The ethnographic reports on various Cree groups offer a choice of terms for 'father-in-law' and for 'wife':

(1) 'my father-in-law' nisis, nimanācimākan; 'my wife' niwa, niwikimākan.

While the first member of each pair is short and morphologically opaque, the second is not only less compact: the two longer terms appear to end in a common suffix.

There are, of course, other differences. The shorter terms, for instance, cannot occur without a personal prefix, and their status as dependent stems is particularly obvious in the case of niwa where the stem -Iw- takes the personal prefixes in the form n-, k- and, especially, w-:

kiwa 'your(sg) wife';
wiwa 'his wife'.

Whether nimanācimākan and niwikimākan are, in fact, dependent or not—they are, at least, not immediately seen to be dependent.

Competing Terms

The choice implied by (1) is real but its formulation is, nevertheless, quite misleading. The members of each pair are only partially synonymous and their semantic range goes well beyond that indicated by the glosses of (1). nisis denotes not only 'father-in-law' but also 'mother's brother' and a number of other kin types, and nimanācimākan is used not merely of one's father-in-law but of one's mother-in-law as well:

(2a) -sis- 'mother's brother, father's sister's husband, wife's father, etc.';

-manācimākan- 'parent-in-law'.

In attempting to discover the signification of kin terms, field ethnologists usually rely on translational elicitation corroborated by the genealogical identification of specific denotata (e.g., for Cree, Honigmann 1953, 1962, Mandelbaum 1940, Meyer 1973). For testing the validity of an analysis, on the other hand, and for establishing the authenticity of the material on which it is based, no other type of evidence can rival the value of incidental statements included in a narrative text. The overlap between -sis- and -manācimākan-, for example, is confirmed in a spontaneous paraphrase from Bloomfield's Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree (1930:130):

..., ē-pamihāt omanācimākana. kitimākēyimēw mitoni, iyikohk ē-miyo-pamihāt osikosa osisa mīna.
'..., taking care of her parents-in-law. She was very kind to them and took good care of her mother-in-law and her father-in-law.'

Terms like -sis- define a system of cross-cousin marriage which was explored in some detail by Hallowell (1932, 1937) and many other students both before and after. Even a cursory survey of the literature shows that -manacimakan- is much more restricted in distribution than -sis-. It is not reported, for instance, either for Attawapiskat (Honigmann 1953) nor for the Plains Cree of Red Earth in easternmost Saskatchewan (Meyer 1973). Both terms are found in the texts which Bloomfield collected in 1925 but in gross text frequency (i.e., without regard to precise meaning and provenance in each case), -manacimakan- is lower, by more than half, than the corresponding forms -sis- and -sikos-:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{-sikos-} & \text{'mother-in-law'} \quad 10 \\
\text{-manacimakan-} & 28 \\
\text{-sis-} & \text{'father-in-law'} \quad 52
\end{array}
\]

If restricted distribution and low text frequency were taken to argue that -manacimakan- is an innovation, this hypothesis would be compatible with the testimony of the early lexicographers (e.g., Isham, who gives No.ko.miss ['father's brother'] instead of nisis, or Harmon) who cite only the -sis- type. For the members of the second pair, the competition is more direct:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{-ıw-} & \text{''wife'';} \\
\text{-wikimakan-} & \text{''spouse''.}
\end{array}
\]

Although the ethnographical literature generally reports both forms (with the exception of Meyer 1973 who cites the 'spouse' form only), the early lexicographical sources summarised in Table 1 are quite unambiguous in their testimony: instead of niwa, they give forms showing the same derivational pattern as -wikimakan- but based, via two distinct intermediate stems, on the root -ıt- 'fellow'.

The text frequencies of the two competing forms are revealing. In the texts collected by Bloomfield in 1925, the stem -ıw- 'wife' and the corresponding stem -napem- 'husband' account for little more than half the instances of -wikimakan-:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{-ıw-} & \text{''wife''} \quad 106 \\
\text{-wikimakan-} & 399 \\
\text{-napem-} & \text{''husband''} \quad 126
\end{array}
\]

A more detailed analysis of a single text (Bloomfield 1934: 50-58) shows an even stronger preference for -wikimakan-:
This text also demonstrates that -wikimakan- covers both female and male denotata.

**Marginal Kin**

Most social anthropologists would presumably include the nouns -manacimakan- and -wikimakan- among the kin terms as a matter of course, and Mandelbaum and Honigmann may serve as examples of those who have in fact done so. The question becomes more difficult with terms such as,

(4) -wahkomakan- 'relative', and -wicewakan- 'companion'.

A detailed analysis of -wahkomakan- would go beyond the scope of the present study. In his ethnography of the Round Lake Ojibwa, Rogers glosses the term as "affinal relative" (1962: B48) and Lacombe renders it 'parent, allié'. While the frequencies of -wahkomakan- and -totem- in Bloomfield's texts are almost the same (39:53), -totem- is much more commonly used as a term of address.

Although the semantic back-and-forth between the two columns of Table 1 is not without interest, other kinds of evidence bear more directly on the collective status of these terms which represent social rôles at the fringe of the kinship system.

**Dependent Nouns**

Having established that some of these terms are partially synonymous with bona fide kin terms and that all of them denote social rôles which might be labelled marginal kin, we might expect to see their semantic status matched by morphological features.

Since kin terms are prominent among the dependent noun stems of the Algonquian languages, the status of the four stems in question is an important piece of morphological evidence.

In his manuscript lexicon, Bloomfield marks all four entries as "us[uall]y poss[essive]". An exhaustive search of his texts shows that there is not a single instance, among almost 600 tokens, of any of these stems appearing without a prefix.

Modern Plains Cree consistently uses the stems -wikimakan- and -wicewakan- with the full personal prefixes ni-, ki- and o-. But the evidence of Isham, Graham and Harmon in Table 1 suggest the existence of a stem -icimakan- with the personal prefixes n-, k- and w-. This interpretation of the historical
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>-ik- 'dwelling'</strong></th>
<th><strong>-it- 'fellow'</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kelsey [1709]</strong></td>
<td>1. <em>Wee che haw gun</em> 'partner'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isham [1743]</strong></td>
<td><em>Wi che ho gan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wi che wa gan</em> 'Husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Che ma gan</em> 'a Canoe mate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graham [1791]</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wichehogan</strong> 'A Wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Chemagan</em> 'A Husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chappell 1817</strong></td>
<td><em>Weggee-moggun</em> 'Mate, (a person that lives in the same tent.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[also] <em>Weggee-mah-gun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Harmon 1820</strong></td>
<td><em>E-] wich-i-wa-gun</em> 'Friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Howse 1844</strong></td>
<td><em>E-] che-ma-gun</em> 'Wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Watkins 1865</strong></td>
<td><em>Wekemakan</em> 'A companion, a spouse, a wife, a husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wechawakan</em> (properly in walking, but it is used as a general term), a partner, a husband, a partaker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wecheakun</em> 'A husband, a wife, lit. a helper. The more usual word is wechawakan.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lacombe 1874</strong></td>
<td><em>Wikimagan</em> 'compagnon, associé, époux, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faries 1938</strong></td>
<td>[identical to Watkins]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[identical to Watkins]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Wecheha'kun</em> 'A husband, a wife (lit. one that is being helped); a helper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bloomfield 1925, texts</strong></td>
<td>*-wikimakan- 'spouse' -wicewakan- 'companion'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Selected -akan Nouns Based on -ik- and -it-.
evidence finds corroboration in the modern Cree form nīkamākan 'my wife' recorded at Red Earth, Saskatchewan (Meyer 1973:177) and further in a parallel instance from Eastern Ojibwa where Bloomfield (1958:268) lists witekemakan as an independent noun but adds the re-analysed form nitekemakan 'my wife'.

We can safely conclude, then, that these terms for marginal kin may, in fact, be interpreted as kind terms, or at least as dependent nouns, by the speakers themselves.

**Transparency**

Yet they differ from ordinary kin terms in another, rather fundamental respect: they are structurally transparent and follow a productive pattern of derivation. All four of the nouns we have discussed end in -akan, and in all four cases this suffix is added to a recognisable verb stem:

(5) \[\text{manācim-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft il le respecte, il le ménage dans ses paroles\textquoteright} \quad (\text{Lacombe});\]
\[\text{wīkim-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft live with someone\textquoteright};\]
\[\text{wāhkom-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft be related to someone\textquoteright};\]
\[\text{wīcew-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft have someone along\textquoteright}].\]

The main source for a Cree stem manācim- (which has not been encountered in the texts) is Lacombe (1874a:435) who also cites an inflected form (1874b:20). The same form also appears in Silvy's late-17th century dictionary (1974:66b) of Montagnais:

\[\text{ni.manatchimau \textquoteleft je le respecte\textquoteright}.\]

The remaining three stems are attested in the texts.

The deverbative character of these nouns was first acknowledged by Joseph Howse who is followed in this analysis by Lacombe and the typologists Friedrich Müller and Rudolf von Sowa. But the juxtaposition of verb and noun in Isham's word list of 1743 suggests that he, too, was not oblivious to the relation between

(6) a Bed fellow Wip.pe.maw.gan, and to Lye with one Caw.] wip.pe.mow.

**Productivity**

The pattern of forming nouns in -ākan from transitive animate (TA) verb stems is quite productive in Cree. There are also various other types of nouns in -ākan, and parallel formations abound in Montagnais (naturally enough) and also in Ojibwa and, no doubt, in many other Algonquian languages as well. Instead of reviewing this diversity, we will here concentrate on those -ākan nouns where the underlying transitive animate stem actually occurs in Cree.

Besides the examples already given, there is textual evidence for -ākan nouns based on such transitive verbs as:

(7a) \[\text{nōtin-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft fight someone\textquoteright};\]
\[\text{nōtinākan-} \quad \text{\textquoteleft enemy\textquoteright};\]
pawät- 'dream of someone' :
pawätäkan- 'dream-guardian' (cf. pawäkan-);

misw- 'wound someone' :
miswäkan- 'wounded creature'.

It is clearly no accident that many nouns of this type are
derived from stems which include the root -it-, e.g.,

(7b) Weet-úskeemáyoo 'he com-patrioteth him' :
    Weet-úskeemóggun 'fellow-countrymate' (Howse),

and from compound stems with wici- as the first member, e.g.,

(7c) ni.witji-mitjisumaw 'je mange avec lui' :
    ni.witji-mitjisumägan 'mon compagnon de
table' (Lacombe).

Even if some of the forms cited in the missionary diction­
naries seem suspect,10 there are sufficient textual instances
for the pattern itself to be firmly established.

Marked Terms

How this pattern is to be analysed, however, may turn out
to be a more controversial question. One might, of course,
postulate a series of intervening stems with the transitivising
(and benefactive) suffix -aw- and the intransitivising suffix
/ekë/. But there is little, if any, direct evidence in favour
of such an approach, and some against; for example, the use
of -äkan with a transitive inanimate (TI) noun:

itéyihtäkan- 'such thought'

alongside the more common pattern exemplified in

itéyihcikan- 'such thought'.

An unbiased review of the evidence suggests another hypothesis
which treats the suffix -äkan--whatever its historical develop­
ment may have been--as a highly marked unit morpheme.

Howse (1844) called these -äkan stems "passive nouns"--
and thus claimed (explicitly only in his term) that they should
not be treated apart from those parts of the verbal system
which are characterised by the suppression of the agent and
the corresponding prominence of the patient.

Howse's claim, if it can be maintained, would confirm the
-äkan nouns as grammatically marked. The strongest argument
in its favour lies in the functional relation between noun stems
in -äkan and the inagenteic portion of the TA paradigm: de­
nominative verbs based on such stems, e.g.,

(8a) miswäkan- 'wounded creature',
(8b) miswäkaníwi- 'be a wounded creature',
do not only appear as textual paraphrases of other inagentive patterns, e.g.,

(9a) oskinikw e-miswākanīwit 'the young man who was wounded',
(9b) őki kotakak kā-misohcik 'these others who had been wounded',

but in some Cree dialects (cf., for instance, Ellis 1971:85), just such denominative verb forms in -ākanīwi- have replaced the paradigmatically discrepant (and opaque) inagentive suffixes -āw and -iht.\footnote{Deverbative nouns in -ākan which are based on transitive stems are morphologically transparent and productive. In denoting a patient while completely omitting any reference to an agent, they are marked both grammatically and semantically.}

Terms of Personal Relationship?
The common semantic feature of the terms -wīkimākan- 'spouse', -manācimākan- 'in-law', -wāhkomākan- 'relative' and -wīcewākan- 'companion' is that they denote a dyadic social relationship. As a set, however, they can be correlated neither with a biologically defined set of kin types nor with social categories based on land tenure or land use; nor is there any evidence for metaphorical transfer originating in one of the traditional kin groups.

The four marginal kin terms are distinct from most kin terms and from many other -ākan nouns in one further respect: they are capable of being used reciprocally. As the texts show, either husband or wife may call the other -wīkimākan-, and reciprocal use is found even where the generation is not the same, as in the case of -manācimākan-,\footnote{If these are terms of partnership, could they be placed historically in the perennially controversial context of Algonguan land tenure and acculturation?} or where it is simply irrelevant, as in -wāhkomākan- and -wīcewākan-.

If these are terms of partnership, could they be placed historically in the perennially controversial context of Algonguan land tenure and acculturation?

The morphological transparency shared by these terms and the productiveness of their pattern together suggest (by the principle of the lectio difficilior alone, without reference to comparative evidence) that they are more recent than such opaque stems as -īw- and -sis-. To interpret the -ākan stems as recent, however, is strictly a matter of relative chronology. The earliest major source for Cree, Henry Kelsey's Dictionary of the Hudson's-Bay Indian Language of 1709 (cf. Wolfart & Pentland 1979) already includes two -ākan stems: the marginal kin term

(10a) partner  Wee.che.haw.gan,
(10b) wounded  Mish.wau.gun.

This early attestation of miswākan- 'wounded creature' lends support to the suggestion (and it is no more than that)
that -\text{akan} nouns based on transitive verbs are "terms of partnership" and, further, that there exists indeed, as Preston (1969, 1970) has argued from completely different evidence, an intimate personal relationship between the hunter and the hunted.

The marginal kin terms would, of course, constitute only part of such a set since the social relations in question are symmetrical, with a single term used reciprocally. But the grammatical structure shared by all the terms is far from symmetrical: they are based on transitive verbs rather than on reciprocal stems and the person which is denoted is, in all cases, the patient.

NOTES

1 The evidence from Silvy (1974) and Fabvre (1970) is conveniently (but not always completely) summarised in Hallowell 1932:193-196.

2 There are only four instances of the possessed stem -iskwem-'woman', none of them unambiguously translatable as 'wife'.

3 E.g., the 'canoe mate' of Isham which looks much like a folk etymology; cf. ciman- 'canoe' and, per contra, Fox witem- 'accompany someone' (Bloomfield 1941:296).

4 Bloomfield's manuscript was graciously made available to me by C. F. Hockett.

5 This search relied on the techniques summarised in Wolfart & Pardo 1979. My studies of Cree texts and of early lexicographical documents have variously been supported by the Research Board and the Northern Studies Committee, University of Manitoba, and by the Canada Council.

6 No instances of mi- or m- have been encountered, unless the personal name mitcēwakan in Mandelbaum 1979:368 were to be interpreted as such.

7 For Cree at least; Belcourt 1839 discusses the -\text{akan} suffix in Saulteaux but his analysis seems inappropriate.

8 Besides those nouns where -\text{akan} appears to follow the root directly, e.g., pawakan- 'dream-guardian', the most interesting type is that of pihtwākan- 'pipe, tobacco' which may be ambiguously related to either or both of pihtwē- 'to smoke' or to the historically expected intermediate stage exemplified in pihtwake- 'to smoke (things)'.

In the case of atāwē- 'to trade, buy' and atāwākē- 'to sell', the "passive noun" atāwākan- might be taken to mean either 'that which is sold or traded' or 'that which one sells'; its usual meaning is 'fur, fur-bearing animal'. 
The -ākan nouns based, ultimately, on the root -īt- seem to be the strongest candidates for inclusion in the set of marginal kin terms. On the other hand, the prenoun/preverb wīci- is used so freely that it may even be compounded with a possessed stem, e.g.,

wīci-onitopayimākaniwāwa 'their fellow-raiders(obv)'.

Alongside the unit words cited from Howse, above, Faries also offers the rather curious pair,

Wechetuskewama'kun 'A fellow-countryman':
Wechetuskewa'mao 'He is of the same country with him'.

Note also these forms from Baraga (1878):

widjibimagan 'compotator':
widjibim- 'drink together with someone'.

A documented version of this argument (Wolfart 1979b) and the corresponding analysis of the Cree verbal system (Wolfart 1979a) are being prepared for publication.

If we are to trust Lacombe's information which, although followed by Bloomfield in his manuscript lexicon, remains to be textually verified.

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