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# Loan verb integration in Michif<sup>\*</sup>

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**Abstract:** This paper looks at the different ways French (and English) loan verbs are being integrated in Michif, a mixed language (the noun system is French, the verbal one is Cree) based upon two dictionaries of the language. The detailed study of the available data has shown that loan verbs are almost exclusively assigned to the VAI class, i.e. a class of verbs whose single core argument is animate. This seems natural enough given that the overwhelming majority of them do have an animate core participant in the donor language as well. Still, quite a few of them can be transitive. This is accounted for by claiming that VAI is the most ‘neutral’ inflectional class of Cree as far as morphology and argument structure are concerned as verbs in this class can be syntactically both intransitive and transitive.

Finally, all of the loan verbs examined have Cree equivalents and so the claim that they were borrowed because of the lack of a corresponding Cree verb in the language is difficult to accept at face value.

**Keywords:** loan verbs, valency, transitivity, animacy, direct/inverse, hierarchical agreement, Algonquian, Cree, Michif

## 1 Introduction

This paper deals with French and English loan verbs in Michif, and in particular the ways in which they have been integrated into the almost exclusively Cree (ie Algonquian) verbal system of that language. It is especially concerned with the ways in which the argument structure of the original verb has been mapped onto the existing valency patterns.

Michif (-Cree) is a mixed language, famously unique in that its lexicon and grammar are (almost) neatly made up of two main components with separate sound systems,

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<sup>\*</sup>I would like to thank all of the anonymous reviewers, the editors and especially Peter Bakker for invaluable comments which greatly improved the previous versions of this paper. I am solely responsible for any remaining errors. I follow the Leipzig glossing rules, to which the following are added: CNJ conjunct, IND independent, INIT initial change, INV inverse, NA animate noun, NI inanimate noun, PA Proto-Algonquian, VII inanimate intransitive verb, VAI animate intransitive verb, VTA transitive animate verb, VTI transitive inanimate verb.

25 morphology and syntax: the nominal one (including most NP modifiers) is (Canadian)  
26 French, while the verbal one is (Plains) Cree (Bakker, 1997, 4). No (significant) simpli-  
27 fication in nominal and verbal morphology is to be observed (Bakker, 1997, 9; 10-11),  
28 and indeed it has even been said that Michif combines the most difficult parts of French  
29 and Cree grammar, respectively, even if this impressionistic claim is difficult to evaluate  
30 empirically (Bakker, 1997, 24).

31 The study is based upon a careful examination of the material presented in Laverdure  
32 and Allard (1983), supplemented at times by Fleury (2013) (on which see section 3)<sup>1</sup>.

33 The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 offers some terminological preliminaries  
34 for non-Algonquianists, section 3 represents the bulk of the article and examines both  
35 loan verbs from French (3.1) and loan verbs from English (3.2), as well as some unclear  
36 classes (3.3). In both cases loan verbs are classified according to their transitivity in the  
37 donor language (i.e. intransitive, transitive and ambitransitive). Finally, section 4 sum-  
38 marizes and discusses the findings and offers a hypothesis as to the reason why almost  
39 all loan verbs have been assigned to the VAI (intransitive verbs with an animate actor)  
40 class.

## 41 2 Some terminological preliminaries

42 Algonquian languages present multiple challenges to the unprepared. I will try to explain  
43 some of these, especially those pertaining to the verbal domain, in a somewhat simplified  
44 way in this short introduction (an expanded version of the discussion on Algonquian in  
45 Jacques and Antonov (2014)).

### 46 2.1 Verb classes and animacy

47 Algonquian verbs are traditionally classified into four large classes, according to the tran-  
48 sitivity of the verb and the animacy of its S or P argument, respectively. In the case of  
49 a transitive verb, the A is always animate. There is thus a major distinction between  
50 animate (NA) and inanimate (NI) nouns. It is important to note that the criteria used to  
51 ascribe animate or inanimate gender to a given referent do not always coincide with those  
52 familiar from European languages: ‘sock(s)’ and ‘rock(s)’, for instance, are animate.

53 We have VII (intransitive verbs with an inanimate actor), VAI (intransitive verbs with  
54 an animate actor), VTI (transitive verbs with an inanimate patient) and VTA (transitive  
55 verbs with an animate patient). The last two classes also have an animate actor. In fact,

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<sup>1</sup>The spelling between these two differs and both are different from standard Plain Cree spelling: Laverdure and Allard (1983) uses a reasonably consistent English based spelling, whereas Fleury (2013) combines English-based spellings and more phonetic spellings. Thus, the endings *-ee* and *-ii*, for instance, are phonemically identical. I have decided to reproduce the spellings as they appear in my sources.

there are also several subclasses of ‘deponent’ VAI and VTI verbs whose syntactic behaviour does not match their morphological makeup (cf. Table 1). These are usually either not specifically signalled or else termed VAI-T and VTI-I. Here I will call them VAI<sub>TR</sub> and VTI<sub>INTR</sub>, respectively.

Table 1: Verb classes in Plains Cree

Verb class	Transitivity	S, A, P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	Cree	meaning
VII	intransitive	S=INAN	<i>wâpiskâ-</i> <i>miywâsi-</i> <i>wâpa-</i>	‘be white’ ‘be good’ ‘be dawn’
VAI	intransitive	S=ANIM	<i>wâpiskisi-</i> <i>miywâsisi-</i> <i>pimipahtâ-</i>	‘be white’ ‘be good’ ‘run’
VAI <sub>TR</sub>	transitive	A=ANIM+P= $\pm$ ANIM	<i>mêki-</i>	‘give (out) s.o. or sth’
	transitive	A=ANIM+P=INAN	<i>âpacihtâ-</i>	‘use sth’
VTI	transitive	A=ANIM+P=INAN	<i>wâpaht-</i>	‘see sth’
VTI <sub>INTR</sub>	intransitive	S=ANIM	<i>mâham</i>	‘canoe downriver’
VTA	(mono)transitive	A=ANIM+P=ANIM	<i>wâpam-</i>	‘see s.o.’
	(di)transitive	A=ANIM (+ T= $\pm$ ANIM) + R=ANIM	<i>miy-</i>	‘give someone (sth/s.o.)’

## 2.2 Direct/inverse and obviation

It is important to observe that in spite of the existence of syntactically transitive deponent verbs, the only verbs that index both of their participants as long as they are not third person are the VTA (transitive animate) ones. The resulting complex forms reference their participants using S, A, P-neutral affixes. This, in turn, calls for the use of a special ‘direction’ marker (traditionally called a ‘theme sign’) in order to indicate the ‘direct’ vs ‘inverse’ direction of the action. The use of one or the other reflects the relative position of the agent and the patient on the following hierarchy (valid for Plains Cree):

- (1) SAP > animate proximate > animate obviative > inanimate

If the agent is located higher than the patient the verb shows direct marking, but if it is lower then the verb receives inverse marking.<sup>2</sup> Thus, we observe a tripartite distinction between proximate animate, obviative animate and inanimate referents.

<sup>2</sup>It is generally considered that the second person outranks the first person ( $2 > 1$ ) in Algonquian languages, but this refers to a distinct hierarchy related to the slot accessibility of person prefixes, not the distribution of direct and inverse forms.

Obviation is an ubiquitous feature in Algonquian, which is reflected both in verbal and nominal morphology. Its main function is to distinguish two or more third-person participants within a given sentence or stretch of discourse. Thus, in oral narratives, the *obviative* (OBV, *-(w)a* in Cree) is used to introduce a hitherto unknown participant by contrast with the unmarked form which is called the *proximate* (PROX). There can be at most one proximate participant within a given clause. Later on, the interplay between the two helps the listener to keep track of who does what to whom. Except if s/he is a persistent topic, no participant is inherently tied to a proximate or obviative status solely by virtue of their inherent semantic features. The obviative must also be used on the possessee, and on the verb whose argument the possessee is, whenever the possessor is third-person (cf. ex. 2).

- (2) *eeka la Sandriyeuz o-paapa-wa ekota kaa-ayaa-yit*  
 NEG ART:F:SG Cinderella 3-father-OBV there NMLZ-be-3OBV  
 ‘When Cinderella’s father was not around...’ (Bakker and Fleury, 2007, 1:38)

### 2.3 Independent vs. Conjunct order

The inflectional paradigms of the Algonquian verb classes have further been organized in five sets (called ‘orders’) in Proto-Algonquian, of which most modern languages preserve only three, i.e. the Independent, the Conjunct and the Imperative, having discarded the other two, i.e. the Interrogative and the Prohibitive. While the imperative order is self-explanatory (and won’t be dealt with in this paper), the **independent** (which will be discussed only in passim) and the **conjunct** roughly correspond to verb forms used in main and subordinate clauses, respectively. Examples 3 and 4 illustrate these with the VTA verb *wâpam*- ‘see’ (for an exhaustive presentation of the forms in Plains Cree for these two orders for all verb classes, cf. Tables 5 and 6. No differences between Plains Cree and Michif (non-loan) verbs have been found in the data available).<sup>3</sup>

- (3) *pi môhkâc kîhtwâm kî-wâpam-êw anihi la (vy[ey])*  
 and never again PST-see-3SG→3OBV that:ANIM:OBV DEF:FSG (o[ld])  
*fâm la, la movez fâm pi sî fiy*  
 woman DEF:FSG DEF:FSG evil.FSG woman and POSS:3SG→3PL girl  
 ‘And never again did she see the o[ld woman] woman, the evil woman and her daughters.’ (Bakker and Fleury 2007, 11:9-10)
- (4) *ê-wâpam-ât anihi la fâm-a*  
 CNJ-see-3SG→3OBV:CNJ that:ANIM:OBV DEF:FSG woman-OBV  
 ‘when he saw that woman...’ (Bakker and Fleury 2007, 6:37)

<sup>3</sup>Differences in form between the forms in these tables and the ones in the Michif examples are by and large due to different spelling conventions and initial vowel elision of suffixes when the preceding verb stem ends in a vowel.

It is important to stress that *wh*-clauses, those with focalized constituents or under the scope of (clausal) negation require the use of the conjunct order, so in a sense these are ‘de-subordinated’ clauses. We can now give the full paradigms for the four main classes (excluding the deponent ones). Table 5 presents the independent order while Table 6 shows the conjunct order.

### 3 Loan verbs in Michif

As in Algonquian languages in general, loan verbs are not well attested in the Michif material available to me. There are less than thirty loan verbs clearly attested in the corpus comprised of Laverdure and Allard (1983) (an English-Michif dictionary with more than 7,000 entries) and Fleury (2013) (an online English-Michif dictionary with about 11,500 translations; this was used only occasionally as in the vast majority of cases, contrary to Laverdure and Allard (1983) there are no real examples which would make it possible to determine the transitivity of the loan verb in Michif). Whether the source is French or English, an almost constant feature of these verbs is the presence of an initial *li* and a final *ee* (henceforth the ‘*li...ee* (outer) shell’), historically thought to represent the combination of the French definite article in its masculine singular form *le* followed by the infinitive of the relevant verb. This in turn has uniformly the form *ee* ([i:] < [e]) which is actually the infinitive (a participle) ending for the biggest inflectional verb class in French (Bakker, 1997, 242). I have excluded all cases of loan verbs attested only with French but no Cree inflectional material<sup>4</sup>, since this fact alone suggests that we might be dealing with cases of code-switching, or more likely, imperfect loan verb reanalysis. Likewise, I have not included denominal verbs derived by way of Cree suffixes (*-iwi-* ‘be’, *-ihkê-* ‘make’) added on to a (usually French) Michif noun.

The fact that English loan verbs are also subject to insertion in the *li ... ee* outer shell could be explained by assuming that at the time Michif came into being there were no English loan verbs. Nowadays, Michif speakers are overwhelmingly bilingual in English (but not in French) and so they have started treating loan verbs from English in the same way as they earlier did loan verbs from French. This means that the *li ... ee* outer shell can be thought of as ‘flagging’ foreign material not subject to the usual analysis in Cree initials, medials and finals (cf. Bakker, 1997, 243).

As far as valency is concerned, the loan verbs belong to both the transitive and intransitive class in French and English, with some ambitransitive ones, but no ditransitive verbs. Now, verbs in Michif show the same fourfold distinction as Cree verbs between inanimate intransitive (VII), animate intransitive (VAI), transitive inanimate (VTI) and transitive animate (VTA).

<sup>4</sup>In the case of French this includes bare imperatives as well as cases of the third person pronoun (*i(l)* [no final *l* before a consonant initial verb form] ‘s/he’) used with auxiliaries (*i va* ‘3:FUT’, *il i* ‘s/he is’, *il a* ‘he has’ + loan verb ‘infinitive’ in *-ee*).

### 3.1 Loan verbs from French

All verbs in the corpus but three conform to the above-mentioned rule of insertion inside a *li ... ee* outer shell. These are *ashchinee* ‘haggle’ and *lahchin* ‘id.’, which lack the initial and the final, respectively, on the one hand, and *biniwahwâw*, the Creechized variant of *libinii*- ‘bless’, which lacks both and is not attested in our corpus.

Table 2: French loan verbs in Michif

French	S, A, P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	Transitivity	Michif	Verb class	meaning
<i>(s')astiner</i> < <i>(s')obstiner</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [+ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>ashchinee</i> <i>lahchin</i>	VAI VAI?	‘haggle’
<i>bégayer</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>libegee</i>	VAI	‘stutter’
<i>bénir</i>	A [+ANIM] P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	transitive	<i>libinee</i> <i>biniwahwâw</i>	VAI VTA (!)	‘bless’
<i>broder</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>librodee</i>	VAI	‘do fancy work’
<i>déjeuner</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>lidizhaanii</i>	VAI	‘eat breakfast’
<i>dompter</i>	A [+ANIM] P [+ANIM]	transitive	<i>lidoontee(-h)</i>	VTA (!)	‘break in; train’
<i>gager</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>ligazhee</i>	VAI	‘bet’
<i>mêler</i>	A [+ANIM] P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	transitive	<i>limaenlee(n)</i>	VAI	‘mix’
<i>peinturer</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>lipaenchuree</i>	VAI	‘paint’
<i>témoigner</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>litimwaene(n)</i>	VAI	‘testify’
<i>vern timer?</i>	A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>livarzeew</i>	VAI	‘whitewash’

#### 3.1.1 Intransitive verbs

There are four intransitive loan verbs in the corpus: *libegee* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’ (ex. 6 and 7), *lidizhaanii* (< *déjeuner*) ‘eat breakfast’ (ex. 9), *ligazhee* (< *gager*) ‘bet’ (ex. 10) and *litimwaene(n)* (< *témoigner*) ‘testify’ (ex. 11). Not surprisingly, all of them have been assigned to the VAI class.

The first two examples (6 and 7) show the verb *libegee* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’ used in the VAI independent order 3rd person singular (‘he stutters’) and the conjunct order unspecified actor form in a relative clause ‘they who stutter’.

(5)

(6) *libegee* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’

*Jerry tahkinay libegee-w.*

Jerry always stutter-3:VAI:IND

‘Jerry always did stutter.’ Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 320

(7) *libegee* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’

*Naenpaywshi-nawniwun kaw-libegee-hk.*

be\_ashamed-UNSPEC:VAI:IND NMLZ-stutter-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ

‘To stammer and stutter is embarrassing (lit. One is embarrassed who stutters).’  
(Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 313)

The second example (8) shows the verb *librodee* (< broder) ‘embroider; do fancy work’ used in the VAI conjunct order in the first person ‘as I am embroidering’.

(8) *librodee* (< broder) ‘embroider’

*Ni-miyayhtaen-n ay-librodee-yawn.*  
1-like-1/2:VAI:IND COMP-embroider-1:VAI:CNJ

‘I like to do fancy work.’ Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 91

The verb *lidizhaanii* (< déjeuner) ‘eat breakfast’ (ex. 9) is the only one in the corpus of loan verbs attested in the first person singular. Morphologically it presents no problems as to its inflectional class (it is a VAI) but as far as its derivation is concerned, we may also be dealing with a denominal verb created in Michif out of the noun *li dizhaanii* ‘breakfast’ (cf. *lideelee* in section 3.2.3).

(9) *lidizhaanii* (< déjeuner) ‘eat breakfast’

*Ni-lidizhaanii-n a set heur di mataen.*  
1-eat\_breakfast-1/2:VAI:IND at seven hours of morning

‘I eat breakfast at 7:00 am.’

Ex. 10 illustrates the intransitive use of *ligazhee* (< gager) ‘bet’ with its (necessary) indirect object *li braen* ‘the brown one (horse)’ introduced by the preposition *seu* ‘on’.

(10) *ligazhee* (< gager) ‘bet’

*Gee-ligazhee-n seu li braen.*  
1.PST-bet-1/2SG:VAI:IND ON DEF:MSG brown

‘I bet on the bay.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 36)

The existence of an English loan verb *libeti* is suggested by the corresponding entry in Fleury (2013) who gives what looks like the past tense form, *kii-libeti-w* (PST-bet-3:VAI:IND) ‘he bet’ but without any examples.

Ex. 11 shows the use of *litimwaenee* (< témoigner) ‘testify’. This entry is problematic since the inflectional ending indicates that the subject is 1SG or 2SG but the translation talks about a 3SG.

(11) *litimwaenee* (< témoigner) ‘testify’

*Ka-litimwaenee-n a la koor.*  
NMLZ-testify-1/2SG:VAI:IND at DEF:F:SG court

‘She (I/You?) has (have?) to testify in court.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 330)



### 185 3.1.2 Transitive verbs

186 There are four transitive loan verbs in the corpus: *libinee* (< bénir) ‘bless’ (ex. 12), *lidoontee*  
 187 (< dompter) ‘break; train; domesticate’ (ex. 13, 14 and 15), *limaenlee* (< mêler) ‘mix’ (ex.  
 188 16) and *livarzeew* (< vernisser?) ‘whitewash’ (ex. 17). Three of them are VAI (*libinee*  
 189 ‘bless’, *limaenlee* ‘mix’) and *livarzeew* ‘whitewash’, and one is VTA (*lidoontee* ‘break; train;  
 190 domesticate’).

191 The first one of these, *libinee* (< bénir) ‘bless’ (ex. 12) appears in a transitive clause  
 192 with *limood* ‘the people’ as its direct object.

193 (12) *libinee* (< bénir) ‘bless’

194 *Li payr kee-libinee-w limood.*  
 DEF:MSG priest PST-bless-3SG:VAI:IND DEF:MSG.people

195 ‘The priest blessed the people.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 45)

196 Since the patient is human, and so intrinsically animate, the most natural way of  
 197 reflecting this in the verb would be to map it onto an existing VTA morphological model  
 198 which would entail the use of a direction marker, in this case the direct one -â-. Yet,  
 199 loan verbs are expected not to accept direction marking (Bakker, 1997, 243) and this one  
 200 conforms to this expectation. We are thus dealing with the transitive use of a VAI verb.

201 Interestingly, Fleury (2013) says *libiniw* means ‘to bless something’ whereas for ‘to  
 202 bless someone’ he gives another verb: *biniiwahwâw*. Now this verb is clearly borrowed  
 203 from French (*bénir*) but doesn’t show the initial *li-* and has further been adapted to fit  
 204 a regular VTA conjugation model (using the VTA stem final /-hw-/). It thus shows the  
 205 direct marker -â-. Unfortunately, once again there are no examples given. It would be  
 206 especially interesting to see how the sentence ‘The priest blessed me’ would be translated  
 207 using this verb. The expected verb form would be *\*biniiwahok* < *\*biniiwahw-ik-w* with the  
 208 inverse /-ikw-/.

209 The verb *lidoontee* (< dompter) ‘break; train; domesticate’ (ex. 13, 14 and 15) is another  
 210 interesting case of loan verb adaptation. Since once again the patient is animate this verb  
 211 should naturally be taken over as a VTA. This is exactly what has been done, this time  
 212 using the causative suffix /-h/. In ex. 13 we see direct marking (-aw-), in ex. 14 the use of  
 213 the VA unspecified actor form and in ex. 15 the use of the VTA imperative.

214 (13) *lidoontee* (< dompter) ‘break’

215 *Li likoo’d kawbl ka-awpachistaw-nawn ka-lidoontee-h-aw-yahk*  
 DEF:MSG hackamore FUT-use-1PE:VAI:IND FUT-break-CAUS-DIR-1PE:VAI:CNJ  
 216 *li zhwâl.*  
 ART:MSG horse:SG

217 ‘We’ll use the hackamore to break the horse.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 121)

218 (14) *lidoontee* (< dompter) ‘train’

219 *Aen zhen shyæn il i jeur ka-lidoontee-h-ist.*  
INDEF:MSG young dog he is hard FUT-break-CAUS-UNSPEC:VTA:CNJ

220 ‘A pup is hard to train.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 245)

221 (15) *lidoontee* (< dompter) ‘domesticate’

222 *Lidoontee-h-ik tee zhvoo.*  
FUT-domesticate-CAUS-2SG>3PL:VTA:IMP POSS:2SG:3PL horse:PL

223 ‘Domesticate your horses!’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 78)

224 The verb *limaenlee* (< mêler) ‘mix’ (ex. 16) is an example of a VAI used transitively.

225 (16) *limaenlee* (< mêler) ‘mix’

226 *Kaw-limaenlee-n li bouziyazh?*  
2.FUT-mix-1/2SG:VAI:IND DEF:MSG plaster

227 ‘Will you mix the plaster?’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 232)

228 Finally, *livarzeew* (< vernisser?) ‘whitewash’ (ex. 17) is another instance of a VAI used  
229 transitively.

230 (17) *livarzeew* (< vernisser?)

231 *Kee-livarzee-w sa maenzoon avik la shoo*  
PST-varnish-3SG:VAI:IND 3FSG:POSS house with DEF:FSG lime

232 ‘She whitewashed her house (lit. S/he varnished her house with lime).’ (Laverdure  
233 and Allard, 1983, 356)

### 234 3.1.3 Ambitransitive verbs

235 From the point of view of their transitivity in the donor language, i.e. French, there are  
236 only two ambitransitive verbs in the corpus, the Michif loanword equivalents to (*s’*)*astiner*  
237 (< (*s’*)*obstiner*) ‘argue; haggle’ (ex. 19, 20, 21, 22, 18) and *peinturer* ‘paint’ (ex. 23, 24).

238 The verb (*s’*)*astiner* is the Quebec evolution of Standard French (*s’*)*obstiner* ‘to persist  
239 in (doing) sth’. In Quebec French it can be used both as a transitive (*astiner quelqu’un* ‘to  
240 contradict s.o.’) and as an intransitive (*s’astiner avec quelqu’un* ‘to argue with s.o.’) verb.  
241 Only the latter is attested in the corpus. What is interesting is that this verb is mostly  
242 attested in a form without the initial *li-* which signals a loan verb. Instead it takes directly  
243 the first person prefix *nit-* > *d-* which is the form this affix takes before a vowel-initial  
244 verb in Cree.

- 245 (18) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'haggle'
- 246 *Aen shawr neu kaw-atawway-yawn, d-ascheenee-n avik*  
 INDEF:MSG car new COMP-buy-1SG:VAI:CNJ 1-haggle-1/2:VAI with  
 247 *lekoumee.*  
 salesman:DEF:MSG
- 248 'When I buy a new car, I haggle with the salesman.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983,  
 249 121)
- 250 (19) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'argue'
- 251 *Shi-ascheenee-hk si koum aen pchee.*  
 COMP-argue-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ COP:PRS:3SG like INDEF:MSG little
- 252 'To have words with another is childish.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 359)
- 253 There is also a variant *laschin*, which clearly comes from the expected fusion of the  
 254 definite article/accusative clitic/loan verb flag *li* and *aschin* but interestingly without the  
 255 infinitive/past participle ending *ee*.
- 256 (20) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'argue'
- 257 *Kishkayimaen-w John soo metr kaw-laschin-ichik.*  
 know(VTA)-3IND J. his master NMLZ-argue-3PL:CNJ
- 258 'John knows who's master in an argument.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 173)
- 259 A variant thereof, *lahchin* occurs as well, but in the only example found so far it lacks  
 260 any inflectional suffixes altogether (cf. ex. 21).
- 261 (21) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'argue'
- 262 *Tom pi Marie lahchin tuhkinay.*  
 Tom and Mary argue always
- 263 'Tom and Mary argue all the time.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 26)
- 264 Finally, ex. 22 (a variant of ex. 21) uses the corresponding Cree verb *kîhkâhto*- 'argue  
 265 with one another'<sup>5</sup>.
- 266 (22) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'argue'
- 267 *Tom pi Marie tuhkinay keehkawhtou-wuk.*  
 Tom and Mary always argue-3PL:VAI:IND

<sup>5</sup>Reciprocal verbs, which contain the reciprocal suffix *-ito-*, are always morphologically intransitive.

‘Tom and Mary argue all the time.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 26)

Concerning the other ambitransitive verb *lipaenchegree* (< peinturer) ‘paint’, both the transitive (ex. 23) and intransitive (ex. 24) use are attested in the corpus.

(23) *lipaenchegree* (< peinturer) ‘paint’

*Koum l’or kee-lipaenchegree-wuk li lee.*  
like DEF:MSG.gold PST-paint-3PL:VAI:IND DEF:MSG bed

‘They painted the bed with gilt.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 110)

(24) *lipaenchegree* (< peinturer) ‘paint’

*Diseu aen nishafoo neepawi-wuk, ay-lipaenchegree-chik.*  
on INDEF:MSG scaffold stand-3PL:VAI:IND COMP-paint-3PL:VAI:CNJ

‘They stand on a scaffold to paint.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 282)

### 3.2 Loan verbs from English

As stated previously, English loan verbs also follow the above-mentioned rule of insertion inside a *li ... ee* outer shell. All verbs but one in the corpus are attested in this form. The one exception is *kalektee* which lacks the initial *li*.

As with French loan verbs, the following sections present the English loan verbs according to their transitivity in English.

Table 3: English loan verbs in Michif

English	S, A, P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	Transitivity	Michif	Verb class	meaning
<i>beg</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [+ANIM] OBL[-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>libegree</i>	VAI	‘beg, panhandle’
<i>box</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [+ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>liboksee</i>	VAI	‘box’
<i>brush</i>	A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>librushii</i>	VAI	‘brush’
<i>can</i>	A [ $\pm$ ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>likaene</i>	VAI	‘can’
<i>charge</i>	A [ $\pm$ ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>licharjee</i>	VAI	‘charge’
<i>celebrate</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>liselebratee</i>	VAI	‘celebrate’
<i>collect</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>kalektee</i>	VAI	‘collect’
<i>deal</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>lideelee</i>	VAI	‘make a deal’
<i>gamble</i>	S [+ANIM]	intransitive	<i>ligamblee</i>	VAI	‘gamble’
<i>haul</i>	A [ $\pm$ ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>lihaulee</i>	VAI	‘haul’
<i>pack</i>	S [+ANIM]; A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	(in)transitive	<i>lipaaktii</i>	VAI	‘pack’
<i>rob</i>	A [+ANIM] P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	transitive	<i>lirobee</i>	VAI	‘rob’
<i>settle</i>	A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>lisetlee</i>	VAI	‘settle’
<i>trust</i>	A [+ANIM] P [ $\pm$ ANIM]	transitive	<i>litrustee</i>	VAI	‘trust’

### 283 3.2.1 Intransitive verbs

284 There is only one intransitive English loan verb in the corpus: *ligamblee* < gamble (ex. 25)  
285 and it is unambiguously attested as a VAI verb in Michif.

286 (25) *ligamblee* < gamble

287 *Kee-pahkoun-ow ay-ligamblee-d.*  
PST-skin(VTA)-UNSPEC COMP-gamble-3SG:VAI:CNJ

288 ‘He was scalped in gambling.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 282)

### 289 3.2.2 Transitive verbs

290 There are seven transitive loan verbs from English: *librushii* ‘brush’, *likaenee* ‘can’ (ex. 26  
291 and 27), *licharjee* ‘charge’ (ex. 28), *lihaulee* ‘haul’ (ex. 29), *lirobee* ‘rob’ (ex. 31), *lisetlee*  
292 ‘settle’ (ex. 32) and *litrustii* ‘trust’.

293 *librushii* ‘brush’ and *litrustii* ‘trust’, are attested only in Fleury (2013) with no examples  
294 in the case of the latter, and only the expressions ‘brush one’s teeth’ *librushii lii daan* vs  
295 ‘brush the floor’ *librushii li plaanshii* in the case of the former. This shows that *librushii*  
296 ‘brush’ is used transitively in Michif as well, and so it must be a VAI, as it does not have  
297 VTI morphology. As for *litrustii* ‘trust’, it appears in the forms *li trustiikh* and *li trustiww*  
298 which show that it must also be a VAI, although no collocations are given in this case.  
299 Of course with ‘trust’ the object tends to be human (and therefore animate), and so we  
300 would expect a VTA here, but this does not seem to be the case.

301 *likaenee* ‘can’ (ex. 26 and 27) is attested in two examples: one in the VAI unspeci-  
302 fied actor form which translates the English gerund *canning* without an overt object and  
303 another one in the 1SG.

304 (26) *likaenee* ‘can’

305 *Lalaen awpachistaw-niwun kaw-likaenee-hk.*  
alum:DEF use(VAI)-UNSPEC:VAI:IND NMLZ-can-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ

306 ‘Alum is used for canning.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 22)

307 (27) *likaenee* ‘can’

308 *Bakwawtae-n shi-licani-yawn daw li tawn payzawn*  
1SG:dislike-1SG:VAI:IND COMP-can-1SG:VAI:CNJ in DEF:MSG weather humid

309 ‘I don’t like to can in humid weather.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 137)

310 Ex. 28 illustrates the use of *licharjee* ‘charge’ in a relative clause headed by *kaw-* (‘that  
311 which charges’) to translate *battery charger* with *en batree* ‘a battery’ as its object. It is  
312 thus transitively used in Michif as well in spite of its VAI morphology.

313 (28) *licharjee* ‘charge’  
 314 *Dawayhtae-nawn en batree kaw-lichawrjee-t.*  
 1.need(VTI)-1PE:VAI:IND INDEF:F:SG battery NMLZ-charge-3:CNJ  
 315 ‘We need a battery charger (lit. ‘that which charges a battery’).’ (Laverdure and  
 316 Allard, 1983, 60)

317 Ex. 29 shows the verb *lihaulee* ‘haul’ to be a VAI verb used transitively in Michif as  
 318 well. It is another instance of the use of the unspecified actor form to render the English  
 319 gerund.

320 (29) *lihaulee* ‘haul’  
 321 *en wawginn for pour kaykiyuw kaykwuy ay-lihaulee-hk.*  
 INDEF:FSG wagon for for all thing COMP-haul-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ  
 322 ‘A wagon for hauling all [sorts of] things.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 79)

323 This example has also another version (ex. 30) with the antipassive of the Cree verb  
 324 *âwacikêw* (VAI) ‘haul things’, itself an antipassive from *âwatâw* (VAI<sub>TR</sub>) ‘haul something’,  
 325 appearing in the conjunct order of the VAI unspecified actor form.

326 (30) *awwachikaw* ‘haul’  
 327 *aen wawgoon ay-yawwachikaw-kay-hk.*  
 INDEF:MSG wagon COMP-haul-ANTIPASS-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ  
 328 ‘A wagon for hauling things.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 79)

329 In ex. 31 the verb *lirobee* ‘rob’ is used transitively with *la bawnk* ‘the bank’ as its ob-  
 330 ject. It stands in the VAI unspecified actor form used in the conjunct order as it is a  
 331 complement clause to the verb *kishkayist-* (VTI) ‘know something’.

332 (31) *lirobee* ‘rob’  
 333 *Noo kee-kishkayist-am la bawnk*  
 NEG PST-know(VTI)-3SG:VTI:IND DEF:F:SG bank  
 334 *ay-kee-li-robee-hk.*  
 COMP-PST-rob-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ

335 ‘He was incognizant of the robbery at the bank (lit. He didn’t know that they  
 336 (=someone) had robbed the bank).’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 143)

337 Finally, ex. 32 shows the verb *lisetlee* ‘settle (a dispute, etc.)’ used transitively with *aen*  
 338 *nushchinawsyoon* ‘a dispute’ as its object.

339 (32) *lisetlee* ‘settle’

340 *awiyek kaw-lisetlee-t aen nushchinawsyoon awntour deu*  
someone NMLZ-settle-3SG:VAI:CNJ INDEF dispute between two  
341 *nawsyoon.*  
nation

342 ‘Someone who settles a dispute between two nations.’ (Laverdure and Allard,  
343 1983, 25)

### 344 3.2.3 Ambitransitive verbs

345 There are six ambitransitive English loan verbs in the corpus: *libegee* < beg (ex. 33), *li-*  
346 *boksee* < box (ex. 35), *liselebratee* < celebrate (ex. 36, 37 and 38), *kalektee* < collect (ex.  
347 40), *lideelee* < deal (ex. 41) and *lipaaktii* ‘pack’ (only as translational equivalent in Fleury,  
348 2013). While all of these can be used transitively and take a direct object in English, their  
349 intransitive use is the only one attested in the corpus.

350 The first of these, *libegee* < beg (ex. 33), appears in the VAI unspecified actor form  
351 (*ay-libegee-hk*), which often serves as a translation of the English infinitive in the corpus.  
352 There is not enough context, but we can assume that here the infinitive is used in the  
353 same way as the *-ing* form, i.e. the verbal noun ‘begging, panhandling’, would be.

354 (33) *libegee* < beg

355 *Ay-libegee-hk da la reu’d vil.*  
COMP-beg-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ in DEF:F:PL town street

356 ‘Panhandle on the town streets.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 214)

357 This example actually has a second variant with the antipassive (*-(i)kê*) of a Cree verb  
358 this time, *nitotamâw* (VAI) ‘request/ask for something’, used in the unspecified actor form  
359 (*-hk*): *aen-doutamaw-kay-hk* < *ê-nitotamâkê-hk* (ex. 34).

360 (34) *doutamaw* < *nitotamâw*

361 *Aen-doutamaw-kay-hk da la reu’d vil.*  
COMP-beg(VAI)-ANTIPASS-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ in DEF:F:PL town street

362 ‘Panhandle on the town streets.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 214)

363 The next verb, *liboksee* ‘box’ (ex. 35), is attested in only one example in which it ap-  
364 pears in an expression translating the English *to shadow box*. This could be analysed  
365 synchronically as the verb *to box* used as a transitive verb with *shadow* as its incorporated

object, i.e. *to box one's shadow* > *to shadowbox*.<sup>6</sup> The result of course is an intransitive verb. Now, in Michif no such incorporation takes place and what we have is literally 'he boxes his shadow'. The verb is therefore used transitively. It is still a VAI verb, since shadow is not animate and so we have another case of a transitive VAI.

(35) *liboksee* < box

*Liboksee-w soo meerazh pour achiyuw.*  
box-3VAI:IND 3SG:POSS shadow for a\_while

'He'll shadow box for a while.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 291)

There are four examples of *liselebratee* 'celebrate' in the corpus, in all of which it is used intransitively. In ex. 36 it appears in the independent order of the unspecified actor form for VAI verbs *-nawniwun* (= *-nâniwan*), but without the initial *li-*.

(36) *liselebratee* < celebrate

*Selebraytee-nawniwun.*  
celebrate-UNSPEC:VAI:IND

'They are having a celebration.' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 58)

Ex. 37 and 38 illustrate its use in the future and the past tense, respectively.

(37) *liselebratee* < celebrate

*Bronson ka-liselebraytee-w pour soon bacheezee.*  
B. FUT-celebrate-3:VAI:IND for his baptism

'Bronson will have a ceremonial baptism (litt, Bronson will celebrate for his baptism).' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 58)

(38) *liselebratee* < celebrate

*Li kaet di Zhouyet gee-liselabratee-nawn.*  
DEF:MSG four of July 1.PST-celebrate-1PE:VAI:IND

'We had a fourth of July celebration (lit. We celebrated [on] the fourth of July).' (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 58)

While the verb in ex. 37 is used unambiguously as intransitive, ex. 38 can be analysed as either intransitive (ie 'We celebrated on the fourth of July') or as transitive ('We celebrated the fourth of July'). The former seems more probable given the other examples and the fact that time adjuncts are rarely verb arguments, even if we have another potentially ambiguous example 39.

<sup>6</sup>From a diachronic point of view, we are most certainly dealing with a case of back-formation from the gerund form *shadowboxing*, as with all cases of incorporating verbs in English. This does not make them any less incorporating synchronically.



393 (39) *liselebratee* < celebrate

394 *Kahkiyuw liselabraytee-wuk Li kaet di Zhouyet.*  
all celebrate-3PL:VAI:IND DEF:MSG four of July

395 ‘Everyone celebrates the fourth of July.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 102)

396 Ex. 36 and the translation of *celebration* as *kaw-selebraytee-hk* (NMLZ-celebrate-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ)  
397 leave no doubt that this verb belongs with the VAI class.

398 Ex. 40 illustrates the only use of *kalektee* ‘collect (money, taxes)’, a verb which lacks  
399 initial *li-* and is used intransitively.

400 (40) *kalektee* < collect

401 *Saprawn chi-kalektee-yen wiya ouhchi.*  
it\_is\_necessary COMP-collect-2SG:VAI:CNJ 3 from

402 ‘You have to collect from her.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 64)

403 The last English ambitransitive loan verb is *lideelee* ‘deal’ (ex. 41). This may actually  
404 not be a direct borrowing from English given its meaning in Michif, i.e. ‘make a deal’.  
405 It is not excluded that we are dealing with a denominal (*a deal* > *li deel*) verb created in  
406 Michif itself, although this noun is not attested in the corpus which has the French *lee*  
407 *marshee* instead. *lideelee* ‘deal’ is used intransitively and is thus another instance of a VAI  
408 verb.

409 (41) *lideelee* < deal

410 *Tawnshi kaw-shi-lideelee-yen?*  
how NMLZ-COMP-make\_a\_deal-2SG:VAI:CNJ

411 ‘What kind of deal did you make (lit. How [is it] that you dealt)?’ (Laverdure and  
412 Allard, 1983, 70)

### 413 3.3 Loan verbs from French or English

414 There are two verbs in the corpus which may have been borrowed either from French or  
415 from English: *lifyeuzee* < refuse(r) (ex. 42) and *livotee* < vote(r) (ex. 43 and 44)

Table 4: English/French? loan verbs in Michif

English/French	Transitivity	Michif	Verb class	meaning
<i>refuse(r)</i>	(in)transitive	<i>lifyeuzee</i>	VAI?	‘refuse, decline’
<i>vote(r)</i>	(in)transitive	<i>livotee</i>	VAI	‘vote’

### 3.3.1 Ambitransitive verbs

There is one ambitransitive verb in the corpus: *lifyeuzee* < refuse(r) (ex. 42) used intransitively. It is interesting to observe that it must have been subjected to haplological apocope (*li-lifyeuz-ee* > *lifyeuzee*). Furthermore, it is one of two examples (cf. 21) in the corpus of a loan verb which lacks any inflectional ending at all. This formally prevents us from ascertaining its inflectional class, although it most probably belongs to the VAI class.

(42) *lifyeuzee* < refuse(r)

*Ka-lifyeuzee gishkayht-aen.*  
FUT-refuse 1.know(VTI)-1/2SG:IND

‘He will decline it I know.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 70)

### 3.3.2 Intransitive verbs

There is one intransitive verb *livotee* < vote(r) (ex. 43 and 44).

(43) *livotee* < vote(r)

*Niyawn doo-livotee*  
go.IMP go\_to-vote

‘Go and vote!’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 349)

(44) *livotee* < vote(r)

*Gee-itoustaw-nawn itay kaw-livotee-hk.*  
PST:1-go(VAI)-1PE:IND there NMLZ-vote-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ

‘We went to the polls.’ (Laverdure and Allard, 1983, 235)

## 4 Discussion

This paper has attempted a preliminary study of loan verbs in the mixed language Michif (French/Cree), whose verbal system is almost exclusively Cree (ie Algonquian), based on two dictionaries of this language: Laverdure and Allard (1983) and Fleury (2013).

While the way loan verbs are integrated from the morpho(phono)logical point of view is in itself a topic of interest, it is their syntactic integration which has been at the centre of my work. This is due to the existence of (broadly) two main inflectional classes in French or English (the donor languages for the loan verbs attested in the corpus) versus at least four in Cree (as in Algonquian languages in general): VII, VAI, VTI and VTA

(cf. section 2.1 and Table 1). Verbs are assigned to one of these classes according to the animacy of their single core argument (S), in case of an intransitive verb, or their patient (P), in the case of a transitive one. There is thus one supplementary piece of information to be taken into account when deciding to which verb class to assign a given loan verb.

The detailed study of the available data has shown that loan verbs, both from French and from English, are almost exclusively assigned to the VAI class, i.e. a class of verbs whose single core argument is animate. This seems natural enough given that the overwhelming majority of them do have an animate core participant in the donor language as well. What may seem more problematic is the fact that this core participant is not always or uniquely the single core participant (S), i.e. most verbs (especially those from English) are ambitransitive, and some are clearly only transitive. The question then is why VAI has been considered a better choice than for instance VTI or even VTA?

The short answer to that question is that VAI appears to be the most ‘neutral’ inflectional class of Cree as far as morphology and argument structure are concerned. Indeed, on the level of morphology, with the exception of VII<sup>7</sup>, all other verb classes have endings derived from those of the VAI class, in addition to some extra material characteristic of VTI and VTA. In the case of VTI we have a typical final (/ -ht-/) and a thematic vowel (/ -ê-/) in the case of SAP, or a suffix (/ -am-/) in the case of non-SAP agents, respectively, which index a third person inanimate object. In the case of VTA the verb has affixes indexing both participants and additionally indicates direction of action by way of a direction marker (direct / -â-/ vs. inverse / -ikw-/). On the level of argument structure, VAI are flexible as they can be both intransitive and transitive. What is more, when transitive, their P can be either animate or inanimate. This is not the case of VTI or VTA. VTI verbs can be intransitive as well but only for a very short list of verbs which were earlier transitive but whose object has now become generic, and their P argument when transitive can only be inanimate. VTA verbs, on the other hand, can only have an animate agent and an animate patient<sup>8</sup>, and cannot be used intransitively.

In conclusion, VAI is the only class which does not impose any profound morphological changes to any given loan verb, and it can be used both intransitively and transitively, and when used transitively can have both an animate and an inanimate P.

Nevertheless, there are two verbs in the corpus which have been adapted in different ways in order to be eligible for membership in the VTA class: *binîiwahwâw* ‘bless someone’ (ex. 12) and *lidoontee* ‘domesticate’ (ex. 15). Both show relevant VTA affixes such as crucially the direct marker / -â-/<sup>9</sup>. This shows that there is nothing inherent in loan verbs which would preclude them from becoming VTA verbs and receiving direction marking as well (pace Bakker, 1997, 243).

<sup>7</sup>Note that there is no verb assigned to this class among those attested, i.e. all of the loan verbs I have found have an animate S or A.

<sup>8</sup>It is only in the case of ditransitive verbs which are all VTA that we can have a T(heme) argument which is either animate or inanimate and which is not indexed on the verb.

<sup>9</sup>It remains to be confirmed that the inverse marker / -ikw-/ can also be used on these.

Finally, all of the loan verbs I have examined have Cree equivalents and so the claim that they were borrowed because of the lack of a corresponding Cree verb in the language (Bakker, 1997, 242) seems difficult to accept at face value, although it can indeed be argued that the corresponding Cree verbs, when they exist, “either have a much more general meaning, hence they are not as precise as the French/English verbs, or they describe different activities” (Bakker, pc).

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**Table 5:** Plains Cree Independent Order paradigms of VTA *wâpam*– “see s.o.”, VTI *wâpah̄t*– “see sth”, VAI *wâpiskisi*– “be white (+ ANIM)”, *pîmîpah̄tâ*– “run”, VII *wâpiskâ*– “be white (- ANIM)”, *miywâsin* “be good”, *wâpan* “be dawn” (based on [Wolfart, 1996](#))

P		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
A	P									
		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
VTA	1SG				<i>ki-wâpam-îti-n</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-îti-nâw-âw</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-â-w</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-â-w-ak</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-îm-â-w-a</i>	
	1PI						<i>ki-wâpam-â-naw</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-â-na-w-ak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-îm-â-na-w-a</i>	
	1PE						<i>ni-wâpam-â-nân</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-â-nân-ak</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-îm-â-nân-a</i>	
	2SG	<i>ki-wâpam-in</i>				<i>kiwâpamîtinân</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-âw</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-â-wak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-îm-â-wa</i>	
	2PL	<i>ki-wâpam-in-âwâw</i>		<i>ki-wâpam-inân</i>			<i>ki-wâpam-â-wâw</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-â-wâw-ak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-îm-â-wâw-a</i>	
	3SG	<i>ni-wâpam-ik</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-n-aw</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-iko-nân</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-ik</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-wâw</i>			<i>wâpam-(îm)-ê-w</i>	
	3PL	<i>ni-wâpam-ikw-ak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-n-aw-ak</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-iko-nân-ak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-ikw-ak</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-wâw-ak</i>			<i>wâpam-(îm)-ê-wak</i>	
	3'	<i>ni-wâpam-iko-yi-wa</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-nawa</i>	<i>ni-wâpam-iko-nâna</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-yi-wa</i>	<i>ki-wâpam-iko-wâwa</i>	<i>wâpamik</i>	<i>wâpam-ikw-ak</i>	<i>wâpam-ê-yi-wa</i>	<i>wâpam-iko-yi-wa</i>
A	P	1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
VTI	1SG							<i>n-îwâpah̄t-ê-n</i>		
	1PI							<i>ki-wâpah̄t-ê-(n-â)n-aw</i>		
	1PE							<i>ki-wâpah̄t-ê-n-ân</i>		
	2SG							<i>ki-wâpah̄t-ê-n</i>		
	2PL							<i>ki-wâpah̄t-ê-n-âwâw</i>		
	3SG							<i>wâpah̄t-am</i>		
	3PL							<i>wâpah̄t-am-w-ak</i>		
	3'							<i>wâpah̄t-am-iyi-w-a</i>		
VAI	<i>ni-wâpiskisi-n</i>	<i>ki-wâpiskisi-(nâ)naw</i>	<i>ni-wâpiskisi-nân</i>	<i>ni-wâpiskisi-nân</i>	<i>ki-wâpiskisi-n</i>	<i>ki-wâpiskisi-nâwâw</i>	<i>wâpiskisi-w</i>	<i>wâpiskisi-wak</i>	<i>wâpiskisi-yi-wa</i>	
	<i>ni-pîmîpah̄tâ-n</i>	<i>ki-pîmîpah̄tâ-(nâ)naw</i>	<i>ni-pîmîpah̄tâ-nân</i>	<i>ni-pîmîpah̄tâ-nân</i>	<i>ki-pîmîpah̄tâ-n</i>	<i>ki-pîmîpah̄tâ-nâwâw</i>	<i>pîmîpah̄tâ-w</i>	<i>pîmîpah̄tâ-wak</i>	<i>pîmîpah̄tâ-yi-wa</i>	
VII							<i>wâpiskâ-w</i>	<i>wâpiskâ-w-a</i>	<i>wâpiskâ-yi-w</i>	<i>wâpiskâ-yi-w-a</i>
							<i>miywâsin</i>	<i>miywâsin-w-a</i>	<i>miywâsin-iyi-w</i>	<i>miywâsin-iyi-w-a</i>
							<i>wâpan</i>		<i>wâpan-iyi-w</i>	

**Table 6:** Plains Cree Conjoint Order paradigms of VTA *wâpam*– “see s.o.”, VTI *wâpaht*– “see sth”, VAI *wâpiskisi*– “be white (+ANIM)”, *pimipahîdâ*– “run”, VII *wâpiskâ*– “be white (-ANIM)”, *miywâsin* “be good”, *wâpan* “be dawn” (based on [Wolfart, 1996](#))

P		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
A	P									
		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
VTA	1SG				<i>ê-wâpam-it-ân</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-it-ako-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-ak</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-ak-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-im-ak</i>	
	1PI						<i>ê-wâpam-â-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-â-yâhko-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-im-â-yâhk</i>	
	1PE						<i>ê-wâpam-â-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-â-yâhk-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-im-â-yâhk</i>	
	2SG	<i>ê-wâpam-i-yan</i>					<i>ê-wâpam-at</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-ač-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-im-at</i>	
	2PL	<i>ê-wâpam-i-yêk</i>					<i>ê-wâpam-â-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-â-yêko-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-im-â-yêk</i>	
	3SG	<i>ê-wâpam-i-t</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-isk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yêk</i>			<i>ê-wâpam-(im)-â-t</i>	
	3PL	<i>ê-wâpam-i-č-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yâhko-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yâhk-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-isk-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yêko-k</i>			<i>ê-wâpam-(im)-â-č-ik</i>	
3'	<i>ê-wâpam-i-yi-t</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-wâ-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-wâ-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-wâ-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iy-isk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-wâ-yêk</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-t</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-iko-č-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpam-â-yi-t</i>	
									<i>ê-wâpam-iko-yi-t</i>	
P		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
A	P									
		1SG	1PI	1PE	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL	3' SG	3' PL
VTI	1SG							<i>ê-wâpaht-am-ân</i>		
	1PI							<i>ê-wâpahtamâhk</i>		
	1PE							<i>ê-wâpaht-am-âhk</i>		
	2SG							<i>ê-wâpaht-am-an</i>		
	2PL							<i>ê-wâpaht-am-êk</i>		
	3SG							<i>ê-wâpaht-ah-k</i>		
	3PL							<i>ê-wâpaht-ahk-ik</i>		
	3'							<i>ê-wâpaht-am-iyi-t</i>		
VAI	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yan</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yan</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yan</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yêk</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-t</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-č-ik</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskisi-yi-t</i>	
	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-yan</i>	<i>ê-ptnipahîdâ-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-ptnipahîdâ-yan</i>	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-yâhk</i>	<i>ê-ptnipahîdâ-yan</i>	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-yêk</i>	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-t</i>	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-č-ik</i>	<i>ê-pimipahîdâ-yi-t</i>	
VII							<i>ê-wâpiskâ-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskâ-k-i</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskâ-yi-k</i>	<i>ê-wâpiskâ-yi-k-i</i>
							<i>ê-miywâsin-k</i>	<i>ê-miywâsin-k-i</i>	<i>ê-miywâsin-iyi-k</i>	<i>ê-miywâsin-iyi-k-i</i>
							<i>ê-wâpah-k</i>		<i>ê-wâpah-iyi-k</i>	