Bottineau Vocabulary Dialectal Features

Abbreviations

In the discussion below, in addition to the abbreviations found in the "Sources Used" section of the post, I use the following abbreviations of some sources: "Ba" = Baraga (1853), "JdJ" = Josselin de Jong (1913), "Jo17" = Jones (1917), "Jo19" = Jones (1919), "N&N" = Nichols and Nyholm (1995), "Nch" = Nichols (1988b), "Rh" = Rhodes (1985), "S" = Sullivan (2016), "V" = Valentine (1994), and "Wr" = Wright (n.d.). For a map that includes many of the locations referenced, see the post.

Lexical Features

The forms here are given in alphabetical order by their English gloss, with the gloss idealized, simplified, and/or corrected along the lines of the rewritten spreadsheet of the vocabulary linked to at the beginning of the post. When phonological parameters are not part of what is under discussion, I cite the Ojibwe term in modern orthography only.

- All = <kákina> (pg. 33). In southern and eastern Southwestern Ojibwe, **(g)akina** is one of several particles that have lost initial /k-/, at least for most speakers (V:449). S:211 states that in his data, all speakers from Leech Lake south and east used **akina** or the common shortened form **kina**, with the exception of one speaker from Aazhoomog (Mille Lacs District III, far eastern MN, near the WI border) who used **gakina**, and one speaker from Lac Courte Oreilles (WI) who used both. All speakers north of Leech Lake, except for one from Lake Vermilion, used **gakina**. He also notes that archival data show that /k/-loss in **gakina** is quite old, at least in some southern/eastern communities (S:210), although the /k-/ is retained in the document in an 1864 petition written by native speakers of the La Pointe, WI area (Bad River and Bayfield) (Nch:16, 20). Jones's Southern Leech Lake speaker also used **gakina** in the first years of the 1900s (Jo17:366-373 *passim*).

- Brain = **wiindib** (pg. 39). This word is interesting because it attests a variant which as far as I know is no longer found anywhere near our focus area—though it is the more conservative form. "Brain" in modern Southwestern Ojibwe, the Border Lakes, and Saulteaux is essentially some variation of **-(w)iinindib** (V:641; OPD); **-(w)iindib**, which is reflected in the Bottineau vocabulary, is found primarily in Algonquin and some Eastern Ojibwe and Oji-Cree, but also in a few other scattered communities. (In many cases this is due to regular vowel deletion processes in those communities.) However, it is also found in Sela Wright's ca. 1890 vocabulary from Red Lake/Leech Lake, as <Wĭn-dĭp> (Wr:7).

- Cat = **gaazhagens** (pg. 33). This term is found in Southwestern Ojibwe, and in 1983 Valentine found it in the Border Lakes region as far as Whitefish Bay, but Saulteaux has a term loaned from English "puss(y)" (**boozhii** or similar variants) (V:661). OPD, by contrast, gives the Border Lakes—or at least Nigigoonsiminikaaning—term as **bizhiins** (lit. "little lynx," the normal word in North of Superior Ojibwe and some Northwestern Ojibwe).

- Cent, penny = **ozaawaabikoons** (pg. 27). This literally means "little orange-colored metal [thing]"; the majority of Ojibwe dialects have coin names ending in **-aabikoons** or similar (**-aabikw-:ns** = metal-DIM), though the initial element varies. For "penny/cent," almost all of Saulteaux southeast to many of the western Border Lakes communities has **biiwaabikoons** (lit. "little piece of metal," with **biiw-** "in pieces"; by contrast, in Southwestern, up through Red Lake and some of the Border Lakes, this word means "(metal) wire" and "can"), while **ozaawaabikoons** is found across the north shore of Lake Superior, west to Lac la Croix. At Red Lake, Valentine found **miskwaabikoons** ("little piece of copper," where "copper" is "red metal," with **miskw-** "red"), the only community which attested that term (V:684, 792, 808), but Valentine's survey covered only Canadian communities plus Red Lake. In Southwestern Ojibwe, both the terms **ozaawaabikoons** and **miskwaabikoons** are used (FOD; OPD), although my impression is the latter is the more common one (though **ozaawaabikoons** was used in the 1864 Wisconsin Ojibwe petition [Nch:18]). OPD does not use dialect codes for either term (nor does FOD), although only miskwaabikoons has audio and an example, and the basic audio is provided by a Northern Leech Lake speaker and the example sentence by a Ponemah Red Lake speaker.

- Deer = <wawáshgesh>, pl. <wawashkeshíwag> (pg. 49). "Deer" is most commonly **waawaashkeshi** +wag, with lack of final /-i/ in the singular found in some Eastern Ojibwe, Odawa, and North of Superior communities (Rh:354; V:683; FOD; NOD). There are issues with some of Bottineau's plural forms, as will be discussed further down in the post, but Gatschet's recording is likely correct. This at first appeared to me like an unexpected connection with Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe (collectively "Nishnaabemwin"), where at least some speakers have the singular **waawaashkesh** but the "anomalous plural" (Pentland 2002:340) **waawaashkeshwag** (← pre-syncope *****waawaashkesh +iwag**). Recordings show that the singular lacked a final /-i/ at least as early as 18th-century Old Odawa (Du Jaunay 1748:117: <a8eskech> "chevreüil," pl. <-ak> and <-i8ek>). However, checking Wright's work, for "Deer" he has <wă-wăc-kec>, <wă-wăc-kes> (Wr:23, 131, 152, etc.), showing that the form lacking final /-i/ was once found at Red Lake as well. Jones et al. (2011:36) also list **waashkesh** as an archaic "short form" of **waawaashkeshi** for a Lac la Croix speaker. Finally, note that several other animal names which in other dialects end in **-eshi** in the singular have this same singular/plural pattern in Nishnaabemwin, but the other example of such a word in our vocabulary shows the normal Ojibwe pattern: "weasel" (really "pine marten, *Martes americana*") <wabishéshe> = **waabizheshi**, not **waabizhesh**. Though interestingly, Wright records <Wă-bi-cec> for "Martin" [*sic*] (Wr:25)!

- Flour = **bakwezhigan biisizid** (pg. 55). While V:718 recorded 14 different variants for "flour," this (or rather, a more grammatical/idiomatic version of it—for Bottineau it should probably have been **baasizid-bakwezhigan** "ground wheat") was not one of them. The most common form he found was just plain **bakwezhigan**, which also means "bread, bannock; wheat." Most Border Lakes communities have some variant based on **ashkaawangi(zid)(-bakwezhigan)** (V:718; OPD), and Minnesota and Wisconsin some variant based on **b{i/e}bine(zid)-bakwezhigan** or **bengo-bakwezhigan**. While Valentine did not collect any examples of it, FOD *does* have an entry for **baasizid-bakwezhigan** with

the dialect code "SE" (= basically Odawa minus the Manitoulin dialects); this is absent from Rh or NOD, so I don't know the ultimate source for it. Ba:85 and Wilson (1874:235) do attest it as one of the terms for "flour" in older Michigan/Wisconsin Southwestern Ojibwe and western Eastern Ojibwe respectively, so it once had wider currency.

- Forehead = \<ûdátîg\>, pl. \<udátîguanan\> (pg. 37). Gatschet's recordings make it clear that the first consonant was lenis /t/ **d**, and the form as a whole was **oda(a)tig** "h/ forehead" (probably **odaatig**, given Gatschet's stress marking). This is not an expected form for "forehead," and the initial consonant must have assimilated to the following one. The most common form for "forehead" is **-skatig**, found in most of Canada, including the Border Lakes in Valentine's survey (V:720), although OPD does not list it; Southwestern Ojibwe generally has **-katig**, and Nishnaabemwin has **-gatig** (Rh:133; V:720; FOD; NOD; OPD). Note that Bottineau's plural form is not a regular plural of the singular (there is more discussion on cases of this sort further below in the post)—the plural suggests a stem **-da(a)tigwa(a)n**. And in fact, Valentine did find one community where the stem for "forehead" ended in **-aan** (the /w/ is part of the stem: **-(s)Ca(a)tigw-**): Red Lake, with **-kaatigwaan**, which probably represents a blending/contamination with **-(sh)tigwaan** "head." Although it's not recorded in OPD (or N&N or FOD) and possibly doesn't exist in Southwestern Ojibwe any longer, there are a number of attestations of this form (with a long first vowel and/or final **-aan**) or very similar ones in older sources. Ba:178 has an exact match, \<kátigwan\>, for "forehead" in eastern Southwestern Ojibwe, and Wilson (1874:237) has a similar but not identical form, \<kuttegwun\> (with short /a/'s), for Eastern Ojibwe, while the texts collected by William Jones at Bois Forte in 1903-1905 also attest some similar though not identical forms (e.g., \<okā'tigwāng\> "[over] his forehead" [J017:164-165], \<okạ'tigoning\> "[off of] its forehead" [J019:446-447]). Nichols (1980:19, 88) recorded **-kaatig** from the late Mille Lacs elder Maude Kegg (Naawakamigookwe), who was born in 1904; Kegg's form was an aa-augment stem, meaning it would have been identical to some of the forms recorded by Jones, e.g. locative **okaatigwaang** "on h/ forehead." (Finally, I'll note that in 1938, Bloomfield [1958:73] recorded a non-aa-augment **-kaatig** in Walpole Island Odawa; it was thus somewhat dissimilar from the other recordings noted here, but also differed from the **-gatig** apparently now found throughout Nishnaabemwin.) Still, the only one of these that fully matches what Valentine found at Red Lake, and thus Bottineau's form (minus the **g → d** assimilation), is Baraga's record of mid-19th-century Wisconsin/ Michigan Ojibwe.

- Go to war (VAI) = **andobani** (pg. 57). This form contains the Initial **ando-/anda(w)-** "seek, search out; try" (it's etymologically "go off seeking/hunting"), which can also be realized with an initial **n-** depending on the dialect. Within our area of interest, S:196 states that Nichols (2011) found /n/-less forms at Red Lake, Bois Forte, and Northern Leech Lake, and /n/-full forms at Mille Lacs and Southern Leech Lake, with age-graded variation in the north, "where for older speakers, the /n/ comes back following a prefix, whereas for younger speakers, the root has been completely reanalyzed as lacking the nasal." In Sullivan's own data, all speakers from Mille Lacs, Aazhoomog, and Wisconsin used /n/, but there was variation in the presence or absence of /n/ in speakers from north of Mille Lacs,

i.e., from Leech Lake, Red Lake, Bois Forte, and the Border Lakes (S:196-197). He also points out that the texts collected at Red Lake by Josselin de Jong in 1911 fail to show /n/-loss, but that the texts collected by Jones at Bois Forte in 1903-1905 do, implying that the change is quite old there and has been spreading west and south. Although Valentine did not collect data on **(n)andobani** itself, he did collect data on several other terms that in many dialects contain the same Initial. Two examples can serve: "[how much] of it do you want?" and "look for it!" For the first term, most responses used the TI verb **(n)andawendam-**. Forms without /n/ were the most common, occurring, among other places, in almost all of Saulteaux and in the western Border Lakes communities of Emo and Whitefish Bay (V:753). (Unfortunately, the response for this item recorded at Red Lake and at Lac la Croix is of no use because it doesn't contain this morpheme: **waa-[a]yaaman**.) For the second term, the most common variant was **(n)andawaabandan**. The /n/-less form occurred in some scattered locations, including a few Saulteaux communities as well as most of the Border Lakes and Red Lake (V:770). Most of Saulteaux instead had **andone'an**, a different word, but with the same morpheme serving as an Initial, and lacking /n/.

- Grandmother = **-ookomis** (pg. 65). This is the most common form, and is found in Southwestern, including Northern Minnesota, and the Border Lakes, among other places. Most Saulteaux communities, however (as well as Oji-Cree and most Northwestern Ojibwe), have shortened forms, **-ookom** or **-ooko** (V:736; OPD).

- Have a beard (VAI) = **miishidoone** (pg. 33). Ojibwe verbs which contain incorporated body parts as Medials almost always have the AI Final **-e**, as in **bookonike** "s/he has a broken arm" (**bookw-nik-e** = break.in.two-arm-INCORP:AI). There are a few body part Medials, however, which fail to take the **-e** Final in some southern Ojibwe dialects, including **-doon-** "mouth." This is the case in Southwestern Ojibwe up to Leech Lake. Thus, all communities south and east of Leech Lake, and including Southern Leech Lake, have **miishidoon** for "he has a beard," while Bois Forte, Red Lake, and the Border Lakes have **miishidoone** (**miish-doon-e** = hair(y)-mouth-INCORP:AI), and Northern Leech Lake exhibits variation between the two forms (S:233-234; Nichols 2011 cited by S:233; Valentine 2002:115-116; OPD).

- Horse = **bebezhigoonhgazhii**, Colt = **bebezhigoo(nh)gazhiins** and **mishtadimoons** (pg. 25). The words for "colt" are composed of "horse" + the diminutive suffix **-:ns**, thus indirectly reflecting the base words for horse as **bebezhigoo(nh)gazhii** (with at least variable nasal spreading) and **mishtadim**. In other words, Bottineau's dialect, or a slightly older version of it, had both **bebezhigoonhgazhii** and **mishtadim** for "horse." This is actually a useful shibboleth. **Mis(h)tadim** (← Cree *mistatim* or *mištatim*) is found, among other places, in all of Saulteaux, southeast to the Border Lakes (V:750; OPD). Southwestern Ojibwe has **bebezhigooganzhii** up through Leech Lake. The intersection of the two terms is at Red Lake. Valentine recorded only **mistadim** there, but he was only able to interview a single speaker, and in fact both terms are found in competition; OPD has examples from different Red Lake speakers of both (including one speaker who uses both words). S:232 shows this variation as well, where all the Wisconsin and Minnesota dialects he had data for, including Red Lake, used **bebezhigooganzhii**, but **mishtadim** was found at Red Lake

as well, as well as at Nigigoonsiminikaaning in the Border Lakes. He even quotes one Red Lake speaker as saying, during an elicitation session, **"Ningikenimaag igiweg ininiwag gaa-miinaawaad iniwen ikwewan bebezhigooganzhiin,"** maagizhaa gaye *mishtadim* **indaa-ikid** "'I know the men who gave the horse [*bebezhigooganzhii*] to the women'—or maybe I should say *mishtadim*" (S:192). This would seem to be one of the most useful dialectally diagnostic forms in the vocabulary.[1]

- Hungry (VAI) = **bakade**⟨we⟩ (pg. 53). (Although I don't know how to interpret the final <we> of <pakádewe>, the beginning is clearly **bakade**.) **Bakade** is the southern form for "s/he is hungry," found in Southwestern Ojibwe and Nishnaabemwin, while Valentine recorded the term as **noonde-wiisini** or **wii-wiisini** (lit. "s/he wants to eat") or similar in most of Ontario (including Emo and Lac la Croix) and in most of Algonquin and Nipissing, and **noondeskade** in basically all of Saulteaux, southeast to Whitefish Bay (V:755; some of these latter terms will also be discussed below). In Eastern Saulteaux and much of the Border Lakes region, including Whitefish Bay and Nigigoonsiminikaaning, among other areas, **bakade** instead means "s/he is skinny" (V:848; FOD; OPD). OPD attests one speaker from Ponemah (northern Red Lake) with **bakade** meaning "hungry" and another with it meaning "skinny," and Sullivan presents a table (S:232) showing "s/he is hungry" expressed with **bakade** in Wisconsin, Mille Lacs, Leech Lake, and Nett Lake (Bois Forte) as well as Red Lake, and with **noondeskade** (the near universal Saulteaux term) not only in Nigigoonsiminikaaning and Lac la Croix, but in Lake Vermilion (Bois Forte)—as well as in Mille Lacs and Red Lake alongside **bakade**.

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[1] So I thought. But of course nothing is ever this simple. After writing all this, I found a discussion by Edward Benton-Banai (Bawdwaywidun), an elder from Lac Courte Oreilles, WI, in which he twice uses the term **mishtidamoo** (with vowel metathesis, though this isn't reflected in the published transcription) for "horse," alongside one instance of **bebezhigooganzhii**: **Gii-agaashiiyiyaan gakina ingoji ingii-waabamaa—odaabaan, bebezhigoganzhii, mishtidamoo. Mishtidamoo wawaasa ko gii-pi-onjibaa aw anishinaabe** "When I was little, all over I would see…wagons, horses [*bebezhigooganzhii*], horses [*mishtidamoo*]. Indians used to come from a long way off by horse [*mishtidamoo*]" (Benton-Banai 2011:91, my translation, and transcription of the audio). The fact that **mishtidamoo** has metathesis and is backformed from the plural/obviative/diminutive and so doesn't have the same form as in other communities maybe salvages the distinction, or Benton-Banai could have picked the term up elsewhere? (His intonation also doesn't suggest he's offering **mishtidamoo** as an alternative to or a correction of **bebezhigoganzhii**, just another item in the list, so maybe two different kinds of horses are intended??) With one exception, this is the only example I've encountered so far of a speaker from south or east of Red Lake with any variant of **mishtadim** for "horse." The other is Clark and Gresczyk (1998:106), produced by Mille Lacs speakers, who list both **bebezhigooganzhii** and **mishtadim**, but this work includes a few forms from other communities, so this may not be relevant? Nichols (1980) and N&N, based on Mille Lacs Ojibwe, lack **mishtadim**, and OPD does not attribute it to Mille Lacs, let alone Wisconsin, only to Red Lake and the Border Lakes; V (1994:57, n. 3) also cites John Nichols as observing that "Red Lake . . . is exceptional among [Southwestern Ojibwe] varieties in Minnesota in having *mistadim*. Elsewhere the common form is *bebezhigooganzhii*."

In addition, the term is absent from both Baraga's grammar and dictionary from the mid-19th century, based on Michigan and Wisconsin Ojibwe (including the posthumous editions from 1878-1880), and from Verwyst's 1901 textbook based on Wisconsin Ojibwe. Both sources only have **bebezhigooganzhii**, numerous times, as does the native petition in Nch (pp. 14, 20). All of this suggests that even if a few Southwestern speakers today are familiar with or use a variant of **mishtadim**, its range has expanded over time, and it's very unlikely that it was found further south/east than northern Minnesota in Bottineau's day.

- Much, many = <nibúa> (pg. 35). Gatschet's spelling can be interpreted one of two ways: as **niibowa** or as **niibiwa**. Although it's more likely to be a representation of **niibowa**, it's very unfortunate that we can't be positive of which was said, because this could be a useful shibboleth. While V:783 didn't find any significant variation within our region of interest (only attesting **niibiwa**), there is in fact a good deal of variation moving from Southwestern into the Border Lakes and Saulteaux. FOD gives the dialect codes for **niibowa** as "CS," "NW," and "SW," i.e. all the varieties of Southwestern Ojibwe as well as the ambiguous "NW," which could refer to anything from Red Lake to Southeastern Saulteaux to Pikangikum Northwestern Ojibwe. OPD marks **niibowa** as just a "Southern Central Region" term (which "[i]ncludes southern Mille Lacs and St. Croix [western WI, near Aazhoomog]"), but this is clearly wrong, as a number of the recordings and example sentences in the dictionary are from Red Lake speakers. **Niibiwa**, meanwhile, is marked as a "Northern Minnesota" term (which "[i]ncludes north Red Lake (Ponemah), Border Lakes, Bois Forte, and northern Leech Lake"), with the recordings and examples from a speaker from Nigigoonsiminikaaning. S:216 has a more thorough breakdown: **niibowa** or **nebowa** is found at Lac Courte Oreilles (WI), Aazhoomog, and Leech Lake, and just **niibowa** at Red Lake. Sullivan attributes **niibiwa** to the Border Lakes and it is not mentioned as present at Red Lake or elsewhere in Minnesota or Wisconsin. Campbell (1940:62) also shows <me-boo-wah> [*sic*] for White Earth in the early 1900s (the <m> is clearly a misprint for <n> since the work is alphabetized) and lacks anything representing **niibiwa**. However, older sources give a different distribution. Jones's texts from Bois Forte had **niibiwa** but not **niibowa** (J017:112, 140, 184, 198, etc.; J019:340, 352, 384, 400, etc.), while Ba (1853:280, 548, 556); Verwyst (1901:20, 21, 103, etc.); and Nch (1988b:12, 22) similarly show that in the 19th and early 20th centuries **niibiwa** but not **niibowa** was used in at least Wisconsin and Michigan. In JdJ's collection from Red Lake, most texts have **niibiwa**, but one has an instance of **niibowa** (JdJ:6), from two speakers from near Redby (southern Red Lake), who otherwise use **niibiwa**, including elsewhere in the same text. So in Bottineau's time **niibowa** was evidently restricted to parts of Minnesota—given Jones's and JdJ's evidence, maybe even just southern Red Lake, but probably it was also found in central Minnesota, given Campbell's record of **niibowa** as the only variant used at White Earth; his experience with White Earth Ojibwe began in 1868 (probably before then, in the form of Gull Lake [central Minnesota] Ojibwe) and continued to the 1930s.

- Neck = <ukuaí> (pg. 35). As noted in Note R, Bottineau's **ogway** ("h/ neck") lacks a final **-aw** that is normally found in this variant for "neck," though it's clearly a form of said variant. V:788 found **-gwayaw** in a dozen scattered locations, basically Western Saulteaux, western Ontario south to Whitefish Bay, and most of Oji-Cree. The more common variant for "neck" is **-kwe('i)gan**, which he found basically everywhere else, including in Eastern Saulteaux, most of the southern Border Lakes, and at Red Lake. It is also the form in Southwestern, and the only one listed in OPD, including among speakers from Leech Lake, Red Lake, and Nigigoonsiminikaaning.

- Nine = **zhaang**, and ten = **gwech** (pg. 43). It is convenient to treat these two terms together. Bottineau gives **zhaang** along with the longer form **zhaangaswi** which is the only form for

"nine" in most Ojibwe dialects, and **gwech** (lit. "sufficient, enough") along with the only form for "ten" in most dialects, **midaaswi** (see the separate entry on "Ten" below). Though Pentland (2002:340) implies that **zhaang** and **gwech** are characteristically Odawa terms, at least in distinction with Eastern Ojibwe, Baraga in his dictionary (Ba:162, 163, 195, 559, 628) lists all four forms, saying that **zhaang** is "abridged from" **zhaangaswi** (though historically speaking it is in fact the more archaic term) and that **gwech** is used in "common quick counting," but without marking either as a distinctively Odawa term. In his grammar (1850:430, 432) he also says: "In common quick counting they say *jang*, instead of *jangasswi*, nine; and *kwetch*, instead of *midasswi*, ten." Hence, **zhaang** and **gwech** were clearly used in Michigan/Wisconsin Southwestern Ojibwe in Baraga's time. Besides the wordlist from some time not long before 1827 which Pentland was analyzing (where they appear as <Shaunk> and <Quitch>), I don't know what other older textual evidence there is for associating these alternative numeral forms with Odawa. (Neither is used in that dialect any longer, in any case, and Du Jaunay's dictionary of Old Odawa actually has <chankaʃʃ8> for "neuf" and <mitaʃʃ8> for "dix" [Du Jaunay 1748:172, 315].) Unfortunately, beyond this, I don't know what the distributions of the terms were at the time. Several Moose and Eastern Swampy Cree dialects do have *šānk* (or *šānkwā*) or similar as terms for "nine" (Ellis 1995:234, 383, 416, n. 41; Costa 2013:211), which due to their form must be Ojibwe loans, from Oji-Cree, Northwestern Ojibwe, or a transitional dialect.

- Onion = **zhigaagomizh** (pg. 29). There are two common variants of this term, which means "skunk bush/plant," varying primarily according to the Final that means "bush/plant": **zhigaagomizh** and **zhigaagowinzh**/**zhigaagaw{a/i}nzh**. The latter forms are found in Southwestern Ojibwe, most Nishnaabemwin, Nipissing, and Algonquin, while the former is found almost everywhere else, including Saulteaux and the Border Lakes (V:800). Valentine recorded only **zhigaagowinzh** at Red Lake; Wr:169 has <Ci-ga-ga-wûn-jĭ>/<-ji> = **zhigaagawanzhii**(?); and OPD does not list a form with **-mizh** at all, suggesting it is not found in Southwestern, at Red Lake, *or* at Nigigoonsiminikaaning.

- Potatoes = **opiniig** (pg. 49). The relevant parameter here is the gender of the noun, which was animate for Bottineau as shown by the plural suffix. "Potato" is one of several words or semantic domains which show significant variation in animacy among different Ojibwe communities and speakers. It's animate in some Western Saulteaux, Southwestern Ojibwe north to Red Lake, Emo in the Border Lakes, and the Saulteaux of western to east-central Manitoba, but is inanimate in eastern Manitoba and much of the western half of Ontario, including Whitefish Bay and Lac la Croix (V:815). Sullivan provides somewhat inconsistent information (inconsistent both within his own work and inconsistent with the data from other sources). While at one point he states that John Nichols found **opin** to be inanimate at Red Lake (S:48, citing Nichols 2012), he elsewhere affirms that the term for potato is "animate according to examples [I] collected at Ponemah" (S:239), and it is also attested as animate from two different Ponemah speakers by OPD. S:239 additionally confirms it is animate at points further south (all sources and data agree that the word is animate in the central, southern, and eastern dialects of Southwestern Ojibwe), as well as that in some Border Lakes and neighboring communities it is inanimate, including at Lake Vermilion,

MN (but *not* at Nett Lake, MN further west, also part of the Bois Forte Band, where it is animate; this was also true of Nett Lake in Jones's day [Jo17:24-26, 186]). Though OPD doesn't note an inanimate form, one of Sullivan's elicited sentences (S:247) shows **opin** as inanimate for the same Nigigoonsiminikaaning speaker represented in OPD.

- Rib = **opigegan** (pg. 37). By far the most common term for "rib(s)" Valentine found, including in all of central and Eastern Saulteaux and the Border Lakes, was **-pigay** (V:826); **-pigegan**, Bottineau's form, was found in the southeast (Nishnaabemwin), in three Western Saulteaux communities, and at Red Lake. (<Pikegan> is also listed by McGregor 1987:332 as the modern Kitigan Zibi Nipissing word for "breast-bone.") Valentine seems to be the only modern source to attest **-pigegan** at Red Lake; FOD marks it as only "SE," and OPD lacks it entirely, marking **-pigay** as Border Lakes and **-pigemag** as a term specific to Mille Lacs.[2] **-pigegan** is also absent from any of the texts in Treuer (2001) or in the *Oshkaabewis Native Journal*. However, Wr:7 (etc.) attests it (indirectly, in the impersonal form **opigeganaamaa**) at Red Lake in the 19th century, supporting Valentine's finding. Ba:295 also gives **-pigegan** as the only word for "rib" in eastern Southwestern Ojibwe at the time, so it was clearly once more widespread.

- Sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety = <ningutuássue mítana>, <nîⁿshuássue mítana>, <nishwássue mítana>, <shangássue m[ítana]> (pg. 43). Other varieties of Ojibwe almost universally show either an /i/ or an /o/ before the **-midana** "times ten" suffix, rather than Bottineau's <ue> = /wi/. But two attestations show that Bottineau's forms were once used at Red Lake and possibly Leech Lake. First and somewhat tenuously, Josselin de Jong's texts from Red Lake include the numeral verb <gimidāsswiwanagadiniwan> = **gii-midaaswiwanagadiniwan** "there were ten sets [of moccasins]" (JdJ:26, my translation). Here the Initial for "ten" surfaces as **midaaswi-** instead of **midaaso-** or **midaasi-**, though not in the context of the formation of decade numerals. Second and more securely, Wright's work records all the upper decades this way, e.g., <nĭn-got-wǎs-wĭ-mĭ-tĕn-û> = **ningodwaaswimidana** for "60," etc. (Wr:17). See also the document on "Bottineau Words Not Attested Elsewhere," at the end of the post, for some [further discussion on these forms](#).

- Skin = <shagai> (pg. 33), <oshágai, washágai> (pg. 35); "[s/he has] red skin" = <miskᵘa shagai> (pg. 33). The two most common variants of "skin" are **-zhagay** and **-zhaga'ay**. While it's conceivable that Gatschet missed a glottal stop here, he successfully heard them elsewhere, including between identical vowels, and he recorded this word three separate times on two different pages, plus once as a Medial. It's thus very, very likely that Bottineau's forms were: dependent noun **-zhagay** and Medial **-zhagay-**, without a glottal stop. V:847 found the noun of this form throughout Saulteaux and most of Northwestern Ojibwe, as well as some other places. In the Border Lakes and at Red Lake, however, he found only **-zhaga'ay**, and this is also the only variant [reflected in OPD](#) (as well as Nichols

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[2] But this leads me to believe the term was not extensively surveyed. **-pigemag** meaning "canoe rib" is used by two Southwestern speakers—one from L'Anse, MI and the other from Cass Lake (Northern Leech Lake)—in a film narration (Otchingwanigan 1988:234ff), and the same word meaning simply "rib" as a body part is used in a story by a speaker from Lac du Flambeau, WI (Chosa 2003:82-83), so it's obviously of wider distribution within Southwestern.

1980:88 and N&N:69 for Mille Lacs). FOD accords with this, and also records terms containing the Medial **-zhagay-** as "NW" and "WO," though as has been noted, while the latter indicates Western Saulteaux, the former designation is very broad.

- Smoke tobacco (VAI) = <sagássue>, "I smoke" = <ni sagássue> (pg. 31). This is a very interesting form. The transcriptions clearly indicate **zagaswe** "s/he smokes" and **nizagaswe** "I smoke." But the overwhelmingly most common form for "smoke (AI)" in Ojibwe is **zagaswaa**. **Zagaswe** is found in Oji-Cree plus at least one Western Algonquin community, Biscotasing (V:851). This verb is also a member of the class of verbs in Nipissing Algonquin which retain archaic ablaut of the final vowel of the stem in third-person forms, so in Nipissing "s/he smokes" is **zagaswe**, but "I smoke" is **nizagaswaa** (V:388-390, 404, 851). While it's likely that the final **-e** in the Oji-Cree form is due to generalization of the old third-person allomorph in this stem, as Valentine suggests (with every other Ojibwe dialect, except Nipissing and Biscotasing, leveling out this alternation in the opposite direction, to **-aa**), it's less clear whether this is the explanation in Bottineau's case, because we don't have any other words which *would* show this change had it occurred. The alternative possibility is that the final vowel of Bottineau's **zagaswe** was influenced by related stems such as **zagaswe'idi-** "smoke with each other; hold/have a meeting (AI)," which we know Bottineau used, as attested on pg. 57—also suggesting he had the VTA **zagaswe'-** "give someone a smoke, share a smoke with someone; invite someone to a council/meeting." His **zagaswe** could easily be due to influence from either of these, or other related forms.

- Sour (VII) = **zhiiwaa** (pg. 57). **Zhiiwaa** or **zhiiwan** in the north and northwest, including all of Saulteaux and the Border Lakes, means "it is sweet," not "it is sour" as it does in the south (V:876; OPD). OPD is more specific, identifying **zhiiwan** as the general term for "sour," but with the dialectal meaning "sweet" in the Border Lakes, and **zhiiwaa** as a specifically Red Lake term for "sour." However, to complicate things, elsewhere OPD says that "[t]he root /zhiiwi-/ means *sweet* at Red Lake and further north, but *sour* to the south." Gibbs (2010:46-47) does illustrate a Ponemah speaker for whom **zhiiw-** means "sweet," but OPD's explicit marking of **zhiiwaa** "sour" as a Red Lake form (with recordings by a Ponemah speaker) leads me to believe that this is another instance where two terms, or in this case two definitions, can both be found at Red Lake. (In regards to **zhiiwaa** as a specifically Red Lake form, Ba:171 actually attests it, meaning "it is sour, acid," in Michigan/Wisconsin Southwestern Ojibwe in the mid-19th century [and **zhiiwan** meaning "it is sour; it is salted"], so at least at one point it was found beyond Red Lake.)

- Ten = **midaaswi** (pg. 43). This is the most common form, found in Southwestern Ojibwe, central and eastern (and some western) Saulteaux, and the Border Lakes (V:886). However, Valentine found **midaaso** at Red Lake (as well as in much of Northwestern Ojibwe and Oji-Cree), and OPD also marks **midaaso** as a specifically Red Lake term, in contrast with the general **midaaswi**. This is not as distinctive a feature as it might seem, however, despite the geographical clustering of the variants and the fact that Red Lake has been identified by multiple sources as having a form ending in /-o/. For one thing, interchange between /o/

and /wi/ or /wa/ is very frequent in Ojibwe, though affecting different words in different dialects and idiolects and even individual tokens of words. For another, one of the OPD speakers who records **midaaswi** is from Ponemah, so evidently *once again* the two terms are in fact both used at Red Lake today. Finally, we have older records from Red Lake, and these show **midaaswi**: in Josselin de Jong's texts, "ten" appears twice, in a story by Eshkwegaabaw and Debi-Giizhig, both times as <midāsswi> (JdJ:26); and in Wright's work, "ten" is recorded as <mi-tas-wĭ> (Wr:17).

- Want to eat (VAI) ("he feels like eating") = **noonde-wiisini** (pg. 53). This form, or similar, was found by Valentine in a handful of communities with the meaning "s/he is hungry" (see discussion of "Hungry" above), but none close to our area of interest. My focus here is on the use of the preverb **noonde-** to mean "want to, feel like," which V:755 says "is much more common in Saulteaux than in other dialects" (giving a textual example from Western Saulteaux, **"Ginoonde-wiisin na?"** "Do you want to eat?" [V:443]), though also noting that it is still "found in other dialects." When eliciting the desiderative preverb itself (which in other dialects is **wii-**), he found **noonde-** as an alternative alongside **wii-** in almost all Saulteaux communities west of central Manitoba, as well as at Emo (V:544). Since there are no firmly established tokens of a desiderative preverb in the Bottineau vocabulary—the precise analysis of **noonde-wiisini** is open to interpretation—and since there is not a firm dividing line between Saulteaux and other dialects in terms of this feature, it is of less use than might be hoped. Furthermore, there's clearly a degree of freedom for many speakers in how to express "hungry"/"want to eat." Thus, while V:755 recorded "s/he is hungry" at Red Lake as **bakade** in line with the most common Southwestern Ojibwe expression, S:199 records, for "I'm not hungry," one speaker from Red Lake saying **gaawiin nibakadesiin** and another saying **gaawiin ninoonde-wiisinisiin**. As noted above, he also records both **bakade** and **noondeskade** for "s/he is hungry" at both Red Lake and Mille Lacs.

- White man = **waabishkiiwed inini** (pg. 27, and related forms). Valentine's findings (V:922) don't give the full picture, but I will discuss them first, then move to broader issues with these forms. He found a number of different terms for "white person," in part depending on the nationality of the Europeans with whom each community had the earliest or most significant contact. In Eastern Saulteaux and most of western Ontario as well as at Lac la Croix he found **wemitigoozhi** (= "Frenchman"), and at Red Lake he recorded **gichi-mookomaan** (= "American"). At Whitefish Bay he recorded both **wemitigoozhi** and **waabishkiiwe** (← "s/he is a white person"), and at Emo he recorded both **waabishkiiwe** and **zhaaganaash** (= "Englishman"). In Southwestern Ojibwe (up through Red Lake at least), both the terms **gichi-mookomaan** and a participial form of **waabishkiiwe** are used. Now, as discussed in Note AF, the forms Bottineau gives are aberrant, and essentially consist in using "initial change" of the verb (here, infixation of **-ay-** before the first vowel) to form the plurals, instead of using a proper plural participial verb. Thus, the "plural" "white men" is given as **wayaabishkiiwed ininiwag** instead of **w(ay)aabishkiiwewaad ininiwag**. Some of the implications of this are discussed further down in the post, but for the moment what matters is that Bottineau apparently had blended forms, sometimes exhibiting initial change and sometimes not. OPD specifies the participial form

(with no initial change) as a "Northern Minnesota" form (Red Lake, Northern Leech Lake, Bois Fort, and the Border Lakes), and the participial form (with initial change) as a "Southern Central Region" form (central Minnesota east to St. Croix in western Wisconsin), but this reflects the modern distribution of participle-forming strategies rather than those in Bottineau's time. In the mid-19th century, forms with initial change would have been found further north than today.

- <u>Window</u> = **waasechigan** (pg. 27, and derivatives on pg. 57). This is the almost universal form, except for Saulteaux and in northwestern Ontario, where every community V:925 surveyed had **waasenigan** instead.

Phonological Features

The few phonological features which are potentially dialectally relevant and can be relatively confidently assessed from Gatschet's transcriptions are addressed here. There are three other potential features I have excluded for various reasons which it's not worth going into great detail on: the realization of the distinction between lenis and fortis obstruents, of /oː/, and of the first-person prefix **ni-**.

- As was [noted earlier in the post](#), several words in the vocabulary exhibit what has been called "nasal spreading," although not all the words that could theoretically be subject to it do exhibit it. A few dialects of Ojibwe have processes which involve nasalization spreading to or metathesizing with a preceding syllable For example, in Eastern Ojibwe a stressed vowel becomes nasalized when preceding a syllable with an unstressed nasalized vowel, as in older **mewinzha** [ˈmɛːwĩˌʒə] "long ago" → **mewnzha** [ˈmɛ̃ːwʒə] (showing later syncope of the unstressed vowel, but attested in pre-syncope recordings like <mĕ´-nwícĕ> (1890s)) and **bezhigooganzhii** [ˈb̥ɛːʒɪˌɡoːɡã̃ˌʒiː] "horse" → **bezhgoognzhii** [ˈb̥ɛːʒɡõːɡʒiː] (Rhodes 1976:138, 2004:370). However, nasal spreading has been most extensively documented for Red Lake Ojibwe by John Nichols (2011), as cited and described by S:207-210. Nichols found several different types or patterns of nasal spreading in Ponemah, but most can be summarized as a nasalized vowel or VNC sequence inducing prenasalization of a preceding consonant while optionally losing its own nasal element. From recordings I've heard, however, it seems that the newly "nasalized" syllable does not always have a coda segmental nasal as S's description and the orthography used would imply, but sometimes just a nasalized vowel (written with **nh**). From the very small number of examples in our vocabulary, it would appear that Bottineau had only nasalization of the preceding vowel (and consistent denasalization of the original vowel), without insertion of a segmental nasal. Bottineau's version of the process would thus seem to represent an intermediate step—still preserved for some Ponemah speakers, at least optionally—between the original situation and most innovative one in which the newly nasalized syllable contains a segmental nasal. The examples from our vocabulary are: **abinoojiinh** → **abinoonhjii** "child," and **bebezhigooganzhii** → **bebezhigoonhgazhii** "horse." **Abinoonjii(nh)**

specifically is attested at Ponemah in OPD, and nasal spreading involving the morpheme **-ganzhy-** ("hoof, claw") which is found in "horse" is attested from a Redby speaker cited by S:210: **gii-baataaganzhiishimonogwen** → **gii-baataangazhiishimonogwen** "s/he must have fallen with talons stuck in it" (my translation). Although Sullivan cautions, certainly correctly, that "[m]ore work is needed" to define their boundaries and nature, so far these nasal spreading processes—specifically the combination of (1) vowel nasalization spreading backwards irrespective of stress, (2) optional loss of nasalization on the original vowel, and (3) nasal vowels otherwise maintained as phonemes—seem, from what I can tell, to be fairly distinctive to Red Lake. OPD does not show any speakers from other locations with nasal spreading in "child,"[3] while the nasal-spread form of "fish" is specifically marked as a Red Lake term, and the only example of nasal spreading from Sullivan's own data came from a Ponemah consultant.

- As discussed above in the post, the vocabulary shows fairly clear evidence of lowering of /i/ word-finally and before nasal consonants (possibly the environments were more specific), to something like [e]. It also shows evidence of a lowered realization of /ɛː/ word-finally and especially when nasalized. Some of these processes have some parallels in other dialects, especially in the southeast. In Odawa, word-final /i/ is generally [ɛ], and in both Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe word-final /ɛː/ can be lowered toward [æː], while in Kitigan Zibi Nipissing, word-final /i/ is [e] (Rh:xl; V:49; Rhodes 1976:135; Pentland 2002:337). Pentland (2002:337) also presents a vocabulary of a variety of Odawa collected shortly before 1827 in which final /-i/ is spelled <-ay>, so this allophonic change among at least some Odawa speakers is quite old. I'm not aware, though, of a parallel to lowering the front vowels in nasal contexts, but as also discussed in the post there are some broad parallels for /i/-lowering in Saulteaux and older Red Lake Ojibwe. The Saulteaux lowering is particularly relevant, since for some speakers it universally applies to word-final /i/, and can thus be reasonably seen as a further evolution of the system as it existed for Bottineau. As for lowering of nasal(ized) /ɛː/, I suspect this is due to Métis French interference in Bottineau's idiolect of Ojibwe.

- While Bottineau obviously had not lost nasal vowels, as shown by many examples throughout the vocabulary, several Ojibwe dialects *have* lost contrastive nasal vowels. V:510, with the caveat that "[t]his is a difficult feature to accurately collect, especially under the constraints of a survey such as this one," found vowels denasalized in all Saulteaux communities he surveyed (except for two Western Saulteaux communities, Chagoness, SK, and O'Chiese, AB) and in many northern communities, including all of Oji-Cree, much of Northwestern Ojibwe, and several Algonquin communities (as did Gilstrap 1978:9-10 for Algonquin). Nasalization was also lost at Whitefish Bay, but was present at the other Border Lakes communities and at Red Lake, as it is in all of Southwestern Ojibwe.

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[3] V:667 sort of did—the transcription is partially ambiguous—but he also gave the disclaimer that "[m]y recording of **-nh** and null forms is not always reliable," and he additionally records forms with final nasalization in communities where he elsewhere records phonemic nasal vowels as having been lost completely.

Morphosyntactic Features

Unfortunately, the great rarity of complete phrases or clauses, diversity in verb conjugation, etc. in our vocabulary means that Bottineau's realizations of most dialectally relevant morpho-syntactic parameters are unknown. A small number of points can be noted, however:

- V:388 discusses plural marking in II conjuncts: while Algonquin, Oji-Cree, Northwestern Ojibwe, and Saulteaux maintain a distinction between singular (**-g**, e.g., **miskwaag** "if it is red") and plural (**-g-in**, e.g., **miskwaagin**, "if they (INAN) are red"), Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:252, 260), Nipissing, and most of Southwestern Ojibwe have lost this distinction outside of participles, with the historical singular form used for both singular and plural reference (e.g., **miskwaag** "if it is/they (INAN) are red"). Sullivan provides more detail on the situation within Southwestern and Border Lakes Ojibwe (S:180-182). While speakers south and east of Leech Lake have indeed lost the singular/plural distinction, Red Lake and Lac la Croix speakers maintain it, and it is variably present but perhaps in the process of being lost in Northern Leech Lake. Bottineau maintained the distinction, as indicated by the verb **editegin** "when they are ripe" in **apii ode'iminan editegin** "when strawberries are ripe" (pg. 61). While this represents a conservative rather than innovative form, and the innovative form seems to be spreading north, this is still useful information since thanks to Baraga (1850:376, etc.) we know that by Bottineau's time the distinction was already lost in at least the eastern varieties of Southwestern Ojibwe.

- Ojibwe has two stative II Finals (among several others), **-ad** and **-an**, as in **dibikad** "it is night" and **waaban** "it is dawn." In a number of dialects the distinction between the two has been lost, with **-an** replacing **-ad** in most words. This occurs, among other areas, in much of Saulteaux, especially in the west. It is not found in the Border Lakes, at Red Lake, or in Southwestern Ojibwe, nor apparently in Southeastern Saulteaux (V:324-325, 567). Bottineau clearly retained the distinction, as shown for instance by **biinad** "it is clean" on pg. 47 or **naagwad** "it appears" on pg. 51, among other examples. It's also worth noting that while Southeastern Saulteaux generally maintains the **-ad**/**-an** distinction, the Southeastern Saulteaux communities V:793 surveyed *did* replace **dibikad** with **dibikan**, which Bottineau did not. (**Dibikak**, the conjunct inflection of **dibikad**, appears on pg. 41.)

- For the repetition numbers between "six" and "ten" (pg. 43), Bottineau used the suffix **-sing** (e.g., **niizhwaasing** "seven times") instead of the more usual **-ching** (general Ojibwe **niizhwaaching**, etc.). FOD marks this as an "NW" feature for "six times" and "ten times," but does not have entries for such forms for seven through nine. It's also optional for "ten times" in Nishnaabemwin (both **mdaaching** and **mdaasing**, but only **-ching** with six through nine [Valentine 2001:878]), and similar but not identical forms have been recorded over the years in Nipissing Algonquin and Old Algonquin for all the forms from six to ten. But **-sing** is apparently also found at least in some Wisconsin Ojibwe, as a speaker from Lac Courte Oreilles attests **eko-niizhwaasing** for "the seventh [one]" (Benton-Banai 2011:100), though the norm in Minnesota and the Border Lakes is definitely with **-ching**.