Number and obviation for possessors

Child and child-directed speech in Northern East Cree



Roadmap

- **Terminology**
- Northern East Cree (NEC)
- Grammatical background
- This study and the "data"
- **PSR suffixes: CDS**
- PSR suffixes: Daisy (3;08–5;10)
- PSR suffixes: Billy (4;05–5;10)
- PSR suffixes: Takeaways



1. Terminology

Child-directed speech (CDS): language spoken to young children by adults or older children

Type: an individual noun stem	misinihîkin	'book'
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Token: each occurrence of that noun stem misinihîkinh 'books'

nimisinihîkin 'my book'

Possessee: noun possessed by someone nimisinihîkin 'my book'

Possessor (PSR): someone doing the possessing <u>ni</u>misinihîkin '<u>my</u> book'

2. Northern East Cree (NEC)

Four Eeyou Istchee communities, Northern Québec

Chisasibi: 2475 "mother tongue" speakers

(Statistics Canada, 2016)

Ongoing language change, loss

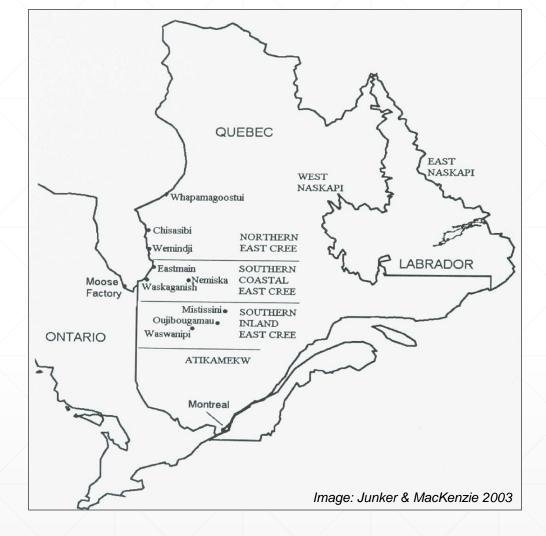
(Brittain & MacKenzie, 2010; Collette, 2018; Grand Council of the Crees, 2019; Louttit et al., 2018)

Fewer children acquiring NEC as mother tongue

Not much known:

How children acquire languages like NEC

(e.g., Chee & Henke, Submitted; Kelly et al., 2014)



Crucial time for language science, teaching, revitalization

3. Grammatical background

The big question: How do children acquire the inflectional system of NEC?

Ex) Noun template encodes information related to possessee and PSR (Collette, 2014; Junker et al., 2013)

(1) chitiwaashishiimich

chit=iwaashish-iim-ich

2=child-POSS-3PL

'your children'

Noun is possessed + animate + plural

PSR is 2nd person

Focus today: Additional suffixes encode more grammatical information for PSR

person, number, clusivity, and obviation ...

3. Grammatical background

PSR is 2nd or 3rd person + plural

(2) chitiwaashishiimiwaauch chit=iwaashish-iim-iwaau-ch 2-child-POSS-2/3PL.PSR-3PL 'your (PL) children'

(3) utiwaashishiimiwaauh ut=iwaashish-iim-iwaau-h 3-child-POSS-2/3PL.PSR-3.OBV 'their children'

PSR is 1st person + plural + inclusive or exclusive

(4) chitiwaashishiiminiuch chit=iwaashish-iim-iniu-ch 2-child-POSS-1PL.INCL.PSR-3PL 'our (INCL) children' (5) nitiwaashishiiminaanich nit=iwaashish-iim-inaan-ich 1-child-POSS-1PL.EXCL.PSR-3PL 'our (EXCL) children'

3. Grammatical background

PSR is 3rd person and obviative

(6) utiwaashishiimiyiuh ut=iwaashish-iim-iyiu-h 3-child-POSS-3.OBV.PSR-3.OBV 'her/his/their (OBV) child(ren)'

Summary: Four suffixes mark multiple grammatical categories for PSR

Person, number, clusivity, obviation

-(i)waau 2/3PL.PSR

I call these suffixes PSR suffixes

-(i)niu 1PL.INCL.PSR

-(i)naan 1PL.EXCL.PSR

-(i)yiu 3.OBV.PSR

4. This study and the "data"

Descriptive account of PSR suffixes from corpus of CDS and child language

Not much known: How PSR suffixes used w/ children, how they are acquired, etc.

Exploring two Research Questions:

- RQ1: Which PSR suffixes are used, and how frequently?
- RQ2: How might the usage of PSR suffixes tied to specific noun types?

No strong claims made here, but we'll see interesting patterns

4. This study and the "data"

Chisasibi Child Language Acquisition Study (Brittain et al., 2007) (we're drawing from Henke, 2020)

Videos of child speech and CDS in home setting: Two children + one adult

	Age	Videos	Hours	Utterances
Daisy	3;08-5;10	14	9	5,742
Billy	4;05–5;10	11	7	3,173
Adult	\	25	16	10,423

Let's begin by looking at PSR suffixes in CDS ...

RQ1: Which PSR suffixes are used, and how frequently?

- 696 total noun tokens w/ POSS inflection ...
- But only **79** (~11 percent) involve a **PSR suffix**
- **2/3PL** most common: 59/79 tokens (~75 percent)
- Other PSR suffixes rarer...

PSR suffix	Morpheme	Tokens
2/3PL	-(i)waau	59
1PL.INCL	-(i)niu	8
1PL.EXCL	-(i)naan	6
3.OBV	-(i)yiu	6

Mânâ utihchîwâuh awânichî kâ âpichihtâch.

mânâ u=tihchî-**wâu**-h awâni-chî kâ-âpichihtâch

3=hand-**2/3.PL.PSR**-OPL someone-3PL DEM

CONJ-they.are.using

'It's the one where the people are using their hands.' (Adult, 5;02, B1.13, 05:27)

RQ2: How might the usage of PSR suffixes tied to specific noun types?

PSR suffix tokens spread out over **21 noun types** ... mostly **one** or **two** tokens per noun type

(8) Mâuhî mîn chispituniniuh.

mâu-hî mîn ch=**ispitun-iniu**-h

DEM-OPL

again 2=arm-1PL.INCL.PSR-0PL

'And here are our arms.' (Adult, 4;04, B1.11, 22:35)

(9) Awâyiuh ukâwîyiuh.

awâ-yiuh

u=**kâwî-yiu**-h

who-3.OBV 3=quill-3.OBV.PSR-3.OBV

'Whose (OBV) quills are they?' (Adult, 4;06, B1.14, 04:39)

English noun types rare but occur: two tokens of *chicarimiwâu*

One noun type stands out: $\hat{i}ch$ 'home' \rightarrow Carries most PSR suffixes: 47/79 tokens (~59 percent)

The only type that occurs w/ each PSR suffix

```
... kiyâh mâk nîchinâhch.
      Chîchiwâhch â.
(10)
                                                            mâk n=îch-inâ-hch
                                                    kiyâh
      ch=îch-iwâ-hch â
      2=home-2/3PL.PSR-LOC Q
                                                    and
                                                                     1=home-1PL.EXCL.PSR-LOC
      'At your (PL) place?' (Adult, 4;10, B1.20, 02:59)
                                                    '... at our (EXCL) place' (Adult, 5;02, B3.13, 01:06)
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... iyihtutimâu aniyâ (name) Dorah wîchiyiu iyihtutimâu w=îch-iyiu (name) ani-yâ Dora-h s/he.does.to.her/him DEM-0.OBV 3=home-3.OBV.PSR name-3.OBV name '... (name) did with Dora's (OBV) house' (Adult, 4;06, B1.14, 21:00)

Summary

- 1. PSR suffixes relatively infrequent
- 2. Big imbalance between four morphemes: -iwaau dominates PSR suffix tokens
- 3. Noun type *îch* 'home': **Special role** in helping children identify the **presence** + **function** of **PSR suffix** morphemes?

Let's look at PSR suffixes in **child** speech ...

RQ1: Which PSR suffixes are used, and how frequently?

246 total noun tokens w/ POSS inflection ... 41 tokens (~17 percent) involve a PSR suffix

Unlike CDS: 1PL.EXCL.PSR most frequent

Like CDS: 2/3PL suffix prominent ... other suffixes rarer

PSR suffix	Morpheme	Tokens	Errors	First usage
2/3PL	-(i)waau	15	1	3;09
1PL.INCL	-(i)niu	2	0	3;09
1PL.EXCL	-(i)naan	21	0	3;09
3.OBV	-(i)yiu	1	1	3;11

RQ2: How might the usage of PSR suffixes tied to specific noun types?

PSR suffix tokens spread out over 9 noun types ... mostly one or two tokens per noun type

(13) ukâwîwâuh

u=kâwî-wâu-h

3=mother-2/3.PL.PSR-3.OBV

'their mother(s)' (Daisy, 4;02.06, B1.08, 10:43)

lyihch îtishtâu shâsh ninipâwininân.

iyihch îtishtâu shâsh ni=**nipâwin-inân**different it.is.placed already 1=**bed-1PL.EXCL.PSR**'Our bed is now placed differently.' (Daisy, 5;07.03, B1.30, 25:18)

Includes four English noun types

ucakeimiyiuh 'her/his (OBV) cake' chiphoneiminiu 'our (INCL) phone' nibusiminân 'our (EXCL) bus' niroominâhch 'in our (EXCL) room'

As in CDS, one noun type really stands out: îch 'home'

- Carries **33/41** PSR suffix **tokens** (~80 percent)
- Wîchiwâhch an kâihtât nimâ. (15)

```
kâihtât
w=îch-iwâ-hch
                                             nimâ
                          an
```

3=home-2/3PL.PSR-LOC DEM that.it.is NEG

'That one is at their house, right?' (Daisy, 3;09.22, B1.03, 9:32)

(16)Nîchinân kwâshch niki ushihtân.

> ni=ki-ushihtân n=îch-inân kwâshch

> 1=home-1PL.EXCL.PSR 1=FUT-make.it in.turn

'I will draw our house this time.' (Daisy, 4;06, B1.14, 20:49)

Two tokens of *îch* 'home' are special: w/ two PSR suffixes

(17) ... âih wîchiwâyihch anitâh awâyiuh.

âi-h w-**îch-iwâ-yi**-hch ani-tâh awâ-yiuh

HES-3.OBV 3=home-2/3.PL.PSR-3.OBV.PSR-LOC DEM-LOC someone-3.OBV

'... um, somewhere at somebody's (OBV) place' (Daisy, 5;07.03, B1.30, 10:09)

(18) ... tânitâh û wîchiwâyihch âihch (name)ish.

tâni-tâh û w-**îch-iwâ-yi-**hch âi-hch (name)-ish

where-LOC DEM 3=home-2/3.PL.PSR-3.OBV.PSR-LOC HES-LOC name-DIM

'... over at their (OBV) house, uh, little (name)'s' (Daisy, 3;11.11, B1.04, 33:09)

• Not totally sure if adult-like (Henke, 2019) ... but Billy does it too

Summary

- PSR suffixes a bit more frequent than in CDS
- Suffixes for **2/3PL** and **1PL.EXCL** represent almost all the tokens
- Noun type *îch* 'home' plays crucial role in bearing PSR suffixes
 - Two **double-marked** tokens with two PSR suffixes

Let's look at PSR suffixes for the other child: **Billy** (4;05–5;10)

RQ1: Which PSR suffixes are used, and how frequently?

95 total noun tokens w/ POSS inflection ... 16 tokens (~17 percent) involve a PSR suffix

Not much data, but patterns similar to Daisy's usage:

1PL.EXCL.PSR most frequent, 2/3PL suffix prominent ... other suffixes rarer

PSR suffix	Morpheme	Tokens	Errors	First usage
2/3PL	-(i)waau	7	0	4;05
1PL.INCL	-(i)niu	0	0	4;08
1PL.EXCL	-(i)naan	8	0	n/a
3.OBV	-(i)yiu	1	0	4;08

RQ2: How might the usage of PSR suffixes tied to specific noun types?

PSR suffix tokens across just 8 noun types: again, mostly one or two tokens per noun type

```
(19) nitâminân
ni=tâm-inân
1=dog-1PL.EXCL.PSR
'our dog' (Billy, 4;08, B3.07, 0:01)
```

Includes four English noun types

ucarimiwâuh
usledimiwâuh
utreeimiwâu
niwindowiminân
'their car'
their sled'
their tree'
our (EXCL) window'

As in CDS, one noun type really stands out: îch 'home'

- Carries 8/16 PSR suffix tokens (50 percent)
- (20) Uyâ â utreeimiwâu wîchiwâu.

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u-yâ â u=tree-im-iwâu w-îch-iwâu
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DEM-0.OBV Q 3=tree-POSS-2/3PL.PSR 3-home-2/3PL.PSR

'Is this their treehouse?' (Billy, 4;06.08, B3.04, 25:51)

(21) ... âi anitâh kiyipwâ âh wîh îtuhtâyân nîchinâhch

âi ani-tâh kiyipwâ âh-wîh-îtuhtâyân n=**îch-inâ**-hch

HES DEM-LOC of.course CONJ-want-I.go 1=home-1PL.EXCL.PSR-LOC

'... because I want to go at our place' (Billy, 4;10, B3.09, 17:47)

One double-marked token of *îch* 'home': two PSR suffixes

```
(22) (name) wîchiwâyihch
(name) w-îch-iwâ-yi-hch
name 3=home-2/3.PL.PSR-3.OBV.PSR-LOC
'at (name)'s (OBV) house' (Billy, 5;10.06, B3.18, 14:03)
```

Summary

- 1. PSR suffixes a bit more frequent than in CDS ... but not much data for Billy
- 2. Like Daisy: **2/3PL** and **1PL.EXCL** dominate the tokens
- 3. Again, noun type *îch* 'home' plays crucial role in bearing PSR suffixes
 - One double-marked token with two PSR suffixes

8. PSR suffixes: Takeaways

CDS:

- PSR suffixes relatively **infrequent** and **imbalanced** between morphemes
- Most w/noun type $\hat{i}ch$ 'home' \rightarrow special role illustrating presence, function of PSR suffixes?

Child speech: (Not making strong claims ... but some patterns emerge)

- PSR suffixes slightly more frequent than in CDS
- Mostly 2/3PL and 1PL.EXCL: Lots of talk about 'our house' and 'their house'
- PSR suffixes used w/ small number of noun types—*îch* 'home' most prominent
- Both produce double-marked nouns: Unsure if child "error" or language change (see Henke, 2019)

8. PSR suffixes: Takeaways

Potential applications:

Informing languages nests, other immersion programs

- e.g., models for how adults can talk to children
- e.g., shape expectations about child language development

Models for language teaching

- e.g., informed targeting of particular morphemes
- e.g., using forms like *îch* 'home' to help students grasp morphology

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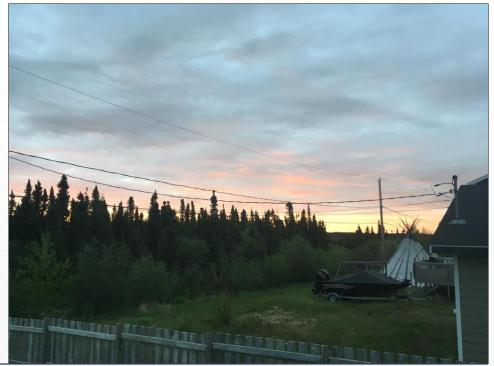
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