Noun Composition in Ojibwe[1]

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1 Introduction

Ojibwe is an indigenous language spoken in what is now called Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Canada. Like other languages in its Algonquian family, Ojibwe is highly agglutinative with extremely rich but transparent morphology. Ojibwe speakers are able to form verbs (1) and nouns (2) out of multiple subparts:

(1) basweweyaabiigibidoon
bas-wewe-yaabiigi-bid-oon
strike-sound-string-with.hands-VERB
play/strum it

(2) basweweyaabiigibijigan
bas-wewe-yaabiigi-bij-igan
strike-sound-string-with.hands-NOUN
electric guitar

The English translation of the verb *basweweyaabiigibidoon* 'play/strum it' in (1) and the noun *basweweyaabiigibijigan* 'electric guitar' in (2) are relatively simple. In Ojibwe, they are extremely complex and a closer look into the subparts of both examples shows that there is specific information encoded about the action (strike), result (make sound), object affected (strings), manner (with hands), and whether the word is a noun or a verb.

Many theories in linguistics such as Distributed Morphology (DM) posit that the familiar categories "noun" and "verb" are derived in the same process as sentence construction and that they are not categorized and stored as "nouns" and "verbs" in our mind (e.g. Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994, Marantz 1997, 2001, Pesetsky 1995). Nouns and verbs are instead derived when an abstract category-less root ($\sqrt{}$) combines with a nominalizer n or a verbalizer v, in (3a) and (3b) respectively:

(3) a.

  b.

For example, in English, the root *red* is an adjective but can be verbalized (with 'den' *redden*) and nominalized (with 'ness' *redness*). In (1) and (2) we saw the n and v in Ojibwe hard at work. Another example comes from the category-less root ($\sqrt{}$) *bakate* 'hit' which gets its category from the v (*-an*) or the n (*-igan*) the verbalizer and nominalizer in Ojibwe:
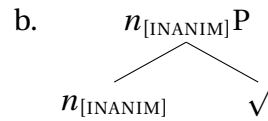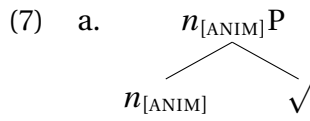
(4) bakate′**an**
    bakate′-**an**
    hit-VERB
    hit it

(5) bakate′**igan**
    bakate′-**igan**
    hit-NOUN
    hammer

The processes of forming verbs with *-an* (4) and nouns with *-igan* (5) are highly productive in Ojibwe and instances of verbalization and nominalization are found all throughout the language. These morphemes are responsible for creating nouns and verbs about everything from everyday objects like electric guitars and hammers to things like sadness and salvation. Across all languages these nominalizers are thought to encode grammatical gender as in (6) (Kramer 2014, 2015):

(6) a. $n_{[\text{FEM}]}\text{P}$
        $n_{[\text{FEM}]}$ $\sqrt{}$

     b. $n_{[\text{MASC}]}\text{P}$
        $n_{[\text{MASC}]}$ $\sqrt{}$
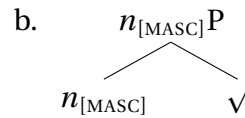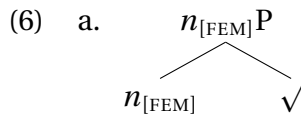
In a language like French, grammatical gender is encoded as either feminine (6a) or masculine (6b) (Hammerly 2019). In Ojibwe, however, grammatical gender is encoded as either animate (7a) or inanimate (7b):

(7) a. $n_{[\text{ANIM}]}\text{P}$
        $n_{[\text{ANIM}]}$ $\sqrt{}$

     b. $n_{[\text{INANIM}]}\text{P}$
        $n_{[\text{INANIM}]}$ $\sqrt{}$

In Ojibwe, the *n* in the tree structures in (7) represents the nominalizers: *-igan, -n, -aagan,* and *-win*. In other words, these morphemes in Ojibwe are thought to introduce gender in the form of animacy.

This project aimed to discover what, if any, restrictions exist in this noun making process. It found that 1) inanimate verb stems cannot take a nominalizer (with one exception), 2) Ojibwe cannot nominalize something into a semantic Agent, and 3) the animacy of the noun does not appear to be directly linked to the type of nominalizer. These findings have implications for assumptions about how nouns and verbs are formed within theoretical linguistics. This report intentionally focuses on a description of the findings and sets aside any theoretical discussion for future work.

Section 2 outlines the research that was carried prior to the elicitation sessions with the native speaker collaborator. Including how the generalizations were reached based on a brief literature survey and data from the Ojibwe People's Dictionary (OPD). Section 3 includes details about the process of eliciting this data and methods used. Section 4 discusses the identified restrictions and what consequences they have for our theories of how nouns and verbs are formed in languages. Section 5 concludes.

2   Preliminary findings

Beyond this nominalizing morpheme the literature on Ojibwe nouns is less extensive than that on Ojibwe verbs and other phenomena (Brittain 2003, Mathieu 2013, 2014, Nichols 1980, Oxford 2013). Valentine's (2001) dictionary and Mathieu's (2014) paper on nominalizations in Ojibwe helped determine that there are four main nominalizers in Ojibwe: the familiar *-igan* from the introduction, *-n, -aagan,* and *-win.* The Ojibwe People's Dictionary (OPD) has lists of all the nouns formed with each of these nominalizers and was consulted to create a spreadsheet of 242 nouns in Ojibwe with detailed data about each example. A close examination of the data on the spreadsheet uncovered the generalizations mentioned above: Ojibwe nominalizers cannot nominalize inanimate verb stems, Ojibwe nominalizers cannot perform agent nominalization, and animacy and the type of nominalizer do not appear to have a close connection.

There are four types of verb stems in Ojibwe (8) that surface depending on the animacy of the arguments and the transitivity of clause:

(8)   a.   VAI: Verb Animate Intransitive (single animate in a sentence)
      b.   VTA: Verb Transitive Animate (an animate object is being acted on)
      c.   VII: Verb Inanimate Intransitive (single inanimate in a sentence)
      d.   VTI: Verb Transitive Inanimate (an inanimate object is being acted on)

VAI verbs (8a) are intransitive verbs with an animate subject. VTA verbs (8b) are transitive verbs with an animate object. VII verbs (8c) are intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects. VTI verbs (8d) are transitive verbs with an inanimate object. This project found that only animate verb stems (VAI, VTA) could take a nominalizer but the inanimate (VII, VTI) could not (more details below).

To better understand the range of productivity of the nominalizers 242 nouns were analyzed from the Ojibwe People's Dictionary. The entries for each noun include information about the English translation, the type of nominalizer used, the animacy of the noun, the verb stem, the verb stem meaning, the verb stem class (VAI, VTA, VII, VTI), and the internal composition of the stem.[2] Table 1 shows four example entries formed with each of the nominalizers in Ojibwe:

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[2] At the time of writing this our team is still working on some of the details on the spreadsheet like the semantic type of the nouns and filling out more information about stem composition.

Table 1: example dictionary entries

Noun	Translation	Nomina-lizer	Animacy	Stem	Stem meaning	Stem verb type	Stem comp.
bakwezhigan	bread	-(i)gan	Animate	bakwezh	cut a piece off h/	VTA	/bakwe-/missing a piece; /-izh/ act on it by blade
odaminwaagan	doll	-aagan	Animate	odamino	s/he plays	VAI	
ziinikiigomaan	snot	-n	Animate	ziinikiigome	s/he blows h/ nose	VAI	
gikaawin	old age	-win	Inanimate	gikaa	s/he is old	VAI	

Overall, there were 25 examples of *-gan*, 88 of *-n*, 21 of *-win*, and 99 of *aagan*. The majority (86%) of the nouns were inanimate and the majority (77%) were formed from VAI stems. The relationship between the nominalizer and the output noun's animacy is most clear with the *-win* nominalizer with 98% inanimate while the other nominalizers showed more variation in the animacy of the output noun. The relationship between the type of nominalizer and verb type is much stronger and *-igan* and *-aagan* mostly paired with VTA verbs while *-n* and *-win* mostly paired with VAI verbs.

Table 2: overview of dictionary data

Nominalizer	# of nouns	verb stems	% animate/% inanimate
-igan	25	VTA	15/85
-n	88	VAI	17/83
-aagan	21	VTA	66/34
-win	99	VAI	2/98
Totals	242	77% VAI, 23% VTA	14/86

This table demonstrates some patterns found in the spreadsheet. Specifically the number of nouns formed with each nominalizer, the most common verb stem used, and the percentage of animate and inanimate nouns. Most of the nominalizers form inanimate nouns with 86% of total nouns being inanimate. The only nominalizer to have a majority animate is *-aagan*.

The most striking generalization drawn from the spreadsheet is that Ojibwe nouns are almost never formed with an inanimate stem. One exception exists with *gizhaate* (VII verb 'it is hot') which may be nominalized with *win* to form *gizhaate-win* 'hot weather, heat' (more details in Section 4).

Another generalization of the spreadsheet was the fact that Ojibwe nouns formed by nominalizers cannot be semantic Agents. *Odaminwaagan* 'a doll' is a strong example because while in English the nominalized form of the verb 'play' is 'player', an Agent, in Ojibwe it is the Instrument with which one plays.

Early in the process of creating this spreadsheet the team noticed that the animacy of the noun did not seem directly related to which type of nominalizer was used. As mentioned in the introduction, grammatical gender in Ojibwe takes the form of animacy: nouns are either animate or inanimate. If gender is introduced in the method outlined above (6, 7) then the expectation might be the gender of the nouns with each form of nominalizer are the same. This is not the case. Table 2 shows that while most of the nouns in each class have the same gender, there is still variation in the gender of the nouns of any particular nominalizer.

In short, before even eliciting any data with the native speaker collaborator the team identified interesting generalizations based solely on a brief literature review and a detailed look into nominalization in Ojibwe found on the OPD. Brainstorming as a group the team decided that these generalizations should be confirmed or challenged by data elicited with the native speaker collaborator.

3 Data collection: elicitations

The native speaker collaborator on this project is an elder from the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe. He was also the native speaker collaborator for the Field Methods I course at the University of Minnesota in the Fall of 2020. To carry out these elicitations the team created a long list of nouns to ask our speaker about. They were mostly created based on a survey of the dictionary spreadsheet but also added nouns from common themes that paired well with the dictionary examples.

The first and second elicitation sessions were dedicated to asking about as many nouns as possible and later picking out the ones which were clearly nominalized with one of the nominalizers. The third and fourth elicitation sessions were dedicated to taking inanimate (VII) verb stems and adding the nominalizer *-win*.

With each noun the native speaker was asked how to say the bare noun (9), the noun in its plural form (10), and the noun with a demonstrative (11):

(9) gikinuɑmɑgɪ-n
s/he.is.learning-NMLZ
'student'

(10) gikinuɑmɑgɪ-n-ʌg
s/he.is.learning-NMLZ-PL
'students'

(11) wɑʔɑu ɛgwe'ikændɑ-n
DEM   s/he.wants.to.learn-NMLZ
'this student'

5

Ojibwe plural markers and demonstratives show agreement with the noun's animacy. An animate noun like ɡikinuɑmɑɡɪ-n 'student' (9) will take the animate plural marker -wʌɡ (10), and the animate demonstrative wɑʔɑu 'this' (11). Compare that with (12)-(14) which demonstrate the inanimate plural and demonstrative forms:

(12) desiwɑkwɑn
      hat
      'hat'

(13) desiwɑkwɑn-ʌn
      hats-PL
      'hats'

(14) oʔo desiwɑkwɑn
      this hat
      'this hat'

Example (12) desiwɑkwɑn 'hat' is inanimate which means it receives the inanimate plural -ʌn (13), and the inanimate demonstrative oʔo 'this' (14). Asking for the plural and demonstrative form allows for a near surefire way of determining a noun's animacy.

One limitation in the elicitation sessions is that some of the nouns were unfamiliar or low-frequency in the speaker's dialect and he often consulted his dictionary. These data may not fully represent *his* individual Ojibwe. In addition the elicitation sessions took place over Zoom. Virtual linguistic fieldwork is very different from in person linguistic fieldwork and presents its own set of challenges. Setbacks and limitations aside this project gathered enough data to at least support some of the generalizations initially drawn from the spreadsheet data.

4   Findings and discussion

The three main generalizations are that: Ojibwe nominalizers cannot nominalize inanimate verb stems (VII, VTI), Ojibwe nominalizers cannot form semantic Agents, and the grammatical animacy of the noun and the type of nominalizer used do not appear to have as close of a connection as anticipated. These findings were originally discovered based on the dictionary data outlined above but were confirmed with a native speaker. In this section each generalization is outlined in some detail from a descriptive perspective: no theoretical anlaysis is provided.

4.1   Nominalizing inanimate stems

Ojibwe verb stems appear in four different forms depending on two things: the animacy and quantity of the arguments in a sentence. The data from the spreadsheet originally suggested that inanimate verb stems could not be nominalized with a few dozen exceptions of the 242 nouns. These exceptions were largely explained away with a crucial observation about the underlying verbal morphology of the verb stems. This brought the number of exceptions to only

one. To confirm this hypothesis, a list of VII verb stems was drafted to consult with the native speaker collaborator. An elicitation session with the speaker helped to confirm the initial finding that Ojibwe speakers appear to disallow nominalized inanimate stems.

Only one noun on the spreadsheet is a clear example of a nominalized VII stem: *gizhaate* 'it is hot' → *gizhaate-win* 'heat, hot weather'. To confirm the hypothesis that other VIIs cannot be nominalized, a list of VII verb stems combined with the *-win* nominalizer was presented to the native speaker collaborator. VII verbs are typically used to describe inanimate things: *mskwaa* 'it is red', *agaasaa* 'it is small', or *abawaa* 'it is warm weather'. VAI stems nominalized with *-win* end up taking on a variety of meanings (Giesbrecht and Lachler 2021) but they generally signal the essence of the verb being nominalized. For example, consider the three VAI verbs in (15) which are nominalized with *-win*:

(15) VAI + *-win*:

    a. *gimoodi* 's/he steals' → *gimoodi-win* 'theft',

    b. *ikwewi* 'she is a woman' → *ikwewi-win* 'womanhood',

    c. *debwe* 's/he tells the truth' → *debwe-win* 'truth'.

The common denominator in all of the nouns in (15) is that they are all nominalized VAI stems and their output meaning clearly relates to the meaning of the verb. If the VII verbs pattern like the VAI verbs when nominalized with *-win* their expected meaning might be similar (16):

(16) VII + *-win* (anticipated meanings):

    a. *mskwaa* 'it is red' → *mskwaa-win* 'redness/red'.

    b. *agasaa* 'it is small' → *agasaa-win* 'small'.

    c. *abawaa* 'it is warm (weather)' → *abawaa-win* 'warm (weather)'.

The native speaker collaborator, when presented with a VII stem and a *-win* final indicated that there is little to no difference in meaning between the VII stem and the nominalized form. He repeatedly described it as 'describing the thing' which is what the base verb already means. Consider the example *mskwaa* 'it is red' (17) which is expected to mean 'redness' when nominalized in (18):

(17) mskw-ɑ:
    it.is.red-INANIM
    'it is red'.

(18) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn
    it.is.red-INANIM-NMLZ
    'it is red'.

The native speaker indicated that this means the same thing, it is describing something that is red not necessarily the property of being red as expected. As an example he provided: an Ojibwe speaker might say *mskwaa-win* when describing somebody's house but it does not clearly mean 'redness' or the essence of being red. Other examples come from verbs like *agaasaa* 'it is small' (19) whose nominalized form in (20) means roughly the same thing:

(19) ɑgɑs-ɑː
    small-INANIM
    'it is small/small'.

(20) ɑgɑs-ɑː-wɪn
    small-INANIM-NMLZ
    'small?'. Joe said "yeah you can, I've heard it" but he was trying to think of a way you
    could used it.

Joe mentioned that he had heard this in the past but could not remember in which context or think of a way to say it. Further demonstrating that these nominalized VIIs are rare and weird to speakers of Ojibwe. Another example comes from the VII stem *aabawaa* 'it is warm (weather)' (21). The native speaker was familiar with this verb but when we added *-win* (22) he indicated that it means the same thing:

(21) ɑːbʌw-ɑː
    it.is.warm-INANIM
    'it's warm (weather)'.

(22) ɑːbʌw-ɑː-wɪn
    it.is.warm-INANIM-NMLZ
    'it's warm (weather)'.

Consider further the VII verb *dibikaa* 'it is dark' (23) which, when nominalized might be expected to mean 'darkness' based on the data above in (15) with VAI stems. Instead, Joe said that these mean roughly the same thing:

(23) dɪbikɑː
    it.is.dark
    'it is dark'.

(24) dɪbikɑː-wɪn
    it.is.dark-NMLZ
    'it is dark'.

Although this data is largely inconclusive it adds support to the initial generalization that Ojibwe VIIs cannot be nominalized. Future fieldwork will be dedicated to seeing if Ojibwe speakers can nominalize VIIs or VTIs with other nominalizers like *igan, n,* or *-aagan.* The native speaker also showed that not all VAIs can be nominalized as demonstrated in (25) and (26):

(25) ɑku-zi
    tall-ANIM
    's/he is tall'.

(26) *ɑku-zi-wɪn
    tall-ANIM-NMLZ
    Joe had never heard this.

Here in (26) the VAI verb *akoozi* 's/he is tall' (25) cannot be nominalized and the native speaker collaborator gave a pretty clear 'no' about forming this noun from this verb stem and that he had never heard it.

While these findings continue to support the generalization more data needs to be collected. In order to determine the nounhood of these VII+-*win* examples the team will be adding nominal morphology like demonstratives and plural markers to determine if the speaker really is forming nouns with these or whether they are still verbs as they appear to be.

There remain a few verb stems that the dictionary indicates are VTIs but a closer look at the underlying morphology suggests that these are indeed VTAs but the dictionary simply lacks these specific verb stems in their database. More fieldwork in the future will be dedicated to investigating these apparent exceptions for the time being this is a compelling generalization which deserves future theoretical attention. Two goals moving forward are to ask for VTA counterparts of the VTI nouns and to confirm that these VII + -*win*s are not nouns.

4.2 Agentive nominals

The second generalization uncovered from the dictionary data is that Ojibwe does not allow for nominalized semantic agents: the doers of a sentence or verb. This finding aligns with other work on nominalization in Algonquian languages like in Plains Cree (Giesbrecht and Lachler 2021). However, one apparent exception may have surfaced in the elicitation sessions with the native speaker collaborator.

Consider the agentive nominalizer -*er* in English which turns 'play' into 'play-er' as in the one that plays or does the playing. In Ojibwe, when the verb *odamino* 's/he plays' is nominalized the resulting noun is 'doll': the thing played with. Consider the following data that pattern unlike their English agentive counterparts:

(27)   a.   *akwaandawe* 's/he climbs' → *akwaandaw-aagan* 'ladder': Instrument
       b.   'climb' → 'climb-er': Agent

(28)   a.   *adaawaage* 's/he sells' → *adaawaaga-n* 'something for sale, merchandise': Product
       b.   's/he sells' → 'seller': Agent

(29)   a.   *biindaagibagizo* 's/he does a hoop dance' → *biindaagibagizo-win* 'a hoop dance': Result
       b.   's/he does a hoop dance' → 'a hoop dancer': Agent

(30)   a.   *baasaabikiz* 'blast h/' → *baasaabikiz-igan* 'an explosive, dynamite': Instrument
       b.   'blast h/' → 'blaster': Agent (or Instrument)

There are different nominalizers in English (and Ojibwe) so this comparison is not entirely fair but a thorough review of the spreadsheet nouns shows that Ojibwe cannot nominalize something into a semantic Agent. This was confirmed by data from the native speaker collaborator because for a noun like 'teacher' (Agent, the one who teaches) instead of nominalizing the verb 'to teach' he added the *inini* 'man' suffix to mean something like 'teacher man' as in (31):

(31) ikæna:ʔamɑge-wenene
      s/he.teaches-man
      'teacher (masc)'

Example (31) shows another productive nominalization in Ojibwe: *winini* 'man' or *ikwe* 'woman'. This is used for many different things in Ojibwe but is not one of the core nominalizers this project researched. These types of nominalizers are used to form Agents and other doers like *anokii* 's/he works' → *anokii-winini* 'worker (man)', *biiwaabikoke* 's/he mines' → *biiwaabikoke-winini* 'miner (man)', and *ningaasimoo* 's/he sails' → *ningaasimoowinini* 'sailor'. These examples are all clearly examples of agents formed with the final *winini*.

One apparent exception that the native speaker collaborator provided was mɑ:ʒændɑmɑ-wɪn 'student' (32, 33) which has a very agent-like feel to it:

(32) ɡikinuɑmɑɡɪ-n
      s/he.is.learning-NMLZ
      'student'

(33) ɡikinuɑmɑɡɪ-n-ʌɡ
      s/he.is.learning-NMLZ-PL
      'students'

This may not be a semantic Agent because one can argue that a student formed from the verb 'to learn' is actually the Experiencer of learning, as opposed to an Agent. A student formed from the verb 'to study' would be the semantic Agent of studying. This report leaves this question for further work.

Overall, it appears that the Ojibwe nominalizers that were the focus of this project are unable to create semantic Agents. This might suggest that the internal structure of agentive nominals is different or agentive nominalizers are not formed in the same process as other nouns are. This issue will be left for future exploration.

4.3 Animacy and nominalizers

Kramer (2014, 2015) proposes that grammatical gender is introduced into the noun by the nominalizing head *n*. In Ojibwe, grammatical gender is expressed as animacy. While many nouns in Ojibwe's grammatical animacy system mirror semantic (real world) animacy there are exceptions like rocks, bread, and certain types of berries which are animate. In this sense, grammatical gender in Ojibwe is marginally arbitrary but it is only arbitrary in the animate direction: there are no semantically animate nouns that are grammatically inanimate. If *n* introduces gender in the form of animacy the expectation is that all nouns formed with the same type of nominalizer should have the same animacy. The spreadsheet data suggest that this is not the case.

The expectation if *n* introduces gender (animacy) is that all nouns formed with *-igan* should have the same animacy. The same applies for the other nominalizers *-aagan*, *-n*, and *-win*. However, a small sample of nouns from the four different nominalizers quickly shows that the

gender varies between within each class of nominalizers. The generalization that nominalizer and animacy are closely tied holds strongest for two of the nominalizers -*igan* (34) and -*win* (35). -*igan* nouns (34) are majority inanimate with roughly a dozen exceptions:

(34) -*igan* noun and animacy
   a. *bakwezhigan* 'bread': Animate
   b. *gashkaabika'igan* 'a lock': Inanimate
   c. *onadinigan* 'dough': Animate
   d. *zhiiwaagamizigan* 'syrup': Inanimate

In (34) the nominalizer -*igan* forms four different nouns: two animate, two inanimate. A survey of all of the *igan* nouns shows that the vast majority of the nouns are inanimate. -*igan* nominals *can* be Animate like (34a) *bakwezhigan* 'bread' and (34c) *onadinigan* 'dough' but these are extremely rare with the number of exceptions in the double digits. The other nominalizer with an apparently close relationship to animacy is -*win* (35). -*win* nouns are also majority inanimate but with a stronger pattern than -*igan* because there are only two exceptions shown in (35a) and (35c):

(35) -*win* noun and animacy
   a. *ataadiwin* 'a playing card': Animate
   b. *gagwaadagitoowin* 'hard time, suffering': Inanimate
   c. *apinikaazowin* 'a namesake': Animate
   d. *gagwejikanidiwin* 'a foot race': Inanimate

Like -*igan*, -*win* nouns are primarily inanimate with only two exceptions: (35a) *ataadiwin* 'a playing card' and (35c) *apinikaazowin* 'a namesake'. The first of the four nominalizers to break such a strong pattern is -*n* with more than 15% animate and the remaining 85% are inanimate (36):

(36) -*n* noun and animacy
   a. *mikwamiikaan* 'cut ice': Animate
   b. *gijipizon* 'a belt': Inanimate
   c. *gashkigwaason* 'a sewing machine': Animate
   d. *bimikawaan* 'a footprint, track': Inanimate

In (36) a select few nouns are represented: two animate (36a, c) and two inanimate (36b, d). The nominalizer -*aagan* strays from the pattern of the other nominalizers because the majority of the nominals are animate (37). Naturally there are a few exceptions but the pattern is clear that -*aagan* forms more animate nouns (37a, c) that inanimate nouns (37b, d):

(37) -*aagan* noun and animacy
   a. *odaminwaagan* 'a doll': Animate
   b. *zikwaagan* 'a spitoon': Inanimate
   c. *inawemaagan* 'a relative, kinsman': Animate

      d. *dasoonaagan* 'a trap': Inanimate

These findings may suggest that the relationship between *n* and gender in Ojibwe is more complicated than previously assumed. This does not necessarily suggest that animacy is not introduced by *n*, but that the relationship may not be as clear-cut in Ojibwe. There may be something unique about Ojibwe nominalizers or the particular instances of nominalization that veer from the general pattern of *n* introducing animacy. A critical observation is that all of these nouns are created from verb stems which were presumably verbalized with a *v* prior to becoming a noun. *n* may not have a choice in which gender it assigns when it nominalizes a verb stem.

A theoretical analysis of nominalizations in Ojibwe from Eric Mathieu (2014) suggested that the *igan* nominalizer is actually the *-n* nominalizer with a detransitivizing morpheme *ge+n*. In addition, Valentine (2001) notes that the *aa* in *aagan* is actually an augment: something that exists to resolve a phonological problem and is not genuinely syntactic. This would suggest that the *aagan* nominalizers is composed of the *n*, the detransitivizer *ge*, and an augmented vowel *aa*: *aa+ge+n*. While the majority of the nouns are inanimate, there is still variation in the animacy of the nouns. If the four nominalizers are the same underlying *-n* nominalizer, it is expected that they all share the same animacy. This is not the case.

A much stronger relationship was found between the type of nominalizer and stem type. Depending on the transitivity of the stem it seemed to pattern closely with the nominalizer type. For example the majority of the *win* and *n* nouns were formed from VAI stems and the majority of *-igan* and *aagan* nouns were formed from VTA stems.

5   Conclusion

This project set out to identify what, if any, restrictions exist in forming nouns in Ojibwe. Preliminary research led to three generalizations about noun formation in Ojibwe: Ojibwe cannot form nouns from inanimate verb stems, Ojibwe cannot form a semantic agent with the nominalizers, and the gender of the nominal does not pattern exactly with the nominalizer used. A native speaker collaborator helped confirm these hypotheses in elicitation sessions but there remain a few exceptions to these generalizations. In addition there remain countless unanswered and even unasked questions about this topic as a whole. Future fieldwork will be dedicated to gathering more data. This project is not complete and our team plans on continuing working with our native speaker collaborator in the future. Once there is enough data and a clear pattern, our team will hopefully be able to work out a genuine theoretical explanation of these questions.

Appendix:

Link to google sheet of Ojibwe nouns:

Data from Elicitation 1:
Field Report
File Name: UROPElicitations-1-52
Hunter Johnson
Date: 24 MAR 2021
Speaker: Joe Nayqounabe (JN) (Mille Lacs)

(1) ɛgwe'ikændɑ-n
s/he.wants.to.learn-NMLZ
'student'

(2) ɛgwe'ikændɑːsodʒɪg
students
'students'

(3) wɑʔɑu ɛgwe'ikændɑn
DEM   s/he.wants.to.learn-NMLZ
'this student'

(4) gikinuɑmɑgɪ-n
s/he.is.learning-NMLZ
'student'

(5) gikinuɑmɑgɪ-n-ʌg
s/he.is.learning-NMLZ-PL
'student'

(6) wiʔikændɑːso
s/he.wants.to.learn
's/he wants to learn'

(7) ikænɑːʔɑmɑge-wenene
s/he.teaches-man
'teacher (masc)'

(8) ikænɑːʔɑmɑge-ikwe
s/he.teaches-woman
'teacher (fem)'

(9)   ikæna: ɢi-dikændamún
     teach   2-show??
     'I'm showing you'

(10) ikæna: ɢi-dikænamawɪn
     teach   2-show??
     'I'm showing you' Joe says this means more like 'I'm showing you (how/theway)' and so
     I wonder if that -wɪn is a nominalizer and means 'the way' or something?

(11) ikæna:ʔamɑge-wenene-wʌɢ
     s/he.teaches-man-PL
     'teachers (masc)'

(12) ikæna:ʔamɑgo-kwe-wʌɢ
     s/he.teaches-woman-PL
     'teachers (fem)'

(13) ikæna:ʔamɑge-wʌɢ
     s/he.teaches-PL
     'they are teaching'

(14) ikæna:ʔamɑːge
     s/he.teaches
     's/he teaches'

(15) ikæna:ʔmɑu
     s/he.teaches-IMP
     'teach h/ (imp)'

(16) ikæna:ʔamɑːde-wɪn
     s/he.teaches-NMLZ
     'education'

(17) ikæna:ʔamɑːde-wɪn-un
     s/he.teaches-NMLZ-PL
     'educations'

(18) oʔo ikæna:ʔamɑːde-wɪn
     this s/he.teaches-NMLZ
     'this education'

(19) ɢiminigu-na: ejabidʒituja:n ikænamaguja:n
     give-Q   ??   ??
     'did they give you something yo work on for school?' Joe responded with this when I
     asked how to say class/lesson. There was no dictionary entry for it in his books. Going
     to need help glossing this!

(20) ikænaːʔamaːɢewa-ɢʌmɪɡ
s/he.teaches-building
'school'

(21) nĩʒikænaːʔamaːɢewa-ɢʌmɪɡ-un
two   s/he.teaches-building-PL
'two schools'

(22) ɪʒa   ikænaːʔamaːde-wɪŋ
s/he.goes place.where.they.learn
's/he is going to the place where they learn (school)'

(23) ikænaːʔamaːde-wɪŋ
s/he.teaches-NMLZ.LOC??
'place where they learn (school)'

(24) ɪʒa-wʌɡ   wɪde ikænaːsuŋ
s/he.goes-PL ??   place.where.they.learn
'they are going to the place where they learn (school)' I forget what wɪde means or how it is used.

(25) ikændaːso
s/he.is.smart
's/he is smart'

(26) ikændaːso
s/he.is.smart
'intelligence, smartness' I was hoping for a nominalizer here but Joe said they just say s/he is smart to mean intelligence. I think this is a good candidate to try and nominalize later!

(27) ikændaːso   ojibwe-mo-wɪn
s/he.is.smart Ojibwe-speak-NMLZ
's/he is good at the Ojibwe language'

(28) tʃi-ikændaːso
very-s/he.is.smart
's/he is very smart'

(29) wɑbowɑjaːn
blanket/quilt
'blanket/quilt' I asked Joe for both 'blanket' and 'quilt' and he said they are same word.

(30) wɑbowɑjaːn-ɑn
blanket/quilt-PL
'blankets/quilts'

(31) mawɑndʊgwasʌn
blanket/quilt
'blanket/quilt' Joe said this is what is in the dictionary under 'quilt'.

(32) ʌpwewɪʃɪmun
pillow
'pillow'

(33) ʌpwewɪʃɪmun-ʌn
pillowPL
'pillows'

(34) ʌpeʃɪmun
mattress
'mattress'

(35) ʌpeʃɪmun-ʌn
mattressPL
'mattresses' Joe said the dictionary has the ending 'an' but that he would use 'on'.

(36) nɪbɑː-gʌn
s/he.sleeps-NMLZ
'bed'

(37) nɪbɑː-gʌn-ʌn
s/he.sleeps-NMLZ-PL
'beds'

(38) nɪbɑː
s/he.sleeps
's/he sleeps'

(39) gi-minu-nɪbɑː mɑ
2-??-sleep   Q
'did you sleep well?' I tried to ask Joe how he would say 'a sleep', wondering if using a different nominalizer with 'sleep' could get us that noun. I ask for nap below and it takes a very different form.

(40) nɪbɑː-dug
s/he.sleep-DUB
'he's probably asleep' Joe said you can say this in response to 'Where's Chris?' and it means he's probably asleep.

16

(41) ɑjɑ   ná chris?
      there Q   Chris?
      'Is Chris there?' Joe said if you asked this you could respond with 'ẽjɑ, nɪbɑ' to mean,
      yes, he's asleep.

(42) nɪbɑːn
      s/he.sleep.IMP
      'go to sleep (imp)'

(43) zɪmbɑŋgweʃe
      nap
      'nap' Hoping for a nominalized 'niba' again.

(44) zɪmbɑŋgweʃe-wʌg
      they.were.napping
      'they were napping' He said he's not sure how to say 'many naps' but that he would check
      on the pros with this one.

(45) dɑʒ-igʌn
      sock-NMLZ
      'sock'

(46) dɑʒ-igʌn-ʌn
      sock-NMLZ-PL
      'socks'

(47) gidu dɑʒ-igɑn
      bring sock
      'bring me my sock'

(48) ubizikɑnʌn
      s/he.is.wearing.socks
      's/he is wearing socks'

(49) bʌgiwejɑːn
      shirt
      'shirt'

(50) bʌgiwejɑːn-ʌn
      shirt-PL
      'shirts'

(51) nĩʒɪso
      pants
      'pants' Joe said this is the dictionary entry.

(52) (g)ʌbudiegwɑzʌn
pants

'pants' but this is how Joe would say 'pants'. He said Canadians would put the 'g' on the front.

Data from Eliciation 2:

Field Report
File Name: UROPElicitations-53-109
Hunter Johnson
Date: 15 APR 2021
Speaker: Joe Nayqounabe (JN) (Mille Lacs)

(53) zɑːnɪgʌd
it's.hard

'it's hard' (emotionally, said in the context of the band member passing away)

(54) n-iwɑndɪtɑso-mɪn
1-lose.someone-PL

'we lost someone'

(55) n-ɪmɪkwændɑ-mɪn
1-think-PL

'I'm thinking of you' it sounds like Joe initially said ''

(56) n-ɪmʌʒændʌm n-udɑmɑn
1-sorry   1-hear

'I'm sorry to hear about this'

(57) n ɪʒɑwændɑ-mɪn
1-love.grief-PL

'I love you, share my grief' Joe said this is pretty broad

(58) miː ɑkɪnɑ gitʃi-wɑnɪtɑso-jɑŋ
mii akina gichi-lose.1PL

'we lost big' I think this goes with 59, but Joe gave them kind of separately. I will still include them in a single gloss in 60.

(59) gɑwiːn etɑgo mɪmændɑwɑdʒi-gʌn-ɑn
NEG   only 1.PL-be.related.to-NMLZ??-PL

'not only the relatives' Hm... I really don't think this is the nominalizer (or the plural) if it's taking the inanimate plural? Could be verbal morphology I'm mistaking for the nominalizer and the plural. I remember Joe used a similar word at the beginning of field methods to say 'greetings relatives' but I think that took the -wug plural.

(60) m

miː ɑkɪnɑ gitʃi-wɑnɪtɑso-jɑŋ gɑwiːn etɑgo mmændɑwɑdʒi-gʌn-ɑn
mii akina gichi-lose.1PL   NEG   only 1.PL-be.related.to-NMLZ-PL

'We all lost big, not just the relatives'/'When we lose a Mille Lacs band member we all lose' Joe said this is a saying they have at Mille Lacs when a member of their band passes away.

(61) wiːduːkwɪdʌk
help.them
'help each other/that family (in grief)'

(62) wiːsɑgændɑmʌ-wʌg
hurt-PL
'they are hurting' (the family that lost someone)

(63) mɑːʒænðʌmɪ-wʌg
sad-PL
'they're sad, feeling pain' Joe said could mean in modern times 'depression/they're depressed' but if he said 'mɑːʒænðʌmɪ-wʌg' he wouldn't be making a diagnosis but that they're feeling sad.

(64) mɑːwi-wʌg
cry-PL
'crying'

(65) mɑːwe
cry
'cry'

(66) gegu   mɑdʌbe ʌbʌngɪsɪsmuːn
NEG.IMP ??   ??
'don't let the tear drop on the body' Joe responded with this when I asked how to say 'tears/tear drops'. I think it is meant to mean don't cry.

(67) mɑʒændɑmuːg
sad
'they're sad'

(68) mɑːʒændɑmɑ-wɪn
sad-NMLZ
'sadness' another State noun with a -win final. Joe gave this unprompted too.

(69) mɑːʒændɑmɑ-wɪn-ɑn
sad-NMLZ-PL
'sadness (PL)' Joe gave this in Ojiblish 'There's mɑːʒændɑmɑ-wɪn-ɑn in our community'. I asked what the plural of (68) was, but he gave (70). I think this could be the plural of (68)?

(70) n-ɪwisɪgændɑ-mɪn
1-pain-PL
'we're hurting (emotional)' Joe said it's contextual. If he were laying in a hospital bed after heart/back surgery then you'd assume it was physical.

(71) desiwɑkwɑn
hat
'hat'

(72) desiwɑkwɑn-ʌn
hats
'hats'

(73) oʔo desiwɑkwɑn
this hat
'this hat'

(74) u-bizikɑn desiwɑkwɑn
3-wear   hat
's/he is wearing hat' I was trying to see if this is the nominalized 's/he is wearing a hat'. It doesn't look like it.

(75) gɪtʃibɪzun
belt
'belt' from Joe's dictionary. Can also mean suspenders or something else that holds up your pants.

(76) gɪtʃibɪzun-ʌn
belt-PL
'belts' from Joe's dictionary.

(77) oʔo gɪtʃibɪzun
this belt
'this belt'

(78) u-bizikɑ gɪtʃibɪzun
3-wear   gichi-belt
's/he is wearing a belt'

(79) giʃkɪnikebɪzɑn
bracelet
'bracelet' It sounded like Joe was alternating between dʒ- and g but he landed on g.

(80) giʃkɪnikebɪzɑn-ɑn
bracelet-PL
'bracelets'

(81) nɑbɪkɑwɪ-gʌn
necklace-NMLZ
'necklace' Also the word for necktie.

(82) nɑbɪkɑwɪ-gʌn-ɑn
necklace-NMLZ-PL
'necklaces'

(83) biːdig
room
'room' Joe's response.

(84) ɑbɪwɪn
room
'room' dictionary.

(85) ɑbɪwɪn-ɑn
room-PL
'rooms'

(86) biːndige
come.inside
'come inside' Not just the house, could be the car too.

(87) aːwʌsɪsʌg
next.room
'the next room'

(88) zɑgɑʔɑː-gʌmig
restroom-building
'bathroom' from dictionary.

(89) miːzi-wi-gʌmig
#2-??-building
'bathroom' Joe had never heard this one and said it seemed weird. He always used the example from (90).

(90) ɑgwʌdʒiɑ-gʌmɪg
outside-building
'outhouse' Joe said this is what they said growing up because they had outhouses.

(91) ʃiʃi-wʌ-gʌmɪg
#1-??-building
'bathroom' Joe said 'that's where you do #1/piss'.

(92) miːzi-ɑbʌwɪn
#2-room

'toilet seat' I asked Joe what this would mean and he said it almost means more like toilet seat than bathroom. 'Where you sit to do business'.

(93) mɪzi
#2
'#2'

(94) ʃiʃig
#1/piss
'#1/piss'

(95) ɑgwʌdʒiɑ-gʌmɪg
outside-building

'toilet' Same as bathroom but I asked Joe how could you say toilet.

(96) gɪzijɑːbɪde
toothbrush
'toothbrush'

(97) gɪzijɑːbɪde-ʌn
toothbrush-PL
'toothbrush'

(98) oʔo gɪzijɑːbɪde
this toothbrush
'this toothbrush'

(99) gizibiːgɑigʌ-n
soap-NMLZ
'soap'

(100) gizibiːgɑigʌ-n-ɑn
soap-NMLZ-PL
'soaps'

(101) gizibiːgaʔige
washing/cleaning

's/he is washing/cleaning' I asked Joe (because (99)/(100) sounded like igan) what his intuitions were about the meaning of gizibiɡɑ/gɪzibige and he gave me this! He said this meaning is situational.

(102) ɡizibiːɡɑʔ-iʒe
washing/cleaning-REFL

's/he is taking a shower/bath' Means he's cleaning himself but contextual. If you heard the shower running, you'd know he was talking a shower but if you didn't you'd assume he's taking a bath. You can also use the same words for a bathtub or a shower.

(103) ɡizibiːɡɪtuːnʌn
cleaner

'cleaner, chemicals' but this could also just mean water. It means what they're using to clean.

(104) ɡizibiːɡɪtuːn
clean.IMP
'clean it'

(105) u-ɡizibiːɡɪtuːn
3-clean.
's/he is cleaning'

(106) ɡizibiːniː-nindʒini
clean-hands
's/he is washing h/ hands'

(107) biniʒe
clean
'it is clean'

(108) binɪtun
clean.it
'clean it'

(109) bunɪtun
leave.it
'leave it'

Data from Elicitation 3:
Field Report
File Name: UROPElicitations-110-211
Hunter Johnson, Chris Hammerly
Date: 30 APR 2021
Speaker: Joe Nayqounabe (JN) (Mille Lacs)

(110) zɑnɪɡʌd umá
it.is.hard here
'it is hard here'. Joe says: it's hard, it's tough, it's rough can mean a lot of different things.

(111) ɪskigɑmɪzi-gɑn
make.maple.syrup-NMLZ
'maple syrup process'. Joe said this is the process of making maple syrup.

(112) ni-ɪskɑgɑmɪz-ɪge
1-maple.syrup-make
'I am making maple syrup'.

(113) ɪskɑgɑmiz-ɪge-n
maple.syrup-make-2IMP
'(you) make maple syrup'.

(114) ɪskɑgɑmiz-ʌge
maple.syrup-make
's/he is making maple syrup'.

(115) *ɪskɑgɑmɪz
no.meaning
'no meaning' Chris attempted this as a possible word but Joe said it did not mean anything.

(116) ɑniʃ eʒɪtʃige-d?
WH do-3.CONJ
'What is s/he doing?/What are they doing'.

(117) ɪskɑgɑmiz-ʌge
maple.syrup-make
's/he is making maple syrup' (In response to (116)).

(118) mskw-ɑː
it.is.red-INANIM.STAT
'it is red'.

(119) mskwɑː-wɪn
it.is.red-NMLZ
'it is red'. Joe said you *can* say this but hesitated with giving a concrete meaning. He landed on "it's red".

(120) mswkeː
blood
'blood'.

(121) ni-buɑdiɑbudʒɪtu-mɪn mswkɑː
1.EXCL-use.a.lot-PL   red
'we (exclusive) use red a lot'.

(122) msko:-ze-wɪn
red-ANIM-NMLZ
'they're wearing something red'. They're wearing something red.

(123) msko:-ze-wɪn   oguda
red-ANIM-NMLZ her.dress
'her dress is red'.

(124) msko:-ze-wɪn   mikɑnɑ
red-ANIM-NMLZ road
'red road'. Joe said "if we follow the red road we will be okay".

(125) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn
it.is.red-INANIM-NMLS
'his house is red'. Chris asked about mskwaawin again and Joe said "it's kind of describing something".

(126) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn   udun
it.is.red-INANIM-NMLS mouth
'he has a red mouth'.

(127) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn   endɑd
it.is.red-INANIM-NMLS house
'his house is red'.

(128) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn   ududɑbɑnɑn
it.is.red-INANIM-NMLS car
'his car is red'.

(129) mskw-ɑ:-wɪn-e
s/he.is.red-INANIM-??NMLS-??
'he is red/embarrassed'.

(130) ɑgɑs-ɑ:
small-INANIM
'it is small/small'.

(131) ɑgɑs-ɑ:-wɪn
small-INANIM-NMLZ
'small?'. Joe said "yeah you can, I've heard it" but he was trying to think of a way you could used it.

(132) ɑgɑs-ɑ:-wɪn   nudɪn
small-INANIM-NMLZ wind
'the wind is small'.

(133) agas-aː-wɪn   ududabanan
it.is.small-INANIM-NMLS car
'he has a small car'.

(134) agas-aː-wɪn
small-INANIM-NMLZ
'small?'. Asked if it meant anything on its own, Joe said it kinda means describing something. This does not seem very different from underlying VII stem.

(135) agas-aː   (wakaʔ-igan)
it.is.small-INANIM house-NMLZ
'the house is small'. If you're standing next to a small house, you can use this, even without the wakaiʔgan.

(136) agas-aː-wɪn   wakaʔ-igan
it.is.small-INANIM-NMLZ house-NMLZ
'the house is small'. Needs -win if it's talking about a particular house that you can't see, say telling a friend about it.

(137) agas-aː-mʌgʌd
small-INANIM-magad
'it.is.small'. Joe offered this after we poked him a little more about agasaawin. He said if you point at a tree you would used the magad form.

(138) agas indʒɪ-wɪn
it.is.small-NMLZ
'it's going to be a small event'.

(139) agas indʒi-mʌgʌd niamidiwad
it.is.small-magad   dance/event
'it's gonne be a small dance/event'. When we asked Joe to repeat it he gave us this! This might show that he prefers the *magad* forms over the -*win* forms.

(140) wi-agas indʒi-wɪn niamidiwad
??-it.is.small-NMLZ dance/event
'it's gonna be a small dance/event'. Joe said it's gonna be a small event, not gonna be a huge spectacle.

(141) agas-aː-mʌgʌd
small-INANIM-magad
'it.is.small'. Joe offered this as how he would describe your house if it were small. Either that or just agasaa.

(142) agigok-aː
sore.throat-INANIM
's/he has a sore throat'.

(143) ɑgigok-ɑː-wɪn
sore.throat-INANIM-NMLZ
's/he has a sore throat'. Joe said this is "almost like you're describing the sore throat".

(144) ʒebɑ   iunɪʃkɑd iɑgukɑː
yesterday he.got.up s/he.has.sore.throat
'when he got up yesterday he had a sore throat'.

(145) giʒeʒeb   iunɪʃkɑd iɑgukɑː
early.morning he.got.up s/he.has.sore.throat
'when he got up early this morning he had a sore throat'.

(146) ɑːbʌw-ɑː
it.is.warm-INANIM
'it's warm (weather)'.

(147) ɑːbʌw-ɑː-wɪn
it.is.warm-INANIM-NMLZ
'it's warm (weather)'. Joe said, if you came from outside you could say either (146) or (147) to describe the weather outside.

(148) n-ɪnnwændɑn ɑːbʌw-ɑː-mʌgʌk
1-like   it.is.warm-INANIM-magak
'I like it when it's warm (weather)'.

(149) ɑːbʌw-ɑː-mʌgʌk
it.is.warm-INANIM-magak
'it is warm (outside weather)'. Joe said that this is specifically outside you can't use it to say 'it's warm inside the house'.

(150) gɪʒɑːte
it.is.hot
'it is hot'. Not warm anymore, but hot.

(151) gɪʒɑːte-wɪn
it.is.hot-NMLZ
'it is hot'. We asked Joe this and he gave us (152). When we asked again if there's a difference in meaning between (150) and (151) he said no they mean the same thing, it depends where you come from.

(152) gɪʒɑːte ʌgwʌdʒ-ɪŋ
it.is.hot outsideLOC
'it is hot outside'.

(153) gɪʒɑːte-mʌgʌd
it.is.hot-magad
'it is hot'. Joe said that this is also OK.

(154) ɡ-ɪmɪnwændɑn ɑ-ɡiʒɑːte-ɡ
2-like ??-it.is.warm-INANIM-??
'Do you like it when it's warm (weather)'.

(155) n-ɪmɪnwændɑn ɑ-ɡiʒɑːte-wɪn
1-like ??-it.is.warm-INANIM-NMLZ
'I am happy/I like it when it's warm (weather)'. Joe said that this essentially means that same thing as (154). It does not seem to mean 'I like warm weather (noun)' although it does convey a similar meaning.

(156) n-ɪmɪnwændɑn mɪskw-ɑː-wɪn
1-like it.is.red-INANIM-NMLZ
'I like it when it's red/I like red'.

(157) n-ɪmɪnwændɑn mɪskw-ɑː
1-like it.is.red-INANIM
'I like it when it's red/I like red'. We asked Joe if somebody asked him what his favorite color was and it was red how he would respond in a full sentence.

(158) mɪskw-ɑː n-ɪmɪnwændɑn
it.is.red-INANIM 1-like
'I like it when it's red/I like red'. Joe said that this is the first speaker way of saying it but either one works.

(159) bʌzɪkw-ɑː
it.is.sticky-INANIM
'it is sticky'.

(160) bʌzɪkw-ɑː nɪmdʒinɪn
it.is.sticky-INANIM 1-fingers
'my fingers are sticky'.

(161) bʌzɪkw-ɑː-wɪn
it.is.sticky-INANIM-NMLZ
'it is sticky'. Joe said that he thinks he's heard somebody say this up 'North' up around Red Lake. He said that they would not correct you if you said this, but that his community may have shortened it.

(162) mɑʃkawɪsɪn
(be).strong
'it is strong'. Joe said this is more asking a person to be strong. They have a treatment center with the same name.

(163) mɑʃkaw-ɑː
it.is.strong
'it is strong'.

(164) zumgʌn
it.is.solid
'it is solid'.

(165) zumg-ɪze
s/he.is.solid-ANIM
's/he is solid'. Joe said this is describing a person. "They're pretty solid and you may not want to mess with them."

(166) zumg-ɪze-wɪn
it.is.solid-ANIM-NMLZ
'it is solid'.

(167) tʃi-zumg-ɪze
chi-s/he.is.solid-ANIM
's/he is very strong/solid'.

(168) mɑʃkaw-ɑː-mʌɡʌd
it.is.strong-INANIM-magad
'it is strong'.

(169) mɑʃkaw-ɑː   mɪnɪkwewɪn
it.is.strong-INANIM-magad a.drink
'the drink was strong'. Joe said this could be any kind of drink. Either coffee or rum or something but it is strong.

(170) mɪnikwe-wɪn-ɑn
drink.-NMLZ-PL
'drinks'.

(171) ɑniʃ mɪnɪk
WH drinks
'how many drinks?' You could respond with n iʃ 'two'.

(172) gɪdɑn
drink.it.up
'drink/eat it up'.

(173) gɪdɑn   ɑwen
drink.it.up all
'eat it all up'.

(174) mɪskw-ɑː-wɪn-ɑn
it.is.red-INANIM-NMLZ-PL
'things that are red'. Joe said that this almost means red berries. Joe said too that if you asked him what color something (plural) was you could respond with this to mean they were red.

(175) eʔeʔo mɪskw-ɑː-wɪn
       that   it.is.red-INANIM-NMLZ
       'that red one'. We asked Joe if you could single out a red thing in a group of other colorful
       things with something like this. He said yes.

(176) oʔo mɪskw-ɑː-wɪn
       this it.is.red-INANIM-NMLZ
       'this red one'. Joe said if he was picking it (the berry I'm guessing) he would say this one.

(177) mɪskw-ɑːn-dɪbe
       it.is.red-INANIM-??
       'red head'. The word used for somebody with red hair. Kind of means "he or she has red
       hair".

(178) mɪskw-ɑːn-dɪbe-wɪn
       it.is.red-INANIM-??-NMLZ
       'red head'. I asked Joe if you could say this and he said it basically means the same thing.
       Joe said this is almost like a term. If you asked him what do you call people that are
       redheaded he would say this.

(179) mɪskw-ɑːn-dɪbe-wɪn-ʌg
       it.is.red-INANIM-??-NMLZ-PL
       'they have red hair'. Joe said this is like telling somebody there is a group of people with
       red hair.

(180) ɑg ɑʃindʒɪ-wʌg
       small-PL
       'a group of people that are small'.

(181) ɑkw-ɑː-mʌgʌd
       it.is.long-INANIM-magad
       'it is long'.

(182) ??ɑkw-ɑː-wɪn
       it.is.long-INANIM-NMLZ
       'it is long'. Joe said he has never heard this before. One of the more definitive "no"s that
       we've gotten so far.

(183) ɑkw-ɑː-we
       s/he/is.tall-INANIM-??
       's/he is tall'.

(184) ɑkw-ɑː-wen
       it.is.tall-INANIM-??
       'it is tall'.

(185) ɢmun-zɪ
tall-ANIM
's/he is tall'.

(186) ɑku-zi
tall-ANIM
's/he is tall'.

(187) *ɑku-zi-wɪn
tall-ANIM-NMLZ
's/he is tall'. Joe had never heard this.

(188) ɢmun-zɪ
tall-ANIM
's/he is tall'.

(189) ingoːdwɑːso (nɑnɪswe)
6.foot.tall   3.inches
'6 feet (3 inches) tall'

(190) ɑniʃ mɪnɪk nikuzi-jʌn
WH   ??   tall-1CONJ
'How tall am I?'

(191) bɑkɑɢikuʒu
s/he.is.thin
's/he is thin/skinny'. This is talking about a person.

(192) bibʌɡɑː
to.be.thin
'to be thin'.

(193) bibʌɡɑː-ɡikuʒ
to.be.thin-slive
'cut something thin, like meat'.

(194) bɪʒɑɡiʃkɑː
it.is.dark
'it's dark'.

(195) bɪʒɑɡɪʃkɑː-mʌɡʌd
it.is.getting.dark-magad
'it's getting dark'. You would use this if you're calling your kids in from outside around dusk.

(196) miːdɪbɪkʌk
night
'night'. This is what Joe uses for night/dark.

(197) dɪbikɑmʌgʌd
thunderclouds
'thunderclouds, dark clouds'.

(198) dɪbikɑː
it.is.dark
'it is dark'.

(199) dɪbikɑː-wɪn
it.is.dark-NMLZ
'it is dark'. Joe said this means that same thing as (198).

(200) dɪbɪʃka
birthday
'birthday'.

(201) dɪbɪgiʔizʌs
the.moon
'the moon'.

(202) gizʌs
sun
'sun'.

(203) dɑkã̃nse-wɪn
cold??-??NMLZ
'cold weather'. Joe said that this is how he says it but the dictionary has dʌkɑse. This
could be a nominalized form but we need confirmation, plural, demonstrative. Joe said
this is about 60 degrees and the older you get the higher that number goes.

(204) dɑkã̃nse-wɪn-ɑn
cold??-??NMLZ-PL
'there's lots of cools'. Joe kinda joked if he had to interpret this he would say 'there's lot
of colds'.

(205) dʌk-ɑː-mʌgʌd
it.is.cold-INANIM-magad
'cold (water)'. Joe said this is cold water.

(206) gɪsɪn-ɑː-(mʌgʌd)
it.is.cold-INANIM-magad
'it's cold (weather)'. But this form is cold weather, not water.

(207) gɪsɪn-ɑː-wɪn
it.is.cold-INANIM-magad
'it's cold (weather)'.

(208)   dʌk-ɑː-wɪn-nɪbe
        it.is.cold-INANIM-NMLZ-??
        'the water is cold'. Joe said in order to use *win* here you need to have something extra
        with it.

(209)   *ɡɪsɪn-ɑː-nɪbe
        it.is.cold-INANIM-magad
        'it's cold (weather)'. Joe said this one doesn't quite work.

(210)   n-ɪmɪnwændɑn ɡɪsɪn-ɑː-mʌɡʌk
        1-like   it.is.cold-INANIM-magak
        'I like it when it's cold (weather)'.

(211)   ɡɪsɪn-ɑː-wɪn-ʌn
        it.is.cold-INANIM-NMLZ-PL
        'there's lots of cold'. Joe said that he might hear this in a prayer. Where he's not thinking
        about our cold, but cold in Russia, Alaska, etc. Maybe this is obviative marker not plural?
        Should confirm with Chris.

Data from Elicitation 4:
Field Report
File Name: UROP Elicitations-212-260
Hunter Johnson
Date: 20 MAY 2021
Speaker: Joe Nayqounabe (JN) (Mille Lacs)

(212)   ɑgwɑːkwɑʔɑn
        hang.a.picture
        'hanging up a picture, putting up a sign'.

(213)   ɑgwɑːkwɑʔɑn-igʌn
        hang.a.picture-??
        'hanging up a picture, putting up a sign' but Joe says this is almost like telling somebody
        to do it. Not sure how this is coming across as the imperative!

(214)   ɑːgwɑːkwɑʔ-igʌn
        hang.a.picture-NMLZ
        'place where they hang pictures' very different from (213)! Joe said this is a place where
        they hang pictures, you'd call them to hang a picture. I like this contrast between VII
        (213) and VAI (214).

(215)   ni-gwɑːkwɑʔɑn
        1-hang.a.picture
        'I'm hanging up a picture'.

(216) ni-gwɑːkwɑʔɑn mɪzmɑːkɪzun
1-hang.a.picture a.picture
'I'm hanging up a picture' Joe says this specifically means hanging up a picture.

(217) ni-gwɑːkwɑʔɑn ɑkɪk
1-hang.a.picture a.pail
'I'm hanging up a pail' I tried to say this and Joe confirmed that it makes sense: in the context of maple sap collection. He noted this is a rare thing to say.

(218) ɑːgwɑːkwɑʔ-igʌn-ʌn
hang.a.picture-NMLZ-PL
'places where they hang pictures'.

(219) ɑteʔ-igɑn
put.it.out-NMLZ
'fire extinguisher' I asked Joe what this meant, and he said it kind of means 'put it out'. For example, if you're leaving a campfire you could say this and it means put it out by any means like water, sand, etc. It also means 'shut it off' like the lights or a car as you're leaving.

(220) ɑteo
turn.it.off
'turn the car off' Joe said some people would say this but only for turning the car off.

(221) dʒibakwe minʌn
cook   berries
'cooking one type of berries' I tried asking about cooking animate berries into a jam.

(222) dʒibakwe minʌn-ʌn
cook   berries-PL
'cooking many types of berries'.

(223) dʒibakwe minʌn-igɑn
cook   berries-NMLZ
'cooking many berries' .

(224) biːmɪskwɑ-igʌn
screw/twist.it-NMLZ
'screwdriver, tool used to twist something'.

(225) biːmɪskwɑʔan
screw/twist.it
'turn/twist it with a tool' Joe said this roughly means 'you're telling me you're turning it'.

(226) biːmɪskwɑʔan-igʌn
screw/twist.it-NMLZ
'screwdriver, tool used to twist something' Joe didn't seem to mind this when I asked him about it but he kept repeating something more like (224) although he said there's no difference in meaning.

(227) biːmɪskwaːn
screw/twist.it
'screw/twist it (imperative)'.

(228) biːmɪskwaʔ
screw/twist.it
'screw/twist it' this could be anything.

(229) dʒiʃidaːʔ-igʌn
s/he.sweeps-NMLZ
'broom'.

(230) ʒiʃidaːʔigen
s/he.sweeps
'broom'.

(231) ʒiʃidaːʔigen-igʌn
s/he.sweeps-NMLZ
'broom'.

(232) ɡwekɪtaː
s/he.turns
's/he turns'.

(233) *ɡwekitaː-igʌn
s/he.turns-NMLZ
Joe gave a hard 'no' here that this is not possible.

(234) mazma-igan
s/he/charges-NMLZ
'paper, book, mail'.

(235) mazmaʔige/mazmaːʔan
s/he/charges.something
's/he charges something' almost like buying something with credit, 'if you buy something from a store that knows you this can mean charge it to my account'.

(236) ??mazmaːʔan-igan
s/he/charges-NMLZ
Joe says this almost means that you're charging the paper: it doesn't seem to act like the noun in (234).

(237) oʔo aɡaːsaː
this it.is.small
'this is small' maybe what you're holding.

(238) oʔo agaːsaː-wɪn
       this it.is.small-NMLZ
       'this is small' Joe said there might be an animacy difference, or that 'something here is
       small'. He concluded that they both mean the same. He was then called by a family
       member and when rejoined he said 'agasaamagad'.

(239) agaːsaː-wɪn-ʌn
       it.is.small-NMLZ-PL
       'these/they are small'.

(240) agiːgokaː-wɪn
       s/he.has.a.sore.throat-NMLZ
       'sore throat'.

(241) akɪkun
       pail
       'pail/bucket'.

(242) akɪkun-an
       pail-PL
       'pail'.

(243) akiːkokaː-wɪn-an
       pails-NMLZ-PL
       's/he's bringing the buckets' I was trying to ask (240) in the plural but it might have
       sounded more like (241). Joe said this is describing the buckets or saying he's bring the
       buckets.

(244) *giʒaːte-wɪn-ʌn
       it.is.hot-NMLZ-PL
       Joe gave a hard 'no' on this as well but provided (245) as a better example.

(245) giʒaːte-wɪn   akikun-an
       it.is.hot-NMLZ pails-PL
       'the buckets are hot'.

(246) oʔo giʒaːte-wɪn-ʌn
       this it.is.hot-NMLZ-PL
       'these are hot' once again it doesn't seem like a noun here.

(247) gawin nɪ-mɪnwænda-siːn giʒaːte
       NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.hot
       'I don't like it when it's hot'.

(248) gawin nɪ-mɪnwænda-siːn giʒaːte zaːm-ɪnd-ʌbweːz
       NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.hot ??-1-sweat
       'I don't like it when it's hot: I sweat a lot'.

(249) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn ɡiʒaːte zaːm-ɪnd-aɡiɡokaː
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.hot ??-1-s/he.has.a.sore.throat
      'I don't like it when it's hot: I get a sore throat'.

(250) ɡawin nɪ-mmwaʔajaː-sin ɡiʒaːte
      NEG   1-feel.good-NEG   it.is.hot
      'I don't feel good when it's hot'.

(251) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn aɡaːsaː
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.small
      'I don't like this small thing' Joe said this works but noted some might say 'agaasaa-
      magak' but he would say 'agaasaa' not 'agaasaa-win'.

(252) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn mɪskwaː-wɪn
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.red-NMLZ
      'I don't like this red thing/red'.

(253) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn ɡɪsɪnaː
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.cold
      'I don't like cold'.

(254) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn ɡɪsɪnaː-mʌɡʌk
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.cold-magak
      'I don't like it when it's cold (weather)'.

(255) ɡawin nɪ-mmwænda-siːn dʌkaː-mʌɡʌk
      NEG   1-like-NEG   it.is.cold-magak
      'I don't like it when it's cold (object)' like coffee, food, or something else but (254) means
      exclusively weather.

(256) dɑkaː-wɪn
      it.is.cold-NMLZ
      I asked Joe about this and he gave (256, 257).

(257) dɑkaː(-wɪn)   inɑ
      it.is.cold-NMLZ Q
      'is it cold?' Joe said some would probably say dakaa-win.

(258) dɑkaː-wɪn   ʌɡwʌdʒɪŋ
      it.is.cold-NMLZ outside
      'is it cold outside?'.

(259) dɑkaː-mʌɡʌd   makade maʃkikiw-abuː
      it.is.cold-NMLZ black   medicine-liquid
      'cold coffee'.

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(260) nɪ-mɪnwændɑn oʔo mɪskwɑː-wɪn
       1-like   this it.is.red-NMLZ
       'I like this red thing/red' Joe said you can say this but without the oʔo that would mean
       generally red things. Again he said there's no real difference between the win-less and
       win examples.

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