

VERBAL ORDER AND CLAUSE TYPING IN OJIBWE

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to *nookmisbaniin*, my late grandmothers¹, Aileen Rice and Pemaajwankwe Audrey Pawis. Alongside them are the language speakers and teachers who I worked with directly in making this work possible, and their biographies are included below. The individuals consulted for this study alongside *nookmisbaniin* are acknowledged here likewise not just for the fact that their help and wisdom were unequivocally essential for making this research possible, but also for their commitment in ensuring that *gidinwewininaan*, our language, can be carried forward in time. There are many, many more such people who contributed by being instrumental in my language journey not just by what they've taught me linguistically but also in life in general. All of these people are foremost relatives, mentors, teachers, friends, and advisors, and their contributions to this dissertation are only a fraction of the work that they do and have done in life. As such, using linguistic "data" from everyone mentioned here, either directly or as a consequence of what I've learned from them, inherently makes this work a very personal thing.

Figure 1: Aileen Rice



Aileen Rice (AR), Waasaaksing, Eastern Ojibwe

¹ In Nishnaabemwin, the word for one's grandmother also applies to that person's female siblings (and likewise for your grandfather and his male siblings) and they are related to you just the same.

Figure 2: Audrey Pawis, Pemaajwankwe



Audrey Pawis (AP), Pemaajwankwe, Waasaaksing, Eastern Ojibwe

Aileen (a.k.a. gram) was my dad's mom and my go-to person when I began to work on learning the language in earnest. Gram left us in 2018 after living a very long and accomplished life but her passing still felt too soon for me since an inconceivable wealth of linguistic knowledge left with her, let alone the fact that she raised, sheltered, and taught me, as did my own parents (and aunts and uncles). Her impact upon my life and family and community is immeasurable. After gram left, I spent more time with Auntie Audrey, who by then was the last fluent, first-language speaker in my family. We visited a lot and shared many laughs and lessons and quality time, and much of our conversations and linguistic elicitation sessions are recorded and documented. This is the case with my gram as well, though my skills of documentation and recording equipment were lacking in those early days. I miss them both dearly but I am still able to meet with them through these means and their knowledge is passed on by informing my language work and research.

Figure 3: Mary Ann Corbiere, Giizsookwe



Mary Ann Naokwegijig-Corbiere (MNC), Giizsookwe, Wiikwemkoong, Odaawaa Maanyaan is a treasure to the Anishinaabeg nation whose efforts for our language and people may go unappreciated, in my opinion. It is an absolute privilege that I call Maanyaan my friend and teacher and mentor, and while the reader will see very many examples provided by her in this dissertation, this is only a fraction of the amount of time and work and wisdom she contributed to this study, let alone to me and my journey personally. As I write these acknowledgements I'm still emailing back and forth with Maanyaan in the eleventh hour for not just verifications of example sentences you will read shortly but also for her in-depth interpretations, knowledge, and linguistic theories that make a study like this possible. I can't express in any language how much Maanyaan means to me and to our language and our collective struggle for Nishnaabemwin. If someday we are able to all live speaking our language together again, it will be because of her work.

Gina Partridge (GP), Waasaaksing, Eastern Ojibwe

Gina is a Nishnaabemwin speaker from my home community who was very generous in lending her time and wisdom to my linguistic research. Being grilled with linguistic questions can be an awkward thing for any consultant, and it's not something that most Elders are used to. Despite this, we had fun working together and Gina was amused by the things I asked her, like, "how do I say 'I wish I was rich?'" Nmiigwechwi'aa aw mndimooyenh.

Figure 4: Donna King, Waaseyaabanookwe



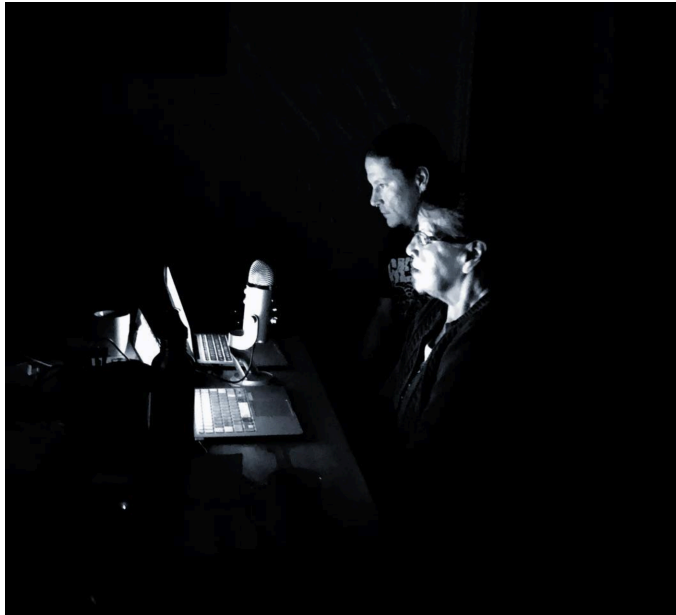
Donna King (DK), Waaseyaabanookwe, Gchi-mnising, Eastern Ojibwe

Waaseyaabanookwe-ban was originally from Gchi-mnising who married into my community and was a staple of it my whole life. She was instrumental in my initial forays into formal linguistic research and helped me as a consultant as I tried to figure out how to do linguistic fieldwork. Like others in this acknowledgements section she left during the time I spent in grad school and much too soon at that. She was always eager and happy to help me with my work and the recordings I have of our research sessions are filled with many laughs. Ggwiinwenmin go.

Hector Copegog (HC), Medweyaash, Gchi-mnising, Eastern Ojibwe

Medweyaash, or Uncle Hec as many of us know him in English, is a language speaker and 5th degree Midewiwin who alongside my dad and others from my community of their generation are responsible for initiating a cultural reclamation that began before my time and continues to this day. A fond memory I lean on is remembering seeing Medweyaash at one of our community powwows in the very early stages of my language learning and trying to speak Nishnaabe to him. I caught myself making a mistake in saying a simple sentence and corrected myself, and Uncle Hec smiled and said, “you’re getting it.”

Figure 5: Mary Wemigwans



Mary Wemigwans (MW), Wiikwemkoong, Odaawaa

Maanii is an Elder from Wiikwemkoong and now lives in Genaabajiing who is a devoted teacher of the language. I've known Maanii for a number of years now and have learned much of the language from her, and she has worked as a consultant for my formal linguistic investigations. Maanii's kind spirit always makes for good visits. I will also note that Maanii made the best meal I've ever eaten in my life: a fish head soup from a netting of sucker fish that myself and a few others had netted at camp some years ago.

Figure 6: Joseph Nayquonabe Sr., Waabishkibines



Joseph Nayquonabe Sr. (JN), Waabishkibines, Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, District 1, Southwestern Ojibwe

I first met Waabishkibinesiban at the Ojibwemotaadidaa Omaa Gidakiiminaang (OOG) Ojibwe language immersion academy and our paths crossed many times over consequent years. I'm lucky to have worked with him on our language together and I always enjoyed spending time with him. Being far away from home for grad school it was nice to spend time with an Anishinaabe elder who felt like family. Joe left in the last few months of my time in grad school and he is greatly missed in many circles and communities, for he worked far and wide in language and ceremonial spaces. Weweni sa naa, niijii.

Vince Chechock (Ajijaakoons) of Waasaaksing is not cited directly in this dissertation but he has been instrumental in helping me to verify many of the examples and translations found within. Vince's understanding of our local variety of language has been invaluable, especially in deciphering recordings I have of my gram, who talked very fast, even for a Nishnaabemwin speaker. I'm happy to finish this dissertation so I have more time to get back to working on translating stories with Vince.

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assured him he would be, truly believing so, but he left us soon after. So this one's for you too, Uncle Jo. Thanks for watching over me in the countless hours I spent in the bunker trying to do the work to make this dissertation a reality. And in the moment at 3am on a random Wednesday I found myself ready to call it quits and bail on this degree a short time before completing (a common experience for PhD students, I understand), you were one of the foremost among the many standing behind me to lift me up and help me through.

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We are currently in a very challenging and tumultuous point in our history and that of the world, being a colonized people who are now faced with a stark realization of a stage of colonization where in many communities, the intergenerational transmission of our language has been cut off, and very few of our people speak the language given to us by our ancestors and a colonial language dominates and defines our lifeways. It is for this reason that I do the work that I do. Mii go gegoo gaa-zhibii'ang bezhig gchi-nshinaabekwe:

When our way of life is irrevocably altered,
Gdanwewinaa (our language) is what preserves our identity.

(Maanyaan Kaabye)

Abstract

This dissertation is an exploration of *clause typing* in Ojibwe, a discussion that hinges on *verbal order* in the language. I focus on the *independent* and *conjunct* orders for their role in clause typing, and argue that the former is utilized in main/unselected clauses and the latter in subordinate/selected ones. This proposal accounts for the wide range of interpretations that can be associated with either order, and can explain the distributional differences between the orders. Two other components of Ojibwe grammar that significantly interact with order are *mode* (i.e. neutral, preterit, dubitative, preterit-dubitative) and discourse particles. I investigate *preterit* and *dubitative* modes, arguing that the differing functions that have been ascribed to these modes are in fact predictable properties of the orders in which they appear. The subject of *initial change* and the *changed conjunct* are examined as significant parts of Ojibwe grammar that influence clause typing. This dissertation adopts a user-centered approach to linguistic research; these topics have been selected for study due to their import to users of the language, especially learners who struggle with both clause type selection and appropriate use of mode in their own speech.

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Abbreviations

Note: A number of examples from outside sources using varying glossing conventions are used in this dissertation. For that reason, you may see more than one abbreviation for a given gloss. These sources may also use lowercase in their glossing abbreviations but are cited here in uppercase.

>, »	indicates subject to object in transitive verbs
0	third person inanimate
0'	third person inanimate obviative
0P	third person inanimate plural
0S	third person inanimate singular
1	first person
1P	person plural, exclusive
1S	person singular
2	second person
21	first person plural, inclusive
2P	second person plural
2S	second person singular
3	third person
3S	third person animate singular, proximate
3P	third person animate plural
3'	third person animate obviative
3SPROX	third person animate singular, proximate
3PPROX	third person animate plural, proximate
ABIL	ability
ASP	aspectual
ADV	adverb
AN	animate
ANPL	animate plural third person
AT	attention getter
AUG	augment
AV	adverb

CCNJ	changed conjunct
CNTR	contrastive
CONJ	conjunct verbal order
DIR	direct
DIM	diminutive
DM	discourse marker
DM.FIN	finality discourse marker
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DUB	dubitative mode
EMPH	emphatic particle
FUT	future tense
FUT.DEF	definite future tense
FUT.VOL	voluntative future tense
HAB	habitual
IC	initial change
IMP	imperative
IMPN	negative imperative
INAN	inanimate
IND	independent verbal order
INDEF	indefinite
INV	inverse
LOC	locative
MOD	modal
NAD	noun, animate dependent
NI	noun, inanimate
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominalizer
OPT	optative particle
PART, PTCP	participle
PC	particle
PDUB	preterit-dubitative mode
PERM	permission
P, PL	plural
PM	participle marker
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
PPN	pausal pronoun
PQ	polar question
PRET	preterit mode
PRET.DUB	preterit-dubitative mode

PR, PRN,	
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximate
PST, PAST	past tense
Q	question particle
RECP	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
RP	relative preverb
RR	relative root
S, SG	singular
TMP	temporal
VAI	verb, animate intransitive
VII	verb, intransitive inanimate
VOC	vocative
VOL	voluntative tense
VTA	verb, transitive animate
VTI	verb, transitive inanimate
X	indefinite actor
Y	animate or inanimate object ²

² “Used to specify the inflectionally unmarked argument in transitive verbs having more than two notional arguments; also used to specify the goal of vaio verbs, since these may vary in animacy.” Valentine (2001, p. xxxvii)

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation investigates the clausal syntax of Ojibwe, focusing in particular on the distribution of *verbal order*, or the various clause types in Ojibwe, and its interaction with so-called *mode*.¹ As I will discuss in section 1.2, the theoretical and documentary research questions in this thesis were developed from a learner-centered approach to linguistic analysis, since understanding where and when to use different clause types is essential in speaking and understanding the language at an advanced level. In particular, while the basic functions of the verbal orders are relatively transparent and understood by learners who have gained some proficiency in Ojibwe, the full distribution of the clause types, and in particular their interactions with so-called preterit and dubitative modes, complicate existing descriptions. This thesis applies linguistic documentation and theoretical analysis to these topics to gain new understanding of these more complex grammatical structures.

The scope of this investigation is very wide, considering that verbal order interacts with all facets of temporal-aspectual morphology of the language such as prefixal tenses and suffixal modes, not to mention the semantics of various particles and preverbal elements. Nonetheless, the big picture question remains the same: When and where and why does one use different clause types in the language? The answer relates to the syntactic and semantic interface of Ojibwe, where verbal order is influenced by syntactic factors such as subordination, and the semantics of independent and conjunct clauses relate to extensions and modal intensions.

Ojibwe verbs have an extensive system of inflectional morphology that tracks tense, mood, negation, and arguments, among other things; see Chapter 2 for a more detailed overview. There are three main paradigms for this inflection, which are known in the literature as *verbal orders* and named the independent, conjunct, and imperative. I focus on the first of these two since a complete description of them is a matter of ongoing research, while the imperative order is used in giving commands and is well-understood, at least from a descriptivist linguistic lens. The imperative has a somewhat restricted paradigm compared to the other two due to less availability of arguments and verb types; see Kishketon (2023) for an excellent discussion of commands in Ojibwe beyond simple imperative verbs. Simplified examples of the verbal orders are given here:

¹ The terms *verbal order* and *clause typing* are often used synonymously in this dissertation since patterns of affixation by verbal order in Ojibwe determine clause type.

(1)	Independent Nigiigoonyike. ni-giigoonyike 1S. IND -is.fishing ² 'I am fishing.'	(2)	Conjunct giigoonyikeyaan giigoonyike-yaan is.fishing-1S. CONJ 'when/that I am fishing'	(3)	Impertative Giigoonyiken! giigoonyike-n is.fishing-2S. IMP 'Fish!' (to one person)
-----	---	-----	---	-----	---

To generalize, the independent order is used in main clauses, the conjunct in dependent/subordinated ones, and the imperative in making commands. The conjunct appears to have a multitude of functions and apparent exceptions, but I will argue that all such functions of the conjunct can be understood as instances of subordination or a clausal modification of some sort.

The conjunct order is also divided into *plain* and *changed* forms, where the latter exhibits *initial change* (IC) wherein the initial vowel of the verb complex is subject to a pattern of ablaut change; this form is used in *wh*- and *wh*-type complements, and completive aspect.³ Initial change also appears in participles/relative clauses; the forms of participles are almost identical to the changed conjunct verb, leading some to classify them as the latter, but Sullivan (2020) is careful to make the distinction since their functions differ and participles contrast in form in 3P and OBV constructions. Systems of agreement, tense marking, mode, etc., are realized morphologically differently in the independent and conjunct orders, as noted above, and the changed conjunct itself differs in form from the plain conjunct due to its ablaut process.

(4)	a.	Plain Conjunct giigoonyikeyaan giigoonyike-yaan is.fishing-1S. CONJ 'when/that I am fishing'	b.	Changed Conjunct Gaagoonyiked. IC.giigoonyike-d IC .is.fishing-3S. CONJ 'when s/he/they ⁴ had fished'
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² IND is used herein to denote the independent verbal order and not indicative mood, as is common in typical linguistic glossing standards.

³ What I'm calling a *wh*-type complement here is one such as a changed conjunct dubitative verb that is very similar to a *wh*- construction in form and function.

⁴ Grammatical gender in Ojibwe relates to animacy and while I've often glossed third person referents as 's/he/they' as in this case, English grammar results in an ambiguity in number in doing so. In this study I maintain a 's/he' convention but leave this example including *they* to illustrate that Ojibwe does not specify gender in this regard.

As noted, the independent and conjunct orders⁵ are the focus of this dissertation but as will be seen below, the significant differences in distribution between the plain and changed conjunct warrant extensive discussion of the two separately. Participles are included due to their prevalence and relationship with initial change. Thus, this dissertation is the investigation of the independent order, plain conjunct, and changed conjunct as three main clause types in Ojibwe.

Two other components of Ojibwe grammar that significantly interact with order are *mode* (i.e. neutral, preterit, dubitative, preterit-dubitative) and the plethora of particles⁶ that are very common in the language. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the preterit and dubitative modes, respectively, as they are prevalent in spoken Ojibwe and pose challenges for the learner, not least on account of their syntactic and semantic interactions with clause type. Chapter 6 is committed to discussing particles for the same reasons; as we will see, these vary greatly in their associated clause types and have much to teach us about the syntax and semantics of clause type distribution.

1.1 Data, Speakers, and Methodology

Data in this paper comes from original fieldwork with eight L1 speakers, as well as documentation found in canonical sources on the language, such as Nichols (1980) and Valentine (2001). Online dictionaries, *The Ojibwe People's Dictionary* (OPD) and the *Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary* (NOD), were also consulted for both linguistic examples of Ojibwe as well as English glosses of Ojibwe words.⁷ Other sources consulted for glossing and definitions are Rhodes (1986), as well as linguistic consultants. Of the language speakers who worked with me, seven are Nishnaabemwin speakers of Odaawaa and Eastern Ojibwe dialects: Aileen Rice (AR), Audrey Pawis, Pemaajwankwe (AP) and Gina Partridge (GP) are from the Mnidoo-gamii (Lake Huron) community of Waasaaksing, Donna King, Waaseyaabanookwe (DK)

⁵ While I use the terms *independent* and *plain* and *changed* conjunct throughout this dissertation, I will note that these names correspond to a convention now common among teachers and learners of Ojibwe to refer to the verbal orders as *A*, *B*, and *C form*, respectively. In other words, verbs conjugated in the independent as known as *A form*, those in the plain conjunct are *B form*, and changed conjunct are *C form*. It is also of interest to note that the A, B, C form convention does not subsume the plain and changed conjunct forms under a single set and this is likely due to the marked difference in their functions. From a practical, learner-centered standpoint it makes sense to differentiate these forms, while a formal linguistic, morphological approach naturally groups them together since in form they differ only by a single phoneme (except with the 3S and OBV participles). The common usage of the term *C form* is itself imperfect, however, since it does not differentiate between participles and verb changed conjuncts.

⁶ The term *particle* bears explanation here and is discussed in Chapter 6.

⁷ Those sources will be cited in their abbreviated forms in footnotes.

and Hector Copegog, Medweyaash (HC) are from Gchi-mnising, and Mary Ann (or Maanyaan, as we know her and how her English name is pronounced and spelled in references herein) Naokwegijig-Corbier (MNC) and Mary Wemigwans (MW) are Odaawaa speakers from Wiikwemkoong. Joseph Nayquonabe, Waabishkibines (JN) is a Southwestern Ojibwe speaker from the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe, District 1. All speakers are bilingual in Ojibwe and English and maps showing the locations of their home communities are presented here:

Figure 6: Eastern communities consulted

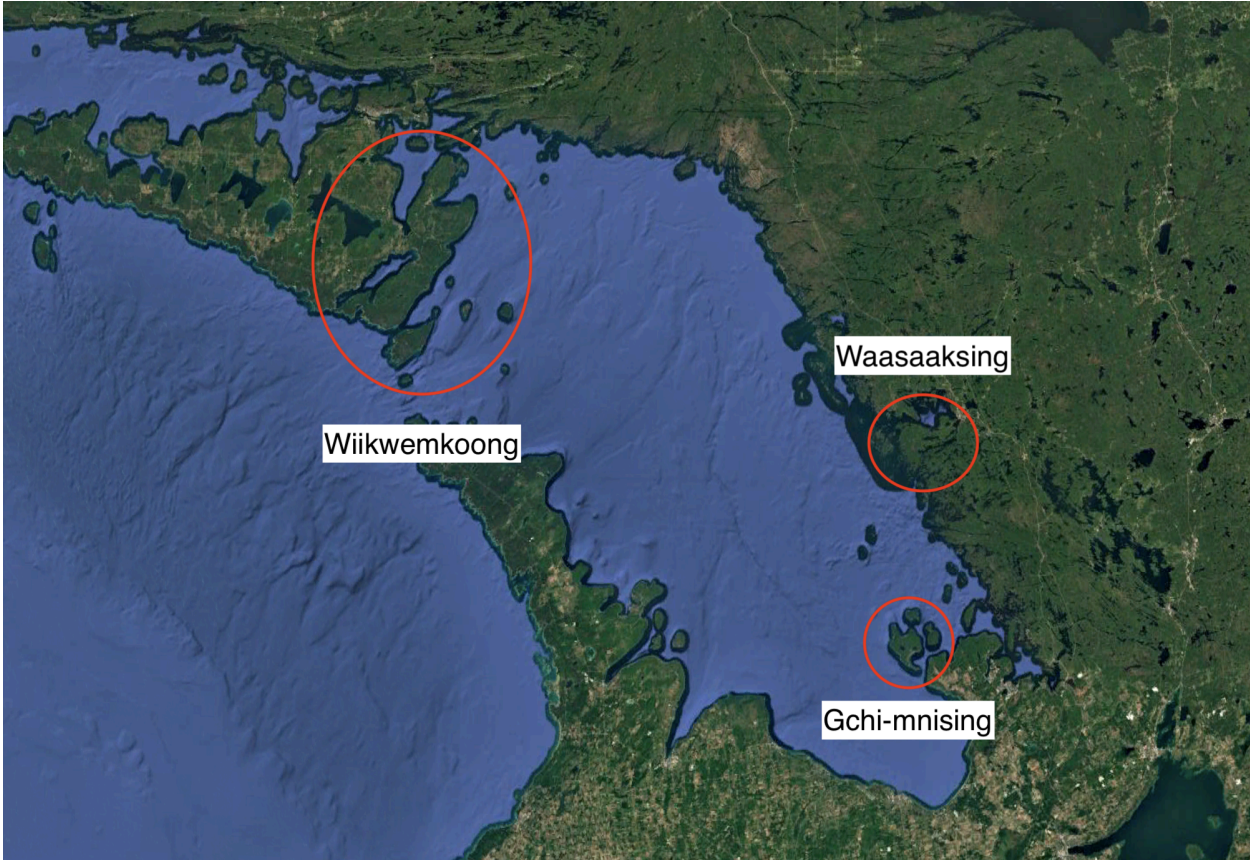
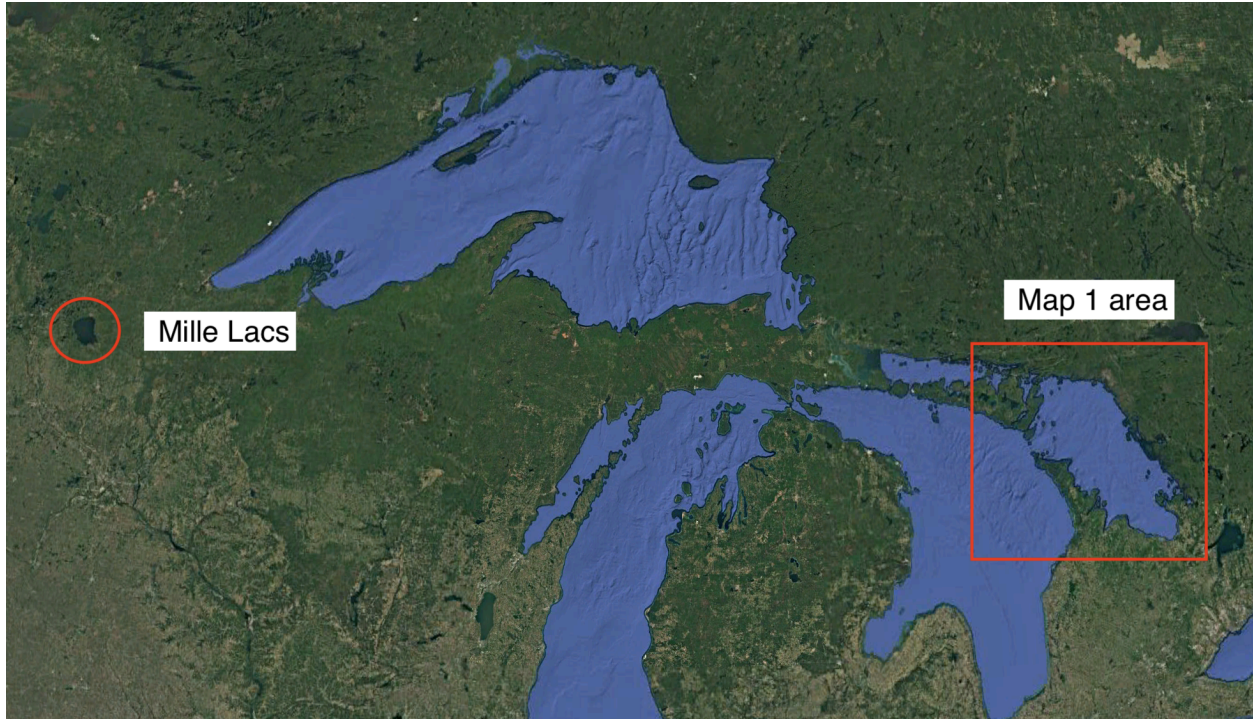


Figure 7: Location of Mille Lacs



Examples in this paper are taken from “interviews” (scare quotes are used here as the context was often more relaxed than formal linguistic elicitation sessions – especially in the early years – though those too make up a large portion of the corpus) conducted from 2012 to 2024. All examples indicate the speaker who shared them with me via their initials; throughout the dissertation, I refer to speakers by name when discussing metalinguistic insights or characterizations that they have shared with me in the course of this research.

The more formal interviews consisted of a variety of English to Ojibwe and Ojibwe to English translation tasks, elicitation tasks based on provided scenarios (contexts usually provided in English but Ojibwe used when possible), verification and testing of Ojibwe constructions in provided contexts, and storyboard tasks in which speakers were shown a story explained in English with or without text and asked to give their rendition in Ojibwe. Other interviews were less formal and consisted of casual conversation in Ojibwe and where necessary, English.

Examples from external sources have been transcribed into the contemporary double-vowel orthography where necessary while their English free translations are unmodified. Glosses from external sources are adapted for consistency except where noted otherwise.

1.2 Purpose and Goals

The overarching goal of this dissertation is to assist Ojibwe language reclamation efforts by investigating and describing the complex functions and interactions of verbal order in Ojibwe so that this knowledge can be effectively passed on to and utilized by L2 learners of Ojibwe. Through the efforts of colonial institutions of government and church, the intergenerational transmission of Ojibwe has been halted and those of childrearing age who wish to reconnect our people to our language by raising children in Ojibwe are English speakers first and must undertake the very difficult task of learning Ojibwe as a second language to pass it on to children. The number of people dedicated to this effort is small but growing and learners routinely cite the difficulty of understanding and acquiring the complexities of Ojibwe grammar beyond a beginner or intermediate level. In other words, we can get the basics down and gain a functional fluency in the language but are routinely stumped by particular constructions that native speakers use and understand with ease, which often relate to clause typing and the use of the modes.

This investigation is motivated by a research program that I call a *language user-centered approach* that involves learners and speakers of Ojibwe and the larger Ojibwe community. The primary goal of the learner is to be able to replicate L1 speech, but there are features of the language that are very hard to understand and also difficult for native speakers to explain. This approach employs linguistic analysis as a tool to answer learner questions such as, “what does *-ban* mean?”⁸, and L1 speakers inform this research program as linguistic consultants and investigators themselves. Because these language speakers are our elders, friends, and relatives, their help goes beyond that of simply being consultants as they bring human relationship and support in a difficult project in a difficult context. Learning one’s heritage language that has been subjugated by colonial authorities comes with a lot of baggage for a colonized people on colonized lands, and this is a significant barrier to be dealt with by the Indigenous learner.

The knowledge and insight of L1 speakers is also part of the language user-centered approach, as they are in an excellent position to identify learner needs. Corbiere (1997) (the same Maanyaan who is referenced throughout this dissertation as a major collaborator) is an example of a resource created to address common questions she faces as a teacher of the language. The user-centered approach is different from conventional linguistic research, which

⁸ *-ban* being a common allomorph of the preterit mode suffix.

for Ojibwe and other Indigenous languages is commonly done by non-Native and non-language-users who have a more abstract perspective and may not capture the questions important to language users. The most popular topic in linguistic research on Ojibwe today centers around the theory of agreement, which isn't exceptionally relevant to the learner outside of identifying verb conjugation patterns that are already well-known.

Beyond simply the focus of the research questions, there is also the fact that while complex aspects of the grammar might be explained in linguistic literature, that material is decidedly inaccessible to the very communities whose languages are the objects of study in them, and from which linguistic data was harvested. That said, Ameka (2006), for one, discusses how insider and outsider perspectives are both valuable in language work and for Indigenous peoples using linguistics for community-centered goals. The learner-centered approach can in turn support formal linguistics by asking and answering questions that may not arise from a purely theoretical approach. This community-centered approach determines research questions and what is done with findings, i.e. making them accessible to learners. The results of this reveal very rich linguistic matter, contribute to the field of linguistics, and is useful to learners and the community. This last point is very important given the Indigenous context and is an example of relational accountability as per Leonard (2021) and others.

Back to the specifics of this study, common to many instances in which learners are stumped by constructions that native speakers use and understand with ease is the factor of clause type selection. Language learners struggle with whether to choose a verb in the independent or conjunct order, and whether initial change is appropriate for the latter. The basic functions of each of these constructions are understood by the intermediate learner (and noted in the literature and learning materials), but their use in contexts such as in common grammar patterns and as complements to various particles or other verbal clauses often defies what we would expect according to overarching definitions of their functions. Thus the purpose of this investigation is to lay out what we do and don't know about clause typing in Ojibwe and to make an effort at refining what is known about when and where and why various clause types are used.

Existing works on Ojibwe grammar excellently describe the morphology of the language and these resources have been of great help to the reclamation movement. What is lacking in the literature is an in-depth description of clause typing, which must go hand-in-hand with the basics of grammar and verb conjugation paradigms in order to be of most value to the learner. This dissertation is written to fill a gap in the literature and to be a resource for learners and

teachers to refer to to understand and explain the many and varied functions of clause types in Ojibwe.⁹

1.3 Some Preliminary Notes

1.3.1 Orthography

This paper utilizes the standard double-vowel orthography; examples from non-original sources are transcribed into this orthography where necessary. Glosses from external sources are adapted for consistency except where noted otherwise, and their English translations are unmodified unless noted.

1.3.2 Terminology, Dialect, and General Ojibwe

The term *Ojibwe* will be used to refer to the language as a whole, as is standard in English, though the term may also come up denoting the Ojibwe people as an ethnocultural group. *Nishnaabe(g)* and *Anishinaabe(g)* are used to denote the people themselves, and endonymic terms such as *Nishnaabemwin*, *Anishinaabemowin*, and *Ojibwemowin* will be used to name language where appropriate. *Nishnaabemwin*, for example, is a term used by speakers of the Eastern Ojibwe and Odaawaa dialects referring to the language itself¹⁰, and I follow Valentine (2001) in using it to denote these two as a dialect group that is distinct for having undergone vowel syncope. Compare the forms of ‘Nishnaabemwin’ and ‘Anishinaabemowin’ as examples of syncope and non-syncope Ojibwe, respectively: the latter is argued to be the underlying form and the former syncopates unstressed short vowels (which can reappear due to stress shift). This process of syncope occurred in Potawatomi historically and is now found in varieties of Ojibwe situated near Potawatomi communities, and/or which have incorporated Potawatomi migrants. See Chapter 2 for a description and explanation of vowel syncope in Nishnaabemwin. Exonyms like *Indian* and *Native* may be used as well, as this is common and used among my people, albeit with age-graded variation.

⁹ Linguistic literature is nonetheless largely inaccessible outside of Linguistics so my future work involves translating the findings of this study for those who need it most.

¹⁰ Other terms such as *g[i]dinwew[i]ninaan* ‘our way of speaking, (language)’ are often used in spoken Ojibwe.

The dialect regions most consulted and worked within for this study were Eastern Ojibwe and Odaawaa, along with Southwestern Ojibwe. This leaves out a number of dialects, but I seek to make this a study of *general Ojibwe* as per Valentine (1994) and employed in Sullivan (2020), for example. While all varieties of Ojibwe are divergent to some degree in vocabulary and certain grammar features, *general Ojibwe* refers to features common to the language across dialects. Distinctions will be made where necessary, mostly pertaining to phonology and vocabulary terms, and grammatical differences relevant to clause typing will be noted.¹¹ My characterization of Ojibwe dialect and variety here leaves much to be desired and I direct the reader to Valentine (1994) for the intricacies of (and challenges in) dialectology in Ojibwe.

Phonologically, Nishnaabemwin can be considered a marked form of Ojibwe since the vowel syncope distinguishing it is an attested historical change. For this reason, Eastern Ojibwe and Odaawaa are often conflated¹² which can lead to assumptions but are distinct dialects by all accounts. In presenting Nishnaabemwin examples, original sentences will be given and syncopated vowels will be included in second line glossing for a general Ojibwe approach and helpful for the reader more accustomed to non-syncopated dialects of the language. This will be the case for alternations in voicing and vowel quality as well. In non-glossed examples, syncopated vowels will be in square brackets as in [a]nish[i]naabem[o]win. Despite the phonological and some vocabulary differences, the grammar of Ojibwe is broadly the same across language groups but comments will be made where necessary if differences can lead to confusion.

1.3.3 A Note on Spelling

Certain Anishinaabe words have been fixed in a nonstandard spelling, as is the case with many (perhaps most) community and place names. Such spellings are mentioned in this paper as the nonstandard versions are recognizable to people operating in English but otherwise I will adapt these to the double-vowel system of spelling. This is done to encourage the use of a standard

¹¹ There are a few features of dialects and dialect groupings that are noted when necessary, such as the use of the *e*-prefix as an aorist conjunct in Northwestern varieties that is not present in Nishnaabemwin and Southwestern Ojibwe (see Muldrew, 2022, Valentine 1994, and Sullivan 2020).

¹² A fact that my late grandmother, a speaker of Eastern Ojibwe, would bemoan as she appeared to prefer her own dialect over that of Odaawaa. Sociolinguistic issues of prestige are an interesting topic to investigate since another speaker from my community views the speech of Odaawaa folk in high regard. Many people these days have strong opinions about dialect, and I hypothesize that this has been exacerbated by the contemporary reality of language scarcity. Myself and some language learner comrades (half-)jokingly refer to the “dialect wars” of debate among many people. To settle the matter for once and for all: all varieties of the language are beautiful and none are better than any other. Mii iiw.

writing system that often more accurately represents the pronunciation of a word. As an example, some speakers who have been consulted for this study are from the communities of Waasaaksing and Wiikwemkoong, which have been spelled *Wasauksing* and *Wikwemikong* in a nonstandard orthography and largely remain the norm due to convention and perhaps to settler state “legal” protocols, as the community is known in government dealing. A learner’s encounter with a standardized spelling of a word or place name they know colloquially may be an opportunity for them to learn about the standard and how it relates to the larger language reclamation movement.

1.3.4 Situating the researcher and the research

My name is Mskwaankwad Rice and I am from Waasaaksing First Nation (also spelled *Wasauksing*, formerly known as *Parry Island*, and this colonial exonym is still in use by many area settlers and even some Waasaaksing residents). I am a learner of Nishnaabemwin, the heritage language on my father’s side of the family, the transmission of which was interrupted in his generation. Many factors contribute to this interruption, and the threat of the apprehension of children to be taken to residential school or into the child welfare system was a major influence; a reality that my father and his generation experienced and contend with to this day. While my community was spared to a degree from the residential school system compared to others (not the child welfare one, however), the imposition of day schools was effective in suppressing the use of Nishnaabemwin by attending children.¹³ Many Nishnaabemwin-speaking parents of my grandmother’s generation also chose to promote English over their own first language among their children, seeking to shield them from the traumas they faced in a colonial existence that had seen for numerous generations at that point a concerted effort to assimilate the people of *Waaseyaakosing* (Waasaaksing) into the dominant society.¹⁴ This itself an attempt to deal with

¹³ I myself attended the ‘Ryerson Indian Day School’ on my reserve, which by that point, thankfully for me, was under band control and administered by community members such as my late and beloved Auntie Elaine, Zhaawshkogiizhgookwe. In my time of attendance the name was changed to Wasauksing Kinomaugewgamik (Waasaaksing Gkinoomaagewgamig, ‘Waasaaksing School’) in another modicum of cultural reclamation spearheaded by community leadership (which at the time that included my dad), under a colonial authority whose approval was necessary in doing so.

¹⁴ McInnes (2016) provides an excellent history of the region encompassing the island of Waasaaksing, including etymology and information about the name itself.

the *Indian problem*¹⁵ that plagued the colonial government's attempts to attain and maintain complete authority and occupation of Indigenous lands.¹⁶

I am a generally¹⁷ Indigenous-coded, cisgender male of Nishnaabe/Anishinaabe and Eurocanadian heritage, a descendant of both a colonized population and of settlers benefiting from Indigenous displacement. I study linguistics foremost to support the Ojibwe language reclamation movement by figuring out some of the mysteries and intricacies that plague learners seeking native-level fluency in the language, and I work with L1 speakers to do this, a consequence of which is the documentation of the language.

There also exists a tension that I will note between Linguistics and the academic study of language, and the Ojibwe language and teachings around it. Anishinaabe philosophy views the language as a sacred thing, a gift from the creator, and this affords a degree of respect and reverence for it. As such, it is the view of many that Anishinaabemowin should not be treated as an object of study, to be broken down and analyzed and have conclusory truths assumed about it. This view can include the stance that the language should not even be written down. On the other hand, the value of writing the language and linguistic analysis of it is recognized by many, including elders and spiritual leaders.

1.3.4.1 Linguistics and Indigenous peoples

The field of Linguistics also has a problematic history with Native peoples and often continues to treat said peoples and their languages in an exploitative manner. The issue is discussed in Charity Hudley et al. (2018, 2020), Gaby and Woods (2020), Leonard (2020), and (Rice 2022b, 2024), among others. My work on this topic addresses the legacy of the Algonquianist tradition specifically, which itself was born out of missionary linguistics.¹⁸ The earliest prominent figure in this regard was the Slovenian Roman Catholic Bishop Frederic Baraga, who missioned in Ojibwe country and who wrote one of the first grammars (1850, 1878) and dictionaries (1992 [1878, 1880]) of Ojibwe. The bishop's mission in learning Ojibwe was strictly to facilitate religious conversion and as he made assumptions about the inferiority of Ojibwe people's

¹⁵ Refer to the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996).

¹⁶ Koennecke (1984) describes the history of this process at Waasaaking in depth and his ethnographical account was done in collaboration with the community, and built upon the work of Jenness (1935).

¹⁷ Being relatively fair-skinned I can be seen as non-Native in winter months.

¹⁸ I will also note that the matter necessitated me devoting a lot of time and effort to writing and presenting on the subject, though it was never my intention to do so during my time in grad school; this on top of the many barriers and specific challenges that Native students face in academia.

lifeways and spirituality, he also did of their language. Examples of his racist characterizations of Ojibwe language and people are presented in Rice (2024), but yet another instance I came across in research for this dissertation relates to the Ojibwe *dubitative mode*, discussed in-depth in Chapter 5. The dubitative mode is an evidential, and Baraga (1850) attributes its appearance in the language to the fact that “the habit of lying is a strong trait in the Indian character” (p. 95) and as such it arose from speakers’ tendency to hedge their statements, being mistrustful of one another and the possibility of having been lied to. Such a contention is fallacious but more importantly it is predicated on a belief in the moral deficiency of Anishinaabe people. Aikhenvald (2018) notes the role of cultural norms in the use of evidentials and cites Paztaza Quichua as an example in which speakers “value precision when claiming knowledge about anything,” along with “clarity and transparency in information source” (p. 28); I argue that this is also the case for Ojibwe. Culturally, Anishinaabe people value honesty and humility, and unequivocally do not lie as a trait of character. Baraga’s contention is inaccurate, offensive, and racist.

One facet of the problems with legacy sources in the literature is the way in which linguists interact with these sources today. The above quote from Baraga is cited in Junker et al (2018), without qualification of its implications. I note this not as a condemnation of the authors or their work, which itself I value for its significance to this study, but for the fact that it is commonplace in the linguistic tradition to uncritically cite legacy sources with no regard for their impacts, a practice which clearly communicates that Indigenous peoples to this day are treated as objects for linguistic study, who are not in the community of linguists. Considering the critical state of Indigenous languages today and the fact that more and more Indigenous people and communities are turning to linguistics as a means to reclaim their languages, the discipline must reevaluate itself and take relational accountability (Leonard, 2021).

1.4 Verbal Order in Ojibwe

To reiterate the central research focus of this dissertation: verbs in the independent order are used in main clauses; those in the plain conjunct are used in subordinate clauses; the changed conjunct is employed in *wh*-questions and completive aspect, and the imperative in commands. The forms of participles are almost identical to the changed conjunct verb. A logical next step is to explain when and where those clause types are used; doing so reveals a long list of at times seemingly disparate functions. A complicating factor that will be explained in-depth later is the matter of mode and how it interacts with clause typing in favoring certain clause types in certain

environments. Thankfully the results of this study can help to explain why that is by predicting meanings that arise from clause type selection. In this section and the following one, I give an overview of some of the central properties and questions that arise surrounding order and mode in Ojibwe. Each of these topics is addressed in more detail in the subsequent chapters. A more general overview of basic properties of Ojibwe grammar can be found in Chapter 2.

1.4.1 Functions of Verbal Order

Table 1 is a list of functions of the three clause types under discussion in this dissertation. It is not meant to be exhaustive, but notes common and known functions that have been described in both the linguistic literature, such as Nichols (1980) and Valentine (2001), and in pedagogical materials like Ningewance (2004) and Naokwegijig-Corbiere (n.d.). Lesser-known and less common functions are included as well, such as the plain conjunct's association with location contexts in the absence of a relative root or preverb, and the changed conjunct indicating completive aspect.

Table 1: Specific functions of clause types in Ojibwe

	Independent	Plain conjunct	Changed conjunct
uses	Independent clauses, indicative mood, (most) yes/no questions, assertions	Dependent clauses, conditionals, when/that statements, temporal adverbial clauses, progressive aspect, certain <i>where</i> questions	Questions, *participles ¹⁹ , adverbial clauses of reason, purpose, duration, etc., completive aspect, most <i>wh</i> -complements, dubitative complements
3s morphology	∅	__d	[initial vowel change]__d
example: [i]zhaa	∅[i]zhaa - s/he goes	[i]zhaad - that/when s/he goes	ezhaad - after s/he went (CCONJ), s/he who goes (PTCP)

¹⁹ Note that these are technically not changed conjunct verbs but are often classified as such. Hence I use an asterisk here. Such constructions are also inexactly classified as nominalizations in the literature.

This identification of these functions in the literature is the result of extensive investigation of the language in various capacities and over a very long period of time.²⁰ In this laundry list of clause type functions, the independent verbal order is relatively straightforward but the conjunct has many uses. Valentine (2001) writes that it “is used with verbs that are subordinated, either by virtue of being associated with a predicative word such as *mii*, or by virtue of being associated with the main verb, either as a complement, or as an adverbial clause specifying time, manner, location, circumstance, condition, reason, purpose, and the like.” (p.943) Kishketon (personal communication, 2023) notes that morphological leveling in Southwestern Ojibwe has resulted in the plain conjunct being utilized for more purposes than in the past or than it is in other dialects. One case may be the subsumption of the aorist conjunct *e*-prefix found in Northwestern dialects into plain conjuncts as it appears to be in Southwestern Ojibwe and Eastern dialects. Likewise, Sullivan (2020) identifies paradigmatic leveling in certain communities in the formation of participles.

This current linguistic study seeks to build upon the present understanding that facilitates the work of Anishinaabe teachers and linguists by providing an analysis that unites the long list of functions within each category, and Table 2 is an attempt at that:

Table 2: Overarching functions of clause types in Ojibwe

	Independent	Plain conjunct	Changed conjunct
uses	Main / unselected clauses	Embedded / selected clauses	<i>Wh</i> -complements, completive aspect, participles (and relative clauses by extension)

Unified classifications of the clause types can help learners by allowing them to apply theory to their spoken language and know when to conjugate a verb in the independent or conjunct orders, and moreover when initial change is appropriate on a conjunct verb. As one can see however, a simple characterization of the changed conjunct remains elusive and the reasons behind this will be made clear throughout the dissertation. An equally important matter is that of the interactions of these clause types with each other and with mode; that subject touched upon in this study looking at the verbal complements of both verbs and particles, but the matter

²⁰ This investigation extends from missionary linguists such as Baraga to present-day Ojibwe teachers and linguists such as Ningewance, Corbiere, Sullivan, and Kishketon, who examine and explain the language in an anticolonial effort to reclaim the lifeways that Baraga sought to extinguish.

requires much further study, especially considering the use of clause typing in discourse functions.

For this chapter we will focus on the functions noted in Table 1; I get into the weeds of theory and the specifics of clause type interactions in the rest of the dissertation. As a preview, I offer Table 3, which is an overview of the functions of the preterit and dubitative modes that show significant variation according to clause type:

Table 3: Functions of the Ojibwe dubitative and preterit modes by clause type

	Dubitative	Preterit
Independent	inference, doubt, hearsay	cessation feature; temporal interpretation(s)
Plain conjunct	(highly limited) varies between independent and plain conjunct readings	counterfactuality, hypotheticality, unrealized action, future less vivid constructions
Changed conjunct	wonder, mirativity	varies between independent and plain conjunct readings

The remainder of the dissertation will explain how the (un)selected status of the verb and corresponding semantic interpretations result in the variation in meaning we see in Table 3. Examples of the functions identified in Table 1 are expanded upon in the following sections.

1.4.1.1 Independent Order

The independent order is employed in main clauses, arguably with indicative, realis mood, used in making assertions.²¹ The following are examples with canonical tense prefixes, with the first being the unmarked present tense:

- (5) Independent order, present tense
 Magkii ndaaw.
 omagakii ind-aawi
 frog 1S-be.PRES.IND
 'I am a frog.'

AP

²¹ Using the terms *realis* and *irrealis* is not without caveats and this is discussed later in the paper. The distinction does not apply well to Ojibwe generally, and moreover can't be attributed to being distinguished purely along the lines of verbal order, i.e. independent indicates realis and conjunct irrealis, though there are tendencies of the orders along those lines.

- (6) Independent order, past tense
 Gii-bijigaazwag maa giw gwiiwzensak.
 gii-bijigaazo-wag omaa ingiw gwiiwizens-ag
PST.IND-s/he.is.brought-3P here those boy-3P
 'Those boys were brought here.' AR

Two future tenses are distinguished in the language, the *voluntative* and *definite*, which are discussed in section 2.5.

- (7) Independent order, definite future tense
 a. Nga-dbaajmaa.
 in-ga-dibaajim-aa
1S-FUT.DEF.IND-speak.of.h/-DIR
 'I'll talk about him.' AP

- b. Da-bi-zhaawag maa.
 da-bi-izhaa-wag omaa
FUT.DEF.IND-hither-s/he.goes-3P here
 They'll come here AR

- (8) Independent order, voluntative future tense
 a. Niwii-piinaa nidanimosh
 ni-wii-biizh-aa nid-animosh
1S-FUT.VOL.IND-bring.h/-DIR 1S.POSS-dog
 'I'm going to bring my dog.' JN

- b. Wii-gchi-gmiwan.
 wii-gichi-gimiwan
FUT.VOL.IND-greatly-rain
 'It's going to rain.' AP

(8b) is presented to illustrate that the *wii-* prefix is perfectly acceptable on a verb of environmental action that theoretically can't have voluntativeness in the same way as a human or animate actor. The intricacies of the future tense in Ojibwe, (or any language for that matter, as evidenced in work such as Copley (2009)), are tricky indeed. Wolvengrey (2006) examines prospective aspect in Cree and that can serve as a starting point for clearing up mysteries around the future tenses in Ojibwe.

Non-content, yes/no questions generally utilize the independent order:²²

- (9) Gwii-wiisin na?
 gi-wii-wiisin ina
 2S-FUT.VOL-eat.**IND** **PQ**
 'Do you want to eat?' AR

Content questions are in the conjunct order, as noted, and this is expanded upon below.

There are many ways of expressing modality in Ojibwe and the modal *daa-* is a common one lexicalized as a prefix and functions similarly to English modal notions of *should*, *could*, and *would*. The prefix figures in later discussion and is introduced here:

- (10) Independent order, modal
 'Ndaa-gchinendam go ji-yaawgiban gwiiwzens,' nendam giienh.
 in-daa-gichinendam igo ji-ayaaw-agiban
 1S-**MOD.IND**-be.happy EMPH FUT-have.h/-1S>3S.PRET.DUB.CONJ
- gwiiwzens inendam giienh
 boy 3SG.think.**IND** supposedly
 'I'd be happy to have a boy' he thought.' AP

With a few exceptions, the plain and changed conjunct forms of this modal are *ji-* and *ge-* respectively, which interestingly overlap with the definite future tenses and this is noted in later discussion of clause typing and its semantic import.

Ojibwe exhibits *bipartite negation* (see Tilleson, 2019) and in the independent order combines *gaawiin* (adv neg 'no, not') with a *si-* allomorph:

- (11) Independent order negation
 Gaa-sh go miinwaa ngii-yaawaasiimin bzhiki.²³
 gaawiin-dash igo miinawaa in-gii-ayaaw-aa-sii-min bzhiki
NEG-DM.CNTR EMPH also 1S-PST-have.h/-DIR-**NEG-1P** cow
 'We also didn't have a cow.' AR

²² Polar questions are commonly posed in *mii*-phrases with conjunct verbs such as 'Mii na ezhnikaadeg?' - 'Is that what it's called?' (MNC), as well as in verbless phrases like, 'Mii na gwayak?' - 'Is that right?' (AP).

²³ Note the atypical 1P>3S conjugation *n_aasiimin* optional at Waasaaksing (and noted in Valentine 2001) and generally seen as *n_aasiwaanaan* elsewhere. Issues of age gradation and potential appearance of such forms in related languages such as Potawatomi require more investigation.

There are many more morphological combinations to present if we want to include the three non-neutral modes (preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative) as well but these are left for later discussion and one present tense *preterit* example is given here:

- (12) Ndijiibaakwaanaaban gii-bi-giigdayin.
 ndi-jiibaakwe-naaban gii-bi-giigido-yin
 1S-cook-1S.**PRET.IND** PST-hither-speak-2S.CONJ
 'I was cooking when you called me.' AP

Note that the independent preterit has temporal and aspectual interpretations and this fact figures large in this study.²⁴

1.4.1.2 Plain Conjunct

The role of the plain conjunct in marking subordination results in its use in a very wide range of environments. Rather than focusing on the laundry list in Table 1, its main functions are introduced here.

1.4.1.2.1 Simple subordination

The most straightforward function of the conjunct order is its use in subordinate clauses:

- (13) Niminwendaan dagoshinan.
 ni-minwendaan dagoshin-an
 1S-like.it.IND arrive-2S.**CONJ**
 'I'm happy that you came here.', lit., 'I like that you have arrived/are arriving.' JN

I call this example straightforward though the English free translation may be considered inaccurate, as the grammatical structure above (independent order predicate with a conjunct complement) is also implicated in instances of simultaneous action.²⁵ For this reason, pedagogical materials use *when* or *that* in simple translations of conjunct conjugations. As Ojibwe lacks a subordinating conjunction like *that* and considering the context of the statement, the translation is the best that can be done. I note these things to highlight the difficulty of a simple translation between Ojibwe and English to give the reader an idea of the challenges a learner of Ojibwe from an English background faces in trying to make simplest of sentences.

²⁴ Potential morphological combinations also expand rapidly when considering various other types of preverbs but I note for now that the language has many.

²⁵ Kishketon, personal communication, 2023.

1.4.1.2.3 Temporal adverbial clauses, progressive aspect

The plain conjunct as a subordinate clause has a range of interpretation including as a temporal adverbial as in the following:

- (16) Ngichnendam giigoonkeyaan.
ni-gichinendam giigoonyike-yaan
1SG-be.happy fishing-1SG.**CONJ**
'I'm happy fishing.', 'I'm happy when/that I'm fishing.'

Similar to example (14) above, this construction conveys simultaneous action and has an interpretation of progressive aspect.²⁸ Certain dialects of Ojibwe, such as Northwestern use an *e-* prefix in this context, sometimes referred to as the *aorist conjunct* (Muldrew, 2022, p.51). It is important to note here that a prefixed *e-* is used in some varieties of the language, including Nishnaabemwin, as an initial change strategy and not as an aorist conjunct. Kishketon (personal communication, 2023) notes that the plain conjunct in Southwestern and other dialects of Ojibwe is a “defective aorist conjunct” that has subsumed *e-* functions such as simultaneous action. Other factors like lexical aspect, context/pragmatics, etc. influence the interpretation of a conjunct verb.

1.4.1.2.4 Non-relative root/preverb *where* and *why* questions

Where-questions show variation between plain and changed conjunct that corresponds to the absence or presence of a relative root or relative preverb.²⁹ When a *where*-question is formed without a relative root or preverb, we find a plain conjunct complement:

- (17) Aapiish gii-tooyin?
aapii dash gii-atoon-yan
WH DM.CNTR PST-put.it-2SG.**CONJ**
'Where did you put it?' MNC

Nichols (1980) observes that, “[l]ocation questions ... do not require initial change if only stative location is involved and there is no relative root” (p. 151). I argue that while this holds true for the most part, the appearance of initial change is dependent upon whether a relative root or preverb is present in/on the verb. Valentine (2001) doesn't identify stative location but notes that

²⁸ Kishketon (2012) notes that “plain conjuncts are continuative in nature, and changed conjuncts are completive”. (p.59)

²⁹ See 2.7 for information on relative roots.

verbs associated with locative adverbs typically do not show initial change unless a relative root or preverb is present.³⁰ Essentially, the syntax and semantics of *where*-questions do not necessitate the presence of a relative root or preverb, while most other *wh*-questions do. An example from Sullivan (2020) is repeated below (with original glossing) that illustrates contextual motivations for the presence/non-presence of a relative preverb and thus initial change in *where*-questions:

(84) *dazhi*- specifically/precisely ‘where’
 AS: Aaniindi gii-waabamad?
 aaniindi gii-waabam -ad
 where PST-see.h/ -2>3_{CONJ}
 ‘Where did you see him?’

MS: Gakaabikaang ingii-waabamaa
 gakaabikaang in-gii-waabam-aa
 Minneapolis 1-PST- see.h/-DIR
 ‘I saw him in Minneapolis’

AS: Aaniindi gaa-**tazhi**-waabamad?
 aaniindi IC-gii-tazhi-waabam-ad
 where IC-PST-REL-see.h/-2>3_{CONJ}
 ‘Where (**exactly**) did you see him?’

MS: Wal-Mart.

(Sullivan 2020, pp. 94-95)

A similar exception to initial change in *wh*-contexts can be found in *why*-questions that don’t motivate a relative root or preverb for the same reasons as above.

(273) Aaniin dash mawiyān?
 aaniin dash mawī-yan
 WH DASH s/he.cries-2S.CONJ
 ‘Why are you crying?’ (Sullivan, 2025, personal communication)

More commonly, however, a speaker would pose the question as in (274) and such a construction was offered to Sullivan (2025, personal communication) as a repair for the above.

(274) Aaniin dash wendademoyān?
 aaniin dash IC.ondademo-yan
 WH DASH IC.s/he.cries.for.a.certain.reason

³⁰ Fairbanks.(personal communication, 2021) points out that varieties of Ojibwe with the e-conjunct use that form in these situations.

'Why are you crying?'

(Sullivan, 2025, personal communication)

Regarding the syntax of initial change, Sullivan (2020) argues that initial change "is morphological realization of the movement of the conjunct verb from FinP to FocP" (p. 279), and that in relative clauses without a relative root, for one, "the verb does not move to the head of the FocP where IC occurs." (p.267).

Terms for *where* vary widely across the language, such as *aapii(sh)*, *aandi*, *aanii pii*, *aaniindi*, and the following demonstrates a very rare form *aaniish maa*, observed by the author only in the community of Waasaaksing³¹:

- (18) Aaniish maa gii-tooyin?
 aaniin dash maa gii-atooyan
 WH LOC PST-put.it-2SG.**CONJ**
 'Where did you put it?' AP

This particular example was used to illustrate that even in the presence of an atypical form of *where*, utilizing *aaniish* (+LOC *maa*), which is typically reserved for questions of *how* or *why*, the question complement is a plain conjunct.³²

It is important to note that some speakers analyze *[a]toon* and other verbs containing the same initial, such as *[a]shi*, vta 'put h/ in a certain place', *[a]chige vai* 's/he puts things in a certain place', and *[a]chigaade vii* 'it is put in a certain place (by someone), "they" put it in a certain place'³³ as containing a relative root and do use initial change in similar such constructions. An example from Nancy Jones of Nigigoonsiminikaaning illustrates this:

- (19) Ningii'-mikwendamose gaa'-atoowaan mewinzha gaa-gii'-wanitoowaan.³⁴
 nin-gii'-mikwendamose gaa'-atoowaan mewinzha
 1S-PST-s/he.suddenly.remembers.IND IC.gii'-put.it-1S.CONJ long.ago

 gaa-gii'-wanitoo-waan
 REL-PST-lose.it-1S.CONJ

 'I suddenly remembered where I put the stuff I lost a long time ago.' NJ via OPD

³¹ It is also recorded in *The stories of Alice King of Parry Island* by Nichols et al. (1985), Parry Island being the colonial exonym of Waasaaksing, and work by Waabishkimakwa Brian McInnes documenting the speech of his great-uncle Duncan Pegahmagabow from Waasaaksing.

³² This locative question formation strategy appears to be easily understood by L1 speakers who do not use that particular form.

³³ Definitions from OPD.

³⁴ A glottal stop on the past tense preverb is observed in some varieties of Ojibwe.

An example from Sullivan (2016) illustrates a lack of initial change in a *wh*-question utilizing a verb without a relative root or preverb (original glossing):

- (20) Aaniindi gii-waabamad?
 aaniindi gii- waabam -ad
 where PST- see.h/ -2>3CONJ
 'Where did you see h/?'

These examples are important to note for discussing the syntactic relationship between relative roots/preverbs and initial change, and especially for learners of Ojibwe who seek and may be taught overarching rules to use in their speech, such as that all *wh*-questions require initial change on their verbs, while this is not always the case. The syntax and semantics of verbal order and initial change are discussed in Chapter 3.

1.4.1.2.5 Other

This is not an exhaustive list of the distribution of plain conjunct verbs. Kishketon (personal communication) contends that the plain conjunct in Southwestern and other dialects of Ojibwe is a “defective aorist conjunct” and in addition to its functions for denoting simultaneous action. This also includes: non-asserted information; immediate action; as a connective; unrealized future, e.g. with the particle *maagizhaa* (maybe); unrealized action, and more.

1.4.1.3 Changed Conjunct

The *changed conjunct* is a verb inflected in the conjunct order while additionally having the first vowel in its verbal complex undergoing an ablaut process of *initial change*, which I will describe in more detail in Chapter 2.6. The basic pattern is outlined here:

Table 4: Ablaut pattern of Ojibwe initial change

aa	>	(a)yaa	a	>	e
ii	>	aa	i	>	e
oo	>	waa	o	>	(w)e
e	>	(a)ye			

(adapted from Valentine, 2001 and Nichols, 1980)

Initial change factors into discussions of verbal order and clause typing generally, as I will

discuss in Chapter 3, and has an interesting relationship with the dubitative mode, which I address in Chapter 6. The changed conjunct is also employed as an iterative (see Chapter 2.6.3).

Changed conjunct verbs are used in *wh*-constructions and in indicating completive aspect, and are noted in the literature to defy a simple characterization. Nichols (1980, p.148) cites Rogers (1978) in saying that the changed conjunct is hard to pin down and that there are always exceptions to any rule one might try to devise. These exceptions and mystifying appearances of the changed conjunct (or any other clause type for that matter) are of utmost importance to the learner, as we seek to know when to use clause typing appropriately and in light of opaque uses, discussion of the changed conjunct is important for the purposes of this dissertation. I follow Sullivan (2020) who treats the participle as separate from the changed conjunct verb and notes that “Ojibwe participles are similar in form to changed conjunct verbs, showing the same ablaut vowel pattern, but display nominal agreement markers when the head of the participle is either third person plural or obviative.” (p. 12)³⁵ He identifies functions of the changed conjunct as “primarily in *wh*-agreement contexts, including substantive interrogatives, adjunct relative clauses with manner, temporal, or locative properties, or when indicating “completive aspect” (Fairbanks, 2012).” Nichols (1980) notes that “[i]nterrogative and dubitative pronouns require participles” (p. 149), and examples of these contexts are given below.

1.4.1.3.1 *Wh*-agreement, substantive interrogative

Wh-question complement verbs are generally in the changed conjunct:³⁶

- (21) Aanii-sh gaa-doodwad aw bzhiki?
 aaniin dash IC.gii-doodaw-ad a’aw bizhiki
 WH DM.CNTR IC.PST-do.to.h/-2>3**CONJ** PRON.DEM.AN cow
 ‘What did you do to that cow?’ AR

This is a well-known and common function of the changed conjunct verb that learners know early. It should however come with a caveat that verbs do not show initial change in *where*-questions with verbs lacking relative roots or preverbs.

³⁵ Lexicalized participles, such as *bemisemagak* (airplane, ‘that which flies’), are common in the language.

³⁶ Note that *wh*-questions can be verbless, such as a question like, *Awenen giin?* (‘Who are you?’).

1.4.1.3.2 *Where*-questions with relative roots or preverbs

As noted above, *where* questions without relative roots or preverbs are an exception to the rule of *wh*-complements showing initial change, and naturally, those with such roots/preverbs do have IC on the verb complex:

- (22) Where question with relative root /ond-/ ‘from where’
 Aanii-sh maa waa-ondinman zhoonyaa wii-dba’geyin?³⁷
 aaniin dash maa IC.wii-ond-inan-man zhooniyaa
 WH DM.CNTR LOC IC.FUT-RR.from.where-get-2S.CONJ money

 wii-diba’ige-yan
 FUT-pay-2S.CONJ
 ‘Where are you going to get the money to pay?’ AP

Chapter 2.6 lays out what we know about initial change and the environments in which it does or does not appear.

1.4.1.3.3 Completive aspect

An important function of the changed conjunct verb in Ojibwe is to indicate *completive aspect*. Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2012) notes that “changed conjuncts may be used to express completive aspect ... within subordinate clauses, resulting in meanings similar to the English *after X happens, once X occurs*.” (p.52) An example is given here:

- (23) Changed conjunct verb as completive aspect
 Gaa-shkwaa-wiisniyaang, mii gii-ni-giiweyaang.
 IC.gii-ishkwaa-wiisini-yaang mii gii-ani-giiwe-yaang
 IC.PST-done-eat-1P.CONJ DM.DEIC PST-away-go.home-1P.CONJ
 ‘After we ate / when we finished eating, we went home.’ AP

Nichols (1980) notes this in describing the functions of initial change but does not call it *completive aspect*, and states that the changed conjunct is used to “focus on single past occurrence, especially when relevant to setting the time of another event or state” (24) and juxtaposes that with a non-specific event, where IC is not required (26) (p. 153). His original

³⁷ The reader may notice that the initial /o/ in the relative root is pronounced here despite being a short vowel in a metrically weak position and should theoretically be syncopated. This may be on account of the speaker’s analysis of preverb or morpheme boundaries, but it is also observed that typically syncopated vowels can appear in careful speech, such as when a consultant is saying a sentence slowly for a learner (or linguist).

examples, glossing, and free translations are included along with my transliterations, as is generally the case for Nichols examples throughout this dissertation:

- (24) miišš iitok kweškosiwaat, ... a'aw ikkwe o-kwaapa'ank ...
 miišš iitok kweškosiwaat a'aw ikkwe o-kwaapa'ank ...
 thus dub. when they woke that lady went-she dips it

Mii-sh iidog gweshgoziwaad, ... a'aw ikwe o-gwaaba'ang.
 mii dash iidog IC.goshgozi-waad a'aw ikwe
 MII DM.CNTR DUB IC.wake.up-3P.CONJ PRON.DEM.AN woman

o-gwaaba'an-g
 go.and-fetch.water-3S.CONJ

'When they woke in the morning, that lady went to get water ... '(Nichols,1980, p.153)

- (25) mii kiiwe iškwa-maamikippiniwaat iwiti ... , mii pa-iši-maacaawaat.
 mii kiiwe iškwa-maamikippiniwaat iwiti mii
 thus so it is said after-they pick potatoes over there thus

pa-iši-maacaawaat
 here-there-they leave

Mii giuwe ishkwaa-maamigipiniwaad iwidi..., mii ba-izhi-maajaawaad.
 mii giuwe ishkwaa-maamigipini-waad iwidi mii
 MII so.it.is.said finish-pick.potatoes-3P.CONJ over.there MII

IC.bi-izhi-maajaa-waad
 hither-RP-leave-3P.CONJ

'When they finish picking potatoes over there, they leave for here.' (Nichols,1980, p.153)

The completive aspect function of the changed conjunct is used as a narrative storyline advancement function when combined with the relative preverb *izhi-*, seen in this example from Sullivan (2020), with original glossing and translation:

- (26) Gaa-izhi-debibidood gichi-bikwaakwad awe Bizhikiins
 IC-gii-izhi-debibid-oo-d gichibikwaakwad awe Bizhikiins
 IC-PST-REL-get.it-TI2-3_{CONJ} basketball DET PN

gaa-izhi-apagidamawaad iniw Maanishtaanihsansan
 IC-izhi-apagidamaw-aad iniw Maanishtaanihsan
 IC-REL-throw.to.h/-3s>3' CONJ DET_{OBJ} PN

'So then Bizhikiins got the ball and then she threw it to Maanishtaanihsans' (Stillday 2014, p.59) Sullivan (2020, p.92)

This discourse sequencing function is common in Southwestern Ojibwe but less so in Nishnaabemwin, which employs *mii dash* for a similar function.

Telicity is important to the interpretation of completive aspect changed conjunct verbs and Kishketon (2012) explains that atelic verbs such as *eat* require aspectual support in the form of the preverb *[i]shkwaa-*, 'stop; finish', while punctual ones such as *kiss* have a natural endpoint. As a consequence of its appearance in completive aspect environments, *[i]shkwaa-* is often taught as meaning 'after' in Ojibwe but a more accurate function of it is to signify the stopping of an event. This point is noted here as it illustrates the difficulty in teaching and learning complex aspects of the language. Generalizations are helpful at first but the full picture is nuanced and understanding it all requires additionally learning and understanding complex linguistic phenomena such as aspect and telicity.

Valentine (2001) also notes the completive aspect function of the changed conjunct, albeit specifically in the context of impersonal verbs, stating that "impersonal verbs with time reference often do show INITIAL CHANGE, which usually indexes past occurrence of a specific instance of the state described by the verb, and have a perfective sense, that is, indicate that the event signified by the verb has already taken place at the time of the action/event of the main verb, and is often translated as antecedent 'when.'" (p. 764)

This aspectual function is important in making grammatically sophisticated constructions and the following is an example of a speaker's translation task from a student question asking how to say, "you've been talking ever since you got here":

(27) Mii go pane e-bi-dagoshnan, gii-maadaangidoonamba.³⁸
 mii igo apane IC-bi-dagoshin-an
 MII EMPH always IC-hither-arrive-2S.CONJ

gii-maadaanagidoon-amban
 PST-s/he.starts.talking-2S.PRET.CONJ

³⁸ The initial short vowel in *dagoshin* here is another instance of unstressed short vowels surviving syncope, in this case likely due to the speaker relaying the phrase in careful speech.

'You've been talking ever since you got here.'

MNC

There is also an interesting crosslinguistic phenomenon of perfective aspect expressing evidentiality (see Aikhenvald, 2004); as I discuss in Chapter 5, initial change is implicated in dubitative constructions in Ojibwe. As the dubitative mode is an evidential in Ojibwe, this is relevant information for attempts to unify the tangled strands of the functions of initial change.

1.4.1.3.4 Participles and relative clauses

Participles and relative clauses are important to note in this section for the participle's similarity in form (but not function) to the changed conjunct verb. Ojibwe participles are constructions derived from verbs that are used like nominals, though they aren't considered true nominalizations as they do not behave like nouns in a number of way.³⁹ Sullivan (2020, pp.258-295) illustrates the ambiguity between relative clauses and changed conjunct verb constructions (original glossing):

(28) Ambiguity in relative and changed conjunct

a. gaa-aabajitood

IC-gii- aabajit- -oo -d

IC-PST- use.it- -T12 -3_{CONJ}

'what s/he used; s/he who used it; after s/he used it'

b. gaa-aabajitoowaad

IC-gii- aabajit- -oo -waad

IC-PST- use.it- -T12 -3_{pCONJ}

'what (sg.) they used; after they used it'

Participial verbs in Ojibwe are employed in relative clause contexts and Sullivan (2020) is a seminal work in this regard. While participles and changed conjunct verbs are practically identical in form, their distributions are distinct. The two can also be differentiated in third person plural and obviative forms and these are bolded in the following table also from Sullivan (2020):

³⁹ For example, one cannot affix the locative *-ing* suffix on a participle, though this is available to nouns.

Table 5: Changed conjunct vs. participles for *biindige* 's/he enters'

A. Changed conjunct		B. Participle	
proximate		proximate	
singular	plural	singular	plural
baandiged IC-biindige-d IC-enters-3 _{CONJ} 'after s/he entered...'	baandigewaad IC-biindige-waa-d IC-enters-3p-3 _{CONJ} 'after they entered...'	baandiged IC-biindige-d IC-enters-3 _{CONJ} 's/he who enters'	baandigejig IC-biindige-d-i-g IC-enters -3 _{CONJ} -PM-3p 'they who enter'
obviative		obviative	
baandigenid IC-biindige-ni-d IC-enters-OBV-3 _{CONJ} 'after s/he/they _{obv} entered...'	baandigenijin IC-biindige-ni-d-i-n IC-enters-OBV-3 _{CONJ} -PM-OBV 's/he/they _{obv} who enters'		

Sullivan (2020, p.13)

Sullivan (2020, p.13) thus glosses the participle morpheme and plural or obviative marker as one unit, PL_{PRT} and OBV_{PRT} respectively. He also notes that participles agree in number with relativized plural object arguments. Plural and obviative participles are presented here:

- (29) Plural participle
 enkiijig
 IC.anokii-jig
IC-work-PTCP.3PL
 'the workers' AP
- (30) Obviative participle
 gaa-ktigaanaajin
 IC.gii-gitigaazh-aa-jin
IC.PST-plant.it-TI-PTCP.3PL
 'those who h/ planted' AP

Like Sullivan, I follow the definition given by Andrews (2007, p.206):

- (31) Relative Clause

A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC.

In plainer English, a relative clause is a dependent clause that provides more information about a noun or noun phrase referent. In English, RCs are often introduced by relative pronouns such as ‘that’, ‘which’, ‘who’, ‘whom’, or ‘whose’.

Sullivan (2020) goes more in-depth on participles and talks for example of participial neologisms, among other things. Refer to that work for a comprehensive examination of Ojibwe relative clauses and related topics such as participles.

1.4.1.3.5 Dubitative constructions

There is a well-known connection between the dubitative mode, which as we will see in Chapter 5, contributes differing evidential meanings in different clause type, and the changed conjunct; Nichols (1980) observes that “[i]nterrogative and dubitative pronouns require participles” (pp.149-150), as do dubitative adverbs like *namanj* adv dub ‘I don’t know how, I wonder how’⁴⁰. Valentine (2001) makes note of dubitative pronouns and that associated verbs “usually show dubitative mode inflection” (p. 925). An example is given here:

(32) Minj sa (mshi) e-bi-nji-nsaaknigesii-gwenh.
 namanj isa mashi
 I.wonder DM.FIN yet

IC-bi-onji-nisaakonige-sii-gwenh
IC-hither-RP.for.such.reason-open-NEG-2S.DUB.CONJ

‘I wonder why she isn’t coming to open the door (yet).’ MNC

The propensity of initial change to appear with the dubitative mode leads some to conclude that it is obligatory – Valentine (2001) notes that dubitative-marked verbs in the conjunct “always show initial change” (p. 832) and Junker et.al. (2018) state that initial change is “required in Conjunct Dubitative” (p.448) – but this is not the case. Nichols (1980) for one notes exceptions to this, in that “[l]ocation questions and dubitative clauses do not require initial change if only stative location is involved and there is no relative root” (p.151). The dubitative mode is discussed in Chapter 5 and this includes specifics on the relationship between that mode and initial change generally. The mode expresses evidentiality in Ojibwe and this involves initial

⁴⁰ Source: OPD.

change or a lack thereof, along with a plethora of particles, both dubitative and otherwise, implicated in dubitative constructions, and clause typing generally. As noted above, there is a crosslinguistic tendency for perfective aspect to expressing evidentiality (Aikhenvald, 2004) and while this is not necessarily the case in Ojibwe, I highlight the fact that the changed conjunct verb is tied to evidential constructions.

The topics of the dubitative mode, the changed conjunct verb, initial change, participles, and relative clauses are all interrelated in complex ways and untangling them is a(n initially unintended) goal of this dissertation. I propose that the propensity for initial change to appear with conjunct dubitatives is a consequence of their being relative clauses, which are associated with initial change by way of participles.

I also note that as a learner of Ojibwe, the appearance of initial change on dubitative constructions is unexpected (we would typically use an independent verb), and that the dubitative mode generally is challenging for the learner to grasp and use in everyday speech. This is why it is important to study and better understand the dubitative mode and Ojibwe evidentiality generally.

1.4.1.3 Imperative order

The imperative order is comparatively restricted in its distribution due to its specified function in issuing commands. It is available to all verb types (see 2.4.2), can be made in the positive or negative, and has an immediate and a delayed mode. Related to commands are constructions like jussives, a topic covered by Kishketon (2023). The brevity with which I've referred to the imperative order thus far should not underplay its significance. It is an extremely common clause type in spoken Ojibwe and plays largely in discourse functions and pragmatics, such as in modals of prohibition and obligation, and these are commented on briefly in Chapter 3.

1.5 Mode

There are four modes identified in Ojibwe: the unmarked *indicative* or *neutral* mode; the *preterit*, used to contrast past states/occurrences with later non-states/occurrences (and vice versa) as a *cessation function*, and as a counterfactual marker⁴¹; the *dubitative*, part of the grammaticalized system of evidentiality in Ojibwe that marks uncertainty, inference, or hearsay; and the

⁴¹ A previously-undescribed function of the preterit is that in marking mirativity, though the recency of this coming to my attention prevents discussion of the topic due to a lack of data and analysis with a fluent speaker. An example of the mirative function is provided in Appendix 8.

preterit-dubitative, a combination of the latter two that combine evidentiality with said cessation function. Semantic interpretations of these modes depend on clause typing and this is examined in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

In the independent order, I demonstrate that the preterit mode has a *cessation function*⁴² (see Chapter 4) that contrasts a state with a later non-state (and vice versa in the negative), and this has temporal and aspectual implications, since such contrasting inherently delineates a temporal order, placing things before and after another. The independent preterit has aspectual implications that likely hinge on lexical aspect and a common function is to indicate imperfective aspect since canonical past tense marking with the prefix *gii-* appears to most often have a perfective, simple past tense reading. In the conjunct order, preterit morphology is repurposed as a marker of *counterfactuality*, indicating that the speaker believes a situation to be untrue or unlikely, and relatedly is used in hypothetical contexts.

The dubitative mode is an evidential marker and likewise is interpreted differently in the independent and conjunct orders. With the former, it is a straightforward evidential and marks doubt, inference, and secondhand information. In the latter, the evidential reading is a bit opaque and rather indicates a sense of wonder.⁴³ Plain conjunct dubitatives are rare and most conjunct dubitatives are subject to initial change.

The preterit-dubitative seems to parallel the preterit in function, i.e. carrying a cessation function in the independent order and as counterfactual in the conjunct, albeit but with the added flavors of the dubitative's functions in those respective orders.

1.6 Particles

Chapter 6 is dedicated to what I'm calling *particles* in this dissertation, a cover term for heads and adverbial phrases of various types. Defining such parts of speech is famously difficult in Ojibwe, and there is a longstanding debate over what constitutes the various classifications (see Pentland's 2005 paper, *Preverbs and Particles in Algonquian* for a glimpse). The term *particle* is chosen as a catch-all since although many of those examined can be defined as *adverbs*, their discourse function (see Kishketon, 2016 for an in-depth examination of Ojibwe discourse markers) blurs the lines of definition.

⁴² This function is likely an assertion.

⁴³ This *unpreparedness of mind* is an element of mirativity (Aikhenvald, 2012, p.437) so the dubitative mode as well is connected to mirativity, and this is noted in Chapter 5.

Terminology aside, the reason that this is a topic of conversation for this dissertation is that various particles in Ojibwe are seen to take a wide range of clause types as complements, sometimes obligatorily and sometimes with optionality, and as such these words can teach us much about clause typing in Ojibwe in general. For the learner, we then know which clause types to use with which particles and why, and moreover have a better understanding of why different clause types are used in various circumstances (not simply with the specific particles being examined) and can then apply this knowledge to our own speech.

The particles are examined in terms of the clause type(s) of their complements, whether these are independent, conjunct, or changed conjunct and the various combinations of them that are available to or restricted from said particle. I hypothesize that independent complements are instances of parataxis and conjunct ones are subordinated by the predicative particle. In instances of optionality, the particle interacts differently with its complement in either case and a choice is made by the speaker for semantic reasons.

1.7 Summary

This chapter is an introduction to the central topics of this dissertation: verbal order and the distribution of its forms, namely in the independent and plain and changed conjunct clause types. The *modes* of Ojibwe are introduced and a comment is made on particles in the language since these pieces of the complex grammar significantly interact with order. The following chapters will take a deep dive into those interactions and the overall syntax and semantics of clause type selection. The syntactic story of this dissertation revolves around the selection and non-selection of verbs via the independent and conjunct orders, respectively, and as for the semantics, such selection results in interpretations that relate to ex/intensional modality and ir/realis interpretations. These interpretations and the syntax behind them are especially salient when it comes to mode and the relationships between particles and their associated clause types.

Chapter 2: Grammatical Background

In order to investigate the interrelated questions surrounding clause typing in Ojibwe, a basic understanding of a number of relevant aspects of the grammar is required. This chapter is an overview of the syntactic structure of Ojibwe, including the morphology involved in agreement patterns via clause type and mode, and the semantic interpretations of these various combinations. The phenomenon of initial change is explored, as it is an essential component of clause typing and has many functions, not all of which are well-understood. Nouns are discussed since they exhibit similarities to verbs in their derivation and also have a relationship to typically verbal pieces of grammar such as initial change and mode. The combinations of order, mode, tense, and initial change result in a wide range of temporal-aspectual interpretation, and a section on the tense-aspect-mood system (TAM) is included below. A large part of content herein is drawn from Valentine (2001), Nichols (1980), Sullivan (2020), Hammerly (2024), and Oxford (2014).

To reiterate what we saw in Chapter 1, there are three verbal orders in Ojibwe: the *independent*, used in main clauses; the *conjunct* in subordinate ones; and the *imperative*, used in making commands. I set aside the imperative and limit this investigation to independent, plain conjunct, and changed conjunct. With these and the 4 possible modes (indicative, preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative), we could potentially expect 12 possible configurations, as illustrated below:

Table 6: Possible combinations of order and mode

		mode			
		indicative	preterit	dubitative	preterit-dubitative
order	independent				
	conjunct	plain			
		changed			

There are, however, apparent restrictions on certain combinations: as we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, plain conjunct dubitatives and changed conjunct preterits are rare. We also see certain configurations of order and mode giving rise to unexpected semantics, such as plain conjunct preterits marking counterfactuality (see Chapter 4). Beyond the basic combinations of order and

mode, we also see that TAM can be implicated in unexpected ways, where, for example, certain temporal markers are limited to particular mode-order combinations or yield unanticipated meanings. Note that prefixal tense could also be considered in Table 6 above, which would increase the permutations of affixal configurations by a factor of four.⁴⁴ There too we find situations where temporal/modal prefixes are preferred or dispreferred for reasons that aren't always entirely clear, and one example is the fact that the definite future tense is ungrammatical with the preterit and dubitative modes in the independent order but acceptable and common in the conjunct. The topic of tense itself is a fish too big to fry in this study but is commented on in following chapters where relevant.

For the present study, I focus on interactions of order and mode and seek to explain, for example, why conjunct dubitatives favor initial change, or why a conjunct preterit conveys counterfactuality. Expanding those questions touched on the goal of this thesis: to explain what it is about verbal order selection that results in the different distributions and semantic differences observed between the orders.

Verbs are inflected differently in any position in the table above, and in addition to the added factors of prefixal tense, a verb's phi-features will determine this morphological realization. Agreement in Ojibwe is likely the most-discussed aspect of its grammar in the theoretical literature and we turn to the theorists to explain these patterns, starting with the structure of Ojibwe.

2.1 The Structure of Ojibwe

Ojibwe is famously polysynthetic and agglutinating, building sentences upon verb stems with affixes, each of which carry information of tense, number, mood, etc., and fall into a verbal template whose slots encode syntactic information. The following is a verbal template for matrix verbs, following Hammerly (2021, p.6), and arranged into a table for clarity:

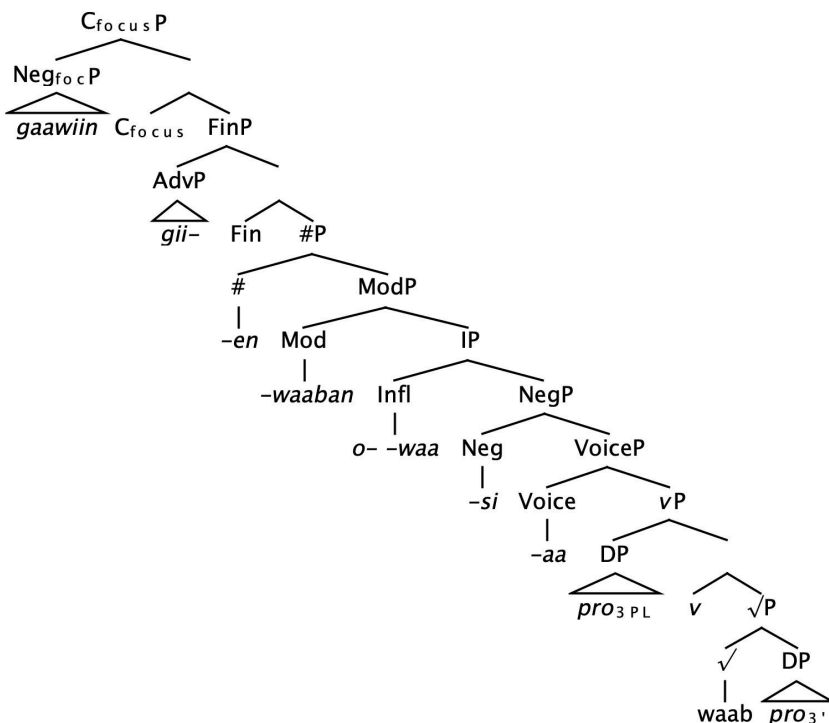
⁴⁴ Canonical tense marking in Ojibwe is considered to be the past *gii-*, unmarked present \emptyset , voluntative future *wii-*, definite future *da-/ga-*, and the modal *daa-*. These forms are subject to allomorphy depending on order and the presence of initial change.

Table 7: Verbal template for Ojibwe matrix verbs

Person Prefix	Tense	STEM	Final	Theme Sign	Negation	Central	Mode	Peripheral
Infl	Tense (adverbial)	√ROOT	v	Voice	Neg	Infl	Mod	#
o-	gii-	waab	-am	-aa	-si	-waa	-waaban	-en
'They (PROX) might not have seen h/ (OBV)'								

The specifics of the Ojibwe verbal spine are much-debated; I present this one also from Hammerly (2021):

(33) Verbal spine for matrix verbs



As will be seen in Chapter 3, I adopt a much simpler verbal template that accounts for the clause typing phenomena discussed in this paper but the above is presented for posterity.

Conjunct verbs have a significantly different conjugation paradigm but the verbal template differs only slightly – the verb lacks person and tense prefixes, as well as the

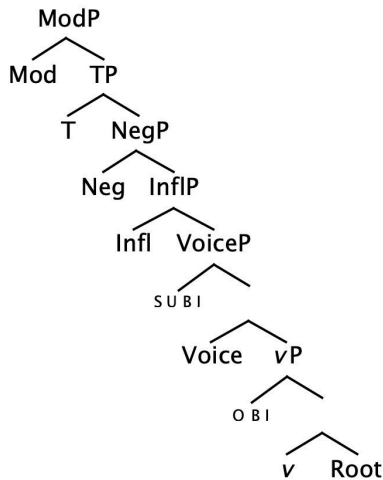
peripheral suffixal slot. I again follow Hammerly (2020, p.247) here, who adapts this template from Oxford (2014).

Table 8: Verbal template for Ojibwe conjunct verbs

STEM	Final	<i>Theme Sign</i>	Negation	Central	Mode
√ROOT	v	<i>Voice</i>	Neg	Infl	Mod
waab	-am	-aa	-si	-gwaa	-ban
'...if they (PROX) are not seeing h/ (OBV)'					

I repeat the following verbal spine from Oxford (2014, p.179), which is a proposed structure for the Algonquian verb complex generally and that aligns well with the analysis in this study:

(34) Oxford's (2014) proposed syntactic structure of the Algonquian verb complex



Oxford (2014, p.179)

This structure happily accounts for many of the scopal properties discussed in the paper and I present a modified version in Chapter 3.

Languages like Ojibwe with rich verbal agreement often correlate with pro-drop and flexible word order, though this is likely not a causal relationship. Ojibwe has been described as being nonconfigurational, though Hammerly (2024) argues otherwise and cites a large body of work supporting the view that Algonquian languages are in fact configurational.

Ojibwe exhibits a system of *obviation*, wherein third person referents are distinguished between a more salient *proximate* argument and less so *obviative* one. This feature of the grammar and its morphological realization provide a window into the technicalities of Ojibwe syntax, which is the most popular topic in theoretical literature about the language today. Examples of the proximate and obviative in action are represented in word order preference, and this information is again presented from the works of Chris Hammerly (with original glossing), who specializes in this area:

- (35) DIRECT (VOS preferred; VSO possible); INVERSE (VSO only)
- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| a. | o-gii-waabam-aa-n
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3'
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman' (OBV)' | ikwe-wan
woman-OBV | gwiiwizens
boy.PROX | ✓ V _{DIR} O _{OBV} S _{PROX} |
| b. | o-gii-waabam-aa-n
3-PAST-see.VTA-DIR-3'
'The boy (PROX) saw the woman (OBV)' | gwiiwizens
boy.PROX | ikwe-wan
woman-OBV | ✓ V _{DIR} S _{PROX} O _{OBV} |
| c. | o-gii-waabam-igoo-n
3-PAST-see.VTA-INV-3'
'The boy (OBV) saw the woman' (PROX)' | gwiiwizens-an
boy-OBV | ikwe
woman.PROX | ✓ V _{INV} S _{OBV} O _{PROX} |
| d. | *o-gii-waabam-igoo-n
3-PAST-see.VTA-INV-3'
Intended: 'The boy (OBV) saw the woman (PROX)'
(Hammerly, 2024, p.2) | ikwe
woman.PROX | gwiiwizens-an
boy-OBV | *V _{INV} O _{PROX} S _{OBV} |

On the topic of word order, Sullivan (2016b) offers a study of spontaneous speech that is much more complex and nuanced in structure and composition than suggested by the few elements presented in (35).

Nouns have a structure similar to that of matrix verbs, and can parallel these verbs in form and function with regard to person affixes, mode suffixes, and generally the structure and derivation of stems themselves. That isn't to say that nouns are verbs but the parallels highlight the structure of Ojibwe generally. See 2.8 for more information.

2.2 Agreement Morphology

Agreement tracks person, number, and animate gender, along with obviation, in a featural hierarchy. There are parallels between agreement morphology in nouns and verbs and Oxford (2014) and others attribute this to the historical development of the independent verb order arising in Pre-Proto-Algonquian from noun possessor forms. The conjunct order, argued to be older, has exclusively suffixal morphology and shows portmanteau in such forms. A comparison of a sample of morphological forms in either order via *verb type* (explained in section 2.4.2 below) in Ojibwe is given here to illustrate the difference in conjugation morphology between the two orders:⁴⁵

Table 9: Ojibwe verb types

verb type	conjugation	IND	CONJ
VAI (intransitive verb, animate subject)	first person animate singular subject (1S)	ni_	_yaan
VII (intransitive verb, inanimate subject)	third person inanimate singular subject (0S)	(w)_	_g
VTA (transitive verb, animate object)	first person animate singular subject, third person animate singular object (1S>3S)	ni_aa	_ag
VTI (transitive verb, inanimate object)	first person animate singular subject, third person inanimate singular object (1S>0S)	ni_n	_aan

This table simply illustrates the significant difference between independent and conjunct conjugations where the latter is purely suffixal and the former can take either or both prefixes and suffixes. Commonalities in each are seen, and patterns arise in full paradigms according to a verb's theta roles.

Independent order agreement morphology is argued to have arisen from noun possessor forms and parallels can be seen in a comparison of the two in table 10. I have included personal pronouns in that table to show an additional level of similarity.

⁴⁵ There are also parallels in the morphologies of the conjunct and imperative orders.

Table 10: Possessor forms, independent order conjugations, and personal pronouns⁴⁶

Person	inanimate noun possessor	animate noun possessor	independent order verb agreement	personal pronouns
1S	ni _ im ⁴⁷	ni_	ni_	niin
2S	gi _ im	gi_	gi_	giin
3S	o _ iman	o_	_(w)	wiin
3'	o _ imini	o_ini	_wan	
X			_m	
1P	ni _ iminaan	ni_inaan	ni_min	niinawind
21	gi _ iminaan	gi_inaan	gi_min	giinawind
2P	gi _ imiwaa	gi_iwaa	gi_m	giinawaa
3P	o _ imiwaan	o_iwaa	_wag	wiinawaa

Correspondence between noun possessor forms and independent verb conjugations are clearer in Proto-Algonquian forms, as illustrated by (Oxford, 2014, p.10):

Table 11: Correspondence of subject agreement and possessor agreement in Proto-Algonquian

	independent verb		possessed noun	
	prefix	suffix	prefix	suffix
1s	ne-	-∅	ne-	-∅
2s	ke-	-∅	ke-	-∅
3s	we-	-∅	we-	-∅
1p	ne-	-ena·n	ne-	-ena·n
21p	ke-	-enaw	ke-	-enaw

⁴⁶ Nonsyncopated forms are used for clarity.

⁴⁷ Suffixal /m/ can be optional for 1S and 2S forms in some varieties (Sullivan 2025, personal communication). Relatedly it has appeared on possessed kinship terms such as [i]ndede, as observed in examples (77), (89), and (94) from speakers from Waasaaksing where it is unexpected elsewhere.

2p	ke-	-wa·w	ke-	-wa·w
3p	we-	-wa·w	we-	-wa·w

Nichols (1980) provides a comprehensive account of nominal suffixes that is repeated in Table 12. The central and peripheral suffixes relate to person agreement and parallels are seen between these and independent order verb conjugation. Note also the dubitative and preterit mode suffixes that also appear on verbs. Those verbal modes figure large in this study and it is of note that they are also found on nouns.

Table 12: Underlying forms and positions of nominal suffixes

A	B	C	D	E	F
possessed theme sign	pejorative suffix	nominal central suffixes	dubitative mode suffix	preterit mode suffix	peripheral suffixes
/m/	/sh/	/-naan/~/-naa/ 'l-ful' /-waa/ 'l-less' /-ni(w)/ 'obviative'	/go/	/ban(e)	/-i/ '0' /-an/~/-in/ '0p' /-a/ '3' /-ag/~/-ig/ '3p' /-an/~/-in/ '3"
		personal pronoun central suffixes			locative suffix
		/-awind/ 'l-ful' /-awaa/ 'l-less'			/-ng/
		vocative plural suffix			
		/dog/			

(Nichols, 1980, p.15)

Some sentence examples are given to illustrate agreement patterns between verbs and nouns using the verbs *migi vai* 's/he barks', *migidan vti* 'bark at it', and *migizh vta* bark at h/, with a few combinations of person and number:

Table 13: Verb agreement illustrated

Intransitive	
migi animosh	[the] dog barks
migi ind-animosh	my dog barks
migi ind-animoshiminaan	our (exclusive) dog barks
migi gid-animoshiminaan	our (inclusive) dog barks
migiwag gid-animoshiminaanig	our (inclusive) dogs bark
migiwag animoshag	[the] dogs bark
Transitive	
omiginaan gaazhagensan animosh	[the] dog (proximate) barks at the cat (obviative)
omiginigoon animoshan gaazhagens	[the] dog (obviative) barks at the cat (proximate)
omiginaan gaazhagensan animosh	[the] dog (proximate) barks at the cats (obviative)
omiginaan gaazhagensan animoshag	[the] dogs (proximate) bark at the cats (obviative)
omiginaan gaazhagensan animoshag	[the] dogs (proximate) bark at the cat (obviative)
omigidaan animosh mazinaatesijigan	[the] dog barks at the TV

While they are not essential to a discussion on agreement, there are a few affixes to mention. Mode suffixes are available to nouns although their functions differ than when they appear on verbs. The diminutive suffix, generally considered a nominal feature, can also appear on verbs for interesting semantic effect. Two noun-exclusive suffixes are the locative and contemptive. These facts are expanded upon in section 2.8.

2.3 Grammatical Gender

Ojibwe has grammatical gender instantiated by an animate/inanimate distinction that is realized in patterns of agreement across the language. To generalize, living entities are gendered as animate and non-living things are inanimate but there are numerous exceptions to that rule and objects may be fluid in category depending on their use. The topic is of vibrant discussion in the literature and probably more so outside of it in language spaces of various types.⁴⁸ Patterns of verb and noun inflection by person and number are dependent on the animate/inanimate distinction and this is explained in the following sections.

2.4 Verbs

Ojibwe is famously verb-based, being a polysynthetic and agglutinating language that creates verb stems from *initial*, *medial*, and *final* components and those stems are in turn built upon with inflectional morphology encoding person, tense, aspect, mode, and any other category of grammatical information. Part of Table 7 is repeated here:

Person Prefix	Tense	STEM	Final	Theme Sign	Negation	Central	Mode	Peripheral
o-	gii-	waab	-am	-aa	-si	-waa	-waaban	-en

Tense, person, and mode are found on specific morphemes in matrix verbs. On conjunct verbs, features carried by person prefixes are collapsed into suffixal morphology, as illustrated in Table 8, repeated below:

Table 8: Verbal template for Ojibwe conjunct verbs

STEM	Final	Theme Sign	Negation	Central	Mode
√ROOT	v	Voice	Neg	Infl	Mod
waab	-am	-aa	-si	-gwaa	-ban
'...if they (PROX) are not seeing h/ (OBV)'					

⁴⁸ Due to the current status of the language, people, most often non-speakers, romanticize the language and cite animacy as evidence of its sacredness.

Aspect arises from combinations of mode and tense affixes along with lexical stems and various adverbs. Clause typing features such as verbal order and initial change influence aspect and mode, and these are discussed in 2.5.

2.4.1 Derivation and Inflection

The derivation of verbs themselves, which are made up of lexical roots categorized into *initials*, *medials* and *finals*,⁴⁹ is itself a complex topic explained well in Nichols (1980), as well as in Goddard (1990), Valentine (2001), and Rhodes (1980, 2012) among others. Riccomini (2019) examines the structures of these verb stems and their components and the meaning they impart, and Mathieu (2008) focuses on verb finals. These finals can determine the semantics of a verb and are discussed in the literature as *concrete* and *abstract* finals (see the next section), where the latter determines parts of speech and former imbue meaning, though Mathieu (2008) notes that the distinction isn't so clear-cut, and Denny (1984) explains that some VII abstract finals determine aspectual class of the verb. These verb components – initials, medials, and finals – carry a wide range of meaning and can result in very descriptive stems, such as 'book[o]gaadeshin' - 's/he falls and breaks their leg.' The verb parts are broken down here:

- (36) book[o]gaadeshin
 ∅-book[o]-gaade-shin
 3S-break-leg-fall
 'S/he falls and breaks their leg.'
- (37) derivation of book[o]gaadeshin
 a. /bookw-/ *initial* - broken, broken in two (esp. of stick-like objects)
 b. /-gaade-/ *medial* - leg (Contains medial -gaad- + post-medial -e-.)
 c. /-shin/ *final* - s/he falls, lies, treads, contacts, hits on something
 (Definitions taken from the Ojibwe Peoples' Dictionary)⁵⁰

This simple sentence(/word) aligns with the independent verbal template as such:

⁴⁹ These terms first appear in Bloomfield (1946).

⁵⁰ The majority of definitions/glosses of words, including verb parts. throughout this dissertation are taken from the Ojibwe People's Dictionary (OPD) by Nichols (2015). Other sources consulted are the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary (NOD) and Rhodes (1986), as well as linguistic consultants worked with for this study.

Table 14: Derivation of *book[o]gaadeshin*

Person Prefix	STEM		Final
	initial	medial	
∅	/bookw-/	/-gaade-/	/-shin/

Moving out from the stem and final in the table above we step out of the realm of derivation and into inflection, and Table 15 outlines where the morphology appears. Valentine (2001) and especially Nichols (1980) go into detail regarding the morphological ‘slots’ surrounding a verb and their categories. I will note that Hammerly for one treats the final as separate from the stem, presumably in order to account for the syntax, whereas other sources consider finals to be part of the verb stem. For present purposes, it is the final that is most relevant as this determines argument structure or verb type, which is explained below.

For fun, we’ll add a few more pieces of morphology to the example to see how they fall into the verbal template with an unattested but morphologically rich, ‘gaawiiin ingii-bookogaadeshinziiminaadog,’ - ‘we must not have fallen and broken our leg(s).’

Table 15: Derivation and inflection example

Person Prefix	Tense	STEM		Final	Theme Sign	Negation	Central	Mode	Peripheral
		initial	medial						
in-	gii-	/bookw- /	/-gaade- /	/-shin/	∅	zii	min	aadog	∅

Lexical roots such as *book[o]gaadeshin* are highly productive semantically and moreover combine with a plethora of preverbs of various types to create meaning and a note on those is warranted.

Valentine (2001) classifies preverbs into the following types: “tense and mood, direction (location), relation, aspect, manner, quality, and quantity.” (p.154). Among the preverbs are *relative preverbs* (see 2.7) that relate meanings of manner, place, origin, time, etc. to the verbal action and as such are highly productive semantically. These relative preverbs also appear as lexical roots for the same or similar function as the preverbs, and their lexicalization suggests a longstanding use. Lexicalization is also seen in other (non-relative) preverbs such as *n[i]taa-*,

meaning to be good/skilled at or do something frequently, is also used as a verb initial in a verb like *nitaawigwaaso vai* 's/he knows how to sew, is good at sewing'.⁵¹

It is in verbs themselves (namely initials) where one finds adjectival meaning in Ojibwe, since the language essentially lacks the lexical category of adjectives. Adverbs, on the other hand, are numerous and prolific, and Valentine (2001) classifies them into nine types: temporal, locational, manner, conjunctive, quantificational, degree, negative, interrogative, and evidential. Adverbs are relevant to the present thesis and play roles in chapters 4, 5, and especially 6. Relative roots/preverbs are noted in 2.7.

2.4.2 Verb Type

Ojibwe verbs are classified by type in a four-way division delineated by animacy and transitivity, tracking two dimensions of argument structure: the grammatical gender (animate or inanimate) of the subject in intransitive verbs and the object in transitive ones; and the (in)transitivity status of the verb. Their types and abbreviations are:

- (38) Ojibwe verb types and their abbreviations
- a. animate, intransitive (VAI)
 - b. animate, transitive (VTA)
 - c. inanimate, intransitive (VII)
 - d. inanimate, transitive (VTI)

Finals determine the verb type and are often classified into *concrete* and *abstract* categories, where the former clearly carry semantic information and the latter appear to be more dedicated to solely determining verb type. The status of the finals are noted in the verb type examples given below and examples of each (concrete and abstract) are given simply for illustrative purposes. Glosses and translations are taken from the OPD.

- (39) Ojibwe verb types and examples

- a. Animate intransitive verb (**VAI**)
gooniwi vai s/he is snowy, has snow on h/
initial: /goon-/ stem of goon na 'snow'
abstract final: /-wi/ be, become a certain kind of being or thing

⁵¹ OPD.

- b. Animate intransitive verb (**VAI**)
 bookogaadeshin vai s/he falls and breaks h/ leg
 initial: /bookw-/ broken, broken in two (esp. of stick-like objects);
 medial: /-gaade-/ leg;
 concrete final: /-shin/ s/he falls, lies, treads, contacts, hits on something
- c. Animate transitive verb (**VTA**)
 dibaabam vta inspect, check up on h/ or it (animate), look h/ or it (animate) over
 initial: /dib-/ even, judge, measure;
 final: /-aabam/ look at h/
- d. Animate transitive verb (**VTA**)
 bakite' vta hit, strike h/
 initial: /bakite-/ hit, strike;
 concrete final: /-a'w/ act on h/ using a tool or medium
- e. Inanimate intransitive verb (**VII**)
 gooniwan vii it is snowy, has snow on it
 initial: /goon-/ stem of goon na 'snow'
 abstract final: /-wan/ it is, becomes
- f. Inanimate intransitive verb (**VII**)
 bangisin vii it falls
 initial: /bang-/ drop
 concrete final: /-sin/ it falls, lies, contacts, hits on something
- g. Inanimate transitive verb (**VTI**)
 debaabandan vti have it in sight, see it at a distance
 initial: /deb-/ enough, adequate, reach
 final: /-aaband/ look at it
 theme sign: /-an/
- h. Inanimate transitive verb (**VTI**)
 bakite'an vti hit, strike it
 initial: /bakite-/ hit, strike
 concrete final: /-a'/ act on it using a tool or medium; sing it

The animacy/inanimacy distinction depends on the grammatical gender of the verb's arguments, and transitivity/intransitivity is dependent on the presence of an internal argument in the verb's action. The animacy status of intransitive verbs depends on verb's agent and transitive ones on

its patient.⁵² Thus, VAI verbs involve an animate agent with no action on a patient while VTAs have transitive action on an animate patient. VII verbs are employed with inanimate agents with no transitivity and VTIs have an inanimate patient. These various roles via verb type are color-coded here:

- (40) Ojibwe verb types and their theta roles
- a. animate subject, intransitive verb (VAI)
 - niizhiwag waaboozoog
 - there are two rabbits / the rabbits are two
 - b. animate object, transitive verb (VTA) (subjects always animate)
 - owaabamaan ikwezansan waabooz
 - the rabbit (prox) sees the girl (obv)
 - c. inanimate subject, intransitive verb (VII)
 - niizhinoon apabiwinan
 - there are two chairs / the chairs are two
 - d. inanimate object, transitive verb (VTI) (subjects always animate)
 - obakite'aan apabiwinan waabooz
 - the rabbit (prox) hits the chair (obv)

These example sentences are overly simplified and do not necessarily reflect spoken Ojibwe. Sullivan (2016b) provides numerous sentence examples in his study of word order in the language, and such structures are almost always far more complex than simple three-element verb, object, subject sentences presented above.

Each verb type is further subdivided into classes of conjugation patterns depending on the final morphology of the verb stem. Seminal grammars of the language such as Nichols (1980) and Valentine (2001) describe these morphophonological processes in-depth.

2.4.3 Mode

Mode plays an important role in Ojibwe grammar and this dissertation. Its use is prevalent in L1 speech yet it poses challenges for the learner since the modes have wide ranges of functions and these often have no analog in English. The language has four modes: the *neutral* (also known as *indicative*), *preterit*, *dubitative*, and *preterit-dubitative*. The term *indicative* isn't ideal

⁵² A verb like 'break' can be any verb type and 'unaccusative' meanings will be a vai or vii (s/he breaks/is broken and it breaks/is broken) and transitive forms are s/he breaks it (vti) and s/he breaks her/him (vta). To reverse the agent/patient roles for transitives, 'indefinite actor' conjugations and the vta is 'it/something breaks me / I am broken by it/something' and vii is 'it/something breaks it / it is broken by it/something' but the latter conjugation pattern appears uncommon.

here as it implies assertions and main clauses, which conjunct constructions for one thing certainly are not, but it is a term assigned to the non-preterit nor dubitative nor preterit-dubitative modes in the literature. This is but one example of how terms from English grammar and the classical European linguistic tradition are unsuitable when applied to Ojibwe grammar and other North American languages for that matter. The term *preterit* and its application is another example of a partial mislabeling and this is discussed in 2.5.2.

The modes are identified by distinct patterns of morphology (except in the unmarked neutral) that occupy a particular verb suffixal position and correspond to particular uses/meanings. Those meanings and their distributions can be quite complex and pose challenges for individuals in all corners of the language reclamation process: for the learner in attempts to replicate native-like speech patterns; for linguists to provide a complete syntactic and semantic description of the modes; and, for L1 speakers to explain the semantic nuance carried by the modes in the varied and complex environments in which they appear. The preterit and dubitative modes are discussed in-depth in chapters 4 and 5, and the basics of the four modes are introduced here.

The preterit, typically represented by a *-ban* allomorph, indicates that a past occurrence is no longer the case (and vice versa in the negative), and marks counterfactuality. The dubitative appears as allomorphs of *-dog/-dig* and *-en* and is an evidential marker, indicating a speaker's uncertainty of the state in question due to knowing via hearsay or inference, and in some cases a sense of wondering. The preterit-dubitative combines the two functions (and their allomorphs) to indicate one's uncertainty/inference of a state that is no longer the case.

Verbal order greatly influences the form and meaning of the modes so they will be discussed along that parameter, starting with the independent. When combined with mode, prefixal tense also impacts temporal and aspectual interpretations and sometimes in unexpected ways. There are also patterns of tense and mode combinations, for example in a dispreference for past tense marking on plain conjunct (counterfactual) preterits (though it is not ungrammatical), and an apparent restriction on definite future marking on independent order preterits and dubitatives. Another wild card for the mix is the grammatical feature of *initial change*, which interacts with mode and order in ways that defy a simple explanation of its functions. Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) is discussed in section 2.5, and the minutiae of morphological combinations with mode are addressed in chapters 4 and 5. Central to the thesis of this dissertation is the role that verbal order plays in the interpretation of verbs.

Though it is largely outside the scope of this study, the origins and evolution of the mode system in Ojibwe and related languages is a topic that is fascinating in itself and can also provide clues to the semantics of mode in a comparative approach. Oxford (2014) is an excellent resource for this and notes that Proto-Algonquian “independent-order forms reconstructed by Pentland encode both mode (-san ‘assertive’, -tweke-n ‘dubitative’) and aspect (-pan ‘preterit’) and can co-occur (-sapan ‘assertive preterit’, formed from -san + pan), and their meanings have shifted to cover varying aspectual, temporal, and modal notions in the daughter languages.” (p.177) The evolution of mode in Ojibwe clearly follows from this and correspondence can be seen in related languages.

2.4.4 Verbal order and mode

This section will introduce the subject of the interaction between verbal order and mode in Ojibwe by providing illustrative examples and some discussion. Theoretical analysis is found in consequent chapters.

2.4.4.1 Independent: matrix clauses

Examples of the modes on verbs in the independent order are given here. Independent verbs are used in matrix clauses and the examples below illustrate the interpretations of the modes in those environments.

2.4.4.1.1 Independent neutral

The neutral mode in the independent order is used in statements of fact and is unmarked on the verb. It is also used in yes/no questions.

- (5) Independent order, present tense
 Magkii ndaaw.
 omagakii ind-aawi
 frog 1S-be.**PRES.IND**
 ‘I am a frog.’ AP
- (10) Gwii-wiisin na?
 gi-wii-wiisini ina
 2S-FUT.VOL-eat.**IND PQ**
 ‘Do you want to eat?’ AR

Negative independent indicative statements straightforwardly negate a proposition:

- (41) Kaa dash ngiikendnziin waa-zhichgeyaan.⁵³
 Gaa dash in-gikendan-ziin IC.wii-izhichge-yaan
NEG dash 1S-know.it-**NEG**.IND IC.FUT.VOL-do-1S.CONJ
 'I don't know what I'm going to do.' DK

The neutral mode is common and relatively straightforward. Learners of Ojibwe often begin their journeys by learning how to make positive, indicative statements in the independent order, typically with VAI verbs since that type is common and has less conjugation forms to memorize than a transitive verb.

2.4.4.1.2 Independent Preterit

The preterit is represented by *-ban* and its allomorphs, and indicates that a past state or occurrence is no longer the case:

- (42) Aakoziiban.⁵⁴
 aakozi-ban
 be.sick-3S.**PRET**.IND
 'S/he was sick (but isn't anymore).' JN

Negative preterits reverse that situation and contrast a past *non*-state is with a later state or occurrence:

- (43) Gaa go aakzisiiban jiinaago.
 gaa igo aakozi-sii-ban bijinaago
NEG EMPH be.sick-NEG-3SG.**PRET**.IND yesterday
 'S/he wasn't sick yesterday (but she is now).' AP

The contrasting function of the preterit carries a *cessation function*⁵⁵ (see Chapter 4), implying that the previous state is no longer the case (and vice-versa in the negative). The nature of the mode also has a past tense interpretation since contrasting two states implies that one

⁵³ There is an idiosyncratic vowel lengthening on 1S (and possibly other) conjugations of verbs beginning with /g[i]kend-/ observed on Waasaaksing. Inflections noted in the NOD and work with Odaawaa speakers suggest the appearance of this phenomenon in Odaawaa and elsewhere in the dialect region.

⁵⁴ Vowel lengthening is seen on short vowels preceding *-ban*.

⁵⁵ I opt to use *function* over *implicature* as per Altshuler and Schwarzchild (2013) since more investigation is needed to determine whether this feature of the preterit is an actual implicature.

precedes the other and thus must have occurred in the past (44). Independent preterits cannot occur in the future, and this is discussed in Chapter 4 and section 2.5.

- (44) if state A precedes state B then it follows that state A occurred in the past with respect to state B

Preterit verbs can also have a past imperfective reading, at least in contrast to prefixal past tense *gii-*, which is generally interpreted as perfective. Examples and discussion of this matter are found in 2.5.2.

This range of functions of the preterit (not to mention those in the conjunct order noted below) poses difficulty for language learners to figure out exactly when and where to use it, and linguists alike (at least this one) have difficulty formulating a unified semantics for such a versatile verb suffix.

Relatedly, the nature of tense interpretation in Ojibwe can differ greatly from that of English, and this is an important topic of discussion in itself. What can be said for certain is that Ojibwe does not always align with English expressions of tense and especially aspect, and this is seen in among other things, the terms given to Ojibwe morphology such as the *preterit mode*. This and other temporal issues concerning the preterit are discussed in 2.5 below, as well as in Chapter 4.

2.4.4.1.3 Independent Dubitative

The dubitative mode, realized as allomorphs of *-dog/-dig* in the independent order and *-en* in the conjunct, is an evidential indicating uncertainty, inference, and secondhand information. The dubitative mode is part of a grammaticalized system of expressing evidentiality in Ojibwe, and this is discussed more in Chapter 5.

An Ojibwe learner pondering the reason behind a person's absence might wonder if they're sick and wish to translate "maybe s/he's sick" into Ojibwe, which would likely come out like this:

- (45) Gnamaa aakzi.⁵⁶
gonamaa aakozi
maybe be.sick.**3S.IND**

⁵⁶ A number of adverbs exist in Ojibwe that can convey the English 'maybe', such as *g[a]namaa/g[a]nima/namaa*, *g[a]nabaj*, and *maag[i]zhaa*. The form of the adverb in question varies quite a bit and in this paper is found as *gnamaa*, *gnimaa*, *gonamaa*, and *gonimaa* interchangeably.

'Maybe s/he's sick.'

The construction is perfectly understandable and grammatical but may not be appropriate for a given context where an L1 speaker would instead employ the dubitative mode, and even their simplest of sentences are flavored with discourse markers of various kinds. As with the preterit mode, a main hurdle in a learner's development is grasping the use of the dubitative, and an advanced speaker knowing the proclivity of the dubitative might then say *aakoziidog*:

- (46) Aakziidog.
aakozi-idog
be.sick-**3S.DUB.IND**
'Maybe s/he's sick.' / 'I guess she's sick.' (AP)

Again, the sentence is perfectly fine but might not reflect an L1's construction for the context. Simpler constructions such as "aakziidog" are appropriate depending on the context, and see Appendix 7 for a description of dubitative and evidential constructions that vary in composition depending on the nuance of meaning being conveyed.

A sentence that came up naturally for an L1 speaker for the context in question proved to be much more complex than an L2 speaker might think to construct:

- (47) Gnamaa gye yaakzigwenh.⁵⁷
gonamaa gye IC.aakozi-gwen
maybe GYE **IC.be.sick-3S.DUB.CONJ**
'Maybe she's sick.' MNC
Context: you go to her house and she's not there.

What is puzzling for the learner⁵⁸ is both the presence of initial change on the verb but also the fact that it is in the conjunct order as well. There is also often an optionality between independent and changed conjunct verbs in evidential contexts that deserves explanation. Verification of these constructions confirms that they are neither *wh*-questions nor participles, ruling out two main roles of the changed conjunct.

⁵⁷ *G[a]ye* is used here in the sense glossed in the NOD as 'as for; for one's part; with regard to...'. The word is however most commonly used as a coordinator or additive, akin to the English 'and' as a coordinator, additive particle, and discourse sequencer.

⁵⁸ Source: self.

Back to independent dubitatives, a couple examples are presented to illustrate its basic functions. The mode is used as an evidential and in this case indicating that the speaker is uncertain of the information as they were not there to witness it firsthand:

(48) Uncertainty

Gaa go naa wiya dayawaasiidgenan
 gaa igo naa awiya od-ayaaw-aa-sii-dogenan
 NEG EMPH NAA someone 3S-have.h/-DIR-NEG-**DUB**.IND
 'He **apparently** didn't have anybody.' AP

In (48), the speaker is retelling an *aad[i]zookaan*, na, ni, 'legend; sacred story', and as such intersperses their speech with dubitatives to indicate that it is not firsthand knowledge that they are relaying. There is also a reportative particle *giwenh* that indicates relayed information and is used in both storytelling and in everyday speech. *Giwenh* is not necessarily accompanied by dubitative verbal morphology but other particles associated with the dubitative mode are.

A common function of the dubitative as an evidential is for a speaker to mark a clause as coming from their own inference, citing that as an information source:

(49) Inference

Wiyan megwaa mbwaach'igdogenan
 awiya-n megwaa nibwaachi'-ig-dogenan
 someone-OBV now 3S.visit.h/-INV.3<3'.**DUB**.IND
 'Somebody must be visiting him.' MNC

In (49), the speaker knows that a person in question usually has visitors at the current time so they infer that he has a guest at the moment.

Uncertainty and inference are parameters commonly co-occurring in evidential systems cross-linguistically (see Aikhenvald, 2018) but it is important to note that these are distinct functions, as discussed in von Fintel and Gillies (2010). For the present study, the two are treated together under the umbrella of Ojibwe evidentiality, though tentative investigation suggests that there are means of discerning the two functions via nuanced use of dubitative morphology and particles, and this is touched upon in Chapter 5.

It also bears to note that translations of the dubitative (and evidentials for that matter) as 'must be' can imply their functions as epistemic, though this is not the case. Evidentials mark information source, in the above case the speaker's inference as information source and not an explicit comment on their belief in the proposal.

2.4.4.1.4 Independent Preterit-dubitative

The preterit-dubitative combines the functions of the preterit and the dubitative and indicates uncertainty/inference of a past state that is no longer the case. The following example and gloss are taken directly from Valentine (2001, p.835):

- (50) Mii dash gii-bi-maajaawaad mii dash iw gii-sweshkaawaad, Neyaashii-nagmiing gii-zhaa aw nmishoomis **binoojiinswigban** giwenh iw pii...

'And so they went on and then they disappeared, my grandfather went to Cape Croker—he he must have been an infant at the [time]...' (AK15.13a)

Mii *av* 'and'; **gii-bi-maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) in time ANpl left'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-sweshkaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl dispersed'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *ni 0 loc* 'to Cape Croker'; **gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **binoojiinswigban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was evidently a child'; **giwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time.' (AK15.13a in Valentine 2001)

In the above example, the speaker is relating a story about their grandfather and utilizes the dubitative mode throughout as they themselves were not there to witness the recounted events. On the verb *binoojiinswi*, 's/he is a child', they use the preterit-dubitative to combine evidentiality with the preterit's function of marking a past event that is no longer the case, as their grandfather being a child was in the past, and naturally was no longer a child at a later time. Valentine (2001, p.835) also notes that the preterit-dubitative is also used to frame traditional narratives and I observe that in these cases, the verb can vary by order depending on the construction; for example a plain conjunct preterit-dubitative appears when subordinated by *mii*. A sample of conjugation paradigms for the independent, preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative modes are found in Appendix 2.

2.4.4.2 Conjunct: subordinate clauses

The conjunct order is used in subordinate clauses and as such covers a very wide range of functions, as noted in 1.4. Throwing mode into the mix results in complex semantics required in grammatically sophisticated constructions such as counterfactuals, hypotheticality, and other domains of modality.

2.4.4.2.1 Conjunct Neutral

Neutral mode verbs in the conjunct order are seen in subordination, conditionals, certain *wh*-questions, and more. Here again is an example of a neutral mode, i.e. non-preterit nor dubitative nor preterit-dubitative verb, in the conjunct order:

- (13) Niminwendaan dagoshinan.
ni-minwendaan dagoshin-an
1S-like.it.IND arrive-2S.**CONJ**
'I'm happy that you came here.', lit., 'I like that you have arrived/are arriving.' JN

Such plain conjuncts are common and seen in simple subordination but themselves can have complex interpretations as is the nature of the conjunct verbal order.

2.4.4.2.2 Conjunct Preterit

Preterit verbs in the conjunct order are canonically counterfactual and are discussed in-depth in Chapter 4. What is important to note is that there is a significant semantic shift in interpretation of the preterit between the independent and conjunct orders, and the latter is decidedly counterfactual:

- (51) Begish naa baatyiintooyaambaan zhoonyaa.
ambegish naa baatayiinatoon-yaambaan zhoonyaa
OPT DM have.a.lot.of.it-1S.**PRET.CONJ** money
'I wish I was rich.' (lit. 'I wish I had lots of money.') AP

Other counterfactual-adjacent constructions such as hypotheticality, unlikelihood, and "unrealized past occurrence"⁵⁹ are also expressed with conjunct preterits, albeit with prefixal tense in the mix contributing to the semantics. Again, see Chapter 4.

2.4.4.2.3 Conjunct Dubitative

Plain conjunct dubitative constructions are rare and conjunct dubitatives are rather most often accompanied by initial change. So much so that sources in the literature note that initial change is obligatory, though this is not the case, as noted in 1.4.1.3. Consequent chapters illustrate and explain where we do see plain conjunct dubitatives, such as in cases of simple subordination, with the discourse marker *mii*, in *whether* statements, and in some cases indicating location.

⁵⁹ Nichols (1980, p.123).

2.4.4.2.4 Conjunct Preterit-Dubitative

Conjunct preterit-dubitatives can undergo a semantic shift by verbal order as do conjunct preterits and conjunct dubitatives. Conjunct ones are seen to be used in hypothetical contexts in the same manner as conjunct preterits, and the presence of the dubitative can add a layer of evidential interpretation (and syntactic restriction, i.e. the presence of initial change). For these reasons, it can be difficult to parse conjunct preterit-dubitatives for the number of factors at work, not to mention the fact that conjunct preterits favor the plain conjunct over the changed but conjunct dubitatives pattern conversely. One point to be made is that preterit-dubitative constructions dealing with location and lacking a relative root or preverb resist initial change as is the case in other environments. More information is found in Appendix 8.

2.4.4.3 Changed Conjunct Verbs

As noted in the previous chapter, changed conjunct verbs are found in *wh*-agreement contexts and in indicating completive aspect. Similar in form by way of initial change are participles, and by extension relative clauses (including conjunct dubitative constructions). Those in the neutral mode are relatively straightforward and are outlined in 1.4.1.3 so will not be discussed here. We instead focus on the other modes, especially the dubitative, which is inherently tied to the changed conjunct.

2.4.4.3.1 Changed Conjunct Preterit

Changed conjunct preterit verbs are less common than plain conjunct ones and the preterit in the conjunct order is generally associated with the plain conjunct. This is due to that clause type's role in intensionality, which counterfactuality is inherently tied to, and these facts are expanded upon in subsequent chapters. Nonetheless, we do see changed conjunct preterits in cases where initial change is motivated and dominates the preterit's propensity for the plain conjunct, such as in questions, relative clauses, and in the presence of relative roots. An example of a changed conjunct relative clause preterit is given here:

- (52) Changed conjunct preterit - relative clause
Gegoo na go ge-gkendmaambaan.
gegoo na igo IC.daa-gikendan-aambaan
something Q EMPH IC.MOD-know.it-PRET.**CONJ**
'Is there anything (that) I should know?' AP

Chapter 3 discusses the syntactic and semantic analyses that account for clause typing phenomena and Chapter 4 discusses the preterit in-depth.

2.4.4.3.2 Changed Conjunct Dubitative

The dubitative mode is inherently tied to initial change and this is analyzed in Chapters 3 and 5. To preview, I argue that this is due to changed conjunct dubitatives being participles in relative clauses, which itself can relate to the speaker-centered nature of the dubitative as an evidential anchored to an indexical speech situation. Conjunct dubitatives typically resist plain conjunct conjugation, which is inappropriate for speaker-centered dubitative contexts since the plain conjunct accesses the realm of intensional modality and not the extensional real world, which a speaker inherently refers to when providing their real-world citation of information source, regardless of the modality of the state being commented on.

In (54) we see the exact same construction as in (48) but with a different verb, though in this instance the speaker translated to English a *wonder* phrase.

- (53) Gnamaa gye enkiigwenh.
 gonamaa gye IC.anokii-gwen
 maybe GYE IC-work-3S.DUB.**CONJ**
 'I wonder if she's working.' MNC

The speaker also offered the following for the same situation:

- (54) Enkiit na iidik.⁶⁰
 IC.anokii-d ina iidog
 IC-work-3S.**CONJ** Q DUB
 'I wonder if she's working.' MNC

This construction is also curious for its use of a changed conjunct verb, though a connection between evidentiality and initial change has been established. Unlike the previous two, however, this one does not employ dubitative morphology on the verb. The evidential-ness of this construction is carried by *iidig av* 'maybe; must be; evidently', and this is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁶⁰ The use of *[i]na* in this evidential context is quite interesting and also seen in (79), where its use is a bit less opaque.

2.4.4.3.3 Changed Conjunct Preterit-Dubitative

As with the plain conjunct preterit-dubitative, interpretations of the changed conjunct version are varied due to the nature of that mode and may or may not carry interpretations typical of either the preterit or dubitative. It can also be difficult to discern the motivation behind the appearance of initial change in these and other changed conjunct constructions, since initial change can be on account of the verb being a participle in a relative clause, accompanying dubitative morphology or a dubitative particle, or being in the presence of a relative root or preverb. As noted, discussion of the preterit-dubitative is limited in this study but information is found in Appendix 8.

2.5 TAM (Tense, Aspect, and Mood) Interpretation

The subject of tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) in Ojibwe is highly complex (as it is in any language for that matter) since for one thing it relies on multiple pieces of grammar in its expression. In Ojibwe, the main parts in question and that are discussed in this study are: prefixal tense marking (discussed immediately below); verb roots (see 2.4); preverbs; adverbs (Chapter 7); mode (especially the preterit; Chapter 4); and clause typing, namely the functions of the independent and conjunct verbal orders. These things interact to create a highly sophisticated system of expressing tense, aspect, and mood in the language. To give a couple simple examples of this interaction, a main verb in the independent order can be in the unmarked present tense and suffixed with preterit mode morphology, giving it a past tense interpretation without canonical past tense morphology. Depending on the lexical aspect of the verb, the preterit mode can also give it an imperfective aspectual interpretation. Example (12) shows both past tense and imperfective aspect interpretations of the preterit mode.

- (12) Ndijiibaakwenaaban gii-bi-giigdayin.
indi-jiibaakwe-naaban gii-bi-giigido-yin
1S-cook-1S.**PRET.IND** PST-hither-speak-2S.CONJ
'I was cooking when you called me.' AP

Canonical tense in Ojibwe is expressed via a few prefixes with relatively straightforward functions; present, past, and two flavors of future tense (definite and voluntative). A modal prefix is also included in this category of prefixal tense as it occupies the same morphological slot, and

while its function is quite different, I leave it in this section as it is typically grouped with the other tenses (see 2.5.1).

In practice, the use (or non-use) of prefixal tense defies a straightforward explanation and it can be difficult to predict when and where to use (or not use) them, and this is challenging for the learner seeking native-like fluency in the language.⁶¹ Adding to this difficulty is the fact that other parts of the grammar outside of prefixal tense add temporal and aspectual meaning, such as the preterit mode, aspectual preverbs, and verb stem initials. There are also many temporal adverbs in the language that are used regularly. Clause typing influences temporal interpretation as, to give two examples, conjunct verbs can be temporally less specified than independent ones (see conjunct preterits as counterfactuals in Chapter 4), and the clause type of the changed conjunct can indicate completive aspect.

Valentine (2001) notes explicitly that tense is hard to pin down in the language, and states that “[m]uch work remains to be done before we have even the beginning of an account of the use of tense in connected discourse.” (p. 762) My own investigations with language speakers certainly support this view.

2.5.1 Prefixal Tense

These tenses are realized as the unmarked present, past *gii-*, definite future *da-lga-*, and volutative future *wii-*, along with the modal *daa-*. The certainty of the definite future often leads it to be translated to English as *will*, and the volutative expressing volition with a *wants to* translation but is also often translated as *going to*, perhaps implying a bit more certainty than volition. The *definite* and *volutative* labels get shakier as we see *wii-* appear on verbs with inanimate subjects that could be considered to not have volition, such as environmental actions and features, and expressions of time. (See 2.5.2 for a brief discussion.)⁶² There is also the fact that the definite future tense is ungrammatical when combined with the preterit and dubitative modes in the independent order.⁶³ Copley’s (2009) *Semantics of the Future* illustrates the complexity of future tense in any language. The past *gii-* isn’t always so simple either, with a

⁶¹ Use of the *historical present* tense is common in Ojibwe, where a speaker uses present tense when narrating past events. While this is also used in English, there may not be a direct correspondence of appropriate situations for it in both languages so further study is required to know how to teach a learner to use it in Ojibwe discourse.

⁶² Rhodes (1985b) and Hockett (1957) discuss the origins of the future tenses, which certainly influence their meanings and uses today. Wolvengrey’s (2006) study of prospective aspect in western Cree dialects would serve as a good starting point for a comparative study in Ojibwe.

⁶³ Presumably with the preterit-dubitative as well but this has not been tested.

'timeless' *gii-* noted in the literature and a version with a glottal stop (*gii'*-) is recorded in Southwestern and Border Lakes Ojibwe (Sullivan 2020, p. 220). The modal prefix *daa-* also does not behave like a typical tense marker (i.e. in indicating explicit temporality) but is in the family of tense-mode prefixes on account of its position in the verbal complex.

Table 16: Tense-mode prefixes as per Nichols (1980)

b aano- 'in vain' da-, ga-, 'future' daa- 'modal' ji- 'future, modal'	c gii- 'past' gii- 'potential'	d wii- 'voluntative'
	c-d bwaa- 'lest'	

(Nichols, 1980, p.133)

For the purposes of this dissertation, we will not address *bwaa-* and *aano-* (though the latter is mentioned in Chapter 6) and we are concerned with the functions of these prefixes by verbal order/clause type. Their forms vary by clause type and a paradigm is presented here:

Table 17: Tense and modal marking by verbal order

	Independent/ A form	Plain conjunct/ B form	Changed conjunct/C form
Past (PST)	<i>gii-</i>	<i>gii-</i>	<i>gaa-</i> , <i>e-gii-</i>
Present (PRES)	∅	∅	<i>e-</i>
Future - voluntative (FUT.VOL)	<i>wii-</i>	<i>wii-</i>	<i>waa-</i> , <i>e-wii-</i>
Future - definite (FUT.DEF)	<i>da-/ga-</i>	<i>ji-</i>	<i>ge-</i>
Modal daa- (MOD)	<i>daa-</i>	<i>ji-</i>	<i>ge-</i> ⁶⁴
		<i>da-</i> ⁶⁵	<i>ge-</i>

⁶⁴ Valentine (2001) lists this form as *ge+*pret, presumably for the fact that the preterit mode is very common on changed conjunct *daa-* phrases, which I argue is due to the nature of subordinated modals, and often results in the appearance of the preterit but observe that it is not a steadfast rule.

⁶⁵ Valentine (2001) cites *da-* as both the plain and changed conjunct forms of *daa-* but I observe that that form in the changed conjunct is quite rare but observed in the speech of Andrew Medler, from whom much data was used in Valentine's study. Medler nonetheless appears to have used *ge-* as well.

Adapted from Valentine (2001)⁶⁶

There are a couple points to be noted here. First, there are two paradigms for the modal *daa-* in the conjunct forms, where some varieties/speech communities use *da-* in the unchanged conjunct (observed in some varieties of Southwestern Ojibwe as well as Odaawaa) and *ge-* in the changed while Eastern Ojibwe and other dialects use *ji-* in the plain conjunct. In Eastern Ojibwe and elsewhere, the conjunct forms of both *da-/ga-* and *daa-* are *ji-* in the plain conjunct and *ge-* in the changed form.⁶⁷ Thus, in Odaawaa, modal-marked verbs can be ambiguous as to whether they are plain or changed forms, presenting a challenge when trying to discern the clause type of a verb. Conversely in EO and other dialects, plain and changed forms are easily distinguishable but it can be unclear whether they originate from the definite future or modal. There are also questions regarding the forms of the allomorphs of these tenses, such as why *ji-* differs markedly from its independent order forms while past and the voluntative future are the same in the independent and plain conjunct. Additionally, in the changed conjunct those latter two are not exceptionally different (*wii-* to *waa-*, for example) while *ji-* turns to *ge-*, another significant turn from the plain conjunct and independent. Yet another unanswered question is why unchanged *ji-* and changed *ge-* assume the functions of both the definite future and modal in the first place.⁶⁸

Note also that the forms of the past, present, and voluntative future tenses are the same in their respective independent and plain conjunct forms. This does not result in ambiguity, however, since conjugation patterns between the two orders differ completely and conjunct versus independent morphology makes the order clear. In other words, while PST will appear as *gii-* on both independent and plain conjunct verbs, the conjugation of the verb will tell which order the verb is in (see Table 18).

Relatedly, there is arguably no bare infinitival form of a verb in Ojibwe and the non-affixed forms or those considered to be stems are in fact inflected for a subject in intransitive verbs and are imperative forms in transitive verbs. Verb finals identify verb type and

⁶⁶ Valentine (2001) also notes a modal *gii-* (referred to on pp. 159, 170, 759) that is attested in the Stories of Alice King.

⁶⁷ Nichols (1980, pp.134-135) notes that the plain and changed forms of both *da-/ga-* and *daa-* are *ji-* and *ge-*, confirming this for the dialects he worked in at that time.

⁶⁸ There is a larger discussion of the uses of these forms as complementizers, as described in Sullivan (2020), for example, and while that is outside the scope of this study it is relevant to later discussion of tense marking on conjunct verbs.

the ‘bare’ stems are thus identifiable in their ‘uninflected’ forms.⁶⁹ An example is given here of a single initial represented in the four verb forms:

Table 18: Verb types illustrated by variation in final element

Verb type	Stem	Initial	Final	Translation
VAI	jaagizo	/jaag-/ use up, exhaust, deplete	/-izo/ s/he, it (animate) is heated; is affected by fire, the sun, or the moon	s/he burns
VII	jaagide	/jaag-/ use up, exhaust, deplete	/-ide/ it is heated; is affected by fire, the sun, or the moon	it burns
VTA	jaagiz	/jaag-/ use up, exhaust, deplete	/-izw/ act on h/ or it (animate) by heat	burn h/ (IMP)
VTI	jaagizan	/jaag-/ use up, exhaust, deplete	/-iz/ act on it by heat	burn it up (IMP)

(Glosses and translations from OPD)

Comparisons of the independent and conjunct forms of the above verbs with PST marking in a few sample conjugations illustrates a lack of ambiguity between the independent and conjunct orders, despite the fact that *gii-* is the same in either order. In other words, *gii-* can be *gii-* in both since the ‘bare’ and ‘uninflected’ forms tell us which order the verb is inflected for:

Table 19: Inflection differences between independent and plain conjunct verbs with prefixal past tense *gii-*

verb type	conjugation	IND.PST	CONJ.PST
VAI	1S	ingii-jaagiz	gii-jaagizoyaan
VII	0S	gii-jaagide	gii-jaagideg
VTA	1S>3S	ingii-jaagizwaa	gii-jaagizwag
VTI	1S>0S	ingii-jaagizaan	gii-jaagizamaan

The modal *daa-* has a semantic difference from the other tenses that it’s categorized with.

Adding to this is the fact that modality in Ojibwe is also expressed via adverbs such as *aabdeg*,

⁶⁹ These may not be considered truly uninflected since the intransitive forms still have a subject (*s/he* or *it*) and the transitive forms are imperatives.

booch, *ndawaaj*, and many others that are quite common in speech. A discussion of modality also touches upon the issue of labeling grammatical categories in Ojibwe; the independent order is considered an indicative mood but verbs in this order are commonly affixed with *daa-* for an arguably conditional mood and further can be interpreted as deontic or dynamic modals of varying force, and *daa-* is typically translated as *could*, *should*, or *would* in English. Modal adverbs are also seen to vary in modal force and flavor, and a couple of these are discussed in chapters 3 and 6.

2.5.2 Mode and TAM

Mode can affect the temporal and aspectual interpretation of a verb in Ojibwe, especially the preterit, and by extension the preterit-dubitative, which maintains a preterit function with an additional evidential meaning carried by the dubitative.

2.5.2.1 Preterit

The contrasting, cessation function of the preterit inherently places an action in the past, and the mode also interacts with verbal order where conjunct preterits indicate counterfactuality and are underspecified for tense (see Chapter 4). In terms of aspect, independent preterits can have a past imperfective reading while indicative PST-marked verbs are generally interpreted as being perfective. Compare (12) and (55):

(12) Ndjiiibaakwenaaban gii-bi-giigdayin.
 indi-jiibaakwe-naaban gii-bi-giigido-yin
 1S.PRES-cook-1S.PRET.IND PST-hither-speak-2S.CONJ
 'I was cooking when you called me.' AP

(55) Nijikiwenh ngii-nmadbimi endzhi-bgizwaad.
 n-ijikiwenh ni-gii-namadabi-min IC.dazhi-bagizo-waad
 1S.POSS-friend 1S-PST-is.sitting-1P.IND IC.RR.at.such.place-swim-3P
 'My friend and I **sat** at the bathing beach.' (AM39.578)

Nijikiwenh *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **ngii-nmadbimi vai ind 1p** 'we (excl.) sat';
endzhi-bgizwaad vai ic conj 3pProx '(CCNJ) where ANpl swim.'

(Valentine, 2001, p. 531, glossing added)

As another sidenote on the challenges of learning Ojibwe, the preterit's interactions with tense and order result in multiple functions of it, which poses a challenge for the learner seeking a simple explanation of exactly when, where, and why to use the preterit. The function in (12) is essential for an accurate aspectual interpretation of the scenario conveyed, and a learner in the early stages of their language acquisition typically learns how to use past tense *gii-* long before the preterit and might attempt the sentence as such:

- (56) #Ngii-jiibaakwe gii-bi-giigdayin.
 in-gii-jiibaakwe gii-bi-giigido-yin
 1S-PST-cook PST-hither-speak-2S.CONJ
 Intended: I was cooking when you called me.

The construction isn't ungrammatical but combining two past-marked independent and conjunct clauses in such a way typically indicates immediate consequent action rather than simultaneous action, which might be translated as 'I cooked and (then) you called.' This relates to a tendency of the learner to want to translate phrases from English (the most common first language of Ojibwe learners today) directly into Ojibwe but there's rarely a simple correspondence between the two. This applies to not just words, phrases, and sentences on their own, but also larger grammar patterns and structural features of each language.⁷⁰

To give a relevant example, many English tenses are formed by combining a tensed auxiliary verb with a gerund, such as 'was fishing,' 'had been running,' etc., and these forms of expression are very common in everyday speech. Naturally, a learner would wish to express the same ideas in a target language but Ojibwe has neither auxiliary verbs⁷¹ nor gerunds⁷² so for one thing, a direct translation is impossible to begin with, and secondly, the endeavor also relies on an assumption that the very classes of tenses denoted in English exist in Ojibwe in the first place.⁷³

⁷⁰ These facts should be emphasized in beginner-level instruction to better prepare the learner to speak and understand native speech and also to avoid the common pitfall of direct translations and thus speaking 'English-y' Ojibwe. The drastic fundamental differences between English and Ojibwe often aren't appreciated by the learner until they reach an advanced level of understanding of Ojibwe grammar and are then able to recognize them. Native speakers of Ojibwe who are fully bilingual in English often don't realize the vast complexities in both languages that they are able to navigate with ease.

⁷¹ Verb finals relating to *being*, such as *-wi* and *-wan* seen above, might be the closest thing.

⁷² Similarly, *indefinite actor* conjugations are the closest thing to a correspondence in this case but they decidedly do not work the same, and only appear to show up where English gerunds might.

⁷³ European grammarians have struggled with this fact from the beginning, and Baraga for one classified independent preterit verbs as the *imperfect* tense and *gii*-marked independent preterit as *pluperfect*, further remarking that the "pluperfect, and the imperfect tense, are not so sharply distinguished in

There is no single, simple method of expressing past progressive action in Ojibwe but the independent preterit can do so as in example (12). Imperfective aspect in Ojibwe itself a challenge for the English-thinking brain as indicative verbs in Ojibwe do not inherently discern between present continuous and habitual action, so a sentence like *[a]nokii vai* can be translated as both ‘s/he is working’, i.e. at this moment, and ‘s/he works’, i.e. s/he is employed.⁷⁴ Learners of Ojibwe also tend to want to make English-like constructions in the language, such as the English ‘perfect’ tenses but a simple grammar pattern of expressing them does not exist in Ojibwe. Despite being implicated in progressive tense in (12), the preterit can also indicate what would be described as the perfect in English:

- (57) Zhaazh-go wi pii dgoshnaba.
 zhaazhi go i'iw apii dagoshin-iban
 already EMPH PRON.DEM when arrive-3S.PRET.IND
 ‘He had already arrived.’ MNC

The above was a translation task of the given English sentence and the speaker also offered the following:

- (58) Zhaazhi ni-dgoshnaba genii oodi eni-dgoshnaan.
 zhaazhi ani-dagoshin-iban geniin oodi
 already in.progress-arrive-3S.PRET.IND me.too over.there

 IC.ani-dagoshin-aan
 in.progress-arrive-1S.CONJ

 ‘He had already arrived when I got there.’ MNC
 Speaker note: “ni- [is] just a natural embellishment I added.”⁷⁵

Otchipwe, as they are in English, or in other civilized languages” (Baraga, 1878, p.98), see Chapter 1 for discussion relative to the “civilized” remark). Recognizing the unique functions of *-ban* (and its allomorphs)-marked verbs Bloomfield (1946, 1957) calls it the *preterit mode*, likely from the fact that “[t]he independent preterit is used of occurrences in a period of past time that does not extend to the present” (Bloomfield, 1957, p.35), a description that fits with the definition of *preterit* in the European grammatical tradition. The label itself applied to Ojibwe is not perfect (pun intended) but Bloomfield did identify numerous uses of the preterit, including those in the conjunct of indicating counterfactual (“contrary-to-fact”) and unrealized action. (Bloomfield, 1957, p. 37)

⁷⁴ Naokwegijig-Corbiere (n.d., p. 29)

⁷⁵ *[A]ni-* is typically used as a directional preverb indicating movement away from the speaker (or another established reference point). It also has a temporal interpretation of such movement (if not movement per se then a position forward in time from the speaker), as is indicated by a term for ‘next week’, for example; *ge-ni-bmiseseg*. It is interpreted as ‘going away; on the way; in progress; coming up to in time’

certain that Ojibwe does not easily align with English readings of aspect. Much like how the European tradition of grammatical classifications does not fit Ojibwe in having adjectives as a dedicated grammatical class, how tense and tense interpretation is constructed does not correspond either. This proves challenging for an L1 English learner of Ojibwe who seeks to convey aspectual meaning in their spoken Ojibwe but whose only frame of reference is English, which has its own idiosyncrasies in doing so. Thus the learner can only attempt translations of English constructions that not only have no correlating parts in Ojibwe (e.g. using copulas and gerunds) but may not even treat a given aspect as a class in its own. In other words, not having a specific grammar pattern that the learner can apply to all cases when indicating a particular aspect.

2.5.2.2 Dubitative

As a component of the evidential system in Ojibwe, the dubitative mode does not affect TAM to the degree that the preterit mode does, although there are interactions with tense marking and verbal order to be noted. Two characteristics to highlight are the fact that like the preterit there are no definite future-marked dubitative verbs (though the voluntative *wii-* is seen) and that conjunct dubitatives tend to accompany initial change on account of the fact that are most often found in *wh-* and relativized contexts.

As with the preterit, the function of the dubitative on a *wii*-marked verb affects the sense of *volition* carried by that tense, rather than a temporally future interpretation. In other words, the uncertainty or inference is placed (by the speaker) upon the volition of the subject of the verb.

- (61) Wii-oodetoodogenag.
 wii-oodetoo-dogenag
 FUT.VOL-go.to.town-3P.DUB.IND
 'I guess they're going(/want to go) to town.' AP

The speaker offered this sentence as an equivalent to the above (albeit with a singular subject), where the inference of the subject's volition to go to town is carried by a parataxical 'I think' clause:

- (62) Wii-oodetoo go ndinendam
 wii-oodetoo igo ind-inendam
 FUT.VOL-go.to.town.3P.IND EMPH 1S-think.IND
 'I guess she's going to town.' lit: 'She's going to town, I think.' AP

The dubitative mode is speaker-oriented, as their inference or uncertainty comes from their own relation to the matter at hand and one cannot infer on behalf of someone other than themselves.⁷⁷ This likely relates to the fact that we can see *wii*+DUB on examples of states and events that arguably have no volitional actor, such as weather and the environment:

- (63) *Wii-gmiwnadik gnabaj.*
wii-gimiwan-adig ganabaj
 FUT.VOL-rain-0.DUB.IND maybe MNC
 'I think it's gonna rain.'

Without a dubitative, the FUT.VOL example is odd for MNC:

- (64) *?Wii-gimiwan gnabaj.*
wii-gimiwan ganabaj
 FUT.VOL-rain.0S.IND maybe MNC

The same example is ungrammatical with the definite future:

- (65) **Da-gmiwnadig gnabaj.*
da-gimiwan-adig ganabaj
 FUT.DEF-rain-.0S.DUB.IND maybe MNC

But is acceptable without the dubitative:

- (66) *Da-gimiwan.*
da-gimiwan
 FUT.DEF-rain.0S.IND MNC
 'It will rain.'
 Context: you are certain

The speaker-oriented nature of evidentiality accounts for complementary distribution of the mode and definite future tense in the independent order since one cannot deduce about or cite their information source about a state or an even that has yet to happen. This fact was noted outright by a consultant in an elicitation session who added that deducing about the future would take different non-dubitative forms and these are described in 5.3. That chapter also discusses the propensity of conjunct dubitatives to show initial change.

⁷⁷ Confirmed by Corbiere (personal communication).

2.5.3.2 Modal Adverbs

There are modal adverbs of various types such as optatives (*begish*), necessity modals (*aabdeg* and *booch*),⁸⁰ and modals of possibility such as *ganabaj*. These particles are exemplary in highlighting the clause typing features of verbal order, and *aabdeg* and *booch*, for example, have differences in interpretation depending on whether their complements are in the independent or conjunct orders, and these are discussed in 3.3.2 and 6.6.2. In the same chapters (3 and 6), the optative *begish* is examined in taking a complement that is obligatorily in the conjunct order due to the subordinating nature of the particle, as well as its semantics seeking a complement in the modal realm.

2.5.3.3 Mode

As seen in 2.5.2, interpretations of verbal mode relate to modality. Described in Chapter 4, the preterit carries an *exclusion feature* that functions over times in the independent order, resulting in the cessation function noted above, and in the conjunct order operates over worlds and accesses the intensional realms of counterfactuality and hypotheticality. We also see that mode comes into play regarding the aforementioned *begish*, and the presence of the preterit on this optative's complement verb provides a semantic interpretation of counterfactuality.

In the independent order, the dubitative mode is an evidential, marking a speaker's source of information.⁸¹ In the conjunct order it favors initial change on account of being in relative clause constructions in speaker-oriented senses of wonder or doubt. This speaker-centeredness is a possible reason that initial change arises in the first place, as IC is itself a mechanism in participle formation and nouns can have extensions in the present world.

2.5.3.4 Verbal Order

The use of verbal order itself in clause typing is a major factor in modality as well since conjunct verbs can even be seen as a catch-all for a generally irrealis mood. The label of irrealis is imperfect and there are other ways outside of the conjunct order in which Ojibwe expresses irrealis.⁸² In general, however, one can easily make a distinction between independent and

⁸⁰ Valentine (2001, p.787) lists *ndawaa* (also *ndawaaaj*), *aabdig* (also *aabdeg*), and *booch* as modals that express obligation.

⁸¹ Evidentiality is often conflated with epistemic modality but literature on the matter notes that they are different, and this is the case for Ojibwe.

⁸² I will also note that parallels can be drawn between the conjunct order and the subjunctive mood in other languages.

conjunct verbs as accessing the extensional real world and intensional modality, respectively. These are not clear-cut of course, as tense and modals in the independent order easily displace from the current time and world, and initial change on conjunct verbs implicates extensionality as participles for example are nominal(-ish) objects that can denote subjects in the actual world.⁸³ Changed conjuncts verbs used to indicate completive aspect are also implicated in evidentiality and I will point out that perfect and perfective aspect is a known crosslinguistic evidential strategy (Aikhenvald, 2018, p.4).

2.5.4 Aspect

Much of this topic has been discussed in 2.5.2 but a few points will be noted here. First, in simple untensed independent order verbs, Ojibwe doesn't always distinguish between what is known in English as the simple present and present progressive tenses.⁸⁴ This relates to the larger issue of how a language does or does not partition tense and aspect in various ways, and the challenges that presents to learners and linguists alike. The use of the preterit mode has aspectual implications, such as a variation in (im)perfectiveness in the independent order and can also be temporally ambiguous in the conjunct order.

A particular feature of the Ojibwe TAM system is the use of the changed conjunct verb to indicate completive aspect. This is examined in-depth in Kishketon (2012) and an example is repeated here:

- (23) Gaa-shkwaa-wiisniyaang, mii gii-ni-giiweyaang.
 gaa-ishkwaa-wiisini-yaang, mii gii-ani-giiwe-yaang
 IC.PST-done-eat-1P.CONJ MII PST-away-go.home-1P.CONJ
 'After we ate / when we finished eating, we went home.' AP

This is a distinctive and complex method for expressing aspect since it involves the clause typing features of conjunct order conjugation and initial change, which is (confusingly for the learner) also implicated in participles and relative clauses. Using the changed conjunct verb as completive aspect by non-native speakers requires an understanding of those parts of the

⁸³ A nominalizing function of initial change is seen in naming conventions, noted in 2.6.

⁸⁴ This is an overgeneralization that hinges on lexical aspect and a preliminary look at the matter suggests that punctual verbs in Ojibwe for one don't have a progressive interpretation in the independent order without adverbial support. Section 2.5.1 notes however that atelic durative verbs such as [a]nokii vai 's/he works; s/he is working' are subject to such a generalization. More information on aspect is found in discussions of the preterit mode.

grammar as well as of telicity since atelic verbs such as *wiis[i]ni* in (23) require *[i]shkwaa-* ‘when something has stopped, is over, is done; after’⁸⁵ in that context. Combined with points already made about incongruities in the expression of aspect between English and Ojibwe, understanding and properly using the changed conjunct for completive aspect is a tall order for the learner and requires an advanced understanding of Ojibwe grammar and linguistic concepts such as clause typing by verbal order, initial change, aspect, and telicity. Table 20 is an overview of aspect and telicity for reference in this discussion.

Table 20: Aspect and Telicity

	State		Event			
<i>change</i>	✗ no change		✓ change			
<i>duration</i>	permanent	temporary	durative		punctual	
<i>telicity</i>	n/a	n/a	atelic	telic	atelic	telic
	stage-level ; <i>desire</i>	individual-level ; <i>know</i>	activity ; <i>run, wipe, pour</i>	accomplishment ; <i>clean, draw, fill</i>	semelfactive ; <i>hit, wink, hop, sneeze, knock</i>	achievement ; <i>break, explode, arrive, notice</i>

(Adapted from Vendler (1967), Smith (1991), Bhadra (2021))

Lexical aspect is also carried in Ojibwe on verbs, preverbs, and adverbs. Here are a few examples of each, for fun:

(68) Examples of lexical aspect

a. verb

*maadaanagidoon*⁸⁶ vai ‘s/he starts talking.’ (MNC)

initial: /maad-/ start, move off (OPD)

final: /-aanagidoon/ s/he talks (OPD)

b. preverb

[i]shkwaa- pv lex ‘when something has stopped, is over, is done; after’ (OPD)

c. adverb

megwaa adv tmp ‘while; during; right now’ (OPD)

⁸⁵ OPD.

⁸⁶ Verb initials are a significant factor in determining aspect in Ojibwe

Of particular interest to note are the directional preverbs *bi-* (hither) and *[a]ni-* (away from), and *b[i]mi-* (along), as they are used in reference to movement in both space and time.⁸⁷ See Appendix 3 for lists of temporal adverbs and aspectual preverbs as noted by Valentine (2001).

2.6 Initial Change

Initial change is introduced in Chapter 1, mainly for its role in clause typing as part of the changed conjunct verb (see 1.4.1.2.1 for an overview of that clause type) and this section discusses those and other functions of initial change, with a focus on where it appears, including lesser known or less common uses, as well as where it does *not* show up where one, especially a learner of Ojibwe, might otherwise expect it to. We see that competing factors influence the appearance or non-appearance of initial change and I lay out an overview of this, previewed here in Table 21:

Table 21: Initial change hierarchy

	context	IC
always show IC:	participles/relative clauses, completive aspect	✓
IC appearance hierarchy (factors higher on the list dominate those below them):	relative roots/preverbs	✓
	location/ <i>where</i> -environments	✗
	conjunct dubitative and <i>wh</i> -constructions	✓
	simple <i>mii</i> -subordination	✗
never show IC:	/aano-/ , /baa-/ , /wenda-/	✗

Factors in the hierarchy section of this table dominate those below them. In other words a conjunct dubitative will show initial change unless it deals with a *where*-environment then no IC

⁸⁷ A better term for them might be *spatiotemporal preverbs*. An interesting observation of the temporal interpretations is that the *[a]ni-* refers to future time and *bi-* to past time, and is reflected in terms for ‘last week’ and ‘next week’, *gaa-bi-bimiseg*, and *ge-ni-bmiseg*, respectively. The functions of these terms might be unexpected where someone would imagine future time coming towards them (*bi-*) and the past moving away (*[a]ni-*) but I hypothesize that Ojibwe ontology envisions moving *with* time rather than an English perception of moving *through* time.

appears unless a relative root is present. The details of these factors/environments are discussed in this subsection but this table comes with the disclaimer that this is a preliminary analysis due for revision with more data and analysis. I nonetheless include it because knowing when, where, and why to use initial change is an exceptionally important and challenging topic for learners and having a preliminary guide like this is helpful.

Mii is included in this discussion but as with other cases, more research is needed. *Mii* is challenging since it is associated with a range of clause types⁸⁸ but is typically seen to act as a predicative adverb taking a plain conjunct complement.⁸⁹ For our discussion on initial change, I focus only on instances where *mii* would typically be associated with a plain conjunct verb but shows initial change. Rhodes (1998) and Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2008, 2016) are excellent sources for delving into the complexities of *mii*.

2.6.1 What is it?

Initial change is an ablaut change on the first vowel of a verb complex and can be found on the verb stem or any prefix.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Kishketon (2008, p.171) observes that it can accompany verbs in all verbal orders.

⁸⁹ Rhodes (1985a) dictionary notes that it “governs the conjunct” (p. 231) and also appears with nouns, and the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary notes that it “usually requires an associated verb to be in the conjunct order.”

⁹⁰ In varieties of Ojibwe with vowel syncope, the *changed* vowel can appear on an initial vowel or via a prefixed *e-*, for example *nyaadmaagejig* or *e-naadmaagejig* (the helpers/ones who help). On stems with syncopated initial vowels, this can vary depending on the speaker’s analysis of the presence (or non-presence) of a vowel, such a *geknoomaagejig* versus *e-gkinoomaagejig* (the teachers/ones who teach. Other factors may influence where the changed vowel appears and historical change and variety influences the patterning of this phenomenon. There’s a lot going on here that deserves explanation and more research.

Table 22: Examples of initial change on verb stem or prefix⁹¹

				PTCP reading	CCONJ reading
on stem:	niimi	→	naamid	the one dancing (or <i>dancer</i>)	after s/he danced ⁹²
on prefix:	wii-ni imi	→	waa-niimid	the one who wants to dance	after s/he wanted to dance

The ablaut process is regular but it is observed that some communities, varieties, or speakers of Ojibwe can show irregular forms. The canonical forms are presented here:

Table 23: Initial change pattern

Unchanged (Plain)			Changed		
a	anokii	work	e	enokiid	one who is working
aa	aakozi	be ill	ayaa	ayaakoziid	one who is sick
e	debwe	tell the truth	aye	dayebwed	one who tells the truth
i	ikido	speak	e	ekidod	one who is speaking
ii	niimi	dance	aa	naamid	one who is dancing
o	odamino	play	we	wedaminod	one who is playing
oo	boodawe	make (a) fire	waa	bwaadawed	one who makes a fire

Copied from Valentine

<https://ojibwegrammar.langsci.wisc.edu/Grammar/InflMorphology/InitialChange.htm>

The above table is modified in Table 24 to illustrate the forms observed in syncopated dialects of Ojibwe. The process gets tricky in the presence of syncopated vowels and the landing spot of

⁹¹ It must be noted that *gaa-*, the changed form of the past tense *gii-*, is a relativizer (also referred to in the literature as a *tenseless subordinator*) that as noted by Sullivan (2016) “[has] replaced, or be in the process of replacing, the productive process of [initial change]” and that “[s]imilar processes have occurred in other Algonquian languages” (p. 305).

⁹² The changed conjunct interpretations of verbs are typically odd on their own when back-translating with speakers and often need to be rooted in a context. Sullivan (2025, personal communication) adds that word order also appears important in these contexts. Thus it is a simplification to say that initial change on a verb instantiates an ‘after...’ reading as is implied in this table.

initial change can vary by speaker and variety depending on the analysis of the presence or non-presence of an underlying vowel.

Table 24: Initial change pattern with vowel syncope

Unchanged (Plain)			Changed		
a	nokii/nakii	work	e	enokiid	one who is working
aa	aakzi	be ill	yaa	yaakzid	one who is sick
e	debwe	tell the truth	ye	dyebwed	one who tells the truth
i	kido	speak	e	ekdod	one who is speaking
ii	niimi	dance	aa	naamid	one who is dancing
o	damno/damna	play	(w)e	wedminod, e-damnod	one who is playing
oo	boodwe	make (a) fire	waa	bwaadwed	one who makes a fire

An example of variation in analysis is seen in *damno*, which for some speakers has an underlying initial short vowel that is not pronounced in the 3S form due to the rules of syncope but reappears according to stress patterns affected by affixation and in the case of initial change, can reappear to be subject to that process, giving us *wedminod*. For other speakers an e- is prefixed instead, giving us *e-damnod*.⁹³

2.6.2 Where do we typically see it?

The following are common functions of initial change and (mostly) described in the literature:

2.6.2.1 Wh-questions (with exceptions):

Verbal *wh*-complements usually show initial change:

⁹³ Rhodes (1985a, p.102), working in vowel-syncope varieties of Ojibwe, gives both of these changed conjunct forms, *edamnod* and *wedminod*. Note the difference in syncope pattern due to stress shift.

- (69) Aanii-sh gegii endyin?⁹⁴
 aanii dash gegiin IC.di-yan
 WH DM.CNTR you.too have.something.the.matter.with.h/-2S.CONJ
 ‘What’s the matter with you?’ MNC
 Note: admonishing tone.

As noted below and expanded upon elsewhere in this dissertation, there are exceptions where *wh*-complements are plain conjuncts.

2.6.2.2 Participles and relative clauses

It is important to specify that the participle is not a changed conjunct verb and only mirrors it in form except in the third person plural or obviative, but either way initial change is instrumental in its formation:

- (70) Participle:
Nayaadamaagejig
 IC.naadamaage-jig
 s/he.helps.people-PTCP.3P
 ‘the helpers’

As participles are necessary components in relative clauses, they are found in those as well:

- (71) Relative clause:
 Ingikendaan **gaa-izhichigeyeg niibinong**.
 ni-gikendaan IC.gii-izhichige-yeg niibinong
 1S-know.it IC.PST-s/he.does-2P.CONJ last.summer
 ‘I know **what you did last summer**.’

As described later in this subsection, there are factors that compete in the appearance/non-appearance of initial change but participles and by extension relative clauses always show initial change.

⁹⁴ The verb *di* shows irregular IC with an epenthesized ‘n’, as do others like *daa-* (e.g., ‘aaniindi endaayan?’). Sullivan (2025, personal communication) notes an archaic *vai* endemic to his region, *ondi*, ‘s/he cries for a certain reason,’ and I note that the two verbs may be related.

2.6.2.3 With relative roots/preverbs

The syntactic-semantic environment of relative constructions prompt initial change and (72) illustrates how despite the clause referring to location, which typically does not show initial change, it is prompted by the presence of a relative preverb.

- (72) Relative preverb *izhi-*:
 Mii go maa yi'iing ezhi-temgad iiw⁹⁵ yi'ii tombs.
 mii go imaa ayi'iing
 DM.DEIC EMPH there PPN
- IC.izhi-ate-magad i'iw ayi'ii tombs
 IC.RP.in.such.way-it.is.in.a.certain.place-AUG.0.IND DEM PPN tombs
 That is where those tombs were.' AP

Likewise relative roots (as opposed to their preverb form) also show initial change:

- (73) Relative root on verb stem, *izhiwebizi*:
 Mii ezhwebziyin iiw.
 mii IC.izhiwebizi-yan i'iw
 DM.DEIC IC.RR.s/he.has.something.happen.to.h/-2S.CONJ PRON.DEM
 'That's what happens to me.' AP

Both above cases are *mii*-phrases where *mii* is typically associated with a plain conjunct verb but initial change is present on account of the relative environment.

2.6.2.4 Names

The use of initial change as a naming convention is common (though not obligatory) and this is not described extensively in the literature. The use of *gaa-* on place names is discussed in Sullivan (2016, pp. 125, 272) and a connection to personal names such as *Gaa-biboonike(d)*⁹⁶, the winter maker, is made as well.

- (74) Examples of Ojibwe names
 a. **Gaa-zagaskwaajimekaag** (place name with relativizer *gaa-*)

⁹⁵ The precise form of this demonstrative pronoun observed at Waasaaksing is difficult to pin down and is transcribed as such in this study. McInnes (2016) uses *iikhow*.

⁹⁶ Sullivan notes that the inclusion of the 3S conjunct suffix is not observed among conservative speakers (2016, p.272) and that conjunct inflection is not a prerequisite in naming convention (personal communication), an interesting point to be made in the analysis of naming conventions in the language.

- b. Menogizhig (person)
- c. Gaa-obiibigwaned (person)

This topic relates to this study since it shows a possible connection to the overall function of initial change as a type of nominalizer but clearly establishing such is a matter of further research.

2.6.3 Where else we see initial change (but might not expect to):

The above are prevalent functions of initial change but here are a few less-common environments where initial change appears:

2.6.3.1 Completive aspect

Kishketon (2012) describes a less-discussed yet common function of the changed conjunct verb in expressing completive aspect and an example is provided here (glosses modified):

- (75) Gaa-ojiimaad, gaa-izhi-ginjiba'iwed.
 IC.gii-ojiimaad IC.gii-izhi-ginjiba'iwe-d
 IC.PST-kiss.3S>3' IC.PST-RP-run.away-3S.CONJ
 'After she kissed him, she ran away.' Kishketon, 2012

It is also relevant to note that the perfect and perfective aspect are cross-linguistic evidential strategies⁹⁷, considering the changed conjunct verb's role in constructions such as these, as well as the fact that they are tied to evidentiality (see below and Chapter 5).

2.6.3.2 On the *iterative* verb form

Iterative aspect is one involving periodic, repeated action and in Ojibwe it is accompanied by initial change:

- (76) Waya yaakzijin...
 awaya IC.aakozi-jin
 PRON.INDEF.AN IC.be.ill-PTCP.3
 'whenever anyone fell ill...' Valentine, 2001

⁹⁷ Aikhenvald (2018, p.4)

This function of initial change is known in the literature but not well-described and to my knowledge not present in pedagogical materials outside of advanced classes by linguistically-minded teachers. A fact that is important for further study in disentangling the strands of when where and why we see initial change is the fact that the “iterative suffix is seemingly related to the suffix employed in participles with subject and object relatives” (Sullivan, 2016, p. 250) and observed in the *-jin* suffix of the above example. The iterative is not evaluated on my proposed initial change hierarchy due to a lack of data.

2.6.3.3 In certain *mii*-constructions

While the typical *mii*-construction (in a case of simple subordination) takes a plain conjunct complement, the factors influencing the appearance of initial change discussed in this section are at play with *mii* as well. This is observed in the *mii*-phrases interacting with relative roots/preverbs in 2.6.2.3 as well as the following:

- (77) *Mii ko iiw mewnzha gaa-dbaajmotaadyaang aw ndedem.*
mii ko i'iw mewinzha IC.gii-dibaajimotaw-idi-yaang a'aw ni-dedem
mii ko i'iw mewinzha
 DM.DEIC DM.HAB DET.DEF.INAN long.ago

IC.gii-dibaajimotaw-idi-yaang a'aw ni-dede-m
 PST.IC-tell.(it).to.h/-RECP-1P.**CONJ** PRON.DEM.AN 1S.POSS-father-POSS
 'This is what my dad used to talk to us about a long time ago.' AP

As noted, initial change appears in the presence of relative roots and preverbs:

- (78) *Mii iw dash [dibi iidig gaa-izhaawaagwen].*
 'I don't know [where they may have gone].'

Mii av 'it's'; **iw** *prn Os* 'that'; **dash** av 'then'; **dibi** av 'wherever'; **iidig** av 'it seems';
gaa-izhaawaagwen *vai ic conj dub 3pProx* '(CCNJ) that ANpl might go.' (AW9.42)
 (Valentine, 2001, p.738, original glossing)

D[i]bi is also present in (78), which always takes an IC complement. The beast of grammar that *mii* is in addition to a lack of data prevent conclusory remarks on the matter but I include *mii* in this discussion regardless, due to its prevalence in the language and thus relevance for the learner.

2.6.3.4 Evidential contexts

There is a tendency for initial change to appear in evidential contexts and this too is noted in the literature but not explained in-depth. It is relevant for this study since it relates to clause typing and deserves explanation so that learners are familiar with the lesser-known (but common) functions of initial change. Chapter 5 opens that can of worms, and I argue that initial change appears on conjunct dubitative verbs for the fact that they are participles in relative clause constructions. I also propose that initial change appears on RCs in the first place for its nominalizing-type function that connects a participle to the context of the real world as an extension. This relates to the dubitative participle since the nature of that mode and evidentiality is speaker-oriented, which ties it to an indexical speech situation as per Cook, described in Chapter 3.

2.6.3.4.1 Evidentials with dubitative verb morphology

Dubitative mode marking on a verb is typically accompanied by initial change, though there are exceptions.

(32) Minj sa (mshi) e-bi-nji-nsaaknigesii-gwenh.
namanj isa mashi
I.wonder DM.FIN yet

IC-bi-onji-nisaakonige-sii-gwen
IC-hither-RP.for.such.reason-open-NEG-2S.DUB.CONJ

'I wonder why she isn't coming to open the door (yet).'

MNC

As a side note, the dubitative is triggered by the dubitative adverb *minj/namanj* in the above example.

2.6.3.4.2 Other evidential contexts without dubitative morphology:

An interesting case where a verb is employed in an evidential context yet does not show dubitative mode morphology is with the evidential adverb *iidog*.⁹⁸ The verb nonetheless shows initial change:

(79) Iidig with initial change

⁹⁸ Variants include *iidig*, *iidik*, and *iidak*, and *iidog* is used herein as the General Ojibwe form.

- a. Gaa na iidik **eyaasig**.
 gaa ina iidog IC.ayaa-si-g
 NEG Q DUB IC.s/he.is.in.a.certain.place-NEG-3S.**CONJ**
 'I guess she's not here' MNC
- b. **Enkiit** na iidik
 IC.anokii-d ina iidog
IC-work-3S.CONJ Q DUB
 'I wonder if she's working.' MNC

It is quite unexpected to find a changed conjunct verb in this context but it is clear that *iidog* is acting as an evidential marker. This may trigger initial change in the conjunct order as a consequence of signaling evidentiality in Ojibwe. *Iidog* is seen to be in complementary distribution with dubitative mode morphology (perhaps due to lexical change) and as such the verb is unmarked for it. Section 5.4.3.2.4 and Appendix 6 discuss these facts and provide more information on *iidog/iidig*.

2.6.3.5 Brief summary

A preliminary look at initial change raises an immediate question of whether there is a commonality to the above functions that we can hypothesize motivates its appearance. The following section complicates the matter by showing cases where otherwise canonical IC environments don't have IC.

2.6.4 Where we don't we see initial change (but might expect to)

Just as interesting as where we find initial change is also where we don't, at least where it would otherwise be expected. In these cases it appears that one or more of the prerequisites of initial change is met (such as being a *wh*-question) but it does not appear, prompted by factors such as a lack of a relative root or preverb on the verb, containing certain preverbs that don't show IC.

2.6.4.1 *Where* constructions without relative roots/preverbs:

In these cases a *wh*-complement does not show initial change:

- (18) Aanii-sh maa gii-tooyin?⁹⁹
 aaniin dash maa gii-atooyan
 WH DASH LOC PST-put.it-2SG.**CONJ**
 'Where did you put it?' AP

As a point of comparison, the speaker in (80) is calling their friend who is driving to ask where they are, and as is the nature of moving through time and space uses the relative preverb *b[ɨ]mi-*, triggering initial change:

- (80) Aapii-sh megwaa bemi-yaayin?
 aapii dash megwaa IC.bimi-ayaa-yin
 WH DASH right.now IC.goes.along-be.there-**CONJ**.2SG
 'Where are you right now?' MNC

As noted, the presence of a relative root or preverb motivates initial change in any location context, as illustrated in an example from Nichols (1980, p.151):

- (81) aanti entasi-nipaat?
 where there-he sleeps

 Aandi endazhi-nibaad?
 aandi IC.dazhi-nibaa-d
 WH **IC.RP**.at.such.place-sleep-3S.**CONJ**
 'Where is it that he sleeps?'

The specifics of which factors determine the presence or absence of initial change over one another are laid out in 2.6.5.

2.6.4.2 Evidentials/dubitatives in *where*-environments:

On that note, despite the fact that dubitative verbal morphology is often accompanied by initial change, a lack of relative root or preverb in a *where*-environment with a dubitative takes a plain conjunct, as in non-dubitative contexts. The following is an example with *d[ɨ]bi* (adv dub 'I don't know where, I wonder where'):

⁹⁹ As noted in 1.4.1.2, there is variance in speaker analysis of *[a]toon* and related verbs as containing a relative root or not and this particular speaker does not analyze it as containing one.

- (82) Dbi iidik yaa'aane.¹⁰⁰
 dibi iidog ayaa-waanen
 don't.know.where DUB s/he.is.in.a.certain.place-1SG.**CONJ.DUB**
 'I wonder where I am.' MNC

This begs the question of whether other dubitative constructions (i.e. those not involving *d[i]bi*)¹⁰¹ do or do not show initial change in other location contexts but due to the locative nature of that dubitative adverb, it is the only one that appears in such contexts. Evidentiality and the dubitative mode and interactions with clause typing are examined in-depth in Chapter 5.

2.6.4.3 Other cases

There are a number of other environments in which initial change is expected but does not appear; mainly with certain preverbs. With the exception of perhaps *aano-* pv 'in vain; without result; in spite of',¹⁰² these cases may be variety-specific and more data and analysis are required for conclusive generalizations. They are included here for posterity for further research and the fact that any information on the matter of initial change is useful for the learner.

2.6.4.3.1 With certain preverbs

Numerous preverbs are observed to resist initial change in environments where it is otherwise expected and one that appears to do so cross-dialectically is *aano-*:

- (83) Wegwendig aanawii-bi-kweji-deteyaakwigegwenh.
 wegwendig aanawii-bi-gagweji-deteyaakwige-gwen
 PRON.DUB in.vain-hither-try.to-knock.3S.IND
 'I wonder who came knocking at the door?' MNC

Nichols (1980, p.133) notes that Baraga (1878) does record a changed form *ayaano-*, and also that the preverb *baa-*, 'locally distributed', does not have a changed form (p.148). Informal research with individuals from dialect regions across Ojibwe country suggest that *aano-* does not show initial change across the board today. A full list is lacking but a resistance to initial

¹⁰⁰ Terminal nasal /n/ is omitted in certain conjugation paradigms in Odaawaa and contemporary speakers often elide the approximant /w/ occurring between vowels in casual speech.

¹⁰¹ A note on the complexity of the matter is the fact that *iidog* is typically in complementary distribution with dubitative verbal morphology despite being an evidential adverb, where most other such adverbs are obligatorily accompanied by said morphology. In this case, however, *d[i]bi* heads the evidential phrase. These facts and more are all moreover *dagonigaadeg* ("mixed in") with the central question of when, where, and why independent and plain or changed conjunct verbs are used in Ojibwe.

¹⁰² OPD.

change seems a feature of a number of preverbs, and another identified is *wenda-* pv lex ‘really; just so; completely’.¹⁰³ Lexicalization may be a factor in the behaviour of these preverbs and *aano-* for one is argued to have originated from the verb *aanawewizi vai* ‘s/he is inadequate; is ineffective; fails’.¹⁰⁴

2.6.5 Discussion

The breadth of its functions and varied distribution leads to a number of questions regarding initial change. Why does it appear where it does? Is there a commonality among all these functions? Changed conjunct dubitatives have a relative clause structure and is there something about wondering that is tied to questions? We have (at least in English) a propensity for adding a question mark to wonder statements, e.g., “I wonder if she’s gonna be there?” Does this relate somehow to why we get IC on dubitative ‘wonder’ statements?

Sullivan’s (2016) study provides pertinent information about initial change. He argues that IC “is morphological realization of the movement of the conjunct verb from FinP to FocP”, (p. 315), and further that this is *wh*-movement that also applies to participles and changed conjuncts with completive aspect (Sullivan, 2016, p.126). I tie this analysis into discussion of the conjunct dubitative, which are very similar to relative clauses in form and function.

I argue that initial change appears on conjunct dubitative verbs because these constructions are almost always participles in relative clauses. This leads to the question of why IC shows up on RCs and participles in the first place and I seek to expand on Sullivan (2020) by proposing that this relates to the nominalizing function of initial change, which connects a participle to the real world as a nominal. While the verb in an RC is subordinated, it wishes to resist the irrealis function of the plain conjunct so wants to have initial change. This also explains why there can be an optionality of changed conjunct and independent verbs in evidential contexts Appendix 7. Dubitative participles are moreover speaker-oriented, which anchors it to an indexical speech situation as per Cook (2014), and this is expanded upon in the next chapter.

¹⁰³ OPD.

¹⁰⁴ Kishketon, personal communication, OJIB 5109 II. Verb gloss from OPD.

2.6.5.1 Evaluating initial change environments

A few environments always or never show initial change and we see competing factors influencing the appearance or non-appearance of it, and those factors can be preemptively ranked (according to data available thus far). Participles and completive aspect seem to always show initial change. The presence of relative roots or preverbs figures highly in such a ranking and dominates factors such as *where*-questions without relative roots/preverbs. These in turn do not show initial change on dubitative and *wh*-constructions. There is also the fact that some preverbs typically don't show initial change.

Table 21: Initial change hierarchy

	context	IC
always show IC:	participles/relative clauses, completive aspect	✓
IC appearance hierarchy (factors higher on the list dominate those below them):	relative roots/preverbs	✓
	location/ <i>where</i> -environments	✗
	conjunct dubitative and <i>wh</i> -constructions	✓
	simple <i>mii</i> -subordination	✗
never show IC:	/aano-/ , /baa-/ , /wenda-/	✗
	context	IC

Examples above illustrate the hierarchy, such as (22) (‘Aaniish maa waa-ondinman...’) and (72) (‘Mii go maa yi’iing ezhi-temgad iiw yi’ii tombs.’) showing that the presence of a relative root or preverb trumps location, and (82) (‘Dbi iidig yaa’aane.’) illustrating how a *where*-question without RR/RP trumps a dubitative construction. There are often multiple factors at work and in some cases, not clear what’s instigating IC, such as in the following example which is both a relative clause and has a relative preverb:

- (85) Mii go naa ezhi-nsadtoonaan iiw.
 mii igo naa IC.izhi-nisidotaw-inaan i’iw
 MII EMPH DM IC.RP.in.such.way-understand.h/-1S>2S.CONJ PRON.DEM

A small but important note to make about the changed conjunct verb is that it can be seen as a subset of the conjunct from a morphophonological perspective due to the fact that it requires conjunct morphology with the addition of initial change. Looking at the function and meaning of the plain conjunct and changed conjunct however shows drastic differences and this discussion of initial change highlights that fact. From a selectionality perspective, you can't always get a changed conjunct form where there's a plain conjunct (and vice versa).

2.7 Relative Roots/Preverbs

There are six particular morphemes in the language that are highly prolific and important due to the semantic weight they carry. They appear either as preverbs and as initials on verb stems, and both forms are often referred to as 'relative roots' though one is a preverb.¹⁰⁵ They convey a range of meanings such as manner, origin (place or reason), and degree (including time or another quantifier).

Table 25: Relative roots and preverbs with examples¹⁰⁶

Preverb Form	Root Form	Meaning	Preverb Example	Root Example
izhi-	/izh/, /in/	'to such place; in such a way'	izhi-ayaa vai 's/he is a certain way'	izhinaagozi vai 's/he has a certain look or appearance'
onji-	/ond/, /onj/	'from such place; from such source; for such reason'	onji-dagoode vii 'fall from a certain place'	ondinan vti 'get, obtain it from a certain place'
daso-	/das/, /dash/	'such quantity; such amount'	daso-biboonagizi vai 's/he is a certain number of	dasoogaade vai 's/he has so many legs'

¹⁰⁵ Nichols (1980, p.130) notes that "[t]he issue of the semantic relationship between the use of relative roots and prefixes remains to be investigated."

¹⁰⁶ As with initial change, there can be variation in form of these as well; "In addition to the typical change presented in (94) above, there are certain relative roots and preverbs that show a specialized pattern of IC." Sullivan (2016, p.123)

			years old; s/he is so many years old'	
apiichi-	/apiit/, /apiich/	'such extent, such degree'	apiichi-giizhigad vii 'it is so late in the day'	apiichibattoo vai 's/he runs at a certain speed'
ako-	/akw/	'such time; since; so far'	ako-gikenim vta 'have known smb. a long time'	akoozi vai 's/he is a certain length, is a certain height, is so long, is so tall'
dazhi-	/dan/, /dazh/	'there; at such place'	dazhi-bagizo vai 'swim at a certain place'	danagindan vti 'read it in a certain place'

(chart adapted from Valentine (n.d) *Ojibwe grammar* pages, examples taken from OPD and NOD, chart presented in nonsynopated Ojibwe)

What is interesting to note about these roots/preverbs is that their presence almost always triggers initial change in the conjunct order. This relates to the previous section and the overarching question of what exactly triggers initial change. Many relative root/preverb constructions are relative clauses themselves by nature of their semantics. The common and prolific *izhi-* 'to such place; in such a way' is an example:

- (86) Relative clause with relative root /izh/, /in/
Mii dash gii-wiindmawag **gaa-zhichgenid niw bzhikwan.**
mii dash gii-wiindamaw-ag IC.gii-izhichige-nid niw
DM.DEIC DASH PST-tell.h/-1S>3S.CONJ IC.PST-do-3'.CONJ PRON.OBV
- bizhiki-wan
cow-OBV
'And so I told her **what the cow did.**' AR
- (87) Relative clause with relative preverb /izhi-/
Mii iw **gaa-zhi-noondmaan.**
mii i'iw IC.gii-izhi-noondan-aan
DP PRON.DEM IC.PST-RP.in.such.way-hear.it-1SG>0S.CONJ
'That's **how I heard it.**' AP

Another example of this is seen with /ond/, /onj/ ‘from such place; from such source; for such reason’¹⁰⁷:

- (88) Relative clause with relative preverb /ond/, /onj/
Minj oodi **enji-yaagwenh**.
namanj oodi IC.onji-ayaa-gwen
DUB over.there IC.RP.for.such.reason-s/he.is.in.a.certain.place-3S.DUB.**CONJ**
‘I don’t know **why he’s there.**’ MNC

I argue that the connection between initial change and nominals anchoring to discourse contexts and the real world is at play here. This also relates to the fact that relative roots and preverbs are common and acceptable in independent order verbs and contexts and don’t need initial change in those since they’re already anchored as such.

2.8 Nouns

While they can take a backseat to the verb’s prominence, nouns in Ojibwe, as in any language, are an important and rich part of the grammar. And like verbs, Ojibwe nouns are agglutinating and often complex, carrying much semantic information in a single word. Relevant to main topics of this dissertation are the facts that: a) nouns (and in rare cases pronouns) can take suffixes identical in form to mode endings (though their functions may differ); and, b) that initial change is seen on nouns in Ojibwe, specifically in naming conventions.

Nichols (1980) notes numerous similarities in verb and noun suffixes, such as the pejorative being “similar in form and parallel in position to the verbal compassionate suffix [/-sh/-/shi/]” (p. 49) and that “[n]oun stems serve as bases for the following secondary stems: verbs of being, verbs of diminutive action, verbs of making, verbs of feigning, verbs of abundance, verbs of possession, and verbs of perception.” (p. 236)

¹⁰⁷ Translation from Valentine (2001) Grammar Pages
<https://ojibwegrammar.langsci.wisc.edu/Grammar/InflMorphology/InitialChange.htm>.

The diminutive suffix, generally considered a nominal feature, can also appear on verbs for interesting semantic effect and this is not widely discussed in the literature.¹⁰⁸ Two noun-exclusive suffixes are the locative and contemptive.

2.8.1 Gender

Ojibwe nouns are gendered for **animacy** and this is realized in patterns of pluralization and obviation. As examples:

Table 26: Grammatical gender of Ojibwe nouns

	sg.	pl.	obv.
animate noun	[a]nimosh - dog	[a]nim[o]shag - dogs	[a]nim[o]shan - dogs
inanimate noun	[o]naagan - plate	[o]naag[a]nan - plates	n/a

Phonological processes can result in slightly different plural forms but the terminal consonants remain the same. Noun animacy and number are in concord with verbs and verbs type, and this is illustrated previously in (40). [Ojibwe verb types and their theta roles]

2.8.2 Dependency

Dependent nouns are common in Ojibwe and are seen in terms such as body parts, which are inherently possessed (though not all). The stem for leg, /=kaad-/, for example, cannot appear on its own and must bear a possessor. Dependent nouns are gendered as well and a few forms with /=kaad/ and /=gidigw-/¹⁰⁹ are presented here:

¹⁰⁸ Nichols (1980) makes note of verbs of diminutive action, “reported by Bloomfield for Menomini (1962:15.15) but not for Ojibwe, are special types of verbs of being. They contain an intransitive verb stem nominalized with /-w/, the diminutive suffix /-nss/, and AI /-wi/ or II /-wan/: aakkosiinssiwi 'he is a little bit sick': AI /aakkosi-/ 'be sick' nootinoonssiwan 'it is a little bit windy': II /nootin-/ 'by windy'” (Nichols, 1980, p.238)

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, this particular stem appears to have resisted vowel syncope in syncopated dialects, perhaps owing to its inherently possessed status resulting in its initial short vowel remaining stressed.

Table 27: Some possession forms of dependent nouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1SG, pl. possessum
animate possessed noun	n[i]gidig	g[i]gidig	gidigwan ¹¹⁰	ngidigwag
inanimate possessed noun	n[i]kaad	g[i]kaad	okaad /wkaad ¹¹¹	nikaadan

Included within dependent nouns are kinship terms¹¹² which also inherently have a possessor and possessum. There are many more terms in Ojibwe as compared to English due to the kinship systems in their respective societies where the former makes many more distinctions along maternal/paternal lines and gender. Full paradigms are found in existing works and a small sample of forms are given below.

Table 28: Some Ojibwe kinship terms

kin relation to ego	Ojibwe term
my great-grandparent, grandchild	(n)indaanikobijigan -ag
my grandmother	nookomis -ag
my grandfather	nimishoomis -ag
my cross aunt (father's sister)	nizigos -ag
my cross uncle (mother's brother)	(n)inzhishenh -ag

¹¹⁰ Animate nouns are subject to obviation.

¹¹¹ The /w/ here is a historical remnant of nonsynocopated 3S o- possessor prefix that itself is no longer present in many speakers of synocopated dialects.

¹¹² Regarding kinship, it is important to note the clan system of the Ojibwe and related peoples. This is a system of kinship and social organization where all people are part of a given clan, usually delineated patrilineally and represented by an animal. Benton-Banai (1988) cites seven original clans, while other sources give five, and either way number in the tens contemporarily, though most are considered subgroupings of a smaller original number. Members of a given clan are tasked with specific social duties such as healthcare, education, domestic and international leadership, and so on, though these roles are not prohibitively rigid. Clan membership is familial and crosses regional and national boundaries, such that members of one's clan in a different region or nation are considered family and treated as such. The English term totem likely comes from the Ojibwe dependent animate noun =*doodem*-, and the term is present in related languages among peoples with similar clan systems. Valentine (2001, p.413) speculates a medial /-oode-/ present in the word and others such as *oodenaw*, 'town,' *ndoodem*, 'my totem, my clan,' and *ngodoode*, for example. Some speculate a connection between the dependent inanimate noun [*o]de[']* and these words.

my parallel aunt (mother's sister)	ninoshenh -yag
my parallel uncle (father's brother)	nimishoomenh -ag
my mother	nimaamaa -yag, also ninga (archaic)
my father	(n)imbaabaa -yag, also noos (archaic), (n)indede
my older sister, my older female parallel cousin	nimisenh -ag
my older brother, my older male parallel cousin	nisayenh -ag
my younger sibling, my younger parallel cousin	nishiime -yag

(chart adapted from Valentine (n.d) *Ojibwe grammar* pages)

Valentine (2001) also notes that there are a handful of other dependent terms in the language outside of kinship terms and body parts, and that these are usually articles of clothing or things of “close personal possession.” (p. 113) There appears to be no discernable pattern of what item may be determined to be possessed and these vary by dialect.

An interesting point to reiterate regarding noun possessor forms is that they are argued to have motivated the historical development of the independent verb in Pre-Proto-Algonquian.

2.8.3 Noun Derivation and Inflection

Like verbs, nouns are often derived by way of multiple roots combining together to form a stem. The process is quite complex and described well by Valentine (2001) who identifies four noun stem structures (see Table 29) that are derived from roots, noun finals, noun stems themselves, and participial constructions. Johnson (2021) provides an overview on noun composition in Ojibwe and the importance of nominalizers in that regard, and Meyer (2020) examines the interaction of gender and classifiers in Ojibwe noun categorization. The connection between verbs and nouns is explicit in Mathieu (2014) who describes the verbal structure present in Ojibwe nouns.¹¹³ Another parallel with verbs is seen in the fact that the derivation of nouns also have concrete and abstract types (Valentine 2001, p.106).

¹¹³ Oxford for one is careful to note however that “the relationship between the noun and the independent verb is one of diachronic transfer rather than of synchronic identity.” (Oxford, 2014, p.12)

Table 29: Noun stem structures

Noun Stem Structures
Primary (Simple) Noun Stems Root Root + Concrete Noun Final
Secondary (Complex) Noun Stems Stem + Concrete Noun Final Stem + Abstract Noun Final
Participial Nouns IC/Stem + Contemptive Noun Final IC/Stem + Participial Inflectional Suffixes
Compound Noun Stems Stem + Stem

Valentine (2001, p.480)

The polysynthetic nature of Ojibwe is reflected in the inflection of nouns as it is in verbs, and nouns themselves undergo patterns of inflection similar to that of verbs. They are inflected for number, gender (animacy), and obviation. All are third person except possibly for vocatives, according to Valentine (2001, p. 172). Nouns can take locative, diminutive, contemptive, and pejorative forms, and Table 12 is repeated here illustrating affixal morphology of nouns.

Table 12: Underlying forms and positions of nominal suffixes

A	B	C	D	E	F
possessed theme sign	pejorative suffix	nominal central suffixes	dubitative mode suffix	preterit mode suffix	peripheral suffixes
/-m/	/-sh/	/-naan/~/-naa/ 'I-ful' /-waa/ 'I-less' /-ni(w)/ 'obviative'	/-go/	/-ban(e)	/-i/ '0' /-an/~/-in/ '0p' /-a/ '3' /-ag/~/-ig/ '3p' /-an/~/-in/ '3"
		personal pronoun central suffixes			locative suffix

		/-awind/ 'I-ful' /-awaa/ 'I-less'			/-ng/
			vocative plural suffix		
			/-dog/		

(Nichols 1980, p. 15)

Note that the /-go/ dubitative suffix noted above only appears with a preterit-dubitative noun and dubitative mode morphology does not occur on a verb other than as the vocative plural suffix, described in the following section.

2.8.4 Mode and nouns

Relevant to the present study is the fact that the mode suffixes that are prevalent on verbs are also seen on nouns. Preterit mode suffixes occur on nouns with a similar semantic function as that on verbs, and indicate a person who has passed on, or an object or item that no longer exists. Dubitative mode morphology also appears on nouns in preterit-dubitative marking that adds a flavor of uncertainty or inference to the preterit function, and the /-dog/ suffix found on dubitative verbs is repurposed for plural vocative forms on nouns. It is relevant that the mode suffixes appearing on nouns “bear closer resemblance to independent order forms than they do to conjuncts”¹¹⁴ considering that the independent order theoretically arose from noun possessor forms.

2.8.4.1 Preterit nouns

Recall that with a verb, the preterit contrasts a state/event with its later non-state. An example is repeated here:

- (42) Aakoziiban.
aakozi-iban
be.sick-3S.PRET.IND
'S/he was sick (but isn't anymore).' JN

Similarly when affixed on a noun, the preterit indicates a noun that is no longer present:

¹¹⁴ Valentine (2001, p. 280).

- (89) Gkina ngii-kawaabmignaan ndedemban.¹¹⁵
 gakina ni-gii-akawaabam-igonaan ni-dede-m-ban
 all 1S-PST-watch.out.for.h/-3S>1P.IND 1S-father-POSS-**PRET**
 'My (late) father watched out for us all.' AP

This is not restricted to human or animate subjects and can refer to an object that no longer exists or is no longer in one's possession:

- (90) Nijiimaaniban.
 ni-jiimaan-iban
 1S.POSS-boat-**PRET**
 'my old boat' / 'the boat I no longer have'

While the function of preterit mode morphology differs slightly when used on nouns as opposed to verbs, the connection between the two is clear: to indicate a state/event (or in this case an entity) that is no longer the case (or present).

2.8.4.2 Dubitative nouns

Dubitative mode morphology appears on nouns as does the preterit, but it is considered a *vocative* form of address. Valentine (2001) notes that it is "formally related to the independent order dubitative verbal mode" (p. 530), with a *-dig* or *-dog* suffix, and gives an example (unmodified):

- (91) Mandaagkwedog gye mandaagninwidog!
 'Ladies and Gentlemen!' (AM 11.1)
- Mandaagkwedog na voc 2p 'ladies'; gye av 'and'; mandaagninwidog na voc 2p
 'gentlemen.' Valentine (2001, p. 206)

Nichols (1980, p. 53) notes the vocative as well, describing it as homonymous with the independent dubitative mode suffix and that "is largely restricted to formal addresses and has an archaic flavor. There are also person pronouns with *-dog* suffixation (described in section 2.8.5) that appear to have a dubitative/evidential interpretation rather than the vocative described here. The evidential *-dog* suffix can even appear on the discourse marker *mii*, and this is noted in 6.2.1.3.

¹¹⁵ This speaker and her sister are seen to utilize the possessor 'm' on some kinship terms though this is not observed for other speakers across dialect regions.

2.8.4.3 Preterit-dubitative nouns

Valentine notes historic forms found in Baraga (1850, p. 71), and states they're not used today, and I repeat one example given, with Baraga's original spelling and translation with my own transliteration and gloss:

- (92) nössigoban
 noosigoban
 n-oos-igoban
 1SG.POSS-father-**PRET.DUB**
 'my deceased father whom I never saw' Valentine (2001. p. 209)

The semantic parallels between both modes are apparent here, with the preterit referring to a deceased person and the dubitative arguably reflecting that an inference is being made that deceased father apparently did exist.

2.8.5 Pronouns

Being highly synthetic and marking agreement and theta roles on verb complexes, Ojibwe exhibits pro-drop and personal pronouns are less common than in analytic languages. Pronouns are used of course when necessary syntactically but not licensed by a verbal element (93), and commonly appear for focus purposes (94).

- (93) Begish naa **niin**, aapii-sh ndoo-ticket.
 begish naa niin aapii dash ndoo-ticket
 OPT DM me WH DASH 1S.POSS-ticket
 'I hope it's me! Where's my ticket?' MNC
- (94) Wedi zhaawaat kina go naa gii-maajaawag, **niin**-sh gweta ndyaamin ndedem gaawiin ngii-zhaasiimin.
 wedi izhaa-waad gakina go naa gii-maajaa-wag
 over.there go.there-3P.CONJ everyone EMPH DM PST-leave-3P.IND
- niin dash go eta inda-ayaa-min ni-dede-m
 me DM.CNTR EMPH only 1-be.there-1P.IND 1S.POSS-father-POSS
- gaawiin ni-gii-izhaa-sii-min
 NEG 1-PST-go.there-NEG-1P
- 'Everybody went but as for me, just we stayed behind, me and my dad.' AR

Personal pronouns are presented here:

Table 30: Ojibwe personal pronouns

gloss	pronoun	English translation
1	niin	me
2	giin	you (singular)
3	wiin	s/he
3'		
X		
1p	niinawind	us (exclusive)
21	giinawind	us (inclusive)
2p	giinawaa	yous (plural)
3p	wiinawaa	them (plural)

The obviative third person and indefinite actor are included in this table since they are an essential part of the grammar. No pronouns are said to exist for them but I have heard [a]wiyan, the obviated form of the indefinite pronoun *awiya* 'somebody, someone, anybody, anyone' used in the language learner community.

Interrogative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns are excluded here for brevity but can be found in Appendix 4. There are also a variety of dubitative pronouns that are discussed in Chapter 5, and these pronouns also agree in number and in the case of animate ones, obviation.

Table 31: Dubitative pronouns

animate			inanimate		
3	awegwen	'whoever; I wonder who; I don't know who'	0	wegodogwen	'whatever; I wonder what; I don't know what'
3p	awegwen(ag)		0p	wegodogwen(an)	
3'	awegwen(an)				

Adapted from Nichols (1980, p. 65)

Dubitative pronouns are highly relevant for this study as they appear in place of interrogative ones in dubitative constructions, demonstrating a necessary concord in said constructions. Interrogative pronouns are ungrammatical with dubitative verbs (see 5.4.1 ‘*Wh*-constructions and the changed conjunct dubitative’).

Though very rare, personal pronouns with */-dog/* suffixation that may have a dubitative/evidential interpretation are attested. Nichols (1980) cites these as *disjunctive personal pronouns*, as per Teeter who reports them in Malecite, and that they are reported in Plains Cree by Wolfart (p. 63). Sullivan (2020) comments on these forms, careful to note on their rarity and that they came up in his research with a relative of Nichols’ main consultant and they are repeated here:

(95) Disjunctive personal pronouns

Nichols 1980	Modern	Gloss
<i>niinidog</i>	<i>niinedog</i>	‘that’s me!’
<i>giinidog</i>	<i>giinedog</i>	‘that’s you!’
<i>wiinidog</i>	<i>wiinedog</i>	‘that’s h!’

(Sullivan, 2016, p. 193)

Informal testing with one speaker showed that though they had never heard such forms in their region, they would understand them as having an evidential reading, i.e. ‘that must be me/you/h/etc..’ Junker et al (2018) note that Innu pronouns can show evidential suffixes as do verbs in that language, and data presented show ‘Indirect Neutral’, ‘Indirect Preterit’, ‘Dubitative Neutral’, and ‘Dubitative Preterit’ morphology on personal pronouns in Innu. (Junker et al., 2018, pp. 443-444)

2.8.6 Initial Change and nouns

As nouns can take mode suffixes like verbs do, we can also find initial change on nouns. It is common in place names as well as personal names as discussed in section 2.6, and this topic deserves more attention for a fuller understanding of the syntax and semantics of initial change and clause typing generally.

2.8.7 Nominalization

There are a number of nominalizing suffixes in Ojibwe that effectively turn a verb into a noun. Participles are like nouns in their distribution but less so in form; they can often sit in place of nouns but cannot be affixed in the same way and to the same degree as nouns proper. Sullivan notes that participles cannot take locative, diminutive, or possessed forms, for example. (Sullivan, 2016, p.18)

Valentine (2001) discusses the nominalizing suffixes */-ni/*, */-gan/*, and */-aagan/*, the first of two most frequently affixing onto VAI verbs to create nouns, and the */-aagan/* suffix nominalizing VTA verbs (Valentine, 2001, pp. 502-505). The prolific suffix */-win/* attaches quite freely to VAI stems to create nouns referring to both tangible objects, e.g. *[a]pab[i]win* ni ‘chair’, from *[a]pabi vai* ‘to sit on something’, and less-tangible or abstract concepts (referred to by Valentine as *abstract concepts* or *action nominalizations*) such as *aak[o]ziwin* ni ‘sickness’ from *aak[o]zi vai* ‘be sick/ill’ (Valentine, 2001, p. 506). Some nominalizations can fall into both categories, such as *[a]nokiiwin* (from *[a]nokii vai* ‘s/he works’), which can refer to either an abstract concept such as a job or a concrete object like an engine. Valentine makes note of *giig[i]dowin* ni (from *giig[i]do vai* ‘s/he speaks’), another nominalization that can refer to both tangible and intangible things, writing that “[a]t Curve Lake this word is used to convey such diverse meanings as ‘sentence,’ ‘conversation,’ ‘telephone,’ and ‘microphone,’ that is, various ‘units’ of speaking, or instruments associated with speaking.” (Valentine, 2001, p. 106)

Participles are very common in the language and are formed by conjugating a verb in the conjunct order with initial change, though they are distinguished from changed conjunct verbs, which are constructed in the same manner, and also not considered true nouns.¹¹⁶ I note them here however for their noun-like properties and their importance in this study.

Participles are a key part of relativization and discussed in-depth by Sullivan (2020), who demonstrates the participle/changed conjunct differentiation by illustrating that participles have distinct 3P and obviative forms, though these have been leveled to match the changed conjunct forms in some varieties of Ojibwe (Sullivan, 2020, p. 1). Valentine (2001) notes that “relative clauses have all of the inflectional possibilities of a verb” (p. 597) and as such can take tense and mode affixation, providing the following example:

(96) Gchi-zaaghigan zhonda ge-dgog, mii zhonda ge-bi-zhaawaad **ge-giigoonykejig**.

¹¹⁶ As noted, participles differ from the changed conjunct verb in suffixal morphology of third person plural and third person obviative forms.

'There will be a big lake here; this is where **those who will fish** will come.' (S03.35)

Gchi-zaaghigan *ni Os* 'big lake'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-dgog** *vii ic conj 0* '(CCNJ) 0 will be there'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **zhonda** *av* 'here'; **ge-bi-zhaawaad** *vai ic conj SpProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl will come'; **ge-giigoonykejig** *vai ic conj part SpProx* '(CCNJ) ANpl who will fish.' (Valentine, 2001, p. 579)

Note the distinguishing participial *-jig* form above. This section is an exceedingly brief note on the topic of nominalization in Ojibwe and it is a highly productive process, and more so considering the nominal-type functions of participles.

2.9 Ojibwe Stress and Vowel Syncope

Ojibwe follows a pattern of *metrical stress* that is mostly consistent across varieties of the language, though Eastern Ojibwe (EO) and Odaawaa (Od) are phonologically distinct from others in having undergone a process of *vowel syncope*, which sees the deletion of unstressed short vowels following the underlying stress system. Valentine (1994, p. 162) notes that “syncope-like processes have evidently been active at some level in nearly all Ojibwe dialects for quite some time” and Sullivan notes that Southwestern Ojibwe “does show some evidence of vowel and initial syllable deletion.” (Sullivan, 2016, p. 228)

This brief summary of Ojibwe stress and syncope has been compiled from information in Hayes (1995), Zsiga (2013), and Valentine (2001). The stress system is valuable for learners of Ojibwe to learn and understand. For syncope, it explains the puzzling dis/appearance of short vowels that are affected by stress shifts that result from stem affixation/inflection, and non-syncope learners benefit from understanding how to pronounce the language with native speaker stress. L1 English speakers have a tendency to apply English stress patterns upon Ojibwe, which can result in canonically unstressed short vowels to become stressed and vice versa. English stress can also result in inadvertent vowel lengthening, which can render speech difficult to understand since vowel length is contrastive in Ojibwe.

That stress pattern is a quantity-sensitive¹¹⁷ iambic system with metrical feet formed left to right:

(97) Iambic formation

¹¹⁷ All long vowels (aa [a:, ɑ:], ii [i:], oo [o:, u:], and e [e:, ɛ:, æ:]) are stressed.

(. x) (x)
 Iamb: Form $\sim _$ if possible; otherwise form $_$
 Form iambs left to right
 Three legitimate iamb shapes: / $\sim _ /$; / $\sim \acute{ } /$; / $\acute{ } _ /$

Illustration of the stress pattern in non-syncopated dialects with the word *anishinaabemowin* ('Ojibwe language'):

(98) Stress pattern illustrated

(. x) (. x) (x) (. x)
 $\sim \sim \sim _ _ \sim \sim$
 a n i sh i n aa b e m o w i n

Vowel-syncopated dialects of Ojibwe delete short vowels in unstressed positions, resulting in *nishnaabemwin*:

(99) Application of syncope on stress pattern

(. x) (. x) (x) (. x)
 $\sim \sim \sim _ _ \sim \sim$
 a n i sh i n aa b e m e w i n
 n i sh n aa b e m w i n

Notable consequences of vowel syncope are phonological effects of resulting consonant clusters and stress shifts from affixation resulting in variation of appearance of short vowels. As an example of the latter:

(100) Syncopated form of *m[a]kizin* ni 'shoe'

Full vowel:	m	a	k	i	z	i	n	makizin ('shoe')
Od/EO:	m		k	i	z	i	n	mkizin

Underlying vowels can reappear if affixation results in a stress shift:

(101) Stress shift and resulting shift in syncopation pattern

Full:	n	i	m	a	k	i	z	i	n	nimakizin ('my shoe')
Od/EO:	n		m	a	k		z	i	n	nmakzin

Preverbs are not subject to syncope in the same manner as are person prefixes, and in the following examples, the directional preverb /bi-/ does not lose its vowel to syncope despite being in a metrically weak position:

(102) Preverb boundary resisting stress shift and syncope

Full:	b	i	d	a	g	o	sh	i	n	bi-dagoshin ('s/he arrives')
Od/EO:	b	i	d		g	o	sh	i	n	bi-dgoshin

Valentine (2001) discusses the matter of vowel syncope in depth and highlights for one thing the many phonological effects of vowel syncope, considering the proliferation of consonant clusters that result from it.

2.10 Summary

This chapter is an attempt at an overview of the pieces of Ojibwe grammar that are relevant to this study. Because the breadth of the fundamental question of when, where, and why various clause types are used in the language touches on the use of the Ojibwe verb generally, it thus relates to virtually every aspect of the grammar for the verb interacts with them everywhere. For a testimonial of the complexity of this matter, I point to Valentine's (2001) seminal *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar*, which is over one thousand pages and in which he himself notes in its preface that "the very extensiveness of the grammar underscores how much we have to learn before we even begin to fathom the real intricacies and richness of the language." (Valentine, 2001, p. xxxi)

This chapter has nonetheless expanded on the previous one by elaborating on the structure of the Ojibwe verb and providing more information on the main clause types of independent, plain conjunct, and changed conjunct verbs and their many functions. Mode is introduced and examples of clause type interaction with them are provided to set the stage for the following chapters that seek to explain how the two phenomena interact. Initial change is an important part of the story and forms changed conjunct verbs as well as participles, which are morphologically similar. A basic characterization of these clause types is a tall order but the following section lays a framework for such a project.

Chapter 3: Verbal Order

3.1 Overview

This chapter will focus on the structure and function of the independent and conjunct orders in Ojibwe and outlines the theoretical framework used in this study. As we saw in Chapter 1, I argue that the independent is used in main/matrix clauses and the conjunct in dependent/subordinated ones. While this generalization holds true for the most part, there are apparent exceptions: cases where a clause conjugated in one order appears where the other order would be expected. This comes up in cases of optionality or restriction of independent vs conjunct complements, statements with apparent two independent clauses, and, main clauses with conjunct inflection. I propose that despite these puzzling cases, clause type *does* simply track subordination – cases of seemingly embedded independent clauses are instances of parataxis, and conjunct ones that appear unembedded actually are. The semantic effects of (non/)subordination implicate extensions or intensions in the independent and conjunct orders, respectively. Finally, I briefly discuss the form and function of the changed conjunct as a prolific clause type that—like the plain conjunct—has numerous functions and can be difficult to define.

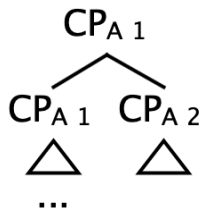
3.2 Theoretical Framework

The complexity of the Ojibwe verb has led to deep discussion over the nature and processes of its derivation and inflection, especially in the realm of agreement. Hammerly (2024), Oxford (2014, 2019), and Lochbihler and Mathieu (2013) are excellent examples of the current discussion. What we can say for sure is that verbs are made up of numerous parts that comprise both the lexical and functional material of a full clause. The matter of determining which head sits where in the verbal spine, as well as where the verb lands depending on clause type, is where the theoretical discussion lies. Discussion in the literature remains focused mainly on syntax over semantics, though the latter is given some attention.¹¹⁸

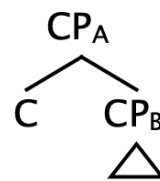
¹¹⁸ Sources written by Anishinaabe scholars and Ojibwe speakers themselves, on the other hand, tend towards a semantic bent since these authors are often educators who seek to explain Ojibwe grammar for the learner. In this sense the meanings of various adverbs and predicates and the form and meaning of their complements are more relevant to explain than patterns of agreement and the theoretical syntactic structure of the verb.

This study is an exploration of clause typing in Ojibwe, which is expressed by the independent and conjunct verbal orders. These are typically argued to be used in main and dependent clauses respectively, and I maintain this hypothesis. I argue that examples where a clause type appears in an environment where it's not supposed to be (e.g. an independent verb in a subordinated clause or conjunct verb in a main clause) are illusory counterexamples, and that the characterization holds. A simple illustration of paratactic and embedding environments are given here; while each involves two clauses in sequence, the second clause in the parataxis example is not truly embedded, and thus yields an independent verb:

(103) Parataxis:



(104) Embedding:



Semantically, this generally results in readings of extensions in main clauses and intensions in subordinated ones and this is expanded upon below. As we saw in previous chapters, Ojibwe also distinguishes a third main clause type in the *changed conjunct*. These constructions are almost never verbal complements, nor are they usually standalone clauses, but most often appear as *wh*- clause types or nominal-like relative clauses.¹¹⁹ There are a few exceptions, however, and these cases are seen in chapters 5 and 6.

3.2.1 Internal syntax of Ojibwe clauses

There is much discussion and little consensus in the literature regarding the internal syntax of independent versus conjunct verbs in Algonquian languages, and the discussion hinges around the amount of clause structure in the CP domain. Those who treat the conjunct to be smaller, or with less head movement for the verb, than the independent are Richards (2004) in Wampanoag and Halle and Marantz (1993) for Potawatomi. The opposite view, that the conjunct is higher than the independent verb is held by Sullivan (2020) for Ojibwe, Campana (1996) for Pasamaquoddy-Malecite, Brittain (1997) for Sheshashit Montagnais, and Brittain (1999) again in

¹¹⁹ Its use in participles is very common in the language and well-described in the literature, especially in Sullivan (2020).

Western Naskapi. Lochbihler and Mathieu (2016) argue that both independent and conjunct involve a CP, the features of the C in each case are different. Cook (2014) also argues that independent and conjunct clauses are full CPs; that the left edge elements are hosted in CP.

One type of approach to the distinction between clause types treats conjunct clauses as smaller than independent, following cross-linguistic tendencies for subordinate clauses. Richards (2004), for example, argues that independent verbs raise to C in Wampanoag while conjunct ones do not; in other words, conjunct verbs are structurally lower than independent ones, “as they are used in syntactic contexts in which verb-movement to high structural positions is often prevented cross-linguistically.”

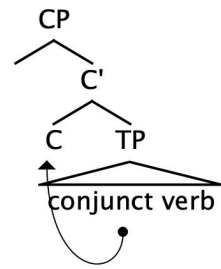
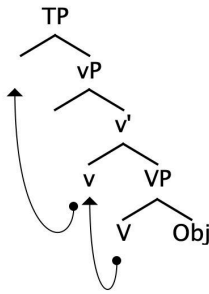
Another type of approach to the structural differences between the independent and conjunct focuses on the differing agreement paradigms between the clauses. Campana (1996) claims that independent verbs move to Infl (T) and receive prefixal agreement in this position. Campana considers Algonquian person prefixes as clitic pronouns appearing in spec IP as they cliticize to verbs and nouns late in the derivation. By contrast, person prefixes are absent in the conjunct order because the verb moves further, to C. Thus the presence or absence of prefixal agreement coincides with whether the verb has moved to Infl (in the independent order) or higher (in the conjunct).

Brittain (1999) similarly argues that whenever a CP projection is motivated, a conjunct verb is required to raise to the head C of that projection and thus the distribution of the conjunct is the distribution of the CP. Presented as evidence are the facts that conjunct verbs undergo a morpho-phonological process at C (initial change), and that changed conjunct verbs occur in contexts cross-linguistically associated with a CP projection.

Sullivan (2020), like Brittain, associates the conjunct with a CP layer and argues for a split-CP hypothesis to account for the phenomenon of initial change in Ojibwe and its varied functions. Sullivan offers a head-movement analysis to account for derivation in various orders, and envisions the structures of the independent and conjunct orders as such:

(105) a. Independent

b. Conjunct



(Sullivan, 2020, p. 275)

I follow the conjunct CP analysis in accounting for the appearance of initial change in those verbs but depart in terms of the independent order and instead adopt the approach of Lochbiler and Mathieu (2016) who argue that the independent verb also involves a CP. This view is also held by Cook (2014), and the approach accounts for the differences in interpretation between independent and conjunct verbs. Lochbiler and Mathieu (2016) also state that conjunct CPs introduce discourse features (as opposed to the phi-features of the independent) and this can align with Cook's proposition that conjunct verbs are anaphoric and not evaluated with respect to a speech situation as are independent verbs. The view also meshes with my observations of the Ojibwe conjunct verb not being linked to a speech context, as are independent ones.¹²⁰

Cook (2014) proposes that there are two types of clauses in Plains Cree: indexical and anaphoric. These correspond to the independent and conjunct verbs respectively, and indexical clauses are evaluated with respect to the speech situation, and anaphoric clauses evaluated with respect to a contextually-given situation. As noted, Cook argues that independent and conjunct clauses are CPs and that the left edge elements are hosted in CP. This is important because these elements could be in other levels, and arguably are in other Algonquian languages. If the elements were in a lower position we'd not expect them to be associated with clause typing. Pronominal proclitics in the independent order are in spec CP, while the clause-typing proclitics in the conjunct order are complementizers.

Cook's characterization of indexical and anaphoric clauses works well for Ojibwe and we see this in how independent clauses refer to the extensional realm of the actual world, and the conjunct to a modality, of anything other than the actual current world, be that hypotheticality, counterfactuality, irrealis, or simply anything outside of the here and now. The model applies in

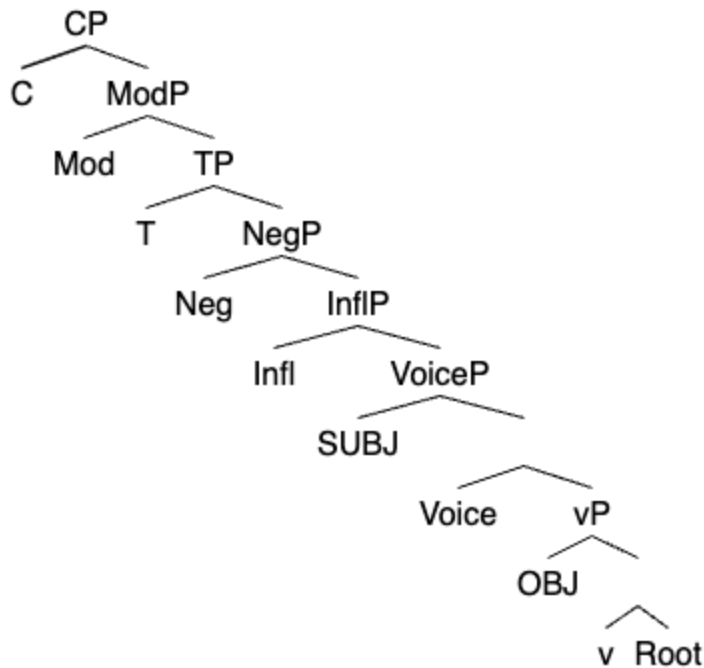
¹²⁰ Chapter 5 illustrates how dubitative verbs in the independent order are tied to speaker-oriented speech contexts while Chapter 4 discusses how conjunct preterits are not.

explaining semantic phenomenon observed in clause type variation when factoring in the preterit and dubitative modes.

I use the term *irrealis* in this paper in reference to a function of the conjunct verb but note that it is not ideal – both as a catch-all label for all non-real things, and as well as for attempting to capture the overall function of the Ojibwe conjunct verb. Bar-el and Denzer-King (2008) discuss the concept of irrealis in Blackfoot, an Algonquian language, and like Ojibwe, the language has a number of ways of expressing irrealis. It has a so-called ‘irrealis’ mood that is implicated in counterfactuality, which not coincidentally is related to Moose Cree preterit morphemes *-pan* and *-htay* (as per James, 1991, p. 4). The Ojibwe preterit *-ban* morpheme is a clear cognate here and Oxford (2014, p. 201) describes the proto-Algonquian formative *-entay* as an ancestor of the Moose Cree preterit *-htay*. Bar-el and Denzer-King (2008) also note the problems of attempting to apply irrealis as a crosslinguistic category.

The fine details of the CP layer are important in accounting for initial change phenomena, including that involving the dubitative mode, which is discussed in Chapter 5. For present purposes, I adopt a model that is based wholly upon Oxford’s (2014) proposed structure of the Algonquian verb complex, with my addition of a CP-layer to account for conjunct order phenomenon. Oxford (2014, p. 31) does not take a stand on the specifics of the difference between the structures of independent versus conjunct verbs and notes that the conversation hinges on whether the verb raises to C^0 in either or both orders.

(106) Proposed clause structure for Ojibwe verbs



3.2.2 Semantics

The syntactic hypothesis of this study is purely structural: 1) that independent order verbs are nonselected, being matrix verbs or in paratactic relation to another, and that some discourse particles can select and modify verbs or else be in parataxis to them as well, and; 2) that conjunct order verbs are selected by another verb, certain C heads like *giishpin*, or the aforementioned discourse particles. Changed conjunct verbs are a class all their own and may be selected by a non-verb/C element or adjunct.

What then are the semantic consequences of these structures? I follow those accounts that implicate discourse in the structure of the conjunct, such as Cook (2014), Lochbiler and Mathieu (2016), and Sullivan (2020) as this explains the semantic shift we see in subordinated clauses. Being subordinate to a higher element (be that a verb or discourse particle) shifts the context of evaluation of the conjunct verb and results in the semantic differences seen between conjunct and independent verbs, and explains why one might be selected over the other for semantic purposes when there is optionality for that (See 3.3.2 for an example). This also accounts for differences in interpretation of the preterit and dubitative modes in independent versus conjunct verbs.

Theoretical analyses of Ojibwe and related languages tend to lie heavily in the morphosyntactic domain, with less attention paid to semantics. Rhodes (1980, 2012) and Denny (1984) focus on verb finals as these determine a verb's classification, along with semantic information. Cook (2003) and Slavin (2006) examine the semantics of preverbs in Menominee and Severn Ojibwe respectively. Riccomini (2019) gives semantic denotations of some roots and finals, including causative and applicative ones. Other sources such as Corbiere (1997) and Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2008, 2016) provide a wealth of semantic information in a language user-centered approach. Corbiere (1997) discusses some Ojibwe adverbs and particles as an L1 speaker of Odaawaa and presents contexts in which various uses of them are appropriate or not. Relatedly, Kishketon's analysis of Ojibwe discourse markers, which includes very common predicative particles, explains in-depth how they are used by L1 speakers. These particular two sources are significant for determining when and where Ojibwe clause types are appropriate and moreover in contexts that are of great use to L2 learners. The current study seeks to augment the latter sources (Corbiere and Fairbanks (Kishketon)) by providing an explanation of where, when, and why independent versus plain conjunct versus changed conjunct verbs are used in the language.

Crosslinguistic theoretical literature can help to untangle the threads of clause typing by analyzing relationships between modals and their complements. Bhadra and Banerjee (to appear) explore modals of prohibition and obligation in terms of their clausal complements, formal semantics, and typological distribution. A focus of their work that is relevant for this dissertation is the mutual relationship between a modal verb and its clausal complement, which relates to the question of where, when, and why Ojibwe clause types are appropriate. While Ojibwe deals with modality much differently than languages examined in the paper (Bangla/Bengali and English), a preliminary look at data suggests crosslinguistic parallels. Modals of obligation and prohibition in those languages can take infinitival or gerund complements and while these verb forms arguably do not exist in Ojibwe, analogous conjugations such as generic 'you' and indefinite actor forms appear:¹²¹

(107) Imperative
 Boontaan zgaswaayin!
 boonitaan zagaswaa-yan
 stop.**IMP** smoke-**2S.CONJ**

¹²¹ These constructions are important for future study considering the implications of an imperative verb (107) and non-verbal modal construction (108) selecting verbal complements.

'stop smoking'

MNC

(108) X (indefinite actor)

Gaawii maamdaa maanpii wii-damnang.

gaawiin	maamdaa	maanpii	wii-odamino-ng
NEG	MOD.ABIL	here	FUT-play-X.CONJ

'one can't play here'

MNC

The imperative verbal order is naturally also employed in such statements and while this too can't be said to be an infinitive or gerund form, it is of interest to note that the imperative forms of transitive verbs in Ojibwe are the closest to being a 'bare' verb form as they are morphologically uninflected.

English modals of obligation for example can take infinitival *to*-complements and Muldrew (2022) for one identifies one use of a *ji-* conjunct verb in Ojibwe as a part of expressing necessity. An example in Muldrew (2022) is presented here with original glossing and free translation:

(109) 'Have to' pattern with onjida

Aaniish	onjida	igo	weweni	igo	ayii,	ngo-giizis
well	necessity	emph	well	emph	um	one-month

ji-dazhiikaman	i'i
ji-work.on.2.conj	that

'Well, you have to work on it one good month' (Stan Nelson) (Muldrew 2022, p. 23)

Conjunct *ji-* clauses are very often translated in English with *to* as seen above, along with many other examples in this dissertation. Muldrew (2022) also notes that a *ji-* clause alone is capable of expressing necessity in the proper context. *Onjida* is used in (109) and Muldrew also notes necessity modals that vary by region, such as *zhaagooch* or *bigoo* in Northern communities, and *booch* in Minnesota. *Aabdeg* is common in Eastern Ojibwe and Odaawaa but others such as *booch* are also available for similar yet nuanced semantic differences.¹²²

(110) Aabdeg example

Aabdek ge go ji-bi-gziisga'ged.						
aabdeg	ge	go		ji-bi-gziisaga'ige-d		

¹²² Finer semantic details of the use of these modals by way of clause type selection are discussed later in the chapter and in Chapter 6.

MOD.NEC GE EMPH JI-hither-wash.floor-3S.CONJ
 'She has to come here to wash the floors.' AP

(111) Booch example

Gaa go naa ge ngiikendnziin¹²³ wewena ge-zhi-zhaagnaashiimyaan, booch dash go
 ngtaamgoz go ji-zhaagnaashiimyaambaan.

gaa go naa ge ni-gikendan-ziin weweni
 NEG EMPH DM GE 1S-know.it-NEG.IND carefully

ge-izhi-zhaaganaashiimo-yaan booch dash go
 IC.GE-RP.in.such.way-speak.English-1S.CONJ MOD.NEC DM.CNTR EMPH

ni-gotaamigozi go ji-zhaagnaashiimo-yaambaan
 1S-s/he.works.hard EMPH JI-speak.English-PRET.CONJ

'I don't know how to speak English well and I have to work hard to speak it.' AP

While the plain conjunct is used to express modality in the above examples, it is important to remember that it can also be addressed in the independent order, namely by the prefix *daa-*:

(112) Ndaa-wi-yaajge.

ni-daa-wi¹²⁴-yaajige

1S-MOD-go.and-shop.IND

'I should go shopping.' AP

Daa- (discussed in 2.5.3) is prolific and a very flexible modal, used in situations calling for *could*, *should*, or *would* in English, and is used quite freely in the independent order. Considering this and the fact that modality is expressed using the plain conjunct in (112) above, we can say that modality, intensionality, and irrealis are not exclusive to the domain of the plain conjunct verb, and also that the difference between independent and conjunct verbs is not necessarily a strictly realis/irrealis distinction.

To summarize, I follow those proposals that argue for a CP structure in both independent and conjunct verbs, and a verb structure like that of Oxford's (2014) that gives rise to the different morphological paradigms of independent versus conjunct verbs. Those paradigmatic forms are not the focus of this investigation, however, and what we are concerned with is the

¹²³ See (41) for a note on vowel lengthening observed here.

¹²⁴ This preverb ('go and...') is commonly seen as *o-* and *oo-*.

interpretation of the verb by verbal order. Syntactically, independent verbs are unselected but conjunct ones are, and it is this (non/)subordination that yields the respective interpretations that follow Cook (2014) where nonselected (independent) verbs bear reference to an indexical situation (e.g. asserted information in the current world) and selected (conjunct) ones to an anaphoric (e.g. modally intensional) situation. For these reasons, we can have varied combinations of clause types and the next section will review some of those.

3.3 Clause type combinations

Independent and conjunct verbs have different interpretations and as such they are employed in a variety of combinations according to the situation-specific needs of a speaker. The following is an overview of a few combinations as they exemplify how clause typing is employed in the language. A typical construction sees a main verb (or a particle) selecting a conjunct verb that follows it but that is not always the case, such as with parataxial independent plus independent verb constructions.

3.3.1 IND + IND

In some instances, multiclausal sentences with two independent clauses are acceptable and this may be unexpected, especially to a learner who generalizes that we can have only one main clause and thus only one independent verb in a given statement. The clauses are in parataxis and one clause does not subordinate the other.

(113) Minwaatese, indinendam.
minwaatese ind-inendam
be.a.good.movie.0S.**IND** 1S-think.a.certain.way.**IND**
'It's a good movie, I think.' (Muldrew, personal communication)

(114) Aakozi, izhinaagozi.
aakozi izhinaagozi
be.sick.3S.**IND** appear.so.3S.**IND**
'S/he looks sick.' (Muldrew, personal communication)

Aandeg Muldrew (personal communication.) notes that in many such IND+IND cases, the complement that would be expected to be conjugated in the conjunct order contains the relative

root *izhi-*,¹²⁵ glossed as ‘in a certain way’; ‘to a certain place’; ‘thus’; ‘so’; ‘there’ (OPD).

Independent + independent clauses are acceptable and quite common in quotatives:

(115) “Noongom magkii ndaaw,” kido.¹²⁶

noongom	omagakii	ind-aawi	ikido
now	frog	1S-be. IND	say.3S. IND

“‘Now I am a frog’ she says.’

AP

It is perhaps the case that that function of the independent verb in referring to the extensional world motivates the appearance of two of them in these cases, not to mention that relative roots are accompanied by initial change in conjunct order, tying them to an extensional function. More investigation would be required to make such a conclusion.

These examples are also interesting because of the fact that what one would consider the main clause, ‘s/he says in (115) and ‘I think (that)...’ in (113), appears after the ‘subordinate’ one; an atypical clause structure. This compares to canonical IND+CONJ or particle+CONJ constructions.

The arrangement of clause types is employed as a discourse function in the language and this is a big topic in itself. Kishketon (2016) gives an example of parataxical independent order clauses expressing causality (glossing adapted):¹²⁷

(116) Gidaa-miizh igo geyaabi gibaakaakosijige.

gi-daa-miizh	igo	geyaabi	gi-baakaakosijige
2-MOD-give.to.h/.2S>1S. IND	EMPH	still	2S-be.open. IND

‘You should just give it to me since you’re still open.’ Kishketon (2016, p. 63)

Another such example is found in the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary:

(117) Ngii-wiindmaagnaana, zaam wiikaa ngii-bi-yaami.

ni-gii-wiindamaw-igonaana	onzaama	wiikaa	ni-gii-bi-ayaa-min
1S-PST-tell.h/-3S>1P. IND	excessively	late	1S-PST-hither-be.there-1P. IND

He told us that we had come too late. AM1937.rs via NOD

¹²⁵ The presence of *izhi-* is clear in (114), *izhinaagozi*, but (113), *inendam* is a case of a *ninja root*TM, so-named by Kishketon (p.c.) *because it can’t be seen*.

¹²⁶ []kido also contains a *ninja root*.

¹²⁷ There are other common discourse sequencing functions such as the preverb complex *gaa-izhi-* (Sullivan, 2020, p. 92), and Kishketon (2012) describes the continuative versus completive aspectual functions of the plain and changed conjunct verbs respectively.

This is not an exhaustive list of parataxical independent clause statements available but are presented as evidence that such constructions are common and acceptable in the language. In any of the above cases, either independent clause can stand on its own and material from the first clause does not scope into the second. More testing is needed to determine clause ordering flexibility but what is apparent is that parataxis is employed as a discourse device. The functions of clause typing in Ojibwe discourse contexts is a huge topic of discussion and is outside the scope of this study.

Another instance of parataxis is where a modal appears with an independent verb. This is the elsewhere case of many discourse particles (see Chapter 6) but some also have an optionality and this is very telling about the structures and functions of Ojibwe clause types.

3.3.2 IND / CONJ Optionality

While not exceptionally common, there are cases where either an independent or conjunct verb are optionally available and these are exceptional for syntactic and semantic analysis.

Understanding them is also important for learners to be able to understand exactly when, where, and why to use one clause type over the other.

In some cases, necessity modals exhibit clause type optionality and two common ones, *aabdeg* and *booch*, are examined in Chapter 6. For now a couple examples with *aabdeg* and a brief explanation are given here. As noted, *aabdeg* can take either independent or conjunct complements:

(118) Clause type optionality of *aabdeg*

- a. Gitziiman gii-wiijgendwaawaan aabdek, eshki-niibwiyaat.
 o-gitizii-m-an gii-wiijgendaw-aawaan aabdeg
 3.POSS-parent-OBV PST-live.with.h/-3PL>3'.IND MOD.NEC

IC.oshki-niibawi-waad

IC-new-be.married-3PL.CONJ

'They had to live with her parents when they were newly married.' MNC via NOD

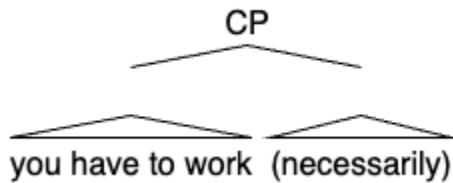
- b. Aabdek go wii-aagwiitooknoweng gchi-gsinaak.

aabdeg go wii-aagwiitooknowe-ng gichi-gsinaa-g
 MOD.NEC EMPH FUT-dress.in.layers-X.CONJ very-cold-0.CONJ

A second layer of clothing must be worn when it's really cold.' MNC via NOD

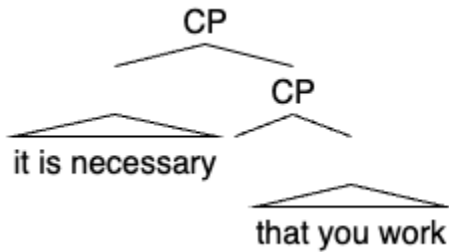
Meaning differences corresponding to clause type: the independent complement refers to a specific real-world occurrence while (118b) is a generalization referring to a nonspecific event. The former is indexical and introduced to the common ground as a real-world event while the latter is anaphoric referring to habituality, and the present world is not in the modal base. The modal *aabdeg* predicates its complement in (118a) and in (118b) is a parataxical adjunct to the verb. Diagrams of simplified examples discussed in Chapter 6 are presented here:

(119) Independent clause parataxical with necessity modal



With a conjunct complement, however, the necessity modal subordinates the proposition that one be working and as such it is evaluated in reference to an anaphoric modal base of worlds that may be outside that of the current one.¹²⁸

(120) Necessity modal subordinating conjunct complement



In some cases, a particle will be restricted to a specific clause type because of its function, i.e. its semantics require an extensional or intensional complement, and the latter is the case with *begish* below.

3.3.3 Subordinating particles

There are a number of particles that necessarily take a conjunct complement. Chapter 6 discusses more but for now three are introduced: *(am)begish*, *mii*, and *giishpin*. These all

¹²⁸ These are nonetheless all possible worlds and as a point of foreshadowing Chapter 4, the preterit mode in the conjunct order shifts this reference to worlds that the speaker believes to be outside the set of possible (accessible) worlds, instantiating counterfactualty.

subordinate their complements on account of being a C head that takes a full CP complement which must then be a conjunct verb.

3.3.3.1 *ambegish*

The optative modal (*am*)*begish* (*naa*)¹²⁹, for example is seen to only take a conjunct complement and is ungrammatical with an independent one:

- (121) a. Begish naa wiiba bi-giiwet.
 ambegish naa wiiba bi-giiwe-d
 OPT DM soon hither-go.home-3S.**CONJ**
 'I hope s/he comes home soon.' MNC
- b. *Begish naa wiiba bi-giiwe.
 ambegish naa wiiba bi-giiwe
 OPT DM soon hither-go.home.3S.**IND** MNC

Begish is glossed in this case as 'I hope' and could be viewed as a lexicalized main clause and as such requires a conjunct complement. Syntactically, the optative subordinates its complement clause and that clause further cannot appear as an adjunct to *begish*. Semantically, a complement to the optative *begish* accesses an intensional modal source that may or may not be the actual world and for Ojibwe, this must be in the conjunct order.¹³⁰

3.3.3.2 *mii*

For now, the ubiquitous *mii* is presented as an example of a particle that takes a conjunct complement:

- (122) Mii ko iiw mewnzha gaa-dbaajmotaadyaang aw ndedem.
mii iko i'iw mewinzha
 DM.DEIC DM.HAB DET.DEF.INAN long.ago
 IC.gii-dibaajimotaw-idi-yaang a'aw

¹²⁹ There is variation in the form of this optative and in some varieties it might obligatorily be accompanied by the discourse marker *naa*. Various forms are used in this paper.

¹³⁰ As will be seen below, the addition of the preterit mode to this morphological configuration creates a counterfactual, indicating that the speaker believes something to not be the case. As (*am*)*begish* is ambiguous between *hope* and *wish*, preterit morphology indicates when a speaker believes a case to be unlikely, which aligns with a *wish* sentiment in English. Without the preterit, such a statement is akin to the English *hope*, where a speaker believes that the complement clause may be the case in the actual world.

1S-PST-like.it.1S>0-PRET.**IND** play.baseball-1P.**CONJ**
 'I used to like it when we played baseball' JN

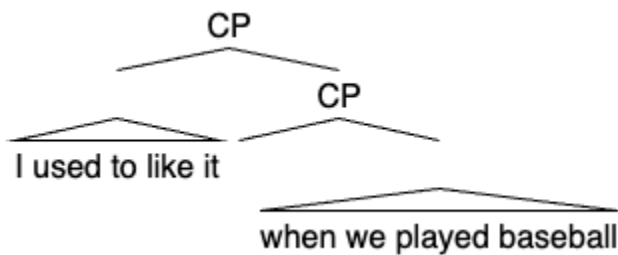
The main verb needn't be transitive, however, to select and thus subordinate a following clause:

(10) 'Ndaa-gchinendam go ji-yaawgiban gwiiwzens,' nendam giiyenh.
 ni-daa-gichinendam go ji-ayaaw-agiban
 1S-MOD-be.happy.**IND** EMPH FUT-have.h/-1S>3S.PRET.**CONJ**

gwiiwzens inendam giiwenh
 boy think.3S.**IND** so.it.is.said
 'I'd be happy to have a boy' he thought.' AP

In these cases, main clauses are inflected in the independent order and the dependent ones are in the conjunct, which relates a simple main clause + subordinate clause structure as illustrated in (125) below. The main verb is higher and appears before the conjunct one, as opposed to the IND+IND examples above. Semantically these examples are relatively straightforward as well, where the selected conjunct verb is displaced from the current world to a past habitual (i.e. not a specific instance) reference in (124) and to a hypotheticality in (10). The main verbs in both examples however are a bit tricky as they are also displaced from the current world; in (10) by the preterit mode referring to past habitual action (no longer occurring) and in (124) by *daa-* instantiating a hypothetical modality. These main verbs are more examples of the fact that a realis/irrealis distinction in Ojibwe can't be drawn purely along the lines of verbal order via the independent versus conjunct.

(125)



Sentences with both independent and conjunct clauses are extremely common in the language, as is the nature of linguistic discourse generally, and combinations of tense marking have more aspectual and temporal implications than discussed here.¹³²

3.3.5 Unexpected CONJ

There are many situations where conjunct clauses appear where one might expect another clause type, most often an independent verb.

3.3.5.1 Discourse sequencing

Conjunct verbs appearing in a main clause where one typically expects an independent verb are usually cases of discourse sequencing. Valentine (2001) notes the discourse function of such constructions as being part of “running narrative.” Kishketon (2023, personal communication) describes how in storytelling contexts, independent clauses are used when talking about background information, often setting up the story, and conjunct main clauses in advancing the storyline/narrative. Rhodes (1979) also identifies the use of the plain conjunct in main clauses for such a purpose and an example is given here:

- (126) Bbaamsewaad giiwenh nshaawi-dbik.¹³³
babaam-ose-waad giiwenh nshaawi-dibik
about-walks-3P.CONJ allegedly NSHAAWI-night
'So they walked around through the night.'
(Rhodes 1979, 'excerpt from an Ottawa text')

Gaa-izhi- as a discourse sequencer is noted in 1.4 and the particulars of that function of clause typing deserve more attention.

3.3.6 Other situations

A few examples of unexpected clause types arising have come up but a lack of data prevents any conclusions to be drawn from them and they deserve more attention.

3.3.6.1 Possible elided mii

In rare cases, a standalone conjunct clause appears where one would typically expect to find an

¹³² As noted in 1.4.1.2 and 2.5.2.1, a coordinated independent and conjunct verb can indicate simultaneous action and other combinations signal consequent action. See Appendix 1 for examples.

¹³³ No original gloss was offered for this example so I added one.

independent one, that does not appear to be a discourse function conjunct.

(127) Apane go daji'ind Bizhikiins.

apane	go	daji'-ind	Bizhikiins
always	EMPH	make.h/.late-X>3S. CONJ	PN

'Bizhikiins is late all the time.'

LW via OPD¹³⁴

Kishketon (p.c.) notes that examples like these may be instances of elision of subordinating particles such as *mii*, and investigations with L1 speakers suggest the same. Corbiere (2023, personal communication) noted that it feels like “something’s missing” from (127) and *mii* would fill that gap well, if not a main clause.¹³⁵

3.3.6.2 Unknown

An example from Valentine (2001) is presented here:

(128) 1 Mewnzha giw nishnaabeg mii gaa-zhichgewaad iw dgwaagig. 2 Gii-nsaawaad niw nmeqsan gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad wii-aabjihaawaad iw bboon.

' 1 Long ago this is what the Indians did in the fall. 2 They killed sturgeon and salted them in order to use them in the winter.'

(AK4.1-2)

Mewnzha *av* 'long ago'; **giw** *prn 3pProx* 'those'; **nishnaabeg** *na 3pProx* 'Indians'; **mii** *av* 'then'; **gaa-zhichgewaad** *vai ic conj 3pProx* '(CCNJ) what ANpl did'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **dgwaagig** *vii conj 0* '(CONJ) IN be fall'; **Gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *prn 3obv* 'that/those'; **nmeqsan** *na 3obv* 'trout'; **gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl salted ANobv'; **wii-aabjihaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl will use ANobv'; **iw** *prn 0s* 'that'; **bboon** *ni 0s* 'winter.'

(Valentine 2001, p. 951)

Valentine (2001) notes that the last clause in the example (*wii-aabjihaawaad*) is in the conjunct on account of being in a purpose clause but that “there is no structural explanation for the conjunct inflection of the middle verb, *gii-zhiiwtaagnawaawaad*, ‘they salted them.’” (p. 951)

¹³⁴ See the OPD for bios of speakers referenced through that resource - <https://ojibwe.lib.umn.edu/about/voices>.

¹³⁵ An interesting point to note regarding example (127) is that this is a habitual/non-specific event and that such things are usually indicated in the conjunct order; complements of *aabdeg* and *booch*, for example. This point is made purely speculatively, however.

3.3.6.3 Modally subordinated, still IND

Many discourse particles such as [*a*]*pane*, ('always') for example (discussed in Chapter 6), typically appear as adjuncts in independent clauses and do not select a conjunct complement. The lexicalized phrase *aabdek sa naa gnamaa*, on the other hand, translated as 'hopefully' *appears* to select a complement but it is in the independent order:

- (129) Aabdek sa naa gnamaa nga-bkinaage lottery.
aabdeg sa naa gonamaa ni-ga-bakinaage lottery
certainly DM.FIN DM maybe 1S-FUT.DEF-s/he.wins.**IND** lottery
'I hope I win the lottery.' MNC

It is unclear why this is the case and it is presented as yet another example of a puzzle to be investigated.

3.4 Interactions with Mode

If the choice of clause type simply depends on structural position, we must ask why certain other elements, like mode, receive different interpretations in different clause types. This question is the focus of the next two chapters, which tackle the preterit and dubitative modes, respectively. In each case, I will argue that embedded clauses have a shifted interpretation that differ from their non-embedded counterparts, and this shows up in different ways under specific parameters, such as when mode comes into play.

As I will discuss in Chapter 4, preterit-marked verbs in the independent order carry a cessation function, with temporal and aspectual implications that come along with that. In the conjunct order, however, the preterit mode indicates counterfactuality, hypotheticality, and past unrealized action. These functions appear disparate on the surface; I will argue for a universal treatment of the preterit as an *exclusion feature* (see Iatridou, 2000), which can operate over time in the independent order or over worlds in the conjunct, and that the shift from times to worlds is the effect of syntactic subordination. Changed conjunct preterits are found in situations warranting initial change, such as in *wh*-questions, in the presence of relative roots, and in relative clauses, and in these cases can access non-modal embedding readings.

The dubitative mode shows a similar split behaviour by clause type. In the independent order, it is an evidential marker, indicating doubt, inference, and reported information.¹³⁶ Like the preterit, there is a semantic shift from the independent to the conjunct order: for the dubitative, conjunct verbs indicate (speaker-centered) doubt, uncertainty, and wonder. Unlike the preterit, dubitative mode verbs in the conjunct order almost always show initial change and most plain conjunct dubitatives are ungrammatical. I argue that this is due to the fact that the dubitative mode is speaker-centered and thus anchored to an indexical speech situation and resist plain conjunct conjugation, which itself accesses the realm of intensional modality. As with changed conjunct preterits, those in the dubitative mode also seem to be accessing non-modal embedding readings.

3.5 Changed Conjuncts

We now turn to the changed conjunct, which is a conjunct verb showing the ablaut *initial change*, that has a particular distribution and interacts in interesting ways in the overall clause typing system. We find changed conjuncts as participles, as A-clauses in *wh*-questions and relative clauses, and as clausal adjuncts such as when indicating completive aspect. These functions are thus quite different from what we see in plain conjuncts, which access intensional modal realms.

As they are pertinent to the discussion of relativization, Sullivan (2020) discusses the changed conjunct verb in depth. He is certain to make the distinction between participles and non-participle changed conjuncts since they differ in function but very little in form. They are distinguished in form only by third person plural and obviative forms, and only in some dialects of Ojibwe at that. As noted, the conjunct for Sullivan is associated with the CP layer and head movement accounts for the variation of derivation by verbal order. The details within that layer results in the appearance/non-appearance of initial change.

There are still questions to be answered around the distribution of the changed conjunct verb but we see that its interaction with mode results in constructions that parallel independent clauses in function but certainly not in syntactic form. Changed conjunct and independent verbs are *not* tied to an intensional modal realm as is characteristic of the plain conjunct. When interacting with mode, both changed conjunct and independent preterits are temporal in nature, and with the dubitative are both evidential.

¹³⁶ There are also a number of so-called dubitative adverbs and pronouns that usually take dubitative mode verbal complements and these are discussed in Chapter 5.

Two other notes to be made here about the changed conjunct are its nominalizing-type of function and the status of nouns as extensions in the present world, and its use in signifying completive aspect and that aspect's crosslinguistic status as an evidential strategy.

3.6 Summary

Clause type reflects the syntactic structure of the Ojibwe verb: independent clauses are non-subordinated/non-selected and conjunct clauses are always selected by something. Apparent cases of embedded independent verbs are instances of parataxis, while conjunct clauses are true embeddings. Independent and conjunct verbs have specific respective readings and the former deal with main clauses; asserted information and the extensional realm of real-world things, the latter deals with the realm of irrealis and hypotheticality. Initial change as a device for referring to nominal things (which may or may not be, as is indicated by the dubitative) shows up where the syntax subordinates but the semantics require reference to an entity.

Chapter 4: The Preterit Mode

4.1 Overview

This chapter is an examination of the Ojibwe *preterit mode*, describing its various functions and interpretations, building on Rice (2023). In light of the current thesis I describe why certain clause types appear where they do, and how clause type choice interacts with mode for specific interpretations. With the preterit mode, which is a verbal suffix realized as an allomorph of *-ban*, independent verbs are unselected and exhibit temporal-aspectual interpretations of the real world, albeit with past tense interpretations due to a cessation function of the mode. With the plain conjunct's function of referring to intensional modality, interpretation of the preterit shifts to that of hypotheticality and counterfactuality; the focus of this chapter. Changed conjunct preterits are relatively rare but appear when motivated by syntactic factors such as being *wh*-complements, containing relative roots, or being relative clauses, and in these cases vary in their interpretation. Table 32 is an overview of the functions of the preterit by clause type:

Table 32: Functions of the Ojibwe preterit mode by clause type

Clause Type	Interpretation
Independent	cessation feature; temporal interpretation(s)
Plain conjunct	counterfactuality, hypotheticality, unrealized action, future less vivid constructions
Changed conjunct	varies between independent and plain conjunct readings

The preterit mode operates as an *exclusion feature* (see 4.3.11) and is interpreted relative to times in the independent order and in the conjunct relative to worlds. Thus in the former, independent preterits are displaced from the present time and in the latter displaced from the present world and into those of counterfactuality, uncertainty, and hypotheticality.

Baraga (1878) defined independent preterits as the *imperfect* and *pluperfect* tenses (the latter when marked with *gii-*) and Bloomfield (1946) appears to be the first to apply *preterit* to *-ban* and its allomorphs. The use of “preterit” typically denotes past perfective temporal forms and it can be understood how this could be applied to the preterit since its cessation function places an action in the past with an additional implication of the action's completion. We will see

here that *preterit* does not adequately describe the full range of uses of *-ban* and its allomorphs, and in conjunct clauses it straightforwardly yields counterfactual readings. This approach is exemplary of a European and Euroamerican linguistic tradition of applying foreign terms and concepts to American languages. Nonetheless, *preterit* is common in Algonquianist literature so it will be used here.

While verbs in the preterit mode can have a past tense interpretation, as is implied by the term, that is solely in the independent order and it does not require a perfective reading. In conjunct clauses it is non-temporal and straightforwardly gives counterfactual meanings. I will argue that we can unite these seemingly dissimilar properties by examining the preterit's function via clause type/verbal order.

4.2 Independent Preterit

Again, the term *preterit* implies a combination of past tense and perfective aspect but I show in this section that neither past tense nor perfective aspect are encoded by this morpheme. In the independent order, verbs marked with the preterit carry a cessation function that indicates that a past state is no longer the case, along with temporal and aspectual interpretations.¹³⁷ Nichols (1980) characterizes the preterit as contrasting past occurrence with subsequent non-occurrence, and vice versa with negation, and I follow this as the best description of the preterit. While it does often yield past interpretations, this is a result of the contrastive cessation function itself.¹³⁸ Aspectual interpretation of the preterit varies and is influenced by lexical aspect and other factors (see 4.2.4).

4.2.1 Unaffixed for tense

Without prefixal tense, the preterit mode in the independent order contributes a meaning of cessation, which has the effect of placing the predicate in the past:

(42) Aakoziiban.
aakozi-iban

¹³⁷ This is related to a *cessation implicature* as per Altshuler and Schwarzschild (2013) but and this is expanded upon below.

¹³⁸ Lockwood (2018) argues that the preterit mode in Potawatomi, closely related to Ojibwe, is not past tense and compares it to the prefixal past tense *gi-*, also noting that the two are not in complementary distribution.

be.sick-3S.PRET.IND

'S/he was sick (but isn't anymore).'

JN

While the sentence above has a perfective interpretation, the independent preterit can also have an imperfective aspect interpretation:

(12) Ndijjiibaakwenaaban gii-bi-giigdayan.

ndi-jiibaakwe-naaban gii-bi-giigido-yin

1S-cook-1S.PRET.IND PST-hither-speak-2S.CONJ

'I was cooking when you called me (but am not anymore).'

AP

A cessation function holds in (12) and the preterit would be inappropriate if the act of cooking were to extend into speech time. Compare the aspectual reading of (12) to a simple past tense with prefixal *gii-* in the neutral mode (i.e. not preterit nor dubitative nor preterit-dubitative), which is commonly interpreted as being perfective, in this example from Valentine (2001):

(55) Nijkiwenh ngii-nmadbimi endzhi-bgizwaad.

n-ijikiwenh ni-gii-namadabi-min IC.dazhi-bagizo-waad

1S.POSS-friend 1S-PST-is.sitting-1P.IND IC.RR.at.such.place-swim-3P

'My friend and I **sat** at the bathing beach.' (AM39.578)

Nijkiwenh *na 1s(3sProx)* 'my friend'; **ngii-nmadbimi vai ind 1p** 'we (excl.) sat';
endzhi-bgizwaad vai ic conj 3pProx '(CCNJ) where ANpl swim.'

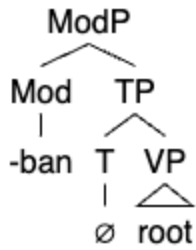
(Valentine, 2001, p. 531, glossing added)

This itself is underspecified, however, and could be interpreted as 'We (excl.) were sitting.' As noted in 2.5.4, Ojibwe does not necessarily distinguish between what is known in English as the simple present and present progressive tenses.

A comparison is made between (12) and (55) as the aspectual distinction is of note from a technical standpoint but also important for learners of Ojibwe, who tend to overuse prefixal past tense *gii-* where a non-tense prefixed *-ban* would be appropriate.¹³⁹ It also illustrates that the preterit scopes over prefixal tense, which in this case is the unmarked present.

(130) Independent order preterit, present tense, positive

¹³⁹ Source: self as a long-beleaguered learner of Ojibwe.



In the above case, the preterit scopes over T and its cessation function operates on the present time, effectively placing the action in the past since if it has ceased to be the case now, then it must have been at some point in the past.

4.2.2 No prefixal tense, negative

When the preterit combines with negation, it imposes a cessation function upon a past non-event, with an assertion (see SECTION for exposition) that a resulting state does exist:

- (43) Gaa go aakzisiiban jiinaago.
 gaa go aakozi-sii-ban bijiinaago
NEG EMPH be.sick-NEG-3SG.PRET.IND yesterday
 'S/he wasn't sick yesterday (but she is now).' AP

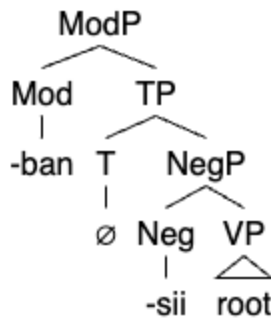
An example with an impersonal VII verb shows that preterit-marked verbs aren't restricted to human agents:

- (275) Kaa go zoogposnooban degshinaan.
 gaa go zoogipo¹⁴⁰-si-nooban IC-dagoshin-aan
 NEG DM.EMPH it.is.snowing-NEG-0.PRET.IND IC-arrive-1SG.CONJ
 'It wasn't snowing when I arrived (but it is now).' AP
 Context: the speaker's friend arrives at coffee shop later than the speaker covered in snow.

Thus with negation, the cessation function contrasts a past non-state or event with its later actual occurrence, illustrating that the preterit scopes over negation as well as prefixal tense:

- (131) Independent order preterit, present tense, negative

¹⁴⁰ *Zoogipon* with a terminal 'n' is common outside of Nishnaabemwin. See Valentine (1994, p. 853).



In this case, the cessation function operates over both T *and* Neg, and the effect of the latter is that it contrasts a past *non*-state with a subsequent state; in (275) for example that it had not been snowing but that it is now.

4.2.3 Interactions with temporal prefixes

Prefixal tense markers *gii-* (past) and *wii-* (voluntative future) often appear on preterit-marked verbs in the independent, while the definite future *da-/ga-* is ungrammatical and the modal *daa-* (modal) is rare and dispreferred by some speakers.

4.2.3.1 Past tense *gii-*, positive

A preterit mode verb in the independent verbal order prefixed with past tense *gii-* can place the event in the further past and/or indicate past habitual action.¹⁴¹ The cessation function remains as in non tense-prefixed cases. In (132), the past tense and preterit mode combination is appropriate for speaking of the distant past with a cessation function:

- (132) Ngii-kendaanaaban.
 ni-gii-gikendan-naaban
 1S-PST-know.it-1S.PRET.IND
 'I used to know it (but don't anymore).'AP
 Context: Speaker was talking about how she had known French when living in Belgium in the 1950's but had since forgotten how to speak it.

This tense/mode combination is also used to express a general past habitual action, not necessarily in the distant past:

¹⁴¹ Bloomfield (1957, p. 47) notes this past habitual use. It should also be noted that *gii-* does not necessarily indicate a distant past in its use with the preterit.

- (133) a. Nii-minwendaanaaban.¹⁴²
 ni-gii-minwendan-naaban
 1S-PST-like.it-1S.PRET.IND
 ‘I used to like it (but not anymore).’ JN
- b. li-jiibaakweban.
 gii-jiibaakwe-ban
 PST-cook-3S.PRET.IND
 ‘She used to cook (but not anymore)’ JN
 Speaker note: such a construction would be used if the subject being spoken about had for example cooked as a job in the past.

A common strategy to indicate habitual action is to use the particle *[i]ko* pc asp ‘used to; formerly, previously, some time ago; it was the custom to...’.¹⁴³ Valentine (2001) notes this and the use of the preverb *ntaa-* (‘be good at, often, customarily’) for habituality, also noting that *ko* (*liko*) combined with a past tense-prefixed verb indicates past habitual action (Valentine 2001, pp. 790-791). Two examples of *[i]ko* are presented here:

- (134) a. Maa naa **ko** mewnzha gii-biijgaazwag maa gwiiwzengag gii-miigaading oodi,
 gii-gchi-miigaading.
 omaa naa iko mewnzha gii-biijgaazo-wag omaa
 here DM used.to long.ago PST-s/he.is.brought-3P here

 gwiiwizens-ag gii-miigaadi-ng oodi gii-gchi-miigaadi-ng
 boy-3P PST-fight-X.CONJ over.there PST-great-fight-X.CONJ
 ‘Boys used to be brought here during the war.’ AR
- b. Ngoding naa **ko** stable gii-yaamgad.
 ingoding naa iko stable gii-ayaa-magad
 at.one.time DM used.to stable PST-it.is.in.a.certain.place-AUG
 ‘There used to be a stable here.’ AR

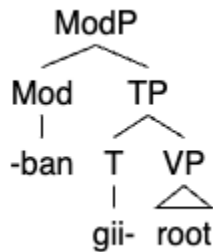
There are evidently a number of ways to express past habitual action in Ojibwe and these examples are presented not as an exhaustive list but only to illustrate the use of the preterit in such contexts.

¹⁴² This consultant’s speech elides the initial consonant in the past tense morpheme *gii-* and in similar environments. Morrow (2023) describes this process in-depth.

¹⁴³ OPD.

The structure of past tense preterit constructions parallels that of those unaffixed for tense, albeit with *gii-* in the tense slot:

(135) Independent order preterit, past tense, positive



4.2.3.2 Past tense *gii-*, negative

As in the unprefixed case above, a preterit with *gii-* in a negative environment serves to contrast a past non-event or non-state with a later positive case.

(136) Gaawiin ningii-aakoziinaaban.
 gaawiin nin-gii-aakozi-sii-naaban
 NEG 1S-PST-be.sick-NEG-1S.PRET.IND
 'I had not been sick (but may be now).'

(Nichols, 1980, p. 122)

Nichols (1980) notes that in negative environments, the preterit contrasts past non-occurrence with a later “actual or possible occurrence” (p. 122). Exploration of this particular combination of tense, negation, and the preterit suggests that it does not often arise naturally on its own, and acceptability judgments are hard to nail down.

4.2.3.3 Voluntative future *wii-*, positive

With the voluntative future *wii-*, it is the *intention* carried by that preverb that is affected by a cessation function and is no longer true at the present. Compare the effect of the preterit on the *intention* carried by the voluntative future *wii-* prefix in (60b) as compared to (60a):

(60) ¹⁴⁴ a. Niwii-piinaa nidanimosh.
 ni-wii-biizh-aa nid-animosh
 1S-FUT.VOL-bring.h/->3S.IND 1S.POSS-dog

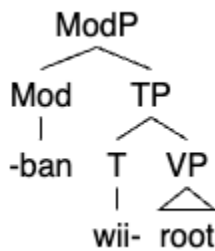
¹⁴⁴ Data in this example from Waabishkibines Joe Nayquonabe was shared with me by my colleagues Aagimewikamig Dustin Morrow and Goonigiizhig Aandeg Muldrew.

'I'm going to bring my dog.' JN

b. Niwii-piinaaban nidanimosh.
 ni-wii-biizh-aa-ban nid-animosh
 1S-FUT.VOL-bring.h/->3S.PRET.IND 1S.POSS-dog
 'I was going to bring my dog (but didn't).' JN

As with negation, the preterit's interaction with the voluntative future highlights the preterit's syntactic scope in the independent order:

(137) Independent order preterit, voluntative future tense, positive



It is because of this structure that we have the semantics of the preterit mode operating on the *intention* carried by *wii-*, which occupies the tense slot. It is important to note that *wii-* is generally considered a tense prefix alongside the definite future *da-/ga-* and while it certainly has a future interpretation, its function of expressing intention over futurity is highlighted in these preterit mode environments. Valentine (2001) notes the function of *wii-* as a voluntative but acknowledges that this is not always the case, such as when it expresses futurity with impersonal verbs. (Valentine, 2001, p. 772) The fact that *wii-* is acceptable with the preterit and *da-/ga-* is relevant in exploring the difference between these two prefixal tense morphemes.

4.2.3.4 Voluntative future *wii-*, negative

As negation with the preterit reverses the occurrence/non-occurrence dichotomy in nonprefixed or *gii-* marked verbs, it is again the *intention* carried by the *wii-* prefix that is also subject to such a reversal. In other words, a negated preterit with voluntative *wii-* indicates a past state of *non-intention* contrasted with a later state of intention. Following with the *animosh* na 'dog' theme, (138) is a minimal pair with (60b):

(138) Gaawiin nwii-piinaasiban, nii-piinaa dash.
 gaawiin ni-wii-biizh-aa-si-ban ni-gii-biizh-aa

NEG 1S.FUT.VOL-bring.h/-DIR-NEG-PRET 1S-PST-bring.h/-DIR

dash

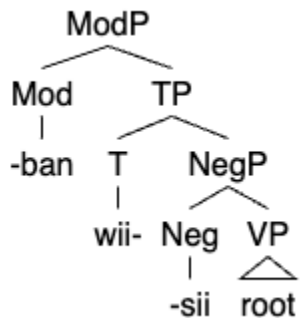
DM.CNTR

'I wasn't going to bring h/ but I did.'

JN

This provides a fuller picture of the syntactic structure with scope interactions with negation:

(139) Independent order preterit, volunative future tense, negative



As with other temporal prefixes combining with negative preterits, the *-ban* scopes over Neg, resulting in the contrasting of a past non-state with subsequent state.

4.2.4 Aspect and the Independent Preterit

Lexical aspect and telicity affect the interpretation of preterit-marked verbs in the independent order. A more in-depth examination is warranted but I have made initial observations of this effect. Verb type influences the aspectual readings of preterit-marked verbs; with *gii-*, telic verbs can receive a past perfect reading and atelic ones a past habitual reading. The following illustrates the telic/atelic distinction:

(140) Telic: 'hit'; past perfect
 Nii-bagite'aanaaban.
 ni-gii-bakite'an-naaban
 1S.PST-hit.it->0S.PRET
 'I had hit it.'

JN

(141) Atelic: 'like (it)'; past habitual
 Nii-minwendaanaaban.
 ni-gii-minwendan-aaban

1S.PST-like.it->0S.PRET
'I used to like it.'

JN

However, an exception is seen with a telic verb like 'fix', where the preterit is ambiguous between a past perfect and past habitual. Here, the addition of the aspectual particle *[i]ko* disambiguates in favor of a habitual reading:

(142) Nii-nanaa'itonaaban.
ni-gii-nanaa'itonaaban
1S-PST-fix.it->0S.PRET
'I fixed it' / 'I used to fix it.'

JN

(143) Nii-nanaa'inaaban ko.
ni-gii-nanaa'itonaaban ko
1S-PST-fix.it->0S.PRET used.to
'I used to fix it (but not anymore).'

JN

Contrasting with other telic verb examples, however, is the fact that 'fix' is an accomplishment verb, and moreover the particle *[i]ko* is used in (143) to contribute to the semantics. Translation tasks of English to Ojibwe of past habitual action did not always result in the appearance of *-ban* and negative habitual action, i.e., 'didn't used to' rarely appeared in the preterit in elicitation.

James (1991) notes that the past tense marker *ki:-* in Moose Cree commonly indicates the past perfective aspect, and this appears to be the case in the above examples. James also suggests that *ki:-* be regarded as "the more unmarked past tense marking device" in comparison to the preterit, as the presence of both most often maintains the imperfective aspect (James, 1991, p. 285).

4.2.5 Cessation Function

Altshuler and Schwartzchild (2013) define a *cessation implicature* as an implicature that a past state no longer holds. Based on the patterns we have seen in this chapter, I argue that in Ojibwe, independent order preterit morphology contributes a cessation function. In English, such an implicature utilizes past tense, as in the aforementioned authors' example in (21) where a nurse inquires about a patient and the doctor replies of his state in the past tense, implying that it is no longer the case:

(144) a. How is Scotty doing?

b. Scotty was anxious.
 (Altshuler and Schwartzchild, 2013, p. 47)

Essential to this concept is Altshuler and Schwartzchild's (2013) *Temporal Profile of Statives*, which says that for any tenseless stative clause, if it is true at a moment *m*, then there is a moment *m'* preceding *m* where it was also true. Thus, juxtaposing past with present in (144.a) versus (144.b) carries a cessation implicature since while using the present in (144.b) would also entail that Scotty was anxious in the past, using the weaker past tense statement by the Gricean maxim of quantity that Scotty was anxious in the past but isn't anymore.

4.2.5.1 Analysis of the Cessation Function

Evidence suggests that the cessation function carried by the preterit in Ojibwe is an assertion, rather than an implicature. We find evidence for this characterization in (145): as a speaker noted, (145b) would be a contradiction.

(145) a. li-agaashii'iiyaan nii-minwendaan ziinzibaakwadoons, geyaabi (igo) niminwendaan.

gii-agaashiinyi-yaan	ni-gii-minwendaan	ziinzibaakwadoons	geyaabi
PST-s/he.is.small-1S.CONJ	1S-PST-like.it.>0	candy	still

(igo)	ni-minwendaan
EMPH	1S.like.it.>0

'When I was a kid I liked candy and I still do.' JN

b. *li-agaashii'iiyaan nii-minwendaanaaban ziinzibaakwadoons, geyaabi igo niminwendaan.

gii-agaashiinyi-yaan	ni-gii-minwendan-naaban	ziinzibaakwadoons
PST-s/he.is.small-1S.CONJ	1S-PST-like.it.>0- PRET	candy

geyaabi	igo	ni-minwendaan
still	EMPH	1S.like.it.>0

*'When I was a kid I liked candy and I still do.' JN

The cessation cannot be canceled as in (145b), which is unexpected for implicatures but predicted for assertions. There are some open questions remaining, such as an observed variation between speakers regarding the presence of the cessation function in preterit-marked

verbs in some contexts but the preterit generally contributes a cessation assertion in independent clauses. As extensive testing has yet to be done, I use *function* over *assertion*.

4.2.6 Summary of the independent preterit

The basic function of the preterit is its cessation function and this results in a temporal interpretation of preterit-marked verbs to be placed in the past. The mode can have aspectual interpretations that interact with lexical aspect and contextual information resulting in a range of semantic functions in various environments. Observed functions of the preterit mode in the independent verbal order with tense and negation are summarized here:

Table 33: Functions of independent order preterit verbs by tense and negation

Tense	Polarity	Interpretation(s)
∅	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function • past tense interpretation • imperfect aspect interpretation
∅	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function of a past non-state, asserting its later state
gii-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function of a distal past state • past habitual interpretation
gii-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function of a past non-state, asserting its later state
wii-	+	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function of a past state of intention, asserting that it didn't happen
wii-	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cessation function of past non-intention, asserting the intention occurred later

While the preterit has traditionally been characterized as a tense or tense-aspect marker that places a predicate in the past (perhaps with aspectual implications as implied by the term “preterit”), we have seen here that this is not an accurate representation of the full range of its uses in independent clauses. The mode scopes over lower temporal marking (including prefixal tense and lexical aspect) and negation to assert cessation. The resulting temporal interpretations follow from composing the cessation function with lower temporal properties.

4.3 Conjunct Preterit

While the overarching function of the preterit is a cessation function in the independent order, it has quite a different interpretation in conjunct clauses. The preterit mode is utilized in the conjunct order to express counterfactuality, unlikely or hypothetical scenarios, and past unrealized action. The difference in interpretation is a result of the cessation function operating over *worlds* rather than *times*, and the details of this are explained in 4.3.5. Strikingly, as we will see below, plain conjunct preterit clauses unmarked for tense yield past or present counterfactual interpretations; when affixed with future or modal prefixes they express *future less vivid* (FLV). The conjunct preterit most often appears as a plain conjunct, but initial change can appear when it is motivated by relative clause constructions, questions, or relative roots/preverbs.

There can be ambiguity in tense marking on conjunct preterits since the definite future and modal prefixes are homonymous in their respective plain and changed forms, as illustrated in Table 34. This can lead to ambiguity in which tense is actually being used in a plain or changed conjunct construction and I present examples below where the semantics of either prefix are clear and can disambiguate, and others where it is opaque.

Table 34: Definite future and modal prefixes by clause type

	Independent	Plain conjunct	Changed conjunct
Future - definite	da-/ga-	ji-	ge-
Modal daa-	daa-	ji-	ge-
		da-	ge-

Crucially, interpretation of the preterit mode shifts between independent and conjunct: the interaction between order (clause type) and mode (preterit) yields a temporal interpretation in independent clauses and a modal one in conjunct. As will be seen in Chapter 5, dubitatives show a similar split as well.

4.3.1 Plain Conjunct Preterit

As noted above, the plain conjunct preterit is the canonical form of a counterfactual construction. In this subsection, we'll look at the interpretation of plain conjunct preterits and the interaction between preterit and temporal marking and negation in plain conjunct clauses.

4.3.1.1 Unmarked for tense, positive

A conjunct preterit unmarked for prefixal tense yields a present or past counterfactual construction indicating that the speaker believes a state or case to be untrue:

- (146) gkendaaspa...
gikendaaso-pan
s/he.is.smart-3S.PRET.CONJ
'If he were smart / had he been smart (but he's not)...' MNC

Nichols (1980) notes that "without a tense prefix, a conjunct preterit verb may indicate a condition contrary to fact" (Nichols, 1980, p.123), and I present his data in (24):

- (147) Noongom isa go biidawipan . . .
noongom isa go biidaw-ipan
today DM.FIN EMPH bring(it).for.h/-3S>1S.PRET.CONJ
'Had he brought it for me today (but he didn't) . . . ' (Nichols, 1980, p.124)

The plain conjunct preterit consistently yields a counterfactual interpretation, and a non-counterfactual version of the clauses in (146) and (147) would require the independent order. It also contrasts with independent preterits in lacking the cessation interpretation.

4.3.1.2 Unmarked for tense, negative

In the independent order, as we saw in 4.2, preterit verbs with negation have the occurrence/non occurrence of a state reversed by the preterit's cessation function. In negative conjunct preterits without prefixal tense, the counterfactual implication is also reversed. Recall that in the positive, the speaker employs the conjunct preterit as a counterfactual marker to indicate that they believe a situation to be untrue:

- (146) gkendaaspa...
gikendaaso-pan
s/he.is.smart-3S.PRET.CONJ

'If he were smart / had he been smart (but he's not)...

MNC

In the negative, the counterfactuality applies to a non-situation or state and thus the speaker implies that such a thing actually did happen or is the case:

(148) giiwashkwebiisiwamban...
giiwashkwebii-si-wamban
s/he.is.drunk-NEG-2S.PRET.CONJ
'Had you not gotten drunk (but you did)...' Kishketon, 2019, personal communication.

(149) ayaasigoban...
ayaa-si-goban
s/he.is.in.a.certain.place-NEG-3S.PRET.CONJ
'Had s/he not been there (but they were)...' Kishketon, 2019, personal communication.

Thus in the same manner as with independent verbs, the preterit scopes over the verb as well as negation. In a conjunct environment, the cessation function operates over worlds rather than times, and in (146) for example, over the one in which the person in question is smart. Negation interacts similarly with the preterit in both conjunct and independent order environments, and in (148), the world in which the person had not gotten drunk is the one that is *not* the case.

4.3.1.3 With definite future or modal *ji-*

As with non-prefixed examples, the conjunct preterit is employed as a counterfactual marker with the prefix *ji-*, and in this context describes unlikely or hypothetical future scenarios. While a statement about the future technically cannot be counterfactual as the future is not yet fact, conjunct preterit morphology with prefixal future expresses a speaker's belief in the unlikelihood of a situation becoming fact. This is exemplary of a *future less vivid* (FLV) construction, where counterfactual (CF) morphology expresses disbelief in the likelihood of a situation.

As noted, the conjunct forms of the definite future *da-/ga-* and modal *daa-*, are both *ji-*, and their changed conjunct form is *ge-*. Interpretation of *ji-* however does not necessarily correspond to either definite future or modal readings and two *ji-*prefixed conjunct preterit constructions are presented here for analysis.

(150) Gaa-sh go naa gewii nishnaabemsii, gtaamgozsii aw **ji-nishnaabempan**
gaa sh go naa gewiin anishnaabemo-sii,
NEG dash EMPH DM he.too s/he.speaks.Ojibwe-NEG

gotaamigozi-sii a'aw
s/he.works.hard-NEG PRON.DEM.AN

ji-anishnaabemo-pan
FUT-s/he.speaks.Ojibwe-3S.PRET.CONJ

'He's not trying very hard to talk Indian.' AP

(151) Aapji go naa nmesnaag, nda-mesnaag wiya **ji-bi-zhaapan**.

aapiji go naa ni-mesin-aag nda-mesin-aag
very EMPH DM 1S-miss.h/-1S>3P.IND 1S-miss.h/-1S>3P.IND

wiya ji-bi-izhaa-pan
someone FUT-hither-go.there-3S.PRET.CONJ

'I really miss them, I miss someone coming to visit.' AP

As can be seen in these examples, conjunct preterit *ji-* verbs are often translated as *to* in English, a reading that can be interpreted as originating in the definite future tense. I argue however that the modal reading can just as well be interpreted, which could be translated as 'that [subject] might' in the above translations. In either case, the independent order reading of either prefix is bleached in the conjunct.

A morphological configuration lacking in data is that of tense prefixed conjunct preterits in the negative. I have informally tested a negative construction ('gtaamgozi aw ji-zhaagnaashiimsigpan'; intended: he's trying hard to not speak English) to no strong response in judgment from speakers in dispreference or acceptability.¹⁴⁵

4.3.1.4 Past tense *gii-* and voluntative future *wii-*

Unlike *ji-* (and as will be seen in the next section, *ge-*), which is quite common in conjunct preterit constructions, past tense *gii-* and voluntative future *wii-* are rare. This may be accounted for by the fact that conjunct preterits are underspecified for tense (see below) and as such, *gii-*

¹⁴⁵ It is important to note here that very often, fluent speakers will be sympathetic interlocutors to language learners and reluctant to tell them outright if their proposed language constructions are iffy or ungrammatical.

marking is unnecessary.¹⁴⁶ The volutative future is also rare but has appeared in cases of simple subordination with *mii* and in that instance appears to retain an independent preterit-type reading (cessation feature; past tense) rather than a conjunct (counterfactual) one.

- (152) Mii oodi wii-tooyaambaan.
 mii oodi wii-atoon-yaambaan
 DM.DEIC over.there FUT.VOL-put.it-1S.PRET.CONJ
 That's where I was going to put it (but didn't). AP

Such a phenomenon is also observed with plain conjunct dubitative mode verbs (see 5.5.1 for details) but a lack of data prevents any conclusions to be drawn from this.

More information and examples of *gii-* and *wii-* conjunct preterits can be found in Appendix 5, and these tenses can appear in stacked tense environments and are noted below.

4.3.2 Changed Conjunct Preterit

Changed conjunct preterits are relatively rare but do appear in contexts where initial change is warranted, such as in questions, relative clauses, and in verb complexes with relative roots or preverbs.¹⁴⁷ I present examples along those parameters and attention is paid to tense marking on the verb complexes. Interpretations of changed conjunct preterits vary and it appears that the counterfactual, future less vivid, and the temporal/cessation function are all available to this clause type.

4.3.2.1 Question + relative root, *ge-* prefix

Changed conjunct preterit verbs are acceptable complements to *wh*-questions and carry FLV meaning as do plain conjunct preterits do with *ji-*. The following is an example from Nichols (1980) with both original adapted orthography and glossing:

- (153) aaniin ke-isiccikeyankipan
 how that we will have done so

¹⁴⁶ *Gii-* has appeared on few tokens of conjunct preterit counterfactuals but these are rare and one came up in a translation task so must be taken with a grain of salt. In other cases, speakers can find *gii-* marking on counterfactuals to be ungrammatical.

¹⁴⁷ Also note that many types of questions themselves will inherently have a relative root as is the nature of those roots in expressing duration, quantity, reason, origin, etc. An example of the latter is 'aapiish wenjibaayan?' - 'where do you come from?', where the relative root /ond-/ 'from such place; from such source; for such reason' is necessary

Aaniin ge-izhichigeyangiban.
 aaniin IC.FUT-izhichige-yangiban
 WH IC.FUT-RR.izhi.s/he.does-21.PRET.CONJ

'What can we do (against such odds).'

(Nichols, 1980, p. 123)

Nichols glosses the example with the English *will* but as with the plain conjunct *ji-* examples, the reading is ambiguous and could just as well be interpreted as originating from the modal *daa-*, a fact reflected in the English free translation. The prefix in the following example is perhaps clearly a changed conjunct modal *daa-*:

(154) Aanii-sh ge-zhichgengoban.
 aanii dash ge-zhichige-ingoban¹⁴⁸
 WH DASH IC.FUT-RR.izhi.s/he.does-21.PRET.CONJ
 'What do you think we should do?' AP

In either case, whether the underlying prefix is the definite future or the modal, the semantics instantiated by a conjunct preterit lead to a hypothetical/FLV reading, rendering the matter of the origin of the prefix slightly irrelevant.

4.3.2.2 Question + relative root, *wii-* prefix

The volutative future *wii-* is rare in conjunct preterits but appears in the following question:

(155) Aanii-sh waa-kidyamban.
 aanii dash IC.wii-ikido-yamban
 WH DASH IC.FUT.VOL-RR.in.such.way.speak-2S.PRET.CONJ
 'What were you going to say?' AP

Semantically, the volitional reading of *wii-* is maintained as it refers to the *intention* of the subject being questioned.¹⁴⁹ Interestingly, this example appears to be a case of the preterit acting in its independent order cessation function ('What were you going to say (but didn't)?') albeit in a different clause type. This phenomenon where the independent order reading of a verb shines through despite the verb being in the conjunct is also observed when for example certain

¹⁴⁸ This is an atypical conjugation form, more commonly seen as *_yangiban*.

¹⁴⁹ Compare to: 'Aaniish ge-kidyamban', 'What *would* you say?'

clauses are subject to simple subordination such as with *mii* and examples with the dubitative mode are discussed in Chapter 5.

In (155), the verb complex is in the changed conjunct on account of being a *wh*-complement, as well as by appearing on a verb containing a relative root. The appearance of initial change on a verb can have multiple and sometimes competing motivating factors.

4.3.2.3 Relative clauses

Participles in relative clause constructions also inherently show initial change, giving us changed conjunct preterit verbs affixed with *ge-*. As with plain conjuncts, whether *ge-* is the changed form of *da-/ga-* or *daa-* can be opaque. (156) is similar to (150) and (151) above in its interpretation which may indicate a definite future *da-/ga-* origin:

- (156) Gaa sa go naa aapji ndaabjitoosiin wiya ge-[phone]magiban.
 gaa sa go naa aapji ind-aabajitoon-sii wiya
 NEG DM.FIN EMPH DM very 1S-use.it-NEG someone

IC.da/ga-phonem-agiban
 IC.FUT.DEF-phone.h/-1S>3S.PRET.CONJ

'I haven't really been using it **to** phone anyone (with).' AP

In other cases, a modal *daa-* origin appears likely:

- (157) Gegoo na go ge-gkendmaambaan.
 gegoo na go IC.daa-gikendan-aambaan
 something Q EMPH IC.MOD-know.it-PRET.CONJ
 'Is there anything (that) I **should** know?' AP

Yet again, *ge-* can be ambiguous between a definite future or modal reading:

- (158) [tape], gaa go naa ngiigkendziin ge-nishnaabenikaadmaambaan.
 [tape], gaa go naa ngiigkendziin ge-nishnaabenikaadmaambaan
 IC PRET.CONJ
 'Tape, I don't know what I would call that.'
 'Tape, I don't know what to call that.'

Again, it is perhaps a misguided endeavor to classify *ji-* and *ge-* prefixes according to their supposed independent order forms considering that they are subsumed into one morphological form with arguably a single yet vague meaning.

In this example from Valentine the verb is unmarked for tense (though has a past tense interpretation due to context and previous verbs in the clause) and is included as an example of a relative clause preterit with no tense affixation:

(159) ... *wgii-gkendmawaawaan maa naa iw sa niibwa go gegoo bmiwdoonid mii-sh gii-nsaawaad niw miinwaa gii-mkamaawaad iw bemwidoonpan.*

'...they knew that they were carrying lots of things, they killed them and took away **what they had been carrying.**' (AK10.11)

wgii-gkendmawaawaan *vta ind 3pProx»3obv* 'ANpl knew Y about ANobv'; **maa** *av* 'then'; **iw** *pr Os* 'that'; **niibwa** *av* 'lots'; **gegoo** *pr indef 0* 'something'; **bmiwdoonid** *vti conj 3obv»0* '(CONJ) ANobv carried IN'; **mii-sh** *av* 'and then'; **gii-nsaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl killed ANobv'; **niw** *pr 3obv* 'that/those'; **miinwaa** *av* 'and'; **gii-mkamaawaad** *vta conj 3pProx»3obv* '(CONJ) ANpl robbed ANobv of Y'; **iw** *pr Os* 'that'; **bemwidoonpan** *vti ic conj part pret 3obv»0* '(CCNJ) which (IN) ANobv carried IN.'

(Valentine 2001, p. 799)

This section illustrates that theoretically, all verbal morphology is available to the participle,¹⁵⁰ including the preterit mode. This is also examined in relation to the dubitative mode below, which also commonly appears on participles/in relative clauses.

4.3.3 Tense stacking

As noted, conjunct preterits with prefixal *gii-* and *wii-* are rare but not unheard of. *Gii-* also appears on conjunct preterits in stacked tense configurations where it straightforwardly has a past tense interpretation.

4.3.3.1 Examples with *ji-*

In these examples, the past tense prefix *gii-* follows *ji-* to contribute a past tense meaning:

¹⁵⁰ Sullivan (2020) notes that “[t]here do not appear to be any restrictions on what can be relativized in Ojibwe.” (p. 259).

(160) Gaa go maamdaa maa **ji-gii**-yaaymban.
 gaa igo maamdaa omaa
 NEG EMPH MOD.PERM here

ji-gii-ayaa-yamban
 MOD-PST-s/he.is.in.a.certain.place-2S.PRET.CONJ

'You were not supposed to be here.'

AP

Without *gii-* in the above example, the speaker noted it would be in the present tense; 'you are not supposed to be here.' In the following, it appears to be employed with the preterit to place the state in a distal past:

(161) Chi-waawiikaa go naa nmakwendaan iw sa go **ji-gii**-zhitooyaambaan mewnzha
 gii-bmiwnagwaa giw gekaanyag.

gichi-waawiikaa go naa ni-mikwendaan i'iw sa
 greatly-once.in.a.while EMPH DM 1S-remember.it.IND PRON.DEM DM

go ji-gii-izhitoon-yaambaan mewnzha
 EMPH MOD-PST-make.it.a.certain.way-1S.PRET.CONJ long.ago

gii-bimiwizh-agwaa ingiw gekaanh-ag
 PST-take.h/.along-1S>3P.CONJ PRON.DEM.AN.PL elder-PL

'I think about this from time to time; what I used to do a long time ago bringing those old folks around.'

AP

In both of the above cases, the prefix *ji-* is employed in its infinitival sense (see 3.2.2) and does not carry a modal reading that can come with a conjunct or changed conjunct *daa-*. The preterit appears to carry a temporal interpretation in these examples, which is atypical for the conjunct preterit.

4.3.3.2 Examples with *ge-*

Likewise, *gii-* has appeared after *ge-* as well and places an event specifically in the past.

Ge- is the changed form of *ji-* and appears where initial change is motivated, such as in *wh-* contexts (162) and in relative clauses (163):

4.3.3.2.1 Wh-complement

(162) Aanii-sh **ge-gii**-zhi-yaayaambaan giishpane aw wiidigengoban e-dkoozid nini.¹⁵¹
 aanii dash IC.daa-gii-izhi-ayaa-yaambaan
 WH DM.CNTR IC.MOD-PST-RP.in.such.way-s/he.is.in.a.state-1S.PRET.CONJ

giishpane a'aw wiidigem-agiban
 if PRON.DEM.AN marry.h/-1S>3S.PRET.CONJ

IC.dakoozi-d inini
 IC.s/he.is.short-3S.CONJ man

'What would have happened to me if I'd married the short man?' DK

4.3.3.2.2 Relative clauses

(163) Gaa go naa ngii-kendnziin manj **ge-gii**-zhwebziyaambaan.
 gaa go naa ni-gii-gikendan-ziin namanj
 NEG EMPH DM 1S-PST-know.it-NEG DUB

IC.daa-gii-izhiwebizi-yaambaan
 IC.MOD-PST-RR.s/he.has.something.happen.to.h/-1S.PRET.CONJ

'I don't know what would have happened to me (if I had gone).' AP

In either case, *gii-* appears to simply add past tense to the clause. This is interesting considering that *gii-* is not necessary on counterfactual conjunct preterits since they are underspecified for tense, but can appear at times. The second clause in the latter example is in the conjunct order on account of being subordinated, and the appearance of initial change is typical of constructions predicated by dubitative adverbs *manj* (see Chapter 5).¹⁵² The prefix *ge-* appears to originate from *daa-* and it should be noted that *daa-gii-* constructions are common in main clauses/independent order for a should/could/would have reading. One example is given here:

(164) Mamoopan i'iw mashkiki **aa-ii**-gwayakwa'ayaa.
 mamoon-pan i'iw mashkiki daa-gii-gwayako-ayaa
 take.it-3S.PRET.CONJ PRON.DEM medicine MOD-PST-right-be.3S.IND

¹⁵¹ The conjugation on the wiid[i]gem verb in this example is unclear and one would expect *_agiban* for the 1S>3S conjunct preterit conjugation. Note however the parallel in vowel quality shift of [i] to [o] in the preterit conjugations in this example as well as in (154) above. Further testing is required to determine whether this is a local paradigmatic idiosyncrasy.

¹⁵² Such clauses predicated by *manj* typically show dubitative mode inflection and it is unclear why this one does not.

'If he had taken the medicine he'd have got well.'

JN

A *ge-wii-* tense stacking combination is quite rare but like the *ge-gii-* combinations, offers a straightforward interpretation of the second tense prefix in the verb complex and in this case the volitionality offered by *wii-* comes through:

(165) Nishaa go naa gwiindmoon iiw sa go naa, gnimaa go naa **ge-wii-**dbaajmotwadban.
 anishaa go naa gi-wiindamaw-in i'iw sa go
 for.nothing EMPH DM 2S-tell.h/-1S>2S.IND PRON.DEM.INAN DM EMPH

naa gnimaa go naa IC.daa-wii-dibaajimotaw-adiban
 DM maybe EMPH DM IC.MOD-FUT.VOL-tell.to.h/-2S>3S.PRET.CONJ

'I'm just telling you this for the heck of it, something that you might want to say to someone'

AP

And as with the *ge-gii-* examples, (165) carries a modal interpretation. This is an interesting juxtaposition to the *ji-gii-* ones in the previous section but no conclusions are made on such little data.

Valentine (2001) states that “[u]nrealized possibility in the past is expressed in the conjunct order with *da*¹⁵³, modal, in conjunction with *gii-*, past tense, and preterit mode inflection.” (p. 785). Note that *da-* is *ji-* in the dialects of the speakers DK, and AP quoted in this section, a variation noted in Table 17 in 2.5.1. This too raises questions since it is these *ge-gii-* examples that have an unrealized possibility reading while the *ji-gii-* ones (which should be analogous to *da-gii-* as noted by Valentine (2001)) do not.

In any case, the past tense *gii-* and volutative future tense *wii-* are available in these particular syntactic environments and straightforwardly contribute their temporal interpretations of past tense and volition. They appear in second position to the initial prefix in the verb complex, and this is predictable according to the positions of tense-mode prefixes as per Nichols (1980), and a chart is repeated here:

Table 16: Tense-mode prefixes as per Nichols (1980)

b aano- 'in vain'	c gii- 'past'	d wii- 'volutative'
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¹⁵³ Recall that this is the plain conjunct form of the modal *daa-* in some varieties of Ojibwe, including that of consultant Mary Ann Corbiere, who worked extensively with Valentine on his reference grammar

da-, ga-, 'future' daa- 'modal' ji- 'future, modal'	gii- 'potential'	
	c-d bwaa- 'lest'	

(Nichols 1980, p. 133)

Note that the *da-/ga-*, 'future', *daa-* 'modal', and *ji-* 'future, modal' prefixes appear in a separate position from *gii-* and *wii-*, allowing for the configurations seen in this section. Overlap in readings of *ji-* (and its changed form *ge-*) as both future and modal leads to ambiguity noted here and elsewhere in the dissertation.

4.3.4 Summary of the conjunct preterit

In the plain conjunct verbal order, the preterit mode straightforwardly marks counterfactuality. These counterfactual preterit conjuncts are underspecified for tense; when prefixed with future or modal marking they yield hypothetical and future less vivid interpretations. Conjunct preterits typically do not appear with initial change, but changed conjunct preterits occur where initial change is motivated by questions, relative roots, or participles. In these cases, it appears that preterit can contribute either temporal or counterfactual meaning.

4.3.5 Counterfactuality in Ojibwe

This section expands on the investigation of the Ojibwe conjunct preterit as a counterfactual form, providing documentation of the environments in which it occurs. As we have seen in this chapter, the counterfactual interpretation hinges on clause type selection, specifically conjunct order conjugation. As we will see in this section, many of the environments in which the preterit can appear to mark CF interpretation are ones in which conjunct clauses are always selected.

4.3.5.1 Counterfactuals in Optative Constructions

There are a number of strategies for expressing sentiments of *hope* and *wish* in Ojibwe, and those, including optative particles (namely *begish naa*¹⁵⁴ and *gesnaa*)¹⁵⁵ and lexical verb

¹⁵⁴ For speakers interviewed for this research, *begish* nearly always appears with the discourse marker *naa* while *naa* does not seem to be obligatory in other dialects of Ojibwe.

¹⁵⁵ The intricacies of *begish* and *gesnaa* are a topic of ongoing study, as the former takes only conjunct complements with or without preterit morphology, while *gesnaa* can take independent or conjunct complements and conjunct complements of *gesnaa* must be obligatorily preterit.

constructions are discussed here for their relevance to counterfactuality and therefore preterit morphology.¹⁵⁶ (166) and (167) below show a minimal pair that clearly illustrate the role of the preterit in conjunct clauses:

(166) Begish naa bkinaageyaan.
 ambegish naa bakinaage-yaan
 OPT DM s/he.wins-1S.CONJ
 'I hope I win.' MNC

(167) Begish naa bkinaageyaambaa.
 ambegish naa bakinaage-yaambaa
 OPT DM s/he.wins-1S.PRET.CONJ
 'I wish I would win.' MNC

Compared to (166), the presence of preterit morphology in (167) conveys that the speaker believes it untrue or unlikely that they will win. Both sentences are future oriented, but the addition of preterit yields an FLV reading in (167). We can see that conjunct preterit can also yield a present counterfactual following an optative in (51):

(51) Begish naa baatyiintooyaambaan zhoonyaa.
 ambegish naa baatyiinatoon-yaambaan zhooniyaa
 OPT DM have.a.lot.of.it-1S.PRET.CONJ money
 'I wish I was rich.' (lit. 'I wish I had lots of money.') AP

Notably, tense marking is absent in the two previous examples, though they differ in temporal interpretation; the issue of temporal ambiguity in Ojibwe counterfactuals is discussed below.

The particle *gesnaa*¹⁵⁷ is also used to express a counterfactual wish:

(168) Gesnaa niibna zhoonyaans yaamaambaa.
 gesnaa niibina zhooniyaaans ayaan-yaambaan
 OPT lots money have.it-1SG.CONJ.PRET
 'I wish I was rich.' (lit.: 'I wish I had lots of money.') MNC

As in (51), preterit morphology on the conjunct complement above conveys the speaker's belief that they do not have a lot of money, and as such the statement is a counterfactual wish.

¹⁵⁶ Another expression using *aabdek sa naa gnamaa* ("hopefully") is used by some Nishnaabemwin speakers and appears to always take an independent complement.

¹⁵⁷ *Gesnaa* is an Odaawaa particle glossed as 'ever, how; what' in the NOD and is employed as an optative in these cases where combined with conjunct preterit morphology.

Ojibwe also has an optative strategy that combines an emotive lexical (independent) verb like *g[i]chinendam* ‘be happy’¹⁵⁸ with a conjunct clause to convey an expression of ‘hope’, ‘wish’, ‘desire’, etc.¹⁵⁹ The following example uses a non-CF plain conjunct complement to express hope:

- (169) Ndaa-kchinendam gmiwang waabang.
 ni-daa-gichinendam gimiwan-g waabang
 1S-MOD-be.happy.IND it.rains-CONJ tomorrow
 ‘I hope it will rain tomorrow.’ (lit.: ‘I would be happy if it rains tomorrow.’) GP

In a comparable FLV construction, the speaker employs counterfactual morphology (i.e., the conjunct preterit) to express their disbelief in the likelihood of the situation coming true:

- (170) Ndaa-kchinendam ji-zhoonyaakeyaambaan.
 ni-daa-gichinendam ji-zhooniyaake-yaambaan
 1S-MOD-be.happy FUT-make.money-1S.CONJ.PRET
 ‘I wish I was rich.’ (lit.: ‘I’d be happy to make lots of money.’) GP

As with other optative strategies, the conjunct preterit unmarked for tense expresses counterfactuality:

- (171) Ndaa-kchinendam oodetoowaambaan.
 ni-daa-gichinendam oodetoo-yaambaan
 1S-MOD-be.happy go.to.town-1S.CONJ.PRET
 ‘I wish I could go to town.’ GP

These optative examples exemplify the role of conjunct preterit morphology in expressing counterfactuality and also that CF morphology is implicated in FLV constructions.

4.3.5.2 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals in Ojibwe pattern with optatives in utilizing conjunct preterit morphology to express counterfactuality; this type of parallel pattern is seen in CF wishes and CF conditionals cross-linguistically. Compare an implicative conditional (172a) with a CF

¹⁵⁸ This is an Eastern term while other dialects use *minwendam* similarly.

¹⁵⁹ Lexical verb constructions use desiderative predicates specifically and emotive verbs generally. The former often contain primary derivational verbal root stem initials /bagos-/ and /misaw-/ expressing wish and desire, respectively.

conditional (172b), where preterit morphology expresses the speaker's disbelief at the subject's having taken the medicine:

- (172) a. Conditional
 Da-mno-yaa giishpin mshkiki daapnang.
 da-mino-ayaa giishpin mashkiki daapinan-g
 FUT-good-be.3S.IND if medicine pick.it.up-3S.CONJ
 'If he takes this medicine, he will be well.' MNC
- b. Counterfactual conditional
 Daa-mno-yaa daapnamgobne mshkiki.
 daa-mino-ayaa daapinan-gobanen mashkiki
 MOD-good-be.3S.IND pick.up-3S>0S.PRET.DUB.CONJ medicine
 'If he took this medicine (/had he taken this medicine), he would be well.' MNC

As such, preterit morphology in CF conditional antecedents serves to mark counterfactuality as it does in CF wishes in conveying a speaker's judgment as to the truth of the statement.¹⁶⁰ The temporal ambiguity of CF optatives is also present in CF conditionals:

- (173) a. Present CF conditional
 Gkendaaspa, daa-gchitwaawzi.
 gikendaaso-pan daa-gichitwaawizi
 be.smart-3S.CONJ.PRET MOD-be.rich/esteemed.3S.IND
 'If he were smart (/had he been smart), he would be rich.' MNC
- b. Past CF conditional
 Gkendaaspa, daa-gii-gchitwaawzi.
 gikendaaso-pan daa-gii-gichitwaawizi
 be.smart-3S.CONJ.PRET MOD-PST-be.rich/esteemed.3S.IND
 'If he were smart (/had he been smart), he would have been rich.' MNC

In (173b), past tense morphology on the antecedent is necessary to situate the event in the past, and as with other counterfactuals, CF conditional antecedents are underspecified for tense. The implications of the temporal interpretations of the conjunct preterit are discussed below.

¹⁶⁰ Notably, the subordinating conditional adverb *giishpin* (if) does not necessarily appear in the antecedent of a CF conditional and a parallel can be drawn with conditional inversion in English where a conditional antecedent, "if [subject] had [verbed]..." can be stated, "had [subject] [verbed]..." in a counterfactual environment (Iatridou and Embick, 1994, pp. 189-190).

4.3.5.3 Analysis of Ojibwe Counterfactuality

In Ojibwe, the morphological configuration of the preterit mode in the conjunct verbal order conveys that a speaker believes a situation to be untrue/counterfactual (when unprefixes) or unlikely/FLV (when prefixed with *ji-* or *ge-*). Regarding optatives, *gesnaa* almost always takes a conjunct preterit complement while *begish naa* can take either a plain conjunct or conjunct preterit complement. I attribute this to a lexical ambiguity of *begish naa*, which can mean either ‘hope’ or ‘wish’, while *gesnaa* seems to have a decided interpretation of wishing. Thus the presence or absence of preterit morphology in a *begish* complement distinguishes the meaning as being a counterfactual or not, as seen comparing (166) and (167).¹⁶¹ Since *gesnaa* implies wishing, it tends to take a conjunct preterit complement in line with the counterfactuality of such a sentiment.

While the examples above exhibit a range of strategies for making optative statements in Ojibwe, in each case the use of preterit morphology conveys counterfactuality. Notably, preterit morphology in these constructions does not necessarily convey a past tense interpretation (as opposed to in the independent preterit); moreover, prefixal past tense is deemed ungrammatical, as seen in (30)

(174) Pres/Past CF wish

a. Grammatical (without past tense marking) and temporally ambiguous:

Begish naa daabaan yaawagba.

ambegish	naa	daabaan	ayaaw-agiban	
OPT	DM	car	have.h/-1S>3S.PRET.CONJ	

‘I wish I had a car.’ / ‘I wish I had had a car.’

MW

b. Ungrammatical (with past tense marking)

*Begish naa daabaan gii-yaawagba.

ambegish	naa	daabaan	gii-ayaaw-agiban	
OPT	DM	car	PST -have.h/-1S>3S.PRET.CONJ	

MW

c. Ungrammatical (with past tense marking)

*Begish naa daabaan gaa-yaawagba.

ambegish	naa	daabaan	IC.gii-ayaaw-agiban	
OPT	DM	car	IC .PST-have.h/-1SG>3SG.PRET.CONJ	

MW

¹⁶¹ This distinction is seen via analysis of complement clause types, though not explicitly stated, in seminal Ojibwe dictionaries such as Nichols and Nyholm (1994), Rhodes (1985), and Baraga (1878).

over times t , and the utterance time is excluded from the topic time. When ranging over worlds, w , as in CF conditionals and CF wishes, ExclF excludes the actual world. In an English present counterfactual (Pres CF) such as *I wish I had a car*, ExclF is carried upon past tense, though not interpreted as such, and ranges over the world of the speaker, excluding any others in which they own a car. In its past counterfactual (Past CF) counterpart *I wish I had had a car*, two layers of past tense morphology are observed: one ExclF ranging over the world of the speaker, and the other over the time.

The exclusion feature concept serves well to explain the functions of the preterit mode in Ojibwe. In the independent order, ExclF operates to exclude the utterance time of the speaker from the topic time and situate events and actions in the past (moreover with a cessation function), similar to its function in English past tense morphology. In the conjunct, ExclF ranges over worlds and conveys a situation that the speaker believes to be untrue.

Bjorkman and Halpert (2017) provide a typology of counterfactuality, observing the cross-linguistic pervasiveness of past tense morphology and imperfective aspect in marking counterfactuals. Some languages are seen to express tense and aspect independently and with separate morphology while others have portmanteau morphology that can express both tense and aspect. An examination of counterfactual environments reveals that one or the other is in effect illusory, leaving either past tense or imperfective aspect to be the sole bearer of counterfactuality.

Aspectual marking in Ojibwe is in itself quite complex and is carried upon verbs, verbal roots, and preverbs (Valentine, 2001, pp. 758-798), and even directional roots can also be used as markers of tense and aspect (Valentine, 2001, p. 420). Regardless, interpretations of the preterit have both temporal and aspectual implications as illustrated above, and as such can be argued to be portmanteau morphology. Bjorkman and Halpert's analysis notes that in cases in which both tense and aspect appear to be implicated in counterfactuality, the morphology may be underspecified for either tense or aspect, and that can determine which carries counterfactual meaning. While the Ojibwe preterit has a past interpretation in the independent order, conjunct preterits are underspecified for tense. Moreover, prefixal tense marking is ungrammatical in CF wish complements and CF conditional antecedents, and conjunct preterit morphology appears to carry the same function and interpretation in both CF wish and CF conditional environments.

Altshuler and Schwartzchild (2013) describe a cessation implicature as “when the utterance of a past tensed sentence implicates that no state of the kind described currently

holds” (Altshuler & Schwartzchild, 2013, p. 47). Though it is not past tense, the Ojibwe preterit triggers a past tense interpretation in main clauses and a cessation inference with certain verb types, and this function is an avenue of continued exploration in describing the preterit.

Von Fintel and Iatridou (2020) expand on counterfactuality generally and note a Conditional/Desire generalization in which cross-linguistically a pattern emerges of morphology in the antecedent of CF conditionals matching that in the complement of unattainable desires/CF wishes, and morphology in CF conditional consequents match the predicate of CF wishes (von Fintel & Iatridou, 2020, p. 10). As *ambegish* is a lexicalized desire predicate in Ojibwe, compare the unattainable desire lexical verb construction in (170) with the CF conditional in (173a) as an example of how Ojibwe fits the pattern utilizing conjunct preterit morphology and the modal morpheme *daa-*.

(177) Conditional/Desire Generalization

- a. X-marked conditional: if p_{ant}, q_{cons}
- b. unattainable desire: I want_{cons} that p_{ant}

(178) English examples (with a lexicalized wish)

- a. If I had a car now, I would be happy
- b. I wish I had a car now.

(179) Ojibwe X-marked conditional

Gkendaaspa, daa-gchitwaawzi.
 gkendaaspa, daa-gchitwaawzi
 be.smart.3SG.CONJ.PRET MOD-be.rich.3SG
 ‘If he were smart, he would be rich.’

MNC

(180) Ojibwe unattainable desire

Ndaa-kchinendam ji-zhoonyaakeyaambaan.
 n-daa-kchinendam ji-zhoonyaake-yaambaan
 1SG-MOD-be.happy FUT-make.money-1SG.CONJ.PRET
 ‘I wish I were rich’, Lit.: ‘I’d be happy to make lots of money.’

GP

Ojibwe clearly patterns with the Conditional/Desire generalization. What is important for present purposes is to highlight the way in which Ojibwe clause typing gives rise to counterfactuality via the conjunct order. The exclusion feature is also relevant here as it accounts for readings of the preterit and it too is subject to semantic shift via clause type. In the independent order the

exclusion feature operates over times anchored to a discourse context while in the conjunct order it operates over worlds accessing modal realms of counterfactuality and hypotheticality.

4.4 Preterit nouns

As noted in Chapter 2, preterit morphology appears on nouns to denote a thing that is no longer present or to indicate that a person has passed on:

- (90) Nijiimaaniban.
 ni-jiimaan-iban
 1SG.POSS-boat-PRET
 ‘my old boat’ / ‘the boat I no longer have’
- (89) Gkina ngii-kawaabmignaan ndedemban.¹⁶⁶
 gakina ni-gii-akawaabam-igonaan ni-dede-m-ban
 all 1S-PST-watch.out.for.h/-3S>1P.IND 1S-father-POSS-**PRET**
 ‘My (late) father watched out for us all.’ AP

There is a clear connection between the morphology and meaning of preterit suffixes on nouns and verbs. While I set aside this parallelism in this dissertation, it remains an important avenue for future research.

4.5 Summary

This examination of the preterit mode in Ojibwe has illustrated its main functions in the independent and conjunct verbal orders. While there is a past tense interpretation in the former, I argue that the term *preterit* is a misnomer and support Nichols’s (1980) characterization of the morpheme’s function to contrast past occurrence/non-occurrence with subsequent non-occurrence/occurrence. This is akin to a *cessation implicature* as described by Altshuler and Schwartzchild (2013) though I use *function over implicature*. In the conjunct, preterit morphology is implicated in counterfactual marking and patterns with counterfactuality cross-linguistically.

The functions of clause typing are well-illustrated in its interactions with the preterit mode. In the independent order a preterit verb maintains an extensional-type of reading while

¹⁶⁶ This speaker and her sister are seen to utilize the possessor ‘m’ on some kinship terms though this is not observed for other speakers across dialect regions.

the preterit displaces the context temporally, albeit still in the real world, and in the conjunct the exclusion feature of the preterit operates to displace the context from the actual world to an intensional one.

Changed conjunct preterits are rare, appearing where initial change is motivated syntactically, and in such cases vary in their interpretations of either a typical independent or conjunct preterit.

Chapter 5: Evidentiality and the Dubitative Mode

5.1 Overview

This chapter will discuss the *dubitative mode*; its role as a means of expressing evidentiality, and its behavior across clause types. The dubitative mode is a verbal suffix realized as one of several allomorphs usually containing *-dog/-dig* in the independent order; allomorphy of dubitative in the conjunct order varies but typically contains */-e(n)/*¹⁶⁷ and */-w/*.¹⁶⁸ There are also *dubitative adverbs* that often—but not obligatorily—co-occur with dubitative-marked verbs. Dubitative morphology can also be found on nouns¹⁶⁹, and in very rare cases, on pronouns. *Dubitative pronouns* typically take changed conjunct dubitative verb complements but can also appear on their own.

With verbs, which are the focus of this chapter, the mode is typically employed to express a speaker's unwillingness to commit to the veracity of a state or situation, be that on account of doubt or their inability to say with certainty, such as when reporting on an event they weren't present for. Relatedly, the dubitative mode is used to indicate inference, such as one deducing that their friend is ready to leave for an event by seeing them dressed and ready to go (see Appendix 7). We can therefore characterize the dubitative mode and dubitative adverbs as forming a system of evidentiality in Ojibwe.

(181) and (46) below highlight the difference between a plain independent and dubitative-marked independent yielding an evidential reading. I will discuss the independent dubitative in detail in section 5.3.

¹⁶⁷ The final nasal 'n' is dropped in the Odaawaa dialect of Anishinaabemowin. This point is noted here as a main consultant for this study is from the Odaawaa community of Wiikwemkoong. Details of dubitative morphology are given in Nichols (1980). Full paradigms can be found in that source as well as in (Valentine, 2001).

¹⁶⁸ Nichols, 1980, p. 124.

¹⁶⁹ A *-dog/dig* suffix is also seen on nouns and while Nichols (1980) notes that a nominal dubitative is attested in Algonquin and Cree, this form in Ojibwe is considered the vocative plural, a view also supported by Valentine (Nichols, 1980, p. 53; Valentine, 2001, p. 280). These forms are used in direct address and the following example is commonly heard in speeches and public speaking:

(182) indinawemaaganidog
ind-inawem-aagan-idog
1-be.related.to-NMZ-VOC
'my relatives'

(181) Aakzi.
 aakozi
 be.sick.3S.**IND**
 'S/he is sick.' AP

(46) Aakzidog.
 aakozi-dog
 be.sick-**DUB.IND**
 'I think she's sick' / 'She must be sick.' AP

In addition to dubitative mode, which is purely verbal inflection, Ojibwe also has a number of *evidential adverbs*, such as *iidog* (also *iidig*, *iidik* - maybe; must be; evidently)¹⁷⁰, *giiwenh* (allegedly, it is said, so the story goes), (*na*)*manj/nmanj/minj* (I don't know, I wonder), *d[ɪ]jbi* (I don't know where, wonder where), and *endgwen(h)* (I don't know, whether). These adverbs stand alone as separate words, but many can or must co-occur with dubitative verbal morphology. There are also *dubitative pronouns*, *wegwen(an)* and *wegdagwen(ag)*, which we will see typically combine with changed conjunct dubitative complements, which I will discuss in section 5.4.¹⁷¹ An example of a changed conjunct dubitative is given here:

(183) Wegwendig gye gaa-mzinbii'magwenh wi.
 wegwendig gye IC.gii-mazinbii'an-agwen i'iw
 PRON.DUB GYE IC.PST-paint.it-3S.DUB.CONJ PRON.DEM.INAN
 'I wonder who painted that.' MNC

While the dubitative freely combines with independent and changed conjunct verbs to yield evidential-type readings such as in (46) and (183) above, we find a notable gap with the plain conjunct: most plain conjunct constructions resist dubitative affixation.¹⁷²

I hypothesize that this restriction is due to the fact that the dubitative mode is an evidential, and it is common cross-linguistically to find a restriction on embedded evidentials.¹⁷³ This analysis of the dubitative therefore also supports the claim that plain conjuncts are simple embeddings.

¹⁷⁰ *lidog* is common in Eastern and Southwestern Ojibwe, and *iidig* in Odaawaa. The latter's propensity for strong final devoicing finds it most often written as *iidik*. Western regions utilize *iinzan* (a possible cognate) for a similar evidential function.

¹⁷¹ I hedge my bets and refuse to say that such complements are obligatory as the moment you think you know something for sure, the language will always prove you wrong.

¹⁷² Exceptions are attributable to instances of indicating location or simple subordination by *mii*, for example.

¹⁷³ Korotkoa (2021) discusses the typology of embedding patterns of evidentials.

As we will see in section 5.4.3.2.3, we also find a prohibition on embedded evidentiality in Ojibwe with dubitative adverbs, which generally also can't embed (though there are exceptions, noted in Appendix 6), again in line with the crosslinguistic picture.

- (184) *gii-kida ge-gmiwang giiyenh waabang
 gii-ikido IC.da-gmiwan-g giiwenh waabang
 PST-say.it.3S.IND IC.FUT.DEF-rain-CONJ DUB tomorrow
 Intended: 'He said that he heard it will rain tomorrow.'

The dubitative mode and evidential adverbs are very common in storytelling. The reportative particle *giiwenh/giiyenh* frequently appears to indicate that a speaker is relaying information, and dubitative mode verbs and dubitative adverbs such as *iidogliidig* are also common, since speakers are referencing non-firsthand information. Stories are often framed by dubitative constructions at their beginnings and endings, and used in asides in narratives (Nichols, 1980, p. 125).¹⁷⁴

The characterization of the dubitative by Nichols (1980) notes that both such functions can be expressed by the dubitative; citing “the inability or unwillingness of the speaker to vouch for the certainty of the occurrence of the event of the verb.” (p. 124). The two (uncertainty and inference) also go hand-in-hand in evidential systems cross-linguistically; the evidential marking may be less reflective of the speaker’s knowledge or degree of certainty of the information at hand, but rather indicates their information source. Aikhenvald (2018) notes that “[o]ne of the reasons for mistakenly conflating the notions of evidentiality with reliability, possibility, probability, and epistemic modality lies in the English-centric approach to those languages which have evidentials, and the pitfalls of translation.” (p. 7)¹⁷⁵

Von Fintel and Gillies (2010) dig deeper into the issue and argue that epistemic *must* is an evidential marker that indicates indirect inference, and this line of investigation is useful for discerning the nuance in uncertainty and inference in Ojibwe. Tentative investigation and discussion with Kishketon (2023, personal communication) suggest that Ojibwe speakers may show a tendency to use dubitative verbal morphology to indicate an inferential evidential, and the dubitative particle *iidog* when citing hearsay or (non-inferential) uncertainty.

Aikhenvald (2018, p. 18) notes that an “overwhelming majority” of languages use evidentials in main clauses only, and while this seems to not be the case for Ojibwe since

¹⁷⁴ Aikhenvald (2018) also notes this function of evidentials cross-linguistically.

¹⁷⁵ It is also noted by Junker et al that speakers of European languages tend to view Ojibwe dubitatives not as evidentials but as epistemic.

dubitative morphology does appear in the conjunct order (most often with initial change), interpretations of conjunct order dubitatives aren't as strongly evidential in nature, and have more of a sense of 'wonder' rather than explicit evidential, and pattern with mirativity to a degree.¹⁷⁶ Further supporting the claim that evidentials are used in main clauses only is the fact that most Ojibwe evidential adverbs can't be embedded, as noted above.¹⁷⁷

I will show in this chapter that the variability in interpretation of the dubitative mode arises from the way in which evidentiality is anchored in Ojibwe. In independent clauses the dubitative is anchored to a speaker-oriented evidential function. In conjunct clauses, however, the dubitative is restricted due to a general restriction on evidentials that are not anchored to the discourse context, which we find across languages. The nominalizing function of initial change and subsequent relation to realis contexts could explain why conjunct dubitatives appear with initial change – that the speaker-centeredness of a changed conjunct dubitative ties it to a discourse context.

Table 3 is a generalization of the functions of the dubitative mode by clause type and the preterit is included for comparison.

Table 3: Functions of the Ojibwe dubitative and preterit modes by clause type

	Dubitative	Preterit
Independent	inference, doubt, hearsay	cessation feature; temporal interpretation(s)
Plain conjunct	(highly limited) varies between independent and plain conjunct readings	counterfactuality, hypotheticality, unrealized action, future less vivid constructions
Changed conjunct	wonder, mirativity	varies between independent and plain conjunct readings

¹⁷⁶ There is less a sense of surprise in these constructions but match typological mirative patterns identified by Aikhenvald (2012) in the sense of the “unprepared mind” of the speaker (p. 437). Aikhenvald (2018) also notes that “the reported evidential *-shi* in Paztaza Quichua [...] in questions can express ‘feelings of puzzlement, wondering, or perplexity’,” and this pattern closely matches the use of the dubitative in Ojibwe.

¹⁷⁷ To date, only *d[i]bi iidog* has been observed to do so but full testing with other adverbs has not been done.

5.2 Evidentiality

An in-depth study of evidentiality and the dubitative mode in Ojibwe is long overdue,¹⁷⁸ though Junker et al (2018) get a good start. One goal of this chapter and related appendices is to provide a more thorough documentation of patterns of evidentiality and dubitative in the language. The dubitative mode suffix appears on independent verbs indicating that the speaker is qualifying the dubitative-marked clause as being uncertain, inferential, or indirect information. In the conjunct order, dubitatives are very often accompanied by initial change and have a less distinct evidential interpretation and generally indicate wonder. In either case, the dubitative is speaker-centered, as in it indicates the speaker's assessment of inference, doubt, wonder, etc.

As I also discussed in the previous section, in addition to verbal inflection, there are adverbs/discourse particles related to evidentiality. Some of these elements obligatorily take changed conjunct dubitative complements, while others are freer in their distribution. In addition, in certain circumstances it also appears that evidential meaning can be expressed via the changed conjunct clause type alone, i.e. without dubitative morphology or particles. This section will provide a broad overview of the various ingredients of evidentiality in Ojibwe, in the context of cross-linguistic typological generalizations.

5.2.1 Evidential typology and evidential markers in Ojibwe

Aikhenvald (2018) discusses evidentiality in-depth and provides a typology of the expression of evidentiality in language. Evidentiality can be expressed *autonomously*, with dedicated markers that carry no other meanings, or *fused*, combined with another grammatical category, commonly tense or aspect. In this sense, Ojibwe expresses a mostly autonomous evidentiality system as the pieces used for evidentiality have no other functions but with possible exceptions such as the preterit-dubitative mode.¹⁷⁹

In the same volume (Aikhenvald, 2018), Junker et al (2018) examine evidentiality in Algonquian, taking the Cree-Innu-Naskapi continuum, Ojibwe, and Eastern Algonquian as case

¹⁷⁸ Aikhenvald notes that “[u]p until the late nineteenth century, only the linguistic categories prominent in classical Indo-European languages were, by and large, accorded a due status and investigated in some depth. Grammaticalized information source was not among these. And so, the studies of evidentiality have been lagging behind other categories such as gender and tense.” (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 2)

¹⁷⁹ Aikhenvald (2018) writes that evidentials may be in paradigmatic opposition with other categories. In Ojibwe, the dubitative frequently combines with the preterit, which seems to instantiate the interrelation of evidentiality with aspect that Aikhenvald mentions. While a full investigation of preterit-dubitative is beyond the scope of this dissertation, this interaction remains a promising topic for future investigation.

studies. Languages in the family vary in the degree of evidential contrasts, and the Cree-Innu-Naskapi continuum is the most rich, with other languages exhibiting a subset of the contrasts seen there. The authors identify verbs (notably verb parts) that express information source in Algonquian languages¹⁸⁰ and argue that evidentiality is explicitly expressed across the language family via the dubitative mode, which is used as an inferential evidential, “plus sometimes overlapping epistemic functions.” (Junker et al., 2018, p. 435) They discern three levels of evidential marking in Algonquian languages:

(185) **Levels of evidential marking in Algonquian languages**

Structured Lexical level: Sensory

Inflectional level: Direct, Indirect, Subjective, and Inferential

Syntactic level: Particles, Quotative verbs

(Junker et al., 2018, p. 433)

For Ojibwe, the structured lexical level corresponds to specific verbs and verb types that are associated with direct evidentials, while the dubitative mode and associated particles, along with the changed conjunct as a clause type, are indirect evidentials, as per Aikhenvald (2004). For Southwestern Ojibwe, the authors note that the dubitative “seems to function as an inferential evidential.” (Junker et al., 2018, p. 447). They also note that traditional narratives are often opened and (less frequently) closed with constructions in the dubitative or preterit dubitative,¹⁸¹ and that initial change is required in conjunct dubitatives (p. 448). Junker et al (2018) also discuss dubitative particles, noting that they are prolific in Plains Cree, which apparently has “lost most of its mode suffixal distinctions,” and that the particles have replaced evidential inflection (p. 455). This fact is relevant to the varied patterns of complementation and adjunction seen among Ojibwe dubitative particles, which I will expand upon in the section 5.3.2 below.

In regards to the meanings of evidentials, Aikhenvald (2018) identifies six, repeated verbatim here:

(186) *Semantic parameters in grammatical evidentiality*

- I. Visual covers information acquired through seeing.
- II. Non-visual sensory covers information through hearing, is typically extended to smell and taste, and sometimes touch.

¹⁸⁰ Examples in Ojibwe are: /-taagw/ (sound, be heard); /-naagw/ (seen, appears, looks like); /-maagw/ (smell); /-pogw/ (taste); /-end-aagw/ (perceived by mind); and, /madwe-/ (heard but not seen) (Junker et al 2018, p. 434).

¹⁸¹ A point also made by Valentine (2001, p. 835).

- III. Inference based on visible or tangible result.
 - IV. Assumption based on information other than visible results: this may include logical reason, assumption or simply general knowledge.
 - V. Reported, for reported information with no reference to who it was reported by.
 - VI. Quotative, for reported information with an overt reference to the authorship of the quoted source.
- (Aikhenvald, 2018, p.12)

Ojibwe has evidential strategies that correspond to III, IV, and V: inference, assumption, and reportativity. Dubitative morphology and the plethora of relevant particles cover III and IV, and *giuwen(h)* is the sole reportative particle.¹⁸² An inventory of the pieces of Ojibwe evidentiality and their classifications is given below.

This table provides an inventory of the pieces of Ojibwe grammar that express evidentiality. Lexical verbs are excluded here, though Junker et al (2018), classify sensory lexical components (namely complex finals) in some Algonquian languages as expressing information source.

Table 35: Components of evidentiality in Ojibwe

<u>Evidential</u>	<u>English approximation</u>	<u>evidential function</u>
dubitative mode verbal morphology		[speaker-oriented]
IND paradigm	main clauses	inference, assumption
CONJ paradigm	subordinated clauses	ungrammatical ¹⁸³
CCONJ paradigm	participles, <i>wh</i> -complements	wonder, mirativity
adverbs		
[w]end[o]gwen[h]	I wonder, whether	wonder
giuwenh	allegedly, apparently	reportative
iidog/iidig	maybe, must be	inference, assumption
namanj (iidog)	however, (I wonder how, I don't know)	wonder
d(i)bi (iidog)	where, wherever, (don't know where)	wonder
dubitative pronouns		
wegwen	who(ever), I wonder who	wonder
wegodogwen	what(ever), I wonder what	wonder
dubitative nouns		
noun+DUB	vocative	(non-evidential)

¹⁸² *iidog/iidig* (and related words like *iinzan* in Western dialects) can be argued to be reportative as they are used in such contexts as well but *giuwen(h)* appears to be the only reportativity-exclusive term.

¹⁸³ With exceptions noted in 5.5.

noun+PRET.DUB		inference
non-evidential adverbs (various)	(various)	(wonder)

These various adverbs and the syntactic environments they are found in are outlined in the next section, and Appendix 6 provides further explanation along with a number of examples.

5.3 Independent Dubitative

As we saw at the beginning of the chapter, dubitative verbs in the independent order take a *-dog/-dig* suffix. The dubitative serves to indicate information source on independent verbs, which can be reported information and therefore uncertain, or via inference. This type of evidentiality results in a wide range of English translations such as *must be*, *might be*, *maybe*, *evidently*, *I guess*, etc., and is why the speaker in (46) gave both translations of ‘I think she’s sick’ and ‘She must be sick.’ Interpretation is context-dependent. For example, in (46) below, repeated from above, one may say ‘aakzidog’ whether they infer that is the case from seeing the subject exhibiting cold symptoms, relaying information that they are ill, or surmising that they are ill when they don’t show up for a meeting, knowing that there is a cold going around.

- (46) Aakzidog.
aakzi-dog
be.sick-**IND.DUB**
‘I think she’s sick’ / ‘She must be sick.’ AP

Independent dubitative verbs can be in the present, unmarked, tense, as in example (46), or accompanied by PST *gii-* (187) and FUT.VOL *wii-* (63), (61) prefixes. The definite future *da-/ga-* with dubitative morphology has not been attested in the independent, but future preverbs *ji-* and *ge-* are seen in the conjunct order.¹⁸⁴

5.3.1 With Tense Marking

In the unmarked, present tense, DUB-marked verbs convey dubitative meaning in the present:

- (46) Aakzidog.

¹⁸⁴ These too, however, can be ambiguous as to which type of future preverb they are expressing.

aakzi-**dog**

be.sick.3SG-**IND.DUB**

's/he must be sick / I think she's sick'¹⁸⁵

AP

Past-tense dubitatives place the **state** or **event** in the past, but importantly not the dubitative meaning, which is anchored to discourse time of the speaker's evaluation of evidentiality:

(187) Gii-gchi-jiishaagne'gedik aabdek.

gii-gichi-jiishaagone'ige-dig aabdeg

PST-great-shovel.snow.3SG-IND.DUB MOD.NEC

'He must have had to do a lot of shoveling.'

MNC

Only the voluntative future (as opposed to the definite) is seen with independent dubitatives. As with past tense, the dubitative function here is tied to discourse time. In other words, the speaker surmises (now) that it will rain later, not that later they will surmise that it will rain.

(63) Wii-gmiwnadik gnabaj.

wii-gimiwan-adig ganabaj

FUT.VOL-rain-0.DUB.IND MOD.POSS

'I think it's gonna rain.'

MNC

The dubitative mode is available to all verb types (VAI, VII, VTI, VTA) in almost all conjugation configurations and as just one example, the following is a plural third-person VAI:

(61) Wii-oodetoodogenag.

wii-oodetoo-dogenag

FUT.VOL-go.to.town-3P.IND.DUB

'I guess they're going(/want to go) to town.'

AP

The definite future tense is not attested and a point of negative data is given here, which can be compared to example (63).

(65) *Da-gmiwnadig gnabaj.

da-gimiwan-adig ganabaj

FUT.DEF-rain-.0S..DUB.IND maybe

MNC

¹⁸⁵ While English translations can't solely be relied upon for a robust semantic interpretation, it is worth noting that speakers consistently use 'must be' (in an evidential rather than epistemic sense) as well as 'I think' in translating dubitative-marked independent verbs.

We can understand the fact that the dubitative cannot appear with definite future (see 2.5) morphology, as one cannot hedge about the veracity of a state or event that has not happened, nor can they infer or deduce about such a state. When asked about the grammaticality of a definite future dubitative, MNC noted that she couldn't come up with an acceptable definite future-marked dubitative construction and remarked, "can you surmise or deduce something that hasn't happened yet?" Instead, when deducing about the future, she noted that she would use possibility modals such as can use *gnabaj*, 'I think' / 'maybe' (it's gonna happen), or *megwaaj*, 'probably' (it will happen).

Though the definite future prefix *da-/ga-* is ungrammatical with a dubitative verb, it is acceptable where adverbs are used, rather than the dubitative, to express uncertainty. These cases are epistemic, rather than dealing with information source. *Da-* with the verb and no accompanying modal material results in a very certain reading:

- (66) Da-gmiwan.
 da-gmiwan
 FUT.DEF-rain.IND
 'It will rain.'
 Consultant comment: you are certain that it will rain.

In the case where one is less but still fairly certain that it will rain, the adverb *megwaaj*¹⁸⁶ is added:

- (188) Da-gmiwan go megwaaj.
 da-gimiwan go megwaaj
 FUT.DEF-rain.IND EMPH probably
 'It's probably going to rain.' MNC

Another degree down the scale of certainty / up the scale of uncertainty, the speaker used *gnabaj* in place of *megwaaj*:

¹⁸⁶ *Megwaaj* (also: *megwaach*) is glossed in the NOD as *probably*, as well as *approximately*, *about*, and it is the former meaning that is employed in this example. Rhodes (1985) dictionary classifies *megwaaj* as an Odaawaa word meaning *approximately*, *about*, *now*, and *in progress*, and the latter two glosses suggest a relation to the temporal adverb *megwaa*, itself glossed by Rhodes as *meanwhile*, *while*, *now*, *at the same time*, and *at this time*, though the connection isn't certain. *Megwaa* as a temporal adverb is present in Western dialect regions such as Minnesota and Southwestern Ojibwe. Adding to the complex flavors of this semantic stew is the fact that a consultant from Waasaaksing used *megwaaj* in a translation of an adverbial use of *even*, saying "megwaaj go gkina gchi-yaag" when translating "even grown-up people?" said by a cartoon elephant who was surprised to learn that even grown-up people pretend all the time.

- (189) Da-gmiwan (go) gnabaj.
 da-gimiwan (go) ganabaj
 FUT.DEF-rain.IND EMPH probably
 'It's probably going to rain.' MNC

While *megwaaj* and *gnabaj* are very common adverbs and both glossed as *probably*, among other translations, close work with speakers on the appropriateness of each in particular scenarios/contexts reveals that the latter is perhaps less certain and can accurately be translated as *maybe*. MNC made sure to be clear (a sentiment mirrored by this author) that this is not a steadfast rule. It is not the case that *megwaaj* is always more certain than *gnabaj*, and that they can always be translated respectively as *probably* and *maybe*; context as well as other linguistic material and specific lexical verb impact semantic interpretation.¹⁸⁷

The dubitative example above seems to fall about here in the spectrum of (un/)certainty, i.e. less certain than (189) and perhaps more certain than (190) and is repeated here:

- (63) Wii-gmiwnadik gnabaj.
 wii-gimiwan-adig ganabaj
 FUT.VOL-rain-0.DUB.IND MOD.POSS
 'I think it's gonna rain.' MNC

The adverb *gnimaa/gnamaa/gonamaa* can also be translated as *maybe* and it might be less certain than the above examples but more discussion is needed to determine where exactly on the spectrum of (un/)certainty the remaining examples in this section fall.¹⁸⁸

- (190) Da-gmiwan gnamaa.
 da-gimiwan gnamaa
 FUT.DEF-rain.IND maybe
 'It might rain.' MNC

Though they were not rated on the (un/)certainty scale, the following examples came up in the same discussion and are noted since they relate to evidentiality and show similar constructions

¹⁸⁷ On that matter, the (non/)presence of the discourse marker *go* impacts said interpretation in these examples, further complicating the matter. See Kishketon (2016) for an in-depth study of Ojibwe discourse markers.

¹⁸⁸ There are numerous terms across the language that could be translated as *maybe*, and *maagizhaa* is the most common in Valentine's (1994) dialect study, with *gonimaa* being prevalent in Nishnaabemwin (1994, p. 776).

with the reportative particle *giiyenh/giiwenh*. In this instance, one is relaying information from the weather forecaster:

- (191) Oonh, da-gmiwan giiyenh (gnamaa/megwaaj) waabang.
 oonh da-gimiwan giiwenh (gnamaa/megwaaj) waabang
 oh FUT.DEF-rain reportedly (GNAMAA/MEGWAAJ) tomorrow
 ‘I hear that it might rain tomorrow.’ or ‘They say that it might rain tomorrow.’ MNC

Gnamaa and *megwaaj* seem interchangeable here and moreover were optional.

Illustrating the speaker-centered use of *giiyenh*, it was noted that the particle is restricted to quotative/parataxical constructions and cannot embed under a main verb ‘he heard that it might rain tomorrow’:

- (192) “Da-gmiwan giiyenh waabang,” kida.
 da-gimiwan giiwenh waabang ikido
 FUT.DEF-rain.IND reportedly tomorrow say.3S.IND
 ‘S/he heard that it’s going to rain tomorrow.’, ‘He says that he heard it might rain tomorrow.’

This patterns with the typology where evidentials are restricted to main clauses.

5.3.2 Discussion

As we saw in this section, independent dubitative verbs express evidentiality as a speaker’s source of information, whether that be secondhand or by inference. They can be in the present or past tenses but are restricted from taking a definite future prefix, though the volutative future is acceptable. When combining with temporal morphology, the dubitative function is tied to discourse time rather than event time, e.g. ‘I think (now) that it is going to rain (later).’

It should be noted that simple constructions of a dubitative independent verb with little or no accompanying linguistic material, dubitative or otherwise, such as examples (46) and (61) are relatively rare in common speech. More often, dubitative constructions are accompanied by various evidential particles for a range of interpretation of certainty. In addition to the presence of particles, clause type is also an important factor influencing the interpretation of dubitatives, as we will see in the following sections.

5.4 Changed Conjunct Dubitative

As described in Chapter 2, initial change occurs in *wh*-questions, participles, and relative clauses. Changed conjunct verbs can also be used to indicate completive aspect. Descriptions of Ojibwe such as Nichols (1980) and make the connection between initial change and the dubitative, and others characterize the dubitative as requiring initial change in conjunct clauses (such as Valentine (2001)), and being ungrammatical with a plain conjunct (Junker et al (2018), but an in-depth explanation of this restriction is lacking. As I will show in this section, while there is indeed a notable gap with plain conjunct dubitatives, it is not absolute, contrary to previous characterizations. Since plain conjunct dubitatives are relatively rare, I discuss the changed conjuncts first.

Changed conjunct dubitatives seem to be found only in relative clauses, which independently always require initial change. The evidential contribution of the dubitive in this environment is different from independent dubitatives: the changed conjunct dubitative maintains a speaker- and discourse-oriented function but generally indicates a sense of wonder or unknowing, rather than the evidential functions of inference, doubt, and hearsay seen with independent dubitatives. Syntactically, the changed conjunct dubitative appears to occur only in relative clauses; dubitative participles do not appear on their own without a head noun and *wh*-constructions with dubitative cannot be true *wh*-questions, but must instead yield a speaker-oriented sense of wonder.

5.4.1 Wh-constructions and the changed conjunct dubitative

Sullivan (2020) distinguishes *wh*-questions and relative clauses by arguing for a higher, ForceP projection for relative clauses.¹⁸⁹ The behavior and distribution of the dubitative mode in changed conjunct suggests that only the relative clause structure may be available in this environment. While changed conjunct dubitatives look similar to *wh*-questions on the surface, they are not compatible with canonical *wh*-words, but use dubitative adverbs and pronouns in their place. I propose that such constructions should instead be considered relative clauses, i.e. 'I wonder *who/what verb*'.

¹⁸⁹ "Given the related nature of *wh*-questions and RCs, we need a higher projection to distinguish *wh*-questions from RCs, especially from those with an overt relative pronoun (A-pronoun)." Sullivan. 2016, pp.318-319).

First, we can observe that in canonical *wh*-constructions, with a few exceptions, *wh*-words take changed conjunct complements:¹⁹⁰

- (193) *Awenen waasinid?*
awenen IC.wiisini-d
WH IC.eat-3S.CONJ
'Who is eating?'

But a typical *wh*-word cannot combine with a dubitative changed conjunct:

- (194) **Awenen waasinigwen?*
awenen IC.wiisini-gwen
WH IC.eat-3S.CONJ.DUB

Changed conjunct dubitative complements instead appear with dubitative pronouns, and a repair of the above is typical of such a construction:¹⁹¹

- (195) *Wegwen waasinigwen.*
wegwen IC.wiisini-gwen
PRON.DUB IC.eat-CONJ.DUB
'I wonder who is eating.'

(195) resembles a canonical *wh*-question in that it is predicated by a specific word type (in the case of dubitatives, the dubitative adverb *endgwen* and the dubitative pronouns *wegwen* and *wegdogwen*, discussed below) and that it takes a changed conjunct complement, albeit in the dubitative mode. (195) also differs from a *wh*-question in that it is not information-seeking.

As noted above, while these changed conjunct dubitatives do yield evidential readings, they do not give rise to the inferential reading of the independent dubitative. They are nonetheless speaker-oriented, a feature of dubitative constructions regardless of clause type. Interrogative and dubitative pronouns are found in Appendix 4 and both are presented here in a morphological comparison for the fact they look and act similarly in their respective *wh*-type contexts both involving initial change:

¹⁹⁰ An exception is a verbless clause simply asking, 'awenen' - 'who?'.

¹⁹¹ Like a *wh*-pronoun, a dubitative pronoun can appear on its own and it is not necessarily information-seeking like the *wh*-word. Instead it carries a speaker-oriented sense of wonder: 'wegwendig' - 'I wonder (who).' See example (317) in Appendix 6.

Table 36: Comparison of interrogative and dubitative pronouns

	interrogative	dubitative
animate		
3	awenen	awegwen
3p	awenenag	awegwen(ag)
3'	awenenan	awegwen(an)
inanimate		
0	awegonen	wegodogwen
0p	awegonenan	wegodogwen(an)

5.4.2 Participles and relative clauses

A prominent use of initial change is with participles, instrumental in the construction of relative clauses (and which can also appear without a head noun). I follow Sullivan and others who treat the changed conjunct and participles as separate entities, as explained in 1.4.1.3. As noted in that section, all verbal morphology can appear in the participle,¹⁹² and this includes the dubitative mode. Dubitative participles are, however, exceedingly rare on their own, instead appearing with dubitative adverbs for a relative clause or dubitative *wh*-construction. An example of a dubitative participle in a relative clause is presented here:

- (196) Plural participle (dubitative mode)
 awegwenag nebaagwenag
 awegwen -ag IC-nibaa -gwen -ag
 I.wonder.who -3p IC-sleeps -3DUB -PLPRT
 'I wonder who (pl.) is sleeping?'
 Sullivan (2016, p.134); original glossing

This differs from non-dubitative participles, which frequently appear on their own, without a head noun:

¹⁹² Sullivan (2020) notes that “[t]here do not appear to be any restrictions on what can be relativized in Ojibwe.” (p. 259)

(197) gekinoo'amaaged
 IC.gikinoo'amaage-d
 IC.teach-3S.CONJ
 'a teacher', lit: '(the) one who teaches.'

The next example illustrates the participle as an argument:

(198) Ingii-waabamaa a'aw gekinoo'amaaged.
 in-gii-waabam-aa a'aw IC.gikinoo'amaage-d
 1S-PST-see.h/-DIR PRON.DEM.AN IC.s/he.teaches-3S.CONJ
 'I saw the teacher.'

Again, while we might expect dubitative to be freely available in participles, since verbal morphology is otherwise unrestricted, initial investigation with speakers suggests that bare participles resist dubitative, as in the example below:¹⁹³

(199) ?waasnigwen
 IC.wiisini-gwen
 IC.eat-DUB.PTCP
 Intendend: 'The one who must be eating.'

In any case, instead, speakers more readily produce true relative clauses in this type of setting. Other examples are given here:

(200) Wegdogwendik go menzangwenh nga-miijin.
 wegdogwendig go IC.minozan-gwen ni-ga-miijin
 PRON.DUB EMPH IC.cook.it-DUB.CONJ 1-FUT.DEF-eat.it
 'I'll eat whatever she cooks.' MNC
 Consultant note: This can indicate that the speaker is either unsure of what the person will cook or that they are indifferent to it and will eat it regardless.

The following was offered as an addendum to the previous statement:

(201) Minj go epiichi-maanaajpogdogwenh.
 namanj igo IC.apiichi-maanaajipogod-gwenh
 DUB EMPH IC.RP.to.such.degree-taste.bad-DUB.CONJ
 'However awful it tastes.' MNC

¹⁹³ Nichols (1980, p.123) does records a preterit-dubitative participle, ke-kii-niiwana'waappanen - 'He who would have killed the other (but didn't)'

In (202), a story's protagonist is lamenting the fact that they don't have children to leave their home and everything they have for:

(202) Wegwen-sh iidog naa gkina gegoo ge-ngadmowaawgen?
awegwen dash iidog naa gakina gegoo
PRON.DUB DM.CNTR DUB DM every thing

IC.da/ga-nagadan-waawgen
IC.FUT.DEF-leave.it.for.h/-DUB.CONJ

'Who then will I leave everything to?'

AP

More detailed investigation of the grammaticality patterns of the dubitative mode across the very wide range of morphological configurations and functions of participles and relative clauses¹⁹⁴ is needed, but from this initial exploration we can conclude that dubitative morphology is available to participles with initial change and that they often appear as relative clauses, as perhaps is the nature of the *wonder* interpretation of a non-independent order dubitative verb (which itself is straightforwardly evidential).

5.4.2.1 Interim summary

The dubitative mode can appear with initial change, typically in relative clauses, quite often accompanied by an evidential particle of some sort and the various particles and their clause type configurations are outlined below. Typical *wh*-words do not permit dubitative complements, but dubitative pronouns such as *wegwen* (who) and *wegdogwen* (what) do and function similarly to *wh*-words but the clauses are not information-seeking and convey a speaker-centered sense of *wonder*. The dubitative therefore appears to be limited to a subset of possible changed conjunct environments. These facts are expanded upon in the following section.

5.4.3 Evidential particles

Evidential particles can be categorized into pronouns, which we saw in the previous section, adverbs, and particles. While the pronouns almost exclusively take changed conjunct dubitative complements, as discussed above, the remaining particles exhibit a range of syntactic

¹⁹⁴ See Sullivan (2020) for an in-depth examination of relativization in Ojibwe and its relationship to such constructions.

behaviors in terms of position and type of clause that they appear with. Some adverbs have optionality in their complements and others are restricted to specific clause types.

This section provides a brief overview of the syntactic patterns found with these particles. This description is preliminary, since the full intricacies of evidential marking in Ojibwe are beyond the scope of this study, and more research is needed. To give just one example of the complexity, some dubitative particles can combine with others, such as *iidog* appearing after *d[i]bi* or *[na]manj* (and its variants), but in those cases does not behave as it does on its own but rather seems to lend an *intensive dubitative*¹⁹⁵ flavor to the particle it follows.

The investigation in this section reveals some notable findings about dubitatives and evidentiality in Ojibwe. For example, as noted above, most characterizations of the conjunct dubitative (e.g. Valentine (2001), Junker et al., (2018)) state that it is restricted to environments with initial change. However, the investigation in this section will reveal that this is not the case. In documenting evidential particles, I focus on their patterns with respect to mode and order of associated clause types: whether associated verbs must be in the dubitative mode or not, and which the clause type(s) available to them.¹⁹⁶

5.4.3.1 Dubitative complements obligatory

Only two sets of elements require that their verbal complement be marked with dubitative morphology. For both of these, the complement must also be changed conjunct.

5.4.3.1.1 Dubitative pronouns

The dubitative pronouns *[a]wegwen[h]* (animate) and *[a]weg[o]dogwen[h]* (inanimate), which we saw above, are relatively straightforward in their functions and changed conjunct complements are “almost obligatory”¹⁹⁷ with them. They can also show an intensive dubitative form with dubitative morphology, as is the case in the following examples of each:

- (183) Wegwendig gye gaa-mzinbii'magwenh wi.
 wegwendig gye IC.gii-mazinbii'an-agwen i'iw
 PRON.DUB GYE IC.PST-paint.it-3S.DUB.CONJ PRON.DEM.INAN
 'I wonder who painted that.' MNC

¹⁹⁵ See Nichols (1980, p. 66).

¹⁹⁶ Many of these particles can also take preterit-dubitative complements but as is seen in the short section on that mode below, it can be quite difficult to discern the syntactic and semantic factors influencing the clause types appearing in those environments so this fact is left as a footnote for now.

¹⁹⁷ Valentine (2001, p. 832), Nichols (1980, p. 66).

- (200) Wegdogwendik go menzangwenh nga-miijin.
 wegdogwendig go IC.minozan-gwen ni-ga-miijin
 PRON.DUB EMPH IC.cook.it-CONJ.DUB 1-FUT.DEF-eat.it
 'I'll eat whatever she cooks.' MNC
 Consultant note: This can indicate that the speaker is either unsure of what the person will cook or that they are indifferent to it and will eat it regardless.

As noted above, these pronouns and their complements syntactically resemble canonical *wh*-questions and participles, though they do not function as information-seeking *wh*-questions.¹⁹⁸

5.4.3.1.2 namanj

Namanj (also *amanj*, *manj*, *nmanj*, *minj*; various forms are used throughout this paper) adv dub 'I don't know how; I wonder how' is a dubitative adverb that obligatorily takes a dubitative mode, changed conjunct complement, and is used to indicate doubt or uncertainty, often translated to English as 'I don't know (how)', 'I wonder (how)', etc. As an example of a typical *namanj* construction:

- (203) Gaayiin ngii-kendnziin **minj** ge-kidgwen aw noos.
 gaawiin ni-gii-gikendan-ziin namanj IC.FUT-ikido-gwen
 NEG 1S-PST-know.it-NEG DUB IC.FUT-s/he.says.so-DUB.CONJ

 a'aw n-oos
 PRON.DEM.AN 1S.POSS-father
 'I didn't know what my father would say.' MNC

More examples and discussion of *namanj* are found in Appendix 6.

5.4.3.2 Clause type optionality

More frequently, there is variability in the mode and order of clauses that combine with dubitative particles. The particles in this section all permit more than one clause type as a complement; the reasons behind this distribution can be opaque. This section provides a description of these patterns; more data can be found in Appendix 6.

¹⁹⁸ I'll also add that *aaniish iidig* is attested and its complements always have initial change and can be indicative, dubitative, preterit, or preterit-dubitative.

5.4.3.2.1 *dibi*

Among these particles, clause typing *d[i]bi* is relatively straightforward. It is a *dubitative locational adverb* (Valentine, 2001, p. 738) translated to English as *[I] don't know where, [I] wonder where, wherever*, and similar such meanings. Like most other dubitative adverbs it has been characterized as requiring a changed conjunct dubitative verb complement.

A canonical *dibi* phrase is presented here:

(204) *Dibi* iidig **gaa**-pidegwenh.

dibi iidog IC.gii-pide-gwen
don't.know.where DUB IC.PST-0.flies.to.a.certain.place-DUB.CONJ
'Where did it fly off to?' / 'I wonder where it flew off to.'

A notable exception to this generalization is found in location environments with verbs lacking relative roots or preverbs, which we saw in Chapter 2 do not show initial change in non-dubitative environments.

Another point of variation with *d[i]bi* concerns its co-occurrence with another dubitative particle, *iidog*. As example (204) illustrates, *iidog* frequently immediately follows *dibi*; this is common enough in Nishnaabemwin to suggest a lexicalization of the term. In my own research with Nishnaabemwin speakers, *d[i]bi* on its own is quite rare and Rhodes (1985, p. 105) enters the headword, *dbiyiidog*, in addition to *d[i]bi* as its own entry. As with other adverbs that *iidog* attaches itself to, *d[i]bi* maintains its syntactic and semantic properties and is perhaps an intensive dubitative with *iidog* (see below). As such, verbs accompanying *d[i]bi iidog* must be in the dubitative mode (unlike *iidog* on its own, which takes non-dubitative-marked complements).¹⁹⁹

5.4.3.2.2 *endogwen*

The dubitative adverb *[w]end[o]gwen[h]* appears in various forms, as one may infer by the writing of it here, and commonly translates as *I wonder* or *(I wonder) if/whether*. The allomorph *endogwen* is used below but various forms appear elsewhere in this paper. Valentine (2001) writes that it "indicates unresolved possibility among multiple situations, similar in usage to English 'whether'" (pp. 833-834), noting that the adverb is predicative and thus takes a conjunct complement, and that an associated verb is customarily dubitative, but not always for some

¹⁹⁹ Like other adverbs that take a changed conjunct dubitative verb complement, the preterit-dubitative is also available to *d[i]bi*.

information they are relaying. *Giiwenh* is not predicative and does not embed, resulting in its availability in a wide range of environments as an adjunct and appears with both independent and conjunct verbs.²⁰⁰ (192) is presented as an example of *giiwenh* with an independent verb, in an example offered by MNC where embedding the particle was not possible:

- (192) “Da-gmiwan giiyenh waabang,” kida.
 da-gimiwan giiwenh waabang ikido
 FUT.DEF-rain reportedly tomorrow s/he.says.IND
 ‘S/he heard that it’s going to rain tomorrow.’ or ‘He says that he heard it might rain tomorrow.’ MNC
 Lit.: ‘Apparently it’s going to rain tomorrow.’ he said.’

Appendix Aikhenvald (2018) notes that “[i]n many instances, the reported evidential stands apart from the other evidential meanings, in terms of its grammatical status and properties” (p. 9) and I argue that this is the case with *giiwenh*, considering the range of environments in which it appears.

5.4.3.2.4 *iidog*

iidog and its variants are a big character in the story of Ojibwe evidentiality. It functions as an evidential in much the same way as does the dubitative mode, as in it indicates as speaker’s information source as uncertain or indicates their inferring of the information at hand. *iidog* is likely morphologically related to the dubitative mode verbal suffix²⁰¹ and this could account for the fact that it is typically in complementary distribution with dubitative mode morphology.²⁰² It is often glossed with English meanings in the same way that the dubitative mode is (*apparently, must be, might be, evidently, maybe, I guess, etc.*).

iidog does not combine with plan conjunct verbs but does with both changed conjunct (208) and independent ones (209).

- (208) Gaa-zoogpog iidog dbikong.
 IC.gii-zoogipo(n)-g iidog dibikong
 IC.PST-it.snows-0.**CONJ** **DUB** last.night
 ‘It must have snowed last night.’ AP

²⁰⁰ See Appendix 6 for examples.

²⁰¹ Junker et al., 2018, p. 458.

²⁰² It may be the case that *iidog* is lexicalized as a particle separating itself from dubitative mode morphology but conclusory evidence requires comparative research and an understanding of language change and lexicalization generally.

A learner would typically not expect a changed conjunct verb in (208). As noted, independent verb constructions are often equally acceptable in such contexts:

- (209) Gii-kchi-zoogpo iidig dbikong.
 gii-gichi-zoogipo iidog dibikong
 PST-really-it.snows.**IND** **DUB** last.night
 'I guess it snowed a lot last night.' MNC

Independent verb complements to *iidog* can be definite future-marked, unlike independent dubitative mode verbs (see Appendix 6 for data). It can appear in combination with other dubitative adverbs in second position (perhaps even as clitics) and in those cases the clause type restrictions follow the other adverb. Junker et al (2018, p. 455) note that *iidog* is also combined with other particles to express uncertainty in more specific ways, such as in *amanj iidog* 'I don't know' and *dibi iidog* 'I don't know where; wherever'.²⁰³ *iidog* can also appear in verbless clauses. More examples and analysis of *iidog* are found in Appendix 6.

5.4.4 Non-dubitative particles

There are also a number of particles that are implicated in evidentiality due to the unexpected clause types that arise then they combine with dubitative verbs. Some take changed conjunct complements in the same manner that typical dubitative particles do, such as *giishpin* ('if'), *msawaa* ('even; although'), *gnamaa* ('maybe; perhaps'), *aanwi* ('in spite of; even though; fortunately'), and *maagizhaa* ('maybe'). *Giishpin* is notable considering that it typically takes a plain conjunct complement (210) and it is only with the dubitative mode that it can be seen with a changed conjunct (211):²⁰⁴

- (210) Manj ge-gii-zhwebzigwen giish nii zhaaswaambaan.
 namanj IC.daa-gii-izhiwebizi-gwen

²⁰³ *iidog* is shown by Junker et al (2018) to also be used as a reportative particle in the same manner of *giiwenh*, which may account for some of its differences with other dubitative particles. In Northern dialects of Ojibwe, *iinzan* is seen to be used akin to *iidog* as a dubitative particle but it too can be used as a reportative particle. Importantly, it is noted that these particles don't trigger dubitative verbal inflection as do dubitative pronouns. (Junker et al., 2018, p. 456)

²⁰⁴ I will note that a comparable construction (*giishpin* with a dubitative complement) has come up in elicitation with MNC where initial change was blocked by the preverb *bwaa-*. That example (unglossed) is given here: *Giishpin bwaa-maajiibimawaawgobane, minj sa e-bi-nji-ganoozhgwenh, ndaa-gii-nendam* - 'If I hadn't written to her "I wonder why she's calling me," I would have thought.'

DUB IC.MOD-PST-RR.s/he.has.something.happen.to.h/-3SDUB.CONJ

giishpin niin izhaa-si-waambaan
if me go.there-NEG-1S.PRET.CONJ

'I don't know what would have happened to her if I hadn't gone (there).' AP

(211) **Giishpin** waabang **enkiisiigwen** nga-kwejmaa wendgwenh da-paa-hikewi-gobane.

giishpin waabang IC.anokii-sii-gwen ni-ga-kwejm-aa
if tomorrow **IC.work-NEG-CONJ.DUB** 1S-FUT-ask.h/-DIR

endogwen da-paa-hikewi-gobanen
whether FUT-go.about-hike-3S.PRET.DUB.CONJ

'If apparently she's not working tomorrow I'll ask her whether or not she'd go for a hike.'
MNC

The other particles (*msawaa*, *gnamaa*, *aanwi*, *maagizhaa*) typically appear with independent verbs, except in these cases where it appears they are repurposed for an evidential function and accompany a changed conjunct.

(47) *Gnamaa* gye yaakzigwenh.

gonamaa gye IC.aakozi-gwen
maybe GYE IC.be.sick-3S.DUB.CONJ

'Maybe she's sick.'

MNC

Context: you go to her house and she's not there.

This suggests that dubitative-marked clauses require a different clause type in the changed conjunct.

A few particles that don't necessarily appear with the dubitative mode, likewise appear with independent dubitatives for evidential readings. These are *gnabaj*, 'I think', *gnamaa/gnima* 'maybe', *megwaaj* 'probably', and *aabdeg* 'certainly'; 'must', and an example is given here:

(212) *Wiy*an **megwaach** megwaa mbwaachi'godgenan.

awiya-n megwaaj megwaa w-nibwaachi'-igodigenan²⁰⁵
someone-OBV probably right.now 3-visit.h/-3'>3.DUB.IND

²⁰⁵ There is another possible vowel quality variance in dubitative conjugation here with a Nishnaabemwin 3'>3s conjugation, *w_godigenan* (Valentine 2001, p. 289) seen as *o_igodogenan* elsewhere.

'Somebody is probably visiting him right now.'

MNC

Two non-dubitative particles, *mii* and *aapiish iidig*, are particularly notable in that they also found in evidential contexts with dubitative-marked verbs but take plain conjunct complements. I address the appearance of plain conjunct dubitatives in the following section.

5.5 Plain Conjunct Dubitative

Plain conjunct dubitatives are rare, leading researchers to conclude that all conjunct dubitatives must show initial change. As I mentioned earlier in the chapter, this generalization is not correct. Valentine (2001, p.832) remarks that conjunct dubitatives are always accompanied by initial change, although examples given in that grammar show otherwise. Junker et al. (2018) state that initial change is required in conjunct dubitatives. Plain conjunct dubitatives do, however, appear when subordinated by *mii* and in indicating location in the absence of relative roots or preverbs on associated verbs, and in *whether* statements. As we saw in the previous section, particles associated with plain conjunct dubitatives are *mii*, *endgwen*, *aapiish*, and *dbi*.

(213) Plain conjunct dubitative with *mii*

Mii go megwaach giizhiitaagwenh.

mii go megwaaj giizhiitaa-gwen

MII EMPH MOD.POSS s/he.finishes-3S.**DUB.CONJ**

'She's probably finished getting ready.' / 'She's probably ready.'

MNC

Dubitative subordinate conjunct clauses can also be selected by some main clause verbs.²⁰⁶

Interpretation of plain conjunct dubitatives varies. In cases of simple subordination as with *mii* or in cases of verbal selection/subordination, the inferential function of the dubitative characteristic of independent dubitatives is maintained, in contrast to the typical evidential function of conjunct dubitatives, which instead have a sense of wondering. *Endgwen/whether* constructions and plain conjuncts indicating location follow the typical interpretation of conjunct order dubitatives, which tend to lack an inferential or reportative function and rather express wonder or uncertainty. In any case of dubitative-marked verbs regardless of verbal order, the speaker-centered function of the dubitative remains.

²⁰⁶ Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2008, p. 192) cites instances of *mii dash* predicating independent verbs in varieties of Ojibwe, which suggests a possible lexicalization of the phrase.

5.5.1 Plain conjunct dubitative with *mii*

In these examples, the speaker is deducing that someone is ready to leave based upon various evidence and dubitative constructions naturally arose in such a scenario (see Appendix 7 for more data and specific contexts):²⁰⁷

- (214) *Mii go giizhiitaagwenh wii-ni-maajaad.*
mii go giizhiitaa-gwenh wii-ni-maajaa-d.
MII EMPH s/he.finishes.**DUB.CONJ** FUT.VOL-away-leave-3SG.CONJ
 ‘She must be ready to leave.’
- (213) *Mii go megwaach giizhiitaagwenh.*
mii go megwaaj giizhiitaa-gwen
MII EMPH MOD.POSS s/he.finishes-3S.**DUB.CONJ**
 ‘She’s probably finished getting ready.’ / ‘She’s probably ready.’ MNC

In both cases, the subordinating function of *mii* results in a plain conjunct complement and importantly, the overtly evidential, speaker-centered reading of inference is maintained (as opposed to changed conjunct dubitatives, which often lack the inferential or uncertain reading that is characteristic of independent dubitatives). In this example from a traditional narrative, the dubitative verb also has a reportative function, despite being in the conjunct order:

- (215) *Mii giiyenh gewiin maabam a'aa chi-bzhiki gii-moozhtoogwen maanda sa go i'ii mshkiki.*
mii giywenh gewiin maabam aya'aa gichi-bizhiki
MII allegedly as.for.3S PRON.DEM.AN PPN big-cow

gii-moozhitoon-gwen maanda sa go ayi'ii
 PST-feel.it-3S.DUB.CONJ PRON.DEM.INAN DM.FIN EMPH PPN

 mashkiki
 medicine

 ‘And (so the story goes) that big bull apparently felt that medicine.’ AP

Why do *mii* clauses constitute an exception to the gap for dubitative-marked plain conjunct? If we understand dubitative as necessarily anchored to speaker/discourse context, then we can understand the gap as an inability to embed evidentials. *Mii* clauses are notable in the fact that

²⁰⁷ The semantic function of *mii* as a focusing element likely explains its appearance here. See Kishketon (2008, 2016) for an exposition of the prolific Ojibwe discourse marker *mii*.

although they have the morphosyntax of subordinate clauses, they otherwise behave like non-embedded clauses. We find additional evidence for this in the parallel behavior with preterit, where a *mii*-subordinated conjunct preterit also maintains an independent order-type function:

- (216) Mii go geniin myaa waa-kidwaambaa.
 mii go geniin myaa IC.wii-ikido-yaambaan
 DM.DEIC EMPH as.for.1S exactly IC.FUT.VOL-say.it-1S.CONJ.PRET
 'That's exactly what I was going to say (but didn't).' MNC

As seen in Chapter 4, independent preterits contrast past states with later non-states (or vice versa) and carry a cessation function, while conjunct preterits indicate counterfactuality, hypotheticality, or unrealized events. In (216) the construction expresses a decidedly independent-type interpretation despite being in the conjunct order (initial change appears due either on account of the verb being a relative clause or because of the presence of a relative root in the verb *ikido*). Thus it appears that these dubitative verbs are begrudgingly subordinated by *mii* but resist the semantic implications typical of the conjunct order. Also considering the conjunct dubitative's propensity for initial change, it is significant that it does not always appear and this lends weight to the idea that they are conjunct dubitatives in form yet function as independent ones.

5.5.2 Plain conjuncts in *whether* statements

Another instance where dubitative verbal morphology can appear on a plain conjunct is in *endgwen* (wonder/whether) statements:

- (217) Endgwen nbaawaagwen.
 endogwen nibaa-waagwen
 I.wonder sleep-3P.DUB.CONJ
 'I wonder if they're sleeping.' AP
- (206) Endgwen wiidgewaagwen.
 endogwen wiidige-waagwen
 I.wonder s/he.is.married-3P.DUB.CONJ
 'I wonder if they're married.' AP

A consultant from Waasaaksing produced a *wii*-prefixed *endgwen* wonder construction:

- (218) Engwen²⁰⁸ wii-zoogpogwen.
 endogwen wii-zoogipo-gwen
 I.wonder FUT.VOL-it.snows-0.**CONJ.DUB**
 'I wonder if it's going to snow.' AP

Endgwen constructions remain a bit of a mystery as to when, where, and why initial change does or does not occur, and it appears that temporal prefixes may influence interpretation (see Appendix 6). These examples and issues are noted for comprehensiveness to facilitate continued research of the dubitative mode.

5.5.3 Simple subordination

Dubitative verbs can also be subordinated by main verbs; in such cases they appear as plain conjuncts.

- (219) Ngiikendaan²⁰⁹ gsha go bizhaagwenh nJohn.
 ni-gikendaan gosha go bi-izhaa-gwen nJohn
 1S-know.it.IND certainly EMPH hither-go-3S.DUB.CONJ PN
 Translation task: "I know that surely John comes." MNC

- (220) Niwiindamaag gegaa nibogwen.
 ni-wiindamaw-ig gegaa nibo-gwen
 1S-tell.h/-3S>1S.IND almost s/he.dies-3S.DUB.CONJ
 'He tells me that he must be dying.' Kishketon (2020, personal communication)

These examples are akin to those with *mii* where the dubitative verb is subordinated, and like those examples semantically resemble independent dubitatives despite being in the conjunct order. It may be the case that the 1sg subject in the matrix clause in (219) allows for the speaker-oriented discourse reading, and likewise does the speech verb in (220). These examples are a bit mysterious and not commented on in the literature so I leave them here for further investigation.

²⁰⁸ Another apparent variant on *endogwen*.

²⁰⁹ See (41) for a note on vowel lengthening observed here.

5.5.4 Plain conjunct dubitative *where*-statements

As noted, conjunct order verbs indicating location do not show initial change in the absence of a relative root or preverb, and this is also the case with dubitative-marked conjuncts. *D[i]bi* typically takes a changed conjunct dubitative complement except in these cases.

- (82) Dbi iidig yaa'aane.²¹⁰
 dibi iidog ayaa-waanen
 don't.know.where DUB be.there-1S.**DUB.CONJ**
 'I wonder where I am.' MNC

As a point of comparison, a conjunct dubitative also predicated by *dbi iidig* does undergo initial change in a similar context dealing with location:

- (221) Dbi iidig bemi-yaagwenh.
 dibi iidog IC.bimi-ayaa-gwen
 don't.know.where DUB **IC.goes.along-be.there-3S.CONJ.DUB**
 'I wonder where they are.' MNC

In the above example, the speaker is remarking about their friend who is currently driving somewhere and the speaker doesn't know where at what point in the drive they might be; placing them in a dynamic location predicating the use of the relative preverb *b[i]mi-*. The speaker might call their friend and ask:

- (80) Aapii-sh megwaa bemi-yaayin?
 aapii dash megwaa IC.bimi-ayaa-yin
 WH DASH right.now **IC.goes.along-be.there-2S.CONJ**
 'Where are you right now?' MNC

The consultant specified that they would be inquiring, "at what point in your drive," to their friend. This is not a dubitative construction but it demonstrates that a location question with a relative preverb maintains the presence of initial change. This raises the question of interactions between constructions that do or do not show IC and that is discussed in 2.6.

Where-dubitatives in the conjunct are ungrammatical with initial change for speakers who analyze the verb as not containing a relative root:

²¹⁰ See example (82) for a note on nasal and approximant elision observed here.

(222) Dbi iidig **gii**-toowaane.
 dibi iidog gii-atoon-waanen
 don't.know.where DUB PST-put.it-1S.DUB.CONJ
 'I don't know where I put it.' MNC

(223) *dbi iidig **gaa**-toowaane
 dibi iidog IC.gii-atoon-waanen
 don't.know.where DUB IC.PST-put.it-1S.DUB.CONJ MNC

The full intricacies of evidentiality and clause typing by way of conjunct and changed conjunct verbs are left for ~~the next~~ ~~poor~~ ~~soul~~ future research and these examples and those in appendices are compiled and presented as evidence.

5.6 The Preterit-dubitative mode

Although it is outside the scope of this study, I note here for the sake of comprehensiveness that Ojibwe also has a so-called preterit-dubitative mode, which combines functions of both modes. The intricacies of the syntax and semantics of the preterit-dubitative mode are complex, and do not easily allow us to analyze it as a combination of the two modes I have explored in more detail. I provide a brief overview of this mode in Appendix 8, with examples, but will summarize the main generalizations here. In short, the form and function of the preterit-dubitative can align with either mode in independent, conjunct, and changed conjunct clause types (and align even so in the case of nouns showing preterit-dubitative morphology) and is thus subject to the complex syntactic and semantic factors influencing both, such as the appearance or non-appearance of initial change.

In the independent order, the preterit-dubitative carries the interpretations of both preterit and dubitative as those modes do in that order respectively. In other words, a cessation function of the preterit combined with evidentiality of the dubitative. Plain conjunct preterit-dubitatives appear when motivated syntactically, such as in cases of simple subordination (akin to those in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.3 along with their independent order-type readings) or when dealing with *where*-environments without a relative root or preverb.²¹¹ Changed conjunct preterit-dubitatives are common and these appear to pattern with dubitative constructions that have a propensity for initial change. The preterit-dubitative deserves more research, since data are limited, but refer

²¹¹ Like with the dubitative, preterit-dubitative complements to *endgwen* can be in the plain conjunct and the reasons for this are not yet known.

to Appendix 8 for some discussion and examples. As of yet, no specifically preterit-dubitative function appears to shine through the varied environments and contexts in which it appears and the mode seems to align with one or other mode depending on context.

5.7 Dubitative nouns

As discussed in 2.8.4, dubitative mode morphology appears on nouns as does preterit, though this is considered a vocative form of address and merely homonymous with dubitative mode morphology. I follow Nichols (1980) in this regard, who notes that there is “no modal cross-reference” (p. 53) between dubitative nouns and verbal morphology. The fact that mode morphology (including the preterit-dubitative) appears on both nouns and verbs is yet another instance of the similarities between them.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has explored both the dubitative mode in Ojibwe and other means of marking evidentiality in the language. The dubitative mode appears in various clause types; its evidential interpretation largely depends on verbal order. Many evidential particles require dubitative morphology in their complements (such as dubitative pronouns), while others have it optionally (e.g. *giiwenh* on account of its adjunct status), and the outlier *iidog* is in complementary distribution with the dubitative mode, while contributing similar meanings.

In the independent order, the dubitative’s function as an evidential is clear. It marks the speaker’s source of information, whether by secondhand account or their own inference, and in either case it can indicate doubt. There is a semantic shift, however, when the dubitative mode is used in the conjunct order; in this context it does not overtly mark information source, but rather indicates a sense of doubt or wonder on the part of the speaker. It is also the case that some Ojibwe evidential adverbs cannot be embedded. The semantic shift by verbal order patterns with what is seen in the indicative and preterit modes, where independent verbs are extensionally modal and plain conjunct intensional, and the speaker-oriented nature of the dubitative as an evidential is maintained across clause types.

The function of verbal order in expressing extensions vs. intensions also explains why dubitative verbs show a strong dispreference for plain conjunct conjugations and most commonly are in the changed conjunct. When they do appear in the plain conjunct via for

example *mii* and simple embeddings, dubitatives retain their inferential function over the wonder sense seen in changed conjuncts. It is significant that a function of initial change is in participles and *wh*-complements, as changed conjunct dubitatives parallel these in both form and function. In either order, a speaker-centered meaning of the dubitative verb is maintained. This chapter is presented as a contribution to the goal of a full analysis of evidentiality in Ojibwe, which requires an in-depth understanding of the numerous, interrelated factors of mode, embedding, and clause typing generally.

Chapter 6: A Few Relevant Particles

6.1 Overview

As we have seen throughout this dissertation, there are many complement-taking particles of various classes and functions in Ojibwe that interact with both clause type and mode. A study of these can provide insight into the overarching project of figuring out how clause typing works in the language. More importantly, understanding the relationships between such particles and their complements is of great value to the L2 learner as this will allow them to use the particles more fluently, especially when multiple clause types are available and lead to different overall interpretations.²¹²

The term ‘particle’ is used loosely here and includes both what has been characterized as adverbs of various types, as well as discourse particles/markers. These differences in terminology relate to a complexity of language in general and the difficulty of categorizing parts of speech due to their wide ranges of functions. What is important for our purposes is to observe how these elements function in terms of the clause types they can combine with. The word *nishke* (and its various forms),²¹³ for example, can be used as a simple attention getter, similar to the English ‘look!’, but also functions as a discourse marker. When used as a discourse marker, it can take a range of verbal complements. Others, such as the necessity modals *aabdeg* and *booch* (also discussed in Chapter 3), vary between independent or conjunct complements depending on the interpretation conveyed, while some particles like *(am)begish* are restricted to only conjunct order complements verbal complements (though it can appear in verbless clauses). Various particles interact with changed conjunct verbs as well, most commonly in evidential contexts. Those were discussed in Chapter 5 and noted here when relevant.

The handful of particles examined in this chapter is a small sample of the full range of such elements in the language. I present them as case studies to illustrate the characterization

²¹² Corbiere (1997) is an excellent example of a learner-centered resource for the use of various common adverbs in Odaawaa, and it includes *maanoo*, *booch*, *iidig*, *giiyenh*, *swii/shwii go*, *naanidaa*, *naanbena*, *begish*, *aabdeg sa naa*, *bgosendam*, *baamaa (pii)*, *naagach*, *noongo*, *mbe*, *megwaa*, *biinish*, *weweni*, *ntaa-*, *mno-*, *nii naa*, *aaniish naa*, and *aanii*. In this resource, Corbiere also explains Nishnaabemwin analogs for common English adverbs, which is a very helpful approach in assisting L2 learners of the language who are starting from English as a first language.

²¹³ Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016, p. 46) lists *nashke*, *shke*, *ke*, *inake*, *ina*, and even simply *na* as forms of the word, the OPD also lists *inashke*, and I’ll add that *nishke* is also commonly heard in eastern dialects.

of Ojibwe clause typing that I have developed in this thesis. While the chapter is largely descriptive, it aims to sketch out possible pathways for analysis that can also provide a basis for researchers and students of the language alike to examine the particles they seek to understand in their own work.

6.2 The Particles

As noted above, characterizing these words is challenging, though the term *adverb* is seen most frequently in the literature. That in itself, however, is a broad definition; the Ojibwe People’s Dictionary lists at least 16 types of adverbs and Valentine (2001) devotes a large chapter section to adverbs and places them into nine categories.²¹⁴ For each of the particles discussed below, I will note the part of speech typically assigned to it in addition to other information outlined in Table 37. The focus of categorization here however will be the environments in which each particle arises, with an emphasis on the clause types of verb complements.

Table 37: Template of particle categorization

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			

6.2.1 Conjunct complements obligatory

A few particles appear canonically with conjunct verbs. I have argued in this dissertation that conjunct clauses arise in instances of subordination; the particles in this category expectedly behave as though they inherently subordinate a complement. Of the particles below, only *(am)begish* adheres steadfastly to this rule while *giishpin* shows a couple exceptions and *mii* is a can of worms in itself.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Valentine’s categories are: Temporal Adverbs, Locational Adverbs, Manner Adverbs, Conjunctive Adverbs, Quantificational Adverbs, Adverbs of Degree, Negative Adverbs, Interrogative Adverbs, and Evidential Adverbs (Valentine, 2001, p. x)

²¹⁵ A can full of delicious, linguistically rich worms.

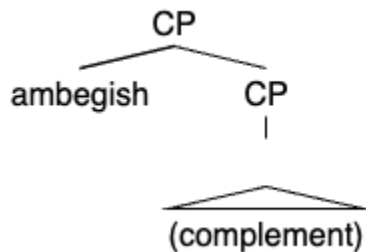
6.2.1.1 *ambegish*

As discussed in Chapter 4, the optative particle (*am*)*begish* (*naa*)²¹⁶ obligatorily takes a conjunct complement and is ungrammatical with an independent verb.

- (121) a. *Begish naa wiiba bi-giiwet.*
 ambegish naa wiiba bi-giiwe-d
 OPT DM soon hither-go.home-3S.**CONJ**
 'I hope s/he comes home soon.' MNC

As I argued in chapter 4, *Begish* subordinates the clause that follows it due to its nature as an optative that syntactically behaves as a main clause. It is accurately translated into English as *I wish/hope that...*, and as such its complement is a dependent clause and must be conjugated in the conjunct order.

(224)



Begish complements cannot appear as parataxical main clauses in the independent order because semantically the complement of an optative essentially deals with the intensional realm of modality (signified by conjunct order conjugation in Ojibwe), rather than the extensional real world (denoted by independent conjugations). Independent verbs with *begish* are thus ungrammatical:

- (121) b. **Begish naa wiiba bi-giiwe.*
 ambegish naa wiiba bi-giiwe
 OPT DM soon hither-go.home.3S.**IND** MNC

Changed conjunct complements are also ungrammatical:

²¹⁶ As noted in Chapter 3, there is variation in the form of this optative and in some varieties it might obligatorily be accompanied by the discourse marker *naa*.

(225) *Begish naa beknaageyaan.
 ambegish naa IC.bakinaage-yaan
 OPT DM IC.s/he.wins-1S.CONJ MNC

It can also be used on its own as an expression of hope or wish:

(226) Aanii-sh enendaman. | Ambegish.
 aanii dash IC.inendam-an ambegish
 WH DASH IC.s/he.thinks.a.certain.way-2S.CONJ I.wish
 What are you thinking about? | I wish. ES via OPD

Most commonly, as with almost any clause in spoken Ojibwe, the particle is accompanied by a discourse marker of some sort:

(227) Begish naa!
 ambegish naa
 OPT DM
 'I wish!' IS via NOD

Table 38: Ambegish clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
ambegish	I wish/hope that... (predicative adverb) ²¹⁷	x	✓	x	✓	?	✓

6.2.1.2 *giishpin**

Noted in Chapter 1, *giishpin* is a subordinating conjunction used in conditional clauses that inherently takes a plain conjunct complement—*except* (hence the asterisk above) when said complement employs a dubitative verb. With dubitative complements, initial change appears, as per clause typing patterns of that mode discussed in chapter 5. Another rare exception is the use of *giishpin* with an independent verb noted below. Most often *giishpin* is canonically a conditional with a plain conjunct complement akin to the English *if*:

(123) Da-mno-yaa giishpin mshkiki daapnang.

²¹⁷ OPD.

da-mino-ayaa	[giishpin	mashkiki	daapinan-g]
FUT.DEF-well-be.3S. IND	if	medicine	pick.it.up-3S>0. CONJ
'If he takes this medicine, he will get better'			MNC

The fact that *giishpin* takes plain conjunct complements is not at all surprising, considering the subordinating function of the conditional. In rare cases, however, *giishpin* can take a changed conjunct complement:

(211) **Giishpin** waabang **enkiisiigwen** nga-kwejmaa wendgwenh da-paa-hikewi-gobane.
 giishpin waabang IC.anokii-sii-gwen ni-ga-kwejm-aa
 if tomorrow **IC.work-NEG-CONJ.DUB** 1S-FUT-ask.h/-DIR

endogwen da-paa-hikewi-gobanen
 whether FUT-go.about-hike-3S.PRET.DUB.CONJ

'If apparently she's not working tomorrow I'll ask her whether or not she'd go for a hike.'
 MNC

To express doubt or wonder about the information contained in the *if*-clause in the example above, the speaker treats it as an evidential construction like those discussed in Chapter 5, with initial change and dubitative morphology on the verb complex. This is a consequence of the IC-triggering effect of evidentiality and discussed in the previous chapter, and the conditional's antecedent remains in the conjunct order.

There is also a lesser-known function of *giishpin* with an 'or else' or 'otherwise' meaning that is uncommon and may be unique to Odaawaa:

(228) Gego wendek ziignange zhiwi nataasing, da-baazkaa giishpin wi.
 gego IC.onde-g ziiginan-gen zhiwi²¹⁸ nataas²¹⁹-ing
 don't IC.it.boils-0S.CONJ pour.it-IMPN there glass-LOC

da-baasikaa giishpin i'iw
 FUT.DEF-crack.0S.**IND** giishpin PRON.DEM

'Don't pour boiling water in that glass, or else it will crack.'
 MNC via NOD

²¹⁸ Od.

²¹⁹ Another Odaawaa-specific term, possibly derived from the French *le tasse*, 'cup, glass', with an Ojibwe-ified French definite article appearing as a nasal consonant /n/ rather than the lateral approximant /l/ that is absent in the Ojibwe phonological inventory, as observed in French borrowings found other varieties as with *nitii* ni 'tea'.

(229) Gsinaa noongo. Wiikwaan biiskan. Gga-dkaj giisphin.
 gisinaa noongom
 it.is.cold.(of.weather).0S.IND today

wiiwakwaan biizikan
 hat wear.it.IMP

gi-ga-dakaji giisphin
 2S.FUT.DEF-catch.a.cold.IND if

'It's cold today. Wear a hat, otherwise you'll catch a cold.' MNC

(230) Nga-bi-zhaa dash go giisphin.

ni-ga-bi-izhaa dash go giisphin
 1S-FUT.DEF-hither-go.there.IND DM.CNTR EMPH if

'[My car is getting fixed] but I'll go otherwise.' MNC

Context: Stated in the context that they will attend an event if their car is fixed in time.

In the limited data available, this type of construction is often introduced by a command in the imperative order. Unlike in a typical conditional, the *giisphin* clauses are in the independent with future tense conjugation. Maanyaan noted that *giisphin* seems to be necessarily clause-final, but also that these clauses can be rephrased in English to more resemble a canonical if-clause. (229) for example could be rephrased as, 'you'll catch a cold if you don't wear a hat.' She also confirmed that the *giisphin* clauses in these cases do contain elided material, and the English translation of (229) is essentially:

(231) 'It's cold today. Wear a hat. You'll catch a cold (if you don't wear a hat).'

The fact that *giisphin* appears at the end of the clause, and that it is coordinated with the elided conjunct clause, suggests that it is not a complement and these examples mirror the parataxical IND+IND structures discussed in Chapter 3.

That the canonical function of *giisphin* subordinates its complement is unsurprising considering the behaviour of conditionals cross-linguistically. A conditional clause accesses the modal realm and for Ojibwe this means conjunct order conjugation where in others it may mean subjunctive mood. Thus it is no surprise why *giisphin* clauses are conjunct but the changed conjunct / dubitative and independent cases deserve more investigation.

Table 39: Giishpin clause typing

Particle	Definition /translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
giishpin	1. if (grammatical adverb)	✗	✓	✓ (only with DUB)	?	?	?
	2. otherwise, or else (conjunction)	✓	?	?	?	?	?

To summarize, a typical *if*-clause with *giishpin* will be in the plain conjunct unless given an evidential flavour, in which case we see initial change and dubitative morphology on the verb. There is also a niche use of *giishpin* that employs an independent verb in Odaawaa, which likely does not involve subordination but instead an elided complement to *giishpin*.

6.2.1.3 *mii**

Mii is an ubiquitous part of Ojibwe discourse that has proven difficult to define due to its many functions. Rhodes (1998) delineates *clausal mii*-clefts and *focused mii*-clefts and Valentine (2001) similarly identifies two main uses: as a discourse sequencing marker like the English, ‘and then...’; and as a focusing element. Kishketon (2008, 2016) refines the analysis and identifies deictic, aspectual, and veridical uses of *mii*. *Mii* most often takes a plain conjunct complement, but Kishketon (2008) notes that it can be seen with verbs in all verbal orders (p. 171). I will suggest here that *mii* takes a plain conjunct complement when it directly combines with a clause. The very interesting exceptions, where *mii* appears with an independent or changed conjunct, either reflect a *mii* + nominal strategy or parataxis.

A typical *mii*-construction is presented here:

(232) *Mii* with conjunct complement - typical configuration

Mii dgwaagig ni-aanjaandegin niw niibiishensan.

mii dagwaagi(n)-g ani-aanjaande²²⁰-gin niw
 DM.DEIC be.fall-0.CONJ in.progress-change.color-0P.CONJ those

²²⁰ Also observed as *aandaande* vii ‘change colour, become a different colour’ in the NOD and likely a result of variance in the initial /aand-/ ‘change’ that is also realized as /aanj-/ and /aanz-/.

aniibiish-ens-an
 leaf-DIM-PL
 'Leaves change color in the fall.'

AP

Another translation of that sentence could be, 'it is in the fall when the leaves change colour,' as the deictic function of *mii* is employed here to make the point that fall is when that occurrence happens.

Mii's use as a deictic combines directly with nominals, as described by Kishketon (2008) (example adapted for consistency):

(233) *Mii* with a nominal

Mii onow negwaakwaanan.
 mii onow negwaakwa-an
 DM.DEIC PRON.DEM taps-PL
 'These are the taps.' (physically pointing them out)

Kishketon (2008, p. 180).

Mii can also combine with relative clauses, and because all of the instances of *mii* + changed conjunct appear to be relative clauses/participles, we can consider these to be a subcase of the deictic function of *mii* combining with nominals.

(234) Changed conjunct participle

Mii go genii naasaap ge-kwedweyaanh.
 mii go geniin naasaap IC.da/ga-gagwedwe-yaan
 DM.DEIC EMPH as.for.1S same IC.FUT.DEF-ask-1S.CONJ
 'I'll order the same thing.' MNC

While *mii* typically takes a conjunct verb complement, as I noted above there are also specific instances where it appears with an independent verb. What most of these cases share is that *mii* appears in conjunction with some other discourse, locative, or adverbial elements. For example, Kishketon (2008, p. 192) cites instances of *mii dash* predicating independent verbs in varieties of Ojibwe suggesting a lexicalization of it, and provides the following as one example of the syntactic detachability of *mii dash*:

(235) Miish in-gii-nishki '-aa-naan akiwenzii.
 DM 1-PST-make mad-DIR-1P.IND old man
 'And then we went and made the old man angry.'

(Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2008, p. 192), (Eagle, 1998, p. 18), original translation, glosses adapted)

Notably, *mii* can also be found as part of discourse marker complexes that don't have a verbal element but stand alone as complete utterances:

(236) Verbless *mii*

a. Mii ta gii naa gegeti.
 mii ta gii naa gegeti
 MII TA GII DM truly
 'Oh yeah that's right.' MNC

b. Mii gnamaa.
 mii gonamaa
 MII maybe
 'Maybe.', 'It seems.' MNC

Kishketon (2008) also notes such non-verb uses of *mii*.

The ability of *mii* to combine with nonverbal elements of various types as a standalone clause suggests that Nichols' (1980, p. 118) characterization of *mii* with independent verb complements is correct: "In a number of cases *mii* forms a clause with a noun or locative phrase and the main verb is independent."

(237) miišš iniw ookkomissan okii-wiiciwaawaan.
 and thus that his grandmother (3') they go with the other (3p-3')

Mii-sh iniw ookomisan ogii-wijjiwaawaan.
 mii dash iniw ookomis-an
 DM.DEIC DASH PRON.DEM.OBV grandmother-OBV

o-gii-wijjiw-aawaan
 3-PST- accompany.h/-3P>3'.IND

'It was with his grandmother that they went.'

Nichols' (1980, p. 118)

If *mii* never in fact directly combines with an independent clause, one remaining complication is the fact that with negation, *mii*-complements are independent, as Nichols (1980) shows²²¹:

(238) *mii kaawiin kii-maaciinaassiin.*
 thus not he wasn't taken along

Mii gaawiin gii-maajiinaassiin.
mii gaawiin gii-maajizh-aasiin
 DM.DEIC NEG PST-take.h/.along-X>3S.NEG.IND

'It's that he wasn't taken along.'

If my basic account of clause typing is correct, then this might be a case of parataxis of *mii* + a *gaawiin* clause, or that such clauses have a special syntactic status

As I described in Chapter 5.5.1, *mii* can combine with evidential clauses, forming a notable exception to the gap for dubitative-marked conjunct clauses:

(213) DUB.CONJ *mii evidential*
Mii go megwaach giizhiitaagwenh.
mii go megwaaj giizhiitaa-gwen
MII EMPH MOD.POSS s/he.finishes-3S.DUB.CONJ
 'She's probably finished getting ready.' / 'She's probably ready.' MNC

As I discussed in that chapter, *mii*'s role as a deictic anchor may explain the ability for its complement to host the dubitative. In (239), *mii* itself however has a cliticized evidential particle *-dog*, which is likely cognate with *iidog* (or even a contraction of it), and as we saw earlier, *iidog* uniformly triggers initial change but is in complementary distribution with the dubitative mode.

(239) *Mii-dog changed conjunct*
Mii-dog gaa-o-miijid aw ya'aa bzhiki.
mii-dog IC.gii-o-miijin a'aw aya'aa bizhiki
 MII-DUB IC.PST-go.and-eat.it.3S>0.CONJ PRON.DEM PPN cow
 'I guess that cow had gone and eaten it.' AP

²²¹ This is a fact also noted by Rhodes (1998) and others; and Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2008) states that, "[s]yntactically, negative clauses occurring with *mii* remain as independent clauses, showing no change in verb order. It is unclear at this point why this would be the case" (p. 205).

This is another example of a changed conjunct construction expressing evidentiality without the dubitative mode, as seen in *iidog* constructions. It also has an independent order-type of evidential interpretation despite the fact that the verb is in the changed conjunct order. In other cases it can appear with a changed conjunct dubitative complement (as can *giishpin* seen previously) in an evidential, mirative context:

- (240) Mii evidential/mirative
 oonh, mii maanda Mary gaa-mzinbii'ang
 oonh mii maanda Mary IC.gii-mazinibii'an-g
 oh DM.DEIC PRON.DEM.PROX PN IC.PST-draw.it-3S>0.**CONJ**
 'Ohh, *this* is what Mary drew' MNC

The complex semantics and functions of *mii* suggest that this is an area of future research. The investigation here, though, shows that it is promising to treat *mii* + conjunct as true subordinations, while *mii* + independent/changed conjunct reflect non-verbal *mii* constructions (plus possible parataxis of an independent).

Table 40: Mii clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type				Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ	IMP			
mii	'it is that..., that's how/why/etc.' (predicative adverb) ²²²	✓ ²²³	✓	✓ ²²⁴	✓	✗	✓	✓

6.2.1.4 Analysis

The particles in this section appear to be heads that select a conjunct clause. *Begish* for example acts as a main clause, equivalent to 'I wish/hope (that)...', which inherently subordinates its complement in the intensional modality of the conjunct verbal order necessary in dealing with hopes and wishes.²²⁵ Where there is apparent variability such as with *mii*

²²² *Mii* is understandably difficult to give a singular definition.

²²³ Likely not a direct combination.

²²⁴ As with the IND cases, this is likely not a direct combination.

²²⁵ As described in Chapter 4, the presence of the preterit mode in such complements disambiguates the hope/wish sentiment through its function as a counterfactual marker.

associating with different clause types, this is likely illusory and the non-conjunct forms are cases of different nonverbal subordination strategies, such as *mii* + IND being cases of parataxis.

6.2.2 Optional IND or CONJ complements

Some particles can appear with either independent or conjunct complements; speakers' choice of clause type yields different semantic results. As outlined in Chapter 3, this variation yields different meanings/functions by clause type/verbal order. These minimal pairs illustrate that the syntactic relationship between a particle and a clause gives rise to the meaning differences seen. Necessity modals *aabdeg* and *booch*, and the manner particle *aan[a]wi*, can combine with independent or plain conjunct complement for discourse purposes; here clause type appears to carry semantic import that the speaker selects for. The discourse particle *nashke* and temporal marker *megwaa* also see clause type optionality, but these are different from the aforementioned particles in that they each have two different meanings that are inherently associated with a specific verbal order.

6.2.2.1 *aabdeg*, *booch*

Aabdeg and *booch* are common necessity modals and are exemplary of particles that occur optionally with either independent or conjunct verbs. Both can be translated as *must* or *have to*. The former is common in Eastern regions, while *booch* is a go-to in Western dialects. Other terms are used for the same purposes in the Northwestern end of Ojibwe country and there is much overlap and semantic nuance within each term across dialect regions. *Booch*, for example, is used in Minnesota Ojibwe, where *aabdeg* is in Nishnaabemwin. While *booch* is also present in Nishnaabemwin, it has a slightly different connotation than *aabdeg* there; *aabdeg* is mostly absent in Minnesota Ojibwe. Valentine (1994) notes numerous particles and clause types expressing necessity across the language that are prime for future study.

Aabdeg, as noted, can combine with either independent or conjunct clauses:

- (118) a. Gitziiman gii-wiijgendwaawaan aabdek, eshki-niibwiyaat.
 o-gitizii-m-an gii-wiijgendaw-aawaan aabdeg
 3.POSS-parent-OBV PST-live.with.h/-3PL>3'.IND MOD.NEC
 IC.oshki-niibawi-waad

IC-new-be.married-3PL.CONJ

'They had to live with her parents when they were newly married.' MNC via NOD

b. Aabdek go wii-aagwiitooknoweng gchi-gsinaak.

aabdeg go wii-aagwiitooknowe-ng gichi-gsinaa-g

MOD.NEC EMPH FUT-dress.in.layers-X.CONJ very-cold-0.CONJ

'A second layer of clothing must be worn when it's really cold.' MNC via NOD

Examples from Southwestern Ojibwe of *booch* show that its use as a necessity modal is parallel to *aabdeg* in the East:²²⁶

(241) a. Booch igo niwii-izhaa oodenaang wii-maa'ishkamaan.

booch igo ni-wii-izhaa oodena-ang

MOD.NEC EMPH 1S-FUT.VOL-go.there.IND town-LOC

wii-maa'ishkam-aan

FUT.VOL-s/he.shops-1S.CONJ

'I'm going to town anyway to shop.'

RG via OPD

b. Booch igo wiisiniyaan aana-bakadesiwaan.

booch igo wiisini-yaan aana-bakade-si-waan

MOD.NEC EMPH eat-1SG.CONJ despite-hungry-NEG-1S.CONJ

'I still eat even though I'm not hungry'

GH via OPD

With both *booch* and *aabdeg*, we see meaning differences corresponding to clause type: the independent complements in (118a) and (241a) refer to specific real-world occurrences while (118b) and (241b) are generalizations or refer to nonspecific events. Thus clause type is employed to convey a semantic difference which illustrates the inherent functions of the independent and conjunct verbal orders. The former is indexical and introduced to the common ground as a real-world event while the latter anaphoric, where the present world / world of evaluation is outside of the modal base.

Two more examples of *aabdeg* are presented here using the same verb in similar contexts for comparison; first a real-world event and in the second a general statement:

(280) Kaa, aabdek nwii-nakii.

²²⁶ MNC notes that in her dialect, *booch* functions similarly to *aabdeg* but it is used in contexts where one might do something "defiantly" or against convention, such as eating junk food against a doctor's orders or while knowing that it's bad for you. She noted that this is not a steadfast rule and further investigation of the semantics of *booch* in Nishnaabemwin is ongoing.

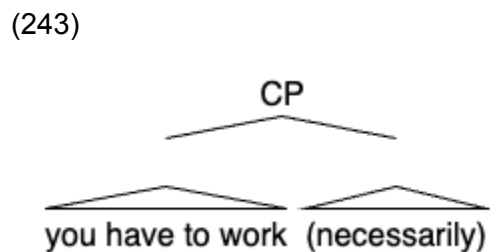
gaa aabdeg ni-wii-anokii
 NEG MOD.NEC 1S-FUT.VOL-s/he.works.**IND**
 'No, I have to work.'
 Context: Said in response to a friend's question of whether the subject will be available tomorrow. MNC

(281) Aabdek gegii ji-maajii-nakiyin.
 aabdeg gegiin ji-maajii-anokii-yin
 MOD.NEC as.for.2S JI-begin-s/he.works-2S.**CONJ**
 'You have to start working.'
 Context: Said to a young person coming of age, implying that they can't just stay home and rely on their parents and instead have to work for a living. MNC

Again, the independent and conjunct clauses correspond to indexical and anaphoric meanings. Simplified examples and corresponding sentence structures are given here:

- (242) a. Aabdek giwii-anokii (waabang).
 aabdeg gi-wii-anokii (waabang)
 MOD.NEC 2S.FUT-s/he.works.**IND** (tomorrow)
 'You have to work (tomorrow).'
- b. Aabdek ji-anokiiyan (ge-zhooniyaamiyan).
 aabdek ji-anokii-yan (IC.FUT-ozhooniyaami-yan)
 MOD.NEC JI-s/he.works-2S.**CONJ** (IC.FUT-have.money-2S.CONJ)
 'You have to work (to have money).'

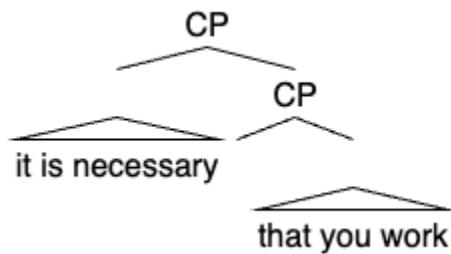
With an independent verb, a necessity modal is an adjunct to the clause stating that one must work; a clause that is in the independent order maintaining the proposition in the common ground:



With a conjunct complement, however, the necessity modal subordinates the proposition that one be working and as such it is evaluated in reference to an anaphoric intensional modal base

of worlds that may be outside that of the current one, such as in the nonspecific event of habitual action of working for a living.²²⁷

(244)



Thus, in instances where there is an apparent optionality of clause type selection between independent and conjunct verbs, each one corresponds to different syntactic relationships between the modal and the clause, which in turn yield specific semantic import, either indicating real-world instances (independent order) or accessing a modality outside of the actual world (conjunct order).

Supporting evidence for the fact that independent order verbs appearing with *aabdeg* are adjunct phrases is the fact that there is flexibility in word order of the modal, as seen in these translations of 's/he has to go to Sudbury':²²⁸

(245) *Aabdeg* word order flexibility with independent verbs

- a. **aabdek** Nswakmok wii-zhaa
- b. **aabdek** wii-zhaa Nswakmok
- c. Nswakmok **aabdek** wii-zhaa
- d. Nswakmok wii-zhaa **aabdek**

In examples where *aabdeg* or other modals subordinate their complements, however, the modal tends to be clause-initial and cannot appear elsewhere in the clause, unlike the independent examples in (245).

(246) *Aabdeg* word order restriction with conjunct verbs

- a. **Aabdek** go wii-aagwiitooknoweng gchi-gsinaak.
- b. Gchi-gsinaak, **aabdek** go wii-aagwiitooknoweng.

²²⁷ These are nonetheless all possible worlds and as a point of foreshadowing Chapter 4, the preterit mode in the conjunct order shifts this reference to worlds that the speaker believes to be outside the set of possible (accessible) worlds, instantiating counterfactuality.

²²⁸ These sentences can't be considered equal since Ojibwe can front words or phrases for focus purposes but they illustrate grammaticality.

- c. ?Wii-aagwiitooknoweng **aabdek** gchi-gsinaak.
 d. ?Wii-aagwiitooknoweng gchi-gsinaak **aabdek**.

Like many particles in Ojibwe, *aabdeg* can be used on its own:²²⁹

(247) *Aabdeg* on its own

- a. Ka-bi-zhaa na?
 gi-ga-bi-izhaa na
 2S-FUT.DEF-hither-go.there.IND Q
 'Are you coming?' MNC
- b. oonh, aabdek
 oonh aabdeg
 oh MOD.NEC
 'Oh for sure.' MNC

The following examples also illustrate the use of the prolific discourse marker *go* as an emphatic particle in combination with *aabdeg*, similar to what we saw with *mii* in the previous section:

(248) *Aabdeg* with [*i*]go

- a. Oonh enh, nga-bi-kweji-zhaa go.
 oonh enh ni-ga-bi-gagweji-izhaa go
 oh yes 1S-FUT.DEF-hither-try.to-go.there.IND EMPH
 'Yeah I'll try and come over.' MNC
- b. Enh, aabdek go.
 enh aabdeg go
 yes MOD.NEC EMPH
 'Yeah you must!' MNC

Combined with the conclusivity/finality of the discourse marker [*i*]sa, a characteristic described by Kishketon (2016, p.103), a speaker emphasizes that it is a certainty that they will come too:

(249) *Aabdeg* with [*i*]sa

- a. Ka-bi-zhaa na gegii.
 gi-ga-bi-izhaa na gegiin
 2S-FUT.DEF-hither-go.there.IND Q as.for.2S
 'Are you coming too?'

²²⁹ Due to having a similar function, *booch* was tested on its own as well but didn't seem acceptable that way in Nishaabemwin. *Booch* on its own is attested in Oshkaabewis Native Journal 7-2 (p. 106) from Anna Gibbs of Ponemah.

- b. Oonh, aabdek sa go.
 oonh aabdek sa go
 oh MOD.NEC DM.FIN EMPH
 'Of course!'

Table 41: Aabdeg clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
aabdeg	must (necessity modal)	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓

Table 42: Booch clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
booch NOD	must (necessity modal)	✓	✓	?	✓	?	✓

Other necessity modals in Ojibwe (of which there are many) seem to generally combine with independent order verbs (as well as appear in verbless clauses and on their own, usually in combination with discourse particles), but it may be the case that others exhibit similar clause typing alternations. With the approach I am taking here, we would expect these modals to be adverbial, possibly displaying similar flexibility in word order/adjunction site that we see for *aabdek* with an independent clause. A lack of data and focused elicitation on the matter prevent any conclusions to be made but I encourage the learner and researcher alike to explore this with language speakers in your circles. I hope that this chapter can serve as a blueprint for future documentation and description of these elements in the language.

6.2.2.2 aanawi (and preverbs)

The adverb *aan[a]wi* (also *aana*, *aano*) also displays optionality in the clause types it can appear with. There is also a preverb *aan[a]wi-* (and variants) that is clearly related in form and function to *aan[a]wi* that complicates the matter considering that it does not show initial change, even in contexts where it is otherwise warranted; in other words, it can only appear with independent

and plain conjunct verbs. A preverb *aana-* commonly combines with *wii-* and this form is even analyzed as a single preverb (*aanawii-*) in the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary (Naokwegijig-Corbiere, n.d.). The preverb and particle forms are argued to have originated from the verb *aanawewizi*²³⁰ vai 's/he is inadequate, is ineffective, fails,'²³¹ which makes sense considering their uses. There appears to be some regional semantic variation, though, where in Nishnaabemwin the particle can have a sense of *fortunately* (though this appears to not be the case for the preverb form). A full account of all of these pieces requires a careful comparative analysis of each element and its behavior across dialects and is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Here I simply provide a couple examples of the particle form as an initial snapshot.

The following data is taken from the Ojibwe People's Dictionary (Nichols, 2015), where *aanawi* is defined as a manner adverb meaning *anyhow*; *although*; *despite*; and *but*, and examples show clause type optionality in associated verbs:

Independent complement

- (250) Aanawi go naa weweni ningii'-waawiindamawaa.
 aanawi go naa weweni nin-gii'-waa-wiindamaw-aa
 although EMPH DM carefully 1S-PST-RED-tell.h/-DIR.IND
 'I did explain it carefully to her (but she might not get it).' NJ²³² via OPD

Conjunct complements

- (251) Aanawi go aana-waawiindamowaad, mii go gaawiin nisidotanziwan.
 aanawi go aana-waa-wiindamaw-aad mii go gaawiin
 although EMPH in.vain-RED-tell.h/-3s>3'.CONJ MII EMPH NEG

 nisidotan-ziiwan
 understand.it-NEG.3'.CONJ
 Even though he told him many a time, he still didn't understand. ES²³³ via OPD

- (252) Gego izhinoo'waaken giiji-bimaadizii aanawi go gii-bizhishigwaabikak.
 gego izhinoo'w-aaken g-iiji-bimaadizii aanawi go
 don't point.to.h/-2S>3S.IMPN 2S-fellow-being even.though EMPH

 gii-bizhishigwaabika(d)-k
 GII-it.(of.metal).is.empty-CONJ
 Don't aim your gun at a fellow human being even if it is empty. NJ via OPD

²³⁰ Fairbanks (Kishketon), personal communication.

²³¹ Ojibwe People's Dictionary (Nichols, 2015).

²³² Nancy Jones, Ogimaawigwanebiik of Nigigoonsiminikaaning.

²³³ Eugene Stillyday, Miskwaanakwad of Obaashiing.

These examples pattern with the *booch* and *aabdek* examples, where the cases with independent verbs refer to specific, real-world instances and the conjunct examples are generics.

As seen in examples with dubitative and preterit verbs, *mii* can syntactically subordinate a phrase which appears in the conjunct but it retains its independent order semantic meaning and it appears that this can be the case with *aanwi* as well:

Mii phrase

(253) Mii go aanawi gii-ombishkaad awe bakwezhigan gaa-onadinag.
 mii go aanawi gii-ombishkaa-d awe bakwezhigan
 MII EMPH although PST-s/he.or.it.rises-3S.CONJ PRON.DEM bread

IC.gii-onadin-ag
 IC.PST-knead-1S>3S.CONJ
 'The dough that I kneaded rose [contrary to expectation].' ES via OPD

In the example above, I consider *aanwi* to pattern with the independent order reading in that it modifies a specific, real world event, just as we see in the independent order usage with *booch* and *aabdeg*. Most particles in the language combine with other discourse markers in verbless clauses to create various phrases and expressions, and this is certainly the case for *aanwi*. In the eastern region of Ojibwe territory, one will hear *mii go aanwi*, a common phrase said in response to a question of how one is doing, and this is translated by Rhodes (1985) as '[Pretty good] in spite of everything.' and in the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary, coming along, doing okay, doing fine.²³⁴

6.2.2.3 nashke

Mentioned briefly above, *nishke* can take either independent or conjunct complements; as we have seen throughout this section, clause selection varies with meaning. It is also used on its own as an attention getter and an example of this is repeated from Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016):

(254) Attention-getter nashke
 Nashke!

²³⁴ Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary.

nashke

AT²³⁵

'Look!, See!, Listen!'

Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016, pp. 46-47)

While it can be used in a literal sense as an imperative 'see!', telling someone to look at something, it is often used simply to draw one's attention to something, be that in the real world or in a discourse context (see (260) below). The term can be combined with the discourse marker *[i]sa* for an admonishing tone:

(255) Nishke sa!

nishke sa

AT DM.FIN

'See! (I told you so!)

MNC via NOD

This attention-getting function is also used with full sentences:

(256) Independent complement

Nashke awedi amik biidaatiga'o.

nashke

awedi

amik

biidaatiga'o²³⁶

AT

PRON.DEM.AN.DIST

beaver

BIIDAATIGA'O.**IND**

'Look, that beaver over there leaves a wake as he comes.'

GJ via OPD

In this case *nashke* takes a parataxical verbal complement in the independent order since the particle is used independently of the clause. There are, however, also cases in which *nishke* scopes over the clausal verb which is subordinated and conjugated in the conjunct order:

(257) Conjunct complement - attention getter within a clause

Nishke gaa-mkamaanh.

nishke IC.gii-mikan-aan

nishke IC.PST-find.it-1SG.**CONJ**

'Look at what I found!'

MNC via NOD

This is a nominal-type use of the changed conjunct and patterns with pronominal complements to *nishke*:

²³⁵ Kishketon glosses this as AT for "attention getter."

²³⁶ A verified definition for this word is currently lacking but a guess could be made from potential word parts identified in the OPD: /biid-/ *initial* 'hither, here, this way'; /-aatigw/ *final* '(deciduous) tree, stick'; and, /-a'o/ *final* 's/he moves by medium, by boat; s/he uses a tool or medium on h/ self'.

(258) Pronominal complement

Nashke 'owe. Aaniin ezhibii'igaadeg.

nashke 'owe aaniin IC.izhibii'igaade-g

nashke PRON.DEM WH IC.RR.it.is.written.so-CONJ

'Look at this (writing). What does it say?'

NJ via OPD

Nouns are also presumably available in this manner as witnessed in Anongong Miigaading, the Ojibwe-language dub of Star Wars, which was translated by a team of native Ojibwe speakers and experts. In this example, the untranslated term for *droid* is affixed with animate plural nominal morphology, illustrating its interpretation as a noun:

(259) Nominal complement

Inashke, **droidag**.

inashke droid-ag

inashke DROID-3P

'Look, sir – droids.'

(Epcar 2024)

In (260), the particle still serves as an attention-getter but it can also be used as a *discourse highlighter* (Fairbanks (Kishketon), 2016) marking insights of various types:

(260) Conjunct complement - discourse highlighter

Nishke, oodi nanaaniibwigwen maaba shkiniikwe aapiichnaak.

nishke oodi na-naaniibawi-gwen maaba

nishke over.there RED-s/he.stands-DUB.**CONJ** PRON.DEM.AN.PROX

oshkiniikwe aapiichnaak

young.woman occasionally

'**You see**, that young woman (apparently) hung around over there once in a while.' AP

In the above example, the fact that the young woman used to spend time in a certain place was salient as a key plot piece for the story being told.²³⁷ *Nishke* is not being used as an interjection, calling out 'look!' to the listener, but rather pointing out some important information. Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016) gives other examples *nishke/nashke* in marking insights or distinctions, giving examples, and making clarifications.

²³⁷ The story tells of a young man who desires a particular woman and seeks to surreptitiously collect a strand of her hair for the making of love medicine. Unbeknownst to him, however, he gathers the hair of a bull who also spends time in the particular spot pointed out by the storyteller that woman does.

Table 43: Nashke clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation and part of speech	Clause type				Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ	IMP			
nishke, nashke, etc.	'look!' (discourse particle)	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?	✓

6.2.2.4 *megwaa*

Another particle seen to take complements of varying clause type is *megwaa*. The reasons behind this are relatively transparent and accounted for by two distinct uses of the word. The OPD glosses *megwaa* as, *while; during; right now*, while the NOD gives two definitions that discern the functions:

- (261) a. at the moment, at the same time, at this moment, at this time, currently, now, right now, in the midst of; and,
 b. while, when (over a period of time), 'as...'

The examples given for the first definition have *megwaa* with independent verbs and those given with the second are all in the conjunct, and the OPD examples all have conjunct complements as they are used in the 'while'/'during' sense of the word. For the 'right now' definition, the particle is in an adjunct position to the main clause and does not subordinate it, resulting in an independent order interpretation of the event occurring in the extensional real world with *megwaa*'s added semantic flavor of 'right now'. In the 'while', 'when', 'during' uses, the particle subordinates and scopes over the verb action, predicating a displacement from the present world and time. To give examples:

- (262) Independent order
 Megwaa ndaankanootmaage.
 megwaa ind-aanikanootamaage
 right.now 1S-s/he.translates.for.people.**IND**
 'I'm translating right now.' AP

- (263) Conjunct order
 Megwaa bimosed a'aw inini gaa-izhi-gawised.
 megwaa bimosed a'aw inini

while s/he.walks.along-3S.**CONJ** PRON.DEM.AN man

IC.gii-izhi-gawise-d

IC.PST-RR-s/he.falls.over-3S.**CONJ**

'When that man was walking he fell down.'

RG via OPD

As such, we get similar independent versus conjunct readings as we do in other environments such as with other particles, modals, or verbal modes.

Table 44: Megwaa clause typing

Particle	Definition/ translation/ and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
megwaa	1. right now (temporal adverb)	✓	?	?	?	?	?
	2. while (temporal adverb)	?	✓	?	?	?	?

6.2.3 Independent complements obligatory*

While so far I have focused on particles that can or must combine with conjunct clauses, the majority of Ojibwe particles typically combine with independent verbs as adjuncts. 'Obligatory' is asterisked above since these mostly independent verb-associated particles can nonetheless appear in conjunct clauses when subordinated by *mii* or when appearing in relative clauses but in either case they retain a main clause reading. As this is the case for most Ojibwe particles, I present just a few here as case studies for this class of non-predicating particles.

Most particles of any type can also appear on their own, albeit most of the time with various discourse markers in many combinations for a very wide range of meaning. These constructions are often found in verbless clauses as well. Corbiere (1997) illustrates that mastering the use of common adverbs in the language is no easy feat considering their range of uses. This fact is especially salient when other discourse particles and clause typing gets into the mix.

6.2.3.1 apane

[A]pane²³⁸ is a very common temporal adverb meaning *always*, *continually*, *all the time*, etc. and typically appears with an independent clause. While, as noted above, this particle can combine with plain and changed conjuncts when triggered by *mii* or other specific factors, the type of independent/conjunct alternation seen with *booch/aabdeg* (and possibly *aanwi*) however does not appear to apply in those cases. In other words, [a]pane does not optionally vary the clause type it appears with for semantic reasons. It is always an adjunct to the verb adding the temporal information of *always*. There is a secondary function of [a]pane meaning *away*, *gone*, etc. that is also described in this section. The particle is presented as a case study for those which typically appear with independent verbs.

6.2.3.1.1 always

A few canonical [a]pane constructions are presented here:

- (264) Pane go baapnaajmo.
 apane go baapinaajimo
 always EMPH s/he.tells.a.funny.story.3S.IND
 'They're always telling a funny story.' AP
- (265) Apane indizhaa oodenaang maa'ishkamaan.
 apane ind-izhaa oodena-ang maa'ishkam-aan
 always 1S-s/he.goes.there.IND town-LOC s/he.shops-1S.CONJ
 'I go to town all the time to shop.' RG via OPD
- (266) Gaa go naa pane gde-nishnaabemsiimin naa.
 gaa go naa apane gi-de-anishinaabemo-siimin naa
 NEG EMPH DM always 2-sufficient-s/he.speaks.Ojibwe-NEG.21.IND DM
 'We're never able to speak Nishnaabe, aren't we?' AP
 Context: the speaker and I were trying to remember how to say a word in Nishnaabemwin.

[A]pane can appear in *mii*-phrases and *mii* subordinates the following clause, as we have seen.

- (267) Gaawiin ingizikawi'aasii awe abinoonjii. Mii go apane gwaakwaashkwanid.
 gaawiin in-gizikawi'-aasii awe abinoonjii
 NEG 1S-GIZIKAWI'-1S>3S.NEG.IND PRON.DEM child

²³⁸ As with most particles discussed in this study, *apane*'s multiple forms are used interchangeably herein.

mii	go	apane	gwaakwaashkwani-d
DM.DEIC	EMPH	always	s/he.keeps.jumping-3S.CONJ

'I can not keep up with that child. He's always hopping and jumping around.'

ES via OPD

As with other *mii* cases, it is important to note that, despite being in the conjunct order, the verb retains a main clause reading and is not subject to a semantic shift as verbs typically are in the conjunct, i.e. sent to the modal realm of *when* [*verb*] or *that* [*verb*]. The particle *apane* does not subordinate the verb either and is an adjunct in the clause, simply providing its semantics as a temporal adverb meaning *always*, *continually*, etc.

[A]pane is also found in relative clauses, but again here it is not a predicate and simply acts as an adjunct:

(267) Relative clause

Mii niw gaa-dzhimaajin **pane**.

mii	niw	IC.gii-dazhim-aajin	apane
DM.DEIC	PRON.DEM	IC.PST-talk.about.h/-3'.PART	always

'This is who he was **always** talking about.'

AP

(268) **Pane** go naa niw ge-aabjitooyamban.

pane	go	naa	niw	IC.daa-aabajitoon-yamban
always	EMPH	DM	PRON.DEM	IC.MOD-use.it-2S.PRET.CONJ

'You could **always** use these ones.' / 'These are the ones you could always use.'

AP

The variability of *pane* in word order in the above examples further illustrates its status as an adjunct.

6.2.3.1.2 *away*, *gone*, etc.

There is another function of [a]pane that is not defined in the OPD but is present in the NOD and glossed as, 'away [beyond rescue]', 'away [beyond retrieval]', 'the end of it (i.e. nothing came of it)', 'last (i.e. has not recurred since)', and 'the last time (i.e. has not recurred since)'.

This use is attested in Southwestern²³⁹ and Eastern varieties of Ojibwe but may be more

²³⁹ Auginaush, J. (1997). Gii-bakitejii'iged Wenabozho. Oshkaabewis Native Journal, 4 (1), 36. .

widespread.²⁴⁰ This use is also heard in the *Aakoziwigamig* radio program, whose scripts were written by Roger Roulette of Manitoba and Patricia Ningewance originally of Lac Seul in Northwestern Ontario, and that example is presented here:

- (269) Iyooway! Mii **apane** nishkiinzhig! Mii gii-baashkiseg, giin dash gaa-doodaman!
 iyooway mii **apane** ni-shkiinzhig mii gii-baashkise-g giin
 ouch MII APANE 1S.POSS-eye MII PST-it.bursts-0S.CONJ you
- dash IC.gii-doodam-an
 DM.CNTR IC.PST-do.something-2S.CONJ
 'Ouch! There **goes** my eye! I think it burst open. And you did that!
 (Aakoziwigamig, Episode 15)

An example from the Nishnaabemwin Online Dictionary is repeated here:

- (270) Ngii-bjigeshin; **pane** gaa-ni-dditbijiiseyaanh niisaaki.
 ni-gii-bjigeshin pane IC.gii-ani-daditbijiise-yaan
 1S-PST-s/he.trips PANE IC.PST-away-roll.involuntarily-1S.CONJ
- niisaaki
 downhill

'I tripped; **away** I went rolling down the hill.'

MNC via NOD

Both examples exhibit exceptional clause typing where the latter is an example of *pane* with a changed conjunct verb, which may be the *gaa-izhi-* discourse sequencing function of that clause type, and the *Aakoziwigamig* is in a verbless clause.

Maanyaan also gave an example of this *pane* in a verbless clause:

- (271) "Mii go weyiip maa da-bi-nankiiyaanh." Mii dash go **pane**.
 mii go wewiib omaa da-bi-inanokii-yaan
 MII EMPH quickly here FUT-hither-s/he.works.a.certain.way-1S.CONJ
- mii dash go pane
 MII DM.CNTR EMPH PANE

"'I'll come to work soon" [he said]. And that was **the end of that**. / Nothing came of it.'

²⁴⁰ Valentine (1994) cites 25 communities that use [*a*]pane for *always* so it may be the case that this other function may be present in those areas as well.

Another matter to note regarding *[a]pane* and other particles is that they often combine with other discourse markers, as in examples above and the following:

- (272) **Mii** go naa **pane** ezhwebziyiing mampii iw.
 mii go naa apane IC.izhwebizi-yiing
 DM.DEIC EMPH DM always IC.s/he.has.something.happen.to.h/-21.CONJ
- mampii i'iw
 here PRON.DEM
 'That's **always** what happens to us here.'
- AP

The intricacies of the semantic effects of discourse markers are quite complicated, especially in combination with each other and I again refer the reader to Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016) for analysis of Ojibwe discourse markers.

Table 45: Apane clause typing

Particle	Definition/translation and part of speech	Clause type			Available on own	In verbless clause	With discourse markers
		IND	CONJ	CCONJ			
apane	1. always	✓	✓	✓	?	?	✓
	2. away, gone	?	✓	?	?	✓	?

6.3 Summary

This chapter is an overview of the broad, heterogeneous category of what I've called 'particles'. These elements combine with a range of clauses and generally, subordinate those in the conjunct verbal order when that clause type is available, and when combining with independent verbs are instances of adjunction, either as adverbial modifiers or paratactic clauses. Particles appearing with changed conjuncts seem to be equivalent of combining with nominals and are reminiscent of what we saw with the dubitative mode in initial change complements. While most of these particles are straightforward adverbs and combine with independent clauses, those with variable complements reflect the syntactic structures discussed elsewhere in this study and

that correspond to the semantic effects of extensions in the independent order, intensional in the conjunct, and the nominal-like functions of initial change.

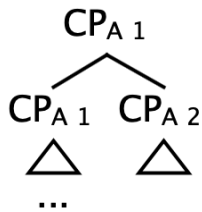
This is only a preliminary look at the matter, and a fun and interesting future study will be to analyze the most common ‘adverbs’, i.e. standalone words that are not verbs nor ‘mystery particles’ as per Fairbanks (Kishketon) (2016) and that take verbal complements, for their distribution with various clause types. This can extend to not only the order of the verbal complement but also mode, since those such as dubitative particles discussed in Chapter 5 have interactions with the dubitative mode.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

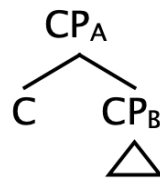
This dissertation has investigated the interrelated stories of mode and order in Ojibwe. I have proposed that, at the most basic level, the distribution of independent vs. conjunct order is a syntactic one: verbs in the independent order are unselected and typically used in main clauses. Conjunct order verbs are selected/subordinated by some other element, be it a verb or a discourse element. Changed conjunct clauses have a more diverse distribution where in some cases they are clausal adjuncts and in others pattern with nominals in their behavior.

In multi-clause constructions, I proposed two different syntactic structures through which clauses combine, depending on their clause types. Independent plus conjunct clause combinations are very common and represent the selection/subordination of one clause by another, illustrated in (104). Independent plus independent clauses are less common but illustrate a binary, parataxical relationship sketched in (103) below.

(103) Parataxis:



(104) Embedding:



In the independent plus independent constructions, such as those in 3.3.1, we can see the “main” verb appear in the second clause; embedding environments, by contrast, typically show an independent main verb followed by a conjunct clause. These latter constructions involve the independent clause selecting and embedding the conjunct clause. In chapter 3, I showed that the two independent clauses in parataxical constructions do not interact scopally, but in true embedding environments, material from the independent scopes into the conjunct. Parataxical and embedding relationships are not necessarily only between two verbs, and throughout this thesis, particularly in chapter 6, I showed that there are many particles in the language that interact with verbal elements either via adjunction or in subordinating relationships.

The consequences of the syntactic relationship are borne semantically: what can appear to be a variety of semantic functions of the clause type itself are the result of these basic differences in syntactic distribution. In particular, the unselected independent order verbs are

indexical, while the conjunct ones anaphoric, the former used in main clauses and anchored to a speech context, and the latter in subordinate ones, evaluated to a contextually-given situation. This is often realized as an extensions and intensions, respectively.

These properties are highlighted in interactions between order and mode. With the preterit, as I showed in Chapter 4, independent order verbs are anchored to a discourse context that results in a temporal displacement of an extensional, real-world situation. Combined with a conjunct verb, the displacement occurs over the real world and places the context into the intensional realm of counterfactuality, hypotheticality, etc. With the dubitative mode, as discussed in Chapter 5, independent order verbs are too tied to a discourse context, in this case the speaker-oriented function of evidentiality and the speaker citing their sources. The nature of evidentiality as being inherently speaker-oriented, sees dubitative verbs resist subordination altogether and hang on to extensionality by showing initial change on conjunct verbs. Table 3 is repeated here to illustrate:

Table 3: Functions of the Ojibwe dubitative and preterit modes by clause type

	Dubitative	Preterit
Independent	inference, doubt, hearsay	cessation feature; temporal interpretation(s)
Plain conjunct	(highly limited) varies between independent and plain conjunct readings	counterfactuality, hypotheticality, unrealized action, future less vivid constructions
Changed conjunct	wonder, mirativity	varies between independent and plain conjunct readings

Various particles also tell the story of the syntax and semantics of verbal order and clause typing, as I discussed in Chapter 6. Some particles will have an adjunct or parataxical relationship to verbs they appear with, such as the temporal adverb [*a*]pane, ('always'²⁴¹), while others inherently embed. *Begish* is an optative modal and an embedding particle whose verb complement is always in the conjunct verbal order as its semantics of *hope*, *wish*, etc. associate with modality. *Begish* also exemplifies mode interactions with order in that the addition of the

²⁴¹ Ignoring the 'away, gone, etc.' reading of *apane* here.

preterit mode to a *begish* verbal complement carries a counterfactual interpretation.²⁴² In rare cases a particle will show optionality in the type of verb it combines with, and these are the stars of the show in exemplifying the functions of verbal order in Ojibwe. Certain necessity modals have this feature and can appear with an independent order verb when the situation calls for referring to an extensional, real world situation like having to work tomorrow. In these situations, the particle is also either capable of appearing alone (or in combination with other particles) as a full clause, or of having a flexible distribution similar to adverbs; I suggested that these cases involve clausal parataxis or adverbial modification. The same modal can take a conjunct verb complement to refer to necessity in intensional realms of habituality or any nonspecific event.

The intricacies of initial change remain a matter for further investigation. We have seen throughout this dissertation that its distribution is wide, but there are commonalities in its function across environments. In a certain set of cases, changed conjuncts are always relative clauses/participles with a distribution that mirrors nominals. In others, initial change appears to be triggered by other factors; this heterogeneity complicates the real/non-real world distinction between independent and conjunct verbs. The appearance or non-appearance of initial change is an important topic for future research: questions such as why *aanawi-* and other preverbs, for example, does not show initial change, or exactly why initial change is motivated on conjunct dubitatives deserve more attention. While the basic clause typing picture for independent and conjunct verbs is fairly clear, there still remain some mysteries in this domain as well, such as why negative *mii-*phrases are in the independent order, while their positive counterparts are conjunct. My hope is that the descriptions and basic analysis I have provided in this dissertation provides a framework for deeper investigation.

Beyond the theoretical characterizations I have provided, by systematically investigating the interactions between order and mode in Ojibwe, this study has resulted in theories and findings that are beneficial to the goal of assisting Anishinaabemowin language reclamation efforts. Learners can better understand why an independent versus conjunct verb is appropriate in situations relating to extensions versus intensions, or realis versus irrealis contexts. These situations and their interactions with mode are also valuable for the learner who can better understand that variation in seemingly disparate functions within mode categories relate to clause type selection. More information about the modes themselves is helpful, since they have

²⁴² The presence or non-presence of the preterit mode on *begish* complements disambiguates a *hope* (non-counterfactual, no preterit mode) versus *wish* (counterfactual, preterit) sentiment carried by the modal.

no direct analog in English and therefore even the numerous examples presented here are a valuable resource in being documentation and description of L1 speech patterns. This information nonetheless must still be adapted and presented in a way that is accessible to learners and teachers of the language, but this itself speaks to a disconnect between formal linguistics and language reclamation efforts at the grassroots level. Having completed this study, it is now my mission (pun intended) to do that work. Mii iiw. That's it.

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Appendices

Disclaimer: many of the linguistic examples in these appendices are not glossed (and some only partially, with the clause typing components relevant to discussion glossed) but they are presented nonetheless for their import to the learner and linguist.

Appendix 1: Simultaneous and consequent action

As noted in (1.4.1.2), a coordinated independent and conjunct verb can indicate simultaneous action and other combinations signal consequent action (noted in 2.5.2.1). As an example of simultaneous action in the present:

- (276) “Oonh! Giminochige,” odigoon iniw ma’iinganan zhoomiingwenid.
“Oh! Good work,” the wolf says to her smiling.’
(Kishketon, 2023, personal communication; from Strong, Francis, and Boyd 1980)

A past-marked independent verb with an unmarked conjunct indicates simultaneous action in the past:

- (277) Ingii-maajaa mawiyaan.
‘I left crying.’ (Kishketon 2023, personal communication)

When the consequent conjunct is past marked, the aspect shifts to consequent action:

- (278) Adaawewigamigoong ingii-inose, gii-adaaweyaan bibine-bakwezhigan.
‘I walked to the store and bought some flour.’
(Kishketon 2023, personal communication)

Simultaneous action in the past is indicated by PST marking on both verbs:

- (279) Ingii-maajaa gii-mawiyaan.
‘I left and cried.’ (Kishketon 2023, personal communication)

Appendix 2: Conjugation paradigms by verb mode

A few forms are listed in the following table and full paradigms for Nishnaabemwin can be found in Valentine (2001).

Table 46: Some preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative conjugations

	Indicative	Preterit	Dubitative	Preterit-Dubitative
3S.IND	∅	_ban	_dog	_goban
1S.IND	ni_	ni_naaban	ni_naadog	n/a ²⁴³
2S.IND	gi_	gi_naaban	gi_naadog	n/a
3S.CONJ	_d	_pan	_gwen	_gobanen
1S.CONJ	_(y)aan	_yaambaan	_waanen	_waambaanen
2S.CONJ	_(y)an	_yamban	_wanen	_wambanen

(adapted from Fairbanks (Kishketon), personal communication, 2023; and Valentine, 2001)

²⁴³ Valentine (2001) lists this as *_waambaan(h)* and the 2S.IND form as *_wamban*.

Appendix 3: Temporal adverbs and aspectual preverbs as per Valentine (2001)

(282) Some Temporal Adverbs

aabding	'once, one time'
aazhi, aazhgo	'already'
baamaa	'later'
biinish	'until, as far as'
bjiinag	'a short time ago'
(b)jiinaago	'yesterday'
dbikong	'last night'
endso-X	'every...'
endso-ggizheb	'every morning'
endso-giizhigak	'every day'
eshkwaaj	'the last time'
gaagge	'all the time, forever'
gbe-X	'the duration of . . . '
gbe-bboon	'all winter'
gbe-dbik	'all night'
gbe-giizhig	'all day'
gbey(h)ii(ng)	'for a long time'
gegpii	'finally, eventually'
geyaabi	'still, yet'
ggizheb	'in the morning'
gmaapii	'in a while, later on'
jina	'for a short time'
ko	'usually, habitually'
maadaa	'before, in advance'
maapii	'later on'
megwaa	'while, at this time'
memdage	'usually'
mewnzha	'long ago'
miinwaa	'again'
mshi	'yet'
naagaj	'later on'
naangim	'until'
naan'godnong	'now and then'
ngodbik	'for one night'
ngoding	'once, at one time'

niigaan	'in the future'
niizhgon	'for 2 days, 2 days ago'
niizho-bboon	'for 2 years, 2 years ago'
noongo	'today, now'
noongo dbik	'tonight'
noongo giizhgad	'today'
nso-bboon	'for 3 years, 3 years ago'
nsogon	'for 3 days, 3 days ago'
ntam	'first, at first'
pane	'always'
pii	'then, when'
piichin	'continually; intermittently'
shkwaayaaj	'the last time, at the end'
shkweyaang	'in the past'
waabang	'tomorrow'
wiiba	'soon, early'
zhaazhi	'already, a while ago'

(Valentine 2001 pp. 139-140)

Table 47: Aspectual preverbs

Unchanged	Changed	Meaning
aazhoo-	e-aazhoo-, yaazhoo-	'next (of periods of time)'
booni-	e-booni-, bwaani-	'stop...'
de-	e-de-	'be able to..., manage to...'
g(a)gwe-, g(a)gweji-	e-ggwe-, gegwe- e-ggweji-, gegweji-	'try to...' 'try to...'
(a)kawe-	e-kawe-	'in the process of, first'
maajii-	e-maajii-, myaaji-	'begin'
(na)nda- (na)ndo-	e-nda-, nenda- e-ndo-, nendo-	'look to, seek to' 'look to, seek to'
noonde-	e-noonde-, nwaande-	'prematurely, before goal is goal is reached'
n(i)taa-	e-ntaa-, netaa-	'be able to, do often, be good at'
(i)shkwaa	e-shkwaa-, eshkwa-	'finish. . . , after. . . , quit. . . '
webi-	e-webi-, wyebi-	'begin'

(o)shki-	e-shki-, eshki-	'at the beginning, for the first time'
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(Valentine, 2001, p. 162)

Appendix 4: Interrogative, dubitative, demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns

Tables are adapted from Valentine (n.d.) online grammar pages²⁴⁴ and Nichols (1980).

Presented in general Ojibwe unless otherwise noted.

Table 48: Interrogative pronouns

animate			inanimate		
3	awenen	'who'	0	wegonen	'what'
3p	awenen(ag)		0p	wegonen	
3'	awenen(an)				

Table 49: Dubitative pronouns

animate			inanimate		
3	awegwen	'whoever; I wonder who; I don't know who'	0	wegodogwen	'whatever; I wonder what; I don't know what'
3p	awegwen(ag)		0p	wegodogwen(an)	
3'	awegwen(an)				

Table 50: Demonstrative pronouns per Nichols (1980)

	animate			inanimate		
	3	3p	3'	0	0p	
near	wa'aw	ongow	onow	o'ow	onow	'this; these'
far	a'aw	ingiw	iniw	i'iw	iniw	'that; those'
near	wa'awedi	ongowedi	onowedin	o'owedi	onowetin	'this here; these here'
far	a'awedi	ingiwedi	iniwedin	i'iwedi	iniwedin	'that there; those there'

²⁴⁴ <https://ojibwegrammar.langsci.wisc.edu/Grammar/HTMLParadigms/pr.htm>

Demonstrative pronouns from Valentine (2001) are presented here as well to illustrate a few Nishnaabemwin-specific forms.

Table 51: Demonstrative pronouns per Valentine (2001, p. 18)

	Curve Lake	Cape Croker	Wikwemikong
'this' (inan.)	ow	maanda	maanda
'that' (inan.)	iw	iw	iw, wi
'these' (inan.)	now	now	nonda
'those' (inan.)	niw	niw	niw
'this' (anim.)	aw	maaba	maaba
'that' (anim.)	aw	aw	aw, wa
'these' (anim.)	gow	gow	gonda
'those' (anim.)	giw	giw	giw

Table 52: Indefinite pronouns

Animate	someone	awiiya
Inanimate	something	gegoo
Animate	no one	gaawiin awiiya
Inanimate	nothing	gaawiin gegoo
Animate	everyone	(ga)kina awiiya; akina awiiya
Inanimate	everything	(ga)kina gegoo; akina gegoo

Appendix 5: Plain conjunct preterit PST and FUT.VOL constructions

With past tense *gii-*

Plain conjunct preterit verbs with past tense *gii-* morphology are relatively rare and do not appear to often arise naturally with L1 speakers though *gii-* pops up in translation tasks involving past tense in English. Such constructions (past tense conjunct preterit verbs) easily pass acceptability judgments and speakers will use past tense morphology explicitly when seeking to disambiguate the temporal ambiguity of conjunct preterit verbs. The following example occurs in a narrative that was given on multiple occasions by the speaker and in only one did they use *gii-* on the conjunct preterit.

- (283) Ngoding dash go naa e-naabid shkweyaang aw ngashi ngii-waabmig aazhi go
gii-bkobiisewaambaa.
'But at one time as my mother looked back, she saw that indeed I had fallen into the
water.' AM in Valentine, ed. (1998, p. 91)

With volunative future *wii-*

As with the past tense *gii-*, volunative future *wii-* is rare on conjunct preterits (plain or changed). The following token is one of only two appearances of *wii-* on conjunct preterit verbs in my data and is itself exceptional, considering the syntactic factors at play in the construction. Relative clauses typically motivate the appearance of initial change but as the reader is aware, this is not the case in instances indicating location without a relative root or preverb. *Mii-*phrases also predicate the appearance of conjunct verbs and relative clauses with *mii-* typically show initial change (see Sullivan, 2020).

- (152) Mii oodi wii-tooyaambaan.
mii oodi wii-atoon-yaambaan
DM.DEIC over.there FUT.VOL-put.it-1S.PRET.CONJ
That's where I was going to put it (but didn't). AP

What is also exceptional about this example is that it appears to carry a semantic interpretation that is typical to independent preterits rather than conjunct ones, in that the preterit's cessation function and past temporal interpretation may outshine the typically counterfactual or

hypothetical interpretation of a plain conjunct preterit. A similar phenomenon is observed with dubitative verbs in cases of simple subordination by *mii* or main verb clauses.

Appendix 6: Dubitative particles

Data on dubitative particles of various types are presented here for posterity.

Dubitative adverbs

endogwen

(overview addressed in 5.4.3.2.2)

With changed conjunct dubitative verbs

Two examples of changed conjunct dubitative verbs with *endogwen* are presented below. Note that these are from Baraga sources, which have known issues with transcription and interpretation. They are excluded from the main text of this dissertation for this reason but are included here for the reader's interest, with original transcriptions and translations.

- (284) Endogwen ga-igitchigegwen ga-iji-aiangwamimagiban.
'I doubt whether he has performed (or not,) what I had recommended him.'
(Baraga 1878, p. 132)

- (285) Anawi anamia aw anishinâbe; endogwen dash meshkawendamogwen mojang tchi anamiad.
'This Indian indeed is a Christian ; but it is doubtful whether he has a strong resolution, (thought,) to be always a Christian.'
(Baraga 1878, p. 148)

With plain conjunct dubitative verbs

The following is an example of a plain conjunct *endogwen* dubitative from Baraga not included in 5.5.2.

- (286) Endogwen keiabi matchi gijwéwanen. Ki gi-boniton na matchi gijwewin ?
'I don't know whether thou speakest yet bad words. Hast thou abandoned bad speaking?'
(Baraga 1850, p. 147)

Two from Maanyaan are included:

- (287) Wendgwen da-bi-de-zhaa'aagobane waabang.
'I wonder if they'd be able to come over tomorrow.'
MNC

(288) Wendgwen da-bi-de-zhaagobane waabang.
'I wonder if s/he'd be able to come over tomorrow.'

MNC

'If' and 'whether'

As a peripheral note, *endogwen* can take preterit-dubitative complements and this is noted in Appendix 8. One example is presented here:

(289) Endgwenh da-yaangbane wa biimnig'igan.
'I wonder whether he'd have an auger.'

MNC via NOD

The source of the example above, who is an excellent and knowledgeable teacher of the language, is careful to discern the uses of *giishpin* and *endgwenh* for learners since both can be translated as *if* in English, which can lead to an overuse of *giishpin* where *endgwenh* is appropriate. She explains that *giishpin* is explicitly a conditional and used where a state is contingent on another, while *endgwenh* is appropriate generally where *whether* is used in English, as in indicating doubt or a choice among alternatives. In such cases, the complement needn't be dubitative:

(290) Kwejim wendgwenh gaazhgensan da-yaawaat.
'Ask him if he has a cat.'

MNC

As another point of interesting data for further research, an analogue of the above phrase by a speaker from Lac Seul in Northwestern Ontario does not require *endogwen* and it employs a plain conjunct dubitative:

(291) Gagwejim ji-ayaawaagwen gaazhagensan.
gagwejim ji-ayaawaagwen gaazhagensan
ask.IMP ji-have.3>3'.DUB cat.OBV
'ask him if he has a cat' (Ningewance, PC)

(Muldrew 2022, p. 24)

Again, more data collection and analysis is needed to create a fuller picture of *[w]end[o]gwen[h]* and evidentiality generally, and these facts and data are presented as a starting point.

Other *endogwen* data

Valentine (2001) notes that *[w]end[o]gwen[h]* takes a conjunct complement, itself often in dubitative mode (but also that some speakers don't require a dubitative verb), but does not elaborate on the topic of initial change in these environments. In the only four tokens of plain conjunct dubitatives found in Valentine (2001), two were prefixed with *ji*-²⁴⁵:

- (292) Mii-sh giiwenh mndimooyenh ngoji go naa gewii zhngishnaadig jiigaatig, piichin-sh giiwenh go bbazgwii, dbaabmaad iidig niwi, endgwen naa **ji-nbaannigwen**.
'The old lady was lying down somewhere, apparently near the wall, and she kept getting up to look them over, wondering **whether they were asleep**.'
(SO via Valentine, 2001, p. 833)

- (293) Wegdagwen **ji-waawaabndamgwen** gbaakhigaadeg da-temgad go maa, gye go wezhtoowaad giw Nishnaabeg kwewag, waabwayaanan, mjigoodenyan, gboosnenyan, gye go mkiznan.
'**Whatever one may want to see** in the way of preserves will be there, as well as the things which the Indian women make: blankets, dresses, trousers and moccasins.
(AM via Valentine, 2001, p. 913)

These examples differ from the others already noted in that they are not 'I wonder' statements but pattern more with changed conjunct dubitatives. Considering the potential ambiguities with *ji*- and *wii*-, it is difficult to tell exactly what is happening with such examples.

giiwenh

Giiwenh's appearance with other adverbs is noted here.

- (191) Oonh, da-gmiwan giiyenh (gnamaa/megwaa) waabang.
oonh da-gimiwan giiwenh (gnamaa/megwaa) waabang
oh FUT.DEF-rain reportedly (GNAMAA/MEGWAAJ) tomorrow
'I hear that it might rain tomorrow.' or 'They say that it might rain tomorrow.' MNC

Giiwenh can also appear with a plain conjunct when that verb is subordinated, in this case by *mii*:

- (294) Mii go giiyenh giizhiitaad (wii-ni-maajaad).

²⁴⁵ The other two are complements of *dbi iidig* referencing location without a relative root or preverb and thus not showing initial change. There are also examples in his grammar of *(w)end(o)gwen(h)* with changed conjunct complements but I note that all are from one consultant, Andrew Medler.

mii go giiyenh giizhiitaa-d (wii-ni-maajaad)
mii go reportedly be.ready-3S.CONJ

'She says she's ready (to leave).'

Context: a person was told by someone getting ready that they are now ready, and the first person is relaying that information to me.

Speaker note: "*giiyenh* indicates that one is relaying information"

As noted, *giiwenh* can accompany dubitative verbs, typically in storytelling contexts, and in the following example is used by a speaker relaying a cultural story told to them as a child:

- (295) Mii dash giiyenh gii-maajaagwen maaba shkinwe, gii-bmoset oodi, bmosegwen oodi.
'And (so the story goes) the young man left and walked over there, (apparently) he walked over there.'
AP

Another example is included here for fun:

- (296) Aaniish giiyenh ge-diyaambaanh.
'Oh, is something wrong with me? / 'What could be wrong with me?'

Throughout my investigations, *giiwenh* has appeared in many other environments and a unified description of it requires more work.²⁴⁶ For now we can say that it is a reportative particle, quite versatile appearing in a wide range of environments, and though these can be CONJ or CCONJ, the particle itself does not embed.

iidog

More examples of *iidog* (and its variants) are included here.

- (297) Gaayii iidig wi pii da-yaasii oodi.
gaayii iidig wi pii da-yaa-sii oodi
FUT.DEF-be-IND.NEG
'I guess she won't be there then.' MNC

A point of data illustrating *iidog*'s incompatibility with a dubitative verb is given here:

- (298) *Gaa ngii-gkenmaasiin iidig ge-kidgwen.
Intended: 'I didn't know what he would say.'
MNC

²⁴⁶ Some of these confound the endeavour, such as in mii-phrases with an independent dubitative verb, or in a question with a changed conjunct preterit complement.

The fine details of the semantic differences between the seemingly interchangeable independent and changed conjunct constructions are a matter for future research. Maanyaan did note a potential semantic difference that resulted in English translations that differ slightly in aspectual readings; a past participle construction for the changed conjunct, “it has apparently snowed lots last night”, and a simple past “it apparently snowed a lot/heavily last night” for the independent construction, but was sure to note that that was a tentative theory.

On that note, another question arising is what the difference is between using *iidog* versus dubitative morphology in a main clause, and when and why a speaker chooses one over the other. In the above scenario, the following phrase is acceptable:

- (299) Gii-gchi-zoogpodig.
 gii-gchi-zoogpo-dig
 ‘It must have snowed lots.’ MNC

Preliminary investigations suggest that the choice between *iidog* and dubitative morphology can depend on the lexical verb and most interestingly, a more precise accounting of the motivation for evidential marking in the first place. It is noted in this study (and is also a peculiarity of evidentiality cross-linguistically) that in marking information source, evidentials can indicate that either the speaker knows the information secondhand or that they are inferring it from evidence, though these seem like two fairly different sources of information. It has been suggested by Fairbanks (Kishketon) (personal communication) that in the matter of using *iidog* versus the dubitative mode, inferred information is marked by the mode while secondhand information is indicated with *iidog*, and preliminary research suggests that this *may* be the case but is likely a speaker preference. It could also be related to the fact that *iidog* is seen to behave as a reportative particle like *giiwenh* for some speakers and in some varieties of Ojibwe. This is, yet again, yet another avenue of research down the rabbit hole of evidentiality in Ojibwe.

iidog combines with other evidential adverbs such as *nmanj* and *dbi*, as well as with *wh*-words like *aaniish* and *aapiish*. See the sections on the aforementioned adverbs for examples of those and the *wh*- ones are given here:

- (300) Aaniish iidik ge-zhichgeyaangba.²⁴⁷
 aaniish iidik ge-zhichge-yaangba
 IC.FUT-do-1P.CCONJ.PRET

²⁴⁷ Synonymous with *minj ge-zhichgeyaangbane*, according to the consultant, ‘I wonder what we should do.’

'I wonder what we should do.' MNC

- (301) Aapiish iidik maanda da-toowaambaane.
aapiish iidik maanda da-too-waambaane
MOD-put.it-1.CONJ.PRET.DUB
'I wonder where I should put this.' MNC

An observation of the behavior of *iidig* with these *wh*-words (as well as with the other evidential adverbs *namanj* and *dbi*) is the fact that its function as an evidential as well as its syntactic restrictions are overridden by the first position adverb and it may simply be adding a 'wonder' flavor to the statements.

lidog can also appear in non-verb clauses:

- (302) Gookooshens iidog aw naa?
'I guess she's a pig?' or 'She's (apparently) a pig isn't she?' AP

namanj

A number of data points regarding *namanj* are presented here for posterity. Keep in mind that this was a tentative exploration conducted with only one consultant.

As noted, *namanj* requires a dubitative complement:

- (303) ?Gaa ngii-gkenmaasiin manj ge-kidod aw noos. MNC

Additionally, the changed conjunct dubitative verb in this context sounds odd without *namanj*:

- (304) ?Gaa ngii-gkenmaasiin ge-kidgwen aw noos. MNC

For a more straightforward, "less wondering" sense, one could say:

- (305) Gaa'iin ngiikendziin ge-kidod.
'I don't know what he will say.' MNC

lidog is not interchangeable with *namanj* in this scenario (and additionally doesn't like dubitative complements):

- (298) *Gaa ngii-gkenmaasiin iidig ge-kidgwen.
Intended: 'I didn't know what he would say.' MNC

Including more data here for the sake of posterity, we see that *namanj* is acceptable (for Maanyaan) with a changed conjunct preterit-dubitative complement but not with just a preterit one, or one without either:

(306) Minj ge-zhichgeyaangbane.²⁴⁸
'I wonder what we should do.' MNC

(307) *minj ge-zhichgeyaangba

(308) *minj ge-zhichgeyaang

An example of *namanj* with *iidog* is presented here:

(309) Manj go naa iidog gaa-zhichgewaagobanen mewnzha.
'I wonder what they must have done a long time ago.' AP

Namanj however often appears with *iidog* where it still behaves like *namanj*, i.e. does not take on the syntactic restrictions of *iidog*,²⁴⁹ and the precise details of the semantic implications of adding *iidog* to *namanj* and other dubitative particles is, yes you guessed it, a matter for further research.

dibi iidog

As in non-dubitative cases, *where*-environments do not show initial change when the verb lacks a relative root or preverb:

(310) dbi iidik **gii**-naachtoowaane
 CONJ.DUB
'I don't know where I lost it.' MNC

Like other adverbs that take a changed conjunct dubitative verb complement, the preterit-dubitative is also available.

Two points of negative data are included here showing that a lack of dubitative morphology on the verb is ungrammatical with *dibi* and this is especially relevant since such

²⁴⁸ Synonymous with 'aaniish iidik ge-zhichgeyaangba', both "I wonder what we should do."

²⁴⁹ Rhodes (1985) for example gives the entry *nmanj iidig pii*, I don't know [when], I wonder [when], Ot.

constructions are typical of what a L2 learner might say when trying to express, “I don’t know where I lost it.”²⁵⁰:

- (311) *dbi iidik gii-naachtoowaanh MNC
(312) *dbi iidik gaa-naachtoowaanh MNC

As with other adverbs discussed in this section, a preterit-dubitative complement is acceptable:

- (313) Dbi iidik maanda da-toowaambaane.
‘I wonder where I should put this.’²⁵¹ MNC

It is also important to note that *dbi iidog* can be **embedded** (note also that the complement verbs in these examples are plain conjuncts as they refer to location and lack a relative root or preverb):

- (314) Gaawii ngiikendziin dbi iidig yaawaane.
“I don’t know where I am!” / “Where am I?” MNC
(315) Gii-gwedwe dbi iidog maa yaawaanen.
‘She asked where I am’ AP

Evidentials resist embedding cross-linguistically so the implications of the fact that these *dbi iidog* clauses can do so deserves investigation.

Dubitative pronouns

Like dubitative adverbs, dubitative morphology is “almost obligatory”²⁵² with so-called dubitative pronouns and their complements are in the changed conjunct. The base forms are *[a]wegwen[h]* (animate) and *[a]weg[o]dogwen[h]* (inanimate), and each show a wide range of allomorphy and can be inflected for number and even include dubitative morphology *l-dog/* or *l-dig/*, an allomorph familiar to all things dubitative referred to by Nichols as an *intensive dubitative*.²⁵³ They can be translated as *whoever, [I] don’t know/wonder who* (animate) and *whatever, [I] don’t know/wonder what* (inanimate). The animate form is seen to also refer to inanimate [subjects] in

²⁵⁰ At least when using *dbi*, rather than a more literal translation of “I don’t know”.

²⁵¹ Also acceptable: ‘Aapiish iidik maanda da-toowaambaane.’

²⁵² Valentine (2001, p. 832), Nichols (1980, p. 66)

²⁵³ The precise details of when/where the *l-dig/* forms are used and their range of complements are (say it with me) a *subject of further research*.

wegodogwen whatever, don't know, wonder what

[A]weg[o]dogwen[h] behaves much like its animate counterpart, albeit with inanimate subjects, and takes changed conjunct dubitative complements. It can also take a dubitative suffix and while a preterit-dubitative complement to the inanimate dubitative pronoun hasn't come up in my research, it is not out of the realm of possibility and I encourage any reader this deep in the appendices to investigate that.

- (200) Wegdogwendik go menzangwenh nga-miijin.
wegodogwendig go IC.minozan-gwen ni-ga-miijin
PRON.DUB EMPH IC.cook.it-DUB.CONJ 1-FUT.DEF-eat.it
'I'll eat whatever she cooks.' MNC
Consultant note: This can indicate that the speaker is either unsure of what the person will cook or that they are indifferent to it and will eat it regardless.

Bloomfield (1957, p. 134) records *wegodogwen iidig*, indicating that the latter can appear with *wegodogwen* as it does with other adverbs and also raises the question of whether *wegdogwendik* is a lexicalization of the two

A fun feature of the inanimate dubitative pronoun is the addition of a pejorative suffix for the animate noun *wegdagwenish*, 'jerk', 'nobody' (Rhodes, 1985, p. 356).

Other adverbs repurposed

Though they are not considered to be dubitative, a number of adverbs and discourse markers (in combination in some cases) are seen to take dubitative complements for evidential purposes. In these cases, the complements are typically in independent or changed conjunct conjugations and appearances of plain conjuncts are attributable to indicating *where* with the lack of a relative root or preverb, or simple subordination. Thus they pattern much like dubitative adverbs in marking evidentiality and this is not meant to be an exhaustive list; study of this phenomenon is preliminary.

Changed conjunct complements

These are discussed in 5.4.4 and more examples are presented here:

- (318) Msawaa gego getmiwne, oo-damnan; gii-waawiindmaage.
msawaa gego IC.gitimi-wanen oo-odamino-n
although also IC.s/he.is.lazy-2S.DUB.CONJ go.and-play-IMP

gii-waawiindmaage
PST-s/he.tells.it.to.people

'Even if you're tired, go and play; you promised.'
(tested CONJ and IND; both not acceptable)

MNC via NOD

Aan[a]wi can have a similar function to *msawaa*, with the latter often translated as 'even though/although', as is *aanwi* (among other things), and discussion of the two adverbs brought up changed conjunct examples for both. There are speaker preferences for using one over the other depending on context and that is a matter of further study but for now the instances where either took a changed conjunct dubitative complement are presented for posterity.

(319) *Aanwi go bangii menizhiyaawne, gaawiin mshi neyaap gdaa-oo-nakiisii.*
'Even though you might be feeling a bit better you shouldn't go back to work yet.' MNC

Aan[a]wi has a few allomorphs and is itself likely related to preverbs *aana-* and *aano-*, which themselves can combine with *wii-* for a plethora of syntactic and semantic combinations that are difficult to unwind but deserve investigation, **especially** considering that the preverb forms resist initial change for an as of yet unknown reason.

It is possible that dubitative-peripheral adverbs, i.e. those relating to meanings of uncertainty but that aren't dubitative adverbs per se, are available to changed conjunct dubitative verb clauses. Nichols (1980) notes initial change on statements of doubt with *maagizhaa gaye* (maybe; I think that..., perhaps, maybe):

(320) *maakisaa kaye kaa-wiitikekwen*
[*maagizhaa gaye gaa-wiidigegwen*]
IC DUB.CONJ
perhaps past-she must be married
'Perhaps she was married.'

Nichols (1980, p. 152)

Like the other adverbs in this section, *maagizhaa* does not obligatorily take a changed conjunct dubitative complement. It is also comparatively rare in Od/EO.

Independent adjuncts

A few non-dubitative adverbs likewise can take dubitative adjuncts in the independent order. These are *gnabaj*, ‘I think’, *gnamaa/gnima* ‘maybe’, *megwaaj* ‘probably’, and *aabdeg* ‘certainly’, ‘must’.

gnabaj

Gnabaj can appear in independent dubitative clauses:

- (63) Wii-gmiwnadik gnabaj.
wii-gimiwan-adig ganabaj
FUT.VOL-rain-0.**DUB.IND** MOD.POSS
‘I think it’s gonna rain.’ MNC
- (321) Wiyan gnabaj megwaa mbwaach’igdogenan
awiya-n gnabaj megwaa nibwaachi’-ig-dogenan
someone-OBV maybe now 3S.visit.h/-INV.3<3’.**DUB.IND**
‘Somebody must be visiting him.’ MNC

This is unsurprising since *gnabaj* is an adjunct to the verb in (63) and modifies the indefinite pronoun in (321).

megwaaj

A similar construction can be made with *megwaaj*, which according to the consultant “adds the idea of probably”

- (212) Wiyan **megwaach** megwaa mbwaachi’godgenan.
awiya-n megwaaj megwaa w-nibwaachi’-igodigenan²⁵⁶
someone-OBV probably right.now 3-visit.h/-3’>3.DUB.IND
‘Somebody is probably visiting him right now.’ MNC

gnima/gnima

A point of data to add regarding (212) above, however, is that a changed conjunct dubitative appears in comparable construction with *gnamaa* where the speaker doesn’t know if the person has a visitor or not:

²⁵⁶ There is another possible vowel quality variance in dubitative conjugation here with a Nishnaabemwin 3’>3s conjugation, *w_godigenan* (Valentine 2001, p. 289) seen as *o_igodigenan* elsewhere.

- (322) **Gnamaa** ge wiyān megwāa ne-bwāachi'igoogwenh (/e-nbwāachi'igoogwenh).
 gnamaa ge wiyān megwāa ne-bwāachi'igoogwenh (/e-nbwāachi'igoogwenh)

maybe somebody's visiting him right now / maybe he's being visited right now MNC
 (tested CONJ version here and not good)

Gnamaa however doesn't necessarily appear with a changed conjunct dubitative and is in our list of dubitative-adjacent adverbs that may or may not appear with independent and/or changed conjunct dubitative verbs:

- (323) Aakzidik na gnamaa.

aakzidik na gnamaa
 IND.DUB Q maybe

'Might she be sick?' / 'She's possibly sick.'

MNC

- (324) Gnīmaa gaa wii nokiisiidig.

gnīmaa gaa wii nokiisiidig
 IND.DUB

'It appears that he is not working.'

AM via NOD

aabdeg

It is noted that *aabdeg* appears in independent dubitative, changed conjunct dubitative, and of course independent clauses. This is likely due to its adjunct status in said phrases. It is important to note as it is another instance of independent dubitative and changed conjunct dubitative optionality.

Plain conjunct complements

As noted above, dubitative verbs in the plain conjunct are rare. There are cases where it appears, such as with *mii*, *endgwen*, *aapiish*, and *dbi* (and likely others). The latter two take a plain conjunct verb when referring to location without a relative root or preverb. Plain conjuncts with *mii* are cases of simple subordination and the status of *endgwen* is to be determined.

Appendix 7: Case studies in evidentiality

A few case studies are presented here as representative of unexpected clause types that can appear in everyday speech, namely those with initial change. Other clause types are mentioned within each case study to illustrate a range of available therein, along with their semantic nuances.

As noted, the changed conjunct is implicated in *wh*-agreement, relative clauses (as participles), indicating completive aspect, and in appearing with dubitative verbs. In the latter case, these verbs usually appear as complements to dubitative pronouns and adverbs but changed conjunct dubitative verbs can appear without said particles (such as with *giisphin*) and in other cases, dubitative particles such as *iidig* are restricted from dubitative mode complements, and yet others such as *giuwenh* have less restrictions. There is also sometimes optionality between independent and changed conjunct verbs.²⁵⁷ These issues are discussed above but these case studies are presented with fuller conversational context in hopes of making the semantics clearer, as well as to provide the learner with examples to draw from in their own speech.

‘She’s going to be there’

In the following example, the context is that one sees their friend's name on an RSVP list and deduces that the friend will be at an event. Many different constructions came up in the discussion of this scenario:

(325) Oonh, ge-yaat go gye iidig.

oonh	ge-yaat	go	gye	iidig
oh	FUT.CCONJ-be	EMPH	and	evidently

‘Oh, I guess she’ll be there’

(326) Oonh, waa-bi-zhaat go iidig geyii.

oonh	waa-bi-zhaat	go	iidig	ge-yii
oh	FUT.CCONJ-hither-go	EMPH	evidently	and-3SG

‘Oh I guess she’s coming too’

(327) Ge-bi-zhaat gye iidik.

ge-bi-zhaat gye iidik

²⁵⁷ IND and CCONJ optionality: discussions with Maanyaan around this suggest pragmatic reasons for choosing one or the other.

CCONJ

'I guess she is coming.'

(328) Gaa-wiikinigaazod go iidig geyii Karen.

gaa-wiikinigaazod go iidig geyii Karen

PST CCONJ IIDIG

My translation: 'Oh, I guess Karen got invited too.'

MNC

Comment: "I don't know for sure whether she'll be there but I see that she got invited too"

*lido*g is instrumental in the above examples and a changed conjunct without it is ungrammatical:

(329) *ge-bi-zhaat go

Independent verbs however work fine in this context:

(330) Da-bi-zhaa go (*iidik*).

'Apparently she *is* coming.'

(Italics added to indicate intonational stress)

In the changed conjunct examples, the dubitative adverb *iidog* appears to instantiate an evidential meaning that is carried by dubitative morphology in other examples. It may be the case that evidentiality generally, and not necessarily dubitative verbal morphology, is the impetus for initial change in such examples.

'Apparently he had to break the window'

In this scenario, one is relaying information about someone who had locked their keys in their car and who allegedly had to break a window to get them (because they didn't have roadside assistance). This is another instance of *iidig* appearing with a changed conjunct verb *not* in the dubitative mode.

(331) Aabdek gii-biigwaanaadik waasechigan.

aabdek gii-biigwaanaadik waasechigan

IND.DUB

'He must have had to break the window.'

(332) Aabdek iidig gaa-biigwang waasechigan.

aabdek iidig IC.gii-biigwa-ng waasechigan

MOD.NEC evidently IC.PST-break.it-3S.**CONJ** window

'he apparently had to break the window'

The speaker noted that this (IND) form is equally acceptable:

- (334) Aabdek iidig gii-biigwaan waasechigan.
aabdek iidig gaa-biigwaa-n waasechigan
MOD.NEC evidently PST.**IND**-break.it-3SG window
'he apparently had to break the window'

As a point of negative data, the plain/unchanged conjunct is ungrammatical here:

- (335) *aabdek iidig gii-biigwang waasechigan
MOD.NEC evidently PST.**CONJ**-break.it-3SG window

'Mary must have painted this'

Another case where IND and CCONJ clauses are seemingly interchangeable are in a scenario in which one deduces that Mary (Maaniins) is the illustrator of a painting that they are looking at.

- (336) Maaniins iidig maanda gaa-mzinbii'ang.
Maaniins iidig maanda gaa-mzinbii'ang
Mary evidently this PST.**CCONJ**-draw.it.3SG
'It must be Mary who drew this.'

- (337) Maaniins iidig maanda gii-mzinbii'aan.
Maaniins iidig maanda gii-mzinbii'aan
Mary evidently this PST.**IND**-draw.it.3SG
'Mary must have drawn this.'

The speaker noted that the CCONJ is preferred over IND though the latter is fine, and offered the English translations noted above in an attempt to capture the difference between the two.

Again, the plain conjunct was not acceptable but not as strongly ungrammatical as in (8):

- (338) ?Maaniins iidig maanda gii-mzinbii'ang
Maaniins iidig maanda gii-mzinbii'ang
Mary evidently this PST.**CONJ**-draw.it.3SG

We also tested a number of variations on this scenario, different word orders came up for them. In (339), the speaker doesn't even know that Mary is a painter to begin with, then discovers that the one they are looking at is hers:

- (339) (oonh) Mary nangna maanda gii-mzinbii'aan

Mary	nangna	maanda	gii-mzinbii'aan
Mary	nangna	this	PST. IND -draw.it.3SG

'ohh mary drew this'

The term *nangna* here is used for a sudden realization - similar to English "oh!" The consultant noted that it is not necessary for this scenario and that one could use tone of voice to express their surprise but *nangna* naturally comes up here. The CCONJ is just as acceptable; sounds fine grammatically but would probably go with IND version having not known that Mary paints. The speaker noted that the CCONJ version instantiates the relative clause reading '...who drew this' that is not present in the IND and this is a transparent function of the CCONJ as a relativizer.

(340) (oonh) Mary nangna maanda gaa-mzinbii'ang
 Mary nangna maanda gaa-mzinbii'ang
 Mary nangna this PST.**CCONJ**-draw.it.3SG
 'ohh it's mary who drew this'

The speaker offered other constructions expressing "I didn't know that she/this person paints":

(341) gaa swii ngii-gkendziin iidig maaba mzinbiiget

(341) gaa swii ngii-gkendziin mzinbiiget iidig maaba

Maanyaan added that one can underscore focus on the *who* by adding the animate demonstrative pronoun *wa*:

(342)	Mary	nangna	wa	maanda	gaa-mzinbii'ang	
	Mary	nangna	this (an)	this	PST. CCONJ -draw.it.3SG	

'ohh that person who drew this is Mary' MNC

Interestingly, adding *wa* to the IND form results in ungrammaticality:

(343)	*Mary	nangna	wa	maanda	gii-mzinbii'aan
	Mary	nangna	this (an)	this	PST. IND -draw.it.3SG

MNC was asked how one would emphasize '**ohh, this** is what Mary drew', which resulted in a word order change, fronting the inanimate pronoun:

- (344) Oonh, maanda Mary gaa-mzinbii'ang.
 oonh maanda Mary gaa-mzinbii'ang
 oonh this Mary PST.**CCONJ**-draw.it.3SG
 'ohh, *this* is what Mary drew'

Refining the scenario in (344), the speaker said *mii* would come up if there's more than painting exhibited and the spot the particular one that Mary painted, "*this* is what she drew," and further that the non-*mii* example (46) could be directing someone's attention to the piece, for example as you hand it to them.

'Shirley must be calling'

Yet another related scenario and construction(s) arose in this exploration, here where one sees a familiar number come up on their phone and imagining who would likely be calling, deducing that it must be Shirley. Both IND and CCONJ forms are acceptable.

- (345) Shirley iidig wa e-bi-giigidat.
 Shirley iidig wa e-bi-giigidat
 Shirley evidently this (an) PRES.**CCONJ**-hither-speak.3SG
 'It must be Shirley who's calling.'

- (346) Shirley iidig bi-giigida.
 Shirley iidig bi-giigida
 Shirley evidently hither-speak.3SG.**IND**
 'Shirley must be calling.'

Considering the effect of the pronoun in (342) and (343), it was tested with the IND example in and found to be odd but not strongly ungrammatical:

- (347) ?Shirley iidig wa bi-giigida.
 IND, pronoun present

Nonetheless, like (343), the IND sentence in (347) doesn't seem to like the pronoun. The inanimate pronoun in the Mary painting examples is fine in all cases but this is likely because it is the object of the transitive verb *mzinbii'an*, to draw (it). It's unclear why *wa* isn't good in the IND cases considering the theta roles in both a transitive sentence, as well as being the subject in the inanimate verb construction (347).

Appendix 8: The preterit-dubitative mode

Dubitative and preterit mode morphology combine to form the aptly-named *preterit-dubitative* mode, which essentially combines the functions of both. Valentine (2001) notes that it is “used in a variety of contexts where there is uncertainty with respect to events that took place in the past... and is commonly marked by a suffix element /(go)ban/ in the independent order and /(go)banen/ in the conjunct.” (p. 834). Nichols (1980) notes that semantically, “the preterit dubitative verbs generally parallel the preterit verbs in meaning, but, as Bloomfield (1957) notes “the occurrence is known by inference or tradition.”” (p. 126) It is difficult to discern whether one interpretation is favored over the other, i.e. whether they are preterits with a dubitative flavor or vice-versa. In any case, there is a semantic shift via verbal order that deserves discussion that has yet to be discussed in the literature.

In the independent order, it does appear that the past temporal interpretation of the preterit is maintained, albeit with the inferential or reportative evidential function of the dubitative, but conjunct examples presented below tend to resemble the dubitative constructions discussed above. Semantically, the interpretation shifts we see for either mode when in the conjunct order (preterits to counterfactuality or hypotheticality and dubitatives to wonder or ‘whether’ statements) are just the same for the preterit-dubitative.

Aikhenvald (2018, p. 18) notes that evidentials may be in paradigmatic opposition with other categories in synthetic languages and be mutually exclusive with them and it is interesting that the evidential dubitative mode occupies the same morphological slot as the preterit, as well as the fused evidential preterit-dubitative. In other words, the dubitative certainly cannot appear with the preterit, and it may be that the fused category is a workaround.

Independent verbs

As with both the preterit and dubitative modes, the preterit-dubitative is interpreted fairly straightforwardly in the independent order. In the following example, the functions of both modes that the preterit-dubitative is comprised of shine through; inference is signified via the dubitative and the preterit’s temporal and cessation functions are clear.

- (50) Mii dash gii-bi-maajaawaad mii dash iw gii-sweshkaawaad, Neyaashii-nagmiing gii-zhaa aw nmishoomis **binoojiinswigban** giwenh iw pii...

'And so they went on and then they disappeared, my grandfather went to Cape Croker—he must have been an infant at the [time]...' (AK15.13a)

Mii *av* 'and'; **gii-bi-maajaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) in time ANpl left'; **mii** *av* 'and'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **gii-sweshkaawaad** *vai conj 3pProx* '(CONJ) ANpl dispersed'; **Neyaashii-nagmiing** *ni 0 loc* 'to Cape Croker'; **gii-zhaa** *vai ind 3sProx* 'ANsg went there'; **aw** *pr 3sProx* 'that'; **nmishoomis** *nad 1s(3sProx)* 'my grandfather'; **binoojiinswigban** *vai ind pdub 3sProx* 'ANsg was evidently a child'; **giiwenh** *av* 'evidently'; **iw** *pr 0s* 'that'; **pii** *av* 'time.'
(AK15.13a in Valentine 2001)

The storyteller is relaying information they did not witness firsthand and the temporal reference is in the past of a state that is no longer the case.

Plain conjunct preterit-dubitatives

Hypotheticality

Counterfactual, hypothetical, and unrealized action functions of conjunct preterits can hold for conjunct preterit-dubitatives, with the added evidential reading brought by the dubitative. The following is an example of the hypothetical sense in a preterit-dubitative verb.

- (348) *Mii dash pii giiewaad giw niizh nishnaabeg, mii dash ekdod aw bezhig, "Aanii-sh ge-zhichgeyamban giishpin waabmaawgibnen gechi-gnaajwid kwe?"*
'And when these two Indians were going home, one of them said, "What would you do if you should see a woman who is very beautiful?"' (AK4.3)
(Valentine, 2001, p. 580)

While the counterfactual and hypothetical function of the conjunct preterit can come through with a conjunct preterit-dubitative, this is certainly not always the case.

Evidentiality in past contexts / mirative function of the preterit mode

In this example, the conjunct preterit-dubitative is not subject to initial change nor does it have a counterfactual interpretation:

- (349) *Pii iw gaa-wiided aw nmishoomis, niw oosan gii-zhaawan odi Sucker Creek mii odi gii-waabmaagbanen niw kwezansan gechi-gnaajwinjin.*
PRET.DUB.CONJ
'When my grandfather got married, his father had gone to Sucker Creek and there he must have seen this very beautiful girl.' (AK11.1)
(Valentine, 2001, p. 834)

Discussion with Maanyaan revealed that the preterit (and by extension the preterit-dubitative) can be used in cases where an event apparently happened and its discovery is unexpected or surprising. Two examples of this were discussed; the first with one's negligence to water their house plants and the second where someone's pet rat had unexpectedly passed away.

(350) Oo-ndagkendmaanah wi nzaagkiichgan, gii-nboomgadba.
When I went to check on my plant, [I saw that] it had died. MNC

(351) E-oo-ndagkenmak, gii-nbogba.
When I went to check on him, [I discovered] he had died. MNC

A couple more are noted here and these are ones that came up in my investigations as difficult to discern a preterit meaning from. Now being aware of the mirative function of the preterit, they likely fit into that category

(352) Ngii-bninaa; zhaazhgo ni-maajaagba eni-dgoshnaanah.
'I missed him; he had already left by the time I arrived.' MNC via NOD

(353) Zaaam wiikaa ngii-dgoshin, aazhi dash gii-maajibzogba aw shkode-daabaan.
'I got there too late; it appeared the train had already departed' (AM via Valentine 2001)

Where-contexts

Conjunct preterit-dubitatives lack initial change when indicating location in the absence of a relative root or preverb, as do other constructions in such contexts (see 1.4.1.2 and 2.6).

(354) gaawiin ngiikendziin dbi iidog maa ji-toowaambaanen
PRET.DUB.CONJ
'I don't know where I should put it.' AP

Here there conjunct preterit sense of hypotheticality is present and dubitative morphology is triggered by *dbi iidog* 'I don't know/wonder where', but there is no initial change on account of the fact that there is no relative root/preverb.

Dubitative adverbs

As some dubitative adverbs predicate the dubitative mode, this is also the case with the preterit-dubitative when preterit morphology is also warranted, in this example the hypothetical function of the preterit is combined with the ‘wonder’ / ‘whether’ reading instantiated by *endgwenh*:

- (289) Endgwenh da-yaangbane wa biimnig'igan.
'I wonder whether he'd have an auger.'

MNC via NOD

Subordination

Preterit-dubitatives too may find themselves as plain conjuncts by way of simple subordination as with the *mii*-phrase in this example:

- (349) Pii iw gaa-wiided aw nmishoomis, niw oosan gii-zhaawan odi Sucker Creek mii odi
gii-waabmaagbanen niw kwezansan gechi-gnaajwinjin.
PRET.DUB.CONJ

'When my grandfather got married, his father had gone to Sucker Creek and there he must have seen this very beautiful girl.' (AK11.1) (Valentine, 2001, p. 834)

Where-environments

As in numerous other situations, initial change does not appear in where-environments in which the root verb does not have a relative root or preverb (or is analyzed as such) and in this case results in a plain conjunct preterit-dubitative:

- (354) gaawiin ngiikendziin dbi iidog maa ji-toowaambaanen
PRET.DUB.CONJ

'I don't know where I should put it.'

AP

Changed conjunct preterit-dubitatives

Example (355) expresses the sense of hypotheticality that is a hallmark of the conjunct preterit, and the speaker is recounting a story of a woman who visited a fortune teller to find out what would have happened to her had she married a particular man (whom she hadn't):

- (355) gii-naagdawendang manj ge-gii-zhiwebzingobnen
IC PRET.DUB.CONJ

'She wondered what would have happened to her.'

AP

Dubitative pronouns

As with other dubitative particles, **preterit-dubitative** complements are available to dubitative pronouns:

- (357) Wegwendik ge-kwejimawgobane wii-bi-jiishaawgonet.²⁵⁸
'I wonder who I should ask to come shovel snow.' MNC
- (358) Wegwendik waabang ge-bi-de-zhaagobane.
'I wonder who will be able to come over tomorrow' MNC

Preterit-dubitative nouns

As preterit morphology appears on nouns, so too does preterit-dubitative. As noted in Chapter 2, Valentine notes historic forms found in Baraga, and states they're not used today.

- (92) nóssigoban
noosigoban
n-oos-igoban
1SG.POSS-father-**PRET.DUB**
'my deceased father whom I never saw' Valentine (2001. p. 209)

Nichols (1980, p.52) also describes such nouns but does not state that they are archaic and notes cognate forms in related languages.

²⁵⁸ This statement can also be predicated with *wegonesh iidig*.