

File name: REH1-007.pdf

CCLAS session: 22-Daisy-04_11_10

- All records have been sorted by segment time (i.e., chronologically).
- Margaret and I watched several-minute chunks of the video recording 22-Daisy-04_11_10 and then we went back through to discuss individual records.
- Time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-007.wav
- Morpheme breaks are occasionally indicated by equals signs in the <Cree orthography>

Record 40

- Daisy's utterance is <(name) chi=chîh wâp=iht=â=n â pâyikwâu utâpânâskw ani=tih âi> [(name) stəmav aj ʃ=ɛlf=d=a=n ə bego 'datnastk m aj] '(name), did you see one time when a truck there was a ...'
- Adult-like pronunciation is [ʃiwap'den a 'pajgə ʊ'dæbanæsk^w ʊnt^h aj] (02:21)
- I think Daisy's [stəmav aj] is a false start of some kind
- utâpânâskw 'vehicle' = [ʊ'dæbanæsk^w] (02:39)
- The adverbial DEM refers to the 'there'
- Daisy trails off a bit at the end

Record 43

- Daisy's utterance is <utâpânâskw û chîh îsinâkusiu black nimui kiyipwâ utâh uhchi îsinâkusiu black mikw chîh îsinâkusiu anitâh> [udabajg ʊts xx blæk umajgaw dawθi θakθəʔən blak bojθisəsəndə] 'This truck was black, but not right here, it was only black right there'
- Adult pronunciation for Daisy' utterance: [odæbənæsk^w ʊ :dʒiznakso blæk nəmwi kibaw əda udʒiznækso blæk mək dʒiznækso ənda^h] (07:38)
- Daisy commits an error with the first DEM (16:26): Daisy is producing an incorrect equational DEM construction: <utâpânâskw û> in the clause < utâpânâskw û chîh îsinâkusiu black > (12:22).
- In fact, Margaret notes that Daisy puts a **couple of the words** (û and black) in a different place from where an adult would say them: <û utâpânâskw **black** chîh îsinâkusiu, nimui kiyipwâ utâh uhchi îsinâkusiu, black mikw chîh îsinâkusiu anitâh (12:45, 13:30)
- This record is tough, because Daisy repeats herself a bit and her pronunciation is a bit off-target, with lots of lisping and hard-to-hear portions

Record 47

- Daisy's utterance is < u=tâh kâ=pîht=ih=âhk kâ=chihchi=piyi=t âi > [nɛ kə=bit=aj? 'da=tsə=bi=d e] 'he put it inside when ... he left'
- Adult pronunciation is [ʊ'da^h gæbitak gɛtʃ^htəbidaj] (18:19)
- The <utâh> is referring to a sense of 'here', like 'inside here' (19:41)

Record 51

- Daisy's utterance is < chîh=wâp=im=â=u ani=tâh awâ=yiuh ani=tâh âi> [ʃiwoptomaw ənda waj əndaj aj] 'He saw somebody there, a...'

- Adult target: [dʒiwapmaw enda wajo enda aj] (21:51)
- Good use of obviation: The man in the truck has been established as proximate in a previous record, and the <awâ=yiuh> is the person who is being seen. The verb reflects this obviation too.

Record 57

- Daisy's utterance is <utâh kâ îspiyyich-h utâpânâskumh chiwâpihtân â (name)> [ve gesvits ajjaw dønaskum 'dʒəmat (name)] 'His truck went like this, do you see, (name)?'
- I'm not sure what the [ajjaw] is, and it doesn't seem to match anything in the orthography
- Daisy has an error of commission here, with the word for 'his vehicle': She leaves off the possessive person prefix, and she overgeneralizes the POSS suffix -um (28:50). Margaret says a lot of children do this, "even teenagers", and some put an -um on every possessed noun.
- Daisy's incorrect form, as pronounced by Margaret: <utâpânâskumh > [odabənas'kum^h] (26:15)
- The correct adult form: <ûtâpânâskwh> [o:dabə'nask^{wh}] (26:44, 28:32). Margaret says it doesn't start with a "long [o] ... it's two short [o]s together". I can't figure out the difference quite yet, because the [o] does sound slightly lengthened to me.
- The full, correct adult target: <utâh kâ îspiyyich-h ûtâpânâskwh chiwâpihtân â (name)>

Record 306

- Daisy's utterance: <an anitih atim kâ mâyâtisît> [ən ə=nt ɪto ga=wijæt=z=i] 'That dog there that is very dangerous'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [ən ɪnth ɛdɪm ga mejetsit] (35:57)
- Good use of a Set One DEM as an adnominal modifier.
- No adverbial DEM is OK: <an atim kâ mâyâtisît> = 'That dog is very dangerous' (36:25, 38:22).
- Moving the adverbial DEM to before the verb is OK too: <an atim anitih kâ mâyâtisît> = 'that dog there that is very dangerous' (37:07)

Record 313

- Daisy's utterance is <ani=tih ni=tihchî=hch kiyâh mâk n=iskât=ihch> [ən=θ ənstʃɪtʃ^h ɛɪ məg ɛn=skæ=ʃ^h] 'on my hand or on my leg'
- Adult-like pronunciation: [ɛnt^h ɪntʃdʒɪtʃ^h gɪə məjg ənskæθtʃ^h] (41:25). The LOC suffix makes an interesting word-final cluster on <n=iskât=ihch>
- This is a good example of Daisy using the LOC suffix productively, as she describes where the dog bit her (she's making up a story). Margaret is impressed with her LOC usage (41:34)

Record 315

- Daisy's utterance is <nâshtâpwâh mishtîh chíh=iht=â=wich> [ɪmpʃti di=d=a=wts] 'There were so many of them'
- I don't see any phonetic evidence for Daisy saying <nâshtâpwâh>
- Adult pronunciation of this: [næʃtəbʊ mɪʃti dʒɪtawtʃ^h] (45:27)

- Margaret says Daisy is a bit off-target from an adult, who would use a different verb: <nâshtâpwâh chîh mihchâtiwich> ‘There were many of them’

Record 317

- Daisy’s utterance is <mishtîh nichîh mâkimukuch pâyikw my face-ihch> [ʌmsti n=dzi=jəmmajɔʊ=n=gʌ=d bajgʌn bajg maj fes=ɪʃ] ‘Many of them bit me, one on my face’
- Adult pronunciation of this: [mɪʃtɪ ndzəmækəmɔgʊʃ pʌjg maj fesɪʃ] (47:25)
- Daisy’s [bajgʌn] is a false start, I think.
- This is a cool example, because Daisy correctly uses an inverse form, and productively employs the LOC suffix on the English word “face”
- <nitâshtimihkuhch> = the full Cree word for ‘on my face’ (47:32)

Record 381

- Daisy’s utterance is <u=chî chi=chisch=ây=im=â=u â tân âyiht=i=ch u=chî (name)> ‘These, (name), do you know what these are doing?’
- Daisy has an error of commission here as she inflects the verb incorrectly. The first verb stem is VTA <chischâyimâu>, which should have the 1>3.PL ending and take the form <chichischâyimâwich> (52:03). Instead she has used the 1>3.SG ending to produce <chichischâyimâu>.
- The correct adult form then is: <u=chî chi=chisch=ây=im=â=wich â tân âyiht=i=ch u=chî (name)> [ʊdʒi dʒɪtsajmawdʒ a dæn ajtɪdʒ ʊdʒi (name)] (53:44)
- I don’t hear Daisy saying the PL on the second <u=chî> either, but Margaret didn’t bring that up, so maybe I’m just missing it.

Record 383

- Daisy’s utterance is <mâu=yâh mîn u=wîchâwâkin=h mâu=tih kê=nîpuwi=yich-h tâpâ uhchi=chisch=ây=im=â=u âi > [maʊja min widzawɪn ma ktənɪjəbajtʃ maj tsətsajma aj] ‘Here is her other friend standing here, she didn’t know, a....’
- Daisy’s <kê=nîpuwiwiyich=h tâpâ> is really hard to transcribe and tease apart phonetically.
- Adult pronunciation of this: [maʊja min uwɪdzawagɪn^h maot ganibuwəwɪpʃ^h dæbaʊʃətsajma] (55:11)
- Really interesting example, with obligatory obviation and possession: Margaret says she hears Daisy correctly producing the final OBV <h> on ‘her friend’. Furthermore, Daisy produces the correct OBV ending on the verb to agree with ‘her other friend’
- Comparing ‘her friend’ <u=wîchâwâkin=h> vs. <ni=wîchâwâkin > ‘my friend’ (55:25): [uwɪdzawa'gɪn^h] vs. [nəwɪdʒa'wagɪn]. The word-final aspiration is hard to hear, but it’s there. I think the accent shift is also a good clue.

Record 384

- Daisy’s cadence is strange, but that’s because she’s pretending to read a book while she makes up a story. The book she’s looking at has no words. She’s saying her words with almost a slow, recitation-like tempo, which is interesting because it makes it easy to hear her spoken segments.

- Daisy's utterance is <chîhayimihîtuwich > [dʒijəmhidoʃ] 'they were talking to each other'
- Adult pronunciation: [dʒihɪmhidowətʃ](57:05)
- Cool example of reciprocal morphology: I think the verb is VTA <ayimihâu>, which has a stem ending in <h>. So, that takes the reciprocal suffix <itu>, where the <i> lengthens because it follows <h>. The RECIP makes the verb VAI, and so then you get the VAI 3.PL suffix <wich> after that.

Record 386

- Daisy's utterance is <chîh=pâhp=ishi=wich ani=chî nâstâpwâh chîh=mây=ây=im=â=wich u=wîchâwâkin=iwâu=h> [dʒi=bæpʃ=fɔ=dʒ in=dʒi dʌ dʒən=maj=ə=m=ʌ=d wɪʃdʒawətən=woʰ] 'They were laughing, they were disrespectful to their friends'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [dʒi=bap=fɔ=wdʒ in=dʒi næʃtæbaw dʒi=maj=ej=m=a=ɔdʒ u=wɪdʒawagɪn=əwəʊʰ](58:50)
- I don't see good phonetic evidence for Daisy saying <nâstâpwâh>, but Margaret heard it.
- I also don't hear Daisy producing the person prefix on <u=wîchâwâkin=iwâu=h>, but it's really hard to hear in casual, adult-like production, as when Margaret says it at (59:01): [əwɪdʒawagɪnʰwəʊʰ]

Record 390

- Daisy's utterance is <mîn âi u=chî kê=iht=ishi=ch ani=tâh âi> [min aj ɔdʒi geʃɪd əndəh aj] 'then a... these were this many over there, a...'
- Adult pronunciation: [min aj ɔdʒi gæjɪʃətʃɪndəh aj](1:00:17)
- The <u=chî> refers to the 'these'

Record 391

- Daisy's utterance is <chîhmâyâtishîshiwich anitâh awâshishich uchî utih chîhpâhpîmwâwich awâyih uchî> [dʒɪmajətʃɪʃɔdʒ əndə wəʃɪt bʌddʒi dʒɔd ɪbəbomawʃ wəʒɔd ɔdɪʃ] 'The children there were disrespectful, they (lit. these here) were throwing something at other people, these'
- Daisy's last <uchî> 'these' is just a repetition
- Adult pronunciation of this: [tʃɪmajæʃɔwdʒ ɪndə wəʃɪtʃ ɔdʒi ʊtʰ tʃɪbæbɪpmʊwʃ wəʒɔ ɔdʒɪ](1:01:43)
- <awâyih> is the 'other people'
- I'm not sure what the verb stem is in <chîhpâhpîmwâwich>. Margaret mentioned that this utterance "sounds funny" (1:01:35), but unfortunately I didn't explore that, and perhaps it's related to this verb that I can't figure out. For now, I think the verb may be <chîh=pâhp=pîmw=â=wich>, which is basically PST=laugh=throw=DIRECT=3PL>4, but I'm not sure.

Record 392

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu kê pimwâkiniwit> [maʊ gæ bowəʒənɪt] 'This is the one something was thrown at'

- Adult pronunciation: [mao gæbmɔgənɔt](1:10:40)
- <mâu> refers to the person who getting thrown at
- Cool example of obviative switch and a passive: verb stem is VTA <pîmwâu>. If my analysis is right, there's an X-3 passive suffix, and that 3 argument was formerly an obviative in record 391. So from 391 to 392, Daisy does a pretty sophisticated obviative-to-proximate switch and employs the right form of the passive too.

Record 393

- Daisy's utterance is < û mâk û mâk û mâk > [o mæk o mæk o mæk] 'this one, this one, this one'
- Adult target for < û mâk > is [o mæk](1:10:40)
- Each <û mâk> is indicating another person who is getting thrown at (1:13:04)
- You can't swap out the Set One DEM for a Set Two DEM: *<mâu mâk> (1:11:14). So there is some problem with using Set Two in this context, but I'm not sure why. Maybe because she's not declaring 'This is one, and this is one, and this is one'

Record 394

- Daisy's utterance is <û mâk û mâk û mâk mâu wîyi kê pimuchichât> 'This one, this one, this one, and this is the one who was throwing'
- Adult pronunciation of this: [o mæk o mæk o mæk maʊ wi gæbmɔtset](1:14:41)
- <mâu wîyi kê pimuchichât> is the one is has been doing the throwing (1:13:31)
- Interesting switch from Set One to Set Two: She has been listing the individuals who were getting thrown at and using < û > to signify each one. Then, when she declares that 'this is the one' doing the throwing, she switches to Set Two. So maybe Set Two is reserved not just for declarations but specifically equational-type constructions? (1:14:11)
- Margaret thinks a more adult-like way to say it would have been without using <wîyi> and using adverbial <utih> instead: <û mâk û mâk û mâk mâu utih kê pimuchichât> (1:15:30). That gives more a sense of 'this is the one here who was throwing something'. I wonder if this is indicating a constraint against using <wîyi> with Set Two DEMs

Record 444

- This begins an exchange about crayons not showing up on paper
- Daisy's utterance is <tâpâ nûku=si=u û> [aj doβə nɔt=s=o :] 'This one doesn't show much (lit. This is not visible)'
- Adult pronunciation: [tæba nɔksɔ:] (1:18:56)
- Margaret says an adult might instead say something like: <tâpâ chiihkaanaakusiu û> 'We don't see this one clearly (lit. this one is not in)' (1:19:33). The difference here involves using a different verb, a VAI verb <chiihkaanaakusiu> that means 's/he, it is in clear view'

Record 446

- The adult says: < ihtâwich wâsh kutikich âh nûkusich> 'there are other that are show more'
- She's repeating the more child-like verb choice from record 444

- Margaret says a good way to say it: <ihtâwich wâsh kutikich âh chiihkaanaakusich>, with the verb she suggested before

Record 447

- Daisy's utterance is <awâni=chî> [æn=dʒit] 'Which ones?'
- Adult pronunciation: [əwandʒi] (1:25:01)

Record 451

- Daisy's utterance is <u=chî â> [wəʒjja] 'These ones?'
- Adult pronunciation: [udʒi ja] (1:26:39)
- This is a good example of Set One DEM being used in a question context

Record 453

- Daisy's utterance is <tâni=tâh âht=â=ch> [dʌntətʌʃ] 'Where are they?'
- Adult pronunciation: [tænda tətʃ] (1:26:58)
- They were just talking about <udʒi> and so I tried adding a DEM here to explicitly convey the 'they' meaning: <tânitâh uchî âhtâch>. This is grammatical but it changes the meaning more to 'These (here), where are they?' (1:27:15)

Record 456

- Daisy's utterance is <an â kâpâchiiyishiyin> [ən a gaʊbadʒiʃɪn] 'The one that you told me'
- Adult pronunciation: [ɛn ə gabadʒiʃɪn] (1:30:19)
- <an> = 'the one'

Record 457

- Adult utterance is <ihtâwich wâsh âh chîhkânâkusich chichîh îtitin> 'I told you that there were others that show clearly'

Record 458

- Daisy's utterance is <u=chî â u=tih> [wʌdʒi a wɪt] 'These ones here?'
- Adult pronunciation: [udʒi a ʊtʰ] (1:32:49)
- Good example of Set One DEM being used in a question context

Record 460

- Daisy's utterance is <û â utih kâ iyiyin> [ow aw ɛt əgehən] 'Did you mean this one?'
- Adult pronunciation: [o aw ʊtʰ gajjɛn] (1:33:21)

Record 716

- Daisy is picking up a toy truck and trying to pull a piece of the backend upward
- Daisy's utterance: <(name) nimui â îspitâkiniwiyiu uyâ up chiwâpimâuh > [(name) mw aj ɪspədəgənoʊjo wija ab ɛdʒamə] '(name), can this be moved up? Do you see it?'
- Adult pronunciation: [nəm^əwi a ɛspədəgənoʊjo uja ʌp dʒwəpməʊ^h] (1:38:28)
- 'this' is <uyâ>, the piece that she's trying to move

- The first verb I think is VTA <îspitâu>, with passive morphology: verbn.eastcree.org/?vta&t
- This is interesting for obviation, and there's a potential error: The obviative <uyâ> 'this' refers to the piece she's asking about moving. Daisy has clearly inflected the verb to end with a passive suffix following by the animate obviative ending (X>4). To that extent, she has correctly marked obviative on the verb and the noun agreeing with it. However, if she truly said <uyâ>, that is an error because that form is for inanimates whereas the verb is VTA and should have an animate object. BUT it's very hard to hear if Daisy said the correct form <uyâh> or the incorrect <uyâ>. If Daisy has used proximate forms for the verb and corresponding DEM, it would have been: <(name) nimui â îspitâkiniu û up> (1:39:16). Margaret says that would have been OK and meant the same thing 'Can this be moved up?'
- Another note on a potential error: On the other hand, maybe the Orthography is wrong and Daisy is using the VTI verb <îspitim> and inflecting it with X' Unspecified Actor morphology to be: îspitikiniwiyiu. In that case, she's spot on, right? But then we may have an error with the second verb, which has an animate object.
- Another interesting obviative aspect is that Daisy chose an obviative form in this context: She has been quietly playing with toys for a few moments, then picks up a truck, and asks about a particular piece of the truck and whether that piece can be moved. Even though she's talking about a new toy and there are no other third-persons, she uses obviation. I don't think it's a mistake because she's very sophisticated linguistically and Margaret says it's not an error (1:42:51). Instead, I'm starting to wonder if sometimes obviation is used when referring to a piece/part of a larger 3rd-person whole.

Record 718

- Daisy's utterance: <uyâ utih nimui â îspitâkiniwiyiu up> 'This one here, can it be moved up?'
- Obviation: Daisy is consistently using OBV to refer to same referent from record 716, the piece of the truck she's trying to pull upward.
- Same potential error in Record 716: verb and DEM are obviated, but possible mismatch in animacy—very hard to be certain

Record 721

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu wâsh chipihchîhîshinâkun up âh îspitikiniwich chiwâpimâuh> [mə s ɔpdzɪfnagɔn ab ajspədɪkənot dʒʌma] 'This is how it should look when we move it up, do you see it?'
- Adult pronunciation: [maʊ wʌʃ dʒɪpdzɪfnagɔn ʌp ajspədɛgənotʃ dʒwəpməʊ^h] (1:52:20)
- Potential error: I'm not sure why Daisy is using the plural X-3p conjunct ending <ch> when the argument is seemingly singular. Furthermore, <mâu> is singular and the second verb has a singular 3rd-person object. On the other hand, she may actually be ending <âh îspitikiniwich> with the <ch-h> ending for the Conjunct Indicative Neutral (Habitual/Iterative), which could be appropriate. Hard to tell what she intended to say.
- Interesting for obviation: Daisy uses the Set Two proximate DEM < mâu >, but that's because she's not referring to the little piece that she's been using <uyâ > to refer to. Instead, she's referring to the overall way the truck will look when the piece is pulled up (1:53:52)

Record 723

- Daisy's utterance is <up â îs=pit=ikiniwi=yiu> 'Do we move it up?'
- Adult pronunciation: [ʌp əjspədɪkənɔjə] (1:54:35)
- Here the Orth. indicates what I suspected in record 716: Daisy is using a VTI verb and correctly inflecting it to agree with an inanimate obviative argument.
- Interesting obviative switch: Daisy goes back to using obviation to refer to the little piece moving up. This supports my hypothesis that obviation may be used to refer to parts of wholes.

Record 729

- Daisy's utterance is <mâu=tâh wâsh mîn pâyikw chipih=chîh=pîht=ihw=âkiniu=u> [mə=daʃ min bajg ɪtɪp=ti=bit=h=agən=o] 'Here is another place to put one in'
- Adult pronunciation: [maʊdah wæʃ min bajk tʃəpdʒibitʰageno] (1:57:08)

Record 731

- Daisy's utterance: <utâpânâskw nimâ> [ədæbənɛsk na] 'a truck, right?'
- Adult pronunciation: [ʊdæbənæskʷ nəma] (1:57:47)

Record 733

- Daisy's utterance: <kâ apishîshishit âh tâpishihk nimâ> [dæbsɪʃət gədəbʃ gədəbʃɪkna] 'A small one that fits, right?'. The first [gədəbʃ] is a false start
- Adult pronunciation: [gæbʃɪʃət ædabʃɪk nəma] (1:58:18)

Record 735

- Daisy's utterance is <aw kiyipwâ=h âh=ihitikun=i=yich> [ɑ: gjaw pɪkəmajʃ] 'aw, yes there is one'
- Adult pronunciation: [gejbawʰ tɪkʊnɪpʃ] (1:59:46)
- Interesting use of obviation here: Daisy has been talking about the ability to fit a small truck inside the bigger truck, which involves moving a piece of the larger truck. She has been referring to this piece with the obviative in previous records, and here she goes back to talking about that piece and referring to it with the obviative. My interpretation is that the 'one' in the translation is really that piece, kind of like 'Ah, there it is'

Record 736

- Daisy's utterance is <chip=ih=ikiniwi=yiu> [dəptʃɪknɔjə] 'It is closed'
- Adult pronunciation: [tsəpɪgʰnɔjə] (1:59:56)
- Daisy has just snapped the piece down, and she's again using obviative to mark that particular piece of the truck that she has been trying to move upward (2:00:11)

Record 738

- Daisy's utterance: <kiyipwâ iyâp=ih=ikiniwi=yich> [dʌb pɪkənɔjɪʃ] 'Yes, it can be opened'
- Adult pronunciation: [gɪbwaja pɪgnɔwɪʃ] (2:01:22)
- Once again referring to the piece with obviative marking