File name: REH1-010.pdf

CCLAS session: 06-Ani-02 03 24

- All records have been sorted by segment time (i.e., chronologically)
- Margaret and I watched several-minute chunks of the video recording, and then we went back through to discuss individual records.
- Time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-010.wav

Record 29 (timestamp 001:29.093-001:30.865 in the original CCLAS video recording)

- Ani's utterance is [σ'na]
- M. thinks Ani is trying to say <manah> 'that one' (00:07:45 in REH1-010.wav). Maybe Ani can see herself, but it's hard to know what she's referring to.

31 (001:31.548-001:32.944)

- Ani's utterance is [awdɪnajˈjo]
- Orthography says Ani's saying <aniyâyiuh> 'that one?'
- To me, this seems like an unanalyzed demonstrative form, which at this age Ani seems to produce as some general form of 'this'/'that'. I think this is Ani's unanalyzed DEM form, which she produces as some general form of 'this'/'that'. All of these forms are similar to [najo].

33 (001:34.791-001:37.3740)

- Adult says <âi aniyâyiu> 'Yeah it is his/hers'
- She is talking about whatever Ani was referring to with [awdɪnajˈjo], but we can't tell what they're referring to (10:50)

34 (001:37.518-001:40.518)

- Adult says <awân aniyâyiu> 'Whose is that?' (12:17)
- We still don't know what they're referring to.

37 (001:52.823-001:54.3330)

- Adult says <awân uyâyiuh upîpîmishh> 'Whose baby is it?' (13:52)
- The variation between <uyâyiuh> vs. <uyâh>: M. says "there's no difference" between <awân uyâyiuh upîpîmish> and <awân uyâh upîpîmish> in this context (16:21). Says they mean the same thing. I wonder if you can't end an utterance with the shorter form <uyâh>, but if it's OK word medially.

157 (006:36.270-006:38.862)

- Hard to hear, but the adult says 'Yes, s/he's sleeping, right? Drinking (from the bottle or breastfeeding)?' (20:21)
- The adult and Ani are looking at a book about baby animals.
- I forgot to get the spelling from M. but somebody can check this portion of the audio.

158 (006:39.686-006:40.988)

- Adult says <awâyiuh kwâshtât> 'Who is she scared of?' (19:22, 25:10)
- The verb here is *kushtaau* (VTA) 's/he/it fears her/him/it' going through Initial Change *u* > *waa*, and then the verb takes the 3>4 Conjunct ending *-aat*

162 (006:45.762-006:47.253)

Ani says [naˈjow]. Orth. is <aniyâyiu> 'that one?' (26:02)

- The adult just pointed to something in a book and asked <awân û> 'who's this?'. Ani is referring to the same referent as the adult (a bird).
- M. says a more adult-like way to respond to the adult's question would have been <an â> 'that (one)?' (27:46) or <û â> 'this (one)?'
- There's a clear mismatch in proximate/obviative status of the referent, and so I think this is additional evidence than Ani is using [najo] as an unanalyzed, general form.
- Informative metalinguistic discussion with M. about the unanalyzed aspect of [najo]: I brought up to M. that I think Ani is using [najo] in such a general sense (29:16). I asked M. if this is a child-like way of expression, that there is the mismatch between proximate and obviative marking (29:51, 31:01). M. agreed that I'm on the right track with my positing, in fact she agreed by saying "an adult would not say <aniyâyiu>" in this kind of context (31:56). I asked M. if she had seen other children exhibit something like this usage, and she said yes (including her own kids) but didn't have additional details or examples. M. says this is just "child talk" (32:34).

163 (006:46.677-006:48.351)

• The adult says <piyâshîsh> 'a bird', again using a proximate form to signify the referent (34:19)

166 (006:50.074-006:51.920)

• The adult says < kâ pimâyiht an châkwân> 'don't touch that thing' (35:31), as she pushes Ani's hand down. Not sure what Ani was trying to touch.

168 (006:55.977-006:58.019)

- The adult responds with <îhî mâmîh aniyâyiuh ukâwîh aniyâyiuh > 'yes, that's her mommy, that's her mommy' (41:17)
- She's basically recasting the word for 'mommy' in Cree for Ani
- Variation clarification: The end of the utterance is <aniyâyiuh> not <aniyâh> (42:52)

170 (006:59.870-007:01.474)

- Ani says [nʌˈdawe], which is in the Orthography as <mâniyâh uhtâwîh> 'That is her/his father' (43:15)
- Adult target for this is [mænˈjaʊh taˈwih] (45:17). I think the final –h is pretty clear in M.'s pronunciation.
- I asked M. if she hears Ani producing the required final –h (44:29). M. says Ani is omitting the –h from the demonstrative (45:27). M. says she does indeed hear the final h on 'father'. I agree that there is indeed a breathy release on that word, but I'm not entirely sure that corresponds to a morpheme. I will give Ani the benefit of the doubt, though, and count it as present.

174 (007:06.552-007:07.756)

- Adult says <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu> 'what is that?' (48:48)
- Demonstrative variation: I asked M. about the form of the demonstrative to see which form it is (49:48). At first it sounded like M. pronounced <châkwâyiu aniyâ>, but then she clearly and more carefully says <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu>. I asked if <châkwâyiu aniyâ> would indeed make sense in this context (50:10), but M. says that <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu> is "better". I wonder if this is because the word is at the end of the utterance. Not sure.
- M. provided a target for <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu>: [tsaˈgwajo εnəjiˈjajo] (50:05). She also pronounces the other version: <châkwâyiu aniyâ> [tsaˈgwajo εnəjiˈja] (50:14)

- M. had some difficulty translating <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu> as 'what is that?' because English doesn't have obviation (51:44). <châkwân an> is the unmarked, proximate form that straightforwardly translates as 'what is this'. M. called over Marguerite to consult with her (53:27). Marguerite confirms that <châkwâyiu aniyâyiu> is an OK translation.
- M. is sure that the adult is asking about something in the book (54:43), but we're not sure exactly what she is referring to (55:36)

176 (007:11.132-007:11.894)

• Ani is pointing to something in the book (must be a puppy) and saying <puppy û > 'this is a puppy' (57:53)

185 (007:20.247-007:21.590)

- Ani says [doˈnaju]
- Orth. says Ani says <chiwâpihtân â aniyâyiu> 'See his something/stuff.'
- M. thinks that perhaps Ani is asking <chiwaapimimaayiuh> 'Do you see her/him/it (animate obviative)?' (1:04:35) ... but she also says it's "really hard" to determine what Ani means (1:06:00) and that "I don't know what she wants to say" (1:06:50). I agree that it's really hard to determine.
- For me, I think her [najo] is really clear (1:07:18) ... but M. and I both kind of give up trying to figure out what Ani's real Target is.
- I'm going to consider this another unanalyzed [najo] because it occurs in a familiar context: The adult points something out and labels it using a proximate form, and then Ani responds with a question-like [najo], which has a seemingly obviative form that doesn't seem to be clearly motivated, and then the adult gives an affirmative response "uh huh".

186 (007:22.320-007:23.938)

- Ani says [nəˈnajunənaj], which the record considers <aniyâyiu mommy> 'his stuff, mommy?'
- M. says it's <aniyâyiuh mommy> 'this one, mommy' (1:12:13)
- Ani is pointing at something on the page—maybe a penguin or some penguins?
- I asked M. if this is a mismatch, if the adult produced a proximate form in the preceding record and then Ani responded with this obviative form that doesn't seem to match the status of the referent—is this more child-like? (1:09:56)
- I ask if an adult might respond in the same manner, and M. says an adult might say <aniyâyiu> (1:11:22). To be honest, I'm pretty confused here, because the adult in the corpus doesn't really do that kind of thing. I think perhaps I'm not finding the best way to ask M. what I mean, and this is a confusing context on top of that.
- The adult target here is [εnəja'jo mami] (1:14:26), with a clear pitch shift to the last syllable of <aniyâyiuh> to indicate the final -h (because it's for an animate referent).

192 (007:33.986-007:38.010)

- The adult says < wâpimich mâ nimâsich mâuchî nimâsishich> 'Look at the fishes, these ones here, the small fishes'
- It's hard to see the fish she's referring to

200 (007:54.083-007:55.463)

- Ani says "alligator" in English
- Seems OK to me, especially because the book has an alligator on the cover. I asked Margaret if there's a Cree word for 'alligator', and she initially said "I think so" (1:23:52 in

REH1-010.wav). If there isn't a Cree 'alligator' readily accessible for an adult speaker, that may explain this particular English lexeme popping up in child speech

The Cree word 'alligator' is <kaashkitaataakw>

201 (007:55.547-007:57.457)

- The adult says <oh awa=yiuh ani=yayiuh> 'Oh, who is this?' (1:26:58)
- She is pointing to a new referent in the book and using the obviative forms to refer to it.

202 (007:57.663-007:58.882)

• Ani says "puppy" (1:26:18). It's really clear.

203 (007:58.738-008:00.621)

- Adult says < achimu=sh=ish> 'puppy' to correct Ani's usage of Eglish
- Margaret confirms that the word ends only in the diminutive, not an obviative –h
- She provides a pronunciation with that -h: achimu=sh=ish=h (1:28:22)

206 (008:02.874-008:04.448)

- Ani says <u=yâyiu=h> 'This one?'
- Margaret says she hears Ani producing a final -h (1:29:09 in REH1-010.wav). But it's
 impossible to tell if the final -h is the question marker or the animate obviative suffix ...
 or if it's both together.
- However, it is clear that Ani is making a production that is not adult-like because she is producing an obviative form in response to the proximate production from the adult. Margaret confirms that it would be more adult-like to say <uu> (1:31:41 in REH1-010.wav)

207 (008:04.080-008:05.688)

- The adult says <uh huh achimu=sh=ish ani=yâyiuh > 'Uh huh, that's a puppy' (1:33:16 in REH1-010.wav)
- Margaret says it would be OK to use the variant of the demonstrative: She says
 <achimushish aniyâh> (1:34:40) is OK and not really different. Both versions of the demonstrative are OK here.
- Margaret pronounces both versions: <achimushish aniyâh> and <achimushish aniyâyiuh> (1:34:37 in REH1-010.wav). She says "We can say both" (1:35:29)
- I think the adult is using Ani's baby talk, with the unanalyzed DEM

210 (008:08.600-008:10.002)

- Ani says <ani=yâyiu=h> 'That one?'
- Margaret says she hears Ani produce a final –h. Again, it's impossible to determine if it's the question –h or the animate obviative –h or both.
- However, this is another example of Ani producing an unanalyzed demonstrative in response to proximate forms from the adult.

214 (008:15.707-008:17.240)

- Adult says < awân mâk wî û> 'Who is this one then?.
- She's pointing to a new referent in the book and asking Ani to label it.

218 (008:22.309-008:23.862)

Ani says <xxx ani=yâyiu> 'That one.'

- Another unanalyzed obviative DEM in response to a proximate form.
- Margaret says there's something before the DEM, but it's hard to make out

513 (019:28.977-019:29.738)

- Ani again says <ani=yâyiu> 'That one?'
- Again, this is an unanalyzed obviative demonstrative produced in response to a proximate form from the adult: <awân û> 'who is this?'
- She's looking at a new referent (an owl) in the book.

516 (019:34.731-019:36.153)

- The adult has said <uhûmisiu> 'owl to label an animal in the book, and Ani responds with [thΛbe].
- It's hard to be sure what Ani is saying, but Margaret thinks it could be an attempt at "puppy". Not Ani's way of saying 'owl'. Margaret confirms that Ani does use the word "puppy" to refer to a lot of animals (1:46:48 in REH1-010.wav)
- Margaret confirms that young Cree children also use words like "puppy" as an overextension to refer to lots of small animals

521 (019:44.176-019:45.705)

• Another overextension: The adult has labeled a <wâpush> 'rabbit' in the book, and Ani responds by calling that a "puppy" too. (1:47:57 in REH1-010.wav)

525 (019:50.104-019:51.886)

- Adult says <wâpush ani=yâyiuh> 'That's the rabbit's (something)'
- Margaret confirms this is what the adult says (1:50:40 in REH1-010.wav).
- I asked Margaret if the adult is using baby talk here, because she's got a mismatch in obviation akin to how Ani talks, but Margaret thinks she's indeed trying to say that something belongs to the rabbit

536 (020:09.102-020:10.404)

- Ani says < u=yâyiuh> 'This one?'
- The adult has pointed out a pail to Ani and labeled it using a proximate form: <aschihkh=sh> 'small pail'
- Again, Ani responds with an unanalyzed obviative form
- Margaret noticed too and said "she always says that" (1:53:14)

540 (020:15.822-020:17.315)

- The adult says <chishâyâkw ani=yâh nimâ> 'That is a bear, right?'
- Margaret provides some careful pronunciations of that target (1:57:14)
- I'm not sure why the adult is using obviative forms. It could be that she is matching the obviative in Ani's baby talk.

541 (020:17.373-020:19.376)

- The adult says <âkuh û piyâshîsh> 'and this one is a bird'
- Margaret says the adult has shortened the <\(\hat{a}\)kuh \(\hat{u}\)> to [ko] (1:57:39 in REH1-010.wav).

543 (020:20.323-020:21.599)

• The adult says <piyashîsh chiki iyin> 'say bird'

545 (020:24.032-020:26.127)

• Ani says "Dora bye" (2:03:18 in REH1-010.wav)

550 (020:40.186-020:41.822)

• Adult says <kâpit ch=it=iti=n> 'Wait, I said'