

File: REH1-030

Introductory notes

- These examples come from an elicitation session with Darlene Bearskin
- **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.
- For most of these examples below, I asked Darlene to provide a Cree sentence, and for some others I asked her to take a look at Cree sentences that I had typed out from a previous session with another speaker (see REH1-019).
- 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)'
- **Time stamps** next to examples indicate where Darlene's pronunciation can be found in audio file REH1-030.
- **Transcriptions** are in the Northern East Cree roman orthography style found on eastcree.org
- Darlene 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.

Abbreviations:

1	first person
3	third person animate
0	third person inanimate
'	obviative form
s	singular
p	plural

Example:

niiyi, I, me
wiiyi, he, she, it (animate), any animate noun
wiiyi, he, she, it (inanimate), any inanimate noun

Picture 1: one house

Niwaapihtaan waaskaahiikin
Waaskaahiikin niwaapihtaan
'I see a house' (00:28)

- Here we have 1>0s: a first person w/ an inanimate singular object
- Either word order is OK
- The verb ends in **niwaapihtaan**

Niwaapihtaan naa waaskaahiikin
'I see that house' (00:41)

- Here we have 1>0s: a first person w/ an inanimate singular object

- The demonstrative 'that' modifies the object 'house'. This is the remote demonstrative <naa>, where something is farther away than with <an>
- Changing the word order to <Naa waaskaahiikin niwaapihtaan> didn't seem as good (00:55)

Picture 2: one house with one man next to it

Niwaapimaau John
John niwaapimaau
'I see John' (01:44)

- Here we have 1 > 3s: a first person w/ an animate singular object
- The verb takes a different stem <waapim> and ends with niwaapimaau

I asked how to say 'I see John's house', but my question was not clear, so Darlene first said:

John aah ataawaat waaskaahiikiniyu
'John is selling the house' (01:55)

- It seems to me that this might use what the East Cree dictionary lists as the intransitive verb <atawaa> 's/he sells'. In this sentence, the intransitive verb is taking an object. I think this matters for later on, where Darlene gives examples with intransitive verb <nipaau> 'sleep' not taking any relational morphology—just having the regular 3s verb ending.

Niwaapihtimwaan John uwaaskaahiikinim
'I see John's house' (03:14)

- Darlene said this one is good
- Here the verb takes a relational form, because we are adding a possessor for the house: Niwaapihtaan → Niwaapihtimwaan. The <im> from the 3s form <niwaapihtim> appears, followed by the relational suffix <w>, and then the ending <aan> for the 1>0s form above.

Niwaapimaau naapaau
'I see a man' (03:35)

- Here we have 1>3s

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinim
'I see his house' (04:14)

Niwaapihtimwaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinim
'I see that man's house' (04:41)

Picture 3: one house with three men next to it

Niwaapimaawich anichii naapaau
'I see those men' (05:20)

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau
'I see their house' (05:29)

- Here the verb takes the same form that it took in the examples above, where 'house' had a **3s** possessor 'his'/'John's'. This shows that the relational verb does not change form when the possessor is **3p**.
- The noun 'house' does change form: it takes the suffix **-iwaau** to indicate the plural possessor. So plural possessors get marked when the possessor is proximate (not obviative)

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see the men's house' (05:22)

- This example shows that you can have an overt 3p possessor with the relational verb

Niwaapihtimwaan anichii naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

'I see those men's house' (06:30)

- This example shows that you can have an overt 3p possessor modified with a demonstrative <anichî> 'those', with the relational verb

Niwaapimaawich John, Peter, kiyaah Paul

'I see John and Peter and Paul' (07:25)

- This is just an example to show that the 1>3p verb form can have overt plural names/nouns

Niwaapihtimwaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

I see John and Peter and Paul's house' (07:54)

- This example again shows that you can have overt 3p possessors with the relational verb

Niwaapihtimwaan John, Peter, kiyaah Paul aniyaa uwaaskaahiikinimiwaau

I see John and Peter and Paul's house' (08:15)

- Darlene offered up this example, where the possessee 'their house' is modified by the demonstrative <aniyaa> 'that' in the presence of the overt possessors
- She said it doesn't change the meaning from the previous example without <aniyaa>

Picture 4: two houses with one man between them

Niwaapihtaan waaskaahiikinh

I see houses' (09:29)

- This example shows that the form of the verb does not change from 1>0 to 1>0p. So the verb does not agree with the number of the object, just its animacy.
- There is a clear final stress on 'houses' to indicate the plural /h/

Niwaapihtaan anihii waaskaahiikinh

'I see those houses' (09:39)

- Here the demonstrative <anihii> also shows that the noun <waaskaahiikinh> is plural

Niwaapihtimwaan John uwaaskaahiikinimh

'I see John's houses' (09:57)

- This example illustrates that the form of the verb does not change with a 0'p possessee
- The final stress on 'houses' is really clear

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimh
'I see his houses' (10:14)

Niwaapihtimwaan an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimh
'I see that man's houses' (10:35)

- This example shows an overt 3s possessor with a demonstrative

Picture 5: two houses with three men

Niwaapihtimwaan uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh
'I see their houses' (11:03)

- This example shows that the form of the verb does not change when the possessor is 3p and the possessee is 0'p

Niwaapihtimwaan anichii naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh
'I see those men's houses' (11:32)

Niwaapihtimwaan naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaauh
'I see the men's houses' (11:48)

Picture 6: a person looking at one house with one man next to it (12:28)

Waapihtim waaskaahiikiniyu
'He sees a house' (12:49)

- Here we have a 3>0' sentence, where the third-person 'he' sees the obviative singular inanimate noun 'house', which takes the obviative suffix -iyiu

Waapihtim aniyaa waaskaahiikiniyu
'He sees that house' (13:04)

Waapihtim aniyaa uwaaskaahiikinim
'He sees his (own) house' (15:35)

- Here the demonstrative modifies 'his house'
- The verb is not a relational form because the possessor is proximate (the subject of the sentence 'he'). The noun does not take an obviative suffix because it is possessed by this proximate third-person 'he'

Waapimaau John
'He sees John' (13:35)

- The verb takes a different form here, because John is animate
- Darlene doesn't put the obviative suffix /h/ on names here or anywhere else in these examples. That's different from how Margaret does it, so it might be a generational thing or just a difference between individual speakers
- You cannot say <John-iyiu>, because John is animate and can't take the inanimate singular obviative suffix -iyiu

Waapihtimwaau John uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu
'He sees John's house' (14:21)

- Here the verb takes the relational form because 'house' has the possessor John. And 'house' take the suffix -iyiu to indicate the obviative possessor.
- This example is interesting, though, because the name John has no obviative marking, so he could potentially be interpreted as the subject (the guy seeing the house)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaayiu uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees his (somebody else's) house' (13:15)

- Here the demonstrative <aniyaayiu> is inanimate and agrees with possessee 'his house'

Waapimaaau naapaauh

'He sees a man' (15:07)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees that man's house' (15:21)

Picture 7: a person looking at one house with three men

Waapimaaau aniyaah naapaauh

'He sees those men (16:08)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees those men's house' (16:21)

- Darlene said this version, without the *-iwaau* plural possessor on 'house'
- I asked her if the version would be OK and she said laughed and said yes: Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimi**waayiu** (18:16)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees those men's house' (16:21)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaa uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

'He sees their (that) house' (16:34)

- The demonstrative <aniyaa> specifies the house

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyiu

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayiu

'He sees their house'

- I asked if the above version with the plural possessor *-iwaau* is OK, and she said yes (17:06)
- She compared the two above and said there's no difference (17:23, 17:40)
- She commented on <uwaaskaahiikinimi**waayiu**>, and it seems to me that she was indicating that the *-iwaau* emphasizes the plural aspect of the possessor: "It's sort of like it's really their house" (18:38). It seems to give the word more of a 'home' kind of meaning, making it more akin to *wiich* 'home' → *wiichiwaau* 'their home' (19:06).

Picture 8: a person looking at two houses with one man in between them

Waapihtim waaskaahiikin

'He sees houses' (19:44)

Waapihtimwaau uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees his houses' (20:03)

Waapihtimwaau John uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees John's houses' (20:18)

- Adding an overt possessor here

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees that man's houses' (20:43)

- Here the demonstrative modifies the 3' possessor

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh

- 'He sees that one's houses' (20:34)
- 'He sees their houses' (20:55)
- Darlene said this in response to me asking how to say 'He sees the man's houses' and late to 'He sees their houses'.
- This is an interesting example that may have an ambiguous interpretation because <aniyaah> may be able to refer to: an animate obviative possessor (so 'he' or 'they') or to the inanimate plural 'houses'. I didn't catch it at the time, so I didn't follow up by asking Darlene what she thought about that.
- I asked her if it would be OK to use the **variant** of the demonstrative <aniyâyuh>. She anticipated what I was going to ask even before I finished (21:25). I asked if she feels a difference between <aniyaah> and <aniyaayuh>.
 - First she indicated that for her <aniyaayuh> is for the inanimate 'houses' while <aniyaah> is for the men who possess the houses (21:36)
 - But then she said <aniyaayuh> could be used to refer to the men (21:51)
 - I told her I've noticed people using both forms, and she said she's noticed it too. She explained that <aniyaah> is the "short form of <aniyaayuh> (22:12). So for Darlene, just like the other people I've asked about it, there also seems to be no meaningful difference between the two forms

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

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees their houses' (20:55)

- I asked if the form with -iwaau can also be used in this context: <uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayuh> (22:26). She said "yeah". I asked if it changes how the meaning or how it feels, and she said it means "there are many houses" (22:45). In the moment I misunderstood, but I think she was commenting more on the final -h (the inanimate plural) than the -iwaau

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayuh
'He sees those men's houses' (23:30)

- Darlene also offered up the form using the variant of 'those': Waapihtimwaau aniyaayuh naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayuh> (23:43)

Waapihtimwaau aniyaah naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyuh
'He sees the men's houses' (23:49)

- "That one's OK too"

Next we considered some examples with the intransitive verb <nipaau> 'S/he sleeps'

Picture 1: one house

Ninipaan

'I sleep' (25:12)

- The /ni/ + /ni/ combination is pronounced like a long [n:]. I think Collette's 2014 dissertation comments on this too.

Ninipaan anitih waaskaahiikinihch

'I sleep in the house' (25:17)

- In her examples throughout here, Darlene strongly prefers to have the adverbial <anitih> 'there' (see 32:26). I think it's referring to the location inside the house.

Picture 2: one house with one man

Ninipaawaan anitih John uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in John's house' (25:51)

- This was the first example that I asked which I thought would require relational morphology, and Darlene used the relational.

Ninipaawaan anitih naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in the man's house' (26:48)

Ninipaawaan anitih uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in his house' (27:00)

Picture 3: one house with three men

Ninipaawaan anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in their house' (27:10)

- Here Darlene immediately used the -iwaau to refer to the plural possessors.

Ninipaawaan anitih John, Peter, kiyaah Paul uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in John and Peter and Paul's house' (28:03)

Ninipaawaan anitih naapaauch uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch

'I sleep in the men's house' (28:53)

- Again Darlene immediately used the -iwaau to refer to the plural possessors.

Picture 4: two houses with one man

Ninipaawaan anitih John uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in John's houses' (29:24)

Ninipaawaan anitih uwaaskaahiikinimihch

'I sleep in his houses' (29:48)

- Darlene offered the example <Ninipaawaan uwaaskaahiikinimihch and said it indicates “only one house without the anitih” (29:59)

Ninipaawaan anitih an naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch
 ‘I sleep in that man’s houses’ (30:36)

- Darlene said this version first, with the demonstrative <an> modifying the possessor ‘man’

Ninipaawaan anitih naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimihch
 ‘I sleep in the man’s houses’ (30:46)

Picture 5: two houses with three men

Ninipaawaan anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch
 ‘I sleep in their houses’ (31:37)

- We’ve got a clear *-iwaau* here for the plural possessor

Ninipaawaan anitih naapaau uwaaskaahiikinimiwaahch
 ‘I sleep in the men’s houses’ (32:04)

- Here there is clear plural marking on the 3p possessor ‘men’ because it’s not obviative, and the plural possessor marker *-iwaau* is on ‘houses’ too

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

Nipaau anitih waaskaahiikinihch
 ‘He sleeps in the house’ (32:59)

1) Nipaau anitih John uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
 ‘He sleeps in John’s house’ (33:36)

- This was the first version Darlene said, which doesn’t have the relational morpheme.

2) Nipaawaau anitih John uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch
 ‘He sleeps in his house’

- So I showed Darlene this example, which I already had typed, to see what she thought (33:47). She said it’s good too. Darlene pronounces each verb really clearly (34:49).
- I asked her to compare this version (with the relational verb) with the one right above (without the relational verb) (34:31). She said yes when I asked if there’s no difference and if they’re the same (34:47)
- So there’s a difference here between first-person subject ‘I’ and third-person subject ‘he’ relational forms: All of her first-person forms used relational morphology, but there is more flexibility when the subject is third-person ‘he’

Picture 7: a person looking at one house with three men

Nipaau anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch
 ‘He sleeps in their house’ (35:10)

- Again the first form Darlene speaks has no relational verb. She includes the plural possessor suffix *-iwaau*
- I asked her if this form with the relational verb is OK: <Nipaauwaa> and she agreed that either version is OK (35:34)

Nipaau anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in their house' (35:54)

- I asked Darlene to repeat how to say this example, and she said it without the *-iwaau*
- So it seems like there is some flexibility there too.

Nipaauwaa anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in their house' (36:00)

- Darlene said this version as well, which contains both the relational verb and the *-iwaau*. Again, seems like there is flexibility here with using the relational form and with using the plural possessor suffix

3) Nipaauwaa aniyaa naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in their house' (36:18)

- I had this typed and asked Darlene how she feels about it. "That's good".

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

Nipaau John uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

Nipaawaa anitih John uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch

'He sleeps in John's houses' (37:16)

- Darlene's first version was without the relational verb, I think.
- Then I asked if the relational form <Nipaawaa> would be OK, and she said yes (37:44). She confirms that each version is the "same" (37:55)

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

Nipaau anitih naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in the men's houses'

- This was the first version Darlene said for 'he sleeps in their houses' (38:27)
- The final *-h* on *naapaauh* is really clear in her pronunciation. The *-iwaau* is also clear

Nipaawaa anitih uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in their houses' (38:42)

- I asked Darlene again how to say 'He sleeps in their houses', and she said this version with the relational verb form

Darlene offered some clarification for the difference between the verb forms (39:40):

- *nipaau* 'sleep'
- *nipaawaa* 'going to sleep'

Nipaawaa anitih naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiwaayihch

'He sleeps in those men's houses' (40:07)

- Here we've got the relational verb and the *-iwaau*

- Darlene repeats it as I type, and she pronounces it without the relational or the -iwaau: <Nipaau anitih naapaauh uwaaskaahiikinimiyihch (40:38)—again, she confirms that they're about the same, so there's flexibility

Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Picture 4



Picture 5



Picture 6



Picture 7



Picture 8



Picture 9

