Sketch of Cree, an Algonquian Language

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1. Introduction

Cree is an Algonquian language spoken from the west coast of James Bay to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, including the boreal forest regions of northern Ontario and Manitoba as well as the prairies of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Cree speakers are estimated to number between 60,000 and 70,000 (Canada. Indian Affairs Branch 1970); of these, approximately 26,000 use the Plains Cree dialect.

In the absence of detailed dialect studies, a working classification of Cree dialects based on the varying reflexes of Proto-Algonquian **l* has found general acceptance, along with such crude labels as Plains Cree, Swampy Cree, Woods Cree, and Moose Cree (Lacombe 1874:xv; Michelson 1939; Wolfart 1973, 1992:356-359; for the controversial question of the eastern delimitation of Cree proper cf. Pentland 1978; and MacKenzie 1980). The major varieties of Cree could be considered either highly divergent dialects (vol. 6:52-53) or closely similar languages showing considerable mutual intelligibility ("Introduction," table 3, this vol.).

None of the dialects thus identified is completely homogeneous. The *y*-dialect, for example, which is spoken across Alberta and the major part of Saskatchewan (and somewhat beyond the Plains as a geographical zone), includes several variants that differ from one another phonologically, morphologically, and lexically. Cree speakers are fully aware of the more obvious differences; central Alberta speakers, for instance, identify northern Alberta Crees (from the areas north of Edmonton) by their use of the plural suffix *-wa·w-* where all other Plains Cree speakers use *-ik-*: *e·-na·tahkwa·w, e·-na·tahkik* 'they fetch it'.

The variety of Cree represented here is the Plains Cree of central Alberta and Saskatchewan (Bloomfield 1930; Wolfart 1973, 1992:29-30, 377-380); all the sentences used in illustration are drawn from spontaneous discourse (with a few exceptions, mainly the demonstration sentences used in section 2, explicitly identified as such by a trailing asterisk).

The early literature about Cree is largely the work of missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Many of their writings remain unpublished, but they are well represented by the dictionaries of Watkins (1865) and Faries (1938), the paradigm tables of Hunter (1875), and the dictionary and grammar published by Lacombe (1874). Fur trade journals contain a great deal of incidental information about the Cree language, most of it lexical (Wolfart and Pentland 1978; Wolfart 1988; Pentland 1991). The remarkable work of Howse (1844) is the earliest published grammar of Cree.

Later works include two general introductions (Wolfart and Carroll 1981; Ahenakew 1987) and, for dialects other than Plains Cree, the language-learning handbooks of Ellis (1983) and Voorhis et al. (1977); in addition, several substantial dictionaries have been completed for Montagnais (e.g., Drapeau 1991) and the "East Cree" of eastern James Bay (MacKenzie et al. 1987). For Cree proper, aside from specialized vocabularies (Atimoyoo et al. 1987; Leighton 1985, 1993), the exhaustive glossaries accompanying many of the text editions listed below are the most accessible and reliable sources for lexical data (but note also the references in Pentland and Wolfart 1982 and the running bibliography published in the quarterly newsletter *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics*). The sound system remains the most neglected aspect of Cree, mainly discussed in the context of orthographic conventions (Bloomfield 1930, Introduction; Longacre 1957; Ellis 1973; Pentland 1977; Martin et al. 1978; Wolfart and Ahenakew 1987) and with two brief papers by Cook (1991) and Russell (1992) the only theoretical studies devoted to Cree phonology. Aspects of grammatical structure have increasingly received attention (Ellis 1971; Wolfart 1971, 1973, 1978, 1989, 1989a, 1991, 1992; D. James 1982, 1984, 1986, 1991, 1991a; Ahenakew and Wolfart 1983; Ahenakew 1987:140-159; Coté, Ratt, and Klokeid 1987; Dahlstrom 1989, 1991; Ogg 1991; Russell 1991; Clarke, MacKenzie, and James 1993; Blain 1994; Reinholtz 1994; Reinholtz and Russell 1994).

Two volumes of Plains Cree texts were published by Bloomfield (1930, 1934), with the text editions of the past decade (Vandall and Douquette 1987; Beardy 1988; Ahenakew 1989; Ahenakew and Wolfart 1991; Nêhiyaw 1991; Bear et al. 1992; Whitecalf 1993; Ellis 1995) representing an expanding range of genres, topics, dialects, and editorial styles; in addition to their ethnological, historical, and literary aspects, texts constitute a basic source of data for linguistic analysis.

2. Sentences*

Cree is a highly inflected language with elaborate systems of concord and cross-reference. Many syntactic relations are specified within the noun and, especially, the verb. The order of words and larger constituents is comparatively free.

In a simple transitive sentence, the verb form indicates which of the two nouns is the subject, and which the object:†

awa·sisak	*nipahe·wak*	*si·si·pa.(*)*
child(3p)	kill-someone(s.o.)	duck(3′)
	(VTA 3p-(3′) INDEP)	

'The children killed some ducks.'

Cree verbs like *nipah-* 'kill s.o.' specify both the subject and the object. In *nipahe·wak* 'they killed the other(s)', the ending *-e·wak* (the internal structure of which is explicated in 4.1) and the absence of a personal prefix together mark a third-person subject that is animate plural, and a third-person object that is animate obviative; as for the nouns, *awa·sisak* 'children' includes a plural ending *-ak*, and *si·si·pa* 'duck(s)' is number-indifferent but the ending *-a* marks it as obviative (table 1). Abbreviations are given in table 2.

*This section was written in 1994 by Charlotte Reinholtz and H.C. Wolfart. The rest of this sketch was written by Wolfart in 1973 and, aside from minor corrections, appears in its original form.

†Example sentences that are not extracted from spontaneous texts are marked as demonstration examples by a trailing asterisk in parentheses. For all other abbreviations see tables 1, 2, 30, and 31.

The terms subject and object are used only in section 2; in order to avoid ambiguity in the labeling of inverse verb forms, the terms agent and patient are used in all remaining sections.

For transitive animate verbs (VTA), the notation 3-1 indicates a third-person agent and a first-person patient. In forms that involve third-person referents exclusively, the one that is not expressed morphologically is enclosed in parentheses: 3-(3′) or (3′)-3. For transitive inanimate verbs (VTI), only the agent is indicated.

When cited in isolation, verbs are generally inflected for a third-person agent; nouns and pronouns are given in the proximate singular. In the interlinear translations, only the verb stem (rather than the entire inflected form) is glossed.

Phonemic notation is indicated by italics, while forms in morphophonological representations are enclosed in vertical bars.

Table 1. Gender-Person-Obviation-Number Combinations

Gender	*Person*	*Obviation*	*Number*	*Code*
animate	indefinite		(sg./pl.)	indf
	first and second		pl.	21
	first		sg.	1
			pl.	1p
	second		sg.	2
			pl.	2p
	third	proximate	sg.	3
			pl.	3p
		obviative	(sg./pl.)	3′
inanimate		proximate	sg.	0
			pl.	0p
		obviative	sg.	0′
			pl.	0′p

Table 2. Codes and Abbreviations

Stem Classes	
VAI	verb animate intransitive
VII	verb inanimate intransitive
VTA	verb transitive animate
VTI	verb transitive inanimate
NA	noun animate
NI	noun inanimate
NDA	noun dependent animate
NDI	noun dependent inanimate
PR	pronoun
IPC	indeclinable particle
IPV	indeclinable preverb
Verb System	
DIR	direct
INV	inverse
PROX	proximate
OBV	obviative
INDEP	independent
INDIC	indicative
PRET	preterit
CJ	conjunct
SIMPLE	simple
CH	changed
SBJ	subjunctive
ITER	iterative
IMVE	imperative
IMM	immediate
DEL	delayed
REL	relational
DIM	diminutive
RED	reduplication
Other	
EMPH	emphatic
LOC	locative
VOC	vocative

2.1. *Salient Properties*

The remarkable freedom in the order of the major constituents of a sentence, such as the verb, the subject (agent) and the object (patient), is probably the most striking syntactic trait of Cree. Other salient features of the grammatical design of Cree are the fact that the subject and object need not be expressed by noun phrases and the comparatively free occurrence of discontinuous constituents. Languages that exhibit this cluster of properties are called non-configurational.

First, in a simple declarative sentence (which, for demonstration purposes, fully specifies who did what to whom), the verb and the subject and object nouns can occur in all six of the logically possible word orders, and all six are grammatical sentences without any difference in referential meaning:

'The children killed some ducks.'

SVO:	*awa·sisak nipahe·wak si·si·pa.*(*)	[children killed ducks]
SOV:	*awa·sisak si·si·pa nipahe·wak.*(*)	[children ducks killed]
VSO:	*nipahe·wak awa·sisak si·si·pa.*(*)	[killed children ducks]
VOS:	*nipahe·wak si·si·pa awa·sisak.*(*)	[killed ducks children]
OVS:	*si·si·pa nipahe·wak awa·sisak.*(*)	[ducks killed children]
OSV:	*si·si·pa awa·sisak nipahe·wak.*(*)	[ducks children killed]

Second, subject and object noun phrases may be freely omitted.

nipahe·wak si·si·pa.(*)
'They killed some ducks.'

awa·sisak nipahe·wak.(*)
'The children killed them.'

nipahe·wak.(*)
'They killed them.'

All three of these are full, normal sentences, as illustrated by these text examples:

mostoswa *wa·pame·w.*
buffalo(3′) see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′) INDEP)
'He saw the buffalo.'

no·toke·siw *wa·pame·w.*
old-woman(3) see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′) INDEP)
'The old woman saw him.'

wa·pame·w.
see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′) INDEP)
'He saw him.'

Third, constituents may be discontinuous. In the noun phrase *o·hi si·si·pa* 'these ducks', for example, the determiner *o·hi* 'these' may be separated from the noun *si·si·pa* 'ducks':

nipahe·wak o·hi si·si·pa.(*)
'They killed these ducks.'

o·hi nipahe·wak si·si·pa.(*)
'They killed these ducks.'

Text examples of discontinuous noun phrases will be found throughout this sketch.

Taken together, properties like free word order, free omission of subject and object noun phrases, and discontinuous constituents may make a non-configurational language like Cree look very different from configurational languages such as English or French.

2.2. *Grammatical Distinctions*

In keeping track of the grammatical relations within a sentence, Cree relies heavily on features such as gender (animate and inanimate, 3.1.), the existence of two third-person categories (obviation, 3.4.), and the distinct verbal forms that occur in main and subordinate clauses (inflectional orders, 4.1.2.).

Cree nouns fall into two grammatical genders, animate and inanimate. There is no overt marker for gender, but both nouns and verbs are morphologically sensitive to this distinction. For example, animate and inanimate nouns take different plural markers: animate *-ak*, in *awa·sis* 'child', *awa·sisak* 'children'; inanimate *-a*, in *maskisin* 'shoe,' *maskisina* 'shoes'.

In the verbal system, gender agreement is pervasive, and gender is a principal term of classification. Intransitive stems fall into two inflectional and derivational classes according to the gender of the subject; for example, with the animate noun *si·si·p* 'duck': *pahkisin si·si·p* 'the duck fell down'; and with the inanimate noun *maskisin* 'shoe': *pahkihtin maskisin* 'the shoe dropped'.

Verbs like *nipah-* 'kill s.o.', which specify both the subject and the object, fall into two inflectional and derivational classes according to the gender of the object; for example, with the same nouns: *niwa·pama·w si·si·p* 'I saw the duck', *niwa·pahte·n maskisin* 'I saw the shoe'.

Obviation distinguishes between two or more third-person referents, one of whom is, roughly speaking, in the foreground (proximate) while all others are relegated to the background (obviative). As the several word order examples with two animate noun phrases illustrate, proximate nouns are morphologically unmarked, while obviative nouns are marked by the suffix *-a*.

Main (matrix) clauses are distinct from subordinate clauses, which form part of a larger, containing sentence. All subordinate sentences have verb forms inflected according to the conjunct order paradigm; such verb forms are identified by a distinct set of suffixes, for example, *-a·cik* 'they(3p)—the other(s)(3′)' of *e·-nipaha·cik* 'that they (proximate) killed the other(s) (obviative)' and they often appear with one of a small set of preverbs, for example, the e·-preverb that primarily marks subordination:

nikiske·yihte·n	*awa·sisak*	*e·-nipaha·cik*
know-something(s.t.) (VTI 1 INDEP)	child(3p)	kill-s.o. (VTA 3p-(3′) CJ)
si·si·pa.(*)		
duck(3′)		

'I know that the children have killed some ducks.'

Verb forms inflected according to the independent order paradigm are typically found in matrix clauses; such verb forms are identified by distinct prefix-suffix combinations, such as the *ni—e·n* of *nikiske·yihte·n* 'I know it'. In the above example, there is an independent order verb form in the main clause and a conjunct order verb form in the subordinate clause.

In some cases, though, a main clause may have a conjunct verb. In the following two examples, taken from a single text, the main verb is independent in the first (with the prefix-suffix combination *ni—n* marking the first person), and conjunct in the second (with the preverb *e·* identifying the clause as subordinate and the suffix *-ya·n* marking the first person):

nikiskisin	*ma·na*	*nima·ma·*
remember-(s.t./s.o.) (VAI-T 1 INDEP)	usually	my(1)-mom(3)
e·-wi·cihak...		
help-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)		

'I remember helping my mom ...'

e·kiskisiya·n	*nima·ma·*	*e·-wi·cihak...*
remember-(s.t./s.o.) (VAI-T 1 CJ)	my(1)-mom(3)	help-s.o. (VTA 1-3 CJ)

'I remember helping my mom...'

2.3. *Basic Sentence Types*

Cree sentences exhibit three major types of predicate: verbal, impersonal, and nominal.

First of all, sentences can be formed with verbs denoting a specific action or state:

niwi·-nipaha·w.
intend-to-kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP)
'I am going to kill him.'

niwi·-nipa·n.
intend-to-sleep(VAI 1 INDEP)
'I am going to sleep.'

Second, there are impersonal verbs that cannot take a subject:

e·kw a·t-i·spatina·w.
then gradually-be-a-hill(VII 0 INDEP)
'And then slowly it became hilly.'

...kwayas	*kimiwan;*	*nisto-ki·sika·w*
properly	be-raining(VII 0 INDEP)	three-day(IPC)

e·-kimiwahk,...
be-raining(VII 0 CJ)
'...it rained hard; it rained for three days,...'

e·-ota·kosiniyik,...
be-evening(VII 0′ CJ)
'Toward nightfall,...'

piyisk *mitoni* *ki·sika·yiw.*
finally really be-day(VII 0´ INDEP)
'At last it was full daylight.'

..., e·kwa *ka·-piponiyik* *ma·na, ...*
then be-winter(VII 0´ CJ) usually
'..., then when it would get winter,...'

As the above examples show, impersonal verbs tend to express natural states such as weather, season and time of day, or terrain and general environment.

Third, nominal predicates occur in verbless sentences where one noun phrase predicates a property (including identity) of the other:

kimotisk *ana!*
thief(3) that(3)
'He was a thief!'

e·yako *pe·yak* *a·cimo·win.*
this-one(0) one narrative(0)
'This one is one narrative.'

Nominal predicates are especially common with existential interrogatives:

ta·niwa· *ni·wa?*
where-is-3 my-wife(3)
'Where is my wife?'

Equational sentences tend to be emphatic even when they occur in isolation; but the emphasis is especially obvious in examples like the following, where the order of constituents is (chiastically) reversed:

namo·y	*a·na*	*ki·wa.*	*kisi·m*	*ana.*
not	that(3)	your(2) -wife(3)	your(2) -younger -sister(3)	that(3)

'She is not your wife. She is your sister.'

Note that predicate nominals are not morphologically marked, nor do equational sentences exhibit a copula.

2.4. Sentence Functions

In addition to differences given by the predicate, Cree sentences also vary depending on their overall grammatical function and status. The following remarks concentrate on three major types: relative clauses, questions, and negated clauses.

2.4.1. Relative Clauses

The preverb *ka·*, with the verb inflected according to the conjunct order paradigm, is the most prominent marker of relative clauses:

si·si·p *ka·-nipahak*(*)
duck(3) rel-kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
'the duck that I killed'

Except for the preverb *ka·*, the verb form in a relative clause is indistinguishable from that found in any other type of subordinate clause:

kikiskisin *si·si·p* *e·-nipahak*(*)
remember-(s.t./s.o.) (VAI-T 2 INDEP) duck(3) kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
'you remember that I killed a duck'

..., e·-mihta·tahk *e·-ki·-nipaha·t* *owi·kima·kana.*
regret-s.t. (VTI 3 CJ) past-kill-s.o. (VTA 3-(3´) CJ) his(3)-spouse(3´)
'..., [with him] regretting that he had killed his wife.'

Relativization also provides a means of discriminating between genuine cleft constructions and focus constructions (both of which tend to be translated into English as cleft constructions). The preferred word order in Cree is one where focus material (new or contrastively emphasized) appears before the verbal complex:

si·si·p *ninipaha·w.*(*)
duck(3) kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP)
'I killed a duck.'

Topic material (known or presupposed) appears after the verbal complex. Cleft constructions are readily recognizable by the presence of the preverb *ka·* and the use of the conjunct:

si·si·p *ka·-nipahak.*(*)
duck(3) kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
'It was a duck that I killed.'

The focus material need not be a noun phrase; in the following example it is a temporal phrase:

..., e·kw *a·n[i]* *e·kwa* *ka·-kimiwahk.*
then (EMPH) then be-raining(VII 0 CJ)
'..., and it was then that it rained.'

Both the following examples have the location of the event in focus position, but only the second one exhibits the cleft construction marked by the preverb *ka·* and the conjunct:

e·kota *mihce·t* *ninipaha·wak* *niskak*
there many kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3p INDEP) goose(3p)
mi·na *si·si·pak,...*
and duck(3p)
'Over there I have killed a lot of geese and ducks,...'

ha·, *kisiwa·k* *o·ta* *ka·-nipahakik!*
well close-by here kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3p CJ)
'Ho, it was right close by here that I killed them!'

Cleft constructions and relativization also play a role in content questions.

2.4.2. Questions

Content questions and yes-no questions differ dramatically in their syntactic structures.

2.4.2.1. Yes-no Questions

In yes-no questions the question marker *ci·* follows the first word of the clause, and the verb is most commonly in the independent form:

kikisiwahitin *ci·?*
anger-s.o.(VTA 1-2 INDEP) (question)
'Have I made you angry?'

However, yes-no questions are not restricted to independent verbs:

e·-wi·-nakasiye·k *ci·?*
going-to-leave-s.o.(VTA 2p-1 CJ) (question)
'Are you going to leave me?'

ke·ya·pic *ci·* *ma·n* *e·-mo·nahaskwe·t*
still (question) usually dig-seneca-root (VAI 3 CJ)
wiya?
he(EMPH)
'Does he still dig seneca-root?'

The question marker *ci·* also has the effect of throwing the constituent it follows into relief:

ki·stawa·w *ci·* *ma·na*
you(2p)(contrastive-EMPH) (question) usually
kiki·-ma·wasakona·wa·w *o·hi...*
past-collect(it/her)(VAI-T 2p INDEP) this(0p)
'Did you, too, use to collect them...'

kiki·-a·h-a·cimosta·kawina·wa·w
past-tell-s.o.-many-stories(VTA INDF-2p INDEP)
ci· *ma·na,* *ki·stawa·w?*
(question) usually you(2p)(CONTRASTIVE-EMPH)
'Did you use to have stories told to you, you too?'

kiya *ci·* *ka·-ki·-pakastawe·hwat*
you(2)(EMPH) (question) past-throw-s.o.-into-water(VTA 2-3 CJ)
no·kima·mina·n.
our(1p)-chief(3)
'Was it you who threw our chief into the water?'

awa *ci·* *e·-mamisiyan?*
this(3) (question) rely-on-(s.t./s.o.)(VAI-T 2CJ)
'Is this the one on whom you rely?'

The following examples show the question marker *ci·* in postinitial position after the quantifier *kahkiyaw* 'all':

ne·ka·, *kahkiyaw* *ci·*
my-mother(VOC) all (question)
kita·pacihcikana?
your(2)-implements(0p)
'Mother, are all your implements gone?'

kahkiyaw *ci·* *ki·kihk*
all (question) your(2)-house-LOC
e·-ki·-aya·wacik *awa·sisak?*
past-have-s.o.(VTA 2-3p) child(3p)
'Did you have all the children at your house?'

Indirect yes-no questions in Plains Cree use the conditional marker *ki·spin* 'if', which usually appears at the beginning of the subordinate clause:

e·kwa, mo·y ma·ka nikiskisin
then not but remember-(s.t./s.o.)(VAI-T 1 INDEP)
ki·spin *wi·hka·c* *ka-ki·-ata·wa·ke·t, ...*
if ever future-able-sell(VAI 3 CJ)
'But then I cannot remember if she would ever have been able to make a sale,...'

...,mo·y *kikiske·yihte·n* *ki·spin*
not know-s.t.(VTI 2 INDEP) if
e·-na·pe·wit *ahpo·* *e·-iskwe·wit.*
be-male(VAI 3 CJ) or be-female(VAI 3 CJ)
'you cannot know whether it is a man or a woman.'

2.4.2.2. CONTENT QUESTIONS

In Cree content questions, the interrogative pronoun (or phrase) usually appears first, and the verb is normally in the conjunct form:

ta·nite· *e·-wi·-itohte·yan?*
whither going-to-go-there(VAI 2 CJ)
'Where are you going to go?'

ta·nisi *ma·ka* *e·-isi-wa·pamat?*
how but thus-see-s.o.(VTA 2-3 CJ)
'And how do you see him?'

ta·ne·hki *k-o·h-ma·toyan?*
why thence-cry(VAI 2 CJ)
'Why do you weep?'

ta·nim *e·sa* *kiya?*
which-one(0) evidently you(2)(EMPH)
'And which one are you?'

Indirect content questions use the same interrogative pronouns:

... mo·y *nikiskisin* *ta·nis*
not remember-(s.t./s.o.)(VAI-T 1 INDEP) how
e·-isiyi·hka·sot.
be-thus-named(VAI 3 CJ)
'...I do not remember what his name was.'

niki·-wa·pama·w *ta·nisi*
past-see-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP) how
e·-to·tahk.
so-do-s.t.(VTI 3 CJ)
'I have seen what he did.'

kakwe·cima·hke·k *ta·nitowihk*
ask-s.o.(VTA 2p-3 DEL IMVE) in what place
e·-ohci-nipit.
thence-die(VAI 3 CJ)
'Ask her in what spot a wound would cause her death.'

In indirect questions, however, it is not uncommon for the interrogative to appear noninitially:

kakwe·cihke·mo·w, *okosisa*
ask-people(VAI 3 INDEP) his(3)-son(3´)
otihta·wa·wa *ta·nit[e·]*
his(3)-fellow-parent-in-law(3´) where

e·-aya·yit.
be-located(VAI 3´ CJ)
'He made inquiries as to where his son and his son's father-in-law were staying.'

In fact, not just the focused constituent (here the general singular *ne·hiyaw* 'the Cree'), but even the entire indirect question may be preposed:

ne·hiyaw *ta·nisi* *e·-isi-pima·tisit, ...,*
Cree-person(3) how thus-live(VAI 3 CJ)
kahkiyaw *nikiske·yihte·n*
all know-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP)
'How the Cree lived, ..., all of this I know.'

2.4.3. Negated Sentences

There are two negative markers in Cree, *namo·ya* (or its variant *nama*) and *e·ka·* (or its variant *e·ka·ya*). Their distribution coincides by and large (and with exceptions too complex to be treated here) with the distinction between main and subordinate clauses: *namo·ya* is used in main clauses while *e·ka·* appears in subordinate clauses.

The variant *e·ka·ya* is the preferred negation marker in all imperative sentences:

nisi·mis, *e·ka·ya* *ma·to!*
my-younger-brother(VOC) not cry(VAI 2 IMVE)
'Little brother, do not weep!'

e·ka·ya *ki·we·ta·k!*
not go-home(VAI 21 IMVE)
'Let us not go home!'

e·ka·ya *ta·pwe·htawa·hkan!*
not believe-s.o.(VTA 2-3 DEL IMVE)
'Do not henceforth pay any heed to him!'

The negator need not be in absolute-initial position:

kahkiyaw e·ka·ya awiyak *nipahihk!*
all not someone kill-s.o.(VTA 2p-3 IMVE)
'Let none of you slay anyone!'

In main clauses, negation is normally marked by *namo·ya*:

namo·ya *nikiske·yima·w.*
not know-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP)
'I do not know him.'

The negator *namo·ya* is not restricted to verbs in the independent order, as for example in:

mo·y *nikiske·yihte·n* *ta·nis*
not know-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP) how
e·-isiyi·hka·te·k.
be-thus-named(VII 0 CJ)
'I do not know what it is called.'

It also occurs in declarative main clauses employing the conjunct order:

ma·ka *mo·y* *e·-kiske·yihtama·n* *ta·nis*
but not know-s.t.(VTI 1 CJ) how
e·-isiyi·hka·te·k.
be-thus-named(VII 0 CJ)
'But I do not know what it is called.'

Compare the similar sentence with a verb of the independent order:

ma·ka *namo·ya* *nikiske·yihte·n ...*
but not know-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP)
'But I do not know it...'

Subordinate clauses are normally negated by *e·ka·*:

kiske·yihtam *e·ka·* *e·-pakitiniht...*
know-s.t. not release-s.o.
(VTE 3 INDEP) (VTA INDF-3 CJ)
'He knew that he would not be freed...'

osa·m *mistahi* *kikitima·kisina·naw,*
excessively greatly be-poor(VAI 21 INDEP)
e·ka· awiyak *e·-wa·hko·ma·yahk.*
not someone(3) have-s.o.-as-relative(VTA 21-3 CJ)
'We are altogether too poor, since we have nobody for a kinsman.'

..., ca·pihcikanis *ohci* *e·-tahkama·t*
lance(0) with stab-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) CJ)
awa *e·ka·* *wi·hka·c* *ka·-no·tinike·t*
this(3) not ever go-to-war(VAI 3)
oskini·kiw.
young-man(3)
'That youth who had never been to war pierced them with his lance'.

This also includes content questions:

ta·ne·hk *a·wa* *e·ka·* *ka·-wi·-mi·cisot,*
why this(3) not going-to-eat(VAI 3 CJ)
ne·ka·, *kite·m?*
mother(VOC) your(2)-dog(3)
'Why will not this creature eat, Mother, this dog of yours?'

The use of *e·ka·* is most prominent in the various types of modal clauses (4.1.2.):

— *e·ka·* *wanikiskisiya·ni,...*
not forget-(s.t./s.o.)(VAI-T 1 CJ SUBJ)
'— if I do not forget it, ...'

— *e·ka·* *wa·h-to·tama·ni, ...*
not going-to-do-s.t.(VTI 1 CJ ITER)
'— every time I would not do it, ...'

...; kik-a·so·namawak
future-pass-(s.t.)-on-to-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
ni·c-a·yisiyiniw, *..., e·ka·y*
fellow-human(3) not
ka-wanisimikot *wa·piskiwiya·sa.*
future-mislead-s.o.(VTA (3´)-3 CJ) Whiteman(3´)
'...; to pass it on to my fellow people, ... lest the Whiteman lead them astray.'

pikw *a·nima e·ka· ka-pakici·yan, ...*
it-is-necessary that(0) not future-give-up(VAI 2 CJ)
'You must not give up on this, ...'

In all negated clauses, whether main or subordinate, the perfective is marked by the preverbs *o·h* or *ohci* 'thence' instead of the preverb *ki·*, which appears in non-negative clauses:

..., kahkiyaw *ki·kway* *niki·-pe·-wi·htama·kona·n.*
all thing(0) past-hither-tell-(s.t.-to)-s.o.(VTA 3-1p INDEP)
'..., she has told us about everything'.

mo·y wi·hka·t no·hci-pe·-kiske·yihte·n, ...
not ever past(NEG)-hither-know-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP)
'I have never yet known it, ...'

a·, *nama* *ki·kway no·h-kiske·yihte·n, ...*
well nothing(3) past(NEG)-know-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP)
'Well, I had not known anything, ...'

e·kwa mo·y wi·hka·c e·-ohci-kosta·ciya·hk, ...
then not ever past(NEG)-be-afraid(VAI 1p CJ)
'And we had never been afraid, ...'

..., wiya·kana e·ka· e·-ohci-ihtakoki.
vessel(0p) not past(NEG)-exist(VII 0p CJ)
'..., since there were then no pots.'

But note that *ki·* does co-occur with a negator in the exhortative construction with the preverb combination *ka-ki·*:

ki·kway e·ka· ka-ki·-to·tama·hk,
thing(0) not FUTURE-PAST-do-s.t.(VTI 1p CJ)
kahkiyaw ki·kway niki·-pe·-wi·htama·kona·n.
all thing(0) PAST-hither-tell-(s.t.-to)-s.o.(VTA 3-1p INDEP)
'The things we should not do, she has told us about all these.'

2.5. *Sentences in Context*

In spontaneous discourse, it is relatively rare for both the subject and the object of a verb to be expressed by two full noun phrases; sentences like *The farmer killed the duckling.* are noteworthy even in English. The textual examples which follow illustrate the six major types of constituent order (2.1.) and also highlight some of the contextual and stylistic features exhibited by sentences with two full noun phrases.

SVO:

ta·pwe· *awa* *iskwe·w* *pakamahwe·w*
truly this(3) woman(3) strike-s.o. (VTA 3-(3´) INDEP)
e·sa *o·hi* *wi·htikowa.*
reportedly this(3´) windigo(3´)
'Truly the woman struck down that windigo.'

SOV:

ke·tahtawe· *iskwe·w* *awa* *ona·pe·ma*
presently woman(3) this(3) her(3)-husband(3´)
mo·we·w.
eat-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP)
'Then that woman ate her husband.'

VSO:

... namo·ya wa·pame·w *awa*
not see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP) this(3)
iskwe·w *ocawa·simisa ...*
woman(3) her(3)-child(3´)
'... the woman did not see her children...'

VOS:

mistahi miywe·yime·w *o·hi*
greatly like-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP) this(3´)
oskini·kiskwe·wa awa no·toke·siw, ...
young-woman(3´) this(3) old-woman(3)
'The old woman became very fond of the young woman, ...'

OVS:

owi·ce·wa·kana *miskawe·w*
his(3)-companion(3´) find-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP)
awa ne·hiyaw.
this(3) Cree(3)
'The Cree found his comrades.'

OSV:

a·w, wa·poso-mi·cima·poy niya
oh rabbit-soup(0) I(EMPH)
e·-wi·-mi·ciya·n.
going-to-eat-(s.t.)(VTI 1 CJ)
'Well, as for me, I am going to eat rabbit soup.'

Examples of OSV order with two full nouns are exceedingly rare; the sentence cited above has the full (and fairly emphatic) personal pronoun *niya* 'I' rather than an ordinary noun functioning as one of the noun phrases. The general point can also be illustrated with sentences that omit one of the major constituents; most commonly, these are sentences without overt agent noun but with the object noun before the verb:

mostoswa *wa·pame·w.* (OV)
buffalo(3´) see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP)
'He saw the buffalo.'

In Cree, sentences with full parallel noun phrases are highly marked and tend to be used for special emphasis or for the purpose of a general declaration. In narrative texts, they may mark the opening or closing of a discourse unit (whether a paragraph, a section, or a whole text) and they also seem characteristic of a sharp shift (peripeteia) in a narrative.

The most common context for two full noun phrases to occur within a single clause is the possessive construction in which a possessed noun phrase (in the SOV example, *ona·pe·ma* 'her husband', marked for a third-person possessor by the personal prefix *o(t)-* 'his, her') is matched by another noun phrase (here *iskwe·w awa* 'this woman') identifying the possessor.

As these examples show, demonstratives like *awa* (proximate) 'this' and *o·hi* (proximate) 'this' are often used with one or both of the full noun phrases.

Note, finally, that the text examples cited in this section (2.5.) are restricted to verb forms in the independent order. When full nouns appear, they are often part of a much more complex noun phrase, which includes at least one participial verb form adding new information. By far the most common pattern is the omission of one of the nouns, with a full noun being used only to express new or contrastive information.

3. Grammatical Categories

The major grammatical categories of Cree—gender, number, person, and obviation—are manifested in the inflection of verbs, nouns, and pronouns and constitute the basis for concord and cross-reference. Because of their general nature, they are treated separately from the purely verbal categories of modality, transitivity, and direction and the nominal category of possession.

In many cases, these general categories are expressed by the same affixes in verbs, nouns, and pronouns; for a summary of "universal" affixes see section 4.

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

One of the salient features of the system is the simultaneous function of the third-person category in two dimensions: it not only contrasts with the other two person categories but also is the domain of the contrast of proximate and obviative.

Another aspect of the system is less well understood in its semantic implications: throughout the grammatical system of Cree, the inanimate proximate plural category (0p) and the animate obviative category (number-indifferent, 3′) show the same morphological manifestations.

This identity is found in the number-obviation paradigm of nouns as well as in the independent order paradigm of verbs, that is, the obviative forms of all verbs with an animate agent (VTA, VTI, VAI) and the plural forms of the inanimate-agent verbs (VII). In all these paradigms, the inanimate plural and the animate obviative are both marked by the ending *-(w)a*. That this is not simply an accident of phonological development is evident from the corresponding pronominal endings (*-hi, -e·ha·*), which show the same identity.

While the common semantic feature of these two categories is yet to be found, there are several contexts in which the nominal complement of a transitive verb is ambiguous or unspecific with respect to these categories. This is the case for both the verb and the entire nominal phrase in the following example:

	nana·tohk	*o·hi*	*ki·kwa·sa*	*o·hi*
398	various	this(0p/3′)	something(0p/3′)	this(0p/3′)

e·-wiye·simikot.
trick-him(VTA (0p/3′)-3) CJ)
'... all these various little things used to trick him.'

3.1. Gender

Cree distinguishes animate and inanimate gender. Unlike the Indo-European languages, for example, where the grammatical category of gender largely correlates with the physical category of sex, Cree gender corresponds to a considerable extent to a division of physical phenomena into those that have life and those that do not. In either case grammatical and physical categories correlate only in a very general way and their correspondence is by no means complete: the German neuter noun *das Weib* 'the woman' and the Cree animate noun *asiniy* 'stone' are only the most striking examples from a large set.

3.1.1. Manifestations of Gender

Gender is one of the basic criteria for the inflectional and derivational classification of verbs. Transitive verbs largely come in pairs, differing as to the gender of the goal, for example, transitive animate (VTA) *otine·w* 'he takes him',‡ transitive inanimate (VTI) *otinam* 'he takes it'. Intransitive stems differ by the gender of the actor: animate intransitive (VAI) *ohpikiw* 'he grows up', inanimate intransitive (VII) *ohpikin* 'it grows up'.

With few exceptions, noun stems belong to only one gender class. While certain general criteria for gender assignment are outlined below, these are by no means exhaustive and only a list can account for the gender of Cree nouns.

Nouns that denote humans, animals, spirits, and trees are animate—*kise·yiniw* 'old man', *wacask* 'muskrat', *manito·w* 'spirit', *sihta* 'spruce'. Extensions of these are also animate—*ayi·siyini·hka·n* 'effigy, doll' (literally 'surrogate human').

In addition, there are several more or less clearly defined semantic groupings of nouns that are also animate; some of these might be considered extensions of the major group. These are: animal hides and garments made from them (*mostoswaya·n* 'buffalo robe'), some body parts (*nitihtikos* 'my kidney') some phenomena of the natural environment (*ko·na* 'snow', *asiniy* 'rock, stone', *pi·sim* 'sun, moon'), some articles of personal or household use (*asa·m* 'snowshoe', *askihk* 'kettle'), items used in smoking (*ciste·ma·w* 'tobacco', *ospwa·kan* 'pipe'), certain plants and their products (*paka·n* 'nut', *pahkwe·sikan* 'bannock [fried bread]').

‡Cree does not distinguish in the 3d-person singular between 'he' and 'she'. In this sketch Cree third singulars referring to human beings are translated by convention with the English masculine singular pronouns ('he', 'him,' 'his'), but, where contextually appropriate, translations with feminine pronouns ('she', 'her') would be equally correct.

Among inanimate nouns, the most clearly defined group is that of abstract nouns derived from verbs, for instance, with the suffix *-win*: *ne·hiyawe·-* VAI 'speak Cree', *ne·hiyawe·win* 'Cree speech'; *mi·ci-* VAI 'eat (something)', *mi·ciwin* 'food'.

A few noun stems appear with both animate and inanimate endings and verb forms: *akohp* 'blanket'; in some cases, the animate and inanimate stems have different meanings: *mistik* NA 'tree', *mistik* NI 'stick'.

3.1.2. GENDER CHANGE

All reference to speaker and addressee is (semantically at least) animate. However, if otherwise inanimate nouns (or pronouns) function as complements of verbs of speaking, the conflict of semantic (animate) and morphological (inanimate) patterns results in a great deal of variation. Even the same narrator may use either gender in essentially the same context:

kahkiyaw ki·kway e·-ki·-waye·sihtahk
every something(0) trick-s.t.-by-speech(VTI 3 CJ)
'everything he used to trick by speech'

kahkiyaw ki·kway
every something(0)
e·-ki·-waye·sima·t
trick-s.o.-by-speech(VTA 3-(3′) CJ)
'everything he used to trick by speech'

While inanimate nouns may function like animate nouns syntactically, animate nouns do not, in a similar way, function like inanimate. It is this "absorptive" (Hockett 1966) nature of the animate gender (rather than the fact that it includes nouns whose denotata are "lifeless" from the English speaker's point of view) that seems to point to the animate gender as the more general of the two.

3.2. NUMBER

In the opposition of singular and plural, singular is the unmarked member. Beyond the morphological fact that a plural morpheme is added to singular forms (*si·si·p* |si·si·p-a| 'duck', *si·si·pak* |si·si·p-a-k| 'ducks'), the singular is used in statements of general application;

ayisk ki·-miywe·yihtam
(for PAST(IPV)-be-glad-about-s.t.(VTI 3 INDEP)
ayi·siyiniw, e·-matotisicik,
human-being(3) have-a-steambath(VAI 3p CJ)
no·tokwe·siwak, kise·yiniwak.
old-woman(3p) old-man(3p)
'For people used to like it, to have a steambath, old women and old men.'

The number contrast is completely absent in several contexts, including most prominently the animate obviative forms of nouns and verbs: *osi·ma* 'his(3) younger brother/brothers(3′)', *apiyiwa* 'he(3′) sits, they(3′) sit'.

The verbal complement may be of either number when the participant is not expressed morphologically as part of the verb, as is the case in transitive inanimate (VTI) verbs: *miskam mistik* 'he found (VTI 3) a stick (NI 0)', *miskam mistikwa* 'he found (VTI 3) sticks (NI 0p)'. The number distinction is lacking in the indefinite possessor of nouns (4.2.1.) and in the indefinite actor forms of verbs (4.1.1.2.); the same holds for the inanimate actor of VTA verbs (4.1.4.2.).

Finally, in the you-and-me set of the transitive animate (VTA) paradigm, the second person is number-indifferent when cooccurring with the first-person plural (1p); the imperative, *ma·mitone·yimina·n* 'think of us (1p)', for instance, may be addressed to one or several persons.

3.3. PERSON

Distinctions of person are found in the actor and, within the transitive animate (VTA) paradigm, also in the goal of verbs. They further appear in the possession paradigm of nouns and in the personal pronoun set.

Inanimate intransitive (VII) verbs and the number-obviation paradigm of nouns and pronouns function as third persons in terms of cross-reference, with respect to their inflectional affixes, and most obviously in their participation in the obviation system (3.4.1.).

3.3.1. THE BASIC PERSONS

The person category of Cree has three basic members: the first (speaker) and second (addressee) persons, as direct participants in the speech act, constitute a subgroup vis-à-vis the third person (neither speaker nor addressee); the significance of this grouping (termed "local" by Hockett 1966) is evident in the morphological and semantic structure of the various verbal paradigms (table 3).

Table 3. Examples of Person-Number Combinations

Singular	*Plural*
Speaker (first person) *nima·ci·n* 'I hunt'	Speakers (may include third person but not addressee) *nima·ci·na·n* 'we (but not you) hunt'
	Speaker(s) *and* Addressee(s) (as well as any third person) *kima·ci·naw* 'we (you and I) hunt'
Addressee (second person) *kima·ci·n* 'you hunt'	Addressees (may include third person but not speaker) *kima·ci·na·wa·w* 'you (but not I) hunt'
Third person *ma·ci·w* 'he hunts'	Third persons (may include neither speaker nor addressee) *ma·ci·wak* 'they hunt'

The characteristically Algonquian distinction of two "third-person" referents is subordinate to the third person rather than coordinate with it; for a discussion of obviation see section 3.4.

The Cree person category is the domain of a fundamental order principle whose manifestations can be observed throughout the structure of the language: the second person ranks higher than the first, which in turn outranks the third.

This order principle is most obvious among the mutually exclusive personal prefixes that constitute a position class: in case of conflict (for instance in a transitive animate (VTA) verb that involves two participants), the more highly ranked person is expressed by the prefix, irrespective of its status as agent or patient. Thus, whenever a second person is involved, the prefix is *ki-*; if there is a first person (but no second), the prefix is *ni-*; and only if there are no first or second persons at all, can the third person be expressed by the prefix *o-* or by the absence of a prefix.

This ranking principle is also manifest in the fixed sequence of affixes in both verb and noun inflection: non-third markers always precede third-person markers, and among non-third markers, second-person markers precede first-person markers (4.1.4.).

3.3.2. Other Person Configurations

When the three basic person categories are pluralized, an additional combination emerges. The plurality that includes both speaker and addressee is traditionally known as the first-person inclusive plural (as opposed to the exclusive plural). In English and other Indo-European languages both these functions are served by the single first-person plural category reflected in 'we', and it is not surprising that the corresponding category in Cree (and many other non-European languages) has been identified as a first-person plural. However, the distribution of the personal prefixes, in accord with the order principle of 3.3.1., identifies this form as a second-person form primarily, 'you, including one or more of us' rather than 'we, including one or more of you'. Thus, in Cree the contrast of inclusive versus exclusive appears to function in the second-person plural rather than in the first. While this analysis may seem implausible from a typological perspective, it is supported by comparative evidence that shows that, unlike Cree, most Algonquian languages (Goddard 1967) have generalized one of the original suffixes so that the distinction of the two plurals involving the speaker rests entirely in the prefix.

Simple reflexives are formed derivationally: *nitasamison* 'I feed myself' (cf. the primary stem *asam-* VTA 'feed someone' and the derivational suffix *-iso-*). No forms appear to exist for the complex reflexivization that would involve a plural category with one of its constituent singular categories, as in 1-1p 'I feed us'.

3.4. Obviation

Contrasts of obviation in Cree function within the third-person category rather than on a par with the three basic persons. By identifying only one third-person referent in each contextual span as proximate and all others as obviative, the dimension of obviation marks a semantic system of focus in addition to the syntactic construction of cross-reference.

While the choice of focus clearly depends on the preceding sentences and on the structure of the discourse as a whole, the correlates of focus in terms of discourse analysis are not known in detail, and Bloomfield's (1962:38) statement is only an approximation: "The proximate third person represents the topic of discourse, the person nearest the speaker's point of view, or the person earlier spoken of and already known."

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

Plains Cree (unlike more eastern Cree dialects) does not distinguish obviation in inanimate nouns; nevertheless, obviation is present covertly, as is shown by the verb with which the noun is in concord:

e·kosi osihta·w e·-misa·yik o·si.
thus build(VAI 3 CJ) be-big(VII 0′) canoe(0)
'Thus he built a big canoe.'

3.4.1. Focus Assignment

Where no determining context (e.g., a preceding sentence) exists, a single third person is proximate, for example, *mostoswak* in

mihce·t ninipahe·wak mostoswak.
many kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3p INDEP) buffalo(3p)
'I have killed many buffalo.'

If there are two (or more) third-person referents, only one may be proximate (*mistanask*) while all others are obviative (*mostoswa*):

mihcet nipahe·w mistanask
many kill-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′) INDEP) Badger(3)
mostoswa.
buffalo(3′)
'Badger has killed many buffalo.'

With three third-person referents, two of them obviative (*mostoswa* and *owi·kima·kana*):

aka·wa·tamawe·w o·ma
desire(s.t./s.o.)-of-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′ INDEP) that
ka·-nipaha·yit mostoswa owi·kima·kana.
kill-s.o.(VTA 3-(3′) CJ) buffalo(3′) his(3)-spouse(3′)
'He envied his wife the way she had killed the buffalo.'

The only exception to this rule occurs when two nouns are conjoined (in close parataxis):

e·-ki·-no·tinitocik, *ayahciyiniwak*
fight-each-other(VAI 3p CJ) Blackfoot(3p)
e·kwa ne·hiyawak ...
and Cree(3p)
'they used to fight one another, the Blackfoot and the Cree ...'

Cross-reference provides a syntactic constraint that makes focus fully predictable in one case: if a noun is inflected for a third-person possessor, the noun itself is obligatorily obviative:

... namo·ya wa·pame·w *awa*
not see-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP) this(3)
iskwe·w ocawa·simisa ...
woman(3) her(3)-child(3´)
'... the woman did not see her children ...'

a·h, ni·so nipe·-tahkama·wak;
well two come-stabbing-s.o.(VTA 1-3p INDEP)
ote·miwa·wa no·tinima·wa;
their(3p)-horse(3´) take-s.o.(1-3´)
'Oh, two I stabbed on the way; I took their horses.'

Focus assignment is also largely expectable if a main clause involving a third person is modified by an inanimate clause indicating a state of the physical environment (climate, season, time of day, etc.):

e·-ota·kosiniyik *iyikohk,* *ki·we·w.*
be-evening(VII 0´ CJ) at-that-time go-home (VAI 3 INDEP)
'When it was evening, she went home.'

3.4.2. FOCUS CHANGE

While the focus system permits two distinct third persons in Cree, it cannot distinguish between several obviative referents. (The distinction of two obviative categories in Cree [Bloomfield 1946:94; Hockett 1966; Ellis 1971], which would fit well with the historical evidence, does not appear to be justifiable synchronically [Wolfart 1973, 1978]). Disambiguation depends on the context, unless the span is ended and a new span, with new focus assignment, is begun. While focus changes are frequent and spans thus relatively brief, long spans do occur and at least one text (Bloomfield 1930:text 10) has been observed to have constant focus assignment throughout; that is, the entire text constitutes only one span.

Change of focus (||) may be indicated, even within a sentence, by indexing a new referent as proximate:

ninayoma·w *e·-sa·kihak,*
carry-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP) love-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
|| *nika·wiy* *e·-ma·mitone·yimak*
my-mother(3) think-about-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
e·-wi·-pe·tamawak.
want-to(IPV)-bring-(s.t./s.o.)-to-s.o.(VTA 1-3 CJ)
'I carried it(i.e. a kettle (3)) on my back, I prized it, || I thought of my mother and wanted to bring it to her.'

Conversely, the same referent may be assigned to different focus categories:

e·kwa mi·na ma·na anihi
then and always that(3´)
k-a·cima·t || *kaya·s*
tell-about-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) CJ) long-ago
ka·-ki·-kimotit anihi so·niya·wa.
steal(VAI 3 CJ) that(3´) money(3´)
'And then he told about that one || who long ago stole that money.'

When several obviative referents occur within a single span, word order may provide some clues; however, in the main, the identification of referents in such a case rests on meaning and context:

..., pe·yak piko nipahe·yiwa
one only kill-s.o.(VTA 3´-(3´) INDEP)
omisa wa·poswa.
his(3)-older-sister(3´) rabbit(3´)
'..., his sister had killed but one rabbit.'

o·ki wiya oskini·kiwak kahkiyaw
this(3p) EMPH youth(3p) all
nipahe·yiwa ote·miwa·wa
kill-s.o.(VTA 3´-(3´) INDEP) their(3p)horse(3´)
ayahciyiniwa.
Blackfoot(3´)
'As for these young men, the Blackfoot killed all their horses.'

3.4.3. THE MARKED STATUS OF THE OBVIATIVE

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

In addition to strictly morphological evidence (the obviative consistently shows a morpheme added to the nonobviative form), the proximate is characterized as unmarked by its appearance in isolation (3.4.1.) and in contexts of neutralization. For instance, the personal pronouns *wiya* and *wi·sta* are used with both proximate and obviative referents. The most typical context of neutralization involves a verb with coordinate complements, one of which is proximate, the other obviative; the verb is then inflected for a nonobviative plural referent:

e·-kiske·yima·t, *e·-no·hte·hkwasiyit,*
know-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´) CJ) be-sleepy(VAI 3´ CJ)
e·kwa kawisimo·wak.
then go-to-bed(VAI 3p INDEP)
'When he knew the other to be sleepy, then they went to bed.'

Thus the nonobviative category, being unmarked, has a wide and a narrow function and meaning. The term "proximate" is used only of the narrow meaning, where it is opposed to "obviative." For the wide meaning, where the opposition of obviation is neutralized, the term "third person" is obviously appropriate. The

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

4. Inflection

Apart from the four personal prefixes, Cree inflection consists of suffixation exclusively.

The complexity of the affix combinations is the primary reason (confirmed by the evidence of word formation) for the typological characterization (cf. Sapir 1921c) of Cree as polysynthetic and fusional.

The fundamental order principle, which may be symbolized as 2→1→3 (3.3.1.), operates not only among the personal prefixes that are members of one position class (paradigmatically) but also in the linear sequence of verbal and nominal affixes (syntagmatically). The linear order of the person affixes is fixed.

A significant proportion of Cree affixes occur in different modal categories and across paradigms and even word classes. The personal prefixes, the thematic obviative sign |eyi|, and the person and number markers of nouns and of the independent order of verbs are most prominent among these "universal" affixes.

The inflectional system of Cree is the result of extensive paradigmatic leveling (4.1.4.1.1.; Michelson 1912; Goddard 1967a; Wolfart 1973; Dahlstrom 1989). For example, the present similarity between the VAI and VTI paradigms fails to reflect substantial earlier differences, and it seems quite clear from the structure of the paradigms that the direction of development in the VTA paradigm is from generally opaque "fusional" to more transparent "agglutinative" forms (in the terminology of Sapir 1921c). In addition, there appears to be a development (for instance, in the emergence of forms based on the "inverse elements" |ek, ekawi, ekw, eko, eko·w|) from inflectional to derivational expression of certain semantic relations.

4.1. Verb Inflection

In addition to the general categories presented in section 3, the verb system exhibits modal categories, distinctions of transitivity, and a category of direction that, though superficially similar to voice in Indo-European, appears to be a distinctly Algonquian phenomenon.

4.1.1. Transitivity

The morphological structure of the Cree verbal system does not match the syntactic properties of individual forms in all cases; there are several points where the semantic categories distinguished in the inflectional paradigms do not have a one-to-one correspondence to the syntactic uses of the forms in context. For example, only one participant is morphologically expressed in third-person VTA verbs, but two function syntactically and referentially. As a consequence, the morphological classification of verbs, which is traditional in Algonquian linguistics, is insufficient with respect to the verbal system as a whole.

4.1.1.1. Verb Types

The basic verb types, as defined morphologically and by syntactic-semantic criteria, are summarized in table 4. No attempt is made to present a full classification in terms of syntactic function.

The four morphological classes are defined by the dimensions of transitivity and gender. Transitivity dominates since both transitive and intransitive stems largely come in derivational pairs differentiated by gender. Intransitive verbs differ by the gender of the agent while transitive verbs differ by the gender of the patient:

intransitive, with inanimate agent (VII):
mihkwa·w 'it is red'
intransitive, with animate agent (VAI):
mihkosiw 'he is red'
transitive, with inanimate patient (VTI):
pakamaham 'he strikes it'
transitive, with animate patient (VTA):
pakamahwe·w 'he strikes him'

This derivational pairing reflects the syntactic-semantic category of transitivity rather than the morphological class of the stem:

wanihta·w	VAI-T	'he loses it'
wanihe·w	VTA	'he loses him'

For a discussion of the so-called inanimate agent forms of VTA and VAI verbs, see section 4.142.

4.1.1.1.1.
Intransitive verbs involve only one referent, the agent; they neither express a patient morphologically nor do they occur with a patient complement of any kind.

VII-P:

ta·pwe·	*miywa·siniyiwa*	*otayo·winisa.*
truly	be-beautiful (VII 0′p INDEP)	her(3)-clothes(0p)

'Truly, excellent were her clothes.'

There is only one verb type, the impersonal verbs (VII-N), that never occurs with an agent complement; however, the agent is expressed morphologically in the verb:

piyisk	*mitoni ki·sika·yiw.*
finally	really be-day(VII 0′ INDEP)

'At last it was full daylight.'

VAI-I:

apiw	*e·kota*	*awa*	*oskini·kiw.*
sit(VAI 3 INDEP)	there	this(3)	young-man(3)

'The youth sat down there.'

Table 4. Basic Verb Types

Basic Verb Type		*Stem Class*	*Morphological Participants*	*Syntactic Referents*	*Example*
VII-P	inanimate intransitive (personal)	VII	agent	agent	*misa·w* 'it is big'
VII-N	inanimate intransitive (non-personal)	VII	agent	[agent]	*ki·sika·w* 'it is day'
VAI-I	animate intransitive (intransitive)	VAI	agent	agent	*apiw* 'he sits'
VAI-T	animate intransitive (transitive)	VAI	agent	agent-patient	*kimotiw* 'he steals (s.t./s.o.)' *a·pacihta·w* 'he uses (s.t.)'
VAI-A	animate intransitive (ambivalent)	VAI	agent	agent-(patient)	*osi·misiw* 'he has (him as) younger sibling'
VTI-T	transitive inanimate (transitive)	VTI	agent	agent-patient [inanimate]	*wa·pahtam* 'he sees it'
VTI-I	transitive inanimate (intransitive)	VTI	agent	agent	*ma·ham* 'he canoes downriver'
VTA-1	transitive animate (single patient)	VTA	agent-patient[a]	agent-patient [animate]	*wa·pame·w* 'he sees him'
VTA-2	transitive animate (double patient)	VTA	agent-patient[a]	agent-patient (1) [animate]-patient (2) [unspecified]	*miye·w* 'he gives (s.t./s.o.) to him'

[a]Only one participant is morphologically expressed in third-person forms (cf. 4.1.4.).

VTI-I:

e·kosi ma·hamwak, ...
thus canoe-downriver(VTI 3p INDEP)
'Thus they went downstream, ...'

4.1.1.1.2.

Transitive verbs involve both an agent and a patient. Verbs of type VTI-T and VAI-T stems in *-hta·-* may occur only with an inanimate patient, and the patient's number and obviation are not expressed in the verb:

o·ma a·pacihta· ca·pihcikanis, ...
this(0) use-(s.t.)(VAI 2 IMVE) spear(0)
'Use this spear, ...'

wa·pahtam e·kota nana·tohk mi·ciwina
see-s.t.(VTI 3 INDEP) there all-kinds foodstuff(0p)
'There he saw all kinds of foods.'

The VAI-T type also includes a number of primary (and derivationally opaque) stems that occur with patients of either gender:

mi·na pa·skisikan me·kiw, ...
also gun(0) give(s.t./s.o.)-out(VAI 3 INDEP)
'He also gave out a gun, ...'

ta·pwe· me·kiw pe·yak misatimwa;
truly give(s.t./s.o.)-out(VAI 3 INDEP) one horse(3′)
'Truly he gave out one horse;'

Note that the stem *me·ki-* is often used to refer to the giving of a woman in marriage (Wolfart 1992:393-395).

There is at least one verb type, VAI-A, which is ambivalent with respect to transitivity. Verbs of this type are typically derived from dependent noun stems (or possessed themes; 4.2.1.) and may function both intransitivity and transitively:

"ko·na·pe·min ci·?"
have-(him-as)-a-husband(VAI 2 INDEP) (question)
'"Are you married?"'

"ko·na·pe·min e·wakw a·na oskini·kiw," ...
have-(him-as)-a-husband)(VAI 2 INDEP) that-one(3) that(3) youth(3)
' "You are consorting with that young man," ...'

Verbs of type VTA-1 mark both agent and patient morphologically (except in those forms that involve third-person referents only; 4.1.4.):

e·kota mihce·t ninipaha·wak
there many kill-s.o.(VTA 1-3p INDEP)
niskak mi·na si·si·pak, ...
goose(3p) and duck(3p)
'Over there I have killed a lot of geese and ducks, ...'

VTA-2 verbs involve a second patient in addition to the morphologically marked patient. This second patient is not marked morphologically and may be of any gender, number, or obviation status:

..., pe·yakwasa·kay mihkwe·kin
one-coat's-worth red-cloth(0)
kika-miyitin, ...
give-(s.t., s.o.)-to-s.o.(VTA 1-2) INDEP)
'..., I will give you one coat's worth of red flannel. ...'

nitawa·simisa ohcitaw
my-son(3´) indeed
nimiya·w
give-(s.t., s.o.)-to-s.o.(VTA 1-3 INDEP)
wa·piski-wiya·s, ...
Whiteman(3)
'My son indeed I give to the White man, ...'

piyisk awa aw o·skini·kiw
finally this(3) this(3) young-man(3)
... oste·sa miyik ospwa·kana, ...
his(3)-older-brother(3´) give-(s.t., s.o.)-to-s.o.(VTA (3´)-3 INDEP) pipe(3´)
'At last the youth ... was given a pipe by his elder brother, ...'

4.1.1.2. The Indefinite Agent

The indefinite agent (4.2.1.) is the only verbal category that does not participate in concord or complementation of any kind:

ki·yipa ma·na picina·niwiw,
early always move-camp(VAI INDF INDEP)
ki·kise·pa· e·-wi·-picihk.
in-the-morning intend(IPV)-move-camp (VAI INDF CJ)
'We always move camp early, when we move camp in the morning.'

English translations of indefinite agent forms tend to be fairly free; a close translation of the preceding example would have to use circumlocutions such as 'camp is broken early', or 'breaking of camp takes place early'. Indefinite agent forms are often translated by English impersonal passives:

"..." e·-itikawiya·n
say-so-to-s.o.(VTA INDF-1 CJ)
'"..." one calls me', or '"..." I am called'

... e·-asamiht, piyisk tipiska·yiw.
feed-s.o. finally be-night
(VTA INDF-3 CJ) (VII 0´ INDEP)
'... as he was being served, night fell.'

As an inflectional category, the indefinite agent is asymmetrical; actions on general patients are expressed by secondary derivatives (5.3.3.3.). Its representation in the basic paradigms is incomplete, and the suppletive paradigms (4.1.4.2.) might well be treated as instances of secondary derivation.

4.1.1.3. The Relational

Relational verb forms relate the action denoted by the stem to a person other than the agent in a way that is not specified; while some instances may be interpreted as benefactive, others are completely neutral. There is no concord of any kind.

Relational forms are based on VAI and VTI stems and constitute a marginal paradigm (4.1.4.2.).

kimiywe·yihtamwa·n k-e·si-ne·hiyawe·t.
like-s.t. thus(IPV)-speak-Cree
(VTI 2 INDEP REL) (VAI 3 CJ CH)
'Do you like (with respect to him) the way he talks Cree?'

Relational forms frequently occur with possessed nouns (a situation that has led some grammarians to confuse relational forms with those marking obviative participants):

..., ki·spin ta-otinamwak
if take-s.t.(VTI 1 CJ REL)
opi·kiskwe·winiwa·wa.
their(3p)-speech(0p)
'... if I had recorded (with relation to them) their speeches.'

The indefinite agent appears to be particularly frequent among relational forms:

e·-poyo·wiht e·kwa, kwiye·skimot ...
stop(VAI INDF CJ REL) then transform-oneself (VAI 3 CJ CH)
'when it was time to stop (with relation to him), he transformed himself ...'

4.1.2. Modal Categories

Plains Cree verbs are inflected in three orders: independent, conjunct, and imperative. The orders use different sets of affixes (although some subsets recur in more than one order).

The orders also differ in their syntactic function. Briefly, independent and imperative order forms occur as whole sentences:

nipimipahta·n.
run(VAI 1 INDEP)
'I was running.'

tapasi·k!
flee(VAI 2p IMVE)
'Flee!'

Conjunct forms tend to occur in dependent clauses:

ta·pwe· e·-ki·-mi·cisot kawisimo·w e·-nipa·t.
truly past(IPV)-eat lie-down sleep
(VAI 3 CJ) (VAI 3 INDEP) (VAI 3 CJ)
'Truly, when he had eaten, he lay down to sleep.'

Moreover, the three inflectional orders coincide only partially with the modal categories that may be observed in various types of clause linkage.

The discrepancies between inflectional orders and noninflectional modal categories are most sharply illuminated by the distribution of the negators. In the most common pattern, *namo·ya* with independent appears in a declarative clause and *e·ka·* with conjunct in a conditional clause:

cike·ma· namo·ya miywa·sin
evidently not be-good(VII 0 INDEP)
e·ka· ta-a·kaya·si·mot ayisiyiniw.
not FUTURE-speak-English(VAI 3 CJ) person(3)
'Of course it is not good if a person does not speak English.'

Both *namo·ya* and *e·ka·* occur with the conjunct; *namo·ya*, for example, in a declarative or narrative clause,

..., namo·ya e·-nihta·-a·kaya·si·moya·n, ...
not be-competent-speaking-English(VAI 1 CJ)
'..., I cannot speak English, ...'

and *e·ka·* in a causal clause,

..., e·ka· a·kaya·si·mowin e·-aya·ya·n, ...
not English-language(0) have-(s.t.)(VAI 1 CJ)
'..., because I do not have fluency in English, ...'

e·ka· 'not' (or, more commonly, the variant *e·ka·ya*) is the only negator to occur with the imperative. With the conjunct, it is most prominent in causal and conditional clauses and also in purpose (avolitional, prohibitive) clauses:

..., e·ka· ka-wa·pamikoye·k.
not future-see-s.o.(VTA 3-2p CJ)
'..., lest she see you.'

In jussive clauses (4.1.2.4.), *e·ka·* also occurs with verb forms of the independent order.

namo·ya (also *nama*) 'not' primarily occurs in declarative and narrative clauses and with the independent:

... namo·ya nita·pacihta·n anima, ...
not use-(s.t.)(VAI 1 INDEP) that(0)
'... I do not have the use of that, ...'

Many narrative and declarative clauses also exhibit *namo·ya* with the conjunct:

..., namo·y e·-nana·tawa·piyit.
not look-about(VAI 3´ CJ)
'..., he [the other] was not looking about.'

..., mo·y wi·hka·t ka-ki·-pakitinama·n, ...
not ever FUTURE-be-able-let-s.t.-go
(VTI 1 CJ)
'..., I will never be able to let it go, ...'

Within the orders there are further inflectional distinctions of mode. However, many of these modes are very poorly attested in contemporary Plains Cree, and the missionary sources, which offer a bewildering array of paradigms, are yet to be fully evaluated. Therefore, no attempt is made here to present a unified account of the interrelations of the verbal modes.

Dubitative forms, for example, occur in both the independent and conjunct order, but only a handful of forms have been recorded (4.2.3.3.; Wolfart 1973:44). In addition to doubt, the dubitative expresses expected but not fully certain facts:

..., ta·nite· mi·na we·htina·hkwe· askihkwa.
from-where also take-s.o.-from-there(VTA 3-(3´) CJ DUB) pail(NA 3´)
'I wonder where he got a pail.'

4.1.2.1.
The indicative is the primary mode of the independent order; it is used in independent sentences.

The three preterit modes, which are identified by their suffixes, are rare and incompletely attested (tables 5-6). Their semantic structure is only partially understood.

The h-preterit and ht-preterit are the only part of the entire verbal system to exhibit the third-person prefix *o-*. The h-preterit frequently denotes events that persist, while both the ht-preterit and the p-preterit seem to be used mostly of events that are completed. The p-preterit seems to be restricted to inanimate intransitive (VII) stems (and to VAI and VTA indefinite-agent forms, which pattern like VII stems; 4.1.4.2.). Examples are:

ma·ninakisk mihti otawata·h.
then wood(0) haul(VAI 3 h-PRET)
'Then he kept hauling wood.' (informant's translation)

e·wakw a·wa otawa·sisiwihtay
that-one this be-a-child(VAI 3 HT-PRET)
wi·sahke·ca·hk.
Wisahkechahk(3)
'That boy was Wisahkechahk (the culture hero) in his childhood.'

aspin ni·mihitona·niwi·pan.
there dance(VAI INDF p-PRET)
'There had been dancing there.'

4.1.2.2.
The four modes of the conjunct order are characterized by two morphological criteria that intersect: initial change (a systematic modification of the first vowel of

Table 5. VTA h- and ht-preterit

		DIRECT			INVERSE	
		-3	-3p	-3′	3-	3p-
MIXED	1-	*niwa·pama·h* 'I saw him' |ne—a·-h| 1—dir-	*niwa·pama·htayak* 'I saw them' |ne—a·-htay-a-k| 1—dir- -3-p	*niwa·pamima·h* 'I saw him' |ne—em-a·-h| 1—obv-dir-	-1 *niwa·pamikoh* 'he saw me' |ne—ekw-[i]-h| 1—inv-	*niwa·pamikohtayak* 'they saw me' |ne—ekw-[i]-htay-a-k| 1—inv- -3-p
		niwa·pama·htay 'I saw him' |ne—a·-htay-a| 1—dir- -3				
	2-	*kiwa·pama·h* 'you saw him' |ke—a·-h| 2—dir-			-2 *kiwa·pamikoh* 'he saw you' |ke—ekw-[i]-h| 2—inv-	
					-21 *kiwa·pamikohta·naw* 'he saw us' |ke—ekw-[i]-htay-enaw-a| 2—inv- -21-3	
THIRD-PERSON	3-		*owa·pama·h* 'he saw (him)' |we—a·-h| 3—dir-		-3	*owa·pamikoh* '(he) saw him' |we—ekw-[i]-h| 3—inv-
	3p-		*owa·pama·hta·wa·w* 'they saw (him)' |we—a·-htay-ewa·w| 3—dir- -p			
YOU-AND-ME		-1			1-	
	2-	*kiwa·pamih* 'you saw me' |ke—i-h| 2—dir-			-2 *kiwa·pamitih* 'I saw you' |ke—eti-h| 2—inv-	

NOTE: The forms of the ht-preterit are underlined.

the stem; 6.3.7.) and the suffix |ih|, which closes the construction.

The general meaning of these modes is indicated by the following glosses:

simple (no initial change, no |ih|)	'that it is ...'
changed (initial change, no |ih|):	'it being ...'
subjunctive (no initial change, |ih|)	'if it be ...'
iterative (initial change, |ih|)	'whenever it is ...'

There seems little justification for attempting a hierarchical ranking of these four modes; both defining criteria correlate with specific syntactic-semantic features, and it is no surprise that the iterative shares the salient characteristics of both: the occurrence in participial and narrative clauses typical of initial change, as well as the conditionality associated with |ih|.

The simple conjunct generally expresses subsequence or purpose; it most commonly occurs with the purposive preverb *kita, ta*:

kit-a·pacihta·t	*nika-miya·w.*
PURPOSIVE(IPV)-use -(it)(VAI 3 CJ SIMPLE)	PURPOSIVE(IPV) -give-(s.t.)-to-s.o. (VTA 1-3 INDEP)

'I will give him things to use.'

It is also governed by certain conjunctions, such as *nawac* 'it is better that', *maywe·s, pa·moye·s* 'before', or *ta·nika, pitane·* 'would that':

nawac sipwe·hte·yahk.
better leave(VAI 21 CJ SIMPLE)
'we had better go away from here.'

ta·nika ki·h-wa·pama·yahkok.
I wish see-s.o.(VTA 21-3p CJ SIMPLE)
'I wish we could have seen them.'

Table 6. VAI, VTI, and VII Preterit

		h-preterit	*ht-preterit*	*p-preterit*
VAI	1	*nitapih* 'I sat' |ne(t)—h| 1—		
	2	*kitapih* 'you sat' |ke(t)—h| 2—		
	21		*kitapihta·naw* 'we sat' |ke(t)—htay-enaw| 2— -21	
	2p		*kitapihta·wa·w* 'you sat' |ke(t)—htay-ewa·w| 2— -2p	
	3	*otapih* 'he sat' |we(t)—h| 3—	*otapihtay* 'he sat' |we(t)—htay| 3—	
	3p		*otapihta·wa·w* 'they sat' |we(t)—htay-ewa·w| 3— -p	
VTI	1	*nimiske·h* 'I found it' |ne—e·-h| 1—		
	2	*kimiske·h* 'you found it' |ke—e·-h| 2—		
	3	*omiske·h* 'he found it' |we—e·-h| 3—		
VII	0	*misa·h* 'it was big' |-h|		*misa·pan* 'it used to be big' |-Lpan|

The changed conjunct indicates subordination in an entirely neutral way. It is the most versatile of the conjunct modes and consequently the most widely used as well. Examples:

te·kohte·t *awa* *kise·yiniw, ...*
arrive(VAI 3 CJ CH) this(3) old-man(3)
apiyiwa *onaha·hkisi·ma.*
sit(VAI 3′ INDEP) his(3)-nephew(NDA 3′)
'When the old man arrived, ... his nephew sat down.'

... papa·mita·cimo·w, *e·-nitonawa·t.*
crawl-about look-for-s.o.
(VAI 3 INDEP INDIC) (VTA 3-(3′) CJ CH)
'... he crawled about, looking for him.'
ha·, *kiske·yihtam* *e·-macihtwa·yit.*
well know-s.t.(VTI 3 INDEP) be-evil(VAI 3′ CJ CH)
'Well, he knew that he (the other) was evil.'
ta·nisi *e·-to·tahk.*
how do-s.t.(VTI 3 CJ CH)
'How does he do it?'

Initial change may operate on the first vowel of the verb stem, as in the first example above. More typically, it affects one of a small set of preverbs (5.4.), such as *ki·*, which appears as *ka·*. The most frequent preverb is *e·*, which does not affect the meaning of the verb and seems to serve only as a "vehicle" for initial change; its underlying, unchanged form does not occur in Cree.

The subjunctive mode expresses a condition:

ki·spin nipahikawiya·ni, ...
if kill-s.o.(VTA INDEF-1 CJ SBJ)
'if I am slain, ...'

The iterative mode denotes repeated events:

ki·tahtawe· ma·na se·pwe·hte·ci,
presently always leave(VAI 3 CJ ITER)
owi·kima·kana wawe·siyiwa.
his(3)-wife(3´) dress-up(VAI 3´ INDEP)
'Then presently, whenever he went away, his wife dressed up.'

Expressions of season often show the iterative: *niyi·piniyiki* 'in summer-time (obv.)', *pe·poniyiki* 'in winter-time, every winter (obv.)'.

4.1.2.3. Modes of the Imperative Order

Imperative forms are used for commands and exhortations. The immediate imperative is unmarked; while it expresses no particular time, it typically refers to the situation at hand:

kite·m miyin.
your(2)-horse(3) give-(s.t.)-to-s.o.
(VTA 2-1 IMVE IMM)
'Give me your horse.'

The delayed mode indicates that the command or exhortation is to be obeyed not immediately but at a later point in time. It is frequently found together with a conditional clause:

miskawa·ye·ko, nipaha·hke·k ...
find-s.o. kill-s.o.
(VTA 2p-3 CJ SBJ) (VTA 2p-3 IMVE DEL)
'If you find him, kill him then ...'

4.1.2.4. Noninflectional Modal Categories

Not all modal distinctions are expressed inflectionally. For example, the preverb *kita, ta* with an independent order verb not only marks subsequence or purpose but also may express a mild command:

ha·w, ki·we·payi. e·wakonik
well ride-back(VAI 2 IMVE) that-one(3p)
aniki ne·wo anik o·kima·wak , ...
that(3p) four that(3p) chief(3p)
kita-pe·-itohte·wak o·ta ...
hither (IPV)-come(VAI 3p INDEP) here
'Very well, ride back. Let those four chiefs come here ...'

This jussive category is overtly marked only in negative sentences. While future phrases show the negator *namo·ya*, the jussive is negated by *e·ka(ya)*:

namo·ya ta-takosin.
not arrive(VAI 3)
'He will not be coming.'

e·ka·ya ma·ka kotak awiyak
not but other(3) someone(3)
kita-pe·-itohte·w;
hither(IPV)-come(VAI 3)
'But let no one else come here;'

Time relations are a major area of noninflectional modality. Temporal-aspectual reference in Cree remains poorly understood.

The verbal paradigms express time relations in only two places: in the preterit mode of the independent order (4.1.2.1.) and in the delayed mode of the imperative order (4.1.2.3.)

The expression of time relations is localized at a different point within the verbal complex, namely in the preverbs that follow the personal prefixes but are separated from the main stem by a phonological word boundary (cf. 5.4. and 6.1.2.2.)

For example, subsequence or future is indicated by *ka* and *kita, ta*:

ma·sko·c ahpo· kita-nipahe·w wi·htiko·wa.
perhaps even kill-s.o. Windigo (3´)
(VTA 3-(3´) INDEP)
'Perhaps he will even kill the Windigo.'

The past is marked by the preverbs *ki·*$_1$ and *o·h, ohci*; in negative clauses the second is preferred. For example,

namo·ya wa·pahtam ita
not see-s.t.(VTI 3 INDEP) where
e·-ki·-pimohte·yit;
PAST(IPV)-walk(VAI 3´ CJ)
'He could not see (the tracks) where the other had walked;'

ma·ka namo·ya wi·hka·c a·ta
but not even nevertheless
no·h-nayawapin.
run.out.of.breath (VAI 1 INDEP)
'But in spite of that I never ran out of breath.'

..., namo·y o·hci-misikitiw ma·ka
not be.big(VAI 3 INDEP) but
ki·-okima·wiw e·sa mistahi.
be.chief(VAI 3 INDEP) (EMPH) much
'he was not a big man but he was a chief indeed.'

The examples reflect the primary meanings of the most common time-preverbs. But the system as such, and the interrelations of the various time references especially, are yet to be analyzed satisfactorily.

4.1.3. Direction

The category of direction serves to specify agent and patient in transitive animate (VTA) verbs, as in

(1) *kiwa·pamin*
see-him(VTA 2-1 INDEP)
'you see me'

(2) *kiwa·pamitin*
see-him(VTA 1-2 INDEP)
'I see you'

Direct forms[§] involve actions

(a) from a second person onto a first person: *kitasamin* 'you feed me (2-1)';

(b) from a non-third person onto a third person: *nitasama·w* 'I feed him (1-3)';

(c) from a proximate third person onto an obviative third person:
asame·w 'he feeds him (3-(3´))';

(d) from an obviative third person onto another: *asame·yiwa* 'he feeds him (3´-(3´))'.

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

Inverse forms are exactly symmetrical to the direct set (except for the imperative and the indefinite agent forms). The action is

(a) from a first person onto a second person: *kitasamitin* 'I feed you (1-2)';

(b) from a third onto a non-third person: *nitasamik* 'he feeds me (3-1)';

(c) from an obviative third person onto a proximate third person:
asamik 'he feeds him ((3´)-3)';

(d) from another obviative onto an obviative third person:
asamikoyiwa 'he feeds him ((3´)-3´)'.

For identically glossed pairs such as (c) *asame·w* and *asamik*, see 4.1.3.3.

The indefinite-agent forms (4.1.1.2) show the same structure as the direct forms, notably the direction marker |a·| in the independent order, for example, *wa·pama·w* 'he is seen'. Morphologically, they are agentless forms that only express the patient. (The indefinite-agent forms of the suppletive paradigm (4.1.4.2.) are based on a suffix |ekawi| whose relation to the inverse marker |ekw| remains to be clarified.)

[§]Bloomfield's terminology, which has found wide acceptance in later studies, is based on the actual morphological theme signs and restricts the terms direct and inverse to those forms that involve a third-person participant. Bloomfield's (1946:98-99) themes and their labels (1957:46) correspond to the analysis here as follows:

theme 1 (direct)	:	direct	[cases (b)-(d)]
theme 2 (inverse)	:	inverse	[cases (b)-(d)]
theme 3 (thou-me)	:	direct	[case (a)]
theme 4 (I-thee)	:	inverse	[case (a)].

4.1.3.1. Morphological Expression

Direction is morphologically expressed by theme signs. In sentence (3), for example, the direct theme sign |a·| indicates the noun *atim* as patient, whereas the inverse theme sign |ekw| (appearing as *-iko*) marks the same noun as agent in (4).

(3) *nise·kiha·na·n atim.* (*)
scare-s.o.(1p-3) dog(3)
'We scare the dog.'

(4) *nise·kihikona·n atim.* (*)
scare-s.o.(3-1p) dog(3)
'The dog scares us.'

4.1.3.2. Direction and Focus

Where a third person interacts with a first or second person, direction is strictly a function of the extralinguistic situation; sentences (3) and (4) simply denote opposite events.

If both referents are third persons, the choice of direction may depend on previous focus assignment (3.4.1.):

(5) *[a·say mi·na kita·pamik;*
again and look-at-s.o.(VTA (3´)-3)
wi·sta ka-kita·pame·w.]
he-too(3) look-at-s.o.(VTA 3-(3´))
kinwe·sk kita·pamik;
long look-at-s.o.(VTA (3´)-3)
piyis pi·htoke·yiwa.
finally enter(VAI 3´)
'[Again he [the bear] looked at him; he, too, kept looking at him [the bear].] For a long time he [the bear] looked at him; at last he [the bear] came inside.'

The extreme case of direction being obligatorily determined is rare; it occurs only in cross-reference when a possessed noun acts on its possessor:

(6) *[ka·so·w aw o·skini·kiw.] namo·ya*
hide(VAI 3) this(3) youth(3) not
wa·pamik wi·timwa.
see-s.o.(VTA (3´)-3) his(3)-sister-in-law(3´)
'[This young man hid himself.] His sister-in-law did not see him.'

In general, the choice of direction is not predetermined, as it is in the above examples, and the interplay of direction and focus (obviation) gives rise to four possibilities; note that word order is irrelevant.

(7) *se·kihe·w na·pe·w atimwa.(*)*
scare-s.o.(3-(3´)) man(3) dog(3´)
'Man scares dog.'

(8) *se·kihik na·pe·wa atim.(*)*
scare-s.o.((3´)-3) man(3´) dog(3)
'Man scares dog.'

(9) *se·kihe·w na·pe·wa atim.(*)*
scare-s.o.(3-(3´)) man(3´) dog(3)
'Dog scares man.'

(10) *se·kihik* *na·pe·w* *atimwa.(*)*
scare-s.o.((3´)-3) man(3) dog(3´)
'Dog scares man.'

Sentences (7) and (8) are paraphrases of one another. They describe the same extralinguistic event but differ in both focus and direction: *se·kihe·w* (7) is direct, *se·kihik* (8) is inverse; in (7) *na·pae·w* 'man' is proximate and *atimwa* 'dog' is obviative, while in (8) *na·pe·wa* 'man' is obviative and *atim* 'dog' proximate. The same relation holds between sentences (9) and (10).

In any such pair the direct sentence, for instance (7), is the more neutral; the inverse sentence either indicates the persistence of an earlier focus assignment or expresses special emphasis.

In the remaining pairs, opposite events are described if two sentences differ in only one of the categories under discussion. Sentences (7) and (9) are identical with respect to direction (*se·kihe·w*) but differ in focus (*na·pe·w* vs. *na·pe·wa*, *atimwa* vs. *atim*). Sentences (7) and (10) on the other hand, while identical in focus, differ with respect to direction.

In spite of superficial similarities, direction in Cree is fundamentally different from voice in the Indo-European languages. While the Cree relation of direction functions between sentences that denote opposite events, such as (7) and (10), the English relation of voice exists between sentences that denote the same event, such as the glosses:

(7) 'Man scares dog.'
(8) 'Dog is scared by man.'

As a practical consequence, the voice of English glosses is irrelevant from a Cree point of view. Whether sentence (4) is glossed 'the dog scares us' or 'we are scared by the dog' has no bearing on the meaning of the Cree sentence.

4.1.3.3. MARKEDNESS

Within the category of direction, direct is the unmarked member. For example, isolated sentences that involve two unrelated third-person referents show the direct verb rather than the inverse; unless the choice is influenced by preceding syntactic context, sentence (7) is normal while sentence (8) provides special emphasis.

The morphology of the paradigms, and the highly productive theme sign |ekw| in particular, clearly shows inverse to be the marked member of the opposition.

The unmarked status of the direct member of the direct-inverse opposition finds strong support in the fundamental order principle that holds among the person categories of Cree (3.3.1.) and in turn emphasizes the generality of that phenomenon. The relative position of the person markers within a two-referent verb form is fixed. In the direct forms, the actual linear sequence (in time or "left-to-right") of the prefixes and suffixes corresponds exactly to the priority of second over first, and of second or first over third. In the inverse forms, the actual linear sequence remains unchanged, but the reversal of the fundamental priority order is indicated by theme signs.

4.1.4. BASIC PARADIGMS

The paradigms in tables 7-12 are included as illustrations only; they are not intended as a formal set of rules. As a consequence, different alternants (rather than one highly abstract form) are cited for many morphemes (e.g., |e·kw ~ ye·kw| '2p'), and no zero morphemes are included.

The glosses are informal free translations that are included for readability alone. In the case of individual morphemes, glosses are omitted where they would have been too cumbersome to be helpful (cf. 4.1.4.1.2.) or where, as in the case of unsegmentable endings, they would simply repeat the information provided by row and column headings. Each form is fully characterized by its paradigmatic parameters.

Connective |i| is enclosed in square brackets; all morphophonological rules are presented in 6.3. Accidental lacunae are indicated by empty brackets.

There are 10 verbal suffix positions:

1, Thematic obviative sign |em|
2, Theme signs [VTA, VTI]
3, Thematic obviative sign |eyi|
4, Mode signs: h- and ht-preterit
5, Non–third person suffixes
6 and 7, Mode signs: p-preterit, dubitative
8, Third-person suffixes
9, Third-person plural and obviative suffixes
10, Mode signs: subjunctive and iterative.

4.1.4.1. The structure of the VTA paradigm.

The VTA paradigm as a whole falls into three parts, which are distinct in both semantic and morphological structure.

The mixed set consists of forms that involve both third-person and non-third person referents, for example, *niwa·pama·wak* 'I see them'. On morphological grounds, the indefinite-agent forms of the basic paradigms are included in this set. At least in the independent order, both referents are morphologically expressed, for example, in the preceding example by |ne| '1' and |wa-k| '3p'.

The third-person set consists of forms that are restricted to third-person referents exclusively. Morphologically, these forms differ from the mixed forms by expressing only one referent; the other is, in effect, left unspecified. Syntactically and referentially, the other referent is always an obviative third person.

In direct third-person forms, a constraint on the range of the morphologically unexpressed referent (the patient) is sometimes provided by the morpheme |em| which marks it as obviative (3.4.2.).

Smithsonian, NAA: Bloomfield uncatalogued ms.

Fig. 1. Paradigms of transitive animate conjunct verb (here called subordinative - "sbv."), present and past (or preterit) tense. Published in facsimile in Bloomfield (1984, 2:314). Extracted by Leonard Bloomfield from Hunter (1875). Bloomfield did his fieldwork among the Plains Cree in 1925.

Table 7. VTA Independent Indicative

direct

		-3	*-3p*	*-3´*
MIXED	indf-	*wa·pama·w* 'one sees him' |-a·-wa| -dir-3	*wa·pama·wak* 'one sees them' |-a·-wa-k| -dir-3-p	*wa·pamima·wa* 'one sees him' |-em-a·-wa-h| -obv-dir-3-obv
	1-	*niwa·pama·w* 'I see him' |ne—a·-wa| 1—dir-3	*niwa·pama·wak* 'I see them' |ne—a·-wa-k| 1—dir-3-p	*niwa·pamima·wa* 'I see him' |ne—em-a·-wa-h| 1—obv-dir-3-obv
	2-	*kiwa·pama·w* 'you see him' |ke—a·-wa| 2—dir-3	*kiwa·pama·wak* 'you see them' |ke—a·-wa-k| 2—dir-3-p	*kiwa·pamima·wa* 'you see him' |ke—em-a·-wa-h| 2—obv-dir-3-obv
	1p-	*niwa·pama·na·n* 'we see him' |ne—a·-ena·n-a| 1—dir-1p-3	*niwa·pama·na·nak* 'we see them' |ne—a·-ena·n-a-k| 1—dir-1p-3-p	*niwa·pamima·na·na* 'we see him' |ne—em-a·-ena·n-a-h| 1—obv-dir-1p-3-obv
	21-	*kiwa·pama·naw* 'we see him' |ke—a·-enaw-a| 2—dir-21-3	*kiwa·pama·nawak* 'we see them' |ke—a·-enaw-a-k| 2—dir-21-3-p	*kiwa·pamima·nawa* 'we see him' |ke—em-a·-enaw-a-h| 2—obv-dir-21-3-obv
	2p-	*kiwa·pama·wa·w* 'you see him' |ke—a·-ewa·w-a| 2—dir-2p-3	*kiwa·pama·wa·wak* 'you see them' |ke—a·-ewa·w-a-k| 2—dir-2p-3-p	*kiwa·pamima·wa·wa* 'you see him' |ke—em-a·-ewa·w-a-h| 2—obv-dir-2p-3-obv

		-3	*-3´*
THIRD-PERSON	3-	*wa·pame·w* 'he sees (him)' |-e·-wa| -dir-3	*wa·pamime·w* 'he sees him' |-em-e·-wa| -obv-dir-3
	3p-	*wa·pame·wak* 'they see (him)' |-e·-wa-k| -dir-3-p	*wa·pamime·wak* 'they see him' |-em-e·-wa-k| -obv-dir-3-p
	3´-	*wa·pame·yiwa* 'he sees (him)' |-e·-eyi-wa-h| -dir-obv-3-obv	

		-1	*-1p*
YOU-AND-ME	2-	*kiwa·pamin* 'you see me' |ke—i-n| 2—dir-1	*kiwa·pamina·n* 'you see us' |ke—i-ena·n| 2—dir-1p
	2p-	*kiwa·pamina·wa·w* 'you see me' |ke—i-na·-ewa·w| 2—dir- -2p	*kiwa·pamina·n* 'you see us' |ke—i-ena·n| 2—dir-1p

Table 7. VTA Independent Indicative (continued)

inverse

		3-	3p-	3´-
MIXED	-1	*niwa·pamik* 'he sees me' |ne—ekw-a| 1—inv-3	*niwa·pamikwak* 'they see me' |ne—ekw-a-k| 1—inv-3-p	*niwa·pamikoyiwa* 'he sees me' |ne—ekw-eyi-wa-h| 1—inv-obv-3-obv
	-2	*kiwa·pamik* 'he sees you' |ke—ekw-a| 2—inv-3	*kiwa·pamikwak* 'they see you' |ke—ekw-a-k| 2—inv-3-p	*kiwa·pamikoyiwa* 'he sees you' |ke—ekw-eyi-wa-h| 2—inv-obv-3-obv
	-1p	*niwa·pamikona·n* 'he sees us' |ne—ekw-ena·n-a| 1—inv-1p-3	*niwa·pamikona·nak* 'they see us' |ne—ekw-ena·n-a-k| 1—inv-1p-3-p	*niwa·pamikona·na* 'he sees us' |ne—ekw-ena·n-a-h| 1—inv-1p-3-obv
	-21	*kiwa·pamikonaw* 'he sees us' |ke—ekw-enaw-a| 2—inv-21-3	*kiwa·pamikonawak* 'they see us' |ke—ekw-enaw-a-k| 2—inv-21-3-p	*kiwa·pamikonawa* 'he sees us' |ke—ekw-enaw-a-h| 2—inv-21-3-obv
	-2p	*kiwa·pamikowa·w* 'he sees you' |ke—ekw-ewa·w-a| 2—inv-2p-3	*kiwa·pamikowa·wak* 'they see you' |ke—ekw-ewa·w-a-k| 2—inv-2p-3-p	*kiwa·pamikowa·wa* 'he sees you' |ke—ekw-ewa·w-a-h| 2—inv-2p-3-obv

THIRD-PERSON	-3	*wa·pamik* '(he) sees him' |-ekw-a| -inv-3	
	-3p	*wa·pamikwak* '(he) sees them' |-ekw-a-k| -inv-3-p	
	3´-	*wa·pamikoyiwa* '(he) sees him' |-eke-eyi-wa-h| -dir-obv-3-obv	

		1-	1p-
YOU-AND-ME	-2	*kiwa·pamitin* 'I see you' |ke—eti-n| 2—inv-2	*kiwa·pamitina·n* 'we see you' |ke—eti-ena·n| 2—inv-1p
	-2p	*kiwa·pamitina·wa·w* 'I see you' |ke—eti-na·-ewa·w| 2—inv- -2p	*kiwa·pamitina·n* 'we see you' |ke—eti-ena·n| 2—inv-1p

Table 8. VTA Conjunct Simple and Changed

direct

		-3	-3p	-3´
MIXED	indf-	*e·-wa·pamiht* 'as one sees him' |-eht|	*e·-wa·pamihcik* 'as one sees them' |-eht-[i]-k| -p	*e·-wa·pamimiht* 'as one sees him' |-em-eht| -obv-
	1-	*e·-wa·pamak* 'as I see him' |-ak|	*e·-wa·pamakik* 'as I see them' |-ak-[i]-k| -p	*e·-wa·pamimak* 'as I see him' |-em-ak| -obv-
	2-	*e·-wa·pamat* 'as you see him' |-at|	*e·-wa·pamacik* 'as you see them' |-at-[i]-k| -p	*e·-wa·pamimat* 'as you see him' |-em-at| -obv-
	1p-	*e·-wa·pama·ya·hk* 'as we see him' |-a·-ya·hk| -dir-1p	*e·-wa·pama·ya·hkik* 'as we see them' |-a·-ya·hk-[i]-k| -dir-1p-p	*e·-wa·pamima·ya·hk* 'as we see him' |-em-a·-ya·hk| -obv-dir-1p
	21-	*e·-wa·pama·yahk* 'as we see him' |-a·-yahkw| -dir-21	*e·-wa·pama·yahkok* 'as we see them' |-a·-yahkw-[i]-k| -dir-21-p	*e·-wa·pamima·yahk* 'as we see him' |-em-a·-yahkw| -obv-dir-21
	2p-	*e·-wa·pama·ye·k* 'as you see him' |-a·-ye·kw| -dir-2p	*e·-wa·pama·ye·kok* 'as you see them' |-a·-ye·kw-[i]-k| -dir-2p-p	*e·-wa·pamima·ye·k* 'as you see him' |-em-a·-ye·kw| -obv-dir-2p

			-3´
THIRD-PERSON	3-	*e·-wa·pama·t* 'as he sees (him)' |-a·-t| -dir-3	*e·-wa·pamima·t* 'as he sees him' |-em-a·-t| -obv-dir-3
	3p-	*e·-wa·pama·cik* 'as they see (him)' |-a·-t-[i]-k| -dir-3-p	*e·-wa·pamima·cik* 'as they see him' |-em-a·-t-[i]-k| -obv-dir-3-p
	3´-	*e·-wa·pama·yit* 'as he sees (him)' |-a·-eyi-t| -dir-obv-3	

		-1	-1p
YOU-AND-ME	2-	*e·-wa·pamiyan* 'as you see me' |-i-yan| -dir-2	*e·-wa·pamiya·hk* 'as you see us' |-i-ya·hk| -dir-1p
	2p-	*e·-wa·pamiye·k* 'as you see me' |-i-ye·kw| -dir-2p	*e·-wa·pamiya·hk* 'as you see us' |-i-ya·hk| -dir-1p

NOTES: The preverb *e·* does not appear in the simple conjunct; the endings are identical.

The subjunctive and iterative modes show the plural marker |wa·w| instead of |k| and add |ih| (which palatalizes a preceding |t|) to the ending.

Table 8. VTA Conjunct Simple and Changed (continued)

inverse

		3-	*3p-*	*3´-*
MIXED	-1	*e·-wa·pamit* 'as he sees me' |-it|	*e·-wa·pamicik* 'as they see me' |-it-[i]-k| -p	*e·-wa·pamiyit* 'as he sees me' |-iy-it| -obv-
	-2	*e·-wa·pamisk* 'as he sees you' |-esk|	*e·-wa·pamiskik* 'as they see you' |-esk-[i]-k| -p	*e·-wa·pamiyisk* 'as he sees you' |-iy-esk| -obv-
	-1p	*e·-wa·pamikoya·hk* 'as he sees us' |-ekw-[i]-ya·hk| -inv-1p	*e·-wa·pamikoya·hkik* 'as they see us' |-ekw-[i]-ya·hk-[i]-k| -inv-1p-p	*e·-wa·pamikowa·ya·hk* 'as he sees us' |-ekow-a·-ya·hk| -inv-[dir?]-1p
	-21	*e·-wa·pamikoyahk* 'as he sees us' |-ekw-[i]-yahkw| -inv-21	*e·-wa·pamikoyahkok* 'as they see us' |-ekw-[i]-yahkw-[i]-k| -inv-21-p	*e·-wa·pamikowa·yahk* 'as he sees us' |-ekow-a·-yahkw| -inv-[dir?]-21
	-2p	*e·-wa·pamikoye·k* 'as he sees you' |-ekw-[i]-ye·kw| -inv-2p	*e·-wa·pamikoye·kok* 'as they see you' |-ekw-[i]-ye·kw-[i]-k| -inv-2p-p	*e·-wa·pamikowa·ye·k* 'as he sees you' |-ekow-a·-ye·kw| -inv-[dir?]-2p

THIRD-PERSON	-3	*e·-wa·pamikot* 'as (he) sees him' |-ekw-[i]-t| -inv-3
	-3p	*e·-wa·pamikocik* 'as (he) sees them' |-ekw-[i]-t-[i]-k| -inv-3-p
	-3´	*e·-wa·pamikoyit* 'as (he) sees him' |-ekw-eyi-t| -inv-obv-3

		1-	1p-
YOU-AND-ME	-2	*e·-wa·pamita·n* 'as I see you' |-et-a·n| -inv-1	*e·-wa·pamita·hk* 'as we see you' |-et-a·hk| -inv-1p
	-2p	*e·-wa·pamitakok* 'as I see you' |-et-akw-[i]-k| -inv-2-p	*e·-wa·pamita·hk* 'as we see you' |-et-a·hk| -inv-1p

Table 9. VTA Imperative

	you-and-me			*mixed*	
	-1	*-1p*	*-3*	*-3p*	*-3′*
			immediate		
2-	*wa·pamin* 'see me' |-i-n| -dir-1/2	*wa·pamina·n* 'see us' |-i-ena·n| -dir-1p	*wa·pam* 'see him' |-i|	*wa·pam(ik)* 'see them' |-i-(k)| -(p)	*wa·pamim* 'see him' |-em-i| -obv-
21-	—	—	*wa·pama·ta·n* 'let's see him' |-a·-ta·n| -dir-	*wa·pama·ta·nik* 'let's see them' |-a·-ta·n-[i]-k| -dir- -p	*wa·pamima·ta·n* 'let's see him' |-em-a·-ta·n| -obv-dir-
2p-	*wa·pamik* 'see me' |-i-k| -dir-p	*wa·pamina·n* 'see us' |-i-ena·n| -dir-1p	*wa·pamihk* 'see him' |-ehkw|	*wa·pamihkok* 'see them' |-ehkw-[i]-k| -p	*wa·pamimihk* 'see him' |-em-ehkw| -obv-
			delayed		
2-	*wa·pami·hkan* 'see me later' |-i-Lhk-an| -dir- -2	*wa·pami·hka·hk* 'see us later' |-i-Lhk-a·hk| -dir- -1p	*wa·pama·hkan* 'see him later' |-a·-Lhk-an| -dir- -2	*wa·pama·hkanik* 'see them later' |-a·-Lhk-an-[i]-k| -dir- -2-p	*wa·pamima·hkan* 'see him later' |-em-a·-Lhk-an| -obv-dir- -2
21-	—	—	*wa·pama·hkahk* 'let's see him later' |-a·-Lhk-ahkw| -dir- -21	*wa·pama·hkahkik* 'let's see them later' |-a·-Lhk-ahk(w)-[i]-k| -dir- -21-p	*wa·pamima·hkahk* 'let's see him later' |-em-a·-Lhk-ahkw| -obv-dir- -21
2p-	*wa·pami·hke·k* 'see me later' |-i-Lhk-e·kw| -dir- -2p	*wa·pami·hka·hk* 'see us later' |-i-Lhk-a·hk| -dir- -1p	*wa·pama·hke·k* 'see him later' |-a·-Lhk-e·kw| -dir- -2p	*wa·pama·hke·kok* 'see them later' |-a·-Lhk-e·kw-[i]-k| -dir- -2p-p	*wa·pamima·hke·k* 'see him later' |-em-a·-Lhk-e·kw| -obv-dir- -2p

The you-and-me set consists of forms that involve first and second persons exclusively. While some of these forms include markers for both referents (e.g., *ki—ina·n* '2-1p': |ke| '2', |i| 'direct', |ena·n| '1p'), the makeup of other forms is less obvious (Wolfart 1973:5.64).

All you-and-me forms neutralize the number distinction of the second person in the environment of the first-person plural;[‖] they also pattern alike in expressing the "2p" referent in the 2p-and-1 forms and the "1p" referent in the 2(p)-and-1p forms.

4.1.4.1.1. Paradigm Leveling

At several points within the verbal paradigms one can observe relatively clear instances of paradigmatic reshaping. While this assertion is based primarily on internal evidence, it is supported by symptomatic differences between paradigms recorded at different places and times.

The mixed set of the conjunct order provides a major example. All endings with a plural non-third person participant (1p, 2l, 2p) use the direction markers |a·| and |ekw| followed by the non-third person markers of the VAI paradigm. These forms constitute a major innovation over the paradigms of Hunter (1875[1862]) which show less segmentable endings; Lacombe (1874) cites both sets side by side. The emergence of more "agglutinative" forms appears to reflect a tendency toward more transparent structures. The Eastern Swampy Cree data of Ellis (1971) strikingly support this view since there the obviative marker of the direct subparadigms is extended to the inverse. In fact, a fully "regular" system has evolved in Eastern Swampy Cree, with both |em| and |h| marking the obviative throughout the conjunct order: *-imici* |em-it-[i]-h| (3′-1 CJ).

[‖]In Ellis's (1971, 1983) Eastern Swampy Cree paradigms from the West Coast of James Bay, only the imperative order reflects the above pattern while the other orders show the opposite, neutralizing the number-distinction of the first person in the context of the second person.

Table 10. The VAI Paradigm

	INDEPENDENT	*CONJUNCT*		*IMPERATIVE*	
	Indicative	*Simple and changed*	*Subjunctive and iterative*	*Immediate*	*Delayed*
indf		*e·-apihk* 'as one sits' |-hk|	*apihki* 'if one sits' |-hk-ih|		
1	*nitapin* 'I sit' |ne(t)—n|	*e·-apiya·n* 'as I sit' |-ya·n|	*apiya·ni* 'if I sit' |-ya·n-ih|		
2	*kitapin* 'you sit' |ke(t)—n|	*e·-apiyan* 'as you sit' |-yan|	*apiyani* 'if you sit' |-yan-ih|	*api* 'sit' |-h|	*api·hkan* 'sit later' |-Lhk-an|
1p	*nitapina·n* 'we sit' |ne(t)—ena·n|	*e·-apiya·hk* 'as we sit' |-ya·hk|	*apiya·hki* 'if we sit' |-ya·hk-ih|		
21	*kitapina·naw* 'we sit' |ke(t)—na·-enaw|	*e·-apiyahk* 'as we sit' |-yahkw|	*apiyahko* 'if we sit' |-yahkw-ih|	*apita·n* 'let's sit' |-ta·n|	*api·hkahk* 'let's sit later' |-Lhk-ahkw|
2p	*kitapina·wa·w* 'you sit' |ke(t)—na·-ewa·w|	*e·-apiye·k* 'as you sit' |-ye·kw|	*apiye·ko* 'if you sit' |-ye·kw-ih|	*apik* 'sit' |-k|	*api·hke·k* 'sit later' |-Lhk-e·kw|
3	*apiw* *pimisin* 'he sits/lies' |-wa|	*e·-apit* *e·-pimisihk* 'as he sits/lies' |-t/k|	*apici* *pimisihki* 'if he sits/lies' |-t/k-ih|		
3p	*apiwak* *pimisinwak* 'they sit/lie' |-wa-k|	*e·-apicik* *e·-pimisihkik* 'as they sit/lie' |-t/k-[i]-k|	*apitwa·wi* *pimisihkwa·wi* 'if they sit/lie' |-t/k-wa·w-ih|		
3′	*apiyiwa* 'he sits' |-eyi-wa-h|	*e·-apiyit* 'as he sits' |-eyi-t|	*apiyici* 'if he sits' |-eyi-t-ih|		

Transparency also appears to play a role in another problem involving |ekw| together with the y-alternants of the non-third person markers, for instance, |ya·hk ~ a· hk|. The y-alternants are morphophonologically regular after VAI long-vowel stems, and their occurrence throughout the VAI paradigm is clearly attributable to paradigmatic pattern pressure. The situation in the direct forms of the VTA paradigm is very similar, but no obvious motivation has been discovered for the inverse forms: whether the y-alternants provide the environment for the vocalization of the |w| of |ekw|, or whether an extended form |eko| conditions the occurrence of the y-alternants, remains an open question.

The forms for 3′-1p, 3′-21, and 3′-2p, finally, appear to consist of a derived stem in |ekow| followed by the direct theme sign and thus resemble the forms of the relational paradigm (4.1.4.2.). A specific motivation for the emergence of these remarkable forms has not been discovered, but the analysis finds some confirmation in Edwards's (1954) ending *-ikowat* for 3′-2.

4.1.4.1.2. Individual Problems

The following comments are intended to clarify questions that may arise from the paradigm tables.

The double role of |ewa·w|. The suffixes |ena·n, enaw, ewa·w| function both as non-third person markers (|ena·n| in the VTA imperative, which has no personal prefixes) and as mere plural markers for the personal prefixes. This second function is quite clear in the possession paradigm of nouns and especially in the preterit

Table 11. The VTI Paradigm

	INDEPENDENT	*CONJUNCT*		*IMPERATIVE*	
	Indicative	*Simple and changed*	*Subjunctive and iterative*	*Immediate*	*Delayed*
indf-		*e·-miskamihk* 'as one finds it' |-am-ehk|	*miskamihki* 'if one finds it' |-am-ehk-ih|		
1	*nimiske·n* 'I find it' |ne—e·-n|	*e·-miskama·n* 'as I find it' |-am-a·n|	*miskama·ni* 'if I find it' |-am-a·n-ih|		
2	*kimiske·n* 'you find it' |ke—e·-n|	*e·-miskaman* 'as you find it' |-am-an|	*miskamani* 'if you find it' |-am-an-ih|	*miska* 'find it' |-a-h|	*miskamo·hkan* 'find it later' |-amw-[i]-Lhk-an|
1p	*nimiske·na·n* 'we find it' |ne—e·-ena·n|	*e·-miskama·hk* 'as we find it' |-am-a·hk|	*miskama·hki* 'if we find it' |-am-a·hk-ih|		
21	*kimiske·(na·)naw* 'we find it' |ke—e·-na·-enaw|	*e·-miskamahk* 'as we find it' |-am-ahkw|	*miskamahko* 'if we find it' |-am-ahkw-ih|	*miske·ta·n* 'let's find it' |-e·-ta·n|	*miskamo·hkahk* 'let's find it later' |-amw-[i]-Lhk-ahkw|
2p	*kimiske·na·wa·w* 'you find it' |ke—e·-na·-ewa·w|	*e·-miskame·k* 'as you find it' |-am-e·kw|	*miskame·ko* 'if we find it' |-am-e·kw-ih|	*miskamok* 'find it' |-amw-[i]-k|	*miskamo·hke·k* 'find it later' |-amw-[i]-Lhk-e·kw|
3	*miskam* 'he finds it' |-am-wa|	*e·-miskahk* 'as he finds it' |-am-k|	*miskahki* 'if he finds it' |-am-k-ih|		
3p	*miskamwak* 'they find it' |-am-wa-k|	*e·-miskahkik* 'as they find it' |-am-k-[i]-k|	*miskahkwa·wi* 'if they find it' |-am-k-wa·w-ih|		
3′	*miskamiyiwa* 'he finds it' |-am-eyi-wa-h|	*e·-miskamiyit* 'as he finds it' |-am-eyi-t|	*miskamiyici* 'if he finds it' |-am-eyi-t-ih|		

of verbs; preterit use provides the only context within the verbal system for the third-person prefix *o-* and its pluralization, |we—ewa·w|. (The relation of |ewa·w| to the third-person pluralizer of the conjunct order, |wa·w|, remains to be investigated.)

Forms without personal suffixes. The h-preterit is the only paradigm that does not show any person suffixes; thus it highlights the theme signs and the thematic suffixes |em| and |eyi|.

The inverse theme sign of the you-and-me set. |et| occurs in the conjunct, and |eti| in the independent order. The shape |eti| is indicated by the VTA 1-2 form of the h-preterit, |-eti-h|, where the theme sign is followed directly by the preterit suffix |h|.

Epenthetic *-na·-*. The 21 suffix of the VAI and VTI paradigms occurs both with and without an epenthetic *-na·-*; the two forms appear to be in free variation (4.1.4.2.). The 2p suffix of the VAI and VTI paradigms, by contrast, is found only with *-na·-*, as *-na·wa·w-*; note that this form also occurs in the you-and-me set of the VTA paradigm.

VTA imperative endings. The suffix |i| of the 2-3 form usually remains with stems that are monosyllabic and have a short vowel: *isi* 'tell him so' (6.35.). Otherwise it is apocopated.

For 2-3p, only the suffix |i| occurs in texts collected since 1967: *na·s* 'get them'; in Bloomfield's texts the ending |-i-k| is more frequent: *ntaw-asamik* 'go feed them'.

|a·hk| and |ahkw|. These suffixes, which mark 1p and 21 in the conjunct and delayed imperative, are subject to partial syncretism: both appear with and without the final |w|.

Table 12. The VII Paradigm

	INDEPENDENT	*CONJUNCT*	
	Indicative	*Simple and changed*	*Subjunctive and iterative*
0	*misa·w* *miywa·sin* 'it is big/good' |-wi|	*e·-misa·k* *e·-miywa·sihk* 'it being big/good' |-k|	*misa·ki* *miywa·sihki* 'if it is big/good' |-k-ih|
0p	*misa·wa* *miywa·sinwa* 'they are big/good' |-wah|	*e·-misa·ki* *e·-miywa·sihki* 'they being big/good' |-k-ih|	[ ]
0´	*misa·yiw* *miywa·siniyiw* 'it is big/good' |-eyi-wi|	*e·-misa·yik* *e·-miywa·siniyik* 'it being big/good' |-eyi-k|	*misa·yiki* *miywa·siniyiki* 'if it is big/good' |-eyi-k-ih|
0´p	*misa·yiwa* *miywa·siniyiwa* 'they are big/good' |-eyi-wah|	*e·-misa·yiki* *e·miywa·siniyiki* 'they being big/good' |-eyi-k-ih|	[ ]

The suffix |akw|. Occurring only in the 1-2p form of the VTA conjunct, |akw| appears to mark the second person; it is pluralized by |k| in the simple and changed modes and by |wa·w| in the subjunctive and iterative.

4.1.4.2. Marginal and Suppletive Paradigms

A marginal paradigm diverges, however slightly, from one of the basic paradigms, while suppletive paradigms generally serve to fill gaps in the basic paradigms; both are formed by specific suffixes (table 13).

The boundaries delimiting marginal and suppletive paradigms from each other and from certain derivationally late derivatives are problematic. For example, the VAI and VTI indefinite-actor forms are morphologically indistinguishable from the basic VII paradigm; however, syntactically and semantically, they fill obvious gaps within their respective basic paradigms.

Relational themes are formed from VAI and VTI stems with the suffix |w| (which in the case of VTI stems is preceded by the theme sign |am(w)|). The function of relational forms is discussed in 4.1.1.3.

The conjunct suffixes clearly reflect the VTA endings, while those of the independent order resemble the VAI endings (table 14).

The diminutive suffix |esi| (note the corresponding nominal suffixes |es| and |esis|) in VAI and VTI verbs directly follows the stem (VAI) or theme sign (|a|, VTI) and precedes the usual VAI endings:

... *si·pi·sis* *o·ma* *nica·sowahasin*
river(0 dim) this(0) cross-s.t.(VTI 1 INDEP DIM)
(|net-a·sowah-a-esi-n|)
'I crossed this little stream ...'

(In this example the palatalization of the |t| in the prefix |net| to *c* is an additional mark of the diminutive.) The same suffix has been observed to follow the theme sign in VTA stems, but the data do not suffice for a full statement.

The VTA inanimate-agent paradigm shows the inverse theme sign |ekw ~ eko| followed by the usual VAI endings; two of the independent third-person endings and all conjunct endings except for the singular mixed forms are identical with the corresponding VTA endings (table 14).

This paradigm thus provides important evidence for the postulated development of transparent (and, eventually, derivational) inverse forms (section 4); it also supports the hypothesis that the agent of third-person inverse forms (and perhaps of others as well) is unspecific (4.1.4.1.).

The VTA indefinite-agent paradigm (4.1.1.2.) is most typical of the suppletive type: while the indf-3 forms are part of the basic VTA paradigm, all others consist of a suffix |ekawi| followed by the usual VAI endings; for example,

nipi·htokwe·hikawina·n
take-s.o.-inside(VTA INDF-1p INDEP)
'we were taken inside'.

Regular indefinite-agent forms are found in the conjunct order of both VAI and VTI verbs. In the independent order, by contrast, this role is performed by forms based on the suffixes *-(na·)niwan-*, *-(na·)niwin-* or *-(na·)niwi-*, which are then inflected precisely like

Table 13. Summary of Marginal and Suppletive Paradigms

Paradigm	*Stem*	*Suffix*	*Endings*
Marginal			
Relational	VAI, VTI	|w|	VTA/VAI
Diminutive	VAI, VTA, VTI	|esi|	VAI
Inanimate agent	VTA	|ekw|~|eko|	VAI
Suppletive			
Indefinite agent	VTA	|ekawi|	VAI
Inanimate agent	VAI, VTI	|Lmakan|	VII
Indefinite agent	VAI, VTI	|(na·)niwan, (na·)niwin, (na·)niwi|	VII

Table 14. Relational and VTA Inanimate Agent Paradigms

Relational			
	Independent		*Conjunct*
	indicative	*h-preterit*	
indf	*-a·n*	[ ]	*-iht*
1	*ni—a·n*	*ni—a·h*	*-ak*
2	*ki—a·n*	[ ]	*-at*
3	*-e·w*	[ ]	*-a·t*

VTA inanimate agent		
	Independent	*Conjunct*
-1	*ni—ikon*	*-ikoya·n*
-2	*ki—ikon*	*-ikoyan*
-1p	[ ]	*-ikoya·hk*
-21	*ki—ikona·naw*	*-ikoyahk*
-2p	[ ]	*-ikoye·k*
-3	*-iko·w, -ik*	*-ikot*
-3p	*-ikwak*	[ ]
-3′	[ ]	[ ]

VII stems. Except for VAI stems in *-e·-* or *-a·-*, which show *-a·-* before the suffix in any case, all stems take the epenthetic *-na·-* (4.1.4.1.2.).

The VAI inanimate-agent forms are based on the suffix |Lmakan| and then inflected like VII n-stems.

4.2. Noun Inflection

Nouns are inflected in two paradigms: the possession (PS) paradigm in the inner layer, and the number-obviation (NO) paradigm, which serves to mark concord, in the outer layer of inflection.

All affixes of the possession and number-obviation paradigms of nouns (with the exception of the prefix *mi-*) recur in the verbal paradigms.

4.2.1. Possession

The possession paradigm provides cross-reference to a person other than that denoted by the noun itself.

When occurring with the possession paradigm, some stems form a special possessed theme by suffixing |em| directly to the stem; e.g. |si·si·p-| 'duck', |si·si·p-em|: *nisi·si·pim* 'my duck'.

Dependent noun stems are obligatorily inflected for possession. They mostly include kin terms and terms for body parts and a few personal possessions; there is no evidence for an alienable-inalienable dichotomy: for example, *-kosis-* 'son', *-i·w-* 'wife', *-to·te·m-* 'kinsman', *-sit-* 'foot', *-sikwanay-* 'tail' (of fish)', *-i·k-* 'dwelling', *-i·pisis-* 'arrow', |-i·waθ-| 'sacred pack', *-i·c-* (root) 'fellow'.

In some instances a dependent noun is paralleled by a nondependent noun of apparently identical denotation: *-te·m-* NDA 'dog, horse', *atimw-* NA 'dog', *mistatimw-* NA 'horse'. In these cases, the nondependent noun is not inflected for possession.

Dependent stems are bound and cannot occur without a personal prefix. If no specific possessor is involved, the "indefinite" prefix *mi-*, which is restricted to dependent stems, is used (4.1.1.2.):

e·koni *miyawa*
that-one(0p) (INDF POSS)-body(0p)
e·-nahasta·cik.
bury-(s.t.)(VAI 3p CJ)
'These bodies they buried.'

While *mi-* seems to be used primarily with human possessors, the third-person prefix *o-* ~ *w-* typically occurs in nouns denoting animal parts in the context of slaughtering:

asamin *pe·yak* *osoy, ...*
feed-s.o.(VTA 2-1 IMVE) one his(3)-tail(0)
'Give me one (beaver-) tail to eat, ...'

The form in *o-* also occurs as the base of further derivatives, for example the following from |-te·h-| 'heart': *ote·himin-* 'strawberry', *ote·hipakw-* 'cabbage'; *-te·m-* 'dog, horse': *ote·mi-* VAI 'have a dog, horse', *ote·mih-* VTA 'make him have a dog, horse':

wa·kayo·sa *ote·miw* *iskwe·w.*
bear(3′) have-a-dog/horse (VAI 3 INDEP) woman (3)
'The woman had a bear for her beast of burden.'

Verbs of this type may even be derived from the possessed theme of nondependent stems: *na·pe·w* 'man',

-na·pe·m- 'husband': *ona·pe·mi-* VAI 'have (him for) a husband':

namo·ya ona·pe·miwak.
not have-a-husband(VAI 3p INDEP)
'they do not have husbands.'

4.2.2. THE NUMBER-OBVIATION PARADIGM

The number-obviation paradigm is presented separately at the top of tables 15 and 16, and then in combination with the possession paradigm. The final vowel (*-a, -i*) of singular nouns appears only with monosyllabic noun stems (6.3.5.); *nisk-* NA 'goose': *niska*; *pihkw-* NI 'ashes': *pihko*; *-i·k-* NDI: *ni·ki* 'my dwelling'.

4.2.3. MINOR CATEGORIES

Possession alone of the nominal categories is closely tied to the general categories of gender, number, person, and obviation; the remaining categories are relatively isolated.

4.2.3.1. LOCATIVE

Nouns and particles alike are used as local complements and some particles even show the same locative suffix as nouns. When functioning as local complements, nouns do not express any distinctions of number or obviation; *nisit* 'my foot', *nisita* 'my feet', but *nistihk* 'on my foot, feet'. The obviation status of a possessor, on the other hand, is not affected: *ostikwa·nihk* 'on his (3) head', *ostikwa·niyihk* 'on his (3′) head'.

Nouns distinguish two types of locatives: the simple locative in |ehk| indicates location in the widest sense: within, upon, at, as in *wa·skahikanihk* 'in the house', *sa·kahikanihk* 'at the lake', *nistikwa·nihk* 'on my head'. The distributive locative, in |ena·hk|, is used only with nouns that denote humans or animals; it has not been recorded with possessed themes. The resulting forms mean 'in the land of such-and-such beings', 'at the place of such-and-such people', as in *sa·si·w-* 'Sarcee Indian': *sa·si·na·hk* 'at Sarcee Reserve', *mostosw-* 'buffalo': *mostosona·hk* 'in the buffalo country'.

4.2.3.2. VOCATIVE

The special address form or vocative functions outside the concord and person-obviation systems. However, it does show a number distinction: *nito·te·m* 'my fellow tribesman!', *nito·te·mitik* 'my fellow tribesmen!'.

With a limited number of stems (mainly kin terms), the vocative singular shows loss of final consonant, a suffix *-e·*, or both:

|-moso·m-| NDA 'grandfather': *nimoso·*
|-ste·s-| NDA 'older brother': *niste·se·*
|-kosis-| NDA 'son': *nikose·*

The plural suffix is |etik| throughout:

|-si·m-| NDA 'younger sibling': *nisi·mitik*
|ne·hiyaw-| NA 'Cree': *ne·hiya·tik*

Table 15. Animate Noun Inflection in Stems *si·si·p-* 'duck' and *-te·m-* 'horse, dog'

		Number-Obviation			
		Proximate singular (3)	*Proximate plural (3p)*	*Obviative (3′)*	*Locative*
		si·si·p |-a| 'duck'	*si·si·pak* |-a-k| 'ducks'	*si·si·pa* |-a-h| 'duck/ducks'	*si·si·pihk* |-ehk| 'in a duck'
		'___ horse'	'___ horses'	'___ horse/horses'	'on ___ horse'
POSSESSION	1 'my ___'	*nite·m* |ne—a|	*nite·mak* |ne—a-k|	*nite·ma* |ne—a-h|	*nite·mihk* |ne—ehk|
	2 'your ___'	*kite·m* |ke—a|	*kite·mak* |ke—a-k|	*kite·ma* |ke—a-h|	*kite·mihk* |ke—ehk|
	1p 'our ___'	*nite·mina·n* |ne—ena·n-a|	*nite·mina·nak* |ne—-ena·n-a-k|	*nite·mina·na* |ne—ena·n-a-h|	*nite·mina·hk*
	21 'your-and-my ___'	*kite·minaw* |ke—enaw-a|	*kite·minawak* |ke—enaw-a-k|	*kite·minawa* |ke—enaw-a-h|	*kite·mina·hk* |ke—enaw-ehk|
	2p 'your ___'	*kite·miwa·w* |ke—ewa·w-a|	*kite·miwa·wak* |ke—ewa·w-a-k|	*kite·miwa·wa* |ke—ewa·w-a-h|	*kite·miwa·hk* |ke—ewa·w-ehk|
	3 'his ___'	—	—	*ote·ma* |we—a-h|	*ote·mihk* |we—ehk|
	3p 'their ___'	—	—	*ote·miwa·wa* |we—ewa·w-a-h|	*ote·miwa·hk* |we—ewa·w-ehk|
	3′ 'the other's ___'	—	—	*ote·miyiwa* |we—eyi-wa-h|	*ote·miyihk* |we—eyi-ehk|

Table 16. Inanimate Noun Inflection in Stems *wiya·s-* 'meat' and *-spiton-* 'arm'

		Number-Obviation		
		Proximate singular (0)	*Proximate plural* (0p)	*Locative*
		wiya·s |-i| 'meat'	*wiya·sa* |-ah| 'pieces of meat'	*wiya·sihk* |-ehk| 'on the meat'
		'___ arm'	'___ arms'	'on ___ arm'
POSSESSION	indf 'an ___'	*mispiton* |me—i|	*mispitona* |me—ah|	*mispitonihk* |me—ehk|
	1 'my ___'	*nispiton* |ne—i|	*nispitona* |ne—ah|	*nispitonihk* |ne—ehk|
	2 'your ___'	*kispiton* |ke—i|	*kispitona* |ke—ah|	*kispitonihk* |ke—ehk|
	1p 'our ___'	*nispitonina·n* |ne—ena·n-i|	*nispitonina·na* |ne—ena·n-ah|	*nispitonina·hk*
	21 'your-and-my ___'	*kispitoninaw* |ke—enaw-i|	*kispitoninawa* |ke—enaw-ah|	*kispitonina·hk* |ke—enaw-ehk|
	2p 'your ___'	*kispitoniwa·w* |ke—ewa·w-i|	*kispitoniwa·wa* |ke—ewa·w-ah|	*kispitoniwa·hk* |ke—ewa·w-ehk|
	3 'his ___'	*ospiton* |we—i|	*ospitona* |we—ah|	*ospitonihk* |we—ehk|
	3p 'their ___'	*ospitoniwa·w* |we—ewa·w-i|	*ospitoniwa·wa* |we—ewa·w-ah|	*ospitoniwa·hk* |we—ewa·w-ehk|
	3′ 'the other's ___'	*ospitoniyiw* |we—eyi-wi|	*ospitoniyiwa* |we—eyi-wah|	*ospitoniyihk* |we—eyi-ehk|

4.2.3.3. Preterit

Animate nouns, dependent or not, have a preterit form, which indicates that the noun's denotatum no longer exists. The suffix |epan| follows the possessed theme sign |em| but precedes the person suffixes of the possession paradigm: |-moso·m-| NDA 'grandfather': *nimoso·mipanina·nak* 'our late grandfathers'.

4.3. Pronoun Inflection

The inflectional classification of pronouns coincides only partially with classifications based on syntactic and semantic criteria. Most of the pronominal stems also participate in a number of derivational processes (for examples see 5.3.3.2.).

In addition to the number-obviation paradigm of nouns, there are two specifically pronominal paradigms (I and II) and two isolated paradigms (table 17).

4.3.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *awa* 'this, *ana* 'that', and *naha* 'that yonder' constitute a semantic field whose internal structure remains to be explored more fully.

The delimiting demonstrative *e·wako* 'that one' also has the (interchangeable) variants *e·yako* and *e·ko*. This is the only nonverbal paradigm in Plains Cree that shows an inanimate obviative form, *e·wakoyiw*.

aya 'this one' occurs primarily as the final member of compounds, as in *osk-a·ya* 'a young one'. It is also very frequent as an articlelike hesitation signal:

o·k	*a·yak*	*no·tokwe·siwak*
this(3p)	this-one(3p)	old-woman(3p)

'these old women'.

4.3.2. Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

The interrogative and indefinite pronouns show inflectional differences but also some overlap; the corresponding animate and inanimate stems are clearly built on the same root, even though their interrelations are not fully understood. The animate interrogative is *awi·na* 'who', and the animate indefinite *awiyak* 'someone'. The inanimate interrogative is *ki·kway* 'what', the inanimate indefinite *ki·kway* 'something'. The inanimate interrogative also has the qualitative meaning 'what kind'.

Both the animate and the inanimate stem also have a noninflectional function. When occurring with one of the demonstratives, of whatever inflection, the form *awi·na* expresses surprise:

awi·n	*e·s*	*o·hi* ...
(surprise)	(EMPH)	this(3′)

'What was this, ...'

Table 17. Pronouns

	Animate				*Inanimate*	
	Proximate singular (3)	*Proximate plural (3p)*	*Obviative (3′)*	*Proximate singular (0)*	*Proximate plural (0p)*	*Obviative (0′)*
Pronominal paradigm I	*-a*	*-ki*	*-hi*	*-ma*	*-hi*	
demonstrative 'this'	*awa*	*o·ki*	*o·hi*	*o·ma*	*o·hi*	
demonstrative 'that'	*ana*	*aniki*	*anihi*	*anima*	*anihi*	
demonstrative 'that yonder'	*na·ha*	*ne·ki*	*ne·hi*	*ne·ma*	*ne·hi*	
interrogative 'who'	*awi·na*	*awi·niki*	*awi·nihi*	—	—	
delimiting interrogative 'which one'	*ta·ni*	*ta·niki*	*ta·nihi*	*ta·ni, ta·nima*	*ta·nihi*	
Pronominal paradigm II	*-a·*	*-e·hka·k*	*-e·ha·*	*-e·*	*-e·ha·*	
existential interrogative 'where is he'	*ta·niwa·*	*ta·niwe·hka·k*	*ta·niwe·ha·*	*ta·niwe·*	*ta·niwe·ha·*	
existential demonstrative 'there he is'	*e·wakwa·*	[ ]	[ ]	*e·wakwe·*	[ ]	
Pronouns with noun endings	|-a|	|-a-k|	|-a-h|	|-i|	|-ah|	
interrogative 'what; what kind'	*ki·kwaya*	*ki·kwayak*	*ki·kwaya*	*ki·kway, ki·kwayi*	*ki·kwaya*	
indefinite 'something'	—	*ki·kwayak*	*ki·kwaya*	*ki·kway, ki·kwayi*	*ki·kwaya*	
weak demonstrative 'this one'	*aya*	*ayak*	*aya*	*ayi*	*aya*	
"nominal" 'another'	*kotak*	*kotakak*	*kotaka*	*kotak*	*kotaka*	
Isolated pronouns						
delimiting demonstrative 'that one'	*e·wako*	*e·wakonik*	*e·wakoni*	*e·wako*	*e·wakoni*	*e·wakoyiw*
indefinite 'someone'	*awiyak*	*awiyak*	*awiya*	—	—	

The preterital form *awi·nipan* (cf. 4.2.3.3.), which is not inflected for number-obviation, expresses surprise about a denotatum that no longer exists.

awi·nipan o·ma mi·kiwa·hpis.
gone this(0) wigwam(0)
'Gone was this wigwam.'

Together with the negator *nama, ki·kway* 'something' not only means 'nothing' but also closely parallels *awi·nipan*:

ma·k e·kwa, nama ki·kway e·koni
but then not something that-one(0p)
a·cimo·wina.
story(0p)
'But now there aren't any such stories.'

4.3.3. "EXISTENTIAL" PRONOUNS

The "existential" pronouns *ta·niwa·* 'where is he' and *e·wakwa·* 'there he is' are verb substitutes:

ta·niwe·ha· kotaka kitata·we·wina?
where-is-(0p) other(0p) your(2)-purchase(NI 0p)
'Where are your other groceries?'

Both are quite rare in texts; a third pronoun *o·ya·* 'that no longer here' requires further study before it can be assigned to this paradigm.

4.3.4. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are not inflected for number and obviation; however, as a set, they largely parallel the possession paradigm of nouns in the systematic use of personal prefixes and suffixes (table 18). (Note that *ki·ya·naw* deviates from the general pattern by its long stem-final vowel.)

Both types of personal pronouns are emphatic; the affirmative pronouns are typically translated as (for *ni·sta*) 'I, too; I myself; I, by contrast.'

5. Word Formation

The inflected words of Cree include verbs, nouns, and pronouns that are very similar to nouns inflectionally and syntactically. All uninflected words are subsumed under the term particle (or indeclinable).

5.1. Primary Stem Formation

If all inflectional affixes are removed from a word, the remaining stem shows further internal structures; for example, *nima·kwahte·n* 'I chew it' contains the stem *ma·kwaht-* VTI, which can be analyzed into a root *ma·kw-* 'press' and the final morpheme *-aht-* 'by mouth'. All Cree stems are treated as consisting of at least these two parts. (In certain cases, for instance, with unanalyzable noun stems such as *atimw-* 'dog, horse', it is convenient to posit a zero constituent.) A third constituent may optionally occur between them: *ma·kw-ahw-* VTA 'press him by tool' and *ma·kw-a·skw-ahw-* VTA 'press him by tool as/with wood'. The three positions within a Cree stem are known as initial, medial, and final; the last two terms are also each used for the morpheme class whose members occur in the respective position.

The primary stems exemplified above are built on morphemes, including a root, which cannot occur by themselves (even if appropriate inflectional affixes were added). In addition, an entire stem may be combined with further derivational suffixes; for example, *ma·kwahcike·-* |ma·kw-aht-[i]-ke·| VAI 'chew (in general), chew things' where |ke·| indicates the absence of a specific object. In a secondary stem the initial position is occupied by another stem (rather than by a root); as indicated in part A of figure 2, it is then followed optionally by a medial and obligatorily by a final.

Table 18. Personal Pronouns

		Simple *-i·ya-*	*Affirmative* *-i·sta-*
1	'I'	*ni·ya*	*ni·sta*
2	'you'	*ki·ya*	*ki·sta*
1p	'we'	*ni·yana·n*	*ni·stana·n*
21	'you-and-me'	*ki·ya·naw*	*ki·stanaw*
2p	'you'	*ki·yawa·w*	*ki·stawa·w*
3	'he'	*wi·ya*	*wi·sta*
3p	'they'	*wi·yawa·w*	*wi·stawa·w*

5.2. Secondary Stem Formation and Deverbal Suffixes

The pattern of forming stems from other stem is extremely productive in Cree; as displayed in figure 3, nouns and verbs (including verbs of different stem classes) are freely derived from one another.

This "left-to-right" derivation is complemented by another, typically Algonquian, pattern that might be described as "vertical."

Many roots are paralleled by non-initial (or deverbal) alternants that occur as medials or finals; for example, consider the root *atimw-* 'dog, horse' (as in the identical noun stem) and the medial *-astimw-*, as in *kanawastimwe·-* 'watch horses' (where it is followed by the VAI final *-e·-*) or in the noun stem *atimwastimw-* 'dog of a dog'. In many cases, the noninitial alternant lacks part of the initial alternant from which it is said to be derived; in *no·ta·poswe·-* VAI 'hunt rabbits', for instance, the root is *no·t-* 'pursue' and the medial is *-a·posw-* 'rabbit'; compare the noun stem *wa·posw-* 'rabbit'. Note that the absence of morpheme-initial *w* is not a matter of phonological structure; contrast *apitwa·wi* |api-t-wa·w-ih| 'if they sit'.

Not only roots but also entire stems may give rise to noninitial alternants (deverbal medials and finals). A deverbal final based on the stem *masinah-* VTI 'mark it, write it', for instance, occurs with the root *ki·s-* 'complete' in *ki·sasinaham* VTI 'he completes writing it'; a secondarily derived stem *masinahike·-* VAI 'write things' is the basis of the deverbal final which follows the root *pe·t-* 'hither' in *pe·tasinahike·w* VAI 'he writes hither'.

The recursive nature of secondary ("left-to-right") derivation in combination with the free ("vertical") formation of deverbal medials and finals may be visualized as interlocking (see figure 2 where A is intended to symbolize the former, and B the latter). Together they account for much of the great productivity and complexity of Cree word formation (Wolfart 1980; Wolfart and Ahenakew 1987a).

5.3. Roots, Medials, and Finals

All three morpheme classes have some members that occur in longer and shorter alternants. These alternations generally seem to depend on the morpheme's occurrence in specific words; the medial 'liquid', for example, has the shape *-ipe·-* in *na·tipe·w* VAI 'he fetches a liquid', but *-ipe·k-* in *kisi·pe·kinam* VTI 'he washes it by hand'.

5.3.1. Roots

Many roots occur freely in primary verb, noun, and particle stems: *wa·p-* 'light, bright' in the verb *wa·pame·w* VTA 'he sees him', the noun *wa·pastim* 'white horse or dog', or the particle *wa·piski* 'white'.

5.3.2. Medials

Medials are characterized primarily by the fact that they are not restricted to a particular stem class.

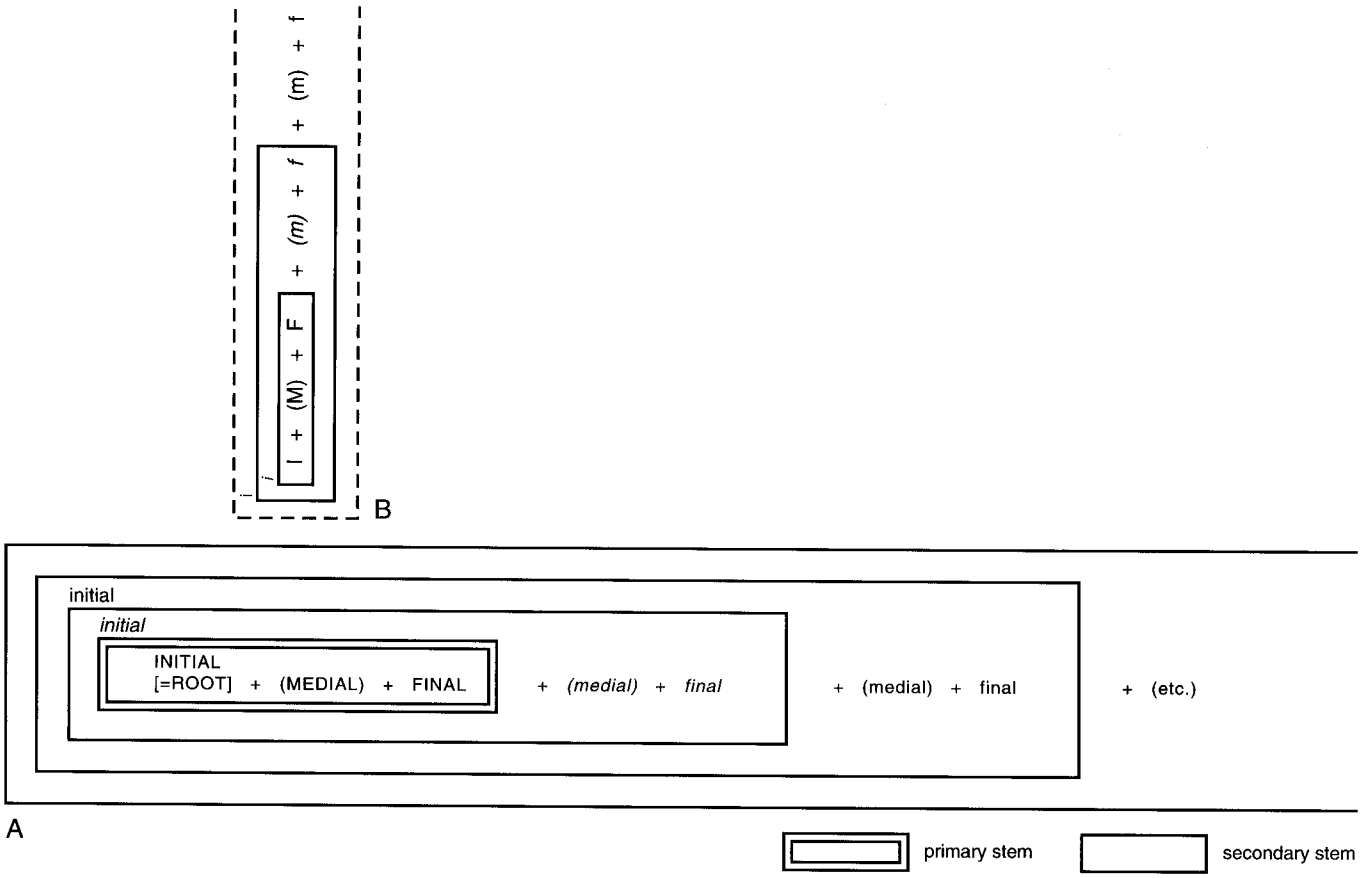

Fig. 2. Stem formation. A = Concatenative ("left-to-right") derivation. B = Paradigmatic ("vertical") derivation.

-a·piski- 'stone, metal', for example, is found in the verb *kipa·piskaham* VTI 'he closes it with/as metal/stone', in the noun *ospwa·kana·pisk* 'pipestone', and in the indeclinable *pe·yakwa·pisk* 'one dollar' (cf. *ni·swa·pisk* 'two dollars').

Simple medials (i.e., those not paralleled by entire stems) in the main reflect two semantic areas: body parts and "classificatory" categories.

Many medials denoting body parts also occur in dependent nouns (4.2.1.): *-stikwa·n-*: *nistikwa·n* 'my head', *we·we·kistikwa·ne·w* VAI 'he has his head wrapped'; *-atay-*: *natay* 'my belly', *pikwa·taye·hwe·w* VTA 'he pierces s.o.'s belly by tool'. Others have not been observed in dependent nouns: *-iskw-* 'head': *sa·kiskwe·w* VAI 'he sticks his head out'; *-nisk-* 'arm': *isiniske·yiw* VAI 'he moves his arm thus'; *napate·nisk* 'with/at one arm'.

"Classificatory" medials indicate the characteristic features of a class of objects; these may apply to the agent, the patient, or neither (table 19).

5.3.3. Finals

Finals determine the class of a stem, including the various stemclasses of verbs (4.1.1.1.). Many finals, such as the animate intransitive verb final *-e·-*, seem to have no further meaning.

Some finals are specifically secondary, as the reciprocal |eto| in *no·tinito-* VAI 'fight one another' (cf. *no·tin-* VTA 'fight s.o.'). Others function in both primary and secondary word formation: the final *-h-* in *se·kihe·w* VTA 'he scares s.o.' and *ote·mihe·w* VTA 'he makes s.o. have a horse' (cf. *ote·mi-* VAI 'have a horse' and the dependent noun stem *-te·m-* 'horse').

5.3.3.1.

Productive noun finals are most clearly seen in secondary derivations. Table 20 includes at least one suffix that may be further analyzed: *-ihka·n* appears to consist of the suffix *-n* added to the animate intransitive verb final *-ihke·-/-ihka·-*, which forms verbs of making and arranging; in the absence of intermediate verb stems the suffix is considered a complex unit.

5.3.3.2.

By far the most common particle final is |i|, which leaves the meaning of the root unaffected. At the opposite extreme, finals like *-wa·w* '(so many) times' or *-ita* 'at a place' have a very concrete meaning (table 21).

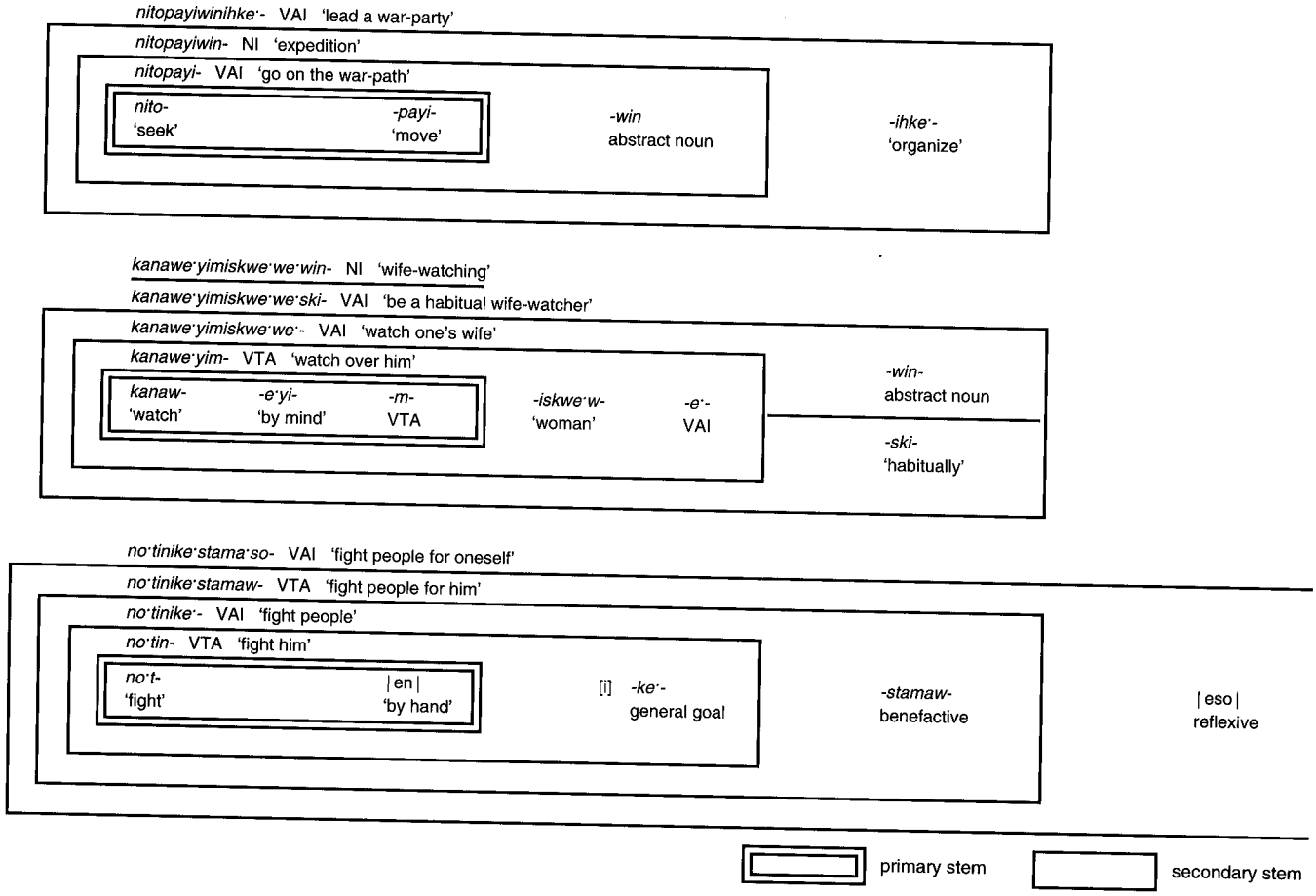

Fig. 3. Examples of secondary derivation.

Note that *-wa·w* and *-wayak* occur both as primary and secondary finals. The locative and temporal finals are paralleled by independent particles such as *ita* 'there', *ite·* 'hither', *isi* 'thus', *ispi·* 'then', *tahto* 'so many'. An almost complete set occurs with the delimiting interrogative *ta·n-* 'which one' and the corresponding demonstrative *e·kw-* 'that one' (cf. 4.3.1.) (table 22).

5.3.3.3.
Verb finals typically come in pairs according to the gender of the agent (in intransitive verbs) or the patient (in transitive verbs) (tables 23-24).

Transitive verb stems end in a single nonsyllabic or in a nonsyllabic preceded by *s* or *h*. Intransitive verb stems end in any vowel other than *a*, or in *n*. (For details and frequency figures see Wolfart 1973:5.5.)

5.4. Compounds

While functioning as words inflectionally, compounds are like phrases in having a phonological word boundary (indicated by a hyphen; 6.1.1.2.) between their members. In *nitis-a·pin* 'thus I sit', for example, the prefix *nit-* precedes the first member of the compound and the suffix *-n* follows the last. The word boundary between the particle *isi* 'thus' and the verb stem *api-* 'sit', on the other hand, is marked by the external sandhi phenomena (6.2.2.) of loss of word-final *-i-* and lengthening of word-initial *-a-*. Contrast the unit word *itapiw* 'he sits thus', which shows the same root |eθ| 'thus' followed by the noninitial *-api-*. Where the phonological word boundary is less obvious, such as when a consonant is followed by a vowel, the distinction of compounds and unit words is frequently problematic.

Nominal and verbal compounds alike typically have a particle as their first member: *oski-mi·nisa* 'fresh berries'. Verb stems may be preceded by one or more preverb particles. Even though some preverbs (including all those of position 1) occur as preverbs only, they are treated as words with respect to external sandhi.

The three preverbs of position 1 are mutually exclusive (table 25); for further examples see 3.4.2., 4.1.2.2., 4.1.2.4. *e·* indicates subordination in an entirely neutral way; while *e·* and *ka·* show some overlap, *ka·* frequently occurs in relative clauses. *ka* and *kita* (*kita* optionally reduced to *ta*) mark subsequence; these three "future" preverbs are interchangeable in most contexts (except that only *ka* occurs with the personal prefixes *ni-* and *ki-*).

Table 19. "Classificatory" Medials

Medial	*Gloss*	*Example*
-a·skw-	'wood or solid of similar consistency'	*kinwa·skosiw* VAI 'he (tree) is long' *ni·ma·skwe·w* VAI 'he takes along (wooden) weapons'
-a·pisk-	'stone or solid of similar consistency'	*mihkwa·piskiswe·w* VAI 'he reddens him (stone) by heat' *mo·hkoma·na·pisk* NI 'knife-blade'
-e·kin-	'cloth or cloth-like, expanded object'	*taswe·kinam* VTI 'he spreads it out by hand' *mihkwe·kin* NI 'red cloth' *masinahikane·kin* NI 'paper'
-a·pe·k-	'rope, elongated object'	*pakita·pe·kine·w* VTA 'he lets him down by a rope' *pima·pe·kisin* VAI 'he (snake) lies extended'
-ipe·-	'liquid'	*iskope·w* VAI 'he is so deep in water' *mo·nahipe·pitam* VTI 'he digs a well' *ki·skwe·pe·w* VAI 'he is crazy from drink'

Table 20. Selected Noun Finals

Final	*Gloss*	*Example* *Base*	*Derived Stem*
-(w)aya·n	'hide, garment'	*mostosw-* NA 'buffalo'	*mostoswaya·n* 'buffalo robe'
-a·poy	'liquid, broth'	*mihkw-* NI 'blood'	*mihkwa·poy* 'blood soup'
		to·hto·s- NA 'breast'	*to·hto·sa·poy* 'milk'
[*o(t)-*] *-w*	[agent noun]	*ma·ci·-* VAI 'hunt'	*oma·ci·w* 'hunter'
		a·hkosi- VAI 'be sick'	*ota·hkosiw* 'sick person, patient'
-win	[abstract noun]	*a·cimo-* VAI 'tell a story'	*a·cimowin* 'story'
		pima·tisi- VAI 'live'	*pima·tisiwin* 'life'
-kan	[instrument]	*ci·kah-* VTI 'chop it'	*ci·kahikan* 'axe'
		ma·mitone·yiht- VTI 'ponder it'	*ma·mitone·yihcikan* 'mind'
		pimiha·- VAI 'fly along'	*pimiha·kan* 'airplane'
-a·kan	[patient]	*no·tin-* VTA 'fight him'	*no·tina·kan* 'enemy'
		wi·kim- VTA 'live with him'	*-wi·kima·kan* 'spouse'
-ihka·n |ehka·n|	[surrogate]	*pi·simw-* NA 'sun'	*pi·simohka·n* 'watch'
		okima·w- NA 'chief, boss'	*okima·hka·n* 'elected or appointed chief'

Table 21. Selected Particle Finals

Final	*Gloss*	*Example* *Base*	*Derived stem*
|i|		*oht-* 'thence'	*ohci* 'thence, from'
		|eθ-| 'thus'	*isi* 'thus'
		kana·t- 'clean'	*kana·ci* 'clean'
-a·c		*so·skw-* 'smooth'	*so·skwa·c* 'smoothly, right away'
-taw		*oht-* 'thence'	*ohcitaw* 'on purpose, expressly'
-wa·w	'___ times'	*mihce·t-* 'many'	*mihce·twa·w* 'many times'
		tahtw- 'so many'	*tahtwa·w* 'so many times, every time'
		pe·yakw- 'one'	*pe·yakwa·w* 'one time, once'
-wayak	'in ___ ways/places'	*mihce·t-* 'many'	*mihce·twayak* 'in many ways/places'
		ta·nitahtw- 'how many'	*ta·nitahtwayak* 'in how many ways/places'
		ni·sw- 'two'	*ni·swayak* 'in two ways/places'
-ita	'at a place'	*nikot-* 'some, any'	*nikotita* 'just somewhere'
-ite·	'to a place'	*a·stam-* (toward speaker)	*a·stamite·* 'to the hither side'
		awas- (away from speaker)	*awasite·* 'to the further side'
-isi	'in a manner'	*o·m-* 'this'	*o·misi* 'this way', frequently accompanied by gestures

Table 22. Locative and Temporal Particle Finals with Pronominal Stems

	-ita 'at a place'	*-ite·* 'to a place'	*-isi* 'in a manner'	*-ispi·* 'at a time'	*-tahto* 'in such numbers'
o·- 'this'	*o·ta* 'here'	*o·te·* 'hither'			
an- 'that'	*anita* 'there'				
ne·- 'that yonder'		*ne·te·* 'yonder'			
ta·n- 'which one'	*ta·nita* 'where'	*ta·nite·* 'whither'	*ta·nisi* 'how'	*ta·nispi·* 'when'	*ta·nitahto* 'how much'
e·kw- 'that one'	*e·kota* '(just) there'	*e·kote·* '(just) thither'	*e·kosi* '(just) thus'	*e·kospi·* '(just) then'	

Table 23. Selected Intransitive Verb Finals

Final VAI	*VII*	*Gloss*	*Example Base*	*VAI*	*VII*
|esi|	*-a·-*	[verb]	*kinw-* [root] 'long'	*kinosiw* 'he is tall'	*kinwa·w* 'it is long'
	-an-	[verb]	*kana·t-* [root] 'clean'	*kana·tisiw* 'he is clean'	*kana·tan* 'it is clean'
-a·kosi-	*-a·kwan-*	["inverse"]	*ite·yiht-* VTI 'think so of it'	*ite·yihta·kosiw* 'he is thus thought of'	*ite·yihta·kwan* 'it is thus thought of'
-iko·wisi-		["inverse"]	*ite·yim-* VTA think so of him'	*ite·yimiko·wisiw* 'he is thus thought of by higher powers'	
-payi-	*-payi-*	'move'	*oht-* [root] 'thence'	*ohcipayiw* 'he moves from there'	*ohcipayiw* 'it moves from there'
			a·maciwe·- VAI 'go uphill'	*a·maciwe·payiw* 'he moves uphill'	
|ewi|	|ewi|	[verb of being]	*mahi·hkan-* NA 'wolf'	*mahi·hkaniwiw* 'he is a wolf'	
			ko·n- NA 'snow'		*ko·niwiw* 'it is snowy'
			ke·hte·- IPC 'old'	*ke·hte·wiw* 'he is old'	
			kisiwa·k- IPC 'near'		*kisiwa·kiwiw* 'it is near'
|i|		[verb of being, noun stems in -Vw-]	*iskwe·w-* NA 'woman'	*iskwe·wiw* 'she is a woman'	
|o(t)-\] *-i-*		[possession]	*mo·hkoma·n-* NI 'knife'	*omo·hkoma·niw* 'he has a knife'	
			-kosis- NDA 'son'	*okosisiw* 'he has (him as) a son'	
|ehke·|		'arrange'	*matotisa·n-* NI 'sweat-lodge'	*matotisa·nihke·w* 'he makes a sweat-lodge'	
			nitopayiwin- NI 'war-party, raid'	*nitopayiwinihke·w* 'he arranges a war-party, organizes a raid'	
|ke·|		[general goal, VTI/VAI]	*ma·kwaht-* VTI 'chew it'	*ma·kwahcike·w* 'he chews, chews things'	
			me·tawe·- VAI 'play'	*me·tawa·ke·w* 'he plays with things'	
|eke·|		[general goal, VTA]	*no·tin-* VTA 'fight him'	*no·tinike·w* 'he fights with people'	
			te·pwe·stamaw- VTA 'act as announcer for him'	*te·pwe·stama·ke·w* 'he acts as announcer for people'	
|iwe·|		[general goal]	*na·t-* |na·θ-| VTA 'fetch him'	*na·siwe·w* 'he fetches people'	
|eto|		[reciprocal]	*no·tin-* VTA 'fight him'	*no·tinito·wak* 'they fight one another'	
|eso|		[reflexive]	*asam-* VTA 'feed him'	*asamisow* 'he feeds himself'	
|o|		["middle reflexive"]	*a·cim-* VTA 'tell of him'	*a·cimow* 'he tells of himself, narrates'	

The preverbs of position 2 constitute an open class of particles, several of which may occur in succession.

6. Sounds

The sounds of Cree are presented in terms of distinctive sounds or phonemes, the status and configuration of which are far from being fully understood. A summary of their phonetic manifestations is followed by a preliminary statement of their distribution and of prosodic phenomena. While surface variations and external sandhi are nonobligatory, they are important both to the analysis of Cree and for the practical problem of relating actual Cree utterances to the somewhat more abstract level of distinctive sounds. The rules of internal sandhi (morphophonological alternation rules), by contrast, are obligatory.

Table 24. Selected Transitive Verb Finals

Final *VTA*	*VTI*	*Gloss*	*Example* *Base*	*VTA*	*VTI*	*Gloss*
|en|	|en|	'by hand'	*oht-* [root] 'thence'	*ohtine·w*	*ohtinam*	'he takes him/it from there by hand'
			sa·m- [root] 'touch'	*sa·mine·w*	*sa·minam*	'he touches him/it by hand'
|eskaw|	|esk|	'by foot or body movement'	*sa·m-* [root] 'touch'	*sa·miskawe·w*	*sa·miskam*	'he touches him/it by foot'
|ehtaw|	|eht|	'by hearing'	*nito-* [root] 'seek'	*nitohtawe·w*	*nitohtam*	'he tries to hear him/it'
|naw|	|n|	'by vision'	|eθ| [root] 'thus'	*isinawe·w*	*isinam*	'he sees him/it thus'
-ahw-	*-ah-*	'by medium, tool'	*sa·m-* [root] 'touch'	*sa·mahwe·w*	*sa·maham*	'he touches him/it by tool'
			ki·sk- [root] 'sever'	*ki·skahwe·w*	*ki·skaham*	'he chops him/it through by tool'
-atahw-	*-atah-*	'by sticklike tool'	*ki·sk-* [root] 'sever'	*ki·skatahwe·w*	*ki·skataham*	'he chops him/it through by ax'
|esw|	|es|	'by cutting edge'	*ki·sk-* [root] 'sever'	*ki·skiswe·w*	*ki·skisam*	'he cuts him/it through'
|esw|	|es|	'by heat'	*ki·s-* [root] 'complete'	*ki·siswe·w*	*ki·sisam*	'he cooks him/it done'
-m-	*-ht-* |mt|	'by mouth, speech'	*nito-* [root] 'seek'	*nitome·w*		'he calls, invites him'
			ma·kw- [root] 'press'	*ma·kwame·w*	*ma·kwahtam*	'he chews him/it'
-e·yim-	*-e·yiht-*	'by mental action'	|eθ| [root] 'thus'	*ite·yime·w*	*ite·yihtam*	'he thinks so of him/it'
-h-	*-hta·-* [VAI-T]	verb	*ki·s-* [root] 'complete'	*ki·sihe·w*	*ki·sihta·w* [VAI-T]	'he completes him/(it)'
			wan- [root] 'lose'	*wanihe·w*	*wanihta·w* [VAI-T]	'he loses him/(it)'
			mana·tisi- VAI 'act discreetly'	*mana·tisihe·w* 'he spares him'	*mana·tisihta·w* [VAI-T]	'he spares him, he is careful (of it)'
		causative	*nikamo-* VAI 'sing'	*nikamohe·w*		'he makes him sing'
-t- |θ|	*-t-* |t|	transitive verb	*pi·kiskwe·-* VAI 'speak'	*pi·kiskwa·te·w*	*pi·kiskwa·tam*	'he speaks to him/it'
|Lstaw|	|Lst|	transitive verb	*nahapi-* VAI 'sit down'	*nahapi·stawe·w*	*nahapi·stam*	'he sits down by him/it'
-totaw-	*-tot-*	transitive verb	*sa·ke·we·-* VAI 'come into view'	*sa·ke·we·totawe·w*	*sa·ke·we·totam*	'he comes into view of him/it'
-[am]aw-		benefactive	*wi·ht-* VTI 'tell it'	*wi·htamawe·w*		'he tells it to him'
-stamaw-		benefactive	*pi·kiskwe·-* VAI 'speak'	*pi·kiskwe·stamawe·w*		'he speaks for him'

Table 25. Selected Preverbs

Preverb	*Gloss*	*Example*
Position 1		
e·	subordinating	*e·-apit, naki·yiwa.* 'As he (3) sat down, the other (3′) stopped.'
ka·	subordinating	*ki·tahtawe· ka·-wa·pama·t ayi·isiyiniwa.* 'Suddenly [it was that] he saw people.'
		o·hi oskini·kiwa ka·-ki·-wa·pama·t 'that young man whom he had seen'
ka	future	*nik-o·h-minahon kita-mi·cisoya·n.* 'With these I will hunt to have something to eat.'
kita, ta		
Position 2		
ati	'progressively'	*e·kosi po·siw, e-ati-nikamot.* 'Then he embarked, beginning to sing.'
a·ta	'although'	*e·-a·ta-nitonahk, nama ki·-miskam.* 'Although she looked for it, she could not find it.'
ki·$_1$	'past'	*e·-ki·-po·nahk, pimisin.* 'Having made a fire, he lay down.'
ki·$_2$	'able to' [normally with negator or future preverb]	*namo·ya nika-ki·-itwa·n.* 'I cannot say.'
matwe·	'audibly'	*pe·htamwak ... wi·htiko·wa e·-matwe·-ye·hye·yit.* 'They heard the Windigo breathing loudly.'
me·kwa·	'while'	*e·-me·kwa·-pimisihkik* 'while they were lying down'
nihta·	'good at'	*kinihta·-kakwe·-ci·sima·wa·w* 'you are good at trying to deceive him by speech'
nitawi	'go to'	*e·-pe·-na·nitaw-a·sama·t* 'he kept going (reduplication *-na·-*) hither to feed him'
no·hte·	'want to'	*nino·hte·-pi·htwa·n* 'I want to smoke'
o·h, ohci	'thence, from, with'	*acosis piko ki·-ohci-nipahe·wak* 'with merely an arrow they killed them'
		e·koto·wahk nik-o·h-nipaha·wak 'with such I shall kill them'
	'remote past' [with negator]	*nama ki·kway ohc-a·ya·wak iskote·w.* '(Originally) they had no fire.'
pe·	'hither'	*wa·hyaw e·-pe·-wa·paniyik* 'as dawn appeared from afar'
wi·	'will, intend to'	*e·-wi·-kakwe·-wa·pahtahk ki·kway* 'when he was going to try to see something'

The phonological representation (italics) is identical to the orthography of Bloomfield's (1930, 1934) texts except for the purely mechanical substitution of *o*, *e·*, *c*, and raised dot for Bloomfield's ⟨u⟩, ⟨ä⟩, and ⟨ts⟩, and macron. Morphophonological notation, with segments enclosed in vertical bars and the additional characters |e|, |θ|, and |L| (6.3.3.), is used only where it is immediately relevant to the discussion.

In Cree forms, leading or trailing hyphens indicate that the form cannot occur by itself; when forms are cited in morphophonological representation, leading or trailing hyphens are usually omitted. In phonological representation, a hyphen within a word marks it as compound.

6.1. Distinctive Sounds

6.1.1. Segmental Units

The segmental units of Cree are summarized in table 26.

p, *t*, and *k* are generally voiceless, lenis, and unaspirated. Considerable subdistinctive variation occurs within the stop series:

(a) Between two short vowels the stops are voiceless geminates (with an intervening syllable boundary); this is especially obvious when the following vowel is stressed: [attím] *atim* 'dog, horse'.

(b) Between all other combinations of syllabics there appears to be free variation of voiced and voiceless stops; this is especially clearcut where the preceding vowel is long and in penultimate position;

[pʌkkáma·gʌ̀n] *pakama·kan* 'club';

[ma·kʌ, ma·gʌ] *ma·ka* 'but';

[ŋ̊ke·twà·n, ŋge·twà·n] *nik-e·twa·n* 'I will say so'.

(c) In word-final position, and possibly in environment (a) as well, stops with voiced onset and voiceless release appear to be in free variation with completely voiceless stops: [si·sí·bᵖ, si·sí·p] *si·si·p* 'duck'.

(d) In word-initial position and in contiguity with a voiceless fricative, the stops are always voiceless.

Under emphasis the stops may be fortis in any position and the resulting (nondistinctive) difference of lenis and fortis will sound quite similar to the (distinctive) voiced : voiceless difference of English.

s and *c* are voiceless; their articulation ranges, nondistinctively, from alveolar to alveopalatal. *s* shows considerable nondistinctive variation in length.

In the voiceless fricative *h*, glottal friction (or voicelessness) is accompanied by some oral friction, which in intervocalic position reflects the quality of the surrounding vowels: [kɪh̨íw] *kihiw* 'eagle', [o·h̨ow] *o·how* 'owl'. Before a consonant, *h* is influenced by the preceding vowel only: [pɪh̨kúh̨k] *pihkohk* 'in the ashes' vs. [ko·níh̨k] *ko·nihk* 'in the snow'; [ʌkúh̨p] *akohp* 'blanket' and [sɪh̨kíh̨p] *sihkihp* 'diver-duck'.

i tends to be realized as [i] before *w* and *y*, and as [ɪ] elsewhere.

o is lower high and strongly rounded.

For all other vowels, the "characteristic features" given above closely reflect the phonetic manifestations. In the dialects of central Saskatchewan (Vandall and Douquette 1987; Whitecalf 1993), vowel length tends to be indeterminate before preaspirated stops: *okima(·)hka·n* 'elected chief'; this phenomenon is not restricted to unstressed syllables. (Subdistinctive variations of vowel length and quality, especially with respect to position in the word, are discussed in some detail in Longacre 1957; 6.2.)

In some variants of Plains Cree, notably in the Saddle Lake area of east-central Alberta and in neighboring parts of Saskatchewan (Wolfart 1992:358, 377), the long front vowels *i·* and *e·* are not distinguished. (It is tempting to appeal to the simultaneous effects of pattern pressure—the asymmetry of the vowel system—and the small functional load of *e·* as determinants of an incipient merger.)

Table 26. Summary of Segmental Units

Distinctive sound	*Characteristic features*	*Approximate English counterpart*
p	bilabial stop	spill
t	apico-alveolar stop	still
c	alveolar-alveopalatal affricate	hats/much
k	dorso-velar stop	skill
s	alveolar/alveopalatal fricative	sea/she
h	glottal fricative	ahead
m	bilabial nasal	met
n	apico-alveolar nasal	net
w	bilabial semivowel	wet
y	alveopalatal semivowel	yet
i	high front short vowel	hit
a	low short vowel	cup
o	high back short vowel	book
i·	high front long vowel	keen
e·	low front long vowel	cane
a·	low back long vowel	father
o·	high back long vowel	bone

6.1.2. Prosodic Phenomena

Neither intensity nor pitch appear to be phonologically distinctive in Plains Cree words; in the description of the placement of *stress* that term is used for what actually seems to be a combination of intensity and pitch. Intonation patterns that affect units larger than the word are yet to be investigated.

Phonologically, words are defined by bearing primary stress and by characteristic boundary phenomena (see 6.1.2.2.). With the exception of compound words (cf. 5.4.) and close-knit phrases (cf. 6.1.2.2.), these phonological criteria coincide with morphological criteria such as prefixation and suffixation and the syntactic criteria of mobility and isolability.

6.1.2.1. Stress

The stress pattern of words seems to depend primarily on the number of syllables rather than on vowel length.

Disyllabic words are stressed on the last syllable: [ɪskwé·w] *iskwe·w* 'woman', [mɪhtí] *mihti* 'piece of firewood'. However, note that disyllabic particles show a nondistinctive variation of ultimate and penultimate stress whose relation to sentence-level patterns remains to be studied: [ma·ká, má·ka] *ma·ka* 'but', [mahtí, máhtɪ] *mahti* 'let's see, come on'.

In words of three of more syllables, primary stress falls on the third syllable from the end. Secondary stress then falls on alternate syllables in either direction, reckoned from the antepenult: [né·hiyàw] *ne·hiyaw* 'Cree Indian', [pàsʌkwà·pɪsímowìn] *pasakwa·pisimowin* 'Shut-Eye dance'. Note that the above rule holds for Plains Cree even where the penultima is long: [míta·tàht] *mita·taht* '10', [úspwa·gàn] *ospwa·kan* 'pipe'.

6.1.2.2. Boundaries

Word boundary may be marked by a gradual devoicing of a final vowel or by a voiceless on-glide in an initial vowel: [nɪskáh] *niska* 'goose', [háyapì] *ay-api* 'be seated'. These voiceless glides are not only nondistinctive but also completely optional.

Except perhaps statistically, the presence of |h| word-finally in the morphophonological representation appears to be irrelevant to the phonetic realization: [nɪté·, nɪté·h] *nite·h* |nete·h| 'my heart' (the *h* is written in accordance with the orthographical principles summarized in Wolfart and Ahenakew 1987:118-119, which are based on both phonological and morphological considerations; cf. *nite·hina·na* 'our hearts'); [útɛ·mà, útɛ·màh] *ote·ma* |ote·mah| 'his dog, horse.'

Note that vowel coalescence under external sandhi (6.22.) may take place even where a word-final |h| is morphophonologically present; *mí·nis e·-ki·-ka·h-kakwa·hyake·yatiki* 'berries used to be varied and plentiful' (cf. |mi·nisah|); *opawá·kan á·na* 'that one's dream-spirit' (cf. |opawa·kanah|). Note that the stress patterns reflect the full forms of the words (i.e., *mí·nisà, opawá·kanà*); cf. also 6.222.

A glottal stop occurs in free variation with final devoicing in the three particles: [ę·ha?] *e·ha* 'yes', [yo·?, yo·ho·?] *yo·, yo·ho·* '(exclamation of surprise)'.

Compound words are characterized by a phonological word boundary within a single inflectional unit: [niwí·hátuskà·n] *niwi·-atoska·n* 'I am going to work'. (Contrast the situation in Menominee [Bloomfield 1962:20] where compounds are stressed like unit words.)

Words may enter into close-knit phrases that behave like unit words with respect to stress and word boundary. They consist typically of

(a) a verb or noun followed by a pronoun or particle: [kà·tuttáhkawà] *k-a·totahk awa* 'this one told about it' (cf. [ká·tutàhk awá]); [í·ncùaspàpuwìnnsáwuhcì] *iyinico-aspapiwinisa ohci* 'with an Indian saddle' (cf. í·ncùaspàpuwínsà uhcí]);

(b) a verb or noun preceded by a pronoun: [awá mstìk] *awa mistik* 'this tree';

(c) pronouns and particles following one another: [e·kwáho·mà] *e·kwa o·ma* 'then this one'.

For the stress patterns that result under conditions of external sandhi see 6.2.2.2.

6.1.3. Distribution

Vowels as a class may occur in any position in the word, but the long vowels *i·*, *e·*, and *o·* are quite rare in initial and final position, and *i* is infrequent in word-initial position. There are no vowel clusters.

The distribution of consonants and semivowels within the word and in relation to the vowels is summarized in table 27. The number sign (#) marks the word boundary, and parentheses indicate optional combinations. Note that only primary clusters are cited (as opposed to secondary clusters like *nt*, which arise from elision) and that recent loanwords, such as *anpwe·hta* 'Alberta' are excluded.

Although phonetically an affricate, *c* patterns with *p*, *t*, and *k* and is therefore included in the phonological class of stops.

h occurs before a consonant, between vowels, or followed by *w* and a vowel.

It is obvious from table 27 that the clusters of the word-final position differ from those of the word-medial one only by the absence of postconsonantal *w* in the former. This fact is particularly striking in the alternation of certain noun stems:

|mistikw-a| *mistik* 'tree', vs.

|mistikw-ak| *mistikwak* 'trees'.

On the morphophonological level, a very significant proportion of Cree words end in a vowel. If this pattern were to be extrapolated to all words (as appears to have been the case in Proto-Algonquian; Bloomfield

Table 27. Distribution of Consonants and Semivowels

# ___ V	V ___ V	V ___ #
p(w)	(h,s)p(w)	(h,s)p
t(w)	(h,s)t(w)	(h,s)t
c(w)	(h,s)c(w)	(h,s)c
k(w)	(h,s)k(w)	(h,s)k
	h(w)	
s	s(w)	s
m(w)	m(w)	m
n	n(w)	n
w	w	w
y	y(w)	y
	hy	

1946:92), a rather simple description of syllable structure might be achieved:

(a) onset (optional):
  (i) nonsyllabic, or
  (ii) consonant followed by *w*;
(b) peak (obligatory):
  vowel;
(c) *coda* (optional):
  s or *h*.

There are no primary clusters of identical nonsyllabics, or of any fricative or semivowel followed by a fricative, nasal, or *y*.

In terms of this analysis, syllable and word structure in general might be represented as follows:

$$\text{syllable: } \left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{con } (w)\\ \text{semivowel}\end{matrix}\right\}\right) \text{ V } \left(\left\{\begin{matrix}s\\ h\end{matrix}\right\}\right)$$

$$\text{word: } \# \left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{con } (w)\\ \text{semivowel}\end{matrix}\right\}\right) \text{V} \left\{\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}s\\ h\end{matrix}\right\}\right) \text{con } (w)\right\} \text{V ... V } \#.$$

6.2. Nondistinctive Variations

There is a wide variety of surface variations that center around a normal form. The normal form is found only in elevated or in especially slow, deliberate speech. For example, the normal form [kɪkánɪpáhɪtɪ̀n] *kikanipahitin* 'I'll kill you' is under appropriate circumstances pronounced [kkàmpáyhtn̩].

6.2.1. Surface Variations

The most important areas of surface variation are the interrelated phenomena of stress, elision, and syllabicity and the realizations of *h*, *w*, and *y* in intervocalic position, e.g. [é·nìpahísoyìt, é·npáyso·wìt] *e·-nipahisoyit* 'the other is killing himself'; [n̩ttúhttá·n] *nititohta·n* 'I take it there'; [askí·yukì] *aski·wiki* 'when it is a year, next year'; [apíw, apyú, apú̯] *apiw* 'he is seated'.

Elision between homorganic consonants of short vowels, especially *i*, in unstressed syllables gives rise to secondary clusters: *nt* in *kon(i)ta* 'in vain, without reason', *nin(i)tawe·yihte·n* 'I want (it)'.

Another common type of surface variation obscures the quantity and even the quality of vowels before homorganic semivowels;

iy ~ *i·y*	*e·-te·htapiya·n* 'as I am mounted (on horseback)'
i·y ~ *iy*	*e·-tapasi·ya·n* 'as I flee'
iw ~ *ow* ~ *o·w*	*te·htapiw* 'he is mounted (on horseback)'
ow ~ o·w	*pima·mow* 'he flees along'
o·w ~ ow	*pasiko·w* 'he arises from sitting'

For orthographic conventions intended to deal with this variation see Wolfart and Ahenakew (1987:115-120) and Wolfart (1992:351-352).

Phonological modifications that are a function of narrative style are termed rhetorical distortion. Vowels under rhetorical distortion are significantly longer than the corresponding long vowels; *i* and *i·* are in addition lowered to [e·].

Rhetorical distortion most frequently affects the first vowel of a sentence, for example, [a·spín] *aspin* 'off, away' but is not restricted to that position, or even to the first vowel of a word, as in [mìtuné·, mè·tuné·] *mitoni* 'really', [è·kusé·] *e·kosi* 'thus'. As the last two examples show, rhetorical distortion is frequently accompanied by an emphatic stress-intonation pattern. This emphatic pattern also occurs independently of vowel distortion: [nìpahé·w] *nipahe·w* 'he surely killed him'.

In addition to the phonological phenomena of surface variation there exist a number of lexical doublets. Most striking are those that occur both with and without an initial consonant, for example, *sa·say/a·say* 'already', *ke·yiwe·hk/e·yiwe·hk* 'to a fair extent', *ke·ya·pic/e·ya·pic* 'again', etc. While dialect and idiolect differentiation may play a role, some speakers use both forms interchangeably.

6.2.2. External Sandhi

External sandhi takes place between words as well as between the constituent members of compound words, that is, at all phonological word boundaries. It is distinct from the combination rules operating within the word (morphophonology or internal sandhi).

The rules of external combination are optional; their application correlates to some extent with style and speed of utterance. As with other types of surface variation, the more extreme modifications of external sandhi are avoided where they might impair the recognition of a form. Thus, instances of inflectional endings undergoing external sandhi are not uncommon (e.g., *ita wa·skahikan e·-aste·ki* 'where there are houses'; the stress, which in the full plural form *wa·skahikana* falls on the antepenult, remains on that syllable even when the final vowel takes part in contraction). Another example is: *ma·ma·kwaht o·ma* 'chew this!' (cf. *ma·ma·kwahta o·ma*). Nevertheless, inflectional endings seem more resistant to vowel coalescence than, for example, the final vowels of particles.

In addition, there is a fair amount of free variation; thus, within some texts there is an almost equal number of "deliberate" and "casual" transitions, often occurring side by side: *konit e·-ta·stakiskwe·yit e·tokwe·, konita e·-pe·hta·kosit*; 'Then up he raised his head, and then he made a big noise'.

Sequences of nonsyllabics or of nonsyllabics and vowels remain unmodified by external sandhi; thus, only sequences of word-final and word-initial vowels

are affected. The two basic types of transition—with or without vowel coalescence—appear to occur in free variation.**

6.2.2.1. Open Transition

Where both vowels are preserved, the word boundary may not be marked at all (hiatus), or it may be realized by the gradual devoicing of the word-final vowel, just as it would be before a nonsyllabic or in pausal position: [awáh ɪskwé·w] *awa iskwe·w* 'this woman'.

If one of the vowels is a front vowel (*i*, *i·*, or *e·*), a transitional [y] may occur, as in [awáy ɪskwé·w] *awa iskwe·w*. The transitional [h] or [y] may be part of the preceding or of the following syllable: [é·h̩-ápɪcìk, é·-hápɪcìk] *e·-apicik* 'they are seated'. Where the second word begins in *i*, this *i* is frequently elided after a transitional glide: [é·yɪtwé·t, é·ytwé·t] *e·-itwe·t* 'he is saying so'. If the preceding sequence of vowel and semivowel is homorganic, a single long vowel may result: [kí·yɪtwé·w, kí·twé·w] *ki·-itwe·w* 'he has said so'. If the word-final vowel is devoiced, the *i* may be elided and diphthongization of the preceding vowel takes place: [é·hɪtwé·t, é·yhtwé·t] *e·-itwe·t* 'he is saying so.' These variations exactly parallel surface variations, not described here, that occur within a word.

6.2.2.2. Vowel Coalescence

Vowel coalescence under external sandhi may be informally summarized in a set of ordered rules as seen in table 28.

The vowel resulting from coalescence always carries the stress of the word-final vowel, and any preceding stress becomes secondary; [è·yukw à·címo·wìn] *e·yako a·cimowin* 'this story'. If the second word is disyllabic, its first syllable receives primary stress: [è·yukw á·wa] *e·yakw a·wa* 'this one'.

Rule 1: Word-final *o* is realized as *w* and the word-initial vowel, unless already long, is lengthened without any change in quality: [pɪkw í·te·] *pikw i·te·* 'everywhere' (cf. *piko, ite·*). (No evidence has been found for a parallel rule for *o·*, which very rarely occurs finally.)

Rule 2a: Where *a* or *a·* is followed by *i*, either *i·* or *e·* results; neither the conditioning factors nor the exact distribution of these variants has been established beyond the fact that preverbs ending in *a* or *a·* always yield *e·*: *nik-e·twa·n* 'I'll say so' (cf. *nika, itwe·-*); *k-e·twe·t* 'he is saying so' (cf. *ka·, itwe·-*). Example of *i·*: *aw i·skwe·w* 'this woman' (cf. *awa, iskwe·w*).

Rule 2b: *o·h o·te·ma* 'this horse of his' (cf. *o·hi, ote·ma*); *nik-a·pin* 'I'll sit down' (cf. *nika, api-*).

**There is at least one notable exception to this statement: the future markers *ka, kita, ta* do not take part in vowel coalescence in clauses involving doubt or an irrealis condition:

ta·nis o·ma nika-itwa·n 'how should I say this'.

Where the verb stem begins in a consonant, the hiatus is emphasized by strong devoicing of the final vowel (Wolfart 1989).

Long vowels in word-final position do not frequently show coalescence; moreover, word-final *i·* and *o·* are rare in any case. Examples: *k-i·si-nipahaci* 'once you have killed him' (cf. *ki·, isi*); *misiw i·te·* 'all over, everywhere' (cf. *misiwe·, ite·*).

Rule 3: Postconsonantal *w* that results from the application of Rules 1 or 2 is deleted obligatorily if it is followed by *o·*: *e·yak o·hci* 'from that same one' (cf. *e·yako, ohci*).

6.3. Morphophonology

The morphophonological rules that follow are based primarily on the alternations of inflectional affixes and stems.

The summary (table 29) includes only the more generally applicable rules; it also omits prefixation and initial change, which are discussed in 6.3.6. and 6.3.7. The hyphen (-) and the number sign (#) indicate morpheme and word boundary, respectively.

Rules 1 to 4 are rules of internal combination (internal sandhi). Rule 1, which also consists of ordered subrules, precedes all others. After the rules of internal combination have been applied, rules (R1) and (R2) yield the phonemic shapes.

6.3.1. Consonant Sequences

When a morpheme-final |w| is followed by a morpheme-initial |w|, only one |w| remains: |wa·pam-a·-y-e·kw-wa·w-h| *wa·pama·ye·kwa·wi* 'if you (pl.) see them'.

Table 28. External Sandhi: Vowel Coalescense Rules

(1)	*o* # V(·)	→	*w* # V·
(2a)	*a*(·) # *i*	→	# *e·*, # *i·*
(2b)	$V(\cdot)_1$ # $V(\cdot)_2$	→	# $V\cdot_2$
(3)	C w # *o*(·)	→	C # *o·*

Table 29. Summary of Major Morphophonological Rules

1	a	w-w	→	w
	b	(m,n)-(k,t)	→	h(k,t)
	c	C-C	→	C-iC
2		θ-(i,i·)	→	s(i,i·)
		t-(i,i·)	→	c(i,i·)
3		V·-V·	→	V·yV·
		V_1-$V\cdot_2$	→	$V\cdot_2$
		$V\cdot_1$-V_2	→	$V\cdot_1$
		V_1-V_2	→	V_1
		V-L	→	V·
4		Cw-iC, Cw-eC	→	CoC
		Vw-e, Vy-e	→	V·
R1		V#	→	Ø#
		Cw#	→	C#
R2		θ	→	*t*
		e	→	*i*
		p, t, c, k, ...	→	*p, t, c, k, ...*

Before a morpheme-initial stop, a morpheme-final nasal is realized as |h|: |e·#kemiwan-k| *e·-kimiwahk* 'it is raining, |wa·pam-to-| *wa·pahto-* 'see each other'.

All other cases of a nonsyllabic followed by a consonant result in the insertion of a connective |i|: |e·#wa·pam-ak-k| *e·wa·pamakik* 'I am seeing them'.

6.3.2. Palatalization

Before *i* (reflecting |i|) and *i·*, *t* (reflecting |θ|) alternates with *s*, and *t* (reflecting |t|) alternates with *c*; this is the major type of palatalization, called mutation. In spite of their parallel nature it is sometimes useful in Cree to separate the *t/c* alternation (or c-palatalization) from the *t/s* alternation (or s-palatalization). Note that neither *t* is affected by *i* (reflecting |e|):

ti	|t-e|
ci	|t-i|
ti	|θ-e|
si	|θ-i|

Examples:

|ke-na·θ-in|	*kina·sin*	'you fetch me'
|ke-na·θ-etin|	*kina·titin*	'I fetch you'
|ne-i·waθ-i|	*ni·was*	'my sacred pack'
|ne-i·waθ-ah|	*ni·wata*	'my sacred packs'
|e·#wa·pam-a·-t-k|	*e·-wa·pama·cik*	'they are seeing the other'

There are, of course, individual exceptions to these palatalization rules: |ne-set-i| *nisit* 'my foot' (instead of the expected *nisic*).

Diminutives ending in |es, esis| show pervasive c-palatalization of all preceding *t*s; |ot-akohp-es| *ocakohpis* 'his little blanket'. Note that diminutive c-palatalization does not distinguish |t| and |θ|: |aθemw-esis| *acimosis* 'little dog'.

C-palatalization may be the only sign of diminutive formation; *yo·tin* 'it is windy', *yo·cin* 'it is a little windy'. The speech of Wisahkechahk, the culture hero, sometimes shows c-palatalization throughout, which Cree speakers say makes it "sound pitiful."

For the "compassionate" use (Nichols 1979) of pervasive palatalization, especially to *š* and *č*, see Wolfart (1992:378) and Pentland (1975).

Palatalization also plays an important part in word formation: |wi·ht-ika·θ-yo-w| *wi·hcika·so·w* 'he is named', |wi·ht-ika·θ-e·-w| *wi·hcika·te·w* 'it is named'.

6.3.3. Vowel Combinations

Long vowels are separated by |y|: |ki·sika·-a·pan| *ki·sika·ya·pan* 'it is daybreak'.

Before or after along vowel, a short vowel disappears: |pemohte·-eyiwah| *pimohte·yiwa* 'the other walks'; |pi·htokwe·-akocin-w| *pi·htokwe·kocin* 'he comes flying inside'.

In a sequence of short vowels the second disappears: |pe·ho-eyiwah| *pe·hoyiwa* 'the other waits'.

A short vowel followed by the special symbol |L| results in a long vowel: |nipi-Lmakan-w| *nipi·makan* 'it dies'.

6.3.4. Contraction

Interconsonantal |w-i| or |w-e| are realized as *o*:

|ke-pakamahw-in| *kipakamahon* 'you hit me'
|ke-pakamahw-etin| *kipakamahotin* 'I hit you'.

When a morpheme ending in a sequence of vowel and semivowel is followed by another beginning in |e|, the first vowel of the sequence is lengthened (unless it is already long) and the semivowel and |e| disappear; for example,

|mahke·siw-es|	*mahke·si·s*	'little fox, coyote'
|k-i·k-enaw-ehk|	*ki·kina·hk*	'our home'
|sa·si·w-ena·hk|	*sa·si·na·hk*	'at Sarcee Reserve'
|ne-na·pe·w-em|	*nina·pe·m*	'my husband'
|ispatina·w-es|	*ispacina·s*	'little hill'
|asko·w-eto-wak|	*asko·to·wak*	'they follow each other'
|n-atay-ehk|	*nata·hk*	'on my belly'
|mi·cima·poy-ehk|	*mi·cima·po·hk*	'in the soup, broth'

Contraction and palatalization permit the identification of *i* as |i| or |e|:

|ke-wi·htamaw-etin| *kiwi·htama·tin* 'I tell you'
|ke-wi·htamaw-in| *kiwi·htamawin* 'you tell me'.

See also Ahenakew and Wolfart (1991).

Contraction does not occur with monosyllabic stems: |mey-ek| *miyik* 'the other gives it to him'. In the area of derivation, the full range of applicability of the contraction rule remains to be determined.

6.3.5. Phonemic Realization

The final short vowels of the morphophonological representation disappear in the phonemic realization: |si·si·p-a| *si·si·p* 'duck'. With monosyllabic stems, the final vowel remains: |eθ-i| *isi* 'tell him so!', |wa·w-i| *wa·wi* 'egg'; it is dropped in VTA imperatives with a long stem vowel, |na·θ-i| *na·s* 'bring him!'. (With respect to the final |i| of particles, this rule appears to be optional: *kwaya·c, kwaya·ci* 'ready'.)

Postconsonantal word-final |w| is dropped, including those that arise from loss of final vowel: |e·#api-yahkw| *e·-apiyahk* 'we are sitting', |aθemw-a| *atim* 'dog, horse' (cf. *atimwak* 'dogs, horses').

|θ| is realized as *t*, |e| as *i*, and |p, t, c, k, s, h, m, n, w, y, i, a, o, i·, e·, a·, o·| as *p, t, c, k, s, h, m, n, w, y, i, a, o, i·, e·, a·, o·*.

6.3.6. Prefixation

Before a vowel-initial stem, the personal prefixes |ke-|, |ne-|, |we-|, and |me-| take an epenthetic |t|, for example, |net-api-n| *nitapin* 'I sit'.

Instead of this |t|, the insertion of |h| or |w| has been observed in isolated instances: *nihaya·n* 'I have it', or *kiwa·tote·n* 'you tell it'.

Before dependent noun stems that begin in a vowel, the prefixes show the alternants |k-|, |n-|, |w-|, and |m-|, for example, *katay* 'your belly', *natay* 'my belly',

watay 'his belly'. Before dependent stems beginning in |o·|, the third-person prefix is realized as zero: *o·hkoma* 'his grandmother', cf. *no·hkom* 'my grandmother'.

Before stems beginning in |o| or |o·|, the regular pattern (epenthetic |t|) and the pattern found with dependent stems appear to be in free variation; note that |o| is lengthened in either case:

|net-okima·w-em-ena·n| *nito·kima·mina·n* 'our chief',
|n-okima·w-em-ena·n| *no·kima·mina·n* 'our chief'.

6.3.7. INITIAL CHANGE

In the changed and iterative modes of the conjunct order (4.1.2.2.), the first vowel of a stem or compound (5.4.) undergoes a systematic modification called initial change. *C* stands for any nonsyllabic, including none at all.

Ci/Ce· *se·pwe·hte·ci* 'when he went out', cf. *sipwe·hte·-*
Ca/Ce· *te·kohte·t* 'when he arrived', cf. *takohte·-*
Co/Cwe· *we·htinahk* 'when he took it from there', cf. *ohtin-*
Ci·/Ca· *wa·-ki·hce·kosi·ci* 'when she tried to climb up', cf. *wi·-ki·hce·kosi·-*[††]
Ci·/Ciyi· *miyi·citwa·wi* 'when they had it to eat', cf. *mi·ci-*
Ce·/Ciye· *piye·-takohte·ci* 'when he got hither', cf. *pe·-takohte·-*
Ca·/Ciya· *wiya·pahtahki* 'when he sees it', cf. *wa·paht-*
Co·/Ciyo· *ta·nisi tiyo·tahk* 'how did he do it', cf. *to·t-*

7. SELECTED VOCABULARY

all *kahkiyaw* IPC
almost *ke·ka·c* IPC
American *kihci-mo·hkoma·n* NA
and *mi·na* IPC
animal *pisiskiw* NA
arm *nispiton* NDI 'my arm'
arrive *takosin* VAI 'he arrives'
takohte·w VAI 'he arrives walking'
takopiciw VAI 'he arrives with his camp'
arrow *acosis* NI
ashes *pihko* NI 'ashes, dust'
ask *kakwe·cime·w* VTA 'he asks him'
aunt *nisikos* NDA 'my father's sister, mother's brother's wife, mother-in-law'
nika·wi·s NDA 'my mother's sister, father's brother's wife' (Plains Cree only; cf. 'mother')
nito·sis NDA 'mother's sister, father's brother's wife' (Plains Cree and other Cree dialects)
automobile *se·hke·-pimipayi·s* NA
autumn *takwa·kin* VII 'it is autumn'
back *nispiskwan* NDI 'my back'
backbone *na·wikan* NDI 'my backbone
bad *ma·ya·tan* VII 'it is bad'
badger *mistanask*, pl. *mistanaskwak* NA
bannock *pahkwe·sikan* NA 'bannock [fried bread]'
bead *mi·kisis* NA 'bead'
pi·wa·piskominis NA 'metal bead'
bear *maskwa* NA
beaver *amisk*, pl. *amiskwak* NA
amiskowiyiniw NA 'Beaver Indian'
believe *ta·pwe·htam* VTI 'he believes it'
belly *natay* NDI 'my belly'
berry *mi·nis* NI
misa·skwato·min NI 'Saskatoon berry'
big *misa·w* VII 'it is big'
bird *pihye·si·s* NA
bite *tahkwahtam* VTI 'he bites it'
black *kaskite·siw* VAI 'he is black'
Blackfoot *kaskite·wayasit* NA
ayahciyiniw NA 'stranger, enemy, Blackfoot'
blanket *akohp* NA, NI
blood *mihko* NI
mihkowiyiniw NA 'Blood Indian'
blue *aski·htakwa·w* VII 'it is blue-green'
body *niyaw* NDI 'my body'
bone *niskan* NDI 'my bone'
boy *na·pe·sis* NA cf. 'man'
breathe *ye·hye·w* VAI 'he breathes'
brother *niste·s* NDA 'my older brother'
oste·sima·w NA 'the eldest brother'
nisi·m(is) NDA 'my younger sibling'
osi·mima·w NA 'the youngest sibling'
nitawe·ma·w NDA 'my sibling or parallel cousin of opposite sex'; for 'brother-in-law' see 'cousin'
buffalo *mostos*, pl. *mostoswak* NA
bullet *asiniy* NI
bundle *ni·was*, pl. *ni·wata* NDI 'my sacred bundle'
mi·nisiwas, pl. *mi·nisiwata* NI 'berry bag'
burn *pasite·w* VII 'it burns'
bush *saka·w* NI 'bush, woods'

[††]For Plains Cree, the *i·/a·* alternation is attested only in the preverbs *ki·* and *wi·* (Wolfart 1973:appendix A7).

camp *matokahp* NI 'empty, abandoned campsite'
canoe *o·si* NI (Plains Cree only)
ci·ma·n NI (Plains Cree and other Cree dialects)
ma·ham VTI 'he canoes downriver'
na·taham VTI 'he canoes upriver'
caribou *atihk,* pl. *atihkwak* NA
cent *pi·wa·piskos* NI 'wire, needle, cent'
chief *okima·w* NA 'chief, boss'
child *awa·sis* NA
coat *niskota·kay* NDI 'my coat, dress'
cold *kisina·w* VII 'it is cold weather'
count *akime·w* VTA 'he counts him'
akihtam VTI 'he counts it'
cousin *ni·tim,* pl. *ni·timwak* NDA 'my cross-cousin of opposite sex, sibling-in-law'
ni·cimos NDA 'my cross-cousin of opposite sex, my lover'
ni·sta·w NDA 'my male cross-cousin, brother-in-law (male speaking)'
nica·hkos NDA 'my female cross-cousin, sister-in-law (female speaking)'
niciwa·m NDA 'my male parallel cousin, my friend (male speaking)'
crazy *mo·hcopiye·n* NA 'Crazy-Pierre (personal name)'
mo·hco·hka·so·w VAI 'he pretends to be crazy'
Cree *ne·hiyaw* NA (Plains Cree only)
ne·hiya·wiw VAI 'he is a Cree'
ne·hiyawe·w VAI 'he speaks Cree'
ne·hiyawe·win NI 'Cree matters, Cree expressions, the Cree language'
paskwa·wiyiniw NA 'Plains Cree Indian'
omaske·ko·w NA 'Swampy Cree Indian'
saka·wiyiniw NA 'Bush Cree Indian'
Crow *ka·hka·kiwace·n* NA 'Crow Indian'
cut *manisam* VTI 'he cuts it'
dance *nipa·kwe·simo·w* VAI 'he dances the sun-dance' lit. 'thirst dance'
pwa·tisimo·w VAI 'he dances the Sioux dance'
daughter *nita·nis* NDA 'my daughter'
dawn *wa·pan* VII 'it dawns'
day *ki·sika·w* VII 'it is day'
ki·sika·w NI 'day'
die *nipiw* VAI 'he dies'
difficult *a·yiman* VII 'it is difficult'
dig *mo·naham* VTI 'he digs it/for it'
dog *atim,* pl. *atimwak* NA 'dog, horse'
acimosis NA 'dog'
nite·m NDA 'my dog, my horse'
wa·pastim, pl. *wa·pastimwak* NA 'white dog'
atimospikay NA 'Dogrib Indian'
drink *minihkwe·w* VAI 'he drinks'
dry *pa·hkwa·w* VII 'it is dry'
duck *si·si·p* NA 'duck'
iyinisip NA 'mallard duck'
eagle *kihiw* NA
ear *nihtawakay* NDI 'my ear'
earth *askiy* NI 'land, country, earth; year'
eat *mi·ciso·w* VAI 'he eats'
mi·ciw VAI 'he eats (it)'
egg *wa·wi* NI
eight *ayina·ne·w* IPC
elbow *nito·skwan* NDI 'my elbow'
eleven *pe·yakosa·p* IPC
enemy *no·tina·kan* NA 'adversary, enemy'
exist *ihta·w* VAI 'he exists'
ihtakon VII 'it exists'
namate·w VAI 'he does not exist'
eye *niski·sik,* pl. *niski·sikwa* NDI 'my eye'
face *nihkwa·kan* NDI 'my face'
fall *pahkisin* VAI 'he falls'
far *wa·hyaw* IPC
fat *pimiy* NI 'fat, grease'
father *no·hta·wiy* NDA 'my father'
o·hta·wi·hka·win NA 'adopted father'; for 'father-in-law' see 'uncle'
fear *kostam* VTI 'he fears it'
feather *mi·kwan* NA
fellow *ni·ci-kise·yiniw* NDA 'my fellow-old-man'
nikosa·k NDA 'my fellow-husband'
ni·ci-nitopayima·kan NDA 'my fellow-member-of-a-war-party'
fight *no·tine·w* VTA 'he fights him'
fish *kinose·w* NA
fire *iskote·w* NI
fisher *oce·k* NA (animal)
five *niya·nan* IPC
flow *pimiciwan* VII 'it (river) flows along'
kisiska·ciwan VII 'it (river) flows fast'
flower *wa·pakoni·w* NI
fly *pimiha·w* VAI 'he flies along'
foot *nisit* NDI 'my foot'
four *ne·wo* IPC

fox *mahke·si·s* NA 'fox, coyote'
freeze *kaskatin* VII 'it freezes up'
friend *nikwe·me·s* NDA 'my namesake, my friend', also 'cousin'
frog *ayi·kis* NA
fur *ata·wa·kan* NA 'fur, furred animal'
gaiter *nita·s* NDI 'my gaiter'; cf. 'trousers'
giant *mista·pe·w* NA
girl *iskwe·sis* NA cf. 'woman'
give *miye·w* VTA 'he gives (it/him) to him'
good *miywa·sin* VII 'it is good'
goose *niska* NA
grandchild *no·sisim* NDA 'my grandchild'
grandfather *nimoso·m* NDA 'my grandfather'
grandmother *no·hkom* NDA 'my grandmother'
grass *maskosiy* NI 'blade of grass'
Gros Ventre *pa·wistiko·yiniw* NA cf. 'rapids'
gull *kiya·sk,* pl. *kiya·skwak* NA
gun *pa·skisikan* NI
hand *nicihciy* NDI 'my hand, my finger'
head *nistikwa·n* NDI 'my head'
hear *pe·htawe·w* VTA 'he hears him'
heart *nite·h* NDI 'my heart'
heavy *kosikwan* VII 'it is heavy'
hill *ispatina·w* VII 'it is a steep hill'
hit *pakamahwe·w* VTA 'he hits him'
hold *tahkonam* VTI 'he holds it'
horse *mistatim,* pl. *mistatimwak* NA; cf. 'dog'
na·pe·stim, pl. *na·pe·stimwak* NA 'male horse, stallion'
house *ni·ki* NDI 'my home'
mi·kiwa·hp NI 'lodge, teepee'
wa·skahikan NI 'wooden cabin'
how *ta·nisi* IPC
hunt *ma·ci·w* VAI 'he hunts'
ice *miskwamiy* NA
if *ki·spin* IPC
Indian: for 'speak Indian' see under 'speak'
island *ministik,* pl. *ministikwa* NI
kettle *askihk,* pl. *askihkwak* NA 'kettle, pail'
kill *nipahe·w* VTA 'he kills him'
kinsman *nito·te·m* NDA 'my kinsman'
knife *mo·hkoma·n* NI
know *kiske·yime·w* VTA 'he knows him'
kiske·yihtam VTI 'he knows it'
lake *sa·kahikan* NI
laugh *pa·hpiw* VAI 'he laughs'
pa·hpihe·w VTA 'he makes him laugh'
leaf *ni·piy* NI
lie *pimisin* VAI 'he lies extended'
live *pima·tisiw* VAI 'he lives'
liver *niskon* NDI 'my liver'
long *kinwa·w* VII 'it is long'
look *wi·nina·kosiw* VAI 'he looks dirty'
kitima·kina·kosiw VAI 'he looks pitiable'
loon *ma·kwa* NA
louse *ihkwa* NA
lynx *pisiw* NA
maize *mahta·min* NA 'grain of maize, ear of maize'
man *ayi·siyiniw* NA 'man, human being, person'
na·pe·w NA 'man'; cf. *nina·pe·m* 'my husband'
oskini·kiw NA 'young man'
kise·yiniw NA 'old man'
many *mihce·t* IPC
measure *tipahikan* NI 'measure, yard, hour'
meat *wiya·s* NI
ka·hke·wak, pl. *ka·hke·wakwa* NI 'dried meat'
medicine *maskihkiy* NI 'medicine, herb'
maskihki·wiyiniw NA 'medicine-man, physician'
maskihki·wiskwe·w NA 'nurse'
metal *pi·wa·pisk,* pl. *pi·wa·piskwa* NI 'metal, iron'
money *so·niya·w* NA 'gold, money'
moose *mo·swa* NA
mother *nika·wiy* NDA 'my mother'
mana·cima·kan NA 'person to whom speech is avoided; mother-in-law (man speaking)'; for 'mother-in-law' see 'aunt'
mountain *waciy* NI 'hill, mountain'
asini·waciy NI 'the Rocky Mountains'
mouth *nito·n* NDI 'my mouth'
move *piciw* VAI 'he moves camp'
ma·hipiciw VAI 'he moves camp downriver'
muskrat *wacask,* pl. *wacaskwak* NA
name *wi·he·w* VTA 'he names him'
wi·ho·w VAI 'he names himself'
wi·ho·win NI 'name'
narrow *sa·kawa·sin* VII 'it is narrow'
near *ci·ki* IPC
nephew *nitihkwatim* NDA 'son of my sibling of opposite sex'

nito·sim NDA 'child of my sibling of same sex'
niece *nistim* NDA 'daughter of my sibling of opposite sex'
night *tipiska·w* VII 'it is night'
tipiska·w NI 'night'
nine *ke·ka·c-mita·taht* IPC
not *nama, namo·ya* IPC
nut *paka·n* NA
old *ke·hte·* IPC
kaya·s IPC 'long ago, of old'
one *pe·yak* IPC
orphan *awahka·nisis* NA
other *kotak* PR
otter *nikik,* pl. *nikikwak* NA
owl *o·how* NA
paddle *apoy* NA
paper *masinahikan* NI 'paper, letter, book'
Piegan *pi·kanowiyiniw* NA
pipe *ospwa·kan* NA
play *me·tawe·w* VAI 'he plays'
pouch *ahpihcis* NA 'tobacco pouch, pouch'
prairie *paskwa·w* VII 'it is open prairie'
prairie-chicken *pihye·w* NA 'prairie-chicken, partridge'
no·se·pihye·w NA 'prairie-hen, female partridge'
pull *manipitam* VTI 'he pulls it loose'
push *si·hkine·w* VTA 'he pushes him on'
rabbit *wa·pos,* pl. *wa·poswak* NA 'rabbit, hare'
rain *kimiwan* VII 'it rains'
rapids *pa·wistik,* pl. *pa·wistikwa* NI 'rapids, waterfall'
red *mihkwa·w* VII 'it is red'
rib *nispikay* NDI 'my rib'
river *si·piy* NI
road *me·skanaw* NI 'road, path'
rope *pi·sa·kana·piy* NI 'rawhide rope'
rosin *pikiw* NA 'rosin, gum'
run *pimipahta·w* VAI 'he runs along'
na·tahipahta·w VAI 'he runs upriver'
sand *ye·kaw* NI
Sarcee *sa·si·w* NA
Saulteaux *nahkawiyiniw* NA
say *itwe·w* VAI 'he says so'
ite·w VTA 'he says so to him'
see *wa·pame·w* VTA 'he sees him'
wa·pahtam VTI 'he sees it'
seven *te·pakohp* IPC
sew *kaskikwa·tam* VTI 'he sews it'
sharp *ki·nika·w* VII 'it is sharp'
shoe *maskisin* NI 'moccasin, shoe'
short *cima·sin* VII 'it is short'
sing *nikamow* VAI 'he sings'
Sioux *pwa·t* NA
sister *nimis* NDA 'my older sister'
omisima·w NA 'the eldest sister'; see also 'brother'; for 'sister-in-law' see 'cousin'
sit *apiw* VAI 'he sits'
six *nikotwa·sik* IPC
sky *ki·sik,* pl. *ki·sikwa* NI
Slavey *awahka·n* NA
sleep *nipa·w* VAI 'he sleeps'
small *apisa·sin* VII 'it is small'
smell *miya·htam* VTI 'he smells it'
smoke *pikihte·w* VII 'it smokes'
pi·htwa·w VAI 'he smokes (tobacco)'
smooth *so·skwa·w* VII 'it is smooth'
snake *kine·pik,* pl. *kine·pikwak* NA
snow *ko·na* NA
snowshoe *asa·m* NA
some *a·tiht* IPC
soil *asiskiy* NI
son *nikosis* NDA 'my son'
okosisi·hka·win NA 'adopted son'
ninaha·hkisi·m NDA/NA 'my son-in-law'
soup *mi·cima·poy* NI
mi·nisa·poy NI 'berry soup'
speak *ayahciyini·mow* VAI 'he speaks Blackfoot'
ne·hiyawe·w VAI 'he speaks Cree'
ne·hiyawimototawe·w VTA 'he speaks Cree to him'
akaya·si·mow VAI 'he speaks English'
we·mistiko·si·mow VAI 'he speaks French'
nahkawe·w VAI 'he speaks Saulteaux'
pwa·si·mow VAI 'he speaks Sioux'
ta·pwe·w VAI 'he speaks the truth'
spirit *manitow* NA 'spirit, god'
a·tayo·hkan NA 'spirit animal'
split *pasahike·w* VAI 'he splits things by tool'
spouse *wi·kima·kan* NA
squirrel *anikwaca·s* NA
stab *tahkame·w* VTA 'he stabs him'
stand *ni·pawiw* VAI 'he stands'

star *aca·hkos* NA
stick *mistik,* pl. *mistikwa* NI
stone *asiniy* NA
Stoney *opwa·si·mow* NA lit. 'Sioux speaker'
story *a·cimowin* NI 'story, narrative'
a·tayo·hke·win NI 'sacred story'; cf. 'spirit'
straight *kwayask* IPC 'straight, proper'
stranger *pi·tosiyiniw* NA 'stranger, enemy'
summer *ni·pin* VII 'it is summer'
sun *pi·sim,* obv. *pi·simwa* NA
swamp *maske·k,* pl. *maske·kwa* NI
sweetgrass *wi·hkask,* pl. *wi·hkaskwa* NI
tail *nisoy* NDI 'my tail'
tea *maskihki·wa·poy* NI
ten *mita·taht* IPC
thick *kispaka·w* VII 'it is thick'
thin *papaka·w* VII 'it is thin'
think *ite·yime·w* VTA 'he thinks so of him'
three *nisto* IPC
throw *we·pinam* VTI 'he throws it away'
thunderbird *pihye·siw* NA
tie *sakahpite·w* VTA 'he ties him fast'
tobacco *ciste·ma·w* NA
town *o·te·naw* NI
tree *mistik,* pl. *mistikwak* NA
sihta NA 'coniferous tree'
trousers *nita·s* NDA 'my trousers'; cf. 'gaiter'
truly *ta·pwe·* IPC 'truly, indeed'
turn *kwe·ski·w* VAI 'he turns'
twelve *ni·sosa·p* IPC
two *ni·so* IPC
uncle *nisis* NDA 'my mother's brother, father-in-law'
no·hca·wi·s NDA 'my father's brother, mother's sister's husband' (Plains Cree only); cf. 'father'
no·hkomis NDA 'my father's brother, mother's sister's husband' (Plains Cree and other Cree dialects)
walk *pimohte·w* VAI 'he walks along'
ma·hohte·w VAI 'he walks downriver'
wash *ka·si·hwe·w* VTA 'he washes him, wipes him'
kisi·pe·kinam VTI 'he washes it'
water *nipiy* NI
weasel *sihkos* NA
wet *sa·pope·w* VAI 'he is wet, drenched'
white *wa·piska·w* VII 'it is white'
wa·piski-wiya·s NA 'White man'
mo·niyaw NA 'White man, Canadian'
we·mistiko·siw NA 'White man, Frenchman, Canadian'
wife *ni·wa* NDA 'my wife'
willow *ni·pisiy* NI
wind *yo·tin* VII 'it is wind'
windigo *wi·htikow* NA
winter *pipon* VII 'it is winter'
with *ohci* IPC (postposition)
woman *iskwe·w* NA 'woman'; cf. *nitiskwe·m* 'my wife'
oskini·kiskwe·w NA 'young woman'
no·tokwe·siw NA 'old woman'
yellow *osa·wa·w* VII 'it is yellow'
young *oski* IPC 'young, new'