noogom gaa-izhi-anishinaabemonaaniwag:

Generational Differences in Algonquin

by

Christian Artuso

A thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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MASTER OF ARTS

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oji Miinaajiizh

minigiik gegoon gaa-gii-gikendamaan;
gookom ogikendaan izhigiizhwewin,
e-niigaanitenig Anishinaabe
giji-gikendag odebegewin.
apan igoj dash ogii-nanagadendaan mayaa
giji-izhigiizhwenaaniwag.
gakina dash awiin ogii-oniijaanizhishkaanaan,
gakina dash awiin ogii-minwebawaan.
gii-debege megaa.
daabishkooj bimishkaayin,
wiin gii-odaake.
mii bezhigon gaa-izhi-odaapinig izhigiizhwewin.
maane gegoon Anishinaabe debendig ogii-izhi-mijimendaan;
gii-wiigomodaake, gii-aagimike, gii-odaabaanike, gii-jiimaanike
gii-bakiiginike, gii-mashkikii'aabooke.
maane gegoon ogii-bi-nanagadendaan
iwedi dash nimazinegan.
mii omaa nanaazh gaa-bi-oditaabiigisonig odinikiiwin.
gichi-miigwech ndinaa gidaadaaminaan
e-gii-gikenimoomaagin
gichi-gwenaaj ikwe Miinaajiish,
gookom Lina gaa-izhi-gikenimag.

gichi-miigwech e-gii-odaazhoganimiyaan giji-gikendamaan
Daanish, Jiijiich
maamwi gakina awiik gaa-wiidamawizhiwaaj,
gakina abinoojiishag gaa-anishinaabemowaaj.

Abbreviations:

1	first person singular (I/me)
2	second person singular (you)
3	third person singular (s/he)
3'	third person obviative (the other one)
1p	first person exclusive plural (I and my group but not you)
21	first person inclusive plural (I and my group including you)
2p	second person plural (you)
3p	third person plural (they)
x	impersonal (with intransitives) , passive (with transitive)
-	separates agents and patients, e.g. 3-1 = third person agent, first person patient
	x-3 = third person passive

A, B, C... English personal names that have not been adjusted to an Algonquin
pronunciation and without any Algonquin inflection.

X, Y, Z... Algonquin personal names or English personal names that have been adjusted
to an Algonquin pronunciation.

an	animate
AS	adult speech
CV	verb in the conjunct order
DV	discourse verb
GS	general subordinator, i.e. *gida-* or *giji-*
ex	exclamation, exclamatory expression
excl	exclusive (see: 1p)
indp V	verb in the independent order
incl	inclusive (see: 21)
in	inanimate
inv	inverse
loc	locative

N	proper noun
na	animate noun
nad	dependent animate noun
ni	inanimate noun
nid	independent animate noun
obv	obviative
OV	object verb word order
pc	particle
pl	plural
rdpl	reduplication
s.o	someone (here refers to the grammatical category of animates. not necessarily humans)
s.t	something (here refers to grammatical category of inanimates)
subord	subordination
SV	subject verb word order
SVO	subject verb object word order
V	verb
vai	animate intransitive verb
vai + o	animate intransitive verb plus an overt object
vii	inanimate intransitive verb
vta	animate transitive verb
vti	inanimate transitive verb
VO	verb object word order
YS	the speech of children and young adults

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Anishinaabe are one of the largest native groups in North America, inhabiting a vast territory from western Québec in the east to Saskatchewan in the west and from northwestern Ontario in the north to Michigan in the south. There are over one hundred thousand Anishinaabe in Canada and the U.S.A, of which an estimated 35-50 000 speak the language[1]. The Anishinaabe and their language are referred to by a variety of ethnonyms such as Ojibwe[2] and Chippewa, many of which actually refer to a specific group or dialect. In addition to Anishinaabemowin, other names for the language include Ojibwemowin, used in the Great Lakes region; Anihshininiimowin, used by speakers of the Severn dialect, sometimes referred to as Oji-Cree; Daawaamwin or Nishnaabemwin, used by speakers of the Ottawa dialect; Saulteaux or Soto, used for dialects spoken in Manitoba; Nakawemowin, used in Saskatchewan; and Algonquin or Màmiwininimowin, used in Québec and by the Golden Lake community in eastern Ontario.

This paper deals with generational differences in the Algonquin dialect of Anishinaabemowin as spoken by members of the Michikanàbikok band from Kitigànik, Québec. This dialect is often called Algonquin du Nord as it is distinct from the dialects spoken in Maniwaki, Québec and Golden Lake, Ontario, which are also known as Algonquin. The term Algonquin should not be confused with the word Algonquian, which

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[1] Kinkade (1991:163) gives 30 000 in Canada and as many as 20 000 in the U.S.A, Crystal (1997:322) gives the approximate figure 35 000.
[2] Also spelt Ojibwa and Ojibway. Chippewa is the more common term in the U.S.A whilst Ojibwe is generally more common in Canada, though both these terms are sometimes used to refer to specific dialects.

is the name of one branch of the Algic language family to which languages such as Anishinaabemowin, Potawatomi, Cree, Menominee and Fox belong.

1.1   Background

The Anishinaabe are acutely aware of generational differences in their language. Even in regions where the language seems most viable, community members wonder at the significance of the changes they perceive.   Many have expressed concerns as to whether these changes might in fact be symptoms of a reduction in vitality of the language they view as so crucial to the identity of their community.

This study arose from several discussions with members of an extended family concerning the rate of change in their dialect[1]. The members of this community are both aware of and concerned about the question of how their language is changing, indeed, without their enthusiasm, encouragement and advice, this study could not have been conducted. Many elder speakers were quick to point out to me that the language has undergone considerable change in the last 50 years or so. One speaker in his forties noted that his grandmother spoke two dialects, one only with other elderly speakers, the other with everybody else. Though use of English is often suggested as a significant factor, few could provide specific examples of how Algonquin has changed, "They just say things differently" was a common response to my questions about younger speakers.

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[1]   Small sections of this paper were presented at the 29th Algonquian Conference in Thunder Bay, Ontario: Oct 24-26th 1997.

1.2   Aims

This study was designed to document the nature of generational differences in one small community in order to shed some light on some of the mechanisms of language change and their significance for the future of Algonquin in the context of the noted decline in indigenous languages all over North America. It constitutes an effort to work together with community members to gain some understanding of how the language is currently used.

We shall attempt to show in this study that, aside from phonological variation and an increase in loan words, there do seem to be some trends emerging which constitute structural changes, such as a lack of the morphological marking of transitivity, and a preference for specific lexical functions as opposed to their discourse related usage. Unfortunately, in the absence of comprehensive acquisition studies, at this stage we cannot answer the pressing question of whether the generational differences noted here are retained in adulthood or whether they are in fact characteristic of acquisition patterns in Anishinaabemowin. This issue, however, is certainly critical if we are to attempt to predict how the language will develop in the future.

1.3   Methodology

This study examines recordings[1] of different family members spanning four generations. Speaking into a microphone is certainly not the most natural setting,

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however, where possible, recordings were made in the presence of an audience consisting of at least one native speaker and in that sense that they were usually directed at a "real" audience. In the case of conversations and even in narratives to some extent, the audience was in fact a participating one. We can be satisfied therefore that these recordings contain relatively natural examples of how Algonquin is spoken in daily life. These recordings have been transcribed and translated with the help of the respective speakers themselves. Older speakers were asked to comment on the recordings of their children and grandchildren with regard to any differences they perceived in language use, their role as consultants being a crucial part of this research.

1.4   The speakers

Algonquin is the main language of communication in this extended family unit and, unlike in other more northern Algonquin communities, English, not French is very widely used. Though most have at least some knowledge of French, the eldest members do not speak it, nor is it common among the younger members. Those in a 30 - 50 age group generally do speak French, some being very fluent. The children in this study communicate with peers and their elders in both Algonquin and English. Naturally English is the predominant language in the presence of partial speakers of Algonquin, however it is also used between those whose first language is Algonquin.

Speakers fall into four generational groupings; categorized into six different age brackets as in the following table. Double lines are used here to separate the various age

brackets in horizontal rows. In other data tables, double lines are used to separate age

brackets in vertical columns.

SPEAKERS	AGE GROUPS	SEX	RELATIONSHIP
Speaker 1	c. 85	female	ego
Speaker 2	c. 60	female	daughter
Speaker 3	c. 35	male	grandchild
Speaker 4	15 – 20	female	great grandchildren[1]
Speaker 5		female	
Speaker 6		female	
Speaker 7	10 – 14	female	
Speaker 8		female	
Speaker 9		female	
Speaker 10	7 – 9	male	
Speaker 11		female	
Speaker 12		male	

1.5 The texts

In order to provide some stylistic variation and give a fuller understanding of a

range of language, texts encompass three speech genres[2], viz.

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[1] Not all the fourth generation speakers are related to speaker number one, but live with together with family members in this tightly knit community. All are band members.

[2] There are already discussions available on the problems of obtaining a range of stylistic levels in an Algonquian language. Clarke (1983:55-56) is a good example.

i)   Traditional stories

ii) Narration of every day activities or real life experiences

iii) Conversations

Traditional stories are known to the entire community and often well beyond this, having parallels in other dialects and even in other Algonquian languages. These often involve the interaction of two or more third persons. The narration of every day activities or real life experiences may be simple "day in the life" type accounts or descriptions of some past event. These usually involve the interaction of the first person with other third persons. Some children also made up fictitious stories that usually involve the interaction of many third persons. Conversations are between speakers in the 7-20 age bracket; they involve things like card games and discussions.

Recordings range from three or four minutes to over half an hour in length. Excerpts from the recordings of each speaker are provided in Appendix 1: Transcriptions illustrating the nature of each speech genre.

2.   ALGONQUIN AND ANISHINAABEMOWIN

This section is intended as a very brief introduction to this dialect, designed merely to assist the reader in understanding the language material presented in this thesis, especially in regard to understanding how Algonquin differs from other dialects of Anishinaabemowin. It is not intended as a complete grammatical sketch.

2.1 The dialect chain

The position of Algonquin or Algonquin du Nord in the larger dialect chain of Anishinaabemowin has been discussed at length by J.R Valentine (1994:38-74). The dialects spoken in Maniwaki, Quebec and formerly in Golden Lake, Ontario are referred to as Algonquin; however most linguists consider these to be Nipissing (grouped with Eastern Ojibwe), actually quite different from Algonquin despite sharing some common features such as the third person conjunct endings in -j as opposed to the -d of Ojibwe. These two communities are therefore not included in the discussion here below. Algonquin is closely related to Anihshininiimowin (Severn), as demonstrated in the following diagram (adapted from Rhodes and Todd 1981:61). Saulteaux is spoken furthest west and Algonquin by and large furthest east, although this diagram is not designed to show the geographic location of dialect groups, Severn for example is spoken north of Northwestern Ojibwe.

*Proto-Ojibwe

Saulteaux	Northwestern Ojibwe	Southwestern Ojibwe	Central Ojibwe	Eastern Ojibwe	Ottawa	Severn Ojibwe	Algonquin
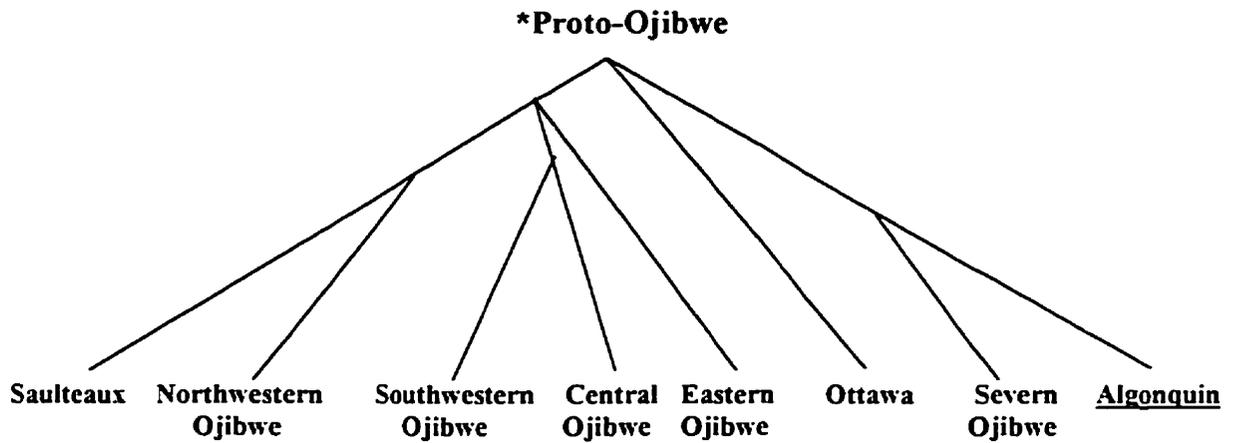
2.2   Where Algonquin is spoken

Algonquin is spoken in eight communities in the Outaouais and Abitibi-Témiscamingue regions of western Québec (the community at Maniwaki known as Kitigan Zibi is not considered here). The communities and their populations in December 1994 as estimated by Dumas et al. (1995:22) are as follows...

Hunter's Point	187
Kebaowek (Kipawa)	506
Kitcisâkîk (Grand Lac Victoria)	305
Kitigânik (Lac Rapide / Barrière Lake)	524
Lac Simon	1 116
Pikogan (Amos / Abitibi)	692
Témiscamingue (Notre Dame du Nord)	1 288
Winneway River (Long Point)	<u>554</u>
	<u>5 172</u>

Other Algonquin speaking communities which are cited in the literature but which are not included in government statistics include Rapide des Cedres and Rapide Sept.

There are of course many Algonquins who live off reserve and even on the reserves not all members of these communities speak Algonquin. For that reason it is

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difficult to estimate the total number of speakers of Algonquin, though this figure is not likely to exceed five thousand. In his analysis of Canadian census data, Dorais (1996:77) gives the figure of 4738 speakers in Abitibi-Témiscamingue, a figure that probably includes the few speakers at Maniwaki. Dorais (1996:74) also estimates that 87.6% of the Abitibi Algonquins, i.e. not including the Nipissing speakers, "usually speak Algonquin".

2.3   The writing system

A wide variety of writing systems are used to write Anishinaabemowin. Algonquin itself is written in many ways, even within relatively small communities (J.R Valentine 1996:416). For this reason, and for ease of reference, the Fiero double vowel system has been used here. The main problem with using this system is that Algonquin devoices all word initial and word final obstruents, accounting for the fact that voiceless symbols {p, t, k, s, c (= sh) and tc (= ch)} are usually preferred by most Algonquins in these positions as opposed to the voiced symbols {b, d, g, z, zh and j} used in the Fiero system. However, since this devoicing can be shown to be governed by regular phonological rule, the difference between these two conventions is not significant. Readers who are not familiar with this system are pointed to sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 below. See section 2.5 for a more detailed discussion of the pronunciation of these symbols.

2.3.1 Vowels

Vowels may be short or long, indicated here by doubling the symbol used. There are seven vowel phonemes in most dialects of Anishinaabemowin[1], viz.

i	*ii*	*o*	*oo*
	ee	*a*	*aa*

Note that there is no short vowel corresponding to the long vowel *ee*. For this reason this phoneme is simply written as *e*; this convention will be used here below.

2.3.2 Consonants

Most obstruents occur in fortis/lenis pairs. The phonemes of Anishinaabemowin given below, accompanied by their general equivalents in IPA; see 2.4.2 for the various allophones of this dialect. Lenis obstruents are on the left hand side of each pairing.

p [p]	*b* [b]	*t* [t]	*d* [d]		*k* [k]	*g* [g]	*'* [ʔ]
		s [s]	*z* [z]	*sh* [ʃ] *zh* [ʒ]			*h* [h]
				ch [tʃ] *j* [dʒ]			
m [m]		*n* [n]					
					y [j] *w* [w]		

2.4   The sounds of Algonquin

Though sharing the same phoneme inventory as other dialects, Algonquin has some differences in the pronunciation of these sounds. The 'l' sound characteristic of Kitigânik Algonquin, which is marginal to the phonological system, will be discussed in section 3.1 below.

2.4.1   Vowels and their allophones

There is in fact considerable allophonic variation in Algonquin vowels, which may differ from other dialects. One feature of this dialect is the tendency to centralize short vowels to [i] or [ə]. This occurs most frequently when these are unstressed (see 2.4.3 and 3.1.1 below), however it may also occur even in a stressed syllable, especially the final syllable in a word. This occasionally poses some problems in determining what vowel is present underlyingly. Consider for example the word *godag* 'other': This word is pronounced [kidik] in fast speech. However, if articulated slowly it surfaces as something like [kɔdik], from which we know that the first vowel is in fact /o/. It is extremely common for short vowels in a final syllable to be pronounced as [i] and therefore, to determine what this vowel is we can add a suffix, such as the animate plural suffix *-ag*, e.g. *godagag* 'others'. This word is pronounced [kɔdagik], from which it is clear that the second vowel must be /a/, and that the final consonant must be /g/ (see 2.4.2). In most cases it is possible to determine what a vowel is underlyingly in this manner or by asking a

speaker to articulate it slowly, though there is occasional difficulty in determining whether

a vowel is /a/ or /i/, in which case it is written as it sounds (usually *i*) .

The most common allophones in Algonquin are given below in the International

Phonetic Alphabet. Allophones in the middle column occur most commonly in stressed

syllables whereas allophones in the rightmost column usually occur in unstressed syllables

(not applicable for long vowels), though there is occasional overlap. The exact phonetic

environments that determine these allophones are not always clear. Aside from stress,

proximity to labials, velars and semivowels is often a factor.

/i/	[ɪ], [i], [ɨ]	[ɨ], [ə], [ɪ], [ɛ]
/ii/	[iː], [ɪː]	
/e/	[eː], [ɛː]	
/a/	[a], [ɑ], [æ], [ɔ], [ʌ], [ɨ]	[ə], [a], [ɨ], [ʌ], [ɔ]
/aa/	[ɑː], [aː]	
/o/	[o], [ʊ], [ɔ]	[o], [ɨ], [ə], [ʊ]
/oo/	[oː], [uː], [ʊː]	

Vowels show considerable alteration in combination with /w/ and /y/. Unlike in

other dialects, vowels are very rarely nasalized in Algonquin. The main exception to this

rule is the word *enhenh* [ẽːhɛ̃ː] or [ɛ̃ːhɛ̃ː] 'yes'.

2.4.2 Consonants and their allophones

In the following table, consonant phonemes are listed in the leftmost column.

Their allophones in word initial position are given in the second column, in the middle of a

word in the third column and in word final position in the rightmost column. Note especially the Algonquin devoicing rule, e.g. *bineshiizh* 'bird' is pronounced [*pˈineːʃiːʃ*] or [*pneːʃiːʃ*] because the /b/ and /zh/ are devoiced in word initial and final position, but when we examine the form *mbineshiizhag* 'my birds', pronounced [*mbneːʃiːʒʌg*], we see that the word initial and final stops are underlyingly voiceless and lenis. When fortis consonants appear word finally, the addition of suffixes does not change their pronunciation. For this reason, we need to distinguish between fortis and lenis consonants in word final position, and in a few instances in word initial position (see 3.6.2). However, in the case of a few uninflectable particles, such as *dash* 'but, therefore etc.', *gegaad* 'nearly', *miinawaaj* 'again', *nanaazh* 'until', etc. the no suffixes can be added and there is no immediate manner of determining what they might be underlyingly. It may transpire that there are subtle phonetic differences between fortis and lenis obstruents in word final position and therefore, pending a fuller phonetic study, we have use evidence from other dialects where fortis and lenis consonants can easily be distinguished word finally when writing these particles.

The following are the most common allophones in Kitigânik Algonquin, there may be considerable variation in other dialects. Doubled IPA symbols indicate geminate consonants.

	#__	V(C) __ (C)V	__#
/p/	n/a?	[p], [pp]	n/a?
/b/	[p], [pʰ]	[b], [p̥]	[p]
/t/	[t], [tʰ] [1]	[t], [tt]	n/a?
/d/	[t], [tʰ]	[d], [t̥]	[t]
/k/	[k], [kʰ]	[k], [kk]	[k], [kʰ], [kˣ], [x]
/g/	[k], [kʰ]	[g], [k̥]	[k], [kʰ], [kˣ], [x]
/'/	[ʔ]	[ʔ]	[ʔ]
/s/	[s]	[s], [ss]	[s]
/z/	[s]	[z]	[s]
/sh/	[ʃ]	[ʃ], [ʃʃ]	[ʃ]
/zh/	[ʃ]	[ʒ]	[ʃ]
/h/	[h]	[h]	n/a?
/ch/	[tʃ]	[tʃ], [ttʃ]	[tʃ]
/j/	[tʃ]	[dʒ]	[tʃ]
/m/	[m]	[m]	[m]
/n/	[n], [m], [ŋ]	[n], ([l] lexical)	[n]
/y/	[j]	[j]	[j]
/w/	[w]	[w], [ʔ], [j]	[w]

In combination with different vowels, /w/ shows considerable alternation. See 2.6.1 below. /p/, /t/ and /h/ may possibly occur in word final positions though I have not found any examples thus far.

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[1] The fortis consonants (p, t, k, s, sh and ch) cannot normally appear in word initial position. This is possible in a few instances in Algonquin where a personal prefix is not used before a dependant noun or where an initial short vowel is deleted (see 3.2.4 and 3.6.2). I have not yet found any examples of /p/ in word initial position.

2.4.3 Stress

In Anishinaabemowin, syllables that occur word finally or have long vowels are always strong. Short vowels may fall in either strong or weak syllables, often being deleted in the latter case in a similar manner to the Odaawaa dialect (Rhodes and Todd 1981:58). Anishinaabemowin syllables make up iambic feet, i.e. weak-strong. If the first syllable in a word contains a short vowel, this vowel will be weak and then the second syllable will be strong, after which we will find another weak syllable, unless there is a long vowel in this position. If the first syllable of a word contains a long vowel, this syllable will be in a foot of its own and the second syllable will be weak, etc. A syllable with a long vowel may also comprise an entire foot if the syllables on either side are both strong or it is word final with a preceding strong syllable. In the following diagram w = a weak syllable and s = a strong syllable.

a ni shi naa be mo
[(a)niʃna:be:mo]
'S/he speaks Anishinaabemowin'

ni wii ji ge naa nag
[nwi:dʒge:na:nak]
'our (excl) friends'
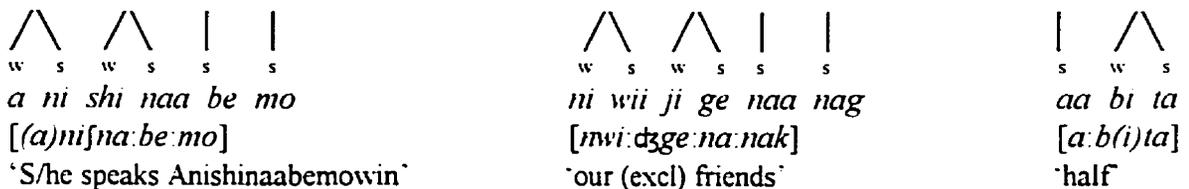
aa bi ta
[a:b(i)ta]
'half'

As can be seen from the above, vowels that fall in the weak position are often, though not always deleted, in Algonquin, e.g. the /a/ in *anishinaabemo* is usually pronounced, the /i/ in *wiijige* is almost never pronounced and the /i/ in *aabita* is sometimes though not always pronounced. Note that since final syllables are always strong, these are never deleted due to stress. The addition of personal prefixes may cause alternations in the stress pattern of a stem, see 3.5.3 below.

2.5 Nouns

Nouns in Anishinaabemowin may be animate or inanimate. Animate nouns form their plural with the suffix –*ag*, inanimate nouns with the suffix -*an*, though both show some minor variation when combining with certain types of noun stem. Animate and inanimate are grammatical categories; they do correspond with nature in general but there are quite a few exceptions, viz. *ode'iminan* 'strawberries' (inanimate) but *miskominag* 'raspberries' (animate). Nouns may be either "independent" (i.e. can stand on their own) or "dependent" (i.e. must be accompanied by a personal prefix). The most common types of dependent nouns are kinship terms and body parts. See 2.5.1 below for an explanation of the various personal prefixes. Algonquin differs slightly from most dialects in that personal prefixes may be omitted from dependent nouns in certain situations.

	ANIMATE		INANIMATE	
INDEPENDENT	na		ni	
	mitig	*mitigoog*	*mitig*	*mitigoon*
	'tree'	'trees'	'stick'	'sticks'
	zhiishiib	*zhiishiibag*	*mitigoosh*	*mitigooshan*
	'duck'	'ducks'	'box'	'boxes'
DEPENDENT	nad		nid	
	gigidig	*gigidigwag*	*onijii*	*onijiin*
	your knee	your knees	his/her hand	his/her hands
	ndaanis	*ndaanisag*	*gidishtigwaan*[1]	*gidishtigwaanaanan*
	my daughter	my daughters	your head	your (plural) heads

The codes for each type of noun are indicated at the top of their respective boxes.

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[1] The stem is /ishtigwaan/ . Algonquin differs from other dialects in supplying an epenthetic –*d*-
between the personal prefix (*gi*- in this case) and a dependant noun stem beginning with a vowel. Other
dialects such as Southwestern Ojibwe only insert the epenthetic –*d*- before possessed independent nouns.

As can be seen from the words for "trees" and "sticks" above, two words may appear the same in their singular form but differ in animacy. Other examples include *eshkan eskanag* 'antler/antlers' and *eshkan eshkanan* 'ice chisel/ice chisels' as well as *odaabaan odaabaanag* 'sled/sleds' and *odaabaan odaabaanan* 'car/cars'.

There are various suffixes that may be added to nouns. These will be discussed in 2.7.4 below. One suffix which is worth making special note of here is the obviative suffix *-an* (for animates) and *-ni* (for inanimates), see 2.7.4.1 for more details. The obviative is a special suffix used for nouns that are backgrounded in discourse; i.e. they are not as prominent as the central nouns in a discourse. Verbs also show agreement for obviation. Obviation is essentially a tracking device that allows Anishinaabemowin to be quite precise in signaling thematic roles. Consider for example the English sentences "Mary saw the girl. She called her". In English it is not quite clear who is calling whom here but no such ambiguity is found in Anishinaabemowin, e.g.

i)   *ogii-waabamaan ikwesiisan maanii. ogii-ganoonaan*
ii)   *ogii-waabamaan ikwesiisan maanii. ogii-ganoonigoon*

In these examples we are talking about Mary. The girl is not as prominent in our discussion and so is marked as obviative (the *-an* suffix is underlined on the word *ikwesiis* 'girl') and the different endings on the verb (underlined) make it clear who the subject is. Thus example **i** translates as 'Mary saw the girl, she (i.e. Mary) called her (i.e. the girl) whilst example **ii** translates as 'Mary saw the girl, she (i.e. the girl) called her (i.e. Mary). In addition, when an animate noun is possessed by a third person it must be obviated as shown in 2.5.1 below.

2.5.1 Personal prefixes and possession

Personal prefixes are added to both nouns and verbs. These are

ni-	first person	(i.e. I, we)
gi-	second person	{i.e. you, you (plural)}
o-	third person	(i.e. s/he, they)

There are a few variations in the above depending on the first sound of the noun or verb that these combine with, e.g. /ni-/ becomes [m-] before a word beginning with /b/. When nouns are possessed, personal prefixes may combine with suffixes to show whether they are singular or plural. The forms are as follows...

ni- ___	'my ___'	*ni-* ___ *inaan*	'our (exclusive[1]) ___'	
		gi- ___ *inaan*	'our (inclusive) ___'	
gi- ___	'your ___'	*gi-* ___ *iwaa*	'your (plural) ___'	
o- ___	'his/her ___'	*o-* ___ *iwaa*	'their ___'	

In addition possessed nouns may be marked for plurality and obviation. The *-(i)m* suffix indicates personal possession and is optionally added to possessed independent nouns, e.g. *zhiishiib* 'duck' , *nzhiishiibim* 'my duck'. In the paradigm below, the *-d-* is epenthetic, i.e. it inserts between the vowel of the personal prefix and that of the noun stem.

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[1] The term 'exclusive' means excluding the listener, whilst 'inclusive' means that the listener is included. Thus: *niwiijigeminaan* 'our friend' i.e. my and my group's friend but not your friend
giwiijigeminaan 'our friend' i.e. my and your friend/ the friend we have in common

<u>ANIMATE NOUNS:</u>   *aagim* 'snowshoe'

ni-d-aagim   'my snowshoe'   *ni-d-aagim-inaan*   'our (exclusive) snowshoe'
ni-d-aagim-ag 'my snowshoes'   *ni-d-aagim-inaan-ag* 'our (exclusive) snowshoes'

gi-d-aagim   'your snowshoe'   *gi-d-aagim-inaan*   'our (inclusive) snowshoe
gi-d-aagim-ag 'your snowshoes'   *gi-d-aagim-inaan-ag* 'our (inclusive) snowshoes'
                                    gi-d-aagim-iwaa   'your (plural) snowshoe(s)'
                                    gi-d-aagim-iwaa-g   'your (plural) snowshoes'

o-d-aagim-an 'his/her snowshoe(s)'   *o-d-aagim-iwaa-n*   'their snowshoe(s)'

<u>INANIMATE NOUNS:</u>   *jiimaan* 'canoe'

ni-jiimaan   'my canoe'   *ni-jiimaan-inaan*   'our (exclusive) canoe'
ni-jiimaan-an 'my canoes'   *ni-jiimaan-inaan-an* 'our (exclusive) canoes'

gi-jiimaan   'your canoe'   *gi-jiimaan-inaan*   'our (inclusive) canoe'
gi-jiimaan-an 'your canoe'   *gi-jiimaan-inaan-an* 'our (inclusive) canoes'
                               gi-jiimaan-iwaa [gidʒiːmaːnjɔː] 'your(plural) canoe(s)'[1]

o-jiimaan-   'his/her canoe'   *o-jiimaan-iwaa* [odʒiːmaːnjɔː] 'their canoe(s)'
o-jiimaan-an 'his/her canoes'

2.6   Verbs

Anishinaabemowin verbs vary with transitivity and animacy. Thus we have four

basic types; the codes to be used here below are given in bold on the left (from Nichols

and Nyholm 1995).

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[1]   This form seems to be used with either a singular or a plural meaning, though there may well be a form *gi-jiimaan-iwaa-n* 'your (plural) canoes', I have never heard it used, nor have I been successful in eliciting it. The same is true of the third person plural inanimate possessed nouns.

vai	(animate intransitive)	animate subject, no object[1],		*bagishin*	's/he falls'
vii	(inanimate intransitive)	inanimate subject, no object		*bagisin*	'it falls'
vta	(transitive animate)	animate subject, animate primary object[2]	*niwaabamaa*	'I see him/her'
vti	(transitive inanimate)	animate subject, inanimate object		*niwaabadaan*	'I see it'

As can be seen from the above, the animate and animate forms of verb stems are usually similar and in a few cases they may be the same, e.g. *izise* may be a vii meaning 'it happens' or a vai meaning 'to happen to someone', e.g. *ngii-izise* 'it happened to me'. Some verbs however have suppletive stems and the animate and inanimate forms bear little resemblance, e.g. *midido* 's/he is big', but *mishaa* 'it is big'.

Anishinaabemowin has various ways of changing the valency of verbs, i.e. of making a transitive verb intransitive or visa-versa. Some examples of this include causatives (with the suffix – '), reciprocals (with *-di*), reflexives (with *-dizo*), benefactives (with *-amaw*) etc. Another example, the detransitive suffix *-ige*, is discussed in 5.2.3 below.

Verbs may be in the independent, imperative or conjunct orders. The imperative and conjunct orders do not use personal prefixes; rather all information about the persons involved is contained in the ending. There are a few forms of the imperative including the simple imperative and the negative imperative; some dialects also have a delayed imperative. The independent order is used in main clauses, whilst the conjunct order is used in subordinate clauses, content questions (such as who, what, where, how, etc.) and

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[1] There are a handful of verbs which are vai in form but take an object, e.g. *adaawe* 'to sell'. Such verbs are usually described as vai + o.

[2] vta verbs may have more than one object. In Anishinaabemowin the primary object is one to or for whom an action is done, often corresponding to the indirect object in English, e.g. *nimiinaa* 'I give him/her it'. In this case the verb is inflected for the primary object 'him/her' and not the thing given (secondary object), in this case 'it'.

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in some instances in main clauses for complex stylistic reasons which will not be discussed here. A process known as "initial change" often accompanies the conjunct order. Under initial change, the vowel in the first syllable of the verb complex (including preverbs, see 2.6.1.1) undergoes a change governed by a specific pattern. Initial change is used for different reasons such as the marking of a relative clause. The following example shows the independent; independent negative, which employs the suffix -sii and conjunct forms of the vai izhaa 'to go'. All forms are given for Algonquin which may differ slightly from other dialects (e.g. the suffix —naawaa in second person plural is as an alternative to —m , there is no /n/ before the final /g/ in the first person inclusive and exclusive plural conjunct and the third person conjunct forms have a /j/ where some other dialects have /d/). Codes for each of these inflections are given on the left. Obviative forms use the code 3' and the impersonal form used for an indefinite subject, often translated as 'someone' or 'they', is given the code x . The first row for example reads, 'I go', 'I don't go' and the conjunct form will have various meanings depending on usage, e.g. giishpin ezhaayaan 'if I go' or megwaaj ezhaayaan 'when I go'. Imperatives, which in Agonquin use gaawiin (gaan, gaa) in the negative as opposed to gego in Saulteaux for example, are given in a separate table below. Inflections are in bold.

		INDEPENDENT		CONJUNCT
		(+)	(−)	
1	(I)	*nidizhaa*	*nidizhaasii*	*ezhaayaan*
2	(you)	*gidizhaa*	*gidizhaasii*	*ezhaayin*
3	(s/he)	*izhaa*	*izhaasii*	*ezhaaj*
3'	(the other)	*izhaawan*	*izhaasiiwan*	*ezhaanjin ezhaajin* [1]
x	(s.o)	*izhaanaaniwan* [2]	*ezhaasiinaaniwag*	*ezhaanaaniwag*
1p	(we excl.)	*nidizhaamin*	*nidizhaasiimin*	*ezhaayaag*
21	(we incl.)	*gidizhaamin*	*gidizhaasiimin*	*ezhaayig*
2p	(you pl.)	*gidizhaanaawaa*	*gidizhaasiinaawaa*	*ezhaayeg*
	or	*gidizhaam*	*gidizhaasiim*	
3p	(they)	*izhaawag*	*izhaasiiwag*	*ezhaawaaj*

IMPERATIVES

		(+)		(−)	
2	(you)	*izhaan*	ʻgo!ʻ	*gaan izhaaken*	'don't go!'
2p	(you pl.)	*izhaag*	ʻgo! (you pl.)ʻ	*gaan izhaakeg*	'don't go! (you pl.)'
21	(we incl.)	*izhaadaan*	ʻlet's go!ʻ	*gaan izhaasiidaan*	'let's not go!'

In addition there are four basic "modes", viz. indicative; dubitative. which expresses some doubt about the event; preterit, which locates the action in a past or an unreal time; and preterit dubitative, which is used mostly in traditional stories or stories set in the remote past and often gives the flavor of "tradition has it that…". The following table gives examples of each of these moods in the third person singular form of the vai *waabi* 'to see'. The endings used to indicate each of these moods are in bold.

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[1]   As far as I can determine, these variants occur in free variation. The latter might be formed by the deletion of a nasal before an obstruent (2.8.1.2 and 3.2.2).

[2]   Pronounced [ɡaːnaːnjɔn] etc.

| | INDEPENDENT | | CONJUNCT |
	(+)	(–)	
INDICATIVE	*waabi waabii*[1] 's/he sees'	*waabisii* 's/he doesn't see'	*waabij* 'if/when s/he sees'
DUBITATIVE	*waabidog* 's/he probably sees'	*waabisiidog* 's/he probably can't see'	*waabigwen* 'if/when s/he might see'
PRETERIT	*waabiiban* 's/he saw / would have seen'	*waabisiiban* 's/he didn't see / would not have seen'	*waabipan* 'if/ when s/he saw / would have seen'
PRETERIT DUBITATIVE	*waabigoban* 's/he saw / it is said that s/he saw'	*waabisiigoban* 's/he didn't see / it is said that s/he didn't see'	??

2.6.1 Person marking

The inflectional morphology of transitive verbs is based on a person hierarchy. Though logically speaking any object is either alive or not, i.e. animate or inanimate, languages in fact make various distinctions with regards to the degree of animacy of different types of beings. In English for example, human beings are more animate than animals, the latter usually receiving the pronoun 'it' unless an affectionate pet owner who is aware of their sex somehow "raises" their animacy by referring to them as 'he' or 'she'. Generally speaking, the first and second persons are the most animate, being followed by the third person; inanimates are of course the lowest in animacy. Algonquian languages,

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[1] A final short vowel in third person forms often lengthens and we find both *waabi* and *waabii* 's/he sees'; as well as *waabidog* and *waabiidog* 's/he probably sees'.

unlike English, treat humans and other living things[1] as equal in animacy, whilst obviated participants are lower in animacy than proximate ones[2]. Simply put, the animacy hierarchy for Algonquian languages is as follows...

$$2/1 > 3 > 3' > 0$$

Thus if the subject is higher in animacy (i.e. further left on above schema) than the object, direct forms are used. Direct forms occur where the first or second person is the subject and a third person is the object or where a third person is acting upon an obviated third person and use the suffix *–aa*, known as the direct theme marker. On the other hand, if the subject is lower in animacy than the object, inverse forms are used. Inverse forms occur where a third person is the subject and the first or second person is the object or where an obviated third person is acting upon a proximate third person and use the suffix *-ig*, known as the inverse theme marker, e.g.

niwaabamaa 'I see him/her'   *owaabamaan* 'S/he sees him/her(the other one)'
niwaabamig 'S/he sees me'   *owaabamigoon* 'S/he (the other one) sees him/her'

Verbs are inflected for subject and object with a combination of prefixes and suffixes in the independent order and by suffixes in the conjunct order. Verbs are inflected as negative with the suffix *–sii* in the independent. In Algonquin, unlike some other dialects of Anishinaabemowin, there is no negative inflection in the conjunct, negation being indicated by a particle *agwaa* (often pronounced [*aga:*]).

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[1] Animate and inanimate are grammatical categories in Algonquian languages and as such some things which are technically animate are not animate in the language, whilst some inanimate things are treated as animate, e.g. *waabigonii* 'flower' is inanimate whilst *dewe'igan* 'drum' is animate. (see 2.5)
[2] Rhodes 1994a:432 refers to this as "High topic rank animates > low topic rank animates"

The following paradigm, split over two pages (singular object on p25 and plural object on p26), is for the vta /*waabam-*/ 'to see s.o'. The subject is given in horizontal rows and the object in vertical columns, e.g. the forms for 1-2 are *giwaabamin* 'I see you', *giwaabamisinoon* 'I don't see you' and *waabaminan* 'if/when I see you' etc. In the case of third person objects only one column is used, the object will be obviative (3') if matched against a proximate subject (3) and vice-versa, e.g. 3-3' = *owaabamaan* 's/he sees the other' , 3'-3 = *owaabamigoon* 'the other sees him/her'. The column labeled **x** here indicates passive forms, e.g. x-1 *niwaabamigoo* 'I am seen'. Three forms are given, the positive indicative, the negative indicative (accompanied by the negator *gaawiin*) and finally the conjunct. Forms separated by '/' are alternatives. Inflectional affixes are given in bold.

	1	2	3
1		giwaabamin giwaabamisinoon waabaminaan	niwaabamaa niwaabamaasii waabamag
2	giwaabamizhinan giwaabamisii / giwaabamishii waabamiyin / waabamizhiyin		giwaabamaa giwaabamaasii waabamaj
3	niwaabamig niwaabamigosii waabamizhij	giwaabamig giwaabamigosii waabamik	owaabamaan owaabamaasiin waabamaajin
3'			owaabamigoon owaabamigosiin waabamigojin
x	niwaabamigoo niwaabamigoosiin waabamigooyaan / / waabamigwiyaan	giwaabamigoo giwaabamigoosiin waabamigoowin / waabamigooyin	waabamaaganii waabamaaganiisiin waabamaaganiiwij
1 p		giwaabaminim giwaabamisinoonim waabaminagog	niwaabamaanaan niwaabamaasiinaan waabamaayaag
2 1			giwaabamaanaan giwaabamaasiinaan waabamaayig
2 p	giwaabamizhim giwaabamisiim waabamiyeg / waabamizhiyeg		giwaabamaawaa giwaabamaasiiwaa waabamaayeg
3 p	niwaabamigoog niwaabamigosiig waabamizhiwaaj	giwaabamigoog giwaabamigosiig waabamik	owaabamaawaan owaabamaasiiwaan waabamaawaajin

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1p	21	2p	3p
		giwaabaminim giwaabamsinoonim waabaminagog	niwaabamaag niwaabamaasiig waabamagwaa
giwaabamizhinaam giwaabamishinaam waabamiyaag / waabamizhiyaag			giwaabamaag giwaabamaasiig waabamadwaa
niwaabamigonaan niwaabamigosiinaan waabaminig	giwaabamigonaan giwaabamigosiinaan waabamigoyig	giwaabamigowaa giwaabamigosiiwaa waabamigoyeg	owaabamaan owaabamaasiin waabamaawaajin
			owaabamigoon owaabamigosiin waabamigowaajin
niwaabamigoomin niwaabamigoosiimin waabamigowiyaag / waabamigooyaag	giwaabamigoomin giwaabamigoosiimin waabamigowiyig / waabamigooyig	giwaabamigoom giwaabamigoosiim waabamigowiyeg / waabamigooyeg	waabamaaganiiwag waabamaaganiisiiwag waabamaaganiiwaaj
		giwaabaminim giwaabamisinoonim waabaminagog	niwaabamaanaanig niwaabamaasiinaanig waabamag(w)aag
			giwaabamaanaanig giwaabamaasiinaanig waabamaagij
giwaabamizhinaam giwaabamishinaam waabamiyaag / waabamizhiyaag			giwaabamaawaa(g) giwaabamaasii(g) waabamadwaa
niwaabamigonaanig niwaabamigosiinaanig waabaminag	giwaabamigonaanig giwaabamigosiinaanig waabamigoyig	giwaabamigowaag giwaabamigosiiwaag waabamigoyeg	owaabamaawaan owaabamaasiiwaan waabamaawaajin

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2.6.2 Preverbs

Preverbs are added before verb stems and after personal prefixes, if these are present. They add different shades of meaning to the verb. Several preverbs may be used together and when this happens they follow a specific order. Nichols and Nyholm (1995) divide preverbs into four types, viz. "tense/aspect etc." (pv1) , "direction" (pv2) , "relative" (pv3) and "lexical" (pv4). There are however some differences in the ordering of preverbs in different dialects of Anishinaabemowin. In this writing system preverbs are separated from the verb stem by a hyphen. Some examples of each category are given below, preverbs are underlined.

giga-izhaa	you will go (*ga-* pv1 'future tense)
mbi-giiwe	I come home (*bi-* pv2 'direction towards speaker')
izhi-(bi)maadizi	S/he lives a certain way (*izhi-* pv3 'thus')
ngichi-baapinan	I laugh very hard (*gichi-* pv4 'greatly, big')
ogii-dazhi-gagwe-ozhitoon	He tried to make it there (gii- pv1 'past tense' , *dazhi-* pv3 'in a certain place' and *gagwe-* pv4 'try to')

2.7 Particles

There are a host of different types of particles in Algonquin. These may be adverbial in nature such as *moozhag* 'often' ; emphatic such as *sii* and *maa*; focus particles such as *megwaaj* 'when', *mii* and *dash* (discussed in 4.), interrogatives such as *aagonen* 'who/what', *apiich* 'when', *aadi* 'where, what'; dubitatives such as *adogwen* 'I don't know!', *agwendog* or *agwenshidog* 'I don't know whom', *aadidog* 'I don't know

where/what, *apiichidog* 'I don't know when, *aa(go)dogwendog* 'I don't know what' etc. The most common demonstrative particles are as follows...

	ANIMATE SINGULAR	ANIMATE PLURAL	INANIMATE SINGULAR	INANIMATE PLURAL
NEAR (this, these)	*awe, awedi, awemaa, ahaw awedimaa, a'a.*	*wenag, awemaag, ahag, ahamaag*	*wedi, wedimaa, . i'e. i'emaa, edi, i'i*	*i'enan, wedoon*
AT ARM'S LENGTH	*awedi. awedimaa*	*wenag, ahag*	*i'edi , i'edimaa owedi, owedimaa*	*i'enan, wedoon*
FAR (that, those)	*osawedi, osawedimaa, sawedi*	*osa'enag*	*osi'edi, osi'emaa, osi'edimaa, sedi, sedimaa*	*osi'enan, osi'edoon*

There are two emphatic suffixes *–maa* and *–di*, which can be used independently or together in Kitigânik Algonquin. Other Algonquin dialects prefer the *–maa* suffix and do not use forms as *awedimaa* . There is also an emphatic particle *maa*, e.g. *awden dash maa* 'now look what happened!', *gizhigaabam dash maa* 'look at him!' and *waabam dash maa* 'now see him!'. This particle can also be used on it's own, e.g. *maa!* 'sh, listen! (I hear something)'. In addition there is *omaa* 'here', *imaa* 'there' *owidi* 'over here' and *iwidi* or *awidi* 'over there'. In Kitigânik Algonquin, these can also be emphasized with *–maa*, e.g . *imaamaa* , however the *–di* suffix is preferred in Lac Simon for example, *imaadi* 'here!'.

As can be seen from the above –os is a common prefix in Algonquin, indicating a separation in space or time, e.g. *waabag* 'tomorrow', *oswaabag* 'day after tomorrow; *onaago* 'yesterday', *osnaago* 'day before yesterday'; *nekenaa* 'in that direction, on that side', *osnekenaa* 'on the other side', etc.

2.8   Features of Algonquin

The following is a brief discussion on some of the features that distinguish Algonquin from other dialects of Anishinaabemowin. A few points such as differences in the use of the epenthetic -d- and the lack of a separate set of negative inflections in the conjunct mode, have already been discussed here above and will not be commented on further here.

2.8.1   Algonquin and Proto-Algonquian

This section outlines a few of the ways in which certain Proto-Algonquin phonemes and clusters have different reflexes in Algonquin than in other dialects.

2.8.1.1 Fortis consonants

The Algonquin reflexes of Proto-Algonquian *hC* and *?C* (as well as some other combinations such as *cp*, *xp*, *θp*, *xk*, *θk* etc.) are fortis consonants (*CC*) not pre-aspirated consonants (*ʰC*) as in some other dialects such as Severn. A few examples can be found in 2.6.1.3 below.

2.8.1.2 Proto-Algonquian *nC

The Algonquin reflex of Proto-Algonquian *nC is C, (not nC as in other dialects). There are words where vowel deletion results in a surface nC cluster however, such as *inendam* 'to think in a certain way' from *eθe:lentamwa*, where the underlined short vowel and nasal have been deleted. The Ojibwe forms quoted below are taken from Nichols and Nyholm 1995.

*PA	**OJIBWE**	**ALGONQUIN**	
*wiimpyewi	*wiimbaa*	*wiibaa*	'it is hollow'
*piintwikeewa	*biindige*	*biidige*	's/he enters'
*pankihšinwa	*bangishin*	*bagishin*	's/he falls'
*neθenčyi	*nininj*	*ninijii*	'my hand'
*wensowa	*onzo*	*ozo*	'it boils'

2.8.1.3 Nouns ending in /ii/

Many Algonquin nouns end in /ii/ in their singular forms in contrast with other dialects which end in a consonant or /i/ (but where the long vowel appears with the addition of suffixes). These forms usually derive from word final *Cy (first two examples below) or *hwa (next two examples) or from the Proto Algonquian final for inanimate nouns *i (last two examples). Valentine (1994:142) attributes the former to back formations. The latter two examples may be an extension of this pattern by analogy...

*PA	OJIBWE	ALGONQUIN	
*aʔlapya	asab	asabii	'net'
*nepoopyi	naboob	naboobii	'soup'
*elenyiwa	inini	ininii	'man'
*waawaaškehšiwa	waawaashkeshi	waawaashkeshii	'deer'
*mehši	mishi	mishii	'firewood'
*waapikwani	waabigwan	waabigonii	'flower'

Other examples include *abwii* 'paddle', *akii* 'earth/land', *asinii* 'stone', *azaadii* 'poplar', *gaakaagii* 'raven', *mokomii* 'ice' (notice there seems to be an assimilation of the first vowel to the second, also possibly the affect of rounding in proximity to /k/ and /w/... compare Ojibwe *mikwam*), *nibii* 'water', *zhigobii* 'fir', *zhigosii* 'weasel', *ziibii* 'river' etc.

A further extension of this feature is found in pronouns, particles and numbers ending in /i/ which are very often pronounced [i:] e.g. *awedi* [ɔdi:] 'that one', *azhi* [aʒi:] 'already', *zhaagidisi* [ʒaagɨdɪsi:] 'nine', etc. Piggot (1978:171) noted that the /i:/ final had been extended to a few verbs in the Rapide Sept dialect, e.g. *mashkawizii* 's/he is strong' (PA *mashkawesiwa*) however Nichols and Nyholm give the same form in Minnesota Ojibwe with a final long /ii/ as is also the case in Kitigânik where the form is *nimashkwizii* "I am strong". The lengthening of the final vowel does seem to have occurred in the Kitigânik form *nzaagozii* 'I am weak' (*nizhaagozii*), however, the example *aanimizii* 's/he is miserable' given by Piggott occurs with a short /i/ in Ojibwe as it does in Kitigânik (where it has the slightly different meaning 's/he finds it difficult'). Other examples not mentioned by Piggott include the seemingly related words *niibwii* 'to

marry' and *naaniibwii* 'to stand' where the final vowel is long in Kitigânik Algonquin unlike in Nipissing, for example, where the latter is *naaniibawi* .

2.8.2 Phonology

Algonquin phonology does not differ markedly from other dialects though there are a few areas worth noting. Devoicing of initial and final obstruents is discussed in 2.4.2.

2.8.2.1 Algonquin semivowels

Much has been written on alternations between *wa* and *o* and *wi* and *o* in different dialects. Algonquin shows some variation in this regard, i.e. both forms may be accepted, e.g. *wanishkaa* or *onishkaa* 's/he gets up' and *waniike* or *oniike* 's/he forgets'. It is my impression that the variants in *o* of the above are more common. In some other words, however, I have only ever heard *o* e.g. *dagoshin* (not *dagwishin*) 's/he arrives' *bezhigon* (not *bezhigwan*) 'the same as'.

In addition to the above /w/ often seems to combine with preceding vowel to produce [ɔ] especially where followed by a consonant e.g. *awdi* [ɔdiː] 'that one', *nga-webinaa* [ŋgɔːeːbmaː] or [ŋgɔweːbmaː] 'I will throw it away'. This may occur when the /w/ precedes a vowel, e.g. *zagaswaa* [zagasɔː] 's/he smokes'. A /w/ and a proceeding /i/, may surface as [j], e.g. *wiisininaaniwan* [wiːsninaːnjɔn] 'someone's eating / there's eating going on' and *odoodaabaaniwaa* [odoːdaːbaːnjɔː] 'their car'.

There is also a strong tendency for /w/ to be deleted either between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels, sometimes surfacing as a glottal stop (written here as ' in this latter case). In some cases the /w/ is very rarely pronounced, in other cases this deletion seems optional e.g. *megaa* /*megwaa*/ 'while', *gii'e* /*giiwe*/ 's/he goes home' and *nii-izhaa* /*niwii-izhaa* 'I want to go', etc. Where other dialects have *-awe* or *-iwe*, Algonquin often has *-e*, e.g. *akwaade* 'to climb' (compare Ojibwe *akwaandawe*) and *bimakine* 'to make tracks along', which Piggot and Grafstein (1983) recorded as *makiniwe* . In a similar vein, a *y* preceded by a short vowel in other dialects is not always present in Algonquin, e.g. waabwaan 'blanket' (compare to *waabowayaan* in Ojibwe).

There are many words in other dialects which have a vowel followed by a glottal stop, a syllable which is often deleted in Algonquin, e.g. *zaga'am* 'to go out' is frequently realized as [sagam] and *ozhibii'ige* 'to write' usually becomes *ozhibiige*. Algonquin often has *e* or *ii* where other dialects have *a'i*, *a'ii* or *ay* as in the following examples.

OJIBWE	ALGONQUIN		
mazina'igan	*mazinegan*	*maziniigan*[1]	'book'
ma'iingan	*megan*	*mwegan*	'wolf'
inday	*nde*		'my dog'

2.8.2.2 Algonquin centralized and deleted vowels

Centralized short unstressed vowels is a feature of Algonquin (but not Nipissing), see 2.5.1 above. Note also that short unstressed vowels may also be deleted, especially

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[1] The apparent alteration between *e* and *ii* is found in several words, e.g. *giiyashk* / *geyashk* 'seagull': *giitakizine* / *getakizine* 'to take one's shoe's off'. The underlying vowel is probably /ii/ in these cases which has undergone a lowering rule.

between obstruents. e.g. *wiijge* /wiijige/ 'friend'. In addition to the deletion of short

unstressed vowels, a consonant followed by a short unstressed vowel may also be deleted,

especially when the vowel deletion would otherwise result in two adjacent homorganic

consonants, e.g. (see also 3.5.3)

mobatoo /bimibatoo/ 's/he runs along'   (two labials m ÷ b)
niwaamaa /niwaabamaa/ 'I see him/her' etc.

kina /gakina/ 'all'   (two velars k ÷ g)

naazh nanaazh 'until'   (two dentals n + n)

The deleted syllable sometimes contains a consonant which is not homorganic to

the following one, e.g. *niwaadaan* /niwaabadaan/ 'I see it', where we find a labial

preceding a dental. In some instances a vowel and the following consonant may be

deleted, e.g. [niima:ma:] for /niiminaamaa/ 'I smell him'.

2.8.3 Verbal morphology and morphophonemy

Since verb morphology is a significant area in the classification of Ojibwe dialects,

it is worth making special note of a few areas where Algonquin differs from other dialects.

2.8.3.1 Intransitive inflectional morphology

First and Second person singular forms of animate intransitive verbs take the

(usually) optional ending *–nan* on most verbs which have a final short vowel in their stem

(underlined below). If this suffix is not used, the stem final short vowel deletes as in other

dialects, e.g. *nidabinan* 'I am at home' but not **nidab*; *gidanishinaabemonan* or

gidanishinaabem 'you speak Anishinaabemowin'; whilst *niwiisin* 'I am eating' but not *niwiisininan*. As can be seen from these examples usage of this suffix varies with different lexical items as well as from speaker to speaker, however most speakers seem to prefer to use this suffix on the vast majority of verbs. Note that this suffix is never used if the verb stem ends in a long vowel.

The second person plural ending for animate intransitive verbs in the independent mode is most commonly *-naawaa* (pronounced [na:ʔɔ:] in Kitigânik), however *-m* is also used on occasion with some words, e.g. *giwaabim* or *giwaabinaawaa* 'you (pl) see' and *giwaabisiim* or *giwaabisiinaawaa* 'you (pl) don't see'. The use of the *-naawaa* final in this position is unique to Algonquin and Severn. Algonquin also has an "impersonal" ending *-naaniwan*, pronounced [na:njɔn] (*-naaniwag* in conjunct) which compares in usage to the final *-m* in other dialects, e.g. *nigamonaaniwan* 'someome's singing' or they're singing (unspecific)'. Compare this to Saulteaux *nigamom* 'there's singing going on'.

Third person conjunct endings for intransitives have a *-j* in Algonquin (as well as Severn and Nipissing) where other dialects have *-d*, such as in example in 2.6 above.

Many intransitive inanimate verbs form their plurals in *-noon*, which Daviault (1986:443) analyses as /inwan/, e.g. *mishaa* 'it is big', *mishaanoon* 'they are big (inanimate)'.

2.8.3.2 Transitive inflectional morphology

Transitive animate independent verbs where the subject is second person and the object is first person involve the theme sign *-izhi-* in most instances, differing from the *-i*

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found in most other dialects. However there are several alternate forms where either _-i_ or _-izhi-_ may be used in the conjunct, e.g. _waabamizhiyin_ or _waabamiyin_ 'if/when you see me'. The Algonquin form differs from the Severn _-ihshi_ only in regard to the "voicing" (i.e. lenis as opposed to fortis) of the sibilant, however this theme sign is fortis in negative forms, possibly as a result of combining with the negative suffix _-sii_. Forms given in brackets below are also occasionally heard...

(2-1)	_giwaabamizhinan_ _giwaabamishii_ _(giwaabamisii[1])_	'you see/don't see me'
(2-1p)	_giwaabamizhinaam[2]_ _giwaabamishinaam_	'you see/don't see us'
(2p-1)	_giwaabamizhim_ _giwaabamishiim_ _(giwaabamisiim)_	'you (pl) see/don't see me'
(2p-1p)	_giwaabamizhinaam_ _giwaabamishinaam_	'you (pl) see/don't see us'

In addition to the contractions mentioned in 2.8.2.1, Algonquin also makes contractions across morpheme boundaries, as do some other dialects. One example of this is the reduction of the sequence _aw_ + _i_ to _aa_, thus /ni + wiidamaw + igo + naan/ > [niwi:dama:gona:n] 's/he tells us'. Furthermore, corresponding to the lack of an obviative plural suffix on nouns (see 2.8.4.1), there is likewise no obviative plural marking in the verbal morphology, thus _owaabamaawaan_ can mean either 'they see him/her' or 'they see them' (dialects with an obviative plural suffix have a form _owaabamaawaa'_ 'they see them').

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[1] Younger speakers occasionally produce more transparent forms such as _giwaabamishisii_, where the negative suffix _-sii_ and the theme sign _-ishi_ are not combined.

[2] There is probably variation amongst Algonquin dialects since Piggott (1978:176) gives _giwaabamizimin_ & Rhodes and Todd (1981:57) gives _giwaabaminaam_.

2.8.4 Nominal inflectional morphology

A lesser number of the features of nominal inflectional morphology are used to classify Ojibwe dialects.

2.8.4.1 Obviation

Algonquin (unlike Saulteaux, Northwestern Ojibwe and Central Ojibwe) has no separate suffix for obviative plural, nor is there special verbal agreement for obviative plural. However, unlike many other dialects, Algonquin does mark obviation on inanimate nouns with the suffix *-ni*, e.g.

ogii-waabamaan zhiishiiban	'S/he saw (a/some) duck.'
miigwaamni ogii-ozhitoonaawaa	'They made a house/houses.'

The inanimate obviative suffix is not used on nouns prefixed with *o-* .

2.8.4.2 Locatives

Algonquin and Severn, unlike other dialects of Anishinaabemowin, have two distinct locative suffixes, viz. *-(i)g* and *-(i)kaag* . The former indicates 'in/to a place', the latter indicates 'all along/throughout/all within a place' and is referred to as a "distributive locative" by J.D Nichols (personal communication), e.g.

odaabaanig	'in/to/from the sled/car'
odaabaan(i)kaag	'in/all along the sled/car'

Unlike in other dialects such as Saulteaux and Southwestern Ojibwe, the locative is not used in Algonquin to mark an oblique type case on nouns in comparative expressions...

Saulteaux:	*amikong izhinaagozi*	's/he looks like a beaver'
Algonquin:	*amik izhinaagozi*	's/he looks like a beaver'
	*amikog izhinaagozi	*(ungrammatical in Algonquin)*

2.8.4.3 Diminutives and pejoratives

Algonquin has several forms of the diminutive suffix, viz. *-(e)sh*, *-shesh* and *-chech* which differ from the nasalized forms *-(e)ns* in other dialects such as Nipissing, Saulteaux etc. The Algonquin diminutive suffix should not be confused with the pejorative suffix *-ish* in other dialects. The Algonquin pejorative suffix is *-shkiish* .

| Saulteaux: | *odaabaanens* | 'little sled/car' | *odaabaanish* | 'no good sled/car' |
| Algonquin: | *odaabaanesh odaabaanshesh* | 'little sled/car' | *odaabaanshkiish* | 'no good seld/car' |

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3.   PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE

There are not a large number of immediately perceivable differences between the way younger and older speakers pronounce Algonquin, however closer examination reveals a few areas where changes seem to be developing.

3.1   Vowels

3.1.1   Short vowel deletion

Elder speakers frequently delete weak short vowels in a pattern similar to the Odaawaa dialect (see 2.4.3). Vowel deletion is clearly present in younger speech within a stem, e.g. *(ni)wiijige* pronounced [*niwi:dʒge:*] or [*niwi:tʃge:*] 'my friend'. However there are situations where the addition of prefixes may alter the stress pattern of a word and subsequently affect vowel deletion. In such cases, younger speakers often retain the vowel deletion pattern of the bare stem, i.e. they do not delete vowels in accordance with the stress pattern created by the addition of prefixes. In the following example and here below **AS** = adult speech and **YS** = the speech of children and young adults.

AS:	*gbiskaa*	's/he stops (walking)'	*ngibskaa* [ŋgɪpsɨka:] 'I stop'
YS:	*g(i)biskaa*		*ngibiskaa*

Younger speakers may delete the first vowel (shown in brackets above) in third person forms since it would be unstressed in this case. It has been suggested to me however, that they never delete the second vowel and that they always retain an '*sk*'

cluster, unlike older speakers. Despite these innovations in their own speech, younger speakers appear to have no problem understanding the adult forms.

3.1.2 Rounding assimilation

Rounding assimilation is found in several words Kitigânik Algonquin where /a/ or /i/ occurs in proximity to /o/ or /oo/ and/or to labials and velars. Some examples include the word *mokomii* 'ice' (compare Ojibwe *mikwam*), *mobatoo* 's/he runs' (compare to Ojibwe *bimibatoo*), [*moko*] for /*mako*/ 'bear' and [*odomino*] for /*odamino*/ 's/he plays'. This phenomenon seems most widespread in the speech of young to middle aged speakers.

3.1.3 Word final *ii*

As discussed in 2.7.1.3 above, many Algonquin nouns have a word final /ii/. In younger speech words ending in /i/ are often lengthened as a seeming extension of this pattern. The most noticeable example of this is in the demonstrative particles, e.g. [ɔdiː] is commonly heard for both *awedi* 'over there' and *awidi* 'that one over there'.

3.2 Consonants

3.2.1 Sibilants

Palatalisation of *d* to *j* has occurred in several Algonquin words before a high vowel or a short unstressed vowel, which is therefore centralized and usually pronounced

as [ɨ], e.g. *njoojoosh(im)* 'my breast' (compare to Ojibwe *indoodooshim*) and *ajijamoosh* 'squirrel' (compare to Ojibwe *ajidamoo*). In addition there are some words where two pronunciations exist, the palatalized form being most common among younger speakers, e.g. *wiidigoo* and *wiijigoo* 'wiidigoo' (windigo). In addition palatalization occurs in rapid speech in places where it would not in careful speech, examples from the texts include [amɪtʃɨgoːʒiː] for *amitigoozhii* 'Frenchman', [wiːdʒɨmoʃʊn] for *wiidamoshin* 'tell me' and [ɔdʒiː] for *awedi* 'that one'".

Variation in the pronunciation of sibilants is common in younger speech. There is an apparent optional neutralization in place of articulation of sibilants in certain environments e.g. /zhiishike/ 's/he urinates' also pronounced as [zhiːske] on occasion. The does in fact seem to be a general tendency for /shk/ to be realized as [sk]. Sometimes a sibilant seems to cause assibilation of other obstruents in non-adjacent syllables, e.g. /naanoodaagozi/ 's/he is heard' is realized on one occasion as [naːnoːzaːgozi] , where the final /z/ seems to cause to previous /d/ to be realized as [z].

Where deletion of a short vowel cause a stop to be followed by a fricative, younger speakers often produce an affricate, e.g. the preverb *dazhi-* 'to/in a place' is frequently realized as [jɨ-].

Particles such as *dash*, *ashij* and *sa* are frequently phonetically reduced and attached to the preceding word. Examples from these recordings include *agwaas (agwaa – sa)* 'not to...' and *omaas (omaa – dash/sa* ?) 'here' etc. Sometimes particles attach to the front of a word beginning with a vowel, e.g. *chawdi (dash + awdi)* 'that one'.

3.2.2 Nasals

The historical process resulting in the C realization of *nC (see 2.7.1.2 above) shows some interesting signs of extension in younger speech. Where a short unstressed vowel is deleted and a surface nC cluster arises, older speakers retain the /n/ whereas younger speakers often delete it, e.g.

/niinitam/ 'my turn' >   AS: [niːntam]
                            YS: [niːtam]

3.2.3 The 'l' Phone

The presence of the 'l' phone in a few nouns was recorded by Gilstrap in 1977. Though elder speaker do use it in a few vocabulary items, younger speakers produce the 'l' in a greater variety of words. 'l' is found in loan words as well as in native words with both *l and *n as shown in the lists below.

LOAN WORDS

> elos* 'sea shell' (Western Abenaki), (nd)elabin '(my) rubber boot' (English 'rubber'), Ablaam 'Abraham' (English/French), maakaloone 'macaroni' (English/French/Italian)

NATIVE WORDS : *N

> (n)dedlii* '(my) tongue' /dedinii/ , gloozhe 'pike' /ginoozhe/, glebig 'snake' /ginebig/

> *jiikiloo* * 'blackbird' /*jiikinoo*/*, *(n)deligom* '(my) mucous' /*denigom*/,
>
> *maalaadizi* 'be ugly' /*maanaadizi*/

also: *alegabeshaagan* * 'pants' , *bloogozi* 'to be baggy', *bloogidaase* 'to have on loose

pants', *bloogwegan* 'to have on loose clothes', etc.

*   words marked * were also recorded by Gilstrap in 1977

Stories have been related to me suggesting that words with a substitution of [*l*] for

/*n*/ were not understood by all members of the community thirty or forty years ago.

Though definitely a lexical phenomenon, /*n*/ > [*l*] seems to only be found where there is a

preceding metrically weak short vowel (which is often deleted), or a stem initial long

vowel, as indicated in rule below.

$$/n/ > [l] \; / \; \{ \; \bar{V} \; \} \; \underline{\hspace{2em}} \qquad \text{(lexically determined)}$$
$$\{ \; \#(C)V\!: \; \}$$

Though some elder members of the community have suggested that this

phenomenon stems from English (note that stops followed by nasals are not legal onset

clusters in English though stops followed by laterals are), the phenomenon of n deletion

noted in 3.2.2 above suggests that there is a tendency to keep the velum in one place

rather than opening and shutting it. In that sense there may be some phonetic motivation

for the [*l*] realization of /*n*/, especially in close proximity to oral stops.

3.2.4 Stops

Young children sometimes aspirate word initial stops which are devoiced in

Algonquin e.g. [$p^{h}a{:}nima{:}$] for /*baanimaa*/, [$k^{h}o{:}kom$] for /*gookom*/. In this later case I

have also heard [nikʰoːkom] for /ngookom/ 'my grandmother', in fact, my conversations with some speakers suggested that the [ŋgoːkom] pronunciation is reserved for the meaning 'my wife' whereas [nikoːkom] clearly signifies 'my grandmother'. I do not know if all speakers make this distinction however. Aspiration might be construed as influence from English, though the same phenomenon can be noted in emphatic utterances in adult speech e.g. /gaa/ > [kʰaː] 'no!'.

/p/ is sometimes realized as [k] before weak short vowels, e.g. [noːkimik] for *noopimig*, [ishkimik] for *ishpimig* 'in the sky' etc. In fact, in the above examples the whole /pṼ/ syllable may even be reduced to a glottal stop, viz. [noːʔmik] and [ishʔmik].

Middle aged speakers also make this substitution. Most speakers do not delete this syllable entirely however (as in examples in 2.8.2.2), perhaps because /p/ may be treated as a geminate or because of the contrast in voicing between /p/ and /m/ (though contrast in voicing does not seem to have this effect elsewhere).

3.3   Semivowels

3.3.1 w

The Algonquin tendency to delete /w/ has been discussed in 2.8.2.1 above, however here again we notice that the are some signs of an extension of this phenomenon, in that there are forms where older speakers often retain the /w/ whereas younger speakers seldom do so, e.g. *miigwaam* (/miigĩwaam/) 'house' > [miːgaːm] , *agwaa* 'not to...' > [agaː] .

A further example of the deletion of /w/ is shown in the plural, obviative, locative and diminutive forms of some words that have an underlying /w/ in their stem, which does not surface in the singular form (known as Cw stems[1]). When suffixes are added to such words, this /w/ combines with the vowel in the suffix to produce *o*, however this is not always the case for younger speakers. The following example concerns the plural and obviative forms of the word /*moozw*/ 'moose', *mooz* in the singular (/w/ is deleted by regular phonological rule in this environment).

/moozw+ag/	**AS:**	moozoog	**YS:**	moozag
/moozw+an/		moozoon		moozan

In a similar vain, a final /w/ in some bound morphemes does not always surface...

/niizhw+aabik/	**AS:**	niizhwaabik	**YS:**	niizh(w)aabik	'two dollars'

There is however some precedent for this in words such as *minendam* 'to be happy' (compare to *minwendam* in Ojibwe).

3.4 Personal Prefixes

Younger speakers can be observed to occasionally omit personal prefixes, there being a whole string of examples from these recordings. The examples listed below are

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[1] It is interesting to note that a few Cw stems, whose singular forms end in *g* or *n* for animate and inanimate nouns respectively, have undergone a reanalysis in Algonquin whereby the singular form has become the plural form, e.g. *aade / aadeg* 'crow /crows' (compare *aandeg / aandegwag* in Ojibwe) and *waw / wawan* 'egg / eggs' (compare *wawan / wawanoon* in Ojibwe). This latter form does occur in some other dialects such as Nipissing.

all verbs (see 6.2 for nouns); the omitted personal prefix is written in brackets. The first set all involve the omission of the first person prefix whereas the second set involve the deletion of the third person prefix.

(n)gii-wiidamig	'he told me'
(m)baapimin	'we laughed'
(n)gii-nda-ganoonaa	'I went to call him'
(n)gii-goshkozinan	'I woke up'
(ni)maagomig	'he bit me'
(n)gii-gichi-ashamaa	'I fed him a great deal'
(ndo)oji-nadatowaasiin	'I didn't listen to her'

(o)gii-biijimaadaan	'he smelt it'
(o)gii-nda-moozhaginaan	'he picked it up'
(o)gii-aapizhi'aan	'she changed him'
(o)gii-baaskizaan	'he shot at him'
bagii (od)amowaan	'he ate a little of him'
(o)gii-maagonaan	'he pressed it'
(o)gii-odaapinamaan	'he picked it up'
gaa (odo)oji-waabamaasiin	'he didn't see him'
sand (ogii-)atoon otentkaag	'she put sand in her tent'
(o)gichi-gizhigabamaan (promptly corrected to *ogichi-...*)	'he stared at him'

Deletion of the second person prefix is much rarer than of the first and third person prefixes. This is probably because the first and second person forms often contain the same endings (at least in the independent) with only the prefix altering. It would appear that many speakers always pronounce the second person prefix; however if the context is sufficient to suggest that a first person is involved, the *ni-* prefix may be

omitted. In this way no confusion between first and second persons ensues. Third person endings often differ from the first two persons and here again the omission of the third person prefix *o-* does not seem to pose any problems in understanding for the listener.

Older speakers will delete a personal prefix in certain environments, e.g. *o-* > Ø __ *w* e.g. [*waːbamaːn*] 'he sees him'; they also delete the unstressed vowel in the prefix which may result in the prefix being somewhat difficult to hear, e.g. [*ⁿdiʒaː*] 'I go', [*ᵏbaːpinan*] 'you laugh'. Thus the deletion of personal prefixes thus seems phonetically motivated, since /*gi-* becomes [*k-*], the voiceless stop may often be more perceivable since it contrasts with the first phoneme of the verb (which will be obligatorily voiced). The prefixes *n(i)-* and *o-* , on the other hand, seem more likely to undergo morphophonemic change, including deletion. It should also be noted that prefix deletion is quite systematic and represents an innovation that does not seem to compromise understanding. Furthermore, children are perfectly capable of using these prefixes in slow speech or where context requires it.

3.5 *Metathesis*

Metathesis is a common phenomenon in Algonquin and has been noted in other Algonquian languages. Metathesis is not necessarily restricted to the speech of younger children, some metathasized forms being common even for middle aged speakers, e.g. *bagishkizhaan* 'chopped meat' is often metathesized to *gabishkizhaan*. Examples of metathesis which I have only heard from children include *ngibadinaa* for *mbagidinaa* 'I allow him', *ngibadinaan* for *mbagidinaan* 'I put it down', *googiiske* for *giigooske* 'I

(process) fish', *gazaswaa* for *zagaswaa* 's/he smokes' etc. Note that /g/ is frequently the onset of a metathesized syllable, especially when preceded by /b/.

3.6   Morphophonemics

3.6.1 The obviative suffix

The obviative suffix for animates *-(a)n* shows some morphophonemic variation in all dialects of Anishinabemowin. When attached to nouns ending in a vowel for example, this suffix surfaces as *-n*. Younger speakers however do not always produce such forms, preferring to keep the *-an* form of the suffix intact by inserting a consonant (usually n) between it and the noun stem. Examples from the texts include *mokonan* for *makoon* 'bear (obv)' and *shkinwenan* or *shkinwejan* for *oshkinwen* 'boy (obv)'. It should be noted however that this is not entirely without precedent since Algonquin often prefers to attach the obviative suffix after the possessive suffix *-(i)m* where applicable, rather than attach it directly to the noun stem, e.g. *ojoojooman* 'his/her mother' as compared with *ojoojoon* , the form given by Cuoq for Nipissing. Note also that the same speakers who produced the above forms also gave the following more conservative forms, *anishinaaben* 'Anishinaabe (obv)' and *ayaaben* 'bull moose (obv)'.

3.6.2 Reanalysis

A regular phonological rule deletes *b* plus a weak short vowel before *m*, viz. *bV> Ø / m__* . This is probably due to the presence of two adjacent voiced labials after

the deletion of the short vowel (see 2.4.3 and 2.8.2.2). One consequence of this is that the verb initial *bim-* 'along' is usually reduced to *m-* in the third person (since the first syllable is unstressed). In the first and second persons however the addition of the personal prefix means that the *bim-* is now in a stressed syllable and will be preserved, e.g. *mose* 's/he walks along' but *gibimose* 'you walk along'. Younger speakers however commonly inflect such verbs as though the third person forms were the stem, with resulting forms *nimose* 'I walk along' *nimaadage* 'I swim along', *nimakine* 'I make tracks' as opposed to *mbimose*, *mbimaadage* and *mbimakine* respectively.

In the speech of children and young adults, words commencing in a vowel are often the subject of reanalysis whereby the epenthetic *-d-* becomes part of the stem. The dependant noun *(n)-d-azhigan* '(my) sock' seems to be reinterpreted as an independent noun */dazhigan/* 'sock' for it was so used on several occasions in this form without a personal prefix. Note that it is possible to omit personal prefixes from dependant nouns in some circumstances in Algonquin, e.g. even the oldest speakers will omit personal prefixes when referring to their family members (this may be a mark of affection) and when used as vocatives and in personal names, such terms are usually devoid of any personal prefix. However in this case, if we accept the omission of a personal prefix we would nonetheless expect the form */azhigan/*. The various verbs meaning 'to have', e.g. *ayaaw* 'to have s.o' and *ayaan* 'to have s.t' also show signs of a reanalysis to include the empathetic *-d-* as can be evidenced from the forms used in the past tense and the conjunct order, viz. *ngii-dayaan* 'I had it' and *gaa-dayaanaabaan* 'when I had it'.

Interestingly there are several examples from these recordings where the epenthetic -d- is omitted, viz. gi'odaminomin 'we (incl) play' for gidoodaminomin and o'abiban 'she was there' for abiban where, since the verb in intransitive, there should be no prefix. The word ataawgan 'playing card' seems to have been reanalyzed as taawgan, in somewhat of a reverse manner to words like dazhigan 'sock' etc. Older speakers say [taːwgʌn] 'playing card' deleting the weak initial vowel, however they use form such as gidataawgan [ᵏdataːwgʌn] 'your card' showing an empathetic -d- as required by a possessed noun beginning with a vowel. In these recordings, younger speakers consistently used forms such as gitaawgan 'your card' suggesting that they no longer maintain an initial vowel in the stem. Taking forms such as kookom 'grandmother', which is occasionally used as an independent noun, and taawgan into account, the former requirement of independent nouns that all stem initial obstruents be lenis is no longer held in all cases.

A final point of interest involves the movement of the personal prefix gi- (second person). This prefix has an allomorph [k-] before /w/, e.g. /gi-wezhige/ 'you cheat' is realized as [kweːʒɪgeː] . Preverbs insert between the personal prefix and the verb stem, however on two or three occasions two young speakers attached g- to the verb stem despite the presence of the preverb gichi- 'in a big way', viz. gichi-kwezhige 'you're cheating so much' (not gigichi-wezhige). These speakers do not show any other sign of having reanalyzed the stem around the second person form for they still use other forms such as wezhige 's/he cheats' correctly. This may in fact be from a preference to maintain the kw cluster in a similar way to the vowel deletion noted in 3.1.1.

4.   Discourse particles

Besides demonstratives and a few others such as *godag* 'other'/ *godagag*[1] 'others', most particles do not show any inflectional morphology. For the most part we do not find any evidence of a decrease in usage of particles, though there are occasional inconsistencies such as *ishpin gaa-ishkwaa-maadageyaan* literally 'if I finished swimming' where *ishpin* 'if' is used for *apiich* or *megwaaj* 'when'. However, when we examine particles that do not have a specific lexical meaning but rather are used in discourse for various reasons such as focus, we do find different patterns of usage emerging. The use of these particles may in fact bear a direct relationship to the changing use of the conjunct order as noted in 5.1.

The particles *mii* and *dash* are both used in discourse to draw focus on one aspect of a sentence[2]. *mii* is frequently followed by a verb in the conjunct (except in negative sentences) and is often translated as "It is ___ that (subordinate clause)" e.g. *mii imaa gaa-dazhiikeyaan* 'It is there where I lived' or 'That is where I lived'. When examining the texts of younger speakers however, we find several different trends emerging. The most interesting is the use of *mii dash* (which may shorten to *miish*) as a sequential conjunction accompanied by a verb in the independent order. Rhodes (97:3) equates the use of *mii dash* in Ottawa with "temporal or logical sequencing", though in the examples he gives it is always followed by a verb in the conjunct order.

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[1]   It is in fact possible to interpret this word as a nominal that does not show the full range of inflection.
[2]   De Oliveira E Silva & Tavares De Macedo (1992:236) quote two terms , viz. "discourse markers" (Schiffrin 1987) and "discourse particles" (Vincent 1983). Schiffrin describes these as "sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk" , Vincent says they "do not add information to the utterance, have a vague meaning...", *mii* and *dash* also conforms to these definitions. Rodes (79:102) says of these particles "they do not seem to carry any meaning of their own".

As well as *mii dash*, we also find some other particles used in a similar way, e.g. *naazh dash* "and then..." realized as [naːʃdɨʃ], [naːsdɨʃ] or [naːdɨʃ]; *naazh ashij*, realized as [naːʃɨtʃ] or even [naːʒɨtʃ] 'and also'; *naazh piich* "and after..."; *naazh goj* 'and then' etc. *naazh* is a common shortening of *nanaazh* 'until' (see 2.8.2.2), which is used with a verb in the conjunct order by elder speakers, e.g. *miish igoj imaa gaa-dazhiikeyaan nanaazh giji-niibwiiyaan* 'That's where I lived until I got married'. In the speech of speakers in the 7-20 age group, however, the above particles are all followed by a verb in the independent order. The commonest of these is *naazh dash*, though all are used with great frequency in monologues. In fact, in some narratives nearly every sentence contains one of these constructions and they are also reasonably common in dialogues. It is interesting to note that there are parallels in other situations where language function is reduced. Newman (1964:376) noted for Yokuts that the particle *'ama'* meaning 'and' or 'and then' was used as "the loosest and most ambiguous type of coordination" in preference to subordination. The extensive use of these particles recorded here may therefore be a symptom of a lack of exposure to formal registers of the Algonquin language.

4.1 Traditional stories

The table below shows the use of the particles *mii* , *dash* and the combinations *mii dash* and *naazh dash* separately, as well as the number of tokens of *naazh piich* and *naazh ashij*. All percentages are based on total number of sentences, given in the

first row. Here and in all other tables where appropriate, vertical columns separated by double lines are used to distinguish the various age brackets noted in the table in 2.7.

No. TOKENS OF...	SPEAKER 2	SPEAKER 3	SPEAKER 4	SPEAKER 7	SPEAKER 8
SENTENCES	29	31	56	21	13
DASH	17 (59%)	10(32%)	20(36%)	5 (24%)	2 (15%)
MII MII DASH (TOTAL MII)	5 3 8 (28%)	1 0 1 (3%)	4 17 21 (38%)	0 0 0	0 0 0
NAAZH DASH NAAZH ASHIJ (TOTAL NAAZH)	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	13 1 14 (67%)	13 0 13 (100%)

The total absence of *mii* in the texts of the two youngest speakers 7 and 8 is very revealing. In fact, when introducing themselves (recorded separately) they made use of the fixed expression *mii neta* 'that's all' and their use of other set expressions such *as mii bezhigon* 'it's the same as...' can also be heard frequently. What this suggests is that, at least with regard to particles such as *mii*, there is a tendency for younger speakers to favor a lexical function over a discourse one. Speaker No. 3 also seems to show some reduction in usage of these particles, as he does for conjunct verbs (see 5.1.1), though we should point out the large amount of direct speech in his account which probably plays a significant role here[1].

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[1] Note also that speaker three is the only male speaker here. The work of Clarke and Mackenzie has suggested that sex may be a significant factor in linguistic variability in Sheshatshiu Montagnais. Since there is a "well attested female tendency towards greater linguistic conservatism" (Clarke 83:59), we might predict more variation in samples from male speakers.

The figures for the particle *dash* also lend support to the claim that the usage of such discourse particles is moving towards a more lexical one. In situations of loss or reduction in usage, language change is said to always move in the direction of becoming more isolating. The use of these particles as lexical items without any accompanying morphosyntactic constraints such as the required use of the conjunct order, fits this pattern in the sense that subordination is no longer a category implicit in verbal morphology in these instances, i.e. one less distinction (main vs subordinate) is being marked morphologically. As will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6, inflectional morphology also shows some signs of reduction in usage, giving further evidence for a trend towards less morphologically complex forms. It should be pointed out, however, that whilst speakers 7 and 8 use the combination *naazh dash* frequently, they also employ *dash* in two other ways, corresponding with that of elder speakers, viz. to draw focus on a character e.g. *wiidigoo dash* 'as for wiidigoo...' and to draw focus on an action *ogii-nisaan dash* 'they killed her'. Thus what we find is that a more traditional usage is being retained, though perhaps with decreasing frequency, whilst a new usage with a much more specific meaning is also being developed.

4.2   Narratives

Discourse particles function in much the same way in narratives of everyday events as they do in traditional stories, and here we find similar percentages of usage. Two tables are given below, dividing narratives into real versus invented stories.

Table 1: Real life experiences:

No. tokens of...	Speaker 1	Speaker 5	Speaker 6	Speaker 9	Speaker 10	Speaker 12
SENTENCES	35	19	46	56	28	35
DASH	17 (49%)	4(21%)	11(24%)	15 (27%)	1 (4%)	20 (57%)
MII MII DASH (TOTAL MII)	6 11 17 (49%)	0 1 1 (5%)	2 0 2 (4%)	1 39 40 (71%)	0 0 0	1 0 1 (3%)
NAAZH DASH NAAZH ASHIJ NAAZH PIICH (TOTAL NAAZH)	0 0 0 0	5 0 0 5 (26%)	17 0 0 17 (37%)	1 0 0 1 (2%)	0 0 7 7 (25%)	13 0 0 13 (37%)

- Speaker 9 uses *mii dash* in the same way as other speakers use *naazh dash* (with IND V)

Table 2: Invented stories

No. tokens of...	Speaker 7	Speaker 8	Speaker 11
SENTENCES	126	91	109
DASH	26(21%)	46(51%)	62 (57%)
MII MII DASH (TOTAL MII)	0 0 0	1 2 3(33%)	0 0 0
NAAZH DASH NAAZH ASHIJ NAAZH GOJ (TOTAL NAAZH)	55 0 0 55(44%)	27 0 0 27(30%)	3 1 21 25 (23%)

The use of coordinators in *naazh* is also very prevalent here. As can be seen from these tables, individuals often have a specific preference, some use *naazh piich*, whilst others use *naazh shij* or *naazh goj*, though in general *naazh dash* in the most common. Speaker 9 in fact uses *mii dash* in the same way, i.e. always with the meaning 'and then' and always accompanied by a verb in the independent order. Here as in traditional stories, the examples of *mii* are by and large all as part of fixed expressions, *mii neta*, *mii bezhigon* etc. It is interesting to note that younger speakers' use of the particle *dash* does not seem to be much less than that of their elders. In these texts however, *dash* is employed in some interesting and seemingly innovative ways, which also suggest a move towards a more lexically defined usage, viz. it serves to link two main clauses (i.e. with verbs in the independent) that show a cause and effect type relationship. In many such cases we are tempted to translate *dash* as 'therefore' (see 5.1.2).

4.3   Conversations

We would anticipate that discourse particles be less frequent in dialogue than in monologue and this is generally born out by the data. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly however, we do see a few interesting differences in the use of these particles. Consider the following...

NO. TOKENS OF...	SPEAKER 6	SPEAKER 7	SPEAKER 8	SPEAKER 9	SPEAKER 10	SPEAKER 11	SPEAKER 12
SENTENCES	151	143	128	73	115	76	85
DASH	26(17%)	4(28%)	5 (4%)	5 (7%)	8 (7%)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)
MII MII DASH (TOTAL MII)	3 3 6 (4%)	5 0 5(35%)	1 0 1(<1%)	2 2 4 (5%)	2 0 2 (2%)	1 0 1 (1%)	1 0 1 (2%)
NAAZH DASH NAAZH ASHIJ (TOTAL NAAZH)	7 0 7 (5%)	0 0 0	4 0 4 (3%)	3 0 3 (4%)	4 1 5 (4%)	0 0 0	0 0 0

A large portion of the examples of the particle *dash* in conversation are used in fixed expressions, e.g. *haw dash* 'O.K!, alright!' and *am dash* 'here!, take this!'. The use of *dash* to focus on an event or a participant is rarer in conversation though it does occur, e.g. *niin dash* 'me!'. The particles *mii* and *mii dash* are also used in fixed expressions such as *mii bezhigon* 'it's the same', *mii* 'the end' and *miish igoj neta* 'that's all', though the most common use of *mii* in dialogue is in very emphatic utterances, which in fact parallel the way older speakers used it for focus in monologues. Some examples include *mii megaa big job* 'it is a big job indeed!' and *mii sawedi* 'that's the one over there!'. The most interesting thing to notice here however is that whilst on one occasion speaker 9 does use *mii dash* as a coordinator followed by a verb in the independent as she did in her narrative, on another occasion she follows it with a conjunct verb in the more conservative manner, viz. *mii edi gaa-ezhaayaan* 'that's where I went'. Speaker 12, the youngest speaker, also uses a similar construction on one occasion

though he never did so in monologue, viz. *mii* *dedago last month sii gaa-iziseg* 'it really did happen last month!'. This sentence is reaction to an interlocutor's disbelief; three different particles (underlined) are used, all which serve to add emphasis, making this sentence extremely forceful. Thus what we see is that the very same discourse particles that seem to be rapidly declining in use in narratives do still serve a function in dialogue, viz. adding emphasis. Furthermore, when these particles are used in this way they often reveal a more conservative use of verb form, viz. they are followed by the conjunct order. A further point to notice here however is that above examples are both of *mii* by itself, there being no examples of *mii dash* followed by a conjunct verb in conversation. The absence of stylistic structures noted in 5.1 must nonetheless be put in perspective. These devices are maintained even if they are not always stylistically exploited.

5.   Use of Verbs

Perhaps no one area of verbal morphology stands out as being in the process of undergoing the most considerable change; rather, what we find when examining the use of verbs in these recordings is a smattering of odd examples that draw our attention to many different areas. Sometimes we see inanimate forms used for animate ones, e.g. *ngii-gizhide* for *ngii-giizhizonan* 'I got hot' or odd or seemingly incomplete endings, e.g. *gii-zhoomishaa* for *gii-zhoomisi'o* 'he got old', or even intransitive stems used as transitive, e.g. *ngii-wiisinimaan* was used with the meaning 'we ate it', where the transitive inanimate verb *miijin* as opposed to the intransitive stem *wiisini* is required. Nonetheless, the above remain somewhat isolated examples in these recordings and they seem to reflect uncertainty about certain individual lexical items. In this chapter, however, we find that there is some evidence of a certain degree of simplification of the Algonquin verb, the most interesting of which concern the morphological marking of transitivity.

Before discussing the use of derivational and inflectional morphology (5.2 and 5.3), we first examine patterns of usage, where we find some interesting evidence for a decline in the use of the conjunct order (5.1).

5.1   Conjunct and independent orders

Anishinaabemowin is a highly verbal language and much of its rhetoric lies in the skillful manipulation of the wealth of verbal inflections. The choice of independent or conjunct is of course often determined by grammatical stipulations, however over and

above this, many factors of discourse such as bringing information into focus rely on the stylistic manipulation of these verb orders. Since the conjunct order is closely, but not uniquely, linked to subordination, it warrants particular attention, especially in the light of recent discussion on a reduction in the use of subordination in language loss situations. Hill (73a:45) states "I would guess that this process (i.e. reduction of frequency of subordination) is extremely widespread in language function reduction and language death situations". Her observation for Cupeño and Luiseño also appears to be substantiated by the Algonquin data.

As well as being used in subordinate clauses, the conjunct mode is also used in content questions, e.g. *aadi ezhaayin* 'where are you going'. In addition to this, the conjunct mode may occasionally be used in main clauses in narratives for stylistic reasons[1] and is usually required after the discourse particle *mii* , since, in addition to focusing on a specific item, it also creates a subordinate clause, (see 4). Generally speaking the conjunct mode is used by all speakers in content questions, though we do find some exceptions, (e.g. *aadii gii-izhaa* 'where did he go?'). What we shall see however in this section is that there is a considerable reduction in the use of different types of subordination especially in the following areas...

1) Following *mii*
2) When expressing an adverbial link to a main clause (e.g. after x then y, when x, y)
3) When expressing dependency or a causal link to a main clause (e.g. since x, y)

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[1] Rhodes (79:110-111) attributes this to either thematic use or temporal immediacy depending on dialect.

This reduction in subordination often results in the stacking of main clauses and in increased use of co-ordination, including a seemingly innovative use of the discourse particle *dash* .

In order to show variation in the use of verb orders, we have relied on calculating their percentage against the total number of verbs. There are, however, many problems associated with the statistical manipulation of verb counts, some of which are listed below. Relevant concerns will be discussed where they arise.

a)   Finding objective tests to distinguish stylistic repetition from false starts and afterthoughts.

b)   Allowing for audience interaction, repetition or explanation for sake of audience. How significant is the make up of the audience?

c)   Accounting for discourse verbs and "framing"[1] in verb counts.

d)   Accounting for "verbal nouns" such as those in *gaa-* in verb counts.

e)   Determining statistical significance in small samples.

f)   Accounting for chance effects owing to particular style or content of a narrative.

5.1.1 Traditional stories

One problem associated with schooling in another language is that formal registers may not be developed in Algonquin. Children are taught to manipulate different styles in English and their vocabulary in the second language therefore expands, however they no longer receive, or at least have less exposure to many aspects of a traditional education such as formal prayer, public speaking and of course the rich oral narrative

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[1]   The term discourse verb refers to a few verbs such as *ikido* 'to say' and *iN-* 'to say to s.o' , which are used as a type of oral quotation mark to introduce direct speech. Often these verbs are used both before and after a quotation, a stylistic feature sometimes referred to as "framing". Since discourse verbs are used in the independent mode this will affect a verb count.

tradition with all the complexities and subtleties of language that it entails. One sign of this is the expression *bezhig omaa-sh* to mean "once upon a time" (lit. one here!), which seems to have been created by speaker 9. As can be seen from the figures given below, older speakers employ the conjunct order frequently in formal language such as *aadizookaan* 'traditional stories' and in the narration of everyday events. Younger speakers, on the other hand, rely heavily on the independent order, although for the most part they still inflect verbs in the conjunct order correctly. This corresponds to another observation made by Hill (1973b:67), viz. "although modern speakers use subordination with low frequency, they are by no means unfamiliar with the forms."

The traditional stories cited here represent to some degree a formal speech genre of Anishinaabemowin. Speaker 3's recording is a part of the Anishinaabe creation cycle and as such involves the use of the preterit dubitative mode (see 2.6) not used elsewhere in my recordings. Speaker 2's account demonstrates her cultural knowledge of the interrelation of certain animals and plants. Speakers 4, 7 and 8 all told the same story about the wiidigo[1], however speaker 4's version involved certain elements of formal language such as focusing with *mii* , whereas speakers 7 and 8's version did not. The table below shows the total number of conjunct and independent verb tokens against the total number of verb tokens (in first three rows). A further breakdown of verb usage is also provided.

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[1] wiidigoo (wiindigoo in other dialects) is a cannibalistic monster who features in stories told to children to keep them quiet at night.

NO. OF TOKENS OF	SPEAKER 2	SPEAKER 3	SPEAKER 4	SPEAKER 7	SPEAKER 8
TOTAL V	<u>51</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>20</u>
TOTAL C	<u>28</u> (55%)	<u>21</u> (29%)	<u>55</u> (44%)	<u>3</u> (11%)	<u>1</u> (5%)
IND V	<u>23</u> (45%)	<u>43</u> (60%)	<u>64</u> (51%)	<u>23</u> (82%)	<u>19</u> (95%)
IMP V	0	0	1	0	0
DV	0	8	5	2	0
BREAKDOWN OF CONJUNCT VERB USAGE:					
MII + GAA +C MII + C TOTAL (MII)	1 <u>4</u> 5	0 <u>1</u> 1	10 <u>3</u> 13	0 <u>0</u> 0	0 <u>0</u> 0
GAA + C TOTAL (GAA)	<u>11</u> (12)	<u>4</u> (4)	<u>15</u> (25)	<u>1</u> (1)	<u>0</u> (0)
GS + C	1	6	11	1	1
OTHER C	11	10	16	1	0

Texts are not of equal length, see Total V (verb) for no. of verb tokens. C = conjunct; Ind = independent; DV = discourse verb; GS = general subordinator, viz. *gida-* or *giji-* ; Imp = imperatives.

Percentages are given of the total number of verb tokens rounded to the nearest whole number. The total number of conjunct verbs in *gaa-* is obtained by adding *mii* ÷ *gaa* -C and *gaa* ÷ C

The recordings of speakers 2, 3 and 4 show relatively similar percentages of conjunct usage. Speaker 3's text involves a large amount of direct speech, explaining the high number of discourse verbs, subsequently lowering the percentage of conjunct verbs by increasing the total verb count. The most striking feature of this data is the low use of conjunct verbs by speakers 7 and 8, especially the fact that they never once use the *mii* +

conjunct verb construction (though interestingly speaker 3 only uses this construction once in this excerpt).

One possible explanation for the low use of the conjunct order is the way these narratives are temporally sequenced and divided into short simple clauses with the *naazh dash* construction (see chapter 4). Speaker 4's version however is also temporally sequenced though it shows stylistic use of the conjunct. To illustrate these points let us compare excerpts from Speaker 4 and speaker 7's stories.

gichi-wii-zhiishiike shij awdii ikwesiis; gichi-gotaaji nigoji. mii dash baamaa gaa-izhi miswaaj gii-zhiishiike. mii dash wiidigo gaa-azhi ogii- giji ogii-minaamaan dash awiig e-gaa-zhiishiikej. mii dash gaa-izhi-wanishkaaj, gii-maajaa (Speaker 4)

That girl really wanted to urinate; she was scared and shaking. Then indeed she had to urinate. Then that wiidigoo smelt that someone had urinated. Then he got up, he left.

Here we find a more or less temporal sequencing; actions are mentioned one after the other in relatively short, unconvoluted clauses. However we do find stylistic use of the *mii* particle and the temporal sequencing is highlighted with the use of the *gaa-izhi-* construction. Perhaps the most interesting thing here is that the first two instances of the *mii* particle are followed by verbs in the independent order, yet we see the form *gaa-izhi-*, not *gii-izhi-*. The combination of the past tense marker *gii-* and the preverb *izhi-* followed by a verb in the independent is used in Algonquin to indicate a sequencing of events, often giving a flavor of "then...". In the changed conjunct, as used in subordinate clauses etc. this becomes *gaa-izhi-* and is followed by a conjunct verb. These are most likely false starts here since there are pauses. However the placing of the particle *miswaaj* between *gaa-izhi-* and the verb and the reiteration of the past tense *gii-*

followed by a verb in the independent mode in the clause *mii dash baamaa gaa-izhi miswaaj gii-zhiishiike* might suggest that *gaa-izhi* is somehow reinterpreted as a particle meaning "then". Temporal sequencing in this text most commonly employs the conjunct as in the penultimate clause, *mii dash gaa-izhi-wanishkaaj* 'and then he got up'.

In Speaker 7's story (as is also the case for Speaker 8), we also see a similar temporal sequencing...

naazh dash wii-zhiishiikeban, gii-zhiishiike dash. (o)gii-biijimaadaan owe zhiishiike 'aaboo. naazh dash gii-maajaa wiidigoo. naazh dash gii-niisaadawebatoo ikwesiis. naazh dash...   (Speaker 7)

Then she wanted to urinate, she urinated. He smelt the urine. Then wiidigoo went out. Then the girl ran down (i.e. climbed down the tree). Then...

There may of course be several reasons for this; for example, they may be recalling the plot in chunks or even "editing" or combining various versions of the story. If so, they may be recalling it in a "progressive" manner, i.e. using the internal timing of the story. However, the resulting prominence of the independent order, or the lack of the conjunct associated with various stylistic factors is not explainable merely in these terms. Valentine (1996:402) notes in his analysis of *Amik Anicinaabewigoban*, an Algonquin text from Pikogan, that "The recurrence of initial particles in this text is striking... the relevant particles in this text are *kegapiitc, mii, dac* and *miinawa(a)j*". Thus, a high frequency of initial particles seems common in Algonquin texts, though the use of *mii* as some type of coordination, without the subordination normally associated with it, may prove to be significant in the decline in the usage of verbs in the conjunct order. Once

again, we do not know whether these trends continue into adulthood, especially noting the relatively high percentage of conjunct verbs in speaker 4's text here.

5.1.2 Narration

There are essentially two different types of narration considered here, true stories (table 1) and invented episodes (table 2). These two categories were chosen to test the hypothesis that temporal sequencing might have an affect in lowering the use of the conjunct order. It seemed probable that the act of inventing a story might cause the speaker to indulge in descriptive passages, get sidetracked or expound on specific details as they became relevant to the story being formed. If this proved to be true then we might expect the strong temporal sequencing found in the texts of speakers 4, 7 and 8 to be diverted and some different narrative strategies to immerge. The same might also be true of the task of remembering actual events.

It was anticipated that the narration of real life experiences and invented stories might also constitute a somewhat more informal register and as such show different stylistic features. When examining the following statistics however, we do not find significant differences in the use of the conjunct order, in fact we see very similar patterns to those noted in 5.1.1 above.

Table 1: Real life experiences

NO. OF TOKENS OF...	SPEAKER 1	SPEAKER 5	SPEAKER 6	SPEAKER 9	SPEAKER 10	SPEAKER 12
TOTAL V	<u>91</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>51</u>
TOTAL C	<u>36</u> (40%)	<u>7</u> (21%)	<u>15</u> (21%)	<u>8</u> (9%)	<u>4</u> (12%)	<u>3</u> (6%)
IND V	<u>39</u> (43%)	<u>27</u> (79%)	<u>46</u> (66%)	<u>65</u> (69%)	<u>29</u> (88%)	<u>48</u> (94%)
IMP V	3	0	1	15	0	0
DV	4	0	8	6	0	0
BREAK DOWN OF CONJUNCT VERB USAGE:						
MII + GAA +C MII + C TOTAL (MII)	13 <u>0</u> 13	0 <u>1</u> 1	1 <u>0</u> 1	0 <u>0</u> 0	0 <u>0</u> 0	0 <u>0</u> 0
GAA + C TOTAL (GAA)	<u>12</u> (25)	<u>3</u> (3)	<u>6</u> (7)	<u>2</u> (2)	<u>2</u> (2)	<u>1</u> (1)
GS + C	3	1	4	3	1	0
OTHER C	8	2	4	3	1	2

Table 2: Invented stories

No. of Tokens of...	Speaker 7	Speaker 8	Speaker 11
TOTAL V	<u>143</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>140</u>
TOTAL C	<u>1</u> (<1%)	<u>6</u> (6%)	<u>2</u> (1%)
IND V	<u>116</u> (81%)	<u>100</u> (93%)	<u>109</u> (78%)
IMP V	11	0	7
DV	15	1	22
BREAK DOWN OF CONJUNCT VERB USAGE:			
MII + GAA +C MII + C TOTAL (MII)	0 <u>0</u> 0	0 <u>0</u> 0	0 <u>0</u> 0
GAA + C TOTAL (GAA)	<u>1</u> (1)	<u>2</u> (2)	<u>2</u> (2)
GS + C	0	2	0
OTHER C	0	2	0

Firstly, we should point out that, contrary to our previous expectation, most of these stories are strongly temporally sequenced. As can be seen from the above table, the use of the conjunct order by younger speakers is quite low, and in the case of invented stories exceptionally low. Consider the following example from speaker 12 (verbs underlined). In this and other examples, capital letters stand for personal names without any overt obviative marking.

naazh dash A gii-gichi-gizaswaaban edi anaamisag. ogii-gijishkinaan, gii-dazhi-ishkwaadeni dash, gii-dazhi-ishkwaadeni B omiigwaam. dazhi-odaminooban B, ogii-noodaan ishkode, gii-zaagijibatoo dash

Then A was smoking downstairs. He dropped it, it burned, B's house burned. B was playing there, he heard the fire, he ran out...

Despite the obvious interrelationship of the actions in each of these clauses, we see them stacked one after the other rather than linked by subordination. All the verbs are in the independent order. Where two clauses show a cause and affect type relationship, what we often see, rather than subordination, is the use of *dash* in the second clause, e.g. *ogii-gijishkinaan, gii-dazhi-ishkwaadeni dash*, 'he dropped it, it burned' and *ogii-noodaan ishkoode, gii-zaagijibatoo dash* 'he heard the flames, he ran out'. This use of *dash* is in fact quite common in these stories but we do not find any similar examples in speaker 1's text, rather we find constructions such as the following...

miish imaa gaa-waabadamaan dash dibe ge-izhi-asigowaan. joojoo gaa-maajiinizhij
It was there I saw where I would be put. Mother sent me away

Here we see three verbs in the conjunct order, the first because it is subordinated by *mii* and the second is also in a subordinate clause. The second sentence is also dependent on the first in the sense that it specifies who is "sending/putting her away". Perhaps this clause might be translated as 'it was mother who sent me away' however this is not how it was perceived by her grandson who helped me with the translation. The use of the conjunct order in this case is explained by J.R. Valentine (1996:400) "Conjunct status indicates dependency, most frequent of adverbial clauses to a main

predication, and in a few cases, of an entire sentence to a preceding one." Note however that there is very little such use of the conjunct order in the other narratives recorded by younger speakers here. Compare the above with the following example from speaker 5...

ngii-doodaan an exam, ngii-passi'onaan gekwaan. naazh dash ngii-nda-wiisin aabita-giizhiganig. A daa-biinda-moozhiganigban; naazh dash ozaam wiibaj gii-izhaa; gaan dash ndazhi-oji-waamigosiin. ngii-wiiji'aa B ...

I did an exam, I passed. Then I went to eat at noon. A was supposed to come and pick me up. Then he came too early, he didn't see me. I went with B...

Here again we see a long string of clauses with verbs in the independent order despite obvious interdependency. Notice the use of *naazh dash* as a conjunction even in contexts where the actions are clearly connected, e.g. *A daa-biinda-moozhiganigban; naazh dash ozaam wiibaj gii-izhaa* 'A was supposed to come and pick me up; (but) he came too early'. The clause immediately after this uses *dash* to express this connection, viz. *gaan dash ndazhi-oji-waamigosiin* 'then he didn't see me'. In this case as in many others we are tempted to translate *dash* as "therefore".

Speaker five's 21% use of the conjunct order may be half that of speaker one, however she does use the conjunct more than many of those who are younger than her. Speaker 5's use of the conjunct falls mostly into the category of "the dependency of an adverbial clause to a main predication" e.g. *naazh dash gaa-bi-giiweyaan omaa, gaan debwe ndooji-wiisinisiin* 'then when I came home I didn't really eat (i.e. I barely ate)'. What we find when we look at the recordings of younger speakers however is that even this usage of the conjunct is often replaced by a stacking of main clauses, all with independent verbs, e.g. *ngiishkaa-maadagemin; naazh dash A dash ayaa gii-biinda-*

maadage 'we finished swimming; then A came to swim'. However the actual meaning here is 'as we were finishing swimming A came to swim'. This is clear by the use of the preverb *biinda-* 'came to' (i.e. direction towards the speaker) and I know from being present on this swimming trip. Thus even the most interdependent of clauses are not always placed in a main/subordinate clause relationship.

The total absence of stylistic devices such as the *mii* + conjunct verb construction in the recordings of speakers in the 7-14 age group speaks clearly of a decreasing repertoire in the language devices implicit in the Anishinaabemowin narrative. It is possible that such devices develop with age and we should not rule out the possibility that these same speakers might develop such skills in the future; however we must also point out that speakers in the 15-20 age bracket used this construction rather infrequently. Hill (83:271) noted for Tübatulabal that "complex sentence types were acquired by late childhood or early teens" and that "loss of complex sentence types related to stopping speaking the language at schooling age." By and large, 15-20 year old speakers usually do accompany *mii* with a verb in the conjunct mode, there being only a few exceptions in speaker 4's traditional story, however this is clearly not the case for 7-14 year old speakers who often use constructions such as the following... *mii dash miinwaaj gii-gizhide* 'then it got hot again', where an older speaker would use the conjunct form *gaa-gizhideg* .

5.1.3 Conversation

Conversation represents the most common register of Algonquin. Outside of the home and with other native families, there are few opportunities to speak Algonquin.

The language is these settings however is rarely if ever formal, which is a potentially limiting factor in the acquisition of certain vocabulary items and stylistic structures. The following table is largely the same as those in 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 however the category "Discourse Verbs" no longer becomes very relevant. The figures for speakers 6, 9 and 10 are combined from two conversations, one where they were talking amongst themselves and asking each other questions and another where they were playing cards. All other speakers were involved in a card game while this recording was being made. Adults occasionally wandered in and out of the room though never adding more than a few sentences to the discussion.

NO. OF TOKENS OF...	SPEAKER 6	SPEAKER 7	SPEAKER 8	SPEAKER 9	SPEAKER 10	SPEAKER 11	SPEAKER 12
TOTAL V	115	73	78	48	58	31	45
TOTAL C	39 (34%)	5 (7%)	3 (4%)	5 (10%)	12 (21%)	0 (0%)	3 (7%)
Ind V	50 (43%)	42 (58%)	61 (78%)	40 (83%)	38 (66%)	23 (74%)	27 (60%)
IMP V	26	26	14	3	8	8	15
BREAKDOWN OF CONJUNCT VERB USAGE							
MII+GAA+C MII + C TOTAL (MII)	0 1 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 0 1
GAA + C TOTAL (GAA)	23 (23)	5 (5)	1 (1)	2 (3)	8 (8)	0 (0)	1 (2)
GS + C	5	0	0	2	1	0	0
OTHER C	10	0	2	0	3	0	1

The use of the conjunct order is not significantly higher or lower than in other speech genres, though here, unlike in stories, most of the conjunct verbs used were in content questions. Speakers 6 and 10 frequently took on the role of interviewer in the beginning of conversations, resulting in high conjunct counts. In card games certain verbal nouns such as *gaa-nisij awiig* 'killer' and *gaa-miyaawasej* 'king' were frequently used, raising the conjunct verb in *gaa-* count. We would expect the *mii* + conjunct verb construction to be somewhat less frequently employed, though it is occasionally used in conversational language for particular emphasis, e.g. speaker 6 says *mii megaa aya'ii e-oji-maakaadizij gaa-ji-ininan* 'he's showing off for the thing, that's what I would tell you (i.e. what I'm trying to tell you)'. The percentages of conjunct use are lower than in narration, partly due to the fact that large parts of these conversations consist of rapid interchanges involving very short utterances. However, as was noted in 4.3, the *mii* + CV construction was used in dialogue in emphatic utterances by speakers who did not use it in monologue. It is therefore somewhat more difficult to assess these statistics. Though the figures for use of the conjunct here do seem very low, the fact remains that, even if this construction is rarely used as a stylistic narrative device, it does retain a similar function in dialogue.

5.2   Derivational morphology

One possible consequence of register restrictions is that the process of combining bound morphemes to produce new words becomes one part of the language that children have less exposure to and the stock of everyday vocabulary becomes the mainstay of the lexicon. It is however extremely difficult to provide any empirical evidence that certain

morphemes are being used less productively, for how can we test for the absence of a feature especially when the corpus is too small to rule out the possibility of a chance effect? We shall therefore concentrate on the few aspects of derivational morphology where the clearest indications of change are found.

5.2.1 Classifiers and incorporated nouns

There is evidence for a reduction in use of medials, such as classifiers and body parts. Medial classifiers are morphemes that are added to verbs to specify the nature of the object in question, e.g.

gizhide 'it is hot' *gizhaabikide* 'it is hot (of a metal) '
                       gizhigamide 'it is hot (of a liquid)'

In addition to classifiers, body parts may be medials, e.g.

mishaa 'it is big' *michaakonike*   'to have big arms '
                      michaakogaade 'to have big legs '

bakite 'w 'to hit s.o' (e.g. *mbakite 'waa* 'I hit him') *bakitetooge 'w* 'to hit s.o's ear '
                                                            bakitedoone 'w 'to hit s.o's mouth'

Other medials include features of the landscape, such as *–adin-* "hill" and *-gami-* , which in addition to meaning "liquid" may also be used to specifically refer to lakes.

Medials such as the ones above will not always be used where appropriate by younger speakers. In these recordings for example, medials involving numbers such as *nisoobiigan* 'three (for playing cards)' (lit. three written things) and *niswaabik* 'three

dollars' (lit. three <u>mineral/metal things</u>) were not used. I have also heard a parent correct a 15 year old's use of *gizhide* 'it is hot' to *gizhaabikide* 'it is hot (for things mineral/metal)' when referring to a screen door. Another example cannot be said to be grammatically incorrect though it does suggest a certain reluctance to use a body part medial, viz. *ishtigwaan ngii-atoon nibiikaag* 'I put my head in the water' which sounded a little awkward to older speakers who preferred the form *ngii-gidaakwetaa* with the medial *-kwe-* 'head/neck'.

The term "noun incorporation" has been used with some variation in the literature and we do not intend to delve into this issue here. Simply put, noun incorporation involves the placement of a noun inside the verb. There are also some bound morphemes which resemble independent nouns but differ slightly (to some their use does not entail noun incorporation). Here we are looking at noun incorporation in its broadest definition. The following examples involve clothing, though there are different types of nouns that may be incorporated.

biiskan (/biizikan/) 'put s.t on'   *biitakizine*   'to put on <u>shoes</u>' {*makizin* = shoe}
                                          biitazhigane 'to put on <u>socks</u>' {(*nd*)*azhigan* = (my) sock}
                                          biichidaase 'to put on <u>pants</u>' {(n)daas = (my) pants}

A few examples which suggest a decline in usage are shown in the section on substitution and circumlocution (7.1.2) where the forms *zhaashaaginizide* 'to be barefoot' and *zaginijiinidiwag* 'they hold hands' would have been appropriate but were not used. Additional evidence lies in one older speaker's suggestion that clauses such as *aagim ogii-biiska'aan* 'she put on her <u>snowshoes</u>' (speaker 4) would be better rendered with incorporated nouns, in this case as *gii-biitaagime*.

5.2.2 -ige

The –*ige* suffix is a detransitive, i.e. it can be added to a transitive inanimate stem to create an intransitive verb with the meaning 'to do something to things'. Note that a general object is implied in this form of the verb and as such it does not take an overt object. The examples below involve the palatalization of /t/ and /d/ to *ch* and *j* respectively...

mbiinitoon 'I clean it'	*ngiziisabadoon* 'I wash it'	
mbiinichige 'I clean up' /ni–biinit–ige/	*ngiziisabajige* 'I wash up' /ni–giziisabad–ige/	

On several occasions I have heard younger speakers use this suffix in place of the regular *vti* form and accompany it with an object. An example from these recordings is *gii-gichi-baapige e-gizhigaadeg* 'she laughed a great deal that it got hot'. An older speaker pointed out that this sentence seemed a little unusual, suggesting the form *ogii-gichi-baapitoon e-gizhigaadenig*[1]. As there is a complement clause (*e-gizhigaade(ni)g* 'that it got hot'), older speakers prefer to use a transitive verb, in this case the vti *baapitoon* 'to laugh at something'. Younger speakers, on the other hand, often prefer the –*ige* construction in similar situations. The interesting thing to note here is that the detransifier is not added to the *vti* stem /baapit-/ (which would give the form *baapichige*), but rather seems to be constructed on the intransitive verb *baapi*. This suggests that –*ige* is no longer being used to detransify, but in fact now serves to create transitive forms from intransitives. The "transitive" verb thus formed however remains morphologically intransitive, i.e. it is not inflected for an object. This is not entirely

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[1] The -*ni* suffix inserted here (underlined) is an obviative suffix used on vii verbs in proximity to an animate third person. This is another example of the declining use of obviation under grammatical rule (see 6.2)

without precedent in Anishinaabemowin since there are some intransitive verbs that may take objects, often referred to as vai + o (vai + object), e.g. *adaawe* 'to sell' ('to buy' in some other dialects) and *minikwe* 'to drink' are morphologically intransitive though they may take an object, e.g. *nibii minikwen* 'drink water!'.

5.3   Inflectional morphology

Simplification of verbal systems has been described in some detail in situations of language loss (for example Hill 1989:149 , Silva-Corvalan 1991 and Maher 1991). In this case, we have not found that any areas of verbal morphology have merged or fallen into disuse, nor do we find any examples of "category leveling" or other types of leveling (Seliger and Vago 1991), though there are some reduction in usage of certain forms and occasional inconsistencies in verbal inflections.

5.3.1 Plural marking

The endings on verbs that indicate a plural subject or object are not always consistently used by younger speakers. Sometimes the pronoun *gii'endog* 'they' is used to clarify a third person plural subject where the normal verbal inflection is not used, e.g. *gaan gii'endog ngii-oji-waabamigosii* was used in place of *gaan ngii-oji-waabamigosiig* 'they didn't see me'. There are in fact a number of instances where third person singular forms replace plural forms in these recordings, e.g. *moko ogii-nisaan* for *ogii-nisaawaan* 'they killed a bear', *odinaan* for *odinaawaan* 'they said to her', *gii-gobajiinaaganii* for

gii-bagojiinaaganiiwag 'they were gutted', *moko ogii-bakonaan* for *ogii-bakonaawaan* 'they skinned the bear' and *anniversary ogii-dayaa* for *ogii-(d)ayaanaawaa* 'they had an anniversay' (in all cases context clearly indicated a plural subject). Note that the form *ogii-nisaan* can in fact have two meanings, viz. 's/he killed him/her' or 's/he killed them', likewise *ogii-nisaawaan* can mean 'they killed him/her' or 'they killed them'. This is because Algonquin does not distinguish between obviative singular and plural. Since third person forms do not always mark plurality, we may view the seeming reduction in the use of the *–aawaan* ending as an extension of the inherent ambiguity in certain verb forms involving third person plural objects, i.e. this ambiguity is being extended to subjects and where clarification is necessary a pronoun is used. Thus we seem to be witnessing less reliance on verbal morphology and more on context and overt nouns and pronouns[1].

Third person plural endings in the conjunct order also show some sign of a decrease in usage, the third person intransitive plural ending *–waaj* occasionally being replaced by the third person singular ending *-j*. Here we find examples such as *gaa-maakizij abinoojiishag* as opposed to *gaa-maakiziwaaj* 'the handicapped children'. In certain cases it appears that *–waaj* is replaced by its counterpart in the independent order *–wag*, e.g. *aadi dash ezhinikaazog* 'what are their names', *gaa-izhi-nibaa'ag* 'where they slept' rather than *ezhinikaazowaaj* and *nibaawaaj* respectively. This replacement of conjunct endings with independent ones further suggests uncertainty of third person plural forms.

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[1] It is interesting to consider that some forms in the vta paradigm do not distinguish between singular and plural participants, e.g. *giwaabamizhinaam* 'you see us' or 'you (pl) see us'. Thus, it seems that the process of reducing plural marking on verbs is an ongoing one, which began some time ago.

Finally, young speakers occasionally replace a transitive suffix with an intransitive one, e.g. *ngii-nda-nisaamin* 'we went to kill him', where the first person plural intransitive suffix *-min* has been added to a transitive verb stem marked for a singular animate object (with a transitive meaning), i.e. *ngii-nisaa* 'I killed him' *ngii-nisaanaan* 'we (excl) killed him'. Another example involves a seeming mix up between inclusive and exclusive forms, e.g. *giin maamwii A ngii-bakinaagemin* 'you and A, we won' where the inclusion of the second person pronoun *giin* suggests that the inclusive form *gigii-bakinaagemin* should be used here. Though these few examples do not construe a merging or leveling of categories, there does seem to be occasional reluctance to use plural endings, these usually being longer and more "complicated" (i.e. involve more morphemes) than the singular forms. I have not noted any similar patterns in adult speech, though there is some precedent for this in that there are forms where the plurality of an inanimate object is not marked, e.g. *ozhitoonaawaa* 'they made it/them'.

5.3.2 Use of subordinators and the conjunct order

Having already noted a decline in usage of the conjunct order (see 5.1 above), we might expect that this be accompanied by examples of inconsistent conjunct morphology. For the most part we do find that the correct conjunct forms are usually applied, however there remain a few areas where conjunct endings are sometimes ignored or irregularly formed, viz. after a general subordinator such as *gida-* and *giji-*, in content questions and after the relativizer *gaa-*.

The phenomenon of using a subordinator but not accompanying it with a conjunct ending is especially noticeable in the third person (though not unique to it). The resulting verb form corresponds to the normal third person singular independent form. In the following examples the omitted ending is added in brackets...

agwaa sa wiijigoo omaa gida-biidige(j)	'or else wiidigoo will come in here'
ogii-forcei'ogoon giji-minikwe(j)	'she forced her to drink'
gida-gimoodi(yin)	'(even) that you steal'

In another example a young speaker seems to merge conjunct and independent forms, producing a verb in the independent mode with what seems to be the subordinator *gida-* between the prefix and the stem. *ngii-waabamaag edi ogida-baapaasidoon ayii waasanjigan* 'I saw them breaking that window there'. A verb in the conjunct mode would have been more appropriate in this case. There are other occasions where we would expect a verb in the conjunct but don't see the appropriate endings, e.g. *joker ashi giintam dash a-gii-izise* 'put the joker so it will be your turn.'

Other examples involving conjunct forms in *gaa-* or in wh questions include...

gaa-ishkwaataa(g) that class	'when that class finished'
aanen gii-baapi(j)	'who laughed?'
aadi gii-izhaa(j)	'where did he go?'

The last two examples also show a lack of initial change (see 2.6.1), i.e. the past tense marker *gii-* should change to *gaa-* in these cases. Sometimes independent verbs are used where context suggest that a verb in the changed conjunct is required, such as in a relative clause, e.g. *naazh dash ogii-dayaan twins gichi-maakiziwag* 'then she had twins (who) were very handicapped', where we would expect the form *gaa-gichi-*

maakiziwaaj . It should be noted however that initial change, with the exception of the past tense marker *gii- > gaa-* , seems quite infrequent even in adult speech. The distinction between conjunct and independent morphology in the preterit mode is also evident in young speech. In the following example, we would expect a subordinate clause and therefore the preterit form *ezhinikaazopan* . However, possibly because of the stacking of main clauses (see 5.1), we see the independent form, viz. *weshkaj abiiban anishinaabe izhinikaazooban A* 'Long ago there was an Anishinaabe called A'[1]

Finally there is one example where a young speaker uses the conjunct order but the resulting form is slightly incorrect because they use a class marker (*-m-*) which is not appropriate for the chosen verb, e.g. *minikwemin* as opposed to *minikweyin* 'that you drink'. It follows that if the conjunct forms are used less they are more likely to show errors, as demonstrated in these examples.

5.3.3 Negative inflection

The emphatic particle *inige 'i* , which shortens to *nge 'i* and *nge* , is used when disagreeing with a prior statement and can be translated roughly as "No, that's not true!". Especially in its contracted form, it is used in place of the negator *gaawiin / gaa* , though I have only heard this form from younger speakers. The use of more emphatic forms in place of more common constructions that do not convey particularly strong emphasis is

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[1]   There are two other points to note here. Firstly an older speaker commented that it was highly unusual to place the compliment of the verb *izhinikaazo* before it, i.e. the usual word order would be *A izhinikaazo* 'he is called A' and secondly, that the form *anishinaabe* is used despite the fact that the person being referred to is a woman, usually requiring the form *anishinaabekwe* 'Anishinaabe woman'.

well documented in many languages, in the case of *nge 'i* , emphasis in this usage seems to be already lost[1].

Perhaps corresponding to the increase in the use of *inige 'i* , there are several cases where the negative suffix *-sii* has been omitted. It is perhaps interesting to note that there is no negative inflection in the conjunct order in Algonquin unlike in some other dialects of Anishinaabemowin and that some other Algonquian languages such as Cree do not retain any negative inflections. In the conjunct order, Algonquin relies on particles to express negation and in that sense it does not seem at all unusual that younger speakers of Algonquin use the emphatic negative particle without negative inflection. In the following examples from these recordings, the omitted negative inflection is added in brackets.

nge 'i ngashkitoo(sii)n 'I can't'
nge 'i gigashkitoo(sii)n 'you can't'
nge 'i ogashkitoo(sii)n 'he can't'
nge 'i miswaaj ndayaa(sii)n 'I don't have it'
nge 'i doodamin {dood(ke)n} 'don't do it!'
gaan ngiigooske(sii) 'I didn't fish'

The last example involves the negator *gaan* rather than the emphatic negative particle *inige 'i* , suggesting a certain spread in the omission of *-sii*. It should be pointed out here that there are other examples where the same speakers used the *inige 'i* particle with negative inflection, e.g. *nge 'i minosesinoon* 'it doesn't work', *nge 'i oditimigosiin*

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[1]   An interesting parallel in this case is the use of "no way" as a negator in Nth American English (particularly by younger speakers) as in "No way he did it!".

'they didn't listen to her' etc. In the penultimate example *nge'i* is used with a negative imperative meaning (see 5.3.4 below).

5.3.4 Imperatives

Generally speaking, the imperative is not a structure which involves a great deal of morphological complexity, however *vta* verbs (see 2.6) often show morphophonemic variance when compared with independent verbs[1], e.g. *nganoonaa* 'I call him/her' but *ganoozh* 'call him!' There are a few examples from these recordings where the imperative forms of transitive verbs were not used correctly, e.g.

gaa maajibatooken awdi	for	*gaa maajii'onaaken* 'don't take it (that card) away'
giin giinshike ashamaazhin	for	*ashamidizon* 'feed yourself'

The literal meaning of the first example is 'don't run away, that one', i.e. the speaker has used an intransitive form and added an overt object (see also 5.2.3 and 5.3.6 example vi). In this case the object referred to was *ataawgan* 'playing card' which is animate, thus the *vta maajii'oN* is required. The second example occurred where one participant in a narration said to another *ashamaazhin* 'feed me!', to which the intended reply was "feed yourself!", however rather than use the reflexive suffix *–dizo-* , the speaker repeated the verb form and used pronouns to clarify (see 5.3.1).

There is one example where a young speaker does not use the negative imperative ending at all, e.g. *gaan daanaa wezhige* for *gaan daanaa wezhigeken* 'don't cheat now'.

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[1] Note that speaker three used the form *maajiinzhaaganii* 'he was taken away' where both the *n* and the *zh* allomorphs are present together. The consonant that shows such change in these verbs is written with a final capital letter in dictionary citation form, e.g. *ganooN-* (n-zh) , *niS-* (s-sh) 'to kill s.o' etc.

The plural form of the imperatives also shows some signs of decreased usage, speakers often used singular imperative forms such as *abin* 'be quiet/ sit still!' and *gaa dood(a)ken* 'don't do that' where it seems from context that they were talking to more than one speaker (i.e. where the forms *abig* and *gaa dood(a)keg* would be used). Once again, it may transpire that English has some influence here since English does not distinguish between second person singular and plural, however we have not noted a merging of second person singular and plural in any other constructions, these examples coinciding with a general reduction in plural marking on verbs (5.3.1).

5.3.5 –(a)n

The *-(a)n* referred to here is a verbal suffix that indicates an obviative argument or of an inanimate object. In addition there is another morpheme *–n* that is used in negative passive x-1 and x-2 forms, helping to distinguish these from the inverse 3-1 and 3-2 forms, e.g. *niwaabamigoosiin* 'I am not seen' but *niwaabamigosii* 'he doesn't see me'. These suffixes are often used in first and second person forms by younger speakers in both transitive and intransitive constructions where normally it would not be present. Examples from the recordings include *ginisaan* 'you kill him' and *gaan dash ndazhi-oji-waamigosiin* 'he didn't see me there'.

Some younger speakers use such forms with considerable frequency and in many environments. Most of the young speakers I interviewed did not distinguish between the passive x-1/2 and 3-1/2 forms given above, although there is considerable difficulty eliciting this distinction since the meanings are similar enough to become blurred out of

context. It is in fact very difficult to know exactly when one of these forms or the other is intended, though in these recordings most of the younger speakers always used the forms in -*n*.

In addition to being extended into new environments, -*n* is also sometimes deleted in 3-3' forms, especially where the personal prefix has been omitted. Some examples of this are shown in 5.3.7. below, the missing obviative ending and personal prefix are supplied in brackets here... (*o*)*gii-wiiji'aa*(*n*)[1]. 'she went with him', (*o*)*gii-gichi-zaagiyaa*(*n*) 'he really liked her' (from iv) and (*o*)*gii-bisabwaa*(*n*) 'she slapped him' (from v). What this simultaneous extension and omission suggests is that this morpheme might no longer be interpreted as a marker of obviation but rather as some sort of verb ending used with intransitives that is void of meaning.

5.3.6 The inverse

The interaction between the first and a third person (1-3 and 3-1) was very common in the narratives of everyday events and in those recordings the speakers made frequent use of 3-1 inverse forms. The invented stories and traditional stories all involve the interaction between different third persons, however what we find is a reluctance to use the inverse forms in the recordings of many younger speakers (see 2.6.1 for when the inverse applies). This is probably linked to the lack of obviation (see 6.2), especially on English names (see 6.1). In the following examples, the underlined verbs are direct (examples 1-5), intransitive (example vi) or passive (example vii), where an inverse form seems to be called for. Letters stand for personal names, all without overt obviation.

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[1]   Such forms interestingly resemble the third person passive forms in other dialects such as Saulteaux.

i) *naazh dash A gii-gichi-bisabwaan a'a B, naazh dash B ogii-bisabwaan gokii*
'then A slapped B hard, then B slapped her back'

ii) *naazh dash A ogii-wiiji'aan B naazh dash B ogii-jiimaan A*
'then A went with B then B kissed A'

iii) *naazh dash A gichi-bisabwaan B, gichi-bisabwaan shij A*
'then A slapped B hard, he also slapped A hard'

iv) *naazh dash A okii gii-wiiji'aa B, ashij C gii-biizhaa, C gii-gichi-zaagi'aa A*
'then A went back with B, then C came, C liked A very much'

v) *naazh dash A gii-biizhaa; B gii-bisabwaa A* 'then A came, B slapped A

vi) *naazh dash A dash gii-gichi-(wii)staazimaagozi apiich ozaam skunk gii-sprayo*
'then A made a lot of noise after because a skunk sprayed (her)

vii) *A gii-dazhi-odaminwaage maamwii mokonan naazh dash gii-gaaskibinaaganii A*
'A was playing there with the bear then A got scratched'

In all these examples the agent or transitive subject in the first clause becomes the patient in the second. Normally in Algonquin discourse this would require a verb in the inverse since one Np would be proximate and the other obviative (see 6.2), e.g. example i might become *naazh dash A gichi-bisabwaan B-an, gichi-bisabaagoon ashij*, i.e. if B were marked obviative (shown by *-an* here) the inverse would be used to show that s/he was the agent in the second clause. This is not the case in any of these examples, where the inverse is somewhat conspicuous by its absence. In examples **i - vi** we see the use of overt nouns in a preverbal position to signal the role of agent; the patient appears post verbally in **vii** and in this case is the only overt noun in the clause. (see also 6.2). In **vi**, an intransitive verb *sprayo* is used and the patient ('her') implied. Note also that examples **iii** and **iv** lack personal prefixes and that **v** lacks both a personal prefix and the verb final obviative marker *-an*, thereby almost looking intransitive. In **vii**, where we see another vai + o construction, viz *odaminwaage* 'to play with things', *mokonan*

'the bear' is obviated (though in a morphophonemically innovative manner, see 3.5.1) however when it becomes the implied agent of the second clause 'A got scratched' we see the passive used rather than the inverse. The passive is most commonly used in situations where the agent is unknown or irrelevant to the discourse; however in this case, the pet bear is both known and relevant. It is certainly not incorrect to use the passive here, yet it is interesting that, even though the bear is clearly the agent, we find a passive construction preferred to an inverse one. Thus, in place of inverse morphology, what we see here is that when two or more third persons are involved, there is a reliance on context and word order to clarify agent and patient roles. These examples suggest that the morphological marking of transitivity might be one area where we should look for changing patterns of usage in the future.

5.4 Verbless clauses

Considering the strongly verbal nature of Anishinaabemowin, the use of phrases without a verb where we might expect one, or at least where translation into English usually requires a verb, are interesting to note. Older speakers do use verbless sentences, in fact "such constructions are reasonably common in both monologue and dialogue" (Rhodes 1986:1). Rhodes (1986:1) divides these into two types, viz. predicative and non-predicative. Rhodes states that "the only common types of non-predicative adverbials are modal and temporal" (1986:2) and that "clauses not containing predicative adverbials are either equative or existential"[1]. This is the case for the last three examples below,

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[1] Rhodes equative clauses however usually involve demonstratives and never two participants, such as the type used by speaker one *mii a 'a nishiimezhiban* 'that was my late younger brother'.

however it is not the case in the first five examples, which imply action or movement, a type of nominal sentence not commented on by Rhodes. I have not yet found any such "nominal action sentences" from older speakers. In the following examples from the recordings, a verb has been supplied in brackets in the translation.

A dash agwajiig 'A (went) outside'

maamwii shij A name 'and A (got) a sturgeon'

A dash godag awezh noopimig 'A (went to) another place in the bush'

A bezhig, niizhin dash wiin B 'One (was called) A, the second (lit. "two") B'

A gichi-namebin, B niizhin namebin 'A (got) a big sucker, B (got) two suckers'

sixty seven ayaa A, niin dash sixty one 'A (was) 67 and I (was) 61' (invented story)

A dash odoogaasiman B 'A's boyfriend (was) B'

wezh gichi-ginezh dash imaa geyaabaj ayaa wiidigoo
    'that wiidigoo (was) still there for a long time'

Of these examples, only the last one (from speaker 4) resembles the way in which speaker 1 uses verbless clauses, e.g. *nimakawinan dash e-maajiinizhij njoojoo, nibaaganikaag geyaabaj* 'I remember when my mother sent me away, <u>still on the bed</u>', though in this case, the verbless clause is clearly subordinate. A similar phenomenon is the absence of discourse verb (such as *iN-* 'to say to s.o' or *ikido* 'to say') to introduce a direct quotation. Discourse verbs may occur before or after the quotation or both, a technique called "framing", which is common amongst older speakers. Younger speakers do use these techniques in these recordings, however we also find another technique, (which I have not heard from older speakers) viz. an overt noun phrase, optionally followed by *dash* (seemingly constituting a prosodic phrase), a short pause and then the quotation (as in the first two examples below). If the nominal is not overt and a discourse verb is not used, the use of direct speech is signaled prosodically (as in

latter examples). The prosodical marking of direct speech is certainly not an innovation, though the subsequent "omission" of a discourse verb does seem to be. Examples from these recordings include...

A dash "aaw biizhaan" 'A (said) "come on"'
"maajaan agwajiig" (he said) "get outside"
"biizhaan A" (she said) "come here A"
naazh dash A "aaaah" then A (said) "aaaah"
"ooh A" "ooh A" (said B)
"waa boy, gegaad ngii-baaskoogoo" "waaa boy, I was nearly struck" (he said)
awdi dash ininii shij ikwe *"ganenim gishiimezhag"*
       'that man and woman (said) "look after your younger siblings!"'
"A gii-baaskwaaganii" "A was struck" (he said)

Younger speakers use similar sentences quite frequently and it would appear that it is a narrative technique designed to create variety. Unfortunately, I have not recorded enough adult speakers to know how frequently they use this technique, if at all. There are no examples from older speakers in these recordings, though there are instances where the discourse verb comes only after the quotation.

The last example is also interesting for another reason. "A was struck (by lightening)" is the reaction of one of the participants in a story upon seeing blood on the ground. Since this character has not yet seen A but is relying on material evidence, it would be usual to use the dubitative mode here, viz. *gii-baaskwaaganiidog* 'he must have been struck'. In all the recordings I made of 7-20 year old speakers there are no examples of the dubitative even in situation like the above where it would be applicable. The few narratives I have collected from older speakers unfortunately do not contain any

circumstances where the dubitative would be appropriate except for in speaker 3's text where the preterit dubitative (see 2.6) is used, e.g. *Noah's ark izhinikaadenigoban* "it must have been called Noah's ark". Interestingly, younger speakers frequently set their stories in a remote time with the use of the particle *weshkaj* 'long ago', this often being echoed with the use of the preterit mode, however the preterit dubitative mode was never used here. Though it is difficult to make any strong assertion on the basis of negative evidence, there does seem to be a marked decline in the use of the dubitative, often being replaced by particles such as *goni* and *gonimaa* 'maybe' followed by a verb in the indicative, an example of this is found a few clauses later in the recording, viz. *A goni gii-baaskwaaganii* 'A maybe was struck'. It is also interesting to note that, whilst dubitative particles (see 2.7) are used, by far the most frequent is *aadidog* which for younger speakers can mean 'wherever', 'whatever', 'however' and 'whenever', e.g.

A: *apiich* 'When?'

B: *aadidog* 'I don't know when.'

In this case, an older speaker would almost invariably reply using *apiichidog* 'I don't know when.'

6.   Use of nouns

Nouns do not show nearly as much morphological complexity in Anishinaabemowin as do verbs. The most striking areas of change in noun morphology relates to the use of obviation, which may well in fact be related to changes in word order and the large number of overt nouns found in the recordings of younger speakers. Change in other areas is minimal and often seems to be connected with specific lexical items.

6.1   Personal names

It has been noted that personal names in threatened languages tend to be replaced by the names of the dominant language. This is probably mostly due to the necessity of functioning socially outside the native community. English and French names are used a great deal in these recordings, however only speakers older than 15 used English names which had been phonologically integrated, e.g. *Choojan* 'Susanne' , *Ginichi* 'Kristine' and *Nyaaz* 'Ignace'. Younger speakers did occasionally use the Algonquin names of some of their relatives, e.g. *Daanish* 'Daughter', and in fact many older family members were only ever identified by their Algonquin names, a few by both. Though nearly all members of this extended family do have Algonquin names, no children under 15 were ever referred to or addressed by them in these recordings[1].

Most examples of personal names used by older speakers in these recordings were nativized and inflectional morphology was used where appropriate on both Algonquin

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[1]   The one exception is from a speaker in the 10 - 14 year old bracket who introduced herself by using all her names, including her name in Algonquin.

names and English names, whether these had a nativized pronunciation or not, e.g.
Maaniyan 'Mary (obv)', *Floraban* 'the late Flora'. Speakers in the 15-20 age bracket did
use inflectional morphology on nativized English names, e.g. *Nyaazkaag* 'on Nyaas',
Ginichiban 'the late Kristine', though perhaps interestingly they never used the obviative
suffix on names even in cases where it would seem appropriate (see 6.2 below). No
speaker in the age group 7-20, however, ever used any Algonquin inflectional morphology
on English names that had not been phonologically integrated. Thus, the general trend
towards using English names in this community may in fact play a role in the reduction of
nominal, and, perhaps by extension, verbal inflectional morphology.

6.2   Obviation

There is evidence in these recordings for a declining usage of obviation. In
addition to the lack of obviation on English personal names, the obviative suffix may also
be omitted from Algonquin nouns. In the recordings of younger speakers, unlike in those
of their elders, we find a high frequency of overt nouns in both the agent and patient roles,
participants being named one after the other with no proximate/obviative distinction. The
lack of obviative marking on nominals means that the roles of agent and patient will not be
clear, except perhaps by context. For this reason we notice a strong trend towards using
word order as a means of clarifying thematic roles, in particular a high percentage of SVO
word order. This is probably also partly responsible for the lack of inverse morphology
(see 5.3.6). Since so little is understood about word order in Anishinaabemowin, we will

not discuss changing word order trends in depth, rather, it is hoped that the few trends noted here will encourage further study in this area.

When an animate noun is possessed by a third person there is a grammatical requirement that it be obviated (see 2.5), e.g. *ndaanis* 'my daughter', *odaanisan* 'his/her daughter'. There are several examples from the texts where this condition is not met, e.g. *odaadaa* (for *odaadaaman*) 'his father', *oshiimezhag* (for *oshiimezhan*) 'her younger siblings' and *oniijaandishag* (for *oniijaanisan* / *oniijaandishan*) 'her children'. It should be noted however that the same speakers who produced the above forms do also produce the obviated forms on occasion. It is possible to omit personal prefixes on dependant nouns in Algonquin but usually only in the first person. In this text we have examples such as *shiimesh gii-biizhaa* 'his brother came' (for *oshiimeshan gii-biizhaanwan*), where the personal prefix and the obviative marking on both the noun and the verb are omitted, though the deletion of personal prefixes might be for phonetic reasons (see 3.4).

Obviation is correctly marked in a number of cases, however this is clearly not the case in the following examples, obviated forms supplied in brackets...

i)	*ikwesiisag ogii-maajii 'onaan* (*ikwesiisan*)	'he took the girls away'
ii)	*maamwi shij A name* (*namewan*)	'and A (got) a sturgeon'
iii)	*moko ogii-nisaan* (*mokoon*)	'he killed a bear'
iv)	*ogii-nisaan gichi-ayaabe* (*ayaaben*)	'he killed a big bull moose'

In example **i** the verb form tells us that the subject is singular, which rules out the possibility that *ikwesiisag* 'the girls' be the subject here, despite the fact that they are morphologically proximate. However, in Algonquin, this verb form does not specify

whether the object is singular or plural and it might be for this reason that the object here *ikwesiisag* is marked plural rather than obviative (consider the forms *oshiimezhag* 'her younger siblings' and *oniijaandishag* 'her children' cited above). Considering the tendency noted in 5.3.6 to avoid inverse marking and the accompanying decrease in obviative marking on nominals, there seems to be a change in category relationships emerging whereby plural marking, on nominals at least (in 5.3.1 we discuss lack of plural marking in verbal morphology), is taking a new priority over obviation.

In example **ii** there are two adjacent animate nouns, neither of which is obviated, this being quite a common type of construction in these texts. In this case we know that A had gone fishing and the context makes it clear that he must be the agent. In **iii**, at first glance it would appear that *mako* 'the bear' is the agent and that the sentence reads, "the bear killed him". However it becomes clear as the story develops that this is not the case and the speaker, when listening to the tape, translated this without hesitation as 'he killed the bear'. Once again context provides us with clues, though this example is one of many where, if there are a human and a non-human participant, the human is assumed to be the agent and the non-human patient (since we are dealing with a direct verb form) is not marked as obviative. This assumption that human protagonists be proximate is in keeping with traditional story telling techniques in the sense that all these stories are about people. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis in a story where an animal is the main character.

Example **iv** is virtually the same situation as example **iii**, however it represents a type of sentence that is even more common in these texts, viz. where the unobviated patient directly follows the verb, i.e. there is a VO word order. In examples **iii** and **iv** the

fact that the bear and the bull moose are non-human might account for this variation in word order; however, a glance at the examples listed in 5.3.6 clearly shows the strong tendency for an SVO word order when there are two human participants. The SVO word order in these examples is by far the most common word order when neither noun is obviated, as is always the case with English personal names. When there are Algonquin nouns with human reference one of these is usually obviated (with a few exceptions) and word order is variable, in the following examples, the first is OV , whilst the second is VO and the last two SVO.

ikwesiisan ogii-noosne 'aan	'he chased a girl'
A gii-midido gewiin; ogii-nisenimaa shkinwenan	'A grew up too; she fell in love with a boy'
A ogii naapikaaji 'aan awdi ikwesiisan	'A teased that girl'
A ogii-maajiinaan gaa-maakizij abinoojiishan	'A took the handicapped children away'

There are a number of exceptions to the above generalizations and it remains clear that word order in the speech of young Anishinaabe is an area in need of more research. The possibility that obviation is being used an some kind of accusative case marker cannot be ruled out here either, since we find almost no examples in the recordings made by younger speakers of an obviated noun acting as a transitive agent (which would require inverse marking). There do seem to be trends emerging but closer examination is required before any significant conclusions can be made as to what aspects of word order might be motivated by language specific facts and where the dominant language might show signs of influence.

6.3   Other inflectional morphology

Unlike verbs, there are a few instances where nominals are not marked as plural. The only example I can find where plurality is implied by context but not morphologically marked is *gitaawgan* for *gitaawganag* 'your cards'. Nominals preceded by numerals will not always be marked as plural, e.g. *niizhin namebin* (*namebinag*) 'two suckers', though even much older speakers often use the singular forms of nouns when preceded by a numeral. For the most part however plurality is usually marked on nouns, in fact there are a number of instances noted in 5.3.2 where the plurality is only marked on the noun or pronoun and not on the accompanying verb, e.g. *abinoojiishag gaa-maakizij* (*maakizhwaaj*) and *gaan gii'endog ngii-oji-waabamigosii* (*ngii-waabamigosiig*) 'they didn't see me' etc. Other examples include the verb *maane* which is also used as a particle even by middle aged speakers[1], since in such cases it shows no inflection, e.g. *maane anishinaabeg* (*maanewag*) 'many Anishinaabe'. As is shown by these examples, plurality is one area where agreement between nouns and verbs is being suspended.

The *–(i)g* locative, which older speakers distinguish from the *–(i)kaag* locative (see 2.8.4.2) is rarely used in younger speech. In fact, a similar situation occurs in Severn where *–(i)kaag* seems to be replacing *–(i)g* (J. Nichols, personal communication). Though *–(i)g* is still used by younger speakers, it is generally restricted to place names where the locative forms part of the name, e.g. *gitigaanig* 'Rapid Lake'. *–(i)g* is also used on a few place names where it is not a part of the word, viz. *gitigaan ziibii* 'River

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[1] The usage of *maane* as both a particle and a verb may in fact be quite old since it is used in similar ways in the Fox group (P. Vorhis personal communiation).

Desert/Maniwaki' > *gitigaan ziibiig* 'at River Desert/Maniwaki' and *odaawaa* 'Ottawa' > *odaawaag* 'in Ottawa'.

Though the –*(i)kaag* locative is used on a few English nouns (see 8.2.1), we rarely see a locative used on an English place name, e.g. the same speaker used the form *ngii-nda-gikinaamaagozinan Maniwaki* 'I went to school in Maniwaki' (though the word Maniwaki is Algonquin in origin) but later *gitigaan ziibiig ngii-izhaa* 'I went to Maniwaki'.

Finally, of the various forms of the diminutive, younger speakers almost invariably use the forms –*shesh* or -*chech* as opposed to –*esh* which is more common in older speech, e.g. *odaabaanshesh* (as opposed to *odaabaanesh*) 'little car'. Younger speakers also use the diminutive suffix on animal names in place of special forms relevant to age that are used with certain animals, e.g. *amikoshesh* for *wiinishesh* 'baby beaver'.

6.4 Discontinuous noun phrases

Since discontinuous noun phrases (i.e. where other parts of a sentence are placed between a noun and its modifier) are rare in English, if we assume the influence of the dominant language we might predict that they would not be found in the speech of young Algonquins. Algonquin allows for both continuous and discontinuous noun phrases and it would be somewhat difficult to establish the relative frequency of each type. Though the majority of nouns in these recordings are adjacent to their qualifiers (especially with demonstratives), we do see younger speakers using discontinuous noun phrases as well,

including some with English nouns and Algonquin modifiers. The noun and its modifier are underlined in the following examples...

godag dash ogii-wiiji 'aan skinwejan   'she went with another boy'

half an hour ngii-dayaan gaabaj   'I had half an hour more'

A dash bagii gewiin gii-ishkwaaganii omiigwaam   'A's house too was burnt a little'

Note that in the above _gewiin_ 'him too' modifies the noun _A_ and not the verb.

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7.   LEXICAL REDUCTION AND EXTERNAL LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES

The influence of English is usually the first thing that speakers mention when asked about structural and lexical changes in their native language. Though this influence can not account for all the changes observed here thus far, we do find that its presence is felt, especially with regard to the lexicon.

7.1   The Algonquin Lexicon

The lexicon is said to be one of the first areas to show signs of "language decay". There are several reasons for this: firstly, it is usually easier to borrow vocabulary items for newly introduced technology than to create them; secondly, the lexicon is more specified than the grammar and as such more vulnerable, i.e. individual lexical items are used in a limited number of contexts as opposed to a more general area such as the phonological system which is applied every time the language is used; and finally, if more formal registers become restricted in usage, the vocabulary associated with these will not be learnt. The effects of the above are compounded by the fact that lexical items, unlike morphology and syntax, are learnt by high exposure and that the lexicon continues to be acquired throughout one's life, though some studies have suggested that the bulk of it is acquired by the time a child is seven or eight years old. Thus if children commence schooling in another language at the age of five to six, as is the case for Algonquin children, their acquisition of the lexicon of their first language will be interrupted to a certain extent.

Many speakers have suggested to me that the traditional Anishinaabemowin lexicon is based around life in the bush and that drift away from a traditional life style necessitates a certain loss of vocabulary. Examples of this include words related to the fabrication of items of material culture such as clothing, canoes, snowshoes and other crafts as well as terminology related to hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering (of medicine plants etc.) in a traditional manner. However, in addition to the loss of such words, there are also many other areas of the lexicon that show signs of significant change.

7.1.1 Extension

Certain words show extension in meaning or usage, a process that is certainly not restricted to Algonquin. Younger speakers in particular, though also somewhat older speakers, utter certain words with great regularity, often at the expense of other items of vocabulary that seem to be rapidly declining in usage, e.g. *wii-minikwe* (lit. 'to want to drink') is used with the meaning 'to be thirsty' instead of *mbaagwe*; most children and teenagers I had the chance to interview were in fact unable to produce this latter form. The word *mino-(bi)maadizi* literally means 'to be well' however it has the additional meaning of 'to get better' or 'to be cured' (also used in this way by older speakers), in fact in these recordings one young speaker used this word to mean "survive". This extension in meaning seems to have resulted in the decline of the word *giige* 'to heal/ be cured', which, once again, was not known by many younger speakers with whom I spoke. The word *gibide* meaning 'to get off (a vehicle etc.)' is now rarely used but is being

replaced by *gabaa* . For younger speakers the word *giigooske* (/giigoozike/) has the very general meaning of 'to fish', whereas older speakers use different words for different types of fishing, e.g. *gwaashkwenaabii* 'to fish with a line', *bagidawaa* 'to set a net' etc. For older speakers *giigooske* in fact means 'to process fish' i.e. to gut, scale, clean and cook or smoke it etc. Thus we see a more general term replacing specific vocabulary items. In a similar vain, the word *aadi* (corresponding to *aandi*), which means 'where' in most dialects, has been extended in Algonquin to mean 'where, how or what'[1]. Older speakers also use *aadi* in this way but in general prefer more specific terms. Finally, younger speakers frequently use the word *ayaan* 'to have s.t' with the meaning 'to buy s.t' in place of *giishpidoon*, though I have also heard older speakers using *ayaan* with this meaning.

In addition to the above there are occasional slight adjustments in meaning of words. One example from the texts was the word *niibwii* ' which means 'to marry s.o to s.o' but which was used with the meaning 'to marry s.o' by younger speakers.

7.1.2 Substitution and circumlocution

Speakers who are uncertain of a particular item of vocabulary may substitute a more general word for the concept, e.g. one young speaker used the form *mitigkaag gii-izhaa* 'she went to a tree' when she clearly meant 'she climbed a tree', presumably because she was uncertain of the word *akwaade* 'to climb'. Another uses the form *giwii-noodaagonaan* 'he wants to hear us' because, as she admitted, she couldn't think of the word for 'record' (*bisesim* 'to record s.o'). The most common means of avoiding

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[1] Sometimes a similar pattern occurs in English also, e.g. "What do you say this in Indian?"

unknown vocabulary items is of course borrowing from English or French, discussed in 7.2 below.

In addition, speakers sometimes make rather lengthy circumlocutions when they are unsure of a certain vocabulary item in Anishinaabemowin. Two interesting examples from the text are *ngii-oji-odayaasiinaanaan dazhigan goni makizin* , literally 'I had no socks or shoes' with the intended meaning *ngii-zhaashaaginizide* 'I was barefoot' and *gii-mijimaakwii daabishkooj gaa-niibwiiwaaj awiig, i'eni onijii gaa-doodamwaaj,* literally 'he held on like someone who is married, that's what they did with their hands' with the intended meaning *gii-zaginijiinidiwag* 'they held hands'. These examples may suggest a certain inability to use medials (see 5.2.1).

7.1.3 Interference

Even when they are not codeswitching, speakers' lexicons may be influenced by English. One example of this is in Algonquin kin terms. One notable example from these recordings is the use of the word *nishiimezh* 'my younger sibling'. This word does not distinguish for sex in Algonquin (English of course distinguishes for sex but not for age relationship). One speaker who has three younger siblings, two younger sisters and a younger brother, said *ndayaa niizhin nishiimes, bezhig shk...* 'I have two younger siblings, one...' where she is about to use the word *shkinwe* 'boy' to distinguish the gender. It would appear that an English kin system is in use here, and that what she is trying to say is "I have two younger sisters and one younger brother", i.e. she has reinterpreted *nishiimezh* as meaning "my younger sister". Another speaker used *nimises*

'my elder sister' to mean 'my elder brother', suggesting a certain vagueness with the age specific Algonquin terms. The superimposition of an English kin system over the very different traditional Algonquin one, can be observed in many dialects to varying degrees, and does seem to be a clear sign of the influence of the dominant language/culture.

The effect of English can be seen in a different way in the following example. Unable to think of the word for 'my gums' one speaker used the word *mbignw*, which literally means 'my chewing gum'. This manner of extending an English homonym into Algonquin is particularly inventive and yet it may suggest a tendency to think in English over Algonquin.

7.2 *Borrowing and Codeswitching*

Different views abound on the significance of codeswitching and borrowing, especially in threatened languages. As Dressler (1991:102-103) pointed out "borrowing is a means of enrichment of language", however he goes on to say that when "Borrowed lexical material tends not to be integrated morphologically or phonologically" this is "probably a symptom of moribundity". Hill (83:258) suggests that "performance of speakers may be seen not as broken down or as eroded realizations of an ideal competence but as performances through which speakers are manipulating symbolic material from a wide range of codes in constructing a changing society." How then should we look upon the code switching of bilingual individuals and the considerable presence of English words that have not been "nativized" in Algonquin?

There are very few examples of Algonquin spoken in an everyday setting that do not contain borrowings of some kind, these recordings being no exception. Some native speakers see such borrowings as a symptom of language loss or decay, others see them merely as a part of life in a world where a vast influx of technology has created a need for vocabulary expansion. What these recordings reveal however is that borrowing has gone well beyond the stage of a convenient labeling tool for new items of technology; for even some of the most traditional of Algonquin vocabulary and concepts are being replaced by loan words.

7.2.1 English words with Algonquin inflectional morphology

Though the vast majority of loan words (shown in tables 7.2.2 and 7.2.3) do not show any sign of "nativization", some loan words are inflected with Algonquin affixes. This is perhaps the most creative type of borrowing and yet the loan words in question do not show any sign of being adjusted to the Algonquin phonological system. This is striking for there also exist a relatively large number of loan words which entered the language some time ago and were subsequently nativized, e.g. *debaate* 'pie' (from French *le paté*.. or perhaps *des patés*), (*nd*)*elabin* '(my) rubber boots' (from English *rubber*), *naapaane* 'flour' (from French *le pain*), *maakaloone* 'macaroni' (from Italian/English *macaroni*), *Maani* (personal name) (from English or French *Mary Marie*), *Nyaas* (personal name) (from French *Ignace*), etc. Since nearly all the Algonquin population are now at least bilingual, many in fact being trilingual, the amount of potential loan words becomes infinitely greater than in the past, nor is there a

monolingual population base to adapt these words to the Algonquin phonological system.
Thus we can say that at some stage in its past, Algonquin did "integrate" loan words both
phonologically and morphologically, however it is now at the stage where phonological
integration seems to have virtually discontinued and morphological integration, though
still present, also appears to be showing some signs of reduction.

It should be noted here that it is generally the better Algonquin speakers who use
Algonquin morphology on English words, poorer speakers relying on English inflectional
morphology and pronouns in such instances. With so many loan words in current usage,
for indeed any word from a second language in which both speaker and audience are
conversant may be borrowed (or adapted), the question arises as to whether present day
Algonquin requires a high level understanding of another language in order for efficient
communication. This may constitute one of the greatest threats to Algonquin and indeed
to all indigenous languages.

The following tables contain the examples of loan words with Algonquin
morphology from the texts. As can be seen from these tables, this phenomenon is found
in roughly equal proportions in both monologues and conversations.

MONOLOGUES

NOUNS

bunkbedkaag, couchkaag, minnowsheshan, otentkaag, othree-wheeler, pikesheshan, porchkaag

VERBS

> *daa-hunti'o, gii-gichi-hunti'o, gii-nda-hunti'owag, gii-nda-shopi'o, gii-prayo, gii-skinnyo, gii-sprayo, ngii-passi'onan, ogii-forcei'ogoon, ogii-rapeiyaan*

DIALOGUES

NOUNS

> *cagekaag, jeepchech, ladderkaag, wheelchairkaag*

VERBS

> *gichi-partyke, gii-crackoon, nispoiligonaan, recordi'aasiin*

7.2.1.1 Nouns

The most common affix used on English nouns is the locative suffix *-(i)kaag* . The majority of words with this ending used here do in fact have an Algonquin equivalent, though this may not be very common or is perhaps less specific than the English term. In addition, possessive morphology is sometimes used, though it is in fact more common to use English possessive pronouns in such environments. Interestingly, all examples I have recorded involve the third person possessive prefix *o-*, the use of English *my* and *your* being seemingly preferred to the Algonquin prefixes *ni-* and *gi-* (see table below). This may be partially due to the fact that the third person is not gender specific in Anishinaabemowin and Algonquin speakers do not always distinguish between *he* and *she* in their spoken English. There are three example of a diminutive

suffix being used on an English noun, viz. *pikesheshan* and *minowsheshan*, where the obviative suffix is also applied and *jeepchech*. Interestingly, the word *ginoozhe* (alternatively *kloozhe*) 'pike' is a common Algonquin word and the speaker concerned was later able to produce it in elicitation.

It is interesting to note that no English nouns were ever inflected with an Algonquin plural suffix, perhaps because of the difficulty associated with assigning them a gender (i.e. animate or inanimate). From the above it could be argued that 'tent' and 'three-wheeler' were made inanimate since there is no obviative suffix present, though we would like to test this with other language clues such as agreement, which were not applicable in these instances. The following table is drawn from the examples in 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 and shows the words where Algonquin inflection was not used though might have been. The heading LOCATIVES includes allatives and addessives as these require the same suffix in Algonquin. The frequent use of English prepositions, possessive pronouns and plural inflection as shown here suggests a decrease in the morphological integration of loan words.

LOCATIVES:

at this old house. from the car. in you class. it was in winter. on the road. to the other

POSSESSIVES:

her top. my one and my two, my family. my gums. my teacher, my turn, your birthday. your favorite teacher. your job, your sperm donor, your sport, your turn

PLURALS:

> *brakes, clubs, demons, diamonds, dirty clothes, drugs, eggs, electric powers, hearts, humans, leeches, minnows, muscles, pimples, spades, three months, two hours, ten bucks*

7.2.1.2   Verbs

By far the most common Algonquin affix attached to English verbs or used to make verbs from English nouns is the verbalizing "suffix" *-i 'o* (often pronounced [*-jʋ*]). This structural feature is not unique to Algonquin, the same suffix *-iwi* being used in Severn Ojibwe (J. Nichols, personal communication). Note that *wi* and *o* are often interchangeable in Anishinaabemowin; consider for example *gookomisiwi* and *gookomisi 'o* 'to be a grandmother' and 'to be an old woman' respectively. In fact, it should be noted that the use of this suffix is not restricted to younger speakers. The verbalizing suffix *-(i)ke* meaning 'to process/ to do...' is also used in several situation, as with *-i 'o* , its use clearly marks the newly formed word as a verb, e.g. *partyke* 'to party', another example not recorded here being *bingoke* 'to play bingo'. In addition, theme markers and other morphology from the various verb paradigms may also be used, e.g. *nispoiligonaan* 'she spoils us' with theme sign *-igo* and first person plural affixes *ni-* and *-naan* and *recordi 'aasiin* 'it's not recording' with the negative suffix *-sii*, possibly the theme sign *-aa* and the negative suffix *-n* . Another type of example not recorded here is *signi 'otoon* 'to sign s.t' with *-toon*, a class marker indicating inanimate object.

7.2.2 Borrowing in monologues

There is a total number of 4778 words in the narration of traditional stories, everyday events and invented stories recorded here, within which we find 101 different English words (not including personal names) and a handful of French words that have not been phonologically or morphologically integrated[2]. This constitutes a 2.16% use of unintegrated loan words for all speakers (not including repetitions), the rate being 2.36% for speakers under 20 and 0.47% for speaker over 20 years old. What these figures suggest therefore is a strong increase in borrowing and a decrease in the use of Algonquin morphology on loan words.

The table below is a list of all the different loan words and incidents of codeswitching used in recordings of monologues, excluding longer utterances which are given in 8.2.4 below). These are divided into various categories discussed here below.

ANIMAL AND PLANT TERMS

bloodsucker, leeches, minnow, minnows, pike, skunk

COLOR TERMS

black, green, purple, white

EDUCATION

an exam, English, French, gym, history, March break, math, my teacher, school, that class

---

[2] Some English nouns are pronounced with a preceding *n-* or *m-* , e.g. *ntown* 'town', *mbrakes* 'brakes' etc. Older speakers also pronounce loan words in this way, especially English names. Though it may originally derives from the first person possessive prefix, there is no meaning implicit in this prefix when used on loan words in this way.

EURO-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

> *a diet. diet. flea market. hockey. tag. translating. wrestling*

EURO-AMERICAN CALENDAR AND EVENTS

> *anniversary. Christmas*

EURO-AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

> *airplane. airport. alarm clock. bathing suit. bomb. brakes. bunk bed. cigarette. dump. electric chair. electric powers. flashlight. her top. hospital. three-wheeler*

EXCLAMATIONS

> *bye!. done!. no!. oh boy!. oh shit!. oh shut up!. OK !*

FOOD TERMINOLOGY

> *eggs. macaroni cheese. pizza. poutine. spaghetti*

NUMBERS (INCLUDING REFERENCE TO AGE)

> *eighteen. eleven. fourteen years old. six years old. sixty seven. thirty seven years old. three months. twelve. twenty. twenty three. two*

PEOPLE AND THINGS FROM WESTERN POPULAR CULTURE

> *Barbie doll. Batman. Noah's ark. Spiderman*

PERIOD OR POINT IN TIME

> *half an hour. next day. next morning. one night. two hours*

PREPOSITIONAL AND DIRECTIONAL PHRASES

---

across. across the road. behind the ... . down there. on the road. with

---

OTHER

---

a (used before Algonquin noun). blood. cancer. champion of the world. Chinese.
get drowned. muscles. one bowl of meat. sand. the road. thunder. lightening. town.
triplets. twins. war. wife

The borrowed ANIMAL AND PLANT TERMS here, interestingly do not refer to exotic animals. Indeed, somewhat ironically the English word *skunk* is in fact, borrowed from an Algonquian language and the Algonquin equivalent *zhigaag* is certainly not an uncommon word. The presence of this small handful of animal terms suggests that they are met in western contexts more frequently than in Algonquin ones. The words *bloodsuckers*, *leeches*, *minnows* and *pike* make up a part of the "fishing" vocabulary that non-native peers are equally likely to converse about. This may explain why they are in English here despite the fact that their Algonquin counterparts *ogaskwaajime* 'leech/bloodsucker', *giigoozhesh* 'minnow' and *ginoozhe* or alternatively *kloozhe* 'pike' are quite common words.

The borrowed COLOR TERMS here all have Algonquin equivalents. It should be noted, however, that Algonquin color terms are verbal and must therefore be inflected, their morphology varying with the object they are describing (e.g. sheet-like as opposed to stick-like, metallic, string-like etc. See 5.2.1) as well as depending on animacy, plurality etc. This of course is in stark contrast to a simple (often monosyllabic) English noun. Furthermore, these colors were used as nouns and the majority in the context of

telling one's favorite color. Being asked one's favorite color can probably be described as a "feature of non-Indian culture" (Jahner 1980:131) and as such, this type of usage may not necessarily indicate lexical reduction. It is interesting that one girl (perhaps somewhat creatively) states that she likes *miskwaa* 'it is red', the uninflected form of the inanimate intransitive verb. It is also possible that the word "favorite" has a particular nuance or cultural relevance in the Euro-American world and as such is frequently rendered in English. It was used in several instances, such as *aanen gaa-zaagij favorite teacher* 'who do you like favorite teacher?' which might have been rendered as *aanen gaa-maawji-zaagij gikinaamaagewinii* 'which teacher do you like the most?'.

We would expect that EDUCATION terms be in English since the children all attend school in English and not in Algonquin and this is almost invariably the case. Most of the terms used above for EURO-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, EURO-AMERICAN CALENDAR AND EVENTS, EURO-AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY and PEOPLE AND THINGS FROM WESTERN POPULAR CULTURE do have terms in Algonquin. In addition, with the possible exception of *eggs*, most of the FOOD TERMINOLOGY used here is also from Euro-American culture. When describing similar borrowings in Lakota, Jahner (1980:131) goes so far as to say "It is entirely natural to use the English words rather than newly coined Lakota words". Algonquin, however, is a polysynthetic language and many speakers view the ability to coin terms for new items or concepts as one of the marks of a good speaker. If there seems to be a lack of productive vocabulary creation we should point out that such a skill might be developed at a later age or may be associated with a very formal register not employed here. Borrowing is the most common strategy amongst younger Algonquin speakers, however there are some signs of

the ability to coin new words, e.g. one ten year old speaker used the form *airplane e-maajibateg* (lit. where the airplane runs off) for 'runway', admittedly still with an English word. When I asked an older speaker how he would say runway he replied *gaa-izhi-booniibideg gaa-bimiseg* (lit. where the airplane lands) using the Algonquin word *gaa-bimiseg* 'airplane' (lit. the thing that flies).

The use of English and occasionally French EXCLAMATIONS seems to be common for speakers of all ages. It is perhaps true that exclamations are one of the most salient aspects of a language and impart a certain flavor that can rarely be accurately rendered by translation. These children are surrounded by English and the fact that they pick up a few exclamations and expressions is hardly surprising.

There is general evidence for a decline in usage of Algonquin NUMBERS (INCLUDING REFERENCE TO AGE) , e.g. L.P Valentine (1994) mentions use of English for telephone numbers in Severn Ojibwe. When telling their ages speakers may use English numerals but still usually retain the Algonquin verb *ndasoboonezi* , in fact nearly all those I have recorded use English numbers in similar contexts. Jahner (1980:131) points out a possible explanation, viz. that phrases such as telling one's age have "a high frequency of use, especially in situations involving both Indian and non-Indian culture", i.e. children are frequently asked question in English in many environments. This fact aside, English numbers are becoming increasingly common in a wide variety of settings, so much so that many children and teenagers I interviewed were not familiar with the numbers past five (note that the numbers past five are all trisyllabic or longer whereas the numbers 1-5 are disyllabic, though this is not a reason in itself for their decline).

In a traditional Algonquin context, **PERIODS OR POINTS IN TIME** are measured in different ways than in the western world. Today however, the lives of modern Algonquins are run around the western clock and many time words are more commonly heard in English, though of course all the loan words used here do have equivalents in Algonquin. In a certain sense, the use of English words for western measurements of time is comparable to the use of English numbers for the world of western mathematics and financing. On the other hand, the use of certain terms such as "next morning", "next day" etc. is suggestive of a preference for uninflected English nominals as opposed to Algonquin verbal constructions such as *gaa-biidaabag* 'when it became morning', which is in fact a subordinate clause. It is however possible to use a particle in this situation, e.g. on a previous occasion, the same speaker used the Algonquin particle *waabag* 'tomorrow/the next day'.

The use of English **PREPOSITIONAL AND DIRECTIONAL PHRASES** is rather interesting. What we find here is that nouns which in English would be rendered in oblique cases, (with a few exceptions such as nouns marked with the locative *-(i)kaag* meaning 'in/at/to/from' or those preceded by *maamwi* 'with') often trigger a switch to English. Prepositions such as *across, behind, down* and *on* as seen here are often rendered in English and often trigger the use of English in the following noun. Many young speakers I interviewed were unsure of many of the Algonquin directional particles, which may explain in part the use of these examples.

In a similar way to prepositions, many speakers suddenly use English articles in their speech and this also seems to trigger a switch to English, though it is very hard to say whether the situation is not the other way around, i.e. that an English noun has

triggered the use of the required English article. The fact that English articles are used consistently and that they may accompany an Algonquin noun, e.g. *a mooz* 'a moose', (though this word is to a certain extent "language neutral") might help to partially explain perceived changes in word order since English articles can be used to clarify specificity (see Rhodes 1994 and Tomlin and Rhodes 1992). The following table shows the use of English noun phrases consisting of a determiner and a head noun.

ARTICLES AND DEMONSTRATIVES

an exam. a diet. a mooz. the class. that little car. that little girl. that story Nick told. the end. the rule. the whole thing

Many of the examples listed in the **OTHER** row of the table above are more difficult to explain. Most if not all have equivalents in Algonquin and their frequent use seems to suggest a decreasing popular Algonquin lexicon. Most of these examples are nouns as was also observed by Jahner for Lakota.

7.2.3 Borrowing in dialogues

There are a total of 2832 words in our recorded conversations, within which we find 192 different unintegrated English words and a few French words that have not been phonologically or morphologically integrated. Disregarding repetition, this constitutes a 6.78% use of unintegrated loan words for all speakers (unfortunately there is insufficient data to break this figure up into age groups). Considering the fact that the amount of borrowing in conversations is almost three times higher than the rate in narration, the question we need to ask then is: If informal conversation is the most often employed

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register of Anishinaabemowin what does this signify for the lexicon? What therefore is the significance of the fact that in conversations between fluent speakers, 6 or 7 in every hundred words are in English or French? In fact, since we have not included repetitions here and counted whole sentences as one "utterance", the rate is fact somewhat higher than this, though of course it is difficult to make an accurate measurement of such things.

As in narration, the variety of loan words found in conversation is quite considerable.

ANIMAL AND PLANT TERMS

husky dog, minnow, tiger

EDUCATION

gym, phonics, school gym, teacher, the class, your favorite teacher

EURO-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

hockey, picnic, your job, your sport

EURO-AMERICAN CALENDAR AND EVENTS

birthday, meeting, your birthday

EURO-AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

bomb, broomball stick, generator, hockey stick, hospital, marbles, ouji board, record, telephone, that little car

EXCLAMATIONS

alright!, ayoo suck my toe!, boom!, c'est ça!, cheap!, come on!, corny!, doesn't count!, finish caput!, go fish, go!, here!, just wait!, no it doesn't matter!, pow pow pow, ok then ok, quit it now!, sacrement!, same thing!, say something!, shut up!, so corny this game!, sorry!, the end!, too late!, vas-y! , what a man!, you crony!, you cunt!, you faggot!, you're joking

FOOD TERMINOLOGY

chips

NUMBERS

eight, eleven, my one and my two, one and two, seven, ten bucks, ten times ten, thirteen, twelve, two, two lowest, un, deux , trois

PEOPLE AND THINGS FROM WESTERN POPULAR CULTURE

demons, detective, doctor, King-Kong, macho man, Pop-eye

PERIOD OR POINT IN TIME

every winter, it was in winter, last month, long time ago, once upon a time, today

PREPOSITIONAL AND DIRECTIONAL PHRASES

all the way through, at this old house, from the car, in front of the thing, in you class, over there, September eleven 1986, to the other

> *ace, big job, clubs, dance, diamonds, dirty clothes, door knob, drugs, fast forward, generator, hearts, humans, jack, joker, killer, king diamonds, king of diamonds, king of spades, little gal, loves, lowest, me, mom, Montreal, my family, my gums, my turn, no cross counts, pimple, pimples, plus, safety, smoking drugs, sob, spades, spin, spooky devil story, story, stupid, swim and dive, that little girl, that story Nick told, the rule, the whole thing, tomboy, your job, your turn*

ANIMAL AND PLANT TERMS used in conversation do not differ markedly from those used in monologue though here we see a few exotic animals. Likewise, the terms used from the world of EDUCATION reflect the speakers' experiences in English schools. There is also considerable overlap in the use of terms for EURO-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, EURO-AMERICAN CALENDAR AND EVENTS, EURO-AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY and PEOPLE AND THINGS FROM WESTERN POPULAR CULTURE. FOOD TERMINOLOGY is likewise used for items of western origin.

When we examine EXCLAMATIONS in conversations, we find they are considerably more numerous than in monologues. Most express emotions directed at the interlocutor. Here we see a vast range of expressive language that makes up everyday life in a non-Algonquin world. What is most interesting to note here is the use of French expletives by children whose command of French is minimal indeed. This use of an unfamiliar language is perhaps a sign of the significant impact of the European linguistic invasion. It should be noted that children do also use Algonquin expressions, examples from these recordings include *bookoo-* (used with a noun to express anger or annoyance), *ayaa* and *ayoo* (expresses pain or surprise), though the last two may be language neutral. Other common expressions include *oofwaana* {(also *oofwaa, fwaa*

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and *waa*) expresses surprise, amazement or mild annoyance}, which may in fact be a borrowing since there is no /f/ in any other Algonquin words that we are aware of, though there are languages whose exclamations include sounds not used elsewhere in the language.

The use of NUMBERS here is worth further comment. These numbers are not in reference to age but rather, the vast majority refer to card games. I have observed several adult card games and have noted that the names of both the number and the face cards as well as the names of the suits are almost invariably given in Algonquin. A quick glance through the row entitled OTHER will show that this is not the case when younger speakers play cards. This might be construed as further evidence for the decline in Algonquin numerals however we should point out that the numbered cards use a classifier, e.g. *niizhoobiigan* 'two' (lit. two written things), as is also the case for money, e.g. *niizh(w)aabik* 'two dollars' (lit. two mineral things... see 5.2.1). Some codeswitching such as *hot, the road, the road got hot*, where the speaker hesitated before producing the English clause, may be related to uncertainty regarding medial classifiers.

It is interesting to note that English terms used in these conversations for PERIOD OR POINT IN TIME are not precise measurements but broader periods that are easily rendered in Algonquin. The use of the phrase *it was in winter* may be related to a reluctance to construct Algonquin forms using conjunct verbs, and the phrase *every winter* might also suggest unfamiliarity with the preverb *endaso-* 'every', especially since this speaker has no trouble producing the word *biboon* 'winter' in elicitation.

The PREPOSITIONAL AND DIRECTIONAL PHRASES used in conversation are very similar to those used in monologues. The data further suggests that many speakers

maintain the complex system of English prepositions in their thinking and try to make distinctions which are not present in Algonquin. The Algonquin locatives *-(i)g* or *-(i)kaag* for example, may have an addessive or an allative meaning (often accompanied by preverb *oji-*) in addition to their locative reading. In the conversations recorded here the *-(i)kaag* suffix (for *-(i)g* is hardly used at all, and in fact seems to be in the process of being replaced by the former except for in a few fixed expression) was almost exclusively used with the meaning 'in a place', occasionally with the meaning 'to a place' but only once with the meaning 'from a place', e.g. *gigii-bagishin bunkbedkaag* 'You fell from the bunkbed'. This fact might help explain the use of phrases such as *from the car*, though it should be noted that some of these phrases could easily be rendered with *-(i)kaag* , e.g. *at the old house* , *in you class* etc.

Once again it should be noted the large amount of vocabulary in the **OTHER** row for which common terms in Algonquin are in existence. In addition, it seems that younger speakers are usually aware of language that entails a translation from English and sometimes exact a strange literal precision from their interlocutor, e.g.

A: *baamaa gimiizhinan gaa-agaachinoozhij*
B: *lowest gaawiin wiin gaa-agaachinoozhij*

A: You have to give me the smallest (card)
B: "lowest" not "gaa-agaachinoozhij (smallest)"

In this case speaker A has used an Algonquin term relevant to the meaning however speaker B insists on the exact English term. Speaker A later retranslates to accommodate her, using the form *gaa-maawji-dabasaag* 'the lowest'.

7.2.4 Codeswitching involving longer utterances

In addition to the sprinkling of English vocabulary, these recordings also contain some lengthy phrase and clauses in English such as:

PHRASES AND CLAUSES: MONOLOGUES

> *go hunt... hunting; hot, the road, the road got hot; I mean Jerry; I'm getting excited now; moon came down, they broke up*

PHRASES AND CLAUSES: CONVERSATIONS

> *a b c d e f g h i ..., all the way through...scratch; an angel upon the sky; cause he went;, Chris is recording it; dad if you're out there; dad said it ok; frig, she's so hypered; gimme a d...; he was looking in the mirror, it had big horns, I mean it was really scary; he got the missed her; he's no baby; he's so far; he's the killer; how are you?; I already had; I don't have any cards, I have no diamonds; I killed you; I love you; I'll do Matilda; I'll get something scary for you, I'm making a fire tonight; I'm not gonna show you, I'm the best; if you don't stop you hate..., if you don't stop your foolishness..., if you stop you love...; just because you're the killer; mix them up, pick up; pick up your cards; please forgive us; say something!, she asked her out; she could walk; she's kind; someone hold the card; something's pulling me, something slimy;, take it all so seriously; take it back you can't do it anyway; tell me about your life; that girl was always there; that's me; used to be together; we changed it; we've a meeting tomorrow, we're smoking drugs man; we will, what are you doing?; what do you say this in Indian?; what kind was that?; whatta ya got?, where's my...; who's first?; I'm supposed to go first, you don't know how; you skipped my turn; you tickle me; you tricked them; your sperm donor that's what I mean; you're only supposed to do one turn; you're the killer*

These examples constitute a broad range of contexts and to pin down the precise reason why they happen to be rendered in the dominant language in this context is extremely difficult. Noting the greater frequency of codeswitching in the conversational setting, we may be tempted to suggest that the speakers are so used to communicating with each other in the dominant language in the presence of partial speakers and non speakers that this is easily carried over into all conversations. Speakers also quote from television and other media sources, one example here is *dad, if you're out there...*, copied directly from the television which could be heard in the background. During recordings, some of the younger speakers occasionally sang small phrases from various English songs though these are not listed here, e.g. *I like to be a macho man.* Interestingly, some of the above examples were also said in Algonquin at other times during the same recorded conversation, which suggests that linguistic knowledge is not the only factor in the choice of codes.

There are a few examples from these texts where the codeswitching trigger is relatively clear. One involves a joke that relied on a English pun. The speaker started in Algonquin but had to switch for the punch-line...

- *aadi gaa-ikidoj waabigooshiizh maamwi   to the other waabigooshiizh*
- *biidigen giwaabadi'in,   um ok, English ndikid, come in I'll show you my nuts.*

- What did he say the mouse with to the other mouse?
- Come in I show you, um ok, English I say, come in I'll show you my nuts.

Another example involves a misunderstanding that leads to the original question being asked again in English. The misunderstanding revolves around the preverb *izhi-*,

which means either 'to/in a certain place' or 'in a certain way'. Here, the former meaning was taken where the latter was intended.

A: *wiijamooshin gaa-izhi-bimaadiziyin*

B: *Maniwaki*

A: *No, gaawiin i'edi tell me about your life!*

A: Tell me how/where you live?

B: Maniwaki.

A: No, not that way, tell me about your life!

An older speaker indicated to me that the original question was well formed and that the verb *dazhiike* 'to live in a certain place' (also accompanied by *izhi-*) would be used if the meaning was 'where do you live?'. Therefore, it is actually a failure in understanding that has prompted switching in this case.

Sometimes European cultural knowledge or folklore triggers the use of English, one example involves the description of a miracle... *an angel upon the sky gii-zaaminegaadeni; ... she could walk* 'an angel upon the sky touched her leg... she could walk'. Notice here a certain lack of fluidity when switching (readers might feel for example that a verb such as 'came down' is missing) and the use of the English word "upon" to give the desired religious overtone, echoing a formal education in English.

In narration, older speakers that I have recorded codeswitch very infrequently, though, in my experience, they do so considerably more frequently in dialogue than in monologue. Younger speakers, as can been seen from these examples, codeswitch a great deal in conversation, though also perhaps to a lesser extent in monologue. In terms

of knowledge of a second language, parents are certainly no less competent than their children, having been exposed to similar amounts of education in the dominant language, so it is interesting that younger members of the family use loan words and codeswitch more than their elders. The question that remains unanswered is whether this correlates with a loss of fluency in Algonquin or not.

In general, it should be noted that all members of the family seem to exhibit a large degree of control of their codeswitching, i.e. their switching is usually dependent on their interlocutor, topic and setting i.e. relevance or lack thereof to Algonquin culture etc. though exceptions can be found in the table above. Examples from everyday life include asking for and telling the time, which almost invariably induces switching to English or French (as has also been noted in other studies, see Myers-Scotton 1990:86 and L. P. Valentine 1994:317-319). It would therefore seem that codeswitching, for the members of this family at least, serves primarily a "referential" and a "directive" function (Appel and Muysken 1987:118-119), though perhaps for some of the younger members it may have gone beyond this stage.

7.3   Tautology

One of the most intriguing observations made by elders about the speech of Algonquin youth is that they "seem to assume you won't understand". This comment reflects strongly on the language use of the young speakers in question. In essence, what is often being referred to here is a certain amount of tautology or over-explicitness, perhaps even a need to be overly emphatic. Of course, the crucial question remains as to

whether this is a characteristic of child language in general or whether it shall continue to affect the language as these speakers mature.

Some of the most interesting examples from the text which received comment include the frequent use of the word *awiig* 'someone' which young speakers seem to use to specify a human subject, e.g. *gaa-niibwiiwaaj awiig* 'married people' and *gaa-nisij awiig* 'the killer'. Since *gaa-niibwiiwaaj* in itself means 'those who are married' and *gaa-nisij* means 'the one who kills', *awiig* is unnecessary here, though it might be argued in the latter case that it specifies a human victim and as such is adding information. Other examples include the frequent use of pronouns such as *gii'endog* 'them', as noted in 5.3.2.

Another phenomenon seen as cumbersome by elder speakers in a failure to compound verbs or to use appropriate preverbs. One example from the texts is *mwegan gii-bimose, ogii-gidamowaan dash moozan* 'the wolf walked over and ate up the moose', which was seen as longwinded and inferior to a form such as *ogii-biinda-gidamowaan moozoon mwegan*. Another example involves the use of the particle *maamwi* 'with'. It was suggested that forms such as *gii-izhaa maamwii (wiin)* 'he went with (him)' would sound better as *ogii-wiiji'aan*. If lengthy clauses or phrases of this nature as opposed to single verb forms do indeed persist into adulthood, we shall ultimately need to address the issue of a decrease in efficiency. A few such examples seem to show the influence of English, e.g. *biidigemag gii-izhaa* literally 'he went inside' as opposed to *gii-biidige* 'he entered', *agwajiig gii-izhaa* 'he went outside' as opposed to *gii-zaag(a')am* 'he went out', *maajaan agwajiig* 'get out!' literally 'leave outside' where *maajaan* on its own means 'get out!' and *diet gii-izhaa* literally 'he went on a diet' which might have been

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otherwise rendered in Algonquin or verbalized, e.g. *gii-dietke* . Many of these examples

involve the word *izhaa* 'to go', which suggests that this most general of verbs is being

extended to apply to a wide range of situations that differ considerably from its more

traditional usage.

A final example of "over-emphatic" language can be seen in the utilization of the

preverb *gichi-* 'big/ in a big way'. This preverb is used so frequently that its emphatic

value is almost lost at times, in fact, in many words in these texts it seems to be used as

though it were part of stem, never being omitted, e.g. *chigeske* 'rapidly' (= *gichi-geske*

'very rapidly/suddenly'), *choon igoj* 'very much/ very hard'(= *gichi-onina goj* 'very

hard'), *chinoodaagozi* 'to scream' (= *gichi-noodaagozi* 'to be heard in a big way') etc.

Sometimes *gichi-* is even repeated, e.g. *gii-gichi-mobatoo (gi)chi-onina* 'she ran very

hard'. The use of *gichi-* often seems to be preferred to reduplication, e.g. *gii-gichi-*

inaabi 'he looked a lot' where *gii-ayinaabi* 'he looked around' seems more appropriate.

In addition, the word *jiikido* (*chiikido*) 'to speak', which older speakers only use in a

very sarcastic sense, probably being derived from *gichi-ikido* 'to say in a big way',

seems to be loosing its sarcastic nuance for younger speakers and is used in a wide

variety of contexts. The gradual decrease in emphasis of a given word or phrase does

not, however, constitute a symptom of language loss since it is widespread in all

languages.

8.   Directions for future research

In its original conception, this study was designed to explore the nature of generational differences, providing some empirical evidence and specific detail to clarify general observations made by community members. For this reason, the design of data collection was very broad, i.e. there were few controls on the specific nature of the recordings and very little elicitation was used. Furthermore, our analysis, having little prior knowledge of where the most significant changes might turn out to be, was progressive and not focused on any specific area.

During the course of this analysis, many fascinating areas that warrant further research were found (summarized in the conclusion), some of which would probably require a more targeted plan of data collection. Perhaps the most interesting area of language with regard to generational differences will turn out to be word order. In chapter five we pointed out evidence that suggests that word order may be becoming used as a means of marking thematic roles and that, as a consequence of this, some morphology related to transitivity was not always used or was used in an innovative way. Owing to the general nature of this discussion, we were not able to investigate this further, nor did it prove possible to collect further data, such as stories with animals as main characters, which we alluded to in chapter 5 as a possible technique to compare word order with human and non human participants.

Some of the limitations of this study, which might need to be overcome if more comprehensive research were to be undertaken, relate to the small base of speakers who made recordings, since ideally a random sampling of the community and controls for sex

would be preferable. Assuming a random sample, tests for statistical significance would also be required. In this study we attempted to produce different speech genres by varying the nature of the narration or dialogue, yet all recordings were made in the same informal setting, viz. at home or outdoors. Unfortunately, it never proved possible to record any speakers in a truly formal setting such as an address before a class or school or a speech at a *magoshaan* or a pow-wow etc. It remains to be seen whether such an environment would produce a significant difference in language for either older or younger speakers.

Family members participated keenly in this study and their involvement proved crucial in analyzing data. Nonetheless, many of the limitations of this study arise from the fact that I am not a native speaker and was therefore unable to gather and transcribe more than a few examples of each chosen speech genre, even this much being a very time-consuming exercise. Ideally a study of this nature would best be conducted in even closer association with community members whose familiarity with the local dialect would enable a much more comprehensive data collection and transcription. It is the firm belief of the author that such a project might be an important step in enhancing the linguistic awareness of any community.

9. Conclusion

This community is well steeped in Algonquin traditions, retaining strong ties to their land, their culture and their language. The extent to which Algonquin has been preserved in the face of the ever encroaching English and French languages and value systems is nothing less than an achievement. However, the "invasion" has not halted and in the light of the many aspects of Algonquin that seem to be changing, serious questions for the its future, as well as for other indigenous languages must now be posed.

In this paper we have noted emerging trends in usage concerning coordination as opposed to subordination, especially for stylistic reasons; verbal inflectional and derivational morphology; nominal inflectional morphology; suspension of plural agreement between nouns and verbs as well as signs of major structural change involving a preference for direct over inverse morphology and changes in obviation and word order. In addition we find a large amount of codeswitching, little morphological integration of loan words and even less phonological integration. Perhaps each of these areas seem insignificant when taken individually, however a change in one area is likely to influence other parts of a sentence. All these phenomena are in fact so interrelated that it is difficult in fact to determine exactly where a change has been triggered. To illustrate this point we shall consider example iv from 5.3.6, viz. *naazh dash A okii gii-wiiji'aa B, ashij C gii-biizhaa, C gii-gichi-zaagi'aa A* , which literally translated means 'then A again went with B, and C came, C greatly liked A'. In the following diagram, lines are used to highlight aspects of a word or clause and double headed arrows are used to indicated interrelated phenomena. indp V =independent verb, obv = obviative, inv = inverse and subord = subordination.

naazh dash | okii | gii-wiiji'aa B, | ashij | gii-biizhaa, | gii-gichi-zaagi'aa A
then | again | went with | and | came | greatly liked

A | A | B | | C | C | A

word order

overt subject SV
overt object VO

no obv
no prefix

no obviation (English names)

overt (repeated) subject SV
overt object VO

word order

no inv
no obv
no prefix

indp V

indp V

indp V

no subord

coordination

main clause stacking
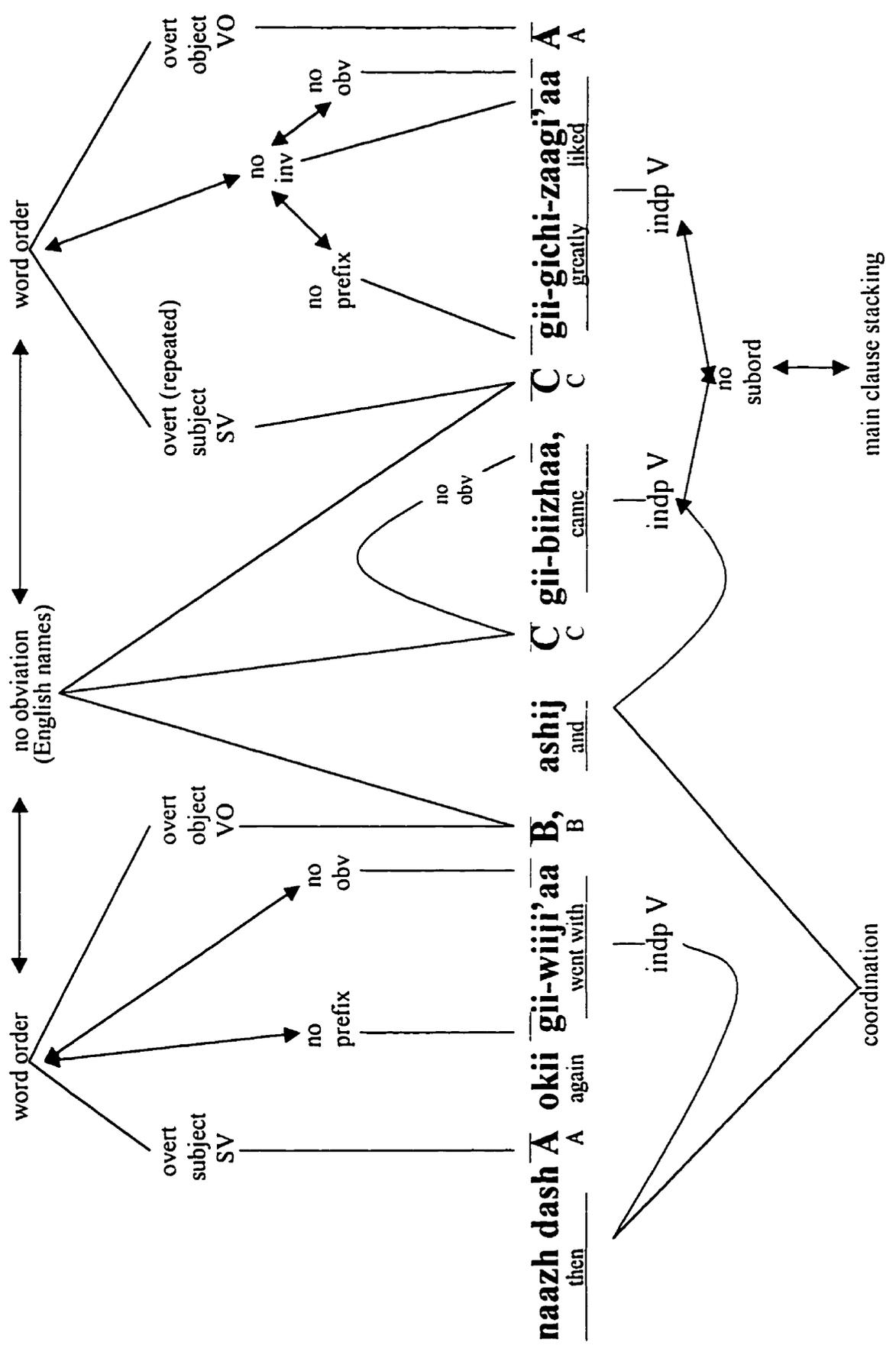
This sentence contains three clauses and two coordinators. In addition the last two clauses are "stacked" one after the other despite the fact that they are "interdependent" i.e. we see two short main clauses as opposed to a subordinate clause such as "when C came..." etc. The verbs in the latter two clauses might also have been combined with the use of preverbs such as *biinda-* 'to come and.../ to come to...', e.g. *gii-biinda-zaagi 'aa* 'he came and liked her'. The result of this "clause stacking" is that all three verbs are in the independent order. There are three participants in this sentence, all of whom are referred to by an English name, and probably for this reason we do not see an obviative marking on any of them. Perhaps as a consequence of this we find minimal Algonquin verbal morphology. There are other possible triggers for these phenomena however, e.g. we cannot say that it wasn't the personal prefixes being deleted for phonological reasons (see 3.4) that has triggered the lack of obviative marking on the verbs and subsequently on the nouns. Again, possibly as a result, though maybe as a cause of the above, we find an SVO word order in the first and third clause and an SV order in the second, which seems to have replaced obviation and the direct/inverse distinction in verbal morphology in tracing thematic roles. It should be pointed out that in this example C could be set as proximate and A reset as obviative, in which case the direct form of the verb would be appropriate. However with the lack of obviation marking on any of the nouns here and in other examples in 5.3.6, we find the 3'-3 inverse forms are very rarely used. Sentences like this might well serve as a wake up call with regard to the "domino affect" of language change and remind us of the speed with which seemingly fundamental structures may alter.

Through all this, the crucial question remains as to how the language skills of the young speakers recorded in this study will develop as they mature, and perhaps even more critically, how they will pass on their linguistic heritage to the next generation. In the midst of so much current debate about the future of native languages, very little time as been taken to assess the actual situation in native communities. In documenting some of the changes in one small community, it is hoped therefore that we have shown just how urgent the need for more detailed examination of the speech patterns of all indigenous communities really is, even of those thought to be most viable such as Anishinaabemowin. This study has been conducted on the premise that awareness and understanding are the keys to seeking workable solutions, i.e. it is only by looking closely at the current state of native languages that the threats they face from the dominant languages may be countered. In that regard, it is sincerely hoped that this study will promote meaningful discussion within the community.

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TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following are short excerpts from some of the recordings of each speaker. The transcriptions are divided into small units corresponding to sentences or clauses. Each is given a sentence number on the left; in the case of conversations, the number of the speaker being given first and then the sentence number separated by / . The speaker and the speech genre are given at the foot of each page. See Ch 2 for explanation of the writing system used here.

1	megaa imaa gaa-dazhi-nigiyaan	That's where I was born,
2	Jerome Point izhinikaade	Jerome Point it is called.
3	nimishoomiban gaa-izhi-dazhiikepan	My late grandfather used to live there.
4	mii imaa gaa-dazhi-anishinaabewiyaan	that's where I became an Anishinaabe.
5	apiich dash miinwaaj gaa-anishinaabewij nishiimezh	After that, again, my Anishinaabe younger brother was born there too.
6	mii gewiin imaa gaa-izhi-anishinaabewij godag	There was another Anishinaabe born there too.
7	miish michikanaabikog wiin a'a gii-izhi'onaaganiij gii-dazhiike	Then he was taken to Barrière Lake (where) he was living
8	ngii-izhaa dash edi njoojoo ngii-izhi'onig njoojoomiban	I went over there, my mother, my late mother took me there,
9	anda-ayamii'aawag	they went to pray.
10	miish apiich gaa-niboj awidi nishiimezhiban Dwaamas ge-gii'ose'izhij	Then my younger brother died there, Thomas would been his big brother
11	apiich gaa-bi-gii(we)yaan na gii-dazhiike imaa apan igoj njoojoo njoojoomiban	When I came home, she went to live there again my mother, my late mother.
12	miinawaaj dash gaa-ayaawaajin abinoojiishan	Then she had another child.
13	mii imaa gaa-izhi-ayaawaajin Jerome Point	it was there that she had it, Jerome Point.
14	dwaamas dash mii aw nishiimezhiban gegaat dash gaa-nigoboonegaag miish azhii njoojoo gaa-niboj	As for Thomas, my late younger brother, he was almost a year old when (already) my mother died.
15	naanoboonezinaaban gegaad nigodwaasoboonezinaaban nimikawinan gaa-niboj njoojoo	I was five years old almost six, I remember when my mother died.
16	nimikawinan dash e-maajiinizhij njoojoo nibaaganikaag geyaabaj	I remember when my mother sent me away, (she was) still in bed.
17	maajaan gookom anda-waabam ndig	"Go out! go see your grandmother!" she said to me
18	gaan azhii baamenimishiken gookom azhii gijoojoo ikido ndig	"Don't bother me now, your grandmother is your mother now" she said , she said to me.
19	ngii-maajibatoo shiimezh eta daaban dakobizoban dikinaaganikaag dwaamas awidi	I ran off, younger brother, Thomas, was still tied to a cradle board there.
20	miinaa-sh gaa-gii-izhi-waabamag	Then when I saw him again, which I still

	gaa-izhi-biziskenidamaan niwaabamaa azhii e-dazhi-maagoshig e-gechkonebinaaganiij	recall, I saw him already lying there, his clothes taken off.
21	mii edi maaminonendamaan dash ngii-waabamag ngii-gizhigaabamaa nimawinan	I was thinking there, I saw him. I watched him, I was crying.
22	miish imaa gaa-waabadamaan dash dibe ge-izhi-asigowaan	I saw where he would be put.
23	joojoo gaa-maajiinizhij	Mother sent me away.
24	ngii-mikawinan i'i daabishkooj gaa-mikawiyin	I remembered it just as you remember.
25	zhigaa imaa njoojoo ndakonig njoojoo odakonaan shiimezhan	Then my mother, she held me my mother, she held younger brother.
26	miish a'a gaa-gii-ganawenimij	That's who kept me (grandmother).
27	miinawaaj gaa-izhi-oniikeyaan mbabaamibatoo maagaa	Again I forgot everything, I was running around then.
28	gaa mbagidinigosii giji-dazhiikeyaan	They didn't let me live over there,
29	dedago dash niwiiwaabamaa njoojoo daabishkooj mooka'am mookaasin	but I really wanted to see my mother, like the sun rising (coming into view),
30	gidikidonan nigokw—nigokwaasin mookaasin mii gaa-izhinaag njoojoo	(like) you say it's cloudy, (then) it shines, that's how I saw my mother.
31	nimikiwinan njoojoo niwaabamaa njoojoo miinawaaj gaa niwaabamaasii	I remembered my mother, I saw my mother, then I didn't, I didn't remember her.
32	ginisidotaan na	Do you understand?
33	mii dash apiich dash gaa-anda-nigwaaganiij njoojoo	After that they buried my mother,
34	michikanaabikog edi gii-izhi'onaaganii	she was taken to Barrière Lake.
35	geyaabaj ngii-mikawinan i'i gii-maajinaaganiij njoojoo	I still remembered when my mother was taken away.
36	apiich dash gaa-nigwagaazoj ngii-giiwe'inig wedi gokii noopimig	When she was buried, she (grandmother) took me back into the bush over there.
37	nishiimezh dash maaniiyan gii-miinaaganii maaniiyaniban	As for my younger brother, he was given to Maanii (Mary), the late Maanii.
38	floraban joojooshkeban flora gaa-inaaginiipan ojoojooshke'aabanan i'edi	Flora breast-fed him, Flora they used to call her, she used to suckle him there.
39	gaawiin dash ginezh dash ogii-ganawenimaasiin nigominaashtaagan gonii eta	She didn't keep him that long, only about one week.
40	gaan ogii-gashki'aasiin giji-ginwenimaajin ozaam ogaagiidizi awdi ayaa flora	She couldn't keep him well because she was fussy that Flora.
41	ogidamwaan ini ojoojooshman miish kokii njoojoo gaa-izhi-odaapinaajin	He would eat all her breast (milk). My mother (i.e. grandmother) took him back again.
42	ogii-michi-ashamaan dash naazh gichi-mididowaaj	She had to feed them (him and others) until they got bigger.
43	miish igoj imaa gaa-dazhiikeyaan nanaazh giji-niibwiiyaan Jerome point	That is where I lived until I got married at Jerome Point.

1	nitam dash ge-adizookoonaan mitigoog e-negiziwaaj kina negizij mitig	The first story I will tell you is about the trees , every type of tree.
2	odeyaawaan gewiin meyaawasen gaa-meyaawasekidoowaajin gaa-gizhigaamigowaajin	They too have their own boss, the one who is responsible for them. the one who is watching for them.
3	miish awdi gichi-zhigwaatig	That one is the big pine.
4	gichi-zhigwaatig ogimaawi	The big pine is king,
5	kina dash odebaamaan omitigoman zhigwaatig	the pine watches over all its other trees.
6	mii awdi ogimaa ogikinoo'aamawaan dash gewiin	That king, it teaches too
7	ogizhigaamaagoon megaa owaabidii'aan dash awdi ezhi-dagonig waabanog giiwedinog	They watch it, it shows where the east and the north are.
8	giiwedinog dedago gichi-mashkwii iniwe noodig	The north wind is truly a very strong
9	mii dash ezhi-iniwigej waabanog	Thus it points east (intended meaning is south).
10	onisidowinaagoon dash onisidotaagoon kina enegizinjin	They recognize it, they understand it . its trees, all types of trees.
11	gewiin dash mako onisidawinawaan e-ogimaa'injin	The bear too, it recognizes it (pine) as chief.
12	wiin imaa dazhi-ishpakiigaabawij	It stands tall.
13	apiich dash ani-dagwaagig gichi-noodig gii-noodaagozi	As it becomes fall. the pine is heard in the big winds.
14	a'a zhigwaatig e-noodagozij e-gwiishkoshij gichi-noodig	It is that pine who is heard whistling in the big wind.
15	onoodawaan dash gewiin ayaa mako apiich dash gozaabijigej mako dagwaaginig	The bear hears it too when it addresses the spirits in the fall.
16	apiich azhii nibaaj nibaa odinenimaawaan	When it (bear) sleeps people think it's sleeping.
17	gaan nibaasii gozaabijige	It's not sleeping, it's addressing the spirits
18	mii dash imaa gewiin ezhi-nibaaj anaamig gichi-bookwejiikaag zhigwaatigobookwejii	"So it sleeps there, underneath the uprooted stump. the uprooted pine stump.
19	mii imaa izhi-ozaabijigej	That's where it addresses the spirits.
20	owiidookaagoon dash zhigwaatigoon	The pine helps it (the bear),
21	mii wiin e-izhi-bagosenimaajin mako zhigwaatigoon	it is the bear who asks the pine.
22	gewiin dash kina ogizhigaabamaagoon ogizhigaabamaan odawisiiziman	The pine too watches all its wild animals and they watch it.
23	gewiin gaa-ji gaa-wiijide'amaawaajin kina negizinjin	It too shares with all types (of wild animals)
24	gewiin dash wiin dash ogimaawi gewiin	It too is a king.
25	mii awdii ogimaa mako	That king the bear,
26	mii awdii kina gegoon e-gizhigaabadag madaashkitoon	it watches over everything there, it has strange powers.

1	ndaanamoodaanaaban goj weshkaj awesiizag kina goj awesiizag ge-odisewaaj	I was talking about long ago all kinds of wild animals, where they would come from.
2	gii-(wii)damawaagini'oobaniig maagaa weshkaj chi-animochoom e-da-gimiwaninig sii	They had been told long ago by the great grandfather that it would rain,
3	gichi-onaa goj gii-gimiwan	indeed it rained very hard.
4	ganoonaaganii-sh bezhig awiig gida-ozhitooj ojiimaani	One person was asked to make his boat.
5	biidigewag naanaage geshk gaa-ishkwaa-ozhichigaadeg	They entered after he finished.
6	gii-inawemaaganiwag bebezhig niizhiwag bezhig godag noozhe	The related ones, one by one, two of them, one male and the other one female.
7	gii-biidigewag dash gichi-jiimaankaag owidi	They entered in that big boat.
8	ginezh omaa gii-agomoog e-gichi-gimiwaninig	They floated in the heavy rain for a long time.
9	biidigej piich goj gaa-ishkwaa-gimiwag	They entered when it stopped raining.
10	azhii bineshiizh gii-maajiinzhaaganii	The bird was sent away already.
11	naanda dash wiin godagag gegoonii odazhi-gagwe-ozhitoon	Some others were trying to make something there.
12	odazhi-aanimoodaanaawaa awesiizag aadi ge-doodamwaaj akiini giji-ozhitoowaaj	The animals were talking about what they would do to make the earth.
13	mooz dash wiin ikido debinaag goj akii dogog nga-gashkitoon giji-maamaashkamaan naazh giji-mishaag	The moose said "as long as there is ground I will be able to step on it until it gets big.
14	gaa maamakaaj gichi-maane bagii goj neta ikido	No need for a whole lot, just a little " he said.
15	onen dash ge-gowashitooj ikido-sh gewiin mako	"Who will try?" said the bear too,
16	niin goj wiin gaan igoj wiin ngashkitoosii gida-googiiyaan waasag	"Me, I am not able to dive far."
17	ee gichi-ishpiniketaawag	eeh...They put their hands up high.
18	amik niin wiin ngashkitoon e-googiiyaan waasag geniin	The beaver "I can dive far too,
19	waasag niin ndinaadage niin dedago ikido	I can swim very far indeed" it said
20	azhii gagweji'aaganii amik	Already the beaver was tried (i.e. chosen).
21	apan googii n-googii waasag	Gone, diving, it goes diving far,
22	ogagwe-debaan amik akiini giji-anda-waabadag	the beaver tries to reach the earth, it tries to go get it.
23	ginezh gii-bii'aaganii	It was waited on for a long time.
24	ojibi mooshkijin gojog	All at once it floated (to the surface),
25	moozhiganaaganii	it was picked up.
26	gii-gizhigaadigaadeni onijii	Its hand was looked at,
27	hmmm gaa gegoon gaa	"hmm" nothing was found."

	ogii-oji-mikigaadesiini	
28	gichi-ishpiniketaawag godagag	The others put their hands up high.
29	ojashk goj gewiin dazhi-gichi-abi imaa niin niin niin ikido	The muskrat was sitting there too, "me, me, me" it said.
30	gaa giin ozaam gidagaashiishinan inaaganii	"You shan't go because you're small" it was told.
31	nigig dash gewiin omaa niin nga-gowashtoon ikido	The otter was there too "me, I'll try" it said.
32	niin nga-izhaa wedi apiich dash amik ikido	"I will go there after the beaver" it said.
33	waasag ngashkitoon gida-izhaayaan ikido	"I can go far" it said.
34	apan googii gewiin	Off it dives too...

1	weshkaj awdii ininii ashij ikwe ogii-maane'aan abinoojishan	Long ago this man and woman had many children.
2	dedagoo dash nge'i odetimigosiin odabinoojiishiman	Their children did not listen to them at all.
3	gichi-wiistaataagoziwag e-onaagoshinig gichi-odominowaaj	They were very noisy in the evening when they played a lot.
4	awdii dash gaa-gichi- wiintam awdii a-gii-niigij ikwesiis awdii gichi-ikwesiis	That one, the first born, that big girl.
5	giintaa niginaaganii giji-ginenimaajin oshiimezhan	she was always left to keep her younger siblings.
7	ishkwa'ag dash jiijii'oban...jiijii'oban	Then in the back there were babies... there were babies...
8	gichi-weshtan	It sounds funny!
9	awdii dash ininii shij ikwe ganenim gishiimezhag	That man and woman (said) "look after your younger siblings!"
10	ogikendaanaa'aa goji giji-biizhaajin a'a wiijigoon izhaa a'a	They knew that wiidigoo would come.
11	onoodawaan obijimooji'aan e-biizhaanjin	They hear it, they feel it, that he would come.
12	ndoniigemin niinwid odinaan wiin odaansan	"We're going trapping" they told their daughter,
13	naanaage nga-bi-gii'emin gii-inaaganii dash awdii ikwesiis	"later we'll come home" that girl was told.
14	ikwesiis dash wiin shij ogikendaan awdii e-iniginaaganii awdii agaa giji-bi-gii'ej	That girl knew that she was left, that they would not come home.
15	ogii-gagwezhi'aan dash wiin oshiimezhan giji-nibwakaajin ach igoj odaminowag	She tried to make her younger siblings behave. but still they played.
16	bekaaj giga-gindendimaa sa awiig gida-biidigese wiidigoo	"Be quiet, you're going to call someone. you'll bring the wiidigoo."
17	ge'iin dash gonii ogii-bijimooji'aan e-biizhaanjin	She felt too that maybe he would come.
18	miish gaa-izhi-dakobinaajin oshiimezhan gaa-agaachechinjin	She tied her younger sibling, the small one (i.e. on a cradle board),
19	wewenii ogii-dakobinaan ogii-aapiji'aan	carefully she tied and changed him/her.
20	mii dash gaa-izhi-ishkimoodinaajin bakwezhigan odoonikaag agaa agaa giji-gidij awdii jiijiishesh	Then she put bread in his mouth so that that little baby would not utter a sound .
21	ishpimig ogii-gaanaan oshiimezhag gaa-izhaataasij gaa-izhaataasiwaaj edi ishpimig	She hid her younger siblings up there (i.e. in the ceiling) where they put things
22	wiin dash gii-gaazo e-ishkwaademkaag	and she hid behind the door.
23	mii dash azhii gii-bi-biidigej wiidigoo	Then wiidigo came in already,
24	kina abinoojiishag chi-naanoodaziwag geshk gaa-waamaajin e-bi-biidigenjin	all the children screamed when they saw him come in.
25	chi-geske maagaa gii-bi-biidige	Rapidly indeed he came in.
26	mii dash piich gaa-izhi-ani-nisaaganiwaaj gii-gibajiinaaganii	After they were killed they were gutted.

27	miish gaa-izhi-maajii'onaajin kina	He took them all out.
28	awdii dash ikwesiis gaa-pichi-nisaaganiwaaj oshiimezhan gii-zaagijibatoo wiin	As for that girl, when her younger siblings had been killed, she ran out.
29	mii dash a'a gaa-izhi-biiskwaajin	and then she put on...
30	mii gaa-izhi-biiskwaajin aagim ogii-nipaatskwaan dash neta	Then when she put on her snowshoes she put them on backwards only.
31	miish gaa-izhi-maajibatooj gii-bekajibatoo aanish miswaaj gii-mobatoo	So when she ran away she ran slow though she was still running.
32	ogikenimaan giji-noosine'igojin	She knew that he was following her,
33	mii dash gaa-izhi-gichi-waawaagibatooj	so she ran in a crooked way.
34	kina goj gichi-anoch gii-batoo edi waasag gii-bi-gii'ebatoo	she was running everywhere, far, she ran back,
35	mii dash gaa-izhi-akwaadej mitigoon	then she climbed a tree,
36	eh..gichi-zhigwaatig gonii, agwendog goj wiin mitig	eh, a big pine, I don't know what type of tree.
37	owaabamaan dash ayaa wiidigoo e-bi-izhi-mosenjin	She saw the wiidigoo walking towards her.
38	gii... ogizhigaadaan e aadi gaa-batooj i'eni ikwesiisan gichi-inaabi	he looked where that girl had ran, he looked a lot.
39	hmn inendam dash wiidigoo	"hmn" thought wiidigoo
40	apan wiin a'a ngii-onibi'ig ikido dash	"she's gone, she lost me" he said.
41	mii dash imaa gaa-izhi-desabij mitikamig	Then he sat down on the ground,
42	anaamig beshosh imaa gii-apiji e-desabij gaa-izhi-akaadebatooj ikwesiis awdii	he leaned (on the tree) underneath close by and sat down where that girl had climbed quickly up (the tree).
43	gii-boodwe	He lit a fire.
44	mii dash wiin abinoojiishan i'eni gaa-izhi-amo'aajin	Then he ate those children.
45	wezh gichi-ginesh dash imaa geyaabaj ayaa wiidigoo	That wiidigoo was still there for a long time.
46	gichi-wii-zhiishike shij awdii ikwesiis	That girl really wanted to urinate,
47	gichi-gotaaji nigoji	She was trembling and scared.
48	mii dash baamaa gaa-izhi-... miswaaj gii-zhiishiike	then indeed she had to, indeed she did urinate.
49	mii dash wiidigoo gaa-azhii ogii... giji... ogii-minaamaan dash awiig e-gaa-zhiishiikej	Then wiidigoo smelt that someone had urinated.
50	hmmm kina-sh a'a ngii-giboojiinaa abinoojiishag	"Hmm, I gutted all the children,
51	egwendiken mii a'a gaa-izhi-maajigej geshk awdii gaa-bi-maamag ikido sii	I don't know which one I smell" he said.
52	mii dash gaa-izhi-wanishkaaj gii-maajaa	Then he got up; he left.
53	ikwesiis dash gii-niisaade	The girl got down,
54	gii-maajibatoo edi gaa-izhi-dazhiikepan	she ran off where she used to live.

1	noogom gii-gikinaamaagozinan	Today I attended school.
2	nitam history ngii-dayaan	First I had history,
3	gaan oji-nadotawaasiin my teacher	I didn't listen to my teacher.
4	maamwii dash apiich French	And then after (that) French,
5	ngii-doodaan an exam, ngii-passi'onan gekwaan	I did an exam, I passed too.
6	naazh dash ngii-anda-wiisin aabita-gizhiganig	Then I went to eat at noon.
7	A daa-gii-biinda-moozhaginigban	A was supposed to come and pick me up,
8	naazh dash ozaam wiibaj gii-izhaa	then he went too early,
9	gaan dash ndazhi-oji-waamigosiin	he didn't see me.
10	X ngii-wiiji'aa maamwii Y	I went with X and Y.
11	naazh dash gaa-bi-gii(we)yaan omaa gaan debwe ndoji-wiisinisiin	Then when I came home here I barely ate.
12	neta goj nanda-maagoshin	I just went to go lie down.
13	gaa-sh gaa-maagoshiniyaan ngii-gii'ogise school	After I lay down, I went back to school.
14	naazh dash gym ngii-dayaan	Then I had gym.
15	nanda-bimose flea market maamwii A X	I went to walk to the flea market A, X.
16	gaan gegoon ndoji-giishpindoosiin ozaam ndozhooniyaamisiin	I didn't buy anything because I don't have any money.
17	ngii-gii'e dash okii half an hour ngii-dayaan gaabaj	Then I went back, I had half an hour more.
18	neta goj dash ngii-dazhi-wiidabimag wiijigeg	so I just sat there with my friends.
19	ngii-dazhi-aanimitaagozinan baapimin	I was talking there, we laughed.
20	ngii-dazhi-migoshkaaji'aa niwiijige odoogaasiman	I was teasing my friend's boyfriend there.
21	naazh dash gaa-shkwaataa that class English ngii-izhaamin	Then when that class finished, we went to English.
22	exam ngii-doodaanaanaan gegaad ngii-nibaa	We did an exam, I almost slept.
23	miish azhii noogom e-dazhi-aanimitaagoziyaan ozaam B nwiishtaazhigig giji-aanimitaagoziyaan	And right now I'm talking here because B is bothering me to talk.

6/1	A:	aanen teacher gaa-zaagij	Which teacher do you like?
10/2	C:	D	D.
6/3	A:	aanek idash	Why?
10/4	C:	she's kind minayo	She's kind, she's kind.
6/5	A:	godag dash	What else?
10/6	C:	nispoiligonaan	She spoils us.
6/7	A:	aanen dash e-doodag	What does she do to you?
10/8	C:	picnic nidizhaamin	We go on picnics.
6/9	A:	apiich	When?
10/10	C:	aadidog	Whenever.
9/11	B:	weshkaj	Long ago.
10/12	C:	weshkaj	Long ago.
6/12	A:	aanen maamwii	With whom?
9/13	B:	the class	The class.
10/14	C:	class	Class.
6/15	A:	anishinaabemon	Speak Anishinaabemowin.
10/16	C:	aanek	Why?
6/17	A:	H megaa gwii-noodaagonaan	H wants to hear us.
10/18	C:	maanooj	So what!
6/19	A:	B giin dash agaanen your favorite teacher gaa-zaagij	B, what about you? Who is your favorite teacher that you like?
10/20	C:	anishinaabemon	Speak Anishinaabemowin!
6/21	A:	gaa-zaagij teacher haw dash	The teacher you like. OK!
10/11	C:	wiijigoo story	Wiidigoo story.
6/23	A:	biizhaan	Come here! (i.e. closer to microphone)
9/24	B:	E maamwii F	E and F.
6/25	A:	aanek dash	Why?
9/26	B:	minayog	They're kind.
6/27	A:	aanek dash E a'aw e-ji-zaagij	Why do you like E?
9/28	B:	niwiidokoog moozhag	She often helps me.
6/29	A:	gwezhige sii	You're cheating!
10/30	C:	OK we're finished	OK we're finished!
6/31	A:	ah ah gaabaj sii baanimaa	Ah ah we have to do some more.
10/32	C:	mii ...the whole thing ... one, two, three, testing , testing	Enough, the whole thing , one two three Testing testing.
6/33	A:	niin niitam	Me , my turn.
10/34	C:	aanen dash gaa-zaagij favorite teacher	Who do you like, favorite teacher?
6/35	A:	G	G.
10/36	C:	aanek	Why?
6/37	A:	ozaam ngii-nitaa-waamaa maamwii shij minayo	Because I always saw her and she's kind.
10/38	C:	aanen dash gaa-bagidinig	What does she let you do?
6/39	A:	kina gegooni	Everything.
10/40	C:	gida-gimoodi naazh shij	Even stealing too?
6/41	A:	gaa gidi-gimoodi	Not to steal.

A = Speaker 6, B = Speaker 9, C = Speaker 10 (conversation 1)   148

9/1	B: gichi-maakaadizikaazo	He's showing off so much.
6/2	A: gichi-maakaadizikaazo ozaam i'edi gaa-noodaa... gichi-naani'ag record gichi-bishigwaadizi na	He's showing off because of that thing , the stereo that can record , isn't he s so useless?
9/3	B: go A	Go A!
10/4	C: fatto	Fatto.
6/5	A: gigashkitoon joker ashi giintam dash a-gii-izise	You're good at it, put the joker so it'll still be your turn.
6/6	A: gaa oops take it back you can't do it anyway	No... oops take it back you can't do it anyway.
10/7	C: my turn	My turn.
9/8	B: C sa	It's C!!
10/9	C: OK niitam aanen wiitam	O.K. my turn ... whose turn?
6/10	A: giintam	Your turn.
9/11	B: wiitam	His turn.
6/12	A: dedagoo	Really!
9/13	B: gigashkitoon	You're good at it!
6/14	A: two omaa ngii-atoon	I put two there!
7/15	B: niizhin omaa	Two there.
6/16	A: newin	Four.
9/17	B: nisin baanimaa gaan wiin newin	You have to (put) three not four.
10/18	A: niizhin ...	It's two!
9/19	B: OK	OK!
9/20	B: maakaa(di)zikaazo megaa	He's making a fool of himself.
6/21	A: mii megaa aya'ii e-oji-maakaa(di)zikaazoj gaa-ji-ininan	He's showing off for the thing, that is what I'm trying to tell you.

1	A dash aaa biizhaan gii'edaan	A said "aah. come on let's go home!"
2	OK ikido dash B	"O.K" said B.
3	naazh dash C ogii-waabamaan a'aa D	Then C saw D.
4	naazh dash D ooh biizhaan omaa njiijiim	Then D "Oh come here my baby, come here"
	biizhaan ogii-dinaan dash	he said to her,
5	gii-giiwe'ag shij	and they went home.
6	naazh dash naazh dash B ogii-niibwii'aan	Then, then B married A and C married D.
	A maamwii shij C ogii-niibwaan D	
7	Lina dash ogii-waabamaan E	C saw E,
8	gii-wiiji'odiwag	they went together.
9	naazh dash B ogii-waabamaan C ooh C	Then B saw C "ooh C" (he said).
10	aanek ikido dash C	"What?" said C.
11	D giwii-dazhi-nidenimig	"D wants you!"
12	no nge'i ko ikido dash C	"No!" said C.
13	naazh dash D ogii-waabamaan C maamwii	Then D saw C with E,
	E	
14	D ogii-waabamaan C maamwii E	D saw C with E.
15	ooh gichi-(ni)shkaa(di)zi dash D	Oh, D got very mad, he slapped C
	ogii-bisaabwaan C	

1	bezhig omaa-sh gichi-maane anishinaabeg noopimig	One time there were many Anishinaabe in the woods.
2	naazh dash gichi-maane miigwaamni ogii-ozhitoonaa'aa	Then they made many houses.
3	naazh dash wiidigoo e-gii-biizhaa bezhig omaa	Then wiidigoo came there one time.
4	naazh dash bezhig maane gii-nibo bezhig gii-minomaadizi	Then one... many died, one survived.
5	naazh dash ogii-mikaan miigwaamni	Then she found a house.
6	naazh dash wiijigoo ogii-naadinaawaan bakadeban	Then wiidigoo looked for her; he was hungry.
7	naazh dash naazh dash adwii ikwesiis mitigkaag gii-izhaa	Then that girl went to a tree.
8	naazh dash gii-wii-zhiishiikeban naazh dash gii-zhiishiike	She wanted to urinate, then she urinated.
9	naazh dash wiijigoo gichi-wisiniiban imaa agwajiig	The wiidigoo was eating a great deal outside there.
10	naazh dash ogii-biijimaadaan zhiishiike'aaboo wiijigoo	Then wiidigoo smelt the urine.
11	naazh dash ogii-anda-amwaan	Then he went to eat it.
12	naazh dash awdii ikwesiis gii-biidige gii-biidige omiigwaamkaag	Then the girl went inside, she entered her house.
13	naazh dash ogii-ndaadaan gegooni giji-nisaajin	Then she got something to kill him with.
14	ogii-nisaan dash	then she killed him.

1	weshkaj A gii-abiiban maamwii B	Long ago there was A and B.
2	ogii-ndaamwaan moozan	They went to get moose.
3	niin dash ngii-biizhaa	I came.
4	niin mooz ayaa... gichi-ayaabe ngii-nisaa	Me, moose, ah I killed a big bull.
5	wiinawaa ogii-ji gichi-bizhishig B ogii-oji-mikoon omaakiishan	They... B always found a frog.
6	A dash wiin ji-bishig ogii-oji-nisaan ayaabeshesh	A always killed little bull moose.
7	gii-gichi-gimiwan dash B gii- gii-gii-prayo gii-gichi-...	It rained very hard, B prayed...
8	B dash agwajiig gii-maa...izhaa	Alexis went outside,
9	gii-baashkwaaganii dash	he was struck (by lightening).
10	naazh dash A ogii-oji-nidinaan B omiigwaamkaag	Then A looked for B in his house.
11	gii-gichi-... B B gonii gii-baashkwaaganii giigido A	"Maybe B has been struck by lightening" said A.
12	na dash waabag A ogii-waabamaan kina blood omaa michisag	The next day A saw all the blood there on the floor.
13	B azhi gii-baashkwaaganii	"B has been struck (by lightening)".
14	niin dash maamwii A gii-ngii-nda-nisaamin gichi-ayaabe	Me and B went to kill a big bull moose.
15	niin ngii-nisaa niizhin ayaabe... no aa gichi-ayaaben	I killed two bull moose, no big bull moose:
16	A dash ogii-nisaan bezhig gichi-ayaabe	A killed one big bull moose.
17	niin dash moko ngii-waabamaa	I saw a bear.
18	A amaa ne omaa moko	"A, here, look here at the bear."
19	ogii-nisaan dash	He killed it,
20	ngii-wiisinamaan ko dash	we ate it.
21	gichi-bishig B A odazhi-jiikido gii-prayo dash	"B", A always said, he prayed.
22	gii-gichi-gimiwan miinwaaj	It rained hard again,
23	Isiah dash agwajiig aaa A kina omaa ogii-biidooda... omaa biidigemag	A (went) outside, A brought all the water inside.
24	gegaad gii-baashkwaaganii	He was almost struck (by lightening)
25	A dash omaa omaa waaaa boy gegaad ngii-baashkoogoo	A (said) "Oh boy I was nearly struck."
26	bidoon nibii ndinaa dash A	"Bring the water" I said to A.
27	OK ngii-nig	"OK" he said to me.
28	naazh goj next morning ngii-izhaamin mi(i)waaj ngo hunt hunting	Then, the next morning, we went again to go hunt.
29	naazh goj omaa niizhin A gichi-ayaabe ogii-nisaan	Then A killed two big bull moose,
30	niin dash newin ngii-nisaa gichi-ayaabe	I killed four big bull moose.
31	bezhig dash waabooshesh ngii- ngii-ogii- ngii-noojibinaa	I caught one little rabbit;
32	ngii-ganenimaanaan dash	we kept it.
33	gii-ojiijiimi ayaa waabooz	That rabbit had babies,
34	bezhig dash ayaa A ngii-miinaa	I gave one to A,

35	naazh shij gookom (n)gii-miinaa	I also gave (one) to grandma.
36	gookom giigido miigwech	Grandma said "thank you."
37	A maamwii shich C miigwech giigido A	and A "thank you C" said A
38	naazh goj A ogii-ndaamaan omaa no... gii-nda-shopyo	Then A went to get, no... he went shopping.
39	A dash omaa ogii-waabamaan ikwesiisan gaa-gichi-onishinjin	A saw a very beautiful girl there.
40	ogii-wiiji'aan dash	he went out with her.
41	bezhig dash neta omaa gii-ojiijiimi'aan	They only had one child.
42	D dash gii-ojiijiimi godag twins ogii-dayaan	D had a baby she had another (set of) twins.
43	naazh goj bezhig gii- gii- gii-na ...ganoonaan	Then she called one.
44	maan anda-nibaan dash gida-gichi-gimiwaniyan onaagoshig giigido A	"Go out, go sleep, it's going to rain hard in the evening" said A.
45	gaa-zaagaaken gekwaan agwajiig ga-baashkoogoo	"Don't go outside, you'll get struck!"
46	aanen giigido dash amaa E	"By what" said E
47	ayaa animikii	"By Thunder." (i.e. lightening)
48	Ooh biizhaa-nibaadaan giigido dash E	"Ooh, come on let's sleep" said E.
49	D dash gii- godag miigwaam gii-izhaa gii-gichi-mobatoo choonaa	D went to another house, she really ran very hard.
50	gegaad gii-baashkwaaganii gii-gichi-noodaagozi	She was nearly struck (by lightening), she screamed hard.
51	biidigemag dash gii-izhaa	She went inside.

1	naazh dash gokii ngii-nda-kinaamaagozinan Maniwaki	Then I went back to school in Maniwaki.
2	naazh dash March break azhii	Then (it was) March break already.
3	naazh dash gitigaanig ngii-... edi ngii-izhaa ngii-nda-maadage	Then I went to Rapid Lake, I went swimming.
4	ngii-waabamaag dash edi gitigaanig ogiida-baapaasidoon ayii waasanjigan	I saw them breaking the window there in Rapid Lake.
5	noopimig dash omaa ngii-biizhaa	I came here to the bush.
6	ngii-nda-maadage mi(i)nwaaj maamwii A, B, C, D, E, niin, F, G	I went swimming again with A, B, C, D, E, me, F, G.
7	gegaa A gii-gwaabawe	A almost drowned.
8	ogii-ndamaa dash ogii-bijoonaa eggs	He went to get him, he brought eggs.
9	naazh dash A dash gii-nda-zhiishiike	Then A went to urinate.
10	ngii-nda-maadage dash	I went swimming.
11	naazh dash ngii-gii'emin	Then we went home.
12	hockey ngii-dazhi-odaminomin naazh giin maamwii A ngii-bakinaagemin	We played hockey, then you and A, we won.
13	naazh dash mi(i)nwaaj ngii-anda-maadage	Then I went swimming again.
14	ishpin gaa-ishkaa-maadage'aan minwaaj hockey ngii-odaminomin	If (intended meaning "when") I finished swimming we played hockey again.
15	B, C gii-bakinaagewag	B and C won.
16	naazh dash ngii-nda-babaamibizonan three-wheeler... D othreewheeler	Then I rode around on D's three wheeler.
17	okii dash ngii-gii'emin	We went back home.
18	ndaadaa dash gii-maajaa gii-nda-giigooske ngii-wiiji'aa dash	My dad left, he went fishing, I went with him.
19	gichi-midido dash niin ngiigoosiman	My fish were very big,
20	maamwii shij A name	and A (got) a sturgeon.
21	naazh dash ngii-gii'emin	Then we went home.
22	naanan ogaashki'aan A niin dash niizhwaasi ndaadaa bezhig D bezhig	A got five, me seven, my dad, one, D one.
23	ngii-gii'emin dash	We went home.
24	C dash niizhin daanaa D ogii-dayaan	C, I mean D, had two.
25	ngii-nda-maadagemin dash	We went swimming.
26	naazh dash A gii-binda gii-biinda-maadage mi(i)nwaaj	Then A came swimming again.
27	ngiishkaa-maadagemin	We finished swimming.
28	naazh dash E E dash ayaa gii-biinda-maadage gii-nda-maadage wiinshige maamwii F kina goj F oniijaandishan	Then E came swimming, he went swimming by himself with F, all F's children.
29	ngii-wiiji'ag dash maamwii shij A	I went with them, with A too.
30	gichi-minendaagon	It was great fun.
31	bagii ezhi-giishkawaag ngii-izhaamin asiniikaag	We went a little into the deep water at the rocks.
32	mii neta	That's all.

ALGONQUIN – ENGLISH GLOSSARY

This glossary derived from the texts and as such contains forms used by various generations. In many cases, the texts contain inflected forms from which we have inferred the underlying stem. The general system of citing words is that of Nichols and Nyholm 1995, however in the case of some transitive animate verbs we have not been able to elicit the imperative form normally used as a citation form. In these cases we have listed the *vta* stem and to show that these stems are not necessarily real words in themselves (though some imperatives forms are formed from bare stems, e.g. *waabam* 'see him!') a hyphen is added after them. Note also that dependent nouns are given in the alphabetical order of their stem with the first person prefix provided in brackets. There are many contractions used in rapid speech in this dialect, some of which are pointed out in chapter 2, and consequently some readers who are familiar with other dialects may find some of the words unusual. In some cases it has proven difficult to determine the nature of an underlying vowel or whether in fact a vowel is present or not underlyingly. Certain clusters such as *shk* and *sk* may show considerable variation, especially in younger speech. In addition there are many assimilations such as a vowel copying rounding from an adjacent vowel, e.g. moko for mako 'bear' and certain words seem to have different forms which are found in free variation such as *aadizooke* and *aadisoke* '(traditional) story'. In these cases, the words have been written as they appear in the texts and alternative forms or contractions are given in curly brackets. Syllables that are only occasionally pronounced are given in brackets, e.g. *mino-(bi)maadizi*. Underlying forms are sometimes given in between forward slashes, e.g. *mide /bimide/* though I have

never heard the first syllable pronounced in this word. Note that the transcriptions of some particles have been normalized on the basis of forms found in other dialects pending further phonetic study of the realizations of word final obstruents as noted in 2.4.2. . Plural forms of some nouns are given after the head word followed by a comma, e.g. *aade, -g* = *aade* 'crow' and *aadeg* 'crows'.

Headwords are listed in English alphabetical order, long vowels being treated as separate letters in the data base used to construct this glossary. See ABBREVIATIONS for an explanation of the symbols used for word types (given in italics).

a'aw {a'a, ahaw}	*pc*	that one (animate)
aabita {aabta}	*pc*	half
aabita-giizhigan	*vii*	to be afternoon
aade, -g	*na*	crow
aadi	*pc*	where, what
aadidog	*pc*	wherever, however, whatever
aadish		(aadi + dash)
aadizookaan {aadisookaan}		*ni* story / sacred story
aadizookaw- {aadisookaw-}	*vta*	to tell a story / sacred story to s.o
aadizooke {aadisooke}	*vai*	to tell a story / sacred story
aagim, -ag	*na*	snowshoe
aagimike	*vai*	to make snowshoe
aagonen i'i {aanen i'i}	*pc*	what
aagoonen a'a {aanen a'a, onen}	*pc*	who
aagwaanen {agaanen}	*pc*	who
aajiigibin-	*vta*	to change s.o's loin cloth
aajitoon	*vti*	to change s.t
aakozi	*vai*	to be sick
aakozi'-	*vta*	to make s.o sick
aakozigaade	*vai*	to have sore legs
aakoziimiigaam (aakoziimiigaamig)	*ni*	(in) hospital (usually in locative)
aakoziskaw-	*vta*	to pass on a sickness, infect, make s.o sick
aamitaagozi	*vai*	see: aanimitaagozi
aan		see: aanen/ aagoonen
aanek	*pc*	why
aanen		see: aagonen
aanimitaagowi'- {aamitaagowi'-}	*vta*	to discuss / talk with s.o
aanimitaagozi {aamitaagozi}	*vai*	to talk, speak

aanimitaagoziwin {aamitaagoziwin}	ni	saying, expression
aanimizi	vai	to be difficult for s.o, feel s.t difficult
aanimoodan	vti	to talk about s.t
aanimoom-	vta	to talk about s.o
aanish	pc	how
aapizhaan	ni	diaper , nappy, loin cloth
aapizhi'- {aapiji'-}	vta	to change a baby
aataasi	vai	to put things, store things
aatawe	vii	to go out (of a fire)
aazhidem-	vta	to talk back to s.o
aazhogan	ni	bridge
aazhokodeN-	vta	to infect s.o, to transmit illnes to s.o
aazig	na	common merganser, saw bill
abaamashi	pc	before
abagiyaan {abagyaan}	ni	shirt
abi	vai	to be in a certain place, to be quiet /still
abinoojiish, -ag	na	child
abwezo	vai	to sweat
abwii	ni	paddle
ach igoj	pc	persistantly, repeatedly
adaawe	vai – o	to sell
adik	na	caribou
adikameg	na	whitefish
adoopii'aatig	na	alder
agaa		see: agwaa
agaachech	vai	to be small (YS)
agaanen		see: agwaanen
agaasigaade	vai	to have small legs
agaasaakonike	vai	to have small arms
agaasaniiji	vai	to have small hands
agaashiishi	vai	to be small
agaatinoozhaa {agaachinoozhaa}	vii	to be small
agaji	vai	to be shy
agi(go)kaa	vai	to have a cold
agiigwewin	ni	crooked stick used to hang a cover over a cradle board
agomo	vai	to float, stay in one place in water
agona('a)n	vti	to cover s.t
agonaw- {agono-}	vta	to cover s.o
agonii	vai	to cover oneself (with blanket etc.)
agoode	vii	to hang
agoodoon	vti	to hang s.t, to set a snare
agoojin-	vta	to hang s.o
agwaa {agaa}	pc	to watch out , be careful, or else..., negator for verbs in conjunct
agwajiig	pc	outside, outdoors
agwendog	pc	"I don't know what"
ajijamoosh	na	squirrel
akakojiish	na	ground hog
akaw-	vta	to touch s.o with stick
akii	ni	earth

akik	*na*	pot, kettle
akonin-	*vta*	to touch s.o with finger
akwaade	*vai*	to climb
akwaade'igan	*ni*	ladder
akwaade'oniige	*vai*	to set a climbing trap
akwaadegwaashkani	*vai*	to jump far
am		see: haam
amik /amikw/	*na*	beaver
amikowaabigoozhiizh {amikowaabigooshiizh}	*na* field mouse	
amiskoozhiizh-	*vta*	water bug, water beetle
amitigoozhii {mitogoozhii}	*na*	French person
amitigoozhiimo {mitigoozhiimo}	*vai*	to speak French
amo-	*vta*	to eat s.o
anaabaawe	*vai*	to swim underwater
anaagodaa	*pc*	if it were possible, imagine if...
anaamakamigog	*ni, pc*	(in) hell
anaamig	*pc*	underneath
anaamisag	*pc*	downstairs
anagosh	*na*	star
anamikaw-	*vta*	to think of s.o
anawdizi	*vai*	to show off
anda- {nda}	*pv*	going away, go...
ani-	*pv2*	going away , going to.. / in the process
animagoode	*vii*	to leave in air, to fly off
animikii	*na*	thunder
animosh, -ag	*na*	dog
aninaatig	*na*	maple (tree)
aninaatigwaaboo	*ni*	maple syrup
aninishiib	*na*	common mallard
anishaa {shaa}	*pc*	just kidding , just for fun
anishinaabe, -g	*na*	Algonquin (Anishinaabe/Indian/human)
anishinaabekwe	*na*	Algonquin /Anishinaabe woman
anishinaabemo	*vai*	to speak Algonquin /Anishinaabemowin
anishinaabemowin	*ni*	Algonquin /Anishinaabemowin / Ojibwe
anishinaabewi	*vai*	to be Algonquin / Anishinaabe
anoj	*pc*	the wrong way, with bad intentions, various, just any...
anokii	*vai*	to hunt
apan	*pc*	(s/he is etc.) gone
apiich	*pc*	after , when
apiichi-	*pv*	to a certain extent
apiji	*vai*	to lean (against s.t)
apijinishin	*vai*	to lean on something
apizhe	*vai*	to wear something protectively
aS-		see: ashi-
asaa		see: asamaa
asabii	*na*	net
asadaa {asaa}	*pc*	no way!
asamaa	*pc*	get lost!
asemaa	*na*	tobacco
asham-	*vta*	to feed s.o

ashamaa	pc	remember!
ashi	vta	to put s.o in a certain place
ashij	pc	and, and also
ashish	pc	and (used with numbers)
asinii	na	rock, stone
ataawgan {taawgan}	na	playing cards
ataawge {taawge}	vai	to play cards
atoon	vti	to put s.t in a certain place
awedi {awdii}	pc	that one (an)
awesiiz, -ag	na	wild animal
awezh	pc	somewhere
awidi {awdi})	pc	over there
awiig	pc	someone
awiin	pc	obv of awiik
aya'ii	pc	that one
ayaabe	na	bull moose, buck
ayaan	vti	to have s.t
ayaaw	vta	to have s.o
ayamii'aa	vai	to pray
ayekobatoo	vai	to get tired running
ayoo	pc	ouch!, 'agh' (expression of surprise or pain)
azaadii	na	poplar
azhaash {zhaash}	pc	push over!, move over!, shove over!
azhashkii	ni	clay
azheshkaa	vai	to walk backwards
azhi {azhii}	pc	already
azhigaa {azhigwaa}	pc	then
(nid)azhigan, -an {dazhigan}	nid na	(my) sock
baabekwaa (redpl of bakwaa)	vii	there is/are lump(s)
baagwaasin	vii	to be shallow
baagwe	vai	to be thirsty
(m)baam	nid	(my) thigh
baama		see: baanimaa
baamenim		see: babaamenim
baamibatoo		see: babaamibatoo
baamibizo		see: babaamibizo
baamose		see: babaamose
baanimaa {baamaa}	pc	must, have to...
baapaahige	vai	to knock
baapaase	na	woodpecker
baapi	vai	to laugh
baapi'-	vta	to laugh at s.o
baapiigweni	vai	to smile
baapitoon	vti	to laugh at s.t
baasa('a)n	vti	to break s.t, crack s.t
baasa'w-	vta	to break s.o (that shatters)
baashkaw-	vta	to burst s.o , to strike s.o (of lightening)
baashkide	vii	to explode
baashkoodam	vii	thunder roars
baasi'eban	vti	to break s.t with projectile
baasidoon	vti	to throw and break s.t (that shatters)

baaskizw	*vai*	to shoot s.o
baaskizigan	*ni*	gun
baaskizige	*vai*	to shoot
baate	*vii*	to dry
baatemishii	*ni*	dry wood
baawitig {baawtig}	*ni*	rapids
babaamenim- {baamenim-}	*vta*	to bother, annoy s.o
babaamibatoo {baamibatoo}	*vai*	to run around
babaamibizo {baamibizo}	*vai*	to drive around
babaamose {baamose}	*vai*	to walk around
babagomaakii {bobogomaakii}	*na*	toad (lit. bumpy frog)
badak {bidik}	*na*	potato
badakaagaakod	*ni*	hoe (lit. potato axe)
badakiigan	*ni*	fork
badakijii	*vai*	to have an erection
badakisidoon {badaksidoon}	*vti*	to stand s.t upright
badakisin	*vii*	to stand
badakomaakii (YS)	*na*	toad (lit. potato frog)
bagidaakwii	*vai*	to let go
bagidawaa	*vai*	to set a net
bagidendam	*vai*	to sacrifice
bagidendizi	*vai*	to sacrifice oneself
bagidin-	*vta*	to allow s.o to..., let s.o. to put s.o. down
bagii	*pc*	a little, few
bagijebinan	*vti*	to drop s.t (intentionally)
bagishimo	*vii*	sun sets
bagishin	*vai*	to fall
bagisin	*vii*	to fall
bagojashk	*na*	nutria (animal)
bagojiin-	*vta*	to gut s.o
bagosenim-	*vta*	to ask of s.o
bakaan	*pc*	different
bakade	*vai*	to be hungry
bakiigin	*ni*	hide
bakiiginike	*vai*	to process hide
bakinaage	*vai*	to win
bakite'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o
bakitedoone'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's mouth
bakiteshkw-	*vta*	to hit s.o (with body), bodycheck
bakitetooge'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's ear
bakobii	*vai*	get into water
bakon	*vta*	to skin s.o
bakwaa	*vii*	there is a lump
bakwezhigan	*na*	bread
bana'an	*vti*	to miss s.t
bana'w	*vta*	to miss s.o
banaazi	*vai*	to be mischevious , a brat
bapagaa	*vii*	to be thick
basaba'w-	*vta*	to slap s.o (in the face)
basakishtigwaane'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's head
basakone'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's back

basakonijii'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's hand (with stick)
basakonike'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's arm
basikwe'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's cheek, to slap s.o on cheek
basinijii'w-	*vta*	to hit s.o's hand (with hand)
basizidam- {psizidam-}	*vta*	to kick s.o
bazhishim-	*vta*	to trip s.o
bazhishin	*vai*	to trip
bazigwiibin-	*vta*	to stand s.o up
bebezhig	*pc*	one by one
bebezhigoshkwe	*na*	horse (lit. one by one nail)
bekaaj	*pc*	be quiet, watch out!
bekajibatoo	*vai*	to run slowly
beshkoosh	*ni*	purse, wallet
beshoosh {beshooch}	*pc*	near, nearby
bezhig	*pc*	one
bezhigoon	*vii*	to be the same as
bi-	*pv2*	towards speaker
bi-odise	*vai*	to come from
biboon	*vii*	to be winter
bichii	*na*	robin redbreast
bidigowaa	*vii*	to be plump, thick
bidigozi	*vai*	to be plump, thick
bidikobiN	*vta*	to pinch s.o
bigiw	*ni*	chewing gum
bii'	*vta*	to wait for s.o
bii'o	*vai*	to wait
biichaa	*vii*	to be far
biichidaase	*vai*	to put pants on
biidaaban	*vii*	to be dawn, to be morning
biidemo-	*vta*	to bring s.o s.t
biidige	*vai*	to enter, go inside
biidigebatoo	*vai*	to run in
biidigemig	*pc*	inside, indoors
biidigese-	*vta*	bring / take s.o inside
biidoon	*vti*	bring s.t
biiga'w-	*vta*	to break s.o (that doesn't shatter)
biigwa('a)n	*vti*	to throw and break s.t
biijimaadan	*vti*	to smell s.t
biikosidoon {biiksidoon}	*vti*	to throw/drop and break s.t (that doesn't shatter)
biiN-	*vta*	to bring s.t to s.o
biina'w-	*vta*	to put s.o in
biinan	*vti*	to put s.t in
biinda-	*pv*	come to..., come and
biindamo-	*vta*	to come and eat s.o
biindem-	*vta*	to call-s.o inside
biini'-	*vta*	to clean s.o
biinichige	*vai*	to clean up
biinitoon	*vti*	to clean s.t
biiskan	*vti*	to put s.t on
biiskaw	*vta*	to put s.o on (e.g. mittens)

biitaagime	*vai*	to put on snowshoes
biitakizine	*vai*	to put shoes on
biitazhigane	*vai*	to put socks on
biitoon	*vti*	to wait for s.t
biiwaabikwaabii {bii'aabikwaabii}	*ni*	wire
biizhaa	*vai*	to come
bijimooji'-	*vta*	feel s.o's presence , to sense s.o is doing something
bikookoshiib	*na*	golden eye duck
bimaadage {maadage}	*vai*	to swim along
bimaadizi {maadizi}	*vai*	to live
bimibatoo {mobatoo}	*vai*	to run along
bimibidejige {mobidejige}	*vai*	to drive
bimibidetoo {mobidebatoo}	*vai*	to drive
bimibidetoon {mobidetoon}	*vti*	to drive s.t, make s.t go
bimikane {mikane}	*vii*	to make a track along
bimishkaa {mishkaa}	*vai*	to travel by canoe, to paddle along
bimookozhi'e {mookozhi'e}	*vai*	to paddle along
bimose {mose}	*vai*	to walk along
binaakwaan	*ni*	comb
binaakwe	*vai*	to comb one's hair
bine	*na*	ruffled grouse, partridge
bineshiizh, -ag	*na*	bird, small bird
bineshiizhiwi	*vai*	to be a bird
binoogozi {biloogozi}	*vai*	to be loose, baggy
bisesim-	*vta*	to record s.o
bisesimowin	*ni*	echo of words
bisesin	*ni*	echo
bishigwaadenim	*vta*	to think s.o useless
bishigwaadizi	*vai*	to be useless, no good
bishigwaajigiize (<bishigwaajigiizhwe?)	*vai*	to speak poorly
bizhishig	*pc*	always, only
bizhiw	*na*	lynx, cat
bizindan	*vai*	to listen
bizitaw-	*vta*	to listen attentively to s.o
biziskendam	*vai*	to recall
biziskenim-	*vta*	to remember s.o
boo'aa	*ex*	expression to attract attention, 'you there'
booboogozi	*vai*	to be lumpy
boodwe	*vai*	to light a fire
boogidi	*vai*	to fart
bookobidoon	*vti*	to break s.t
bookojiibidoon	*vti*	to rip s.t out, to open s.t with hands
bookojiise	*vai*	to burst open
bookoo-	*pc*	just like ...(used before a noun to show anger at that person or thing)
bookooshkaa	*vai*	to be broke (have no money)
bookwejii	*ni*	uprooted stump
booni'-	*vta*	to abandon s.o, to break up with s.o
boonii	*vai*	to land
booniibide	*vii*	to land

booniibizo	*vai*	to land
boonikido	*vai*	to speak poorly
boonitoon	*vti*	to abandon s.t, leave off s.t
boozi	*vai*	to get on
chi-	*pv4*	see: gichi-
choom		see: mishoom
choonaa		see: gichi onina goj
choon igoj	*pc*	see: gichi onina goj
daa	*vai*	to exist
daa-	*pvl*	can, be able to, must, have to,
daabishkooj	*pc*	like..., just as...
(n)daadaa	*nad*	(my) father
daanaa	*pc*	used in correcting one's previous statement, for emphasis
(n)daanis	*nad*	(my) daughter
(n)daas	*nad*	(my) pants, trousers
(n)daashesh, -ag	*nad*	(my) underpants
dabasaa	*vii*	to be low
dabazi	*vai*	to be low
dagon {dogon, degon}	*vii*	to be in a certain place, there is
dagoshin	*vai*	to arrive
dagwaagig	*pc*	in the fall
dagwaagin	*vii*	to be fall, autumn
dakibii	*ni*	cool water
dakigamin	*ni*	cold water
dakobiN-	*vta*	to tie s.o
dakobizo	*vai*	to be tied
dakon-	*vta*	to arrest s.o, hold s.o in one's arms
dakoninii	*na*	police
dakwaa	*vii*	to be short
dash	*pc*	focus particle, emphatic particle
day (YS)	*vta*	to have s.o
dayan (YS)	*vti*	to have s.t
dazhi-	*pv3*	in a certain place
dazhigan-		see: (nid)azhigan
dazhiike	*vai*	to live in a certain place
de {also daa in some forms}	*vai*	to be in a certain place
(n)de	*nad*	(my) dog
(n)de'	*nid*	(my) heart
debaabam- {debaam-}	*vta*	to watch over, to look at s.o
debaam		see: debaabam
debaate	*ni*	pie
debege	*vai*	to believe
debiisini'aabaawe	*vai*	to drink one's fill, be full of drink
debiisinii	*vai*	to eat one's fill, be full
debinan	*vti*	to reach s.t
debise	*vii*	to be enough
debishin	*vai*	to have enough room to sit somewhere
debwe	*pc*	true, correct, right
debwe'ii		see: debwe
debwetan	*vti*	to believe s.t

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debwewin	ni	truth
dedago {dedagoo}	pc	indeed. really, in truth, certainly. very
dedesii	na	blue jay
(n)dedinii {dedlii}	nid	(my) tongue
(n)denigom {deligom}	nid	(my) mucous
desabi	vai	sit down (on chair, etc.)
desabiwaagan {desabi'aagan}	ni	chair
desigonegaabwii	vai	to stand on top of snow
dewe'igan {doowegan, dewegan}	na	drum
dibe	pc	where to
dibikag	pc	at night
dibishkam	ni	birthday
dibweban	ni	pepper
dibwemin	ni	pepper (kernels)
dikinaagan	ni	cradle board
ditan	vti	to listen to s.t
ditim	vta	to listen to s.o
doodan	vti	to do s.t
doodaw	vta	to do s.t to s.o
(n)doon	nid	(my) mouth
doowan {toowan}	na	ball
e-	pvl	subordinator
edi		see... owedi , awedi etc.
egwendiken		"I don't know which one"
ehe		see: enhenh
(nd)elabin	nid	(my) rubber boots
elos	na	fresh water mussel, shell
emikwaan	ni	spoon
enaabigis {inaabigos}	pc	please
endaso- {edaso-}	pv3	every time, many
endasoboonezi	vai	to be a certain number of years old
enhenh {ehe}	pc	yes
esa		used in correcting one's previous statement
eshkan, -ag	na	antlers, horn
eshkan, -an	ni	ice chisel
eshkanesh	ni	wood chisel
esiban	na	raccoon
eta {neta}	pc	only
fwaa		see: oofwaa
gaa-	pvl	subordinator "The one that...", past tense preverb gii under initial change
gaa-gakakizij	na	diamond (card suit) (lit. the square one)
gaa-maawajiidinaaniwag {maawjidinaanyag}	na	meeting
gaabaj	pc	more
gaaboodiyaan {gaaboodyaan}	ni	coat
gaadoon	vti	to hide s.t
gaagaagiis	na	club (card suit)
gaagiidimaji'o {gaagiidimoji'o}	vai	to feel sore, uneasy, touchy
gaagiimaazhi	vai	to make as little sound as possible (walk carefully in woods etc.)
gaagiimashkaw-	vta	to sneak up on s.o, walk out of s.o's path

gaagiizom-	*vta*	to calm s.o, comfort s.o (with words)
gaakaagii	*na*	raven
gaaN-	*vta*	to hide s.o
gaan {kaan, gaa , kaa}	*pc*	no (negator)
gaashkaajigan	*ni*	brakes (in vehicle)
gaashkaajige	*vai*	to apply brakes, to brake
gaashkibidoon	*vti*	to scratch s.t
gaashkibin-	*vta*	to scratch s.o
gaashkise	*vai*	to scratch
gaashkishin	*vai*	to be scratched
gaashkisin	*vii*	to be scratched
gaashkitaaswin	*ni*	capability
gaawiin	*pc*	see: gaa
gaa-zhaabwaagonegaabwiij	*na*	moose (lit. one who stands through snow)
gaazhi'-	*vta*	to force s.o
gaazo	*vai*	to hide
gabaa	*vai*	to get off
gabasin	*vii*	to be closed
gabide {gibide}	*vai*	to get off
gabidetan	*vti*	to get off s.t
gagwe-	*pv4*	to try to...
gagweji'-	*vta*	to try s.o
gagwejim	*vai*	ask s.o
gagwejitoon	*vti*	to try s.t
gajishkiibiN-	*vta*	to let s.o go
gakakeyaa {gakeyaa}	*vii*	to be square
gakakizi {gakizi}	*vai*	to be square
gakina {kina}	*pc*	all
gakina awesh {kinaawezh}	*pc*	everywhere
gakina awiig {kinaawiig}	*pc*	everyone
ganawaabam- {ganawaam-}	*vta*	to watch s.o
ganawaam-		see: ganawaabam
ganawenim- {ganenim-}	*vta*	to look after s.o, to keep s.o
ganooN-	*vta*	to call s.o, talk to s.o
gashki'-	*vta*	to be able to do s.t to s.o
gashkitoon	*vti*	to be able to do s.t
(n)gashkwaa	*nid*	(my) nail
gawishimo	*vai*	to lie down
ge-	*pc*	(e.g. geniin 'me too') also
ge-	*pvl*	future preverb in conjunct
gegaad	*pc*	almost
gegoon	*pc*	something
gekek	*na*	osprey
gekwaan	*pc*	indeed, emphatic particle
geshk	*pc*	emphatic particle
geshk gaa mashi	*pc*	wait up!
geshk naanaage	*pc*	bye, see you later!
geske	*pc*	rapidly
gete'aadizi	*vai*	to be old
geyaabaj	*pc*	still, yet
giban	*vti*	to shut off, close

gibide	vai	to get off
gibidese	vai	to fall off
gibis(i)kaa {gibiskaa}	vai	to stop
gibitan	vai	to have a nose bleed
gibonaamaabaawe	vai	to suffocate in water (drown)
gibonaamin-	vta	to stop s.o's breath, to suffocate
gibonaamise	vai	to suffocate
giboodoozhan	na	child raised by s.o other than their father
giboogozhitaa	vai	to hold one's wind
gibozan	vti	to bake s.t
gibozw-	vta	to bake s.o
gichi- {chi-}	pv4	big, in a big way, very
gichi-noodaachigan	ni	stereo
gichi-onina goj {choon igoj}	pc	really, really hard!, very much so
gida- {giji-}	pvl	subordinator
gidaabiigiminan	vti	to dip s.t underwater
gidaabiigiminiketaa	vai	to put one's arm underwater
gidaadwaam	vta	to paddle with s.o
gidaakwetaa	vai	to put one's head underwater
gidamo-	vta	to eat all of s.o
gidaskaajii'ozan	vti	to boil down sugar
gidi	vai	utter sound (usually in negative e.g. gaa gidiken 'don't make a sound')
(n)gidig /gidigw/ {(n)godig}	nid	(my) knee
gidimaakise {gidimaakse}	vai	to serve s.o right
gidimaakizi	vai	to be a tease
gidimaakse		see: gidimaakise
gigwansigendam	vai	to feel strange / unsure
gigwansigendan	vti	to feel strange, unsure about s.t
gii'edin		see: giiwedin
gii'edinog		see: giiwedinog
gii'en-		see: giiwen
gii'endog	pc	they, them, those
gii'ose'(zin-)	vta	to be a big brother to s.o
gii'oshkwe	vai	to be crazy
gii'oshkwebii	vai	to be drunk
gii-izhi- {gaa-izhi}	pvl ~ pv3	and then
giichikone {gechkone}	vai	to undress
giichikonebiN- {gechkonebiN-}	vta	to undress s.o
giige	vai	to heal, to be cured
giigido	vai	to speak
giigooz	na	fish
giigoozike {giigooske}	vai	to process fish , (to fish with rod YS)
giikiji	vai	to be cold
giin	pc	you
giinawaa	pc	you (plural)
giinawid {giinwid}	pc	we, us (inclusive)
giinitam {giintam, giitam}	pc	your turn
giiniwezi	vai	to become tame
giintam		see: giinitam
giishkaabidoon	vti	to rip s.t

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giishkaade		see: giishkwaade
giishkan	vti	to cut s.t
giishkaawaa	vii	to be deep
giishkwaataa	vai	to finish
giishpin {ishpin}	pc	if
giishpin-	vta	to buy s.o
giishpindoon	vti	to buy s.t
giitakimig	pc	on earth
giitakizine {getakizine}	vai	to take off one's shoes
giitam		see: giinitam
giiwe	vai	to go home, return
giiwe'oN- {giiweN-, gii'eN-}	vta	to take s.o home
giiwedin {gii'edin}	ni vii	north wind, the wind is from the north
giiwedinog {gii'edinog}	pc	in the north
giiwedinosii	ni	north wind
giiweshkaa	vai	to walk home
giiyaashk {geyaashk}	na	seagull
giizhi'-	vta	to finish s.o {e.g. finish (cleaning) a fish}
giizhoowaa	vii	to be warm
giizhoozii	vai	to be warm
giizhigag	pc	in the day, day
giizhigan	vii	to be day
giizhitoon	vti	to finish s.t
giizis	na	sun
giizizan	vti	to cook s.t
giizizw	vta	to cook s.o
giji- {gidi}	pvl	subordinator
gijishkakaw-	vta	to drop s.o
gijishkinan	vti	to drop s.t (unintentionally)
gikendan	vti	to know s.t
gikenim-	vta	to know s.o
gikenimoom-	vta	to know about s.o
gikin(oo')aam- {kinaam-}	vta	to teach s.o
gikin(oo')aamaage {kinaamaage}	vai	to teach
gikin(oo')aamaagewinii	na	teacher
gikin(oo')aamaagozi {kinaamaagozi}	vai	to attend school, to be taught, to learn
gimiwan	vii	to rain
gimoodi	vai	to steal
gimoodim	vta	to steal from s.o
ginebig {klebig}	na	snake
ginezh	pc	for a long time
ginookozi	vai	to be tall (person)
ginooshki	vai	to lie, tell a falsehood
ginoozhe {kloozhe}	na	pike
gishkin-	vta	to drop s.o
gitigaanig	N	Rapid Lake (Lit. "in the garden")
gitimi	vai	to be lazy
gizhaabikide	vii	to be hot (of metal, mineral etc.)
gizhaate	vii	the sun comes out, to be sunny
gizhebidoon {zhebidoon}	vti	to turn s.t off
gizhebwaashig	ni	tomorrow morning

gizhebwaashin	*vii*	to be morning
gizhide	*vii*	to be hot
gizhigaabadan {gizhigaadan}	*vti*	to stare at / look at s.t
gizhigaabam- {gizhigaam-}	*vta*	to stare at / look at s.o
gizhigaam-		see: gizhigaabam-
gizhigamide	*vii*	to be hot (of a liquid)
gizhii'e	*vai*	to be loud, to speak loudly
gizhiibi'-	*vta*	to make s.o go fast
gizhiibide	*vii*	to go fast
gizhiibidi'-	*vta*	to go too fast for s.o
gizhiibizo	*vai*	to go fast
gizhiidi'-	*vta*	to drag s.o fast
gizhiikaa	*vta*	to walk fast
gizhiikaabatoo	*vai*	to run fast
giziibiidaakone	*vai*	to bath, shower
giziigwaan	*ni*	towel
giziinaagane	*vai*	to wash dishes
giziisabadoon	*vti*	to wash s.t
giziisabajige	*vai*	to wash up
giziisaban-	*vta*	to wash s.o
gizikikonan	*vti*	to put s.t away for next time
gochog		see gojiwag
goj	*pc*	emphatic particle
gojiwag {gochog}	*pc*	indeed, sarcastic variant of goj
gochog		see: gojiwag
godag, -ag	*pc*	other
gokii {okii}	*pc*	again , back again, back to
gonage	*pc*	or
goni {gonii}	*pc*	maybe, approximately
goniimaa		see: gonimaa
gonimaa {goniimaa}	*pc*	maybe
googii	*vai*	to dive
(n)gookom	*nad*	(my) grandmother, wife
(n)gookomis	*nad*	(my) grandmother
gookomisi'o	*vai*	to be old (of a woman)
gookomisiwi	*vai*	to be a grandmother
gookookoo {gookoohoo}	*na*	owl (great horned owl)
gookoosh	*na*	pig
gookooshiiyaas	*ni*	pork
goon	*ni*	snow
gooside	*vai*	to be skinny
gopii	*vai*	go away from water, go inland
goshkon-	*vta*	to wake s.o up
goshkwaamo	*vai*	to be surprised
goshkwenami'-	*vta*	to surprise s.o
goshkwendam	*vai*	to be surprised
gotaaji	*vai*	to be scared
gowashkitoon {gowashitoon}	*vti*	to try s.t , try to do s.t
gozaabijigan	*ni*	ceremonial lodge
gozaabijige	*vai*	to foresee, address spirits
gwaabaawe	*vai*	to drown

gwaaban	vti	to scoop s.t
gwaashkandan	vti	to jump on s.t
gwaashkandaw-	vta	to jump on s.o
gwaashkani	vai	to jump
gwaashkwebiN	vta	to hook s.o
gwaashkwenaabii	vai	to fish with a line
gwekibiN-	vta	to turn s.o over
gwenaaj	pc	great, fine, nice
gwiigwiishii	na	whiskey jack, Canada jay
gwiishkoshi {gweshkoshi}	vai	to whistle
haahaawe	na	black scoter
haam {ham am}	pc	here!, take this!
haw {haaw}	pc	O.K
i'edi	pc	that that over there
i'edog	pc	those
i'eni oji	pc	that is...
i'enig	pc	those
idash		see: dash
igoj		see: goj
(nid)iiye	nid	(my) arse, buttocks, backside
ikido	vai	to say (s.t.)
ikidoomaga(k)	vii	to say, it is said
ikwe, -wag	na	woman
(nid) ikwem	nad	(my) wife
ikwesiis, -ag	na	girl
imaa	pc	there
iN-	vta	to say to s.o
ina		see: na
inaabadam	vai	to dream in a certain way
inaabi	vai	to look
inaabigwaamo	vai	to sleep with eyes open
inaadage {naadage}	vai	to swim to a certain place
inaadizi	vai	to be a certain way
inawem-	vta	to be related to s.o
inawisimo	vai	to be forward, not shy
inawjimo	vai	to brag
inendam	vai	to think a certain way
inendan	vti	to think about s.t in a certain way
inenim-	vta	to think of s.o in a certain way
ini	pc	that (inanimate)
inige'i {inige'ii}	pc	that's not true! no , not so!, (YS: used as negator)
ininii, -wag	na	man
ininikii	vai	to accomplish
ininikiiwin	ni	accomplishment
iniwe	pc	that one (in)
iniwige	vai	to point
inizan	vti	to cook s.t in a certain way
inizekwe {nizekwe}	vai	to cook in a certain way
inizw-	vta	to cook s.o in a certain way
ishkode	ni	fire

ishkwa'ag	*ni*	in the back
ishkwaa-	*pv4*	after, last
ishkwaade {giishkwaade}	*vii*	to burn
ishkwaadem	*ni*	door
ishkwaag	*pc*	behind
ishkwaataa	*vai*	to finish, be finished, pass away
ishkwaazan {giishkwaazan}	*vti*	to burn s.t
ishpaa	*vii*	to be high
ishpaakaa	*vai*	to be high (of a bird)
ishpagwaashkani	*vai*	to jump high
ishpakiigaabawii	*vai*	to stand tall
ishpimig	*ni*	in the sky , up there
ishpimisagog	*pc*	upstairs
ishpin		see: giishpin
ishpiniketaa	*vai*	to raise one's arm
ishpitaagozi	*vai*	to have a high voice
(nid)ishtigwaan	*nid*	(my) head
iwedi	*pc*	that one over there (in)
izhaa	*vai*	to go
izhi'odoon	*vti*	to take s.t to a certain place
izhi'oN-	*vta*	to take s.o away, take s.o somewhere
izhi-	*pv3*	thus in a certain way/place/time
izhige'-	*vta*	to make s.o do s.t
izhigiizhwe	*vai*	to speak in a certain way
izhigiizhwewin	*ni*	language
izhinaagozi	*vai*	to look like..., to seem like
izhinaw-	*vta*	to see s.o in a certain way
izhinikaade	*vii*	to have a certain name, to be named/called in a certain way
izhinikaazo	*vai*	to have a certain name, to be named/called in a certain way
izise	*vii*	to happen
izise	*vai*	to happen to s.o
jaachaamo	*vai*	to sneeze
jiibaakwe	*vai*	to cook
jiibaatig /jiibaatigw/	*ni*	cross
jiibaatigowaagosh	*na*	cross phase of the fox
jiibaatigoziibii	*N*	Cross River
jiigaatig	*pc*	in the corner
jiige'ii	*pc*	on the edge
jiijii	*na*	baby
jiijiike	*vai*	to give birth
jiikido		see: ikido
jiikinoo {jiikiloo, zhiikiloo}	*na*	blackbird
jiimaan, -an	*ni*	canoe
jiinawejii {jiinwejii}	*vai*	to relate to people, be tame
jiinawem- {jiinwem-}	*vta*	to be related to s.o
jiisheban	*vti*	to sweep s.t
jiishebii('i)gan	*ni*	broom
jiishebii('i)ge	*vai*	to sweep
(n)jikish	*ni*	(my) rectum, arsehole

jinawenim		see: inawenim
(n)joojoo	*nad*	(my) mother
joojoomkaan-	*vta*	to be a mother to s.o
(n)joojoosh(im)	*na*	(my) breast
joojooshike	*vai*	to breast feed
joojooshike'-	*vta*	to breast feed s.o
joojooshnaaboo	*ni*	milk
(n)joosh	*nid*	(my) penis
(ni)kaad	*nid*	(my) leg
kaakaabshiish	*na*	screech owl
-kaazo		to pretend (verbal suffix)
-ke		make, process (verbalising suffix)
(ni)ki'on	*nid*	(my) nose
kina		see: gakina
kinoo'amaagozi		see: gikinoo'amaagozi
klebig		see: ginebig
kloozhe		see: ginoozhe
ko	*pc*	emphatic particle
(ni)kon	*nid*	(my) liver
(ni)kookom	*nad na*	(my) grandmother
kwe	*pc*	hello
kwiigwaagesh	*na*	wolverine
maag	*na*	common loon
maagaa (megaa)	*pc*	indeed, emphatic particle
maagaa'ii		see: maagaa
maagishkan {maamaashkan}	*vti*	to step on s.t
maagishkaw- {maamaashkaw}	*vta*	to step on s.o
maagobiN-	*vta*	to tie s.o to s.t
maagobinan	*vti*	to tie s.t
maagodan {moogodan}	*vti*	to bite s.t
maagojiiN-	*vta*	to press on s.o's stomach
maagom- {moogom}	*vta*	to bite s.o
maagoN-	*vta*	to squeeze s.o, to knead s.o
maagonan	*vti*	to squeeze s.t, to knead s.t
maagoshin	*vai*	to lie down
maagoshiN-	*vta*	to press s.o
maagoshkan	*vti*	to squash s.t, stand on s.t
maagoshkaw	*vta*	to squash s.o, stand on s.o
maagoshkaw-	*vta*	to stand / lie on s.o
maagosin	*vii*	to lie down
maajaa	*vai*	to leave, exit
maajaashin	*pc*	bye
maaji'-	*vta*	to revive s.o
maajibatoo	*vai*	to run off/ run away from
maajibizo	*vai*	to drive off
maajiibidoon	*vti*	to remove s.t, move s.t a little
maajii'oN- {maajiiN-}	*vta*	to take s.o away
maajikozhi'e	*vai*	to paddle off
maajitaa	*vai*	to start
maakaadizikaazo	*vai*	to make a fool of oneself
maakaj		see: maamaakaj

maakaadizikaazo		see: maamaakaadizikaazo
maakaloone	*na*	macaroni
maakizi	*vai*	to be handicapped
maalaadizi		see: maanaadizi
maam		see: minaam
maamaajindow-	*vta*	to pay attention to s.o
maamaakaaj	*pc*	must, have to, necessary (in negative)
maamaakaadendam {maakaadendam}	*vai*	to think peculiarly
maamaakaadizokaazo {maakaadizikaazo} *vai*		to show off, to act peculiarly
maamidonendam	*vai*	to think about...., to recollect
maamwi {maamwii}	*pc*	with, and, also
maan		short for maajaan! 'get out!'
maanaadizi {maalaadizi}	*vai*	to be ugly
maane	*vai vii*	to be many, numerous, much, a great deal of
maane'-	*vta*	to have many , much
maanedoon	*vii*	pl of maane: to be many spread out or in a place
maanenoon	*vii*	pl of maane: to be many gathered up together
maanii	*N*	Mary
maanooj	*pc*	so what, let it be
maanshiish	*na*	moose calf
maawaji- {maawji-, mooji-}	*pv*	most
madaashkitoon	*vti*	to have strange powers, strange abilities
madaawizi	*vai*	to have strange powers
madawaadizi	*vai*	to have strange powers , to be strangely powerful (by one's nature)
made-	*pv+*	to be heard
magoshaan {mogoshaan}	*ni*	feast
magoshe {mogoshe}	*vai*	to have a feast
maji-	*pv*	bad
majimanidoo	*na*	devil
majimanidoose	*vai*	to become a devil, turn into a devil
makade'okone	*na*	priest (lit. black robe)
makadeshiib	*na*	american black duck
makadewaa	*vii*	to be black
makizin	*ni*	shoe (moccassin)
mako {moko}	*na*	bear
makominaatig	*na*	mountain ash (Lit. bear berry tree)
(ni)manidem {(ni)mandem}	*nad*	(my) animal spirit
manijoosh {minjoosh}	*na*	bug, insect
mashi	*pc*	yet (used in negative)
mashkikii	*ni*	medicine
mashkikii'aaboo	*ni*	medicine (liquid)
mashkikii'aabooke	*vai*	to make medicine, to brew medicine
mashkimod	*ni*	bag
mashkwaa {mashkwii}	*vii*	to be hard, strong, tough, robust
mashkwii		see: mashkwaa
mashkwiimaagozi	*vai*	to smell strongly
mashkwiizii	*vai*	to be strong, tough, robust
mawi {mwi}	*vai*	to cry
mawikaazo {mwikaazo}	*vai*	to pretend to cry
mayaa	*pc*	precisely, exactly

mazinan	*vti*	to draw, write s.t
mazinegan {maziniigan}	*ni*	book, writing, paper
megaa (maagaa)	*pc*	emphatic particle
megaa'ii	*pc*	see: megaa
megwaaj	*pc*	when
meshkaadaapizhaani'		see: miishkaadaapizhaani'
meshkaadoonan		see: miishkaadoonan
meyaawase		see: miyaawase
michaakogaade	*vai*	to have big legs
michaakonike	*vai*	to have big arms
michi-	*pv*	must, have to
michikanaabikog	*N*	Barrière Lake: from michikan 'weir/barrier' + aabikw 'of stone' + ig (loc) = at the stone weir
michisag	*pc*	on the floor
(mi)choomisi'o	*vai*	to be old (of a man)
(mi)choomisiwi	*vai*	to be a grandfather
midaas	*na*	pants , trousers
midaasi {midaasii}	*pc*	ten
mide /bimide/	*ni*	fat, grease, lard
midido	*vai*	to be big
midonenjigan	*ni*	brain, mental capacity
migishtigwaane	*vai*	to have a big head
migizii	*na*	eagle (bald eagle)
migoshkaadizi	*vai*	to tease
migoshkaaji'-	*vta*	to tease s.o
migoshkaajitoon	*vti*	to tease s.t
mii	*pc*	enough, that's all, focus particle
mii dash	*pc*	and then, focus particle
mii kina {mii kona}	*pc*	that's all, s.t is finished
mii'awinawa	*vai*	to be a good person
miigaam		see: miigwaam
miigaaN-	*vta*	to fight s.o
miigaazo	*vai*	to fight
miigwaam {miigaam}	*ni*	house
miigwech	*pc*	thank you
miijim	*ni*	food
miijin	*vti*	to eat s.t
miiN-	*vta*	to give (s.t) to s.o
miinaadjiizh, -an	*ni*	blueberry
miinawaaj {miinwaaj}	*pc*	again
(ni)miinisiz {(ni)miinzis}	*nid*	(my) hair
(ni)miinzis		see: miinisiz
miish		see: mii dash
miishkaadaapizhaani'- {meshkaadaapizhani'}	*vta*	to change s.o's loin cloth
miishkaadooN-	*vta*	to change s.o
miishkaadoonan	*vti*	to trace s.t
miishkiishshkiish		pejorative expression for a disliked person (from mii + shkiish + shkiish)
miizii	*vai*	to defecate
mijendam	*vai*	to be jealous

mijikaawan	*na*	mitten
mijimaakwii	*vai*	to hold on
mijiman	*vti*	to hold s.t
mijimendan	*vai*	to hold s.t in one's mind
mikan	*vti*	to find s.t
mikaw-	*vta*	to find s.o
mikawendan	*vti*	to remember s.t
mikawenim-	*vta*	to remember s.o
mikawi	*vai*	to remember
mikigaade	*vii*	to be found
mikigaazo	*vai*	to be found
mikinaak	*na*	snapping turtle
min(i)weban	*vti*	to correct s.t
min(i)webaw-	*vta*	to correct s.o
minaam {maam}	*vta*	to smell s.o
minaayaawi	*vai*	to be kind (of a man)
minayo (YS)	*vai*	to be kind
minendaagon	*vii*	to be fun
minendam	*vai*	to be happy
minendamo	*vai*	have fun
minendan	*vti*	to like s.t
minenim-	*vta*	to like s.o
mina'ig {miniig}	*na*	white spruce
minigiik	*pc*	many
miniikwewi	*vai*	to be a kind woman
minikwe	*vai*	to drink
mino-(bi)maadizi	*vai*	to live well, be well. get better
minomaagon	*vii*	to smell good
minomaagozi	*vai*	to smell good
minomooji'o {minomoojo}	*vai*	to feel good
minopogon	*vii*	to taste good
minopogozi	*vai*	to taste good
minose	*vii*	to work well. work. function properly
minoshin	*vai*	to be good looking, beautiful
minozekwe {minizekwe}	*vai*	cook well
minwaaj	*pc*	see: miinawaaj
(ni)misad {misid}	*nid*	(my) stomach
misagidaagon	*vii*	to be expensive
misawaaj {miswaaj}	*pc*	though, although, indeed
(ni)mises	*na*	(my) elder sister
mishaa	*vii*	to be big
mishaanoon	*vii*	pl of michaa: to be big
mishakon	*vii*	to be clear, not cloudy
mishakonaa	*vii*	to be blue, see also: mishakon
mishii	*ni*	firewood
(ni)mishoom {moshoom, mochoom}	*na*	(my) grandfather, old man, husband
misise	*na*	turkey
miskodese	*na*	spruce grouse
miskodisii {skodisii}	*na*	painted turtle
miskojaabi	*vai*	to have red eyes
miskwaa	*vii*	to be red

miskwii	ni	blood
miskwii'o {miskwiiwi}	vii	to bleed
miskwii'ojaabi	vai	to have bloody eyes
miskwiiwi		see: miskwii'o
mitig, -oog /mitigw/	na	tree
mitig, -oon /mitigw/	ni	wood, stick
mitigoosh	ni	box
mitigoozhii		see: amitigoozhii
mitigoozhiimo		see: amitigoozhiimo
mitikamig	pc	on the ground
miyaawase {gaa-miyaawasej, meyaawasej}	na	boss
miyaawasekidoow-	vta	to be s.o's boss
mizhi'on-	vta	to catch s.o in a cat like manner
mizhishkide	vai	to be naked
mokomii	na	ice
moo	ni	excrement
moogojii	vai	to defecate in one's underwear, shitty arse
mooka'am	vii	the sun comes into view
mookaasin	vii	the sun comes into view
mookomaan	ni	knife
mooshkijin	vai	to float
mooshkine	vai	to be full
mooshkinebadoon	vti	to fill s.t with liquid
mooshkinetoon	vti	to fill s.t with solids
mooshkintoon		(variant of mooshkinetoon)
mooshkosii	na	bittern
moosinii	ni	bullet
mooz, -oog /moozw/	na	moose
moozhag	pc	often
moozhagin-	vta	to pick s.o up, lift s.o up
mooziiyaas	ni	moose meat
mwegan {megan}	na	wolf
mweganesh,-ag	na	coyote
na {ina}	pc	interrogative particle
naabe-	pv4 na	male
naadagoode {naadage}	vai	to check one's snares
naadasoonaagane	vai	to check one's traps
naadawe	na	Iroquois
naadawemo	vai	to speak Iroquois (an Iroquoian language)
naadoobii	vai	to fetch water
naanaabaa'iwe	vai	to yawn
naanaagaji'-	vta	to watch s.o
naanaage	pc	later, after
naanan	pc	five
naanida {naanda}	pc	some
naaniibwii	vai	to stand
naanomidana	pc	fifty
naanoodaagozi		see: noodaagozi
naapaane	na	flour
naapikaaji'-	vta	to annoy s.o
naazh dash {naazh goj , naazh piich}	pc	then

naazh goj	see:	naazh dash
nabagaa	vii	to be flat
naboobii	ni	soup
nadanaw-	vta	to search / look for s.o
nadotaw-	vta	to listen to s.o
nagaazide'igan	ni	foot rest on a cradle board
nagadan	vti	to leave s.t
nagadendan	vti	to leave s.t in the mind
nagaN-	vta	to leave s.o to....
nagishkan	vti	to meet s.t
nagishkaw-	vta	to meet s.o
(ni)nagizhii {(ni)nigizhii}	ni	(my) intestines
nagonaa	vai	to retaliate physically
nagwaagoni'aabii	ni	snare wire
namadabi	vai	sit down (on ground)
name, -wag	na	sturgeon
namebin	na	sucker (fish)
nanaakwii	vai	to force. to resist
nanaazh {naazh}	pc	until
nandenim {nadenim}	vta	to request s.o to do s.t. request s.o's presence etc.
napaadakizine	vai	to put shoes on wrongly
napaadiskan	vti	to put s.t on wrongly / backwards
napaadiskaw-	vta	to put s.o on wrongly / backwards (e.g. snowshoes)
nasawe'ii {nasawe'ij}	pc	in the middle
nashtaa	vai	to get down
-nda-		see: anda
(a)nda-waabadan {ndaadan}	vti	to go get s.t
(a)nda-waabam- {ndaam-}	vta	to go get s.o
ndaa(ba)m		see:(a)nda-waabam
ndaadan		see: (a)nda-waabadan
ndaawaaj	pc	in that case
ndosekwe	vai	to sugar off
ne	pc	look!
negizi	vai	to be a type of...
nesewin	ni	breath, breathing
neta		see: eta
newigon	pc	four day period
newin	pc	four
nge'i {nge'ii}		see: inige'i
ni- {n-, m-}	prefix	first person prefix
nibaa	vai	to sleep
nibaagan	ni	bed
nibawikaa	vai	to behave
nibeyaan	ni	pajamas
nibii	ni	water
niibiish	ni	leaf
nibo	vai	to die
nidenim- {denim}		see: nindenim-
nigamo	vai	to sing

nigidomaw-	*vta*	to leave for s.o
nigig, -ig	*na*	otter
nigoboonezi	*vai*	to be one year old
nigodaasi {nigodaasii}	*pc*	six
nigodin	*vai*	once, first
nigodwaasoboonezi	*vai*	to be six years old
nigogiizhig	*pc*	one day
nigoji		see: ninigiji
nigokwaasin	*vii*	to be cloudy
nigomanaashtaagoboonezi	*vii*	to one week old
nigwaa('i)gaazo	*vai*	to be buried
niibin	*vii*	to be summer
niibwii	*vai*	to marry, to get married
niibwii'-	*vta*	to marry s.o to s.o
niiganite	*vai*	to lead
niigi	*vai*	to be born
(ni)niijaanis {(ni)niijaandash}	*nad*	(my) child, offspring
niikan	*vti*	to put s.t away
niimi	*vai*	to dance
niinawid {niinwid}	*pc*	we, us (exclusive)
niinitam {niintam, niitam}	*pc*	my turn
niinshike	*pc*	me alone, by myself
niinshikenwid	*pc*	we alone, by ourselves
niintam		see: niinitam
niisaadebatoo	*vai*	to run down
niisaade	*vai*	to get down from
niisaajiwan	*pc*	down stream, below rapids
niisadi'e {niisaji'e}	*vai*	to go down a hill
niisaadi'ebatoo {niisadebatoo}	*vai*	to run down hill
niisadin	*pc*	down hill
niisayii	*pc*	down
niishaabooni	*vai*	to descend rapids
niishtana	*pc*	twenty
niisigwaashkani	*vai*	to jump down
niitam		see: niinitam
niizhin	*pc*	two
niizhiwag	*pc*	two of...
niizhjeshiwi	*vai*	to be a twin
niizhogon	*pc*	two day period
niizhoojesh(an), -ag	*na*	twin(s)
niizhwaasi {niizhwassii}	*pc*	seven
(ni)nijii	*nid*	(my) hand
(ni)nik	*nid*	(my) arm
nika, -g	*na*	Canada goose
nindenim- {nidem-, nidenim-}	*vta*	to call s.o
ninigijaabaawe	*vai*	to tremble (from cold water)
ninigiji {nigoji}	*vai*	to tremble (from cold)
ninigishkaa {nigishkaa, nishkaa}	*vai*	to shake
niS-	*vta*	to kill s.o
nisawij	*pc*	in between
nisenim	*vta*	to fall in love with s.o

nishkaadizi	*vai*	to be angry, mad
nishki'	*vta*	to make s.o angry, to annoy s.o
nishwaasi {nishwaasii}	*pc*	eight
nisidawinaw	*vta*	to recognise s.o
nisidotan	*vti*	to understand s.t
nisidotaw-	*vta*	to understand s.o
nisin	*pc*	three
nisiwe'ij		see: nisiwe'i
nisogon	*pc*	three day period
nisomidana	*pc*	thirty
nitaa-	*pv+*	to be good at, do s.t with regularity
nitam	*pc*	first
nitoon	*vti*	to kill s.t
noodaachigan	*ni*	radio
noodaagozi	*vai*	to scream, to be heard
noodan	*vti*	to hear s.t
noodaw	*vta*	to hear s.o
noodig	*pc ni*	wind
noodin	*vii*	to be a wind
noogom / geshk noogom	*pc*	now, right now
noogom	*ni*	today, now
nooji'omaakii'ese {noojimaakii'esii}	*vai*	red tailed hawk (lit. little frog hunter)
noojibin-	*vta*	to catch s.o
noojibinan	*vta*	to catch s.t
nookimig		see: noopimig
noopimig {nookimig}	*pc*	in the bush, forest
noopo	*vai*	to take a lunch (into the bush)
noosane'- {noosne'-}	*vta*	to follow s.o, chase s.o
nooshitoon	*vti*	to touch s.t
noozhe-	*pv+ na*	female
o-	*prefix*	third person prefix
odaabaan, -ag	*na*	sled, sleigh
odaabaan, -an	*ni*	car, vehicle
odaakaanig	*pc*	at the helm
odaake	*vai*	to steer a canoe
odaapin	*vta*	to take s.o
odaapinan	*vti*	to take s.t
odaazhoganimi	*vai*	to have a bridge
odamendimi'	*vta*	to make s.o think of s.t else
odaminaagan	*ni*	toy
odamino	*vai*	to play
odaminwaagaaN	*vta*	to play toys with s.o
odaminwaage {odaminaage}	*vai + o*	to play with things
odaminwiniw	*vta*	to play with s.o
odamitaa	*vai*	to work
ode	*vii*	to boil
ode'es	*ni*	heart (card suit)
odebegewin	*ni*	belief, culture, value system
odendam	*vai*	to be jealous
odenim-	*vta*	to be jealous of s.o
odenimi'-	*vta*	to make s.o jealous

odibishkami	*vai*	to have a birthday
odise	*vai*	to be from
oditan {odetan}	*vti*	to reach s.t
ogaagiidizi {gaagiidizi}	*vai*	to be fussy, touchy, sore
ogaas	*na*	walleye (pickerel)
(nido)ogaasim	*na*	(my) boy/girlfriend
ogaaske	*vai*	to be lovers, boy/girl friend
ogaskwaajime	*na*	leech
ogiishkimanisii {ogiishkimansii}	*na*	kingfisher
ogimaa, wag	*na*	chief, leader, king
ogimaawi	*vai*	to be a chief, king, leader
ojashk		see: wajashk
oji-	*pv*	for ..., (also used in negative past).
ojibi	*pc*	all at once
ojiibik	*ni*	root (of plant)
ojiig	*na*	fisher (animal)
ojiijiige	*vai*	to kiss
ojiijiimi	*vai*	to have a baby
ojiimi	*vai*	to kiss
ojiimi'-	*vta*	to kiss s.o
okii		*pc* see: gokii
omaa	*pc*	here
omagakiish {omaakiish}	*na*	frog
omeme {meme}	*na*	pileated woodpecker
onaago	*pc*	yesterday
onaagoshig	*pc*	in the evening
onaagoshin	*vii*	in the evening
onaajitoon	*vti*	to waste s.t
onaan	*vta*	to waste s.o
onaanige	*vai*	to deal cards
onaawe	*vai*	to hiccough
onagek	*ni*	bark (of a tree)
onibi'-	*vta*	to lose s.o , get away from s.o
onigam	*ni*	trail, portage
onii('i)ge	*vai*	to set a trap
oniijaanizhishkaan	*vta*	to be a mother to s.o
oniike		see: waniike
oninaa {onaa}	*pc. vai*	hard, with force, to apply force
onishin	*vai*	to be beautiful
onishkaa		see: wanishkaa
onitoon	*vti*	see: wanitoon
oofwaanaa {oofwaa, fwaa}	*ex*	Oh! (expression of surprise, disgust etc.)
oojii	*na*	fly
opwaagan	*na*	pipe
os'iendoon	*pc*	those
osawedi	*pc*	that one over there (in)
oshkinwe {shkinwe}	*na*	boy
osi'edi	*pc*	that one (in)
osodam {ozosodam}	*vai*	to cough
osnaago	*pc*	the day before yesterday
owedimaa	*pc*	that one

owidi {owdii}	pc	over there
ozaam	pc	because, too much, too many
ozaawaa	vii	to be yellow
ozaawashkwaa {ozhaawashkwaa}	vii	to be green (yellowish brown)
ozhaashaa	vii	to be slippery
ozhaashishin	vai	to slip
ozhibii('i)gan	ni	written note
ozhibii('i)ge {ozhibiige}	vai	to write
ozhibii('i)genaatig	ni	pencil
ozhichigaade	vii	to be made
ozhitoon	vti	to make s.t, to fix s.t
ozhooniyaami	vai	to have money
(ni)pan {(ni)pon}	nid	(my) lung(s)
sa	pc	emphatic particle
sawdii		see: osawedi
sedi		see: osi'edi
(ni)sez, -ag	na	(my) elder brother
shaa		see: anishaa
(ni)shiimezh, -ag	nad	(my) younger sibling
(ni)shkiizhig, -oon	nid	(my) eye
-sii		negative suffix
sii	pc	emphatic particle
sii'ii	pc	see: sii
staataagoz		see: wiisitaataagoz
staataagozi		see: wiisitaataagozi
taawgan		see: ataawgan
taawge		see: ataawge
waabadan {waadan}	vti	to see s.t
waabadi'-	vta	to show s.o s.t
waabag	pc	tomorrow
waabam- {waam-}	vta	to see s.o
waabaninesii	ni	east wind
waabaniniwe	ni vii	east wind, the wind is from the east
waabanog	pc	in the east
waabase	na	snow grouse, snow partridge
waabawookookoo	na	snowy owl
waabazhashkii	ni	plaster cast
waabi	vai	to see
waabidii	na	elk, wapiti (lit. white rump)
waabigonii	ni	flower
waabigozhiizh {waabigooshiish}	na	mouse
waabinika	na	snow goose
waabisheshii {waabsheshii}	na	marten
waabishtaan {waabshtaan}		see: waabisheshii
waabooz	na	snowshoe hare, rabbit
waabwaan	ni	blanket
waadan		see: waabadan
waagaakod,	ni	axe
waagibatoo	vai	to run in a crooked path
waagosh, -ag	na	fox
waakaa'igan	ni	fence

waanshkode	vii	to be a valley
waasag	pc	far
waasanjigan		see: waasiyanjigan
waasiyanjigan {waasanjigan, waasejigan}	ni	window
waaskone	vai	to light up (a candle, light etc.)
waaskonendamaagan {waaskendamaagan}	ni	lamp, light
waawaashkeshii	na	deer
waawaaskonese	vii	(there is) lightening
waawaate	ni	the northern lights, aurora borealis
wajashk {ojashk}	na	muskrat
wani'- {oni'}	vta	to lose s.o
waniike {oniike}	vai	to forget
wanishkaa {onishkaa}	vai	to get up (from lying down)
wanitoon {onitoon}	vti	to lose s.t
waw, -an	ni	egg
wawiiyaa	vii	to be round
wayezhitan {weshtan}	vti	to sound funny
webidaase	vai	to make a mess
webin-	vta	to throw s.o out, throw s.o
webinan	vai	to throw s.t away
webwaagonige	vai	to shovel snow
wedagidaagon	vii	to be cheap, inexpensive
wedi	pc	see: iwedi, owedi
wedoon	pc	these
wenibik	pc	a while, short time
weshkaj	pc	long ago
weshtaan		see: wayezhitan
wewenii	pc	carefully
wezh	pc	long time (see also: ginezh)
wezhibaabadam	vai	to dream
wezhibaabadan	vti	to dream of s.t
wezhibaabam-	vta	to dream of s.o
wezhige	vai	to cheat
wii'okwaan	ni	hat
wii-	pvl	want to
wiibaa	vii	to be hollow
wiibaab	ni	cave
wiibaagoonigig	ni	hole in snow
wiibaakishtigwaan	ni	hole in head
wiibaakozig	ni	hole in wood
wiibaj	pc	early, hurry up!
(ni)wiibidaa	nid	(my) tooth
(ni)wiichige {wiijige, wiijge}	na	(my) friend
wiichigem- {wiijigem-, wiijgem-}	vta	be a friend to s.o
wiidabim-	vta	to sit with s.o
wiidamaw-	vta	to tell s.o
wiidigoo {wiijigoo}	na	wiidigoo (windigo) type of cannibalistic monster
wiidookaazo	vai	to help
wiidookaw-	vta	to help s.o
wiigomodaa	ni	basket

wiigomodaake	*vai*	to make a basket
wiigwaas	*ni*	birch bark
wiigwaasaatig	*na*	birch
wiiji'-	*vta*	to be/go with s.o
wiijide'am-	*vta*	to share with s.o
(ni)wiijige {wiichige, wiichge}		(my) friend
wiijigoo		see: wiidigoo
(ni)wiijiiwaagan	*na*	(my) companion
wiikobidoon	*vti*	to pull s.t
wiikobiN-	*vta*	to pull s.o
wiin	*pc*	s/he, contrastive pc 'but'
wiiN-	*vta*	to name s.o
wiinaabawe	*vai*	to be dirty (from muddy water)
wiinawaa	*pc*	they, them
(ni)wiindib	*nid*	(my) brain (physical entity)
wiinino	*vai*	to be fat
wiinitam {wiintam , wiitam}	*pc*	his/her turn
wiinizi	*vai*	to be dirty
wiinshesh	*na*	baby beaver (<1 year old)
wiinshike	*pc*	him/her alone, by him/herself
wiinshikeniwaa {wiinshikenyaa}	*pc*	they alone, by themselves
wiintam		see: wiinitam
wiisagaamagozi	*vai*	to smell bad
wiisagan	*vii*	to be bitter
wiisagatoo	*vai*	to be unable to control one's urges
wiisagendakaazo	*vai*	to pretend to be hurt
wiisagendam	*vai*	to be hurt
wiisagishin	*vai*	to get hurt, to hurt oneself
wiisagizi	*vai*	to be bitter (annoying)
wiish	*ni*	beaver lodge
wiisini	*vai*	to eat
wiisiniwaagan {wiisini'aagan}	*ni*	table
wiisitaa {wiistaa}	*vii*	to be bothersome
wiisitaadapisaawe {wiistaadapisaa}	*vai*	to be annoying while cooking (i.e create too much smoke etc.)
wiisitaadenaagon {wiistaadenaagon}	*vai*	to be an annoying person
wiisitaataagoz {wiistaataagoz , staataagoz}		shut up!
wiisitaataagozi {wiistaataagozi , staataagozi}	*vai*	to make a lot of noise
wiisitaazibiniwaa {wiistaazibiniwa}	*vai*	to be annoying by moving around incesantly
wiisitaazimaagozi {wiistaazimaagozi}	*vai*	to be offensively smelly
wiistaataagoz		see: wiisitaataagoz
wiistaataagozi		see: wiisitaataagozi
wiitam	*pc*	see: wiinitam
wiiyaas	*ni*	meat
(ni)wiizhinaa	*nad*	(my) testicles
yeni oji	*pc*	see: i'eni oji
zaaga('a)m	*vai*	to go out, to exit
zaaga'igan	*ni*	lake
zaagi'	*vta*	to like /love s.o
zaagijibatoo	*vai*	to run out
zaagitoon	*vti*	to like / love s.t

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zaagozii {zhaagozii}	*vai*	to be weak
zaamin-	*vta*	to touch s.o (with hands)
zaaminan	*vti*	to touch s.t (with hand)
zaaminegaade'-	*vta*	to touch s.o's leg
zaasan	*vti*	to fry s.t
zaasekwaan	*ni*	frying pan
zaasw-	*vta*	to fry s.o
zagaadebin-	*vta*	hold s.o's head
zagaasiziden-	*vta*	hold s.o's foot
zagaswaa	*vai*	to smoke (tobacco)
zagime	*na*	mosquito
zaginijiin-	*vta*	to hold s.o's hand
zegizi	*vai*	to be afraid
zekwenijii mijikaawan	*na*	glove
zesabii	*ni*	rope, string
zesin	*vii*	to be open
zhaabwaabawe {zhaabaabwe}	*vai*	to be drenched
zhaagadisii	*pc*	nine
zhaaganaash {aaganaash}	*na*	English person
zhaaganaashiimo {aaganaashiimo}	*vai*	to speak English
zhaagoozom-	*vta*	to overcome verbally. win an argument against s.o
zhaagweshii	*na*	mink
zhaash		see: azhaash
zhaashaaginigaade	*vai*	to be naked (bare legged)
zhaashaaginizide	*vai*	to be barefoot
zhaashagwaajijamoosh	*na*	chipmunk
zhaawani'owe	*ni* *vii*	south wind. the wind is from the south
zhaawaninowesii	*ni*	south wind
zhaawanog	*pc*	in the south
zhebaa	*pc*	this morning, early
zhebidoon		see: gizhebidoon
zheshkwaat	*pc*	in vain, for nothing
zhigaag	*na*	skunk
zhigibis {zhigibish}	*na*	grebe
zhigobii	*na*	fir tree
zhigosii	*na*	weasel
zhigwaatig	*na*	pine tree
zhigwaatigobookwejii	*ni*	uprooted pine stump
zhiishiib,-ag	*na*	duck
zhiishiike	*vai*	to urinate
zhiishiike'aaboo		see: zhiishiikewaaboo
zhiishiikewaaboo {zhiishiike'aaboo}	*ni*	urine
zhimaaganish	*na*	soldier, jack (cards)
zhoobiite	*vii*	to be warm (of water)
(n)zhoogan	*nid*	(my) hip
zhooN		see: maajii'oN
zhooniyaa	*ni*	money
zhooniyaa'oosh	*ni*	purse, wallet
zhooshkaj(iw)e	*vai*	to slide
ziibii	*ni*	river

ziibwaaji'	*vta*	to spray s.o (of a skunk)
ziigon	*vii*	to be spring
ziizibaakwad	*ni*	sugar
zikwaajige	*vai*	to spit
zoogipon	*vii*	to snow

IMAGE EVALUATION
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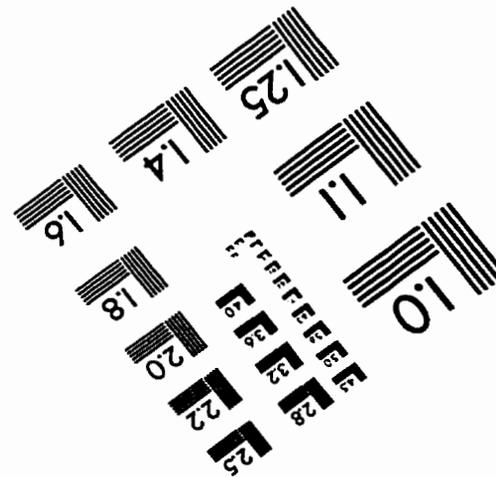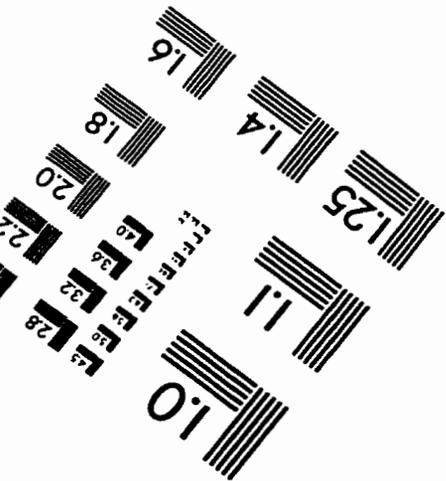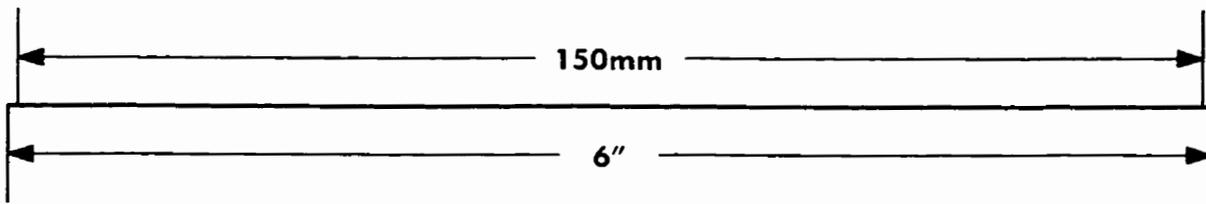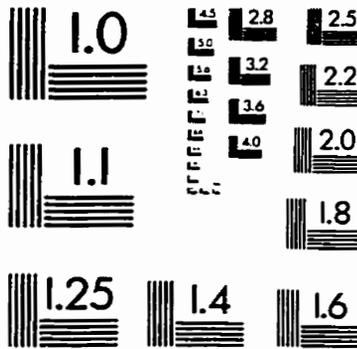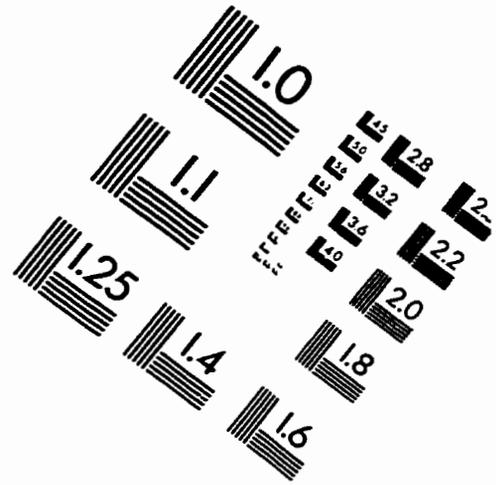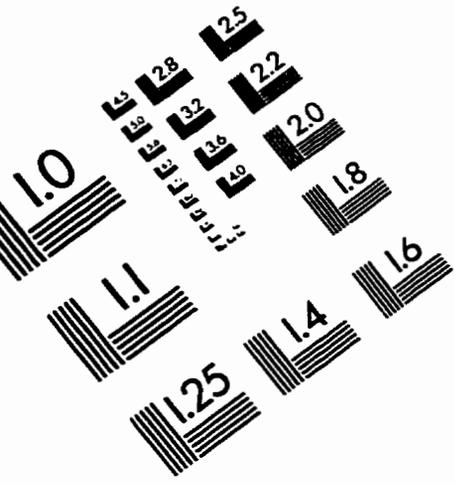
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