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Loan verb integration in Michif^{*}

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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,

^{*}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)¹.

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,

¹The 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.

56 there are also several subclasses of ‘deponent’ VAI and VTI verbs whose syntactic be-
 57 haviour does not match their morphological makeup (cf. Table 1). These are usually
 58 either not specifically signalled or else termed VAI-T and VTI-I. Here I will call them
 59 VAI_{TR} and VTI_{INTR} , 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_{TR}	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_{INTR}	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.)’

60 2.2 Direct/inverse and obviation

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

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

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

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

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

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

85 2.3 Independent vs. Conjunct order

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

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

³Differences 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.

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

107 3 Loan verbs in Michif

108 As in Algonquian languages in general, loan verbs are not well attested in the Michif
109 material available to me. There are less than thirty loan verbs clearly attested in the corpus
110 comprised of [Laverdure and Allard \(1983\)](#) (an English-Michif dictionary with more than
111 7,000 entries) and [Fleury \(2013\)](#) (an online English-Michif dictionary with about 11,500
112 translations; this was used only occasionally as in the vast majority of cases, contrary to
113 [Laverdure and Allard \(1983\)](#) there are no real examples which would make it possible to
114 determine the transitivity of the loan verb in Michif). Whether the source is French or
115 English, an almost constant feature of these verbs is the presence of an initial *li* and a final
116 *ee* (henceforth the ‘*li...ee* (outer) shell’), historically thought to represent the combination
117 of the French definite article in its masculine singular form *le* followed by the infinitive of
118 the relevant verb. This in turn has uniformly the form *ee* ([i:] < [e]) which is actually the
119 infinitive (a participle) ending for the biggest inflectional verb class in French ([Bakker,](#)
120 [1997](#), 242). I have excluded all cases of loan verbs attested only with French but no Cree
121 inflectional material⁴, since this fact alone suggests that we might be dealing with cases
122 of code-switching, or more likely, imperfect loan verb reanalysis. Likewise, I have not
123 included denominal verbs derived by way of Cree suffixes (*-iwi-* ‘be’, *-ihkê-* ‘make’) added
124 on to a (usually French) Michif noun.

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

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

⁴In 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*).

137 3.1 Loan verbs from French

138 All verbs in the corpus but three conform to the above-mentioned rule of insertion inside
 139 a *li ... ee* outer shell. These are *ashchinee* ‘haggle’ and *lahchin* ‘id.’, which lack the initial
 140 and the final, respectively, on the one hand, and *biniwahwâw*, the Creechized variant of
 141 *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>libege</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>litimwaenee(n)</i>	VAI	‘testify’
<i>vernïsser?</i>	A [+ANIM] P [-ANIM]	transitive	<i>livarzeew</i>	VAI	‘whitewash’

142 3.1.1 Intransitive verbs

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

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

150 (5)

151 (6) *libege* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’

152 *Jerry tahkinay libegee-w.*
 Jerry always stutter-3:VAI:IND

153 ‘Jerry always did stutter.’ [Laverdure and Allard, 1983](#), 320

154 (7) *libege* (< *bégayer*) ‘stutter’

155 *Naenpaywshi-nawniwun kaw-libegee-hk.*
 be_ashamed-UNSPEC:VAI:IND NMLZ-stutter-UNSPEC:VAI:CNJ

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

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

160 (8) *librodee* (< broder) ‘embroider’

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

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

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

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

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

170 ‘I eat breakfast at 7:00 am.’

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

173 (10) *ligazhee* (< gager) ‘bet’

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

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

176 The existence of an English loan verb *libeti* is suggested by the corresponding en-
177 try in Fleury (2013) who gives what looks like the past tense form, *kii-libeti-w* (PST-bet-
178 3:VAI:IND) ‘he bet’ but without any examples.

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

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

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

184 ‘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 *libiniiw* means ‘to bless something’ whereas for ‘to
 202 bless someone’ he gives another verb: *biniwahwâw*. 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 **biniwahok* < **biniwahw-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 shyaen 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'⁵.

266 (22) *ashchinee* (< (s')astiner < (s')obstiner) 'argue'

267 *Tom pi Marie tuhkinay keehkawhtou-wuk.*
Tom and Mary always argue-3PL:VAI:IND

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

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

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

271 (23) *lipaenchuree* (< peinturer) ‘paint’

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

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

274 (24) *lipaenchuree* (< peinturer) ‘paint’

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

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

277 3.2 Loan verbs from English

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

281 As with French loan verbs, the following sections present the English loan verbs ac-
 282 cording 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>libegee</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>likaenee</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 trustihk* 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_{TR}) ‘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: *libege* < 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, *libege* < beg (ex. 33), appears in the VAI unspecified actor form
351 (*ay-libege-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) *libege* < beg

355 *Ay-libege-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

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

370 (35) *liboksee* < box

371 *Liboksee-w soo meerazh pour achiyuw.*
 box-3VAI:IND 3SG:POSS shadow for a_while

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

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

376 (36) *liselebratee* < celebrate

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

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

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

380 (37) *liselebratee* < celebrate

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

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

384 (38) *liselebratee* < celebrate

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

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

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

⁶From 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) *lisebratee* < 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’

416 3.3.1 Ambitransitive verbs

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

423 (42) *lifyeuzee* < refuse(r)

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

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

426 3.3.2 Intransitive verbs

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

428 (43) *livotee* < vote(r)

429 *Niyawn doo-livotee*
go.IMP go_to-vote

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

431 (44) *livotee* < vote(r)

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

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

434 4 Discussion

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

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

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

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

455 The short answer to that question is that VAI appears to be the most ‘neutral’ inflec-
456 tional class of Cree as far as morphology and argument structure are concerned. Indeed,
457 on the level of morphology, with the exception of VII⁷, all other verb classes have endings
458 derived from those of the VAI class, in addition to some extra material characteristic of
459 VTI and VTA. In the case of VTI we have a typical final (/ -ht-/) and a thematic vowel (/ -
460 ê-/) in the case of SAP, or a suffix (/ -am-/) in the case of non-SAP agents, respectively,
461 which index a third person inanimate object. In the case of VTA the verb has affixes
462 indexing both participants and additionally indicates direction of action by way of a di-
463 rection marker (direct / -â-/ vs. inverse / -ikw-/). On the level of argument structure, VAI
464 are flexible as they can be both intransitive and transitive. What is more, when transitive,
465 their P can be either animate or inanimate. This is not the case of VTI or VTA. VTI verbs
466 can be intransitive as well but only for a very short list of verbs which were earlier tran-
467 sitive but whose object has now become generic, and their P argument when transitive
468 can only be inanimate. VTA verbs, on the other hand, can only have an animate agent
469 and an animate patient⁸, and cannot be used intransitively.

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

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

⁷Note 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.

⁸It 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.

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

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

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

	P		1SG		1PI		1PE		2SG		2PL		3SG		3PL		3' SG		3' PL		
A																					
VTA	1SG																				
	1PI																				
	1PE																				
	2SG																				
	2PL																				
	3SG																				
	3PL																				
3'																					
VTI	1SG																				
	1PI																				
	1PE																				
	2SG																				
	2PL																				
	3SG																				
	3PL																				
3'																					
VAI	1SG																				
	1PI																				
	1PE																				
	2SG																				
	2PL																				
	3SG																				
	3PL																				
3'																					
VII	1SG																				
	1PI																				
	1PE																				
	2SG																				
	2PL																				
	3SG																				
	3PL																				
3'																					

Table 6: Plains Cree Conjoint Order paradigms of VTA *wápanam-* “see s.o.,” VTI *wápaht-* “see sth,” VAI *wápisiksi-* “be white (+ANIM),” *pimipahitá-* “run,” VII *wápisiká-* “be white (-ANIM),” *miywásin* “be good,” *wápan* “be dawn” (based on [Wolfart, 1996](#))

		P				3 SG		3 PL	
A		1 SG	1 PI	I PE	2 SG	2 PL	3 SG	3 PL	3 PL
VTA	1 SG				<i>é-wápanam-it-án</i>	<i>é-wápanam-it-ako-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-ak</i>	<i>é-wápanam-ak-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-im-ak</i>
	1 PI						<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhko-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-im-á-yáhk</i>
	1 PE					<i>é-wápanam-it-áhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhko-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-im-á-yáhk</i>
	2 SG	<i>é-wápanam-i-yan</i>					<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhko-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-im-á-yáhk</i>
	2 PL	<i>é-wápanam-i-yéhk</i>					<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yáhko-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-im-á-yáhk</i>
	3 SG	<i>é-wápanam-i-t</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-isk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-(im)-á-t</i>
3 PL	<i>é-wápanam-i-č-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yáhko-k</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yáhk-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-isk-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-yéhk-k</i>		<i>é-wápanam-á-č-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-(im)-á-č-ik</i>	
3'	<i>é-wápanam-i-yi-t</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-wá-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-wá-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iy-isk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-wá-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-t</i>	<i>é-wápanam-iko-č-ik</i>	<i>é-wápanam-á-yi-t</i>	
								<i>é-wápanam-iko-yi-t</i>	
		P				3 SG		3 PL	
A		1 SG	1 PI	I PE	2 SG	2 PL	3 SG	3 PL	3 PL
VTI	1 SG						<i>é-wápaht-am-án</i>		
	1 PI						<i>é-wápaht-amahk</i>		
	1 PE						<i>é-wápaht-am-áhk</i>		
	2 SG						<i>é-wápaht-am-an</i>		
	2 PL						<i>é-wápaht-am-ék</i>		
	3 SG						<i>é-wápaht-am-ik</i>		
3 PL						<i>é-wápaht-am-ik-ik</i>			
3'						<i>é-wápaht-am-yi-t</i>			
VAI	<i>é-wápisiksi-yán</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yan</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-t</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-č-ik</i>	<i>é-wápisiksi-yi-t</i>
	<i>é-pimipahitá-yán</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yáhk</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yáhk</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yáhk</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yan</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yéhk</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-t</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-č-ik</i>	<i>é-pimipahitá-yi-t</i>
VII	<i>é-wápisiká-yán</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yáhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yan</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yéhk</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-t</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-č-ik</i>	<i>é-wápisiká-yi-t</i>
	<i>é-miywásin-yán</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yáhk</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yáhk</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yáhk</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yan</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yéhk</i>	<i>é-miywásin-t</i>	<i>é-miywásin-č-ik</i>	<i>é-miywásin-yi-t</i>