CREE VERB PARADIGMS

<u>Note</u>: These paradigms are made to accompany the three volumes of *Spoken Cree*. They consist of a revised and updated (2015) version of :

> Ellis, C. D. (1971) Cree Verb Paradigms. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. Vol. 37, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), pp. 76-95.
> > http://www.jstor.org/stable/1264642

The notation is the one used in the three volumes of *Spoken Cree* and thus slightly differs from the 1971 version.

The tables use the following notation[1]:

- underlined '<u>w</u>' in Table 1 and 24 is used to represent an alternation between /w/ and zero, conditioned by factors not yet fully understood.
- ẃ indicates dropping of final, postconsonantal /w/ in Moose and West Coast of James Bay Cree. It is still heard in postconsonantal final position in certain dialects of East (i.e Quebec) Cree.
- ᴸ indicates lengthening of a preceding vowel which is not already long. In all cases presented here, the suffix consists of -oᴸ... If a stem ends in a vowel, the initial /o/ of the suffix drops, and the short vowel of the stem lengthens: api-oᴸpan → apîpan *he sat.* If a stem ends in /n/, the o is lengthened: pahkišin- +...oᴸpan → pahkišinôpan *he fell.*
- ι indicates a morpheme-initial /i/ that does not cause mutation of a preceding /t/[2]. (Mutation means that /t/ becomes c /tʃ/ or š /ʃ/. This /i/, from Proto Algonquian *ĕ, is normally spelled i. (It was written e in the 1971 paper).
- ~ indicates that no connective /i/ will be used between two consonnants and that instead a /t/ will be replaced by /s/, i**t**-pahtâw → i**s**pahtâw *he so runs*, and an /n/ by /h/, milwaši**n**~k → milwaši**h**k *that it be good*.

- Abbreviations for person, gender and number combinations:
  - 0   inanimate singular proximate,
  - 0'   inanimate singular obviative,
  - 0p   inanimate plural proximate
  - 0'   inanimate plural obviative
  - 1   animate local first person singular,

1p	animate local first person plural (excluding addressee)	
21	animate local first person plural (including addressee)	
2	animate local second person singular,	
2p	animate local second person plural	
3	animate singular proximate,	
3'	animate nearer obviative, number indifferent	
3p	animate plural proximate	
indf	animate indefinite	

General Organisational Scheme of the Cree Verb

The following diagram (adapted from Ellis, 1971) presents the general organisational scheme of the Cree verb. Certain restrictions, for example, that VII verbs have no imperative forms, are not shown.

TYPE	Intransitive:	Animate Intransitive (VAI)
		Inanimate Intransitive (VII)
	Transitive:	Transitive Animate (VTA)
		Transitive Inanimate (VTI)

ORDER	MODE	TENSE	SUBMODE	INFLECTION (VAI, VTI only)
Independent	Indicative	Neutral ⨯ Preterit		Relational Nonrelational
	Dubitative	Neutral ⨯ Preterit		Relational Nonrelational
Conjunct	Indicative	Neutral ⨯ Preterit	Simple ⨯ Changed	Relational Nonrelational
	Subjunctive	Neutral ⨯	Simple Changed ⨯	Relational Nonrelational
	Dubitative	Neutral ⨯ Preterit	Simple ⨯ Changed	Relational Nonrelational
Imperative		Immediate (Present) ⨯ Delayed (Future)		Relational Nonrelational

Initial Change rules: (C=consonant)

UNCHANGED FORM	CHANGED FORM
Ci-	Cē-
Ca-	Cē-
Co-	Cwē-
Cī-	Cā-
Cē-	Ciyē-
Cā-	Ciyā-, Cēyā-
Cō-	Cwā-

For information about specific stem rule combinations, please refer to the (1971) article.

TABLE 1. AI INDEPENDENT

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1, 2	-n	-htay	-nâtok<u>w</u>ê	-nâkopan
indf	-(nâ)niwanw	-(nâ)niwanôpan	-(nâ)niwanôtok<u>w</u>ê	-(nâ)niwanokopan
1p	-nân	-htân	-nânâtok<u>w</u>ê	-nânâkopan
21	-nânaw	-htânaw		
2p	-nâwâw	-htâwâw	-nâwâtok<u>w</u>ê	-nâwâkopan
3	-w	-oᴸpan	-oᴸtok<u>w</u>ê	-okopan
3p	-wak	-oᴸpanik[3]	-oᴸtok<u>w</u>ênak	-owâkopan
3'	-ɬiwah[1]	-ɬîpanih[4]	-ɬîtok<u>w</u>ê	-ɬikopan

TABLE 2. AI CONJUNCT
For the subjunctive add -ê and for the iterative add -i[5] to the forms in the leftmost column. For 3p and 3' add -ê or -i after the alternatives in square brackets.

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1	-(y)ân	-(y)âpân	-wânê	-wâpânê
2	-(y)an	-(y)apan	-wanê	-wapanê
indf	-(nâ)niwahk	-(nâ)niwahkɩpan	-(nâ)niwanokwê	-(nâ)niwanokopanê
1p	-(y)âhk	-(y)âhkɩpan	-wâhkwê	-wâhkɩpanê
21	-(y)ahkw	-(y)ahkopan	-wahkwê	-wahkopanê
2p	-(y)êkw	-(y)êkopan	-wêkwê	-wêkopanê
3	-t, ~k	-span, ~kɩpan	-okwê	-okopanê
3p	-cik, ~kik [-twâw-, ~kwâw-]	-wâspan, ~kwâpan	-owâkwê	-owâkopanê
3'	-ɩicih [-ɩit-]	-ɩispan(ah)	-ɩik̲wê	-ɩikopanê

TABLE 3. AI IMPERATIVE
For the subjunctive add -ê and for the iterative add -i[5] to the forms in the leftmost column.

	IMMEDIATE	DELAYED
21	-tâ(k), -tâw	*(use immediate form)*
2	-y	-oᴸhkan
2p	-k	-oᴸhkêk̲w

TABLE 4. THE II VERB

For the subjunctive add -ê and for the iterative add -i[5] to the conjunct neutral endings. The two endings in square brackets appear in this case for 0p and 0'p.

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
Independent				
0	-w	-(oᴸ)pan	-oᴸtokw̲ê	-okopan
0p	-wah	-(oᴸ)panih[6]	-oᴸtokw̲ênah	-owâkopan, -okopanih[6]
0'	-ɩiw	-ɩîpan	-ɩîtokw̲ê	-ɩikopan
0'p	-ɩiwah	-ɩîpanih[6]	-ɩîtokw̲ênah	-ɩiwâkopan, -ɩikopanih[6]
Conjunct				
0	~k	~kɩpan	-okwê	-okopanê
0p	~kih [~kwâw-]	~kwâpan	-owâkw̲ê	-owâkopanê
0'	-ɩik	-ɩikɩpan	-ɩikwê	-ɩikopanê
0'p	-ɩikih [-ɩikwâw-]	-ɩikwâpan	-ɩiwâkwê	-ɩikowâkopanê

TABLE 5. TA Independent Indicative (Direct)

	-3	-3p	-3'
indf-, 1-, 2-	-âw	-âwak	-ımâwah
1p-	-ânân	-ânânak	-ımânâna(h) -ımânânih[6]
21-	-ânaw	-ânawak	-ımânawa(h)
2p-	-âwâw	-âwâwak	-ımâwâwa(h)

	-3'	-3''
3-	-êw	-ımêw
3p-	-êwak	-ımêwak
3'-		-êliwah

TABLE 6. TA Independent Indicative (Inverse)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1, -2	-ıkw	-ıkwak	-ıkoliwah	-ıkon	-ıkawin
-1p	-ıkonân	-ıkonânak	-ıkonânah	-ıkonân	-ıkawinân
-21	-ıkonaw	-ıkonawak	-ıkonawah	-ıkonânaw	-ıkawinânaw
-2p	-ıkowâw	-ıkowâwak	-ıkowâwah	-ıkonâwâw	-ıkawinâwâw

	3'-, 0'-	3''-, 0''-
-3	-ıkow	
-3p	-ıkowak	
-3'		-ıkoliwah

TABLE 7. TA Independent Indicative (Local)

1-2	-ıtin	*2-1*	-in
1p-2	-ıtinân	*2-1p*	-inân
1(p)-2p	-ıtinâwâw	*2p-1(p)*	-inâwâw

TABLE 8. TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE PRETERIT (DIRECT)

	-3	-3p	-3'
indf-, 1-, 2-	-âhtay	-âhtayak	-ɩmâhtay(a)
1p-	-âhtân	-âhtânânak	-ɩmâhtâna
21-	-âhtânaw	-âhtânawak	-ɩmâhtânawa
2p-	-âhtâwâw	-âhtâwâwak	-ɩmâhtâwâwa

	-3'	-3''
3-	-êpan	-ɩmêpan
3p-	-êpanik	-ɩmêpanik
3'-		-êlîpanih[6]

TABLE 9. TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE PRETERIT (INVERSE)

	3-, 0-	3p-	3'-	*indf-*
-1, -2	-ɩkohtay	-ɩkohtayak	-ɩkolihtay	-ɩkawihtay
-1p	-ɩkohtân	-ɩkohtânânak	-ɩkolihtân	-ɩkawihtân
-21	-ɩkohtânaw	-ɩkohtânawak	-ɩkolihtânaw	-ɩkawihtânaw
-2p	-ɩkohtâwâw	-ɩkohtâwâwak	-ɩkolihtâwâw	-ɩkawihtâwâw

	3'-, 0'-	3''-, 0''-
-3	-ɩkôpan	
-3p	-ɩkôpanik	
-3'		-ɩkolîpanih[6]

TABLE 10. TA INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE PRETERIT (LOCAL)

1>2	-ɩtihtay	*2>1*	-ihtay
1p>2	-ɩtihtân	*2>1p*	-ihtân
1(p)>2p	-ɩtihtâwâw	*2p>1(p)*	-ihtâwâw

TABLE 11. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE (DIRECT)

	-3	-3p	-3′
indf-, 1-, 2-	-âtokwê	-âtokwênak	-ᵻmâtokwê
1p-	-ânânâtokwê	-ânânâtokwênak	-ᵻmânânâtokwê
21-	-ânâtokwê	-ânâtokwênak	-ᵻmânâtokwê
2p-	-âwâtokwê	-âwâtokwênak	-ᵻmâwâtokwê
	-3′	-3″	
3-	-êtokwê	-ᵻmêtokwê	
3p-	-êtokwênak	-ᵻmêtokwênak	
3′-		-ᵻmêlîtokwê	

TABLE 12. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE (INVERSE)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1, -2	-ıkotokwê[1]	-ıkotokwênak	-ıkolîtokwê	-ıkonâtokwê	-ıkawinâtokwê
-1p, -21	-ıkonânâtokwê	-ıkonânâtokwênak	-ıkonânâtokwê	-ıkonânâtokwê	-ıkawinânâtokwê
-2p	-ıkowâtokwê	-ıkowâtokwênak	-ıkowâwâtokwê	-ıkonâwâtokwê	-ıkawinâwâtokwê
	3'-, 0'-	*3''-, 0''-*			
-3	-ıkotokwê				
-3p	-ıkotokwênak				
-3'		-ıkolîtokwê			

TABLE 13. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE (LOCAL)

1-2	-ɪtinâtokwê	*2-1*	-inâtokwê
1p-2	-ɪtinânâtokwê	*2-1p*	-inânâtokwê
1(p)-2p	-ɪtinâwâtokwê	*2p-1(p)*	-inâwâtokwê

TABLE 14. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (DIRECT)

	-3	*-3p*	*-3'*
indf-, 1-, 2-	-âkopan	-âkopanak	-ɪmâkopan
1p-	-ânânâkopan	-ânânâkopanak	-ɪmânânâkopan
21-	-ânâkopan	-ânâkopanak	-ɪmânâkopan
2p-	-âwâkopan	-âwâkopanak	-ɪmâwâkopan

	-3'	*-3''*
3-	-êkopan	-ɪmêkopan
3p-	-êwâkopan	-ɪmêwâkopan
3'-		-ɪmêlikopan

TABLE 15. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (INVERSE)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1, -2	-ıkokopan	-ıkokopanak	-ılıkokopan	-ıkonâkopan	-ıkawinâkopan
-1p	-ıkonânâkopan	-ıkonânâkopanak	-ılıkonânâkopan	-ıkonânâkopan	-ıkawinânâkopan
-21	-ıkonâkopan	-ıkonâkopanak	-ılıkonâkopan		
-2p	-ıkowâkopan	-ıkowâkopanak	-ılıkowâkopan	-ıkonâwâkopan	-ıkawinâwâkopan
	3'-, 0'-	*3'', 0''-*			
-3	-ıkokopan				
-3p	-ıkowâkopan				
-3'		-ıkolikopan			

TABLE 16. TA INDEPENDENT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (LOCAL)

1-2	-ɩtinâkopan	2-1	-inâkopan
1p-2	-ɩtinânâkopan	2-1p	-inânâkopan
1(p)-2p	-ɩtinâwâkopan	2p-1(p)	-inâwâkopan

TABLE 17. TA CONJUNCT INDICATIVE (DIRECT)

	-3	*-3p*	*-3'*
1-	-ak	-akik	-ɩmakih
2-	-at	-acik	-ɩmacih
indf-	-ɩht	-ɩhcik	-ɩmɩhcih
1p-	-akiht	-akihcik	-ɩmakihcih
21-	-ahkw	-ahkok	-ɩmahkoh
2p-	-êkw	-êkok	-ɩmêkoh

	-3'	*-3''*
3-	-ât	-ɩmât
3p-	-âcik	-ɩmâcik
3'-		-âlicih

TABLE 18. TA CONJUNCT INDICATIVE (INVERSE)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1	-it	-icik	-ɩmicih	-ɩkoyân	-ɩkawiyân
-2	-ɩsk	-ɩskik	-ɩmɩskih	-ɩkoyan, ɩkoyin	-ɩkawiyan, ɩkawiyin
-1p	-iyamiht	-iyamihcik	-(ɩm)iyamihcih	-ɩkoyâhk	-ɩkawiyâhk
-21	-ɩtahkw	-ɩtahkok	-ɩmɩtahkoh	-ɩkoyahkw	-ɩkawiyahkẇ
-2p	-ɩtâkw	-ɩtâkok	-ɩmɩtâkoh	-ɩkoyêkw	-ɩkawiyêkẇ

	3'-, 0'-	3''-, 0''-
-3	-ɩkot	
-3p	-ɩkocik	
-3'		-ɩkolicih

TABLE 19. TA CONJUNCT INDICATIVE (LOCAL)

1-2	-ɩtân	*2-1*	-iyan
1p-2	-ɩtâhk	*2-1p*	-iyâhk
1(p)-2p	-ɩtakok	*2p-1(p)*	-iyêkẇ

TABLE 20. TA Conjunct Indicative Preterit (Direct)

	-3	*-3p*	*-3'*
1-	-akɪpan	-akwâpan	-ɪmakɪpan
2-	-atɪpan	-atwâpan	-ɪmatɪpan
indf-	-ɪhtɪpan	-ɪhtwâpan	-ɪmɪhtɪpan
1p-	-akihtɪpan	-akihtwâpan	-ɪmakihtɪpan
21-	-ahkopan	-ahkwâpan	-ɪmahkopan
2p-	-êkopan	-êkwâpan	-ɪmêkopan

	-3'	*-3''*
3-	-âspan	-ɪmâspan
3p-	-âwâspan	-ɪmâwâspan
3'-		-âlispan

Table 21. TA Conjunct Indicative Preterit (Inverse)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1	-ıspan	-iwâspan	-umispan	-ıkoyâpân	-ıkawiyâpân
-2	-ıskıpan	-ıskwâpan	-umıskıpan	-ıkoyapan	-ıkawiyapan
-1p	-iyamihtıpan	-iyamihtwâpan	-(um)iyamihtıpan	-ıkoyâhkıpan	-ıkawiyâhkıpan
-21	-ıtahkopan	-ıtahkwâpan	-umıtahkopan	-ıkoyahkopan	-ıkawiyahkopan
-2p	-ıtâkopan	-ıtâkwâpan	-umıtâkopan	-ıkoyêkopan	-ıkawiyêkopan
	3', 0'-	3'', 0''-			
-3	-ıkospan				
-3p	-ıkowâspan				
-3'	-ıkolispan(ah)				

Table 22. TA Conjunct Indicative Preterit (Local)

1-2	-ıtâpân	*2-1*	-iyapan
1p-2	-ıtâhkıpan	*2-1p*	-iyâhkıpan
1(p)-2p	-ıtakokıpan	*2p-1(p)*	-iyêkopan

TABLE 23. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE (DIRECT)

	-3	-3p	-3′
1-	-âwakᴡê	-âwakᴡênak	-ɪmâwakᴡê
2-	-âwatê	-âwatênak	-ɪmâwatê
indf-	-âwɪhtê	-âwɪhtênak	-ɪmâwɪhtê
1p-	-âwakihtê	-âwakihtênak	-ɪmâwakihtê
21-	-âwahkwê	-âwahkwênak	-ɪmâwahkwê
2p-	-êwêkwê	-êwêkwênak	-ɪmêwêkwê

	-3′	-3″
3-	-âkwê	-ɪmâkwê
3p-	-âwâkwê	-ɪmâwâkwê
3′-		-âlikwê

TABLE 24. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE (INVERSE)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1	-ıkwê	-iwâkwê	-ımikwê	-ıkowânê	-ıkawiwânê
-2	-ıskwê, -ıskôkwê	-ıskowâkwê,	-ımıskokwê	-ıkowanê	-ıkawiwanê
-1p	-iyamihtê[1], -iyamihtwê	-iyamihtênak, -iyamihtwênak	-ımiyamihtwê	-ıkowâhkwê	-ıkawiwâhkwê
-21	-ıtahkwê, -ıtahkokwê	-ıtahkokwênak, -ıtahkowâkwê	-ımtahkwê, -ımtahkokwê	-ıkowahkwê	-ıkawiwahkwê
-2p	-ıtâkokwê, -ıtâkowêkwê	-ıtâkokwênak, -ıtâkowâkwê	-ımtâkwê	-ıkowêkwê	-ıkawiwêkwê

	3', 0'-	3'', 0'-
-3	-ıkokwê	
-3p	-ıkowâkwê	
-3'		-ıkolikwê

TABLE 25. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE (LOCAL)

1-2	-ıtiwânê, -ıtâwânê		*2-1*	-iwânê
1p-2	-ıtiwâhkwê, -ıtâwâhkwê		*2-1p*	-iwâhkwê
1(p)-2p	-ıtakokwâwê[7]		*2p-1(p)*	-iwêkwê

TABLE 26. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (DIRECT)

	-3	*-3p*	*-3'*
1-	-âwakɪpanê	-âwakɪpanênak	-ɪmâwakɪpanê
2-	-âwatɪpanê	-âwatɪpanênak	-ɪmâwatɪpanê
indf-	-âwɪhtɪpanê	-âwɪhtɪpanênak	-ɪmâwɪhtɪpanê
1p-	-âwakihtɪpanê	-âwakihtɪpanênak	-ɪmâwakihtɪpanê
21-	-âwahkopanê	-âwahkopanênak	-ɪmâwahkopanê
2p-	-êwêkopanê	-êwêkopanênak	-ɪmêwêkopanê

	-3'	*-3''*
3-	-âkopanê	-ɪmâkopanê
3p-	-âwâkopanê	-ɪmâwâkopanê
3'-		-âlikopanê

TABLE 27. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (INVERSE)

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1	-ikopanê	-iwâkopanê	-umikopanê	-ikowâpânê	-ikawiwâpânê
-2	-uskokopanê	-uskowâkopanê	-umskokopanê	-ukowapanê	-ikawiwapanê
-1p	-iyamihtupanê	-iyamihtupanênak	-umiyamihtupanê	-ikowâhkopanê	-ikawiwâhkopanê
-21	-ttowahkopanê, -ttahkokopanê[1]	-ttowahkopanênak -ttahkokopanênak	-umttowahkopanê -umttahkokopanê	-ukowahkopanê	-ikawiwahkopanê
-2p	-ttâkokopanê	-ttâkokopanênak	-umttâkokopanê	-ukowêkopanê	-ikawiwêkopanê
	3', 0'-	3'', 0''-			
-3	-ukokopanê				
-3p	-ukowâkokopanê				
-3'		-ukolikopanê			

TABLE 28. TA CONJUNCT DUBITATIVE PRETERIT (LOCAL)

1-2	-ɪtâwâpânê	*2-1*	-iwapanê
1p-2	-ɪtâwâhkopanê, -ɪtiwâhkopanê	*2-1p*	-iwâhkopanê[8]
1(p)-2p	-ɪtakokopanê, ɪtɪwâkopanê	*2p-1(p)*	-iwêkopanê

TABLE 29. TA CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE AND ITERATIVE (DIRECT)
The completed endings add -ê for the subjunctive or -i[5] for the iterative to the suffixes below.

	-3	*-3p*	*-3'*
1-	-ak-	-akwâw-	-emak-
2-	-at-	-atwâw-	-emat-
indf-	-ɪht-	-ɪhtwâw-	-ɪmɪht-
1p-	-akiht-	-akihtwâw-	-ɪmakiht-
21-	-ahkw-	-ahkwâw-	-ɪmahkw-
2p-	-êkw-	-êkwâw-	-ɪmêkw-
	-3'	*-3''*	
3-	-ât-	-ɪmât-	
3p-	-âtwâw-	-ɪmâtwâw-	
3'-		-âlit-	

TABLE 30. TA CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE AND ITERATIVE (INVERSE)

The completed endings add -ê or -i[5] to the below.

	3-	3p-	3'-	0-	indf-
-1	-it-	-itwâw-	-ɪmit-	-ɪkoyân-	-ɪkawiyân-
-2	-ɪsk-	-ɪskwâw-	-ɪmɪsk-	-ɪkoyan-, -ɪkoyin-	-ɪkawiyan-, -ɪkawiyin-
-1p	-iyamiht-	-iyamihtwâw-	-ɪmiyamiht-	-ɪkoyâhk-	-ɪkawiyâhk-
-21	-ɪtahkw-	-ɪtahkwâw-	-ɪmɪtahkw-	-ɪkoyahkw-	-ɪkawiyahkw-
-2p	-ɪtâkw-	-ɪtâkwâw-	-ɪmɪtâkw-	-ɪkoyêkw-	-ɪkawiyêkw-
3'-, 0'-		3''-, 0''-			
-3	-ɪkot-				
-3p	-ɪkotwâw-				
-3'	-ɪkolit-				

TABLE 31. TA CONJUNCT SUBJUNCTIVE AND ITERATIVE (LOCAL)

1-2	-ɪtân-		*2-1*	-iyan-
1p-2	-ɪtâhkw̵-		*2-1p*	-iyâhk-
1(p)-2p	-ɪtakokw̵- -ɪtahkwâw-(?)		*2p-1(p)*	-iyêkw̵-

TABLE 32. TA IMPERATIVE

	-1	*-1p*	*-3*	*-3p*	*-3′*
			Immediate		
21-			-âtâ(w)	-âtânak	-ɩmâtânah
2-	-n	-nân	-y	-k	-(ɩ)m
2p-	-k	-nân	-ɩhkw̸	-ɩhkok	-ɩmâhk
			Delayed		
21-			-âhkahk *(or use immediate)*[9]	-âhkanîhk *(or use immediate)*[9]	-ɩmâhkahk -ɩmâtâ
2-	îhkan	*(use immediate form)*	-âhkan	-âhkanik	-ɩmâhkan
2p-	îhkêk	*(use immediate form)*	-âhkêkw̸	-âhkêkwânak	-ɩmâhkêkw̸

TABLE 33. TI INDEPENDENT

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1, 2	-ên	-êhtay	-ênâtokwê	-ênâkopan
1p	-ênân	-êhtân	-ênânâtokwê	-ênânâkopan
21	-ênânaw	-êhtânaw		
2p	-ênâwâw	-êhtâwâw	-ênâwâtokwê	-ênâwâkopan
3	-amw̵	-amôpan	-amôtokwê	-amokopan
3p	-amwak	-amôpanik[3]	-amôtokwênak	-amwâkopan
3'	-amɪliwah	-amɪlîpanah	-amɪlîtokwê	-amɪlikopan

TABLE 34. TI CONJUNCT
The subjunctive and iterative add respectively -ê and -i[5] to the forms in the leftmost column, except that for *3'* these are added to -amɪlit-.

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1	-amân	-amâpân	-amowânê	-amowâpânê
2	-aman	-amapan	-amowanê	-amowapanê
1p	-amâhk	-amâhkɪpan	-amowâhkwê	-amowâhkopanê
21	-amahkw̵	-amahkopan	-amowahkwê	-amowahkopanê
2p	-amêkw̵	-amêkopan	-amowêkwê	-amowêkopanê
3	-ahk	-ahkɪpan	-amokwê	-amokopanê
3p	-ahkik	-ahkwâpan	-amwâkwê	-amwâkopanê
3'	-amɪlicih [-amɪlit-]	-amɪlispanah	-amɪlikwê	-amɪlikopanê

TABLE 35. TI IMPERATIVE

	IMMEDIATE	DELAYED
21	-êtâ(k)	*(use immediate form)*
2	-ah	-amôhkan
2p	-amok	-amôhkêk

Relational Inflection: An AI stem adds '...w... while a TI stem adds -'...amw...', then the endings on the relational inflection tables below. [10]

TABLE 36. RELATIONAL INFLECTION (INDEPENDENT)

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1,2	-ân	-âhtay	-ânâtok̲w̲ê	-ânâkopan
indf	-ân	-ânâpan		
1p	-ânân	-âhtân	-ânânâtok̲w̲ê	-ânânâkopan
21	-ânânaw	-âhtân(ân)aw		
2p	-ânâwâw	-âhtâwâw	-ânâwâtok̲w̲ê	-ânâwâkopan
3	-êw	-êpan	-êtok̲w̲ê	-êkopan
3p	-êwak	-êpanîk	-êtok̲w̲ênak	-êwâkopan

TABLE 37. RELATIONAL INFLECTION (CONJUNCT)
The subjunctive and iterative add respectively -ê and -i[5] to the forms in the leftmost column. In the *3p* they are added to -âtwâw- instead of to -âcik.

	INDICATIVE		DUBITATIVE	
	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT	NEUTRAL	PRETERIT
1	-ak	-akɪpan	-âwakê	-âwakɪpanê
2	-at	-atɪpan	-âwatê	-âwatɪpanê
indf-	-ɪht	-ɪhtɪpan	-âwɪhtê	-âwɪhtɪpanê
1p	-akiht	-akihtɪpan	-âwakihtê	-âwakihtɪpanê
21	-ahkw̓	-ahkopan	-âwahkwê	-âwahkopanê
2p	-êkw̓	-êkopan	-âwêkwê	-âwêkopanê
3	-ât	-âspan	-âkwê	-âkopanê
3p	-âcik [-âtwâw-]	-âwâspan	-âwâkwê	-âwâkopanê
3'	*(missing)*	*(missing)*	-âlikwê	-âlikopanê(?)

TABLE 38. RELATIONAL INFLECTION (IMPERATIVE)

	IMMEDIATE	DELAYED
21	-âtâ(k)	*(use immediate form)*
2	-y	-âhkan
2p	-âhk	âhkêkw̶

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[1] Change of notation:
- The 1971 version used the old American Phonetic Notation. We use instead the International phonetic alphabet (IPA) notation, and also give the spelling in brackets.
- θ was used in the 1971 publication for /t/'s that mutate to /ʃ/ (š). Thus, the stem of têpwâ**t**êw *he calls out to him* is tepwaθ-, but: ki-tepwaθ-in → kitêpwâ**š**in *thou callest out to me*.
- e was used the in 1971 publication for where ɪ is now used.

The paradigms now reflect the text of the *âtalôhkâna* and *Spoken Cree*.

[2] Historical note:
Cree /t/ has two sources in PA: */t/ and*/θ/. Similarly, Cree /i/ represents a coalescence of */i/ and */e/.
Where one of the first two is **followed** by one of the second two, the phonemic results differ:
*/ti/ yields / tʃi/ (ci), */ θi/ yields /ʃi/ (ši), */te, θe/ yield/ti/.
*/t/ also appears as /tʃ/ (c), and */θ/ as/ʃ/ (š), **before** Cree or PA /ī/ and /j/ (y). For example: wâpamât *that he see him* is -â-t, but wâpamâ**t**-ik → wâpamâ**c**ik *that they see him*. Elsewhere both appear as /t/. Replacement by affricate or spirant is MUTATION.

[3] *3p -ᵒᴸpanik (Table 1) and -amôpanik (Table 33) are characteristic of the Fort Albany Kashechewan area. They are replaced at Moose by -ᵒᴸpanak and -amôpanak respectively.

[4] Similarly, -ɪlîpanih is often replaced at Moose by -ɪlîpana. The form can also be -ɪlîpanî or just -ɪlîpani since î is often shortened by various speakers as just /i/.

[5] Historically the iterative adds -h preceded by a connective -i . The -h disappears and /i/ becomes the mark of the iterative in the spoken language.

[6] With some speakers a carry over of voicing from /i/ to /h/ results in phonetic manifestation of /ih/ as [î].

[7] The form ɩtakowêkwê has also surfaced. Whether this is acceptable usage is uncertain.

[8] This form was noted -iwâhkipanê (with i instead of o) in the original paradigms. The o was however confirmed with two later informants. It remains puzzling that one of them also gave -wâhkipanê for the AI Conj. Dub. Pret. 1p.

[9] Both L and N speakers tend to use the Immediate Imperative forms instead of the Delayed for 21-3, 21-3p and even sometimes 21-3'.

[10] AI -ê stems retain the /ê/ instead of replacing it by â. After stem-final /n/ connective /i/ is inserted, contrary to the general custom between a consonant and /w/.