

Infrequent morphosyntactic phenomena in Plains Cree

Bloomfield's text collections and the Ahenakew-
Wolfart corpus

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Katherine Schmirler
University of Alberta

In this presentation...

- Infrequent phenomena in an expanded corpus of Plains Cree: How has the use of archaic features/minor paradigms changed in frequency over time?
 - Different frequencies in different time periods have been previously noted, with statistical analysis to be left for future research (e.g. Wolfart, 1973, 1996)
- For those phenomena that have an easily-identified alternative strategy, how do relative frequencies change over time?
 - As an archaic feature becomes less frequent, does an alternative strategy become more frequent?

Phenomena under consideration

- Initial change
 - Alternative strategy: changed conjunct preverbs (here, just \hat{e} -)
- Dubitative suffixes
 - Alternative strategy: dubitative particles
- *h-* / *ht-* preterits
 - Alternative strategy: tense preverb (here, just $k\hat{i}$ -)
- Relational
- Inanimate actor
- Further obviative

But first, a quick look at the corpus...

Overview of the texts: tokens/types

- Bloomfield: texts collected in 1925
 - *Sacred Stories of the Sweetgrass Cree* (Bloomfield, 1930), *Plains Cree Texts* (1934)
 - 109,962 tokens (15,282 types)
 - 72,246 Cree tokens (15,190 types)
- Ahenakew-Wolfart (A-W): texts collected ~1980s-1990s
 - Ahenakew (2000), Bear et al. (1992), Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw (1998), Masuskapoe (2010), Minde (1997), Vandall and Douquette (1987), Whitecalf (1993)
 - 138,968 tokens (20,698 types)
 - 81,515 Cree tokens (18,972 types)

Overview of the texts: analysis & validation

- Automatic analysis using FST tools (e.g. Harrigan et al., 2017)
- Validation of automatic analyses
 - Bloomfield: normative analysis spot-checked, descriptive analysis manually validated
 - Normative analysis covered 94,824 tokens, 90.96% (11,506 types, 76.07%)
 - Descriptive analysis for remaining 9,421 tokens (3,620 types)
 - Many thanks to H.C. Wolfart and Kevin Russell for the digitized xml files with morphological analyses!
 - A-W: all forms manually validated, ongoing corrections/addition of missing analyses

Overview of the texts: word classes

Bloomfield texts					Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus				
	Tokens	% of Cree	Types	% of Cree		Tokens	% of Cree	Types	% of Cree
Verbs	28271	39.13%	12405	81.67%	Verbs	20653	25.34%	12859	67.78%
Nouns	13703	18.97%	1958	12.89%	Nouns	11435	14.03%	2208	11.64%
Pronouns	5503	7.62%	56	0.37%	Pronouns	8327	10.22%	128	0.67%
Particles	24731	34.23%	785	5.17%	Particles	38060	46.69%	1060	5.59%

Initial Change

& ê-

2 sêpwêhtêtwâwi	IC+sipwêhtêw+V+AI+Fut+Cnj+3Pl+Morph
2 mêstohtêtwâwi	IC+mostohtêw+V+AI+Fut+Cond+3Pl+Morph
2 kêskêyih taman	IC+kiskêyih tam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+2Sg+Morph
1 êy-ayâwak[i	IC+RdplW+ayâwêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+1Sg+3SgO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 êtâc[i	IC+itêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+3Sg+4Sg/PlO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 êtohtatâtwâw[i	IC+itohtatâw+V+TI+Fut+Cond+3Pl+Err/Orth+Morph
1 êtikawiyâhk[i	IC+itêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+X+1PlO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 êsinâkwaniyik	IC+isinâkwan+V+II+Cnj+Prs+4Sg+Morph
1 êsi-kîhcêkosîkwê	IC+PV/isi+kîhcêkosîw+V+AI+Cnj+Dub+3Sg+Morph
1 ês-âyâyit	IC+PV/isi+ayâw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+Err/Orth+Morph
1 wêyawîtwâwi	IC+wayawîw+V+AI+Fut+Cond+3Pl+Morph
1 wêtinak	IC+otinêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+1Sg+3SgO
1 wêtawâsimisit	IC+otawâsimisiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+3Sg+Morph
1 wêhtaskatiskik	IC+ohtaskatêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+3Pl+2SgO+Morph
1 wê-wawêyît	IC+RdplW+wawêyîw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+3Sg+Morph
1 wiyîhtamâkoci	IC+wîhtamawêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+4Sg/Pl+3SgO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 wiyâpamâyahk[i	IC+wâpamêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+12Pl+3SgO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 wiyâpamak[i	IC+wâpamêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+1Sg+3SgO+Err/Orth+Morph
1 wiyâpahki	IC+wâpan+V+II+Fut+Cond+3Sg+Morph
1 wiyâpahk	IC+wâpan+V+II+Conj+3Sg+Morph
1 tiyôtamahk	IC+tôtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+12Pl+Morph
1 tiyôtahkwâwi	IC+tôtam+V+TI+Fut+Cond+3Pl+Morph
1 tiyêpwâtikawiyâni	IC+têpwâtêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+X+1SgO+Morph
1 tiyêhtapiyân	IC+têhtapiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+1Sg+Morph
1 pêmohêtêtwâwi	IC+pimohêtêw+V+AI+Fut+Cond+3Pl+Morph

Initial change & ê-

Bloomfield texts				Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus			
	Tokens	% of verbs	% of Cnj/Cond		Tokens	% of verbs	% of Cnj/Cond
IC	378	1.34%	3.02%	IC	70	0.33%	0.49%
			% of IC				% of IC
IC-Cnj	196	0.69%	51.85%	IC-Cnj	22	0.11%	31.43%
IC-Cond	182	0.64%	48.15%	IC-Cond	48	0.23%	68.57%
			% of Cnj				% of Cnj
ê-	7974	28.21%	67.54%	ê-	9063	43.26%	64.11%
Other	3640	12.88%	30.83%	Other	5070	24.20%	35.87%

Initial change & \hat{e} -

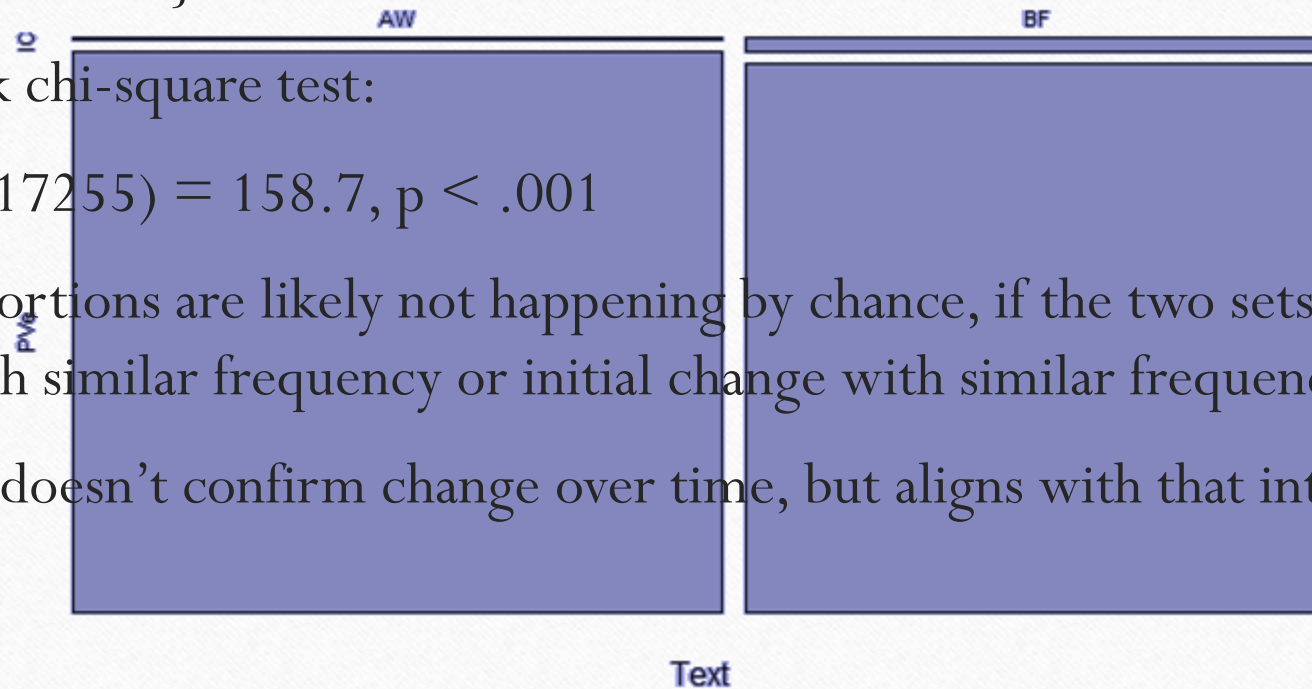
- Looking just at conjunct verbs...

- And a quick chi-square test:

- $\chi^2 (1, N = 17255) = 158.7, p < .001$

- These proportions are likely not happening by chance, if the two sets of texts were using \hat{e} - with similar frequency or initial change with similar frequency...

- ... but this doesn't confirm change over time, but aligns with that interpretation



Dubitative suffixes

& Dubitative particles

2 nôhtêhkatêtokê	nôhtêhkatêw+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Sg
2 kinêstosinâtokê	nêstosiw+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Dub+2Sg nêst
1 wêkimâwikwê	IC+okimâwiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+Dub+3Sg
1 nêpêwisitokê	nêpêwisiw+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Sg
1 nipêhikawinâtokê	pêhêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+X+1SgO+Dub
1 kîsêyihtamôtokê	kîsêyihtam+V+TI+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Sg
1 kî-ôh-pimâtisiwakwê	PV/oh+pimâtisiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prt
1 kê-kawacikwê	PV/ke+kawaciw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+Dub+3Sg
1 kitimâkisitokênik	kitimâkisiw+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Pl
1 kaskêyihtamôtokênik	kaskêyihtam+V+TI+Ind+Prs+Dub
1 iyây-ihkinokwê	IC+RdplS+ihkin+V+II+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Sg
1 ayâtokênik	ayâw+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Dub+3Pl ayâw+V+TI+In

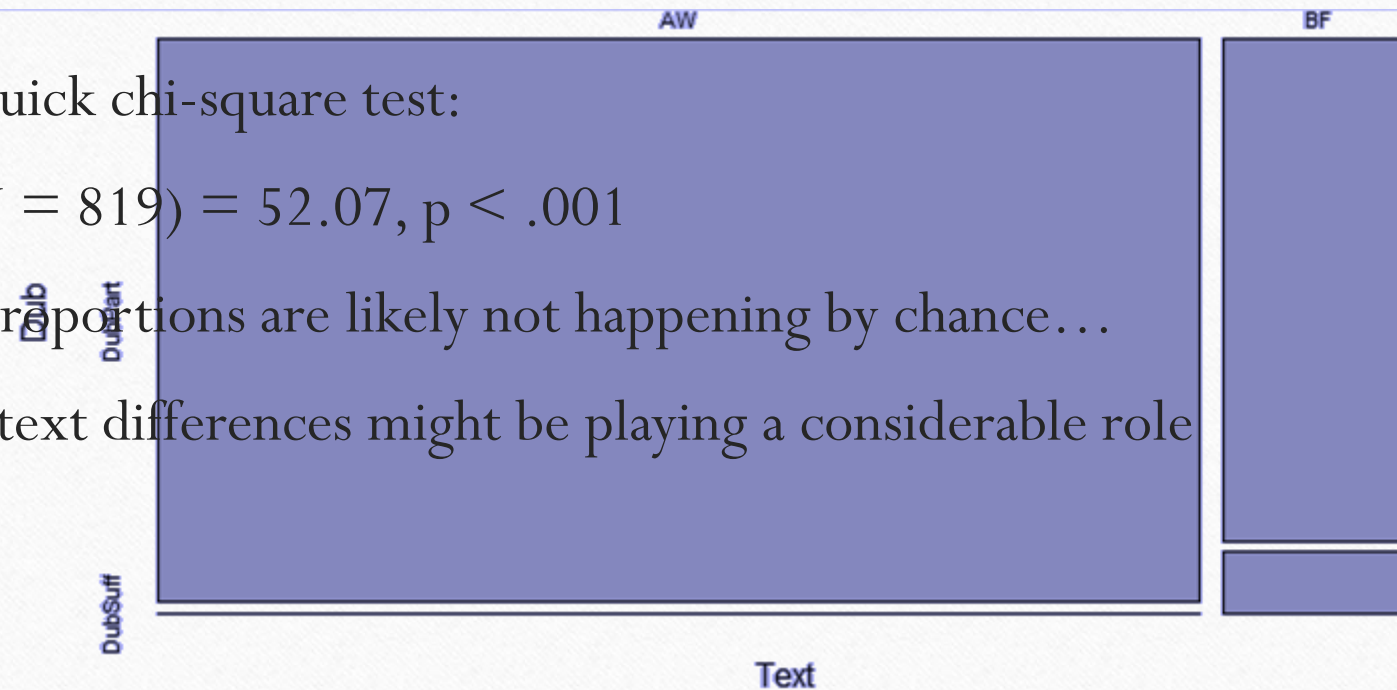
1 êsi-kîhcêkosîkwê	IC+PV/isi+kîhcêkosîw+V+AI+Cnj+Dub+3
1 kî-miyosîtikwê	miyosiw+V+AI+Ind+Prt+Dub+3Sg+Morph

Dubitative suffixes & particles

Bloomfield texts			Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus		
	Tokens	% of verbs		Tokens	% of verbs
Suffixes	14	0.050%	Suffixes	2	0.0095%
		% of particles			% of particles
Particles	113	0.46%	Particles	690	1.79%

Dubitative suffixes & particles

- And a quick chi-square test:
- $\chi^2 (1, N = 819) = 52.07, p < .001$
- These proportions are likely not happening by chance...
- ... and text differences might be playing a considerable role



Preterits

& *kî-*

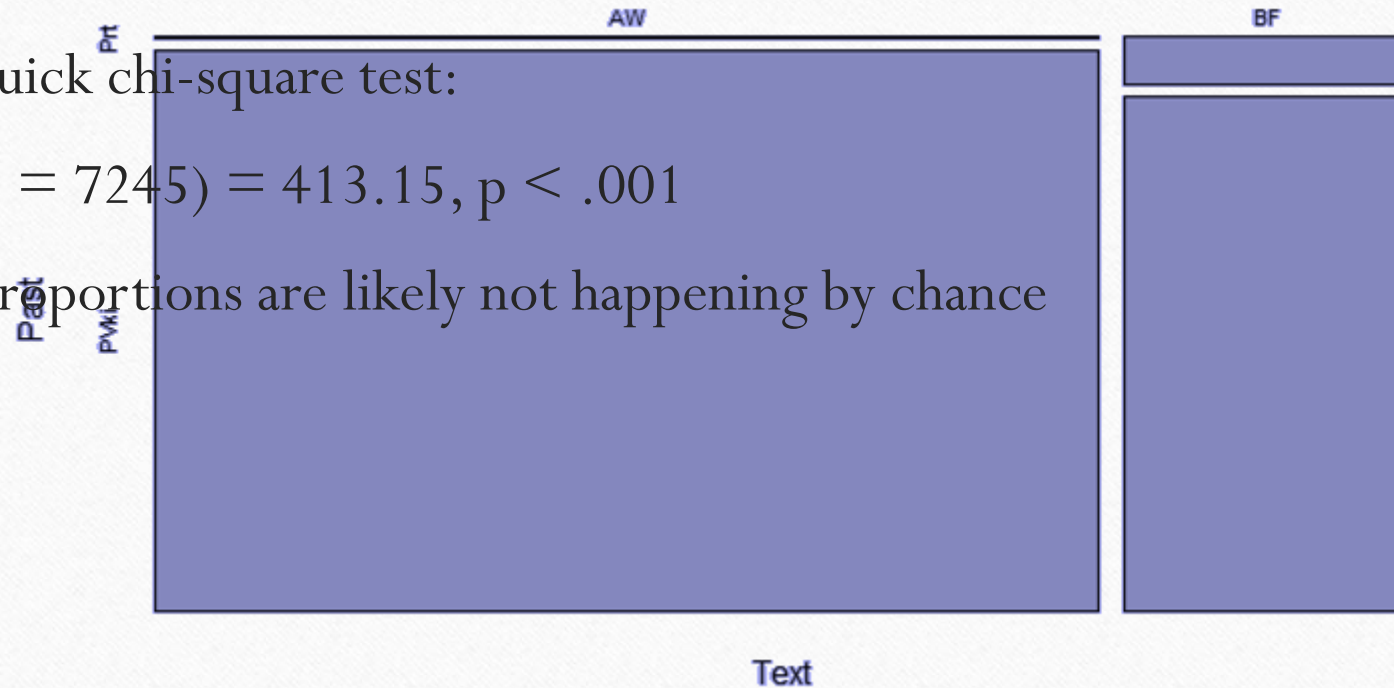
19	ê-itêyihtah	PV/e+itêyihtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prth+3Sg
5	ninôhtêhkatâh	nôhtêhkatêw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+1Sg
4	kinahâhkapihtânaw	nahâhkapiw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+12Pl
3	onôhtêhkatâh	nôhtêhkatêw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
3	ninôhtêhkatêwâh	nôhtêhkatêw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+Rel+1Sg
3	kikakwê-nakatitohtânaw	PV/kakwe+nakatitowak+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
2	ê-mâ-mitonêyihtah	PV/e+Rdpls+mitonêyihtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prth+3Sg
2	omîhkawikîh	mihkawikîw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg+Err/Orth
2	oka-kî-miywêyihtêh	PV/ka+PV/ki+miywêyihtam+V+TI+Ind+Prth
2	nikî-itikoh	PV/ki+itêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+3Sg+1SgO
2	nikaskêyihtêh	kaskêyihtam+V+TI+Ind+Prth+1Sg
2	ka-kî-wawânihih	PV/ka_ki+wawânihêw+V+TA+Prth+2Sg+1SgO+Err/Orth
1	âhkwinah	âhkwinam+V+TI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
1	owîtôsêmâh	wîtôsêmêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+3Sg+4Sg/PlO
1	otisi-misi-wanâcihoh	PV/isi+misiwanâcihow+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
1	otay-apihtâwâw	ay-apiw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Pl
1	otawâsisîwihtay	awâsisîwiw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
1	otawâsimisihtâwâw	otawâsimisiw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Pl+Morph/V
1	otati-sêskisihtay	PV/ati+sêskisiw+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
1	otahkiskawâh	tahkiskawêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+3Sg+4Sg/PlO
1	omîcisohtay	mîcisow+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Sg
1	okîskowêmhikoh	kîskowêmhêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+4Sg/Pl+3SgO
1	okî-nâspici-nipâhtâwâw	PV/ki+PV/nâspici+nipâw+V+AI+Ind+Prth
1	okî-nipahikoh	PV/ki+nipahêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+4Sg/Pl+3SgO
1	okî-môtohtâwâw	PV/ki+mowitowak+V+AI+Ind+Prth+3Pl
1	okî-kitamokoh	PV/ki+kitamwêw+V+TA+Ind+Prth+4Sg/Pl+3SgO

Preterits & *kî-*

Bloomfield texts				Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus			
	Tokens	% of verbs			Tokens	% of verbs	
Prt	142	0.50%		Prt	12	0.057%	
			% of Prt				% of Prt
h	109	0.39%	76.76%	h	5	0.024%	41.67%
ht	31	0.11%	21.83%	ht	7	0.033%	58.33%
pan	2	0.0071%	1.41%	pan	2	0.0095%	16.67%
<i>kî-</i>	1549	5.48%		<i>kî-</i>	5542	26.46%	

Preterits & $k\hat{i}$ -

- And a quick chi-square test:
- $\chi^2 (1, N = 7245) = 413.15, p < .001$
- These proportions are likely not happening by chance



Relational

(just relational)

1 ê-âhkosiwak	PV/e+âhkosiw+V+AI+Cnj+Rel+1Sg+Err/Syn
1 ê-âh-îkinamawak	PV/e+RdplS+yîkanam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+1Sg+Er
1 ê-wî-yîkinikêwak	PV/e+yîkinikêw+V+AI+Ord+Fut+Int+Rel+1Sg
1 ê-wî-atâwâkêwiht	PV/e+atâwâkew+V+AI+Cnj+Fut+Int+Rel+X
1 ê-otinamoht	PV/e+otinam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+X+Morph
1 ê-nitawi-âh-âyinamwak	PV/e+PV/nitawi+RdplS+âyinam+V+TI+C
1 ê-nitaw-ôtinikâkêwak	PV/e+PV/nitawi+otinikâkêw+V+AI+Cnj
1 ê-kî-wâpahtamoht	PV/e+wâpahtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prt+Rel+X+Morph
1 ê-kî-otinamwâcik	PV/e+otinam+V+TI+Cnj+Prt+Rel+3Pl+Morph
1 ê-kî-ma-miyw-âyâwiht	PV/e+RdplW+miyw-âyâw+V+AI+Cnj+Prt+
	PV/e+RdplW+PV/miyo+ayâw+V+TI+Cnj+Prt+Rel+X
1 ê-ati-misikitiwâyâhk	PV/e+PV/ati+misikitiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs
1 ta-âkayâsîmowiht	PV/ta+âkayâsimow+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+X+Morph
1 ta-mîciwâyâhk	PV/ta+mîciw+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+1Pl+Err/Orth+
1 nitâkayâsîmowân	âkayâsîmow+V+AI+Ind+Prs+Rel+1Sg+Morph
1 kî-âh-ayamihâwân	RdplS+ayamihâw+V+AI+Ind+Prt+Rel+X+Morph
1 kâ-wîkiwiht	PV/kaa+wîkiw+V+AI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+X
1 kâ-wî-âtotamwak	PV/kaa+âtotam+V+TI+Fut+Int+Rel+1Sg+Morph
1 kâ-wî-tôtamwak	PV/kaa+tôtam+V+TI+Cnj+Fut+Int+Rel+1Sg+Mor
1 kâ-wî-nîmihitowiht	PV/kaa+nîmihitow+V+AI+Fut+Int+Rel+Morph
1 kâ-wî-itohtêwak	PV/ka+itohtêw+V+AI+Cnj+Fut+Int+Rel+1Sg+Mor
1 kâ-wâpahtamoht	PV/kaa+wâpahtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+X
1 kâ-titipahpitamwak	PV/kaa+titipahpitam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+1Sg+M
1 kâ-pêyakwaskatikawiwak	PV/kaa+V+Rel+1Sg+?
1 kâ-kîsasiwâtamoht	PV/kaa+kîsasiwâtam+V+TI+Cnj+Prs+Rel+X+Mor

Relational

Bloomfield texts				Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus			
	Tokens	% of verbs			Tokens	% of verbs	
Rel	193	0.6827%		Rel	30	0.1432%	
			% of Rel				% of Rel
1Sg	16	0.0566%	8.29%	1Sg	10	0.0477%	33.33%
2Sg	5	0.0177%	2.59%	2Sg	1	0.0048%	3.33%
3Sg	29	0.1026%	15.03%	3Sg	0	0.0000%	0.00%
1Pl	1	0.0035%	0.52%	1Pl	2	0.0095%	6.67%
21Pl	0	0.0000%	0.00%	21Pl	1	0.0048%	3.33%
2Pl	0	0.0000%	0.00%	2Pl	1	0.0048%	3.33%
3Pl	3	0.0106%	1.55%	3Pl	1	0.0048%	3.33%
X	139	0.4917%	72.02%	X	14	0.0668%	46.67%

Inanimate actors

"<kika-nipahikon>" "nipahêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2SgO
"<sêkihikoyani>" "sêkihêw" V TA Fut Cond InAct 2Sg Morph/V
"<otihtikôw>" "otihtêw" V TA Ind Prs 4Sg/Pl 3SgO "otihtêw" V TA
"<kika-astâhikonânaw>" "astâhêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 12PlO
"<ka-kîhikon>" "kîhêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2SgO Morph/2pre
"<ka-kîhikon>" "kîhêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2SgO Morph/2pre
"<kita-mâhtakoskâkoyân>" "mâhtakoskawêw" PV/kita V TA Cnj Prs
"<nikwatakihikon>" "kwatakihêw" V TA Ind Prs InAct 1SgO Lemma
"<nimâkohikon>" "mâkohêw" V TA Ind Prs InAct 1SgO
"<osahamâk>" "osahamâwêw" V TA Ind Prs 4Sg/Pl 3SgO Lemma "osaha
"<kiwî-pê-nôtinikonânaw>" "nôtinêw" PV/pe V TA Ind Fut Int InAct
"<nikâ-mâkohikon>" "mâkohêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 1SgO Err/Orth
"<ka-kî-nipahikoh>" "nipahêw" PV/ki V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2Sg Mor
"<ê-pê-kîwêhtahikoyan>" "pê-kîwêtahêw" PV/e V TA Cnj Prs InAct 2SgO
"<nikî-kitimâkêyimikon>" "kitimâkêyimêw" V TA Ind Prt InAct 1Sg
"<ka-sâkôcihikon>" "sâkôcihêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2SgO Morph
"<kê-kitimâkêyimikoyin>" "kitimâkêyimêw" PV/ke V TA Cnj Prs InAct
"<ta-nipahikoyân>" "nipahêw" PV/ta V TA Cnj Prs InAct 1SgO Morph
"<nipahikoyâni>" "nipahêw" V TA Fut Cond InAct 1SgO
"<misi-wanâcihikoyâni>" "misiwanâcihêw" V TA Fut Cond InAct 1SgO Err/C
"<ka-pikwâskâkon>" "pikwâskawêw" V TA Ind Fut Def InAct 2SgO Morp
"<pîkiskwâtikôw>" "pîkiskwâtêw" V TA Ind Prs 4Sg/Pl 3SgO "pîkis

Inanimate actor

Bloomfield texts				Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus			
	Tokens	% of verbs	% of TA verbs		Tokens	% of verbs	% of TA verbs
InAct	22	0.078%	0.24%	InAct	21	0.100%	0.37%
			% of InAct				% of InAct
Ind	15	0.053%	68.18%	Ind	7	0.033%	33.33%
Cnj	4	0.014%	18.18%	Cnj	14	0.067%	66.67%
Cond	3	0.011%	13.64%	Cond	0	0.000%	0.00%

Further obviative

10	nipahêyiwa	nipahêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
6	kâ-nipahâyit	PV/kaa+nipahêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
5	ê-nipahâyit	PV/e+nipahêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
4	ê-pêsiwâyit	PV/e+pêsiwêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
4	otinêyiwa	otinêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
3	ê-wîcêwâyit	PV/e+wîcêwêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	êtimâci	IC+itêw+V+TA+Fut+Cond+3Sg+5Sg/PlO
2	ê-âpaciwâyit	PV/e+âpaciwêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ê-têhciwêpinâyit	PV/e+têhciwêpinêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ê-otinâyit	PV/e+otinêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ê-otihtâyit	PV/e+otihtêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ê-môwâyit	PV/e+mowêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	âsosimêyiwa	âsôsimew+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ta-nitomâyit	PV/ta+nitomêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	pêsiwêyiwa	pêsiwêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	kîsi-wiyanihêyiwa	PV/kisi+wiyanihêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	kâ-kitâpamâyit	PV/kaa+kitâpamêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
2	ayâwêyiwa	ayâwêw+V+TA+Ind+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
1	êti-pimitisahwâyit	IC+PV/ati+pimitisahwêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO
1	êti-nipahâyit	IC+PV/ati+nipahêw+V+TA+Cnj+Prs+4Sg/Pl+5Sg/PlO

Further obviative

Bloomfield texts				Ahenakew-Wolfart corpus			
	Tokens	% of TA verbs	Inverse		Tokens	% of TA verbs	Inverse
3"	187	2.023%	9	3"	22	0.39%	2
		% of 3"				% of 3"	
Ind	52	27.807%	1	Ind	0	0.00%	0
Cnj	129	68.984%	8	Cnj	22	100.00%	2
Cond	6	3.209%	0	Cond	0	0.00%	0

Further obviative

- And one final observation...
- 34/187 (18%) of the 3” verbs in Bloomfield are some form of *nipahêw* ‘he kills him’, 21 of these are the most common 3” forms
 - (none of the A-W are *nipahêw*)

10 "<nipahêyiwa>" "nipahêw" V TA Ind Prs 4Sg/Pl 5Sg/PlO

6 "<kâ-nipahâyit>" "nipahêw" PV/kaa V TA Cnj Prs 4Sg/Pl 5Sg/PlO

5 "<ê-nipahâyit>" "nipahêw" PV/e V TA Cnj Prs 4Sg/Pl 5Sg/PlO

In conclusion...

- Simple searches in tagged corpora: many avenues for future research
- Change over time?
 - Decrease in use of initial change, dubitative suffixes, and preterit suffixes
 - Increase in use of \hat{e} -, dubitative particles, and $k\hat{i}$ -
 - Decrease in use of relational and further obviative, but not inanimate actor
- Limits: text type differences!

ay-hay!

Questions?

schmirle@ualberta.ca

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