

File name: REH1-023.pdf

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 wants a knife' vs. 'He wants their new knife'
- I'm interested in marking for animacy, number, and obviation.
- For this session, I focused on the verb **nitiwaayihitim** 'he wants it', the possessor **naapaau** 'man', and the noun **muuhkumaan** 'knife'. I also modified the noun with the verb **ushkaau** 'it is new'.
- **Time stamps** next to examples indicate where Margaret's pronunciation can be found in audio file REH1-023.
- In general, Margaret was not looking at the screen when I typed. She only looked at my spelling a couple of times, so she was not pronouncing forms from the screen.
- **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.

muuhkumaan
'knife' (00:27)

Kaa ushkaach muuhkumaan
'a new knife'

ushkaau u muuhkumaan
'this is a new knife' (00:37)
'This knife is new'

- This is the Independent Indicative Neutral form of <ushkaau>

Muuhkumaan uu
'This is a knife'

uu muuhkumaan kaa ushkaach

niwaaphtaan muuhkumaan
'I see a knife'

niwaaphtaan kaa ushkaach muuhkumaan
'I see a new knife'

niwaaphtaan uu kaa ushkaach muuhkumaan
'I see this new knife'

Picture 1: One hiker sees one fisherman with a knife (01:23)

Ninitiwaayihitaan muuhkumaan
'I want a knife'

Nitiwaayihtaan kaa ushkaach muuhkumaan
'I want a new knife'
-both kaa and aah seem OK

Nitiwaayihtaan uu kaa ushkaach muuhkumaan
'I want this new knife'
-both kaa and aah seem OK

nitiwaayihtim muuhkumaaniyu
'He wants a knife' (01:47)

nitiwaayihtim aniyaa muuhkumaaniyu
'He wants that knife' (02:04, 36:55)

Nitiwaayihtim aah ushkaayich muuhkumaaniyu
'He wants a new knife' (02:28, 35:47)

- Here <ushkaau> takes the Conjunct Indicative Neutral form: There's a preverb <aah> + the stem <ushkaa> takes the inanimate singular obviative suffix *-yich*
- There's only one /h/ at the end of this verb form

Nitiwaayihtim aah ushkaayich-h muuhkumaanh
'He wants new knives' (36:04)

- The preverb changes with the addition of the demonstrative in the next example ...

Nitiwaayihtim aniyaa kaa ushkaayich muuhkumaaniyu
'He wants that new knife' (37:03)

Nitiwaayihtim aniyaah kaa ushkaayich-h muuhkumaanh
'He wants those new knives' (37:42)

- Conjunct form is <kaa ushkaayich> for one knife, <kaa ushkaayich-h> for more than one knife

Nitiwaayihtim aniyaa kaa ushkaayich muuhkumaaniyu
'He wants that new knife' (04:02)

- This example includes a demonstrative modifying 'knife' and the preverb changes form from <aah> to <kaa>

Nitiwaayihtim aniyaa muuhkumaaniyu kaa ushkaayich
'He wants that new knife' (04:54)

- Moving the Conjunct verb is OK

Nitiwaayihtim umuuhkumaan
'He wants his (own) knife' (05:44)

Nitiwaayihtim kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaan
'He wants his (own) new knife' (06:09)

- Here the preverb is again <kaa>, but there's no demonstrative in this construction
- M. says I'm giving her great ideas for her students (06:22)

Nitiwaayihtim aniyaa kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaan

'He wants his (own) new knife' (07:17)

- Here the demonstrative is used to modify 'his (own) knife'

Picture 3: A picture of a hiker looking at one with two fishermen (8:27)

Umuuhkumaaniwaau

'their knife' (08:51)

- No final /h/ because it's one knife
- The plural possessor suffix -iwaau is used on 'their knife'

Aayuwikw uyaa umuuhkumaaniwaau

'This is their knife' (09:33, 10:57)

- <aayuwikw> is listed on the EastCree.org dictionary as a particle (conjunction) meaning 'that is'. Maybe I didn't ask the right way, because I was trying to see what happens with a demonstrative instead of the discourse conjunction particle → or maybe I'm misunderstanding what <aayuwikw> really is here.

Aayuwikw uyaa kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaaniwaau

'This is their new knife' (11:11)

- Preverb is <kaa>, and there's a demonstrative

Nitiwaayihtimwaau umuuhkumaaniyu

'He wants their knife' (12:15)

- Here the relational morpheme appears to signify the possessor 'their'

Nitiwaayihtimwaau kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaaniyu

'He wants their new knife' (12:49)

Nitiwaayihtimwaau aniyaa kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaaniyu

'He wants their new knife' (13:04)

- Specifying the possessee here, and it's also modified by the Conjunct verb

Nitiwaayihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh umuuhkumaaniyu

'He wants those men's knife' (13:49)

- Having the overt possessor here, which is modified by a demonstrative
- The obviative form <aniyaah naapaauh> is ambiguous for number: It could refer to one man or more than one man (14:24)

Nitiwaayihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaaniyu

'He wants those men's new knife' (14:39)

* Nitiwaayihtimwaau naapaauh kaa ushkaayich aniyaa umuuhkumaaniyu (15:18)

- Trying to specify the possessee in the presence of the overt possessor
- It's no good to use a demonstrative with the possessee when the possessor isn't specified—Margaret shook her head for the

*? Nitiwaayihtimwaau naapaauh aniyaa kaa ushkaayich umuuhkumaaniyu (16:14)

- Here I put the demonstrative specifying ‘their knife’ in a different place. Margaret said it’s “not really” something that sounds good (16:30)

Picture 4: A picture of a hiker looking at two men that have three knives with them (17:52)

umuuhkumaaniwaauh

‘their knives’ (18:12)

- There’s an /h/ at the end here, because ‘knife’ is plural
- The noun also takes the plural possessor morpheme -iwaau

‘He wants their knives’

- Margaret took a moment to figure out how to say it (19:11). Maybe this isn’t a common kind of construction?
- Her first response was a form that includes the obviative possessor morpheme -yiu along with the plural possessor morpheme -iwaau (19:13):

Nitiwaayihitimwaau umuuhkumaaniwaayiuh

- But then she offered a second form that she said is “better”, which doesn’t have the there is no plural possessor marker (19:22):

Nitiwaayihitimwaau umuuhkumaaniyiuh

- So there is something going on with trying to mark third-person obviative/plural possessors on a noun that also carries obviative possessor marking.

Nitiwaayihitimwaau kaa ushkaayichh umuuhkumaaniyiuh

‘He wants their new knives’ (20:31)

- The final -h on the Conjunct verb indicates more than one knife. That’s the inanimate plural obviative Conjunct ending –yichh (sometimes spelled <yich-h>)
- Sounds to me like that final /h/ shows up as kind of a lengthened release on the affricate <ch>. Worth checking in Praat.

Nitiwaayihitimwaau aniyaah kaa ushkaayich-h umuuhkumaaniyiuh

‘He wants their new knives’ (21:10)

- Here ‘their new knives’ is specified with the demonstrative, but there’s no overt possessor present.
- Here Margaret started to say <umuuhkumaaniwaayiuh> but caught herself and just said <umuuhkumaaniyiuh> (21:15)

*? Nitiwaayihitimwaau aniyaah umuuhkumaaniyiuh kaa ushkaayich-h

- Moved the word order a bit ... not really good (22:35)

Nitiwaayihitimwaau aniyaah naapaauh umuuhkumaaniyiuh

‘He wants those men’s knives’ (23:15, 24:37)

- Can use the demonstrative with the overt possessor

Nitiwaayihitimwaau aniyaah naapaauh kaa ushkaayich-h umuuhkumaaniyiuh

‘He wants those men’s new knives’ (23:15)

- As expected, you**Nitiwaayih*tim

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *aniyaah* *naapaauh* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants those men's new knives' (23:38)

- After this, Margaret started to offer a form without the relational (*nitiwaayih*tim), but then stopped herself and realized it wasn't grammatical (23:59)

*? *Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *naapaauh* *aniyaah* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*

- Margaret rejected this form, where the demonstrative modifies the possessee in the presence of the overt possessor (25:06)

*? *Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *naapaauh* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *aniyaah* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*

- Margaret rejected this one too, where the demonstrative modifies the possessee (which has a conjunct verb with it) in the presence of the overt possessor (25:27)

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *naapaauh* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants the men's knives' (26:11)

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *naapaauh* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants the men's new knives' (27:09)

Picture 2: A picture of a hiker looking at three knives with one fisherman (28:05)

*Nitiwaayih*tim *muuhkumaanh*
 'He wants knives' (29:10)

- Final stress indicates the final /h/

*Nitiwaayih*tim *aniyaah* *muuhkumaanh*
 'He wants those knives' (29:35)

*Nitiwaayih*tim *aniyaah* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *muuhkumaanh*
 'He wants those new knives' (30:00)

*Nitiwaayih*tim *aniyaah* *muuhkumaanh* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h*

- Putting the preverb after the noun is modifies is OK (30:27, 31:21)

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants his new knives' (32:12)

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *aniyaah* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants his (those) new knives' (32:50)

- Margaret made fun of me and anticipated this example before I asked (32:42). It was pretty funny.

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *aniyaah* *naapaauh* *kaa* *ushkaayich-h* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants that man's new knives' (33:13)

*Nitiwaayih*timwaa*u* *naapaauh* *kaa* *ushkaayichh* *umuuhkumaaniyuh*
 'He wants the man's knives' (33:46)

*? Nitiwaayihitimwaau naapaauh aniyaah umuuhkumaaniyuh

- Again, adding the demonstrative with the possessee in the presence of the overt possessor is not really good (34:02) ... “we can say it, not really” (34:27)

*? Nitiwaayihitimwaau naapaauh aniyaah kaa ushkaayich-h umuuhkumaaniyuh

- Again, adding the demonstrative with the possessee in the presence of the overt possessor is not really good (34:52)

Nitiwaayihitimwaau aniyaah naapaauh aniyaa umuuhkumaaniyu

‘He wants that man’s/those men’s (that) knife’ (39:50)

- And yet it seems that it may be OK to have a modifier with both the possessee and overt possessor







