Semantic and pragmatic functions in Plains Cree syntax

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Chapter 2

Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

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

2.1 The Importance of Being Animate

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

![Figure 2.1 Nominal Animacy Classification](image-url)
The terms animate and inanimate are meant to reflect what appears to be the primary semantic basis underlying the system - a division between living and non-living entities. It is certainly true that all words representing human beings, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, etc., as well as most trees and certain plants, are classified as animate. However, many items which might be classed as semantically inanimate are also included in the Algonquian animate class thus making it a grammatical gender rather than purely semantic. Many attempts have been made to find and describe the underlying semantic basis for this classification (cf. Goddard 2002 for a review), with a large proportion attempting to isolate a single overriding criterion for animacy. One of the popular attempts rests on the notion of spiritual power (cf. Darnell and Vanek 1976, Darnell 1991:99) and the attribution of life. Of course, in order for this to be a fully valid explanation in Plains Cree, Cree speakers would have to attest to a belief in the spiritually powerful nature of animate *asikanak* “socks” and *ayōškanak* “raspberries” in contrast to inanimate *maskisina* “shoes” and *otēhimina* “strawberries”. In the absence of this, such examples tend to be used to refute a pure equation of the animate class with “living things” or the “spiritually active or powerful”. Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude has always been one in which there is something about the animate class that marks the nouns so designated as special, and as will be seen below, this is sometimes backed up by pointing at the greater morphosyntactic markedness of the animate.

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

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

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

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

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

19 This estimate is originally from Siebert (1967), but although his reconstruction of the Algonquian homeland in the Great Lakes region has been largely superceded by suggestions of a more westward, possibly Plateau-centered origin, the estimated time-depth of Algonquian spread throughout the midwest has not been greatly altered (cf. Denny 1991, Goddard 1994).
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“breasts”) life are animate. Additionally, “life” could also be a contributing factor in the identification of certain articles of clothing as animate, such as asāmak “snowshoes”, astisak “mitts”, mitāsak “pairs of pants” and asikanak “socks”. Though today we might recognize only some of these as specialized for the winter cold, traditionally they are all items of clothing restricted to winter and required in one way or another for the preservation of life from exposure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) NI: sg: wāwī “egg” pl: wāwa “eggs”
(4) NA: sg: niska “goose” pl: niskak “geese”

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

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

22 These inflections have been reconstructed for Proto-Algonquian as inanimate *-ali (or *-ari) and animate *-aki, respectively (cf. Bloomfield 1946; Goddard 1994).
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(6) NA: sg: 
  **awa** mahihkan
  awa mahihkan
  DEM.3s NA(3s)
  this wolf

  “this wolf”

  pl: 
  **ōki** mahihkanak
  ōki mahihkan -ak
  DEM.3p NA 3p
  these wolf

  “these wolves”

(7) NI: sg: 
  ē- **wāpiskāk** maskisin
  ē- wāpiskā -k maskisin
  IPV VII 0s NI.0s
  CNJ be.white shoe

  “a white shoe”

  pl: 
  ē- **wāpiskāki** maskisinga
  ē- wāpiskā -ki maskisin -a
  IPV VII 0p NI 0p
  CNJ be.white shoe

  “white shoes”

(8) NA: sg: 
  ē- **wāpiskisit** mahihkan
  ē- wāpiskisi -t mahihkan
  IPV VAI 3s NA.3s
  CNJ be.white wolf

  “a white wolf”

  pl: 
  ē- **wāpiskisicik** mahihkanak
  ē- wāpiskis -cik mahihkan -ak
  IPV VAI 3p NA 3p
  CNJ be.white wolf

  “white wolves”

(9) NI: sg: 
  **wāpiskāw ōma** maskisin.
  wāpiskā -w ōma maskisin
  VII 0s DEM.0s NI.0s
  be.white this shoe

  “This shoe is white.”

  pl: 
  **wāpiskāwa ōhi** maskisinga.
  wāpiskā -wa ōhi maskisin -a
  VII 0p DEM.0p NI 0p
  be.white these shoe

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

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

In addition to the basic monotransitive interactions, various additional valence-changing operations which crucially affect the animate participants of VTA stem forms (e.g. ditransitives and inanimate actors in section 2.2,
reflexives and reciprocals in 2.3, and unspecified actors in 2.4), will be investigated. These will highlight the importance of animate participants within the overall verbal classification system, which will be continued in section 2.3 on the traditionally-assumed role of transitivity in verbal classification and concluded in section 2.4 with a reanalysis of the Cree verbal system in which animacy is isolated as the most fundamentally important factor in the organization of Cree grammar.

2.2 Direct-Inverse Alignment: Person, Topicality, Agency and Animacy

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>1s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>2s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>1p-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>21-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2p-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>3s-1s</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3p-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>3’-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3”</td>
<td>3”-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Possible Animate Person Interactions

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

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

Two other important restrictions reduce the possible interactions in Table 2.1 from actual occurrence in the VTA paradigms. The first of these is to be found in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (e.g. 1s-1s, 21-21, 3p-3p, etc.) which, as will be illustrated subsequently in section 2.3.1.4, are represented by detransitivized stems that do not fit the VTA pattern. The final restrictions occur within the local or speech act participant range of interactions. Specifically, the Algonquian VTA only permits a very select subset of the logically possible interactions among local participants. It is, for instance, impossible for the singular and plural of the same person to...
interact (*1s-1p, *2p-2s, etc.). Additionally, it is impossible to express interactions in which first person (singular or plural exclusive) or second person (singular or plural exclusive) interact with a first and second person plural inclusive. This, along with the elimination of reflexives and reciprocals mentioned above, means that the inclusive is absent from the local set interactions.

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

(11) \textit{niwīcihānānak}.
\begin{verbatim}
ni- wīcih -ā -nān -ak
1 VTA DIR 1p 3p help 1p-3p
\end{verbatim}
“We (excl) help them.”

(12) \textit{niwīcihikonānak}.
\begin{verbatim}
ni- wīcih -iko -nān -ak
1 VTA INV 1p 3p help 3p-1p
\end{verbatim}
“They help us (excl).”

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

\textsuperscript{24} The inverse theme is /-ikw/ (or even */-ekw/) underlyingly, but morphophonological rules will yield a surface form of -\textit{ik}, -\textit{ikw} or -\textit{iko}.
Topicality) Hierarchy and a Semantic Function Hierarchy. The exact forms of the hierarchies which function in Cree are similar, though not identical, to the person and semantic function hierarchies most commonly cited in Functional Grammar (cf. Dik 1997a), requiring some Algonquian-specific modifications.

2.2.1 Universal and Algonquian-specific Hierarchies

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

(13) *The Person Hierarchy*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech Act Participant</th>
<th>Non-Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

(14) *The Algonquian Person Hierarchy*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech Act Participants</th>
<th>&gt;</th>
<th>Non-Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The division of third person participants into proximate (3) and obviative (3’) on the basis of discourse topicality has already been briefly introduced in the previous chapter (see section 1.1.2.2.3). Thus, the Algonquian languages have extended the universal hierarchy by dividing the less topical third persons into those which are relatively higher and lower in topicality within a given discourse. The other extension of the Person Hierarchy can be seen in the Algonquian-specific ranking of second person over first person.
This particular ranking is more difficult to attribute to topicality as there does not appear to be a universal preference for first or second persons. While many may assume a more prominent, egocentric role for first person, it is important to note that there is at least some evidence of constructions cross-linguistically which seem to favour second person over first. One such construction is Spanish “clitic-climbing” as discussed by Myhill (1988, cited in Dik 1997a:38). It is possible that certain construction types, or tendencies in certain languages, favour deference to the addressee over the primacy of the speaker and that this has been extended to a general ranking in Algonquian which further facilitates the form and function of the person/topicality hierarchy.

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

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

(15)  
\[ 2 > 1 > 3 > 3' \]

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

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

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

The Semantic Case-Role Hierarchy
Agent    >    Dative    >    Patient

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

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

1  IPV VTA DIR 3s DEM.3s NA.3s NI 0’p
   PST give 1s-3s that child shoe
   “I gave that child shoes.” / I gave shoes to that child.”

b) nikī-miyāw ana awāsis astisa.

1  IPV VTA DIR 3s DEM.3s NA.3s NA 3’
   PST give 1s-3s that child mitten
   “I gave that child mittens.” / I gave mittens to that child.”
Essentially, the animacy of the patient is irrelevant in ditransitive constructions as the verb is otherwise occupied marking the animacy of the agent and recipient/beneficiary. Furthermore, if we attempt to create a situation in which all three participants are human or the patient outranks the recipient, Cree speakers will fairly uniformly change the construction to avoid the ditransitive and create a biclausal structure. In (20), we have two out of a number of ways provided by one fluent speaker as options to express the elicited sentence, “He gave his son to the church.”

(20)  

a) \( k̓i̓-i̓sítisahwəw əkəsosə ta-ətoskawəyit əyamihēwiyiniw. \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k̓i̓-} & \quad \text{isítisahw} & \quad -̕ & \quad -w & \quad o-\quad \text{kosis} & \quad -a \\
\text{IPV} & \quad \text{VTA} & \quad \text{DIR} & \quad 3s & \quad 3 & \quad \text{NDA}\quad 3' \\
\text{PST} & \quad \text{send} & \quad 3s-3' & \quad \text{son} \\
\text{ta-} & \quad \text{ətoskaw} & \quad -̕ & \quad -yit & \quad \text{əyamihēwiyiniw} & \quad -a \\
\text{IPV} & \quad \text{VTA} & \quad \text{DIR} & \quad 3' & \quad \text{NA} & \quad 3'(') \\
\text{CNJ} & \quad \text{work.for} & \quad 3'-3'' & \quad \text{priest} \\
\text{“He sent his son to work for the priests.”} 
\end{align*}
\]

b) \( k̓i̓-pakinəw əkəsosə ta-nitawi-əyamihēwiyiniwəyit. \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k̓i̓-} & \quad \text{pakinə} & \quad -̕ & \quad -w & \quad o-\quad \text{kosis} & \quad -a \\
\text{IPV} & \quad \text{VTA} & \quad \text{DIR} & \quad 3s & \quad 3 & \quad \text{NDA}\quad 3' \\
\text{PST} & \quad \text{allow} & \quad 3s-3' & \quad \text{son} \\
\text{ta-} & \quad \text{nitawi-} & \quad \text{ayamihēwiyiniw} & \quad -yit \\
\text{IPV} & \quad \text{VTA} & \quad \text{VAI} & \quad 3' \\
\text{CNJ} & \quad \text{go.to} & \quad \text{be.a.priest} \\
\text{“He allowed his son to go and be a priest.”} 
\end{align*}
\]
It is evident that in Cree the recipient and/or beneficiary must outrank the patient, allowing us to formulate the following Algonquian-specific semantic function hierarchy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(25) Algonquian Person/Topicality Scale

\[
2 > 1 > 3 > 3'
\]

Direct =

\[\text{Agent} > \text{Recipient} > \text{Patient}\]

Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Scale

(26) Algonquian Person/Topicality Scale

\[
2 > 1 > 3 > 3'
\]

Inverse =

\[\text{Agent} > \text{Recipient} > \text{Patient}\]

Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Scale

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

(27) \text{niwícihänänak.}  
\begin{align*}
\text{ni-} & \quad \text{wícih -ńä -nän -ak} \\
1 & \quad \text{VTA} \quad \text{DIR 1p 3p} \\
& \quad \text{help 1p-3p} \\
& \quad \text{“We (excl) help them.”}
\end{align*}
(28) niwicihikonānak.

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

Note that these are essentially the same criteria that lead to the occurrence of split-ergative systems in some languages. In such systems, we find some constructions marked in an accusative alignment pattern while others are marked ergatively. As Silverstein (1976), Delancey (1981) and Dixon (1994) have described split-ergativity, the splits among the case systems tend to follow a variety of referential hierarchies including the animacy hierarchy. However, due to the nature of the coding system (quite frequently case-marking), it is always obvious what is being marked accusatively versus what is being marked ergatively. For instance, in the Australian language Dyirbal, we have a morphological split in which local pronominals follow an accusative pattern, while third persons follow an ergative pattern (Dixon 1994:161). This means that local pronouns are marked differently when they occur as transitive patients (P) in comparison to transitive agents (A) or intransitive participants (S). In reference to the hierarchies discussed above, this means that the highly topical speech act participants are marked as different when in the lower-ranking semantic function of patient. Conversely, third persons forms, which are of lower topicality than the local forms, are marked just when they occur in the high ranking semantic role of agent, where we more typically expect highly topical material. What this split is essentially doing is marking local pronouns when they are out of place (as P), and third person forms when they are out of place (as A). This is very similar to what is occurring in the Algonquian Direct-Inverse system, with a twist.
In Cree, the marking is unique in that it is not tied to the form of the verbal person markers (i.e. pronominals) or lexicalized NP participants. Thus, it is not possible to see whether Inverse marking is meant to signal that a highly topical participant is in a semantic role lower than expected (which would otherwise be an accusative pattern) or that a less topical participant is in the agent role (and, hence, ergatively marked). The Direct-Inverse system marks both situations that lead to either Ergative or Accusative at one and the same time based on the prototypical alignment of highly topical persons in highly agentive roles. When these match, all is right with the prototypical world and Direct theme marking prevails. When the opposite is true, the prototypical world is turned upside down, and the Inverse theme marks this abnormal state of affairs, with both a highly topical participant in a lower semantic role (Accusative) and a less topical participant in a highly agentive position (Ergative). Thus, the Direct-Inverse system manages to mark both of the perspectives that each of the two most common case-marking and/or alignment systems of the world mark separately, and this is accomplished by a complete separation of person marking from semantic function. This is clearly the functional equivalent of case-marking, though accomplished in a way quite distinct from the traditional means of nominal case-marking.

2.2.2 Hierarchically-aligned VTA Paradigms

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

The mixed set of the VTA paradigms represents all possible interactions between speech act participants (i.e. 1s, 2s, 1p, 21, and 2p) and third persons (3s, 3p, 3’). Examples given thus far have all been from the mixed set, and most specifically from the Independent Order. The Independent Order in Cree marks a very clear distinction between the two halves of the Person Hierarchy, with prefixes marking only the basic involvement of the speech act participants. If a second person is involved (i.e. 2s, 2p or 21), the prefix \textit{ki-} is used. Otherwise, the prefix \textit{ni-} signals first person involvement (i.e. 1s or 1p).\footnote{The preference of the second person \textit{ki-} over first person \textit{ni-} when both first and second person occur together in the inclusive (21) is important for the ranking of second person over first in the Algonquian Person Hierarchy, but this will be highlighted especially in the discussion of the local set.} Local plurals and third person reference, in contrast, occur as suffixes, but are also quite distinct from one another in form. Table 2.2 gives all 15 possible mixed set direct forms, divided into three subsets based on whether the second argument (A2) is 3s, 3p, or 3’.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-3s</th>
<th>-3p</th>
<th>-3'</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-āw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-āw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ānān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchānān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-ānaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchānaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-āwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchāwāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-āwak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchāwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-āwak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchāwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ānānak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchānānak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-ānawak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchānawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td>-āwāwak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchāwāwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-imāwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchimāwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-imāwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchimāwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-imānāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwīchimānāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-imānawak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchimānawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>kī-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-imāwāwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīchimāwāwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(29) a) *nikī-wīchihāw cān.*  
ni- kī- wīchih -ā -w cān  
1 IPV VTA DIR 3s NA.3s  
PST help 1s-3s John  
“I helped John.”

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

---

26 These could be treated as mutually exclusive, though in the analysis below, the third person singular is represented as a zero allomorph in the presence of the local plural. The alternation of third person allomorphs -w and -Ø is common in the Cree paradigms in general.
c) **nikī-wīchihmāwa čān otānisa.**

\[
\text{ni- kī- wīchih -im -ā -w -a čān o- tānis -a}
\]

1 IPV VTA DISJ DIR 3 3’ NA.3s 3 NDA 3’

PST help 1s-3’ John daughter

“I helped John’s daughter(s).”

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>SAP-pl</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p / 3’</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>1s-3(p’’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>2s-3(p’’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p-3(p’’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-naw</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>21-3(p’’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-wāw</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-3(p’’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Table 2.4
VTA Independent Order Mixed Set Inverse Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>3s-</th>
<th>3p-</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwčihik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikonān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwčihikonān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-ikonaw</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihikonaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikowāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihikowāw</td>
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<td>-1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikwak</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwčihikwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikwak</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihikwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikonānak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>niwčihikonānak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikonawak</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kwčihikonawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
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<td>kwčihikowāwak</td>
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<td>-ikożywa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikonawa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihikonawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikowawa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kwčihikowawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only the forms with an obviative first argument differ greatly in their pattern from the direct paradigm. In this subset, neither -im nor any equivalent morpheme occurs to express the extra degree of separation on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy of the two participants. The presence of -yī, which will be seen again in the Third Person Set, and throughout all paradigms in which obviative forms occur, is sometimes interpreted as a marker of the obviative actor and therefore the inverse counterpart to -im. The local plural forms dispell this notion, and it is in fact the presence of -yī in the singular forms which is somewhat aberrant from its occurrence in all other forms only to mark the presence of an animate third person obviative
referent as the highest ranking argument of a verb. Since, -a is also present to mark the obviative referent, -yi is not strictly necessary (and is absent, as already noted, from the plural speech act participant forms). It is possible that the singular forms simply bely the increasingly frozen nature of -yiwa as a unit which is no longer seen by speakers as transparently analyzable into constituent parts.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>SAP-pl</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p / 3’</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>3(p’)-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td></td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>3(p’)-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-nån</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>3(p’)-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-naw</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>3(p’)-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-wâw</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>3(p’)-2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-3s</th>
<th>-3p</th>
<th>-3’</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-akik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihakik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-akik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihacik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyāhāk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyāhāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyahāk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyahāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-āyēhāk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihāyēhāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-imak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihimak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-imak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihimat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-imāyāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihimāyāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-imāyahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihimāyahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-imāyēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihimāyēk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\textsuperscript{28} It is possible to analyze these markers as strictly referring to first and second person subjects/actors with Ø marking for the third person patient, but this ignores the fact that these forms are not attested as markers of first and second person respectively in any other context than in connection with a third person referent, which returns us to the portmanteau analysis.
same. Table 2.7 summarizes the conjunct endings of the direct mixed set.

Table 2.7
VTA Conjunct Mixed Set Direct Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-yāk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-3(p/)</td>
<td>1s-3(p'/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-3(p/)</td>
<td>2s-3(p'/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-3(p/)</td>
<td>1p-3(p'/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-yahkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>2l</td>
<td>-3(p/)</td>
<td>2l-3(p'/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-yēkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-3(p/)</td>
<td>2p-3(p'/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

²⁹ Although the singular forms are recognized by some speakers, the forms involving local plurals no longer seem to be active at all.
Table 2.8  
VTA Conjunct Order Mixed Set Inverse Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>compl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>3s-</th>
<th>3p-</th>
<th>3'-'</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-isk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihisk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-icik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihicik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iskik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihiskik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyāhkik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyāhkik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyahkok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyahkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyēkok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wīcihikoyēkok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| -1s | ē-    | -iýit |   |     |      | ē-wīcihiýit |
| -2s | ē-    | -iýisk |   |     |      | ē-wīcihiýisk |
| -1p | ē-    | -ikowāyāhk |   |     |      | ē-wīcihikowāyāhk |
| -21 | ē-    | -ikowāyahk |   |     |      | ē-wīcihikowāyahk |
| -2p | ē-    | -ikowāyēk |   |     |      | ē-wīcihikowāyēk |

Table 2.9  
VTA Conjunct Mixed Set Inverse Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>obv?</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ý(i)</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3(p'/)-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ý(i)</td>
<td>-isk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3(p'/)-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-wā</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3(p'/)-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-wā</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3(p'/)-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-wā</td>
<td>-yēkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3(p'/)-2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final paradigm of the VTA mixed set to be discussed here is the Imperative Order with its subdivisions, as displayed in Table 2.10. As imperatives, they are restricted to second person addressees, which include not only true commands directed towards a second person singular or plural addressee, but also a hortative form which a speaker can address to the inclusive first and second person plural (21). Furthermore, Cree imperatives
can be divided into “Immediate” and “Delayed” tenses (cf. Ellis 1970) marking a difference in the immediacy with which the command is expected to be carried out. Finally, the third person goal of the action being commanded can occur in all of the three familiar divisions of singular, plural and obviative.

### Table 2.10

**VTA Imperative Order Mixed Set Interactions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-3s</th>
<th>-3p</th>
<th>-3’</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-ihk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-ātān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-ihkok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihkok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-ātānik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihātānik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-imihk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihimihk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-imātān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihimātān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayed</td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-āhkan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihāhkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-āhkēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihāhkēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-āhkahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihākahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-āhkanik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihāhkanik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-āhkēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>wīcihāhkēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-āhkahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihākahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-imāhkan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-imāhkēk</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihimāhkēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21-</td>
<td>-imākahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihimākahk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The Immediate Imperative contains more idiosyncratic forms of local reference, but the third person plural -ik, and disjunct -im recur. All of these
observations are summarized in Table 2.11, where Immediate and Delayed remain separated due to the differences in form of the local markers.30

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>del</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ihkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-tān</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEL</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-ēkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-ahkw</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td>21-3(p′/)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>del</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

---

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

31 Wolfart (1973:47-49) also discusses additional preterite morphemes in the same position as the delayed imperative marker, as well as preterite and dubitative morphemes separating SAP and third person suffixes and a final-position mode sign for the subjunctive/iterative following third person markers. With the exception of the latter named paradigms, the other forms are now virtually unused in modern Plains Cree and will not be discussed further here. The position of these additional morphemes has no effect on the current analysis, except in terms of the obviative suffix to be discussed immediately.
Algonquian Person Hierarchy. Only the obviative, as a marker of a division of the third person, seems out of place, and this is the morpheme that was most inconsistent in the mixed set paradigm, occurring out of its usual environment in a few aberrant and now archaic forms. In most instances of the use of the obviative morpheme, in fact, it is found directly adjacent to other markers of the third person. It is entirely possible that, as with much concerning the historical shift in Cree paradigms, an old pattern is giving way to a new one and the obviative \(-\hat{y}i\) is shifting in use and position to join the other third person markers as represented in the revised Figure 2.4.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>del</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

**Figure 2.5**
Mixed Set Direct and Inverse

Direct
Person/Topicality

SAP  >  3
Theme: \(-\hat{a}\)
Agent  >  non-Agent
Agency/Animacy

Inverse
Person/Topicality

SAP  >  3
Theme: \(-ikw\)
Agent  >  non-Agent
Agency/Animacy

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

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

Table 2.12
VTA Independent Order Third Person Set Direct Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>-3'</th>
<th>-3''</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s-</td>
<td>-ēw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p-</td>
<td>-ēwak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihēwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'-</td>
<td>-ēyiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihēyiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s-</td>
<td>-imēw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīchimēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p-</td>
<td>-imēwak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīchimēwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'-</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-yīwa</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>wīchēyīwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 2.13
VTA Independent Third Person Set Direct Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3'</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>3s-3'(’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>3p-3'(’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-yīw</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>3'-3''</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One modification that has been made from the earlier mixed set tables is the transposition of the order of SAP and obviative morphemes. In all third person forms in which the obviative morpheme occurs, and this will be shown in section 2.3 below to apply to all paradigms and not just the VTAs, it is always adjacent to basic third person -w. The few aberrant and archaic forms of the mixed set which may have contradicted this at one time are simply being overwhelmed by the prevalence of Independent -ýiw(a) as a unitary marker of an obviative referent.

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

Figure 2.6
Hierarchical Disjunct Morphology in the VTA Direct

Notice also, for the purposes of this schema, that first and second persons are treated as equals on the Person Hierarchy. This avoids the necessity of treating second person acting on third person as the equivalent of two degrees of separation as might be suggested by the earlier depiction of the Algonquian Person Hierarchy. This in turn suggests that the relative ranking of second and first persons may well facilitate the function of the system, but that perhaps the second over first ranking is not as strong a differentiation as the third person distinctions of proximate and obviative. Conversely the
distinctions of proximate, obviative and even further obviative, as attested through the use of -im, are shown to be salient despite the perceived formal underspecification. This might also provide support for the preference of speakers of Algonquian languages, if not Algonquianist linguists, to refer to the distinction of proximate and obviative as one between third and fourth persons rather than a mere distinction of degrees of third person. The further implications for the ranking of local referents will be explored in the section on local interaction.

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

Table 2.14
VTA Independent Order Third Person Set Inverse Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>3'</th>
<th>3''</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td>-ik(ow)</td>
<td>wīcihik(ow)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td>-ik(o)wak</td>
<td>wīcihik(o)wak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3'</td>
<td>-ikoýiwa</td>
<td>wīcihikoýiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 2.15
VTA Independent Third Person Set Inverse Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>3s/3p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>(-w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'</td>
<td>3'-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'</td>
<td>3'-3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-ýi</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3'</td>
<td>3''-3'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 Sub-dialectally, the long-established forms wāpamik and wāpamikwak are sometimes replaced by wāpamikow and wāpamikowak, thus further regularizing the inverse theme to -iko and the third person singular to -w throughout.
These Independent Order paradigms are matched almost identically in the Conjunct Order where only the form of the third person markers differ. As Tables 2.16 and 2.17 show, the direct theme in the Conjunct is -ā rather than -ē, thus matching the mixed set theme rather than the third person Independent, but this is a formal difference which does not mask the functional equivalence of the theme signs. Third person singular and plural morphemes are similarly different in form but equivalent in function.

**Table 2.16**

VTA Conjunct Order Third Person Set Direct Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1 cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-3’</th>
<th>-3”</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s-ē</td>
<td>-āt</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē-wiçhāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p-ē</td>
<td>-ācik</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē-wiçhācik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’-ē</td>
<td>-imāt</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē-wiçhimāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s-ē</td>
<td>-imācik</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē-wiçhimācik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p-ē</td>
<td>-āyit</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē-wiçhāyit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.17**

VTA Conjunct Third Person Set Direct Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>3s-3’(’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>3p-3’(’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-āy</td>
<td>-yī</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>3’-3”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>3’</th>
<th>3”-</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikot</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>wīcihikot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikocik</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>wīcihikocik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.19
VTA Conjunct Third Person Set Inverse Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>disj</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3’</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3’-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td>3’-3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikw</td>
<td>-ýi</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3’’-3’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Figure 2.7
Third Person Set Direct and Inverse

Direct Person/Topicality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3  &gt;  3’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Theme: -ē/-ā

Agent  >  non-Agent

Agency/Animacy

Inverse Person/Topicality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3  &gt;  3’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Theme: -ikw

Agent  >  non-Agent

Agency/Animacy
2.2.2.3 Local Set: Speech Act Participant Interaction

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A1</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>-1s</th>
<th>-1p</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td><em>ki-</em></td>
<td>*in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kiwīcihin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td><em>ki-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>-inān</em></td>
<td><em>kiwīcihinān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td><em>ki-</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>-inān</em></td>
<td><em>kiwīcihinān</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td><em>ki-</em></td>
<td><em>-ināwāw</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>kiwīcihināwāw</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In fact, though all forms take the second person \textit{ki}- as prefix, the person suffixes following the direct theme sign \textit{-i} show a mixture of agreement patterns, as reflected in Table 2.21.

**Table 2.21**

VTA Independent Local Set Direct Morpheme Order\(^{33}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2s</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>1s/2s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s/2p-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

---

\(^{33}\) Though the speech act participant morphemes have been given in this and subsequent Local Set charts in a specific “order”, this is merely for the purposes of illustrating that one or another person is marked and should not be equated with an actually attested or proposed order among these affixes. In the Independent paradigms, it would be possible to separate a singular \textit{-n} from the remaining suffixes, but no such equivalent occurs in the Conjunct so not separating the \textit{-n} has the effect of keeping the paradigms more consistent.
Thus, the prefix *ki-* signals the presence of a second person referent, and the theme signs indicate the fact that this is a local interaction, with the action between two singular referents underspecified, and the marking for the plural referent taking precedence over any marking for the singular. When both participants are plural, the first person exclusive takes precedence rendering the second person number ambiguous.

**Table 2.22**

VTA Independent Order Local Set Inverse Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>1s-</th>
<th>1p-</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīcihitin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīcihitinān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīcihitinān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-itāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwīcihitināwāw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.23**

VTA Independent Local Set Inverse Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>1s/2s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1s-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1p-2s/2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iti</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td>1s-2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The same basic paradigmatic pattern is present in the Conjunct Order, with the exception that the suffix in use when first and second singular participants interact is not ambiguous as in the Independent, but does specify a particular referent. In the direct, agreement is with the second person singular and, in the inverse, agreement is with the first person singular. This pattern is illustrated in Tables 2.24 through 2.27.
In these cases, of course, no person prefix is present, so we could again try to interpret the direct 2s marker and inverse 1s marker as subject
agreement. However, this would combine with the earlier suggestion that the theme signs were subject markers to yield double-marking for subject with no marking for object, and just in these particular forms. Marking for first person plural exclusive continues to take precedence over second person and second person plural is marked at the expense of first person singular regardless of semantic role. Again, the direct-inverse interpretation of these paradigms yields a unitary analysis, while attempts to find something more akin to English subjects and objects is severely limited. What small evidence there may be is more likely to be useful in the search for the ultimate origin of the current system in a diachronically earlier accusatively or even ergatively aligned system. However, it is clear that even the idiosyncratically distributed person marking in these forms has been brought into alignment with the direct-inverse system that is now pervasive throughout all VTA forms.

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

Table 2.28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>-1s</th>
<th>-1p</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihinān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihinān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td>-ihkan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ihkāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihkāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ihkāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihkāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ihkēk</td>
<td></td>
<td>wīcihihkēk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only difference between the Immediate Imperative and Independent endings is in the 2p-1s form where the Independent uses the common 2p Independent suffix -nāwāw, and the Immediate Imperative uses the common 2p Imperative suffix -k. The Delayed Imperatives follow the Mixed Set
pattern with substitution of the Local Direct theme -i in place of -ā. These Imperative Order morphemes are given in Table 2.29.  

Table 2.29  
VTA Imperative Local Set Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>del</th>
<th>(1s/2s)</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/2p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s/2p-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEL</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/2p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-āhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s/2p-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ēk</td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Figure 2.8  
Local Set Direct and Inverse

34 These VTA forms can be compared with the VAI and VTI Imperative Order forms in section 2.3. As with previous Local Set morpheme order tables, the separation of 1s/2s, 1p and 2p into separate columns is not meant to indicate an actual ordering, but simply allows us to see the idiosyncractic agreement patterns of the suffixes.
Whereas the Mixed Set appears to have universal motivation in the topicality of speech act participants over third persons, and the Third Person Set is built on the Algonquian topicality-based distinction of proximate and obviative, the Local Set is much harder to associate with topicality. The most obvious features, the second person Independent prefix *ki*- and the alternation of less-marked *-i* and more-marked *-iti* theme signs, point to the second person outranking first. However, we have also seen that the first person plural is marked in the suffixes at the expense of number-marking the second person altogether. Though second person plural seems to outrank first singular, the singulars seem to be related in a constantly changing form from one paradigm to the next, with first or second taking precedence, or the marking simply being neutralized. This could suggest a modified speech act participant hierarchy, as in (30).

\[(30) \quad 2 > 1p > 2p > 1s/2s\]

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

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

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

Thus far, we have concentrated primarily on the Person/Topicality scale and the way in which verbal person indexing reflects this hierarchy and contributes to the Direct-Inverse system. The function of the theme markers to associate the participants with particular semantic functions has been
described but mostly taken for granted. The current section will explore some of the combinations of semantic functions possible in VTA predications, and seek to demonstrate, reinforce and expand the Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy.

2.2.3.1 Monotransitives

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

(31) Agent-Patient:

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \text{kī-} & \text{pakamahw} & -ā & -w \\
1 & IPV & VTA & DIR & 3s \\
PST & hit & 1s-3s \\
\end{array} \]

“I hit him/her.”

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \text{kī-} & \text{pakamahw} & -ik(w) & (-w) \\
1 & IPV & VTA & INV & 3s \\
PST & hit & 3s-1s \\
\end{array} \]

“S/he hit me.”

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

(32) Agent-Patient(Exp)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \text{kī-} & \text{sēkih} & -ā & -w \\
1 & IPV & VTA & DIR & 3s \\
PST & scare & 1s-3s \\
\end{array} \]

“I scared him/her.”

35 The examples with recipient as A2 are ditransitive in form; see also section 2.2.3.2 below.
b) *nikī-sēkikhik.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \kī- & \text{sēkikh} & \text{-ik(w)} & (-w) \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & 3s \\
\text{PST} & \text{scare} & 3s-1s \\
\end{array}
\]

“S/he scared me.”

(33) Agent-Recipient

a) *nikī-wāstinamawāw.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \kī- & \text{wāstinamaw} & \text{-ā} & \text{-w} \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} & 3s \\
\text{PST} & \text{wave.to} & 1s-3s \\
\end{array}
\]

“I waved to him/her.”

b) *nikī-wāstinamāk.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \kī- & \text{wāstinamaw} & \text{-ik(w)} & (-w) \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & 3s \\
\text{PST} & \text{wave.to} & 3s-1s \\
\end{array}
\]

“S/he waved to me.”

(34) Agent-Recipient(Exp)

a) *nikī-asotamawāw.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \kī- & \text{asotamaw} & \text{-ā} & \text{-w} \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} & 3s \\
\text{PST} & \text{promise.to} & 1s-3s \\
\end{array}
\]

“I promised him/her.”

b) *nikī-asotamāk.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ni-} & \kī- & \text{asotamaw} & \text{-ik(w)} & (-w) \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & 3s \\
\text{PST} & \text{promise.to} & 3s-1s \\
\end{array}
\]

“S/he promised me.”

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

(35) Agent-Direction
a) ṥōtēnāhk isi nikī-pimohtān.
   ōtēnaw -ihk isi ni- kī- pimohtē -n
   NI LOC IPL 1 IPV VAI 1/2
town towards PST walk
   “I walked towards town.”

b) ṣōtēnāhk nikī-itohtān.
   ōtēnaw -ihk ni- kī- itohtē -n
   NI LOC 1 IPV VAI 1/2
town PST go.to
   “I went to town.”

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

(36) Experiencer [-control]-Reference
a) nikī-pēhtawāw.
   ni- kī- pēhtaw -ā -w
   1 IPV VTA DIR 3s
   PST hear 1s-3s
   “I heard him/her.”

b) nikī-pēhtāk.
   ni- kī- pēhtaw -ik(w) (-w)
   1 IPV VTA INV 3s
   PST hear 3s-1s
   “S/he heard me.”

(37) Experiencer [+control]-Reference
a) nikī-nītohtawāw.
   ni- kī- nītohtaw -ā -w
   1 IPV VTA DIR 3s
   PST listen.to 1s-3s
   “I listened to him/her.”
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

b) *nikī-*notehtāk.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>listen.to</td>
<td>3s-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“S/he listened to me.”

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

(38) Experiencer [-control]-Reference

a) *nikī-*pawātāw.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>dream.about</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I dreamt about him/her.”

b) *nikī-*pawātik.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>dream.about</td>
<td>3s-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“S/he dreamt about me.”

(39) Experiencer [+control]-Reference

a) *nikī*-māmitonēyimāw.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>think. about</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I thought about him/her.”

b) *nikī*-māmitonēyimik.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>think.about</td>
<td>3s-1s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“S/he thought about me.”

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

(40) Positioner-Patient
   a) \textit{nikī-kisātāw}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & IPV & VTA & \textit{DIR}  \\
      ni- & kī- & kisāt & -ā & -w  \\
      PST & stay. with &  & 1s-3s &  \\
      & & “I stayed with him/her.” &  \\
   b) \textit{nikī-kisātik}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & IPV & VTA & \textit{INV}  \\
      ni- & kī- & kisāt & -ik(w) & (-w)  \\
      PST & stay. with &  & 3s-1s &  \\
      & & “S/he stayed with me.” &  \\
   
(41) Positioner-Patient(Exp)
   a) \textit{nikī-māmaskātēyihtamihāw}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & IPV & VTA & \textit{DIR}  \\
      ni- & kī- & māmaskātēyihtamih & -ā & -w  \\
      PST & amaze &  & 1s-3s &  \\
      & & “I amazed him/her.” &  \\
   b) \textit{nikī-māmaskātēyihtamihik}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & IPV & VTA & \textit{INV}  \\
      ni- & kī- & māmaskātēyihtamih & -ik(w) & (-w)  \\
      PST & amaze &  & 3s-1s &  \\
      & & “S/he amazed me.” &  \\
   
(42) Positioner-Recipient
   a) \textit{nināsāskomāw}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & VTA & \textit{DIR}  \\
      ni- & nanāskom & -ā & -w  \\
      PST & be.grateful.to &  & 1s-3s &  \\
      & & “I am grateful to him/her.” &  \\
   b) \textit{nināsāskomik}.
      \begin{tabular}{lccl}
         & 1 & VTA & \textit{INV}  \\
      ni- & nanāskom & -ik(w) & (-w)  \\
      PST & be.grateful.to &  & 3s-1s &  \\
      & & “S/he is grateful to me.” &  \\

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

(43) Positioner-Locative

\[
\text{sākahikanih} \text{nīk-ayān.}
\]

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{sākahikan} & -ihk & \text{nī-} & \text{kī-} \\
\text{NI} & \text{LOC} & \text{1} & \text{IPV} \\
\text{lake} & & \text{VAI} & \text{1/2} \\
\end{tabular}

\text{PST be.there}

“I was at the lake.”

(44) Positioner-Associative

\begin{enumerate}
\item \text{nīkī-wīc-āyāmāw (sākahikanihk).}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{nī-} & \text{kī-} & \text{wīci-ayām} & -ā & -w & (sākahikan -ihk) \\
\text{1} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} & \text{3s} & (NI \text{ LOC)} \\
\text{PST be.with} & & \text{1s-3s} & & & (\text{lake })
\end{tabular}

“I lived with him/her (at the lake).”

\item \text{nīkī-wīc-āyāmik (sākahikanihk).}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{nī-} & \text{kī-} & \text{wīci-ayām} & \text{-ik(w)} & -w & (sākahikan -ihk) \\
\text{1} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & \text{3s} & (NI \text{ LOC)} \\
\text{PST be.with} & & \text{3s-1s} & & & (\text{lake })
\end{tabular}

“S/he lived with me (at the lake).”
\end{enumerate}

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

(45) a) \text{nīkī-nikamon.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{nī-} & \text{kī-} & \text{nikam} & \text{-n} \\
\text{1} & \text{IPV} & \text{VAI} & \text{1/2} \\
\text{PST sing}
\end{tabular}

“I sang.”
b) nikī-wīci-nikamōmāw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>kī-</th>
<th>wīci-nikamō-</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>sing. with</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I sang with him/her.”

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

(46) Zero-Reference

a) ninaspitawāw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>naspitaw</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>resemble</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I resemble him/her.”

b) ninaspitāk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>naspitaw</th>
<th>-ik(w)</th>
<th>(-w)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>resemble</td>
<td>3s-1s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“S/he resembles me.”

Despite the apparent vagueness of the “Reference” role, it could be argued that this is, in fact, used far more extensively in many frameworks, under the guise of such terms as objective, patient, or theme, to characterize second arguments in general whether or not they seem to be greatly affected by an action or situation.
Thus a number of different semantic roles can fill the first argument position of monotransitive VTAs, most of which can be conflated with agent or actor function in other frameworks, and thus outranking the second argument regardless of its role. Even where the first argument appears to be a patient or undergoer, the second argument is a lower ranking theme or reference. Regardless of the role associated with the first argument, the direct-inverse system links it to the more or less topical participant as appropriate.

2.2.3.2 Ditransitives

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

(47) Agent-Recipient-Patient
   a) \(\text{nikī-miyāw anima masinahikan.}\)
      \begin{tabular}{lccccc}
        ni- & kī- & miy & -ā & -w & anima masinahikan \\
        1 & IPV & VTA & DIR & 3s & DEM.0’s NI.0’s \\
        PST & give.to & 1s-3s & that & book \\
      \end{tabular}
   “I gave him/her that book.”

   b) \(\text{nikī-miyik anima masinahikan.}\)
      \begin{tabular}{lccccc}
        ni- & kī- & miy & -ikw & (-w) & anima masinahikan \\
        1 & IPV & VTA & INV & 3s & DEM.0’s NI.0’s \\
        PST & give.to & 3s-1s & that & book \\
      \end{tabular}
   “S/he gave me that book.”
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

(48) Agent-Recipient-Patient
   a) \textit{nikī-osīhtamawāw anima wāskahikan}.
      \begin{tabular}{llllll}
        1 & IPV & VTA & DIR & 3s & DEM.0’s \NI.0’s \\
        PST & make.for & 1s-3s & that & house \\
      \end{tabular}
      \begin{tabular}{llllll}
        “I built him/her that house.” / “I built that house for him/her.” \\
      \end{tabular}
   
   b) \textit{nikī-osīhtamāk anima wāskahikan}.
      \begin{tabular}{llllll}
        1 & IPV & VTA & INV & 3s & DEM.0’s \NI.0’s \\
        PST & make.for & 3s-1s & that & house \\
      \end{tabular}
      \begin{tabular}{llllll}
        “S/he built me that house.” / “S/he built that house for me.” \\
      \end{tabular}

The example in (48) also illustrates the fact that most Cree ditransitives are clearly derived structures adding the complex suffix \textit{-amaw} to a VTI stem which would normally refer to an animate agent and an inanimate patient.\footnote{The suffix \textit{-amaw} is historically derived from an inanimate object or theme marker \textit{-am} plus the animate applicative \textit{-aw}, now frozen as a unit. More will be said about the inanimate object theme marker in section 2.3 below.}

The derivation is thus historically an applicative, but synchronically an obligatory one since a recipient or beneficiary cannot be added into the structure in any other way, as attested by the ungrammaticality of (49).

(49) *\textit{nikī-osīhtān anima wāskahikan nīwa ohci}.
      \begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
        1 & IPV & VT\textsubscript{1/2} & 1/2 & DEM.0’s & \NI.0’s & 1 & NDA & 3s & IPC \\
        PST & make & that & house & wife & for \\
      \end{tabular}
      \begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
        “I built that house for my wife.” \\
      \end{tabular}

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

(50) a) \textit{nikī-wāskahikanihkawāw}.
      \begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
        1 & IPV & VTA & 3s & \ DIR & 3s & 1s-3s & \\
        PST & build.house.for & & & & & & \\
      \end{tabular}
      \begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
        “I built a house for him/her.” / “I house-built for him/her.” \\
      \end{tabular}
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

b) *nikī-wāskahikanihkāk.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VTA</th>
<th>INV</th>
<th>3s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>build.house.for</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“S/he built a house for me.” / “S/he house-built for me.”

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

(51) Agent-Patient-Locative

a) *akocikanihk nikī-ahāwak nitastisak.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VTA</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>3p</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shelf</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>1s-3p</td>
<td>mitt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I put my mitts on the shelf.”

b) *akocikanihk nikī-astān nitastotin.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VTA</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>NI.0s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shelf</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I put my hat on the shelf.”

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

(52) Agent-Patient-Direction

a) *nikī-pimohtahāw ōtēnāhk isi.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VTA</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>NI</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>IPL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>take.along</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td>town</td>
<td>towards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I took him/her towards town.”
b) ōtēnāhk nikī-itohtahāw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ōtēnaw</th>
<th>-ihk</th>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>kī-</th>
<th>-itohtah</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>town</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I took him/her to town.”

(53) Agent-Patient-Source

a) nikī-nīhtināw akocikanihk ohci.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>kī-</th>
<th>nīhtin -ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
<th>akocikan -ihk ohci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>take.down</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td>shelf</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I took him/her/it (animate) down from the shelf.”

b) akocikanihk nikī-ohtināw.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>akocikan -ihk</th>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>kī-</th>
<th>ohtin</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shelf</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>obtain.from.there</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I got him/her/it (animate) from the shelf.”

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

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

a) nikī-kiskinawahamawāw nēhiyawēwin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ni-</th>
<th>kī-</th>
<th>kiskinawahamaw -ā</th>
<th>-w</th>
<th>nēhiyawēwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>teach</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I taught him/her Cree.” / “I taught Cree to him/her.”
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

b) *nikī-kiskinwahamāk nēhiyawēwin.*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ni-} & \text{kī-} & \text{kiskinwahamaw} & \text{-ikw} & \text{(-w) nēhiyawēwin} \\
1 & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & \text{3s NI.0’s} \\
PST & \text{teach} & 3s-1s & \text{Cree} \\
\end{array}
\]

“S/he taught me Cree.” / “S/he taught Cree to me.”

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

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

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

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

The principles underlying the Direct-Inverse system are clearly relevant to the cross-generational transmission of Plains Cree grammar. Paradigmatic shifts over time, whether in relation to Proto-Algonquian (cf. Goddard 1967), or simply between Cree dialects (cf. Ellis 1970) have allowed for the almost complete regularization of the Direct-Inverse system such that semantic functions can be aligned with participants on a person-topicality scale without recourse to specific case forms. That this is not simply an underspecification of syntactic case but of the complete absence of a
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A separate level of syntactic functions will be the topic of Chapter 3.

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

**Figure 2.9**

Speech Act Interaction

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

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

It is possible to expand the Circle of Reference depicted in Figure 2.10 to include the further obviative, and even the inanimate third person, though
only the former will be represented in the true VTA paradigms. If the object of a transitive verb is inanimate, it will not be represented by a VTA stem at all, but rather by a VTI (though see sections 2.3 and 2.4 subsequently). If we wish to try to represent the inverse relation in which an inanimate acts upon an animate patient, this is possible in what has been referred to as the VTA Inanimate Actor paradigm. However, though this paradigm is built on the basic VTA stem, and utilizes the inverse morpheme in the consistent shape -iko, the inflections associated with this paradigm are identical to the animate intransitive verb (VAI) forms. The Inanimate Actor paradigms will be described in the following section, serving to introduce the discussion of the other verb classes and the overall verbal system in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

2.2.5 Inanimate Actor VTA

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

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

### Table 2.30

VTA Independent Order Mixed and Third Person Set Inanimate Actor Interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>0s/0p/0’s/0’p-</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikon</td>
<td></td>
<td>niwícihikon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikon</td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwícihikon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikonān</td>
<td></td>
<td>niwícihikonān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iko(nā)naw</td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwícihiko(nā)naw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikonāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwícihikonāwāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikow</td>
<td></td>
<td>wícihikow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikowak</td>
<td></td>
<td>wícihikowak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ikoýiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>wícihikoyiwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

Table 2.31
Independent Inanimate Actor Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3’</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0-1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0-2s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>0-3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yī</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>0-3’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2</th>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>0s/0p/0’s/0’p-</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyān</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyān</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyan</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyāh</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyāh</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikoyāh</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyah</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyāk</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoyāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>ē-wičihikot</td>
<td>ē-wičihikot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikocik</td>
<td>ē-wičihikocik</td>
<td>ē-wičihikocik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoýit</td>
<td>ē-wičihikoýit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

Table 2.33
Conjunct Inanimate Actor Morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3'</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0-1s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0-2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0-1p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0-21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0-2p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-3s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-3p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-yī</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>3'</td>
<td></td>
<td>0-3'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(55) *maskikhīsa anihi nī-kī-wīcihikon.*

maskikhīs -a anihi nī- kī- wīcih-iko -n
NI 0p IPC 1 IPV VTA-InAct 1/2
pill FOC PST help

"Those pills helped me."

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

A: āha, ē-kī-wīcihikoyān anihi maskikhīsa.

āha ē- kī- wīcih-iko -yān anihi maskikhīs -a
IPC IPV IPV VTA-InAct 1s DEM.0p NI 0p
yes CNJ PST help those pill

"Yes, those pills helped me."

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

(57) wahwā! ōm ōma niki-miyikon sōniyāw.

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

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

(58) a) nēhiyawēwin ← nēhiyawē + -win
   NI VAI
   “Cree language” “speak Cree”

   b) pimipahtāwin ← pimipahtā + -win
      NI VAI
      “run; running; election” “run”

(59) a) atoskākowin ← atoskaw + -iko + -win
      NI VTA
      “work done for one” “work for s.o.”

37 The general object -ikē attaches to VTI stems and to VTA2 stems (i.e. those which end in a vowel-glide sequence). Otherwise, the general object marker for most VTA stems is -iwē.
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

b) \( \text{asotamākowin} \leftarrow \text{asotamaw} + -\text{iko} + -\text{win} \)
   NI      VTA
   “promise made to one”    “promise (s.t.) to s.o.”

(60) a) \( \text{otinikēwin} \leftarrow \text{otinikē} + -\text{win} \leftarrow \text{otin} + -\text{ikē} \)
   NI      VAI      VTI
   “shopping”    “shop”    “take s.t.”

b) \( \text{asotamākēwin} \leftarrow \text{asotamākē} + -\text{win} \leftarrow \text{asotamaw} + -\text{ikē} \)
   NI      VAI      VTA
   “promise (made by one)”    “promise (others)”    “promise to s.o.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>VTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>VTA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.34**

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

**Figure 2.11**
Transitivity over Animacy

2.3.1 VII, VAI and VTI

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

2.3.1.1 Inanimate Intransitive Verbs (VII)

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

Table 2.35
VII Independent Order, Indicative Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VII stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>wāpāstēw</td>
<td>“It is faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>wāpāstēwa</td>
<td>“They are faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’s</td>
<td>-ýiw</td>
<td>wāpāstēýiw</td>
<td>“(The other) is faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’p</td>
<td>-ýiwa</td>
<td>wāpāstēýiwa</td>
<td>“(The others) are faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.36
VII Independent Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>0s</th>
<th>0p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’s</td>
<td>-ýi</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’p</td>
<td>-ýi</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.37
VII Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>VII stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>ē-wāpāstēk</td>
<td>“(as) it is faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>ē-wāpāstēki</td>
<td>“(as) they are faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ýik</td>
<td>ē-wāpāstēýik</td>
<td>“(as) (the other) is faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0’p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ýiki</td>
<td>ē-wāpāstēýiki</td>
<td>“(as) (the others) are faded”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The basic pattern exhibited in these tables is already familiar from the preceding discussion of the VTA Mixed and Third Person Sets. The inanimate third person affixes are similar, if not identical, to their animate counterparts, while the order of elements is identical with an obligatory third person marker, which can be augmented by a following marker of plurality and/or a preceding marker for obviation. The obviative suffix -ýi, as will continue to be seen, is identical throughout all Cree verbal paradigms wherever the obviative third person is the highest ranking participant involved.

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

2.3.1.2 Animate Intransitive Verbs (VAI)

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

Table 2.39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>VAI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>niwāpāson</td>
<td>“I am fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>kiwāpāson</td>
<td>“You are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>niwāpāsonān</td>
<td>“We are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td>kiwāpāso(nā)naw</td>
<td>“We are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td>kiwāpāsonāwāw</td>
<td>“You (all) are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>wāpāsow</td>
<td>“S/he is fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>wāpāsowak</td>
<td>“They are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yīwa</td>
<td>wāpāsoyīwa</td>
<td>“(The other(s)) is/are fair/pale”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yī</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparison with the VTA Independent forms, the third person markers are identical, though there are some small differences in the form of the speech act participant suffixes. When these latter are compared with the suffixes found in the Inanimate Actor paradigm, however, we see that they are identical (compare Tables 2.31 and 2.40). In fact, with the exception of the inverse theme traditionally included in the Inanimate Actor paradigm, the forms are identical, lending further weight to the similarity of these forms despite the difference in transitivity. The same is true of the Conjunct Order paradigms, where Table 2.42 can be compared with the Inanimate Actor Table 2.33 given earlier.
Table 2.41
VAI Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>VAI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyān</td>
<td>“(as) I am fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yan</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyan</td>
<td>“(as) you are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyāhk</td>
<td>“(as) we are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yahk</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyāhk</td>
<td>“(as) we are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyēk</td>
<td>“(as) you (all) are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>ē-wāpāso t</td>
<td>“(as) s/he is fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-cik</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsocik</td>
<td>“(as) they are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yīt</td>
<td>ē-wāpāsoyīt</td>
<td>“(as) (the other(s)) is/are fair/pale”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.42
VAI Conjunct Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cmpl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yī</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

With the full range of person reference available, VAI stems can also occur in the Imperative Order (Tables 2.43 and 2.44). This is restricted to
second person forms, whether true imperatives directed to the second person singular (2s) or plural exclusive (2p), or the hortative directed by the speaker to the group of which she is a part (i.e. plural inclusive (21)). As already introduced for VTAs, an additional feature of the Imperative Order is that it occurs in the two forms, Immediate (IMM) and Delayed (DEL) Imperative. The division is analogous to a tense distinction (as it is classified by Ellis 1970:83), though the delayed imperative suffixes appear to share features with the Conjunct Order inflections.

Table 2.43
VAI Imperative Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VAI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>nikamo</td>
<td>“Sing!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>nikamok</td>
<td>“Sing (ye)!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tān</td>
<td>nikamotān</td>
<td>“Let’s sing!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hkan</td>
<td>nikamohkan</td>
<td>“Sing later!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hkēk</td>
<td>nikamohkēk</td>
<td>“Sing (ye) later!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>-hkāh</td>
<td>nikamohkāh</td>
<td>“Let’s sing later!”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.44
VAI Imperative Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>del</th>
<th>SAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>-tān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-ēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td>-āhk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three local forms represented in the Imperative Order are thus marked as follows in the the Conjunct and Imperative respectively: 2s -yan/-an; 21 -yahk/-ahk; 2p -yēk/-ēk. The alternation of [y]-initial forms with those that lack [y] will be very important in the subsequent discussion of the agreement patterns exhibited in all paradigms.
Not all VAI stems are felicitous in the Imperative, since the action needs to be something that a volitional agent can control. Thus, a different verb has been used to exemplify the Imperative in Table 2.43 in comparison to the earlier VII and VAI paradigms. One final comparison must be made between VAI and VII stems themselves. Note that it is not only the form of the person affixes that differentiates the verb types but the very form of the stem itself. Thus, from the paradigm examples above, the VII stem wāpāstē- “be faded” can be compared with VAI wāpāso- “be pale, be fair-complexioned”. A great many such pairs occur within the language, relating these two intransitive verb forms.

2.3.1.3 Transitive Inanimate Verbs (VTI)

In contrast to both VII and VAI stems, transitive inanimate verbs (VTIs) pattern with VTA stems by making reference to two participants. In the case of VTIs, these will be an animate actor or first argument and a second argument which is inanimate. As such, this should, at least theoretically, allow for a doubling of the possible paradigmatic forms since now each of the animate persons can act upon an inanimate patient (or “goal” in the Algonquianist sense) in either the singular or plural. The extent to which this occurs actually shows considerable variation across the Algonquian languages. For instance, Micmac has extensive agreement with singular and plural inanimate objects (as well as adding a dual distinction for subjects; cf. Fidelholtz 1999). Blackfoot allows singular and plural object marking but only when speech act participants are acting, not with third person agents (i.e. where the inanimate patient would necessarily be obviative; cf. Frantz 1991). Saulteaux (Ojibwa) marks the inanimate object as singular and plural only when the actor is singular (1s, 2s and 3s; cf. Cote 1985), and a similar situation seems to pertain for Western Abenaki (cf. Goddard 1967). Cheyenne only marginally appears to mark the number distinction for inanimate objects when the animate actor is plural (i.e. 1p, 21, 2p and 3p; cf. Leman 1980). In contrast with all of these, Cree does not mark a number distinction for objects at all, as illustrated in Tables 2.45 and 2.46.38 In contrast to the double paradigms provided for each of the other verb classes, the morpheme order analysis will be reserved for more detailed discussion below.

---

38 The forms of these paradigms are based on Wolfart 1973 and Ahenakew 1987a.
Table 2.45
VTI Independent Order, Indicative Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>niw̥pahtēn</td>
<td>“I see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>kiw̥pahtēn</td>
<td>“You see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ēnān</td>
<td>niw̥pahtēnān</td>
<td>“We see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ē(nā)naw</td>
<td>kiw̥pahtē(nā)naw</td>
<td>“We see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ēnāwāw</td>
<td>kiw̥pahtēnāwāw</td>
<td>“You (all) see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>wāpahtam</td>
<td>“S/he sees it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-amwak</td>
<td>wāpahtawak</td>
<td>“They see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-amiýiwa</td>
<td>wāpahtamiýiwa</td>
<td>“(The other(s)) see(s) it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.46
VTI Conjunct Order, Indicative Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-amān</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtamān</td>
<td>“(as) I see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-aman</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtaman</td>
<td>“(as) you see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-amāhk</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtamāhk</td>
<td>“(as) we see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-amāhk</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtamāhk</td>
<td>“(as) we see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-amēk</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtamēk</td>
<td>“(as) you (all) see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ahk</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtahk</td>
<td>“(as) s/he sees it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ahkik</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtahkik</td>
<td>“(as) they see it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-amiýit</td>
<td>ē-w̥pahtamiýit</td>
<td>“(as) (the other(s)) see(s) it/them”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>nitona</td>
<td>“Look for it!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-amok</td>
<td>nitonamok</td>
<td>“Look (ye) for it!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-ētān</td>
<td>nitonētān</td>
<td>“Let’s look for it!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-amōhkan</td>
<td>nitonamōhkan</td>
<td>“Look for it later!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-amōhkēk</td>
<td>nitonamōhkēk</td>
<td>“Look (ye) for it later!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-amōhkahk</td>
<td>nitonamōhkahk</td>
<td>“Let’s look for it later!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(62) VTI: wāpaht- “see s.t.” VTI: niton- “look for s.t.”
VTI: wāpam- “see s.o. VTA: nitonaw- “look for s.o.”

VTI: pakamah- “hit s.t.” VTI: wēpin- “throw s.t. out”
VTI: pakamahw- “hit s.o.” VTA: wēpin- “throw s.o. out”

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

2.3.1.4 Transitive Animate Verbs Revisited

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

Two other construction types associated with VTA stems can now also be cited with regard to this pattern. As noted in the earlier discussion of person interactions coded by VTA stems, reflexive and reciprocal actions are not
represented within the full VTA paradigms (see section 2.2 and particularly Table 2.1). Both reflexive (RFLX) and reciprocal (RCPL) constructions are built on VTA stem forms, but only as modified by detransitivizing derivational suffixes, creating new stems that fit exactly the pattern of the animate intransitive (VAI) paradigms. For the purposes of illustration, a fully transitive interaction based on the VTA stem wīcih- “help s.o.” is again illustrated in example (63), with both direct (63a) and inverse (63b) morphology, while a reflexive derived by the addition of -iso, and a reciprocal derived by the addition of -ito, are shown in examples (64) and (65) respectively. The derived stems, wīcihiso- “help oneself” and wīcihito- “help one another” take VAI and only VAI stem inflections and can only ever reference a single participant, as illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (64b) and (65b) respectively.

(63)  

a) \textit{kikī-wīcihānawak}.
\begin{verbatim}
ki- kī- wīcih -ā -naw -ak
2 IPV VTA DIR 21 3p
PST help 21-3p
\end{verbatim}
“We (incl) helped them.”

b) \textit{kikī-wīcihikonawak}.
\begin{verbatim}
ki- kī- wīcih -iko -naw -ak
2 IPV VTA INV 21 3p
PST help 3p-21
\end{verbatim}
“They helped us (incl).”

(64)  

a) \textit{kikī-wīcihisonaw}.
\begin{verbatim}
ki- kī- wīcihiso -naw
2 IPV VAI 21
PST self.help
\end{verbatim}
“We helped ourselves.” (e.g. ‘We did it on our own.’)

b) *\textit{kikī-wīcihisonawak}.
\begin{verbatim}
ki- kī- wīcih -iso -naw -ak
2 IPV VTA RFLX 21 3p
PST help self
\end{verbatim}
“??”
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

(65) a) \textit{kikī-wīcihitonaw}.
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} &- \text{kī} &- \text{wīcihito} &- \text{naw} \\
\text{2} & & \text{IPV} & & \text{VAI} & & 21 \\
\text{PST} & & \text{one.another.help} \\
\text{“We helped each other.” (e.g. ‘I helped you and you helped me.’)}
\end{align*}

b) \textit{*kikī-wīcihitonawak}.
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} &- \text{kī} &- \text{wīcih} &- \text{ito} &- \text{naw} &- \text{ak} \\
\text{2} & & \text{IPV} & & \text{VTA} & & \text{RCPL} & & 21 & & 3p \\
\text{PST} & & \text{help} & & \text{one.another} \\
\text{“??”}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{VTA Independent Order Mixed and Third Person Set Reflexives}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{A1} & \text{prefix} & \text{stem} & \text{endings} & \text{example} \\
\hline
1s- & ni- & -ison & niwīcihison \\
2s- & ki- & -ison & kiwīcihison \\
1p- & ni- & -isonān & niwīcihisonān \\
21- & ki- & -iso(nā)naw & kiwīcihiso(nā)naw \\
2p- & ki- & -isonāwāw & kiwīcihisonāwāw \\
& & -isow & wīcihisow \\
& & -isowak & wīcihisowak \\
& & -isoýiwa & wīcihisóýiwa \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

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

---

\(^{39}\) Reciprocals are nearly identical, though typically restricted to only plural reference, which thus usually eliminates 1s, 2s, and 3s reciprocal constructions. The Conjunct Order presents no deviations from the patterns noted here for the Independent.
Table 2.49
Independent Reflexive Morpheme Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>reflx</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>obv</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3p/3’</th>
<th>interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1s-1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2s-2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>nān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1p-1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2l-2l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>nāwāw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p-2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3s-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3p-3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iso</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>3’-3’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.3.2 The Cree Verbal System Revisited

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

\(^40\) Examples of lexicalized reciprocals, at least as an alternate strategy, can be found in English as well. For instance, we can replace “we talk to each other” with “we interact” (Hengeveld: personal communication).
animate person reference, while VTAs show a high number of interactions between two distinct animate participants. Between these two extremes, we have the VAI and VTI paradigms which, though arguably closer to each other than either is to the VII or VTA paradigms, still generally exhibit differences which keep them distinct. These differences have been accentuated over time in some of the languages (e.g. Micmac and Ojibwa), reinforcing the Algonquian distinction. However, we have also begun to see that these two paradigms have actually been reshaped and made more similar in Cree. The actual picture is considerably more complex and the aim of the remainder of the current section is to take a much closer look at the Plains Cree VAI and VTI paradigms and offer a reanalysis of these paradigms, which, though fairly minor in itself, has considerable consequences for the entire Cree verbal classification system, its saliency for speakers, and its learnability for both L1 and L2 speakers.

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

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

41 The term “pseudo-transitive” seems to imply that this set is pretending to be transitive when it is not. It is actually the opposite case. They are fully transitive verbs both semantically and syntactically, but which morphologically appear as if they are “pretending” to be intransitive.
and 2.2.1.3 respectively. In each example, a lexical inanimate third person obviative referent (0’s) is optionally included to illustrate either the impossibility of including an object with the intransitive verb in (66), or the optionality of lexicalizing the object with the transitive verb in (67).\(^{42}\)

\[(66)\] a) \textit{pimohtēw (*mēskanaw)}.  
\begin{verbatim}
  pimohtē -w  *mēskanaw  
  VAI  3s  NI.0’s  
  walk  
  “S/he walks / S/he is walking.”  *“S/he walks the road.”
\end{verbatim}

b) \textit{ē-pimohtēt (*mēskanaw) …}  
\begin{verbatim}
  ē-  pimohtē -t  *mēskanaw  
  IPV  VAI  3s  NI.0’s  
  CNJ  walk  
  “(as) s/he walks/  *“As s/he is walking  
  /(as) s/he is walking …”  
  the road…”
\end{verbatim}

\[(67)\] a) \textit{wāpahtam (mēskanaw)}.  
\begin{verbatim}
  wāpaht -am  mēskanaw  
  VTI  3s(-0’)  NI.0’s  
  see  
  “S/he sees it.”  “S/he sees a/the road.”
\end{verbatim}

b) \textit{ē-wāpahtahkan (mēskanaw) …}  
\begin{verbatim}
  ē-  wāpaht -ahk  mēskanaw  
  IPV  VTI  3s(-0’)  NI.0’s  
  CNJ  see  
  “(as) s/he sees it …”  “(as) s/he sees a/the road …”
\end{verbatim}

The differences between the third person forms of the VAI and VTI paradigms seem quite clear. The VAI stem, \textit{pimohtē-}, ends in a vowel and takes the suffixes \textit{-w} in the Independent Order and \textit{-t} in the Conjunct Order. In contrast, the VTI stem, \textit{wāpaht-}, ends in a consonant and takes the Independent suffix \textit{-am} and the Conjunct suffix \textit{-ahk}.\(^{43}\) However, Cree also

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

\(^{43}\) This analysis follows Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a) who include everything following a consonant-final VTI stem (e.g. \textit{wāpaht-}) as part of the person inflection, without
exhibits a large class of “pseudo-transitive” verbs, as exemplified in (68).

(68) a) \( \text{kīsihtāw (mēskanaw)} \)
\( \begin{align*}
\text{kīsihtā} & \quad -w \\
\text{VAI} & \quad 3s(-0') \\
\text{finish} & \\
\text{“S/he finishes it.”} & \\
\end{align*} \) mēskanaw

\( \begin{align*}
\text{NI.0’s} & \\
\text{road} & \\
\text{“S/he finishes (making) the road.”} & \\
\end{align*} \)

b) \( \text{ē-kīsihtāt (mēskanaw)} \) …
\( \begin{align*}
\text{ē-} & \quad \text{kīsihtā} \quad -t \\
\text{IPV} & \quad \text{VAI} \quad 3s(-0') \\
\text{CNJ} & \quad \text{finish} \\
\text{“(as) s/he finishes it …”} & \\
\end{align*} \) mēskanaw

\( \begin{align*}
\text{NI.0’s} & \\
\text{road} & \\
\text{“As s/he is finishing the road …”} & \\
\end{align*} \)

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

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

(69) a) \( \text{pimohsē (*mīhkana)}. \)
\( \begin{align*}
pimohsē & \quad -Ø & \quad \text{*mīhkana} \\
\text{VAI} & \quad 3s & \quad \text{NI.0’s} \\
\text{walk} & \\
\text{“S/he walks / S/he is walking.”} & \quad \text{“S/he walks the road.”} & \\
\end{align*} \)

b) \( \text{pimohsēt (*mīhkana)} \) …
\( \begin{align*}
pimohsē & \quad -t & \quad \text{*mīhkana} \\
\text{VAI} & \quad 3s & \quad \text{NI.0’s} \\
\text{walk} & \\
\text{“(as) s/he walks /} & \quad \text{“As s/he is walking} & \\
\text{(as) s/he is walking …”} & \quad \text{the road …”} & \\
\end{align*} \)

necessarily recognizing any specific marker for the inanimate object. Details of this analysis and alternatives will be dealt with subsequently.
In (70), the Saulteaux VTI Conjunct form (70b) is again very similar to the Cree equivalent illustrated earlier in (67b). There is, however, a considerable difference in the Independent forms where Saulteaux includes a third person prefix o- and the suffix -ān can then be analyzed as marking the inanimate obviative object. 44

(70) a) **owāpantān (mīhkana).**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>wāpant</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>VTI</td>
<td>0’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>mīhkana</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“S/he sees it.”</td>
<td>“S/he sees a/the road.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) **wāpantank (mīhkana) …**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāpant</td>
<td>-ank</td>
<td>mīhkana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>3s-0’</td>
<td>NI.0’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>“(as) s/he sees it …”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(as) s/he sees a/the road …”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(71) a) **okīšihtōn (mīhkana)**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>kīšihtō</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>VTI-2</td>
<td>0’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finish</td>
<td>mīhkana</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“S/he finishes it.”</td>
<td>“S/he finishes (making) the road.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

44 It is even possible to mark this obviative object as plural on the verb and noun: **owāpantānān mīhkanaan** “s/he sees (them) the roads”.

45 It will be argued subsequently that such an explanation is certainly available for Cree as well. This is not to suggest that the historical pathway to such a system has been straightforward. Instead, it may have needed a considerable amount of analogical levelling to arrive at such a state.
b) \( \text{k\={i}siht\=o} \) (\( \text{mihkana} \)) …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>inflection</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k={i}siht=o</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI-2</td>
<td>3s(-0’s)</td>
<td>NI.0’s finish road</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“(as) s/he finishes it …” “(as) s/he is finishing the road …”

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

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

---

46 Due to other morphological considerations, “pseudo-transitives” are generally divided into two distinct classes, which are thus classified as VTI classes 2 and 3.
(72) ostostotam (*sihkowin).\textsuperscript{47}  
\begin{align*}
\text{ostostot} & \quad -\text{am} & \quad *\text{sihkowin} \\
\text{VTI?} & \quad 3\text{s(-0’s?)} & \quad \text{NI.0’s} \\
\text{cough} & \quad \text{spittle} & \quad \text{“S/he coughs.”} \\
& \quad *\text{“S/he coughs up spittle.”}
\end{align*}

(73) māham (*cīmān).  
\begin{align*}
māh & \quad -\text{am} & \quad *\text{cīmān} \\
\text{VTI?} & \quad 3\text{s(-0’s?)} & \quad \text{NI.0’s} \\
paddle.\text{downstream} & \quad \text{canoe} & \quad \text{“S/he paddles downstream.”} \\
& \quad *\text{“S/he paddles a canoe downstream”}
\end{align*}

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

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

\textbf{2.3.3 Transitivity-based Cree Verb Classifications}

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

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

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

### 2.3.3.1 Wolfart and Ahenakew

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Imperative (Imm)</th>
<th>Imperative (Del)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>-amān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
<td>-amān</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-amōhkan&lt;sup&gt;48&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-ēnān</td>
<td>-ēnān</td>
<td>-amāhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-ē(ṇā)naw</td>
<td>-ē(ṇā)naw</td>
<td>-amahk</td>
<td>-ētān</td>
<td>-amōhkahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-ēnāwāw</td>
<td>-ēnāwāw</td>
<td>-amēk</td>
<td>-amok</td>
<td>-amōhkēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ahk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-amwak</td>
<td>-amwak</td>
<td>-ahkik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-amiıŷwa</td>
<td>-amiıŷwa</td>
<td>-amiŷit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>48</sup> Delayed imperative endings are generally represented as lengthening the preceding vowel (at least historically), and so these forms are represented in Wolfart (1973) and Ahenakew (1987a) with a long [o:]. This is not done in Okimăsis and Ratt (1984, 1999) as the distinctiveness of vowel length is being obscured before pre-aspirated consonants in Plain Cree.
The main problem centers around the analysis of third person forms in the Independent Order which all include the sequence /am/. The identification of -am as agreement for the third person actor allows for both an invariant stem and the consistent interpretation of all inflection to be markers of the animate actor, features often felt to be a virtue of this analysis. Looked at in isolation, it is true that -am is restricted to third person forms in the Independent. However, this ignores the fact that this same marker occurs in numerous places (sometimes extended as -amo) in the Conjunct and Imperative Orders, where it is apparently more commonly associated with speech act participants than with third persons. Such a distribution requires consideration and at least initially suggests that -am should not be equated with the third person actor.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>-w / -Ø</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-w / -Ø</td>
<td>-t (/ -k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-cik (/ -kik)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>amwak</td>
<td>-ahkik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Direct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s(-3')</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p(-3')</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-cik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inverse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3'-3s)</td>
<td>Ø (/ -w)</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3'-3p)</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-cik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inclusion of Wolfart and Ahenakew’s VTI forms shows, in fact, that /am/ stands out like a sore thumb, found nowhere else. Instead, third person Independent reference is quite consistently handled by the suffix -w, although the alternative of zero-marking (-Ø) is also a possibility. The plural then simply adds the same animate nominal pluralizer -ak. In fact, removing /am/ from the VTI forms, leaves -Ø and -wak, allowing the third person to be marked consistently across all animate paradigms. The situation is similar in
the Conjunct where -t is the fairly consistent marker of the third person singular, to which can be added plural -ik (along with palatalization of the -t to [c]). A marginal variant of -t is -k, mostly limited to inanimate reference but also found in a subclass of VAI verbs to be discussed subsequently (see especially Table 2.57 in section 2.3.3.3 below). If this (and plural -kik) is segmented from the VTI conjunct, we are left with /ah/ rather than /am/. However, this is simply /am/ disguised by historical sound change of nasals to [h] before consonants (cf. Pentland 1979).

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

2.3.3.2 Okimâsis and Ratt

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

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

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49 Compare also the Saulteaux form given earlier in example (70) containing the cognate ending -ank, showing assimilation of place to [k] but no loss of nasalization and voicing.
that they do not segment the VTI class 1 forms in the same way as Wolfart and Ahenakew. Table 2.52 shows that a different stem form is assumed, which in turn has consequences for the endings.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Imperative (Imm)</th>
<th>Imperative (Del)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>*-n</td>
<td>-mān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>*-n</td>
<td>-mān</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-mohkan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>*-nān</td>
<td>-māhk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>*-(nā)naw</td>
<td>-māhk</td>
<td>*-tān</td>
<td>-mohkahk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>*-nāwāw</td>
<td>-mēk</td>
<td>-mōk</td>
<td>-mōhkēk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-hk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-mwak</td>
<td>-hkik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-miyiwa</td>
<td>-miyit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

In choosing the 2s(-0) Immediate Imperative form of the VTI class 1 verb (e.g. nitona) as the stem, this allows a unitary analysis of all VAI and VTI 2s immediate imperatives as equivalent to the basic stem. This makes sense from a language-teaching standpoint, since the 2s VTI Imperative can be spoken and used as a word, whereas the form of the stem advocated by Wolfart and Ahenakew can never stand as a word by itself in Cree. Thus, the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis avoids the positing of an abstract stem that may not be perceived by speakers to have independent existence in the language. However, it does introduce a complication to the stem form that Wolfart and Ahenakew avoid. In noting that the /a/ of the stem does not occur in all forms, Okimāsis (2004) posits a stem-vowel alternation which changes /a/ to [ē] in all Independent Order speech act participant forms, as well as the 21 Immediate Imperative (i.e. those forms marked by * in Table 2.52). Positing a stem-final vowel alternation might appear ad hoc, if it was the only such occurrence in the language. However, a similar phenomenon occurs when a VAI stem ends in /ē/. Such stems require an alternation of /ē/ to [ā] in the
speech act participant forms of the Independent Order. Thus, both VAI and VTI stems appear to undergo a very similar, almost complementary stem-alternation, as demonstrated when comparing the 2s Immediate Imperative (a) and 1s Independent (b) data of VAI and VTI stems in examples (74) and (75) respectively.

(74) a) pimohtē!
pimohtē
VAI
walk
“Walk!”

b) nipimohtān.
ni- pimoht/ē/ > [ā] -n
1 VAI 1/2
walk
“I walk.”

(75) a) nitona!
nitona
VTI cl1
look.for.0
“Look for it!”

b) ninitonēn.
ni- niton/a/ > [ē] -n
1 VTI cl1 1/2
look.for
“I look for it.”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Immediate Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VAI (VTI cl2&amp;3)</td>
<td>VTI cl1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-nān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-mwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td>-ýiwa</td>
<td>-miýiwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Table 2.54
Select VAI and VTI class 1 Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Delayed Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VAI (VTI cl2&amp;3)</td>
<td>VTI cl1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>-mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-yan</td>
<td>-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-māhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-yahk</td>
<td>-mahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>-mēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-hk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-cik</td>
<td>-hkik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'</td>
<td>-ýit</td>
<td>-miýit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the two analyses surveyed here differ in a number of ways, both with points in their favour, both still unable to account for all the facts of Cree VAI and VTI verbs. While Wolfart and Ahenakew provide the simplest stem form, its status as abstract from any spoken word is problematical in the classroom. While Okimāsis and Ratt avoid this by using an actual word form as their stem, this forces the need to describe a stem-form alternation. While Wolfart and Ahenakew provide a maximally distinct VTI paradigm in contrast to the VAI, they must classify many transitive verbs under the title of “intransitive”. Okimāsis and Ratt avoid this, but at the expense of duplicating identical paradigms under different classifications. Neither analysis fully addresses the status of /am/ as historically descended from an object marker, something that would clearly mark VTIs (at least class 1) as fully transitive. The problem then would be to find something similar among the pseudo-transitives, and neither analysis attempts to do so. Wolfart and Ahenakew might have done so, but the attribution of -a as a subject rather than object marker in the third person Independent prevented this. For Okimāsis and Ratt, a unitary -am does not exist. Finally, neither analysis takes into account several other features of the Cree verbal system, such as “pseudo-intransitives” which can be used to regularize the classification in favour of transitivity or animacy. Each possibility will be explored below.

2.3.3.3 Transitivity Regularized

In order to best fit the Cree paradigms to the Algonquian transitivity-based model, we need to recognize all semantically transitive verbs as belonging to the class of VTI. This has already been done within the Okimāsis and Ratt analysis. However, we must also recognize the occurrence of -am (and possible alternate forms) as, if not agreement morphology with the inanimate object, then at least as a marker of the transitive status of VTI class 1 stems, separate but linked to the stem, and separate from the suffixal actor marking. This entails treating -am as a transitive inanimate “theme” sign along the lines of the theme or direction markers which are so important to the direct-inverse system of the VTA paradigms (review section 2.2 and see Appendix A for further details). Whereas VTA themes specify the (reversible) direction of interaction between two animate participants, the VTI theme system can be much simpler, specifying only the fact that there is interaction between the animate actor and an inanimate goal. Simpler in function, that is, although perhaps not in form. As we have seen above, the fact that -am (or even -a) does not occur consistently throughout the VTI paradigms has steered earlier analyses away from the position that will be suggested here. The key to the
suggested analysis in Table 2.55 (on the following page) comes in choosing the basic stem form of Wolfart and Ahenakew and joining this to an extended version of the stem-alternation of Okimäsis and Ratt. In this model, the abstract stem (as per Wolfart and Ahenakew) is first extended by a VTI theme showing variation (as per Okimäsis and Ratt), to which only then are actor agreement suffixes added.

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

Table 2.55
VTI Class 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjoint</th>
<th>Imperative (Imm)</th>
<th>Imperative (Del)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>theme</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>theme</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>niton-</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-āhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-āhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ah</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-ah</td>
<td>-kik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-iıywa</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-iyćit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(76) a) nitonam.
   niton -am -Ø
   VTI TH 3s
   look.for 3s-0’
   “S/he looks for it/them.”

b) nitonikēw.
   nitonikē -w
   VAI 3s
   search
   “S/he is searching.”

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

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

(77) a) miskam.
   misk -am -Ø
   VTI TH 3s
   find 3s-0’
   “S/he finds it/them.”

b) miskikātēw.
   miskikātē -w
   VII 0s
   be.found
   “It is found.”

c) misk- + -ikātē > miskikātē-
   VTI XAct VII

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

However, we can also find forms that point towards derivation from the /a/-final stem-forms suggested by Okimāsis and Ratt. In the following
examples, the derivation of diminutive verbs is illustrated. In (78), a VAI stem is first illustrated (a) and then shown in diminutive form (b) with the derivation itself illustrated in (c). (79) shows this same derivational relationship between a VTI stem (a), a derived diminutive VTI (b) and the derivation.

(78) a) \(pāhpiw\).
\[pāhpi \quad -w\]
VAI 3s
laugh
“S/he laughs.”

b) \(pāhpisiw\).
\[pāhpisi \quad -w\]
VAI 3s
laugh.a.little
“S/he laughs a little.” / “S/he smiles.”

c) \(pāhpi \quad + \quad -si \quad > \quad pāhpisi\)
VAI DIM VAI

(79) a) \(pakamaham\)
\[pakamah \quad -am \quad -Ø\]
VTI cl.1 TH 3s
hit 3s-0’
“S/he hits it/them.”

b) \(pakamahasiw\)
\[pakamahasi \quad -w\]
VTI cl.3 3s
hit.a.little
“S/he taps it/them.”

c) \(pakamah-a \quad + \quad -si \quad > \quad pakamahas\)
VTI cl.1 DIM VTI cl.3

In order to treat the diminutive derivation as unitary in this instance, the VTI stem to which the derivation applies requires the inclusion of the thematic -a (or simply the stem following Okimāsis and Ratt 1984). Examples like these provide further problems of classification, since these VTI diminutives do not remain class 1 as evidenced by the inflectional pattern. Under the
Wolfart-Ahenakew model, VTI diminutives would need to be classified as VAIIs, but they are still transitive. Essentially, to recognize that the result remains a semantically transitive verb, the diminutive derivation must be interpreted as creating a whole new group of transitive verbs. These in turn, morphologically, can be classified as VTI class 3, thus extending and further justifying the necessity for this classification.

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

(80)  a)  nikamow.
  nikamo    -w
  VAI  3s
  sing
  “S/he sings.”

b)  nikamohēw.
  nikamoh   -ē   -w
  VTA  DIR  3s
  make.sing  3s-3’
  “S/he has ((an)other(s)) sing.”

c)  nikamo- + -h > nikamoh-  
  VAI  CAUS  VTA

(81)  a)  wāpahtam.
  wāpaht   -am   -Ø
  VTI cl.1  TH  3s
  see  3s-0’
  “S/he sees it/them.”

b)  wāpahtahēw.
  wāpahtah   -ē   -w
  VTA  DIR  3s
  show  3s-3’
  “S/he shows (it) to (an)other(s).”

c)  wāpaht-a + -h > wāpahtah-  
  VTI cl.1  CAUS  VTA
This latter stem, wāpahtah- alternates with a form, wāpahtih-, which would not require the thematic -a in the derivation. Yet further variation occurs in this pattern demonstrating the fluctuating nature of the combination of VTI stem and theme. Some VTI causative derivations, rather than being based on the bare or /a/-extended stem, are based on the stem as extended by -am, as in (82), or even -amo, as in (83).

\[(82)\]
\[
a) \quad \text{kaskēyihtam.} \\
\quad \text{kaskēyih} \quad -\text{am} \quad -\emptyset \\
\quad \text{VTI cl.1} \quad \text{TH} \quad 3s \\
\quad \text{be.sad.over} \quad 3s-0' \\
\quad \text{“S/he is sad over it.”}
\]
\[
b) \quad \text{kaskēyihtamīhēw.} \\
\quad \text{kiskēyihtamīh} \quad -ē \quad -w \\
\quad \text{VTA} \quad \text{DIR} \quad 3s \\
\quad \text{make.sad} \quad 3s-3' \\
\quad \text{“S/he makes ((an)other(s)) sad.”}
\]
\[
c) \quad \text{kaskēyiht-am} + -h > \text{kiskēyihtamih-} \\
\quad \text{VTI cl.1} \quad \text{CAUS} \quad \text{VTA}
\]

\[(83)\]
\[
a) \quad \text{nisitohtam.} \\
\quad \text{nisitoht} \quad -\text{am} \quad -\emptyset \\
\quad \text{VTI cl.1} \quad \text{TH} \quad 3s \\
\quad \text{understand} \quad 3s-0' \\
\quad \text{“S/he understands it.”}
\]
\[
b) \quad \text{nisitohtamōhēw.} \\
\quad \text{nisitohtamōh} \quad -ē \quad -w \\
\quad \text{VTA} \quad \text{DIR} \quad 3s \\
\quad \text{make.understand} \quad 3s-3' \\
\quad \text{“S/he makes ((an)other(s)) understand.”}
\]
\[
c) \quad \text{nisitoht-am} + -h > \text{nisitohtamōh-} \\
\quad \text{VTI cl.1} \quad \text{CAUS} \quad \text{VTA}
\]

Another pattern which includes -am is exemplified in the ditransitive derivation of VTI to VTA stems.
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(84) a) \textit{nitonam.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VTI & TH & 3s & 3s-0' \  
  look.for & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

“S/he looks for it/them.”

b) \textit{nitonamawēw.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VTA & DIR & 3s & 3s-3' \ 
  look.for.for & 3s-3' \ 
\end{tabular}

“S/he looks for (it) for (an)other(s).”

c) \textit{niton-am + -aw} > \textit{nitonamaw-}^{50}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VTI & BEN & 3s & 3s-0' \ 
  look & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

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

(85) a) \textit{nikamow.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VAI & 3s & 3s & 3s-0' \ 
  sing & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

“S/he sings.”

b) \textit{nikamowin}

NI

song

c) \textit{nikamo-} + -\textit{win} > \textit{nikamowin-}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VAI & NOM & 3s & 3s-0' \ 
  know & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

(86) a) \textit{kiskēyihtam.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  VTI cl.1 & TH & 3s & 3s-0' \ 
  know & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

“S/he knows it.”

\begin{tabular}{llll}
  kiskēyiht & -am & -Ø & 3s-0' \ 
\end{tabular}

This derivation is commonly represented as adding the complex benefactive suffix -\textit{amaw} to a VTI stem, though this is itself historically derived from the VTI inanimate object marking -\textit{am} and the animate marker -\textit{aw}. It is certainly true here that -\textit{am} has lost all force as a marker of inanimacy, since the patient of ditransitive verbs can be inanimate or animate.
b) \textit{kiskēyihtamowin}  
NI  
knowledge  

c) \textit{kiskēyiht-amo} + -\text{win} \rightarrow \textit{kiskēyihtamowin-}  
VTI cl.1  
NOM  
NI  

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.56</th>
<th>VTI Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VTI class 2 endings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VTI Stem</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>person</th>
<th>theme</th>
<th>person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ā : -n</td>
<td>-ā : -yân</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-ā : -n</td>
<td>-ā : -yan</td>
<td>-ā : -O</td>
<td>-ā : -hkan</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-ā : -yāhk</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-ā : -nāwāw</td>
<td>-ā : -yēk</td>
<td>-ā : -k</td>
<td>-ā : -hkēk</td>
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<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-ā : -w</td>
<td>-ā : -t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ā : -wak</td>
<td>-ā : -ck</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-ā : -yiwa</td>
<td>-ā : -yít</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

(87) a) osīhtāw.
    osīht- -ā -w
    VTI cl.2 TH 3s
    make 3s-0'
  “S/he makes it/them.”

b) osīhcikēw.
    osīhcikē -w
    VAI 3s
    manufacture
  “S/he is manufacturing (things).”

c) osīht- + -ikē > osīhcikē-
    VTI VAI

The palatalization of /t/ to [c] in osīhcikē shows the direct attachment of [i]-initial -ikē to the bare stem osīht-. Example (88) illustrates the same point for the passivizing derivational suffix -ikātē.

(88) a) osīhtāw.
    osīht- -ā -w
    VTI cl.2 TH 3s
    make 3s-0'
  “S/he makes it/them.”

b) osīhcikātēw.
    osīhcikātē -w
    VII 0s
    be.made
  “It is made.”

c) osīht- + -ikātē > osīhcikātē-
    VTI VII

The benefactive derivation is also very common with VTI class 2 stems, again illustrating that it is the bare stem osīht- (extended with -am just as a class 1 VTI) rather than osīhtā- which undergoes the derivation.
(89) a) osīhtāw.
   osīht- -ā -w
   VTI cl.2 TH 3s
   make 3s-0’
   “S/he makes it/them.”

b) osīhtamawēw.
   osīhtamaw -ē -w
   VTA DIR 3s
   make.for 3s-3’
   “S/he makes (it) for (an)other(s).”

c) osīht- + -am + -aw > osīhtamaw-
   VTI cl.1? TH BEN VTA

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2.57
VAI Class 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VAI class 2 endings</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
<th>Imperative (Imm)</th>
<th>Imperative (Del)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>ep</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-(nā)wāw</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yahk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yīwa</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yīt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

(91)  a)  
\begin{verbatim}
  kikhēntam       (*owē).
  kikhēnt-am     *owē
  VAI              PrI.0's
  know            that
  “S/he knows.”             *“S/he knows that.”
\end{verbatim}

b)  
\begin{verbatim}
  okikhēntān       (owē).
  o- kikhēnt -ān owē
  3 VTI 0’s          PR.0's
  know            that
  “S/he knows it.”    “S/he knows that.”
\end{verbatim}

The occurrence of such patterns in Saulteaux and other Ojibwa dialects, suggests that, regardless of the marginality of the classification to Cree, there are cognate patterns elsewhere in the Algonquian family, thus providing some validation of this classification.
The result of this lengthy discussion is a classification of Cree VAI and VTI verbs which allows us to systematically preserve the Algonquian distinction of transitivity as the primary criterion upon which the verbal system rests. Table 2.58 illustrates this classification in which VAI and VTI stems each fall into three distinct classes.

### Table 2.58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Class</th>
<th>VAI</th>
<th>VTI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>vowel-final</td>
<td>/am/-theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>/n/-final</td>
<td>/ā/-theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>/am/-final</td>
<td>Ø-theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 2.3.4 Further Questions

Although the preceding section has been dedicated to an attempt to regularize the use of transitivity as an organizing principle for Cree verbal classification, the results may not appear entirely convincing. A level of abstraction and complication is needed to fit the facts to the classification.
which amplifies rather than simplifies the burden of learning the range of paradigms. There are also a great many other general features of transitivity which are not built into this system and which the Cree data show to be utterly irrelevant.

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

(92)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mihkwāw (maskisin).} \\
\text{mihkwā} & -w & \text{maskisin} \\
\text{VII} & 0s & \text{NI.0s} \\
\text{be.red} & & \text{shoe} \\
\text{“It is red.”} & & \text{“A/the shoe is red.”}
\end{align*}
\]

(93)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mamēnaskwāw (*kīsik).} \\
\text{mamēnaskwā} & -w & *kīsikw \\
\text{VII} & 0s & \text{NI.0s} \\
\text{be.partly.cloudy} & & \text{sky} \\
\text{“It is partly cloudy.”} & & \text{“The sky is partly cloudy.”}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

(94)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wāskahikanis nikī-osīhtamawāw niwākimākan.} \\
\text{wāskahikanis} & \text{ ni-} & \text{ kī-} & \text{ osīhtamaw} & -ā & -w & \text{ ni-} & \text{ wākimākan} \\
\text{NI.0’s} & 1 & \text{ IPV} & \text{ VTA} & \text{ DIR} & 3s & 1 & \text{ NDA.3s} \\
\text{cabin} & \text{ PST} & \text{ make.for} & 1s-3s & \text{ spouse} \\
\text{“I built a cabin for my wife.”}
\end{align*}
\]

(95)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pahkwēsikana nikī-osīhtamawāw niwākimākan.} \\
pahkwēsikana & -a & \text{ ni-} & \text{ kī-} & \text{ osīhtamaw} & -ā & -w & \text{ ni-} & \text{ wākimākan} \\
\text{NA} & 3’ & \text{ 1s} & \text{ IPV} & \text{ VTA} & \text{ DIR} & 3s & 1 & \text{ NDA.3s} \\
\text{bannock} & \text{ PST} & \text{ make.for} & 1s-3s & \text{ spouse} \\
\text{“I made bannock for my wife.”}
\end{align*}
\]
There are also a number of derivational patterns which have the effect of converting one type of verb into another, based presumably on transitivity distinctions and certainly couched in those terms historically. Thus, we have already seen how the creation of reflexive and reciprocal verbs from monotransitive VTA stems has the effect of detransitivizing the stem, which as a result is classified as a VAI. Similar examples are given here, as (96) and (97) respectively, including with each an example of the VTA stem (a) from which they are derived.

(96) a) \textit{nikī-wīcihāw}.
\begin{verbatim}
  ni- kī- wīcih -ā -w
  1 IPV VTA DIR 3s
  PST help 1s-3s
\end{verbatim}
“I helped him/her.”

b) \textit{nikī-wīcihison}.
\begin{verbatim}
  ni- kī- wīcihiso -n
  1 IPV VAI 1/2
  PST help.self
\end{verbatim}
“I helped myself.”

c) \textit{wīcih- + -iso > wīcihiso}.
\begin{verbatim}
  VTA          RFLX
  VAI
\end{verbatim}

(97) a) \textit{kikī-wīcihāwāwak}.
\begin{verbatim}
  ki- kī- wīcih -ā -wāw -ak
  2 IPV VTA DIR 2p 3p
  PST help 2p-3p
\end{verbatim}
“You (pl) helped them.”

b) \textit{kikī-wīcihitonāwāw}.
\begin{verbatim}
  ki- kī- wīcihito -nāwāw
  2 IPV VAI 2p
  PST help.one.another
\end{verbatim}
“You (pl) helped each other.”

c) \textit{wīcih- + -ito > wīcihito}.
\begin{verbatim}
  VTA          RCPL
  VAI
\end{verbatim}

This is not surprising since both the reflexive and the reciprocal function to remove the distinction between the actor and patient (or recipient) of
monotransitive verbs. With this lack of distinctiveness, these verbs are treated as intransitives in Cree and thus classified as VAIs. However, we can perform the exact same derivation on ditransitive verbs, rendering the actor and recipient indistinct, but crucially leaving reference to the patient intact.

(98) a) *mösowiyās niki-kīsisamawāw*.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nI.0's} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} \\
moose-meat & \text{PST} & \text{cook.for} & 1s-3s \\
\end{array}
\]

“I cooked moose-meat for him/her.”

(99) a) *mösowiyās kika-kīsisamawānaw*.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nI.0's} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} \\
moose-meat & \text{FUT} & \text{cook.for} & 21-3s \\
\end{array}
\]

“We will cook moose-meat for him/her.”

When this occurs, regardless of the syntactic presence or absence of a patient argument, the verb appears to convert to a VAI stem. At least, this is how such verbs have traditionally been analyzed (cf. Wolfart and Ahenakew 1998, Waugh 1998, Wolvengrey 2001), but as the examples show the verb is still semantically and syntactically transitive, permitting the specification of a lexical patient. As such, under the analysis of the preceding section, we
should in fact consider these transitive inanimate verbs, and thus fit them into the ever growing and increasingly unexceptional set of VTI class 3.

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

(100) a)  nitonam.
   niton        -am    -Ø
   VTI          TH     3s
   look.for     3s-0’
   “S/he looks for it/them.”

b)  nitonikēw.
   nitonikē      -w
   VAI          3s
   search
   “S/he is searching.”

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

(101) a)  nitonawēw.
   nitonaw      -ē    -w
   VTA          DIR  3s
   look.for     3s-3’
   “S/he looks for (an)other(s).”

b)  nitonākēw (*ayisiyiniwa).
   nitonākē      -w  *ayisiniyiw  -a
   VAI          3s  NA       3’
   search       person
   “S/he is searching (for people).”
   *“S/he is searching for people.”

c)  nitonaw-  +  -ikē  >  nitonākē-
   VTI          GEN.OBJ  VAI
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

2.4 An Animacy-based Approach to Cree Verb Classification

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

Though holding to the Algonquian pattern, at least in part, Wolfart and Ahenakew also deviate from the syntactic terminology traditionally used for the classification, in order to recognize the morphology. As we have seen,
this approach is inconsistent and creates its own problems due to the retention of syntactic terminology. Okimāsis and Ratt choose to adhere to the syntactic terminology, at the expense of duplicating paradigms which are morphologically indistinct. This does allow for a closer retention of the Algonquian pattern and more consistency between Cree and other Algonquian languages. In the immediately preceding section, we saw an attempt to fully regularize the pattern so that the syntactic terminology of transitivity is correctly represented in many of its uses, but even this falls short of accounting for all transitivity data and we continue to ignore certain regularities of the morphological patterns which no longer fit the traditional pattern or follow the syntactic criterion of Transitivity at all. In this section, a different pattern, based solely on the morphological patterns as shaped by the overriding primacy of the notion of animacy in Cree, will be described.\textsuperscript{51}

2.4.1 Morphology Regularized

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

2.4.1.1 Animacy Over Inanimacy

Inanimate Intransitive Verbs (VII) as a class require no reanalysis. We have seen in section 2.3.1.1 the four-way person division based on the sole inanimate participant. To the basic paradigms of Tables 2.35 and 2.37, \textsuperscript{51} I introduce a “different pattern” rather than a “new pattern”, because while the articulation may be new, the idea is not. The fundamental shift in Cree paradigms to be discussed below has been unofficially recognized for quite some time. In the early 1990s, and undoubtedly earlier, both H.C. Wolfart and David Pentland (personal communication) noted the misfit of Cree paradigms to the older Algonquian pattern. More recently, Drapeau (2006) discussed a similar observation for Innu (Montagnais-Naskapi).
however, we can add an example of the subclass of impersonal verbs which, with no semantic referent whatsoever, are never marked in the plural. Tables 2.59 and 2.60 illustrate this impersonal verb pattern, with the example stem *tahkiyowē*- “be a cold wind”, in which the singular forms match the regular pattern singulars in much the same way as English uses “it” periphrastically in such instances.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>VII Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td><em>tahkiyowē</em></td>
<td>“It’s a cold wind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>-yiw</td>
<td><em>tahkiyowēyiw</em></td>
<td>“It’s a cold wind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VII Stem</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td><em>ē-tahkiyowēk</em></td>
<td>“(as) it’s a cold wind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yik</td>
<td><em>ē-tahkiyowēyiik</em></td>
<td>“(as) it’s a cold wind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The other truly distinct class of Cree verbs are the VTAs, and we have already defined this class as marking the presence and interactions between two distinct animate participants. We have further seen that the addition of a third participant in ditransitive structures has no effect whatsoever on the inflectional morphology, whether the third participant is inanimate (as in the earlier example (94)) or animate (as in (95)). Additionally, processes of detransitivization, whether through reflexivization (see example (98)),
reciprocalization (see example (99)), or the generalization of the object (i.e. second argument; see examples (101) and (102)), has the same effect whether the verb is semantically monotransitive or ditransitive. VTA verbs simply mark the presence of two important animate arguments, never more or less. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the derivation which creates ditransitive verbs is always based on a VTI (class 1 or 2) stem. Thus, the verb which is becoming a ditransitive must begin, not as a VTA which already has two animate participants, but as a VTI with only one animate participant. Both VTIs and VTAs are transitive, and they differ not in the animacy of their object, but whether or not that second argument is animate. Viewed from this slightly different perspective, VTAs are doubly marked by the presence of two animate participants, while VTIs and the intransitive VAI s share the presence of only a single animate participant.

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

(103) niwī-ayamihtamawāw (masinahikan).

ni- wī- ayamihtamaw -ā -w masinahikan
1 IPV VTA DIR 3s NI.0s
PRSP read.to 1s-3s book
“I’m going to read it(/a book) to him/her.”

(104) niwī-ayamihcikēstamawāw (*masinahikan),

ni- wī- ayamihcikēstamaw -ā -w *masinahikan
1 IPV VTA DIR 3s NI.0s
PRSP read.to 1s-3s book
“I’m going to read (*a book) to him/her.”
If VII is the class of verbs with no animate participants and VTA is the class of two animate participants, where does that leave our confused and overlapping VAI and VTI classes? Clearly what these two have in common, regardless of transitivity, is the presence of a single animate referent. As with VIIIs and VTAs, the presence or absence of an inanimate participant is, beyond some historical remnants, utterly irrelevant. The paradigms in Cree have been systematically reshaped to mark the presence of marked participants, the animate class.

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

![Figure 2.12 Animacy-based Nominal Classification](image)

From this, we can suggest that, rather than beginning with or even including the feature of Transitivity as a determining factor in Cree verb classification, we should allow Animacy, or the presence of Animacy, to be the primary feature. This will not entail a two-way division since the presence of Animacy will depend on the participants present in a construction. Thus, in constructions such as those we have surveyed above, we would expect to have a minimum of zero animate participants and a maximum of two. Figure 2.13 reflects the three logical possibilities.
Of course, the inclusion of the old transitivity-based class titles is merely for exposition, as it is precisely the transitivity-based terminology that has caused so much confusion. The transitivity of a construction, the actual valence of the verb, is irrelevant. Only the number of animate participants matters, and this allows us to give appropriate names to these three distinct verb classes in Cree, as in Figure 2.14, based solely on the number of animate participants present.
2.4.1.2 Morphophonological Subclasses

Within these three large verb types, subdivisions remain possible, but the most appropriate classes may still be motivated primarily on the basis of morphophonology rather than syntax. V0 (still equivalent to VII) can be divided into Vowel-final (or V-final) and n-final stems, both of which can be found among intransitives and impersonals alike. V2 (still equivalent to VTA) can and has been subdivided into four distinct classes on the basis of various stem shapes and morphophonemic processes at the stem boundary (cf. Ahenakew 1987a, Okimāsis 2004). And finally, the heretofore heterogeneous V1, encompassing all of the VAI and VTI variation, can fall into the three main paradigmatic divisions recognized earlier, but without the complicating factor of transitivity. These subtypes mirror the three classes suggested for VAI stems in Table 2.58 above. Vowel final (V-final) stems encompass the main VAI pattern and VTI classes 2 and 3 (clearly cross-cutting transitivity). The am-final VTI class 1 and VAI class 3 pattern would form a third large subclass, while the n-stem VAI pattern, fluctuating as it does across dialects, is an intermediate pattern between V- and am-final. These divisions are given in Table 2.61, and are fully exemplified in Appendix B.

Table 2.61  
Cree Morphologically-based Verb Subclasses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V0</th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subclass 1</td>
<td>V0₁ vowel-final</td>
<td>V1₁ vowel-final</td>
<td>V2₁ regular stems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass 2</td>
<td>V0₂ /n/-final</td>
<td>V1₂ /n/-final</td>
<td>V2₂ vowel-glide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>V1₃ /am/-final</td>
<td>V2₃ consonant-/w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subclass 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V2₄ /t/-stems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The V1₁ patterns are thus identical to the originally given VAI paradigms (Tables 2.39 through 2.44). Divorced from transitivity, we can now follow Wolfart and Ahenakew’s analysis and include all VTI class 2 and 3 stems, as well as all derived patterns such as VTA-derived reflexives, reciprocals, general objects, and VTI-derived general objects, but also extend the class to include VTA inanimate actors, VAI and VTI diminutives, and the heretofore ignored VTA ditransitives when undergoing many of these derivations. V1₂
patterns encompass only the original \( n \)-final VAI stems, largely differing only in the necessity of an epenthetic \([\text{i}]\), but displaying the VTI-like third person endings with \(-k\). V1\(_3\) stems are VTI class 1 and VAI class 3 ending in \(-am\), which can now be included as a stem- extending theme which need not be tied to transitivity synchronically. The following three tables summarize these patterns for the Independent, Conjunct and Imperative respectively, comparing the endings. In the case of the Independent paradigms, the identical prefixes are given only once.

### Table 2.62
V1 Subclass Independent Endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>SAP</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>V1(_1)</th>
<th>V1(_2)</th>
<th>V1(_3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-nānw</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nānw</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-nānw</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-nānw</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>-ýwa</td>
<td>-ýwa</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ýwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2.63
V1 Subclass Conjunct Endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>compl</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>V1(_1)</th>
<th>V1(_2)</th>
<th>V1(_3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-cik</td>
<td>-kik</td>
<td>-ah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ýit</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ýit</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Having separated theme and/or epenthesis from the person markers, very little variation in person suffixes is evident whatsoever across the subclasses, and treating theme and epenthesis together as stem extensions can further simplify the tables. The Imperative forms are extremely regular, complicated only by the theme alternation in V1₃. In the Independent, the third person -w alternates with -Ø based on whether the stem (or extended stem) ends in a vowel or a consonant (-n or -(a)m) respectively. The greatest differences are found in the Conjunct, where each of the speech act participant suffixes has a variant with or without initial [y]. The alternation is complicated further in Plains Cree in the V1₂ subclass since both epenthesis of [i] and the [y] are present. If we only compare V1₁ and V1₃ endings, we might conclude that [y] is merely epenthetic between vowel-final stems and vowel-initial suffixes. Dialects other than Plains would confirm this, where n-final VAI stems (or V1₂) include neither epenthesis nor [y] (e.g. Swampy Cree ē-pimisinān “(as) I lie down” in place of Plains ē-pimisiniyān). Such dialects have V1₂ (or VAI) forms much closer to V1₃ (or the largely VTI pattern) and the more regular rule of [i]-epenthesis between consonant-final stem (or extended stem) and consonant-initial suffix (with the exception of suffix-initial /w/). However, the shift in n-final stems in Plains Cree has brought them closer in line with V1₁, freezing the [y] as part of the suffix and obscuring a pattern important to the current analysis. This Plains Cree-specific variation (now found in some areas of Woods Cree as well) has perhaps obscured the current analysis from being adopted earlier, but in all Cree dialects the n-final stems are somewhere intermediate between V1₁ and V1₃. ⁵² The current classification thus has the benefit of pointing to the real

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⁵² In some areas of Plains Cree speech, the shift is almost or absolutely complete with the epenthetic vowel extended even into the third person forms, requiring -w and -t endings in the
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morphophonological source of variation in these subclasses, developed to a large extent diachronically through analogical levelling.

Finally, the third person alternation of -t and -k in the Conjunct is clearly explained. Although -k is the general marker in the V0 (VII) for an inanimate third person, both -t and -k alternate in the V1 paradigms, and this alternation is based solely on whether the stem (or extended stem) ends in a consonant (e.g. -n or -(a)m) or a vowel. Transitivity has nothing whatsoever to do with this. The occurrence of -k or any of the other indicators of the erstwhile VTI class 1 paradigms need not be tied to transitivity, nor can they be taken as marking a greater degree of transitivity (cf. Wolvengrey 1991). This is merely a morphophonological pattern, useful for teaching the highly patterned Cree paradigms, while attempts to link this to the syntactic criterion of transitivity needlessly complicate the learning process for L2 learners.53

2.4.2 Testing the Classification

In the preceding discussion, a large number of verbal constructions in Cree have been exemplified as we have built towards an argument in favour of a three-way verbal classification based solely on the number of animate participants present. One construction that has not yet been detailed is variously known as the Indefinite Actor or Unspecified Actor construction. The former term was suggested by Hockett (editing Bloomfield 1958), and in common use for almost 40 years, but later recanted (Hockett 1996) due to the fact that “indefiniteness” is not a factor in the interpretation of the construction. Hockett (1996) actually suggests “actorless” as a replacement for “indefinite”, but this is also inaccurate. These are not “actorless” constructions in either the sense that a state does not take an agent or actor as its argument, or that an impersonal verb is simply without an argument at all. The construction does not remove the semantic argument from the understanding of the state of affairs, but it does render it obligatorily unspecified and unindexed on the verb. This is illustrated in examples (105) and (106), where first we see an indefinite pronoun marking the actor or first argument in a monotransitive VTA construction, followed by an unspecified Independent and Conjunct respectively. This effectively shifts all n-final stems to i-final stems which thus fall into the V1₁ pattern. In some subdialects then, V₁₂ or n-final stems no longer exist as a separate subclass simplifying the alternations further.

Transitivity can, of course, still be taught and should include such divisions as impersonal, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive, as well a variety of stems which incorporate an adverbial complement (e.g. “relative root” verbs). Morphological patterns can be used to a certain extent to aid this but issues of transitivity should not be tied to morphology in the same way that the converse has been argued for here.53

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53 Transitivity can, of course, still be taught and should include such divisions as impersonal, intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive, as well a variety of stems which incorporate an adverbial complement (e.g. “relative root” verbs). Morphological patterns can be used to a certain extent to aid this but issues of transitivity should not be tied to morphology in the same way that the converse has been argued for here.
actor construction, built on the same VTA stem, in which the inclusion of an indefinite pronoun (or any other specification of actor) is ungrammatical.

(105) \textit{awiyak nikī-wāpamik.} \\
awiyak \text{ ni-} kī- \text{ wāpam} \text{-ikw} \text{-Ø} \\
PR.3s 1 IPV VTA INV 3s \\
someone PST see 3s-1s \\
“Someone saw me.”

(106) \textit{(*awiyak) nikī-wāpamikawin.} \\
(awiyak) \text{ ni-} kī- \text{ wāpam} \text{-ikawi} \text{-n} \\
PR.3s 1 IPV VTA X 1/2 \\
someone PST see \\
“I was seen.” \\
*“Someone saw me.”

The exact nature of Unspecified Actor constructions has long been debated, with the very use of the term “unspecified actor” favoured over passive as a result. In the discussion that follows, three separate unspecified actor constructions - one built on VAI stems, one built on VTI stems, and one built on VTA stems - will be exemplified and discussed. The fact that the construction thus seems to pay attention to the Algonquian division between these three classes and the criterion of transitivity provides a challenge to the current analysis of a reduction to three main verb classes, but the inflectional forms utilized in these constructions will bear out the animacy-based approach. Once we remove the animate actor from any of these constructions, the verb takes the inflectional endings appropriate for a verb with one less animate participant.

2.4.2.1 VAI Unspecified Actor

With intransitive verbs with an animate actor, our erstwhile VAI class, the removal of an actor renders the verb impersonal or generic. The basic VAI Unspecified Actor forms are given in the examples in (107) below, though the actual forms show significant dialect variation. In place of the Independent ending -(nā)niwan (in (107b)) we also encounter -(nā)niwiw, and even -(nā)niwin, (though this latter form is more likely restricted to Woods Cree). The Plains Cree Conjunct form -hk (exemplified in (107c)) has been replaced as archaic in the other Cree dialects, where it is more likely to be matched with Conjunct forms of the Independent suffix (e.g.
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-(nā)niwahk, -(nā)niwik).

(107)  

a)  

\[ \text{wikihtowak.} \]
\[ \text{wikihto} \quad -\text{wak} \]
\[ \text{VAI} \quad 3p \]
\[ \text{be.married} \]
\[ \text{“They are married.”} \]

b)  

\[ \text{wikihtonāniwan.} \]
\[ \text{wikihto} \quad -nāniwan \]
\[ \text{VAI} \quad \text{X} \]
\[ \text{be.married} \]
\[ \text{“There is a wedding.”} \]

c)  

\[ \text{ē-wikihtohk} \ldots \]
\[ \text{ē} \quad \text{wikihto} \quad -\text{hk} \]
\[ \text{IPV} \quad \text{VAI} \quad \text{X} \]
\[ \text{CNJ} \quad \text{be.married} \]
\[ \text{“(as) there is a wedding …”} \]

The unspecified actor endings evident are directly comparable with the endings of many VII impersonal verbs, as in (108).

(108)  

a)  

\[ \text{kimiwan.} \]
\[ \text{kimiwan} \quad -\text{Ø} \]
\[ \text{VII} \quad 0s \]
\[ \text{rain} \]
\[ \text{“It is raining. / There is rain.”} \]

b)  

\[ \text{ē-kimiwahk} \ldots \]
\[ \text{ē} \quad \text{kimiwan} \quad -\text{k} \]
\[ \text{IPV} \quad \text{VII} \quad 0s \]
\[ \text{CNJ} \quad \text{rain} \]
\[ \text{“(as) it is raining ... / (as) there is rain ...”} \]

The convergence of the archaic VAI Unspecified Actor Conjunct with /n/-final VII Conjunct may be purely accidental historically, but the more recently innovated and transparent Independent ending contains the same -(w)an stem-final morpheme that characterizes many VII stems. This latter change is not accidental, as the Unspecified Actor is being reshaped in the image of the VII paradigm. With the removal of the single animate
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participant, a V1 stem is now marked as an impersonal V0.\textsuperscript{54}

2.4.2.2 VTI Unspecified Actor

The VTI (class 1) Unspecified Actor has similarly lost its older Independent Order suffix but retains an archaic Conjunct suffix, -\textit{amihk}, clearly related to the -\textit{hk} of the VAI form by the inclusion of the VTI theme -\textit{am}. However, the incidence of the occurrence of -\textit{amihk} is on the decline, as attested in comparisons of the texts collected by Bloomfield in the mid-1920s with modern Cree texts such as those collected in the 1980s by Freda Ahenakew (Wolvengrey 1991). In its place is a derivational pattern that converts the VTI stem (classes 1 and 2) to a VII stem which can then be fully inflected in both the Independent (b) and Conjunct (c) Orders.

(109) a) \textit{pīkonam}.

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
pīkon  -am  Ø
VTI\textsubscript{1}  TH  3s
break  3s-0’
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

“S/he breaks it.”

b) \textit{pīkonikātēw}.

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
pīkonikātē  -w
VII  0s
be.broken
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

“It is broken.”

c) \textit{ē-pīkonikātēk} ...

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
ē-  pīkonikātē  -k
IPV  VII  0s
CNJ  be.broken
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

“(as) it is broken ...”

d) \textit{ē-pīkonamihk} ...

\begin{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
ē-  pīkon  -am  -ihk
IPV  VTI\textsubscript{1}  TH  X
CNJ  break  0’
\end{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

“(as) it is broken ...” / “(as) (people) break it.”

\textsuperscript{54} The assimilation is not absolutely complete. While Unspecified Actors do not take plural forms, as expected, neither have they been attested in the VII singular obviative. Thus, they remain even more restricted than impersonal VII stems.
The alternative older Conjunct suffix -amihk is also given in (109d), where the translations suggest a slight shift in focus between the old and new constructions. The older -amihk construction appears primarily to generalize or downplay the actor, while the newer construction built with -ikātē deletes it even more fully and concentrates attention on the inanimate patient. Verb stems derived with -ikātē are VII stems in every way. With the removal of the sole animate participant, again the verb (VTI or V1) shifts to the stem class which has no animate participants, VII or V0. The examples in (110) show that this applies equally to VTI class 2 stems.

(110)  a)  kīsihtāw.
     kīsiht  -ā  -w
     VTI1  TH  3s finish 3s-0’
     “S/he finishes it.”

     b)  kīsihcikātēw.
     kīsihcikātē  -w
     VII  0s be.finished
     “It is finished.”

     c)  ē-kīsihcikātēk ...
     ē-  kīsihcikātē  -k
     IPV VII  0s
     CNJ be.finished
     “(as) it is finished ...”

     d)  *ē-kīsihtamihk ...
     ē-  kīsiht-  -am  -ihk
     IPV VTI1  TH  X
     CNJ finish 0’
     “(as) it is finished ...” / “(as) (people) finish it.”

     e)  ? ē-kīsihtāhk ...
     ē-  kīsihtā  -hk
     IPV VTI2  X
     CNJ finish
     “(as) it is finished ...” / “(as) (people) finish it.”
(110d) shows that, with VTI class 2 forms, the older unspecified actor Conjunct suffix -amihk cannot occur. Although there is some limited possibility that the basic VAI -hk suffix can be added directly to the VTI class 2 stem with its /ā/ theme, even this is not favoured. The pattern of shifting from V1 to V0 is dominant, and seems to be gaining at the expense of an older pattern that did more closely reflect the Algonquian pattern.

2.4.2.3 VTA Unspecified Actor

Not surprisingly, the VTA Unspecified Actor is the most complex of the Unspecified Actor paradigms, and it is also at the heart of the debate on the passivity of these constructions. As elsewhere in Cree paradigms in general, the inflectional endings fall into two distinct groups: those used with speech act participants, and those used with third person reference. When the second argument (patient or recipient/benefactive) of a VTA verb is a speech act participant, the stem must be modified by the suffix -ikawi to indicate the unspecified status of the actor (i.e. first argument), reflecting a similarity though not identity with the VTA inverse morpheme -iko. In contrast, when the second argument is a third person, the verb appears to take the direct theme -ā and accompanying transitive morphology. This formal difference has suggested to previous analysts that the unspecified actor (XAct) remains a participant (abbreviated X) which can be located on the Algonquian Person Hierarchy intermediate between the speech act participants and third persons, as follows:

(111) Extended Algonquian Person Hierarchy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAPs</th>
<th>XAct</th>
<th>Third Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 &gt; 1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3 &gt; 3' &gt; 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, VTA Unspecified Actor forms with speech act participants as second arguments are equated with the inverse forms, while third person forms are equated with direct forms. The suggestion then is that these are not fully passives since the second argument has not been promoted to subject status, although the actor has apparently been demoted (and obligatorily so). Certainly, this formal pattern is suggestive of the historical derivation of the markers for the Unspecified Actor, but another interpretation is possible synchronically which perhaps matches more closely with the actual function of these constructions in Cree discourse (to be explored further in Chapter 3).

The pattern of speech act participant forms has already been exemplified in (106) above, but Table 2.65 illustrates the Independent Order forms for all
local and non-local referents, while Table 2.66 gives the Conjunct Order equivalents, with the unspecified actor suffix indicated by X. The local forms in both Orders are straightforward and follow the same pattern as evident in reflexive, reciprocal, and general object derivations, except that now it is the first argument that is rendered indistinct and the second argument that is retained. The inflectional endings now match precisely those of the old VAI (or new V1,) classification indicating the presence of only a single animate argument.

Table 2.65
VTA Independent Order Unspecified Actor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>VTA Stem</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>niwāpamikawin</td>
<td>“I am seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>kiwāpamikawin</td>
<td>“You are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-nān</td>
<td>niwāpamikawinnān</td>
<td>“We are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-(nā)naw</td>
<td>kiwāpamikawi(nā)naw</td>
<td>“We are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-nāwāw</td>
<td>kiwāpamikawinnāwāw</td>
<td>“You (all) are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>wāpamāw</td>
<td>“S/he is seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-wak</td>
<td>wāpamāwak</td>
<td>“They are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ýiwa</td>
<td>wāpamāýiwa</td>
<td>“(The other(s)) is/are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.66
VTA Conjunct Order Unspecified Actor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>VTA Stem</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>endings</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-yān</td>
<td>ē-wāpamikawiyān</td>
<td>“(as) I am seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-yan</td>
<td>ē-wāpamikawiyān</td>
<td>“(as) you are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-yāhk</td>
<td>ē-wāpamikawiyāhk</td>
<td>“(as) we are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-yahk</td>
<td>ē-wāpamikawiyahk</td>
<td>“(as) we are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ikawi</td>
<td>-yēk</td>
<td>ē-wāpamikawiyēk</td>
<td>“(as) you (all) are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-iht</td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wāpamiht</td>
<td>“(as) s/he is seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-ihcik</td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wāpāmihcik</td>
<td>“(as) they are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3’</td>
<td>ē-</td>
<td>-im-iht</td>
<td></td>
<td>ē-wāpāmihīht</td>
<td>“(as) (the other(s)) is/are seen”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What prevents the complete reanalysis of the VTA Unspecified Actor to yet another VAI (V1) stem derivation is the disparity of the local versus third person forms. The local suffix -ikawi essentially mirrors the suffix -ikātē which as we saw earlier derives VII (V0) through the VTI Unspecified Actor. However, if we treat this similarly as stem derivation, we have the unusual if not completely unheard of situation in which a set of stems can only be marked for local reference. The third person forms simply take a distinct set of suffixes, and these differ in Independent and Conjunct Orders.

The Independent Order third person Unspecified Actor VTA suffixes are formally identical to those which occur in the VTA Direct Mixed Set with first or second person actors and third person patients. Thus, a typical analysis of these forms treats them as direct forms with a third person patient in which the actor may have been demoted but no promotion of patient to subject status has occurred (cf. Ellis 1970).

(112) a) *niwāpamāw.*

```
1 VTA DIR 3s
see 1s-3s
```

“I see him/her.”

b) *kiwāpamāw.*

```
2 VTA DIR 3s
see 2s-3s
```

“You see him/her.”

c) *wāpamāw.*

```
X VTA DIR 3s
see X-3s
```

“(Someone) sees him/her.” / “S/he is seen (by someone).”

The third singular VTA Unspecified Actor in (112c) thus looks exactly like the fully transitive first and second person actor VTA Direct forms in (112a) and (112b) respectively. In terms of transitivity, however, we can repeat the test from examples (105) and (106) to show that third person patient inverse forms, as in (113), remain transitive, while the Unspecified Actor form in (112c), repeated here as (114), forbids the inclusion of any specification of the actor. This again proves both the inappropriateness of the term “indefinite actor” and shows the verb to be intransitive, regardless of the
common translations offered in previous analyses.

\[(113) \quad \text{awiya kī-wāpamik cân.}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{awiya} & \text{kī-} & \text{wāpam} & -ikw & -Ø & \text{cān} \\
\text{PR.3'} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{INV} & 3s & \text{NA.3s} \\
\text{someone} & \text{see} & 3'-3s & \text{John} \\
\end{array}
\]

“Someone saw John.” / “John was seen by someone.”

\[(114) \quad (*\text{awiya}) \ kī-wāpamāw cân.\]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{(awiya)} & \text{Ø-} & \text{kī-} & \text{wāpam} & -ā & -w & \text{cān} \\
\text{(PR.3')} & \text{X} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} & 3s & \text{NA.3s} \\
\text{(someone)} & \text{PST} & \text{see} & \text{X-3s} & \text{John} \\
\end{array}
\]

“John was seen.”

**“Someone saw John.”**

**“John was seen by someone.”**

Thus, the temporary analysis in (114) is a bit of a cross-breed between the traditional analysis of the Unspecified Actor as true actor with a third person patient, while the syntax of the clause indicates the third person is the sole participant allowed by this verbal construction.

It is quite likely again that the Unspecified Actor form is here reflecting its historical derivation, but even this is not fully disambiguated in comparison to certain VAI forms, since each share the -w third person suffix in the Independent Order. Such are the similarities between the two forms that at least one fairly recent VAI verb coinage in Cree is apparently due to a historical misanalysis of an Unspecified Actor form by Cree speakers. The verb \text{ayamihā}—“pray (in a Christian manner)” is a relatively recent addition to Cree vocabulary, where it now co-exists alongside the traditional term \text{kākīsimo}—“pray (in a traditional manner”). Interestingly, the new stem appears to be built on a base VAI stem \text{ayami}—“speak” and the transitivized VTA \text{ayamih}—“speak with s.o.”. Although Plains Cree has almost completely replaced \text{ayami} with \text{pīkiskwē}—“speak”, \text{ayami} is retained in all other dialects, and the causative \text{ayamih} is also found in all dialects including Plains Cree. Thus, building an Unspecified Actor form of this VTA stem results in the form in (115a) which can be compared with the VAI \text{ayamihā}—“pray” in (115b).

\[(115) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a) ayamihāw.} \\
\text{ayamih} & \ -ā & -w \\
\text{VTA} & \ X & 3s \\
\text{X} & \text{speak.to} \\
\end{align*} \]

“S/he is spoken to.”
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

(b)  *ayamihāw.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ayamihā</th>
<th>-w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“S/he prays.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two verb forms are homophonous, and there is a fairly clear semantic pathway from “He (God, the Creator) is spoken to” or “(Someone) speaks to Him (God, the Creator)” to “Someone speaks/prays (to the Creator)” to “S/he prays”. This might explain the origin of the VAI stem, but it would not be possible without the similarity of the third person VTA Unspecified Actor to the corresponding third person VAI paradigms in the Independent Order. Thus, the historical relationship of the VTA Unspecified Actor to the VTA Direct is no longer as straightforward as it may once have been and another interpretation, of this form as equivalent to a VAI form, is just as salient. This is reinforced by the semantic intransitivity of the Unspecified Actor. Without that important animate actor, only a single animate participant remains and thus the paradigm can be interpreted as following the VAI (or V1) pattern. Furthermore, in some more easterly dialects of Cree, the Unspecified Actor form under discussion here is in the process of being, or has already been, completely replaced by a new construction in much the same way as the VAI and VTI Unspecified Actor forms before it. The new suffix in such dialects, -ākāniwi(w) or -ākāniwan, no longer matches any other VTA form, but bears a clear resemblance to the VAI Unspecified Actor suffix illustrated in section 2.4.2.1 above, and the stem thus derived easily fits the VAI (V1) paradigms (Ellis 1970:84-85).55

The only forms of the VTA Unspecified actor that are truly exceptional are the third person Conjunct forms, where again the historical VTA source is suggested, especially in the occurrence of the obviative -im marker as part of 3’ -imiht. Except for this clearly aberrant form, the proximate suffixes do contain -t and -cik as in VAI and VTA paradigms alike. In the dialects discussed by Ellis, it is entirely possible that these forms too have become archaic and been entirely replaced by the newer, innovative and more VAI-like suffixes. In Plains Cree, however, the best we can say is that there is some, though not complete, formal similarity to the VAI endings, and, as with Independent Order forms, the actor has been obligatorily omitted and cannot be included syntactically. Again, with the removal of one of the

55 It is, however, unclear from Ellis’ (1970) statements as to whether these innovative forms are restricted to third person reference and/or the Independent Order, or if they have spread to replace the local forms as well, and/or if they are used in the Conjunct.
animate participants, the VTA Unspecified Actor renders the verb equivalent to a VAI (V1).

2.4.3 Cree Verbal Constructions and Animate Participants

The preceding survey of the main Cree verbal paradigms, as well as some of the derivations and constructions that allow for fluid movement back and forth between them, has highlighted the importance of the feature animacy within Cree grammar. The division between animate and inanimate has always been recognized as an important principle for Cree nouns, but has generally been treated as secondary in importance behind transitivity in the classification of Cree verbs. This follows an Algonquian pattern for which there is abundant indisputable evidence even where exceptions exist. The very fact that some languages have made adjustments to better reflect this classification is proof of its saliency. However, by the same token, the current analysis seeks to recognize the fact that the considerable historical changes which have resulted in the current Cree verbal system have had the effect of, if not been caused by, the increased importance of animacy as a determinative factor at the expense of transitivity. Although we might seek to regularize the Algonquian system, as in section 2.3, we have continued to find limits to its applicability. Instead, a more consistent analysis is available if we abandon transitivity as the main factor and look first to animacy. The three-way division based on the presence of animate participants has been shown to account for the data more effectively, and many of these observations are summarized in Tables 2.67 and 2.68 on the following pages. Table 2.67 lists a number of the constructions that we have surveyed above grouped as per the traditional four-way verbal classification, but with specification of the number of participants and specifically the number of animate participants. Table 2.68 then rearranges these constructions in terms of the current analysis of section 2.4, emphasizing the formal similarities which both suggest and support the three-way classification based on the exceptionally important criterion of animacy. The current analysis allows us to recognize the feature of animacy as pre-eminent within Cree grammar, and also provides us with a means of better capturing the morphophonologically-based distinction present in a way considerably more salient to modern Cree speakers than exception-riddled classifications based on transitivity. Far from being a linguistic game of paradigmatic reshuffling, the current analysis allows for a more appropriately Cree methodology in Cree language instruction and can contribute to enhanced learnability thereby.
Table 2.67
Traditional Classification and Cree Verbal Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cree Verbal Constructions</th>
<th># of Inanimate Participants</th>
<th># of Animate Participants</th>
<th>Total Valency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII Impersonal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI Unspecified Actor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI (VTI-derived) General Object</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI (VTA-derived) General Object</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI (VTA-derived) Reflexive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI (VTA-derived) Reciprocal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI/VTI “Pseudo-transitive”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI “Pseudo-intransitive”</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI (class 1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI Unspecified Actor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Direct (monotransitive)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inverse (monotransitive)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inanimate Actor (monotransitive)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Unspecified Actor (monotransitive)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Direct (ditransitive)</td>
<td>1 (or 0)</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inverse (ditransitive)</td>
<td>1 (or 0)</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inanimate Actor (ditransitive)</td>
<td>2 (or 1)</td>
<td>1 (or 2)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Unspecified Actor (ditransitive)</td>
<td>1 (or 0)</td>
<td>1 (or 2)</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
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Table 2.68
The Importance of Animate Participants in Cree Verbal Morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cree Verbal Constructions</th>
<th>Total Valency</th>
<th># of Inanimate Participants</th>
<th># of Animate Participants</th>
<th>Verb Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII Impersonal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI Unspecified Actor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>V0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI Unspecified Actor</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VAI (VTA-derived)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VAI (VTA-derived)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VAI (VTI-derived)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>General Object</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- VAI (VTA-derived)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Object</td>
<td>1 (or 2)</td>
<td>0 (or 1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>V1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Unspecified Actor</td>
<td>1 (or 2)</td>
<td>0 (or 1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mono- and ditransitive)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI “Pseudo-intransitive”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAI/VTI “Pseudo-transitive”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inanimate Actor</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>1 (or 2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mono- and ditransitive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTI (class 1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Direct</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>0 (or 1)</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>V2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mono- and ditransitive)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTA Inverse</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td>0 (or 1)</td>
<td>2 (or 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mono- and ditransitive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Animacy, Direct-Inverse Alignment and Semantic Functions

2.5 Conclusions

The animacy classification is clearly at the heart of Plains Cree grammar. It is the guiding principle in the organization of both nouns and verbs in the language and contributes to one of the two important hierarchies that allow for the unique functioning of the Algonquian direct-inverse system. The Algonquian Semantic Function/Animacy Hierarchy is rigidly defined and assigned in Cree verbal structure, and this Algonquian-specific SFH differs from Dik’s (1997a:37) SFH only due to the overriding importance of animacy in Cree grammar. Animate participants must be treated as more salient/important than inanimates, and thus prototypically animate recipient/benefactive participants outrank patient/theme participants for the status of A2 when present. This need not entail a recasting of the Functional (Discourse) Grammar Semantic Function Hierarchy, but should indicate that other factors, including other hierarchies, may take language-specific precedence, requiring language-specific modifications. The reclassification of the Cree verbal system described here is another such example of a language-specific system which suggests that Cree has clearly diverged from even its Algonquian relatives.56

More consistent with the general Algonquian pattern are the consequences of these organizing principles, particularly the direct-inverse system, to which we will now turn. Chapter 3 will conclude our morphosyntactic survey with a look at whether or not syntactic functions are required given the semantic and pragmatic principles upon which the verbal system is organized. From there, the latter half of this work, Chapters 4 through 6, will begin to address the problems of “free word order” that these same principles have apparently made possible.

56 Though the three-way verbal reclassification is offered as a valid Cree innovation, and valuable for language instruction, the more traditional four-way division will continue to be used in the glossing of examples in this work for the sake of cross-Algonquian comparisons.