

Words in Bottineau Vocabulary Unattested Elsewhere

As noted [in the post](#), this list actually includes a small number of words which technically are attested elsewhere, but are still worthy of comment; and, since I lack extensive resources on some Ojibwe dialects and have of course not thoroughly combed through everything ever written that contains Ojibwe words, it *undoubtedly* contains multiple instances of words which *are* attested elsewhere, and I simply haven't found them. See the post for more discussion.

The forms here are given in alphabetical order by the assumed Ojibwe form (which in a few cases isn't entirely clear). In the Ojibwe alphabetical order as followed here, <sh> and <zh> are separate letters which follow <s> and <z> respectively, and long vowels (e.g., <aa>) are separate letters which follow their short counterparts (e.g., <a>). Words are initially given with Gatschet's gloss, which is likely not always completely accurate, as will be explained. Inflected forms (with an initial third-person prefix **o(d)**- or first-person prefix **nim**-) are alphabetized by their *stem*.

I discuss the etymology or derivation of each term, as well as related terms in other dialects when relevant; information here is often complimented, duplicated, or expanded in the [supplementary Notes](#) or commentary in various places in the post, which I will point out. At the end of each entry, for easy reference, the reconstructed word and its reconstructed translation and part of speech (using basically the standard Ojibweist abbreviations) are given in **RED TYPE IN SMALL CAPS**. More tentative reconstructions are preceded by a dagger †, and unattested words by an asterisk *.

This document is divided into three sections: [the first](#) presents those words which I suspect were valid Ojibwe words beyond Bottineau's usage (though sometimes, as with cases of metathesis, these are almost arbitrary judgments); [the second](#) contains forms which I suspect (but, again, could well be wrong) were either spurious or were idiosyncratic to Bottineau, and [the third](#) contains those words which *are* attested elsewhere except that they also contain further material which I have been unable to identify or interpret.

In addition to the abbreviations found in the "[Sources Used](#)" section of the post, I use the following abbreviations of some sources here: Ba = Baraga (1853); Rh = Rhodes (1985); and V = Valentine (1994).

The Words

- **akiwenziiwin** <akiwǎ^asiwîn> "old age" (pg. 39). This is literally "old.man-ness," and is interesting since it contains the abstract nominalizer **-win** following a noun rather than a verb, which is extremely rare in Ojibwe. The only actual example I know of, besides this word, is **anishinaabewin**, roughly "Indian/Anishinaabe-ness, the Indian/Anishinaabe way" (e.g. Fairbanks 2011:14-15; Corbiere et al. 2012) though there are probably more. A more common term for "old age" would be a nominalization of a verb for being old, such as **gikaawin** ← **gikaa**. Bottineau may have given the form he did because Gatschet had just asked for terms relating to old men (**akiwenzii**). **AKIWENZIIWIN** "OLD AGE (NI)."

- **aatawetoon** <atawétun> “put [the fire] out!” (pg. 45). The derivation of this term is transparent, but I haven’t found it elsewhere. **Aatawe-** is an Initial for “be extinguished [of a fire],” and the rest of the stem is the causative **-’**, the TI marker **-d**, and the TI(2) theme sign **-oo-**. The same term, using the more common variant of this Initial, **aate**, is attested in Nishnaabemwin by Rh:15, [NOD](#), and Piggott and Grafstein (1983:10): **aatetoo-** “cause something to be put out; extinguish, put something out,” including nowadays “turn off” of lights and appliances. **AATAWETOO-** “PUT (A FIRE) OUT, EXTINGUISH (A FIRE) (VTI2).”
- **badakijiwinan** <padakidshíwinan> “tattooing-needles (packages of such needles)” [pl.] (pg. 47). The term I’ve encountered elsewhere is **zhaabonigan** (Hilger 1992:93), which is also the word for sewing needles. The Initial **badak-** found here refers to inserting, sticking, or planting something long and thin in or on something else, and appears for instance in the TA verb **badaka’w-** “give someone an injection/shot.” In our case **badak-** is followed by the TI marker **-d**, creating the intermediate VTI **badakidoo-** “erect something, plant something upright, stick something in.” The stem of this intermediate verb is then used to form a noun with the nominalizer **-win**, **BADAKIJIWIN** “TATTOOING NEEDLE (NI)” (i.e., “pricker, thing stuck in”; the **-an** in Bottineau’s form is the inanimate plural suffix).
- †**bagaatoom** <pagátûⁿ> “to boil something” (pg. 49); **nimbagaatoomin** <nbagátomen> “we boil [it]” (pg. 27). As discussed in [Note C](#), the relevant Ojibwe Initial for “boil” is **gabaa-**, which has undergone metathesis. While the lengths of the two /a/-quality vowels are therefore uncertain, it’s more likely that just the consonants would metathesize than that the first two syllables would, so I phonemicize Bottineau’s verb as †**BAGAATOO-** “BOIL SOMETHING (VTI2).”
- **bagidaamong** <pagitámung> “to breathe” [really “that there is breathing; that one breathes”]; †**bagidaamowin** <pagitámun> “breath” (pg. 39). These forms are incomplete compared to the normal Ojibwe equivalents, which are **bagidanaamong** and **bagidanaamowin**; that is, the AI Final for “breathe” in Ojibwe is **-anaamo**, not **-aamo**. It’s hard to say whether this was an error or idiosyncrasy of Bottineau’s alone, or if it was found more widely among his family or community. It is unlikely to be an error of transcription, since Gatschet wrote the stem twice, conjugated two different ways. **BAGIDAAMO** “breathe (VAI); **BAGIDAAMOWIN** “breath (NI).”
- **baashkineyaabi** <pashkinéyabe> “eyes full of tears” (pg. 39). This verb is related to others which also appear in the vocabulary: **baashkine** “there is smoke; it is smoky, dusty, hazy (II)” and **baashkineyaa(magad)** “it is smoky, dusty hazy; it [e.g., a fire] is smoking (II)” (my definitions). Specifically, it is a secondary derivative of **baashkine**, with the AI Final **-aabi** “by sight; look; have such vision; eye(s) be in such condition” (plus epenthetic **-y-**), resulting in the final form **BAASHKINEYAABI**, which must really mean something like †**“HAVE ONE’S EYES TEAR UP FROM SMOKE OR DUST (VAI).”**
- **bimide-mashkikiikaade** <pimidä mashkikíkadä> “salve” (pg. 47). Gatschet further glosses this as literally meaning “medicated grease,” which is basically accurate, although it’s a verb, not a noun. **Bimide(-)** is the word and preverb for “grease,” and the main stem is based on **mashkiki** “medicine.” From this is formed the TA verb **|mashkikiikaan|** “doctor/

treat someone,” the lexical inanimate passive of which is formed by replacing the TA Final [-N] with the II Final **-de**, thus **MASHKIKIIKADE** “SOMETHING GETS MEDICINE APPLIED TO IT (VII)” and thus the full final term **BIMIDE-MASHKIKIIKADE** “SOMETHING GETS SALVE, BALM, MEDICINAL OINTMENT APPLIED TO IT (VII).”

- **nimbichibo’og** <nibitchibú-ûg> “he poisons me”; **obichibo’waan** <opitchipúan> “he poisons somebody” (pg. 55). The usual VTA for “poison someone” is |**bichiboN**|, with the TA Final [-N]; Bottineau’s form has a different TA Final, **-’-w: BICHIBO’W-** “POISON SOMEONE (VTA).” This may be Cree influence: in Plains Cree the equivalent VTA is *pihçipoh-/piscipoh-*.
- **odaamakin** <utamákin> “chin” (pg. 35). As mentioned in [Note G](#), the relevant form of “chin” in Ojibwe is **-daamikan**. Bottineau’s form shows metathesis of the final two vowels. **-DAAMAKIN** “CHIN (NID).”
- **†odaan** <ótan> “shoulder” (pg. 35). The interpretation and possible etymology of this form is extensively discussed in [Note AA](#). There I conclude that it is plausibly related to the Ojibwe adverb **odaanaang** “(following) behind, at the back, in the rear; the base or back of something; previously, in the past,” cognates in Cree and Shawnee of similar meaning, and one attestation of a Plains Cree word *otāniyihk* “on his/her (OBV) hind part” (*o-tān-yi-ihk* = 3-hind.part-OBV.POSSR-LOC). The original meaning of **-daan-** in Ojibwe isn’t entirely clear, but was probably something like “back of the shoulder blades” or “upper back.” **†-DAAN** “BACK OF THE SHOULDERS(?) (likely NID [otherwise NAD], likely aa-augment stem).”
- **oda(a)tig(waan) +an** <ûdátîg>, pl. <udátîguan> “forehead” (pg. 37). This form is discussed more extensively in the document “[Bottineau Vocabulary Dialectal Features](#)” linked to from the post. It combines some features found in various dialects, but in its totality—including the initial /t/—is unique. Although “forehead” has short /a/ in the first syllable in most areas, V:720 found it with a long vowel at Red Lake (**-kaatigwaan**), as did Nichols (1980:19, 88) for older Mille Lacs Ojibwe; and some of the forms of the word which Jones collected at Bois Forte in the early 1900s show a long vowel (e.g., <okā’tigwāng> “[over] his forehead” [Jones 1917:164-165]). Baraga’s <kátigwan> (Ba:178) also suggests a long vowel. As Gatschet marks the first <a> as stressed in both instances, even when not penultimate, it was probably long for Bottineau. As noted, the main unique feature of Bottineau’s form is that the initial consonant is /t/, presumably due to assimilation to the following /t:/. The final **-aan** which appears in Bottineau’s plural (the **-w-** is part of the stem) was found by Valentine at Red Lake and is also attested by Baraga. While I don’t have any reason to doubt that Bottineau’s form was mostly valid, the presence versus absence of the final **-aan** depending on the plurality of the noun is surely wrong; the “correct” forms were thus probably ***†-DAATIGWAAN** (sg.), **†-DAATIGWAANAN** (pl.) “FOREHEAD (NID).”
- **†doominidizo** <tûmîníso> “he rubs grease on himself” (pg. 47); **doominigan** <tûmînígan> “wagon-grease, machine grease etc.” (pg. 47); **doominigaade** <tûmînígadä> “to oil, grease” (pg. 47). As discussed in [Note T](#), and in [the section on loans from other languages](#) in the post, this Initial for “grease, oil,” **doom-**, is a loan from Cree *tōm-* which has evidently replaced the native Ojibwe cognate **noom-**. Oji-Cree independently replaced **noom-** with **doom-** from Cree, so it’s quite likely that one or more of these words are used in Oji-Cree,

though only **doominigan** appears in AOCD (2014:207, 239, 294), there with the meanings “oil, lotion, ointment, salve, baby oil.” These words are still useful in showing some of the early Cree influence on Ojibwe speakers of the Pembina, Red River, and Turtle Mountain areas: †**DOOMINIDIZO** “GREASE, OIL, ANOINT ONESELF (VAI)”; **DOOMINIGAN** “GREASE [FOR MACHINES, WAGONS, ETC.](NI)”; **DOOMINIGAADE** “BE/GET GREASED, OILED(VII).”

- **gaa-bangishimong** <kapagíshima^{ng}> “west” (pg. 41). Gatschet further glosses this as literally meaning “where the sun sets,” which is accurate (it even more literally means “where it [the sun] dances down,” which is a lovely metaphor). While a similar term is widely used to mean “the west,” there are two differences between that term and the one Bottineau has given. First, [as has been discussed elsewhere](#), Bottineau’s Ojibwe shows regularization of the class of II verbs—to which this belongs—which in “standard” Ojibwe end in **-n** in the independent order but lose the **-n** in the conjunct; in this case regularization is achieved by expanding the **-n** to the conjunct as well. Most other Ojibwe speakers thus would have the main verb here (without the preverb) as **bangishimog**, not **bangishimong**, though the latter is sometimes found in this term, probably just representing the presence of the locative suffix **-ng**. The second difference between Bottineau’s form and that used by other Ojibwe speakers is that I’ve otherwise only seen this expression using the mostly semantically empty conjunct preverb **e-** (**e-bangishimog**, or sometimes **e-pangishimog**), e.g., Ba:106, Rh:122, [NOD](#), Wilson (1874:403), Cuoq (1886:102), Lemoine (1909:[382]: **e-pangishimoj**), Jones (1919:268-269, 554-555), McGregor and Voegelin (1988:118-119), and Nichols (1988b:10); or using no preverb at all (**bangishimog**), e.g., Rh:76, [NOD](#), Nichols and Nyholm (1995:26), and Melvin Eagle in Treuer (2001:132-133). Bottineau instead uses the preverb **gaa-**. While in modern Ojibwe this is a relativizing preverb found mainly in northern dialects south to northern Minnesota, it—or perhaps a homophonous preverb—is used in a number of lexicalized and often archaic place names with the approximate meaning “place of . . .” This gives us the form **GAA-BANGISHIMONG** “THE WEST (Loc Adv/NI).”
- **gaashkanjigen** <kashkadshígen> “to gnaw, eat with teeth” (pg. 57). This form is composed of **gaashk-** “scrape, grate” + the TA Final **-am** “by mouth, biting, eating” (= intermediate VTA **gaashkam** “gnaw something animate, scrape something animate clean while eating”). This intermediate VTA then has the TI marker **-d** suffixed to form a TI stem (**gaashkandam-** with the TI(I) theme sign **-am**, [attested in NOD](#) with the meaning “scrape something clean (in eating), lick something empty in eating”), to which is suffixed the antipassive AI Final **-ige**, giving the final verb **GAASHKANJIGE** “GNAW (THINGS), SCRAPE (THINGS) CLEAN WITH THE TEETH [WHILE EATING](VAI).”
- **-gitin** <gítin> “womans’ [sic] privates” (pg. 37). As mentioned in [Note AE](#), the normal term for “vulva” is **-kidin**. Bottineau’s form obviously shows metathesis of fortition of the plosives, which is not terribly uncommon in Ojibwe in dialects where the fortis consonants are preaspirated, as Bottineau’s sometimes were, and as his ancestors’ certainly were. Thus, in this case, really, at least originally: /-h₁kitin/ → /-kihtin/. **-GITIN** “VULVA (NID).”

- **ogway** <ukuaí> “neck” (pg. 35). As mentioned in [Note R](#) and [the document on dialectal features](#), “neck” in most communities is some variant on **-kwe(i)gan**, but in several areas it is **-gwayaw**. V:788 found **-gwayaw** in a dozen scattered communities, basically in Western Saulteaux, western Ontario south to Whitefish Bay, and most Oji-Cree. However, he did not record anywhere a variant without the final augment **-aw**. There are several other terms, mostly body parts, which vary in the presence or absence of a final augment **-ay**, but this is connected to the expansion of the noun class in which the noun takes an **-aa**-augment in some inflections (the same behavior as nouns ending in **-ay**) to dozens of nouns, almost all of them body part terms, which historically were not part of this class. (In fact, Valentine found “neck” as **-gwayaway** in one Oji-Cree community!) In contrast, I don’t have an explanation for the lack of an **-aw** in Bottineau’s form for “neck” (though see Note R), but also have no reason to doubt its validity: **-GWAY “NECK(NID).”**
- **ishkodeyaa** <shkudéya> “its [sic] full of fires” (pg. 29). This consists of the noun **ishkode** “fire” followed by the stative II Final **-aa** (with an epenthetic **-y-**), and should mean something like “it is a fire,” “there is a fire,” or “it is fiery.” The closest to an attestation of this term I’ve found is the verb **agaasishkodeyaa** “it is a small fire” (containing the Initial **agaas-** “small”) in the sentence **Mii i’iw gii-poodawegwen imaa agaasishkodeyaa ishkode** “The fire was a small fire where he must have kindled it there” (Clark 1998:14-15 = Treuer 2001:56-57). **ISHKODEYAA “IT IS A FIRE, THERE IS A FIRE; IT IS FIERY(?) (VII).”**
- **iishkaabaagwe** <ishkábague> “he is thirsty”; **iishkaabaagwem** <ishkábague> “to be thirsty”; **iishkaabaagwewin** <ishkábaguewin> “thirst” (pg. 53). I’m not aware of any other attestations of these terms lacking an initial consonant on the stem. Instead, we find **giishkaabaagwe**, with initial /k-/, in most communities. FOD does list a non-/k/-initial form, **wiishkaabaagwe**, in “NE” (= Eastern Ojibwe plus Manitoulin Odawa), but this is not found in either NOD or Rh, so I don’t know the ultimate source of the citation. In some Ojibwe dialects, including Odawa, Eastern Saulteaux, and Southwestern Ojibwe, prevocalic or intervocalic /k/ is frequently lenited to [χ] or [χ.] or dropped entirely; possibly FOD’s source for this word spelled it in accordance with such a pronunciation. However, this is unlikely to be the explanation for the missing /k/ in Bottineau’s case, because: (1) he was speaking slowly and carefully; (2) there are almost no other examples of such a pronunciation in the vocabulary (one, “evening,” was briefly mentioned earlier in the post); and (3) the /k/-loss occurs multiple times in recordings of just this word. Bottineau probably had a genuine variant pronunciation of **giishkaabaagwe**: **IISHKAABAAGWE “BE THIRSTY (VAI); IISHKAABAAGWEWIN “THIRST (NI).”**
- **mashkodeyaa** <mashkudéya> “it is a prairie” (pg. 29). This word’s derivation is of the same type as **ishkodeyaa**: **mashkode** “prairie, plain, open ground” + the stative II Final **-aa**. While I haven’t found this precise word elsewhere, there are attestations of derivatives or “relatives” of it. These include old toponyms like **Gaa-Zhaagawashkodeyaag** “Long Prairie, MN” (“Where There Is a Long/Oblong Prairie”), which contains the Initial **zhaagaw-** “extended, oblong, long” plus **-ashkode**, the non-initial form of **mashkode**. They also include two words from Jones’s texts where again the non-initial form **-ashkode**

+ the Final **-aa** are combined with an Initial further specifying the type of plain: “**Waabang naawakweg giga-oditaan mishawashkodeyaag**” “To-morrow at noon you will come to a large open plain” (Jones 1919:198-199; there is a misprint of the word in the original, with <micawăkutayăg> instead of <micawăkutăyag>); and . . . **nayaawakweg idash ogii-oditaan mishawashkodeyaanig** “. . . and at noon he came to the large open plain” (ibid.), both with **mishaw-**, which as far as I can tell seems to be an Initial specific to describing plains as “wide and open” (?). **MASHKODEYAA** “IT IS A PRAIRIE, PLAIN, OPEN GROUND (VII).”

- **midaaso** <mităssô> “he is now in the act of medium” (pg. 63). This term is discussed in [Note P](#). While it is clearly somehow related to **mide** “[Midewiwin](#) member/practitioner” and **Midewiwin** itself, I’m unsure how to interpret it beyond that. (Perhaps it ends in the AI Final **-aaso** “perform useful action”? Except this is otherwise suffixed to TI stems.) I’m also not confident of its precise semantics, and would treat the definition as given in the vocabulary with some caution. Gatschet’s transcription does make the phonemic interpretation relatively secure: **MIDAASO** “[PRECISE DEFINITION UNCLEAR, RELATED TO THE MIDEWIWIN](VAI).”
- †**Mistawayaawiziibi** <mistawăya=usíbí> “Red River of the North” (pg. 31). Gatschet further glosses this as literally meaning “British River.” The interpretation of this term, and the three other attestations of †**Mis(h)tawayaa** I’m aware of, are discussed in detail in [Note X](#). The name †**Mis(h)tawayaa** originally referred to Fort Garry and is almost surely borrowed from Cree *mistahi-wă[skahikan]* “fort.” It seems it was used by Anishinaabeg who lived in the general vicinity of the Red River Valley, at least as far as Red Lake and the eastern Plains, and came to also refer to other people and locations associated with Fort Garry and, metonymically, the local British administration. In this case, for Bottineau and probably other Anishinaabeg from the Pembina area, it was also used to refer to the Red River, whose otherwise attested Ojibwe names literally mean “Red River.” Bottineau’s form is probably to be interpreted as (lengths of the /a/-quality vowels not positive, but this is the most reasonable assumption): †**MISTAWAYAAWIZIIBI** “RED RIVER OF THE NORTH (NI).”
- **moona’igan** <muna-íkan> “a hole in ground” (pg. 53). This word is well attested, but the precise meaning it’s assigned here is not. It’s a nominalization of the AI verb **moona’ige** “dig [up things], mine [things]; burrow.” The most common meaning for the noun is “a mine [for metals, etc.]” (e.g., [OPD](#); [NOD](#) for Lake Huron communities; Piggott and Grafstein 1983:84), though Rh:251 and NOD attest it meaning “shovel” at Walpole Island, ON, and [Rand Valentine](#) shows it meaning “trowel” at Peguis, MB. The “burrow” meaning of the verb in particular, however, which is attested in FOD and Moose et al. (2009:34, 54, 91) would make a derivative **moona’igan** meaning “hole in the ground, burrow” quite plausible. One unresolved issue is that this word occurs on the line where Gatschet originally wrote as the English prompt “to bury (a corpse),” so it’s possible that for Bottineau this term was specifically confined to referring to a dug grave, not to a burrow or to just any sort of hole in the ground (which could be covered by **waanikaan** in any case, which is given elsewhere on the same page and glossed “a dug-out, hole”). **MOONA’IGAN** “HOLE IN THE GROUND(?); DUG GRAVE?(NI).”

- Indirectly: [**nisid**]opijigan <ópidshigan> “the taste, power of tasting, sense of taste” (pg. 57). As mentioned in [Note AC](#), the word as given by Bottineau/Gatschet is incomplete. The ending is **-p-i-d-ige-n** = taste-EPH-TI-ANTIP:AI-NMLZ, while the **-o-** and the gloss suggest that the mostly missing Initial was **nisidaw-/nisido-** “recognize.” The verb from which this noun is derived, **nisidopijige** “recognize/know the taste [of things] (AI)” is attested, but I haven’t found the derived noun itself in dictionaries, etc.: ***NISIDOPIJIGAN “(SENSE OF) TASTE, POWER OF TASTE (NI).”**
- **onawayan** <unáwiyān> “cheeks” (pg. 35). This word is discussed in [Note F](#). As noted there, I have not found the form **-naway** for “cheek” elsewhere. There is a good deal of variation in the term for cheek, with the main variants being **-now** and to a lesser extent **-naw**, as well as, sporadically, **-noway**. **-noway** shows the augment **-ay** which was mentioned [above](#) in the entry on **-gway** “neck.” Furthermore, in at least some varieties with **-now/-naw**, the stem is, like many other body parts, declined as though a covert final **|-ay|** were present, thus, e.g., “on my cheek” in these varieties is **ninVwaang**, not **ninVwing**. Bottineau’s <-náwiy-> thus probably represents the **-naw** variant of “cheek” plus the **-ay** augment (overt in this case). **-NAWAY “CHEEK (NID).”**
- **-pide** <pídä> “taste” (pg. 55). This complex Final is present in the vocabulary only in the word Bottineau gave as a translation for “sweet, saccharine,” which Gatschet first wrote as <sísibakut pídä> before crossing out the <t>; he also, based on Bottineau’s input, glossed the first element as “sugar” and the second as “taste.” Ignoring some issues involving the Initial, the ending **-pide** for “taste like, have the taste (of) (II)” is not elsewhere attested that I have found. Instead, the universal II Final for this concept is **-pogwad/-pogwan**, paralleling the corresponding AI Final **-pogozī**. [Note AC](#) discusses the breakdown of **-pide**. The **-p** is the concrete Final which means “taste,” and is followed by an epenthetic **-i-** and then the abstract/stative II Final **-de**: **-p-i-de** = taste-EPH-II. **-PIDE “TASTE LIKE, HAVE THE TASTE (OF) (II complex Final).”**
- **-shkiwan** <îshkiwān> “nose” (pg. 35). As noted [in the post](#), this is a loan from western Cree **-skiwan** ~ **-škiwan**, which in various Cree dialects means “nose; animal nose, snout; bill of a bird, beak.” As also noted there, V:796 did record one Western Saulteaux community, Muscowpetung, SK, which has independently borrowed this term from Plains Cree, though there the term is **-skiwan**, not **-shkiwan**. Nipissing Algonquin has **-kiwan** for “nose” (Cuoq 1886:179; Lemoine 1909:[371]; McGregor 1987:144) while other Anishinaabe communities have terms which don’t resemble these, but **-kiwan** is just the regular descendant of Proto-Algonquian ***-xkiwani** (also the source of the Cree word) in Ojibwe, which was replaced by different terms in most dialects. **-SHKIWAN “NOSE (NID).”**
- **oshkon** <ûshkun> “liver” (pg. 35). This is another western Cree loan (from **-skon** ~ **-škon**), this time one that based on the information available to me was not shared with any other community. Even for Bottineau it existed alongside the native Ojibwe cognate **-kon** which is found elsewhere. **-SHKON “LIVER (NID).”**
- **wiisining** for “meal” (glossed by Gatschet as “eating”): **gigizheb-wiisining** <gigishéb wissíning> “breakfast”; **naawakwe-wiisining** <nawákue wissíning> “dinner” (i.e., midday

meal); **onaagoshi-wiisining** <unawúshiⁿ wíssining> “supper” (i.e., evening meal) (pg. 55). **Wiisining** is the plain conjunct unspecified subject inflection of the verb **wiisini** “eat (AI),” thus literally meaning “when one eats”; the preverbs specify the time of day associated with the meal (**gigizheb-** = “morning,” **naawakwe-** = “noon, midday,” **onaagoshi-** = “evening”). In most Ojibwe dialects, the meal names are expressed in a fairly similar fashion, but with two differences: first, the preverb for “morning” is more commonly (but not universally) **gigizhebaa-**, and second, the second element, though again based on the verb **wiisini**, is a simple nominalization of it with the nominalizer **-win** (**wiisiniwin** “meal”): thus, **gigizheb(aa)-wiisiniwin** “breakfast,” etc. While this is the normal pattern, in the materials available to me I have found two examples that are either the same as, or closely parallel, Bottineau’s expressions. First, in [a short handout](#) available on Rand Valentine’s website covering words related to time, he gives two example sentences from Jessie Clark, a speaker from Mille Lacs, in which **ge-naawakwe-wiisining** is used for “when it will be lunch(time)”: **Aaniish wapii ge-naawakwe-wiisining?** and **Aaniish apii ekwaag ge-naawakwe-wiisining?** (pg. 4), both meaning essentially “When is it time for lunch?” (However, the handout does show the same speaker with **gigizhebaa-wiisiniwin** for “breakfast” [ibid.].) The second case I’ve found is identical to Bottineau’s terms in spirit and more or less in semantics, but not formally: Lemoine (1909:168, 194, [467]) gives the Nipissing Algonquin terms for “Déjeûner” (“Breakfast”), “Diner” (“Lunch”), and “Souper” (“Supper”)—all three explicitly marked as nouns—as <Kekijebawisinâniwang>, <Aiabitôzamö wisinâniwang>, and <Wenâgoci wisinâniwang> respectively. These represent **gegizhebaa-wiisin(in)aaniwangin**, **ayaabitoozamo-wiisin(in)aaniwang**, and **wenaagoshi-wiisin(in)aaniwang**, which consist of the relevant preverbs plus **wiisini**, conjugated as changed conjunct (with initial change) unspecified subject forms, using the Nipissing AI unspecified subject suffix **-naaniwang** rather than the southern AI unspecified subject suffix **-ng**. **WIISINING** “MEAL (AI UNSPEC.SUBJ.CONJ used as NI)”; **GIGIZHEB-WIISINING** “BREAKFAST (NI)”; **NAAWAKWE-WIISINING** “LUNCH (NI)”; **ONAAGOSHI-WIISINING** “DINNER, SUPPER (NI).”

- **zagaswe** <sagássue> “to smoke”; **nizagaswe** <ni sagássue> “I smoke” (pg. 31). This verb is discussed in the [Bottineau Vocabulary Dialectal Features document](#) and the [corresponding section on Bottineau’s dialect in the post](#). As noted there, **zagaswe** with a final **-e** instead of **-aa** (**zagaswaa**) is attested in Oji-Cree and Western Algonquin. It is also one member of a class of verbs which in Nipissing normally have stem-final **-aa** but show ablaut of the **-aa** to **-e** in third-person forms. The Nipissing situation continues that of Proto-Algonquian, and the ablaut has been leveled out in other dialects: usually to **-aa** in all inflections, but in some verbs in Oji-Cree and Western Algonquin to **-e** instead. The first-person form proves that for Bottineau this verb did not have Nipissing-style ablaut, but simply universally ended in **-e** as in Oji-Cree/Western Algonquin. While this is attested elsewhere, it’s still notable for its occurrence hundreds of miles from the other attestations of it.
- **Zagaakwaawininiwag** <sagákua íníníwag> and **Zagaakwa-anishinaabeg** <sagákua nishinábeg> “Bois Fort tribe” (pg. 31). Gatschet adds a note that the names mean “men of the thick forest,” which is accurate (**zagaakwa** = “it is a thick forest, dense woods (II)”).

However, the only names for the Bois Forte Band which I've found are different, although they mean the same thing: **Zagwaandagaa(winini)** (Ba:361; Gatschet 1883:178; Kegg 1990:16-17, 119; Warren 2009:15); FOD additionally lists **Zagaakwaandagowinini**, which is closer but not identical to the form Bottineau provided. **ZAGAAKWAWININI** and **ZAGAAKWAA-ANISHINAABE** “member of the Bois Forte Band (NA).”

- **Zhaawano-Ziibi** <shawáno síbi> “Missouri” [the river] (pg. 31). This probably was/is the common name for the Missouri River for many western Ojibwe speakers, but I just haven't come across it, so I list it here; the name means “Southern River.” While the Missouri's name in most Great Lakes Algonquian languages is “Muddy River,” Warren (2009:11) and Gatschet (1883:179) show that in 1800s Southwestern Ojibwe it was †**Biiganoowiziibi** “Blackfoot [or ‘Piegan’] River.” I don't know what the modern names are. **ZHAAWANO-ZIIBI** “MISSOURI RIVER (NI).”
- **zhiishiigiwinaaboo** <shishiguinábo> “urine” (pg. 39). The normal words for “urine” are **zhigiwin**, which is **zhigi** “urinate (AI)” + the nominalizer **-win**, or **zhigiwinaaboo**, which is the former word plus the inanimate noun Final **-aaboo** “liquid.” Bottineau's term, by contrast, uses a different verb for “urinate (AI),” **zhiishiigi** (the irregularly reduplicated version of **zhigi**) plus the same **-win** and **-aaboo** suffixes. While the verb **zhiishiigi** is fairly widespread as an alternative to **zhigi**, this corresponding noun for “urine” does not seem to be, and I haven't found any other attestations. **ZHIISHIIGIWINAABOO** “URINE (NI).”
- The decade cardinal numbers from “sixty” to “ninety”: **ningodwaaswimidana** <ningutuássue mítana> “60”; **niizhwaaswimidana** <nîⁿshuássue mítana> “70”; **nishwaaswimidana** <nishwássue mítana> “80”; **zhaangaswimidana** <shangássue m[ítana]> “90” (pg. 43). [As discussed in the document on Bottineau's dialect](#), other attested varieties of Ojibwe almost universally show either an /i/ or an /o/ before the **-midana** “times ten” suffix. My first thought was that Bottineau's forms might be idiosyncratic simplifications, just suffixing **-midana** to the lower cardinal numbers with no adjustment to the final/intervening vowel (i.e., **niizhwaaswi** “seven” + **-midana** → **niizhwaaswimidana** “seventy” instead of **niizhwaasimidana**, etc.). However, I later found the two data points mentioned in the other document which show that this was not the case, and that these forms were once used at Red Lake and perhaps Leech Lake. Since they're so little attested, however, I've included them here. It should be noted that their form, as well as Gatschet's transcription (implying the /i/ preceding **-midana** was [lowered](#) to [e] or thereabouts), suggest the words perhaps had become reinterpreted/resegmented as preverbs (rather than Initials) + an independent adverb (rather than a suffix) **midana**, thus: **NINGODWAASWI(-)MIDANA** “SIXTY (Num)”; **NIIZHWAASWI(-)MIDANA** “SEVENTY (Num)”; **NISHWAASWI(-)MIDANA** “EIGHTY (Num)”; **ZHAANGASWI(-)MIDANA** “NINETY (Num)”.
- The repetition numbers for “six” through “nine”: **ningodwaasing** <ningutuássing>; **niizhwaasing** <nîshwassing>; **nishwaasing** <nîshuássing>; **zhaangasing** <shangássing> (pg. 43). The common repetition numbers for “six” through “nine” are formed by suffixing **-ching** in place of the final **-swi** of the cardinal form (and indeed, for “nine times,” Bottineau had both **zhaangasing** and **zhaangaching** <shangátching>). Bottineau's forms

instead replace it with **-sing**, an optional variant suffix on “ten times” in Nishnaabemwin. This is similar though not identical to the forms of these repetition numerals in Old Algonquin and Nipissing Algonquin, where Nicolas (1674:42, 116) and Cuoq (1891:63) record all of them as ending in **-sin** (Nicolas <-ffim> and <-ffin>), Lemoine (1909:201, [302], [371], [458], [461]) records “six” through “eight times” as ending in both **-sin** and **-chin**, and “nine” and “ten times” as ending in **-sin**, and McGregor (1987:254, 259, 262, 369) for modern Kitigan Zibi Nipissing gives all of them as ending in both **-swin** and **-chin**. Besides “ten times” in Nishnaabemwin, one of Bottineau’s forms is indirectly attested, helping confirm the validity of the others: **eko-niizhwaasing** “the seventh one” is found in Benton-Banai (2011:100), a modern speech from a Wisconsin speaker. I assume these forms are either generally archaic and so have not been recorded in most modern works on southern and western Ojibwe varieties, or are obscure enough that I haven’t found what records exist. **NINGODWAASING** “SIX TIMES (Num)”; **NIIZHWAASING** “SEVEN TIMES (Num)”; **NISHWAASING** “EIGHT TIMES (Num)”; **ZHAANGASING** “NINE TIMES (Num).”

Possible, But Probably Spurious

The following terms are also (again, to my knowledge) unattested elsewhere, but are in my view more likely to be errors or idiosyncratic coinages on Bottineau’s part, not “real” Ojibwe words that anyone else would have used. But in most cases these are judgment calls on my part and I may well be wrong to classify some of them here instead of above.

- **izhinikaazowin** <îshnikásuen> “name of things (or pronunciat[io]n)” (pg. 49). This word is very common, but only with the meaning “name,” not “pronunciation.” The closest Ojibwe equivalent to “pronunciation” is **inwewin**, a nominalization of **inwe** “speak in such a way,” though that word also means “language” and some other things.
- The gender of **mitigopwaagan** “wooden pipe” (pg. 31). **Opwaagan** “pipe”—and words for specific kinds of pipes—are animate in Ojibwe, not inanimate. This is reflected in the plural form of the plain word for “pipe” in the Bottineau vocabulary, also on page 31, which takes the animate plural suffix <ag> = **-ag**. Two other words for kinds of pipes are also provided. For wooden pipes, Gatschet first wrote the plural as <mítig upuáganag> with animate **-ag**. However, he then added to the line the comment “and upuáganan,” with the *inanimate* plural suffix **-an**, indicating that for Bottineau, apparently, “wooden pipe” could be either animate or inanimate, even though “pipes” in general were probably only animate. This is unlikely to have been a feature of any Ojibwe beyond Bottineau’s own, and probably just represents uncertainty by Bottineau regarding pipe gender in general.
- **Niibiminaawiziibi** <nîbimína=usíbi> “Pembinaw” [*sic*] [the Pembina River] (pg. 29); **Niibiminaawiziibi anishinaabeg** <nîbimina-osíbi anishinábeg> “Indian tribe of Pembina” (pg. 57). Gatschet further glosses the name for the river as literally meaning “high bush cranberry river,” and clarifies that the reference to “Pembina” in the name of the Pembina Band is specifically to the river, both of which are accurate. The word for “highbush cranberry (*Viburnum trilobum*)” in Southwestern Ojibwe, including Red Lake

Ojibwe, is **aniibimin**, but in some other communities the word is **niibiminaan** (or, in Oji-Cree and a few other places, **aniibiminaan**). FOD marks **niibiminaan** with the dialect code “NW,” which has very broad potential scope; WOD shows this is at least the form at Cat Lake, Lac Seul, and Osnaburgh, all Northwestern Ojibwe-speaking communities in Ontario. FOD also lists **Niibiminaang** “Highbush Cranberry Place” as the unmarked name for the town of Pembina (though Treuer [2015:366, 376, n. 39] gives the Red Lake name for it as **Gaa-Aniibiiminikaag** “Where Highbush Cranberries Are Abundant”). Finally, Anishinaabeg of the Red River region in John Tanner’s day (the early 1800s) evidently referred to the Pembina River as **Niibiminaani-Ziibi** as well: <Nebeninnah-ne-sebee> [sic] (Tanner 1830:80). The form **niibiminaan** for “highbush cranberry” was probably borrowed from the Plains Cree cognate, *nīpiminān*, since native Ojibwe berry names almost universally end in **-min**, while Plains Cree has a number ending in *-minān*. To sum up, while most Anishinaabeg refer to *V. trilobum* as **aniibimin**, likely its original name, in the decade that Bottineau was born by the settlement of Pembina the Anishinaabeg in that area instead referred to the berry as **niibiminaan**, and consequently to the Pembina River as **Niibiminaani-Ziibi**. However, while it’s similar, Bottineau’s form with a **-w-** (**Niibiminaawi-**) instead of **-n-** doesn’t match the Pembina Ojibwe term. In spite of the fact that he was *from* Pembina, Bottineau’s form is likely spurious; the **-w-** is probably by analogy with the many other derived Initials that end in **-wi** in compounding/derivation (mentioned in [Note D](#)). It’s not a slip of the tongue or error by Gatschet, as it appears twice, on two widely separated pages.

- †**niibini-biigwa’aage** <nībinibīkua-áge> “wolverine” (pg. 59). Gatschet further glosses this as literally meaning “summer-breaker” and compares the verb **biigwa’an** “break something apart (TI)”; for the first element, cf. **niibin(i-)** “summer.” “Wolverine” is usually some form of **(o)gwiingwa’(w)aage**, and as discussed in [Note AG](#) Bottineau’s form is either a folk-etymological distortion of the original term influenced in some way by the name of a prominent Pembina warrior, **Niibini-Gwiingwa’aagew** “Summer Wolverine,” or else an attempt to actually give that name, though still distorted, with Gatschet misunderstanding it as Bottineau giving him the word for “wolverine.” As V:927 notes, “there is quite a bit of phonetic variation” among different forms for “wolverine”; those he lists are **gwiingwa’waage**, **wiingwa’waage**, and (in a single distant community) **biingwa’waage**, but FOD and AOCD:410 list additional ones, and the form is **gwiingwa’aage** in Minnesota Ojibwe into at least some of the Border Lakes. Of the phonetic variation, Valentine also says it “may be *merely* phonetic, or may involve other factors. This needs further investigation” (emphasis in original). In the case of Bottineau’s form, at least, other factors, namely folk etymology plus evidently a sort of contamination (or, alternatively, a miscommunication), clearly *were* involved.
- The deviant forms of **-shkii(n)zhigw-** “eye” (pg. 35). The singular for “eye” as given in the vocabulary is unproblematic and accords with the common Ojibwe form of the word: <ishkíshig> = **-shkii(n)zhig**. However, Gatschet also obtained plural and locative forms, and these don’t match what is expected. These are discussed in the post in [the section on the aberrant plural forms in the vocabulary](#). As noted there, Gatschet writes two plurals for

“eye”: <ishkíshiguanan> plus a note that this can apparently be “abbrev[iated] -guan.” He also gives the locative as <ishkíshiguáning>. My best guess of how to interpret these forms is that they are somehow parallel to “forehead,” in which a final augment **-aan** appears, as discussed [above](#). Notably, Bottineau only gave the *plural* of “forehead” containing the **-aan** augment, while the singular lacked it; this matches his pattern with “eye,” where the augment was apparently optional for Bottineau in the plural, present in the locative, and absent in the singular. As with “forehead,” this occurring only in the plural(/locative) is almost certain to be wrong and confined to Bottineau’s Ojibwe. However, it’s quite possible that for some Ojibwe speakers “eye” *always* had an augment, as **-shkii(n)zhigwaan**, though I have not found other attestations of this.

- **waabinaawizi** <wapináwîsi> “he is pale” (pg. 51). Two other forms of the verb are also given on the same page, the plural (“they are pale”) <wapináwisiwag> = **waabinaawiziwag** and <aniwapináwisi> “he is getting pale” = **ani-waabinaawizi**. These are briefly noted in [Note V](#). I have not found any other attestations of “be pale (AI)” with this form; rather, the third vowel is always **e**: **waabinewizi**. Bottineau’s form represents contamination with **waabinaagozi** “look/appear pale (AI),” which is obviously very similar both semantically and phonologically. Whether this contamination was idiosyncratic to Bottineau is, once again, unknown to me.
- **wiisagad** <wisságat> “spicy (pepper, etc.)” (pg. 57). The term in Southwestern and a number of other dialects for “it is bitter (II)” (sometimes including “spicy”) is **wiisagan**, with the abstract/stative II Final **-an**. An issue here is that Bottineau’s form could either represent an otherwise unattested form (other than in Oji-Cree [AOCD:28]) with the alternative II abstract/stative Final **-ad** instead of **-an**, or it could simply be the noun “pepper” (**wiisagad**) which was misunderstood by Gatschet. Because of this uncertainty, I’ve included it in this section rather than the first section.
- **Zhaaganaashiiyaang(?)** <shaganáshiyang> “British Territory” (= British Canada) (pg. 31). The expected term is **Zhaaganaashiiwaki(ing)**, lit. “British Land.” The vocabulary’s term *could* be an error (by Bottineau or Gatschet) for **Zhaaganaashiinaang**, which would mean “in the country of the British,” but more likely it has been influenced by toponyms ending in **-(y)aang** where the **-aa-** is actually a stative II Final, as in one of the names for Crow Wing Village, MN, **Niingidawitigweyaang**, lit. “Place Where the River Forks,” from **niingidawitigweyaa** “river forks (II)” (**niingidaw-tigwe-y-aa** = fork-river-EPTH-II) or Chequamegon, WI, **Zhaagawaamikaang**, lit. “Long Sandbar,” from **zhaagawaamikaa** “be a long sandbar (II)” (**zhaagaw-aamik-aa** = long.and.oblong-bed.of.body.of.water-II).
- **zhiwaagaminaaboo** <shiwágaminábo> “vinegar” (pg. 57). This word breaks down as **zhiiw-** “sour” + **-aagami(n)** “be liquid of a given property (II)” + **-aaboo** “liquid (inanimate noun Final).” The almost universal term for “vinegar” in Ojibwe is instead **zhiwaaboo**, which also means “sour liquid” but lacks the redundant and dubious **-aagami(n)-**. (Meanwhile, at least Nipissing has borrowed French *vinaigre* as **biinegan**, and one modern Ponemah speaker attests **binigan**, from English [Jones et al. 2011:29, 224].)

Otherwise Attested but Contain Unknown Segments

The following terms are essentially attested terms but with additional segments included whose identity and/or interpretation I'm unsure of. Some are probably valid and others are probably spurious, but without knowing how to interpret them it's difficult for me to make any guesses about which is which in each case.

- <a>**gomind**(?), <a>**gwamind**(?) <agómě̃n, aguámû̃n> “to swallow, deglutinate” (pg. 55). “Swallow something animate (TA)” is normally **gom** (**gwam** would be a not-unexpected variant, since /o/ and /wa/ frequently interchange in Ojibwe), and I don't know how to interpret the initial <a>, except that the occasional word in this or that Algonquian language will randomly acquire an initial meaningless /a-/, which this is perhaps a case of. I'm also not positive how to interpret the endings as given, but I've written them out as conjunct unspecified subject + proximate singular object forms with the suffix **-ind**, since this is how Bottineau translated many English infinitives and I'm not sure what other reasonable options there are for the endings' identities.
- **bakade**<we> <pakádewe> “he is hungry; he is starving” (pg. 53). **Bakade** is the normal southern Ojibwe word for “be hungry (AI),” but I don't know how to interpret the final <we>.
- **ishk**<an>**abi** <eshkanábē> “he is resting”; **ishk**<an>**abi**<^{ng}> <eshkanábe^{ng}> “resting place” (pg. 29). These terms are discussed in [Note Y](#): the ending of the first word is (-)**abi** “sit (AI),” but what precedes it is less clear. I assume the beginning is **ishk**- “tired, weary,” but that still leaves the <an> portion unexplained. The proper grammatical interpretation of the second word is also difficult.
- **ishpim**<än> **wiibidan** <íspimän wípitan> “upper teeth” [pl.] (pg. 37). This term, as well as the one given for “lower teeth” (which is so uncertain I have not included it in this document), are discussed in [Note AD](#). As noted there, **wiibidan** means “teeth” or “h/ teeth.” **Ishp**- is an Initial meaning “above, up, high,” and an extended form **ishpim**- occurs in the locative adverb **ishpiming** “up, above” (with the locative suffix **-ing**) and a few other dialectal words, but I don't know how to interpret the <än> ending of the first word, which presumably represents /ɛ:n/.
- **miskojiingwe** <miskudshígue> “his face is red, or red face” (pg. 51). The normal Ojibwe verb for “s/he has a red face” is **miskwiingwe**, composed of the Initial **miskw**- “red,” the body part Medial **-iingw**- “face,” and the AI Final used with verbs containing incorporated noun roots and body part Medials, **-e**. As discussed in [Note W](#), Bottineau's form has a **-j**-interposed between the Initial and Medial which I'm not confident on how to interpret. It's possible there's a connection with the pair of related Medials **-aab**- “eye” and (rare and dialectal) **-jaab**- (i.e., the usual Medial **-iingw**- could have a dialectal by-form **-jiingw**-)?
- <wi>**nookaa** <winǔ́'ka> “it is soft” (pg. 25). **Nookaa** is the normal Ojibwe word for “it is soft,” but I don't know how to interpret the initial <wi>.

- **waase**<yabikû>**kaa**(?) <wasséyabikûka> “lightning” (pg. 45). This term is discussed in [Note O](#). There are several Ojibwe words for lightning, and some begin with **waase-**, but otherwise they have no resemblance to the term Bottineau gave. **Waase-** is an Initial meaning “bright,” and this word probably ends in the II Final of abundance **-kaa** “be many/numerous, be abundant,” parallel to the most common term for “there is a thunderstorm” (**animikiikaa**, lit. “there are many [Thunderers](#)”). Possibly the Initial here is **waaseyaa-**, which also means “bright,” but specifically in reference to the sky, sun, atmosphere, etc. But I’m not positive of this, and I’m also uncertain how to interpret the <bikû> portion. As I mention in Note O, the word sure *looks* like a transcription of **waaseyaabikokaa**, which would be a verb meaning “there’s lots of bright/shining metal,” but that obviously isn’t a good semantic match for a word for lightning.
- od<á >**wiiyaasim**(??) <utá wiyássa> “human flesh” (pg. 37). As discussed in [Note J](#), I am *very* uncertain of how to analyze this term, beyond that <wiyássa> obviously represents **wiiyaas** “flesh.” I’ve transcribed here (and in the rewritten spreadsheet linked to from the post) one very tentative—but quite possibly wrong—guess, which is that this is a possessed form ending in the suffix marking many alienably possessed nouns, **-im**, and a third-person prefix **o-** plus the epenthetic **-d-** which follows person prefixes before vowel-initial stems. But this still leaves the <á> between the putative prefix and the stem unexplained.