ASPECTS OF WOODS CREE SYNTAX

by

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A Thesis
Presented to the University of Manitoba
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Anthropology

Winnipeg, Manitoba

ISBN 0-315-77748-6

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the syntax of Woods Cree, an Algonquian language spoken at South Indian Lake, Manitoba. The research is based on elicitation and on the analysis of spontaneous texts.

The work covers constituent structure, clause types and verb morphology. The findings illustrate that minor constituents obey rigid word order constaints, constraints on the major constituents are less rigid and the order of constituents within the clause is relatively free. Clause type is defined by a combination of morphological and syntactic features which include the relative order of clauses, tense sequencing, obviation and verb morphology. The latter two features distinguish main from subordinate clauses.

The verb morphology also plays an important role in structuring information flow, e.g., conjunct verbs link information between clauses. Conjunct verbs are classified into changed and unchanged forms. Unchanged conjunct verbs are unmarked for their realization unless preceded by a tense preverb or a future particle. The changed conjunct, when represented by the preverbs (k)â- and î-, places special focus on specific aspects of the situation. Changed conjunct preverbs which have corresponding unchanged conjunct forms mark an event as realizable in the past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks to all the people of South Indian Lake who went out of their way to make my fieldwork enjoyable. Of special mention are Ivy Gault and Margaret Moose who contributed long hours answering questions and transcribing the texts. I also want to thank the following individuals for providing the texts included in this dissertation: Josephine Baker, Verna Bonner, Murdo Clee, Ivy Gault, Caroline Linklater, Sophia Linklater, Mary Moose, Margaret Moose, Wellington Moose, Mary Jane Spence and Hariet Tait.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Northern Studies committee at the University of Manitoba for a Northern Studies Research Grant without which this work could not have been undertaken and to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for a graduate fellowship.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff at St. John's College, to the staff in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Western Ontario and to the EIL staff at International Pacific College for their patience and understanding during the writing of this work.

I have also benefited from the comments and support of many people, including Josephine Baker, Heather Bonner, Peter Denny, Jenny Greensmith, Brian Paltridge, Ieva Jessens, David Pentland, Sandie Sherley-Spiers and Lisa Valentine.

Finally, I want to thank my committee members for their help and comments. I am especially greatful to Dr. James for her insightful and detailed comments and suggestions, to Dr. Nichols for his insights into Algonquian languages, to Dr. Voorhis for his suggestions about the Table in Chapter IX, and to Dean Hughes for his administrative help.

ABBREVIATIONS

verb stems

AI	Animate Intransitive verb
AI+O	Animate Intransitive verb with an optional object
II	Inanimate Intransitive verb
TA	Transitive Animate verb
TA+O	Transitive Animate verb with double goal
TI	Transitive Inanimate verb
TI2	Transitive Inanimate verb (inflected as AI)

verbal categories

C	conjunct verb
DelImp	delayed imperative verb
I	independent verb
Imp	imperative verb
IPV	syntactic-semantic preverb
S	subjunctive verb
dim	diminutive
fut	future
incp	inceptive preverb
negpast	negative part tense
past	past tense
pret	preterit
prv	preverb

recip	reciprocal
redup	reduplication
reflex	reflexive
rel	relative root or preverb
relat	relational verb

<u>person</u>, <u>number</u> <u>and</u> <u>obviation</u>

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3′	obviative
1p	first person exclusive
12	first person inclusive
2p	second person plural
3p	third person plural
0	third person inanimate singular
0p	third person inanimate plural
0′	third person inanimate obviative
X	indefinite subject

nominal categories

DNA	animate noun, dependent
DNI	inanimate noun, dependent
NA	animate noun
NI	inanimate noun
NP	noun phrase
an	animate
inan	inanimate
instr	instrument
loc	locative
pl	plural
pro	pronoun
voc	vocative
vocpl	vocative plural

syntactic categories

c.q.	content question
comp.	complement
decl.	declarative
obj.	object
subj.	subject
y.n.	yes-no question

particles

INT	expressive particle
Q	yes-no question particle
emp	emphatic particle
hrs	hearsay, assertive particle
neg	negative particle
prt	particle

morpheme boundaries

=	morpheme in inter-linear gloss
-	word division in inter-linear gloss
-	preverb boundary [orthographic]
\	stem class in inter-linear gloss
+	morpheme boundary in Cree [not orthographic]
[ ]	constituent structure in Cree examples

miscellaneous

C	consonant [in rules]
V	vowels [in rules]
SIL	South Indian Lake

br	brother
gr/fa	grandfather
gr/mo	grandmother
si	sister
s.o.	someone
yo-br/si	younger brother or sister
immed	immediately
whatev	whatever
whoev	whoever

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the variant of Cree spoken at South Indian Lake. This isolated community of approximately 900 inhabitants is located on the south-eastern shore of Southern Indian Lake in north-central Manitoba (See Figure 1.1). Since the inception of the town in the 1930s, South Indian Lake has been a relatively self-supporting community. The traditional livelihood of the inhabitants is based on trapping and fishing.

The majority of the older people in South Indian Lake grew up in Nelson House, a reserve directly to the south, not far from Thompson (See Figure 1.2). Most of the inhabitants are treaty indians, affiliated with the Nelson House band. The inhabitants of South Indian Lake also include descendants of two non-native trappers who married native women from the area in the 1930s.

The South Indian Lake people call themselves nîhîδaw 'Cree' and their community opônapiwinih 'in his stopping place'. The place name refers to the traditional winter

hunting ground of the Nelson House band.[1]

At South Indian Lake, a variety of Cree referred to as Woods Cree is spoken (Wolfart 1973, Pentland 1979, Rhodes and Todd 1981).[2] South Indian Lake is one of the largest Woods Cree communities in Manitoba. Other major communities include Pukatawagan and Nelson House. Additional centers where Woods Cree is spoken are listed in capital letters in Figure 1.2.

The major linguistic feature that defines Woods Cree is /δ/, a voiced inter-dental fricative. This reflex of Proto-Algonquian */l/ occurs, for example, in the word nîδa 'I'. The cognate forms in other major variants of Cree are nîya [Plains Cree], nîna [Swampy Cree] and nîla [Moose Cree] (Wolfart and Carroll 1981:xvii). /δ/ is recognized by the people of South Indian Lake and the other Woods Cree communities as a linguistic marker that differentiates their speech from the Cree spoken elsewhere in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

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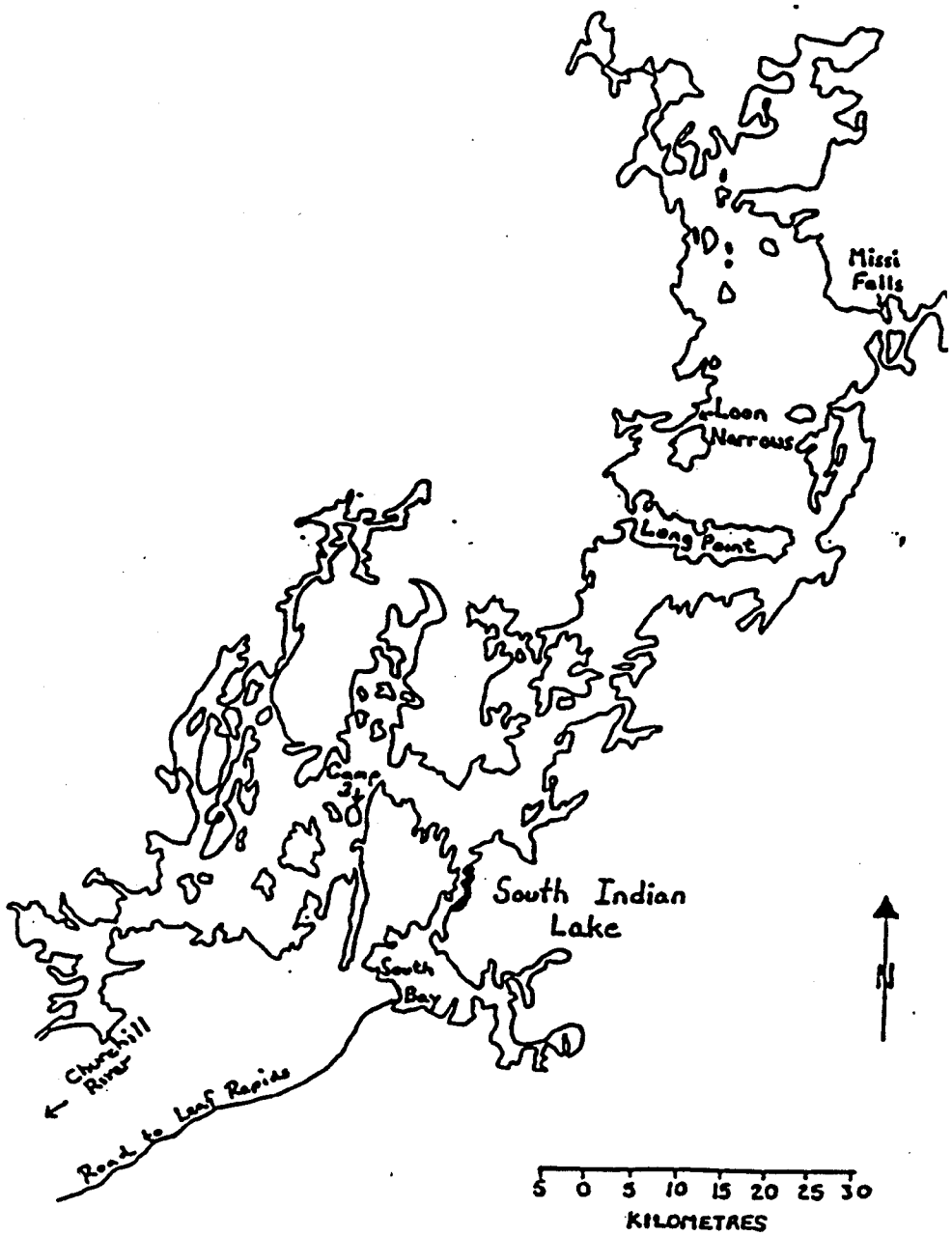
[1] For a detailed cultural study of the South Indian Lake people see Waldram 1983.

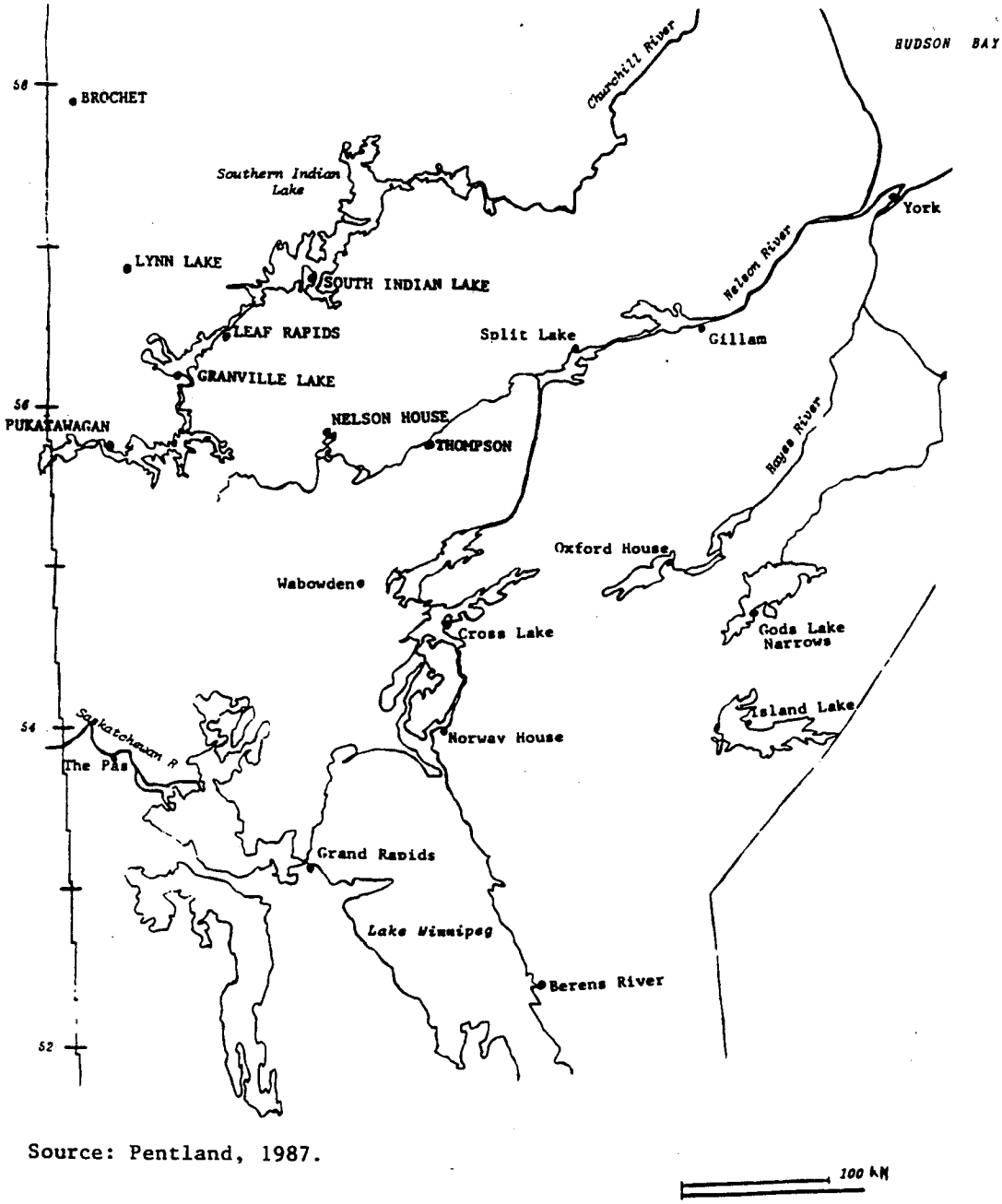
[2] The Woods Cree people have also been referred to as the 'Rock Cree' (Smith 1975, Leighton 1985, Brightman 1985). Although this name is used by the indigenous people in the Pukatawagan area, I have not heard anyone use the term at South Indian Lake.

Figure 1.1: South Indian Lake



Source: Waldram, 1983.

Figure 1.2: Northern Manitoba



Source: Pentland, 1987.

1.2 LITERATURE ON CREE LANGUAGE

Although there is little documentation on Woods Cree, there are a number of descriptions of varying depth and coverage of four other varieties of Cree: Plains, Swampy, Moose and Atikamekw.[3] Figure 1.3 shows the general area where the major varieties of Cree are spoken. Atikamekw is spoken further to the east.

For Plains Cree, there are three grammatical descriptions (Wolfart 1973, Ahenakew 1984, Dahlstrom 1986), as well as a number of texts (Ahenakew 1987, Bloomfield 1930, 1934) and two fairly comprehensive dictionaries (Faries 1938, Bloomfield 1984). There is also a fair amount of documentation on Swampy and Moose Cree among which are two pedagogical grammars (Ellis 1983; Voorhis 1972). A list of verbal paradigms for both the Swampy and Moose dialects is also available (Ellis 1971). Morphological and lexical data on Atikamekw is presented in Béland (1978).

Although there are lexical and morphological descriptions for at least one variety each of Plains,

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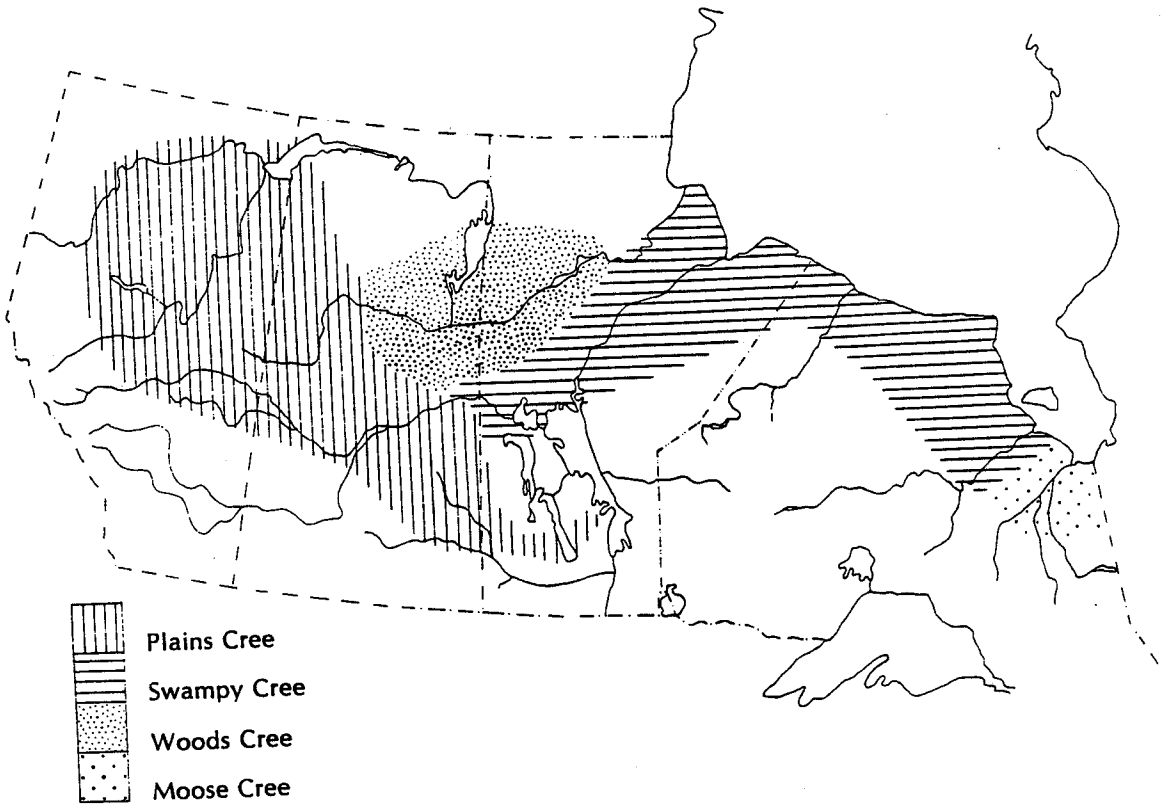
[3] Pentland and Wolfart (1982) provide a listing of all Cree language sources published from 1891 to 1981. Sources published before 1891 are listed in Pilling (1891). One source of particular importance is listed only in Pilling: Howse (1844), an early description of Woods Cree.

Moose, Swampy Cree and Atikamekw, an analysis of the syntactic component of the grammar is lacking for most varieties of Cree. A notable exception is Moose Cree on which James has published a series of papers (1979, 1983, 1984b, 1986). Insights in the function of the changed conjunct (1983), raising (1979,1984b) and narrative structure (1986) are detailed in these articles.

There are also a number of other syntactic analyses in the literature. A few comments on the syntax are included in Ellis's (1983) grammar of Swampy Cree and an interesting analysis of the particle ôma 'this (0)' in Plains Cree is available in Ahenakew 1984. A thorough account of obviation is presented in Dahlstrom's 1986 dissertation on Plains Cree. This work also contains an analysis of subjects and objects and the syntactic processes that depend on them such as raising and the passive.

Figure 1.3

Major Cree Dialects



Source: Wolfart and Carroll, 1981

1.3 LITERATURE ON WOODS CREE

Woods Cree is the least studied of the Cree dialects. Although the first full Cree grammar published by Howse in 1844 is based on a variant of Woods Cree, since then only four contemporary scholars have published material containing linguistic data from this dialect. The works of Pentland (1978, 1979) and Leighton (1985) contain a limited number of lexical items from Woods Cree. Pentland (1978, 1979) cites examples of words in Woods Cree that illustrate Proto-Algonquian reflexes[4] and Leighton, an ethnobotanist, cites approximately 200 names of herbs and plants but provides no linguistic analysis of the data in the appendix of her book on wild plant use.

The only other scholars to have published material for which Woods Cree is the primary linguistic data base are Robert Brightman (1985) and Jennifer Greensmith (1985a,1985b). Both authors have written on specific points of Woods Cree. Their published research consists of an analysis of the indefinite possessor (Brightman 1985), an analysis of future tense morpheme (Greensmith 1985b) and a comprehensive study of the phonetic variants of the

[4] Early missionary work on the language is discussed in Pentland 1979.

phonemes of Woods Cree (Greensmith 1985a).

The latter study by Greensmith (1985a) outlines the major phonetic variants of Woods Cree as it is spoken in and around Pukatawagan. In the appendixes, she includes a 350 word vocabulary and a lengthy text. Although morphological and syntactic material can be extracted from the text, this work does not focus on the morphology or the syntax of Woods Cree. No comprehensive study of the morphology or any analysis of the syntax of any variant of Woods Cree has been published since Howse's grammar in 1844.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The major objective of this study is to describe the syntax of the variant of Woods Cree spoken at South Indian Lake. This is accomplished as follows. Chapters I, II and III provide background information. Chapter I details the objectives of the study and reviews the literature in the field. Chapter II outlines the phonological component of the grammar. Chapter III describes the basic lexical categories: nouns, pronouns, particles and verbs. Noun phrases and verb phrases are the subjects of Chapters IV and V respectively. Clause structure is the focus of

Chapters VI and VII. Main clauses are described in Chapter VI and subordinate clauses in Chapter VII. Chapters VIII and IX outline the function of the two major verb orders in Woods Cree. Chapter VIII looks at the distinction between independent and conjunct verbs and Chapter IX describes the changed/unchanged contrast in the conjunct order in this variant of Cree. The major inflections needed to understand the syntactic discussions are exemplified in Appendix A.

The Woods Cree described here is only one variant of Woods Cree. Clear differences exist between the Woods Cree spoken at South Indian Lake and other Woods Cree communities. See Greensmith 1985a for comparative data on Pukatawagan. No attempt should be made to generalize this description to the entire Woods Cree dialect area outlined on Figure 1.3.

There are even difficulties in applying this descriptive study to all members of this one speech community because there is a considerable degree of variability within South Indian Lake. For example, there are two II conjunct vowel stem plural inflections: -ki and -kwâw. Younger speakers use the -kwâw form more than older speakers but age is not the only factor that conditions the use of one form over

the other. Older speakers often use the two inflections in the same text. A detailed sociolinguistic study of the entire Woods Cree area is needed to understand this type of variation; a project well beyond the scope of this work.

1.5 SOURCES

The fieldwork for the dissertation was completed between July 1983 and March 1987. During that period, approximately 20 weeks were spent at South Indian Lake. Material was also collected from informants living and visiting in Winnipeg. Materials from older speakers in the community were transcribed with the aid of younger speakers. Data collected from younger speakers were used primarily for verification purposes. During the course of this study approximately 40 speakers between the ages of 10 and 88 were recorded. At least one member from each of the major families in the community was interviewed.

Most of the materials from the older informants (aged 60+) were collected in the form of texts because many of the older speakers are monolingual in Cree. Both elicited and textual data were collected from speakers between the ages of 30 and 60. Most people in this age group are bilingual in Cree and English. Although people under 30 are

also bilingual, very few texts were recorded largely due to the fact that the preferred language of many of the younger speakers is English. The few excerpts of natural discourse that were recorded consisted of short conversations and descriptions of pictures. The texts of younger speakers contain a large amount of code-switching. An example is provided in Appendix C.

An attempt has been made to use textual examples in the dissertation. However, elicited forms were necessary in the demonstration of syntactic constraints and in the illustration of syntactic structures not frequent in texts.

Chapter II

THE SOUND SYSTEM

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the phonemic inventory and the major phonetic, phonological and morphophonemic processes are outlined along with the orthographical conventions used in this study. This chapter should be viewed as background information. Its content is not necessary to understand the chapters to follow. For a more thorough analysis of the Woods Cree phonological system see Greensmith 1985a and Starks 1987a.

2.2 THE PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Table 2.1 provides a list of the phonemes for Woods Cree.

TABLE 2.1

Phonemes

Vowels	Consonants
i î o ô	p t c k
	s h
	δ [l]
a â	m n
	w y

Woods Cree has a symmetrical vowel system. There are three short vowels /i,a,o/ and three long vowels /î,â,ô/.[1]

1.	/a/ /â/	asam 'feed him'	asâm 'snowshoe'
	/i/ /î/	ati- 'inceptive'	itî 'there'
	/o/ /ô/	ôho 'this (3'/0p)'	ôhô 'owl'

Although the vowels differ phonemically in length, they differ phonetically on the basis of length and quality. Phonetically, /î/ varies from [ê] to [î].[2] /â/ and /ô/ also have a wide phonetic distribution. /â/ varies from back to front and /ô/ from high to mid. For further details on phonetic variants see Greensmith 1985a.

The Woods Cree consonant system consists of three stops /p,t,k/, one affricate /c/, three fricatives /s,δ,h/, two nasals /m,n/ and two semivowels /w,y/. There is also the marginal phoneme /l/, discussed in section 2.3.

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[1] Vowel length is indicated by a circumflex over the vowel, and the high back vowels are represented as /o/ and /ô/, respectively.

[2] There are a few words that occur with [ê] among older speakers. This fact is also reported by Greensmith (1985a:93-94) for the Pukatawagan area. Greensmith 1985a reports that the change of *ê to î is a recent change, not recorded in Howse (1844:37).

/p,t,c,k/ have voiced and voiceless allophones. The voiced allophones frequently occur in inter-vocalic position.

2.	/p/	sîpâ	[sîpâ]	or [sîbâ]	'under'
	/t/	ita	[ita]	or [ida]	'there'
	/c/	nicîmic	[nčîmič]	or [nǰîmič]	'my yo-br/si'
	/k/	îkâ	[îkâ]	or [îgâ]	'negative'

Although /c/ is phonetically an affricate, at a phonotactic level it patterns as a stop. All four consonants /p,t,c,k/ occur in consonant clusters whose first member is /h/ or /s/.

3./sp/ and /hp/	nâspic	'forever';	akohp	'blanket'
/st/ and /ht/	âstam	'come here';	itîyihtam	'he thinks'[3]
/sc/ and /hc/	pisci-	'by mistake';	anohc	'now'
/sk/ and /hk/	isko	'until';	askihk	'pail'

The nasals /m,n/ only have voiced allophones and these two phonemes do not form consonant clusters with /h/ or /s/ as their initial member. Examples of the two nasals are provided in #4.

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[3] Given that this is an /δ/ dialect, this word should be realized as itîδihtam 'he thinks (it)'. This form does occur, although infrequently.

4.	/m/ and /n/	<u>mâna</u>	[mâna]	'used to'
		<u>nôhkom</u>	[nôhkum]	'my grandmother'

The two fricatives /s/ and /h/ have both voiced and voiceless allophones. Word final /h/ is whispered.

5.	/s/	<u>sîsîp</u>	[sîzîp] or [sîsîp]	'duck'
	/h/	<u>ayahâw</u>	[ayahâw]	'whoever'
		<u>mistikowatih</u>	[mistikowatiḥ]	'in the box'

/δ/ has two allophones: [δ] and [t]. The most frequent allophone is [δ], as in <u>aδapiy</u> 'net'. /δ/ may be realized phonetically as a voiceless fortis stop when the following syllable begins with a nasal.

6.	<u>aδapiy</u>	'net'	[aδapiy]
	<u>nîδanân</u>	'we (1p)'	[nîtanân]

The two semi-vowels are /w/ and /y/.

7.	/w/	<u>awa</u>	'this(3)'	<u>mîcisow</u>	'he eats'
	/y/	<u>ayamihîw</u>	'he talks to him'	<u>watay</u>	'belly'

2.3 A MARGINAL PHONEME /l/

The phoneme /l/ has a highly specialized use. Most words that occur with this phoneme are borrowings. Two examples are:

8. omakalakisa
   3=mukluk=dim=3'
   'his mukluk[s]'
9. Mîlcîn [nickname]
   'Mary Jane'

A few of the borrowings have been incorporated into the language forming blends with native Cree words.

10. apal-ascocin
    apple=hat
    'hat with a pompon'

The only native Cree words with /l/ occur in the specialized register of baby talk used by adults towards young children. Baby talk words containing /l/ derive from an underlying /δ/.[4]

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[4] The use of /l/ may have been influenced by child language acquisition. Children do not pronounce [δ] until late in their childhood. In their earlier years, /δ/ is realized as [l].

11. <u>kâla</u> 'don't'

<u>môla</u> 'no'

The status of /l/ as a phoneme in Woods Cree is problematic and marginal. This phoneme is not investigated further in this study.

2.4 CONSONANT SYMBOLISM

In the beginning of this chapter, it is stated that /t/ and /c/ are separate phonemes. There is a process called consonant symbolism that merges these two sounds (Pentland 1974). Under consonant symbolism, /t/ changes to [č] in a word to signify something especially close to the speaker. Kinship terms, nicknames and baby talk often contain examples of consonant symbolism. The words in the right hand column illustrate this process.

12.	<u>nitawâsimis</u>	'my child'	<u>n(i)cawâsimis</u>
	<u>nôhtâwiy</u>	'my father'	<u>nôhcâwiy</u>
	<u>kîskwîstikwân</u>	'crazy head'	<u>kîskwîscikwân</u>
	<u>mitoni</u>	'so much'	<u>miconi</u>

In baby talk, consonant symbolism has wider application. In this register, /s/ also changes to [č]. An example is:

13. kawisimo 'go to bed' kawicimo

Consonant symbolism often occurs in words with the derivational morpheme -hkâso 'pretend' and with the diminutive morphemes -s and -si.

14. mâtow	'he cries'	mâcôhkâsow	'he pretends to cry'
pâtimâ	'later'	pâcimâs	'a little later'
atoskîw	'he works'	acoskîsiw	'he works a little'

Consonant symbolism is represented in the orthography.

2.5 PHONOTACTIC RESTRICTIONS IN CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The basic syllable structure of Woods Cree is (C)(w)V(C)(C). Vowels and consonants other than /h/ occur at the beginning and at the end of syllables and words. See section 2.7 for details on /h/.

The only other major phonotactic restriction applies to consonant clusters. There are three basic types of

consonant clusters: /hC/ clusters, /sC/ clusters and /Cw/ clusters. The clusters are exemplified here with /p/ as the consonant.

15. <u>mîkiwâhp</u> 'tent'
    <u>ispiy</u> 'when'
    <u>opwâm</u> 'his thigh'

The second member of a /hC/ cluster or a /sC/ cluster can be /p,t,c,k/.[5] /hC/ and /sC/ consonant clusters are restricted to inter-vocalic and word final position. The lexical items presented in #3 illustrate this.

/Cw/ clusters have any consonant other than a semivowel as their initial member. /Cw/ consonant clusters occur as syllable onsets. The following examples contain /tw/ clusters.

16. <u>itwît</u> 'he says'
    <u>twâham</u> 'he drills a hole in the ice'

---

[5] The cluster /hδ/ also appears in Woods Cree but has a limited functional load. Only a handful of words exist with this consonant cluster. See Starks 1987a for a list of these lexical items.

/hC/ and /sC/ clusters combine with /w/, creating /hCw/ and /sCw/ clusters. Examples are:

17. atihkwak 'caribou [pl]'
    iskwâhtîm 'door'

/hCw/ and /sCw/ clusters have the most phonotactic restrictions apply to them. They are restricted to certain sequences of phonemes and they do not occur in word initial or word final position. The syllable structure of words with /hCw/ and /sCw/ clusters is not fully understood. See Greensmith 1985a for further details.

2.6 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Some relevant morphophonemic processes also need consideration in order for the reader to recognize the essential forms presented in the discussion to follow. Five of these processes are listed below.

a. When two consonants come together at a morpheme boundary, an epenthetic [i] is inserted between the two morphemes. The few exceptions are listed in Wolfart 1973 and Dahlstrom 1986.

18. papâm+kwâskohtîw /papâmikwâskohtîw/

around=jump\AI=3I

'he jumps around'

This is represented schematically as:

19. /ø/----->[i]/ C____+C

b. After a personal prefix, an epenthetic /t/ is added before a vowel initial stem.[6]

20. ni+t+atoskân 'I work'

ki+t+atoskân 'you work'

atoskîw 'he works'

21. asâm 'snowshoe'

ni+t+asâm 'my snowshoe'

ki+t+asâm 'your snowshoe'

o+t+asâm+a 'his snowshoe'

c. Distinct morphophonemic processes apply to other morpheme boundaries in which two vowels come together. The processes include vowel coalescence, vowel deletion with and without compensatory lengthening, and glide insertion.

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[6] Dependent noun stems do not add epenthetic /t/: natay 'my belly'. See section 3.2.2 for details on dependent stems. Speakers also frequently fail to apply this rule, in favour of rule (c), before noun stems beginning with /o/; e.g., nôtâpânâsk 'my vehicle'.

Examples are:

22.	ka-itohtân	'you will go'	[kêtohtân]
	ta-otinîw	'he will take him'	[tôtinîw]
	ka-âcimon	'you will tell (a story)'	[kâcimon]
	kî-otinîw	'he took him'	[kîyotinîw]

These morphophonemic processes interact depending on the speaker's style. Using formal style as a basis, the distribution of the vowel processes is as follows. /a/ and /i/ coalesce to [ê] and /a,i/ delete before and after /o/. /o/ is lengthened in this environment. Sequences of identical short vowels or an identical short and long vowel are realized phonetically as a long vowel. /o/ and a long vowel and sequences of long vowels are separated by an epenthetic glide.

d. Another morphophonemic process applies to noun stems. When a noun stem ending in a semivowel occurs before an inflection beginning with /i/, the semivowel deletes and the vowel preceding the semivowel is lengthened.
Examples are:

23.	a.watay	'belly'	+-ihk	'locative'	watâhk
	b.asiniy	'rock'	+-is	'diminutive'	asinîs
	c.otaδapiy-a	'his net'	+-iδiwa	'3'possr'	otaδapîδiwa

e. Post-consonantal /w/ deletes in word final position. This rule, Cw ----->C/_____#, applies, for example, to singular nouns. Contrast the singular and plural forms of the following two nouns. In the singular form, post-consonantal /w/ does not appear.

24.	<u>ministik</u>	'island'	<u>ministikwa</u>	'islands'
	<u>wâpos</u>	'rabbit'	<u>wâposwak</u>	'rabbits'

Other less common morphophonemic processes are listed in Dahlstrom 1986.

2.7 PHONETIC PROCESSES

There are also a number of low level phonetic rules that affect the output generated by the phonological rules and the morphophonemic processes described in the previous sections. The following discussion summarizes some of the major phonetic rules operating in the community. For a more detailed study see Starks 1987a.

Many of the phonetic rules distinguish the speech of older and younger members of this speech community. One of the most dramatic changes has been the weakening of /hk/

clusters in word final position. Greensmith 1985a also reports /hk/ weakening in the Pukatawagan area. For South Indian Lake, this rule, hk ----->h /_____#, is phonetic for the oldest speakers. Frequency counts in texts vary from speaker to speaker. For older speakers, the weakening is most frequent when the lexical item is locative.[7]

25. /ispimihk/ 'up' [ispimih]

Among the middle age speakers the change is more widespread. /hk/ weakens to [h] in word final position in almost all textual examples. The weakening is still phonetic since no restructuring has occurred. These speakers reconstruct final /hk/ in elicitation.

26.	<u>î-wâpahtahk</u>	'he sees it'	[îwâpahtah]
	<u>askîhk</u>	'on the land'	[askîh]

For some younger speakers, the change of /hk/ to [h] in word final position is an obligatory phonological change.

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[7] Text counts revealed a significant difference between the older men and women with respect to this variable. The older women have more weakening.

A similar phonetic rule causes /k/ to delete word initially and inter-vocalically. This change also correlates with age. Younger speakers delete /k/ more frequently than older speakers. The following examples illustrate /k/ deletion.

27.	kâ-wâpamât	[âwâbamât]	'he sees him'
	piko	[pô]	'only'

Among younger speakers, there is another low level phonetic rule whereby /w/ changes to [y] in the environment of a high front vowel. This rule, with examples, is provided in #28 and #29.

28. $$\begin{matrix}[-\text{syll}] \\ [-\text{cons}]\end{matrix} \text{ ------> } [-\text{back}] \ / \ \begin{matrix}V \\ [+\text{high}] \\ [-\text{back}]\end{matrix}$$

29.	tâniwâ	'where (3)'	[tâniyâ]
	awina	'who'	[ayina]

This assimilation rule applies across morpheme boundaries in rapid speech.

30.	wîki+wâw	'their home'	[wîkiyâw]
	kî+wâpamîw	'he saw him'	[kîyâbmîw]

Other phonetic processes correlate with style. One such rule affects short vowels. Between consonants, the short vowel /i/ frequently deletes. The phonetic conditioning is not fully understood.

31.	<u>anima</u>	'that(0)'	[anma]
	<u>pimiδâw</u>	'he flies'	[pmiδâw]
	<u>ta-kî-nipâhtay</u>	'he could have slept'	[tagînpâhtêy]
	<u>isitisaham</u>	'he sends it'	[isitsaham]
	<u>ma-mîcâkanis</u>	'doll'	[mamîčâgans]

When short vowels delete, two consonants come together at a surface level. When the first consonant is a nasal, the nasal may assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. Examples are:

32.	<u>nika-nikamon</u>	'I will sing'	[ŋganigamon]
	<u>î-nipât</u>	'he sleeps'	[împât]

The final phonetic rule to be discussed illustrates the complex effect the interaction of the two variables, style and age, have on the phonetic output. Morpheme-internal sequences of a vowel, a semi-vowel and a vowel coalesce at a phonetic level among younger speakers in informal speech.

Examples are:

33.	<u>îyako</u>	'that one'	[îko]
	<u>ayamiw</u>	'he talks'	[âmiw]
	<u>kawisimow</u>	'he goes to bed'	[kêsimôw]

Among older speakers, the last example would be represented phonemically as /kawisimow/. In informal speech, the phonetic variant [kayisimow] occurs. Among many younger speakers, the phonemic representation of this word is /kayisimow/, the phonetic variant in the speech of the older members of this speech community. For many younger speakers, /w/ is no longer reconstructible in this word. In the informal speech of these younger members of South Indian Lake [kêsimow] occurs as a phonetic variant.

2.8 <u>ORTHOGRAPHY</u>

The orthography ignores the phonetic rules described in the previous section. The orthography is essentially phonemic following Wolfart (1973) and Ellis (1983), but Algonquianists should note that the phoneme /δ/ corresponds to Plains Cree /y/ and Moose Cree /l/ when it is a reflex of Proto-Algonquian */l/ and vowel length is indicated by a

circumflex over the vowel. The phonemes /î/ and /ê/ in Plains and Moose Cree correspond to the phoneme /î/ in Woods Cree.

The orthography represents the most formal speech style. In a few lexical items, short /i/ deletes between homorganic consonants in even carefully elicited speech, e.g., tân(i)si 'how'. When /i/ rarely occurs even in the most formal speech style of most members of this community, this vowel is written in brackets. Two important variables in the midst of change are final hk and the conjunct marker (k)â-. These forms are written as they occur in discourse.

Chapter III

PARTS OF SPEECH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the major lexical categories in Woods Cree. In addition to nouns, verbs and particles, a pronoun category has been included.

The chapter describes the basic morphological contrasts. Nouns are coded for two genders and may be inflected for person, number and obviation. Nouns may also be inflected for locative case. Pronouns are similarly classified. Verbs are morphologically either transitive or intransitive and occur in several inflectional paradigms which Algonquianists refer to as orders. A particle is not inflected.

The structure of the major phrasal categories is the subject of Chapters IV and V.

3.2 NOUNS

3.2.1 Gender

Nouns are subcategorized for two grammatical genders, animate and inanimate.[1] All nouns that denote humans and animals are animate.

34. nâpîw (NA) 'man'
    maskwa (NA) 'bear'

A non-living thing may be grammatically animate or grammatically inanimate. The following are some grammatically animate nouns.

35. asâm 'snowshoe'
    aδapiy 'net'
    mitâs 'pants'
    cistîmâw 'tobacco'
    wîhkîs 'wild ginger'
    âhcan(i)s 'ring'

A few pairs are distinguished solely on the basis of animacy. Three pairs are listed in #36-#38.

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[1] A few grammatically animate nouns vary in gender. One example is pimiy 'grease'. In texts, this noun has been recorded as animate and as inanimate. The gender appears to be context dependent.

36.	wîcîmosa	(NA)	'lover (3')'
	wîcîmosa	(NI)	'prairie birds' (type of plant)
37.	mistik	(NA)	'tree'[2]
	mistik	(NI)	'stick'
38.	asiniy	(NA)	'rock/stone'
	asiniy	(NI)	'bullet'

The above pairs differ in their verb agreement. Verbs agree with nouns in grammatical gender where required by the verb stem. The noun asiniy 'rock [an.], bullet [inan.]' is the subject of the following sentences. In #39, the verb is sub-categorized as taking an animate subject and in #40 the verb is sub-categorized as taking an inanimate subject.

39. î-mihkosit asiniy.
    IPV=red\AI=3C rock
    'The rock is red'
40. î-mihkwâk asiniy.
    IPV=red\II=0C bullet
    'The bullet is red.'

The same principle applies when a noun is the grammatical object of a verb. The verb â-wâpamak 'I saw

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[2] mistik 'tree' is gradually being replaced by sihti 'tree (evergreen)'. mistik 'tree' is rarely used among younger speakers.

him' is sub-categorized as taking an animate object and the verb <u>â-wâpahtamân</u> 'I saw it' is sub-categorized as taking an inanimate object.

41. <u>asiniy</u> <u>â-wâpamak</u>.
    rock IPV=see\TA=1-3C
    'I saw the rock.'
42. <u>asiniy</u> <u>â-wâpahtamân</u>.
    bullet IPV=see\TI=1-0C
    'I saw the bullet.'

Natural gender plays a minimal role in the grammar. There are only a few cases where grammatical gender is superceded by natural gender, where nouns denoting humans and animals are distinguished from grammatically animate and inanimate nouns that denote objects. Case is one example of a grammatical category which follows natural gender. The locative suffix, -<u>ih(k)</u>, may be added to any noun for which the natural gender is inanimate, as in #43 and #44. This suffix is not added to most semantically animate nouns. This is illustrated in #45.

43.	<u>tîhtapiwin</u>	NI	'chair'
	<u>tîhtapiwinih(k)</u>		'on/by the chair'
44.	<u>asâm</u>	NA	'snowshoe'
	<u>asâmih(k)</u>		'on/by the snowshoe'

45. iskwîw NA 'woman'

kisiwâk iskwîw 'near the woman'

The possessor noun phrase is also restricted on the basis of natural gender. A grammatically animate noun such as otâpânâsk 'car' would not an acceptable possessor of a possessive noun phrase, such as otîhtapiwin 'his chair'. A possessor noun phrase must have a semantically animate referent, as in #46.

46. John otîhtapiwin

John 3=chair

'John's chair'

Another example is the pronoun set represented in the following examples by the pronoun forms awina/awiδiwa 'who,someone'.[3] This pronoun has an even more restricted use. It denotes a semantically animate noun whose referent is human.[4]

47. awina?

who=3

'Who is he/she?'

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[3] The second vowel in awina 'who' is short. The cognate form recorded elsewhere is long (See Wolfart 1973, Ellis 1983).

[4] There is no mention of a similar restriction in other variants of Cree.

48. ahpo awiδiwa T.B. kâ-ayâδit, kî-nitawihîw.
or someone=3' T.B. IPV=be\AI=3'C past=heal\TA=3-3'I
'Or if a someone had T.B., he cured them.'

The pronoun kîkway 'what, thing' is used to represent other grammatically animate and inanimate nouns.

49. kîkway anima?
what=0 that=0
'What is that?' [unknown referent in woods]

50. mistahi mâna kîkway kî-nipahtâw ana
lots used-to thing past=kill\TI2=3-0'I that=3
kisîδiniw.
old-man
'That old man used to kill many things.'

3.2.2 Person

Animate and inanimate nouns may be possessed. The following examples contain the third person possessive prefix o-. The noun awâsis 'child' is animate in #51 and the noun môhkomân 'knife' is inanimate in #52.[5]

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[5] In the animate example, the noun stem begins with a vowel. An epenthetic /t/ is inserted before the vowel stem. See section 2.6 for details. Under consonant symbolism, described in section 2.4, /t/ changes to [c]. The noun is also followed by the suffix -im. See Wolfart (1973:28-29) for details concerning this suffix.

51. tânîh(k)â ocawâsimisa?

where=3' 3=child=im=dim=3'

'Where is his child?'

52. tâniδiw omôhkomân?[6]

where=0' 3=knife

'Where is his knife?'

Nouns are classified as dependent and independent. Dependent nouns are grammatically inalienable. Dependent nouns include kin terms, body part terms and various miscellaneous items, as for example the word for glasses.

53. niskîsikôhkâna wiδa î-wâpiwâkîyân.

1=glasses=0p emp IPV=see=relat=obj\AI=1C

'I see with my glasses.'

Dependent nouns mark indefinite possession by a prefix mi-. See Wolfart (1973:15-16) for further discussion. Two examples are:

54. misit

indf=foot

'foot'

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[6] The above example was elicited from a younger speaker. Older speakers use the form tânimâ 'where(0').

55. mitâs

indf=pants

'pants'

Kin terms are a subtype of dependent noun whose possessor is always a first, second or third person. Person is signalled by three possessive prefixes ni-, ki- and o-. Examples are listed below.

56. ni+stîs

1=old/br

'my older brother'

ki+stîs

2=old/br

'your older brother'

o+stîs+a

3=old/br=3'

'his older brother'

Nouns which need not be possessed are referred to as independent nouns. Independent nouns may occur without a personal prefix.

57. astotin

hat

'hat'

58. <u>iskwîsis</u>

girl

'girl'

When an independent noun is marked for possession, its person marking is identical to the person marking on a dependent noun. This is illustrated in #59.

59. <u>ni+cîmân</u>

1=boat

'my boat'

<u>ki+cîmân</u>

2=boat

'your boat'

<u>o+cîmân</u>

3=boat

'his/her boat'

A suffix signals number on the possessors of dependent and independent nouns. Woods Cree distinguishes two first person plural possessors. The first person <u>exclusive</u> (1p) 'me and her/him' excludes second person reference and the first <u>inclusive</u> (12) 'me and you' includes second person reference. The two first person plural forms and the second person plural form are cited in #60-62.

60. nicîmâninân

1=boat=1p

'our boat [mine and his/hers]'

61. kicîmâninânaw

2=boat=12

'our boat [mine and yours]'

62. kicîmâniwâw

2=boat=2p

'your [pl] boat'

The third person possessor may be singular, plural or obviative. The singular forms were provided earlier in this section. An example of a third person plural form is given in #63. The obviative is discussed in section 3.2.4.

63. ocîmâniwâw

3=boat=3p

'their boat'

3.2.3 Number

The singular form of a noun is unmarked for number. The plural form is signalled by a suffix. The suffix -ak forms the plural of animate nouns and the suffix -a forms the plural of inanimate nouns.

64. nâpîw+ak (NA) 'men'

cîmân+a (NI) 'boats'

Proper nouns also have a plural form; however such forms are infrequent. An example is:

65. Johnak

John=3p

'the [two] Johns'

Mass nouns such as miskwamiy 'ice' are not normally inflected for number. When so inflected, the noun miskwamiy 'ice' denotes 'blocks of ice'.

66. î-oδatahwakwâw miskwamiyak.

IPV=shape-instr\TA=1-3pC ice=3p

'I shape iceblocks.'

3.2.4 Obviation

Obviation is "a distinction made between two third persons within a given context" (Todd 1970:19). The contexts for Woods Cree are provided in section 4.6. In a given context, the central third person is referred to in the literature as "proximate" and other third persons are called "obviative".

Most pronouns and verbs distinguish between the proximate and the obviative. The pronominal paradigms are provided in section 3.3 and examples of verbs are provided in Appendix A.

A proximate noun is not marked morphologically. An obviative inanimate noun is morphologically identical to the corresponding proximate noun. Verb inflection and other features on the noun phrase distinguish between the two third persons.

Obviation is signalled grammatically on animate nouns by the suffix -a, as in #67. The gloss for nâpîwa 'man/men' is ambiguous because obviative nouns are unmarked for number. When a noun is obviative, its number must be distinguished from the context.

67. nâpîwa
man=3'
'man/men'

Another obviative suffix occurs on possessed nouns. The obviative suffix -iδiwa signals the possessor of a possessed animate noun is itself obviative. Because obviative nouns are unmarked for number, the number of the

obviative possessor is again ambiguous, as illustrated in #68.

68. <u>onâpîm+iδiwa</u>

3=man=im=3'

'her/their husband/s'[7]

Inanimate nouns can also be possessed by an animate obviative possessor. A possessed inanimate noun is inflected with a similar obviative suffix, -<u>iδiw</u>. The inanimate inflection differs from the animate form in that it allows the possessed noun to be coded for number, as illustrated in #69.

69. <u>ocîmân+iδiw</u>

3=boat=0'

'his/their boat'

<u>ocîmân+iδiwa</u>

3=boat=0'p

'his/their boats'

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[7] The morphophonemic process used to derive the obviative form is described in 2.6d. The suffix -<u>im</u> is obligatory when this noun is possessed.

3.2.5 Case

The only other inflectional morphemes that occur on a noun code case. There are two morphological cases in Woods Cree: a vocative and a locative.

3.2.5.1 Vocative

The vocative has only marginal use. This case occurs on nouns that denote kin. The vocative has a singular and a plural form. The singular form is lexically specific. Most singular vocative nouns are formed by dropping the final consonant and lengthening the final vowel of the first person possessed form, if short.[8]

The following examples illustrate singular vocative nouns. The first person singular form of the noun is provided for illustration purposes.

70. nikosis
    1=son
    'my son'
    nikosî
    1=son=voc
    'son'

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[8] A few vocatives keep the final consonant and add -î, e.g., nimisî 'my older sister (voc)'. For a complete listing of vocative kin terms see Wolfart 1973.

71. niciwâm

1=brother (male-speaking)

'my brother (parallel male cousin)'

niciwâ

1=br=voc (male speaking)

'brother (parallel male cousin)'

The vocative plural morpheme -tik is also added to the first person singular form of the noun, as in #73.[9] The first person singular form is provided for illustration purposes in #72.

72. nicânis

1=daughter

'my daughter'

73. nicânisitik

1=daughter=vocpl

'my daughters'

A noun may be syntactically but not morphologically vocative. In many cases, the vocative singular and plural are being replaced by regular first person forms. The vocative forms are no longer used by many of the younger speakers. Among older speakers the two forms appear to be

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[9] Younger speakers often replace the vocative plural morpheme by the plural suffix -ak.

interchangeable. The following examples were extracted from the same text. In both examples, the noun nimosôm 'my grandfather' is syntactically vocative. In the first example, the kin term is morphologically vocative, in the second example it is not.

74. nimosô, î-takosinân.
    1=gr/fa=voc IPV=arrive\AI=1C
    'Grandfather, I'm home.'
75. nimosôm, kîkwân ôma kâ-ôh-mâtowin?
    1=gr/fa what=0 prt IPV=for=cry\AI=2C
    'Grandfather, why are you crying?'

3.2.5.2 Locative

The locative suffix -ih(k) changes a noun to an adverb of place. Examples #76-78 contain nouns inflected as locative.

76. kahkiδaw nâpîwak mîkiwâhpih kî-ayâwak.
    all man=3p tent=loc past=be\AI=3pI
    'All the men were in the tent.'
77. î-pôsihtâsonâniwahk otâpânâskohk.
    IPV=load\II=0C toboggan=loc
    'One loads (things) in a toboggan.'

78. kâ-wîwîkinakiht akohpisih.

IPV=wrap\TA=1p-3C blanket=dim=loc

'We wrapped him in the little blanket.'

There are two restrictions on the locative morpheme. Although the locative morpheme may be added to nouns possessed by singular possessors, it is not added to nouns possessed by plural possessors. Contrast the following two examples. In #79, the third person possessor is plural, in #80 the third person possessor is singular. Although both examples contain a locative argument, only the singular form contains the locative morpheme.

79. akwa kâ-akotâcik okotawâniwâw.

and IPV=hang\TI2=3p-0'C 3p=smoke-stand

'And they hung it up in their smokestand.'

80. wihkwâkanih nikî-astâwân.

3=face=loc 1=past=put=rel\TI2=1-0I

'I put it on her face.'

The locative morpheme -ih(k), the plural inflections -ak and -a, and the obviative morpheme occupy the same inflectional position on the noun. A noun that is overtly marked as locative is not marked as obviative or plural, as in #81-#82.

81. <u>oskîsikoh</u> <u>î-pâh-pîhci-sîkinamân</u>.

3=eye=loc IPV=redup=inside=pour\TI=1-0C

'I poured (drops) inside his eye(s).'

82. <u>nimosôm</u> <u>isa</u> <u>î-kî-nipât</u> <u>ispimihk</u> <u>minahikohk</u>

1=gr/fa hrs IPV=past=sleep\AI=3C up pine=loc

'You know, my grandfather slept up in a pine tree(s).'

Although plural and obviation are not overtly marked on locative nouns, these grammatical categories are signalled on other parts of the noun phrase for which the locative noun is the head. See section 4.2.3 for details.

3.3 PRONOUNS

A pronoun is a constituent which either modifies or replaces a noun. At a morphological level, pronouns are a closed finite set of forms for which paradigmatic contrasts exist for at least one of the following: gender, person, number or obviation. The main types of pronouns in Woods Cree are deictic, personal, whoever/whatever, emphatic, indefinite and interrogative. Although the status of the locative adverbial proforms is problematic, the proforms are also included in this section. Each set of pronouns is described separately.

The deictic paradigms in Table 3.1 consist of two sets, one for each gender. Each set consists of three paradigms distinguished on the basis of distance. Each of these paradigms has three forms: a singular, a plural and an obviative.

TABLE 3.1

Deictic Pronouns

	this	that	yonder
ANIMATE			
3	awa	ana	nâha
3p	ôko	aniki	nîki
3′	ôho	anihi	nîhi
INANIMATE			
0	ôma	anima	nîma
0p	ôho	anihi	nîhi
0′	ômîδiw	animîδiw	nîmîδiw

The personal pronouns in Table 3.2 resemble the inflections on a possessed noun. See Appendix B for possessive paradigms. Personal pronouns lack distinct proximate/obviative forms. They are divided into two types: the unmarked [set one] and the emphatic [set two].

TABLE 3.2

Personal Pronouns

	Set I	Set II
1	nîδa	nîsta
2	kîδa	kîsta
3	wîδa	wîsta
1p	nîδanân	nîstanân
12	kîδanânaw	kîstanânaw
2p	kîδawâw	kîstawâw
3p	wîδawâw	wîstawâw

The first person singular pronouns nîδa and nîsta illustrate the unmarked and the emphatic personal pronouns.

83. mwâc îkosi nakî-itwân nîδa.
neg thus 1fut=past=say\AI=1I I
'I could not say that (myself).'

84. îyakwâδiw pô kîkwân nîsta î-iskopaδiyân.
that-one=0' only thing=0 I(-too) IPV=left-over\AI+0=1C
'That is the only thing I have left over.'

The ayahâw 'whoever' and ayihîw 'whatever' paradigms in Table 3.3 end in forms that resemble the corresponding nominal inflections with the exception of the inanimate obviative ayihîδiw 'whatever'. The obviative ending on this

morpheme resembles the corresponding form in the deictic paradigms presented in Table 3.1.

ayihîw 'whatever' is the only pronoun that is inflected for case. ayihîw 'whatever' has a locative form ayihîhk 'wherever', a form otherwise exclusive to nouns. An example is:

85. ayihîhk wâskâhikanih
whatever=loc house=loc
'wherever in the house'

TABLE 3.3

ayahâw and ayihîw Paradigms

	whoever		whatever
3	ayahâw	0	ayihîw
3p	ayahâwak	0p	ayihîwa
3'	ayahâwa	0'	ayihîδiw
	loc	ayihîhk	

The two emphatic pronoun sets kotak 'other' and îyako 'that one' in Table 3.4 have unique paradigms. The pronominal paradigm for kotak 'other' is morphologically identical to the corresponding nominal paradigm with the exception of the inanimate obviative form. Its inclusion as

a pronoun is justified at a syntactic level in section 4.2.3. The only unusual thing about the pronoun îyako 'that one' is its two animate obviative forms. The form îyakwîδiw 'that one' is most notable in the speech of the younger members of the community.

TABLE 3.4

kotak and îyako Paradigms

	kotak	îyako
ANIMATE		
3	kotak	îyako(ni)
3p	kotakak	îyakonik
3'	kotaka	îyakoni/îyakwîδiw
INANIMATE		
0	kotak	îyako
0p	kotaka	îyakoni
0'	kotakîδiw	îyakwîδiw

The indefinite pronouns awina 'someone' and kîkwân/kîkway 'something' overlap morphologically with the corresponding interrogative pronouns awina 'who' and kîkwân/kîkway 'what'. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 list the interrogative and indefinite pronouns for 'who/someone' and 'what/something' in Woods Cree.

TABLE 3.5

awina 'who,someone' Paradigms

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
3 awina	3 awina	3 awina
3p awiniki	3p awina/awiniki	3p awina
3' awinihi	3' awiδiwa	3' awina

TABLE 3.6

kîkwân/kîkway 'what,something' Paradigms

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
3 kîkway(i)		kîkway	3 kîko
3p kîkway		kîkway	3p kîko
3' kîkwâδiw		kîkwâδiw	3' kîko
0 kîkway(i)	kîkwân	kîkway	0 kîko
0p kîkwaya	kîkwâna	kîkway	0p kîko
0' kîkwâδiw	kîkwâδiw	kîkwâδiw	

Type 1 forms in Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 form complete interrogative equational sentences. They can occur alone as complete sentences. These pronouns are predominant among older speakers. Type 3 in Table 3.5 is an interrogative particle. It is included here for comparative purposes only. It is the form used by younger speakers. This particle is the predicate in an equational sentence whose

argument is a noun phrase, as in #86.

86. awina aniki?
who that=3p
'Who are those?'

Type 4 in Table 3.6 is also an interrogative particle. kîko 'what' modifies a following noun, as in #87.

87. kîko nâpîwak?
which man=3p
'Which men?'

Type 2 forms in Table 3.5 and Types 2 and 3 in Table 3.6 occur in interrogative structures with verbal predicates. The singular forms are exemplified below. When kîkwân 'what' functions as an interrogative pronoun, it often refers to a situation which lacks nominal reference, as in #90.

88. awina ômîδiw kâ-kî-tôtah?
who=3 this=0' IPV=past=do\TI=3-0'C
'Who did this?'

89. kîkway kâ-wî-n(i)tawâpahtaman?
what=0 IPV=want=go-to-see\TI=2-0C
'What are you going to see?'

90. "nikosis, kîkwân?" nititâw.

1=son what=0 1=say\TA=1-3I

'"My son, what (is wrong)?" I said to him.'

Type 2 forms in Table 3.5 and Type 2 and 3 forms in Table 3.6 also occur as indefinite pronouns. The pronoun kîkway 'what,thing' has specific reference; kîkwân is more general. Examples are:

91. anima kîkway nitawi-otina.

that=0 thing=0 go-to=take\TI=2-0Imp

'Go take that thing.'

92. nakwî-kiskisin kîkwân ta-âcimowân.

1fut=try=remember\AI=1I thing=0 IPV=tell-story\AI=1C

'Let me try to think of something to tell a story about.'

The interrogative and indefinite pronouns are distinguished syntactically. The interrogative pronoun in #93 occurs in clause initial position. The indefinite pronoun does not normally occur in this position.[10] The indefinite/interrogative pronouns also differ in respect to the modifiers they allow. Details of the internal structure of these two types of noun phrases are provided in Chapter IV.

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[10] One exception is #131.

93. awina â-kî-pî-masinahamawit?

who=3 IPV=past=to=write\TA=3-1C

'Who wrote to me?'

94. î-mâtâhak awina.

IPV=track\TA=1-3C someone=3

'I tracked someone.'

The interrogative pronouns for 'which' and 'where' are divided into two sets, one for each gender. These pronoun sets do not have distinct obviative inanimate forms. The tâna 'which' and the tâniwâ 'where' pronoun sets are listed in Tables 3.7 and 3.8, respectively.

The tâna 'which' pronouns are a type of deictic pronoun. They modify a following noun.

95. tâna iskwîsis?

which=3 girl

'Which girl?'

The tâna 'which' pronouns usually occur clause initially. When these pronouns occur elsewhere in the clause, they have an indefinite reading, as in #96.

96. piko tânimâ pihkotîw kî-ati-âpatan.

only all-kind=0 ash past=incp=use\II=0I

'And just any kind of ash was used.'

TABLE 3.7

tâna 'which' Paradigms

ANIMATE	
3	tâna
3p	tânihkâ
3'	tân(iw)îhi
INANIMATE	
0	tânimâ / tân(i)
0p	tânîhi

TABLE 3.8

tâniwâ 'where' Paradigms

ANIMATE	
3	tâniwâ
3p	tân(iw)îhkâ
3'	tân(iw)îhâ
INANIMATE	
0	tâniwî
0p	tân(iw)îhâ

The tâniwâ 'where' pronouns listed in Table 3.8 are also a type of deictic. This pronoun set forms interrogative equational sentences answered by locative noun phrase, as in #97. The equational sentences are often qualified by an appositional noun, as in #97A:

97. A: tâniwâ pôsîs?
where=3 cat

B: nîtî, sihtihk.
there tree=loc

A: 'Where is it, the cat?'
B: 'There, in the tree.'

The deictic adverbials listed in #98 are a set of forms that are differentiated on the basis of distance. Deictic adverbials are not prototypical pronouns. Although these proforms share with the deictic pronouns the category distance, they do not share any grammatical features with nouns. Proforms ending in -a refer to specific areas usually within potential sight, those ending in -î refer to more distant locations.

98.	tânta	tântî	'where'
	ôta	ôtî	'here'[11]
	ita	itî	'there'
	anta	antî	'over there'
	îkota	îkotî	'that place there'

Examples containing the tânta/tântî 'where' pair are cited for illustration.

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[11] ôta 'here' is a deictic. Its focal point is the listener, not the speaker.

99. tânta â-kî-astât kimaskihkiya?
where IPV=past=put\TI2=3-0'C 2=medicine=0p
'Where did he put your medicine?'

100. tântî â-kî-otinât nipâpâ?
where IPV=past=take\TA=3-3'C 1=dad
'Where did my dad get them?'

3.4 PARTICLES

The short text in example #97 contains a particle, nîtî 'over there'. Bloomfield (1946:94) defined a particle as any uninflected form. Because "particles are the words left over when all the others have been assigned to syntactic categories" (Zwicky 1985:292), particles are a diffuse group. Therefore, any attempt to classify particles will not be exceptionless.

A basic distinction is made in this dissertation between particles that are syntactically restricted and those that are not. The particle macimâ 'of course' is an example of a general particle, one which is not syntactically restricted. The particle sîpâ 'under' is an example of a syntactic particle. The latter particle modifies locative noun phrases. When the distinction between a general and syntactic particle is not necessary, the unmarked term

'particle' refers to both types.

General particles may be further divided into discourse and semantic particles. Discourse particles are particles that code discourse functions.[12] Discourse particles include the topic particle mâ 'what about/but', the contrastive particle iδa and the public information particle isa. Also included in this list are the discourse connectors kwâni 'so,then' and akwa 'and (then)'. Discourse particles occur in initial position, are attached as clitics to the initial constituent in the clause, or occur in sentence final position. Discourse particles are frequent in the texts in Appendix C. Two discourse particles, kwâni 'so,then' and isa 'you know', occur in the following example.

101. kwâni isa kayâs pîyak kisîδiniw.
then hrs long-ago one old-man
'And you know, long ago there was an old man.'

Semantic particles occur directly before or directly after the constituent they modify. Most adverbs are semantic particles. The following two sentences taken from a text illustrate the semantic particle pîyakwâw 'once'. In

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[12] These particles have also been referred to as discourse markers (Zwicky 1985).

#102, pîyakwâw 'once' precedes the verb ohci-kiskîyihtamân 'I didn't know it' and in #103, the semantic particle follows the verb.

102. kwâni mwâc pîyakwâw ohci-kiskîyihtamân
then neg once negpast=know\TI=1-0C
ta-twâhikâtîk anima.
IPV=drill-hole-in-ice\II=0C that=0
'And not once did I know of that hole being drilled.'

103. kwâni mwâc î-kî-ohci-kiskîyihtamân pîyakwâw
then neg IPV=past=negpast=know\TI=1-0C once
ta-twâhikâtîk anima.
IPV=drill-hole-in-ice\II=0C that=0
'And I did not know even once of that hole being drilled.'

The remainder of this section is concerned with syntactic particles. Syntactic particles usually occur as the left-most or right-most constituent of a phrase or clause. Syntactic particles include prepositions and interrogative and subordinate clause markers such as tânta 'where' and kisâspin 'if (only)'. Syntactic particles are limited to the syntactic structures they define but they are not always an obligatory part of those structures. The following example contains the particle kisâspin 'if (only)'. This particle is optional in this structure. It is

a syntactic particle because of its limited syntactic distribution.

104. kisâspin wâpamâci, na-wâ-wîhtamâkonân.
if see\TA=3-3'S 1fut=supp=tell\TA+O=3-1pI
'If he were to see her, he would tell us.'

Three types of syntactic particles referred to in Chapter IV are prepositions, postpositions and quantifiers. A preposition occurs as the initial constituent in a phrase whose head is a locative noun or pronoun.

105. sîkoc mistikowatih
between box=loc
'between the box(es)'

A postposition occurs as the final constituent in a phrase whose head is a locative noun or pronoun. The postpositions are isi 'to(wards)' and ohci 'from'.

106. tôhânih isi
ball=loc towards
'towards the ball'

107. îkota ohci
there from
'from there'

The only other type of syntactic particle that serves as a constituent in a noun phrase is a quantifier.[13] The following examples illustrate the quantifiers âtiht 'some' and pîyak 'one'.

108. âtiht ômisi î-isinâkwahki asisoya.
some like-this IPV=rel=appear\II=0pC chisel=0p
'Some chisels look like this.'

109. kwâni â-kî-wanihiht ana pîyak.
then IPV=past=lose\TA=X-3C that=3 one
'Then that one was lost.'

3.5 VERBS

3.5.1 Verbal Orders

The three main verb paradigms, labelled orders, are the independent, the conjunct and the imperative.

There are two types of imperative verbs: the immediate and the delayed. They differ with respect to the urgency of the action. An immediate imperative verb requests an immediate action. A delayed imperative verb requests an

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[13] A quantifier may be preceded by another constituent in the same phrase. See section 4.2.1 for details.

action that need not be immediate and has a polite reading. The following examples illustrate immediate and delayed imperative verbs.

110. kîwî.

go-home\AI=2Imp

'Go home.'

111. kîwîhkan.

go-home\AI=2DelImp

'Go home (later).'

Imperative inflections are limited to verb stems that are subcategorized as taking an animate subject. The subject of an imperative verb is a second person singular or plural, or a first person inclusive. All imperative inflections are suffixes. Exemplary paradigms illustrating the inflections are listed in Appendix A.

Independent and conjunct verbs occur in non-imperative clauses.[14] Independent verbs are restricted to main clauses; conjunct verbs occur in both main and subordinate clauses. Independent and conjunct inflections are added to any verb stem.

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[14] An exception is the jussive structure in which the verb takes an independent inflection, e.g., ta-nikamow 'let him sing'.

When a verb is inflected as an independent, person is partly coded by a set of prefixes. These prefixes are identical to those found on the corresponding possessed nouns. ni- signals a first person and ki- signals a second person.

112. ni+pimohtâ+n

1=walk\AI=1I

'I walk'

113. ki+pimohtâ+n

2=walk\AI=2I

'you walk'

A third person prefix o- is used only in the preterit, a sub-type of independent verb found in some irrealis clauses.[15] The following example contains the third person prefix.

114. môδa itokî mihcît o-ta-kî-ihtâhtayak

neg perhaps many 3=fut=past=exist\AI=3ppretI

atimwak.

dog=3p

'Perhaps there wouldn't be many dogs.'

---

[15] There are no corresponding conjunct preterit forms in Woods Cree. The independent preterit forms are not listed in Appendix A. The bilingual speakers who acted as informants for this dissertation were unable to provide complete preterit paradigms. The preterit has only marginal use. The examples in the dissertation containing preterits were all taken from older speakers.

The regular third person independent verb form is signalled by the suffix -w.[16]

115. pimohtî+w
walk\AI=3I
'he walks'

There are also two first person plural inflections, an exclusive and an inclusive, and one second person plural independent form all of which commence with a personal prefix. Number is marked in the suffix.

116. ni+pimohtâ+nân
1=walk\AI=1pI
'we (1p) walk'

117. ki+pimohtâ+nânaw
2=walk\AI=12I
'we (12) walk'

118. ki+pimohtâ+nâwâw
2=walk\AI=2pI
'you (2p) walk'

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[16] The form of the verb varies according to stem type. See paradigms in Appendix A for examples.

The third person plural independent and obviative forms are illustrated below.

119. pimohtî+wak
walk\AI=3pI
'they walk'

120. pimohtî+δiwa
walk\AI=3'I
'he/they walk(s)'

Conjunct inflections signal person and number by suffixes. Because the person and number categories of the conjunct are identical to the independent, they are not repeated here. Examples of verbs inflected as conjunct are listed in Appendix A.

There are several basic types of conjunct verbs. One type of conjunct verb begins with a special preverb.[17] Examples #121 and #122 contain the special preverbs, î- and (k)â-.

121. misiwî ôtî oskîsikosih î-astîδik.
all-over here 3=eye=dim=loc IPV=put\II=0'C
'It was put all over his little eye.'

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[17] In other dialects, this type of conjunct verb is called the changed conjunct. See Chapter IX for details.

122. kwâni itokî kâ-otihtinah, î-pâskiswât
then perhaps IPV=reach\TI=3-0'C IPV=shoot\TA=3-3'C
ôho kwâni îkota ohci sîmâk
this=3' then there from immed
â-kî-ohci-pî-kîwîpaδit.
IPV=past=negpast=to=go-home-move\AI=3C
'Then perhaps he grabbed it, shooting him, and then from there he came back home.'

Other conjunct verbs may be simple or subjunctive. The subjunctive differs from the simple conjunct verb by the addition of a final suffix -i and in some cases by a distinct inflection. In the following example, the first person inclusive subjunctive inflection -yahki occurs on the verb in the antecedent and the corresponding simple conjunct inflection -yahk occurs on the verb in the consequent. The conjunct and the subjunctive paradigms are listed in Appendix A.

123. îkâ opônapiwinih kî-itohtîyahki, kwâni pô
neg SIL=loc able=go\AI=12S then only
Thompson ta-ayâyahk.
Thompson IPV=be\AI=12C
'If we can't go to South Indian Lake, will we have to stay in Thompson.'

The simple conjunct may be further divided into verbs which begin with a preverb such as ta- 'future', and verbs which lack a preverb. This distinction is described in Chapter IX.

3.5.2 Stem Types And Syntactic Relationships

The independent and conjunct inflections discussed above are added to four types of verbs. Verbs are classified according to the transitivity of the verb and the animacy of its basic nominal arguments, subject and object.

TABLE 3.9

Verb Type

AI	Animate	Intransitive
II	Inanimate	Intransitive
TA	Transitive	Animate
TI	Transitive	Inanimate

At a morphological level, there are two sets of intransitive verb stems; one for animate subjects (AI), as in #124 and one for inanimate subjects (II), as in #125. Impersonal verbs, e.g., kîsikâw 'it is day', are also inflected as II. The AI and II verb stems end in a vowel or -n. The stem types are exemplified in Appendix A.

124. kostâciw atim.

afraid-of\AI=3I dog

'The dog is afraid of (the dark).'

125. kâsâw môhkomân.

sharp\II=0I knife

'The knife is sharp.'

There are also two sets of transitive verb stems. A TA verb requires an animate object and a TI verb takes an inanimate object. The following two examples illustrate the two main types of transitive verbs.

126. kwâni ôko nâpîwak

then this=3p man=3p

kâ-kî-nakatâcik owîkimâkaniwâwa.

IPV=past=leave-behind\TA=3p-3'C 3p=spouse=3'

'Then these men left behind their wives.'

127. Clarence kâ-ta-tahkopitah omakalakisa.

Clarence IPV=redup=tie\TI=3-0'C 3=mukluk=dim=0p

'Clarence was tying up his little mukluks.'

A TA verb is also inflected for the number of its object; the corresponding TI verb is not.

128. nîδa âsay î-kî-pî-wâpamakwâw atimwak.

I already IPV=past=to=see\TA=1-3pC dog=3p

'I have seen dogs before.'

129. mwâ na k-ôh-ocisâpahtîn waskwayi-cîmâna?
neg Q 2=negpast=witness\TI=2-0I birchbark=canoe=0p
'Did you get a chance to see birchbark canoes?'

The subject of a TA verb may be animate, indefinite or inanimate. The terms are those used in traditional Algonquian literature (Wolfart 1973:61-62). Example #128 is an example of a TA verb with an animate subject. The following examples illustrate TA verbs with an indefinite and inanimate subject, respectively. A clause with an indefinite subject is a type of agentless passive. Although the inanimate subject in #131 is morphologically inanimate, the subject refers to a semantically animate entity from the Cree spiritual world.

130. kwâni nîδa kâ-kî-mîδikawiyân.
then I IPV=past=give\TA+O=X-1C
'Then he was given to me.'

131. kîkwân nikîδomâhcihikon.
thing 1=bother\TA=0-1I
'Something is bothering me.'

TA verbs have theme signs labelled direct and inverse. The theme sign indicates the direction of an action. The direct theme sign -â signals a first or second person is acting on a third person or a third person is acting on an

obviative. The inverse theme sign -ikw signals a third person is acting on a first or second person, an obviative is acting on a third person or an inanimate is acting on an animate. Contrast the following two examples. In the first example the verb, kâ-otihtinâcik 'they reach him (obv)', has a direct theme sign and in the second example the verb, kâ-otihtinikot 'they (obv) reach him', has an inverse theme sign. The complete paradigms are listed in Appendix A.

132. akwa kâ-otihtinâcik ôho, Clarence akwa
and IPV=reach\TA=3p-3'C this=3' C. and
kisis Eli.
2=mo/br Eli
'And Clarence and your uncle Eli grabbed this one.'

133. kwâni itokî kâ-otihtinikot ôho mahîkana.
and perhaps IPV=reach\TA=3'-3C this=3' wolf=3'
'And these wolves attacked him.'

The term local refers to direct and inverse forms that signal first and second persons acting on each other. When a second person acts on a first person, the action is direct, as in #134, and when a first person acts on a second person, the action is inverse, as in #135. Local forms have distinct theme signs. The complete paradigms are provided in Appendix A.

134. kwâni âsay kiwanâmin.
then already 2=interrupt\TA=2-1I
'You've already interrupted me.'

135. mwâ ka-wanâmitin.
neg 2fut=interrupt\TA=1-2I
'I won't interrupt you.'

The direct and inverse theme signs form an animacy hierarchy that may be schematically represented as follows:

2 > 1 > 3 > 3' > O

There are also a few syntactic anomalies with respect to the morphological classification. A sub-type of animate intransitive verb, labelled by Goddard (1979:37) as AI+O, is morphologically intransitive but can take an object. The object of an AI+O verb can be animate or inanimate. Examples are given in #136 and #137.

136. î-kî-kimotiyân ana pîpî.
IPV=past=steal\AI+O=1C that=3 baby
'I stole the baby.'

137. kîkway â-kî-kimotiyân pîkopaδin.
thing=0 IPV=past=steal\AI+O=1C break\II=0I
'The thing I stole is broken.'

There are also two special types of TI verbs. One type of TI verb need not be followed by a noun phrase, e.g., itîyihtam 'he thinks it'; yet it is treated morphologically as if it has an object. The other type of transitive inanimate verb, labelled TI2, is morphologically intransitive; yet syntactically transitive. TI2 verbs require an inanimate noun phrase as their object.[18] The following two sentences exemplify these two special types of TI verbs.

138. tâpwî mâmaskâc, itîyihtam.
really amazing think\TI=3-0'I
'He thinks it is really amazing.'

139. akwa kâ-kî-osihtâcik ayihîδiw mistikwa.
and IPV=past=make\TI2=3p-0'C whatev=0' stick=0p
'And then they made sticks.'

A TA verb may be sub-categorized to require two objects; one of which must be animate. At a syntactic level, the animate indirect object is the morphological object for which the verb is inflected. These double goal verbs are labelled by Goddard as TA+O (1979:37). The two verbs in example #140 are TA+O.

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[18] These two types of TI verbs take optional sentential complements.

140. <u>î-âcimostâkawiyân</u> <u>ahpo</u> <u>î-mîδikawiyân</u>

IPV=tell-story\TA+O=X-1C or IPV=give\TA+O=X-1C

<u>nimasinahikan</u>.

1=document

'I am told or I am given my statement.'

Chapter IV

THE NOUN PHRASE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Noun phrases are relatively infrequent in texts. Because the basic arguments are coded on the verb, noun phrases which refer to the subject or the object often have a discourse role. In texts, noun phrases introduce referents into the discourse. An example is:

141.	kwâni	kâ-nakanâtâcik	nisikosa.	mwâ mâ	itokî
	and	IPV=bring\TA=3p-3'C	1=aunt=3'	neg but	perhaps
	wîhkâc	ohci-otinawâsow	ana	nôcokîsiw.	
	ever	negpast=take-child\AI=3I	that=3	old-woman	

'And they went to get my aunt. But perhaps that old woman had never delivered (a baby).'

Noun phrases also have an appositional role. They provide additional information about the participants coded on the verb.

142. <u>mâta</u> <u>na-âcimâw</u> <u>nimis?</u>
Martha 1fut=tell-story\TA=1-3I 1=old-si
'Will I tell her a story about Martha, my older sister?'

The only obligatory constituent in a noun phrase is the head. The head of a noun phrase is the constituent around which the other components cluster and it is usually a noun. In the following example, the pronoun <u>ana</u> 'that' and the quantifier <u>pîyak</u> 'one' modify the head noun <u>kisîδiniw</u> 'old man'.

143. <u>ana</u> <u>pîyak</u> <u>kisîδiniw</u>
that=3 one old-man
'that one old man'

Modifiers generally precede their heads. Free constituent order is possible only when the participants in the clause are clearly identified. When this situation occurs, a modifier is interpreted as modifying the adjacent noun. An example is discussed below. In #144, the TA verb

kîskis 'cut him' is inflected as an imperative. Since the subject of the imperative verb is a second person which is not realized on the surface, the pronoun ana 'that' modifies the object, manakway 'sleeve', even though the deictic pronoun follows its head.

144. [manakway ana] kîskis, nimisî.
sleeve that=3 cut\TA=2-3Imp 1=old-si=voc
'Cut off that sleeve, my older sister'.

In clauses in which there is more than one noun, the possibility for confusion exists and the order of the constituents in the noun phrase tends to be more rigid.

4.2 SIMPLE NOUN PHRASES

4.2.1 Constituent Structure

A noun phrase consists of a head which may be modified by up to three different types of pronouns and a quantifier in the order presented below. The third person animate forms of the pronouns represent their pronominal sets.

145.

NP ---> (ana) (kotak) (ayahâw) (Quantifier) Head

Since a simple noun phrase has only one head, two nouns do not occur in a simple noun phrase. Two pronouns may occur as long as the pronouns come from distinct paradigm sets. In #146, the pronoun head kîkwâna 'things' is preceded by two modifiers one of which is also a pronoun.[1]

146. akwa ka-sîkinîn [ôho kahkiδaw kîkwâna].
and 2fut=pour\TI=2-0I this=0p all thing=0p
'And then you pour in all these things.'

When more than one pronoun occurs in a simple noun phrase, the pronouns are ordered. The deictic pronoun precedes the alternative pronoun kotak 'other' and the ayahâw 'whoever' pronoun.

147. ana kotak ayahâw
that=3 other whoever=3
'that other person'

Quantifiers are divided into quantifiers such as âtiht 'some' and nîso 'two' and measurements such as mîwat 'bag' and mistikowat 'box'. A noun phrase may contain one quantifier and one measurement in that order. This is illustrated in #148.

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[1] The quantifier kahkiδaw 'all' is syntactically irregular. Dahlstrom 1986 and Rhodes 1979 provide details on the equivalent particle in Plains Cree and Ottawa.

148. pîhtamawîhkan [nîso mistikowat kinosîwak]
bring\TA+O=2-1DelImp two box fish=3p
'Bring me two boxes of fish (later).'

Although a measurement requires a preceding quantifier, a quantifier does not require a measurement.

149. âskaw [nisto] kî-osihîw.
sometimes three past=make\TA=3-3'I
'Sometimes she made three.'

4.2.2 Locative Noun Phrases

A locative noun phrase has the constituent structure of a simple noun phrase. The following locative noun phrase consists of a pronoun, a quantifier and a head noun coded for case.

150. anihi nîso mistikowatih
that=0p two box=loc
'in/on those two boxes'

Apart from the locative suffix -ih(k), there are two types of syntactic particles that occur in a locative noun phrase. These are prepositions and postpositions. Examples

containing the preposition sîpâ 'under' and the postposition ohci 'from' are listed in #151-152.

151. î-itwâhtihpîsih [sîpâ nipîwinih].
IPV=knock-head\AI=3C under bed=loc
'He knocked his head under the bed.'

152. môδa [iskôlih ohci] anihi kiskinôhamâkîwina,
neg school=loc from that=0p teaching=0p
nîsta kâ-isi-pimipaδihtâyân.
1-too IPV=rel=along-move-obj\TI2=1-0C
'These teachings are not from school, the way I run things.'

Prepositions are often optional when the head noun occurs with a locative suffix. However, when the head noun is semantically animate, the preposition is obligatory because it is the sole indicator of the locative status of the noun phrase. An example is:

153. kisiwâk ana nâpîw
near that=3 man
'near the man'

4.2.3 Pronouns

A pronoun may replace a noun or function as a modifier. A pronoun can only modify a noun with which it agrees in gender and number. Because the deictic pronoun in #154 fails to agree with the noun akohpa 'blankets' in number, anima 'that' does not modify the noun akohpa in #154. This pronoun is either the head of another noun phrase or a modifier of a noun which has deleted under identity.

154. nikî-otisâpahtîn anima -
1=past=witness\TI=1-0I that=0
kâ-kî-ati-waδawî-akotâcik akohpa.
IPV=past=incp=far=hang\TI2=3p-0'C blanket=0p
'I got a chance to see this - they hung blankets outside.'

Assuming that the head has not deleted under identity, and that the noun phrase has unmarked constituent order, the following generalization may be made. When a pronoun is the right-most constituent in a noun phrase it is the head. When a pronoun is not the right-most constituent, it is a modifier. In example #155, kotakak 'others' is a modifier and the pronoun awiniki 'people' is the head. In example #156, ayihîδiw 'whatever' is a modifier and the noun iskotîw 'fire' is the head.

155. akwa kotakak isa awiniki
and other=3p hrs someone=3p
î-kî-wîcayamakihcik.
IPV=past=with=be\TA=12-3pC
'And you know we stayed with the other people.'

156. kwâni ayihîδiw iskotîw kâ-pîhci-pahkihtin(i)δik
then whatev=0' fire IPV=inside=fall\II=0'C
oskîsikoh.
3=eye=loc
'Then a spark flew inside his eye.'

A few pronouns only appear as heads, e.g., they cannot be followed by a noun belonging to the same noun phrase. The indefinite pronouns, awina 'someone' and kîkwân 'something' are examples. Although these pronouns may be preceded by other pronouns and quantifiers as in #157, they are never followed by a noun belonging to the same noun phrase.

157. anihi nîso kîkwâna
that=0p two thing=0p
'those two things'

Other pronouns replace noun phrases. îyako 'that one' and the interrogative pronouns awina 'who' and kîkway/kîkwân 'what' are the only possible constituents in

the noun phrases in the following examples. They are therefore the heads of the noun phrases in which they occur.

158. pimâtisiyâhki, kîhtwâm îyako ta-âpacihtâyâhk
live\AI=1pS again that-one IPV=use\TI2=1p-0C
'If we live, we will use that one again.'

159. awina âsay â-kî-pî-âcimot?
who already IPV=past=to=tell-story\AI=3C
'Who told stories already?'

160. kîkwân mâyiδa ta-aδimotamah?
what but IPV=talk\TI=12-0C
'But what shall we talk about?'

The head of a noun phrase can always be substituted by a noun. It can also be substituted by a pronoun functioning as a head. A possessive noun phrase is used to illustrate this point. A possessive noun phrase is a complex noun phrase consisting of two separate noun phrases labelled possessor and possessed respectively. The two component parts of any complex noun phrase have their own head constituents. Details are provided in section 4.4.2. A head constituent in a complex noun phrase cannot delete under identity leaving its modifier behind.[2] When there is only

[2] However, the entire noun phrase may delete under identity. See section 4.4.2 for details.

one constituent in a possessor noun phrase, it must be the head.

By the above, the pronoun sets represented by ayahâw 'whoever', awina 'who', kotak 'other' and îyako 'that one' and the two sets of personal pronouns may occur as the head in a possessor noun phrase.

161. ayahâw owâskâhikan
whoever 3=house
'whoever's house'

162. awina owâskâhikan
who 3=house
'whose house'

163. kotak owâskâhikan
other 3=house
'the other's house'

164. îyako owâskâhikan
that-one 3=house
'that one's house'

165. nîδa nicîmân
I 1=boat
'my boat'

166. nîsta nicîmân
I 1=boat
'my boat too'

A head is the only constituent inflected for case. When ayihîw 'whatever' is a head of a locative noun phrase, it forms a separate locative noun phrase which is in apposition to any other locative noun phrase in the sentence.

167. kwâni atimwak kâ-mâsihitocik ayihîhk
then dog=3p IPV=fight=recip\AI=3pC whatev=loc
[awasipa mîkiwâhpih].
behind tent=loc
'And the dogs were fighting each other behind the tent.'

When ayihîw 'whatever' is a modifier of a locative noun, it is not inflected for locative case.

168. kwâni ati-paskopitîw akwa [ayihîw mîwatih]
then incp=pluck\TA=3-3'I and whatev=0 bag=loc
ati-asiwatâw opîwâma.
incp=put-in\TI2=3-0'I 3=feather=0p
'Then she plucks (the duck) and puts the feathers in a bag.'

Other criteria are used to determine the status of pronouns such as kotak 'other' in #169. This example contains a deictic pronoun. The deictic pronoun is

separated from kotak 'other' by a slight pause. In examples such as this, kotak 'other' may be followed by a noun belonging to the same noun phrase.

169. anima kotak nâtamôhkan.
that=0 other=0 fetch\TI=2-0DelImp
'Go get that other one.'

In #170, the deictic pronoun that precedes kotak 'other' does not have independent stress. awa 'this' is a proclitic attached to kotak 'other'. A noun may not belong to this noun phrase. In example #170, kotak 'other' is the head.

170. akwa wîδa awa-kotak, îyakwani nimâmâ omâmâwa
then 3 this=other that-one=3 1=mom 3=mom=3'
Caroline, nikwîmîs.
Caroline 1=namesake
'And her, the other one, that one is my mom's mom Caroline, my namesake.'

Proclitics may also attach to deictic pronouns. When a deictic pronoun is preceded by a clitic, the pronoun functions as the head of the noun phrase, as in #171.

171. <u>mîlcîn</u> <u>ôta-awa</u> <u>ayât</u> <u>mâna</u>, "<u>tânika</u>
Mary-Jane here=this=3 be\AI=3C used-to if-only
<u>kî-miδwayâyâh</u>" <u>it</u>.
past=well-be\AI=1pC said
'Mary Jane - this one here - used to say, "If only we were well."

In other cases, it is only from the context that deictic pronouns are classified as the heads of the noun phrases in which they occur. This example is taken from the narrative in Appendix C.

172. <u>kwâni</u> <u>î-nipahicik</u> <u>ôko</u>.
then IPV=kill\TA=3p-1C this=3p
'They are killing me.'

Three pronoun sets remain to be addressed: the interrogative pronoun <u>tâniwâ</u> 'where', the interrogative/indefinite pronoun <u>tâna</u> 'which/all kinds' and the deictic adverbials.

The <u>tâniwâ</u> 'where' pronouns occur as complete noun phrases, as in #173. They are the heads of the noun phrases in which they occur.

173. tâniwâ mâyiδa ana iskwîw anohc?
where=3 but that=3 woman now
'But where is that woman now?'

The tâna 'which/all kinds' set of pronouns may occur alone, as in #174 or modify a noun, as in #175. When tâna 'which/all kinds' occurs alone, either the pronoun is the head or the pronoun is a modifier of a noun phrase in which the head has deleted. Since the tâna 'which' pronoun does not occur as a possessor noun phrase; and does not, in other structures, take a locative case or have an attached clitic, there is no structural evidence in support of a tâna 'which' pronoun as a head in #174, or in similar structures.

174. tâniwîhi mâka wiδa omosôma kikosis, nimosô?
which=3' but emp 3=gr/fa=3' 2=son 1=gr/fa=voc
'But which one is the grandfather of your son, grandpa?'

175. wiδa piko tâniwîhi maskihkiya
cause only all-kinds=0p herbs=0p
î-kî-mîcicik pisiskiwak isa
IPV=past=eat\TI2=3-0'C animal=3p hrs
kâ-kî-môwihcik.
IPV=past=eat\TA=X-3pC
'Because the animals that are eaten eat all kinds of herbs.'

A deictic adverbial proform may be a modifier or a head. As a modifier, it may precede a locative noun. An example is:

176. [tânta wâskâhikanih] â-kî-astâyin?
where house=loc IPV=past=put\TI2=2-0'C
'Where in the house did you put it?'

In other instances, a deictic adverbial functions as a head. In #177, the locative adverbial ôtî 'here' is the only constituent in the locative phrase.

177. ka, wîsta [ôtî], ciyi?
excl 3-too here right
'Oh, he is going this way too, right?'

Deictic adverbials, with the exception of the interrogative proforms tântî/tânta 'where', can be preceded by a preposition or followed by a postposition. When a deictic adverbial is preceded by a preposition or followed by a postposition, the interrogative proform serves as the head of the locative phrase.

178. ayihîhk [awasipa antî] apîhkâ.
wherever behind there sit\AI=12DelImp
'Let's go sit somewhere behind (the house) there.'

179. namîstîkwa mîna î-kî-pâniswâcik [îkota
smoked-fish=0p also IPV=able=smoke\TA=3p-3'C there
ohci].
from
'They also smoke fish fillets from there.'

180. mitoni mînsa î-nihtâwikiniδiki [ôta isi]
so-much berry=0p IPV=grow\II=0p'C here to
misiwî ospiskwânih.
all-over 3=back=loc
'There were even berries growing right here, all over his back.'

4.2.4 Quantifiers

When a noun phrase ends in a quantifier, either the quantifier is the head of the noun phrase or the head has deleted under identity. Because the argument for the head deleting under identity is based on agreement, I will briefly review it here. A verb agrees with each noun for which it is subcategorized.[3] In example #181, the noun atimwa 'dog (3')' is the object of a TA verb for which the subject is a third person. The verb agrees with the noun atimwa 'dog' in obviation. There is no overt agreement

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[3] Pronouns also show agreement. See sections 3.3 and 4.2.3 for relevant details.

between the verb and the quantifier nisto 'three'.

181. akwa [nisto atimwa] kî-ayâwîw.
and three dog=3' past=have\TA=3-3'I
'And he had three dogs.'

When the head noun deletes under identity, the verb continues to show agreement with the underlying noun. In example #183, the quantifier mitâtaht 'ten' is the sole constituent in the noun phrase. The noun awâsisak 'children' in #182 has deleted under identity in #183. The verb kâ-kî-nakasicik 'they were left over' agrees with the deleted noun in gender and number. There is no agreement between the quantifier mitâtaht 'ten' and the verb.

182. mitâht-nîsosâp nikî-ayâwâwak awâsisak.
ten=two=teen 1=past=have\TA=1=3pC child=3p
'I had twelve children.'

183. kwâni pîδisk kâ-kî-nakasicik mitâtaht.
then finally IPV=past=left-over\AI=3p ten
'Then finally there were ten left.'

By the same argument, the verb in #184 is inflected as taking an animate obviative object. The quantifier pîyak 'one' is not marked for obviation. Therefore, a missing noun is the head of the noun phrase.

184. [pîyak] mâyiδa î-kitamwât.

one but IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C

'But he devoured one.'

A few examples are problematic. They contain an argument which may be interpreted as either a direct object in which the quantifier is the head or as an oblique argument in which the head noun has deleted. An example is given in #185.

nisto 'three' in #185 refers to the awâsisak 'children' in examples #182-#183. Although the reference is to children, the verb is inflected as taking an inanimate object. Since quantifiers are not sub-categorized for gender, the quantifier nisto 'three' may be the head of a noun phrase that functions as the direct object of the verb.[4] nisto 'three' could equally be a modifier in an obligue argument the head of which has deleted under identity. Since examples such as #185 are problematic, the head status of quantifiers in simple noun phrases will remain unresolved. The role of quantifiers in complex noun phrases is discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2.

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[4] The unmarked inanimate form of the verb appears when two nouns differing in gender are coordinated. See section 4.4.1 for details.

185. <u>tâpiskôc</u> <u>ôtî</u> [<u>nisto</u>] <u>î-itîyihtamân</u>.
like here three IPV=think\TI=1-0C
'I really think of it here as three.'

The second type of quantifier, the measurement, is slightly more complex. Lexical items which function as measurements also appear as nouns. In the latter instance, they may be inflected. Example #186 contains one such lexical item. In #186, the TA verb <u>nikî-isi-pakocînâwak</u> 'I gutted them' is inflected as taking an animate plural object. The phrase <u>nisto</u> <u>mistikowat</u> 'three boxes' is the syntactic object of this verb. Since the verb does not agree with <u>mistikowat</u> 'box' in animacy or in number, <u>mistikowat</u> 'box' would appear not to be the head of this noun phrase.

186. [<u>nisto</u> <u>mistikowat</u>] <u>nikî-isi-pakocînâwak</u>.
three box 1=past=rel=gut\TA=1-3pI
'I gutted three boxes of them [fish].'

However, measurement phrases are unusual in a number of ways which suggest that it, unlike the previous type of quantifier, forms a type of complex noun phrase. The details are provided in section 4.3.1.

4.3 MEASUREMENT AND PARTITIVE PHRASES

4.3.1 Measurement Phrases

A measurement phrase has the following constituent structure: quantifier + measurement + noun. This type of noun phrase is never preceded by a deictic pronoun and number on the measurement is optional, as in #188.[5]

187. nisto îmihkwânis ohpicicikan
three spoon=dim baking-powder
'three teaspoons of baking-powder'

188. nîso îmihkwânis[ak] sôkâw
two spoon=dim=(3p) sugar
'two teaspoons of sugar'

When a simple noun phrase functions as one of the two basic arguments in a clause, the verb agrees with it in gender, number and obviation, where required. Some measurement phrases follow this rule.[6] However, a different type of agreement rule operates between other measurement phrases and a verb.

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[5] If the noun in the measurement phrase is a mass noun, it is not coded for number.

[6] When a measurement is preceded by a deictic pronoun, the resulting phrase is a simple noun phrase with normal verb agreement. When the noun deletes under identity, the verb also shows agreement with the underlying noun. See example #186.

The verb agreement rule for these measurement phrases is irregular. In the following example, the II verb <u>î-pîkopaδikwâw</u> 'they break' agrees with the noun <u>kinosîwak</u> 'fish' in number but not in gender. The only possible gender agreement is between the verb and the measurement <u>mistikowat</u> 'box'.

189. [<u>pîyak</u> <u>mistikowat</u>] <u>kinosîwak</u>]] <u>î-pîkopaδikwâw</u>.
one box fish IPV=break\II=0pC
'One carton of fish broke.'

This poses a series of problems regarding the structure of measurement phrases, agreement and the status of heads; especially if the measurement noun phrase is considered to be a simple noun phrase.

It will be assumed here, on the basis of the complex nature of the agreement rule that a measurement noun phrase is a type of complex noun phrase consisting of two major constituents, a quantifier phrase and a noun phrase.

Measurement NP ---> [[quantifier measurement] noun phrase]

In simple noun phrases, verbs show agreement with nouns but not quantifiers. Agreement between a verb and a measurement phrase is irregular. A verb may agree in different ways in different examples. In some instances, the verb only partially agrees with the noun. In example #189, the verb appears to agree, in part, with the quantifier. The verb is reflecting features taken from different elements in the complex noun phrase. The two major constituents, the quantifier and the noun, appear to be sharing the role of head. This however creates a variety of problems since quantifiers are not normally heads, and head-sharing is problematic at best. However, the structure has parallels with the coordinate noun phrases discussed in section 4.4.1. In coordinate noun phrases, the verb shows agreement with both nouns.

4.3.2 Partitive Noun Phrases

In section 4.3.1, it is suggested that a measurement noun phrase forms a type of complex noun phrase. Complex noun phrases may also be partitive, possessive, coordinate or relativized. The first four types are covered in this chapter. Relative clauses are discussed in Chapter VII.

A partitive noun phrase consists of two major constituents, a noun phrase and a quantifier phrase. The minor constituents within each of these major constituents have the same ordering restrictions apply to them that apply to the minor constituents in a simple noun phrase.[7] In #190 and #191, the partitive noun phrases contain a deictic pronoun. In both examples, the deictic pronoun precedes the constituent it modifies.

190. [nikosis [awa pîyak]] î-ayawak.
1=son this=3 one IPV=have\TA=1-3C
'I had one of my sons.'

191. [pîyak kâ-pîsiwât [ôho wâpisiwa]].
one IPV=bring-back\TA=3-3'C this=3' swan=3'
'He brought back one of these swans.'

The major constituents in a partitive noun phrase do not have the rigid order constraints of the minor constituents. Although the quantifier phrase usually follows the noun phrase, it is not a necessary condition. In #191, the quantifier pîyak 'one' precedes the modifying noun phrase.

The quantifier phrase in a partitive noun phrase delimits the sub-set of nouns referred to by the noun phrase. In the following examples, the quantifier pîyak

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[7] See section 4.2.1 for details.

'one' delimits a set of objects referred to by the noun oskîsik 'his eye' and the noun phrase aniki nîw nâpîsisak 'those four boys'.

192. pîyakwâw pô, kâ-âhkosit [oskîsik [pîyak]].
once only IPV=sick\AI=3C 3=eye one
'Only once, one of her eyes was sore.'

193. [aniki nîw nâpîsisak [pîyak]] î-âhkosit.
that=3p four boy=3p one IPV=sick\AI=3C
'One of those four boys is sick.'

Note that because the numeral pîyak 'one' is a sub-set of the nouns referred to by aniki nîw nâpîsisak 'those four boys', the noun phrase in #193 is proximate.

The unmarked position of a quantifier is to the right of the noun phrase, as in #194. The position of the quantifier is identical to the position of a head in a simple noun phrase.

194. tâsipwâ nikî-otinâw [nipîpîm [pîyak]]
in-fact 1=past=take\TA=1-3I 1=baby=im one
mîna.
also
'That is why I delivered one of my babies.'

An unmarked partitive noun phrase is schematically represented as:

Partitive Noun Phrase ---->[[NP [Quantifier Phrase]]

Evidence against the noun phrase being the head of a partitive noun phrase comes from locative structures. When a simple noun phrase refers to a group of objects in a place, the head of the noun phrase occurs with the locative morpheme -ih(k), as in #195.

195. [sîkoc anihi nîso mistikowatih]
between that=0p two box=loc
'between those two boxes'

The normal unmarked position of the quantifier suggests that the quantifier may be the head. However, the situation is far from clear. Quantifiers are also uninflected. E.g., a locative suffix does not occur on the quantifier in #196. The locative status of the noun phrase is indicated by the locative proform anta 'there'.

196. sîkoc anta [anihi nîso mistikowata]
between there that=0p two box=0p
'between two of those boxes'

4.3.3 Measurements vs. Partitive NPs

Measurement phrases and partitives are semantically related. They also share a number of syntactic features. In order to show the syntactic relationship between measurements and partitives, one must first contrast simple noun phrases with partitive noun phrases.

A major difference between a partitive noun phrase and a simple noun phrase is constituent order. In a simple noun phrase the quantifier precedes the head, as in #197. Although the order of the major constituents in a partitive noun phrase is not fixed, in most partitive noun phrases, the quantifier phrase follows the noun phrase, as in #198.

197. [pîyak nîciwâkan] kî-sipwîhtîw.
one 1=friend past=leave\AI=3C
'My one friend left.'

198. [nîciwâkan [pîyak]] kî-sipwîhtîw.
1=friend one past=leave\AI=3C
'One of my friends left.'

The simple noun phrase may also be distinguished from a partitive noun phrase by verb agreement. When the constituent order in a partitive noun phrase is identical to the constituent order in a simple noun phrase, the verb

often shifts to agree in number with the noun phrase, as in #199.[8] However, as noted in #199, number on the noun is optional; showing once again the complex nature of verb agreement in this type of complex noun phrase.

199. [pîyak [nîciwâkan(ak)]] sipwîhtîwak.
one 1=friend past=leave\AI=3pI
'One of my friends left.'

The constituent order of the partitive noun phrase in #199 is identical to the constituent order of a measurement noun phrase. Number agreement in the partitive noun phrase in #199 is an optional rule. It is also an optional rule in the measurement noun phrases described in section 4.3.1.

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[8] Further complications arise when a partitive noun phrase functions as the head of a relative clause; where it has rigid word order. When a partitive noun phrase introduces a relative clause, the verb in the main clause agrees with the noun in gender but the quantifier in number, as the example below indicates. The verb in the relative clause in this and other examples, is marked as taking an animate plural subject. However, the subject noun phrase, although animate, is unmarked for number; suggesting once again that agreement is somehow shared. More research is needed to fully understand the agreement rules.

pîyak iskwîw [ôta kâ-ayâcik] tâhcipow.
one woman here IPV=be\AI=3pC fat\AI=3I
'One of the women here is fat.'

Although the two structures share many features, the two complex noun phrases are not identical. In addition to subtle differences in the agreement rules, there are also differing restrictions on the ordering of the major constituents. Rigid constituent order constraints only also apply to partitive noun phrases when grammatical features other than constituent order distinguish a simple noun phrase from a partitive noun phrase.

One example is the locative structure referred to earlier. When the two nouns are marked for locative case, the case morpheme distinguishes the simple noun phrase from the partitive. Here, the noun in a partitive noun phrase follows the quantifier, as in:

200. <u>sîkoc</u> <u>anta</u> [<u>anihi</u> <u>nîso</u> <u>mistikowata</u>]
between there that=0p two box=0p
'between two of those boxes'

The equational sentence is another structure in which partitives and simple noun phrases are not distinguished on the basis of constituent order. An equational sentence is formed by predicating a simple noun phrase with a deictic pronoun that agrees with the noun phrase in gender, number

and obviation.[9] An equational sentence containing a partitive noun phrase is not usually predicated in this way. A partitive noun phrase is predicated with the particle îyakwani 'that one'. The partitive noun phrase in the equational sentence has the rigid constituent order of a measurement noun phrase.

201. îyakwani [anihi pîyak] otîma]].
that-one=3' that=3' one 3=dog=3'
'One of those dogs is his.'

4.4 OTHER COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

4.4.1 Coordinate Noun Phrases

Noun phrases are coordinated by two coordinating particles: akwa 'and', ahpo 'or'.

202. kwâni â-kî-wîcihak, [cînî akwa nîδa].
and IPV=past=help\TA=1-3C J. and I
'And I helped her, Jeannie and I.'

203. akwa [nîso ahpo nisto îmihkwânis ohpicicikan]
and two or three spoon=dim baking-powder
'and two or three teaspoons of baking powder'

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[9] For details on equational sentences consult section 6.2.1.

When a coordinate noun phrase is the subject or the object of the verb, the verb agrees in number with the combined noun phrases as required by the verb stem. Therefore, the combined noun phrase is considered to be the head. In the following example, the verb kâ-otihtinâcik 'they grabbed him' requires the plural subject, Clarence akwa kisis Eli 'Clarence and your uncle Eli'.

204. akwa kâ-otihtinâcik ôho [Clarence akwa
and IPV=reach\TA=3p-3'C this=3' C. and
kisis Eli].
2=mo/br Eli
'And Clarence and your uncle Eli grabbed this one.'

Coordinate noun phrases are equal at a grammatical level. When two noun phrases are coordinated in Woods Cree, they usually occur on the same side of the verb and both noun phrases are coded identically with respect to obviation. Two examples for which these constraints apply are:

205. ôma kâ-isi-âpatah [panok piko akwa sôkâw
prt IPV=rel=use\II=0C bannock only and sugar
akwa tiy].
and tea
'Only when bannock is used, and sugar and tea.'

206. awa wîmistikôsiw akwa ana kotak kâ-misikitit.
this=3 whiteman and that=3 other IPV=big\AI=3C
'This whiteman and the other big one.'

When two noun phrases differing in gender are coordinated, the gender signalled on the verb is always inanimate.

207. kwâni ayahâwa î-kî-âpacihtât
then whoever=3' IPV=past=use\TI2=3-0'C
[apisci-sâkwîwaskosa akwa wîhkîsa].
small=lily-root=0p and wild-ginger=3'
'Then he used lily roots and wild ginger.'

208. kwâni itokî [ômîδiw] kâ-otinahk [akwa
then perhaps this=0' IPV=take\TI=3-0'C and
wâposwâna]
rabbit=skin=3'
'So then perhaps she took this and the rabbitskin.'

A similar set of constraints occur when nouns differing in gender are listed without a coordinating particle, as in #209.

209. îyakwani anihi anohc nisto kâ-miskotamân:
that-one that=0p now three IPV=mention\TI=1-0C
[wîsakimina, aδôskanak iδinimina]
mossberry=0 raspberry=3p blueberry=0p
'Those are the three I just mentioned: mossberries, raspberries, blueberries.'

Although coordinate noun phrases are not common in texts, there is one commonly used construction that resembles a coordinate noun phrase. This structure, like many of the complex noun phrases presented in this chapter, appears to violate number agreement. In the following example, the noun kimis 'your older sister' and the unstated pronoun kîδa 'you' together form the subject. The combined subject is implied by the lack of agreement between the third person subject noun phrase kimis 'your older sister' and the second person plural AI conjunct verb inflection -yîk.

210. kimis î-atoskîyîk.
2=old/si IPV=work\AI=2pC
'You and your older sister are working.'

Structures having this type of combined subject obey strict word order constraints. The subject noun phrase must precede the verb.

211. nicîmic sôpî îyako
1=yo/br-si sophie that-one=3
kâ-kî-atoskawakiht nimâmâ.
IPV=past=work-for\TA=1p-3C 1=mom
'My younger sister Sophie and I worked for my mother.'

4.4.2 Possessive Noun Phrases

A possessive noun phrase consists of two major constituents labelled the possessor and the possessed noun phrase. In the following example, nimis 'my older sister' is the possessor and ocîmân 'her boat' is the possessed noun phrase.

212. [nimis] ocîmân
1=old/si 3=boat
'my older sister's boat'

Because the possessor is also coded on the possessed noun by a set of possessive prefixes described in section 3.2.2, the possessor noun phrase may be deleted.

213. ocîmân
3=boat
'his/her boat'

The possessed noun phrase is the obligatory constituent of a possessive noun phrase. A possessed noun phrase can only be deleted at a surface level, under identity, as in #214.

214. <u>îyakwani</u> <u>anihi</u> <u>Josepwa</u>, [<u>owîmistikôsîma</u>] <u>akwa</u>
that-one that=3' Joseph=3 3=whiteman=3' and
<u>nîδa</u> [] <u>kipâpâ</u>.
I 2=dad
'That one is Joseph, her whiteman, and my [whiteman] is your father.'

A possessed noun phrase is the head of a possessive noun phrase. It agrees with the verb as required by the verb stem. In the following example, the possessed noun <u>nipâpâ</u> 'my dad', the subject, agrees with its predicate <u>kâ-takopaδit</u> 'he arrives' in gender, number and obviation.

215. <u>kâ-takopaδit</u> <u>nipâpâ</u>, [[<u>nîδa</u> <u>isa</u> [<u>nipâpâ</u>]].
IPV=arrive\AI=3C 1=dad I hrs 1=dad
'My dad came, my (real) dad.'

The order of the minor constituents within a possessed noun phrase is rigid. A possessed noun phrase has the constituent order restrictions of a simple noun phrase. Deictic pronouns precede their heads, as in #216.

216. kwâni mwâc tîpihtin [[ôma nicihciy] nîδa]
then neg fit\II=0I this=0 1=hand I
ta-kî-kwâpahamân.
IPV=past=draw-water\TI=1-0C
'So my own hand didn't fit to draw the water.'

The major constituents in a possessive noun phrase have freer order. In the preceding example, the possessed noun phrase ôma nicihciy 'this my hand' precedes the possessor noun phrase nîδa 'I'. This major constituent order is marked. Another example in which the possessed noun precedes the possessor is listed below.

217. Bâtîs kâ-kî-wîcayamakiht [ostîsa
Baptiste IPV=past=with=be\TA=1p-3C 3=old/br=3'
[nipâpâ]]
1=dad
'We stayed with Baptiste, my father's older brother.'

The possessed noun usually occurs as the right-most constituent in a possessive noun phrase, as in #218.

218. kâ-kî-wanihiht isa akwa, [nipâpâ [omâmâwa]].
IPV=past=lose\TA=X-3C hrs and 1=dad 3=mom=3'
'And you know she was lost, my dad's mom.'[10]

Although the order of the major constituents may be reversed, the major constituents are distinguishable. Obviation distinguishes the possessor from the possessed in #217 and the semantic constraints imposed on the possessor of a possessive noun phrase require nîδa 'I' to be the possessor in #216.

There is only one constraint on the major constituents in a possessive noun phrase. The possessor noun phrase does not separate the constituents in the possessed noun phrase. The two noun phrases in the possessive noun phrase occur as complete units. Therefore in the following example, the modifier nîso 'two' cannot be extracted out of the possessed noun phrase and placed before the possessor noun wîcîwâkana 'his friend' without a change in meaning.

219. [wîcîwâkana [nîso omasinahikaniδiwa]]
3=friend=3' two 3=book=0'p
'his friend's two books'

---

[10] kâ-kî-wanihiht 'something is lost by him' is a euphemism for dying.

This is part of a general constraint on noun phrases. A noun phrase is not separated by all or part of another noun phrase. Two exceptions are discussed in section 4.5. This constraint also applies to a possessive noun phrase when it is the modifying noun phrase of a partitive structure. In #210, the quantifier nîso 'two' occurs outside of the entire possessive noun phrase. The quantifier nîso 'two' cannot be inserted between the possessor wîcîwâkana 'his friends' and its head omasinahikaniδiwa 'his/her books' without changing the meaning and structure of the noun phrase.

220. [nîso [wîcîwâkana omasinahikan(i)δiwa]]
two 3=friend=3' 3=book=0'p
'two of his friends' books'

4.5 DISCONTINUOUS NOUN PHRASES

Although simple noun phrases have rigid constituent order, a noun phrase can be discontinuous. One constituent of a noun phrase may be separated from the other constituents by a verb or particle. In the following example, the quantifier niyânan 'five' is separated from its head atimwa 'dogs' by the verb kî-ayawîw 'he had him'.

221. kwâni M.C., awa [niyânan kî-ayawîw
then M.C. this=3 five past=have\TA=3-3'I
atimwa].
dog=3'
'Then M.C., he had five dogs.'

In example #222, the modifier mistahi 'lots' is separated from its head kîkway 'thing' by the particle mâna 'used to'.

222. mistahi mâna kîkway kî-nipahtâw ana
lots used-to thing past=kill\TI2=3-0'I that=3
kisîδiniw.
old-man
'That old man used to kill many things.'

The constituents of a simple noun phrase may be separated by another noun phrase by two types of quantifiers. One quantifier is kahkiδaw 'all'. This quantifier floats within the sentence. In #223, the quantifier kahkiδaw 'all' modifies maskihkiya 'medicines'. Another discontinuous noun phrase ana nôhtâwiy 'my father' occurs between the modifier kahkiδaw 'all' and its head, maskihkiya 'medicines'.

223. kahkiδaw ana kî-kiskîyihtam nôhtâwiy
all that=3 past=know\TI=3-0'I 1=father
maskihkiya.
medicine=Op
'My father knew all kinds of medicine.'

The second type of quantifier is coded semantically as the modifier of a particular type of noun. The quantifier may be separated from its head by a noun phrase which lacks the requisite semantic features. The example below contains the quantifier pâh-pîyakwâpisk 'one piece each'. This quantifier can only modify a noun which contains the feature, [+metal]. In #224, the quantifier modifies sôniyâwa 'dollar', and not the intervening noun phrase nôhtâwiy 'my father'.[11]

224. kwâni pâh-pîyakwâpisk mâna nikî-mîδikonân
then redup=one=metal used-to 1=past=give\TA+O=3-1pI
nôhtâwiy sôniyâwa.
1=father money=3'
'Then my father used to give each of us one dollar.'

---

[11] For information on finals see Todd 1970 or Béland 1978.

A discontinuous noun phrase is the result of either grammatical or discourse factors. Examples of grammatically-based discontinuity occur in polar questions with polar question clitics in which a noun phrase consisting of more than one constituent occurs in clause initial position. The noun phrase may be simple or complex.

225. ôko na nisto nâpîsisak kî-itohtîwak?
this=3p Q three boy=3p past=go\AI=3pI
'Did these three boys go?'

226. kîpâpâ cî ômîδiw owâskâhikan?
2=dad Q this=0' 3=house
'Is this your father's house?'

Discourse-based discontinuity is the result of emphasis. When part of the noun phrase is emphasized, that part of the noun phrase occurs in pre-verbal position.

227. mitâht-nîsosâp nikî-ayâwâwak
ten=two=teen 1=past=have\TA=1-3pI
awâsisak.
child=3p
'I had twelve children.'

Although the constituents may be discontinuous, the order of the minor constituents in the noun phrase does not

change. In a simple noun phrase, even discontinuous modifiers precede their heads.

228. âskaw nisto-mitanaw î-pakastawîhwakwâw
sometimes three=ten IPV=set-in-water\TA=1-3pC
aδapiyak.
net=3p
'Sometimes I set thirty nets.'

229. nîso mâna â-kî-osihtât cîmâna
two used-to IPV=past=make\TI2=3-0'C boat=0p
waskway ohci.
birchbark from
'He used to make two canoes out of birchbark.'

There are only a few examples of discourse-based discontinuity among complex noun phrases in the texts examined for this study. The following is an example of a discontinuous coordinate noun phrase, nâpîsisak akwa nipâpâ 'the boys and my dad'.

230. kâ-pipon(i)δik cî mîna nâpîsisak kî-pimohtîwak
IPV=winter\II=0'C Q also boy=3p past=walk\AI=3pI
akwa nipâpâ.
and 1=dad
'Did the boys and my dad walk in the winter as well?'

When discourse-based discontinuity occurs between the constituents in a complex noun phrase, it is often accompanied by marked constituent order. In the following example, the possessed noun <u>ocâsikana</u> 'his socks' precedes the possessive noun <u>awâsis</u> 'child'. A similar example of a partitive noun phrase occurs in #191.

231. <u>ocâsikana</u>	<u>ôta</u>	<u>kî-sâh-sakaskihâpatamawâw</u>
3=sock=3'	here	past=redup=use-to-pin\TA+O=X-3I
<u>awâsis</u>.		
child		

'The child's socks are pinned here.'

The order of the constituents in a simple noun phrase is more rigid than the order of the major constituents in a complex noun phrase. The complex noun phrases are also subject to the constraints described in section 4.4.2. It would be interesting to study if discourse-based continuity among complex noun phrases is restricted because of the relatively free order of the constituents. This type of study is beyond the scope of this work.

4.6 OBVIATION

An issue that concerns all types of noun phrases is obviation. Obviation cross-cuts several levels of the grammar. It is conditioned by morpho-syntactic rules, clause internal syntax, sentence level syntax and discourse factors. The basic rules for determining when a third person is obviative are discussed below.

When there are two or more animate third persons in a clause, only one of them may be proximate, the others are obviative. When an animate noun is possessed by a third person, the possessed noun is coded with the obviative morpheme -a. An example is:

232. mâskôc tâpwî kisîδiniwîδiwa opâpâwa.
perhaps really be-an-old-man\AI=3'I 3=father=3'
'His father must have been a really old man.'

When both the subject and the object are animate third persons, the subject is normally proximate and the object is obviative. The obviative is cross-referenced on the appropriate noun phrase, as illustrated in:

233. kwâni [kinosîwa] kî-atoskihîw.
then fish=3' past=work\TA=3-3'I
'Then she filleted the fish.'

When two different animate third person subjects occur in a complex sentence in which one of the clauses is subordinate, one noun phrase will be proximate, the other will be obviative, as in #234.

234. pâtimâ pî-kîwîδici omisa,
later to=go-home\AI=3'S 3=old-si=3'
ta-pî-kîwît.
IPV=to=go-home\AI=3C
'She will come home when her older sister comes home.'

Howver, if either of the third persons is morphologically inanimate, as in #235, obviation is optional.

235. kwâni pîδisk î-tipiskâk, kwâni
then finally IPV=dark\II=0C then
â-pâh-pâskisikîcik.
IPV=redup=shoot\AI=3pC
'Then when it was finally dark, then they shot many times (into the air).'

When two third persons occur in separate sentences, obviation takes on a discourse role. The following discussion refers to animate noun phrases. Here, the

discourse use of obviation in Woods Cree is similar to the discourse use of obviation in Plains Cree. "In narratives, proximate often corresponds to the character whose point of view is being represented" (Dahlstrom 1986:108). One participant is central and is cited with a proximate form and the other non-central third person is cited with the obviative. The following excerpt represents a typical text.

236.1. kâ-wâpamât kisîδiniwa î-pî-nâsipîδit.
IPV=see\TA=3-3'C old-man=3' IPV=to=go-down\AI=3'C

2. tâpwî kisîδiniwa.
really old-man=3'

3. kwâni isa kâ-ati-nâtât.
and hrs IPV=incp=fetch\TA=3-3'C

4. askihkosa tahkonîδiwa.
pail=dim=3' hold\TA=3'-3'I

1. He saw an old man coming down the hill. 2. A really old man. 3. And he went to get him. 4. He is holding a pail.

In the first sentence of this excerpt, the verb takes two animate third persons. One third person is proximate, the other is obviative. The subject, the hunter, referred to only by a verbal suffix is proximate and the object, kisîδiniwa 'old man' is obviative. The obviative is signalled on the verb and cross-referenced on the noun kisîδiniwa 'old man'. The third person subject of the subordinate clause obtains its obviative status from its role in the main clause.

The only third person in sentence 2 kisîδiniwa 'old man' is obviative. This is discourse level obviation. The obviative status of kisîδiniwa 'old man' follows from the previous sentence.

The third sentence does not contain a noun phrase. The TA verb kâ-ati-nâtât 'he went to get him' takes a proximate subject and an obviative object. The subject refers to the hunter and the object refers to the old man. The hunter and the old man maintain their original proximate and obviative roles.

The final sentence occurs with the TA verb tahkonîδiwa 'he holds him'. The verb takes an animate obviative subject and an animate obviative object. Although kisîδiniwa 'old man' is now the subject, it continues to be obviative. This is a discourse use of the obviative. The obviative object marking on the verb agrees with the noun askihkosa 'pail', the object of the verb tahkonîδiwa 'he holds him'. This is due to clause internal syntax. In this sentence, there are two distinct animate third persons neither of which refers to the central participant, the hunter.

Discourse level obviation is not grammatically conditioned. When two animate third persons occur in a

discourse span, neither need occur as obviative.[12] Strings of 'proximates', i.e., non-obviative forms, occur in any discourse in which both participants are considered central to the storyline. Dahlstrom (1986) and Goddard (1984) refer to this as "multiple proximates." Examples occur in the following discourse.

237.

1. ayahâw mâ, ayahâw pô C. (3)? 2. kâ-pâhpihakiht.
whoev=3 but whoev=3 only C. IPV=laugh\TA=1p-3C

3. L. (3) isa mîkwâc isa mâ î-ati-pimohtîsit
L. hrs while hrs but IPV=incp=walk=dim\AI=3C

L. (3). 4. C. (3) isa kâ-ta-tahkopitah
L. C. hrs IPV=redup=tie\TI=3-0'C

omakalakisa, î-kâh-kwîskosît.
3=mukluk=dim=0p IPV=redup=whistle\AI=3C

5. kîtahtawîδ ôta L. (3) kâ-pimi-cihcîkicipaδit
suddenly here L. IPV=along=finger=move\AI=3C

animîδiw pakamâkan (0') î-ta-tahkonah. 6. nôhtâ,
that=0' hammer IPV=hold\TI=3-0'C 1=fa=voc

kwâni oscîsa (3') kâ-pakamâtihpîhwât. 7. miconi
then 3=old-br=3' IPV=hit-head\TA=3-3'C so-much

"against the wall" kâ-isi-ispâhkîpaδit C. (3).
against the wall IPV=rel=up=move\AI=3C C.

8. miconi C. (3) î-kwâ-kwâskohtît î-cîcisinah
so-much C. IPV=redup=jump\AI=3C IPV=rub\TI=3-0'C

ostikwân (0').
3=head

---

[12] Obviation does not occur in certain types of conversation. See section 8.4 for details.

9. îyako pô â-ka-kiskisiyân.
that-one=0 only IPV=redup=remember\AI=1C

1. How about C.? 2. When we were laughing at him. 3. L. had just started walking. 4. C. was tying up his mukluks, whistling.

5. All of a sudden L. staggered here, holding that hammer. 6. Oh my God, then he hit his older brother over the head. 7. C. flew up against the wall. 8. C. was jumping up and down a lot, rubbing his head.

9.That is the only thing I was remembering.

The preceding excerpt was narrated by the mother of both participants. The two participants are considered to be equal. Neither participant in the excerpt is more central than the other and both participants are cited with proximate forms. The only obviative forms in this excerpt are the result of morphological coding and clause-internal syntax. The obviative occurs on the third person possessed noun <u>oscîsa</u> 'his brother' and on the deictic pronoun <u>animîδiw</u> 'that (0')' when it modifies the inanimate noun <u>pakamâkan</u> 'hammer'. This inanimate noun phrase is the object of a verb whose subject is a third person.

Other issues related to obviation are detailed in Dahlstrom 1986, Ch.4, Goddard 1990a and Wolfart 1973.[13]

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[13] The authors discuss changes in the obviative status of participants in discourse, a topic not covered in this chapter.

Chapter V

THE VERB PHRASE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of the verb and the nominal arguments for which it is sub-categorized. The description of the internal structure of the verb resembles descriptions of other Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946). Algonquianists may wish to proceed directly to section 5.3 for a description of the basic arguments and their syntactic constraints.

5.2 VERB STEMS

Although a few verbs have stems containing only a root, the majority of stems have at least a root and a final. A verb stem may also include a medial and one or more preverbs. The basic verb stem is schematically represented as follows:

STEM -----> (preverbs) + root + (medial) + final

5.2.1 Roots and Finals

The root provides the lexical content for the stem. The following verb has a simple stem consisting only of a root.[1]

238. mîciw

eat\TI2=3-0'I

'he eats it'

Most roots are adverbs. The following examples all contain the root sipwî- 'away'.

239. sipwî+pahtâw

away=run\AI=3I

'he runs away'

240. sipwî+(y)âstan

away=blow\II=0I

'it blows away'

241. sipwî+htîw

away=by-foot\AI=3I

'he leaves'

---

[1] An alternative analysis of word morphology is presented in Goddard 1990b.

A special type of root, labelled a relative root, has its antecedent outside of the verb. The most frequent relative root is it- 'thus'. This root mutates to is- before -i.[1]

242. isi+nâkwan
rel=appear\II=0I
'it looks like this'

243. isi+δihkâsow
rel=be-called\AI=3I
'he is called so'

244. isi+tâpîw
rel=drag\AI=3I
'he drags this way'

The antecedent of the relative root may be a particle, a noun phrase or a clause. In the following example, it is the particle ômisi 'in this way'.

245. ômisi mâna kâ-isîmot.
this=rel used-to IPV=thus=dance\AI=3C
'This is the way she used to dance.'

---

[1] When /i/ is a reflex of Proto-Algonquian */e/, it- 'thus' does not mutate. See Pentland 1979 for details.

The other obligatory part of a verb stem is the final. The final marks the verb as belonging to one of the four verb types discussed earlier: AI,II,TI, or TA. Finals may be concrete or abstract in meaning. All of the preceding examples contain concrete verb finals. Abstract finals have very general semantic content. One abstract final, -isi 'state' is illustrated in #246.[2]

246. maskawisiw
strong=state\AI=3I
'he is strong'

The preceding examples contain only one final. Following Bloomfield (1946), a verb stem with one final is called a primary stem.

247. sipwîhtîw
away=by-foot\AI=3I
'he leaves'

A verb stem with more than one final is called a secondary stem. The last final determines the stem type. In #248, the secondary TI2 final -htâ 'make' is added to a primary stem ending in the AI final -paδi 'move'. The

[2] See Denny 1978b for a semantic analysis of abstract finals in Ojibwa.

resulting verb has a TI2 stem. In #249, a secondary AI final -hkâso 'pretend' is added to a primary stem ending in the AI final -htî 'by foot'.[3] The verb stem remains AI.

248. pimipaδihtâw

along=move\AI=make\TI2=3-0'I

'he runs (a household)'

249. sipwîhcîhkâsow

away=by-foot\AI=pretend\AI=3I

'he pretends to leave'

5.2.2 Medials

A medial occurs between the root and the final. Medials denote body parts, clothes, objects of certain shapes and consistencies and a number of other categories all of which have nominal reference. Illustrations are provided in #250-#254. The medials in these examples are incorporated nouns. The glosses for the medials are underlined.

250. pîm+âpit+îw

crooked=teeth\AI=3I

'he has crooked teeth'

---

[3] The form -hcî 'by foot' is the result of consonant symbolism.

251. post+astis+îw

put-on=mitt\AI=3I

'he puts on mitts'

252. pahkihti+wat+î+pahtâw

drop=bag=run\AI=3I

'she drops her bag running'

253. nitawi+min+îw

go-to=berry\AI=3I

'he looks for berries'

254. nât+aδapî+w

fetch=net\AI=3I

'he lifts nets'

Other medials function as classifiers. The following example contains the classifier -âpisk 'metal'.

255. kîs+âpisk+itîw

hot=metal=by-heat\II=0I

'it (metal) is hot'

In the preceding example, the classifier refers to the the subject of the sentence. Classifiers may also refer to a noun in an oblique argument. In #256, the Woods Cree classifier -asko 'body' is modified by the locative noun phrase oskâtihk 'on her/his leg'.

256. kwâni kâ-kâhcitaskosit oskâtihk.
then IPV=catch=body=by-heat\AI=3C 3=leg=loc
'Then her leg caught on fire.'

5.2.3 Reduplication

The initial syllable of a root or preverb may also reduplicate. The following examples have all undergone reduplication.

257.	âh-akopitîw	TA	'he ties him'
	câh-cimatâw	TI2	'he stands up sticks'
	na-nahîyihtam	TI	'he listens well'
	pâh-pâskiswîw	TA	'he shoots at him'

There are at least two types of reduplication. In a detailed study of Plains Cree reduplication, Ahenakew and Wolfart (1983) label the two major types: light reduplication and heavy reduplication. This terminology is used in this study.

In both types of reduplication, the initial consonant of the root or preverb reduplicates. The difference between light and heavy reduplication lies in the quality of the vowel. For light reduplication, the initial consonant is followed by a short /a/ and for heavy reduplication, this

consonant is followed by a long /âh/. Before a vowel, reduplication is signalled by the syllable ay- if light, and âh-, if heavy.

Ahenakew and Wolfart's analysis of Plains Cree distinguished the two types of reduplication semantically.[4] The distinctions noted in this work apply to Woods Cree. Ahenakew and Wolfart demonstrate that light reduplication marks an "ongoing action or state" and that heavy reduplication marks "an action or state that is in some way discontinuous or intermittent" (Ahenakew and Wolfart 1983:370). Examples from Woods Cree are:

258. LIGHT REDUPLICATION

î-ma-mîcit.

IPV=redup=eat\TI2=3-0'C

'He keeps on eating.'

259. HEAVY REDUPLICATION

kâ-tâh-tâskipahât.

IPV=redup=split\TA=3-3'C

'He split (the tree) with an axe.'

---

[4] Ahenakew and Wolfart (1983) discuss reduplication on verbs. Numerals can also undergo heavy reduplication. When reduplicated, the numerals translate as distributives, e.g., nâh-nisto 'three each'.

5.2.4 Preverbs

Preverbs are divided into syntactic-semantic markers, tense morphemes, grammatical markers, and adverbs. The more abstract morphemes occur further from the verb root.

This information is schematically represented as:

Preverb ----> (syntactic-semantic marker) (tense)
(grammatical markers) (adverbs)

The syntactic-(semantic) preverbs (k)â-, î-, kî-$_1$ and ta- occur in word initial position, one per verb and code tense and aspect. Because the tense/aspect system is complex, the discussion of the syntactic-semantic preverbs is postponed until Chapter IX.

The preverb wâ- 'past supposition' is the only preverb that may not be preceded by a syntactic-semantic marker but may be preceded by a personal prefix. In some instances wâ- functions as if it is a syntactic-semantic marker, in other instances it functions as if it is a tense morpheme. This morpheme is discussed in greater detail in Chapter IX. Examples containing the preverb wâ- 'past supposition' are listed in #260-261.

260. kisâspin otâkosih wâ-pî-itohtîci...

if yesterday supp=to=go\AI=3S

'If he had come yesterday,....'

261. niwâ-itohtân.

1=supp=go\AI=1I

'I would have gone.'

The second set of preverbs are tense morphemes. The present tense is not signalled morphologically and refers to a length of time which includes recent past events, as in #262.

262. kwâni âsay kiwanâmin.

then already 2=interrupt\TA=2-1I

'You've already interrupted me.'

Past tense is signalled by the tense preverbs, kî- and ohci-.[5] kî- 'past' usually occurs in an affirmative clause,[6] ohci- 'past' occurs in a negative clause.[7]

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[5] The preverb (k)â- may also signal past tense. See Chapter IX for details.

[6] kî- 'past' also occurs as an optional variant when a proposition is negated with a main clause negator.

[7] There is also the negative past tense preverb ôh- which has slightly different connotations. This preverb tends to occur with independent verbs.

mwâ n-ôh-iskôliwîn.
neg 1=negpast=school\AI=1I
'I didn't (bother) to go to school.'

263. âsay wiδa kî-misikitiw.

already emp past=big\AI=3I

'She was big already.'

264. mwâc pîyakwâw nôhtâwiy ohci-nikohtîw.

neg once 1=father negpast=chop-wood\AI=3I

'Not once did my father chop wood.'

The preverb kî- 'past tense' co-occurs with the negative past tense morpheme ohci- when the verb in a negative clause refers to an event or state in the distant past, as in #265. There is no corresponding distant past form for an affirmative clause.

265. mwâc awina îkota kî-ohci-ayâw.

neg someone there past=negpast=be\AI=3I

'Nobody was there.'

The forms of the future morpheme are dependent on verb inflection. The future form of an independent verb is nika- for first person,[8] ka- for second person and ta- for third person.[9] The following examples contain the three future forms.

---

[8] nika- has a shorter variant na-, frequent among younger speakers.

[9] The prefix ka- occasionally occurs on verbs inflected as third person.

266. nika-wâpahtiδâwak

1fut=show\TA+O=1-3pI

'I will show it to them'

267. mwâc kapî ka-kî-pa-pamihitinâwâw.

neg always 2fut=able=redup=care-for\TA=1-2pI

'I will not always be able to look after you.'

268. kwâni ta-miδosiw.

then 3fut=good\AI=3I

'He will be good.'

When the verb in a main clause occurs with a conjunct inflection, the future tense morpheme is ta- for all persons. The examples below contain first and second person future forms of the verb.

269. ta-itohtîyân

fut=go\AI=1C

'I will go'

270. kisâspin sôniyâs nitawîδimaci, ta-atoskîyin pô.

if money want\TA=2-3S fut=work\AI=2C only

'If you want the money, you will work for it.'

Grammatical markers follow the syntactic-semantic preverbs and the tense morphemes. The grammatical markers isi- 'relative' and ati- 'inceptive' occur in the following examples.

271. tân(i)si kâ-kî-isi-wâpahtaman?
how IPV=past=rel=see\TI=2-0C
'What did you see?'

272. kwâni ispiy î-ati-apit kôna,
then when IPV=incp=sit\AI=3C snow
kâ-kî-itohtîyân.
IPV=past=go\AI=1C
'Then when the snow was starting to lie on the ground, I left.'

Several grammatical markers can occur on the same verb. In the following example, the two grammatical preverbs, pî- 'to(wards)' and isi- 'relative', follow the syntactic-semantic marker (k)â- and the tense morpheme, kî- 'past'.

273. kwâni nîsta kâ-kî-pî-ohpikiyân,
then I-too IPV=past=to=grow-up\AI=1C
kâ-kî-pî-isi-ohpihikawiyân.
IPV=past=to=rel=grow-up\TA=X-1C
'I grew up the way I was raised.'

The preverb slot directly adjacent to the verb root is reserved for lexical adverbs. These preverbs modify the verb. Examples are:

274. nîhci-pahkisin
below=fall\AI=3I
'he falls from it'

275. nihtâ-kiδâskiw
know=lie\AI=3I
'he knows how to tell lies'

276. nôhtî-minihkwîw
need=drink\AI=3I
'he needs to drink'

277. mosci-mîδîw
free=give\TA+O=3-3'I
'he gives it to him for nothing'

A lexical adverb is the only type of preverb which regularly undergoes reduplication. In #278, the preverb pîyako- 'once' is reduplicated. When the verb does not contain a lexical adverb, reduplication usually occurs on the verb root, as in #279.[10]

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[10] Reduplication on the verb root is possible when the verb stem contains a lexical adverb, however such instances are extremely rare. One such example is provided below:

kâ-matwî-pâh-pahkihtih!
IPV=audibly=redup=fall\II=0C
'Something fell (and bounced).'

278. îtoka mîna wîposkâhk
perhaps also wîpos=loc
kâ-kî-pa-pîyako-sîkwanisiyân.
IPV=past=redup=one=spring\AI=1C
'Also at Wîposâhk I was alone in the spring.'

279. kwâni âta î-kî-kiskîyihtah ita
then although IPV=past=know\TI=3-0'C there
kâ-kî-ati-ay-itohtît.
IPV=past=incp=redup=go\AI=3C
'Yet he knew where she was going.'

5.3 WORD ORDER AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

5.3.1 Subjects and Objects

The syntactic relationships between the basic arguments are distinguished by a combination of verb inflection, the obviative marking on the noun phrase, clause order, particles and context. In #280, the verb inflection signals that a third person is acting on an obviative. The obviative suffix -a indicates that nôhkom 'my grandmother' is the object and the proximate form of the deictic pronoun indicates that awa kisîδiniw 'this old man' is the subject in the context in which this sentence occurred.

280. awa kisîδiniw nôhcimih â-kî-itohtahât
this=3 old-man woods IPV=past=go\TA=3-3'C
nôhkoma.
1=grandmother=3'
'This old man took my grandmother into the woods.'

Word order is relatively free. In #280, the subject precedes the verb and in #281 the subject follows. In #280, the object follows the verb and in #282 it precedes the verb.

281. wîsâ mistahi î-pî-tîpwâsiyamiht nipâpâ.
so-much lots IPV=to=yell\TA=3-1pC 1=dad
'My dad yells at us a lot.'

282. îmihkwâna kî-âpacihîw.
spoon=3' past=use\TA=3-3'I
'He used a spoon.'

Although word order is to a large extent pragmatically conditioned, verbs generally precede any syntactic object having a benefactive or associative role, as in #283 and #284.

283. î-kî-atoskawât opâpâwa.
IPV=past=work-for\TA=3-3'C 3=dad=3'
'He worked for his dad.'

284. <u>î-kî-wîci-atoskîmât</u> <u>ociwâma</u>.

IPV=past=with=work\TA=3-3'C 3=brother=3'

'He worked with his brother.'

VO order is also frequent when one of the noun phrases is the patient of a TA+O verb. When a noun such as <u>wiyâs</u> 'meat' occurs as the patient of a TA+O verb, it usually occurs after the verb.

285. <u>mwâ</u> <u>mâna</u> <u>îkosi</u> <u>nîδa</u> <u>nititîyihtîn</u>

neg used-to thus I 1=think\TI=1-0I

[<u>kâ-pî-mîδit</u> <u>awina</u> <u>wîyâs</u>].

IPV=to=give\TA+O=3-1C someone meat

'I didn't think that way when someone gave me meat.'

The unmarked VO word order is also frequent when one or more of the arguments consist of several constituents, as in #286.

286. <u>kahkiδaw</u> <u>nâpîwak</u> <u>â-kî-nitawi-pakitinâcik</u>

all man=3p IPV=past=go-to=set-down\TA=3p-3'C

<u>okinosîmiwâwa</u>.

3'=fish=3p

'All the men were taking care of their fish.'

As a result, the word order of a sentence in which one of the arguments is a relativized noun is typically VO, as in #287.

287. îyakwîδiw kâ-wî-isitisahamawât anihi
that-one=3′ IPV=want=send\TA+O=3-3′C that=3′
awiδiwa [â-kî-pî-isitisahwât anihi
someone=3′ IPV=past=to=send\TA=3-3′C that=3′
mahîkana ta-nipahikot].
wolf=3′ IPV=kill\TA=3′-3C
′He wanted to send that one to the person who sent the wolves to kill him.′

5.3.2 Oblique Arguments

Oblique noun phrases in Woods Cree include instrument, benefactive, constructive and locative noun phrases. Unlike subjects and objects, oblique arguments are not signalled on the verb inflections. For example, the verb inflection in #288 does not indicate the presence of the following locative noun phrase.

288. î-waδawîpinât niyânan iδiniwa kîkinâh ohci.
IPV=throw-out\TA=3-3′C five person=3′ 12=home=loc from
′He threw five people out of our home.′

However, verbs may be sub-categorized for their oblique arguments. For example, the verb astâw 'he puts it' requires a locative noun phrase.

289. ayihîw pimiy kâ-astât sâsîskihkwânih.
whatev=0 grease IPV=put\TI2=3-0'C frying-pan=loc
'She put grease in the frying pan.'

The sub-categorization may be signalled morphologically. In #290, the concrete final -îs 'by cutting' indicates an instrumental argument and in #291, the relative root is- 'thus' indicates a locative argument.

290. kâ-kî-patwîtawîsamân môhkomân ohci.
IPV=past=cut-hair-off\TI=1-0C knife with
'I cut the hair off with a knife.'

291. mîcisowinâhtikohk î-kî-isîpinah.
table=loc IPV=past=rel-throw\TI=3-0'C
'He threw it towards the table.'

Oblique noun phrases are often followed by a grammatical particle ohci.[11] In the following examples, ohci signals

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[11] This particle may occur as a preverb, as in:

îkota kâ-ohci-pâniswâcik.
there IPV=from=smoke\TA=3p-3'C
'They smoked them from there.'

three distinct types of oblique noun phrases: an instrument, a benefactive and a constructive noun phrase respectively.

292. akwa ispiy kâ-δôskâk, kwâni
then when IPV=soft\II=0C then
kâ-ati-kaskikahamân mânihtowâsk ohci.
IPV=incp=cut-by-metal\TI=1-0C metal-scraper with
'And when it is soft, then I scrape it with a metal scraper.'

293. ohcitaw î-kî-sôpihkîyân î-kî-miδopaδit
anyway IPV=past=make-soap\AI=1C IPV=past=well\AI=3C
ana akohpa ohci, piko isa kîkwân.
that=3 blanket=0p for only hrs thing
'I still made soap because it was good for blankets, or anything.'

294. nîso mâna â-kî-osihtât cîmâna
two used-to IPV=past=make\TI2=3-0'C boat=0p
waskway ohci.
birchbark out-of(from)
'He used to make two canoes out of birchbark.'

Two other grammatical particles that signal oblique noun phrases are isi 'to' and isko 'until'.[12] These two particles introduce abstract locative noun phrases.

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[12] These particles also occur as preverbs.

295. nîsta nikî-miδwîδihtîn nimâmâ
I 1=past=like\TI=1-0I 1=mom
kâ-kî-pî-isi-kiskinôhamawit
IPV=past=to=rel=teach\TA+O=3-1C
ta-wîcihisowân nômakîs
IPV=help=reflex\AI=1C short-while
pimâtisiyâni [nitatoskîwinihk isi].
live\AI=1S 1=work=loc to
'I appreciate that my mother taught me how to help myself if I live doing my work.'

296. pâtimâ [isko nipowinihk] kâ-kî-kiskinôhamawiyamiht
after until death=loc IPV=past=teach\TA+O=3-1pC
ta-ayamihâyâh.
IPV=talk\TA=1p-3C
'Until death, he taught us to pray.'

When the clause contains an object and an oblique noun phrase, the oblique noun phrase usually follows the object, as in #297-299. An exception is the locative, discussed below.

297. î-tahkopitah iskwâhtîm pîsâkanâpiy ohci.
IPV=tie\TI=3-0'C door rope with
'He tied the door with a rope.'

298. akwa kî-osihtâw mîna akohp wâposwâna
and past=make\TI2=3-0I also blanket rabbitskin=3'
ohci.
from
'And she also made blankets out of rabbitskin.'

299. kwâni piko î-kî-kiskîyihtamân kîkwân mamâhtâwisiwin
then only IPV=past=know\TI=1-0C thing amazing-thing
kâ-icikâtîk kayâs iδiniwak ohci.
IPV=be-called\II=0C long-ago person=3p from
'So I only know about those incredible things from the old people.'

A locative noun phrase has relatively free word order. In the following examples, the locative noun phrases are pîwâpiskoh 'in the can' and mîwatih 'in the bag'. The locative noun phrase in #300 occurs between the verb and its object and the locative noun phrase in #301 occurs before the verb and its object.

300. akwa â-kî-ati-asiwatât pîwâpiskoh ayihîδiw
and IPV=past=incp=put-in\TI2=3-0'C can=loc whatev=loc
kinosî-pimiy.
fish=grease
'And then she put the fish fat in a can.'

301. akwa ayihîw mîwatih ati-asiwatâw
and whatev=0 bag=loc incp=put-in\TI2=3-0'I
opîwâma.
3=feather=0p
'And she puts the feathers in a bag.'

5.3.3 Manner Adverbs

The manner adverb is a special type of oblique noun phrase introduced by pîyakwan 'like' or tâskôc 'like' and contains a relative root or preverb, as in #302-303.

302. nipiy pîyakwan ispwakan.
water like rel-taste\II=0I
'It tastes just like water.'

303. nîkân ayihîw tâskôc awa pahkwîsikan
first whatev=0 like this=3 bread
kâ-isi-osihiht.
IPV=rel=make\TA=X-3C
'First of all, this thing, it is made just like bread.'

Manner adverbs contrast one noun phrase with another. Both phrases are equal and are coded as proximate, as in #304 and #305.

304. <u>pîyakwan</u> <u>wâposwân</u> <u>ostikwân</u>.

like rabbitskin 3=head

'His head is just like a rabbitskin.'

305. <u>tâskôc</u> <u>awa</u> <u>atihk</u> <u>tâskôc</u> <u>awa</u> <u>môswa</u>

like this=3 caribou like this=3 moose

<u>kâ-tôtawat</u>.

IPV=do\TA=2-3C

'You do the same for the caribou as for the moose.'

Chapter VI

TYPES OF MAIN CLAUSES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes main clause types. In Woods Cree, a main clause is either verbless or contains a verb which is inflected as independent, conjunct or imperative. Usually, verb inflection is considered in a discussion of main clauses. However, because of the complex nature of verb inflection in Woods Cree, Chapters VIII and IX are devoted to the topic.

This chapter provides a basic description of simple clauses and complex structures in which neither clause is subordinate. Simple clauses are examined in sections 6.2 and 6.3. Section 6.2 discusses word order constraints in both verbless and verbal clauses. Declarative, interrogative and imperative moods are covered in section 6.3. The last section outlines complex structures. Coordinate structure and structures containing verbs of saying and thinking are examined here.

6.2 SIMPLE CLAUSES

6.2.1 Verbless Clauses

Most of the information presented in sections 6.2 and 6.3 may be represented by the following rules.

S---------> focus topic

Topic ----> {NP / VP}

Focus ----> {NP / VP}

In a verbless clause, the focus and the topic are NPs. There are four types of verbless sentences that follow the pattern outlined above. They are deictic equationals, îyako equationals, negative existentials and interrogative equationals.

The deictic equational may contain two noun phrases one of which is a deictic pronoun. The other noun phrase in a deictic equational sentence is either a common or proper noun as in #306 and #307, or it is a personal pronoun or a possessive noun phrase, as in #308 and #309.

306. pihkotîw anima.
ash that=0
'That's ash.'

307. Palisa ana.

Paula=dim that=3

'That's Paula.'

308. wîδa ana.

3 that=3

'That's him.'

309. niciwâm ocîmân anima.

1=brother 3=boat that=0

'That's my brother's boat.'

In a deictic equational with a common or proper noun, the noun functions as the predicate and occurs in clause initial position as exemplified by:

310. aδîkis ana.

frog that=3

'That's a frog.'

The order of the argument and the predicate cannot be reversed. If the deictic pronoun were to precede a common or proper noun, it would form a simple noun phrase. This is illustrated in #311 and #312.

311. ana aδîkis

that=3 frog

'that frog'

312. awa Alis

this=3 Alice

'this Alice'

A personal pronoun can function as the predicate or the argument of the deictic equational sentence. When a personal pronoun functions as the predicate, it occurs clause initially and answers a 'whose is this' question, as in #313. In this example the personal pronoun is part of a possessive noun phrase, the head of which has deleted under identity. When the personal pronoun is the argument of the deictic equational sentence, it follows the predicate and answers a 'which one' question as in #314.

313. kîδa ôma.

you this=0

'This is you(rs).'

314. ôma kîδa.

this=0 you

'You (have) this one.'

When an entire possessive noun phrase occurs in a deictic equational sentence, the order of the noun phrases is pragmatically-based with the predicate in clause initial position. This is illustrated in #315 and #316.

315. [nipâpâ otapwiya] anihi.
1=dad 3=paddle=3' that=3'
'Those are my dad's paddles.'

316. anihi [nipâpâ otapwiya].
that=3' 1=dad 3=paddle=3'
'My dad's paddles are those ones.'

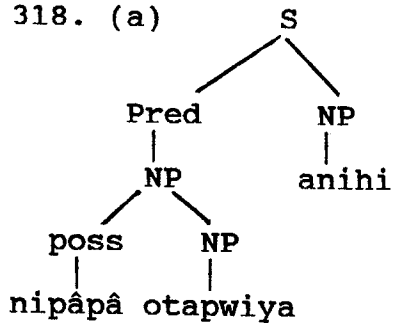
When a possessive noun phrase is the predicate of a deictic equational sentence, it may form a discontinuous constituent. In example #317, the discontinuous predicate is nipâpâ otapwiya 'my father's paddles'.

317. [nipâpâ] anihi [otapwiya].
1=dad that=3' 3=paddle=3'
'It is my father who owns those paddles.'

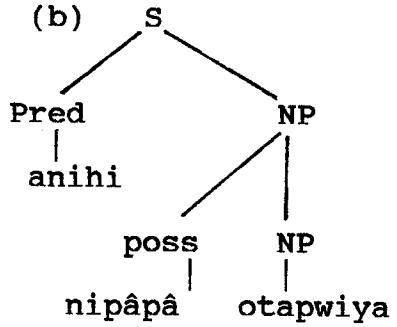
The word order difference between #315, #316 and #317 reflects a general tendency for focussed information to occur clause initially in Woods Cree. Example #315 answers the question 'what are those?', example #316 answers the question 'which paddles are my dad's?' and example #317 answers the question 'whose paddles are those?'. Examples

#315 to #317 are illustrated diagrammatically in #318.[1]

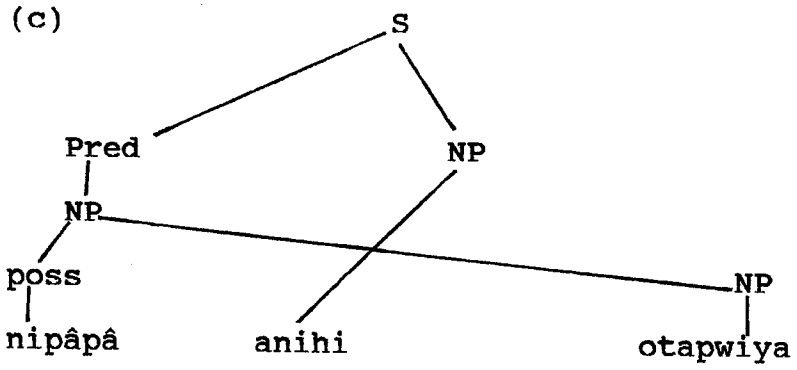
318. (a)



(b)



(c)



A second type of verbless sentence begins with <u>î(ya)kwani</u> 'that one'. In this type of sentence, the noun phrase has previously been identified. In most examples, <u>î(ya)kwani</u> is a particle. Example #319 taken from a text recorded by an older male is an exception. Here, <u>î(ya)kwanik</u> 'those ones' is inflected for number.

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[1] Example #317 is ambiguous. It can also be a complex noun phrase. The two interpretations are diagrammed below:

[nipâpâ] [anihi otapwiya] 'my dad's paddles'
[nipâpâ anihi] [otapwiya] 'those are my dad's paddles.'

Native speakers are aware of the ambiguity. Example #316 is similarly ambiguous.

319. <u>î(ya)kwanik</u> [<u>aniki</u> <u>wîhtikôwak</u>].
that-one=3p that=3p crazy-person=3p
'Those are the wihtikow.'

<u>î(ya)kwani</u> normally precedes the noun phrase with which it forms an equational sentence. Any type of noun phrase may follow this particle although, in most cases, the noun phrase consists of a noun preceded by one or more modifiers.

320. <u>î(ya)kwani</u> [<u>nistam</u> <u>pâskisikana</u>].
that-one first gun=0p
'Those were the first guns.'

321. <u>î(ya)kwani</u> [<u>anihi</u> <u>anohc</u> <u>nisto</u>
that-one that=0p now three
<u>kâ-kî-miskotamân</u>].
IPV=past=mention\TI=1-0C
'Those are the three I just mentioned.'

322. <u>î(ya)kwani</u> [<u>ôho</u> <u>ayahâwa</u> <u>osâwaskwâpîsa</u>
that-one this=3' whoever=3' jackfish=3'
<u>â-kî-itât</u>]
IPV=past=say\TA=3-3'C
'That was the jackfish he was talking about.'

The negative existential is a third type of verbless sentence. Negative existential sentences are introduced by

the negative indefinite noun phrase mwâc kîkwân 'nothing'. The negative phrase may precede an animate or inanimate noun phrase and is not inflected for number.

323. mwâc kîkwân [ômatowa wâskâhikan].
neg thing like=this house
'There was no such thing as a house like this.'

324. mwâc kîkwân [wîmistikôsiw] kayâs.
neg thing whiteman long-ago
'There was no whiteman long ago.'

A final type of equational sentence is the interrogative. Interrogative equationals contain a form of one of the following interrogative pronouns: awina 'who', kîkwân/kîkway 'what', tâna 'which one(3)' or tâniwâ 'where is'. Interrogative equational sentences consist of an interrogative pronoun followed by an optional nominal complement, as in #325:

325. awina kipâpâ?
who 2=dad
'Who is your dad?'

6.2.2 Verbal Clauses

The only obligatory constituent in a verbal clause is the verb. Nouns and particles are optional. When particles occur, they tend to be placed before the verb, as in #326.

326. anohc pô mwâ tâpwî nimiδwîyihtînân.
now only neg really 1=like\TI=1p-0I
'We really don't like it now.'

Since the core arguments are identified by obligatory pronominal affixes on the verb, the verb inflection may provide the only indication of the participants in the clause, as in #327.

327. môδa mâka ôta cîskwa takosin.
neg but here yet arrive\AI=3I
'But he hasn't arrived here yet.'

When a nominal argument occurs in a clause, it is often emphasized and precedes the verb. Example #328 has a pre-verbal object and in example #329, the subject occurs in pre-verbal position.

328. akwa mîna nimâmâ niwîcayamâw îkota.
and also 1=mom 1=with-be\TA=1-3I there
'And I also went there with my mom.'

329. nîkimâkan piko pîhtokamik kî-ayâw.
1=spouse only inside past=be\AI=3I
'Only my spouse was inside.'

As a general rule, no more than one noun phrase occurs per clause. Post-verbal noun phrases occur most often when the noun phrase contains a deictic pronoun. The gender of the post-verbal noun may be inanimate, as in #330, or animate, as in #331. Inanimate nouns are rarely salient enough to be emphasized or in focus. A deictic pronoun indicates that the noun phrase represents old information. When not emphasized or in focus, a noun phrase that contains old information follows the verb.

330. îkota kâ-kî-astâcik ômîδiw.
there IPV=past=put\TI2=3p-0'C this=0'
'They put this there.'

331. mâyiδa kî-mamâhtâwisiw ana
but past=be-amazing\AI=3I that=3
nimosôm.
1=grandfather
'My grandfather did amazing deeds.'

6.3 MOOD

6.3.1 Declarative Clauses

Most sentences that occur in natural language are declarative. There is no special marking for a declarative clause in Woods Cree. The verb in a main clause declarative can be inflected as an independent as in #332 or as a conjunct as in #333. The declarative clause can also be affirmative or negative. A negative statement is made by adding a negative particle before the verb or before a constituent which occurs in pre-verbal position. In example #332, the negative particle is mwâ.

332. anohc pô mwâ tâpwî nimiδwîδihtînân.
now only neg really 1=like\TI=1p-0I
'At this time, we are not really happy.'

333. kahkiδaw awâsisak î-wîmiscikôsimocik.
all child=3p IPV=speak-whiteman\AI=3pC
'All the children speak English.'

Declarative clauses are also negated by the particles mwâc, môδa and îkâ as exemplified by:

334. mwâc î-kî-ayamit iδikoh î-wîsakîyihtahk
neg IPV=able=talk\AI=3C so-long-as IPV=hurt\TI=3-0'C
oskîsik.
3=eye
'He couldn't talk because his eye hurt so.'[2]

335. môδa n-ôh-misikitin.
neg 1=negpast=big\AI=1I
'I wasn't that big.'

336. îkâ kata-pônihtâcik.
neg should=stop\TI2-3p-0'C
'They should not give up.'

The verb in a clause negated by mwâ, mwâc, or môδa may be inflected as independent or conjunct. The verb in a clause negated by îkâ is always conjunct. A parallel situation exists between main and subordinate clauses. Although main clauses allow independent or conjunct verbs, subordinate clauses permit only conjunct verbs. This overlap, illustrated in Table 6.1, is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII.

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[2] The transitive inanimate verb wîsakîyihtam 'he hurts (it)' is an unusual verb. It has an experiencer as its grammatical subject but a body part as its syntactic subject.

TABLE 6.1

'Negative Particles'

NEGATIVE PARTICLE	CLAUSE	INFLECTION
mwâ/mwâc/môδa	main	independent/conjunct
îkâ	(main)/subordinate	conjunct

6.3.2 Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses bear structural similarities to their corresponding declarative clauses. There are two types of main clause interrogatives: yes-no questions and content questions. In both types of questions, clause initial constituents are in focus.

337. kîkwân na î-kî-pî-nâtaman?
thing=0 Q IPV=past=to=fetch\TI=2-0C
'Did you come here for something?'

338. awina wîkiwâh kâ-kî-kimotinâniwah?
who=3 3=home=3p=loc IPV=past=steal\II=0C
'Whose place was there a theft at?'

6.3.2.1 Yes-No Questions

Of the two types of questions, the yes-no question shows the most similarities to the corresponding declarative clause. Yes-no questions are divided into four main types: intonation questions, na questions, cî questions and ciyi questions. A minor type of question, the mâ question, is also covered in this section. Yes-no questions are negated by a clause initial negative particle, as in #339.

339. mwâ na kimiskîn?
neg Q 2=find\TI=2-0I
'You can't find it?'

Intonation questions are identical to declarative clauses with the exception of the rising intonation on the clause final syllable. Intonation questions are infrequent and usually consist of a single verb.

340. kinihtâ-âcaδôhkân?
2=know=tell-legends\AI=2I
'Do you know how to tell legends?'

The three other main types of yes-no questions are signalled by a grammatical particle in addition to the final rising intonation. The question particles na and cî

cliticize to the initial word in the clause. The question particles may occur after any type of constituent. In the following examples, they occur after the particles kiyâpic 'still' and îkotî 'there'.

341. kiyâpic na anihi wîcayamîw?
still Q that=3' with-be\TA=3-3'I
'Is she still living with him?'

342. îkotî cî ayâyin?
there Q be\AI=2C
'Is that where you live?'

An unmarked polar question occurs with the polar clitic na and is answered affirmatively by the particle îhî 'yes'. The clitic cî occurs when a speaker expects an answer which confirms his/her expectations. The affirmative answer to a cî question is normally ya. The two question types are exemplified in #343 and #344.

343. î-âhkosit na?
IPV=sick\AI=3C Q
'Is he sick?' (feel head for temperature)

344. î-âhkosit cî?
IPV=sick\AI=3C Q
'He's sick, isn't he?'

The cî question is related to a fourth type of question: the tag question. The tag, ciyi occurs in sentence final position. It requests verification of the preceding proposition. Examples are:

345. mâmaskâc ciyi?
amazing right
'It's amazing, isn't it?'

346. kiyâpic Margaret kî-nitawîδimîw anihi, ciyi?
still Margaret past=want\TA=3-3'I that=3' right
'Margaret still wanted that one, right?'

Although the clitic cî and the tag ciyi are similar at a phonetic and a semantic level, they are structurally distinct. ciyi usually follows clauses in which the verb is an independent. If cî is preceded by a verb, that verb is almost always a conjunct.

Another type of yes-no question is the mâ question. mâ questions are formed by attaching the clitic mâ to the first word in the clause. The affirmative answer to a mâ question is ya. Unlike other types of questions, mâ questions may not occur in a clause with an independent verb or be negated with a main clause negative morpheme. mâ questions are negated with the subordinate negative particle îkâ, as in #347.

347. îkâ mâ î-apit?

neg but IPV=sit(be-home)\AI=3C

'What if he's [not] home?'

Although any type of constituent may occur before mâ, usually a noun or pronoun occurs in this position.

348. îyako mâ?

that=3 but?

'What about that one (previously identified)?'

The particle mâ provides a means for a referent to be introduced into an established discourse context. The following telephone conversation illustrates this point. In this excerpt, Speaker A introduces the topic of the father's gifts and their recipients. The particle mâ in the following sentence introduces nîδa 'I' as a referent into this discourse context.

349.

A: tânispiy kâ-wî-pî-kîwîyin?
when IPV=want=to=go-home\AI=2C

B: pâtimâ, Saturday.
later Saturday

A: kipâpânaw kî-takosin.
2=dad=12 past=arrive\AI=3I

B: That's what I wanted to know. (switched to English)[3]

A: ni-kî-atâwîstamâkonân maskosisak, nîδa akwa Heather
IPV=past=buy\TA+O=3-1pI bear=dim=3p I and Heather

akwa Ecâc.
and Edith

B: nîδa <u>mâ</u>?
I but

A: mwâc. (laughter)

A: 'When are you coming home?'
B: 'Not till Saturday.'
A: 'Our dad arrived.'
B: 'That's what I wanted to know.'
A: 'He brought us little bears -me, Heather and Edith.'
B: 'What about me?'
A: 'Nothing.'

---

[3] The excerpt is taken from a conversation between two younger speakers. Younger speakers frequently switch to English to signal important information.

6.3.2.2 Content Questions

Content questions are signalled by a content question word with rising intonation on its first syllable. Content question words come in two types: interrogative pronouns and interrogative particles. There are four sets of interrogative pronouns and a number of interrogative particles consisting of tân 'which' and a relative particle. The two types of interrogative words are listed in Table 6.2. Interrogative pronouns are represented by their third singular animate forms. The pronominal paradigms are given in section 3.3.

TABLE 6.2

'Content Question Words'

awina	'who'		
kîkway/kîkwân	'what'[4]		
tâna	'which'		
tâniwâ	'where'		
tân(i)tî	'where'	= tân+itî	'thither'
tân(i)ta	'where'	= tân+ita	'there'
tânispiy	'when'	= tân+ispiy	'when'
tâniδikoh(k)	'how much'	= tân+iδikohk	'so far/long'
tântahto	'how many'	= tân+tahto	'many'
tân(i)si	'how'	= tân+isi	'thus'
tântôwihkan	'what kind'	= tân+tôwihkan	'such a kind'
tântôwi	'what kind of'	= tân+tôwi	'kind (of two)'

[4] There is also the combination kîkwân oh[ci] 'what for, why'.

Most content questions contain one clause initial content question word. Examples are:

350. tân(i)si ispaδihikawiyin, nôcokîsiw?
how happen\TA=X-2C old-woman
'What happened to you, old woman?'

351. kîkwân patos ôma akwa anima?
what difference this=0 and that=0
'What is the difference between this and that?'

When two content question words occur in the same clause, if one of the content question words is the subject of the sentence, it occurs in clause initial position.

352. awina atâwît kîkwâδiw?
who buy\AI+O=3C what=0'
'Who buys what?'

A content question shares characteristics with both main and subordinate clauses. Although most content questions contain a verb inflected as conjunct, a content question that contains a verb with a relative root or relative preverb may be inflected as independent. The inflection on the verb in a content question with a relative root or preverb is conditioned by discourse factors described in Chapter VIII. Example #353 contains an independent verb.

It is a possible response to the following statement: nôcânisin mîna. 'I also have a daughter.' Example #354 in which the verb is inflected as conjunct could not occur in this context.

353. tân(i)si isiδihkâsow?
how be-called\AI=3I
'What is she called?'

354. tân(i)sî isiδihkâsot?
how be-called\AI=3C
'What is she called?'

In a typical content question, the content question word codes new information and the verb and other elements in the clause represent old information, as in #355. The old information is represented by a conjunct verb and negated with the subordinate clause negator îkâ, as in #356.

355. tânispiy ocîmân â-kî-ayât?
when 3=boat IPV=past=get\TI2=3-0'C
'When did he get his boat?'

356. kîkwân îkâ kâ-ohci-tôtaman?
what neg IPV=for=do\TI=2-0C
'Why didn't you do it?'

The word order of the old elements in a content question is free. Differences in word order reflect differences in emphasis.

357. kîkwâδiw â-nitawîyihtah ana iskwîw?
what=0' IPV=want\TI=3-0'C that=3 woman
'What does the woman want?' [Deaf man asking question]

358. kîkwâδiw ana iskwîw â-nitawîyihtah?
what=0' that=3 woman IPV=want\TI=3-0'C
'What does that woman want?' [as opposed to this woman]

6.3.3 Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses contain a special type of verb and have clause final lowering intonation. An example of imperative verb is given in #359. Imperative clauses may be affirmative or negative, and if negative the verb is preceded by the particle kâδa, as in #360.

359. otinamawin côs.
take\TA+O=2-1Imp juice
'Buy me some juice.'

360. kâδa wanikiskisi ôho.
don't forget\AI+O=2Imp this=Op
'Don't forget these.'

Imperative verbs may be used as requests, as in #361. Requests are answered by ya or mwâc.

361. A: Lisa, awihin kimaskisina.
Lisa lend\TA+O=2-1Imp 2=shoe=Op
'Lisa, lend me your shoes.'
B: ya.
Yes.

6.4 COMPLEX STRUCTURES

6.4.1 Coordination

6.4.1.1 Symmetrical Coordination

Coordinate structures contain more than one main clause. The verb in each clause can be inflected as independent, as in #362. Coordinate structures are either symmetrical or asymmetrical. In a symmetrical structure, neither clause is dependent on the other. A frequent type of symmetrical coordinate structure in Woods Cree consists of two or more juxtaposed clauses. The verbs in a juxtaposed structure are morphologically symmetrical in their inflectional order

and preverb structure. In example #362, all three verbs are inflected as independents, are unmarked for tense and contain the preverb kî- 'able'.

362. kî-pakâsimâw, kî-sâ-sâpiskatâw, kî-cîpwatahwâw.
able=boil\TA=X-3I able=fry\TA=X-3I able=roast\TA=X-3I
'It can be boiled, it can be fried, it can be baked over a fire on a stick.'

If the verbs in a juxtaposed structure are conjuncts, the same type of conjunct verb occurs in both clauses. In #363, the two juxtaposed verbs are î-conjunct.

363. mâyiδa mîna î-kî-misikitit î-kî-tâhcipôt.
but also IPV=past=big\AI=3C IPV=past=fat\AI=3C
'And she was also big and fat.'

Clauses are also conjoined by coordinating particles.[5] The next three examples illustrate symmetrical coordinate clauses conjoined with mâyiδa 'but', ahpo 'or' and akwa

[5] The coordinating particles also occur sentence initially as discourse connectors, as in #363.

'and' respectively.[6] In this type of coordinate structure, the verbs often have the same tense, the verbs begin with a similar set of preverbs and their inflections come from the same inflectional order.

364. môδa-iδa tâpwî îkota î-kî-ohci-pîhtokît
neg=emp really there IPV=past=from=enter\AI=3C
ôta mâyiδa îkosi î-kî-isi-pawâmit.
here but thus IPV=past=rel=dream\AI=3C
'He really didn't enter there from here, (but) he just dreamt like that.'

365. môsak kâ-kî-kitôtitân ahpo
always IPV=past=rebuke\TA=1-2C or
kâ-kî-pakamahotân
IPV=past=hit\TA=1-2C
'I always talked back at you and/or I hit you.'

366. î-cîpwatahoht akwa î-pakâsimiht.
IPV=roast-with-stick\TA=X-3C and IPV=boil\TA=X-3C
'It [anim] is cooked over a fire and it [anim] is boiled.'

---

[6] mayiδa 'but' can also occur sentence finally, as in:

âta kwayask nikî-pîhtîn mwâ nikiskisin
although right 1=past=hear\TI=1-0I neg 1=remember\AI=1I
mayiδa.
but

'I've heard a lot, but I still don't remember.'

In a symmetrical coordinate structure, both clauses may be negated with a main clause negative particle, as in #367.

367. akwa môδa nikî-iδiniwi-ayamihcikân ahpo mwâc
and neg 1=able=Indian=read\AI=1I or neg
nikî-wîmistikôsî-ayamihcikân îkospiy.
1=able=whiteman=read=\AI=1I then
'And I wasn't able to read Cree or English then.'

Example #368 illustrates another fact about symmetrically coordinate clauses. In rare instances in which overt noun phrases occur in this type of coordinate structure, the clauses have similar word orders. In example #368, the overt noun phrases precede the AI+0 verb in both clauses.

368. doctora wîsta î-kî-pî-iskortît isa akwa
doctor=3' 3-too IPV=past=to=escort\AI+O=3C hrs and
wîsta Vi î-kî-pî-iskortît.
3-too Vi IPV=past=to=escort\AI+O=3C
'She escorted him to the doctor and Vi escorted him too.'

The morphological symmetry also pertains to obviation. When two distinct third persons in any coordinate structure

bear similar grammatical roles, they are assigned the same obviative status.[7] In example #368, the third person animate subject of the first clause, indicated only through verb inflection, and the different third person subject of the second clause, Vi, are both proximate.

6.4.1.2 Asymmetrical Coordination

In an asymmetrical coordinate structure, the second clause is dependent on the first clause. That dependency can be temporal or causal.

If both clauses in a temporally asymmetrical coordinate structure have the same subject, the verbs in the structure may be morphologically symmetrical as in #369 or morphologically asymmetrical, as in #370. In the former example, both clauses contain a conjunct verb. In the latter example, the first clause has an independent verb and the second clause has a conjunct verb.

369. <u>kâ-tâh-tâskipahât</u> <u>akwa</u> <u>kâ-pâsohwât</u>.
IPV=redup=split\TA=3-3'C and IPV=dry\TA=3-3'C
'He split it and then he dried it.'

---

[7] This fact has also been reported in Fox (Goddard 1984:277).

370. kî-cimatâwak akwa
past=stand\TI2=3p-0'I and
â-kî-pimâskwamotâcik.
IPV=past=put-across\TI2=3p-0'C
'They stood them up and they put (logs) across.'

When the subjects of the two clauses are different, the verbs in this type of structure are usually also morphologically different. The verbs in the two clauses take different types of changed conjunct preverbs or the verbs differ in inflectional orders. In example #371, the verbs in the two clauses differ with respect to the type of changed preverb that precedes the stem. In example #372, the first verb is an independent, the second verb is a conjunct.

371. kwâni mâna î-kî-nitawi-câh-cimatât
then used-to IPV=past=go-to=redup=stand\TI2=3-0'C
mistikwa akwa îkota mâna
stick=0p and there used-to
kâ-kî-wîpiskâcikîyâh.
IPV=past=throw-by-body\AI=1pC
'Then she stuck the sticks [in the ground] and
we used to throw [a ball] around there.'

372. kwâni kitakotân ôho askiya akwa miconi
then 2=hang\TI2=2-0I this=0p moss=0p and so-much
î-pastîkwâw.
IPV=dry/II=0pC
'Then you hang these pieces of moss and they dry thoroughly.'

Causal clauses represent a second type of asymmetrical structure. Causal clauses begin with the particle wiδa 'because'. As in other coordinate structures, the verb following the conjunction may be inflected as independent or as conjunct. In #373, the clause following wiδa 'because' has its verb inflected as independent, while in #374, the verb following the particle is inflected as conjunct.

373. kwâni mâyiδa iδiniw iδôh î-kakîhtasît wiδa
then but person so-much IPV=smart\AI=3C cause
îyakwîδiw wîδa kî-pî-wâpahtam pî-otânahk.
that-one=0' he-too past=to=see\TI=3-0'C to=behind=loc
'A person is smart because he has seen it in the past.'

374. î-kî-kisiwâsit isa îkâ wiδa
IPV=past=angry\AI=3C hrs neg cause
î-kî-ohci-pî-mîcisot.
IPV=past=negpast=to=eat\AI=3C
'She was angry because she didn't come to eat.'

If both clauses in a causal structure have the same subject, the verbs may be morphologically symmetrical as in #374, or morphologically asymmetrical as in #375.

375. nîδa nikî-itwân ta-kî-ihkihk wiδa
I 1=past=say\AI=1I IPV=past=function\II=0C cause
nîδa âsay î-kî-pî-wâpamakwâw atimwak.
I already IPV=past=to=see\TA=1-3pC dog=3p
'I said it would work because I have seen dogs [doing this] before.'

When a causally asymmetrical structure has two different subjects, the verbs often differ. In example #376, the verbs in the two clauses differ with respect to the type of changed conjunct preverb that precedes the stem.

376. kîkwân itokî kâ-pî-nâh-nîhci-pimosiniht
thing perhaps IPV=to=redup=below=throw\TA=X-3C
wiδa î-câh-cîstipitikot.
cause IPV=redup=scratch\TA=3'-3C
'Perhaps someone threw the thing down because it was scratching him.'

Asymmetrical structures differ from symmetrical structures with respect to negation. The second clause in an asymmetrical coordinate structure is negated with the

subordinate clause negative morpheme îkâ, as in #374. The two types of coordinate structures are similar in their use of multiple proximates and independent verbs. These features distinguish them from the subordinate clauses in Chapter VII.

6.4.2 Structures with Verbs of Thinking and Saying

Another type of structure containing more than one clause is the comment clause. A comment clause consists of a discourse verb and an antecedent. The discourse verb contains a relative root or preverb, as in itîyihtam 'he thinks so', itwîw 'he says' or isi-tîpwîw 'he yells so'. The discourse verb is sometimes replaced by the particle it 'said'. The antecedent of the discourse verb has no restrictions. In the following examples, the antecedent is an imperative, a declarative and an interrogative clause, respectively.

377. "kwâni wîcihin," nitisi-tîpwâtik.
then help/TA=2-1Imp 1=rel=yell\TA=3-1I
'"Help me," she yelled.'

378. "kwâni mwâc nitîpipaδin," î-itak.
then neg 1=enough/AI=1I IPV=say/TA=1-3C
'So I said to her, "I don't have enough".'

379. "tânîhkâ nikosisak?" î-isi-tîpwît.

where=3p 1=son=3p IPV=rel=yell\AI=3C

'"Where are my sons?" she yelled.'

The antecedent can also be a sentence fragment, for example the particle kiyâpic 'still', as in #380 or it can be in English, as in #381.

380. "kiyâpic, kiyâpic," nitik.

still still 1=say\TA=3-1I

'"More, more," she said to me.'

381. "We wanted somebody to run from South Indian Lake," kâ-kî-itwît.

IPV=past=say/AI=3C

'"We wanted somebody to run from South Indian Lake," he said.'

The use of the independent on both the discourse verb and on the verb in its antecedent indicates the non-subordinate status of both clauses in the comment structure in #382.

382. "mwâc takosin," itwîw.

neg arrive\AI=3I say\AI=3I

'"She didn't arrive," he said.'

The use of multiple proximates in comment clauses also shows the equal status of both clauses. If a discourse verb has a third person animate subject and another third person occurs in the antecedent, both verbs are coded as taking proximate subjects, as in #383. A sequence of proximates is only possible when all clauses are non-subordinate. In the subordinate structures, the third person animate subject of the subordinate clause is inflected as obviative, if a different third person animate subject occurs in the main clause. An example of this occurs in #234.

383. "kwâni î-ati-wanihtât ômîδiw
then IPV=incp=lose\TI2=3-0'C this=0'
okiskinôhamowin," itwîw.
3=learning say\AI=3I
'"And he loses his education," he says.'

Chapter VII

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE TYPES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

All subordinate clauses in Woods Cree contain a conjunct verb and when negated take the negative particle îkâ. Example #384 contains a typical subordinate clause.

384. kwâni wîsâ î-ma-mawîhkîδimak
then so-much IPV=redup=apprehensive\TA=1-3C
[îkâ î-wî-nipât].
neg IPV=want=sleep\AI=3C
'I was getting very apprehensive when he didn't want to sleep.'

The chapter divides subordinate clauses into complements, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. The subordinate clause types are distinguished from each other by a combination of syntactic features. The features are outlined in Table 7.1 and discussed in detail in the sections that follow.

Table 7.1

Subordinate Clause Types

	SUBJ-COPYING	CLAUSE ORDER	TENSE SEQUENCING
Complements	yes	fixed	relative
Adverbial Clauses	no	fixed/free	relative/absolute
Relative Clauses	no	free	relative

7.2. COMPLEMENTS

Complements include indirect content questions, indirect yes-no questions and declarative sentential complements. The complement clauses differ in their verb morphology and their introductory particle, or absence thereof. The details are listed in Tables 7.2 and 7.3.[1] Rare verb forms are noted in parenthesis. Examples of the three types of respective complements are:

385. mwâ na kikiskîyihtîn [tân(i)si isi-ayât]?
neg Q 2=know\TI=2-0I how rel=be\AI=3C
'Do you know how he is feeling?'

[1] The verb morphology is described in greater detail in Chapter IX.

386. nikakwîcimâw [mahti sipwîhtît].

1=ask\TA=1-3I IQ leave\AI=3C

'I am asking him whether he is leaving.'

387. pîδisk nikiskîyihtîn [î-iskwâtahtamân].

finally 1=know\TI=1-0I IPV=short-breath\TI=1-0C

'Finally I knew that I was out of breath.'

TABLE 7.2

Introductory Particles

	PARTICLE	UNMARKED PARTICLE	OTHER
indir. c.q.	yes	content question word relative particle relative preverb	
indir. y-n	yes	mahti	ahpo/kisâspin
decl. compl.	no		

TABLE 7.3

Verbs in Complement Clauses

	REALIZED			UNREALIZED	
	(k)â-	î-	unchanged	ta-	subj.
indir. c.q.	+	(+)	(+)	+	
indir. y-n			+	+	(+)
decl. compl.		+		+	+

Table 7.1 states that complements are defined syntactically on the basis of three syntactic features, the first of which is subject copying. Subject copying results in the object of the main clause being co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. At a morphological level, subject copying means the verb in the main clause changes from a TI verb to a TA verb. In #388, the subject of the verb in the complement clause <u>î-ayât</u> 'he is' is co-referential with the object of the main clause verb <u>nikiskîδimâw</u> 'I know him'. Example #389 is the same structure without subject copying. Further details are available in Dahlstrom (1986:79-90).

388. <u>nikiskîδimâw</u> [<u>îkota</u> <u>î-ayât</u>].
1=know\TA=1-3I there IPV=be\AI=3C
'I know he's there.'

389. <u>nikiskîδihtîn</u> [<u>îkota</u> <u>î-ayât</u>].
1=know\TI=1-0I there IPV=be\AI=3C
'I know he's there.'

A second feature, clause order, distinguishes complement structures from relative clauses and most types of adverbial clauses. Complements, as the above examples illustrate, always follow their main clause.

Tense sequencing is illustrated in #390. In complement structures, the tense of the complement clause is marked for time relative to the time of the situation in the main clause.

390. <u>mâyiδa</u> <u>î-kî-kiskîδimiht</u> [<u>î-mistahtît</u>].
but IPV=past=know\TA=X-3C IPV=be-glutton\AI=3C
'But it was known he was a glutton.'

7.3. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial clauses modify sentences. Apart from the lack of subject copying, few generalizations may be made about adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are divided into five basic types:

Type I	purpose clauses, descriptive adverbials
Type II	iteratives
Type III	hypothetical conditionals, counterfactuals
Type IV	universal conditionals, time adverbials
Type V	concessives

The adverbial clauses in Type I, purpose clauses and descriptive adverbial clauses, are identified by their invariant verb forms. Purpose clauses require <u>ta</u>-conjunct

verbs, as in #391, and descriptive adverbial clauses require î-conjunct verbs, as in #392. Purpose clauses and descriptive adverbials differ from other types of adverbial clauses in their strict clause order. The subordinate clause always follows the main clause.

391. kwâni pô î-kî-wa-wanihikît akwa mîna
then only IPV=past=redup=trap\AI=3C and also
î-kî-mâcît [ta-mîcisowâhk].
IPV=past=hunt\AI=3C IPV=eat\AI=1pC
'He just went trapping and hunting so we could eat.'

392. nâpîw wâδawîtimih ayâw [î-wî-wâpamisk].
man outside be\AI=3I IPV=want=see\TA=3-2C
'There's a man outside that wants to see you.'

Purpose and descriptive adverbial clauses also have relative tense sequencing. The tense of the subordinate clause is marked relative to the time in the main clause, as in #393.

393. Helen isa î-kî-nâtah otayâna
Helen hrs IPV=past=fetch\TI=3-0'C 3=thing=0p
[ta-sîpîkinamâh].
IPV=wash\TI=1p-0C
'Helen took her things so that we could wash them.'

The adverbial clauses listed under Type II include iteratives. Iterative clauses contain the particle ôma 'whenever' and a conjunct verb with a (k)â- preverb. The tense of the iterative clause is determined relative to the time of the main clause, as in #394.

394. [akwa mîna ôma îkâ kâ-waniskât] kwâni
and also when neg IPV=get-up\AI=3C then
î-kî-nitawi-pônamawak.
IPV=past=go-to=light-fire\TA+O=1-3C
'And also whenever she didn't get up then I went and lit a fire for her.'

Iteratives share with the class of adverbial clauses listed under Type I, relative tense sequencing and invariant conjunct verb morphology. They differ from the above in the position of the adverbial clause. In Type II clauses, the adverbial clause precedes the main clause.

Hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals form a third type of adverbial clause. Type 3 adverbial clauses may precede or follow the main clause. The order of the adverbial clause is determined by its role in linking the main clause to the preceding discourse. Type III adverbial clauses also have invariant verb morphology. A hypothetical clause takes a subjunctive verb, as in #395.

The verb in a counterfactual is the simple unchanged conjunct form, as in #396. Unlike most other types of adverbial clauses, the tense of the conditional clause is determined relative to the time of speaking.

395. [ôho pî-pimitisihoyamihci] î-wî-pâskiswât.
this=3' to=follow\TA=3-1pS IPV=want=shoot\TA=3-3'C
'If she follows us, she is going to shoot her.'

396. ahpwîtokî nântaw nakî-tôtâkonân [îkâ
or-perhaps about 1fut=past=do\TA=3-1pI neg
ohci-nakatakiht].
negpast=leave-behind\TA=1p-3C
'Maybe she could have done something to us if we hadn't left her behind.'

While a particular type of verb is required for each type of adverbial clause included under Types I to III, any type of conjunct verb may occur in a Type IV adverbial clause. Type IV adverbial clauses include the universal conditional and the time adverbial. The universal conditional is introduced by a question word or a relative particle and often occurs with the adverb piko/pô 'only', as in #397. The universal condition clause may appear before or after the main clause and tense is determined relative to the time of the main clause.

397. [pô tânsi î-itâspinîδit awiδiwa]
only how IPV=fell-ill\AI=3'C someone=3'
kî-akopitawîw mâna waskway.
past=cure\TA=3-3'I used-to birchbark
'No matter what kind of sickness a person had, he used to cure them with birchbark.'

A time adverbial clause may be introduced by a temporal adverb such as mîkwâc 'while' in #398 or occur without a temporal adverb, as in #399. When the time adverbial clause follows its main clause, the temporal adverb has an important role. It distinguishes a time adverbial structure from an asymmetrically coordinate structure.

398. mâyiδa îkâ ohci-pa-pîskîδimak [mîkwâc
but neg negpast=redup=attention\TA=1-3C while
î-pâh-pîhtosikîyân].
IPV=redup=skin\AI=1C
'I wasn't paying attention while I was skinning.'

399. [kâ-ocawâsimisit] nawac anima maskihkiy
IPV=be-pregnant\AI=3C best that=0 medicine
kâ-ohtîk.
boil\II=0C
'When someone is pregnant, the medicine is best when it is boiled.'

Although in most time adverbial clauses, tense is determined relative to the tense in the main clause, tense in a time adverbial clause may also be determined relative to the time of speaking, as in #400. No explanation for this can be provided at the present time.[2]

400. [mawâc kâ-kî-itâsiyâhk] âsay
as-soon-as IPV=past=count-as\AI=1pC already
nikî-tâpakwânân.
1=past=snare\AI=1pC
'As soon as we were old enough, we were setting snares.'

Concessive clauses form a fifth group. These clauses begin with an introductory particle, kiyâm or âta 'even if, although', and contain a verb inflected as either î-conjunct or subjunctive.[3] Concessive clauses differ from the adverbial clauses in Type IV in the way they mark tense. Concessive clauses always mark tense relative to the time of speaking, as in #401. This feature makes this clause type distinct from most other adverbial clauses.

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[2] A similar situation occasionally occurs in Moose Cree when a time adverbial clause occurs in clause initial position (Jame 1992, personal communication).

[3] The subjunctive occurs when the proposition in the main clause is unfulfilled. Among older speakers, clauses beginning with kiyâm 'enough' signal hypothetical 'even if' clauses. For younger speakers, the particles kiyâm and âta are often inter-changeable.

401. [kiyâm îkâ mistahi
although neg lots
î-kî-ohci-tîpipahîkâsot kinosiw]
IPV=past=negpast=be-enough\AI=3C fish
kwâni ohcitaw kwayask nikî-kaskihcikânân.
then surely right 1=past=earn\AI=1pI
'Even though the fish wasn't worth it, we were able to earn enough.'

402. [kwâni âta î-kî-kiskîyihtah ita
then although IPV=past=know\TI=3-0'C where
â-itohtîδit, kwâni mâka mwâc wîsta
IPV=go\AI=3'C then but neg 3-too
ohci-miskawîw.
negpast=find\TA=3-3'I
'Although he knew where she went, he too couldn't find her.'

7.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A relative clause together with its head forms a complex noun phrase. The relative clause typically follows the head noun phrase and contains a (k)â-conjunct verb.

403. mîna awa kîn nicîmic
also this=3 Ken 1=yo-br/si
[kâ-kî-nihtâwikihak] mihcît awâsisa
IPV=past=bear(raise)\TA=1-3C many child=3'
pamihîw.
care-for\TA=3-3'I
'And also my younger brother Ken who I raised now looks after lots of children.'

Like other complex noun phrases, the order of the major constituents may be reversed, as in #404 and the head of the noun phrase may delete under identity, as in #405.

404. ta-wâpamîw [kâ-âcimak] ôho
IPV=see\TA=3-3'I IPV=tell-story\TA=1-3C this=3'
wâpisiwa.[4]
swan=3'
'(S)he will see the swans I am talking about.'

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[4] In other dialects, the morpheme -im would occur on the verb kâ-acimak 'I am talking about them' in this context. See Ellis 1983:653-655.

405. awa wîmistikôsiw akwa ana kotak...
this=3 white-man and that=3 other
[kâ-misikitit].
IPV=big\AI=3C
'This whiteman and the other big one.'

When the relativized noun phrase functions as the subject or the object of the relative clause verb as in #403 and #404, the relative clause is attached directly to its head. When the relativized noun phrase functions as an oblique argument of the relative clause, the relative clause begins with a relative particle, as in #406.

406. îyako mîkiwâhp [ita â-nipât].
that-one tent where IPV=sleep\AI=3C
'That is the tent he is sleeping in.'

The relative order of the main clause and the relative clause is also conditioned by the role of the relativized noun in the main clause. When the relativized noun is the subject of the main clause, it precedes the main clause verb, as in #407. When the relativized noun phrase has a different role, it usually follows the main clause verb, as in #408.

407. anima mâyiδa [kâ-mihkwâk] mwâc miδwâsin.
that=0 but IPV=red\II=0C neg good\II=0I
'But that red one is no good.'

Another feature of the relative clause is its relative tense marking. The tense of the relative clause is determined relative to the time of speaking. This is illustrated in #408.

408. îyako î-kiskisiyân sîmâk îkota isa
that=0 IPV=remember\AI=1C immed there hrs
anima [kâ-kî-wâpahtamân nîtî].
that=0 IPV=past=see\TI=1-0C there
'Right away I am reminded of what I saw over there.'

Chapter VIII

INDEPENDENT AND CONJUNCT VERBS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter VII, conjunct verbs link subordinate clauses to main clauses. This chapter attempts to show how conjunct verbs link main clauses to each other. Although the different types of conjunct verbs play different roles, they all link information between clauses. As a result, the conjunct plays an important cohesive role in a variety of monologic texts and conversational exchanges.

Because there is no clearly unmarked category of the conjunct, a number of conjunct verbs must be considered. The chapter will focus on the analysis of the three most common types of conjunct verbs: (k)â-, î- and ta-. Discussion will be limited to how the various forms contrast with the independent. The various types of conjunct verbs are described in detail in Chapter IX.

8.2 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

The most detailed analysis of Cree discourse, is based on the narrative (Dahlstrom 1986, James 1986) defined by Labov as 'a sequence of events' (Labov 1972). Published work on Cree discourse discusses the occurrence of large numbers of conjunct verbs in the main clauses of narrative texts (Goddard 1984, Dahlstrom 1986, Wolfart 1973). In Woods Cree, the main sequence of events is represented by a series of (k)â-conjunct verbs. In the following short narrative text, the three main events are all in main clauses which contain a verb beginning with the preverb (k)â- (sentences 1,8,9). To aid the reader, the schematized structure of the narrative is presented at the end of the text.

409.

1. akwa awa nicîmic W., kwâni ayihîδiw
   and this=3 1=yo-br/si W., then whatev=0'

   iskotîw kâ-pîhci-pahkihtin(i)δik oskîsikoh.
   fire/spark IPV=inside=fall\II=0'C 3=eye=loc

2. kotawânih î-nôcihcikîyâh. 3. aspin pô
   smoke-stand=loc IPV=work-at\AI=1pC gone only

   î-mâyimot, ômisi î-tôtah. 4. "nôhtâ
   IPV=cry-pain\AI=3C this=rel IPV=do\TI=3-0'C 1=fa

   nicîmic, tân(i)si ihtiyin?" it. 5. niwâpahtîn
   1=yo-br/si how ail\AI=2C said 1=see\TI=1-0I

mâyiδa iskotîw î-kwâskohtîk. 6. mwâc
but fire/spark IPV=jump\II=0C neg

î-kî-ayamit iδôh î-wîsakîyihtah
IPV=able=talk\AI=3C so-long-as IPV=hurt\TI=3-0'C

oskîsik. 7. "âw, pimisini ôta," nititâw.
3=eye excl lie\AI=2Imp here 1=say\TA=1-3I

8. â-pimisih. 9. kwâni wâpisîpimiy
IPV=lie\AI=3C then swan=grease

kâ-pîhci-sîkinamawak. 10. nômakîs
IPV=inside=pour\TA+O=1-3C short-while

kî-pa-pimisin. 11. kwâni mwâc osôma nântaw
past=redup=lie\AI=3I then neg odd=this=0 about

ohci-ihtiw.
negpast=ail\AI=3I

1. And this younger brother of mine W., a spark went into his eye. 2. We were working (hides) at the smokestand. 3. He was yelling in pain, and doing like this. 4. "My god, my younger brother, what is wrong with you?" (I) said. 5. But I saw (had seen) the spark jump. 6. He couldn't talk [because] his eye hurt so. 7. "Come on, lie down here," I said to him. 8. He laid down. 9. Then I poured swan grease in [his eye]. 10. He laid down for a while. 11. Then nothing unusual happened to him.

(k)â-	independent	î-	unchanged	imperative
1. a spark falls				
		2. we are working		
		3. he is yelling		
			4. you ail	
	5. I see			
		6. he ca[n't] speak		
	7. I say			7.lie down
8. he lies down				
9. I pour it				
	10. he lay down			
	11. he did[n't] ail			

The (k)â-preverb provides a grammatical indication of a narrative in much the same way that Schiffrin 1981 describes the use of the historic present in English. In both instances, the verb is almost wholly confined to the complicating action. Woods Cree verbs outside of the storyline are almost never (k)â-conjunct. All of the (k)â-conjunct verbs in the text in this section occur in the storyline. Most of the (k)â-conjunct verbs in the longer narrative in Appendix C also occur in the storyline. The only exceptions are one-line summaries, which may occur either in the abstract at the beginning of the narrative or in the coda at the end. An example of a one-line summary statement occurs in the coda in sentence 63 in the text in Appendix C, repeated below.

410. kwâni pîyak kâ-kitamwât ana kisîδiniw
then one IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C that=3 old-man
pîyakwâw î-mîcisot.
once IPV=eat\AI=3C
'So that is the one that old man devoured in one meal.'

Other types of conjunct verbs do not show the complicating action of a narrative and occur more frequently outside of the storyline. They are, however, similar to the (k)â-conjunct in containing information particularly important to the narrative. Consider, for example, the ta-conjunct containing the future marker ta-. This type of conjunct verb occurs less frequently than the (k)â-conjunct. There are no instances of the ta-conjunct in the preceding text, and only four ta-conjunct verbs in the main clauses in the narrative text in Appendix C. One of the examples of the ta-conjunct occurs in a direct quote (sentence 25). In the other three instances, the ta-conjunct verb occurs in the orientation section of the text (sentences 12-13,42) where it foreshadows important information. The future tense morpheme ta- indicates future relative to the tense of the text, the conjunct can be argued to signal the relative importance of the information. In sentences 12 and 13, repeated below, the ta-conjunct verbs signal major events in the story.

411. kwâni mâyiδa mwâc ta-kîwîhtahât.
then but neg IPV=bring-home\TA=3-3'C
piko ta-kitamwât.
only IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C
'But he would not take them home. He would just devour them.'

The ta-conjunct verb in sentence 42 in Appendix C, repeated in #412 below, signals a second major dilemma in the story. Here, the ta-conjunct is used to foreshadow the next episode in the narrative. The ta-conjunct, like the (k)â-conjunct, is a cohesive devise which links important information in the text with subsequent events in the storyline.

412. kwâni itokî î-kîsi-piminawâsonâniwik
then perhaps IPV=complete=cook\II=0C
ta-ati-mîcisonâniwik.
IPV=incp=eat\II=0C
'So after the cooking was done, the eating started.'

Before discussing a third type of conjunct verb occurring in main clauses, the î-conjunct, it is necessary to comment on the use of independent verbs. Independent verbs are not used to sequence or summarize events or to foreshadow important events. Independent verbs tend to convey less important information, which may appear to be disjointed. In narrative texts such as the one in #409, independent verbs occur outside of the narrative[1] where

[1] While the verb meaning 'I said' in #7, which is independent, does in one sense describe a narrative event- the event of speaking - it is parenthetical in force; it is backgrounded in importance relative to the main piece of information in the sentence, i.e., what the narrator said. It is proposed here that this verb is independent because it denotes parenthetical, less important information.

they frequently contain a past tense morpheme, kî- or ohci-.[2] In #409, the last two sentences, repeated below, contain past tense morphemes. Both sentences contain an independent verb. A similar situation occurs in the narrative text in Appendix C.[3]

413. 10. nômakîs kî-pa-pimisin.
short-while past=redup=lie\AI=3I
'He laid down for a little while.'
11. kwâni mwâc osôma nântaw ohci-ihtiw.
then neg odd=this=0 about negpast=ail\AI=3I
'Then nothing unusual happened to him.'

Within the narrative in Appendix C, independent verbs tend to provide background or secondary information which enables the listener to fully understand the text. Independent verbs often convey the general message of the narrative as either a result (sentences 30, 31, 34, 49-50) or as an evaluation (sentences 39, 41, 51-54). Because of this, independent verbs are usual but not obligatory in

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[2] Within the complicating action of the narrative, (k)â- occurs without the past tense morpheme kî-. The temporal orientation of the events is indicated through their presentation order.

[3] In the narrative text in Appendix C, independent verbs occur in the abstract (sentences 2,4,5), in narrator's asides (sentences 58-60) and in the coda (sentence 64).

clauses which are, in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980, low in transitivity. They frequently occur in clauses which contain either a verb of saying, thinking or seeing, or a negative. Because the examples rely on discourse factors, the rules are not absolute, as the facts below show.

Within the narrative, independent inflections frequently occur on verbs such as itîyihtam 'he thinks so', wâpahtam 'he sees (it)' and itwîw 'he says'. A verb of seeing occurs in sentence 5 and as noted in footnote 1, a verb of saying occurs in sentence 7 of the text in #409, both of which are inflected as independent. The verbs provide background information which is related but not central to the storyline.

Although most of the examples of verbs of saying, thinking and seeing occur with independent inflections in the narrative text in Appendix C, there are two exceptions where a verb of saying inflects as (k)â-conjunct. They occur in sentences 9 and 54. In both instances, the utterances are an important part of the storyline.[4] The uttering of the verb (k)â-itwît 'he said' is important in sentence 9 because it not only emphasizes the individual's greed, but also initiates the sequences of events which

[4] Cyr 1991 describes a similar situation in Montagnais.

follow. In sentence 54, the utterance emphasizes that the old man was lying, thereby providing the end of the complicating action and making (k)â-itwît 'he said' a vital part of the storyline. This use of the (k)â-conjunct parallels its use earlier in this section.

Clauses which contain a main clause negative morpheme also tend to be inflected as independent. Because negated clauses are not as likely as the corresponding affirmative clauses to provide continuity to the storyline (Talmy 1978, Hopper and Thompson 1980), they often occur outside of the storyline, either in the orientation (e.g., sentence 5 in the narrative text in Appendix C) or in the coda (e.g., sentence 11 in #409). When negated main clauses occur inside of the storyline, they are often part of the evaluation and the verb in the clause usually inflects as independent (Appendix C. 1, sentences 30,34,49,50,53).

Having discussed the independent, the î-conjunct is now considered. The î-conjunct is very similar to the independent. Both verbs are used to provide background details which enable the listener to fully understand the text. Although there are cases where the independent and the conjunct occur in sentences with related meanings where there is no obvious reason for the difference (sentence 31 and 32 in the narrative text in Appendix C), the verbs

generally appear to differ in how they convey information. The î-conjunct shows a tendency to occur whenever the speaker believes a situation provides an important link. The corresponding independent verbs fail to do this. Therefore in the text in #409, î-nôcihcikîyâh 'we were working hides' (sentence 2) provides important information as to why the accident took place. The other two î-conjunct verbs î-mâyimot 'he [was] yelling in pain' (sentence 3) and î-kî-ayamit 'he could[n't] talk' (sentence 6)[5] emphasize the degree of suffering related to the accident and justify the subsequent action. Independent verbs in the same narrative have a less cohesive role. They describe what the author, a secondary participant, saw and said (sentences 5,7).

Thus it can be argued that there is a strong tendency in narrative texts for the conjunct to function primarily to indicate that the information given is relatively important, either because it forms a piece of the sequential action of the story or because it constitutes particularly important background information.

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[5] This example is an exception to the previously-mentioned tendency of negative clauses to have independent verbs. I argue this is because of the degree of importance of the information. Sentence 12 in the narrative text in Appendix C provides another similar example involving a negative clause.

8.3 DESCRIPTIVE TEXTS

Descriptive texts contrast with the narrative. They lack the dramatic action of the former text type and consequently contain only rare occurrences of the (k)â-conjunct and even less of the ta-conjunct. The main clauses of descriptive texts consist primarily of either î-conjunct or independent verbs.

In descriptive texts with sequences of î-conjunct verbs, the texts are relatively cohesive. After the initial introduction of the topic, by either a (k)â-conjunct or an independent verb, sequences of î-conjunct verbs elaborate on the information. The information in the text provides supporting evidence for the topic sentence. In the following example, the speaker uses the sequence of î-conjunct verbs to elaborate how she is still able to afford to look after her children.

414.

1. mâka ohcitaw nikaskihtânân kiyâpic î-mîδakihcik
but anyway 1=able\TI2=1p-0I still IPV=give\TA=1p-3pC

kîkwân nicawâsimisinânak. 2. î-tîpipahikîstamâsowâhk
thing 1p=child=3p IPV=pay-for=reflex\AI=1pC

mîna kîkwân kâ-âpacihtâyâhk -wâstîw, nipiy -kahkiδaw
also thing IPV=use\TI2=1p-0C light water all

kîkwân. 3. î-kiskîyihtamân nîsta ita ta-otinak
thing IPV=know\TI=1-0C I-too where IPV=take\TA=1-3C

sôniyâs. 4. î-kaskikwâsowân. 5. î-mîkisistahikîyân.
money IPV=sew\AI=1C IPV=beadwork\AI=1C

6. î-nanâhkawikwâsoyân akwa mîna î-acâwâkîsiyân
IPV=patchwork\AI=1C and also IPV=sell-dim\AI=1C

kîkwân î-tahto-tîpahamân wâstîw.
thing IPV=every=pay-for\TI=1-0C light

1. We are still able of giving our children something. 2. We pay for the things we use -like light,water - everything. 3. I know where I can get money. 4. I sew. 5. I do beadwork. 6. I do patchwork and I sell little things to pay the light.

Descriptions which are more disjointed contain sequences of independent verbs. The following is a description of a man in a picture. The verbs are independent and the clauses, although related to a central theme, are not linked to one another. The clauses are also separated by pauses longer than those in the preceding text. This is a common feature of discourses containing sequences of independent verbs.

415. mîδawistwîw, mistahi pîmikotîw,
beard\AI=3I lots crooked=nose\AI=3I

pîmâpitîw, ma-mahkihtwâkîw,
crooked-teeth\AI=3I redup=big=ear\AI=3I

δôδôwâpîw, mâcinâkosiw.
slanted=eyes\AI=3I bad=look\AI=3I

'He has a beard. He has a big crooked nose. He has crooked teeth. He has big ears. He has slanted eyes. He looks bad.'

A descriptive text that falls somewhere between the two examples discussed above is the reminiscence text. Although reminiscence texts are concerned with the past, they, like other descriptive texts, do not have the dramatic action found in most narratives. There are therefore very few (k)â-conjunct verbs. The text in #416 contains only two (k)â-conjunct verbs, used to create a mini-narrative (sentences 4 and 6). To aid the reader, the main clauses are represented in schematic form at the end of the text.

A reminiscence text relates to the generic rather than the specific and invokes a partial image rather than a detailed account (Horvath 1987:218). Although the verbs in the text in #416 are linked by a common macro-topic 'life in the past', the sentences are only loosely linked and are separated by pauses similar to those in the discourse in #415. As in #415, the reminiscence text consists of a series of sentences with independent verbs which are more disjointed or random in terms of topic than in a text which contains a sequence of î-conjunct verbs. The initial section of a reminiscence text in Appendix C titled 'A Description of Long Ago' shows a similar pattern of partially connected facts about the past (sentences 1-15). It also contains sequences of independent verbs. However, although there is a clear tendency for sequences of

independent verbs to appear in texts in which the topics are not set up explicitly enough, where the clauses simply present information as a series of partially connected facts about the past, not all examples fit into the pattern, e.g. why is the verb in the last clause in sentence 1 in #416 not <u>î</u>-conjunct? There is clearly either more than one conditioning factor at work, or alternatively, simply some degree of overlap between the use of the independent and the <u>î</u>-conjunct.

Conjunct verbs in descriptive texts, then, tend to occur when there is an important link between the ideas. In the text in #416, the two <u>(k)â</u>-conjunct verbs (sentences 4 and 6) signal a link between the events, while the only <u>î</u>-conjunct verbs (both in sentence 12) elaborate on information in the previous sentence (sentence 11). They explain what the father did instead of cutting wood; <u>î-kî-wa-wanihikît</u> 'he went trapping' and <u>î-kî-mâcît</u> 'he went hunting'.

416.

1. akwa nîδanân kâ-kî-isi-pî-ohpikiyâh,
   and we(1p) IPV=past=rel=to=grow-up\AI=1pC

   nikî-mihcîtinân, 19 nikî-itâsinân. 2. môδa
   1=past=many\AI=1pI 19 1=past=count-as\AI=1pI neg

mâyiδa kahkiδaw nipimâtisinân. 3. mwâ kîkwân
but all 1=live\AI=1pI neg thing

n-ôh-mîδikawinân asahtôwin kâ-icikatîk.
1=negpast=give\TA=X-1pI ration IPV=call\II=0C

4. pâtimâ itokî, sîmâk mâyiδa, sîmâk nâh-niyânanwâpisk
after perhaps immed but immed redup=five=metal

kâ-kî-mîδikawiyâhk.
IPV=past=give\TA=X=1pC

5. kwâni pâh-pîyakwâpisk mâna nikî-mîδikonân
then redup=one=metal used-to 1=past=give\TA=3-1pI

nôhtâwiy sôniyâwa ta-otinamâh isa orange.
1=father money=3' IPV=take\TI=1p-0C hrs orange

6. îkospiy pâtimâ mîna î-kî-sôniyâ-kisîkâk
then after also IPV=past=money=day\II=0C

kâ-kî-mîciyâhk orange. 7. mwâc kîkwân
IPV=past=eat\TI2=1p-0C orange neg thing

n-ôh-mikoskâcîyihtamân nîδanân. 8. pakwanta kîkwân.
1=negpast=concern\TI=1p-0I we(1p) anything thing

9. kâ-kî-isi-ohpikihikawiyâh, kwâni
IPV=past=rel=grow-up\TA=X-1pC then

nikî-isi-pimâtisinân. 10. mawac
1=past=rel=live\AI=1pI as-soon-as

î-ati-kî-itâsiyâhk âsay
IPV=incp=able=count-as\AI=1pC already

nikî-tâpakwânân akwa mîna
1=past=snare\AI=1pI and also

î-kî-ati-nâtaδapîyâhk isa akwa î-ati-wanihikîyâh.
IPV=incp=fetch=net\AI=1pC hrs and IPV=incp=trap\AI=1pC

11.mwâc pîyakwâw nôhtâwiy ohci-nikohtîw
neg once 1=father negpast=chop-wood\AI=3I

iδikoh kâ-kî-wîcayamakiht.
so-long-as IPV=past=with=be\TA=1p-3C

12.kwâni pô î-kî-wa-wanihikît akwa mîna
then only IPV=past=redup=trap\AI=3C and also

î-kî-mâcît ta-mîcisowâhk. 13. pô nîδanân.
IPV=past=hunt\AI=3C IPV=eat\AI=1pC only we(1p)

14.kî-miδopaδihik kâ-pî-ohpikiyâhk.
past=good-move\TA=0-3I IPV=to=grow-up\AI=1pC

15.tâsipwâ kiyâpic nitatoskân 77 î-tahtwaskîwiniyân.
in-fact still 1=work\AI=1I 77 IPV=so-many-years\AI=1C

1. And the way we were brought up, we were many; we were counted as 19. 2. But not all of us are living. 3. We were given nothing called rations. 4. Perhaps later- but right away, right away we were given five dollars each.

5. Then my father used to give each of us one dollar so we could buy an orange. 6. We ate an orange again the [next] Treaty Day. 7. We were concerned about nothing. 8. Not a thing.

9. The way we were raised, that was the way we lived. 10. As soon as we were able to be counted, we set snares and checked nets and went trapping. 11. Not once did my father cut wood as long as we lived with him. 12. He just went trapping and hunting so we could eat. 13. Just us. 14. He was lucky when we were growing up.

15. In fact I am still working at 77 years of age.

(k)â-	independent	î-
	1. we were many	
	1. we counted	
	2. we lived	
	3. it was given to us	
4. we were given		
	5. he gave us	
6. we ate		
	7. we weren't concerned	
		(8) no verb
	9. we lived thus	
	10. we set snares	
	11. he didn't cut wood	
		12a. he went trapping
		12b. he went hunting
		(13) no verb
	14. it made him happy	
	15. I work	

Reminiscence texts also contain occasional î-conjunct verbs which do not fit into the above pattern. An example occurs in the 'Description of Long Ago' text in Appendix C. In this text, the narrator appears to be using the î-conjunct to make linkages between paragraphs (sentences 16,30) to create the impression of continuity in order to allow her to continue her turn. Because of the lack of evidence in support of this, this fact will only be mentioned here. A similar phenomenon occurs in conversational exchanges.

8.4 CONVERSATIONAL EXCHANGES

Independent verbs are more common in conversational exchanges than in texts partly due to the fact that conversations are more disjointed and the topics shift more readily. The most common type of conjunct verb in conversational exchanges is the î-conjunct. The (k)â-conjunct is rare in conversations, as it is in descriptive texts, because it is used primarily to indicate sequential events. The role of the î-conjunct in conversations is similar to its role in texts; it tends to appear whenever the speaker views the information as providing an important link. It is often used to elaborate on a topic and appears in structures which are cohesive.

Conversational exchanges consisting of a content question and a response are usually cohesive and coherent. The response to the content question continues on the topic initiated by the question and the verb in the response is often an î-conjunct, as in #417.

417. A: kîkwân?
what=0

B: î-kostak awa Alice.
IPV=fear\TA=1-3C this=3 Alice

A: 'What is it?'
B: 'I'm afraid of Alice.'

A similar pattern emerges with exchanges involving a yes-no question. The verb in a yes-no question may be independent or conjunct, yet the verb usually inflects as conjunct because the yes-no question usually asks for elaboration on information in the previous utterance. In #418, B's second question requests information about the topic previously introduced. The response to the yes-no question in #418 expands on the topic and the verb in the response is also î-conjunct.

418. A: kwâni â-kî-masinahamawakiht.
then IPV=past=write\TA+O=1p-3C

B: kîδa akwa awina?
you and who

A: nîδa akwa H.
I and H.

B: îkota na H î-ayât?
there Q H. IPV=be\AI=3C

A: ya, wiδa O. î-kî-waδawîpinât.
yes cause O. IPV=past=throw-out\TA=3-3'C

A: 'So we wrote to her.'
B: 'You and who?'
A: 'Me and H.'
B: 'H. is there?'
A: 'Yes, because O. threw her out.'

Pairs of declarative sentences show a similar pattern. The î-conjunct is often used when one interlocutor wishes to elaborate on a previously established topic, as in

#419.[6] In addition to the <u>î</u>-conjunct, the sentence contains the connecting particle <u>mâyiδa</u> 'but'. This particle frequently occurs in structures containing <u>î</u>-conjunct verbs.

419. A: <u>tânsi</u> <u>ôma</u>, <u>kwâni</u> <u>nîyo</u> <u>sôniyâsa</u> <u>piko</u>
how this=0 then four dollar=3 only
<u>kâ-mîδisk</u>.
IPV=give\TA+0=3-2C

B: <u>mâskô[c]</u> <u>mâyiδa</u> <u>nântaw</u> <u>niyânan</u> <u>namîδik</u>
perhaps but about five 1=fut=give\TA+0=3-1I
<u>î-itîyihtamân</u>.
IPV=think\TI=1-0C

A: 'So she only gave you four dollars.'
B: 'But I thought she would give me about five dollars.'

Although independent verbs also occur in response to both content and yes-no questions, conversational exchanges containing independent verbs are often less cohesive. When the answer to a content question contains a verb inflected as independent, the response is often indirect. One means of introducing an indirect response is with the particle <u>manâ</u> '[you] realize'. This particle together with an independent verb signal the indirect response in #420.

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[6] Because the verb is used to elaborate on the previous statement (and is not parenthetical and backgrounded in role), the verb of thinking is inflected as <u>î</u>-conjunct.

420. A: tântî mâ î-kî-nitawi-iskôliwît?
where but IPV=able=go-to=school\AI=3C

B: manâ ta-kî-sipwîhtîw.
realize IPV=past=leave\AI=3I

A: 'But where can she go to school?'
B: 'You realize she could leave [the community].'

A similar process occurs in adjacency pairs consisting of two yes-no questions. The second member of the pair can either request clarification of the previous topic or indicate a partial shift in topic. In the latter case, the verb in the question is usually independent, as in #421. In this example, the response to the response also contains an independent verb. Although the main clause negative morpheme may influence the choice of inflection, it is more likely that speaker C, by choosing an independent verb is indicating her wish to background the topic introduced by speaker B in order to proceed with Speaker's A question. The (k)â-conjunct in the last sentence starts a narrative text.

421. A: ôta na kisiwâk awa K.?
here Q near this=3 K.

B: kiskîδimîw na anihi?
know\TA=3-3'I Q that=3'

C: mwâ nikiskîyihtîn. ahpo pâham. A. îkotî
neg 1=know\TI=1-0I or perhaps A there

kâ-kîyokawât.
IPV=visit\TA=3-3'C

A: 'Is K. nearby?'
B: 'Does she know her?'
C: 'I don't know. I think so. She's visiting A.

In non-narrative contexts, speakers often use independent verbs to introduce new topics. An example occurs in part of the conversation in Appendix C, repeated in #422 (D's first utterance). This example contains the particle mîna 'in addition, also'; a particle found in many clauses with independent verbs.

422. C: V. ana.
V that=3

A: V? ôta na? kîko V?
V? here Q which V

C: V.M.
V.M.

D: nôhkom mîna ôta ayâw.
1=gr-mo also here be\AI=3I

A: ôta na?
here Q

D: ya. akwa kiyokîtân.
yes now visit\AI=12Imp

C: It's V.
A: V? Here? V. who?
C: V.M.
D: My grandmother is also here.
A: Here?
D: Yes. Let's go visit her.

The above discussion claims two factors plays a role in the use of the conjunct: one is cohesion, the other is importance. The two often inter-relate. Although the above provides an explanation for the use of the conjunct the author is not making the claim that the above accounts for all examples. There is only a strong tendency for conjunct verbs to show important links between situations and a

similar tendency for independent verbs to appear when there are no such linkages. Independent verbs tend to occur when new topics are introduced,[7] and when speakers do not wish to elaborate on a topic under discussion. The following conversational exchange illustrates the complexity of this process. The first speaker introduces the topic of 'A.'s location' and asks if she is baby-sitting. The verb in the question is independent.[8] Speaker B answers with a verb inflected as independent. Speaker B uses this verb to introduce another topic. Speaker A then responds using an independent verb. Although the response provides a direct answer to the question, the speaker indicates she does not wish to elaborate (believing it is just a case of homesickness). This information as in the narrative texts, is not viewed as important. Speaker B, having introduced the topic of A's leaving in her previous utterance, proceeds to elaborate on the topic. She uses an î-conjunct verb to do this.

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[7] When the verb introduces a narrative, the (k)â-conjunct introduces the topic as in the last sentence in #421.

[8] One could argue that the verb here should also be î-conjunct since it elaborates on the possible location of A. An î-conjunct verb is possible here but would signal that the baby-sitting is important. The independent verb indicates that this information is not important.

423.

A: tâniwâ A.? kiyâpic na kanawawâsow?
where A.? still Q baby-sit\AI=3I

B: ya. wî-nôhtî-kîwîw.
yes want=need=home\AI=3I

A: ya, nikiskîyihtîn.
yes 1=know\TI=1-0I

B: ayihîw, ôtî î-nôhtî-kîwît funeral
whatev=0 here IPV=need=go-home\AI=3C funeral

î-nôhtî-itohtît.
IPV=need=go\AI=3C

A: Where is A.? Is she still baby-sitting?
B: Yes. She wants to go home.
A: Yes, I know.
B: Ahmn, she wants to go home because she wants to go to a funeral.

The following conversation provides another illustration of the process. The text consists of an initial query followed by a number of responses. To aid the reader, the main clauses are presented in schematic form at the end of the text.

424.

A: 1. mwâ na kinihtâ-iδiniwasinahikân?
neg Q 2=know=Indian=write\AI=2I

B: 2. mwâc. kôhcâwiy wiδa. 3. apiw itokî.
neg 2=fa-br emp sit(be-home)\AI=3I perhaps

A: 4. mwâc apiw.
neg sit(be-home)\AI=3I

B: 5. îyako mîna î-nîhîδawi-ayamihcikît.
that-one also IPV=Cree-read\AI=3C

B: 6. Lita iδa akwa Samuel.
Lita emp and Samuel

B: 7. kî-pa-pî-itohtîw ôma anohc. 8. kôhcâwiy ana
past=redup=to=go\AI=3I prt now 2=fa-br that=3

kâ-itak.
IPV=say\TA=1-3C

A: 9. ka, sipwîhtîw itokî.
excl leave\AI=3I perhaps

B:10. îhî, ôtî itokî tâwinihk itohtîw.
yes here perhaps town=loc go\AI=3I

[nod at old man lying on couch]

B:11. awa nihtâ-âcaδôhkîw kisîδiniw mâyiδa
this=3 know=tell-legends\AI=3I old-man but

îkâ î-pîhtahk. 12. kwâni pô î-tîpwâtak.
neg IPV=hear\TI=3-0'C then only IPV=yell\TA=1-3C

13. kwâni ôma kâ-nakatak, kwâni
then prt IPV=leave-behind\TA=1-3C then

î-nipât.
IPV=sleep\AI

A: 1. Do you know how to write in Cree?
B: 2. No. But your uncle can. 3. He may be home.
A: 4. He's not home.
B: 5. That one knows how to read in Cree too.
B: 6. Lita is rumored to, and Samuel.
B: 7. He just came here. 8. Your uncle is the one I am talking about.
A: 9. Oh, he may have left.
B: 10. Yes. He must have left to town.

[nod at old man lying on couch]

B: 11. This old man knows how to tell legends but he is hard of hearing. 12. I have to yell at him. 13. When I leave him, he sleeps.

independent	î-	no verb
1. you know how to write		
		2. no verb
3. he is home		
4. he is not home		
	5. he knows how to read	
		6. no verb
7. he just came here		
		8. no verb
9. he leaves		
10. he goes		
11a. he knows legends		
	11b. he can't hear	
	12. I yell at him	
	13. he sleeps	

The text contains six third person forms, representing three distinct third person referents, all of which are proximate. The three distinct third persons are Lita (sentence 6), Samuel (sentence 2,6,8) and kisîδiniw 'the old man' (sentence 11,12,13).[9] The speaker, by using proximate forms presents each referent as an equal alternative. Neither referent has a more central role than any other.[10]

The main clauses in the preceding conversational text contain a series of independent verbs. The main clauses in

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[9] Samuel is referred to four times; first as kôhcâwiy 'your uncle' (sentence 2), then as îyako 'that one' (sentence 2), and as Samuel (sentence 6) and finally by the kin term kôhcâwiy 'your uncle' (sentence 8).

[10] For a discussion of multiple proximates see section 4.6 for details.

this conversation are similar to the main clauses in the reminiscence text. In both text types, the sentences fail to elaborate on a central issue.

The independent verbs in the conversation indicate the disjoint nature of the conversation. Although the verbs relate to the macro topic, "someone that knows how to write in Cree", the speakers tend not to elaborate on what was previously said. Independent verbs may serve to introduce a new topic; e.g., kinihtâ-iδiniwasinahikân 'you know how to write in Cree' (sentence 1), or they may signal a shift at the micro topic level, e.g., apiw 'he is home' (sentence 3), kî-pa-pî-pimohtîw 'he just came here' (sentence 7), and nihtâ-âcaδôhkîw 'he knows legends' (sentence 11a) or they may present information which is secondary to the macro topic, e.g., apiw 'he is [not] home' (sentence 4), sipwîhtîw 'he leaves' (sentence 9), itohtîw 'he goes' (sentence 10). The latter instance is more problematic and in need of further investigation.

The î-conjunct shows the relationship between ideas. An example occurs in sentence 5: îyako mîna î-nîhîδawi-ayamihcikît 'that one also knows how to read in Cree'. In this sentence, the speaker continues the topic established in sentence 2; 'your uncle's knowledge of syllabics'. Sentence 5 also contains îyako 'that one', a

pronoun which must have an antecedent. The speaker elaborates on the topic and the verb in the sentence inflects as conjunct.

The only other main clause conjunct verbs occur after the clause awa nihtâ-âcaδôhkîw kisîδiniw 'this old man knows how to tell legends' in sentence 11. In this clause, the speaker starts a turn by introducing a new micro topic and a new referent. This is reflected morphologically by the presence of an independent verb in sentence 11 nihtâ-âcaδôhkîw 'he knows how to tell legends' (sentence 11a) and a proximate noun, kisîδiniw 'old man'. The next three clauses continue on the same topic. The verbs in the clauses are inflected as î-conjunct. The three clauses explain why the old man cannot tell a story. In 11b, the reason for why he would not be suitable is stated: î-pîhtahk 'he ca[n't] hear'. The next sentence expands on why he cannot help î-tîpwâtak 'I yell at him' (sentence 12) and the final sentence provides additional supporting evidence î-nipât 'he sleeps' (sentence 13). The sentences elaborate on the old man's unsuitability and the verbs in the sentences are î-conjunct.

Chapter IX

CONJUNCT VERBS AND INITIAL CHANGE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter divides the conjunct into five basic groups. The first group begins with one of three preverbs commonly referred to as changed conjunct forms; kî-$_1$, wâ- and kâ-. A second group has ta-, wî- or kî-$_2$ as the initial morpheme on the verb. The latter preverbs represent the unchanged counterparts of the former. A combination of preverbs beginning with either (k)â- or î- form the third group, also labelled as changed conjunct forms. A fourth group does not begin with any of the above preverbs. The verbs in this group are unchanged. The subjunctive, a fifth group, differs from the conjunct by the addition of a final suffix -i, and in some cases by a distinct inflection.

The data suggests that the type of conjunct verb depends on a number of factors which include focus and the realization of the event. The final section of this chapter compares the present analysis with analyses of the conjunct in other Algonquian languages.

9.2 TYPES OF CONJUNCT VERBS

Although a preverb is an optional part of any verb, several preverbs have important roles in the verbal system. Three preverbs listed under Type 1 in Table 9.1, kî-$_1$, (k)â- and wâ- have a special relationship to the conjunct. The first two preverbs, kî-$_1$ and (k)â-, only appear on verbs inflected as conjunct. wâ- may appear on verbs inflected as independent or as conjunct.[1] The relationship between the preverb wâ- 'supposition' and the conjunct is based on the fact that wâ- has a corresponding preverb wî- 'desirative'. kî-$_1$ and (k)â- also have corresponding preverbs, listed under Type 2 in Table 9.1.

The three corresponding preverbs listed under Type 2 in Table 9.1 are the future ta-, the desirative wî- and the past kî-$_2$.[2] The latter two preverbs may be preceded by the preverbs (k)â- and î-. The preverbs (k)â- and î- and their preverb combinations are listed under Type 3. A conjunct verb may also occur without an introductory preverb (Type 4) or end in a subjunctive inflection (Type 5). The various

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[1] The verb in #261 contains a verb inflected as independent.

[2] The literature classifies the forms in Table 9.1 as follows. The forms listed under Type 2 and the forms with no tense/aspect preverb (Type 4) are "simple conjunct" forms, Type 1 and 3 are as "changed conjunct" forms. The subjunctive is analyzed as a separate category (Wolfart 1973:45). Further details are provided in section 9.3.

conjunct types are summarized in Table 9.1. The preverb (k)â- occurs twice in the table. This reflects the fact that (k)â- has two entirely different functions.

Table 9.1

Conjunct Types in Woods Cree

	Type1	Type2	Type3A	Type 3B	
future	kî-$_1$	ta-	kâ-wî-,	î-wî	future
supposition	wâ-	wî	kâ-,	î-	present
past/unreal	kâ-	kî-$_2$	kâ-kî-$_2$,	î-kî-$_2$	past

	Type4	Type5
unmarked realization	-	-i

The analysis which follows divides the Woods Cree preverbs into three semantic categories: forms which refer to the future, forms which refer to the present and past, and forms which refer to events which are not marked for their realization (Types 4 and 5). The latter category is covered in sections 9.2.3 and 9.2.4.

9.2.1 Future Forms

There are several ways to indicate the future on a conjunct verb. There is the preverb pair kî-$_1$/ta-, the preverb wî- 'want' and the preverb combination kâ-wî-. Although they are not future forms, because of their pairing with wî- and kâ-wî-, wâ- and î-wî- are also covered in this section.

9.2.1.1 kî-$_1$/ta-

kî-$_1$ is frequent in content questions, but rare elsewhere. This morpheme often denotes a situation which implies intent, as in #425.

425. tânispiy kî-âpacihtâyin nimaskisina?
when fut=use\TI2=2-0C 1=shoe=0p
'When are you going to use my shoes?'

In many instances, the preverb kî-$_1$ 'future' indicates that an event is possible because of its regular occurrence in the past, as in #426. The future preverb marks the event as habitual or generic, as in #427.

426. tântî kî-nitawi-atâwîyân anima?

where fut=go-to=buy\AI+O=1C that=0

'Where do I go to buy that?'

427. tânispiy kicîkim kî-takopaδik?

when 2=check=im IPV=arrive\II=0C

'When does your check arrive?'

kî-$_1$ 'future' also appears in the procedural section of recipe texts where it signals the procedure as habitual. The procedural section of a recipe text is contained in the second paragraph of #428 (sentences 5-9).

428.

1. ka-isi-ahδâw pahkwîsikan pânihk iδikohk
2fut=rel=put\TA=2-3I flour pan=loc so-long-as

ta-tîpipaδiyin nîso pahkwîsikanak. 2. akwa nîso
IPV=enough\AI+O=2C two bread=3p and two

ahpo nisto îmihkwânis ohpicicikan. 3. ka-astân
or three spoon=dim baking-powder 2fut=put\TI2=2-0I

akwa mîna sîhtâkan apisîs, akwa pimiy. 4. akwa
and also salt little and grease and

ka-sîkinîn ôho kahkiδaw kîkwâna isko
2fut=pour\TI=2-0I this=0p all thing=0p until

namatakwahkwâw.
neg-exist(disappear)\II=0p

5. akwa kî-ayâyin kî-wâδinat kipahkwîsikanim
and fut=be\AI=2C fut=hollow\TA=2-3C 2=flour=im

ita nipiy ta-sîkinaman. 6. akwa kî-itîhwat
where water IPV=pour\TI=2-0C and fut=stir\TA=2-3C

isko kispakisit. 7. akwa kicihciya kî-âpacihtâyin
until thick\AI=3C and 2=hand=0p fut=use\TI2=2-0C

ta-oδatinat kipahkwîsikanim. 8. akwa pânihk
IPV=shape\TA=2-3C 2=bread=im and pan=loc

kî-pôsihat. 9. kî-câh-cahkatawat akwa
fut=place-in\TA=2-3C fut=redup=stab\TA=2-3C and

kî-pôsihat pîhtâpiskahikanihk ta-kîsisot.
fut=place-in\TA=2-3C oven=loc IPV=cook\AI=3C

10.kwâni.
that's-all

1. You put the flour in the pan, enough to make two loaves of bread. 2. And two or three teaspoons of baking powder. 3. And you also put in a little salt, and lard. 4. And then you sift all these things together until they are well mixed.

5. And then you make a hollow in your flour where you pour in the water. 6. And you stir until it's thick. 7. And then you use your hands to shape the dough. 8. And then you put it in the pan. 9. And then you stab it [with a fork] and put it in the oven to cook. 10. That's all.

The unchanged counterpart of kî-$_1$ is ta-. In the narrative text in Appendix C, ta- foreshadows events. In other main clause declaratives, the preverb signals the certainty of the event.

429. "îkâ ta-nisiwanâtah kihpama," â-isit.

neg IPV=spoil\II=0C 2=lung=0p IPV=say-thus\AI=3C

'He said "Your lungs will not decay."'

ta- is also common in subordinate clauses where it signals an event as unfulfilled at the time of the main clause, as in #430 and #431.

430. kâ-pônihwikot ta-kaskâpahtîδik.
IPV=light-fire=by-instr\TA=3'-3C IPV=smoke\II=0'C
'They lit a fire for him to make smoke.'

431. kwâni kâ-pônahkwâw î-tipiskâδik
then IPV=light-fire\TI=3p-0'C IPV=dark\II=0'C
waδawîtimihk pî-itohtîci [ta-wâpahtahk].
outside to=go\AI=3S IPV=see\TI=3-0'C
'Then they lit a fire outside at night so if she were to come out she could see.'

9.2.1.2 wâ-/wî-

A second pair wâ-/wî- is distinguished on the basis of tense. wâ- occurs in clauses which refer to a supposition about the past,[3] wî- occurs in clauses which refer to a desire. The distinction is illustrated in #432 and #433.

432. nikî-kakwîcimâw mahti wâ-itohtît.
1=past=ask\TA=1-3I IQ supp=go\AI=3C
'I asked him whether he had gone.'

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[3] wâ- is described in more detail in section 5.2.4.

433. nikakwîcimâw mahti wî-itohtît.

1=ask\TA=1-3I IQ want=go\AI=3C

'I asked him whether he wants to go.'

The two pairs wâ-/wî- and kî-$_1$/ta- have one similarity. The first member of each pair may make an inference to a past situation, the second member does not. The second member of each pair refers to a situation viewed only as unfulfilled.

9.2.1.3 Preverb Combinations

The future may also be indicated by the preverb combination (k)â-wî-. In the previous chapter, (k)â- denotes the main sequence of events in a narrative. When (k)â- combines with the desirative morpheme wî- 'want', as in #434 and #435, the preverb combination denotes a future situation. (k)â-wî- typically occurs in structures in which one argument receives special focus, i.e., content questions and relative clauses.

434. tânispiy kâ-wî-ihtât kipîpîm?

when IPV=want=exist\AI=3C 2=baby=im

'When is your baby due?'

435. <u>tânispiy</u> <u>kâ-wî-waδawîpiciyin</u>?

when IPV=want=out-move\AI=2C

'When are you moving out?'

A second preverb combination, <u>î-wî-</u> begins with the preverb <u>î</u>-. In Chapter VIII, <u>î</u>- occurs in cohesive structures used to elaborate or indicate important information. When combined with the desirative morpheme <u>wî</u>-, a main clause verb having the above preverb combination refers to a present desire, as in #436, the fulfillment of which may be completed in the future. Of all future preverbs, <u>î-wî</u>- denotes a situation which is least likely to be fulfilled. In the texts collected for this work, verbs containing the above preverb combination appear most often in the consequent of a time clause referring to the future. An example of this occurs in #459. In conversational data, the preverb combination is frequent in yes-no questions and main clause declaratives, but rarely occurs in content questions. The following example is an exception.

436. <u>tân(i)si</u> <u>î-wî-tôtah</u>?

how IPV=want=do\TI=3-0'C

'How does he want to do it?'

The unchanged counterpart of (k)â-wî- and î-wî- is a conjunct verb beginning with the preverb wî-, as in #437. My sample does not contain any main clause declaratives containing conjunct verbs beginning with the preverb wî- and only a few examples in other types of clauses, as in #433. Due to limited data, no further analysis of conjunct verbs beginning with wî- is attempted here.

437. tân(i)si wî-tôtah?
how want=do\TI=3-0'C
'What will he do?'

9.2.1.4 Summary

The above discussion describes three types of conjunct verbs which refer to the future. The first two types consist of the conjunct pairs kî-$_1$/ta- and wâ-/wî-. The first member of each pair (Type 1) may make reference to a past situation. The second member of each pair marks the event as unfulfilled (Type 2). A third type of conjunct verb, labelled as Type 3 in Table 9.1, has the preverbs (k)â- or î- as its initial member. Although these preverbs represent changed forms, the preverb combinations (k)â-wî- and î-wî- do not make reference to a past situation.

9.2.2 Past And Present Forms

The analysis presented above is explored here with reference to the present and past tense. The present tense is morphologically unmarked. The past tense of an affirmative conjunct verb is signalled by either the changed preverb (k)â-, its corresponding unchanged preverb kî-$_2$ or the preverb combination (k)â-kî-$_2$ or î-kî-$_2$.

There is also a special negative past tense preverb, ohci- which occurs alone or as part of the preverb combination (k)â-ohci- or î-ohci-. Because of the infrequent occurrence of the non-affirmative preverb in Woods Cree, the discussion focusses on the affirmative structures. The negative forms are not discussed in any detail.

9.2.2.1 (k)â-/kî-$_2$

In the main clauses of narrative texts, (k)â- denotes the main sequence of past events most of which also are perfective. Examples and details are provided in Chapter VIII. Although there are some problems accounting for the full range of (k)â- in time adverbial clauses, in many examples, (k)â- signals a past event as perfective, as in #438, or signals the general repetitive nature of an event

in the past, as in #439. In both instances the preverb makes reference to a past event, patterning like the Type 1 preverbs.

438. <u>î-ati-kospâhtawîyân</u> [<u>kwâni</u> <u>kâ-nihtâwikit</u> <u>nipîpî</u>].
IPV=incp=climb\AI=1C then IPV=be-born\AI=3C 1=baby
'I was about to climb up [into bed], when the baby came.'

439. <u>maskihkiya</u> <u>î-kî-mîδât</u> <u>iδiniwa</u>
medicine=3' IPV=past=give\TA+O=3-3'C person=3'
<u>kâ-nâtikot</u> <u>ôtîδa</u>.
IPV=fetch\TA=3'-3C here=emp
'He gave people medicine when they went to see him.'

The counterpart to <u>(k)â</u>- is the past tense morpheme <u>kî</u>-$_2$. In Woods Cree, <u>kî</u>-$_2$ indicates past tense on any affirmative verb inflected as independent. The details are provided in section 5.2.4. When not preceded by the preverbs <u>kâ</u>- or <u>î</u>-, the past tense morpheme on a conjunct verb may signal present irreality.[4] The past tense morpheme changes from a signal of the past to a signal of the unreal, a phenomenon reported elsewhere (James 1982, Steele 1975).

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[4] In my corpus, there is one example where a conjunct verb beginning with the preverb <u>kî</u>-$_2$ refers to a past event. It occurs in the Description of Long Ago in Appendix C (sentence 24).

440. tânika kî-miδwayâyâhk.[5]

if only past=be-well\AI=1pC

'If only we were well.'

The past tense morpheme kî-$_2$ also occurs alone in subordinate clauses where it is again a signal of present irreality, as in the present counterfactual in #441:

441. "kî-miδwayâyahk," nititâw

past=be-well\AI=12C 1=say\TA=1-3I

"ka-kî-osihtânaw asiskiwi-kotawânâpisk.

2fut=past=make\TI2=12I mud=stove

'If we were well," I said, "we would make a mud stove.'

In #440 and #441, the past tense morpheme kî-$_2$ makes reference to an unreal situation. In this respect, it resembles the Type 2 forms of the conjunct, ta- and wî-. In all three instances, the unchanged form marks the situation as unrealized at some point in time.

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[5] Debbie James has suggested that the irrealis function in this example may be related to the preceding irrealis marker.

9.2.2.2 Evidence For Two kâ- Conjunct Preverbs

In conversational texts, the (k)â- conjunct often refers to a present situation where it signals the situation as having special focus, as in #442.

442. kiyâm kâ-sâkihak!
anyway IPV=love\TA=1-3C
'Big deal, I love him!'

In content questions and relative clauses, the (k)â- conjunct is the unmarked verb. In both cases, one argument is in special focus and the clause refers to a situation which has present reference, as in:

443. awina otâsa kâ-ikiskamat?
who=3 3=pants=3' IPV=wear\TA=2-3C
'Whose pants are you wearing?'

444. niyânano-mitanaw askiy ôta kâ-kî-ayâyâh
five=ten year here IPV=past=be\AI=1pC
Pakitawâkanih [awa ita P. kâ-ayât].
Pakitawakan=loc this=3 where P. IPV=be\AI=3C
'We were for fifty years at Pukatawakan where P is staying.'

As a marker of special focus, (k)â- does not have past tense reference. Past tense is indicated through the addition of a past tense morpheme.[6] As a marker of present tense, (k)â- differs semantically from the other preverbs listed in Type 1, suggesting the possibility of two (k)â-conjunct preverbs.

Several facts about the preverb kâ- have suggested the presence of two kâ-conjunct verbs in Woods Cree. In the main clauses of narrative texts (k)â- functions as a form of the past perfective morpheme kî-$_2$. The two forms are mutually exclusive. However, in relative clauses, in content questions, and in certain types of main clauses kâ- is unmarked for tense. It may be followed by the past tense preverb kî-$_2$, the morpheme wî-, or occur alone, where it signals present tense.

Phonological evidence within Woods Cree provides additional support for two kâ- morphemes. In Woods Cree, kâ- weakens to â-. At first glance, the weakening appears to be purely phonological. It occurs in subordinate clauses, in content questions and in main clauses in narrative discourse. However, the weakening is not possible when the kâ- morpheme occurs in main clauses in conversational texts where it is a marker of present tense

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[6] See section 9.2.2.3 for examples.

constructions which involve special focus on a participant or the event.[7] A frequent example of this occurs in conjunction with the particle mâ, as in #445.

445. kâ-sipwîhtît mâ?
IPV=leave\AI=3C but
'What about his leaving?'

9.2.2.3 (k)â- and î- and Their Preverb Combinations

The preverb combinations, kâ-kî-$_2$, kâ-ohci-, î-kî-$_2$ and î-ohci-, are the primary means of signalling the past tense of a verb inflected as conjunct. Due to the infrequence of kâ-ohci-, the preverb combination is not covered here.

The (k)â-kî- forms occur in structures which, like (k)â-, represent the main sequence of events. (k)â-kî- forms report past events rather than narrate about them.[8] The initial question in the report about the religious meeting (Appendix C) asks: tânsi kâ-kî-isi-wâpaman? 'What

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[7] kâ- may weaken to â- when followed by the desirative morpheme wî- or the past tense morphemes kî-$_2$ or ohci-.

[8] The (k)â-kî-$_2$ combination is frequent in reports, in reminiscence texts and in the parts of the narrative that frame the main events. It is often used to denote the main events of a narrative in which the narrator is the protagonist. I have no explanation for this latter use.

did you see?' (sentence 3). The answer to the question is provided in the clauses which contain a verb beginning with the preverb combination (k)â-kî- (sentences 4,5,8,9,20,21, 24,36,44). These sentences report the main happenings. Subsequent narration about each of these events is provided in main clauses with (k)â-conjunct verbs. An example of (k)â-kî-$_2$ occurs in #446, taken from the report of a religious meeting in Appendix C.

446. akwa kâ-kî-ati-pônipaδik ôma oδasowîwin akwa
and IPV=past=incp=stop\II=0C this=0 meeting and
kâ-kî-sîkihtitâniwah ayânisa.
IPV=past=throw-away\II=0C clothes=0p
'And the meeting ended and then clothes were thrown away.'

In structures which usually require a (k)â-content verb, the (k)â-kî-$_2$ preverb combination serves simply as a marker of past tense. Two such structures are content questions and relative clauses. Examples occur in #447 and #448.

447. tân(i)si â-kî-isiδihkâsot ana nôcokîsiw?
how IPV=past=be-called\AI=3C that=3 old-woman
'What was that old woman's name?'

448. misiwî î-kî-papâmohtîyâh anima isa
all-over IPV=past=around-walk\AI=1pC that=0 hrs
ministik [â-kî-ayâyâhk].
island IPV=past=be\AI=1pC
'We walked all over that island where we used to live.'

A second preverb combination begins with the preverb î-. Among the preverbs listed under Type 1, î- is unique in that it does not have a corresponding unchanged form. î- and its past counterparts î-kî- and î-ohci- occur in main clauses where they have a number of varied and seemingly unrelated functions. In Chapter VIII, î- marks an event as related to other events. It typically occurs in answers to questions and it is often used to emphasize a point. The î-kî-_2 combination occurs in similar situations about the past, as in:

449. A: kwâni mîna ocîmicisa, tân(i)si ôma?
then also 3=dog=dim=3' how this=0

B: ocîmicisa î-kî-nipahâδit pâham
3=dog=dim=3' IPV=past=kill\TA=3'-3''C possibly

awiδiwa. nôhtâ, wîsâ mistahi
someone=3' 1=fa=voc so-much lots

î-kî-mâtot!
IPV=past=cry\AI=3C

A: 'And his puppy, what happened [to it]?'
B: 'Someone probably killed his puppy. My god, did he ever cry!'

In negative clauses the î-conjunct is the most commonly occuring form of the conjunct. The î-conjunct signals the relationship or relevance of the non-event to the rest of the text. When referring to a past event, î- occurs in combination with the negative past tense preverb ohci-.

450. kwâni mwâc awina î-ohci-itohtît.
so/then neg someone IPV=negpast=go\AI=3C
'So nobody went there [because of this].'

The î-conjunct also occurs in concessive clauses. In this structure it signals the present or past relevance of the situation in the subordinate clause to the situation in the main clause. An example occurs in #451.

451. âta î-kî-kawacit, mwâc ohci-postiskam
conc IPV=past=be-cold\AI=3C neg negpast=put-on\TI=3-0'I
oskotâkay.
3=coat
'Even though he was cold, he didn't put on his coat.'

In other structures, î- and î-kî- occur less often and have a slightly different function. In content questions, the conjunct verb rarely contains the preverb î-. When an î-conjunct verb appears in this structure, the preverb has an aspectual role. It marks the event as on-

going or imperfective, as in #452.

452. awina tâskôc î-isi-pimohtît?
who=3 like IPV=rel=walk\AI=3C
'Who is he walking like [now]?'

The î-conjunct has a similar function in time adverbial clauses, as in #453, where it again signals the on-going or imperfective nature of the event. Because of the multiple functions of the î-conjunct, further research is needed to fully understand the preverb.

453.[î-pî-ohci-nihtâwikit] îkâ ohci-wâpit.
IPV=to=from=be-born\AI=3C neg negpast=see\AI=3C
'Since birth, she has been blind.'

9.2.3 Conjunct Verbs With No Tense/Aspect Markers

A conjunct verb may also occur without any of the tense/aspect preverbs mentioned in the preceding sections. The preverbs excluded are kî-$_1$, wâ- and (k)â- (Type 1), their corresponding preverbs ta-, wî- and kî-$_2$ (Type 2) and the preverbs (k)â- and î- and their preverb combinations (k)â-wî-, (k)â-kî-2, î-wî- and î-kî-$_2$ (Type 3). A structure which contains a conjunct verb lacking the above

preverbs or preverb combinations refers to a situation which does not focus on any particular point in time, as in #454 and #455. It often marks the situation as habitual or general.[9]

454. kîkwâδiw mîcit?

what=0' eat\TI2=3-0'C

'What does he eat?'

455. awina nihtâ-iδinîmot?

who know=speak=by-mouth\AI=3C

'Who knows how to speak Cree?'

In declarative main clauses, a conjunct verb without an introductory tense/aspect preverb is rare. The following informing text is an exception. In this text the majority of verbs have impersonal subjects. Most of the verbs in the procedural section of the text (sentences 4-12) do not contain a tense or aspect morpheme.[10] These conjunct verbs signal the general nature of the procedure.

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[9] There are a couple of exceptions where the unchanged conjunct has a slightly different role. tânsi tôtaman? 'What are you doing?' is one of them.

[10] The three exceptions (sentences 6,7,8) begin with the particle akwa 'and (then)'. The verbs in these sentences contain a (k)â- conjunct verb.

456.

1. kâ-nipahiht môswa, kâ-pahkoniht, akwa
   IPV=kill\TA=X-3C moose IPV=skin\TA=X-3C and

   kâ-mihkicikâtîk pahkîkin.
   IPV=scrape-flesh\II=0C hide

2. paskwatâwisikâtîk. 3. pakastawîhikâtîk.
   cut-hair-off\II=0C set-to-water\II=0C

4. sîkahpicikâtîk. 5. mâtahikâtîk. 6. akwa
   lace\II=0C scrape-by-tool\II=0C and

   kâ-âpîkisikâtîk. 7. akwa kâ-pakastawîhikâtîk
   IPV=untie-by-heat\II=0C and IPV=set-in-water\II=0C

   î-kicistinikâtîk. 8. akwa kâ-kâskikahikâtîk.
   IPV=clean\II=0C and scrape\II=0C

9. sîpokwâcikâtîk. 10. kaskâpasikâtîk.
   stretch-by-sewing\II=0C smoke\II=0C

11. [That's the moose hide]

12. akwa kâ-maskisinihkâniwik. 13. ka-oδisîn
    and IPV=shoe-make\II=0C 2fut=shape-by-cut\TI=2-0I

    maskisinîhkîn, akwa asîson.
    shoe=pattern and vamp

14. ka-ocîhkwîhîn. 15. ka-sîpîhanikwâtîn.
    2fut=gather-together\TI=2-0I 2fut=string\TI=2-0I

16. akwa amiskwayân ka-ahδâw.
    and beaver=skin 2fut=put\TA=2-3I

1. A moose is killed, it is skinned and then the flesh is scraped off the hide.

2. The hair is cut off. 3. It's soaked. 4. It is laced on a frame. 5. It [The hide] is scraped by tool. 6. And then it is hung up to smoke. 7. And then it is soaked and scrubbed. 8. And then it is scraped with a metal object. 9. It is sewn together. 10. It is smoked. 11. [That's the moose hide].

12. And then the moccasins are made. 13. You will cut a moccasin pattern, and the vamp. 14. You will gather [the pattern and vamp] together. 15. You will put the string around [the edge]. 16. And then you will place the beaver skin on.

In a subordinate clause, the conjunct verb almost always occurs with a tense/aspect preverb. The few examples which lack a tense/aspect preverb tend to occur in structures which contain a preverb which has future reference, as in #457 and #458. In these examples, the structures refer to a state of affairs which is not yet fulfilled but whose fulfillment is viewed as imminent.

457. <u>ana</u> <u>nâpîw</u> [<u>îkâ</u> <u>cîskwa</u> <u>kiskîδimat</u>] <u>maci-nâpîw</u> <u>ana</u>.
that=3 man neg yet know\TA=2-3C bad-man that=3
'That man you have yet to meet is a crook.'

458. [<u>pâtimâ</u> <u>pî-kîwît</u>] <u>mwâ</u> <u>na-nipân</u>.
after to=go-home\AI=3C neg 1fut=sleep\AI=1I
'Until he arrives home, I will not sleep.'

A conjunct verb which does not have a tense/aspect preverb usually indicates a general state of affairs in

which there is no time specification. Tense and aspect are indicated by the preverbs presented in the preceding sections.

9.2.4 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is a special type of conjunct verb which falls outside of the conjunct proper. It differs from the conjunct by the addition of the final suffix -i, and in some cases by a distinct inflection. The subjunctive occurs in a clause denoting a condition which needs to be met in order for the proposition in the main clause to hold. It denotes an event on which a future event is dependent, as in #459 or a hypothetical state of affairs, as in #460.

459. pôni-mîcisowâni ôtî î-wî-itohtîyân
stop=eat\AI=1S here IPV=want=go\AI=1C
î-wî-nâtamân nitâpiskâkan.
IPV=want=fetch\TI=1-0C 1=scarf
'When I finish eating, I want to go and get my scarf.'

460. sikitahki ahpo kîkwân ta-pihcipowak
urinate\TI=3-0'S or thing IPV=be-poisoned\AI=3pI
awâsisak.
child=3p
'Or if he [a dog] urinates on something, children will get poisoned.'

The subjunctive does not take the affirmative tense preverbs ta- and kî-$_2$. I expect the reason for their exclusion is related to their meaning. A future preverb is necessarily hypothetical. When not preceded by (k)â- or î-, the past tense morpheme kî-$_2$ usually signals an event as unreal. This was illustrated in #441. The subjunctive morphology makes these preverbs redundant.

Only three of the special preverbs listed in Table 9.1 occur on a subjunctive verb. One of these is the morpheme wî- 'want'. When attached to a subjunctive verb, wî- focusses on present circumstances.

461. kisâspin wî-sipwîhtîci, wîcîw.
if want=leave\AI=3S accompany\TA=2-3Imp
'If he wants to leave, go with him.'

The only tense morpheme to occur on a subjunctive verb is the negative past tense morpheme ohci-, illustrated in #462.

462. mwâc ôta nawâ-ayâhtay, [kisâspin îkâ kiscîs
neg here 1fut=supp=be\AI=1pretI if neg 2=old-br
ohci-kâhcitinici].
negpast=catch\TA=3-1S
'I would not be here if your older brother didn't catch me.'

The corresponding affirmative structure, illustrated in #463, contains the preverb wâ-, the counterpart of wî-. In both #462 and #463, the preterit morphology marks the structure as past.

463. wâ-kimotici sôniyâsa, na-wâ-nipahâhtay.
supp=steal\AI+0=3S money=3' 1fut=supp=kill\TA=1-3pretI
'If he had stolen the money, I would have killed him.'

9.3 CLAIMS ABOUT INITIAL CHANGE

In many Algonquian languages, there is a productive process whereby the initial vowel of the verb inflected as conjunct changes. Table 9.1 illustrates initial change as it applies to Swampy Cree.

Table 9.2

Initial Change in Swampy Cree

vowel	change	example		
i	ê	nipât	> nêpât	'he sleeps'
a	ê	mawâpit	> mêwâpit	'he visits'
o	wê	ohcît	> wêhcît	'he comes from'
î	â	wî-nipât	> wâ-nipât	'he wants to sleep'
ô	wâ	pôsit	> pwâsit	'he departs'
ê	iyê	mêtawêt	> miyêtawêt	'he plays'
â	iyâ	âhkosit	> iyâhkosit	'he is sick'

*adapted from Ellis 1983:450-451

Initial change is also signalled by the changed conjunct preverbs ê-, kâ-, kê-, and wâ-.[11] The corresponding preverbs in Woods Cree are î-, (k)â-, kî-$_1$ and wâ-. It is here that we see the morphological similarity between Woods Cree and other Algonquian languages.

Although comparative data is available, the literature is hard to compare because Algonquian languages vary with respect to the productivity of initial change. In the Parry Island variety of Ojibwa described by Rogers 1978, initial change is a productive process. It is also a productive process in certain Ojibwa and Ottawa dialects (Rhodes 1979) and in a North Shore variety of Montagnais (Cyr 1991). In these varieties, initial change results in a regular change in the quality of a vowel.

In most variants of Cree, initial change is not entirely productive. Wolfart (1973:46) notes an apparent tendency to use the changed preverb ê- instead of productive initial change in Plains Cree. Initial change is only semi-productive in the version of Swampy Cree described by Ellis 1983. Although some verbs undergo initial change, most verbs that require initial change use the changed preverbs, ê-, kâ-, and kî-$_1$. In Moose Cree, the data base for James

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[11] Because of the phonological merger of ê with î, the preverbs ê- and kê- are realized in Woods Cree as î- and kî-$_1$ respectively.

1983, productive initial change is a marginal process. It is restricted to the changed conjunct preverbs kâ-, ê-, and kê-, and the frozen form of the verb têpiskâk 'in the evening' and the question word kêkân wêhci 'why' (James 1983:147-148).[12]

The Algonquian languages also differ in their interpretation of the conjunct. Rhodes (1979) notes that the function of the conjunct is not uniform across all Ojibwa dialects. Rhodes (1979:197) shows that unchanged conjunct verbs in Ottawa pattern differently from unchanged conjunct verbs in other variants of Ojibwa. Differences also exist in the role of the changed conjunct. In the North Shore variety of Montagnais, the main sequence of events is represented by a series of verbs exhibiting productive initial change (Cyr 1991), in Woods Cree the main events are represented by (k)â-conjunct forms.

Despite the differences, there is a general belief that the changed conjunct is often used for focus (Ellis 1971:81). According to Ellis (1983:475-476), kâ- "restricts the focus of the verbal act to a point in time,... to a point in space ... [or] to a specific subject or object." Comments on the relationship between changed conjunct verbs

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[12] There are no recorded examples of frozen initial change in Woods Cree.

and focus have been made about other varieties of Cree. For example, an association has been noted between the changed conjunct and focus in Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973:46); in Moose Cree, according to James 1983, the changed conjunct is required in clause types which involve inherent focus on one constituent, e.g., content questions and relative clauses; and Rogers 1978 claims that in Parry Island Ojibwa changed conjunct verbs containing relative preverbs or relative roots focus on circumstances, changed participles, for which there is no corresponding structure in Woods Cree, focus on participants and other changed conjunct verbs focus on events.

James 1983 also argues that in Moose Cree, the distinction between actual and hypothetical events affects whether a changed or unchanged conjunct verb is used. According to James, in time and conditional clauses, and also in any type of clause in which there is no inherent special focus (e.g. complement clause), a changed conjunct verb signals an actual event, while an unchanged conjunct signals a hypothetical event.

In Woods Cree, initial change is no longer a productive process and the semantic categories denoted by the different types of conjunct verbs are not absolute. Despite the above limitations, two types of initial change can be

distinguished. One type of initial change is represented by a series of preverbs (Type 1) which have corresponding unchanged conjunct forms (Type 2). Another type of initial change is formed by affixing changed preverbs to the position directly before the tense preverbs (Type 3).

The two types of initial change have slightly different functions. The three preverbs which represent relics of productive initial change, kî-$_1$, wâ- and in some cases, (k)â-, differ from their unchanged counterparts ta, wî- and kî-$_2$ in a way reflecting the distinction between the actual and the hypothetical noted by James 1983 as relevant in Moose Cree; while kî-$_1$, wâ- and (k)â- have the ability to make reference to the past, ta, wî- and kî-$_2$ signal the situation as unfulfilled.

A second type of initial change begin with the preverbs (k)â- and î-. These preverbs may be followed by a past tense morpheme or the preverb wî- want' or occur alone where they have present reference. Although the evidence is far from clear, this type of initial change appears, as in other Algonquian languages, to be associated with special focus. In this use, (k)â- tends either to mark a series of events as foregrounded or occurs in structures in which one argument receives special focus. î- shows a tendency to signal the importance of the situation. (k)â- and î- also

have an additional function. In certain types of clauses, (k)â- marks an event as perfective or repetitive and î- indicates the on-going or imperfective nature of the event. Further research is needed to fully understand the complex functions of these preverbs.

A conjunct verb may also be unchanged. The preverbs, wî-, ta- and kî-$_2$ when not preceded by the preverbs (k)â- or î-, indicate that the state of affairs denoted by the conjunct verb is unrealized. Their use is similar to James's (1983) description of the use of the unchanged conjunct in temporal and conditional clauses in Moose Cree. Unchanged conjunct verbs, lacking the above preverbs, are unmarked. Unless preceded by a future particle, they do normally not focus on any particular point in time.

Chapter X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

10.1 DISCOURSE AND VERB INFLECTION: A SUMMARY

The general objective of this study was to provide a description of the syntax of the Woods Cree spoken in South Indian Lake. The focus of the present analysis was on the effects of the verbal morphology on the syntactic component of the grammar.

Before proceeding with a syntactic or discourse analysis in any language, an understanding of (1) the basic lexical categories, (2) the structure of noun and verb phrases and (3) the characteristics of main and subordinate clauses is essential. However, to date very little research has been completed on Woods Cree. Consequently, in order to provide the bases for further analysis of the language, the first task involved a detailed description of the grammatical features of Woods Cree.

The study shows that syntactic constraints are primarily at the phrase level. Minor constituents within the noun phrase have strict ordering constraints with modifiers generally preceding their heads. Major constituents within

complex noun phrases have much freer word order. The order of constituents at the clause level is also relatively free with focus being a primary factor that conditions clause order.

The basic participants in the clause are signalled by verb inflection. The verbal morphology is also used to structure information flow in discourse. In narrative texts, independent verbs occur in main clauses which contain parenthetical or background information. In descriptive texts, they tend to appear when the information is disjointed in topic, and in conversations; independent verbs often occur when there is a change in topic or a new referent is introduced.

The conjunct appears in both main clauses and subordinate clauses. In subordinate clauses, a conjunct is an obligatory part of the clause. In main clauses, conjunct verbs provide a linking function. They occur when the information contained in the clause is felt to be an integral part of the discourse, either because the clause forms a piece of the sequential action or because it constitutes particularly important or relevant information.

Conjunct verbs are further classified into changed and unchanged conjunct forms. Unchanged conjunct verbs may be

preceded by one of a series of unchanged preverbs which marks the situation as unfulfilled. When not preceded by one of these preverbs, unchanged conjunct verbs are unmarked for time.

Most verbs in Woods Cree are changed forms. The changed conjunct may begin with the changed preverbs (k)â- and î- or begin with a changed tense/aspect preverb. The changed preverbs (k)â- and î- focus on various aspects of the situation denoted by the verb and occasionally have an aspectual role. The (k)â- preverb also has a second function as the changed form of the past tense morpheme. This preverb, as well as others with unchanged counterparts, makes reference to a past event.

The latter half of the study claims that the primary role of the changed conjunct is a combination of focus and reality. This study supports and strengthens Rogers' claim that changed conjunct verbs focus on some aspect of the event. It also supports James (1983) hypothesis that realis/irrealis distinction is tied to the changed/ unchanged conjunct.

10.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the major objectives of this study were fulfilled, many questions regarding the grammatical features of Woods Cree remain unanswered. Other questions relate to Algonquian languages in general and are beyond the scope of the present study. However, it should be constructive for further research to explore these areas which hopefully will shed more light on the working of Algonquian languages. The areas identified for further research are:

(1) Closely related varieties of Algonquian differ at a morphological level. It has been noted by James (1982) that indirect polar questions require changed conjunct verbs in Moose Cree. In Woods Cree, simple unchanged conjunct verbs occur in this construction.

(2) Similarities between the Algonquian languages represent another area for investigation. In this study it has been shown that in Woods Cree most modifiers precede their heads. This is precisely what Sherwood (1986), Boling (1981) and Todd (1970) have demonstrated in Maliseet, Shawnee and Ojibwa respectively and raises the question of other syntactic similarities between the Algonquian languages.

(3) Another area that is worth investigating relates to language change within the South Indian Lake speech community. Evidence from the data shows that the constituent order of noun phrases among some older speakers differs from the pattern prevailing in the community in general. The pattern prevalent among older speakers resembles more closely to the pattern described by Ahenakew (1984) for Plains Cree. This suggests language change within the community of South Indian Lake and it should be interesting to identify the factors responsible for the language change.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SOUTH INDIAN LAKE VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Appendix A is organized as follows:

1. AI Verb Stems
   [â-/î-, i-, â-, o-, n-, ô-, î- stems]

   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive
   Imperative

2. TI2 Verb Stems

   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive
   Imperative

3. II Verb Stems
   [â-, i-, î-, n- stems]

   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive
   Imperative

4. TI Verb Stems

   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive
   Imperative

5. TA Verb Stems

   Independent [singular object]
   Independent [plural object]

   Conjunct [singular object]
   Conjunct [plural object]

   Subjunctive [singular object]
   Subjunctive [plural object]

   Imperative

   Inanimate Actor
   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive

   Indefinite Actor
   Independent, Conjunct, Subjunctive

AI VERB STEMS

1] <u>â</u>-/<u>î</u>- verb stem <u>atoskî</u>- 'to work'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nitatoskân	atoskîyân	atoskîyâni
2	kitatoskân	atoskîyin[1]	atoskîyini[1]
3	atoskîw	atoskît	atoskîci
1p	nitatoskânân	atoskîyâh[k]	atoskîyâhki
12	kitatoskân[ân]aw	atoskîyah[k]	atoskîyahki
2p	kitatoskânâwâw	atoskîyîk	atoskîyîko
3p	atoskîwak	atoskîcik	atoskîtwâwi[2]
3'	atoskîδiwa	atoskîδit	atoskîδici

Alternate inflections:

[1] 2C/2S -yan/-yani

[2] 2pS -twây(i) [younger speakers]

2] i- verb stem kimoti- 'to steal', nîmi- 'to dance'
âhkosi- 'to be sick'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nikimotin	nîmiyân	âhkosiyâni
2	kikimotin	nîmiyin	âhkosiyini
3	kimotiw	nîmit	âhkosici
1p	nikimotinân	nîmiyâh[k]	âhkosiyâhki
12	kikimotin[ân]aw	nîmiyah[k]	âhkosiyahki
2p	kikimotinâwâw	nîmiyîk	âhkosiyîko
3p	kimotiwak	nîmicik	âhkositwâwi
3'	kimotiδiwa	nîmiδit	âhkosiδici

3] <u>â</u>- verb stem <u>pimiδâ</u>- 'to fly', <u>nipâ</u>- 'to sleep'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nipimiδân	nipâyân	nipâyâni
2	kipimiδân	nipâyin	nipâyini
3	pimiδâw	nipât	nipâci
1p	nipimiδânân	nipâyâh[k]	nipâyâhki
12	kipimiδân[ân]aw	nipâyah[k]	nipâyahki
2p	kipimiδânâwâw	nipâyîk	nipâyîko
3p	pimiδâwak	nipâcik	nipâtwâwi
3'	pimiδâδiwa	nipâδit	nipâδici

4] o- verb stem mâto- 'to cry'

isiδihkâso- 'to be called'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nimâton	isiδihkâsowân	mâtowâni
2	kimâton	isiδihkâsowin	mâtowini
3	mâtow	isiδihkâsot	mâtoci
1p	nimâtonân	isiδihkâsowâh[k]	mâtowâhki
12	kimâton[ân]aw	isiδihkâsowah[k]	mâtowahki
2p	kimâtonâwâw	isiδihkâsowîk	mâtowiyîko
3p	mâtowak	isiδihkâsocik	mâtotwâwi
3'	mâtoδiwa	isiδihkâsoδit	mâtoδici

5] n- verb stem pimisin- 'to lie down'

pahkisin- 'to fall down'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nipimisin[1]	pahkisinân	pimisinâni
2	kipimisin	pahkisinan	pimisinani
3	pimisin	pahkisih[k]	pimisihki
1p	nipimisinân	pahkisinâh[k]	pimisinâhki
12	kipimisin[ân]aw	pahkisinah[k]	pimisinahki
2p	kipimisinâwâw	pahkisinîk	pimisinîko
3p	pimisinwak	pahkisihkwâw	pimisihkwâwi
3'	pimisinδiwa	pahkisinδit	pimisin[δ]ici

[1] Younger speakers sometimes convert n-stems to i-stems

6] ô- verb stem pasikô- 'to stand up'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nipasikôn	pasikôwân	pasikôwâni
2	kipasikôn	pasikôwin	pasikôwini
3	pasikôw	pasikôt	pasikôci
1p	nipasikônân	pasikôwâh[k]	pasikôwâhki
12	kipasikôn[ân]aw	pasikôwah[k]	pasikôwahki
2p	kipasikônâwâw	pasikôwiyîk	pasikôwîko
3p	pasikôwak	pasikôcik	pasikôtwâwi
3'	pasikôδiwa	pasikôδit	pasikôδici

7] <u>î</u>- verb stem <u>kwîskî</u>- 'to turn one's head

<u>mâcî</u>- 'to hunt'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nikwîskân[1]	mâcîyân	kwîskîyâni
2	kikwîskân	mâcîyîn	kwîskîyîni
3	kwîskîw	mâcît	kwîskîci
1p	nikwîskânân	mâcîyâh[k]	kwîskîyâhki
12	kikwîskâ[ân]naw	mâcîyah[k]	kwîskîyahki
2p	kikwîskânâwâw	mâcîk	kwîskîyîko
3p	kwîskîwak	mâcîcik	kwîskîtwâwi
3'	kwîskîδiwa	mâcîδit	kwîskîδici

[1] Younger speakers often merge î-stems with â-/î- stems

AI VERB STEMS

IMPERATIVE

	IMMEDIATE	DELAYED
1]	<u>â</u>-/<u>î</u>- verb stem	<u>atoskî</u>- 'to work'
2	atoskî	pâtimâ atoskîhkan
2p	atoskîk	pâtimâ atoskîhkîk
12	atoskîtân	pâtimâ atoskîhkâ
2]	<u>i</u>- verb stem	<u>api</u>- 'to sit', <u>nîmi</u>- 'to dance'
2	api	pâtimâ nîmîhkan
2p	apik	pâtimâ nîmîhkîk
12	apitân	pâtimâ nîmîhkâ
3]	<u>â</u>- verb stem	<u>waniskâ</u>- 'to get up, to wake up'
2	waniskâ	pâtimâ waniskâhkan
2p	waniskâk	pâtimâ waniskâhkîk
12	waniskâtân	pâtimâ waniskâhkâ

4] o- verb stem nikamo- 'to sing'

2	nikamo	pâtimâ	nikamôhkan
2p	nikamok	pâtimâ	nikamôhkîk
12	nikamotân	pâtimâ	nikamôhkâ

5] n- verb stem pimisin- 'to lie down'

2	pimisini	pâtimâ	pimisinîhkan
2p	pimisinik	pâtimâ	pimisinîhkîk
12	pimisinitân	pâtimâ	pimisinîhkâ[1]

[1] 12DelImp pimisinôhkâ

6] î- verb stem kwîskî- 'to turn one's head'

2	kwîskî	pâtimâ	kwîskîhka[n]
2p	kwîskîk	pâtimâ	kwîskîhkîk
12	kwîskîtân	pâtimâ	kwîskîhkâ

7] ô- stem pasikô- 'to stand up'

2	pasikô	pâtimâ	pasikôhkan
2p	pasikôk	pâtimâ	pasikôhkîk
12	pasikôtân	pâtimâ	pasikôhkâ

TI2 VERB STEMS

kôcihtâ- 'to try it', kîsihtâ- 'to finish it'

osihtâw 'to make it'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	nôsihtân[1]	kîsihtâyân	osihtâyâni
2	kôsihtân	kîsihtâyin[2]	osihtâyini[2]
3	osihtâw	kîsihtât	osihtâci
1p	nôsihtânân	kîsihtâyâh[k]	osihtâyâhki
12	kôsihtânaw	kîsihtâyah[k]	osihtâyahki
2p	kôsihtânâwâw	kîsihtâyîk	osihtâyîko
3p	osihtâwak	kîsihtâcik	osihtâtwâwi[3]
3'	osihtâδiwa	kîsihtâδit	osihtâδici

[1] nit or n-(plus length), kit- or k- (plus length) before vowel initial stems

[2] 2C/2S -yan(i)

[3] 3pS -twây(i) [younger speakers]

TI2 VERB STEMS

IMPERATIVE

	Immediate		Delayed
2	kôcihtâ	pâtimâ	kôcihtâhkan
2p	kôcihtâk	pâtimâ	kôcihtâhkîk
12	kôcihtâtân	pâtimâ	kôcihtâhkâ

II VERB STEMS

1] <u>â</u>- verb stem <u>δôskâ</u>- 'to be soft'

<u>misâ</u>- 'to be big'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
0	δôskâw	misâk	misâki
0p	δôskâwa	misâkwâw[1]	misâkwâwi[2]
0'	δôskâδiw	misâδik	misâδiki
0p'	δôskâδiwa	misâδikwâw[1]	misâδikwâwi[2]

2] <u>i</u>- verb stem <u>mâcipaδi</u>- 'to start, to begin'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
0	mâcipaδiw	mâcipaδik	mâcipaδiki
0p	mâcipaδiwa	mâcipaδikwâw[1]	mâcipaδikwâwi[2]
0'	mâcipaδiδiw	mâcipaδiδik	mâcipaδiδiki
0p'	mâcipaδiδiwa	mâcipaδiδikwâw[1]	mâcipaδiδikwâwi[2]

3] <u>î</u>- verb stem <u>sâpopî</u>- 'to be wet'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
0	sâpopîw	sâpopîk	sâpôpîki
0p	sâpopîwa	sâpopîkwâw[1]	sâpopîkwâwi[2]
0'	sâpopîδiw	sâpopîδik	sâpopîδiki
0p'	sâpopîδiwa	sâpopîδikwâw[1]	sâpopîδikwâwi[2]

4) <u>n</u>- verb stem <u>âpatan</u>- 'to be useful'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
0	âpatan	âpatah[k]	âpatahki
0p	âpatanwa	âpatahki	âpatahkwâwi[2]
0'	âpatanδiw	âpatanδik	âpatanδiki
0p'	âpatanδiwa	âpatanδiki	âpatanδihkwâwi[2]

[1] 0p/0p' -ki [older speakers]

[2] 0pS/0p' -kwây(i) [younger speakers]

TI VERB STEMS

wâpahtam 'to see it', mâmitonîyihtam 'to think about it'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	niwâpahtîn	wâpahtamân	mâmitonîyihtamâni
2	kiwâpahtîn	wâpahtaman	mâmitonîyihtamani
3	wâpahtam	wâpahtah[k]	mâmitonîyihtahki
1p	niwâpahtînân	wâpahtamâh[k]	mâmitonîyihtamâhki
12	kiwâpahtî[nâ]naw	wâpahtamah[k]	mâmitonîyihtamahki
2p	kiwâpahtînâwâw	wâpahtamî[yî]k	mâmitonîyihtamîko
3p	wâpahtamwak	wâpahtahkwâw	mâmitonîyihtahkwâwi
3'	wâpahtamiδiwa	wâpahtamiδit	mâmitonîyihtamiδici

TI VERB STEMS

IMPERATIVE

	Immediate	Delayed	
2	mâmitonîyihta[h]	pâtimâ	mâmitonîyihtamôhkan
2p	mâmitonîyihtamok	pâtimâ	mâmitonîyihtamôhkîk
12	mâmitonîyihtahtân	pâtimâ	mâmitonîyihtamôhkâ

TA VERB STEMS

INDEPENDENT

<u>wâpamîw</u> 'to see s.o.'

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	niwâpamâw	niwâpamik
2	kiwâpamâw	kiwâpamik
3	wâpamîw	wâpamik
1p	niwâpamânân	niwâpamikonân
12	kiwâpamânaw	kiwâpamikonânaw
2p	kiwâpamâwâw	kiwâpamik[o]wâw
3p	wâpamîwak	wâpamikwak
3′	wâpamîδiwa	wâpamikoδiwa

LOCAL FORMS

	DIRECT		INVERSE
2-1	kiwâpamin	1-2	kiwâpamitin
2-1p	kiwâpaminân	1p-2	kiwâpamitinân
2p-1	kiwâpaminâwâw	1-2p	kiwâpamitinâwâw
2p-1p	kiwâpaminân	1p-2p	kiwâpamitinân

TA VERB STEMS

INDEPENDENT

[plural object]

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	niwâpamâwak	niwâpamikwak
2	kiwâpamâwak	kiwâpamikwak
3	wâpamîw	wâpamik
1p	niwâpamânânak	niwâpamikonânak
12	kiwâpamânawak	kiwâpamikonânawak
2p	kiwâpamâwâwak	kiwâpamikowâwak
3p	wâpamîwak	wâpamikwak
3′	wâpamîδiwa	wâpamikoδiwa

TA VERB STEMS

CONJUNCT

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	wâpamak	wâpamit
2	wâpamat	wâpamisk
3	wâpamât	wâpamikot
1p	wâpamakiht/wâpamâyâh[k]	wâpamiyamiht
12	wâpamâyah[k]/wâpamah[k]	wâpamikoyah[k]/wâpamitah[k]
2p	wâpamâyîk	wâpamikoyîk/wâpamitîk
3p	wâpamâcik	wâpamikocik
3′	wâpamâδit	wâpamikoδit

LOCAL FORMS

DIRECT		INVERSE	
2-1	wâpamiyan	1-2	wâpamitân
2-1p	wâpamiyâh[k]	1p-2	wâpamitâh[k]
2p-1	wâpamiyîk	1-2p	wâpamitakwâw
2p-1p	wâpamiyâh[k]	1p-2p	wâpamitâh[k]

TA VERB STEMS

CONJUNCT

[plural object]

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	wâpamakwâw[1]	wâpamicik
2	wâpamacik	wâpamiskwâw
3	wâpamât	wâpamikot
1p	wâpamakihcik	wâpamiyamihcik
12	wâpamâyahkwâw/wâpamahkwâw	wâpamitahkwâw
2p	wâpamâyîkok	wâpamitîkwâw
3p	wâpamâcik	wâpamikocik
3′	wâpamâδit	wâpamikoδit

[1] wâpamaki [older speakers]

TA VERB STEMS

SUBJUNCTIVE

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	wâpamaki	wâpamici
2	wâpamaci	wâpamiski
3	wâpamâci	wâpamikoci
1p	wâpamakihci	wâpamiyamihci
12	wâpamahki	wâpamitahki
2p	wâpamâyîko	wâpamitîko
3p	wâpamâtwâwi[1]	wâpamikotwâwi
3′	wâpamâδici	wâpamikoδici

LOCAL FORMS

DIRECT		INVERSE	
2-1	wâpamiyani	1-2	wâpamitâni
2-1p	wâpamîyâhki	1p-2	wâpamitâhki
2p-1	wâpamiyîko	1-2p	wâpamitahkwâwi
2p-1p	wâpamiyîko	1p-2p	wâpamitahkwâwi

TA VERB STEMS

SUBJUNCTIVE

[plural object]

	DIRECT	INVERSE
1	wâpamakwâwi	wâpamitwâwi
2	wâpamatwâwi	wâpamiskwâwi
3	wâpamâci	wâpamikoci
1p	wâpamakihci	wâpamitahkwâwi
12	wâpamahkwayak	wâpamitahkwâwi
2p	wâpamayîko	wâpamitîko
3p	wâpamâtwâwi	wâpamikotwâwi
3′	wâpamâδici	wâpamikoδici

TA VERB STEMS

IMPERATIVE

<u>mîδîw</u> 'to give it to s.o.'

	IMMEDIATE	DELAYED
2-3	mîδ(a)	mîδâhkan
2-3p	mîδik	mîδâhkanik
2-3′	mîδ[im]	mîδâhkan
2p-3	mîδihk	mîδâhkîk
2p-3p	mîδik/mîδihkwâw	mîδâhkik
2p-3′	mîδihk	mîδâhkîk
12-3	mîδâtân	mîδâhkâ
12-3p	mîδâtânik	mîδâhkanik
12-3′	mîδâtân	mîδâhkâhk

LOCAL FORMS

2-1	mîδin	mîδîhkan
2-1p	mîδinân	mîδîhkâ
2p-1	mîδik	mîδîhkîk
2p-1p	mîδinân	mîδîhkâ

TA VERB STEMS

INANIMATE ACTOR

nipahîw 'to kill s.o.'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	ninipahikon	nipahikowân	nipahikowâni
2	kinipahikon	nipahikowin	nipahikowini
3	nipahik[ôw]	nipahikot	nipahikoci
1p	ninipahikonân	nipahikowâh[k]	nipahikowâhki
12	kinipahikonânaw	nipahikowah[k]	nipahikowahki
2p	kinipahikonâwâw	nipahikowîk	nipahikowîko
3p	nipahikowak	nipahikocik	nipahikotwâwi
3'	[ ]	nipahikowâδit	[ ]

TA VERB STEMS

INDEFINITE ACTOR

wâpamîw 'to see s.o.'

	Independent	Conjunct	Subjunctive
1	niwâpamikawin	wâpamikawiyân	wâpamikawiyâni
2	kiwâpamikawin	wâpamikawiyin	wâpamikawiyini
3	wâpamâw	wâpamiht	wâpamihci
1p	niwâpamikawinân	wâpamikawiyâh[k]	wâpamikawiyâhki
12	kiwâpamikawinaw	wâpamikawiyah[k]	wâpamikawiyahki
2p	kiwâpamikawinâwâw	wâpamikawiyîk	wâpamîkawiyîko
3p	wâpamâwak	wâpamihcik	wâpamihtwâwi

APPENDIX B

NOUN POSSESSION

INDEPENDENT NOUNS

awâsis 'child'		aδapiy 'net'	
1	nicawâsimis	1	nitaδapiy
2	kicawâsimis	2	kitaδapiy
3	ocawâsimisa	3	otaδapiya
1p	nicawâsimisinân	1p	nitaδapînân
12	kicawâsimisinânaw	12	kitaδapînânaw
2p	kicawâsimisiwâw	2p	kitaδapîwâw
3p	ocawâsimisiwâw	3p	otaδapîwâw
3'	ocawâsimisiδiwa	3'	otaδapîδiwa

DEPENDENT NOUNS

-kosis 'son'		-tâs 'pants'	
1	nikosis	1	nitâs
2	kikosis	2	kitâs
3	okosisa	3	otâsa
1p	nikosisinân	1p	nitâsinân
12	kikosisinânaw	12	kitâsinânaw
2p	kikosisiwâw	2p	kitâsiwâw
3p	okosisiwâw	3p	otâsiwâw
3'	okosisiδiwa	3'	otâsiδiwa
		indf	mitâs

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE TEXTS

Appendix C contains nine texts covering topics of interest within the community of South Indian Lake. The texts are taken from individuals from different age groups. The most noteable features of the texts collected from younger speakers include borrowing, code-switching, stricter word order and introductory temporal particles.

The texts included here are also representative of a number of types of discourse. The different texts favour different types of verbs and different tense marking within the text.

Appendix C includes the following text types:

1. A Legend (by an older man)

2. A Description of Long Ago (by an older woman)

3. A Report About a Religious Meeting (by an older woman)

4. A Social Commentary (by a middle aged man)

5. An Account of a Childbirth (by an older woman)

6. A Discussion About Shamanism (by a middle aged woman)

7. A Story About Epilepsy (by a middle aged woman)

8. A Casual Chat (by a mixed group of younger speakers)

9. A Conversation About Language Use (by a mixed group of younger speakers)

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A Legend

1. kwâni itokî kayâs pîyak kisîδiniw.
then perhaps long-ago one old-man.

2. Opîhkihcawâsiw kî-isiδihkâsow.
Opîhkihcawâsiw past=be-called\AI=3I

3. î-kî-mistahtît.
IPV=past=be-glutton\AI=3C

4. âha, kî-nihtâ-mîcisow.
excl past=know=eat\AI=3I

5. kwâni ôma kîkwâδîw kâ-nipahtât pakwan n(i)tîtî,
then prt thing=3' IPV=kill\TI2=3-0'C anything there

kwâni mwâc kîta-pî-kîwîhtatâw kahkiδaw.
then neg could=to=bring-home\TI2=3-0'I all

6. pita î-kakwî-kitât.
first IPV=try=devour\TI2=3-0'I

7. kwâni itokî pîyakwâw
then perhaps once

ômisîsi.
this=like

8. kwâni î-ati-otâkosiniδik kâ-âcimiht
then IPV=incp=evening\II=0'C IPV=tell-story\TA=X-3C

wâpisiwa î-matwî-twîhoδit. 9. "nîδa, nîδa, nîδa,"
swan=3' IPV=audibly=land\AI=3'C I I I

kâ-itwît isa awa. 10. kwâni itokî
IPV=say\AI=3C hrs this=3 then perhaps

kâ-nâciδostawât. 11. kwâni kahkiδaw
IPV=sneak\TA=3-3'C then all

kâ-nipahât ôho wâpisiwa, nîso. 12. kwâni
IPV=kill\TA=3-3'C this=3' swan=3' two then

mâyiδa mwâc ta-kîwîhtahât. 13. piko
but neg IPV=bring-home\TA=3-3'C only

ta-kitamwât.
IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C

14.kwâni itokî îkota î-ati-otâkosinδik,
then perhaps there IPV=incp=evening\II=0'C

kâ-nawacihisot. 15. mistikohk kâ-kîsiswât,
IPV=snack\AI=3C stick=loc IPV=cook\TA=3-3'C

ohci apwânâskwa. 16. kwâni kâ-mîcisot.
from roast-stick then IPV=eat\AI=3C

17.kwâni pîδisk akwa-tipiskâδiw. 18. kwâni
then finally now=dark\II=0'I then

kâ-kitamwât ôho pîyak pîyakwâw
IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C this=3' one once

î-mîcisot.
IPV=eat\AI=3C

19.mâka wiδa î-kî-cîpâtahwât mistikoh[k].
but emp IPV=past=roast\TA=3-3'C stick=loc

20.akwa ôma kâ-pâh-pahkikawanδik pimiy, awina
and prt IPV=redup=fall-drip\II=0C grease person

mihtatam î-wanihcikît. 21. kwâni
regret\TI=3-0'I IPV=lose-obj\AI=3C then

itokî kâ-osihciwîpinahk waskway-oδâkan.
perhaps IPV=make-throw\TI=3-0'C birchbark=dish

22.kwâni îkota kâ-pahkikawipahtahk ôma
then there IPV=fall-drip\TI=3-0'C this

pimiy.
grease.

23. kwâni itokî ispiy kâ-kitamwât ôho
then perhaps when IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C this=3'

owâpisîma î-akwa-tipiskâδik. 24. akwa iskwayâc
3=swan=3' IPV=now=dark\II=0'C and final

ômîδiw opimîm. 25. "îho, tâpwî pô
this=0' 3=grease excl really just

ta-kitâyân," itîyihtam. 26. kwâni itokî
IPV=devour\TI2=1-0C think\TI=3-0'I then perhaps

kâ-minihkwît ômîδiw opimîm.
IPV=drink\AI=3C this=0' 3=grease

27. âw, akwa kâ-kawisimot pita. 28. akwa
excl now IPV=go-to-bed\AI=3C first. and

kâ-waniskât. 29. aciδaw piko
IPV=wake-up\AI=3C for-a-while only

kî-kawisimow wiδa î-kî-oδipaδiδik
IPV=go-to-bed\AI=3I emp IPV=past=digest\II=0'C

ôma kâ-kî-mîcisot.
this=0 IPV=past=eat\AI=3C

30. âh tâpwî mwâc miδomâhcihow. 31. tâpwî
excl really neg good-feel\AI=3I really

âhkosiw. 32. î-âhkosit watay
sick\AI=3I IPV=sick\AI=3C 3=belly

î-maciskoδot. 33. kwâni itokî îkota
IPV=bad-stomach\AI=3C then perhaps there

â-kî-pimisihk kapî-kîsik. 34. kwâni mwâc
IPV=past=lie-down\AI=3C all=day then neg

nanatonawâw. 35. akwa î-kî-sipwî-nâciδoscikît.
search\TA=X-3I now IPV=past=away=sneak-up\AI=3C

36. îh, pîδisk mîna î-otâkosinδik kîhtwâm,
excl finally also IPV=evening\II=0'C again

kâ-takosih. 37. pîyak kâ-pîsiwât
IPV=arrive\AI=3C one IPV=bring-back\TA=3-3'C

ôho wâpisiwa. 38. kwâni ôho mîna
this=3′ swan=3′ then this=3′ also

otahtahkwaniδiwa kahkiδaw kî-nawacîw. 39. âh,
3=wing=3′p all past=snack\AI=3I excl

tâpwî isa wîδa miδwîyihtam wâpisiwa
really hrs 3(he) like\TI=3-0′I swan=3′

î-pîsiwât.
IPV=bring-back\TA=3-3′C

40.kwâni itokî kâ-ati-piminawâsonâniwik awa
then perhaps IPV=incp=cook\II=0C this=3

wâpisiw. 41. tâpwî âhkosiw, wîsâ mistahi
swan really sick\AI=3I so-much lots

î-kî-mîcisot.
IPV=past=eat\AI=3C

42.kwâni itokî î-kîsi-piminawâsonâniwik
then perhaps IPV=complete=cook\II=0C

ta-ati-mîcisonâniwik. 43. mâyiδa î-kî-kiskîδimiht
IPV=incp=eat\II=0C but IPV=past=know\TA=X-3C

î-mistahtît. 44. "tânδikoh kîδa
IPV=be-glutton\AI=3C how-much you

kâ-wî-môwat itâw itokî.
IPV=want=eat\TA=2-3C say\TA=X-3I perhaps

45."âw, mwâc kiyâm. 46. kîδawâw môwihk.
excl no enough 2p eat\TA=2pImp

47.âsay nîδa ocahcahkwanisa ni-nawacîn".
already I 3=wing=dim=3' 1=snack\AI=1I

48.pîyak mâyiδa î-kî-kitamwât.
one but IPV=past=devour\TA=3-3'C

49.kwâni itokî kwâni môδa asamâw. 50. mwâc
then perhaps then neg feed\TA=X-3I neg

asamâw wîδa pîyak î-kî-kitamwât.
feed\TA=X-3I cause one IPV=past=devour\TA=3-3'C

51.pîsâkosiw kî-itwîw. 52. kwâni ôho wâpisiwa.
fleshy\AI=3I past=say\AI=3I then this=3' swan=3'

53.awa pîyak wiδa amiskwa, kihci-amiskwa, mwâc
this=3 one emp beaver big beaver neg

ohci-kîspow pîyakwâw î-mîcisot. 54. akwa
negpast=be-full\AI=3I once IPV=eat\AI=3C and

wâpisiw îyako pîsâkosiw kâ-kî-itwît isa.
swan that-one fleshy\AI=3I IPV=past=say\AI=3C hrs

55.ayihîδiw mâka kâ-kî-ohci-kitimahikot.
whatev=3′ but IPV=past=from=make-poor\TA=3′-3C

56.opimîm animîδiw kâ-kî-kitimahikot.
3=grease that=0′ IPV=past=poor\TA=3′-3C

57.[mâcikôstân, pîtah anima.
let-see bring\TI2=2-0Imp that=0

58.nika-wâpahtiδâwak. 59. ta-wâpamîwak
1fut=show\TA+O=1-3pI IPV=see\TA=3p-3I

60.ta-wâpamîw awa Boy, kâ-âcimak
IPV=see\TA=3-3′I this=3 boy IPV=tell-story\TA=1-3C

ôho wâpisiwa. 61. wâpahtiδ. 62. pîyak
this=3′ swan=3′ show\TA+O=2-3Imp one

îyakwâni kâ-kî-kitamwât].
that-one IPV=past=devour\TA=3-3'C

63.kwâni pîyak kâ-kitamwât ana kisîδiniw
then one IPV=devour\TA=3-3'C that=3 old-man

pîyakwâw î-mîcisot. 64. îh, kî-nihtâ-mîcisow
once IPV=eat\AI=3C excl past=know=eat\AI=3I

itokî.
perhaps

65.kwâni iδikohk î-iskwâk mîna pîyak
then so-long-as IPV=long\II=0C also one

n(i)tâcimowin. 66. î-kî-âcimostâkawiyân
1=story IPV=past=tell-story\TA+O=X-1C

kayâs-âcimowin anima.
long-ago=story that=0

******

1. Long ago there was an old man. 2. He was called Opîhkihcawâsiw. 3. He was a glutton. 4. Yes, he knew how to eat. 5. Whenever he killed something, someplace out there, he could not bring it all home. 6. He tried to devour it first. 7. And so it was once like this.

8. And so one evening, he was told swans were heard landing. 9. "Me, me, me," this [old man] said. 10. So he sneaked up to [the swans]. 11. And he killed the swans, two of them. 12. But he would not take them home. 13. He would just devour them.

14. So towards evening, he cooked himself something to eat. 15. He cooked it on a stick, a roasting stick. 16. And then he ate. 17. Then finally it was late at night. 18. He devoured one [of the swans] all at once.

19. But he was roasting it on a stick. 20. And when the grease was dripping, this person felt bad about losing it. 21. So he threw together a birchbark cup. 22. And then he caught the grease [drippings] in there.

23. When he was devouring his swan, it was late at night. 24. And then finally his grease. 25. "Look, I really should devour it," he thought. 26. So he drank his grease.

27.Then first he lay down. 28. And then got up. 29. He just lay down for a little while to digest what he ate.

30. Oh, he really wasn't feeling good. 31. He was sick. 32. His stomach didn't agree with [what he ate]. 33. And so he laid there all day. 34. And nobody looked for him. 35. Now, he was the one who sneaked out.

36. Finally when it was evening again, he arrived home. 37. He brought home one of the swans. 38. He had also snacked on all of the wings [of this one]. 39. But he was really glad because he brought back a swan.

40. And so the people started to cook this swan. 41. He was really sick, he ate too much.

42. And so after the cooking was done, the eating started. 43. But it was known he was a glutton. 44. And so it was asked, "How much do you want to eat?"

45."Aw, nothing, [I've had] enough. 46. You eat him. 47. I already snacked on the wings". 48. But [really] he had devoured one [swan].

49. And so he wasn't fed. 50. He wasn't fed because he had devoured a whole one. 51. He said [the wings of] this one had lots of meat on him. 52. [He meant] the swan. 53. [But] one time he wasn't full when he ate a beaver, a big beaver. 54. And [yet] he said that swan had lots of meat on him. 55. He was in bad shape from this thing. 56. The grease was the thing that made him in bad shape.

57. [Let me show you, bring that here. 58. I will show him to them. 59. They will see them. 60. She will see them, boy, the swans I am talking about in the story. 61. Show him to her. 62. That's the one he devoured].

63. So that is the one that old man devoured in one [meal]. 64. Oh, he really knew how to eat.

65. And so that's how long one of my stories is. 66. That was the old time story that was told to me.

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A Description of Long Ago

1. nôsisim, nika-âcimon
1=gr-child 1fut=tell-story\AI=1I

kâ-kî-pî-nihtâwikihit isa nimâmâ. 2. kahkiδaw
IPV=past=to=raise\TA=3-1C hrs 1=mom all

kîkwân kwayask nikî-kiskinôhamâkonân itî
thing right 1=past=teach\TA=3-1pI there

kâ-kî-itâsiyâhk ta-isi-atoskîyâhk.
IPV=past=count-as\AI=1pC IPV=rel=work\AI=1pC

3. kwâni kâ-kî-kisîpâyâk, âsay nikî-itikonân
then IPV=past=morning\II=0C already 1=past=say\TA=3-1pI

ta-waniskâyâhk. 4. ômisî nikî-itikonân "mwâc
IPV=wake\AI=1pC this-thus 1=past=say\TA=3-1pI neg

kapî ka-kî-pa-pamihitinâwâw".
always 2fut=able=redup=care-for\TA=2-1pI

5. nikî-itikonân "kiskinôhamâsok
1=past=say\TA=3-1pI teach-refl\AI=2pImp

ta-pimâcihisowîk kâ-kî-itâsiyîko,"
IPV=live-make-refl\AI=2pC IPV=past=count-as\AI=2pS

nikî-itikonân.
1=past=say\TA=3-1pI

6. akwa nôhtâwîpan kî-ati-sipwîhtîw
and 1=father=late past=incp=leave\AI=3I

î-natawîyihtah kîkway ta-ohci-pimâtisiyâhk.
IPV=need\TI=3-0'C thing IPV=from=live\AI=1pC

7. wîpac kî-pîtâw.
soon past=bring\TI2=3-0'I

8. mwâc kîkwân wîmistikôsiw-mîcisowin. 9. mwâc kîkwân.
neg thing white-man=food not thing

10. kwâni piko iδinînto kîkwân. 11. ôma
then only person=emp thing prt

kâ-isi-âpatah -panok piko akwa sôkâw akwa
IPV=rel=be-used\II=0C bannock only and sugar and

tiy.
tea

12. îyakwani kî-pimâcihisowak iδiniwak
that-one=0 past=live-make\AI=3p-1pI person=3p

wîδawâw îkosîsi nikî-pimâcihikonânak.
(3p)they thus=rel 1=past=live-make\TA=3p-1pI

13. ahpo mwâc kîkwân ômatowa wâskâhikan.
or neg thing this=like house

14. kî-osihtâwak wîstawâw owâskâhikan.
past=make\TI2=3p-0'I (3p)they 3=house

15. kî-osihtâwak nôhtâwiy owâskâhikan ita
past=make\TI2=3p-0'I 1=father 3=house there

kâ-kî-ayâyâh, îkota î-nihtâwikihikawiyâhk.
IPV=past=be\AI=1pC there IPV=raise\TA=X-1pC

16. kwâni pô î-kî-papâmî-ayâyâhk.
then only IPV=past=around=be\AI=1pC

17. tântî
where

kâ-nitawi-ayâyâhk, âsay kî-osihtâw
IPV=go-to=be\AI=1pC already past=make\TI2=3-0'I

wâskâhikan, îkotî nîtî î-ayâyâhk.
house there there IPV=be\AI=1pC

18.ahpo mwâc kotawânâpisk - ayihîw piko asiskiy.
or neg stove whatev=0 only clay

19.kâ-kî-osihtâcik isa, asiskiy-kotawânâpisk.
IPV=past=make\TI2=3p-0'C hrs clay-stove

20.kwâni îyako piko.
then that-one only

21.mwâ mîna kîkwân wâstaskotînikan. 22. ayihîw piko
neg also thing light whatev=0 only

pimiy î-osihtât kôhkom. 23. îyakwîδiw
grease IPV=make\TI2=3-0'C 2=grandmother that-one=0'

î-wâstaskotînikâkît. 24. îkota kî-ohci-wâstîk.
IPV=light-thing\AI=3C there past=from=light\II=0C

25.kwâni ispiy kâ-kî-itâsiyâhk, pîδisk
then when IPV=past=count-as\AI=1pC finally

kâ-kî-ati-wâpahtamâh ômisi kâ-tôcikâtîk,
IPV=past=incp=see\TI=1p-0C this=thus IPV=do\II=0C

nanâtohk kîkwân kâ-tôcikâtîk. 26. kwâni
all-kinds thing IPV=do\II=0C then

kâ-kî-isiyamiht "kâδa kiskinôhâpahtamok".
IPV=past=say\TA=3-1pC neg learn=see\TI=2p-0Imp

27."kâδa wanikiskisik kâ-kî-isi-kiskinôhamâtakwâw
neg forget\AI=2pImp IPV=past=rel=teach\TA=1-2pC

ta-isi-pimâcihisowîk," nikî-itikonân
IPV=rel=live-make\AI=2pC 1=past=say\TA=3-1pI

nôhtâwîpan. 28. kwâni tâpwî nikî-tôtînân.
1=father=late then really 1=past=do\TI=1p-0I

29."atoskîk".
work\AI=2pImp

30.kwâni î-ati-kîh-kisîpâyâk,
then IPV=incp=redup=morning\II=0C

î-kî-nitawi-nikohtîyâhk C. mîna akwa
IPV=past=go-to=chop-wood\AI=1pC C. also and

C. 31. î-awatâwatîyâhk mihta. 32. mwâ
C. IPV=carry-bag\AI=1pC wood neg

kîkwân otâpânâsk.
thing toboggan

33. akwa nôhtâwîpan î-sipwîhtît, kwâni
and 1=father=late IPV=leave\AI=3C then

kâ-kî-isi-awatâwatîyâhk, nikâwînân
IPV=past=rel=carry-bag\AI=1pC 1=mother=1p

î-nihkotît.
IPV=chop-wood\AI=3C

34. kwâni î-kî-ati-sipwîhtîyâhk î-nâtaδapît.
then IPV=past=incp=leave\AI=1pC IPV=fetch-net\AI=3C

35. î-pakitahwâyâhk. 36. nimâmâ î-wîcîwakiht
IPV=fish\AI=1pC 1=mom IPV=accompany\TA=1p-3C

ôta isi piko ôma kâ-matwî-wâsâk. 37. îkota
here to only prt IPV=audibly=bay\II=0C there

37. kâ-kî-ayâyâhk. 38. kwâni mâna îkota nôhtâwîpan
IPV=past=be\AI=1pC then used-to there 1=father=late

î-kî-wanihikît. 39. pîyak pîsim
IPV=past=trap\AI=3C one month

î-kî-itâpicît. 40. kwâni
IPV=past=far-away\AI=3C then

î-kî-pimâcihiyamiht kôhkom.
IPV=past=live-make\TA=3-1pC 2=grandmother

41.kwâni pîyakwâw ôtî î-pôsiyâhk pakitahwâkanihk
then one-time here IPV=depart\AI=1pC Pakitahwakan=loc

icikâtîw. 42. kwâni mwâc kotawânâpisk akwa
call\II=0I then neg stove and

nôhtâwîpan î-sipwîhtît. 43. kwâni kâ-itwît
1=father=late IPV=leave\AI=3C then IPV=say\AI=3C

kôhkom "nicânis, nikakotawânâpiskohkân".
2=grandmother 1=daughter 1fut=stove\AI=1I

44.kwâni kâ-kî-kotawânâpiskohkît asiskiy-kotawânâpisk
then IPV=past=stove\AI=3C clay-stove

î-kî-osihtât. 45. î-kî-wîcihakiht.
IPV=past=make\TI2=3-0'C IPV=past=help\TA=1p-3C

46.nimâmâ kwâni î-kî-kaskihtât î-wîcihakiht.
1=mom then IPV=past=can\TI2=3-0'C IPV=help\TA=1p-3C

47.kwâni kimosôm î-pî-takosihk, âsay
then 2=grandfather IPV=to=arrive\AI=3C already

kâ-pônahk. 48. wâskâhikan
IPV=light-fire\TI=3-0'C house

kî-osihtâw, kâ-napakastîki isa.
IPV=máke\TI2=3-0'I IPV=flat-put\II=0pC hrs

49.kâ-kî-osihtâniwahki wâskâhikana.
IPV=past=make\II=0pC house=0p

50.kwâni, kwâni nîδanân
that's-all then we(1p)

kâ-kî-pî-isi-pimâcihikawiyâhk. 51. mistahi
IPV=past=to=rel=live-make\TA=X-1pC lots

kîkwân nikî-pî-wâpahtîn, nôsisim,
thing 1=past=see\TI=1-0I 1=grandchild

ta-kî-âcimowân.
IPV=able=tell-story\AI=1C

52. [kwâni na?]
that's-all Q

53. kwâni pita.
that's-all now

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1. My grandchild, I'll tell you a story about how I was brought up by my mother. 2. She taught us everything when we were old enough to work.

3. In the morning, she told us to get up. 4. She told us like this: "I will not always be able to look after you". 5. She told us, "Teach yourselves how to live when you are old enough".

6. My late father searched for things from which we could live. 7. He soon brought something back.

8. We did not [have] whiteman's food. 9. Nothing. 10. Only Indian-made things. 11. Only bannock, sugar and tea were used.

12. People made themselves live so that they could keep us alive.

13. And there were no houses like this one. 14. They made their own house. 15. They made my father's house where we lived, where we were raised.

16. We just moved around. 17. Wherever we stayed, [my father] made a house and we lived there.

18. And no stove -only the clay [kind]. 19. You know the kind they made - clay stoves. 20. That's the only thing.

21. And also no lamp. 22. Your grandmother just made grease. 23. That's what she used for light. 24. That's where light came from.

25. When we were older, we finally saw the way things were done, the way all kinds of things were done. 26. Then our mother said to us, "Don't learn from watching". 27. Our late father told us, "Don't forget what I have taught you how to look after yourselves". 28. We really did things. 29. "Work!"

30. In the morning, we went to chop wood, [myself], C. and also C. 31. We carried the wood in bags. 32. There was no toboggan.

33. And when my late father was away, we did the hauling of the bags and our mother cut it.

34. Then we left and she lifted nets. 35. We fished too.

36. We accompanied my mother over here in the bay. 37. That's where we lived.

38. My late father used to trap over there. 39. He went for one month. 40. Then your grandmother looked after us.

41. Once we went by boat to [a place] called Pakitahwâkan. 42. There was no stove and my late father was away. 43. So your grandmother said, "My daughter, I will make a stove". 44. So she made a stove, she made a stove out of clay. 45. We helped her [make it]. 46. My mother was able to do it with our help.

47. When your grandfather came home, he made a fire. 48. He also made a house, you know the flat kind. 49. The kind of houses that were made.

50. That's all, that's how we were brought up. 51. I saw a lot of things in life, my grandchild, that I can talk about.

52. [Is that all?]

53. That's all for the first [session].

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A Report About a Religious Meeting

1. [âsay kipîhtakosin ôta].
   already 2=be-heard\AI=2I here

2. kâ-kî-oδasowâniwah na?
   IPV=past=be-arranged\II=0C Q

   [mmmm]

3. [tânsi kâ-kî-isi-wâpahtaman]?
   how IPV=past=rel=see\TI=2-0C

4. kâ-kî-oδasowâniwah iδa kayâsih kîkwân
   IPV=past=be-arranged\II=0C emp long-ago=loc thing

   kâ-kî-oδasowâsikâtîk. 5. kayâs isa
   IPV=past=be-arranged\II=0C long-old hrs

   kâ-kî-pî-isi-pimâcihocik iδiniwak.
   IPV=past=to=rel=survive\AI=3pC person=3p

[mmmm] 6. îkâ kata-pônihtâcik. 7. kiyâpic
neg should=stop\TI2=3p-0'C still

îkosi takwî-isi-pimâcihisocik
thus try=rel=survive-refl\AI=3pC

kâ-kî-pî-isi-pimâcihocik.
IPV=past=to=rel=survive\AI=3pC

[mmmm]

8. akwa mîna kotak awa awina kâ-kî-ayamit.
and also other this=3 someone IPV=past=talk\AI=3C

9. iskôl iδa îyako kâ-kî-aδimotah
school emp that-one=0 IPV=past=talk-about\TI=3-0'C

[mmmm] 10. kâ-kîsihtât awina iskôl,
IPV=finish\TI2=3-0'C someone school

itwîw, akwa ôtî kâ-ati-sipwîhtît isa patos
say\AI=3I and here IPV=incp=leave\AI=3C hrs different

askîh, kwâni î-ati-wanihtât animîδiw
land=loc then IPV=incp=lose\TI2=3-0'C that=0'

okiskinôhamâkowin itwîw ahpo
3=learning say\AI=3I or

î-ati-wanikiskisit animîδiw okiskinôhamâkowin.
IPV=incp=forget\AI+O=3C that=0' 3=learning

[hmmm]

11.akwa kotak awina, ayamîkimâw, kata-ayamihâcik
and other someone minister should=pray\TA=3p-3'C

iδiniwak itwîw. 12. kwayask tâ-ayamihâcik
person=3p say\AI=3I right should=pray\TA=3p-3'C

iδiniwak. 13. pîyakwan kwâni
person=3p like then

kâ-ati-isi-wanikiskisicik otayamihâwiniwâwa.
IPV=incp=rel=forget\AI+O=3pC 3=religion=3p

[mmmm] 14.kapî tâ-kiskisicik pî-takosihki
always should=remember\AI=3pC to=arrive\AI=3S

opimâcihiwîw tân(i)si ta-isi-nakiskawâcik
savior how IPV=rel=meet\TA=3p-3'C

îkâ ayamihâtwâwi mihtatamowinih
neg pray\TA=3p-3'S regret=loc

ahpo ta-isinakiskawîwak ahpo mâtowinih itwîw
or IPV=rel=meet\TA=3p-3'I or crying=loc say\AI=3I

îkâ ayamihâtwâwi iδiniwak îkâ kwayask
neg pray\TA=3p-3'S person=3p neg right

isi-pimâtisitwâwi itwîw ana ayamîhkimâw.
rel=live\AI=3pS say\AI=3I that=3 minister

15.môδa kwayask n-ôh-ayân, âskaw pô
neg right 1=negpast=be\AI=1I sometimes only

nikî-itohtân.
1=past=go\AI=1I

16.pô mîna môδa n-ôh-nisitohtawâwak atîht
only also neg 1=negpast=understand\TA=1-3pI some

iδiniwak. 17. î-mayakwîcik isa.
person=3p IPV=speak-different\AI=3pC hrs

18.patos itî ohci wâhδaw iδiniwak,
different there from far-away person=3p

nahkawî-iδiniwak mîna. 19. mwâ
Saulteaux=person=3p also neg

n-ôhci-nisitohtawâwak.
1=negpast=understand\TA=1-3pI

20.akwa kâ-kî-ati-pônipaδik ôma oδasowîwin
and IPV=past=incp=stop\II=0C this=0 meeting

akwa kâ-kî-sîkihtitâniwah ayânisa.
and IPV=past=pour-out\II=0C clothes=0p

21.mihcîtin î-kî-cipwaskitîki
be-lots\II=0I IPV=past=peak\II=0pC

akwa kwâni kâ-kî-mîδihcik iδiniwak.
and then IPV-past=give\TA+O=X-3pC person=3p

22.nîsta isa poko nikî-mîδikawin.
I-too hrs only 1=past=give\TA+O=X-1I

23.akwa iskopaδinwa anihi ayânisa.
and remain\II=0pI that=0p clothes=0p

24.akwa iδôh mihcît iδiniwak kwâni kâ-kî-ayâcik
and so many person=3p then IPV=past=be\AI=3pC

kâ-kî-pimohtatâcik piko awiδiwa
IPV=past=walk\TI2=3p-0'C only someone=3'

î-sîpinamawâcik, kiyâm awâsisak. 25. âtiht
IPV=throw\TA+O=3p-3'C even child=3p some

nisto anihi swîcarîsa î-sîpinamawâcik
three that=0p sweater=dim=0p IPV=throw\TA+O=3p-3'C

isko mîstinahkwâw anihi.
until used-up\II=0pC that=0p

26.kwâni îyakwâδiw î-pônihtâcik. 27. akwa cistîmâwa
then that=0' IPV=stop\TI2=3p-0'C and tobacco

oδâkana isa tâskôc anima kâ-pakitinikâniwah oδâkan
plate=0p hrs like that=0 IPV=set-down\II=0C plate

î-asiwaδihcik ayahâwa cistîmâw. 28. kwâni
IPV=put-in\TA=X-3pC whatev=3' tobacco then

î-kwâpinât awina. 29. kahkiδaw
IPV=scoop-up\TA=3-3'C someone all

iδiniwak î-kwâpinâcik anihi.
person=3p IPV=scoop-up\TA=3p-3'C that=3'

30.akwa animîδiw â-pônahkwâw ayihîδiw iskotîw
and that=0' IPV=light-fire\TI=3p-0'C whatev=0' fire

îkota kâ-wâsakâmi-isîmocik. 31. kâ-nîmicik
there IPV=around=rel-dance\AI=3pC IPV=dance\AI=3pC

isa kâ-pakamahocik anihi. 32. tahto-tipiskâw
hrs IPV=hit\TA=3p-3'C that=3' every=night

î-nîmicik. 33."kwâni nôcokîsiwak akwa
IPV=dance\AI=3pC then old-woman=3p now

ta-nîmiwak," kâ-itwânik. 34. kwâni
IPV=dance\AI=3pI IPV=say\II=0C then

kâ-kî-kayâmowân.
IPV=past=leave-quietly\AI=1C

35.akwa anima iskotîw anima ôta
and that=0 fire that=0 here

kâ-kî-nîkânohtîcik.
IPV=past=walk-around\AI=3pC

36. ôko kahkiδaw
this=3p all

î-macostîhocik
IPV=throw-in-fire\TA=3p-3'C

anihi cistîmâwa
that=3' tobacco

akwa kâ-kî-ati-mîconâniwah.
and IPV=past=incp=eat\II=0C

37. kwâni
then

î-ati-pônihtâcik.
IPV-incp=stop\TI2=3p-0'C

38.[mwâ na isa ôho maskihkiya?
neg Q hrs this=0p medicine=0p

39. mwâ na îkotôya
neg Q that-kind

ohci-ayâwak]?
negpast-be\AI=3pI

40.tâpwî, maskihkîδiniw îkota kî-ayâw.
true medicine-man there past=be\AI=3I

41.kî-takosin.
past=arrive\AI=3I

42. maskihkiya î-kî-mîδât
medicine=0p IPV=past=give\TA+O=3-3'C

iδiniwa kâ-nâtikot ôtîδa. 43. tipân
person=3' IPV=fetch\TA=3'-3C here-emp away

kiyokîwak cîpokîwâhpih. 44. îkota kâ-kî-ayât.
visit\AI=3pI pointed-tent=loc there IPV=past=be\AI=3C

45.kâ-nâtikot awiδiwa, kî-mîδîw
IPV=fetch\TA+O=3'-3C someone=3' past=give\TA+O=3-3'I

maskihkiya î-nitawihât. 46. mitoni
medicine=0p IPV=cure\TA=3-3'C so-much

î-pî-pohtinikît anihi maskihkiyâhtikwa
IPV=to=conjure\AI=3C that=0p medicine-stick=0p

ôma kâ-macostîhah.
prt IPV=throw-in-fire\TI=3-0'C

47.nîsta isa pô nikî-nâtâw.
I=too hrs only 1=past=fetch\TA=1-3I

48.nikî-mîδik maskihkiyâhtikwa.
1=past=give\TA+O=3-1C medicine=stick=0p

49.kâ-nôhtîtahtamân îkâ kâ-kî-pimohtîyân.
IPV=lack-breath\TI=1-0C neg IPV=able=walk\AI=1C

50.ayihîw mâka-iδa ayihîw pawâsînikan isôma
whatev=0 but-emp whatev=0 hallucination(?) hrs=this=0

cigaret kâ-pîhtwâtît. 51. îkota
cigarette IPV=smoke\AI=3C there

ta-astâyin apisîsis itwîw akwa
IPV=put\TI2=2-0C little=dim say\AI=3C and

ta-pî-pohtîk. 52. akwa akohp ta-akonikawiyin
IPV=to=smoke\II=0C and blanket IPV=cover\TA=X-2C

ta-pasôwin anima pâstîw ta-iskôtâmowin
IPV=smell\TI2=2-0C that=0 dryness IPV=inhale\AI=2C

kwâni kâ-ati-miδôyan.
then IPV=incp=do-well\AI=2C

53."îkâ ta-n(i)siwanâtah kihpama," â-isit.
neg IPV=spoil\II=0C 2=lung=0p IPV=say-thus\AI=3C

54.îyako anima k-ôh-nôhtîtahtamowin. 55. môδa
that-one=0 that=0 IPV=from=lack-breath\AI=2C neg

iδa	sîmâk	kamiδôn	mâ	ohcitaw
emp	immed	2fut=do-well\AI=2I	but	surely

kika-ati-miδôn.
2fut=incp=\AI=2I

56. kikamiδôwin
2fut=do-well\AI=2I

kâ-âhkosîyin.
IPV=sick\AI=2C

******

1. [Your voice is being recorded now].

2. The meeting?

[agreement]

3. [What did you see?]

4. The meeting was about how things were done in the past. 5. You know, about how people survived a long time ago. [go on] 6. They should not give that up. [go on] 7. They should still try to help themselves survive, the way they survived [in the past].

[go on]

8. And also this other person spoke. 9. He spoke about school. [go on] 10. When a person finishes school, he said, [go on] and he leaves here for a different land, he loses what he has learned, he said, or else he forgets what he has learned.

[oh really]

11. And another person, a minister said, people should pray (turn to religion). 12. And people should pray to him right (they should live a Christian life). 13. [People] forgot their religion the same way [as their education]. [agreement] 14. They will always remember when the savior comes how they will meet him in regret if they do not pray and he said they will meet him in tears if people do not pray and if they do not live right, that minister said.

[go on]

15. I wasn't there alot, I only went once in a while.

[go on]

16. And I also really didn't understand some people.
17. They speak differently, you know. 18. The people were from a different place far away, the Saulteaux. 19. I didn't understand them.

20. And then the meeting ended and clothes were given out.
21. There were so many [clothes] that they were piled in a heap and then given to people. 22. I was given some too.

23. And there were [still] clothes left over. 24. There were so many people they were walking around [with the clothes], throwing them at anybody, even children. 25. They threw three of the small sweaters to them [the children] until they were all used up.

26. And then they ended the meeting. 27. And then tobacco was put in a plate similar to the plate that things are put in [in church]. 28. And then someone scooped up some [tobacco]. 29. Everybody scooped it [tobacco].

30.Then they lit a fire and they danced around there. 31.They danced and they hit them [the drums]. 32. They danced every night. 33. And then it was announced "Let the old women dance now". 34. So I left quietly.

35. And then they walked around here in front of that fire. 36. They all threw the tobacco in the fire and then the eating started. 37. And so they ended [the meeting].

38. [Did [they have] medicine? 39. Were there other kinds (animate)]?

40. Of course, a medicine man was there. 41. He came in [for the meeting]. 42. He gave medicine to people when they went to him. 43. They visited in an away spot, in a pointed tent. 44. That's where he stayed.

45. When someone went to him, he gave them medicine and cured them. 46. He made smoke when he threw the medicine sticks in the fire.

47. I went to see him too. 48. He gave me medicine sticks. 49. I get short of breath and I can't walk. 50. He smoked

this thing, a cigarette. 51. [The medicine man] said "You put a little [ashes] in there," and it will smoke. 52. You will be covered with a blanket so that you smell the dry smoke and inhale it and then you will get better.

53. He said "Your lungs don't want decay." 54. It's from that you have shortness of breath. 55. You will not get better right away but you will get better. 56. Your sickness will go away.

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A Social Commentary

1. kahkiδaw isa kîkwân î-namatakwahk. 2. mitoni ôtî
all hrs thing IPV=disappear\II=0C so-much here

kahkiδaw kîkwân î-kwîtawîyihtamân. 3. îh,
all thing IPV=miss\TI=1-0C excl

tâskôc isa ôko ayahâwak pisiskisîsak- ôho tâskôc
like hrs this=3p whoev=3p animal=dim=3p this=3′ like

sîsîpak, môswak. 4. tân(i)δôh wâhδaw nôhcimihk
duck=3p moose=3p so-long far-away woods

kâ-ayât kâ-n(i)tawîδimiht isa. 5. mwâ nôkosiw.
IPV=be\AI=3C IPV=want\TA=X-3C hrs neg appear\AI=3I

6. kâ-kî-pimâtakât pô îkota piko kâ-kâhcitiniht.
IPV=past=swim\AI=3C only there only IPV=catch\TA=X-3C

7. kâ-wâpamiht, môδa mîna kapî mânimâ nipahâw
IPV=see\TA=X-3C neg also always of-course kill\TA=X-3I

môswa. 8. mitoni pâtimâ î-takwâkihk.
moose so-much later autumn\II=0C

9. akwa mîna ayihîw pakitahwâwin, mwâc tâskôc
and also whatev=0 fishing neg like

kâ-kî-ispaδik. 10. mwâc îkosi ihkin.
IPV=past=so-happen\II=0C neg thus function\II=0I

11. anohc nîsta kâ-pakitahwâwân manâ 15 piko
now I-too IPV=fish-rel\AI=1C realize 15 only

ta-kî-âpacihakwâw aδapiyak. 12. âskaw
IPV=able=use\TA=1-3pC net=3p sometimes

nisto-mitanaw î-pakastawîhokwâw aδapiyak.
three-ten(30) IPV=set-in-water\TA=1-3pC net=3p

13. mwâc tîpipaδin ta-sâkaskinahtâyân 3 tubs, nisto
neg enough\II=0I IPV=fill\TI2=1-0C 3 tubs three

mahkahk kâ-itwânik.
tub IPV=say\II=0C

14. akwa before the flood nistam kâ-ohci-pakitahwâniwah,
and before the flood first IPV=from=fish\II=0C

kwâni osâm. 15. piko 3 nets 5, nikî-âpacihâwak,
then too-much only 3 nets 5 1=past=use\TA=1-3I

ôma nîsta kâ-pakitahwâyân. 16. kiyâm îkâ mistahi
prt I-too IPV=fish\AI=1C although neg lots

î-kî-ohci-tîpipahikâsot kinosîw, kwâni
IPV=past=negpast=be-enough\AI=3C fish then

ohcitaw kwayask nikî-kaskihcikânân. 17. môδa nîδa
surely really 1=past=earn\AI=1pI neg I

piko kwâni kahkiδaw nâpîwak. 18.kwâni mitoni
only then all man=3p then so-much

mâna ômisi kî-itastîwa nitayânâna
used-to this=rel past=thus-put\II=0pI 1p=thing=0p

nîstanân ôma kâ-pôni-pakitahwîyâhk.
we(13) this=0 IPV=stop=fish\AI=1pC

19.akwa anohc kâ-kîsi-pakitahwât, awina kwâni pô
and now IPV=complete=fish\AI=3C someone then only

wîhtamawâw, "îyakwâδiw kî-pihcipaδin".
tell\TA+0=X-3I that-one=0' IPV=owe\II=0I

20.kwâni îyako pô anohc î-kiskîyihtamân nîsta.
then that-one only now IPV=know\TI=1-0C I-too

21."îyakwâδiw pô kîkwân nîsta î-iskopaδiyan"
that-one=0′ only thing I-too IPV=left-over\AI=2C

î-âcimostâkawiyân î-mîδikawiyân ahpo nimasinahikan.
IPV=tell\TA+O=X-1C IPV=give\TA+O=X-1C or 1=book

22."âw, îyakwâδiw kipihcipaδin".
excl that=0′ 2=owe\AI=2I

23.akwa mîna ayihîw mîna mwâc nâspic ayâw atihk.
and also whatev=0 also neg so-good be\AI=3I caribou

24.îyakwîδâc anohc mânimâ kâ-kî-ihtât atihk
finally now of-course IPV=past=exist\AI=3C caribou

kâ-pipohk. 25. kayâs mâna ôtî mâna
IPV=winter\II=0C long-ago used-to here used-to

The Other End kâ-kî-ayâyâhk, ôtî kâ-pî-itohtîyâhk,
the other end IPV=past\be=1pC here IPV=to=go\AI=1pC

kwâni misiwî mâna nikî-wâpamânânak atihkwak
then all-over used-to 1=past=see\TA=1p-3pI caribou

ôta î-papâmohtîcik. 26. ahpo anta
here IPV=around-walk\AI=3pC or(even) there

Hudson Bay anta between the Island ôma Clee's isa
Hudson Bay there between the Island this=0 Clee's hrs

ôko kâ-kî-ayâcik, îkota mîna
this=3p IPV=past=be\AI=3pC there also

nikî-wâpamâwak atihkwak î-pimohtîcik.
1=past=see\TA=1-3pI caribou=3p IPV=walk\AI=3pC

27.kwâni iskwayâc the last year î-wâpamak atihk.
then final the last year IPV=see\TA=1-3C caribou

28.1952 îkospiy î-kî-wâpamakwâw atihkwak
1952 then IPV=past=see\TA=1-3pC caribou=3p

iskwayâc î-mihcîticik. 29. misiwî
final IPV=be-many\AI=3pC all-over

nikî-wâpamâwak kâ-ispîhcâk ôma sâkahikan.
1=past=see\TA=1-3pI IPV=rel-long\II=0C this=0 lake

30.î-sâkiskwatacicik ayahâwak otîskanak
IPV=stick-out-head=by-cold\AI=3pC whoev=3p 3=antler=3p

isa ôko. 31. kwâni after that kwâni mwâc
hrs this=3p then after that then neg

ohci-ihtâw atihk.
negpast=exist\AI=3I caribou

32. kwâni pâtimâ ayihîw mîna anohc ôma last
then after whatev=0 also now this=0 last

year kâ-kî-ihtât atihk. 33. môδa mâka ôta
year IPV=past=exist\AI=3C caribou neg but here

cîskwa takosin. 34. wâhδaw
yet arrive\AI=3I far-away

kâ-kî-nâtiht atihk.
IPV=able=fetch\TA=X-3C caribou

******

1. Everything is disappearing. 2. I really miss all these things here. 3. Look, just like these animals, just like these ducks, moose. 4. [The moose] is so far in the bush when it is needed. 5. He is not visible. 6. Only when he is in the water, he is caught. 7. When he is seen, of course, the moose is not always killed. 8. [They are] mostly [caught] in the late fall.

9. And also the fishing, it's not the same as it was.
10. It doesn't work that way. 11. When I fish now, I am only supposed to use 15 nets. 12. Sometimes I set 30 nets in the water. 13. That's not enough to fill 3 tubs, three tubs as it is said [in Cree].

14. And before the flood, when fishing first started, there was too much. 15. I only used 3 to 5 nets when I fished [then]. 16. Even if a fish wasn't worth much, we were able to earn enough. 17. [This was] not only myself, [it was the same] for the other men too. 18. After fishing, our stuff used to be this high.

19. Today when fishing is over, a person is told, "You owe this". 20. That is all I know [that happens] now. 21. "That's all you have left over" I am told or I am given my statement. 22. "Ok, you owe this".

23. And also there are not many caribou. 24. This was the first winter [in a long time] when there were caribou. 25. A long time ago, when we used to live here at the other end, coming towards here, we used to see caribou all over walking around here. 26. Even over there between the Hudson Bay and the island where the Clee's used to live, I also saw caribou walking there.

27. That was last year I saw caribou. 28. In 1952, that was the last time I saw the caribou, when they were plentiful. 29. I saw them all over the length of this lake. 30. The antlers stuck out of the cold [snow] [after caribou were killed]. 31. Then after that there were no caribou.

32. It is only now this last year that there were caribou. 33. But [they haven't come] here yet. 34. One has to go far away to get caribou.

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An Account of a Childbirth

1. [kikî-otinawâson na?]
   2=past=deliver-child\AI=2I Q

2. îhî.
   yes

3. kâ-kî-otinawâsonâniwik mîna
   IPV=past=deliver-child\II=0C also

nikî-kaskihtân wîδa nôcokîsiw mâna
1=past=can\TI2=1-0I cause old-woman used-to

î-kî-wîcihakiht î-otinawâsot.
IPV=past=help\TA=1p-3C IPV=deliver-child\AI=3C

4. tâsipwâ nikî-otinâw nipîpîm pîyak
   in-fact 1=past=take(deliver)\TA=1-3I 1=baby one

mîna.
also

5. nipîpîm nikî-otinâw
   1=baby 1=past=take\TA=1-3I

î-kî-pîyakwapiyân.
IPV=past=alone\AI=1C

6. î-nihtâwikit ôta
   IPV=be-born\AI=3C here

Wîposâhk.
wîposâw=loc

7. six months î-kî-ayawak pîpî. 8. mistahi
six months IPV=past=have\TA=1-3C baby lots

î-kî-nikohtîyân, kwâni kâ-kî-ocipitikoyân.
IPV=past=chop-wood\AI=1C then IPV=past=cramp\TA=0-1C

9. kwâni kâ-kî-ihtât!
then IPV=past=exist\AI=3C

10. kî-apiw wîδa îkospiy kisîδiniw.
past=sit(be-home)\AI=3I 3(he) then old-man

11. L. wiδa manâ îkosâni
L. emp realize that-way

kâ-kî-pimâcihât osîma. 12. wîδa îkâ
IPV=past=make-live\TA=3-3'C 3=yo-br/yo-si 3(he) neg

wiδa ana kisîδiniw kîkwân tâpwî
emp that=3 old-man thing really

î-ohci-kiskîyihtah. 13. kî-nihtâ-nitaminahow
IPV=negpast=know\TI=3-0'C past=know=hunt(?)\AI=3I

wiδa, mâyiδa ômisîsi. 14. kâ-ma-miδwîδimonâniwah.
emp but this=rel IPV=redup=good\II=0C

15.pakwanta pô î-kî-itahkamikisit. 16. tâsipwâ
anything only IPV=past=be-occupied\AI=3C in-fact

pîδisk ninisiwanâtisin. 17. iδikohk mistahi pakwanta
finally 1=spoil-life\AI=1I so-much lots anything

î-kî-itahkamikisit.
IPV=past=be-occupied\AI=3C

18.kwâni îkosi kâ-itak L., "mâhca, kicîmis".
then thus IPV=say\TA=1-3C L. go-on 2=yo-br

19.kwâni î-nahapiyân. 20. î-ati-kospâhtawîyân,
then IPV=good-sit\AI=1C IPV=incp=climb\AI=1C

kwâni kâ-nihtâwikit nipîpî. 21.kwâni L.
then IPV=be-born\AI=3C 1=baby then L.

îkosi kâ-itak, "mâhca, nitawi-wîhtah
thus IPV=say\TA=1-3C go-on go-to=tell\TI=2-0Imp

kicîmic osawa î-ihtât," nititâw.
yo-br/yo-si odd-this=3 IPV=exist\AI=3C 1=say\TA=1-3I

22.kwâni kâ-waniskâyân. 23. kâ-wa-waskawît nipîpîm.
then IPV=get-up\AI=1C IPV=redup=move\AI=3C 1=baby

24.mwâc ohci-paskâpîkinak. 25. kwâni
neg negpast=break=string=by-hand\TA=1-3C then

kâ-iδipîsimak, kwâni kâ-akoninak.
IPV=turn-side=lie\TA=1-3C then IPV=cover=by-hand\TA=1-3C

26.kwâni kâ-pî-pîhtokît M. 27. "kwâni kayâs
then IPV=to=enter\AI=3C M. then long-ago

kâ-nisiwanâtisit. 28. mwâ nakî-nôcikawâw,"
IPV=spoil-life\AI=3C neg 1fut=able=handle(?)\TA=1-3I

itwîw.
say\AI=3I

29.kwâni S. kâ-kî-itiht, nicîmic.
then S. IPV=past=be-named\TA=X-3C 1=yo-si/yo-br

30."kwâni âstam, ôta pî-ississim. 31. pimâtisiw
then come-here here to=rel=lay\TA=2-3Imp live\AI=3I

ana. 32. ka-wîcihitin".
that=3 2fut=help\TA=1-2I

33.kapî ôta wiδa kîδanânaw î-otinawâsoyâh.
always here emp 12(we) IPV=deliver-child\AI=1pC

34.nôcokîsiw î-kiskinôhamawiyamiht, S.
old-woman IPV=teach\TA+O=3-1pC S.

ka-kî-itiht, S.M.
IPV=past=be-named\TA=X-3C S.M.

35.kwâni kâ-ati-pamihakiht nipîpîm. 36. miconi
then IPV=past=care-for\TA=1p-3C 1=baby so-much

kwayask kâ-isi-ayât, kî-apisîsisiw mâka.
right IPV=rel=be\AI=3C past=small\AI=3I but

37.nîδa î-kî-otinak ispiy î-kî-kiskîδihtamân
I IPV=past=take\TA=1-3C when IPV=past=know\TI=1-0C

ta-ihtât.
IPV=exist\AI=3C

******

1. [Did you deliver babies?]

2. Yes. 3. I was able to do a delivery because we used to help an old woman when she delivered.

4. In fact I also delivered one of my [own] babies. 5. I delivered my baby when I was by myself. 6. He was born here at Wîposkâhk.

7. I was 6 months [pregnant]. 8. I had chopped lots of wood and then I had a cramp. 9. And there he was!

10. The old man was home at that time. 11. You realize, L. saved his younger sister that way. 12. That old man really didn't know how [to deliver a baby]. 13. He knew how to hunt for things, but [not] in this way. 14. It was good moral support. 15. He was busy with trivial things. 16. That's why I finally had a premature labour. 17. He was busy with trivial things.

18. So I said to L., "Go on, your younger sister [is here]". 19. Then [I went] to sit down. 20. I was about to climb [on the bed] when my baby was born. 21. Then I said to L., "Go and tell [people] that your younger sister is [born]".

22. Then I got up. 23. My baby moved. 24. I had not cut the [umbilical] cord. 25. So I turned him over on his side and covered him up.

26. Then M. came in. 27. "It died a time ago. 28. I cannot handle it," she said.

29. My younger sister was called S. 30. [She said], "Come here, lie him down over here. 31. He is alive. 32. I will help you."

33. We have always delivered babies here. 34. An old woman called S. taught us, S.M.

35. We looked after my baby. 36. He was normal, but he was small. 37. I delivered him when I knew he was about to be born.

******

A Discussion About Shamanism

1. nimâmâ kayâs î-kî-âcimostawit
1=mom long-ago IPV=past=tell-story\TA+O=3-1C

nôhkompan kayâs î-apisîsit î-pîpîwît.
1=gr-mo=late long-ago IPV=little\AI=3C IPV=baby\AI=3C

2. kwâni atimwak kâ-mâsihitocik ayihîhk awâsipa
then dog=3p IPV=fight-recip\AI=3pC whatev=loc behind

mîkiwâhpih. 3. mâyiδa î-kî-môscihkwâmicik
tent=loc but IPV=past=ground-sleep\AI=3pC

mîkiwâhpih iδiniwak. 4. kiyâpic isa pô. 5. môδa sîmâk
tent=loc person=3p still hrs only neg immed

awina kî-nipîwinihkîw nântaw ita
person past=bed-make\AI=3I about where

ta-mînohkît.
IPV=camp-make\AI=3C

6. kwâni kâ-âcimostawit nimâmâ nôhkom
then IPV=tell-story\TA+O=3-1C 1=mom 1=gr-mo

î-kî-mâkwîpamikot 7. miconi ôtî
IPV=past=bite(?)\TA=3'-3C so-much here

î-kî-isi-tâskipitikot.
IPV=past=rel=split=by-pulling\TA=3'-3C

8. kwâni itwî pîyak ayahâw kisîδiniw. 9. mâyiδa kayâs
then said one whoev=3 old-man but long-ago

î-kî-mamâhtâwisicik iδiniwak. 10. îyako
IPV=past=be-amazing\AI=3pC person=3p that-one=3

mânimâ kâ-nihtawi-kiskîyihtaman kîkwân
of-course IPV=go-to=know\TI=2-0C thing

mamâhtâwisiwin kâ-icikâtîk kayâs iδiniwak
amazing-thing IPV=called\II=0C long-ago person=3p

ohci.
from

11. kwâni piko î-kî-kiskîyihtamân kîkwân
then only IPV=past=know\TI=1-0C thing

mamâhtâwisiwin kâ-icikâtîk awa
amazing-thing IPV=called\II=0C this=3

kisîδiniw ohci. 12. kwâni piko nîsta
old-man from then only I-too

î-kî-pîhtamân kîkwân mamâhtâwi-kîkwân
IPV=past=hear\TI=1-0C thing amazing=thing

awa kisîδiniw nôhcimih â-kî-itohtahât
this=3 old-man woods IPV=past=go\TA=3-3'C

nôhkoma. 13. akwa î-kî-pî-kîhtahât,
1=gr-mo=3' and IPV=past=to=take-back\TA=3-3'C

tâskôc piko î-kî-mâtiswât awa pîpî
like only IPV=past=cut-open\TA=3-3'C this=3 baby

î-isinâkosit. 14. mwâc înto
IPV=rel-appear\AI=3C neg thing

î-nisiwanâtinâkwaniδik ita atimwa
IPV=spoil-appear\II=0'C where dog=3'

â-kî-sâpo-tâskâtihpîpitikot.
IPV=past=through=split=head=by-pulling\TA=3'-3C

******

1. My mother told me a story a long time ago about my late grandmother when she was little, when she was a baby.

2. The dogs were fighting behind the tent. 3. People slept on the ground in a tent. 4. They still [do]. 5. Nobody can just make a bed anywhere they make camp.

6. My mother told me that my grandmother had been bitten. 7. She was ripped open here [by the dogs].

8. Then there was one old man. 9. There were famous people [medicine men] long ago. 10. That's what you are looking for, what is called by people long ago "amazing thing".

11. That's all I know about this thing called shamanism from this old man. 12. I only heard about shamanism [I never saw it], when this old man took my grandmother in the woods. 13. When he brought her home, the baby looked like

he cut her open. 14. There was no scar where [the dogs] ripped open her head.

******

A Story About Epilepsy

1. kwâni mîna pîyakwâw îyako pîpon akwa - môδa
then also once that-one=0 winter\II=0I now neg

î-sîkwah îkospiy pâham î-sîkwah.
IPV=spring\II=0C then possibly IPV=spring\II=0C

2. kâ-wîciwak. 3. nipâpâ î-oδatahwât
IPV=accompany\TA=1-3C 1=dad IPV=shape-by-instr\TA=3-3'C

miskwamiya înto ayihîw
ice=3p thing whatev=0

î-kâh-kawitahwât tâskôc isa ômisîsi.
IPV=redup=cut=by-metal\TA=3-3'C like hrs this=rel

4. kwâni îyakwanik kâ-oδatahwihcik, kwâni
then that-one=3p IPV=shape-by-instr\TA=X-3pC so

nimâmâ ta-nipiyihkît. 5. tâypô outside
1=mom IPV=water-make\AI=3C so(?) outside

ta-otinât ta-tihkîswât.
IPV=take\TA=3-3'C IPV=melt\TA=3-3'C

6. kwâni kâ-pâh-pakitinamawak ocihcîhk ômisi
then IPV=redup=set-down\TA+O=1-3C 3=hand=loc this=thus

isa îtôtah. 7. kwâni pîδisk ômîδiw
hrs so-do\TI=3-0'C then finally this=0'

nitispaδimâw ômîδiw. 8. "kiyâpic, kiyâpic,"
1=rel-high\TA=1-3I this=0' still still

nitik wîδa î-mahkicihcît
1=say\TA=3-1I cause IPV=big=hand\AI=3C

ta-kî-tahtinât isa ômisîsi.
IPV=past=wrap-around\TA=3-3'C hrs this=rel

9. kwâni tâpwî nôhtâ aspin kîtahtawîδ
then really 1=god=voc gone suddenly

kâ-sakîcipaδit î-ocipitikot. 10. kwâni
IPV=have-seizure\AI=3C IPV=cramp\TA=0-3C then

kâ-tîpwîyân î-mâyimowân, î-mâtowân,
IPV=yell\AI=1C IPV=scream\AI=1C IPV=cry\AI=1C

î-kospâmowân.
IPV=climb-flee\AI=1C

11."kîkwân?"
what=0

12."î-kostak awa A."
IPV=fear\TA=1-3C this=3 A.

13.âsay mîna ana nôcokîsiw kâ-nâsipîpahtât
already also that=3 old-woman IPV=descend-run\AI=3C

wîsâ mîna î-kî-nakacîhtât nîpisiy.
so-much also IPV=past=know-how-do\TI2=3-0'C willow

14.î-nâtwâpahah, î-pâh-pasistîhwât,
IPV=break-run\TI=3-0'C IPV=redup=beat-by-stick\TA=3-3'C

kwâni kâ-pônipaδiδit.
then IPV=stop\AI=3'C

15.îyako anima â-kî-ititân "nimâmâ
that-one=0 that=0 IPV=past=say\TA=1-2C 1=mom

n-ocipitikon" isiht isa kâ-isiyin.
1=cramp\TA=0-1I thus-say\TA=X-3C hrs IPV=thus-say\AI=2C

16. kâ-pakamahotân iδôh kâ-ispîhcîyân.
IPV=hit\TA=1-2C so-much IPV=rel-long\AI=1C

17. îyako ana î-kî-isi-wâpamak.
that-one=3 that=3 IPV=past=rel=see\TA=1-3C

******

1. And also once one winter, no spring - I think it was in the spring. 2. I went with her. 3. My father was making square blocks of ice by cutting them up like this. 4. They were shaped so my mother could make water. 5. She could just take them from outside and melt them.

6. So I started laying [the ice blocks] on her hands by doing it in this way. 7. I finally piled them up this high. 8. She kept saying to me "more, more" because she had big hands so she could wrap them around like this.

9. Then my god, all of a sudden she went into a [epileptic] seizure and cramped up. 10. So I yelled, I screamed and I cried and I fled up the hill.

11. "What is it?"

12. "I'm scared of A."

13. [So] that old woman again ran down the bank who was so good at doing [breaking] willow branches. 14. So she ran and broke [one] off and started beating [the woman having the seizure] with a stick and then she stopped.

15. That's what I told you when it was said that you said "Mom, I have a cramp". 16. Then I hit you as hard as I could.

17. That's what I saw.

******

A Casual Chat

A: kîkwân ôma kâ-matwîhtih?
what=0 this=3 IPV=ring\II=0C

B: manâ tîlîhpôn.
you-realize telephone

A: tîlîhpôn!
telephone

C: L., phone!
L., phone!

B: ahpwîtokî kitôtîm.
or-perhaps 2=relative

A: ahpwîtokî ana iskwîw kâ-wîcayamat.
or-perhaps that=3 woman IPV=with-be\TA=2-3C

B: mwâc ôtî!
neg here

C: V. ana.
V. that=3

A: V.? ôta na? kîko V.?
V. here Q which V.

C: V. M.
V. M.

D: nôhkom mîna ôta ayâw.
1=gr-mo also here be\AI=3I

A: ôta na?
here Q

D: ya. akwa kiyokîtân.
yes now visit\AI=12Imp

A: ka, kiyâpic na?
oh still Q

D: ya.
Yes

A: tânta? ôta na kisiwâk?
where here Q near

C: ya.
yes

******

A: What is ringing?

B: It must be the telephone.

A: Telephone!

C: L., phone!

B: It could be a relative.

A: It could be the woman you stay with.

B: Not here!

C: It's V.

A: V.? Here? V. who?

C: V. M.

D: My grandmother is here too.

A: Here?

D: Yes. Let's go visit her now.

A: Oh, still here?

D: Yes.

A: Where? Here nearby?

C: Yes.

******

A Conversation About Language Use

A: M. awa ta-kî-pî-n(i)tomat. îyako
M. this=3 IPV=able=to=invite\TA=2-3C that-one=3

ta-kî-iδinîmot iδôh wîδa
IPV=able=Indian-by-mouth\AI=3C so-much cause

î-nihtâ-iδinîmot.
IPV=know=Indian-by-mouth\AI=3C

B: mâyiδa nisicawayâsîh ohci.
but Nelson-House=loc from

A: ka.
oh

B: And Donna does things on South Indian or South Indian
and Donna does things on South Indian or South Indian

Cree.
Cree

A: Oh yeah.
oh yeah

D: mâyiδa iδôh î-wawiyakwîskîyâh.
but so-much IPV=swear=habit\AI=1pC

A: mâyiδa îkâ ayina î-nihtâ-iδinîmot akwa
but neg person IPV=know=Indian-by-mouth\AI=3C now

opônapiwinih. ciyi? kikiskîyihtîn na? âtiht isa poko.
SIL=loc right 2=know\TI=2-0I Q some hrs only

B: kahkiδaw awâsisak î-miscikôsimocik.
all child=3p IPV=whiteman-speak\AI=3pC

E: âha.
yes

B: ta-kî- ta-kî-
IPV=able- IPV=able-

D: kîδanaw pô ôma our generation.
12(we) only this=0 our generation

A: our generation.
our generation

E: P. awa kâ-takahkîδimak. ôko ôtî
P. this=3 IPV=admire\TA=1-3C this=3p here

awâsisak iδôh isa kâ-îmistikôsîhkâsocik.
child=3p so-much hrs IPV=whiteman=pretend\AI=3pC

îyakwânik nawac kâ-nihtâ-iδinîmocik.
that-one=3p best IPV=know=Indian-by-mouth\AI=3pC

A: mhhm.
yes

D: I think one of the brightest kids is C. C. isa
I think one of the brightest kids is C. C. isa

K. isa, that little kid.
K's hrs that little kid

E: Oh yeah, wîδa iδa she grew up with her granny.
Oh yeah cause emp she grew up with her granny

A: î-nihtâ-iδinîmot na?
IPV=know=Indian-by-mouth\AI=3C Q

D: That's all- she- they hardly know how to talk English.
that's all she- they hardly know how to talk English

A: Oh really.
Oh really

D: only a few words like 'the' 'and'.
only a few words like the and

E: ita C. aciδaw isa Nelson House
there C. for-a-while hrs Nelson House

kâ-kî-nitawi-ayâcik. kwâni first time
IPV=past=go-to=be\AI=3pC then first time

kâ-pî-kiyokîcik isa South Indian, kwâni
IPV=to=visit\AI=3pC hrs South Indian then

kâ-wâ-wîci-mîtawîmât ocîmica H. isa.
IPV=supp=with=play\TA=3-3'C 3=yo-si=3 H. hrs

B: âha.
yes

E: paper kâ-miciminah 'âw H., nâh' it.
paper IPV=hold=by-hand\TI=3-0'C excl H., here said

B: How many kâ-ayât M. awâsisa?
How many IPV=be\AI=3C M. child=3'

E: Four.
four

B: n(i)cîyâ! nôhtâ H. akwa C. akwa awina?
holy-smokes 1=fa=voc H. and C. and who

E: akwa ...
and

D: D. akwa K.
D. and K.

E: mwâc manâ îkosi mâyiδa D. -S.
neg realize thus but D. -S.

B: Oh, I didn't know. ya, nôhtâ. Four girls!
oh I didn't know. yes 1=fa=voc Four girls

E: Four girls.
four girls

******

A: You should invite M. to come. He's the one who should speak in Cree because he knows how to speak Cree so well.

B: But [he's] from Nelson House.

A: Oh.

B: And Donna does things on South Indian or South Indian Cree.

A: Oh yeah.

D: But we swear so much.

A: But no one knows how to speak Cree at South Indian Lake now. Right? Do you know that? Only a few.

B: All the children speak English.

E: I agree.

B: [we] should...[we] should...

D: It's only our generation [that speaks Cree].

A: Our generation.

E: I admire P. The children here act like they are white. It's those children [P.'s] that really know how to speak Cree.

A: Yes

D: I think one of the brightest kids is C. You know C., you know K.'s, that little kid.

E: Oh yeah, [that's] because she grew up with her granny.

A: She knows know to speak Cree?

D: That's all- she -they hardly know how to talk English.

A: Oh really.

D: Only a few words like 'the' 'and'.

E: [Then] there's C. They went to live in Nelson House for a while. So the first time they came to visit South Indian, she was supposed to be playing with her younger sister H.

B: go on.

E: She was holding some paper. "âw H., nâh!" she said.

B: How many kids does Maggie have?

E: Four.

B: Holy Smokes! My god, H. and C. and who [else]?

E: and ....

D: D. and K.

E: No, that's D.'s - [it's] S.

B: Oh, I didn't know. Yes, my god. Four girls!

E: Four girls.

APPENDIX D

LEXICON

The lexical items included here are those found only in the dissertation.

DNA/DNI

-atay	DNI	belly, stomach
-cahcahkwan	DNA	wing [cf. tahtahkwan]
-cânis	DNA	daughter
-cihciy	DNI	finger, hand
-ciwâm	DNA	brother, parallel cousin [male speaker], holy smokes
-cîmic	DNA	younger brother, younger sister
-cîmicis	DNA	pup (dim.) [cf. -tîm]
-hkwâkan	DNI	face
-hpam	DNI	lung
-îcimos	DNA	lover
-îciwâkan	DNA	friend
-îki	DNI	home
-îkimâkan	DNA	spouse
-îpit	DNI	tooth
-kâwiy	DNA	mother [older speaker]
-kosis	DNA	son
-kwîmîs	DNA	namesake

-mâmâ	DNA	mom
-mis	DNA	older sister
-mosôm	DNA	grandfather
-ôhcâwiy	DNA	father's brother
-ôhkom	DNA	grandmother
-ôhkompan	DNA	late grandmother
-ôhtâwiy	DNA	male elder, god, father [older speaker]
-ôhtâwîpan	DNA	late father
-ôsisim	DNA	grandchild
-pâpâ	DNA	dad
-piskwân	DNI	back
-pîway	DNA	feather, body hair
-pwâm	DNI	thigh
-sikos	DNA	aunt [father's sister]
-sis	DNA	uncle [mother's brother]
-sit	DNI	foot
-sîm	DNA	younger brother, younger sister [cf. nicîmic]
-skîsik	DNI	eye
-skîsikos	DNI	eye (dim.)
-skîsikôhkan[a]	DNI	glasses [pl.only]
-skotâkay	DNI	coat
-stikwân	DNI	head
-stîs	DNA	older brother

-tahtahkwan	DNA	wing [cf. cahcahkwan]
-tâs	DNA	pants
-tîm	DNA	dog [cf. cîmicis]
-tôsis	DNA	aunt [mother's sister]
-tôtîm	DNA	friend, relative

a

acâwâkîsiw	AI	to sell (diminutive)
acimos	NA	puppy
acoskîsiw	AI	to work a little
aδapiy	NA	net
aδikîs	NA	frog
aδimotam	TI	to talk about it
aδimotîw	TA+O	to talk to s.o. about it
aδôskan	NA	raspberry
ahδîw	TA	to put s.o. [+NPloc]
ahpo	PRT	or, even
ahpwîtokî	PRT	or perhaps
akohp	NI	blanket
akoninîw	TA	to cover s.o. by hand
akonîw	TA	to cover s.o.
akopitawîw	TA	to cure s.o. [cf. nitawihîw]

akopitîw	TA	to tie s.o. up
akotâw	TI2	to hang it
akwa	PRT	and
akwa	PRT	now
akwa-	PRV	now
amiskwa	NA	beaver
amiskwayân	NA	beaverskin
ana	PR	that(3)
anihi	PR	that(3')
anihi	PR	that(0p)
aniki	PR	that(3p)
anima	PR	that(0)
animîδiw	PR	that(0')
anohc	PRT	now
anta	PRT	over there
antî	PRT	over there
apal-ascocin	NI	type of hat
apiscî-	PRV	small
apisîs	PRT	little
apisîsis	PRT	little (dim.)
apisîsisiw	AI	to be small, to be little, to be young
apiw	AI	to sit, to be home
apwânâskwa	NA	roasting stick
apwiy	NA	paddle

asahtôwin	NI	rations, welfare
asamîw	TA	to feed s.o.
asâm	NA	snowshoe
asiniy	NA	rock
asiniy	NI	bullet
asinîs	NA	rock (dim.)
asiskiy	NI	clay, mud
asiskiy-kotawânâpisk	NA	clay stove
asisoy	NI	chisel
asiwaδîw	TA	to put s.o. [+NPloc]
asiwatâw	TI2	to put it [+NPloc]
asîson	NI	vamp
askihk	NA	pail, bucket
askiy	NI	land
askiy[a]	NI	moss [pl.form only]
aspin	PRT	gone
astâw	TI2	to put it
astis	NA	mitt
astîw	II	to be put [+NPloc]
astotin	NI	hat
atâwîstamawîw	TA+O	to buy it for s.o.
atâwîw	AI+O	to buy
ati-	PRV	inceptive
atihk	NA	caribou
atim	NA	dog

atoskawîw	TA	to work for s.o.
atoskihîw	TA	to work an animate obj.
atoskîmîw	TA	to work with s.o.
atoskîw	AI	to work
atoskîwin	NI	work
awa	PR	this(3)
awa-kotak	PR	this other one
awasipa	PRT	behind [house]
awatâwatîw	AI	to carry a bag
awâsis	NA	child
awiδiwa	PR	who (3′)
awiδiwa	PR	someone (3′)
awihîw	TA+O	to lend it to s.o.
awina	PR	who (3)
awina	PR	someone (3)
awinihi	PR	who (3′)
awiniki	PR	who (3p)
ayahâw	PR	whoever (3)
ayahâwa	PR	whoever (3′)
ayahâwak	PR	whoever (3p)
ayamihâwin	NI	religion
ayamihcikîw	AI	to read
ayamihîw	TA	to talk to s.o., to pray
ayamiw	AI	to talk
ayamîkimâw	NA	priest

ayawîw	TA	to have s.o.
ayân	NI	thing
ayânis[a]	NI	thing (dim.), clothes
ayâw	AI	to be
ayâw	TI2	to have it, to get it
ayihîhk	PR	wherever
ayihîδiw	PR	whatever (0')
ayihîw	PR	whatever (0)
ayihîwa	PR	whatever (0p)

â

âcaδôhkîw	AI	to tell legends
âcimîw	TA	to tell s.o. a story
âcimostawîw	TA+O	to tell a story to s.o.
âcimow	AI	to tell a story
âcimowin	NI	story
âδiman	II	to be difficult
âh	INT	yes, I see, oh!
âha	INT	yes
âhcans	NA	ring
âhkosiw	AI	to be sick
âhkosîkamik	NI	hospital

âhkwacisitîwatiw	AI	to have one's feet frost-bitten
âpacihîw	TA	to use [anim. obj.]
âpacihtâw	TI2	to use it
âpatan	II	to be used, to be useful
âpihtâ-kîsikâk	PRT	lunch
âpîkisam	TI	to hang it up to heat [smoke]
âsay	PRT	already
âsikan	NA	sock
âskaw	PRT	sometimes
âstam	PRT	come here
âta	PRT	although, even if
âtiht	PRT	some
âw	INT	come on, look

câ

câh-cahkatawîw	TA	to stab s.o.

ci

cimatâw	TI2	to stand up sticks
cistîmâw	NA	tobacco
ciyi	PRT	right?, isn't that so?

cî

cî	PRT	yes/no question particle
cîcisinam	TI	to rub it in
cîk	NI	check [English borr.]
cîmân	NI	boat, canoe
cîpâtahwîw	TA	to roast [an animal]
cîpokiwâhp	NI	pointed tent
cîpwaskitîw	II	to form a peak
cîskwa	PRT	yet
cîstipitîw	TA	to scratch s.o.

cô

côs	NI	juice [English borr.]

δô

δôskâw	II	to be soft

i

icikâtîw	II	to be called
iδa	PRT	emphatic enclitic
iδikohk	PRT	so much [cf. iδôh]
iδinimin[a]	NI	blueberry (?)
iδiniw	NA	person, Indian, Cree
iδiniwasinahikîw	AI	to write in syllabics
iδiniwi-ayamihcikîw	AI	to read syllabics
iδinîmow	AI	to speak Indian [Cree]

iδipîsimîw	TA	to turn s.o. on one's side
ihkin	II	to function
ihtâw	AI	to exist
ihtiw	AI	to ail, to be sick
ikiskam	TI	to wear it [cf. kikiskam]
isa	PRT	you know
isi	PRT	towards [+NPloc]
isi-	PRV	towards [relative particle]
isiδihkâsow	AI	to be called, to be named
isinâkosiw	AI	to appear thus
isinâkwan	II	to appear thus
isisimîw	TA	to lay s.o. thus
isitâpîw	AI	to drag thus
isitisaham	TI	to send it
isitisahamawîw	TA+O	to send it to s.o.
isitisahwîw	TA	to send s.o.
isiw	AI	to say thus
isîmow	AI	to dance thus
isîpinam	TI	to throw it thus
isko	PRT	until
iskopaδin	II	to be left over
iskopaδiw	AI	to have left over
iskortîw	AI+O	to escort [English borr.]
iskotîw	NI	fire, spark
iskôl	NI	school [English borr.]

iskôliwîw	AI	to go to school
iskôtâmow	AI	to inhale
iskwayâc	PRT	final, at last
iskwâhtîm	NI	door
iskwâtahtam	TI	to be out of breath
iskwâw	II	to be long
iskwîsis	NA	girl
iskwîw	NA	woman
ispaδihîw	TA	to happen to s.o.
ispaδiw	AI	to happen thus
ispakwan	II	to taste thus
ispâhkîpaδiw	AI	to fly upward
ispimihk	PRT	upward, up
ispiy	PRT	when, first
ispîhcâw	II	to be such a size
ispîhcîw	AI	to be so long
it	PRT	it is said
ita	PRT	there, where
itahkamikisiw	AI	to do unimportant things
itastîw	II	to be put so [+NPloc]
itâhpicîw	AI	to be far away
itâsiw	AI	to be counted, to be so old
itâspinîw	AI	to fall ill
itî	PRT	there, thither
itîδihtam	TI	to think [cf. itîyihtam]

itîhwîw	TA	to stir an animate object
itîw	TA	to be named by s.o.
itîw	TA	to say to s.o.
itîyihtam	TI	to think [cf. itîδihtam]
itohtahîw	TA	to take s.o.[+NPloc]
itohtîw	AI	to go
itokî	PRT	perhaps
itwâhtihpîsin	AI	to knock one's head
itwî	PRT	it is said
itwîw	AI	to say

î

î-	PRV	conjunct marker
îh	INT	oh!, look!
îhî	PRT	yes
îho	INT	oh!
îkâ	PRT	negative morpheme
îkosâni	PRT	that's the way
îkosi	PRT	thus

îkosîsi	PRT	like thus
îkospiy	PRT	then, at that time
îkota	PRT	there, that place there
îkotî	PRT	there, that place there
îkotôya	PRT	that kind
îmihkwân	NA	spoon, tablespoon
îmihkwânis	NA	spoon (dim.), teaspoon
înto	PRT	thing
îskan	NA	antler, horn
îtoka	PRT	perhaps
îtôtam	TI	to do it thus
îwako	PR	that one (0) [cf. îyako]
îyako	PR	that one (3)
îyako	PR	that one (0) [cf. îwako]
îyakwani	PR	that one [equational]
îyakwanik	PR	that one (3p)
îyakwîδâc	PRT	finally
îyakwîδiw	PR	that one (0')

ka

ka	INT	oh, you don't say!
ka-	PRV	2future [cf. kika-]
kahkiδaw	PRT	all
kakwî-	PRV	try
kakwîcimîw	TA	to ask s.o.
kapî	PRT	always
kapî-kîsik	PRT	all day
kaskâpahtîw	II	to be smoked
kaskâpasam	TI	to smoke it
kaskihcikîw	AI	to earn
kaskihtâw	TI2	to be able to do it
kaskikaham	TI	to cut it with a metal obj.
kaskikwâsow	AI	to sew
kata-	PRV	should
kawaciw	AI	to be cold
kawisimow	AI	to go to bed, to go to sleep
kawitahwîw	TA	to cut s.o. out with a metal object
kayâmow	AI	to flee quietly
kayâs	PRT	long ago
kayâs-âcimowin	NI	old time story

kâ

kâ-	PRV	conjunct marker
kâδa	PRV	negative mopheme, don't
kâh-kawitahwîw	TA	to cut s.o. out with a metal object
kâhcitaskosiw	AI	to catch one's leg on fire
kâhcitinîw	TA	to catch s.o.
kâla	PRT	don't [baby talk]
kâsâw	II	to be sharp

ki

kicistinam	TI	to wash it
kiδâskiw	AI	to tell lies
kiδipâw	AI	to be quick
kihci-amiskwa	NA	big beaver
kikiskam	TI	to wear it [cf. ikiskam]
kimotiw	AI+O	to steal
kinosîpimiy	NI/NA	fish grease

kinosîw	NA	fish
kisâspin	PRT	if, even if
kisiwâk	PRT	near, nearby
kisiwâsiw	AI	to be angry
kisîδiniw	NA	old man
kisîδiniwîw	AI	to be an old man
kisîpâyâw	II	to be morning
kiskinôhamawîw	TA+O	to teach it to s.o.
kiskinôhamâkîwin	NI	teachings
kiskinôhamâkowin	NI	learning
kiskinôhamowin	NI	learning
kiskinôhâpahtamawîw	TA+O	to learn it by watching s.o.
kiskisiw	AI	to remember
kiskîδimîw	TA	to know s.o.
kiskîyihtam	TI	to know it
kispakisiw	AI	to be thick
kitamwîw	TA	to devour s.o.
kitâw	TI2	to devour it
kitimahîw	TA	to make s.o. poor
kitôtîw	TA	to rebuke s.o.
kiyâm	PRT	enough, anyway, although even if
kiyâpic	PRT	still
kiyokawîw	TA	to visit s.o.
kiyokîw	AI	to visit

kî

kî-$_1$	PRV	future [frozen changed form]
kî-$_2$	PRV	past tense [affirmative]
kî-$_3$	PRV	able
kîδa	PR	you sg.
kîδanânaw	PR	we inclusive [me and you]
kîδawâw	PR	you [2p]
kîδomâhcihîw	TA	to bother s.o.
kîhtahîw	TA	to take s.o. back
kîhtatâw	TI2	to take it back
kîhtwâm	PRT	again
kîk	NA	cake [English borr.]
kîko	PRT	which
kîkway	PR	thing (0,0p)
kîkway(i)	PR	what (0)
kîkwâδiw	PR	what (0')
kîkwâδiw	PR	thing (0')
kîkwâδiw ohci	PR	what for, why
kîkwân	PR	what
kîkwân	PR	thing (0)
kîkwân ohci	PR	what for, why
kîkwâna	PR	thing (0p)

kîsâpiskitîw	II	to be a hot metal
kîsihtâw	TI2	to finish it
kîsikâw	II	to be day
kîsisow	AI	to cook [bread]
kîsiswîw	TA	to cook s.o. [animate obj.]
kîskisam	TI	to cut it
kîskiswîw	TA	to cut s.o.
kîskwîstikwân	NI	crazy head [person]
kîspow	AI	to be full
kîsta	PR	you too [sg]
kîstanânaw	PR	we too [incl]
kîstawâw	PR	you too [pl]
kîta-	PRV	could
kîtahtawîδ	PRT	suddenly
kîwîhtahîw	TA	to bring s.o. back [home]
kîwîhtatâw	TI2	to bring it back [home]
kîwîpaδiw	AI	to run home
kîwîw	AI	to go home

ko

kospâhtawîw	AI	to climb
kospâmow	AI	to flee [up a bank]
kospihtahtâw	TI2	to carry it up a bank [away from water]
kostâciw	AI	to be afraid [of]
kostîw	TA	to be afraid of s.o.
kotak	PR	other (3)
kotak	PR	other (0)
kotaka	PR	other (3′)
kotaka	PR	other (0p)
kotakak	PR	other (3p)
kotawân	NI	smokestand, campfire
kotawânâpisk	NA	stove
kotawânâpiskohkîw	AI	to make a stove

kô

kôcihtâw	TI2	to try it
kôna	NA	snow [sg. only]

kwa

kwayask	PRT	right

kwâ

kwâni	PRT	and, and then, so
kwâni	PRT	that's all
kwâpaham	TI	to scoop it, to draw water
kwâpinîw	TA	to scoop [anim. obj] by hand
kwâskohtîw	AI	to jump
kwâskohtîw	II	to jump [a spark]

kwî

kwîskîw	AI	to turn one's head
kwîskosîw	AI	to whistle
kwîtawîyihtam	TI	to miss

ma

ma-mîcâkanis	NA	doll
macima	PRT	of course
maciskoδow	AI	to have an upset stomach
macostîham	TI	to throw it in the fire
macostîhwîw	TA	to throw [anim. obj.] in the fire
mahîkan	NA	wolf
mahkahk	NA	tub, crate
mahkicihcîw	AI	to have big hands
mahkihtwâkîw	AI	to have big ears
mahti	PRT	whether, if, let's see
makalakis[a]	NI	mukluks [pl. only]
mamâhtâwi-kîkwân	NI	amazing deed
mamâhtâwisiw	AI	to be amazing, to be a shaman
mamâhtâwisiwin	NI	shamanism
manakway	NA	sleeve
manaskosîw	AI	to collect moss
manâ	PRT	[you] realize
masinahamawîw	TA+O	to write to s.o.
masinahikan	NI	book, ledger
maskawisiw	AI	to be strong

maskihkiy	NI	medicine, herb
maskihkiyâhtik	NI	medicine stick
maskihkîδiniw	NA	medicine man
maskisin	NI	shoe, mocassin
maskisinihkîw	AI	to make mocassins
maskisinîhkin	NI	mocassin pattern
maskosis	NA	bear cub
maskwa	NA	bear
matâwisiw	AI	to come to a clearing
matwî-	PRV	audibly, noisy
matwîhtin	II	to ring
mawâc	PRT	as soon as
mawîhkîδimîw	TA	to be apprehensive of s.o.

mâ

mâ	PRT	but [cf. mâka, mâyiδa]
mâcikostân	PRT	let me show you
mâcinâkosiw	AI	to be ugly
mâcipaδiw	II	to start, to begin
mâcîw	AI	to hunt
mâcohkâsow	AI	to pretend to cry

mâhca	PRT	go on! get out of here!
mâka	PRT	but [cf. mâ, mâyiδa]
mâkwîpamîw	TA	to bite s.o.
mâmaskâc	PRT	amazing
mâmitonîyihtam	TI	to think about it
mâna	PRT	used to
mânihtowâsk	NA	metal scraper
mânimâ	PRT	of course [cf. macima]
mâsihisow	AI	to fight one another
mâsihîw	TA	to fight s.o., to rut [animal]
mâskôc	PRT	perhaps
mâtaham	TI	to scrape it by tool
mâtâhîw	TA	to track s.o.
mâtiswîw	TA	to cut s.o. open
mâtow	AI	to cry
mâtowin	NI	crying
mâwac	PRT	better, best [cf. nawac]
mâyakwîw	AI	to speak differently, to have an accent
mâyiδa	PRT	but, and [cf. mâ, mâka]
mâyimow	AI	to cry in pain

mi

mi-	PRV	indefinite personal prefix
miciminam	TI	to hold it
miconi	PRT	so much
miδomâhcihow	AI	to feel good
miδopaδihîw	TA	to make s.o. lucky
miδopaδiw	AI	to do well
miδosiw	AI	to be good [cf. miδwâsiw]
miδôw	AI	to be better
miδwasiw	AI	to be good [cf. miδosiw]
miδwayâw	AI	to be well
miδwîδimow	AI	to think well of oneself
miδwîyihtam	TI	to like it
mihcît	PRT	many, lots
mihcîtin	II	to be many, to be numerous
mihcîtiw	AI	to be many, to be numerous
mihkitam	TI	to scrape flesh
mihkosiw	AI	to be red
mihkwâw	II	to be red
mihta	NI	wood [pl.]
mihtatam	TI	to regret it
mihtatamowin	NI	regret
mikoskâcîyihtam	TI	to be concerned
minahik	NA	pine

minihkwîw	AI	to drink
ministik	NI	island
misâw	II	to be big
misikitiw	AI	to be big
misiwî	PRT	all over, everywhere
miskam	TI	to find it
miskawîw	TA	to find s.o.
miskotam	TI	to mention it
miskwamiy	NA	ice
mistahi	PRT	lots
mistahiwâw	PRT	lots of times
mistahtîw	AI	to be a glutton
mistik	NA	tree [older speakers only]
mistik	NI	stick
mistikowat	NI	box
mitâht-nîsosâp	PRT	twelve
mitâtaht	PRT	ten
mitoni	PRT	so much [cf. miconi]

mî

mîcisow	AI	to eat
mîcisowin	NI	food
mîcisowinâhtik	NI	table
mîciw	TI2	to eat it
mîδîw	TA+O	to give it to s.o.
mîkisistahikîw	AI	to do beadwork
mîkiwâhp	NI	tent
mîkwâc	PRT	while
mîlcîn	NA	Mary Jane [nickname]
mîna	PRT	also
mînohkîw	AI	to make a camp
mînsa	NI	berry [pl.form]
mîscinam	TI	to use it up [cf. mîstinam]
mîstinam	TI	to use it up [cf. mîscinam]
mîstinan	II	to be used up
mîwat	NI	box

mo

mosci-	PRV	free

mô

môδa	PRT	negative
môhkomân	NI	knife
môla	PRT	negative particle [baby talk]
môsak	PRT	always
môscihkwâmiw	AI	to sleep on the ground
môswa	NA	moose
môwîw	TA	to eat [an animal]

mwâ

mwâ	PRT	negative particle [cf. mwâc]
mwâc	PRT	negative particle [cf. mwâ]

na

na	PRT	yes/no question particle
nahapiw	AI	to sit down
nahîyihtam	TI	to listen well

nakacîhtâw	TI2	to know how to do it
nakanâtîw	TA	to bring s.o.
nakasiw	AI	to be left over
nakatîw	TA	to leave s.o. behind
nakiskawîw	TA	to meet s.o.
nakwî-	PRV	try [1st person]
namatakwan	II	to disappear
namîstîk	NI	smoked fish
nanâtohk	PRT	all kinds
napakastîw	II	to be put flat
natawîyihtam	TI	to need it
natonawîw	TA	to search for s.o.
nawac	PRT	best [cf. mâwac]
nawacihisow	AI	to snack
nawacîw	AI+O	to snack

nâ

nâciδoscikîw	AI	to sneak up
nâciδostawîw	TA	to sneak up on s.o.
nâh	INT	here, take it!
nâha	PR	yonder one (3)
nântaw	PRT	about

nâpîsis	NA	boy
nâpîw	NA	man
nâsipîpahtâw	AI	to run down [a bank]
nâsipîw	AI	to go down [a bank]
nâspic	PRT	forever
nâtaδapîw	AI	to lift nets
nâtam	TI	to fetch it
nâtîw	TA	to fetch s.o.
nâtwâpaham	TI	to break it while running

ni

nihtâ-	PRV	know
nihtâwikihîw	TA	to raise s.o., to bear s.o.
nihtâwikin	II	to grow
nihtâwikiw	AI	to be born
nika-	PRV	1st person future prefix
nikamow	AI	to sing
nikohtîw	AI	to chop wood
nipahîw	TA	to kill s.o.
nipahtâw	TI2	to kill it [animal]
nipâw	AI	to sleep

nipiw	AI	to die
nipiy	NI	water
nipiyihkîw	AI	to make water
nipîwin	NI	bed
nipîwinihkîw	AI	to make a bed
nipowin	NI	death
nisicawayâsihk	PRT	Nelson House [loc.]
nisitohtawîw	TA	to understand s.o.
nisiwanâtan	II	to be spoiled, to decay
nisiwanâtinâkwan	II	to look spoiled
nisiwanâtisiw	AI	to be ruined, to have miscarriage or premature labour
nistam	PRT	first
nisto	PRT	three
nisto-mitanaw	PRT	thirteen
nitaminahow	AI	to hunt (?)
nitawi-	PRV	go to, search for
nitawihîw	TA	to cure s.o. [cf. akopitawîw]
nitawiminîw	AI	to look for berries
nitawiskwîw	AI	to look for spruce gum
nitawiwâpahtam	TI	to go to see it
nitawîδimîw	TA	to want s.o.
nitawîyihtam	TI	to want it

nitîtî	PRT	there
nitomîw	TA	to ask s.o.
niyânan	PRT	five
niyânanâpisk	NA	five dollars

nî

nîδa	PR	I, me
nîδanân	PR	we exclusive [me and s.o.]
nîhci-	PRV	below
nîhi	PR	that yonder (3′)
nîhi	PR	that yonder (0p)
nîhîδaw	NA	Cree
nîhîδawi-	PRV	Cree
nîkân	PRT	first of all
nîkânohtîw	AI	to walk in front
nîki	PR	that yonder (3p)
nîmiw	AI	to dance
nîmîδiw	PR	that yonder (0′)
nîpisiy	NI	willow, willow branch
nîso	PRT	two
nîsowîkan	PRT	two pair
nîsta	PR	I-too

nîstanân	PR	we-too exclusive [me and s.o.]
nîtî	PRT	there
nîw	PRT	four [cf. nîyo]
nîyo	PRT	four [cf. nîw]

nô

nôcihcikîw	AI	to work at things [+NPloc]
nôcihkawîw	TA	to handle s.o. (?)
nôcikîsiw	NA	old woman [cf. nôcokîsiw]
nôcokîsiw	NA	old woman [cf. nôcikîsiw]
nôhcimihk	PRT	woods, bush [loc.]
nôhtâ	INT	my god! [voc.]
nôhtî-	PRV	need
nôhtîhkatîw	AI	to be hungry
nôhtîsiw	AI	to be weak
nôhtîtahtam	TI	to have shortness of breath
nôhtîtahtamow	AI	to be short of breath [cf. nôhtîtamow]
nôhtîtamow	AI	to be short of breath [cf. nôhtîtahtamow]
nôkosiw	AI	to appear
nômakîs	PRT	short while

o

ocawâsimisiw	AI	to be pregnant
ocânisiw	AI	to have a daughter
ocipitikow	TA	to have a cramp
ocisâpahtam	TI	to witness it [cf. otisâpahtam]
ocîhkwîham	TI	to sew it by gathering it together
oδahîw	TA	to shape an animate object
oδasowâtam	TI	to arange it, to have a meeting
oδasowîw	AI	to arrange, to have a meeting
oδasowîwin	NI	meeting
oδatahwîw	TA	to shape [anim.obj.] with an instrument
oδatinîw	TA	to form [anim. obj.] by hand
oδâkan	NI	dish, plate
oδipaδiw	II	to digest
oδisam	TI	to shape by cutting
ohci	PRT	from, with, for, out of
ohci-	PRV	negative past tense marker
ohci-	PRV	from

ohcitaw	PRT	anyway, surely
ohpicicikan	NI	baking powder
ohpikihîw	TA	to raise s.o. [cf. nihtâwîkihîw]
ohpikiw	AI	to grow up
ohtîw	II	to boil
opimâcihiwîw	NA	saviour
opîhkîcawîsiw	NA	name of trickster
opônapiwinihk	PRT	South Indian Lake [loc.]
osawa	PR	this odd one (3)
osâm	PRT	too much
osâwaskwâpîs	NA	jackfish, northern pike
osihciwîpinam	TI	to throw it together
osihîw	TA	to make an animate object
osihtâw	TI2	to make it
osôma	PR	this odd one (0)
otâkosihk	PRT	yesterday
otâkosin	II	to be evening
otâpânâsk	NA	toboggan, vehicle
otihtinam	TI	to reach it
otihtinîw	TA	to reach s.o., to grab s.o.
otinam	TI	to take it
otinamawîw	TA+O	to take it to s.o.
otinawâsow	AI	to deliver children

otinîw	TA	to take s.o.
otisâpahtam	TI	to witness it [cf. ocisâpahtam]

ô

ôh-	PRV	past negative morpheme [usually with independent verb]
ôh-	PRV	for [kîkwân ôh-]
ôho	PR	this (3′)
ôho	PR	this (0p)
ôhô	NA	owl
ôko	PR	this (3p)
ôma	PR	this (0)
ôma	PRT	whenever [ôma kâ-]
ômatowa	PRT	this way
ômisi	PRT	like this
ômisîsi	PRT	like this
ômîδiw	PR	this (0′)
ôta	PRT	here
ôta-awa	PR	this one here (3)
ôtî	PRT	here
ôtîδa	PRT	here emphatic

pa

pahkaci	PRT	sometimes
pahkihtin	II	to fall, drop
pahkihtiwatîpahtâw	AI	to drop one's bag running
pahkikawan	II	to have grease falling
pahkikawipahtam	TI	to move the falling grease
pahkisin	AI	to fall
pahkîkin	NI	hide, animal skin
pahkonîw	TA	to skin an animal
pahkwîsikan	NA	bread, flour, dough
pakamahwîw	TA	to hit s.o.
pakamâkan	NI	hammer
pakamâtihpîhwîw	TA	to hit s.o. with an instr.
pakastawîham	TI	to set it in water
pakastawîhwîw	TA	to set [anim.obj.] in water
pakâsimîw	TA	to boil [anim. obj.]
pakitahwâwin	NI	[net] fishing
pakitahwîw	AI	to fish [with a net]
pakitinamawîw	TA+0	to place it on s.o.
pakitinikîw	AI	to set things down
pakitinîw	TA	to set s.o. down
pakocînîw	TA	to gut a fish or animal
pakwan	PRT	anything

pakwanta	PRT	anything
pamihîw	TA	to take care of s.o.
panok	NA	bannock
papâmi-	PRV	around
papâmikwâskohtîw	AI	to jump around
papâmohtîw	AI	to walk around
pasikôw	AI	to stand up
pasistîhwîw	TA	to beat s.o. with a stick
paskâpîkinîw	TA	to cut s.o.'s string or [umbilical cord]
paskopitîw	TA	to pluck s.o.
paskwatâwisam	TI	to cut hair off it
pasôw	TI2	to smell it
patiskam	TI	to miss it
patos	PRT	different
patwîtawîsam	TI	to cut hair
pawâmiw	AI	to dream
pawâsinikan	NI	hallucination (?)

pâ

pâcimâs	PRT	a little later (dim.) [cf. pâtimâ]
pâham	PRT	possibly
pâhpihîw	TA	to laugh at s.o.
pân	NI	pan [English borr.]
pâniswîw	TA	to smoke an animal or fish
pâpapîw	AI	to immerse in water
pâpâ	NA	dad [younger speaker]
pâskisikan	NI	gun
pâskisikîw	AI	to shoot
pâskiswîw	TA	to shoot at s.o.
pâsohwîw	TA	to dry an animate object
pâstîw	NI	dry smoke
pâstîw	II	to dry
pâtimâ	PRT	later, after [cf. pâcimâs]

pi

pihcipaδin	II	to be owing
pihcipaδiw	TI2	to owe it
pihcipow	AI	to be poisoned
pihkotîw	NI	ash
piko	PRT	only, just [cf. pô, poko]
pimâcihisow	AI	to make oneself live
pimâcihîw	TA	to make s.o. live
pimâcihow	AI	to survive
pimâskwamotâw	TI2	to put it across
pimâtakâw	AI	to swim, to wade
pimâtisiw	AI	to live
pimicihcîkicipaδiw	AI	to stagger, to crawl(?)
pimiδâw	AI	to fly
pimihkan	NI	pemmican
piminawâsow	AI	to cook
pimipaδihtâw	TI2	to run things
pimisin	AI	to lie down
pimitisihwîw	TA	to follow s.o.
pimiy	NI/NA	grease, lard
pimohtatâw	TI2	to walk with it
pimohtîsiw	AI	to walk a little (dim.)
pimohtîw	AI	to walk

pimosinîw	TA+O	to throw it at s.o.
pipon	II	to be winter
piscî-	PRV	by mistake
pisiskisîs	NA	little animal (dim.)
pisiskiw	NA	animal
pita	PRT	first

pî

pî-	PRV	towards
pîδisk	PRT	finally
pîhci-	PRV	inside
pîhtakosiw	AI	to be heard
pîhtam	TI	to hear it
pîhtamawîw	TA+O	to bring it to s.o.
pîhtawîw	TA	to hear s.o.
pîhtâpiskahikan	NA	oven
pîhtokamik	PRT	inside
pîhtokîw	AI	to enter
pîhtosikîw	AI	to skin
pîhtwâtîw	TA	to smoke s.o. (?)
pîkopaδin	II	to break
pîkopaδiw	II	to break

pîmâpitîw	AI	to have crooked teeth
pîmikotîw	AI	to have a crooked nose
pîpî	NA	baby
pîpîwîw	AI	to be a baby, to be young
pîsâkanâpiy	NI	rope
pîsâkosiw	AI	to be fleshy
pîsim	NI	month
pîsiwîw	TA	to bring s.o. back
pîskîδimîw	TA	to pay attention to s.o.
pîtâw	TI2	to bring it back
pîwâpisk	NA	can
pîyak	PRT	one
pîyako-	PRV	alone
pîyakwan	PRT	like
pîyakwapiw	AI	to be alone
pîyakwâpisk	NA	one piece of metal, one dollar
pîyakwâw	PRT	once

po

pohtinikîw	AI	to conjure (?)
pohtîw	II	to smoke (?)
poko	PRT	only, just [cf. piko, pô]

postaskisîw	AI	to put on mitts
postiskam	TI	to put it
pô	PRT	only, just [cf. piko, poko]
pônam	TI	to light a fire
pônamawîw	TA	to make a fire for s.o.
pôni-	PRV	stop
pônihtâw	TI2	to stop it
pônihwîw	TA	to light a fire for s.o.
pônipaδin	II	to stop
pôsihîw	TA	to place s.o. [+NPloc]
pôsihtâsow	AI	to load
pôsiw	AI	to depart

sa

sakaskihâpatamawîw	TA	to use it to pin to s.o.
sakîcipaδiw	AI	to have a seizure (?)
sakwîwaskos	NI	water lily

sâ

sâ-sâpiskiswatîw	TA	to fry an animal or fish
sâkahikan	NI	lake
sâkaskinahtâw	TI2	to fill it
sâkihîw	TA	to love s.o.
sâkiskwataciw	AI	to have one's head stick out of the cold
sâpo-taskâtihpîpitîw	TA	to spit open s.o.'s head by pulling
sâpopîw	II	to be wet
sâsiskihkwân	NA	frying pan

si

sihti	NA	tree, evergreen
sikitam	TI	to urinate on it
sipwî-	PRV	away
sipwîhcîhkâsow	AI	to pretend to leave
sipwîhtîw	AI	to leave
sipwîpaδiw	AI	to be on one's way

sipwîpahtâw	AI	to run away
sipwîyâstan	II	to blow away

sî

sîhtâkan	NI	salt
sîkahpitam	TI	to lace it
sîkihtitâw	TI2	to pour it out
sîkinam	TI	to pour it
sîkinamawîw	TA+O	to pour it on s.o.
sîkoc	PRT	between
sîkwan	II	to be spring
sîkwanisiw	AI	to be in spring
sîmâk	PRT	immediately
sîpâ	PRT	under
sîpinamawîw	TA+O	to throw it at s.o.
sîpîhanikwâtam	TI	to string it together by sewing it
sîpokwâtam	TI	to brace it by sewing
sîsîp	NA	duck

sô

sôkâw	NA	sugar
sôniyâs	NA	money (dim.)
sôniyâw	NA	money
sôniyâwi-kîsikâw	II	to be treaty day
sôpihkîw	AI	to make soap

spo

sponsorihwîw	TA	to sponser s.o. [English borr.]

swî

swîcarîs	NI	sweater (dim.) [English borr.]

ta

ta-	PRV	future morpheme
tahkonam	TI	to hold it
tahkonîw	TA	to hold s.o.
tahkopitam	TI	to tie it
tahtinîw	TA	to wrap s.o. around
tahto	PRT	every, many
tahtwaskîwinîw	AI	to be so many years old
takahkîδimîw	TA	to admire s.o.
takopaδin	II	to arrive
takopitam	TI	to tie it
takosin	AI	to arrive
takwâkin	II	to be [late] autumn
takwî-	PRV	try

tâ

tâ-	PRV	should
tâhcipôw	AI	to be fat
tân	PRT	which
tâna	PR	which (3)

tâniδikoh(k)	PRT	how much
tâniδikoh(k)	PRT	so long
tâniδiw	PR	where (0′)
tânihâ	PR	which one (0p)
tânika	PRT	if only
tânimâ	PR	where (0)
tânimâ	PR	all kinds (0)
tân(i)si	PRT	how
tân(i)spiy	PRT	when
tâniwâ	PR	where (3)
tâniwîhi	PR	which (3′)
tâniwîhi	PR	all kinds (0p)
tâniwîhkâ	PR	where (3p)
tânîhâ	PR	where (3′)
tânîhkâ	PR	which (3p)
tântâ	PRT	where
tântahto	PRT	how many
tântî	PRT	where, there
tântôwi	PRT	what kind of
tântôwihkan	PRT	what kind
tâpakwîw	AI	to snare
tâpiskâkan	NI	scarf
tâpiskôc	PRT	like [cf. tâskôc]
tâpwî	PRT	really
tâsipwâ	PRT	in fact, that is why

tâskipahîw	TA	to split [anim.obj.]
tâskipitîw	TA	to split s.o. by pulling
tâskitihpîmîw	TA	to split s.o.'s head open
tâskôc	PRT	like [cf. tâpiskôc]
tâwin	NI	town [English borr.]
tâypo	PRT	so (?)

ti

tihkîsiw	TA	to melt an animate object
tipân	PRT	away
tipiskâw	II	to be dark, to be night
tiy	NI	tea [English borr.]

tî

tîhtapiwin	NI	chair
tîlîhpôn	NI	telephone [English borr.]
tîpihtin	II	to fit
tîpipaδin	II	to be enough
tîpipaδiw	AI	to be enough

tîpipaham	TI	to pay for it
tîpipahikâsow	AI	to pay enough, be worth it
tîpipahikîstamâsow	AI	to pay for it oneself
tîpwâtîw	TA	to yell at s.o.
tîpwîw	AI	to yell

tô

tôhân	NA	ball
tôhtôsâpwiy	NI	milk
tôtam	TI	to do it
tôtawîw	TA	to do it to s.o.
tôwi	PRT	kind [comparing two objects]
tôwihkan	PRT	such a kind

twâ

twâham	TI	to drill a hole in ice

twî

twîhow	AI	to land

wa

waδawi-	PRV	far
waδawîpiciw	AI	to move out
waδawîpinîw	TA	to throw s.o. one
waδawîtimihk	PRT	outside
wanâmîw	TA	to interrupt s.o.
wanihcikîw	AI	to lose things
wanihikîw	AI	to trap
wanihîw	TA	to lose s.o.
wanihtâw	TI2	to lose it
wanikiskisiw	AI+O	to forget
waniskâw	AI	to wake up, to get up
waskawîw	AI	to move
waskway	NI	birchbark
waskway-oδâkan	NI	birchbark cup
waskwayi-cîmân	NI	birchbark canoe
watapiy	NI	root
wawiyakwîskîw	AI	to swear habitually

wâ

wâ-	PRV	supposition
wâδinîw	TA	to make a hollow in [bread]
wâhδaw	PRT	far away
wâpahtam	TI	to see it
wâpahtiδîw	TA+O	to show it to s.o.
wâpamîw	TA	to see s.o.
wâpisiw	NA	swan
wâpisîpimiy	NA	swan grease
wâpiw	AI	to see
wâpiwâkîw	AI	to see things
wâpos	NA	rabbit
wâposwân	NA	rabbitskin
wâsakâmi-	PRV	around
wâsâw	II	to be a bay
wâskâhikan	NI	house
wâstaskotînikan	NI	light
wâstaskotînikâkîw	AI	to light things
wâstîw	II	to be light
wâstîw	NI	light

wi

wiδa	PRT	because [cf. wîδa]
wiδa	PRT	emphatic, contrastive

wî

wî-	PRV	want, going to
wîcayamîw	TA	to be with s.o.
wîci-	PRV	with, accompany
wîci-mîtawîmîw	TA	to play with s.o.
wîcihisow	AI	to help oneself
wîcihîw	TA	to help s.o.
wîcimos	NA	lover
wîcimos	NI	prairie bird [type of plant]
wîcîwîw	TA	to accompany s.o.
wîδa	PR	he/she [personal pronoun]
wîδawâw	PR	they [personal pronoun]
wîhkâc	PRT	ever
wîhkîs	NA	wild ginger
wîhtam	TI	to tell it
wîhtamawîw	TA	to tell it to s.o.
wîhtikôw	NA	wihtikow [legend], cannibal, crazy person

wîkimîw	TA	to marry s.o.
wîmistikôsimow	AI	to speak English
wîmistikôsiw	NA	whiteman
wîmistikôsî-	PRV	whiteman
wîmistikôsîhkâsow	AI	to pretend to be a white person, to forsake Indian values
wîpac	PRT	soon
wîpinawîw	TA	to throw s.o. away
wîpiskâcikîw	AI	to throw your body
wîpiskâhk	PRT	name of place [loc.]
wîsakimin[a]	NI	mossberry [pl. only]
wîsakîyihtam	TI	something hurts s.o.
wîsâ	PRT	so much
wîsta	PR	he/she [personal pronoun]
wîstawâw	PR	they [personal pronoun]
wîwîkinîw	TA	to wrap s.o.
wîyâs	NI	meat

ya

ya	PRT	yes