Abbreviations


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 table of the vocabulary in Post Two. 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 was quite old, at least in some southern/eastern communities (S:210), although the /k-/ is retained in the document in Nichols (1988b) (Nch:16, 20), which is a petition composed and written by native speakers of the Wisconsin Ojibwe of the La Pointe area (Bad River and Bayfield) from 1864. 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. “Brain” in 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, was found by Valentine primarily in Algonquin and some Eastern Ojibwe and Oji-Cree, but also in a few other scattered communities. (In a number of cases this may be 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 <Wĭndĭp> (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 term found 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 have biiwaabikoons (lit. “little piece of metal,” with biiw- “in pieces”; by contrast, in Southwestern, up through Red Lake and at least 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; Valentine’s survey covered only Canadian dialects plus Red Lake). In Southwestern Ojibwe, both the terms ozaawaabikoons and miskwaabikoons are used (FL; 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 FL), 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; FL; NiD). There are issues with some of Bottineau’s plural forms, as will be discussed further down in Post One, 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). Old recordings show that the singular in Odawa lacked a final /-i/ at least by the 1850s. However, checking Wright’s work, for “Deer” he has <wâ-wâc-kec>, <wâ-wâc-kes> (Wr:23, 131, 152, etc.), showing that the form lacking final /-i/ was once found at Red Lake. Jones et al. (2011:36) also list waashkesh as an archaic “short form” of waawaashkeshi for a Lac la Croix speaker. Furthermore, several other animal names which in other dialects end in -eshi in the singular have this 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 <Wâ-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, FL does have an entry for baasizid-bakwezhigan with the dialect code “SE” (= basically Odawa minus the Manitoulin dialects); this is absent from
Rh or NiD, so I don’t know the ultimate source for it. Ba:85 and Wilson (1874:235) also 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 “his/her forehead” (probably odaatig, given Gatschet’s stress marking). As mentioned in Note L of Post Two, 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; FL; NiD; 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 Post One)—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 with/contamination by -(sh)tigwaan “head.” Although it’s not recorded in OPD (or N&N or FL) 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 materials. 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>, for Eastern Ojibwe, while the texts collected by William Jones at Bois Forte in 1903-1905 (e.g., <okā'tigwāng> “[over] his forehead” [Jo17:164-165], <okạ'tigoning> “[off of] its forehead” [Jo19:446-447]) also attest similar though not identical forms. 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 his/her forehead.” (Finally, I’ll point out that in 1939, Bloomfield [1958:73] recorded a non-/aa/-augment -kaatig in 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 is Baraga’s record of mid 19th-century Wisconsin/Michigan Ojibwe.

- **Go to war (VAI) = andobani** (pg. 57). This form contains the morpheme ando-/-anda(w)- “seek, search out, try” (it’s etymologically “go off seeking/hunting”), which is also realized with an initial n- depending on the dialect. 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 William
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 \((n)\text{andobani}\) itself, he did collect data on several other terms that in many dialects contained the same initial morpheme. Two examples can serve: “[how much] do you want (TI)?” and “look for it! (TI).” For the first term, most responses given used the verb \((n)\text{andawendam-}\). 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 variant for this item recorded at Red Lake and at Lac la Croix is of no use because it doesn’t use this morpheme: “waa-\text{ayaaman}” [spelled this way instead of waa-\text{ayaaman}, I presume, because most such responses were from syncopating Nishnaabemwin communities].) For the second term, the most common variant was \((n)\text{andawaabandan}\). 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 \(\text{andone'\text{an}},\) a different word, but with the same morpheme serving as an initial, and without `/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), 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-INCRP.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 miishidoone for “he has a beard,” while Bois Forte, Red Lake, and the Border Lakes have miishidoone (miishdoon-e = hair(y)-mouth-INCRP.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** = bebezhigoonghazhii, Colt = bebezhigoo(nh)gazhins and mishtadimoons (pg. 25). The words for “colt” are composed of “horse” + the diminutive suffix, 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 bebezhigoonghazhii and mishtadim for “horse.” This is actually a useful shibboleth. Mis(h)tadim (← Cree mistatim) 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 one 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), and S:232 shows this variation as well, where all the Wisconsin and Minnesota dialects he had data for (including Red Lake) had bebezhigooganzhii, but mishtadim was found in Red Lake as
well, in addition to at Nigigoonsiminikaaning. He even quotes one Red Lake speaker as saying, during an elicitation session, “Ningikenimaag igiweg ininiwig 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 (AI),” found in Southwestern Ojibwe and Nishnaabemwin, while Valentine recorded the term as noonde-wiisini or wii-wiisini (lit. “want 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; FL; 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/Baadwewidang), an elder from Lac Courte Oreilles, WI, in which he twice uses the term mishtadimoo for “horse,” alongside one instance of bebezhigooganzhii: “Gii-agaashiiyiyaan gakina ingoji ingii-waabamaa—odaabaan, bebezhigoganzhii, mishtadimoo. Mishtadimoo wawaasa ko gii-pi-onjibaa awkaniel . . .” “When I was little, from all over I would see...wagons, horses [bebezhigooganzhii]—horses [mishtadim]. Indians used to come from a long way off by horse [mishtadimoo] . . .” (Benton-Banai 2011:91). The fact that mishtadimoo is evidently backformed from the plural, obviative, and/or diminutive of mishtadim and so doesn’t have exactly the same form as in other communities maybe salvages the distinction (though cf. Bottineau’s <ikuéssimo> for “bitch,” pg. 31, suggesting the “dog/horse” final -asimoo)—or Benton-Banai could have picked the term up elsewhere? With one exception, this is the only attestation I’ve found so far of a speaker from south or east of Red Lake with any variant of mishtadim for “horse.” The exception is Clark and Gresczyk (1998:106), produced by Mille Lacs speakers, who list both bebezhigooganzhii and mishtadim, but the 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:57, n. 3 also cites John Nichols as observing that “Red Lake . . . is exceptional among Chippewa [Southwestern Ojibwe] varieties in Minnesota in having mistadim. Elsewhere the common form is bebezhigooganzhii.”

In addition, the term is lacking 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 are now familiar with or use mishtadim(oo), 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 much 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 the region (only attesting niibiwa), there is in fact a good deal of variation moving from Southwestern into the Border Lakes and Saulteaux. FL gives the dialect codes for niibowa as “CS,” “NW,” and “SW,” i.e., all 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 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 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-booy-wah> [sic] for White Earth in the early 1900s (the <m> is clearly a typo since the dictionary is alphabetized) and lacks anything representing niibiwa. However, older sources give a different distribution. Jones’s texts from Bois Forte have niibiwa but not niibowa (J017:112, 140, 184, 198, etc., J019:340, 352, 384, 400, etc.), while Ba:280, 548, 556; Verwyst (1901:20, 21, 103, etc.); and Nch: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 (south 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, since Campbell records 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 S, Bottineau’s ogway (“his/her 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 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 found 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 (and perhaps later, since the wording was not altered in the 1878-1880 posthumous second editions). 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 alternate 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 <chankaʃʃ> for “nine” and <mitaʃʃ> for “ten” [Du Jaunay 1748:172, 315].) Unfortunately, beyond this, I don’t know what the distributions of the terms were at the time. Costa (2013:211) does note that the Kashechewan dialect of Eastern Swampy Cree has **šâmk** as one term for “nine,” which due to its form must be an Ojibwe loan, presumably from a transitional eastern Oji-Cree 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 the southernmost dialects of Southwestern Ojibwe, most Nishnaabemwin, and Nipissing, as well as Algonquin, while the former is found almost everywhere else, including Saulteaux and the Border Lakes (V:800). Valentine recorded only **zhigaagowinzh** (this may have really been **zhigaagawinzh** at Red Lake; Wr:169 has <Ci-ga-ga-wûn-jî>/<-ji> = **zhigaagawanžhi**(?); 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 some
Border Lakes and neighboring communities have it as inanimate, including 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 consulted for 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; FL 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>, <nì=shuássue mítana>, <nishwássue mítana>, <shangássue mítana> (pg. 43). Other attested varieties of Ojibwe almost universally show either an /i/ or an /o/ before the -midana “times ten” suffix, rather than Bottineau’s /wi/. Two data points 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. Secondly and more securely, Wright’s work shows all the upper decades this way, e.g., <nĭn-got-wăs-wĭ-mĭ-tĕn-û> = ningodwaaswidanida for “60,” etc. (Wr:17).

- **Skin** = <shagai> (pg. 33), <oshágai, washágai> (pg. 35); “[s/he has] red skin” = <miskʷa 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 (plus once as a medial), on two different pages. It’s thus very, very likely that Bottineau’s forms were: dependent noun -zhagay, 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). FL accords with this, and also records terms containing the medial \textit{-zhagay}- as “NW” and “WO,” though as has been noted, while the latter indicates western Saulteaux, the former designation is very broad. (V:847 also found three Manitoba Saulteaux communities with \textit{-shkatay} for “skin,” which is also found in Southwestern, sometimes alongside \textit{-zhaga’ay} [N&N:97; Wr:7; FL; OPD].)

- **Smoke tobacco (VAI)** = \texttt{<sagássue>}, “I smoke” = \texttt{<ni sagássue>} (pg. 31). This is a very interesting form, because it suggests a connection with Oji-Cree shared by almost no other dialects. The transcriptions clearly indicate \textit{zagaswe} “s/he smokes” and \textit{nizagaswe} “I smoke.” But the overwhelmingly most common form for “smoke” is \textit{zagaswaa}. The form \textit{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 which retain archaic ablaut on third person forms, so in Nipissing “s/he smokes” is \textit{zagaswe}, but “I smoke” is \textit{nizagaswaa} (V:388-390, 404, 851). While it is 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 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, since we don’t have any other words which would show this change had it occurred. The alternate possibility is that the final vowel of Bottineau’s \textit{zagaswe} was borrowed from related stems such as \textit{zagaswe’idi-} “smoke with each other = hold/have a meeting,” which we know Bottineau had, as attested on pg. 57, also suggesting he had the VTA \textit{zagaswe’}- “give someone a smoke, share a smoke with someone; invite someone to a council/meeting.” \textit{Zagaswe} could easily be backformed from either of these, or from other related forms. (FL, NiD, OPD, and the Western Ojibwe Dictionary [Valentine and Ningewance Nadeau 2013] don’t attest \textit{zagaswe} at all.)

- **Sour (VII)** = \textit{zhiiwaa} (pg. 57). \textit{Zhiiwaa} or \textit{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 \textit{zhiiwan} as the default term for “sour,” but with the dialectally-specified meaning “sweet” in the Border Lakes, and \textit{zhiiwaa} as a specifically Red Lake term for “sour.” However, to complicate things, elsewhere OPD says that “[t]he root /zhiiwi-/ means \textit{sweet} at Red Lake and further north, but \textit{sour} to the south.” Gibbs (2010:46-47) does show a Ponemah speaker for whom \textit{zhiiw-} means “sweet,” but OPD’s explicit marking of \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{zhiiwan} meaning “it is sour; it is salted”], so at least at one point it was found beyond Red Lake.)

- **Ten** = \textit{midaaswi} (pg. 43). This is the most common form, including being found in Southwestern Ojibwe, central and eastern (and some western) Saulteaux, and the Border Lakes (V:886). However, Valentine found \textit{midaaso} at Red Lake (as well as in much of Northwestern and Oji-Cree), and OPD also marks \textit{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: 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-wi> (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 (AI)” (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” (and gives a textual example from western Saulteaux, “ginoonde-wiisin na?” “do you want to eat?” [V:443]) though also noting (ibid.) 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 shows, for “I’m not hungry,” one speaker from Red Lake giving gaawiin nibakadesin and another giving gaawiin ninoonde-wiисiisin. As noted above, he also records both bakade and noondeskade for “s/he is hungry” at both Red Lake and Mille Lacs.

- White man = waabishkiwed 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 man,” in part depending on the nationality of the Europeans with whom each Native 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 waabishkiwe (← “s/he is a white person”), and at Emo he recorded both waabishkiwe and zhaaganaash (= “Englishman”). In Southwestern Ojibwe (up through Red Lake at least), both the terms gichi-mookomaan and a participial form of waabishkiwe are used. Now, as discussed in Note AH, the forms Bottineau gives are aberrant, and essentially consist in using “initial change” (in this case, infixation of /-aj-/ before the first vowel) to form the plurals, instead of using a proper plural participial verb (thus, the “plural” “white
“wayaabishkiiwed ininiwag” instead of w(ay)aabishkiiwewed ininiwag). Some of the implications of this are discussed further down in Post One, 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 waabishkiiwed (with no initial change) as a “Northern Minnesota” form (which includes Red Lake and the Border Lakes), and the participial form wayaabishkiiwed (with initial change) as a “Southern Central Region” form (= central Minnesota east to St. Croix in western Wisconsin); this, however, reflects the modern distribution of participle-forming strategies, which did not have the same distribution in Bottineau’s day, when forms with initial change would have been found further north than today.

• **Window** = waasechigan (pg. 27, and derivatives on pg. 57). This is the almost universal form, except for Saulteaux and northwestern Ontario, in which every community 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. However, I have not included three features. The first is the realization of lenis vs. fortis consonants, partly because of concerns over Gatschet’s reliability in recording their realization (e.g., there’s no way to know if fortes were long), and partly because this is a parameter which has undergone, and is still undergoing, significant historical change, with the sound change [hC] → [(ʰ)C:(ʰ)] radiating outward from south and east of the Great Lakes and yet to reach all communities on the periphery (and with the voicing of lenes much more complex, as alluded to a bit in footnote 14).

Second, I have not included the pronunciation of /oː/ — which seems to have been [o:] for Bottineau most of the time — because this is a feature for which there has been very limited investigation, and it’s unclear how much the distribution of variants has changed over time.

Third, I have not included the realization of the first person prefix ni-, which as discussed above in Post One, Gatschet normally wrote as though it were /ni-/ but sometimes as /nin-/ in contexts where a number of dialects have such an excrecnt nasal, and in two (probably three) instances as what appears to be a syllabic nasal, which is common for nearly all Ojibwe speakers in rapid speech, but which we of course shouldn’t expect many examples of in an elicitation setting. This feature might seem potentially relevant, since there is no indication in the vocabulary of the pronunciation of the prefix as /in-/ ~ /im-/, today characteristic of Southwestern Ojibwe and “a group of dialects extending north to Pikangikum [ON, Northwestern Ojibwe]” (V:449). I nonetheless exclude it because I’m unsure of its precise distribution (though it includes, at least optionally, Red Lake and Lac la Croix) and because the pronunciation reflected by Bottineau is the conservative one, still consistently reflected in materials from throughout the Southwestern Ojibwe speaking region in this period, and is simply what we should probably expect in an elicited wordlist from someone born in the 1830s, regardless of where he was from.
As was noted earlier in Post One, 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. In Eastern Ojibwe, a stressed vowel becomes nasalized when preceding a syllable with an unstressed nasalized vowel, as in older mewinzha ['mɛːwɪŋ.ɔ] “long ago” → mewnzha ['mɛːwɔ] (showing later syncope of the unstressed vowel, but attested in a pre-syncope recording from the 1890s, <mɛˈ-nwicɛ>) and bezhigooganzhii ['bɛːziŋ.ɡoːɡəŋ. ziː] “horse” → bezhgoognzhii ['bɛːzɡoːɡn.ʒiː] (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 (which S’s description and the orthography used would imply) but sometimes just a nasalized vowel. From the very small number of examples in this 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 the newer one in which the newly nasalized syllable contains a segmental nasal. The examples from our vocabulary are: abinoojiinh → abinoonhjiin “child,” and bebezhigooganzhii → bebezhigoonhjii “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-baataangzhiishimonogwen → gii-baataan gashiishimonogwen “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 (say, Nigigoonsiminikaaning) with nasal spreading in “child” (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 also records forms with final nasalization in communities where he elsewhere records phonemic nasal vowels as having been lost completely), 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 Post One, the vocabulary shows fairly clear evidence of /i/-lowering word-finally and before nasal consonants (possibly the environments were more specific), to something like [ɛ]. It also shows evidence of a lower allophone 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 [ɛ:], and in both Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe word-final /ɛː/ is frequently 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 presumably this allophonic change among at least some Odawa speakers is very old. I’m not aware, though, of a parallel to lowering the front vowels in nasal contexts; in the case of nasal(ized) /ɛː/ I suspect this is due to Métis French influence.

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.

### Morphosyntactic Features

Unfortunately, the extreme rarity of complete phrases or clauses, demonstratives, diversity in verb conjugation, etc. in the Bottineau vocabulary means that his realizations of most dialectally relevant morphosyntactic parameters are unknown, and some of those that do exist, such as the realization of the rpl independent suffix on VTIs, are not relevant for distinguishing among dialects in our area of interest. A small number of points can be noted, however:

- V:388 discusses plural marking in VII conjuncts: while Algonquin, Oji-Cree, Northwestern Ojibwe, and Saulteaux maintain a distinction between singular (-g, e.g., miskwaag “that/if it is red”) and plural (-g-in, e.g., miskwaagin, “that/if they (INAN) are red”), Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:252, 260), Nipissing, Michigan/Wisconsin Southwestern Ojibwe, and Mille Lacs Southwestern Ojibwe have lost this distinction outside of participles, with the historical singular form used for both singular and plural reference (e.g., miskwaag “that/if it is/they (INAN) are red”). Sullivan provides more detail on the situation within Southwestern and the Border Lakes (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, while it is variably present, but perhaps in the process of being lost, in at least the Northern Leech Lake community of Inger. 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, 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.
Historically Ojibwe had two abstract/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, and -ad has been replaced with -an, at least in most words. This occurs among other areas in much of Saulteaux, especially western Saulteaux, though apparently not in southeastern Saulteaux. It is not found in the Border Lakes, at Red Lake, or in Southwestern Ojibwe (V:324-325, 567). Bottineau clearly retained the distinction, as shown for instance by **baatemagad** on pg. 45 or **naagwad** on pg. 51, among other examples. But it’s 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 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 (common Ojibwe **niizhwaaching**, etc.). FL 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 (and Old Algonquin) for all the forms from six to ten. But it 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.