

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

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**A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF AN
OJIBWE LEGAL GLOSSARY**

BY

DAWN DUBOIS

**A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

**Department of Linguistics
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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Abbreviations

1s	first person singular (I/me)
2s	second person singular (you)
3s	third person singular (s/he)
3's	third person obviative
1p	first person exclusive plural
2i	first person inclusive plural
2p	second person plural (you)
3p	third person plural (they)
3'p	third person plural obviative
X	impersonal (with intransitives), passive (with transitives)
-	separates agents and patients, e.g. 3-1 = third person agent, first person patient X-3 = third person passive
AI	animate intransitive
II	inanimate intransitive
TA	animate transitive
TI	inanimate transitive
conj	verb in conjunct order
DIR	direct
fut	future
ic	initial change
ind	verb in independent order
INV	inverse

NA	animate noun
NEG	negative form of verb
NI	inanimate noun
obv	obviative
pass	verb in passive order
pc	particle
pl	plural
pst	past
pr	pronoun
prox	proximate
pv	preverb
s.o.	someone (animate)
s.t.	something (inanimate)
SVO	subject verb object word order

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview

A great deal of concern has been expressed over the quality of interpretation provided in Canadian courts. To assist court interpreters in developing a consistent form of communication, over the past two decades, legal glossaries and manuals containing commonly used legal terms have been produced for various regional Ojibwe dialects including Oji-Cree spoken in Northwestern Ontario and Manitoba-Saulteaux Ojibwe spoken in Southern Manitoba.

To date, little research has been completed in the areas of indigenous legal language and the structure of legal glossaries of Algonquian languages. Although glossaries of Ojibwe legal terms have been compiled to assist court interpreters with this process, a salient question that remains is whether these glossaries adequately provide a means for producing a linguistically true and legally appropriate interpretation of statements translated in court from English to Ojibwe and vice versa.

1.2 Aims

Accordingly, the aims of this thesis are to provide a descriptive overview of the areas of legal language and to explore how legal glossaries of the Ojibwe language are compiled and how effective these glossaries are for the court interpreting process. Specifically, this thesis provides a linguistic analysis of the structure of the *Manitoba Aboriginal Legal Glossary Ojibwe* (abbreviated as *MALG*), a legal glossary of the Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe spoken in Southern Manitoba.

1.3 Outline

Chapter 2 begins with an overview of the Ojibwe language along with a discussion of the Saulteaux dialect. This chapter then provides a brief introduction to the Ojibwe writing system that is used in this thesis. The remainder of this chapter provides a discussion of the verbal morphology of the Ojibwe language that is relevant for the linguistic analysis of the structure of the *MALG*.

Chapter 3 provides an introduction to some of the problems with legal translation in the court. Specifically, the pervasiveness of language problems for Aboriginal people are discussed along with court interpreting in Canadian courts. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the need for bilingual legal glossaries.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the nature of English legal language. Distinctive features of legal English are described along with some of the difficulties in understanding legal language. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the plain language movement in English legal language.

Chapter 5 introduces the discipline of lexicography and provides a discussion of how specialized terminological bilingual dictionaries are compiled. This chapter then considers how specialized terms should be arranged. This chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the unique characteristics that lexicographers, terminologists and language specialists must consider when preparing specialized bilingual dictionaries of Algonquian languages.

Chapter 6 provides a descriptive overview of the construction and lay-out of Ojibwe legal glossaries in general and the *MALG* specifically. Included in this chapter

is a discussion of how the legal terms were chosen and how the glossary was prepared. This chapter concludes with a linguistic analysis of the *MALG*.

Chapter 7 provides a critical analysis of the *MALG*. In addition to reviewing at length the problems associated with this legal glossary, this chapter considers some of the limitations of the standardization of terminology and its subsequent translation from one language to another.

Chapter 8 begins with a discussion of the overall usefulness of the *MALG*. This chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the strategies that may be used for improving legal glossaries and makes suggestions for future research in the area of legal translation.

Chapter 9 reviews the aims and some of the important findings of this thesis. This chapter concludes with a discussion of future research areas. It is hoped that the contents of this thesis will highlight some of the problems that are associated with the present legal glossaries and provide insight into strategies for improving future legal glossaries.

1.4 Data

The data for this thesis is drawn from the legal terms listed in the *MALG*. The *MALG* is comprised of a wide variety of commonly used legal terms primarily relating to the areas of criminal law and family law. Additional legal terms describing common

procedural concepts are also included. In all, a total of 357 English legal terms and their equivalent Ojibwe translations were examined.¹

1.5 Presentation of the Data

Although each of the English legal terms in the *MALG* is translated into Saulteaux using both roman orthography and syllabic orthography, in my linguistic analysis, I make reference to only those glosses represented in roman orthography. The level of analysis of the Saulteaux gloss varies depending on the topic or issue being exemplified.

¹ The *MALG* is not reproduced in this thesis due to copyright laws. The *MALG* was produced by the Manitoba Association for Native Languages (MANL) in 1992-1993. The structure and the organization of this glossary is described in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2: Describing the Saulteaux Language

2.1 The Manitoba Saulteaux Dialect

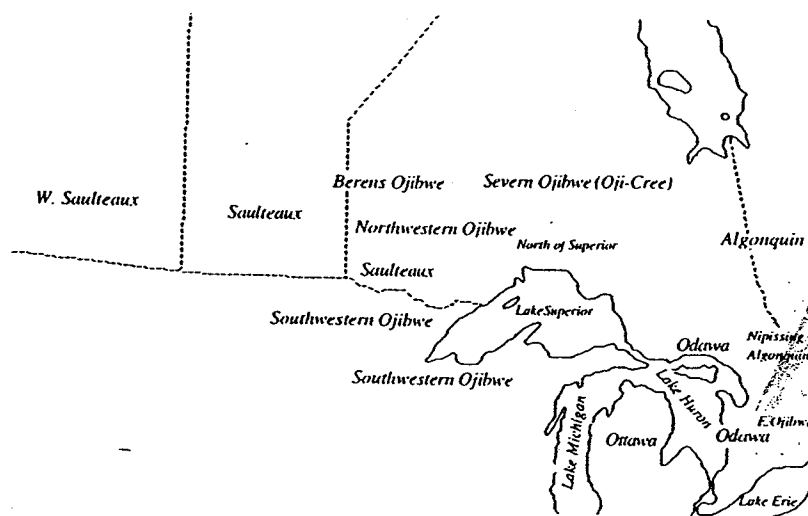
Ojibwe is an Algonquian language that is divided into seven dialects: Algonquin, Nipissing Algonquin, Odawa, Chippewa, Oji-Cree, Northern Ojibwe and Saulteaux. The various dialects of Ojibwe are spoken in regions of Canada including Southwestern Quebec, Southern Ontario, the inland regions of Northern Ontario and Southern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Ojibwe language is also spoken throughout the Midwestern states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota (Valentine 2001:14-17).

Sub-dialects exist within the Odawa, Chippewa, and Saulteaux dialects. The name Ottawa refers to the Odawa dialect spoken in Michigan. The Chippewa dialect is divided into two sub-dialects: Eastern Ojibwa spoken in Southern Ontario and Southwestern Ojibwe spoken in the Midwestern regions of the United States (Valentine 2001:14-17).

The Saulteaux dialect² is primarily spoken in the Southern regions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta and the border regions of Northwestern Ontario (Valentine 2001:17). Although the Manitoba Saulteaux dialect is no longer the primary language of many Aboriginal people residing in Southern Manitoba, the language is still quite viable. According to the 2001 Statistics Canada Census Report, within the province of Manitoba, approximately 8,885 individuals (4,360 male and 4,525 female) identified Ojibwe as their first language. In the capital city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, approximately 2,235 individuals (920 male and 1,320 female) identified Ojibwe as their first language. The

² The sub-dialect of Saulteaux spoken in Saskatchewan and Alberta is referred to as Western Ojibwe. The term Saulteaux arises from the French translation of the Ojibwe word *bawitigong* 'at the rapids' (Valentine 2001:17).

highest proportions of individuals who speak Ojibwe in Manitoba are between the ages of 25 and 64 (Statistics Canada 2001).³



(1) The Dialects of the Ojibwe Language across Canada⁴

2.2 The Manitoba Saulteaux Writing System

There are many writing systems that are used for the Ojibwe language. Folk writing refers to the kind of writing that is used by speakers who are trying to informally write their language using the English alphabet. Hinton (2001:240) identifies two main features of folk writing for American Indian languages. The first is the frequent use of dashes for syllable breaks. The second is the use of English spelling rules and sometimes even the use of whole English words to represent the syllables of the language being represented.

³ The 2001 Statistics Canada Census Report distinguished only between Ojibway and Oji-Cree.

⁴ This map is taken from (Valentine 2001:15).

The *Native Court Interpreter's Manual (1987)* (abbreviated as *NCIM*) prepared by the Manitoba Department of Justice provides an illustration of how folk writing is used in the Saulteaux language.

- (2)
- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| (a) | assault | <i>okee-mee-ga-nahn</i>
'physical assault' |
| (b) | attorney | <i>kee-kit-to, inini</i>
'a lawyer' |
| (c) | murder | <i>onj-,ta, oghee, nee-sahn</i>
'intentionally killed' |

(NCIM:14-15,81)

The above Saulteaux glosses demonstrate how English conventions of spelling syllable breaks have been incorporated into the folk writing system of the Saulteaux language. In these examples, the commas appear to be used at word boundaries and some compound boundaries.

A second writing system that is often used is the standard roman Fiero writing system. In the Fiero system, letters and combinations of letters, although drawn from the English alphabet, represent Ojibwe sounds. The main characters of this system that depart from English spelling conventions are: (1) the use of doubled vowel letters to represent long vowels that contrast with paired short vowels and (2) the use of voiceless consonant symbols to represent strong (fortis) consonants that are always voiceless and often long or preaspirated and voiced consonant symbols to represent paired weak (lenis) consonants. In this writing system, unfamiliar linguistic symbols such as [š] are replaced by diagraphs and no diacritics are used at all.

The Fiero system is the writing system that is used by most academics and language teachers. All of the Manitoba Saulteaux examples in this thesis are transcribed using the Fiero system described in Nichols and Nyholm (1995). This is consistent with the writing system used in the *Manitoba Aboriginal Legal Glossary – Ojibwe* (abbreviated as *MALG*).

The Fiero transcription of the sample legal terms listed in example (2) are as follows:

(3)	(a)	assault	ogii-miigaanaan 's/he fought him/her'
	(b)	attorney	giigidoo(w)inini 'speaker'
	(c)	murder	onjida ogii-nisaan 's/he deliberately killed her/him'

Wolvengrey (1996) describes a Saulteaux standard roman orthography used by some speakers of the Saulteaux dialects. The Saulteaux writing system differs somewhat from the Fiero system. In the Saulteaux writing system, only voiceless (fortis) consonant symbols are used. Corresponding voiced (lenis) consonants are represented by a digraph that is formed when the phoneme *h* is added to the voiceless consonant symbol (Wolvengrey 1996).⁵ This is illustrated by the following set of Saulteaux minimal pairs:⁶

(4)	Saulteaux Writing System	
	(a)	bahkân 'different'
		bakân 'nut'
	(b)	ahšigan 'largemouth bass'
		ašigan 'sock'

⁵ For a more thorough discussion of the Saulteaux writing system refer to Voorhis (1977), Cote-Lerat (1984) and Wolvengrey (1996).

⁶ These examples are drawn from Nichols (1986:19, 22).

An additional writing system that is often used by speakers is the syllabic writing system which uses non-roman shorthand-based geometric symbols to represent syllables and individual segments (Nichols 1996:599). There are a number of different versions of syllabic writing systems that are used by language specialists working with Ojibwe speakers. The *Manitoba Aboriginal Legal Glossary – Ojibwe* (abbreviated as *MALG*) uses a version of “plain Western” syllabics.⁷

2.2.1 Consonants

The Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe is comprised of 18 consonants: 14 obstruents and 4 resonants. The phonetic values for the orthographic symbols illustrated below are shown in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) with the exception of *ch, j*, exception of *ch, j, sh, zh* and *'* whose respective IPA equivalents are [tʃ], [dʒ], [ʃ], [ʒ] and (Nyhholm 1995, Valentine 2001).

(5) Consonants

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops/affricates	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>k</i>	fortis
	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	lenis
sibilants		<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>		fortis
		<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>		lenis
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
glides	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		<i>'</i>
					<i>h</i>

(Adapted from Nichols and Nyholm, 1995:xxvi)

The following consonant clusters occur in the Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe:

⁷ For a more thorough discussion of the different types of syllabics that may be used in the Saulteaux language refer to Murdoch (1985) and Nichols (1996).

(6) Consonant Cluster	Saulteaux	English
<i>mb</i>	<i>ambe</i>	'let's go!'
<i>nd</i>	<i>diindiisi</i>	'bluejay'
<i>ng</i>	<i>anang</i>	'star'
<i>nj</i>	<i>onji</i>	'because'
<i>nz</i>	<i>onzaam</i>	'because'
<i>nzh</i>	<i>nishkanzh</i>	'my (finger, toe) nail'
<i>ns</i>	<i>ikwezens</i>	'girl'
<i>sk</i>	<i>biskinan</i>	'bend s.t. over'
<i>shk</i>	<i>oshki-inini</i>	'young man'
<i>shp</i>	<i>ishpi-dibik</i>	'late at night'
<i>sht</i>	<i>oshtigwaanens</i>	'postage stamp'

(Scott 1995:10, Nichols and Roulette 1997)

With the exception of *w*, *h* and *y*, a single consonant or a consonant cluster may be followed by *w* (Nichols and Nyholm 1995:xxvii-xxviii). This is illustrated by the following Cw cluster examples:

(7) Cw Clusters

<i>bw</i>	<i>bwaan</i>	'Dakota'
<i>gw</i>	<i>gwayak</i>	'straight, correct'

2.2.2 Vowels

The Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe is comprised of a total of seven vowels: three short and four long vowels. Long vowels are distinguished from short vowels by writing double with the exception for the long *e* vowel which is written single. This is because in the Ojibwe language, the long *e* vowel is not paired with a short vowel (Nichols and Nyholm 1995). In the Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe, the short and long vowels are:

(8) **Short Vowels**

	front	back
high	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>
low	<i>a</i>	

(9) **Long Vowels**

	front	back
high	<i>ii</i>	<i>oo</i>
low	<i>e</i>	<i>aa</i>

(Adapted from Nichols and Nyholm 1995:xxiv)

2.2.3 Glide Deletion & Assimilation

The glides *w* and *y* are often deleted between vowels or are subject to assimilation to adjacent vowels. The deletion of the glides *w* and *y* results in obscuring the boundary at which the vowel of affixes can contract with stem final semivowels. Valentine (2001:88-89) points out that many Ojibwe writers will insert a *y* at the point where the glide *w* is deleted. For example, the underlying semi-vowel *w* is deleted from *giigidoowinini* 'lawyer' in the *NCIM* where it is written *kee-kit-to, inini*.

(10) **giigidoo(y)inini**
'speaker'

An example of assimilation from the *MALG* where *y* is replaced by *w* after *o* and *oo* is provided in (11) where the short vowel of the suffix *-yan* '2s' is raised to *i* following the underlying *y*. The *y* then becomes subject to rounding.

- (11) **ji-gichi-ikidowin**
 ji-gichi-ikido-+-yan
 ‘attest’

[back translation]⁸ ‘to make an absolute truthful statement’

(MALG:7)

2.3 The Morphology of Manitoba Saulteaux: An Introduction

The Ojibwe language is a highly-inflected polysynthetic language.⁹ One of its most striking features is its richness in inflectional and derivational morphology. Ojibwe morphology is reliant upon the process of affixation to inflect and derive new words. There are two forms of affixation that are prevalent in Ojibwe: prefixes and suffixes.

For the most part, Ojibwe words tend to be derivationally complex (Valentine 1994:177). This differs significantly from analytic languages such as English whose word order and morphology is much more rigid and restrained.¹⁰ Example (12) provided a morpheme by morpheme analysis of the various suffixes that are added to the verb *dibaakon* to derive the noun *dibaakonigewinini*.

- (12) **dibaakonigewinini**
 ‘judge’

dib - + - aakw - + -in - + -ige - + -w + -inini

dib-	measure
-aakw-	stick like
-in	by hand
-ige	AI detransitivizer
-w	extensional element
-inini	person /NA

[back translation] ‘the one who measures the sticks to put them in order’

⁸ The term *back translation* refers to the gloss provided in the *MALG* for the generalized translation back into English of the suggested Saulteaux equivalent.

⁹ The term *polysynthetic* is used to describe languages that are comprised of long and oftentimes complex word forms that contain an array of inflectional features (Crystal 2001).

¹⁰ The term *analytic* is used to describe languages whose word forms tend to be invariable and whose syntactic relationships are demonstrated through their word order (Crystal 2001).

Levels of Derivation of the term *dibaakonigewinini*

dibaakon-	TA	'judge s.o.'
dibaakon- + -ige	AI	'judge things'
dibaakonige- + -w+-inini	NA	'judge'

(MALG:31, Ahenakew, King and Littlejohn 1990:32)

The remainder of this chapter provides a brief overview and introduction to the structure of the Saulteaux language and the topics that are relevant for my analysis of the *MALG*. For a more detailed description of all of the features of Ojibwe morphology, refer to Bloomfield (1958); Rhodes (1976) and Valentine (2001).

2.4 Inflectional Morphology

The main lexical categories of Ojibwe inflectional morphology are: nouns, pronouns and verbs (Valentine 1994, 2001).

2.4.1 Features of Noun Inflection

The grammatical categories that are most relevant to the inflection of Ojibwe nouns are: gender, number and obviation.

2.4.1.1 Gender

In Ojibwe, nouns fall into two classes: animate or inanimate. The animacy of Ojibwe nouns is largely based on biological features. The animate class of Ojibwe nouns includes animals, humans, trees, insects and spiritual beings. It also includes a collection of inanimate objects that includes items of traditional religious significance, certain natural objects and some body parts (Valentine 1994, 2001). The distinction between

animate and inanimate Saulteaux nouns is illustrated with the following set of examples:¹¹

(13) Animate Nouns (NA)		Inanimate Nouns (NI)	
animosh	‘dog’	makizin	‘shoe’ (pl)
amik	‘beaver’	manoomin	‘wild rice’
azhigan	‘sock’	nibi	‘water’
mandaamin	‘corn’	naboob	‘soup’
miskomin	‘raspberry’	ode’imin	‘strawberry’

2.4.1.2 Number

Ojibwe nouns can be either singular or plural. Each class of Ojibwe noun has a different plural ending. Depending on the animacy of the noun, speakers of the Manitoba Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe use the plural ending *-ag* to mark animate noun stems and the plural ending *-an* to mark inanimate noun stems.¹² The underlying forms of each of these plural forms are subject to contraction or merger with preceding underlying vowels or semivowels.

(14) Animate Nouns (NA)		Inanimate Nouns (NI)	
animoshag	‘dogs’	mashkosiwan	‘grass’
amikwag	‘beavers’	makizinan	‘shoes’
azhiganag	‘socks’	miinan	‘blueberries’
miskominag	‘raspberries’	ode’iminan	‘strawberries’

¹¹ These examples are drawn from *The Saulteaux Language Dictionary* (Scott 1995). All of the Saulteaux words have been re-transcribed using the Fiero roman orthography writing system. This is because the original transcriptions appear in the Saulteaux writing system.

¹² See note 11.

2.4.1.3 Obviation

Obviation is a unique grammatical feature of Algonquian languages which distinguishes prominence between two third person animate nouns. Algonquian linguists use the term *proximate* to refer to the animate noun being singled out. Conversely, the term *obviative* is used to refer to all of the other animate nouns within the clause. This is because only one animate third person noun may appear in the *proximate* at any one time (Dahlstrom 1986, Russell 1996).¹³

In the Saulteaux dialect of Ojibwe, the singular form of the obviative animate noun is marked with the suffix *-an*. The plural form of the obviative animate noun is marked with the suffix *-a'*. A summary of the different nominal forms of animate nouns is provided in example (15).

(15) Animate Saulteaux Nominal Forms

<u>proximate</u> (sg)	<u>proximate</u> (pl)	<u>obviative</u> (sg)	<u>obviative</u> (pl)	
Anishinaabe	Anishinaabewag	Anishinaabewan	Anishinaabewa'	'man'
apichi	apichiwag	apichiwan	apichiwa'	'robin'
dewe'igan	dewe'iganag	dewe'iganan	dewe'igana'	'drum'

Moreover, in situations where both the subject and the object of the sentence clause are animate third persons nouns, ordinarily the subject is proximate and the object is obviative (Starks 1992). Examples of the obviation process from the *MALG* are provided in (16), (17) and (18).

¹³ In Ojibwe, obviation is only marked on animate nouns. Valentine (2001) notes that while inanimate nouns cannot be inflected for obviation, the verbs associated with them may nevertheless be marked to show obviation inflection.

- (16) **onaabi'aan zhooniyaan**
'counterfeiting'

onaabi'aan TA 3s-3's ind. neutral
s/he copies him/her/it

zhooniyaan NA obv. sg
'money'

[back translation] 'He makes false money'

- (17) **ogidama'aa' abinoojiiya'**
'child abuse'

ogidama'aa' TA 3s-3'p ind. neutral
s/he abuses them

abinoojiiya' NA obv. pl

[back translation] 'One who abuses children'

- (18) **onashowewininiwan obagidinigoon ge-izhichiged**
'writ' **onashowewinini** NA 'judge'

onashowewininiwan NA obv. sg
'judge'

obagidinigoon TA 3's-3s ind. neutral
's/he allows him/her'

ge-izhichiged AI conj. neutral 3s
'that s/he will do so'

[back translation] 'The judge allows him to do such a thing'

(MALG:12,16,52)

In example (16), the object noun *zhooniyaa* 'money' is marked for the third person obviative with the singular suffix *-an*. Example (17) provides an example of an obviative plural noun as an object. Example (18) provides an example of where the subject *onashowewininiwan* 'judge' is obviative. In this example, the object is not shown by any overt noun, but rather it is the head of the verb form *ge-izhichiged* 'that s/he will do so.'

2.5 Features of Verb Inflection

The inflection of Ojibwe verbs is very complex. Ojibwe verbs show several layers of verb agreement. Ojibwe verbs can be inflected for order, mode, tense and negation. Ojibwe verbs are also inflected to agree with their subjects and objects in person, number, gender and obviation (Rhodes 1976).

2.5.1 Person Marking

The person category consists of three basic members: (1) the first person, (2) the second person and (3) the third person. Person categories may appear in both singular and plural forms. The various combinations of person marking are illustrated in the sample Saulteaux verb paradigm in section 2.5.3.1.

The inflectional morphology of verbs is based on a person-marking hierarchy system where the selection of personal prefixes is ranked in a hierarchical order where the second-person marker always outranks the first-person marker and the non third-person marker always outranks the third-person marker. This is illustrated with the following:

(19) Ojibwe Person Marking Hierarchy

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

2.5.2 Order

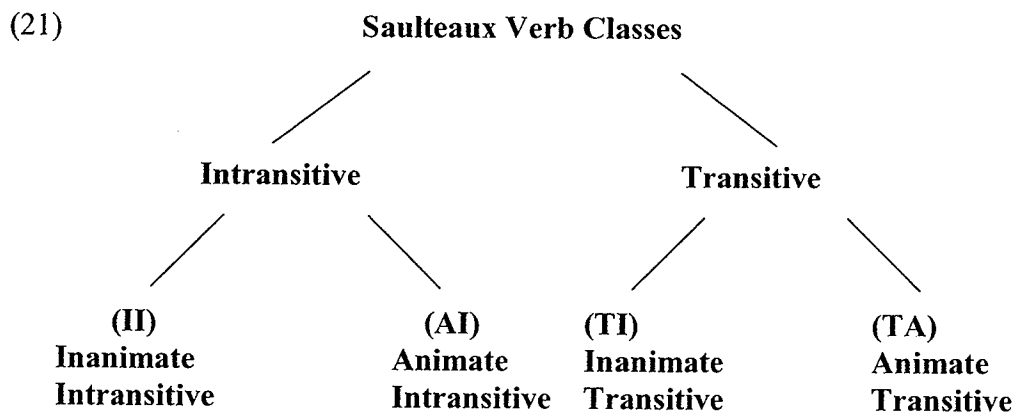
The three orders are independent, conjunct and imperative. Independent verbs only occur in main clauses. Conjunct verbs may occur in both main and subordinate clauses. Independent and conjunct inflections may be added to any verb stem. Imperative verbs differ significantly from both the independent and the conjunct order.

Imperative verbs are only inflected for the following persons: second person singular (2s), second person plural (2p) and the first person inclusive (2i). This is because the function of imperative verbs is to request that an action be completed by the animate subject (Rhodes 1976, Starks 1992).

(20)	Independent:	<i>gi-niim</i>	'you (sg) dance'
	Conjunct:	<i>niimi-yan</i>	'if you (sg) dance'
	Imperative	<i>niimi-n</i>	'dance!'

2.5.3 Verb Classes

Ojibwe verbs are of two morphological types: transitive and intransitive.¹⁴ Transitive verbs typically appear in transitive clauses while intransitive verbs typically appear in intransitive clauses. Each transitive stem is specialized for animate or inanimate objects while each intransitive stem is specialized for either an animate or inanimate subject. Both transitive and intransitive verbs inflect for person, number, gender and obviation. Traditionally, stems fall into four classes according to the type of final they have. In Ojibwe, the four classes are:



(Adapted from Logan 2001)

¹⁴ A 'third' type of verb which falls outside the scope of this thesis is the pseudo-transitive verb. Essentially, pseudo-transitive verbs are morphologically intransitive verbs which add anaphoric reference to a third person pseudo-object (Bloomfield 1958, Rhodes 1976).

2.5.3.2 Tense

There are four different verb tenses in Saulteaux: present, past, future and volative. Both verb tense and mode are marked by a fixed set of tense inflections and modal preverbs. Modal preverbs are used to mark aspectual notions including the beginning or end of an event (Valentine 2001). Below is an example of the different verb tenses for the animate intransitive verb *niimi* 'to dance' in the independent order:

(23) Saulteaux Verb Tenses

(a)	present		niniim	'I dance'
(b)	past	<i>gii-</i>	nigii-niim	'I was dancing'
(c)	future	<i>ga-</i>	niga-niim	'I will dance'
(d)	volative	<i>wii-</i>	niwii-niim	'I want to dance'

2.5.3.3 Mode

There are also four different inflectionally marked verb modes in Saulteaux that mark aspectual-evidential moods: (1) indicative, (2) preterit, (3) dubitative and (4) preterit dubitative. In the independent and conjunct orders, mode is marked by inflectional suffixes. Specifically, the preterit mode verbs are marked for unrealized and past completed events; in the dubitative mode, verbs are marked for doubt and uncertainty; and in the preterit dubitative mode, verbs are marked for events involving a combination of a past completed event and uncertainty. Verbs in the neutral / indicative mode are not marked for mode (Valentine 2001:798). Example (24) provides an example of the different modes for the animate intransitive verb *niimi* 'to dance' in the independent order:

(24) **Saulteaux Verb Modes**

(a)	neutral	-	niimi	'John is dancing'
(b)	preterit	-ban	niimiiban	'John was dancing'
(c)	dubitative	-dog	niimidog	'John must be dancing'
(d)	preterit dubitative	-goban	niimigoban	'John must have been dancing'

2.5.3.4 **Negation**

There are two distinct grammatical devices that may be used to mark negation in Ojibwe: (1) negative particles and (2) negative verbal inflections. Verbs in the independent and imperative orders mark negation with distinct adverbs *gaawiin* and *gego/gegwa* and with negative inflection forms *-sii*, *-ke*, and *-siidaa* respectively. Verbs in the conjunct order do not ordinarily mark negation with adverbs. Rather, negation is marked exclusively through the use of the negative inflectional form *-siw*. The basic forms of negation of the animate intransitive verb *niimi* 's/he dances' in the independent order is illustrated in (25).

(25) **Negation - Independent Order**

gaawiin niniimisii 'I am not dancing'

2.5.3.5 **Initial Change**

Initial change is limited to the conjunct mode of the Saulteaux verb. Nichols and Nyholm (1995) describe initial change as a morphological process that affects the first syllable of either a preverb or the verb stem. Nichols (1980) cited in Logan (2001:24) suggests that initial change is used to draw explicit attention to a "particular participant, circumstance or aspect of an event."¹⁵

¹⁵ Refer to Nichols and Nyholm (1995) for a complete listing of all of the various forms of initial change.