Semantic and pragmatic functions in Plains Cree syntax
Wolvengrey, A.E.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Chapter 5

Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

The current chapter will explore some syntactically-motivated positions within the constituent order of Cree clauses. “Syntactically-motivated” is used here in the sense of constituents which, among the apparent variability of Cree word order, do not exhibit such variability but rather show restrictions which suggest a grammaticalization to a single position. In the preceding chapter, the apparent placement of complement clauses in clause-final position (P<sup>F</sup>) constitutes an example of this. The template which we began to develop allows for both absolute and relative ordering, with for instance P<sup>F</sup> as an absolute position and P<sup>F−1</sup> as relative to P<sup>F</sup>. Another absolute position which has been, and will continue to be, taken for granted in this respect is the clause-medial P<sup>M</sup> occupied by the predicate (in most cases a verb). As we continue to build the template around this predicate-medial position, all such arguments will in turn become arguments justifying the placement of the predicate in P<sup>M</sup>.

In previous accounts of Cree word order, at least one syntactically-motivated clausal position has been identified. This is the immediate preverbal position introduced briefly in Chapter 4 and discussed most prominently by Dahlstrom (1991) as part of what she identifies as a V’ constituent, though without a necessary expansion to, or even identifiable with, a full VP. In the current work, this immediately preverbal position will necessarily be identified as P<sup>M−1</sup>. Dahlstrom (1995a:3) identifies this as the position for oblique (Obl) arguments, “subcategorised for by certain verbs”, in her word order template. For Plains Cree specifically, however, she had earlier included in this position not only oblique arguments of the verb such as locatives, but also the floated quantifier (Dahlstrom 1991:76-83). Section 5.1 below will investigate these and further possibilities for inclusion in P<sup>M−1</sup>.

Two other phenomena will also be investigated in the current chapter for potential identification of syntactically-based (extra-)clausal positions. Section 5.2 will begin a discussion of clause linkage, investigating the position of connective particles in apparent clause initial position, but suggesting that many are in fact completely independent of clause-internal positioning. Section 5.3 will continue this discussion with an introduction of
P² through the so-called “inversion” of connective particles into second position. This position will be intricately tied to the overall pragmatically-oriented placement of elements in initial position (or P¹) and the interdependence of P¹ and P² in presenting pragmatically highlighted material will thus form a bridge to the discussion of pragmatic ordering in Chapter 6.

5.1 P⁰M⁻¹

It is possible for a Cree clause, as in (1), or sentence, as in (2), to consist of a single verb.

(1) ..., ē-kī-papāmipicit, ...
   ē- kī- papāmipici -t
   IPV IPV VAI 3s
   CNJ PST travel.about
   “..., they were travelling around ...”

(2) nikawacin.
   ni- kawaci -n
   1 VAI 1/2
   be.cold
   “I am cold.”

Clausal examples of only a single verb are actually fairly rare in narrative, generally restricted to the occasional verbal conjunct, complement or adjunct. While normal conversation might yield a larger number of single-word utterances, full sentences of only a single word are almost non-existent in narrative, with not a single example in the entirety of the House People texts, unless one extracts imperative verbs out of quotations.

Once we expand our survey to allow for two or more words, appropriate examples become far more prevalent. However, the range of constituents that can occur alone in preverbal position is very diverse, and we can by no means assume that all occupy one and the same clausal position, as many may co-occur and/or potentially occur in initial position (P¹). This section will explore some of the candidates for the position immediately preceding the verb, or P⁰M⁻¹. Some of the constituents that will be examined are illustrated in the following examples. These include verbal modifiers such as degree (3), manner (4), temporals (5), locatives (6), and negation (7), in

72 Example (2) is reduced from HP7:28-30, “‘mitoni nikawacin konita ē-nanamaciyân,’ itwêw.”
addition to quantification (8) and the often-related occurrence of a preverbal argument (9).

(3) **mitoni nitawēyihtamwak nēhiyawak kahkiyaw, ...** [HP1:3] 
mitoni nitawēyiht -am -wak nēhiyaw -ak kahkiyaw  
IPC VTI₁ TH 3p NA 3p QNT  
really want 3p-0′ Cree all  
“All the Cree really want it.”

(4) **ēkosi isinākwan, ...** [HP4:82]  
ēkosi isinākwan -Ø  
IPC VII 0s  
thus appear.so  
“That is the way it looks, …”

(5) **kapē-kīsik niwa-wītapimāw.** [HP5:7]  
kapē-kīsik ni- wa- wītapim -ā -w  
IPT 1 IPV VTA DIR 3s  
all.day RDPL sit.with 1s-3s  
“… (and) I sat with him all day.”

(6) **ēkota ē-kī-ohtinahk wiya opimācihiwēwin, ...** [HP4:61]  
ēkota ē- kī- ohtin -ah -k wiya o- pimācihiwēwin  
PL IPV IPV VTI TH 3s PR.3s 3s NI.0’s  
there CNJ PST obtain.from 3s-0′ livelihood  
“…; that is where they got their livelihood , …”

(7) **ēkā ē-kiskēyihtamāhk.** [HP2:48]  
ēkā ē- kiskēyiht -am -āhk  
IPC IPV VTI₁ TH 1p  
NEG CNJ know 1p-0  
“…, without us knowing about it.”

(8) **kahkiyaw ē-pihciptohtāt awa mōniyāw.** [HP2:30]  
kahkiyaw ē- pihciptoht -ā -t awa mōniyāw  
QNT IPV VTI₂ TH 3s DEM.3s NA.3s  
all CNJ poison 3s-0′ this white-man  
“…, the Whites have poisoned all.”
With the exception of preverbal non-oblique arguments, which will be addressed in chapter 6, and negation, which will not be addressed in this work, a variety of these particle types will be surveyed in the following sections. Before investigating any of these in particular, however, we will look at a certain kind of verb, or preverbal element, which appears to require an antecedent, often found in immediately preverbal position. These verbs and preverbs are commonly described in the Algonquianist literature as containing “relative roots”, which function to add an oblique argument to the verb.

5.1.1 Relative Root Antecedents in P^{M–1}

Wolfart (1973:66) mentions the fact that relative root verbs require an antecedent (in the form of a particle, clause, quotation, etc.), at least suggesting the positioning of said antecedent before the verb, as reinforced by the few examples cited. He also lists the most common relative roots as “it- ‘thither, thus,’ oht- ‘from there,’ and tahto- ‘so many’”. Though Cook (2008:63-66) primarily investigates the former two as the most common roots, she also expands the list by adding isko- ‘to such an extent’, and recognizes the three forms in which these relative roots occur: as a true verbal root, as a preverb, and as a (postpositional) particle. Table 5.1 (on the following pages) further expands the list of relative roots while providing examples of these “roots” in their three possible uses. The added roots are both less common and less commonly identified as relative roots, though their syntactic behaviour suggests, at least in part, that they too can be included in the current survey. Still, gaps exist in the chart showing the limitations to which these more marginal examples fit the full pattern of the most common roots /it-/ and /oht/.

When in the form of particles, relative roots function as adpositions. The most common particles, isi “thus, thither” and ohec “from, thence”, are exclusively postpositional, illustrating their need for an antecedent, while others, such as isko “up to”, kiki “with” and asici “with”, may favour postpositional placement but are somewhat more variable. tahto seems most typically prepositional (e.g. tahto iskwēw “each woman”) but its use here is quantificational in nature and thus follows the common position for
### Table 5.1
Form and Function of Plains Cree Relative Roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Root</th>
<th>Verb Initial</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>IPC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/it-/</td>
<td>itohtē-</td>
<td>isi-</td>
<td>isi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“go there”</td>
<td>“thither”</td>
<td>“towards”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ētēnāhk kī-itohtēw.</td>
<td>misiwē ē-isi-wēpinahk.</td>
<td>ētēnāhk ēsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“S/he went to town.”</td>
<td>“S/he threw them all over the place.”</td>
<td>“towards town”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ispayi-</td>
<td>isi-</td>
<td>isi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“happen thus”</td>
<td>“thus”</td>
<td>“thus”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēkosi kī-ispayiw.</td>
<td>tānisi ē-is-āyāt.</td>
<td>ēkosi ēsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“That’s how it happened.”</td>
<td>“How’s his/her health?”</td>
<td>“that way”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oht-/</td>
<td>ohtohtē-</td>
<td>ohci-</td>
<td>ohci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“come from there”</td>
<td>“source; from there”</td>
<td>“from; out of”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ētēnāhk kī-ohtohtēw.</td>
<td>nīkīh kā-pē-ohci-wayawīt.</td>
<td>ētēnāhk ohci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“S/he came from town.”</td>
<td>“S/he came out of my house.”</td>
<td>“from town”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ohci-</td>
<td>ohci-</td>
<td>ohci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“source; by means of”</td>
<td>“source; by means of”</td>
<td>“by means of”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ēwako ohci-pimācihow.</td>
<td>ēwako ohci-pimācihow.</td>
<td>mōhkomān ohci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“S/he makes a living from that.”</td>
<td>“S/he makes a living from that.”</td>
<td>“with a knife”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tat-/</td>
<td>tatahkamikisi-</td>
<td>tasi-</td>
<td>tasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“be busy there”</td>
<td>“for such a time”</td>
<td>“there”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cf. /it-/)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/itihtw-/</td>
<td>itahtopiponē-</td>
<td>tahto</td>
<td>tahto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“be such an age; be so many winters old”</td>
<td>“as many as; each, every”</td>
<td>“each, every; so many, so much”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ē-itahtopiponēt.</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. tahto iskwēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“S/he is 8 years old.”</td>
<td></td>
<td>“each woman”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iskw-/</td>
<td>iskokāpawī-</td>
<td>isko-</td>
<td>isko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“stand to such a height”</td>
<td>“so far; to such an extent”</td>
<td>“so far; to such an extent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(cf. /iskw-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kik-/</td>
<td>kikāpohkē-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“make soup (with it)”</td>
<td></td>
<td>“with; added”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>macipakwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>pahkwēsišikan kiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ē-kikāpohkēt.</td>
<td></td>
<td>“with bannock”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“S/he added herbs to the soup.”</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. kiki sōniyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“with money”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.1
Form and Function of Plains Cree Relative Roots continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/asit-/</td>
<td>“tie s.t. fast (to it)”</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>asitahpit- “tie s.t. fast (to it)” āsokanihk kī-asitahpitam ocīmān. “S/he tied his/her canoe to the pier.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/asiw-/</td>
<td>“be inside (it)”</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>asiw- “be inside (it)” otasiwacikanihk ē-asiwatēvik. “It’s inside his pocket.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

quantifiers preceding nouns. Forms in which these relative roots occur as the initial root of a verb stem, or at least a preverbal particle augmenting a verb stem, also vary as to the extent that they require preverbal position for the oblique referent that they introduce as a verbal complement. However, in most cases, preverbal position is at least strongly preferred. In the discussion that follows, a number of these relative roots will be surveyed and this will include an investigation of some distinct constructions. A particularly important construction is found in direct quotations.

5.1.1.1 Quoting Speech, Thought and Names

In traditional Cree narrative and story-telling, whether the legends or sacred stories known as ātayōhkēwina, or historical and personal accounts or the telling of news – collectively known as ācimowina – the direct quote is favoured over the representation of speech indirectly. The most common quotative verbs are the VAI itwē- “say so” and the VTA it- “say so to s.o.”. In particular, itwē- is often used formulaically in the third person singular present tense Independent form, itwēw, as in (10).

(10) …, “wā, nīsta kayās nikī-ocihcikiskisin,” itwēw, ... [HP7:10-11]

wā nīsta kayās ni- kī- ocihcikiskisi -n itwē -w

IPC PR.1s IPT 1 IPV VAI 1/2 VAI 3s

well long.ago PST remember.back say.so

“’Yes, I too remember a long way back,’ he said.”
This example, from *wāskahikaniwinyinw-ācimowina* / *Stories of the House People*, is one of ten such structures, all including *itwēw*, in the very short text 7, “The Longest Memory”, which contains only 35 clauses (counting both the quotations and the verbs/clauses within the quotes). Other texts in the *House People* collection which contain extensive quotation include: text 5, “A Fast Learner” (30 quotatives: 26 *itwēw*, 4 *nititik*); text 6, “Wishful Thinking” (28 quotatives: 16 *nítítaw*, 8 *nititikwak*, 3 *nititiwak*, 1 *nítitwān*); text 8, “Rags to Riches” (129 quotatives: 113 *itwēw*, 1 *ē-itwēt*, 1 *k-ētwēt*, 2 *k-ēsit*, 2 *nítitāw*, 9 *nítitik*, 1 *nítitikonān*); text 9, “The Best Dancer” (39 quotatives: 36 *itwēw*, 1 *nítitwānān*; 1 *ē-itwēt*, 1 *k-itwēt*, 2 *k-ētiht*); and text 10 “Life of a Trapper” (78 quotatives: 74 *itwēw*, 1 *k-ī-itwēw*, 1 *nítitwān*, 1 *nítitiw*, 1 *ē-kī-isit*). Altogether, these texts thus contain 314 quotatives, 259 (or 82.5%) of which are in the form *itwēw*. Regardless of form, which we will return to below, the vast majority of these quotative verbs are immediately preceded by the quotation itself. A very small set of apparent exceptions is illustrated in (11a). Here, the resumptive manner particle, *ēkosi* “thus”, acts as a place-holder in the preverbal position, while the much more extensive sequence of quotation to which it refers, beginning with (11b), follows over the next 14 clauses plus seven instances of the quotative *itwēw*.

(11) a) *ēkwa ēkosi kī-itwēw ana kisēyiniw.*

```
ēkwa ēkosi kī-itwē w ana kisēyiniw
IPC IPC IPV VAI 3s DEM.3s NA.3s
and thus PST say.so that old.man
```

“And this is what that old man said.”

b) “*kayās ōma nīstanān,*” *itwēw,* “...,” *itwēw.*

```
ēkā ēkō kā-miywāsin
PR.0s IPC IPV VII 0s PR.0s
that NEG CNJ be.good that
```

“We too [had it] long ago,” he said, ‘...,’ he said.”

Similarly, (12) contains another resumptive element, in this case the demonstrative pronoun *ēwako* “that aforementioned”, immediately preceding the quotative verb, *ē-itikocik*. The resumptive pronoun is presumably used here in reference to the immediately preceding clause which is not in the form of a quote. In either case, the quote is still preceded by an element representing its antecedent.

(12) *ēwako ēkā kā-miywāsik, ēwako ē-kī-itikocik okēhtē-ayimiwāwa,* ...

```
ēwako ēkā kā-miywāsik -k ēwako
PR.0s IPC IPV VII 0s PR.0s
that NEG CNJ be.good that
```

[HP2:22-23]
Finally, sharing features of both (11a) and (12), (13) does not appear to have a true antecedent specified prior to the quotative, but has a very extensive quotation placed after the quotative verb.

(13) ēwako anima ohci kā-ītwēyāhk, ē-kī-kānātahk ōma kitaskīnaw ...

[HP2:49-50]

In this case, the entire situation being referred to is again not in the form of an actual quote. It also appears to have been postposed, perhaps because of its weight, to a later position, as per Dik’s (1997a:411-412) “language independent preferred order of constituents” (LIPOC) principle. This pattern of placing a heavy constituent later in the clause has already been seen with reference to Cree complement clauses, but it is quite uncommon with quotations in Cree. Such a pattern, when used at all, can also include the preverbal placement of the non-resumptive manner particle omisi “this way”, with right dislocation of the actual quotation, as in (14). In contrast, resumptive ēkosī is more commonly placed in preverbal position to sum up a preceding quote or sequence of quotation, as in (15) and (16).

(14) omisi nika-ītwān: “....”

“I will say it thus: ‘....’”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(15) ēkosi kī-itwēw.
    ēkosi kī- itwē- -w
    IPC IPV VAI 3s
    thus PST say.so
    “That’s what s/he said.”

(16) ēkosi piko ē-wī-itwēyān.
    ēkosi piko ē- wī- itwē- -yān
    IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 1s
    thus only CNJ PRSP say.so
    “That’s all I’m going to say.”

Thus, in over 300 examples in the selected House People texts, virtually every example has a quote immediately preceding the verb, and the apparent exceptions either have a place holder in preverbal position, or exceptionally use displacement to postverbal/clause-final position, or both. The near exceptionless placement of quotes in immediately preverbal position is fairly remarkable for a “free word order language”, especially given the ease with which quotatives can be freely placed before (17a) or after (17b) quotations in the strict word order language, English.

(17) a) She said, “It’s hot in here.”

     b) “It’s hot in here,” she said.

Furthermore, in instances of multiply embedded quotes, the pattern of preverbal position is strictly maintained in Cree discourse.

(18) ‘.... “ēkotē ay-ītāpīhkan!” nititāw awa niskīsik.’ ītwēw.
    ēkotē ay- itāpi -hkan nit- it -ā -w
    PL IPV VAI 2s.IMP-DEL 1 VTA DIR 3s
    over.there RDPL look.there say.so.to 1s-3s
    awa ni- skīsikw itwē -w
    DEM.3s 1 NDI.3s VAI 3s
    this eye say.so
    “ ‘.... “Take a look around over there!” I told my eye,’ he said.”

73 Only five other possible exceptions to this pattern occur in the texts, and these will be discussed subsequently in the appropriate sections. However, all of these additional exceptions also have explanations grounded in discourse-oriented Cree word order principles.

74 See also Wolfart (1998:173).
In (18), the entire quote (including an inner quote) is the oblique argument preceding itwēw. The embedded quote, “ēkota ay-itāpihkān!” is the oblique argument preceding nititāw, which is in turn followed in this instance by specification of the addressee in P\(_{M+1}\).\(^{75}\) Even within the embedded quote, the locative proform ēkotē “over there” immediately precedes the relative root verb itāpi- “look there”, continuing the pattern. This will be more fully explored in the following subsections on the relative roots in non-quotative function.

The form of quotative verbs also deserves comment. For the most part, Cree quotative verbs can take the full range of verbal forms appropriate to them (i.e. itwē- can occur in all possible VAI forms, it- in all VTA forms). In the formalized storytelling in many of the House People texts, however, the vast majority of quotatives occur in the underspecified Independent form, itwēw. Though this is appropriate for the third person referent being quoted, it is underspecified in the absence of a past tense marker, and perhaps also in its appearance in the Independent Order, so much rarer in all other contexts than the Conjunct. Another apparent example of underspecification occurs in text 6, “Wishful Thinking”, where the quotative nititāw “I tell him/her” occurs twice as often as nititāwak “I tell them”. Again, both are also used without overt tense-marking despite obvious past time reference, as in (19).

The plurality of the second argument is more often unmarked, especially in the earlier part of the text (see (20)), despite the fact that the participant being told is in fact always plural. In contrast, however, the less common rejoinder, nititikwak “they tell me”, always marks the plural in this text, as in (21) which follows (20) immediately.

(19) “ōta nāway ōma kā-ispayik ōma, ē-kī-kisiwāhīt pēyak kīsēyiniw, nīci-kīsēyiniw, mitoni ōti,” nititāwak ōki awāsisak, ... [HP6:6-8]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nit-</th>
<th>it-</th>
<th>-ā</th>
<th>-wak</th>
<th>ōki</th>
<th>awāsis</th>
<th>-ak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>DEM.3p</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say.so.to</td>
<td>1s-3p</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“‘...’ I told these children, ....”

(20) “ā, nōsisimitik, kiwī-ācimostātināwāw pēyak kīkway ācimowinis, anohe mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kīsēyiniw,” nititāw. [HP6:11-13]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nit-</th>
<th>it-</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>say.so.to</td>
<td>1s-3s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“‘...,’ I said to them.”

---

\(^{75}\) In this instance, a normally inanimate noun, the dependent body part -skīsikw- “eye”, is treated as animate by the speaker and marked with the animate demonstrate awa “this” in order to allow it to act as an addressee.
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(21) “kīkwāy ēkwā,” *nītītwak.*

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nit-} & \text{it} & -\text{ikw} & -\text{ak} \\
1 & \text{VTA} & \text{DIR} & 3p \\
\text{say.so.to} & 3p-1s \\
\end{array}
\]

“‘...,’ they said to me.”

With regard to this underspecification, especially of the form *itwēw,* it is interesting to note the recent analysis of *itwē-* as a marker of evidentiality. Blain and Déchaîne (2007) characterize *itwē-* specifically as a quotative or “presentational” evidential, and furthermore suggest both the quotative verb *itwē-* and the reportative evidential *ēsa* commonly occur in second position. The importance of second position in Plains Cree, including the position of some evidentials, will be discussed below and in Chapter 6. For the time being, we can note again the formal similarity of P\(^{M-1}\) to P\(^{I}\) if only one element precedes P\(^{M}\), and thus the formal similarity of P\(^{M}\) to P\(^{I}\) in the same contexts. However, there are rare examples, such as (23b), in which the quote and quotative are also preceded by elements much more commonly found in P\(^{I}\) and/or P\(^{M-n}\). The context for (23) is set up by the question in (22) which itself follows a father’s instruction to his daughter to run and ask his brother a favour, and the daughter’s return from the errand.

(22) ā, tānisi ē-itwēt?\(^{76}\)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ā} & \text{tānisi} & \text{ē-} & \text{itwē-} & \text{t} \\
\text{IPC} & \text{IPC} & \text{IPV} & \text{VAI} & 3s \\
\text{well} & \text{how} & \text{CNJ} & \text{say.so} \\
\end{array}
\]

“Well, what did he say?”

(23) a) “namōya” itwēw nōhcāwīs,

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{namōya} & \text{itwē} & -\text{w} & \text{n-} & \text{ohcāwīs} \\
\text{IPC} & \text{VAI} & 3s & l & \text{NDA.3s} \\
\text{no} & \text{say.so} & \text{paternal.uncle} \\
\end{array}
\]

“Uncle said, ‘No’,

b) māka nikāwīs “āha” itwēw.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{māka} & \text{ni-} & \text{kāwīs} & \text{āha} & \text{itwē-} & \text{w} \\
\text{IPC} & 1 & \text{NDA.3s} & \text{IPC} & \text{VAI} & 3s \\
\text{but} & \text{maternal.aunt} & \text{yes} & \text{say.so} \\
\end{array}
\]

“But Auntie said, ‘Yes’.

\(^{76}\) The position of *tānisi* in complement clauses and questions will be discussed respectively in section 5.1.1.2 below and in Chapter 6.
In particular, the placement of the contrastive nikāwīs preceding the quote mirrors other relative root and contrastive focus structures still to be explored subsequently. Examples such as (23b) thus provide evidence that the quote is in $P^{M-1}$ rather than an earlier position such as $P^1$, and the quotative verb functions still as a verb rather than an evidential particle.\footnote{Another even more complex example can be found in the following, supplied by a consultant.} It remains true, though, that such examples are very rare and this undoubtedly has to do with both the complex structure of quotatives being placed in preverbal position, and the highly formulaic structure of quotative storytelling. The House People texts illustrate the latter point in that itwēw is used most commonly to repeatedly emphasize the fact that every other word being uttered is quoted from a previous speaker. In being faithful to the original narration, there is little room for additional information beyond the quoted material.

In terms of the complexity of quotes themselves, they can take the full range of clausal, extra-clausal and sentential forms found in normal discourse. Anything that can be said, can be quoted. The examples in (23) illustrated the one extreme, a single word quote, while the following examples illustrate some of the more complex possibilities. In (24), the quote contains two clauses, a greeting and a question. In (25), the quote contains a clause preceded by an interjection, wahwā “oh my”, and including a verb with premodifying quantifier phrase ayiwāk mistahi “very much” and postmodifying second argument awa nitōkimām “this boss of mine”. The quote in example (26) also contains two complete clauses, the first of which is preceded by an interjection, ā “oh”, and followed by a vocative, nimosōm “Grandfather!” while the second is a question.

\begin{verbatim}
(24) “tānisi, nimosōm! kiwīsakēyihtēn cī?” ē-isicik māna. \[HP6:79-81\]
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
how grandfather be.hurt.by 2s-0
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{Another even more complex example can be found in the following, supplied by a consultant.}

\begin{verbatim}
i) kētahtawē pēyak ana nāpēsis “Stick 'em up” itēw anihi owīcēwākanisa, “Cowboys” ē-isi-mētawēcik.
“Suddenly this one boy said, ‘Stick 'em up,’ to his companions, as they were playing ‘Cowboys’.”
\end{verbatim}
“wahwā, ayiwāk mistahi nitakahkēyihtamihāw awa nitōkimām,”

wahwā ayiwrāk mistahi nitakahkēyihtamihāw awa nitōkimām
IPC IPC IPC 1 VTA DIR 3s
oh.my more much please 1s-3s
awā nitōkimām itwē -w
DEM.3s 1 NDA.3s VAI 3s
this boss say.so

“‘Oh my, I greatly pleased my boss,’ he said, ...”

“ā, ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoyin, nimosōm! kīkwāy ēkwa wā-asamacik,”

ā ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoy -yin ni-mosōm
IPC IPC IPC IPV VAI 2s 1 NDA.3s
well thus CNJ be.pitiful grandfather

kīkwāy ēkwa wā-asam -at -ik nit- it -ikw -ak
IPC IPT IPV VTA DIR 3p 1 VTA INV 3p
what then RDPL feed 2s-3p say.so.to 3p-1s

“‘Well, in that case you will be in rough shape, grandfather! What would you feed them?’ these young ones said to me as I was telling them this story.”

Further examples could be supplied, but these suffice to illustrate a wide range of clausal structure contained within quotes. As the examples show, the quote precedes the verb of quotation irrespective of the complexity of the quote itself.

Finally, we can note some additional relative root verbs which follow the same pattern as quotatives. These are verbs of thought and verbs of naming or calling. Although the evidential status of such verbs as VTI1 itēyiht- “think so of s.t.” and VTA itēyim- “think so of s.o.” may require independent justification (as through the use of reportative evidential ēsa, cf. (28)), the syntactic structure of placing the quote immediately preceding the verb is maintained. (27) and (28) illustrate this pattern, although this is not as common with relative root verbs of thought as it is with the quotative stems.

78 I have supplied a comma after the interjection, wahwā, that was not present in the original edition. However, such an interjection is not integrated into the clause internal syntax of Cree any more than “ouch” is in English.
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(27) ‘“wā, mahti nika-nitawi-kwāskwēpicikān sīpīhk!” k-ētēyihtahk,’

itwēw. [HP5:28-29]
wā mahti ni- ka- nitawi- kwāskwēpicikē -n sīpiy -ihk
IPC IPC l IPV IPV VAI 1/2 NI LOC
well let’s.see FUT go angle river
kā- itēyiht -ah -k itwē -w
IPV VTI1 TH 3s VAI 3s
CNJ think.so.of say.so
" ‘Oh yes, I will go down to the river to fish!” he thought,’ he said.”

More common with such verbs are examples in which, as was already shown for the quotatives of speaking, an adverbial (29), pronominal (30) or placeholder (31) occurs in preverbal position.

(28) ‘awīna ētokwē ōma omēskanaw?’ itēyihtam ēsa awa nāpēsis.

[Smith 1989:46-47]
awīna ētokwē ōma o- mēskanaw itēyiht -am -Ø
PR.3s IPC DEM.0’s 3s NI.0’s VTI TH 3s
who I.guess this road think 3s-0’
ēsa awa nāpēsis
IPC DEM.3s NA.3s
EVID this boy
“ ‘I wonder whose path this is?’ the boy thought.”

(29) ‘ēy, ēkāy nānitaw itēyihta, my girl,” nititik Alec Bishop, ...

[Bear 1998:134-135]
ēy ēkāy nānitaw itēyiht -a my girl nit- it -ik
IPC IPC IPC VTI1 TH l VTA INV
hey NEG anything think.so 2s-0 say.so.to 3s-1s
“ ‘Hey, do not think about it, my girl,’ Alec Bishop said to me, ...”

(30) ..., tāpiskōt namōya kīkway ē-itēyihtahk onēhiywaiwiwiniwāw.

[HP1:13]
tāpiskōt namōya kīkway ē- itēyiht -ah -kik
IPC IPC PR.0’s IPV VTI1 TH 3p
seems NEG something CNJ think.so 3p-0’
o- nēhiywaiwin -iwāw
3 NI.0’s 2p/3p
Creeness
“..., it is as if their Creeness means nothing to them.”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(31) nīst ākosi nitēyihēn, ē-pē-itāpit mān ānima ita kāpiyāhk. [Bear 1998:130-131]

nīsta ēkosi nit- itēyiht -ē -n
PR.1s IPC 1 VII TH 1/2
thus think.so
“I thought so, too, as it looked at us where we sat.”

In (31), the antecedent is in the preceding discourse, while ēkosi holds its place in preverbal position. In (32), the first element occurs in preverbal position with the remainder of the thought postposed.


misawāc ē- itēyiht -am -ān ...
IPC IPV VTI1 TH 1s
anyway CNJ think.so 1s-0
“‘Anyway,’ I think, ‘the way that people live, ...’

Turning to relative root verbs of naming, (such as VAI isiyīhkāso- “be so named”, VII isiyīhkātē- “be called such”, etc.), we again find an extremely strong tendency to place the name of things in preverbal position. Examples (33-36) not only illustrate this, but the latter three examples also demonstrate the occurrence of a variety of other elements preceding the quoted name, which cannot therefore be confused with placement in P1.

(33) ..., nētē aya, ‘Nelson House’ isiyīhkātēw, ...
[HP10:18]
nētē aya Nelson House isiyīhkātē -w
PL IPC NI.0s VII 0s
over.yonder umm Nelson House be.called.so
“..., at a place called Nelson House, ...”

(34) ..., ēwako awa onīkānohtēw ‘pinkow’ kī-isiyīhkāsow, ...
[HP9:28]
ēwako awa onīkānohtēw pinkow kī- isiyīhkāso -w
DEM.3s DEM.3s NA.3s NA.3s IPV VAI 3s
that this lead-dog Bingo PST be.called.so
“..., the lead-dog was called Bingo, ...”

(35) ēwako awa ‘piyēsīs’ kī-isiyīhkāsow awa kā-wī-ācimak; ...
[HP8:1-2]
ēwako awa ‘piyēsīs’ kī- isiyīhkāso -w
DEM.3s DEM.3s NA.3s IPV VAI 3s
that this Bird PST be.so.named
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

Although Cook (2008:66, fn. 10) cites the acceptability among some of her informants of examples in which the name can follow such verbs, all consultants I have questioned with regard to such examples strongly disprefer or completely reject this. It is perhaps possible, now that few if any monolingual speakers of Cree remain, that the postverbal pattern is beginning to appear simply due to interference from the growing dominance of English. Even so, textual examples in Cree narrative are still lacking for the placement of names following these relative root verbs. At best, we might occasionally see again a pattern present with quotatives where a placeholder occurs in preverbal position with the name postposed.

Even this is fairly rare, perhaps because most names are not of a complexity requiring displacement to postverbal position following LIPOC.
After surveying these verbs of quotation, thought and naming, it is hopefully clear that immediately preverbal or P⁻¹ is the preferred position for the oblique quote or name referenced by the relative root. However, this does not necessarily imply that this is a pattern specific to relative root verbs. In order to demonstrate that the pattern is different in the absence of the relative root, we can compare the preceding examples with some semantically similar forms involving verbs of “telling”, such as VTI₁ wīht-“tell s.t.”, VTA wīhtamaw- “tell (it) to s.o.”, etc. With such verbs, quotes are fairly rare, with the subject of what is told usually represented indirectly by means of a complement clause. In such cases, as in (38) and (39), the complement follows the verb.

(38) ē-wīhtamawācik tānisi ē-wī-itōtahkik, ... [HP3:32-33]
ē- wīhtamaw -ā -cik tānisi ē- wī- itōt -ah -kik
IPV VTA DIR 3p IPC IPV IPV VTI₁ TH 3p
CNJ tell.about.to 3p-3’ how CNJ PRSP do.so 3p-0’
“..., announcing what they would do, …”

(39) ...; ē-kī-wīhtamāwasocik tānisi kī-ēsi-pimātisit osk-āyisiyiniv, ...
[HP2:14-15]
ē- kī- wīhtamāwaso -cik tānisi
IPV IPV VAI 3p IPC
CNJ PST tell.one’s.children how

kīka- isi- pimātisi -t oski-āyisiyiniv
IPV IPV VAI 3s NA.3s
CNJ thus live young.person
“...; as they told their children how young people should live, …”

Example (40) and (41) do include rare quotes, but these too follow the verb. As most evident in (41), but present in all of these examples, the complement clause appears in clause-final position (Pᵢ), as was found in Chapter 4, and no preverbal placeholder is required.

(40) ōki kēhtē-ayak ē-kī-wīhtamāwasocik, “ēwako kiya ka-tōtēn anohc kā-kīšikāk!” [HP4:19-21]
ōki kēhtē-ay -ak ē- kī- wīhtamāwaso -cik
DEM.3p NA 3p IPV IPV VAI 3p
these elder CNJ PST tell.one’s.children
Thus, to conclude this subsection, we have seen a clear preference for if not complete restriction to preverbal position for the oblique antecedents of relative root verbs of quotation and naming. This is not a pattern shared by verbs of telling which lack the relative root, strongly suggesting that it is the antecedent of the relative root which is being placed in $P_{1}^M$. This is a pattern shared with relative root verbs in general as will be described in the remainder of section 5.1.1.

5.1.1.2 Other Instances of /it/- ~ isi- ~ isi

The relative root /it/- occurs in a large number of verbs as the stem “initial” morpheme joined to (“medials” and) “finals”. In such cases, it primarily refers to antecedents with locative (e.g. /itohtē- “go there”) or manner (e.g. /ispayi- “happen so”) function (cf. Wolvengrey 2001:37-38, 40-44). /it/- can also be fairly freely prefixed to existing vowel-initial stems to create additional relative root stems (e.g. /atoskē- “work”, /itatokskē- “work thus”). Alternatively, the preverb form of /it-/, /isi- “thus” can also precede any stem to add an oblique manner reference.

When the relative root /it/- occurs, the antecedent will typically occur in preverbal position, as with quotatives and names. This is true of manner (42) and locative (43) antecedents.
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(42) ..., āsay mitoni pītos nititamahcihon, ...

āsay mitoni pītos nit- itamahciho -n
IPT IPC IPC 1 VAI 1/2
already really different feel.so
“..., I felt much better already, ...”

(43) ..., ōtēnāhk ē-wī-itohtēyān ici; ...

[Lafond and Longneck 1992:252-253]
ōtēnaw -ihk ē- wī- itohtē -yān ici
NI LOC IPV IPV VAI 1s IPT
town CNJ PRSP go.there later
“..., I’m going to town later; ...”

Additionally, the preverbal antecedent can itself be a placeholder referring to
a previously specified or deictically indicated antecedent. Again, examples
of manner (44) and location (45) can be found in immediately preverbal
position.

(44) ēkwa namōya ēkosī ta-kī-itōtahkik osk-āyak.

[HP1:14]
ēkwa namōya ēkosī ta- kī- itōt -ah -kik osk-āy -ak
IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VTI TH 3p NA 3p
and NEG thus CNJ PST do.so 3p-0’ young.person
“Now, the young people should not do that.”

(45) -- nitōtēminānak ēkotē itāmowak ōta kā-māyahkamikahk --

[HP5:3-4]
ni- tōtēm -inān -ak ēkotē itāmo -wak
1 NDA 1p 3p IPT VAI 3p
friend there flee.there

ōta kā- māyahkamikan -k
IPT IPV VII 0s
here CNJ happen.bad
“-- friends of ours had fled there at the time of the trouble [the Riel
rebellion] --”

Evidence is very slim for the presence of corresponding manner and
locative relative/ interrogative pronouns in complement clauses since these
are usually the only preverbal element present in the complement clause, as
in (46).
Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(46) (ēkosi namōya kikiskēyihtēnānaw) tānitē ē-isi-pimohtēcik ēkwa kitōsk-āyiminawak, ...

\[\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{tānitē} & \text{ē-} & \text{isi-} & \text{pimohtē} & \text{-cik ēkwa} \\
\text{PL} & \text{IPV} & \text{IPV} & \text{VAI} & \text{3p IPT} \\
\text{where} & \text{CNJ} & \text{there} & \text{walk} & \text{now} \\
\text{kit-} & \text{oski-ayim} & \text{-inaw} & \text{-ak} \\
\text{2} & \text{NDA} & \text{21} & \text{3p} & \text{young.person} \\
\end{array}\]

“(So we do not know) where our young people are going, ...”

However, there is some evidence that even these elements occur in immediately preverbal position. In (47), the clause in question is the complement of the main clause verb nakacihtāw. This would contrast with the obligatory placement of interrogative pronouns in initial position, as will be detailed in Chapter 6.


\[\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{kahkiyaw} & \text{kīkway} & \text{tānisi} & \text{ē-} & \text{pē-} & \text{isi-} & \text{manāciht} & \text{-ā} & \text{-t} \\
\text{QNT} & \text{NI.0} & \text{IPC} & \text{IPV} & \text{IPV} & \text{IPV} & \text{VTI} & \text{TH} & \text{3s} \\
\text{all} & \text{thing} & \text{how} & \text{CNJ} & \text{come} & \text{thus} & \text{respect} & \text{3s-0’} \\
\end{array}\]

“(Of course the ‘old woman’, as she was called, had come to be experienced) in always treating everything with respect.”

[i.e. she was experienced in ‘how to treat everything with respect’]

Though preverbal position is a very strong tendency, other positions are possible. One option involving clause-initial position (P_I) will be discussed in section 5.4, while another, more infrequent option is exemplified in (48). Here, the locative complement of the verb is represented not by a locative particle or noun but by an entire clause, and this clause, due to its weight, occurs in postverbal position.

(48) nitawi-itohtēw sīpiy ōma itē ē-pimihtiniyik, ...

\[\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{nitawi-} & \text{itohtē} & \text{-w} & \text{sīpiy ōma itē} & \text{ē-} & \text{pimihtin} & \text{-iyik} \\
\text{IPV} & \text{VAI} & \text{3s} & \text{NI.0’s IPC IPL IPV VII} & \text{0’s} & \text{go} & \text{go.the} & \text{river} & \text{FOC where CNJ lie.along} \\
\end{array}\]

“He went to where the river was flowing by, ...”

Thus, the same patterns found for verbs of quotation and naming are also present for other verbs containing the /it-/ root (or the preverb form isi-) with
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

P\textsuperscript{M-1} as the most important position. This pattern remains fairly consistent for other relative roots as well.

5.1.1.3 /oht-/ ~ ohci- ~ ohci

The second most common relative root is /oht-/i, which can also occur as a preverb /ohci-/ and postpositional particle ohci, primarily marking locative, source or instrument (cf. Cook 2008:63). Each of these forms are exemplified in (49) through (51), with the antecedent in preverbal position including the entire locative phrase with postpositional ohci in (51).

(49) ..., nipiy piko ita ē-kī-ohtahipē, ...

nipiy piko ita ē- kī- ohtahipē -t
NI.0’s IPL IPV IPV VAI 3s
water anywhere CNJ PAST dip.liquid.from
“..., they could get water anywhere, ...”

(50) ..., nayēstaw paskwāwimostoswa ē-kī-ohci-pimātisicik ēkospī ōki ayisiyiniwak.

nayēstaw paskwāwimostosw -a ē- kī- ohci- pimātisi -cik
IPC NA 3’ IPV IPV IPV VAI 3p
only buffalo CNJ PST from live
ēkospī ōki ayisiyiniw -ak
PT DEM.3p NA 3p
at.that.time these person
“..., and the people lived only on buffalo then.”

(51) “..., ayis ēkota ohci kiy-ōhcīyākēyān,”

ayis ēkota ohci kiy- ohcīyākē -yān
IPC PL IPL IPV VAI 1s
because there from win.from.there
“..., for with this I would surely score,’ ...”

The postposition ohci provides somewhat more freedom, however, since the only requirement is for it to occur following its antecedent. If this is not bound to the verb and verbal position in P\textsuperscript{M}, then the phrase containing ohci need not occur preverbally, as in (52).

(52) ..., mīna wīkiwāwa ē-kī-osīhtamāsocik pakhēkinwa ohci.

mīna w- īk -iwāw -a ē- kī- osīhtamāso -cik
IPC 3 NDI 2p/3p 0’p IPV IPV VAI 3p
and home CNJ PST make.for.self
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

5.1.1.4 Other Relative Roots

The same patterns already exemplified for /it-/ and /oht-/ are also evident for other roots, only some of which are commonly included in the list of relative roots. Due to the paucity of data on some of these in the House People texts, a full discussion of each one will not be attempted, but several observations will be offered.

An apparent root /tat-/ is attested in a very small number of verbs including VAI tatahkamikisi- “be busy there”, VAI tatāhpi- “laugh there”, and possibly VTI tatwēwit- “make noise while others are speaking”.79 This also seems to be related to a free particle tasi “there”, which should presumably in turn be related to the homonymous preverb tasi- “for such a time, for the duration”. Note, however, that there is a mixing of locative and temporal meanings. In the locative function, /tat-/ would overlap with /it-/ and the example in (53) would seem to confirm this, allowing for the locative interpretation, while the similar and more common VAI itahkamikisi- “do things thus, be thus occupied” containing /it-/ is typically restricted to the manner interpretation.

(53) wā, ēkota ē-tatahkamisīyān ayi, ...
   [HP8:36]
      wā  ēkota  ē-  tatahkamikisi  -yān  ayi
      IPC  PL  IPV  VAI  l1s  IPC
    well  there    CNJ  be.busy.there  umm
“Well, I was busy there, ...”

As will be a common refrain with regard to the more marginal relative roots, additional data will be required to provide a more accurate picture of /tat-/, and especially the particle and preverbs tasi and tasi-.

Another root that may be influenced by /it-/ is the root /tahtw-/ “so many” which occurs in the extended form /itahtw-/ in a limited number of forms. Most prominent is the VAI stem itahtopipō- “be so many years (winters)

79 It is possible that what appears as a relative root /tat-/ is derived from reduplication of verb stems which originally contained the relative root /it-/ , but which lost the initial vowel, leaving an initial [t] to be reduplicated. Along these lines, we can find /v/-initial stems like tāstapi- “be in a hurry; be active and quick” and a reduplicated counterpart tātāstapi- “be quick”. Such an origin would explain the locative interpretation, but not necessarily the related particle tasi which instead points to a Proto-Algonquian root *taθ-.
old” (and its alternate form tahtopiponē-) occurs quite consistently with the age specified in preverbal position, as in (54).

(54) ..., ayinānēw ē-itahtopiponēt, ...

ayinānēw ē- itahtopiponē -t

NUM IPV VAI 3s

eight CNJ be.so.many.years.old

“..., she was eight years old, ...”

In most other cases, the root /tahtw-/ more commonly indicates an indefinite number (i.e. “so many; quite a number”) or even a universal quantifier (cf. tahto “each, every”, tahtwāw “each time, every time”), and does not require further specification in the way that other relative roots do. However, certain additional verb stems, such as VAI tahtotipiskwē- “spend so many nights”, at least have the potential to be used in the same way. One additional particle that does act consistently as a relative root is tahtwāpisk “dollar(s)” (literally: “so much metal”) which allows for a preceding numeric specification of the dollar amount (e.g. nīsitanaw tahtwāpisk “20 dollars”).

The root /iskw-/ “so far, up to, to such an extent” is considerably more productive and a fairly large number of verb stems are built including this as the initial element (cf. Wolvengrey 2001:38-39). Unfortunately, it is only the particle isko which is at all prevalent in the texts consulted, so that little can be concluded from the available data. One example, given in (55), does suggest the preverbal ordering, though in this case the preverbal specification of location is separated from the relative root verb ē-iskwāpēkamok by the quotative itwēw. It is therefore possible, as suggested by the translation provided in the original, that the locative must here be treated as an extra-clausal constituent, with perhaps a hand gesture sufficing as the antecedent for /iskw-/

(55) ..., ‘mitoni ākwāc ēta naniwāhk ēta,’ itwēw, ‘ē-iskwāpēkamok ēma niskīsik,’ itwēw.

mitoni ākwāc ēta n- aniway -ihk ēta itwē -w

IPC IPL PL 1 NDI LOC PL VAI 3s

really way.down here cheek here say.so

ē- iskwāpēkamo(n) -k ēma ni- skīsikw itwē -w

IPV VII 0s DEM.0s 1 NDI.0s VAI 3s

CNJ run.so.far this eye say.so

“..., ‘it was hanging way down my cheek here,’ he said, ‘my eye was hanging this far,’ he said.”
Consultants also more readily accept examples with a preverbal antecedent, as in (56), so this does seem a preferred strategy at least in out-of-the-blue contexts.

(56) nikotwāsik misit ē-iskokāpawit ana pēyak nāpēw.
   nikotwāsik misit ē- iskokāpaw -t ana pēyak nāpēw
   NUM IPC IPV VAI 3s DEM.3s NUM NA
   six feet CNJ stand.so.tall that one man
   “That one man stands six feet tall.”

Two additional roots, /kik-/ and /asit-/, were included in the earlier Table 5.1 due to the occasional use of the corresponding particles, kiki and asici, as postpositions, in which case they both are translateable as “with”. However, these are truly marginal as relative roots since the preverbal position is by no means obligatory nor is the root always associated with an oblique argument at all. The VTI₁ kikisk- “wear s.t.” and VTA kikiskaw- “wear s.o.”, for example refer simply to the article of clothing as the second, obligatory argument, as illustrated in (57).

(57) ..., niwī-pē-kikiskēn ēkwa pahkēkinwēsākay kīhtwām, ...
   ni- wī- pē- kikisk -ē -n ēkwa
   1 IPV IPV VTI₁ TH 1/2 IPT
   PRSP come wear 1s-0 now
   pahkēkinwēsākay kīhtwām
   NI.0s IPT
   buckskin.coat again
   “..., I am going to wear my buckskin coat next week, …”

Two examples that appear to permit the relative root reading are given in (58) and (59). In (58), the preverbal locative kwāskwēpicikanihk is distinct from the second argument and indicates the place where the second argument will be attached, as per the VTI₂ kikamohtā- “attach s.t. (to something)”.

(58) ..., kwāskwēpicikanihk ka-kikamohtā, ...
   kwāskwēpicikan -ihk ka- kikamoht -ā -t
   NI LOC IPV VTI₂ TH 3s
   fish-hook CNJ attach.to 3s-0’
   ... that he could put on the hook, ...

80 It has been suggested that kiki is possibly restricted to use with ingredients or things “added to”, while asici is somewhat freer and can also mark an associative.
In (59), the VAI *kikāpohkē*- permits the oblique *macipakwa* as the ingredient to be added in the process of making soup.

(59) ..., ᖃᑫ ᖂᐱᐱ ᖃᑫ−kikāpohkēt.

[Lafond and Longneck 1992:288-289]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL</th>
<th>NI</th>
<th>0’p</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VAI</th>
<th>3s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>weed</td>
<td>0’p</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“..., she used herbs to make the soup.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i.e. she added herbs to the soup.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar textual examples remain to be found for /asit-/ though the elicited example in (60) is at least promising.

(60) ᖃ Crudkōhi ᖃᑫ−asitahpitam ocīmān.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NA</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VTI</th>
<th>TH</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>0’p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pier</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>tie.tight.to</td>
<td>3s-0’</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“S/he tied his/her canoe tightly to the pier.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last root included in Table 5.1 has not frequently if ever been previously included in a list of Algonquian relative roots. /asit-/ is the initial morpheme present in a number of Cree verbs, including VII *asiwatē*- “be inside (of it)”, VAI *asiwaso*- “be inside (of it)”, VTI₁ *asiwatā*- “put s.t. inside (of it)”, and VTA *asiwah*- “put s.o. inside (of it)”. Although not without exception, such verbs quite consistently occur with a preverbal specification of the “container”, as exemplified in (61) through (64). (61) and (62) contain straightforward examples of locative nouns immediately preceding the /asit-/root verbs.

(61) ..., iyikohk kipahotowikamikohk ᖃ−asiwasocik ᖃᑫ−āyisiyiniwak.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>NI</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VAI</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so.much</td>
<td>prison</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>be.inside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ᖃᑫ− | oski-ayisiyiniw | -ak |
| DEM.3p | NA | 3p |
| these | young.person |

“..., so many of the young people are locked up in jail.”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(62) ... iskotēwāpoy wiya mōtēyāpiskohk otasiwacikanihk ē-asiwatēyik.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{NI.0's} & \text{IPC} \\
\text{alcohol} & \text{FOC} \\
\text{ē} & \text{asiwatē} \\
\text{IPV} & \text{VII} \\
\text{be.inside} & \\
\end{array}
\]

“... for he had whisky in a bottle that was in his pocket.”

In (63), the location is first introduced by a clause, and then the resumptive locative proform ēkota “there” repeats this location preceding asiwatē-, just as in the earlier examples of the quintessential relative root /it-/ with quotations, locatives and manners as antecedents.

(63) ... konita ēkota mahihkani-wātī ē-ayāk, ēkota nitasiwatān, ...

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
konita & \text{IPC} \\
\text{merely there wolf-den} & \text{CNJ} \\
\text{ēkota} & \text{NI} \\
\text{put.inside 1s-0} & \\
\text{be.there} & \\
\end{array}
\]

“... and stuck them into a wolf-den that happened to be there, ...”

Finally, (64) presents a fairly complex locational referent in the form of a headless relative clause including a relative root verb of naming and its preverbal oblique complement, ‘āhkosīwikamik ‘k-ēsiyiḥkātēk “that which is called a hospital”. Despite its complexity, however, it still occurs in preverbal position.

(64) namōya wīhkāc ‘āhkosīwikamik ‘k-ēsiyiḥkātēk nitasiwason, ...

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
namōya & \text{IPC} \\
\text{NEG ever hospital} & \text{CNJ} \\
\text{nit- asiwaso} & -n \\
\text{1 VAI 1/2} & \text{be.inside} \\
\end{array}
\]

“I have never been inside what is called a hospital, ...”
These examples illustrate a consistent pattern of immediately preverbal positioning for the oblique complement of verbs beginning with the root /asiw-/ in Plains Cree, which in turn matches the pattern seen for other relative roots. This suggests that we are justified in adding /asiw-/ to the list of relative roots, for Cree at least. These and most examples cited in section 5.1.1 point to the importance of immediately preverbal position (P\textsuperscript{M-1}) for the oblique arguments of certain verbs: those containing relative roots requiring antecedents.

5.1.2 Quantifiers, Intensifiers and Degree Modifiers

Another class of elements commonly found in immediately preverbal position are verbal modifiers of degree, intensity and/or quantification. As mentioned previously, Dahlstrom (1991:76-83) specifically included quantifiers as occurring preverbally in a V’ constituent. This section will explore these claims and further investigate the position of quantification and intensification in association with the verb.

5.1.2.1 mitoni, mistahi, iyikohk

There are a number of verbal modifiers which occur very consistently in immediately preverbal position. Among the most prominent are the degree adverbials mitoni “really, very” (which also occurs in the form mētoni) (65), mistahi “really; much” (66), and iyikohk “so much” (67).

(65) …, anohc mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kisēyiniw, … [HP6:12]
anohc mitoni ē- wīsakahcahw -it awa kisēyiniw
IPT IPC IPV VTA INV DEM.3s NA.3s
today really CNJ make.envious 3s-1s this old.man
“…, today, I was really envious of this old man, …”

(66) tāpiskōt mistahi ē-nēpēwihi:kocik onēhiyāwiwiniwāw. [HP1:8]
tāpiskōt mistahi ē- nēpēwihi:ko -cik o- nēhiyāwiwi -iwāw
IPC IPC IPV VTA-InanAct 3p 3 NI.0’s 3p
seems much CNJ be.shamed.by Creeness
“…, it seems that [the young people] are very much ashamed of their Creeness.”
(67) *kayās iyikohk ē-kī-kanātahk ōma askiy.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IPT</th>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>0s</th>
<th>DEM.0s</th>
<th>NI.0s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long.ago</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so.much</td>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be.clean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Long ago this land was so clean.”

All three of these particles are also able to pre-modify elements other than verbs, so a second pattern that sometimes appears is when other elements intervene between these degree modifiers and the verb. However, here, these modifiers form part of a different preverbal constituent.

(68) *mitoni māh-mēskoc ācimowak,* ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>VAI</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>really</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each.in.turn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell.stories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“They were taking turns telling stories, …”

(69) *mistahi kōna nikī-īkatēwēpahwāw.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>NA.3s</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VA1</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>3s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>much</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep.aside</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“I swept aside a great deal of snow.”

(70) *iyikohk minihkwēwin ōma ē-pimohtēmakahk ē-misiwanācihikoyahk;*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IPC</th>
<th>NI.0s</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>IPV</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>0s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so.much</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk.along</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“..., there is so much drinking going on and it is destroying us; ...

As evident in (69) and (70), *mistahi* and *iyikohk* double as quantifiers, and this will prove important for the claim that quantifiers can occur in $P^{M-1}$, as explored further below.

A third pattern that occurs, although less commonly with *iyikohk*, is when the degree modifier appears at the end of the clause, in which case it is often emphasized intonationally, or even offset from the clause itself (see also
sections 4.4.2 and 6.2.2.1.4).

(71) ī, nikisiwipayin mitoni, ...  [HP8:43]
ī ni- kisiwipayi -n mitoni
IPC 1 VAI 1/2 IPC
look! get.angry really
“Look, I got really angry, …”

(72) ..., mitoni kī-kanātaniyiw opimātisiwiniwāw, mistahi.  [HP3:57]
mitoni kī- kanātan -iyiw o- pimātisiwin -iwāw mistahi
IPC IPV VII 0’s 3 NI.0’s 3p IPC
really PST be.clean life really
“[And the Crees] led a really clean life, very clean.”

Note the co-occurrence of mitoni and mistahi in (72). Though not attested in the House People texts, it is not uncommon in ordinary speech to give additional emphasis to something by the combination of both of these elements, mitoni mistahi “really very much”.

These patterns account for nearly all examples of these particular modifiers in the House People texts, as well as other modifiers with similar function such as apisīs “a little”, namōya kakēthik “a great deal”, etc., and we can note the overlap with quantification. The few exceptions will again be dealt with in the discussion of P1 in Chapter 6.

We have now seen that the oblique arguments of relative root verbs, and verbal modifiers can both occur in PM-1. There is, however, surprisingly little textual evidence for the interaction of these two types of verbal modifier. If combined at all, it is usually the case that the degree adverbial modifies the oblique, rather than the verb, and so forms a constituent with the oblique in PM-1, as in (73).

(73) ..., āsay mitoni pītos nititamahcihon, ...  [HP10:84]
āsay mitoni pītos nit- itamahciho -n
IPT IPC IPL 1 VAI 1/2
already really different feel.so
“..., I felt much better already, …”

Another option is that modifiers such as iyikohk, in their quantificational use, can themselves act as the oblique argument of a relative root verb. This is shown in examples (74) and (75).
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(74) .... iyikohk ē-kī-itēyatit nēhiyaw kayās. [HP3:10]
iyikohk ē- kī- itēyatit  
IPC IPV 3s nēhiyaw kayās  
so.much CNJ PST be.in.such.numbers Cree long.ago
“..., there were so many Crees long ago.”

(75) .... iyikohk ē-itakihtēk -- [HP4:141]
iyikohk ē- itakihtē  
IPC IPV VII 0s  
so.much CNJ cost.thus
“..., everything is so expensive –”

Such examples might thus give rise to the idea that quantifiers in general can occur in the preverbal position (but see the discussion of kahkiyaw in section 5.1.2.2 below).

Another thing that both of these preverbal elements have in common is that both can, on very rare occasions, be incorporated inside the verbal structure. In (76), the adverbial mitoni occurs inside the verbal structure, in the normal position of a preverb.

(76) ē-kī-mitoni-kiskēyihtahkik, ... [HP2:12]
ē- kī- mitoni-  
IPV IPV IPC TH 3p  
CNJ PST really know
“..., they knew it well, …”

In (77), it is another particle, nānitaw “about; any”, acting in tandem with the relative root preverb isi- which is incorporated inside the verbal structure rather than occuring in P^M−1. This element much more commonly occurs in P^M−1, either preceding a verb with a relative root or relative root preverb, as in (78).

(77) ...., namōya mistahi wīhkāc ē-kī-nānitaw-isi-sōkhahāt-tōtātocik, ... [HP3:13]
namōya mistahi wīhkāc
IPC IPC IPT
NEG much ever
ē- kī- nānitaw- isi- sōkhahāt- tōtāto  
IPV IPV IPC IPV IPV VAI 3p  
CNJ PST any thus exceeding do.so.to.one.another
“..., they did not very often commit violent crimes against one another, …”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(78) ēkā nānitaw k-ēsi-māyinikēyit, ...
ēkā nānitaw ka- isi- māyinikē -yit
IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3’re
NEG any CNJ thus act.badly
“…, not to commit any crimes, …”

The fact that both can occasionally be incorporated inside the verbal complex suggests that both are rather closely tied to the verb, and PM might thereby be a position that allows this, albeit rarely.

In the equally rare instances that both a verbal modifier and an oblique co-occur without forming a single constituent, the oblique seems to take precedence. In (79), the oblique manner argument kwayask occurs before the relative root VTA (i)tōtaw– “do so to s.o.” while mitoni occurs postverbally, thus avoiding a conflict in PPM.

(79) ēkwa, wahwā kwayask nitōtāk mitoni, ...
ēkwa wahwā kwayask ni- tōtaw -ik -Ø mitoni
IPT IPC IPC 1 VTA INV 3s IPC
now oh.my correctly do.so.to 3s-1s really
“Oh my, and he really treated me very well, …”

In (80), the oblique locative occurs preceding the relative root verb asiwaso-, while iyikohk is thus displaced to PPM.

(80) …, iyikohk kipahotowikamikohk ē-asiwasocik ōki osk-āyisiyiniwak.
iyikohk kipahotowikamkw -ihk ē- asiwaso -cik
IPC NI LOC IPV VAI 3p
so.much prison CNJ be.inside
ōki oski-ayisiyiniw -ak
DEM.3p NA 3p
those young.person
“Oh my, and he really treated me very well, …”

In (80), the oblique locative occurs preceding the relative root verb asiwaso-, while iyikohk is thus displaced to PPM.

Ahenakew’s (1987b:43) original translation, included in (80), suggests an alternative analysis in which iyikohk is not modifying the verb, but rather the postverbal argument. If so, then this says nothing about the relative ordering of verbal modifiers and oblique arguments, but does anticipate the subsequent discussion of (floating) quantifiers. In this case, it would be a (floated) quantifier which is being placed preverbally, but not in PPM which is occupied by the oblique argument. In either interpretation, the oblique
argument is taking precedence for the immediately preverbal position $P_{M-1}$.

### 5.1.2.2 kahkiyaw and other Quantifiers

As we have seen, certain particles with quantificational function, such as *iyikohk*, can apparently occur in $P_{M-1}$. However, in this position, they appear for the most part to function as verbal modifiers or oblique verbal complements, rather than as floated quantifiers of core arguments. Yet floated quantifiers, construing with core arguments (A1, A2 and maybe A3), are precisely those which Dahlstrom (1991:76) included in her $V'$ constituent in preverbal position. This section will investigate the position of such quantifiers, the most prominent of which is the universal quantifier *kahkiyaw*.

In the vast majority of the examples including *kahkiyaw* in the House People texts, it combines with the (pro)nominal *kīkway* “(some)thing” to form the unitary pronominal phrase *kahkiyaw kīkway* “everything”. Though this can occur postverbally, as in (81), it is far more commonly found in preverbal position, as in (82).

(81) …, ē- kī- kita hamāht *kahkiyaw kīkway*. [HP2:16]

-ē- kī- kita hamaw -iht kahkiyaw kīkway
IPV IPV VTA X-3s QNT NI.0’
CNJ PST warn.against all thing
“…, they warned them against everything.”
[i.e. “they were warned against everything.”]

(82) …, *kahkiyaw kīkway* ē- pē- maskamikoyahk, … [HP2:9]

kahkiyaw kīkway ē- pē- maskam -iko -yahk
QNT NI.0’ IPV IPV VTA INV 21
all thing CNJ come rob.from 3p-21
“…, [the Whiteman has been] robbing us of everything, …”

*kahkiyaw* can also combine with demonstrative pronouns and/or resumptive pronouns like *ēkoni*. Such combinations can again occur preverbally (83) or postverbally (84), with preverbal position greatly preferred.

(83) …, ēkosi ēkwa *kahkiyaw ēkoni ōhi* ta-tāpwēhtamēk, … [HP4:108]

ēkosi ēkwa kahkiyaw ēkoni ōhi ta- tāpwēht -am -ēk
IPC IPT QNT PR.0p PR.0p IPV VTI1 TH 2p
thus now all those these CNJ believe 2p-0
“…, now you have to believe all these things, …”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(84) ..., ē-kī-kanātēyimācik kahkiyaw ēkoni anihī. [HP4:75]
   ē- kī- kanātēyim -ā -cik kahkiyaw ēkoni anihī
   IPV IPV VTA DIR 3p QNT PR.3’ PR.3’
   CNJ PST respect 3p-3’ all those those
   “..., and their attitude towards them all was one of respect.”

In (85), however, kahkiyaw occurs in preverbal position, separated from the pronominal sequence ēwako anima with which it construes, such that this appears to be a classic example of a floated quantifier.

(85) anohc kā-kišikāk ēkwa kahkiyaw pīkopayin ēwako anima. [HP2:83-84]
   anohc kā- kišikā -k ēkwa kahkiyaw pīkopayin -Ø
   IPT IPV VII 0s IPT QNT VII 0s
   now CNJ be.day then all be.broken

   ēwako anima
   PR.0s PR.0s
   that that
   “Today all this is shattered.”

However, kahkiyaw can also occur on its own as an argument of the verb. In (86) it cannot be considered a floated quantifier since no other element is present with which it can construe. (87) illustrates the same thing in postverbal position.

(86) ēkosi kahkiyaw ē-kī-māmawōhkamātocik, ...
   ēkosi kahkiyaw ē- kī- māmawōhkamāto -cik
   IPC QNT IPV IPV VTA 3p
   thus all CNJ PST work.with.one.another
   “So they all worked together, …”

(87) pōti ōki wayawītimihk kī-apiwak kahkiyaw, ...
   pōti ōki wayawītimihk kī- api -wak kahkiyaw
   IPC PR.3p IPL IPV VAI 3p QNT
   lo! these outside PST sit all
   “..., here they were all sitting outside, …”

What all of these examples suggest is merely that, as has been observed and discussed in Chapter 4, arguments can occur in either preverbal or postverbal position, and this is exactly what has frequently led to the description of Cree as a free word order language. However, we can also note the absence
of examples in which the quantifier is placed postverbally while the remainder of the constituent with which it constricts occurs preverbally.\(^{81}\) This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6, but for now it is important that there are limits on the apparent freedom.

Additionally, all examples thus far have shown kahkiyaw (alone or as part of a constituent) in immediately preverbal position, as per Dahlstrom’s placement of the floated quantifier in V’. However, this is not strictly true. Examples including an oblique argument of a relative root verb (88) or even simply an oblique locative adverbial (89) show that these elements take precedence over the quantified argument for placement in P\(^{M-1}\).

(88) kahkiyaw kíkway ‘mínisa’ k-ēsíyíhkātēki, ...
  kahkiyaw kíkway mínis -a kā- isíyíhkātē -ki
  QNT NI.0p NI 0p IPV VII 0p
  all thing berry CNJ be.called.so
  “All these that are called ‘berries’, ...”

(89) kahkiyaw kíkway wayawítimihk ē-atoskēhk ...
  kahkiyaw kíkway wayawítimihk ē- atoskē -hk
  QNT NI.0p IPL IPV VAI X
  all thing outside CNJ work
  “..., and all work was outdoors, ...”

Examples in which the universal quantifier kahkiyaw occurs are conspicuous for the absence of the intensifiers such as mitoni “really”. It is possible that intensification is simply not required (if not completely redundant) in contexts in which universal quantification is already marked. Other quantificational particles, such as nanātohk “various” and pēyak “one”, do co-occur with intensifiers, and when they co-occur, as in (90), the quantified argument must again precede the intensifier in P\(^{M-1}\).

(90) pēyak awa nāpēw mitoni kískwēpēskiw, ...
  pēyak awa nāpēw mitoni kískwēpēski -w
  NUM DEM.3s NA.3s IPC VAI 3s
  one this man really be.a.drunkard
  “There was this one man who was a real drunkard, ...”

Based on examples such as these, it would appear that non-oblique

\(^{81}\) It is, in fact, possible to find the quantifier in postverbal position, but only if it is offset from the clause intonationally (e.g. ēkosi ēkwa ēkoni ōhi pīkopayinwa, kahkiyaw! “So now these are broken, all of them!”)
arguments, including quantified arguments, or simply quantifiers whether alone or “floated” apart from the remainder of the argument, appear to occur in P^{M-1} only when other elements, like oblique arguments or verbal intensifiers are absent. In such instances, they then appear to be displaced to P^{M-2}. Whether this is indeed the most appropriate clausal position for quantifiers and other preverbal arguments will be taken up again in Chapter 6. For now, we can simply note that quantifiers representing arguments act like those arguments, and oblique arguments take precedence for placement in P^{M-1} whether quantified or not. “Floated” quantifiers appear in the same position as full noun phrases, such that the only thing special about such quantifiers in Cree is not their position, but simply that they can be separated from the remainder of the argument with which they construe.

To summarize section 5.1, we have seen that oblique arguments of relative root verbs display far less variation than many elements in Cree word order. Such elements very rarely occur outside of P^{M-1}, and although other elements can occur in this position, it is the oblique argument which will take precedence if there is competition for this position. Other elements such as verbal modifiers of degree and intensification, which also appear preverbally, can be displaced to P^{M-2}, or occur postverbally, and thus show less syntactic restriction than the obliques. Non-oblique arguments (including quantifiers of those arguments) might similarly appear in P^{M-1} and be displaced to P^{M-2} when co-occurring with oblique arguments or verbal modifiers, but this remains an open question to which we will return in Chapter 6.

5.2 Clause Linkage

A second syntactically motivated word order phenomenon is found in the domain of clausal and sentential cohesion. Ogg (1991) offers a survey of Plains Cree connective particles at the phrase, clause and sentence level, concentrating on temporal sequencing. For both clausal and sentential discourse cohesion, she identifies two main positions in which connective particles are commonly found, initial and “inverted” (into second position) and both will be reviewed in the following two subsections.

5.2.1 Coordinators (and Subordinators)

The most prominent position of coordinating conjunctions such as ēkwa “and; then”, māka “but”, and ahpō “or” is at the beginning of a clause and/or sentence, as illustrated in the following examples. (91-93) provide sentence-initial examples, while (94-96) give examples of the coordinators in
sentence-internal, but apparent clause-initial position.

(91) **ēkwa namōya ēkosi ta-kī-itōtahkik osk-āyak.**

```
ēkwa namōya ēkosi ta- kī- itōt -ah -kik
IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VTI₁ TH 3p
and NEG thus CNJ PST do.so.to 3p-0’
```

oski-ay -ak
NA 3p

young.person

“No Now, the young people should not do that.”

(92) **māka ohtitaw ē-kī-is-ōhpikihitocik aniki nēhiyawak wīstawāw, ...**

```
māka ohtitaw ē- kī- isi- ohpikihito -cik
IPC IPC IPV IPV IPV VAI 3p
but on.purpose CNJ PST thus raise.one.another
```

aniki nēhiyaw -ak wīstawāw
DEM.3p NA 3p PR.3p
those Cree they.too

“But But the Crees, too, had their own rules, …”

(93) **ahpō piko iyikohk ē-kī-mawimoscikēcik wīstawāw, ...**

```
ahpō piko iyikohk ē- kī- mawimoscikē -cik wīstawāw
IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3p PR.3p
or just so.much CNJ PST pray they.too
```

“They They, too, prayed a lot, …”

(94) **nitawi-itohtēw sipiy ōma itē ē-pimihtiniyik, wā,**

```
ēkwa nama kīkway ayāw ka-mīcimīhkahcikēsìt, ... [HP5:31-34]
wā ēkwa nama kīkway ay -ā -w
IPC IPC IPC PR.0’s VTI₂ TH 3s
oh and NEG something have 3s-0’
```

ka- mīcimīhkahcikēsi -t
IPV VAI 3s
CNJ use.as.bait

“He went to where the river was flowing by, oh, but he had nothing to use as his bait,”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(95) “..., namōya kīkway kīkē-miyitin, māka pēyak kīkway kiwī-miyitin,” ...

[HP5:10-11]

māka pēyak kīkway ki- wī- miy -iti -n
IPC NUM NI.0s 2 IPV VTA INV 1/2
but one thing PRSP give 1s-2s
“‘..., I cannot give you anything, but one thing I am going to give you,’ ...”

(96) ..., ēkā kīkway kīk-ōtināmosoyit kīkway ahpō piko kīkway
ka-pistināmiyit kīkway.

[HP2:20-21]

ahpō piko kīkway ka- pistin -am -iyit kīkway
IPC IPC PR.0’s IPV VTI1 TH 3’ PR.0’s
or just something CNJ take.accidentally 3'-0’
something
“..., not to steal anything nor even to take anything by mistake.”

It seems natural to interpret each of these coordinators as occurring in the initial position of its respective clause, and this is indeed the interpretation that Ogg (1991:21-22) offers. Furthermore, in recognizing the prominence that initial position (or P1 in our current terminology) lends to a constituent, Ogg (1991:21-22) suggests that initial position emphasizes the linkage itself. The function of these connectives, as Ogg (1991:17, following Grimes 1975) points out, is to provide discourse cohesion in the context of narrative. Outside of that narrative context, these connectives are virtually superfluous and fully omissable, as Ogg (1991:34) confirms.82

The omissability of connectives is suggested in various ways in the examples above. In translation, the corresponding English clause linker can be offset from the clause, as in (91) “Now, ...”, or commonly omitted from the translation altogether, as in (93). Furthermore, the Cree connective in initial position can simply be omitted leaving a fully grammatical clause or sentence, as in (97) which repeats (91) without the connective ēkwa.

(97) namōya ēkosi ta-kī-ītōtahhik osk-āyah.

namōya ēkosi ta- kī- itōt -ah -kik oski-ay -ak
NEG thus CNJ PST do.so.to 3p-0’ young.person
“The young people should not do that.”

82 Ogg’s original argument is based on the omission of the coordinator from examples in which it occurs in second position (to be discussed below in section 5.3), but the argument holds for coordinators in initial position as well.
The presence of one of these coordinators in apparent initial position has no other effect on the syntax of the clause. This is reminiscent of the lack of impact that certain coordinators have on Dutch word order. In main clauses, Dutch maintains a very strict verb-second (V2) position (i.e. the finite verb occurs in P^2), as exemplified in (98) (cf. Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008:338-340; 344-350). In the grammatical sentences in (98a) and (98b), the finite auxiliary verb heb “have” occurs in P^2. In (98a), the subject ik “I” occupies P^I, while in (98b), the temporal adverbial gisteren “yesterday” takes this position and the subject must follow P^2. The ungrammaticality of (98c) is due to the fact that we have tried to place the subject in P^2 displacing the finite auxiliary and this is not permitted in Dutch.

(98)  
a)  P^I  P^2  P^M  P^{M+1}  P^F
    Ik  heb  gisteren  de wolf  gezien.
    “I saw the wolf yesterday.”

b)  P^I  P^2  P^{2+1}  P^M  P^F
    Gisteren  heb  ik  de wolf  gezien.
    “Yesterday I saw the wolf.”

c)  *Gisteren  ik  heb  de wolf  gezien.
    *“Yesterday I saw the wolf.”

But if a coordinator such as maar “but” is added, as in (99), this does not force displacement of the subject (or any other element) in P^I.

(99)  
a)  -  P^I  P^2  P^M  P^{M+1}  P^F
    Maar  ik  heb  gisteren  de wolf  gezien.
    but  I  have  yesterday  the wolf  seen
    “But I saw the wolf yesterday.”

b)  -  P^I  P^2  P^{2+1}  P^M  P^F
    Maar  gisteren  heb  ik  de wolf  gezien.
    but  yesterday  have  I  the wolf  seen
    “But yesterday I saw the wolf.”
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

$c) - P^1 \quad P^2 \quad P^{2+1} \quad P^M \quad P^F$

*Maar\ gisteren\ ik\ heb\ de\ wolf\ gezien.
but\ yesterday\ I\ have\ the\ wolf\ seen

*“But yesterday I saw the wolf.”

In the Dutch examples, then, the coordinator *maar* simply does not count within the Dutch word order template.

Similarly, Cree coordinators do not appear to count as clause-initial elements. In example (100), this is made explicit when the coordinator is offset from the following coordinated clause by enough of an intonational pause (as represented by the comma).

(100) “..., *ēkwa*, kwayask *ēkwa*\textsuperscript{83} ka-pāh-pakāsimon mīna,” nititik.

\begin{verbatim}
ēkwa kwayask ēkwa ka- pāh- pakāsimo -n mīna
IPC IPC IPT IPV IPV VAI 1/2 IPC
and correct then CNJ RDPL bathe also

nit- it -ik -Ø
1 VTA INV 3s
say.so.to 3s-1s
“..., and then have a good swim, too,’ he told me.”
\end{verbatim}

Additionally, the coordinator is often associated with pre-clausal orientations (see also section 6.2.1) as in (101) and (102), where it is also omissible.

(101) -- *ēkwa* kayās, ahpōnāni kayās kīkway sōniyāw, nama kīkway.

\begin{verbatim}
ēkwa kayās ahpōnāni kayās kīkway sōniyāw
IPC IPT IPC IPT PR.3s NA.3s
and long.ago of.course.not long.ago something money

nama kīkway
IPC PR.0s
NEG something
“-- long ago, of course, there was no money, …”
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{83} The second instance of *ēkwa*, here found in second clausal position, will be discussed in section 5.3 below.
In addition to the coordinators surveyed thus far, there is also evidence that subordinating conjunctions behave similarly, functioning outside the syntax of clausal order. In (103), āta “although” introduces a full clause which can otherwise stand on its own, and this is also true of the clause following ayis “because” in (104).

This contrasts with many subordinators in Dutch, which participate fully in the syntax of the clause, occupying P₁, displacing the subject to P₂, and causing an entirely different clause structure from that seen above for main clauses. This is illustrated in (105), which can be compared with the earlier Dutch examples given in (98) and (99).
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

The presence of a distinction between main and subordinate clause structures is characterized by Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008:354) as “cross-linguistically quite exceptional”. As such it is not surprising to find that Cree main and subordinate clauses appear to share a very similar if not identical structure, and this has in fact caused much difficulty in differentiating the two.

Another element in Cree that to a large extent shares the coordinator function is mïna “and, also; again”, which thus overlaps with the function of ēkwa. However, mïna is much more commonly found as a coordinator at the word or phrase level, where it can occur postpositionally, while it rarely occurs alone to coordinate clauses (cf. Ogg 1991:44-64). Instead, at the level of the clause or sentence, it commonly co-occurs with ēkwa in the frozen phrasal form ēkwa mïna, again showing its preference for postpositional placement or second position. As a unit, ēkwa mïna acts just as other coordinators, appearing to occur in initial position, as in (106), or offset from the clause, as in (107).

(105) a) $P^1$ $P^2$ $P^M$ $P^{M+1}$ $P^F$

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{dat} & \text{ik} & \text{gisteren} & \text{de wolf} & \text{heb gezien}.
\end{array}
\]

that I yesterday the wolf have seen

“… that I saw the wolf yesterday.”

b) $P^1$ $P^2$ $P^{M-1}$ $P^M$ $P^F$

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{dat} & \text{ik} & \text{de wolf} & \text{gisteren} & \text{heb gezien}.
\end{array}
\]

that I the wolf yesterday have seen

“… that I saw the wolf yesterday.”

(106) ēkwa mïna iyikohk ē-kï-kanâtëyimât otawâsimisa ōsisima, ...

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{ēkwa} & \text{mïna} & \text{iyikohk} & \text{ē} & \text{kï} & \text{kanâtëyim} & \text{-ā} & \text{-t}
\end{array}
\]

IPC IPC IPC IPV IPV VTA DIR 3s

and also so.much CNJ PST respect 3s-3’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ot-} & \text{awâsimis} & \text{-a} & \text{ōsisim} & \text{-a}
\end{array}
\]

3 NDA 3’ 3.NDA 3’

child grandchild

“They also had such respect for their children and their grandchildren, …”
Thus, the evidence is largely in favour of exempting coordinators (and at least some subordinators) from the clausal template, at least when they occur in what otherwise appears to be initial position. This essentially means that the coordinator stands as the head of a coordinator phrase (CP) and takes a full clausal complement.

One piece of potential counterevidence, however, can be found in examples such as (108) where ēkwa is followed by the emphatic particle ani.

(108) ‘wahwā, ēkwa ani kā-pakāsimo, itwēw, ... [HP8:126]

wahwā ēkwa ani kā- pakāsimoyān, itwēw, ...

IPC IPT IPC IPV VAI 1s VAI 3s

oh.my then CNJ bathe say.so

‘Oh my, and then I did have a swim,’ he said, …”

On independent grounds, Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) have argued that ani is very strict in its occurrence in second position clausally (i.e. $P^2$). This would suggest that ēkwa is in initial position in the clause, rather than external to it, as maintained above. In fact, it is possible to retain both analyses once a fine distinction is recognized in the function of ēkwa in Plains Cree. As a coordinator, ēkwa “and” functions differently, with different word order constraints, than ēkwa “now; then” as a temporal particle. In (108), it is the temporal particle ēkwa which occurs in first position and is emphasized by ani.

The convergence of coordinators and temporal particles is interesting since it is both of these particle types which Ogg (1991) groups together in her study of temporal cohesion, finding that all occur in either initial or second position. The importance of second position for connectives, and in general, will be introduced in section 5.3. Before turning to this alternative strategy, however, we will investigate the word order patterns of temporal particles.

5.2.2 Temporals

Ogg (1991) includes in her survey of temporal connectives, such particles as anohe now, today”, kayās “long ago”, kētahtawē “presently, one time;
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

suddenly”, *piyis* “finally”, and *kēyāpic* “still”. Each of these can be found in the House People texts, as exemplified in (109) through (113) where they are found primarily in initial position (a), with occasional examples found in final position (b), as already seen in Chapter 4. It is interesting to note that virtually all textual examples of these temporal particles which Ogg (1991) cites and describes as inverted into second position can instead be interpreted as either following a connective (and so still in clause-initial position) or following the verb in a two-word clause, and so in clause-final position.

(109) a) ..., *anohc* mitoni ē-wīsakahcahot awa kisēyiniw, ...

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>IPC</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>make.envious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awa</td>
<td>kisēyiniw</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>old.man</td>
<td>“... today, I was really envious of this old man, ...”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) ..., *tāpiskōc* simākanisak k-ētwēcik *anohc*, ...

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPC</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>say.so</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(110) a) *kayās* iyikohk ē-kī-kanātahk ōma askiy.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>IPC</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long.ago</td>
<td>so.much</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>be.clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this land</td>
<td>“Long ago this land was so clean.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) ..., *iyikohk* ē-kī-itēyatit nēhiyaw *kayās*.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPC</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VAI</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so.much</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>be.such.in number</td>
<td>Cree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“..., there were so many Crees long ago.”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(111) a) *kētahtawē* kā-wāpamāt kinēpikwa ē-ati-sipwētācimopahtāyit, ...

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>IPV</td>
<td>VTA</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suddenly</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>3s-3’</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“All at once he saw a snake slithering away, ...”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) “nācimihē!” k-ēsit kētahtawē, ...

nācimihē  kā-  it -it  kētahtawē
VAI    IPV    VTA    INV    IPT
fetch.wood    CNJ    say.so.to    3s-1s    presently
“‘Go for fire-wood!’ she said to me at one time, …”

(112) a) piyis mitoni ēkā nānitaw ayiwāk ē-kī-tōtahk, ...

piyis  mitoni  ēkā  nānitaw  ayiwāk  ē-  kī-  tōt  -ah  -k
IPT    IPC    IPC    IPC    IPV    IPV    VTI₁    TH    3s
finally really    NEG    any    more    CNJ    PST    do.so    3s-0’
“Finally he really couldn’t do any more, …”

b) …, mētoni ē-wāpāstēk piyis, ...

mētoni   ē-   wāpāstē  -k  piyis
IPC    IPV    VII    0s    IPT
really    CNJ    be.faded    finally
“…, finally it was really getting faded, …”

(113) a) … kēyāpic ōma ka-wāpamināwāw ta-pimi-nistōskwēwēyān ōma, ...

kēyāpic  ōma  ka-  wāpam  -i  -nāwāw
IPT    IPC    IPV    VTA    DIR    2p
still    FOC    2.FUT    see    2p-1s

ta-  pimi-  nistōskwēwē  -yān  ōma
IPV    IPV    VAI    1s    IPC
CNJ    along    have.three.wives    FOC
“…, you will see me with my three wives yet, …”

b) ā, ē-kakāyawātisit kēyāpic, ...

ā  ē-   kakāyawātisi  -t  kēyāpic
IPC    IPV    VAI    3s    IPT
well    CNJ    be.active    still
“Well, he was still very active, …”

“Inversion” into second position, in the sense used by Ogg, is thus not actually a feature of these temporal particles, though it might appear so if only a verb precedes the temporal in the clause. They can also co-occur with coordinators, as in (114) and (115), which, as described above, will not displace them from first position.
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(114) ēkwa kīkisēpā kā-waniskācik, ...
ēkwa kīkisēpā kā- waniskā -cik
IPC IPT IPV VAI 3p
and in.the.morning CNJ arise
“And in the morning, when they arose, …”

(115) -- ēkwa anohec kahkiyaw kīkway ē-wēhciskowipayik kīkway, ...
ēkwa anohec kahkiyaw kīkway ē- wēhciskowipayi -k kīkway
IPC IPT QNT NI.0s IPV VII 0s NI.0s
and today all thing CNJ become.easy thing
“-- today everything comes easy, …”

The interaction of ēkwa and anohec is particularly interesting since both orders are attested, but by far the most common order is as seen in (116) with anohec preceding ēkwa at the beginning of the clause. Here anohec is in initial position as a temporal particle, and is emphasized as such by the presence of clause-linking ēkwa “inverted” (following Ogg) into second position.

(116) anohec ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima mâci-pïkonikâtēw, ...
anohec ēkwa kahkiyaw ēwako anima mâci- pïkonikâtē -w
IPT IPT QNT PR.0s PR.0s IPV VII 0s
today now all that that begin be.broken
“Today all that is beginning to break down, …”

In contrast, when in final position, the order is generally reversed, as in (117).\(^{84}\)

(117) ..., iyikohk kīkway iyikohk ē-itakihtēk ēkwa anohec, ayānis, nanātohk kīkway.
iyikohk kīkway iyikohk ē- itakihtē -k ēkwa anohec
IPC PR.0s IPC IPV VII 0s IPT IPT
so.much thing so.much CNJ be.worth.so now today
“…, so expensive is everything today, clothes, everything.”

Ideally, it would be possible to characterize ēkwa, when occurring in second position, as entirely different in function than ēkwa as a sentence or

---

\(^{84}\) Though there are elements following ēkwa anohec in this example, they are post-clausal afterthoughts providing additional information and offset from the clause by pauses as indicated by the commas.
clausal connective. For instance, if its function in (116) was merely as a second temporal particle forming a temporal phrase with anohc in P₁, then the two different positions of preverbal ēkwa could be more easily explained. However, ēkwa occurs in second position fairly frequently and is not limited to following temporal particles (see (118) for another example of this), but can follow other typically initial elements as well, as exemplified in (119) and (120).

(118) ēkoni ōhi, mastaw ēkwa ēkoni ōhi ē-pimipayi ... \[HP4:53\]
ēkoni ōhi mastaw ēkwa ēkoni ōhi ē- pimipayi -ki
PR.0p PR.0p IPT IPC PR.0p PR.0p IPV VII 0p
those these recently now those these CNJ progress
“They are new, these [diseases] that are going around, …”
[i.e. “These things, they are going around recently now, …”]

(119) wa, tāpwē ēkwa ē-pēyakwahpitak misatim, ...
[HP8:34]
wa tāpwē ēkwa ē- pēyakwahpit -ak misatimw
IPC IPC IPC IPV VTA DIR NA.3s
well truly then CNJ harness.one 1s-3s
“So then, sure enough, I hitched up a horse …”

(120) ēkosi ēkwa nikī-pē-ka-kiyokāk ana ēwako ana, nisis ana, ...
[HP5:6]
ēkosi ēkwa ni- kī- pē- ka- kiyokaw -ik -Ø
IPC IPC 1s IPV IPV IPV VTA INV 3s
so then PST come RDPL visit 3s-1s
ana ēwako ana
PR.3s PR.3s PR.3s
that that that
“So he had come to visit me, this uncle of mine, …”

This alternative strategy which sees ēkwa occurring in second position (P²) is part of a wider phenomenon in Cree syntax which is integrally tied to the importance of P₁. While this will form a large part of the subject matter for Chapter 6, we can at least continue our introduction to P² as pertains to clausal cohesion.

5.3 P² Introduced

The second important position that Ogg (1991) discerns for sentential and clausal connectives is second position. As we have seen above, examples of
temporal particles in general do not actually adhere to this, occurring either in initial position (though occasionally preceded by an extra-clausal coordinator), or in final position. Nevertheless, the coordinators proper do exhibit the tendency to “invert” into second position as observed by Ogg. Two simple examples of this can be found in (121), in both a common greeting (a) and common response (b) in Plains Cree.

(121)  a)  tānisi ēkwa kiya?
       tānisi ēkwa kiya
       IPC IPC PR.2s
       how and/now
       “And how are you?” / “How are you now?”

       b)  mōya nānitaw. kiya māka?
       mōya nānitaw kiya māka
       IPC IPC PR.2s IPC
       NEG any but/then
       “I’m fine. And you?”

5.3.1 Coordinators and Emphatic Particles

In the greeting in (121a), tānisi ēkwa kiya?, ēkwa can be interpreted as either a temporal particle displaced from P¹ by the interrogative proform tānisi “how” (see Chapter 6), or as a connective placed in P² both in deference to the focussed question word and in order to mark that focus. Additional examples of ēkwa will be seen below, frequently occurring in second position. In (121b), the rejoinder, kiya māka? “and you?” is a very clear example of a connective particle occurring after a contrastively focussed pronoun (again, see Chapter 6). Further examples of māka in this position are given in (122) through (124).

(122) (tāpwē māka, ēkosi kī-itācimāw awa)
       tāpwē māka ēkosi kī- itācim -ā -w awa
       IPC IPC IPC IPV VAI XAct 3s PR.3s
       truly but thus PST tell.so.abo X-3s this
       “(it is true, this was said about him)”

(123) ‘mitoni māka otākosin,’ ...
       mitoni māka otākosin -Ø
       IPC IPC VII 0s
       really but be.evening
       “‘It was well into the evening already,’ …”
In these examples, we find a number of elements in initial position with māka following. In (122), the propositional particle tāpwē is found unexceptionally in initial position emphasized by māka. In (123) and (124), however, we find two particles, mitoni and ēkosi respectively, which were earlier characterized as occurring in immediately preverbal (P\text{M}–1) position. Such examples account for the last of the few exceptions mentioned, but they too are patterned exceptions involving placement in initial position for emphasis. In such structures, the “inversion” of the coordinator serves to emphasize the element in P\text{I}.

This need not be accomplished by coordinators, as other emphatic particles are often found in second position. Examples (125) and (126) demonstrate the use of two emphatic particles, ani and oti respectively, in conjunction with mitoni.

(125) -- *mitoni ani kā-nāpēhkāsocik aniki, ...* [HP3:19]

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{mitoni} & \text{ani} & \text{kā} & \text{nāpēhkāso} & -\text{cik} & \text{aniki} \\
\text{IP} & \text{IP} & \text{IP} & \text{V} & \text{AI} & \text{3p} \\
\text{really} & \text{be.brave} & \text{those} \\
\text{“... the braves ...”} \\
\end{array}
\]

[i.e. “those who are really brave”]

(126) ‘*mitoni oti ē-minihkwēt tāpitawi māna, ’ itwēw.* [HP5:20]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{mitoni} & \text{oti} & \text{ē} & \text{minihkwē} & -\text{t} & \text{tāpitawi} & \text{māna} & \text{itwē} & \text{-w} \\
\text{IP} & \text{IP} & \text{IP} & \text{V} & \text{AI} & \text{3s} & \text{IPT} \\
\text{really} & \text{drink} & \text{continually} & \text{habitually} & \text{say.so} \\
\text{“ ‘He was really drinking all the time,’ he said.”} \\
\end{array}
\]

Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001) discuss a number of P\text{2} elements, but concentrate on “emphatic” ani which they characterize as exceptionally strict in its position following (or enclitization to) a single word in initial position. Included in their Swampy Cree data, Reinholtz and Wolfart (2001:430) show that ani must encliticize to the first word even if this intercedes between two words which form a unitary constituent, such as awa iskwēw “this woman” in their example (6) provided here in terms of the current analysis in (127).
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(127) a) awa ani iskwēw kiskinohamākēpan.
awa ani iskwēw kiskinohamākē -pan
DEM.3s IPC NA.3s VAI PST
this ! woman teach
“This woman was teaching.”

b) *awa iskwēw ani kiskinohamākēpan.

The second position of *ani is confirmed by examples from the House People texts. Although not commonly found in this data, ani occurs only in second position following such elements as the intensifier mitoni (already demonstrated above in (125)), temporal ēkwa, as in (128), and ēkosi in (129).

(128) ‘wahwā, ēkwa ani kā-pakāsimoyān,’
[HP8:126]
wahwā ēkwa ani kā- pakāsimo -yān
IPC IPT IPC IPV VAI 1s
oh.my now ! CNJ swim
“ ‘Oh my, and then I did have a swim,’ ”

(129) ā, ēkosi ani ē-kitimahoyn, nimosōm!
[HP6:75]
ā ēkosi ani ē- kitimaho -yin ni- mosōm
IPC IPC IPC IPV VAI 2s 1 NDA.3s(.VOC)
ah thus ! CNJ be.rough.on.oneself grandfather
“Well, in that case you will be in rough shape, grandfather!”

Particles like *ani and *oti, then, are exceptionally strict in occurring in second position, displacing other particles, like the coordinators surveyed above, to what then appears to be third position. However, a different way to interpret these is that *ani is an enclitic on the first word in a potential phrase and so does not take second clausal position at all. This would allow for such examples as found in (130) to be interpreted as having the full phrasal manner adverbial ēkosi isi in initial position, while *ani is, phrase-internally, attached to the first word in the phrase.

(130) ēkosān isi nēhiyaw māna ē-kī-pimāciho.
ēkosān isi nēhiyaw māna ē- kī- pimāciho -t
IPC IPC IPC NA.3s IPC IPV IPV VAI 3s
thus ! thus Cree habitually CNJ PST make.a.living
“That’s the way the Cree used to live.”

Such an interpretation would also allow for the alternation given in (131),
where the very common combination of ēkosi ēkwa (as textually attested in (a)) would be interpreted as above, with ēkwa inverted into second position, while the addition of ani (checked through elicitation in (b)) does nothing to change this, since ani can be interpreted as attaching to ēkosi in initial position.

(131) a) ēkosi ēkwa ē-nōhtēhkatēyahk mihcētwāw; ... [HP4:139]
   ēkosi ēkwa ē- nōhtēhkatē -yahk mihcētwāw
   IPC IPT IPV VAI 21 IPT
   thus now CNJ be.hungry many.times
   “So we go hungry many times now; …”

   b) ēkosi ani ēkwa ē-nōhtēhkatēyahk mihcētwāw; ...
     ēkosi ani ēkwa ē- nōhtēhkatē -yahk mihcētwāw
     IPC IPC IPT IPV VAI 21 IPT
     thus ! now CNJ be.hungry many.times
     “So we go hungry many times now; …”

Taking this even further, with phrasal ēkosi isi in initial position, even with ani inserted within the phrase, ēkwa can follow this whole sequence, and still be considered an example of a coordinator “inverted” into the second clausal position.

(132) ēkos ān īsi ēkwa nikī-atí-sipwēhtānān.
     ēkosi ēkwa ni- kī- ati- sipwēhtē -nān
     IPC IPC IPC IPC 1 IPV IPV VAI 1p
     thus ! thus and.then PST progressively leave
     “So then that’s the way we left.”

Interestingly, this interpretation also accounts for examples in which both emphatic particles, ani and oti, co-occur. Examples of this include the frozen particle constructions miton ōt āni “exceptionally, exceedingly” and tak ōt āni “it is a very good thing”. Given the fact that oti precedes ani in such constructions, these could constitute counterexamples to Reinholtz and Wolfart’s analysis of ani as occurring in second position. In contrast, the data is consistent with the current interpretation that both particles act as enclitics on the first word in a phrase, rather than occurring in second position in the clause. This essentially means that two different “second positions” are important in Plains Cree: phrasal P2, in which enclitics like ani attach to the first word of a phrase (especially, but perhaps not exclusively in clausal P1), and clausal P2 in which particles such as the coordinators can be
placed as the second clausal constituent (or be “inverted” in Ogg’s terminology) in order to avoid detracting from an emphasized element or phrase in clausal P^1, and/or to lend it additional prominence.

5.3.2 Demonstratives, Focus Particles and Copulas

It is important to note that ani, as an emphatic particle, is derived historically from a demonstrative pronoun (Reinholtz and Wolfart 2001:428, citing Pentland 2000). Although ani is no longer used as such (having been replaced diachronically by anima “that (inanimate)”), other synchronically active demonstrative pronouns show this same tendency towards dual or even multiple function. For instance, it has long been known and taught that demonstrative pronouns can occur on either side of the noun in Cree (cf. Edwards 1982; Ellis 1983; Okimāsis and Ratt 1999:23). Examples of both noun and demonstrative pronoun occurring together in isolation, as in (133), clearly illustrate that the ordering of these two elements is crucial. In (133a), with demonstrative-noun (DEM-N) order, the resultant structure is a Noun Phrase (NP). When the order is reversed (i.e. N-DEM), as in (133b), the demonstrative serves to introduce the noun as predicate. Furthermore, (133c) shows that the demonstrative can stand alone in both positions in which case the interpretation is also equational.

(133) a)  awa mahihkan
        awa mahihkan
        DEM.3s NI.3s
        this wolf
        “this wolf”

          b)  mahihkan awa.
              mahihkan awa
              NA.3s PR.3s
              wolf this
              “This is a wolf.”

---

85 In part, this section begins as a rethought and rewritten version of a paper previously published as Wolvengrey 2003, “The Function and Word Order of Plains Cree Demonstratives”.

86 All of these teaching texts were in use much earlier than their (re)publication dates suggest. The Edwards text was first printed in 1954, Ellis’ Spoken Cree was originally published in 1962, and the earliest edition of Cree, Language of the Plains was issued as a course text and workbook by the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in 1984, copyright Jean L. Bellegarde (nee Okimāsis).
c) awa awa.
   awa awa
   PR.3s PR.3s
   this this
   “This is the one.”

This dual function of demonstratives in Cree, perhaps best exemplified by Ahenakew (1987a), is generally taken for granted by speakers. Examples such as that in (133a) are simply noun phrases in which the demonstrative may serve to emphasize or point out the noun (i.e. providing contrastive emphasis or deictic reference; cf. Ahenakew 1987a:149). Additionally, Cyr (1996) has shown that the demonstrative in this pre-nominal position frequently serves as a marker of definiteness in Plains Cree. In contrast, when demonstratives follow (either a noun or another demonstrative), Ahenakew (1987a:148) refers to their function as “equational”, forming a second, separate noun phrase in apposition to the preceding noun or demonstrative pronoun. In essence, it appears to act as the demonstrative “subject” of a non-verbal identificational predication (cf. Hengeveld 1992). This would imply, however, that a copular verb is completely absent from the structure. Although this is the usual analysis for Cree, and the one adhered to here for this equational structure, there is additional evidence that demonstrative pronouns such as ōma “this (inanimate)” can also serve as copulas in certain contexts. In (134a), the equational construction is offered again, but with a first person pronoun in place of the demonstrative argument of (133b). In (134b), both of the same elements are present, but now ōma intervenes, seemingly serving the function of a copular link. This same effect can be accomplished through the verbalization of the nominal by addition of the suffix -iwi, as shown in (134c).

(134)  a) mahihkan niya.
   mahihkan  niya
   NA.3s  PR.1s
   wolf  I/me
   “I am (named) Wolf” / “I am a wolf.”

b) mahihkan ōma niya.
   mahihkan  ōma  niya
   NA.3s  IPC  PR.1s
   wolf =  I/me
   “I am a wolf.”
c) nimahihkaniwin.
   ni- mahihkaniwi -n
   l VAI 1/2
   be.a.wolf
   “I am a wolf.”

The construction in (134b) is largely restricted to first and second person referents which appear to dictate the use of the inanimate demonstrative ôma. ôma cannot occur in this function with a third person referent, and example (135a) illustrates how its presence forces a very different interpretation. Nor can an animate demonstrative, such as awa, serve the same function for first or second persons, as exemplified in (135b). The animate demonstrative can, however, appear to serve this function with a third person (exemplified in (135c)), in at least one reading of the expression.

(135)  a) mahihkan ôma wiya.
   mahihkan ôma wiya
   NA.3s PR.0s PR.3s
   wolf this his/her
   “This (inanimate thing) is Wolf’s. / This belongs to Wolf.”

b) mahihkan awa niya.
   mahihkan awa niya
   NA.3s IPC PR.1s
   wolf FOC mine
   “This wolf is mine. / The wolf here is mine”

c) mahihkan awa wiya.
   mahihkan awa wiya
   NA.3s IPC/PR.3s PR.3s
   wolf = /this
   “This one is a wolf.”
   or “This (animate thing) is Wolf’s. / This belongs to Wolf.”

Thus, we have now seen demonstratives used prenominally as nominal modifiers, alone as arguments unto themselves, and, in a more limited sense, possibly even developing towards copular usage. The diversity of functions of Cree demonstratives does not end here. The glosses for (135b) actually suggest yet another possible interpretation of the function of the demonstrative awa. This is highlighted by the expansion of our original examples from (133) as in (136) through (138). In all three examples, the second occurrence of awa has
been added between the original constituents (i.e. between demonstrative and noun, noun and demonstrative, demonstrative and demonstrative).

(136) aw āwa mahihkan

a) awa awa mahihkan
   PR.3s PR.3s NA.3s
   this this wolf
   “This is the wolf.”

OR b) awa awa mahihkan
   DEM.3s IPC NA.3s
   this FOC wolf
   “this here wolf”

In (136), two interpretations are possible. In (a), we have a predication similar to (133c) with the first two instances of awa forming the equational construction along with the additional displacement of the noun mahihkan appositionally. More important is the second possibility in which the structure remains interpretable as a single noun phrase and the second instance of awa encliticizes as a focus particle to the first, demonstrative use of awa. This focus particle interpretation is the only one available in (137), where the first instance of awa encliticizes to mahihkan.

(137) mahihkan aw āwa.

   mahihkan awa awa
   NA.3s IPC PR.3s
   wolf FOC this
   “This here is a wolf.” / “This is a wolf here.”

This pattern is taken to its extreme in (138) where awa serves all three functions.

(138) aw āw āwa.

   awa awa awa
   PR.3s IPC PR.3s
   this FOC this
   “This here is the one.” / “This is the one here.”

This same pattern can be accomplished with a large variety of other demonstrative combinations, including those in (139).
a) ōm ōm ōma.

ōma  ōma  ōma
PR.0s  IPC  PR.0s
this  FOC  this
“This is the (inanimate) one here.”

b) an ān āna.

ana  ana  ana
PR.3s  IPC  PR.3s
that  FOC  that
“That is the (animate) one there.”

c) anim ānim ānima.

anima  anima  anima
PR.0s  IPC  PR.0s
that  FOC  that
“That is the (inanimate) one there.”

d) nāh ān āna.

nāha  ana  ana
PR.3s  IPC  PR.3s
that.yonder  FOC  that
“That is the (animate) one yonder there.”

e) nēm ānim ānima.

nēma  anima  anima
PR.0s  IPC  PR.0s
that.yonder  FOC  that
“That is the (inanimate) one yonder there.”

Thus, demonstratives serve a wide variety of uses in Plains Cree. The proximal (awa and ōma “this” and medial (ana and anima “that”) demonstratives have been extended for use as focus particles which encliticize to the first word of a phrase. As such, they share this feature with emphatic particles like ani and oti, suggesting that these all occur in phrasal $P^2$ rather than clausal $P^2$. Furthermore,

---

87 Though the fuller form, anim ānim ānima, is given here, some speakers prefer a slightly shorter alternative, an ānim ānima. This latter example appears to include the older/archaic form of the medial inanimate singular demonstrative, ani, in preference to the more common and current anima, possibly merely in avoidance of the triple repetition of a three-syllable particle, despite already being reduced by sandhi.
there is even some evidence that at least the proximal demonstratives are developing a copular use in certain constructions. Because of this diversity of function, it can be difficult to determine the exact role that demonstratives play in many constructions. This is the case in the following examples which begin with a resumptive proform in initial position, followed by a number of elements, mostly in the form of demonstratives. In some cases, the demonstrative is an argument in argument position, in others it combines with the initial resumptive element as a focus marker, and in yet others, no demonstrative is present at all. In (140a), the manner adverb ēkosi which would normally appear in $P^{M-1}$ preceding the verb occurs initially. That the accompanying demonstrative aniki is not a focus marker but an argument of the verb is illustrated in both (b) and (c) where the demonstrative anima serves this emphasizing function by encliticizing to ēkosi. In (140b), aniki remains in preverbal argument position, but in in (140c) aniki occurs postverbally.

(140) a) ..., ēkosi aniki ē-ki-ītāpatisicik. [HP3:56]
ēkosi aniki ē- ki- itāpatisi -cik
IPC PR.3p IPV IPV VAI 3p
thus those CNJ PST be.useful.so
“..., that was their purpose.”
[i.e. “Thus those were used/useful.”]

b) ..., ēkos ānim āniki ē-ki-ītāpatisicik.
ēkosi anima aniki ē- ki- itāpatisi -cik
IPC IPC PR.3p IPV IPV VAI 3p
thus FOC those CNJ PST be.useful.so
“..., it was thus that they were used/useful.”

c) ..., ēkos ānima ē-ki-ītāpatisicik aniki.
ēkosi anima ē- ki- itāpatisi -cik aniki
IPC IPC IPV IPV VAI 3p PR.3p
thus FOC CNJ PST be.useful.so those
“..., it was thus that they were used/useful.”

In contrast with the example in (140a), and parallel to (140b and c), the next examples show the focalizing use of anima when following a variety of other resumptive particles including a locative (ēkota “there, at that aforementioned place” (141)), a temporal (ēkospīhk “at that aforementioned time” (142)), and an argument (ēwako “that aforementioned one”).
5. Syntactically-conditioned Word Order

(141) ..., ūkota anima ē-kī-ohci-pimātisit. [HP4:62]
ēkota anima ē- kī- ohci- pimātisi -t
PL IPC IPV IPV IPV VAI 3s
there FOC CNJ PST from live
“..., and that was their source of life.”
[i.e. “it was from there that they lived.”]

(142) ūkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē ē-kī-itisahokawiyān.
ēkospīhk anima nīsta ēkotē
PT IPC PR.1s PL
at.that.time FOC over.there
ē- kī- itisahw -ikawi -yān
IPV IPV XTA VTA 1s
CNJ PST send.there (X-)1s
“I, too was sent there at the time.”
[i.e. “it was at that time that I, too was sent over there.”]

(143) ūwako anima okiskinahamākēwin wiya nēhiyaw ē-kī-ayāt, ... [HP2:17]
ēwako anima o- kiskinahamākēwin wiya nēhiyaw
DEM.0’ IPC 3 NI.0’s IPC NA
there FOC education for Cree
ē- kī- ay -ā -t
IPV IPV VTI2 TH 3s
CNJ PST have 3s-0’
“That was the education system of the Crees, ...”
[i.e. “for that was the education system which the Cree had.”]

The example in (143) is particularly interesting since anima, in its use as a focus particle, occurs in phrasal P² within the phrase ūwako okiskinwahamākēwin “that aforementioned education system of his”. Furthermore, the coordinative use of wiya “for, because” then follows this phrase in clausal P², just as do other coordinators as demonstrated in section 5.3.1, and all of this precedes the argument nēhiyaw “Cree” which in turn precedes the verb.

5.4 Conclusions

In the current chapter, we have investigated a number of important, syntactically-defined preverbal positions in Plains Cree, each one relative to another important position within the clause, or in relation to the clause
itself. Although our clausal template is not yet complete, the picture of preverbal order that has begun to emerge in this chapter is summarized in both (144) and Table 5.2 below.

(144)  a) \[ - P^1 \quad P^2 \quad ? \quad (P^{M-2}) \quad P^{M-1} \quad P^M \]

b) \[ [ P^1 \quad P^2 \quad P^{2+1} ] \]

In (144a), we have our main preverbal clausal positions. These include an extra-clausal position (-) for coordinators and subordinators, which have no effect on the ordering of other clausal constituents, and the immediately preverbal position, \( P^{M-1} \), in which both oblique arguments and verbal modifiers can occur. When both of these latter constituents are present to compete for \( P^{M-1} \), oblique arguments take precedence which, in turn, forces verbal modifiers to find an alternative position. This might be clause-final position, as seen in Chapter 4, but some limited data suggests a mere displacement to \( P^{M-2} \) is also possible. Though the core verbal arguments (i.e. A1, A2, A3) also often appear to occur in immediately preverbal position, the evidence suggests that both oblique arguments and verbal modifiers take precedence. Conversely, these arguments can also appear in initial position, so that it remains to be seen, through our survey of the function of preverbal arguments in the next chapter, exactly how to best account for preverbal arguments. At this point, it is possible to view verbal arguments as placed relative to the verb but displaced by obliques and modifiers, or perhaps relative instead to clause-initial position. Given this uncertainty, a question mark (?) has been included in the template in (144a) in reference to core verbal arguments.

### Table 5.2

**Preliminary Preverbal Constituent Order and Function**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Options</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>( P^1 )</th>
<th>( P^2 )</th>
<th>( P^{M-2} )</th>
<th>( P^{M-1} )</th>
<th>( P^M )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Coordinator or Subordinator</td>
<td>see Chapter 6</td>
<td>Inverted Coordinator and Subordinator</td>
<td>Verbal Modifier (if displaced from ( P^{M-1} ))</td>
<td>Oblique Argument (if present)</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>see Chapter 6</td>
<td>Focal Demonstrative</td>
<td>Argument? (see Chapter 6)</td>
<td>Verbal Modifier (if present)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>see Chapter 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Argument? (see Chapter 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to these positions, we have also begun to see the importance of second position (P²). In attempting to illustrate P², however, we have discovered that there appear to be two different levels in which P² is important, and therefore two different instantiations of P² that we must pay attention to within Cree structure. Clausal P² is included in the clausal template in (144a), while (144b) represents a phrasal template in which P² enclitics attach to the first word in a particular phrase. In both cases, the function of P² has been primarily to isolate and emphasize an element in initial position or P¹. Without specifically investigating it yet, we have already seen that P¹ can contain a wide variety of elements, and this provides our link to the importance of Pragmatic Functions in Plains Cree word order. The main topic of investigation in Chapter 6 will be the pragmatic ordering principles which dictate the occurrence of elements in P¹ and elsewhere in the clause.