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*Resource Guide*

The Ontario Curriculum  
Grades 1 to 12

# Native Languages

*A Support Document for the  
Teaching of Language Patterns*

Ojibwe and Cree



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# INTRODUCTION

This resource guide is intended for teachers of Ontario Ojibwe and Cree. Its purpose is to organize, extend, and reinforce teachers' knowledge of the language patterns that occur in these Native languages, and to clarify and explain the structure and function of the various language elements (words and word parts) that make up these patterns. It is hoped that teachers will find the guide helpful in developing lessons and in evaluating teaching materials for their usefulness in fostering accuracy in the use of language and an understanding of the language patterns that characterize this group of Native languages. The resource guide is not suitable for use as a textbook by students of Ojibwe or Cree; it does not present the various language structures in a learning sequence, and the technical terms used to describe the language are not always appropriate for classroom use.

It should be noted that this resource guide does not represent an exhaustive study of the language patterns in Ojibwe and Cree. A complete language-pattern guide would go into far more detail and have many more examples than are given here. Only the main word and sentence patterns are included. Ojibwe and Cree are rich and complex languages, and the task of describing how the words and word parts fit together is only in the early stages. Teachers will no doubt recognize and use many of the language patterns discussed here, but they will themselves need to continue to explore language patterns as they develop their lessons and plan their teaching.

This resource guide presents classes of words and examines the units or parts of which words are composed, the ways in which words change their forms when used in sentences, and the ways in which words combine with other words to form language structures that convey meaning. It also explores the patterns in which these language

structures occur in phrases and sentences. Examples are given in three Ontario languages, in the following sequence unless otherwise noted:

- CO** Central Ojibwe-Odawa (Ottawa), the language called Nishnaabemwin, as spoken on Manitoulin Island
- WO** Western Ojibwe, the language called Anishinaabemowin, as spoken at Lac Seul
- SC** Swampy Cree, the language called Ininimowin, as spoken at Fort Albany and Constance Lake

The many other varieties of Ojibwe and Cree spoken in Ontario are equally important, but it is not possible to give examples in all varieties. Speakers of these other varieties will usually find the principle discussed relevant to their own way of speaking, although the words and the arrangement of the words may be different. They should examine the examples given and determine whether the pattern discussed occurs in the same form in their own language. It should be pointed out that the examples do not represent the only correct way of speaking; teachers should teach the words, word patterns, and sentence patterns that they and other model speakers in their community use.

The roman writing systems (orthographies) used in this resource guide are the standardized systems used in teacher-training courses in Ontario. A syllabic orthography has been added for the Cree examples. It should be noted that the orthographies employed here are not the only ones that can be used for these languages.

# 1

## PARTS OF SPEECH

The parts of speech (classes of words) are nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles, which include quantifiers, adverbs, and conjunctions. These parts of speech can be divided into several subclasses.

### 1.1

#### Nouns

Nouns name things, beings, and abstractions.

<b>CO</b>	wiigwaam	house
<b>WO</b>	waakaa'igan	
<b>SC</b>	wâskâhikan ·ᑭᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
<b>CO</b>	nimosh	dog
<b>WO</b>	animosh	
<b>SC</b>	atim ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
<b>CO</b>	zaag'iwewin	love
<b>WO</b>	zaagi'iwewin	
<b>SC</b>	sâkihiwewin ᑭᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

Nouns are inflected; that is, they take on affixes – prefixes and/or suffixes – that give grammatical information about them. For example, affixes can indicate whether a noun is animate or inanimate (gender), whether it is plural (number), and how it is related to other parts of a phrase or sentence (e.g., obviative or locative form).

## 1.2 Pronouns

### 1.3 Nominal Pronouns

Nominal pronouns refer to nouns or stand in place of nouns.

<b>CO</b>	wenesh	who
<b>WO</b>	awenen	
<b>SC</b>	awenihkân ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	

Nominal pronouns can be inflected in Cree and in some varieties of Ojibwe.

### 1.4 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns stand in place of persons or nouns and indicate the various roles taken in speech. The three grammatical persons represented by personal pronouns – the first person (*I*), the second person (*you*), and the third person (*he/she/it*) – indicate the relationship in which the person referred to stands with respect to the speaker. The first person is the person speaking, the second person is the person spoken to, and the third person is the person spoken of.

<b>CO</b>	nii	I, the one speaking
<b>WO</b>	niin	
<b>SC</b>	nîna ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	

### 1.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns can be used with nouns or can stand in place of nouns and are used to point out or designate specific persons or things.

<b>CO</b>	wi	that (thing)
<b>WO</b>	iwe	
<b>SC</b>	anima ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	

Demonstrative pronouns change form to agree with the nouns to which they refer.

## 1.6 Verbs

Verbs refer to states of being (condition, quantity, etc.) or to actions.

<b>CO</b>	mchaa	it is big
<b>WO</b>	michaa	
<b>SC</b>	mišâw مِشَاوْ	
<b>CO</b>	ndaabjitoon	I use it
<b>WO</b>	nindaabajitoon	
<b>SC</b>	nitâpacihtân نِيتَاپَاچِيتَانْ	

Verbs, like nouns, are inflected, taking on affixes that convey grammatical information. For example, the affixes on a verb can indicate number, tense (the time of the action), and the relationship of the verb to other parts of a phrase or sentence.

## 1.7 Particles

Particles are uninflected words and can be divided into several subclasses.

## 1.8 Quantifiers

Quantifiers describe number or quantity.

<b>CO</b>	aanind	some, a few
<b>WO</b>	aaninda	
<b>SC</b>	âtiht اَاتِيهْتْ	
<b>CO</b>	niizh	two
<b>WO</b>	niizhin	
<b>SC</b>	nîšo نِيشَوْ	

## 1.9 Adverbs

Adverbs specify such things as time, place, manner, or degree.

<b>CO</b>	ggizheb	in the morning
<b>WO</b>	gizheb	
<b>SC</b>	kekišep كِكِيشِپْ	

<b>CO</b>	gojiing	outside
<b>WO</b>	agwajiing	
<b>SC</b>	wanawîtimihk ·ᐱᓐ·ᐱᐢᐢᐢ*	
<b>CO</b>	aapji	very, really
<b>WO</b>	aapiji	
<b>SC</b>	mitoni ᐢᐱᓐ	

### 1.10 *Conjunctions*

Conjunctions are connective words used to join together sentences, clauses, phrases, or words.

<b>CO</b>	giishpin	if
<b>WO</b>	giishpin	
<b>SC</b>	kišâspin ᐢᐱᓐᐱᓐ	

### 1.11 *Other Particles*

Some particles always occur in a certain position. For example, the question particle is used with questions that are typically answered with *yes* or *no* and appears after the first word in a sentence.

<b>CO</b>	na
<b>WO</b>	na
<b>SC</b>	nâ ᐢ



In this case, the word stem can also occur as an independent word – the singular form of *boat*:

<b>CO</b> jiimaan	boat
<b>WO</b> jiimaan	
<b>SC</b> cîmân	
ᑭᑭᑭ	

A word stem does not always constitute an independent word. The following example is made up of a prefix, a stem, and an ending, but the stem does not constitute a word that can stand alone:

<b>CO</b> nwaabndaan	I see it
= n + waabnd + aan	
<b>WO</b> niwaabandaan	
= ni + waaband + aan	
<b>SC</b> niwâpahten	
= ni + wâpaht + en	
ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ	
= ᑭᑭᑭ + ᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭᑭ + ᑭᑭᑭ	

## 2.2 Inflection

Many affixes are inflections, or word parts that indicate the grammatical categories of the language. These categories are the organizing ideas of the language. The inflections that express them transmit information (who is involved? how many? when?) and tie words together in phrases, clauses, or sentences. In Cree and Ojibwe, grammatical categories such as gender, number, person, and obviation and the inflectional affixes that represent them are essential aspects of nearly every sentence.

Much of what is indicated in English by the position of words in a sentence is shown in Cree and Ojibwe by inflection – that is, by the change in the form of a word through the addition of affixes.

The following examples are different forms of the same word; they share the same word stem but have different inflections.

<b>CO</b> nokii/nakii	he/she works
ndankii	I work
nokiikan/nakiikan	do some work later
ji-nokiiwaad/ji-nakiiwaad	... so they will work
<b>WO</b> anokii	he/she works
nindanokii	I work
anokiikan	do some work later
ji-anokiiwaad	... so they will work



<b>SC</b> atoskew ᐱᐅᐱᐅ	he/she works
nitatoskân ᐅᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ	I work
atoskehkan ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ	do some work later
kici-atoskecik ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ	... so they will work

## 2.3 Derivation

Word stems may also be made up of parts that have meaning. If one examines a group of words related in meaning, one finds that certain parts appear again and again, retaining the same basic meaning. For example, many words that refer to *bursting* or *exploding* begin with the same part as the word stem meaning *to shoot something*.

<b>CO</b> <u>baashkz-</u> , as in the word <u>wbaashkzaan</u>	he/she shoots it
<b>WO</b> <u>baashkiz-</u> , as in the word <u>obaashkizaan</u>	
<b>SC</b> <u>pâskis-</u> , as in the word <u>pâskisam</u> ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ, as in the word ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ	

The last part of the stem, the *z* or *s* part, is common to many words referring to heat or fire. Neither of these two parts is a word by itself, but together the word parts for *burst* or *explode* and *by heat* or *by fire* make up a word stem. This process of putting together parts to make word stems is called *derivation*.

In Ojibwe and Cree, word stems may be derived from other word stems by the addition of special derivational affixes, usually suffixes. For example, by adding the suffix **-ge/-ke** to the stems in the above examples, one gets another word, a verb that means *to shoot things*, which has different inflections.

<b>CO</b> <u>baashkzige-</u> , as in the word <u>baashkzige</u>	he/she shoots things
<b>WO</b> <u>baashkizige-</u> , as in the word <u>baashkizige</u>	
<b>SC</b> <u>pâskisike-</u> , as in the word <u>pâskisikew</u> ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ, as in the word ᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅᐱᐅ	

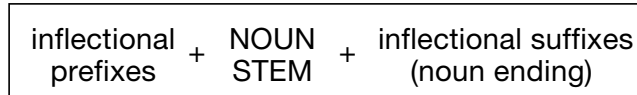


# 3

## NOUNS

### 3.1 The Form of a Noun

Every noun contains a *noun stem* – a core part that carries the basic meaning of the word. To this stem can be added prefixes and/or suffixes, known as *inflections*, which give additional grammatical information about the noun – for example, its gender, number, and relationship to other words or phrases in the sentence. The overall pattern of an inflected noun is shown in the following word diagram:



Words that share a common stem but have different inflections are considered different forms of the same noun. To illustrate the principle, a few of the many forms that the noun *boat* can take are given below.

<b>CO</b> <u>jiimaan</u>	boat	<u>jiimaan</u> an	boats
<b>WO</b> <u>jiimaan</u>		<u>jiimaan</u> an	
<b>SC</b> <u>cîmân</u> řĹ˘		<u>cîmân</u> a řĹ˘	
<b>CO</b> <u>gjiimaaning</u>	in your boat	<u>njiimaan</u> naa	our boat
<b>WO</b> <u>gjiimaaning</u>		<u>njiimaan</u> inaan	
<b>SC</b> <u>kicîmânihk</u> řĹ˘σ˘		<u>nicîmân</u> inân σřĹ˘σ˘	

In this resource guide, the singular form of a noun is considered to be its stem.

## 3.2 Inflection

### 3.3 Basic Categories

The basic grammatical categories indicated by inflections are gender, number, obviation, and the locative form. One or more of these can be indicated by a single basic suffix added to the noun stem. The form of a word that is in agreement with the noun in the sentence also indicates some of these categories.

### 3.4 Gender

Nouns have gender. In Ojibwe and Cree, all nouns belong to one of two classes of gender – *animate* or *inanimate*. Nouns referring to people, animals, trees, and spirits belong to the animate class of nouns. Some non-living things are also included in the animate class, although most nouns referring to non-living things are classified as inanimate.

From the learner's point of view, the gender of a noun is often unpredictable and puzzling. For example, while it is easy enough to understand why such words as *dog* and *birch tree* are animate, it is difficult to understand why *star*, *mitt*, *ice*, and *net* are animate and *earth*, *shoe*, *water*, and *boat* inanimate.

A noun and any demonstrative that accompanies it must agree in gender. Thus a demonstrative used with an animate noun must be in the animate gender; a demonstrative used with an inanimate noun must be in the inanimate gender. This means that the gender of a noun is shown by the form of the words that are in agreement with it. Once students are familiar with the forms of demonstratives, they will be able to determine the gender of unfamiliar nouns by looking at the demonstratives that modify them.

<u><i>Animate Nouns</i></u>		<u><i>Inanimate Nouns</i></u>		
<b>CO</b>	wa nini	that man	wi mkizin	that shoe
<b>WO</b>	awe inini		iwe makizin	
<b>SC</b>	ana nâpew		anima maskisin	
	ᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱ		ᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

Verbs also take on different inflections to show agreement with nouns. In the examples below, the form of *I see* varies in accordance with the gender (animate or inanimate) of the noun involved.

**CO** Kwezens nwaabmaa. I see a girl.

**WO** lkwezens niwaabamaa.

**SC** Iskwešiš niwâpamâw.

Δ^·9S^ σ·<L̇·x

**CO** Jiimaan nwaabndaan. I see a boat.

**WO** Jiimaan niwaabandaan.

**SC** Cîmân niwâpahten.

řL̇· σ·<L̇·"U·x

### 3.5

## Number

Nouns have number; that is, they can be either singular or plural. The plural is formed by the addition of a suffix to the stem.

<u><i>Animate Singular</i></u>		<u><i>Animate Plural</i></u>	
<b>CO</b>	kwe woman	kwewag	women
<b>WO</b>	ikwe	ikwewag	
<b>SC</b>	iskwew Δ^·9o	iskwewak Δ^·9·<^	
<u><i>Inanimate Singular</i></u>		<u><i>Inanimate Plural</i></u>	
<b>CO</b>	wiikwaan/ wiiwkwaan hat	wiikwaan/ wiiwkwaan hats	
<b>WO</b>	aanakwaan	aanakwaan	
<b>SC</b>	astotin <^·<·ŋ·	astotina <^·<·ŋ·a	

The plural form of a noun shows not only number but also gender; different suffixes are used to indicate the plural of animate and inanimate nouns. In Ojibwe, the animate plural suffix ends in **-g** and the inanimate plural suffix ends in **-n**. In Cree, the animate plural suffix ends in **-k** and the inanimate plural suffix ends in **-a**. The actual form of each plural suffix varies from noun stem to noun stem. Most stems require a connective between the stem and the last sound of the suffix. The form that these connectives take also varies from noun stem to noun stem; for example, each of the Ojibwe noun stems below – except the first

noun stem, which requires no connective – has its distinctive connective: **a, wa, o, ii, oo**. Similarly, the Cree examples use either **a** or **wa**, or require no connective.

<b>CO</b> mko/mkwa	bear	mkog/mkwag	bears
<b>WO</b> makwa		makwag	
<b>SC</b> maskwa		maskwak	
L^b		L^b^	
<b>CO</b> gwiizens/ gwiiwzens	boy	gwiizensag/ gwiiwzensag	boys
<b>WO</b> gwiiwizens		gwiiwizensag	
<b>SC</b> nâpešiš		nâpešišak	
a V S^		a V S^`	
<b>CO</b> ngig	otter	ngigwag/ ngigog	otters
<b>WO</b> nigig		nigigwag	
<b>SC</b> nikik		nikikwak	
σP^		σP^b^	
<b>CO</b> sab	net	sabiig	nets
<b>WO</b> asab		asabiig	
<b>SC</b> anapiy		anapiyak	
<a.Λ°		<a.Λ^	
<b>CO</b> mtig	tree	mtigoog	trees
<b>WO</b> mitig		mitigoog	
<b>SC</b> mistik		mistikwak	
Γ^ŋ^		Γ^ŋ^b^	

The form of a demonstrative and a verb will also indicate the number of the noun to which they refer. In the following sentences, all the words are tied together by number agreement as well as gender agreement.

#### *Inanimate Singular*

---

<b>CO</b> Gnaajwan maanda mzin'igan.	This book is nice.
<b>WO</b> Onizhishin owe mazina'igan.	
<b>SC</b> Minwâšin ôma masinahikan.	
Γ^e S^ D L L' a " Δ b^ x	

#### *Inanimate Plural*

---

<b>CO</b> Gnaajwanoon nanda mzin'igan.	These books are nice.
<b>WO</b> Onizhishinoon onowe mazina'iganan.	
<b>SC</b> Minwâšinwa ôho masinahikana.	
Γ^e S^ e D " D L' a " Δ b e x	







it is not secondary to another third person but is possessed by a first person – and is therefore not in the obviative form.

**CO** Nbaawan Maaniinh wsayenyan. Mary's older brother is sleeping.

**WO** Nibaawan Maanii osayenzan.

**SC** Nipâniwa Mânî ostesa.

σ<σ·< Lσ ▷^U<sub>x</sub>

**CO** Nbaa nsayenh.

My older brother is sleeping.

**WO** Nibaa nisayenz.

**SC** Nipâw nistes.

σ<° σ^U<sub>x</sub>

In Central Ojibwe/Odawa and in Cree, an obviative noun does not show number; the singular and the plural forms are the same.

**CO** wsayenyan his/her older brother(s)

**SC** ostesa

▷^U<sub>x</sub>

In Western Ojibwe, the distinction is made between the singular and the plural of obviative nouns; animate nouns can take on either a singular or plural obviative suffix.

**WO** osayenzan his/her older brother

**WO** osayenza' his/her older brothers

As is the case with the plural suffixes, the actual form of the obviative suffix varies with each noun stem. The connective used for each stem is the same as that used for the plural form of that stem.

In Cree and in some varieties of Ojibwe, a singular inanimate noun can also occur with an obviative inflection. In Cree the inanimate obviative suffix ends in **-niw**.

**SC** Cwân petâw kiškipocikaniniw. John is bringing a saw.

↳ V<° P^P>ŋbσσ°<sub>x</sub>





### 3.11 *Other Inflections*

#### 3.12 Diminutive Nouns

A diminutive suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate that the thing referred to is of small size relative to other items of its kind. (In some contexts, this suffix is treated as a derivational suffix.)

<b>CO</b>	mookmaan <u>ens</u>	small table knife
<b>WO</b>	mookomaan <u>ens</u>	
<b>SC</b>	môhkomâniš <u>iš</u>	
	ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	

#### 3.13 Pejorative Nouns

A pejorative suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate that the thing or the person named is in some way unsatisfactory or in dis-favour. The pejorative suffix may also indicate affection.

<b>CO</b>	mookmaan <u>ish</u>	useless table knife
<b>WO</b>	mookomaan <u>ish</u>	
<b>SC</b>	môhkomâniš <u>kîš</u>	
	ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	

In Central Ojibwe, a particular pejorative suffix can be added to convey a feeling of comfortable familiarity.

<b>CO</b>	mookmaan <u>enh</u>	(good) old table knife
-----------	---------------------	------------------------

#### 3.14 Preterit Nouns

A preterit suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate past state or absence. For example, a preterit suffix added to a noun that refers to a person indicates that the person is deceased. In some varieties of Ojibwe, a preterit suffix added to a noun that refers to a thing indicates that the thing is missing or no longer usable.

<b>CO</b>	nmishooms <u>iban</u>	my late grandfather
<b>WO</b>	nimishoomis <u>iban</u>	
<b>SC</b>	nimošôm <u>ipan</u>	
	ᑆᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	
<b>WO</b>	odaabaan <u>iban</u>	the train that used to be, the thing that used to be a train
<b>WO</b>	nimashkimod <u>iban</u>	the bag I used to have, the thing that used to be my bag



# 4

## PRONOUNS

### 4.1 Nominal Pronouns

### 4.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used in questions that aim to ascertain the identity of a person or thing. In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, interrogative pronouns may be animate or inanimate, depending on whether the question refers to a person or thing, and can be inflected for number and obviation.

<i>Animate</i>		<i>Inanimate</i>	
<b>CO</b>	wenesh                  who	wenesh	what
<b>WO</b>	awenen	wegonen	
<b>SC</b>	awenihkân/ awena	kekwân/ kekwânihkân	
	◁.∇σ"ḃ / ▷.∇α	ᑭ.ᑭ̇ / ᑭ.ᑭσ"ḃ	

### 4.3 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns refer to unspecified persons or things.

In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, indefinite pronouns may be inflected with basic suffixes showing number and obviation.

<i>Animate</i>		<i>Inanimate</i>	
<b>CO</b>	wiya                          someone	gegoo	something
<b>WO</b>	awiya	gegoon	
<b>SC</b>	awenihkân	kekwân	
	◁.∇σ"ḃ	ᑭ.ᑭ̇	

**4.4 Alternative Pronouns**

Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe have a pronoun meaning *another one* or *the other one*. This pronoun is known as the *alternative pronoun*.

Alternative pronouns are inflected with basic suffixes showing number, obviation, and the locative form.

<b>WO</b> kotak	the other one, another one
<b>SC</b> kotakiy/kotak	
ᑕᑕᑦ / ᑕᑕᑦ	

**4.5 Intensive Pronouns**

*Intensive pronouns* occur in Cree only. The intensive pronoun is used to focus on a noun, usually one previously mentioned. It is often used in conjunction with a demonstrative pronoun to add emphasis.

<b>SC</b> ewako/ekwânimá	the very one, the one
ᑦᑦᑕᑕᑦ / ᑦᑦᑕᑕᑦᑕᑦ	previously mentioned

**4.6 Dubitative Pronouns**

*Dubitative pronouns*, used in Ojibwe, express doubt or uncertainty about the identity of a being or thing.

<u><i>Animate Dubitative Pronoun</i></u>		<u><i>Inanimate Dubitative Pronoun</i></u>	
<b>CO</b> wegwen/	whoever	wegwen/	whatever
wegwenh/		wegwenh/	
wegwendig		wegwendig	
<b>WO</b> awegwen		wegodogwen	

In some varieties of Ojibwe, dubitative pronouns are inflected with basic suffixes showing number and obviation.

**4.7 Pausal Pronouns**

*Pausal pronouns* are used as substitutes for nouns that the speaker cannot momentarily recall. Pausal pronouns are inflected like nouns.

<u><i>Animate Pausal Pronoun</i></u>		<u><i>Inanimate Pausal Pronoun</i></u>	
<b>CO</b> ya'aa	some being,	ya'ii	some thing,
<b>WO</b> aya'aa	“what's-his-name”	aya'ii	“whatchamacallit”
<b>SC</b> ayahâw		ayahîw	
ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ		ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	

In Ojibwe, pausal pronouns can also be nouns themselves, often possessed or occurring with other affixes.

<b>CO</b> nda'iiman	my stuff
<b>WO</b> odaya'iiman	his stuff

#### 4.8 Other Nominal Pronouns

Other nominal pronouns occur in Ojibwe and Cree and are used for a variety of functions – for example, to indicate that the person or thing referred to is of a certain type or that he/she/it is absent or missing.

<b>CO</b> danow/danowa	this kind, a certain kind
<b>WO</b> dinookaan	this kind, a certain kind
<b>SC</b> awenipan ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	someone absent, something missing

#### 4.9 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to the various roles taken in speech. The first person is the speaker, the second person is the one addressed, and the third person is the one spoken of.

	<u>First-Person Singular</u>		<u>Second-Person Singular</u>		<u>Third-Person Singular</u>	
<b>CO</b>	nii/niin	I/me	gii/giin	you	wii/wiin	he/she
<b>WO</b>	niin		giin		wiin	
<b>SC</b>	nîna ᐅᐅ		kîna ᐅᐅ		wîna ᐅᐅᐅ	

There are two first-person plurals: the *exclusive plural*, which excludes the person addressed, and the *inclusive plural*, which includes the person addressed.

	<u>First-Person Exclusive Plural</u>		<u>First-Person Inclusive Plural</u>	
<b>CO</b>	niinwi	we/us, but	giinwi	we/us, including
<b>WO</b>	niinawind	not you	giinawind	you
<b>SC</b>	nînanân ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ		kînanânaw/ kînanâw ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ / ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	



The other plural forms are the second- and third-person plural.

<i>Second-Person</i>		<i>Third-Person</i>	
<i>Plural</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
<b>CO</b>	giinwaa          you	wiinwaa	they/them
<b>WO</b>	giinawaa	wiinawaa	
<b>SC</b>	kīnawâw	wīnawâw	
	ᑭᑎᑎᑦᑦᑦ	ᑎᑎᑎᑦᑦᑦ	

#### 4.10 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used to point out or designate specific things or persons. They agree with the nouns to which they relate in gender, number, and obviation (for examples, see sections 3.4–3.6).

The two demonstrative pronouns most often used designate two distinct degrees of distance, corresponding roughly to the distinction between the English *this* and *that*. Further degrees of distance (*this one over here*, *that one over there*, etc.) can be expressed in some varieties of Ojibwe by other forms. The charts below are not comprehensive; they show the main forms, with some common variants, for the three languages covered.

#### Demonstrative Pronouns in Central Ojibwe/Odawa

	<i>Animate</i>		<i>Inanimate</i>	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	maaba	wa	maanda	wi
plural	gonda	giw	nonda, nanda	niw
obviative	nonda, nanda	niw		

Another degree of distance may be expressed by the following forms: **wedi**, **giwedi**, **niwedi**; **wedi**, **niwedi**.

## Demonstrative Pronouns in Western Ojibwe

	<u>Animate</u>		<u>Inanimate</u>	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	wa'awe/wa'a	a'awe/awe/ a'a	o'owe/owe/ o'o	i'iwe/iwe/i'i
plural	ogowe/ogo/ ogoweniwag	igiwe/igi/ igiweniwag	onowe/ono/ onoweniwan	iniwe/ini/ iniweniwag
obviative singular	onowe/ono/ onoweniwan	iniwe/ini/ iniweniwag	o'oweni	i'iweni
obviative plural	onoweniwa'/ onowe/ono	iniweniwa'/ iniwe/ini	onoweniwan/ onowe/ono	iniweniwag/ iniwe/ini

Other degrees of distance may be expressed by adding **-di** to the forms above: **wa'awedi**, **ogowedi(g)**, etc.; **a'awedi (awedi)**, **igiwedi(g)**, **iniwedi(n)**, etc.

## Demonstrative Pronouns in Cree

	<u>Animate</u>		<u>Inanimate</u>	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	awa ◁◦◁	ana ◁◡	ôma ▷L	anima ◁◡L
plural	ôko/ôki ▷d / ▷P	aniki ◁◡P	ôho/ôhi ▷"▷ / ▷"Δ	anihi ◁◡"Δ
obviative singular	} ôho/ôhi ▷"▷ / ▷"Δ	} anihi ◁◡"Δ	ômeniw ▷◡◡◡	animeniw ◁◡◡◡
obviative plural			ôho/ôhi ▷"▷ / ▷"Δ	anihi ◁◡"Δ

Another degree of distance is expressed by the following: **naha**, **neki**, **nehi**; **nema**, **nehi**, **nemeniw**.

In Cree, the demonstrative pronoun may be combined with the intensive pronoun to add emphasis, as in the following example:

**SC** ekwânima = e(wa)ko + anima                      that's the one  
 ▽◡◡L = ▽◡◡ + ◁◡L

# 5

## NOUN PHRASES

A phrase consists of a group of words that are tied together in some way and that function as a unit in the structure of a sentence. A *noun phrase* usually consists of a noun that may or may not be accompanied by other words that modify it; this noun is commonly referred to as the *head noun*. In some contexts, the head noun may be missing and the noun phrase may consist only of one or more of the modifying words. In some cases, the entire noun phrase may be represented by a personal pronoun.

A noun phrase may contain another noun phrase serving as a possessor, or it may contain a subordinate clause functioning as a relative clause. Nouns within noun phrases may be linked by conjunctions.

A noun phrase is not a sentence in itself, but is often used alone in conversation as a fragment or as an answer to a question. Within sentences, noun phrases most often function as the subject or object of a verb. (Some verbs can have two objects.) The different parts of a noun phrase need not appear next to one another in a sentence.

### 5.1

### Grammatical Components of Noun Phrases

### 5.2

### *Noun in Noun Phrase*

A noun used alone can act as a noun phrase.

**CO** Naadmawshin bkwezhgan.

Get me the bread.

**WO** Aazha na gigii-waabamaa  
mashkikiwinini.

Did you see the doctor yet?

**SC** Nika-nâten cîmân.

I'll get the canoe.

ᓃᓃ ᓃᓃ ᓃᓃ

### 5.3 *Nominal Pronoun in Noun Phrase*

A nominal pronoun can act as a noun phrase.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Wenesh</u> gaa-bi-zhaad noongo.                          | Who came today?                        |
| <b>WO</b> Giishpin andawendaman<br><u>gegoon</u> , wiindamawishinaam. | If you want anything,<br>just tell us. |
| <b>SC</b> <u>Kotakîniw</u> kî-ôšhtâw.<br>ᑯᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ            | He fixed the other one.                |

### 5.4 *Demonstrative Pronoun With Noun in Noun Phrase*

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a head noun, agreeing with it in number, gender, and obviation. The demonstrative may appear with the head noun or in place of it.

- |   |                                      |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <b>CO</b> Aakzi <u>wa</u> kwezens.  | That girl is sick.                   |
| <b>WO</b> Aandi gaa-ondinaman <u>iwe</u> .  | Where did you get that?              |
| <b>SC</b> Mînik awâšišak <u>anihi</u><br><u>masinahikana</u> .<br>ᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ<br>ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ | Give those books to the<br>children. |

### 5.5 *Quantifier or Other Particle in Noun Phrase*

A quantifier or some other particle can act as a noun phrase or it can form part of a noun phrase.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Kina go naa gegoo miijim</u><br>gii-te.                   | There were all kinds of<br>food there.                |
| <b>WO</b> Ninga-miinaa nishiimenz<br><u>bangii</u> .                   | I'm going to give my younger<br>brother a little bit. |
| <b>SC</b> Nitayâwâwak <u>âtiht atimwak</u> .<br>ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑯᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ | I have several dogs.                                  |

### 5.6 *Personal Pronoun in Noun Phrase*

A personal pronoun used to provide emphasis can act as a noun phrase. It is often used with an emphatic particle or a conjunction.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>CO</b> Gdayekoz na <u>gegii</u> .                                | And you, are you tired, too?           |
| <b>WO</b> <u>Geniin</u> bangii biidamawishin.                       | Bring me a little, too.                |
| <b>SC</b> Kekwân mâka <u>kîna</u> kâ-petâyan.<br>ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ | What about you, what did<br>you bring? |

## 5.7

**Noun Phrase As Possessor**

Any type of noun phrase may appear as the possessor of a noun; the affixes on the possessed noun agree in person, number, and obviation with the noun or pronoun designating the possessor.

- |  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Binoojiinh wmakzin</u> ngii-mkaan.                  | I found the baby's shoe.     |
| <b>WO</b> Aandi <u>gimisenz odaanakwaan</u> .                    | Where's your sister's hat?   |
| <b>SC</b> Kikî-otinamwân nâ <u>Cwân</u><br><u>omasinahikan</u> . | Did you pick up John's book? |
| ᑭᑭ ᑲᑎᑭᑦᑲᑦ ᑦ ᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑎᑦᑲᑦ                                      |                              |

## 5.8

**Relative Clauses**

Relative clauses are clauses that modify noun phrases or stand for noun phrases. For a fuller discussion of the topic and further examples, see section 7.61.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>CO</b> Baatiinwag <u>genwaabndigejig</u><br><u>enji-niim'idining</u> . | There are a lot of spectators<br>at the dance. |
| <b>WO</b> Giinwaa <u>gaa-gitimiyeg</u><br><u>gawishimog</u> .             | You lazy ones, go to bed!                      |
| <b>SC</b> Niwî-mîcin <u>kâ-atihteki</u> .                                 | I'll eat the ripe ones.                        |
| ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ   |  |

## 5.9

**Conjoined Noun Phrases**

## 5.10

**Noun Phrases With Conjunctions**

Noun phrases may be connected by conjunctions.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>CO</b> Maajidoon <u>waaboowaan</u><br><u>miinwaa pikweshmowin</u> . | Take along a blanket and<br>a pillow.                         |
| <b>WO</b> Wii-gitigewag <u>nisayenz</u><br><u>owiiwan idash</u> .      | My older brother and his wife<br>are going to plant a garden. |
| <b>SC</b> Nikî-mînâw <u>šōniyân ašici</u><br><u>mâka mîciminiw</u> .   | I gave him money and also<br>food.                            |
| ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ ᑎᑦᑲᑦ  |   |

**Noun Phrases in Lists**

Noun phrases can be connected without the use of conjunctions.

- CO** Wgii-biidoonaawaa kwa nwanj go  
gegoo, gnimaa zaasgokwaan  
naagnan, emkwaan  
mookmaan.      They brought all kinds of  
things, such as frying pans,  
dishes, spoons, knives.
- WO** Ningitigaadaan noojigo bigo  
gegoonan, opiniin, okaadaakwag,  
oginiig, gichi-aniibiishan.      I'm planting all sorts of things –  
potatoes, carrots, tomatoes,  
cabbage.

# 6

## VERBLESS SENTENCES

### 6.1 **Equational Sentences**

Equational sentences are sentences without verbs in which a noun phrase combines with another noun phrase to make a statement or ask a question concerning the identity of a person or thing.

### 6.2 ***Equational Sentence With Demonstrative Pronoun***

One of the noun phrases in an equational sentence is usually a demonstrative pronoun; the other noun phrase is usually a noun but may contain a possessed noun with its possessor, as in the second set of examples below.

<b>CO</b> Waagaakwad maanda.	This is an axe.
<b>WO</b> Akikoog igiwe.	Those are pails.
<b>SC</b> Masinahikan ôma. Lr'q."Δb' ▷Lx	This is a book.
<b>CO</b> Zhaanh wmakzinan niwi.	Those are John's shoes.
<b>WO</b> Mary iniweniwan odoodaabaanensiman.	That's Mary's car.
<b>SC</b> Nîna ôma nimetawâkan. σ'q. ▷L σ'ΓC·Δb'x	This is my toy.

### 6.3 ***Negative Equational Sentence***

In Ojibwe, an equational sentence may contain a negative particle.

<b>CO</b> Gaawii giin wi gmizna'gan.	That's not your book.
<b>WO</b> Gaawiin niin owe nimookomaan.	That's not my table knife.





## 6.9

**Adverb or Other Particle With Question Particle**

A question particle can be added to an adverb or another particle to form a verbless yes/no question.

<b>CO</b> Maampii na.	Here?
<b>WO</b> Aazha na.	Ready?
<b>SC</b> Mîna nâ. ᑭᑦ ᑎᑦ.	More?

## 6.10

**Adverb or Other Particle With Noun Phrase**

Some adverbs and other particles can combine with a noun phrase to form a verbless sentence.

<b>CO</b> Nashke maaba.	Look at this!
<b>WO</b> Aazha dede.	Daddy's here now.
<b>SC</b> Âšay nîna. ᑎᑦ ᑎᑦ.	I'm ready.

## 6.11

**Interrogative Adverb With Noun Phrase**

An interrogative adverb can combine with a noun phrase to form a verbless locative question.

<b>CO</b> Aabiish niwi nmakzinan.	Where are my shoes?
<b>WO</b> Aaniindi animosh.	Where's the dog?
<b>SC</b> Tânte astotin. ᑎᑦ ᑎᑦ.	Where's the hat?

## 6.12

**Dubitative Adverb With Noun Phrase**

In Ojibwe, a dubitative adverb can occur with a noun phrase to form a verbless sentence expressing doubt or uncertainty about the location of a person or thing.

<b>CO</b> Dbi iidig nmijkaawnag.	I wonder where my mittens are.
<b>WO</b> Dibi apane nindaanis.	I wonder where my daughter has gone.

## 6.13

**Verbless Sentences With Focus Word**

In Ojibwe, a particle called a predicator is used to focus on some part of a sentence. In Cree, the intensive pronoun serves a similar function, often pointing to something previously mentioned.



# 7

## VERBS

The verb is the main feature of most sentences in Cree and Ojibwe; nothing more is needed to make a sentence. Noun phrases and adverbs and other particles may occur with the verb, but are not essential.

### 7.1 The Form of a Verb

The fundamental unit of a verb is the verb stem, which carries the verb's basic meaning – the state or action described by the verb (*be, see, run*, for example). Various inflectional affixes, which relate the verb to the other words in the sentence or add meanings not contained in the stem (time or negation, for example), appear around this basic stem. Some of these inflectional affixes are prefixes; most are suffixes. The overall pattern of an inflected verb is indicated in the following word diagram:

inflectional prefixes + VERB STEM + inflectional suffixes (verb ending)

In the examples that follow, the verb stem *see* is surrounded by affixes that convey pertinent information; they tell the reader or listener that the speaker did the seeing, that the action has already taken place, and that more than one person was seen by the speaker. In grammatical terms, the affixes identify the subject, the tense, and the object of the verb.

**CO** Ngii-waabmaag.                      I saw them.

**WO** Ningii-waabamaag.

**SC** Nikî-wâpamâwak.

σ̄·p̄ ·ᐱ̄<ᐱ̄·ᐱ̄`x

In this particular case, it is possible to identify individual suffixes; **-g** or **-wak** at the end of the verb, for example, indicates that the object is animate plural. The second-last suffix, **-aa** or **-â**, indicates the direction of the action – that is, that it is the speaker who saw *them*, and not the other way around. In many instances, however, the various suffixes overlap and blend together so that it is difficult to identify individual suffixes. For this reason, the suffixes attached to a verb stem are often referred to collectively as the *verb ending*.

The inflectional prefixes include personal prefixes, tense prefixes, and subordinating prefixes. These take on different forms and patterns, depending on the other inflections used.

## 7.2 Subject and Object

The *subject* of a verb (sometimes called the *actor*) is the main person or thing involved in the action or state described by the verb, typically the one that performs the action or the one whose state or condition is described by the verb. In the example above (see section 7.1), the subject is the speaker, the first person. The *object* of a verb is an additional person or thing involved in the action or state described by the verb, typically one that is affected by the action of the verb. In the example above, the object of the verb is *them*, the third-person plural. Some verbs can have two objects.

The inflectional affixes attached to the verb identify the subject or object, or both, by giving information about their categories, such as gender, number, person, and obviation. The subject or the object can also be named in a noun phrase. The identifying inflectional affixes, however, will appear on the verb, whether a noun phrase is used or not. In the examples below, the inflected verbs appear with one or two optional noun phrases, in addition to the required verbal affixes.

<b>CO</b> Genii ngii-waabmaag giw gwiizensag.	I, too, saw those boys.
<b>WO</b> Indawaaj niin ningiwe.	I'm going home now.
<b>SC</b> Tânte mâka kîna etohteyan. Ĉʷ Lb P̄a ∇ʷ"Uʷx.	And what about you, where do you want to go?

## 7.3 Double-Object Verbs

Some verbs, called *double-object verbs*, can have two objects. One of these is the person or thing to which the action is directed (traditionally known as the *indirect object*) and the other is the person or thing to which the action happens (traditionally known as the *direct object*).



**Inanimate Intransitive Verbs**

Inanimate intransitive verbs (abbreviated VII) have inanimate subjects but no objects.

<b>CO</b> ngide	it melts ( <i>it</i> refers here to an
<b>WO</b> ningide	inanimate noun – <i>butter</i> ,
<b>SC</b> tihkitew	for instance)
ᑎᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

Some inanimate intransitive verbs, especially those describing weather and geographical features, are impersonal and typically do not occur with nouns as subjects.

<b>CO</b> zoogpo	it is snowing
<b>WO</b> zoogopon/zoogipon	
<b>SC</b> mispon	
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

**Transitive Inanimate Verbs**

Transitive inanimate verbs (abbreviated VTI) have inanimate objects. Their subjects are usually animate.

There are two main classes or types of transitive inanimate verbs, each with its own *class marker* suffix. Most transitive inanimate stems belong to one of these two classes; in Ojibwe, a few belong to additional minor classes. The class of the verb is indicated in the ending, underlined in these examples. The first class of transitive inanimate verbs is usually abbreviated VTI1:

<b>CO</b> nwaabnda <u>an</u>	I see it
<b>WO</b> niwaabanda <u>an</u>	
<b>SC</b> niwâpaht <u>en</u>	
ᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ	

The second class of transitive inanimate verbs is abbreviated VTI2:

<b>CO</b> mbiido <u>on</u>	I bring it
<b>WO</b> nimbiido <u>on</u>	
<b>SC</b> nipî <u>tâw</u>	
ᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦᑎᑦ	

In some discussions of Cree structure, the VTI2 type is treated as an animate intransitive verb since it uses affixes of the animate intransitive class.

Some animate intransitive verbs may occur in sentences with objects. These animate intransitive verbs with objects, abbreviated VAI+O, have



## 7.10 *Relational Verbs*

In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, animate intransitive and transitive inanimate verbs can have relational forms to indicate that the action of the verb relates to some person other than the subject or the object. A special paradigm of endings is used to indicate the relational form of verbs.

**WO** Ninandawenimig ji-nagamowag. He wants me to sing.

**SC** Nikî-wâpahtamwân ocîmân. I saw his boat.

σ-p̄ ·q̄<"c̄:l̄> ▷r̄l̄>\*

## 7.11 *Verb Orders*

There are three basic verb orders: the *imperative order*, used in giving commands; the *independent order*, used in most statements and yes/no questions; and the *conjunct order*, used mainly in content questions and in subordinate clauses of various types. Each order has its distinct paradigm of inflectional affixes. These affixes vary according to the type of the verb (VAI, VII, etc.) and the way the verb is used in the sentence.

The main uses of each order and the paradigms of inflectional affixes that can be used with different classes of stems within each order are examined in the following sections.

## 7.12 *The Imperative Order*

Verbs in the imperative order express commands or requests, although not all verbs used in this way are in the imperative order. The inflectional endings of imperative-order verbs contain suffixes registering the subject, which is animate and second person (singular, plural, or inclusive plural), and, in some transitive forms, the object. Since the subject must be animate and second person, inanimate intransitive verbs have no imperative forms. Personal prefixes are not used and tense prefixes are very rare.

There are three main *modes* of imperative verbs, each used for a particular purpose: the *immediate imperative* (also called the *present* or *regular imperative*), which expresses commands and requests to be executed immediately; the *delayed imperative* (also called the *future* or *deferred imperative*), which expresses commands and requests to be executed at some point in the future; and, in Ojibwe, the *prohibitive imperative* (also called the *negative imperative*), which expresses negative commands. Each form has a distinct set of inflectional endings.



### 7.13 Uses of the Imperative Verb

The imperative verb is used to express commands or requests. The imperative verb may be the only verb in the sentence, or it may appear with a subordinate clause with a conjunct verb.

The overall structure of the imperative verb is:

VERB STEM + imperative ending

### 7.14 Inflection of the Imperative Verb for Subject and Object

Given the many variations that exist among local forms of Ojibwe and Cree, paradigms of inflectional endings for various verb types are not given here. Rather, teachers are encouraged to compile their own charts of imperative verb endings, which should reflect the forms used in local varieties of the language. Detailed instructions and blank charts have been provided for this purpose in the Appendix to this document (see pp. 93–117).

In the examples that follow, the imperative endings on the verbs have been underlined. All the examples in this section are in the immediate mode.

**7.15 Animate intransitive imperative inflection.** An animate intransitive imperative verb has an animate subject but no object. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated in the imperative ending.

<b>CO</b> Wewiib nishkaag.	Hurry and get up!
<b>WO</b> Daga zhemaag giigidon.	Call immediately!
<b>SC</b> Eko wanawî <u>âk</u> .	Let's go outside!
∇d ·◁a·ΔĈ`x	

Some Cree verb forms have no singular imperative ending, and the stem appears alone:

<b>SC</b> Wanawî.	Go outside!
·◁a·Δx	

**7.16 Transitive inanimate imperative inflection.** A transitive inanimate imperative verb has an animate subject and an inanimate object. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated by an imperative ending. The inanimate object may be singular or plural, but number is not indicated in the ending except in the inclusive plural

subject forms. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated by an inflectional ending, which may include the appropriate class marker.

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| <b>CO</b> Bi-ninan zisbaakwad.          | Pass the sugar.      |
| <b>WO</b> Zagakisidoon gidaya'iiman.    | Tidy up your things. |
| <b>SC</b> Ôta iši-astâ anima metawâkan. | Put that toy here.   |
| ᑯᑦ ᐃᓂ ᐱᑦᑕ ᐱᓂᑦ ᑕᑦᐱᑦᑯᑦ                    |                      |

**7.17 Transitive animate imperative inflection.** A transitive animate imperative verb has an animate subject and object. Most combinations of subject and object are indicated in the imperative ending, which may contain a direction marker.

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <b>CO</b> Bzindawig bneshiinyag.               | Listen to the birds.           |
| <b>WO</b> Nanaandone'waaᑑaa<br>dakoniwewinini. | Let's go look for a policeman. |
| <b>SC</b> Išiwiniᑎᑎ mwehci anohc.              | Take us right away.            |
| ᐃᓂᑦᐱᓂᑦᑯᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑎᑦ ᐱᓂᑦᑯᑦ                           |                                |

With a double-object verb, the ending reflects the indirect object.

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| <b>CO</b> Miizh Maanii mzin'igan.                | Give Mary the book.  |
| <b>WO</b> Adaawetamawishin bangii<br>minaago'on. | Buy me some perfume. |
| <b>SC</b> Wâpahtinamawik kicîmâniwâw.            | Show me your boat.   |
| ᑦᐱᑦᑕᑦᑎᑦᑯᑦᐱᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑎᑦᑯᑦᐱᑦ                            |                      |

### 7.18 Inflection of the Imperative Verb for Mode

**7.19 The immediate imperative mode.** The immediate mode of the imperative is used to express commands or requests that are to be executed immediately. All the examples in sections 7.15–7.17 are in the immediate mode.

**7.20 The delayed (or future) imperative mode.** The delayed form of the imperative is used to express commands or requests that are to be carried out at some future time. (In some contexts, the requests expressed by the delayed imperative are polite in tone.) The endings for the delayed imperative contain a delayed-mode suffix: **-k** in Ojibwe, **-hk** in Cree.

- |                                      |                                 |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>CO</b> Baamaa bi-zhaakan.         | Come back (later).              |
| <b>WO</b> Wiiji'aakeg gimaamaa.      | Help your mother.               |
| <b>SC</b> Kwayask kanawâpahtamôhkan. | Take a good look at it (later). |
| ᑦᑕᑦᑎᑦᑯᑦ ᑦᑕᑦᑎᑦᑯᑦᐱᑦ                    |                                 |

**The prohibitive imperative mode.** In Ojibwe, the prohibitive (or negative) imperative expresses negative commands or requests. A prohibitive particle, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is normally used with a prohibitive verb. The endings of a prohibitive verb contain the prohibitive suffix **-k** (**-g** after **n**).

In Cree, a prohibitive particle is used with the immediate or the delayed imperative mode to express a negative command.

<b>CO</b>	Gego biigsido <u>oke</u> naagan.	Don't break that dish!
<b>WO</b>	Gego zaaga' <u>angen</u> .	Don't go outside!
<b>SC</b>	Kâwina pikopita <u>mok</u> anihi metawâkana.	Don't break those toys!
	ᑲ·ᐃᑲ ᐱᑦᑲᐱᑦᑲᑦ ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	

### *The Independent Order*

Whether or not a verb is in the independent order is determined by the way it is used. Usually when a verb is the main verb in a statement or yes/no question, it is in the independent order. The affixes of the independent order register the subject and, in many cases, an object. The affixes may include a personal prefix and one or several suffixes indicating the subject or object, or subject-object combinations. Time and related ideas can be indicated by *tense prefixes*. The overall structure of independent verbs is:

personal prefix	+	tense prefixes	+	VERB STEM	+	independent ending
--------------------	---	-------------------	---	--------------	---	-----------------------

Not all of these components are present in every independent verb: a personal prefix is required for only certain subjects or subject-object combinations; tense prefixes may not be required; and some forms either have no suffix or the suffix is deleted by pronunciation rules from certain stems.

Independent-order verbs occur in one of four modes; the *neutral* mode, the *preterit* mode, the *dubitative* mode, and the *preterit-dubitative* mode. All of these, except the neutral mode, have their own characteristic mode suffixes. Verbs without a mode suffix are considered to be in the neutral (or indicative) mode.

The endings of independent verbs are often very complicated and contain several different suffixes that blend together so that it becomes difficult to identify individual suffixes. Independent verb endings may include one or more of the following: a subject/object suffix or suffixes, a direction marker, and a mode suffix or suffixes. Other suffixes may also be present, representing other grammatical ideas; for example, in Ojibwe, independent verbs can have negative suffixes.







When the subject and object are the same person (“he talks to himself”), an animate intransitive verb with a reflexive stem is used (see section 8.17).

The person of the subject or object is indicated by a personal prefix. (The absence of a personal prefix indicates a third person in Cree.) Whether the prefix is the subject or the object is determined by the direction marker used. All other grammatical information relating to the subject and object is conveyed by suffixes. Almost any transitive animate stem can occur with any direction marker; the latter simply indicates the relationship between a particular kind of subject and a particular kind of object. The direction markers are: the *direct*, the *inverse*, the *me-object*, and the *you-object*. In addition, there are variants of the inverse marker for indefinite and inanimate subjects.

7.31

**The direct marker.** The direct form is used when the subject is first or second person and the object is third person. The personal prefix, where required, indicates the person of the subject. In Ojibwe, the direct marker takes the form **-aa**; in Cree, **-â** or **-e**. Other suffixes appear in the ending along with the direct marker, indicating various categories of the subject and object.

<b>CO</b> Chi-Joe <u>gga-o-waabmaanaa/</u> ka-o-waabmaanaa.	We'll go and see Big-Joe.
<b>WO</b> Naazibiing <u>ningii-mikawaa</u> wa'a asin.	I found this rock down by the lake.
<b>SC</b> <u>Nikî-wanihâw</u> peyak nitastis. σ̇Ṗ ·<σ̇" <σ̇" Vʔ̇ σ̇ĊṄ.	I lost one of my mittens.

The direct form is also used when the subject is third-person proximate and the object is third-person obviative. In Ojibwe, the third-person prefix is used; in Cree, no personal prefix is used.

<b>CO</b> Kina wiya <u>wgii-gnoonaan.</u>	He talked to everybody.
<b>WO</b> Nimaamaa <u>ogii-ozhi'aa'</u> iniweniwa' azhigana'.	My mother made these socks.
<b>SC</b> Kî-nipahewak <u>môswa otâkošîhk</u> aniki nâpešîšak. Ṗ σ̇<" ∇·< ʔ̇·< ɔ̇Ċɔ̇Ṡ* <σ̇Ṗ σ̇ Vʔ̇Ṡ.	Those boys killed a moose last night.

If the subject is first or second person and the object is obviative, the suffix **-(i)m** is added before the direct marker in some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree.

<b>WO</b> Odeden <u>ningii-waabamimaan.</u>	I saw his father.
<b>SC</b> <u>Kikiskenimimâwa</u> nâ otôtéma. PṖ^qσ̇Γ̇L̇·< σ̇ ɔ̇ ɔ̇J̇UL̇.	Do you know his friend?

7.32

**The inverse marker.** The inverse form is used when the subject is third person and the object is first or second person. The inverse form uses the same prefix and suffixes as the direct form, but the subject and object are inverted: the prefix, where required, shows the person of the object. In Ojibwe, the inverse marker takes the form **-(i)go**, **-(i)gw**, or **-(i)g** in the ending; in Cree, it appears as **-(i)ko** or **-(i)kw**.

<b>CO</b> Manj go pii daabaan gdaa-bsikaag.	A car could hit you anytime.
<b>WO</b> Wiiba zhebaa igi biiwideg ningii-mawadisigonaanig.	Early this morning those strangers came to visit us.
<b>SC</b> Nipehikonânik neta. σV"Δdασ\ τC*	They are waiting for us over there.

The inverse form is also used when the subject is third-person obviative and the object is third-person non-obviative.

<b>CO</b> Jiinaagwa gaa-waabmaajin nongwa wñandwaabmigoon.	The ones he saw yesterday are looking for him now.
<b>WO</b> Gabe-dibik ogii-nooji'igowaa' ma'iingana'.	The wolves bothered them all night.
<b>SC</b> Papâ-nâtaawâpamikow ôhtâwiya. << αC<Γd° Δ"Δ*Δ*	His father is looking for him.

7.33

**The me-object marker.** The me-object form is used when the subject is second person and the object is first person. The personal prefix indicates the second-person subject. In Ojibwe, the me-object direction marker takes the form **-i** (which may be deleted in some forms) or **-y**, or, in some varieties, **-ish**; in Cree, **-i**. In some forms, the last consonant of the stem may change. Other suffixes appear in the ending along with the me-object direction marker, indicating various categories of the subject and object.

<b>CO</b> Gaa-sh wii gwa gbaamenm̄isii.	You are not paying attention to me.
<b>WO</b> Gaawiin ina ḡibizindaw̄isii.	Don't you listen to me?
<b>SC</b> Ka-kî-awihin̄ nâ kotak kimasinahikanâhtik. b p̄ <Δ"Δ° α dC̄ pLr'α"Δba"ŋ\*	Could you lend me your other pencil?

7.34

**The you-object marker.** The you-object marker is used when the subject is first person and the object is second person. The personal prefix indicates the second-person object. In Ojibwe, the you-object





distinguish between them. The basic forms of the most common tense prefixes on independent verbs are given below.

Ojibwe	Cree		
gii-/gii'-	kî-	ᖅ	completed action (past tense)
ga-	ka-	b	future (after a personal prefix)
da-	ta-, kata-	ᑕ, ᑕᑕ	future (not after a personal prefix)
wii-/wii'-	wî-	·ᐃ	desiderative
daa-	tâ-	ᑕ	modal (possibility, obligation)
gii- (rare)	kî-	ᖅ	potential

<b>CO</b> Wiikwemkong <u>da</u> -zhaa Norma.	Norma will go to Wikwemikong.
<b>WO</b> Ajina ni <u>wii</u> -namadab.	I want to sit down for a while.
<b>SC</b> Ni <u>kî</u> -wanihikânân iskani-pipon.	We trapped all winter.
ᑕᖅ ᖅᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ	

In some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree, a prefix other than the past-tense prefix may be used with a past-tense negative verb. In Ojibwe, this prefix takes the form **onji-**; in Cree, **ohci-**.

### 7.38 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Negation

In Ojibwe, negation is expressed by the use of a negative particle at the beginning of the sentence and a negative suffix in the verb ending. The suffix is usually **-sii(n)** or **-si(n)**. In Cree, a negative particle is used, but the verb has regular inflections.

<b>CO</b> <u>Gaawiin</u> nmino-yaasii.	I'm not feeling well.
<b>WO</b> <u>Gaawiin</u> debwe nindanokiisiimin.	We're not really working.
<b>SC</b> <u>Môna</u> mišikitiwak aniki tâpiskwâsonak.	Those spools of thread aren't big.
ᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ ᐃᑕᑕᑕ	

The negative suffix is used even when the negative particle occurs with another particle or pronoun.

<b>CO</b> <u>Gaawii</u> wiya bkadesii.	Nobody is hungry.
<b>WO</b> <u>Gaawiin</u> mashi ningikinoo'amaagesii.	I haven't taught yet.

### 7.39 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Mode

The preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative modes are indicated by suffixes that appear in the verb ending along with the suffixes relating to the subject and object. When no mode suffix appears in the ending, a verb is said to be in the neutral mode.



certain other words – for example, question words such as *when*, *who*, *where* – it falls into the *conjunct* or *joined-together* order.

Although tense prefixes occur as in the independent order, personal prefixes are not used in the conjunct order. The suffixes in the verb ending indicate the *subject* of an intransitive verb and both the *subject* and *object* of a transitive verb. The endings may also include suffixes for the same modes that are used in the independent order. In some varieties of Ojibwe, they may also include negative suffixes.

In Cree, conjunct verbs appear in the subjunctive with a modified conjunct ending to indicate unrealized events. In some varieties of Ojibwe, conjunct verbs may appear in *participle* form; in this form, the suffixes for subject and object may differ from those normally used in the conjunct order.

Certain constructions, including participles in Ojibwe, use the *changed conjunct*, in which the vowel of the first syllable of the verb (this may be in the verb stem or it may be a prefix or preverb) is changed according to a regular pattern. The constructions that require the *changed conjunct* and the extent to which the mechanism, also referred to as *the process of initial change*, is applied vary from dialect to dialect.

The basic pattern of the conjunct verb is:

initial change + tense prefix(es) + VERB STEM + conjunct ending  
or  
subordinating  
prefix(es)

#### 7.44 Uses of the Conjunct Verb

Conjunct verbs are found most often in content questions, after predicates, and in subordinate clauses, including adverbial clauses, verb complement clauses, and relative clauses.

It should be pointed out that the conjunct order is used for a variety of purposes in the different Native languages, so that the uses presented here should be seen not as an exhaustive survey but rather as a guide to the most common uses of the conjunct order.

**7.45 Content questions.** *Content questions*, or questions beginning with a question word such as *who*, *where*, or *what*, normally require the conjunct order form of the verb. The examples in this section illustrate the main types of content questions.

7.46

*Questions with interrogative pronoun.* In this type of question, a noun phrase, represented by the interrogative pronoun, is the focus of a question.

<b>CO</b> Wenesh <u>gaa-waabmik</u> .	Who saw you?
<b>WO</b> Awenenan <u>gaa-mawadisaad</u> aakoziwigamigong.	Whom did he visit in the hospital?
<b>SC</b> Kekwân <u>wâ-mîciyan</u> . ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	What do you want to eat?

7.47

*Questions with interrogative adverb.* In this type of question, an interrogative adverb is linked to the conjunct verb to ask a question concerning the location, time, or nature of an act or event. The verb often contains a relative root or prefix.

<b>CO</b> Aabiish <u>ezhaayin</u> .	Where are you going?
<b>WO</b> Aan <u>enakamigak</u> agwajiing.	What's going on outside? (literally How is the action going outside?)
<b>SC</b> Tânispiy <u>kâ-takošihkik</u> . ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	When did they arrive?

7.48

*Questions with interrogative word asking for a reason.* In this type of question, an interrogative word is linked to the verb prefix or root *from* to ask a question concerning the reason for an act or event.

<b>CO</b> Aaniish <u>gaa-nji-gnoonind</u> .	Why were they speaking to him?
<b>WO</b> Wegonen <u>wenji-inishiyin</u> .	Why are you saying that to me?
<b>SC</b> Kekwân <u>wehci-pâhpiyan</u> . ᑭᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	Why are you laughing?

7.49

**Dubitative statements.** In Ojibwe, *dubitative statements* beginning with a dubitative word – statements that express doubt or uncertainty about the identity or location of a person or thing, the location or time of an event, etc. – require the conjunct-order form of the verb. The conjunct verb in this type of statement is usually in the dubitative mode.

7.50

*Dubitative statements with dubitative pronoun.* In this type of statement, the conjunct verb is linked to a dubitative pronoun to express doubt or uncertainty about the identity of a person or thing.

<b>CO</b> Wegwen maa <u>gaa-bi-zhaagwenh</u> .	I wonder who came here.
<b>WO</b> Awegwen <u>gaa-gidamwaagwen</u> nimbakwezhighaniman.	I wonder who ate up my bannock.

7.51 *Dubitative statements with dubitative adverb.* In this type of statement, the conjunct verb is linked to a dubitative adverb to express doubt or uncertainty about location, time, or manner.

<b>CO</b> Dbi iidig <u>tegwenh</u> nwiwkwaan.	I wonder where my hat is.
<b>WO</b> Amanj <u>enendamogwen</u> noongom nimaamaa.	I wonder what my mother thinks ( <i>literally</i> how my mother is thinking).

7.52 **Clauses with predicator.** Verbs used in clauses introduced by a predicator are usually in the conjunct order.

7.53 *Clauses with focus word.* In Ojibwe, the verb in a clause introduced by a focus word is in the conjunct order unless a negative particle is present.

<b>CO</b> Mii wiya <u>gaa-kidod</u> .	That's what somebody said.
<b>WO</b> Amii <u>e-gichi-anokiid</u> enaak John.	This is the first time that John is working hard.

7.54 *Clauses with other predicators.* Certain other particles may serve as predicators and introduce a clause with a conjunct-order verb.

<b>CO</b> Pane <u>gaa-ni-maajaad</u> .	And finally he went.
<b>WO</b> Booch igo <u>gaa-izhi-odaapinang</u> .	And still he went and picked it up.
<b>SC</b> Tânika <u>kimowahk</u> . Ċσ-b P.J-Ċʔ*	I wish it would rain.

7.55 **Complement clauses.** Some verbs, notably verbs of speaking, thinking, and feeling, can be complemented by a clause containing a conjunct verb.

<b>CO</b> Nzegiz wii- <u>niiskaadak</u> .	I'm afraid there will be a storm.
<b>WO</b> Ningikenimaag <u>e-aakoziwaad</u> .	I know they are sick.
<b>SC</b> Minwenihtam <u>e-âpatisit</u> . Γ·σσ"Ċσ ∇ Ċ<ŋʔ*	He's happy to work.

7.56 **Adverbial subordinate clauses.** Some subordinate clauses take on an adverbial function to specify time, location, or manner.

7.57

*Adverbial clauses of time.* *Adverbial clauses of time* perform the function of an adverb of time, restricting the focus of verbal action in the main clause to a specific period or point in time. Adverbial clauses are often introduced by a grammatical particle or by one or more tense or subordinating prefixes. In the examples that follow, the adverbial clauses of time are underlined.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Megwaa nbaayaanh,</u><br>gii-bi-dgoshin.  | She arrived <u>while I was</u><br><u>sleeping.</u> |
| <b>WO</b> Gego zaaga'angen<br><u>jibwaa-dagoshinaan.</u>                                       | Don't go outside <u>until I arrive.</u>            |
| <b>SC</b> Nipâpa kata-natawi-âpatisiw<br><u>ke-wâpaninik.</u><br>σ<< bC a.C.Δ <N'°<br>9. <σσ'x | My father will go to work<br><u>tomorrow.</u>      |

7.58

*Adverbial clauses of place.* *Adverbial clauses of place*, also called *locative clauses*, perform the function of an adverb of place or a locative noun. The verb may be introduced by a tense or subordinating prefix and usually has a relative root or prefix. In the examples that follow, the adverbial clauses of place are underlined.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Enji-nbaayaanh kwa</u> gii-te wi.   | It's <u>where I used to sleep.</u>  |
| <b>WO</b> <u>Gaa-izhi-daad</u> nindizhaa.  | I'm going to his place<br>( <i>literally</i> I'm going <u>where</u><br><u>he lives</u> ). |
| <b>SC</b> Pakitina <u>ekâ atimwak</u><br><u>ke-iši-otinahkik.</u><br><PNa ∇b <N·L' 9 ΔJ >Na" P'x | Put it <u>where the dogs won't</u><br><u>be able to get it.</u>                           |

7.59

**Conditional clauses.** *Conditional clauses* state a condition that restricts the action of the verb in the main clause. Conditional clauses often occur with the conjunction **giishpin/kišâspin** and in Cree normally require the subjunctive mode. In the examples below, the conditional clauses are underlined.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>CO</b> <u>Giishpin nendman,</u> mii go oodi<br>ge-zhaaying.                          | If <u>you agree,</u> we'll go.                              |
| <b>WO</b> <u>Waabamagiban,</u><br>nindaa-gii-giwe-diba'amawaa.                          | If I <u>had seen him,</u> I would<br>have paid him back.    |
| <b>SC</b> Mōna kika-pōsinânaw cîmânihk<br><u>nôtiške.</u><br>Jē Pē >P'ā.ē° f'Lσ'x ɁN"9x | We're not going to go in the<br>boat <u>if it is windy.</u> |

7.60

**Clauses of purpose.** *Clauses of purpose* or result describe the goal or outcome of the action specified in the main clause. Clauses of purpose usually contain a future or subordinating preverb. In the following examples, the clauses of purpose are underlined.

<b>CO</b> Weweni wiisnin <u>ji-mno-bmaadziyan.</u>	Eat properly <u>so you will be healthy.</u>
<b>WO</b> Niwii-gagwejimaa awiya <u>ji-ozhibii'iged.</u>	I want to ask someone <u>to take notes.</u>
<b>SC</b> Mîcisôhkan ekâ ci-šîwateyan <u>metaweyan.</u> ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑎᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ.	Eat <u>so you won't be hungry when you play.</u>

7.61

**Relative clauses.** *Relative clauses* modify nouns (they describe or say something about the noun that identifies it) or they function themselves as noun phrases. In many varieties of Cree and Ojibwe, the verb in a relative clause is introduced by a subordinating prefix – **gaa-** in Ojibwe, **kâ-** in Cree, for example. In some varieties of Ojibwe, the verb in a relative clause is a participle. In the first set of examples below, the relative clauses modify nouns; in the second set, they serve as noun phrases. In both sets of examples, the relative clauses are underlined.

<b>CO</b> Biidoon wi <u>mechaag</u> mzin'igan.	Bring <u>that big</u> book!
<b>WO</b> Awe sa bineshiinzh <u>gabenaagosh</u> <u>gaa-noondaagozid</u> gii-maajiise.	The bird <u>that's been chirping</u> <u>all evening</u> flew away.
<b>SC</b> Osâm mâka aniki awâšišak <u>pišišik kâ-metawecik</u> nihtâ-ayeskosiwak. ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ.	Children <u>who play all the time</u> get tired easily.
<b>CO</b> Nwii-shamaag <u>nyaadmaagejig.</u>	I'll feed <u>the helpers</u> ( <i>literally</i> those who have helped).
<b>WO</b> Anishinaabemowin <u>gaa-anokaadamaang</u> miziwe nindoonjiimin.	Those of us <u>who work on the</u> <u>Native language</u> come from all over.
<b>SC</b> Nikî-mîcin <u>kâ-kî-petâyan.</u> ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ.	I ate <u>what you brought.</u>

7.62

### Inflection of the Conjunct Verb for Subject and Object

Conjunct-order verbs have the same range of subject-object combinations as independent verbs, but no personal prefixes are used; all grammatical information concerning subjects and objects is conveyed by suffixes. As with the independent order, paradigms of inflectional endings for various verb types are not given here; the many variations among local







7.68

**The inverse marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the basic inverse marker is used in the conjunct order only when the subject is third-person obviative and the object is third-person non-obviative.

<b>CO</b> Miish niwi oosan gaa-wiindmaagod.	Then his father told him about it.
<b>WO</b> Gii-minwendamoog e-gii-gikenimigowaad.	They were happy that she had known them.
<b>SC</b> Kwayask kanawenimikot kata-minopanîpan. ·bʔˆˆ bə·∇σΓd' bC Γ·ə<σ<?x	If he is well looked after by him, it will be okay.

7.69

**The me-object marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the me-object form is used when the object is first person; the subject is either first or third person. The me-object marker usually takes the form **-i** in both Ojibwe and Cree, but may appear as **-ish** in some varieties of Ojibwe.

<b>CO</b> Giishpin naadmawyeg wewiib gdaa-giizhiitaami.	If you (plural) help me, we can finish in a hurry.
<b>WO</b> Wegonen gaa-biidamawishiyan.	What did you bring me?
<b>SC</b> Oški-kîšikânîpan kâ-peci-ayamihit. ▷ˆp Ṗ Ṣbσ<? b VΓ <ʔΓ"Δ'x	It was on Monday that he came and talked to me.

7.70

**The you-object marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the you-object form is used when the object is second person; the subject is either first or third person.

<b>CO</b> Wenesh gaa-waabmik.	Who saw you?
<b>WO</b> Aaniindi gaa-izhiwinik.	Where did he take you?
<b>SC</b> Mōna kipehtawin e-tepwâtitân. ᓵə ṖV"Ç·ΔṖ ∇ U·<ŃÇ'x	You didn't hear me when I called you.

7.71

**Inverse and direct markers with indefinite subject.** As with the independent verb, a variant of the inverse form is used to indicate an indefinite subject with a first- or second-person object. The other parts of the ending are the same as for an animate intransitive verb. The







	<u>Unchanged</u>		<u>Changed</u>	
<b>SC</b>	a	◁	e	▽
	i	△	e	▽
	o	▷	we	·▽
	â	◁̇	iyâ	△̇
	e	▽	iye	△̇
	î	△̇	â	◁̇
	ô	▷̇	wâ	·◁̇

7.81

### Subordinating Prefixes

Subordinating prefixes only appear on conjunct verbs and mark the verb as being in a particular kind of subordinate clause. Sometimes subordinating prefixes combine with tense prefixes. Among the most common subordinating prefixes (except in varieties of Central Ojibwe) are the timeless (or *arist*) prefix **e-** and the relativizer prefix **gaa-** (Ojibwe) or **kâ-** (Cree).





which in turn can be considered a stem-forming element. This particular element typically occurs as the first element of a word stem.

Many Cree and Ojibwe words are made up of similar elements that act as building blocks in word stems. Each such element contains a particular group of sounds (which may vary in pronunciation depending on how it fits with other elements) and has a particular meaning or function and (usually) a particular position inside a stem. Word stems made up of such elements can also serve as building blocks in other stems, and these in turn inside others. Every time a stem-building element is added to another element or to a word stem, a meaning or function is added or changed and a new stem is created.

The process of assembling or building stems out of such elements or out of existing word stems is called *derivation*. There are three main ways of assembling word stems: by *primary derivation*, by *secondary derivation*, and through *composition*.

A stem formed by primary derivation, called a *primary stem*, is made up of one or more elements that are not word stems themselves. A stem formed by secondary derivation, called a *secondary stem*, is made up of an underlying word stem and at least one stem-building element. A stem formed through composition, known as a *compound stem*, contains a relatively independent element, such as a word stem or a *preverb* or *prenoun* that resembles an adverb or other particle, and a word stem. A verb stem may also be modified in meaning by a process of *reduplication*, in which a prefix, the form of which depends on the sounds in the first syllable of the stem, is added to the front of the stem.

The patterns of stem derivation are not as regular as those of inflection, which, with very few exceptions, follow established rules. Word stems belonging to a particular word class will usually follow the pattern of inflections established for that word class. The patterns of derivation, however, are both more complex and more varied. Small groups of word stems will follow a common pattern, but, even within these small groups, many exceptions will occur.

A teacher of Native languages has remarked that studying the stem-building elements of Native languages and the patterns by which they are put together is like studying the thought pattern of the languages. As important as inflection is to the operation of the languages, it is in derivation that the distinctive and meaningful core of the languages is most apparent. In examining the composition of word stems, we are looking at very old but still creative and changing aspects of the languages. To become really fluent in Cree or Ojibwe, a student has to learn to understand and to make up new combinations of stem-building elements and to do so in accordance with the established patterns of the language.

Because some stem-building elements occur frequently and are easy to identify, teachers might be tempted to break all of the word stems they teach down into elements or other words. This may prove a tricky and even dangerous practice, since there are many elements that are pronounced in the same way as, or that sound similar to, other elements, but that have different meanings or positions. Breaking down stems into their elements and analysing them and describing the patterns of stem formation can often be a complex process, and teachers should make sure that their explanation and patterns apply to more than one stem before using them in class.

There is still much to be learned about derivation, the sounds of the stem-forming elements, their patterns of arrangement, their meanings, and their history. This section on stem formation is intended primarily to introduce teachers of the Native languages to one way of looking at these elements and their patterns. Consequently, it should be noted that only the most basic kinds of stem-building patterns are discussed here, and that there are many other types of elements and patterns that are not dealt with. Most important, teachers should keep in mind that using a wide variety of stems in real words and sentences is often a better way to teach them than just analysing or explaining them.

In this discussion of derivation, the word stems given as examples appear in fully inflected forms; uninflected forms appear odd and are hard to pronounce or recognize as being part of Cree or Ojibwe. In most cases, they are given in relatively simple inflected forms, and as often as possible in forms that contain no overt inflectional affix, or only one. Thus nouns are given, where possible, in the singular form, and verbs are given in the independent order with a third-person subject, or a third-person subject and object, because the inflectional affixes in these forms are not very prominent, often being in the zero form. The stems in the words under discussion are underlined. When a particular element of the stem is under discussion, that element is underlined twice.

When stems or stem-building elements are identified in the text, they are preceded (for suffixes) or followed (for prefixes and stems) by a hyphen to indicate that they are not full words, but only parts of words. In writing such elements, the connective sounds that may appear between elements when they are assembled into stems are usually omitted. There are several other pronunciation rules whose function is to adjust the sounds of elements and stems when they are put together, which are not discussed in this outline. It should also be noted that in Central Ojibwe the pronunciation rule called *syncope* often causes vowels to be dropped, so that the pattern of vowels in a given element will vary according to the position of the element in the word in which it appears.

## 8.2

**Verb Stems**

## 8.3

**Primary Verb Stems**

## 8.4

**Primary Verb Stems With Two Elements**

A primary verb stem is one that contains no other word stems inside it. Many primary verb stems have two identifiable elements, neither of which is a word stem itself. The first element is called an *initial* and the second element is called a *final* in accordance with their relative positions. Various kinds of elements can serve as initials in stems; in a primary stem, the initial is a *root*.

INITIAL + FINAL (root)
---------------------------

For example, in the stem of the word most commonly translated as *runs*, there are actually two elements – an initial root conveying direction (*by, past, or along*) and a final identifying the action (*run*).

<b>CO</b> <u>b</u> mib <u>t</u> oo	he/she runs by, along
<b>WO</b> <u>b</u> imib <u>a</u> too	
<b>SC</b> <u>p</u> imip <u>a</u> ht <u>â</u> w	
ΛΓ<"Ć◦	

## 8.5

**Identifying stem-building elements.** It is not possible to determine the composition of a particular word stem by looking at that stem in isolation. In other words, one cannot distinguish the various parts that make up the stem of a word or determine their meaning by looking at the one word alone. To discover the patterns of derivation, one must compare words that are in some way related in meaning in order to see if they also have a distinctive group of sounds in common (even if these are pronounced slightly differently owing to pronunciation rules). When such a group of sounds (or related sounds) is found to recur in a group of stems that are related in meaning, the group of sounds is identified with the meaning and is considered a stem-building element. For example, if one looks at several verbs that share the meaning *run* (it is important to determine that they are, in fact, different stems and not just different inflected forms of a single stem), one finds that a particular group of sounds recurs in each stem.

<b>CO</b> <u>b</u> mib <u>t</u> oo	he/she runs by, along
<u>g</u> sh <u>k</u> ib <u>t</u> oo	he/she is able to run
<u>b</u> g <u>a</u> mb <u>a</u> too	he/she arrives running
<b>WO</b> <u>b</u> imib <u>a</u> too	he/she runs by, along
<u>o</u> n <u>j</u> ib <u>a</u> too	he/she runs from a certain place
<u>b</u> e <u>j</u> ib <u>a</u> too	he/she runs slowly

<b>SC</b> <u>pimipahtâw</u>	he/she runs by, along
ΛΓ<"Ĉ°	
<u>takopahtâw</u>	he/she arrives running
Çd<"Ĉ°	
<u>kînikwânipahtâw</u>	he/she runs in a circle
Ĥσ·bσ<"Ĉ°	

The recurring group of sounds in the verbs that share the meaning *run* can be identified as a stem-building element. Since this common element appears at the end of the stem, it is called a *final*.

<b>CO</b> -btoo, -batoo	run
<b>WO</b> -batoo	
<b>SC</b> -pahtâ	
<"Ĉ	

In this process of analysis and discovery, the identification of each element should be verified by examining as many different stems as possible that are related in meaning. The sounds, the meaning, and the relative position of the stem-building element should be the same or similar in each stem. For example, in some instances, one may find that two different elements are pronounced the same way but have different meanings.

This method of analysing families of stems that are related in meaning and form can also be used to identify the root of the stems. For example, if one examines the stems below, which are related in meaning and share the same group of sounds, one can identify three different roots, one in each language.

<b>CO</b> <u>bgambatoo</u>	he/she arrives running
<u>bgamse</u>	he/she arrives walking
<b>WO</b> <u>bejibatoo</u>	he/she runs slowly
<u>bedose</u>	he/she walks slowly
<b>SC</b> <u>kînikwânipahtâw</u>	he/she runs in a circle
Ĥσ·bσ<"Ĉ°	
<u>kînikwâniohtew</u>	he/she walks in a circle
Ĥσ·bσ"U°	

Analysis of the same group of stems also reveals a new final in each language.

<b>CO</b> -se	walk
<b>WO</b> -ose	
<b>SC</b> -ohte	
▷"U	

The list of stems above also presents examples of the way sounds in an element may change when they combine with other elements. In the Western Ojibwe word **bejibatoo** (*runs slowly*), the two elements are joined by a connective **i** necessitated by a pronunciation rule. The root ends in **j** when it appears in front of this connective, but otherwise ends in **d**, as in the stem **bedose** (*walks slowly*). The same connective appears in the Cree word **kînikwânipahtâw** (*runs in a circle*), but here the use of the connective does not result in any sound changes in the root. Many of these kinds of variations are determined by regular pronunciation rules that are not discussed in this outline.

**8.6**

**The meanings of roots and finals.** Many roots can be translated by adjectives or adverbs in English; others call for the use of a different verb; still others have no single-word equivalent. The following list of English words and phrases is intended to give some indication of the variety of concepts and ideas that can be conveyed by roots in Cree and Ojibwe: *good; up against something; sticky; fast; flat; cold; testing; in plain view; five; in a certain place; sticking out of a surface; in a certain manner.*

Verb finals usually identify a state, process, or action, and can often be translated in English by verbs or by phrases that describe the means by which an action or event comes about. The list below gives some indication of the variety of ideas that can be conveyed by distinct finals in Cree and Ojibwe: *be; grow; blown by wind; with a tool; by heat; fly; stand; by mouth; by cutting with blade.*

The final not only adds a certain meaning to the verb stem, but also determines whether the word is a noun or a verb. If the word is a verb, the final often determines its class – whether it is animate intransitive, transitive animate, or one of the other verb types. Verb types are often paired by transitivity and gender; that is, animate intransitive verbs are paired with inanimate intransitive verbs, and transitive animate verbs are paired with their transitive inanimate counterparts. The difference between an animate intransitive verb and its inanimate intransitive counterpart usually lies in their finals, as may be seen in the following pairs:

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>CO</b> <u>mskwaa</u>    | it (inanimate) is red |
| <u>mskozi</u>              | it (animate) is red   |
| <b>WO</b> <u>jaagide</u>   | it (inanimate) burns  |
| <u>jaagizo</u>             | it (animate) burns    |
| <b>SC</b> <u>pahkihtin</u> | it (inanimate) falls  |
| <" p" ŋ"                   |                       |
| <u>pahkišin</u>            | it (animate) falls    |
| <" pJ"                     |                       |

Similarly, the difference between transitive animate verbs and their transitive inanimate counterparts lies in their finals. In the three sets of transitive inanimate verbs below, the root *through* appears with several finals, each indicating a difference in the manner in which the action of the verb – *to go through* – is carried out:

<b>CO</b> <u>wzhaabshkaan</u>	he/she goes through it with
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaaboshkaan</u>	foot or body
<b>SC</b> <u>šâpoškam</u> ↳↳ʼbʼ	
<b>CO</b> <u>wzhaabga'aan</u>	he/she chops through it ( <i>literally</i> )
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaaboga'aan</u>	he/she goes through it by
<b>SC</b> <u>šâpokaham</u> ↳↳bʼ ʼʼ	chopping)
<b>CO</b> <u>wzhaabnaan</u>	he/she goes through it by using the
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaabonaan</u>	hand (as in putting a needle
<b>SC</b> <u>šâponam</u> ↳↳eʼ	through cloth)

In the transitive animate counterparts of these verbs, some slight differences may be observed in the finals. In the first two cases below, something has been added to the finals that appeared in the transitive inanimate verbs; in the last case, the final is the same as that in the transitive inanimate verb.

<b>CO</b> <u>wzhaabshkawaan</u>	he/she goes through him/her/them
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaaboshkawaan/</u> <u>ozhaaboshkawaa'</u>	(or some animate thing) with foot
<b>SC</b> <u>šâpoškawew</u> ↳↳ʼbʼ·∇°	or body (as in getting through a
	crowd)
<b>CO</b> <u>wzaabga'waan</u>	he/she goes through it (some
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaaboga'waan</u>	animate thing) by chopping
<b>SC</b> <u>šâpokahwew</u> ↳↳bʼ·∇°	
<b>CO</b> <u>wzhaabnaan</u>	he/she goes through it (some
<b>WO</b> <u>ozhaabonaan</u>	animate thing) by using the hand
<b>SC</b> <u>šâponew</u> ↳↳o°	

Some roots and finals may themselves consist of smaller parts.

8.7

## Primary Verb Stems With Three Elements

Some primary stems are composed of three elements – a root that serves as the initial, an intervening element called a medial, and the final. One or more medials may appear between the root initial and the final.

INITIAL (root) + MEDIAL(S) + FINAL
---------------------------------------

8.8

**Medials.** Medials usually refer to things or kinds of things and may be divided into several groups.

8.9

*Classificatory medials.* Many medials loosely describe or classify the thing associated with the verb and are consequently called *classifiers*. In each of the following Central Ojibwe examples, the medial gives some indication of the nature of the thing that is the subject of the verb:

<b>CO</b> <u>gnwegad</u>	it (something sheet-like) is long
<u>gnwaabiigad</u>	it (something string-like) is long
<u>gnwaabkad</u>	it (something of metal or stone) is long
<u>gnwaakwad/gnwaakod</u>	it (something of wood or stick-like) is long

In the preceding list of examples, the roots and the finals are the same; the medials, however, differ.

INITIAL (root) + MEDIAL(S) + FINAL
gnw-      -eg-      -ad -abiig- -aabk- -aakw-

There is a parallel verb without a medial that can be used to describe any kind of inanimate subject. Note that its final (**-aa**) differs from the finals that appeared in the previous examples:

<u>gnwaa</u>	it is long
--------------	------------

**8.10** *Body-part medials.* Some medials refer to body parts. Thus many verbs that describe or in some way involve a part of the body contain a medial that refers to that part of the body. For example, each of the following Western Ojibwe verbs describes a person with a swelling in some part of the body. In each verb, the medial names the body part. The final is **-e**.

<b>WO</b> <u>baagishangwane</u>	he/she has a swollen nose
<u>baagigaade</u>	he/she has a swollen leg
<u>baagiingwe</u>	he/she has a swollen face

As in the previous list of examples (see section 8.9), the roots and finals remain the same; the body-part medials differ.

INITIAL (root)	+ MEDIAL(S)	+ FINAL
baag-	-shangwan-	-e
	-gaad-	
	-iingw-	

**8.11** *Other types of medials.* There are many medials that do not fit into the two groups discussed above. Some, for example, identify natural features. In the following Swampy Cree examples, a single root appears in three stems – one containing a classificatory medial, one containing a body-part medial, and one containing a medial that identifies a natural feature.

<b>SC</b> <u>tahkâpiskâw</u> ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	it (something of metal or stone) is cold
<u>tahkisitew</u> ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	his/her foot is cold
<u>tahkaskamikâw</u> ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	the ground is cold

**8.12** *Denominal medials.* Some verb roots have a noun stem as a medial. Such medials are called *denominal medials*. The use of denominal medials is a form of noun incorporation because the noun stem is taken into the body of the verb as a medial. The examples below are from Cree:

<b>SC</b> astotin ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	hat
<u>ketastotinetw</u> ᑕᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ	he/she takes off his/her own hat





<b>CO</b> <u>giiwebtoo</u>	he/she runs home
<b>WO</b> <u>giiwebatoo</u>	
<b>SC</b> <u>kîwepahtâw</u>	
ᑭ·ᑎ·ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

There are other finals used in secondary derivation that rarely appear in primary derivation. For example, **-aw** or **-amaw** can be added to a transitive inanimate stem to form a double-object transitive animate stem, often with the meaning *do (something to) it for him/her*.

<b>CO</b> <u>wdoozhtoon</u>	he/she makes it
<b>WO</b> <u>wdoozhitoon</u>	
<b>SC</b> <u>ošihâtaw</u>	
ᑯᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	
<b>CO</b> <u>wdoozhtamwaan</u>	he/she makes it for him/her
<b>WO</b> <u>wdoozhitamawaan</u>	
<b>SC</b> <u>ošitamawew</u>	
ᑯᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

Secondary stems can themselves undergo derivation, resulting in chains of finals in stems. In the Cree example below, the noun stem **šwâp** (*store*) serves as the initial of a verb having the secondary final **-hke** (*make, process, gather*). The resulting animate intransitive stem, **šwâpikhke-**, means *go shopping*.

<u>šwâp</u>	store
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	
<u>šwâpikhew</u>	he/she goes shopping
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

This stem in turn can be the initial element of a secondary transitive animate stem having the secondary final **-štamaw** (which itself probably has layers of parts). The resulting transitive stem, **šwâpikhkeštamaw-**, means *go shopping for it for him/her*.

<u>šwâpikhkeštamawew</u>	he/she goes shopping for it for him/her
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

Even further layers are possible. Another final can be added to form a reflexive intransitive verb, as shown in the example below:

<u>šwâpikhkeštamâsow</u>	he/she goes shopping for it for himself/herself
ᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦᑭᑦ	

**8.15** Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Change Verb Type

Some finals change the verb type of the underlying stem; that is, they change the relationship between a subject and an object or add a subject or an object. A few common patterns are illustrated below.

**8.16** **Reciprocal verbs.** In a reciprocal verb, an animate intransitive final suffix is added to an underlying transitive stem to indicate that the action of the verb is reciprocal or mutual. In Ojibwe, the final suffix of a reciprocal verb is most often **-di-**; in Cree, **-to-**.

<b>CO</b> <u>nnaadmawaa</u>	I help him/her
<u>nnaadmaadmi</u>	we help each other
<b>WO</b> <u>ozaagi'aan</u>	he/she loves him/her
<u>zaagi'idiwag</u>	they love each other
<b>SC</b> <u>ayamihew</u>	he/she speaks to him/her
ᐱᐣᐣᐣ ᐣᐣ	
<u>ayamihitowak</u>	they speak to each other
ᐱᐣᐣᐣ ᐣᐣᐣᐣ	

The reciprocity of the action is not always obvious in English, as is evident in the translation of the reciprocal verb in this Western Ojibwe example:

<u>zagaswe'idiwag</u>	they have a council meeting or formal ceremony ( <i>literally</i> they have a mutual smoke)
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**8.17** **Reflexive verbs.** In a reflexive verb, an animate intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem to indicate that the action of the verb is directed by the subject at himself or herself. In Ojibwe, the reflexive final suffix in secondary stems is most often **-dizo-**; in Cree, it is **-tiso-** or **-so-**.

<b>CO</b> <u>wdoodwaan</u>	he/she does something to him/her
<u>doodaadzo</u>	he/she does something to himself/herself
<b>WO</b> <u>ogichi-inenimaan</u>	he/she thinks highly of him/her
<u>gichi-inenindizo</u>	he/she thinks highly of himself/herself
<b>SC</b> <u>ayamihew</u>	he/she talks to him/her
ᐱᐣᐣᐣ ᐣᐣ	
<u>ayamihitisow</u>	he/she talks to himself/herself
ᐱᐣᐣᐣ ᐣᐣᐣᐣ	

8.18

**Transitivized verb stems.** In a transitivized verb stem, a transitive final is added to an underlying verb stem, allowing inflection for an object or an additional object.

<b>CO</b> <u>wdoozhtoon</u>	he/she makes it
<u>wdoozhtamwaan</u>	he/she makes it for him/her
<b>WO</b> <u>anokii</u>	he/she works
<u>odanokiitawaan</u>	he/she works for him/her
<b>SC</b> <u>nîmiw</u>	he/she dances
σΓ°	
<u>nîmihew</u>	he/she makes him/her dance
σΓ"∇°	

8.19

**Detransitivized verb stems.** In a detransitivized verb stem, an intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem. Such detransitivized stems eliminate the idea of a specific object by directing the action of the verb to a generalized goal. The final suffixes in detransitivized verb stems in Ojibwe are most often **-ge** and **-we**; in Cree, **-ke** and **-we**.

<b>CO</b> <u>wbaashkzaan</u>	he/she shoots it
<u>baashkzige</u>	he/she shoots things
<b>WO</b> <u>omawadisaan</u>	he/she visits him/her
<u>mawadishiwe</u>	he/she visits people
<b>SC</b> <u>masinaham</u>	he/she writes it
Lr'α"◁°	
<u>masinahikew</u>	he/she writes things
Lr'α"Δ°	

8.20

**Verbs of undergoing.** In an intransitive verb of undergoing – a verb in which the subject undergoes some action by an unspecified agent – an intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem. Such verbs are often translated in English by the passive voice or the use of an indefinite subject. The finals most often used in such verbs in Ojibwe are **-gaade** and **-gaazo**; in Cree, **-kâte** and **-kâso**.

<b>CO</b> <u>wwaabndaan</u>	he/she sees it
<u>waabnjigaazo</u>	he/she is seen; "they" see him/her
<b>WO</b> <u>odoozhibii'aan</u>	he/she writes (on) it
<u>ozhibii'igaade</u>	it is written (on); "they" write (on) it
<b>SC</b> <u>kipaham</u>	he/she closes it up
P<"◁°	
<u>kipahikâtew</u>	it is closed up; "they" close it up
P<"ΔbU°	

Other finals added to transitive stems contain the inverse direction marker. The underlying verb usually expresses ideas of perception or evaluation.

<b>CO</b> <u>wminwendaan</u>	he/she thinks well of it, likes it
<u>mnwendaagwad/mnwendaagod</u>	it is well thought of, liked
<b>WO</b> <u>ogikendaan</u>	he/she knows it
<u>gikendaagozi</u>	he/she is known to..., is suspected of...
<b>SC</b> <u>pehtawew</u>	he/she hears him/her
√"Ĉ·∇°	
<u>pehtâkosiw</u>	he/she makes himself/
√"Ĉ d'°	herself heard

### 8.21

**Inanimate augment verbs.** In some languages, an optional final, often called *the inanimate augment*, can be added to an inanimate intransitive stem. The same final can be added to an animate intransitive stem to form an inanimate intransitive stem when the animate intransitive verb has no inanimate counterpart. The augment final in Ojibwe is **-mgad**, **-magad**, or **-magan**; in Cree, **-makan**. The Central Ojibwe example illustrates the optional use of this final on an inanimate intransitive stem; the other examples show how it can be added to animate intransitive stems to form inanimate stems.

<b>CO</b> <u>gzhaate</u> or <u>gzhaatemgad</u>	it is hot weather
<b>WO</b> <u>dagoshin</u>	he/she arrives
<u>dagoshinoomagan</u>	it arrives
<b>SC</b> <u>itohtew</u>	he/she goes to a certain place
Δᵛ"U°	
<u>itohtemakan</u>	it goes to a certain place
Δᵛ"ULb'	

### 8.22

#### Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Extend Meaning

Some finals do not change the stem type of the underlying stem, but extend the meaning of the original verb stem. A few common types are illustrated in sections 8.23 and 8.24.

8.23

**Verbs of addiction.** A verb of addiction, which is used to indicate a habitual state or action, often with a negative flavour, is usually formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying verb stem. The final suffix in such verbs in Ojibwe is **-shki**; in Cree, **-ški**.

<b>CO</b> <u>gtimi</u>	he/she is reluctant to do something
<u>gtimishki</u>	he/she is habitually lazy
<b>WO</b> <u>gimoodi</u>	he/she is stealing
<u>gimoodishki</u>	he/she is a thief
<b>SC</b> <u>metawew</u>	he/she is playing
ᑲᑲᑦᑦᑦ	
<u>metaweškiw</u>	he/she is always just playing
ᑲᑲᑦᑦᑦᑲᑲᑦ	

8.24

**Verbs of pretending.** A verb of pretending, which is used to express the idea that someone is pretending to be or to do something, is usually formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying verb stem or noun stem. The final suffix in such verbs in Ojibwe is **-kaazo**; in Cree, **-hkâso**.

<b>CO</b> <u>binoojiinh</u>	child
<u>binoojiinhkaazo</u>	he/she pretends to be a child
<b>WO</b> <u>Anishinaabe</u>	Native person
<u>Anishinaabekaazo</u>	he/she pretends to be a Native person
<b>SC</b> <u>mâtow</u>	he/she cries
ᑲᑲᑦᑦᑦ	
<u>mâtôhkâsow</u>	he/she pretends to cry
ᑲᑲᑦᑦᑦᑲᑲᑦ	

8.25

### Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Change Nouns Into Verbs

Some finals change the underlying noun stem into a verb stem. A few common verb stems of this type are illustrated below.

8.26

**Verbs of being.** A verb of being can be formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying noun stem. The most common finals used are **-(w)i** and **-(w)an**. In some language varieties, a construction using a noun and a separate verb is preferred.

<b>CO</b> <u>nishnaabe</u>	Native person
<u>nishnaabewi</u>	he/she is a Native person
<b>WO</b> <u>bingwi</u>	ashes
<u>bingwiiwan</u>	it is covered with ashes (literally it is ashy)

<b>SC</b>	<u>okimâw</u> ▷PĹ°	boss, manager
	<u>okimâw</u> iw ▷PĹ°·Δ°	he/she is boss or manager

8.27

**Verbs of diminutive action.** In some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree, a diminutive verb is used to indicate that an action is performed on a relatively small scale or that someone small is involved in the action. In Ojibwe, a diminutive verb can be formed by making the underlying verb stem into a diminutive noun and adding a suffix for a verb of being.

<b>CO</b>	<u>bmibtoo</u>	he/she runs
	<u>bmibtoonswi</u>	he/she runs a little

In Cree, the diminutive verb is formed by adding a suffix (sometimes considered to be inflectional rather than derivational) to the underlying verb stem. Some of the sounds in the stem may change when the diminutive suffix is added; in the example below, the **t** may be replaced by **c**.

<b>SC</b>	<u>mâtow</u> Ĺ°	he/she cries
	<u>mâtošiw</u> / <u>mâcošiw</u> Ĺ°S° / Ĺ°S°	he/she cries a little

8.28

**Verbs of abundance.** A verb of abundance, which is used to express the idea that the thing referred to in the underlying stem is present or is present in abundance, can be formed by the addition of a secondary final to a noun stem (or, less commonly, a verb stem). In Ojibwe, the final of such verbs is **-kaa**; in Cree, **-skâ**.

<b>CO</b>	zgime	mosquito
	<u>zgimekaa</u>	there are (a lot of) mosquitoes
<b>WO</b>	manoomin	wild rice
	<u>manoominikaa</u>	there is (a lot of) wild rice
<b>SC</b>	ininiw	person
	Δσσ°	
	<u>ininiškâw</u>	there are (a lot of) people
	Δσσ° <sup>ʌ</sup> b°	

8.29

**Verbs of making or processing.** A verb of making or processing can be formed by the addition of a secondary suffix to a noun stem (or, less commonly, a verb stem). In Ojibwe, the final is **-ke**; in Cree, **-hke**.

<b>CO</b>	nboob/mboob	soup
	<u>nboobiike/mboobiike</u>	he/she makes soup
<b>WO</b>	jiimaan	canoe
	<u>jiimaanike</u>	he/she makes canoes
<b>SC</b>	maskisin	moccasin, shoe
	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
	<u>maskisinhkew</u>	he/she makes moccasins, shoes
	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

8.30

**Verbs of possession.** A verb of possession can be formed by the addition of a secondary suffix to a possessed noun with a third-person prefix (and the possessive suffix, if required). The final of such verbs is **-i**.

<b>CO</b>	zhoonyaa	money
	wzhoonyaaman	his/her money
	<u>wzhoonyaami</u>	he/she has money
<b>WO</b>	waakaa'igan	house
	owaakaa'igan	his/her house
	<u>owaakaa'igani</u>	he/she has a house(s)
<b>SC</b>	otâpânâsk	skidoo
	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
	otôtâpânâskwa	his/her skidoo
	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
	<u>otôtâpânâskow</u>	he/she has a skidoo(s)
	ᐅᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

8.31

### Compound Verb Stems

Two kinds of stems have traditionally been treated as compounds: *stem compounds* and *preverb compounds*.

8.32

### Stem Compounds

A stem compound is formed by the addition of a noun stem or verb stem to the front of a verb stem. The resulting compound verb stem extends the meaning of the original verb stem. Inflectional suffixes are added to the end of the compound stem; most inflectional prefixes are



added to the front of the compound stem. The pattern of this kind of compound verb stem is:

WORD STEM + VERB STEM  
(noun or  
verb stem)

<p><b>CO</b> <u>naawkwe</u> <u>wiisni</u> <u>naawkwe-wiisni</u></p>	<p><b>WO</b> <u>ojiindiwag</u> <u>giizhigan</u> <u>ojiindiwi-giizhigan</u></p>	<p>it is noon he/she eats he/she eats the noon meal they kiss each other it is a day it is New Year's Day he/she returns, goes home</p>
<p><b>SC</b> <u>kîwew</u> <u>ᐩᐅᐅ</u> <u>pakitinam</u> <u>&lt;ᐩᐅᐅ</u> <u>kîwe-pakitinam</u> <u>ᐩᐅᐅ &lt;ᐩᐅᐅ</u></p>	<p>he/she puts it down  he/she puts it back down</p>	

8.33

### Preverb Compounds

A preverb compound is formed by the addition of a word- or root-like prefix to a verb stem. As in the stem compounds, the first element of the compound modifies the verb stem to which it is added. Inflectional suffixes are added to the end and most prefixes to the front of the compound stem. More than one preverb may appear in a verb. The overall pattern of this type of compound stem is:

PREVERB(S) + VERB STEM

Some preverbs are word parts that occur only as preverbs; these include tense and subordinating prefixes, which in this outline have been treated as inflectional prefixes. Other preverbs are related in form and meaning to verb roots. A few such preverbs are discussed below.

8.34

**Directional preverbs.** Directional preverbs indicate direction in space or time.

<p><b>CO</b> <u>bi-biindge</u></p>	<p><b>WO</b> <u>ando-wiisini</u></p>	<p>he/she comes inside he/she goes over to eat</p>
<p><b>SC</b> <u>peci-otinam</u> <u>ᐅᐩᐅᐅ</u></p>	<p>he/she comes and gets it</p>	

8.35

**Relative preverbs.** Relative preverbs refer to ideas of manner, place, number, or other such adverbial ideas, but usually relate these ideas to specific words or phrases outside the verb. These more specific words or phrases are said to be the antecedents of the relative preverbs.

<b>CO</b> <u>nji-googii</u>	he/she dives from a certain place
<b>WO</b> <u>daso-biboonwe</u>	he/she is of a certain age ( <i>literally</i> he/she is of a certain number of winters)
<b>SC</b> <u>iši-apiw</u> ΔJ ΔΛ°	he/she sits in a certain place

8.36

**General preverbs.** This group of preverbs includes the most root-like (or word-like) preverbs, which can express a wide range of meanings.

<b>CO</b> <u>mno-giizhgad</u>	it is a nice day
<b>WO</b> <u>midaaso-diba'iganeyaa</u>	it is ten o'clock
<b>SC</b> <u>nihtâ-mâtow</u> σ"Ç LΔ°	he/she cries a lot

In many varieties of Ojibwe, preverbs usually occur in this order: directional preverb, relative preverb, general preverb(s).

8.37

**Relationship of preverbs and roots.** Many preverbs are the same or nearly the same in both pronunciation and meaning as verb roots. The most obvious difference between the two is that when a preverb is taken out of a verb, the remaining element is still a real word, whereas when the root is taken out of a word, the remaining element is no longer a word or word stem and the stem collapses. Thus, in the first example below, the root **izhi-** in Western Ojibwe, meaning *in a certain way, to a certain place*, is an essential element of the stem and cannot be taken away. In the second example, its related preverb, which has the same meaning, is an element that has been added to an existing stem (**bagidin-**).

<b>WO</b> <u>nindizhiwidoon</u>	I take it to a certain place
nindizhi-bagidinaan	I put it down in a certain place

## 8.38

**Reduplicated Verbs**

A reduplicated verb is one in which the first element of a verb stem has been extended by *reduplication* – a process that adds the idea of repetition, distribution in space or time, or plurality to the original verb stem. A reduplicated verb is formed by adding a prefix, which in many cases duplicates some of the sounds in the first syllable of the stem, to the front of the stem. In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, a verb stem can have more than one pattern of reduplication, and each pattern may have a different meaning. Translation may vary depending on how a reduplicated verb is used in a sentence. The reduplication is underlined with a double rule in the examples below.

<b>CO</b>	<u>niimi</u>	he/she dances
	<u>naaniimi</u>	he/she dances and dances
<b>WO</b>	<u>ozhaashishin</u>	he/she slips and falls
	<u>wawizhaashishin</u>	he/she slips and falls over and over
<b>SC</b>	<u>nôskâw</u>	it is soft
	<u>nônôskâw</u>	it is soft all over

Some descriptive verbs may be reduplicated when plural, as illustrated in the following Cree example:

<b>SC</b>	<u>mišâw</u>	it is big
	<u>mâmišâwa</u>	they are big

## 8.39

**Noun Stems**

## 8.40

**Primary Noun Stems**

Many noun stems cannot be broken down into identifiable elements and so are seen as having only one element in the stem.

<b>CO</b>	shkode	fire
<b>WO</b>	ishkode	
<b>SC</b>	iškotew	

A few primary noun stems consist of two elements – an initial and a final. In the example below, a root is followed by a final that means *metal, stone*.

<b>CO</b>	biiwaabik	iron
<b>WO</b>	biiwa <u>abik</u>	
<b>SC</b>	pîwâpisk	
	ᐱ·ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

#### 8.41 **Secondary Noun Stems**

Many noun stems are derived from verb stems by the addition of a secondary final. The finals used in noun stems generally differ from those used in verb stems. One or more medials may also occur.

INITIAL + MEDIAL(S) + FINAL  
(word stem)

In the examples below, the final is underlined in the noun.

<b>CO</b>	baashkzige	he/she shoots
	baashkzigan	gun
<b>WO</b>	wiisini	he/she eats
	wiisini <u>wigamig</u>	restaurant
<b>SC</b>	pimâtisiw	he/she lives
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
	pimâtisi <u>wi</u> n	life
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

A noun, even if it is itself a secondary noun, may be the initial element of a secondary noun stem. The underlying noun in the Central Ojibwe example is a primary noun; the underlying nouns in the other examples are themselves formed by secondary derivation.

<b>CO</b>	niibiish	leaf
	niibiisha <u>aboo</u>	tea
<b>WO</b>	mazina'igan	book, document
	mazina'igana <u>ak</u>	pencil
<b>SC</b>	cîkahikan	axe
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	
	cîkahikan <u>âhtik</u>	axe handle
	ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ	

## 8.42 *Compound Noun Stems*

### 8.43 *Stem Compounds*

A compound noun stem is composed of a modifying noun or verb stem and a noun stem. Connective sounds may appear between the two underlying stems. The pattern of compound noun stems is:

WORD STEM + NOUN STEM  
(noun or  
verb stem)

<b>CO</b>	wiigwaas	birch bark
	makak	box
	wiigwaas-makak	birch-bark box
<b>WO</b>	aki	land
	mazina'igan	book, document
	akii-mazina'igan	map
<b>SC</b>	niska	Canada goose
	σ <sup>h</sup> b	
	pîsim	sun, month
	Λ <sup>r</sup> ε	
	niski-pîsim	April
	σ <sup>h</sup> p Λ <sup>r</sup> ε	

### 8.44 *Prenoun Compounds*

A prenoun compound is composed of a modifying prenoun and a noun stem. Many prenouns are identical to preverbs. The pattern of prenoun compounds is:

PRENOUN(S) + NOUN STEM

<b>CO</b>	jiimaan	boat
	gchi-jiimaan	big boat
<b>WO</b>	mazinaakizigan	picture
	gete-mazinaakizigan	old-style picture
<b>SC</b>	masinahikan	book
	L <sup>r</sup> ε."Δb <sup>3</sup>	
	oški-masinahikan	new book
	▷ <sup>h</sup> p L <sup>r</sup> ε."Δb <sup>3</sup>	



# APPENDIX

## VERB CHARTS

### General Instructions for Filling Out the Verb Charts

Before you begin, make copies of the master charts in this document. Write only on the copies so that the blank master charts can be used to make additional copies as needed.

Start by filling in one set of charts for each main class of verbs (animate intransitive, inanimate intransitive, etc.), using a single sample stem for each. The immediate imperative and the neutral modes of the independent and conjunct verbs are the easiest charts to fill in, so it is a good idea to start with these. You can proceed with the other modes when you are more familiar with the chart forms and more confident in using them.

Check the completed charts with someone who speaks the same variety of the language as you do. As the charts are designed to cover a number of language varieties in Ontario, no one variety will fit the charts exactly. In other words, you will probably find that you cannot provide all the forms suggested in the charts either because some of the forms suggested do not exist in your language or because they are rarely used. The asterisks in the charts indicate the forms that are likely to occur only in some language varieties.

The exact form of an ending may vary slightly from one stem to another depending on the stem class. The stem class is determined by the last or last two sounds of the stem. For example, animate intransitive stems ending in **-n** take endings that differ slightly in form from those of animate intransitive stems that end in a vowel. A list of the most important stem classes in each main verb class is given for each language, along with the English translations of sample stems that are likely to belong to each class. Once you have completed and checked your first charts, you can select stems from different stem classes and fill out charts for them to see if the endings show different forms.

### Ojibwe Verb Charts

For the imperative order, you will need three charts for each sample stem – one for the immediate mode, one for the delayed mode, and one for the prohibitive mode. For the independent order, you will need eight charts for each sample stem – one each for the

positive and negative forms in the four modes (neutral, preterit, dubitative, and preterit dubitative). For the conjunct order, you will need four charts – one for each of the four modes – and, if your language has negative conjunct verbs, an additional four charts – one for each of the negative modes. Additional charts may be prepared for relational verbs and conjunct participles, if either or both of these forms occur in your language.

## ***Stem Classes and Suggested Sample Stems***

### **1. Animate Intransitive Paradigm**

VAI i-stems: dance, laugh, get on board

VAI o-stems: sing, see oneself, sweat

VAI aa-stems: get off (disembark), sleep, leave, go to a certain place

VAI e-stems: enter, go home, walk

VAI ii-stems: work, flee

VAI oo-stems: run

VAI n-stems: be lost, fall down

VAI2 stems (with VTI class marker **-am**): go outside, cough, think so

### **2. Inanimate Intransitive Paradigm**

VII long vowel stems: be big, be flat, be in a certain place

VII o-stems and i-stems (in some varieties these end in **-in** and **-on**): be a good road, be a good liquid

VII d/n-stems (showing **-d** in some varieties and **-n** in others): be difficult, taste good

VII n-stems: fall down, be lost, be heavy

### **3. Transitive Inanimate Paradigm**

VTI stems: see something (s.t.), kick s.t., take s.t.

VTI2 stems: use s.t., make s.t., bring s.t.

VTI3 stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t., go get s.t., steal s.t.

VTI4 stems (may be different in local language varieties): have s.t., eat all of s.t.

VAI+O (may be different in local language varieties): sell s.t., drink s.t.



#### 4. Transitive Animate Paradigm

VTA consonant stems: see someone (s.o.), allow s.o. to do s.t., know s.o.

VTA mutating stems: give it to s.o., leave s.o. behind, tie s.o.

VTA Cw-stems: strike s.o., shoot s.t. (animate), untie s.o.

VTA aw-stems: hear s.o., understand s.o., find s.o., make it for s.o.

VTA irregular stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t. (animate), kill s.t. (animate), say so to s.o., mention s.o.'s name, put s.o. there, be afraid of s.o.

### **Cree Verb Charts**

For the imperative order, you will need two charts for each sample stem – one for the immediate mode and one for the delayed mode. For the independent order, you will need four charts for each sample stem – one for each of the four modes (neutral, preterit, dubitative, and preterit dubitative). For the conjunct order, you will need four charts for each sample stem – one for each of the modes specified for the independent order – and an additional set of four charts for the subjunctive form of each mode. Additional charts may be prepared for relational verbs.

### ***Stem Classes and Suggested Sample Stems***

#### 1. Animate Intransitive Paradigm

VAI i-stems: dance, laugh, get on board

VAI o-stems: sing, see oneself

VAI aa-stems: get off (disembark), sleep, leave

VAI e-stems: enter, go home, walk, go to a certain place

VAI ii-stems: flee

VAI n-stems: be lost, fall down, be lying down

VAI2 stems (with VTI class marker **-am**): go outside, cough, think so

#### 2. Inanimate Intransitive Paradigm

VII long vowel stems: be big, be flat, be in a certain place

VII short vowel stems: be a good road, be a good liquid

VII n-stems: be difficult, taste good, fall down, be lost, be heavy

### 3. Transitive Inanimate Paradigm

VTI stems: see s.t., kick s.t., take s.t.

VTI2 stems: use s.t., make s.t., bring s.t.

### 4. Transitive Animate Paradigm

VTA consonant stems: see s.o., allow s.o. to do s.t., know s.o.

VTA mutating stems: call to s.o., leave s.o. behind

VTA Cw-stems: strike s.o., shoot s.t. (animate), untie s.o.

VTA aw-stems: hear s.o., understand s.o., find s.o., make it for s.o.

VTA irregular stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t. (animate), say so to s.o., put s.o. there, be afraid of s.o., have s.o. (s.t. animate), accompany s.o.

# Ojibwe Imperative Verb Charts

## Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Ojibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

## 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

## 2. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

Object 0/0p

### Subject

2 .....

2p .....

Object 0

0p

### Subject

21 .....

.....

---

### 3. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

<b>Object</b>	<b>3/3p</b>	
<b>Subject</b>		
2	.....	
2p	.....	
<b>Object</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3p</b>
<b>Subject</b>		
21	.....	.....
<b>Object</b>	<b>3'</b>	<b>3'p</b>
<b>Subject</b>		
2	.....	* .....
2p	.....	* .....
21	.....	* .....
<b>Object</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1p</b>
<b>Subject</b>		
2	.....	
2p	.....	
2/2p		.....

# Cree Imperative Verb Charts

## Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject

### 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

#### Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

### 2. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

Object 0/0p

#### Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

### 3. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

Object 3 3p

#### Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

**Object** **3'**  

---

**Subject**  
2 .....  
2p .....  
21 .....

**Object** **1**  

---

**Subject**  
2 .....  
2p .....  
2/2p .....

**1p**  

---

  
.....

# Ojibwe Independent Verb Charts

## Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Ojibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

## 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 1 .....
- 2 .....
- 1p .....
- 21 .....
- 2p .....
- 3 .....
- 3p .....
- 3' .....
- 3'p \* .....
- X .....

## 2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 0 .....
- 0p .....
- 0' .....
- 0'p .....

---

### 3. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

Object	0	Op
Subject		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....
3	.....	.....
3p	.....	.....
3'	.....	.....

---

### 4. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Direct**

Object	3	3p
Subject		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....



Object	3'	3'p
<b>Subject</b>		
1	.....	* .....
2	.....	* .....
1p	.....	* .....
21	.....	* .....
2p	.....	* .....

Object	3'	3'p
<b>Subject</b>		
3	.....	* .....
3p	.....	* .....
3' *	.....	* .....

***Inverse***

Subject	3	3p
<b>Object</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

Subject	3'	3'p
<b>Object</b>		
3	.....	* .....
3p	.....	* .....

***Me-object***

Object	1	1p
<b>Subject</b>		
2	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....
2/2p	.....	.....

**You-object**

Subject	1	1p
Object		
2	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

**Indefinite subject**

Subject	X
Object	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....
3'p *	.....

**Inanimate subject**

Subject	0	0p
Object		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....
3	.....	.....
3p	.....	.....
3'	.....	.....
3'p *	.....	.....

# Cree Independent Verb Charts

## Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

## 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 1 .....
- 2 .....
- 1p .....
- 21 .....
- 2p .....
- 3 .....
- 3p .....
- 3' .....
- X .....

## 2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 0 .....
- 0p .....
- 0' .....
- 0'p .....

---

### 3. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Object** 0/0p  

---

**Subject**  
1 .....  
2 .....  
1p .....  
21 .....  
2p .....  
3 .....  
3p .....  
3' .....

---

### 4. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Direct**

<b>Object</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3p</b>
<b>Subject</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

**Object** **3'**  


---

**Subject**  
 1 .....  
 2 .....  
 1p .....  
 21 .....  
 2p .....

**Object** **3'**  


---

**Subject**  
 3 .....  
 3p .....  
 3' \* .....

***Inverse***

<b>Subject</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>3</b></span>	<b>3p</b>
<hr/>	
<b>Object</b>	
1 .....	.....
2 .....	.....
1p .....	.....
21 .....	.....
2p .....	.....

**Subject** **3'**  


---

**Object**  
 3 .....  
 3p .....

***Me-object***

<b>Object</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>1</b></span>	<b>1p</b>
<hr/>	
<b>Subject</b>	
2 .....	.....

**Object** **1/1p**  


---

**Subject**  
 2p .....

***You-object***

**Subject** 1 1p  
**Object**  
2 .....

**Subject** 1/1p  
**Object**  
2p .....

***Indefinite subject***

**Subject** X  
**Object**  
1 .....  
2 .....  
1p .....  
21 .....  
2p .....  
3 .....  
3p .....  
3' .....

***Inanimate subject***

**Subject** 0/0p  
**Object**  
1 .....  
2 .....  
1p .....  
21 .....  
2p .....  
3 .....  
3p .....  
3' .....

# Ojibwe Conjunct Verb Charts

## Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Ojibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

## 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 1 .....
- 2 .....
- 1p .....
- 21 .....
- 2p .....
- 3 .....
- 3p .....
- 3' .....
- X .....

## 2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

### Subject

- 0 .....
- 0p .....
- 0' \* .....
- 0'p \* .....

---

### 3. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Object** 0/0p  

---

**Subject**  
1 .....  
2 .....  
1p .....  
21 .....  
2p .....  
3 .....  
3p .....  
3' .....

---

### 4. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Direct**

<b>Object</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3p</b>
<hr/>		
<b>Subject</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....



<b>Object</b>	<b>3'</b>
<b>Subject</b>	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....

<b>Object</b>	<b>3'</b>
<b>Subject</b>	
3	.....
3p	.....
3' *	.....
X	.....

***Inverse (with some me- and you-object forms)***

<b>Subject</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3p</b>
<b>Object</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

<b>Subject</b>	<b>3'</b>	
<b>Object</b>		
3	.....	
3p	.....	

***Me-object***

<b>Object</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1p</b>
<b>Subject</b>		
2	.....	
2p	.....	
2/2p		.....

***You-object***

<b>Subject</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1p</b>
<b>Object</b>		
2	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

***Indefinite subject***

<b>Subject</b>	<b>X</b>
<b>Object</b>	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....

***Inanimate subject***

<b>Subject</b>	<b>0/0p</b>
<b>Object</b>	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....

# Cree Conjunct Verb Charts

**Codes**

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

## 1. Animate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Subject**

- 1 .....
- 2 .....
- 1p .....
- 21 .....
- 2p .....
- 3 .....
- 3p .....
- 3' .....
- X .....

## 2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode:  Sample Stem:

**Subject**

- 0 .....
- 0p .....
- 0' .....
- 0'p .....

---

### 3. Transitive inanimate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

Object	0/0p
Subject	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....
X	.....

---

### 4. Transitive animate

Mode:  Sample Stem:

<i>Direct</i>	
Object	3
Subject	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....

<b>Object</b>	<b>3'</b>
<b>Subject</b>	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....

<b>Object</b>	<b>3'</b>
<b>Subject</b>	
3	.....
3p	.....
3' *	.....

***Inverse (with some me- and you-object forms)***

<b>Subject</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3p</b>
<b>Object</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....

<b>Subject</b>	<b>3'</b>	
<b>Object</b>		
1	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....
3	.....	.....
3p	.....	.....

**Me-object**

Object 1 1p

Subject  
2 .....

Object 1/1p

Subject  
2p .....

**You-object**

Subject 1 1p

Object  
2 .....

Subject 1/1p

Object  
2p .....

**Indefinite subject**

Subject X

Object  
1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....

***Inanimate subject***

Subject 0/0p

---

Object

1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....





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