Words in Bottineau Vocabulary Unattested Elsewhere

As noted in Post One, 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 notes in Post Two or commentary in various places in Post One, 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 are likely to have been valid Ojibwe words beyond Bottineau’s usage; the second contains forms which I suspect (but 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.

I use the following abbreviations of some sources: Ba = Baraga (1853); FL = The Freelang Ojibwe Dictionary (Weshki-ayaad et al. 2017); NiD = The Online Nishnaabemwin Dictionary (Naokwegijig-Corbiere and Valentine 2015–); OPD = The Ojibwe People’s Dictionary (Nichols 2015); Rh = Rhodes (1985); and V = Valentine (1994).

The Words

- **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]”; this is then followed by the causative -’ and the TI marker -d to create the TI stem **aatawet-** which takes the TI(2) theme -oo- to form the final verb stem **AATAWETOO-** “PUT A FIRE OUT, EXTINGUISH A FIRE (VT12).” The same term but using an alternate, shorter form of the initial, **aate-**, is attested in Nishnaabemwin, by Rh:15, NiD, and Piggott and Grafstein (1983:10): **aatetoo-** “cause something (e.g., light, fire) to be put out; extinguish, put something out” (including now “turn off” of lights and appliances).
badakijiwinan <padakidšíwinan> “tattooing-needles (packages of such needles)” [pl.] (pg. 47). The term I’ve found elsewhere is zhaabonigan (Hilger 1992:93), which is the word for sewing needles. The initial badak- found in Bottineau’s term refers to inserting, sticking, or planting something long and thin in or on something else, and appears in the VTA 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 VTI is then used to form a noun with the nominalizer -win, BADAKIJIWIN “TATTOOING NEEDLE (NI)” (i.e., “pricker, thing stuck in”; the -an is the inanimate plural suffix).

†bagaatoom <pagátûn> “to boil something” (pg. 49); nimbagaatoomin <nbagátomen> “we boil [it]” (pg. 27). As discussed in Note E in Post Two, 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 reconstruct Bottineau’s verb as †BAGAATOO- “BOIL SOMETHING (VT12).” It’s possible this metathesis was confined to Bottineau’s speech alone, but with no real evidence for that, I have treated it as a potentially “valid” form.

baashkineyaabi <pashkinéyabe> “eyes full of tears” (pg. 39). This verb is related to others which also appear in the vocabulary (with my definitions, not Gatschet’s/Bottineau’s): 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).” Specifically, it is a secondary derivative of baashkine, with the AI final -aabi “by sight; look; have such vision; eye be in such condition” (and an epenthetic -y-), resulting in the final form BAASHKINEYAABI which must really mean something like “HAVE ONE’S EYES TEAR UP FROM SMOKE, DUST, HAZE (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 initial for “grease,” and the main stem is based on mashkiki “medicine.” From this is formed the VTA |mashkikiikaa| “doctor/treat someone,” the lexical inanimate passive of which is formed by replacing the TA final |-N| with the II final -de, thus MASHKIKIIKAADE “SOMETHING GETS MEDICINE APPLIED TO IT (VII)” and thus the full final term BIMIDE-MASHKIKIIKAADE “SOMETHING GETS SALVE, BALM, MEDICINAL OINTMENT APPLIED TO IT (VII).”

nim-bichibo’og <nibitchibû́-ûg> “he poisons me”; o-bichibo’waan <opitchipúan> “he poisons somebody” (pg. 55). The usual VTA for “poison someone” is |bichibo|, 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 pihcipoh- /piscipoh-.)

o-daamakin <utamákin> “chin” (pg. 35). As mentioned in Note H, the relevant form of “chin” in Ojibwe is -daamikan. Bottineau’s form shows metathesis of the final two vowels, but again I don’t know if this is idiosyncratic (or an error) or was more widespread. Either is possible. -DAAMAKIN “CHIN (NID).”
†to-da(a)n <ótan> “shoulder” (pg. 35). The interpretation and likely etymology of this form is extensively discussed in Note AC. I conclude that it is related to a dialectal Ojibwe adverb odaanaang “(following) behind, at the back, in the rear; the base or back of something; previously, in the past,” a Cree cognate otânâhk of similar meaning, and one attestation of a Plains Cree word otâniyihk “on his/her (OBV) hind part” (o-tân-yi-ihk = 3-hind.part-OBV.PSSSR-LOC), plausibly deriving from a Proto-Algonquian etymon *-hta·ni. 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).”

o-da(a)tig(waan) +an <ûdátîg>, pl. <udátîguanan> “forehead” (pg. 37). This form is discussed in Note L, and more extensively in the document “Bottineau Vocabulary Dialectal Features” linked to from Post One. It combines some features found in various dialects, but in its totality—including the initial /t/—is unique. I’m not positive of the length of the first vowel of the stem, since “forehead” has short /a/ in the first syllable in most communities, V:720 found it with a long vowel at Red Lake (-kaatigwaan, though OPD does not attest this form)—as did Nichols (1980:19, 88) for older Mille Lacs Ojibwe—and some, but not all, of the forms of the word which Jones collected at Bois Forte in the early 20th century show a long vowel (e.g., <okā’tigwāng> “[over] his forehead” [Jones 1917:164-165], vs. <okə’tigoning> “[off of] its forehead” [Jones 1919:446-447]). Baraga’s <kātigwan> (Ba:178) also implies 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 /tː/. The final -aan which appears in the plural (the -w- is part of the stem) was found by Valentine at Red Lake and is also attested by Baraga and possibly Wilson (1874:237), though Wilson’s transcription <kvettegwun> implies a short vowel. 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 <tûminîso> “he rubs grease on himself” (pg. 47); doominigan <tûminîgān> “wagon—grease, machine grease etc.” (pg. 47); doominigaade <tûminîgadâ> “to oil, grease” (pg. 47). As discussed in Note V, and in the section on loans from other languages in Post One, this initial for “grease, oil,” doom-, is a loan from Cree tôm- 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 KERC (2014:207, 239, 294), 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 <kapagí́shima> “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 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 more or less semantically empty conjunct preverb e- (e-bangishimog, or sometimes e-pangishimog), e.g., Ba:106, Rh:122, NiD, Wilson (1874:403), Cuqoq (1886:102), Lemoine (1909:382: e-pangishimoj), Jones (1919:268-269, 554-555), McGregor and Voegelin (1988:118-119), Nichols (1988b:110); or using no preverb at all (bangishimog), e.g., Rh:76, NiD, 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).”

gaashkanjigen <kashkadshígen> “to gnaw, eat with teeth” (pg. 57). This form is discussed in Note N. As noted there, it 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(1) theme sign -am, attested in NiD 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 <gitín> “womans’ [sic] privates” (pg. 37). 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) /-hkitin/ → /-kihtin/: -GITIN “VULVA (NID).”

-o-gway <ukuaí> “neck” (pg. 35). As mentioned in Note S 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 S), but also have no reason to doubt its validity: -GWAY “NECK (NID).”

- **ishkodeyaa** <shkdéya> “its [sic] full of fires” (pg. 29). This consists of the noun ishkode “fire” followed by the existential/stative II final -aa (with an epenthetic -y-), and should presumably 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 Clark (1998:14-15) = Treuer (2001:56-57), which contain the verb agaasisishkodeyaa “it is a small fire” (containing the initial agaas- “small” plus ishkode-) in the sentence Mi’i’w gii-poodawegwen ima agaasisishkodeyaa ishkode “The fire was a small fire where he must have kindled it there.” ISHKODEYAA “IT IS A FIRE, THERE IS A FIRE; IT IS FIERY(?) (VII).”

- **ishkaabaagwe** <ishkábagwe> “he is thirsty”; **ishkaabaagwem** <ishkábagwe> “to be thirsty”; **ishkaabaagwewin** <ishkábagwewin> “thirst” (pg. 53). I’m not aware of any other attestations of this term with no initial consonant on the stem. Instead, it is giishkaabaagwe, with initial /k/-, in most communities. FL does list a non-/-k/-initial form, wiishkaabaagwe, in “NE” (= Eastern Ojibwe plus Manitoulin Odawa), but this is not found in either NiD or Rh, so I don’t know the ultimate source of the term. In some Ojibwe dialects, including Odawa, eastern Saulteaux, and Southwestern Ojibwe, prevocalic or intervocalic /k/ is frequently lenited to [ɣ] or [ɣ˕] or dropped entirely; possibly FL’s source for this word spelled it in accordance with such a pronunciation. However, this seems 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 above in Post One); 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)”; IISHKAABAAGWEMIN “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 existential/stative II final -aa. While I haven’t found this precise term elsewhere, as with ishkodeyaa there are attestations of derivatives or “relatives” of it. These include old toponyms like Gaa-Zhaagawashkodeyaaag “Long Prairie, MN” (lit. “Where There Is a Long/Oblong Prairie”), which contains the initial zhaagaw- “extended, oblong, long” plus -ashkode, the non-initial form of mashkode. It also includes 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 mishawashkodeyaaag” “Tomorrow at noon you will come to a large open plain” (Jones 1919:198-199; there is an error or misprint of the word in the original, where it is written <micawụckutāyag> instead of <micawụckutāyag>); 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** <mitāsso> “he is now in the act of medium” (pg. 63). This term is discussed in Note Q. While it is almost certainly related to **mide** “Midewiwin member/practitioner” and **Midewiwin** itself, I’m unsure how to interpret it beyond that. I’m also not confident of its precise semantics, and would treat the definition as given in the vocabulary with some skepticism. Gatschet’s transcription, however, makes the phonemic interpretation relatively secure: **MIDAASO** “[PRECISE DEFINITION UNCLEAR, RELATED TO THE MIDEWIWIN] (VAI).”

- **†Mistawayaaawi-Ziibi** <mistawáya=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 Z. The name **†Mis(h)tawayaa** originally referred to Fort Garry and is probably from Plains Cree **mistahi-wâ[skahikan]**, lit. “big house.” It seems it was used by Ojibwes 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 Ojibwes 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 guess): **†MISTAWAYAAWI-ZIIBI** “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 main attested meaning for the noun is “a mine [for metals, etc.]” (e.g., OPD; NiD for Lake Huron communities; Piggott and Grafstein 1983:84), though Rh:251 and NiD attest it meaning “shovel” at Walpole Island, ON, and **Rand Valentine** attests it meaning “trowel” at Peguis, MB. The “burrow” meaning of the verb in particular, however, which is attested in FL 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 attested 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 AE, the word as given by Bottineau/Gatschet is incomplete. The ending is **-p-i-d-ige-n** = taste-EPHT-TI-ANTPS.AI- NMZR, 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/now the taste [of things] (AI)” is attested, but the derived noun itself—again, as far as I know—is not: **NISIDOPIJIGAN** “(SENSE OF) TASTE, POWER OF TASTE (NI).”
• o-nawayan <unáwiyan> “cheeks” (pg. 35). This word is discussed in Note G. 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 previously 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 <sisibakut 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, paralleling the corresponding AI final -pogozi. Note AE discusses the breakdown of -pide. The -p is the concrete final which means “taste,” and is found not only in -pogwad and -pogozi, but in the TA complex final -pw “taste someone/something animate” (= -p + abstract TA final -w) and the TI complex final -pid+am “taste something” (= -p + TI marker -d [with intervening epenthetic -i] + TI(1) theme -am)(see also †nisidopijigan above). Bottineau’s II final has -p followed by the abstract II final -de, again with an intervening epenthetic -i-: -p-i-de = taste-EPTH-II = -PIDE “TASTE LIKE, HAVE THE TASTE (OF) (II concrete complex final).”

• -shkiwan <îshkíwan> “nose” (pg. 35). As noted in Post One, this is a loan from Cree -skiwan, 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 in Muscowpetung the term is -skiwan, not -shkiwan. Nipissing has -kiwan for “nose” (Cuoq 1886:179; Lemoine 1909[371]; McGregor 1987:144) while other Ojibwe communities have terms which don’t resemble these, but -kiwan is just the regular descendant of Proto-Algonquian *-ʔkiwani (*-xkiwani) in Ojibwe, which was replaced most dialects. -SHKIWAN “NOSE (NID).”

• o-shkon <ûshkun> “liver” (pg. 35). This is another Cree loan (from -skon) this time one that based on the information available to me was not shared with any other communities. 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 <náwikue wissíning> “dinner” (i.e., midday meal); onaagoshi-wiisining <unáwúshin wíssining> “supper” (i.e., evening meal) (pg. 55). Wiisining is the plain conjunct unspecified subject form of the verb wiisini “eat (AI),” thus literally meaning “as/when there is eating, as/when one eats”; the preverbs specify the time of day associated with the meal (gigizheb- = “morning,” naawakwe- = “noon, mid-
day," onaagoshi- = “evening”). In most Ojibwe dialects, the meal names are expressed in a fairly similar fashion, but with two differences: first, the preverb/prenoun 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, gigizhebaa-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 very closely parallel, Bottineau’s expressions. First, in a short handout on his website covering words related to time, Rand Valentine 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 in form: Lemoine (1909:168, 194, [467]) gives the Nipissing terms for “Déjeûner” (“Breakfast”), “Diner” (“Lunch”), and “Souper” (“Supper”)—all three explicitly marked as nouns in the French translations—as <Kekijebawisínànìwángin>, <Aiabitízamó wisínànìwáng>, and <Wenágoci wisínànìwáng> respectively. These represent gegizhebaa-wiisinaaniwangin, ayaabitoozamo-wiisinaaniwang, and wenaagoshi-wiisinaaniwang, which consist of the relevant preverbs plus wiisini, conjugated as changed conjunct (with initial change) unspecified subject forms, using the Nipissing unspecified subject suffix -aaniwan rather than the southern Al unspecified subject suffix.

- **zagaswe** <ságássue> “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 Post One. As noted there, zagaswe with a final -e instead of -aa (zagawaa) 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.

- **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 in sources I have access to, 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 †Biiganooowi-Ziibi “Blackfoot [or ‘Piegan’] River”; I don’t know what the modern name(s) is/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 in addition 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> “sixty”; niizhwaaswimidana <nînhuássue mítana> “seventy”; nishwaaswimidana <nishwássue mítana> “eighty”; zhaangaswimidana <shangássue mítana> “ninety” (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 were idiosyncratic and represented another simplification in his idiolect, by just suffixing -midan to the lower cardinal numbers with no adjustment to the final/intervening vowel (i.e., niizhwaswi → niizhwaaswimidana instead of niizhwasimidan, etc.). However, I later found the two data points mentioned in the other document which show 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 (that I know of), however, I’ve included them here.

• The repetition numbers for “six” through “nine”: ningodwaasing <ningutuássing>; niizhwaasing <nînhuássing>; nishwaasing <nînhuássing>; 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 <shangáaching>). Bottineau’s forms instead suffix -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, where Nicolas (1674:42, 116) and Cuoq (1891:63) record all of them as ending in -sin (Nicolas <-fim> and <-fîn>), 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, confirming the validity of the others: eko-niizhwaasing “the seventh one” is found in Benton-Banai (2011:100), a modern text from a Wisconsin speaker. I assume these forms are generally archaic and so have not been widely recorded. 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 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. (I have not included anywhere in this document words which I am reasonably confident are erroneous.)

- **bagidaamong** <pagítámung> “to breathe”; †**bagidaamowin** <pagítámun> “breath” (pg. 39). These forms are also discussed in Note F. They are incomplete compared to the normal Ojibwe equivalents, which are **bagidanaamong** and **bagidanaamowin**; that is, the final for “breathe (AI)” in Ojibwe is -anaamo, not -aamo. It’s possible that for whatever reason the Ojibwe spoken by Bottineau’s relatives had replaced the usual final with this shorter version, but I suspect this was some sort of error or idiosyncrasy of Bottineau’s alone.

- **izhinikaazowin** <îshnîkásuen> “name of things (or pronunciation)” (pg. 49). This word is quite well attested, but only with the meaning “name,” not “pronunciation.” I have not been able to find any resource which gives any Ojibwe translation of “pronunciation,” so it’s certainly possible that this was a valid meaning of the term among Bottineau’s community at the time, but it doesn’t fit very well with the meaning of the component morphemes. (I would guess that the most appropriate term for “pronunciation” might be **inwewin**, a nominalization of **inwe** “speak in such a way,” though the only attested meanings of **inwewin** I’m aware of are “language,” “voice,” “word,” and “melody, tune.”)

- The gender of **mitigopwaagan** “wooden pipe” (pg. 51). **Opwaagan** “pipe”—and words for specific varieties 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 different kinds of pipes are also provided, one for stone pipes, which is not given a plural form, and one for wooden pipes. For wooden pipes, Gatschet first wrote the plural as <mítíguwaáganag> 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.

- **Niibiminaawi-Ziibi** <nîbimî́næ-usî́bi> “Pembinaw” [the river] (pg. 29); **Niibiminaawi-Ziibi Anishinaabeg** <nîbimina-osîbi anishinábeg> “Indian tribe of Pembina” (pg. 57). Gatschet further glosses the name for the Pembina 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 form for “highbush cranberry (Viburnum trilobum)” in Southwestern Ojibwe, including Red Lake Ojibwe, is **aniibimin**, but in some other communities the name is **niibiminaan** (or, in Oji-Cree and a few other places, **aniibiminaan**). FL marks **niibiminaan** with the dialect code “NW,” which has very broad potential scope; the Western Ojibwe Dictionary shows that this is at least the form at Cat Lake, Lac Seul, and Osnaburgh, all Northwestern Ojibwe-speaking communities in Ontario. FL also lists **Niibiminaang** “Highbush Cranberry Place” as the (unmarked) name for the town of Pembina (though Treuer [2015:366, 376, n. 39] lists the Red Lake Ojibwe name for it as **Gaa-Aniiibiiminikaag** “Where Highbush Cranberries Are
Abundant”). Finally, Ojibwes 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, nîpiminân, since native Ojibwe berry names almost universally end in -min, while Cree has a number ending in -minân. To sum up, while most other Ojibwes referred to V. trilobum as aniibimin, undoubtedly its original name, in the decade that Bottineau was born by the settlement of Pembina, the Ojibwes in that area instead referred to the berry as niibiminaan, and consequently to the Pembina River as Niibiminaani-Ziibi. However, while it’s quite similar, Bottineau’s form with a -w- (Niibiminaawi-) instead of -n- doesn’t match the Pembina Ojibwe term or apparent autonym. In spite of the fact that he was from Pembina, I think Bottineau’s form is likely spurious; the -w- is almost surely by analogy with the many other prenouns and initials that end in -wi- in compounding and derivation. (It’s very unlikely to be a slip of the tongue, or an error by Gatschet, since it appears twice, on two widely separated pages.)

• ņiibini-biigwa’aage <níbíníbíkua-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.” As discussed in Note AI Bottineau’s form is either a folk-etymological distortion of the original word for “wolverine” probably influenced in some way by the name of a prominent Pembina warrior, Niibini-Gwiingwa’aage(w) “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.” “Wolverine” is usually some form of (o)gwiingwa’(w)aage. As V:927 notes, “there is quite a bit of phonetic variation” among different forms; those he lists are gwiingwa’waage, wiinga’waage, and (in a single distant community) biinga’waage, but FL and KERC (2014:410) 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, alternately, 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: <ishkî́shig> = -shkii(n)zhig. However, Gatschet also obtained plural and locative forms, and these don’t match what is expected. These are discussed in Post One in the section on the aberrant plural forms in the vocabulary. As noted there, Gatschet writes two plurals for “eye”: <ishkî́shiguanan> plus a note that this can apparently be “abbrev[iated] -guan.” He also gives the locative as <ishkîshiguáning>. 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 and elsewhere. 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** <wapináwisi> “he is pale” (pg. 51). Two other forms of the verb are also given on the same page, the plural (i.e., “they are pale”) <wapináwisiwag> = **waabinaawiziwag** and <aniwapináwisi> “he is getting pale” = **ani-waabinaawizi**. These are briefly noted in Note X. I have not found any other attestations of “be pale (AI)” with this form; rather, the third vowel is always e: **waabinewizi**. Most likely Bottineau’s form represents contamination from **waabinaagozi** “look 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 [KERC 2014:28]) with the alternate II abstract/stative final -ad instead of -an, or it could simply be the noun “pepper” (wiisagad) and be mistranslated or misunderstood. Because of this uncertainty, I’ve included it in this section rather than the first section.

- **Zagaakwaawininiwag** <sagákua iníniwag> and **Zagaakwaa-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/Tribe which I’ve found are different, although they mean the same thing: **Zagwaandagaawinini** (Ba:361; Gatschet 1883:178; Kegg 1990:16-17, 119; Warren 2009:15); FL additionally lists **Zagaakwaaandagowinini**, which is closer but not identical to the form Bottineau provided.

- **Zhaaganaashiiyaang? (<shaganáshiyang> “British Territory” (= British Canada) (pg. 31). The expected term is **Zhaaganaashiiwaki(ing)**, lit. “British Land.” I don’t know how to analyze Bottineau’s term beyond the fact that Zhaaganaashii- means “British” and -ng is the end of the locative suffix. Possibly it’s an error for **Zhaaganaashii-naang**, which would mean “in the country of the British”? Or it may have the locative suffix -aang, which is not appropriate for Zhaaganaash, applied to it for some reason (with the -y- being a regular epenthetic consonant in such a case) — perhaps influenced by toponyms ending in -yaang where the -aa- is actually an II final, as in one of the names for Crow Wing Village, MN, Niingidawitigweyaang, lit. “At the River Fork” or “Place Where the River Forks,” from niingidawitigweyaa “river forks (II)” (niingidaw-tigwe-y-aa-fork-river-EPTH-be.II).

- **zhiwaagaminaaboo** <shiwágaminábo> “vinegar” (pg. 57). This word breaks down as zhiiw- “sour” + -aagami(n) “be liquid of a given property (II)” + -aaboo “liquid (NI final).” The almost universally attested term for “vinegar” in Ojibwe is instead **zhiwaaboo**, also meaning “sour liquid” but lacking 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(?) <ágómën, agÚámûn> “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〉. For that matter I’m also not positive how to interpret the endings as given, but I’ve written them out as conjunct unspecified subject + third 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> “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)(?) <eshkanábêng> “resting place” (pg. 29). These terms are discussed in Note AA: the ending of the first word is almost certainly 〈-abi “sit (AI),” but what precedes it is less clear. I suspect 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), is discussed in Note AF. As noted there, wiibidan means “teeth” or “his/her teeth.” Ishp- is an initial meaning “above, up, high,” and an extended form ishpim- occurs in the locative adverb ishpiming “up, above” (which ends in 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 /n/.

- miskojiingwe(?) <miskudshígue> “his face is red, or red face” (pg. 51). The normal Ojibwe verb for “s/he has a red face (AI)” 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 Y, Bottineau’s form has a -j- between the initial and medial which I’m not confident on how to interpret, although it’s possible there’s a connection with the pair of related medials -aab- “eye” and (rare and dialectal) -jaab-?

- 〈wi〉nookaa <winû̆´ka> “it is soft” (pg. 25). Nookaa is the normal Ojibwe word for “it is soft (II),” but I don’t know how to interpret the initial 〈wi〉.

- waase<yabikû>kaa(?) <wasséyabikûka> “lightning” (pg. 45). This term is discussed in Note P. There are several Ojibwe words for lightning, varying by dialect, and some begin with waase-, but otherwise they have no resemblance to the term Bottineau gave. Waase- is an
initial meaning “bright,” and the word probably ends in the final of abundance -kaa “be many/numerous, be abundant (II),” parallel to the most common term for “it is a thunderstorm” (animikiikaa, lit. “there are many Thunders”). 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 P, the word sure looks like a transcription of waaseyaabikokaa, which would mean “there’s lots of bright/shining metal (II),” but that obviously isn’t a good semantic match for a word for lightning.

- od⟨á⟩wiiyaasim(??) <utá wiyáss> “human flesh” (pg. 37). I am very uncertain of how to analyze this term, beyond that <wiyáss> obviously represents wiiyaas “flesh.” I’ve transcribed here (and in the rewritten table in Post Two) one very tentative—but probably 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 personal prefixes before vowel-initial stems . . . But this still leaves the <á> between the putative prefix and the stem unexplained.