

File name: REH1-038.pdf

Accompanies audio file: REH1-038.wav

CCLAS session(s) involved: Daisy session 7, where she is age 4;01.20

Background and overview:

- My focus is what Algonquian linguistics calls “relational” verbs in Northern East Cree, where the suffix *-w* signifies an additional third-person entity who is involved in the action/event/process expressed by the verb.
- Helen and I watched sections of the video recording using the software Phon, and then we went back through to discuss individual records. In general, each record in Phon contains one utterance or intonational unit.
- All records have been sorted in Phon by segment time (i.e., chronologically). Some record numbers in the notes below may not match the record numbers mentioned in the audio recording. In such cases, refer to the time stamps that are provided right after the record number: these correspond to times within the CCLAS video recording we are discussing.
- Other time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-038.wav. Adult-like phonetic targets for selected utterances by Daisy are indicated with **Target:** (timestamp). Additional information and analysis are provided below.
- **Transcriptions** are in the Northern East Cree roman orthography style used by CCLAS, where circumflex accent diacritics indicate “long” vowels. The equals sign $\langle = \rangle$, when used, indicates a morpheme break.

Record 127 (004:57.123 in the CCLAS video)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Wallihch chîh ihtutimuch.

‘They did it on the wall.’

The ensuing utterance from Daisy is $\langle \text{Nâshtâpwâh chîh miywâshiyiu walliyiu} \rangle$ ‘The wall was very nice’.

Helen hears Daisy using the locative suffix *-ihch* with English word “wall” (00:00:51 in REH1-038.wav), and Daisy is talking about children writing/painting/drawing on a wall.

The verb is not a relational form: It refers to the third-person plural subject acting on the inanimate wall. Helen hears Daisy correctly pronouncing all the parts of the verb (00:03:58 in REH1-038.wav). This is an important piece of evidence that Daisy can indeed pronounce the

sound sequence *-much* at the end of a verb. This helps show that her overgeneralization of the [k] ending for the “ch” ending in Conjunct relationals is not simply a mispronunciation issue.

Section 1: Daisy is making up a story about fighting Freddy Krueger.

Record 273 (010:40.426 in the CCLAS video)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Nishtim kâ ihtâwich nîyi.

‘When I was first there, me’

Target: (00:10:28 in REH1-038.wav).

Overall, Daisy’s target structure is adultlike (00:10:19). Daisy is using a relational verb form to refer to the man she has just mentioned in her story. The man, who turns out to be Freddy Krueger, is near Daisy’s location in her story—so, she is indicating that someone else is in the picture. The pronoun <nîyi> is for emphasis.

Helen says Daisy “doesn’t pronounce it right” (00:07:20): Daisy is again replacing the “ch” of the relational ending with a [k] (00:08:09). Daisy ends up saying a verb more like <Nishtim kâ ihtâwik nîyi> (00:07:26). Daisy is also contracting the verb a bit in her pronunciation too (00:11:31).

Cf: <Nishtim kâ ihtâyân nîyi>, which doesn’t have a relational verb. This verb form of ‘be’ “doesn’t refer to anybody else” (00:10:36 and 00:10:58).

Record 274 (010:42.376)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Mâutih nîyi kâ nîpuwiwich pâshuch.

‘Me, I was standing near here’

Target: (00:14:40 in REH1-038.wav).

Daisy’s target structure is adult-like (00:12:49), but Daisy is again replacing the “ch” of the relational ending with a [k]. “She’s saying it again,” Helen notes, which refers to Daisy’s systematic usage of [k] in this context (00:12:05). Daisy ends up saying a verb more like <kâ nîpuwiwik> (00:13:14). Again, I think this is an overgeneralization of the 1>3 ending for TA verbs.

I asked Helen if Daisy’s pronunciation of [k] at the end of these Conjunct relational forms may be some kind of a dialect or subdialect difference, because Daisy has spent time in other Cree communities (00:13:31). Helen immediately said, “No. It’s just her—well, kids her age” (00:13:38). Again, Helen indicates that this is the kind of error that other children do as well, not just Daisy.

Cf: <Mâutih nîyi kâ nîpuwiyân pâshuch> without a relational form of the verb ‘stand’, Helen says, “wouldn’t refer to anybody else” (00:15:42 and 00:16:02).

Two other notes: The pronoun <nîyi> is for emphasis. Helen also points out that Daisy is also using her finger to gesture and indicate the spatial relationship between herself and the man (00:14:59).

Record 275 (010:45.881)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Pâshuch âyihtâwîit âyihtât.

‘Near you-, near where he is’

This record contains two kinds of errors from Daisy, according to Helen. Daisy’s combination of error and self-correction demonstrates her command of person marking with her verb forms. She clearly understands the difference between a 2SG relational ending and a regular 3SG ending in the Conjunct order.

The first error is with Daisy’s first verb, which is a relational form. <Pâshuch âyihtâwîit> means ‘near you’, which refers to the man Daisy has been referencing in previous records (00:17:45 in REH1-038.wav). Helen says Daisy again says [k] instead of the 2SG relational ending [t], pronouncing a form more like <âyihtâwîik> (00:19:24 and 00:22:06). This is interesting, because Daisy is overgeneralizing the -k ending with a 2SG relational form, whereas her other such overgeneralizations have been with 1SG forms. In fact, when I ask, Helen says this is the same -k pattern we have previously seen (00:23:09).

The second error is that Daisy uses the wrong person configuration with the first verb, which seems to be more of a slip of the tongue or a false start. Helen thinks Daisy means to say: ‘Near where he is’ (00:18:50), so Daisy’s second verb is actually a self-correction (00:16:36 and 00:17:26): Daisy is meaning to refer to where the man is, not the adult Daisy is speaking to. So, Daisy’s second verb pronunciation is on-target: <âyihtât> ‘where he is’, which is not a relational form (00:21:13).

Record 281 (010:59.354)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:
Nichîh mâkumâu kê âpichihtâw^uich châkwâyiu.
'I bit him using something.'

Target: (00:28:18 and 00:32:51 in REH1-038.wav).

As for Daisy's relational verb: It's hard to make out the ending "ch" clearly because the next word starts with the same "ch" sound. Helen says, "She kind of drops" the ending for the verb (00:33:26). This one is hard to analyze as either adultlike or incorrect because of the two consecutive "ch" sounds in Daisy's target. Helen notices this issue too (00:34:03). I'll have to skip this verb token in analyzing Daisy's relationals. Neither Helen nor I hear Daisy clearly doing the [k] overgeneralization here, but it's just too hard to tell what is going on for sure.

Cf: <Nichîh mâkumâu> means 'I bit him' (00:29:14).

This utterance contains an error related to Daisy's preverb usage: Daisy is using the wrong preverb with the second verb (00:28:27 and 00:29:42). She should be using the Conjunct neutral preverb <âh> instead of the relative clause preverb <kâ>: <Nichîh mâkumâu **âh** âpichihtâw^uich châkwâyiu> is adult-like (see the **Target** above). Helen says the rest of what Daisy says sounds good (00:29:09).

Cf: The preverb <kâ> can make a relative clause <kâ âpichihtâyân châkwân> 'the thing that I used' (00:29:59). Here there is a nonrelational form of the verb, and I didn't ask if you could use a relational form there.

Cf: But this relative clause won't work: <kâ âpichihtâyân châkwâyiu> (00:30:37). The nominal needs to be proximate <châkwân> (00:30:44).

Cf: This structure also won't work because the preverb is wrong and therefore puts a relative clause in an incorrect context: <Nichîh mâkumâu kê âpichihtâyân châkwân> (00:31:04). Helen says, "the two sentences don't really go together". She says, "It's like broken Cree" (00:32:04).

Record 298 (011:27.063)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:
Âi nichîh nitiwâpihtim^wân mûhkumâniyiu châ mâtishuk.
'Um, I went to get a knife to cut him.'

Target for the relational verb: (00:38:24 in REH1-038.wav).

Daisy's overall structure is adult-like (00:36:55 and 00:37:15). Helen hears Daisy producing all of the necessary relational verb morphology with <nichîh nitiwâpihtimwân> 'I went to get it (in relation to him)' (00:37:39), and the verb is referring to the man Daisy says she is going to cut (Freddy Krueger). Helen hears Daisy pronouncing all the parts of the second verb as well (00:39:00).

Daisy substitutes an [f] for the /p/ in <nitiwâpihtimwân> (00:37:03), but this is just a child-like pronunciation rather than some kind of meaningful morphological pattern.

Record 302 (011:39.493)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

I mean âiyiu nichîh âpichihtâwân.

'I mean, I used a ...'

Target: (00:39:48 in REH1-038.wav).

The relational verb in this context is adult-like, and Helen hears Daisy use all the parts of it (00:40:17). Again, the relational verb is referring to the same man (Freddy Krueger).

Record 303 (011:41.620)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Chisihîkinyiu anitâh nichîh utitâmihwâu.

'I hit him with a broom.'

Target for the adult-like utterance—see notes below (00:43:06 and 00:44:54 in REH1-038.wav).

This is another example of Daisy committing a particular error, where she uses an instrumental noun phrase as an adjunct with the TA verb (00:48:42 and 00:49:11). The TA verb here is <utâmihwâu> 's/he hits her/him, it (anim)', with some reduplication at the beginning, and Daisy uses <chisihîkinyiu> 'broom (OBV)' as an adjunct with it. That is not adultlike, and Helen and I caught a similar error in Daisy's session 5, where she is age 4;00.00.

Instead, a more adult-like way to express it would be to use two clauses: <Chisihîkinyiu nichîh âpichihtâwân âh utâmihuk> 'I used a broom to hit him' (00:43:06 and 00:44:54). This construction uses a relational verb form of AI+O <âpichihtâu> 'use it' in the main clause with a 1>3 Conjunct form of <utâmihwâu> 'hit him' (00:46:59) in the embedded clause.

Record 307 (011:50.454)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Nichih âhkuhwâu.

'I hurt him.'

Helen says the verb is adult-like (00:42:34). It is not a relational verb. Instead, it is a 1>3 form of the TA verb <âhkuhwâu> 's/he hurts her/him, physically or emotionally'. Cf: <Chih âhkuhwâu> 'She hurt him' (00:41:48).