

File name: REH1-042.pdf

Accompanies audio file: REH1-042.wav

CCLAS session(s) involved: This document involves looking at a handful of relational verbs across CCLAS sessions 18 and 19.

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 REH1-042.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.

Daisy session 18: Age 4;09.00

Section 1: Daisy is looking through a book and talking about some kind of fish she sees there.

Record 441 (017:11.219 in the CCLAS video)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

wiyiitimich kaa iituhtaawich

‘when I went outside’

Target: (00:08:06 in REH1-042.wav).

The ending of \langle kaa iituhtaawich \rangle is a bit hard to make out because Daisy trails off a bit. Helen doesn’t hear Daisy using the “ch” ending. She thinks it sounds like Daisy is either: 1) overgeneralizing the “k” ending again (00:05:36), or 2) trailing off without saying the consonant

sound at the end (00:08:27). I hear Daisy pronouncing something like a [k]. Helen thinks the relational verb refers to the fish Daisy was just talking about (00:06:44).

Helen indicates that using a relational verb here might not be totally adultlike: “An adult would say <wiyiwitimihch kaa iituhtaayaan>”, with a non-relational form of the verb <iituhtaau> [vai] ‘s/he, it (anim) goes there’ (00:05:58).

Record 456 (017:42.013)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Iischiimaauch, nimaa. Chiwiih waapihtaan aa. Chiki waapihtimuyitin.

‘Inuit, OK? Do you want to see it? I will show you.’

The original transcription and translation were off-target:

Iischiimaauch nimaa chaa muwaach chiki waapihtimuyitin.

‘This is what (the kind of fish) that Inuit eat. I will show them to you.’

Daisy is trying to show the adult something in the book. Helen notes that Daisy’s “sentence structure is off ... she’s not grammatical” (00:11:46 in REH1-042.wav). Part of the problem is that Daisy is contracting <Chiwaapihtaan aa> to something like <chiwaapmaa>, which is “nonsense” (00:13:54).

Helen thinks the adultlike target for Daisy is (00:12:58 and 00:18:17):

<Iischiimaauch, nimaa. Chiwiih waapihtaan aa. Chiki waapihtimuyitin.>

‘Inuit, OK? Do you want to see it? I will show you.’

Helen hears Daisy pronouncing all the parts of the final word (00:21:56). It is not a relational verb.

Translation note: Inuk/iischiimaa = singular; Inuit/iischiimaauch = plural.

Record 461 (017:49.465)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Nichiuh waapihtim~~y~~aan aai kaa miichich iischiimaauch.

‘I saw it, uh, what the Inuit ate.’

Target: (00:29:41 in REH1-042.wav).

Helen says Daisy is talking generally about what Inuit eat, and Daisy is referring to seeing Inuit eat blood (00:25:47).

Helen indicates that Daisy’s utterance is not completely adultlike: She says an adult would say something like <Nichiih waapihtimwaan wash chaakwaayiu kaa miichich iischiimaach> (00:26:22). Daisy is leaving out the <chaakwaayiu> ‘what’.

You could also say <Nichiih waapihtimwaan chaakwaayiu kaa miichich iischiimaach> without the <wash> emphasizing *what* Daisy saw (00:30:12).

For comparison, this works as a standalone sentence: <Nichiih waapihtimwaan chaakwaayiu> ‘I saw something (in relation to someone)’ (00:31:13). Cf: <Nichiih waapihtimwaan (his head, boots, coat, leg, etc.)>, where nouns refer to possessions of a third person (00:32:17).

Helen says the relational verb <Nichiih waapihtimwaan> ‘I saw it’ is how an adult would express herself. It refers to the people rather than what they eat (00:28:37). She hears Daisy producing all the verbal morphology (00:29:04).

Section 2: Daisy says she’s going to close something.

Record 842 (031:20.310)

Here’s how Daisy’s utterance is transcribed:

Niki chipihamwaan pitimaa aniyaayiu aa.

‘I will go and turn off that one first, ok?’

Target: (00:39:31 in REH1-042.wav).

Helen hears Daisy saying the first verb <Niki chipihamwaan> ‘I will close it’ (00:36:09). The verb is adultlike, and Helen hears Daisy pronouncing all the relational verbal morphology (00:36:26). The relational verb refers to the possessor of the thing that Daisy will turn off (00:38:20), although I’m not sure what it is exactly—maybe a TV. The non-relational form of the stem <chipiham> [vti] ‘s/he closes it’ is <Niki chipihaan> ‘I will close it’ (00:38:30).

Helen says the demonstrative <aniyaayiu> ‘that’ refers to the thing that Daisy wants to turn off, which belongs to someone else (00:34:39). Helen hears Daisy shortening <aniyaayiu> to [naijo], which is something Ani also does in other CCLAS videos.

Section 3: Daisy is talking about riding a snowmobile.

- During this stretch, Helen says, Daisy is telling a story about sledding on a sled that is shaped like a skidoo (00:53:14). Daisy and her friend might have been sledding into a snowbank, but it’s not clear (00:54:00).

Record 899 (033:41.857)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Chaakaat nichiih piihtitaapiyiwaan anitaah aaihch

'I almost went inside the ...'

Target: (00:50:58 in REH1-042.wav).

Daisy is using a form of the verb <piihtitaapiyu> [vai] 's/he, it (anim) goes into something', so Helen explains that Daisy is referring to "almost going into something (by vehicle) ... something is carrying you" (00:43:46).

Helen says the target is adult-like. She hears Daisy pronouncing all the parts of the relational verb (00:48:56 and 00:50:38). The relational verb refers to Daisy's friend, who is riding with Daisy (00:45:47).

Helen also explains that an adult could instead use a non-relational 'we' form of the verb like <nichiih piihtitaapiyinaan>, because Daisy is referring to riding with her friend (00:46:15). Daisy uses the relational to refer to her friend because the verb is just a first-person singular form (00:47:34). Both forms are "OK, but they don't mean the same thing" (00:48:06). The relational form focuses on the fact that "the action is [Daisy] by herself", maybe because Daisy was controlling the sliding ... "or else she's making things up" (00:49:14). In other words, the relational focuses more on the 'I' facet of the action rather than the 'we'.

Record 902 (033:49.435)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Utaah sh sh sh chaakaat kaa piihtitaapiyiwich.

'Like this 'sh sh' i almost went inside'

Target for the verb: (00:55:51 and 00:56:54 in REH1-042.wav).

Helen hears Daisy clearly pronouncing a "k" ending for the relational verb, when "it should be a 'ch' sound" (00:55:14): Daisy's verb ends up sounding like <kaa piihtitaapiyiwik>. The verb is a form of <piihtitaapiyu> [vai] 's/he, it (anim) goes into something'. So, this is another example of Daisy overgeneralizing that TA ending -k. Other than that, Helen hears Daisy using all the adult-like parts of the relational verb (00:57:02). The relational verb is still referring to her friend who is in the sled with her (00:57:38).

Record 903 (033:52.192)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Mikw nimischisiniyu kaa piihtitaapiiyich.

'Just my boot went inside.'

Target: (00:59:59 in REH1-042.wav).

This is an adult-like target, and Helen hears Daisy using all the necessary morphology (00:58:17). This is an important example because Daisy uses a verb form that contrasts with the verb form from the previous record. This verb token shows that Daisy can correctly produce a non-relational verb that ends in a "ch" sound—so her usage of [k] in her relationals, as in the previous record, is an overgeneralization of the TA ending *-ik* rather than just a mispronunciation.

'My boot' is obviative because Daisy's friend is involved, and Daisy has made the friend proximate. Perhaps it's her friend's fault that Daisy's boot goes into the snowbank (01:07:05)—that could be a reason she's using relational forms, Helen says.

Daisy could also say <Mikw nimischisin kaa piihtitaapiyich>, where 'my boot' is proximate rather than obviative (01:00:39). Helen shares the two contrasting forms of <piihtitaapiyu> [vai] 's/he, it (anim) goes into something' a few times: <kaa piihtitaapi**yich**> (proximate) vs. <kaa piihtitaapi**yivich**> (obviative) (01:01:29).

Daisy session 19: Age 4;09.19

Section 1: Daisy is asking about some toys that belong to another child.

Record 838 (036:49.903 in the CCLAS video)

Here's how Daisy's utterance is transcribed:

Chichiit utinichaawaan aa nnn aniyaa anitih aai ...

'Did you buy that a... for (name) the...?'

Helen says Daisy produces all the parts of the relational verb (01:12:23 and 01:19:10 in REH1-042.wav). This verb is a relational form of <utinichaau> [vai] 's/he buys, purchases'. The relational refers to the boy who the adult bought the mattress for. The demonstrative <aniyaa> refers to the mattress.

This utterance involves a particular kind of error: Daisy uses a relational verb when an applicative form would be more adult-like (01:18:16). Daisy is asking the adult if the adult

bought a mattress for a boy. In this context, Helen explains, an applicative verb would be more adult-like: “the correct adult way” to express what Daisy is trying to say (01:17:54). Here are some forms for comparison:

Cf: <Chichiih utinichaan aa> ‘Did you buy?’ (01:14:22 and 01:14:49). This is non-relational form of <utinichaa> [vai] ‘s/he buys, purchases’. This form does not refer to buying something for someone.

Cf: <Chichiih utinichaawaan aa> ‘Did you buy (it)?’ (01:14:27). Helen explains this is a relational form of the same verb, which refers to someone else. This is what Daisy actually uses. Helen says this relational form could also be used to ask, ‘Did you buy it from him?’ (01:17:26).

Cf: <Chichiih utinimuwaaau aa> ‘Did you buy it for him?’ (01:15:26). This would be “the correct adult way” to express what Daisy is trying to say, according to Helen (01:17:54). I believe this is an applicative form of the verb <utinim> [vti] ‘s/he takes it, takes communion at church, buys it’.