized as requiring the most important word in initial position (P<sup>I</sup>) followed by the question particle *cī* in second position. Question formation, in turn, is most commonly associated cross-linguistically with Focus assignment, since the requested information in questions is what is in focus; in content questions, the interrogative proform is the new information that the speaker is requesting in order to fill a gap in his or her knowledge. However, Contrast can also be discerned in questions, and this will be important in the discussion of yes-no and content questions, as well as their structural similarities to other focus constructions.

#### 6.1.1.1 *cī* Interrogatives

The element most commonly characterized as a second position element in Cree is the question particle *cī* which marks yes-no or polar interrogatives.<sup>88</sup> The overwhelming number of examples found in introductory teaching texts illustrate the use of *cī* by converting simple declaratives, as in (1a), to interrogatives, as in (1b), often, just as in these examples, including only a single verb, or at least with the verb in initial position.

- (1) a) *nōhtēhkatēw.*  
           *nōhtēhkatē*    -w  
           VAI            3s  
           be.hungry  
           “S/he is hungry”
- b) *nōhtēhkatēw cī.*  
           *nōhtēhkatē*   -w     *cī*  
           VAI            3s     Q  
           be.hungry  
           “Is s/he hungry?”

<sup>88</sup> Dialectally, *cī* is the question particle in Plains Cree and shows some spread into neighbouring Woods Cree dialect areas. Elsewhere in the Cree dialect continuum, the question particle is *nā*.

When other elements are added, they frequently follow the questioned verb, as in (2).

- (2) *kī-takosin cī otākosīhk?*  
 kī- takosin -Ø cī otākosīhk  
 IPV VAI 3s Q IPT  
 PST arrive yesterday  
 “Did s/he arrive yesterday?”

With only examples of this type available, it would be possible to interpret question formation as inserting the question particle immediately following the verb in its regular clause-medial position. However, the crucial occurrence of examples such as (3a), and the ungrammaticality of (3b), at least illustrate that the question particle need not follow the verb and, in fact, cannot if the verb is not initial.

- (3) a) *otākosīhk cī kī-takosin?*  
 otākosīhk cī kī- takosin -Ø  
 IPT Q IPV VAI 3s  
 yesterday PST arrive  
 “Did s/he arrive yesterday?”
- b) \**otākosīhk kī-takosin cī?*  
 “Arrive yesterday did s/he?”

In actual fact, a wide variety of single word elements can occur in initial position in yes-no questions, but *cī* must always follow the initial word. In addition to the verb in (2) and a temporal adverbial in (3a), the following examples illustrate the initial placement of locatives (4), first arguments (5), second arguments (6) and (7), third arguments (8), manner adverbials (9) and negation (10). This list is by no means exhaustive.

- (4) *atāwēwikamikohk cī kiwī-itohtān?*  
 atāwēwikamikw -ihk cī ki- wī- itohtē -n  
 NI LOC Q 2 IPV VAI 1/2  
 store PRSP go.there  
 “Are you going to go to **the store**?”



- (5)
- cān cī kī-pēsiwēw pahkwēsikana?*

cān	cī	kī-	pēsiw	-ē	-w	pahkwēsikan	-a
NA.3s	Q	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	NA	3'
John		PST	bring		3s-3'	bannock	

“Did **John** bring bannock?”

- (6)
- pahkwēsikana cī kī-pēsiwēw cān?*

pahkwēsikan	-a	cī	kī-	pēsiw	-ē	-w	cān
NA		3'	Q	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s
bannock				PST	bring		3s-3'
							John

“Did John bring **bannock**?”

- (7)
- kōhkominaŋw cī kiki-pētamaŋw pahkwēsikana?*

k-	ohkom	-inaŋw	cī	ki-	kī-	pētamaŋw	-ā	-w
2	NDA	21	Q	2	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s
	grandmother				PST	bring.for		2s-3s

pahkwēsikan	-a
NA	3'
bannock	

“Did you bring **our grandmother** some bannock?”

- (8)
- pahkwēsikana cī kiki-pētamaŋw kōhkominaŋw?*

pahkwēsikan	-a	cī	ki-	kī-	pētamaŋw	-ā	-w
NA		3'	Q	2	IPV	VTA	DIR
bannock					PST	bring.for	2s-3s

k-	ohkom	-inaŋw
2	NDA	21
	grandmother	

“Did you bring **bannock** for our grandmother?”

- (9)
- nisihkāc cī kiki-pimipison?*

nisihkāc	cī	ki-	kī-	pimipiso	-n
IPC	Q	2s	IPV	VAI	1/2
slowly			PST	drive.along	

“Did you drive **slowly**?”

- (10)
- ēkā cī ē-kaskihtāt ta-atoskēt?*

ēkā	cī	ē-	kaskiht	-ā	-t	ta-	atoskē	-t
IPC	Q	IPV	VTI <sub>2</sub>	TH	3s	IPV	VAI	3s
NEG		CNJ	be.able		3s-0'	CNJ	work	

“Is s/he not able to work?”

Since these are all constituents which can occur preverbally, many having been shown previously to occur in  $P^{M-1}$ , it might be possible to argue that these elements remain in situ in  $P^{M-1}$  marked by an encliticizing *cī*. Again, though, further examples illustrate that additional constituents can occur in preverbal position, but *cī* must follow only the first constituent. The example in (11) is a modification of (7) with both second and third arguments of the verb occurring preverbally, but only *kōhkominaw* in initial position marked by *cī*.

(11) *kōhkominaw cī pahkwēsikana kiki-pētamawāw?*

k-	ohkom	-inaw	<i>cī</i>	pahkwēsikan	-a
2	NDA	21	Q	NA	3'
	grandmother			bannock	
ki-	kī-	pētamaw	-ā	-w	
2	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	
	PST	bring.for	2s-3s		

“Did you bring some bannock **for our grandmother?**”

The reverse order is also possible, as in (12), where the third argument is marked by *cī* in initial position.

(12) *pahkwēsikana cī kōhkominaw kiki-pētamawāw?*

pahkwēsikan	-a	<i>cī</i>	k-	ohkom	-inaw
NA	3'	Q	2	NDA	21
bannock				grandmother	
ki-	kī-	pētamaw	-ā	-w	
2	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	
	PST	bring.for	2s-3s		

“Did you bring our grandmother **bannock?**”

The examples in (7), (8), (11), and (12) thus show four possible word orders with the initial element marked by *cī* given primary prominence or focus, but the second constituent in preverbal position (in (11) and (12)) also differs in emphasis in comparison to when it occurs postverbally. The status of the non-initial preverbal elements will be described below in section 6.1.2. The *cī*-marked element, however, is interpreted as the most important element in question.

In terms of the fact that these are yes-no questions, there is an element of contrast inherent in the question: does a particular state of affairs pertain or not? Negative questions make this explicit, but it is present in all questions

and contrast is even more evident when a specific element within a state of affairs is questioned, rather than the entire state of affairs. In (12), for instance, the question can be interpreted as asking for confirmation about the item (*pahkwēsikan* “bannock”) that was brought, either because it was previously understood that this was the item promised, or that there is some question of whether this is actually the item that was in fact brought, or simply in contrast to some other possible item (e.g. *kinosēw* “fish”).

Further exemplification of the importance of P<sup>1</sup> to question formation and interpretation are found in the variants in (13), all of which contain an intransitive verb, a single argument, a locative, and a temporal. In (13a), the question particle follows the verb and the question is interpreted as neutral or emphasizing the verbal action.

- (13) a) **wī-nitawi-nikamow** *cī cān nētē wāpahki?*  
 wī- nitawi- nikamo -w cī cān nētē wāpahki  
 IPV IPV VAI 3s Q NA.3s IPL IPT  
 PRSP go sing John over.there tomorrow  
 “Is John **going to go sing** over there tomorrow?”
- b) **cān** *cī wāpahki wī-nitawi-nikamow nētē?*  
 cān cī wāpahki wī- nitawi- nikamo -w nētē  
 NA.3s Q IPT IPV IPV VAI 3s IPL  
 John tomorrow PRSP go sing over.there  
 “Is **John** going to go sing over there tomorrow?”
- c) **wāpahki** *cī cān wī-nitawi-nikamow nētē?*  
 wāpahki cī cān wī- nitawi- nikamo -w nētē  
 IPT Q NA.3s IPV IPV VAI 3s IPL  
 tomorrow John PRSP go sing over.there  
 “Is John going to go sing over there **tomorrow**?”
- d) **nētē** *cī wāpahki cān wī-nitawi-nikamow?*  
 nētē cī wāpahki cān wī- nitawi- nikamo -w  
 IPL Q IPT NA.3s IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 over.there tomorrow John PRSP go sing  
 “Is John going to go sing **over there** tomorrow?”

In (13b), the sole argument of the verb, *cān* “John”, is placed in P<sup>1</sup> and the emphasis is now on this constituent such that the identity of the one who is going to go sing over there tomorrow is in question (i.e. whether it is *cān* or not). In (13c), the temporal particle *wāpahki* “tomorrow” is marked by *cī* and

the time of John's going to go sing over there is in question. Finally, in (13d), the locative *nēte* "over there" is marked by *cī* and it is the location that is being asked.

Since the important focussed element occurs in P<sup>1</sup>, the question particle *cī* has most often been characterized as a P<sup>2</sup> element. In terms of the twin characterization of P<sup>2</sup> offered in the preceding chapter, however, the *cī* must be interpreted as occurring in phrasal rather than clausal P<sup>2</sup>, encliticizing to the single word occurring in clause-initial position. This is evident in Ellis' (1983:32-33) discussion of Moose Cree data, as illustrated in (14), but also confirmed for Plains Cree. In (14a), Ellis illustrates the frequent occurrence of clausal coordinators such as *māka* "but" in P<sup>2</sup>, as discussed in section 5.3.1. In (14b), we find *nā*, the Moose Cree equivalent of Plains *cī*, in "second position" supposedly relegating *māka* to "third position" (Ellis 1983:33).

- (14) a) *mōla, nīla māka n'ka-kihtohtān.* (Ellis 1983:32)  
*mōla nīla māka ni- ka- kihtohtē -n*  
 IPC PR.1s IPC 1 IPV VAI 1/2  
 NEG but FUT go.away  
 "No, but I'll be going."

- b) *kīla nā māka ka-okimāwin ōta?* (Ellis 1983:33)  
*kīla nā māka (ki)ka- okimāwi -n ōta*  
 PR.2s Q IPC IPV VAI 1/2 IPL  
 but 2s.FUT be.boss here  
 "but will YOU be manager here?"<sup>89</sup>

The Plains Cree equivalent of (14b) given in (15) merely confirms the grammaticality of this construction for the dialect in question.

- (15) *kiya cī māka ka-okimāwin ōta?*  
*kiya cī māka (ki)ka- okimāwi -n ōta*  
 PR.2s Q IPC IPV VAI 1/2 IPL  
 but 2s.FUT be.chief here  
 "But will YOU be chief here?"

However, in contrast to Ellis' explicit statement, *māka* is not relegated to third position in the current analysis. Instead, *cī* must be interpreted as a phrasal P<sup>2</sup> encliticizing to the lone element in P<sup>1</sup>, while *māka* occurs as usual in clausal P<sup>2</sup>, as displayed graphically in (16).

<sup>89</sup> The emphasis on "YOU" is in Ellis' original, suggesting again the idea of contrast.



(18) a) *aw āw āwa.*

awa	awa	awa
PR.3s	IPC	PR.3s
this	FOC	this

“This here is the one.” / “This is the one here.”

b) *awa cī awa?*

awa	cī	awa
PR.3s	Q	PR.3s
this	this	

“Is this the one?” / “Is it this one here?”

c) *\*awa cī aw āwa?*

awa	cī	awa	awa
PR.3s	Q	IPC	PR.3s
wolf		FOC	this

“Is this one here the one?”

Thus, the yes-no question particle *cī* has the dual function of indicating the interrogative status of the clause and of marking a particular element as of primary importance to the question. As such, the *cī*-construction also has much in common with cleft-focus constructions, a topic we will return to following the next section in which we complete our survey of interrogatives by discussing content questions.

### 6.1.1.2 Content Interrogatives

As common as has been the association of the question particle *cī* with second position, even more obvious is the initial placement (P<sup>1</sup>) of interrogative proforms. Whether the proform represents a participant (e.g. *awīna* “who”; *kīkwāy* “what”), an adverbial (e.g. *tānispī* “when”; *tānitē* “where”; *tānisi* “how”, *tānēhki* “why”, etc.), or a quantifier (e.g. *tānitahto* “how many”; *tāniyikohk* “how much”), the question word must occur in initial position, as illustrated in examples (19) through (25).

(19) a) *awīna ē-kī-pakamahosk?*

awīna	ē-	kī-	pakamahw	-isk
PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV
who	CNJ	PST	hit	3s-2s

“Who hit you?”

b) *awīna ē-kī-pakamahwat?*

awīna	ē-	kī-	pakamahw	-at
PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR
who	CNJ	PST	hit	2s-3s

“Who did you hit?”

(20) a) *kīkwāy ē-kī-pakamiskākoyan?*

kīkwāy	ē-	kī-	pakamiskaw	-iko	-yan
PR.0s	IPV	IPV	VTA	InAct	2s
what	CNJ	PST	strike	0-2s	

“What struck you?”

b) *kīkwāy ē-kī-pakamahaman?*

kīkwāy	ē-	kī-	pakamah	-am	-an
PR.0s	IPV	IPV	VTI	TH	2s
what	CNJ	PST	hit	2s-0	

“What did you hit?”

(21) *tānispī ē-wī-sipwēhtēyan?*

tānispī	ē-	wī-	sipwēhtē	-yan
PT	IPV	IPV	VAI	2s
when	CNJ	PRSP	leave	

“When are you going to leave?”

(22) *tānitē ē-kī-mētawēyan?*

tānitē	ē-	kī-	mētawē	-yan
PL	IPV	IPV	VAI	2s
where	CNJ	PST	play	

“Where did you play?”

(23) *tānisi kā-kī-isi-nikamoyan?*

tānisi	kā-	kī-	isi-	nikamo	-yan
IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	2s
how	CNJ	PST	thus	sing	

“How did you sing?”

(24) *tānēhki kā-kī-sipwēhtēt?*

tānēhki	kā-	kī-	sipwēhtē	-t
IPC	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
why	CNJ	PST	leave	

“Why did s/he leave?”

(25) *tānitahto (masinahikana) ē-kī-atāwēyan?*

tānitahto	(masinahikan	-a)	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan
IPC	(NI	0p)	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s
how.many	(book	)	CNJ	PST	buy	

“How many (books) did you buy?”

In examples such as (25), the quantifier can stand alone or premodify a noun in a full noun phrase. The entire NP can occur in P<sup>1</sup>, or the noun can be separated from the quantifier and occur later in the structure, as in (26). This again illustrates the potentially discontinuous nature of noun phrases including quantifiers (see also section 5.1.2.2), and the placement in P<sup>1</sup> of only the information that is being emphasised or focussed. In (25), it is the number of books which is in question, most likely in contrast to the number of some other item(s), while in (26) the identity of the purchased items as books is not as important, and only the number is being questioned. Hence, the argument appears in neutral position in P<sup>M+1</sup>, as described in chapter 4, while the quantifier occurs in P<sup>1</sup>.

(26) *tānitahto ē-kī-atāwēyan masinahikana?*

tānitahto	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan	masinahikan	-a
IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s	NI	0p
how.many	CNJ	PST	buy		book	

“How many books did you buy?”

The cross-linguistic placement of interrogative proforms (or “WH” constituents) in a special position (most commonly P<sup>1</sup>) has typically (in formal linguistic approaches such as Transformational Grammar) been characterized as the result of some sort of movement operation from more canonical clausal positions. In contrast, when interrogatives occur in the same clausal position as their non-interrogative counterparts, the strategy is known as “in situ”. Blain (1997) has analyzed Plains Cree interrogatives with respect to this typological difference, and concluded, based in part on the assumed “free word order”, that in situ interrogatives are not possible. The main point of agreement between the current analysis and Blain’s is based on the observation illustrated above that interrogative proforms are restricted to clause-initial position while their non-interrogative nominal and adverbial counterparts display variable word order (Blain 1997:85).

Another important observation that Blain (1997:88-90) makes is of the impermissibility of “multiple-WH” constructions in Cree, supporting this with ungrammatical examples such as (27), adapted from Blain (1997:90).



- (27) \**awīna kā-itwēt kīkwāy?*  
 awīna    kā-    itwē    -t    kīkwāy  
 PR.3s    IPV    VAI    3s    PR.0'  
 who                    say.so                    what  
 “Who said what?”

The English equivalent that this example was modelled on shows a combination of the two strategies of fronting (“who”) and in situ (“what”), both of which are possible in English.<sup>90</sup> In Cree, as we have already seen, no in situ structure is possible, only initial placement of the interrogative. Some languages, such as Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, do permit multiple interrogatives in which two or more interrogative proforms occur in initial position, with variable or strict ordering of the interrogative elements (Tallerman 2005:223-224). Cree does not permit these structures either, since any attempt to include two interrogative proforms in a single question, as in (28), is judged unacceptable.<sup>91</sup>

- (28) \**awīna kīkwāy kā-miskahk?*  
 awīna    kīkwāy    kā-    misk    -ah    -k  
 PR.3s    PR.0'    IPV    VTI<sub>1</sub>    TH    3s  
 who    what    CNJ    find    3s-0'  
 “Who found what?”

It is clear, therefore, that Plains Cree interrogatives can only occupy P<sup>1</sup> and only one interrogative element can occupy P<sup>1</sup> or be present in a single clause.

Faced with the absence of in situ structures, it is interesting that Blain (1997:92) also concludes that neither is there any WH-Movement, but that interrogatives are base-generated in initial position. This agrees with the current analysis despite differences in the theoretical frameworks (i.e. formalist TG versus functionalist F(D)G). Most interesting is Blain’s (1997:91) conclusion that all Plains Cree content interrogatives are clefted. This is based both on the absence of multiple interrogative structures, as stated above, and on the occurrence of sets such as those in (29).

<sup>90</sup> In this case, the “fronted” English interrogative *who* could actually also be interpreted as occurring in situ in its canonical subject position, but theory-internal constraints forbid this analysis in transformational approaches such as that taken by Blain (1997).

<sup>91</sup> A variant of this, with the non-interrogative indefinite pronominal *kīkwāy* “something” in place of the interrogative *kīkwāy* is, however, acceptable: *awīna kīkwāy kā-miskahk* “Who found something?” In such an example, however, the interrogative is in P<sup>1</sup>, while the indefinite pronoun occurs in a later preverbal position (see section 6.1.2).

(29) a) *awīna ē-kitohcikēt?*

<i>awīna</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kitohcikē</i>	<i>-t</i>
PR.3s	IPV	VAI	3s
who	CNJ	play.music	

“Who is playing music?”

b) *awīna ana kā-kitohcikēt?*

<i>awīna</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>kitohcikē</i>	<i>-t</i>
PR.3s	PR.3s	IPV	VAI	3s
who	that	CNJ	play.music	

“Who is it that is playing music?” / “Who is that who is playing music?”

c) *awīna ana?*

<i>awīna</i>	<i>ana</i>
PR.3s	PR.3s
who	that

“Who is that?”

In (29c), we have an identificational or equational structure, much as described in section 5.3.2, of the interrogative *awīna* “who” and a demonstrative pronoun *ana* “that”. In light of this structure, the example in (29b) can clearly be analyzed as a cleft structure, adding as it does a verb in the form of a relative clause, *kā-kitohcikēt* “(one) who plays music”, with the verb in the conjunct mode marked by the complementizer *kā-*. Just as, if not more, common in the formation of Plains Cree questions, however, are structures such as those in (29a) where no demonstrative pronoun occurs to act as the head of the Conjunct Order verb. Blain (1997:100) extends the analysis of cleft structures such as (29b) to the more basic interrogative structure in (29a), arguing that even in the apparent absence of a demonstrative, a null pronoun is nevertheless present as subject of the predicational structure clefting the interrogative and preceding the subordinate verb (in Conjunct form).<sup>92</sup>

With regard to cleft interrogative structures like (29b), then, the clefted element is placed in P<sup>1</sup> and focussed by the demonstrative in P<sup>2</sup> (which is all that is, in fact, present in (29c)) with the entirety of the comment clause,

<sup>92</sup> The Conjunct Order is not absolutely obligatory in content questions, though it is overwhelmingly favoured. Blain (1997) discusses examples of Independent Order verbs in content questions but concedes that further research is required. The rarity of such examples in both texts and in the use of those consulted in my own work forces me to further defer work on the Independent Order in content questions.

regardless of its complexity, placed in P<sup>M</sup>. In (29b), only the verb appears in P<sup>M</sup>, such that the structure in (30a) appears identical to a regular single clause structure, displayed in terms of the clause structure template as in (30b).

- (30) a) [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> [ P<sup>M</sup> ]]  
 [awīna ana [ P<sup>M</sup> ]]  
 [ k̄a-kitohcikēt ]
- b) [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>M</sup> ]  
 [awīna ana k̄a-kitohcikēt ]?

However, more complex clauses can appear as the P<sup>M</sup> comment of a cleft focus structure, as in (31). Here, the clefted interrogative precedes an entire clause with temporal, second argument, and locative elements preceding the verb. As suggested in Chapter 4, temporals can occur initially in the absence of any other topical material and, as shown in Chapter 5, locatives are one of the constituents that frequently occur in P<sup>M-1</sup> immediately preceding the verb. This leaves only the precise position of the second argument (to be discussed below in section 6.1.2) in question, but it is intermediate between these other preverbal elements.

- (31) awīnih ānihi otākosīhk cāniy mīnisihk k̄a-kī-wāpamikot?  
 awīnihi anihi otākosīhk cāniy mīnisihk  
 PR.3' PR.3' IPT NA.3s IPL  
 who that yesterday John Saskatoon
- k̄a- kī- wāpam -iko -t  
 IPV IPV VTA INV 3s  
 CNJ PST see 3'-3s
- “Who was it that saw John in Saskatoon yesterday?”

This would yield a clausal word order template as in (32), suggesting that Blain's analysis of clefting is correct and that (31a) is the more appropriate template for clefted interrogatives in which the verb is introduced by the complementizer *k̄a-*.

- (32) [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> [ P<sup>M</sup> ]]  
 [awīnihi anihi [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> ]]  
 [otākosīhk cāniy mīnisihk k̄a-kī-wāpamikot ]

If we follow Blain's (1997) analysis further, examples like the earlier (29a), repeated as (33), (in which the interrogative lacks an overt clefting demonstrative and the verbal complementizer is  $\bar{e}$ - rather than  $k\bar{a}$ -), would have to be analyzed as in (34a), with no instantiation of any  $P^2$  element, and the reiteration of an entire clausal structure in  $P^M$  rather than merely the verb.<sup>93</sup>

- (33) *awīna ē-kitohcikēt?*  
 awīna ē- kitohcikē -t  
 PR.3s IPV VAI 3s  
 who CNJ play.music  
 "Who is playing music?"

- (34) a)  $[P^1 \quad (P^2) \quad [ \quad P^M \quad ]]$   
 $[awīna \quad \emptyset \quad [ \quad P^M \quad ]]$ ?  
 $[ \quad \bar{e}\text{-kitohcikēt} \quad ]$
- b)  $[P^1 \quad P^M \quad ]$   
 $[awīna \quad \bar{e}\text{-kitohcikēt} \quad ]$ ?

(34b) does provide a more systematic analysis for Conjunct Order verbs in general as subordinate clauses. However, it also gives an identical surface result to the simpler analysis in (34a) which merely treats the verb as a verb in  $P^M$  and avoids the inclusion of  $P^2$ , empty or otherwise. Unless stronger evidence is available, the simpler analysis is to be preferred. This will also be revisited in section 6.1.1.3 below.

Just as we saw when comparing examples (29b) and (31), however, the elements following the interrogative can be considerably more complex, as in (35a) below. Here it does appear that an entire clause, complete with preverbal constituents, can follow the interrogative. While a clefting demonstrative is not permitted in  $P^2$  when the complementizer is  $\bar{e}$ -, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (35b), other  $P^2$  elements, such as the inverted coordinator *māka* "but" in (35c), are permissible.

- (35) a) *awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk?*  
 awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē- kī- wāpam -isk  
 PR.3s IPT IPL IPV IPV VTA INV  
 who yesterday Saskatoon CNJ PST see 3s-2s  
 "Who saw you yesterday in Saskatoon?"

<sup>93</sup> In fact, this is yet a further reiteration of clausal structure, since it is likely, as has been argued in the recent literature, that the Cree verb represents an entire polysynthetic clause unto itself (cf. Blain 1997, Déchaine 1999, Mühlbauer 2005).

b) \**awīna ana otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk?*

awīna	ana	otākosīhk	mīnisihk	ē-	kī-	wāpam	-isk
PR.3s	PR.3s	IPT	IPL	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV
who	that	yesterday	Saskatoon	CNJ	PST	see	3s-2s

“Who saw you yesterday in Saskatoon?”

c) *awīna māka otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk?*

awīna	māka	otākosīhk	mīnisihk	ē-	kī-	wāpam	-isk
PR.3s	IPC	IPT	IPL	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV
who	but	yesterday	Saskatoon	CNJ	PST	see	3s-2s

“But who saw you yesterday in Saskatoon?”

A structure as in (35c) might again suggest an analysis along the lines of Blain’s clefting, which would call for the template in (36), mirroring the one already given in (32) above.

(36)  $[P^1 \quad P^2 \quad [ \quad P^M \quad ]]$   
 $[awīna \quad māka \quad [P^1 \quad P^{M-1} \quad P^M \quad ]]$ ?  
 $[otākosīhk \quad mīnisihk \quad ē-kī-wāpamisk \quad ]$

However, an alternative is still possible, if the temporal particle has simply been displaced out of  $P^1$  and  $P^2$  by the focussed interrogative and the inverted coordinator serving to mark the focussed element. In such a case, the question in (35c) would have the single clause analysis in (37).

(37)  $[P^1 \quad P^2 \quad P^{2+1} \quad P^{M-1} \quad P^M \quad ]$   
 $[awīna \quad māka \quad otākosīhk \quad mīnisihk \quad ē-kī-wāpamisk \quad ]?$

Though (37) might appear simpler than (36), the placement of a temporal particle in the proposed  $P^{2+1}$  position is problematical if no  $P^2$  element occurs, as in (35a). Blain’s clefting analysis would translate to the template in (38a), while the single clause analysis would require the temporal particle to otherwise exceptionally occur in  $P^2$ , as in (38b).

(38) a)  $[P^1 \quad P^2 \quad [ \quad P^M \quad ]]$   
 $[awīna \quad - \quad [P^1 \quad P^{M-1} \quad P^M \quad ]]$ ?  
 $[otākosīhk \quad mīnisihk \quad ē-kī-wāpamisk \quad ]$

b)  $[P^1 \quad P^2 \quad P^{M-1} \quad P^M \quad ]$   
 $[awīna \quad otākosīhk \quad mīnisihk \quad ē-kī-wāpamisk \quad ]?$

(38a) may seem desirable from the standpoint of the parallelism of equating both *kā-* and *ē-* conjunct verbs with clefting in interrogatives. However, while speakers do frequently translate *kā-* constructions with English clefts, the same is not true of *ē-* constructions, thus complicating a parallel analysis. Also, (38a) is theoretically undesirable from the standpoint that P<sup>2</sup> is required but phonologically null, providing further complications to be explored below. Conversely, (39b) is also problematical since the temporal particle does not share the function of any other particle otherwise associated with P<sup>2</sup>. Yet another option might be to suggest that the temporal can simply be displaced from P<sup>1</sup> to P<sup>1+1</sup>, rather than P<sup>2</sup>, but this ignores the importance of the otherwise attested P<sup>2</sup> just when it is inconvenient. Thus, it is difficult to account fully for the differences and similarities of interrogatives with *ē-* and *kā-* complementizers respectively. The feature that they most certainly do share is that the interrogative proform occurs in P<sup>1</sup> with the function of Focus. Whether the presence of a Focus constituent in P<sup>1</sup> always requires a cleft structure must remain an open question. It is, however, certain, that cleft structures are not restricted to interrogatives.

### 6.1.1.3 Non-Interrogative Cleft-Focus

Just as the identificational/existential structures discussed in section 5.3.2 had interrogative counterparts detailed above (see example (29c)), the interrogative cleft-focus structure first exemplified in (29b) and repeated here as (39a) is matched by a declarative counterpart, in (39b).

- (39) a) *awīna ana kā-kitohcikēt?*  
awīna ana kā- kitohcikē -t  
PR.3s PR.3s IPV VAI 3s  
who that CNJ play.music  
“Who is it that is playing music?” / “Who is that who is playing music?”
- b) *nikosis ana kā-kitohcikēt.*  
ni- kosis ana kā- kitohcikē -t  
1 NDA PR.3s IPV VAI 3s  
son that CNJ play.music  
“That is my son who is playing music.”

Although (39b) is not likely to be an answer to (39a) in any place other than a Cree grammar instructional booklet, there are nevertheless contexts in which (39b) would be a natural utterance. One possible context volunteered by an informant would be in response to a less detailed question such as

*awīniki aniki?* (“who are those?”) in reference to a group of performers. (39b) would then be an acceptable response, singling out one of the performers of particular interest to the speaker. As such, the cleft structure provides contrastive focus on one of a number of possible referents. Just as with the interrogative structure in (39a), the focus element appears in P<sup>1</sup>, followed by a demonstrative pronoun in P<sup>2</sup>, while the complement, whether a verb alone as in (39b) or a more complex clause as in (40), follows in P<sup>M</sup>.

(40) *nikosis ana otākosīhk mīnisihk kā-kī-kitohcikēt.*

ni-	kosis	ana	otākosīhk	mīnisihk	
1	NDA	PR.3s	IPT	IPL	
	son	that	yesterday	Saskatoon	
	kā-	kī-	kitohcikē	-t	
	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s	
	CNJ	PST	play.music		

“That is my son who was playing music yesterday in Saskatoon.”

Thus, the interrogative and declarative cleft structures appear entirely parallel.

In addition to nouns, another common element found in cleft structures is one of the resumptive pronouns and proforms already introduced in section 5.3.2. Example (41) illustrates the use of the resumptive pronoun *ēwako* “that aforementioned one” in a cleft construction.

(41) *ēwawk āna kā-kī-kitohcikēt.*

ēwako	ana	kā-	kī-	kitohcikē	-t
PR.3s	PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
that	that	CNJ	PST	play.music	

“That’s the one who was playing music.”

This example differs from example (143) from Chapter 5 in two important ways. First, the complementizer present here is *kā-* rather than *ē-*. Second, the demonstrative pronoun following *ēwako* is not analyzed as a focus particle, but as a full pronoun and head of the relative clause. It is nevertheless possible to add an additional focussing use of *ana*, as in (42).

(42) *ēwawk ān āna kā-kī-kitohcikēt.*

ēwako	ana	ana	kā-	kī-	kitohcikē	-t
PR.3s	IPC	PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
that	FOC	that	CNJ	PST	play.music	

“That’s the one there who was playing music.”

In each case, we have a cleft structure with the demonstrative pronoun *ana* preceding a conjunct verb with the complementizer *kā-*. In contrast, we can also find examples such as (43) in which the complementizer present is *ē-*.

- (43) *ēwakw āna ē-kī-kitohcikēt.*  
 ēwako ana ē- kī- kitohcikē -t  
 PR.3s IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 that FOC CNJ PST play.music  
 “That one there was playing music.”

Crucially, the occurrence of *ana* in (43), in contrast to (41), must be interpreted as the focus particle, rather than the demonstrative, and the cleft structure is less certain. This doubt may be reinforced by the awkwardness or complete unacceptability of the example in (44), in comparison to (42).<sup>94</sup>

- (44) *?/\* ēwakw ān āna ē-kī-kitohcikēt.*  
 ēwako ana ana ē- kī- kitohcikē -t  
 PR.3s IPC PR.3s IPV IPV VAI 3s  
 that FOC that CNJ PST play.music  
 “That’s the one there that was playing music.”

The grammatical cleft examples, (41) and (42), are particularly interesting since the cleft element is a topical resumptive pronoun, suggesting that *ēwako* bears both topic and focus function. In fact, it may be more accurate to describe the majority of the clefts examined thus far as bearing contrastive focus, while the *ēwako* clefts can be described as contrastive topics. This would indicate that both focus and topic are candidates for P<sup>1</sup>, as long as they are contrastive.

#### 6.1.1.4 Topic

Similar structures containing a variety of resumptive proforms in P<sup>1</sup> were already introduced to highlight the role of P<sup>2</sup> in Chapter 5. In addition to the argument *ēwako*, other proforms introduced at that time included those representing manner (*ēkosi* “thus”; (45)), location (*ēkota* “there”, *ēkotē* “over there”; (46)), and time (*ēkospīhk* “at that time”; (47)).

<sup>94</sup> However, the unacceptability here of *ē-* in place of *kā-* may have as much to do with the definiteness of the referent of *ēwako* as the absolute need for *kā-* in cleft structures, and this may be indicated by the subsequent review of other resumptive proforms first seen in Chapters 4 and 5 (see section 6.1.1.4).



(45) ..., *ēkos ānim āniki ē-kī-itāpatisicik.*

ēkosi	anima	aniki	ē-	kī-	itāpatisi	-cik
IPC	IPC	PR.3p	IPV	IPV	VAI	3p
thus	FOC	those	CNJ	PST	be.useful.so	

“..., it was thus that they were used/useful.”

(46) ..., *ēkota anima ē-kī-ohci-pimātisit.* [HP4:62]

ēkota	anima	ē-	kī-	ohci-	pimātisi	-t
PL	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s
there	FOC	CNJ	PST	from	live	

“..., and that was their source of life.”  
[i.e. “it was from there that they lived.”]

(47) *ēkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē ē-kī-itisahokawiyān.*

ēkospīhk	anima	nīsta	ēkotē		
PT	IPC	PR.1s	PL		
at.that.time	FOC		over.there		

ē-	kī-	itisahw	-ikawi	-yān
IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1s
CNJ	PST	send.there	(X-)1s	

“I, too was sent there at the time.”  
[i.e. “it was at that time that I, too was sent over there.”]

In these cases, unlike with the pronoun *ēwako*, the *ē-* conjunct complementizer appears to be permissible or even preferred in clefting. Additionally, in examples (45) and (47), we also find preverbal arguments that are not in the clefted initial position. These follow the pattern first observed in Chapter 4 where a topical element appears to precede a focal element. Example (10) from Chapter 4 is repeated here as (48) to illustrate another such example of this order and in this case, despite the translation, clefting does not occur in the Cree structure.

(48) ..., “*ēwako kiya ka-tōtēn anohc kā-kīsikāk!*” [HP4:20]

ēwako	kiya	ka-	tōt	-ē	-n	anohc	kā-	kīsikā	-k
DEM.0s	PR.2s	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2	IPT	IPV	VII	0s
that	you	2.FUT	do	2s-0	now	CNJ	be.day		

“..., “This is what you will do today.””

In this example, *ēwako* in P<sup>1</sup> reinforces the topic which in this case is the daily instructions which an elder has just outlined. The second person pronoun which follows is used contrastively to emphasize that it is this

particular addressee's duties that are being referred to, and no-one else's. Thus, both topic and focus are occurring preverbally, and topic has taken precedence for occurrence in P<sup>1</sup>. The position of the contrastive element is still in question, since it can be interpreted as having been displaced into second position (P<sup>2</sup>) or perhaps even P<sup>1+1</sup> (in a structure devoid of P<sup>2</sup>), or conversely it may be one of the elements which occurs in preverbal position (P<sup>M-1</sup>, P<sup>M-n</sup>) as originally entertained in Chapter 5, section 5.1.2. Testing several permutations of (48) may help us reach some additional conclusions concerning the interaction of topic and focus, and the constituent order involved.

In (48), as mentioned, resumptive-topical and contrastive-focal constituents precede the verb in a non-cleft (or presumably straightforward) declarative construction. Additionally, a temporal particle is added in P<sup>F</sup> (see Chapter 4). The following examples alter the order of these three elements with respect to the clause medial position (P<sup>M</sup>) of the verb. In (49), the same basic order of topic and focus is maintained, but the temporal particle is allowed between them, such that all three elements are preverbal.

(49) *ēwako anohc kiya ka-tōtēn.*

ēwako	anohc	kiya	ka-	tōt	-ē	-n
DEM.0s	IPT	PR.2s	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2
that	today	you	2.FUT	do	2s-0	

“This is what you will do today.”

As indicated earlier, temporal particles appear very frequently in P<sup>1</sup> in the absence of other topical material, but temporal particles do themselves express a changed topical setting. This function appears to allow it to have access to P<sup>1</sup>. Although a topical argument may still take precedence over temporal expressions for this position, temporal expressions in turn appear to outrank focal expressions in declarative constructions. If the word order is altered in order to attempt to put the contrastive-focal use of the pronoun *kiya* first, the order is judged odd or unacceptable, as in (50a), unless the pronoun is offset from the clause, as in (50b). In this case, *kiya* can no longer be interpreted as representing contrastive focus, but is instead used like an attention-getting vocative (see section 6.2.1.2.2.1 below) in pre-clausal position.

(50) a) *?/\*kiya ēwako (anohc) ka-tōtēn.*

kiya	ēwako	anohc	ka-	tōt	-ē	-n
PR.2s	DEM.0s	IPT	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2
you	that	today	2.FUT	do	2s-0	

“This is what you will do (today).”

b) *kiya, ēwako (anohc) ka-tōtēn.*

<i>kiya</i>	<i>ēwako</i>	<i>anohc</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>tōt</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-n</i>
PR.2s	DEM.0s	IPT	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2
you	that	today	2.FUT	do	2s-0	

“You, you’ll do this (today).”

Thus, we find that topic (either resumed or contrastive), topical temporal setting and (contrastive) focus can all appear preverbally, and all, under the right circumstances, have access to P<sup>1</sup>. If all three do occur preverbally, it appears that a resumptive or contrastive topic takes precedence for P<sup>1</sup>, followed by a temporal and then a focal element. The further textual example (51) reinforces this ordering. Here we have one of the exceptionally few times that the antecedent of a quotative verb - this time represented by the resumptive proform *ēkoyikohk* “that much” - does not occur in immediately preverbal position (see section 5.1.1.1). Instead, it has taken precedence for placement in P<sup>1</sup>, with the temporal *pitamā* “for now” and the additive-focal pronoun phrase *mīna nīsta* “and me as well” following but still preceding the verb.

(51) *ēkoyikohk pitamā mīna nīsta nik-ētōwān.* [HP2:87]

<i>ēkoyikohk</i>	<i>pitamā</i>	<i>mīna</i>	<i>nīsta</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>itwē</i>	<i>-n</i>
IPC	IPT	IPC	PR.1s	1	IPV	VAI	1/2
that.much	for.now	also			FUT	say.so	

“This much I, too, will say for now.”

Since both the resumptive proform and temporal particle represent topical material, we might expect them both to outrank the focal element for placement in P<sup>1</sup>. However, we might also expect some conflict of order among the two topical elements. The examples we have seen thus far have the temporal particle displaced in favour of contrastive (40) and resumptive (48) topical elements. However, rare examples exist which suggest that the temporal can also claim P<sup>1</sup> and in turn displace at least some topical elements.

In (52), the temporal *anohc* “today” occurs before a resumptive topic phrase *kahkiyaw ēwako anima* “all of those things”. Here, the particle *ēkwa* either forms a temporal phrase with *anohc* in P<sup>1</sup> or occurs in P<sup>2</sup>. The latter interpretation is preferred, since the temporal is clearly here functioning as a contrastive topic. At this stage of the text, *anohc* represents a new temporal setting in contrast to the time period of the immediately preceding discourse.

- (52) *anohc ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima māci-pīkonikātēw, ...* [HP2:65]  
 anohc ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima māci- pīkonikātē -w  
 IPT IPC QNT PR.0s PR.0s IPV VII 0s  
 today and/now all that that start be.broken  
 “Today all that is beginning to break down, ...”

Given the importance of contrastiveness seen earlier in both cleft and interrogative structures, this truly seems to be an important consideration for placement in  $P^1$ , whether we have contrastive focus or contrastive topic.

It is perhaps possible to extend this contrastive analysis to the temporal in the next example as well, though here it is certainly less obvious and perhaps better treated merely as emphatic. In (53), the temporal *āsay* “already” occurs before the resumptive locative *ēkota* “there”, both of which precede the additive-focal *wīstawāw* “they, too”, all preverbally.

- (53) *āsay ēkota wīstawāw ē-kī-miyikowisicik anima maskihkiy ...* [HP4:37]  
 āsay ēkota wīstawāw ē- kī- miyikowisi -cik  
 IPT PL PR.3p IPV IPV VT<sub>3</sub> 3p(-0’)  
 already there CNJ PST be.given.by.powers  
 anima maskihkiy  
 DEM.0’s NI.0’s  
 that medicine  
 “..., but they themselves had already been granted medicine ...”

Here, contrast occurs in the focal pronoun *wīstawāw*, but topicality, whether involving contrast or not, takes precedence for  $P^1$ . This suggests yet a further refinement, with topic taking precedence over focus in declaratives, the reverse in interrogatives, and the presence of contrast helping to determine  $P^1$  placement in the case of competing elements. Once  $P^1$  has been decided on, however, we still have an open question regarding the exact position of topical and focal elements which are not in  $P^1$ , but which nevertheless occur preverbally.

### 6.1.2 $P^{I+1}$ , $P^{2+1}$ and $P^{M-1}$

In attempting to determine the best analysis of preverbal constituents occurring between  $P^1$  and the verb in  $P^M$ , we have essentially two main possibilities. First, the arguments might be positioned relative to the verb in  $P^M$  and thus be displaced leftward to occur in  $P^{M-1}$ ,  $P^{M-2}$ , etc. Second, such arguments might be positioned relative to  $P^1$  and thus be displaced rightward. In the second case, a further complication is introduced when we take into

account the importance of clause-second position ( $P^2$ ). In languages which do not utilize  $P^2$ , displacement out of  $P^1$  is straightforward into  $P^{1+1}$ ,  $P^{1+2}$ , etc. In contrast, for languages that do utilize  $P^2$  as a special clausal position, we would expect that displacement after  $P^1$  and  $P^2$  would require such positions as  $P^{2+1}$ ,  $P^{2+2}$ , etc. Each of these possibilities must be considered for preverbal elements which occupy neither  $P^1$  nor  $P^2$ .

### 6.1.2.1 $P^{M-1}$ Dismissed

In Chapter 5, the importance of immediately preverbal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) was established for Plains Cree and found to contain oblique arguments or modifiers of the verb. At that time, it was suggested that in addition to oblique arguments, perhaps preverbal arguments might also be competing for placement in  $P^{M-1}$ . Dahlstrom (1991:76) had suggested that floating quantifiers in particular occurred in immediately preverbal position, and examples like (54) with the floating quantifier *kahkiyaw*, and (55) with the full argument *kahkiyaw ēkoni ōhi* “all of those”, both of which were cited in Chapter 5, would seem to illustrate the possibility that such elements can occur in  $P^{M-1}$ .

(54) *anohc kā-kīsikāk ēkwa kahkiyaw pīkopayin ēwako anima.*

[HP2:83-84]

anohc	kā-	kīsikā	-k	ēkwa	kahkiyaw	pīkopayin	-Ø
IPT	IPV	VII	0s	IPC	QNT	VII	0s
now	CNJ	be.day		and.now	all	be.broken	

ēwako    anima  
PR.0s    PR.0s  
that     that

“Today all this is shattered.”

(55) ..., *ēkosi ēkwa kahkiyaw ēkoni ōhi ta-tāpwēhtamēk*, ... [HP4:108]

ēkosi	ēkwa	kahkiyaw	ēkoni	ōhi
IPC	IPC	QNT	PR.0p	PR.0p
thus	and.now	all	those	these

ta-        tāpwēht    -am    -ēk  
IPV      VTI<sub>1</sub>      TH     2p  
CNJ     believe    2p-0

“..., now you have to believe all these things, ...”

However, additional examples show that when modifiers or oblique arguments occur, these elements take precedence over core arguments for  $P^{M-1}$ . In (56), the resumptive topic *ēwako anima* “that aforementioned” precedes *mistahi* “much; a lot”, but follows the  $P^1$  constituent *nama kīkway* “nothing; none” and the  $P^2$  occurrence of *ēkwa* “and now”. This example is even further complicated by the fact that *ēkwa* in  $P^2$  is actually interrupting the full discontinuous constituent *nama kīkway ēwako anima* “none of that aforementioned”. This means that the contrastive part of this constituent, *nama kīkway*, has been placed in  $P^1$ , while the resumptive part has been separated and placed in a different clausal position.

- (56) *nama kīkway ēkwa ēwako anima mistahi at-īhtakon, ...* [HP2:29]
- |      |           |         |       |       |
|------|-----------|---------|-------|-------|
| nama | kīkway    | ēkwa    | ēwako | anima |
| IPC  | PR.0s     | IPC     | PR.0s | PR.0s |
| NEG  | something | and.now | that  | that  |
- 
- |         |          |         |    |
|---------|----------|---------|----|
| mistahi | ati-     | ihtakon | -Ø |
| IPC     | IPV      | VII     | 0s |
| much    | progress | exist   |    |
- “..., there is almost none of that anymore, ...”

The next two examples include two different types of locatives. In (57), the oblique *misiwē* “all over” occurs in  $P^{M-1}$  and the focal argument *kēhtē-ayak* “elders” precedes this.

- (57) *ēkosi anima kēhtē-ayak misiwē ē-kī-pēhtākosicik ...* [HP3:42]
- |       |       |          |     |          |
|-------|-------|----------|-----|----------|
| ēkosi | anima | kēhtē-ay | -ak | misiwē   |
| IPC   | PR.0s | NA       | 3p  | IPL      |
| so    | that  | elder    |     | all.over |
- 
- |     |     |           |      |
|-----|-----|-----------|------|
| ē-  | kī- | pēhtākosi | -cik |
| IPV | IPV | VAI       | 3p   |
| CNJ | PST | be.heard  |      |
- “..., so it was with the elders who could be heard all over ...”

In (58), the resumptive locative *ēkotē* “over there” (which might otherwise have occurred in  $P^1$ ) is in  $P^{M-1}$ , as usual for the oblique argument of a relative root verb (see section 5.1.1), in this case, the unspecified actor form of the VTA *itisahw-* “send s.o. there”. The resumptive temporal particle, *ēkospīhk* “at that time” occupies  $P^1$  with the demonstrative *anima* in  $P^2$ , leaving the additive-focal pronoun *nīsta* “me, too” intermediate.

(58) *ēkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē ē-kī-itisahokawiyān.*

ēkospīhk	anima	nīsta	ēkotē	
PT	IPC	PR.1s	PL	
at.that.time	FOC		over.there	

ē-	kī-	itisahw	-ikawi	-yān
IPV	IPV	VTA	XAct	1s
CNJ	PST	send.there	(X-)1s	

“I, too was sent there at the time.”

[i.e. “it was at that time that I, too was sent over there.”]

In each of these examples, since  $P^{M-1}$  is occupied by a verbal modifier or oblique argument, we would have to consider  $P^{M-2}$  as the position into which the focal arguments have been placed. However, this is theoretically problematical as it suggests that pragmatically-defined constituents are competing for a clausal position ( $P^{M-1}$ ) with semantically or syntactically-defined constituents, and losing out, to be displaced into  $P^{M-2}$ .

Within Functional Discourse Grammar, placement rules linked to the pragmatically-defined Interpersonal Level would be expected to take precedence over constituents defined semantically or morphosyntactically (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:334).  $P^I$  seems to be exclusively the domain of pragmatic information (e.g. contrast, topic, focus) so it cannot help us here. The only other clausal position that we have encountered in Cree which appears to allow for a choice of such a variety of constituents is final position,  $P^F$ . Recall from Chapter 4 that we concluded  $P^F$  was the normal position for postverbal locative or temporal modifiers, but also that it might well admit arguments if these were receiving some additional pragmatic interpretation as topical. Hence, in competition for  $P^F$ , pragmatic information takes precedence, as we might expect. However, examples (56) through (58) and many other textual examples show the exact opposite choice for immediate preverbal position, counter to expectation. Thus, we must conclude that pragmatic material such as the focal elements in the examples above, cannot be competing for  $P^{M-1}$ , and must therefore occur in or relative to another clausal position.

### 6.1.2.2 $P^{I+1}$ versus $P^{2+1}$

The obvious candidate for the main position for all preverbal pragmatic material is  $P^I$ , as we have already seen that topical, focal and particularly contrastive material can all occur clause-initially. For this position, a number of pragmatically-defined constituents can compete, with one taking

precedence in  $P^1$  and others having to occur in  $P^{1+1}$ ,  $P^{1+2}$ , etc. as needed. Several examples already seen earlier would fit such a template. Example (48) is repeated here as (59), with the resumptive topic *ēwako* in  $P^1$  and the contrastive focal *kiya* in  $P^{1+1}$ .

- (59) ..., “*ēwako kiya ka-tōtēn anohc kā-kīsikāk!*” [HP4:20]  
 ēwako kiya ka- tōt -ē -n anohc kā- kīsikā -k  
 DEM.0s PR.2s IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2 IPT IPV VII 0s  
 that you 2.FUT do 2s-0 now CNJ be.day  
 “..., ‘This is what you will do today.’”

Furthermore, a modification of this example, first given in (49) and repeated here as (60), has three constituents competing for initial position. In this case, *ēwako* retains  $P^1$ , while the temporal *anohc* occurs next in  $P^{1+1}$  and contrastive *kiya* occurs next in  $P^{1+2}$ .

- (60) *ēwako anohc kiya ka-tōtēn.*  
 ēwako anohc kiya ka- tōt -ē -n  
 DEM.0s IPT PR.2s IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 1/2  
 that today you 2.FUT do 2s-0  
 “This is what you will do today.”

Some interrogatives would also fit this structure. The yes-no question of example (11) is repeated here as (61), and similar examples can be found in (13b-d) above. In (61), *kōhkomina*w occurs in  $P^1$  where it is marked by the enclitic question particle *cī*, and *pahkwēsikana* must then occur in  $P^{1+1}$ .

- (61) *kōhkomina*w *cī* *pahkwēsikana* *kikī-pētama*wāw?  
 k- ohkom -inaw cī pahkwēsikan -a  
 2 NDA 21 Q NA 3’  
 grandmother bannock  
  
 ki- kī- pētama -ā -w  
 2 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
 PST bring.for 2s-3s

“Did you bring some bannock **for our grandmother?**”

The content interrogative first given in (35a) and repeated here as (62) might also fit this pattern, with the interrogative pronoun *awīna* in  $P^1$ , and the temporal particle *otākosīhk* in  $P^{1+1}$  (while the locative *mīnisihk* is in  $P^{M-1}$ ).



- (62) *awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk?*  
 awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē- kī- wāpam -isk  
 PR.3s IPT IPL IPV IPV VTA INV  
 who yesterday Saskatoon CNJ PST see 3s-2s  
 “Who saw you yesterday in Saskatoon?”

This last example, however, returns us to a problem we encountered at the end of section 6.1.1.2. The template just suggested is given here in (63a), but it was first analyzed in (38b) somewhat differently, and this earlier analysis is repeated in (63b) for comparison.

- (63) a) [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>I+1</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> ]  
 [*awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk* ]?  
 b) [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> ]  
 [*awīna otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk* ]?

These are identical except that (63b) has P<sup>2</sup> in place of P<sup>I+1</sup> in recognition of the important place that the second position plays in certain Cree structures, as seen particularly in sections 5.3 and 6.1.1. The problem of choosing between these two possible templates involves both the apparently optional nature of a P<sup>2</sup> element in Plains Cree and the typical constituency of P<sup>2</sup> when it does occur.

In the latter case, we have seen that only a limited number of function words, such as demonstratives with a focusing function (e.g. in clefts) and “inverted” coordinators and subordinators, are commonly placed in P<sup>2</sup>.<sup>95</sup> In (63b), the suggestion is that a topical, lexical temporal particle is suddenly occurring in the functional P<sup>2</sup> slot. This despite the fact that temporals can otherwise occur quite commonly in P<sup>1</sup> and can themselves be focused by a P<sup>2</sup> element, such as *ōma* in (64), repeated from (113a) in section 5.2.2.

- (64) ... *kēyāpic* *ōma* *ka-wāpamināwāw ta-pimi-nistōskwēwēyān* *ōma*, ...  
[HP6:84-85]  
 kēyāpic    *ōma*    ka-    wāpam    -i    -nāwāw  
 IPT        IPC        IPV    VTA        DIR    2p  
 still        FOC        2.FUT    see        2p-1s

<sup>95</sup> In fact, the vast majority of such elements are also fairly constrained phonologically, being limited in most cases to two syllables with only a few exceptional one- or three-syllable elements. There is a possibility that filling P<sup>2</sup> allows for P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup> together to form an intonational unit.

ta-	pimi-	nistōskwēwē	-yān	ōma
IPV	IPV	VAI	1s	IPC
CNJ	along	have.three.wives		FOC

“..., you will see me with my three wives yet, ...”

The template in (63a) thus gets around this problem by placing the temporal from example (62) in  $P^{1+1}$  instead of  $P^2$ , having been displaced by the competing focal interrogative pronoun *awīna*. However, this is only possible if no  $P^2$  element is present or recognized. In contrast, many other examples do include a  $P^2$ . Again, we can repeat earlier examples, such as the cleft interrogative of (35c), repeated here as (65), which differs from (62) only in the addition of the coordinator *māka* in  $P^2$ .

(65) *awīna māka otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk?*

awīna	māka	otākosīhk	mīnisihk	ē-	kī-	wāpam	-isk
PR.3s	IPC	IPT	IPL	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV
who	but	yesterday	Saskatoon	CNJ	PST	see	3s-2s

“But who saw you yesterday in Saskatoon?”

With a  $P^2$  element present, the temporal is further displaced and must now be analyzed in  $P^{2+1}$ , as displayed in (66), repeated from (37) above.

(66) [  $P^1$        $P^2$        $P^{2+1}$        $P^{M-1}$        $P^M$       ]  
 [ *awīna māka otākosīhk mīnisihk ē-kī-wāpamisk* ]?

In comparison with (63a), then, we must analyze the temporal (or any other displaced pragmatic constituent) in two slightly different positions depending on whether a  $P^2$  element actually occurs. This is not ideal but seems justified by the very fact that, unlike many languages where  $P^2$  is obligatory (e.g. Dutch; cf. Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:346), it is clearly optional in Cree clausal syntax. This is reinforced by the additional examples in (67) through (69) which all include  $P^2$  elements, and in the examples in (70) which illustrate a variety of word order possibilities, as well as the optionality of the  $P^2$  element.

In (67), the resumptive manner particle *ēkosi*, which is also the antecedent for the relative root VTI *itēyiht-*, occurs in  $P^1$ , the coordinator *māka* occurs in  $P^2$ , and the additive-focal pronoun *nīsta* has therefore been relegated to  $P^{2+1}$ .

- (67) *ēkosi māka nīsta nititēyih̄tēn, ...* [HP4:83]  
 ēkosi māka nīsta nit- itēyih̄t -ē -n  
 IPC IPC PR.1s 1 VTI TH 1/2  
 thus but think.so 1s-0  
 “... and that is also what I think, ...”

Similarly, we can now more firmly analyze (68), repeated from (58) above, with *nīsta* again in  $P^{2+1}$  following the resumptive temporal *ēkospīhk* in  $P^1$  and the clefting use of the demonstrative *anima* in  $P^2$ .

- (68) *ēkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē ē-kī-itisahokawiyān.*  
 ēkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē  
 PT IPC PR.1s PL  
 at.that.time FOC over.there  
  
 ē- kī- itisahw -ikawi -yān  
 IPV IPV VTA XAct 1s  
 CNJ PST send.there (X-)1s  
 “I, too was sent there at the time.”  
 [i.e. “it was at that time that I, too was sent over there.”]

Another example that was dealt with only tentatively above is (69), repeated from the earlier (52). Here, we note again the ambiguity of *ēkwa* which could be an inverted coordinator in  $P^2$  or simply form part of the temporal phrase in  $P^1$ . In the former case, the quantified resumptive topic *kahkiyaw ēwako anima* must be in  $P^{2+1}$ , while in the former interpretation, it would be in  $P^{1+1}$ . This points to the minimal difference between the two templates in (63a) and (66), since the same example might fulfil both.

- (69) *anohc ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima māci-pīkonikātēw, ...* [HP2:65]  
 anohc ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima  
 IPT IPC QNT PR.0s PR.0s  
 today and.now all that that  
  
 māci- pīkonikātē -w  
 IPV VII 0s  
 start be.broken  
 “Today all that is beginning to break down, ...”

The difficulty in disambiguating structures in Cree often stems from the dual or multiple function of certain Cree particles and the ambiguity of *ēkwa* is a

perfect example of this.

Finally, the examples in (70) are all variations based on an example originally given above as (25) and repeated as (70a). In the original example, the quantifier *tānitahto* can stand alone in P<sup>1</sup> or a noun can accompany the quantifier to form a full noun phrase in this position. (70b), repeated from (26), shows that the noun phrase can be discontinuous with the noun placed in postverbal position (P<sup>M+1</sup>). The crucial new examples are given in (70c) through (70e) with the introduction of the P<sup>2</sup> constituent *māka*.

(70) a) *tānitahto (masinahikana) ē-kī-atāwēyan?*

tānitahto	(masinahikan	-a)	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan
IPC	(NI	0p)	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s
how.many	(book	)	CNJ	PST	buy	

“How many (books) did you buy?”

b) *tānitahto ē-kī-atāwēyan masinahikana?*

tānitahto	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan	masinahikan	-a
IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s	NI	0p
how.many	CNJ	PST	buy		book	

“How many books did you buy?”

c) *tānitahto māka ē-kī-atāwēyan masinahikana?*

tānitahto	māka	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan	masinahikan	-a
IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s	NI	0p
how.many	but	CNJ	PST	buy		book	

“But how many books did you buy?”

d) *tānitahto masinahikana māka ē-kī-atāwēyan?*

tānitahto	masinahikan	-a	māka	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan
IPC	NI	0p	IPC	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s
how.many	book		but	CNJ	PST	buy	

“But how many books did you buy?”

e) *tānitahto māka masinahikana ē-kī-atāwēyan?*

tānitahto	māka	masinahikan	-a	ē-	kī-	atāwē	-yan
IPC	IPC	NI	0p	IPV	IPV	VTI <sub>3</sub>	2s
how.many	but	book		CNJ	PST	buy	

“But how many books did you buy?”

(70c) merely modifies (70b) by adding *māka* in P<sup>2</sup>. No other change to the template occurs, since the noun remains in postverbal position. The

examples in (70d) and (70e), though, highlight two distinct possible positions for the noun *masinahikana*. In (70d), a possible, though dispreferred structure shows that the entire noun phrase can indeed occur in  $P^1$ , with  $P^2$  *māka* following.<sup>96</sup> The final example in (70e) illustrates a different kind of discontinuity not evident without the  $P^2$  constituent. Here, *māka* intercedes between the quantifier in  $P^1$  and the noun which must therefore be displaced to  $P^{2+1}$ . Although the rough translations for the last three examples are equivalent, there are subtle differences indicated by the word order changes. In (70c), the number of the books is in question, but the identity of the quantified noun is not really an issue. (70d) and (70e) are even more difficult to distinguish, but the noun is just as much a part of the question as the quantity in (70d) when the whole noun phrase precedes *māka*. In (70e), however, the number is being questioned, while the noun *masinahikana* in  $P^{2+1}$ , separated from the quantifier as it is, has more of a contrastive interpretation.

Thus, we are left with the alternation of  $P^{I+1}$  and  $P^{2+1}$  dependent on the absence or presence of a  $P^2$  element. This in turn leads to the necessity of postulating at least two slightly different non-clefting preverbal templates for Plains Cree, as displayed in (71).

- (71) a) [  $P^1$                      $P^{I+1}$      $P^{I+n}$      $P^{M-n}$      $P^{M-1}$      $P^M$     ... ]  
       b) [  $P^1$      $P^2$          $P^{2+1}$      $P^{2+n}$      $P^{M-n}$      $P^{M-1}$      $P^M$     ... ]

In (71a), all positions  $P^1$  through  $P^{I+n}$  can be filled by pragmatically-defined constituents, while in (71b), it is positions  $P^1$  and  $P^{2+1}$  through  $P^{2+n}$  which can be so filled, while  $P^2$  functions to further highlight the constituent in  $P^1$ .

### 6.1.3 Preverbal Templates Summarized

In reaching the templates listed in (71), we have slowly developed them through several stages in Chapters 5 and 6 thus far, and not all of the previously suggested templates are superseded by (71). In particular, we still require the template suggested in (32) above, and repeated here generically in (72), to account for clefted structures.

- (72)  $P^1$      $P^2$         [                     $P^M$                     ]

<sup>96</sup> It is dispreferred since it is rare for more than a single word to occur in  $P^1$  before clausal  $P^2$ , but it does occur. It is phrasal  $P^2$  which never permits more than a single word preceding it.

As noted in section 6.1.1.2, the  $P^M$  of this template can contain not just a verb but an entire subordinate clause. This is demonstrated by the earlier example (31), repeated here as (73a), with the subordinate clause isolated in (73b).

- (73) a) *awīnih ānihi otākosīhk cāniy mīnisihk kā-kī-wāpamikot?*  
 awīnihi    anihi    otākosīhk    cāniy    mīnisihk  
 PR.3'    PR.3'    IPT    NA.3s    IPL  
 who    that    yesterday    John    Saskatoon

          kā-    kī-    wāpam    -iko    -t  
           IPV    IPV    VTA    INV    3s  
           CNJ    PST    see    3'-3s

“Who was it that saw John in Saskatoon yesterday?”

- b)  $P^1$      $P^2$     [     $P^M$     ]  
*awīnih ānihi* [  $P^1$      $P^{I+1}$      $P^{M-1}$      $P^M$     ]  
                   [ *otākosīhk cāniy mīnisihk kā-kī-wāpamikot* ]?

We can now see that the clause subordinate to a cleft can contain a structure identical to the full clausal structure partially represented by the template in (71a). That is, the clausal template without a  $P^2$  can be embedded as the modifier of a clefted constituent. In contrast, examples do not appear to be extent which would confirm that the template in (71b) could similarly occur in  $P^M$  of a cleft. Given the role that  $P^2$  seems to play in highlighting  $P^1$ , it is perhaps not surprising that  $P^2$  should be absent from a clause subordinate to a structure in which a  $P^2$  already occurs to give prominence to  $P^1$ . The occurrence of another  $P^2$  element in the subordinate clause would only highlight another  $P^1$  which would detract from the clefted  $P^1$ .

Thus, we have found three variants of the preverbal clausal template, repeated here in (74).

- (74) a) Template 1:  $P^1$      $P^{I+1}$      $P^{I+n}$      $P^{M-n}$      $P^{M-1}$      $P^M$     ...  
 b) Template 2:  $P^1$      $P^2$      $P^{2+1}$      $P^{2+n}$      $P^{M-n}$      $P^{M-1}$      $P^M$     ...  
 c) Template 3:  $P^1$      $P^2$     [Template 1]

When we expand Template 3 to include Template 1 following the cleft, as in (75), we find that Templates 2 and 3 look remarkably similar, especially when it is recognized that much of the same pragmatic material is capable of

filling P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>1+1</sup>, and P<sup>2+1</sup>, etc.

(75) Template 3: P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> [P<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1+1</sup> P<sup>1+n</sup> P<sup>M-n</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> ...]

In fact, the potential to confuse these structures becomes even greater when we recall the discussion in Chapter 5 concerning the multiple uses of demonstrative pronouns as both phrasal and clausal P<sup>2</sup> elements, and add to that the possibility for them to occur as preverbal arguments (which can therefore fill P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>1+1</sup>, P<sup>2+1</sup>, etc.). Given the potential for ambiguity, it is not surprising that much about Plains Cree word order has continued to elude non-fluent analysts.

Following the practice of the preceding chapters (cf. Tables 4.6 and 5.2), Tables 6.1 and 6.2 display the constituents which most commonly fit the positions on the templates, coupled with their Functions. As Table 5.2 has already summarized the positions relative to P<sup>M</sup>, only the positions relative to P<sup>1</sup> and P<sup>2</sup> are included here.

**Table 6.1**  
**Template 1 Pragmatic Word Order and Function**

Options	P <sup>1</sup>	P <sup>1+1</sup>	P <sup>1+2</sup>	P <sup>1+n</sup>
1	(Focussed) <b>Interrogative</b> (yes-no or content)	Resumptive <b>Topic</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )	<b>Temporal</b> Setting (if displaced from P <sup>1+1</sup> )	?
2	Contrastive or Resumptive <b>Topic</b>	<b>Temporal</b> Setting (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )	<b>Contrastive</b> <b>Focus</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1+1</sup> )	
3	<b>Temporal</b> Setting	<b>Contrastive</b> <b>Focus</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )		
4	<b>Contrastive</b> <b>Focus</b>			

**Table 6.2**  
**Template 2 Pragmatic Word Order and Function**

Options	P <sup>1</sup>	P <sup>2</sup>	P <sup>2+1</sup>	P <sup>2+2</sup>
1	(Focussed) <b>Interrogative</b> (yes-no or content)	<b>Inverted Coordinator and Subordinator</b>	Resumptive <b>Topic</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )	<b>Temporal Setting</b> (if displaced from P <sup>2+1</sup> )
2	Contrastive or Resumptive <b>Topic</b>		<b>Temporal Setting</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )	<b>Contrastive Focus</b> (if displaced from P <sup>2+1</sup> )
3	<b>Temporal Setting</b>		<b>Contrastive Focus</b> (if displaced from P <sup>1</sup> )	
4	<b>Contrastive Focus</b>	<b>(Focal Demonstrative)</b>		

The presence of the focalizing demonstrative in Table 6.2 is questionable since this is the element that allows for clefting, in which case a full clause potentially beginning again with P<sup>1</sup> would follow, but this is not displayed in the Tables. The fact that the same demonstratives can function as either clausal or phrasal P<sup>2</sup> constituents renders disambiguation between these structures, outside of native speaker intuition, difficult at best (see section 5.3.2 and particularly the examples in (140)).

### 6.1.4 The Clausal Template

The preverbal templates in (74) can in turn be completed by the inclusion of the postverbal template given originally in Table 4.6 in Chapter 4 and displayed here slightly expanded as (76).<sup>97</sup>

(76) ... P<sup>M+1</sup> P<sup>M+n</sup> P<sup>F-n</sup> P<sup>F-1</sup> P<sup>F</sup>

<sup>97</sup> This differs from the template of Chapter 4 only in adding an extended expansion of P<sup>F</sup> to P<sup>F-n</sup>. This was absent earlier because it appears exceptionally rare to require expansion beyond P<sup>F-1</sup>, and is thus included here purely for theoretical reasons.



The full clausal templates (T; 1 through 3) for Plains Cree are therefore as given in (77).

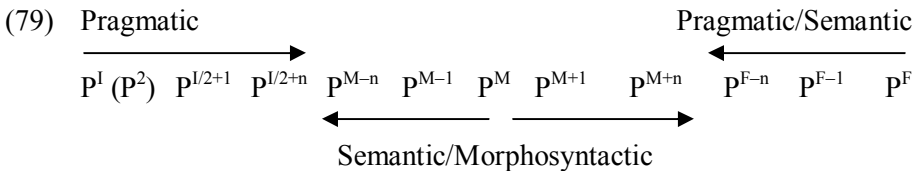
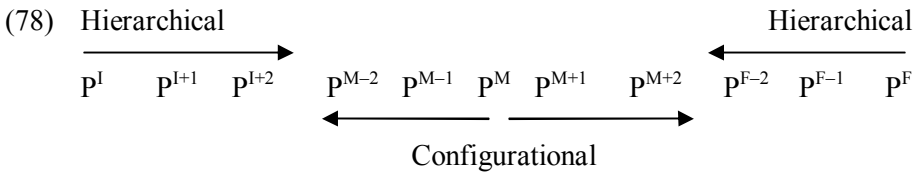
- (77) a) T1: P<sup>I</sup> P<sup>I+1</sup> P<sup>I+n</sup> P<sup>M-n</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> P<sup>M+1</sup> P<sup>M+n</sup> P<sup>F-n</sup> P<sup>F-1</sup> P<sup>F</sup>
- b) T2: P<sup>I</sup> P<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2+1</sup> P<sup>2+n</sup> P<sup>M-n</sup> P<sup>M-1</sup> P<sup>M</sup> P<sup>M+1</sup> P<sup>M+n</sup> P<sup>F-n</sup> P<sup>F-1</sup> P<sup>F</sup>
- c) T3: P<sup>I</sup> P<sup>2</sup> [Template 1]

Similarly, Tables 4.6, 5.2, and 6.1 or 6.2 could now be combined for a full treatment of the function and potential constituency of the clausal template. Though this will be reserved for the conclusions in section 6.3, we can note (with the exception of the optional occurrence of a P<sup>2</sup> constituent, and therefore a P<sup>2</sup> slot), that the three main positions, P<sup>I</sup> and P<sup>M</sup> and P<sup>F</sup>, define three distinct areas within the Cree clause as displayed in Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1**  
Clausal Sectors

Sector	P <sup>I</sup> →	← P <sup>M</sup> →	← P <sup>F</sup>
Function	Pragmatic Functions	Verb, Arguments and Modifiers	Pragmatic and (Oblique) Semantic Functions

Both this particular division and the partition of function are reminiscent of the word order template that Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:344) cite, following van Engelenhoven (2004), for the Austronesian language Leti. The Leti template is repeated here in (78), while a concomitant form for Plains Cree is offered in (79).



The terms hierarchical and configurational refer, within Functional Discourse Grammar, to two different ordering principles based on the hierarchical structure of the clause both within and between the distinct Interpersonal (pragmatic), Representational (semantic) and Morphosyntactic Levels. For the Plains Cree template, the positions appear quite explicitly to follow the distinct levels, with pragmatic functions taking precedence for P<sup>I</sup> and P<sup>F</sup>. Within P<sup>I</sup>, as we have seen, a variety of Pragmatic Functions (i.e. Topic, Focus, and combinations of these with Contrast) are ranked for precedence. In P<sup>F</sup>, semantically-defined and hierarchically preferred modifiers such as locatives and temporals occur unless displaced by the Pragmatic Function Given Topic or considerations of the weight of complement clauses. Within P<sup>M</sup>, however, we have the predicate and its arguments and modifiers when not assigned specific Pragmatic Functions. Oblique arguments and modifiers precede the verb in P<sup>M</sup>, while arguments follow.

One thing that has been taken for granted throughout the discussion of word order is the position of the predicate, the verb, in P<sup>M</sup>. Given the overwhelming amount of data which seems to point to this central position for the verb, it is difficult to see what alternative could be suggested. However, it is not true that the verb must always occur in P<sup>M</sup> and we have already seen examples of this in the discussion of yes-no questions in section 6.1.1.1. Thus, examples (3a) and (2), repeated here as (80) and (81) respectively must be analyzed as shown.

(80)	P <sup>I</sup>		P <sup>M</sup>		
	<i>otākosīhk</i>	<i>cī</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>takosin</i>	
	<i>otākosīhk</i>	<i>cī</i>	<i>kī-</i>	<i>takosin</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
	IPC	Q	IPV	VAI	3s
	yesterday		PST	arrive	
	“Did s/he arrive yesterday?”				

(81)	P <sup>I</sup>		P <sup>F</sup>		
	<i>kī-</i>	<i>takosin</i>	<i>otākosīhk?</i>		
	<i>kī-</i>	<i>takosin</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>cī</i>	<i>otākosīhk</i>
	IPV	VAI	3s	Q	IPT
	PST	arrive			yesterday
	“Did s/he arrive yesterday?”				

In (80), the word order reflects a common pattern with the temporal focussed in P<sup>I</sup> by the encliticization of the phrasal P<sup>2</sup> *cī* and the verb in P<sup>M</sup>. In (81), however, with the verb focussed in P<sup>I</sup> and the unfocussed temporal in P<sup>F</sup>,

there is no eligible constituent requiring placement in or relative to  $P^M$ . In this case,  $P^M$  is simply unneeded and absent. Though both of these situations seem straightforward, it is less clear what occurs with constituents that otherwise occur relative to  $P^M$  when the verb does not occupy  $P^M$ . Inclusion of an argument, for instance, as in (82) and (83), could still allow for a couple of possible interpretations. Assuming that the argument *cāniy* is not being focussed in these examples, we might consider the noun to occupy  $P^M$  in the absence of the verb. This certainly seems reasonable for (82).

(82)	$P^I$		$P^M$		$P^F$	
	<i>kī-takosin</i>	<i>cī</i>		<i>cāniy</i>		<i>otākosīhk?</i>
	kī-	takosin	-Ø	cī	cāniy	otākosīhk
	IPV	VAI	3s	Q	NA.3s	IPT
	PST	arrive			John	yesterday
	“Did John arrive yesterday?”					

(83)	$P^I$		$P^{I+1}$		$P^M$	
	<i>kī-takosin</i>	<i>cī</i>		<i>otākosīhk</i>		<i>cāniy?</i>
	kī-	takosin	-Ø	cī	otākosīhk	cāniy
	IPV	VAI	3s	Q	IPT	NA.3s
	PST	arrive			yesterday	John
	“Did John arrive yesterday?”					

In (83), the occurrence of *cāniy* in  $P^M$  is contingent on our ability to assert that the temporal must be in  $P^{I+1}$ . This is not necessarily unusual, although it is also possible that the argument has been placed in  $P^F$  as a given topic, in which case the temporal could simply be displaced to  $P^{F-1}$ . Either interpretation is possible and this merely points to the need for considerable further research on the focussing (or topicalization) of verbs and the effect that this has on Plains Cree clausal word order.

## 6.2 Extra-Clausal Constituents

In addition to the clausal template for Cree word order, it is possible, indeed quite frequent, to find a variety of constituents associated with a clause in pre- or post-clausal position. In the case of pre-clausal position ( $P^{pre}$ ), a variety of constituent types can be found, all with the function of providing an orientation or setting for the following clause or extended discourse. Post-clausally, constituents most frequently provide further specification of a previously introduced setting or participant, or provide the introduction of these as afterthoughts. The following sections will give a

survey of some of the major types of extra-clausal constituents as found in Plains Cree narrative.

### 6.2.1 P<sup>pre</sup>

Pre-clausal constituents serve a number of functions in Plains Cree, and the two most prominent will be highlighted here. First, and most important, are the variety of ways in which the orientation for the following discourse is established. Second, and even more common, are the variety of interjections used in interaction management and attitude specification (cf. Dik 1997b:384-387).

#### 6.2.1.1 Orientation

Discourse orientation can include a number of different kinds of information, including temporal and locative settings, and the introduction of both topical participants and the overall topic of discourse. Each of these will be exemplified below.

##### 6.2.1.1.1 Temporal Setting

Specification of the temporal setting of the discourse is very commonly done by means of a simple temporal particle or temporal phrase preceding and prosodically offset from the following clause. In (84), the temporal particle *kayās* “long ago” occurs in pre-clausal position, accompanied solely by the conjunction which serves to mark the change in the temporal setting. In (85), an entire clause serves to mark the new temporal setting.

(84) *māka kayās, iyikohk isko ē-kawikīhkācik, ...* [HP2:75]

<i>māka</i>	<i>kayās</i>	<i>iyikohk</i>	<i>isko</i>	<i>ē-</i>	<i>kawikīhkā</i>	<i>-cik</i>
IPC	IPT	IPC	IPL	IPV	VAI	3p
but	long.ago	so.much	up.to	CNJ	lie.down.with.age	
“Long ago, on the other hand, they lived together so long, into their old age, ...”						

(85) *ēkwa kīkisēpā kā-waniskācik, niki-pēhtawāwak māna kēhtē-ayak; ...* [HP3:37-38]

<i>ēkwa</i>	<i>kīkisēpā</i>	<i>kā-</i>	<i>waniskā</i>	<i>-cik</i>
IPC	IPT	IPV	VAI	3p
and	in.the.morning	CNJ	arise	

ni-	kī-	pēhtaw	-ā	-wak	māna	kēhtē-ay	-ak
1	IPV	VTA	DIR	3p	IPC	NA	3p
	CNJ	hear	1s-3p		usually	elder	

“And in the morning, when they arose, I used to hear the elders; ...”

Another example of a complex temporal expression which occurs in pre-clausal position is the conditional clause. In (86), the clause *āta kitotatwāwi*, serves to provide a conditional/temporal setting for what follows.

(86) ..., *āta kitotatwāwi tāpiskōc ēkā ē-pēhtāskik*; ... [HP1:10-11]

āta	kitot	-at	-wāw	-i	tāpiskōc
IPC	VTA	DIR	3p	CND	IPC
although	speak.to	2s-3p		when	seem

ēkā	ē-	pēhtaw	-isk	-ik
IPC	IPV	VTA	INV	3p
NEG	CNJ	hear	3p-2s	

“..., it is as if they did not hear you when you speak to them; ...”

In some instances, more than one temporal expression can be used in sequence, giving more specific temporal information, as in (87).

(87) *anohc kā-kīsikāk ēkwa, awāsis kā-wihtamāht kīkway,*

*ā, nama kīkway ka-tōtam iyikohk ē-kihtimikanēt,* ... [HP4:24-27]

anohc	kā-	kīsikā	-k	ēkwa
IPT	IPV	VII	0s	IPT
now	CNJ	be.day		now

awāsis	kā-	wihtamaw	-ih	-t	kīkway
NA	IPV	VTA	XAct	3s	PR.0s
child	CNJ	tell.to	(X-)3s		something

ā	nama	kīkway	ka-	tōt	-am	-Ø
IPC	IPC	PR.0s	IPV	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	3s
well	NEG	nothing	CNJ	do.so	3s-0'	

iyikohk	ē-	kihtimikanē	-t
IPC	IPV	VAI	3s
so.much		be.lazy	

“Today, when children are told something, well, they are so lazy that they will not do anything, ...”

Finally, temporal elements can also occur pre-clausally in conjunction with other types of orientation to be surveyed below, including hesitatory particles like *ā* in (87), locative settings, and expressions of discourse topic or topical participants.

### 6.2.1.1.2 Locative Setting

As with temporal settings, the location can also be specified pre-clausally, either as a general setting or to establish a location important to the following clause-internal state of affairs. In (88), the locative setting is given as the opening utterance of a narrative text and establishes the location of the story to follow, while the information following the quotative verb provides an additional reintroduction (from an earlier text) to the topical participant (i.e. the quoted narrator). The sentence which follows this, given in (89), begins with the resumptive locative particle *ēkota* in reference to the pre-clausal establishment of the locative setting.

- (88) “*ēkota ōma pēhonānihk,*” *itwēw, ēwako awa kēyāpic ēwako awa*  
*kisēyiniw ayi.* [HP9:1-2]

ēkota	ōma	pēhonānihk	itwē	-w		
PL	IPC	IPL	VAI	3s		
there	FOC	at.Carlton	say.so			
	ēwako	awa	kēyāpic	ēwako	awa	kisēyiniw
	PR.3	PR.3s	IPT	PR.3	PR.3s	NA.3s
	that	this	still	that	this	old.man
						ayī
						IPc
						umm

“ ‘It was there at Carlton,’ he said, it was still the same old man  
[Piyēsīs].”

- (89) “*ēkota nimasinahikēhikawinān kihc-ātāwēwikamikowiyiniwak ōki,*”  
*itwēw, ...* [HP9:3]

ēkota	ni-	masinahikēh	-ikawi	-nān
PL	1	VTA	XAct	1p
there		hire	(X-)1p	
	kihc-ātāwēwikamikowiyiniw	-ak	ōki	
	NA	3p	PR.3p	
	Hudson's.Bay.man		these	

“ ‘We were hired on by the Hudson's Bay Company there,’ he said, ...”

Though most locative expressions will contain locative-specific particles

or locative-marked nouns, a verbal construction, much like those used for temporal settings, can also be used in establishing a location. In (90), the location established pre-clausally is immediately important in the following clause and again reiterated by the resumptive use of *ēkota*. In the clause following this, given in (91), the location is then repeated once again in clause-final position in its more canonical form as a locative noun.

- (90) “*konita ē-ispacināsik, ēkotē nititohtān, ...*” [HP8:66-67]  
 konita ē- ispacināsīn -k ēkotē nit- itohtē -n  
 IPC IPV VII 0s PL 1 VAI 1/2  
 merely CNJ be.a.little.hill over.there go.to  
 “‘So I just went to a little hill, ...’”  
 [lit: “There was just a little hill, I went there.”]

- (91) *ēkotē nōtihtapinahisinin ispacināsīhk, itwēw.* [HP8:68]  
 ēkotē n- otihtapinahisin- -n ispacinās -ihk  
 PL 1 VAI 1/2 NI LOC  
 over.there lie.face.down little.hill on  
 “‘There on that little hill I threw myself down, face-down,’ he said.”

In general, temporal settings appear more commonly than locative settings, while location is more commonly clause-internal and more variable in position. However, as will be evident throughout this work, each position in which locatives are found represents a distinct function, such that this variability is also by no means indicative of a free word order variation (see also Wolvengrey 2007, 2010).

### 6.2.1.1.3 Topic

Even more common in pre-clausal position is the establishment of topics of two main types. Both overall discourse topics and topical participants within the discourse can be introduced pre-clausally.

#### 6.2.1.1.3.1 Discourse Topic

It can be a fine line between discourse topic and topical argument within the discourse, but a discourse topic here refers to a notion, state of affairs, etc. which can potentially have numerous sub-topics explored within the discourse. This is exemplified at the beginning of the third House People text (92) when a resumptive topic pronoun is used to pick up on the previous text’s topic of Cree education (92a), and the new sub-topics of childrearing

(92b) and teaching (92c) are then introduced.

(92) a) *ēwako ōma aya,*

ēwako	ōma	aya
PR.3s	IPC	IPC
this	FOC	umm

“This, ...”

b) *tāpiskōc awa nēhiyaw ē-kī-is-ōhpikināwasot kayās,* [HP3:1]

tāpiskōc	awa	nēhiyaw
IPC	PR.3s	NA.3s
for.instance	this	Cree

ē-	kī-	isi-	ohpikināwaso	-t	kayās,
IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s	IPT
CNJ	PST	thus	raise.children		long.ago

“..., for instance, is how the Crees raised their children long ago, ...”

c) *ēkwa mīna ē-kī-isi-kiskinahamawācīk ōhi otōsk-āyimiwāwa.*

[HP3:2]

ēkwa	mīna	ē-	kī-	isi-	kiskinahamaw	-ā	-cīk
IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3p
and	also	CNJ	PST	thus	teach		3p-3’

ōhi	ot-	oski-ayim	-iwāw	-a
PR.3’	3	NDA	3p	3’
these		young.people		

“... and also how they taught their young people.”

Sometimes, however, the discourse topic can be treated as an argument and therefore is essentially indistinguishable from a topical participant in all but a vague semantic distinction. In (93), a complex noun phrase including a relative clause is given as a topic and immediately predicated as the sole argument of a VII.

(93) *ēkwa anima onēhiyāwiwin kā-kikiskahk, mistahi anima*

*ē-itēyihākahk.*

[HP1:26-27]

ēkwa	anima	o-	nēhiyāwiwin	kā-	kikisk	-ah	-k
IPC	PR.0	3	NI	IPV	VTI	TH	3s
and	that		Creeness	CNJ	wear		3s-0’



mistahi	anima	ē-	itēyihākwan	-k
QNT	PR.0s	IPV	VII	0s
a.lot	that		be.thought.so	

“Yet this Creeness that is part of them, it means a lot.”

### 6.2.1.1.3.2 Topical Participants

In addition to the overall discourse topic, specific topical participants are also frequently established in pre-clausal position. The extended example in (94) is the opening of the first text from Stories of the House People. In (94a), a resumptive pronoun (*ēwako*) alone introduces the discourse topic (*kiskinahamātowin* “education”) which had apparently been discussed before recording began, while (94b) then begins to introduce the topical participants (*ōki* (*nēhiyāsisak*) “these (young Cree)”), and (94c) reiterates both more fully. It is not until (94d) that a full verbal clause occurs, and these topics are not fully integrated into a clausal structure until (94e).

- (94) a) *ēwako aya,*  
           *ēwako*        *aya*  
           PR.0s        IPC  
           this umm  
           [lit: “This, ah, ...”]
- b) *tāpiskōc ōki anohc,*  
       *tāpiskōc*    *ōki*        *anohc,*  
       IPC         PR.3p    IPT  
       seems       these     today  
       [lit: “..., it seems these today, ...”]
- c) *namōya tāpiskōc kiskinahamātowin ōki nēhiyāsisak,*       [HP1:1]  
       *namōya*    *tāpiskōc*    *kiskinahamātowin*    *ōki*    *nēhiyāsis*    -ak  
       IPC        IPC        NI                            PR.3p    NA        3p  
       NEG        seems     education                these    young.Cree  
       [lit: “..., it doesn’t seem education [for] these young Cree, ...”]  
       “‘It is that, for instance, the young Crees of today do not seem to  
       want education, ...”
- d) *mitoni nitawēyihamwak nēhiyawak kahkiyaw,*       [HP1:2]  
       *mitoni*    *nitawēyih*    -*am*    -*wak*    *nēhiyaw*    -*ak*    *kahkiyaw*  
       IPC        VTI<sub>1</sub>        TH    3p    NA        3p    QNT  
       really    want        3p-0’    Cree        all  
       “..., all of the Crees really seem to want ...”

- e) *tāpiskōt otawāsimisiwāwa mōniyāw-kiskēyihitamowin kit-āyāyit.*  
[HP1:3]

tāpiskōt	ot-	awāsimis	-iwāw	-a
IPC	3	NDA	3p	3'
seem		child		

mōniyāw-kiskēyihitamowin	kita-	ay	-ā	-yit
NI.0's	IPV	VTI <sub>2</sub>	TH	3'
Whiteman's.knowledge	CNJ	have	3'-0'	

“... their children to have White-Man's knowledge.”

In (94e), *otawāsimisiwāwa* “their children” is a restatement of the topical participant, while the overall discourse topic is narrowed and treated as contrastive focus by the further specification inherent in *mōniyāw-kiskēyihitamowin* “Whiteman's knowledge” as a sub-topic of *kiskinahamātowin*.

The next example, (95), further illustrating the discourse organizational properties of orientations, occurs when one section of a text has just concluded and a new section needs to be introduced. The pre-clausal specification of the topical participant *kiskinahamawākanak*, itself incorporated and repeated as the second argument of the following clause, thus provides both a change to the particular topical argument and signals a change of overall topic. Having been specified as a pre-clausal topic, the clausal reiteration is in the unmarked postverbal position.

- (95) *kiskinahamawākanak ōki, nipimohtān māna ē-nitawi-kitotakik*  
*kiskinahamawākanak, ...* [HP2:58-59]

kiskinahamawākan	-ak	ōki	ni-	pimohtē	-n	māna
NA	3p	PR.3p	1	VAI	1/2	IPC
student		these		walk		usually

ē-	nitawi-	kitot	-ak	-ik	kiskinahamawākan	-ak
IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3p	NA	3p
CNJ	go.to	talk.to	1s-3p		student	

“I often go to speak to the students, ...”

In contrast to the clause-internal topic, topics in pre-clausal position have been referred to as external or outer topics (cf. Aissen 1992, Mühlbauer 2005). The function of pre-clausal and clause-internal topics, or external and internal topics, is very similar. However, external topics need not play an

active role within the clause they precede since the clause may only be obliquely related to the topical participant. In (96), the clause following the pre-clausal establishment of the topic is certainly a comment about that topic, though the topic is only present as possessor of the sole argument.

- (96) *ēkwa ēkonik ōki nēhiyawak, mitoni kī-kanātaniyiw opimātsiwiniwāw, mistahi.* [HP3:57]

ēkwa	ēkonik	ōki	nēhiyaw	-ak	mitoni
IPC	PR.3p	IPC	NA	3p	IPC
and	these	FOC	Cree		really

kī-	kanātan	-iyiw	o-	pimātsiwiniw	-iwāw	mistahi
IPV	VII	0's	3	NI.0's	3p	IPC
CNJ	be.clean		life			a.lot

“And the Crees led a really clean life, very clean.”

[lit: “And these here Crees, their life was really clean, really!”]

In (97), the first lines of the seventh House People text, the main character is introduced, but the first full clauses initially report on a story-telling session and then about a group of elders which we only learn subsequently includes this main topical participant.

- (97) a) *ēwako awa nāpēw awa aya, kisēyiniw awa,* [HP7:1]

ēwako	awa	nāpēw	awa	aya	kisēyiniw	awa
PR.3s	IPC	NA.3s	PR.3s	IPC	NA.3s	IPC
this	FOC	man	this	umm	old.man	FOC

“And it was this man, a certain old man, ...”

- b) *āh-ācimonāniw, ...* [HP7:2]

āh-	ācimonāniw	-w
IPV	VII	0s
RDPL	be.storytelling	

“..., there were stories being told, ...”

- c) *āh-ācimowak ōki kēhtē-ayak, ...* [HP7:3]

āh-	ācimo	-wak	ōki	kēhtē-ay	-ak
IPV	VAI	3p	PR.3p	NA	3p
RDPL	tell.stories		these	elder	

“... the elders were telling stories ...”

The difference between external or pre-clausal topics and internal ones is thus in the relationship each has to clausal arguments. An external topic can,

but need not, occur as an argument of the clause, while an internal topic typically is an argument of its clause. Both types of topic can provide a new or reinforced orientation for the following clause or discourse and it is thus not surprising that it can sometimes provide analysts difficulty in separating topics in pre-clausal or clause-initial position from one another. The same is certainly true of temporal adverbials which can also occur in pre-clausal or clause-initial position.

### 6.2.1.2 Attitude Specification and Interaction Management

The second broad category of pre-clausal constituents to be surveyed here includes elements which serve to specify the speaker's attitude or frame of mind at the time of utterance and elements which facilitate the interaction of the speaker with his or her intended audience, the addressee.

#### 6.2.1.2.1 Attitudinals

A wide variety of attitudinal interjections are available in Cree, many of which break what is otherwise a very strong prohibition against single-syllable words in the language. In narrative, the use of attitudinals may be somewhat more limited than in everyday conversation, but some are nevertheless evident, especially in narratives involving quoted speech. In (98) through (100), we can see a variety of interjections expressing simple hesitation (98), to surprise (99), to stronger emotions such as anger or excitement (100).

- (98) *aya, ē-kī-ācimostawit ōtē ohci kihci-mōhkomānināhk --* [HP5:2]  
 aya ē- kī- ācimostaw -it ōtē ohci  
 IPC IPV IPV VTA INV PL IPL  
 uh CNJ PST tell.news.to 3s-1s over.here from

kihci-mōhkomānināhk  
 IPL  
 United.States

“It was told to me [by a man] from the United States --”

- (99) “*wā, ēkwa nama kīkway ayāw ka-mīcimīhkahcikēsit,*” *itwēw, ...*  
 [HP5:33-34]

wā ēkwa nama kīkway ay -ā -w  
 IPC IPC IPC PR.0's VTI<sub>2</sub> TH 3s  
 well now NEG something have 3s-0'

ka- mīcimīhkahcikēsi -t  
 IPV VAI 3s  
 CNJ use.as.bait

“ ‘..., oh, but he had nothing to use as his bait,’ he said, ...”

(100) “*ī, nikisiwipayin mitoni,*” *itwēw,* ... [HP8:43]

ī ni- kisiwipayi -n mitoni  
 IPC 1 VAI 1/2 IPC  
 look get.angry really

“ ‘Look, I got really angry,’ he said, ...”

Although the original translation in (100) suggests otherwise, this does appear to be a purely attitudinal use of the particle *ī*. However, it is certainly true that some attitudinals can also double as interactional particles, in which case they are not purely expressives on the part of the speaker, but intended to have an effect on the interaction of speaker and addressee.

#### 6.2.1.2.2 Interactionals

The most common types of pre-clausal interactionals in Plains Cree narrative are summonses and addresses (cf. Dik 1997b:384-385). Both are ways of gaining the attention of an addressee or audience, as in (101) where a new speaker opens with an attention getting exclamation.

(101) “*ēy, kayās nōcokwēsiw kā-wayawī-pakamahosk!*” [HP6:88]

ēy kayās nōcokwēsiw kā- wayawī- pakamahw -isk  
 IPC IPT NA.3s IPV IPV VTA INV  
 hey long.ago old.woman CNJ outside hit 3s-2s

“ ‘Hey, for sure, then, the old lady would throw you out, and with a vengeance!’ ”

As will be seen immediately below, such interjections are often accompanied by address forms which will be discussed under the heading of the vocative.

##### 6.2.1.2.2.1 Vocative

As introduced in Chapter 1, the vocative in Plains Cree is evident primarily through a special plural suffix, *-itik*, which distinguishes the vocative from a non-vocative noun with regular animate plural suffix *-ak*. In the singular, distinct vocative forms are generally limited to a subset of

kinship terms and even these are becoming archaic. Nevertheless, the vocative in the singular or plural is also marked by being off-set from the clause proper by intonational boundaries. Vocative nouns can occur both pre-clausally and post-clausally. Pre-clausal vocatives are used in order to obtain or maintain the attention of the addressee(s). As illustrated in (102) through (104), pre-clausal vocatives are also frequently accompanied by another, preceding, attention-getting interjection. In each case, the interjection and vocative are the first quoted utterances of the speaker, both preceding and intonationally separate from the following utterance. In (102) particularly, the intonation break provides the narrator a chance to insert a quotative verb.

(102) “*wahwā, **nitihkwā!**” nititik, “pēyak kīkway, namōya kīkway  
kikī-miyitin, ...” [HP5:9-10]*

wahwā	ni-	tihkwā	nit-	it	-ik	-Ø	pēyak	kīkway
IPC	1	NDA.VOC	1	VTA	INV	3s	NUM	NI.0s
well		nephew!		say.so.to		3s-1s	one	thing

namōya	kīkway	ki-	kī-	miy	-iti	-n
IPC	PR.0s	2	IPV	VTA	INV	1/2
NEG	thing		PST	give	1s-2s	

“ ‘Well, my nephew!’ he said to me, ‘one thing, I cannot give you anything, ...’ ”

(103) ‘*ā, **nōsisimitik**, kiwī-ācimostātināwāw pēyak kīkway ācimowinis, ...*’ [HP6:11]

ā	n-	ōsisim	-itik	ki-	wī-	ācimostaw	-iti	-nāwāw
IPC	1	NDA	VOC	2	IPV	VTA	INV	2p
well		grandchild			PRSP	tell.story.to	1s-2p	

pēyak	kīkway	ācimowinis
NUM	NI.0s	NI.0s
one	thing	little.story

“ ‘Well, my grandchildren, I am going to tell you one little story, ...’ ”

(104) ‘*ā, **nicōskinīkīmis**, ēwako ēkwa k-ōtēhtapīwatimomin, ...*’ [HP8:167]

ā	nic-	oskinīkīmis	ēwako	ēkwa	k-	otēhtapīwatimomi	-n
IPC	1	NDA.VOC	PR.3s	IPT	2	VTI <sub>3</sub>	1/2
ah		hired.man	this	now		have.as.a.riding.horse	

“ ‘Well, my hired man, you will have this one for your saddle-horse now,’ ... ”

These pre-clausal vocatives will be contrasted in section 6.2.2.2 below with post-clausal occurrences which are more common once communication has been established. In that case, the speaker no longer needs to gain the addressee's attention, but may use the vocative to maintain attention, or simply to express respect or endearment through the use of kinship terms. In contrast, as an extension of the pre-clausal Orientation function, pre-clausal vocatives serve to establish and confirm the addressee as a speech act participant.

### 6.2.1.3 P<sup>pre</sup> Summarized

The examples used to illustrate pre-clausal position have not only shown that a number of different kinds of elements can occur pre-clausally, but that P<sup>pre</sup> elements can, at least to a limited extent, be stacked. In addition to the frequent co-occurrence of summoning particles and vocative nouns, example (102) above suggests that these discourse interactional markers are most likely to precede orientational elements like topics. This is not surprising as a speaker would certainly wish to ensure that the audience was paying attention before embarking on any attempt to establish a setting for the discourse.

Within the class of orientational elements, there is little evidence for a consistent ordering of temporals, locatives and topics, and each is introduced as required while the changing discourse evolves. Overall, the introduction of a discourse topic does tend to precede one or more topical participants, as illustrated from the opening of text one in example (102) above. Again, this only makes sense from the perspective of establishing an overall topic before narrowing in on more specific information.

## 6.2.2 P<sup>post</sup>

Post-clausal elements share many formal similarities with the pre-clausal ones surveyed above, though the function of placement in P<sup>post</sup> is somewhat different. Rather than establishing a new setting or topic, the P<sup>post</sup> position is usually used to re-iterate or clarify the reference of clausal constituents or add information that has occurred to the speaker only as an afterthought. These are primarily the functions cited for the pragmatic function Tail in Functional Grammar (Dik 1997b:401-405). Following a survey of the various elements serving these Tail functions, this section will be concluded with another look at the vocative which can also occur in the post-clausal position.

### 6.2.2.1 Clarification/Afterthought

A large variety of constituents can occur as clarifications and/or afterthoughts in post-clausal position and these will each be demonstrated in turn.

#### 6.2.2.1.1 Arguments

Due to the verbal cross-reference system, as described in chapter 2, clauses can occur without lexical or even pronominal specification of the arguments of the verb. However, this might potentially lead to ambiguity or uncertainty on the part of an addressee if the reference of bound pronominals on the verb is not sufficiently clear. Thus, arguments of the verb can be added as afterthoughts by a speaker upon deciding that reference may need clarification or reinforcement.

In the lead up to the example given in (105), the identity of the quoted speaker had been established in the very first clause of the text. However, there had also been a change of discourse topic - in this case, the choice of story being quoted - in the intervening narrative, so that when the speaker does begin to quote the original storyteller, his identity is reinforced in post-clausal position. It is interesting to note, that the form this post-clausal mention takes, *piyēsīs awa*, is identical to an identificational structure (i.e. “This is Piyēsīs [I’m talking about]”).

- (105) “..., *nimasinahikēhikawin*,” *itwēw awa*, *piyēsīs awa*. [HP8:13-14]  
 ni- masinahikēh -ikawi -n itwē -w awa piyēsīs awa  
 1 VTA XAct 1/2 VAI 3s PR.3s NA.3s IPC  
 hire (X-)1s say.so this Piyēsīs FOC  
 “ ‘..., and I was hired on,’ this Piyēsīs said.”  
 [lit: ‘ ‘..., and I was hired on,’ this one said, this Piyēsīs.’]

Similar reiterations of established topics are illustrated in (106) through (108). In (106), the hat in question had just been introduced as *amiskwayānēscocinis* “a beaver-pelt hat” in the preceding clause, but is reinforced in P<sup>post</sup>.

- (106) “*mētoni ē-wāpāstēk piyis*,” *itwēw*, “*ēwako ōma nicascocinis*,” *itwēw*. [HP8:28]  
 mētoni ē- wāpāstē -k piyis  
 IPC IPV VII 0s IPT  
 really CNJ be.faded finally



ēwako	ōma	nic-	ascocinis
PR.0s	IPC	1	NI.0s
that	FOC		little.hat

“ ‘..., finally it was really getting faded,’ he said, ‘that little hat of mine,’ he said.”

In (107), the snake (*kinēpik*) has also been introduced in the preceding clause. In this case, the hesitatory particle *aya* following *ana* in argument position  $P^{M+1}$  may indicate that the noun *kinēpik* was intended to simply occur as part of the post-verbal phrase. However, in placing it in post-clausal position instead, the noun again occurs in the identificational or focussed structure with the following demonstrative pronoun *ana*.

(107) ..., “*pōti awa ayīkisa k-āti-tahkwamāt ana aya, kinēpik ana,*” *itwēw.*

[HP5:40]

pōti	awa	ayīkis	-a	kā-	ati-	tahkwam	-ā	-t
IPC	PR.3s	NA	3'	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s
lo	this	frog		CNJ	PRG	bite		3s-3'

ana	aya	kinēpikw	ana
PR.3s	IPC	NA.3s	IPC
that	umm	snake	FOC

“..., ‘and this snake had a frog in his mouth,’ he said.”

[lit: ‘..., ‘and he had a frog in his mouth, that snake,’ he said.’]

The same structure is found in (108) where the speaker’s uncle (*nisis*) has been introduced in the  $P^{pre}$  position of the immediately preceding clause. In this instance, *nisis ana* is clearly given in  $P^{post}$  in order to reinforce this new topic, but it is perhaps also possible to re-interpret the phrase *ēwako ana*, which precedes it, as  $P^{post}$  as well.

(108) *ēkosi ēkwa nikī-pē-ka-kiyokāk ana ēwako ana, nisis ana,* ... [HP5:6]

ēkosi	ēkwa	ni-	kī-	pē-	ka-	kiyokaw-	-ik	-Ø
IPC	IPT	1	IPV	IPV	IPV	VTA	INV	3s
So	then		PST	come	RDPL	visit		3s-1s

ana	ēwako	ana	ni-	sis	ana
PR.3s	PR.3s	IPC	1	NDA.3s	IPC
that	that	FOC		uncle	FOC

“So he had come to visit me, this uncle of mine, ...”

In each of the preceding three examples, the reinforced topical third person argument has been the first argument of the verb, either as the sole argument of a VII (106), as the first argument of a direct VTA (107), or the first argument of an inverse VTA (108). Each has also been very recently established as a topical participant, and the reiteration in P<sup>post</sup> aids this. In the next example, (109), the topical third person participant (*awa kā-nihtā-nīmihitot* “the one who dances well”) is the second argument of a direct VTA, and is being reintroduced after a considerable length of time in the narrative - a total of 24 clauses.

- (109) “*māka ē-nitawi-mawinēhwāyāhk ēwako awa,*” *itwēw,*  
           “*awa kā-nihtā-nīmihitot,*” *itwēw.* [HP9:37-38]
- |             |           |                |                 |           |              |              |            |
|-------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>māka</i> | <i>ē-</i> | <i>nitawi-</i> | <i>mawinēhw</i> | <i>-ā</i> | <i>-yāhk</i> | <i>ēwako</i> | <i>awa</i> |
| IPC         | IPV       | IPV            | VTA             | DIR       | 1p           | PR.3s        | PR.3s      |
| but         | CNJ       | go             | challenge       | 1p-3s     |              | that         | this       |
- 
- |            |            |               |                 |           |
|------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>awa</i> | <i>kā-</i> | <i>nihtā-</i> | <i>nīmihito</i> | <i>-t</i> |
| PR.3s      | IPV        | IPV           | VAI             | 3s        |
| this       | CNJ        | well          | dance           |           |
- “ ‘Of course we were going to challenge this one,’ he said,  
   ‘this good dancer,’ he said.”

Thus, P<sup>post</sup> can be used to reinforce new topics or fully renew previously introduced ones.

Another use of the post-clausal position is to narrow or simply further specify the intended referent. Examples (110) through (111) contain post-clausal further specifications of more general referents found in the clause. In (110), *ayānis* “clothing” is one item suggested among all things in general which are so expensive nowadays.

- (110) *iyikohk kīkway iyikohk ē-itakihtēk ēkwa anohc, ayānis, nanātohk*  
           *kīkway.* [HP4:151]
- |                |               |                |           |                 |           |             |              |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>iyikohk</i> | <i>kīkway</i> | <i>iyikohk</i> | <i>ē-</i> | <i>itakihtē</i> | <i>-k</i> | <i>ēkwa</i> | <i>anohc</i> |
| QNT            | PR.0s         | QNT            | IPV       | VII             | 0s        | IPT         | IPT          |
| so.much        | something     | so.much        | CNJ       | cost.so         |           | now         | today        |
- 
- |               |                 |               |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>ayānis</i> | <i>nanātohk</i> | <i>kīkway</i> |
| NI.0s         | QNT             | NI.0s         |
| clothing      | all.kinds       | thing(s)      |
- “..., so expensive is everything today, clothes, everything.”

In (111), the referents are marked clausally only by the 1p suffix on the verb, but *nīci-kisēyiniw* “my fellow old man” is offered post-clausally to clarify who exactly is being included with the speaker in the first person plural exclusive.

- (111) *ōma iyikohk kā-pē-isi-wāpahtamāhk ōma ōta, nīci-kisēyiniw awa, ...*  
 [HP6:3]
- |       |         |     |      |      |                  |      |      |      |      |
|-------|---------|-----|------|------|------------------|------|------|------|------|
| ōma   | iyikohk | kā- | pē-  | isi- | wāpaht           | -am  | -āhk | ōma  | ōta  |
| PR.0s | QNT     | IPV | IPV  | IPV  | VTI <sub>1</sub> | TH   | 1p   | IPC  | PL   |
| this  | so.much | CNJ | come | thus | see              | 1p-0 |      | this | here |
- 
- |    |                |     |
|----|----------------|-----|
| n- | īci-kisēyiniw  | awa |
| 1  | NDA.3s         | IPC |
|    | fellow.old.man | FOC |
- “..., that both of us old men have seen [this day], ...”  
 [lit: “..., that we have thus come to see [the day], my fellow old man [and I]”]

Finally, the universal quantifier *kahkiyaw kīkway* “everything” in (112) is narrowed post-clausally to some particular and most extreme instances of what has been stolen from the Cree, namely *kipīkiskwēwininaw* “our language” and *kitisīhtwāwininaw* “our culture”.

- (112) *kahkiyaw kīkway ē-pē-maskamikoyahk, kipīkiskwēwininaw wāwāc, ēkwa mīna kitisīhtwāwininaw.*  
 [HP2:9]
- |          |        |     |      |            |       |       |
|----------|--------|-----|------|------------|-------|-------|
| kahkiyaw | kīkway | ē-  | pē-  | maskam     | -iko  | -yahk |
| QNT      | NI.0p  | IPV | IPV  | VTA        | INV   | 21    |
| all      | things | CNJ | come | steal.from | 3s-21 |       |
- 
- |     |             |       |       |      |      |      |            |       |
|-----|-------------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------------|-------|
| ki- | pīkiskwēwin | -inaw | wāwāc | ēkwa | mīna | kit- | isīhtwāwin | -inaw |
| 2   | NI.0's      | 21    | IPC   | IPC  | IPC  | 2    | NI.0's     | 21    |
|     | speech      |       | even  | and  | also |      | culture    |       |
- “..., [the Whiteman] robbing us of everything, even our language and also our culture.”

It is even possible for post-clausal arguments to provide further specification of information which would otherwise remain non-referentially implicit in the clausal verb. In (113), we are told that the topical participant has a new wife, but this is coded in the VAI stem *oskiskwēwē-* “have a new wife, have a young wife” such that the wife herself is non-referential. Post-clausally, however, we are told unambiguously that this is indeed *mitoni*

*oskinīkiskwēwa* “a very young woman”, and not merely a new relationship.

(113) “*ē-oskiskwēwēt,*” *nititāw,* “***mitoni oskinīkiskwēwa,***” *nititāw.*  
[HP6:20-23]

<i>ē-</i>	<i>oskiskwēwē</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>nit-</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-w</i>
IPV	VAI	3s	1	VTA	DIR	3s
CNJ	have.new.wife			say.so.to	1s-3s	
	<i>mitoni</i>	<i>oskinīkiskwēw</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>nit-</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>-ā</i> <i>-w</i>
	IPC	NA	3'	1	VTA	DIR 3s
	really	young.woman			say.so.to	1s-3s

“ ‘He had a new wife,’ I said to them, ‘a very young woman,’ I said to them.”

One further example of this type is found in (114) where the VAI stem *pīkocin-* “be torn by slivers” implies what has happened, but the post-clausal specification of *akwāminakasiyak* “thorns”, itself certainly not an argument of the original intransitive verb, makes it explicit as to the source of the speaker’s discomfort.

(114) “*wahwā nipīkocinin nimaskisinisa ōhi,*” *itwēw.* “***akwāminakasiyak,***”  
*itwēw,* ... [HP8:37-38]

<i>wahwā</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>pīkocin</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>maskisinis</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ōhi</i>
IPC	1	VAI	1/2	1	NI	0p	IPC
oh.my		be.torn.by.slivers			moccasin		FOC
	<i>akwāminakasiy</i>	<i>-ak</i>					
	NA	3p					
	thorn						

“ ‘Oh my, I got many slivers through my moccasins,’ he said.  
‘Thorns,’ he said, ...”

In many of the preceding examples, due to the nature of the texts, quotative verbs intervene between the clause and the post-clausal constituent. This is not a necessary criterion, of course, but it does reinforce the notion that these are afterthoughts separated from the clause itself.

### 6.2.2.1.2 Locatives

Another constituent that quite commonly occurs in post-clausal position is the locative. For the most part, these are further specifications of a locative which occurs within the immediately preceding clause, often in P<sup>F</sup>. This is

the case in (115) and (116) where the P<sup>post</sup> element merely restates the P<sup>F</sup> locative.

(115) *ē-kī-osīhtamāso kahkiyaw kīkway opimācihowinihk isi,*  
*opimohētēhonihk isi.* [HP2:32]

ē-	kī-	osīhtamāso	-t	kahkiyaw	kīkway
IPV	IPV	VAI	3s	QNT	NI.0p
CNJ	PST	make.for.self		all	thing(s)

o-	pimācihowin	-ihk	isi	o-	pimohētēhon	-ihk	isi
3	NI		LOC IPL	3	NI		LOC IPL
	way.of.life		to		journey		to

“They made everything themselves for their livelihood, for their life.

(116) *tāpwē piko ē-kī-isi-pimātisit anima askīhk, okāwīmāwaskīhk; ...*  
[HP4:60]

tāpwē	piko	ē-	kī-	isi-	pimātisi	-t	anima
IPC	IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VAI	3s	IPC
truly	only	CNJ	PST	thus	live		FOC

askiy	-ihk	okāwīmāwaskiy	-ihk
NI	LOC	NI	LOC
land		mother.earth	

“They truly lived off the land, mother earth; ...”

In (117), however, the complex locative expression provided in P<sup>post</sup> gives information on the status of the speaker’s eye (*niskīsik*) which is only implied by the verb. No locative element is present in the clause itself, and it is perhaps the complexity of the locative which relegates it to post-clausal rather than clause-final position.

(117) “*kwayakopayin ōma niskīsik,*” *itwēw,* “*mitoni ākwāc ōta naniwāhk*  
*ōta,*” *itwēw,* ... [HP:10:61-62]

kwayakopayin	-Ø	ōma	ni-	skīsikw
VII	0s	PR.0s	1	NI.0s
fall.out		this		eye

mitoni	ākwāc	ōta	n-	aniway	-ihk	ōta
IPC	IPL	PL	1	NDI	LOC	PL
really	way.down	here		cheek		here

“ ‘My eye fell out,’ he said, ‘it was hanging way down my cheek here,’ he said, ...”

Finally, in at least one example, a locative co-occurs with a topical participant in P<sup>post</sup> as a way of providing more information about the topic.

(118) *awa wīsta ē-na-nitohtawāt ōhi, sakāhk ōtē ohci awa nāpēw.* [HP7:8-9]

awa	wīsta	ē-	na-	nitohtaw	-ā	-t	ōhi
PR.3s	PR.3s	IPV	IPV	VTA	DIR	3s	PR.3'
this		CNJ	RDPL	listen.to	3s-3'		those

sakāw-	-ihk	ōtē	ohci	awa	nāpēw
NI	LOC	PL	IPL	PR.3s	NA3.s
bush		over.here	from	this	man

“He too was listening to them, he was from the bush-country [the North].”

### 6.2.2.1.3 Temporals

Considerably less common than locatives in P<sup>post</sup> are expressions of time. This is likely due to a number of factors, including the greater frequency that locatives have as clausal arguments or obliques, and the greater prominence that temporal settings have in Plains Cree discourse. It is much more likely for temporal settings to be established clause-externally in P<sup>pre</sup> or clause-internally in P<sup>l</sup>. Of the few examples in the House People texts that might be interpreted as P<sup>post</sup> temporals, alternative analyses can also be suggested.

In (119), the temporal *kā-nīsimohk* “when there is jiggling” takes the form of a relative clause, and is merely a restatement of the preceding temporal clause. This follows the pattern established for both topical arguments and locatives, but it could also be seen as a further specification of the kind of activity involved (i.e. “jiggling” as a specific kind of “dancing”) and it was this interpretation which informed the original translation.

(119) “*ā kētahtawē ēkwa kā-nīmihitohk, kā-nīsimohk ōma,*” *itwēw,* ... [HP10:48-49]

ā	kētahtawē	ēkwa	kā-	nīmihito	-hk
IPC	IPT	IPT	IPV	VAI	XAct
well	suddenly	then	CNJ	dance	

kā-	nīsosimo	-hk	ōma
IPC	VAI	XAct	IPC
CNJ	jig		FOC

“ ‘Well, when the dancing, rather the jiggling started,’ he said, ...”

[lit: “ ‘Well, then the dancing started, it was (where there was) jiggling,’ ...”]

An additional example in (120) appears to have both a further specification of a locative, and then a temporal setting as P<sup>post</sup> constituents. Despite the presence of the verb *itohtē*- “go there” forcing an interpretation of a clause preceding these constituents, it is also possible that these could be interpreted as first a locative and then a temporal setting in P<sup>pre</sup> position as introduction of the entire text.

(120) *ōtē nīkī-itohtān ōtē aya*, Thompson, Manitoba, *kayāsēs*,

*nānitaw nīsw-āskiy nistw-āskiy, nīsw-āskiy.* [HP10:1-2]

ōtē	nī-	kī-	itohtē	-n	ōtē	aya	Thompson, MB,
PL	1	IPV	VAI	1/2	PL	IPC	LOC
over.here		PST	go.there		over.here	umm	T., M.

kayāsēs	nānitaw	nīsw-āskiy	nistw-āskiy	nīsw-āskiy
IPT	IPT	IPT	IPT	IPT
quite.a.while	around	two.years	three.years	two.years

“I went to Thompson, Manitoba, a while ago, about two or three years ago, two years ago.”

Although it is possible under the right circumstances to restate or reinforce temporal settings in post-clausal position, this does not appear to be a common feature of Plains Cree discourse, or at least of the texts used in the current survey.

#### 6.2.2.1.4 Other Modification and Emphasis

It is also possible to restate or emphasize a variety of additional clausal constituents or modifiers by placement in post-clausal position. Most commonly, the element in question occurs within the clause and is repeated or restated post-clausally for emphasis. This is the case for the manner adverbial *ēkosi isi* “in this way” in (121), which has first occurred in P<sup>I</sup> of the preceding clause in (121a), then, in (121b), in both clause-final position and in P<sup>post</sup> accompanying a restatement of the oblique argument *kīkway*.

(121) a) ..., *ēkosi isi ē-wīhtamawicik kīkway* ... [HP10:133]  
 “..., they tell me things like that ...”

b) ... *ēkwa ē-pīkiskwāsicik kīkway ēkosi isi, nanātohk kīkway ēkosi isi*, ... [HP10:134-135]

ēkwa	ē-	pīkiskwāt	-it	-ik	kīkway	ēkosi	isi
IPC	IPV	VTA	INV	3p	NI.0p	IPC	IPC
and	CNJ	speak.to	3p-1s		thing	so	thus

nanātohk	kīkway	ēkosi	isi
QNT	NI.0p	IPC	IPC
all.kinds	thing	so	thus

“...and speak to me about things like that, all kinds of things like that, ...”

A similar example occurs in (122). Here, the manner adverb *pēyakwan* “same” has been first introduced (122a) in the preceding clause, and then reinforced post-clausally in (122b) in reduplicated form emphasizing the distributive nature of the modification.

(122) a) “... -- *pēyakwan pāskac ē-isīhocik mīna*,” *nititāw*; ... [HP6:51-52]  
 “... -- these two were even dressed the same,’ I said to them; ...”

b) “*ā, mitoni ē-miywāsiniyiki oskotākāwāwa, pāh-pēyakwan mīna* -- ...” [HP6:51-52]

ā	mitoni	ē-	miywāsin	-iyiki	o-	skotākay	-iwāw-a
IPC	IPC	IPV	VII	0’p	3s	NDI	3p 0p
well	really	CNJ	be.good			coat	

pāh-	pēyakwan	mīna
IPP	IPC	IPC
RDPL	same	also

“‘Well, their coats were really nice, and they were both exactly the same -- ...’”

Yet another example of this type is (123) where the verbal intensifier *mitoni* is in P<sup>M-1</sup> within the clause, and reinforced with another intensifier *mistahi* added post-clausally.



- (123) ..., *mitoni kī-kanātaniyiw opimātisiwiniwāw, **mistahi***. [HP3:57]  
 mitoni kī- kanātan -iyiw o- pimātisiwin -iwāw mistahi  
 IPC IPV VII 0's 3 NI 3p IPC  
 really PST be.clean life a.lot  
 “[And the Crees] led a really clean life, very clean.”

It is also possible, in the absence of any such modifier clause-internally, to add such an intensifier post-clausally as an emphatic device. In (124), the emphatic *mitoni oti* “really!” follows another post-clausal element, the restated argument *nīci-kisēyiniw* “my fellow old man”.

- (124) “..., *ē-kī-kisiwāhit pēyak kisēyiniw, nīci-kisēyiniw, **mitoni oti***,” ... [HP6:7]  
 ē- kī- kisiwāh -it pēyak kisēyiniw  
 IPV IPV VTA INV NUM NA.3s  
 CNJ PST anger 3s-1s one old.man

n- īci-kisēyiniw mitoni oti  
 1 NDA.3s IPC IPC  
 fellow.old.man really !

“..., one old man got me angry, an old man just like me, very angry, ...”

Finally, the example in (125) includes a simple exclamation in post-clausal position. This interjection is of the type discussed for pre-clausal position in section 6.2.1.2 above, functioning to express the speaker’s attitude, add emphasis to the utterance, and manage the overall discourse. The use of *ī* in post-clausal position accomplishes all of these things, bringing a section of the narrative to a conclusion and marking the boundary between one section and the next.

- (125) *kēkāt nīstanaw kī-otihtam ēwako ana kisēyiniw, **ī!*** [HP10:129]  
 kēkāt nīstanaw kī- otiht -am -Ø  
 IPC NUM IPV VTI<sub>1</sub> TH 3s  
 almost twenty PST reach 3s-0’

ēwako ana kisēyiniw ī  
 PR.3s PR.3s NA.3s IPC  
 that that old.man hey

“..., and he had almost reached [a hundred and] twenty, this old man, behold!”

In pre-clausal position, an interjection of this type was found to function in opening the discourse and preceding other pre-clausal and clausal constituents, often in conjunction with the vocative.

### 6.2.2.2 Vocative

As shown earlier, vocatives in pre-clausal position are used to gain the attention of an addressee, or confirm the addressee as a speech act participant. In contrast, when the vocative occurs post-clausally, the establishment of speech act participation has already been accomplished. Though post-clausal vocatives may still serve to confirm or maintain the addressee's attention, it seems more likely to simply express respect or endearment toward the addressee through the use of appropriate terms of kinship or social relationship. In the following two examples, a kinship term is used in post-clausal position, though the speech act participants have been active for some time.

- (126) “*ā, ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoyin, nimosōm!*” [HP6:75]  

ā	ēkosi	ani	ē-	kitimaho	-yin	ni-	mosōm
IPC	IPC	IPC	IPV	VAI	2s	1	NDA.VOC
well	so	!		be.rough.on.self			grandfather

 “ ‘Well, in that case you will be in rough shape, grandfather!’ ”

- (127) ... ‘*ēkospī ōma ohci kēyāpic, nōsisim,*’ *itwēw,* ... [HP10:115]  

ēkospī	ōma	ohci	kēyāpic	n-	ōsisim	itwē	-w
PT	IPC	IPT	IPT	1	NDA.VOC	VAI	3s
at.that.time	!	from	still		grandchild	say.so	

 “ ... ‘and from that point on and to this day, my grandchild,’ he said [to me], ... ”

In other instances, the vocative may be extra-clausal, following the first part of an utterance but preceding the continuation.

- (128) ‘*tānisi, nimosōm! kiwīsakēyihtēn cī?*’ [HP6:79-80]  

tānisi	ni-	mosōm	ki-	wīsakēyiht	-ē	-n	cī
IPC	1	NDA.VOC	2	VTI <sub>1</sub>	TH	1/2	Q
how		grandfather		feel.pain.from	2s-0		

 “ ‘How is it, grandfather! Does it hurt?’ ”

This again most likely serves the attention-confirming function as well as expressing respect, but may also be an early afterthought in the sense that

perhaps attention-getting was also required, or perceived somewhat belatedly to be necessary. In this case, the vocative serves both pre-clausal and post-clausal functions.

### 6.2.2.3 P<sup>post</sup> Summarized

We have seen a range of constituents which can occur post-clausally, and topics, locatives and temporals in particular mirror their pre-clausal appearance. The difference between pre- and post-clausal position for these constituents is in their respective functions. Post-clausal position is not typically used to establish these as orientations so much as reiterate and reinforce given topics or provide further specification of elements which the speaker judges not sufficiently clear. Vocatives can similarly occur before or after the clause proper, again with subtle differences of function. Post-clausal vocatives are usually used not to gain the attention of an addressee, but to maintain the interaction or simply to show deference or affection through the use of kinship terms.

One constituent type that is found post-clausally, but rarely if ever occurs pre-clausally, is the range of verbal modifiers or emphasizing degree adverbials. This is only natural, since such modification can be expected to take place within the clause (P<sup>M-1</sup>; see Chapter 5), or as extra reinforcement after the clause, but not pre-clausally relatively too distant from the establishment of what is to be emphasized.

Although data pertaining to the possibility of stacking two or more different constituents is fairly scarce, it does appear possible. In the few examples we have seen, the constituent immediately following the clause provides reiteration of a clausal constituent (e.g. locative; topic) while a second post-clausal constituent provides additional information or emphasis as an afterthought (e.g. temporal; degree). One area in which data is clearly lacking is the ability to stack vocatives with other constituents. Moutaouakil (1989:151) finds that Arabic vocatives can occur before another pre-clausal constituent or after another post-clausal constituent. The limited data on vocatives and other interactionals that we have seen here suggests that this may be true of Cree vocatives pre-clausally, but the data consulted simply does not allow for any conclusions in post-clausal position.

## 6.3 Plains Cree Word Order Templates Summarized

In the preceding sections and chapters we have completed a variety of clausal templates for Plains Cree, and we have also surveyed a variety of constituents capable of occurring either pre- or post-clausally or both. In the

case of extra-clausal constituents, although not yet made explicit, we are also working with a word order template as illustrated in (129). To the pre-clausal ( $P^{pre}$ ) and post-clausal ( $P^{post}$ ) constituents, we add the clause ( $P^{centre}$ ) itself to which the extra-clausal constituents are oriented (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:312).

(129)  $P^{pre}$  |  $P^{centre}$  |  $P^{post}$

Section 6.2 established the typical functions of extra-clausal constituents and these are schematized in Table 6.3 on the following page. This does not fully indicate the limited amount of information we have gleaned on the stacking of extra-clausal constituents, but the earlier that elements appear in the table, the more likely they are to occur closer to the clause proper.

As for the clause itself, represented by  $P^{centre}$  in the above schema and table, Figure 6.1 in section 6.1.4 had earlier divided the clause into three main areas oriented to the three most important clausal positions:  $P^I$ ,  $P^M$  and  $P^F$ . Rather than attempting to try and cram too much information into a single clausal chart, one table will be offered for each of these three sections of the clause.

**Table 6.3**  
**Extra-Clausal Constituents and Functions**

	$P^{pre}$	$P^{centre}$	$P^{post}$
<b>Function 1</b>	<b>Orientation</b>	<b>“the Clause”</b>	<b>Specification/ Afterthought</b>
Constituents	Temporal Setting	see Tables 6.4 through 6.6	Topical Participants
	Locative Setting		Locative Setting
	Discourse Topic		Temporal Setting
	Topical Participants		Emphatics
<b>Function 2</b>	<b>Interactional Management</b>		<b>Interactional Management</b>
Constituents	Interactionals		(Interactionals)
	Vocative		Vocatives
<b>Function 3</b>	<b>Attitude Specification</b>		
Constituents	Attitudinals		

The last section of Chapter 5 and first half of the current chapter were devoted to investigating the constituency of clause-initial position ( $P^1$ ) and positions which depend on it such as  $P^{1+1}$  or  $P^2$ ,  $P^{2+1}$ , etc. These were already summarized in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, and it is essentially the latter that is repeated here, though indicating the apparent optionality of  $P^2$ .

**Table 6.4**  
 **$P^1$  Constituents and Functions**

$P^1$	( $P^2$ )	$P^{1+1}$ / $P^{2+1}$	$P^{1+2}$ / $P^{2+2}$
(Focussed) <b>Interrogative</b> (yes-no or content)	<b>Inverted Coordinator and Subordinator</b>	Resumptive <b>Topic</b> (if displaced from $P^1$ (and $P^2$ ))	<b>Temporal Setting</b> (if displaced from $P^{1+1}/P^{2+1}$ )
Contrastive or Resumptive <b>Topic</b>		<b>Temporal Setting</b> (if displaced from $P^1$ (and $P^2$ ))	<b>Contrastive Focus</b> (if displaced from $P^{1+1}/P^{2+1}$ )
<b>Temporal Setting</b>		<b>Contrastive Focus</b> (if displaced from $P^1$ (and $P^2$ ))	
<b>Contrastive Focus</b>	<b>(Focal Demonstrative)</b>		

This does not truly convey the complex interaction of Pragmatic Functions which can occupy the positions in question. All elements listed under  $P^1$  can be followed by either a  $P^2$  element or none at all. If a focalizing demonstrative occurs to create a cleft structure with any of the  $P^1$  elements, however, no further expansions from  $P^2$  are possible since the complement to the cleft will occur in  $P^M$ . The table does, however, suggest the observed order for precedence of placement in  $P^1$  of Topic, then Temporal and then Contrastive Focus. Finally, while Topics are generally restricted to arguments, Focus can be filled by a great many distinct clausal constituents including the verb.

Normally, however, the verb is the clausal pivot placed in medial position,  $P^M$ , and surrounded by whichever of its arguments and modifiers have not been placed elsewhere due to pragmatic considerations. This is illustrated in Table 6.5, which combines elements of preverbal positions investigated in Chapter 5 (see table 5.2) and postverbal positions investigated in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.6).

**Table 6.5**  
**P<sup>M</sup> Constituents and Functions**

P <sup>M-2</sup>	P <sup>M-1</sup>	P <sup>M</sup>	P <sup>M+1</sup>	P <sup>M+2</sup>
<b>Verbal Modifier</b> (if displaced from P <sup>M-1</sup> )	<b>Oblique Argument</b> (if present)	<b>Verb</b>	<b>Argument</b> (if present)	<b>Argument</b> (if displaced from P <sup>M+1</sup> )
	<b>Verbal Modifier</b> (if present)	(?Argument?)	<b>Argument</b> (if present)	

The verb can be preceded by oblique arguments and verbal modifiers with the obliques taking precedence for P<sup>M-1</sup>. Following in P<sup>M+1</sup> will be a core argument of the verb, if any. The data was not conclusive, but there is the possibility that, in the unlikely event that two or more arguments are lexicalized post-verbally, the sequence would run V A1 A2 A3. In other words, the first argument might well take precedence for P<sup>M+1</sup> over other arguments, while A2 appears to take precedence over A3.

Finally, we can revisit the findings for clause-final position from section 4.4 of Chapter 4. Table 6.6 illustrates the precedence conditions, as far as these have been determined, but also the unmarked case in which certain modifiers of the verb, particularly locatives or temporals, occur in P<sup>F</sup>. In a way, this is the most heterogenous position, since we can have pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic factors all playing a part in the choice of the P<sup>F</sup> element.

**Table 6.6**  
**P<sup>F</sup> Constituents and Functions**

P <sup>F-2</sup>	P <sup>F-1</sup>	P <sup>F</sup>
<b>Modifier</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F-1</sup> )	<b>Modifier</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F</sup> )	<b>Resumptive/ Respecified Topic</b> (if present)
	<b>Modifier</b> (if displaced from P <sup>F</sup> )	<b>Complement Clause</b> (if present)
		<b>Modifier</b> (if present) - possible preference to Locatives

While both resumptive or respecified topics and complement clauses appear to take precedence over modifiers, the data examined did not allow for a clear ranking between topics and complement clauses. It is certainly possible that morphosyntactic weight, as per Dik's (1978) "language-independent preferred order of constituents" or LIPOC principle, would dictate that a complement clause would take precedence for P<sup>F</sup>, and this would entail an alteration to the table above. However, further data must be consulted, and it may simply be exceedingly rare for both constituent types to co-occur. For now, we have completed the current investigation of clausal and extra-clausal constituent order in Plains Cree.

## Chapter 7

# Conclusions and Future Research

The Cree language has been described as both a language without case-marking and a free word order language. Through the current work, I have sought to dispell both of these myths, specifically for Plains Cree, but also by extension for its closely comparable sister dialects. The “comparatively free” word order so often attributed to the Cree dialects is the result of a combination of two main features of Cree syntax which may differ greatly in form but parallel in function the universal building blocks of syntax.

The usual interpretation of both nominal case-marking and strict word order is in the rigid representation of syntactic functions (i.e. grammatical relations such as subject and object) which in turn allow for mediation between semantic and pragmatic functions resulting in our ability to understand who does what to whom within a multitude of contexts and perspectives. At its most extreme, the position that Cree has neither case-marking nor word order allows for the dangerously incorrect interpretation that Cree is somehow devoid of the basic components of syntax. Nothing could be further from the truth. Instead, we have now observed the combined function of the direct-inverse system and some initial word order templates in accomplishing the functional equivalent of what is variously achieved by case-marking, word order and even intonational variation across languages.

Perhaps one of the greatest obstacles to making these observations in the past lay in the frequently narrowed scope of syntactic investigation to “syntax” writ large and equated almost exclusively with syntactic functions. Such an approach only sometimes admitted semantic functions a minor role and generally ignored the role of pragmatic functions altogether. Such an approach is bound to fail to accurately depict the systems that we find in place in the Cree language. The efficiency with which the direct-inverse system merges semantic and pragmatic considerations completely obviates the need for syntactic functions. Semantics, primarily instantiated through the Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy, and Pragmatics, represented prototypically by the Algonquian Person/Topicality Hierarchy, interact directly without recourse to the grammaticalization of subject and/or object roles. Thus, neither case-marking nor word order need be tied to syntactic



functions whatsoever, and a functional approach such as that taken in Functional (Discourse) Grammar provides a more appropriate framework for analyzing their uses within Plains Cree syntax.

With the direct-inverse system providing the role-indexing alignment that allows for the identification of who does what to whom, word order is largely freed from the necessity of specifying the syntactic or semantic role of arguments. Without such a role, word order merely appears free from the perspective of languages like English in which this is an essential function of word order. Nevertheless, we have observed a number of syntactically and semantically motivated constraints which serve to build much of the core of the clause around the central position of the verb. In the word order templates developed through the latter half of this work, the verb fulfills the role of predicate and generally occurs in the medial position ( $P^M$ ) around which everything revolves. This matches well with the common impression voiced by speakers and teachers of Cree that the verb is truly central to the language. However, this remains only a small part of the picture provided by the full clausal and extra-clausal templates. While the verb is typically placed in  $P^M$  which is medial within the clause proper ( $P^{centre}$ ), we still have successive layers built around this centre, consisting primarily of pragmatically- or hierarchically-defined constituents in  $P^I$ ,  $P^F$ ,  $P^{pre}$ , and  $P^{post}$ . Thus, only an approach that treats pragmatic functions (e.g. topic, focus, contrast, orientation, etc.) as potential determinants to word order will prove capable of accounting for the facts of Plains Cree.

It is hoped that the current work, couched within just such a framework, but even more importantly centered on actual data from Plains Cree discourse, has begun to offer such an account. Yet it is also recognized that this is just a beginning and much further work is required in the functional domain of Cree word order. For instance, despite the strong motivation for the central placement of the verb in  $P^M$ , we have at least briefly seen the possibility that the verb can be focussed in  $P^I$  (see section 6.1.4). The consequences of such placement, with regard to the possible constituency of both  $P^2$  and  $P^M$ , require much further investigation. In the former case, focus particles associated with the verb must be detailed and compared with those found to co-occur with nouns, pronouns, and particles. In the latter case, the full affect on the medial field in the absence of a verb requires more detailed observation.

Whether in  $P^M$  or  $P^I$ , both of these possibilities still presuppose the presence of a verb within the clause, but is this essential? Or is it possible instead to have clausal structures without verbs? Existential and presentative structures are one type of non-verbal predication, investigated in the current work (see section 5.3.2), in which  $P^M$  is often simply left unfilled. But what

are the possibilities for the placement of something other than a verb in P<sup>M</sup> as a predicate? Examples such as (1), in which the negative expression *nama kīkway* “nothing; there is none” appears to fill P<sup>M</sup>, certainly suggest that at least some non-verbal expressions can pattern like verbs and act as predicates.<sup>98</sup>

- (1)
- |     |                     |   |                  |           |
|-----|---------------------|---|------------------|-----------|
|     | P <sup>I</sup>      | P <sup>M</sup>                                      | P <sup>F</sup>   |           |
|     | <i>ēkwa wiyawāw</i> | <b><i>nama kīkway</i></b>                           | <i>nētē, ...</i> | [HP10:11] |
|     | IPC PR.3s           | IPC PR.0s   | PL               |           |
| and |                     | NEG something                                       | over.yonder      |           |
|     |                     | “Over there, they had none of that, ...”            |                  |           |
|     |                     | [lit: ‘and they had none of that over yonder, ...’] |                  |           |

If so, what is the range of expressions that can serve this function?

The occurrence of a negative expression in (1) highlights another important topic which requires analysis: Cree negation. Reinholtz (1999b) observes that negative particles must precede the verb, and negation itself is commonly held to occur in a position equivalent to P<sup>I</sup>. However, examples such as those in (2) suggest that negative particles in Plains Cree can form negative constituents with a wide variety of elements and thus simply occur in the appropriate clausal position for each constituent, negated or not.

- (2) a)
- |  |                           |                                     |            |          |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|----------|
|  | P <sup>I/M-1</sup>        | P <sup>M</sup>                      |            |          |
|  | ..., <b><i>namōya</i></b> | <i>ē-wī-nēhiyawēt ...</i>           |            | [HP1:22] |
|  | <i>namōya</i>             | ē- wī- nēhiyawē                     | -t         |          |
|  | IPC                       | IPV IPV VAI                         | 3s         |          |
|  | NEG                       | CNJ PRSP                            | speak.Cree |          |
|  |                           | “..., they will not speak Cree ...” |            |          |
- b)
- |  |                  |   |                        |                           |
|--|------------------|---|------------------------|---------------------------|
|  | P <sup>M-1</sup> | P <sup>M</sup>                              | P <sup>M+1</sup>       |                           |
|  | <i>ēkwa</i>      | <b><i>namōya ēkosi</i></b>                  | <i>ta-kī-itōtahkik</i> | <i>osk-āyak.</i> [HP1:13] |
|  | <i>ēkwa</i>      | <i>namōya ēkosi</i>                         | <i>ta- kī- itōt</i>    | <i>-ah -kik</i>           |
|  | IPC              | IPC IPC                                     | IPV IPV VTI TH         | 3p                        |
|  | now              | NEG   | CNJ PST                | do.so 3p-0’               |
|  |                  | <i>oski-ay</i>                              | <i>-ak</i>             |                           |
|  |                  | NA  | 3p                     |                           |
|  |                  | young.person                                |                        |                           |
|  |                  | “Now, the young people should not do that.” |                        |                           |

<sup>98</sup> In this example and others below, *ēkwa* (or other coordinators and subordinators) is not counted within the clause (see section 5.2.1).

- c)  $P^I$   $P^{M-1}$   $P^M$   $P^{M+1}$   
*namōya wīhkāc ēkosi isi ohci-wīcēwākanihtow osk-āyisiyiniw.*  
 [HP2:37]

namōya	wīhkāc	ēkosi	isi	ohci-	wīcēwākanihto	-w
IPC	IPT	IPC	IPC	IPV	VAI	3s
NEG	ever	thus	thus	PRF	pick.a.partner	

oski-ayisiyiniw

NA.3s

young.person

“Young people never picked a partner just like that.”

- d)  $P^I$   $P^{I+1}$   $P^{I+2}$   $P^M$   
*āta tāpiskōc ēkāya kīkway*  
*wiyasiwēwin wiyawāw ē-ohci-tāwiskākocik ...*  
 [HP3:59]

āta	tāpiskōc	ēkāya	kīkway	wiyasiwēwin
IPC	IPC	IPC	PR.0's	NI.0's
although	seems	NEG	something	law

wiyawāw	ē-	ohci-	tāwiskaw-iko	-cik
PR.3p	IPV	IPV	VTA-InAct	3p
	CNJ	PRF	be.struck.by	

“..., even though it looked as if they were not subject to any formal law ...”

- e)  $P^I$   $P^2$   $P^{M-1}$   $P^M$   
*ēkwa onēhiyāwiniwāw anima namōya*  
*kakētihk ē-itēyihākwanīyik.*  
 [HP1:16]

ēkwa	o-	nēhiyāwiniw	-iwāw	anima
IPC	3	NI.0's	3p	IPC
and		Creeness		FOC

namōya	kakētihk	ē-	itēyihākwan	-iyik
IPC	IPC	IPV	VII	0's
NEG	inconsiderable	CNJ	be.so.thought.of	

“..., and that their Creeness means a great deal.”

In both (2a) and (2c), the negator *namōya* appears to be in initial position. However, in (2a), this is ambiguous with its possible interpretation as a verbal modifier in  $P^{M-1}$ . This latter pattern is represented in (2b) where the negative merely modifies the relative root particle *ēkosi* “thus” required by the verb in  $P^{M-1}$  (see section 5.1). In (2c), the negator is certainly in  $P^1$ , but as part of the temporal phrase *namōya wīhkāc* “never” which patterns with other temporal settings in  $P^1$  (see section 5.2.2). In (2d), the negator *ēkāya* occurs as part of the negative nominal phrase *ēkāya kīkway wiyasiwēwin* “no such thing as law” which appears in  $P^{1+}$ .<sup>99</sup> Finally, (2e) shows the negative modifying another particle in the frozen expression *namōya kakētihk* “a great deal” which unambiguously patterns with other degree expressions in  $P^{M-1}$  and clearly follows a focussed expression in  $P^1$ . This returns us to the questionable identification of the negative in (2a) as occurring in initial position. The majority of examples here suggest that  $P^1$  is not the essential position for Cree negation, or at least that other constituents might take precedence in initial position. In contrast, however, there is some morphological evidence that would suggest that negation has and can still at times be identified with the important pragmatically-motivated initial positions. This is seen in the historical compounding of two common negative roots with the focus particle *wiyá* (e.g. *namōya* (from *nama wiyá*), *ēkāwiyá* (cf. *ēkā*)). Clearly, a much closer examination of Cree negation is required as it pertains to the clausal templates suggested in the current work.

Similarly, much remains to be explored in the domain of focus particles and the status of second clausal position ( $P^2$ ). A variety of particle types, including coordinators and subordinators, demonstrative pronouns converted to focus marking, and other dedicated emphatic and/or interrogative particles have been illustrated in clausal and/or phrasal  $P^2$  in Chapters 5 and 6, but this has by no means constituted an exhaustive treatment. Little attention has as yet been given to evidentials and modals, at least some of which (e.g. *ēsa* “reportedly”, *ētikwē* “possibly; doubtfully”) have been characterized as  $P^2$  constituents (cf. Blain and Déchaine 2007). Another particle that will surely prove interesting in this respect is the verbal modifier *māna* “usually, habitually”, which can take a number of positions within the clause including immediately postverbal (3a), immediately preverbal (3b), and clause-second (3c).

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<sup>99</sup> This analysis depends on the precise interpretation of the position and use of the particle *tāpiskōc*, here suggested as in  $P^1$ . It is entirely possible, as suggested below, that this particle is itself predicational and thus takes the remainder of the clause as a complement, in which case the negated nominal phrase would be in  $P^1$ .

(3) a) *iyikohk ē-kī-misi-wīhkwēstēki māna mīkiwāhpa ōhi, ...* [HP3:9]

iyikohk	ē-	kī-	misi-	wīhkwēstē	-ki	māna
IPC	IPV	IPV	IPV	VII	0p	IPC
so.much	CNJ	PST	big	encircle		usually

mīkiwāhp	-a	ōhi
NI	0p	PR.0p
tipi		these

“..., so big was the circle of these tipis, ...”

b) “..., *konita māna ē-kitāpamicik ōki oskinīkiskwēwak ...*” [HP8:100]

konita	māna	ē-	kitāpam	-it	-ik
IPC	IPC	IPV	VTA	INV	3p
merely	usually	CNJ	look.at	3p-1s	

ōki	oskinīkiskwēw	-ak
DEM.3p	NA	3p
these	young.woman	

“ ‘..., and these young women would just look at me ...’ ”

c) *āskaw māna nēmitanaw itahtotāpānāsk ē-kī-kapēsicik anita*  
*ōcēnāsikh, ...* [Masuskapoe 2010:5]

āskaw	māna	nēmitanaw	itahtotāpānāsk
IPT	IPC	NUM	IPC
sometimes	usually	forty	wagon

ē-	kī-	kapēsi	-cik	anita	ōcēnās	-ihk
IPV	IPV	VAI	3p	PL	NI	LOC
CNJ	PST	camp		there	village	

“At times, forty wagons of them used to camp in a village there.”

The position of *māna* in (3a), between the verb and the argument (which has otherwise been analyzed as occurring in  $P^{M+1}$ ), is problematical unless *māna* forms a constituent with the verb in  $P^M$ . This is at least a possible analysis, and might be extended to (3b) where *māna* again occurs adjacent to the verb, though in this case immediately preverbally. However, *māna* in (3b) could also be seen as a  $P^2$  constituent, and this is certainly the case in (3c) where *māna* is clearly not adjacent to the verb and is unambiguously in  $P^2$ . In all occurrences, *māna* serves to provide aspectual information and so is a modifier of the verb, even when separated from it and placed in  $P^2$ . If we can

combine the occurrence of *māna*, and certain other particles like the aforementioned evidentials, with the suggestion from section 5.3.2 that the use of certain demonstrative/focus particles are developing a copular function, it is possible that we are witnessing the emergence of P<sup>2</sup> as an increasingly important syntactic position in Plains Cree, akin to a position dedicated to auxiliary verbs.

These are merely some of the possible topics which remain to be fully explored. Each of these issues and many more will constitute further necessary steps along the road to a full, functional analysis of Plains Cree syntax.

*ēkota isko pitamā.*



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# Appendices



## Appendix A

### A Transitivity-based Morphosyntactic Classification of Plains Cree Verb Paradigms

#### 1. VII - Inanimate Intransitive Verbs

##### 1.1 VII<sub>1</sub> (Vowel-final; regular)

###### Independent Order

	stem	obv	singular	plural	example
0s			-w		0s mihkwāw
0p			-w	-a	0p mihkwāwa
0's		-ýi	-w		0's mihkwāýiw
0'p		-ýi	-w	-a	0'p mihkwāýiwa

###### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-			-k		0s ē-mihkwāk
0p				-k	-i	0p ē-mihkwāki
0's			-ýi	-k		0's ē-mihkwāýik
0'p			-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-mihkwāýiki

##### 1.2 VII<sub>2</sub> (*n*-final)

##### 1.2.1 VII<sub>2an</sub> (*an*-final; [n] retained - changes to [h] before /-k/)

###### Independent Order

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example		
0s				(-w)		0s māyātan		
0p					-w	-a	0p māyātanwa	
0's				-i	-ýi	-w		0's māyātaniýiw
0'p				-i	-ýi	-w	-a	0'p māyātaniýiwa

###### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example		
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-māyātahk		
0p						-k	-i	0p ē-māyātahki	
0's					-i	-ýi	-k		0's ē-māyātaniýik
0'p					-i	-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-māyātaniýiki



1.2.2 VII<sub>2in</sub> (*in*-final; [n] usually dropped before /-k/, otherwise as in VII<sub>2an</sub>)

## Independent Order

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s				(-w)		0s miýwāsin
0p				-w	-a	0p miýwāsinwa
0's		-i	-ýi	-w		0's miýwāsiníyiw
0'p		-i	-ýi	-w	-a	0'p miýwāsiníyiwa

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-miýwāsik
0p					-k	-i	0p ē-miýwāsiki
0's			-i	-ýi	-k		0's ē-miýwāsiníyik
0'p			-i	-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-miýwāsiníyiki

1.2.3 VII<sub>2on</sub> (*on*-final; [n] sometimes dropped before /-k/, otherwise as in VII<sub>2an</sub>)

## Independent Order

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s				(-w)		0s pimāmon
0p				-w	-a	0p pimāmonwa
0's		-i	-ýi	-w		0's pimāmoniýiw
0'p		-i	-ýi	-w	-a	0'p pimāmoniýiwa

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-pimāmok
0p					-k	-i	0p ē-pimāmoki
0's			-i	-ýi	-k		0's ē-pimāmoniýik
0'p			-i	-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-pimāmoniýiki

**Note:** Certain weather and seasonal terminology (i.e. "impersonal verbs") can only occur in the (proximate and obviative) singular, never the plural [e.g. *pipon* "it's winter" (with [n] retained; e.g. *ē-pipohk*); *mispon* "it's snowing" (with [n] dropped; e.g. *ē-mispok*)].

## 2. VAI - Animate Intransitive Verbs (not including VAI<sub>t</sub> / VTI cl 2&3)

### 2.1 VAI<sub>1</sub> (vowel-final)

#### Independent Order

	SAP	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-n					1s nipān
2s	ki-		-n					2s kinipān
1p	ni-		-nān					1p ninipānān
21	ki-		-(nā)naw					21 kinipā(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-nāwāw					2p kinipānāwāw
3s						-w		
3p					-w	-ak		3p nipāwak
3'				-ýi	-w		-a	3' nipāýiwa

#### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-		-yān				1s ē-nipāyān
2s			-yan				2s ē-nipāyan
1p			-yāhk				1p ē-nipāyāhk
21			-yahk				21 ē-nipāyahk
2p			-yēk				2p ē-nipāyēk
3s					-t		3s ē-nipāt
3p					-t	-ik	3p ē-nipācik <sup>100</sup>
3'					-ýi	-t	

#### Imperative Order

	stem	Imm	Del	example
2s				2s nipā
21		-tān		21 nipātān
2p		-k		2p nipāk
2s			-hkan	2s nipāhkan
21			-hkahk	21 nipāhkahk
2p			-hkēk	2p nipāhkēk

- Note:** These stems can end in 6 of the 7 Cree vowels (i.e. all except [a]):
- [ā]- (as exemplified), [ī]- and [ō]-final stems are regular.
  - [ē]-final stems change the stem-final [ē] to [ā] in all and only the Independent Order SAP (and Unspecified Actor) forms (e.g. mētawē- → nimētawān).
  - [i]- and [o]-final stems are almost regular, but lengthen the stem-final vowel before the Delayed Imperative endings (e.g. nikamo- → nikamōhkan).
  - Vowel-initial stems epenthesize [t] after the Independent Order SAP prefixes.

<sup>100</sup> The merger of the Conjunct Order third person singular -t and the Conjunct Order third person plural -ik results in palatalization of /t/ to [c] (e.g. nipā-t-ik → nipācik).

2.2 VAI<sub>2</sub> (n-final)

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	<b>ni-</b>		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>					1s <b>nipimisinin</b>
2s	<b>ki-</b>		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>					2s <b>kipimisinin</b>
1p	<b>ni-</b>		<b>-i</b>	<b>-nān</b>					1p <b>nipimisininān</b>
21	<b>ki-</b>		<b>-i</b>	<b>-(nā)naw</b>					21 <b>kipimisini(nā)naw</b>
2p	<b>ki-</b>		<b>-i</b>	<b>-nāwāw</b>					2p <b>kipimisinināwāw</b>
3s			<b>(-i)</b>			<b>(-w)</b>			3s <b>pimisin</b> <sup>101</sup>
3p			<b>(-i)</b>			<b>-w</b>	<b>-ak</b>		3p <b>pimisinwak</b> <sup>101</sup>
3'			<b>-i</b>		<b>-ýi</b>	<b>-w</b>		<b>-a</b>	3' <b>pimisiniýiwa</b>

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example	
1s	<b>ē-</b>		<b>(-i)</b>	<b>-(y)ān</b>				1s <b>ē-pimisiniyān</b> <sup>102</sup>	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>-(y)an</b>				2s <b>ē-pimisiniyan</b> <sup>102</sup>	
1p			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>-(y)āhk</b>				1p <b>ē-pimisiniyāhk</b> <sup>102</sup>	
21			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>-(y)ahk</b>				21 <b>ē-pimisiniyahk</b> <sup>102</sup>	
2p			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>-(y)ēk</b>				2p <b>ē-pimisiniyēk</b> <sup>102</sup>	
3s							<b>-k</b>		3s <b>ē-pimisihk</b> <sup>103</sup>
3p							<b>-k</b>	<b>-ik</b>	3p <b>ē-pimisihkik</b> <sup>103</sup>
3'			<b>-i</b>		<b>-ýi</b>	<b>-t</b>		3' <b>ē-pimisiniýt</b>	

## Imperative Order

	stem	ep	Imm	Del	example
2s		<b>-i</b>			2s <b>pimisini</b>
21		<b>-i</b>	<b>-tān</b>		21 <b>pimisinītān</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>		2p <b>pimisinik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>		<b>-hkan</b>	2s <b>pimisinīhkan</b>
21		<b>-i</b>		<b>-hkahk</b>	21 <b>pimisinīhkahk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-hkēk</b>	2p <b>pimisinīhkēk</b>

<sup>101</sup> In some areas, these [n]-stems are being completely regularized to [i]-stems in the Independent Order. In these areas, the epenthesis and third person singular [w] are included (e.g. 3s *pimisiniw*, 3p *pimisiniwak*)

<sup>102</sup> In some areas (such as at *pimicikamāhk* (Cross Lake, Manitoba)), the [y] of the SAP Conjunct Order suffixes is still viewed as epenthetic. As such, it is only used as a bridge between the vowel-final stems (see V1<sub>1</sub>) and the vowel-initial person markers (e.g. 1s *-ān*, 2s *-an*, 1p *-āhk*, etc.). Thus, Conjunct Order SAP forms in such dialects do not include the [iy] sequence (e.g. 1s *ē-pimisinān*). This is a further distinction from V1<sub>1</sub> verbs.

<sup>103</sup> Corresponding to the situation cited in fn. 101, some areas are even regularizing the third person sg and pl Conjunct Order forms to [i]-stems with epenthesis and the use of *-t* inflection (e.g. *ē-pimisiniýt*). This is, however, still rare.

2.3 VAI<sub>3</sub> (-am-final; previously treated as VTI stems)

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ē		-n					1s nimāhēn
2s	ki-		-ē		-n					2s kimāhēn
1p	ni-		-ē		-nān					1p nimāhēnān
21	ki-		-ē		-(nā)naw					21 kimāhē(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-ē		-nāwāw					2p kimāhēnāwāw
3s			-am				(-w)			3s māham
3p			-am				-w	-ak		3p māhamwak
3'			-am	-i			-yi	-w	-a	3' māhamiyiwa

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	theme	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-		-am		-ān				1s ē-māhamān	
2s			-am		-an				2s ē-māhaman	
1p			-am		-āhk				1p ē-māhamāhk	
21			-am		-ahk				21 ē-māhamahk	
2p			-am		-ēk				2p ē-māhamēk	
3s			-am					-k		3s ē-māhahk
3p			-am					-k	-ik	3p ē-māhahkik
3'			-am	-i			-yi	-t		3' ē-māhamiyit

## Imperative Order

	stem	theme	ep	Imm	Del	example
2s		-a				2s māha
21		-ē		-tān		21 māhētān
2p		-amw	-i	-k		2p māhamok
2s		-amw	-i		-hkan	2s māhamōhkan
21		-amw	-i		-hkahk	21 māhamōhkahk
2p		-amw	-i		-hkēk	2p māhamōhkēk

Note: this set of paradigms is identical to VTI<sub>1</sub>.

### 3. VTI - Transitive Inanimate Verbs (including VAI<sub>t</sub>)

#### 3.1 VTI<sub>1</sub> (-am theme-final; usually identified as VTI (class 1))

##### Independent Order

	SAP	stem:	theme	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ē		-n					1s-0 niwāpahtēn
2s	ki-		-ē		-n					2s-0 kiwāpahtēn
1p	ni-		-ē		-nān					1p-0 niwāpahtēnān
21	ki-		-ē		-(nā)naw					21-0 kiwāpahtē(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-ē		-nāwāw					2p-0 kiwāpahtēnāwāw
3s			-am				(-w)			3s-0 wāpahtam
3p			-am				-w	-ak		3p-0 wāpahtamwak
3'			-am	-i		-ýi	-w		-a	3'-0 wāpahtamiýiwa

##### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem:	theme	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s			-am		-ān				1s-0 ē-wāpahtamān
2s			-am		-an				2s-0 ē-wāpahtaman
1p			-am		-āhk				1p-0 ē-wāpahtamāhk
21			-am		-ahk				21-0 ē-wāpahtamahk
2p			-am		-ēk				2p-0 ē-wāpahtamēk
3s			-am				-k		3s-0 ē-wāpahtahk
3p			-am				-k	-ik	3p-0 ē-wāpahtahkik
3'			-am	-i		-ýi	-t		3'-0 ē-wāpahtamiýit

##### Imperative Order

	stem:	theme	ep	Imm	Del	example
2s		-a				2s-0 wāpahta
21		-ē		-tān		21-0 wāpahtētān
2p		-amw	-i	-k		2p-0 wāpahtamok
2s		-amw	-i		-hkan	2s-0 wāpahtamōhkan
21		-amw	-i		-hkahk	21-0 wāpahtamōhkahk
2p		-amw	-i		-hkēk	2p-0 wāpahtamōhkēk

3.2 VTI<sub>2</sub> (-ā theme-final; usually identified as VAI, VAI<sub>t</sub> or VTI (class 2))

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem+theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-	-ā	-n					1s-0 nika <b>tān</b>
2s	ki-	-ā	-n					2s-0 kika <b>tān</b>
1p	ni-	-ā	-nān					1p-0 nika <b>tānān</b>
21	ki-	-ā	-(nā)naw					21-0 kika <b>tā(nā)naw</b>
2p	ki-	-ā	-nāwāw					2p-0 kika <b>tānāwāw</b>
3s		-ā			-w			3s-0 ka <b>tāw</b>
3p		-ā			-w	-ak		3p-0 ka <b>tāwak</b>
3'		-ā		-ýi	-w		-a	3'-0 ka <b>tāýiwa</b>

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem+theme	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-	-ā	-yān				1s-0 ē-ka <b>tāyān</b>
2s		-ā	-yan				2s-0 ē-ka <b>tāyan</b>
1p		-ā	-yāhk				1p-0 ē-ka <b>tāyāhk</b>
21		-ā	-yahk				21-0 ē-ka <b>tāyahk</b>
2p		-ā	-yēk				2p-0 ē-ka <b>tāyēk</b>
3s		-ā			-t		3s-0 ē-ka <b>tāt</b>
3p		-ā			-t	-ik	3p-0 ē-ka <b>tācik</b>
3'		-ā		-ýi	-t		3'-0 ē-ka <b>tāýit</b>

## Imperative Order

	stem+theme	Imm	Del	example
2s	-ā			2s-0 ka <b>tā</b>
21	-ā	-tān		21-0 ka <b>tātān</b>
2p	-ā	-k		2p-0 ka <b>tāk</b>
2s	-ā		-hkan	2s-0 ka <b>tāhkan</b>
21	-ā		-hkahk	21-0 ka <b>tāhkahk</b>
2p	-ā		-hkēk	2p-0 ka <b>tāhkēk</b>

**Note:** with the theme fused to and considered part of the stem, this set of paradigms is identical to VAI<sub>1</sub>.

3.3 VTI<sub>3</sub> (Ø theme-final; usually identified as VAI, VAI<sub>t</sub> or VTI (class 3))

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-n					1s-0 <b>nimīcin</b>
2s	ki-		-n					2s-0 <b>kimīcin</b>
1p	ni-		-nān					1p-0 <b>nimīcinān</b>
21	ki-		-(nā)naw					21-0 <b>kimīci(nā)naw</b>
2p	ki-		-nāwāw					2p-0 <b>kimīcināwāw</b>
3s					-w			3s-0 <b>mīciw</b>
3p					-w	-ak		3p-0 <b>mīciwak</b>
3'				-yi	-w		-a	3'-0 <b>mīciyiwa</b>

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s			-yān				1s-0 <b>ē-mīciyān</b>
2s			-yan				2s-0 <b>ē-mīciyan</b>
1p			-yāhk				1p-0 <b>ē-mīciyāhk</b>
21			-yahk				21-0 <b>ē-mīciyahk</b>
2p			-yēk				2p-0 <b>ē-mīciyēk</b>
3s					-t		3s-0 <b>ē-mīcit</b>
3p					-t	-ik	3p-0 <b>ē-mīcicik</b>
3'				-yi	-t		3'-0 <b>ē-mīciyīt</b>

## Imperative Order

	stem	Imm	Del	example
2s				2s-0 <b>mīci</b>
21		-tān		21-0 <b>mīcitān</b>
2p		-k		2p-0 <b>mīcik</b>
2s			-hkan	2s-0 <b>mīcihkan</b>
21			-hkahk	21-0 <b>mīcihkahk</b>
2p			-hkēk	2p-0 <b>mīcihkēk</b>

**Note:** this set of paradigms is identical to VAI<sub>1</sub>.

## 4. VTA - Transitive Animate Verbs

### 4.1 VTA<sub>1</sub> (regular stems)

#### Independent Order

##### Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) niwīcihāw(ak)
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) kiwīcihāw(ak)
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) niwīcihānān(ak)
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) kiwīcihānaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) kiwīcihāwāw(ak)
3s			-ē			-w			3s-3' wīcihēw
3p			-ē			-w	-ak		3p-3' wīcihēwak
3'			-ē		-yī	-w		-a	3'-3'' wīcihēyīwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s kiwīcihin
2s/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p kiwīcihinān
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s kiwīcihināwāw

#### Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme <sup>104</sup>	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s niwīcihik(wak)
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s kiwīcihik(wak)
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1p kiwīcihikonān(ak)
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21 kiwīcihikonaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2p kiwīcihikowāw(ak)
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)			(-w)			3'-3s wīcihik
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)			-w	-ak		3'-3p wīcihikwak
3'			-ikw	-i		-yī	-w		-a	3''-3' wīcihiko'yīwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s kiwīcihitin
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p kiwīcihitinān
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p kiwīcihitināwāw

<sup>104</sup> The Inverse theme sign is /-ikw-/. When nothing follows the theme (other than the third person -w), both [w]s are lost. When another morpheme follows (other than another /w/ alone), [i] is epenthesized and the merger of /w+i/ results in [o].



4.1 VTA<sub>1</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-wīcihak(ik)
2s							-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-wīcihat(/acik)
1p			-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-wīcihāyāhk(ik)	
2l			-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	2l-3(p) ē-wīcihāyahk(ok)	
2p			-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-wīcihāyēk(ok)	
3s			-ā				-t	3s-3' ē-wīcihāt	
3p			-ā				-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-wīcihācik
3'			-ā	-yī			-t		3'-3'' ē-wīcihāyīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example
2s	ē-		-i	-yan		2s-1s ē-wīcihiyan
2s/2p			-i		-yāhk	2s/2p-1p ē-wīcihiyāhk
2p			-i	-yēk		2p-1s ē-wīcihiyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-wīcihit(/icik)	
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-wīcihisk(ik)	
1p			-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-wīcihikoyāhk(ik)	
2l			-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2l ē-wīcihikoyahk(ok)	
2p			-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-wīcihikoyēk(ok)	
3s			-ikw	-i				-t	3'-3s ē-wīcihikot	
3p			-ikw	-i				-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-wīcihikocik
3'			-ikw	-i	-yī			-t		3''-3' ē-wīcihiko'yīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-		-it	-ān		1s-2s ē-wīcihitān
2s/2p			-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-wīcihitāhk
2p			-it		-akok	1s-2p ē-wīcihitakok

4.1 VTA<sub>1</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) wīcih <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2l-3(p) wīcihātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) wīcihi <b>hk(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) wīcihā <b>hkan(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2l-3(p) wīcihā <b>hkahk(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) wīcihā <b>hkēk(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s wīcih <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p wīcihinā <b>n</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s wīcih <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s wīcih <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p wīcih <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s wīcih <b>ihkēk</b>

4.2 VTA<sub>2</sub> (Vw-stems; contraction of Vw+i → V:)

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) <b>nimiskawāw(ak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) <b>kimiskawāw(ak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) <b>nimiskawānān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) <b>kimiskawānaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) <b>kimiskawāwāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ē			-w			3s-3' <b>miskawēw</b>
3p			-ē			-w	-ak		3p-3' <b>miskawēwak</b>
3'			-ē		-yí	-w		-a	3'-3'' <b>miskawēyíwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s <b>kimiskawin</b>
2s/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p <b>kimiskawinān</b>
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s <b>kimiskawināwāw</b>

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s <b>nimiskāk(wak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s <b>kimiskāk(wak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1p <b>nimiskākonān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21 <b>kimiskākonaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2p <b>kimiskākowāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)			(-w)			3'-3s <b>miskāk</b>
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)			-w	-ak		3'-3p <b>miskāk(wak)</b>
3'			-ikw	-i		-yí	-w		-a	3''-3' <b>miskāko'yíwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s <b>kimiskātin</b>
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p <b>kimiskātinān</b>
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p <b>kimiskātināwāw</b>

4.2 VTA<sub>2</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-							-ak (-ik) 1s-3(p) ē-miskawak(ik)
2s								-at (-ik) 2s-3(p) ē-miskawat(/acik)
1p								-ā -yāhk (-ik) 1p-3(p) ē-miskawāyāhk(ik)
21								-ā -yahkw (-ik) 21-3(p) ē-miskawāyahk(ok)
2p								-ā -yēkw (-ik) 2p-3(p) ē-miskawāyēk(ok)
3s								-ā -t 3s-3' ē-miskawāt
3p								-ā -t -ik 3p-3' ē-miskawācik
3'								-ā -yi -t 3'-3'' ē-miskawāyit

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example
2s	ē-			-i -yan 2s-1s ē-miskawīyan		
2s/2p				-i -yāhk 2s/2p-1p ē-miskawīyāhk		
2p				-i -yēk 2p-1s ē-miskawīyēk		

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-								-it (-ik) 3(p)-1s ē-miskawit(/icik)
2s									-isk (-ik) 3(p)-2s ē-miskāsk(ik)
1p									-ikw -i -yāhk (-ik) 3(p)-1p ē-miskākoyāhk(ik)
21									-ikw -i -yahkw (-ik) 3(p)-21 ē-miskākoyahk(ok)
2p									-ikw -i -yēkw (-ik) 3(p)-2p ē-miskākoyēk(ok)
3s									-ikw -i -t 3'-3s ē-miskākot
3p									-ikw -i -t -ik 3'-3p ē-miskākocik
3'									-ikw -i -yi -t 3''-3' ē-miskāko'yit

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-			-it -ān 1s-2s ē-miskātān		
2s/2p				-it -āhk 1p-2s/2p ē-miskātāhk		
2p				-it -akok 1s-2p ē-miskātakok		

4.2 VTA<sub>2</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) miskaw <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2l-3(p) miskawātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) miskā <b>hk(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) miskawā <b>hkan(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2l-3(p) miskawā <b>hkahk(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) miskawā <b>hkēk(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s miskaw <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s/2p-1p miskaw <b>inān</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s miskaw <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s miskaw <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2/2p-1p miskaw <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s miskaw <b>ihkēk</b>

4.3 VTA<sub>3</sub> (Cw-stems; Cw+i → Co)

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) <b>nik</b> iskiswāw(ak)
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) <b>kik</b> iskiswāw(ak)
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān				(-ak)	1p-3(p) <b>nik</b> iskiswānān(ak)
21	ki-		-ā	-naw				(-ak)	21-3(p) <b>kik</b> iskiswānaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw				(-ak)	2p-3(p) <b>kik</b> iskiswāwāw(ak)
3s			-ē				-w		3s-3' kiskiswēw
3p			-ē				-w	-ak	3p-3' kiskiswēwak
3'			-ē			-ýi	-w		3'-3'' kiskiswēýiwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s <b>kik</b> iskison
2/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p <b>kik</b> iskisonān
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s <b>kik</b> iskisonāwāw

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example	
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s <b>nik</b> iskisok(wak)	
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s <b>kik</b> iskisok(wak)	
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān				(-ak)	3(p)-1p <b>nik</b> iskisokonān(ak)	
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw				(-ak)	3(p)-21 <b>kik</b> iskisokonaw(ak)	
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw				(-ak)	3(p)-2p <b>kik</b> iskisokowāw(ak)	
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)				(-w)			3'-3s kiskisok
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)				-w	-ak		3'-3p kiskisokwak
3'			-ikw	-i			-ýi	-w		-a	3''-3' kiskisokoýiwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s <b>kik</b> iskisotin
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p <b>kik</b> iskisotinān
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p <b>kik</b> iskisotināwāw

4.3 VTA<sub>3</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-kīskiswak(ik)
2s							-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-kīskiswat(acik)
1p			-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyāhk(ik)	
21			-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyahk(ok)	
2p			-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyēk(ok)	
3s			-ā			-t		3s-3' ē-kīskiswāt	
3p			-ā			-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-kīskiswācik	
3'			-ā	-yi		-t		3'-3'' ē-kīskiswāyīt	

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example
2s	ē-		-i	-yan		2s-1s ē-kīskisoyan
2s/2p			-i		-yāhk	2s/2p-1p ē-kīskisoyāhk
2p			-i	-yēk		2p-1s ē-kīskisoyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-kīskisot(icik)
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-kīskisosk(ik)
1p			-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-kīskisokoyāhk(ik)
21			-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-kīskisokoyahk(ok)
2p			-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-kīskisokoyēk(ok)
3s			-ikw	-i			-t		3'-3s ē-kīskisokot
3p			-ikw	-i			-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-kīskisokocik
3'			-ikw	-i	-yi		-t		3''-3' ē-kīskisokoŷīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-		-it	-ān		1s-2s ē-kīskisotān
2s/2p			-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-kīskisotāhk
2p			-it		-akok	1s-2p ē-kīskisotakok

4.3 VTA<sub>3</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) kīskis <b>(ok)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			21-3(p) kīskiswātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) kīskisohk <b>(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) kīskiswāhkan <b>(ik)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	21-3(p) kīskiswāhkahk <b>(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) kīskiswāhkēk <b>(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s kīskison
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p kīskisonān
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s kīskisok
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s kīskisōhkan
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p kīskisōhkāhk
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s kīskisōhkēk



4.4 VTA<sub>4</sub> (t-stems; /t/ → [s] / \_\_i (only in certain paradigmatic positions))

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) ninātāw(ak)
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) kinātāw(ak)
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) ninātānān(ak)
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) kinātānaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) kinātāwāw(ak)
3s			-ē				-w		3s-3' nātēw
3p			-ē				-w	-ak	3p-3' nātēwak
3'			-ē		-yī	-w		-a	3'-3'' nātēyiwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s kināsīn
2/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p kināsīnān
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s kināsīnāwāw

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example	
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s ninātīk(wak)	
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s kinātīk(wak)	
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1p ninātīkonān(ak)	
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21 kinātīkonaw(ak)	
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2p kinātīkowāw(ak)	
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)				(-w)			3'-3s nātīk
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)				-w	-ak		3'-3p nātīkwak
3'			-ikw	-i		-yī	-w		-a		3''-3 nātīkoīyīwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-itī	-n		1s-2s kinātītīn
2/2p	ki-		-itī	-nān		1p-2s/2p kinātītīnān
2p	ki-		-itī		-nāwāw	1s-2p kinātītīnāwāw

4.4 VTA<sub>4</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example				
1s	ē-					-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-nātak(ik)				
2s						-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-nātat(/acik)				
1p						-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-nātāyāhk(ik)	
21						-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-nātāyahk(ok)	
2p						-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-nātāyēk(ok)	
3s						-ā				-t	3s-3' ē-nātāt	
3p						-ā				-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-nātācik
3'						-ā	-ýi			-t		3'-3'' ē-nātāyít

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example	
2s	ē-			-i	-yan	2-1 ē-nāsiyan	
2/2p				-i		-yāhk	2/2p-1p ē-nāsiyāhk
2p				-i	-yēk		2p-1 ē-nāsiyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example					
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-nāsít(/icik)					
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-nātísk(ik)					
1p							-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-nātikoyāhk(ik)	
21							-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-nātikoyahk(ok)	
2p							-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-nātikoyēk(ok)	
3s							-ikw	-i				-t	3'-3s ē-nātikot	
3p							-ikw	-i				-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-nātikocik
3'							-ikw	-i	-ýi			-t		3''-3' ē-nātikoyít

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example	
2s	ē-			-it	-ān	1s-2s ē-nātitān	
2/2p				-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-nātitāhk
2p				-it		-akok	1s-2p ē-nātitakok

4.4 VTA<sub>4</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) nās <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2l-3(p) nātātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) nātīhk <b>(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) nātāhkan <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2l-3(p) nātāhkahk <b>(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) nātāhkēk <b>(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s nās <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p nās <b>inān</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s nās <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s nās <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p nās <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s nās <b>ihkēk</b>

## Appendix B

### An Animacy-based Morphophonemic Classification of Plains Cree Verb Paradigms

#### 0. V0 (a.k.a. VII – no animate participants)

##### 0.1. V0<sub>1</sub> (Vowel-final; regular)

###### Independent Order

	stem	obv	singular	plural	example
0s			-w		0s mihkwāw
0p			-w	-a	0p mihkwāwa
0's		-ýi	-w		0's mihkwāýiw
0'p		-ýi	-w	-a	0'p mihkwāýiwa

###### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-			-k		0s ē-mihkwāk
0p				-k	-i	0p ē-mihkwāki
0's			-ýi	-k		0's ē-mihkwāýik
0'p			-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-mihkwāýiki

##### 0.2 V0<sub>2</sub> (n-final)

##### 0.2a V0<sub>2an</sub> (an-final; [n] retained - changes to [h] before /-k/)

###### Independent Order

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s				(-w)		0s māyātan
0p				-w	-a	0p māyātanwa
0's		-i	-ýi	-w		0's māyātaniýiw
0'p		-i	-ýi	-w	-a	0'p māyātaniýiwa

###### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-māyātahk
0p					-k	-i	0p ē-māyātahki
0's			-i	-ýi	-k		0's ē-māyātaniýik
0'p			-i	-ýi	-k	-i	0'p ē-māyātaniýiki

**0.2b VO<sub>2in</sub>** (*in*-final; [n] usually dropped before /-k/, otherwise as in VO<sub>2a</sub>)

**Independent Order**

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s				(-w)		0s miȳwāsin
0p				-w	-a	0p miȳwāsinwa
0's		-i	-ȳi	-w		0's miȳwāsinīyiw
0'p		-i	-ȳi	-w	-a	0'p miȳwāsinīyiwa

**Conjunct Order**

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-miȳwāsik
0p					-k	-i	0p ē-miȳwāsiki
0's			-i	-ȳi	-k		0's ē-miȳwāsinīyik
0'p			-i	-ȳi	-k	-i	0'p ē-miȳwāsinīyiki

**0.2c VO<sub>2on</sub>** (*on*-final; [n] sometimes dropped before /-k/, otherwise as in VO<sub>2a</sub>)

**Independent Order**

	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s				(-w)		0s pimāmon
0p				-w	-a	0p pimāmonwa
0's		-i	-ȳi	-w		0's pimāmoniīyiw
0'p		-i	-ȳi	-w	-a	0'p pimāmoniīyiwa

**Conjunct Order**

	conj	stem	ep	obv	singular	plural	example
0s	ē-				-k		0s ē-pimāmok
0p					-k	-i	0p ē-pimāmoki
0's			-i	-ȳi	-k		0's ē-pimāmoniīyik
0'p			-i	-ȳi	-k	-i	0'p ē-pimāmoniīyiki

**Note:** Certain weather and seasonal terminology (i.e. "impersonal verbs") can only occur in the (proximate and obviative) singular, never the plural [e.g. *pipon* "it's winter" (with [n] retained; e.g. *ē-pipohk*); *mispon* "it's snowing" (with [n] dropped; e.g. *ē-mispok*)].

## 1.0 V1 (including VAI, VAI<sub>t</sub>, VTI – one animate participant)

### 1.1 V1<sub>1</sub> (V-final; 3<sup>rd</sup> person Conjunct “/t/-inflections”; e.g. VAI, VAI<sub>t</sub>/VTI cl.2&3)

#### Independent Order

	SAP	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-n					1s nipān
2s	ki-		-n					2s kinipān
1p	ni-		-nān					1p ninipānān
21	ki-		-(nā)naw					21 kinipā(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-nāwāw					2p kinipānāwāw
3s					-w			3s nipāw
3p					-w	-ak		3p nipāwak
3'				-ýi	-w		-a	3' nipāýiwa

#### Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s			-yān				1s ē-nipāyān
2s			-yan				2s ē-nipāyan
1p			-yāhk				1p ē-nipāyāhk
21	ē-		-yahk				21 ē-nipāyahk
2p			-yēk				2p ē-nipāyēk
3s					-t		3s ē-nipāt
3p					-t	-ik	3p ē-nipācik <sup>105</sup>
3'				-ýi	-t		3' ē-nipāýit

#### Imperative Order

	stem	Imm	Del	example
2s				2s nipā
21		-tān		21 nipātān
2p		-k		2p nipāk
2s			-hkan	2s nipāhkan
21			-hkahk	21 nipāhkahk
2p			-hkēk	2p nipāhkēk

**Note:** These stems can end in 6 of the 7 Cree vowels (i.e. all except [a]):

- [ā]- (as exemplified), [ī]- and [ō]-final stems are regular.
- [ē]-final stems change the stem-final [ē] to [ā] in all and only the Independent Order SAP (and Unspecified Actor) forms (e.g. mētawē- → *nīmētawān*).
- [i]- and [o]-final stems are almost regular, but lengthen the stem-final vowel before the Delayed Imperative endings (e.g. nikamo- → *nikamōhkan*).
- Vowel-initial stems epenthesize [t] after the Independent Order SAP prefixes.

<sup>105</sup> The merger of the Conjunct Order third person singular *-t* and the Conjunct Order third person plural *-ik* results in palatalization of /t/ to [c] (e.g. nipā-t-ik → *nipācik*).

1.2 V1<sub>2</sub> (*n*-final; usually identified as VAI)

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-i	-n					1s <b>nipimisini</b> n
2s	ki-		-i	-n					2s <b>kipimisini</b> n
1p	ni-		-i	-nān					1p <b>nipimisini</b> nān
2l	ki-		-i	-(nā)naw					2l <b>kipimisini</b> (nā)naw
2p	ki-		-i	-nāwāw					2p <b>kipimisini</b> nāwāw
3s			(-i)			(-w)			3s <b>pimisin</b> <sup>106</sup>
3p			(-i)			-w	-ak		3p <b>pimisin</b> wak <sup>106</sup>
3'			-i		-ýi	-w		-a	3' <b>pimisini</b> ýiwa

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example
1s			(-i)	-(y)ān				1s <b>ē-pimisini</b> yān <sup>107</sup>
2s			(-i)	-(y)an				2s <b>ē-pimisini</b> yan <sup>107</sup>
1p			(-i)	-(y)āhk				1p <b>ē-pimisini</b> yāhk <sup>107</sup>
2l	ē-		(-i)	-(y)ahk				2l <b>ē-pimisini</b> yahk <sup>107</sup>
2p			(-i)	-(y)ēk				2p <b>ē-pimisini</b> yēk <sup>107</sup>
3s						-k		3s <b>ē-pimisi</b> hk <sup>108</sup>
3p						-k	-ik	3p <b>ē-pimisi</b> hkik <sup>108</sup>
3'			-i		-ýi	-t		3' <b>ē-pimisi</b> niýit

## Imperative Order

	stem	ep	Imm	Del	example
2s		-i			2s <b>pimisi</b> ni
2l		-i	-tān		2l <b>pimisi</b> nitān
2p		-i	-k		2p <b>pimisi</b> nik
2s		-i		-hkan	2s <b>pimisi</b> ni <hk< b="">an</hk<>
2l		-i		-hkahk	2l <b>pimisi</b> ni <hk< b="">ahk</hk<>
2p		-i		-hkēk	2p <b>pimisi</b> ni <hk< b="">ēk</hk<>

<sup>106</sup> In some areas, these [n]-stems are being completely regularized to [i]-stems in the Independent Order. In these areas, the epenthesis and third person singular [w] are included (e.g. 3s *pimisiniw*, 3p *pimisiniwak*)

<sup>107</sup> In some areas (such as at *pimicikamāhk* (Cross Lake, Manitoba)), the [y] of the SAP Conjunct Order suffixes is still viewed as epenthetic. As such, it is only used as a bridge between the vowel-final stems (see V1<sub>1</sub>) and the vowel-initial person markers (e.g. 1s *-ān*, 2s *-an*, 1p *-āhk*, etc.). Thus, Conjunct Order SAP forms in such dialects do not include the [iy] sequence (e.g. 1s *ē-pimisiniān*). This is a further distinction from V1<sub>1</sub> verbs.

<sup>108</sup> Corresponding to the situation cited in fn. 106, some areas are even regularizing the third person sg and pl Conjunct Order forms to [i]-stems with epenthesis and the use of *-t* inflection (e.g. *ē-pimisiniit*). This is, however, still rare.

1.3 V1<sub>3</sub> (am-final; usually identified as VTI (class 1))

## Independent Order

	SAP	stem	theme <sup>109</sup>	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ē		-n					1s niwāpahtēn
2s	ki-		-ē		-n					2s kiwāpahtēn
1p	ni-		-ē		-nān					1p niwāpahtēnān
21	ki-		-ē		-(nā)naw					21 kiwāpahtē(nā)naw
2p	ki-		-ē		-nāwāw					2p kiwāpahtēnāwāw
3s			-am				(-w)			3s wāpahtam
3p			-am				-w	-ak		3p wāpahtamwak
3'		-am	-i		-ýi	-w		-a	3' wāpahtamiýiwa	

## Conjunct Order

	conj	stem	theme	ep	SAP	obv	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-		-am		-ān				1s ē-wāpahtamān	
2s			-am		-an				2s ē-wāpahtaman	
1p			-am		-āhk				1p ē-wāpahtamāhk	
21			-am		-ahk				21 ē-wāpahtamahk	
2p			-am		-ēk				2p ē-wāpahtamēk	
3s			-am					-k		3s ē-wāpahtahk <sup>110</sup>
3p			-am					-k	-ik	3p ē-wāpahtahkik
3'			-am	-i			-ýi	-t		3' ē-wāpahtamiýit

## Imperative Order

	stem	theme	ep <sup>111</sup>	Imm	Del	example
2s		-a				2s wāpahta
21		-ē		-tān		21 wāpahtētān
2p		-amw	-i	-k		2p wāpahtamok
2s		-amw	-i		-hkan	2s wāpahtamōhkan
21		-amw	-i		-hkahk	21 wāpahtamōhkahk
2p		-amw	-i		-hkēk	2p wāpahtamōhkēk

<sup>109</sup> Historically, the class of VTI verbs included a theme sign (or transitivizer). One theme sign, (-ā in Cree) has caused all verbs including it to fall together with VAI (or V1<sub>1</sub>) as vowel-final. This is the only vestige which marks VTI (VAIt) verbs as transitive. Synchronically, however, this theme is virtually a part of an extended stem, such that stem variation occurs just as with /ē/-final V1<sub>1</sub> stems: -a occurs in the 2s Immediate Imperative, altered to -ē in Independent Order SAP and 21 Immediate Imperative Order forms; -amw occurs in 2p Immediate and all forms of the Delayed Imperative Order (see fn. 111 below); -am occurs elsewhere. This variation of theme sign also occurs in derivational processes.

<sup>110</sup> As in the V0<sub>2</sub> patterns, the nasal (in this case /m/) changes to [h] before the addition of the third person -k inflection.

<sup>111</sup> The combination of the /w/ of the theme -amw and epenthetic [i] results in an [o] (i.e. -amo). This could also be treated as a special instance, occurring only in the V1<sub>3</sub> Imperative, of regular theme -am and epenthesis of [o].



## 2. V2 (a.k.a. VTA – 2 animate participants)

2.1 V2<sub>1</sub> (regular stems)

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) niwīchīhāw(ak)
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) kiwīchīhāw(ak)
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) niwīchīhānān(ak)
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) kiwīchīhānaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) kiwīchīhāwāw(ak)
3s			-ē			-w			3s-3' wīchīhēw
3p			-ē			-w	-ak		3p-3' wīchīhēwak
3'			-ē		-yī	-w		-a	3'-3'' wīchīhēyīwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s kiwīchihin
2s/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p kiwīchihinān
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s kiwīchihināwāw

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme <sup>112</sup>	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s niwīchīhik(wak)
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s kiwīchīhik(wak)
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1pkiwīchīhikonān(ak)
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21kiwīchīhikonaw(ak)
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2pkiwīchīhikowāw(ak)
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)			(-w)			3'-3s wīchīhik
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)			-w	-ak		3'-3p wīchīhikwak
3'			-ikw	-i		-yī	-w		-a	3''-3' wīchīhikoŷīwa

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s kiwīchīhitin
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p kiwīchīhitinān
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p kiwīchīhitināwāw

<sup>112</sup> The Inverse theme sign is /-ikw-/. When nothing follows the theme (other than the third person -w), both [w]s are lost. When another morpheme follows (other than another /w/ alone), [i] is epenthesized and the merger of /w+i/ results in [o].

2.1 V2<sub>1</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-wīcihak(ik)
2s							-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-wīcihat(/acik)
1p			-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-wīcihāyāhk(ik)	
21			-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-wīcihāyahk(ok)	
2p			-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-wīcihāyēk(ok)	
3s			-ā				-t	3s-3' ē-wīcihāt	
3p			-ā				-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-wīcihācik
3'			-ā	-yī			-t		3'-3'' ē-wīcihāyīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example
2s	ē-		-i	-yan		2s-1s ē-wīcihiyan
2s/2p			-i		-yāhk	2s/2p-1p ē-wīcihiyāhk
2p			-i	-yēk		2p-1s ē-wīcihiyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-wīcihit(/icik)	
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-wīcihisk(ik)	
1p			-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-wīcihikoyāhk(ik)	
21			-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-wīcihikoyahk(ok)	
2p			-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-wīcihikoyēk(ok)	
3s			-ikw	-i				-t	3'-3s ē-wīcihikot	
3p			-ikw	-i				-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-wīcihikocik
3'			-ikw	-i	-yī			-t		3''-3' ē-wīcihikoqīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-		-it	-ān		1s-2s ē-wīcihitān
2s/2p			-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-wīcihitāhk
2p			-it		-akok	1s-2p ē-wīcihitakok

2.1 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) wīcīh <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2l-3(p) wīcīhātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) wīcīhi <b>h(ik)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) wīcīhā <b>hkan(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2l-3(p) wīcīhā <b>hkahk(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) wīcīhā <b>hkēk(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s wīcīh <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p wīcīhinā <b>n</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s wīcīh <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s wīcīh <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p wīcīh <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s wīcīh <b>ihkēk</b>

2.2 V2<sub>2</sub> (Vw-stems; contraction of Vw+i → V:)

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) <b>nimiskawāw(ak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) <b>kimiskawāw(ak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) <b>nimiskawānān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) <b>kimiskawānaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) <b>kimiskawāwāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ē			-w			3s-3' <b>miskawēw</b>
3p			-ē			-w	-ak		3p-3' <b>miskawēwak</b>
3'			-ē		-yí	-w		-a	3'-3'' <b>miskawēyíwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s <b>kimiskawin</b>
2s/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p <b>kimiskawinān</b>
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s <b>kimiskawināwāw</b>

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s <b>nimiskāk(wak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s <b>kimiskāk(wak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1p <b>nimiskākonān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21 <b>kimiskākonaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2p <b>kimiskākowāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)			(-w)			3'-3s <b>miskāk</b>
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)			-w	-ak		3'-3p <b>miskāk(wak)</b>
3'			-ikw	-i		-yí	-w		-a	3''-3' <b>miskāko'yíwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s <b>kimiskātin</b>
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p <b>kimiskātinān</b>
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p <b>kimiskātināwāw</b>

2.2 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example			
1s	ē-					-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-miskawak(ik)			
2s						-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-miskawat(/acik)			
1p						-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-miskawāyāhk(ik)
21						-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-miskawāyahk(ok)
2p						-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-miskawāyēk(ok)
3s						-ā			-t		3s-3' ē-miskawāt
3p						-ā			-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-miskawācik
3'						-ā	-yi		-t		3'-3'' ē-miskawāyit

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example	
2s	ē-			-i	-yan	2s-1s ē-miskawīyan	
2s/2p				-i		-yāhk	2s/2p-1p ē-miskawīyāhk
2p				-i	-yēk		2p-1s ē-miskawīyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example					
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-miskawit(/icik)					
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-miskāsk(ik)					
1p							-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-miskākoyāhk(ik)	
21							-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-miskākoyahk(ok)	
2p							-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-miskākoyēk(ok)	
3s							-ikw	-i				-t		3'-3s ē-miskākot
3p							-ikw	-i				-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-miskākocik
3'							-ikw	-i	-yi			-t		3''-3' ē-miskākoyit

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example	
2s	ē-			-it	-ān	1s-2s ē-miskātān	
2s/2p				-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-miskātāhk
2p				-it		-akok	

2.2 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) miskaw <b>(ik)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			21-3(p) miskaw <b>ātān(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) miskaw <b>āhk(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) miskaw <b>āhkan(ik)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	21-3(p) miskaw <b>āhkahk(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) miskaw <b>āhkēk(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s miskaw <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s/2p-1p miskaw <b>inān</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s miskaw <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s miskaw <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2/2p-1p miskaw <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s miskaw <b>ihkēk</b>

2.3 V2<sub>3</sub> (Cw-stems; Cw+i → Co)

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) <b>nikīskiswāw(ak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) <b>kikīskiswāw(ak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān			(-ak)		1p-3(p) <b>nikīskiswānān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ā	-naw			(-ak)		21-3(p) <b>kikīskiswānaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw			(-ak)		2p-3(p) <b>kikīskiswāwāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ē			-w			3s-3' <b>kīskiswēw</b>
3p			-ē			-w	-ak		3p-3' <b>kīskiswēwak</b>
3'			-ē		-ýi	-w		-a	3'-3'' <b>kīskiswēýiwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s <b>kikīskison</b>
2/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p <b>kikīskisonān</b>
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s <b>kikīskisonāwāw</b>

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s <b>nikīskisok(wak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s <b>kikīskisok(wak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān			(-ak)		3(p)-1p <b>nikīskisokonān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw			(-ak)		3(p)-21 <b>kikīskisokonaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw			(-ak)		3(p)-2p <b>kikīskisokowāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)			(-w)			3'-3s <b>kīskisok</b>
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)			-w	-ak		3'-3p <b>kīskisokwak</b>
3'			-ikw	-i		-ýi	-w		-a	3''-3' <b>kīskisokoýiwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s <b>kikīskisotin</b>
2s/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p <b>kikīskisotinān</b>
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p <b>kikīskisotināwāw</b>

2.3 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example	
1s	ē-						-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-kīskiswak(ik)
2s							-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-kīskiswat(acik)
1p			-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyāhk(ik)	
21			-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyahk(ok)	
2p			-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-kīskiswāyēk(ok)	
3s			-ā			-t		3s-3' ē-kīskiswāt	
3p			-ā			-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-kīskiswācik	
3'			-ā	-yi		-t		3'-3'' ē-kīskiswāyīt	

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example
2s	ē-		-i	-yan		2s-1s ē-kīskisoyan
2s/2p			-i		-yāhk	2s/2p-1p ē-kīskisoyāhk
2p			-i	-yēk		2p-1s ē-kīskisoyēk

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-kīskisot(icik)
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-kīskisosk(ik)
1p			-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-kīskisokoyāhk(ik)
21			-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-kīskisokoyahk(ok)
2p			-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-kīskisokoyēk(ok)
3s			-ikw	-i			-t		3'-3s ē-kīskisokot
3p			-ikw	-i			-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-kīskisokocik
3'			-ikw	-i	-yi		-t		3''-3' ē-kīskisokoyīt

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-		-it	-ān		1s-2s ē-kīskisotān
2s/2p			-it	-āhk		1p-2s/2p ē-kīskisotāhk
2p			-it		-akok	1s-2p ē-kīskisotakok



2.3 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Imperative Order

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) kīskis <b>(ok)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			21-3(p) kīskiswātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) kīskisohk <b>(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) kīskiswāhkan <b>(ik)</b>
21		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	21-3(p) kīskiswāhkahk <b>(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) kīskiswāhkēk <b>(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s kīskison
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p kīskisonān
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s kīskisok
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s kīskisōhkan
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p kīskisōhkāhk
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s kīskisōhkēk

2.4 V2<sub>4</sub> (t-stems; /t/ → [s] / \_\_i (only in certain paradigmatic positions))

## Independent Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example
1s	ni-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		1s-3(p) <b>ninātāw(ak)</b>
2s	ki-		-ā			-w	(-ak)		2s-3(p) <b>kinātāw(ak)</b>
1p	ni-		-ā	-nān				(-ak)	1p-3(p) <b>ninātānān(ak)</b>
21	ki-		-ā	-naw				(-ak)	21-3(p) <b>kinātānaw(ak)</b>
2p	ki-		-ā	-wāw				(-ak)	2p-3(p) <b>kinātāwāw(ak)</b>
3s			-ē				-w		3s-3' <b>nātēw</b>
3p			-ē				-w	-ak	3p-3' <b>nātēwak</b>
3'			-ē		-yí	-w		-a	3'-3'' <b>nātēyiwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-i	-n		2s-1s <b>kināsin</b>
2/2p	ki-		-i	-nān		2s/2p-1p <b>kināsinān</b>
2p	ki-		-i		-nāwāw	2p-1s <b>kināsināwāw</b>

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	SAP	stem	theme	ep	SAP-pl	obv	3s	3p	3'	example	
1s	ni-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-1s <b>ninātik(wak)</b>	
2s	ki-		-ik(w)				(-w)	(-ak)		3(p)-2s <b>kinātik(wak)</b>	
1p	ni-		-ikw	-i	-nān				(-ak)	3(p)-1p <b>ninātikonān(ak)</b>	
21	ki-		-ikw	-i	-naw				(-ak)	3(p)-21 <b>kinātikonaw(ak)</b>	
2p	ki-		-ikw	-i	-wāw				(-ak)	3(p)-2p <b>kinātikowāw(ak)</b>	
3s			-ik(w)	(-i)				(-w)			3'-3s <b>nātik</b>
3p			-ik(w)	(-i)				-w	-ak		3'-3p <b>nātikwak</b>
3'			-ikw	-i		-yí	-w			-a	3''-3 <b>nātikoyiwa</b>

(Local Set)

	2	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ki-		-iti	-n		1s-2s <b>kinātītin</b>
2/2p	ki-		-iti	-nān		1p-2s/2p <b>kinātītinān</b>
2p	ki-		-iti		-nāwāw	1s-2p <b>kinātītināwāw</b>

2.4 V<sub>2</sub> continued

## Conjunct Order

## Direct

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example				
1s	ē-					-ak	(-ik)	1s-3(p) ē-nātak(ik)				
2s						-at	(-ik)	2s-3(p) ē-nātat(/acik)				
1p						-ā		-yāhk		(-ik)	1p-3(p) ē-nātāyāhk(ik)	
21						-ā		-yahkw		(-ik)	21-3(p) ē-nātāyahk(ok)	
2p						-ā		-yēkw		(-ik)	2p-3(p) ē-nātāyēk(ok)	
3s						-ā				-t	3s-3' ē-nātāt	
3p						-ā				-t	-ik	3p-3' ē-nātācik
3'						-ā	-ýi			-t		3'-3'' ē-nātāyít

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	2s/2p	1p	example	
2s	ē-			-i	-yan	2-1 ē-nāsiyan	
2/2p				-i		-yāhk	2/2p-1p ē-nāsiyāhk
2p				-i	-yēk	2p-1 ē-nāsiyēk	

## Inverse

(Mixed and Third Person Sets)

	conj	stem	theme	ep	obv	SAP	3s	3p	example					
1s	ē-						-it	(-ik)	3(p)-1s ē-nāsít(/icik)					
2s							-isk	(-ik)	3(p)-2s ē-nātísk(ik)					
1p							-ikw	-i		-yāhk		(-ik)	3(p)-1p ē-nātikoyāhk(ik)	
21							-ikw	-i		-yahkw		(-ik)	3(p)-21 ē-nātikoyahk(ok)	
2p							-ikw	-i		-yēkw		(-ik)	3(p)-2p ē-nātikoyēk(ok)	
3s							-ikw	-i				-t	3'-3s ē-nātikot	
3p							-ikw	-i				-t	-ik	3'-3p ē-nātikocik
3'							-ikw	-i	-ýi			-t		3''-3' ē-nātikoyít

(Local Set)

	conj	stem	theme	1s/1p	2p	example
2s	ē-			-it	-ān	1s-2s ē-nātitān
2/2p				-it	-āhk	1p-2s/2p ē-nātitāhk
2p				-it		-akok

2.4 V<sub>2</sub> continued

**Imperative Order**

(Mixed)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			3s	3p	3s	3p	
2s			<b>(-i)</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2s-3(p) nās <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>	<b>-tān</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2l-3(p) nātātān <b>(ik)</b>
2p			<b>-ihkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>			2p-3(p) nātīhk <b>(ok)</b>
2s		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkan</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2s-3(p) nātāhkan <b>(ik)</b>
2l		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkahkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2l-3(p) nātāhkahk <b>(ok)</b>
2p		<b>-ā</b>			<b>-hkēkw</b>	<b>(-ik)</b>	2p-3(p) nātāhkēk <b>(ok)</b>

(Local)

	stem	theme	Imm		Del		example
			1s	1p	1s	1p	
2s		<b>-i</b>	<b>-n</b>				2s-1s nās <b>in</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>		<b>-nān</b>			2s-1p nās <b>inān</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>	<b>-k</b>				2p-1s nās <b>ik</b>
2s		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkan</b>		2s-1s nās <b>ihkan</b>
2/2p		<b>-i</b>				<b>-hkāhk</b>	2s/2p-1p nās <b>ihkāhk</b>
2p		<b>-i</b>			<b>-hkēk</b>		2p-1s nās <b>ihkēk</b>



# Summary

This dissertation explores the morphosyntax of the Plains dialect of Cree, an Algonquian First Nations language of Canada, and the ways in which Semantic, Pragmatic and Syntactic Functions are (or are not) instantiated. The language-specific forms of the two main morphosyntactic components of language, word order and case-marking, are discussed in this functional approach. This is of particular interest to syntactic theory, given the common characterization of Cree, and Algonquian languages in general, as having free word order and lacking case-marking altogether. In contrast to this “traditional” view, both case-marking (or “role-indexing”) and word order are shown to serve very important functions in Cree syntax, even if not occurring in a form more familiar to those whose primary reference is the Indo-European language family.

Following an introduction in chapter one of the salient syntactic points and of Cree itself, Part I focusses on the verbal cross-reference system of Algonquian languages and particularly the form and function of the Direct-Inverse system of alignment. Though this system has been described in the past, the particular functional account offered here attempts to explain the Inverse system, and illustrate how the interaction between semantic and pragmatic notions completely obviate the need for a third level of syntactic functions, a conclusion supported in chapters two and three. Through a complex verbal, rather than nominal, marking of person, number, and role, itself involving semantic functions, animacy and prototypical topicality, the Direct-Inverse system is characterized as the Algonquian functional equivalent of a case-marking system. As in many languages which display strong case-marking features, the Direct-Inverse system in Cree allows for more apparent freedom of constituent order, as addressed in the latter half of this work. In addition to the survey of the Direct-Inverse system, chapter two also illustrates the overriding importance of the animacy distinction within Plains Cree grammar and reanalyzes the entire verbal system within its light.

Cross-linguistically, word order is usually couched in terms of subject and object placement, but without recourse to such notions, the actual determinants of Plains Cree word order are considerably more complex. After introducing some of this complexity, Part II provides a variety of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic constraints on Cree word order while building a number of basic word order templates for clausal and extra-clausal constituents. As might be expected in a so-called “free word order”

language, the Pragmatic Functions of Topic, Focus and Contrast, as well as a variety of extra-clausal functions, prove particularly important in understanding Plains Cree word order placement.

Chapter four both illustrates Plains Cree word order variability and begins to find constraints to that variability within the semantic interpretation of potentially ambiguous clausal participants. This is facilitated by the development of a Functional (Discourse) Grammar word order template, and a survey of postverbal constituents. Though the syntactic functions of subject and object play no necessary role in Plains Cree syntax, chapter five illustrates some salient syntactic constraints on word order. These include the placement of an oblique constituent immediately preceding the verb in clause-medial position ( $P^M$ ), the extra-clausal position of coordinators and subordinators, and the potential importance of clause-second position ( $P^2$ ). Chapter six continues this discussion by illustrating the interaction of an optional  $P^2$  with the vital importance of clause-initial position ( $P^1$ ).  $P^1$  can be occupied by a variety of pragmatically-motivated constituents, including Focal elements in both interrogative and cleft-focus constructions, and Topics of various kinds, including both participants and temporal settings. In both instances, it is the pragmatic function Contrast which often contributes to clause-initial placement. Pragmatic functions, including Orientation (whether topics or temporal and locative settings) and Clarification, as well as Vocative, also prove important in the survey of extra-clausal constituents and their relative order, pre- and post-clausally. The summary of both clausal and extra-clausal word order templates built throughout Part II then concludes chapter six before overall conclusions and suggestions for further research are offered in chapter seven.

# Samenvatting

Het onderzoeksdoel van dit proefschrift is de beschrijving van de morphosyntaxis van het Plains dialect van het Cree, een in Canada gesproken Indianentaal van de Algonkische familie. Bijzondere aandacht wordt besteed aan de manieren waarop semantische, pragmatische en syntactische functies wel of niet tot uiting worden gebracht. Binnen deze functionele benadering worden de voor het Cree specifieke vormen van de twee in taal meest voorkomende morphosyntactische bestanddelen, woordvolgorde en casusmarkering, besproken. Dit is van bijzonder belang voor de syntactische theorie, gezien het feit dat het Cree, en de Algonkische talen in het algemeen, gewoonlijk worden gekarakteriseerd als talen met vrije woordvolgorde zonder enige casusmarkering. In tegenstelling tot dit “traditionele” gezichtspunt wordt aangetoond dat zowel casusmarkering (oftewel “rol-indexering”) als woordvolgorde zeer belangrijke functies in de zinsbouw van het Cree vervullen, zelfs als die niet voorkomen in een vorm die meer bekend is aan diegenen wier voornaamste referentiepunt de Indo-Europese taalfamilie is.

Nadat in hoofdstuk 1 de belangrijkste syntactische kenmerken van het Cree, en het Cree zelf, zijn besproken, richt Deel I zich op het werkwoordelijke kruisverwijzingssysteem van de Algonkische talen en in het bijzonder de vorm en functie van het Direct-Inverse alignment systeem. Hoewel dit systeem al in het verleden beschreven is, tracht de bijzondere functionele benadering die hier geboden wordt de Inverse te verklaren, en aan te tonen hoe de interactie tussen semantische en pragmatische noties de behoefte aan een derde laag van syntactische functies geheel en al overbodig maakt, een gevolgtrekking die in het tweede en derde hoofdstuk ondersteund wordt. Door een ingewikkelde werkwoordelijke, i.p.v. naamwoordelijke, aanduiding van persoon, getal en rol (een aanduiding die zelf semantische functies, bezieldheid en prototypische persoonsrangschikking omvat) wordt het Direct-Inverse systeem gekarakteriseerd als het functionele Algonkische equivalent van een casusmarkeringssysteem. Zoals het geval is in veel talen met sterke casusmarkerende kenmerken, staat het Direct-Inverse systeem klaarblijkelijk een grotere vrijheid van constituentenvolgorde toe, een onderwerp dat in the tweede helft van dit werk wordt aangesneden. Naast een overzicht van het Direct-Inverse systeem toont hoofdstuk 2 ook het alomvattende belang aan van het bezieldheidsonderscheid binnen de grammatica van het Plains Cree en heranalyseert het het gehele



werkwoordssysteem in dit licht.

Binnen taalvergelijkend onderzoek wordt woordvolgorde gewoonlijk behandeld in termen van de plaatsing van subject en object, maar als men geen beschikking heeft over zulke functies worden de feitelijke factoren die de woordvolgorde in het Cree bepalen aanzienlijk ingewikkelder. Na iets van deze ingewikkeldheid naar voren te hebben gebracht, beschrijft Deel II een aantal semantische, syntactische en pragmatische beperkingen op de woordvolgorde van het Cree en bouwt het een aantal volgordeschema's op voor clausale en extra-clausale constituenten. Zoals men van een taal met zogenaamde "vrije woordvolgorde" kan verwachten, blijken de Pragmatische Functies van Topic, Focus en Contrast, alsmede een verscheidenheid aan extra-clausale functies, van bijzonder belang te zijn om de woordvolgorde in het Cree te begrijpen.

Hoofdstuk 4 toont aan hoe de woordvolgorde in het Plains Cree kan variëren, en begint ook beperkingen op deze verscheidenheid te formuleren binnen de semantische interpretatie van mogelijk ambigue argumenten bij het werkwoord. Dit wordt vergemakkelijkt door de ontwikkeling van een woordvolgordeschema binnen Functional (Discourse) Grammar, en een overzicht van postverbale constituenten. Hoewel de syntactische functies van subject en object geen noodzakelijke rol spelen binnen de zinsbouw van het Plains Cree, laat hoofdstuk 5 toch enige in het oog springende syntactische beperkingen op de woordvolgorde zien. Hieronder vallen de plaatsing van een oblique constituent direct voor het werkwoord in het midden van een zin ( $P^M$ ), de extra-clausale positie van nevenschikkers en onderschikkers, en het mogelijke belang van de tweede positie in een zin ( $P^2$ ). Hoofdstuk 6 zet deze bespreking voort door de interactie aan te tonen van een optionele  $P^2$  met het cardinale belang van de zinsinitiële positie ( $P^1$ ).  $P^1$  kan bezet worden door een verscheidenheid aan pragmatisch gemotiveerde constituenten, waaronder Focale elementen in zowel vragende als cleft-focus constructies, en verschillende soorten Topics, waaronder werkwoordelijke argumenten en tijdsbepalingen. In beide gevallen is het de pragmatische functie Contrast die vaak bijdraagt aan een zinsinitiële plaatsing. Pragmatische functies, waaronder Orientatie (of dit nu Topics zijn dan wel bepalingen van tijd of plaats) en Clarificatie, alsmede Vocatief, blijken ook belangrijk te zijn in het overzicht van extra-clausale constituenten en hun relatieve volgorde, zowel zinsinitieel als zinsfinaal. Hoofdstuk 6 wordt besloten met een samenvatting van de woordvolgordeschema's voor zowel zinnen als voor extra-clausale constituenten die in Deel II aan de orde zijn gekomen. Tenslotte worden in hoofdstuk 7 algemene gevolgtrekkingen en suggesties voor verder onderzoek aangeboden.

# Curriculum vitae

Arok Wolvengrey was born in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada and studied Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Saskatchewan before completing his Masters in Linguistics at the University of Manitoba in 1991. Initial work towards a doctorate in Cree Linguistics through the U of M was interrupted when he accepted a position as assistant professor in the Department of Indian, Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC; now the First Nations University of Canada (FNUniv)) in Regina, Saskatchewan. After completing the compilation and publication of a two-volume Plains Cree-English bilingual dictionary in 2001, he continued his teaching, research and administrative work at SIFC/FNUniv, and resumed his (rather slow) pursuit of a doctorate through the Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication. This latter work was facilitated by the supervision and belief of Professor Doctor Kees Hengeveld and two stays in Amsterdam (in 2005 and 2010) to begin, and bring to near completion, the drafting of this dissertation. Its final completion was accomplished while juggling resumed duties in teaching and course development, and as Linguistics Coordinator at FNUniv and the University of Regina. Arok is looking forward to crossing at least one of his eighty-seven or so projects off the to-do list.