

**EAST CREE MATHEMATICS  
TERMINOLOGY WORKSHOP REPORT  
Val d'Or February 2007**

**Participants**

**Facilitator**

Marie-Odile Junker

**Cree Programs Staff**

Daisy Bearskin-Herodier  
Luci Bobbish-Salt  
Linda Visitor  
Alice Duff  
Margaret Nine O'Clock  
Mabel Pepabano

Ruth Salt  
Daisy Moar  
Patricia Diamond  
Anna Blacksmith

**Resource Persons**

Samuel Bearskin  
Margaret Bearskin  
Kenny Rabbitskin  
Smally Petawabano

Laurie Petawabano  
Jimmy Moar  
Jimmy Trapper  
Mary B. Georgekish  
Emily Hughboy

**Teachers**

Evelyn Ratt  
Pauline Dixon  
Jane Jolly-Bobbish  
James Jonah  
Louisa George  
Frances Mark

**Others**

Lucy Shem  
Ethel Blackned

**Table of Content**

- |   |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li><b>1. Measurement in Traditional Activities</b></li><li><b>2. Classifying objects into sets and subsets using Cree classifiers</b></li><li><b>3. Reduplication and Distributivity</b></li><li><b>4. Division</b></li><li><b>5. Geometry</b></li></ol> <p><b>Appendix A, B, C, D</b></p> |
|---|

*Note: - English-Cree terminology is in another document*

## 1. Measurement in Traditional Activities

Measurement in traditional activities often involved the human body. For example: using hands, arms, feet or fingers to measure something.

ᑎᐱᓂᐅᑎᑦ- measuring the size of a fish net using your arms. You have to hold the string in the palm of your hand, which covers the length up to your fingertips.

ᐅᐅᓂᐅᑎᑦ or 2 ᑎᑎᑦᓂᓂᓂᑦᑦ- 1 arm to the other arm length

ᑎᑎᓂᓂᓂᑦᑦ or 1 ᑎᑎᑦᓂᓂᓂᑦᑦ- 1 from the chest to the length of the arm

ᑎᐱᓂᐅᑎᑦ	tipiniskaatim using arms, measurement net, snowshoes, string-like things, toboggan
ᑎᐱᓂᐅᑎᑦ	tipinischaanim using hand for measurement snowshoes, crossp-bars,
ᑎᐱᑦᓂᑎᑦ	tipisitaahim using feet for measurement

### Activity 1.

When you take a string and measure from the end of one arm to the end of the other arm, the length of the string will be equal to your height.

### Activity 2.

When you take a string and measure your head, turning the string 3 times around, it will be the same length as your height. Start measuring from your forehead.

Cree has many numeral words that are used to count and indicate size, weight, volume, time in a very concrete way. See for example the list of words with number *neu* (four) in **Appendix A**

## 2. Classifying objects into sets and subsets using Cree classifiers

The Cree language has a series of classifiers, also called "concrete finals", which indicate the concrete properties of objects, as they are manipulated by people. These properties are essential to the survival on the land. The name of many objects (and events) naturally form sets determined by the category indicated by the classifier.

### Cree concrete finals (Southern)

-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-aahtikw	<i>stick-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-aaskw	<i>stick-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ (ᑭᑦᑎᑦ)	-aapii -yaapii	<i>string-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapisch	<i>hard (metal, stone, glass)</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapiskw	<i>hard (metal, stone, glass)</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-aapuu (I)	<i>liquid</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapui(C)	<i>liquid</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	-chiwaahp	<i>tent/teepee</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-(e)chin	<i>sheet-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-kamikw	<i>structure</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-kaan	<i>man-made, manufactured</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-min (C)	<i>berry</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-minaan (I)	<i>berry</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-skamikw	<i>moss, earth</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-stikw	<i>river</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-yaan	<i>sheet-like</i>

### Cree concrete finals (Northern)

-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-aahtikw -yaahikw -waahtikw	<i>stick-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-aaskw	<i>stick-like, branch</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapiskw	<i>hard (metal, stone, glass)</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapisch	<i>hard (metal, stone, glass)</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-yaan	<i>sheet-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-aapui	<i>liquid</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	-(y)aapii	<i>string-like</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦ	-kimikw	<i>structure</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	-chiwaahp	<i>shelter</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-hkaan	<i>made, manufactured</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	-(i)skimikw	<i>moss, earth</i>
-ᑭᑦᑎᑦᑭᑦ	-siht	<i>branch</i>

-ᑦᐱ	-min	<i>berry</i>
-ᓂᑎᑦ	-shtikw	<i>river</i>

**Examples (Southern):**

ᑎᓂᑦᑲᑦ	<<ᑲᑦ	(sheet-like)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᓂᑦ	<<ᑲᓂᑦ	(stick-like)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᓂᑦᑎᑦ	<<ᑲᓂᑦᑎᑦ	(wood-like)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᑲᑦ(ᑎᓂᑦᑲᑲᑦ)	<<ᑲᑲᑦ	(material-like, paper-like)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᑎᑦ	<<ᑎᑦ	(hides-moose, caribou, ice, clothing)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᓂᑦᑲᑦ	<<ᑲᓂᑦᑲᑦ	(metal-like)
ᑎᓂᑦᑲᓂᑦᑎᑦ	<<ᑲᓂᑦᑎᑦ	(metal-like)

**Examples (Northern)**

<>ᐱ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	<>ᑲᑎᑦ	apui + -ahtikw	apuiyahtikw	<i>paddle + stick-like = paddle stick</i>
<ᑦᐱ + -ᐱᓂᑦ	<ᑦᐱᓂᑦ	apwaan + -aaskw	apwaanaaskw	<i>roasted meat + stick = roasting stick</i>
<ᑎᓂᑦ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	<ᑎᓂᑦᑲᑎᑦ	amiskw + -aapui	amiskwaapui	<i>beaver + broth = beaver broth</i>
ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ	waapush + -aapui	waapushwaapui	<i>rabbit + broth = rabbit broth</i>
<ᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	<ᑎᓂᑦᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ	atihkw + -aapui	atihkwaapui	<i>caribou + broth = caribou broth</i>
ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ + -ᑲᑎᑦ	ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑎᑦ	upwaam + -chaakin	upwaamichaakin	<i>thigh + bone = thigh bone</i>
ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ + -ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ	ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ	waasaanihtaakin + -aapiskw	waasaanihtaakinaapiskw	<i>window + glass = windowpane</i>
ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ	maahkii + -aachin	maahkiiyaachin	<i>tent + cloth = canvas</i>
ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ + -ᐱᑎᑦ	ᑲᑎᓂᑦᑎᓂᑦᑎᑦ	maahkii + -ahtikw	maahkiiyahtikw	<i>tent + stick = tent frame</i>

·Δσ"Δρ <sup>a</sup> + - ◁"∩ <sup>d</sup>	·Δσ"Δρ <sup>a</sup> " ∩ <sup>d</sup>	winihiikin + - aahtikw	winihiikinaahtikw	trap + stick = stick for trap
Δ"ΔΛ"b <sup>a</sup> + - ◁"∩ <sup>d</sup>	Δ"ΔΛ"b <sup>a</sup> " ∩ <sup>d</sup>	ihiiiphkaan + - aahtikw	ihiiiphkaanaahtikw	fishnet + stick = netting needle

### Activity 3.

Display a number of objects on a table in the classroom. Name the objects in Cree, so that the children hear the word with its classifier. Then, ask the children to organize them by in logical sets.

For example:

1. Display some embroidery thread, a shoelace, some wool, a diaper, an undershirt and a seal skin: these represent 3 -yan objects, 3 -aapii objects: ask the children to arrange them in two sets of three, by finding something in common. Let the children touch and manipulate the objects.

Set one

ᑭᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	maamaahtaaupihchikaniyaapii	embroidery thread
ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	maschisiniyaapii	shoelace
ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	mitaasiyaapii	wool

Set two:

ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	aasiyaan	diaper, pamper
ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	piihtuupachayaan	undershirt
ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ	aahchikuyaana	sealskin

2. Increase the size and complexity of the exercise: put -(e)chin objects, -aapii objects, -aahtikw or -aaskw objects, and -aapisch or -aapiskw objects. These should go in 4 different sets, maybe even 6 if they pay really attention to the words endings.

Discuss with the children the reasons why they classify some objects together. The children could create all kinds of unexpected categories (by colour, by texture, by size, etc.)

Make them discover that these objects all have a name in Cree with a part that sounds the same.

Note: The same exercises can be applied to more abstract differences in the language, like creating sets for animate and inanimate things, doing the test with waapatham... vs waapameu... Subsets could be created combining animacy and classifiers: for example -yaapii words that are animate, and -yaapii words that are inanimate.

**Activity 4.** Create a memory game with cards representing written words or objects. Decide if the whole word/object has to match or if it is enough that the classifier matches before you play.

**Activity 5.** Look for subsets into a classifier set. For example, mix up all words in -yan, and then classify them according to whether they refer to animal pelts or clothing.

Examples:

ᑭᑦ

- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ (ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ)
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- .ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ

ᑕᑦ (ᑕᑦ)

- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ (ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ)
  - .ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ (ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ)
  - ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ (ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ)
  - ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ (ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ)
- ᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦᑕᑦ



<p> <math>\triangleleft \wedge \text{"} \cdot \acute{b} \acute{o} \acute{r} \text{"}</math>  <math>\Gamma \text{"} \text{r} \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{r} \text{"}</math>   <math>\sigma \cdot \acute{b} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{\lambda} \text{z} \rho \acute{o} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\Gamma \text{"} \cdot \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{\Delta} \text{"} \acute{d} \acute{c} \cdot \acute{\Delta} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleleft \text{r} \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleright \text{r} \text{r} \acute{c} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\Gamma \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{z} \text{"} \text{r} \cdot \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\rho \text{r} \cdot \acute{b} \text{r} \cdot \acute{\Delta} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \triangleleft \triangleright \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\Gamma \text{r} \sigma \text{"} \text{r} \text{"} \acute{\Delta} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\Gamma \acute{c} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleleft \text{r} \text{r} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\Gamma \text{r} \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleright \acute{c} \acute{c} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{r} \triangleright \acute{c} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleleft \text{r} \cdot \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{r} \rho \cdot \acute{c} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{r} \text{r} \acute{c} \acute{c} \triangleright \rho \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleright \text{r} \cdot \acute{b} \text{r} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleright \text{r} \acute{o} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \triangleleft \text{r} \text{r} \cdot \acute{\Delta} \acute{b} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{\lambda} \acute{\lambda} \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \triangleleft \text{r} \acute{c} \sigma \acute{\lambda} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{d} \text{r} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{r} \wedge \text{"} \acute{\Delta} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleright \text{r} \text{r} \text{r} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\wedge \text{r} \cdot \acute{\Delta} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{b} \text{r} \wedge \cdot \acute{c} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \triangleleft \triangleright \sim \acute{b} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleleft \text{r} \text{r} \text{r} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{j} \text{"} \acute{d} \acute{c} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\triangleleft \text{r} \cdot \acute{\lambda} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \triangleleft \acute{\lambda} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{r} \text{"} \acute{c} \rho \text{"} \acute{\Delta} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{r} \text{r} \text{"} \text{r} \wedge \text{"} \cdot \acute{b} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\acute{r} \text{r} \sigma \text{"} \acute{d} \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\text{r} \text{r} \wedge \text{r} \text{"} \acute{c} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>   <math>\Gamma \text{r} \triangleright \acute{c} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math>  <math>\cdot \acute{\Delta} \sigma \text{"} \acute{\Delta} \rho \acute{o} \acute{b} \acute{\lambda}</math> </p>	<p>           apihkwaanaachin            mischisinaachin             nikwaanaayaapii            piishaakinaapii            mihkwaayaapii            iishkutaawaayaapii            aschiminaayaapii            uchaashtaayaapii            mitunaapii            shaashtikwaayaapii            kischikwaasuwinayaapii            waaukinaayaapii            mishinishtihikinaayaapii            mitaasaayaapii            astisaayaapii            mischisinaayaapii            utaapaanaayaapii            miiutaayaapii            aahchikwaayaapii            sikipwaanaayaapii            chishtaapaauchikinaayaapii            uchikwaachikinaayaapii            utinaakinaapii            waaspisuwiyaanaayaapii            maamaapisunaayaapii            waashtaanimaakinaayaapii            kuskinaapii            tipihikinaayaapii            uchipichikinaayaapii            pichiwinaayaapii            saachipitwaanaayaapii            waapushuyaanaayaapii            ashtutinaayaapii             muuhkutaakinaayaapii            atimwaayaapii            waachaayaapii            chiishtaakihikinaayaapii            sichihtipihkwaanaayaapii            chiischinihkunaayaapii            sichipitihtaakinaayaapii             misiputaakinaayaapii             winihikinaayaapii         </p>	<p>           roofing material            sole (moccasins)             snare wire/string            string (leather string)            blood vein            electrical wire            babiche for snowshoes            tendon            babiche for middle hole            sisal rope            thread            spinal cord            embroidery thread            yarn            braided cord for mittens            shoelace            string for toboggan            tumpline            sealskin rope            string for roasting            clothesline            fishing line            pulling line for net            string for mossbag            string/rope for swing            electrical wires            nightline            measuring tape            starter cord            cloth string            braid            rabbitskin cord/string            string/cord for hat             string wound around            crooked knife            harness rope for dogteam            watch band            string for tent stakes            string for canvas covers            moccasin strings            string for attaching beaver            skin to frame            string to pull moosehide            while softening         </p>
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### **3. Reduplication and Distributivity**

Cree has reduplicated numerals that are used to express distributivity. paahpeyakw, naaneu, naanewaau...

The Cree language is very rich in expressing all kinds of distributive situations, that can be described using set theory graphs.

See **Appendix B**

**Activity 7.** Ask the children to draw the graphs to represent situations expressed by reduplicated numerals.

### **4. Division**

Division is a difficult concept for all children, but it can be made accessible by relating it to the traditional concept of sharing. Traditional method of dividing game preserve the distinct anatomical identity of each share, it is not based on a 300gr of meat per person formula, but rather on which parts of the animal go to which person (for example the head of the goose for the hunter, the feet for the older woman, etc.) The words for dividing in two, three equal parts are a good introduction to arithmetical division.

#### **Activity 8.**

Give children things that they can break into two or three pieces, or pieces of paper or of clothing that they can cut, asking them to make the pieces equal. Sometimes things break or divide better a certain way, so that the resulting parts are not all the same. Let them experience the property of objects that can be divided.

#### **Activity 9.**

Stories can be used to introduce the children to the concept of division using the traditional concept of sharing. The stories in Appendix C were created during the workshop.

Tell the children similar stories, using puppets or making them act out the story. Question them during or after the story.

See **appendix C**- stories by teachers (Smally and Pauline for Southern, Frances for Northern)

**Activity 10.** For more advanced levels, also using English or French, look up the Cree words in the on-line Cree dictionary ([www.eastcree.org](http://www.eastcree.org)) by searching for "divide" (French: "diviser").

## 5. Geometry

Shape categories are the precursor of Geometry. The Cree language expresses lots of shape categories, which can be used to introduce the children to geometry.

One difference to keep in mind is that shape categories have vague boundaries, because they are based on a prototype, while geometrical concepts have precise boundaries. For example, the geometrical notions of line, plane and solid are defined by zero values of a variable, while a categorial approach uses the spatial dimensions of length, width and thickness divided into small and large values with vague boundaries between them. Nevertheless, since shape categories are very richly expressed in Cree, children can get a firm grounding in understanding them in their traditional culture before moving on to more abstract notions.

**Shape and context** - The words below show how the meaning of circle appears related to other contextual properties. (Pay attention to the initial, medial, and final part of the word)

·ᐱ·ᐃᓴᓂ"ᑕ° (cutting a circle using a tool eg. saw, file)

1x ᐱᓴᑏᑦ (wood-like) ex. plywood, gibrock (drywall)

2x ᐱᓴᓂ (stone-like)

3x ᐱᓴᑏᑦ (metal-like)

·ᐱ·ᐃᓴᑏᓴᑦ (cutting a circle using a tool eg. scissors, knife, crooked knife)

1. ᐱᓴᓂᑦᐱᑏᑦᐱᓴᑦ (paper-like)

2. ᐱᑏᓴᑦ (material/sheet like)

3. ᐱᓴᑏᓴᑦ

·ᐱ·ᐃᓴᑏᓴᑦᐱᑏᑦᐱᓴᑦ (filing something to make a circle using a tool eg. file)

·ᐱ·ᐃᓴᑏᓴᑦᐱᑏᑦᐱᓴᑦ (making a circle in the snow using a shovel)

·ᐱ·ᐃᓴᑏᓴᑦᐱᑏᑦᐱᓴᑦ (making a circle in the snow using your



- 8) Visit a teepee that has a fireplace or a wood stove and show students how you can put firewood at an angle.
- 9) students can develop songs about angles

**Activity 13.** Imagine with the children a story like the one in Activity 12, but this time using another shape concept. Create the story with the children, using their imagination.

**Activity 14.** For more advanced levels, also using English or French, look up the Cree shape words in the on-line Cree dictionary ([www.eastcree.org](http://www.eastcree.org)) by searching for "angle, circle, round, point, long, flat ". Study the Cree words and see which situations they describe, which part of the word expresses the geometry concept and how other parts of the word express texture and material. Notice how Cree words tend to be precise and concrete.

### Appendix A Numeral words

The words in the list below are examples of a very productive way to create compound words in Cree that measure quantities. These words are particles, they do not take plural inflection or possessive marking,

For example the particle ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ newemihkwaan 'four tablespoons of something' is different from the words used to just count tablespoons ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ neu emihkwaanich 'four tablespoons'. These particles can be used to measure volume, weight, quantity, distance and time.

#### **Southern**

ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+emihkwaan=newemihkwaan	<i>four tablespoons</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+emihkwaanish=newemihkwaani sh	<i>four teaspoons</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+wapisc=newaapisch	<i>four stones</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+wapiskw=newaapiskw	<i>four pieces of metal</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+aahtihkw=newaahtikw	<i>four sticks, pieces of lumber</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+wech=newech	<i>four sheets of paper</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+wech=newekanh	<i>four blankets</i>
ᐅᐅ + ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ = ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	neu+wech=newechisuwich	<i>four moosehides, pelts, clothes(pants)</i>

$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \nabla \Gamma'' \Gamma^{\circ} =$ $\tau \cdot \nabla \Gamma'' \Gamma^{\circ}$	neu+wech=newechihtinh	<i>four layers of clothing</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \nabla \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}$ $(\cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \nabla \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}) I = \tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \nabla \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}$ $(\tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \nabla \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}) I$	neu + wiiweyaau (wiinuweyaau)I =newiweyaau (newiinuweyaau)I	<i>four pairs of shoes</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \nabla^{\vee} = \tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \nabla^{\vee}$ $\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \nabla^{\vee} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \nabla^{\vee} b^{\circ}$	neu+aapech=newaapech	<i>four strings (snares, nightlines)</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \triangleright'' \Gamma^{\circ} = \tau \triangleright'' \Gamma^{\circ}$	neu+ uhtich=neuhtich	<i>four firewood</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \mathcal{C}^{\vee} = \tau \triangleright \mathcal{C}^{\vee}$	neu+ tach=neutach	<i>four canoes</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\gamma} \sigma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\gamma} \sigma b^{\circ}$	neu+sinikan=neusinikan	<i>four armfuls</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + j \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ} = \tau \triangleright j \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ}$ $\triangleright \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ} \quad (\tau \triangleright \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ})$	neu + naachuutaan = neunaachuutaan	<i>carrying four packloads</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\Delta} j \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\Delta} j \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ}$ $(\tau \triangleright \dot{\mathcal{C}}^{\circ})$	neu + naachuutaan = neunaachuutaan	<i>four packloads</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \dot{\gamma} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\Delta} \dot{\gamma} b^{\circ}$	neu + wiyaakan = neuyaakan	<i>four platefuls</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma <'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma <'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ}$	neu + tipahiikan = neutipahiikan	<i>four miles, gallons</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma <'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma <'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ} (I)$	neu + tipahiikan = neutipahiikan	<i>four hours</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\gamma} \sigma \cdot \dot{\gamma} \sigma U^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\gamma} \sigma \cdot \dot{\gamma} \sigma U^{\circ} (C) \&$ $(I)$	neu + tipahiikan = neutipahiikan	<i>four hours</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ} = \tau \triangleright \Gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}$	neu + misit = neumisit	<i>four feet</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma'' \Gamma^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma'' \Gamma^{\circ}$	neu + mihchichin = neumichihchin	<i>four inches(thumbs)</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} d'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} d'' \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ}$	neu + tipaaskuhiikan = neutipaaskuhiikan	<i>four rulers, yardsticks</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} d \sigma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} d \sigma b^{\circ}$	neu + tipaaskunikan = neutipaaskunikan	<i>four yards</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma <'' \dot{\gamma} \dot{\gamma} b^{\circ}$	neu + tipaapaachikan = neutipaapaachikan	<i>four measuring tape lengths</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \sigma \wedge'' U^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \sigma \wedge'' U^{\circ}$	neu + minipitaau = neuminipitaau	<i>four bundles</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\gamma} b \Gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\gamma} b \Gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}$	neu + skatiyech = neuskatiyech	<i>four packages</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \dot{\Delta} \dot{\gamma}'' \dot{\mathcal{C}} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \dot{\Delta} \dot{\gamma}'' \dot{\mathcal{C}} b^{\circ}$	neu + waawiyehaakan = neuwaawiyehaakan	<i>four barrels</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\Delta} \dot{\gamma} \Gamma'' \dot{\gamma} =$ $\tau \cdot \nabla \dot{\gamma} \Gamma'' \dot{\gamma} = \tau \triangleright \dot{\gamma} \Gamma'' \dot{\gamma}$	neu + aschihkw = newaschihkw = neuschikw	<i>four pails</i>
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \wedge b b^{\circ} =$	neu + kwaapikaakan =	<i>four 20 lb. lard pails</i>

$\tau \triangleright \cdot \dot{b} \wedge \dot{b} b^{\circ}$	neukwaapikaakan	(M)
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{b} \wedge \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \cdot \dot{b} \wedge \dot{\Delta} b^{\circ}$	neu + kwaapihiikan = neukwaapahiikan	four scoopfuls
$\tau^{\circ} + \wedge \dot{b}^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \wedge \dot{b}^{\circ}$	neu + pihkaan = neupihkaan	four strand braid
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\Gamma} \cdot \triangleleft^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\Gamma} \cdot \triangleleft^{\circ}$	neu + miiwat = neumiiwat	four boxes
$\tau^{\circ} + \sigma \cdot \gamma \Gamma = \tau \triangleright \sigma \cdot \gamma \Gamma$	neu + nisch = neunisch	four armlengths
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{b} \wedge \sigma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{b} \wedge \sigma b^{\circ}$	neukwaapinikan	four handfuls
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \sigma \cdot \dot{b} b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \sigma \cdot \dot{b} b^{\circ}$	neu + minihkwaakan = neuminihkwaakan	four cupfuls
$\tau^{\circ} + \cap \triangleleft \dot{V} \gamma \Gamma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \cap \triangleleft \dot{V} \gamma \Gamma b^{\circ}$	neu + tipaapeskuchikan = neutipaapeskuchikan	four pounds
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta}^{\circ} = \tau \triangleright \cdot \dot{\Delta}^{\circ}$	neu + wich = newich	four ways
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \cap \dot{b}^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \cap \dot{b}^{\circ}$	neu + mihtihkaan = neumihtihkaan	four cords of wood
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \sigma d^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \sigma d^{\circ}$	neu + minikush = neuminikush	four minutes
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\Gamma} \Gamma \sigma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \dot{\Gamma} \Gamma \sigma b^{\circ}$	neu + maachishikan = neumaachishikan	four slices
$\tau^{\circ} + \wedge \cdot \gamma \sigma b^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \wedge \cdot \gamma \sigma b^{\circ}$	neu + maachishikan = neumaachishikan	four slices
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ} +$ $\tau \triangleright \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \gamma \dot{\gamma}^{\circ}$	neu + wiikhweyaau = newiikhweyaau	four bags
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \sigma^{\circ} = \tau \triangleright \Gamma \sigma^{\circ}$	neu + minich = neuminich	four berries
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \triangleleft \sigma^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \cdot \triangleleft \sigma^{\circ}$	netaanich	four islands
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \sigma \cdot \dot{b}^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \sigma \cdot \dot{b}^{\circ}$	neu + miniskaau = neuminiskaau	four dozen
$\tau^{\circ} + \dot{\Gamma} = \tau \triangleright \dot{\Gamma}$	neu + htii = neuhtii	four dollar
$\tau \triangleright + \dot{\gamma} = \tau \triangleright \dot{\gamma}$	neu + shtuu = neushtuu	four beaver lodges
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \Delta^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \tau \cdot \dot{\Delta} \cdot \Delta^{\circ}$	neu + minehiituwich = neuminehiituwich	four groups
$\tau^{\circ} + \Delta \cdot \gamma \Delta^{\circ} +$ $\tau \triangleright \Delta \cdot \gamma \Delta^{\circ}$	neu + iskwewich = neuskwewic	four women
$\tau^{\circ} + \cdot \triangleleft \dot{V} \cdot \Delta^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \cdot \triangleleft \dot{V} \cdot \Delta^{\circ}$	neu + aapewich = newaapewich	four men (in the family)
$\tau^{\circ} + b \Gamma \Gamma \Gamma \cdot \Delta^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright b \Gamma \Gamma \Gamma \cdot \Delta^{\circ}$	neu + kamichisuwich = neukamichisuwich	four tents full of people
$\tau^{\circ} + \Gamma \tau d \Gamma \sigma^{\circ} =$ $\tau \triangleright \Gamma \tau d \Gamma \sigma^{\circ}$	neu + minekuchinich = neumenikuchinich	four flocks

**Northern:**

ᑍ°	naau	
ᑍ·ᑕᑎ"ᑖᑍ	naawaamihkwaan	four tablespoons
ᑍ·ᑕᑎ"ᑖᑍˆ	naawaamihkwaanish	four teaspoons
ᑍ·ᑕᑎᐱᐱ	naawaapish	four stones, pieces of metal
ᑍ·ᑕᑎ"ᑎᑍᑈ	naawaahthikw	four sticks, pieces of lumber
ᑍ·ᑕᑎᐱ	naawaach	four sheet-like....
ᑍ·ᑕᑎᑕᐱ	naawaapaach	four strings
ᑍᑕᑎᐱ	naauhtich	four firewood
ᑍᑕᑎᐱ	naautich	four canoes of...
ᑍᑕᑎᑖᑍᑍ	naautikaauh	four canoes
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍ	naausinikan	four armfuls
ᑍᑕᑎᑍᑎᑕᑕᑍᑍ	naaunaachiutaakin	four packloads
ᑍᑕᑎᑖᑍᑍ	naauyaakin	four platefuls four loaves of bread
ᑍᑕᑎᐱᑍᑕᑍᑍ	naautipihikan	four miles
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍ	naaumisit	four feet
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaumichihchin	four inches
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑎᑍᑍᑕᑍᑍ	naautipaaskuhiikin	four ruler, stick
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑎᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naautipaaskunikin	four yards
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naautipaapaachikin	four measuring units (string-like)
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauminihpitaau	four bundles
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauskitiyaachii	four packages
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauskitiyaach	four packages
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauwaawiyaahtaakin	four barrels
ᑍ·ᑕᑎᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naawaaschikw	four pails of...
ᑍᑕᑎᑖᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaukwaapikaawaakin	four water containers of ... (liquid)
ᑍᑕᑎᑖᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaukwaapihiikin	four scoops
ᑍᑕᑎᐱᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaupihkaan	four strands
ᑍ·ᑕᑎᐱᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naawaapihchaan	four strands of ...
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauwit	four boxes of something
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauwinish	four arm lengths
ᑍᑕᑎᑖᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaukwaapinikin	four handfuls
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauminihkwaakin	four cupfuls
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naautipaapaashkuchikan	four pounds
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauwiyich	four ways
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauwiyikin	four ways
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaumihthkaan	four cords of wood
ᑍᑕᑎᓯᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naauminikush	four minutes
ᑍᑕᑎᑕᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍᑍ	naaumaachishikin	four slices





ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦ	naaukuchinich	there are four hanging
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauchimaauwich	there are four swimming
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupiyuwich	four moving on something
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauhtaawich	there are four walking
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauuhkumich	there are four in a canoe
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaukaapuwiwich	there are four standing
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauchihkwaamuwich	there are four sleeping
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaushinich	there are four lying down
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naautaapaanaaskw	four truckloads
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaukimichisiwich	there are four shelters for the group of people
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naausaam	four pairs of snowshoes
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naausaamaayaau	material enough for four pairs of snowshoes
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naautinaauh	four mountains
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naawaahtikw	four stick-like objects
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupihiituwich	four running
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaukaataawaayaau	something that is four-legged i.e. table
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupiywaapuskuayaakin	four bottles
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupihataawich	there are four running
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauchishiikwaayaau	it will take four days to do it
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naawaaukinh	four eggs
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naauchishtunaayaauh	eggs from four nests
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupichiwinaayaau	four days of travelling in winter
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naaupuyaawich	four people paddling the canoe
ᑎᑦᑕᑦᑏᑦᑕᑦ	naausinikin	four armloads of .....

**Appendix B- Reduplication and Distributivity**

DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS IN CREE (SOUTHERN)

(1) Regular and reduplicated numerals

∇↳ᵈ	◀"∇↳ᵈ	peyakw 'one'	pâh-peyakw Redup-one 'one by one, each'
ᵅ̄~	ᵅ̄.ᵅ̄~	nîshu 'two'	nâ-nîshu Redup -two 'two each'
ᵀ°	ᵅ̄.ᵀ°	neu 'four'	nâ-neu Redup -four 'four each'
ΓÇ"ᶜ	ᵅ̄ΓÇ"ᶜ	mitâhtw 'ten'	mâ-mitâhtw Redup -ten 'ten each'

(2) ᵀ° ·◀∧Γᵃ" ᵀ̇ ᵅ̄.∇▷ᵌ ◀ᵀ̇ᵀ̇ ◀·◀ᵅ̄ᵌᵌ<sub>x</sub>  
neu wâpiminhchî muweuch anchî awâshich.  
 'The children ate four apples.'

(3) ᵅ̄.ᵀ° ·◀∧Γᵀ" ᵀ̇ ᵅ̄.∇▷ᵌ ◀ᵀ̇ᵀ̇ ◀·◀ᵅ̄ᵌᵌ<sub>x</sub>  
nâneu wâpiminh chî muweuch anchî awâshich.  
 'The children ate four apples each.'

(4) Temporal numerals (regular and reduplicated)

∇↳.ᵅ̄°	◀"∇↳.ᵅ̄°	peyakwâu one-times 'one time'	pâh-peyakwâu Redup- one-times 'one time each'
ᵅ̄.ᵅ̄°	ᵅ̄.ᵅ̄.ᵅ̄°	nîsh-wâu two-times 'two times'	nâ-nîsh-âu Redup- two-times ' two times each'

(5) ᵀ▷·◀ᵅ̄° ᵀ̇ ◀ᵀ̇ᵅ̄ᵌ<sub>x</sub> neuwâu chî ayimuuch.  
 'They spoke four times.'

(6) ᵅ̄.ᵀ▷·◀ᵅ̄° ᵀ̇ ◀ᵀ̇ᵅ̄ᵌ<sub>x</sub> × nâneuwâu chî ayimûch.  
 'They spoke four times each.'

(7) ◀"∇↳ᵈ ·◀∧Γᵃ" ᵀ̇ ᵅ̄.∇▷ᵌ ◀ᵀ̇ᵀ̇ ◀·◀ᵅ̄ᵌᵌ<sub>x</sub>  
 [NP(object) **pâh-peyakw** wâpimin-h] [S chî muweuch] [NP(subject) anchî awâsh-ich].  
 'The children ate one apple each.'

- (8)  $\overset{\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\text{w}}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{v}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{p}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{y}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{k}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{p}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{n}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}$   
 [NP<sub>(subject)</sub> **pâh-peyakw** awâsh-ich ] [s chî muweuch] [NP<sub>(object)</sub>wâpimin-h].  
 'Each of the children ate an apple/apples.'

The Cree language can express with reduplicated numeral a large array of distributive situations. The interpretation of those sentence can be represented by graphs.

- (9) Intransitive Verb (vai or vii) the numeral modifies the subject of the sentence:

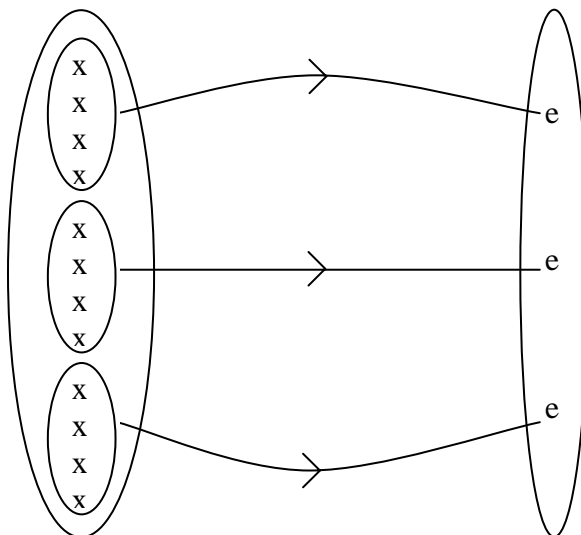
- a.  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}$   
 neu awâshich chî mîchisuch.  
 'Four children ate.'
- b.  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{n}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}$   
**nâneu** awâshich chî mîchisuch.  
 'The children ate, in groups of four.'

- (10) Transitive Verb (vta or vti) : the numeral modifies the subject of the sentence

- a.  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{p}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{n}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}$   
 neu awâshich wâpiminh chî muweuch.  
 'Four children ate apples.'
- b.  $\overset{\cdot}{\text{n}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{s}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}} \overset{\cdot}{\text{w}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{a}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{p}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{m}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{i}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{n}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{e}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{u}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{c}}\overset{\cdot}{\text{h}}$   
**nâneu** awâshich wâpiminh chî muweuch.  
 'The children four by four (or in groups of four) ate apples.'

- (11) Schema A

Distributed share:	Sorted key:
(Subject)	(Object)
children (x)	apple-eating event (e)



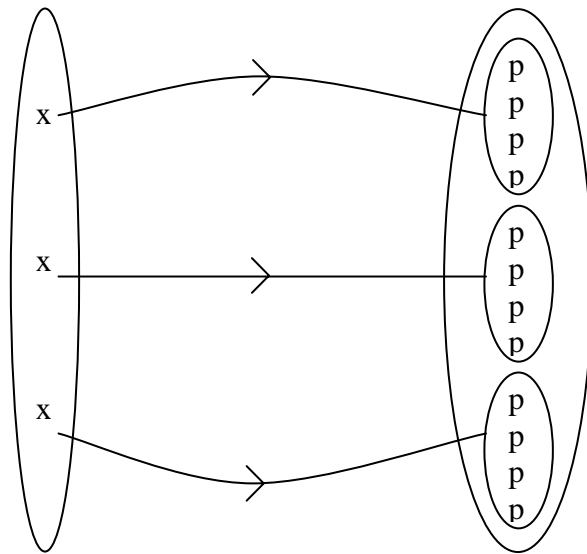
(12) Transitive Verb (vta or vti): The numeral modifies the object:

a.  $\tau^{\circ}$  · $\triangleleft\wedge\Gamma^{\circ}$ "  $\acute{r}$   $\lrcorner\cdot\nabla\triangleright^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft^{\circ}\acute{r}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\lrcorner^{\circ}$   
Neu wâpiminh chî muweuch anchî awâshich.  
 'The children ate four apples.'

b.  $\acute{\circ}\tau^{\circ}$  · $\triangleleft\wedge\Gamma^{\circ}$ "  $\acute{r}$   $\lrcorner\cdot\nabla\triangleright^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft^{\circ}\acute{r}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\lrcorner^{\circ}_x$   
Nâneu wâpiminh chî muweuch anchî awâshich.  
 'The children ate four apples each.'

(13) Schema B

Distributed share:	Sorting key:
(Subject)	(Object)
children (x)    (eating)	apples (p)



Plurality constraint (also found in other languages in distributive contexts); the subject of the sentence must be plural.

Examples, during a party, the hostess asks her husband to give cookies on a tray:

(14)  $\triangleleft^{\circ}\lrcorner^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\nabla^{\circ}$   $\lrcorner$   $\Gamma^{\circ}_x$   
pâhpeyakw awen che miyat!

(15)  $\sigma^{\sim}$   $\triangleleft\Delta^{\circ}$   $\acute{d}\acute{e}\acute{s}$   $\lrcorner$   $\Gamma^{\circ}_x$   $\triangleleft^{\circ}\lrcorner^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft^{\circ}_x$   
 nishu âihkunâsha che miyat pâhpeyakw awash!

Speaking about four different kinds of fish received as a gift: (here the sorting key is taken from the context, different kinds of fish, and the sentence does not need a plural subject or beneficiary object)

(16) ô-ô ô-ô ǀ<sup>d</sup><sub>x</sub> **nâneu** nichî mîkw.

Reduplicated numeral in verbs. Subject must be plural.

(17) ô ǀ<sup>d</sup><sub>x</sub>"bǀ<sup>u</sup><sub>x</sub> Chî **neuhkamuch**.  
'Four of them were doing it.'

(18) ô ô-ô"bǀ<sup>u</sup><sub>x</sub> Chî **nâneuhkamuch**.  
'They were doing it in groups of four.'

(19) ô ǀ<sup>d</sup><sub>x</sub>"Uǀ<sup>u</sup><sub>x</sub> Chî **neuhteuch**.  
'Four of them were walking.'

(20) ô ô-ô"Uǀ<sup>u</sup><sub>x</sub> Chî **nâneuhteuch**.  
'They were walking in groups of four.'

As particles or as verb initial morphemes, reduplicated numerals are used in Cree to create distributivity operators.

References:

- Ahenakew, Freda. & Wolfart, H.C. Productive reduplication in Plains Cree. (1983) In *Actes du quatorzième congrès des Algonquistes*, William Cowan (ed.), pp.369-377. Ottawa: Carleton University.
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DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS IN CREE (NORTHERN)

(1) Regular and reduplicated numerals

ᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	paahpaayikw 'one'	paah-paayikw Redup-one 'one by one, each'
ᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	nîshu 'two'	nâ-nîshu Redup -two 'two each'
ᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	nâu 'four'	nâ-nâu Redup -four 'four each'
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	mitâhtu 'ten'	mâ-mitâhtu Redup -ten 'ten each'

(2) **Nâu** uskitimuih chîh mîchiwich anchî awâshishich.  
'The children ate four apples.'

(3) **Nânâu** uskitimuih chî mîchiwich anchî awâshshiich.  
'The children ate four apples each.'

(4) Temporal numerals (regular and reduplicated)

ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	pâyikwâu one-times 'one time'	pâh-pâyikwâu Redup- one-times 'one time each'
ᐱᐱᐱᐱ	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	nîsh-wâu two-times 'two times'	nâ-nîsh-wâu Redup- two-times 'two times each'

(5)

(6) ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ x  
**nâwâu** chîh ayimuwich.  
'They spoke four times.'

(7) ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ x  
**nânâwâu** chîh ayimuwich.  
'They spoke four times each.'

(8) ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ x  
[NP<sub>(object)</sub> **pâh-pâyikw** uskitimui-h] [s chîh mîchiwich] [NP<sub>(subject)</sub> anchî awâshish-ich].  
'The children ate one apple each.'

The Cree language can express with reduplicated numeral a large array of distributive situations. The interpretation of these sentences can be represented by graphs.

(9) Intransitive Verb (vai or vii) the numeral modifies the subject of the sentence:

a.  $\dot{\mathbf{a}}^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{r}}^{\mathbf{u}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{r}}\mathbf{r}\cdot\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}_x$   
**nâu** awâshishich chîh mîchisuwich.  
 'Four children ate.'

b.  $\dot{\mathbf{r}}^{\mathbf{u}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{a}}\cdot\dot{\mathbf{a}}\cdot\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{b}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{r}}\mathbf{r}\mathcal{L}_x$   
 chîh **nân**âwich awashishich kâ mîchisuch.  
 'The children ate, in groups of four.'

(10) Transitive Verb (vta or vti) : the numeral modifies the subject of the sentence

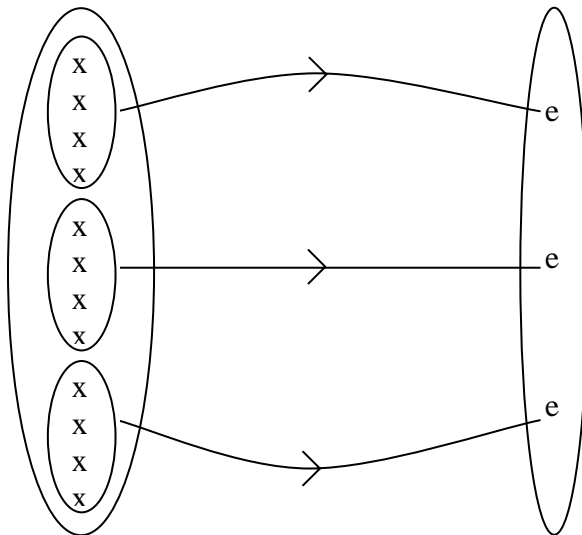
a.  $\dot{\mathbf{a}}^{\circ}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{r}}^{\mathbf{u}}$   $\mathcal{J}\cdot\triangleleft^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathcal{J}\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}_x$   
**nâu** awâshishich chîh muwâwich uskitimuih.  
 'Four children ate apples.'

b.  $\dot{\mathbf{r}}^{\mathbf{u}}$   $\dot{\mathbf{a}}\cdot\dot{\mathbf{a}}\cdot\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\triangleleft\cdot\triangleleft\mathcal{J}\mathcal{L}$   $\dot{\mathbf{b}}$   $\mathcal{J}\cdot\triangleleft^{\mathcal{L}}$   $\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{p}\mathbf{r}\mathcal{J}\Delta^{\mathcal{L}}_x$   
 chîh **nân**âwich awâshishich kâ muwâch uskitimuih.  
 'The children four by four (or in groups of four) ate apples.'

(11) Schema A

Distributed share:  
 (Subject)  
 children (x)

Sorted key:  
 (Object)  
 apple-eating event (e)





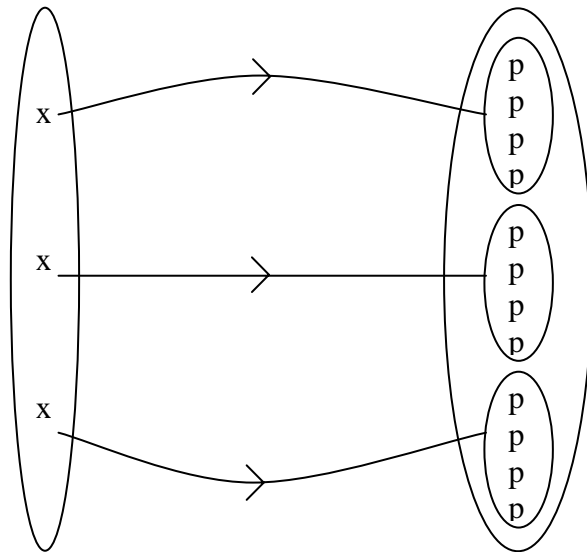
(12) Transitive Verb (vta or vti): The numeral modifies the object:

a.  $\acute{\circ} \circ \triangleright \text{h} \rho \cap \text{J} \Delta \text{''} \acute{\rho} \text{''} \acute{\rho} \cdot \Delta \text{''} \triangleleft \sigma \acute{\rho} \triangleleft \cdot \triangleleft \text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \text{''}_x$   
 nâu uskitimuih chîh mîchiwich anichî awâshishich.  
 'The children ate four apples.'

b.  $\acute{\circ} \acute{\circ} \circ \triangleright \text{h} \rho \cap \text{J} \Delta \text{''} \acute{\rho} \text{''} \acute{\rho} \cdot \Delta \text{''} \triangleleft \sigma \acute{\rho} \triangleleft \cdot \triangleleft \text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \text{''}_x$   
nânnâu uskitimuih chîh mîchiwich anichî awâshishich.  
 'The children ate four apples each.'

(13) Schema B

Distributed share:	Sorting key:
(Subject)	(Object)
children (x)	(eating)
	apples (p)



Plurality constraint (also found in other languages in distributive contexts); the subject of the sentence must be plural.

Examples, during a party, the hostess asks her husband to give cookies on a tray:

(14)  $\triangleleft \text{''} \triangleleft \text{''} \rho \triangleleft \triangleleft \Delta \text{''} \text{d} \acute{\circ} \text{''} \text{''} \text{J} \text{''} \Gamma \text{''} \cdot \acute{\circ} \triangleleft \cdot \triangleleft \sigma \acute{\rho} \text{''}_x$   
pâhpâyikw âihkunâsh-h châ miyitwâu awânichî.

(15)  $\triangleleft \text{''} \triangleleft \text{''} \rho \triangleleft \cdot \triangleleft \text{J} \text{J} \text{J} \text{''} \acute{\circ} \acute{\circ} \text{''} \triangleleft \triangleleft \Delta \text{''} \text{d} \acute{\circ} \text{''} \text{''} \text{J} \text{''} \Gamma \text{''} \cdot \acute{\circ} \text{''}_x$   
pâhpâyikw awâshishich nânîshu âihkunâsh-h châ miyitwâu.

Speaking about four different kinds of fish received as a gift: (here the sorting key is taken from the context, different kinds of fish, and the sentence does not need a plural subject or beneficiary object)

(16)  $\acute{\circ} \acute{\circ} \circ \sigma \acute{\rho} \text{''} \Gamma \text{''} \rho \text{''}_x$  nânnâu nichî miyikw.

Reduplicated numeral in verbs. Subject must be plural.

- (17) ᐃ" ᐃᐃᐃ"ᐅᓵ<sub>x</sub> chîh nâuuhkimuch.  
'Four of them were doing it.'
- (18) ᐃ" ᐃᐃᐃᐃ"ᐅᓵ<sub>x</sub> chîh nânâuuhkimuch.  
'They were doing it in groups of four.'
- (19) ᐃ" ᐃᐃ"Ĉ·ᐃ<sub>x</sub> chîh nâuhtâwich.  
'Four of them were walking.'
- (20) ᐃ" ᐃᐃᐃ"Ĉ·ᐃ<sub>x</sub> chîh nânâuhtâwich.  
'They were walking in groups of four.'

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