

File name: REH1-027

Introductory notes

- These examples come from an elicitation session with Margaret
- **My overall goal** for these elicitations was to see what happens to verbs and nouns in relational constructions, which contain a possessor: For example, 'He sees a house' vs. 'He sees **their** house'. I'm interested in to see how things work for indicating animacy, number, and obviation.
 - **Tentative observation #1:** When the possessor is an animate obviative, marking the number of the possessor on the possessee with *-iwaau* is optional but acceptable. Number for the possessor is neutralized everywhere else in the sentence. However, with proximate possessors, marking plural on the possessee does not seem to be optional.
 - **Tentative observation #2:** As with Darlene's examples, it seems that using the relational form for the intransitive verb 'sleep' is less strict/obligatory than using it with the transitive verb 'see'.
- For this session, I focused on the verb **waapihtim** 'S/he sees it (inanimate)', the possessor **naapaau** 'man', and the noun **waaskaahiikin** 'house'. I also focused on the verb **nipaau** 'S/he sleeps (animate)'
- This elicitation session is similar to what we did with 'house' in REH1-013, but I use new pictures and the structures are more fleshed out. I also waited a few days, and we did other things in between REH1-013 and this one, so we could have a cleaner slate for this elicitation session.
- **Time stamps** next to examples indicate where Margaret's pronunciation can be found in audio file REH1-027.
- **Transcriptions** are in the Northern East Cree roman orthography style found on eastcree.org
- Margaret and I worked our way through a series of pictures that I created using clip art. I showed her a picture and asked her how to say things related to that picture. The pictures are included in this file.

A note on the word <waaskaahiikin>: I wanted to use this noun because of its phonological shape, which lets a prefix and a suffix be heard clearly. However, it's not always the best choice of word for 'house', because possession of a house implies that it's someone's home. Therefore, to keep using the word <waaskaahiikin> we considered scenarios where people own houses that are not their homes, as people who sell real estate do.

- Again, my pronunciations are terrible

Picture 1: one house, alone with no people next to it

I focused on forms involving a first-person subject of the verb 'see'. There is no obviation in play, and the verb does not take a relational form because there is no possessor of the house.

Niwaapihtaan waaskaahiikin

'I see a house' (00:31)

- The verb 'see' takes the form agreeing with the inanimate object.

Niwaapihtaan an waaskaahiikin

'I see that house' (01:01)

Picture 2: one house with one man next to it

These examples show relational forms with a first-person subject for the verb, where the added participant is a singular and proximate possessor of singular (and obviative) 'house'.

Niwaapimaau John

'I see John' (01:24)

- The verb 'see' takes the form agreeing with the animate object.

Niwaapihtimwaan John uwaaskaahiikinim

'I see John's house' (01:48)

- Here 'house' takes possessive morphology. It is not overtly obviative, because it has a proximate possessor 'John'. 'house' is one of the inanimate nouns that takes the possessive suffix -im.
- The verb takes the relational form here: The stem ends with -im and is followed by -w + -aan

Niwaapimaau naapaau

'I see a man' (02:30)

- Again, the verb 'see' takes the form agreeing with the animate object.

Niwaapimaau an naapaau

'I see that man' (02:34)

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinim

'I see his house' (02:45)

- Relational verb and possessive morphology here

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaau uwaaskaahiikinim

'I see the man's house' (03:32)

Niwaapihtimwaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinim

'I see that man's house' (03:08)

Picture 3: one house with three men next to it

These examples show relational forms with a first-person subject for the verb, where the added participant is a **plural** and proximate possessor of singular (and obviative) 'house'.

Niwaapimaawich naapaauch

'I see men' (04:11)

- This example shows 'men' taking distinctive number marking: The animate proximate plural suffix -ch

Niwaapimaawich anichii naapaauch

'I see those men' (04:35)

- Here both the demonstrative and the noun bear an animate proximate plural suffix.

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see their house' (04:52)

- Here the verb takes the same relational form seen with Picture 2. The form of the verb has not changed, even though the added participant is now plural instead of singular.
- However, the number of the possessor is marked on 'house' by the suffix -waau. That indicates that there is more than one possessor.
- There is no final -h on 'house' because it is inanimate. Its obviative status is not overtly marked.

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see the men's house' (05:30)

Niwaapihtimwaan anichii naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see those men's house' (05:15)

- Here the plurality of the possessor is indicated on the demonstrative and the noun.

Niwaapimaawich John, Peter, kiyaah Paul

'I see John and Peter and Paul' (06:09)

- This example shows a verb with proper nouns indicating the object. The verb takes a form agreeing with the animacy and number of the object.

Niwaapihtimwaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see John and Peter and Paul's house' (06:43)

- This example shows that a relational verb can entail a possessor that is expressly plural, as indicated by the presence of more than one proper noun
- Again, the verb has not changed shape to indicate the number of the added argument
- This changed-up word order is OK (07:17): uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau niwaapihtimwaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul

Picture 4: two houses with one man

These example show that the form of the relational verb does not change when the possessee is plural (and obviative).

Niwaapihtaan waaskaahiikinh

'I see houses' (08:12)

- This example illustrates that the form of the verb (transitive with an inanimate object) does not change when the object is plural
- The plural form of the object 'house' is indicated by the suffix -h, which primarily surfaces as a stress/accent shift.

Niwaapihtaan anihii waaskaahiikinh

'I see those houses' (08:39)

- Here the inanimate proximate plural form of the object is indicated on both the demonstrative and the noun

Niwaapihtimwaan John uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see John's houses' (09:02)

- Here a singular proximate possessor 'John' is added to the construction, which necessitates a relational verb form: The verb stem takes -im + -w + -aan
- This example shows that the form of the relational verb does not change when the possessee is plural (so 'house' vs. 'houses').

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see his houses' (09:27)

Niwaapihtimwaan wiiji uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see his houses' (09:42)

- Here the pronoun <wiiji> refers to the singular proximate possessor.

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see the man's houses' (10:30)

Niwaapihtimwaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see that man's houses' (10:21)

- Again, an overt singular proximate possessor. This time a demonstrative is used too: Both the DEM and noun agree in number and obviative status (proximate)

Picture 5: two houses with three men next to them

These examples show that the form of the relational verb does not change when the possessor is proximate and plural (with a plural possessee too). So far then, the relational verb encodes only a third-person (animate) possessor—number of the possessor or possessee is not indicated by the verb.

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh

'I see their houses' (11:03)

- Margaret's initial response is to include the plural possessor suffix -iwaau on the possessee 'houses'. There is no hesitation when marking number for proximate possessors.

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh

'I see men's houses' (12:14)

Niwaapihtimwaan anichii naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh

'I see those men's houses' (11:47)

- Here the plurality of the possessor is indicated on the demonstrative, the noun 'men', as well as the possessee via suffix -iwaau.
- The relational verb has not changed form.

Niwaapihtimwaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh

'I see John and Peter and Paul's houses' (12:32)

Now Margaret and I go back through the pictures, but we use a different verb:

nipaau 'S/he sleeps' (a transitive verb with an animate subject)

- The purpose here is to look at how relational forms of the verb are formed when different kinds of possessors are added: proximate singular vs. proximate plural.
- These examples also show what happens when different kinds of possessee are added: obviative singular vs. obviative plural

Picture 1: one house, alone with no people next to it

Ninipaan

'I sleep' (14:18)

- This example shows the non-relational form of the verb.

Ninipaan anitih waaskaahiikinihch

'I sleep in the house there' (14:37)

- This was Margaret's first, immediate response to "How do I say I sleep in the house?". This is similar to how Darlene preferred the adverbial demonstrative <anitih> for constructions where the action is happening in the house.
- The word 'house' takes the locative *-ihch*

Ninipaan waaskaahiikinihch

I sleep in the house' (14:56)

- Margaret says it's OK without the demonstrative

*Ninipaan an waaskaahiikinihch

Margaret didn't like this one, maybe because it's a plain demonstrative (15:39)

Picture 2: one house with one man next to it

These examples show the relational form of the verb, where a singular and proximate possessor is added to the construction.

Ninipaawaan John uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in John's house' (16:42)

- This example shows the relational form of the verb, which is needed because a possessor is added to the construction. The *-waan* is really clear at 16:51.
- The possessor here is singular and proximate 'John'.
- The possessee 'house' ends in the locative suffix, which will prevent any other final suffix from appearing (such as the inanimate plural *-h*)

Ninipaawaan naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in the man's house' (18:38)

Ninipaawaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in that man's house' (18:52)

- The form of the demonstrative and verb both show the singular and proximate status of the referent.

Picture 3: one house with three men next to it

These examples show the relational form of the verb, where a plural and proximate possessor is added to the construction. The verb does not change form to indicate the plural possessor.

Ninipaawaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in their house' (19:47)

- Margaret's first and immediate production was the form of the noun that includes the plural possessor suffix -iwaau before the locative suffix. So it's no problem to mark plural proximate possessors on the noun.

Ninipaawaan John, Peter kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in John and Peter and Paul's house' (20:11)

- The plural possessor here can be indicated by proper nouns.

Ninipaawaan anichii naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in those men's house' (20:49)

- This example shows that the relational verb does not encode the plurality of the possessor. But the plurality of the possessor is indeed encoded on the demonstrative, noun, and possessee.

Picture 4: two houses with one man

These examples have an obviative plural possessee, with a proximate singular possessor. However, the possessee does not bear overt marking for the plural, because the locative suffix appears in place of the inanimate plural -h.

- The relational verb stays the same whether the possessee is singular or plural.

Ninipaawaan John uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in John's houses' (21:37)

- This shows that the number of the possessee is not indicated by the suffix -h because the locative suffix pre-empts that marking: The form for 'I sleep in John's house' is identical to 'I sleep in John's houses'.

Ninipaawaan uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in his houses' (21:59)

Ninipaawaan naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in the man's houses' (22:13)

Ninipaawaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in that man's houses' (22:25)

Picture 5: two houses with three men next to them

These examples show what happens when the possessor is proximate and plural: The form of the relational verb stays the same, so it does not change to mark the number of the possessor.

Ninipaawaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in their houses' (23:07)

- Again Margaret's first and immediate production was the form of the noun that includes the plural possessor suffix -iwaau before the locative suffix. So it's no problem to mark plural proximate possessors on the noun.

Ninipaawaan naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in the men's houses' (23:27)

Ninipaawaan anichii naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in those men's houses' (23:44)

Ninipaawaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in John and Peter and Paul's houses' (24:07)

Now Margaret and I go through different pictures, again using the verb **waapihtim** 'S/he sees it (inanimate)'.

- However, this time the pictures include a third-person subject 'he'. This is designed to elicit relational verbs adding an obviative participant to the construction.
- Because we are using pictures, the number for the obviative possessor will not be ambiguous: Margaret is clearly talking about one or more than one individual as the possessor, regardless of the suffixation that appears.
- This is all designed to give a clear window into how relational verbs behave when the possessor is obviative but also clearly singular or plural.

Picture 6: a person looking at one house, with one man next to it

These examples show an obviative possessor with a singular referent. The form of the relational verb is <waapihtimwaa>.

- Compare to the relational form above: niwaapihtimwaan 'I see his/their (PROX) ...'
- The main difference (aside from the prefix) is that the verb ends the **suffix -u**, which shows up with: 1) AI, AI+O verbs with third-person singular subjects; 2) direct TA verbs with a third-person proximate singular argument (and where the subject is singular); and (possibly) II verbs with a singular proximate subject.
 - Based on this, I think I could make the case that -u indexes a singular, proximate, non-SAP argument/participant of the verb (check Julie's analysis to see what she thinks). Just an idea for now.

Waapihtim waaskaahiikiniyu

'He sees a house' (24:50)

- 'House' takes the inanimate obviative singular suffix, because 'he' is proximate.

Waapihtim aniyaa waaskaahiikiniyu

'He sees that house' (25:07)

- Here the obviative status of the house is also indicated by the demonstrative.

Waapimaau John-h

'He sees John' (25:30)

- This example shows that the form of the verb changes when the object is animate.
- The object 'John' takes the animate obviative suffix -h
- *John-iyiu doesn't work because John is animate

Waapimaau aniyaah John-h

'He sees John' (26:04, 26:30)

- This example shows you can specify a proper noun, and the demonstrative also carries clear and overt marking showing that John is obviative

Waapihtimwaau John-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees John's house' (26:55)

- Here the verb takes a relational form because a possessor is being added as a participant
- The noun takes the -iyiu indexing the obviative possessor John-h

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah John-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees John's house' (27:14)

- Is OK too
- This example also clearly shows that an obviative possessor has been added to the construction.

Waapimaau naapaauh

'He sees a man' (27:32)

- Here's a common noun instead of a proper noun

Waapimaau aniyaah naapaauh

'He sees that man' (27:50)

- Again the demonstrative and noun both carry obviative marking

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees his house' (28:10)

- Here 'house' bears the suffix that marks an obviative possessor

Waapihtimwaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees the man's house' (28:30)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees that man's house' (28:44)

Picture 7: a person looking at one house, with three men next to it

These examples show how animate obviative nouns and demonstratives are neutralized for number: They are the same as in the examples with picture 6. However, some possibilities for marking plurality of the obviative possessor open up with the possessee: Although Maragret's initial productions lack the suffix -iwaau, she said it was OK to produce the plural possessor suffix with possessee of obviative possessors.

Waapimaau naapaauh
'He sees men' (29:13)

Waapimaau aniyaah naapaauh
'He sees those men' (29:31)

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu
'He sees their house' (29:51)

- Here we have the relational form of the verb because a possessor 'their' is added.
- Margaret's first, immediate production for "He sees their house" was this, which does not have the plural possessor suffix -iwaau. So in this case, the number for the obviative possessor is truly neutralized: We don't know if the house belong to one person or more than one person.

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayiu
'He sees their house' (30:16)

- After the previous example, I asked if we could say this version, which has the -iwaau suffix. In this case, the number of the obviative possessor is not neutralized, because the possessee carries marking that indicates there is a plural possessor.
- Margaret said it aloud and said it's "good ... yeah, we can say that" (30:33)

Waapihtimwaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu
'He sees the men's house' (30:57)

- Again, Margaret's first, immediate production in response to the prompt was to produce the form without -iwaau, again neutralizing number of the obviative possessor
- In the moment, I didn't ask about adding -iwaau because we had other forms to get to

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu
'He sees those men's house' (31:32)

- Here there is neutralization of number for the obviative possessor across three words: the demonstrative, the noun, and the possessee
- In the moment, I didn't ask about adding -iwaau to the possessee, because we had other forms to get to

Waapimaau John-h Peter-h kiyaah Paul-h
'He sees John, Peter, and Paul' (32:05)

- This example shows that there can be three proper nouns as the object, each marked obviative

Waapihtimwaau John-h Peter-h kiyaah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu
'He sees John and Peter and Paul's house' (33:13)

- In this example, the obviative possessor is no longer completely neutralized for number, because the multiple proper nouns tell you there is more than one person possessing the house.
- Margaret's first, immediate production was without -iwaau on the possessee
- Without me asking, Margaret offered up the form of the possessee with the plural possessor suffix: "I guess we can say too" (33:43): <Waapihtimwaau John-h Peter-h kiyaah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimi**waayiu**>
- I didn't push further regarding -iwaau, because we had other forms to get to

Picture 8: a person looking at two houses with one man next to it

These examples show plural possessee—doesn't change the form of the relational verb.

Waapihtim waaskaahiikinh
'He sees houses' (34:33)

Waapihtim aniyaah waaskaahiikinh
'He sees those houses' (34:51)

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees his (somebody else's) houses' (35:54)

Waapihtimwaau John-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees John's houses' (35:11)

- The final -h on 'house' is the inanimate plural

Waapihtimwaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees the man's houses' (36:33)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees that man's houses' (36:51)

Picture 9: a person looking at two houses with three men between them

These examples are intended to see what kinds of marking arise in constructions with an obviative possessor that is also visibly plural. They show that number for the obviative possessor is not indicated by the verb, the noun (for the possessor), or a demonstrative agreeing with that noun. In other words, the relational verb can add an obviative (and plural) possessor, but the verb itself tells you nothing about the obviation and number of the possessor.

- Number for the possessor might also not be indicated by the suffix -iwaau on the possessee, but that seems to be optional.

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees their houses' (37:20)

- This was Margaret's first, immediate production. She did not use the plural possessor suffix -iwaau. So in this construction, the number of the possessor is indeed neutralized: Neither the verb nor the noun tell you whether the possessor is singular or plural.
- I didn't ask specifically if -iwaau could be used here

Waapihtimwaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees the men's houses' (37:37)

- Again, number for the obviative possessor is not indicated anywhere
- I didn't ask specifically if -iwaau could be used here

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees those men's houses' (37:52)

- On her own, Margaret offered up the version with the suffix -iwaau:
“We can say <waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaaauh uwaaskaahiikinimi**waay**ih>” (37:58).
 - So in this version, number for the obviative possessor is neutralized everywhere except on the possessed noun.

Waapihtimwaau John-h Peter-h kiiyah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyih

‘He sees John and Peter and Paul’s houses’ (38:34)

- This construction shows that you can have plural obviative possessors (indicated by multiple proper nouns)
- Again, Margaret’s first production was without -iwaau, but she offers a version with that suffix too: uwaaskaahiikinimi**waay**ih (38:55)

Now Margaret and I go back through the pictures, but we use a different verb:

nipaau ‘S/he sleeps’ (a transitive verb with an animate subject)

- These forms can be compared to those above, which have a first-person subject.

Picture 6: a person looking at one house with one man

Nipaau waaskaahiikinihch

‘He sleeps in the house’ (40:06)

- No relational verb form, because there is no possessor

Nipaau anitih waaskaahiikinihch

‘He sleeps in the house there’ (40:18)

Nipaau John-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

‘He sleeps in John’s house’ (40:45)

- This was the first, immediate form Margaret gave. It doesn’t have the relational verb. She says it several times and confirmed my spelling. This may be an indicator that the requirement for a relational form with the VAI ‘sleep’ is looser than with the VTI ‘see’.
- The noun ‘house’ carries the obviative possessor suffix -iyiu (shortened to -iy) as well as the locative suffix.

Nipaau naapaaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

‘He sleeps in the man’s house’ (42:11)

- Again no relational form. She says it twice.

Nipaawaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

‘He sleeps in his house’ (42:33)

- Here I asked Margaret how to say ‘He sleeps in his house’, and she produced the relational form immediately: -w + -aa + -u
- Margaret noticed her own production, and from this point on she uses relational forms in the expected contexts: I asked her for some forms she already produced, to see if she would change those too. In these cases she also used the relational form:

Nipaawaau John-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

‘He sleeps in John’s house’ (43:01, 43:36)

Nipaaauwaaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in the man's house' (43:49)

Nipaaauwaaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in that man's house' (44:19)

Picture 7: a person looking at one house, with three men next to it

These examples have an obviative possessor, which the picture indicates is plural. Therefore my goal here was to see if the obviative possessor can be marked for number. Again, it seems that number marking via the suffix *-iwaau* is acceptable and optional.

Nipaaauwaaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch
'He sleeps in their house' (44:47)

- This was Margaret's first, immediate production.
- This noun shows that a possessed noun with an **obviative possessor** can bear the following suffixes all at once: the possessive *-im*, the plural possessor *-iwaau* (shortened to *-iwa*), the plural possessor morpheme *-iyiu* (shorted to *-y*), and the locative suffix *-ihch*)
- So here number for the obviative possessor is not neutralized and is in fact explicitly marked at the same time as the possessor's obviative status

I asked Margaret to repeat 'He sleeps in their house', and she said it without the plural possessor suffix *-iwaau*:

Nipaaauwaaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in their house'

- In fact, before she even finished the sentence she noticed the difference and commented, "We can say <Nipaaauwaaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch>" (44:56)
- Then she followed up with, "We can say <Nipaaauwaaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch>" (45:06)
- I asked if one version felt better or worse or different or about the same (with and without *-iwaau*), and Margaret said they're each "about the same" (45:28)

Nipaaauwaaau anitih naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in the men's house there' (46:03)

At this point, Margaret thought about it and offered, "I guess we can say < Nipaaau anitih naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch>" (46:19) 'He sleeps in the men's house there'

- So this is explicit metalinguistic observation that the requirement for the relational form may be more flexible in intransitive constructions.

Nipaaauwaaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in the men's house' (47:12)

Nipaaauwaaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in those men's house' (47:27)

Nipaaauwaaau John-h, Peter-h kiyah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in John, Peter, and Paul's house' (47:48, 48:30)

- Here Margaret's immediate production again included the -iwaau suffix marking number for the obviative possessor.
- I asked Margaret to repeat her sentence, and she gave the version without -iwaau: <Nipaauwaau John-h, Peter-h kiiyah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch> (48:11)
- I double-checked and asked if <uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch> would be OK, and she said "Yeah" (48:24)
- I asked if either version feels better, and she said they're both good (48:40)

Picture 8: a person looking at two houses, with one man next to them

These examples deal with an obviative possessor, with a clearly singular referent, with a possessee that is clearly plural.

Nipaau waaskaahiikinihch

'He sleeps in the houses' (51:08)

Nipaau anitih waaskaahiikinihch

'He sleeps in the houses there' (49:37, 49:56)

- The locative suffix -ihch prevents the inanimate plural suffix -h

Nipaau utih waaskaahiikinihch

'He sleeps in the houses here' (52:10)

- It seems hard to get a demonstrative specifying the house(s): Margaret prefers to use adverbials 'there', 'here' instead

Nipaawaau Johnh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in John's houses' (52:53)

- Margaret's first, immediate production is with the relational form of the verb.
- Again, Margaret indicates **flexibility** with using the relational verb. After saying this example, she says "or <Nipaau Johnh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch>" (53:00)
- She gives both versions (with and without the relational form -waau) at 53:41 ... "we can say both" (53:50)

Nipaawaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in his (somebody else's) houses' (54:19)

- The houses belong to somebody other than the subject of 'sleep', and that obviative possessor is indexed with -iyiu

Nipaawaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in the man's houses' (54:38)

- Again, Margaret confirms that the form 'house' does not end in the inanimate plural -h

Nipaawaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in that man's houses' (55:17)

- Margaret offered some metalinguistic commentary: If she uses the form of 'house' with the plural possessor suffix <uwaaskaahiikinimi**iwaayihch**>, "I'm talking about ... maybe more than two men" (as possessors) (55:53). "If it's only one man, it's

<uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch>” (56:20). So again, the -iwaau is an overt marker for number for an obviative referent.

Picture 9: a person looking at two houses, with three men next to them

These examples again feature an obviative possessor, where the referent in the picture is clearly plural. Again, I think these examples show that marking an animate obviative for plural number is acceptable and optional.

Nipaawaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch
'He sleeps in their houses' (57:14)

- Margaret's first, immediate production is the version with plural possessor suffix -iwaau.
- I ask if we could use the version without -iwaau: <uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch> ... she thought about it and said "I guess we can say that" (57:42)
- I ask which version feels better and she says <uwaaskaahiikinimi**iwaayihch**> (57:57) ... but then she thought about it some more and says, "I guess we can say both" (58:10)

Nipaawaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in those men's houses' (58:32)

- Here her first production was without -iwaau.
- But again Margaret comments "we can say both": <Nipaawaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimi**iwaayihch**> (58:38)
- I ask again if one feels better, and she says they're the "same" (59:08)

Nipaawaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in those men's houses' (59:23)

- She says it's OK with -iwaau too: <Nipaawaau naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimi**iwaayihch**> (59:43)
- I ask if it feels any different, and she says "no" (59:52)

Nipaawaau John-h, Peter-h kiyaah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
'He sleeps in John and Peter and Paul's houses' (01:00:07)

- Again I ask if the version with -iwaau is OK and she says yes: <Nipaawaau John-h, Peter-h kiyaah Paul-h uwaaskaahiikinimi**iwaayihch**> (01:00:27)

Margaret and I went through some examples where the obviative possessor is modified with the verb *chinukaapuu* 'he is tall'. We used the same pictures as before, which are at the bottom of this document.

- I was tired, and I didn't do a diligent enough job checking on whether the plural possessor suffix -iwaau could be used. This needs more dedicated follow-up.

Picture 6: a person looking at one house, with one man next to it

Chinukaapuu
'He is tall' (01:01:25)

Waapimaau naapaauh
'He sees a man' (01:01:47)

waapimaau aah chinukaapuwiych-h naapaauh

'He sees a tall man' (01:02:05)

- Because 'man' is obviative, here the verb 'tall' takes the Conjunct Indicative Neutral ending for an obviative person: -yichh. Margaret prefers that I spell it with a dash to separate each /h/: <wiych-h>. The <aah> is the Conjunct preverb.

Waapihtimwaau kaah chinukaapuwiych-h naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees the tall man's house' (01:02:56, 01:03:16)

- The relational verb is used here.
- The preverb changes here to <kaah>

Niwaapihtimwaan kaah chinukaapuwit naapaau uwaaskaahiikinim

'I see the tall man's house' (01:03:48)

- Relational verb form again.
- Here the 'man' is proximate instead of obviative, and so the Conjunct verb agrees with the proximate argument. Also, the noun 'his house' no longer bears the obviative possessor suffix -iyiu.

Picture 7: a person looking at one house, with three men next to it

Here the idea is to see what happens with number marking for an obviative possessor, when that possessor is modified by the verb 'tall'.

Waapihtimwaau kaah chinukaapuwiych-h naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees the tall men's house' (01:04:58)

- Margaret produced no plural possessor suffix -iwaau with 'house' here, so number for the obviative possessor is completely neutralized throughout the sentence: the main verb, adjectival verb, possessor, and possessee do not carry plural marking for the referent, which is clearly plural.
- I forgot to ask if it's possible to use -iwaau with 'house' here.

Niwaapihtimwaan kaah chinukaapuwich naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see the tall men's house' (01:05:25)

- Because the possessor is proximate here, the number is marked on every element: main verb, adjectival verb, possessor, and possessee

Picture 8: a person looking at two houses, with one man next to them

Waapihtimwaau naapaauh kaah chinukaapuwiych-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyiuh

'He sees the tall man's houses' (01:06:45)

Niwaapihtimwaan kaah chinukaapuwit naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see the tall man's houses' (01:07:27)

Picture 9: a person looking at two houses with three men

Waapihtimwaaau kaah chinukaapuwiych-h naapaaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh

'He sees the tall men's houses' (01:07:57)

- Again, Margaret did not use the plural possessor suffix -iwaau, and I didn't ask about it. So here number for the obviative possessor is neutralized across all of the words in the sentence.
- A word-order switch isn't as good: <Waapihtimwaaau naapaaauh kaah chinukaapuwiych-h uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh> is not as good (01:08:12)

Niwaapihtimwaan kaah chinukaapuwich naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh

'I see the tall men's houses' (01:09:04)

- Again, number for the possessor is overt for every word because the referent is proximate.

Picture 1



Picture 2



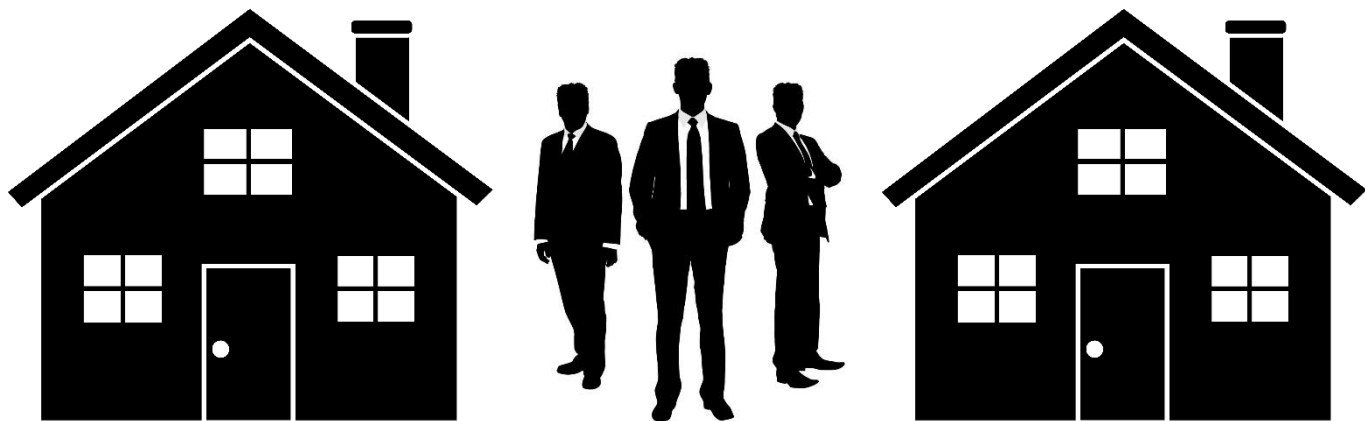
Picture 3



Picture 4



Picture 5



Picture 6



Picture 7



Picture 8



Picture 9

