

File name: REH1-016

Introductory notes:

- These examples come from an elicitation session with Margaret
- The goal here is to see how nouns change form (inflect) when they are possessed. The main point for me was to see how much of the inflectional template individual nouns can carry. I want to see the differences across animate and inanimate nouns, so I asked Margaret to consider some scenarios and think about how she would say certain things. The examples below largely don't involve demonstratives, so the definiteness of objects isn't really as specific as the English translations imply.
- **Tentative observation #1, which is the same from REH1-019:** When the possessor is an animate obviative, marking the number of the possessor on the possessee with *-iwaau* is optional and acceptable. Number for the obviative possessor is neutralized everywhere else in the sentence. However, with proximate possessors, marking plural on the possessee seems to be required.
- **Time stamps** next to examples indicate where Margaret's pronunciation can be found in audio file REH1-016.
- **Transcriptions** are in the Northern East Cree roman orthography style found on eastcree.org

Note on method: I did not use images for most of these elicitations. Instead, I just used verbal descriptions of scenarios. This method was not as effective as the elicitations where we used images, which are represented in other files such as REH1-019, because without images it's much easier to get mixed up.

Scenario 1:

You (singular) are walking by a river, and you see **one mama bear**. The bear gets fish from the water, drops the fish on the shore, and then goes back into the water. The bear doesn't see you, and you sneak up and take the fish and run away.

1) Kuutinaau nimaas

'You (SG) take the fish' (00:21)

- Allomorphy: The second-person clitic *chi-* undergoes allomorphy before stems beginning with /u/, so *chi + utin = kuutin*

Nuutinaau nimaas

'I take the little fish' (00:28)

2) Kuutinaawich nimaasich

'You (SG) take the fishes' (00:46)

- Here the verb and noun agree for marking the number of the object

3) Kuutinimaayih unimaasimh

'You (SG) take her (the bear's) fish' (01:02)

- The verb takes *-im*, which Junker and Cenerini argue is the relational form for transitive verbs with animate objects, and the possessed noun takes possessive morphology, which includes the animate obviative *-h*.

4) Kuutinimaayih unimaasimh

'You (SG) take her (the bear's) fishes' (01:28)

- Same form as #3, because number is neutralized within the animate obviative

5) Kuutinimaayiu chishaayaakw unimaasimh

'You (SG) take the bear's fish' (02:12)

- Here the possessor is overt and proximate.

6) Kuutinimaayiu chishaayaakw unimaasimh

'You (SG) take the bear's fishes' (03:37)

- Number is neutralized for the animate obviative so the form is the same as #5

Scenario 2:

You are walking by the river, and you see a **family of bears**. The bears get fish from the water, drop the fish on the shore, and then go back into the water. The bears don't see you, and you sneak up and take the fish and run away.

7) Kuutinimaayiu unimaasimiwaauh

'You (SG) take their fish' (04:41)

- The possessee bears the suffix *-iwaau*, which indexes the plural proximate possessor.

8) Kuutinimaayiu unimaasimwaauh

'You (SG) take their fishes' (05:24)

- Number is neutralized for the obviative 'fish/fishes', but the plurality of the proximate possessor 'their' is marked on the possessee

9) Kuutinimaayiu chishaayaakuch unimaasimwaauh

'You (SG) take the bears' fish' (06:30)

- The number of the proximate possessor is indicated on the noun 'bear' (*chishaayaakw* + *-ich* = *chishaayaakuch*) as well as the possessee 'fish'.

10) Kuutinimaayiu chishaayaakuch unimaasimwaauh

'You (SG) take the bears' fishes' (07:52)

- Same form as #9 because the number of the obviative possessee is neutralized.

Scenario 3:

You and I are walking by the river, and we see **one mama bear**. The bear gets fish from the water, drops the fish on the shore, and then goes back into the water. The bear doesn't see us, and we both sneak up and take the fish and run away.

11) Kuutinaaniu nimaas

'We take the fish' (08:53)

12) Kuutinaaniwich nimaasich

'We take the fishes' (09:28)

13) Kuutinimaaniuh unimaasimh

'We take her fish' (10:09)

- Here 'we' are acting on the obviative possessee, and so the verb contains the -im relational morpheme.
- 14) Kuutinimaaniuh unimaasimh
'We take her fishes' (10:48)
- Again number is neutralized within the animate obviative, so this form is identical to #13
- 15) Kuutinimaaniuh chishaayaakw unimaasimh
'We take the bear's fish' (11:07)
- 16) Kuutinimaaniuh chishaayaakw unimaasimh
'We take the bear's fishes' (12:10)
- Same as #15, because number is neutralized for the obviative possessee

Scenario 4:

You and I are walking by the river, and we see a **family of bears**. The bears get fish from the water, drop the fish on the shore, and then go back into the water. The bears don't see us, and we sneak up and take the fish and run away.

- 17) Kuutinimaaniuh unimaasimiwaauh
'We take their fish' (12:48)
- The possessor is proximate, and the possessee carries the suffix -iwaau for the plural possessor
- 18) Kuutinimaaniuh unimaasimiwaauh
'We take their fishes' (13:13)
- Same as #17 because number for the obviative possessee is neutralized
- 19) Kuutinimaaniuh chishaayaakuch unimaasimiwaauh
'We take the bears' fish' (13:49)
- The possessor 'bears' is overt and proximate, with the animate proximate plural suffix -ich, and the possessee carries the suffix -iwaau for the plural possessor too
- 20) Kuutinimaaniuh chishaayaakuch unimaasimiwaauh
'We take the bears' fishes' (14:27)
- Identical to #19

Scenario 5:

A man is walking by the river, and he sees **one mama bear**. The bear gets a fish from the water, drops the fish on the shore, and then goes back into the water. The bear doesn't see the man, and the man sneaks up and takes the fish and runs away.

- 21) Utinaau nimaas=h
'He takes the fish' (14:59)
- The object 'fish' is obviative and ends with final -h, which in this case sounds to me like a lengthened fricative [s] on <nimaas>

- Margaret caught an important potential problem, so I'm using the equals sign <=> for the morpheme boundary to indicate that the word 'fish' is not actually ending in <sh>, which would sound like [ʃ] in NEC roman orthography
- 22) Utinaau nimaas=h
'He takes the fishes' (16:22)
- Same as #21, because number is neutralized for the animate obviative possessee
- 23) Utinimaau unimaasimiyuh
'He takes her fish' (17:20)
- The verb takes the relational form with -im, because the object has a possessor
 - Here the possessee 'fish' has the suffix -iyu indicating an obviative possessor
- 24) Utinimaau unimaasimiyuh
'He takes her fishes' (18:07)
- Same as #23, because number is neutralized for the animate obviative possessee
- 25a) Utinimaau chishaayaakwh unimaasimiyuh
'He takes the bear's fish' (18:49)
- Here the possessor 'bear' is overt and obviative, and the possessee
 - Margaret pronounces the difference between proximate <chishaayaakw> 'bear' vs. obviative <chishaayaakwh> 'bear' (19:22)
- 25b) Utinimaau chishaayaakw unimaasimiyuh
'The bear takes his/her (somebody else's) fish' (19:56)
- Here the bear is the proximate subject who is taking somebody else's (obviative) fish (obviative)—Margaret points this out to show how important the obviative marking is.
- 25c) Utinaau unimaasimh
'He takes his (own) fish' (21:13)
- Because 'fish' belongs to the proximate subject, there is no relational verb. The possessee 'fish' is still obviative, though, because it has a third-person possessor.
- 25d) Chishaayaakw utinaau unimaasimh
'The bear takes his (own) fish' (21:24)
- Here <chishaayaakw> 'bear' is proximate and again the verb is not relational
- 26) Utinimaau chishaayaakwh unimaasimiyuh
'He takes the bear's fishes' (22:22)
- Identical to 25a because the number for the obviative 'fish' is neutralized

Scenario 6:

A man is walking by the river, and he sees **a family of bears**. The bears gets fish from the water, drops the fish on the shore, and then goes back into the water. The bears don't see the man, and the man sneaks up and takes the fish and runs away.

- 27) Utinimaau unimaasimiwaayuh
'He takes their fish' (23:16)
- Here the possessor 'they' is obviative, and so is the possessee 'fish'.

- The possessee 'fish' takes the plural suffix for the possessor -iwaau as well as the obviative suffix -iyiu for the possessor
 - Margaret laughed after she said it, so I asked if it sounds funny (23:23). She said "We say that" and confirmed it's OK.
- 28) Utinimaau unimaasimiwaayih
'He takes their fishes' (24:21)
- Same as 27, with neutralization of obviative number on 'fish'. However, the number of the obviative possessor is indicated via -iwaau
- 29) Utinimaau chishaayaakwh unimaasimiwaayih
'He takes the bears' fish' (24:44)
- This example shows an overt obviative possessor whose number is indexed specifically on the possessee
- 30) Utinimaau chishaayaakwh unimaasimiwaayih
'He takes the bear's fishes' (25:28)
- Same as 29, which shows that the number of the possessee is neutralized, and the possessor is only indicated on the possessee.

Scenario 7:

Two men are walking by the river, and they see **one mama bear**. The bear gets fish from the water, drops the fish on the shore, and then goes back into the water. The bear doesn't see the two men, and the two men both sneak up and take the fish and run away.

- 31) Utinaawich nimaas=h
'They take a fish' (26:26)
- The verb agrees with the plural subject, but it does not indicate the number of the obviative object.
- 32) Utinaawich nimaas=h
'They take the fishes' (26:35)
- Same as 31: Number is neutralized for the obviative object.
- 33) Utinimaawich unimaasimiyih
'They take her fish' (27:14)
- 34) Utinimaawich unimaasimiyih
'They take her fishes' (27:25)
- Again, same as 33. Number for the obviative possessee is neutralized.
- 35) Utinimaawich chishaayaakwh unimaasimiyih
'They take the bear's fish' (27:55)
- 36) Utinimaawich chishaayaakwh unimaasimiyih
'They take the bear's fishes' (28:22)
- Same as #35

Around this point, I think things started to get confusing for Margaret and for me. The big problem was that I wasn't using pictures for our elicitations, which made it hard to keep track of who and what was involved in each scenario. So we stopped there and picked it up later after a long break ...

This section deals with a different combination of verb and object:

Waapihtim 'S/he sees it' and the inanimate noun *waatikw* 'den, burrow' (for an animal)

Scenario 9:

You (singular) are walking through the woods, and you see **one mama bear** come out of her den. The bear doesn't see you, and she walks off into the woods. You stand there looking at the den that belongs to the bear.

- 42) Chiwaapihtaan waatikw
'You see the den' (29:51, 31:08)
 - *chiwaapimaaau waatikw (because that verb takes an animate object) (30:20)
- 43) Chiwaapihtimwaan uwaatikw
'You see her den' (31:28, 32:00)
 - A relational verb form is used here, because it introduces a possessor for the den
- 44) Chiwaapihtimwaan an chishaayaakw uwaatikw
Chiwaapihtimwaan chishaayaakw uwaatikw
'You see that/the bear's den' (32:20, 33:06)
 - Includes the overt possessor, which is proximate. Can modify with proximate <an> 'that'
- 45) Chiwaapihtaan waatikwh
'You see the dens' (33:27, 33:50)
 - No relational form, because there is no possessor. The -h indicates the inanimate plural for 'den'.
- 46) Chiwaapihtimwaan uwaatikwh
'You see her dens' (33:55, 34:34)
 - Relational form here, with plural for possessee indicated by -h
- 47) Chiwaapihtimwaan chishaayaakw uwaatikwh
'You see the bear's dens' (35:25, 35:40)
 - Adding the overt, proximate possessor here

Scenario 10:

You are walking through the woods, and you see a **family of bears** come out of a den. The bears don't see you, and they walk off into the woods. You stand there looking at the den that belongs to the family of bears.

- 48) Chiwaapihtimwaan uwaatikwaaau
'You see their den (36:34)'
 - Plural possessor indicated by *-iwaau*

- 49) Chiwaapihtimwaan chishaayaakuch uwaatikwaau
'You see the bears' den' (37:17)
- 'Bear' receives the proximate plural suffix
- 50) Chiwaapihtimwaan uwaatikwaauh
'You see their dens' (38:10)
- The inanimate plural -h follows plural possessor -iwaau
- 51) Chiwaapihtimwaan chishaayaakuch uwaatikwaauh
'You see the bears' dens' (38:39)
- I checked in with Margaret here, and everything was OK. So we kept going.

Scenario 11:

You and I are walking through the woods, and we see **one mama bear** come out of a den. The bear doesn't see us, and she walks off into the woods. We stand there looking at the den that belongs to one bear.

- 52) Chiwaapihtaanaaniu waatikw
'We see the den' (40:11)
- No relational form, because there is no possessor
- 53) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu uwaatikw
'We see her den' (40:45)
- Relational form
- 54) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu chishaayaakw uwaatikw
'We see the bear's den' (41:39)
- Changing the word order is fine as well:
 - uwaatikw chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu chishaayaakw (42:15)
 - chishaayaakw uwaatikw chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu (42:22)
- 55) Chiwaapihtaanaaniu waatikwh
'We see the dens' (43:14)
- Here the form of the verb does not agree with the number of 'dens', just the fact that there's an inanimate object.
- 56) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu uwaatikwh
'We see her dens' (43:48)
- Here the relational form is used because there's a possessor. Same verb as in 53, but the possessee takes -h for the plural.
- 57) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu chishaayaakw uwaatikwh
'We see the bear's dens' (44:27, 44:51)
- Overt proximate possessor

Scenario 12:

You and I are walking through the woods, and we see a **family of bears**. The bears don't see us, and they walk off into the woods. We stand there looking at the den, which belongs to the family of bears.

- 58) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu uwaatikuwaau
'We see their den' (45:25, 46:22)
- The number for the proximate possessor is marked on the possessee with –iwaau: uwaatikw + -iwaau = uwaatikuwaau
- 59) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu chishaayaakuch uwaatikuwaau
'We see the bears' den' (46:43)
- The number for the proximate possessor is marked on the possessee and on the possessor
- 60) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu chishaayaakuch uwaatikuwaauh
'We see the bears' dens' (47:31)
- 'Den' takes the inanimate plural -h
- 61) Chiwaapihtimwaanaaniu uwaatikuwaauh
'We see their dens' (47:55)
- The number for the proximate possessor is marked on the possessee and on the possessor. The number for the possessee is indicated with -h

Scenario 13:

A man is walking through the woods, and he sees **one mama bear** come out of her den. The bear doesn't see the man, and she walks off into the woods. The man stands there looking at the den, which belongs to one bear.

- 62) Waapihtim waatikuyiu
'He sees the den' (48:37)
- There is no possession involved, so 'den' gets the inanimate obviative singular suffix -iyiu
- 63) Waapihtimwaau uwaatikuyiu
'He sees her den' (49:14, 50:32)
- Here the possessor necessitates the relational form for the verb. The 'den' receives -iyiu, but in this case that's to indicate the obviative possessor 'her'.
- 64) Waapihtimwaau chishaayaakwh uwaatikuyiu
'He sees the bear's den' (51:05)
- The subject 'he' is proximate and so 'bear' and 'den' are obviative.
- 65) Waapihtim waatikwh
'He sees the dens' (51:36, 52:56)
- Here the object 'den' is obviative, but it is also plural and so take only –h
- 66) Waapihtimwaau uwaatikuyiuh
'He sees her dens' (53:13)
- Here possession means the relational verb is used.

For comparison:

Chishaayaakw waapihtim uwaatikwh (53:20)

'The bear sees her (own) dens'

- No relational morphology needed because no possessor is added to the equation.

67) Waapihtimwaau chishaayaakwh uwaatikuyih

'He sees the bear's dens' (53:49)

At this point, I started to draw pictures to help us out ...

Scenario 14:

A man is walking through the woods, and he sees a **family of bears** come out of a den. The bears don't see the man, and they walk off into the woods. The man stands there looking at the den, which belong to the group of bears.

68) Waapihtimwaau uwaatikuyiu

'He sees their den' (54:55, 55:24)

- The possessor is obviative, and Margaret produced no plural possessor suffix here, but I didn't ask about that.

69a) Waapihtimwaau chishaayaakwh uwaatikuyiu

'He sees the bears' den' (55:56)

- Same as 67, because the number of the obviative possessor is neutralized. Again, no -iwaau marking number for the obviative possessor, as in 68.

69b) Waapihtimwaawich chishaayaakuch uwaatikuyiu

'The bears see his/her den' (57:18)

69c) Chishaayaakuch waapihtimuch uwaatikuwaau

'The bears see their (own) den' (57:54)

- Here Margaret used -iwaau for the plural possessor, but I think that's because the possessor is proximate.

70a) Waapihtimwaau uwaatikuwaayih

'He sees their dens' (59:17)

- Margaret's first, immediate production included the plural possessor suffix -iwaau to indicate the number for the obviative possessor on the possessee. She repeated it several times and helped me spell it.

71a) Waapihtimwaau chishaayaakwh uwaatikuwaayih

'He sees the bears' dens' (1:00:22)

- Here the obviative possessor 'bears' is overt
- Margaret's first, immediate production included the suffix -iwaau marking the number of the obviative possessor on the possessee. She repeated it a few times and helped me spell it.

But then Margaret thought about it and gave a different set of pronunciations (01:01:22):

70b) Waapihtimwaau uwaatikuyiu

'He sees their dens' (01:02:30)

71b) Waapihtimwaa u chishaayaakwh uwaatikuyiu
'He sees the bears' dens' (01:01:41)

In 70b and 71b, Margaret has removed the plural possessor suffix from the possessee. So the number for the obviative possessor has been neutralized throughout the sentence. The possessee now only carries the suffix -iyiu for an obviative possessor.

I asked if you cannot say it using the *-iwaau*, and she said, "I think we can say that" (01:02:40). She repeated both versions 70a and 70b aloud and said "I think we can say both" (01:02:49). I asked if they mean the same thing and she said "yeah" (01:02:56).

So I think that, as we see in session REH1-019: When the possessor is an animate obviative, marking the number of the possessor on the possessee with *-iwaau* is optional and acceptable. Number for the possessor is neutralized everywhere else in the sentence. However, with proximate possessors, marking plural on the possessee does not seem to be optional.