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SEVERN DIALECT.

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**A GRAMMAR OF THE OJIBWA LANGUAGE:
THE SEVERN DIALECT**

by

Evelyn Mary Todd

**A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the University of North Carolina in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
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Department of Anthropology**

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1970

Approved by:



Adviser

PREFACE

This study of Ojibwa is the product of field research carried out from time to time over a period of eight years, 1961-1969, but is based primarily on data obtained at two settlements in Ontario, (Big) Trout Lake and Deer Lake, where I spent a total of twelve months in 1961, 1962, and 1965. It is hoped that this work will not only provide the basis for defining the Severn dialect, but also demonstrate the convenience of a generative-transformational model of grammar for describing Algonquian inflectional morphology.

To all my informants I owe a debt of gratitude, but most especially to Mrs. Emily Kakegumick of Deer Lake, whose patience, insight, and good humor made my studies so worthwhile. I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Oskar Lindokken, who acted as interpreters when necessary, and also provided me with accomodation during my stay at Deer Lake.

I am particularly indebted to Dr. W. Herman Bell for his critical evaluation of this work and for his many helpful suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. Lewis Levine and Dr. Anita Marten, who read and commented on earlier versions of this dissertation. Of course I alone am responsible for any errors herein.

I am indebted to the Government of the United States of America for a National Defense Education Act Title IV Fellowship, which facilitated my graduate studies in 1960-1963. I am particularly grateful to the National Museum of Canada for continued financial support of my Ojibwa research in the Severn area and elsewhere.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a descriptive study of a dialect of Ojibwa spoken in the interior of northwestern Ontario, Canada. Native speakers, who do not differentiate between language and dialect, refer to their language as anihšināpēmowin 'language of the Indians', and describe it as a mixture of Cree and Saulteaux.¹ This description will show that the language is definitely Ojibwa, albeit there are some Cree influences.² The people who speak the dialect under study belong to three administrative bands -- the Trout Lake band, the Round Lake band, and the Deer Lake band. There are several settlements in each band territory, and since all settlements where the dialect is spoken are located in the Severn River drainage area, the dialect is named Severn Ojibwa.

¹Orthographic conventions are explained below, pp. 11-14.

²The term "Ojibwa" will be used to designate the language that includes the dialects or groups known as Saulteaux, Ottawa (or Odawa), Algonquin (or Algonkin), and Ojibwa (or Chippewa). The term "Cree" is intended to include all dialects known as Cree, Montagnais, or Naskapi. The similarities between Severn Ojibwa and the neighboring Cree dialect are examined below, pp. 264-265.

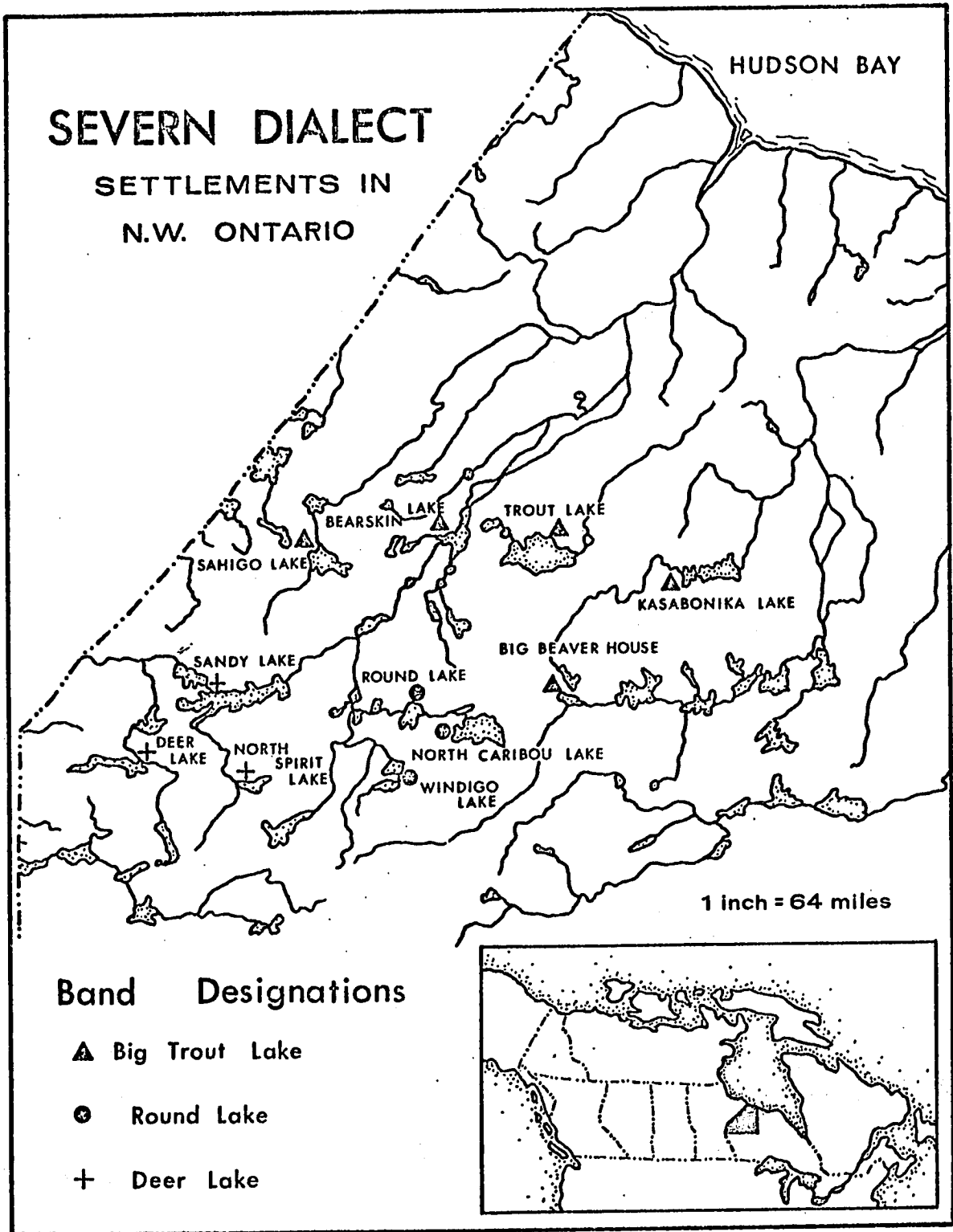


Figure 1

Settlements in Northwestern Ontario where
the Severn Dialect of Ojibwa is Spoken

Ojibwa is a member of the Algonquian language family. The only language closely related to Ojibwa is Potawatomi, but Cree dialects border Ojibwa on the north, west, and east, so that many Ojibwa-speakers have some acquaintance with Cree.

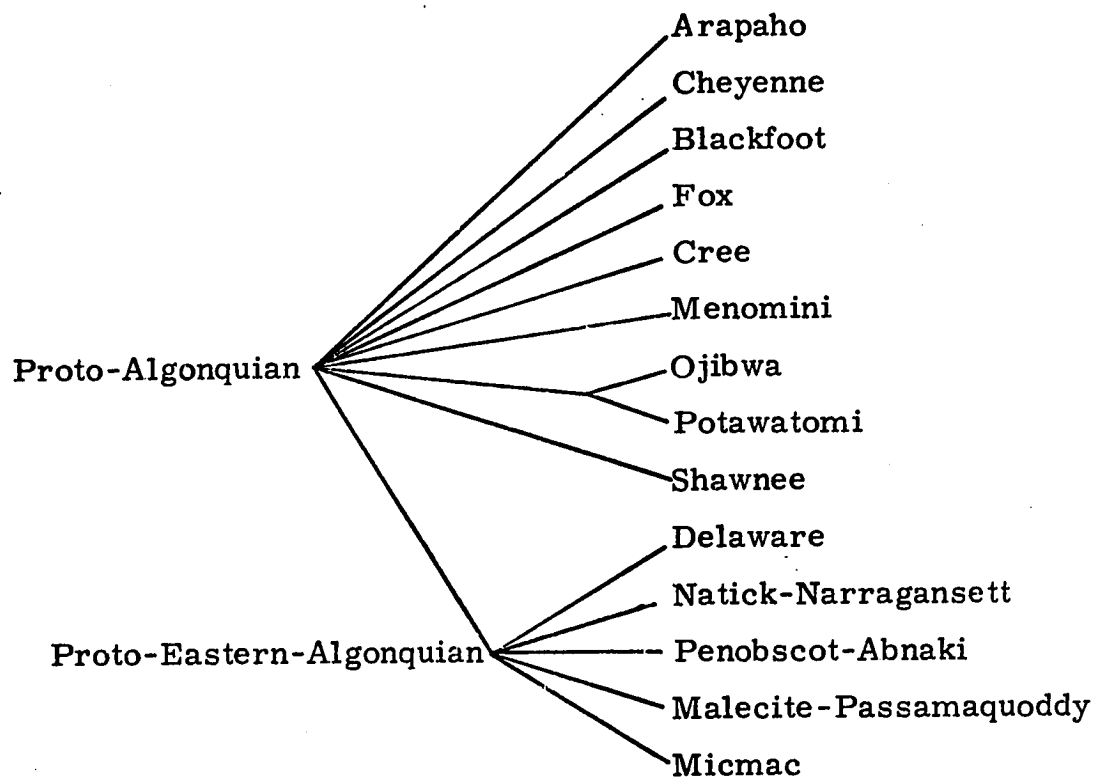


Figure 2

The Algonquian Language Family³

The named subdivisions of Ojibwa are based as much on geographical location as on linguistic criteria, if not more so. The

³Based on family tree diagram in Karl V. Teeter, "Genetic Classification in Algonquian," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 214, Contributions to Anthropology: Linguistics I (Algonquian) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 3.

Saulteaux are located in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the Chippewa in the United States, the Ottawa on parts of Manitoulin Island, the Ojibwa in other parts of Ontario, and the Algonquin in Quebec. Although there may be decided dialect boundaries, it has not been established that these coincide with the named subdivisions. It is hoped that the present work will contribute to the clarification of the nature and extent of Ojibwa dialect variation.

This grammar focuses on the inflectional categories of Ojibwa and on the manifestations of these categories in syntactic and morphological structures. The generative-transformational model of grammatical description has proved very useful for stating, both informally and formally, many of the grammatical relationships. This model has the advantage of making it possible to formulate a description that applies to the Ojibwa language as a whole in all but the most superficial aspects, and that may be applied even more broadly to other Algonquian languages and to Proto-Algonquian.

FIELD WORK

The description to be presented is based on linguistic data obtained at the Trout Lake and Deer Lake settlements. Field work in Ojibwa-speaking communities outside the Severn dialect area is relevant only to the extent that it has assisted in the analysis of

words and has provided a basis for describing the boundaries of the Severn dialect.

Field Work in the Severn Ojibwa Area

The summer of 1961 was spent at Trout Lake as a teacher for the Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Government of Canada, and during this time linguistic research was carried out on a part-time basis with two informants. The principal informant was Miss Lucy Albany, about 30 years of age, who had been a permanent resident of the Big Trout Lake community, and had a good command of English. The other informant was Miss Rebecca Thunder, about 17 years of age and from the Sachigo Lake community. Miss Thunder spoke English fluently, having spent several seasons in a residential school that was located outside of the band territory. The work with these informants consisted mainly of tape-recordings of short utterances and a few texts, as well as phonetic transcriptions of word lists. In addition to Ojibwa, a dialect of Cree is spoken at Trout Lake and some nearby settlements, but it was not possible to work directly with anyone speaking the dialect. Miss Albany provided most of the information about the Cree dialect, since she had a grandmother who spoke that language.

The bulk of the material upon which this description is based was obtained at the Deer Lake settlement, from September

to December 1961, from June to September 1962, and in June, 1965.⁴

The principal informant was Mrs. Emily Kakegumick, about 50 years of age, who had spent all her life in the immediate vicinity and was monolingual. Some additional assistance was received from Miss Lisa Meekis, age 15, Mr. Aben Rae, age 30, and Mrs. Mary Jane Meekis, age 18, all of whom had an elementary knowledge of English but normally spoke their native language. Materials consist of short utterances, conversations, and texts recorded on magnetic tape. Phonetic and essentially phonemic transcriptions were also made directly during informant sessions. Translation of some of the spontaneous texts from Mrs. Kakegumick has posed a problem, and some of the data is still partially untranslated.

Brief visits were made in 1965 to the two other settlements of the Deer Lake band, North Spirit Lake, and Sandy Lake. There is no evidence to suggest a dialect boundary within the band area, and residents in each settlement detect no difference between their speech and that of their friends and relatives of the other settlements.

In January 1963, while in Toronto, assistance was received from Mr. Chris Cromarty, a former resident of Trout Lake.

⁴Field research during 1961 was carried out while a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, under a National Defence Act Title IV Fellowship. Field work during 1962 was financially assisted by a contract for linguistic work from the National Museum of Canada.

Field Work in Other Ojibwa Areas

In September 1962 a week was spent at Pikangikum, the first major settlement south of Deer Lake. Deer Lake informants had claimed that a different dialect was spoken at Pikangikum, and this proved to be true. The most obvious differences are in the phonology, especially intonation.

An on-going survey of Ojibwa dialects begun in the summer of 1965, and continued in the summers of 1966, 1968, and 1969, has involved field work in Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.⁵ None of the settlements studied is adjacent to the Severn dialect area, so the boundaries of the area are indeterminate especially to the west. What has been established is that the peculiar features of the Severn dialect do not occur in southern Manitoba or in northern Ontario south of the railway lines.

THE LITERATURE ON OJIBWA

Information about the variety of Ojibwa spoken at Round Lake is found in the following publications, which confirm that Round Lake is in the Severn dialect area:

⁵Field work in the summers of 1965 and 1966 was aided by the National Museum of Canada through a contract for linguistic research. Field work in the summers of 1968 and 1969 was carried out as part of a project to compile a dictionary of Ojibwa, and was financially supported by a research grant from the Canada Council.

Rogers, Edward S. "Glossary" in The Round Lake Ojibwa.
Occasional Paper 5, Art and Archaeology Division, Royal
Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, 1962.

Rogers, Jean H. "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and
Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194,
Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II, (Ottawa:
Queen's Printer, 1963) 92-154.

Other major publications on Ojibwa are listed below:

Baraga, R. R. Bishop. A Dictionary of the Otchipwé Language
Explained in English. new [2d] ed. Montreal: Beauchemin &
Valois, 1878.

_____. A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe
Language for the Use of Missionaries and Other Persons Living
among the Indians. 2d ed. Montreal: Beauchemin & Valois,
1878.

Bloomfield, Leonard. Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts,
and Word List. Edited with a Foreward by Charles F. Hockett.
Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958.

Chamberlain, Alexander Francis. The Language of the Mississaga
Indians of Skūgog. A Contribution to the Linguistics of the
Algonkian Tribes of Canada. Philadelphia: Press of McCalla &
Company, 1892.

Cuoq, J. A. "Grammaire de la Langue Algonquine," Proceedings
and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1st Series,
IX (1891) 85-114, and X (1892) 41-119.

_____. Lexique de la Langue Algonquine. Montreal: J. Chapleau
& Fils, 1886.

Dumouchel, R. P. Paul A. and R. P. Joseph Brachet. Grammaire
Saulteuse. Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Province Oblate du
Manitoba, 1942.

Holmer, Nils M. The Ojibway on Walpole Island, Ontario. A
Linguistic Study. Upsala Canadian Studies IV, 1954.

Jones, William. Ojibwa Texts. Publications of the American
Ethnological Society, 2 vols.; Vol. VII, part 1, 1917, and
part 2, 1919.

Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de. Original Odžibwe-Texts. Baessler Archiv, Beiheft V. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913.

Wilson, Edward F. The Ojebway Language: A Manual for Missionaries and Others Employed Among the Ojebway Indians. Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, for the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1874.

TECHNICAL TERMINOLOGY AND ABBREVIATIONS

The technical terminology employed herein is largely derived from the following publications:

Bloomfield, Leonard. "Algonquian," in Harry Hoijer et al., Linguistic Structures of Native America, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 6. New York: The Viking Fund, Inc., 1946. Pp. 85-129.

_____. Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Word List. Edited with a Foreward by Charles F. Hockett. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958.

_____. The Menomini Language. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Since these writings are familiar to Algonquian linguists, further reference to the source of generally accepted Algonquian terminology will not be made. Some of Bloomfield's terms are used with reluctance, but changes in terminology are not made unless it seems essential or useful to do so. Other technical terminology developed for Ojibwa or for the Severn dialect in particular will be defined when introduced.

In the portions of chapters V and VI that deal with categories of inflection and their morphological expression, phrase markers and

other conventional symbols of generative-transformational grammar are employed for descriptive convenience. The basic source of these symbols is as follows:

Chomsky, Noam. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1965.

Abbreviations are explained when introduced in the text, but they are listed below for convenient reference. Where two terms have the same abbreviation the context will make it clear which term is intended.

AN	animate noun
IN	inanimate noun
AI	animate intransitive (verb)
II	inanimate intransitive (verb)
TA	transitive animate (verb)
TI	transitive inanimate (verb)
NP	nominal phrase
VP	verb phrase
C	a consonant
V	a vowel; a verb stem
IC	initial change
R	reduplication
N	negative; a noun stem
P	preterit
D	dubitative

Certain word fractions are numbered for ease of cross-reference. Phonological rules are similarly numbered. The following letter prefixes are used with the numbers:

N	noun final (chapter V)
I	intransitive verb final (chapter VI)
T	transitive verb final (chapter VI)
P	particle final (chapter VII)
M	postmedial (chapter VIII)
R	postradical (chapter VIII)
MR	morphophonemic rule (chapter IX)

ORTHOGRAPHY

The Ojibwa word as a linguistic unit is defined on the basis of morphological rather than phonological criteria, and this fact has been taken into consideration in developing a practical orthography for the representation of words, phrases, and sentences. This orthography is based on a combination of morphophonemic and phonemic symbols. There are also some conventions involving punctuation and the representation of word fractions.

Each Ojibwa word may be assigned an abstract morphophonemic representation, which is subjected to a set of phonological rules, the morphophonemic rules, the output of which is a phonemic representation; this representation in turn undergoes a

set of additional rules, the phonemic rules, the output of which is a phonetic representation, indicating the actual pronunciation of the word.⁶

The underlying representation of words makes use of the following symbols, those enclosed in parentheses being symbols that are replaced or deleted by morphophonemic rules:⁷

Consonants	p t č k (θ) s š h m n
Semivowels	w y
Vowels	i ī (e) ē o ō a ā
Boundaries	# (') (-)

The morphophoneme θ yields phonemic h, s, š, or n. When not merged or deleted the morphophoneme e yields phonemic i. The symbol # marks a phonological word boundary, and although it is not included in the representation of morphemes, it is inserted at word boundaries before the phonological rules apply. The apostrophe occurs in the underlying forms of clitics, words that have two phonemic forms, the occurrence of which is determined by an adjacent word. By MR.28 this apostrophe is deleted or

⁶ Phonological rules are given below in chapter IX, pp. 245-63.

⁷ Vowel length is indicated by a macron in this work rather than the conventional raised dot following the vowel symbol. The macron conserves space and makes the representation of Ojibwa words more compact.

replaced by i:

kitanohkīna 'are you (sg.) working?'

(← kitanohkī 'you are working' + 'na 'yes-or-no?')

kiminwētānina 'do you (sg.) like it?'

(← kiminwētān 'you like it' + 'na 'yes-or-no?')

The hyphen occurs in the underlying representation of compound words but by MR.29 it is replaced by the phonological boundary #:

pēpano#mihtikowaš 'carton'

(← pēpano- 'paper' + mihtikowaš 'box')

The practical orthography is intended to make it possible to recognize a word as such by its written form. In this system of representation # is omitted and words are separated by a space. Each word is written as it would be after its underlying form had undergone all morphophonemic rules except rules MR.28 and MR.29:

kitanohkī 'na 'are you (sg.) working?'

pēpano-mihtikowaš 'carton'

Because the hyphen is used in the practical orthography to indicate a phonological boundary within a compound word, no Ojibwa word is hyphenated or otherwise divided for typographical reasons. It should be noted however that the hyphen is used in the citation of forms that are word fractions, and in this usage the hyphen is not a morphophoneme, but merely a symbol to indicate the absence of a word boundary: nihk- (noun stem), nihka (noun) 'goose'. The function of a hyphen should be apparent from the context in which it

is used.

Other punctuation symbols are occasionally used in citing Ojibwa phrases and sentences. These are used informally to aid in the identification of phrases and clauses. Glosses are enclosed between single quotation marks: mīnihšin 'give it to me'.

Severn Ojibwa forms from my field notes are given without indication of source, and for the most part are cited in the practical orthography described above. Ojibwa forms cited from published sources are written in the orthography of the original publication.

CHAPTER II

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

Ojibwa words may be classified on the basis of morphology and syntactic function into four principal parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles. Nouns, pronouns, and verbs are inflected; particles are not inflected.

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

The grammatical categories of substantive class -- gender, person, obviation, number, and inclusion -- have their primary expression in nouns and personal pronouns. Through cross-reference, the substantive categories of nouns and personal pronouns find secondary expression in the inflection of nouns they modify as possessor, and in the inflection of verbs they modify as subject and object. Through concord, the substantive categories of nouns have secondary expression in the non-personal pronouns that modify and replace them. Some, but not all substantive categories are formally expressed in any given context, and the actual morphological expression of the underlying substantive categories varies with the primary and secondary contexts within which these categories

occur.¹ Nouns occur in local form in locative phrases, and in compounding form as prior members of compound noun stems.²

Nouns in vocative form were not elicited from Severn Ojibwa informants, but are reported for other dialects of Ojibwa.³

Nouns that do not have inflectional reference to a possessor may be deleted when their substantive categories have secondary expression in other nouns, in verbs, or in pronouns:

<u>ihkwē okosihsan</u> woman her-son 'the woman's son'	→	<u>okosihsan</u> her-son 'her son'
<u>anohkīwak nāpēwak</u> they-work men 'the men are working'	→	<u>anohkīwak</u> they-work 'they are working'
<u>ahawē nāpē</u> that man 'that man'	→	<u>ahawē</u> that 'that person'

Unpossessed nouns may be modified by quantitative phrases, which may be described as being in a relationship of weak concord with the nouns they modify because they do not have formal

¹The primary and secondary expression of substantive categories in nouns and pronouns is discussed in detail below, pp. 95-110. The secondary expression of substantive categories in verbs is explained below, pp. 134-165.

²See below pp. 110-112.

³For a discussion of vocative forms see R. R. Bishop Baraga, A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language for the Use of Missionaries and Other Persons Living among the Indians (2d ed.; Montreal, Beauchemin & Valois, 1878), pp. 37-40.

secondary expression of the substantive categories of the nouns they modify, and an unpossessed noun may also be deleted when modified by a quantitative phrase:

<u>nīšin nāpēwak</u>	→	<u>nīšin</u>
two men		two
'two men'		'two of them'

Unmodified personal pronouns are normally deleted when their substantive categories have secondary expression, and when retained they are emphatic:

<u>nīn ninkihkētān</u>	→	<u>ninkihkētān</u>
I I-know-it		I-know-it
'me, I know it'		'I know it'

Gender

Gender is animate or inanimate. A noun consists of a noun stem with one or more inflectional affixes, and it is the noun stem that has the property of gender. Accordingly, noun stems are classified as animate (AN) or inanimate (IN) in gender, and nouns are classified according to the gender of their stems.

Personal pronouns and all nouns denoting persons and animals, real or mythical, are animate in gender: nīn 'I'; nāpē 'man'; šikāk 'skunk'; manitō 'god, spirit'; kayāšk 'gull'; kinēpik 'snake'; mēmēnkwē 'butterfly'; namēkohs 'trout'.

Full-grown trees and logs are animate: mihtik 'tree, log'; šikop 'fir tree'; minahik 'pine'; wikwāhs 'birch tree'; asātī 'poplar'.

Wheat and its products are animate: pahkwēšikan 'wheat, flour, bread'; pahkwēšikanēns 'cookie'; kēk 'cake'; ānahkonā 'bannock'; pīhswēyānahkonā 'loaf bread'.

Tobacco and objects associated with smoking are animate: nahsēmā 'tobacco'; šikanēt 'cigarette'; ohpwākan 'pipe'; māčīhs 'match'; iškotēhkān 'match, kindling'.

A few other plants and some plant parts are animate: miskomin 'raspberry'; okin 'rose'; kihtikān 'potatoe'; wāhkon 'edible moss, lichen'; wanakēhk 'bark'; watap 'fine root'.

Certain parts of the body are animate: omāmān 'his eyebrow'; onīškwan 'his gland'; oškansšin 'his nail, hoof, claw'; ēškan 'horn'; mīnkwan 'feather'; tōhtōhš 'breast, teat'.

Animal hides and articles of clothing made from them are animate: wāpōswayān 'rabbit skin, rabbit skin robe',⁴ wāpōswayānēkōt 'rabbit (or hare) skin coat'.

A few other articles of clothing and adornment are animate: āšikan 'foot-wrapping, sock'; minčihkāwan 'glove, mitten'; nāpihkākan 'scarf, necktie'; mitāhs 'pants'; otāhsan 'his pants'; sēnipā 'ribbon'; mīkihs 'shell, bead'; ahčanihs 'finger ring'.

Some utensils and artifacts are animate: ahkihk 'kettle';

⁴This word is reported as inanimate at Round Lake. See "wa·po·s·waya·n", in Jean H. Rogers, "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194, Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II (1963) 154.

čīpwāt 'tea-kettle'; ēmihkwān 'spoon'; ahsap 'net'; apo 'paddle';
āšōkan 'wharf'; ākim 'snowshoe'; šōniyā 'money'; tēwēhikan
 'drum'.

Certain machines with moving parts are animate: wāhsikan
 'engine'; tihtipitāpān 'wagon, car'; kīsihsohkān 'watch, clock'.

Some natural objects are animate: kōn 'snow'; mihkwam
 'ice'; ahsin 'rock, stone'; kīsihs 'sun, moon, month'.

Apart from the words listed above, words denoting things
 that are not in the animal kingdom are inanimate in gender.

Person

The three categories of person -- first, second, and
 third -- are expressed in the personal pronouns: nīn 'I'; kīn 'you
 (sg.)'; wīn 'he, she'; nīnawint 'we (excl.)'; kīnawint 'we (incl.)';
kīnawā 'you (pl.)'; wīnawā 'they'. Nouns and non-personal
 pronouns are always of the third person category.

Obviation

Obviation is a distinction made between third persons in a
 given context. The first, most prominent, or only third person in a
 given context is proximate. A third person is obviative when
 grammatically linked to a previously mentioned or more prominent
 third person. A noun is proximate if it is the object of a verb with
 a first or second person subject, but it is obviative if it is the

object of a verb with a third person subject:

ninkosihs niwāpamā
my-son I-see-him
'I see my son (prx)'

ninkosihsan owāpamān
my-son he-sees-him
'he (prx) sees my son (obv)'

Similarly, when a noun occurs as second object of a double-object verb, it is proximate if the subject and first object are not third person, but it is obviative if either subject or first object is third person:

kikī-mīnin masinahikan
you-have-give-it-to-by-me book
'I have given you the book (prx)'

ninkī-mīnā masinahikanini
I-have-give-it-to-him book (obv)
'I have given him the book (obv)'

A noun is obviative when it has a third person possessor:

okosihsan
his-son
'his (prx) son (obv)'

Number

Number in Ojibwa is singular or plural, and has primary expression in both pronouns and nouns.

Proper nouns, naming persons or places, occur in the singular only: čīmič 'Jimmy'; čān 'John'; ānī 'Annie';
atihko-sākahikan 'Deer Lake [sic., literally "caribou lake"]';
sōlokwāt 'Sioux Lookout'.

Mass nouns denoting liquids and other indefinitely divisible substances are singular only: nipi 'water'; miskwi 'blood'; tōhtōhsāpō 'milk'; kwāpī 'coffee'; tī 'tea'; minī 'pus'; pimitē 'grease'; pahkwēšikan 'flour'; kōn 'snow'; mihkwam 'ice'.

A few nouns are recorded in the plural only: mīnan '(blue)berries'; ošāwaškominan 'blueberries'.

Some nouns have a collective meaning in the plural, as well as an individual meaning in the singular and plural: mihši 'a stick of firewood'; mihsan 'sticks of firewood, firewood'.

Inclusion

The category of inclusion involves a distinction made between a plurality that includes first person and a plurality that excludes first person. The distinction is functional only in second person pronouns: kīnawint 'we (incl.); second person plural including first person'; kīnawā 'you (pl.); second person plural excluding first person'.

VERBS

The expression of substantive categories in verbs is secondary, the result of cross-reference with nouns or pronouns denoting the subject of the sentence, of the object, if any, of the verb. Verbs occur in three principal syntactic contexts, and in each of these contexts they have a different inflectional form that

expresses the grammatical category of order. The other verbal categories are voice and mode.

Order

A verb is composed of a verb stem with one or more inflectional affixes, and differences in verbal order are indicated in the selection of morphemes that express substantive categories. Verbs that are inflected for independent order occur in declarative sentences:⁵

kinipā 'you (sg.) are sleeping'
(← ke 'second person' + nipā 'sleep')

Verbs inflected for conjunct order occur in clauses:⁶

nipāyan 'if you (sg.) are sleeping'
(← nipā 'sleep' + an 'second person singular')

Verbs inflected for imperative order occur in imperative sentences:⁷

nipān '(you sg.) sleep'
(← nipā 'sleep' + n 'singular')

Voice

Voice defines the subject-object relationship between two individuals or groups, and is expressed only in transitive verbs.

⁵ See below, pp. 60 - 62.

⁶ See below, pp. 63-72

⁷ See below, p. 73

Voice is direct or inverse.

In Ojibwa the subject and object of a transitive verb are entirely distinct. For example, if one individual or group is first person in category the other must be second or third person in category and must exclude first person if plural. The distinct individuals or groups are ranked according to an order of precedence in which second person has precedence over first person, first person has precedence over third person, proximate third person has precedence over obviative, and animate gender has precedence over inanimate. With direct voice the individual or group that has precedence is subject of the verb, and the other individual group is object:

<u>kiwāpamiš</u>	'you (sg.) see me'
<u>niwāpamā</u>	'I see him'
<u>owāpamān</u>	'he (prx) sees him (obv)'
<u>kiwāpantān</u>	'you (sg.) see it'

With inverse voice the opposite relationship exists. That is, the individual or group that has precedence is object of the verb, and the other participant is subject:

<u>kiwāpamin</u>	'I see you (sg.)'
<u>niwāpamik</u>	'he sees me'
<u>owāpamikōn</u>	'he (obv) sees him (prx)'
<u>kiwāpamikon</u>	'it sees you (sg.)'

Mode

Verbs may be marked or unmarked for mode. The categories of mode that may be expressed are determined by the category of order.

In the independent order, verbs may be marked for from one to three essentially unrelated modes -- preterit (P), dubitative (D), and negative (N):

<u>Mode</u>	<u>Sample Sentence</u> ⁸	<u>Gloss</u>
Unmarked	<u>anohkī</u>	'he is working'
P	<u>anohkīpan</u>	'he was working'
D	<u>anohkītok</u>	'he is probably working'
D-P	<u>anohkīkopan</u>	'he was probably working'
N	<u>kāwin anohkīhsīn</u>	'he isn't working'
N-P	<u>kāwin anohkīhsīpan</u>	'he wasn't working'
N-D	<u>kāwin anohkīhsītok</u>	'he probably isn't working'
N-D-P	<u>kāwin anohkīhsīkopan</u>	'he probably wasn't working'

Verbs in the independent order that are marked for negative mode occur in negative sentences, preceded by a negative particle.⁹

⁸The morphemic segments represented in the sample sentences include anohkī (← anohkyē) 'work', pan 'preterit mode', tok 'dubitative mode', hsī and hsīn (← hsī) 'negative mode', ko (← kw) 'third person, dubitative mode', kāwin 'no, not'. The modal inflection of independent order verbs is discussed below,

⁹See below, pp. 74 - 77.

The modes of the conjunct order parallel those of the independent order, except that the negative mode does not occur. Conjunct verbs may therefore be unmarked for mode, or marked for any combination of modes -- preterit, dubitative, or dubitative-preterit. All clause negation is accomplished with a negative particle alone, and the negative mode is not recorded with conjunct verbs in the Severn dialect, although it is known elsewhere in Ojibwa.¹⁰

In the imperative order, verbs may be marked for delayed mode, or they may be unmarked for mode:

pīntikēn '(you sg.) come in'

(← pīntikē 'enter' + n 'singular')

pīntikēhkan '(you sg.) come in later'

(← pīntikē 'enter' + hk 'delayed mode' + an 'second person singular')

Severn Ojibwa has no prohibitive mode in the imperative order.

Prohibitions involve a combination of a negative particle and an imperative verb unmarked for mode: kāwin pīntikēn 'don't (you sg.) come in'. Other dialects of Ojibwa have a prohibitive mode, as illustrated by the Eastern Ojibwa "ke·kwa pi·nteke·kke·n."¹¹

¹⁰ See below, p. 75.

¹¹ Leonard Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Word List, edited with a Foreword by Charles F. Hockett (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), p.38.

PARTICLES

All words other than nouns, pronouns, and verbs are called particles. There are several clearly defined classes of particles, each class being defined by morphological and syntactic criteria. Other particles belong to minor classes or are not classified. Particles and classes of particles will be given further consideration in the contexts in which they occur.

RELATIVE VERBS AND PARTICLES

The term "relative" is used in two separate senses in this work.

The particles kā- 'who, that' and kē- 'who will, that will' are designated as relative particles because they are compounded with conjunct verbs in the formation of relative clauses. These particles are roughly equivalent to relative pronouns.

Certain other words are conventionally called "relative" by Algonquian scholars. These words occur in exocentric phrases with an antecedent, and are either verbs or particles:

atāwēwikamikonk išā
store-locative he-thither-goes
'he is going to the store'

wētē inēhkē
there in-such-a-direction

Relative words of this type are characterized by a distinctive

stem-initial morpheme. When the stem of a relative word is polymorphemic, the first morpheme is one of a small class called relative roots.¹²

¹²See below, p. 239.

CHAPTER III

PHRASES

It is often convenient to describe a phrase as composed of constituents arranged in a particular order. These constituents are subject to certain transformations, optional or compulsory. Phrase constituents may undergo permutation, being interchanged with other constituents within the phrase, or with words outside the phrase in the case of discontinuous phrases. Words or phrases may sometimes be deleted. In this dissertation, certain types of phrases are designated as sentences, and in the following discussion the term phrase will be used only in reference to grammatical units smaller than a sentence.

QUANTITATIVE PHRASES

Cardinal numerals, classificatory numerals, quantitative particles, and phrases based on these words are quantitative phrases, which modify nouns.

Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals denote digits from one to nine, decades

from ten to ninety, hundreds from one hundred to nine hundred,
and one thousand:

nīšin 'two' (←nīšw 'two' + i 'digit' P.07)

nīšitana 'twenty' (←nīšw 'two' + mitana 'decade' P.03)

nīšwāhk 'two hundred' (←nīšw 'two' + āhk 'hundred' P.11)

Other numbers are expressed by phrases consisting of a cardinal numeral followed by from one to three compound particles. Each of these compound particles consists of the particle ahši- 'and' plus a cardinal number:

<u>nīšitana ahši-nīwin,</u>	<u>mitāhso ahši-niyānan</u>
twenty and-four	ten and-five
'twenty-four'	'fifteen'

The cardinal numeral denoting one thousand may be followed by one to three compounds, but numerals denoting hundreds may be followed by no more than two compounds, and numerals denoting decades may be followed by only one compound. The sequence of cardinal numerals whether alone or in compounds, is semantically limited, so that only one numeral in a phrase may denote a thousand, a hundred, a decade, or a digit, and in any sequence of two numerals the first denotes a higher number than the second. The numeral mitāhso 'ten' may be deleted at the beginning of a phrase before a compound:

<u>mitāhso ahši-pēšik</u>	→	<u>ahši-pēšik</u>
ten and-one		and-one
'eleven'		'eleven'

Classificatory Numerals

Classificatory numerals make reference to some characteristic of the objects being counted, or to the unit by which objects are measured. Numerals of this type denote only the numbers from one to ten. Several categories of classification are known in Ojibwa.¹ The only category of classification recorded in Severn Ojibwa numerals is the category of metal, stone, and glass. These classificatory numerals are formed with āpihk 'metal; dollars' P.12. They modify the noun šōniyā 'money', which may be deleted, and in this context have specialized semantic reference to dollars:

<u>pēšikwāpihk šōniyā</u> one-metal money 'one dollar'	→	<u>pēšikwāpihk</u> one-metal 'one dollar'
--	---	---

Classificatory numeral phrases denoting numbers between ten and twenty consist of the cardinal numeral mitāhso 'ten' with a compound particle consisting of the particle ahši- 'and' plus a classificatory numeral denoting a number less than ten:

<u>mitāhso ahši-nišwāpihk</u> ten and-two-metal 'twelve dollars'
--

¹For details of the categories of classification in Ojibwa see R. R. Bishop Baraga, A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language for the Use of Missionaries and Other Persons Living among the Indians (2d ed.; Montreal: Beauchemin Valois, 1878), pp. 311-313.

In equivalent phrases listed by Baraga, there are two different formations, one type of phrase including a classificatory numeral denoting the number ten but a cardinal numeral in the compound denoting the digit, and the other type of phrase including classificatory numerals both to denote ten and digits as well, with optional deletion of the numeral denoting ten, "midasswabik ashi nijwabik, or, midasswabik ashi nij, or only ashi nijwabik, . . ."2

Classificatory numeral phrases denoting other numbers were not elicited from Severn Ojibwa informants. In forms listed by Baraga, the decades, hundreds, and one thousand are expressed by phrases consisting of a relative classificatory numeral such as tahswāpihk 'so many dollars' (← relative root tahsw 'so many' + āpihk 'metal; dollars') and the appropriate cardinal numeral as its antecedent, "nishwassimidana dasswabik jonia, eighty dollars; midasswak dasswabik sagaiganan, one thousand nails."3

Quantitative Particles

The following quantitative particles are recorded without modifiers: āpihta 'half'; mihšīn 'many'; kahkina 'all'. Two quantitative particles may occur with or without modification by

²Baraga, Grammar, p. 312

³Baraga, Grammar, p. 314

the particle osām 'too': pankī 'a little'; mistahī 'a lot of';
osām pankī 'too little'; osām mistahī 'too much'.

NOMINAL PHRASES

A basic nominal phrase consists of a noun or personal pronoun with optional modifiers. Nominal phrases may be coordinated with or without a coordinating particle, forming coordinative nominal phrases. A nominal phrase may be modified by a relative clause.⁴

Possessive Noun Phrases

A basic possessive noun phrase consists of a noun, the object of possession, preceded and modified by a nominal phrase, the possessor. Only animate nominal phrases are recorded modifying a possessed noun. The possessed noun has inflectional reference to the person, obviation, and number of the possessor:

nīn nimasinahikan
 I my-book
 'my book'

nīnawint nimasinahikaninān
 we(excl.) our-book
 'our (excl) book'

nāpē okosihsan
 man his-sons
 'the man's sons'

nāpēwak okosihsiwān
 men their-sons
 'the men's sons'

Most nouns occur in both unpossessed and possessed forms. Some nouns have a possessive theme suffix em when possessed, but

⁴Relative clauses are described below, pp. 63 - 69.

other nouns are unchanged except for the secondary expression of the substantive categories of the possessor:

apinōnčīnš 'baby'

nintapinōnčīnšim 'my baby'

čīmān 'canoe'

ninčīmān 'my canoe'

Some nouns occur only in possessed form. These are the dependent nouns, which have a special type of morphological structure.⁵ Dependent nouns belong to one of two word classes.

Dependent nouns of relationship include most kinship terms:

ninkosihs 'my son'; nimihšōm 'my grandfather'; nōhkom 'my

grandmother'. Dependent nouns of intimate possession include

most words denoting body parts: ninihk 'my arm'; ništikwán 'my

head'; nihkāt 'my leg'. A few other words are dependent nouns

of intimate possession: nintāhs 'my trousers'; nintayihs 'my dog'.

The noun animohš 'dog' occurs only in unpossessed form, being replaced in possessive noun phrases by the equivalent dependent noun of intimate possession: otayihsan 'his dog'. Proper nouns are not possessed.

Pseudo-dependent nouns are nouns that are morphologically like independent nouns, but which rarely if ever occur unpossessed. Like dependent nouns, pseudo-dependent nouns denote relatives and parts of the body: niwičiwākan 'my companion, my spouse';

⁵ See below, pp. 114 - 115.

nimpahkēsiwinan 'my limbs'; nimahkatēwākamiškīnšikwān 'the pupil of my eye'; nišikiwin 'my bladder'.

Some nouns denoting human beings have alternate meanings when in possessed form:

ihkwē 'woman'

nintihkwēm 'my wife'

nāpē 'man'

nināpēm 'my husband'

An unpossessed noun as possessor may be deleted:

čān otānihsan
John his-daughter
'John's daughter'

→

otānihsan
his-daughter
'his daughter'

A personal pronoun is usually deleted when it occurs as possessor, and when retained it is emphatic:

nīn nintānihs
I(mine) my-daughter
'my daughter, mine'

→

nintānihs
my-daughter
'my daughter'

If the subject of the sentence is identical to the possessor of the object, the nominal phrase that occurs as possessor is deleted:

<u>čān ominwēnimān</u>	[čān] okosihsan
John he(prx)-likes-him (obv)	his(prx)-son(obv)
'John likes his own son'	

Demonstrative Noun Phrases

A demonstrative noun phrase consists of a noun preceded and modified by a demonstrative pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns refer either to a near or to a distant person or thing, and they agree with the nouns they modify in gender, obviation, and number:

wahawē nāpē 'this man'

ahawē nāpē 'that man'

ohowē čīmān 'this canoe'

ihiwē čīmān 'that canoe'

Unpossessed nouns are often deleted after a demonstrative pronoun:

okowēniwak ihkwēwak
those women
'those women'

→

okowēniwak
those
'those people'

Indefinite Noun Phrases

An indefinite noun phrase consists of a noun preceded and modified by an indefinite pronoun, which may in turn have a modifier. An indefinite pronoun agrees with the noun it modifies in gender, obviation, and number. As a rule, nouns modified by indefinite pronouns are singular:

awiya pahkwēšikan 'some bread'

kēkōn mičim 'some food'

Nouns modified by indefinite pronouns may be deleted:

awiya nāpē
some man
'some man'

→

awiya
some
'someone'

kēkōn čīmān
some canoe
'some canoe'

→

kēkōn
some
'something'

There is a plural animate indefinite pronoun, awiyak 'people, some people', which makes it necessary to allow that animate indefinite pronouns may modify plural nouns. The occurrence of the plural form is rare in the data, and in all cases there is no following noun, so that noun deletion may be compulsory

here:

kāwin ninkihkēnimāhsīk awiyak [N]
not I-don't-know-them people
'I don't know any people'

Indefinite pronouns may be modified by the particle kahkina
'all': kahkina awiya 'everyone'; kahkina kēkōn 'everything. Noun
deletion is compulsory after indefinite pronouns modified by kahkina:

okī-wīntamawān kahkina awiyan ēkā čī-kanōnānič
he-has-told-him all some not to-he-calls-her
'he has told everyone not to call her'

Alternate Noun Phrases

An alternate noun phrase consists of a noun preceded and
modified by an alternate pronoun: kotak nintānihs 'my other
daughter'. The alternate pronoun agrees with the noun it modifies
in gender, obviation, and number:⁶

āhpihč wī-wīhsini ahpihč kotakiyan nāpēwan
more intend-he-eats than other(obv) man(obv)
'he wants to eat more than any other man

kā-kī-wāpamimak
that-have-I-see-him(obv)
'I have seen'

An unpossessed noun may be deleted after an alternate
pronoun:

okimā niškātisi kotakiyan [N] ēkā ē-pi-kīwēnič
boss he-is-angry others(obv) not because-hither-they-return
'the boss is angry because the others have not come back'

⁶ See below, pp. 103 - 104.

Quantitative Noun Phrases

A quantitative noun phrase consists of a noun modified by a quantitative phrase.

Quantitative modifiers usually precede the nouns to which they refer: nīšin nāpēnsak 'two boys'. When the modified noun is object of a verb, the quantitative modifier often precedes the verb, while the noun follows the verb:

mihšīn okī-sīkahantawān apinōnčīnsan
 many he-has-baptized-them children
 'he baptized many children'

kīšpin ēkā mistahī ayāwāč šōniyān, mačihsē
 if not much he-has-it money he-is-poor
 'if one doesn't have money, one is poor'

kīšpin kahkina ē-nihsāč nihkan, očākihān
 if all that-he-shoots-them geese he-wastes-them
 'if he shoots all the geese, he is decimating them'

In one sentence a discontinuous quantitative noun phrase occurs as subject of the verb, interrupted by a locative phrase:

nihsin wētē nēkaw-sākahikanīnk nintānihsak ē-ayāwāč
 three there Sandy-Lake-at my-daughters they-are
 'three of my daughters live there, at Sandy Lake'

Under undetermined conditions the noun may precede the quantitative modifier: nāpēnsak nihsin 'three boys'. In one sentence a phrase of this type is discontinuous, with the noun object preceding the verb and the quantitative modifier following the verb:

ninkosihsak ninkanawēnimāk nīšin
 my-sons I-look-after-them two
 'I am looking after my two sons'

Nouns with a deleted nominal phrase possessor may be modified by a quantitative phrase: pěšik nintānihsēns 'my one young daughter'.

When a noun is modified by both a numeral and a demonstrative pronoun, the numeral usually precedes:

pěšik ahawē nāpēns
one that boy
'that one boy'

Sometimes however, the numeral follows the demonstrative pronoun, but the conditions under which this may take place are not clear:

okowēniwak nīwin nāpēwak
those four men
'those four men'

A quantitative particle follows a demonstrative noun phrase with noun deletion in the following example:

ahawēniwak [N] kahkina
those all
'all of those people'

Most nouns are singular with pěšik 'one', and plural with other numeral phrases:

pěšik čimān 'one canoe' nīwin čimānan 'four canoes'

Nouns denoting units of measure are always singular with a quantitative modifier, e.g. the noun šōniyā 'money':

niyānanwāpihk šōniyā 'five dollars cash'

The quantitative particle pankī 'a little', and mistahī 'a lot of' modify only singular nouns: pankī mičim 'a little food';

ahki mistahī 'a lot of dirt'. Other quantitative particles are recorded modifying plural nouns only: kahkina ihkwēwak 'all the women'.

Unpossessed nouns modified by quantitative phrases may be deleted:

osām mistahī [N] kikī-mīnihš
 too much you-have-given-it-to-me
 'you have given me too much'

kāwin okaškihtōhsīn nīšin [N] či-kanawēnimāč
 not she-can-do-it-not to-she-cares-for-them
 'she is unable to look after two of them'

Other Noun Phrases

The words ayahā 'person, being', and ayahī 'thing', are pronouns that are recorded only with noun deletion. They seem to correspond to Menomini aya·h and i·h, which Bloomfield termed qualitative indefinite pronouns and also appellative pronouns.⁷

These pronouns have the same substantive class inflection as corresponding nouns.

The particle kwayahk 'correct, correctly' may precede and modify a noun:

kwayahk wāhkāhikr a nintayān
 proper house I-have-it
 'I have a proper house'

⁷ Leonard Bloomfield, The Menomini Language (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 203-4, and p. 466.

The particle ēhta 'only' occurs after nouns, and appears to modify them:

nimāmā ēhta pimātisi
 my-mother only she-lives
 'only my mother is living'

This particle could also be considered as a modifier of the verb or of the sentence, but subject to variable placement.

Personal Pronoun Phrases

A personal pronoun may be preceded and modified by the particle kē 'as for, too', which does not occur in any other construction: kē nīn 'as for me, me too'. The presence of this particle makes the pronoun emphatic, so that the personal pronoun is not deleted even when its substantive categories have secondary expression:

kīšpin māčāyan, kē nīn ninka-māčā
 if you-go too I I-will-go
 'if you go away I will go too'

The particle ēhta 'only' also follows personal pronouns and may be said to modify them, at least in the surface structure of a sentence: kīn ēhta 'only you'.

Coordinative Nominal Phrases

A coordinative nominal phrase consists of two or more nominal phrases, with or without a coordinating particle.

Coordinative nominal phrases are classified as amplifying or

additive on the basis of the semantic relationship between the constituent nominal phrases. In an amplifying nominal phrase the nominal phrases denote the same person or thing. In an additive nominal phrase the nominal phrases denote separate persons or things.

Amplifying nominal phrases. In an amplifying nominal phrase, there are two or more nominal phrases agreeing in gender and number, but not always agreeing in person and obviation. The nominal phrases are often separated by a pause, but there is no coordinating particle:

ahawē, nihsēns, ānī onāpēman
 that my-brother Annie her-husband
 'that person, (who is) my brother, (and who is also) Annie's
 husband'

kahkina wīn mino-ayāwak nintānihsak, wīnawā, nīšin
 all by-contrast well-they-are my-daughters they two
 'on the other hand, all of my daughters, the two of them, are
 are well'

Additive nominal phrases. An additive nominal phrase consists of two or more nominal phrases usually following one after the other without a coordinating particle, as in a list:

mī ēhta wāpōs, mōs, kinōšē
 it-was only hare moose fish
 'there was only hare, moose, and fish'

The coordinating particle ēkwa 'and' sometimes links two nouns:

čān ēkwa mēnī 'John and Mary'

LOCATIVE PHRASES

A basic locative phrase consists of a local particle, a demonstrative particle, or a noun in local form, with or without modifiers. A noun in local form may be replaced by a locative clause.⁸

A coordinative locative phrase consists of a sequence of basic locative phrases.

Local Particle Phrases

A local particle phrase consists of a local particle with or without modifiers. Some local particles have a fairly concrete reference to place or direction: pīntikamink 'inside a building'; nīhsāčiwān 'downstream'; čīkipīk 'near the water'; mohčīhsak 'on the bare floor'; wakitatin 'on top of the hill'; anāmahkamik 'underground'. Other local particles are more abstract: nahsawīyahī 'in the middle'; anāmink 'on the bottom'; nīkān 'in front'. Some of these abstract local particles are recorded with a following noun phrase as modifier:

ān' ihiwē pahkān nēnāwīyahī "pinamā" ēkwa kayē "pānimā"
 what that different between "pinamā" and also "pānimā"
 'what is the difference between "pinamā" and "pānimā"?'

There are two relative local particles, which must be

⁸ Locative clauses are described below, pp. 67 - 68.

preceded by an antecedent demonstrative particle or local particle:

wētē inēhkē
there in-such-direction
'in that direction'

anāmink inēhkē
below in-such-direction
'on the underside'

wētē inēhkēyahī
there in-such-place
'in that place'

awahsitē inēhkēyahī
beyond in-such-place
'in the place beyond'

Demonstrative Particles⁹

Demonstrative particles might be considered the equivalent of demonstrative pronouns in local form. They have no expression of substantive categories, and are in this respect like local nouns, but they do express the near-distant contrast of demonstrative pronouns:

ohomā 'here'

wētē 'there'

Three such particles are reported in use at Round Lake, "/ohoma./ 'here,' /ihima./ 'there,' and /we-ti/ 'there, farther away.'"¹⁰

These words are not considered pronouns because their use does not suggest agreement with a following noun, with or without noun deletion.

A demonstrative particle may be preceded and modified

⁹Bloomfield calls these words "local words." See L. Bloomfield, Menomini, p. 470.

¹⁰Jean H. Rogers, "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194, Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II (1963) 121.

by a local particle, although this is a rare construction in the data:

pēhšonč ohomā 'near here'

Nouns in Local Form

Nouns in local form have no overt expression of the substantive categories of gender, obviation, or number. Instead of an inflectional suffix that indicates these categories, local nouns have a locative suffix:

čīmān 'canoe'

čīmānan 'canoes'

čīmānink 'in the canoe(s)'

A few proper nouns denoting places are indeclinable and therefore have no special local form:

wīnipēk niwī-iši-māčā
Winnipeg I-intend-thither-leave
'I intend to leave for Winnipeg'

Nouns in local form may be possessed:

ninčīmānink 'in my canoe(s)'

Nouns in local form may be preceded and modified by local particles:

pēhšonč čīpwātink
near kettle-locative
'near the kettle'

pīntikamink niwāhkāhikanink
inside-building my-house-locative
'inside my house'

Locative phrases normally precede the verb they modify:

nihsin nāpēwak pimičīyahī wīhsinīwināhtikonk apiwak
three men alongside table-locative they-sit
'three men are sitting alongside the table'

A locative phrase is often discontinuous when a local particle modifies a noun in local form, with the local particle preceding the verb and the noun following it:

šīpāyahī pimipahtō āpikošihš wīhsinīwināhtikonk
 under he-runs-along mouse table-locative
 'a mouse is running under the table'

In one rather unusual sentence a discontinuous locative phrase follows the verb it modifies, with the object noun also following the verb and interrupting the locative phrase:

ahtōn anāmīyahī pēpano-mihtikowaš pōtawānāpihkonk
 put-it down carton stove-locative
 'put the carton down under the stove'

Coordinative Locative Phrases

All coordinative locative phrases are amplifying; that is, each of the phrases refers to the same location, but provides different details as to the nature of the location. There is no coordinating particle.

A demonstrative particle frequently precedes a noun in local form, with or without modifiers:

<u>wētē sīpīnk</u>	<u>ohomā ninčīmānink</u>
there, on-the-river	here my-canoe-in
'there, on the river'	'here, in my canoe'

Coordinative phrases of this type are sometimes discontinuous, with the pronoun before the verb and the local noun following the verb, as in the following sentence, where the locative phrase is the antecedent of a relative verb:

ohomā nintiši-ayā wāhkāhikanink
 here I-so-am in-the house
 'here I am, in the house'

A demonstrative particle may also combine additively with a local particle:

wētē išpimink
 there on-high
 'up there'

Coordinative phrases may also be formed by the sequence of a local particle phrase plus a modified noun in local form:

wētē inēhkē awahsitē atāwēwikamikonk
 there in-such-direction beyond store-locative
 'in that direction, beyond the store'

OTHER ADVERBIAL PHRASES

There are many adverbial particles that will not be further classified in the present work. Some of these probably belong to limited lexical sets, e.g. ačina 'for a short time', and kinwēnš 'for a long time'. The following discussion centers on some of the more distinctive adverbial particles and phrases.

Multiplicative Numerals

The multiplicative numerals of Severn Ojibwa denote the numbers from one to ten: pēšikwā 'once'; nīšwā 'twice'; nihswā 'three times'. There is a relative multiplicative numeral tahswā 'so many times'. Higher numbers were not elicited in the Severn dialect.

Temporal Numerals and Related Particles

There is a set of temporal numerals, which are structurally similar to classificatory numerals, denoting numbers of days from one to ten: mitāhsokon 'ten days'.

Certain compound particles denote numbered periods of time. A compound particle of this type consists of a noun denoting a period of time, with a numeral in compounding form as prior member. Numerals in compounding form designate numbers from one to ten: pēšiko-kīsihs 'one month'. Some compounds are formed with irregular variants of nouns: nīšo-tipihkā 'two nights' (tipihk 'night'); mitāhso-kīšikā 'ten days' (kīšik 'day'). Compounds seem to be used in preference to the equivalent temporal numerals. Higher numbered periods of time were not elicited from Severn Ojibwa informants. Forms cited by Baraga show that relative compound particles, with tahso- 'so many' as prior member, may be preceded by a cardinal number denoting a number higher than ten, "nijšana dasso bibon . . . twenty years . . . ningotwak dasso bibon ashi nijo bibon . . . a hundred and two years."¹¹

Compound particles consisting of the relative compounding numeral tahso- 'so many, every' and a noun or verb denoting a period of time, may occur without an antecedent:

¹¹Baraga, Grammar, p.311

tahso-kīšikā 'every day'; tahso-kihšēpāyā 'every morning';
tahso-pipōn 'every winter'. Other compound particles of this
 type have as the prior member the particle kapē- 'for the whole,
 all': kapē-kīšik 'all day long'; kapē-pipōn 'all winter long'.

A few particles have a specific time reference, and seem
 to be a lexical set: nōnkom 'today, in the present'; wēskač 'long
 ago, in the past'; šēpā 'this morning (past)'; onākō 'yesterday'.
 The particle nōnkom 'now, in the present', is frequently modified
 by a temporal clause:¹²

nōnkom kā-kihšēpāyāk
 now that-it-is-morning
 'this (present) morning'

Words like nīpinonk 'last summer', and tipihkonk 'last
 night' are nouns in local form, but they are syntactically similar
 to temporal particles. Verbs of time inflected for conjunct order
 are clauses that have a syntactic and semantic function comparable
 to that of temporal particles: pipōnk 'in the winter'; wāpank
 'in the morning, tomorrow'.

Instrumental Phrases

An instrumental phrase consists of the relative particle
onči 'from, by means of', preceded and modified by an antecedent
 nominal phrase: iškotēhkān onči 'by means of a match'.

¹²Temporal clauses are discussed below, pp. 68 - 69.

VERB PHRASES

The multiple syntactic functions of the Ojibwa verb so impressed on scholar that he wrote:

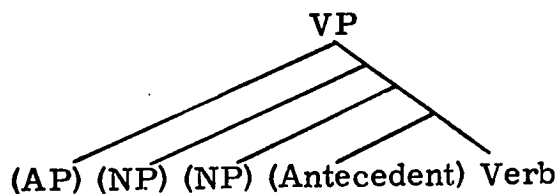
. . . the verb in the Indian idiom, is the supreme chief of the language; it draws into its magical circle, all the other parts of speech, and makes them act, move, suffer and even exist in the manner, and in such situations as is pleasing to it. In truth a learned philologist likened the verb of the Indian language to Atlas that carries the world on its shoulders. If a language can be compared to a world, this comparison appears to us very just; for the verb can carry it entirely in its bosom.¹³

The following description of verb phrases accounts for only the most simple constructions. It is assumed that the application of a number of grammatical transformations to these verb phrases of to the sentences containing them would produce the more complex verb phrases that are possible and so common in Ojibwa. A formal discussion of these grammatical transformations is beyond the scope of the present work.

A basic verb phrase consists of a verb that is optionally preceded by one or more modifiers. The modifiers, in order of occurrence in the underlying verb phrase structure, are an adverbial phrase, a nominal phrase, a second nominal phrase, and an antecedent, a word or phrase that varies with the relative verb with which it occurs. The underlying structure of a verb phrase

¹³ Baraga, Grammar, p. 422.

is illustrated in the following tree diagram:



A verb consists of a stem plus one or more inflectional affixes, and the verb is classified according to the morphological structure of its stem as well as with reference to the modifiers, if any, with which it occurs.

Verbs that may occur without a modifying nominal phrase (NP) within the verb phrase (VP) are classified as intransitive, and these are morphologically distinct from other verbs, which are classified as transitive. Some intransitive verbs, here designated as "objective" intransitives, may occur with a single modifying nominal phrase. Certain transitive verbs, double-object verbs, are the only verbs that occur with both nominal phrase modifiers, and these verbs must have both modifiers. The structural relationship between an objective intransitive verb and its modifying nominal phrase is parallel to the relationship between a double-object transitive verb and the second nominal phrase that modifies it, since in both cases the nominal phrase denotes an object that must be third person in category.

Verbs may also be classified according to whether they occur with an antecedent or not. Only relative verbs occur with

an antecedent. Some relative verbs are intransitive, and some are transitive.

Intransitive Verb Phrases

Intransitive verbs are classified according to the gender of the subject with which they occur. Animate intransitive (AI) verbs require an animate subject, and inanimate intransitive (II) verbs require an inanimate subject.

Many AI and II stems are paired, with identical meaning and function apart from their complementary distribution with respect to subject nominal phrases:

akončin nāpē 'the man is floating' (stem akončin- AI 'float')

akontin čīmān 'the canoe is afloat' (stem akontin- II 'float')

Some AI stems are not paired with II stems, but this is evidently a semantic limitation rather than a morphological one. There is a productive pattern of derivation for forming II stems from AI stems by the addition of the suffix I.054 -makat (with the variant makan in certain environments):

anohkī 'he is working'

anohkīmakan 'it is working'

Where there is no II verb paired with an AI verb it would almost certainly be possible to invent one should the occasion arise for its use.

There are a number of II verbs for which there are no AI counterparts, and there is no derivational suffix to form AI stems

from them. Most, if not all of these verbs are impersonal verbs. In the underlying structure of sentences, an impersonal verb requires a singular unpossessed noun as subject, because the verb is inflected for a singular subject, and the noun that occurs as subject is deleted by a compulsory transformation. One group of impersonal verbs denote meteorological events:

<u>anwāhtin</u> 'it is calm'	<u>ānahkwan</u> 'it is cloudy'
<u>sōkihpwan</u> 'it is snowing'	<u>kimiwan</u> 'it is raining'

Some impersonal verbs denote seasons and times of day:

<u>nīpin</u> 'it is summer'	<u>takwākin</u> 'it is autumn'
<u>pipōn</u> 'it is winter'	<u>sīkwan</u> 'it is spring'
<u>kīšikan</u> 'it is day'	<u>tipihkan</u> 'it is night'

A few verbs have an incorporated subject:

kišičiwan 'the current is fast'
nēyāhšiwān 'it is a point of land'
išpākonakā 'the snow is piled high'
paškwinā 'the hill is bare'

Some impersonal verbs are freely derived from AI verbs, and denote action by an indefinite number of people:

<u>nīmināniwan</u> 'people are dancing'	<u>nīmi</u> 'he is dancing'
<u>atāwākāniwan</u> 'furs are bartered'	<u>atāwākē</u> 'he barters'
<u>pimohsāniwan</u> 'there is a parade'	<u>pimohsē</u> 'he walks along'

These are formed with the suffix I.047 -niwan, -nāniwan.

One class of animate intransitive verbs may occur with and without a modifying noun phrase. These are the objective intransitive verbs, the subject of which must always be animate in gender. When modified by a nominal phrase, even if it is subsequently deleted, an objective intransitive verb is semantically similar to a transitive verb, but it may occur only with third person objects:

<u>ahsap nintatāwēnan</u> net I-sell-it 'I am selling the net'	→	<u>nintatāwēnan</u> I-sell-him, it(animate) 'I am selling him'
<u>čīmān nintatāwēn</u> canoe I-sell-it 'I am selling the canoe'	→	<u>nintatāwēn</u> I-sell-it 'I am selling it'
<u>nintatāwē</u> I-sell 'I am selling'		

Objective intransitive verbs exhibit differences in inflection with and without objects only in the independent order, as illustrated above. In the conjunct order verbs may be ambiguous:

atāwēyān 'if I sell it, if I am selling'

Transitive Verb Phrases

Transitive verbs are classified according to the gender of the object with which they occur. Transitive animate (TA) verbs occur with animate objects, and transitive inanimate (TI) verbs occur with inanimate objects. Most TA and TI verbs are paired, with the same basic meaning but different syntactic function:

niwāpamā 'I see him' (stem wāpam- TA 'see')

niwāpantān 'I see it' (stem wāpant- TI 'see')

Where there is no TA counterpart for a TI verb it is usually because of a semantic limitation. Similarly, the lack of a TI counterpart to a TA verb is often due to the ideas expressed, which may not apply normally to inanimate objects: niniškihā 'I anger him'. The stem wičīw- TA 'accompany' is a stem that is monomorphemic and unlike other TA stems, and it also has no TI counterpart.

There is a class of TA verbs that are not paired with TI verbs. These are double-object verbs, which are modified by two nominal phrases within the verb phrase. The second object is the equivalent of the direct object in English, and the first object, which is the inflectional object, is the equivalent of the indirect object of English. An unpossessed noun denoting the second object may be deleted:

<u>masinahikan mīnihšin</u> book give-it-to-me 'give me the book'	→	<u>mīnihšin</u> give-it-to-me 'give it to me'
--	---	---

Like the nominal phrase that modifies an objective AI verb, the nominal phrase denoting the second object of a double-object verb must be third person in category. The first object of these verbs must be animate in gender, and agreement of the verb stem is with this first object.

Relative Verb Phrases

Relative verbs are preceded and modified by a word or phrase that is the antecedent of the verb.

Some relative verbs are verbs of saying and thinking that regularly have a quotation as antecedent:

"nipān wīpač" kī-ihkito nimāmā
 sleep quickly have-she-so-says my-mother
 "Go to sleep," my mother has said'

"kāwin niminwēntansīn" kī-inēntam
 not I-like-it-not have-he-so-thinks
 "I don't like it," he thought'

"pīntikēn" ninkī-inā
 come-in. I-have-so-said-to-him
 "Come in," I said to him'

Relative verbs of naming are preceded by a proper noun:

čān išinikhāso
 John he-so-is-named
 'he is named John'

Relative verbs denoting movement to or from a place are regularly preceded by a locative phrase:

kīšpin sākāhtēk wāpank ākwačīnk ninka-išā
 if it-shines tomorrow outside I-will-thither-go
 'if the sun is shining tomorrow, I'll go out'

maškihkihwēhkānk ončī
 nursing-station-locative he-thence-comes
 'he is coming from the nursing station'

The antecedent of some relative verbs is an adverbial phrase of manner, or in some cases, an adverbial phrase of time:

wāpank māskoč pītoš — nīnka-inamančih
 tomorrow perhaps differently I-will-thus-feel
 'perhaps I will feel different tomorrow'

apo wēskač ontapi
 paddle long-ago it-thence-sits
 'the paddle is ancient'

Some relative verbs are recorded in the data only in
 clauses or interrogative sentences where the antecedent is deleted
 or replaced:¹⁴

kā-ahpīhčāk ayamihēwikamik
 that-it-is-so-far church
 'as far as the church'

ān' ēšihčikēyan
 what you-so-make
 'what are you doing'

¹⁴ Clauses with a deleted antecedent are discussed below,
 pp. 67 - 69. Interrogative sentences with a deleted antecedent are
 described below, pp. 71 - 74.

CHAPTER IV

SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

Ojibwa sentences may be classified as verbal or non-verbal. Declarative sentences, imperative sentences, and clauses of divers types are derived from an underlying verbal sentence structure. Other sentences are derived from various combinations of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. Clause-like derivatives of non-verbal sentences will be called pseudo-clauses.

VERBAL SENTENCES

The construction underlying verbal sentences and clauses consists of a verb phrase preceded and modified by a nominal phrase. For convenience of reference this nominal phrase will be designated NP_1 , while in the verb phrase of the underlying structure the first or only nominal phrase modifying a verb will be designated NP_2 , and the second nominal phrase modifying a double-object verb will be designated NP_3 .

In the underlying structure of verbal sentences a nominal phrase must be animate in gender if it precedes another nominal phrase, so that NP_1 is animate where there is an NP_2 , and NP_2 is

animate where there is an NP₃. This is a restriction that is parallel to the requirement that a nominal phrase be animate when it is the possessor of a noun. With a transitive verb NP₂ may be first person in category when NP₁ is second person, but otherwise NP₂ and NP₃ are third person in category. It is one of the features of the underlying structure of verbal sentences that NP₂ is lower in the order of precedence than NP₁. Only NP₁ may be second person in category, since second person has precedence over all other persons. NP₂ may be first person in category only when NP₁ is second person, because first person has precedence over third person. The first animate third person nominal phrase may be deleted from the underlying verbal sentence structure. This deletion is semantically interpreted as an indefinite person subject, so that this deletion applies to NP₁ only with direct transitive verbs, and it applies to NP₂ only with inverse verbs. When the transitive verb is inverse in voice NP₁ and NP₂ are interchanged by an inversion transformation, so that NP₂ becomes subject and NP₁ object in the surface sentence structure.¹ The nominal phrases NP₁ and NP₂ correspond, before inversion, to the "grammatical subject" and "grammatical object" and after inversion they correspond to the "logical object" and "logical

¹The inversion transformation is formulated below, pp. 139-140.

subject" as defined by Goddard.² Since word order in Ojibwa is quite flexible, and since nominal phrases can often be deleted, the inversion transformation is of importance only in defining the structural relationships of the various nominal phrases.

The inflectional forms of transitive verbs with an indefinite subject are called "passives" by Bloomfield, but are evidently passive only in the sense that the passive construction is most appropriate in the English translation:³

niwāpamikō 'I am seen; one sees me'

wāpamā 'he is seen; one sees him'

Where the object of the verb phrase is first or second person, the form of the verb with an indefinite subject is inverse, but when the object is third person the verb is direct in voice, suggesting that an indefinite third person has precedence in the underlying structure with reference to other third persons. The inversion transformation operates to produce a similar surface structure for all verbs inflected for an indefinite person subject.

²Ives Goddard, "The Algonquian Independent Indicative," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 214, Contributions to Anthropology: Linguistics I (Algonquian) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), pp. 67-68.

³Leonard Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Word List, edited with a Foreward by Charles F. Hockett (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), p.46.

DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

Declarative sentences are formed from an underlying verbal sentence structure by a sequence of operations. First the underlying structure undergoes inflection of the verb for independent order. With verbs inflected for inverse voice the inversion transformation applies. Next nominal phrases are deleted when necessary, as when subject of an impersonal verb, or when subject of a verb with inflection for an indefinite animate subject. Finally, certain other words or phrases are optionally deleted, including unpossessed nouns in various contexts, and optional permutations are performed. Rather few sentences without optional deletions and permutations are recorded:

wihsiniwināhtik wēskač ončimakan
 table long-ago it-thence-comes
 'the table comes from former days'

osām mistahī pēpan kiki-pītōn
 too much paper you-have-bring-it
 'you (sg.) have brought too much paper'

The subject of a sentence frequently follows the verb phrase, especially when the verb is intransitive:

akāmink ayā niwāhkāhikan
 on-opposite-shore it-is my-house
 'my house is on the opposite shore'

māskoč ta-āhkwatīn nipi
 maybe will-it-freezes water
 'maybe the water will freeze'

māwač ninkihči-ayahāw nīn
 very I-am-big-person I
 'I am an extremely big person, I am'

Adverbial modifiers may follow the other phrases in a verb phrase:

mōhkomān čipwāpihkan wanahkwīyahī
 knife pointed-metal-it-is at-the-tip
 'the knife is pointed at the tip'

pimihšin ahkīhkānk
 he-lies-down ground-locative
 'he is lying on the ground'

mino-kīšikan nōnkom kā-kīšikahk
 good-it-is-day now that-it-is-day
 'it is a nice day today'

ninčākis iškotēhkan onči
 I-get-burned match from
 'I am getting burned by the match'

Under undetermined circumstances the object may follow a transitive verb:

kīmōč nintahkonā māčīhs
 secretly I-hold-it match
 'I am holding the match out of sight'

onōntē-wāpamāpanīn wīčihkiwēsiwan onāko
 he-hoped-to-see-him his-brother yesterday
 'he was hoping to see his brother yesterday'

niwāpamā ahsin anāmiṗik
 I-see-him stone underwater
 'I see a stone under the water'

kika-wāpantān minihkwākan pēhšonč čipwātink
 you-will-see-it cup near kettle-locative
 'you will see the cup near the tea-kettle'

The interchange of nominal and adverbial phrases is so infrequent that it may be regarded as irregular or ungrammatical. In one

sentence an object nominal phrase and an adverbial phrase are interchanged following a verb:

nintayān nōnkōm kā-nīpink čīmān; ēkwa pipōnk
 I-have-it now that-it-is-summer canoe and it-is-winter
 'I have a canoe this summer; and in the winter'

ninka-āpačihāk ākimak
 I-will-use-them snowshoes
 I will use snowshoes'

A subject nominal phrase and an adverbial phrase are interchanged before the verb in one sentence:

nāsipīnk čīmān ahtē
 on-shore canoe it-is-placed
 'the canoe is beached'

More complex declarative sentences have several adverbial modifiers, both before and after the verb:

onāko ohomā ninkī-takohšin
 yesterday here I-have-arrived
 'I arrived here yesterday'

nōnkōm ninkī-ahtōn kīpahikan čīpwātink
 now I-have-put-it lid kettle-locative
 'I have just now put the lid on the tea-kettle'

awahšimē mōšak kwayahk kēkōn ayā tahso-kīšikā
 more always properly something it-is every-day
 'things are getting always better every day'

māwin wāpank ninka-wāpamā
 maybe tomorrow I-will-see-him
 'maybe I will see him tomorrow'

āša kīkī-kīši-kīškatawāk mihtikōk onāko
 already you-have-finished-cutting-them logs yesterday
 'you had already finished cutting the logs yesterday'

CLAUSES

Basic clauses are derived from an underlying verbal sentence structure by a series of transformations. The sentence structures first undergo inflection of the verb for conjunct order, followed by inversion of the subject and object when required by the inflectional forms of the transitive verb. Optional deletions and permutations are then performed. All other types of clauses are derived from the resulting basic clauses.

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are derived from basic clauses by deletion of a subject or object nominal phrase, or by deletion of the antecedent of a verb. The deleted phrase is the structural equivalent of the phrase that the relative clause modifies or replaces. At the same time a relative particle is compounded with the verb stem, the particle being kā- 'who, that', or kē- 'who will, that will'. When the particle kē- is compounded with the verb stem there is no other indication of future tense in the verb. Sometimes the formation of a relative clause involves initial change in the verb stem rather than the insertion of the particle kā-.⁴

⁴Initial change is a process of ablaut affecting the first vowel in the verb stem. See below p. 251 for further discussion.

Nominal clauses. A nominal clause is a relative clause that modifies or replaces a nominal phrase, which is its antecedent. A nominal clause is derived from a basic clause that includes a nominal phrase expressing the same categories of gender, person, obviation, and number as the antecedent. The equivalent nominal phrase is deleted from the basic clause, and usually the particle kā- 'who' is inserted:

kā-anohkīč
 who-he-is-working
 'who is working'

The alternate formation, involving involving initial change in the verb stem, is seldom found in Severn Ojibwa. The semantic difference, if any, has not been determined:

ēkāhsēnšič
 who-he-is-small
 'who is very small'

A nominal clause generally follows its antecedent:

ihkwē kā-anohkīč
 woman who-she-is-working
 'the woman who is working'

apinōnčīnš kā-kanawēnimatipan onāko
 child that-you-looked-after-him yesterday
 'the child that you were looking after yesterday'

In one phrase the numeral of an antecedent nominal phrase follows the nominal clause:

nōsihs ēkāhsēnšič pēšik
 my-grandchild who-is-very-small one
 'my one grandchild who is very small'

A nominal clause that precedes the nominal phrase it modifies describes a perpetual state or characteristic, and in all recorded cases is based on an intransitive verb:

kā-ončikawič čīpwāt
that-it-leaks tea-kettle
'the leaky tea-kettle'

kā-wāpāk ohsohsotamo-maškihki
that-it-is-white cough-medicine
'the white cough-syrup'

mitāhso ahši-nīwāpihk ēšipīhikātēk čēkihs
ten and-four-metal that-it-is-so-written cheque
'a cheque made out for fourteen dollars'

Nominal clauses most frequently modify demonstrative noun phrases, with or without noun deletion:

<u>ihiwē masinahikan</u>	<u>kā-ayamihtōč</u>	→	<u>ihiwē kā-ayamihtōč</u>
that book	that-he-reads-it		that that-he-reads-it
'that book that he is reading'			'what he is reading'

ahawē sōlokwāt kā-iši-māčāč
that Sioux-Lookout that-thither-he-leaves
'the one who left for Sioux Lookout'

Nouns modified by nominal clauses are often found at the end of a sentence, especially when the nominal clause is complex in structure. In the following sentence for example, the object nominal phrase follows rather than precedes the verb, and although the noun without a clause would certainly be acceptable before the verb, it is highly unlikely that the noun with the clause could occur in that position:

okī-panahwān nihkan kā-kī-kočihtōč čī-nihsāč
 he-has-missed-them geese that-has-he-tries-it to-he-kills-them
 'he missed (in shooting) the geese that he tried to kill'

Pseudo-nouns. The pseudo-noun is a minor part of speech that might be regarded as a semantically specialized nominal clause. Morphologically the pseudo-noun is identical to the compound verb in a nominal clause:

<u>ihiwē kā-pimināmakahk</u>	<u>kā-pimināmakahk</u>
that that-it-is-flying	that-it-is-flying
'that thing that is flying'	'airplane (pseudo-noun)'

The expression of the substantive categories of gender, person, obviation, and number is in a sense primary in the pseudo-noun, but the inflectional morphemes are the same as those which indicate inflectional reference to a third person subject in the corresponding clause verb. Only two pseudo-nouns occur in the data, both inanimate in gender: kā-pimināmakahk 'airplane'; kā-kisīpīkinikēhsēk 'washing machine'.

Pseudo-nouns, like nouns, are regularly modified by demonstrative and indefinite pronouns, by quantitative phrases, and even by nominal clauses:

ominwētān ihiwēniwan kā-pimināmakahk
 he-likes-it that airplane
 'he likes that airplane'

kāwin kēkōn kā-pimināmakahk niwāpantansīn
 not any airplane I-see-it-not
 'I don't see any airplanes'

nīšin kā-pimināmakahkin
two airplanes
'two airplanes'

kā-ošāwāk kā-pimināmakahk
that-it-is-yellow airplane
'the yellow airplane'

There is even an example in the data of a possessed pseudo-noun:

ninkā-pimināmakahk 'my airplane'. Also peculiar is the compounding of a pseudo-noun with a particle that usually precedes nouns in compound nouns: kihči-kā-pimināmakahk 'big airplane'.

Locative clauses. A locative clause is derived from a basic clause in which a locative phrase is the antecedent of a verb. The locative clause is formed by deleting the locative phrase from the basic clause and inserting the particle kā- 'that', which is compounded with the verb stem:

niwīkimākan otātān kā-iši-ayānič
my-wife her-father that-there-he-is
'where my wife's father lives'

The subject of the clause verb usually precedes the verb, as in the underlying sentence structure, but it may occasionally follow the verb phrase:

kā-iši-akohkēč ahkihk
that-there-it-hangs pot
'where the pot is hanging'

Sometimes initial change occurs instead of kā- insertion, although this is rare in Severn Ojibwa:

ěši-pakitinihsāniwank
 that-there-people-put-down-firewood
 'where firewood is put down'

A locative clause may occur in place of a noun in local form, and may therefore be modified by a local particle:

kihči-nāpē nīpawi nīkān ihkwēnsan kā-iši-nīpawinič
 big-man he-stands in-front girl that-there-she-stands
 'the big man is standing in front of where the girl is standing'

wētē pēhšonč kā-ončikawič čīpwāt kā-iši-apič
 there near that-thence-it-leaks tea-kettle that-there-it-sits
 'there, near where the leaky kettle is placed'

Pseudo-nouns in local form. The equivalent of a local form for pseudo-nouns is made by compounding the pseudo-noun with the particle iši- 'thus, so, there', a relative particle, that ordinarily has an antecedent. The pseudo-noun in local form is therefore the structural equivalent of a locative clause:

kā-iši-kisīpīkinikēhsēk
 that-there-it-washes
 'where it is washing (locative clause); in the washing-machine'

A pseudo-noun in local form occurs in the same syntactic positions as a noun in local form:

ayahīn pīnčīyahī ayāwan kā-iši-kisīpīkinikēhsēk
 things inside they-are in-the-washing-machine
 'the things are inside the washing-machine'

Temporal clauses. Temporal clauses are derived from basic clauses in which the verb is an impersonal verb of time. It is not clear what is deleted from the basic clause, but it is probably

the nominal phrase that occurs as subject and must be deleted anyway. The particle kā- is compounded with the verb, which in all cases in the data has no adverbial modifier. Temporal clauses are recorded only as modifiers of the particle nōnkom 'now, in the present':

nōnkom kā-tipihkahk
now that-it-is-night
'to-night'

nōnkom kā-nīpīnk
now that-it-is-summer
'this summer'

Other relative clauses. Other relative clauses are formed from basic clause structures in which verbs have non-local words or phrases as antecedents. The technique of derivation is the same as for locative clauses:

kā-ahpīhčāk ayamihēwikamik
that-it-is-so-far church
'as far as the church'

kā-kī-tōtawihšič
that-have-he-so-does-to-me
'how he has treated me'

kā-nōntē-išihčikēyān
that-hope-I-so-make-it
'what I hope to do'

Non-relative Clauses

Other clauses derived from basic clause structures occur mainly as adverbial modifiers, where they may precede or follow the verb that they modify. A non-relative clause may also occur in place of an inanimate singular nominal phrase as subject or

object of certain verbs. When a nominal phrase in a clause denotes the same person or thing as a nominal phrase elsewhere in the sentence, one of the two nominal phrases, usually the second, must be deleted:

kwāpī kišākamitēk, [kwāpī] sīkinan niminihkwākanink
 coffee it-is-hot-liquid pour-it my-cup-locative
 'when the coffee is hot, pour it into my cup'

owī-minihkwātān kwāpīni, [kwāpīni] ē-kišākamitēnik
 he-intends-drink-it coffee because-it-is-hot-liquid
 'he intends to drink the coffee, because it is hot'

A basic clause may occur as a simple conditional clause modifying a verbal phrase:

ka-pamihin ka-āhkosian⁵
 will-I-care-for-you will-you-are-ill
 'I will look after you if you get sick'

More commonly a conditional clause is introduced by the grammatical particle kīšpin 'if':

kā-pimināmakahk ta-pimakōtē kīšpin wahšēhkwahk
 airplane will-it-flies it it-is-clear-weather
 'the airplane will fly if the weather is clear'

kīšpin wāpank kihči-mamahkāškāk kāwin ka-kī-pōsihsimin
 if tomorrow big-there-are-waves not will-can-we-embark
 'if there are great waves tomorrow, we will be unable to embark'

When the clause verb is inflected for preterit mode the stated condition is contrary to fact, and the verb of the modified verb phrase is compound, including the conditional particle tā- 'would':

⁵In the verb ka-pamihin 'I will look after you', the second person prefix ke has a zero variant before the future preverb ka-.

kīšpin nīn pinēhšīnšīwiyāmpān nintā-piminā
 if I I-were-a-bird I-would-fly
 'if I were a bird I would fly'

Conditional clauses sometimes occur in place of a nominal phrase:

ninōntē-kikhētān kīšpin pahkān āhkosiwin ēyākwēn
 I-hope-know-it if different illness it-might-be
 'I would like to know if it might be a different illness'

In the following sentence the conditional clause occurs as the second object of a double-object verb, and the particle či- 'to, in order to, that will' is compounded with the verb of the clause, evidently to indicate future tense:

wīntamawihšin kīšpin či-wāpamankič
 tell-it-to-me if will-we-see-him
 'tell me if we will see him'

Many clauses consist of a basic clause with the addition of a particle ē- 'that, because', or či- 'in order to, that will', which is compounded with the verb of the clause. Neither of these particles occurs before a future marker in the verb. Clauses formed with these particles occur freely as adverbial modifiers of verbs:

ninka-nātahipī ē-wī-kisīpīkinikēyān
 I-will-fetch-water because-intend-I-wash
 'I will fetch water, because I intend to do a washing'

nīmi ē-kī-kīšihtōč otaňohkīwin
 he-dances that-has-he-finishes-it his-work
 'he is dancing because he has finished his work'

kī-māčā či-anohkīč
 has-he-leaves to-he-works
 'he has left in order to work'

Clauses of this type, particularly those formed with či- often occur in the position of nominal phrases:

kikaškihtōn či-nikamoyan
you-can-do-it to-you-sing
'you are able to sing'

kikī-wīntamākōmin či-kihči-anohkīyahk
we-were-told-it to-big-we-work
'we were told to work hard'

Basic clauses in which the verb is an impersonal verb of time without modifiers, undergo compulsory deletion of the nominal phrase subject, and occur as adverbial modifiers of verbs much like temporal particles:

wāpank ninka-pōni-anohkī
it-is-morning I-will-stop-work
'tomorrow I will stop working'

Some clauses are introduced by particles such as mēkwāč 'while', āna 'although', and minikohk 'before'. These clauses occur as adverbial modifiers:

mēkwāč kā-pi-kīwēyān tipāčimopan atihsohkānini
while hither-I-return he-told fable
'at the time I returned back home, he was telling a fable'

āna ē-pāškiswāč animohšan, kāwin nānta
although that-he-shoots-him dog not likely
'even if he shoots the dog, it is unlikely'

ninka-iši-mikoškātētansīn
I-will-thus-worry-about-it -not
that I will worry about it'

āša ninka-kīšihtōn minikohk mihtikōk kē-kīškatahontwā
already I-will-finish-it before logs will-they-are-cut
'I will already be finished before the logs are cut'

IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Imperative sentences are formed from underlying sentence structures, and always have a second person NP₁. The verb of the underlying sentence undergoes inflection for imperative order. Since all verbs occurring with a second person NP₁ are direct, the inversion transformation does not apply. In other respects an imperative sentence is structurally similar to a declarative sentence:

pātoš onākohšink pīšān
 later it-is-evening come
 'come later, in the evening'

pakitinihsēn pōtawānāpihkonk
 put-down-wood stove-locative
 'put the firewood in the stove'

There are hortative forms which are occasionally used. These verbs have a subject that is second person plural, including first person: māčātā 'let's (incl) go'. More frequently a substitute form is used, which is the corresponding verb inflected for independent order and compounded with the future particle ka-: ka-māčāmin 'let's go'.

NEGATIVE SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

Negative sentences and clauses are introduced by a negative particle. Negative sentences are either verbal or non-verbal, and negative verbal sentences are declarative or

imperative. In addition to negative clauses, which correspond to negative declarative sentences, there are negative pseudo-clauses, which correspond to negative non-verbal sentences. In complex sentences a declarative sentence is often followed by a negative declarative sentence, clause, or pseudo-clause, with the enclitic particle 'tahš 'however' following the negative particle and serving as a disjunctive conjunction:

ninkihkētān ē-nōntē-pimināyan; kāwin 'tahš kikihkētansīn
 I-know-it that-want-you-fly not however you-know-it
 'I know you want to fly, but you don't know

kē-tōtaman pimināyan
 will-you-do-it you-fly
 how to fly'

nintā-minwētān čī-kī-atāwākēyāmpān čīmān; ēkā 'tahš
 I-would-like-it to-can-sell-it canoe not however
 'I would like to sell you the canoe, but it isn't

nīn ohowē
 I that
 mine'

Negative Verbal Sentences and Clauses

A negative declarative sentence is introduced by the particle kāwin 'no, not', or occasionally by kanāč 'not as yet', and the verb is inflected for independent order, negative mode:

kāwin niminwētansīn
 not I-like-it-not
 'I don't like it'

kanāč niwī-antawī-kapāhšimohsīn ē-čākīyān
 not-yet I-intend-to-go-swimming-not because-I-am-exhausted
 'I don't intend to go swimming yet, because I am exhausted'

A negative clause in Severn Ojibwa is introduced by the negative particle ēkā 'no, not', and the verb is inflected for conjunct order as in other clauses, but there is no inflection for negative mode:

ninkī-wīntamawā onāko ēkā mīnawāč ē-wī-pīšāyān
 I-have-told-him yesterday not again that-intend-I-come
 'I told him yesterday that I would not want to come again'

niwītapimā ninčičēhč ēkā mistahī ē-wī-wīhsinič
 I-sit-with-her my-sister not much that-want-she-eats
 'I sit beside my sister because she doesn't like to eat much'

A negative clause may be combined with kīšpin 'if', which always precedes the clause:

kīšpin ēkā pīšāč ninka-māčā
 if not she-comes I-will-leave
 'if she doesn't come I will leave'

A negative imperative sentence in Severn Ojibwa consists of the particle kāwin 'no, not' plus an imperative sentence in which the verb is inflected for immediate mode, which is the absence of the marker for delayed mode: kāwin tōtan 'don't do it (you sg.)'

Indefinite nominal phrases are commonly found in negative sentences and clauses, where they occur before the verb, as in the underlying sentence structure. Indefinite nominal phrases often precede other phrases linked to the verb:

kāwin kēkōn mīčim ninantawēntansīn
 not any food I-don't-want-it
 'I don't want any food'

kīšpin ohomā ayāyān, kāwin awiya ta-nipohsīn
 if here I-am no someone will-not-die
 'if I am here, nobody will die'

kāwin niwī-pōsihsin ēkā kēkōn čimān ē-ayāyān
 not I-intend-embark-not not any canoe that-I-have-it
 'I don't intend to embark, because I haven't any canoe'

The antecedent of a verb in a negative sentence is recorded following rather than preceding the verb:

kāwin kitōnči-pīhihsinōn šēpā
 not I-have-since-waited-for-you this-morning-past
 'I haven't been waiting for you since the morning'

kanāč ihiwē ahkwēkahsinōn kimakōt kā-ahkwēkahk
 not-yet that it-is-so-long-cloth-not your-coat that-so-long-it-is
 'that is not quite as long as your dress is'

The data are not sufficient to determine whether or not this is a compulsory permutation,

The adverbial particles mahši 'yet' and wīhkā 'ever' occur in verbal sentences and clauses only when negative:

kāwin mahši nintiškwā-anohkihsin
 not yet I-finish-work-not
 'I haven't yet finished working'

kāwin wīhkā nisihkohsin napakihsakonk
 not ever I-spit-not floor-locative
 'I never spit on the floor'

The contrastive particle wīn 'by contrast' occurs in negative sentences and clauses, usually after 'tahš 'however':

kiminwēnimā; kāwin 'tahš wīn kiminwēnimikohsin
 you-like-him not however by-contrast he-likes-you-not
 'you like him; on the other hand, he doesn't like you'

The particle mahši 'yet' is often followed by the contrastive particle:

kāwin kiki-kanōnihsinōn ēkā mahši wīn ē-kišitēk
 not I-have-called-you-not not yet by-contrast that-it-is-hot
 'I haven't called you, because it isn't hot yet'

The adverbial particle kanakē 'at least, hardly (with negative)' is often associated with the verb of a negative sentence of clause, and may precede an indefinite pronoun or wīhkā 'ever':

kāwin kanakē awiya ninkihkēnimāhsīn
not hardly anyone I-know-them-not
'I hardly know anyone'

kāwin kanakē wīhkā
not hardly ever
'hardly ever'

In one sentence with a clause in object position the independent verb is inflected for negative mode, and kanakē precedes an indefinite pronoun, which is in the clause:

kāwin okaškihtōhsīn kanakē kēkōn ači na
not she-can-do-it-not hardly anything a-short-time
'she can hardly

či-otāhpīnank
to-she-picks-it-up
pick up anything even for a short time'

In the following sentence kanakē immediately precedes the clause verb that it modifies, but this verb has a clause as an object and a quantitative phrase of this object clause is displaced so that it immediately follows the negative particle:

mī 'tahš pēši k kā-onči-pi-wīčīwak,
that then one that-thence-hither-I-accompany-him
'that is why I brought one with me,

ēkā nīšin kanakē ē-kaškihtōč či-kī-kanawēnimāč
not two hardly because-she-can-do-it to-she-cares-for-them
because she is hardly able to look after two of them'

Negative Non-verbal Sentences and Pseudo-clauses

There are several types of negative non-verbal sentences and clauses, all of which lack tense specification and can therefore refer to past or present time.

The principal type of non-verbal negative sentence consists of kāwin 'not' and an indefinite nominal phrase, with or without noun deletion:

<u>kāwin kēkōn pēpan</u> not any paper 'there isn't any paper'	→	<u>kāwin kēkōn</u> not any 'there isn't any'
--	---	--

The pseudo-clause equivalent is introduced by ēkā 'not':

kāwin niminwētansīn ēkā awiya nahsēmā
 not I-like-it-not not any tobacco
 'I am displeased that there isn't any tobacco'

The second type of negative non-verbal sentence consists of kāwin 'not' plus a nominal phrase that is both possessive and demonstrative, where the possessor is indicated by a personal pronoun. The personal pronoun follows the negator and may not be deleted, but the possessed noun may be deleted:

<u>kāwin nīn ninkosihsak ikiwēniwak</u> not I my-sons those 'those are not my sons'	→	<u>kāwin nīn ikiwēniwak</u> not I those 'those are not mine'
---	---	--

Equivalent pseudo-clauses are formed in the same way, except that the negative particle is ēkā:

nimačētān ēkā nīn ihiwē
 I-regret-it not mine that
 'I regret that it isn't mine'

EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

An equational sentence consists of two non-verbal expressions, the subject and the predicate. The subject is usually a nominal phrase, frequently including a demonstrative pronoun. The predicate may be another nominal phrase, which usually follows the subject:

ihiwē kā-pimakōtēk: kihči-kā-pimināmakahk
 that which-it-flies big-airplane
 'that thing that is flying is a big airplane'

The predicate may precede the subject:

anihšināpēhkwē nīn
 Indian-woman I
 'I am an Indian woman'

The predicate may be an adverbial phrase:

tēhtako 'tahš kwayahk: ihiwē makōt
 really then correctly that coat
 'so then that coat was in really good condition'

In one sentence the predicate appears to be discontinuous, partly preceding the subject ihiwē 'that' and partly following:

ēškam 'tahš kē nīn ihiwē: kā-nōntē-išihčikēyān
 increasingly then as-for I that what-wish-I-so-make
 'that is what I, for my part, increasingly wish to do'

There is an interesting complex sentence consisting of two equational sentences coordinated with the particle ēkwa 'and', and modified by the enclitic particle 'tahš 'so then, moreover', which serves to connect the sentence to previous discourse:

tipinawē 'tahš: ahawē, nihsēns,
 the-same moreover that my-brother
 'moreover, it's the same person -- that person, my brother,

ānī onāpēman; ēkwa kē nīn kā-wičiyomwak,
 Annie her-husband and as-for I who-I-marry-him
 Annie's husband; and as for the one whom I married,

ānī ohšimēnšan, ahawēniwan: tipinawē
 Annie her-younger-brother that the same
 Annie's younger brother, that person -- it's the same one

The point of the sentence is that two women married each other's brothers.

EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

An existential sentence is introduced by a particle mī 'it is, it was'. The existential sentence is perhaps the most common type of sentence in extended discourse and conversation.

One type of existential sentence is composed of two phrases, the first consisting of mī plus a demonstrative pronoun or particle, and the second consisting of a noun or possessive noun phrase. A demonstrative pronoun in the first phrase is concordant with the noun of the second phrase, and when the noun is unpossessed it may be deleted:

mī ahawē ninkosihs
 it-is that my-son
 'that is my son'

--

mī ahawē
 it-is that
 'that's the fellow'

mī ihiwē čimān
 it-is that canoe
 'that's the canoe'

The second phrase may be deleted after a demonstrative particle:

<u>mī wētē niwāhkāhikan</u>	→	<u>mī wētē</u>
it-is there my-house		it-is there
'there is my house'		'there it is'

The particle mī also combines with certain locative phrases introduced by a demonstrative particle:

mī wētē išpimink
it-is there up
'it's up there'

mī ohomā čimānink
it-is here canoe-locative
'it is here, in the canoe'

The particle mī combines with a variety of particles to form existential sentences:

mī kwayahk
it-is correctly
'that's right'

mī nāhsap
it-is the-same
'it's the same'

Sometimes the inanimate demonstrative pronoun ihiwē 'that' intervenes, without apparent change of meaning:

mī ihiwē kwayahk
it-is that correctly
'that's right'

The combination of mī with ēhta 'only' may be followed by a nominal phrase:

mī ēhta wāpōs, mōs, kinōšē
it-is only hare moose fish
'there was only hare, moose, fish'

The adverbial particle that follows mī may introduce a clause in which the adverbial particle is the antecedent of a verb:

mī kwēhč k̄a-iši-kihkinōhamawihšiyān
 it-is good that-thus-you-indicate-it-to-me
 'thank you for showing me the way'

mī mīnawāč k̄a-iši-mīnak niyānanwāpihk šōniyān
 it-is again that-thus-I-give-it-to-him five-metal money
 'again I gave him five dollars'

The particle mī may be followed by a basic clause with a relative verb. The antecedent of the verb is deleted, and the verb undergoes initial change:

mī ēntōtamān
 it-is that-so-I-do-it
 'that's what I'm doing'

mī wēnči-āhkosič
 it-is that-thence-he-is-ill
 'that's why he is sick'

The inanimate demonstrative pronoun ihiwē 'that' may intervene without change of meaning:

mī ihiwē ēhkitoč
 it-is that that-so-he-says
 'that's what he says'

Other clauses follow mī, which may be combined with the demonstrative ihiwē:

mī ihiwē minikohk k̄a-kihkēntamān mēkwāč ē-apinōnčīnšiwiyān
 it-is that until that-I-know-it while then-I-am-a-child
 'that's as much as I knew when I was a child'

mī 'tahš mīnawāč ē-nīpininik -- mī ihiwē
 it-was then again when-it-is-summer it-was that
 'so when it was summer again, that was

ahpin ē-kī-pōni-pimātisič ahawē ayamihē-okimā
 when that-has-end-he-lives that minister
 when that minister died'

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Interrogative sentences are of two types, general and specific. A general interrogative sentence gives information and elicits a yes-or-no response:

kikihkēnimihš 'na
you-know-me yes-or-no
'do you know me?'

General interrogative sentences are formed with an enclitic, and so further discussion of this type of sentence will be deferred.

A specific interrogative sentence is introduced by an interrogative pronoun or particle and elicits information:

āntē ēši-ayāyan
where that-there-you-live
'where do you live'

Specific interrogative sentences, like clauses, may occur in place of a singular inanimate nominal phrase as object of certain verbs of saying and thinking, and here function as indirect questions:

wīntamawihšin āntē ēšāyan
tell-me-it where that-thither-you-go
'tell me where you are going'

kāwin āpihta ninkihkēnimāhsik awēnēnak
not half I-know-them-not who-are-they
'I don't know who half of them are'

ninkihkētān ān' kē-išihkās wak kēk
I-know-it what that-will-thus-cook-it cake
'I know how to bake a cake'

Specific interrogative sentences are classified as verbal or non-verbal in structure.

Interrogative Verbal Sentences

An interrogative verbal sentence is formed from a combination of an interrogative pronoun or particle and a basic clause.

An interrogative pronoun may occur with a basic clause that has undergone all compulsory deletions of nominal phrases, and still contains a third person singular nominal phrase. The interrogative pronoun replaces the third person nominal phrase and has secondary expression of the substantive categories of the replaced nominal phrase. The clause verb usually has initial change:

awēnēn wēyāpantaman
 who-is-it that-you-see-him
 'whom do you see?'

kēkonēn kā-āpačihtōyan
 what-is-it have-you-use-it
 'what have you been using?'

The conjunct verb always has initial change when compounded with the perfect or future particles, but otherwise may occur without initial change. The difference in meaning, if any, has not been determined:

awēnēn pi-kīyokamač
 who-is-it hither-you-visit-him
 'whom are you coming to visit?'

kēkonēnini pāškisank
 what-is-it he-shoots-it
 'what is he shooting at?'

The singular inanimate interrogative pronoun also occurs as the

antecedent of verbs compounded with the relative preverb onči-
'from such a place or cause', all such verbs being subject to
initial change:

kēkonēn wēnči-tōtawihšiyān
what-is-it that-thence-you-so-treat-me
'why do you treat me this way?'

kēkonēn anihšininiwak ēkā wēnči-inēntamowāč
what-is-it Indians not that-thence-they-so-think
'why don't the people think

sāyman čī-wīhkitoč
Simon that-will-he-marries
that Simon should marry'

The interrogative demonstrative particle āntē 'where'
occurs with basic clauses containing a demonstrative particle,
which is then deleted. The verb normally undergoes initial change,
and the circumstances under which initial change is omitted can
not be predicted on the basis of present data:

āntē ēši-tāyan
where-is-it that-there-you-live
'where do you live?'

āntē piko kē-iši-minohsēk čī-wanīhikēč
where-is-it just that-will-there-it-goes-well to-he-sets-traps
'exactly where will be a good place to set traps?'

āntē inēhkē kē-išāyahk
where-is-it in-such-direction that-will-we-thither-go
'which way will we go?'

Sometimes āntē occurs instead of the inanimate singular interrogative
pronoun as antecedent of verbs compounded with the particle onči-
'from such cause':

āntē wēnči-panahwāč nihkan
 where-is-it that-thence-he-misses-them geese
 'why has he missed (in shooting) the geese?'

The interrogative proclitic particle ān' 'what' occurs with basic clauses from which a non-locative adverbial phrase is deleted, and usually occurs as antecedent of a verb with initial change:

ān' ēšihčikēyan
 what that-so-you-make-it
 'what are you making?'

ān' ēšinhkāsonič wīčihkiwēsiwan
 what that-so-he-is-named his-brother
 'what is his brother's name?'

ān' ēhpīhčāk
 what that-so-much-it-is
 'how far is it; how big is it?'

In one sentence ān' is recorded as the antecedent of a verb compounded with onči- 'from such cause', where the usual antecedent would be the inanimate singular interrogative pronoun:

ān' 'tahš wēnči-sēkisiyan
 what then that-thence-you-are-afraid
 'then why are you afraid?'

The particle ānīn 'what' sometimes occurs in place of ān':

ānīn ēntič
 what that-he-so-is
 'how is he?'

The quantitative phrase that occurs as antecedent of a relative numeral may also be replaced by ān':

ān' tahsin čīmānan wēyāpantaman
 what so-many canoes that-you-see-them
 'how many canoes do you see?'

ān' tahswā pēmohsēyan mīhkanānk
 what so-many-times that-you-walk on-the-path
 'how often do you walk on the path?'

Combinations of ān' with the particles minikohk 'so much, until, before' and ahpī 'when' evidently replace adverbial phrases in basic clauses:

ān' minikohk māmaw ēsihsēk
 what so-much altogether that-it-so-amounts
 'how much does it come to altogether?'

ān' ahpī mīnawāč kē-pišāyan
 what when again that-will-you-come
 'when will you come again?'

Interrogative Non-verbal Sentences

One type of non-verbal sentence consists of an interrogative pronoun followed by a demonstrative noun phrase, the interrogative pronoun being concordant with the noun phrase. The demonstrative noun phrase may be deleted:

<u>awēnēn ahawē nāpē</u>	→	<u>awēnēn</u>
who-is-it that man		who-is-it
'who is that man?'		'who is it?'

<u>kēkonēn ihiwē</u>	→	<u>kēkonēn</u>
what-is-it that		what-is-it
'what is that?'		'what is it?'

Only singular inanimate interrogative pronouns are known, so it must be added that the demonstrative noun phrase following an interrogative pronoun must be singular when inanimate. Animate interrogative pronouns may occur with plural demonstrative phrases:

awēnēnak 'who are they?'

A second type of interrogative non-verbal sentence consists of the interrogative demonstrative particle āntē 'where' followed by a nominal phrase, which may be deleted:

<u>āntē</u> <u>čīmān</u> where-is-it canoe 'where is the canoe?'	→	<u>āntē</u> where-is-it 'where is it?'
--	---	--

The dubitative particle ītok 'perhaps' modifies the interrogative particle in one sentence of this type:

<u>āntē</u>	<u>ītok</u>	<u>nimāmā</u>
where-is-it	perhaps	my-mother
'I wonder where my mother is?'		

The interrogative proclitic ān' 'what' occurs in a few verbless sentences of varying structures. These sentences might be regarded as minor sentence types, or derivatives of verbal sentences from which some phrase has been deleted:

<u>ān'</u>	<u>ahawē</u>	<u>šōniyā</u>
what	that	money
'what about that money?'		

<u>ān'</u>	<u>minikohk</u>
what	so-much
'how many are there?'	

SENTENCES WITH ENCLITICS

Enclitics regularly occur after the first word of a sentence. In general, enclitics may be thought of as optional modifiers of the sentence with which they occur. In some constructions, however, the enclitic seems to be essential to the structure of the sentence.

General Interrogative Sentences

General interrogative sentences, which elicit a yes-or-no response, are marked by the presence of the enclitic 'na.

The interrogative enclitic may modify declarative sentences, both non-negative and negative:

āśa 'na kinwēnš ohomā kitōnči-ayā
 already yes-or-no long-time here you-thence-are
 'have you been here for a long time?'

kāwin 'na kiminwēnimāhsin
 not yes-or-no you-like-him-not
 'don't you like him?'

The interrogative enclitic also modifies existential sentences:

mī 'na ihiwē kwayahk
 it-is yes-or-no that correctly
 'is that right?'

There is one type of sentence in which the interrogative enclitic is essential. The sentence structure consists of the enclitic, a possessive noun phrase, and a demonstrative pronoun that is concordant with the possessed noun. Only personal pronouns occur as possessor in this construction, and they may not be deleted because they are modified by the enclitic. The possessed noun may be deleted:

kīn 'na kikosihs ahawē → kīn 'na ahawē
 you yes-or-no your-son that you yes-or-no that
 'is that your son?' 'is that one yours?'

Assertive Sentences

An assertive sentence is marked by the presence of the emphatic enclitic 'hsa 'indeed'. Such sentences usually occur in response to a question. The assertive enclitic modifies declarative and existential sentences:

kā-pimināmakahk 'hsa ninka-āpačihtōmin
 airplane indeed we-will-use-it
 'we will use the airplane, of course'

mī 'hsa tēpwē
 it-is indeed true
 'that's for sure'

The only type of sentence in which this enclitic particle is essential consists of a personal pronoun modified by the enclitic: nīn 'hsa 'it's me, of course'. There seems to be an implication in these sentences that the question asked was silly, and the answer obvious.

Continuative Sentences

A continuative sentence is marked by the presence of the particle 'tahš 'then, but, however'. This enclitic seems to modify every kind of sentence, other than the sentence formed with another enclitic:

awēnēn 'tahš ohomā kē-nipāč
 who then here will-he-sleeps
 'then who will sleep here?'

ka-pāhpihin 'tahš mawiyān
 I-will-laugh-at-you then you-cry
 'I'll laugh at you then, if you cry'

The contrastive particle wīn often follows 'tahš.

Other Sentences with Enclitics

The emphatic enclitic 'ko 'just now' modifies declarative sentences:

ninkanwīhkē 'ko ē-kī-wītikēyan nīšwā isihšē minikohk
 I-remember now that-you-were-married twice it-so-passes ago
 'I remember now that you were married two years ago'

Some particles that are not enclitics occur in positions comparable to the enclitics, after the first word of a sentence or major clause:

wētē itok ayā
 there perhaps it-is
 'perhaps it's there'

wī-wīhsini ohša
 want-he-eats precisely
 'he wants to eat right away'

kāwin niwī-wāpamāhsīn; ē-āhkosič īnsan
 not I-intend-see-him-not because-he-is-ill without-doubt
 'I don't intend to see him, because he really seems sick'

MINOR SENTENCES

Several particles are interjections, which occur as minor sentences or loosely modify other sentences:

āw, kiwīčihin kitišinišahamākēwin
 well-then I-help-you your-parcels
 'well then, I'll help you with your parcels'

ēnhē, niminwēntam
 yes I-am-happy
 'yes, I am happy'

ēniwēhk 'tahš, wīpač ninka-kīwē
 well then soon I-will-return
 'oh well, I'll return home soon'

The negative particle kāwin 'no' may occur as an interjection:

kāwin, akāhčín 'tahš
 no it-is-small however
 'no, but it is small'

Within the context of extended discourse, clauses formed with the particles ē- 'that' and či- 'that will' frequently occur with the meaning of the equivalent declarative sentences. In such clauses the perfect particle kī-, which would occur in declarative sentences as part of the compound verb, is often omitted even when past time is intended. Numerous examples of such clauses as sentences are found in the appended texts.

Relative clauses in which there is a verb of measure with a deleted antecedent may accompany a declarative sentence to form one type of comparative sentence:

apo nawač čahkwāhkosi čīmān kā-inihkwāk
 paddle more it-is-short-wood canoe that-it-is-so-long
 'the paddle is shorter than the canoe'

kīčihkiwēsi kā-inikinič nawač mintito
 your-brother that-he-is-so-big more she-is-big
 'she is bigger than your brother'

Another type of comparative sentence is derived from two declarative sentences, both of which have a nominal phrase or a locative phrase. The sentences are coordinated with the comparative particle ahpīhč 'compared to', and all of the second sentence is deleted except the nominal or locative phrase:

nimitēht nīšiyahk mintito ahpīhč nīn
 my-elder-sister we-are-two she-is-big than I
 'my elder sister is the bigger of the two of us'

nawač maškawā ahpīhč wīhsinīwināhtik
 more it-is-strong compared-to table
 'it is stronger than the table'

nipēwinan nawač akāhsinōn āhkosiwikamikonk
 beds more they-are-small hospital-locative
 'the beds are smaller in the hospital'

ahpīhč ohomā wāhkāhikanink
 than here house-in
 'than here in the house'

niminwētān ohomā čī-wīhsiniyān ahpīhč kā-iši-ayāyānk
 I-like-it here to-I-eat than that-where-we-live
 'I prefer to eat here than at our place'

Sentences and clauses may be coordinated in various ways, but most frequently with the particle ēkwa 'and', and when a phrase in one clause duplicates a phrase in a preceding sentence or clause, it is often deleted:

mahkisinin čī-ošihtōyān . . .
 moccasins to-I-make-them
 'to make moccasins . . .

ēkwa ahšič akimak čī-ošihakwā
 and in-addition snowshoes to-I-make-them
 and also to make snowshoes'

wāpōso-nakwākan ē-ošihtōč
 hare-snare that-she-makes-it
 'she makes snares for rabbits'

ēkwa kayē ahsapīn ē-ošihtōč
 and also nets that-she-works-on-them
 and she also works on nets'

wāpōswayānēkōtan ē-kī-kīškawāwāč ēkwa ahšič kayē mitāhsan
 hare-skin-coats that-has-she-sews-them and too also trousers
 'she sewed hare-skin coats, and also trousers'

kwātin kayē onči ēkwa ātiyin kayē onči
 Gordon also for and Adian also for
 'both for Gordon and for Adian'

kitakwanīwiniwā mīna kitahpihšimoniwā
 your-covers also your-pillows
 'your covers and your pillows too'

The second sentence or clause in a coordinative sentence may be negative, the resulting sentence then being disjunctive:

wākākwat kāhšā ; mōhkomān wīn kāwin
 axe it-is-sharp knife by-contrast not
 'the axe is sharp, but the knife is not'

CHAPTER V

THE STRUCTURE OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

The underlying structure of nouns and pronouns may be generated by rewriting rules, the output of which is subject to compulsory and optional transformations that account for the various inflectional forms. The following description focuses on these rules, and on the structure of noun stems.

The first rewriting rules generate the underlying structure of basic nominal phrases. The two components of a nominal phrase are a determiner (Det) and a nominal word (Nom), which is either a noun or a personal pronoun after transformational rules have been applied. The determiner may be a pronoun other than a personal pronoun, or a nominal phrase that denotes the possessor of the following nominal word. These rules are formulated as follows:

$$\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{Det} + \text{Nom}$$
$$\text{Det} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Pronoun} \end{array} \right\}$$
$$\text{Nom} \rightarrow \text{N} + \text{Substantive Class}$$

The primary categories of substantive class are gender, person, and number, with obviation a category subordinate to person, and

inclusion a category subordinate to number:

Substantive Class \rightarrow Gender + PN

Gender $\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} A \\ I \end{Bmatrix}$

PN \rightarrow Person + Number

Person $\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 + \text{Obviation} \end{Bmatrix}$

Obviation $\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Prx} \\ \text{Obv} \end{Bmatrix}$

Number $\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} + \text{Inclusion} \end{Bmatrix}$

Inclusion $\rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} +1 \\ -1 \end{Bmatrix}$

Some of the category combinations generated by the rewriting rules are not possible, and must be eliminated by a series of transformations. The categories of first and second person occur only with animate gender:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Gender} & - & \begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \end{Bmatrix} & \rightarrow & A, & \underline{2} \\ & & \underline{1} & & & \end{array}$$

The category of inclusion is distinctive only with second person:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \begin{Bmatrix} 1 + \text{Pl} \\ 3 + \text{Obviation} + \text{Pl} \end{Bmatrix} & - & \text{Inclusion} & - & \underline{1}, & \begin{Bmatrix} +1 \\ -1 \end{Bmatrix} \\ & & \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & \end{array}$$

There follow other transformation rules that account for syntactic limitations on the occurrence of substantive categories, including the rule that a nominal word must be animate when it precedes

another nominal word in the underlying structure of sentences, and the rules that account for the non-identity of the individuals or groups denoted by different nominal phrases in the sentence. These rules will not be formally presented here, but it should be noted that they would precede the transformational rules governing cross-reference and concord, and these in turn precede the transformational rules that govern the formation of pronouns and nouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are derived from forms generated by rewriting rules. A compulsory transformation produced the underlying structure of first and second person pronouns, since all nouns are third person in category, and the only primary expression of first and second person is in personal pronouns:

$$\text{Det} - \text{N} - \text{A} \begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{\text{in}}, \underline{3}$$

An optional transformation produces the underlying structure of third person personal pronouns, which are equivalent to animate proximate nouns:

$$\text{Det} - \text{N} - \text{A} + 3 + \text{Prx} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{\text{in}}, \underline{3} \quad (\text{optional})$$

Personal pronouns, which are based on the morpheme in, are not modified by a determiner:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Det} - \underline{\text{in}} \rightarrow \text{null}, \underline{2} \\ \underline{1} \quad \underline{2} \end{array}$$

The morphological expression of the substantive categories in personal pronouns is predicted by a set of transformations that apply to the category symbols following the pronoun stem in. Many of these rules also account for the secondary expression of substantive categories in verbs of the independent order.¹ The relationship between the underlying substantive categories and their morphological expression in personal pronouns is summarized below in Table I, in which categories not expressed in morphemes are enclosed in parentheses.

TABLE I
INFLECTION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Substantive Categories					Morphemes	
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion		
(A)	1	..	Sg	..	<u>ne</u>	..
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ne</u>	<u>awint</u>
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ke</u>	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ke</u>	<u>awint</u>
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>awā</u>
(A)	3	(Prx)	Sg	..	<u>we</u>	..
(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	-1	<u>we</u>	<u>awā</u>

The category of person is expressed by prefixes in the

¹See below pp. 151-152.

personal pronouns:

$$\underline{\text{in}} - A - \begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \underline{3}, \underline{1}, \underline{2}$$

$$\underline{1} \quad \underline{2} \quad \underline{3}$$

$$\begin{Bmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{Bmatrix} - \underline{\text{in}} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ne} \\ \text{ke} \\ \text{we} \end{Bmatrix}, \underline{2}$$

$$\underline{1} \quad \underline{2}$$

Animate gender is not expressed:

$$A \rightarrow \text{null}$$

The proximate category is not expressed:

$$\text{Prx} \rightarrow \text{null}$$

Only plural number is expressed, and along with this is expressed

the associated category of inclusion:

$$\underline{\text{in}} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Pl} + +1 \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \begin{Bmatrix} \text{awint} \\ \text{awā} \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\underline{1} \quad \underline{2}$$

$$\text{Sg} \rightarrow \text{null}$$

Pronominal prefixes are subject to several morphophonemic rules. By MR.11 the vowel is deleted from the base forms of these prefixes when they precede the pronominal root in and certain other morphemes beginning in a vowel, but elsewhere before vowels, by MR.12, a connective t is added to the base forms of the prefixes. After these rules have applied the first person prefix is governed by MR.13, and the third person prefix is subject to MR.26.

OTHER PRONOUNS

A pronoun other than a personal pronoun acquires substantive categories through concord with the noun it modifies as determiner. In the Severn dialect, non-personal pronouns, including the demonstratives, consist of a stem plus an inflectional suffix. The suffix is the same morpheme that terminates the noun modified by the pronoun, a nominal suffix that expresses gender, obviation, and number, but this morpheme sometimes has a different allomorph after a pronoun stem than it has elsewhere.² Some non-personal pronoun stems also express one or more of the substantive categories of the following noun.

Demonstrative Pronouns

There are two principal series of demonstrative pronouns, those that refer to a near person or thing, and those that refer to a distant person or thing. These two types are generated by the following rewriting rule:

$$\text{Demonstrative} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Near} \\ \text{Distant} \end{array} \right\}$$

Demonstrative pronouns in Severn Ojibwa exhibit a kind of dual concord. The pronoun stem expresses gender and number, in agreement with the categories of the noun modified by the pronoun,

²Nominal suffixes are listed in Table V, below p. 108.

and the nominal suffix of the modified noun is repeated after the pronoun stem. A list of the substantive categories of nouns and their secondary expression in demonstrative pronouns is given below in Table II.³

TABLE II
INFLECTION OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Substantive Categories			Demonstrative Pronouns	
Gender	Obviation	Number	Near	Distant
A	Prx	Sg	<u>wahawē</u>	<u>ahawē</u>
A	Prx	Pl	<u>okowēniwak</u>	<u>ikiwēniwak</u>
A	Obv	Sg	*	<u>ahawēniwan</u>
A	Obv	Pl	<u>okowēniwan</u>	<u>ikiwēniwan</u>
I	Prx	Sg	<u>ohowē</u>	<u>ihiwē</u>
I	Prx	Pl	<u>onowēniwan</u>	<u>iniwēniwan</u>
I	Obv	Sg	<u>ohowēni</u>	<u>ihiwēni</u>
I	Obv	Pl	<u>onowēniwan</u>	<u>iniwēniwan</u>

* Data lacking.

After demonstrative stems, an augment, niw, is added to the base forms of the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural' by MR.01.

³ There are some minor differences between the forms of demonstrative pronouns in my data and the forms reported for Round Lake. See Jean H. Rogers, "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194, Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II (1963) 121.

The stems of demonstrative pronouns are given in the following transformation:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Near} \\ \text{Distant} \end{array} \right\} - \text{N} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} - 3 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prx} \\ \text{Obv} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{1} + \underline{3} + \underline{5}, \underline{2}, \underline{3}, \underline{4}, \underline{5} \\
 \underline{1} \quad \underline{2} \quad \underline{3} \quad \underline{4} \quad \underline{5}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Near} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A} + \text{Sg} \\ \text{A} + \text{Pl} \\ \text{I} + \text{Sg} \\ \text{I} + \text{Pl} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{wahawē} \\ \text{okowē} \\ \text{ohowē} \\ \text{onowē} \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{Distant} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A} + \text{Sg} \\ \text{A} + \text{Pl} \\ \text{I} + \text{Sg} \\ \text{I} + \text{Pl} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ahawē} \\ \text{ikiwē} \\ \text{ihiwē} \\ \text{iniwē} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Demonstrative stems may be described as polymorphemic, with each category expressed by a separate morpheme:

$$\text{Given: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Near} \\ \text{Distant} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{Vwē 'demonstrative'}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{a} \\ \text{null} \end{array} \right] // \text{--- Sg}$$

$$\text{Sg} \rightarrow \underline{\text{h}}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right] \text{Pl} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{k} \\ \text{n} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{Near} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{w}} // \text{--- a} \\ \underline{\text{o}} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Distant} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null} // \text{--- a} \\ \underline{\text{i}} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{V} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{a} \\ \text{i} \\ \text{o} \end{array} \right] // \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{a} \\ \text{i} \\ \text{o} \end{array} \right] \text{C ---}$$

Animate plural k resembles ak 'animate proximate plural', and inanimate plural n resembles an 'inanimate plural'.

Indefinite, Interrogative, and
Alternate Pronouns

The stem of an indefinite or interrogative pronoun expresses the same category of gender as the noun modified by the pronoun, but the stem of an alternate pronoun does not vary. These pronouns are listed below in Table III according to the substantive categories of the associated nouns.

TABLE III
INFLECTION OF INDEFINITE, INTERROGATIVE
AND ALTERNATE PRONOUNS

Substantive Categories			Indefinite Pronouns	Interrogative Pronouns	Alternate Pronouns
Gender Obviation Number					
A	Prx	Sg	<u>awiya</u>	<u>awēnēn</u>	<u>kotak</u>
A	Prx	Pl	<u>awiyak</u>	<u>awēnēnak</u>	<u>kotakiyak</u>
A	Obv	Sg	<u>awiyān</u>	<u>awēnēnan</u>	<u>kotakiyan</u>
A	Obv	Pl	<u>awiyān</u>	<u>awēnēnan</u>	<u>kotakiyan</u>
I	Prx	Sg	<u>kēkōn</u>	<u>kēkonēn</u>	<u>kotak</u>
I	Prx	Pl	<u>kotakiyan</u>
I	Obv	Sg	<u>kēkōnini</u>	<u>kēkonēnini</u>	*
I	Obv	Pl	<u>kotakiyan</u>

* Data lacking

Concord between the stem of an indefinite or interrogative pronoun and a following noun, with reference to gender, is given in the following transformation:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Indefinite} \\ \text{Interrogative} \end{array} \right\} - \underset{\underline{1}}{N} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{1} + \underline{3}, \underline{2}, \underline{3}$$

The base forms of the stems are given by the following rules:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Indefinite} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{awiy} \\ \text{kĕkōn} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Interrogative} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{awēnēn} \\ \text{kĕkonēn} \end{array}$$

$$\text{Alternate} \rightarrow \text{kotak}$$

Each of these pronoun stems is followed by the nominal suffix of the noun it modifies as determiner. After the alternate pronoun stem an augment, iy, is added to the base form of the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural'.

There is another series of pronouns that is of rare occurrence in the data. The stems of these pronouns express gender agreement with the nouns they modify, and they are inflected like other non-personal pronouns. The stems are ayahāw 'person' for animate gender, and ayahīw 'thing' for inanimate gender, both of which lose stem-final w before nominal suffixes, by MR.06. This is the only type of pronoun that is compounded with a prenoun. A compound of this type occurs as a stem of derivation with I.042:

ninkihči-ayahāw 'I am a big person'

(← ne + kihči-ayahāw + i)

NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns with inflection for substantive class and nouns in local form occur both with and without inflection for possessor. Only unpossessed nouns are recorded in compounding form. The morphological actualization of inflection for possessor, substantive class inflection, local form, and compounding form are essentially independent and will be discussed separately.

Possessor

Nouns are possessed when they are modified by a nominal phrase. The theme suffix em is regularly added to the stems of possessed nouns:

NP - N → 1, 2 + em
1 2

Certain noun stems reject the theme suffix. Rejection is automatic in the case of noun stems ending in n: nimahkisin 'my shoe'; ninčīmān 'my canoe'; otōhpwākanan 'his pipe(s)'. Dependent noun stems reject the possessive theme suffix: ninkosihs 'my son'; otihs 'his navel'. A few other noun stems also reject the theme suffix: ninčīpwāt 'my tea-kettle'; otahkihkwān 'his pail(s)'.

The inflection of nouns for possessor involves the secondary expression of the substantive categories of the possessor. These categories are repeated in the possessed noun as a result of a cross-reference transformation, which precedes all other

transformations involving the inflectional forms of nouns, pronouns, and verbs:

N - Substantive Class - N (em) → 1, 2, 3 + 2
1 2 3

The morphemes that express the substantive class categories of the possessor in possessed nouns are given in Table IV, in which those categories of the possessor that are not expressed by inflectional morphemes are enclosed in parentheses.

TABLE IV
 INFLECTION OF NOUNS FOR POSSESSOR

Substantive Categories					Morphemes	
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion		
(A)	1	..	(Sg)	..	<u>ne</u>	..
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ne</u>	<u>enān</u>
(A)	2	..	(Sg)	..	<u>ke</u>	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ke</u>	<u>enān</u>
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>ewā</u>
(A)	3	(Prx)	(Sg)	..	<u>we</u>	..
(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	-1	<u>we</u>	<u>ewā</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Sg)	..	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Pl	-1)	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>

The category symbols following a possessed noun theme are subject to transformations that also apply to the underlying category symbols of personal pronouns and verbs of the independent order.

A formal discussion of these rules is included in the description of the inflection for independent order.⁴

Substantive Class

Not all of the substantive categories of a noun are actually expressed in morphemes, so that certain category symbols in the underlying representation of nouns are deleted by transformational rules. The morphemes that express the substantive categories of nouns are called nominal suffixes. Nominal suffixes also occur in verbs inflected for independent order, where they are the secondary expression of the categories of a third person NP₁ where there is no NP₂, or of a third person NP₂.⁵

There is no overt expression of third person in nominal suffixes:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N} \\ \text{N (em) Substantive Class} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} - \underset{\underline{3}}{3} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{2}, \text{null}$$

Exclusion of first person is unmarked in noun plurals:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prx} \\ \text{Obv} \end{array} \right\} \text{Pl} - \underset{\underline{2}}{-1} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \text{null}$$

The distinction between proximate and obviative in inanimate nouns

⁴See below, pp. 151-152.

⁵See below, pp. 145-147.

is limited to unpossessed nouns, where there is a distinctive obviative singular nominal suffix:

I + Obv + Sg → eniw // N ___ #

I - $\begin{cases} \text{Prx} \\ \text{Obv} \end{cases}$ → 1, null

1 2

The nominal suffixes are compared with the underlying substantive categories of nouns in Table V, with categories not expressed in the morphemes being enclosed in parentheses.

TABLE V
SUBSTANTIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS

Substantive Categories					Morphemes
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion	
A	(3)	Prx	Sg	..	<u>a</u>
A	(3)	Prx	Pl	(-1)	<u>ak</u>
A	(3)	Obv	Sg	..	<u>an</u>
A	(3)	Obv	Pl	(-1)	<u>an</u>
I	(3)	(Prx)	Sg	..	<u>i</u>
I	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)	<u>an</u>
I	(3)	(Obv)	Sg	..	<u>i</u> or <u>eniw</u> *
I	(3)	(Obv)	Pl	(-1)	<u>an</u>

* The suffix eniw occurs in place of i only in unpossessed nouns, and in non-personal pronouns.

The following rule converts the remaining category symbols to the base forms of the inflectional suffixes recorded at Deer Lake

and Big Trout Lake:

A + Prx + Sg	→	a
A + Prx + Pl		ak
A + Obv + Sg		an
A + Obv + Pl		an
I + Sg		i
I + Pl		an

The animate obviative plural suffix is reported to be "-a" at Round Lake, contrasting with animate obviative singular "-an".⁶ This may represent an isogloss that cuts across the Severn dialect area and extends beyond, since a distinction between animate obviative singular and plural, -an and -a respectively, has been recorded elsewhere in northern Ontario.⁷

The singular nominal suffixes a 'animate proximate singular', and i 'inanimate singular' are subject to MR.25, by which final short vowels are regularly lost. These suffixes have phonological expression only after monomorphemic stems that contain a single short vowel: nihka 'goose' (stem nihk-), mahkwa 'bear' (stem mahkw-), ahki 'earth' (stem ahky-), nipi 'water' (stem nipy-). There are few such stems, so that in most words these singular suffixes have a zero form:

čīpwāt 'tea-kettle' (← čīpwāt + a)

mahkisin 'moccasin' (← mahkisin + i)

⁶ J. Rogers, op. cit., p. 119.

⁷ My field notes.

The nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural' have several variants. Augments are added before the base forms by MR.01, and the initial vowel merges with a preceding postconsonantal w or y by MR.26.

The nominal suffix eniw 'inanimate obviative singular' loses final w by MR.26.

Local Form

The local form of nouns is formed by replacing the nominal suffix expressing substantive class with the locative suffix enk 'in, on, at, to, from' with the result that nouns in local form do not have primary expression of gender, obviation, or number:

nipēwin 'bed' (← nipēwin + i)

nipēwinan 'beds' (← nipēwin + an)

nipēwinink 'on the bed(s)' (← nipēwin + enk)

Inflection for a possessor is the same as in nouns with substantive inflection:

nisit 'my foot' (← ne + sit + i)

nisitan 'my feet' (← ne + sit + an)

nisitink 'on my foot, feet' (← ne + sit + enk)

There is an alternate formation of local nouns in Severn Ojibwa, in which the suffix ehkānk 'in, on, at the place of' replaces the substantive inflectional suffix. It is not clear whether or not

local nouns formed with the suffix ehkānk have a difference in meaning from those formed with the more common suffix enk, but in at least some contexts nouns with ehkānk could be plural in reference rather than singular. Sentences containing local nouns of the ehkānk type are listed below:

ninčičēhč maškihkihwēhkānk išā
 my-baby-sister nurse-at-place-of to-there-she-goes
 'my youngest sister is going to the nursing station'

kī-pisokēhšin mihtikohkānk
 have-he-trips log-on, at
 'he tripped over a log'

omitēhtihkānk wīhsini ninkosihs
 his-sister-at-place-of he-eats my-son
 'he is eating at his sister's place'

kīčihkiwēsi 'na kī-twāhšin mihkwamīhkānk
 your-brother yes-or-no have-he-falls-through ice-on, at
 'did your brother fall through a hole in the ice'

Compounding Form

Unpossessed nouns may occur in compounding form as prior members of compound nouns. The compounding form of nouns is derived from the form with inflection for substantive class. The substantive inflectional suffix is replaced with the compounding suffix i-:

wāhsikan 'engine' (← wāhsikan + i)

wāhsikani-pimitē 'gasoline, engine-oil'

(← wāhsikan + i- + pimitēw + i)

The vowel of the compounding suffix is irregularly deleted after

some noun stems:

šikalēt 'cigarette'; šikalēt-pēpan 'cigarette paper'

COMPOUND NOUN STEMS

Compound noun stems consist of a noun stem compounded with a prior member. The gender of the compound stem is the same as that of the noun on which it is based. When a noun stem is dependent, a compound stem formed from it is also dependent.

Particles called prenouns are compounded with noun stems.

There are relatively few prenouns but they are freely used:

<u>kēhtē-anihšininiwak,</u>	<u>kēhtē-otāpānāhk</u>
old-Indians	old-toboggan
'old Indians'	'old toboggan'

<u>kihči-mihtik,</u>	<u>oški-āšokan</u>
big-tree	new-wharf
'big tree'	'new wharf'

Inflectional prefixes always precede a word stem, whether it is simple or compound, and when a prenoun is compounded with a dependent noun stem, the inflectional prefix indicating the person of the possessor is repeated in front of the dependent noun stem:

<u>ninkihči-nintānihs,</u>	<u>okihči-omihšoman</u>
my-big-my-daughter	his-great-his-grandfather
'my big (or eldest) daughter'	'his great-grandfather'

The prenoun īči- 'fellow' combines with noun stems to form dependent compound noun stems:

wīči-ihkwēwan
her-fellow-woman
'her sister'

One compound noun in the data consists of a prenoun and a compound noun stem:

kihči-ayamihē-okimā
big-pray-boss
'bishop'

It is more usual however to have only two members of a compound noun stem.

Most compound nouns have as prior member a noun in compounding form:

ahkī-pimitē,
earth-grease
'coal-oil'

okwēhkāčihiwēwi-ayamihē-okimā
reformer-pray-boss
'evangelist'

kīsihso-masinahikan,
day-book
'calendar'

šōniyā-okimā,
money-boss
'Indian agent'

wāpōso-nakwākan
hare-noose
'hare-snare'

mōnso-wiyāhs,
moose-meat
'moose meat'

pōtawānāpihko-kipahikan
stove-lid
'stove plate'

kwāpī-minihkwākan,
coffee-cup
'coffee cup'

wīkopī-pīhšākanēyāp
bass-wood-rope
'bass-wood twine, rope'

A few nouns have a verb in compounding form as prior member of the compound stem:

ohsohsotamo-maškihki,
cough-medicine
'cough-syrup'

ayamihē-okimā
pray-boss
'minister'

SIMPLE NOUN STEMS

Simple noun stems have a morphological structure similar to that of verb and particle stems. Some primary stems are monomorphemic or unanalyzable on the basis of available data. Most primary stems consist of at least two parts, the root and the final. Sometimes there is a third part, the medial, which occurs between root and final. Secondary stems consist of a stem of derivation followed by a final. The stem of derivation has the underlying structure of a noun or verb stem, but does not always occur as a stem of inflection. In a few constructions the stem of derivation has a derivational prefix. Roots, medials, and finals are usually monomorphemic, but occasionally more complex in structure. Monomorphemic or unanalyzable noun stems are morphologically distinct from verb and particle stems, and the finals that form noun stems are different from those that form verb or particle stems. The noun stem is therefore defined in terms of morphological criteria.

Dependent noun stems have a morphological structure distinct from that of other noun stems. Any morpheme that introduces a dependent noun stem never introduces a non-dependent stem. Most, if not all, primary dependent noun stems are monomorphemic, and secondary dependent noun stems have a dependent noun stem as their stem of derivation. Dependent stems

denoting body parts sometimes occur as stems of derivation with the derivation prefix o, and then the secondary stems derived from them are not dependent: -tēh- 'heart'; otēhimin- 'strawberry (heart-berry)'. Many of the morphemes that occur as dependent noun stems, particularly those denoting parts of the body, also occur in complex medials and finals.

There are a few morphemes that occur as non-dependent stems of derivation, but do not occur as noun stems of inflection. The stem animw- 'dog', for example, does not occur with inflection nor in local or compounding form, but it is present as a stem of derivation in the diminutive noun stem animōns- 'puppy'.

Noun finals are simple, complex, or deverbal in formation. A simple noun final is a single morpheme, e.g. the final -win, after a verb stem in the noun stem anohkiwin- 'work'. Complex noun finals consist of the nominalizing suffix w preceded by certain morphemes that also occur as medials, e.g. the final -āpihkw, consisting of āpihk 'metal' and w, after a root in the noun stem ošāwāpihkw- 'copper, bronze, brass'. A deverbal noun final is derived from a noun stem, e.g. the final -amēpin from namēpin- 'sucker', after a root in the noun stem miskwamēpin- 'red sucker, carp'.

Noun stems end in a consonant, w, or y. The following discussion will focus on the structure of polymorphemic stems,

and on some of the submorphemic resemblances among unanalyzed stems.

Noun Stems in -n

Most polymorphemic noun stems ending in -n are verbal abstracts, and there are a number of unanalyzable noun stems that resemble them: matakwān- 'a kind of aboriginal house'; ēmihkwān- 'spoon'; onākan- 'plate, dish'; pīhšākan- 'leather'; mēnikan- 'fence'; wāhsikan- 'engine'; mahīnkan- 'wolf'; kiškiman- 'file, rasp'; onsipan- 'sap'; minčihkāwan- 'mitten, glove'; otihkwan- 'branch'; mīnkwan- 'feather'; wāsihswan- 'bird's nest'. Other stems are formed with simple, complex, and deverbal noun finals with concrete meanings.

N.01. -n. A simple abstract final, N.01 forms secondary noun stems from AI stems ending in a vowel.

Certain AI stems replace stem-final ē by a before N.01. Some of these stems are primary and monomorphemic:

āšokan- 'wharf'

wanīhikan- 'trap'

The AI stem is often formed with the secondary final I.102 -kē, which is preceded by an AI stem with stem-final ē replaced by ā.

The AI stem preceding N.01 is frequently only a stem of derivation, at least in the data available:

atāwākan- 'fur for trade'

ihkwāntawākan- 'stairs'

minihkwākan- 'cup'

N.01 is also preceded by AI stems formed from TI stems with the secondary final I.103 -kē. Usually the TI stem is primary and either unanalyzable or formed with a final preceded by a root or root plus medial:

kāhsīhsakinikan- 'floor mop, scrub brush'

kihkinawāčihčikan- 'sign, mark'

kipahikan- 'lid'

kipāhkwahikan- 'stopper, cork'

masinahikan- 'book, letter'

pōsinikan- 'salve'

The TI stem is sometimes a stem of derivation only:

mātahikan- 'scraper for removing hair from hide'

pīwipōčikan- 'sawdust'

tēwēhikan- 'drum'

Some nouns appear to be formed from an intransitive stem that is followed by a TI final, I.103 -kē, and N.01 -n, where none of the verb stems occur as stems of inflection:

čahkāhtēn'kan- 'flashlight'

čīpwāšikawihčikan- 'funnel'

kitohčikan- 'musical instrument'

nahsahtēnikan- 'trigger'

wāhsahkonēnčikan- 'candle, kerosene lamp'

The difficulty with this analysis is that some of the underlying intransitive stems are II in structure, e.g. nahsahtēnikan- 'trigger' (← root nahs- 'open' + I.011 -ahtē 'be placed, set' + T.22 -en 'manipulate, handle' + I.103 -kē + N.01 -n). Normally secondary TI stems are formed from AI rather than from II stems.

Other AI stems replace stem-final ē by ā before N.01.

The stem of derivation is primary and either monomorphemic or unanalyzable in the following nouns:

atihsohkān- 'tale, fable'

čīhsahkān- 'conjuring tent'

čīmān- 'canoe'

kihtikān- 'potatoe (animate); garden (inanimate)'

otāpān- 'car'

Also of this type are stems formed with I.089 -ē:

čīstāhkwān- 'tack, nail'

pināhkwān- 'comb'

pōsānihkwān- 'hair oil or cream'

mahkatēwākamiškīnšikwān- 'pupil of the eye'

Secondary AI stems formed from noun stems with the final I.091

-ehkē 'manufacture, collect', also replace ē by ā before N.01,

and many occur only as stems of derivation:

iškotēhkān- 'match, kindling'

kīsihsohkān- 'watch, clock'

okimāhkān- 'elected chief'

The final N.01 also occurs after primary middle reflexive AI stems ending in -o, some of which do not occur as stems of inflection:

ahpihkwehšimon- 'pillow'

ahpihšimon- 'mattress'

kāškipāson- 'razor'

kihčipison- 'belt'

kihkiwēhon- 'flag'

mēmēpison- 'swing'

pankihšimon- 'sunset'

wāpamon- 'mirror'

N.02. -ākan. The simple abstract final N.02 is not very productive. It occurs after some TA verb stems:

mōšwākan- 'scissors, hair shears'

wīčiwākan- 'companion, spouse'

wikimākan- 'spouse'

This final also occurs after a few primary TI stems, some of which do not occur with inflection:

kontākan- 'throat'

nāpihkākan- 'kerchief, necktie'

šīwihtākan- 'salt'

N.03. -nākan. A deverbal final from onākan- 'dish, plate',

N.03 occurs in secondary derivation after a noun stem:

ahsapinākan- 'sieve'

N.04. -ehkomān. The final N.04 -ehkomān 'knife' is either simple or a deverbal formation from mōhkomān- 'knife'. In the following noun stem the final is preceded by a root:

piskihkomān- 'Jack-knife'

N.05. -tāpān. The deverbal final -tāpān is derived from otāpān- 'car, vehicle', and occurs after a root in primary derivation:

tihtipitāpān- 'wheelbarrow, cart'

N.06. -wayān. The simple final -wayān 'hide, covering', occurs in primary derivation after a root:

wāpwāyān- 'blanket'

This final also occurs in secondary derivation after a noun stem:

wāpōswayān- 'hare-skin garment'

N.07. -min. The final -min 'berry' may be regarded as simple or as deverbal from mīn- 'berry, blueberry'. It occurs after roots:

miskomin- 'raspberry'

ošāwaškomin- 'blueberry'

šōmin- 'raisin'

The final N.07 also occurs in secondary derivation from a dependent noun with a derivational prefix:

otēhimin- 'strawberry'

The unanalyzable noun manōmin- 'rice' may contain this final, but the residual root would be unique with this analysis.

N.08. -anōmin. The deverbal final -anōmin is derived from manōmin- 'rice', and occurs after a root in the following stem:

wāpanōmin- 'white rice'

N.09. -amēpin. N.09 is a deverbal final derived from namēpin- 'sucker', and it occurs after a root in the word below:

miskwamēpin- 'red sucker, carp'

N.10. -ahkisin. A deverbal formation from mahkisin- 'moccasin, shoe', N.10 occurs in primary derivation after a root plus medial:

šīpīkahkisin- 'rubber overshoe'

In secondary derivation N.10 is preceded by an AI stem plus w:

šōškwātahēwahkisin- 'skate'

N.11. -win, -owin. The simple abstract final -win is added freely to AI stems ending in a vowel, and the variant -owin is added to AI stems ending in am. Most nouns formed with this suffix are

abstract:

anohkīwin- 'work'

ayēhkosiwin- 'fatigue'

kākīhtawēntamowin- 'wisdom, caution'

Some nouns of this formation are concrete, and the underlying AI stem is sometimes a stem of derivation only:

ahpapiwin- 'cushion'

akwanīwin- 'covers'

kisīpīkinikēwin- 'washing machine'

pahkēsiwin- 'limb of the body'

šikiwin- 'bladder'

tēhsapiwin- 'chair'

wēpinikēwin- 'waste-basket, garbage'

Noun Stems in -s and -š

With the exception of nouns formed with the concrete final N.14 -ewaš 'box, container', polymorphemic stems in -s and -š are diminutives or pejoratives respectively. Most unanalyzable noun stems in these consonants are kinship terms or names of animals. Some of these stems resemble secondary derivatives formed with a diminutive or pejorative noun final, but in general the meanings and structures do not justify treating stems of this type as polymorphemic. The dependent noun stem -mihšōmēnš- 'father's brother', for example, formally resembles a secondary

derivative from -mihšōm- 'grandfather', formed with the diminutive noun final N.13. Similarly the noun stem animohš 'dog' formally resembles a secondary derivative from the stem of derivation animw- 'dog', which is no longer a stem of inflection. Although animohš- appears to be formed with the pejorative final N.15 -ehš, the stem has no pejorative meaning in general use, and has evidently replaced animw- in inflection. The dependent noun stem -īyāhs- might well be analyzed as a secondary derivative from the dependent noun stem -īyaw- 'body' formed with diminutive N.12, but the diminutive meaning is somewhat vague.

N.12. -ehs. The simple final -ehs is a diminutive suffix added to noun stems so freely that it might be considered as an inflectional suffix. The gender of the secondary noun stem is the same as that of the stem of derivation:

apinōnčīnših- 'baby'

ihkwēnsih- 'little girl'

kinōšēhs- 'little fish'

N.13. -ens, -ōns, -ēns. The simple final N.13, with the allomorphic variant ens after postvocalic w, ōns after postconsonantal w, and the variant ēns elsewhere, is a diminutive suffix freely added to noun stems not formed with N.12. The diminutive stem has the same gender as the stem of derivation. This suffix seems to be used to

indicate youth as much as small size:

animōns- 'puppy'

kākōns- 'young porcupine'

makōtēns- 'jacket'

mihtikōns- 'bush'

nāpēns- 'boy'

sākahikanīns- 'pond'

N.14. -ewaš. The final -ewaš 'container' is simple in structure, and occurs as a secondary final after noun stems:

kwāškwēpičikaniwaš- 'tackle-box'

mihtikowaš- 'wooden box'

N.15. -ehš. The simple final -ehš is a pejorative suffix, which occurs in secondary derivation from noun stems with the freedom of an inflectional suffix. The noun stem formed with this suffix has the same gender as the stem of derivation:

apinōnčīnšihš- 'bad child'

čīmānihš- 'worn-out-canoe'

pīwāpihkohš- 'old tin can'

Noun Stems in -t.

Most noun stems ending in -t are unanalyzable body part stems. The stem čīpwāt- 'tea-kettle' resembles the root čīpw- 'pointed', but will be considered monomorphemic here.

N.16. -akōt. The deverbal final -akōt is derived from makōt- 'coat, clothing'. It occurs in primary derivation after a root or root plus medial:

miskwakōt- 'red coat'

šipīkakōt- 'sweater'

N.17. -ēkōt. The final -ēkōt 'coat, clothing' is formally related to N.16, but it occurs in secondary derivation, after noun stems:

paškwēkinwēkōt- 'leather jacket'

wāpōswayānēkōt- 'hare-skin coat'

Noun Stems in -w

Several monomorphemic noun stems ending in post-consonantal w denote mammals: kākw- 'porcupine', wačaškw- 'muskrat'. A few others denote parts of the body: -škīnšikw- 'eye'; -hkātikw- 'forehead'; -niškw- 'gland'. A few unanalyzable noun stems in postconsonantal w have no common semantic features to suggest further analysis: mahkahkw- 'tub, barrel'; minahikw- 'pine tree'; wāwanw- 'egg'; kīsihsw- 'sun, moon'.

A number of noun stems denoting persons end in -iw. This segment may be identified as a noun final, but the stems do not admit of any clear analysis: ininiw- 'man'; ahkiwēnsiw- 'old man'; ākahāhšiw- 'Englishman'; wēmihtikōšiw- 'white man'. The stem

-iĉihkiwēnsiw- 'male friend (of a man)' might consist of a dependent root -it- 'with, fellow', and a final -hkiwēnsiw, which is perhaps deverbal from ahkiwēnsiw- 'old man'. Several noun stems denoting animals contain segments which might be interpreted as noun finals of the form -ehsiw and -yēhšiw but the remainder of such stems would be unique: pinēhsiw- 'bird of a large species'; šinkohsiw- 'weasel'; wāwāhtēhsiw- 'fire-fly'; wāpišēhšiw- 'marten'; šānkwēhšiw- 'mink'; wāwāškwēhšiw- 'deer'; maničōhšiw- 'worm, insect'. Some noun stems ending in -iw denote birds: pihpihčiw- 'robin'; kākākiw- 'crow'. Other stems in -iw are semantically unrelated: wačiw- 'hill'; maškihkiw- 'herb, medicine'; maškohsiw- 'grass, hay'.

Polymorphemic nouns ending in w are of divers types, formed with simple, complex, and deverbal finals.

N.18. -w. The simple final -w occurs after a few roots denoting time or direction:

kīšikw- 'sky, heaven, day'

šāwanw- 'the south'

tipihkw- 'night'

More often N.18 occurs in secondary derivation, after II stems. The II stem may be an impersonal verb denoting a direction or season:

kīwētīnw- 'the north'

pipōnw- 'winter'

The II stem of derivation in several nouns is primary in formation, with the final I.048 -at preceded by a root plus the medial -āhkw- 'wood, solid':

pihkwāhkwatw- 'knob on a tree'

wākāhkwatw- 'axe'

When the II stem ends in a long vowel, w is regularly deleted before inflectional suffixes by MR.06:

kišitēw- 'heat'

pahpahkinēw- 'grasshopper'

N.19. -w. The simple final N.19 occurs in secondary derivation from AI stems in combination with a derivational prefix, o-. A noun of this structure is a professional designation, denoting one who customarily performs the action indicated by the verb:

okihkinōhamākēw- 'teacher'

okwēhkāčihiwēw- 'preacher, reformer'

opimināw- 'pilot'

N.20. -hsēw. The noun stem ohkanihsēw- 'pine grosbeak' appears to be secondary, formed by the addition of N.20 -hsēw 'bird' to the dependent noun stem -hkan- 'bone' with a derivational prefix.

N.21. -hkwēw. The final N.21 is probably deverbal from ihkwēw- 'woman', but N.21 is subject to MR.06, which deletes

w after a long vowel before inflectional suffixes, and ihkwēw- is exempt from this rule. The final occurs only in secondary derivation.

It is preceded by both dependent and non-dependent noun stems:

-tōšimihkwēw- 'parallel niece (of a male)'

anihšināpēhkwēw- 'Indian woman'

maškihkihkwēw- 'medicine woman, nurse'

The final is preceded by an AI stem in the following noun stem:

oškinīkihkwēw- 'young woman, maiden'

N.22. -niniw. The noun final -niniw is deverbal from the stem ininiw- 'man'. It occurs in secondary derivation, after a noun stem:

maškihkiwininiw- 'medicine man, doctor'

The stem anihšininiw- 'Indian' seems to be formed with this final, but the initial part of the stem does not correspond to a known root. It is also related to the alternate term anihšināpēw- 'Indian', which may be formed with a deverbal final -āpēw derived from nāpēw- 'man'.

N.23. -āhšiw. The stem nēyāhšiw- 'point of land' is formed from the root nē- 'point' and the final N.23, which is not recorded elsewhere.

N.24. -āpīmakw. The final N.24 is unanalyzable, and is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

miskwāpīmakw- 'red willow'

N.25. -pakw. The complex final N.25 consists of the medial -pak- 'leaf' and noun final w, and is recorded only after a root in a primary stem:

kākīkēpakw- 'evergreen, native tea'

N.26. -hsakw. N.26 is a complex final consisting of the medial -hsak- 'board, processed wood' with noun final w. This final occurs after roots in primary derivation:

mohčīhsakw- 'bare floor'

napakihsakw- 'board; floor'

N.27. -āntakw. The final N.27 is unanalyzable, and occurs after a root in only one recorded stem:

napakāntakw- 'a kind of evergreen'

N.28. -amēkw. The noun stem atihkamēkw- 'whitefish' seems to be formed with the final -amēkw 'fish' from the noun stem atihkw- 'caribou' with irregular loss of postconsonantal w from the stem of derivation.

N.29. -āhkw. The noun final -āhkw is a complex final that consists of the medial -āhkw- 'wood, solid' and noun final w. N.29 occurs in secondary derivation after a dependent noun stem with a

derivational prefix, and also after a non-dependent noun stem:

ohkātāhkw- 'carrot'

otāpānāhkw- 'toboggan'

N.30. -āpihkw. The complex final N.30 consists of the medial -āpihk- 'metal, stone, glass' and noun final w. It occurs in primary stems after a root:

napakāpihkw- 'spade'

ošāwāpihkw- 'copper, bronze, brass'

pīwāpihkw- 'iron; tin can'

N.30 also occurs in secondary stems after noun stems, some of which occur only as stems of derivation:

kontākanāpihkw- 'stove-pipe'

mahkahkwāpihkw- 'metal tub'

minihtikwāpihkw- 'rocky island; reef'

mōtayāpihkw- 'glass bottle'

pōtawānāpihkw- 'stove'

wāhsēhčikanāpihkw- 'window pane'

N.31. -ahkamikw. The complex final N.31 consists of the medial -ahkamik- 'place, moss' and the noun final w. It occurs in primary stems after a root:

anāmahkamikw- 'hell, underground'

miskwahkamikw- 'red moss'

wāpahkamikw- 'white moss'

Sometimes it occurs in secondary stems after a noun stem:

maškīkwahkamikw- 'swamp moss'

N.32. -wikamikw. The final N.32 -wikamikw 'house, room' is unanalyzable but may be complex. It occurs in secondary noun stems, preceded by an AI stem ending in a vowel:

atāwēwikamikw- 'stove'

ayamihēwikamikw- 'church'

āhkosiwikamikw- 'hospital'

nipēwikamikw- 'bedroom'

N.33. -āhtikw, -īwāhtikw. The final -āhtikw 'tree, stick, wood' is either simple or deverbal from mihtikw- 'tree; stick'. It occurs in second stems preceded by a noun stem, with the base form īwāhtikw after postconsonantal y, and āhtikw elsewhere:

kisīpīkinikanāhtikw- 'wash-board'

masinahikanāhtikw- 'pencil'

ošāwaškomināhtikw- 'blueberry bush'

šīpahtānāhtikw- 'pelt-stretcher'

wīhsinīwināhtikw- 'table'

wīkopīwāhtikw- 'basswood tree'

N.34. -yēkinw. The final N.34 may be described as

deverbal from the stem owēkinw- 'cloth', or a complex consisting of the medial -yēk- 'cloth' with noun final inw, a variant of w. The final occurs in primary stems after a root:

paškwēkinw- 'leather'

N.33 also occurs in a secondary stem after a noun stem:

kāhsīnkwānīkinw- 'face-cloth'

N.35. -āpōw. The final -āpōw 'liquid' occurs in secondary stems, preceded by noun stems:

maškihkiwāpōw- 'liquid medicine, cough-syrup'

mīčimāpōw- 'soup, stew'

tōhtōhšāpōw- 'milk'

Noun Stems in -y

Several unanalyzable noun stems ending in postconsonantal y denote liquids and related substances: nipy- 'water'; miskwy- 'blood'; sākahikany- 'lake'; sīpy- 'river'; mihkwāmy- 'ice'.

Other stems in postconsonantal y have no special semantic bonds:

ahky- 'earth, dirt'; ahsapy- 'net'; ahsiny- 'stone'; okiny- 'rose'; wāpikony- 'flower'.

N.36. -my. The apparent final N.36 occurs in secondary derivation, after an AI stem with stem-final ē replaced by a. Only one word is recorded with this structure:

onikamy- 'place of portage'

N.37. -ēyāpy. The final -ēyāpy 'rope, string' is unanalyzable, but related on a submorphemic level to the medial -āpīk- 'rope, string-like object'. It occurs in secondary stems preceded by noun stems, some of which occur only as stems of derivation:

kisīpīkinikanēyāpy- 'clothesline'

miskwēyāpy- 'blood-vessel'

nakwākanēyāpy- 'snare-wire'

kaškikwāčikanēyāpy- 'thread for sewing'

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUCTURE OF VERBS

A verb consists of a simple or compound verb stem (V), with one or more inflectional affixes. The lexical component of a verb, the verb stem, has a morphological structure that characterizes it as a verb rather than a noun or particle stem, and that also indicates whether it is intransitive or transitive. The verb stem reflects the gender of the subject of an intransitive verb and of the object of a transitive verb. The inflectional component of all verbs includes optional expression of certain modes, and compulsory secondary expression of the substantive categories of the subject or object of the verb. The selection of these morphemes constitutes the inflection of the verb for order. The inflectional component of most transitive verbs also includes a theme suffix, which defines the nature of the subject-object relationship.

THEME SUFFIXES

Transitive verbs express a relationship between two entirely distinct persons or things. A theme suffix, which occurs immediately following the stem of a transitive verb, denotes the

person category of one of these two participants, and also indicates whether that person or thing is subject or object in the surface structure of the sentence. The theme suffixes are derived from an underlying structure consisting of two basic oppositions, third versus non-third person, and direct versus inverse voice. Theme suffixes may therefore be classified in several ways. They may be classified according to the category of person that they express, according to whether they denote subject or object, and according to whether they are direct or inverse:

Object	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\bar{a}} \quad \underline{am} \\ \underline{eh\check{s}i} \quad \underline{en} \\ \underline{eni} \quad \underline{e\theta} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'third person'} \\ \text{'first person'} \\ \text{'second person'} \end{array} \right\}$	Direct
Subject	$\underline{ekw} \quad \underline{eko} \quad \underline{ek\bar{o}}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'third person'} \end{array} \right\}$	Inverse

The selection of theme suffixes is affected by the verbal category of order, as well as by other factors, which will be discussed in detail below.

The distinction between third and non-third person applies to NP₂, which is non-third person in category only when the verb may have a non-third person theme suffix, and is otherwise third person in category. Since verbs that express a relationship involving a first person NP₂ have a theme suffix, the objective AI verbs, which take no theme suffix, have only third person objects, and double-object TA verbs, in which the theme suffix

does not refer to the second object, NP₃, always have a second object that is third person in category.

The categories of voice indicate the subject-object relationship in terms of an order of precedence in which second person has precedence over first, first person over third, and proximate third person over obviative. A direct theme suffix indicates that the person category of the subject has precedence over that of the object, and an inverse suffix indicates that the person category of the object has precedence over that of the subject. In the underlying structure of verbal sentences and clauses NP₂ is always more remote in the order of precedence than NP₁, so that when the category of voice is inverse NP₁ is object and NP₂ subject in the surface structure of the sentence, after the inversion transformation has applied.¹

Inanimate nominal phrases may occur only as direct objects or inverse subjects, since NP₁ is never inanimate when there is an NP₂. Because TI verbs only occur when the object is inanimate the theme suffix following a TI stem is always direct. The TI stems that occur with theme suffixes ā and am 'third person direct object' are designated as TI₁ stems. Another class of stems, TI₂ verbs, have ō in place of the regular theme

¹The inversion transformation is discussed below, pp. 139-140.

suffixes, and a few other stems, designated as TI₃ stems, end in a vowel and take no theme suffix.²

When NP₂ is a possessive noun phrase, the nominal phrase denoting the possessor may be deleted before the cross-reference transformation by which its categories have secondary expression in the possessed noun. The possessed noun is then inflected for NP₁ as possessor:

<u>čān owāpamān</u>	<u>okosihsan</u>
John he-prx-sees-him-obv	his-prx-son-obv
'John sees his own son'	

<u>nimasinahikan niminwētān</u>
my-book I-like-it
'I like my book'

<u>nimasinahikan nintayamihtōn</u>
my-book I-read-it
'I am reading my book'

When this deletion does not take place, the third person possessor is distinct from the person indicated by NP₁. If the associated verb is transitive with a direct theme suffix, a supplementary theme suffix is added between the verb stem and the regular theme suffix. The suffix em is added after a TA stem before ā 'third person direct object':

²The TI₂ stems, TI₃ stems, and "objective" AI stems are called "pseudo-transitive" by Bloomfield. See Leonard Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Word List, edited with a Foreword by Charles F. Hockett (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), pp. 33-34.

čān owāpamimān čēkapōn okosihsinīn
 John he-prx-sees-him-obv Jacob-obv his-obv-son-obv
 'John sees Jacob's son'

In the same circumstances the suffix amw is inserted between a TI₁ stem and its theme suffix:

omasinahikan niminwēntamwān
 his-book-obv I-like-it-obv
 'I like his book'

Under the same conditions TI₂ stems are followed by āwā instead of by ō:

omasinahikan nintayamihtāwān
 his-book-obv I-read-it-obv
 'I am reading his book'

The TI₃ verbs have not been recorded in environments of this type. The supplementary theme suffixes are independent of the inflection of the verb for order.

Cross-reference

The secondary expression in transitive verbs of the substantive categories of NP₁ and NP₂ is often the same regardless of the subject-object relationship indicated by theme suffixes:

<u>nisākihā</u>	'I love him'	(← <u>ne</u> + <u>sākih</u> + <u>ā</u> + <u>a</u>)
<u>nisākihik</u>	'he loves me'	(← <u>ne</u> + <u>sākih</u> + <u>ekw</u> + <u>a</u>)
<u>kisākihihš</u>	'you (sg.) love me'	(← <u>ke</u> + <u>sākih</u> + <u>ehši</u>)
<u>kisākihīn</u>	'I love you (sg.)'	(← <u>ke</u> + <u>sākih</u> + <u>eni</u>)

The cross-reference transformations must therefore precede the inversion of NP₁ and NP₂, which takes place in the presence of an

inverse theme suffix.

All transitive verbs, and "objective" intransitives modified by NP₂ undergo a cross-reference transformation that results in the secondary expression in these verbs of the substantive categories of NP₂, the phrase that modifies these verbs in the verbal phrase of the structure underlying verbal sentences and clauses:

(AP) N - Substantive Class - X + V (Theme)

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{1} & \underline{2} & \underline{3} \\ \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{2}, \underline{3} + \underline{2} & & \text{(where } \underline{1} + \underline{2} + \underline{3} \text{ is a VP)} \end{array}$$

Double-object transitive verbs have no inflectional reference to the second object.

All verbs undergo a cross-reference transformation that accounts for the secondary expression in verbs of the substantive categories of NP₁, the nominal phrase that modifies the verbal phrase in the underlying structure of sentences and clauses:

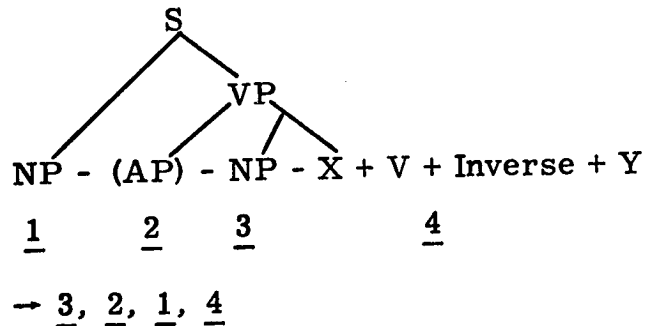
N - Substantive Class - X + V (Theme) - Y

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{1} & \underline{2} & \underline{3} & \underline{4} \\ \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{2}, \underline{3} + \underline{2}, \underline{4} & & \text{(where } \underline{3} + \underline{4} \text{ is a VP)} \end{array}$$

Inversion

The following inversion transformation, which must follow cross-reference transformations, interchanges NP₁ and NP₂ with transitive verbs that have an inverse theme suffix, with the result that NP₁ becomes object of the verb phrase, and NP₂ becomes

subject of the sentence:



Independent Order Theme Suffixes

Theme suffixes of the independent order express the two basic oppositions, direct versus inverse voice, and third versus non-third person.

	Direct	Inverse
Third	<u>ā</u> , <u>am</u>	<u>ekw</u> , <u>ekō</u> , <u>eko</u>
Non-third	<u>ehši</u>	<u>eni</u>

Where NP₂ is third person, the direct theme suffix is usually ā with am occurring only when NP₂ is inanimate and a negative mode suffix follows (an environment in which am has allomorph an, by MR.21):

kiwāpamā 'you (sg.) see him' (← ke + wāpam + ā + a)
kiwāpantān 'you (sg.) see it' (← ke + wāpant + ā + n + i)
kāwin kiwāpantansīn 'you (sg.) don't see it'
 (← ke + wāpant + am + hsī + n + i)

The third person inverse theme suffix is ekō when an animate NP₂ is deleted to indicate an indefinite person subject, but ekw elsewhere

with an animate NP₂; the third person inverse theme suffix is eko where NP₂ is inanimate:

kiwāpamikō 'one sees you (sg.); you (sg.) are seen'
(←ke + wāpam + ekō)

kiwāpamik 'he sees you (sg.)' (←ke + wāpam + ekw + a)

kiwāpamikon 'it sees you (sg.)' (←ke + wāpam + eko + n + i)

When NP₂ is first person, the theme suffix denotes a non-third person. The direct non-third theme suffix is ehši 'first person direct object', and the inverse non-third theme suffix is eni 'second person inverse object':

kiwāpamihš 'you (sg.) see me' (←ke + wāpam + ehši)

kiwāpamin 'I see you (sg.)' (←ke + wāpam + eni)

Rogers states that at Round Lake, "TA forms involving 1 and 2 as subject and object have theme signs /-išši/ for 1 object, and /-inini, -ini/ for 2 object."³ By contrast, in the data obtained from Deer Lake and Trout Lake informants, the inverse theme suffix is ekō instead of eni when NP₂ is first person plural:

kiwāpamikō 'we (excl.) see you (sg.)' (←ke + wāpam + ekō)

"/kiwa·paminina·m, kiwa·pamininim, kiwa·paminim/ 'we (excl.) see you (S or P)'"⁴

³Jean Rogers, "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194, Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II (1963) 124.

⁴J. Rogers, op. cit., p.125.

The theme suffix ekō is regularly used to indicate an indefinite subject, so that certain verbs are ambiguous:

kiwāpamikōnāwā 'you (pl.) are seen; we (excl.) see you (pl.)'
 (← ke + wāpam + ekō + nāwā)

This peculiarity of the inverse theme suffix is also noted in the variety of Ojibwa described by Baraga:

In the present tense of the indicative mood . . . we have, Ki wabamigo, for "we see thee," and ki wabamigom, for "we see you." Properly, ki wabamigo, means, thou art seen; and ki wabamigom, you are seen.⁵

Conjunct Order Theme Suffixes

There are a few differences in the theme suffixes of the conjunct order and their distributions, compared with those of the independent order.

In the conjunct order, when NP₁ is first or second person and NP₂ is third person animate the theme suffix is selected to indicate the person of the object rather than voice. Where the theme suffix of the independent order is ekw 'third person inverse subject', the conjunct order theme suffixes indicate that the object is first or second person. A first person object is indicated by ehši 'first person direct object' when NP₁ is first person

⁵R. R. Bishop Baraga, A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language for the Use of Missionaries and Other Persons Living among the Indians (2d ed.; Montreal: Beauchemin Valois, 1878), p.214.

singular, and by en 'first person object' when NP₁ is first person plural:

wāpamihšič 'if he sees me' (←wāpam + ehši + t)

wāpaminankič 'if he sees us (excl.)' (←wāpam + en + ankit)

A second person object is indicated by eθ 'second person inverse object':

wāpamihk 'if he sees you (sg.)' (←wāpam + eθ + k)

wāpaminēk 'if he sees you (pl.)' (←wāpam + eθ + ēkw)

The theme suffix eθ 'second person inverse object' also occurs in the conjunct order where eni 'second person inverse object' occurs in the independent order, when NP₁ is second person and NP₂ is first person singular:

wāpaminān 'if I see you (sg.)' (←wāpam + eθ + ān)

When NP₂ is third person inanimate the direct third person theme suffix after TI₁ stems is am 'third person direct object':

wāpantamān 'if I see it' (←wāpant + am + ān)

The theme suffix ā 'third person direct object', which occurs after TA stems when NP₂ is animate third person, has a zero variant before conjunct suffixes beginning in a vowel:

wāpamak 'if I see him' (←wāpam + ā + ak)

Imperative Order Theme Suffixes

Only direct theme suffixes occur in the imperative order, since an NP₂ subject is never second person in category. When the

verb is imperative the object is always NP₂, and the theme suffixes are the same as those of the independent and conjunct orders. With a third person NP₂ the theme suffix of TA verbs is ā, which has a zero variant before the imperative suffixes of number and inclusion, suffixes that begin with a vowel:

kanawāpamihk '(you pl.) look at him' (←kanawāpam + ā + ehk)

The theme suffix is am with TI₁ verbs, which occur with an inanimate NP₂:

kanawāpantamok '(you pl.) look at it' (←kanawāpant + am + k)

TA verbs have the theme suffix ehši with a first person NP₂ as object, and this has the variant ehšī before the delayed mode suffix hk:

wīntamawihšin '(you sg.) tell me about it'

(←wīntamaw + ehši + n)

pītawihšihkan '(you sg.) bring it to me later'

(←pītaw + ehši + hk + an)

INDEPENDENT ORDER

Inflection for independent order is primarily expressed in the selection of morphemes to indicate the substantive categories of the subject or object of the verb. As has already been demonstrated the selection of theme suffixes is partially governed by the verbal category of order. Inflection for independent order is essentially independent of modal inflection, and each mode is normally

expressed independently by a separate morpheme. Contrary to this general principle of independence, the morpheme for dubitative mode does not occur in verbs inflected for independent order, preterit mode. Independent dubitative preterit verbs are formed instead from equivalent conjunct dubitative preterit verbs by a derivational transformation.

Subject and Object

The substantive categories of an indefinite or first person NP₂ are morphologically expressed only when there is a first person plural NP₂ as direct object of the verb, in which case the number of NP₂ is expressed rather than the number of NP₁. The following ordered rules apply this general principle in the independent order:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} & - & \text{A} + \underline{2} & - & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{array} \right\} & - & \text{A} + \underline{1} & - & \text{Pl} + \underline{+1} \\ \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & & \underline{3} & & \underline{4} & & \underline{5} \\ \rightarrow & \underline{1}, & \underline{2}, & \underline{5}, & \underline{4}, & \underline{3} & & & \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{TA} & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ehši}} \\ \underline{\text{eni}} \\ \underline{\text{ekō}} \end{array} \right\} & - & \text{Substantive Class} & - & \text{Substantive Class} \\ \underline{1} & & & \underline{2} & & \underline{3} \\ \rightarrow & \underline{1}, & \underline{2}, & \text{null} & & \end{array}$$

The substantive categories of a third person NP₂ are otherwise expressed throughout the independent order.

Nominal suffixes express the substantive categories of a noun when preceded by a noun stem or by a prior expression of

of person, as in possessed nouns. Nominal suffixes also occur in verbs of the independent order as the secondary expression of a third person NP where there is a prior expression of number. The prior expression of number in verbs without an object is a result of the following independent order transformation:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{V} & - & \text{Gender} & - & 3 & + & \text{Obviation} & - & \text{Number\#} & \rightarrow & \underline{1} & + & \underline{3}, & \underline{2}, & \underline{3}, & \underline{4} \\ \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & & & & \underline{3} & & & & & & & & & & \underline{4} \end{array}$$

The prior expression of person also occurs in verbs with an object, where the categories of NP₂ are preceded by those of NP₁. The nominal suffixes express gender categories but not third person nor the exclusion of first person in a plurality:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{N} \\ \text{Person (Number)} \end{array} \right\} & - & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} & - & 3 & \rightarrow & \underline{1}, \underline{2}, \text{null} \\ & & \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & & \underline{3} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{I} \end{array} \right\} & - & \text{Obviation} & - & \text{Pl} & - & -1 & \rightarrow & \underline{1}, \underline{2}, \underline{3}, \text{null} \\ \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & & \underline{3} & & \underline{4} \end{array}$$

There is an inanimate obviative singular nominal suffix that occurs in unpossessed nouns, but elsewhere there is no obviative-proximate distinction in inanimate nominal suffixes:

$$\text{I} + \text{Obv} + \text{Sg} \rightarrow \underline{\text{eniw}} // \text{N} \underline{\quad} \#$$

$$\text{I} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Prx} \\ \text{Obv} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \text{null}$$

$$\underline{1} \quad \underline{2}$$

In intransitive verbs that have no object there is no expression of the obviative category except in nominal suffixes:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{Obv} & - & \text{A} & - & \text{Obv} & \rightarrow & \text{null, } \underline{2}, \underline{3} \\ & & \underline{1} & & \underline{2} & & \underline{3} \end{array}$$

The base forms of the nominal suffixes are produced from the underlying category symbols by the following rule:

$$\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{A + Prx + Sg} \\ \text{A + Prx + Pl} \\ \text{A + Obv + Sg} \\ \text{A + Obv + Pl} \\ \text{I + Sg} \\ \text{I + Pl} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{a}} \\ \underline{\text{ak}} \\ \underline{\text{an}} \\ \underline{\text{an}} \\ \underline{\text{i}} \\ \underline{\text{an}} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

Categories not expressed by nominal suffixes are expressed by inflectional prefixes or suffixes. These inflectional morphemes and the corresponding underlying categories are listed in Tables VI, VII, and VIII, the categories without morphemic expression being enclosed in parentheses. Table VI shows the inflectional morphemes for NP₁ where there is a third person NP₂. Nominal suffixes follow the NP₁ morphemes to express the categories of the third person NP₂, unless NP₂ is deleted to indicate an indefinite third person subject, in which case there are no additional morphemes. Table VII shows the inflectional morphemes where NP₂ is first person, NP₁ being second person in category. Table VIII shows the inflectional morphemes for the NP₁ subject of an intransitive verb without an object. Some of the rules that account for these inflectional morphemes of the independent order are related to the rules that account for the inflection of personal pronouns, and the inflection of nouns for possessor.

TABLE VI
INDEPENDENT ORDER INFLECTION FOR NP₁
WITH THIRD PERSON NP₂

Substantive Categories					Morphemes	
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion		
TA with <u>ā</u> or <u>ekw</u> theme suffix						
(A)	1	..	(Sg)	..	<u>ne</u>	
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ne</u>	<u>enān</u>
(A)	2	..	(Sg)	..	<u>ke</u>	
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ke</u>	<u>enān</u>
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>ewā</u>
(A)	3	(Prx)	(Sg)	..	<u>we</u>	
(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	-1	<u>we</u>	<u>ewā</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Sg)	..	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Pl	-1)	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>
	Indefinite					<u>w</u>
Elsewhere						
(A)	1	..	Sg	..	<u>ne</u>	<u>n</u>
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ne</u>	<u>min</u>
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ke</u>	<u>n</u>
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ke</u>	<u>min</u>
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>nāwā</u>
(A)	3	(Prx)	Sg	..	<u>we</u>	<u>n</u>
(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	-1	<u>we</u>	<u>nāwā</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Sg)	..	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>
(A)	3	Obv	(Pl	-1)	<u>we</u>	<u>enīn</u>
	Indefinite					<u>_____*</u>

*Data lacking.

TABLE VII
INDEPENDENT ORDER INFLECTION
WITH FIRST PERSON NP₂

Substantive Categories NP ₁					Morphemes		Substantive Categories NP ₂				
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion			Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion
TA with <u>ehši</u> theme suffix											
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ke</u>	<u>n</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>nāwā</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	(Sg)	..	<u>ke</u>	<u>nām</u>	(A)	(1)	..	Pl	+1
(A)	2	..	(Pl	-1)	<u>ke</u>	<u>nām</u>	(A)	(1)	..	Pl	+1
TA with <u>eni</u> theme suffix											
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ke</u>	<u>n</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>nāwā</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Sg)	..
TA with <u>ekō</u> theme suffix											
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ke</u>	<u>n</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Pl	+1)
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ke</u>	<u>nāwā</u>	(A)	(1)	..	(Pl	+1)

After the application of nominal suffix rules, the category of animate gender remains in the inflectional component of personal pronouns, possessed nouns, and verbs of the independent order except where NP₁ is a third person subject with an intransitive verb that has no object. Although the category of animate gender has no morphological expression, it defines the circumstances under which person is expressed by inflectional prefixes:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in} \\ \text{N (em)} \\ \text{V (Theme)} \end{array} \right\} - \text{A} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{1} \\ \underline{2} \\ \underline{3} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{3}, \underline{1}, \underline{2}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{1} \\ \underline{2} \\ \underline{3} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{ne} \\ \text{ke} \\ \text{we} \end{array} \right] // \text{---} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in} \\ \text{N (em)} \\ \text{V (Theme)} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\underline{3} \rightarrow \underline{w}$$

$$\text{A} \rightarrow \text{null}$$

The proximate category is not expressed:

$$\text{Prx} \rightarrow \text{null}$$

Number is not expressed in association with the obviative category:

$$\text{Obv} - \text{Number} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \text{null}$$

$$\underline{1} \quad \underline{2}$$

The following rules specify the morphological expression of the obviative category and of the category of number:

$$\text{Obv} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{enin} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N (em)} \\ \text{V (Theme)} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \\ \underline{\text{ni}} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{w} & - & \underline{ni} \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{2}, \underline{1} \\ \underline{1} & & \underline{2} \end{array}$$

$$\text{Sg} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null} // \text{---} \# \\ \underline{n} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Pl} + +1 \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{n\bar{a}m} \quad // \quad \text{TA} + \underline{eh\bar{s}i} \quad \text{---}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Pl} + +1 \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{awint} \\ \underline{aw\bar{a}} \end{array} \right] // \underline{i\bar{n}} \quad \text{---}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Pl} + +1 \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{en\bar{a}n} \\ \underline{ew\bar{a}} \end{array} \right] // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N (em)} \\ \text{TA} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\bar{a}} \\ \underline{ekw} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \text{---}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Pl} + +1 \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{min} \\ \underline{n\bar{a}w\bar{a}} \end{array} \right] \text{ elsewhere}$$

When NP₁ is deleted to indicate an indefinite third person subject with a third person NP₂, the subject is indicated by the suffix w.

Negative Mode

The negative mode is usually expressed by the suffix hsī, which is inserted after a verb stem and its theme suffixes, if any:

kāwin nintanohkīhsīmin 'we (excl.) are not working'

(←ne + anohkyē + hsī + min)

kāwin niwāpamāhsīnān 'we (excl.) do not see him'

(←ne + wāpam + ā + hsī + enān + a)

The suppletive morpheme ehsinō 'negative, second person inverse object' occurs instead of an expected sequence of the theme suffix eni 'second person inverse object' plus negative hsī:

kāwin kikanawāpamihsinōnāpan 'I wasn't staring at you (sg.)'

(←ke + kanawāpam + ehsinō + n + āpan)

After II stems the negative mode suffix is hsin or hsinō, the variant hsin occurring before ni 'obviative', and the variant hsinō elsewhere.

All negative suffixes are subject to MR.02, by which an n is added to the base form except before a consonant:

kāwin nintanohkīhsīn 'I am not working' (← ne + anohkyē + hsī)

Dubitative Mode

In the independent order the dubitative mode is expressed by a morpheme with the base form tok, which occurs after all suffixes except nominal suffixes. After intransitive verb stems the third person suffix w is deleted before tok. After tok an ēn augment is added before the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural':

anohkītokēnak 'they are probably working'

(← anohkyē + w + tok + ak)

After the number suffixes n 'singular', and min 'plural, including first person', an augment, ā, is added to the base form of tok:

kitayēhkosiⁿāt^{ok} 'you (sg.) are probably tired'

(← ke + ayēhkosi + n + tok)

kinantawēntāmināt^{ok}ēnan 'we (incl.) may need them'

(← ke + nantawēnt + ā + min + tok + an)

Preterit Mode

The base form of the morpheme expressing preterit mode is

pan. It precedes nominal suffixes, but follows all other suffixes of the independent order. The third person suffix of intransitive verbs, w, is deleted before pan:

nipāpan 'he was sleeping' (← nipā + w + pan + a)

After pan, a y augment is added before the base forms of the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate proximate; inanimate plural':

nipāpanīk 'they were sleeping' (← nipā + w + pan + ak)

Connective ā is added before the base form pan after the number suffixes n 'singular' and min 'plural, including first person':

kinipānāpan 'you (sg.) were sleeping' (← ke + nipā + n + pan)

ninipāmināpan 'we (excl.) were sleeping'

(← ne + nipā + min + pan)

Independent Dubitative Preterit Verbs

There are only a few dubitative preterit verbs in the data, and most of these are conjunct dubitative preterit. The independent dubitative preterit verbs are derived from equivalent conjunct dubitative preterit verbs by a transformation that deletes the dubitative morpheme ēn from the conjunct verb:

pimohsēkopanēn 'if he was probably walking about'

(← pimohsē + kw + pan + ēn)

→ pimohsēkopan 'he was probably walking about'

(← pimohsē + kw + pan)

CONJUNCT ORDER

Inflection for conjunct order involves the selection of morphemes for the secondary expression in verbs of the person and other substantive categories of the subject or object of the verbs. These inflectional morphemes are all suffixes. Some theme suffixes of transitive verbs are different from those in independent verbs. The negative mode has not been recorded in conjunct verbs of the Severn dialect. Preterit mode and dubitative mode are each expressed by separate morphemes, but with the dubitative mode there are also some minor morpheme additions and replacements involving the conjunct personal suffixes.

Subject and Object

The inflectional morphemes for conjunct order unmarked for mode are given in Table IX, in which substantive categories not expressed in morphemes are enclosed in parentheses.

Only a few verbs in the conjunct order have secondary expression of the substantive categories of NP₂:

V (Theme) - Substantive Class - Substantive Class

1 2 3
 → 1, 2, null

except when 1 is TA $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{a} \\ \text{ehši} \\ \text{en} \\ \underline{\text{e}\theta} \end{array} \right\}$ and 2 includes 1, 2, or Indefinite

TABLE IX
CONJUNCT ORDER INFLECTION

Substantive Categories NP ₁					Morphemes		Substantive Categories NP ₂				
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion			Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion
TA with <u>ā</u> theme suffix											
(A)	1	..	Sg	..	<u>ak</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	1	..	Sg	..	<u>ak</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>at</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>at</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
	Indefinite				<u>ent</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
	Indefinite				<u>ent</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
TA with <u>eθ</u> theme suffix											
(A)	(2	..	Sg)	..	<u>k</u>		(A)	3	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	(2	..	Sg)	..	<u>k</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
TA with <u>ā</u> , <u>en</u> , or <u>eθ</u> theme suffix											
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ankit</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>ankit</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ahkw</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ahkw</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ēkw</u>		(A)	(3)	(Prx)	(Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ēkw</u>	<u>wāw</u>	(A)	(3)	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)

TABLE IX (continued)

Substantive Categories NP ₁					Morphemes	Substantive Categories NP ₂				
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion		Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion
TA with <u>ehši</u> theme suffix										
(A)	(1	..	Sg)	..		t	(A)	3	(Prx) (Sg)	..
(A)	(1	..	Sg)	..	wā	t	(A)	3	(Prx) Pl	(-1)
(A)	(1	..	Sg)	..	ni	t	(A)	3	Obv (Sg)	..
(A)	(1	..	Sg)	..	ni	t	(A)	3	Obv (Pl)	(-1)
(A)	?	..	Sg	..	an		(A)	(1	.. Sg)	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	ēkw		(A)	(1	.. Sg)	
(A)	(2	..	Sg)	..	ānk		(A)	1	.. Pl	+1
(A)	(2	..	Pl	-1)	ānk		(A)	1	.. Pl	+1
TA with <u>eθ</u> theme suffix										
(A)	(2	..	Sg)	..	ān		(A)	1	.. Sg	..
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	akokw		(A)	(1	.. Sg)	..
TA with <u>ekō</u> theme suffix										
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	an		(A)	1	.. Pl	+1)
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	ēkw		(A)	1	.. Pl	+1)

TABLE IX (continued)

Substantive Categories NP ₁					Morphemes	Substantive Categories NP ₂				
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion		Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion
Elsewhere, with or without NP ₂										
(A)	1	..	Sg	..	<u>ān</u>					
(A)	1	..	Pl	+1	<u>an</u>					
(A)	2	..	Sg	..	<u>ānk</u>					
(A)	2	..	Pl	+1	<u>ahkw</u>					
(A)	2	..	Pl	-1	<u>ēkw</u>					
					<u>nk</u>					
		Indefinite								
(A)	3	(Prx)	(Sg)	..		<u>t</u>				
(A)	3	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)	<u>wā</u>	<u>t</u>				
(A)	3	Obv	(Sg)	..	<u>ni</u>	<u>t</u>				
(A)	3	Obv	(Pl)	(-1)	<u>ni</u>	<u>t</u>				
(I)	3	(Prx)	(Sg)	..		<u>k</u>				
(I)	3	(Prx)	Pl	(-1)		<u>k</u>	<u>in</u>			
(I)	3	Obv	(Sg)	..	<u>ni</u>	<u>k</u>				
(I)	3	Obv	Pl	(-1)	<u>ni</u>	<u>k</u>	<u>in</u>			

None of the inflectional suffixes of the conjunct order expresses gender:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} A \\ I \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{null}$$

In the conjunct order there is only one suffix that expresses the category of person. Sometimes the conjunct personal suffix indicates the person of NP₁ and sometimes the person of NP₂. When first or second person is expressed the associated categories of number are expressed in the same morpheme, but number is independently expressed when associated with the third person category. As in other orders, when there is a first person plural NP₂ as direct object of the verb, the number of NP₂ is expressed rather than the number of the second person NP₁:

$$\text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} - 2 \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{Bmatrix} - 1 + \text{Pl} + +1 \rightarrow \underline{1}, \text{null}, \underline{\text{ānk}}$$

1
2
3

Elsewhere, when NP₁ is first or second person singular and NP₂ is first person singular or animate third person, the conjunct personal suffix expresses the person of the participant not denoted by the theme suffix:

$$\text{TA} + \underline{\text{ā}} - \begin{Bmatrix} 1 + \text{Sg} \\ 2 + \text{Sg} \end{Bmatrix} - 3 \rightarrow \underline{1}, \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ak} \\ \text{at} \end{Bmatrix}, \text{null}$$

1
2
3

$$\text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} - 2 + \text{Sg} - 1 + \text{Sg} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{\text{an}}, \text{null}$$

1
2
3

$$\begin{array}{rcccl}
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} & - & \text{1 + Sg} & - & \text{3} & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \text{null}, \underline{\text{t}} \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & & \\
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{e}\theta} & - & \text{2 + Sg} & - & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{1 + Sg} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right] & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \text{null}, \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{ān}} \\ \underline{\text{k}} \end{array} \right] \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & &
 \end{array}$$

When NP₁ is first or second person plural and NP₂ is animate third person or first person singular, the conjunct personal suffix expresses the person of NP₁, the direct subject or inverse object. Although the person of NP₂ is not expressed it may govern the selection of the morphemes to express NP₁:

$$\begin{array}{rcccl}
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{ā}} & - & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{1 + Pl + +1} \\ \text{2 + Pl + +1} \\ \text{2 + Pl + -1} \end{array} \right] & - & \text{3} & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{ankit}} \\ \underline{\text{ahkw}} \\ \underline{\text{ēkw}} \end{array} \right], \text{null} \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & & \\
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} & - & \text{2 + Pl + -1} & - & \text{1 + Sg} & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \underline{\text{ēkw}}, \text{null} \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & & \\
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{e}\theta} & - & \text{2 + Pl + -1} & - & \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{1 + Sg} \\ \text{3} \end{array} \right] & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{\text{akokw}} \\ \underline{\text{ēkw}} \end{array} \right], \text{null} \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & &
 \end{array}$$

Similarly, when NP₁ is deleted to indicate an indefinite animate third person subject, the conjunct person suffix refers to the indefinite person, and the person of the animate third person NP₂ is not expressed:

$$\begin{array}{rcccl}
 \text{TA} + \underline{\text{ā}} & - & \text{Indefinite} & - & \text{3} & \rightarrow & \underline{\text{1}}, \underline{\text{ent}}, \text{null} \\
 \underline{\text{1}} & & \underline{\text{2}} & & \underline{\text{3}} & &
 \end{array}$$

The following rules specify the morphological expression of the remaining categories of person:

$\begin{array}{c} 1 + \text{Sg} \\ 2 + \text{Sg} \\ 1 + \text{Pl} + +1 \\ 2 + \text{Pl} + +1 \\ 2 + \text{Pl} + -1 \\ \text{Indefinite} \end{array}$	→	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{a}n \\ \underline{a}n \\ \bar{a}nk \\ \underline{a}hkw \\ \bar{e}kw \\ \underline{n}k \end{array}$
--	---	---

$$3 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{k} \quad // \quad \text{II} \quad \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{t} \quad \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

The proximate category is not expressed in conjunct verbs:

Prx → null

Number is not expressed in association with the obviative category except when associated with an inanimate third person:

Obv - Number → 1, null except // II + k _____

1 2

Obv → ni

The remaining categories of number were originally in association with third person. Singular is not expressed, and the exclusion of first person in a plurality is also not expressed:

Sg → null

Pl - -1 → 1, null

1 2

Pl → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{i}n \quad // \quad \underline{k} \quad \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{w}\bar{a} \quad // \quad \underline{t} \quad \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{w}\bar{a}w \quad \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$

$\frac{\underline{k}}{\underline{t}}$ - $\frac{\underline{ni}}{\underline{w}\bar{a}}$ → 2, 1

1 2

t → k // C _____

Dubitative Mode

In the conjunct order, dubitative mode is indicated by the suffix ēn, which follows all suffixes except plural in of II verbs. At the same time, the third person suffixes t and k are replaced by kw 'third person, dubitative', and all other conjunct personal suffixes are preceded by w 'dubitative'. When unmarked for preterit mode the dubitative conjunct verb has initial change:

ēyākwēn 'if he might have it' (← IC + ayā + kw + ēn)

wēyāpamāwakēn 'if I might see him'

(← IC + wāpam + ā + w + ak + ēn)

Preterit Mode

The preterit mode morpheme follows all conjunct suffixes except dubitative ēn and plural in. The base form, pan, is added without connective to the conjunct suffixes an 'second person singular', ān 'first person singular', and t 'third person', all of which have phonologically conditioned allomorphs in this context. The preterit morpheme has the variant pān after ān 'first person singular':

nāpēwiypān 'if I were a man' (← nāpēwi + ān + pan)

After all other conjunct personal suffixes a connective e is added at the beginning of the base form:

kanawāpamankitipan 'if we (excl.) were looking at him'

(← kanawāpam + ā + ankit + pan)

IMPERATIVE ORDER

In the imperative order the subject is always second person in category. Since only NP₁ may be second person in category, all transitive verbs have direct theme suffixes. When the imperative verb is marked for delayed mode, the secondary expression of substantive categories is the same as in the conjunct order. In the other imperative verbs there are distinctive morphemes to indicate substantive categories. There is no prohibitive mode in the Severn dialect of Ojibwa.

Subject and Object

In imperative verbs unmarked for delayed mode there is a single inflectional morpheme, which expresses number. Usually it is the number of the second person NP₁ that is expressed, but as in all other orders, when there is a first person plural NP₂, the number of NP₂ is expressed rather than the number of NP₁:

$$\text{TA} + \underline{\text{ehši}} - \text{A} + \underline{2} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg} \\ \text{Pl} + -1 \end{array} \right\} - \text{A} + \underline{1} - \text{Pl} + \underline{+1}$$

1 2 3 4 5

→ 1, 2, 5, 4, 3

V (Theme) - Substantive Class - Substantive Class

1 2 3

→ 1, 2, null

Where the category of gender remains, it is always animate, and

without morphological expression:

A → null

When the verb is not marked for delayed mode the category of person is not expressed:

$$V \text{ (Theme)} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{1} \\ \underline{2} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \text{ null}$$

The category of number is expressed in imperative suffixes, which are the output of the following rules, applies in the order given:

$$TA + \underline{eh\check{s}i} - \begin{array}{c} Pl + +1 \\ \underline{2} \end{array} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \underline{n\check{a}m}$$

$$TA + \underline{\check{a}} - \begin{array}{c} [Sg \\ Pl + -1] \\ \underline{2} \end{array} \rightarrow \underline{1}, \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{i} \\ \underline{ehk} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\begin{array}{c} [Sg \\ Pl + +1 \\ Pl + -1] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} [n \\ \underline{t\check{a}} \\ \underline{k} \end{array}$$

The suffixes indicating substantive categories of subject or object in imperative verbs unmarked for delayed mode are listed in Table X, in which parentheses enclose substantive categories that are not expressed by morphemes.

Delayed Mode

The delayed mode of imperative verbs is indicated by the morpheme hk, placed immediately after a verb stem and its theme suffixes, if any.

TABLE X
IMPERATIVE ORDER INFLECTION

Substantive Categories					Morphemes
Gender	Person	Obviation	Number	Inclusion	
NP ₂ categories, TA with <u>ehši</u> theme suffix					
(A)	(1)	..	Pl	+1	<u>nām</u>
NP ₁ categories, TA without theme suffix					
(A)	(2)	..	Sg	..	<u>i</u>
(A)	(2)	..	Pl	-1	<u>ehk</u>
NP ₁ categories, elsewhere, NP ₂ not first person plural					
(A)	(2)	..	Sg	..	<u>n</u>
(A)	(2)	..	Pl	+1	<u>tā</u>
(A)	(2)	..	Pl	-1	<u>k</u>

COMPOUNDING FORM OF VERBS

Animate intransitive verbs occur in compounding form as prior members of compound nouns. The compounding suffix has the base form -, with the variant o- after AI stems ending in m:

<u>ayamihē-okimā</u> ,	<u>ohsohsotamo-maškihki</u>
pray-boss	cough-medicine
'minister'	'cough-syrup'

COMPOUND VERB STEMS

Some verb stems are secondary derivatives of compound stems and are therefore compound also, but they are structurally comparable to secondary simple stems. Usually compound verb stems consist of a simple verb stem compounded with one or more particles called preverbs. There are at least four classes of preverbs, each characterized by a fixed position relative to other preverb classes and to the verb stem.

Secondary compound stems are not very common, because compound stems rarely occur as stems of derivation. The derivational suffix I.042 forms a compound AI stem from a compound consisting of the prenoun kihči- 'big' and an unclassified pronoun:

ninkihči-ayahāw 'I am a big person' (←ne + kihči-ayahāw + i)

Transitive verbs of accompaniment are formed by adding the derivational suffix T.05 to compound stems consisting of the preverb wīči- 'with' and an AI stem:

niwīči-anohkīmik 'he is working with me'

(←ne + wīči-anohkyē + m + ekw + a)

niwīči-ayāmik 'he is living with me'

(←ne + wīči-ayā + m + ekw + a)

In the case of these verbs of accompaniment, the underlying compound AI stem occurs only as a stem of derivation.

Preverbs of class 1 precede all other preverbs. The future preverb is ta- with intransitive verbs of the independent order when NP₁ is third person, but elsewhere the future preverb is ka-, which becomes kē- when altered by initial change:

nānta piko ta-papāmiškā
maybe only will-he-goes-hunting
'just maybe he will go hunting'

ninka-kočihtōn či-anohkīyān
I-will-try-it to-I-work
'I will try to work hard'

āntē kē-iši-mihkank čīmānini
where will-there-he-finds-it boat
'where will he find the boat'

The conditional preverb, tā-, is recorded only in verbs of the independent order:

otā-kaškihtōn
she-would-be-able-to-do-it
'she would be able to do it'

nintā-minwētāmin či-mīnankitipan šōniyān
we-would-like-it to-we-give-to-him money
'we would like to give him money'

The relative preverbs kā- 'who, that', and kē- 'who will, that will', as well as ē- 'that, because, when' and či- 'to, in order to, that

will' occur in this position with verbs inflected for conjunct order:

mahkisinin kā-nantawēntaman
shoes that-you-want-them
'the shoes that you want'

ihkwēwak kē-nakiškawatwā
women that-will-you-meet-them
'the women that you (sg.) will meet'

ninka-nātahipī ē-wī-kisīpīkinikēyān
I-will-fetch-water because-intend-I-wash
'I will fetch water because I intend to wash'

māwin pinamā ta-nipā minikohk čī-ani-māčāč
maybe first will-he-sleeps before that-will-begin-he-goes
'maybe he will sleep first, before he goes away'

Preverbs of class 2 precede all preverbs except those of class 1. The perfect preverb kī- occurs freely and is used more frequently than the preterit mode to indicate past tense:

kikī-wīntamākowā 'na
you-have-been-told-by-her yes-or-no
'has she told you (pl.)?'

kīšpin nīn nāpēwiyāmpān nintā-kī-papāmohsē
if I I-was-a-man I-would-have-hunted
'if I had been a man, I would have gone hunting'

When stem-initial in a verb undergoing initial change the perfect preverb has the form kā-, and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the relative particle of the same form:

kēkonēn kā-āpačihtōyan
what-is have-you-use-it
'what were you (sg.) using'

A preverb that has the same form as the perfect preverb, kī- 'be able to, can' is not recorded in combination with the perfect

preverb, and is therefore included in class 2:

kīšpin kimiwank wāpank kanāč akwačīnk ninka-kī-išāhsīn
 if it-rains tomorrow not-then outside I-will-can-go-not
 'if it rains tomorrow I will not be able to go outside then'

The preverb wī- 'intend to, want to' is also in this class:

niwī-pōni-anohkī
 I-intend-stop-work
 'I intend to stop working'

ninkī-wī-kakwē-nihtā-anihšināpēm
 I-have-intend-try-expertly-speak-Indian
 'I intended to try to speak the Indian language expertly'

Preverbs of class 3 precede preverbs of class 4, but follow those of classes 1 and 2. All class 3 preverbs are based on relative roots, and the verb stems formed with these preverbs are relative: ahko- 'since, as far as'; ahpīhči- 'as much as, so big'; iši- 'thus, in or to that place'; onči- 'from such a place or cause, by means of'. The relative preverb ahko- is recorded only in verbs inflected for conjunct order:

kā-ahko-tēpi-kikhēntamān
 that-as-far-as-enough-I-know-it
 'as far back as I can accurately remember'

Other relative preverbs occur in verbs inflected for independent or conjunct order, but are rather more frequently in conjunct verbs:

nimōhkomān kanāč ihwē ahpīhči-kāhšāhsinōn
 my-knife not-yet that as-much-as-it-is-sharp-not
 'my knife is not as sharp as

kiwākākwat
 your-axe
 your axe'

kikihkēntān 'na ēhpīhči-sanakahk
 you-know-it yes-or-no how-much-it-is-difficult
 'do you know how hard it is

či-nantaminahonāniwank
 to-people-are-hunting
 to go hunting ?'

ohomā nintiši-ayā wāhkāhikanink
 here I-in-that-place-am in-the-house
 'I am here, in the house'

mī piko ēši-mohči-pakitinihsāniwank
 there-was only where-openly-people-set-down-firewood
 'there was only an open fireplace'

omitēhtihkānk onči-sākaham
 his-sister's-place thence-he-leaves
 'he is coming out of his sister's place'

mī wēnči-āhkosič
 that-is why-he-is-sick
 'that is why he is sick'

A preverb of the form onči- but of uncertain meaning occurs in negative sentences referring to past time, and verbs with this preverb do not seem to be relative:

kanāč ninkī-onči-antawī-kapāhšimohsīn ē-čākīyān
 not-yet I-have-(?)-want-swimming-not because-I-am-tired
 'I didn't want to go swimming, because I was exhausted'

Preverbs of class 4 do not precede preverbs of other classes, but more than one class 4 preverb may occur in the same compound verb stem. It has not been possible to discover any clear rules governing relative order among preverbs of class 4. Compound verb stems formed with preverbs of class 4 are illustrated in the following sentences:

ani-koči-pimipahtō
 begin-try-he-runs-along
 'he is about to try to run away'

kinakišākonāwā ē-āpihta-kīšikahk
 you-meet-him when-half-it-is-day
 'you (pl.) will meet him at noon'

nōnkom nīn āša kayē ninkī-iškwā-pi-māham
 now I already also I-have-finish-come-shop
 'now I have also finished shopping'

ninka-kakwē-wāpamā wāpank
 I-will-try-see-him tomorrow
 'I will try to see him tomorrow'

ninka-pi-kīwē minikohk kē-kaški-tipihkahk
 I-will-hither-come-home before will-dark-it-is-night
 'I will return back here before it gets dark'

kīšpin wāpank kihči-mamankāškāk, kāwin ka-kī-pōsihsīmin
 if tomorrow great-waves-are-big not we-will-can-go-not
 'if the waves are very rough tomorrow, we will not embark'

čīmānink
 in-the-canoe
 in the canoe'

āša kikī-kīši-kīškatahwāk mihtikōk onāko
 now you-have-finish-cut-them-down trees yesterday
 'you were already finished chopping down trees yesterday'

kīšpin 'tahš nipoyan ninka-pi-nāši-kanawāpantān
 if then I-die I-will-hither-down-watch-it
 'so if I die, I will come down here to watch it'

None of the compound verbs containing preverbs were recorded with inflection for imperative order. Since there are relatively few imperative verbs recorded in the data, it is not clear whether the absence of preverbs is grammatically significant, or merely due to insufficient data.

TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS

Some transitive stems are monomorphemic, but most are polymorphemic. Polymorphemic stems are usually primary in structure, consisting of a root or a sequence or root plus medial, followed by a transitive verb final. Monomorphemic TA stems and TA finals usually have TI counterparts, and sometimes are related to intransitive stems and finals. Corresponding finals form stems of similar structure, but a TA final does not always occur with the same roots and stems as its TI counterpart, sometimes because of insufficient data, but often because of semantic limitations. Double-object TA stems do not have any TI counterparts. The phonological similarities that often exist between paired stems or finals will be considered submorphemic in the present work. Transitive stems are classified according to the termination of the TA stem and its TI counterpart, if any, and TI₂ stems will be represented with the theme vowel ō added to the stem so that they may be readily distinguished from TI₁ stems.

Class 1 Transitive Stems

Class 1 includes TA stems ending in -h and corresponding TI₂ stems in -htō. There is only one pair of unanalyzable stems: pīh- TA, pīhtō- TI₂ 'await'. There are a few TA stems in -h that are unanalyzable and have no TI₂ counterpart: awih- 'lend

something to' (probably a double-object verb); minah- 'give a drink to'.

T.01. -h, -htō. The abstract finals -h TA, -htō TI₂ 'make, cause to be' occur in primary derivation after roots:

akāhčih- TA, akāhčihtō- TI₂ 'make small, diminish'

āpačih- TA, āpačihtō- TI₂ 'use'

niških- TA 'anger'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

maškawāčih- TA 'make strong, healthy'

pimāčih- TA 'rescue, save'

kinwēkihtō- TI₂ 'make longer (cloth)'

These finals are also recorded in secondary derivation, after AI stems ending in a vowel:

akačih- TA 'embarrass'

ayamihtō- TI₂ 'read'

nipēh- TA 'put to sleep'

Only the TA final is recorded in secondary derivation after

AI stems ending in -am:

āhkwēntamih- TA 'hurt'

minwēntamih- TA 'please'

Only the TI₂ final is recorded in secondary derivation after

II stems ending in a vowel:

kinwāhtō- TI₂ 'make longer'

T.02. -ah. The TA final -ah 'cause to' is recorded in only one stem, where it follows a TI₁ stem, wāpant- 'see':

wāpantah- TA 'show something to'

T.03. -pah. This TA final, -pah 'run from', resembles the AI final I.127 -pahtō 'run', but has no corresponding TI final.

It occurs in secondary derivation, after a TI₁ stem:

nakačipah- TA 'run away and leave behind'

Class 2 Transitive Stems

Class 2 includes TA stems ending in -m with corresponding TI₁ stems in -nt. There are several monomorphemic stems in this class:

ahšam- TA 'feed'

akim- TA, akint- TI₁ 'count'

atim- TA 'overtake'

kīhkām- TA 'berate'

minām- TA, minānt- TI₁ 'smell'

očim- TA 'kiss'

ošim- TA 'flee from'

wāpam- TA, wāpant- TI₁ 'see'

Other stems are polymorphemic with simple or deverbal finals.

T.04. -m, -nt. The finals -m TA, -nt TI₁ 'speak to' occur in primary stems, after roots:

kakwěčim- TA 'ask'

māmihčim- TA, māmihčint- TI₁ 'praise'

T.05. -m. The TA final -m 'act in relation to' occurs in secondary stems, preceded by an AI stem ending in a vowel.

This final forms transitive verbs of accompaniment from AI stems formed with the root wīt- 'with', which are usually stems that occur in derivation only:

wītapim- TA 'sit beside'

wīhpēm- TA 'sleep with'

The final also occurs with compounds consisting of the preverb wīči- 'with' and an AI stem.⁶

A few other AI stems occur with this final:

wīwim- TA 'be married to'

kimōtim- TA 'steal something from'

Stem-final ē is replaced by a before this transitive final:

kīwokam- TA 'visit'

T.-06. -am, -ant. The finals -am TA, -ant TI₁ 'mouth' occur in primary derivation, after roots:

šahkam- TA, šahkant- TI₁ 'lick'

tahkwam- TA, tahkwant- TI₁ 'bite'

⁶ See above, pp. 166-167.

T.07. -āpam, -āpant. These deverbal finals are derived from the stems wāpam- TA, wāpant- TI₁ 'see'. They occur in primary derivation, after roots:

kanawāpam- TA, kanawāpant- TI₁ 'stare at'

minwāpam- TA, minwāpant- TI₁ 'admire'

nantawāpam- TA, nantawāpant- TI₁ 'look for'

T.08. -ēnim, -ent. The finals -ēnim TA, -ēnt TI₁ 'think about', occur in primary stems, preceded by a root:

kanawēnim- TA, kanawēnt- TI₁ 'care for, keep'

kihkēnim- TA, kihkēnt- TI₁ 'know'

minwēnim- TA, minwēnt- TI₁ 'like'

Class 3 Transitive Stems

Class 3 includes TA stems ending in -m and corresponding TI₂ stems ending in -tō. All stems of this class are polymorphemic.

T.09. -nčim, -nčitō. The finals -nčim TA, -nčitō TI₂ 'set on water' are recorded only after one root:

akončim- TA, akončitō- TI₂ 'set afloat'

T.10. -āhsitō. The TI₂ final -āhsitō 'act upon by wind' is recorded in primary derivation after a root in only one stem, and that is a stem of derivation only, ompāhsitō- TI₂ in the noun stem ompāhsičikan- 'airplane'.

T.11. -hšim, -hsitō. The finals -hšim TA, -hsitō TI₂ 'set on a solid surface, drop' occur in primary derivation after roots:

akwāhšim- TA 'remove from the water'

animihkohšim- TA, animihkohsito- TI₂ 'turn upside down'

māmawihšim- TA, māmawihsitō- TI₂ 'lay together'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

kwāškwāškwēpīkihšim- TA 'bounce up and down in the water'

tašwēkihsitō- TI₂ 'spread out (cloth) on the ground'

Class 4 Transitive Stems

Class 4 includes TA stems ending in -θ and corresponding TI₁ stems in -t or -nt, as well as corresponding TI₂ stems in -tō. There are several monomorphemic stems in this class. Some are recorded only as stems of derivation: pīnt- TI₁ 'place inside', in pīntāhson- 'pocket'; wīnt- TI₁ 'name', in wīntamaw- TA 'tell something to'; kont- TI₁ 'swallow', in kontākan- 'throat'. Others occur as stems of inflection as well as of derivation:

ahθ- TA, ahtō- TI₂ 'place, set'

kanōθ- TA, kanōt- TI₁ 'speak to, address'

kāθ- TA, kātō- TI₂ 'hide'

mīθ- TA 'give something to' (double-object verb)

mīkāθ- TA, mīkāt- TI₁ 'fight'

nakaθ- TA, nakat- TI₁ 'forsake, leave behind'

nihθ- TA 'kill'

pīθ- TA, pītō- TI₂ 'bring'

pōtāθ- TA, pōtāt- TI₁ 'blow on'

nōskwāθ- TA, nōskwāt- TI₁ 'lick'

T.12. -θ, -t. The abstract finals -θ TA, -t TI₁ 'direct action to' occur in secondary derivation after AI stems ending in a vowel. Stem-final ē is replaced by ā before these finals:

akwāwāθ- TA, akwāwāt- TI₁ 'smoke, dry on a rack'

minihkwāt- TI₁ 'drink'

piminikāθ- TA, piminikāt- TI₁ 'carry on shoulder'

tahkohkāt- TI₁ 'trample on'

One AI stem has the ending o replaced by wā before T.12 finals:

sihkwāθ- TA, sihkwāt- TI₁ 'spit on'

T.13. -θ, -tō. The abstract finals -θ TA, -tō TI₂ 'put' occur in primary derivation after a few roots:

ahpakiθ- TA, ahpakitō- TI₂ 'throw'

patahkiθ- TA, patahkitō- TI₂ 'erect, stick into something'

They also occur in secondary derivation from certain AI stems ending in ē, which is replaced by a before the transitive finals:

kišihšāpāwāθ- TA, kišihšāpāwatō- TI₂ 'soak in warm water'

akōhkatō- TI₂ 'hang up'

T.14. -kwāθ, -kwāt. The finals -kwāθ TA, -kwāt TI₁

'sew', occur in primary derivation, after a root:

kaškikwāθ- TA, kaškikwāt- TI₁ 'sew together'

T.15. -ahθ, -ahtō. The deverbal T.15 finals are derived from the stems ahθ- TA, ahtō- TI₂ 'place, set'. They occur in primary derivation, after roots:

māmawahθ- TA, māmawahtō- TI₂ 'place together'

konāpahtō- TI₂ 'upset, overturn'

T.16. -piθ, -pitō. The finals -piθ TA, -pitō TI₂ 'pull' occur in primary derivation after roots:

ankopiθ- TA, ankopitō- TI₂ 'break off'

nīhsipiθ- TA, nīhsipitō- TI₂ 'pull down'

tahkopiθ- TA, tahkopitō- TI₂ 'tie down'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

pōhkočīpitō- TI₂ 'break a part of the body in two'

T.17. -ahpiθ, -ahpitō. The finals -ahpiθ TA, ahpitō TI₂ 'tie', occur in primary stems, after roots:

sakahpiθ- TA 'tie close to something, tether'

kaškahpitō- TI₂ 'tie together, wrap up'

T.18. -wiθ, -witō. The finals -wiθ TA, -witō TI₂ 'convey' occur in primary derivation, after roots:

pimiwiθ- TA, pimiwitō- TI₂ 'carry along, past'

pīčiwīθ- TA, pīčiwitō- TI₂ 'bring'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

nāsipīwitō- TI₂ 'carry down to the water'

T.19. -eškōθ, -eškōtō. The finals -eškōθ TA, -eškōtō TI₂ 'cause to move', are recorded only after one sequence of a root plus medial:

tipāpīškōθ- TA, tipāpīškōtō- TI₂ 'weigh with scales'

T.20. -amōθ. The TA final -amōθ 'cause to' is recorded in only one stem, where it is secondary after the TI₁ stem kikhēnt- 'know':

kikhēntamōθ- TA 'explain something to'

T.21. -pōθ, -pōtō. The finals -pōθ TA, -pōtō 'grind, saw' occur in primary stems, after roots:

kīškipōθ- TA, kīškipōtō- TI₂ 'saw through'

tāškipōθ- TA, tāškipōtō- TI₂ 'saw along'

Class 5 Transitive Stems

Class 5 includes TA stems ending in -n and corresponding TI₁ stems, which also end in -n. All stems of this class are polymorphemic.

T.22. -en. The TA and TI₁ finals of the form -en 'handle' occur in primary derivation, after roots:

kāhsīn- TA, TI₁ 'wipe'

kipihtin- TA, TI₁ 'stop, close up with hand'

nīhsin- TA, TI₁ 'put down'

They also occur after a sequence or root plus medial:

kisīpīkin- TA, TI₁ 'wash'

sīnipīkin- TA, TI₁ 'wring out'

nīhsāhkon- TI₁ 'open (a solid)'

pakočīn- TA 'eviscerate'

T.23. -wēpin. The deverbal final -wēpin forms TA and TI₁ stems, and is derived from wēpin- TA, TI₁ 'throw, discard'. It occurs in primary stems after a root:

sīkwēpin- TA, TI₁ 'pour away'

pōhkwēpin- TA, TI₁ 'break in two and throw away'

Class 6 Transitive Stems

Class 6 includes TA stems ending in post-consonantal w, and corresponding TI stems, which are usually TI₁ stems of the same form as the TA stems, but without w. The monomorphemic stems amw- TA, mīči- TI₃ 'eat' are unusual in this respect.

There are a few other unanalyzable stems:

mōšw- TA 'cut hair of'

onsw- TA, ons- TI₁ 'boil'

pāhsw- TA, pāhs- TI₁ 'dry'

wēwēhsēhw- TA, wēwēhsēh- TI₁ 'fan'

Other stems are formed with simple, complex, or deverbal finals.

T.24. -ahw, -ah. The finals -ahw TA, -ah TI₁ 'act upon with instrument' occur in primary derivation after roots:

akwanahw- TA, akwanah- TI₁ 'cover with something'

āpahw- TA, āpah- TI₁ 'unhitch'

kipahw- TA, kipah- TI₁ 'close up with something'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

sīniskīkahw- TA, sīniskīkah- TI₁ 'rub (cloth) with something'

These finals also occur in secondary derivation, after AI stems:

āhtawēh- TI₁ 'extinguish'

pīhtahkisinēh- TI₁ 'put shoes on'

They also occur after noun stems:

šīwihtākanahw- TA, šīwihtākanah- TI₁ 'put salt on'

pēpawahw- TA, pēpawah- TI₁ 'put pepper on'

T.25. -kahw, -kah. These finals may be considered to be complex in structure, with a prefinal -k 'axe' combined with T.24 finals. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

čīkīkahw- TA, čīkīkah- TI₁ 'hew square with an axe'

T.26. -wēpahw, -wēpah. These finals are deverbal derivatives from the stems wēpahw- TA, wēpah- TI₁ 'throw with an instrument'. They are recorded in primary derivation after a sequence of root plus medial:

tihtipāhkwēpah- TI₁ 'wind around a solid'

T.27. -nišahw, -nišah. These finals are complex in structure, consisting of a prefinal -niš 'send' and T.24 finals. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

piminišahw- TA, piminišah- TI₁ 'follow along'

T.28. -atahw, -atah. These finals are complex, formed with a prefinal -at 'stick' and T.24 finals. They occur in primary derivation after a root:

kīškatahw- TA, kīškatah- TI₁ 'chop'

T.29. -pīh. The complex TI₁ final T.29 consists of a prefinal -pī 'writing instrument' and T.24 -ah TI₁. It occurs in primary derivation after a root in certain stems of derivation:

išipīh- TI₁ in išipīhikātē- II 'it is so written'

šišōpīh- TI₁ in šišōpīhikan- N 'paint brush'

T.30. -nōh. The TI₁ final -nōh is a deverbal derivative of the stem inōh- TI₁ 'point out', and is recorded after a root in a stem of derivation:

kihkinōh- TI₁ in kihkinōhamaw- TA 'teach'

T.31. -esw, -es. The finals -esw TA, -es TI₁ 'heat'

occur in primary derivation after roots:

kīšisw- TA, kīšis- TI₁ 'cook done'

pāškisw- TA, pāškis- TI₁ 'shoot'

They also occur after a sequence of root plus medial:

kišākamis- TI₁ 'heat (a liquid)'

T.32. -āhsw, -āhs. The finals -āhsw TA, -āhs TI₁

'act upon with sunlight', occur in primary derivation after roots:

sākāhsw- TA, sākāhs- TI₁ 'expose to sunlight'

T.33. -ešw, -eš. The finals -ešw TA, -eš TI₁ 'cut'

occur in primary derivation after roots:

mātišw- TA, mātiš- TI₁ 'cut open, incise'

pīhčišw- TA, pīhčiš- TI₁ 'cut accidentally'

Class 7 Transitive Stems

Class 7 includes TA stems ending in postvocalic w, and corresponding TI₁ stems. The monomorphemic stems ayāw- TA, ayā- TI₃ are an unusual pair. With the exception of the stem formed with T.42 other TA stems end in -aw and where there are corresponding TI stems they are TI₁ stems like the TA stems without -aw. There are a few monomorphemic stems of this type:

mihkaw- TA, mihk- TI₁ 'find'

nōntaw- TA, nōnt- TI₁ 'hear'

pisintaw- TA, pisint- TI₁ 'listen to'

tōtaw- TA, tōt- TI₁ 'treat, do so'

Other stems are polymorphemic.

T.34. -ehkaw, -ehk. The finals -ehkaw TA, -ehk TI₁

'move' occur in primary derivation after a few roots:

mišihkaw- TA 'reach with foot, sicken'

nāpihk- TI₁ in nāpihkākan- N 'scarf'

T.35. -ihkaw, ihk. The finals -ihkaw TA, -ihk TI₁

'frequent' are recorded only after one root:

tašihkaw- TA, tašihk- TI₁ 'be occupied with'

T.36. -eškaw, -ešk. The finals -eškaw TA, -ešk TI₁

'move bodily' occur in primary derivation after roots:

kotiškaw- TA, kotišk- TI₁ 'try on (as clothing)'

kwāškwēškaw- TA, kwāškwēšk- TI₁ 'knock against'

šāpoškaw- TA, šāpošk- TI₁ 'pass through'

The TA final is recorded in secondary derivation from an AI stem, and the stem so formed regularly occurs with an inanimate subject only:

maškawātisiškaw- TA 'make healthy'

T.37. -amaw. The TA final -amaw forms double-object verbs in secondary derivation from TI₁ stems:

ānawēntamaw- TA 'dissuade from something'

kihkēntamaw- TA 'explain something to'

mīškwatinamaw- TA 'exchange with something'

wīntamaw- TA 'tell about something'

T.38. -naw, -n. The finals -naw TA, -n TI₁ 'see' occur in primary derivation after a root:

nihsitawinaw- TA, nihsitawin- TI₁ 'recognize'

T.39. -ehtaw, -eht. The finals -ehtaw TA, -eht TI₁ 'hear' occur in primary derivation from roots:

nihsitohtaw- TA, nihsitoht- TI₁ 'understand'

tēpwēhtaw- TA, tēpwēht- TI₁ 'believe'

T.40. -htaw, -ht. The finals -htaw TA, -ht TI₁ 'act in relation to', occur in secondary stems after AI stems ending in a vowel:

kwēškohšīhtaw- TA, kwēškohšīht- TI₁ 'whistle at'

niškāpitēhtaw- TA 'gnash teeth in anger at'

nīpawihtaw- TA, nīpawiht- TI₁ 'stand up against, endure'

T.41. -ahantaw. The TA final -ahantaw is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

sīkahantaw- TA 'baptize'

T.42. -īw. The TA final -īw 'go' is recorded with only one root:

wīčīw- TA 'accompany, go with'

INTRANSITIVE VERB STEMS

Most intransitive verb stems are polymorphemic but a few are monomorphemic or unanalyzable. Intransitive verb stems exhibit a great variety of structures, both primary and secondary. Some intransitive stems and finals correspond to transitive stems and finals. Monomorphemic AI stems and AI finals sometimes have II counterparts, and when they do not, equivalent II stems may be derived from the AI stems. The II stems that do not correspond to AI stems in structure are usually impersonal verbs. Phonological resemblances between corresponding stems and finals will be treated as submorphemic. Intransitive stems are classified on the basis of derivational structure and the relationship between AI and II stems.

Class 1 Intransitive Stems

Class 1 includes polymorphemic verbs of indefinite action, reciprocal verbs, explicit reflexives, and reflexives of useful action, all of which are AI stems. Stems of this class are secondary

derivatives of transitive or intransitive stems, except for stems formed with I.009, which corresponds to a transitive final.

I.001. -kē. This final forms verbs of indefinite action, indicating that the object is an indefinite person or people in general. It occurs in secondary derivation from TA stems formed with T.37 -amaw with preceding aw replaced by ā:

kihkinōhamākē- AI 'teach (people)'

This final is equivalent to I.005, which occurs after certain other TA stems.

I.002. -kē. This final forms verbs of indefinite action from certain AI stems ending in ē, which is replaced by ā before I.002. At least some of the stems formed with this suffix are objective AI stems, which may be accompanied by an object nominal phrase. The indefinite object may therefore be considered animate or inanimate, but it is usually the instrument of action.

apahkwākē- AI 'thatch with something'

atāwākē- AI 'barter with something'

kīškišikākē- AI 'cut things through with something'

matakwānikākē- AI 'make a matakwān with something'

Some stems of this type are found as stems of derivation only in nouns formed with N.01.

I.003. -kē. This final forms verbs of indefinite action, where the object is an indefinite thing or things in general. It occurs in secondary derivation after most types of TI stems, but not after TI₁ stems of Class 7, where the final I.004 occurs instead:

ayamihčikē- AI 'read something'

kisīpīkinikē- AI 'wash things'

masinahikē- AI 'write things'

Stems formed with I.003 often occur as stems of derivation in nouns formed with N.01, e.g. masinahikan- 'book'. Stems of this type may also occur with I.002, e.g. kīškišikē- AI 'cut things through', in kīškišikākē- AI 'cut things through with something'.

I.004. -ākē. This final occurs in secondary derivation from TI₁ stems of Class 7 where the TA counterpart ends in -aw. In other respects it is similar to I.003, forming verbs of indefinite action, where the object is inanimate:

mihkākē- AI 'find something, find out'

I.005. -iwē. Like I.001 this final forms verbs of indefinite action with reference to an indefinite person or persons. It occurs in the data after TA stems formed with T.01 -h:

kwēhkāčihwē- AI 'preach, reform (people)'

sākihiwē- AI 'love (people)'

wīčihwē- AI 'help (people)'

I.006. -eti, -ti. This final forms reciprocal verbs from TA stems. The base form ti is added without connective to TA stems ending in m, which is assimilated to the final and replaced by n. Elsewhere it is added with a connective vowel, and has the form eti. Stems formed with this final are usually inflected for a plural subject.

māwančihiti- AI 'congregate'

wīhkonti- AI 'feast'

I.007. -so. This final forms explicit reflexives from TA stems formed with T.37 -amaw with preceding aw replaced by ā:

kihkinōhamāso- AI 'learn'

This final is equivalent to I.010, which forms explicit reflexives from certain other TA stems.

I.008. -āhso. This final forms reflexives of useful action, in which the action performed is of value to the subject. It occurs in secondary derivation after TI stems:

akintāhso- AI 'count, reckon'

pōsihtāhso- AI 'load freight'

Stems formed with this suffix often occur with N.01, e.g. pīntāhso- AI, in pīntāhson- 'pocket'.

This suffix is not recorded after TI₁ stems formed with T.14 -kwāt 'sew', to which stems formed with I.009 correspond.

I.009. -kwāhso. The AI final -kwāhso 'sew' forms reflexive verbs of useful action corresponding to TI₁ stems formed with T.14 -kwāt 'sew';

kaškikwāhso- AI 'sew something together (for self)'

I.010. -etiso, -tiso. This final forms explicit reflexives, with the variant tiso added without connective to TA stems in m, which is replaced by n, and the variant etiso elsewhere. The final I.010 occurs after a variety of TA stems, but not after stems formed with T.37, where I.007 occurs instead:

ahšantiso- AI 'feed oneself'

nihsitiso- AI 'kill oneself, commit suicide'

kisīpīkinitiso- AI 'wash oneself'

Class 2 Intransitive Stems

Class 2 includes middle reflexives, many of which have transitive counterparts. The AI middle reflexives normally end in o. Middle reflexive II verbs end in -tē and are counterparts of AI stems in -so. Where there are related transitives, middle reflexives in -so and -tē usually correspond to TA stems in -θ or -sw, and other AI middle reflexives resemble the TA stem or final to which they correspond:

kāso- AI 'hide'; kāθ- TA 'hide'

pāhso- AI, pāhtē- II 'dry'; pāhsw- TA 'dry'

ošimo- AI 'flee'; ošim- TA 'flee from'

wāpamo- AI 'look in a mirror'; wāpam- TA 'see'

The monomorphemic AI stem corresponding to transitives ahθ- TA, ahtō- TI₂ 'set, place' is irregular in form, but the II is regular:

api- AI, ahtē- II 'sit, be placed'

Also irregular are the monomorphemic middle reflexive counterparts of akim- TA, akint- TI₁ 'count':

akinso- AI, akintē- II 'be counted, cost'

I.011. -api, -ahtē. These finals are deverbal derivatives of api- AI, ahtē- II 'sit, be placed', and correspond to the deverbal T.15 transitive finals. They occur after roots:

ahpapi- AI 'sit on something soft'

onahtē- II 'be set up well'

The AI final is recorded after a sequence of root plus medial in a stem of derivation:

ahpitiyēpi- AI in ahpitiyēpiwin- 'bench (to rest rump)'

I.012. -ho. This AI final corresponds to the T.01 final -h TA, but it is more restricted in occurrence. It occurs after roots:

kaškiho- AI 'be able, manage'

wawēšiho- AI 'get ready, get dressed'

It occur in secondary derivation after an intransitive stem, presumably an AI stem:

šoškopaniho- AI 'slide'

I.013. -anāmo. The final -anāmo AI 'breathe' occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

pakitanāmo- AI 'sigh, release breath'

I.014. -emo. Middle reflexive -emo AI 'speak' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

kīwanimo- AI 'tell lies'

I.015. -āčimo. The final -āčimo AI 'tell' occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

tipāčimo- AI 'tell a story'

I.016. -ēnimo. This AI final corresponds to T.08 -ēnim TA 'think', and occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

šākwēnimo- AI 'be shy'

I.017. -hšimo. The AI final -hšimo 'lay, drop', corresponds to T.11 -hšim TA 'set on a solid surface, drop'. It occurs in primary derivation after roots, or sequences of root plus medial:

ahpihšimo- AI 'lie on something'

pankihšimo- AI in pankihšimon- 'sunset'

ahpihkwēhšimo- AI 'have head lying on something soft'

I.018. -po. The AI final -po 'eat' occurs in secondary

derivation after an II stem:

kišitēpo- AI 'cook food'

I.019. -so, -tē. These middle reflexive finals occur in secondary derivation from AI stems ending in ē, which is replaced by ā:

akwāwāso- AI, akwāwātē- II 'get smoked on a rack'

kāškipāso- AI 'shave'

These finals occur freely after AI verbs of indefinite action formed with I.003 -kē:

kihkēnčikāso- AI, kihkēnčikātē- II 'be known'

mačihčikāso- AI, mačihčikātē- II 'be badly made'

pakonēhčikātē- II 'be made with a hole in it'

I.020. -so, -tē. These finals occur after roots, where they frequently correspond to transitive finals T.13, -θ TA, -tō TI₂:

nawēhkiso- AI, nawēhkitē- II 'lean over, stoop'

patahkitē- II 'be erected, stick upright'

I.021. -nihkāso, -nihkātē. The I.021 finals 'be named' occur after only one root, the relative root iθ- 'so, thus':

išinihkāso- AI, išinihkātē- II 'be named so'

I.022. -eso, -etē. The middle reflexives -eso AI, -etē II, 'be heated' correspond to transitive finals T.31 -esw TA, -es TI₁

'heat'. They occur in primary derivation after roots or after sequences of a root plus medial:

čākiso- AI, čākitē- II 'be used up by heat, burn up'

kišiso- AI, kišitē- II 'get hot'

kišākamitē- II 'get hot (a liquid)'

wāhsēyāpihkitē- II 'glow from heat (metal)'

I.023. -āpahtē. The middle reflexive -āpahtē II 'smoke' is recorded without an AI counterpart. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

akwāpahtē- II 'smoke, be covered with smoke'

mahkatēwāpahtē- II 'be black smoke'

sākāpahtē- II 'have smoke coming out'

I.024. -āhso, -āhtē. The middle reflexives -āhso AI, -āhtē II 'be in sunlight, shine' correspond to T.32 transitives -āhsw TA, -āhs TI₁ 'act upon with sunlight'. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

sākāhso- AI 'be out in the sunlight'

Some of the II verbs formed with I.24 seem to be impersonal verbs:

kišāhtē- II 'be warm weather'

kīšikāhtē- II 'be moonlight'

An II stem occurs as a stem of derivation before T.22 -en 'handle' in the following noun, formed with N.01 -n from a secondary AI

stem in I.003 -kē :

čahkāhtē- II 'pierce with light' in čahkāhtēnikan- flashlight'

I.025. -piso, -pitē. The I.025 finals 'be tied, pulled' correspond to transitives T.16 -piθ TA, -pitō TI₂ 'pull'. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

kwāškwēpiso- AI, kwāškwēpitē- II 'be hooked'

kihčipiso- AI 'put on a belt'

I.026. -piso, -pitē. The middle reflexives -piso AI, and -pitē II 'speed, be propelled' may be considered the same as the I.025 finals, but specialized in meaning, and without transitive counterparts. They occur in primary derivation, after roots:

pimipiso- AI, pimipitē- II 'speed along (with a motor)'

māčipiso- AI, māčipitē- II 'speed away'

I.027. -ahpiso. Middle reflexive -ahpiso AI 'be tied' corresponds to T.17 finals -ahpiθ TA, -ahpitō TI₂ 'tie', and occurs in primary derivation after a root:

sakahpiso- AI 'be tied close to something, be tethered'

I.028. -akinso, -akintē. These finals are deverbal derivatives of akinso- AI, akintē- II 'be counted, cost'. They occur in primary derivation after a root:

āhkwakinso- AI, āhkwakintē- II 'be high priced, expensive'

I.029. -ahotē. The middle reflexive -ahotē II 'be conveyed by a medium' is recorded without a corresponding AI final. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

mēhtahotē- II 'be worn out by water action'

I.030. -āhkatotē. Middle reflexive -āhkatotē II 'be dessicated' has no AI counterpart in the data. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

maškawāhkatotē- 'be hard, dessicated by heat of fire'

I.031. -pōso, -pōtē. The finals -pōso AI, -pōtē II 'be sawed, ground' correspond to T.21 finals -pōθ TA, -pōtō TI₂ 'saw, grind'. They occur in primary derivation after a root:

tāškipōso- AI, tāškipōtē- II 'be sawed along'

I.032. -āpōtē. Middle reflexive -āpōtē II 'be in a current' is recorded without an AI counterpart. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

pimāpōtē- II 'float along in the current'

Class 3 Intransitive Stems

Class 3 includes II stems in -tē or -in and their AI counterparts in -i or -in. Stems and finals of this class are similar to middle reflexives, and some have transitive counterparts. There is only one pair of unanalyzed stems in this class:

akōčin- AI, akōtē- II 'hang, fall, fly'

This pair of stems could alternatively be analyzed as consisting of the root akw- 'adhering' with finals -ōčin, -ōtē occurring only with this root.

I.033. -ači, -atin. The finals -ači AI, -atin II 'be cold, freeze', occur in primary derivation after roots:

āhkwači- AI, āhkwatan- II 'be very cold, be frozen'

maškawatin- II 'be frozen hard'

wahkēwatin- II 'be weak ice, slightly frozen'

I.034. -ki, -kin. The finals -ki AI, -kin II 'grow' occur in primary derivation after roots:

kīšiki- AI, kīšikin- II 'finish growing'

I.035. -hsin. The final -hsin II 'be in water' is recorded without an AI counterpart in the data. It occurs after a root or root plus medial, in primary derivation:

tāhkihsin- II 'be cold (in water)'

akwākwāpihkihsin- II 'be rusty (metal) from water'

I.036. -āhši, -āhšin. Intransitive finals -āhši AI, -āhsin II 'be blown', occur in primary derivation after roots:

akwāyāhši- AI, akwāyāhsin- II 'be blown to shore'

pawāhsin- II 'be beaten by the wind'

wēpāhši- AI, wēpāhsin- II 'be blown away'

I.037. -wēpāhši, -wēpāhsin. These finals are deverbal derivatives of wēpāhši- AI, wēpāhsin- II 'blow away'. They occur after roots in primary derivation:

pimiwēpāhši- AI, pimiwēpāhsin- II 'be blown along'

māčiwēpāhsin- II 'blow away'

I.038. -nčin, -ntin. The finals -nčin AI, -ntin II 'be in water' correspond to T.09 -nčim TA, -nčitō TI₂ 'set on water', and are recorded only after the root akw- 'adhering, on':

akončin- AI, akontin- II 'float'

I.039. -akončin, -akontin. These finals are deverbal derivatives of akončin- AI, akontin- II 'float', and occur after roots in primary derivation:

pimakončin- AI, pimakontin- II 'float along, past'

I.040. -akōčin, -akōtē. These finals are deverbal derivatives of akōčin- AI, akōtē- II 'hang, fall, fly'. They occur in primary derivation after roots, or sequences of root plus medial:

kišīkōčin- AI, kišīkōtē- II 'fly fast'

ompakōčin- AI, ompakōtē- II 'fly up'

pimakōčin- AI, pimakōtē- II 'fly along'

wakitipīkōtē- II 'fly along surface of water'

I.041. -hšin, -hsin. The finals -hšin AI, -hsin II 'lie, fall, drop', correspond to T.11 -hšim TA, -hsitō TI₂ 'set on a solid surface, drop'. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

animihkohšin- AI, animihkohsin- II 'lie face down, turn over'

pankihšin- AI, pankihsin- II 'fall down'

wihsakihšin- AI 'hurt oneself in a fall'

They also occur after sequences of root plus medial:

ahpihwēhšin- AI 'lay head on something soft'

ošāhšāpihkihšin- AI, ošāhšāpihkihsin- II 'slip and fall on a rock'

Class 4 Intransitive Stems

Class 4 includes all other II stems in -n, and their corresponding AI stems, if any. All II stems and finals without an AI counterpart are impersonal verbs, with the possible exception of stems formed with I.046. None of the monomorphemic or unanalyzable II stems of this class have AI counterparts: anwāhtin- 'it is calm'; kimiwan- 'it is raining'; kīwētīn- 'the north wind blows'; nīpin- 'it is summer'; nōtin- 'it is windy'; onākohšin- 'it is evening'; pipōn- 'it is winter'; sīkwan- 'it is spring'; wāpan- 'it is dawn'.

I.042. -i, -an. The finals -i AI, -an II 'be, be covered with' occur in secondary derivation, after noun stems. The base forms of the finals occur after stems ending in postvocalic w,

When the noun ends in a consonant, the augment ew is added before the base form, and when the noun ends in postconsonantal w or y the augment is ēw. When the noun is a mass noun, both finals are freely used:

miskwīwi- AI, miskwīwan- II 'be bloody, be covered with blood'

minīwi- AI, minīwan- II 'be absessed, covered with pus'

pimitēwi- AI, pimitēwan- II 'be greasy'

Otherwise the AI final tends to occur with animate nouns, and the II final with inanimate noun:

nāpēwi- AI 'be a man'

pinēhšīnšīwi- AI 'be a bird'

nēyāhšīwan- II 'be a point of land'

šākikamīwan- II 'be spring thaw'

I.043. -ani, -an. These finals occur with only one root in the data:

kosikwani- AI, kosikwan- II 'be heavy'

I.044. -esi, -an. These finals occur in primary derivation with a set of descriptive or adjectival roots:

nānkisi- AI, nānkan- II 'be light (in weight)'

pānkosi- AI, pānkwan- II 'be dry'

sōnkisi- AI, sōnkan- II 'be strong, durable'

wahkēwisi- AI, wahkēwan- II 'be weak, fragile'

I.045. -āpan. The II final -āpan is a deverbal derivative of wāpan- 'it is dawn'. It occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

pītāpan- II 'morning comes, it is daybreak'

sākāpan- II 'morning appears'

I.046. -čiwān. The II final -čiwān 'the stream flows' occurs in primary derivation from roots. The stems so formed are apparently impersonal verbs:

kišičiwān- II 'the stream flows fast'

pēčičiwān- II 'the current is slow'

pimičiwān- II 'the stream flows by'

wāhsičiwān- II 'the stream has a foaming current'

I.047. -niwān, -nāniwān. The II final I.047 occurs freely in secondary derivation from AI stems to indicate general activity on the part of one or more indefinite persons. The variant -niwān occurs after stems ending in ē, which is replaced by ā:

akwāwāniwān- II 'meat or fish is drying'

apahkwākāniwān- II 'there is roof-covering'

pakitinihsāniwān- II 'firewood is put down'

The variant -nāniwān occurs elsewhere after AI stems in a vowel:

ahpihšimonāniwān- II 'people are lying down'

nikamonāniwān- II 'there is singing'

Class 5 Intransitive Stems

Class 5 includes II stems and finals ending in -at and corresponding AI stems and finals, if any. There is only one unanalyzable stem that is not paired with an AI stem: ānahkwat- II 'it is cloudy'. The unanalyzable stems nākosi- AI, nākwat- II 'be seen, be visible' and stems formed with finals I.049 to I.053 inclusive are verbs of undergoing, which are derived from or related to transitive verbs. All II verbs of class 5 are subject to MR.22, which replaces stem-final t with n in most environments, a rule that applies only in Severn Ojibwa.

I.048. -esi, -at. These finals occur in primary derivation with a group of descriptive or adjectival roots:

ānimisi- AI, ānimat- II 'be difficult, painful'

āpatisi- AI, āpatat- II 'be useful'

sanakisi- AI, sanakat- II 'be difficult, expensive'

wēntisi- AI, wēntat- II 'be easy'

A few roots occur only with the II final -at, and form impersonal verbs:

kīšikat- II 'it is daytime'

tipihkat- II 'it is night'

wāhsawat- II 'it is a long way'

These finals also occur with sequences of a descriptive root plus classificatory medial:

akāhčāpihkisi- AI, akāhčāpihkat- II 'be small (metal, glass)'

kinwāpīkisi- AI, kinwāpīkat- II 'be long (string)'

maškawēkisi- AI, maškawēkat- II 'be strong (cloth)'

I.049. -ākosi, -ākwat. These finals form verbs of undergoing from TI₁ stems formed with T.08 -ēnt 'think':

mačēntākosi- AI, mačēntākwat- II 'be despicable'

mikoškātēntākosi- AI 'be considered troublesome'

nantawēntākosi- AI, nantawēntākwat- II 'be desirable'

I.050. -mākosi, -mākwat. These finals are deverbal derivatives of the unanalyzable stems minākosi- AI, minākwat- II 'smell, emit an odor', which are related to transitives minām- TA, minānt- TI₁ 'smell' of Class 2. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

mačimākosi- AI, mačimākwat- II 'smell bad'

I.051. -nākosi, -nākwat. These finals are considered here to be deverbal derivatives of the unanalyzable stems nākosi- AI, nākwat- II 'be seen, be visible', but they could also be considered as sequences of TA final T.38 -naw 'see' with the finals of I.052. They occur in primary derivation after many roots that do not occur before T.38:

ankonākosi- AI, ankonākwat- II 'disappear from sight'

mačinākosi- AI, mačinākwat- II 'look bad'

I.052. -ekosi, -ekwat. These finals form verbs of undergoing from a number of TA stems. They are recorded after stems formed with T.01 -h 'make, cause to be':

pimāčihikosi- AI, pimāčihikwat- II 'be saved, rescued'

They are also recorded after several TA stems of Class 7 ending in aw, which is replaced by ā :

kwēškohših̄tākosi- AI, kwēškohših̄tākwat- II 'be whistled at'

mayakihtākosi- AI, mayakihtākwat- II 'sound strange'

pisintākosi- AI, pisintākwat- II 'be listened to'

It is not uncommon for the underlying TA stem to be a stem of derivation only:

wīstāstākosi- AI 'be noisy'

I.053. -ehpokosi, -ehpokwat. The finals -ehpokosi AI, -ehpokwat II 'taste' probably correspond to a TA final not recorded in the data. They occur in primary derivation after roots:

minohpokosi- AI, minohpokwat- II 'taste good'

wīnkihpokosi- AI, wīnkihpokwat- II 'taste sweet'

I.054. -makat. The II final -makat is freely added to AI stems where there is no II counterpart:

māčā- AI, māčāmakat- II 'leave'

anohkyē- AI, anohkīmakat- II 'work'

tēpwē- AI, tēpwēmakat- II 'be true'

I.055. -ahkwat. The II final -ahkwat 'the sky is' forms impersonal verb stems from roots:

mišahkwat- II 'the sky is clear, blue'

nikwahkwat- II 'the sky is buried in clouds'

wāhšēhkwat- II 'the sky is bright'

The unanalyzable stem ānahkwat- II 'be cloudy' may be of this type.

I.056. -ānahkwat. This final is a deverbal derivative of ānahkwat- II 'it is cloudy, there are clouds'. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

mahkatēwānahkwat- II 'the clouds are black'

pāpihkwānahkwat- II 'there are globular clouds'

wāpānahkwat- II 'the clouds are white'

I.057. -ehpwat. The II final -ehpwat 'it snows' forms impersonal verbs from roots:

sōkihpwat- II 'it snows thickly'

Class 6 Intransitive Stems

Class 6 includes all remaining II stems ending in a vowel, and their AI counterparts, if any. There are only a few unanalyzable stems in this class: ayā- AI, II 'be, exist'; mōškinē- AI, II 'be full'; konsāpī- AI, II 'sink'; isihsē- II 'time passes, it is a week'; kihsinā- II 'it is cold weather'; kihšēpāyā- II 'it is morning'; pahpahkinē- II 'the fire gives off sparks'; pāškinē- II 'it is frosty'.

There are a few finals that occur with only one root, e.g. I.059 and I.069, so that the analysis in these cases may be doubtful. Complex finals I.062 to I.068 inclusive are formed with II final -yā, which is preceded by medials denoting an incorporated subject, and such finals form impersonal verbs without AI counterparts:

I.058. -āška. II final -āškā 'the waves are' occurs in primary derivation, after roots:

akwāyāškā- II 'the waves move to shore'

mamankāškā- II 'the waves are very large'

wāhsāškā- II 'there is foam on the waves'

I.059. -āyawā. This II final is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

kīškāyawā- II 'it is deep, steep'

I.060. -esi, -yā. These finals form primary stems from a group of descriptive roots:

čīposi- AI, čīpwā- II 'be pointed'

maškawisi- AI, maškawā- II 'be hard, strong'

napakisi- AI, napakā- II 'be flat'

The AI final has the variant form ōsi after three roots ending in postconsonantal w, which is lost before the finals by MR.26:

kinōsi- AI, kinwā- II 'be long'

ahkōsi- AI, ahkwā- II 'be so long'

tahkōsi- AI, tahkwā- II 'be short'

A few roots occur only with the II final:

mankatēyā- II 'be big in girth'

mihšā- II 'be big'

tawā- II 'be spacious, roomy'

I.061. -kwayawēyā. The complex final -kwayawēyā II 'have a neck' is composed of verb final -yā, preceded by -kwayawē-, which will be considered here a complex medial consisting of the body-part morpheme kwayaw 'neck' and the postmedial M.1 -ē, which might be I.089 -ē instead. It is recorded after a root plus medial:

kinwāhkokwayawēyā- II 'have a long wooden neck'

I.062. -htikwēyā. The complex final -htikwēyā II 'the river is, be a river' is composed of a medial -htikwē- 'river' and verb final yā. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

anakaškihtikwēyā- II 'the river is wide'

mankihtikwēyā- II 'the river is big'

I.063. -ākonakā. This complex final is formed from the medial -ākonak- 'snow' and final yā. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

išpākonakā- II 'the snow is piled high'

nōhkākonakā- II 'the snow is soft'

I.064. -āpihkā. The complex final -āpihkā 'the rocks are' is formed from the medial -āpihk- 'stone, metal, glass' with verb final -yā. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

nēyāpihkā- II 'it is a rocky point'

paškwāpihkā- II 'the rocks are barren'

I.065. -aškikā. This complex final is formed from the medial -aškik- 'swamp' and the verb final -yā. It occurs in primary derivation, after roots:

paškwaškikā- II 'the swamp is barren'

I.066. -kamā. This complex final is formed from the medial -kamy- 'lake' with the verb final -yā. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

mankikamā- II 'it is a large body of water'

mihšikamā- II 'the lake is big'

I.067. -atinā. This complex final consists of the medial -atin- 'hill, mountain' and verb final -yā. It occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

paškwatinā- II 'the hill is barren'

I.068. -āhkwā. This complex final consists of the medial -ahkw- 'wood, solid' and verb final -yā. It occurs in primary derivation after roots, with the meaning 'the woods are':

sakāhkwā- II 'the trees are close; the woods are dense'

I.069. -āyā. This II final is recorded after only one root:

tahkāyā- II 'the weather is cold'

I.070. -aškinē. This final forms AI and II stems, and is related to the unanalyzed stem mōškinē- AI, II 'be full'. It occurs in primary derivation, after a root:

sākaškinē- AI, II 'be full to overflowing'

I.071. -hsē. The final -hsē AI, II 'go, fall, happen, fly' describes actions that occur without volition of the subject. It occurs in primary derivation after roots or sequences of root plus medial:

ankohsē- AI, II 'get broken'

amāčihšē- AI 'wake up, be aroused'

kipihčihšē- AI, II 'come to a stop'

koškwāhkohsē- AI 'shake, tremble (as a tree)'

It also occurs in secondary derivation, after certain AI stems:

kisīpīkinikēhsē- II 'it washes (as a machine)'

The unanalyzed stem isihsē- II 'time goes by', may be formed with this final.

I.072. -wē. The final -wē AI, II 'say, sound' occurs in primary derivation, after roots:

kišiwē- AI 'speak quickly'

matwēwē- II 'ring, sound out'

wawīyātwē- AI 'speak peculiarly, amusingly'

I.073. -āpāwē. The final -āpāwē AI, II 'be wet' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

papāmāpāwē- AI 'walk about in the rain'

šāpwāpāwē- AI, II 'be wet through'

I.074. -nowē. The II final -nowē 'the wind blows' forms impersonal verb stems from roots:

kipihčīnowē- II 'the wind stops blowing'

ninkāpīhanīnowē- II 'the west wind blows'

māčīnowē- II 'the wind blows away'

I.075. -epyē. The final -epyē AI, II 'have water' is a complex final composed of the medial -epy-, a deverbal derivative of nipy- 'water', with a verb final -ē. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

šāpopyē- AI, II 'leak, let water through'

I.076. -kawi. The final -kawi AI, II 'drip' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

ončikawi- AI, II 'leak'

The AI final I.121 -āšikawi appears to be related to I.076.

Class 7 Intransitive Stems

Class 7 includes all remaining AI stems that end in a vowel. None of these stems has an II counterpart in the data available. The monomorphemic or unanalyzable stems in this class are too numerous to list, and some of the finals listed are rather unproductive.

I.077. -ā. This final occurs after a few TA stems, forming stems which seem to be comparable semantically to verbs of indefinite action:

ayamihā- AI 'pray'

pakitahwā- AI 'set nets'

I.078. -akā. This final is recorded after only one root:

mišakā- AI 'reach land, travelling by water'

I.079. -ātakā. The final -ātakā AI 'swim' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

āšawātakā- AI 'cross a body of water by swimming'

pimātakā- AI 'swim along'

I.080. -ehkā. The final -ehkā AI 'move' formally resembles the finals of T.34, -ehkaw TA, -ehk TI₁ 'move'. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

kišīhkā- AI 'move fast'

I.081. -eškā. The final -eškā AI 'move' resembles the finals of T.36, -eškaw TA, -ešk TI₁ 'move bodily'. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

ankoškā- AI 'disappear, move out of sight'

konāpiškā- AI 'turn over, capsize'

pimiškā- AI 'paddle along, hunt in a canoe'

pīmiškā- AI 'turn about, twist'

I.082. -nā. The final -nā 'fly' is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

piminā- AI 'fly'

I.083. -htā. The final -htā 'work' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

āpiskohtā- AI 'work loose'

kišīhtā- AI 'work fast'

nakačihtā- AI 'be used to working'

I.084. -wā. This final occurs after a TI₂ stem formed with T.01 -htō, and the secondary stem so formed is semantically comparable to a verb of indefinite action:

mačihtwā- AI 'do wrong, sin'

I.085. -yā. The final -yā AI 'go' forms verbs of locomotion, and is recorded after only two roots:

išā- AI 'go thither' (relative verb stem)

māčā- AI 'go away, leave'

I.086. -iyayā. This final occurs in primary derivation after roots, and may be related to ayā- AI, II 'be, exist':

ošāhšiyayā- AI 'be slippery'

papāmiyayā- AI 'be all over the place'

I.087. -e. The final -e is recorded after a few roots:

kimōti- AI 'steal'

pěšiko- AI 'be one, be alone'

I.088. -ēnte. The final -ēnte AI 'be absent' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

inēnti- AI 'be absent so long' (a relative verb stem)

I.089. -ē. The AI final -ē 'have a, act on, be a' forms verbs with an incorporated object.

This final sometimes occurs in secondary derivation after a noun stem. Usually the verb so formed is combined with a preverb, nāči- 'go for' or nōči- 'work on':

nāči-wanīhikanē- AI 'go and check the traps'

nāči-kinōšēwē- AI 'go fishing'

nōči-mīnkihsē- AI 'work with beads, do bead-work'

In one rare example, the verb has no preverb, but is accompanied by

an adverb that seems to be essential:

masinahikanāhtikwē- AI 'act on a pencil' in māmīskwač
kimasinahikanāhtikwēmin 'we (incl.) exchange pencils'

The AI final -ē more usually forms complex finals.

Morphemes denoting body parts, some of which also occur as dependent noun stems, often combine with -ē to form finals commonly used with descriptive roots, which may occasionally be followed by a classificatory medial:

māčīhtawakē- AI 'have ears that stick out'

napanēnihkē- AI 'have only one arm'

tahkwāhkonihkē- AI 'have a short wooden arm'

tahkwāhкотēnikomē- AI 'have a short wooden nose'

mankištikwānē- AI 'have a big head'

šīpahtē- AI 'stretch a pelt' in šīpahtānāhtikw- 'pelt-stretcher'

kinwāhkokwayawē- AI 'have a long wooden neck'

sāhsāpihwē- AI in sāhsāpihwān- 'medicine to sweat head'

ošāwānihkwē- AI 'have yellow, blonde hair'

mahkatēwākamiškīnšikwē- AI in mahkatēwākamiškīnšikwān-
 'pupil of the eye'

kāhsīnkwē- AI 'wipe face'

kāhsīninčyē- AI 'wipe hands'

kisīpīkinincyē- AI 'wash hands'

Some deverbal noun finals and other deverbal derivatives of noun

stems combine with the final -ē and occur in primary derivation after roots or sequences of a root plus medial:

kāhsīnākanē- AI 'wipe dishes', onākan- 'dish'

kīhtahkisinē- AI 'take off shoes', mahkisin- 'shoe'

sīntahkisinē- AI 'have tight shoes'

kīhtakōtē- AI 'take off coat', makōt- 'coat'

kisīpīkakōtē- AI 'wash coat'

šōškwačiwē- AI 'slide down a hill', wačiw- 'hill, mountain'

āmačiwē- AI 'climb a hill'

kīškaškohsiwē- AI 'cut, mow the grass', maškohsiw- 'grass'

āntawačaškwē- AI 'hunt muskrats', wačaškw- 'muskrat'

nāsipyē- AI 'go down to water', nipy- 'water'

Some of these complex finals are in secondary stems, after a TI_1 stem:

sahkahipwākanē- AI 'light a pipe', ohpwākan- 'pipe'

nātinisē- AI 'fetch firewood', mihθ- 'firewood'

pakitinisē- AI 'put down firewood'

nātahipyē- AI 'fetch water by boat'

The medial -ik 'dwelling', related to noun final N.32 -wikamikw, combines with final -ē to form a complex final:

wītikē- AI 'live with someone'

pīntikē- AI 'enter a dwelling'

kīwokē- AI 'visit someone's house' (with variant -ok)

The medial -āhkw- 'wood, solid' also combines with -ē to form a complex final that occurs in primary derivation after roots:

čīstāhkwē- AI 'put a screw in something'

pināhkwē- AI in pināhkwān- 'comb'

I.090. -ātahē. This final occurs after only one roots in the data:

šōškwātahē- AI 'skate'

I.091. -ehkē. This final forms verbs of making or collecting, and occurs in secondary derivation after noun stems.

mahkisinihkē- AI 'make moccasins'

matakwānihkē- AI 'make a matakwān'

pahkwēšikanihkē- AI 'make bread'

A preceding postvocalic w and the resulting stem-final vowel, if short, is lengthened:

maškihkihkē- AI 'make medicine', maškihkiw- 'medicine'

I.092. -īhkē. This final resembles the finals of T.35, -īhkaw TA, -īhk TI₁ 'frequent', and like them it occurs only after one root in the data:

tašīhkē- AI 'live in such a place, play there'

I.093. -asinahikē. This final is a deverbal derivative of masinahikē- AI 'write'. It occurs in primary derivation, after

roots:

mačasinahikē- AI 'write badly'

mātasinahikē- AI 'start to write'

I.094. -nikē. This final is a deverbal derivative of the monomorphemic stem onikē- AI 'carry something on shoulder'.

It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

piminikē- AI 'carry something along on shoulder'

I.095. -āšakamē. This final occurs in only one stem, after a root:

pimāšakamē- AI 'walk along the shore'

I.096. -nē. The final -nē 'suffer' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

šīpinē- AI 'be long-suffering, hardy'

I.097. -āhpinē. The final -āhpinē 'be ill' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

ināhpinē- AI 'have such an illness' (relative verb)

It also occurs after an AI stem ending in a vowel to which is added

w:

kišisowāhpinē- AI 'be ill with fever'

I.098. -pē. The final -pē may be a deverbal derivative of nipā- 'sleep', which sometimes occurs in the form nipē. It

is recorded in only one stem, a stem of derivation, where it is added without connective to the root wīt- 'with':

wīhpē- AI in wīhpēm- TA 'sleep with'

I.099. -ohsē. The final -ohsē 'walk' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

kišīyohsē- AI 'walk fast'

papāmohsē- AI 'walk about; hunt on land'

pimohsē- AI 'walk by'

I.100. -hkawē. This final occurs in one stem after a root:

pimihkawē- AI 'leave tracks'

I.101. -āntawē. The final -āntawē 'go on wood' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

ihkwāntawē- AI 'go upstairs'

nīhsāntawē- AI 'go downstairs'

I.102. -āmačiwē. This final is a deverbal derivative of āmačiwē- AI 'walk up a hill'. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

ihkwāmačiwē- AI 'walk up slope of hill'

išpāmačiwē- AI 'walk to top of hill'

pimāmačiwē- AI 'walk along a hillside'

nīhsāmačiwē- AI 'walk down a hill'

I.103. -ahkwašiwē. The final -ahkwašiwē 'swim, paddle' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

kišihkwašiwē- AI 'swim, paddle fast'

kwēhkahkwašiwē- AI 'turn in a canoe, or while swimming'

nīhsahkwašiwē- AI 'swim, paddle downstream'

I.104. -owē. The final -owē 'speak' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

kinipowē- AI 'speak quickly'

I.105. -anohkyē. This final is a deverbal derivative of the stem anohkyē- AI 'work'. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

mātanohkyē- AI 'begin to work'

I.106. -tāpyē. This final is a deverbal derivative of the stem otāpyē- AI 'drag, haul'. It occurs after a root:

tihtipitāpyē- AI in tihtipitāpān- 'wheel-barrow, car'

I.107. -i. A few roots are recorded with AI final -i where there is no corresponding II in the data:

akači- AI 'be ashamed'

pōsi- AI 'embark, board a canoe'

I.108. -i. The final I.108 -i forms verbs of possession. It occurs after noun stems with a derivational prefix and possessive

theme suffix:

otakikomi- AI 'have a cold', akikw- 'catarrh'

otihkomi- AI 'have lice', ihkw- 'louse'

As in possessed nouns, certain noun stems reject the possessive theme suffix, including dependent nouns:

wīwi- AI 'be married, have a wife', -īw- 'wife'

The verb wīki- AI 'dwell' which occurs as a stem of derivation in wīkimākan- 'spouse' may also be of this type, with a dependent noun stem -īk- that does not occur in inflected form.

I.109. -nīki. The final -nīki AI 'be born' occurs in only one known stem, after a root in primary derivation:

ošķinīki- AI 'be new-born, young' in ošķinīkihwēw- 'virgin'

I.110. -ški. This suffix indicates habitual action and is freely added to AI stems ending in a vowel:

pīhčīnawēški- AI 'be grouchy'

sākihiwēški- AI 'be amorous'

I.111. -ni. This final forms verbs that indicate actions performed on or by a part of the body. It occurs in primary derivation after a sequence of a root plus medial that denotes a part of the body:

kwēhkihwēni- AI 'turn head'

pīmištīkwānēni- AI 'twist head around'

nīšoninčīni- AI 'put two hands together'

I.112. -pani. The final -pani AI 'speed, move' occurs in primary derivation, after roots. It is added without connective only in the case of the root iθ- 'so, thus':

ihpani- AI 'move so, happen thus'

pimipani- AI in pimipanihčikan- 'outboard motor'

šōškopani- AI in šōškopaniho- AI 'slide along'

I.113. -ekini. This final is recorded in only one stem, preceded by a root:

inikini- AI 'be so big, be of such a size'

I.114. -čāpi. The final -čāpi AI 'have eyes' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

akāhčičāpi- AI 'have small eyes'

ošāwaškočāpi- AI 'have blue or green eyes'

I.115. -āpi. This final is a deverbal derivative of wāpi- AI 'see', but it also occurs, like I.114, in the sense of 'have eyes'. It occurs in primary derivation after roots:

ināpi- AI 'look so, see thus'

mihšāpi- AI in mihšāpiwin- 'eye-lash'

I.116. -esi. The final -esi AI 'be' occurs as the counterpart of I.044 -an II, I.048 -at II, and I.060 -yā II, but

it also occurs without an II counterpart in primary derivation. It is ordinarily preceded by a root:

ayēhkosi- AI 'be tired'

mōčikisi- AI 'be joyful'

kinakisi- AI 'be ticklish'

It also occurs after a sequence of root plus -āt- 'way of life', an environment in which one would expect an II counterpart I.048

-at except for the semantic limitation:

pimātisi- AI 'be alive'

minwātisi- AI 'be patient, live well'

niškātisi- AI 'be angry'

It also occurs after a sequence of root plus -nawē- 'body, emotion, temperment':

minčinawēsi- AI 'be sorry'

pīhčinawēsi- AI 'be angry'

I.117. -kosi. This final is a deverbal derivative of kosi- AI 'move camp'. It occurs in primary derivation after a root:

māčīkosi- AI 'move camp away'

I.118. -hši. This final forms verb stems denoting time spent. It occurs in primary derivation after a root in one stem:

kapēhši- AI 'pitch camp for a time'

It also occurs in secondary derivation after an impersonal II verb:

pipōnihši- AI 'spend the winter'

kimiwanihši- AI 'be exposed to rain, be out in the rain'

I.119. -ehšihši. This final evidently refers to appearance, but is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

minohšihši- AI 'be beautiful'

I.120. -enši. This diminutive final is recorded in only one stem after a root:

akāhsēnši- AI 'be very small'

I.121. -āšikawi. The final -āšikawi AI 'flow' is probably related to I.076 -kawi AI, II 'drip', and may form II stems, but is recorded in only one stem, which is a stem of derivation:

čīpwāšikawi- AI in čīpwāšikawihčikan- 'funnel'

I.122. -kāpawi. The final -kāpawi AI 'stand' occurs in primary derivation after a root:

ončiskāwikāpawi- AI 'stand facing the wind'

I.123. -ī. The final -ī AI 'be in a place or state' occurs in primary derivation after roots:

čākī- AI 'be exhausted'

kipihčī- AI 'end, stop'

kōkī- AI 'dive'

pakičī- AI 'land'

It may also occur after a root plus medial:

sākipakī- AI 'come out in leaves, grow forth'

I.124. -mo. The final -mo AI 'speak a language' occurs in secondary derivation after noun stems denoting a person of an ethnic group. Stem-final w after a vowel is deleted and a preceding short vowel lengthened before this final:

wēmihtikōšīmo- AI 'speak the white man's language (French)',

wēmihtikōšiw- 'white man'

anihšināpēmo- AI 'speak the Indian language', anihšināpēw-
'Indian'

ākanāhšīmo- AI 'speak English', ākanāhšiw- 'Englishman'

I.125. -eto. This final occurs in only one stem, after a root:

mintito- AI 'be big'

I.126. -kito. The final -kito 'speak is a deverbal derivative of kito- AI, which occurs as a stem of derivation in kitohčikan- 'musical instrument'. The final is added without connective to the root iθ- 'so, thus':

ihkito- AI 'say so, say that' (a relative verb)

I.127. -pahtō. The final -pahtō AI 'run' occurs in primary derivation after many roots:

animipahtō- AI 'start off ahead running'

išpipahtō- AI 'run up'

kišīpahtō- AI 'run fast'

It also occurs freely in secondary derivation, after AI verbs ending in a vowel and indicating locomotion:

akwāsipahtō- AI 'run out of the water'

ihkwāntawēpahtō- AI 'run upstairs'

pīntikēpahto- AI 'run indoors'

Class 8 Intransitive Stems

Class 8 includes AI stems in -am, which are derived from TI₁ stems. These are the so-called "pseudo-intransitive" stems. The final -am is related to the theme suffix -am that sometimes occurs with TI₁ verb stems. Sometimes the TI₁ stem underlying the AI stem is a stem of derivation only, but often it also occurs with inflection:

inēntam- AI 'think so'

sākaham- AI 'go out, go to the privy'

ohsohsotam- AI 'cough'

REDUPLICATED VERB STEMS

Verb stems with reduplication indicate repeated actions, actions that take place in a variety of places, or actions performed with great intensity. Some verb stems occur only with reduplication. The following stems have reduplication:

ayāšikičihtā- AI 'move backwards'

šihšiki- AI 'urinate'

ayānkwāmētiso- AI 'be devoted to self'

wawēšihō- AI 'prepare self, get dressed up'

kākēnipowē- AI 'speak very fast'

tēhtēsipīhsē- AI, II 'skip over water'

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUCTURE OF PARTICLES

Particles are not inflected words, so that the particle stem coincides with the word. Particle stems are compound or simple in structure, and may be reduplicated.

COMPOUND PARTICLE STEMS

All compound particles are exocentric in construction, with a compounding particle as prior member.

Compound numerals, which occur in additive numeral phrases, consist of the compounding particle ahši- 'plus' and a numeral:

ahši-pěšik 'plus one; eleven'

Compound particles denoting periods of time have a numeral in compounding form or the compounding particle kapē- 'all' as prior member, with a noun denoting a season or other temporal period:

pěšiko-kīsihs 'for one month'

kapē-kīšik 'all day'

kapē-pipōn 'all winter'

The noun in these compounds shows no inflectional variation and is presumably proximate and singular. The nouns kīšik 'day' and tipihk 'night' are replaced by the unclassified forms kīšikā and tipihkā respectively, after numerals in compounding form and after the compounding particle tahso- 'every' in stems without an antecedent:

nīšo-tipihkā 'for two nights'

nihso-kīšikā 'for three days'

tahso-kīšikā 'every day'

The particle tahso- 'every' also forms stems without antecedents from other words denoting periods of time, but it is not clear whether the words are impersonal verbs with inflection for independent order, or equivalent singular proximate nouns derived from such verbs:

tahso-sīkwan 'every spring'

tahso-takwākin 'every autumn'

SIMPLE PARTICLE STEMS

Particles are both monomorphemic and polymorphemic. Polymorphemic particles are primary derivatives, formed from roots by the addition of a particle final. It is convenient to distinguish between compounding particles and all other kinds of particles.

Compounding Particles

Compounding particles occur as prior members of compound nouns, verbs, or particles. Preverbs of class 1 and 2 are unanalyzable. Most other preverbs and prenouns are derived from roots.

P.01. -i- This final forms compounding particles from many roots. It forms numerals in compounding form from numeral roots:

pěšiko- 'one'

nīšo- 'two'

mitāhso- 'ten'

From relative roots it forms preverbs of class 3:

ahko- 'since, as far as'

iši- 'so, thus, thither'

onči- 'thence, from such a cause'

Most preverbs of class 4, and prenouns as well, consist of a root combined with this final:

kihči- 'big, greatly'

mino- 'good, well'

koči- 'try to'

pōni- 'stop'

wīči- 'with'

P.02. -. This final occurs with a few roots ending in a consonant or postvocalic w. The root-final consonant or postvocalic w is deleted before P.02:

ani- 'start to', root anim 'facing'

nanta- 'search', root nantaw 'search'

kakwē- 'try to', root kot 'try' with reduplication

Other Particles

Unlike compounding particles, all other particles are not restricted in distribution with reference to following words. Many of these particles are unanalyzable: mī 'it is that, it was that'; ēhta 'only'; kahkina 'all'; māskoč 'maybe'; wīpač 'quickly, soon'; pānimā 'later on, by and by'. Polymorphemic particles are primary derivatives.

P.03. -mitana. This particle final forms decades with roots denoting numbers from two to nine. The combination of the roots nīšw- 'two', nīww- 'four', and niyānanw- 'five' with this final are morphophonemically irregular:

nīšitana 'twenty'

nīmitana 'forty'

niyānomitana 'fifty'

Other combinations are regular:

nihsomitana 'thirty'

P.04. -wā. This final forms multiplicative numerals
from numeral roots:

pēšikwā 'once'

nīšwā 'twice'

It also occurs with the relative root tahsw 'so often':

tahswā 'so many times'

P.05. -āč. This final forms adverbial particles from a
few roots:

iškwāyāč 'lastly, at the end'

pēhkāč 'quietly, slowly'

P.06. -enč. This final is recorded in only one particle,
after a root:

pēhšonč 'near'

P.07. -i. The final P.07 forms digits in combination with
numeral roots. The combinations of roots denoting numbers from
two to four with this final are morphophonemically irregular:

nīšin 'two', root nīšw

nihsin 'three', root nihs

nīwin 'four', root nīww

The cardinal numerals from six to ten are not subject to MR.25,
which deletes final short vowels:

ninkotwāhso 'six'

P.08. -i. This final forms particles from certain roots ending in t. By morphophonemic rule MR.23 t is replaced by č and by MR.25 final i is deleted:

ahpīhč 'compared to' (relative particle)

kīmōč 'secretly'

onči 'thence, by means of' (relative particle)

māmahkāč 'surprisingly, marvellously'

This final occurs with a few other roots, and is always lost by MR.25:

āpihta 'half'

kwayahk 'correct, correctly'

māmaw 'altogether'

P.09. -iyahī, -yahī. This final forms locative particles from roots. The variant yahī occurs after roots ending in a long vowel:

kīwihtāyahī 'around'

ohpimēyahī 'alongside'

inēhkēyahī 'on that side' (relative particle)

The variant iyahī occurs elsewhere:

anāmīyahī 'under'

nahsawīyahī 'in the middle, between'

pašičīyahī 'over'

P.10. -hsak. This final corresponds to the medial -hsak- 'floor, processed wood', and forms local particles from roots:

mohčihsak 'on the bare floor'

P.11. -āhk. This final, which may be related to the medial -ākw- 'wood, solid', forms hundreds in combination with numeral roots denoting numbers from one to ten:

ninkotwāhk 'one hundred'

nīšwāhswāhk 'seven hundred'

mitāhswāhk 'one thousand (ten hundred)'

P.12. -āpihk. This final corresponds to medial -āpihk- 'stone, metal, glass'. In combination with numeral roots it forms classificatory numerals denoting a number of dollars:

pēkwāpihk 'one dollar'

niyānanwāpihk 'five dollars'

P.13. -ahkamik. This final corresponds to the medial -ahkamik- 'place, moss', and forms local particles from roots:

anāmahkamik 'underground'

P.14. -epik, -epink. This final corresponds to the medial -epik- 'water', and forms local particles from roots:

anāmipik 'underwater'

čikipīk 'near the water'

wakitipīk 'on the surface of the water'

The variant -epīnk occurs only after one root and may be the result of an association with P.15 -enk, -īnk 'in, on, at':

nāsipīnk 'on the shoreline, on the bank'

P.15. -enk, -īnk. This particle final resembles the locative suffix in the local form of nouns, and forms local particles from roots:

akāmink 'on the opposite shore'

anāmink 'on the bottom'

išpimink 'on high, up'

The variant -īnk occurs after only a few roots:

akwačīnk 'outside'

mohčīnk 'on the bare ground'

The particle nohpimink 'inland, in the bush', resembles this final but is analyzable.

P.16. -ekamink. The particle final -ekamink is related to the medial -ik- 'dwelling' and to the noun final N.32 -wikamikw 'dwelling', but is evidently modified by analogy with P.15. It is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

pīntikamink 'inside a dwelling'

P.17. -īyahīnk. This final is a complex of P.09 īyahī 'place' and P.15 enk 'in, on, at'. It is recorded in only one stem, after a root:

akwačīyahīnk 'outside the place'

P.18. -kamy. This final is related to the medial -kamy- 'lake, body of water', and occurs in primary derivation after a root, forming a local particle:

wayēhkwākam 'at the end of the lake'

P.19. -āčīwan. This final is related to the intransitive final I.047 -čīwan 'flow', and occurs after roots, forming local particles:

nīhsāčīwan 'downstream'

wakitāčīwan 'upstream'

P.20. -atin. This final corresponds to the medial -atin- 'hill', and forms local particles from roots:

wakitatin 'on top of the hill'

P.21. -ekon. This final combines with roots denoting numbers from one to ten, and forms temporal numerals denoting a number of days:

mitāhsokon 'for ten days, in ten days'

REDUPLICATED PARTICLE STEMS

Some particles are formed from simple particle stems by reduplication:

pāpēhšonč 'all about', pēhšonč 'near'

pāpahkān 'in separate ways', pahkān 'separate, different'

ayahpī 'from time to time', ahpī 'when'

Some particle stems occur only with reduplication:

māmīskwač 'back and forth, reciprocally'

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUCTURE OF ROOTS AND MEDIALS

Every polymorphemic stem that is not dependent begins with a root, which may be simple or complex. A medial typically occurs between a root and a final, but sometimes may also occur as a postradical suffix in a complex root, or as a prior constituent of a complex medial or final.

ROOTS

Some roots may be grouped into classes on the basis of semantic and distributional criteria, but many others are not conveniently classified. Most roots are simple, consisting of a single morpheme, but a few are complex.

Numeral Roots

The numeral roots denote numbers from one to ten. The roots pěšikw- and ninkotw- 'one' have non-contrastive distributions, but are conveniently treated as separate morphemes. Other unanalyzed roots are as follows: nīšw- 'two', nihs- 'three', nīww- 'four', niyānanw- 'five', šānkahsw- 'nine', mitāhsw-

'ten'. The remaining numeral roots are complex in structure, being formed with R.4.

Relative Roots

A relative root occurs as the first morpheme in a polymorphemic stem of a word that takes an antecedent. The relative roots recorded in the Severn dialect are as follows: ahkw- 'so long', ahpīht- 'so much, so far', iθ- 'so, thus, thither', ont- 'thence, from such a place or cause', tahsw- 'so many'.

Descriptive Roots

Descriptive roots denote physical properties and qualities, and are semantically equivalent to adjectives. A descriptive root occurs with only one set of the intransitive finals I.043, I.044, I.048, and I.060. The only root occurring with I.043 finals is kosikw- 'heavy'. The roots that occur with I.044 finals include the following: nānk- 'light (in weight)', pānkw- 'dry'; sōnk- 'strong, durable'; wahkēw- 'weak, fragile'. The descriptive roots occurring with I.048 include the following: ānim- 'difficult'; āpat- 'useful'; sanak- 'expensive, difficult'; wēnt- 'easy'. Descriptive roots denoting colors occur with I.060 finals: miskw- 'red'; ošāw- 'yellow, brown'; ošāwaškw- 'green, blue'; mahkatēw- 'black'; wāp- or wāpišk- 'white'. The roots denoting shapes and surfaces also occur with I.060 finals: kinw- 'long'; napak- 'flat'; čīpw- 'pointed';

wāk- 'curved'; išp- 'high'; wāwiyē- 'round'; kihpak- 'thick';
anakašk- 'wide'.

Complex Roots

Complex roots are formed from roots by the addition of a postradical suffix. The noun stem pimitēw- 'grease' occurs in the stem pimitēwāpihkisi- AI 'be greased (metal)', and should perhaps be considered part of a complex root with a zero post-radical suffix. There are similarities between certain roots of identical meaning that are treated as submorphemic resemblances in the present work: išp- 'high', išpim- 'high'. The differences between such similar morphemes might also be attributed to the presence of a postradical suffix. The following discussion centers around clearly identifiable postradical suffixes.

R.1. -atē. The postradical -atē 'girth' is complex in structure, resembling a body-part medial, and consisting of at 'stomach' with postmedial M.1 -ē. R.1 is recorded in only two complex roots:

akāhsatē- 'narrow', root akāhs- 'small'

mankatē- 'wide', root mank- 'big'

R.2. -wē. The postradical -wē corresponds to the final I.072 -wē 'say, sound', and occurs after a root in the following:

tēpwē- 'true, truly', root tēp- 'reach, enough'

R.3. -yē. The postradical -yē 'go' may correspond to the AI final I.085 -yā 'go'. It occurs in the following complex root:

māčī- 'go away', root māt- 'separate'

R.4. -āhsw. The postradical -ahsw 'five' occurs after numeral roots denoting numbers from one to three:

ninkotwāhsw- 'six', root ninkotw- 'one'

nīšwāhsw- 'seven', root nīšw- 'two'

nihšwāhsw- 'eight', root nihs- 'three'

MEDIALS

Medials belong to two principal classes, body part medials, and classificatory medials. All body part medials and some of the classificatory medials are complex in structure. Other medials are simple, consisting of single morphemes.

Body Part Medials

A body part medial is complex, consisting of a morpheme denoting a body part and the mostmedial M.1 -ē. Medials of this type usually only occur between roots and finals: nimpōhkokātēhšin 'I break my leg in a fall' (← pōhkw 'break' + kāt 'leg' + ē + hšin 'fall').

In contradistinction to this general principle, the II final I.061 -kwayawēyā 'have a neck' has been described as consisting of a body part medial -kwayawē- 'neck' plus verb final -yā.

Classificatory Medials

Classificatory medials generally denote substantive characteristics. Complex medials of this type often consist of a deverbal derivative of a noun stem. These medials occur between roots and finals, and as prior members of complex noun and verb finals. Some medials are identical to particle finals. The following medials are monomorphemic: -āhkw- 'wood, solid'; -ākamy-, -kamy- 'liquid, body of water'; -āpihk- 'metal, stone, glass'; -āt- 'way of life'; -yēk- 'cloth, stuff, layered substance'; -pak- 'leaf'. Some medials partly resemble noun stems, but will be considered here as monomorphemic rather than deverbal in formation:

-aškīk- 'swamp'; maškīkw- 'swamp, muskeg'

-atin- 'hill'; wačiw- 'hill'

-ehkw- 'ice'; mihkwamy- 'ice'

Complex Medials

A complex medial consists of a morpheme or a deverbal derivative of a noun stem, plus a postmedial suffix.

M.1. -ē. This postmedial suffix combines with morphemes denoting body parts to form complex medials, and is similar to the AI final I.089. Many of the morphemes denoting body parts

occur both as dependent noun stems and as members of complex finals or medials:

-štikwānē- 'head' in kwēhkištikwānēni- AI 'turn one's head'

-nihkē- 'arm' in pīmiskonihkēn- TA, TI 'twist arm of'

Other morphemes denoting body parts also occur with this post-medial suffix, but they are not recorded as dependent noun stems:

-ečyē- 'belly' in pakočīn- TA, TI 'eviscerate'

-tiyē- 'rump' in ahpitiyēpiwin- N 'bench'

-nawē- 'body, emotion' in minčinawēsi- AI 'be sorry'

M.2. -ē. This postmedial suffix forms a complex medial from -epy a deverbal derivative of nipy- 'water':

-epyē- 'water' in pahkopīhsē- AI 'fall into the water'

It also occurs with -āpy 'string':

-āpyē- 'string' in tipāpīškōčikan- N 'scales for weighing'

The morpheme -htikw 'river', which resembles the unanalyzed noun stems minihtikw- 'river island' and pāwihtikw- 'waterfalls', combines with postmedial M.2 to form a complex medial:

-htikwē- 'river' in anakaškihtikwēyā- II 'be a wide river'

M.3. -ak. This postmedial combines with deverbal derivatives of nipy- 'water', kōn- 'snow', and mihθ- 'firewood':

-epīk- 'water', in kisīpīkin- TA, TI 'wash'

-ākonak- 'snow', in išpākonakā- II 'the snow is piled high'

-hsak- 'processed wood, floor', in napakihsakw- N 'floor'

It also combines with -āpy 'string' and -īw 'flesh':

-āpīk- 'string', in kinwāpīkisi- AI 'be long (string)'

-īwak- 'flesh, muscle', in nōhkīwakisi- AI 'have weak muscles'

CHAPTER IX

PHONOLOGY

Phonological rules apply to the underlying representations of words, and are subdivided into two sets, the morphophonemic rules, and the phonemic rules.¹ Before the phonological rules apply, the word boundary symbol # is inserted at the beginning of each sentence, and after every word.

MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Morphophonemic rules are partially ordered. A rule that must precede another morphophonemic rule sometimes has the effect of deleting or replacing a morpheme, but more usually it accounts for submorphemic variation. A few rules account for unique variations, but most rules apply to sets of morphemes.

¹Many of these phonological rules apply in other Algonquian languages, reflecting morphophonemic rules of Proto-Algonquian. For ease of comparison the rules for Severn Ojibwa are presented in the same general format as the rules for Delaware that have been formulated by Goddard. See Robert Hale Ives Goddard III, Delaware Verb Morphology: A Descriptive and Comparative Study (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1969) 11-28.

Morpheme-specific Rules

Each of the following rules applies to a single morpheme, and therefore accounts for a unique variation.

The theme suffix ā 'third person object' has a zero allomorph before conjunct suffixes beginning with a vowel: wāpamak 'if I see him' (← wāpam + ā + ak). This must precede MR.18.

The theme suffix ekw 'third person subject' has the allomorph eko before conjunct suffixes beginning with a vowel: wāpamikoyan 'if he sees you (sg.)' (← wāpam + ekw + an). This precedes MR.18.

The preterit morpheme pan has the allomorph pān after the conjunct suffix ān 'first person singular': nipāyāmpān 'if I were sleeping' (← nipā + ān + pan).

The nominal suffix a 'animate proximate singular' has the variant i, resembling i 'inanimate proximate singular', after apwy 'paddle', a monomorphemic stem that is animate in the Severn dialect, but inanimate in other dialects. This morpheme has the variant an after singular n of independent order verbs: nintatāwēnan 'I am selling it (animate)' (← ne + atāwē + n + a).

The monomorphemic TA stem iθ 'say so to' has a zero allomorph before the inverse theme suffix ekw: nintik 'he says so to me' (← ne + iθ + ekw + a).

The negative suffix hsīn, which occurs after II stems, is

replaced by hsinō except before ni 'obviative', and is then subject to MR.02. A following w 'third person' is deleted.

The independent order suffix n 'singular' is deleted finally: nintāhkos 'I am ill' (←ne + āhkosi + n). This must precede MR.26.

The morpheme mawi 'cry' has the allomorph mō before T.01 h 'cause' as in nimōhā 'I make him cry' (←ne + mawi + h + ā + a).

MR.01. Nominal Suffix Augments

After certain morphemes an augment is added before the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', and an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural'. After the alternate pronoun kotika the augment is iy, after demonstrative pronoun stems it is niw, after pan 'preterit' it is y, and after tok 'dubitative' it is ēn.

MR.02. Negative Augment

All negative suffixes add n after the base form except before a consonant: kāwin anohkīhsīn 'he isn't working' (←anohkyē + hsī + w + a).

MR.03. Post-nominal Augment

After noun stems in postconsonantal w or y the augment ēw is added before the intransitive finals I.042 i, an 'be, be covered with', and after noun stems ending in a consonant the augment is ew before these finals. This precedes MR.27.

MR.04. AI Stem Variants

Some AI stems ending in ā replace this vowel by ē before certain morphemes. The morpheme nepā 'sleep' has the variant nepē before N.11 in nipēwin 'bed' (←nepā + win + i), before N.32 in nipēwikamik 'bedroom' (←nepā + wikamikw + i), before T.01 in ninipēhā 'I put her to sleep' (←ne + nepā + h + ā + a), and before T.05 in niwīhpēmā 'I sleep with him' (←ne + wīt + nepā + m + ā + a) where it is also subject to MR.14 and MR.18. Similarly, ayamihā 'pray' has the variant ayamihē with the compounding suffix - in ayamihē-okimā 'minister' (←ayamihā + - + okimāw + a), and before N.32 in ayamihēwikamik 'church' (←ayamihā + wikamikw + i).

The am morpheme that forms Class 8 intransitive stems, all AI verbs, has the variant ā before the inflectional suffixes min 'plural including first person' and nāwā 'plural excluding first person': niminwētāmin 'we (excl.) are happy' (←ne + minw + ent + am + min).

Some AI stems replace stem-final ē by a before certain morphemes. This replacement is made before N.01 in kipahikan 'lid' (←kip + ah + kē + n + i), before N.36 in onikam 'place of portage' (←onikē + my + i), and before the T.13 finals θ and t.

Other AI stems replace stem-final ē by ā. This replacement occurs before N.01 in čīmān 'canoe' (←čīmē + n + i), and before the T.12 finals θ and t.

The data indicate that all AI stems replace stem-final ē by ā before I.002 kē, and before the I.019 finals so and tē.

All of these rules precede MR.26.

MR.05. Vowel Lengthening

A short vowel before stem-final w is replaced by an equivalent long vowel in certain environments. In many of these environments the w is subsequently deleted by MR.06.

MR.05 applies to TA stems before the inverse theme suffixes ekw, eko, ekō, and also before the derivational suffixes I.001 kē 'indefinite action' and I.007 so 'reflexive'. This rule also applies to noun stems before derivational suffixes I.091 ehkē 'make', and I.124 mo 'speak a language' as in ākanāhšimo 'he speaks English' (←ākanāhšiw + mo + w + a), and before ininiw 'man' in maškihkiwinini 'doctor' (←maškihkiw + ininiw + a).

MR.06. Loss of Intervocalic w

Stem-final w after a long vowel is deleted in certain environments.

With a few exceptions, noun stems ending in a long vowel plus w lose w before all inflectional suffixes, and also before derivational I.009 ehkē 'make' and I.124 mo 'speak a language', as well as before ihkwēw 'woman' when it occurs as N.21, as in anihšināpēhkwe 'Indian woman' (←anihšināpēw + ihkwēw + a).

This rule does not apply to certain noun stems before the nominal suffixes of gender, obviation, and number: ihkwēwak 'women' (←ihkwēw + ak), nāpēwak 'men' (←nāpēw + ak). TA verbs ending in āw (←aw by MR.05) lose w in the same environments in which the preceding vowel was lengthened: ninakiškāk 'he meets me' (←ne + nak + eškaw + ekw + a).

MR.07. Body Parts

Several morphemes denoting body parts have different forms when they occur before ē in complex medials or finals than when they occur as dependent noun stems.

īpit 'tooth' → āpit // _____ē

hkāt 'leg' → kāt // _____ē

MR.08. Stem-initial o

Stem-initial o undergoes change when preceded by a prefix, and when subject to reduplication or initial change.

o → ō // $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{ne} \\ \underline{ke} \\ \underline{we} \end{array} \right\}$ —

o → we // $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{R} \\ \underline{IC} \end{array} \right\}$ —

MR.08 must precede MR.09, 10, 12.

MR.09. Reduplication

Some Ojibwa stems have a reduplicative prefix. Evidently

all reduplicative prefixes are variants of a single morpheme, represented as R, since no contrasts appear in the data. The preconsonantal variants of R are often of the form Cā: māmīskwač 'reciprocally' (\leftarrow R + mīskwat + i); pāpahkān 'separately' (\leftarrow R + pahkān). Other variants repeat a stem-initial C or w but have a vowel other than ā: kākēnipowē 'he speaks very fast' (\leftarrow R + kinip + owē + w + a). Before stems in a or ā the reduplicative prefix is often ay: ayahpī 'from time to time' (\leftarrow R + ahpī); ayāšikitapi 'he rocks back and forth while seated' (\leftarrow R + āšikit + api + w + a).

The morpheme following R sometimes has a special variant in this environment: šīhšiki 'he urinates' (\leftarrow R + šiki + w + a); wawēšiho 'he gets dressed up' (\leftarrow R + oθ + ho + w + a).

MR.09 must precede MR.10 and MR.11.

MR.10. Initial Change

Rather few Severn Ojibwa words are characterized by initial change, symbolized as IC. Before a few morphemes IC is a prefix:

$$\underline{IC} \rightarrow \underline{ēn} \quad // \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \underline{tōtaw}, \underline{tōt} \text{ 'do'} \\ \underline{tahθ}, \underline{tahsw} \text{ 'so many'} \end{array} \right\}$$

Usually IC is a process of vowel ablaut affecting the first vowel of the following stem, without any change in a stem-initial C or w. The combination of IC with the preverb ka- 'future' is irregular:

IC + ka- 'future' → kē-

The regular pattern of ablaut is given in the following rules, applied in the order given:

$$\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{e} \\ \underline{i} \\ \underline{a} \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{ā} \\ \underline{i} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{ē} \\ \underline{ēyā} \\ \underline{ā} \end{array} \right] \quad // \quad \underline{IC} \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{C} \\ \underline{w} \end{array} \right\} \right) \text{ —} \\ \underline{IC} \rightarrow \text{null} \end{array}$$

MR.11. Short Prefixes

The pronominal prefixes lose their vowel before certain morphemes beginning with a vowel, specifically before a long vowel in the available data:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{ne} \\ \underline{ke} \\ \underline{we} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{n} \\ \underline{k} \\ \underline{w} \end{array} \right] \quad // \quad \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{in} \text{ 'pronominal root'} \\ \text{certain dependent noun stems} \\ \text{beginning with a vowel} \\ \underline{it} \text{ 'dependent root, with'} \end{array} \right\}$$

Dependent noun stems that take short prefixes include īpit 'tooth' as in nīpitan 'my teeth', īyaw 'body' as in wīyaw 'his body', īw 'wife' as in wīwan 'his wife', and ōhkom 'grandmother' as in kōhkom 'your (sg.) grandmother'. The short prefix w is subsequently deleted by MR.26, as in ōhkoman 'his grandmother' (← we + ōhkom + an). MR.11 also precedes MR.12.

MR.12. Prefix t-insertion

After pronominal prefixes a connective t is regularly

before vowels: kitanohkīmin 'we (incl.) are working' (← ke + anohkyē + min). In the case of some dependent nouns of relationship it is not possible to determine whether the t after a pronominal prefix is this connective t or part of the first morpheme in the stem: otōtēman 'his friend' (← we + (t)ōtēm + an). MR.12 must precede MR.13.

MR.13. Intrusive N

The first person pronominal prefix ne adds N before stops p, t, č, k, including connective t from MR.12, so that the prefix has the underlying form neNt before most morphemes beginning with a vowel, and the neN before morphemes beginning with a stop consonant. This rule precedes MR.20, which replaces N, an unmarked nasal, by nasal phonemes that are homorganic with the following consonant: nimpasikwīmin 'we (excl.) get up' (← ne + pasikwī + min).

MR.14. Deverbal Formation

A few noun and verb stems may occur as suffixes, in morphological constructions where they are preceded by a root or medial. In these constructions the first morpheme of the stem is often represented by a variant other than its base form. The form of the suffixed stem after the application of MR.14 is described as a deverbal derivative of the stem. MR.15 must precede MR.16.

When the base form of the first morpheme in a stem

begins with a or ā, there is no change when the stem is suffixed:

pimakontin 'it floats along' (← pim + akontin + w + i); pimāmačiwē

'he walks along on a hill' (← pim + ām + wačiw + ē + w + a).

Stems beginning with the root wēp 'hurl' are unchanged when suffixed, except that connective i is regularly inserted before them by MR.16, when the preceding morpheme ends in a consonant.

The monomorphemic stem mīn 'berry' has the variant min when suffixed: miskomin 'raspberry' (← miskw + mīn).

Somewhat similar is kōn 'snow', which has the variant ākon after a morpheme other than a prefix: išpākonakā 'the snow is piled high' (← išp + kōn + ak + yā + w + i).

The monomorphemic stem mihθ 'firewood, processed wood' has the variant hθ after roots or medials: napakihsakā 'it is flat wood, as a floor' (← napak + mihθ + ak + yā + w + i).

Usually a stem-initial m, n, w, o, or i is deleted when the stem occurs as a suffix following a root or medial, as follows:

šipīkahkisin 'rubber overshoe' (← šip + yēk + mahkisin + i);

miskwamēpin 'red sucker (a fish)' (← miskw + namēpin + a);

āmačiwē 'he is climbing up a hill' (← ām + wačiw + ē + w + a);

kāhsinākanē 'she is wiping dishes' (← kāhsī + onākan + ē + w + a);

oškinīkihwē 'young woman' (← oški + nīki + ihkwēw + a). The

monomorphemic stem nepā 'sleep' has the variant nepē before

T.05 m as the result of MR.05, from which n is deleted by MR.14,

and this variant is then subject to MR.21: nīwīhpēmā 'I sleep with him' (← ne + wīt + nepā + m + ā + a).

MR.15. Syncope

The suffix enān 'plural including first person' loses final n in the independent order before preterit and dubitative suffixes, and in the conjunct order the suffix wāw 'plural' loses final w before the preterit suffix:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{enān} \\ \text{wāw} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{enā} \\ \text{wā} \end{array} \right] // \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pan} \text{ 'preterit'} \\ \text{tok} \text{ 'dubitative'} \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule must precede MR.16.

MR.16. Connective Vowels

A vowel is often inserted at a morpheme boundary between consonants, and sometimes after a consonant before w.

Connective o is inserted after stems or theme suffixes that end in m or n before the derivational suffix N.11 win, and before the inflectional suffixes hk 'delayed mode', wā 'plural', w 'dubitative', kw 'third person, dubitative'.

Connective ā is inserted before pan 'preterit' and tok 'dubitative' after n 'singular', and min 'plural including first person', inflectional suffixes of the independent order.

Connective e is inserted before pan 'preterit' after the conjunct suffixes ak 'first person singular', at 'second person singular', ankit 'first person plural exclusive', and k 'third person'.

After AI stems ending in n, the vowel e is inserted before negative hsī and hsīn (←hsī by MR.02), and before n 'singular' of the independent order. Junctural e is also inserted before the conjunct suffix nk 'indefinite person', and the inflectional suffix ni 'obviative' when they are preceded by a consonant.

Connective i is regularly inserted elsewhere after a consonant before a morpheme beginning in a consonant, but not before inflectional suffixes: nimpimihšin 'I am lying down' (←ne + pim + hšin). It also occurs before wēp 'hurl', which occurs in deverbal verb finals: pimiwēpāhsin 'it blows away' (←pim + wēp + āhsin + w + i).

MR.16 must precede MR.18, and MR.23.

MR.17. Connective y

When a sequence of vowels occurs it is always across a morpheme boundary, and y is sometimes inserted between them by MR.17. Otherwise one of the vowels is deleted by a subsequent rule, MR.18.

After a vowel, y is inserted before conjunct suffixes beginning in a vowel: māčāyan 'if you (sg.) leave' (←māčā + an).

A y is also inserted after a vowel before ohsē 'walk', I.099:

kišiyohsē 'he walks fast' (←kišī + ohsē + w + a).

Elsewhere, y is inserted only between long vowels:

wāhsēyāpihkisi 'if (animate) is shiny metal' (←wāhsē + āpihk + esi)

+ w + a).

MR.18. Vowel Loss

Interconsonantal e is sometimes deleted after a morpheme boundary. The derivational suffixes I.006 eti 'reciprocal', and I.010 etiso 'explicit reflexive' lose e after TA stems ending in m. This rule also applies to epē 'sleep' (← nepā by MR.04 and MR.14). MR.19 must precede MR.21, and MR.22, which alter unpermitted sequences of consonants such as those resulting from deletion of e.

Sequences of vowels that remain after the application of MR.18 are subject to MR.19. These sequences consist of a long vowel followed by a short vowel, and it is the short vowel that is deleted: niwāpamānān 'we (excl.) see him' (← ne + wāpam + ā + enān + a).

MR.19. Cluster Reduction

An h between consonants is deleted: kāwin niwāpantansīn 'I don't see it' (← ne + wāpant + am + hsī + n + i). This rule must precede MR.21.

MR.20. Nasal Assimilation

Nasal consonants assimilate to the following consonant both on the phonemic and phonetic level. The following rules apply in the order given:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{m} \\ \underline{n} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{N} // \underline{\quad} \underline{C}$$

$$\underline{N} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null} // \underline{\quad} \underline{n} \\ \underline{m} // \underline{\quad} \underline{p} \\ \underline{n} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

MR.21. Cluster Modification

This rule must precede MR.22, and MR.24.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{t} \\ \underline{\theta} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \underline{h} // \underline{\quad} \underline{C}$$

MR.22. II Stem Variants

II stem-final t, when not replaced by h (by MR.21) is replaced by n, except before N.18 w: sanakan 'it is difficult' (\leftarrow sanak + at + w + i).

MR.23. Palatalization

This rule must precede MR.24, 26, and 27.

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{t} \\ \underline{\theta} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{\check{c}} \\ \underline{\check{s}} \end{array} \right] // \underline{\quad} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{i} \\ \underline{\bar{i}} \\ \underline{y} \end{array} \right\}$$

Conjunct suffixes ending in t are palatalized finally:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{t} \\ \underline{at} \\ \underline{ankit} \\ \underline{ent} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{'third person'} \\ \text{'second person sg.'} \\ \text{'first person pl. excl.'} \\ \text{'indefinite person'} \end{array} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \underline{\check{c}} \\ \underline{a\check{c}} \\ \underline{anki\check{c}} \\ \underline{en\check{c}} \end{array} \right] // \underline{\quad} \#$$

MR.24. Replacement of θ

This rule applies to θ where it remains after MR.21, and

MR.23 have applied:

$$\underline{\theta} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{s} \ // \ \underline{h} \ \underline{\quad} \\ \underline{n} \ \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

MR.25. Apocope

Short vowels are regularly lost finally, except after monomorphemic stems containing a single short vowel: mahkisin 'moccasin' (\leftarrow mahkisin + i); nihka 'goose' (\leftarrow nihk + a). Several particles are exempt from this rule: āša 'already'; ēkwa 'and'. This rule must precede MR.26, 28, 29.

MR.26. Loss of w and y

MR.26 includes several rules involving the loss or merging of w and y. These rules are ordered.

Postvocalic w resulting from MR.25 is deleted finally except when it ends certain morphemes, including pišiw 'lynx', and māmaw 'together'. Postconsonantal w and y are deleted finally:

- i) w \rightarrow null // V ___ # (with exceptions as noted)
- ii) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{w} \\ \underline{y} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow$ null // C ___ #

Sequences of semivowels do not occur across a morpheme boundary:

- iii) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{w} \\ \underline{y} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow$ null // $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{w} \\ \underline{y} \end{array} \right\}$ ___ across a morpheme boundary

Many sequences of semivowel plus vowel across a morpheme boundary are merged to yield a vowel. Some of these rules apply generally, but others are limited to certain morphemic environments.

iv) $\underline{ye} \rightarrow \underline{i} \ // \ \underline{C} \ \underline{\quad}$ when the second morpheme is enk 'locative', ehkānk 'locative', or em 'possessive theme':
ahkīhkānk 'on the ground' (← ahky + ehkānk). The following rule, which must precede MR.27, is more regular:

$$v) \begin{bmatrix} \underline{we} \\ \underline{ye} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{o} \\ \underline{i} \end{bmatrix} \ // \ \underline{C} \ \underline{\quad}$$

vi) $\underline{yi} \rightarrow \underline{i} \ // \ \underline{C} \ \underline{\quad}$ only when the second morpheme is the compounding suffix i-: ahkī-pimitē 'coal oil' (← ahky + i- + pimitēw + i). Otherwise semivowels are deleted before the corresponding vowels:

$$vii) \begin{bmatrix} \underline{wo} \\ \underline{wō} \\ \underline{yi} \\ \underline{yī} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{o} \\ \underline{ō} \\ \underline{i} \\ \underline{ī} \end{bmatrix} \ // \ \overset{\#}{\underline{C}} \ \underline{\quad}$$

viii) $\underline{wa} \rightarrow \underline{o} \ // \ \underline{C} \ \underline{\quad}$ when the second morpheme is one of the nominal suffixes ak 'animate proximate plural', or an 'inanimate plural; animate obviative'. This rule applies only when these suffixes are added to certain noun stems, most if not all of which have a long vowel in their final syllable: wāpōsok 'hares' (← wāpōsw + ak).

$$ix) \begin{bmatrix} \underline{wa} \\ \underline{ya} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{ō} \\ \underline{ī} \end{bmatrix} \ // \ \underline{C} \ \underline{\quad}$$

The rule $\underline{wa} \rightarrow \underline{ō}$ applies only across a morpheme boundary, and then only when the second morpheme is ak 'animate proximate plural' or an 'animate obviative; inanimate plural'. These suffixes

are subject to this rule when they are preceded by the inverse theme suffix ekw: niwāpamikōk 'they see me' (\leftarrow ne + wāpam + ekw + ak). The suffixes also merge in this fashion with most noun stems that have a short vowel in their final syllable: mihtikōk 'trees' (\leftarrow mihtikw + ak). Noun stems in Cw that have a single short vowel are not subject to the rule: mahkwak 'bears' (\leftarrow mahkw + ak). There are a few other noun stems that do not undergo this merging rule: ahkihwak 'pails' (\leftarrow ahkihw + ak). The rule ya \rightarrow ī also applies when nominal suffixes combine with apwy 'paddle': apwik 'paddles' (\leftarrow apwy + ak). The remaining rules are automatic:

- x) yē \rightarrow ī // C
- xi) yā \rightarrow ā // C
- xii) wi \rightarrow o // C
- xiii) w \rightarrow o // C C

MR.27. Replacement of e

Where e remains after the application of MR.18, and MR.26 it is replaced by the other short high front vowel:

e \rightarrow i

MR.28. Enclitic Boundary

The two forms of enclitics are produced by this rule:

$$\text{—} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null // } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{v} \text{ —} \\ \text{—} \underline{v} \end{array} \right\} \\ \underline{i} \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

MR.29. Compound Boundary

The compound boundary symbol _ is replaced by # since it is not significant as a phonemic boundary:

$$\underline{\quad} \rightarrow \underline{\#}$$
MR.30. Big Trout Isogloss

Where elsewhere in Ojibwa there are nasal-stop consonant clusters, there are geminate stops in the data obtained from Big Trout Lake informants:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \underline{mp} \\ \underline{nt} \\ \underline{nč} \\ \underline{nk} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{pp} \\ \underline{tt} \\ \underline{čč} \\ \underline{kk} \end{bmatrix} \quad (\text{Trout Lake only})$$

At Big Trout Lake some occurrences of post-vocalic s and š correspond to nasal-fricative clusters of Ojibwa spoken elsewhere:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \underline{ns} \\ \underline{nš} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \underline{s} \\ \underline{š} \end{bmatrix} \quad (\text{Trout Lake only})$$

PHONEMIC RULES

The phonemic representation, which is the output of the morphophonemic rules, is converted by phonemic rules to a phonetic representation. Only the most general phonemic rules will be discussed. These rules are not ordered.

Nasal consonants are homorganic with following consonants. The phoneme n has the variant ŋ before k, and

CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

The Severn dialect is the most northerly variety of Ojibwa and is spoken in an area that is still relatively isolated. All settlements are accessible by air, but there are no roads, and travel by water is of only minor importance. Within the Severn area there are relatively few contacts between members of the different bands. Bands are endogamous, so that individuals only rarely move from one band to another. Ojibwa is the principal spoken language in all settlements, with the possible exception of the Big Trout Lake settlement, where a number of Cree-speakers are in the community. The use of English is quite limited in all communities, although it is the language of instruction in the schools.

Most adults in the Severn dialect communities have had some contact with Cree. The dialect of Cree that the Severn Ojibwa encounter is known as Swampy Cree, or n-dialect Cree, because the reflex of Proto-Algonquian *l is n in Swampy Cree.¹

¹Other Cree dialects have θ, l, r, or y rather than n.

In some Severn settlements there are Cree families and in others a few Cree individuals have married members of the local bands. The Cree language has been used by Anglican and United Church missionaries in the area, but Mennonite missionaries have used Ojibwa. There are many similarities between Cree and all dialects of Ojibwa, and rather few of the dialect features of Severn Ojibwa can be directly attributed to the influence of Cree.

A satisfactory evaluation of the relationship of Severn Ojibwa to other Ojibwa dialects must await more complete data from other areas. In the following summary of Severn dialect features, only brief consideration will be given to other varieties of Ojibwa that have been described -- Otchipwe, Eastern Ojibwa, Algonquin, and Saulteaux.² It is not possible to account for the distribution of innovations in the Severn dialect area, since there are few significant contacts between people of different bands, at least in modern times. It may be conjectured that there was more

²In this chapter forms identified as Otchipwe (Otc) are from R. R. Bishop Baraga, A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language Explained in English, 2d ed. (Montreal: Beauchemin Valois, 1878). Eastern Ojibwa forms (EO) are from Leonard Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts, and Word List, edited with a Foreword by Charles F. Hockett (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958). Algonquin (Alg) forms are from J. A. Cuoq, "Grammaire de la Langue Algonquine," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1st Series, IX (1891) 85-114, and X (1892) 41-119. Saulteaux (Sau) forms are from R. P. Paul A. Dumouchel and R. P. Joseph Brachet, Grammaire Saulteuse (Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Province Oblate du Manitoba, 1942).

contact between the earlier generations of these bands, in the days when there were overland trips to obtain provisions from Winnipeg, a time when there was a greater dispersion of band members than at present.

SEVERN AND ALGONQUIN

There are a number of interesting similarities between the Severn dialect and Algonquin, the dialect of Ojibwa spoken in western Quebec. Some of these common features may be due to parallel borrowings from Cree. Other similarities between the widely separated Algonquin and Severn dialects are most probably retentions from Proto-Ojibwa.

Particles in č

Many particles that end in post-vocalic č in Severn Ojibwa and Algonquin correspond to forms that lack this consonant in other dialects:

Sev	<u>měkwāč</u>	'while'
Alg	<u>megwatc</u>	
EO	<u>me.kwa.</u>	
Sau	<u>Mekwa</u>	
Otc	<u>megwa</u>	
Sev	<u>pěhšonč</u>	'near' (with intrustive <u>n</u>)
Alg	<u>Pecotc</u>	
EO	<u>pe.ššo</u>	

Sev	<u>wīpač</u>	'soon'
Alg	<u>Wibatc</u>	
EO	<u>wi·pa</u>	
Sau	<u>Wipa</u>	
Sev	<u>pēhkāč</u>	'quietly, slowly, at rest'
Alg	<u>Pekatc</u>	
EO	<u>pe·kka·</u>	
Otc	<u>beka</u>	

Conjunct Suffix Palatalization

The conjunct suffixes at 'second person singular', ankit 'first person (excl.) plural', ent 'indefinite person', t 'third person' have č instead of t finally (MR.23) both in Severn and in Algonquin, but in other varieties of Ojibwa all of these morphemes have t in all environments:

Sev	<u>tahkonāč</u>	'if he holds him'
Alg	<u>takonâtc</u>	
EO	<u>tekkona·t</u>	

Noun Stems in ns, nš

Where in Eastern Ojibwa and other dialects there are noun stems ending in a long vowel plus n? ~ ny, Severn Ojibwa cognates end in ns or nš, as do the Algonquin forms.³

³Final n? is realized phonetically as nasalization of a preceding vowel. Bloomfield uses a tilde to indicate both vowel length and final nasalization of a vowel. See Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa, p. 7.

Sev	<u>nihšimēnš</u>	'my younger sibling'
Alg	<u>ni cimenj</u>	
EO	<u>neššime[~]</u>	
Sau	<u>nicime</u>	
Otc	<u>Nishime</u> pl. <u>-iag</u>	
Sev	<u>nihsayēns</u>	'my older brother'
Alg	<u>Ni saiensak</u> (pl.)	
EO	<u>nessaye[~]</u>	
Sau	<u>nissaie</u>	
Otc	<u>Nissaie</u> pl. <u>-iag</u>	
Sev	<u>nimihšōmēnš</u>	'my father's brother'
Alg	<u>Ni micomenjak</u> (pl.)	
Sau	<u>Nimicome</u>	
Otc	<u>Nimishōme</u> pl. <u>-iag</u>	

OTHER SEVERN FEATURES

Other features of Severn Ojibwa do not link this dialect to any other Ojibwa dialect. A few features probably reflect the influence of Cree. In some respects Severn Ojibwa has undergone simplification, the causes of which have not been determined.

Phonology

Where Eastern Ojibwa has ʔ, Severn Ojibwa has h. This is a subphonemic difference. Eastern Ojibwa ʔ is usually realized phonetically as a glottal stop, but Severn h is never a glottal stop. The glottal stop occurs as far north as Pikangikum, the first

major settlement south of Deer Lake, and probably accounts for the claim made by Deer Lake people that they could barely understand those at Pikangikum.

The geminate consonants of Eastern Ojibwa are matched by preaspirated consonants at Deer Lake and other settlements of the Severn dialect. It should be noted that the sounds represented in the present work as preaspirated fricatives, hs and hš are not clearly preaspirated, at least not so clearly as the stop consonants. The sounds represented by hs and hš contrast phonetically with s and š before vowels and finally, where hs and hš represent voiceless fricatives and s and š represent voiced fricatives.⁴

Words in Severn Ojibwa that contain an st cluster are borrowed from Cree: mistahī 'a lot of'; astotin 'hat'; nistam 'first'.

A distinction between II stems in at and an is lost in Severn Ojibwa, by MR.22, except in the conjunct order before k 'third person': sanakan 'it is difficult', kimiwan 'it is raining', sanakahk 'if it is difficult', kimiwank 'if it is raining'.

As indicated in MR.30, where other dialects of Ojibwa have nasal-consonant clusters, Severn Ojibwa conforms to this

⁴Rogers uses the geminate representation /ss/ and /šš/ where I use hs and hš. See Jean H. Rogers, "Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology," National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 194, Contributions to Anthropology, 1961-62, Part II (1963) 99.

pattern except at Trout Lake, if the two informants interviewed there are typical. At Trout Lake geminate stops occur instead of nasal-stop clusters, and single fricatives instead of nasal-fricative clusters.

Severn Ojibwa lacks the regular vowel reduction described for Eastern Ojibwa.⁵

Multiplicative Numerals

The multiplicative numerals of Severn Ojibwa are formed with the suffix P.04 wā 'times', and resemble Cree forms rather than those of other Ojibwa dialects:⁶

Sev	<u>pēšikwā</u>	'once, one time'
Cree	<u>Peyakwaw</u>	
Alg	<u>Ningotin</u>	
EO	<u>nenkotink</u>	
Sau	<u>apiting</u>	
Otc	<u>âbiding, ningoting</u>	
Sev	<u>nīšwā</u>	'twice, two times'
Cree	<u>Nijwaw</u>	
Alg	<u>Nijin</u>	
EO	<u>ni-šink</u>	
Sau	<u>nijing</u>	
Otc	<u>nijing</u>	

⁵See Bloomfield, Eastern Ojibwa, p. 5.

⁶The Cree forms in the examples are included in the entries along with Ojibwa words in Baraga, Dictionary of Otchipwe, Part I.

Cardinal Numerals

Several of the cardinal numerals in Severn Ojibwa deviate from the forms that occur in other varieties of Ojibwa. The words nīšīn 'two' (EO ni·š), and nihsin 'three' (EO nesswi) resemble nīwin 'four' (EO ni·win) and may have been reshaped to conform to its structure. The word niyānan 'five' (EO na·nan) is Cree in form.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Only the Severn dialect has nominal suffixes added to demonstrative pronoun stems. Other dialects have the stems only. In the Severn dialect stems are the same for proximate and obviative, but in other dialects they differ. Severn demonstrative stems correspond to the proximate stems of other Ojibwa dialects. In Saulteaux the demonstrative stems may end in ē, and in this respect they resemble the stems of the Severn dialect.

Sev	<u>wahawē</u>	'this (animate)'
Alg	<u>Aam</u>	
EO	<u>ma·pa</u>	
Sau	<u>Wahawe</u> , <u>Awe</u>	
Otc	<u>waaw</u> , <u>mabam</u>	
Sev	<u>okowēniwak</u>	'these (animate)'
Alg	<u>Okom</u>	
EO	<u>ekonta</u>	
Sau	<u>Okowe</u> , <u>Okow</u>	
Otc	<u>ogow</u> , <u>mâmig</u>	

Other Pronouns

The inanimate proximate singular forms of the indefinite and interrogative pronouns are different in Severn Ojibwa, compared with other dialects of the language.

Sev	<u>kēkōn</u>	'some, something'
Alg	<u>Keko</u>	
EO	<u>ke·ko·</u>	
Otc	<u>gégo</u>	
Sev	<u>kēkonēn</u>	'what, what is it'
Alg	<u>Wekonen</u>	
EO	<u>we·kone·šš</u>	
Sau	<u>Wekonen</u>	
Otc	<u>wegonen</u>	

Plural Suffixes

Where other dialects of Ojibwa have the suffixes min 'plural including first person', and mw (or m) 'plural excluding first person', Severn Ojibwa has min and nāwā respectively.

Sev	<u>kipimohsēmin</u>	'we (incl.) walk'
EO	<u>kepimusse·min</u>	
Sev	<u>kipimohsēnāwā</u>	'you (pl.) walk'
EO	<u>kepimusse·m</u>	

The Severn Ojibwa suffix nāwā may be borrowed from Cree, where the equivalent suffix is nāwāw. A more likely explanation is that mw has been replaced by nāwā in Severn Ojibwa on the model of TI and objective AI verbs where min contrasts with nāwā.

Theme Suffix

The TA theme suffix i 'first person object' of all other Ojibwa dialects, from Proto-Algonquian *i, is replaced by ehši in Severn Ojibwa. Severn Ojibwa ehši corresponds to Eastern Ojibwa išši (₁yi + ₂šš), which occurs only in the imperative order. Thus the imperative form, probably more frequently used than the independent form, has been extended to the independent and conjunct orders in Severn Ojibwa.

<u>pīntikēn</u>	'come in (you singular)'
<u>wīntamawihšin</u>	'tell it to me (you singular)'
<u>kipīntikē</u>	'you (sg.) are coming in'
<u>kiwīntamawihš</u>	'you (sg.) are telling it to me'
<u>pīntikēyan</u>	'if you (sg.) come in'
<u>wīntamawihšīyan</u>	'if you (sg.) tell it to me'

Negation

There is no negative mode in the conjunct order in the Severn dialect. The negative particle ēkā 'not' is used with the conjunct verb unmarked for negative mode. This negative particle is not recorded for Eastern Ojibwa, Saulteaux, or Otchipwe, but it occurs in Cree, and also in Algonquin. The negative mode is recorded in Algonquin as well.

The Severn dialect also lacks the prohibitive mode and the prohibitive particle kēko (or kēkwa) of other dialects. Instead

the negative particle kāwin, used with the verbs of the independent order, is extended to use with the imperative verb:

Sev kāwin nīmin 'don't dance (you singular)'

EO ke-kwa ni-mekke-n

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APPENDIX

The following texts were narrated by Mrs. Emily Kakegumick
of Deer Lake, Ontario.

A

<u>tēhtako</u>	<u>kī-kihtimākisiwak wēskač</u>	<u>anihšininiwak.</u>	<u>kāwin</u>
very-much	they-were-poor	long-ago Indians	not
'Long ago Indians were very poor indeed.'			'There

<u>kanakē kēkōn atāwēwikamik</u>	<u>kī-ayāhsinōn</u>	<u>wēskač.</u>	<u>mī</u>	<u>ēhta</u>
hardly any	store	it-didn't-exist long-ago	there-was only	
were hardly any stores long ago'			'There was only	

<u>wāpōs, mōs, kinōšē</u>	-- <u>mī</u>	<u>ēhta ihiwē mīčim</u>	-- <u>pinē,</u>
hare	moose fish	there-was only that food	partridge
hare, moose, and fish -- only that kind of food -- partridge, and			

<u>ačitamō.</u>	<u>mī</u>	<u>ēhta ihiwē onči</u>	<u>kī-wīhsini wēskač</u>
squirrel	it-was only that	from he-ate	long-ago
squirrel.'	'That was all the Indian child of long ago could		

<u>anihšinini-apinōnčīnš,</u>	<u>kayē</u>	<u>kāwin kanakē wīhkā</u>	<u>pahkwēšikan.</u>
Indian-child	and not	hardly ever	bread
choose from to eat, and hardly ever bread'			

<u>"kāwin kēkōn atāwēwikamik"</u>	<u>ihkitowak</u>	<u>wēskač</u>	<u>anihšininiwak.</u>
not any	store	they-so-said long-ago	Indians
'"There isn't any store," said the Indians of long ago.'			

<u>pankī ēhta āša</u>	<u>kī-ayā</u>	<u>pahkwēšikan nīn</u>	<u>kā-ahko-tēpi-kikhēntamān</u>
little only	already it-existed	bread	I as-far-back-I-remember
'There was only a little bread, as far back as I can remember,			

ēkwa mīna šōka pimitē tī. mī minikohk kā-kihkēntamān
 and also sugar lard tea ·it-is as-much that-I-know-it
 and also sugar, lard, and tea.' 'That was as much as I knew

mēkwāč apinōnčīnšiwiyān ē-tēpi-kihkēntamān. pankī ēhta
 while I-am-a-child that-enough-I-know-it little only
 when I was a child, as I recall.' 'There was only

ē-ayāč pahkwēšikan ēkā awiya āpinōnčīnš ē-mawič
 that-it-exists bread not anyone child that-he-cries
 a little bread, so that no child cried

pahkwēšikan čī-nōntē-amwāč. ēkwa 'tahš wīn nōnkom
 bread to-want-he-eats-it and but by-contrast now
 because he wanted to eat bread.' 'By contrast, these days

tēhtako ē-kihči-mawič kīšpin pēšikwā ē-wī-wīhsinič
 very-much that-big-he-cries if once that-intend-he-eats
 a child cries loud and long if even once when he wants to eat

ēkā ē-amwāč pahkwēšikanan nōnkom apinōnčīnš. ēkwa mīna
 not that-he-eats-it bread today child and also
 he doesn't eat bread' 'And also

sīwočīhsan wāpič ē-wī-amwāč ēkwa kayē pahkwēšikanēnsan
 candies he-sees that-intend-he-eats-it and too cookies
 when he sees candy he wants to eat it, and cookies too

-- kahkina-kēkōn -- sōpini kayē ē-nōntē-mīčič apinōnčīnš
 every thing soup too that-want-he-eats-it child
 -- everything -- he even wants to eat soup, the child of

nōnkom. wēskač 'tahš ēkā ē-kī-onči-mawič awiya apinōnčīnš
 today long-ago but not that-for-he-cries any child
 today.' 'Long ago, however, no child cried for

pahkwēšikan ēkā ē-kihkēnimāč ē-ayānič pahkwēšikan
 bread not that-he-knows-it that-it-exists bread
 bread, because he didn't know bread existed.'

B

nēkaw-sākahikanīnk kā-kī-išāyān kēkāt
 Sandy-Lake-to when-I-went-there almost
 'When I went to Sandy Lake, I almost

ē-wanihčikēyān šōniyā. opiminā mitāhso ahši-nīwāpihk
 that-I-lose money pilot ten and-four-dollars
 'lost money' 'First I gave the pilot a fourteen dollar

ēšipīhikātēnik čēkihsini ē-kī-mīnak ništam.
 that-it-is-so-written cheque that-I-gave-it-to-him first
 cheque'

ēkwa mīnawāč ihkito "niyānanwāpihk kēyāpič" ihkito.
 and again he-says five-dollars yet
 'And he responded, saying "Five dollars more."

mī mīnawāč kā-iši-mīnak niyānanwāpihk šōniyān.
 it-was again that-I-so-gave-it-to-him five-dollars money
 'So I gave him five dollars more'

"ninka-kīwē-mīnik māwin" ninkī-inēnimā.
 he-will-give-it-back-to-me perhaps I-so-thought-of-him
 'Perhaps he will give it back on the return, "I thought.'

mī 'tahš mōšak kā-iši-māmitonēntamān minikohk
 it-was then always that-thus-I-ponder-it while
 'I kept thinking it over while

wētē kā-kī-inēntiyān -- pēšiko-isihsek inēntiyān
 there that-I-was-there-absent for-one-week I-was-absent
 I was away -- for the week I was away'

"kēkonēn itok kā-onči-tōtawihšič" ē-kī-inēntamān
 what I-wonder for-he-treats-me that-I-thought-it
 ' "Why has he treated me like this", I wondered.'

mī ahpī kā-pi-kīwēyān mīnawāč ohomā
 it-was when that-hither-I-return again here
 'When I came back home here,

ē-kī-kapāyān "ān' ahawē šōniyā" nintik.
 as-I-disembarked what that money he-so-says-to-me
 as I got out of the plane, he said "What about that money?"

mī 'tahš nintinā "kēkonēn wēnci-kī-tōtawihšiyān?
 it-was then I-say-so-to-him what thence-you-treat-me
 'Then I said to him, "What are you doing to me?"

mitāhso ahši-nīwāpihk ēšipīhikātēk čēkihs ē-kī-mīninān
 ten and-four-dollars that-it-is-so-written cheque that-I-gave-you
 I gave you a cheque made out for fourteen dollars,

ēkwa kēyāpič niyānanwāpihk ē-kī-ihkitoyan" 'tahš nintinā.
 and again five-dollars that-you-said then I-said-so-to-him
 and you said another five dollars, "I said to him.'

mī ihiwē ihkitoč "nīšin nāpēnsak ē-kī-wičīwatwā.
 it-is that he-so-said two boys that-you-came-with-them
 'Then he said, "You came with two boys."

mī ihiwē ē-tipahwatwā nīšin nāpēnsak" 'tahš nintik.
 it-is that that-you-pay-for-them two boys then he-says-to-me
 That's why you have to pay for two boys, "he said to me.'

"kāwin nīn nīn ahawēniwak kahkina" 'tahš nintinā. pēšikohš ēhta
 not I I those all then I-say-to-him one only
 "'They're not all mine, "I said to him then.' 'I came with

ninkī-wičīwā ēkwa pēšik ahawē nāpēns sōlokwāt wētē
 I-come-with-him and one that boy Sioux-Lookout there
 only one, and that one boy left from Sioux

ē-kī-māčāč. kāwin 'tahš nīn ninka-tipahwāhsīn ahawē
 that-he-left not therefore I I-will-not-pay-for-him that
 Lookout. So I'm not going to pay for the one

sōlokwāt kā-iši-māčāč " 'tahš nintinā.
 Sioux Lookout who-leaves-for then I-say-so-to-him
 who is leaving for Sioux Lookout, "I said to him then.'

mī payēš ē-kikhēntank ē-kī-wawānīč
 it-was at-last that-he-knows-it that-he-had-erred
 'At last he realized that he had made a mistake

ihiwē kā-kī-tōtawihšič mī 'tahš ihkitoč
 that that-he-did-so-to-me it-was then he-so-says
 in his treatment of me.' 'Then he said to me,

"nīwāpihk ēhta mīnihšin" ē-ihkitoč. mī 'tahš
 four-dollars only give-it-to-me that-he-so-said it-was then
 "Just give me four dollars," he said.' 'So

tēpwē nīwāpihk ēhta ē-kī-mīnak šōniyān.
 truly four-dollars only that-I-gave-it-to-him money
 as a matter of fact, I gave him only four dollars'

mī 'tahš ihiwē niminwētān kā-kwayahkohsēk
 it-was then that I-like-it that-it-became-corrected
 'So that's it, -- I am glad that it was straightened out

ihiwē ēkā osām mistahī ē-tipahikēyān ihiwē minikohk
 that not too much that-I-pay-it that so-much
 so that I didn't pay too much

nēkaw-sākahikanīnk ē-kī-išāyān
 Sandy-Lake-to that-I-went-there
 when I went to Sandy Lake.'