

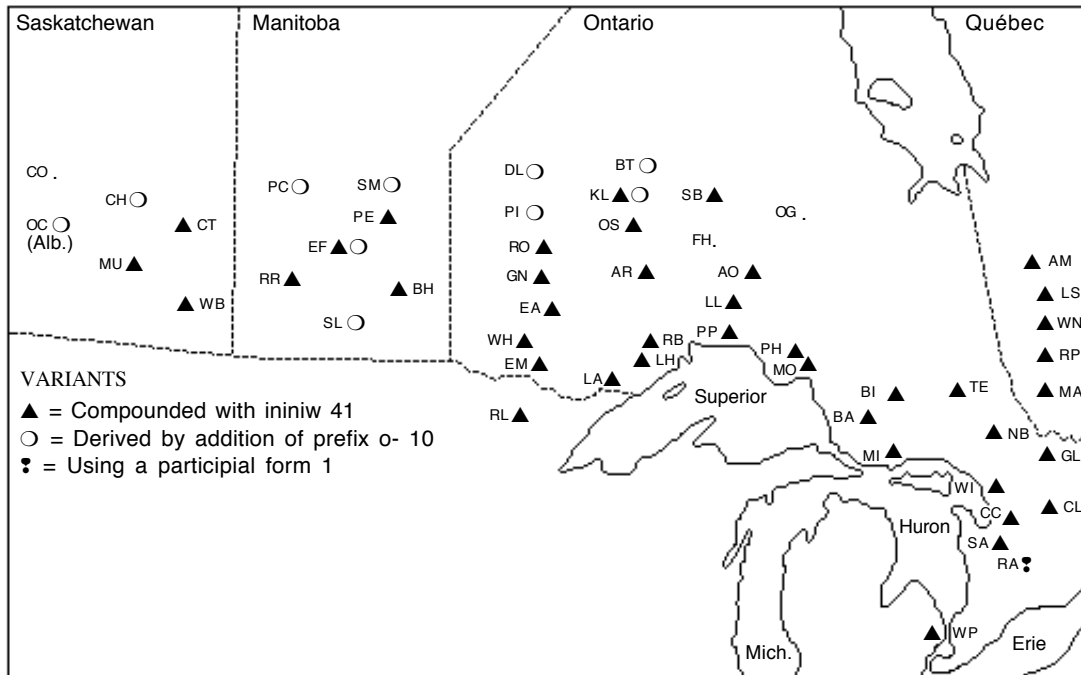
Ojibwe Dialect Relations : Lexical Maps

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1995

Community Codes

AM	Pikogan (Amos), PQ	MO	Pic Mobert, ON
AO	Aroland, ON	MU	Muscowpetung, SK
AR	Armstrong, ON	NB	North Bay, ON
BA	Batchawana Bay, ON	OC	O'Chiese, AB
BH	Brokenhead, MB	OG	Ogoki Post, ON
BI	Biscotasting, ON	OS	Osnaburgh, ON
BT	Big Trout Lake, ON	PA	Parry Island, ON
CC	Cape Croker, ON	PC	Pine Creek, MB
CH	Chagoness, SK	PE	Peguis, MB
CL	Curve Lake, ON	PH	Pic Heron, ON
CN	Constance Lake, ON	PI	Pikangikum, ON
CO	Cochin, SK	PP	Pays Plat, ON
CT	Cote, SK	RA	Rama, ON
DL	Deer Lake, ON	RB	Rocky Bay, ON
EA	Eagle Lake, ON	RL	Red Lake, Minn.
EF	Ebb & Flow, MB	RN	Round Lake, ON
EM	Emo, ON	RO	Red Lake, ON
FH	Fort Hope, ON	RP	Rapid Lake, PQ
GL	Golden Lake, ON	RR	Rolling River, MB
GN	Grassy Narrows, ON	SA	Saugeen, ON
KL	Kingfisher Lake, ON	SL	Swan Lake, MA
LA	Lac la Croix, ON	SM	Lk. St. Martin, MB
LH	Lake Helen, ON	TE	Temagami, ON
LL	Long Lake, ON	WB	Whitebear, SK
LS	Lac Simon, PQ	WH	Whitefish Bay, ON
MA	Maniwaki, PQ	WI	Wikwemikong, ON
MD	Muskrat Dam, ON	WN	Winneway, PQ
MI	Mississauga, ON	WP	Walpole Island, ON



Agentive noun forms

In order to determine the means by which agentive nominal forms of verbs are derived, I collected the Ojibwe words for 'trapper' and 'hunter.' In most cases, agentives are created by compounding the verb with a head nominal /ininiw/, 'man,' e.g. **wanihiigewinini**, 'trapper' (with VAI **wanihiige**, 'trap'). Several communities also form agentive nouns by prefixing **o-**, e.g., **owaniihige**, 'trapper.' These include Severn, PI, and a number of Saulteaux communities including PC, SM, EF, SL, CH, and OC. At Rama, Ontario (RA), the form given was a participle, that is, a deverbal form, which shows initial change and conjunct order inflection, **bebaa-ndawenjged**, 'one who goes around hunting,' from **b[a]baa-[a]ndawenj[i]ge**, 'go around hunting' (n.b., vowels in square brackets represent restored syncopated vowels). This manner of forming agentives is undoubtedly used throughout a large area of the south, in those areas where participles are used.

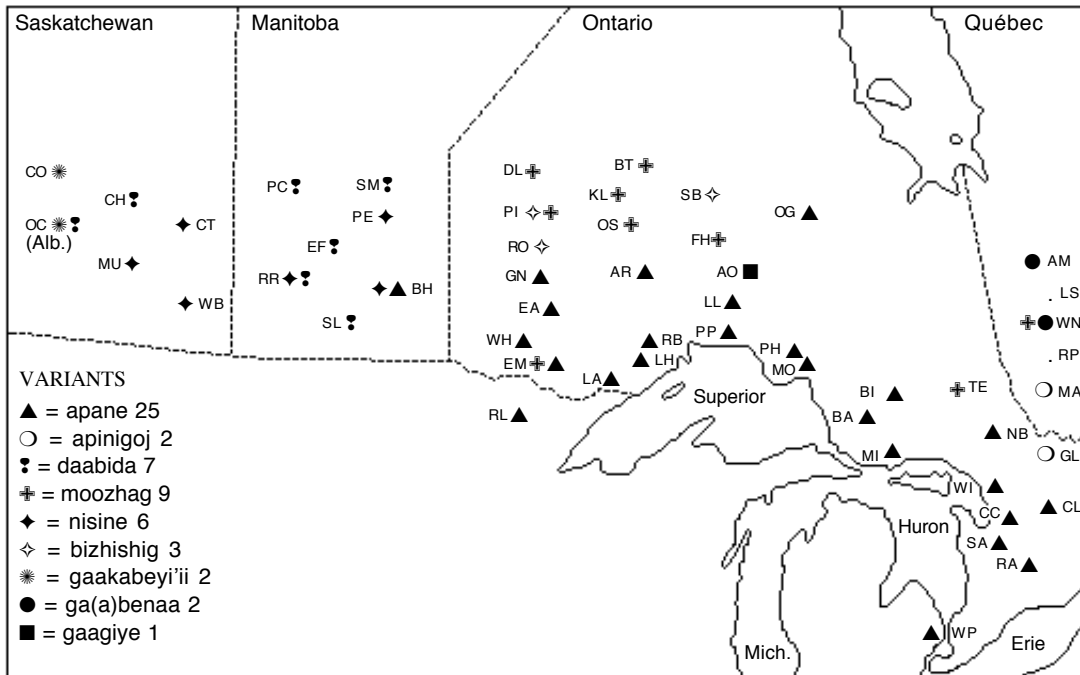
Both Swampy Cree (our data from Fort Severn, Ontario) and Plains Cree (from BLN) show agentives with **o-**, **owanihikew** and **omaaciiw**, respectively, for 'trapper' and 'hunter.' East Cree, however, shows **nuuchimiiuinuu** (-im stem) for 'inland hunter or trapper,' with an agentive form having a cognate with Ojibwe **ininiw** (East Cree, **iyiniw**).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CL CT EA
 EF EM GL GN KL LA LH LL LS MA
 MI MO MU NB OS PE PH PP RB RL
 RO RP RR SA SB TE WB WH WI WN
 WP
- BT CH DL EF OC PC PI SL SM
- ♣ RA
- . CO FH OG

Consolidations

- ▲▲ -ininiw (41)
- o- (9)
- ♣♣ participial (1)



Always

A difficulty with collection of this term is its semantic vagueness. Most communities probably have several terms. At Kingfisher Lake, Ontario, (KL), for example, I have heard **bizhishig**, **nishine**, and **moozhag**, though the last appears to be most common. The forms given above thus represent only the most general forms for each community. They do show some potentially significant patterning. **Moozhag** is found in the Severn area and is also attested at two Algonquin communities (TE and WN); Saulteaux is the locus of two distinct forms, **daabida** and **nisine**. Elsewhere the most common form by far is **apane**.

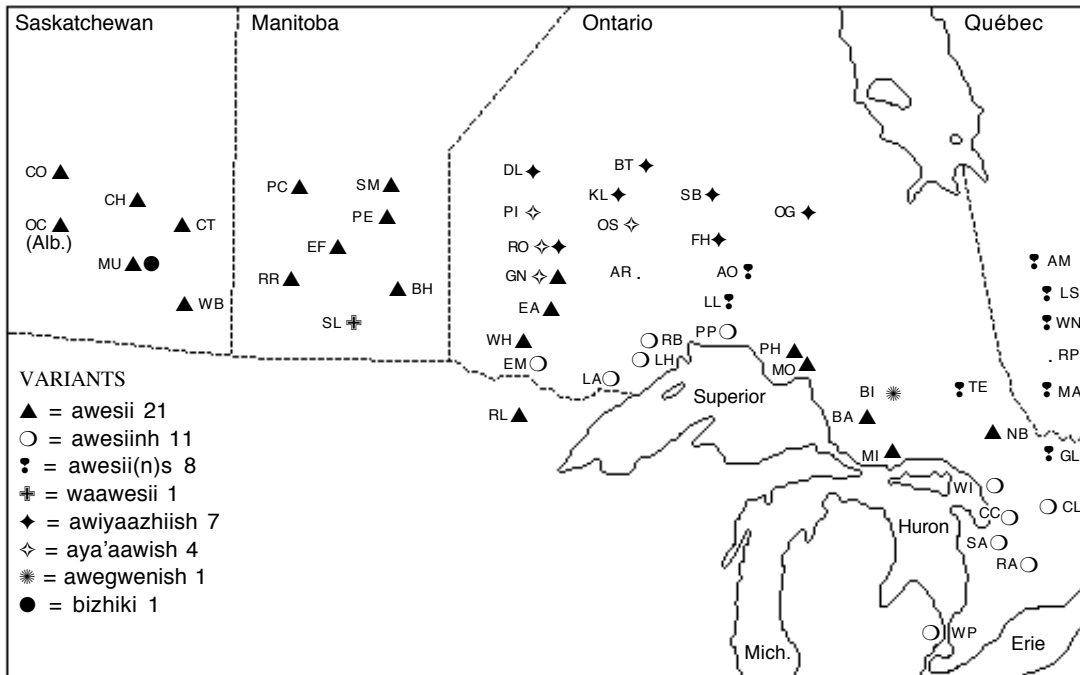
Plains Cree (BLN) has **maana**, **moosak** and **tahkine**; Eastern Cree has **kaach**, **kaachiche**, both meaning, 'for ever and ever,' as well as **muush**, with the meaning, 'always.' Swampy Cree has **mooshak**. This shows that the northern Ojibwe form **moozhag** is shared with several varieties of Cree. Potawatomi has **p'ne**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CC CL EA EM GN LA
LH LL MI MO NB OG PH PP RA RB
RL SA WH WI WP
- GL MA
- ◐ CH EF OC PC RR SL SM
- ✚ BT DL EM FH KL OS PI TE WN
- ◆ BH CT MU PE RR WB
- ◇ PI RO SB
- ⊛ CO OC
- AM WN
- AO
- . LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (26)
- ◐ (7)
- ◐✚ (9)
- ✚◆ (6)
- ◆◇ (3)
- ◇⊛ (2)
- ⊛● (2)
- (1)



Animal

This is another form which shows variation in a traditional diminutive. The most common form across many dialects has stem **awesii-**. A form with a final nasalized vowel (signified orthographically with a spelling <nh>) is common in southeastern areas and north and northwest of Lake Superior. A form with final /ns/ is common throughout Algonquin (including my WN data), extending as far west as AO and LL. Severn uniformly has **awiyaažiish** (identical to Fort Severn Swampy Cree), while a group of four communities southwest of Severn have **aya'aawish**.

Forms with /ish/ are concentrated near Severn, including all Severn, OS, PI, RO and GN. BI in the east also has a form with **-ish**, **awegwenish**, which has a stem that looks like a dubitative/interrogative pronoun.

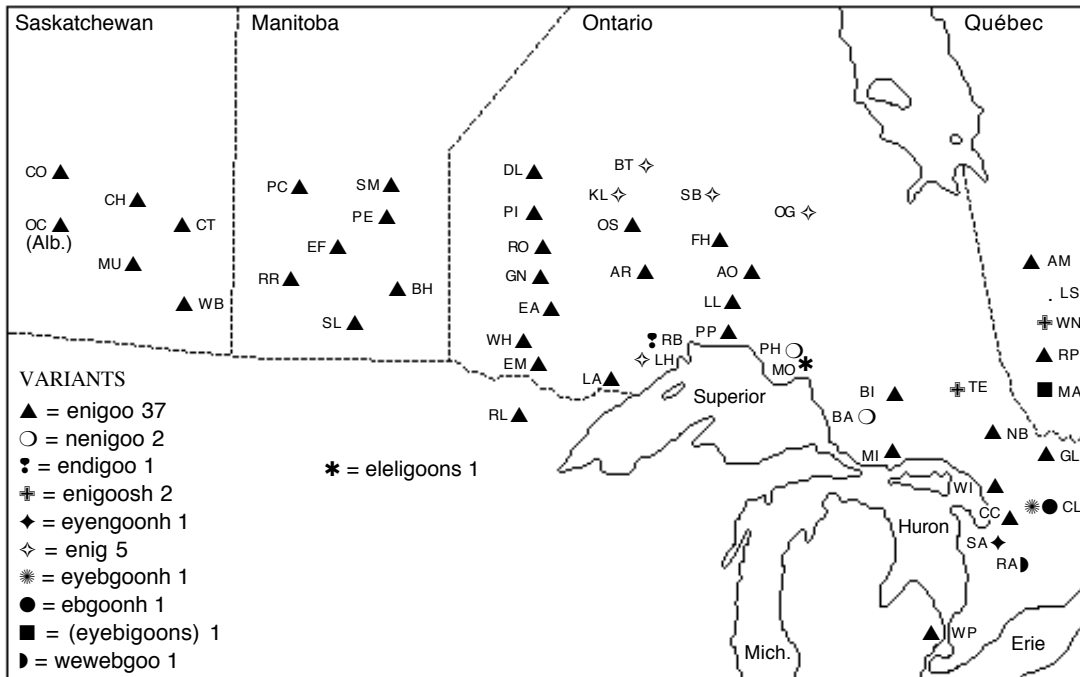
Eastern Cree uses **awesiis** to represent a wild animal; the only relevant word in BLN is **apisiisiw**, 'small person or animal.' Potawatomi has **mijbe**. Rhodes 1989:6 has **pisiskiw** for Plains Cree (see 'cow' in this study), **awehsa** for Miami, **kiiseeneniwa** for Fox, **mekinhwe** for Shawnee, and **manE:to:w** for Menomini (see 'bug/insect' in this study).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CH CO CT EA EF GN MI MO
MU NB OC PC PE PH RL RR SM WB
WH
- CC CL EM LA LH PP RA RB SA WI
WP
- AM AO GL LL LS MA TE WN
- ✦ SL
- ◆ BT DL FH KL OG RO SB
- ◇ GN OS PI RO
- * BI
- MU
- . AR RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦✦ (40)
- ◆ (6)
- ◇ (4)
- ✦* (1)
- ◆● (1)



Ant

There are two main variants, **enig(oo)**, and **eyebig(oo)** (or **ehbig(oo)**), both of which have sub-variants. The latter variant is restricted to three communities in the Eastern Ojibwe range, CL, RA and MA. The variant **enigoo** has two main sub-variants, **enig**, lacking the final vowel, which occurs in central and eastern Severn (and somewhat surprisingly at LH), and **enigoo**, which occurs elsewhere over a very wide range. Clearly the form **enig** is an innovation, in which the final **-oo** has been reanalyzed as being part of the plural suffix, perhaps on the analogy of words such as **mitig**, 'tree' with plural **mitigoog**. The diminutive endings should probably be charted for patterns as well, something I have not done here. Note that McGregor 1987:80 gives both **enig** and **enigoo** for MA, with the gloss, 'ant, pismire, emmet,' interestingly using the archaic English terms, **emmet** and **pismire**.

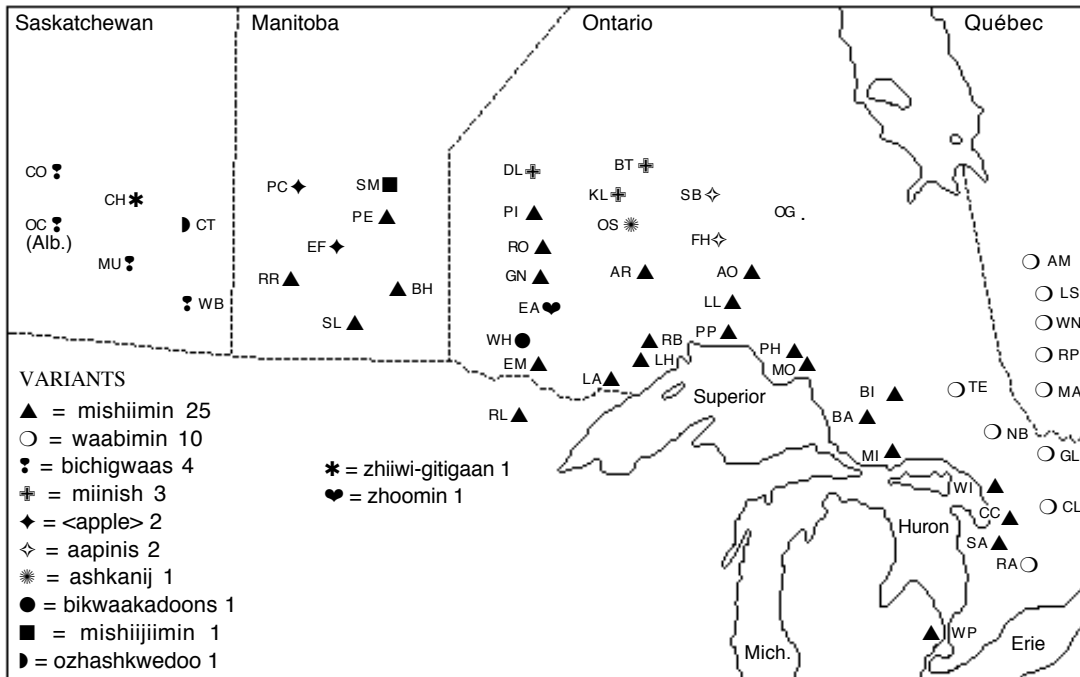
Plains Cree (BLN) has **eyikos**; East Cree, **ayikw** and **ucheikuush**; Swampy Cree, **enik**. Potawatomi has **angono**. Miami has **elikwa**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BH BI CC CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM FH GL GN LA LL MI MU
NB OC OS PC PE PI PP RL RO RP
RR SL SM WB WH WI WP
- BA PH
- ♣ RB
- † TE WN
- ◆ SA
- ◇ BT KL LH OG SB
- * CL
- CL
- MA
- ▴ RA
- * MO
- . LS

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆◇* enig- (49)
- *●■▴ (4) eyebig- (4)

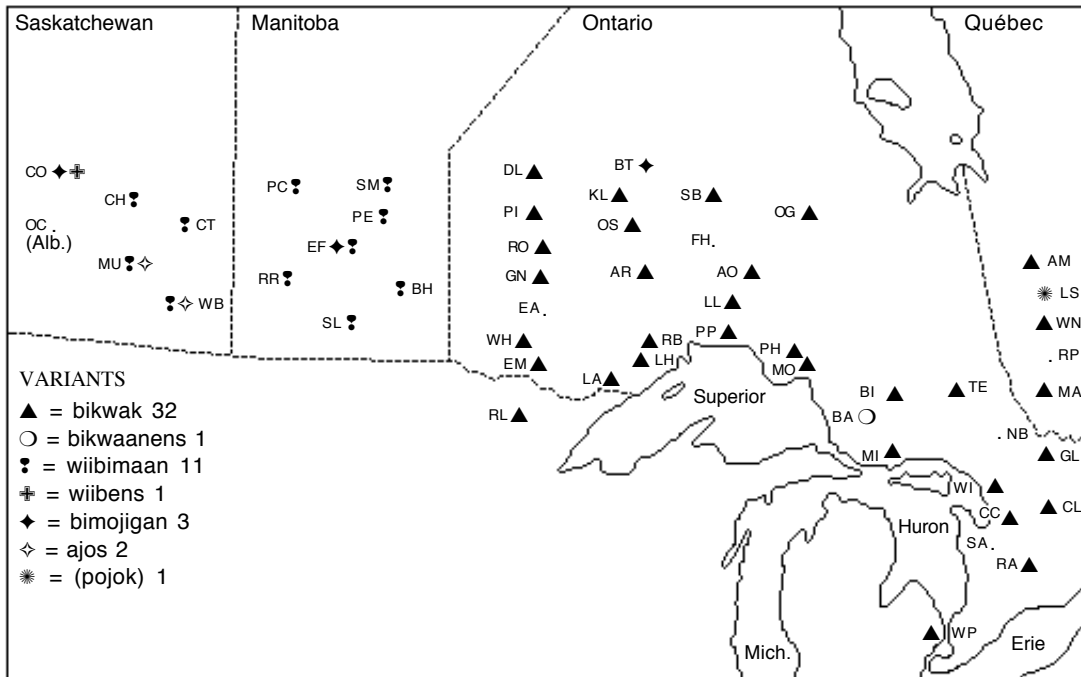


Apple

This form shows considerable variation. The most common form is **mishiimin** (with the root **mishi-**, probably meaning 'large,' along with a noun final typically used to specify berries), found everywhere except in Algonquin/Eastern, Severn and western Saulteaux, which show **waabimin** (root, **waabi-**, 'white'), **miinish** and **aapinis** (presumably from English **apple**), and **bichigwaas**, respectively. PC and EF have **apple**, which is not due to language obsolescence, since the language is strong at both places. Rather, there is a tendency to borrow English terms in this geographical area, evidenced in many other vocabulary items (see, e.g., **beer**).

Fort Severn (Cree) has **waaskatamoy**, and Constance Lake appears to have a cognate **aakadamoo**. BLN show **waasaskwecoos** (NA) and **waasaskwecoowas** (NA) for Plains Cree, interestingly, the former especially is very similar to the word for pine cone in many Ojibwe dialects, **wazhashkwedoo**; East Cree has **waapimin**, with the meaning, 'fruit (apples, oranges, and bananas).'

Potawatomi has **mshim ʼn** and **shim ʼn**. Miami (D) has **mshimina**.



Arrow

The most common form is **bikwak**, everywhere except Saulteaux, which uniformly has **wiibimaan**, along with a few very minor variants.

MA data is from McGregor 1987:333, where **bikwak** is glossed, 'a blunt arrow or lance.'

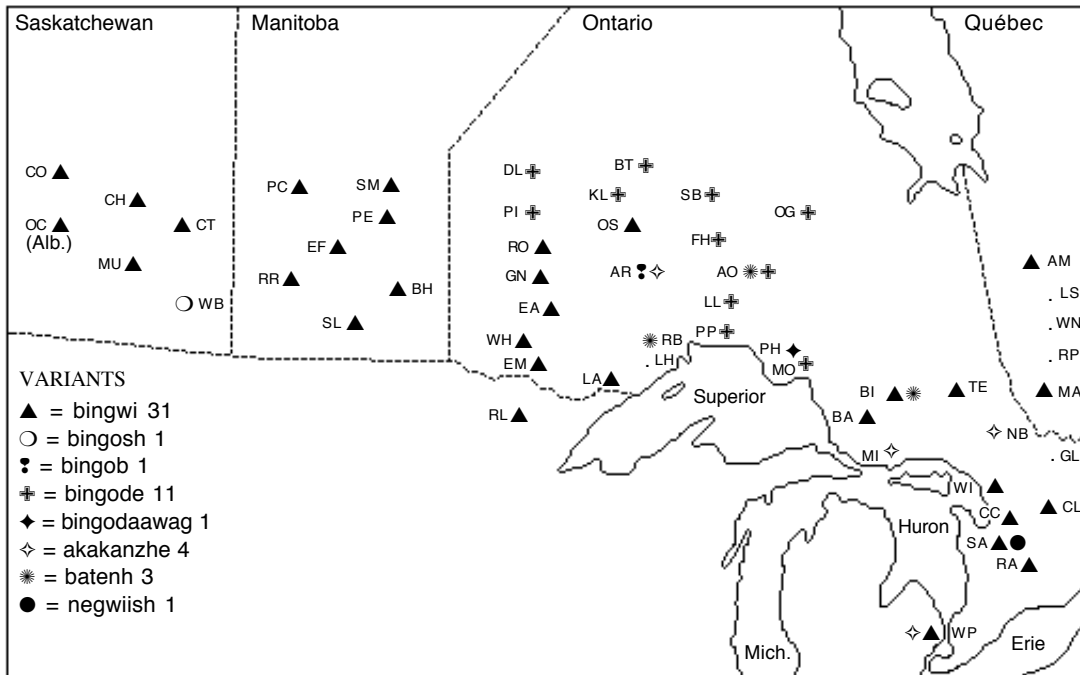
Plains Cree (BLN) has **acosis**, which has evidently been borrowed at two Saulteaux communities, MU and WB; East Cree **akaskw**, and Swampy Cree (Fort Severn) **akask**. Miami (D) has **wipimi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BI CC CL DL EM GL GN
 KL LA LH LL MA MI MO OG OS PH
 PI PP RA RB RL RO SB TE WH WI
 WN WP
- BA
- ♣ BH CH CT EF MU PC PE RR SL SM
 WB
- † CO
- ◆ BT CO EF
- ◇ MU WB
- * LS
- . EA MA NB OC RP SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (32)
- ♣ (11)
- ♣ ◆ (3)
- † ◇ (2)
- ◆ ○ (1)
- ◇ † (1)
- * * (1)



Ashes

This word has some semantic complications in its collection. The form focussed on here is that of cold ashes. Informants often had difficulty in sorting out the different terms for ashes vs. embers, etc.

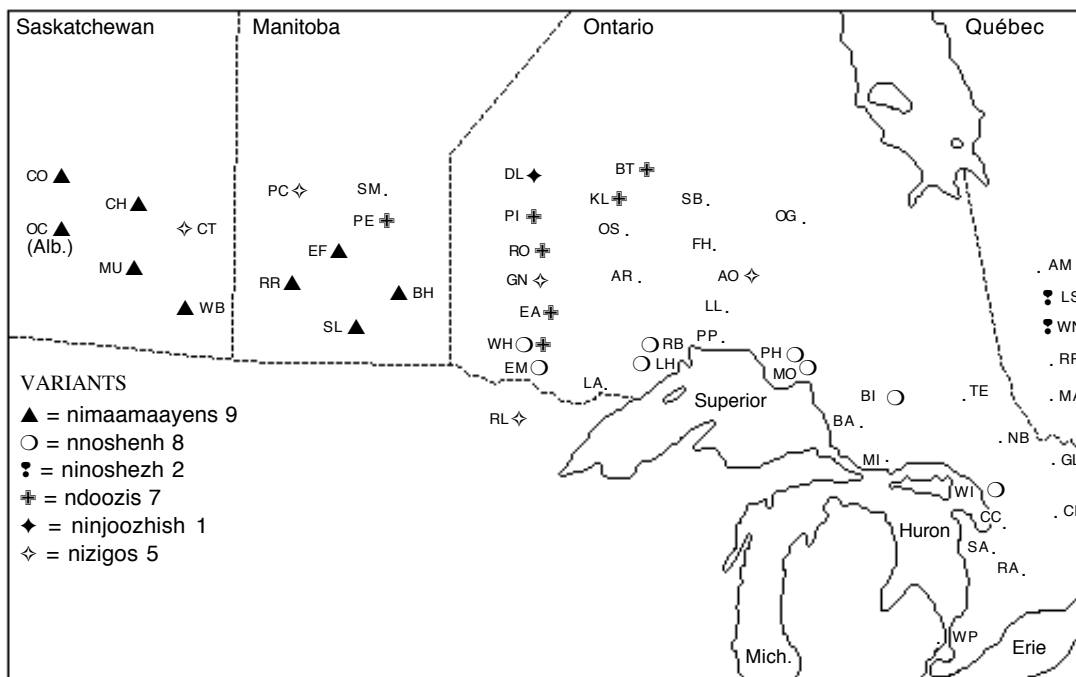
There are two main variants. **Bingode** occurs throughout Severn and extends down to the northeast shore of Lake Superior as far south as MO. Elsewhere, the common form is **bingwi**, which is used for 'sand' in some dialects, another fine particulate. A few communities in the Lake Superior area had **batenh**, but these do show any significant grouping. Fort Severn (Cree) has **pihkotew**, cognate with the northern form. Miami (D) has **pingwi** with the meaning, 'dust, ashes.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA
 EF EM GN LA MA MU OC OS PC PE
 RA RL RO RR SA SL SM TE WH WI
 WP
 ○ WB
 ♣ AR
 ✚ AO BT DL FH KL LL MO OG PI PP
 SB
 ◆ PH
 ◇ AR MI NB WP
 * AO BI RB
 ● SA
 . GL LH LS MA RP WN

Consolidations

▲▲○♣✚◆ bingw- (45)
 ○◇ akakanzhe (4)
 ♣* batenh (3)
 ✚● negwiish (1)



Aunt: my mother's sister

There is some measure of order to the distribution of variants for this word. **Nimaamaayens** is very common throughout Saulteaux. Severn has **ndoozis**, extending south to WH in the west. Elsewhere the most common form is **nnoshenh**, found in all eastern dialects, including Algonquin. Data for the southeast is sparse, as most communities have adopted the English system of kinship.

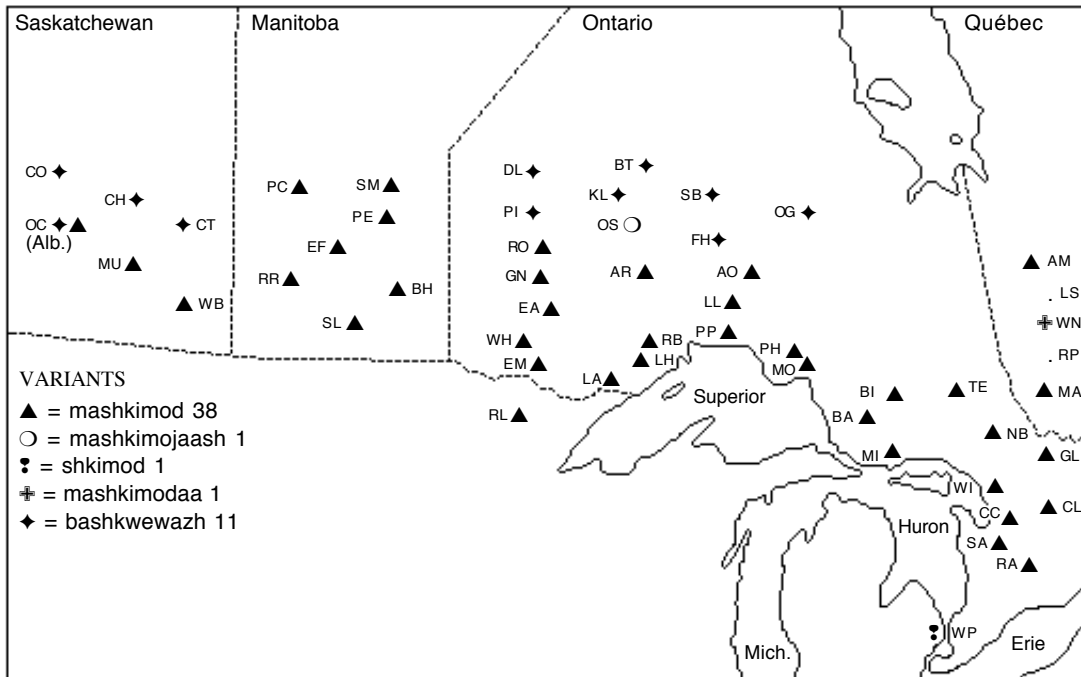
Potawatomi has **nms'gw's**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO EF MU OC RR SL WB
- BI EM LH MO PH RB WH WI
- ♣ LS WN
- ✚ BT EA KL PE PI RO WH
- ◆ DL
- ◇ AO CT GN PC RL
- . AM AR BA CC CL FH GL LA LL MA
- MI NB OG OS PP RA RP SA SB SM
- TE WN WP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (9)
- ♣ (10)
- ♣✚◆ (8)
- ✚◇ (5)



Bag

The common form is **mashkimod**. Several communities in northern Ontario, focussed around Severn, have **bashkwewazh**, as well as CO, CH, CO and OC in western Saulteaux. This latter term appears to be related to the word for leather, **bashkwegin**, with a final component **-wazh** that indicates a bag or cloth/leather container, cf., Severn **zhooniyaawazh**, 'wallet' (lit., 'money bag'). Fort Severn (Cree) and Constance Lake have **miwat** for 'bag.' WN has **mashkimodaa**, with **aa** augment, normally found on body parts (i.e., dependent nouns). The augment shows up in other dialects when certain suffixes are added, cf., Minnesota Chippewa, **mashkimodaang**, 'on the bag,' (Nichols and Nyholm 1979:59) with locative ending **-ng**.

BLN shows Plains Cree having **maskimot** for bag, along with **miinisiwas**, 'berry bag,' and **miicimoowas**, 'bag for food.' East Cree data include **wiihkweyaau**, 'bag,' and **miiwatiyaapii**, 'carrying strap for bag.' Atikamekw (Béland 1978:491) has **mishkimootay**.

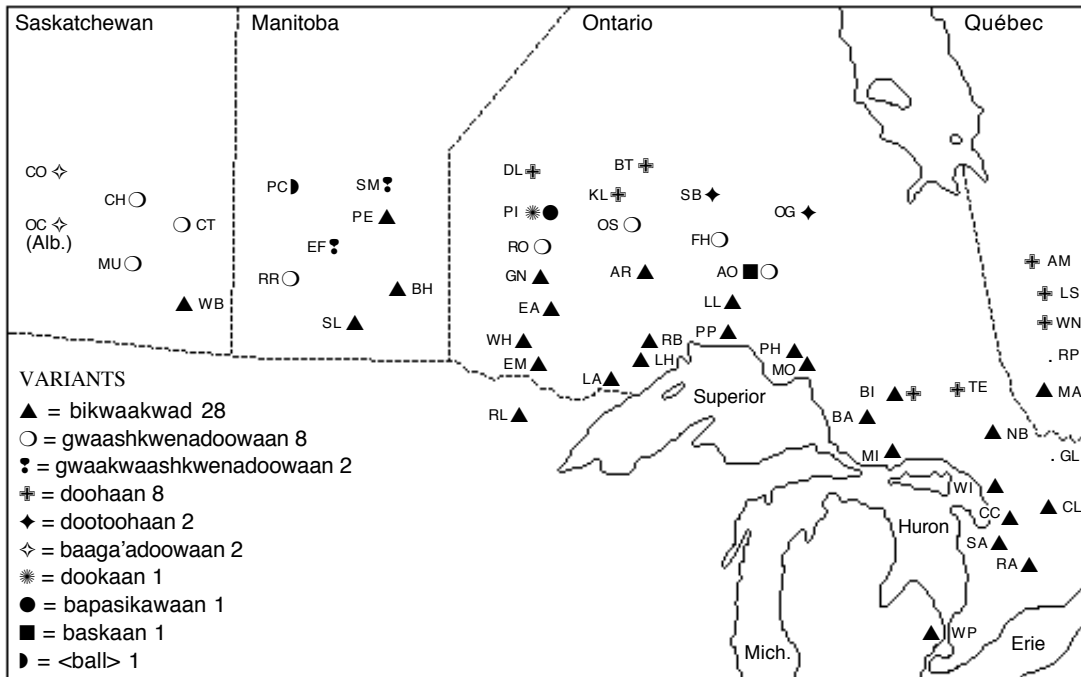
Potawatomi has **shk'mot**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CL EA EF
EM GL GN LA LH LL MA MI MO MU
NB OC PC PE PH PP RA RB RL RO
RR SA SL SM TE WB WH WI
- OS
- ⦿ WP
- ⊕ WN
- ◆ BT CH CO CT DL FH KL OC OG PI
SB
- .LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿⊕⦿ (41)
- ◆ (11)



Ball

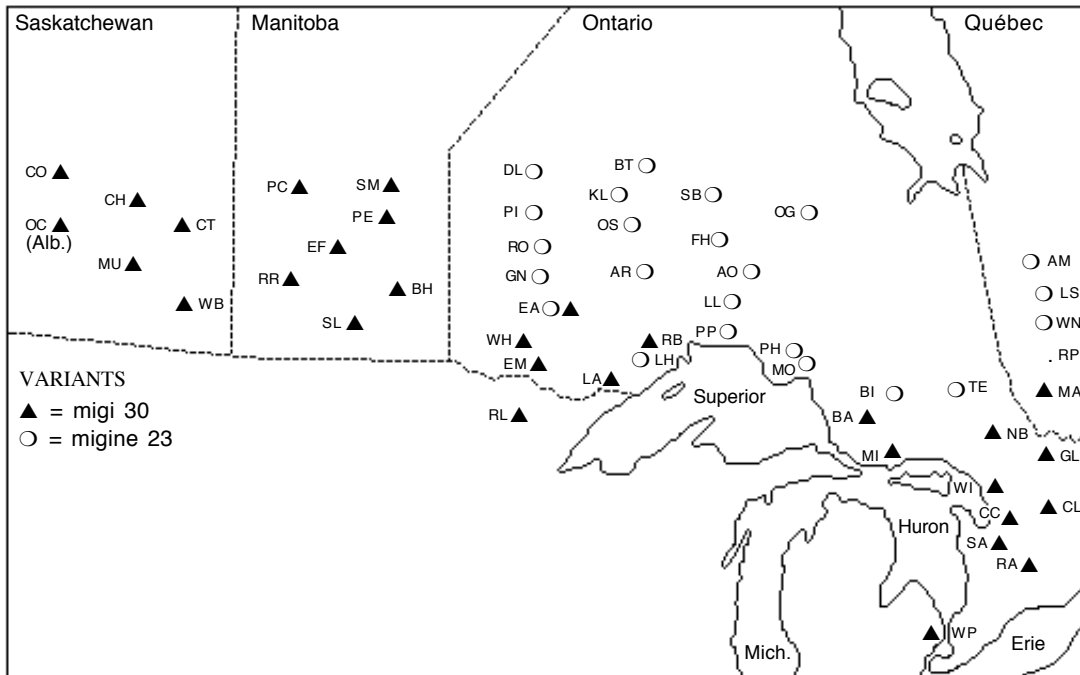
This word shows a north/south split, with several sub-variants in the northern group. The southern form is **bikwaakwad**, found everywhere south of BI and TE in the east, north of Superior to LL-AR-GN, and in southern Saulteaux to WB. The unadorned northern form is **doohaana**, found in this form throughout Algonquin to BI and core Severn (BT, KL, and DL). SB and OG have reduplication, **dootoohaana**, and a narrow band of communities south of this area (RO, OS, FH and AO) have **gwaashkwenadoowaan**, 'bouncing ball,' a form which also shows up strongly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, along with a reduplicated variant. CO and OC in extreme western Saulteaux have **baaga'a=doowaan**, perhaps related to the Minnesota (from Nichols and Nyholm 1979), **baaga'adoowe**, 'he plays lacrosse.' Constance Lake has **gwaashkwedalaan**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **toohaana**, identical to East Cree **tuuhaana**. Béland 1978:583 has both **toohaana** and **toohwaan** for Atikamekw. Peoria has **pOskondya** (Hockett 1985:30).

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AR BA BH BI CC CL EA EM GN LA
 LH LL MA MI MO NB PE PH PP RA
 RB RL SA SL WB WH WI WP
 ○ AO CH CT FH MU OS RO RR
 ● EF SM
 ✚ AM BI BT DL KL LS TE WN
 ◆ OG SB
 ◇ CO OC
 * PI
 ● PI
 ■ AO
 ▶ PC
 . GL MA RP WN

Consolidations

▲▲ (28)
 ○○✚◆◇* (23)
 ●● (1)
 ✚■ (1)
 ◆▶ (1)



Barks (e.g., a dog) (VAI)

This word divides communities along a north-south axis, with **migne** in the north and **migi** in the south. Saulteaux uniformly agrees with the southern group, as do four communities in the southwest, RL, WH, EM and LA. EA has both forms, which is not unexpected, since it is on the isogloss border.

Plains Cree (BLN) has **mikiw**, lacking the northern ending; and East Cree has **michisimuu** (VAI-u stem).

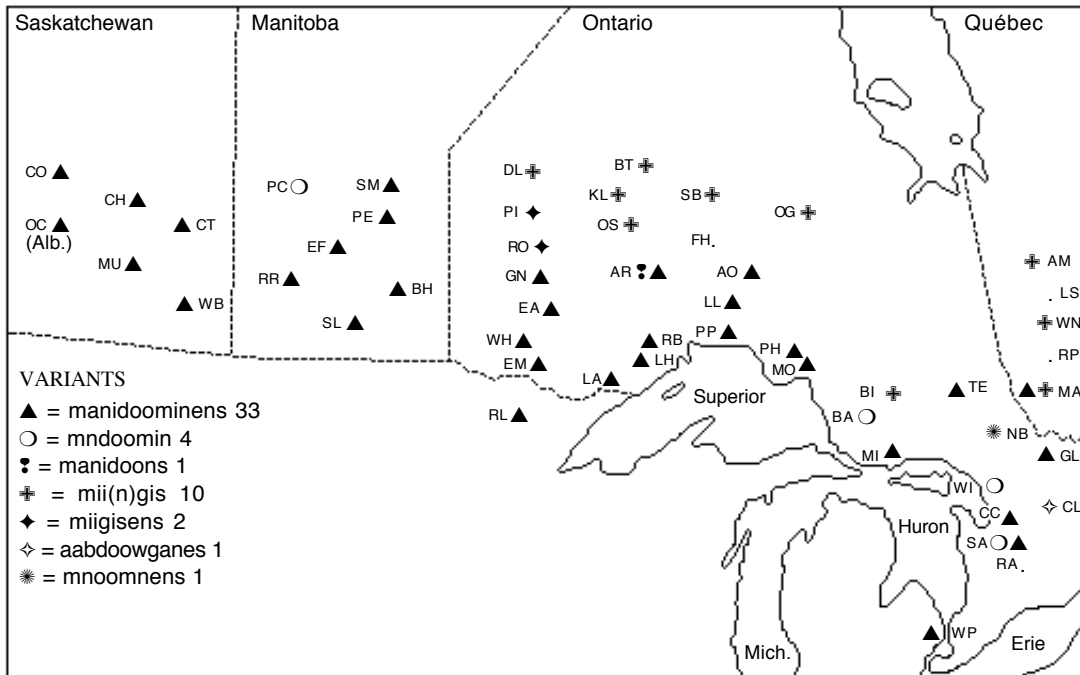
Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **meekis&iweeta**, Fox **mekiwa**, Shawnee **memekihke**, and Menomini **meke:w**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM
GL LA MA MI MU NB OC PC PE RA
RB RL RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BI BT DL EA FH GN KL
LH LL LS MO OG OS PH PI PP RO
SB TE WN
. RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (53)



Bead (noun)

This word shows a basic north/south split. In the north, including Severn (and PI and RO) and Algonquin (AM, WN and BI), the form is **miigis**. This word is found in southern dialects, with the meaning ‘small shell, sacred shell, pearl’ (Nichols and Nyholm 1979:66). Ritzenthaler 1978:754 uses it in reference to the cowrie shell which southwestern Chippewa Midewiwin candidates wore on leather thongs. Elsewhere, the common form is **manidoominens**, which literally means ‘small round manitou object.’ Three communities near L. Huron (BA, WI and SA) lack the diminutive suffix, having **manidoomin**. NB has **mnoomnens**, which translates literally as ‘small rice,’ if it is related to the word mnoomin, ‘rice,’ perhaps on analogy of a bead to a grain of rice.

MA data are from McGregor 1987:178.

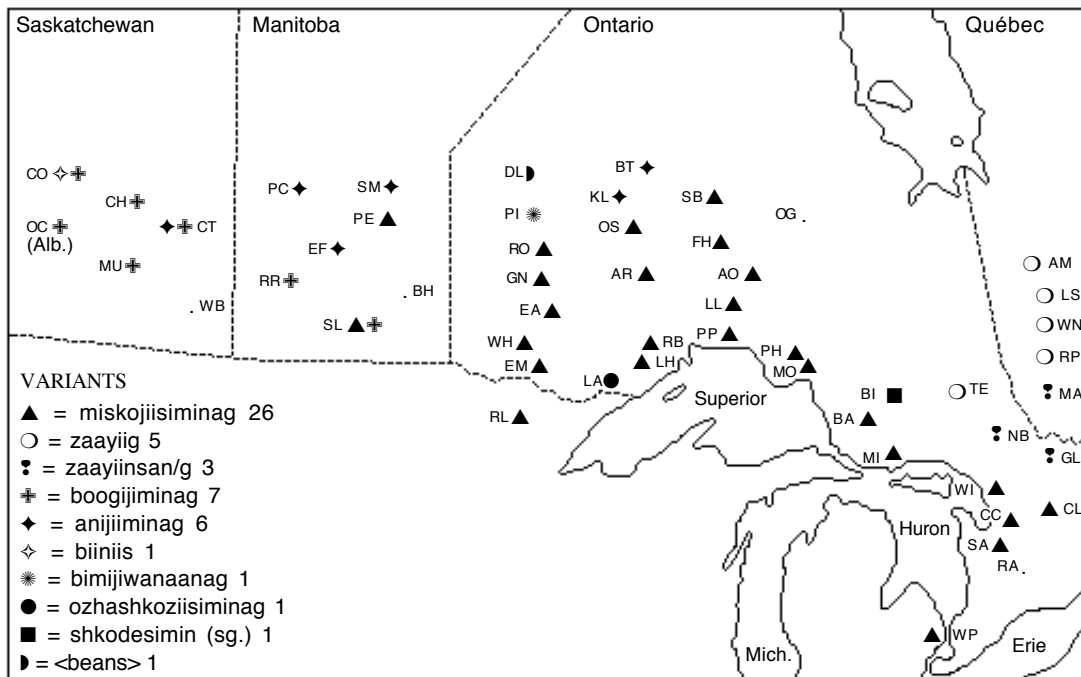
Plains Cree (from BLN) and Swampy Cree (Fort Severn) have **miikis**, identical to the northern Ojibwe form, and East Cree has **miichis**, which shows the standard eastern Cree palatalization.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH CC CH CO CT EA EF EM
GL GN LA LH LL MA MI MO MU OC
PE PH PP RB RL RR SA SL SM TE
WB WH WP
- BA PC SA WI
- ♣ AR
- ✚ AM BI BT DL KL MA OG OS SB WN
- ◆ PI RO
- ◇ CL
- * NB
- . FH LS RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣ (38)
- ✚◆ (12)
- ♣◇ (1)
- ✚* (1)



Beans

This word shows some local groupings. Algonquin (to TE) has **zaayiig**, while the communities due south (MA, NB, GL) have **zaayiinsag/an** (with variable gender), a diminutive form of the same word. In Severn, BT and KL have **anijiiminag**, which they share with three northern Manitoba communities quite far removed from them. Most of Saulteaux has **boogijiminag**, from **boogidi**, ‘farts, flatulates’ VAI. The distribution of this form may be wider, as some speakers may have been reluctant to use it in a formal elicitation context. The rest of Ojibwe shows **miskojisiminag**. There is some vagueness in the English, which may have affected data distribution, since many kinds of beans exist. This may explain the isolated forms of PI and LA.

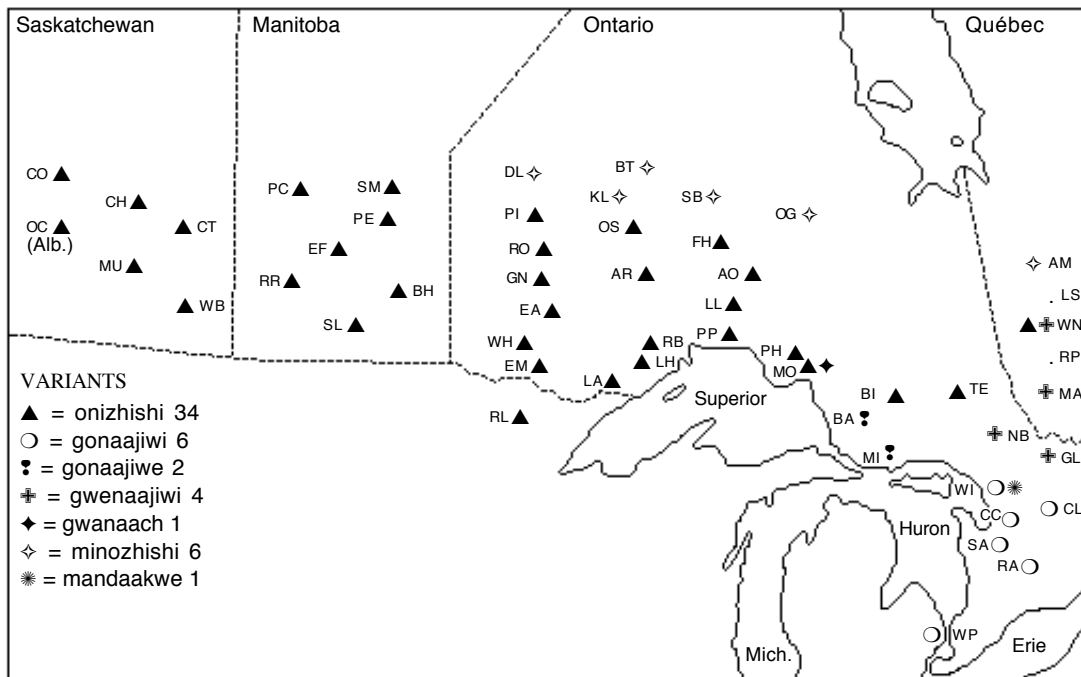
The only Cree data I have is **aniiniimin** for Fort Severn, which agrees with one of the northern Ojibwe forms. Potawatomi has **gojes**, **kozhash**, and **bkojis**. Miami (D) has **kochisa** (Hockett 1985:30).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA CC CL EA EM FH GN LH
LL MI MO OS PE PH PP RB RL RO
SA SB SL WH WI WP
- AM LS RP TE WN
- ⦿ GL MA NB
- ✦ CH CO CT MU OC RR SL
- ◆ BT CT EF KL PC SM
- ◇ CO
- ⊛ PI
- LA
- BI
- ▷ DL
- . BH OG RA WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (26)
- ⦿ (8)
- ⦿✦ (7)
- ✦◆ (6)
- ◆◇ (1)
- ◇⊛ (1)
- ⊛● (1)
- (1)
- ▷ (1)



Be beautiful (VAI)

There are three basic forms: 1., **gonaajiwí** (or some variant), throughout the southeast in Odawa and Eastern. Note that variants are significantly localized, **gonaajiwé** at BA-MI (which may simply reflect lowering of word-final /i/ to [e]); and **gwenaajiwí** at GL, MA, NB and WN, with apparent application of initial change to the vowel of the first syllable (MA data from McGregor 1987:160). The form I have for MO, **gwanaach**, is also attested in Baraga 1878:199. It's not clear how this word is used— Baraga lists it as an adjective, and Rhodes 1985:167 has **gnaaj-** as both a prenoun and preverb, but this is rather an unusual form in that most pre-forms end in a vowel, and the final /j/ suggest palatalization by a following high vowel. 2., **minozhishi**, which occurs in Severn and AM, but not WN. 3., elsewhere, the form is **onizhishi**, morphologically more similar to the northern form than the southeastern, in that the latter two share a final complex, **-(i)zhishi**, which has a shape suggesting the addition of a contemptive/endearament suffix (these typically have a form such as **-shi**, and lenite a preceding sibilant).

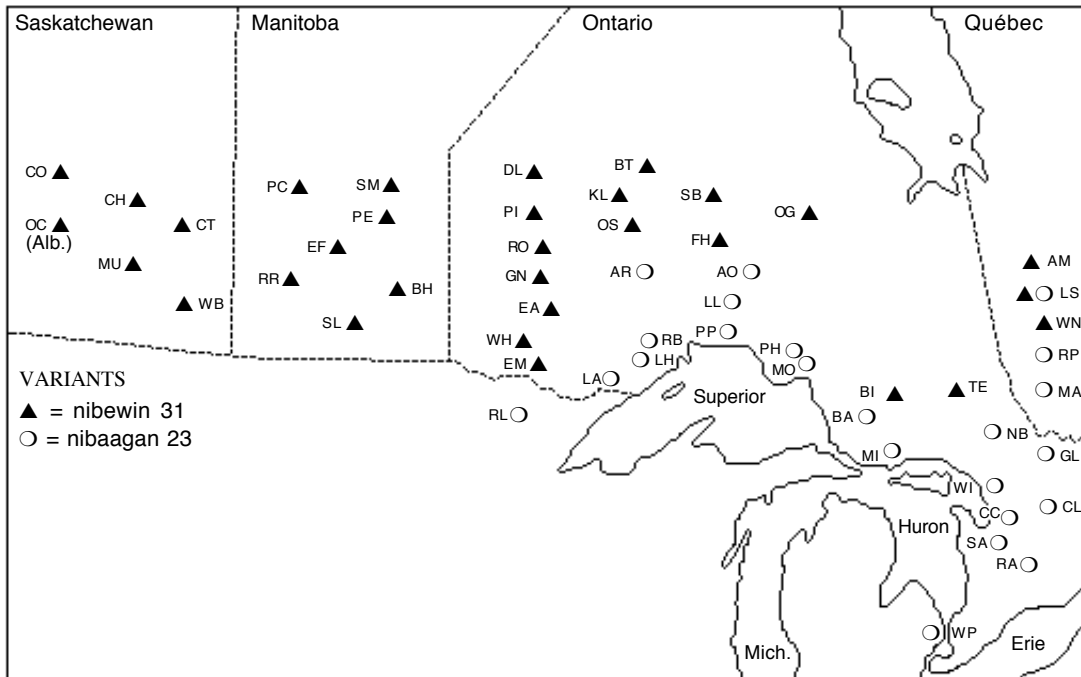
The last form, **mandaakwe**, is probably simply a collection error. Rhodes 1985:619 lists **mandaagkwe** with the meaning, 'lady, well-groomed woman.' Gilstrap's fieldnotes show «**onâdomân**» for LS, and «**mininâkozi**» for WN. He also has a distinction at AM between a female describing a male, which is «**mênobêwê**», and a male describing a female, which is **minozhishi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BI CH CO CT EA EF EM
FH GN LA LH LL MO MU OC OS PC
PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RR SL SM
TE WB WH WN
- CC CL RA SA WI WP
- BA MI
- ✚ GL MA NB WN
- ◆ MO
- ◇ AM BT DL KL OG SB
- ★ WI
- . LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (34)
- ○ ✚ ◆ (12)
- ◇ (6)
- ✚ ★ (1)



Bed

This word basically splits Ojibwe dialects in half, though with some raggedness in Algonquin. The form **nibaagan** occurs throughout the southeast and north of the Great Lakes as far as AO and AR, basically following the contour of Lake Superior in the west and dipping down to pick up RL (Minnesota). The rest of the data shows **nibewin**, occurring in all areas north of the range of **nibaagan** in Ontario and uniformly in all Saulteaux communities. Algonquin is quite interesting, in that it shows both variants, though **nibewin** is somewhat stronger (if one considers MA/GL as non-Algonquin). BI and TE are quite striking as **nibewin** islands in a sea of **nibaagan**'s. See also the word for 'tent,' where **nibaagan** shows up with meaning in several Algonquin communities.

Plains Cree (BLN) and Swampy Cree (Fort Severn) have **nipewin**, as does East Cree (**nipeun**).

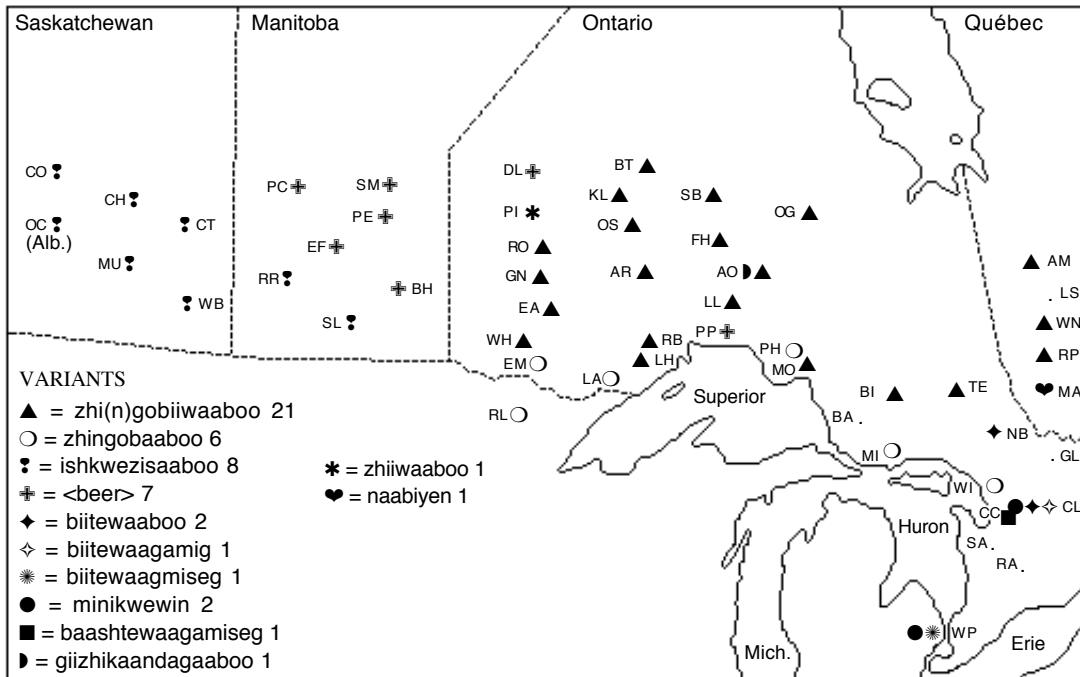
Potawatomi has **baken**. Miami has **pinay** (Hockett 1985:30)

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BH BI BT CH CO CT DL EA EF
EM FH GN KL LS MU OC OG OS PC
PE PI RO RR SB SL SM TE WB WH
WN
- AO AR BA CC CL GL LA LH LL LS
MA MI MO NB PH PP RA RB RL RP
SA WI WP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (31)
- (23)



Beer

The most common variant is **zhingobiiwaaboo**, 'spruce liquid,' extending throughout northern Ontario and Québec, as far south as TE and BI. In the Lake Superior region, extending as far east as WI and west to RL, the form is related, **zhingobaaboo**.

Saulteaux shows an interesting east/west split. In southwestern Manitoba extending all the way west, the form is **ishkwesisaaboo**, 'barley liquid,' perhaps from Cree (Faries 1938 cites **iskwasisapoo**). Elsewhere in Manitoba, east to DL, the form is consistently **beer**, from English, with no phonological adjustment to Ojibwe.

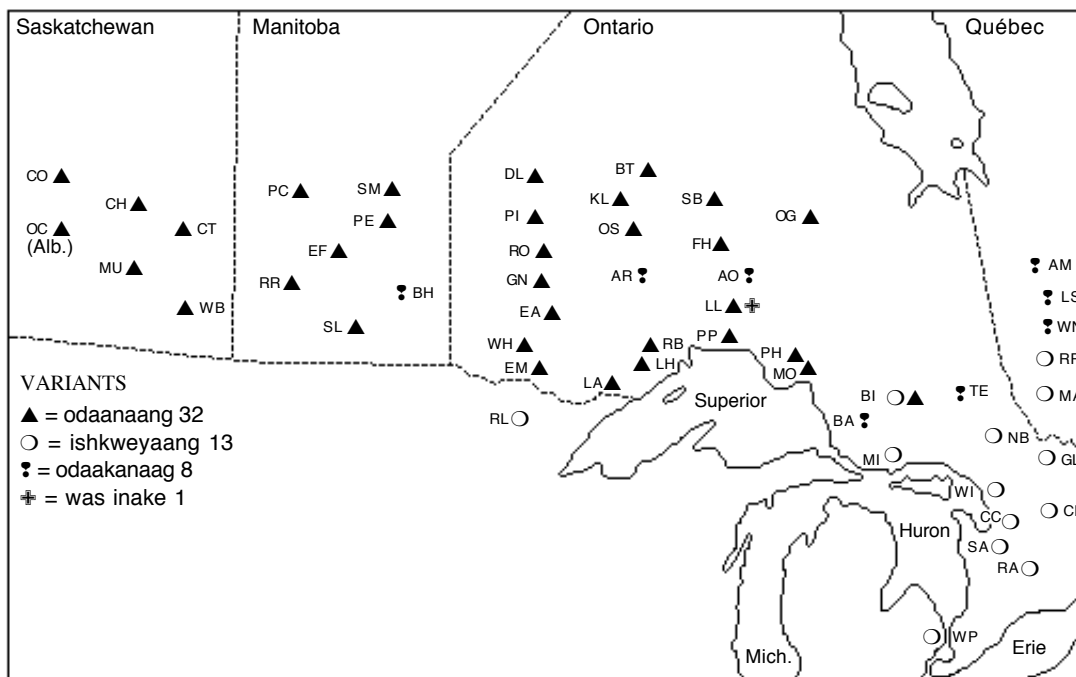
The Cree forms I have for 'beer' are quite variable, **kaa-piishteupaishich** for East Cree, and **cistaahkon=aapooy**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BI BT EA FH GN KL LH
LL MO OG OS RB RO RP SB TE WH
WN
- EM LA MI PH RL WI
- ☼ CH CO CT MU OC RR SL WB
- † BH DL EF PC PE PP SM
- ◆ CL NB
- ◇ CL
- * WP
- CL WP
- CC
- AO
- * PI
- ♥ MA
- . BA GL LS MA RA SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (27)
- ☼ (8)
- ☼† (7)
- †◆◇* (4)
- ◆● (2)
- ◇■ (1)
- *▸ (1)
- * (1)
- ♥ (1)



Behind

This form has three principal variants: 1, **odaanaang**, by far the most common; 2, **ishkweyaang** is found in the east, including the southern portions of Algonquin (BI and RP), Nipissing (GL and MA), Eastern Ojibwe (CL and RA), Ottawa (CC SA WI WP), and Minnesota (RL); 3, **odaakanaag** is concentrated in the Algonquin area, though it shows up elsewhere as well (at AO, AR, BA and BH).

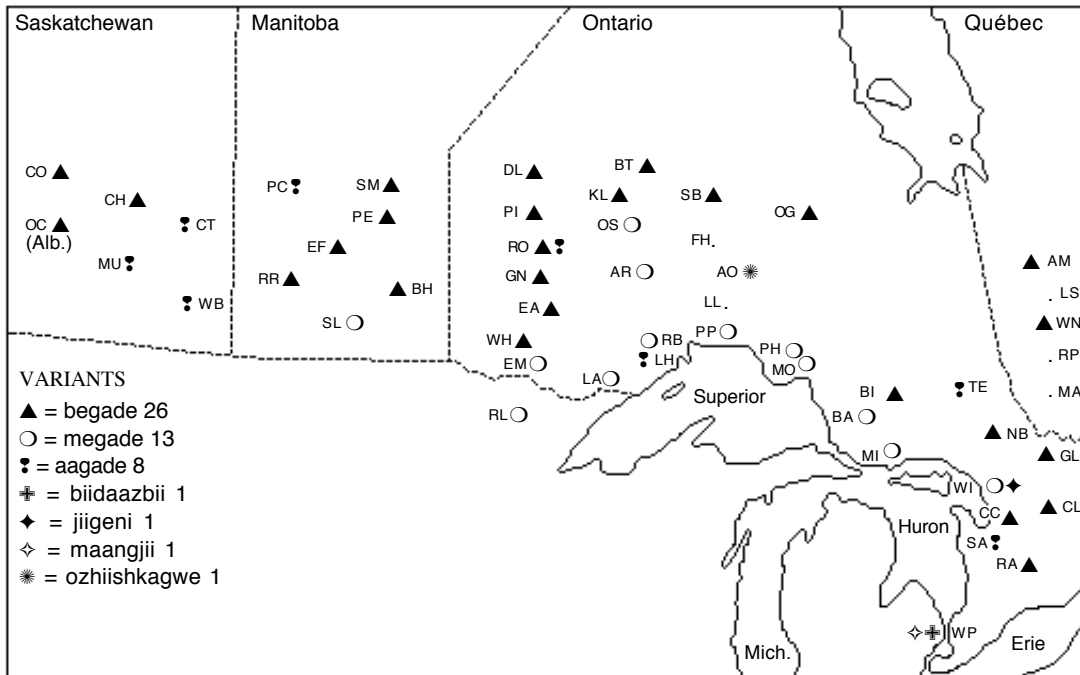
Plains Cree (BLN) has **otaanaahk**; East Cree **utaahch**; Atikamekw (Béland 1978:531), **otaanaanihk**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BI BT CH CO CT DL EA EF EM FH
 GN KL LA LH LL MO MU OC OG OS
 PC PE PH PI PP RB RO RR SB SL
 SM WB WH
 ○ BI CC CL GL MA MI NB RA RL RP
 SA WI WP
 ● AM AO AR BA BH LS TE WN
 † LL

Consolidations

▲▲ (33)
 ○○ (13)
 ●● (8)
 †† (1)



Belches (VAI)

This word shows interesting distribution. North of Lake Huron and Superior, and extending west in the border lakes region to SL, one finds **megade**. Several communities (a grouping at CT, PC, MU and WB, but scattered elsewhere) have **aagade**, which in many dialects means, 'he vomits.' Elsewhere the common form is **begade**.

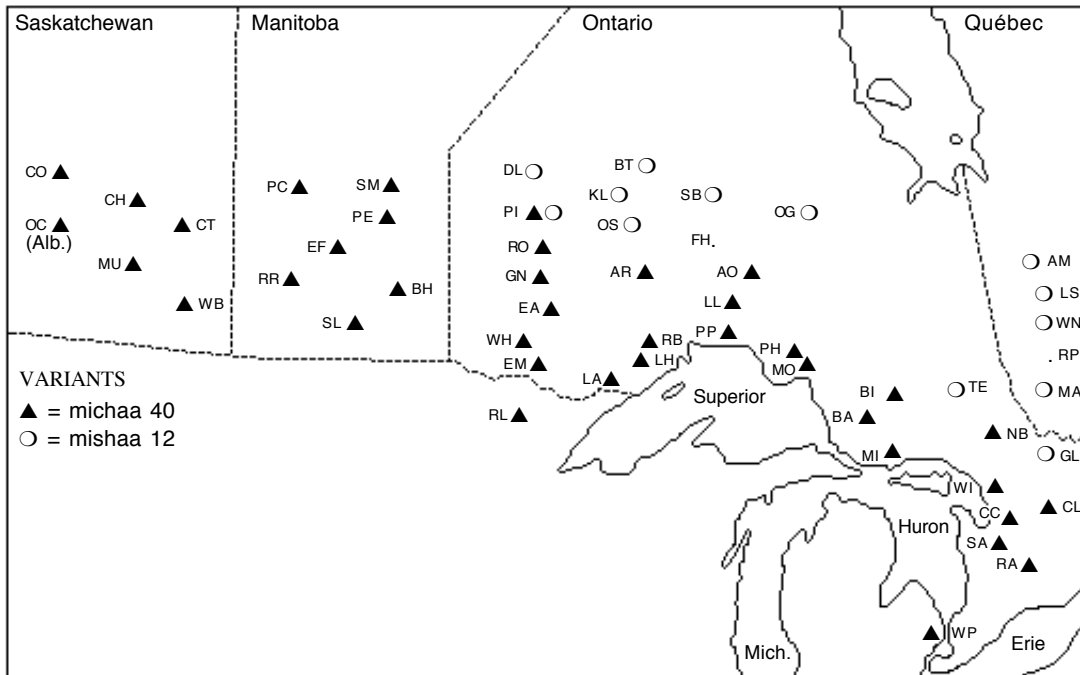
Swampy Cree has **pekatew** (and East Cree identical **pekateu**).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BH BI BT CC CH CL CO DL EA
EF GL GN KL NB OC OG PE PI RA
RO RR SB SM WH WN
- AR BA EM LA MI MO OS PH PP RB
RL SL WI
- CT LH MU PC RO SA TE WB
- † WP
- ◆ WI
- ◇ WP
- * AO
- . FH LL LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (47)
- † (1)
- ◆ (1)
- †◇ (1)
- ◆* (1)



Be big (VII)

There are two variants, showing only a minor phonological difference, **michaa** and **mishaa**. The latter is found in Severn (extending south to OS and PI), Algonquin (though not BI), and Nipissing GL and MA, with **michaa** elsewhere. Fort Severn (Swampy Cree) has **mishaaw**, as does East Cree (**mishaau**); Plains Cree (BLN) has **misaaw**. Potawatomi has **mshak**. Rhodes 1989:9 has Miami **mehs&aawi**, Fox **kechi-/mes&aawi**, Shawnee **ms&i-/ms&aawi**, Menomini **mE?siw**.

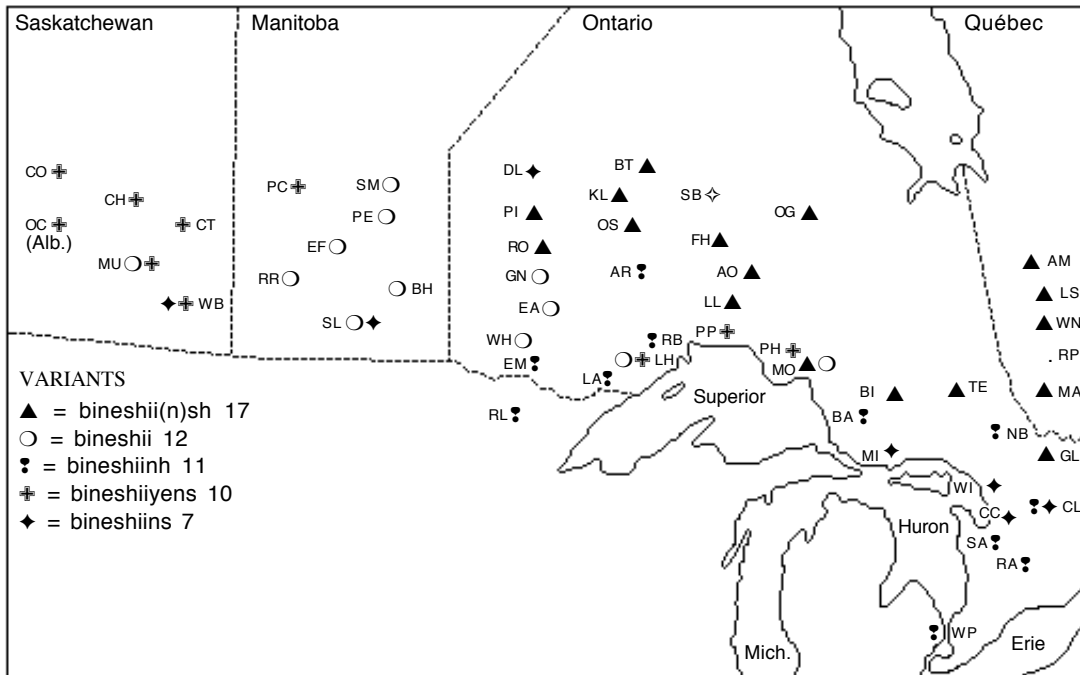
(MA data from McGregor 1987:205, where **mishaa** is described as an adjective having the meaning 'large, big'.)

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
EA EF EM GN LA LH LL MA MI MO
MU NB OC PC PE PH PI PP RA RB
RL RO RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM BT DL GL KL LS OG OS PI SB
TE WN
. RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ (52)



(Song)bird

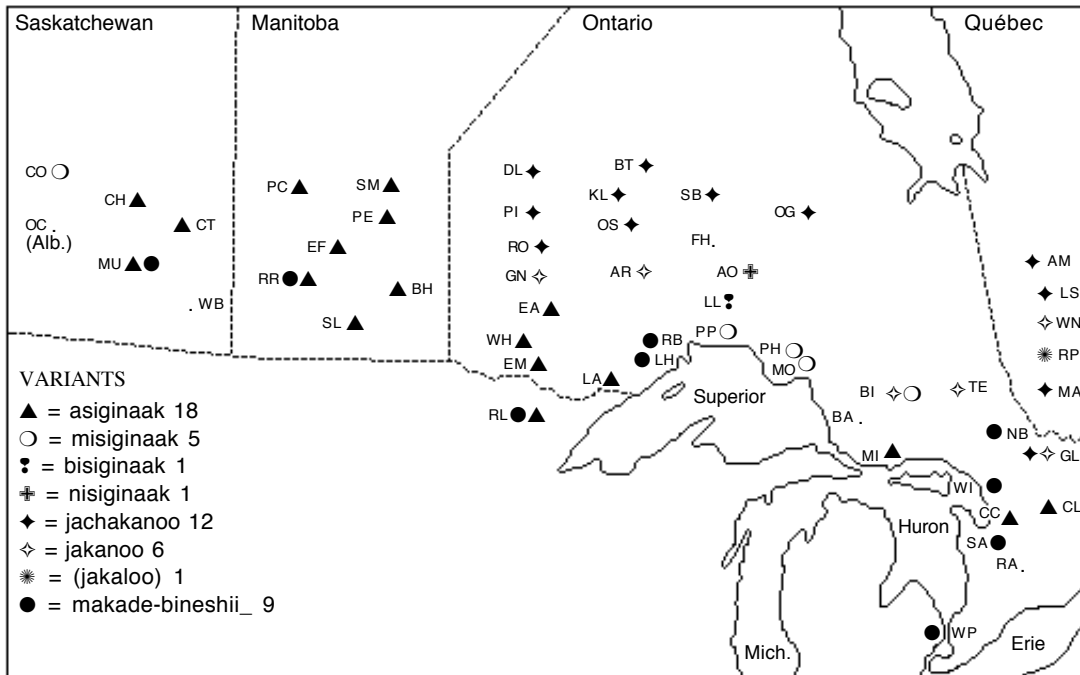
The variants demonstrate a north/south split, involving the form of a lexicalized diminutive suffix. North of a line in western Ontario (except DL) running between RO and GN, OS and AR and LL and PP, then dipping down in eastern Ontario to pick up MO, BI, TE and down below GL, there is a form with a final suffix **-i(n)sh/ -i(n)zh**. Several communities have a final **-ns**, MI, WI, CC, and CL. This suffix also appears at DL, WB, SL. This is the productive diminutive, along with the **-ens** found from western Manitoba to the west, and north of Lake Superior. A number of communities in the southern zone have a final **-(e)nh**, which is being lost in some areas, especially in Manitoba and a few communities in SW Ontario. Fort Severn Cree has **pineshiish**, similar to the northern form. Potawatomi has **bineshi**. Miami (D) has **wasanza**, -ki (pl.) (Hockett 1985:30). Rhodes 1989:4 has (a)wehseensa for Miami, wiis&kenoooha for Fox, wis&kilohza for Shawnee, and we:skono:hsEh for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO BI BT FH GL KL LL LS MA
MO OG OS PI RO TE WN
- BH EA EF GN LH MO MU PE RR SL
SM WH
- AR BA CL EM LA NB RA RB RL SA
WP
- ✦ CH CO CT LH MU OC PC PH PP WB
- ◆ CC CL DL MI SL WB WI
- ◇ SB
- MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○?✦◆ (58)



Blackbird

There are three principal variants. In the north, one frequently finds **jajakanoo**, though a variant lacking reduplication is also common, especially along the southern limits of the range. RP and Constance Lake have variants with l, (**ja**)**jakaloo**.

Another major variant, found south of **jajakanoo**, is **asiginaak**. This form is found extensively throughout the border lakes region and extending to nearly all of Saulteaux, but it also shows up in the southeast, at MI, CC and CL. A sub-variant with an initial consonant seems focussed along the northeast shore of Lake Superior, extending north to AO. The most common form has an initial **m-**, while **b-** and **n-** initial variants also occur, though in each case as isolated variants.

The third form frequently found is **makade-bineshii-**, or literally, 'black-bird.' It was not possible to tell in my short survey period in the communities whether these forms were actually in use as native vocabulary, as calques, or were simply spontaneous translations of the English. They appear most frequently where the language is weakest, adding doubt to their validity, though this could be merely coincidental. Rhodes 1985 lists **signaak** as a general term for blackbirds in Ottawa and Eastern Ojibwe, and has **waab-signaak** for 'bobolink.'

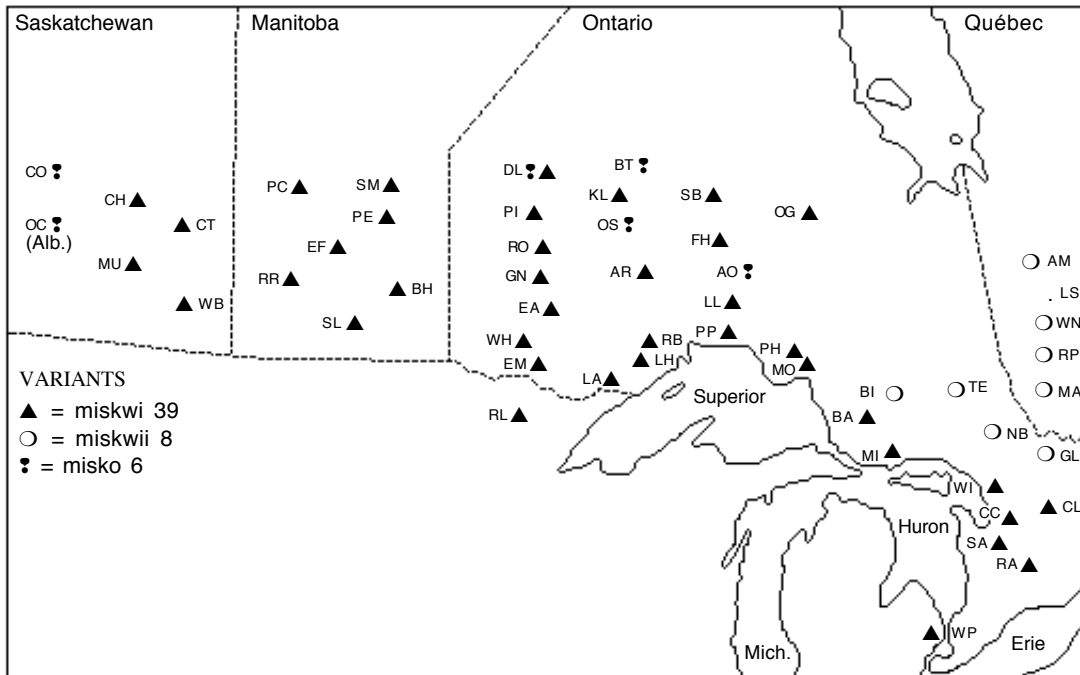
East Cree has **mistisu-piyeshiish**; Swampy (Fort Severn) **mahkatew-pineshiish**; Plains Cree (BLN) **cahcahkaanoow** an **cahcahkaayoow**. Peoria has **sikina?axkwU** and Miami (D) **täkinakwa**. (Hockett 1985:30)

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CC CH CL CT EA EF EM LA MI
MU PC PE RL RR SL SM WH
- BI CO MO PH PP
- ⦿ LL
- ⊕ AO
- ◆ AM BT DL GL KL LS MA OG OS PI
RO SB
- ◇ AR BI GL GN TE WN
- ⊛ RP
- LH MU NB RB RL RR SA WI WP
. BA FH OC RA WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿⊕ (25)
- ◆◇⊛ (19)
- ⦿● (9)



Blood

This word, being bisyllabic and consisting of two short vowels, retains the old marker of inanimacy on nouns, a final suffix **-i**. This suffix is seen in words with similar prosodic structure, e.g., **mishi**, 'one stick of firewood.' In Algonquin and surrounding areas, the final **-i** has lengthened to **ii**; in a few scattered communities, the word final combination **/wi/** has coalesced to **o**.

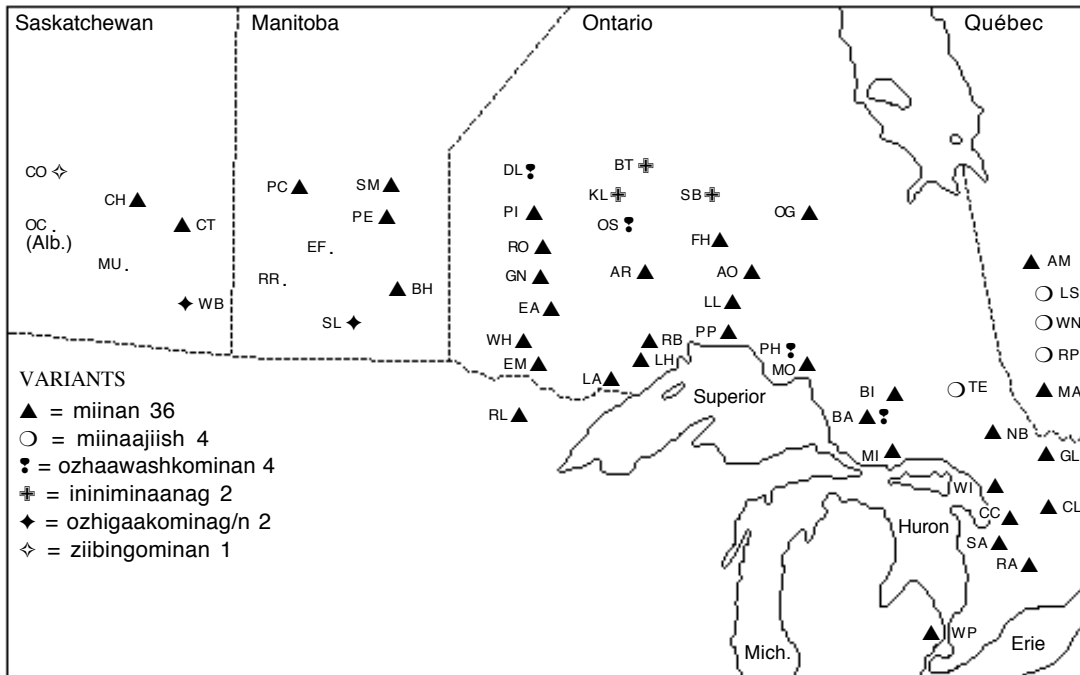
Plains Cree has **mihko**, as does Swampy Cree; East Cree has **mihkw**. Potawatomi has **mskwe**. Rhodes 1989:10 has Miami **nihpikani**, Fox **mes&kw**i, Shawnee **ms&kw**i and Menomini **mEhki:h**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AR BA BH CC CH CL CT DL EA EF
 EM FH GN KL LA LH LL MI MO MU
 OG PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO
 RR SA SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
 ○ AM BI GL MA NB RP TE WN
 ⇄ AO BT CO DL OC OS
 . LS

Consolidations

▲▲○⇄ (53)



Blueberries

The most common form is **miinan**, though there are variants in Algonquin and Severn. Several Algonquin (LS, WN, RP, TE) communities have **miinaajiish** (for which, unfortunately, I lack a plural, so have listed the singular), while BT, KL and SB in Severn have **ininiminaan** (and Gilstrap 1978 gives a variant of this for AM, **ininimin**, though I elicited **miinan**). Just south of this grouping, two communities have **ozhaawashkomin**, literally, 'blue berry.' SL and WB have **ozhigaakomin**, which may be another berry.

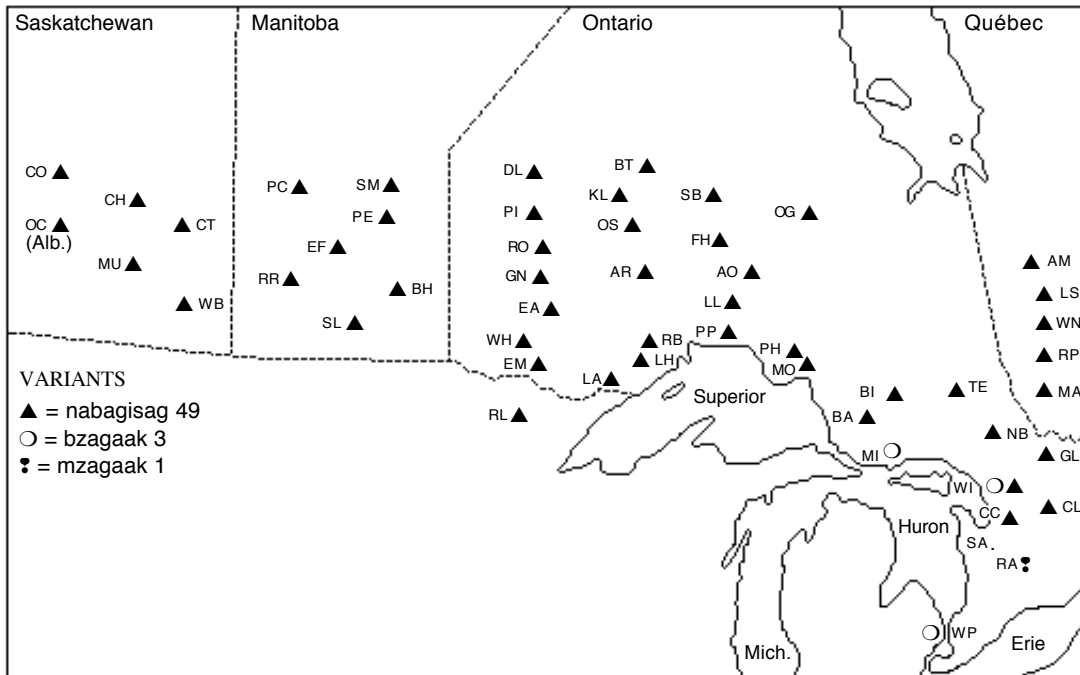
Plains Cree has **siipiihkomin** (sg.); Swampy Cree, **oshaawashkomin** (sg.); East Cree, **iiniminaahtikw**, **iiniminaan** and **iyimin** (all sg.). Atikamekw (Béland 1978:483) has **miinihsh** (sg.). Potawatomi has **min** for blueberry (sg.).

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CT
 EA EM FH GL GN KL LA LH LL MA
 MI MO NB PC PE PI PP RA RB RL
 RO SA SM WH WI WP
 ○ LS RP TE WN
 ⦿ BA DL OS PH
 † BT SB
 ◆ SL WB
 ◇ CO
 . EF MU OC OG RR

Consolidations

▲▲○ (40)
 ○⦿ (4)
 ⦿† (2)
 †◆ (2)
 ◆◇ (1)



Board/Plank

I found **nabagisag** everywhere except for three Odawa communities, MI, WI, and WP, where it was **bzagaak** (it is also listed in Rhodes 1985 as an expressly Odawa form), and RA, which has the variant **mzagaak**. There may be significant variation in the gender of this word, but I did not realize this until too late into my study, and have only partial representation of the plurals. All Saulteaux from the Ontario border west has the word inanimate, along with DL and BT of Severn, and PI. Everywhere else (19 samples representing all major dialects) the word is animate in my corpus.

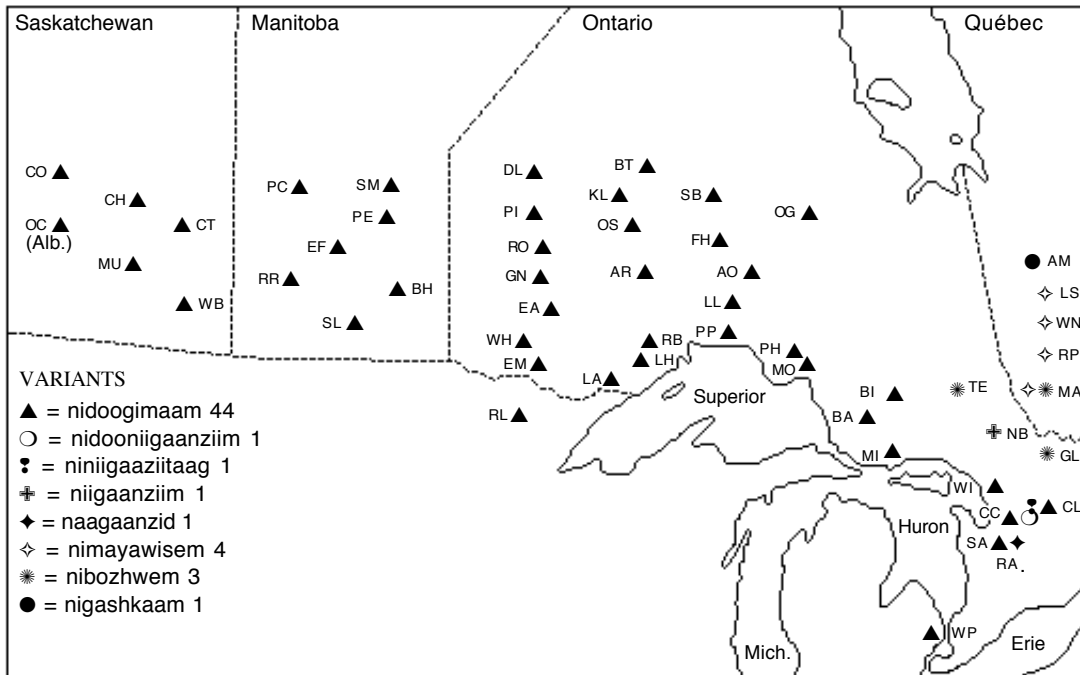
East Cree has **napachihtakw**; Swampy and Plains (BLN), **napakihtak**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL
 CO CT DL EA EF EM FH GL GN KL
 LA LH LL LS MA MO MU NB OC OG
 OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RP
 RR SB SL SM TE WB WH WI WN
- MI WI WP
- ◐ RA
- SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (49)
- ○ ◐ (4)



My boss

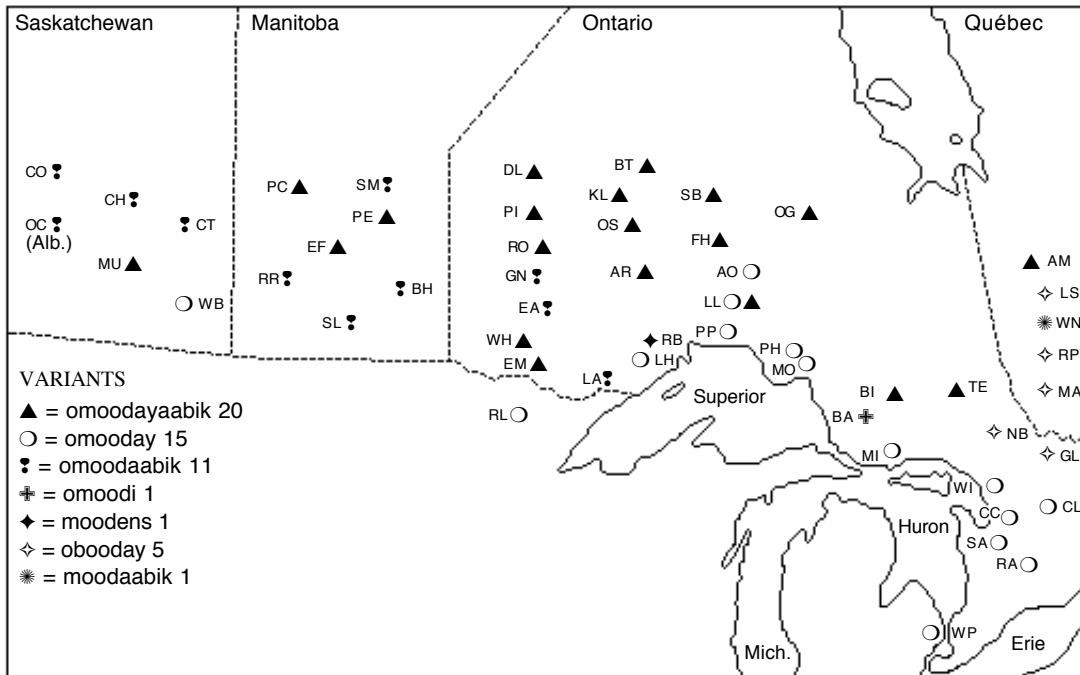
The most common form is **nidoogimaam**. There are localized variants in the east, focussed around Algonquin. **Nibozhwem**, at GL and TE (also cited in McGregor, n.d.:66 for Maniwaki, Quebec (MA)) is a borrowing from French **bourgeois**. WN, along with LS, RP, and MA has **nimayawisem**. Several communities in the Eastern Ojibwe range have forms with stem **niigaanzi-**. Fort Severn Cree has **nitookimaam**; East Cree, **uchimaaw**, ‘a boss.’

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL CO
CT DL EA EF EM FH GN KL LA LH
LL MI MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PH
PI PP RB RL RO RR SA SB SL SM
WB WH WI WP
- CC
- ⦿ CL
- ⊕ NB
- ◆ SA
- ◇ LS MA RP WN
- ⊗ GL MA TE
- AM
- . RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (44)
- ○ ⊕ ⊕ ◆ (4)
- ⦿ ◇ (3)
- ⊕ ⊗ (3)
- ◆ ● (1)



Bottle

This word has several interesting regional variants. It is perhaps ultimately a borrowing of French **bouteille** (Hockett 1948). The most common form is **omoodayaabik**, found throughout northernwestern Ontario and in the east at BI, TE and AM (Algonquin), and sporadically throughout Saulteaux. Along the Great Lakes, the common form is **omooday**, in all southeastern communities, and north of Superior to AO, and in the west to LH and RL (Minnesota). Algonquin has an interesting variant (denasalized?), **obooday**, which extends into NB and GL. In the west, fanning out west from LA north to GN and then taking in many Saulteaux communities, is the form **omoodaabik**, the stem of which lacks the **-ay** ending found on the other attested forms. I also have this form for WN.

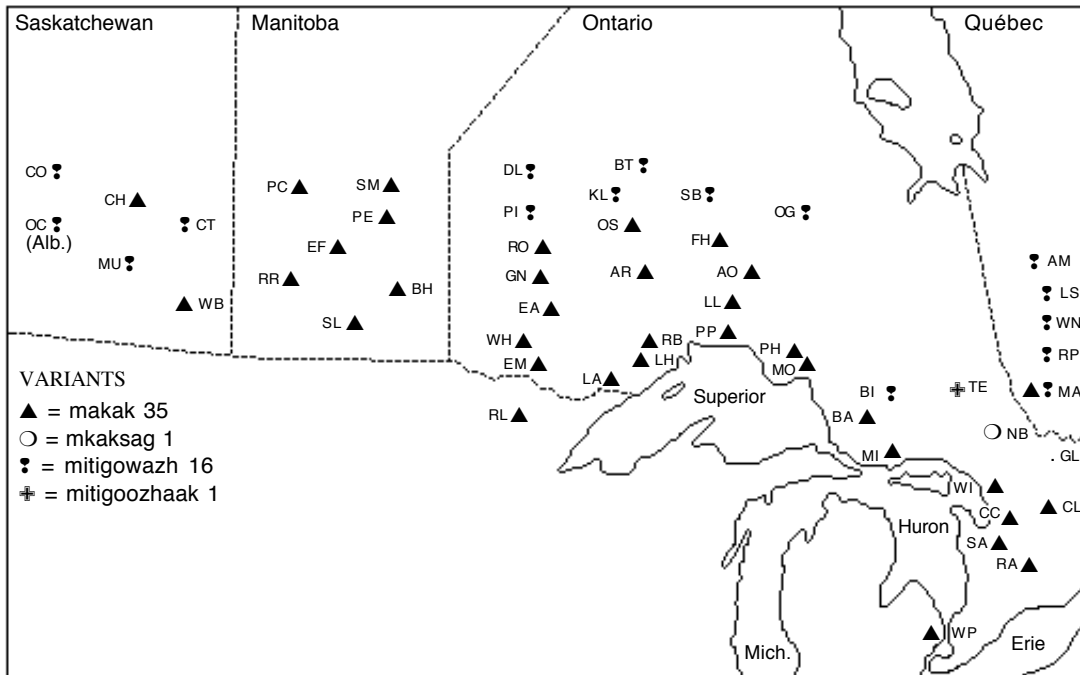
East Cree has **puutai**; for Fort Severn I have **piiwaapiskonaakan**, probably making quite specific reference to a glass bottle. Plains Cree (BLN, but with ?) has **mootewaapisk**. Potawatomi has **mod'y**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BI BT DL EF EM FH KL LL
MU OG OS PC PE PI RO SB TE WH
- AO CC CL LH LL MI MO PH PP RA
RL SA WB WI WP
- ⦿ BH CH CO CT EA GN LA OC RR SL
SM
- ✦ BA
- ◆ RB
- ◇ GL LS MA NB RP
- ✱ WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿✦◆◇ (54)



Box (noun)

This form shows a north/south split. The northern form, found in Severn (and PI) and Algonquin (including BI and MA) is **mitigowazh**. TE and WN have related **mitigowazhaak**, with a noun final indicating wooden objects. This form also turns up extensively in Saskatchewan Saulteaux. The southern form is **makak**.

McGregor 1987:209 gives **mitikowazh** for MA with the gloss 'wooden trunk; esp. a coffin,' and **makak** (p.169), with the gloss 'box; crate.'

Fort Severn (Cree) has **mistikowat**; East Cree, **mishtikuut**; Plains Cree (BLN) has both **mahkahk**, 'box, barrel, tub,' and **mistikoowas**, 'box, trunk.'

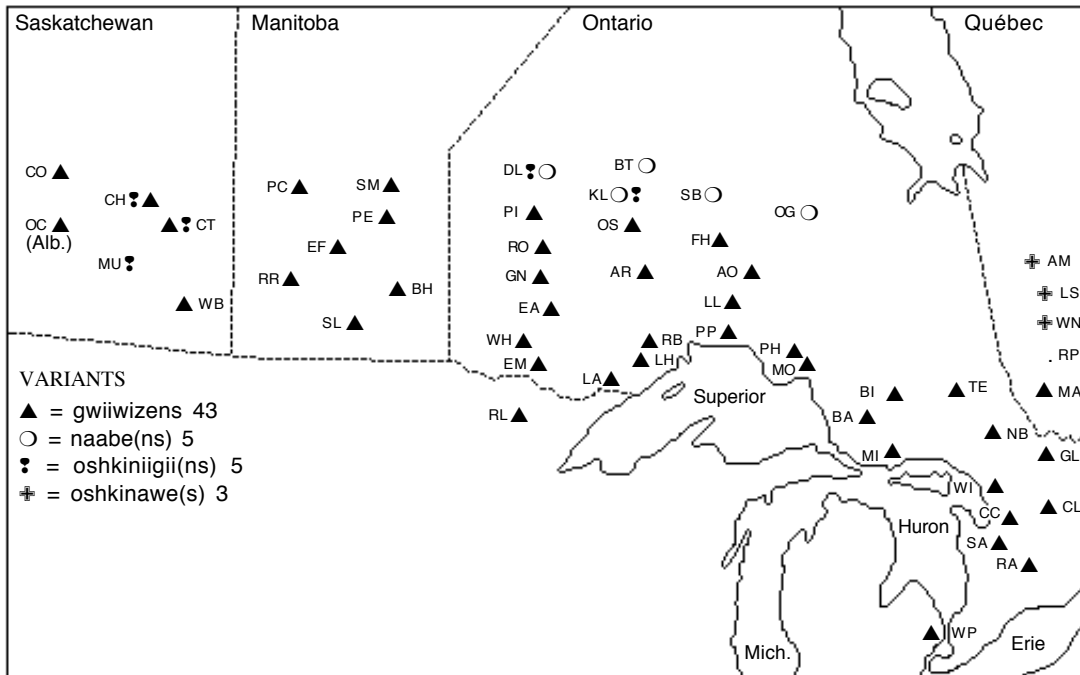
Potawatomi has **mk k**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL EA EF EM
FH GN LA LH LL MA MI MO OS PC
PE PH PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SL
SM WB WH WI WP
- NB
- AM BI BT CO CT DL KL LS MA MU
OC OG PI RP SB WN
- ✚ TE
- . GL

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (35)
- (16)
- ✚ (1)



Boy

Gwiwizens is by far the most common form, though with considerable phonological variation, which has not been charted on the map, but can be seen from the closer transcriptions (in the Raw Lexical Data HyperCard stack). Severn and Algonquin appear to have distinct forms, Severn, **naabens** (recall that this dialect has **naabe** for ‘man’), with a diminutive suffix, and Algonquin, **oshkinawes**. Note that while Gilstrap records this form for WN, I have **gwiizes**. Three communities in eastern Saskatchewan have **oshkiniigi**, a form which in some dialects (e.g., Severn) means ‘adolescent male.’ Constance Lake and Fort Severn have **naapeshish**, which is a Cree analogue to **naabens**, showing the productive Cree diminutive suffix, **-ishish**.

There is some vagueness with this word, as the English term ‘boy’ in English can apply to both pre-adolescent and adolescent males.

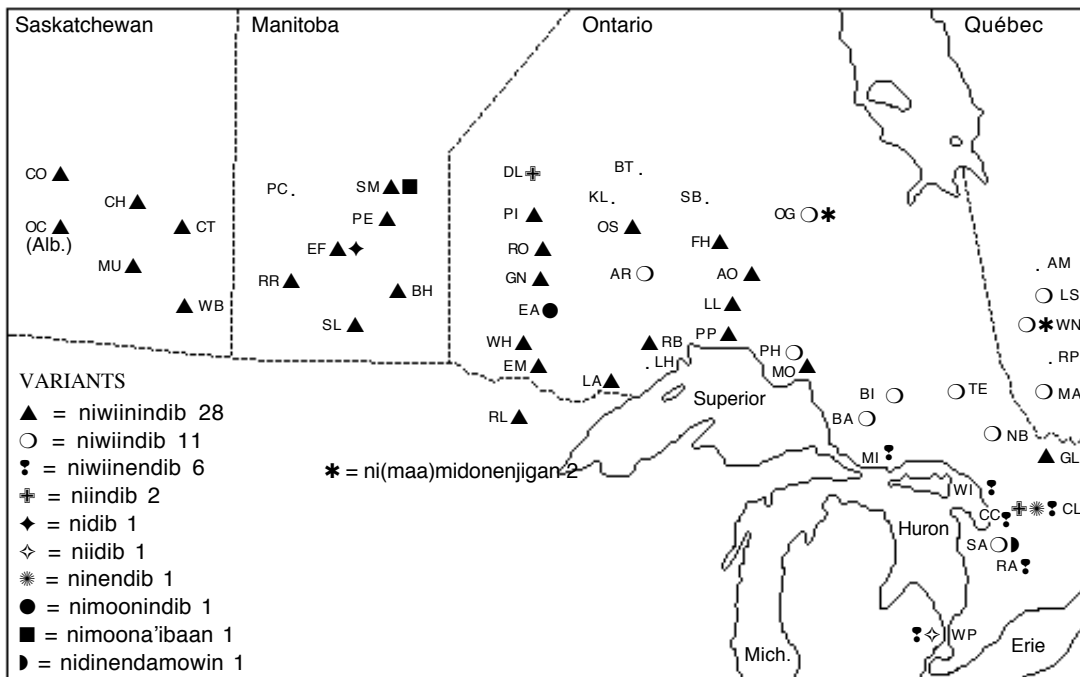
Plains (BLN) has **naapew**, with a very general meaning, ‘man, husband, boy,’ (i.e., ‘human male’ ?); East Cree has **naapesh**. Potawatomi has **gigabe**, **gigabes**, **shk’ niges**. Peoria has **kwiwisa?ata** and Miami **kwiwsa** (Hockett 1985:31).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
EA EF EM FH GL GN LA LH LL MA
MI MO NB OC OS PC PE PH PI PP
RA RB RL RO RR SA SL SM TE WB
WH WI WP
- BT DL KL OG SB
- CH CT DL KL MU
- ✚ AM LS WN
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (43)
- (5)
- (5)
- ✚✚ (3)



My brain

There is a surprising amount of phonological variation in this word. In southeastern Ontario, the common form is **niwiinendib**. An interesting grouping of communities in eastern Ontario together with all Algonquin have **niwiindib** (OG, AR, PH, BA, NB, BI, MA (but not GL)). Elsewhere the most common form is **niwiinindib**.

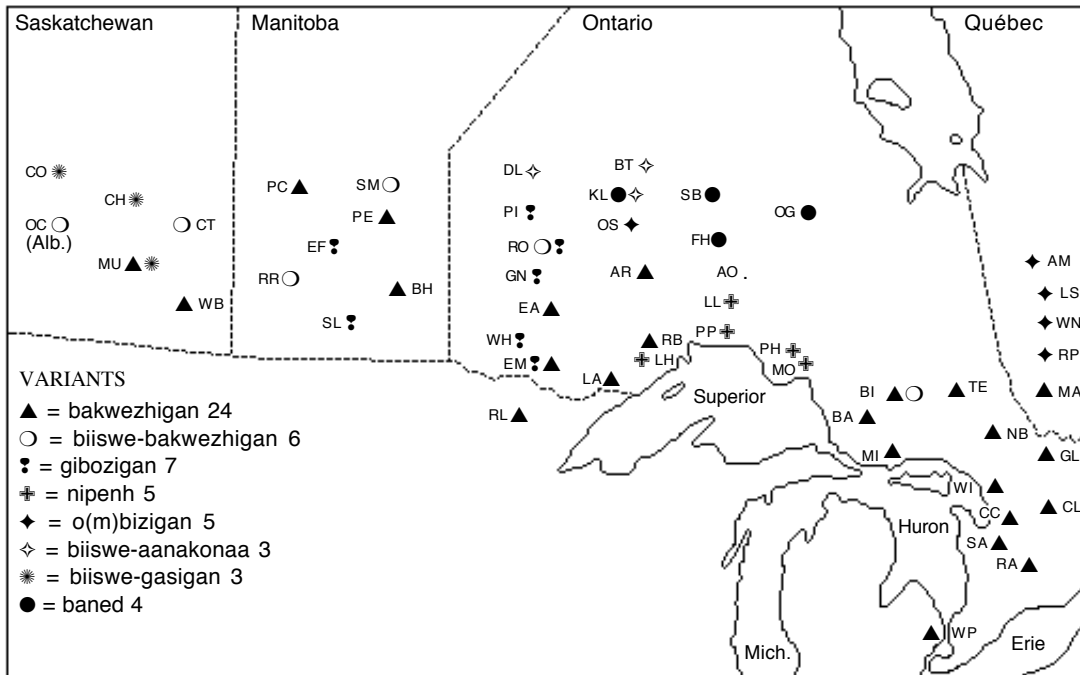
Swampy and East Cree have **nitihp**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BH CH CO CT EF EM GL GN LA LL MO MU OC OS PE PI PP RB RL RO RO RR SL SM WB WH
- AR BA BI LS MA NB OG PH SA TE WN
- ⊕ CC CL MI RA WI WP
- ⊕ CL DL
- ◆ EF
- ◇ WP
- ⊛ CL
- EA
- SM
- ▷ SA
- * OG WN
- . AM BT KL LH PC PP RP SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⊕⊕◆◇⊛ (50)
- (2)
- ▷▷ (1)
- ⊕* (2)



Bread

The most common form for this word is **bakwezhigan**, occurring from BI and TE south in the east, the borders lakes, and scattered through other regions. Algonquin shows **obizigan** (including WN), as does OS (**ombizigan**). This term literally means ‘stuff which rises by application of heat.’ North of Lake Superior, five communities have an apparent French borrowing, **nipenh** (from French **le pain**). Several eastern Severn communities have borrowed the English word, having **baned**, and in the northern Severn communities, **biiswe-aanakonaa** is found, perhaps a borrowing from Cree, which has (at Fort Severn) **piiswe-aanahkonaaw** (East Cree has cognate **piisaaihkunaau**). The prenoun **biiswe-** means ‘soft,’ and **aanakonaa** is the word for bannock. Along the Ontario-Manitoba border, the form **giboizigan** occurs, and in the extreme west, **biiswe-gasigan**.

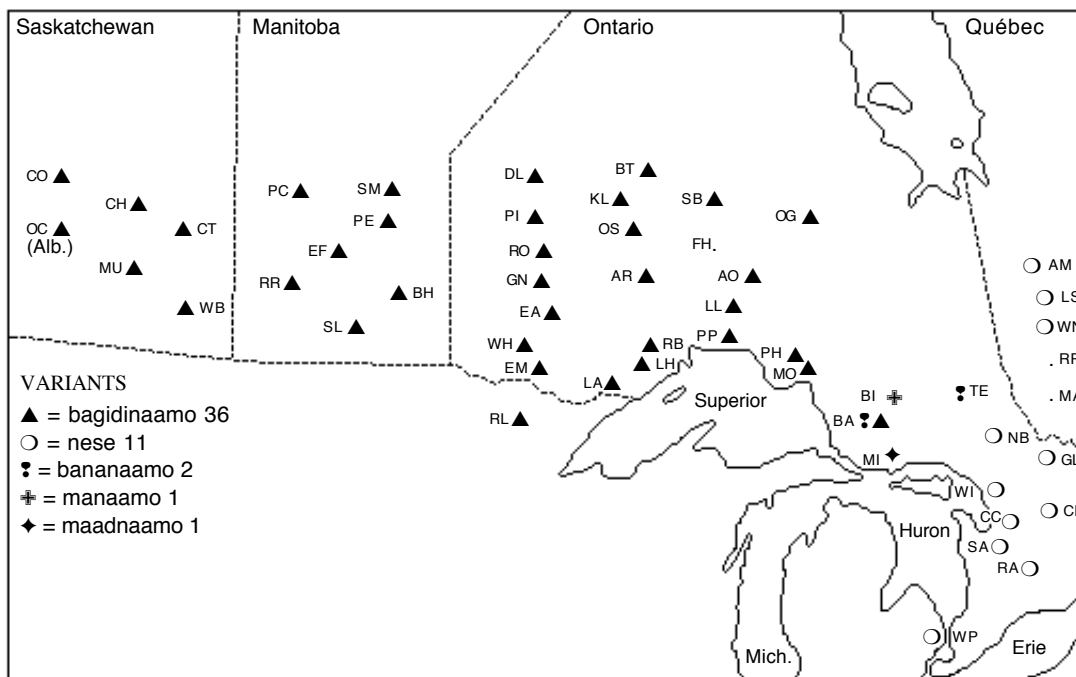
Plains Cree (BLN) has **aayahkonaaw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AR BA BH BI CC CL EA EM GL LA
 MA MI MU NB PC PE RA RB RL SA
 TE WB WI WP
 ○ BI CT OC RO RR SM
 ● EF EM GN PI RO SL WH
 ✚ LH LL MO PH PP
 ◆ AM LS OS RP WN
 ◇ BT DL KL
 * CH CO MU
 ● FH KL OG SB
 . AO

Consolidations

▲▲○ (30)
 ○● (7)
 ●✚ (5)
 ✚◆ (5)
 ◆◇ (3)
 ◇* (3)
 *● (4)



Breathes (VAI)

This is an interesting form in that it shows a grouping of core Algonquin with Odawa-Eastern Ojibwe. These communities have the form **nese**. A group of communities north of Lake Huron have similar forms, **bananaamo**, **manaamo** or **maadnaamo** (BA, TE, BI, MI). Elsewhere, the form is **bagidinaamo**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **nenew**, while Atikamekw has **rere-** (Béland 1978:556).

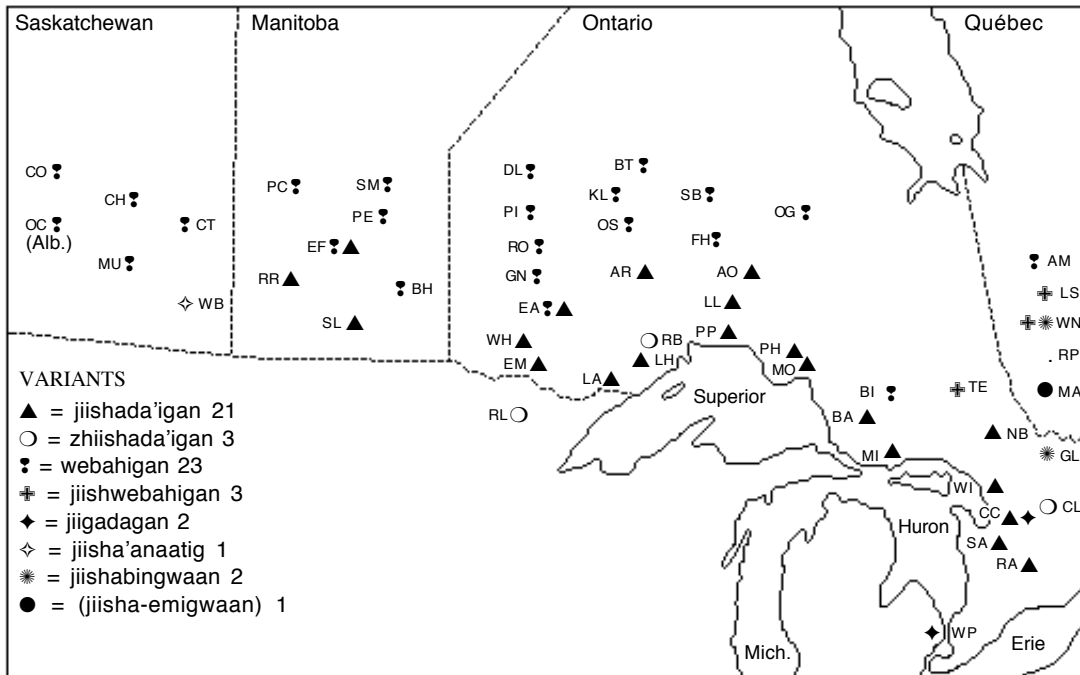
East Cree and Plains have **yehyew**; Swampy Cree, **nenew**. Rhodes 1989:11 has Miami **nehsiaani**, Fox **neemowa**, Shawnee **lehze**, and Menomini **nE:hnEw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BT CH CO CT DL EA
EF EM GN KL LA LH LL MO MU OC
OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO
RR SB SL SM WB WH
- AM CC CL GL LS NB RA SA WI WN
WP
- BA TE
- † BI
- ◆ MI
- . FH MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (36)
- (11)
- † (3)
- †◆ (1)



Broom

There is an interesting north/south split for this word, which extends all the way across the entire range of Ojibwe, dividing even the Saulteaux and Algonquin dialects on a north/south axis. In the north, the form is universally **webahigan**, including AM in the Algonquin dialect. In the south, the form is **jiishada'igan**, or **zhiishada'igan**. A blend occurs in the Algonquin dialect at the point where these two isoglosses meet, **jiishi-webahigan**, attested at LS, TE and WN (in my data, but not Gilstrap's).

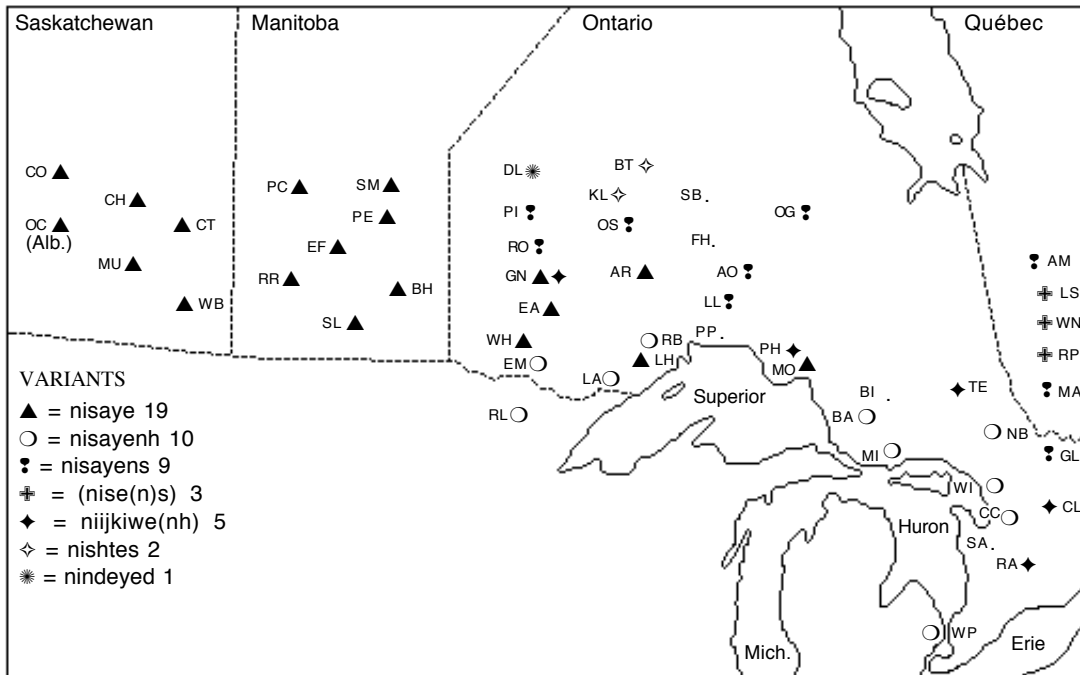
Fort Severn (Cree) has **wepahikanaahtik**. East Cree has **chisihiikin** and **wepahiikan**; Plains Cree, **wepahtakahikan**. Potawatomi has **jikt'gen**, **jisdag'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA CC EA EF EM LA LH LL
MI MO NB PH PP RA RR SA SL WH
WI
- CL RB RL
- AM BH BI BT CH CO CT DL EA EF
FH GN KL MU OC OG OS PC PE PI
RO SB SM
- † LS TE WN
- ◆ CC WP
- ◇ WB
- * GL WN
- MA
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (24)
- (23)
- † (3)
- †◆ (2)
- ◆◇ (1)
- ◇* (2)
- *● (1)



Brother: my older brother

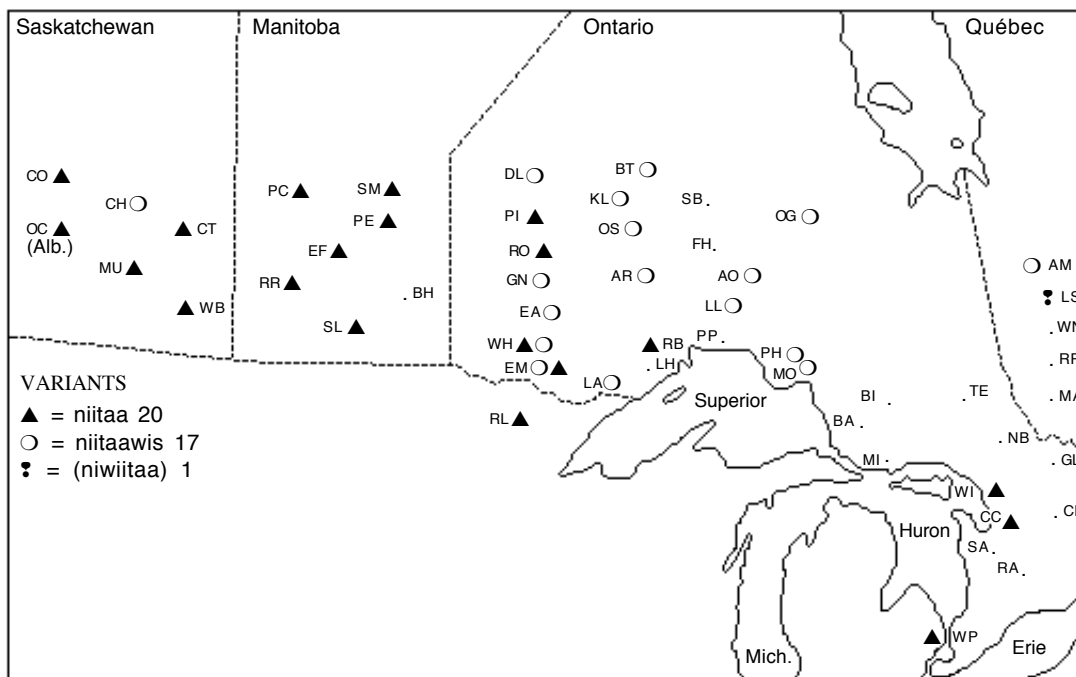
This form is listed in Nichols (1975) as a means of distinguishing Lac Seul from Severn. BT and KL have **nis(h)tes**, while DL has **nindeyed**. Elsewhere, the word is generally **nisaye-**, with variable diminutive endings, as is seen with other words, e.g., 'mouse,' and 'bird.' Here, one finds the **-ens** diminutive in a northern band, extending out from Algonquin (including GL) across to OG, AO and LL, and west to PI and RO. Forms with **-enh** are southern, especially in the southeast, but also around the border lakes region. Saulteaux has evidently lost nasalization on the final vowel. Many communities have **niijkiwe(nh)**, which may reflect a change in the kinship system to a more European structure. Fort Severn (Cree) has **nistes**. Potawatomi has **ns'ze**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CH CO CT EA EF GN LH MO
MU OC PC PE RR SL SM WB WH
- BA CC EM LA MI NB RB RL WI WP
- AM AO GL LL MA OG OS PI RO
- † LS RP WN
- ◆ CL GN PH RA TE
- ◇ BT KL
- * DL
- . BI FH PP SA SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○○†† (41)
- ◆ (5)
- ◇ (2)
- †* (1)



Brother-in-law, my (male speaking)

This word divides the data along a north/south axis. In the north, the form **niitaawis** is found, while in the south, **niitaa**, lacking the kin (?) suffix of the northern form, or perhaps representing a truncated vocative that has become the term of reference. Most of northern Ontario has **niitaawis**. It is hard to judge the southeastern region, because there are so few responses. The prairies all have **niitaa**.

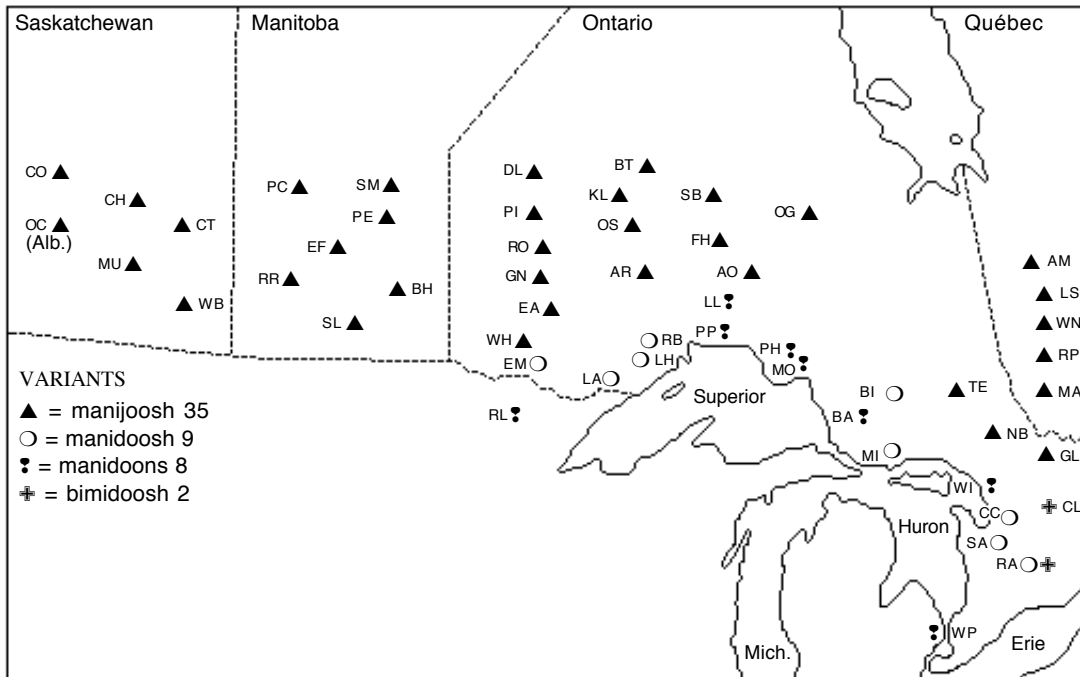
Plains Cree (BLN) has **niici-nahaahkis**, which looks like something that in Ojibwe would mean, 'my fellow son-in-law,' which may be its meaning in Cree as well. Swampy Cree has **niistaaw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ CC CO CT EF EM MU OC PC PE PI
RB RL RO RR SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BT CH DL EA EM GN KL
LA LL MO OG OS PH WH
- LS
- . BA BH BI CL FH GL LH MA MI NB
PP RA RP SA SB TE WN

Consolidations

▲▲○● (38)



Bug/Insect

Here I find the principal variation in a set of sub-variants showing cross-cutting minor features. The most common form in my data is **manijoosh**, the affricate of which is evidently due to a meaningful (diminutive/pejorative) process of palatalization, as evidenced by a competing form, **manidoosh**, which lacks this palatalization. Variants lacking palatalization occur exclusively in, but throughout, the southern reaches of my database, basically all along the Great Lakes, as far west as EM and RB, and as far north as LL, and including BI. Note that NB and GL pattern with the north, in showing palatalization.

Another parameter of variation sub-categorizing the southern grouping involves the form of the diminutive suffix, whether **-ish** or **-ens**. Variants do not show tight regionalization, though there are pockets of each form: northwest of Lake Superior, **-ish**; northeast of Lake Superior, **-ns**; west of Bruce Peninsula, **-ish**. BA and RL share **-ns**.

A variant **bimidoosh**, links CL and RA. The Fort Severn Cree form is **manicoosh**, with the same form for East Cree; Plains Cree (BLN), **manicoos**. Potawatomi has **mn'dose**. Peoria has **moxsEaki**, and Miami (D) **mosia**. Rhodes 1989:6 lists **manE:to:w** for Menomini 'animal' (see 'animal' in this study).

Several languages use a cognate with the meaning 'worm,' though the Ojibwes don't make many distinctions when it comes to insects, worms and the like, holding them all in *extreme* contempt. Thus Rhodes 1989:6 lists for 'worm' Plains Cree, **manicôs**; Fox,

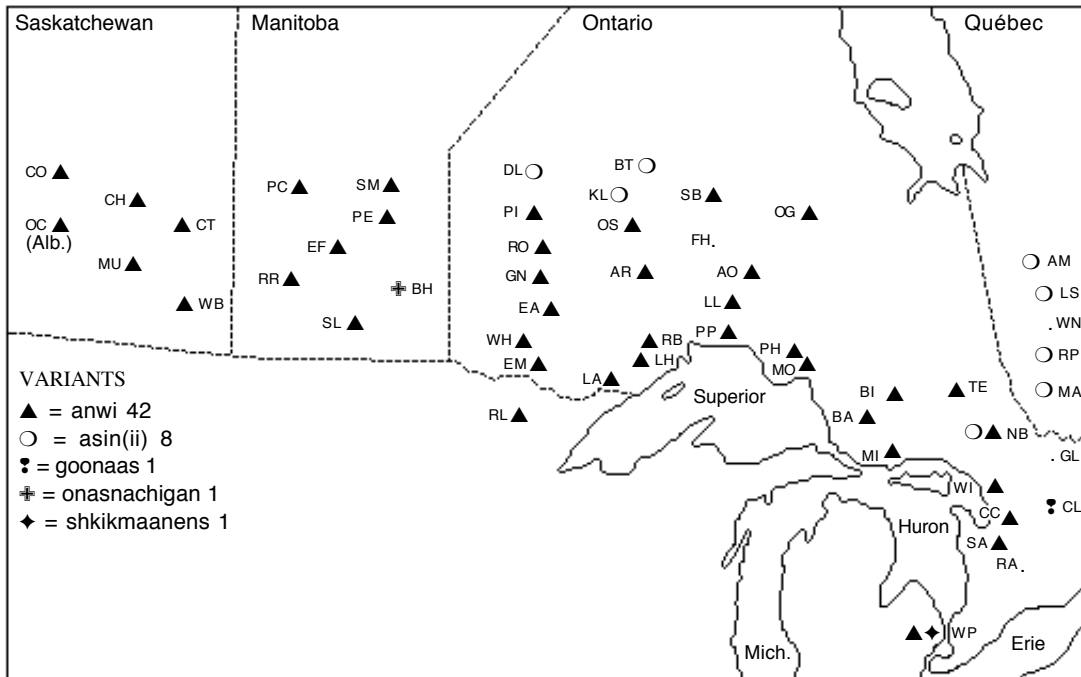
Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BH BT CH CO CT DL EA
EF FH GL GN KL LS MA MU NB OC
OG OS PC PE PI RO RP RR SB SL
SM TE WB WH WN
- BI CC EM LA LH MI RA RB SA
- BA LL MO PH PP RL WI WP
- ✦ CL RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (52)
- ✦ (2)

manetooseha, and Shawnee, **mane=tooleeza**.



Bullet/Shell

This is an interesting form in that all of Algoquin and Nipissing (NB and MA), as well as Severn communities (BT, DL, KL) have **asin(ii)**, while virtually everywhere else the term is **anwi**. McGregor 1987:44 glosses **anwii** for Nipissing as 'arrow.'

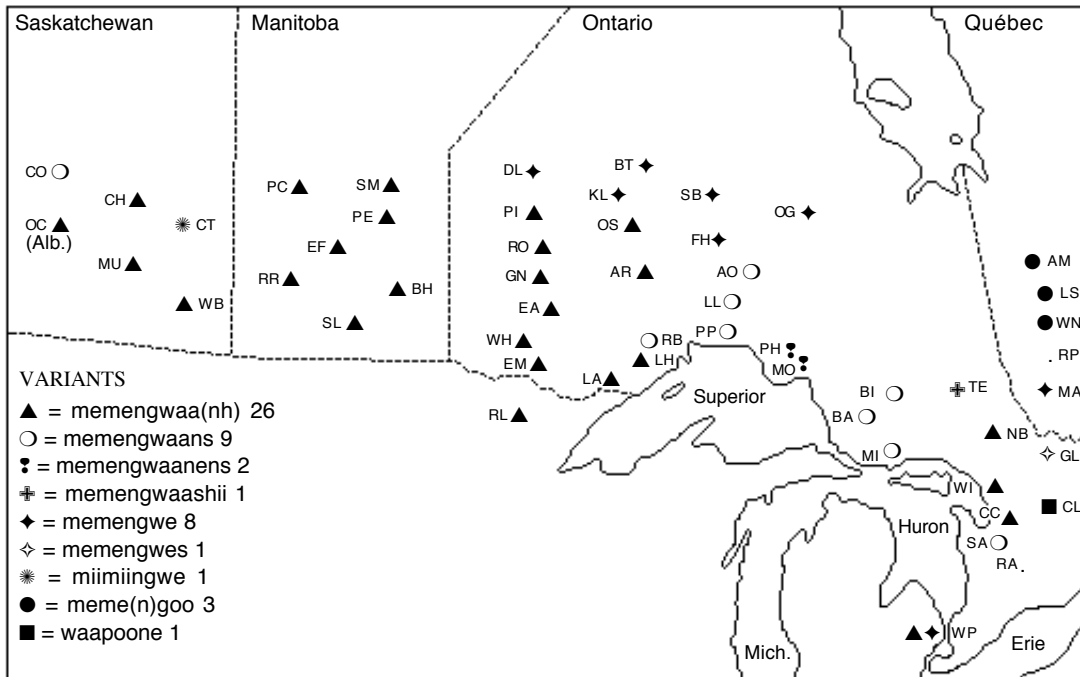
I have **piicipihkwaan** for Fort Severn Cree, while East Cree has **asinii**, 'bullet, shell, stone,' and **ashiiniish** and **asiniish** for, '.22 bullet,' i.e., diminutives with smaller caliber bullets. Plains Cree (BLN) has **asiniy** for 'bullet.' Potawatomi has **nwe**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BI CC CH CO CT EA EF
EM GN KL LA LH LL MI MO MU NB
OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL
RO RR SA SB SL SM TE WB WH WI
WP
- AM BT DL KL LS MA NB RP
- CL
- ✦ BH
- ◆ WP
- . GL RA WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (41)
- (6)
- (1)
- ✦✦ (1)
- ◆◆ (1)



Butterfly

Here there are several interesting sub-variants. All variants except CL **waapoone** are based on a reduplicative form with a stem /**memengw**/. Northern forms have either **oo** (Algonquin) or **e** (Severn, MA and GL) following, e.g., **memegoo** from AM, LS and WN or **memengwe** (KL, etc.). Southern forms have **aa** following the stem, e.g., **memengwaanh** (WP, etc.). This suggests the ablaut **aa-e** relationship so common to Ojibwe morphology. The southern forms further divide on the basis of what, if any, historical diminutive suffix they have. Many communities to the east and north of Lake Superior have a diminutive suffix, **-ens**, as well as SA. WP has both **memengwaanh** and **memengwenh**, according to Rhodes (1985). Fort Severn (Cree) has **memenkewew**, whereas Constance Lake has the isolated variant, **jaanjibalay**. It may be that the TE and GL are more closely related, since they both have a sibilant in the final syllable.

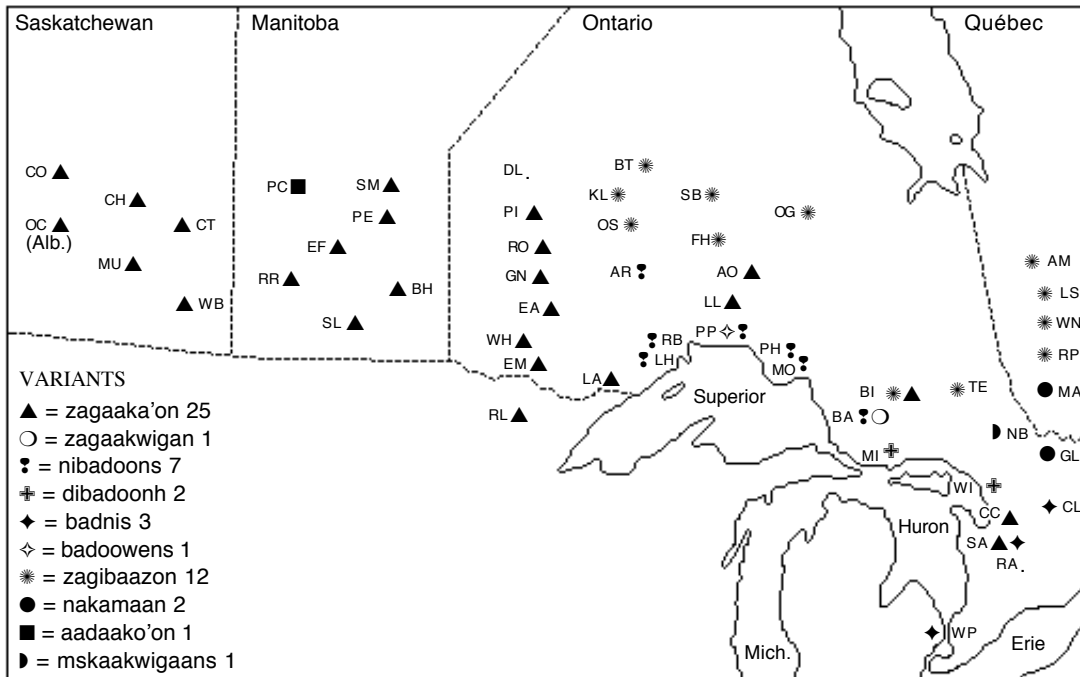
East Cree has **kwaahkwaapishiish** and **kwaahkw=aapisuu**, meaning 'butterfly, moth.' Plains (BLN) has **kamaamak**, **kamaamaos**, and **mimikwaas**. Potawatomi has **m' m' g'**, **memegwe**, and **mimike**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CC CH EA EF EM GN LA LH
MU NB OC OS PC PE PI RL RO RR
SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AO BA BI CO LL MI PP RB SA
- MO PH
- ✚ TE
- ◆ BT DL FH KL MA OG SB WP
- ◇ GL
- ✱ CT
- AM LS WN
- CL
- . RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✚◆◇✱● (50)
- (1)



Button

The most common form is **zagaaka'on**, found at CC and SA in the southeast, AO and LL (and at Chapleau) north of Superior, and then uniformly west of Lake Superior. A northern form, **zagibaazon**, embraces Severn and all Algonquin (including TE and BI). The same form is used at Fort Severn (Cree). GL and MA have a distinct form, **nakamaan**. On Manitoulin and west along Lake Superior, a French borrowing is prevalent, **dibadoonh** (at WI and MI), and **nibadoons** elsewhere, from French, **le bouton**. In the extreme southeast, at SA, CL and WP, one finds **badnis**, which is probably from English (perhaps from the plural).

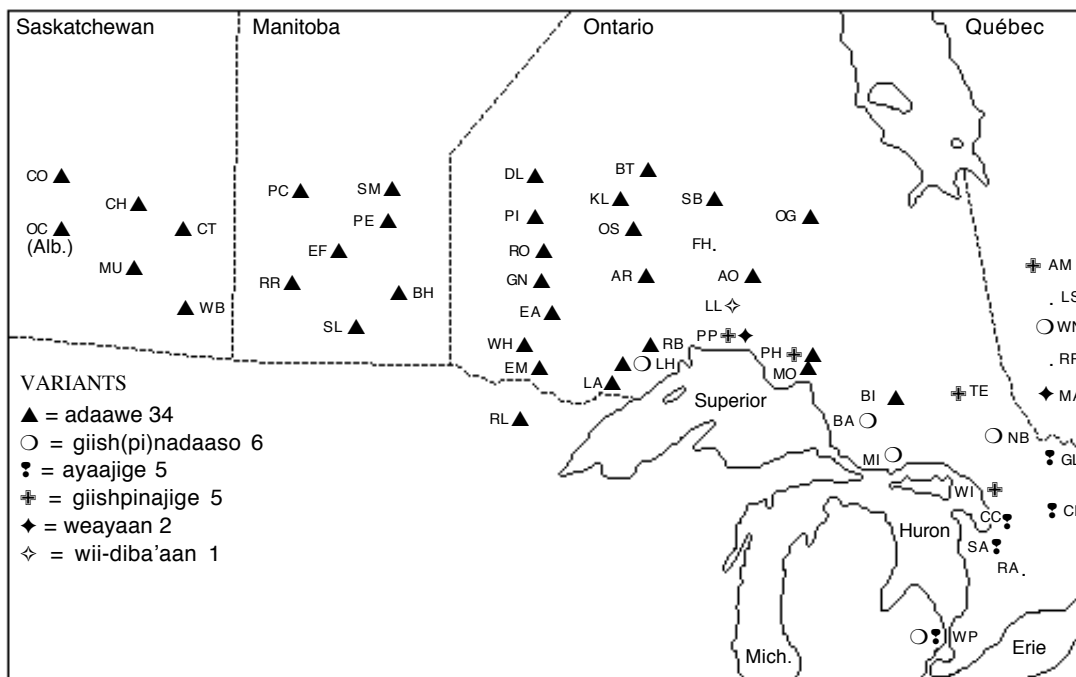
Plains Cree (BLN) has **sakaaskwahon**; East Cree, **sichipaasuun**. Atikamekw (Béland 1978:582) has a French borrowin, **tipohto**. Potawatomi has **z'bdō, zhgag'g'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BH BI CC CH CO CT EA EF EM
GN LA LL MU OC PE PI RL RO RR
SA SL SM WB WH
- BA
- AR BA LH MO PH PP RB
- ✚ MI WI
- ◆ CL SA WP
- ◇ PP
- * AM BI BT FH KL LS OG OS RP SB TE WN
- GL MA
- PC
- NB
- .DL RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (26)
- ◆◇ (13)
- * (12)
- ✚● (2)
- ◆■ (1)
- ◇▸ (1)



Buys (VAI)

There are interesting localizations here. The southeast, cutting across Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe, has **ayaajige**. Several communities north of Lake Huron (and LH and WP) have **giish(pi)nadaaso**. North of these, one finds related **giishpinajige**, showing up at AM, TE (Algonquin), PH, PP and WI (Odawa). MA also shares a form with PP, **weayaan**. Elsewhere the form is **adaawe**.

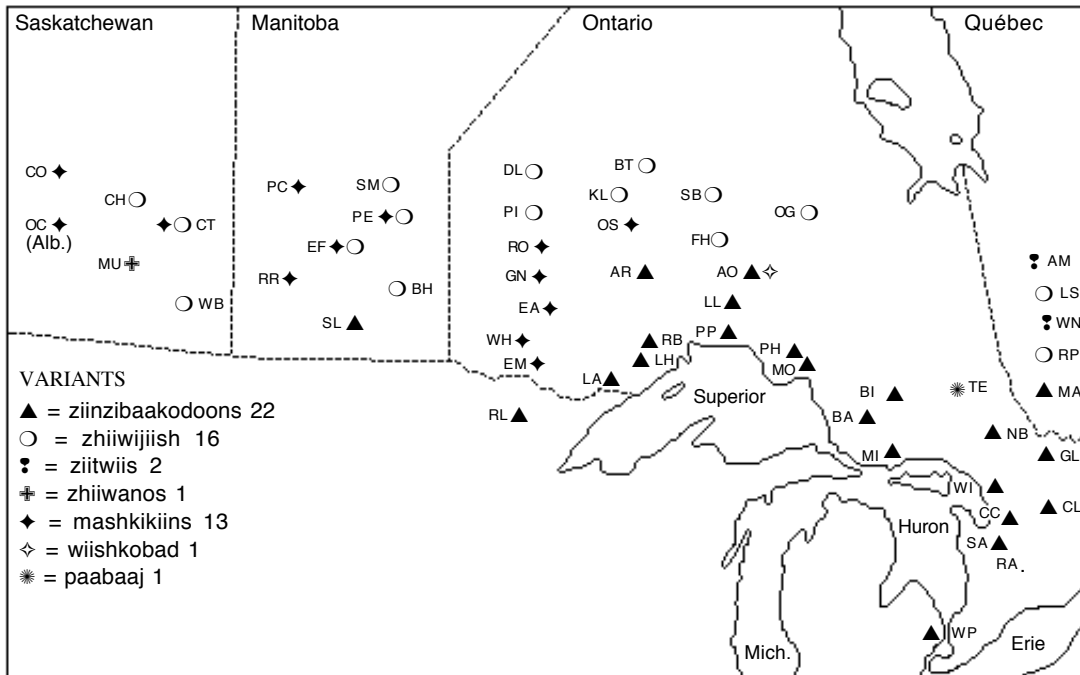
East Cree has **utinicheu** and **utinaasuu**; Swampy Cree, **otinikew**, **shwaapihkew**; Plains (BLN), **ataawew**, 'he buys, trades.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BI BT CH CO CT DL EA
 EF EM GN KL LA LH MO MU OC OG
 OS PC PE PH PI RB RL RO RR SB
 SL SM WB WH
- BA LH MI NB WN WP
- ♣ CC CL GL SA WP
- ✚ AM PH PP TE WI
- ◆ MA PP
- ◇ LL
- . FH LS RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (34)
- (6)
- ♣♣ (5)
- ✚✚ (5)
- ◆◆ (2)
- ◇◇ (1)



Candy

There are three main variants, dividing the north and south in the east, and setting off a large area in western Ontario and eastern Manitoba. In the north (including Algonquin, but not MA/GL), the form is **zhiiwijiish**, similar to Fort Severn (Cree) **shiiwitiis** (Plains Cree has **siiwiciis**). This form extends into Saskatchewan among the northern Sauleaux dialects. TE has an isolated variant, **paabaaj**.

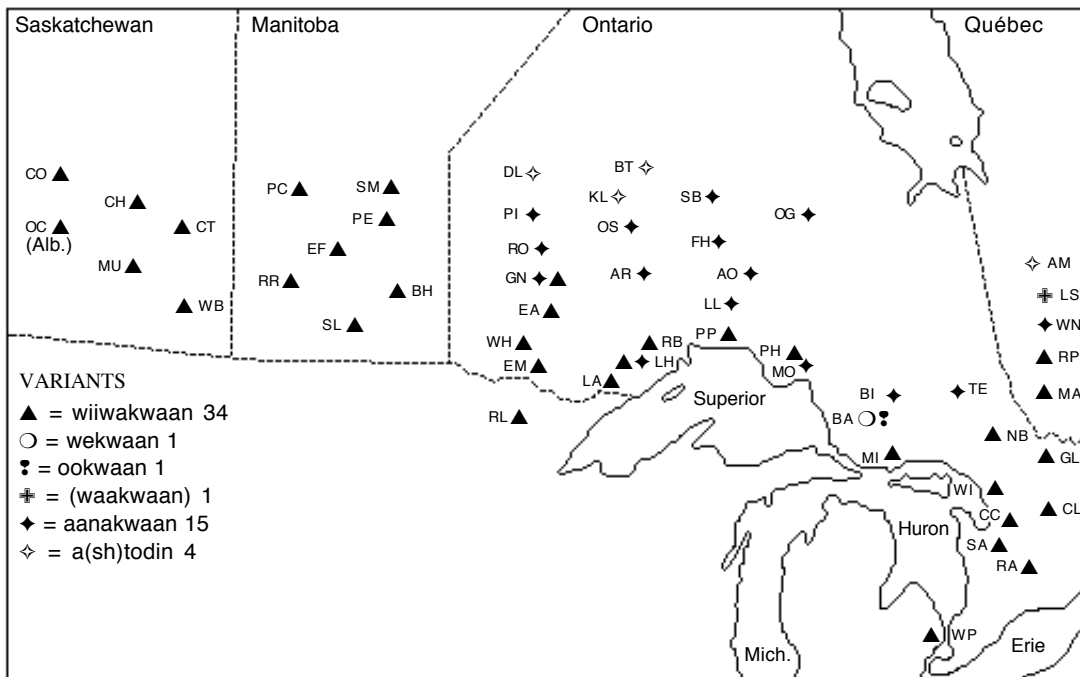
In the south, as far west as LA, north to AR and AO, and down into RL (and SL), the form is **ziinsibaakodoons** ('little piece of sugar'). From OS southeast in Ontario, and throughout Sauleaux, the form is **mashikiins** ('little medicine'), in those cases in which it is not **zhiiwijiish**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BI CC CL GL LA LH LL
MA MI MO NB PH PP RB RL SA SL
WI WP
- BH BT CH CT DL EF FH KL LS OG
PE PI RP SB SM WB
- ⦿ AM WN
- ✚ MU
- ◆ CO CT EA EF EM GN OC OS PC PE
RO RR WH
- ◇ AO
- ⊛ TE
- RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (22)
- ○⦿✚ (19)
- ⦿◆ (13)
- ✚◇ (1)
- ◆⊛ (1)



Cap/Hat

Here I show a north/south split in Ontario. The northern form (except for Severn) is **anakwaan**. The southern form, which also embraces all of Saulteaux, is **wiiwakwaan**. PH, PP, and RB, on the north shore of Lake Superior, have the southern form, while MO and LH have the northern (LH has both). Five communities, three Severn, CN and AM have **ashtodin**, in agreement with Fort Severn (Cree) **astotin** (and Plains Cree). The sibilant in the Ojibwe word ranges from **sh** to **s** to **h**.

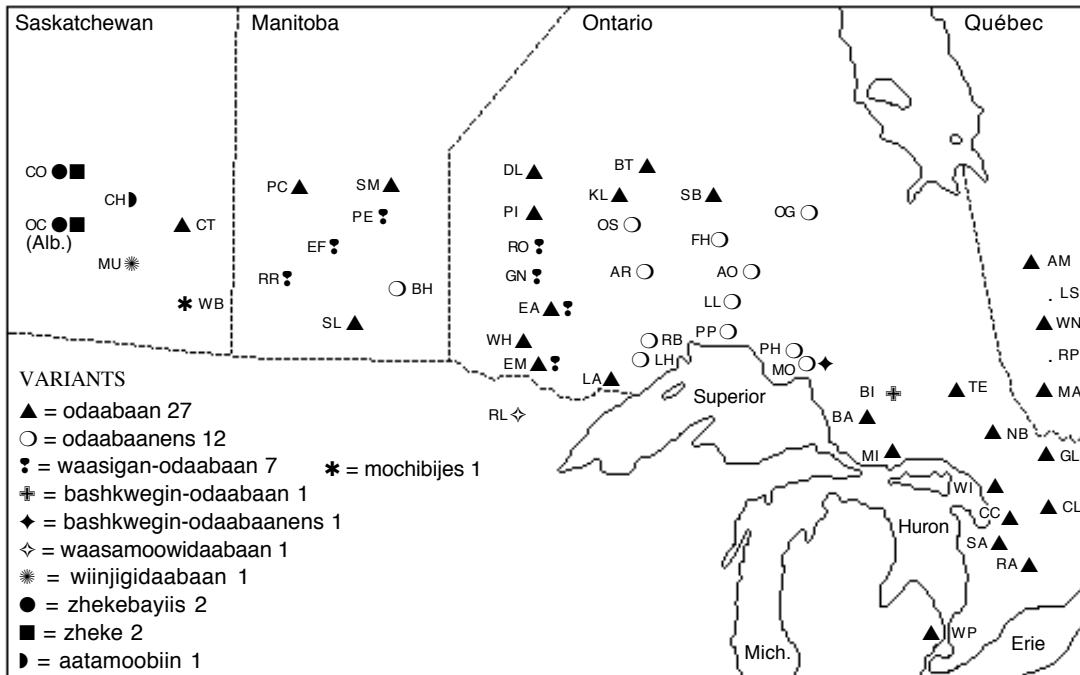
East Cree has **ashtuutin**. Miami (D) has **atätoläni**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM GL
GN LA LH MA MI MU NB OC PC PE
PH PP RA RB RL RP RR SA SL SM
WB WH WI WP
- BA
- ◐ BA
- ✦ LS
- ◆ AO AR BI FH GN LH LL MO OG OS
PI RO SB TE WN
- ◈ AM BT DL KL

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦✦ (37)
- ◆ (15)
- ◐◈ (4)



Car

There is interesting patterning in this word, despite its being a recent loan word. While in many places the form is **odaabaan**, North of Superior, a diminutive is used, **odaabaanens**, perhaps because in this area the first real contact with the whiteman's vehicles was with the railroad locomotive, making the automobile appear smaller by proportion.

There is also a clustering of communities in western Ontario and Manitoba having **waasigan-odaabaan**, 'gas vehicle.' A couple of unrelated communities have **bashkwegin-odaabaan**, lit., 'leather vehicle,' perhaps in reference to the appearance of earlier automobiles, which showed simpler construction. The form **wiinjigidaabaan**, has a compound element **wiinjigi-**, 'stinky, smelly.'

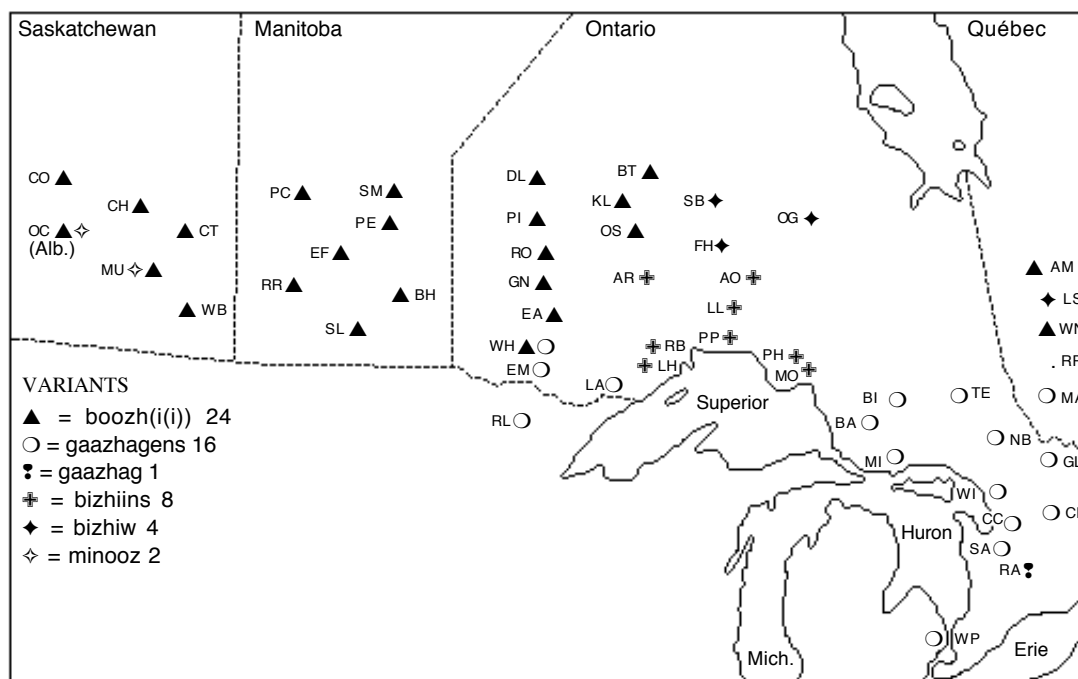
Plains Cree has **mihcekitaapaan**, **mostakociis** and **sehkepaysiis**, the last item in agreement with the two westernmost communities in this survey. Swampy Cree has **otaapaanish**, with a diminutive.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BA BT CC CL CT DL EA EM GL
KL LA MA MI NB PC PI RA SA SB
SL SM TE WH WI WN WP
- AO AR BH FH LH LL MO OG OS PH
PP RB
- ⦿ EA EF EM GN PE RO RR
- ⊕ BI
- ◆ MO
- ◇ RL
- ⊛ MU
- CO OC
- CO OC
- ▷ CH
- * WB
- . LS RP WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿⊕◆◇⊛ (50)
- (4)
- ⦿▷ (1)
- ⊕* (1)



Cat

This form shows interesting variation. All southern communities have **gaazhag(ens)**, with only RA lacking the diminutive. This form occurs on both sides of Lake Superior, showing up in the border lakes communities of WH, EM, LA and RL (Minnesota), as well as embracing the southern tier of Algonquin (BI, TE, and MA, GL). Throughout the rest of the data range, the form **boozh(i)i)** is most common, occurring in Algonquin (at AM and my WN data), and in the north and west from BT and OS extending into all Sauleaux. The Fort Severn Cree form is **poosh**, apparently cognate. There are two regional variants based on a **b_zh** template, which would seem to indicate an alignment on a broader scale with the northern group. SB, OG, FH (eastern Severn) and LS (Algonquin), as well as Constance Lake have **bizhiw**, a term which in many other dialects means 'lynx.' And all communities north of Lake Superior have a form with a diminutive suffix, **bizhiins**, quite striking in that it embraces eight contiguous communities. The extreme western communities of OC and MU have **minooz**, which appears related to a Cree form listed in Faries 1938, **minoos**.

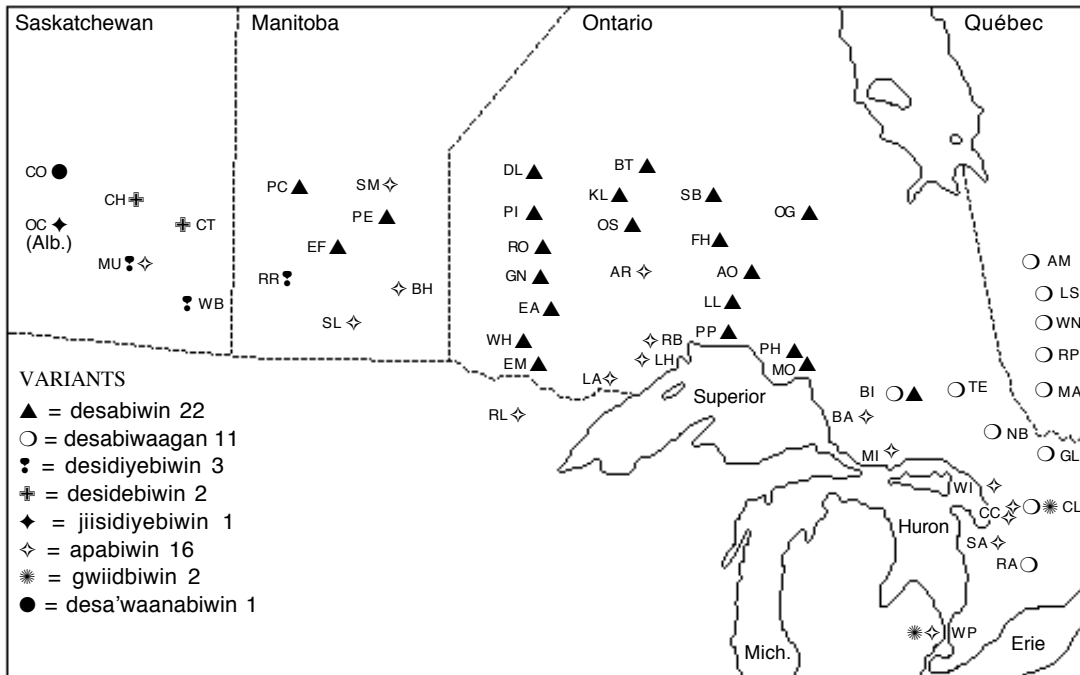
East Cree has **miinuush** and **puushii**; Plains (BLN) has **kaasakes** and **minoos**. Potawatomi has **bkazho**, **bzh´k´s**, **mayos**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF GN
 KL MU OC OS PC PE PI RO RR SL
 SM WB WH WN
- BA BI CC CL EM GL LA MA MI NB
 RL SA TE WH WI
- ♣ WP
- ♣ RA
- † AO AR LH LL MO PH PP RB
- ◆ FH LS OG SB
- ◇ MU OC
- RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (24)
- ♣ (17)
- ♣†◆ (12)
- †◇ (2)



Chair

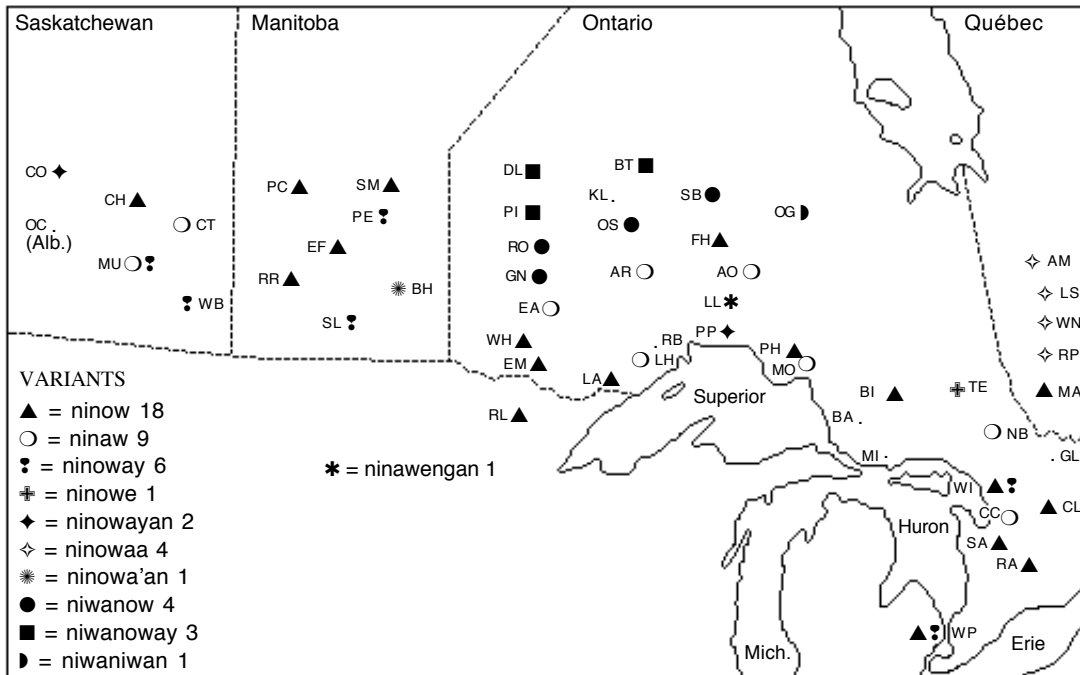
This word shows a rather striking distribution of variants, especially in the east. The Algonquin and Eastern Ojibwe form is **desabiwaagan**, containing an ending similar to the Algonquin-Eastern form in 'table' (**wiisiniwaagan**). Odawa shows very consistent **apabiwin**, which also occurs frequently northwest of Lake Superior, Minnesota, and into Manitoba. Saulteaux rather uncharacteristically, lacks uniformity for this word, showing five different variants. The most common form in the data is **desabiwin**, which is extremely consistent in northern Ontario, and shows up in several northern Manitoba communities. The Fort Severn (Cree) form appears to be a cognate, **tehtapiwin** (and Eastern Cree, **tehtapuun**). WP and CL, in the southeast, share a form, **gwiidbiwin**. Potawatomi has **jb'd'p'win**, **kw'jd'yebw'n**, **p'dyebw'n**. Peoria has **nUxkipyo?n** and Miami (D) **nakipioni**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BI BT DL EA EF EM FH GN KL
LL MO OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RO
SB WH
- AM BI CL GL LS MA NB RA RP TE
WN
- ♣ MU RR WB
- † CH CT
- ◆ OC
- ◇ AR BA BH CC CL LA LH MI MU RB
RL SA SL SM WI WP
- * CL WP
- CO

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆ (39)
- ◇ (16)
- ♣* (2)
- †● (1)



My cheek

There is some localized variation of interest. Four Algonquin communities (AM, LS, RP and WN) have augment, **-aa**, producing **ninowaa**. Several communities in northwestern Ontario have augment **wa-**, producing **niwanow(ay)**. This points out yet another augment, **-ay**, which is distributed sporadically throughout the data. Some of the forms listed on the map may be plurals, rather than distinct forms, e.g., variant (◆), **ninowayan**, which looks similar to variant (♣).

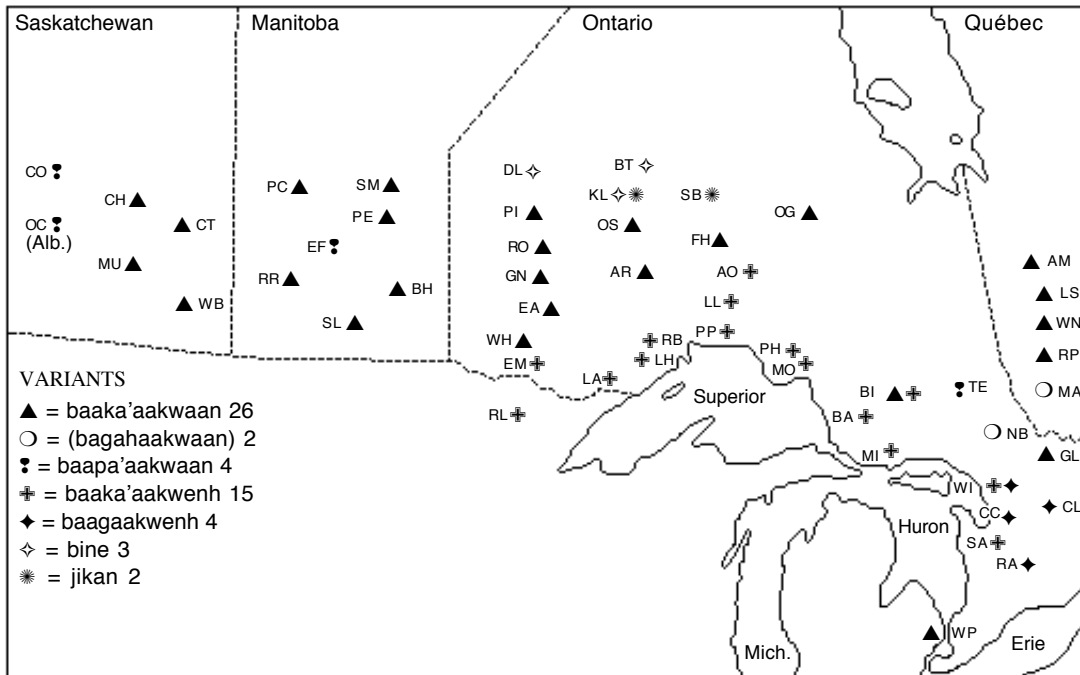
Fort Severn (Cree) has **naanoway**, and Atikamekw, **onoowem**, 'his cheek' (Béland 1978:522). East Cree has **unawii** for 'his cheek.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BI CH CL EF EM FH LA MA PC PH
RA RL RR SA SM WH WI WP
- AO AR CC CT EA LH MO MU NB
- ♣ MU PE SL WB WI WP
- † TE
- ◆ CO PP
- ◇ AM LS RP WN
- * BH
- GN OS RO SB
- BT DL PI
- OG
- * LL
- . BA GL KL MI OC RB

Consolidations

▲ ▲ ○ ♣ † ◆ ◇ * ● ■ ▸ * (50)



Chicken

There are many onomatopoeic variants for this form, imitating the sound of a chicken, which is consistent with many other Ojibwe bird names, e.g., **gaagaagi**, 'crow,' and **gookookohoo**, 'owl.' Two major groupings can be determined on the basis of whether or not a suffixal (redundantly nominalizing?) **-n** has been added (with attendant ablaut of the final stem vowel): In the vicinity of the Great Lakes, one finds forms ending in **-enh**, e.g., **baaka'aakwenh**. This takes in a large area, extending as far north as AO and west to pick up the southerly border lakes communities. Elsewhere the form appears to have the suffixal **-n**. I have charted this isogloss on the map above. Note that Swampy Cree (Fort Severn) has **paahkahaakwaan** as well.

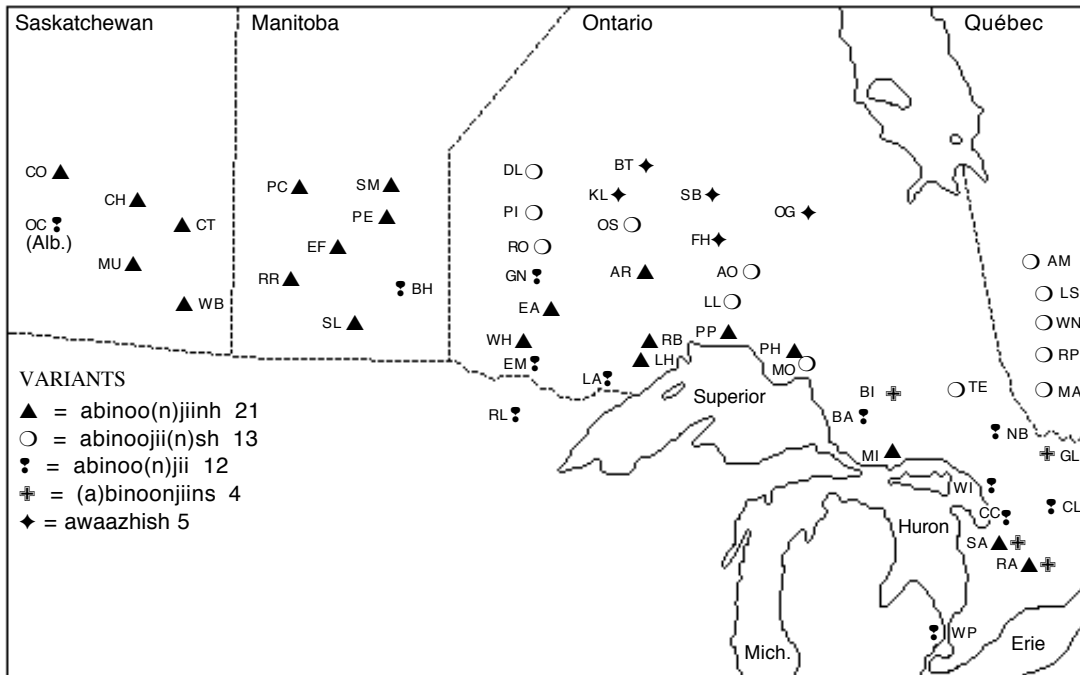
A number of Eastern communities have a lenis velar obstruent in the second syllable. Several Severn communities use the form for the indigenous partridge, **bine**, while a couple have simply borrowed the English word **chicken**. Four communities, TE, EF, CO, and OC have a **p** where the other communities have **k** in the second syllable, perhaps under the influence of the initial bilabial obstruent. Potawatomi has **bidi**, **bk'akwa**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BH BI CH CT EA FH GL GN
LS MU OG OS PC PE PI RO RP RR
SL SM WB WH WN WP
- MA NB
- CO EF OC TE
- † AO BA BI EM LA LH LL MI MO PH
PP RB RL SA WI
- ◆ CC CL RA WI
- ◇ BT DL KL
- * KL SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○●†◆ (51)
- ◇ (3)
- * (2)



Child

There are two important distinctions here:

A. Between lexical items **awaazhish** (Severn dialect) and some form with **abino(jii)-** elsewhere. Five Severn communities have **awaazhish**, as well as Constance Lake and Fort Severn Cree. Plains Cree has **awaasis** and East Cree, **awaash**.

B. The other distinction involves historical diminutive suffixes (no longer productive) which occur on the word for 'child.' There are four distinct forms, with suffixes **-sh**, **-ns**, **-nh** or null (i.e., absence of any diminutive suffix). The **-sh** forms occur in a band across the northern communities of Ontario and all of Québec. Perhaps the Severn form (**awaazhish**) can also be interpreted as having this ending as well. The **-ns** forms are common in the extreme southeast, along with BI. My recording of **-nh** and null forms is not always reliable. Rhodes has **-nh** for all dialects which he recorded (Ottawa and Eastern). These forms can be best heard and distinguished via plurals, a trick I learned too late to be of use in my data collection.

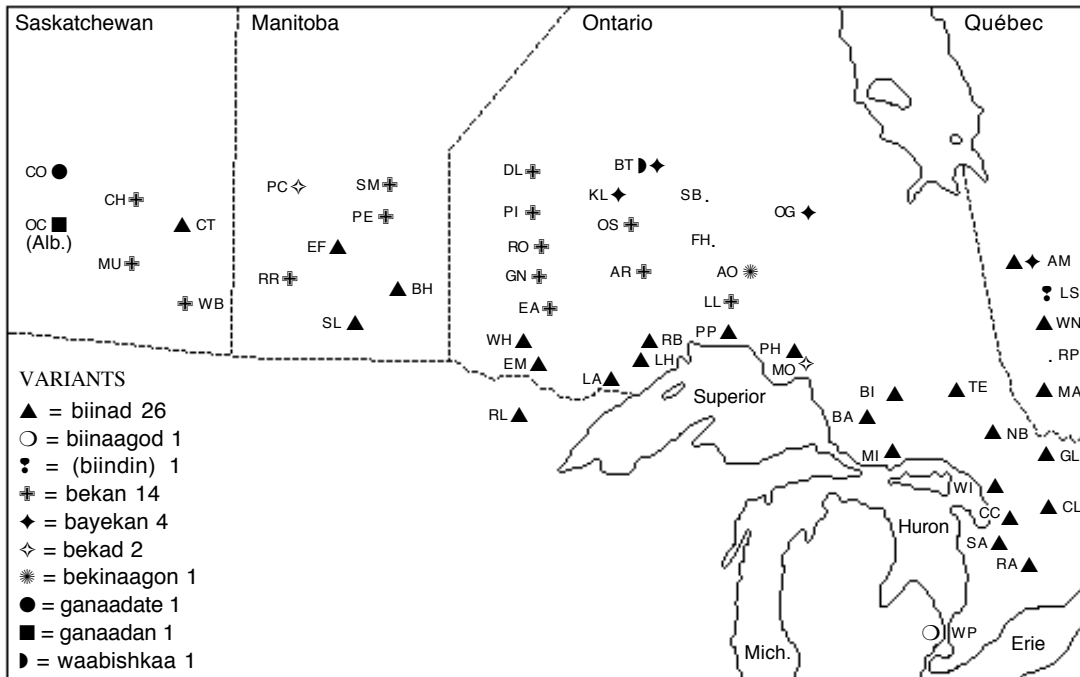
Peoria has **piloxsa** (Hockett 1984). Rhodes lists Miami **piloohsa**, Fox **apenooha**, Shawnee **hapelozha**, and Menomini **oskE:cian**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR CH CO CT EA EF LH MI MU PC
PE PH PP RA RB RR SA SL SM WB
WH
- AM AO DL LL LS MA MO OS PI RO
RP TE WN
- BA BH CC CL EM GN LA NB OC RL
WI WP
- ⊕ BI GL RA SA
- ◆ BT FH KL OG SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○●⊕ (50)
- ◆ (5)



Be clean (VII)

This word shows one interesting case of regionalism. The form **bekan** is found from LL west, in a band bounded on the south by the border lakes and the north by Severn. It extends into Manitoba and Saskatchewan, with numerous exceptions in that area. Two communities have related **bekad** (MO, PC) which is expected since these communities maintain a distinction between **-ad** and **-an** II finals.

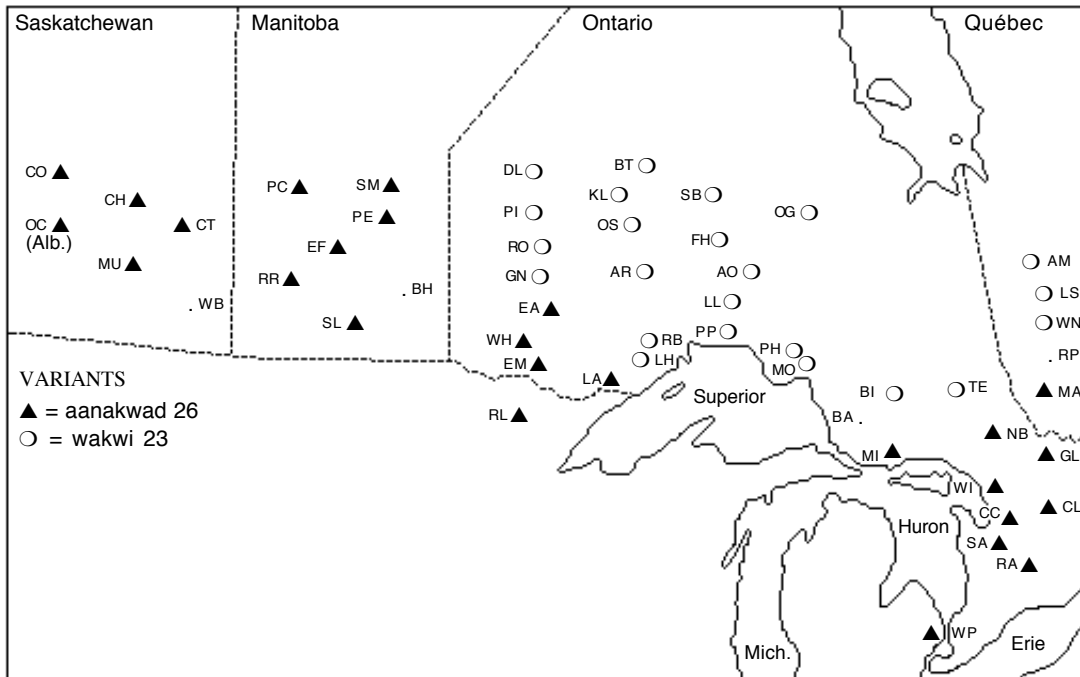
Basically, there is a north/south distinction in this data, such that stem **b(ay)ek-** is found in the north and stem **biin-** in the south and east (including Algonquin). Severn (BT, KL, OG) has **bayekan**, as does AM (but no other Algonquin), which is also found at Ft. Severn (Cree). East Cree has **piyehkan**. CO and OC share forms with base, **ganaad-**. Potawatomi has **binnagw'k**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BA BH BI CC CL CT EF EM GL
LA LH MI NB PH PP RA RB RL SA
SL TE WH WI WN
- WP
- LS
- ✚ AR CH DL EA GN LL MU OS PE PI
RO RR SM WB
- ◆ AM BT KL OG
- ◇ MO PC
- * AO
- CO
- OC
- ▶ BT
- FH MA RP SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (28)
- ✚◆◇* (21)
- (2)
- ✚▶ (1)



Cloud

This word is excellent for showing a general north/south split between dialects. Southern dialects, including all of Saulteaux, the border lakes region, and all communities south of BI and TE have **aanakwad**, while communities to the north of these have **wakwi**. All communities north of Lake Superior group with the northern group, and the association of Saulteaux with the border lakes and Minnesota is quite clear. Fort Severn (Cree) has **wasko**, cognate with the northern Ojibwe form, and Bloomfield's Plains Cree lexicon shows **waskoow** (Rhodes 1989:6, **wasko**). **Aanakwad** occurs in northern dialects too, as a medial in verbs, e.g., in **biidaanakwan**, 'it's getting cloudy.'

Potawatomi has **ankot** and **nibg'wankok**. Rhodes 1989:6 gives **aalihkwatwi** for Miami, **kewaanahkwatwi** for Fox, **poozkwatwi** for Shawnee, and **a:nahkwat** for Menomini.

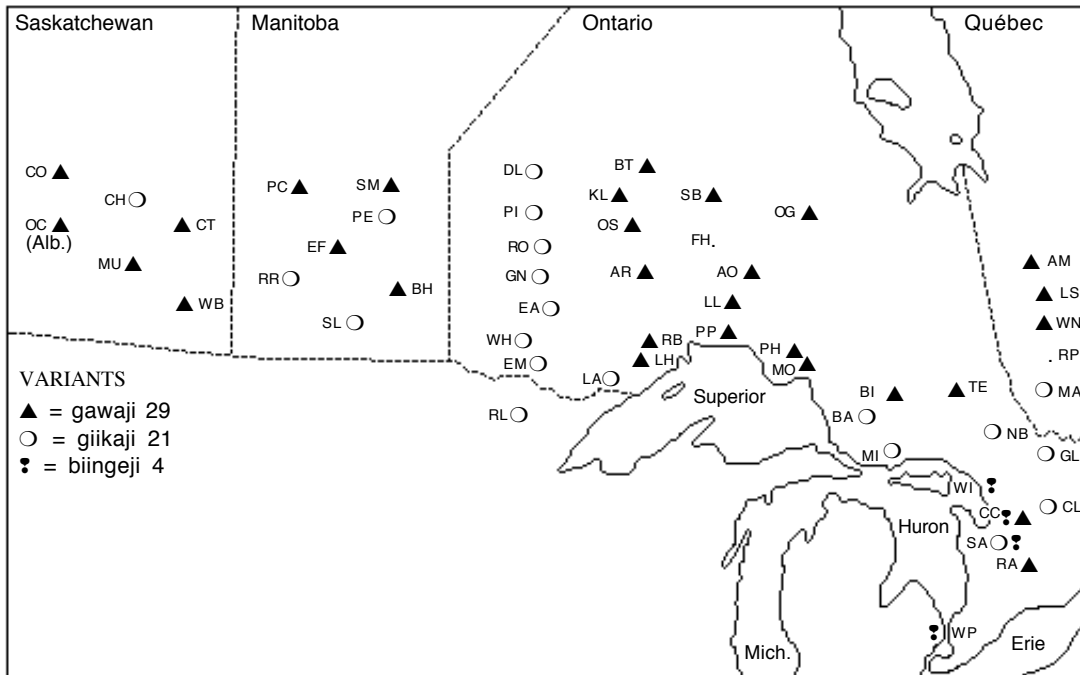
(MA data from McGregor 1987:32).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM GL LA
MA MI MU NB OC PC PE RA RL RR
SA SL SM WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BI BT DL FH GN KL LH
LL LS MO OG OS PH PI PP RB RO
SB TE WN
. BA BH RP WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (26)
- (23)



Feel oneself to be cold (VAI)

This word shows rather strong regionalism. In the southeast, the most common form is **giikaji**, especially (though by no means exclusively) prevalent among non-Ojibwa communities (including BA and GL/MA), which appear to be replacing this form with **biingeji**. The form **giikaji** also appears in the west, at RL and in a band in western Ontario extending as far north as DL, and among scattered Saulteaux communities. Elsewhere, the form is **gawaji**, which means 'be frozen,' in many dialects which have **giikaji** for 'be cold.' Broadly speaking, there is a north/south alignment, with **gawaji** in the north and **giikaji** in the south.

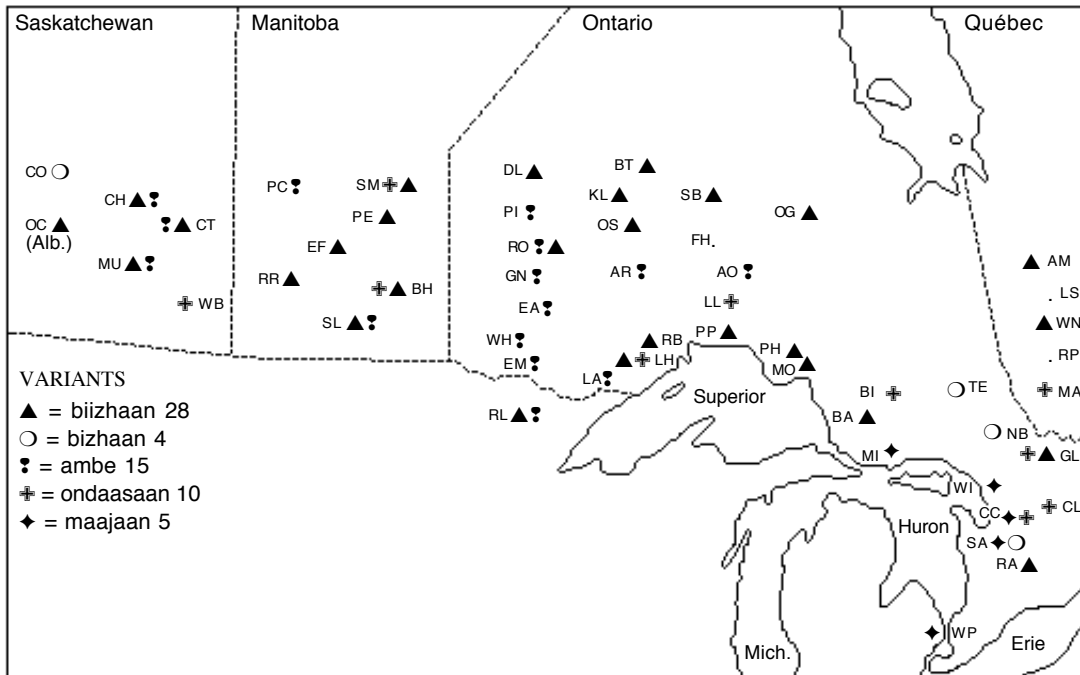
Fort Severn (Swampy Cree) has **siikaciw**, which appears as **shiihkachuu** (VAI-i stem) in East Cree.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BH BI BT CC CO CT EF
KL LH LL LS MO MU OC OG OS PC
PH PP RA RB SB SM TE WB WN
- BA CC CH CL DL EA EM GL GN LA
MA MI NB PE PI RL RO RR SA SL
WH
- ◼ CC SA WI WP
- . FH RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (29)
- (21)
- ◼◼ (4)



Come here! (VAI imperative)

There are interesting regional variants, though one must be careful in their interpretation, owing to the abundance of Ojibwe terms available for interpreting the English. Odawa (MI, WI, CC, SA, WP) has **maajaan**, which in other dialects means the opposite, 'leave from here, go away.' Rhodes (1976b:247) gives some discussion of this form and its 'semi-idiomatic'ity. More common among Eastern Ojibwe communities, and extending north sporadically along Lake Superior, is **ondaasaan**, which also shows up in Saulteaux. Perhaps most intriguing is the use of particle (?) **ambe** throughout southwestern Ontario, as far east as AO, and extending west to eastern Saskatchewan. Elsewhere, and as a variant in all dialects except Odawa, the form is **biizhaan** (or **bi-izhaan**).

MA data from McGregor 1987:287.

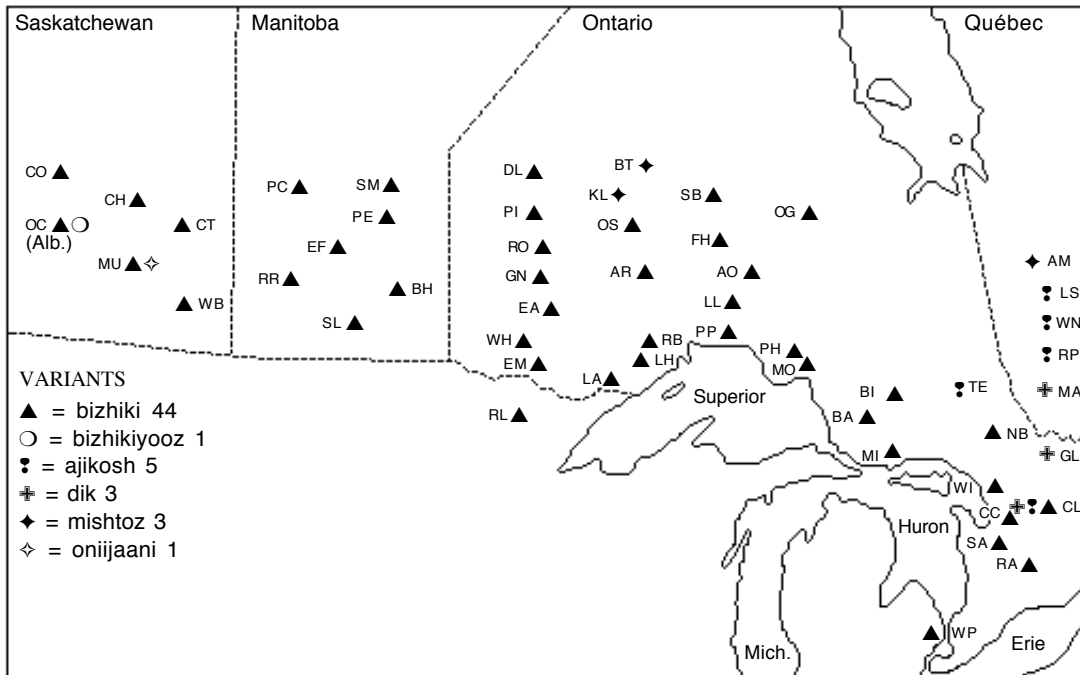
James Bay Cree shows an interesting form as well: I have **aastam oota** for Fort Severn, and the East Cree form for 'Come then!' is **aashtamuu** (an imperative form of an AI verb).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM BA BH BT CH CT DL EF GL KL
LH MO MU OC OG OS PE PH PP RA
RB RL RO RR SB SL SM WN
- CO NB SA TE
- AO AR CH CT EA EM GN LA MU PC
PI RL RO SL WH
- † BH BI CC CL GL LH LL MA SM WB
- ◆ CC MI SA WI WP
- . FH LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (32)
- (15)
- † (10)
- †◆ (5)



Cow

This form has several variants of interest. The northernmost communities, including BT, KL (Severn) and AM (Algonquin) appear to have borrowed a Cree form, having **mishtoz**, which is identical to the form given at Fort Severn (Cree) and Constance Lake; East Cree has **mistus**. The rest of Algonquin (but not BI), extending into the range of Eastern Ojibwe (CL) use a form that appears to be built on the basic stem for ‘caribou,’ **adik**. Northern forms commonly have a pejorative suffix (and perhaps pejorative palatalization of the preceding coronal obstruent), producing **ajikosh**. MU gives as an alternate **onijjaani**, which is listed in Faries 1938:49 as a standard Cree form.

The most common form for ‘cow’ is **bizhiki**, found throughout the rest of the data range. OC gives alternate **bizhikiyooz**, with a noun final **-ooz**, commonly found on names of cervine mammals, e.g., **mooz**, ‘moose.’

Potawatomi has **bzh'k'**. Miami (D) has **länanzwa** (and similar form for Peoria). Rhodes 1989:6 lists **pisiskîw** for Plains Cree, ‘animal’ (see ‘animal’ in this study).

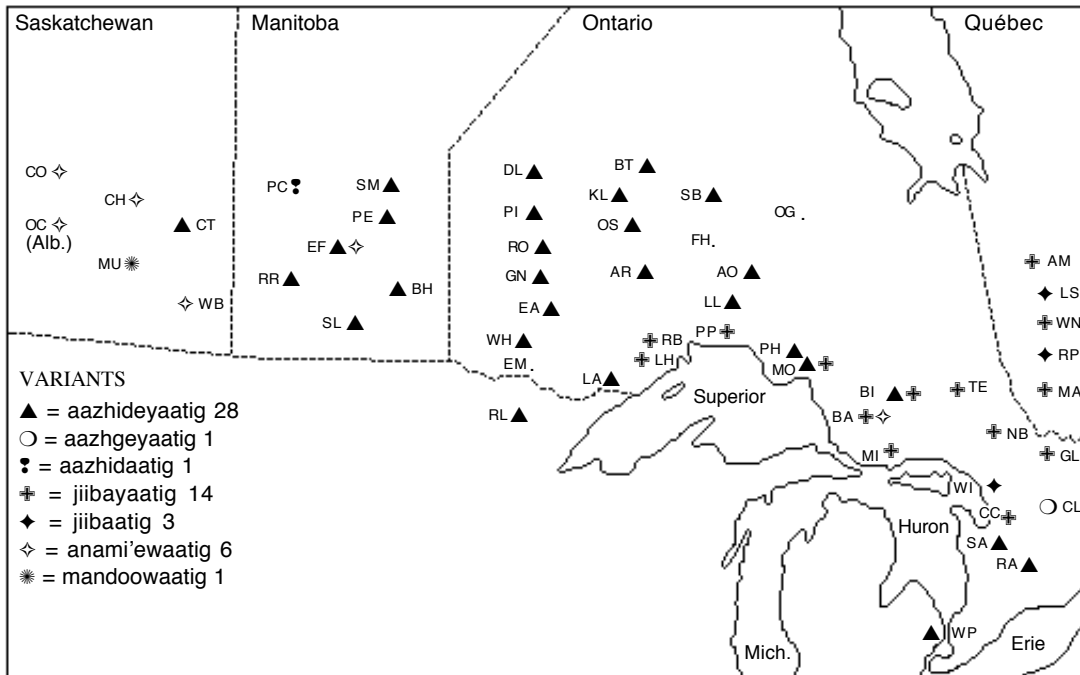
Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
DL EA EF EM FH GN LA LH LL MI
MO MU NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI
PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SB SL SM
WB WH WI WP

○ OC
● CL LS RP TE WN
† CL GL MA
◆ AM BT KL
◇ MU

Consolidations

▲▲○ (45)
○●† (8)
●◆ (3)
†◇ (1)



Cross/Crucifix

This word shows some interesting regional variation. In a large band from Algonquin extending east along the northern shores of the Great Lakes to RB and LH, one finds either **jībayaatig** or **jībaatig**, literally 'ghost/spirit stick/pole.' In western Saulteaux, one finds **anami'ewaatig**, 'prayer stick/pole.' Elsewhere, the form is commonly **aazhideyaatig**, 'crossed stick/pole.'

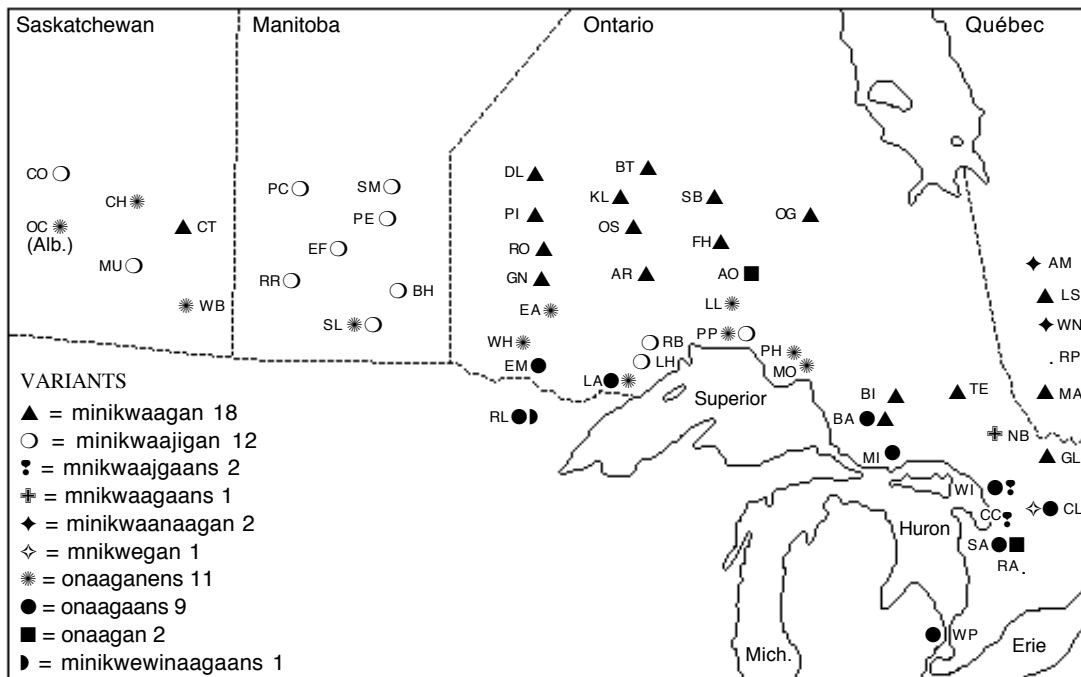
East Cree has **aashiteyaahnikw**; Swampy, **ciipay=aahtik**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BI BT CT DL EA EF GN
 KL LA LL MO OS PE PH PI RA RL
 RO RR SA SB SL SM WH WP
- CL
- PC
- † AM BA BI CC GL LH MA MI MO NB
 PP RB TE WN
- ◆ LS RP WI
- ◇ BA CH CO EF OC WB
- * MU
- . EM FH OG

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (30)
- †◆ (17)
- ◇ (6)
- †* (1)



Cup (noun)

A superficial inspection of the map for this word reveals a fair amount of disorder. However, if one interprets the data as basically grouping into three variant sets, it becomes much more orderly. In the north, and extending down to GL, one finds **minikwaagan**. All along Lake Huron, the form is **onaagaans**, extending over to pick up the border lakes communities of EM, LA and RL as well. North of Lake Superior and throughout Saulteaux, I find dialect groupings involving either of two variants, **minikwaajigan** or **onaaganens**, which appear intermixed, though there are local groupings of one or the other. Wilson 1874:202 (a dialect near BA) has **minikwaajigan**, and **aniibiishaaboo-onaagaans**. Baraga 1878:64 has **onaagaans**, as do Nichols and Nyholm 1979:133.

Another parameter of variation is where the combination of **an+ens** coalesces to **aans**. This happens in the southern dialect areas, in Minnesota and just north on the (western) Ontario border; in Ottawa and Eastern Ojibwe.

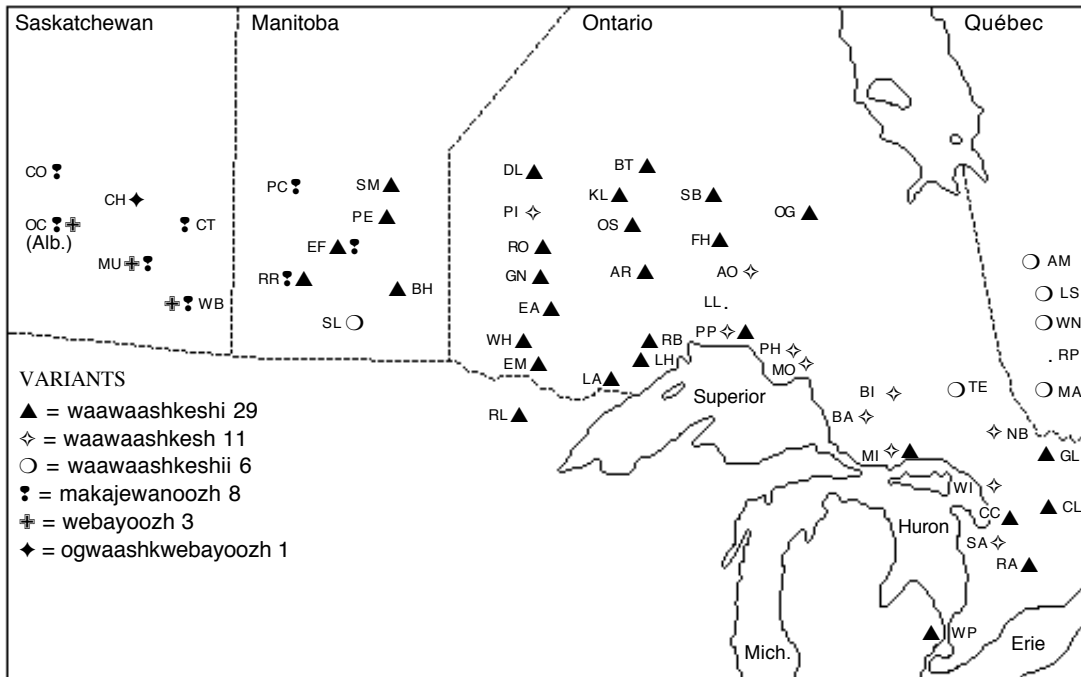
East Cree has **minihkwaakan** meaning 'cup, glass.' This is also the form used on the west coast of James Bay (Fort Severn). Potawatomi has **kw'abgan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BI BT CT DL FH GL GN KL
LS MA OG OS PI RO SB TE
- BH CO EF LH MU PC PE PP RB RR
SL SM
- ♣ CC WI
- † NB
- ◆ AM WN
- ◇ CL
- * CH EA LA LL MO OC PH PP SL WB
WH
- BA CL EM LA MI RL SA WI WP
- AO SA
- RL
- . RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆◇ (35)
- *●■▸ (23)



Deer

Two items are of interest here, the length of the final vowel in the form **waawaashkeshi(i)**, which shows long variants in Algonquin at least as far west as TE; and the form **makajewanoozh**, occurring in Saulteaux from central Manitoba west. Southern Saskatchewan communities show **webayoozh** as well.

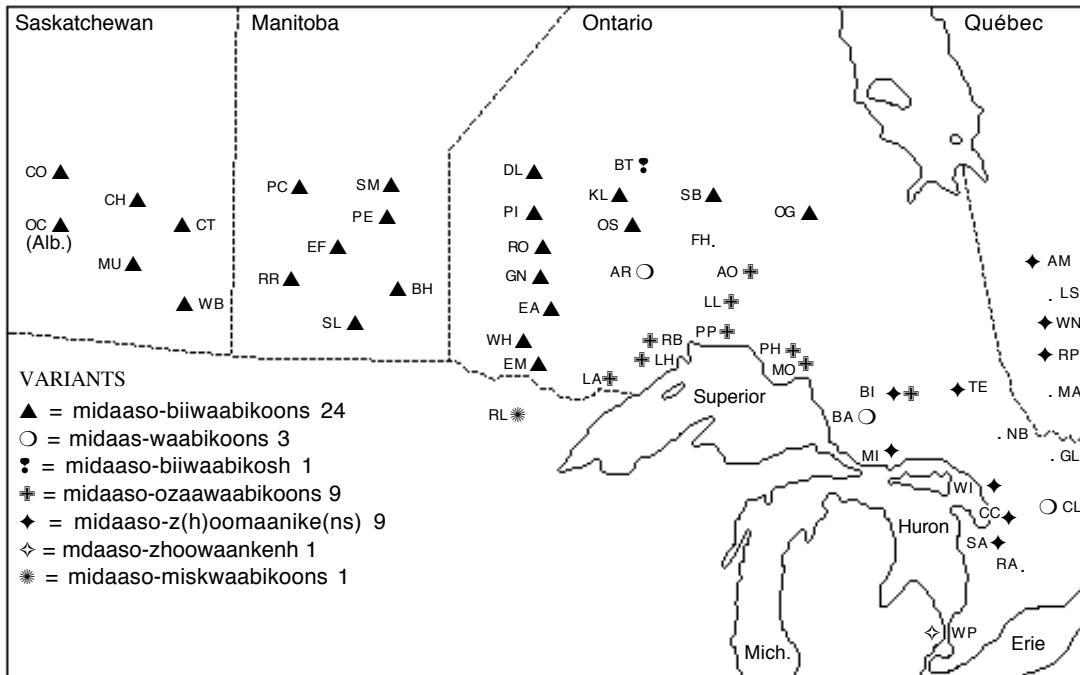
East Cree has **waawaashkeshuu**; Plains (BLN), **apisi-moosos** and **waawaaskesiw**. Bloomfield also has two forms which he glossed as 'jumping deer,' **kwaaskwepayihos** and **okwaaskwepayihos**. Similar forms occur in my Saulteaux data.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH BT CC CL DL EA EF EM FH
GL GN KL LA LH MI OG OS PE RA
RB RL RO RR SB SM WH WP
- ◇ AO BA BI MI MO NB PH PI PP SA
WI
- AM LS MA SL TE WN
- ⦿ CO CT EF MU OC PC RR WB
- ✦ MU OC WB
- ◆ CH
- LL RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◇ (46)
- ⦿ (8)
- ⦿✦ (3)
- ✦◆ (1)



Dime (coin)

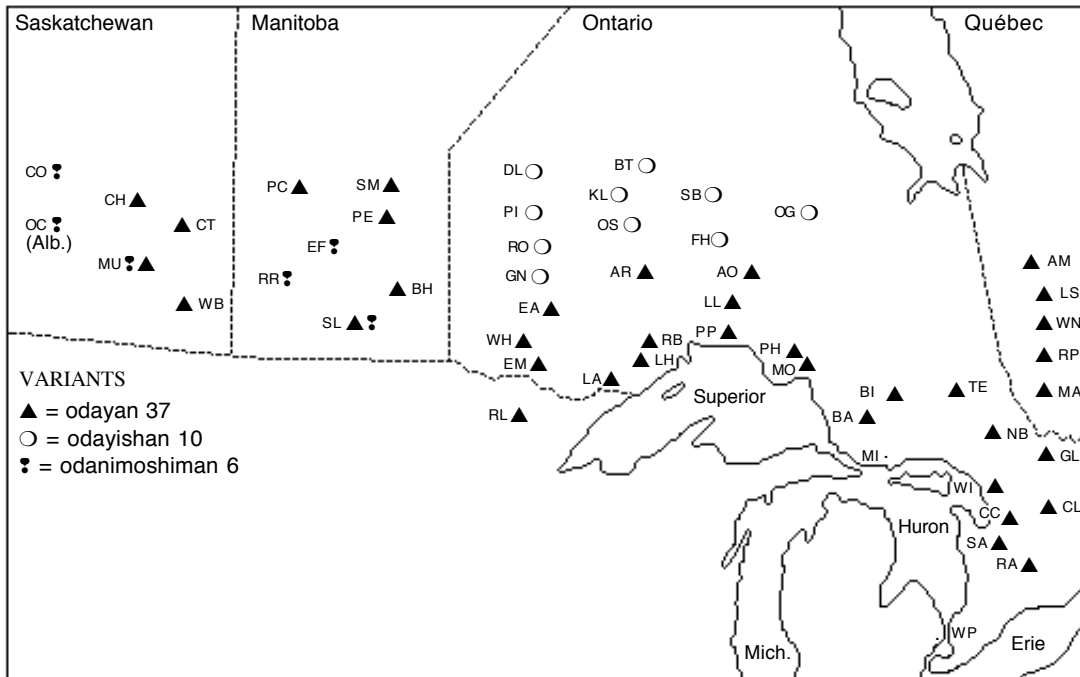
Here I find some regional patterning. North and northeast of Lake Huron, extending throughout Algonquin, one finds **midaaso-zhoomaanike(ns)**. North of Lake Superior, the common form is **midaaso-ozaawaa-bikoons**. Elsewhere, the common form is **midaaso-biiwaabikoons**, with a few isolates. Potawatomi has **dens´**s.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT DL EA EF EM GN KL
MU OC OG OS PC PE PI RO RR SB
SL SM WB WH
- AR BA CL
- BT
- † AO BI LA LH LL MO PH PP RB
- ◆ AM BI CC MI RP SA TE WI WN
- ◇ WP
- * RL
- . FH GL LS MA NB RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (28)
- † (9)
- ◆◇ (10)
- †* (1)



His/Her dog

There are two points of interest for this form. The possessed form of 'dog' in nearly all dialects is suppletive. In several communities in the western range of Saulteaux, the traditional suppletive form is being replaced by a possessive form based on the independent nominal, **animosh** (see 'dog' above). The reason for this change is not evident; it could be either a sign of language obsolescence or a process of analogy regularizing a marked paradigm. It is interesting that all communities having this form are reasonably well regionally defined.

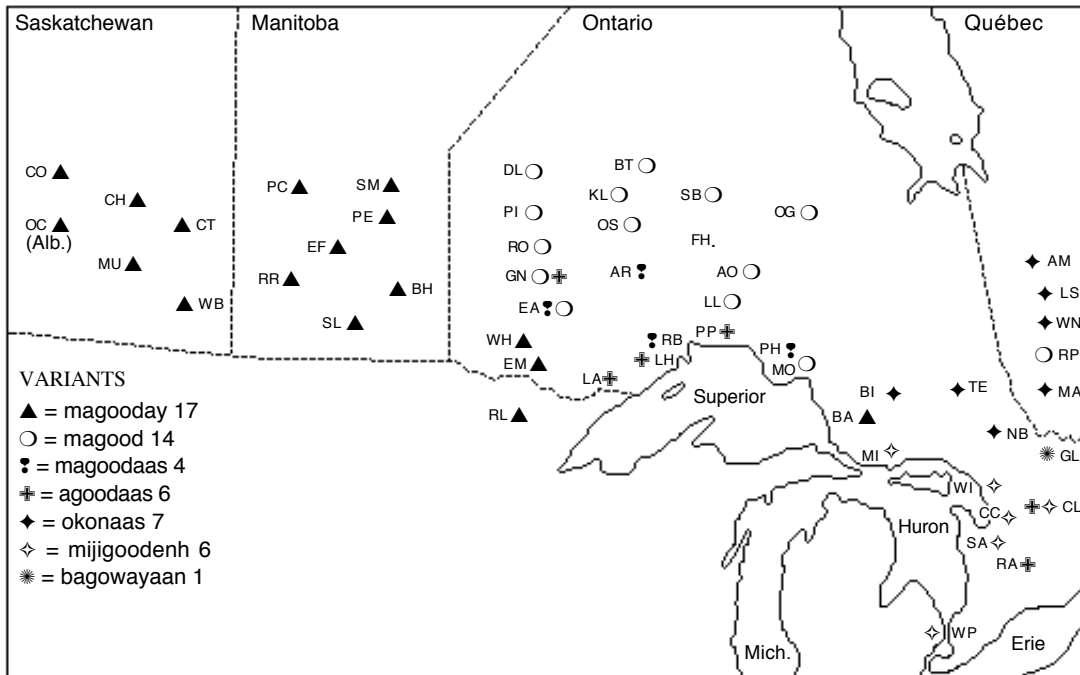
Perhaps a more traditional division between dialects involves another process of analogy. This involves the occurrence of the pejorative/diminutive suffix in the suppletive dependent stem, which, recall, was almost universally the case of the Ojibwe independent form (**animosh**), though not the Cree. The communities showing this form, **odayishan**, are the entire range of Severn, including the easternmost, FH and SB, as well as a number of communities on a tier just south of Severn (OS,PI,RO,GN). A dependent form with suffix **-ish** occurs nowhere in the Algonquin range (including my WN data). Constance Lake has **odemán** identical to Fort Severn Cree.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CT
EA EM GL LA LH LL LS MA MO MU
NB PC PE PH PP RA RB RL RP SA
SL SM TE WB WH WI WN
- BT DL FH GN KL OG OS PI RO SB
- ☿ CO EF MU OC RR SL
- . MI WP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (47)
- ☿ (6)



Dress (noun)

This word shows several regional forms. Odawa and CL have **mijigoodenh** (and Nichols and Nyholm 1979:139 have **majigoodenh** for a dialect in Minnesota). CL and RA (in the east), and PP, LH and LA (on the west shore of Lake Superior) have **agoodaas**. BA, and then all Saulteaux extending out from RL, WH and EM, have **magooday**. In northwestern Ontario, **magood** predominates, although at EA, AR, RB and PH, one finds an apparent blend, **magoodaas**. Algonquin, including BI and TE (and NB) has **okonaas**.

Both East Cree and Swampy have **akohp**; Bloomfield has **iskwewasaakay** for Plains, with the gloss, 'woman's dress, skirt,' but there are undoubtedly other forms in use as well.

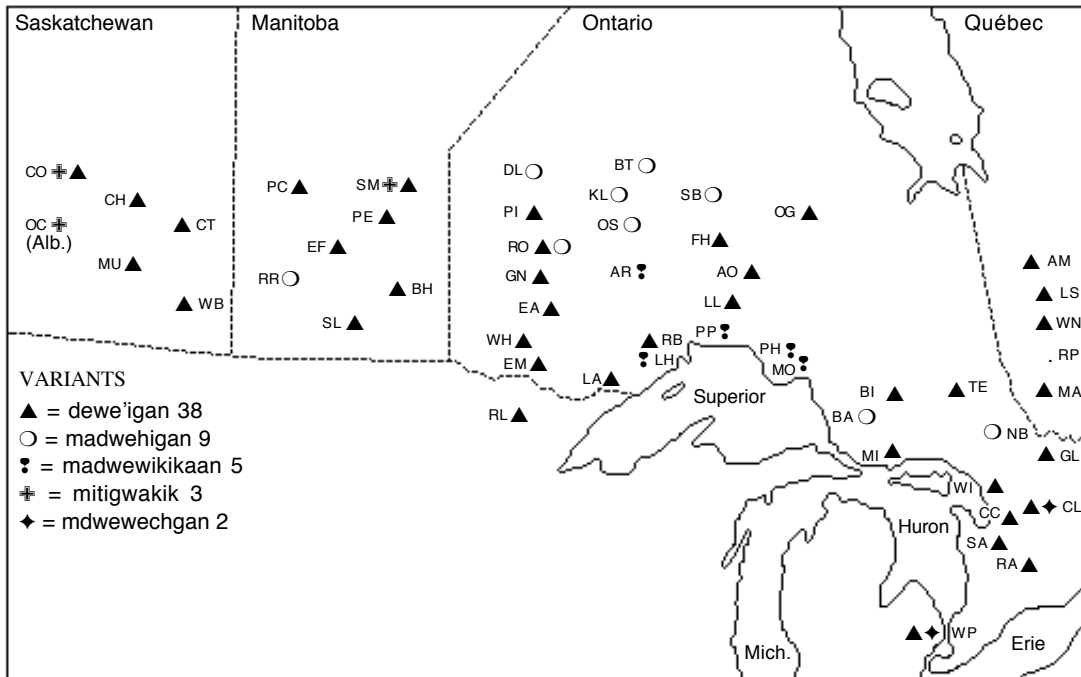
Potawatomi has **biskonye**, **m'jgode** (NI), **mj'gode**, and **nj'gode**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BA BH CH CO CT EF EM MU OC PC
PE RL RR SL SM WB WH
○ AO BT DL EA GN KL LL MO OG OS
PI RO RP SB
◐ LA
✚ CL GN LA LH PP RA
◆ AM BI LS MA NB TE WN
◇ CC CL MI SA WI WP
✳ GL
. FH

Consolidations

▲▲○◐✚ (41)
○◆ (7)
◐◇ (6)
✚✳ (1)



Drum (noun)

The most common form by far is **dewe'igan**, found everywhere except Severn and a grouping of communities north of Superior. Severn (and RO and OS) has **madwehigan**. The communities on the north shore of Superior have **madwewikikaan**, 'sounding kettle,' and the extreme western Saulteaux communities of OC and CO (and SM) have **mitigwakik**, 'wooden pail.' The Fort Severn (Cree) form is similar to that of the communities north of Superior, **matwe-askihkwaan**.

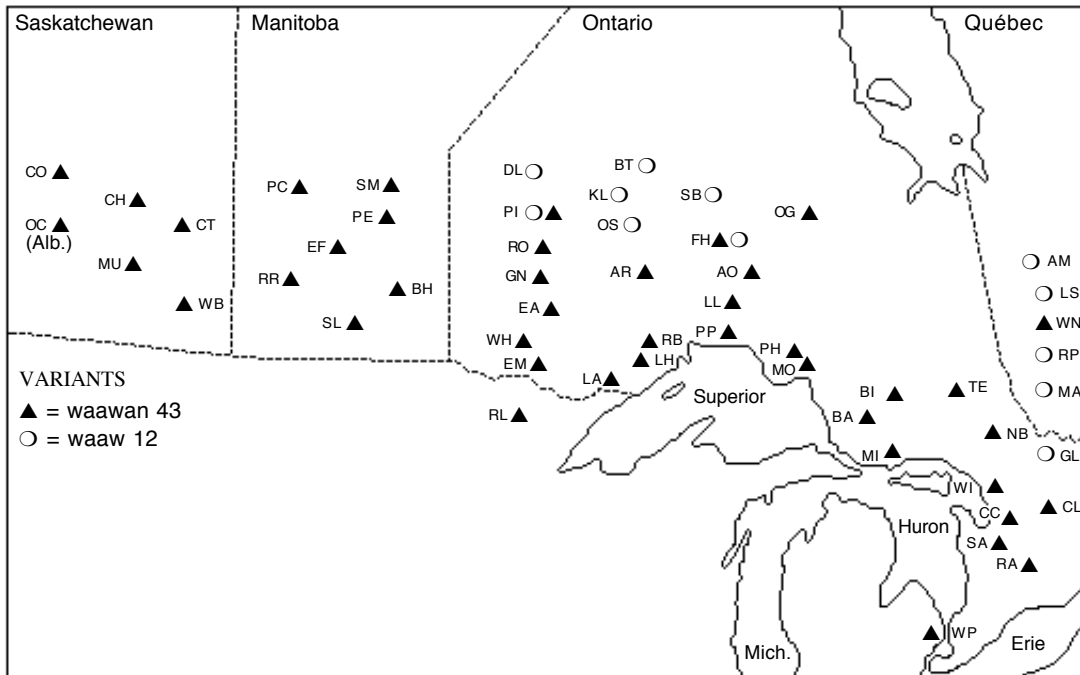
Plains Cree (BLN) has **mistikwaskihk**; East Cree **tewehiikan**. Potawatomi has **dewe'g'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA
EF EM FH GL GN LA LL LS MA MI
MU OG PC PE PI RA RB RL RO SA
SL SM TE WB WH WI WN WP
- BA BT DL KL NB OS RO RR SB
- AR LH MO PH PP
- ✚ CO OC SM
- ◆ CL WP
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (38)
- (9)
- (5)
- ✚✚ (3)
- ◆◆ (2)



Egg

This form shows a general north/south split. In Severn, as far south as FH, but not OG, and in the east throughout Quebec Algonquin and extending south to GL, the singular is **waaw**. Elsewhere it is **waawan**. It is very likely that this is an innovation in the northern dialect, since there is then a logically simple explanation for the difference— northern speakers simply reanalyzed the form **waawan** as being a plural, and then removed what appeared to be a plural inflection (final **-an**, inanimate plural marker) in order to derive a singular, **waaw**. Note that the plural of **waawan** is **waawanoon**, i.e., the stem is a 'w' final, i.e., somewhat atypical. So it is rather unlikely that southern speakers would have reanalyzed **waawan** as a singular and then created the plural, **waawanoon**.

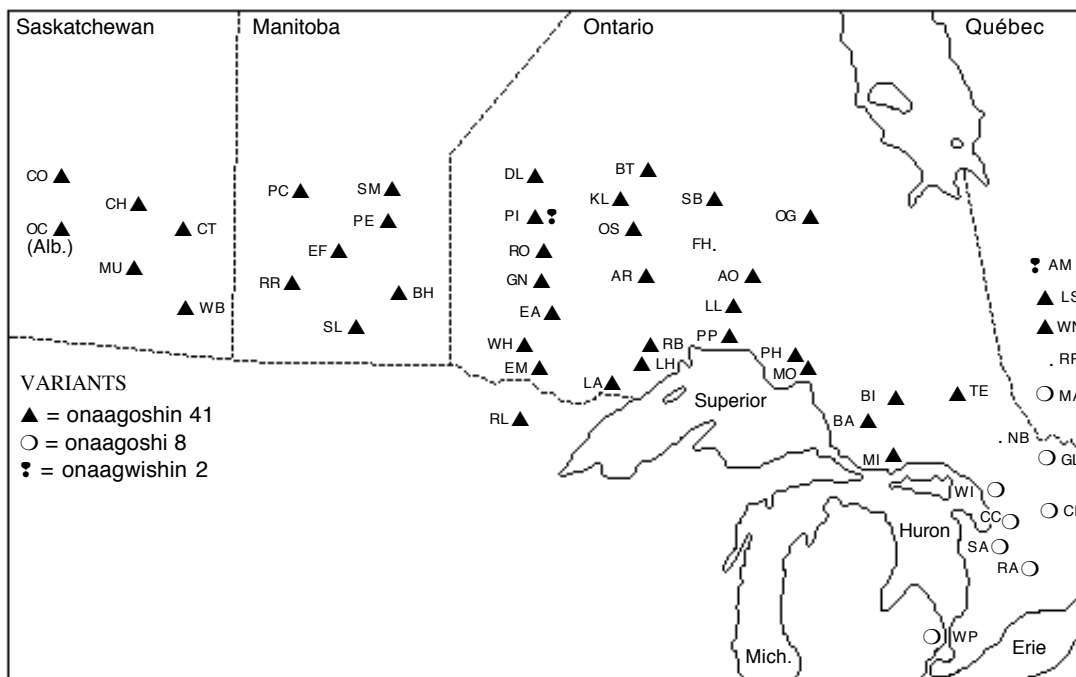
East Cree has **waau**; Plains (BLN) and Swampy both have **waawi**. Potawatomi has **waw**, with a possessive form **nwawnom**, 'my egg.' Rhodes 1989:13 lists several Central Algonquian forms, including Miami **waawi**, Fox **waawi**, Shawnee **howaawi**, and Menomini, **wa:wan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
EA EF EM GN LA LH LL MI MO MU
NB OC OG PC PE PH PI PP RA RB
RL RO RR SA SL SM TE WB WH WI
WN WP
- AM BT DL GL KL LS MA OS PI RP
SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (55)



Be evening (VII)

The variation here involves the presence the of a final **n**. All southeastern communities lack final **n**, including Nipissing dialect (GL and MA).

Swampy Cree (Fort Severn) has **otaakoshin**, very similar to Plains Cree (BLN) **otaakosin**. East Cree, however, has **utaakushuu**, lacking a final /n/.

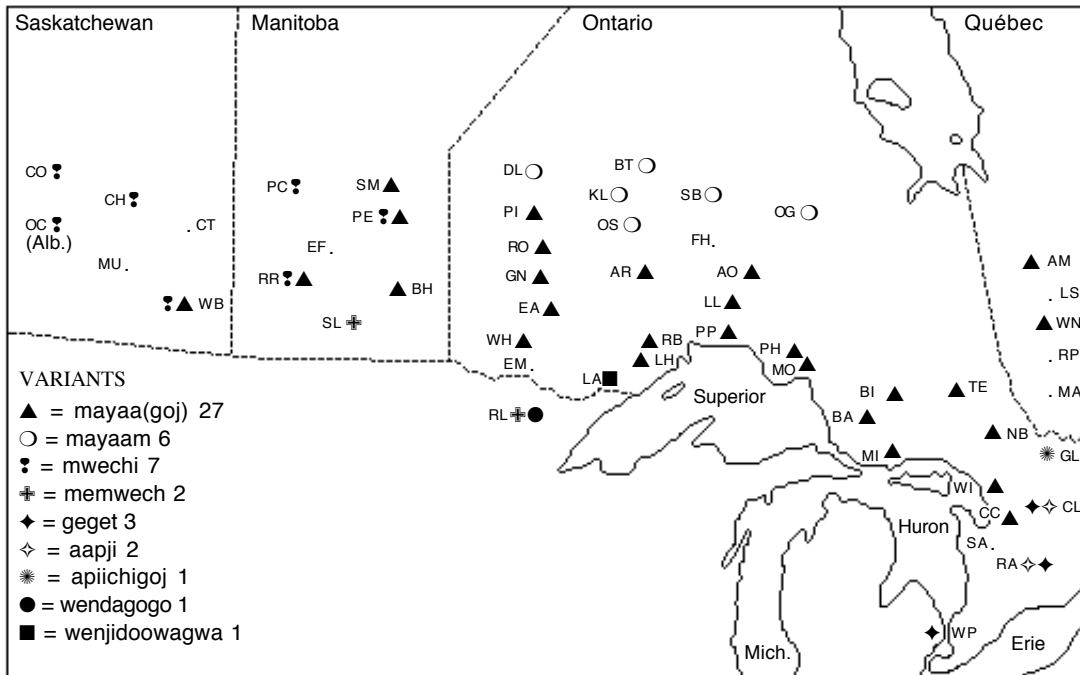
MA data from McGregor 1987:284.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL LS MI
MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP
RB RL RO RR SB SL SM TE WB WH
WN
- CC CL GL MA RA SA WI WP
- ▴ AM PI
- . FH NB RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○▴ (51)



Exactly

This word shows some regional grouping. Severn (and OS) has **mayaam**, while most of Saulteaux has **mwechi**, identical with Ft. Severn (Cree) and Plains Cree. RL and SL have related **memwech** (as does Mille Lacs, MN, (Nichols and Nyholm 1979:62)). Three southeastern communities, RA, CL, and WP have **geget**, which in many dialects means 'certainly.' The most common form is **mayaa**.

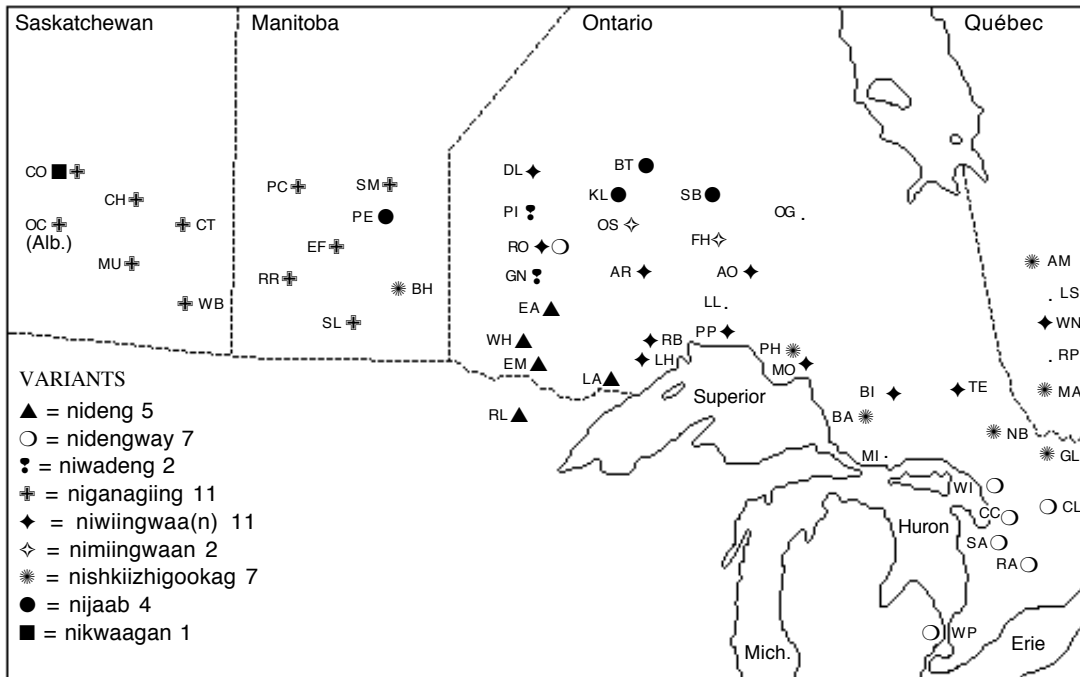
East Cree has **mwehch**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC EA GN LH
LL MI MO NB PE PH PI PP RB RO
RR SM TE WB WH WI WN
- BT DL KL OG OS SB
- ⦿ CH CO OC PC PE RR WB
- ⊕ RL SL
- ◆ CL RA WP
- ◇ CL RA
- ⊛ GL
- RL
- LA
- . CT EF EM FH LS MA MU RP SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (33)
- ⦿⊕ (9)
- ⦿◆ (3)
- ⊕◇ (2)
- ◆⊛ (1)
- ◇● (1)
- ⊛■ (1)



My face

This word shows interesting variation, in that it links together a large group of communities north of Lake Superior. A grouping of eastern communities, including AM (but not WN), BA, NB, and GL have **nishkiizhigookag**, elsewhere 'my eyes.' Southeastern areas have **nidengway**, a variant of which (lacking augment **-ay**), **nideng**, is found in the border lakes area. Another variant of this, with augment **wa-**, is found at GN and PI. Saulteaux has its own unique form, **niganagiing**. Severn has **nijaab**, except DL, which uses this term for 'my eyes.' A large block of communities extending across Ontario and Quebec from WN to DL has **niwiingwaan** or a subvariant, **nimiingwaan**, which shows a w/m alternation seen in other words, such as that for 'house' and 'onion.'

Fort Severn (Swampy Cree) has **nitaastamihkwaan**, very similar to Atikamekw, **otaastamihkw**, 'his face,' (Béland 1978:531), the same form being found in East Cree. Potawatomi has **nshkizgok**.

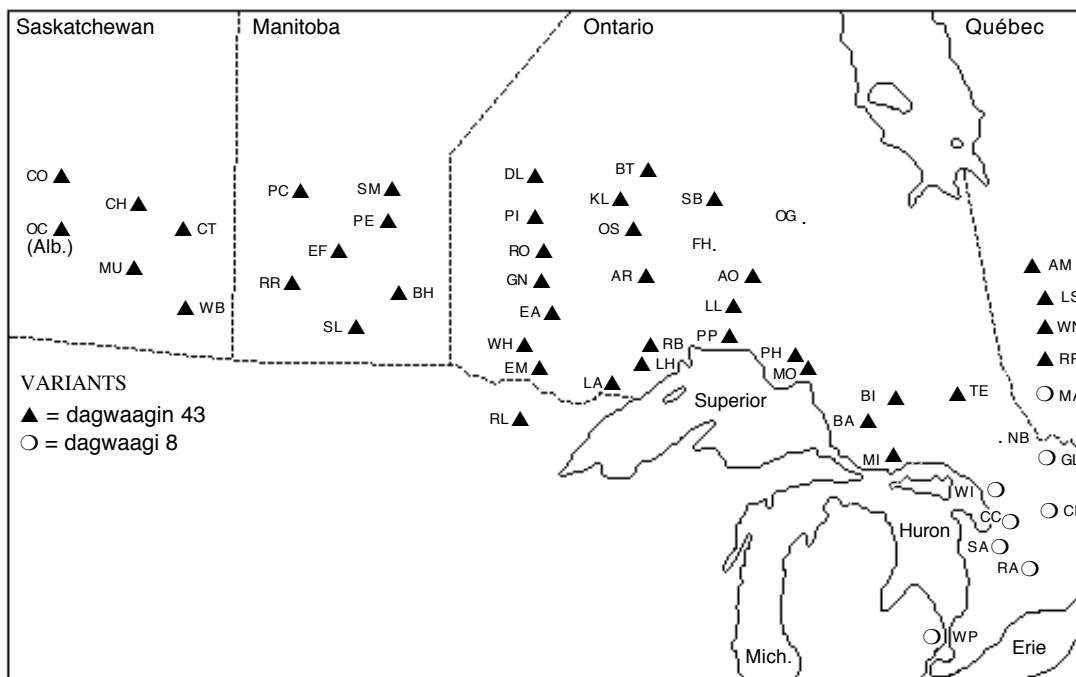
MA data from McGregor 1987:380.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ EA EM LA RL WH
- CC CL RA RO SA WI WP
- ⚫ GN PI
- † CH CO CT EF MU OC PC RR SL SM
WB
- ◆ AO AR BI DL LH MO PP RB RO TE
WN
- ◇ FH OS
- * AM BA BH GL MA NB PH
- BT KL PE SB
- CO
- . LL LS MI OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⚫ (14)
- † (11)
- ⚫◆◇ (13)
- †* (7)
- ◆● (4)
- ◇■ (1)



Be fall (autumn) (VII)

The variation here involves the presence the of a final **n**. All southeastern communities lack final **n**, including GL and MA.

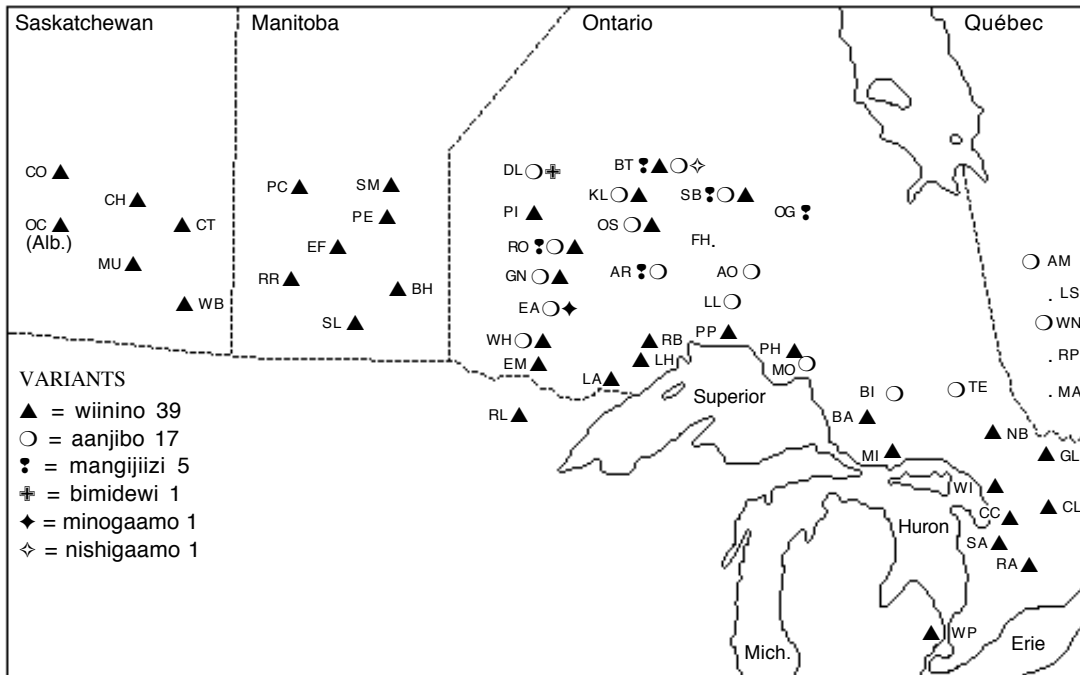
Fort Severn (Swampy Cree) and Plains Cree (BLN) have the same form as northern Ojibwe, **takwaakin**. East Cree shows palatalization, but has a final /n/, **takwaachin**. Potawatomi has **kwak't**. Miami has **tEkwakiki**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT
DL EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL LS
MI MO MU OC OS PC PE PH PI PP
RB RL RO RP RR SB SL SM TE WB
WH WN
- CC CL GL MA RA SA WI WP
. FH NB OG

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (50)



Be fat (VAI)

This is a very interesting form. Among northern communities, the common form is **aanjibo**. In the northeast, this is the only form. Among a number of communities in north-central Ontario (BT, SB, OG, AR, and also RO), **mangijiizi** was also recorded. Elsewhere, the form is uniformly **wiinino**, which also occurs in the northern dialect, but often only with reference to animals, whereas **aanjibo** is used for humans (i.e., semantic specialization has occurred).

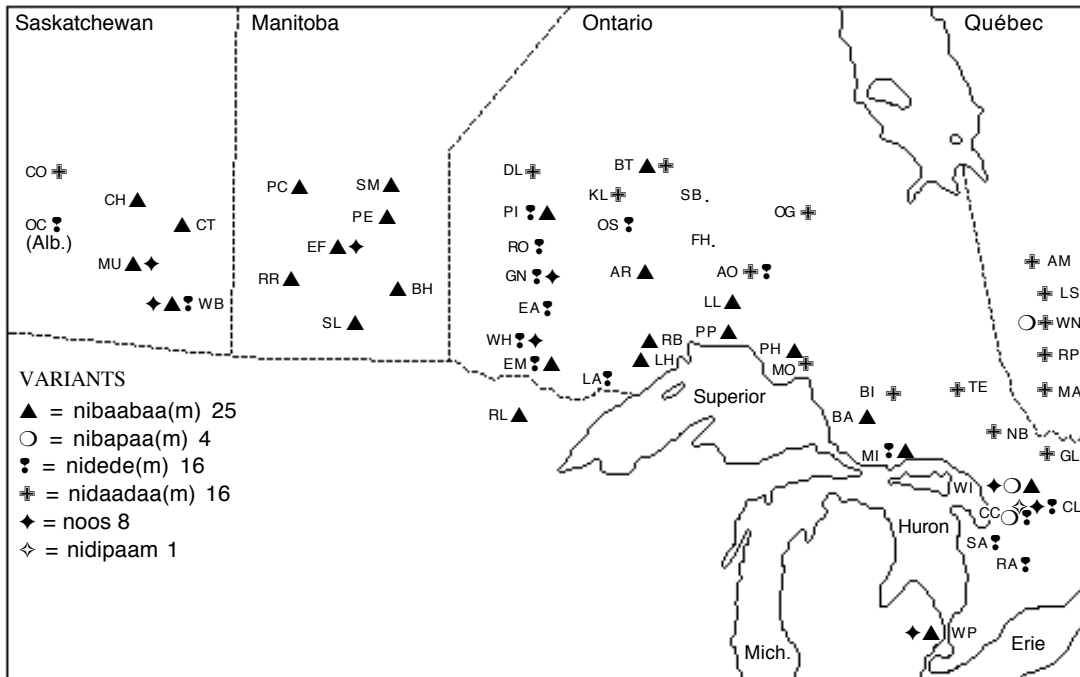
Bloomfield lists three forms for Plains Cree: **wiiyiw**, 'he is fat (non-human),' and **wiyinoow** and **miyokamoow**, the last two glossed only as 'he is fat.' East Cree attested forms include **taahchipuu** and **wiyuu**. I have **taanchipow** for Fort Severn, but the /n/ is very likely a copying error for /h/. Rhodes 1989:4 gives **weelinwiaani** for Miami, **anakwiiwa** for Fox, **holakwi** for Shawnee and **ona:kow** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH BT CC CH CL CO CT DL EF
EM GL GN KL LA LH MI MU NB OC
OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO
RR SA SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BI BT DL EA GN KL LL
MO OS RO SB TE WH
- ♣ AR BT OG RO SB
- † DL
- ◆ EA
- ◇ BT
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (39)
- (17)
- ♣♣ (5)
- †† (1)
- ◆◆ (1)
- ◇◇ (1)



My father

There are several subgroupings in my data, though they are not always tight. A general northern form, **nidaadaa(m)**, is found throughout Algonquin, extending south to GL and at AO and in Severn. A form **nidede(m)** is found throughout the southeast, and then turns up very strongly in western Ontario. Though I did not collect this form at RL (Minnesota), Nichols and Nyholm (1979:145) have **nidede** (along with **nibaabaa**) for Mille Lacs, Minnesota, so perhaps this is a general southern form. Elsewhere, the common form is **nibaabaa**. This form occurs exclusively north of Lake Superior, and in Saulteaux it is also very strong. An obsolescing form, **noos**, is well represented in Odawa (WI and WP, and CL which often patterns with WI and WP), and in Saulteaux (GN,WH (southwestern Ontario); EF, MU, and WB).

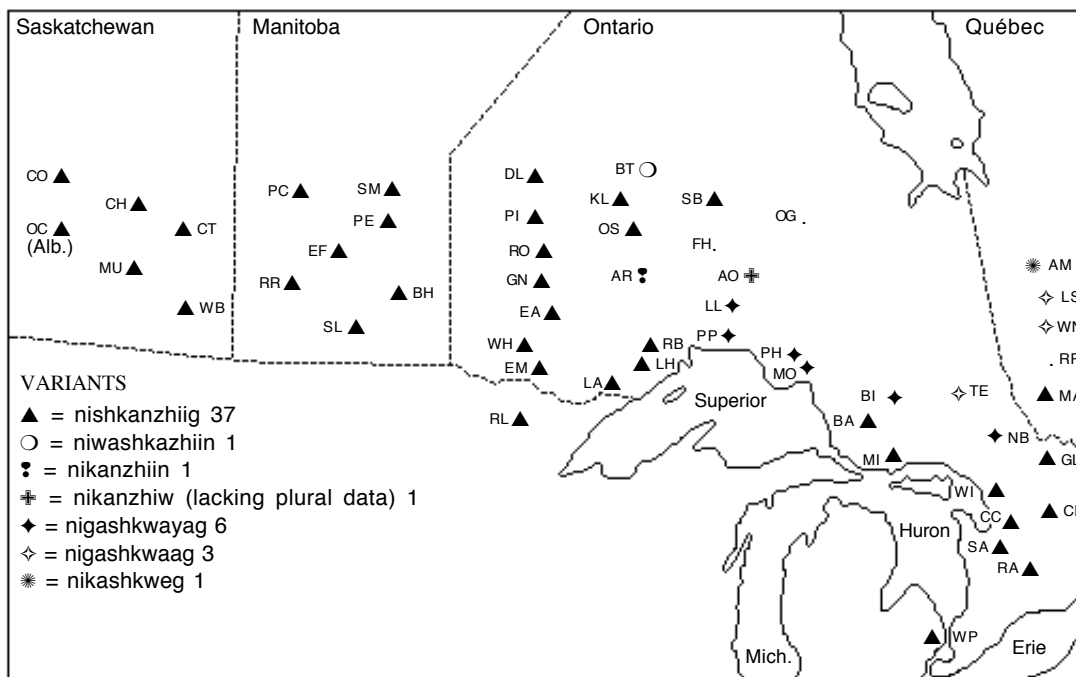
Fort Severn Cree has **noohtaawi**, East Cree, **uhtaawiih**, 'his father.' Potawatomi has **ndedey'k** and **nos**. Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **noohsa**, Fox **noosa**, Shawnee **nohza**, and Menomini **no:hnE?**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BT CH CT EF EM LH LL
MI MU PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RR
SL SM WB WI WP
- CC CL WI WN
- AO CC CL EA EM GN LA MI OC OS
PI RA RO SA WB WH
- ✚ AM AO BI BT CO DL GL KL LS MA
MO NB OG RP TE
- ◆ CL EF GN MU WB WH WI WP
- ◇ CL
- . FH SB

Consolidations

- ▲ ● ✚ (32)
- ▲ ○ (29)
- ◆ (8)
- ✚ ◇ (1)



My (finger)nails

There are two families of variants, one with a stem **gashkw-**, e.g., **nigashkwaag**, found in core Algonquin, but extending west to all communities on northwestern L. Superior and to LL. Elsewhere the form has the string **-ka(n)zh**, most commonly **nishkanzhiig**.

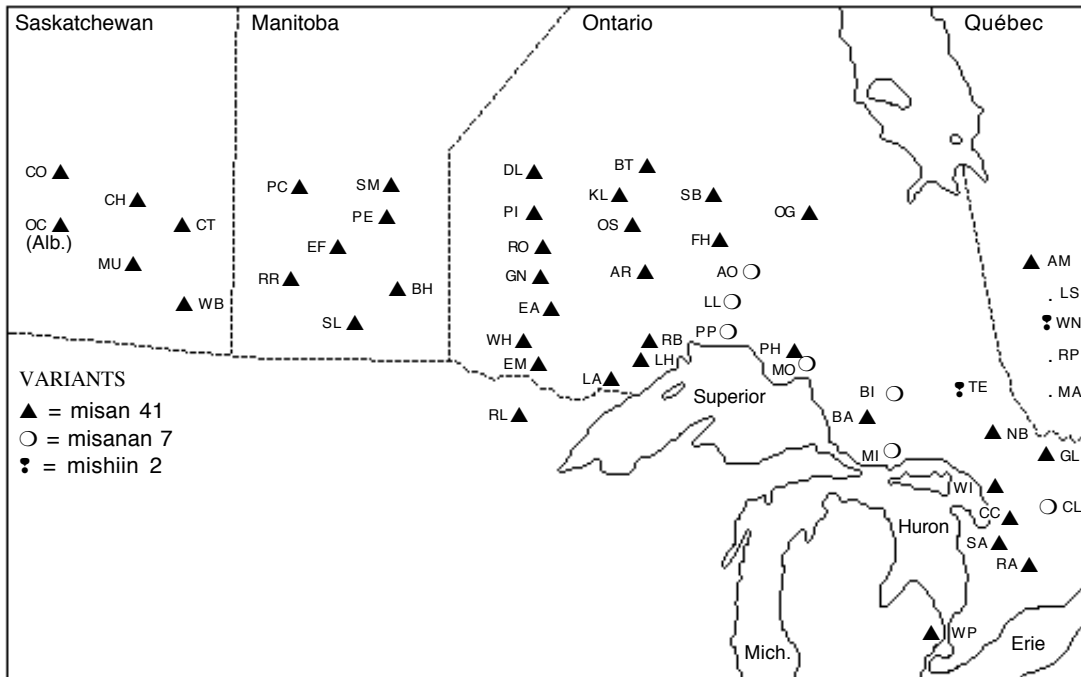
East Cree has **ushkashii**, ‘his nail, claw’ (NDA), also **mishkashii**, ‘peak (of a cap), nail (of finger or toe).’ I recorded **nishkashiy** for Fort Severn (Swampy Cree). **nixka?Ushi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT DL EA EF
EM GL GN KL LA LH MA MI MU OC
OS PC PE PI RA RB RL RO RR SA
SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
- BT
- AR
- ✦ AO
- ◆ BI LL MO NB PH PP
- ◇ LS TE WN
- ★ AM
- . OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦✦ (40)
- ◆◇★ (10)



Firewood (plural)

The most common form by far is **misan**. **Misanan** occurs in several communities focussed northeast of Lake Superior, but including CL and MI. This form represents an apparent reanalysis of the original plural form, **misan**, as a singular, to which the productive inanimate plural suffix, **-an**, has been added. TE and WN have **mishiin**, evidently an analogical formation based on the singular.

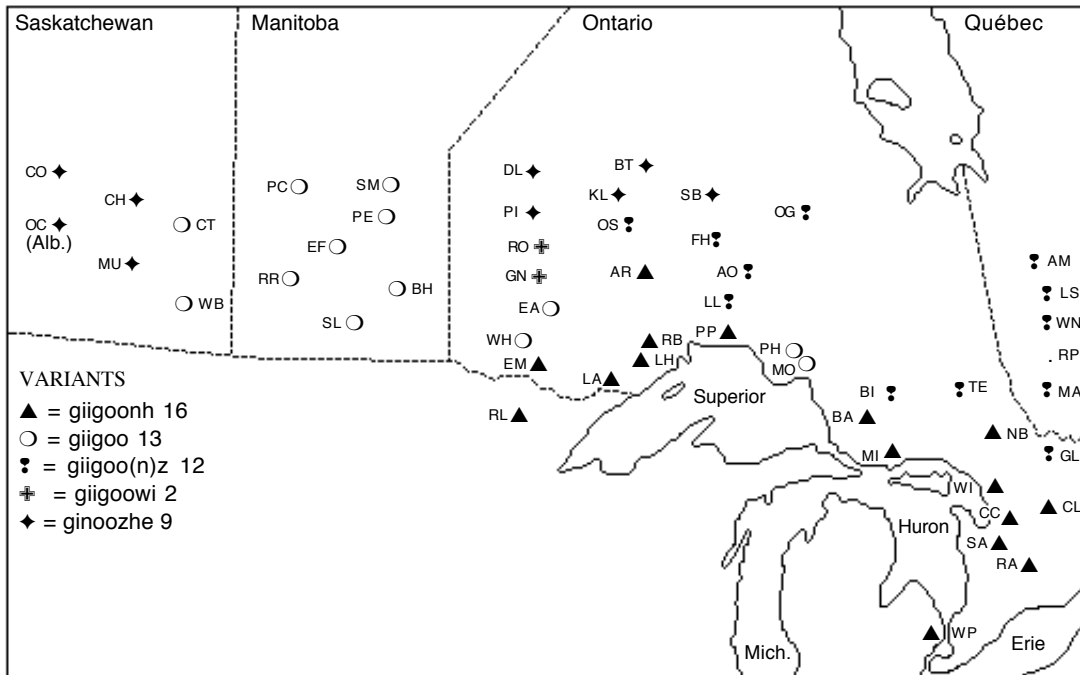
The only plural Cree form I have is from Fort Severn, Ontario (Swampy Cree): **mihta**, from singular **mihti**. Peoria has plural, **mis:U**, singular **mis:i**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BA BH BT CC CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM FH GL GN KL LA LH MU
NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI RA RB
RL RO RR SA SB SL SM WB WH WI
WP
- AO BI CL LL MI MO PP
- TE WN
- . LS MA RPN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (50)



Fish (noun)

There are two principal variants. As with several other forms in my data, there is a significant variation in the diminutive/pejorative suffixes that occur with the basic stem. Most southern communities have stem **giigoo-** to which may be attached a suffix, either **-nh** or **-(n)s/z**. **-nh** is most common in the southeast, so that bare stems occur only at PH and MO east of EA. EA and WH, along with all Saulteaux use **giigoo-**. It may be that some of these communities originally had **-nh**, which they have lost. I do not know how ancient the **-nh** diminutive is, but certainly it predates the split of Saulteaux from the more easterly dialects. A minor variant occurs at GN and RO, both having a suffix (?) **-wi**.

A sub-variant of **giigoo-** has a suffix **-(n)s/z**. It occurs throughout Algonquin, including marginal MA and GL, and extends in a band north of Lakes Huron and Superior as far as OS, taking in the marginal southeast Severn communities of OG and FH as well.

The other major variant is **ginoozhe**, found south to PI, which shows up among the four westernmost Saulteaux communities as well. This word is in common usage in the south, with the meaning 'pike, jackfish,' which it also has in Cree (Ellis 1983 and my Fort Severn data). Faries 1938 gives **kinoosao** as general Cree word for 'fish,' but agrees with my Fort Severn data in showing the Swampy Cree as using the form **names** (as does Constance Lake). It could easily be that the Severn word for 'fish' is traditional, not borrowed, but its status in western Saulteaux is much more suspect, since all of the communities in the extreme western range live in multi-

Communities Grouped by Variant

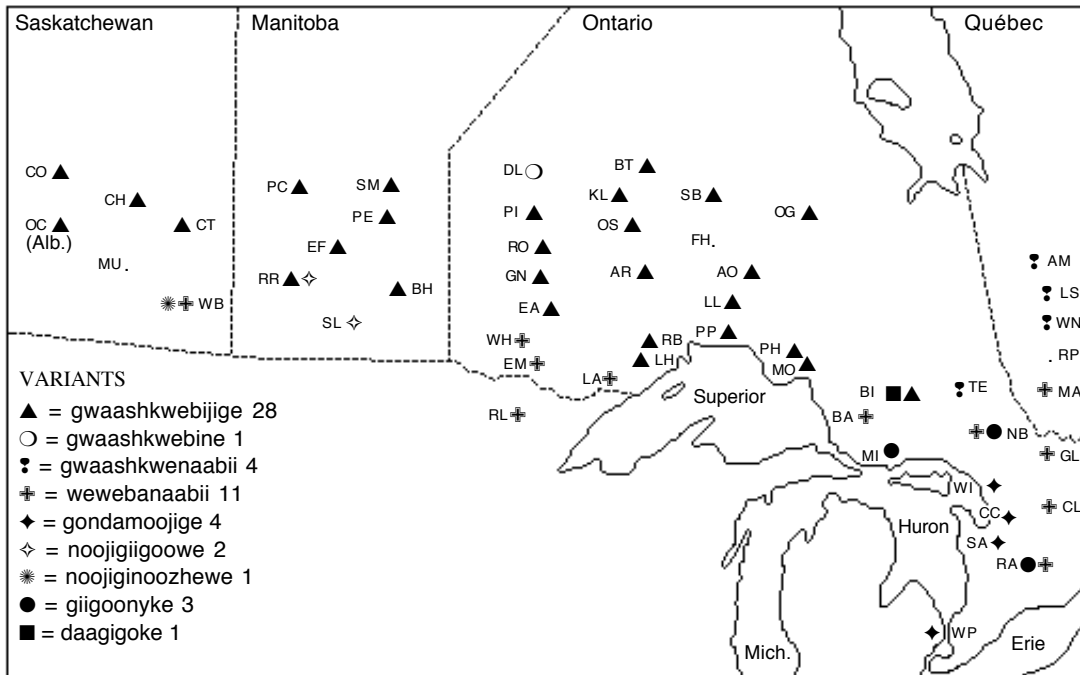
- ▲ AR BA CC CL EM LA LH MI NB PP
RA RB RL SA WI WP
- BH CT EA EF MO PC PE PH RR SL
SM WB WH
- ◐ AM AO BI FH GL LL LS MA OG OS
TE WN
- † GN RO
- ◆ BT CH CO DL KL MU OC PI SB
- RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◐† (43)
- ◆ (9)

lingual reserve situations where Cree is prominent. Certainly we should not try to link Severn and these western communities on the basis of this word.

Plains Cree: **names**, **kinosew**; East Cree, **names**. Potwatomi, **gigos**. Rhodes 1989:6 lists **namês** for Plains Cree, **kihkonehsa** for Miami, **nameesa** for Fox, **namehza** for Shawnee, and **namE:ʔs** for Menomini.



Fish with a line (VAI)

This word has several local variants of some interest. Algonquin has **gwaashkvenaabii**. A band of extreme southeastern communities (MA, GL, RA, CL) has **wewebanaabii**, which also shows up in a very tight grouping of border lakes communities. Elsewhere, the form is **gwaashkwebijige**, except for a few localisms, MI, NB, RA, **giigoonhke**, which is probably quite general; RR, SL, **noojigiigoowe**, and, related, at WB, **noojiginoozhewe**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **kwaashkwekicikaakew**.

There is room for a lot of variation in Algonquian languages, in a word of this sort, e.g., one can talk about fishing in a sense of gathering fish, or focus on the method, etc. Bloomfield gives **nootamesew** for 'he is fishing.' This same form is that given in the East Cree lexicon (**nuutameseu**), and no other forms are listed. This word has rather transparent morphology, **noot**, 'seek,' **-ame**, 'fish,' **-e**, AI verbal final. So this word means (literally), 'he goes after fish.'

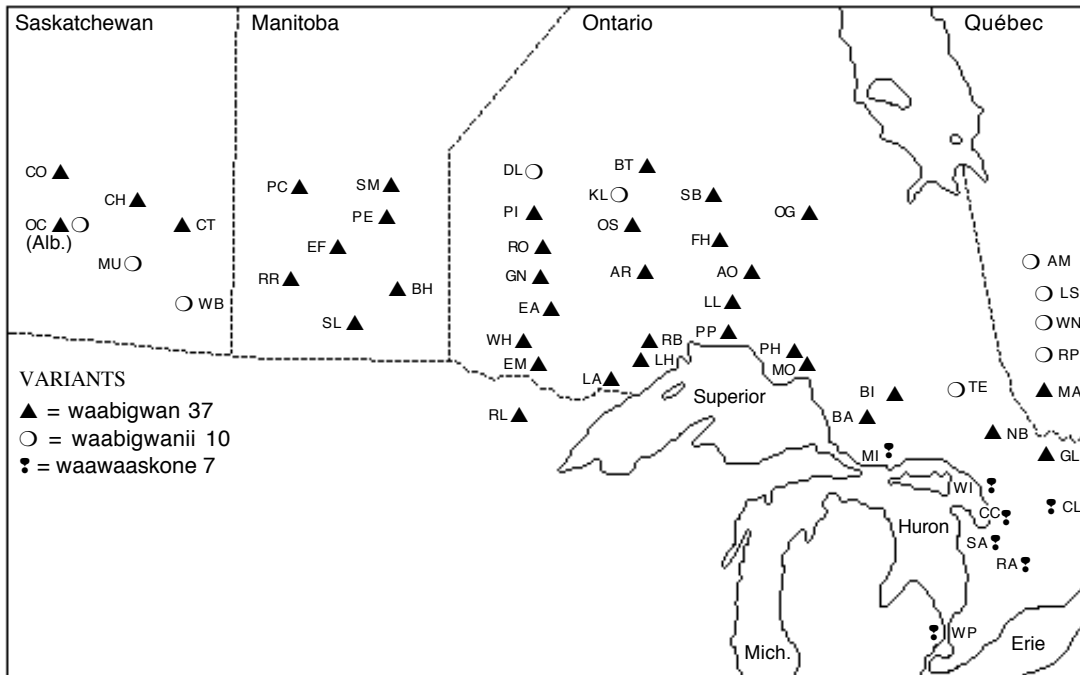
Potawatomi has **gwd'mojget**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BI BT CH CO CT EA EF
GN KL LH LL MO NB OC OG OS PC
PE PH PI PP RB RO RR SB SM
- DL
- AM LS TE WN
- † BA CL EM GL LA MA RA RL WB WH
- ◆ CC SA WI WP
- ◇ RR SL
- * WB
- MI NB RA
- BI
- . FH MU RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (33)
- † (10)
- ◆ (4)
- †● (3)
- ◆◇ (2)
- ◇* (1)
- *■ (1)



Flower

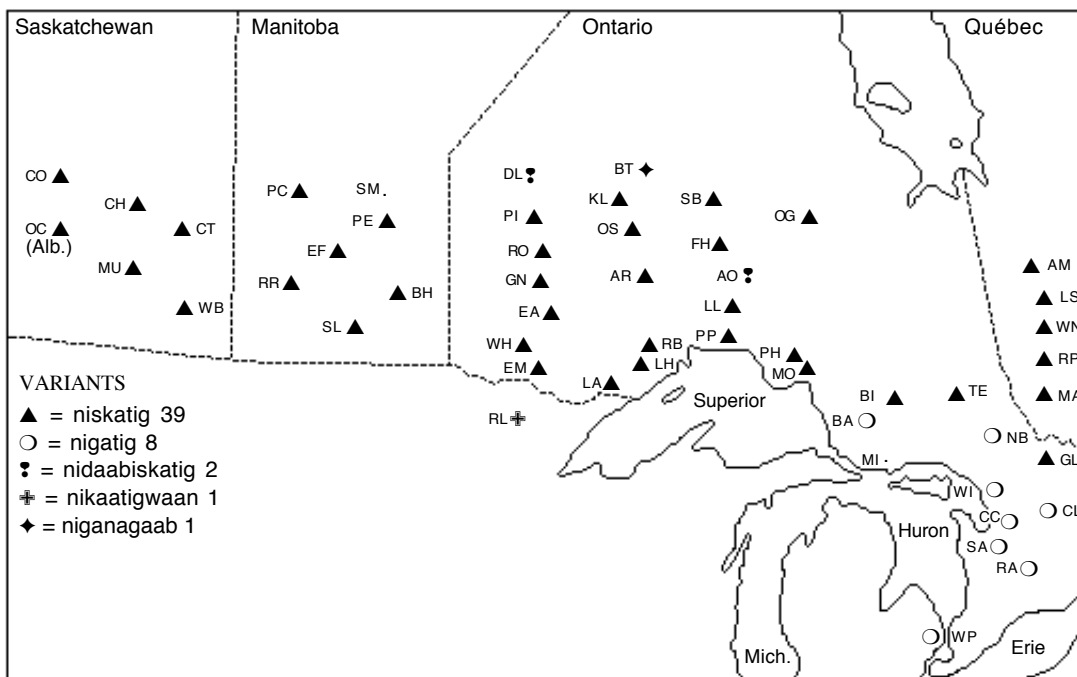
There are two main variants, **waawaaskone**, in the southeast, embracing all communities south of BA and GL, and **wabigwan(ii)**, found elsewhere. Waabigwanii is found in the northern Algonquin communities and TE, and also in two Severn communities, DL and KL. It also turned up at three western Saulteaux locations, OC, MU, and WB, all having Cree populations in cohabitation. Constance Lake has **waabigolii**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **waapikwan**, lacking a final vowel, though Faries 1938 gives the form **wapikwune** as a general Cree form. Plains Cree (BLN) has **waapakoniw**; East Cree, **waapikun**. Potawatomi has **wasgonedo**. Rhodes 1989:4 gives **peehkateeki** for Miami, **pees&koneewiia** for Fox, **pahpehkiwe** for Shawnee and **wa:ʔsa:hko=** **nawE:to:hsEh** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT EA
 EF EM FH GL GN KL LA LH LL MA
 MO NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP
 RB RL RO RR SB SL SM WH
 ○ AM DL LS MU OC RP TE WB WN
 ● CC CL MI RA SA WI WP

Consolidations

▲ ▲ ○ (47)
 ○ ● (7)



My forehead

The southeastern communities (including all Odawa and Eastern except marginal GL/MA) have **nigatig**; elsewhere the form is almost universally **niskatig**.

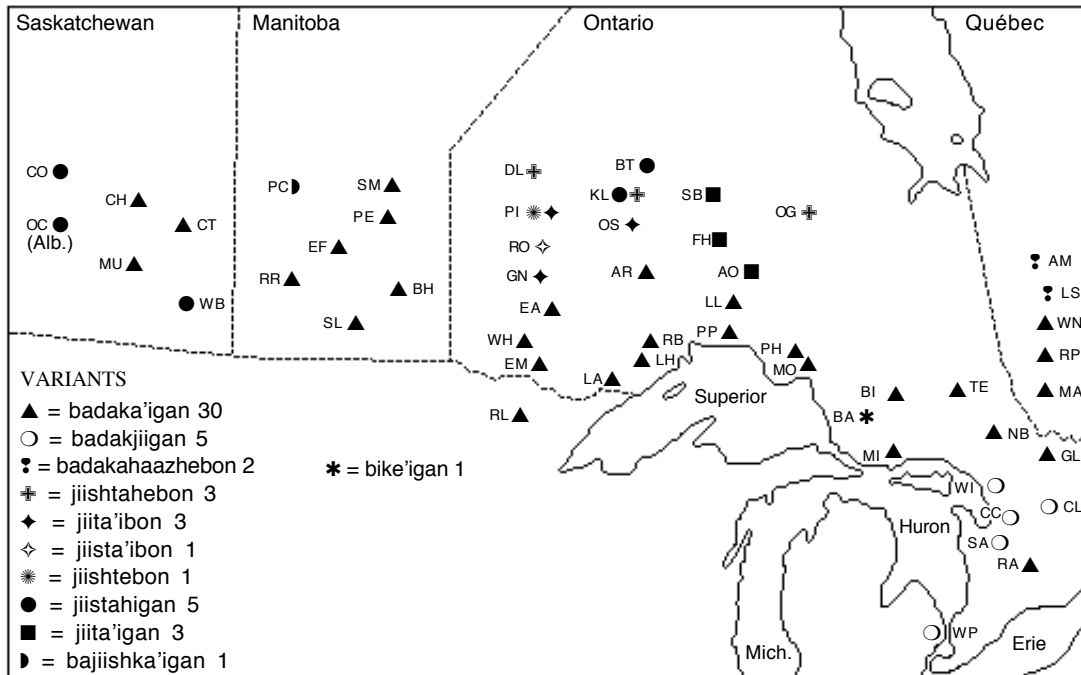
East Cree has the form, **uskahtik**, glossed, 'his forehead, front webbing on a snowshoe.' Fort Severn has the same form, **niskahtik**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BH BI CH CO CT EA EF EM
FH GL GN KL LA LH LL LS MA MO
MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB
RO RP RR SB SL TE WB WH WN
- BA CC CL NB RA SA WI WP
- AO DL
- (with cross) RL
- ◆ BT
- MI SM

Consolidations

- ▲▲○■ (49)
- (1)
- ◆ (1)



Fork (noun)

Here I find regionally focussed variation. In the southeast, the common form is **badakjiigan**, which occurs with core Odawa and CL. North of this, and extending all the way to eastern Saskatchewan, one finds the related variant, **badaka'igan**. AM and LS at the northern edge of Algonquin have yet another variant, **badakahaazhebon**. In northern Ontario a number of variants based on a different root occur, in two sets showing parallel relationship. The extreme northern communities of BT and KL have **jiistahigan**. AO, FH and SB, southeast of these communities, have the same form, but with the sibilant weakened to h, **jiitahigan**. RO has **jiista'ibon**, while PI, GN and OS show the same form with the sibilant weakened to h, **jiita'ibon**. DL, KL and OG have an apparently related form, **jiishtahebon**.

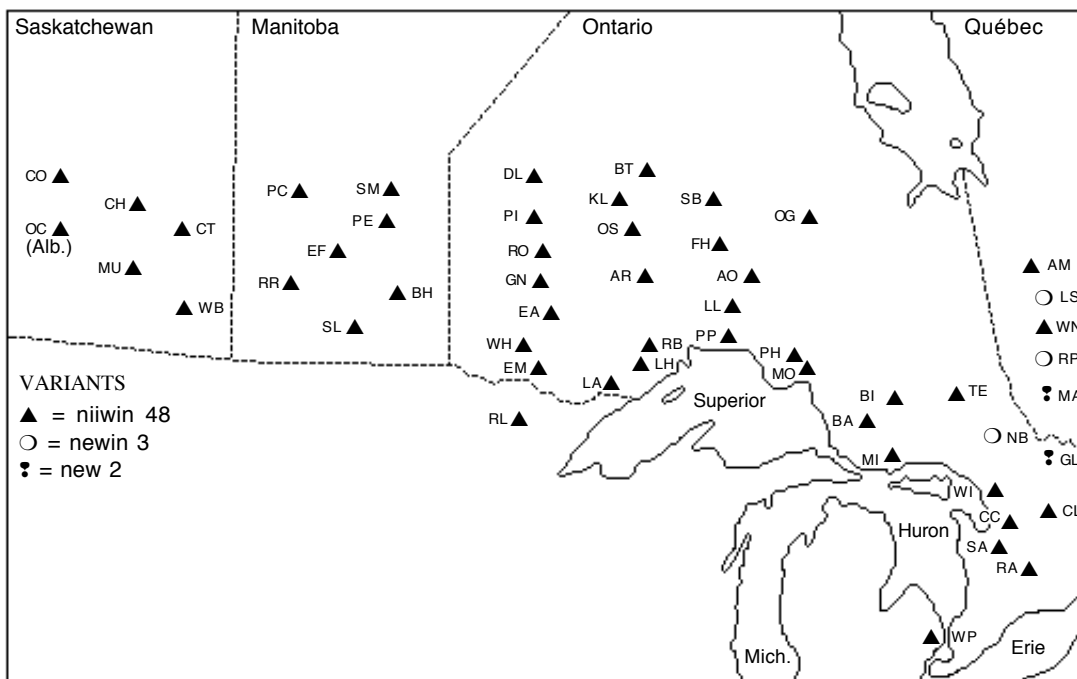
Bloomfield has **ciiscahikanis** and **ciistasepaakan** for Plains Cree. Fort Severn (Swampy), **ciistahikan**; East Cree, **chiishtaamaapuun** and **chikahamaapuun**. Potawatomi has **bdakjig'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH BI CH CT EA EF EM GL LA
LH LL MA MI MO MU NB PE PH PP
RA RB RL RP RR SL SM TE WH WN
- CC CL SA WI WP
- ♣ AM LS
- ⚡ DL KL OG
- ⬠ GN OS PI
- ⬡ RO
- ⚙ PI
- BT CO KL OC WB
- AO FH SB
- PC
- * BA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣ (37)
- ⚡⬠⚙●■ (16)
- ♣▸ (1)
- ⚡* (1)



Four

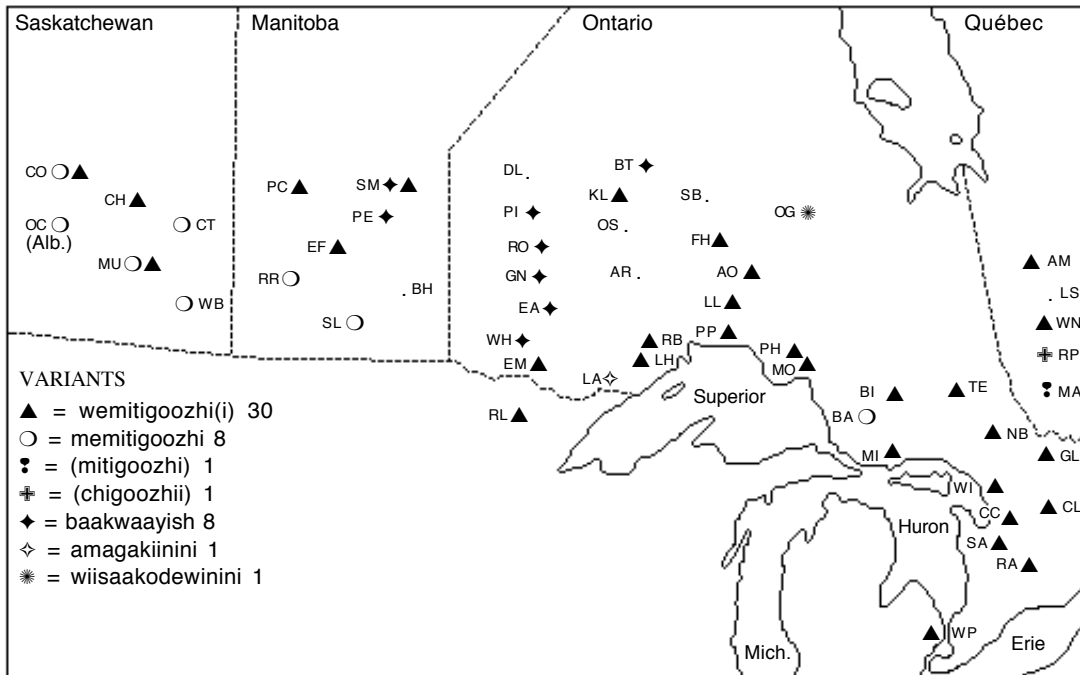
There is only minor variation in this form. Nearly everywhere the form is **niiwin**, with **-in** augment found in northern forms for 'two' and 'three.' LS and RP have **newin**, while GL and MA lack the augment, **-in**, but have **new**, in agreement with LS and RP, and also Atikamekw (Béland 1978:505). East Cree and Swampy also have **new**. Bloomfield has an II verb, **newin**, 'it is four.' Potawatomi has **njew**, **nyew**. Miami (D) has **niwi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL
 CO CT DL EA EF EM FN GN KL LA
 LH LL MI MO MU OC OG OS PC PE
 PH PI PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SB
 SL SM TE WB WH WI WN WP
 ○ LS NB RP
 ● GL MA

Consolidations

▲▲○● (52)



Frenchman

The most common form is some variant of **wemitigoozhi**. There is a common pattern among variants involving alternation of initial /w/ and /m/. This form is probably derived from a nominalized verb of possession, built on a form inflected for a third person possessor, involving initial change, meaning literally, 'he has a wooden (as opposed to bark?) boat,' **omitigoozhi**. Under initial change, **o** becomes **we**. This allows an easy explanation for the form with **w**, but what of that with **m**? Perhaps there has been some analogical change the form with the generalized possessor prefix, **m-**. Forms with **m** show an interesting distribution, occurring at BA (near Sault Saint Marie) and all western Saulteaux except CH. Many forms involve palatalization of the **t** of **wemitigoozhi** to **ch**, perhaps a form of playful pejoration for humorous effect. Several communities in central Manitoba lack initial **w-**, perhaps simply a general phonological phenomenon.

Another form showing regional clustering is **baakwaayish**, which occurs in along the Ontario/Manitoba border.

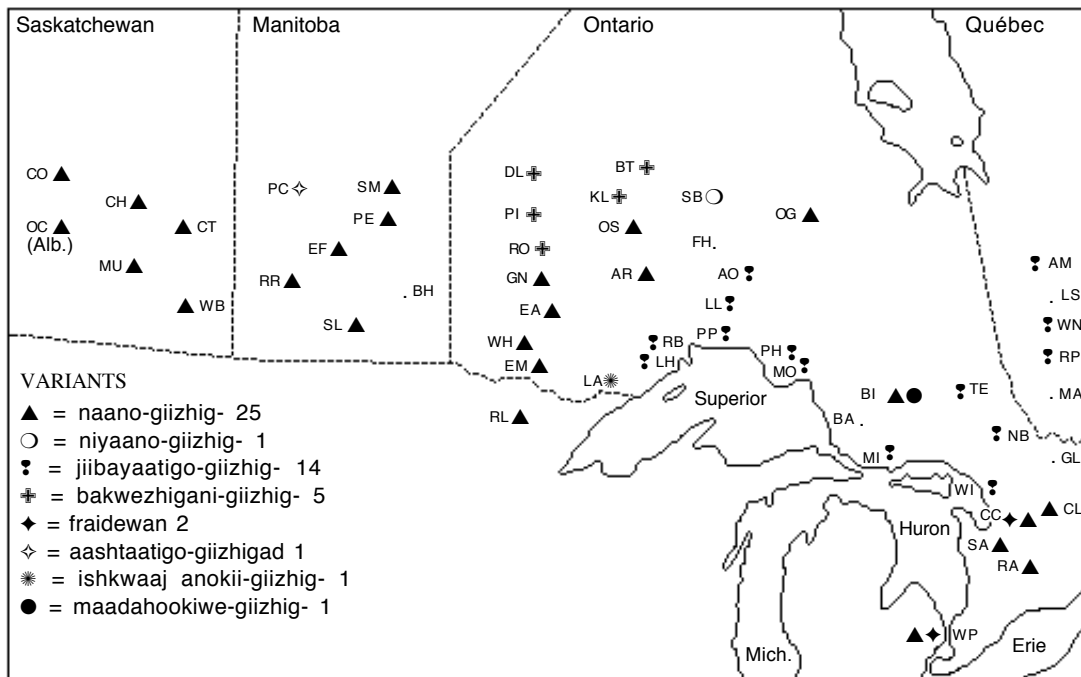
East Cree has **pishtikwaayaau**, very similar to Swampy Cree, **opistikweyaaw**; Plains Cree (BLN), **wemistikoo=siw**, glossed 'Frenchman, French Canadian, white man.' Miami (D) has **mätikosia**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AO BI CC CH CL CO EF EM FH
 GL KL LH LL MI MO MU NB PC PH
 PP RA RB RL SA SM TE WI WP
 ○ BA CO CT MU OC RR SL WB
 ◐ MA
 ⊕ RP
 ◆ BT EA GN PE PI RO SM WH
 ◇ LA
 ⊛ OG
 . AR BH DL LS OG OS SB WN

Consolidations

▲▲○◐⊕ (39)
 ○◆ (8)
 ◐◇ (1)
 ⊕⊛ (1)



Be Friday (VII)

This word shows some interesting regional variation. In the east, extending from Algonquin, embracing the communities on the north shore of Lake Huron and continuing west to RB and LH, the form is **jiibayaatigo-giizhig**, 'cross day.' This of course suggests an area of Roman Catholic influence. In Severn, extending south to RO, one commonly finds **bakwezhigani-giizhig**, 'flour day.' WP and CC have **fraidewan**, adapted from the English. Elsewhere, the common form is **naanogiiizhig**, 'day five (of the week).' Biscotasing has **maadahookiwe-giizhig**, the initial element also appears in an entry in McGregor's 1987:163 lexicon, **maadahookiiwin**, which is glossed as, 'apportionment, division into shares or portions, especially of land.'

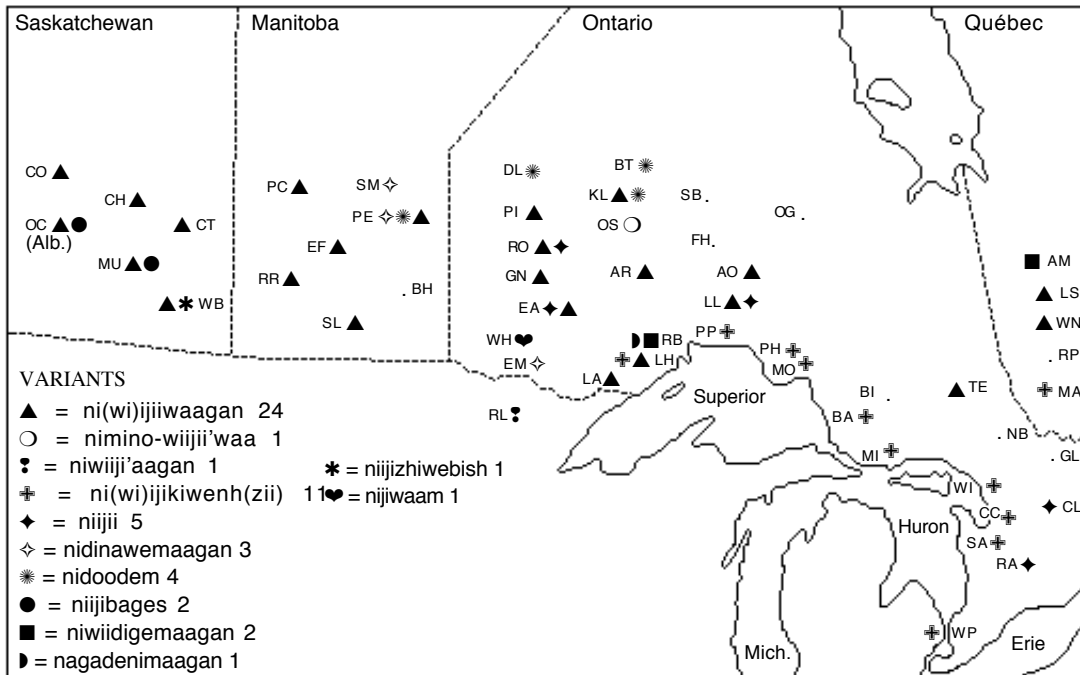
East Cree has **pahkweshikan-chiishikaau**; Fort Severn, **ciipayahtiko-kiishikaaw**; Plains (BLN), **maatinwe-kiisikaasin**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BI CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM
GN MU OC OG OS PE RA RL RR SA
SL SM WB WH WP
- SB
- AM AO LH LL MI MO NB PH PP RB
RP TE WI WN
- ✚ BT DL KL PI RO
- ◆ CC WP
- ◇ PC
- * LA
- BI
- . BA BH FH GL LS MA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (26)
- (14)
- ✚ (5)
- ✚◆ (2)
- ◆◇ (1)
- ◇* (1)
- *● (1)



My friend

There is some regionalism to the responses. Severn, and PE, have **nidoodem**, traditionally a term designating clan affiliation (compare the term borrowed into English, 'totem'); around the Great Lakes, the common form is **niwijiwenzii**. In Saulteaux, and many portions of western Ontario, the most common form is **niwijiwaagan**.

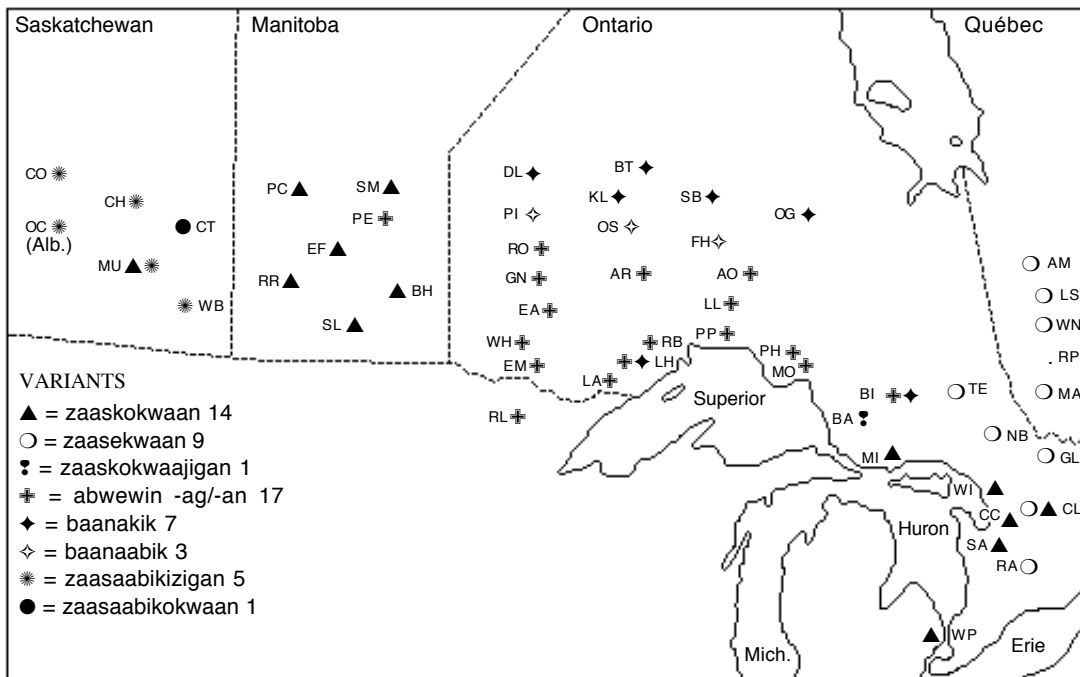
Swampy Cree has **nitootem**, as does East Cree. Potawatomi has **nikan, nnikan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR CH CO CT EA EF GN KL LA
LH LL LS MU OC PC PE PI RO RR
SL TE WB WN
- OS
- ⦿ RL
- ✦ BA CC LH MA MI MO PH PP SA WI
WP
- ✧ CL EA LL RA RO
- ◊ EM PE SM
- ⊛ BT DL KL PE
- MU OC
- AM RB
- ▷ RB
- * WB
- ♥ WH
- . BH BI FH GL NB OG RP SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿ (26)
- ✦ (11)
- ⦿✧ (5)
- ✦⊛ (4)
- ✧◊ (3)
- ◊● (2)
- ⊛■ (2)
- ▷ (1)
- * (1)
- ▷♥ (1)



Frying pan

This is a very good item for showing regional variation. Along the edge of Lake Huron, and curiously, throughout Manitoba, the common form is **zaaskokwaan**. Algonquin and Eastern Ojibwe share a related form, **zaasekwaan**. Beginning at BI and extending in a wide band north of Lake Superior, the form is **abwewin**, which shows some variation regarding animacy. Just north of this, there is a narrow band of three communities having **baanaabik**, while north of these there is an apparently related form, **baanakik**, which also occurs at LH and BI. Saskatchewan also shows unique forms, most commonly **zaasaabik=izigan**, with the lone exception being **zaasaabikokwaan** at CT.

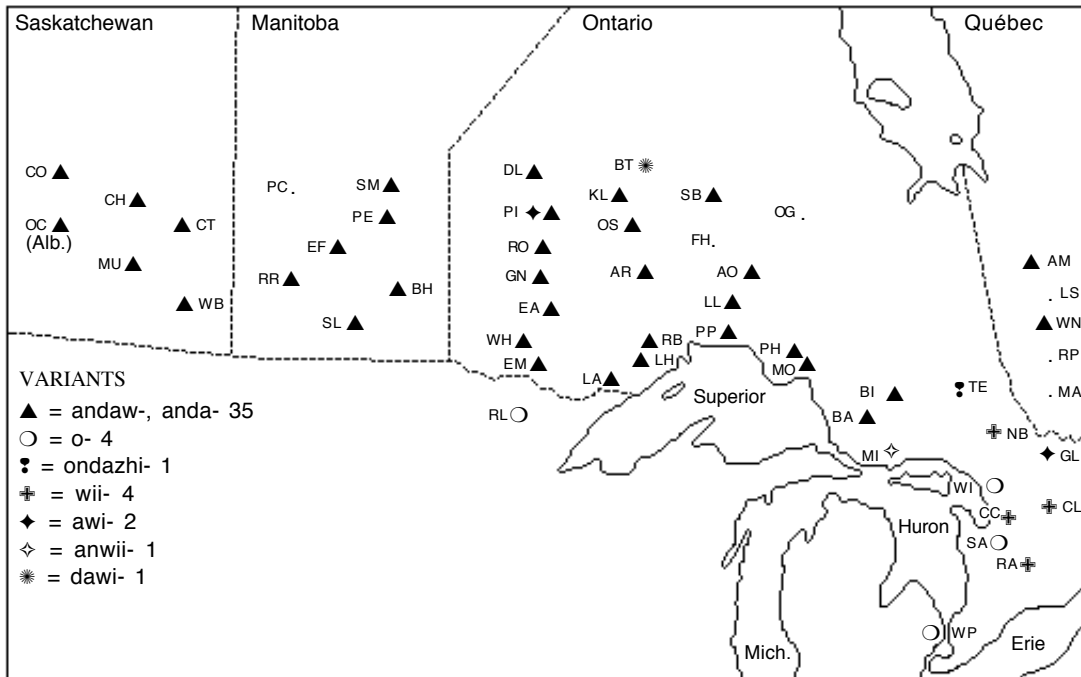
East Cree has **paanischihkw**, and Swampy, **paanaskihk**, similar to the Severn form. Plains (BLN) has **saasaapiskisikan**. Potawatomi has **saskowesg'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CC CL EF MI MU PC RR SA SL
SM WI WP
- AM CL GL LS MA NB RA TE WN
- ♣ BA
- † AO AR BI EA EM GN LA LH LL MO
PE PH PP RB RL RO WH
- ◆ BI BT DL KL LH OG SB
- ◇ FH OS PI
- * CH CO MU OC WB
- CT
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ (23)
- † (17)
- ♣ ◆ ◇ (9)
- † * ● (6)



Go over to... (preverb)

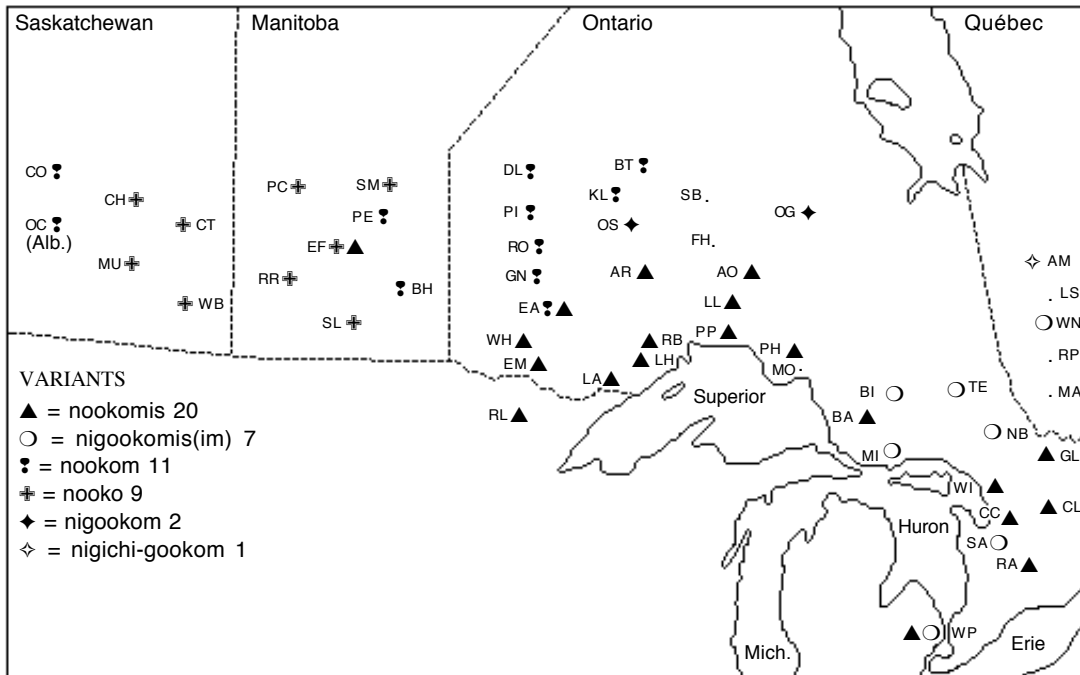
Here I was trying to collect the translocative, indicating 'a transfer from the point of reference to another location' (Nichols 1980:140). It is a difficult concept to communicate, so the data here is probably not reliable. There is a small grouping of southern communities showing o-, CC, RA, CL and RL (this form also occurs at Mille Lacs, Minnesota (Nichols 1980)).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL MO MU
OC OS PE PH PI PP RB RO RR SB
SL SM WB WH WN
- RL SA WI WP
- ⦿ TE
- ⊕ CC CL NB RA
- ◆ GL PI
- ◇ MI
- ⊛ BT
- . FH LS MA OG PC RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (35)
- ⦿ (5)
- ⦿⊕ (4)
- ⊕◆ (2)
- ◆◇ (1)
- ◇⊛ (1)



My grandmother

The most common form is **nookomis**, found extensively in the central areas and in the southeast. Severn, extending southwest to BH and PE (Saulteaux) has **nookom**, lacking the diminutive-of-kin (?) suffix. CO and OC also have this form. The rest of Saulteaux has **nooko**, which lacks the **-im** suffix of close personal possession. This form also appears in my texts from Red Lake, Minnesota, but as a vocative. Thus, there may be some problem in kin vocabulary, in terms of distinguishing vocatives from referential terms, though it would be surprising that Saulteaux speakers would so consistently give a vocative! In Algonquin, and extending into Odawa (MI, SA and WP), and the west (OS and OG), there has been an apparent restructuring of this word, so that the second person form **gookom** has become the stem.

There are thus several parameters by which to map this form: the presence of a diminutive suffix; the presence of a close-personal possession suffix; and the apparent restructuring of a second person possessive to a dependent stem. Note that there is a relationship between the first two of these parameters, in that all forms with the diminutive have the possessive ending.

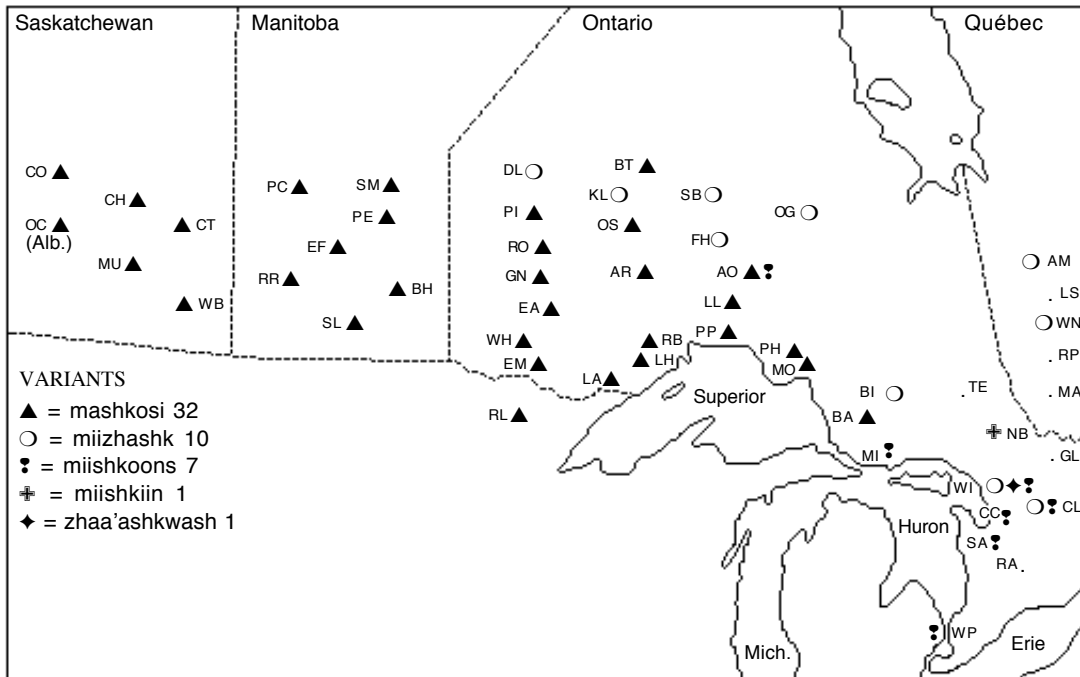
Swampy Cree, **noohkom**; East Cree **uhkumimaau**, 'a grandmother,' and **uhkum**, 'his grandmother.' Potawatomi has **ngokm's**, **nokwm's**. Peoria has **noxko?oma**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA CC CL EA EF EM GL LA
LH LL PH PP RA RB RL WH WI WP
- BI MI NB SA TE WN WP
- ♣ BH BT CO DL EA GN KL OC PE PI
RO
- ✚ CH CT EF MU PC RR SL SM WB
- ◆ OG OS
- ◇ AM
- ◇ FH LS MA MO RP SB

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ ✚ ◆ ◇ (50)



Grass/Hay

There are difficulties in collecting this word, since semantic specialization may have occurred, and there may be many different vocabulary items, making it easy to miss items in short term survey work. Three principal variants were recorded, showing some measure of regional distribution. **Miizhashk** was found throughout the Severn dialect (excluding BT) and Algonquin (data only from AM and WN), and at CL and WI (though this form at WI is attested only through Rhodes). The form **miishkoons** occurs extensively in the southeast, at MI, WI, CC, SA, WP and CL, s.s., with a very heavy representation in Odawa, spreading slightly into Eastern Ojibwe (CL). Elsewhere, **mashkosi** found, including Fort Severn (Cree), which had mashkoshiy. Critical data from Eastern Ojibwe and GL/MA is lacking, owing in part to language obsolescence.

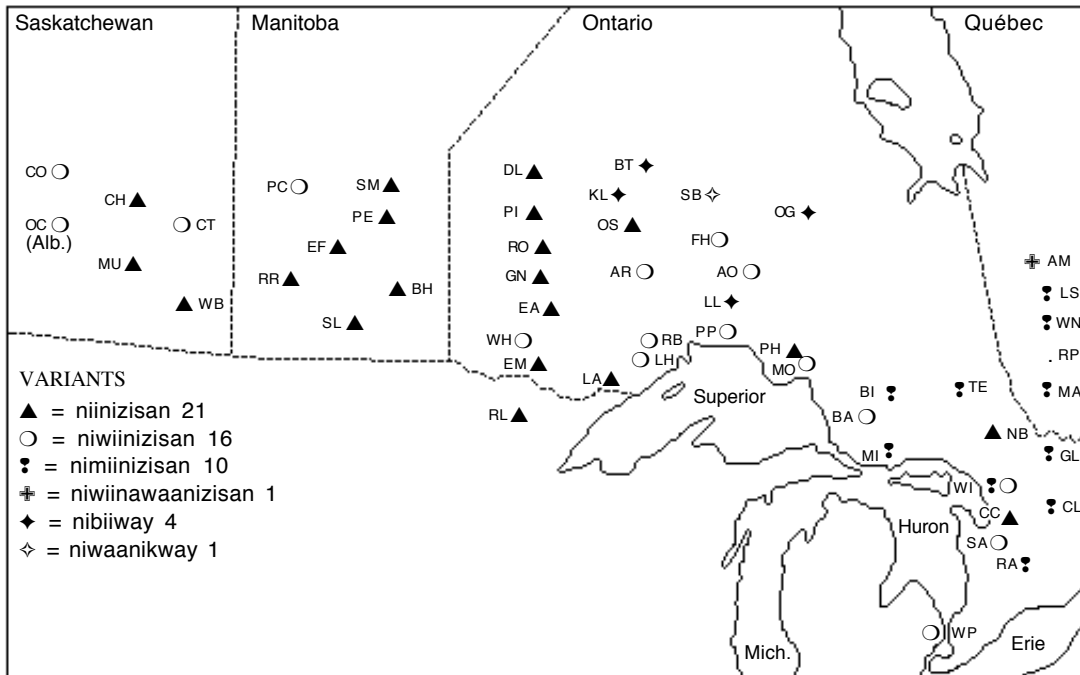
I recorded **mashkoshiy** for Swampy Cree. Plains Cree (BLN), **maskosiy**; East Cree, **mashkushuu**. Potawatomi has **mishgos**, **mishkos**, **mizhshko**. Rhodes 1989:4 gives **kipahkwaki** for Miami, Fox **mas&is&ki**, and **ase:kan** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BT CH CO CT EA EF
EM GN LA LH LL MO MU OC OS PC
PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RR SL SM
WB WH
- AM BI CL DL FH KL OG SB WI WN
- ◻ AO CC CL MI SA WI WP
- ✕ NB
- ◆ WI
- . GL LS MA RA RP TE

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (32)
- ○ ◻ ✕ (18)
- ◻ ◆ (1)



My hair

This word shows some interesting regional variation, showing a common alternation between **w** and **n** across dialects. At the lexical level, Severn has **nibiiway** (which means ‘my fur,’ (i.e., the hair of an animal) in many other dialects). Along Lakes Huron and Superior, fanning out north of Superior, one finds **niwiinizisan**, which also turns up in several Saulteaux communities. Algonquin, along with Eastern Ojibwe and northern Odawa, has **nimiinizisan**. Elsewhere, the common form is **niinizisan**, perhaps more closely related to the form with **w** than that with **m**. See also ‘house’ for **w/m** alternation.

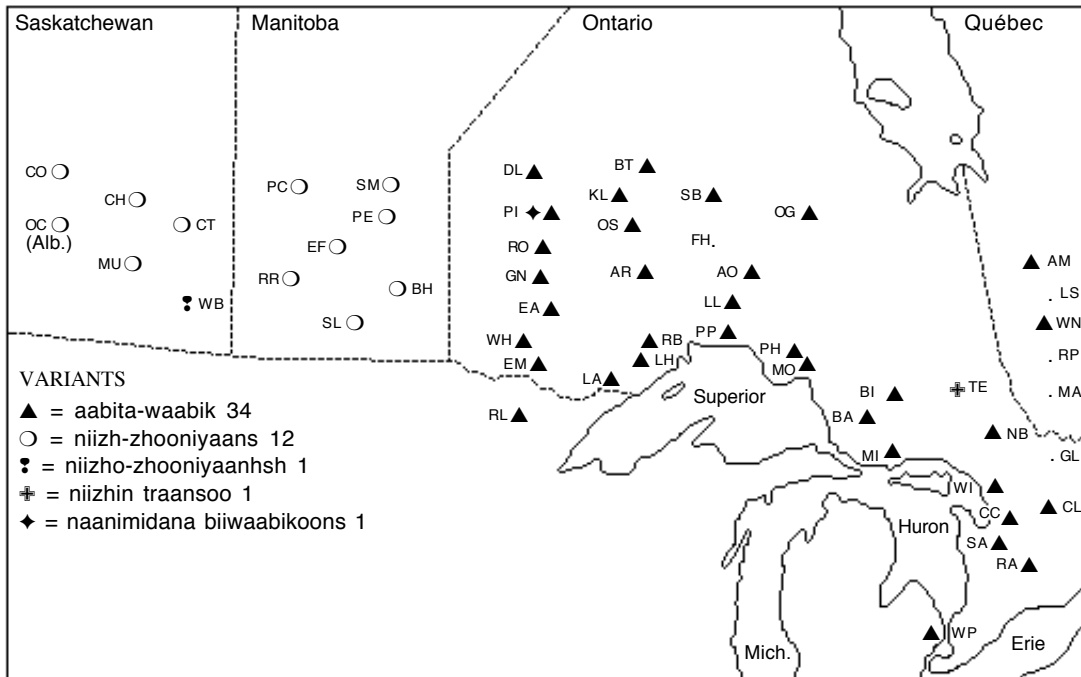
Swampy Cree has **nipiway** (as in Severn); the East Cree lexicon includes **ushtikwaaniyaapii**, **ushtikwaani=piiwiih**, both glossed, ‘his hair,’ the former formed by addition of the concrete noun final **-aapii**, ‘stringlike’ to the word meaning, ‘his head.’ The latter term appears to be a compound with **piway** as second element. Potawatomi has **nwinz**’s. Rhodes 1989:9 has Miami **niwiilhsa**, Fox **wiinesi**, Shawnee **wihzaya** and Menomini **ne:neE?**. Rhodes 1989:10 lists Miami with **piiwia** for ‘feather’ (see ‘feather’ in this study).

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BH CC CH DL EA EF EM GN LA MU
NB OS PE PH PI RL RO RR SL SM
WB
○ AO AR BA CO CT FH LH MO OC PC
PP RB SA WH WI WP
⦿ BI CL GL LS MA MI RA TE WI WN
⦿+ AM
◆ BT KL LL OG
◇ SB
. RP

Consolidations

▲▲○⦿+ (48)
○◆ (4)
⦿◇ (1)



Half dollar (coin)

This word is interesting in that Saulteaux is very distinctly set off from the other dialects. In Saulteaux, the form is **niizh-zhooniyaans**, literally, 'two little pieces of money.' TE has the interesting form **niizhin traansoo**, which ends with a borrowing from French **trente sou**, 'thirty sou.' The form thus means (literally), 'two thirty sou (pieces).' Elsewhere, the common form is **aabita-waabik**, literally, 'half a dollar.' Fort Severn (Cree) has **aabitawahtay**, literally, 'half a fur' ('fur' and 'dollar' are both **ahtay**), perhaps in reference to fur trade pricing practices. See also 'quarter.'

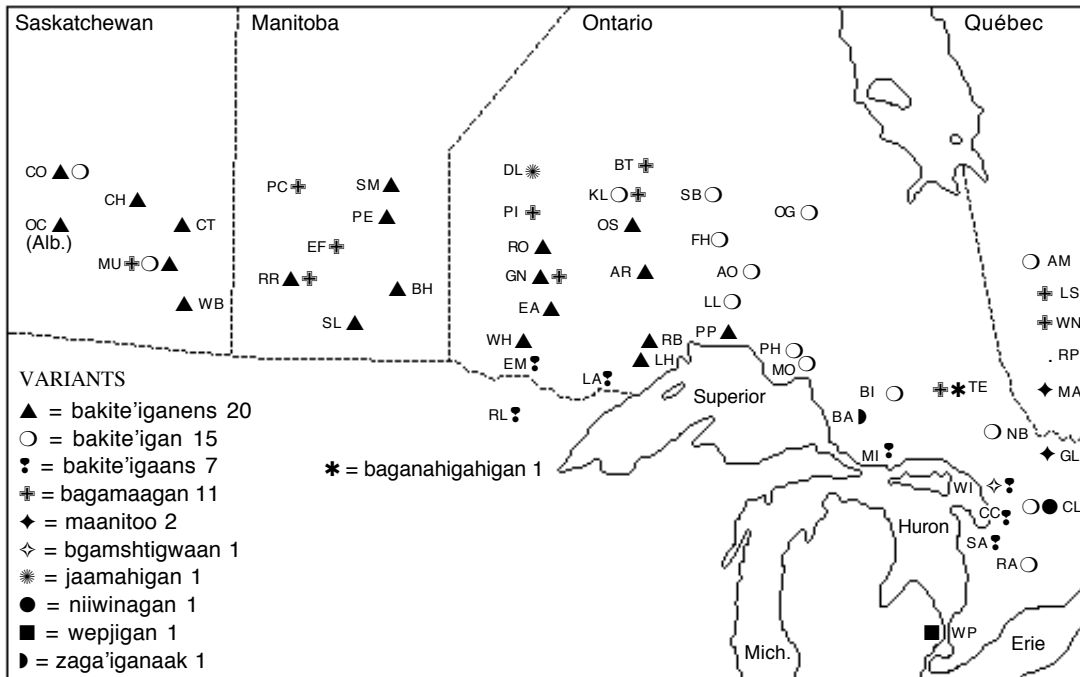
For Swampy Cree (Fort Severn), I recorded **aapihtawahtay**, literally, 'half a pelt.' East Cree has a semantically similar form, **puuskuhtii**, in which the initial component **puusk** appears to mean something like 'divided, split,' so the term literally means 'a split pelt.' East Cree also has **puuskwaapisch**. Potawatomi has **nizhyesb'n**, which possibly means, 'two-raccoon.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BI BT CC CL DL EA
EM GN KL LA LH LL MI MO NB OG
OS PH PI PP RA RB RL RO SA SB
WH WI WN WP
- BH CH CO CT EF MU OC PC PE RR
SL SM
- ⦿ WB
- ⊕ TE
- ◆ PI
- . FH GL LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (34)
- ○⦿⊕ (14)
- ⦿◆ (1)



Hammer (noun)

There are several variants for this word, showing some patterning. The most common form is **bakite'iganens**, found from PP west across southwestern Ontario and throughout the range of Saulteaux. A variant lacking the diminutive suffix is prevalent in eastern Ontario, showing up in the southeast at RA, and CL, then at NB and BI, and north to KL. A form showing fusion of stem final **-an** with the diminutive suffix **-ens** to **-aans**, **bakite'igaans**, shows up expectably in the southeast (in Odawa) and along the border lakes.

Another variant, **bagamaagan**, is widely distributed, showing little apparent patterning, fairly strong in Algonquin (LS, WN and TE), at BT, GN, PI and four Saulteaux communities, PC, EF, RR and MU). DL has **jaamahigan**, the same as Fort Severn (Cree). GL and MA have apparently borrowed French **marteau**, with adjustment to Ojibwe phonology.

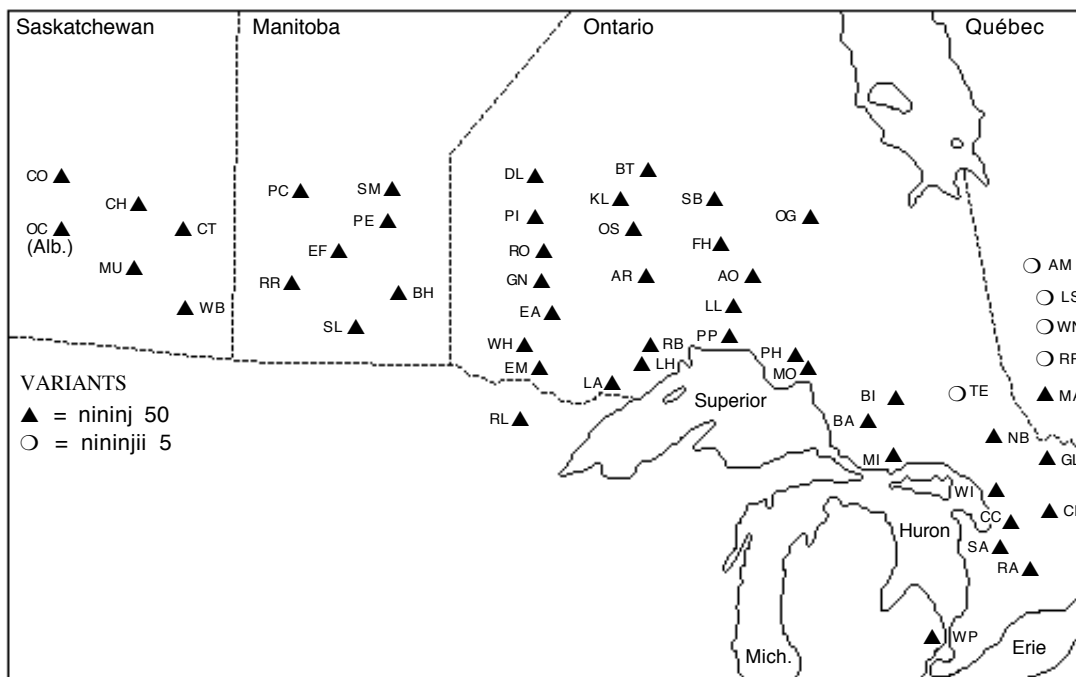
East Cree has **utaamahiikan**, glossed 'hammer, pounder.' Bloomfield's Plains Cree shows the same form (**otaamahikan**). Potawatomi has **gejg's**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CH CO CT EA GN LH MU OC
OS PE PP RB RO RR SL SM WB WH
- AM AO BI CL CO FH KL LL MO MU
NB OG PH RA SB
- ◐ CC EM LA MI RL SA WI
- † BT EF GN KL LS MU PC PI RR TE
WN
- ◆ GL MA
- ◇ WI
- * DL
- CL
- WP
- ▴ BA
- * TE
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◐ (42)
- † (11)
- ◐◆ (2)
- †◇ (1)
- ◆* (1)
- ◇● (1)
- *■ (1)
- ▴ (1)
- * (1)



My hand

The only variation shown here is that five Algonquin communities (AM, LS, WN, RP, TE) have a long **ii** final, **nini(n)jii**. There is also the general phonetic phenomenon of reduction of nasal clusters in some Algonquin and Severn areas, but these were not charted here.

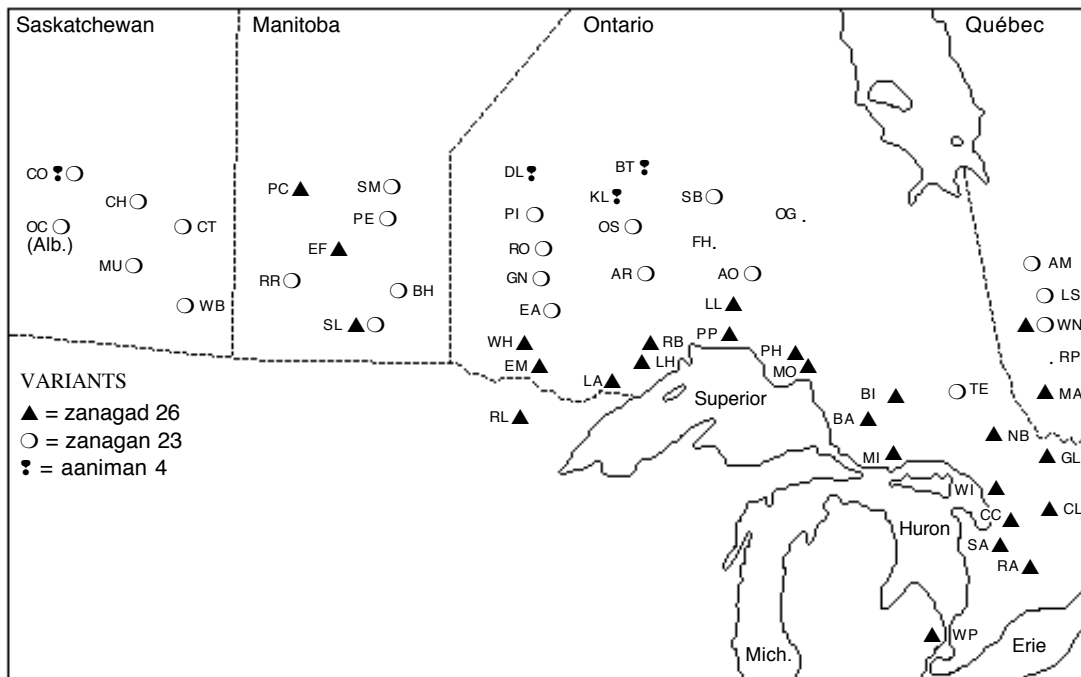
Rhodes 1989:6 lists Miami **ninehki**, Fox **nenehki**, Shawnee **nileca** and Menomini **nenE:h**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL CO
- CT DL EA EF EM FH GL GN KL LA
- LH LL MA MI MO MU NB OC OG OS
- PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO
- RO RR SA SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM LS RP TE WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (55)



Be hard/difficult (VII)

The primary issue here is whether an **-ad/-an** distinction is maintained in the independent order for Inanimate Intransitive (II) verbs. The lack of a distinction is northern, though Saulteaux as a unit also lacks the distinction, except for a group in Manitoba (SL, EF, PC). Severn has a distinct form, **aaniman**, identical to Fort Severn (Cree). Plains Cree (BLN) has cognate **aayiman**. Potawatomi has **zn'g'k**.

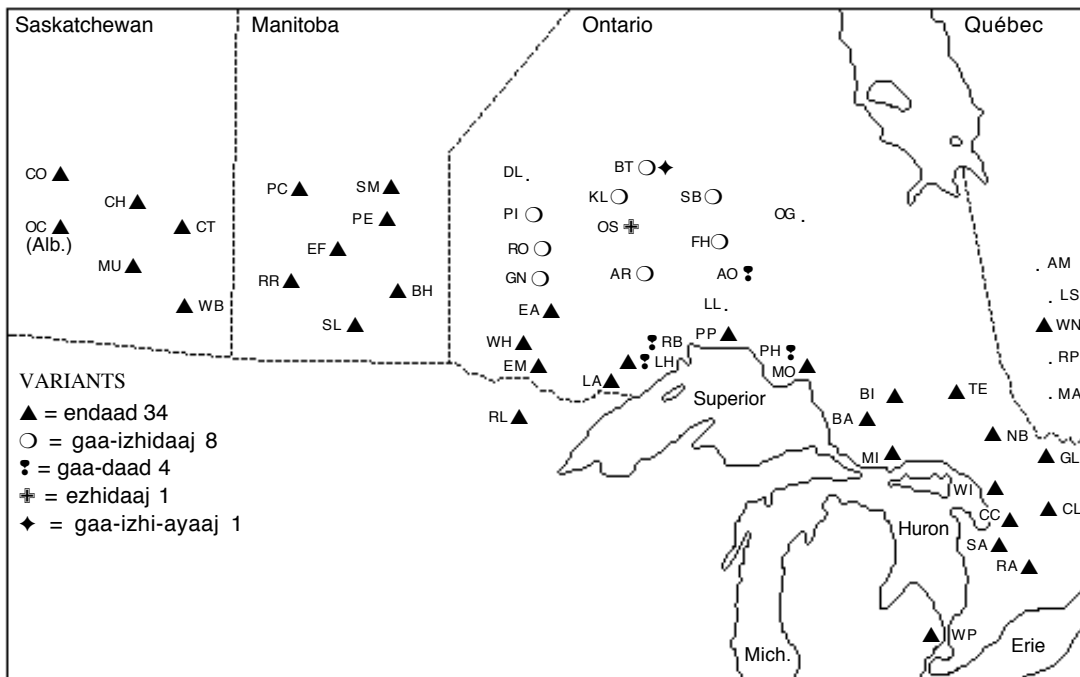
Miami (D) has **alimatwi**. MA data are from McGregor 1987:363, glossed, 'it is difficult, arduous, troublesome.' McGregor also lists **aanimad** with the same gloss. Baraga 1878:36 also lists this form, with the gloss, 'it is painful, unhappy, horrible,' with a slight semantic shift into a more affective meaning. Rhodes 1985 does not list this form. Baraga 1878 also glosses a form **aanimad**, as a separate lexical entry, as 'it blows, the wind blows, in a certain manner or in such a direction.' Nichols and Nyholm 1979:16 have a VII form **aanimad**, glossed, 'the wind blows wildly; there is a disturbance, danger.' Wilson 1873:406 lists **-aanimad** as a compositional element in words referring to states of the wind, and gives examples including **maadaanimad**, 'the wind begins to blow,' and **biidaanimad**, 'the wind comes hither.' Rhodes 1985:619 has **gtaamgwaanmak**, 'be terribly windy.' If this the element **-aanimad** is from the same source in all dialects, then **aanimad**, with an **-ad** final, is widespread, though it would have undergone various intriguing, but well-motivated, types of semantic shift.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BA BI CC CL EF EM GL LA LH LL
 MA MI MO NB PC PH PP RA RB RL
 SA SL WH WI WN WP
 ○ AM AO AR BH CH CO CT EA GN LS
 MU OC OS PE PI RO RR SB SL SM
 TE WB WN
 ◐ BT CO DL KL
 . FH OG RP

Consolidations

▲▲○ (49)
 ○◐ (4)



His home/place

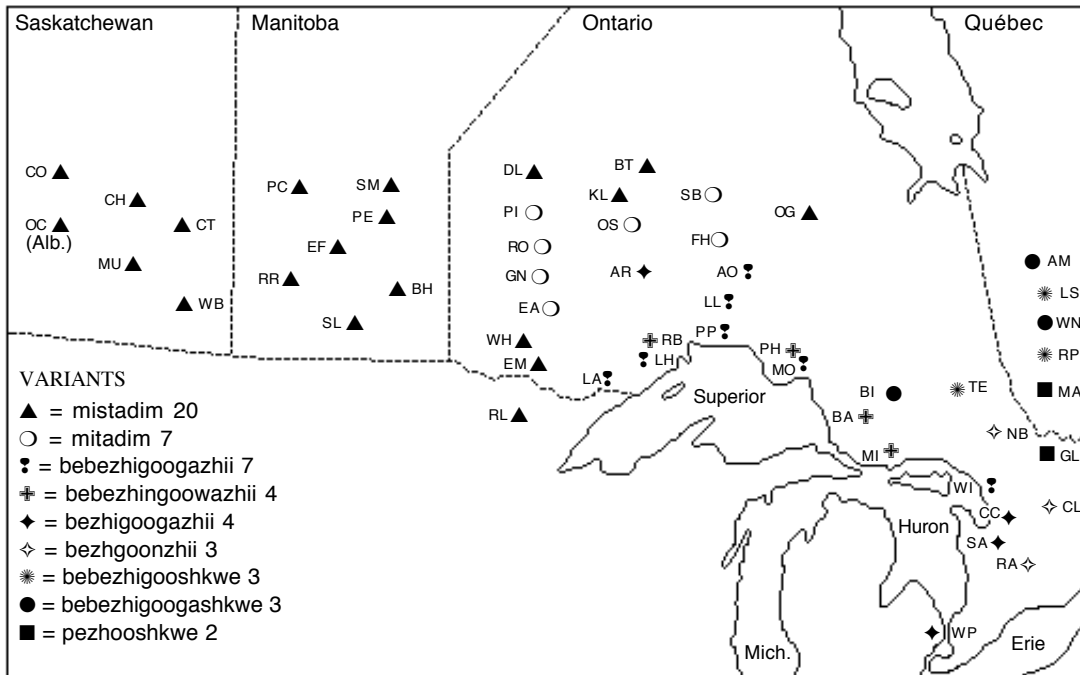
There are several variants, forming loose regional aggregates. The form **endaad** is represented everywhere except in the Severn dialect and immediately south, where **gaa-izhidaaj** (i.e., a form with a relative root/prefix) predominates, extending quite far south to GN and AR. North of Lake Superior, four communities have **gaa-daad**. What is intriguing about this form is that it lacks a relative preverb or root (which appears as /en/ in some variants and /izhi/ in others (the base form of this morpheme is sometimes given as iT in order to account for the alternation between the nasal and alveopalatal, which historically was due to palatalization of a coronal obstruent that merged with *l, which later merged with /n/, but which retained the palatalized form of the historical form).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM GL LA LH MI MO MU NB OC PC
PE PP RA RL RR SA SL SM TE WB
WH WI WN WP
- AR BT FH GN KL PI RO SB
- AO LH PH RB
- ✦ OS
- ◆ BT
- AM DL LL LS MA OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○●✦ (47)
- ◆ (1)



Horse

There are many features of significant variation in the forms for 'horse.' To begin, the most common form is a borrowing from Cree, **mistadim**, which is clearly a Cree form, since the Ojibwe cognate would have the form **anim**. The form **mistadim** occurs in the west, with the dividing line occurring from OG south/south-west to RL in Minnesota. Quite interestingly, among the communities due south of Severn (and embracing the southern tier of Severn), the form has undergone a change characteristic of Ojibwe, in that the sibilant, *s*, in the cluster *st* has been weakened to *h*. There are other Cree borrowings where this occurs, e.g., **atodin** 'hat/cap' (from Cree **astotin**, see 'hat').

In the east there are two related forms, distinguishable by their endings. Among Algonquin communities, extending to GL and MA, the form ends in **-shkwe**, whereas in the rest of the range, the form ends in **-zhii** (these may not represent distinct formatives). These endings are evidently part of morphemic units meaning 'hoof' or 'nail.'

A feature of variation for eastern communities is the presence or absence of reduplication of the first syllable. From WI west, all **-zhii** communities show reduplication. None east of WI do within the **-zhii** dialect, although several in the **-shkwe** group do. Note that reduplication would not be affected by vowel syncope, since the vowels in question are long.

Plains Cree (BLN) has **misatim**, **mistatim** and **tehtapiwin**, the last form quite equivalent to the English designation, 'mount.' East Cree has **ahaas**.

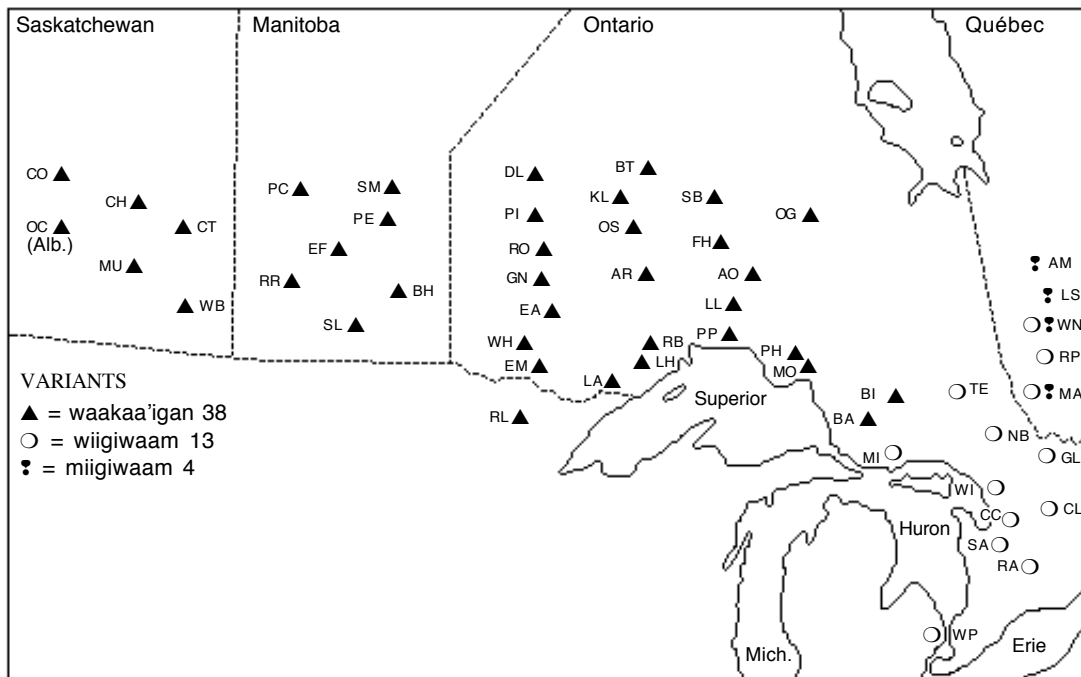
Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH BT CH CO CT DL EF EM KL MU
OC OG PC PE RL RR SL SM WB WH
- EA FH GN OS PI RO SB
- AO LA LH LL MO PP WI
- † BA MI PH RB
- ◆ AR CC SA WP
- ◇ CL NB RA
- * LS RP TE
- AM BI WN
- GL MA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (26)
- †◆◇ (18)
- *●■ (8)

Potawatomi has **negdosha**. Miami (D) has **nākatikasha**.



House (noun)

There are two main variants, dividing the entire data range on an east/west axis. From MI east, the form is **wiigiwaam**, except at AM, LS, and WN, where **miigiwaam** is found (WN has both). McGregor 1987:436 lists both forms for Nipissing, and notes, 'the use of either form is correct and is a matter of choice.' Note that many lexical items show this w/m alternation across dialects. **Wiigiwaam** is also used as a term for 'tent' in several communities north of Lake Superior (see 'tent' elsewhere in this study).

Elsewhere the word is the unrelated, **waakaahikan**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **waaskaahigan**, while Atikamekw (Béland 1978:594) has **wiikiwaam**, though the denominal verb, 'have a house,' is **omiikiwaamiw**, with the same form in **miikiwaamihke**, 'build a house.' Note that Piggott and Grafstein 1983:197 have **miikiwaamikke** for RN and **wiikiwaamikke** for WN, for 'make a house.'

Waakaahigan occurs in Odawa literature as well, with the gloss 'fortress.'

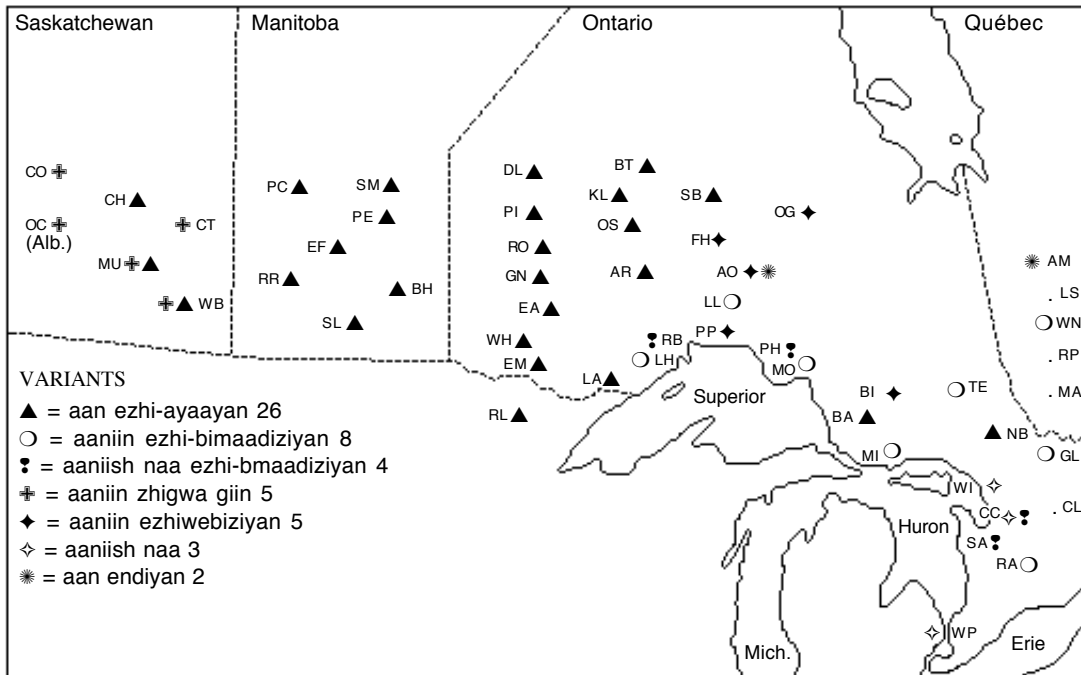
Plains Cree (BLN) has **mistikokamik** and **waaskahikan**, both glossed by Bloomfield as 'wooden house.' East Cree has **waaskaahiikan**. Potawatomi has **wigwam**. Miami (D) has **wikiami**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT DL
 EA EF EM FH GN KL LA LH LL MO
 MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB
 RL RO RR SB SL SM WB WH
 ○ CC CL GL MA MI NB RA RP SA TE
 WI WN WP
 ◐ AM LS MA WN

Consolidations

▲▲ (37)
 ○○◐ (16)



How are you? (VAI 2s conjunct)

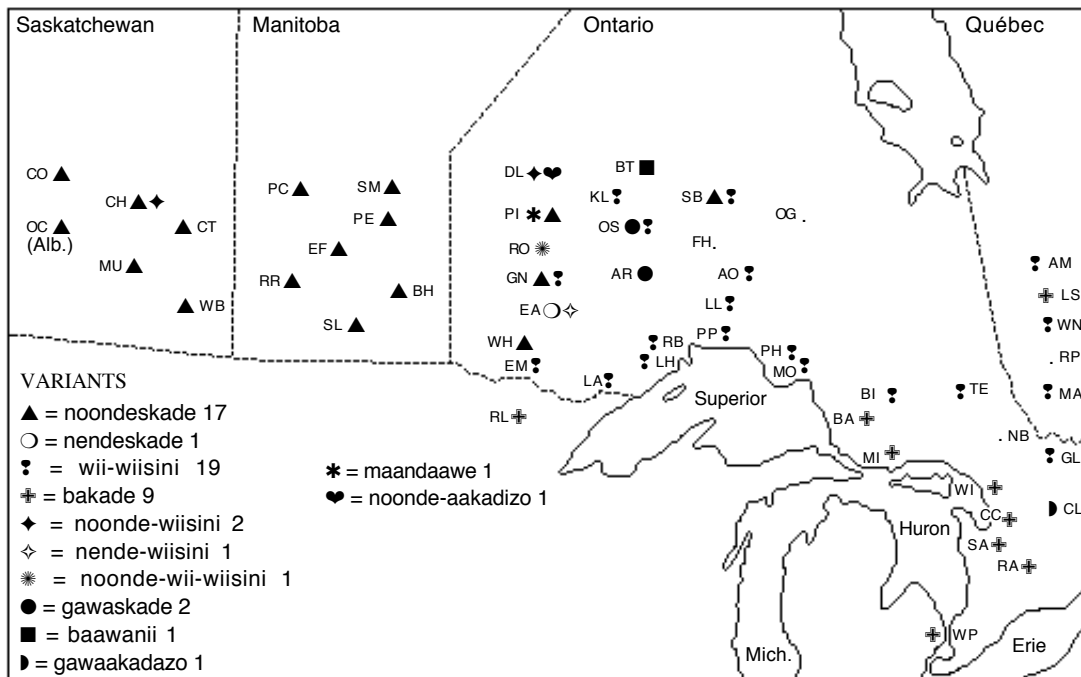
This phrase shows some structured variation. Saskatchewan Saulteaux commonly has **aaniiin zhiigwa giin**, while the rest of Saulteaux, Minnesota, and most of western Ontario (cutting across several dialects), has **aan ezhi-ayaayan**. This form also occurs at BA and NB in the east. Several eastern communities, again cutting across dialects, have **aaniiin ezhi-bimaadiziyan**, or the same form with particle **naa**, or a reduced form of this, **aaniiish naa**. A group of communities north of Lake Superior has **aaniiin ezhiwebiziyan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BT CH DL EA EF EM GN
KL LA MU NB OS PC PE PI RL RO
RR SB SL SM WB WH
- GL LH LL MI MO RA TE WN
- CC PH RB SA
- ⊕ CO CT MU OC WB
- ◆ AO BI FH OG PP
- ◇ CC WI WP
- * AM AO
- . CL LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (26)
- (12)
- ⊕ (5)
- ⊕◆ (5)
- ◆◇ (3)
- ◇* (2)



Be hungry (VAI)

This word has several variants. Among Saulteaux communities, the form is **noondeskade**. **Noonde-**, as both a preverb and a root is much more common in Saulteaux than in other dialects. In the southeast, **bakade** is common, and also occurred at RL (and LS). This form means 'be skinny' in many dialects (see data elsewhere in survey). Elsewhere, the most common form is **wii-wiisini**. EA has an interesting blend or 'fudged lect' (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:135), **noonde-wii-wiisini**.

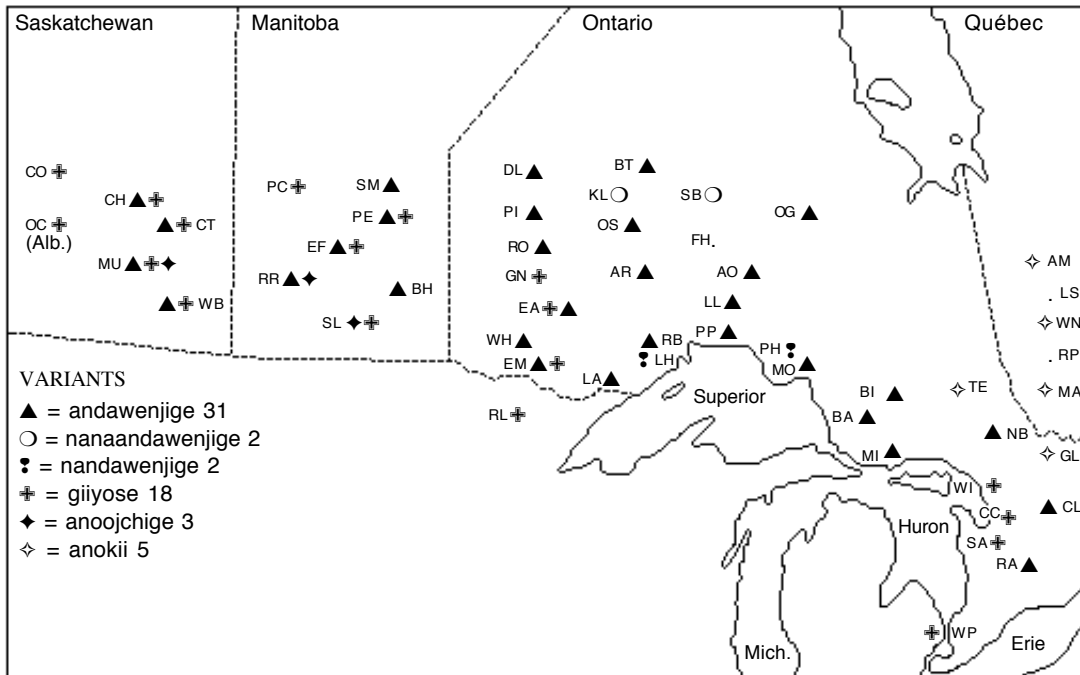
Interestingly, the Plains Cree form, **noohatekatew**, is quite similar to the Saulteaux form. The Swampy form is **shiiwatew**, which also shows up as one of two forms in the East Cree lexicon, **shiiuteu**, the other being, **shiiweyuu**. Potawatomi has **bk' det**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT EF GN MU OC PC PE
PI RR SB SL SM WB WH
- EA
- ♣ AM AO BI EM GL GN KL LA LH LL
MA MO OS PH PP RB SB TE WN
- † BA CC LS MI RA RL SA WI WP
- ◆ CH DL
- ◇ EA
- * RO
- AR OS
- BT
- ▴ CL
- * PI
- ♥ DL
- . FH NB OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (18)
- ♣ (19)
- ♣† (9)
- †◆* (4)
- ◆● (2)
- ◇■ (1)
- *▴ (1)
- * (1)
- ♥ (1)



Hunt (VAI)

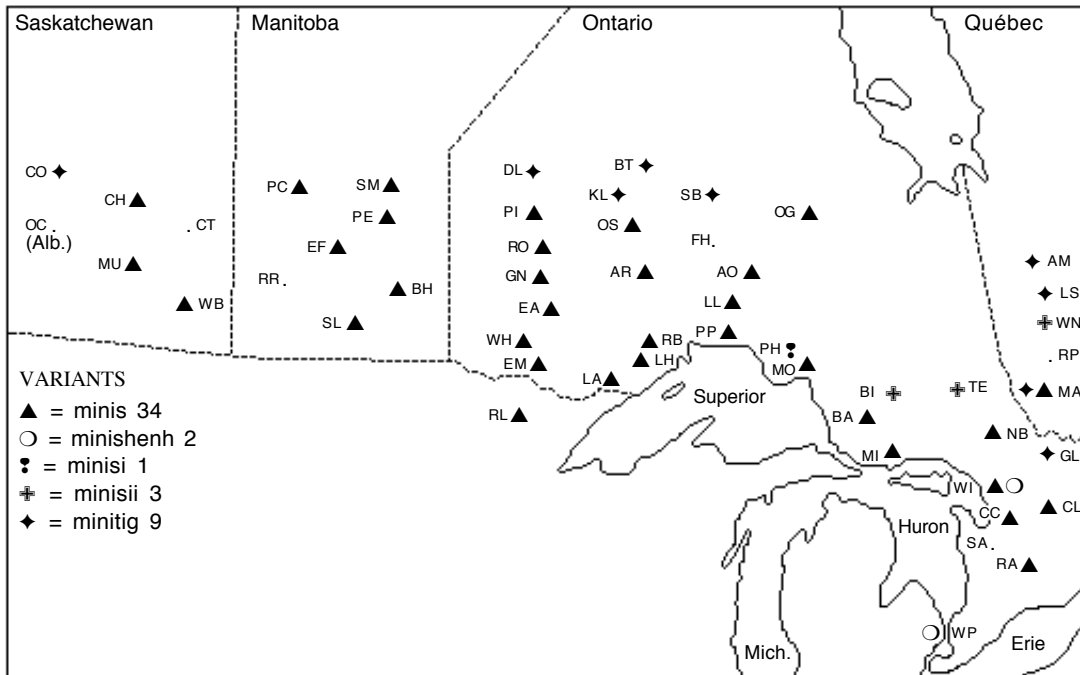
This word shows interesting regional variation, though caution must be exercised in its interpretation, because several Ojibwe communities appear to distinguish different types of hunting, resulting in several words which might be translated into English as 'hunt,' not all of which were necessarily collected. For example, some communities distinguish between hunting small and large game. An interesting grouping of Odawa and border lakes (but including Minnesota (RL and Nichols and Nyholm 1979 for Mille Lacs, MN)), extending across the entire range of Saulteaux, has **giijose**. In Saulteaux, there is some indication (from SL and CH) that this word has specialized to mean 'hunt large game,' whereas small game hunting is expressed by another word, the most common of which is **andawenjige**, easily the most widely recorded form. Three Saulteaux communities (MU, RR, SL) have **anoojchige**. Two Severn communities have **nanaandawenjige** (KL and DL), which shows distributive reduplication of the root. Algonquin has **anokii**, extending as far south as GL, a form which elsewhere means, 'work.' Atikamekw (Béland 1978:404) appears to have a cognate in **atoskeriniw**, 'hunter,' and **atoske-**, 'go hunting (AI).' Fort Severn (Cree) has **antawihow**. East Cree has **nituhuu**; Plains Cree (BLN) two forms, **maaciiw** and **nataminahow**. Potawatomi has **giwset**. Rhodes 1989:14 lists Miami **neetonawaata**, Fox **s&iis&aawa**, Shawnee **halawi**, and Menomini **pahpe:sew**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CL CT DL
EA EF EM LA LL MI MO MU NB OG
OS PE PI PP RA RB RO RR SM WB
WH
- KL SB
- ♣ LH PH
- ✚ CC CH CO CT EA EF EM GN MU OC
PC PE RL SA SL WB WI WP
- ◆ MU RR SL
- ◇ AM GL MA TE WN
. FH LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ (35)
- ✚ (18)
- ♣ ◇ (5)
- ✚ ◆ (3)



Island

A northern grouping has **minitig**, which in some dialects is a specialized form meaning ‘island in a river,’ (cf., Baraga 1878:147). This grouping embraces Severn and Algonquin (AM and LS, but not WN), and extends to GL. WI and WP have **minishenh**. Elsewhere, the common form is **minis**. BI, TE and WN have a form with a long final vowel, **minisii**, and PH has a final vowel, but short, in **minisi**. McGregor 1987:201, interestingly, lists **minitig** with the gloss, ‘island,’ and **minis**, with the gloss ‘rock island.’

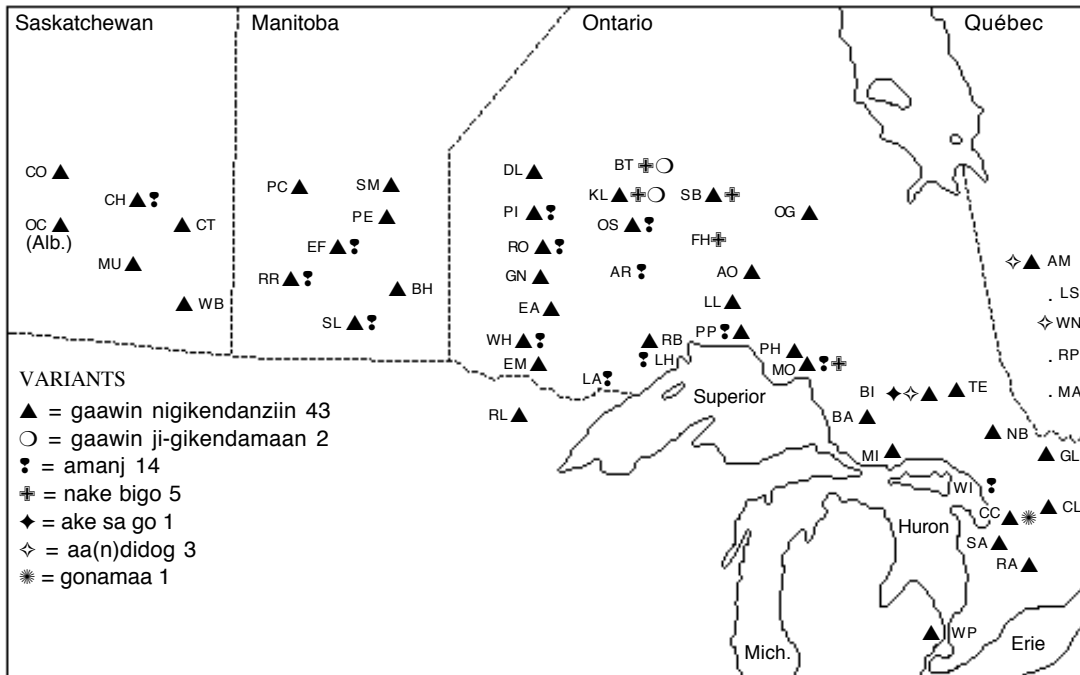
Plains Cree has **ministik**, as does Swampy. This is glossed specifically as a ‘rock island, a large rock sticking out of the water,’ in the East Cree lexicon. Potawatomi has **mn´she**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL EA EF EM
GN LA LH LL MA MI MO MU NB OG
OS PC PE PI PP RA RB RL RO SL
SM WB WH WI
- WI WP
- PH
- ✦ BI TE WN
- ◆ AM BT CO DL GL KL LS MA SB
. CT FH OC RP RR SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○•✦◆ (47)



I don't know (VTI/PC)

In most locations the form is **gaawiin ningikendanziiin**, which is probably universally the formal way of expressing this notion. There are several regional variants as well. Severn communities show wide use of **nake bigo**; as well, many Severn speakers express this notion with **gaawin** plus the irrealis preverb **ji-**, with the verb in the conjunct order, **gaawin ji-gikendamaan**. There is evidently no difference in meaning between the independent and conjunct forms.

Several Algonquin communities have **aadidog**.

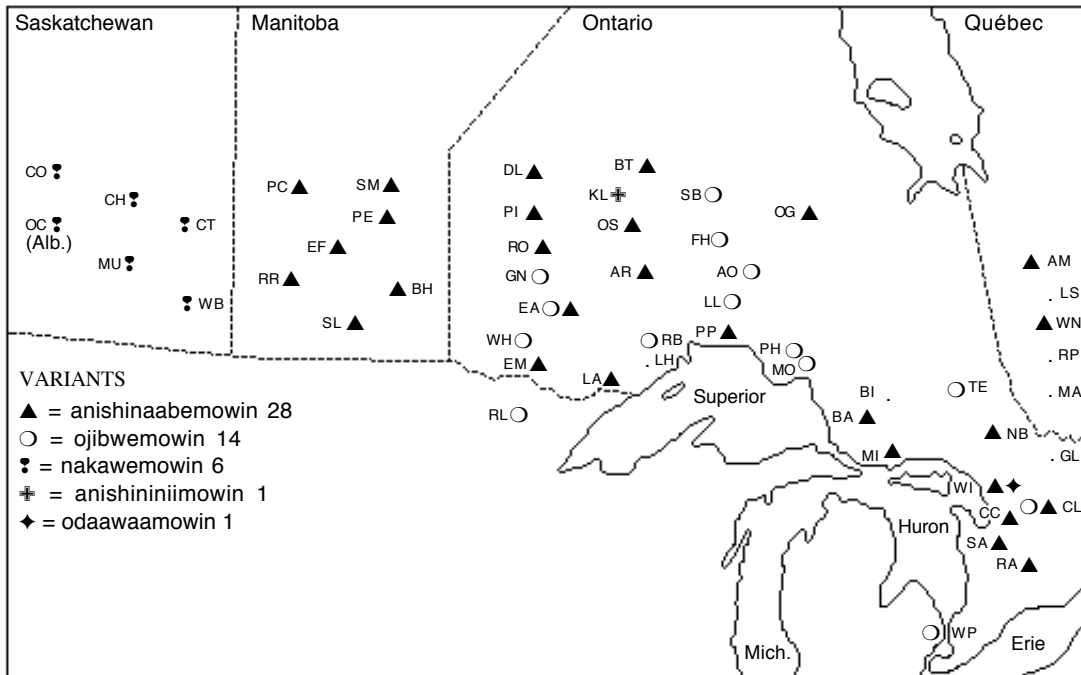
North of Superior, extending across western Ontario and out onto the prairies, a common variant is **amanj**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
DL EA EF EM GL GN KL LL MI MO
MU NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP
RA RB RL RO RR SA SB SL SM TE
WB WH WP
- BT KL
- ♣ AR CH EF LA LH MO OS PI PP RO RR SL
WH WI
- ✚ BT FH KL MO SB
- ◆ BI
- ◇ AM BI WN
- * CC
- . LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (45)
- ♣ (14)
- ♣✚◆ (6)
- ✚◇ (3)
- ◆* (1)



Name of language (noun)

The most common form is **anishinaabemowin**, found in Algonquin, the entire southeast, Manitoba and many communities in northern and western Ontario. A large group of communities north of Lake Huron and Superior have **ojibwemowin**, extending as far west as GN/WH/EA. KL and BT have **anishininiimowin**. All communities in Saskatchewan have **nakawemowin**, evidently based on the Plains Cree word for Ojibwe.

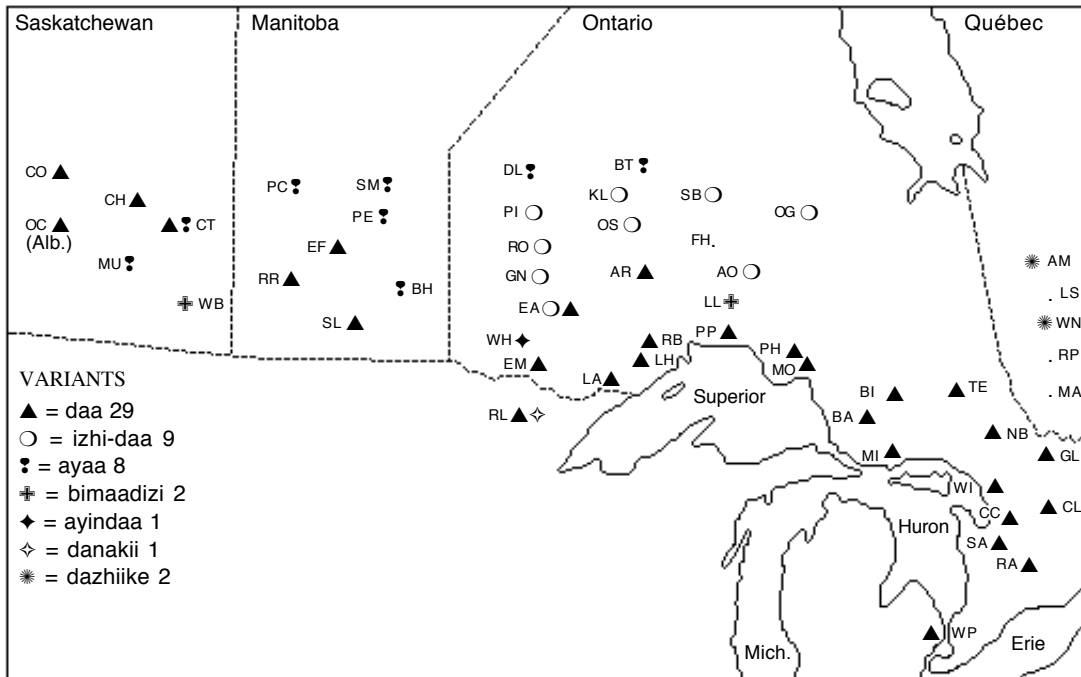
The term for Cree recorded by Bloomfield is **nehiyawewin**. Fort Severn (Swampy Cree) has **ininiimowin**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BA BH BT CC CL DL EA EF
EM LA MI NB OG OS PC PE PI PP
RA RO RR SA SL SM WI WN
- AO CL EA FH GN LL MO PH RB RL
SB TE WH WP
- ☿ CH CO CT MU OC WB
- † KL
- ◆ WI
- . BI GL LH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (28)
- (14)
- ☿☿ (6)
- †† (1)
- ◆◆ (1)



Lives there (VAI)

Here I find some tendencies toward regionalism. Certain Severn (BT, DL) and all Saulteaux of northern Manitoba (and CT, MU) have **ayaa**. The rest of Severn and many communities south have **izhidaa**. Algonquin appears to have **dazhiike** (which also occurs in Severn but did not show up in my data), as AM and WN have it. Elsewhere, the form is **daa**. RL, which has **danakii**, may be semantically problematic. Nichols and Nyholm (1979:173) list **daa** as indicating residence and **danakii** as indicating homeland for speakers of the Mille Lacs dialect, which may also be true of RL.

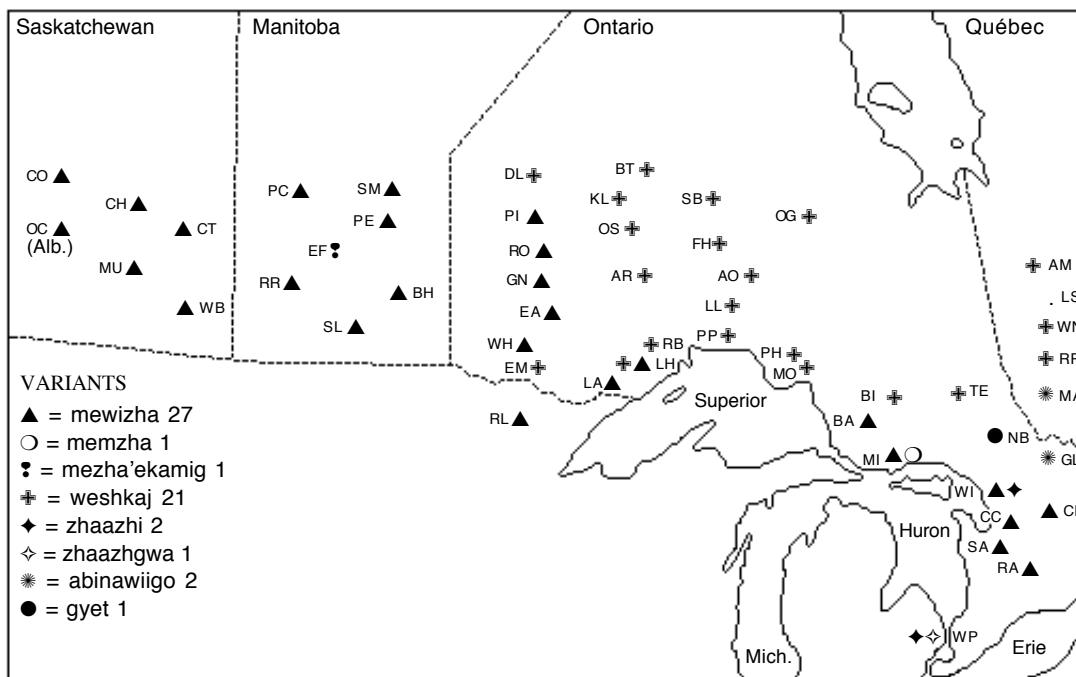
The only relevant Cree data I have is from East Cree, **wiichuu**, 'live (in a certain place),' and Swampy, **ishi-tashiikhew**, 'lives there.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BI CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM GL LA LH MI MO NB OC PH PP
RA RB RL RR SA SL TE WI WP
- AO EA GN KL OG OS PI RO SB
- BH BT CT DL MU PC PE SM
- ⊕ LL WB
- ◆ WH
- ◇ RL
- * AM WN
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (29)
- (9)
- (8)
- ⊕⊕ (2)
- ◆◆ (1)
- ◇◇ (1)
- * * (2)



A long time ago

This is a good word for showing a north/south split between dialects. All of Severn, Algonquin, and a large group of communities north of Lake Superior have **weshkaj**. Core Odawa (WI and WP) have **zhaazhi**. Nipissing (GL and MA) has **abinawiigo**.

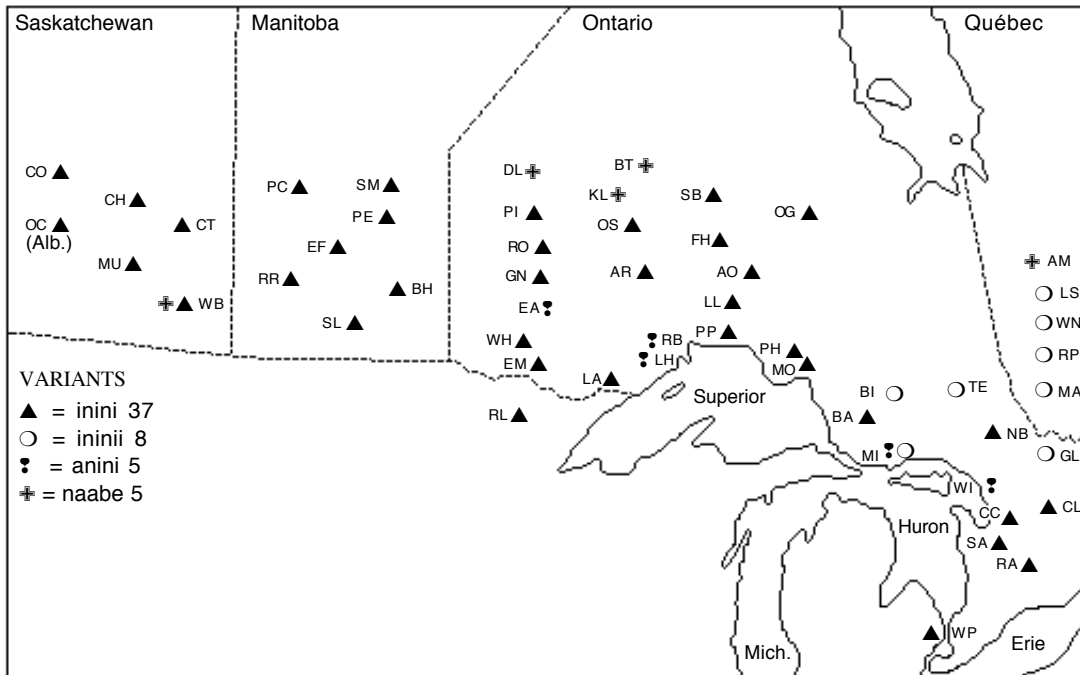
Bloomfield gives **kayaas**, 'long ago, of old,' in his Plains Cree notes; East Cree has **weshkach**, which is also listed in Ellis 1983:698 for the West Coast of James Bay (Swampy Cree). Potawatomi has **b'naw'**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA GN LA
LH MI MU OC PC PE PI RA RL RO
RR SA SL SM WB WH WI
- MI
- ◐ EF
- † AM AO AR BI BT DL EM FH KL LH
LL MO OG OS PH PP WN RB RP SB
TE
- ◆ WI WP
- ◇ WP
- * GL MA
- NB
- . LS

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◐ (29)
- † (21)
- ◐◆◇ (3)
- †* (2)
- ◆● (1)



Man (noun)

A. The main lexical distinction here is between Severn **naabe** and **inini** elsewhere. **Naabe** occurs only in three Severn communities, BT, KL and DL, although it was also recorded at WB, which contains many Cree loans, and at Constance Lake, Ontario which also has extensive Cree mixing. AM in the Alonquin area also has **naabe**, with plural **naabeg**, as opposed to the Severn **naabewag**. Note that Fort Severn Cree has **naapew**.

B. Algonquin communities show a long final vowel, in **ininii**. This form turned up as far west as BL, and at MI as well, though the vowel was shortened at MI when the plural suffix was added.

C. Some communities have initial /a/ for /i/, i.e., **anini**: EA LH MI RB WI.

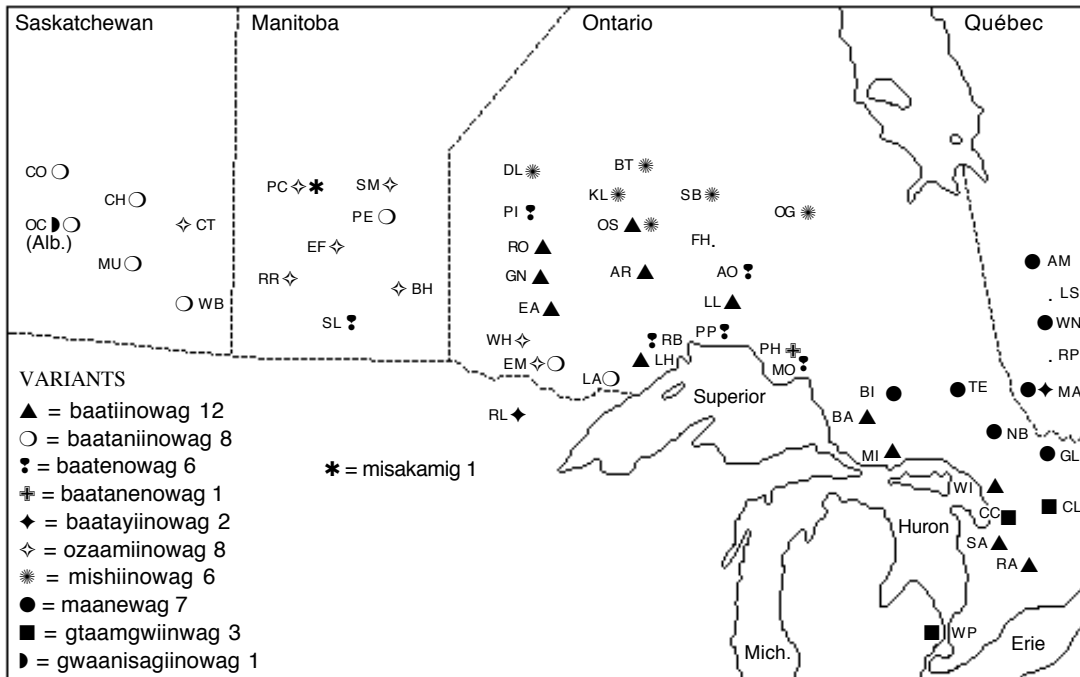
Fort Severn (Swampy) Cree and East Cree have **naapew**, Plains Cree has **iyiniw**. Potawatomi has **n´n´**. Rhodes 1989:9 has Miami **alenia**, Fox **(i)neniwa**, Shawnee **hileni**, and Menomini **enE:niw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EF
- EM FH GN LA LL MO MU NB OC OG
- OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RL RO RR
- SA SB SL SM WB WH WP
- BI GL LS MA MI RP TE WN
- EA LH MI RB WI
- ✦ AM BT DL KL WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (50)
- ✦ (5)



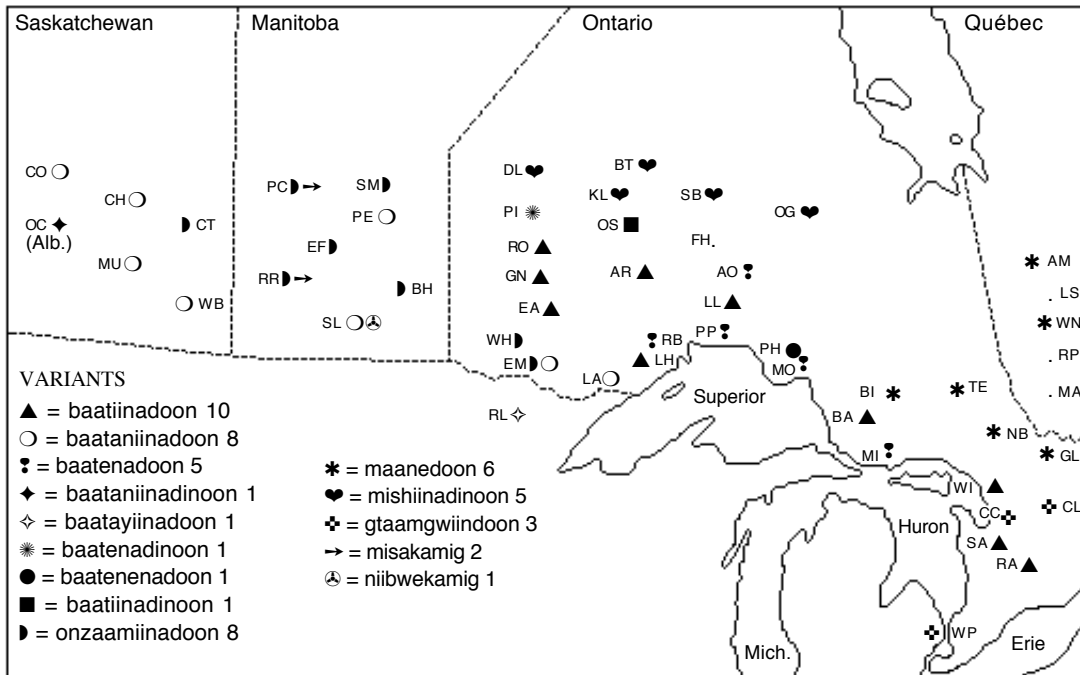
Be many in number (VAI)

This word shows rich regional variation. In Algonquin, the form is **maanewag**; in Severn, **mishiinowag**; north of Lake Superior, **baatenowag**; northwest from LA, well represented in Manitoba and even to CT, the form is **ozaamiinowag**. In western Saulteaux, it is **baataniinowag**. Three southeastern communities (CC, CL, WP) have **gtaamgwiinowag**. Elsewhere, except for isolates, one finds **baatiinowag**.

MA data are from McGregor 1987:176, 321.

Baraga 1878:166 gives **nimbaata'iinimin**, with a stem final vowel /i/. He also gives two forms, **nimishiinimin** and **nimishiinomin**, with a variable stem-final vowel /i/ or /o/. Unfortunately, because I only collected third person plural forms, this distinction has been lost (the /w/ of the third person inflection colors the preceding vowel). It may also be an important parameter of variation. Notice, too, the interesting fact of the Baraga data, that he attests a form for Chippewa that is now restricted to Severn Ojibwe, **mishiino**.

Plains Cree (BLN) and Swampy have **mihcetiw**, 'be numerous.' This is evidently identical to the East Cree form, **mihcetuuch** (here in plural < *mihcheti-w-ach*).



Be many in number (VII)

This words reflects a structure similar to that of ‘there are many people,’ but with some variations. Algonquin has **maanedood**; Severn, **mishiinadood**; north of Superior, **baatenadood**; Manitoba and some border lakes communities, **ozaamiinadood**; Saskatchewan Sauleaux, **baataniinadood**; CC, CL and WP, **gtaamgwiindood**. Elsewhere, except for isolates, **baatiinadood** occurs.

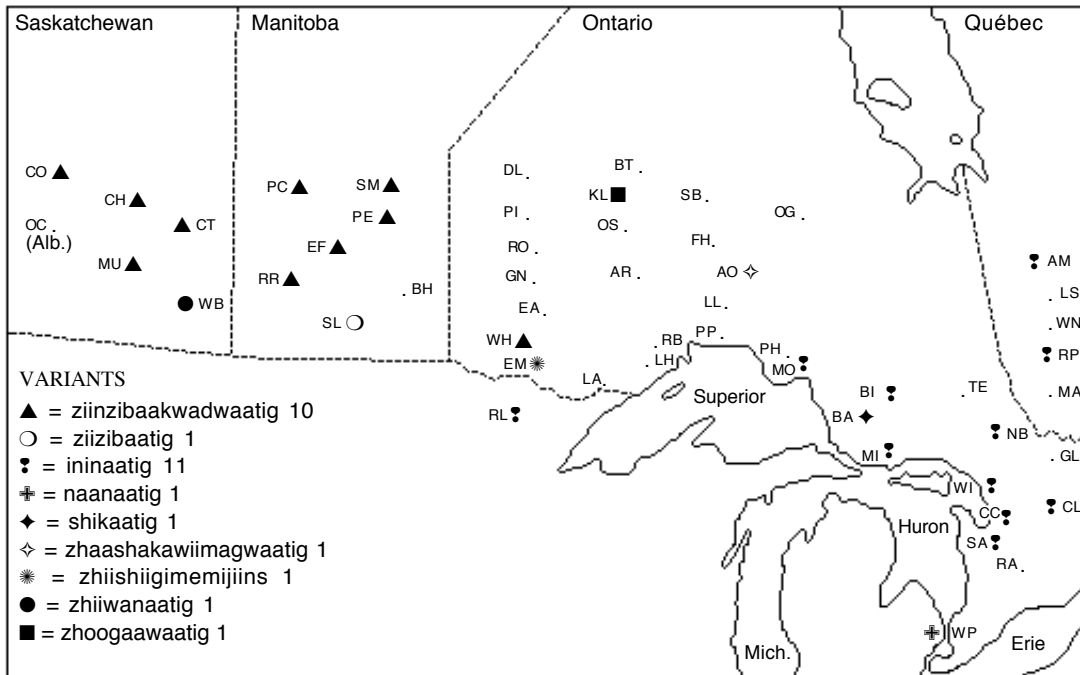
Plains Cree has **mihcetin** (sg.), which is also attested in my Swampy Cree and East Cree data.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA EA GN LH LL RA RO SA WI
- CH CO EM LA MU PE SL WB
- ⦿ AO MI MO PP RB
- ◆ OC
- ◇ RL
- ⊛ PI
- PH
- OS
- ▷ BH CT EF EM PC RR SM WH
- * AM BI GL NB TE WN
- ♥ BT DL KL OG SB
- ⊕ CC CL WP
- PC RR
- ⊗ SL
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿◆◇⊛⊕●■ (28)
- ▷ (8)
- ⦿* (6)
- ⊕♥ (5)
- ◆⊕ (3)
- ◇→ (2)
- ⊛⊗ (1)



Maple tree

There are two major variants, **ziinsibaakwadaatig**, literally, 'sugar tree,' and **ininaatig**, 'everyday/common tree.' The former term occurs extensively throughout Saulteaux, while the latter occurs everywhere else where maple trees are found. Note that no forms were collected in most of northern Ontario north of Lake Superior, probably due to the scarcity of maple trees in these areas. The form **ininaatig** is of interest, though, because it shows a link between Odawa, Eastern Ojibwe and Algonquin. Fort Severn (Cree) has **shookaawaahatik** again lit. 'sugar tree,' which was also recorded at KL.

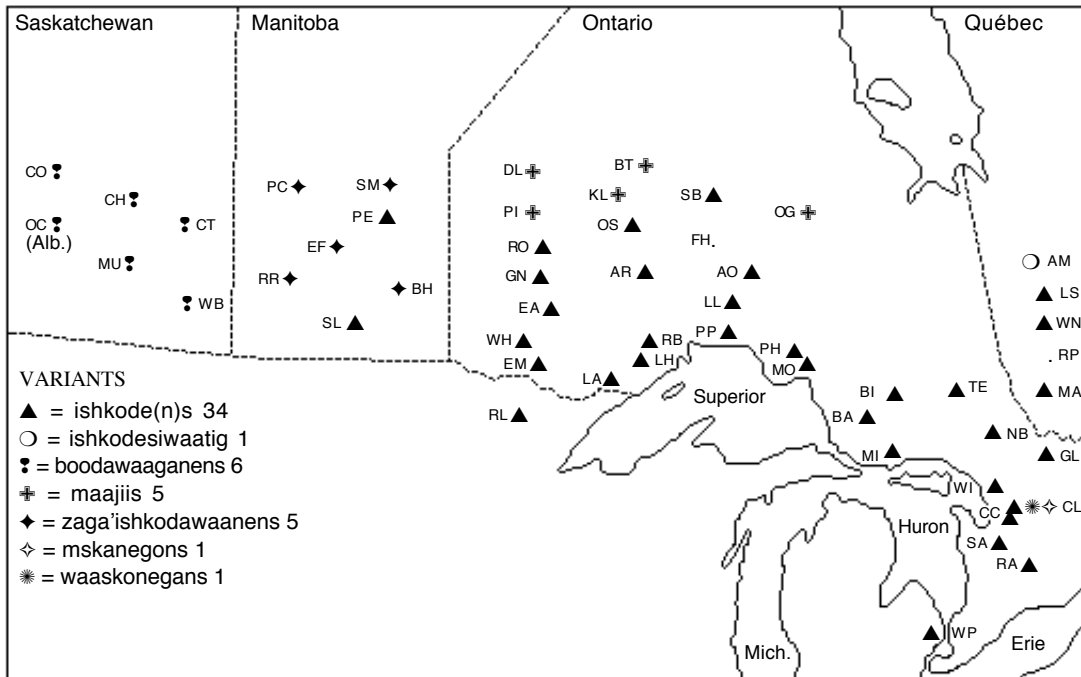
Plains Cree has **siisipaaskwataahatik**, cognate with the southern Ojibwe form.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ CH CO CT EF MU PC PE RR SM WH
- SL
- ♣ AM BI CC CL MI MO NB RL RP SA
- WI
- ✚ WP
- ◆ BA
- ◇ AO
- * EM
- WB
- KL
- . AR BH BT DL EA FH GL GN LA LH
- LL LS MA OC OG OS PH PI PP RA
- RB RO SB TE WN

Consolidations

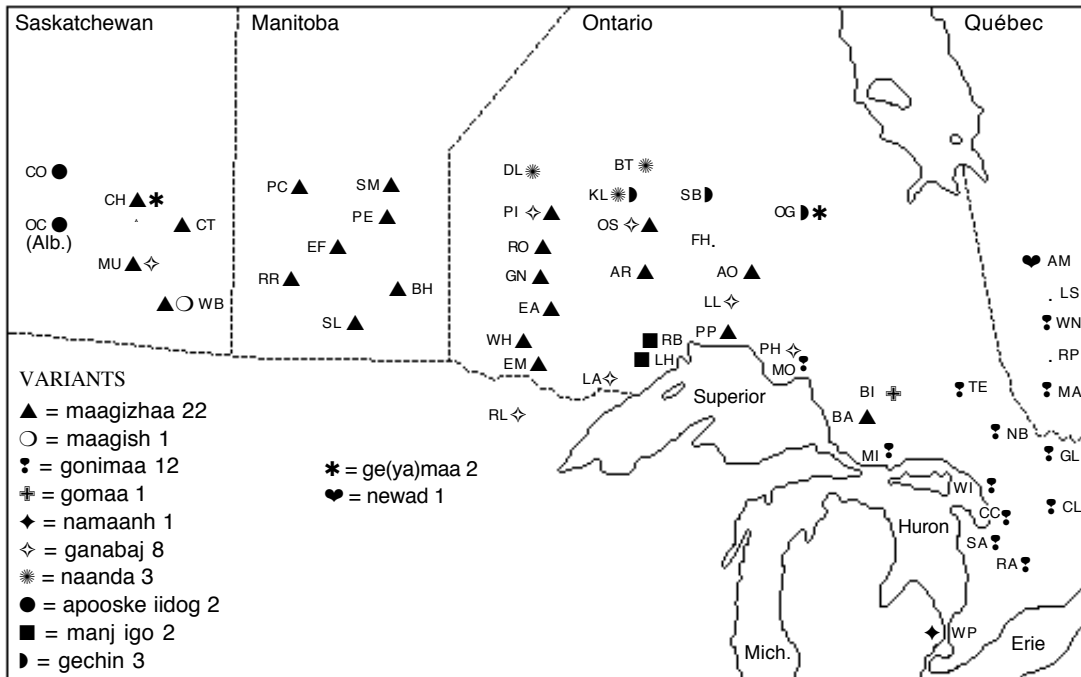
- ▲ ♣✚ (12)
- ▲○ (11)
- ♣ ◆ (1)
- ✚ ◇ (1)
- ◆ * (1)
- ◇ ● (1)
- * ■ (1)



Match(stick)

The interesting variation here is in the west. Severn has an English borrowing, **maajiis**, though the English plural is used to represent the Ojibwe singular. Manitoba Saulteaux has **zaga'ishkodawaanens**, 'little fire igniting device' (?), and Saskatchewan Saulteaux has **boodawaaganens**, 'little fire-making device.' Elsewhere the form is **ishkodens**, 'little fire.'

Fort Severn (Cree) has **ishkotew**, as does Atikamekw (**ishkote**) (Béland 1978:427). Plains Cree has **kocawaakanis**, **iskoehkanis** and **maaciis**, all inanimate in gender. East Cree has **maachiis**, of animate gender. Potawatomi has **shkodes**.



Maybe

This word is quite vague, and can be expressed by many Ojibwe words, so caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the data presented here. There is some regionalism in the responses. In the southeast, the most common form is **gonimaa**, as far north as TE and WN (Algonquin). Severn has **naanda** (BT, KL, DL) and **gechin** (KL, SB, OG). From AO west, the form is rather consistently **maagizhaa**, except in a loose aggregate of communities in western Ontario which has **ganabaj**. CO and OC reported **booske iidog**.

East Cree has **naanituu** and **maaskuuch** (which is also found at Kingfisher Lake (KL) and probably other Severn communities, though the meaning seems to be a bit more in between English 'probably' and 'maybe.'). **Maaskooc** is also found at Fort Severn, and in Plains Cree (BLN). Potawatomi has **gn' b' ch**.

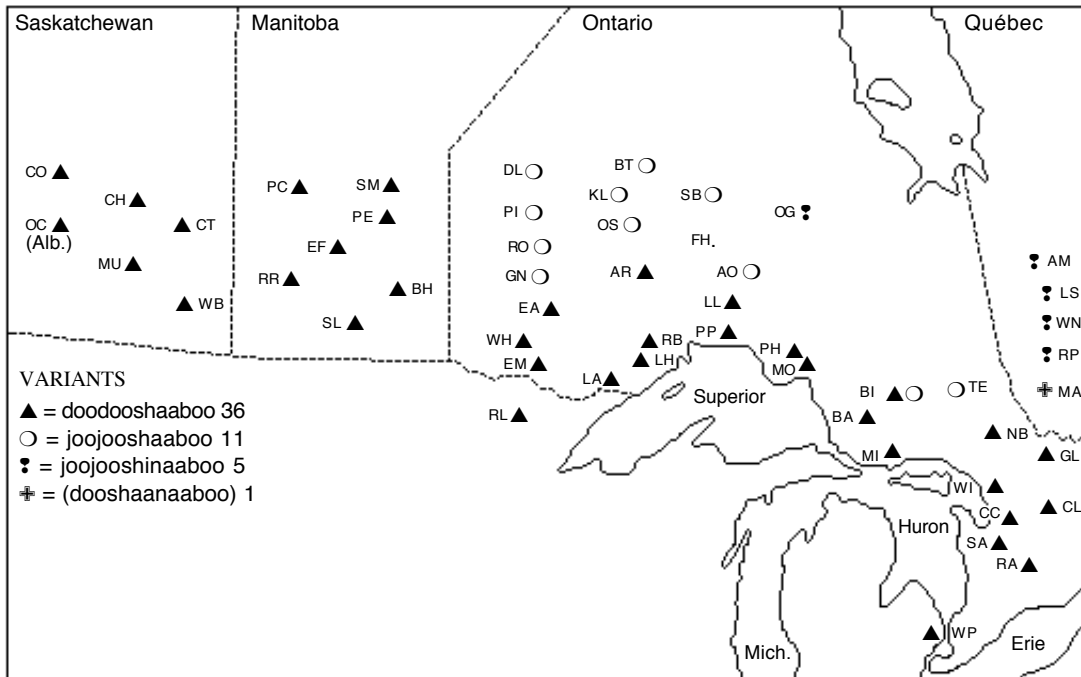
MA data from McGregor 1987:155.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CH CT EA EF EM GN
MU OS PC PE PI PP RO RR SL SM
WB WH
- WB
- ♣ CC CL GL MA MI MO NB RA SA TE
WI WN
- ✚ BI
- ◆ WP
- ◇ CH LA LL MU OS PH PI RL
- * BT DL KL
- CO OC
- LH RB
- KL OG SB
- * CH OG
- ♥ AM
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (23)
- ♣ ✚ ◆ (14)
- ♣ ◇ (8)
- ✚ * (3)
- ◆ ▸ (3)
- ◇ ● (2)
- * ■ (2)
- * (2)
- ♥ (1)



Milk (noun)

The major parameter of variation here is whether or not the obstruents are palatalized, as in **joojooshaaboo** as opposed to **doodooshaaboo**. The palatalized form is northern, extending as far south as GN, OS and AO, and down in eastern Ontario to BI and TE. In the eastern range, there is a subgrouping in the palatalized dialect which has **joojooshinaaboo**, similar to my data from Fort Severn (Cree), **cocooshinaapoy** (also found in East Cree, and as **coocoosinaapoy** in Plains Cree (BLN), though Bloomfield also records **totoosapoy**, lacking palatalization). Included in this group are all Quebec Algonquin (but not MA) and OG in the east (but not TE and BI).

The form **dooshaanaaboo** for MA is from Gilstrap's fieldnotes. McGregor 1987:409 has **doodooshaanaaboo**.

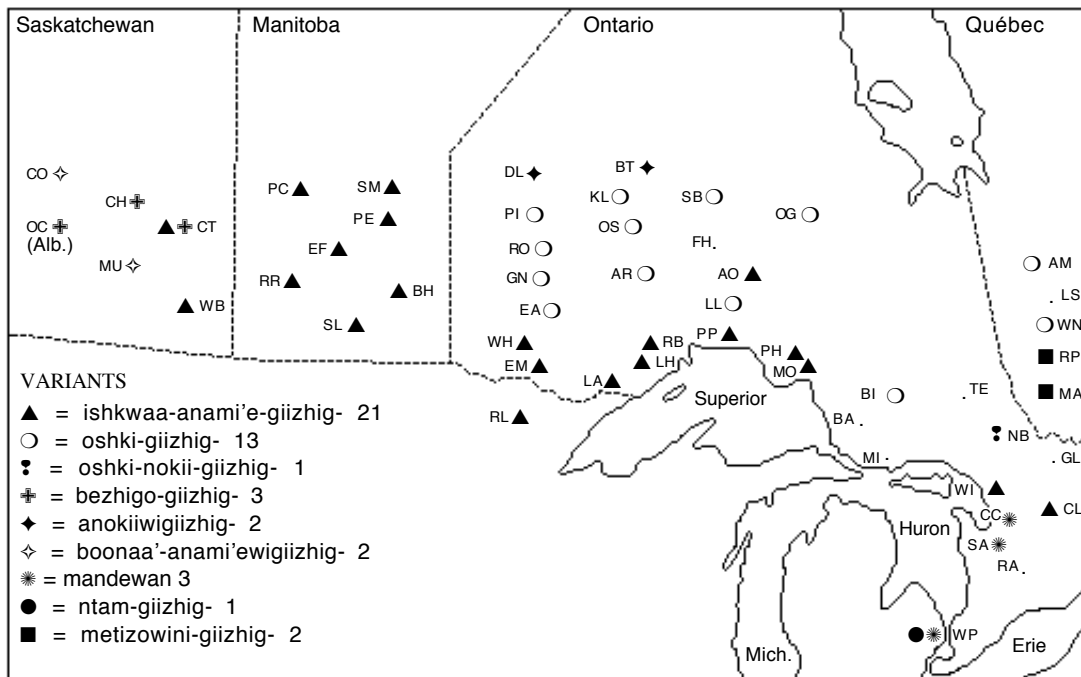
Potawatomi has **nonagnabo**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA
EF EM GL LA LH LL MI MO MU NB
OC PC PE PH PP RA RB RL RR SA
SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AO BI BT DL GN KL OS PI RO SB
TE
- AM LS OG RP WN
- ⊕ MA
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲○●⊕ (53)



Be Monday (VII)

This word shows interesting regional groupings. Some Severn (DL, BT) have **anokiiwigiizhig-**, 'work day.' A large group of northern communities extending far south to EA and LL in the west, and BI, WN and AM (all Algonquin) in the east, have **oshki-giizhig-**, 'new day.' This form is also found at Fort Severn (Cree). RP and MA have **metizoni-giizhig** (Gilstrap has **medisani-giizhig-** in his fieldnotes for MA and RP, which I have modified to fit McGregor 1987:187). This expression appears to derive from the VAI **metizo**, 'to burn oneself, be consumed by fire,' which serves as a translation for the Christian concept 'day of atonement' and 'day of purgatory' (as pointed out in McGregor *op. cit.*). Several Odawa (CC, SA, WP) have **mandewan**; three Saskatchewan Saulteaux (OC, CH, CT) have **bezhigo-giizhig-**, 'first day'; and two Saskatchewan communities (CO, MU) have **boonaa-anami'ewigiizhig**, 'day after prayer day (Sunday).' Elsewhere the common form is **ishkwaa-anami'e-giizhig**, 'day after prayer day (Sunday).'

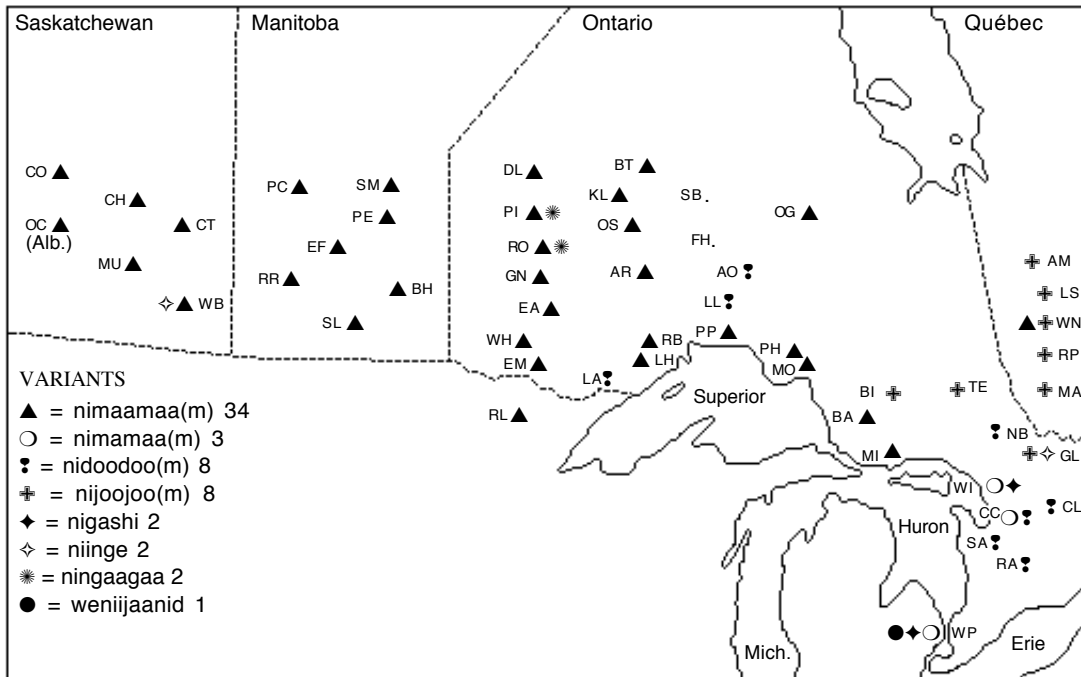
Fort Severn Cree has **oshki-kiishikaaw**; East Cree, **chihchipayuu**, glossed, 'it is Monday, he/it starts off.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BH CL CT EF EM LA LH MO PC
PE PH PP RB RL RR SL SM WB WH
WI
- AM AR BI EA GN KL LL OG OS PI
RO SB WN
- ⦿ NB
- ✚ CH CT OC
- ◆ BT DL
- ◇ CO MU
- ✳ CC SA WP
- WP
- MA RP
- . BA FH GL LS MI RA TE WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (21)
- ⦿ (134)
- ⦿✚ (3)
- ✚✳ (3)
- ◆◆ (2)
- ◇◇ (2)
- ✳■ (2)
- (1)



My mother

One must be careful in collecting and evaluating kin terms, as there are sometimes distinctions between formal and informal terms. This is evident from Rhodes (1985), where several distinct forms are listed, distinguishing, for example, 'momma' from 'my mother,' and 'dad' from 'my father.' Another problem with kin terms (which I figured out too late!) is that when asked for a term, people sometimes give a vocative form, which may be truncated somewhat compared to the term of reference.

My data shows one major division. In the east, centered on Algonquin and Eastern Ojibwe, but extending northwest to AO and LL, the word for mother is **nidoodoo(m)** or **nijoojoo(m)**, literally, 'my breast,' i.e., a synecdoche. Elsewhere, the common word is **nimaamaa(m)**, except for a few minor variants. WI and WP have **ngashi**; PI and RO have **ningaagaa**; GL and WB use **niinge**.

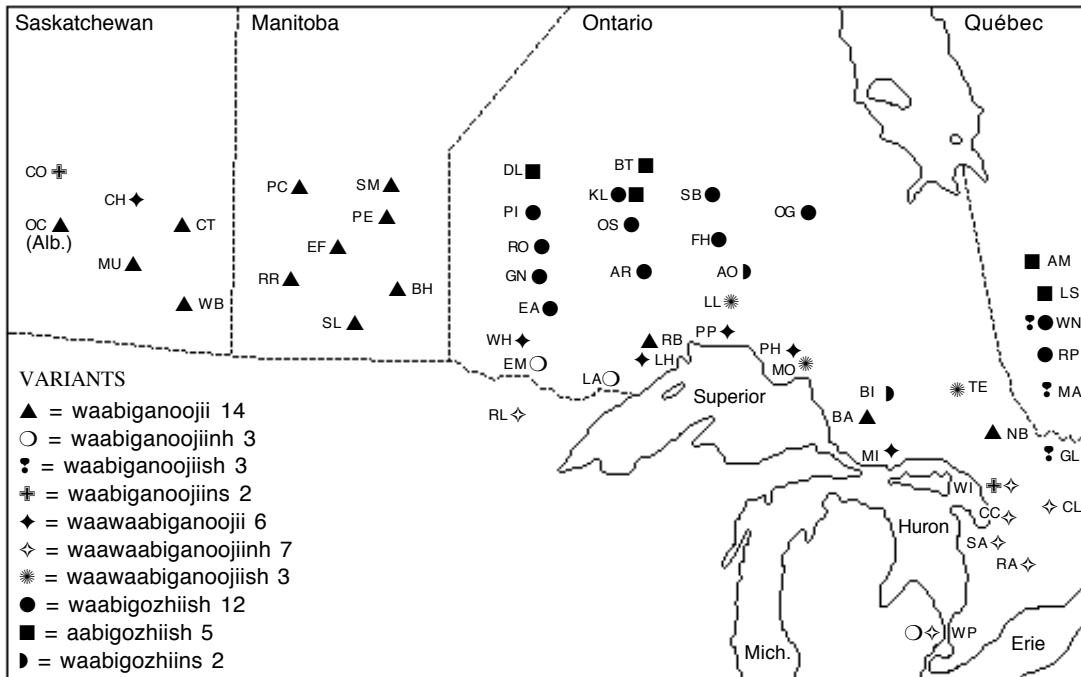
Fort Severn Cree has **nikaawiy**; the East Cree lexicon has **ukaawii**, 'his mother.' Potawatomi has **ndododash**, **ngye**, **nneney m**. Miami (D) has **ningia**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF
EM GN KL LH MI MO MU OC OG OS
PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RR SL
SM WB WH WN
- CC WI WP
- ♣ AO CC CL LA LL NB RA SA
- ✚ AM BI GL LS MA RP TE WN
- ◆ WI WP
- ◇ GL WB
- * PI RO
- WP
- . FH SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (37)
- ♣✚ (16)
- ♣◆ (2)
- ✚◇ (2)
- ◆* (2)
- ◇● (1)



Mouse

There are several parameters of variation: reduplication of the first syllable, presence of initial w, stems based on **waabiganooj-** vs. **waabigozh-**, and the various historical diminutive suffixes discussed in other forms (e.g., see 'animal' and 'child'). Forms in **waabigozh-** are northern, extending north in Ontario from a southern limit at EA, AR and AO. BI and many Algonquin (but not all) have this stem as well. In my data, WN shows both stems. Reduplication of the initial syllable occurs only in the range of communities showing stem **waabiganooj-**, although it is absent in Saulteaux (except for CH). It is most common in the southeast, except in those communities which show the least Odawa influence, i.e., BA, NB and GL. Reduplicated stems are also found along the north shore of Lake Superior and in Minnesota. Forms with diminutive suffix **-sh** are in the northern range of **waabiganooj-** stems, as well as all (northern) communities (except AO, on the border) with stem **waabigozh-**. Forms with **-nh** are focussed in the extreme southeast and in the border lakes region of northern Minnesota/Ontario.

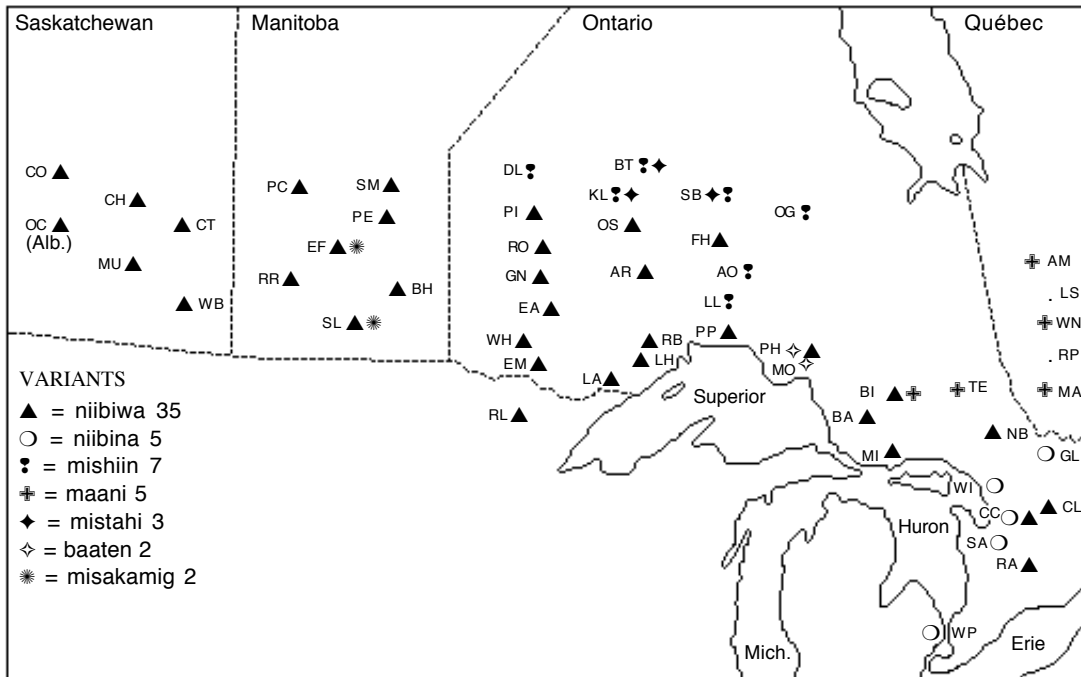
Swampy Cree and East Cree both have **aapikoshiish**. Plains (BLN) has both **aapakosiis** and **waapakosiis**. Potawatomi has **wabgonoshkwes**. Miami (D) has **kosia**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CT EF MU NB OC PC PE RB
RR SL SM WB
- EM LA WP
- ⦿ GL MA WN
- ✦ CO WI
- ✦ CH LH MI PH PP WH
- ✧ CC CL RA RL SA WI WP
- ✱ LL MO TE
- AR EA FH GN KL OG OS PI RO RP
SB WN
- AM BT DL KL LS
- ▷ AO BI

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿✦✧✱ (38)
- (19)



Much/A lot/Many

This is another excellent term for regional grouping. Algonquin consistently has **maani** (this is also found at Maniwaki). Severn, extending north of Superior down to LL, has **mishiin**; a cluster of communities in the southeast, (GL, WI, CC, and SA) have **niibina**. PH and MO have **baaten**, and EF and SL both gave **misakamig**.

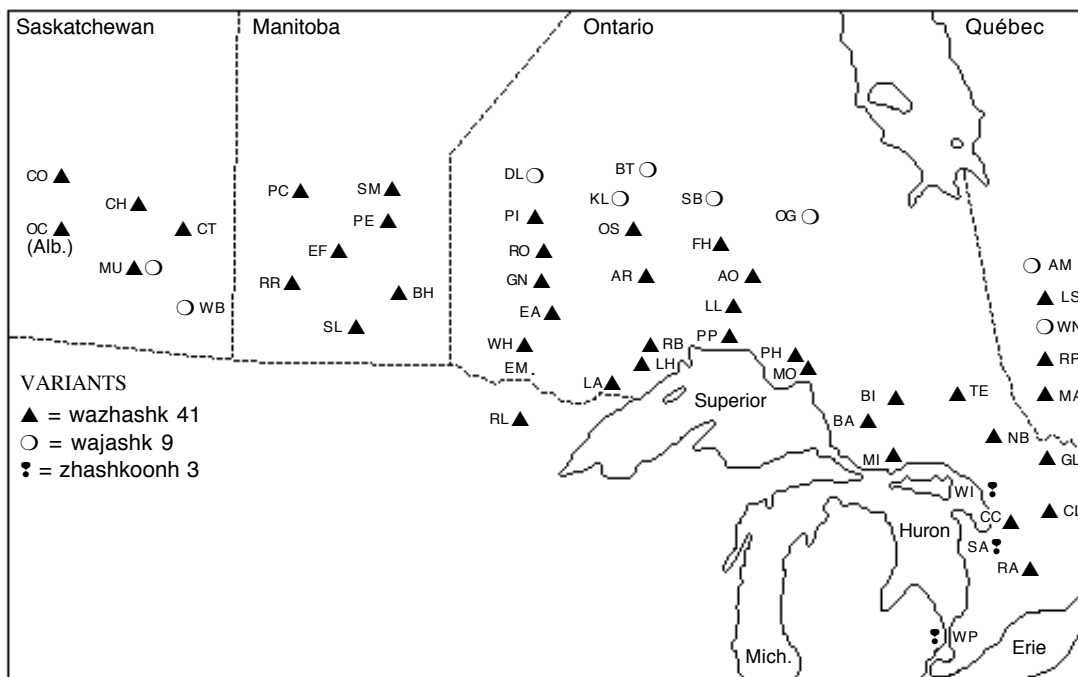
East Cree has **mihchen**, 'many, a lot.' Rhodes 1989:14 lists Miami **wihsa**, Fox **maane**, Shawnee **meci**, and Menomini **ma:nE/mE?seh**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA
 EF EM FH GN LA LH MI MU NB OC
 OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO
 RR SL SM WB WH
- CC GL SA WI WP
- AO BT DL KL LL OG SB
- ✚ AM BI MA TE WN
- ◆ BT KL SB
- ◇ MO PH
- * EF SL
- . LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (40)
- (7)
- ✚ (5)
- ✚◆ (3)
- ◆◇ (2)
- ◇* (2)



Muskrat

The most common form is **wazhashk**. Severn communities, along with AM, but not other Algonquin communities, show **wajashk**, identical to the Fort Severn Cree form. This form also showed up at MU, WB and Constance Lake (all communities with Cree populations). Three Ottawa communities have a form **zhashkoonh**, which appears to have a diminutive suffix.

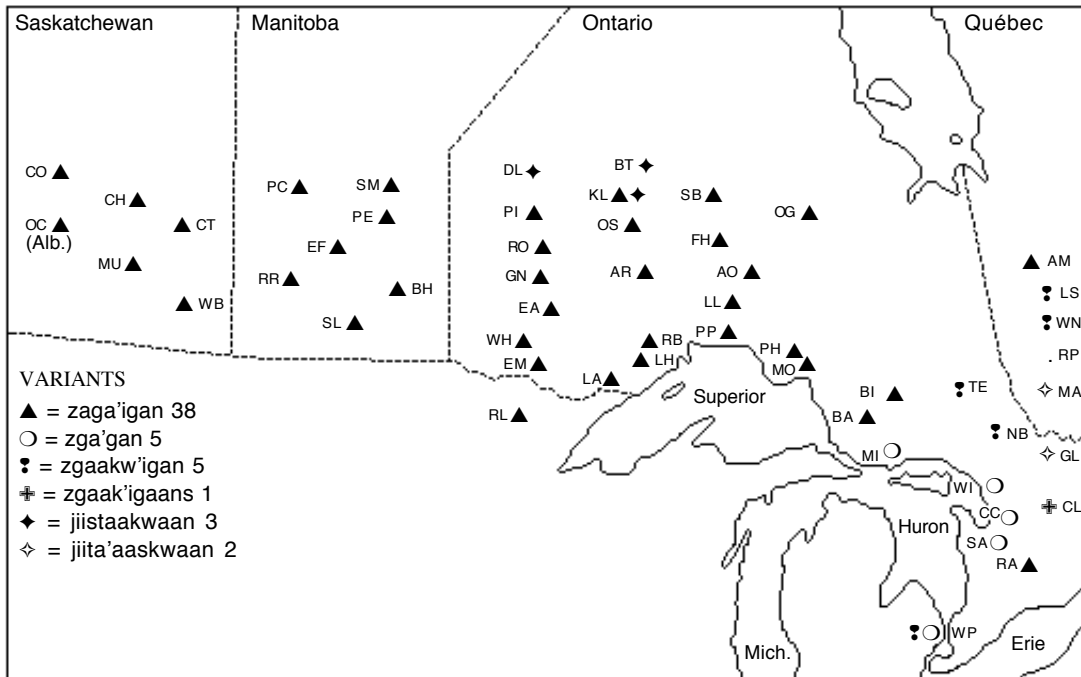
Plains Cree has **wacaskw**; East Cree, **wachishkw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
EA EF FH GL GN LA LH LL LS MA
MI MO MU NB OC OS PC PE PH PI
PP RA RB RL RO RP RR SL SM TE
WH
- AM BT DL KL MU OG SB WB WN
- SA WI WP
- . EM

Consolidations

- ▲▲○• (53)



Nail (carpentry)

The most common form is **zaga'igan** (**zga'gan** is just the metrically reduced variant). A variant centered in Algonquin but including NB, CL and WP is **zagaakohigan** (CL has a diminutive form), which differs only in having the 'organic solid' medial /aakw/. The core Severn communities (DL, KL, BT) have **jiistaakwaan**, similar to Cree (Fort Severn) **ciistaaskwaan** (and East Cree). GL and MA have a related form, **jiit(ah)aaskwaan**.

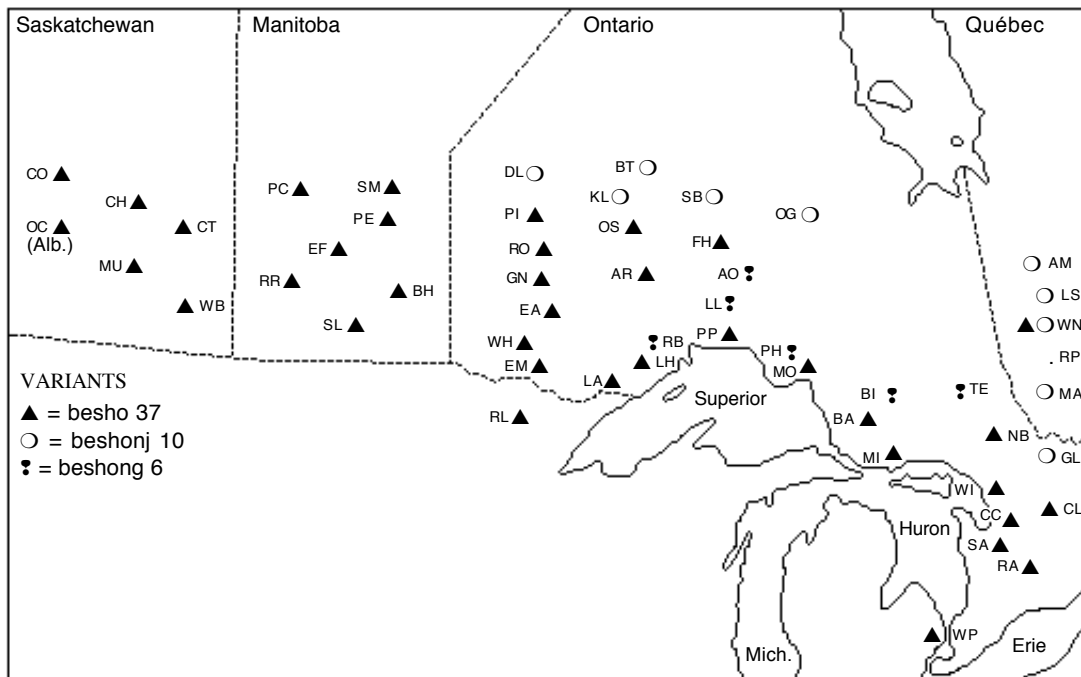
Bloomfield lists both **ciistaaskwaan** and **sakahikan** for Plains Cree.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CH CO CT EA
 EF EM FH GN KL LA LH LL MO MU
 OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RB
 RL RO RR SB SL SM WB WH
- CC MI SA WI WP
- LS NB TE WN WP
- ✕ CL
- ◆ BT DL KL
- ◇ GL MA
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (43)
- ✕ (6)
- ◆◇ (5)



Near (pc)

A word showing an interesting distribution of final **-j** in particles. Severn (including marginal SB and OG) and all of Algonquin, extending south to MA and GL, have **beshonj**. There is a cluster of communities from TE in eastern Ontario extending west all the way to RB having **beshong**, i.e., a final C, but perhaps unpalatalized (or perhaps completely different— related to the locative suffix **-ing**). Elsewhere the term is **besho**.

The only word I have been able to find in Plains Cree is **kisiwaak**, 'near' from BLN. The only form occurring in the East Cree lexicon is **chiihch**, cognate with Ojibwe **ciigi-**, which occurs mostly as a prenominal element or in combination with nouns, e.g., **jiigishkode**, 'near the fire.' Swampy Cree, however, has **peshoc** (attested in Ellis 1983:690). This form is somewhat enigmatic, since I would predict a cognate Cree form to end in /hc/. Perhaps the Cree is a borrowing from northern Severn Ojibwe, where nasals in obstruent clusters have been lost?

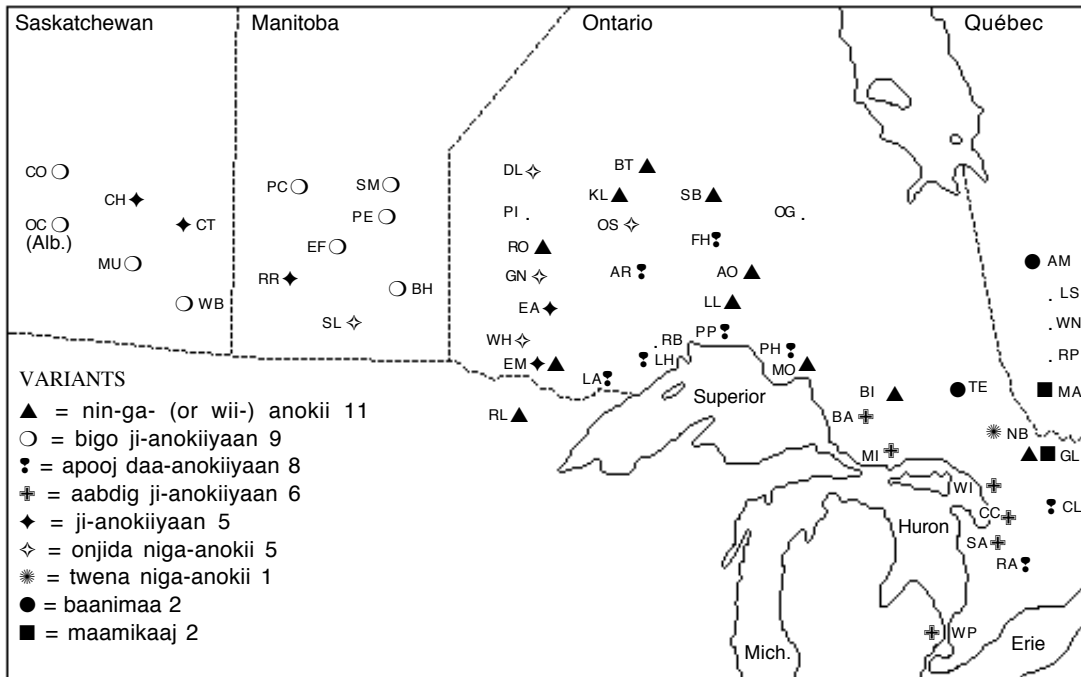
Potawatomi has **beshoch**. Rhodes records **ciikaahkwe** for Miami, **kehchine** for Fox, **kikhihi/ pakaci** for Shawnee, and **kE?ceh/ce:k** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM FH GN LA LH MI MO MU NB OC
OS PC PE PI PP RA RL RO RR SA
SL SM WB WH WI WN WP
○ AM BT DL GL KL LS MA OG SB WN
◐ AO BI LL PH RB TE
. RP

Consolidations

▲▲○◐ (53)



Necessary (I must work)

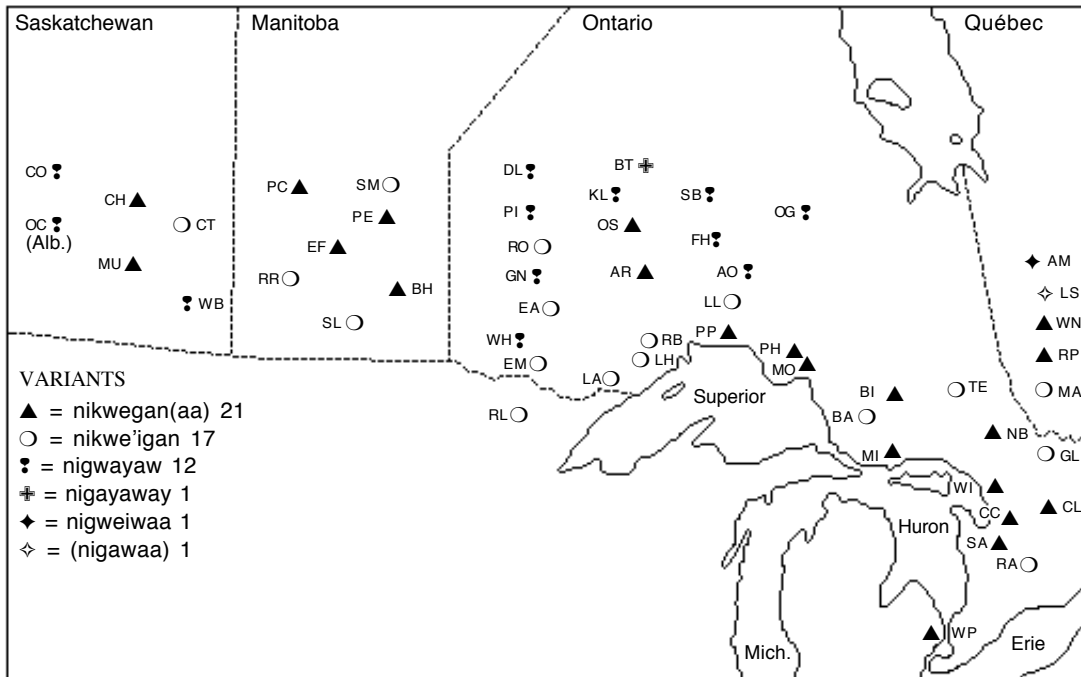
This is an interesting form. Throughout Saulteaux, I find **(bigo) ji-anokiiyaan**. Around Lake Huron **aabdig ji-anokiiyaan** is common, and along the north shore of Lake Superior (and at CL and RA), I find **apooj daa-anokiiyaan**. In Nipissing (attested at GL and MA), I find **maamikaaj**. Potawatomi has **abdek**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BI BT EM GL KL LL MO RL RO SB
- BH CO EF MU OC PC PE SM WB
- ⚙ AR CL FH LA LH PH PP RA
- ⚙ BA CC MI SA WI WP
- ◆ CH CT EA EM RR
- ◇ DL GN OS SL WH
- * NB
- AM TE
- GL MA
- . LS OG PI RB RP WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (11)
- (9)
- ⚙⚙ (8)
- ⚙⚙ (6)
- ◆◆ (5)
- ◇◇ (5)
- *● (2)
- (2)
- * (1)



My neck

There are two main variants, **nikwe'igan** and **nigwayaw**. The latter occurs in the north, though extending nearly to the border in southwestern Ontario. Algonquin is split, with only AM and LS having this form.

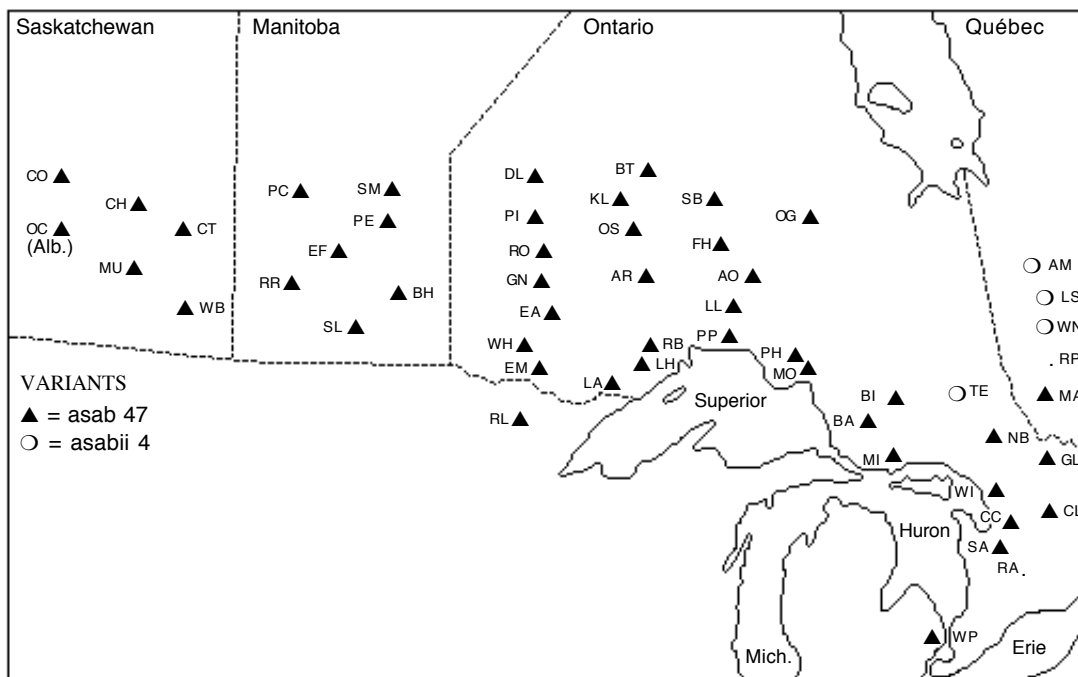
Fort Severn (Cree) has **nikwayaw**, while Atikamekw has **ohkwiw**, 'his neck' (Béland 1978:520); East Cree, **ukuyuu**, 'his neck.' Potawatomi has **nkweg'n**. Rhodes 1989:9 has Miami **nihkweekani**, Fox **nehkweekani**, Shawnee **nkweekaka**, and Menomini **nEhki:kan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH BI CC CH CL EF MI MO MU
NB OS PC PE PH PP RP SA WI WN
WP
- BA CT EA EM GL LA LH LL MA RA
RB RL RO RR SL SM TE
- AO CO DL FH GN KL OC OG PI SB
WB WH
- ✚ BT
- ◆ AM
- ◇ LS

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (38)
- ✚◆◇ (15)



Net (noun)

The only item of interest here is that a long final vowel, producing **asabii**, is limited to AM, LS, TE and WN.

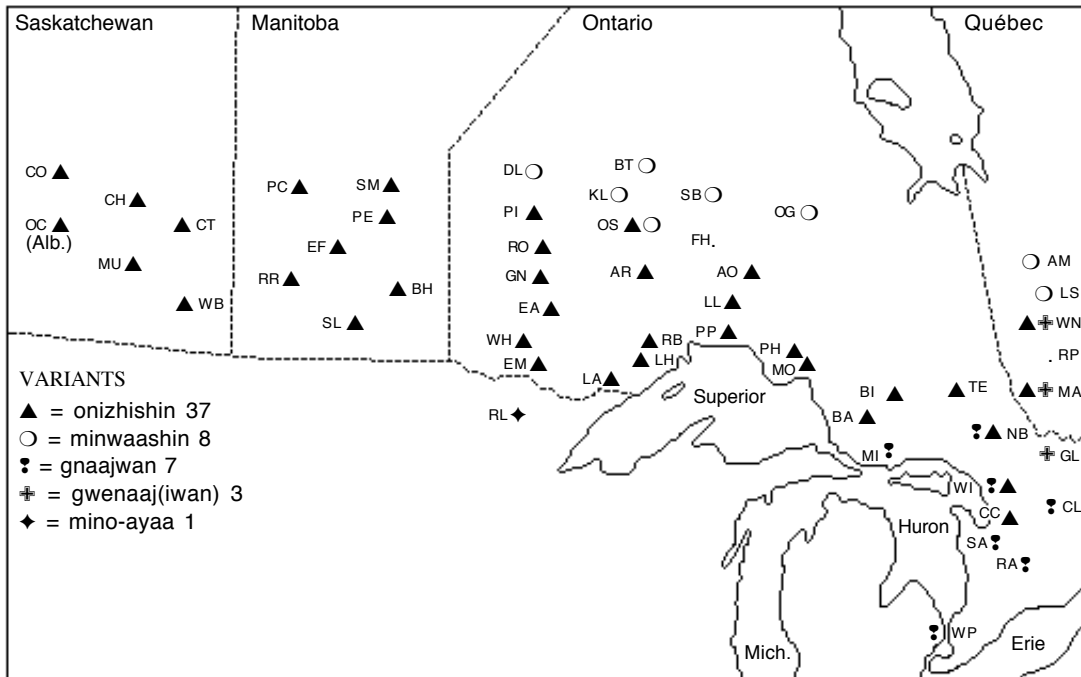
Swampy Cree has **anapiy**; Plains Cree, **ahyapiy**; East Cree, **ahapii** and **ahiipii**. Potawatomi has **s'b**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL CO
- CT DL EA EF EM FH GL GN KL LA
- LH LL MA MI MO MU NB OC OG OS
- PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RR SA
- SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM LS TE WN
- . RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (51)



Be nice (VII)

There are three main variants: **minwaashin**, found in Severn (and OS), and extending to northern Algonquin (AM and LS, but not WN); **gnaajwan**, found in the southeast, as far north as NB (with related gwenaaji(wan) in Nipissing (GL and MA) and at WN); elsewhere, **onizhishin**.

Swampy Cree has **minwaashin**; Plains Cree, **miywaasin**; the only form I have for East Cree is **miywaau**, 'it is good.'

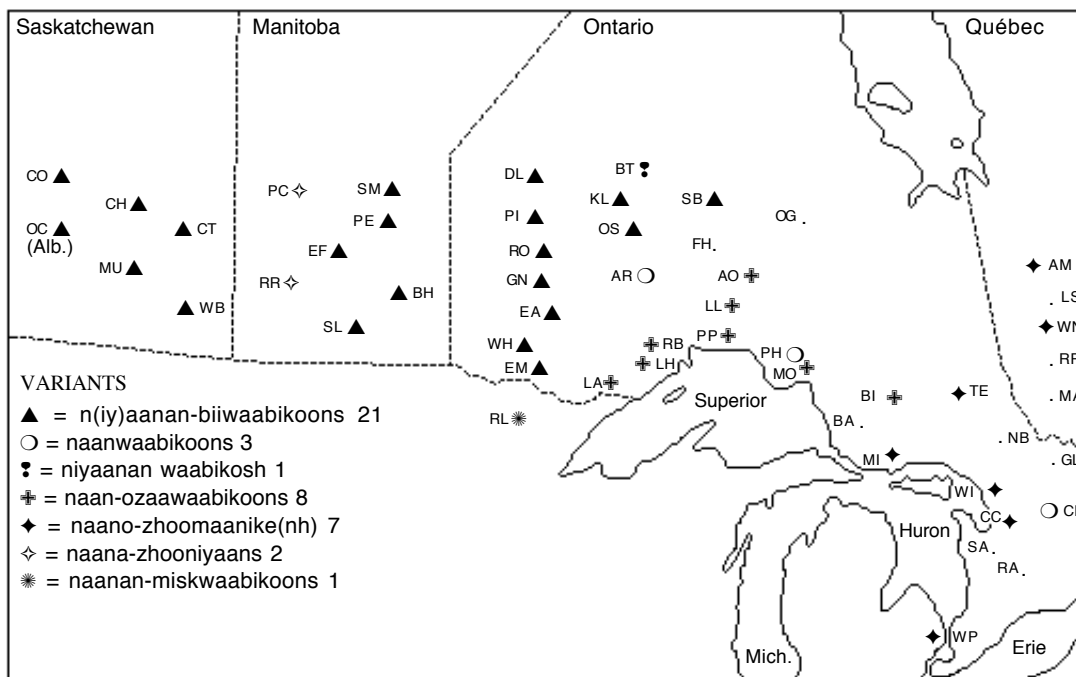
MA data for **gwenaaj** from McGregor 1987:160 (he also records an AI verb **gwenaajiw**, but not VII **gwenaajiw**an.)

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CO CT EA
EF EM GN LA LH LL MA MO MU NB
OC OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RO RR
SL SM TE WB WH WI WN
- AM BT DL KL LS OG OS SB
- ◼ CL MI NB RA SA WI WP
- ◼ GL MA WN
- ◆ RL
- FH RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (37)
- (8)
- ◼◼ (10)
- ◆◆ (1)



Nickel (coin)

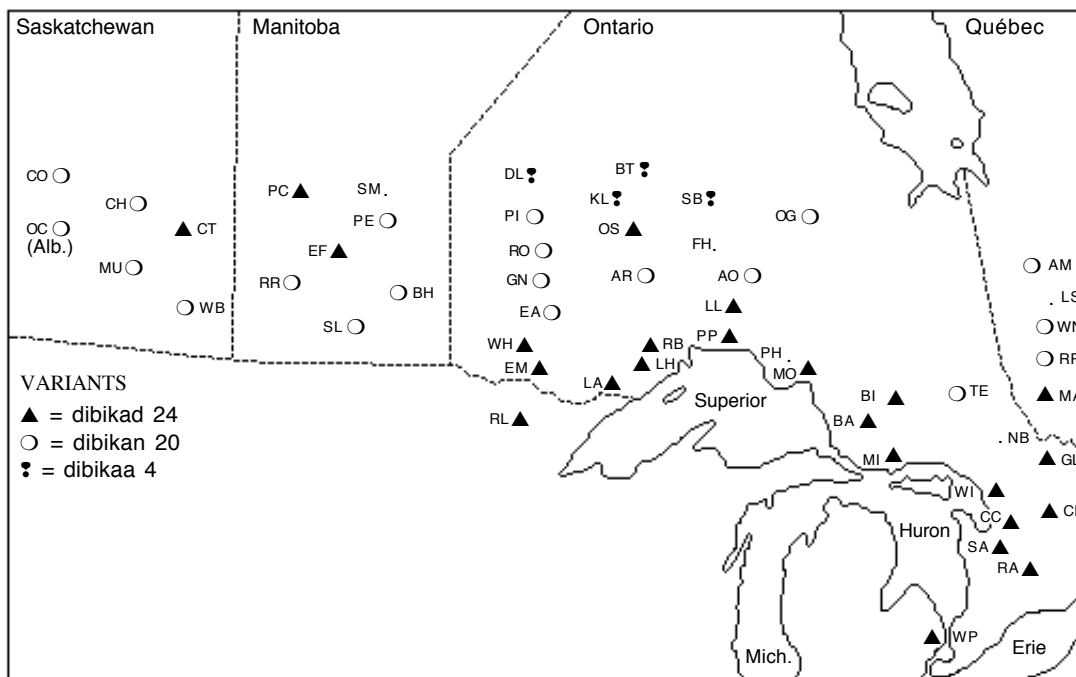
This word shows variation virtually identical with that of 'five,' as one might expect. To the north and northeast of Lake Huron, one finds **naano-zhoomaanike(ns)**, lit. 'five little pieces of money.' I am uncertain of the exact meaning of **zhoomaanike**. Baraga 1878:175 lists this with the meaning, 'copper-cent,' but under copper has only the entries **miskwaabik** and **ozaawaabik**. North of Superior, **naan-ozaawaabikoons** is common, as far north as AO. Elsewhere, the most common form is **n(iy)aan(an) biiwaabikoons** (lit., 'five littles pieces of metal'), except for a few isolates.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT DL EA EF EM GN KL
 MU OC OS PE PI RO SB SL SM WB
 WH
- AR CL PH
- BT
- ✚ AO BI LA LH LL MO PP RB
- ◆ AM CC MI TE WI WN WP
- ◆◊ PC RR
- ★ RL
- . BA FH GL LS MA NB OG RA RP SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (25)
- ✚ (8)
- ◆ (7)
- ✚◆ (2)
- ◆★ (1)



Be night (VII)

At issue here is the VII final. A southern form, found from the border lakes region, across to LL (and even OS), then to BI and MA (and south) in the east, is **dibikad**; elsewhere, **dibikan** is found, including all Saulteaux. Severn has **dibikaa**.

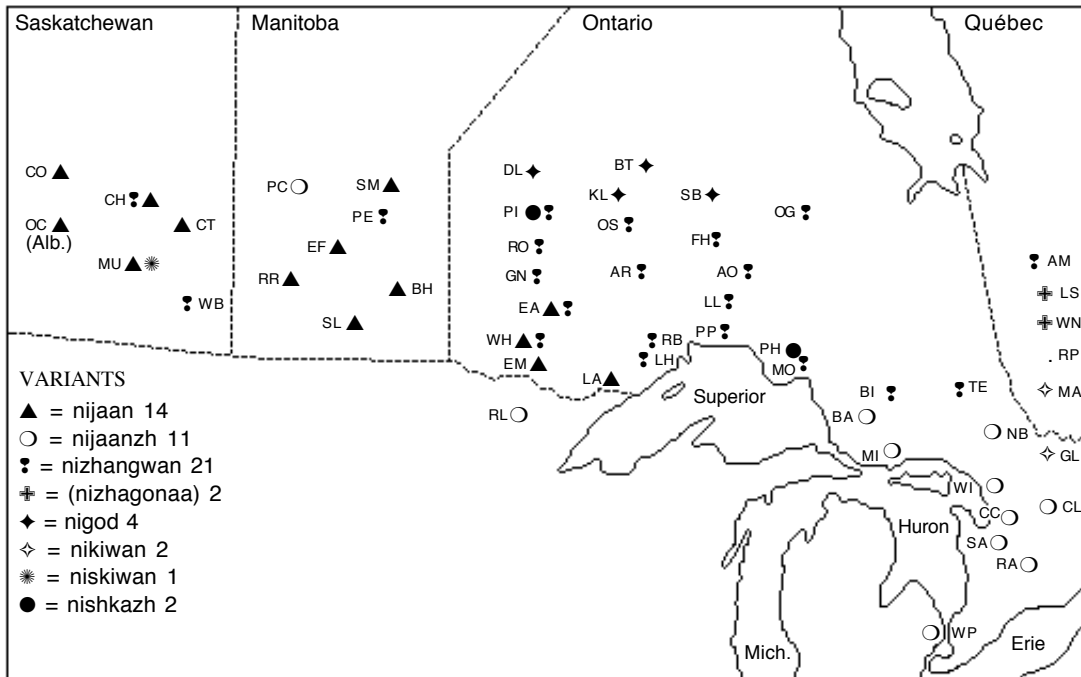
Plains, Swampy, and Eastern Cree all have **tipiskaaw**. Rhodes 1989:6 lists Miami **pehkonteeki**, Fox **pehkoteewi**, Shawnee **tep(eh)ki**, and Menomini **wani:tepEhkan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BI CC CL CT EF EM GL LA LH
LL MA MI MO OS PC PP RA RB RL
SA WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BH CH CO EA GN MU OC
OG PE PI RO RP RR SL TE WB WN
- BT DL KL SB
. FH LS NB PH SM

Consolidations

▲▲○• (48)



My nose

There are several regional variants. In the southeast, including all Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe (except GL), and RL (Minnesota), the form is **nijaanzh**. In Saulteaux, and a few border lakes communities, it the related **nijaan**. GL and MA have **nikiwan**, and MU has apparently borrowed (from Cree) **niskiwan**, similar to Faries and Watkin's Imiskiwunl, 'one's nose.' Four Severn communities have **nigod**, which is also the form at Fort Severn (Cree) and Atikamekw (Béland 1978:520, **ohkot**, 'his nose'). Elsewhere the common form is **nizhangon**.

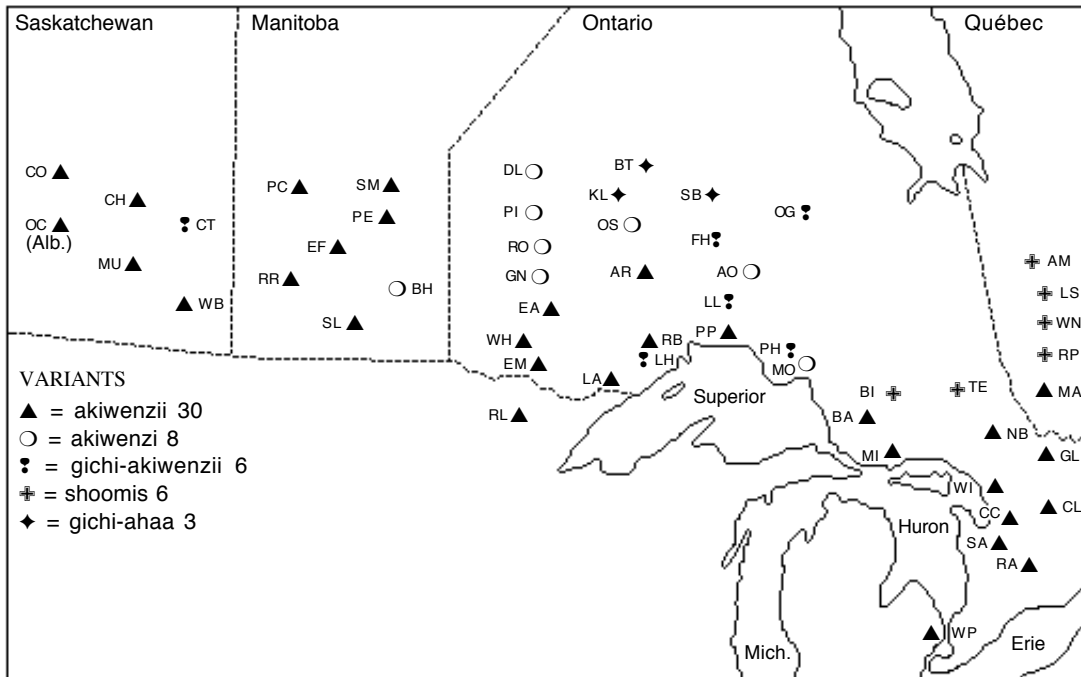
Swampy Cree has **nikot**; East Cree, **uskut**, 'its nose, beak.' Potawatomi has **njash** (Buzard). Rhodes 1989:6 lists Miami **nihkiwani**, Fox **kehkiwani** (your), Shawnee **hocaashi** (his ?), and Menomini, **necias**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT EA EF EM LA MU OC RR SL SM WH
- BA CC CL MI NB PC RA RL SA WI WP
- ◐ AM AO AR BI CH EA FH GN LH LL MO OG OS PE PI PP RB RO TE WB WH
- † LS WN
- ◆ BT DL KL SB
- ◇ GL MA
- * MU
- PH PI
- RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (25)
- ◐† (23)
- ◐◆ (4)
- †◇* (3)
- ◆● (2)



Old man

Here the most common form is **akiwenzi(i)**. I am probably not reliable regarding the length of the final vowel, although there is evidence of a regional clustering of forms with a short final vowel in northwestern Ontario. Algonquin has a form **shoomis**, which looks similar to the word for 'grandfather' in many dialects, **-mishoom(is)**. Note that several Algonquin communities and some communities in northern Ontario have analogous **gookom-** 'grandmother' for old lady. The analogous extension of this concept to 'old man' using 'grandfather' only in Algonquin may suggest that that dialect is the source of the general process, though such a usage is very possibly an independent development. Severn has a form **gichi-ahaa**, somewhat analogous to its form for old woman, **gichi-ikwe**.

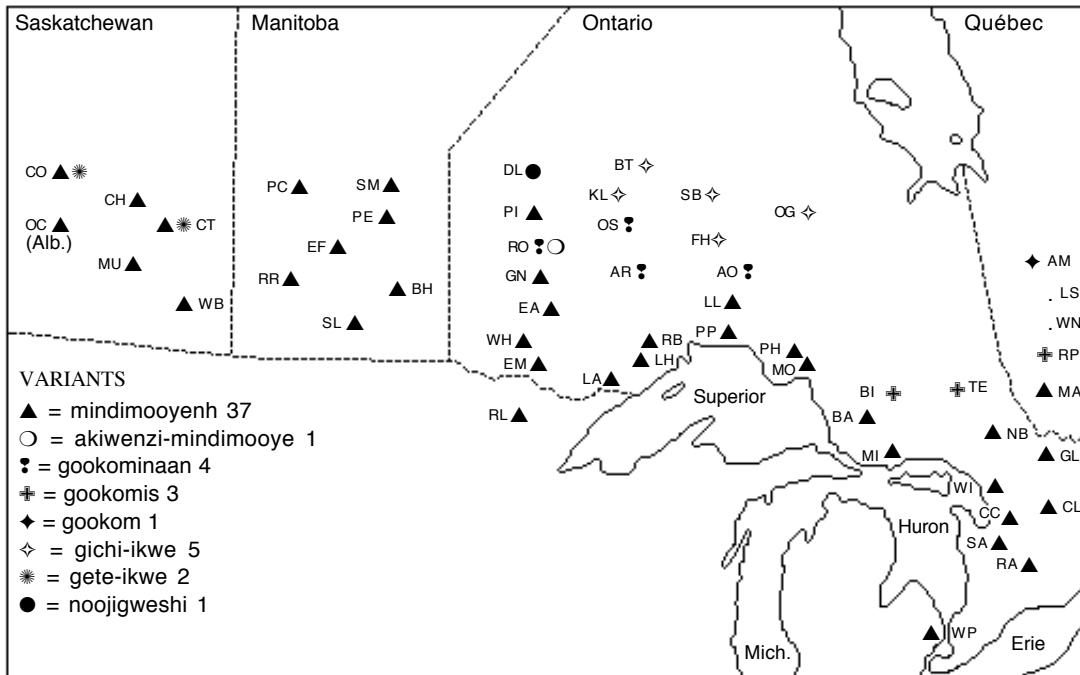
Swampy Cree has **kishe-ininiw**; East Cree, **chishaa-iyuu**; Plains Cree **kehtheyiniw**, **kiseyin**, **kisciyiniw**. Potawatomi has **k'wezi**. Miami (H) has **kiyosha**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA CC CH CL CO EA EF EM GL
LA MA MI MU NB OC PC PE PP RA
RB RL RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AO BH DL GN MO OS PI RO
- CT FH LH LL OG PH
- ✚ AM BI LS RP TE WN
- ◆ BT KL SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (43)
- ✚ (6)
- ◆ (3)



Old woman

Here I found several regionally defined forms:

a. **gichi-ikwe**. This form is Severn, occurring in all Severn communities except DL, which has an isolated variant. CT and CO have **gete-ikwe**.

b. stem **gookom**. This occurs in a band across the northern communities south of Severn, including Algonquin, and excluding MA and GL. WN has **gookomis**, which fits the pattern. CN has **nootikwe**, which appears to be similar to **notokao** cited by Faries 1938. Plains Cree (BLN) too has **nootokew** and **nootokesiw**.

c. **mindimooyenh**. This is the general southern form.

Swampy Cree has **kishe-iskwew**; East Cree **kuuhkuminaash**. Potawatomi has **md'moze**. Miami has **mikihkwa**. Rhodes 1989:11 lists Miami as having **mitem(i)hsa** for 'woman,' and Menomini, **metE:moh** for the same. It looks as if these forms are cognate with the southern Ojibwe form for old woman.

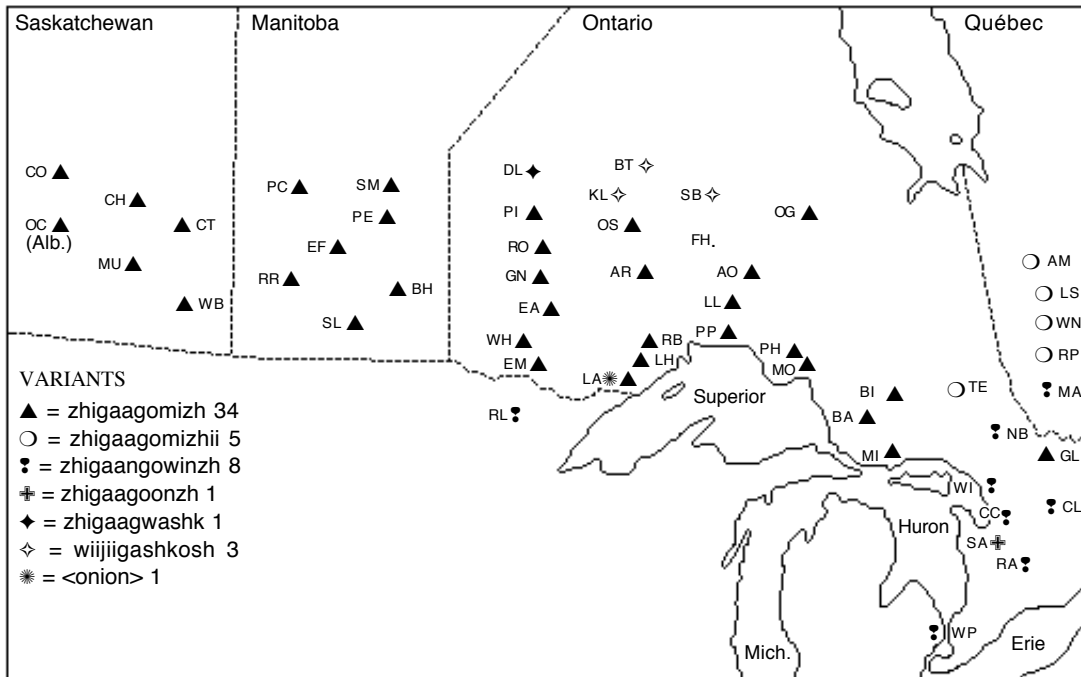
Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM
 GL GN LA LH LL MA MI MO MU NB
 OC PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RR
 SA SL SM WB WH WI WP

○ RO
 ♣ AO AR OS RO
 † BI RP TE
 ◆ AM
 ◇ BT FH KL OG SB
 * CO CT
 ● DL
 .LS WN

Consolidations

▲▲○ (38)
 ○ ♣◆ (8)
 ♣◇ (5)
 †* (2)
 ◆● (1)



Onion

This item is useful for distinctions in the east. Gilstrap (1978) uses it to distinguish MA from the rest of Algonquin. My data shows the pattern is quite broad and that MA patterns with the southeastern dialects (and RL (Minnesota), all of which have **zhigaagowinzh** (except for GL). A related form occurs over most of the remaining area, **zhigaagomizh** (five Algonquin communities have a long vowel final, **zhigaagomizhii**), from MI west except for a few Severn communities (BT, KL, SB), which have **wijiigashkosh**. The alternation outside of Severn is thus one of **m** versus **w**, which occurs in many forms, though usually initially (e.g., 'house,' **miigiwaam** vs. **wiigiwaam**, 'whiteman/Frenchman, **wemitigoozhi** vs. **memitigoozhi**). Fort Severn (Cree) has **shikaakwaanowashk**.

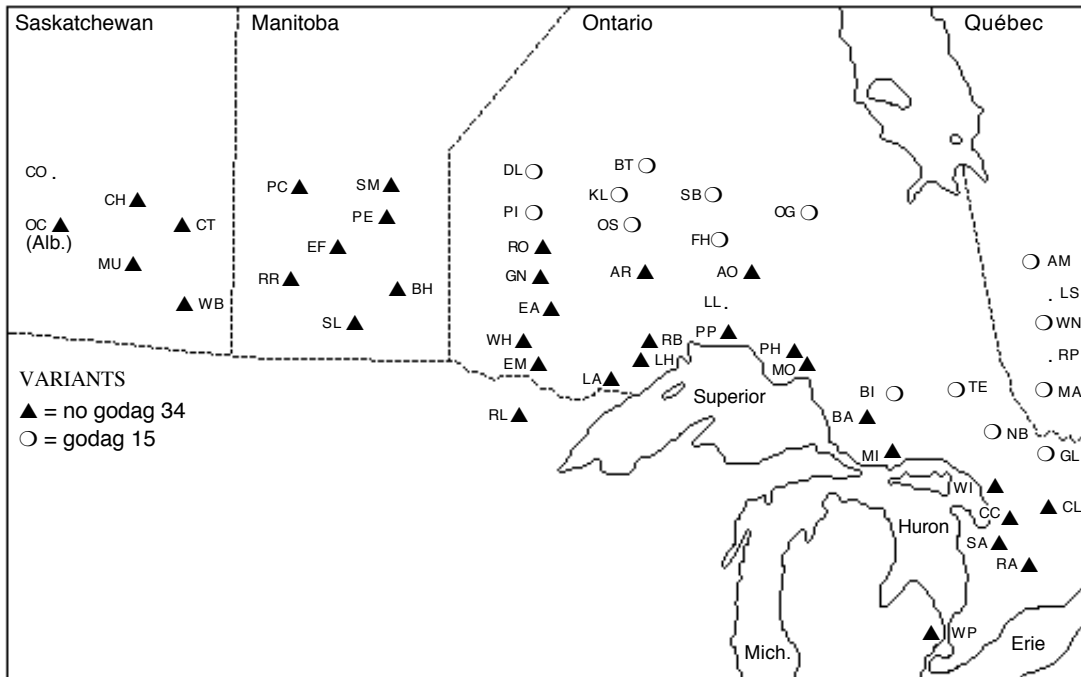
Plains Cree has **wiihcekaskosiy**; Swampy Cree, **shikaakwaanowashk**; East Cree, **shikaakush**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CH CO CT EA EF
EM GL GN LA LH LL MI MO MU OC
OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RO RR
SL SM WB WH
- AM LS RP TE WN
- CC CL MA NB RA RL WI WP
- ✦ SA
- ◆ DL
- ◇ BT SB
- ★ KL
- LA
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦◆ (50)
- ◇ (2)
- ★ (1)
- ✦● (1)



Other

This is another excellent term for showing a close relationship between Algonquin and Severn. All of Severn in my sample (BT, DK, KL, SB and more marginal FH and OG), as well as OS and PI to the south, have a specific pronoun meaning 'the other,' **godag**. All of Algonquin does as well, including BI and TE; Nipissing does as well (GL, MA and NB), but Eastern Ojibwe communities (e.g., RA, CL) do not. Constance Lake has **godag**, as does Northern Alberta Cree (Plains). I lack data from Ft. Severn Cree, but Ellis 1983 has **kotak** for the west coast of James Bay (Swampy Cree).

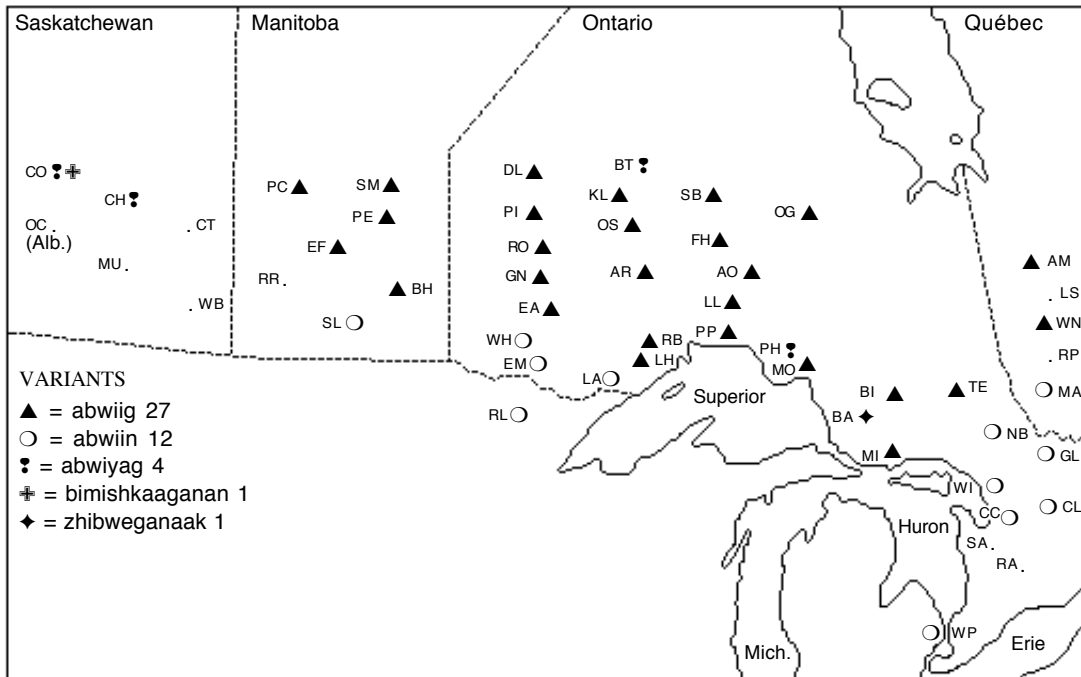
Kotak is common in Cree, found in Swampy, East Cree and Plains. There is, however, some variation in the form of various inflections of this pronoun, between Ojibwe and Cree. Rhodes 1989:10 lists Miami **kotaka**, Fox **kotaka**, and Shawnee **kotaka**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL CT EA EF
EM GN LA LH MI MO MU OC PC PE
PH PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SL SM
WB WH WI WP
- AM BI BT DL FH GL KL MA NB OG
OS PI SB TE WN
. CO LL LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ (34); B b (15)



Paddle (plural)

The primary variable here is gender. Inanimate forms occur in the south, in the southeast south from MA, including NB, and in the west, in the border lakes region, including LA, RL, WH, EM and in Manitoba, SL. This seems to follow a general pattern whereby these dialects make logically inanimate entities grammatically inanimate.

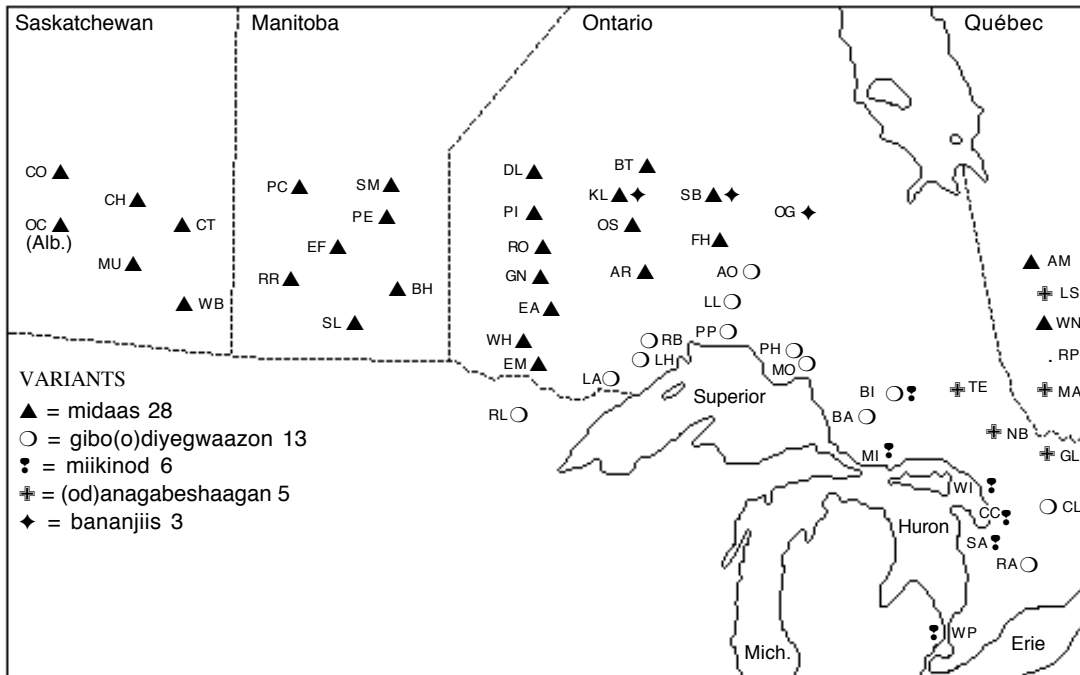
Fort Severn (Cree) and Plains Cree have **apoy** (NA), which also means, 'shovel' (see 'shovel' in this document, where some western Saulteaux communities show the same phenomenon); East Cree, **apui**, 'paddle, propeller, or outboard motor' (NA). Thus, all Cree forms for which I have data are animate gender. Potawatomi has **web'w'n** (NI).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BH BI DL EA EF FH GN
KL LH LL MI MO OG OS PC PE PI
PP RB RO SB SM TE WN
- CC CL EM GL LA MA NB RL SL WH
WI WP
- ⦿ BT CH CO PH
- ✦ CO
- ◆ BA
- CT LS MU OC RA RP RR SA WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿ (43)
- ✦ (1)
- ⦿◆ (1)



Pants (noun)

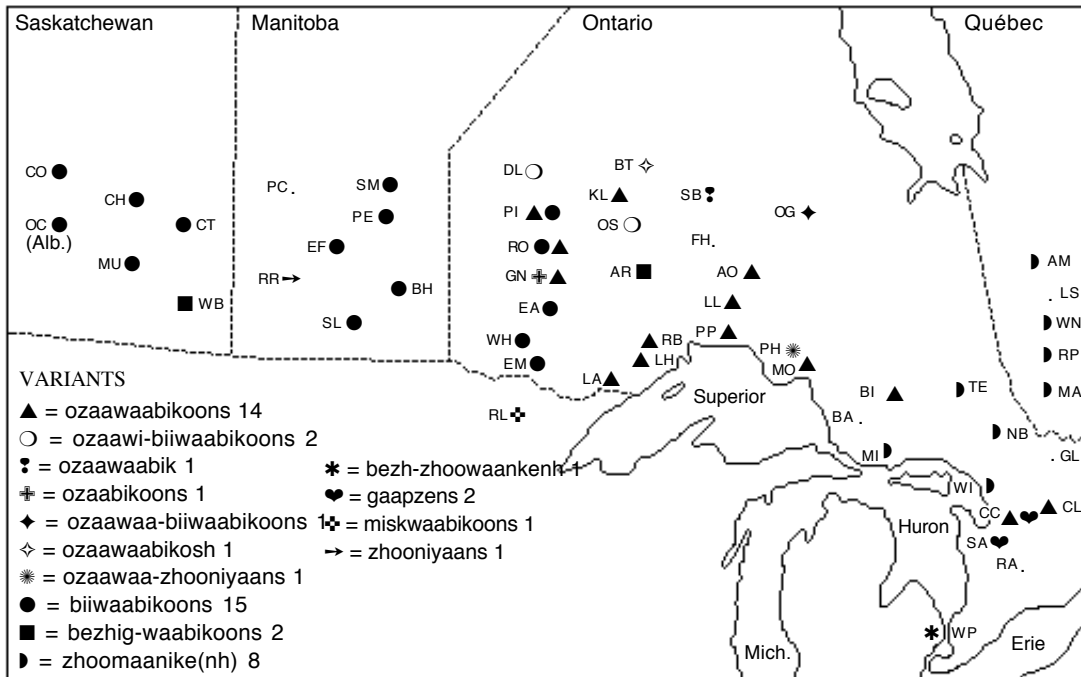
Odawa (and BI) has **miikinod**. Around Odawa, in the southeast, as well as along Lake Superior as far west as RL, one finds **gib(o)diyegwaazon**. I am unsure of the components of this word: it appears to have the medial for backside, **diy-e**, and perhaps an initial meaning 'cover.' LS and several communities south (including MA, GL, TE and NB) have **(od)anagabeshaagan**, with or without a third person possessor (this may indicate that the word is variably inalienable). In northwestern Ontario, and throughout Sauteaux, one finds **midaas**. Three communities in the Severn area (KL, SB and OG) have **bananjiis**, possibly from English. This form is also found at Fort Severn (**panaciis**). East Cree has the corresponding **paichiis**. Plains Cree (BLN) has **nanosiya**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AR BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF
 EM FH GN KL MU OC OS PC PE PI
 RO RR SB SL SM WB WH WN
 ○ AO BA BI CL LA LH LL MO PH PP
 RA RB RL
 • BI CC MI SA WI WP
 ✚ GL LS MA NB TE
 ◆ KL OG SB
 . RP

Consolidations

▲▲ (28)
 ○○ (13)
 •• (6)
 ✚✚ (5)
 ◆◆ (3)



Penny (coin)

This form is rather interesting in that in some ways, it patterns somewhat differently than the words for ‘nickel’ and ‘dime.’ Sauteaux (and all communities in extreme western Ontario), has **biiwaabikoons**, lit. ‘little metal object.’ North and northeast of Lake Huron, **zhoomaanike(nh)** is found. Elsewhere, the common form is **ozaawaabikoons**, ‘golden metal,’ or some variant of this. CC And SA have **gaapzens**, a borrowing of English ‘copper’ with an Ojibwe diminutive.

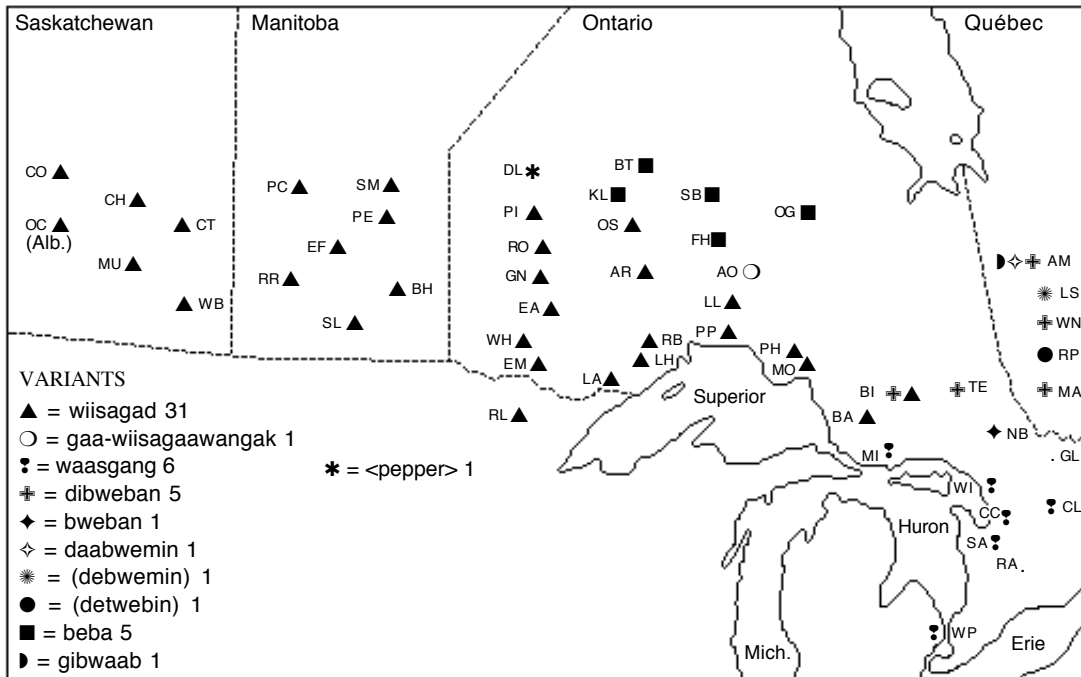
Swampy Cree has **osaawaapiskosh**; East Cree has **kaa-uchaawaapischisit**. Potawatomi has **mskwab’ko**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BI CC CL GN KL LA LH LL MO
PI PP RB RO
- DL OS
- SB
- ✦ GN
- ◆ OG
- ◇ BT
- ✱ PH
- BH CH CO CT EA EF EM MU OC PE
PI RO SL SM WH
- AR WB
- ▷ AM MA MI NB RP TE WI WN
- * WP
- ♥ CC SA
- ✦ RL
- RR
- . BA FH GL LS PC RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦✦◆◇✱ (21)
- (17)
- * (9)
- ✦♥ (2)
- ◆✦ (1)
- ◇→ (1)



Pepper (noun)

This word is useful for regional grouping. The southeast (though I lack data for GL and RA) consistently has **waasgang**, which may represent a participial formation of the commonly found **wiisagad**. Algonquin, extending to BI and NB, has some variant on **dibweban**, perhaps related to French **poivre** or English **pepper**. Severn **beba** is clearly from English, and the form extends as far south as FH. The rest of Ojibwe has **wiisagad**, in all areas west of BA.

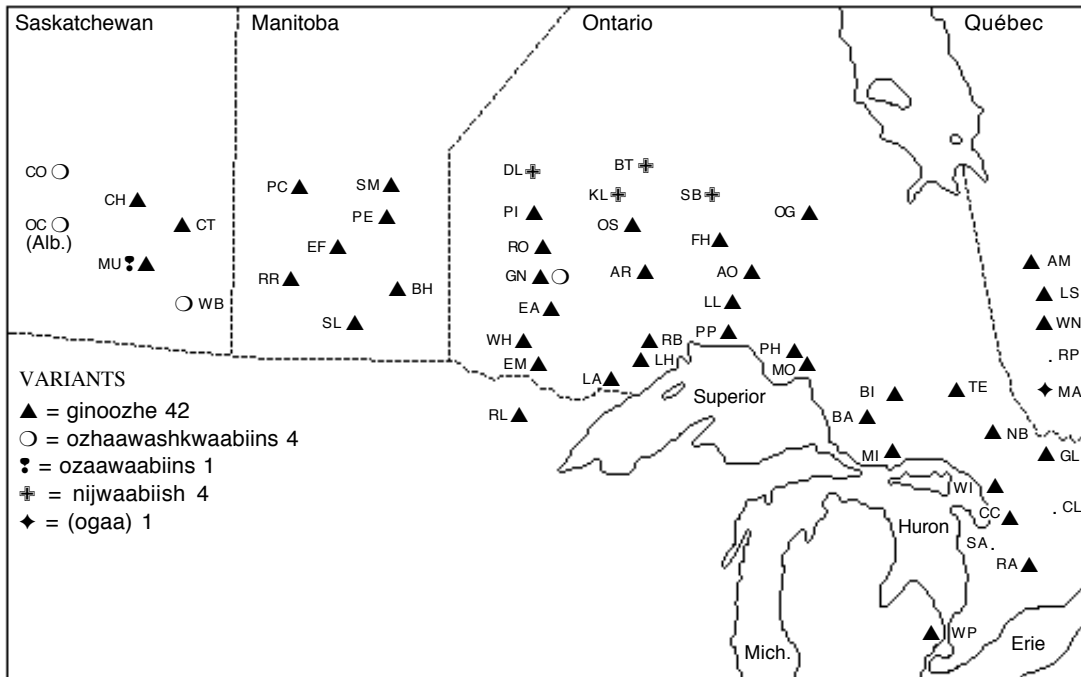
Swampy Cree has **pepaaw**, as does East Cree. Potawatomi has **waskek**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CH CO CT EA EF EM GN LA LH LL MO MU OC OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RR SL SM WB WH
- AO
- ⦿ CC CL MI SA WI WP
- ⊕ AM BI MA TE WN
- ⊖ NB
- ⊗ AM
- ⊛ LS
- RP
- BT FH KL OG SB
- ▷ AM
- * DL
- . GL RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿ (38)
- ⊕⊖⊗⊛● (9)
- ⦿■ (5)
- ⊕▷ (1)
- ⊖* (1)



Pike/Jackfish

This item sets off Severn, in its having **nijwaabiish**, whereas almost everywhere else the form is **ginoo(n)zhe** (the generic term for fish in the Severn dialect). Three communities in the western Saulteaux range (CO, OC and WB), and surprisingly, GN, have **ozhaawashkw=aabiins**, which appears to have the same final as **nijwaabiish**, though with a different diminutive (this northern form has the expected **-(i)sh**, while the non-northern has **-(e)ns**. MU has the form **ozaawaabiins**, interesting in that it uses a root word meaning 'brown/yellow' as opposed to **ozhwashkwaabiins**, which has a root meaning 'blue/green.' Notice that the Severn form and the unique Saulteaux forms share elements (/aabii{ns/sh}/), but I am uncertain of the significance of this.

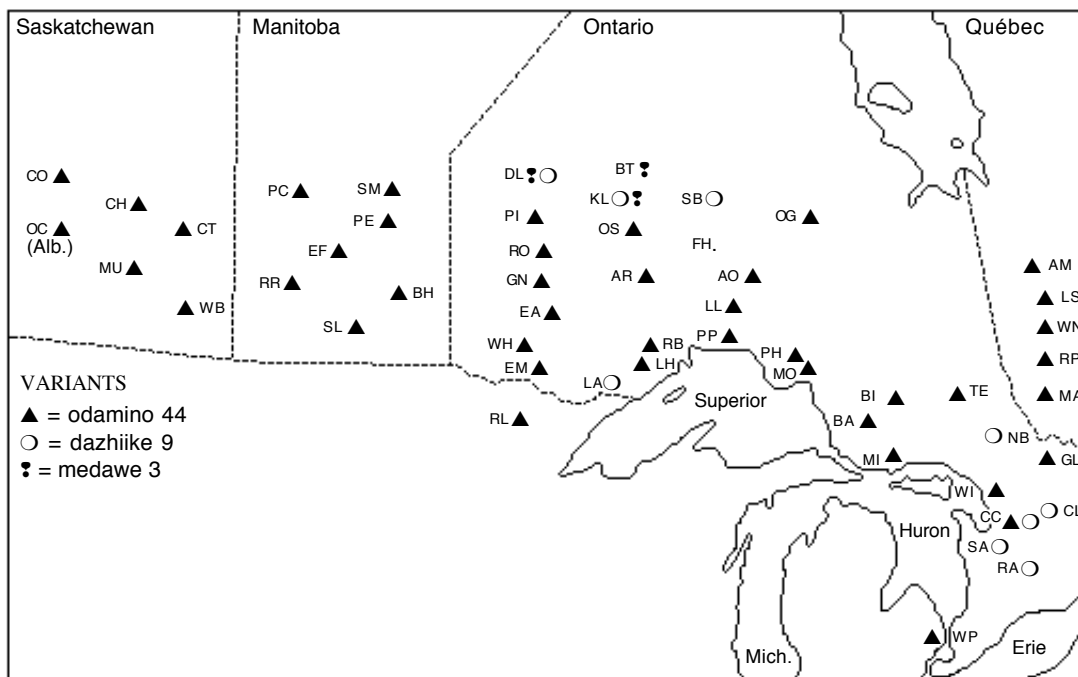
Bloomfield gives two forms for 'pike' in Plains Cree, **cekahpiis** and **miyay**. Fort Severn Cree has **kinooshew**, and East Cree the corresponding **chinusheu**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CT EA
 EF EM FH GL GN LA LH LL LS MI
 MO MU NB OG OS PC PE PH PI PP
 RA RB RL RO RR SL SM TE WH WI
 WN WP
- CO GN OC WB
- ◼◼ MU
- ◼◼◼ BT DL KL SB
- ◼◼◼◼ MA
- ◼◼◼◼◼ CL RP SA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (42)
- ◼◼ (5)
- ◼◼◼◼ (4)
- ◼◼◼◼◼ (1)



Plays (VAI)

This form is interesting in that Severn matches with the extreme southeast, which is quite rare in the data. Severn (DL and KL) has **dazhiike** (and **medawe**), which is also found at CC, RA, SA, CL and NB (and LA). Elsewhere, the common form is **odamino**.

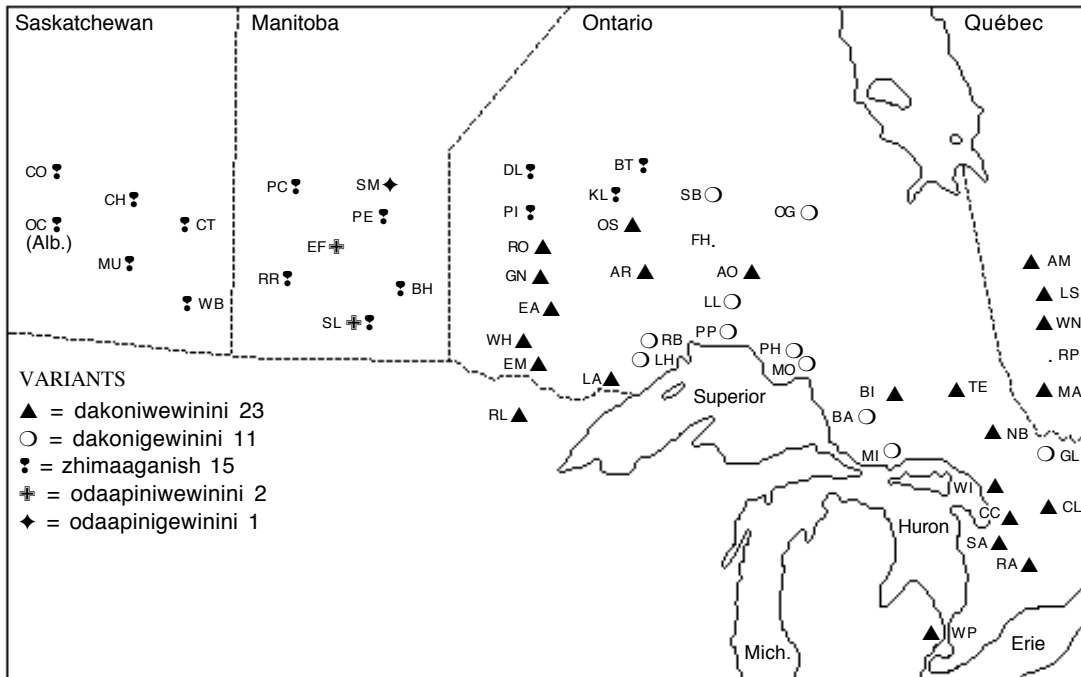
All three Cree dialects for which I have information (Plains, Swampy, East Cree) have **metawew**. Rhodes 1989:14 has Miami **paahpiaani**, Fox **kiitanekowa**, Shawnee **wees&ipezi**, and Menomini **miana:ce?taw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CO CT
EA EF EM GL GN LH LL LS MA
MI MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI
PP RB RL RO RP RR SL SM TE WB
WH WI WN WP
- CC CL DL KL LA NB RA SA SB
- ⦿ BT DL KL
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (44)
- (9)
- ⦿⦿ (3)



Policeman

This word shows interesting patterning. In the west, including Severn and Sauteaux, the form is **zhimaa-ganish**, evidently a borrowing from Cree (this word means 'shield' in Cree). In a group of communities along the northern shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, going north to SB, the form is **dakonigewinini**. Elsewhere, one finds **dakoniwewinini**, except for a group of three communities in Manitoba, which have **odaapiniw/gewinini**, (SM, EF, SL).

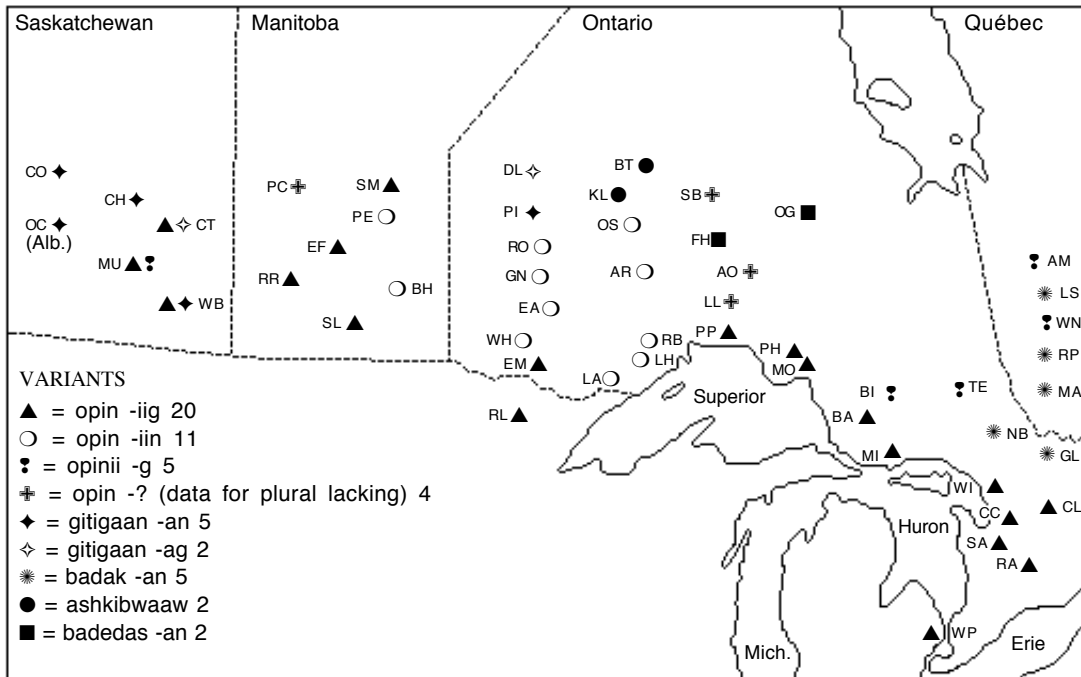
Both Plains Cree and Swampy Cree have **okipahowe-siw**; Bloomfield also lists **simaakanisiihkaan**, with the gloss 'conscript, Indian policeman.' East Cree has **chipahuwesuu** (the same form as the Plains and Swampy, but lacking the initial o-), and **kaa-maakunu-wesit**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BI CC CL EA EM GN LA
LS MA NB OS RA RL RO SA TE WH
WI WN WP
- BA GL LH LL MI MO OG PH PP RB
SB
- ▮ BH BT CH CO CT DL KL MU OC PC PE PI
RR SL WB
- ⊕ EF SL
- ◆ SM
- FH RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (34)
- ▮ (15)
- ▮⊕◆ (3)



Potato

The most common form is **opin**, which varies in its gender, being animate everywhere except a large area extending from the northwest shore of Lake Superior into Manitoba (though I lack critical gender data from AO, LL, PC and SB). FH and OG have borrowed from English, while BT and KL have the form, **ashkibwaaw**, which agrees with Faries 1938 luskepawel Cree dictionary. At DL and PI, as well as most Saskatchewan Saulteaux, the form is **gitigaan** (a nominalization from **gitige**, 'he works in a garden') with variable gender.

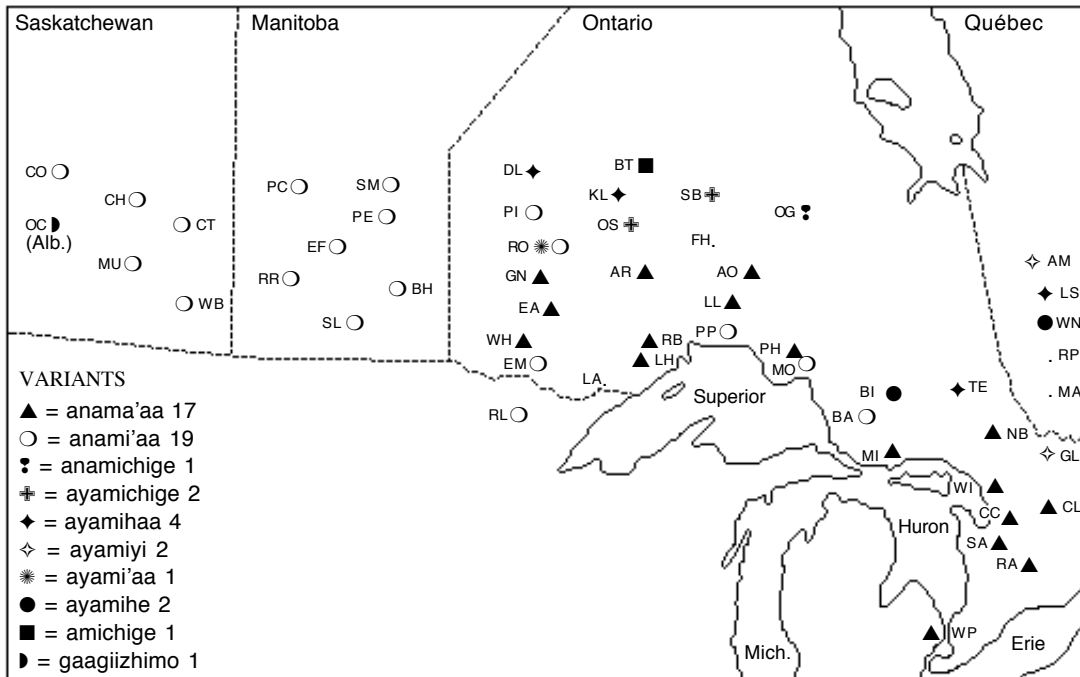
Swampy and East Cree use **patetas**; Bloomfield lists some other forms for Plains, including **ahpiniis** and **askipwaaw**, in both cases glossed, 'wild potato,' as well as 'la patate, napataak.' The last form here is similar to the form found in eastern Ojibwe dialects, **badak**, which McGregor 1987 asserts is 'from French slang.' Potawatomi has **p̄n**. Peoria has **pEnEki** (pl.)

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA CC CL CT EF EM MI MO MU PH
PP RA RL RR SA SL SM WB WI WP
- AR BH EA GN LA LH OS PE RB RO
WH
- ♣ AM BI MU TE WN
- † AO LL PC SB
- ◆ CH CO OC PI WB
- ◇ CT DL
- * GL LS MA NB RP
- BT KL
- FH OG

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ † (40)
- ◆ ◇ (7)
- ♣ * (5)
- † ● (2)
- ◆ ■ (2)



Prays (VAI)

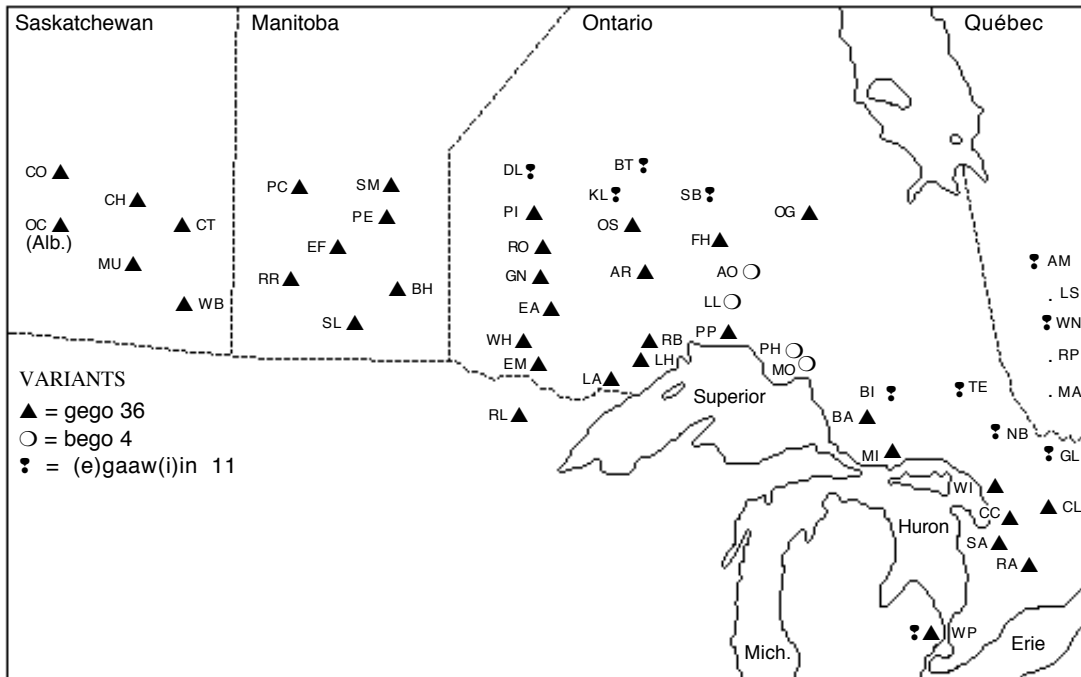
The most common variants are **anama'aa** and **anami'aa**, with the latter much more heavily represented in the west (Saulteaux), though it does turn up at other locations (MO and BA). DL and KL (Severn) and LS and TE (Algonquin) have **ayamihaa**, while AM and GL have **ayamiyi**. WN and BI have **ayamihe**. SB and OS have **ayamichige**, which is very similar to Fort Severn (Cree) **ayamihcikew** (and East Cree, **ayimihchikeu**). Atikamekw has **ayamihaa-** (Béland 1978:406).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR CC CL EA GN LH LL MI NB
PH RA RB SA WH WI WP
- BA BH CH CO CT EF EM MO MU PC
PE PI PP RL RO RR SL SM WB
- ◐ OG
- ⊕ OS SB
- ◆ DL KL LS TE
- ◇ AM GL
- ⊛ RO
- BI WN
- BT
- ◑ OC
- . FH LA MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◐ (37)
- ⊕◆◇⊛● (11)
- ◐■ (1)
- ⊕◑ (1)



Prohibitive particle

The prohibitive particle is most commonly **gego**, with a variant **bego** among four communities clustered north of Lake Superior. Many northern communities have **(e)gaaw(i)in**, though many of these lack a distinctive prohibitive morphology as well, using the imperative with a negative particle. **Egaawin** is interesting in that it seems a blend of both the common independent negative and the northern (Severn) conjunct negative, **egaa**.

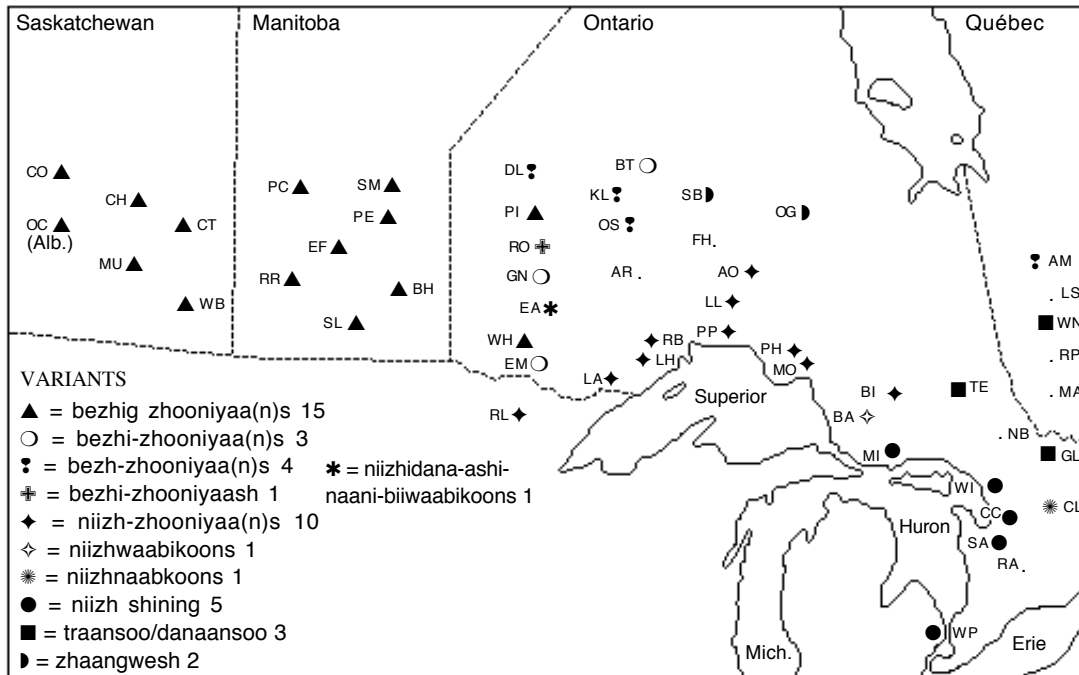
The only Cree for which I have data on the prohibitive particle is East Cree, which uses **ekaawii** plus the imperative.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM FH GN LA LH MI MU OC OG OS
PC PE PI PP RA RB RL RO RR SA
SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AO LL MO PH
- AM BI BT DL GL KL NB SB TE WN
WP
- . LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (40)
- (11)



Quarter (coin)

This word shows interesting regional variation. Among Odawa communities, the common form is **niizh shining**, lit., 'two shillings,' an obvious borrowing of English **shilling**. In Michigan Ottawa, this has been generalized to mean 'one quarter,' as in **Niizh-shinin minik aabitawizi**, 'She is one-fourth white.' Bloomfield/Nichols 1991:35. GL and TE have **traansoo**, a borrowing from French **trente sou**, 'thirty sou.' WN has a more phonologized form of the same word, **danaansoo**. All around Lake Superior, the form is **niizh-zhooniyaa(n)s** (or perhaps the more expected **niizh-zhooniyaaans**), meaning 'two pieces of change,' i.e., something akin to the archaic English expression, 'two bits,' or the two shillings above. The rest of the communities have a group of related forms, most commonly **bezhig zhooniyaaans**, 'one coin,' with some Severn (KL and DL) and Algonquin (AM) having **bezhooniyaaans**, and BT, EM and GN having **bezhi-zhooniyaaans**. There is thus a continuum of shortening for the initial element of this form, from **bezhig** to **bezhi** to **be**, but these do appear to have a discernible regional patterning). SB and OG have **zhaangwesh**, the word for 'mink,' clearly related to the fur trade. This construction was also found at Fort Severn (Cree). East Cree uses an analogous term, **peyakushikaakuyaans**, glossed as 'twenty-five cents or one quarter of something (lit., one skunk skin).'

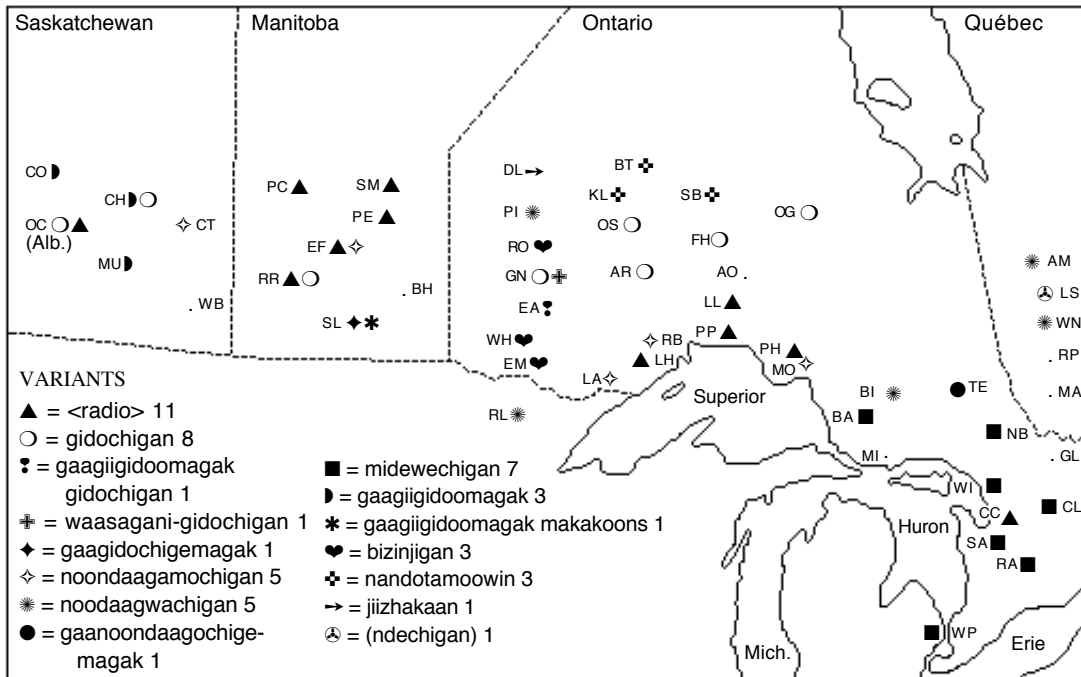
Plains Cree has **sooniyaaans** for quarter. Potawatomi has **godyesb'n**, which looks like, 'one-raccoon' (see also half-dollar).

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BH CH CO CT EF MU OC PC PE PI
RR SL SM WB WH
○ BT EM GN
◐ AM DL KL OS
✦ RO
◆ AO BI LA LH LL MO PH PP RB RL
◇ BA
✱ CL
● CC MI SA WI WP
■ GL TE WN
▷ OG SB
* EA
. AR FH LS MA NB RA RP

Consolidations

▲ ▲ ○ ◐ ✦ (23)
○ ◆ ✱ ● (17)
◐ ■ (3)
✦ ▷ (2)
◆ * (1)



Radio

This is one of several contemporary terms collected to see if any patterns representing more recent relationships might emerge, and also a minor test of language vitality. There are a few local groupings. The southeast has nearly everywhere midewechigan; Severn (BT, KL, SB) has **nandotamoowin**; south of this grouping is a grouping of five communities (OG, FH, OS, AR, GN) having **gidochigan**, which also occurs in many other places. Predictably, Manitoba Saulteaux has **radio**, since this dialect seems especially prone to borrowing from English, even in areas where the language is quite strong. There are other small groupings discernible from inspection of the map.

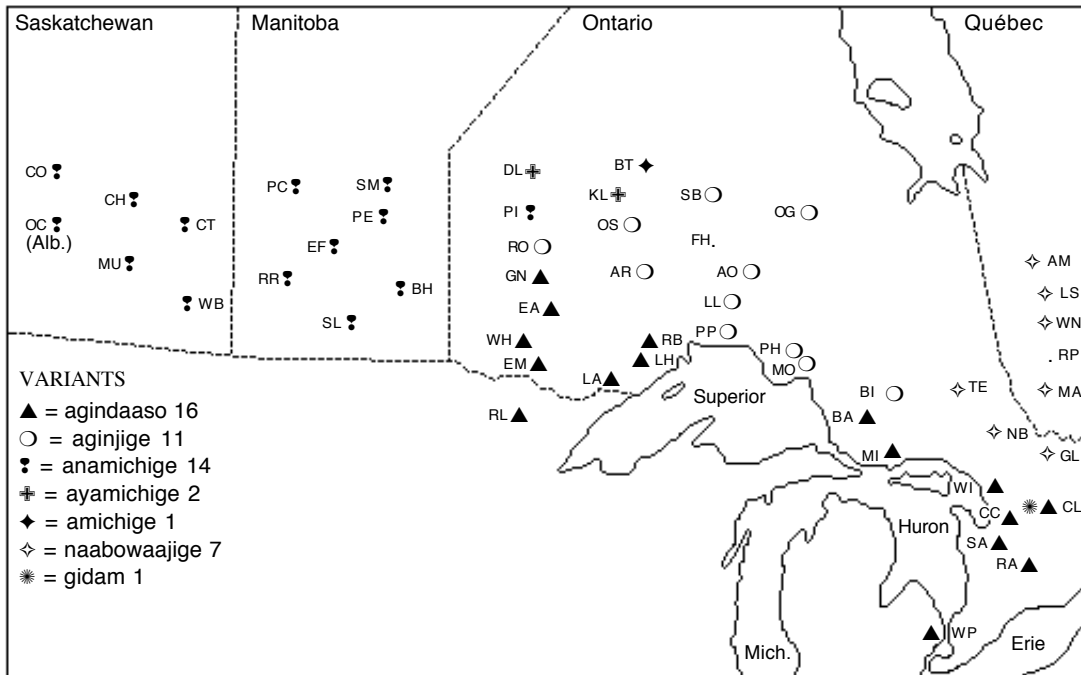
Swampy Cree has **kaa-ayamiimakahk**; East Cree, **ayimuweyaapii**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ CC EF LH LL OC PC PE PH PP RR SM
- AR CH FH GN OC OG OS RR
- ♣ EA
- ✦ GN
- ◆ SL
- ◇ CT EF LA MO RB
- ✱ AM BI PI RL WN
- TE
- BA CL NB RA SA WI WP
- ▷ CH CO MU
- ✱ SL
- ♥ EM RO WH
- ✦ BT KL SB
- DL
- ⊕ LS
- . AO BH GL MA MI RP WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (11)
- ○ ♣ ✦ ◆ (11)
- ♣ ✦ ✱ ● (11)
- ✦ ■ (7)
- ◆ ▷ ✱ (4)
- ◇ ♥ (3)
- ✦ ✱ (3)
- → (1)
- ⊕ (1)



Reads (VAI)

This word shows interesting regional variation. Algonquin (including NB and GL) has **naabowaajige**, while the rest of the southeast and a large portion of southwest Ontario has **agindaaso**. North of Lake Superior as far as SB, one finds the related form, **aginjige**. These forms appear to be related to the word ‘count, reckon,’ suggesting that reading in these areas was perhaps first associated with commercial activities. By contrast, at KL and DL, **ayamichige** and among all Saulteaux, **anamichige**, in both cases apparent Cree loans for the words ‘pray,’ doubtlessly due to the association of reading with church liturgy. Fort Severn (Cree) has related **ayamihitaaw** (East Cree, **ayimihtaa**). Plains Cree (BLN) has **ayamihcikew**.

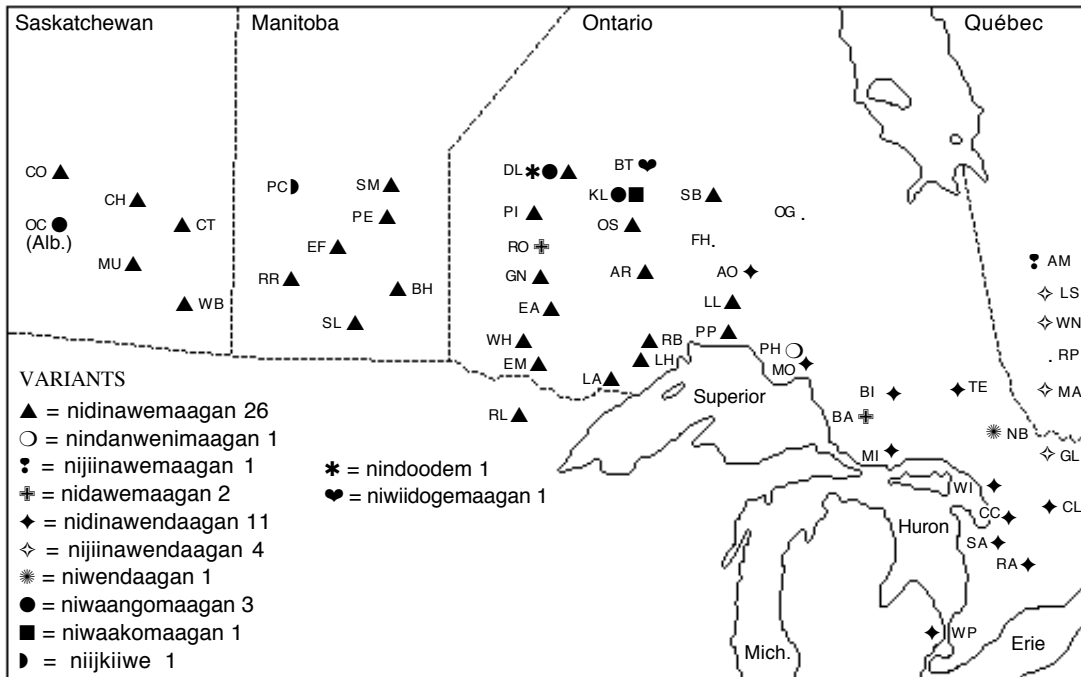
(Data for MA from McGregor 1987:218).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA CC CL EA EM GN LA LH MI RA
RB RL SA WH WI WP
- AO AR BI LL MO OG OS PH PP RO
SB
- ♣ BH CH CO CT EF MU OC PC PE PI RR SL
SM WB
- ✚ DL KL
- ◆ BT
- ◇ AM GL LS MA NB TE WN
- * CL
- . FH RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (27)
- ♣◆ (17)
- ♣◇ (6)
- ✚* (1)



My relative

This form shows some regionalism. KL and DL (Severn) have **niwaangomaagan**, as does OC (Saulteaux). A large grouping of communities in the southeast, extending quite far north to MO, and embracing Algonquin BI and TE, has **nidinawendaan**. The rest of Algonquin (including AM, based on Gilstrap 1978:15, but not my data) has **njinawendaagan**, including MA and GL. The most common form is **ndinawemaagan**. It might be possible to chart several aspects of this word, including ending (-maagan vs. -daagan) and beginning (din- vs. jiiin-).

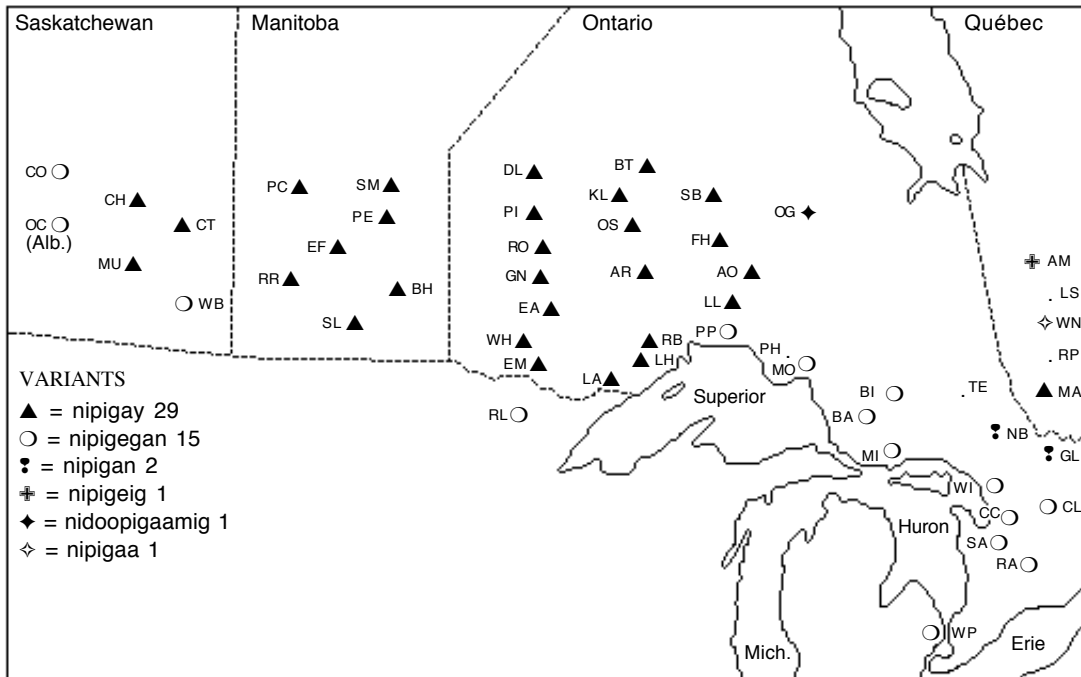
Swampy and East Cree both have **waahkomaakan**; Bloomfield lists this word with a long vowel, **waahkoomaakan** for Plains Cree.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CH CO CT DL EA EF EM GN
LA LH LL MU OS PE PI PP RB RL
RR SB SL SM WB WH
- PH
- AM
- ✚ BA RO
- ◆ AO BI CC CL MI MO RA SA TE WI
WP
- ◇ GL LS MA WN
- ✱ NB
- DL KL OC
- KL
- ▷ PC
- ✱ DL
- ♥ BT
- . FH OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ✱ ✚ ◆ ◇ ✱ (46)
- ● ■ (4)
- ▷ (1)
- ✚ ✱ (1)
- ◆ ♥ (1)



My rib(s)

From the northern tip of Lake Superior, extending southeast, the word is **nipigegan**, except at NB and GL, where it is **nipigan**. **Nipigegan** also shows up at RL and in the extreme west, at CO and OC. North of this, and in the rest of Saulteaux, the form is commonly **nipigay**. LS and WN have **nipigaa**, showing the **-aa** augment that is very characteristic of body part terms in these communities.

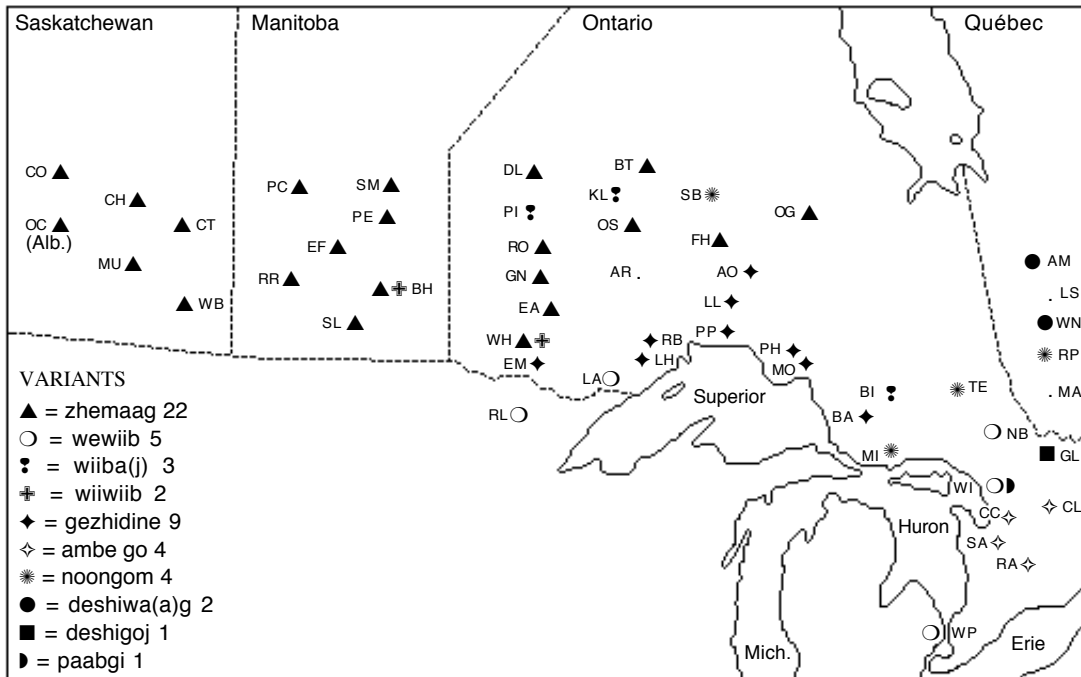
I recorded **nispikay** for Fort Severn (Swampy) Cree (plural **-a**, i.e., inanimate gender).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BT CH CT DL EA EF EM
FH GN KL LA LH LL MA MU OS PC
PE PI RB RO RR SB SL SM WH
- BA BI CC CL CO MI MO OC PP RA
RL SA WB WI WP
- ♣ GL NB
- † AM
- ◆ OG
- ◇ WN
- . LS PH RP TE

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆◇ (49)



Right away

This word shows interesting variation. In southeastern Ontario, the form is **ambe go**; AM and WN (Algonquin) have **deshiwa(a)g**, and GL has apparently related, **deshigoj**; a large band of communities along the shores of Lake Superior from Batchawana to Emo, Ontario, have **gezhidine**. An interesting collection of communities, two in the west (LA and RL) and several in the east (NB, WI, and WP) have **wewiib**. BH and WH both have a variant, **wiwiib**. Elsewhere, including Sauteaux and much of northwestern Ontario, the term is **zhemaag**.

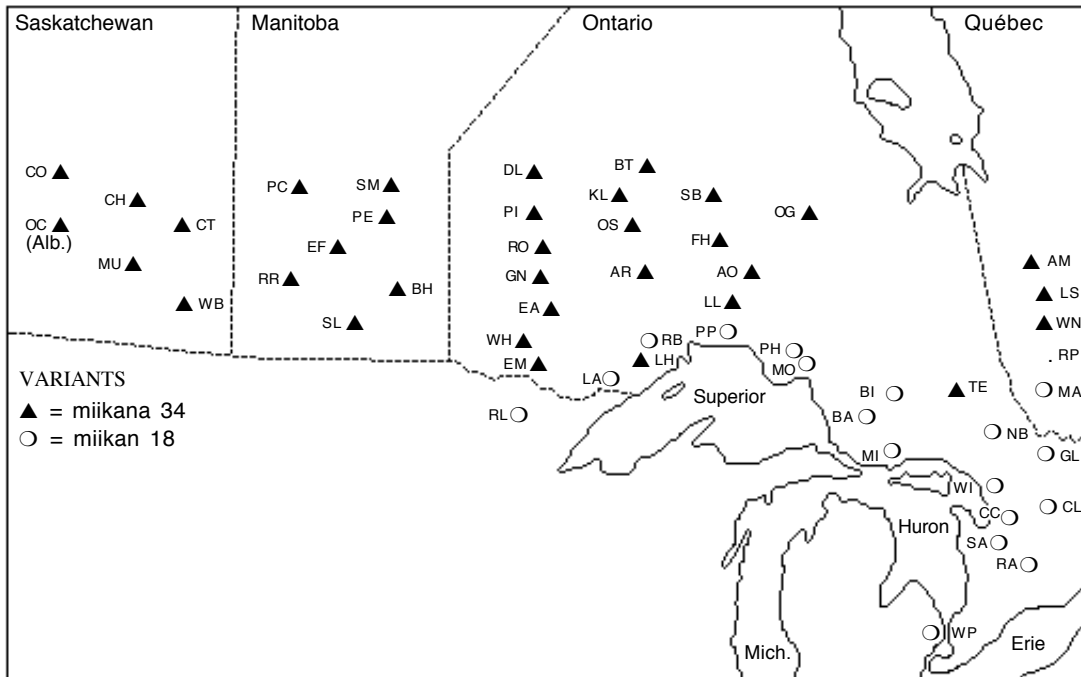
Bloomfield lists **semaak** for Plains Cree, as well as **kiisaac**, 'right away, at the same time.' East Cree has **tiiwehch** and **chiishaach**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF FH GN
MU OC OG OS PC PE RO RR SL SM
WB WH
- LA NB RL WI WP
- ⦿ BI KL PI
- ⦿ BH WH
- ◆ AO BA EM LH LL MO PH PP RB
- ◇ CC CL RA SA
- ⊛ MI RP SB TE
- AM WN
- GL
- ▷ WI
- . AR LS MA

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (22)
- ○ ⦿ ⦿ (10)
- ⦿ ◆ (9)
- ⦿ ◇ (4)
- ◆ ⊛ (4)
- ◇ ● ■ (3)
- ⊛ ▷ (1)



Road

Based on my data, Ojibwe dialects form two groups on the basis of this word, a southern group, encompassing MA and all communities south, those along the north shore of Lake Superior, and RL (Minnesota) and LA in the west, all of which have **miikan**. Elsewhere the term is **miikana**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **miskanaw**.

It may thus appear that **miikana** is not found in southern areas, but published sources show this not to be true: Nichols and Nyholm 1979, for a dialect of Minnesota Chippewa, have **miikana**; Wilson 1878, for a dialect near Sault Ste. Marie, has **miikana**, **miikan**; Baraga 1878 has both forms as well.

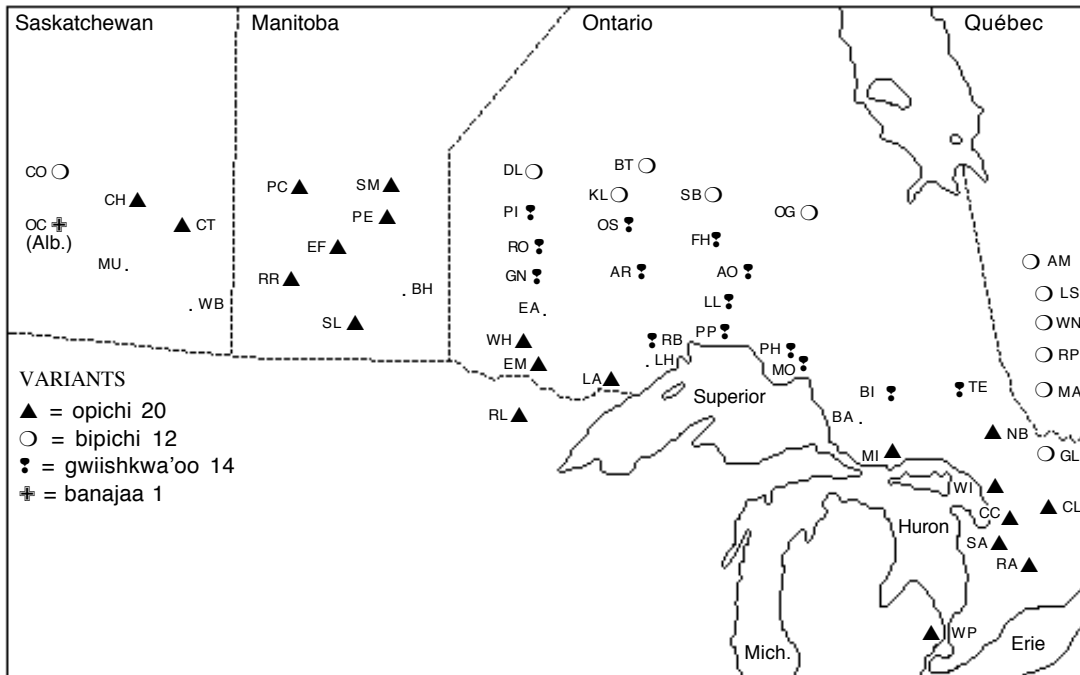
Plains Cree and Swampy both has **meskanaw**. Potawatomi has **myew**. Rhodes 1989:4 gives **miiwi** for Miami, **myeewi** for Fox, **miyeewi** for Shawnee, and **mi:hekan** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AO AR BH BT CH CO CT DL EA
 EF EM FH GN KL LH LL LS MU OC
 OG OS PC PE PI RO RR SB SL SM
 TE WB WH WN
 ○ BA BI CC CL GL LA MA MI MO NB
 PH PP RA RB RL SA WI WP
 . RP

Consolidations

▲▲○ (52)



Robin

The variants for 'robin' show a very interesting distribution. In the north, the form is the same as the (Fort Severn) Cree, **bipichi**. This form is found throughout the Severn area and the Algonquin, as far south as GL. In the south, there is a similar form, **opichi**, which occurs throughout the Odawa/Eastern grouping, throughout the border lakes, and all Saulteaux except the extreme west. Note that phonetic changes disallow the distinction of **bipichi** and **opichi** in many dialects with vowel syncope, since the deletion of the first vowel in the former would result in the sequence **bp** which would simplify to **p**, and thus look identical to a reduced form of **opichi**, **pichi**. I assume that the forms in these dialects are from **opichi** on the basis of historical evidence, such as Baraga 1878, which lists **opichi** as 'thrush.'

What is especially interesting about the variants for 'robin' is that there is a large grouping of communities including TE and BI in the east, extending across the north shore of Lake Superior and extending as far west as the Ontario border, where the word for 'robin' is **gwiishkwa'oo** or **gwiishko'e**. Though it is not charted, **gwiishkwa'oo** is the form in the extreme western range, being recorded at PI, RO and GN.

The form recorded at OC, **banajaa**, is listed in Nichols and Nyholm 1979:251 as 'a nestling.' I do not know if this is the common form for 'robin' at OC or a matter of individual preference, etc.

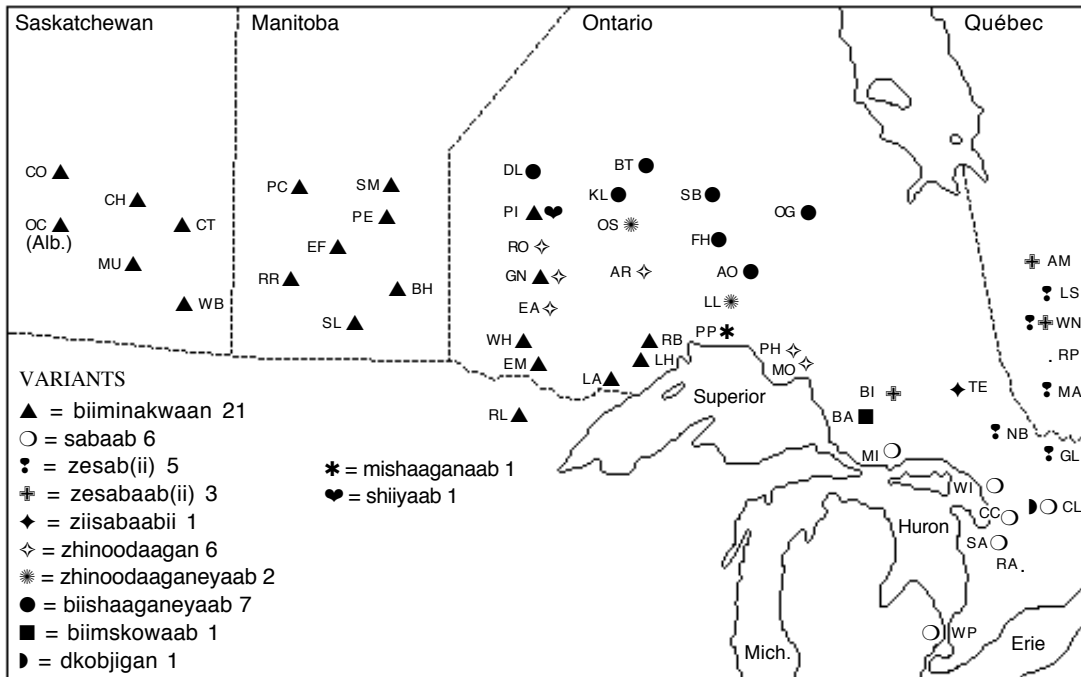
Swampy Cree has **pihpihcew**; East Cree, **piihpihcheu**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ CC CH CL CT EF EM LA MI NB PC
PE RA RL RR SA SL SM WH WI WP
- AM BT CO DL GL KL LS MA OG RP
SB WN
- AO AR BI FH GN LL MO OS PH PI
PP RB RO TE
- ✚ OC
- BA BH EA LH MU WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (32)
- (14)
- ✚ (1)



Rope (noun)

This word has variants related to those for ‘thread.’ The word is of interest in that it groups Algonquin with southeastern dialects. Several Odawa communities (and CL) have **sabaab**, while those communities north of it have **zesab(ii)** (GL, MA, NB, WN, LS) or **zesabaabii** (AM, WN, BI, (TE)). Many of these communities have the same words for ‘thread,’ though note that AM and BI do not. Forms with /ze/ may represent some sort of reduplication, as /sab/ looks like the word for ‘net.’

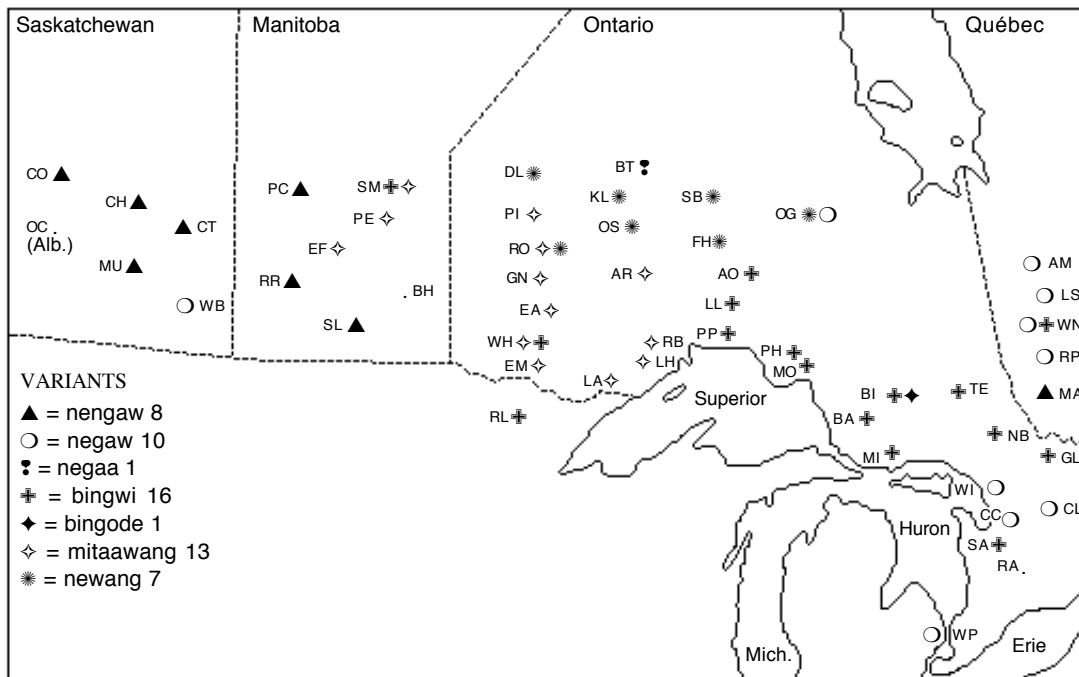
Seyvern, extending down to AO, has **biishaaganeyaab**, somewhat similar to Fort Severn (Cree), **piishaakan=aapiy**. Between the southern dialect discussed initially and Seyvern, there is a clustering of communities having **zhinoodaagan(eyaab)**, beginning at MO and PH and spreading north to LL and thence west across Ontario. Northwest of Lake Superior, and extending all the way across Saulteaux, the form is **biiminakwaan**. Potawatomi has **gch˘-s˘bab, s˘bab** (Buzard). Rhodes 1989:6 has Plains Cree **pisaakanaapiy**, Miami **lokweesi**, Fox **asapaapi**, and Menomini **ka:hkap**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT EF EM GN LA LH MU
OC PC PE PI RB RL RR SL SM WB
WH
- CC CL MI SA WI WP
- ⦿ GL LS MA NB WN
- ⊕ AM BI WN
- ⋄ TE
- ⋄ AR EA GN MO PH RO
- ⊛ LL OS
- AO BT DL FH KL OG SB
- BA
- ▷ CL
- * PP
- ♥ PI
- . RA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (21)
- ○⦿⊕⋄ (15)
- ⦿⋄⊛ (8)
- ⊕● (7)
- ⋄■ (1)
- ⋄▷ (1)
- ⊛* (1)
- ♥ (1)



Sand (noun)

There are several regionally distributed variants making this one of the most interesting words in the entire corpus. Saulteaux from central Manitoba west has **nengaw**. Algonquin and many southeastern communities (cutting across the Odawa/Eastern boundaries) have **negaw**. In many Algonquin communities, nasal clusters have lost their nasals, so this form could be construed as identical to the Saulteaux. No such simplification of nasal clusters has occurred in the Odawa/Eastern complex. Note though that MA has **nengaw**. A large group of communities north of Lakes Superior and Huron has **bingwi**, as well as RL (Minnesota) and as far east as GL (including NB and BA). WN has two forms showing semantic specialization, **negaw**, meaning 'fine sand with no stones,' and **bigwii** as a generic for sand. Fort Severn (Cree) also has **nekaw**. In the Severn area I find **newang** widely distributed from OG to DL and down to RO, which also shows **mitaawang** in agreement with a large number of communities from Lake Nipigon stretching northwest to central Manitoba, a form that resembles the medial form of sand found in VII verbs in many dialects, e.g., **apiit= aanaawa[n]gaa**, 'the sand is so deep' VII (from AM, /n/ supplied, since deleted by general rule in Algonquin).

Mitaawang also occurs in Baraga 1878 (Chippewa). His entry for a Chippewa/Odawa dialect(s) of upper Michigan/Wisconsin shows some the semantic ambiguity associated with this word: '*negaw, mitaawan. On the sand, mitaawang. There is sand: negawikaa, mitaawangaa. Fine white sand, bingwi, negaw.*' Thus there appear to be different words for different grades of sand, and all dialects may have multiple terms, but give preference to particular forms.

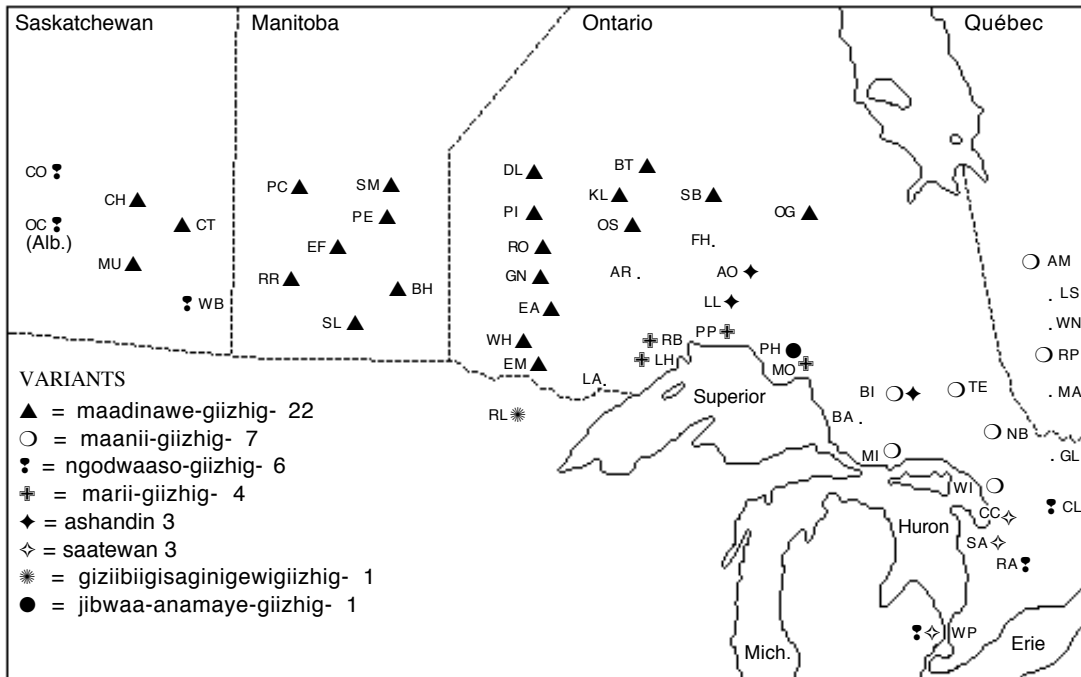
Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ CH CO CT MA MU PC RR SL
 ○ AM CC CL LS OG RP WB WI WN WP
 ♣ BT
 ✚ AO BA BI GL LL MI MO NB PH PP
 RL SA SM TE WH WN
 ◆ BI
 ◇ AR EA EF EM GN LA LH PE PI RB
 RO SM WH
 * DL FH KL OG OS RO SB
 . BH OC RA

Consolidations

▲▲○♣ (19)
 ○✚◆ (17)
 ♣◇ (13)
 ✚* (7)

Bloomfield lists both **nekaw** and **yekaw** for Plains Cree; East Cree has **yekaau**. Rhodes 1989:13 lists many related words with the meaning "dust": Plains Cree **pihkotew**; Ojibwe **bingwi/bangwi**, Miami **pinkwi**, Fox **pekwi**, Shawnee **pekwi**, and Menomini **pEhki:w**.



Be Saturday (VII)

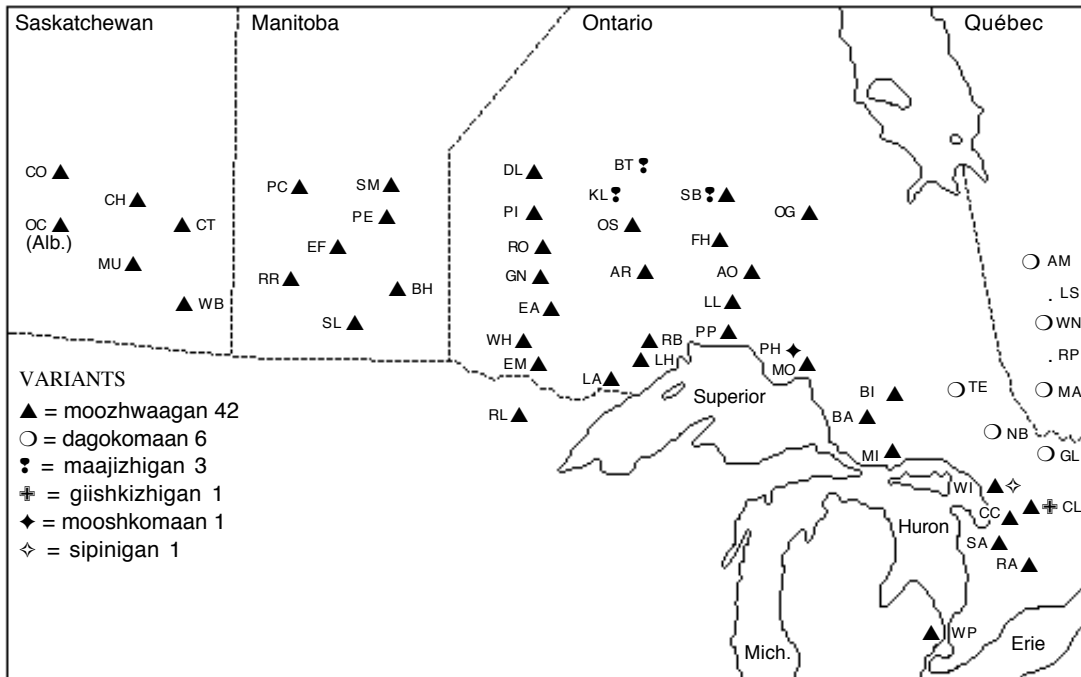
There are several interesting regional variants. Extending southwest from Algonquin to MI and WI, one finds **maanii-giizhig**, 'Mary's day' (?). Five communities along the north shore of Lake Superior have **marii-giizhig**, 'Mary's day,' without phonological adjustment of the sonorant. AO and LL have **ashandin**. This word appears related to the VTA form **asham**, 'feed him.' Several southeastern communities (RA, CL, WP) and Saulteaux (CO, OC, WB) have **ngodwaaso-giizhig**, 'day six (of the week).' Three southeastern communities, CC, SA, WP, have **saatewan**, a borrowing of English 'Saturday.' RL has **giziibiigisaginigewi-giizhig**, 'floor-washing day.' Elsewhere the common form is **maadinawe-giizhig**. A similar form occurs in Plains Cree (BLN), **maatinawe-kiisikaaw**, which Bloomfield glosses as 'it is Saturday (food serving).' McGregor 1987:164 glosses **maadinawen** (a transitive verb) as 'to distribute or apportion land, n.b., denoted a father apportioning his hunting-grounds among his sons.' Perhaps this was a day in which provisions of food and other goods were customarily distributed. The same form is found in Swampy Cree, and, with appropriate palatalization, in East Cree, **maatiniwe-chiisikaau**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH BT CH CT DL EA EF EM GN KL
MU OG OS PC PE PI RO RR SB SL
SM WH
- AM BI MI NB RP TE WI
- ⦿ CL CO OC RA WB WP
- ⊕ LH MO PP RB
- ◆ AO BI LL
- ◇ CC SA WP
- ⊛ RL
- PH
- . AR BA FH GL LA LS MA WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (22)
- (7)
- ⦿⦿ (6)
- ⊕⊕ (4)
- ◆◆ (3)
- ◇◇ (3)
- ⊛⊛ (1)
- (1)



Scissors

The main form is **moozhwaagan**, widely represented. Severn (BT, KL, SB) has **maajizhigan**, while Algonquin, extending south to NB and GL has **dagokomaan** (MA data from McGregor 1987:391).

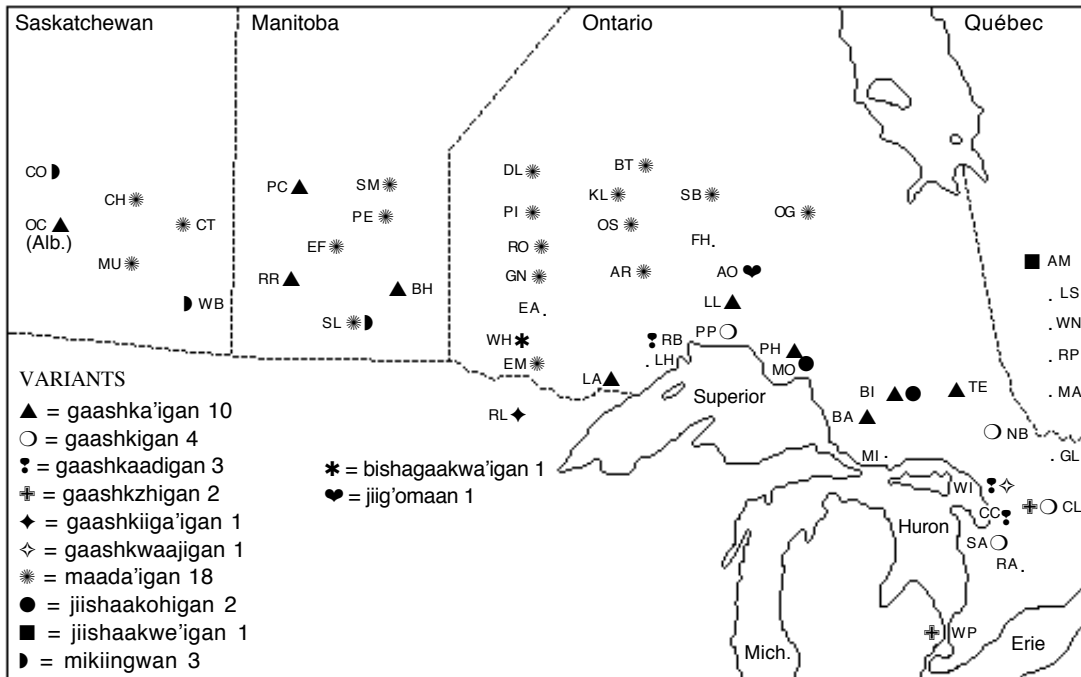
Swampy Cree has **maacishikan**; East Cree has English borrowing **sasis**, as well as **takuhkumaan**; Plains Cree has **moosotoowin**. Potawatomi has **mozhwag'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
DL EA EF EM FH GN LA LH LL MI
MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PI PP RA
RB RL RO RR SA SB SL SM WB WH
WI WP
- AM GL MA NB TE WN
- BT KL SB
- ✦ CL
- ◆ PH
- ◇ WI
- . LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (42)
- (6)
- (3)
- ✦✦ (1)
- ◆◆ (1)
- ◇◇ (1)



Scraper

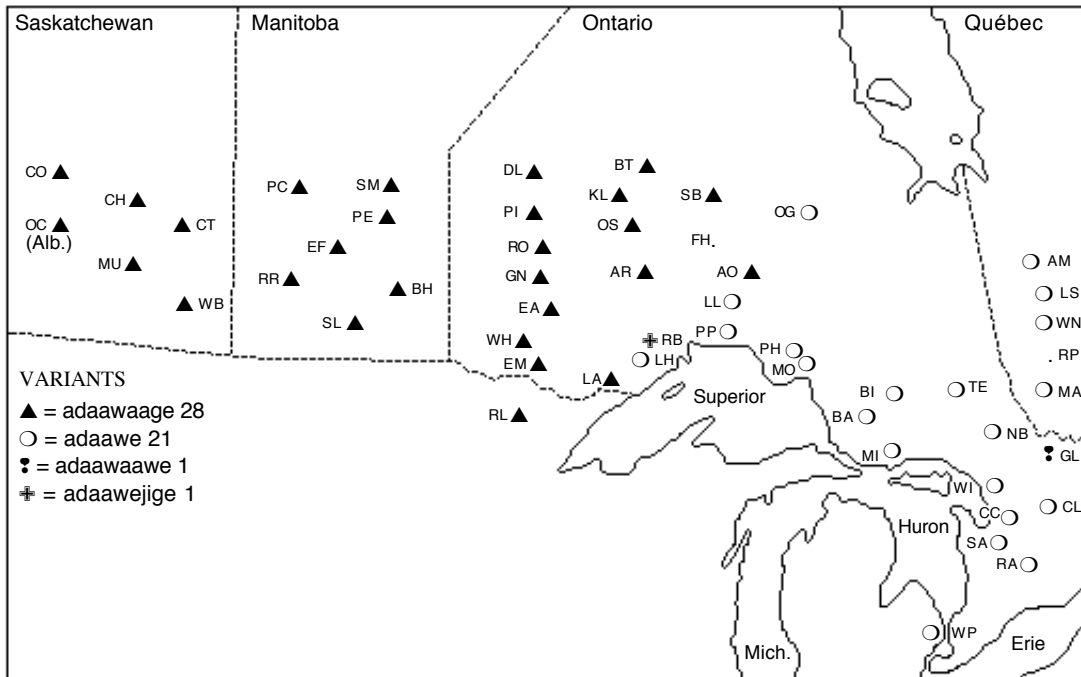
This word shows the most consistency in northwestern Ontario, where the word is uniformly **maada'igan**, extending, particularly, into the northern areas of Sauteaux. Though **gaashka'igan** (and phonetic variant **gaashkigan**) is represented by many tokens, they are widely scattered and show little apparent patterning, other than a somewhat higher frequency in the southeast. AM, MO and BI have related forms, **jiishaakwehigan** and **jiishaakohigan**, both of which appear similar to Atikamekw **cihshaaskohikanaahtikw** (Béland 1978:412). Plains Cree has **maatahikan**, and East Cree, **maatahiikan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH BI LA LL OC PC PH RR TE
- CL NB PP SA
- ♣ CC RB WI
- † CL WP
- ◆ RL
- ◇ WI
- * AR BT CH CT DL EF EM GN KL MU
OG OS PE PI RO SB SL SM
- BI MO
- AM
- CO SL WB
- * WH
- ♥ AO
- . EA FH GL LH LS MA MI RA RP WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆◇ (21)
- * (18)
- ♣●■ (3)
- †▸ (3)
- ◆* (1)
- ◇♥ (1)



Sells (VAI)

There are two principal variants, dividing the range east and west. In the west, the form is **adaawaage**, while in the east it is **adaawe**. Nichols and Nyholm 1979:206 have **adaawaage** for another dialect of Minnesota (besides that represented by RL, which has **adaawaage** as well). See also the word for 'someone buys' in this study, where **adaawe** is widely used in the west for 'buy.'

Swampy Cree and Plains Cree have **ataawaakew**; East Cree, **ataaweu**.

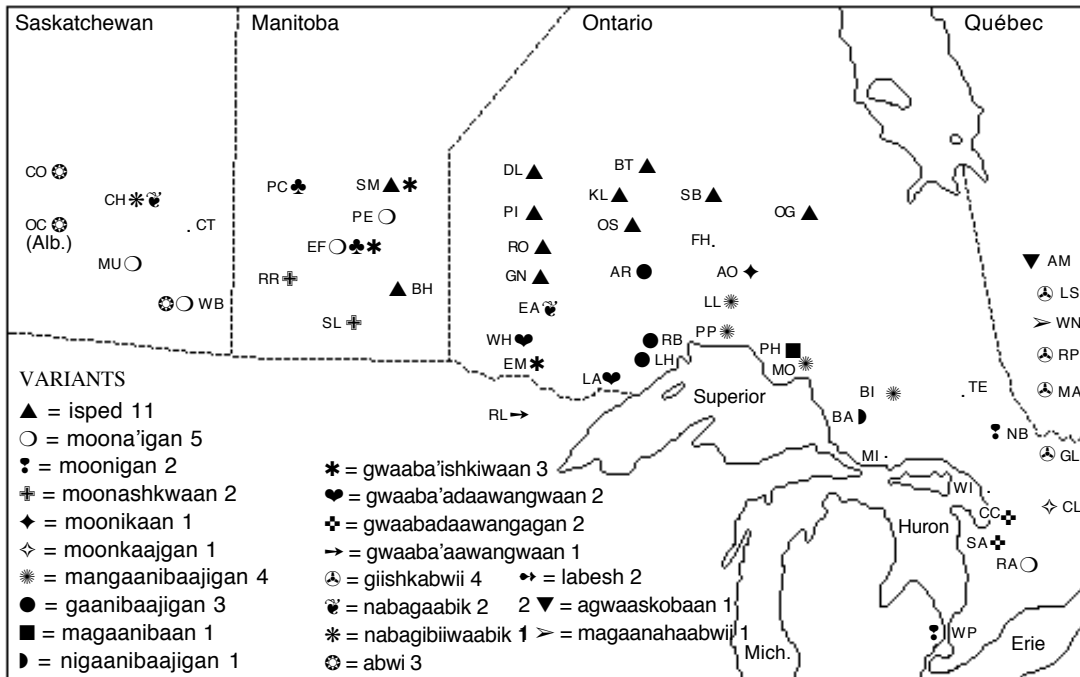
MA data from McGregor 1987:7.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF
EM GN KL LA MU OC OS PC PE PI
RL RO RR SB SL SM WB WH
- AM BA BI CC CL LH LL LS MA MI
MO NB OG PH PP RA SA TE WI WN
WP
- ♣ GL
- † RB
- . FH MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○○♣† (51)



Shovel (noun)

This word has a large number of variants, though with frequent tight regional groupings. Severn, and extending south to GN, uniformly has **isped**, borrowed from English **spade**. Another group of communities along northern Lake Superior have related **mangaanibaajigan**. A grouping of AR, RB and LH have **gaanibaajigan**, probably a reduced form of the previous variant. This form is also given in Nichols and Nyholm 1979 (Minnesota Chippewa) and Baraga 1878 (Michigan/Wisconsin Chippewa/Ottawa), suggesting that it is a general Chippewa form.

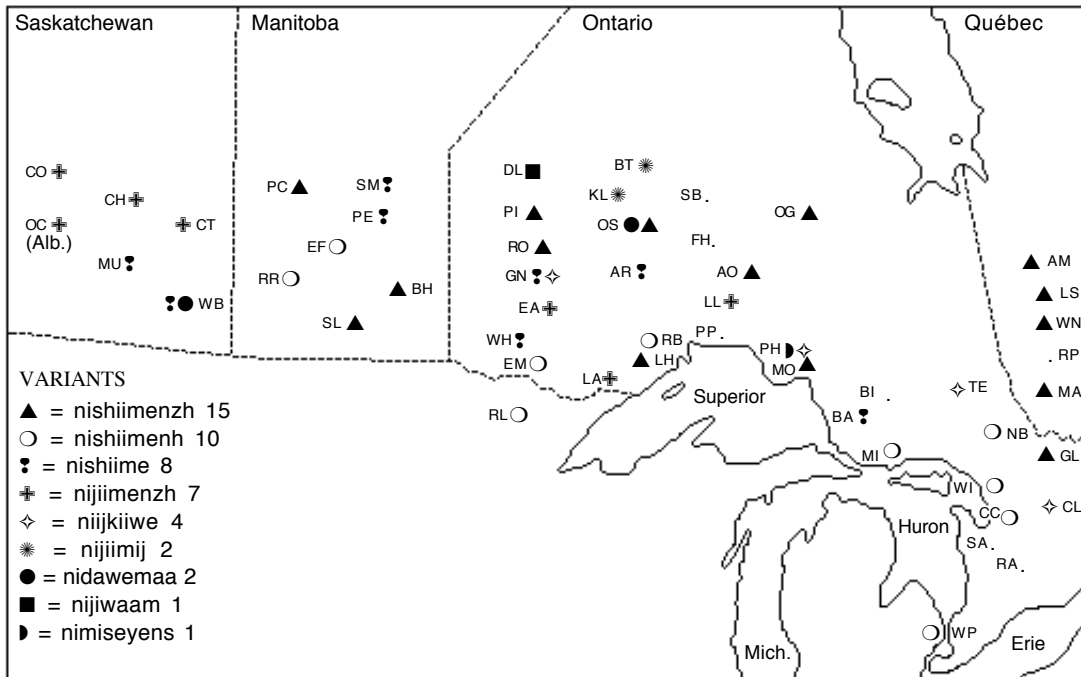
CC and SA have **gwaaba'adaawangwaan**. Several Algonquin (extending to GL) have **giishkabwii**. WN has a fudged form, **mangaanahaabwii**. In Saulteaux, PC and EF have **labesh**, borrowed from French **la bêche**, 'spade.' RR and SL have **moonashkwaan**. CO, OC and WB (all in Saskatchewan) have **abwi**, which in other dialects means 'paddle.' Evidently, paddles were more useful on the prairies for moving earth than water. Bloomfield records the Plains Cree form **apoy** with the same double meaning, 'paddle, shovel.' Swampy Cree has **makaantepoy**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH BT DL GN KL OG OS PI RO SB SM
- EF MU PE RA WB
- ⦿ NB WP
- ⊕ RR SL
- ◆ AO
- ◇ CL
- ⊛ BI LL MO PP
- AR LH RB
- PH
- ▴ BA
- * EF EM SM
- ♥ LA WH
- ⊖ CC SA
- RL
- ⊕ GL LS MA RP
- ⦿ CH EA
- * CH
- ⊗ CO OC WB
- ♣ EF PC
- ▽ AM
- > WN
- . CT FH MI TE WI

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ (11) G ⊗ (3)
- ○ ⦿ ⊕ ◆ (11) H ♣ (2)
- ⦿ ⊛ ● ▴ (9) I ▽ (1)
- ⊕ * ♥ ⊖ → (8) J > (1)
- ◆ ⊕ (4)
- ◇ ⊗ * (3)



My younger sibling

There is some structured variation here, though kin terms are extremely difficult to collect, since the traditional system everywhere seems to be on the retreat. BT and KL have **nijjimij**. Forms with **jim-** are also very common in western Saskatchewan Saulteaux, where **nijiime(n)zh** was recorded at CH, CT, CO and OC (Alberta). Nichols (1975) gives **nijjijech** for DL, though I recorded **nijwaam**, a form unknown to us, but probably reflecting my informant's lack of familiarity with some aspects of the traditional system. Elsewhere the common word has stem **-shiime-**, which takes variable diminutive endings. **-e(n)zh** is found throughout the north, roughly in the same range as that shown for 'my older sister,' i.e., from Algonquin roughly straight across to PI and RO. In the south, **-(e)nh** is found, at the border lakes and in Odawa and NB. A number of Saulteaux responses lack any ending, perhaps due to a phonological process denasalizing certain nasal vowels.

I have very limited Cree data, unfortunately. The Fort Severn form I recorded was **nishiim**. The East Cree lexicon has a number of forms, including **ushiimimaau**, 'a younger brother or sister,' **wiichiinuu**, **wiichiyyuu**, both glossed, 'his younger brother or sister, parallel cousin,' and **wiichishaanh**, 'his/her brother or sister.' Potawatomi has **nshime**.

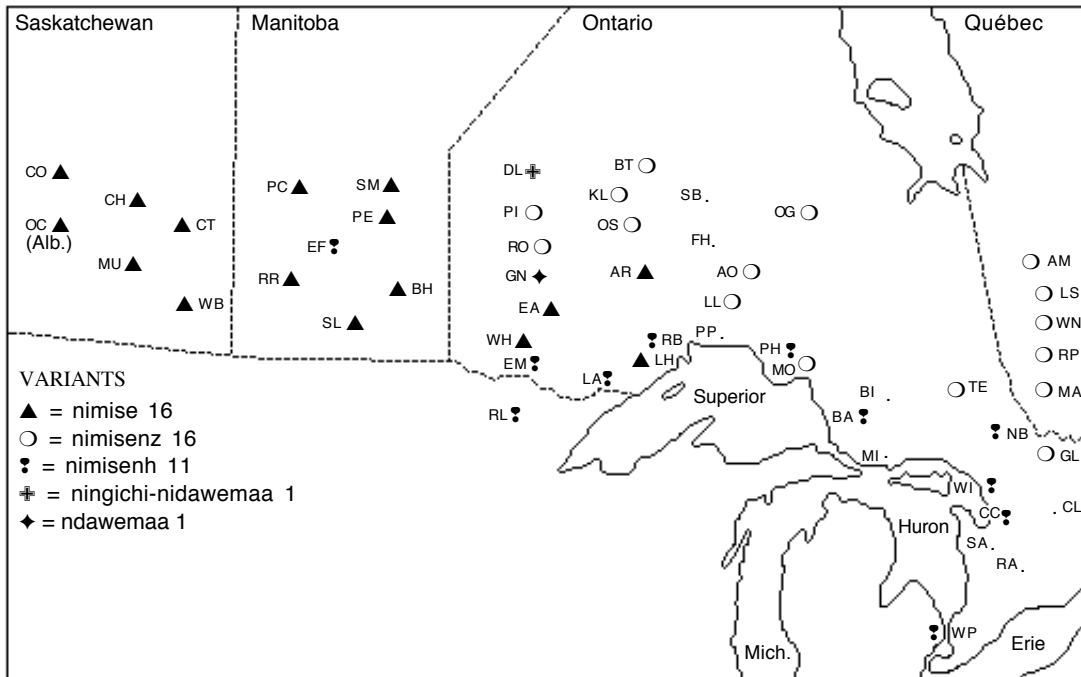
Data for MA from McGregor 1987:376.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO BH GL LH LS MA MO OG OS
- PC PI RO SL WN
- CC EF EM MI NB RB RL RR WI WP
- AR BA GN MU PE SM WB WH
- ✚ CH CO CT EA LA LL OC
- ◆ CL GN PH TE
- * BT KL
- OS WB
- DL
- PH
- . BI FH PP RA RP SA SB

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ✚ ◆ (40)
- ◆ (4)
- * (2)
- ✚ ● (2)
- ◆ ■ (1)
- ◆ ▸ (1)



My older sister

This word mainly varies in the form of the diminutive suffix. The basic word is **nimise**, which may have no diminutive, **-(e)nh**, or **-(e)nz**. The latter is found throughout the north, including all Algonquin, MO, LL, AO and OG and all Severn except DL (though this may be an error), and PI and RO. Forms with **-(e)nh** are common in the south, especially in the southeast and along the border lakes. Saulteaux lacks any diminutive, perhaps as a general phonological process by which nasalized vowels have lost nasalization. DL gave **ningichi-nidawemaa**, but Nichols (1975) has the more traditional **nimided**. GN also had a form with **dawemaa**, 'my sister,' without respect to age. The DL form is also interesting in its double marking of the first person possessor prefix, on both the prenoun **gichi-**, and the noun stem, **-dawemaa**. Todd 1970 reported this feature for the DL dialect as well.

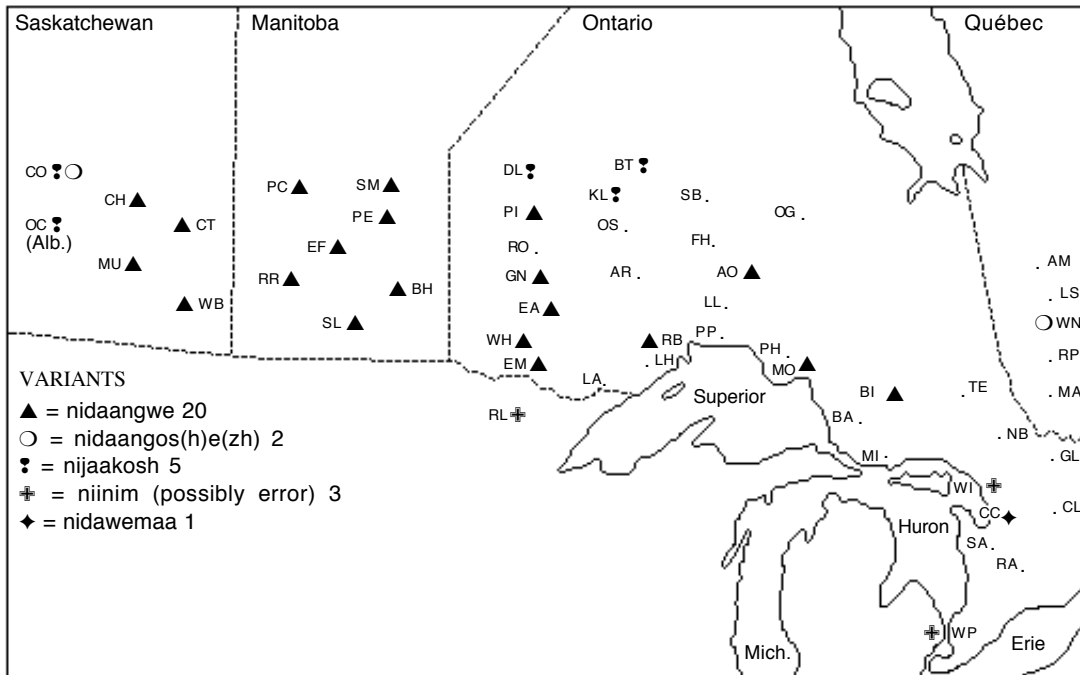
Swampy Cree has **nimis**; East Cree, **umisimaau**, 'an older sister.' Potawatomi has **nm'se**. Miami (D), **nimissa**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CH CO CT EA LH MU OC PC
PE RR SL SM WB WH
- AM AO BT GL KL LL LS MA MO OG
OS PI RO RP TE WN
- BA CC EF EM LA NB PH RB RL WI
WP
- † DL
- ◆ GN
- . BI CL FH MI PP RA SA SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (43)
- †◆ (2)



My sister-in-law (woman speaking)

This is another word that is quickly passing from Ojibwe, and my data is consequently rather impoverished. Severn (BT,DL,KL) has **nijaakosh**, which also shows up at OC and CO. The most common form is **nidaangwe**, which occurs over the entire data range except for Severn. It looks as if **-jaakosh** could be a Cree cognate for Ojibwe **-daangwe**, with palatalization of the /d/ due to the addition of the diminutive/contemptive suffix **-sh**.

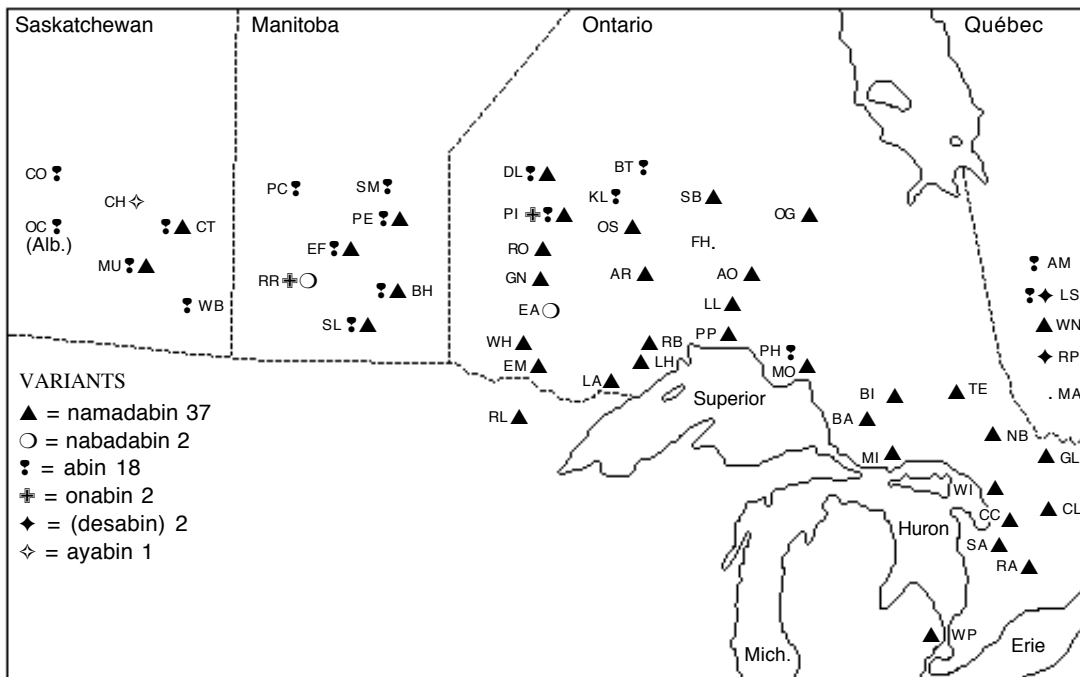
Swampy Cree has **nicaakosh**. East Cree has **wishtaauh**, 'her sister-in-law, his brother-in-law.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BH BI CH CT EA EF EM GN MO
MU PC PE PI RB RR SL SM WB WH
- CO WN
- ♣ BT CO DL KL OC
- † RL WI WP
- ◆ CC
- . AM AR BA CL FH GL LA LH LL LS
MA MI NB OG OS PH PP RA RO RP
SA SB TE

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (22)
- ♣ (5)
- ♣† (3)
- †◆ (1)



Sit down! (VAI 2s imperative)

There are two main variants, **abin**, northern, and **namadabin**, southern. The former extends into most Saulteaux, though in many Saulteaux communities both forms are found. **Abin** is found in Severn and Algonquin, though the latter is split in that AM and LS have **abin**, and TE and WN have **namadabin**.

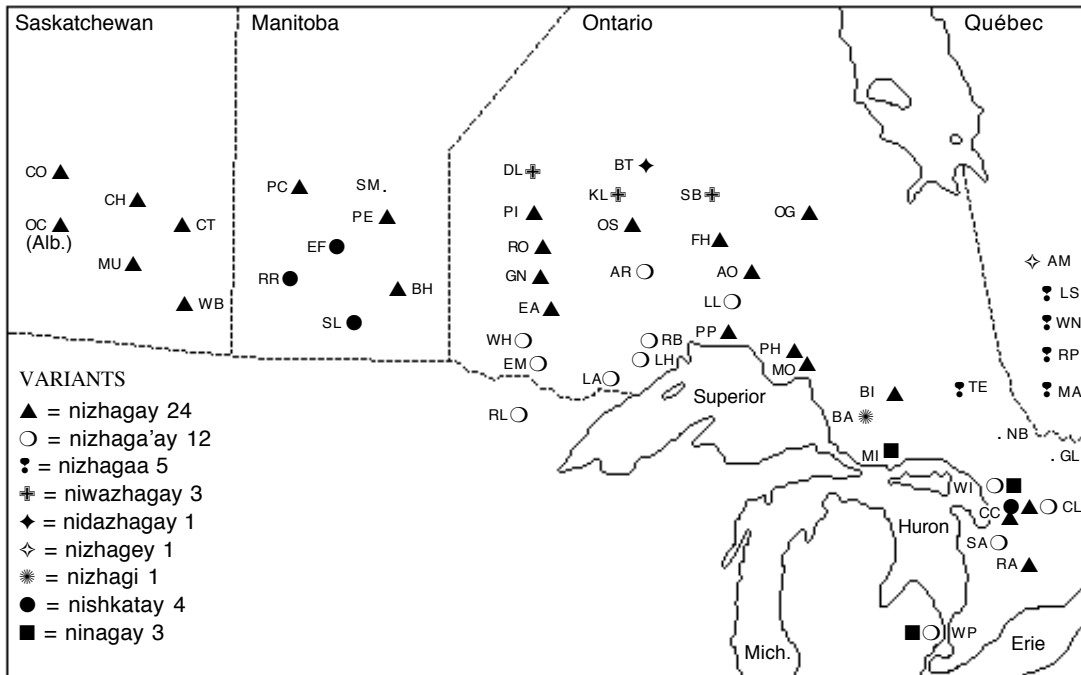
The word for sit is **api** in Swampy and Plains Cree. Rhodes 1989:6 has Miami **ceenkweepita**, Fox **apiwa**, Shawnee **lematapi**, and Menomini **ape:w**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CL CT DL EF
EM GL GN LA LH LL MI MO MU NB
OG OS PE PI PP RA RB RL RO SA
SB SL TE WH WI WN WP
- EA RR
- ◐ AM BH BT CO CT DL EF KL LS MU
OC PC PE PH PI SL SM WB
- ⊕ PI RR
- ◆ LS RP
- ◇ CH
- . FH MA

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ◐ ⊕ ◆ ◇ (62)



My skin

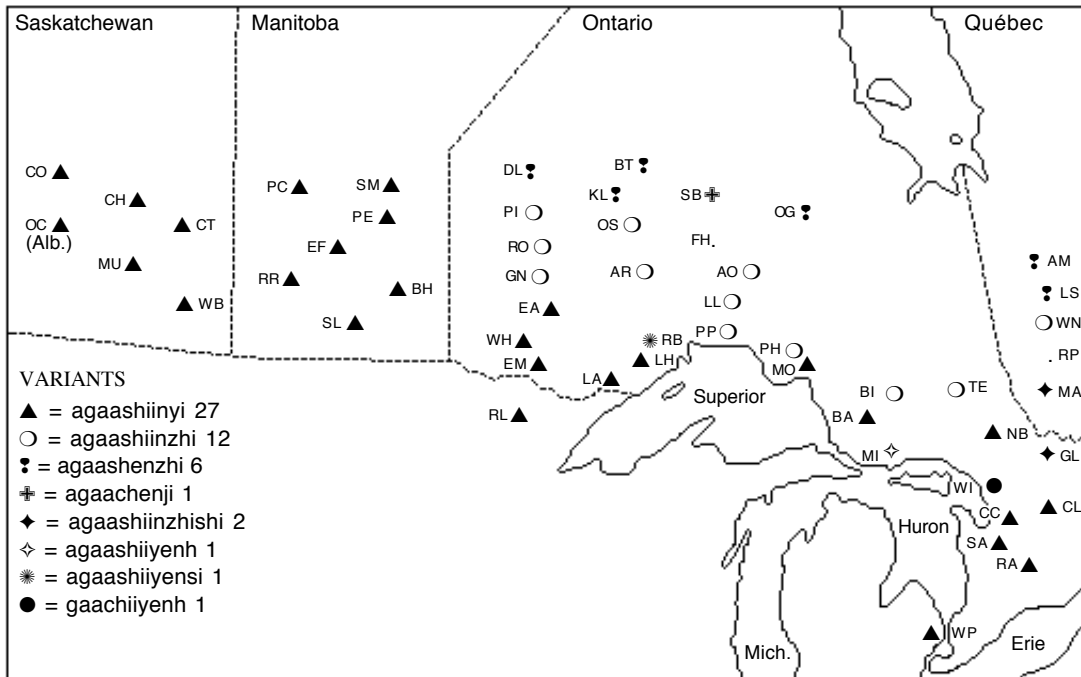
The most common form is **nizhagay**. **Nizhaga'ay** occurs north and west of Lake Superior, as well as among a number of Odawa communities. A group of five Algonquin communities (including WN, and MA in this case) have an augment, **-aa**, very common in body parts especially at WN and LS. Several Severn communities have **niwazhagay**. Four communities (strangely, CL plus EF, RR, SL) have **nishkatay**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **nishakay**, as does Atikamekw (Béland 1978:528). East Cree has **ushikai**. Rhodes 1989:4 has **lookayi** for Miami, **nenemas&kaya** for Fox, **nilooka** for Shawnee, and **nenok** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA FH
GN MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI
PP RA RO WB
- AR CL EM LA LH LL RB RL SA WH
WI WP
- ♣ LS MA RP TE WN
- ✚ DL KL SB
- ◆ BT
- ⋄ AM
- * BA
- CL EF RR SL
- MI WI WP
- . GL NB SM

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ ✚ ◆ ⋄ * (47)
- ● (4)
- ♣ ■ (3)



Be small (VAI)

The data range divides rather well for this word. In the north, including core Severn and Algonquin, the form is **agaashe(n)zhi**. South of this group, a large group extending from Algonquin (WN, TE and BI) to western Ontario (PI, RO, GN) has **agaashiinzhi**. Elsewhere the common form is **agaashiinyi**.

Plains Cree has **apisiisiisiw**, Swampy, **apishiishishiw**; East Cree, **apishiishuu** (VAI-i stem). Potawatomi has **gachiy't**.

I found three broad tiers of forms, a northern tier, with **agaashenzhi/agaachenji** (i.e., a stem vowel /e/); a middle tier having **agaashiinzhi** (and the Nipissing form has yet another diminutive suffix added on); and a southern tier having **agaashiinyi**, i.e., with the southern contemptive/diminutive suffix, **-ny**, as opposed to the **-zh/sh** of the more northern forms.

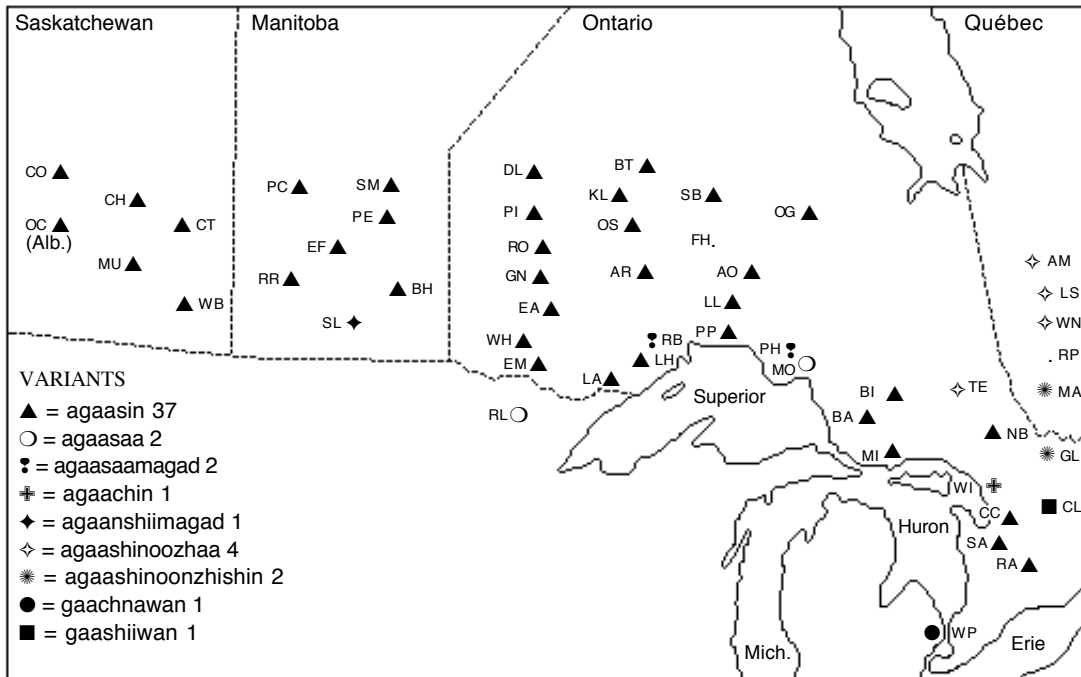
Rhodes 1989:14 has Miami **apiliwa**, Fox **aahcikenoohiwa**, Shawnee **caki-**, an Menomini **nahE:nesew**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM
LA LH MO MU NB OC PC PE RA RL
RR SA SL SM WB WH WP
- AO AR BI GN LL OS PH PI PP RO
TE WN
- ◐ AM BT DL KL LS OG
- ✚ SB
- ◆ GL MA
- ◇ MI
- ⊛ RB
- WI
- FH MA RP

Consolidations

▲▲○◐✚◆◇⊛● (51)



Be small (VII)

Agaasin is by far the most common form. Algonquin has **agaashinoozhaa**, and GL and MA (Nipissing) have related **agaashinoozhishin** (MA data from McGregor 1987:12). Two Odawa communities have **ch** for **sh**: **agaachin** (WI) and **gaachnawan** (WP).

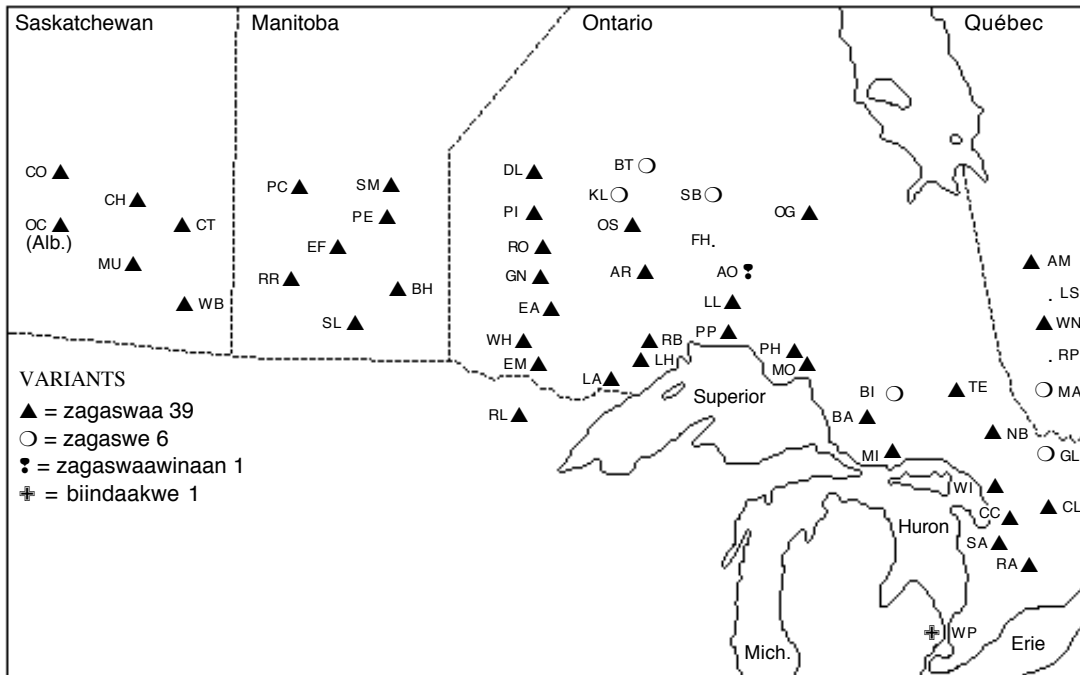
Plains Cree has **apisaasin**, Swampy Cree, **apishaashin**; East Cree, **apishaashuu**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CO CT
DL EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL MI
MU NB OC OG OS PC PE PI PP RA
RO RR SA SB SM WB WH
- MO RL
- ♣ PH RB
- † WI
- ◆ SL
- ◇ AM LS TE WN
- * GL MA
- WP
- CL
- . FH MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ♣ † ◆ ◇ * ● ■ (51)



Smoke (tobacco) (VAI)

Some Severn (BT, KL, SB) have **zagaswe**, along with BI, GL and MA. In the case of the eastern communities, I find a vowel alternation found in several AI verbs in Nipissing, whereby the first and second person singular forms end in **-aa**, but the third person in **-e**, e.g., **nizagaswaa**, 'I smoke,' **gizagaswaa**, 'you smoke,' **zagaswe**, 'she smokes.' Elsewhere, the common form is **zagaswaa** for all person/number combinations. Compare also the word 'fish (with a net)' which shows a similar variation in the final vowel.

At Walpole Island (WP), the form found is **biindaakwe**. Rhodes lists this form with a note indicating that it is rare on Manitoulin Island, Walpole Island, and Curve Lake. Baraga 1878 glosses **biindaakwe** with the meaning, 'I snuff, I take snuff' (the same form appears in Kegg 1991 for Minnesota Chippewa). Wilson 1873:357 (for a dialect near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario) has **biindaakoojaane** glossed as 'he takes snuff,' which appears to have a structure glossed literally as 'put something inside one's nose.' Kegg 1991 also has **biindaakoozh**, 'make an offering of something (especially tobacco).'

Swampy Cree has **piihtaaw**, East Cree, **piihtwaau**.

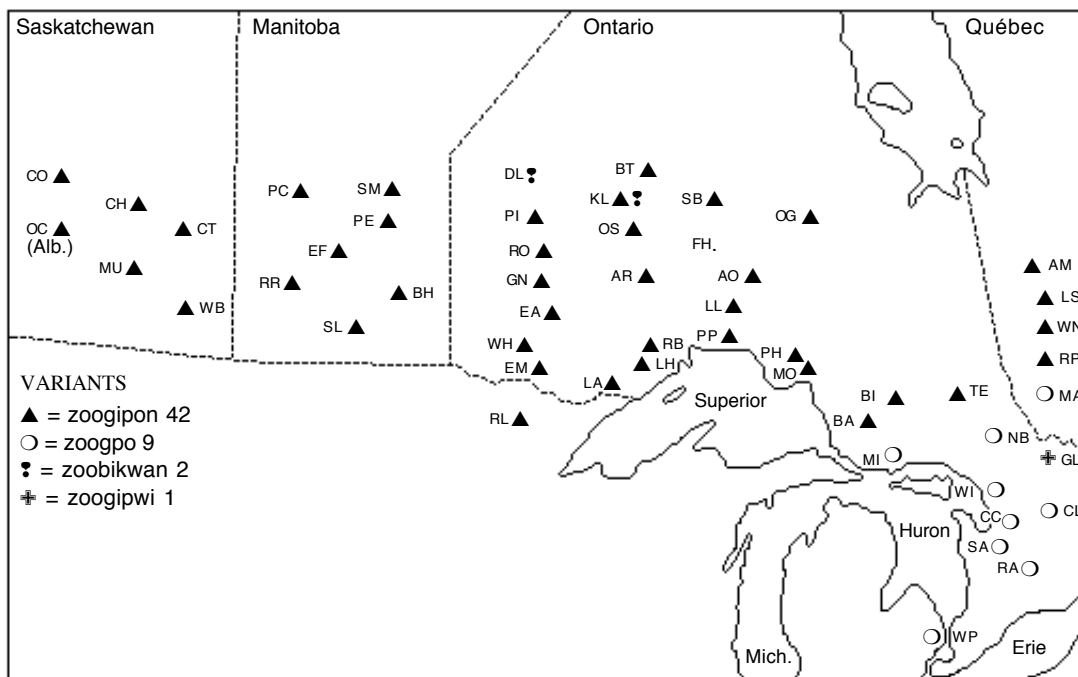
MA data from McGregor 1987:361.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT DL
EA EF EM GN LA LH LL MI MO MU
NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RA
RB RL RO RR SA SL SM TE WB WH
WI WN
- BI BT GL KL MA SB
- AO
- ⊕ WP
- . FH LS RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○• (46)
- ⊕ (1)



Snow (VII)

Here again a group of communities lack final **n**, having **zoogipo** where elsewhere **zoogipon** is found. Communities lacking final **n** include MA, GL, NB, MI, WI, CC, RA, SA, CL and WP, i.e., they are all restricted to the southeast.

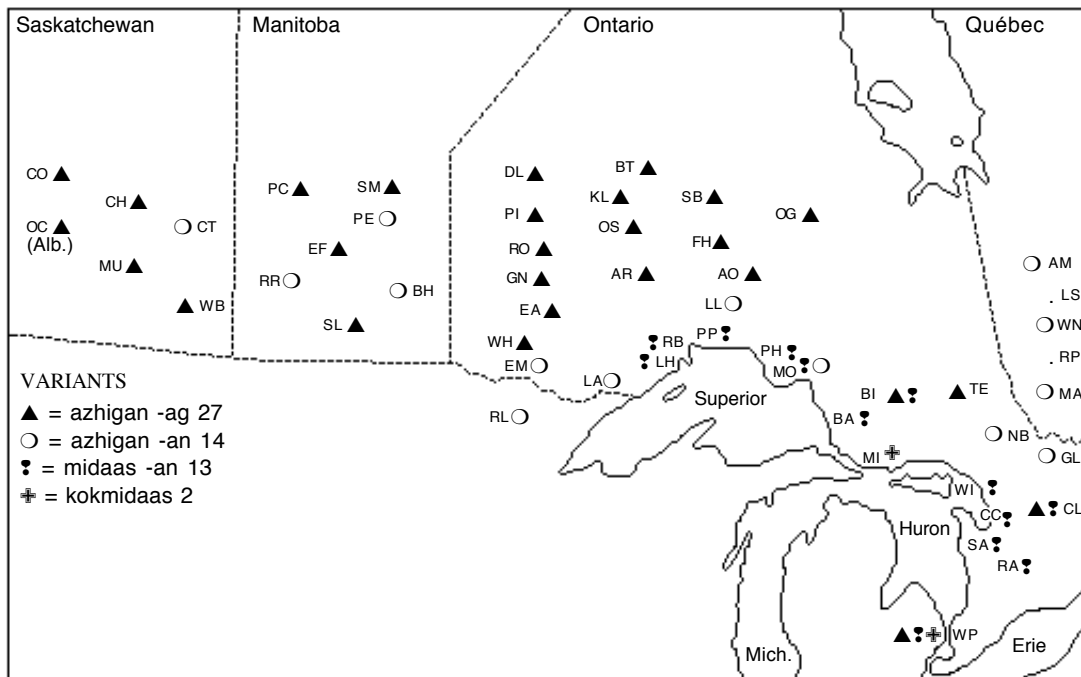
All three dialects of Cree represented here have **mispon** (Plains, Swampy, East). Miami (D), **minatwa pissata**, 'snow falls.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT
EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL LS MO
MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB
RL RO RP RR SB SL SM TE WB WH
WN
- CC CL MA MI NB RA SA WI WP
- ⦿ DL
- ⦿ GL
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿⦿ (52)



Sock

This is a word that today reflects a collapsing of vocabulary for distinct garments, stockings and leggings. It is probable that several dialects had distinct words for these two articles of clothing, as is reflected in Baraga 1878 (for Michigan/Wisconsin Chippewa), where words for stocking include **azhigan** and **akokomidaas**, while leggings are identified as **midaas**.

The most common form is **azhigan**, which has variable gender. Inanimate forms are focused in two places: the northeast, including Algonquin and NB and GL, extending west to LL; on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, extending northwest into Manitoba to CT in Saskatchewan. Elsewhere it is animate, as with Fort Severn (Cree). Along the Great Lakes, the common form is **midaas**, everywhere in the southeast and as far west as LH. At MI and WP I also elicited **kokmidaas**, which Rhodes 1985 glosses as 'knitted socks.'

Consult also the word for 'pants' in this study, as **midaas** is used for pants in several dialects.

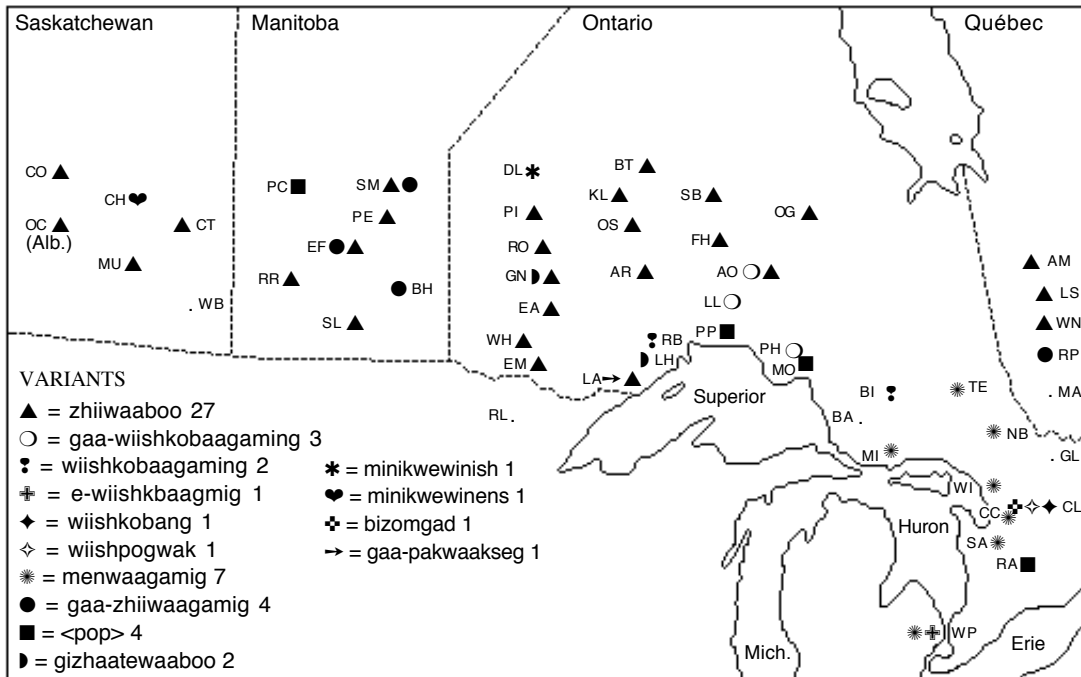
Swampy Cree has **ashikan** (animate), Plains the equivalent **asikan** (animate); East Cree has **mitaas** (animate dependent). Potawatomi has **gokm'das** (NI), **sakson** (NI), **mj'das**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BI BT CH CL CO DL EA EF
 FH GN KL MU OC OG OS PC PI RO
 SB SL SM TE WB WH WN WP
 ○ AM BH CT EM GL LA LL MA MO NB
 PE RL RR
 ● BA BI CC CL LH MO PH PP RA RB
 SA WI WP
 ✚ MI WP
 . LS RP

Consolidations

▲▲○ (41)
 ○●✚ (15)



Soft drink

There are two major variants, **zhiwaaboo**, which occurs everywhere except in a grouping of Odawa and communities north of it (including TE and NB), which have **menwaagamig**. There is also a small grouping of communities north of Lake Superior which have some form containing **wiishkoban**, 'be sweet.' These include RB, AO, LL, PH and BI.

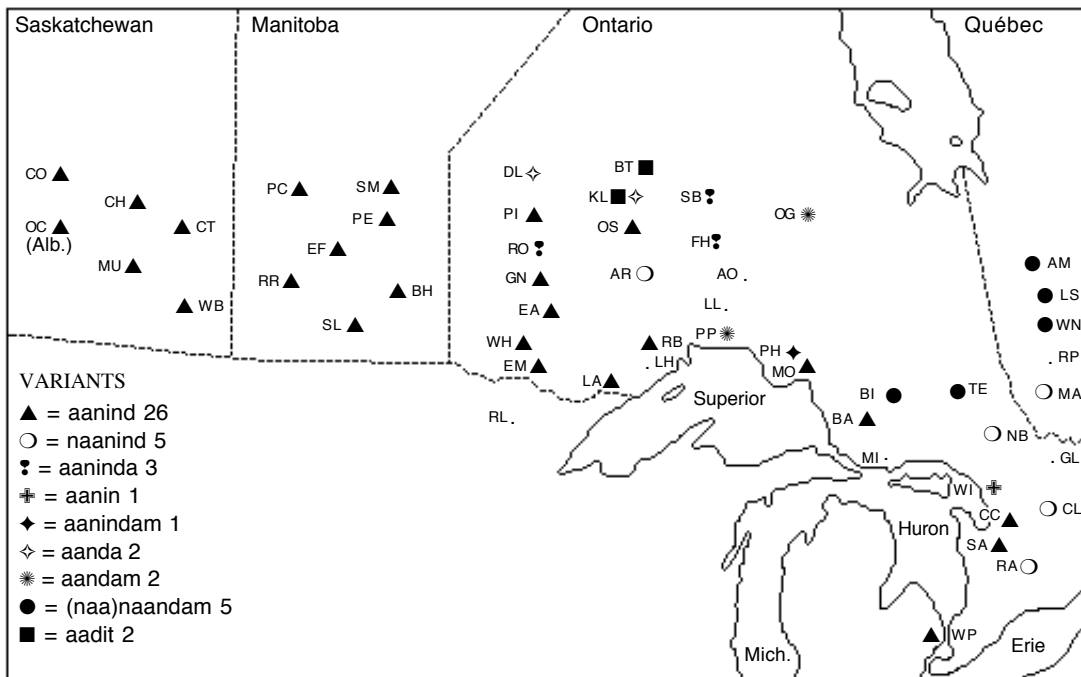
Swampy Cree has **shiiwaapoy**. Potawatomi has **wishkbabo**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BT CO CT EA EF EM FH
GN KL LA LS MU OC OG OS PE PI
RO RR SB SL SM WH WN
- AO LL PH
- ⦿ BI RB
- ⦿ WP
- ◆ CL
- ◇ CL
- ⊛ CC MI NB SA TE WI WP
- BH EF RP SM
- MO PC PP RA
- ▷ GN LH
- * DL
- ♥ CH
- ⊕ CL
- LA
- . BA GL MA RL WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (27)
- ○ ⦿ ⦿ ⦿ (8)
- ⦿ ⊛ (7)
- ⦿ ● (4)
- ◆ ■ (4)
- ◇ ▷ (2)
- ⊛ * (1)
- ♥ (1)
- ⊕ (1)
- ▷ → (1)



Some

There are several very significant regional patterns. Algonquin uniformly has **(naa)naandam**; Eastern Ojibwe (NB, RA and CL) has **naanind**; Severn is quite split, showing **aanda** (DL and KL) and **aadit** (BT and KL). Elsewhere the form is mostly **aanind**.

Swampy Cree and Plains both have **aatiht**; East Cree has **pasch**. Potawatomi has **an't**.

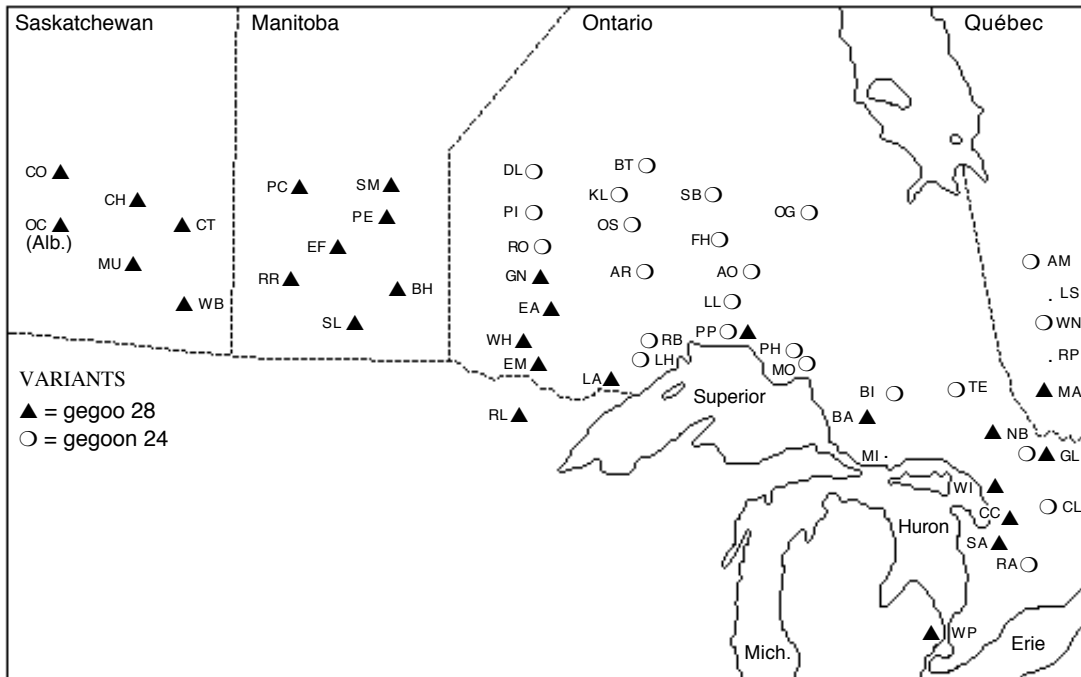
McGregor 1987 (MA) does not list **naandam**, the Algonquin form, but does have **naanind** (p. 233), glossed, 'some, any, a number of persons.' He also gives **naanaanind** with the same meaning. Nipissing thus agrees with Eastern Ojibwe.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CO CT EA EF EM GN
LA MO MU OC OS PC PE PI RB RR
SA SL SM WB WH WP
- AR CL MA NB RA
- FH RO SB
- ✦ WI
- ◆ PH
- ◇ DL KL
- ✱ OG PP
- AM BI LS TE WN
- BT KL
- AO GL LH LL MI RL RP

Consolidations

▲▲○✦✦◆◇✱✱■ (46)



Something

This is another excellent word for revealing a basic north/south division between dialects. All of Severn, many communities south of Severn (PI, RO, and OS), all the communities north of Lake Superior (including even RB and LH, all of Algonquin, and many Eastern Ojibwe (CL, RA and GL) have **gegoon**. Elsewhere, e.g., in Minnesota and the border lakes region, all of Saulteaux and Odawa have **gegoo**, i.e., there is no final **n**. This absence is somewhat ambiguous in Odawa, since a large number of inflectional and derivational morphemes lack a final -n that is found in other dialects.

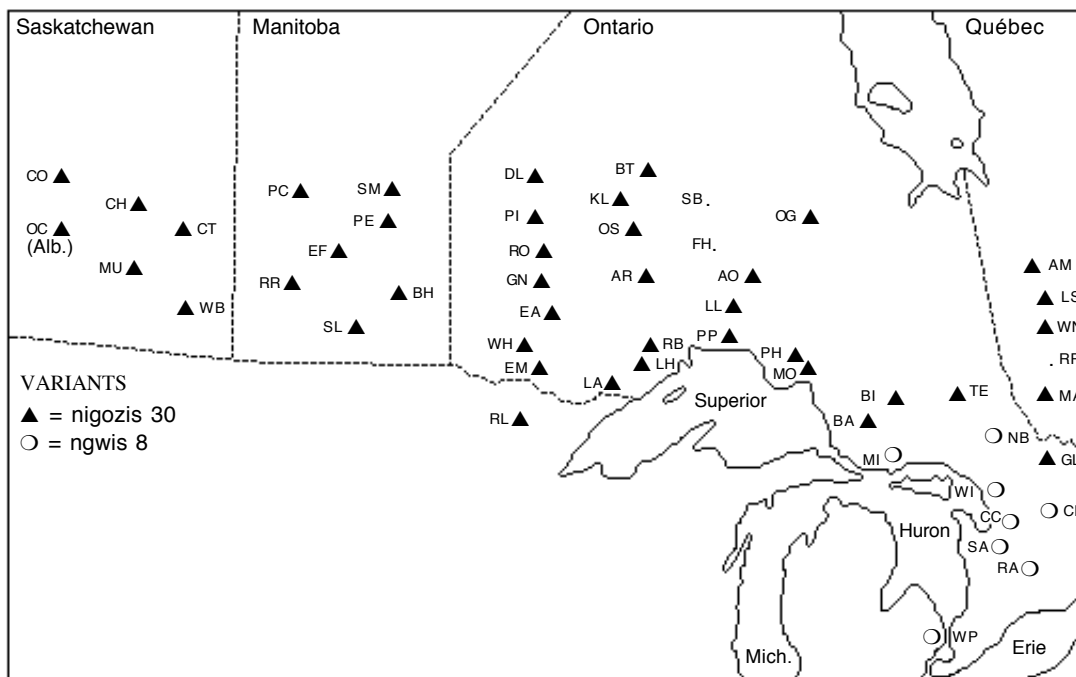
Swampy Cree has **kekwaan**, East Cree, **chekwaan**. Potawatomi has **gego**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CO CT EA EF EM GL
GN LA MA MU NB OC PC PE PP RL
RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AO AR BI BT CL DL FH GL KL
LH LL MO OG OS PH PI PP RA RB
RO SB TE WN
. LS MA MI RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (52)



My son

The variation here has to do with the presence or absence of a suffix **-is** found on different terms of kinship: southeastern communities all have **nigwis**. Elsewhere, the form is **nigozis**. The presence of /z/ in the form with the suffix is due to a general rule of lenition when occurs when a variety of diminutive/pejorative suffixes containing sibilants are added.

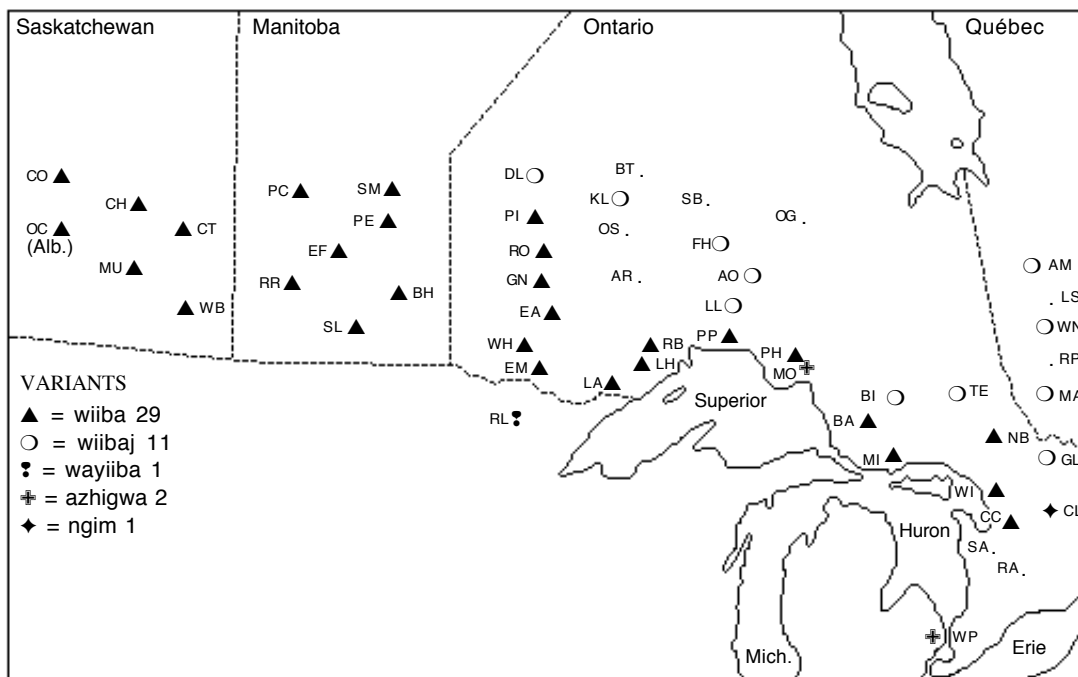
Swampy Cree has **nikosis**; East Cree, **ukusa**, 'his son.'
 Potawatomi has **ngw's**. Miami (D) **ningwissa**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT
 DL EA EF EM GL GN KL LA LH LL
 LS MA MO MU OC OG OS PC PE PH
 PI PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SL SM
 TE WB WH WN
 ○ CC CL MI NB RA SA WI WP
 . FH RP SB

Consolidations

▲▲○ (51)



Soon

This form demonstrates a common pattern of variation in particles: northern communities often have a final **-j** which southern communities lack. **Wiibaj**, with final **-j**, is found at DL, KL (Severn), at AO and FH; at AM, WN, TE and BI (all Algonquin), and at GL and MA (Nipissing). Elsewhere the form is **wiiba**.

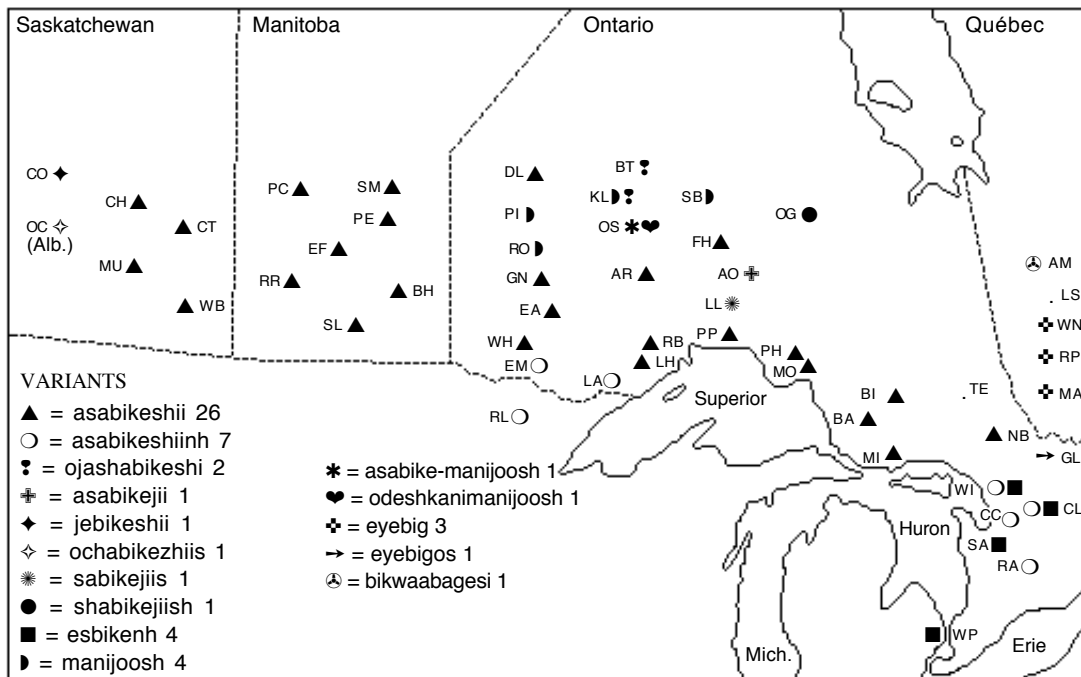
All Cree dialects for which I have data (Plains, Swampy and East) have **wiipac**. Potawatomi has **nagach**. Miami, **kinjimi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CO CT EA EF EM GN
LA LH MI MU NB OC PC PE PH PI
PP RB RO RR SL SM WB WH WI
- AM AO BI DL FH GL KL LL MA TE
WN
- RL
- ✚ MO WP
- ◆ CL
- AR BT LS OG OS RA RP SA SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲○• (41)
- ✚ (2)
- ◆ (1)



Spider

Here I find several variants. Most common is a form with a diminutive suffix, attached to a deverbal agent noun, which means literally, 'the one who makes a net.' There are two basic sub-variants of this form, with and without initial change. The form with initial change, **esbikenh**, with change of initial **a** of **asab**, 'net,' to **e**, perhaps as a general strategy in deriving participles, was found in the southeast, at CL, SA, WI, WP, i.e., it is quite common in Odawa (though CL is Eastern). The forms which do not have initial change all have an apparently diminutive final, **zh/j**. Forms with **j** are restricted to a corridor involving OG, AO and LL.

A number of communities (5) along the southern edge of Severn have **manijoosh**, the same form used for 'insect.' OS has a blend incorporating both of the preceding forms, **asabike-manijoosh**.

The last variant, **eyebig**, is restricted to the Algonquin/Nipissing dialect, including WN, RP, MA and GL. This form also occurs in some eastern dialects with the meaning 'ant' (see data in this study).

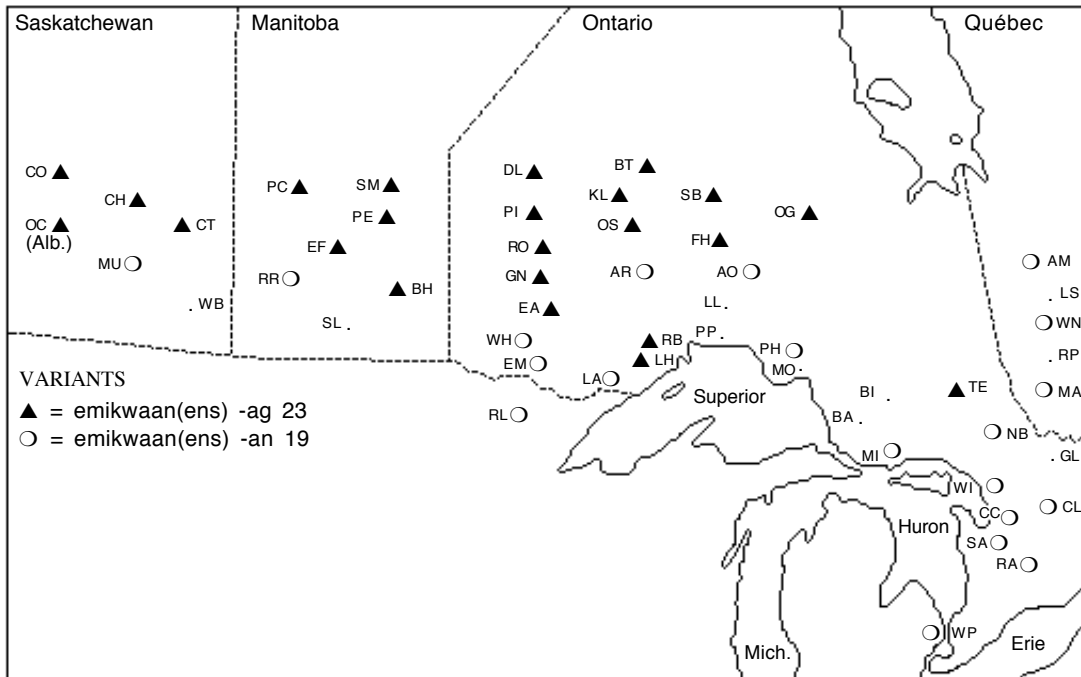
Fort Severn Cree has **otanapihkesiw**; Plains Cree, **ocapiihkesiis**; East Cree, **kwaamiyetisuu**. Potawatomi has **esbike**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CH CT DL EA EF FH
GN LH MI MO MU NB PC PE PH PP
RB RR SL SM WB WH
- CC CL EM LA RA RL WI
- ⦿ BT KL
- ⊕ AO
- ◆ CO
- ◇ OC
- ⊛ LL
- OG
- CL SA WI WP
- ▷ KL PI RO SB
- * OS
- ♥ OS
- ⊞ MA RP WN
- GL
- ⊕ AM
- . LS TE

Consolidations

- ▲▲○⦿⊕◆◇⊛●■ (44)
- ▷*♥ (6)
- ⦿⊕→ (4)
- ⊕⊕ (1)



Spoon (noun)

The major variation involves the animacy of the Ojibwe word. In characteristic fashion, the southeastern dialects and Algonquin have made the logically inanimate item into a grammatically inanimate one, while the other dialects generally show it as animate. Note that the border lakes also have the form as inanimate, extending into the southern Saulteaux of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Note that AO north of Lake Superior is also inanimate, which may indicate that an inanimate form extends quite far north, though data is lacking.

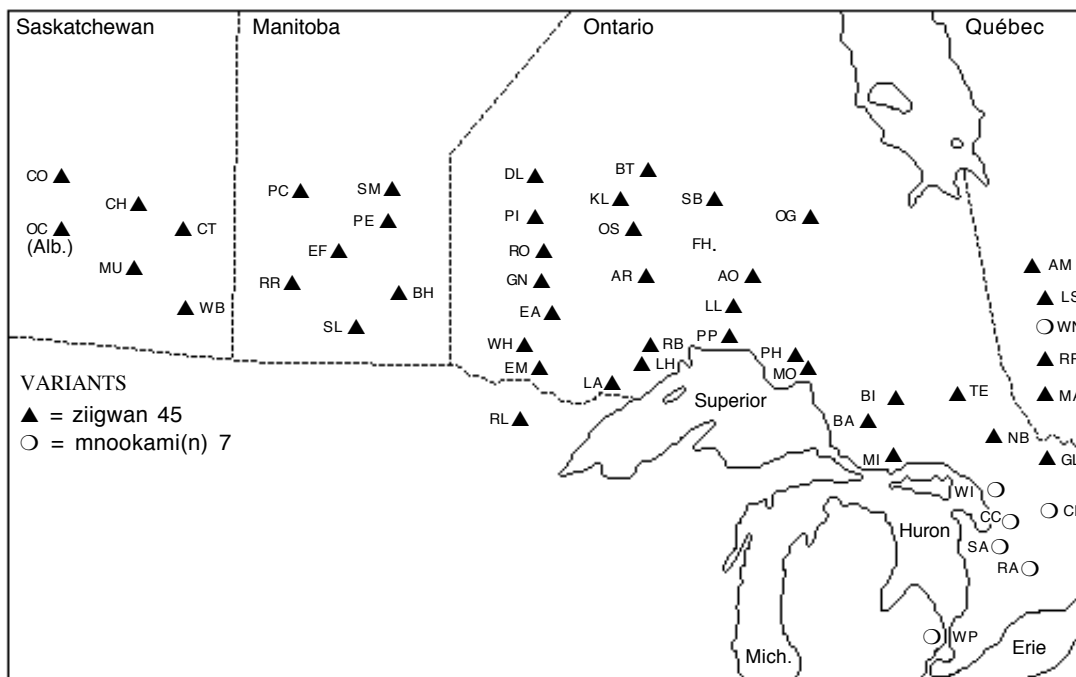
Spoon is animate in the three Cree dialects for which I have data (Plains, Swampy, East Cree). Potawatomi has **emkwan** (animate). Miami, **kokani** (pl., -na).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH BT CH CO CT DL EA EF FH GN
 KL LH OC OG OS PC PE PI RB RO
 SB SM TE
- AM AR CC CL EM LA MA MI MU NB
 PH RA RL RR SA WH WI WN WP
 . AO BA BI GL LL LS MO PP RP SL
 WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (23)
- (19)



Be spring (season) (VII)

There are two variants, **ziigwan** and **mnookami**. The latter is restricted to the extreme southeast, south of GL and MI, except for WN, which also has it.

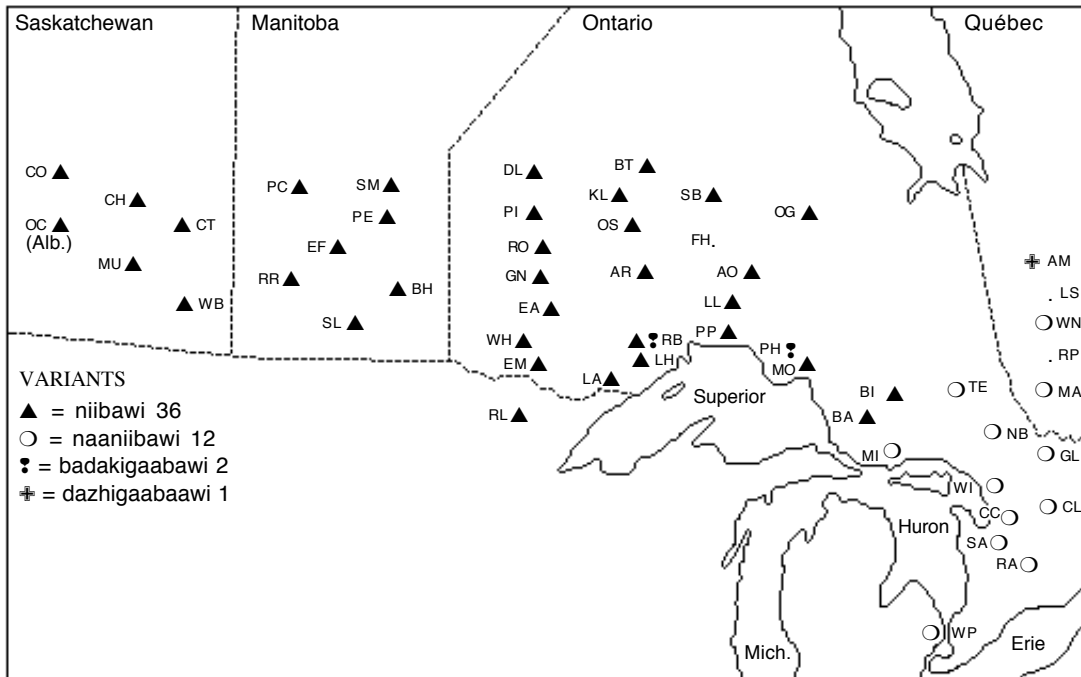
East Cree has **siikun**; Swampy Cree, **siikwan**; Plains Cree, **siikwan** and **miyoskamiw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT
- DL EA EF EM GL GN KL LA LH LL
- LS MA MI MO MU NB OC OG OS PC
- PE PH PI PP RB RL RO RP RR SB
- SL SM TE WB WH
- CC CL RA SA WI WN WP
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (45)
- (7)



Stands (VAI)

This word is potentially ambiguous in English, as it can be interpreted as either stative or as a motion verb. The southeast shows an interesting grouping of communities (extending as far north as WN), which has **naaniibawi**. Elsewhere the common form is **niibawi**. **Niibawi** in most eastern dialects refers to a specific act of standing, namely, getting married (e.g., MA as attested in McGregor 1987:246; general southern Ojibwe, Rhodes 1985:519; my fieldnotes for AM). Baraga 1878:283, 276 (for Michigan Ojibwe) makes an interesting distinction between these two forms: **niibawi**, 'I stand, I am standing up'; **naaniibawi**, 'I stand here and there, in different places successively.' This would make sense, since the latter form appears derived from the former by means of reduplication.

The form from Amos, Québec, **dazhigaabawi** is echoed in McGregor 1987:392 (Nipissing dialect), where **dazhi nanaamadabi** is listed with the gloss, 'sitting or lolling at a certain place,' using a relative particle/preverb **dazhi**, 'there' and a reduplicated form of the AI verb for sit, **namadabi**. The AM form, however, has **dazhi** in the root position.

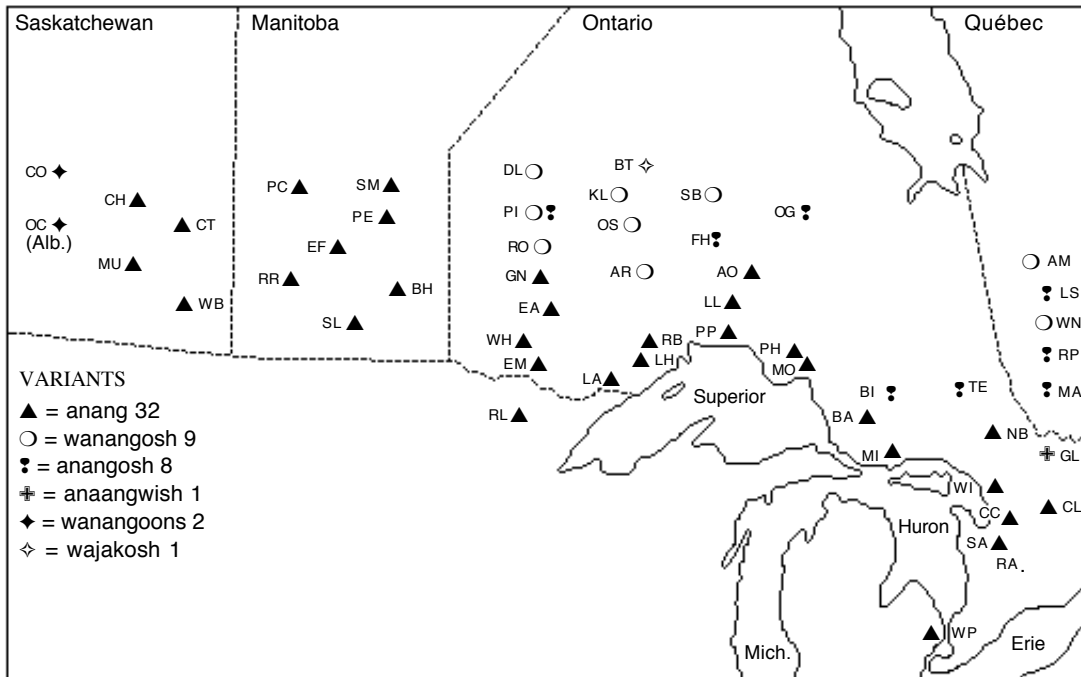
Plains Cree and Swampy have **niipawiw**; East Cree has **niipuu**. Rhodes 1989:11 has Miami **neepawita**, Fox **neamasowa**, Shawnee **niipawi**, and Menomini **ne:powew**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL MO MU
OC OG OS PC PE PI PP RB RL RO
RR SB SL SM WB WH
- CC CL GL MA MI NB RA SA TE WI
WN WP
- ♣ PH RB
- † AM
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (48)
- ♣ (2)
- ♣† (1)



Star (noun)

This is a good word for showing a basic north/south split in Ojibwe dialects. All dialects have a basic stem **(w)anangw**, but northern dialects add a (no longer productive) diminutive suffix, producing **(w)anangosh**. This form occurs throughout Severn and the tier just south of it, including RO, OS and AR, then at BI and TE in the east, and all other Algonquin/ Nipissing as far south as GL. The southern form occurs throughout Odawa, north of the Great Lake, and westward across the border lakes region into Saulteaux. BT has evidently borrowed **wajakosh** from Cree, since the same form is attested at Fort Severn (and Constance Lake). Regarding initial **w**, it is absent at FH, OG, BI, TE and most Algonquin south of AM.

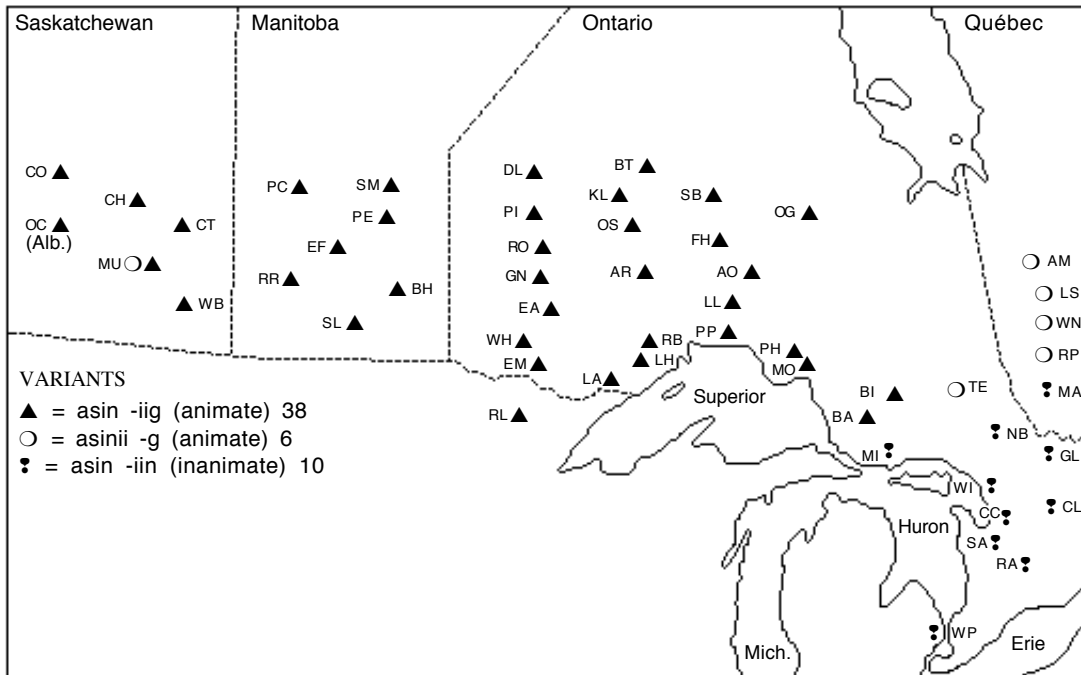
Plains Cree has **ataahk**; East Cree, **achahkush**. Potawatomi has **n'go, n'gos**. Miami, **alangwa** (pl. -ki). Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **ala(a)nkwa**, Fox **anaakwa**, Shawnee **laakwa**, and Menomini **ana:h**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BA BH CC CH CL CT EA EF EM
GN LA LH LL MI MO MU NB PC PE
PH PP RB RL RR SA SL SM WB WH
WI WP
- AM AR DL KL OS PI RO SB WN
- ♣ BI FH LS MA OG PI RP TE
- † GL
- ◆ CO OC
- ◇ BT
- . RA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣†◆ (53)
- ◇ (1)



Stone (noun)

The principal item of interest is the animacy of this word. There are many words which while logically inanimate, are grammatically animate in many dialects. 'Stone' is such a word. Many of these words are grammatically inanimate in southeastern dialects. Thus one finds **asiniin**, 'stones (inan.)' uniformly throughout the area of Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe, extending as far north as MA.

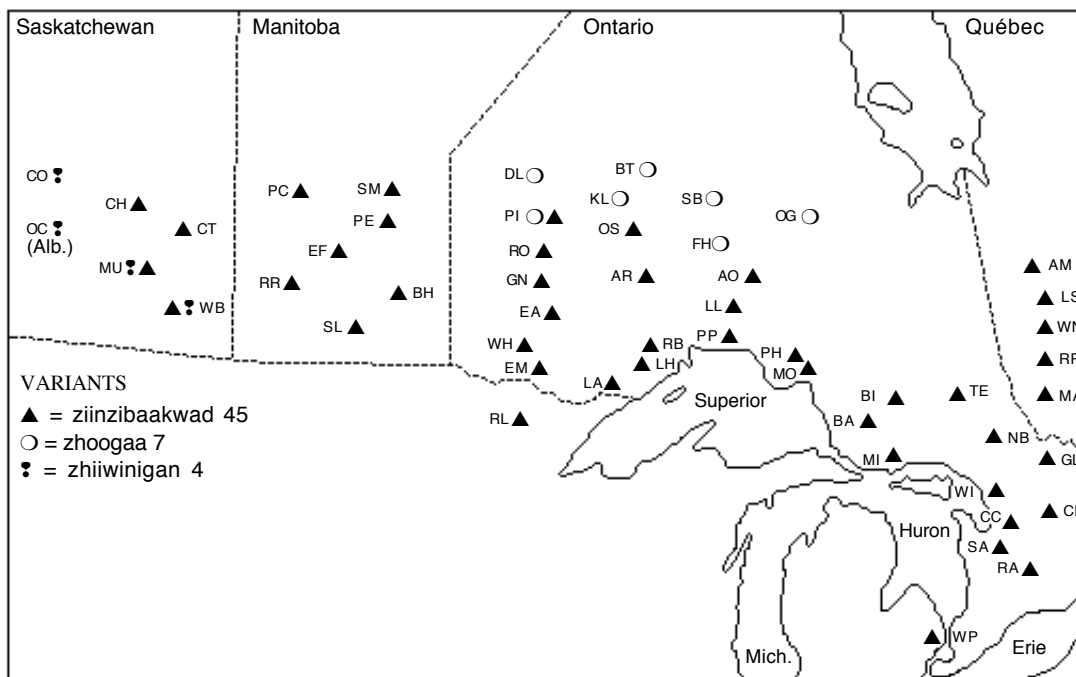
One other feature of interest involves the presence of a long vowel final **ii** in Algonquin. These forms are a hallmark of that dialect, said by Piggott (1978) to involve the analogical back-formation of singulars based on traditional Cy stem plurals. **Asinii** extends only as far west as TE, though it also shows up in MU, perhaps as a Cree borrowing. Fort Severn (Cree) and Plains Cree have **asiniy**. East Cree has **asinii**. Potawatomi has **s'n** (inanimate); Miami, **sEni** (inanimate).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CH CO CT DL
EA EF EM FH GN KL LA LH LL MO
MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB
RL RO RR SB SL SM WB WH
- AM LS MU RP TE WN
- ♣ CC CL GL MA MI NB RA SA WI WP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣ (54)



Sugar (noun)

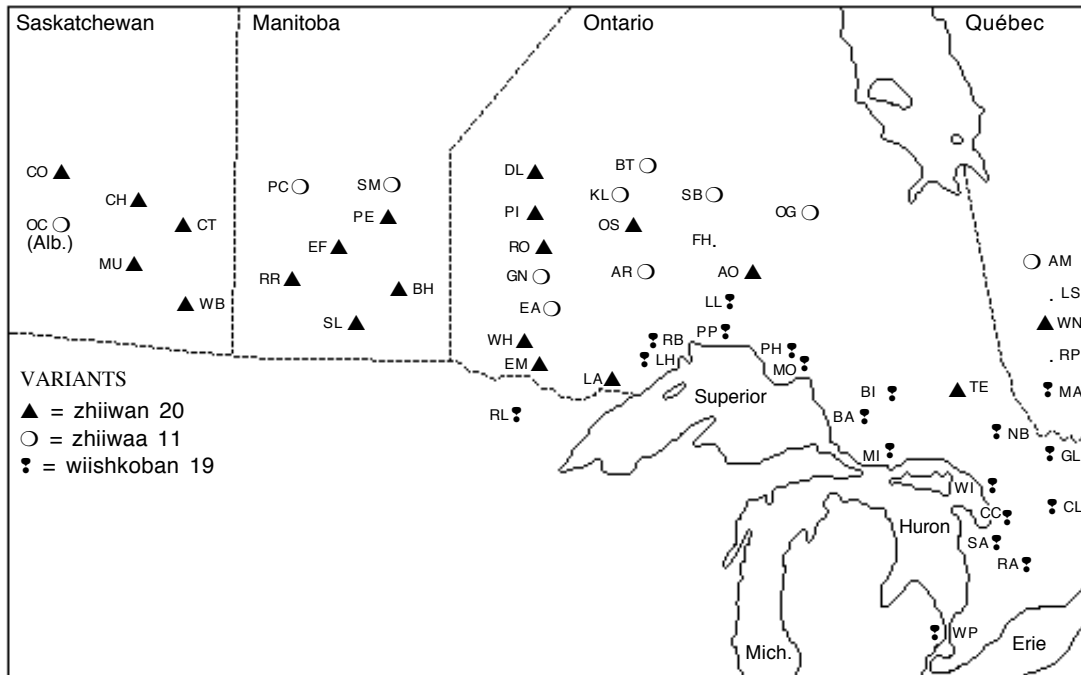
I found three variants. By far the most common is **ziinsibaakwad**, which occurs everywhere except in the Severn dialect and portions of Saskatchewan. Severn has **zhoogaa**, borrowed from English. Four communities in Saskatchewan have **zhiwinigan**, which is also listed in Faries 1938 (along with *lsesepaskwutl* and *lsookawl*). East Cree has **shuukaau**, and Plains **sookaaw**. Potawatomi has **zizbakw'd**. Miami, **pangosakani**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CT
EA EF EM GL GN LA LH LL LS MA
MI MO MU NB OS PC PE PH PI PP
RA RB RL RO RP RR SA SL SM TE
WB WH WI WN WP
- BT DL FH KL OG PI SB
- CO MU OC WB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (45)
- (7)
- (4)



Be sweet (to taste) (VII)

This form divides the data range north and south. In the north, the common form is **zhiiwaa**, especially in Severn but extending south to GN and EA and across to AM (Algonquin). South of this, the form is **zhiivan**, differing only in the final. This form is found at WN and TE (Algonquin), AO, and then in extreme southwestern Ontario, with heavy representation on the prairies (Saulteaux). South of the region for **zhiivan**, **wiishkoban** is found, in the southeast, all along L. Superior and at RL (Minnesota). **Wiishkoban** is also listed in Nichols and Nyholm 1979:222, Wilson 1874:374; Baraga 1878:252 has **wiishkobad**. Such variation shows that the loss of the VII -ad/-an distinction in the independent order is lexically governed.

MA data is from McGregor 1987:444. Interestingly, McGregor also lists **zhiivan**, but with the gloss, 'being salty, sour, or rancid.' Wilson 1873:359 (Ojibwe near Sault Ste. Marie, ON) has a similar form, as do Baraga 1878:238 (Michigan Ojibwe) and Nichols and Nyholm 1979:214 (Minnesota Chippewa). Rhodes 1985:407 (Eastern Ojibwe and Odawa) has **ziiwan**, lacking initial palatalization. The form for 'taste sour' (VII) in Severn Ojibwe, a northern dialect, is **wiisagipagwan**.

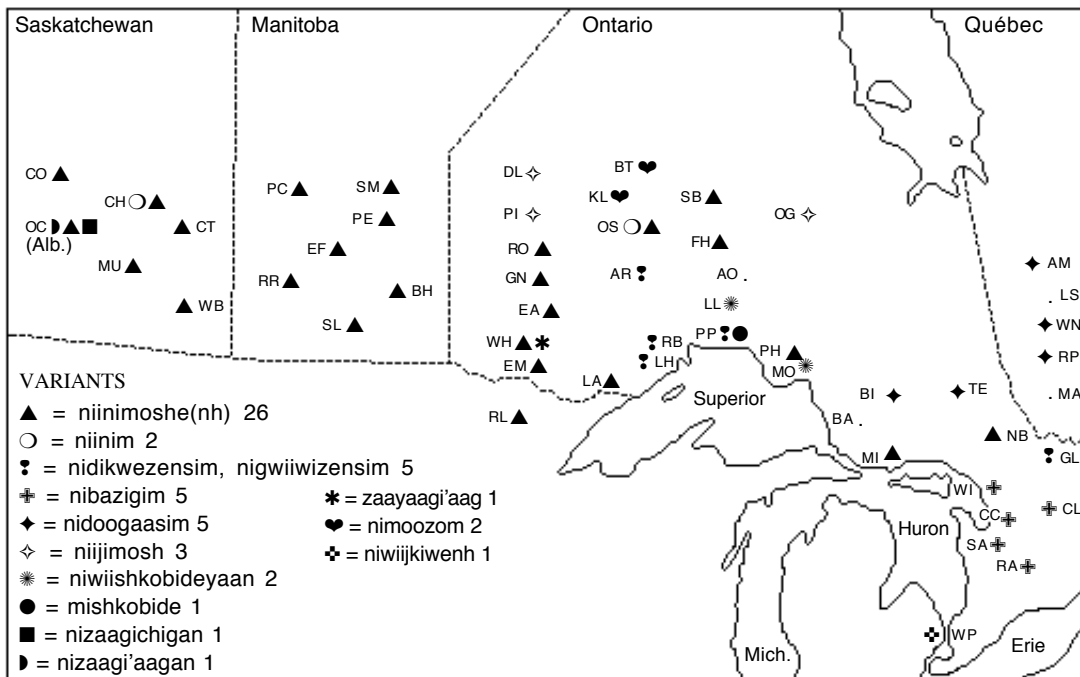
East Cree and Swampy have **shiiwaaw**, Plains **siwaaw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO BH CH CO CT DL EF EM LA MU
OS PE PI RO RR SL TE WB WH WN
○ AM AR BT EA GN KL OC OG PC SB
SM
• BA BI CC CL GL LH LL MA MI MO
NB PH PP RA RB RL SA WI WP
. FH LS RP

Consolidations

▲▲○ (31)
○• (19)



My sweetheart

This form cannot be used for any general charting, though it is useful for investigating local relationships.

Niimoshe(nh) is the most common form. A group of Eastern and Ottawa communities have **nibazigim**, while several northern communities have forms of affection involving some sort of game, either animal, as in Severn, **nimoozom**, 'my moose,' or fish, as in Algonquin, **nidoogaansim**, 'my pickerel,' which I also have for WN. **Niwiishkobideyaan**, meaning literally, 'my sweet-heart' and **mishkobide** are quite possibly neologisms coined to satisfy a curious researcher. There is a small clustering of communities with **ndikwezensim**, literally 'my girl' directly north of Lake Superior (AR, RB, LH, PP) which may or may not be significant.

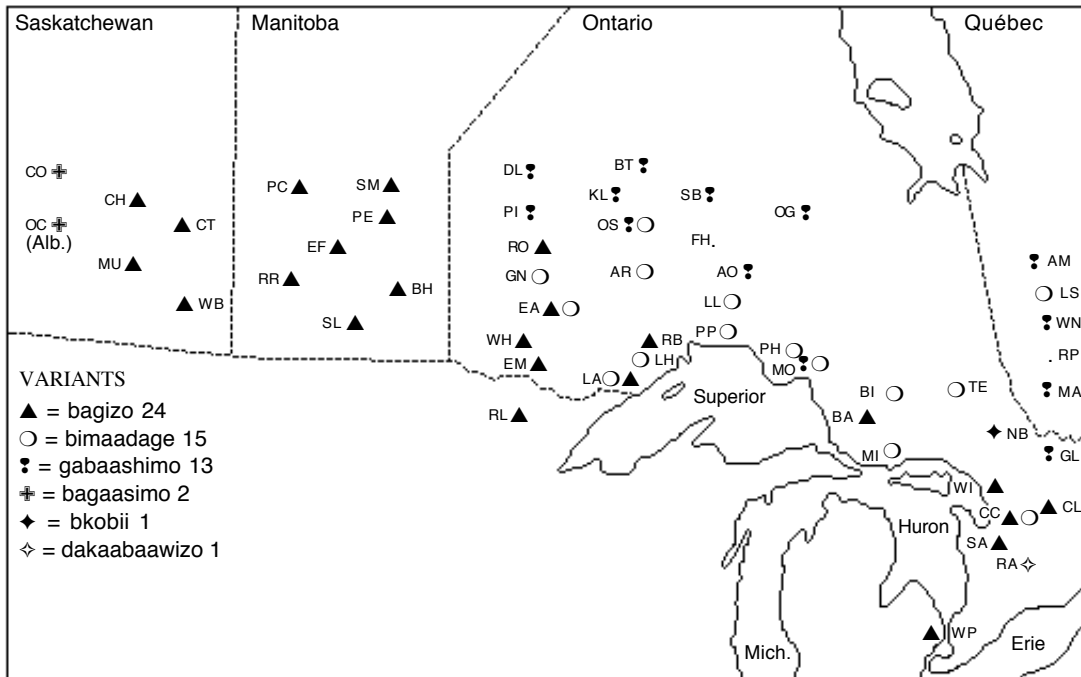
Swampy Cree has **nicimisim**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH CO CT EA EF EM FH GN LA
MI MU NB OC OS PC PE PH RL RO
RR SB SL SM WB WH
- CH OS
- ⦿ AR GL LH PP RB
- ✦ CC CL RA SA WI
- ◆ AM BI RP TE
- ◇ DL OG PI
- ⊛ LL MO
- PP
- OC
- ◄ OC
- * WH
- ♥ BT KL
- ✦ WP
- . AO BA LS MA WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (28)
- ⦿ (5)
- ⦿✦ (5)
- ✦◆ (4)
- ◆◇ (3)
- ◇⊛● (3)
- ⊛■* (3)
- ♥ (2)
- ✦ (1)



Swims (VAI)

This word shows a north/south grouping of communities. In the north, including Severn (and PI, OS, AO), and extending to MO and Algonquin (AM, WN and GL), the form is **gabaashimo** (MA data from McGregor 1987:105). Fort Severn (Cree) has the same form. CO and OC share an apparent metathesis of this word, **bargaasimo**. Scattered, but relatively regionally contained north of the Great Lakes, one finds **bimaadage**. Elsewhere, the most common form is **bagizo**.

Swampy Cree has **kapaashimow**; East Cree, **pakaashimuu**. Potawatomi has **bmadgat**. Rhodes 1989:4 gives **peemicimiaani** for Miami, **pemicimeewa** for Fox, **holelwi** for Shawnee, and **peme:cemEw** for Menomini.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BA BH CC CH CL CT EA EF EM LA
MU PC PE RB RL RO RR SA SL SM
WB WH WI WP
- AR BI CC EA GN LA LH LL LS MI
MO OS PH PP TE
- ♣ AM AO BT DL GL KL MA MO OG OS
PI SB WN
- † CO OC
- ◆ NB
- ◇ RA
- . FH MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (24)
- (15)
- ♣♣ (15)
- †† (1)
- ◆◆ (1)

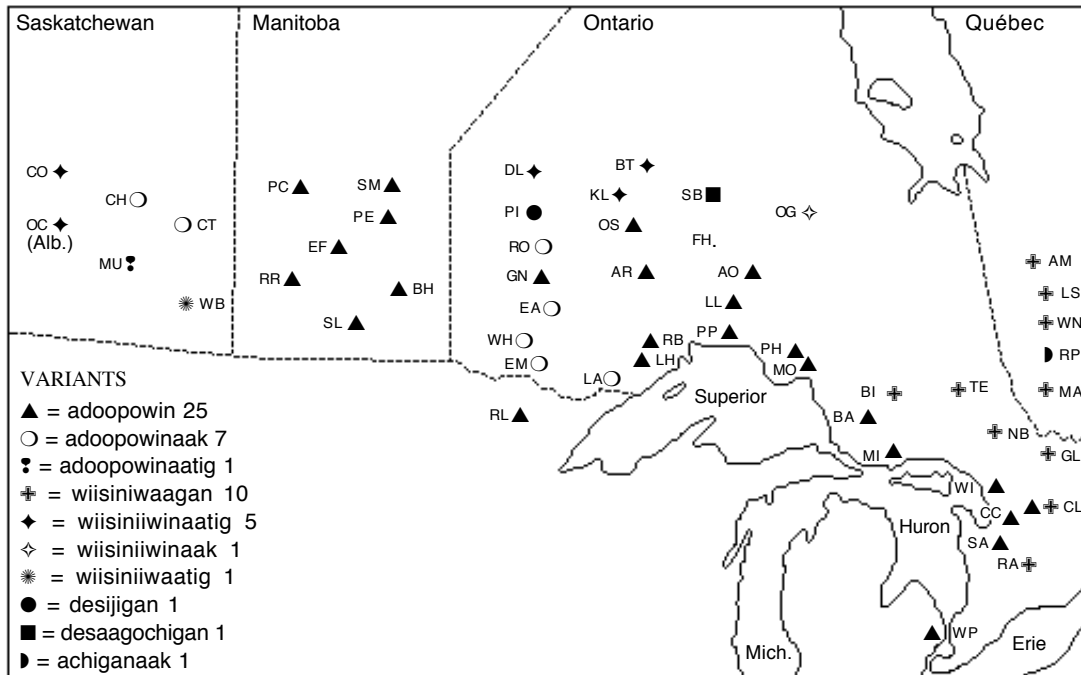


Table (noun)

One must be cautious in using this word diagnostically, as there is the English word is quite general, and may be interpreted as several distinct Ojibwe words (e.g., a table for eating, or for putting things on, working on, etc.). But the clear regional distribution of many variants is rather striking. Algonquin and Eastern Ojibwe uniformly have **wiisiniwaagan**, which is a noun built by adding a suffix to the general Ojibwe VAI **wiisini**, 'eat.' This same grouping of communities shows **-waagan** in the form for 'chair' as well (see elsewhere in this study). A group of five communities in the border lakes region and north to RO have **adoopowinaak**, as opposed to the more general **adoopowin**. These words are evidently formed with an initial element VAI **adoopo**, which McGregor 1987:10 glosses as 'eating, as from a plate, pan, etc.' Rhodes 1985:119 glosses the same verb as 'eat from something.' Perhaps the use of this verb as a stem for forming the noun reflects a focus on the formality in the using of utensils and dishes involved in eating at table. **Adoopowinaak** was also found in two eastern Saskatchewan communities, CH and CT. The two extreme western Saulteaux communities along with Severn BT, KL and DL have **wiisiniwinaatig**.

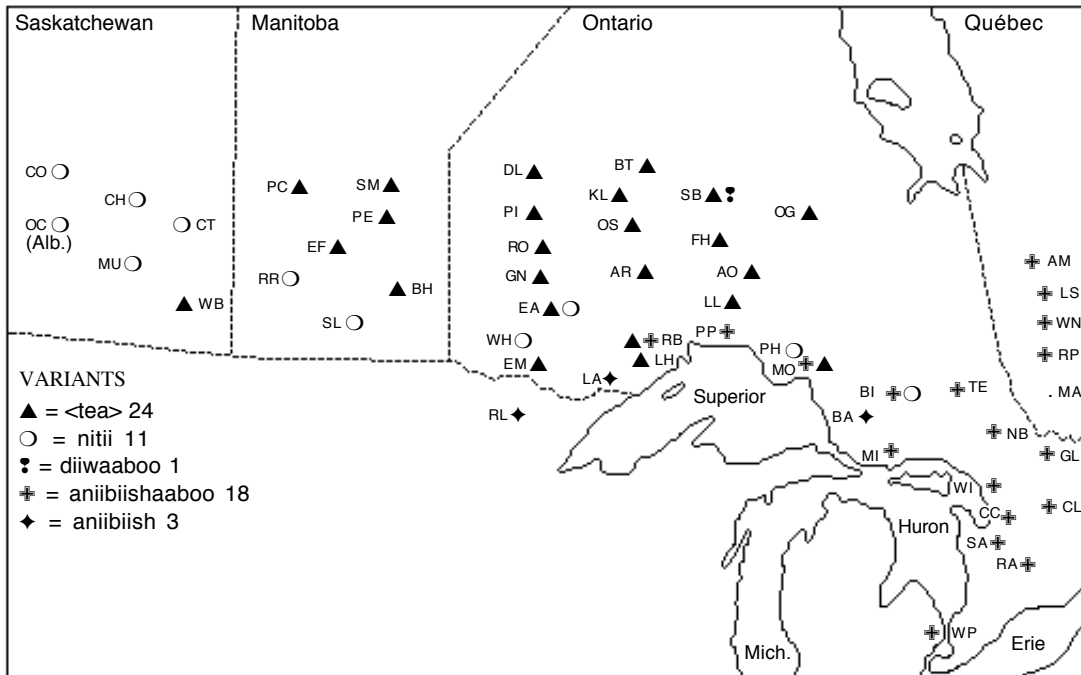
Swampy and Plains Cree have **miicsoowinaahtik**, built on the standard Cree intransitive verb of eating, **miicisow**. East Cree has the same form, **miichisuunaahtikw**. Potawatomi has **dopw'n**, **topew'n**. Miami (D), **atoponi**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CL EF GN LH LL MI MO OS PC PE PH PP RB RL RR SA SL SM WI WP
- CH CT EA EM LA RO WH
- ◐ MU
- ✚ AM BI CL GL LS MA NB RA TE WN
- ◆ BT CO DL KL OC
- ◇ OG
- ✱ WB
- PI
- SB
- ▷ RP
- FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲○◐ (33)
- ✚◆◇✱ (17)
- ◐● (1)
- ✚■ (1)
- ◆▷ (1)



Tea

This word shows another grouping of Algonquin with the southeast for trade items. In the north, excluding all Algonquin, from RB and EA north, the form is borrowed from English. Starting from EA and WH and proceeding all the way west through Sauteaux, the form is a variant **nitii**, perhaps from French **le thé**. From AM southeast extending throughout the Great Lakes region, the form is **aniibiishaaboo**, 'leaf liquid,' except at RL, LA, and BA, where it is the related form, **aniibiish**, literally, 'leaf.'

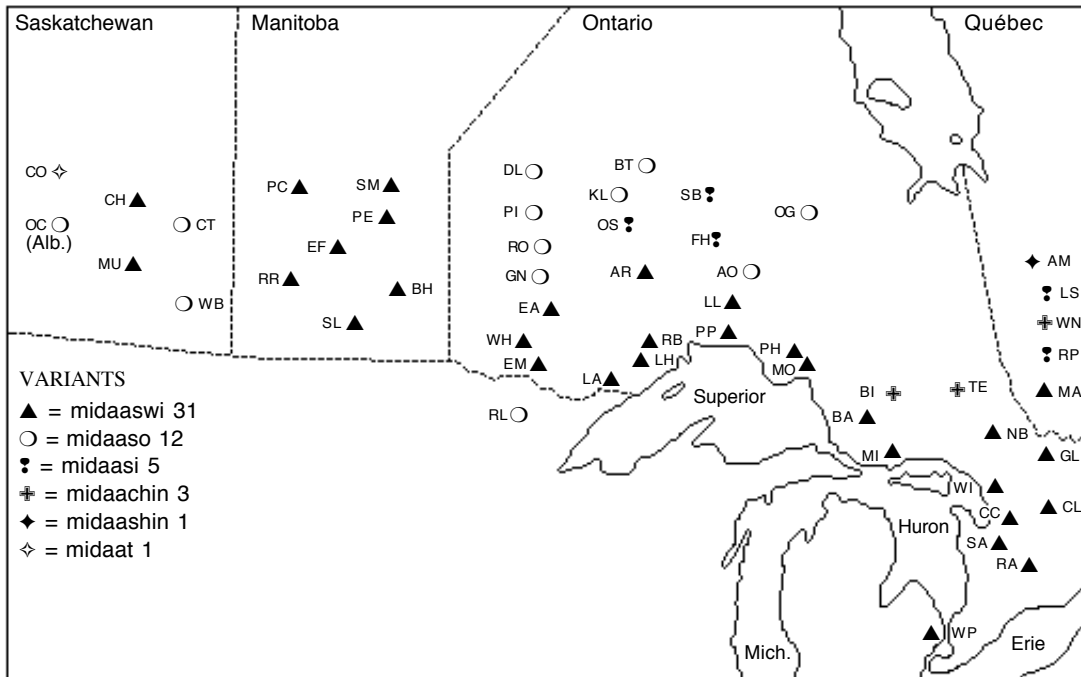
Swampy Cree has **niipiishaaboy**; Plains Cree, **maskihkiwaapoy** and **nihtiy**; East Cree, **tii**. Potawatomi has **ti**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BH BT DL EA EF EM FH GN
 KL LH LL MO OG OS PC PE PI RB
 RO SB SM WB
 ○ BI CH CO CT EA MU OC PH RR SL
 WH
 ✚ SB
 ✚ AM BI CC CL GL LS MI MO NB PP
 RA RB RP SA TE WI WN WP
 ◆ BA LA RL
 . MA

Consolidations

▲ ▲ ○ ✚ (36)
 ○ ✚ ◆ (21)



Ten

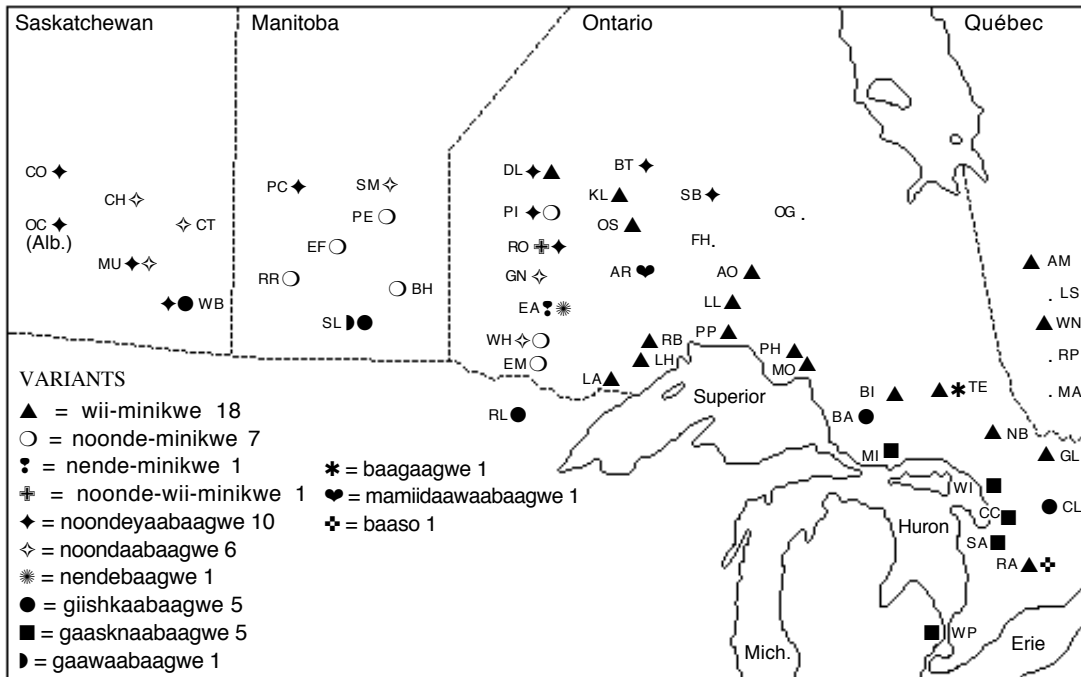
The most common form is **midaaswi**. In Severn, and extending south to GN in the west and AO in the east, the form is **midaaso**. This form also occurs in several communities in Saskatchewan (OC, CT, WB). SB, OS and FH have **midaasi**, lacking the **w**, as do LS and RP (though **w** is rather unstable in these (see Gilstrap 1978:13-15)). BI, TE and WN have augment **-in**, **midaachin**, and AM has related, **midaashin** (though Gilstrap 1978:45 has **midaachin** for AM). Fort Severn (Cree) has **mitaataht** (as does Plains Cree), while Atikamekw (Béland 1978:492) has **mitahto**. East Cree has **mitaht**. Miami (D) has **matatswi**. Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **mataatihswi**, Fox **metaaswi**, Shawnee **metahzwi** and Menomini **meta:tah**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH CC CH CL EA EF EM GL
LA LH LL MA MI MO MU NB PC PE
PH PP RA RB RR SA SL SM WH WI
WP
- AO BT CT DL GN KL OC OG PI RL
RO WB
- ▼ FH LS OS RP SB
- ✕ BI TE WN
- ◆ AM
- ◇ CO

Consolidations

- ▲▲○▼✕◆◇ (53)



Be thirsty (VAI)

This form has many variants. The most common is **wii-minikwe**, using the volunative preverb with the general verb for drink, found in all dialects except those in extreme western Ontario, Minnesota, and Saulteaux. Saulteaux has a functional equivalent in many places, **noonde-minikwe**, with a different desiderative preverb. RO has the fudged form **noonde-wii-minikwe**. Several Severn (BT, DL and SB) as well as a couple of communities south (PI, RO) have **noondyaabaagwe**, which is also common in Saskatchewan. Odawa has **gaasknaabaagwe**, and BA, CL, RL, SL and WB have **giishkaabaagwe**.

McGregor 1987 (MA) has no entry for either of the common southeastern forms, **giishkaabaagwe** or **gaasknaabaagwe**, so presumably **wii-minikwe** is used in that Nipissing community, just as I recorded at GL.

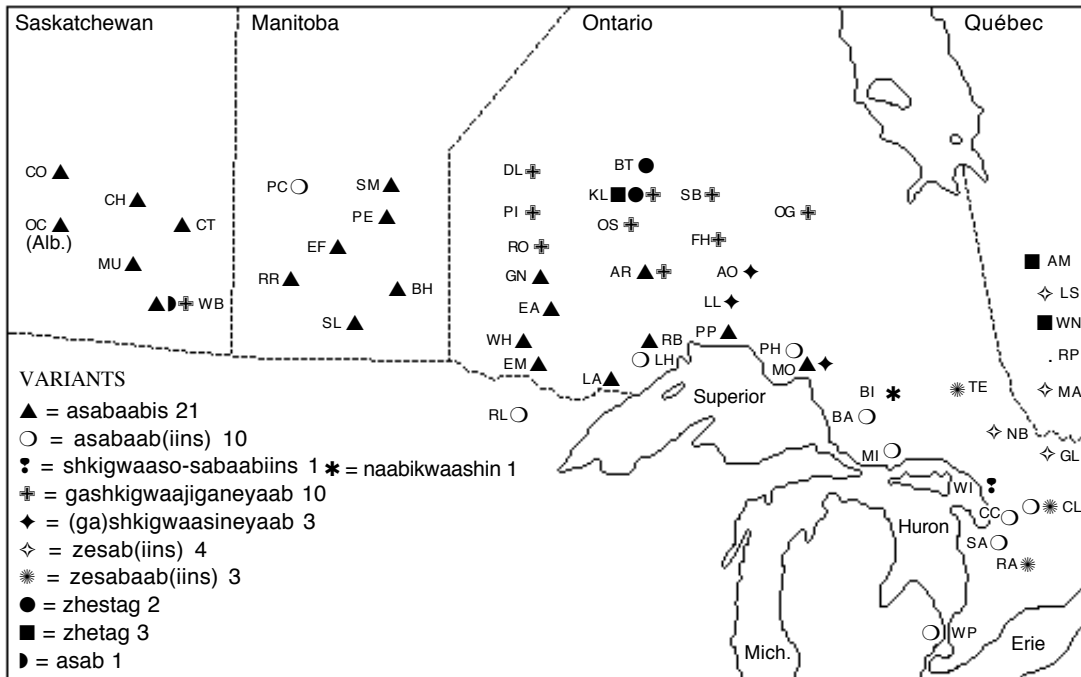
Swampy Cree has **paahkwataamow**; East Cree, **paahkutaamuu**; Plains Cree has **noohteyaapaakwew**. Potawatomi has **gashknabagwet**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO BI DL GL KL LA LH LL MO NB OS PH PP RA RB TE WN
- BH EF EM PE PI RR WH
- ⦿ EA
- ⊕ RO
- ◆ BT CO DL MU OC PC PI RO SB WB
- ◇ CH CT GN MU SM WH
- ⊛ EA
- BA CL RL SL WB
- CC MI SA WI WP
- ▷ SL
- * TE
- ♥ AR
- ⊞ RA
- . FH LS MA OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (18)
- ◆◇⊛⊞ (17)
- ⦿●■ (11)
- ⊕○⊞⊕ (9)
- ◆* (1)
- ◇♥ (1)
- ⊛⊞ (1)



Thread (noun)

This word has several variants showing strong regional patterning. In the immediate area of the Great Lakes, the form is **asabaab(iins)**, extending from CL in the east to RL (Minnesota). LS (Algonquin) shares **zesab(iins)** with MA, NB and GL. TE, CL and RA, standing between the areas of the two previous forms, appear to have a blend, **zesabaab(iins)**. AO, LL and MO group, having **gashkigwaasineyaab**, 'sewing thread,' very similar to the northwestern Ontario communities, which nearly all have **gashkigwaajiganeyaab**. BT and KL (Severn) have **zhestag** (or variant **zhetag**), along with AM and WN (Algonquin). This is similar to the form for Atikamekw (Cree), **sheshtokw** (Béland 1978:566). Southwestern Ontario, along with all Saulteaux has **asabaabis**, a minor variant of the first form discussed.

See also 'rope' in this study.

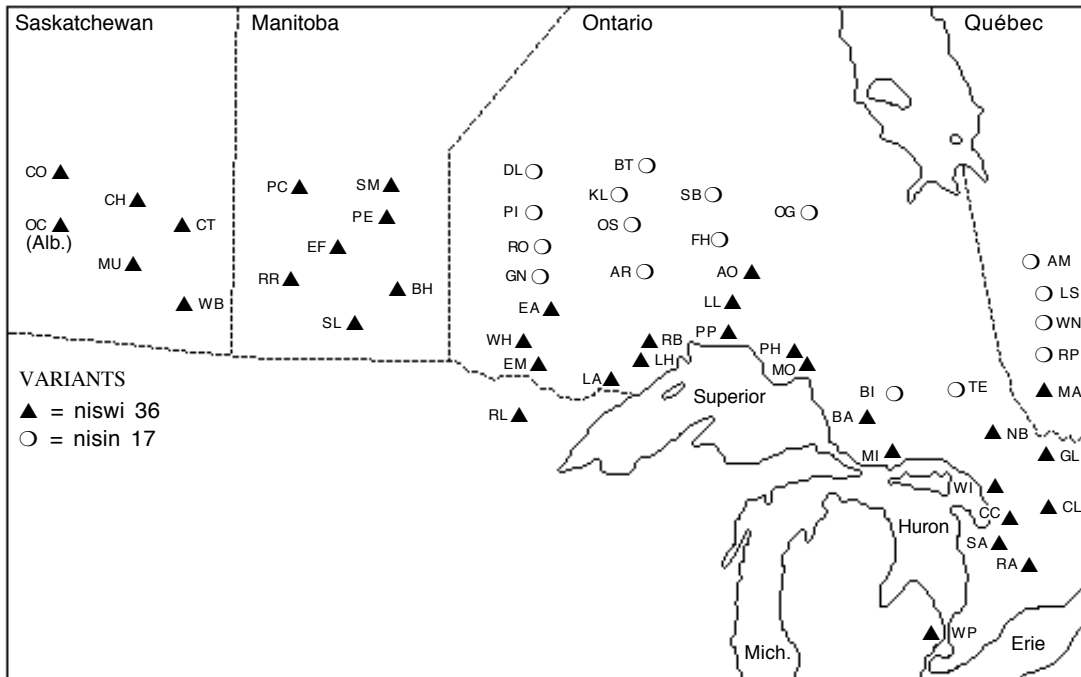
Plains Cree has **asapaap** and **sescakos**; Swampy Cree, **taapiskwaason**; East Cree, **kaschikwaasunayaapii**. Miami has **mEzani**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH CH CO CT EA EF EM GN LA MO MU OC PE PP RB RR SL SM WB WH
- BA CC CL LH MI PC PH RL SA WP
- ⦿ WI
- ⊕ AR DL FH KL OG OS PI RO SB WB
- ◆ AO LL MO
- ◇ GL LS MA NB
- ⊛ CL RA TE
- BT KL
- AM KL WN
- ▶ WB
- * BI
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (31)
- ⦿⊕◆ (14)
- ⦿⊕⊛ (7)
- ⊕●■ (5)
- ◆▶ (1)
- ◇* (1)



Three

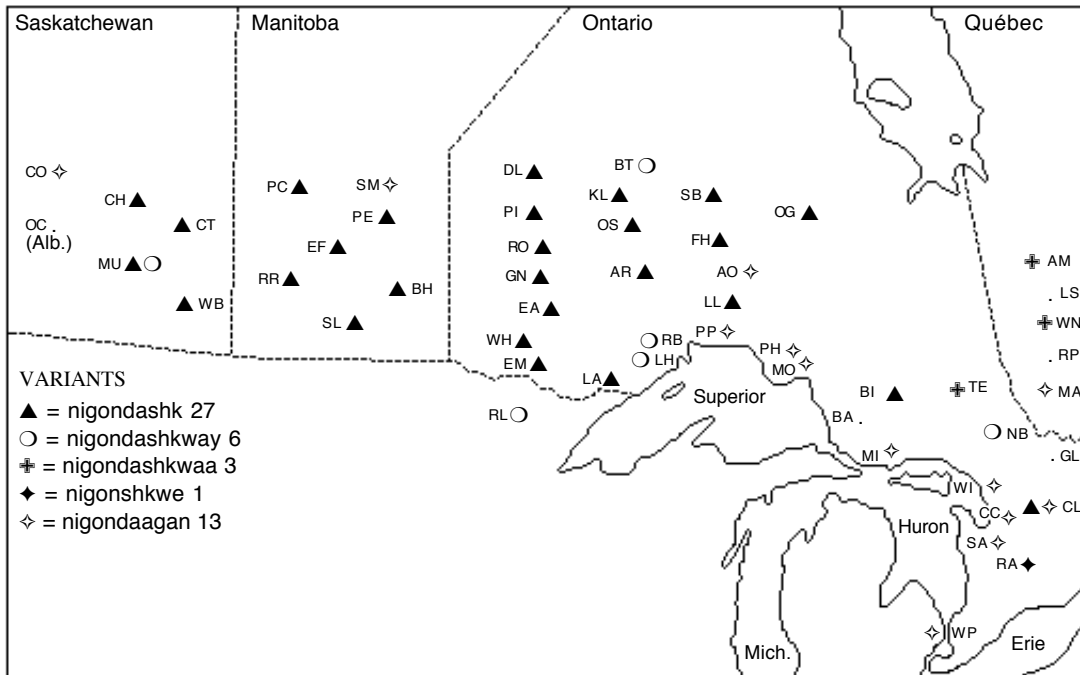
There are two primary variants, distributed along a north/south axis. These variants involve the alternation of augment, **-in** vs. **-wi**. From GN and AR north in the west, and BI and TE in the west (but not including GL/MA), the form is **nisin**; elsewhere it is **niswi**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **nisto**, Atikamekw, **nishto** (Béland 1978: 510); East Cree, **nishtuu**. Potawatomi has **nsw**. Peoria has **nihswi**. Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **nihswi**, Fox **neswi**, Shawnee **nzwi**, and Menomini **nE?niw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM GL LA LH LL MA MI MO MU NB
OC PC PE PH PP RA RB RL RR SA
SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AR BI BT DL FN GN KL LS OG
OS PI RO RP SB TE WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (53)



My throat

There are two primary variants, **nigondaagan**, found extensively in the southeast, especially among Odawa communities, and extending up northwest Lake Superior to AO (and also at SM and CO among Saulteaux). Elsewhere the common form is **nigondashk**. A subvariant, **nigondashkway**, is represented by six communities, but these do not show any patterning. Three Algonquian communities have augment **-aa** (AM TE WN).

MA data are from McGregor 1987:86. McGregor glosses **gondaagan**, 'wind-pipe, throat.' He also has **gondashkway** (cf. **gondashkway** above), which he glosses as 'gullet, trachea, larynx.' The semantics could get pretty tricky here, an indication that the collection of this form is fraught with uncertainty.

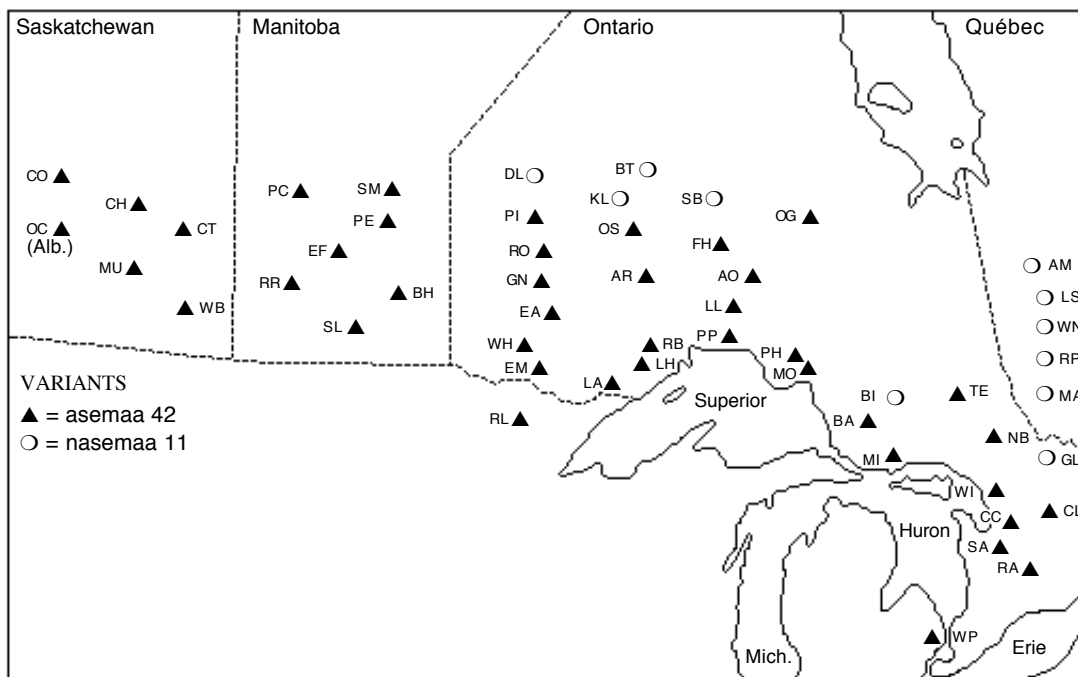
Bloomfield has **koohthaakan** for Plains; East Cree, **ukuhtashkui**, 'his throat,' and Swampy, **nikotashkway**. Potawatomi has **ngodag'n'n**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BH BI CH CL CT DL EA EF EM
FH GN KL LA LL MU OG OS PC PE
PI RO RR SB SL WB WH
- BT LH MU NB RB RL
- ✦ AM TE WN
- ◆ RA
- ◈ AO CC CL CO MA MI MO PH PP SA
SM WI WP
. BA GL LS MA OC RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○✦◆◈ (50)



Tobacco

This form varies on a north/south axis. The northern form, embracing Severn and Algonquin (including WN, BI, MA and GL, but not TE) is **nasemaa**; elsewhere it is **asemaa**.

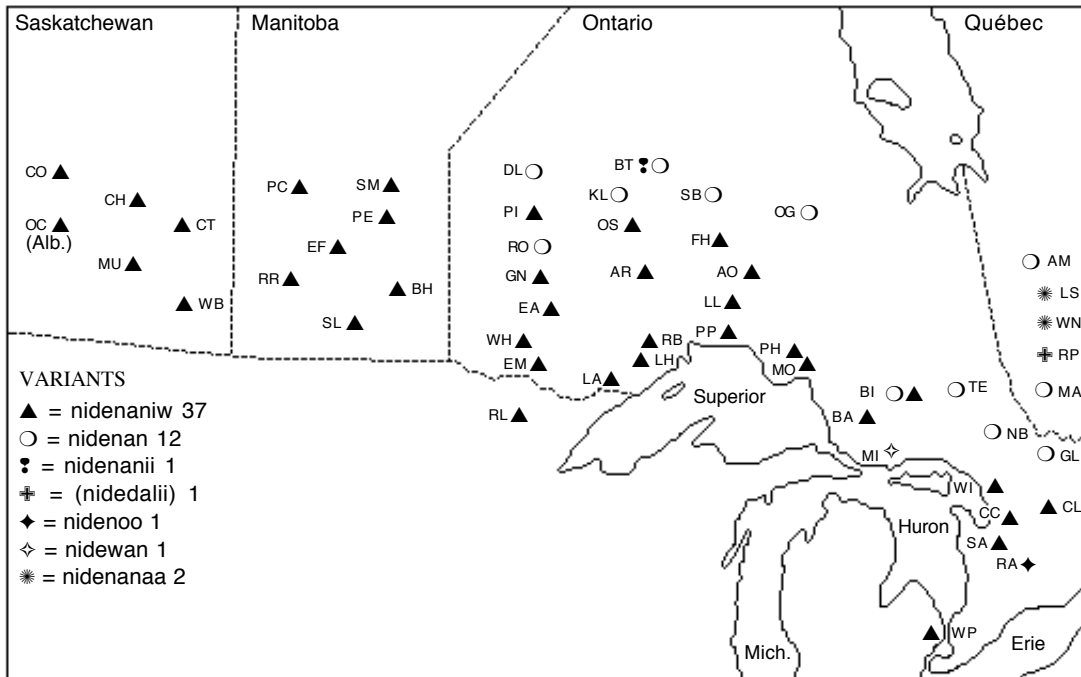
Bloomfield lists **ciistemaaw** and **cistemaaw** for Plains Cree; East Cree has **chishtemaau**; Swampy Cree has **cistemaaw**. Potawatomi has **sema**, and also **n'nsesmaa**, glossed as 'Indian tobacco.' Miami, **sEma**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA
 EF EM FH GN LA LH LL MI MO MU
 NB OC OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RA
 RB RL RO RR SA SL SM TE WB WH
 WI WP
 ○ AM BI BT DL GL KL LS MA RP SB
 WN

Consolidations

▲▲○ (53)



My tongue

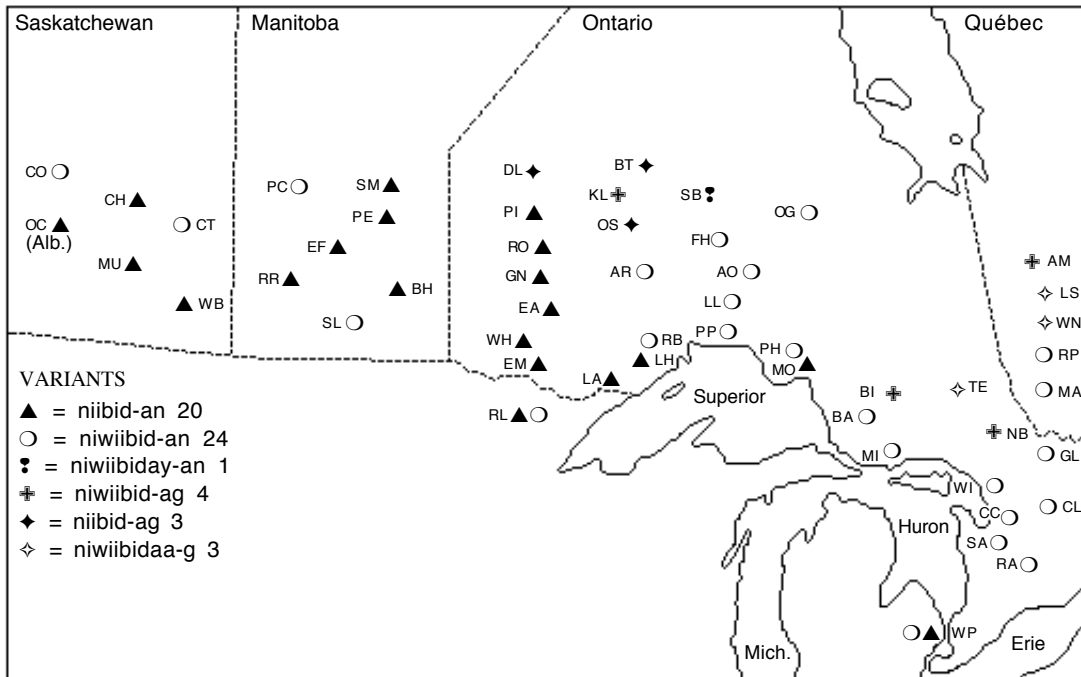
The chief parameter of variation is the presence or absence of final **-iw**, **nidenan** vs. **nidenaniw**. The former term is common to all Severn except marginal FH, and all Algonquin, including marginal MA/GL and BI, though WN and LS in characteristic fashion, also have augment **-aa**. RP has **nidelalii**, i.e., with a lateral rather than a nasal, as does Constance Lake. Fort Severn (Cree) has **nitenaniy**, and Atikamekw has **oteraniy**, 'his tongue' (Béland 1978:533). East Cree has **uteyii**, 'his tongue.' Potawatomi has **nzegn'nwag'n**. Miami, **nilani**. Rhodes 1989:5 has **niilani** for Miami, Fox **niinaniwi**, Shawnee **wiilani** (3 form), and Menomini **netE:naniw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
EA EF EM FH GN LA LH LL MO MU
OC OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RR
SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM BI BT DL GL KL MA NB OG RO
SB TE
- BT
- † RP
- ◆ RA
- ◇ MI
- * LS WN

Consolidations

- ▲ ▲ ○ ● † ◆ ◇ * (55)



My tooth/teeth

Many speakers had difficulty with this word, almost as if the word were a mass noun and thus not readily pluralized. The forms I collected show little patterning. The most significant observation is that in Algonquin and Severn this word is animate, while everywhere else (including GL and MA), it is inanimate.

Unfortunately, my Cree data are limited. The East Cree lexicon has **umistaapit**, 'his molar tooth,' which is animate, and **wiihkwaapit**, 'molar,' an inanimate noun; Swampy Cree has **niipita**, 'my teeth' (inanimate).

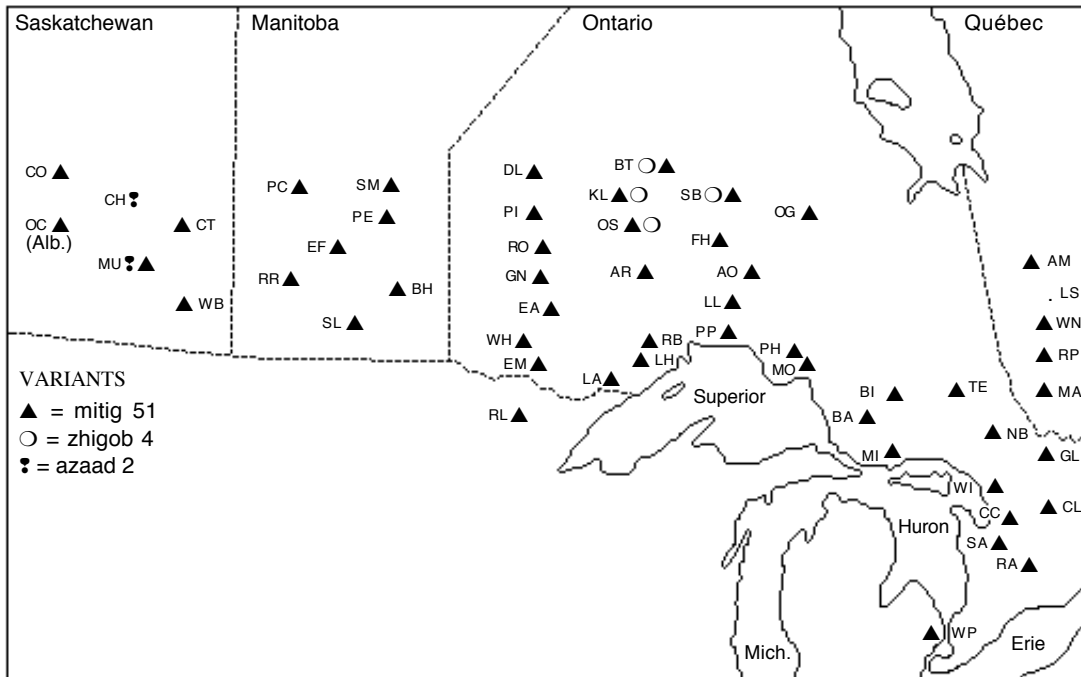
Potawatomi has **nib't** (inanimate). Rhodes 1989:13 has Miami **awiipiti**, Fox **niipici**, Shawnee **wiipici**, and Menomini **ne:pet** (all of these singular, and the Shawnee (and Miami?) third person).

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ BH CH EA EF EM GN LA LH MO MU
- OC PE PI RL RO RR SM WB WH WP
- AO AR BA CC CL CO CT FH GL LL
- MA MI OG PC PH PP RA RB RL RP
- SA SL WI WP
- SB
- ✚ AM BI KL NB
- ◆ BT DL OS
- ◇ LS TE WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○●✚◆◇ (55)



Tree (noun)

There is little variation here. The common form is **mitig**. Certain Severn communities (and OS) have **zhigob** as the generic, while elsewhere it usually refers specifically to fir trees. Two Saskatchewan Saulteaux communities had **azaad** as the generic, while elsewhere it usually refers to poplar.

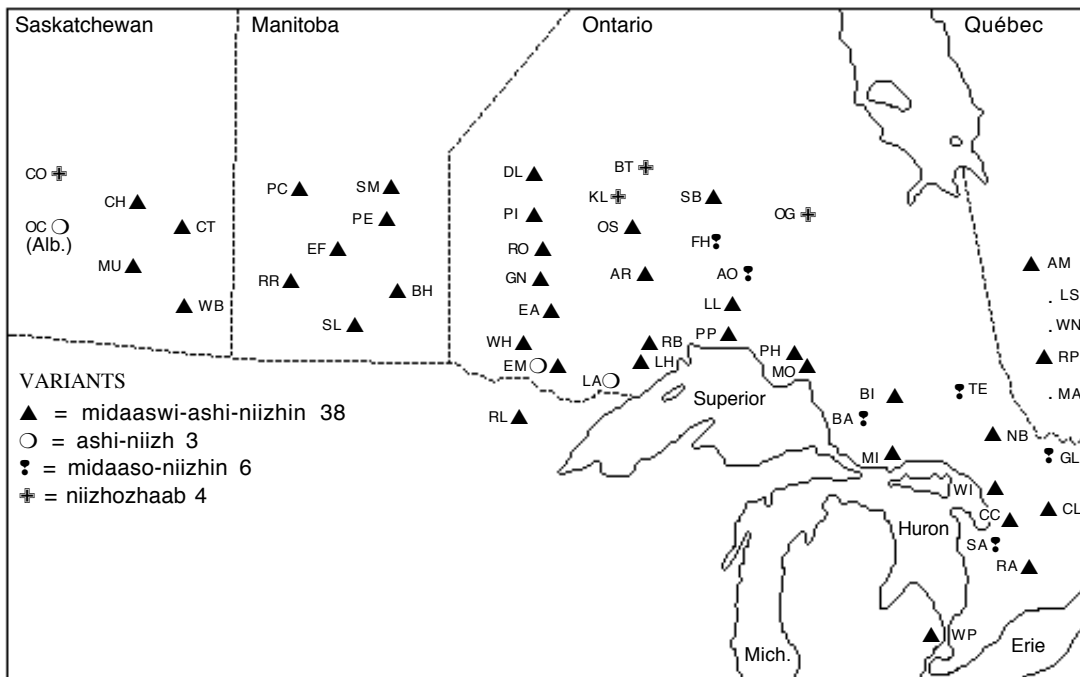
Swampy, Plains and East Cree all have **mistik**.
 Potawatomi has **mt^hk**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CL CO
 CT DL EA EF EM FH GL GN KL LA
 LH LL MA MI MO MU NB OC OG OS
 PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO RP
 RR SA SB SL SM TE WB WH WI WN
 WP
- BT KL OS SB
- ∴ CH MU
- .LS

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (51)
- (4)
- ∴∴ (2)



Twelve

Four communities (three Severn and CO) have **niizhozhaab**, in agreement with Fort Severn (Cree). Elsewhere, the common form is **midaas[x]-ashi-niizhin**, where [x] represents the variable ending of the number for 'ten' (see 'ten' for discussion). Two border lakes communities (EM, LA) have **ashi-niizhin**, though these may be merely short forms that do not represent significant variation from other communities.

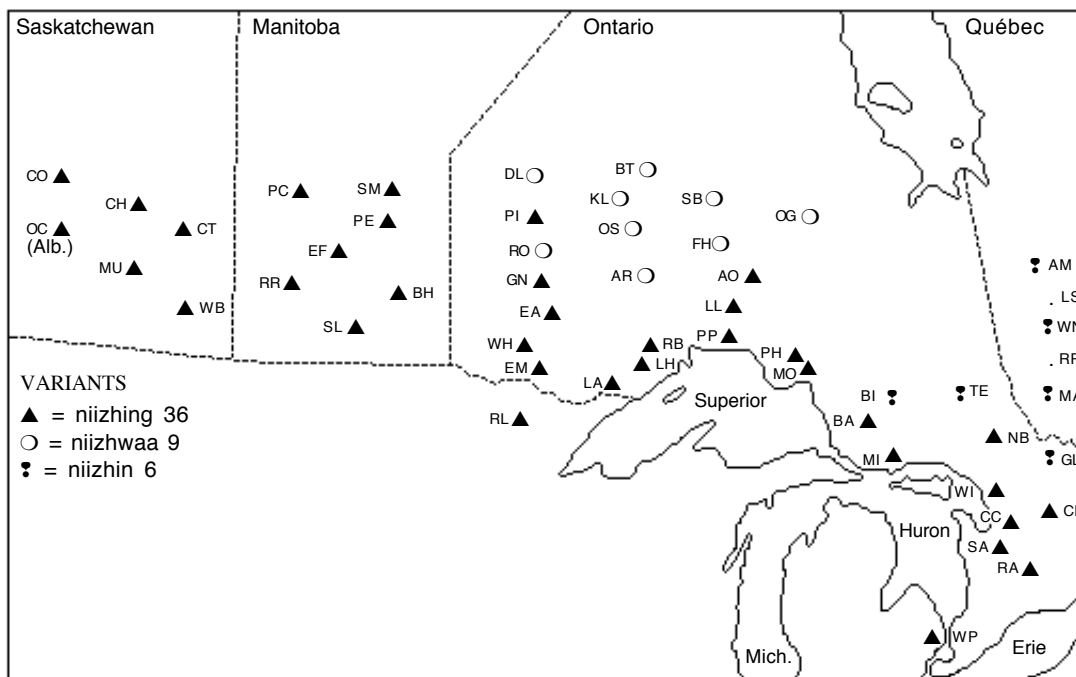
Swampy and East Cree have **niishoshaap**; Plains, **niisosaap**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BH BI CC CH CL CT DL EA
 EF EM GN LH LL MI MO MU NB OS
 PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO RP
 RR SB SL SM WB WH WI WP
- EM LA OC
- AO BA FH GL SA TE
- † BT CO KL OG
- . LS MA WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○● (47)
- † (4)



Twice

This word shows interesting variation. In northwestern Ontario, embracing Severn and a group of communities south of it, the form is **niizhwaa**. In the Algonquin area (including marginal GL and MA), it is **niizhin**. Elsewhere, it is **niizhing**.

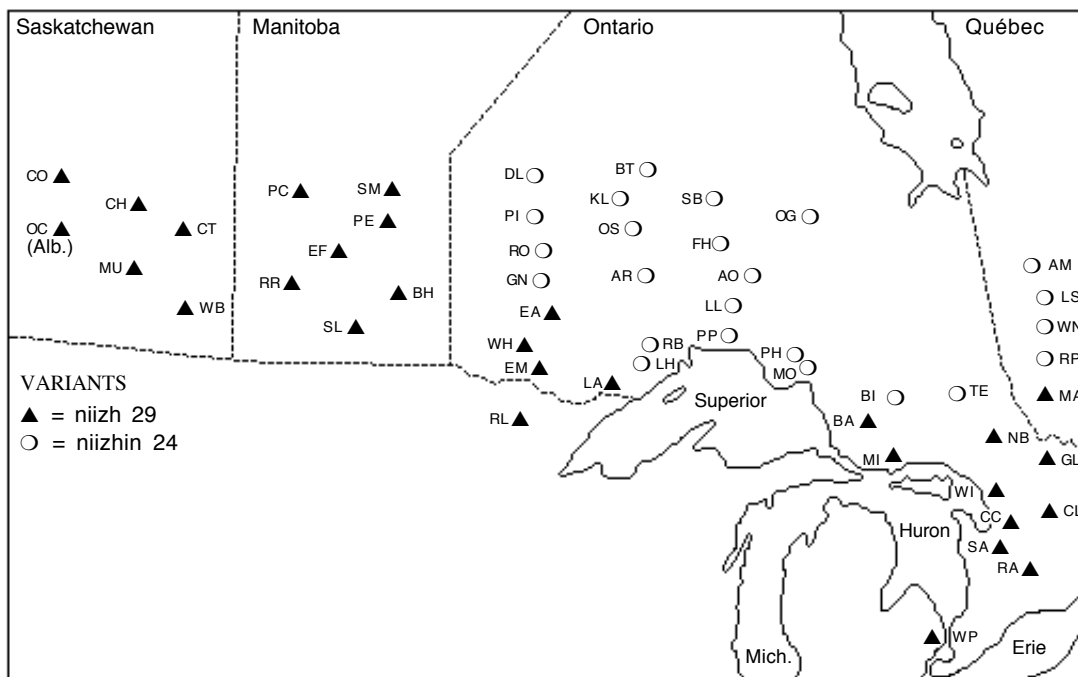
All three Cree dialects for which I have data form the ordinal as in Severn: Swampy, **niishwaa**; East Cree, **niishwaaau**. The Plains form I have is **nistwaaw**, 'three times.'

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF
 EM GN LA LH LL MI MO MU NB OC
 PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RR SA
 SL SM WB WH WI WP
 ○ AR BT DL FH KL OG OS RO SB
 ● AM BI GL MA TE WN
 . LS RP

Consolidations

▲▲○● (51)



Two

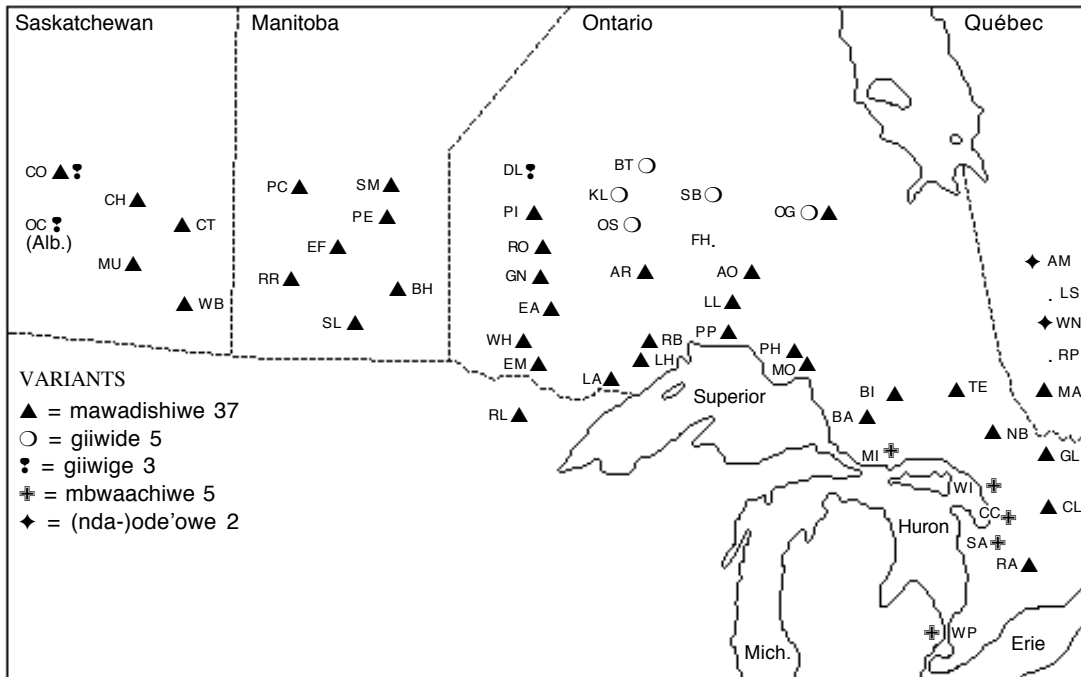
This word has a minor variant which divides dialects along a north/south axis. The variants involve the presence or absence of an augment, **-in**. **Niizh** appears from BA southeast (and MA/GL), and in the border lakes, and in all Saulteaux. Elsewhere the form is **niizhin**. Fort Severn (Cree) has **niisho**, East Cree, **niishuu**. Potawatomi has **nish**, **nizh**. Rhodes 1989:13 lists Miami **niis&wi**, Fox **niis&wi**, Shawnee **niis&wi**, and Menomini, **ni:s**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EA EF EM
 GL LA MA MI MU NB OC PC PE RA
 RL RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
 ○ AM AO AR BI BT DL FH GN KL LH
 LL LS MO OG OS PH PI PP RB RO
 RP SB TE WN

Consolidations

▲▲○ (53)



Visits (VAI)

The most common form is **mawadishiwe**. Severn has **giiwide**, and Odawa has **mbwaachiwe**.

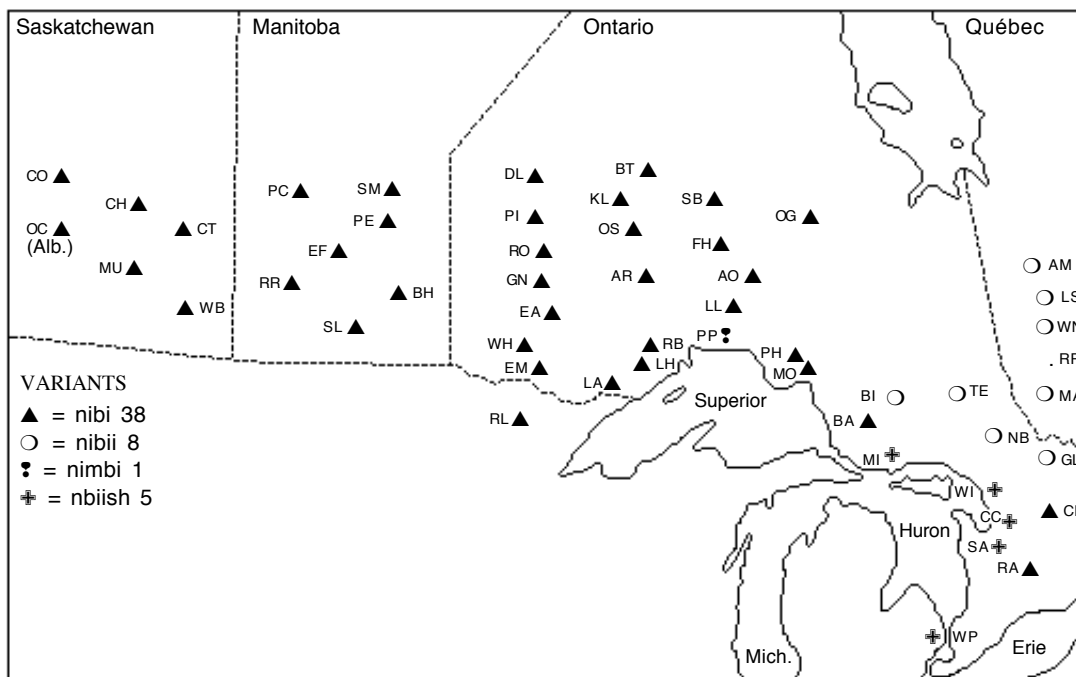
East Cree has **muuchishiwaau** and **muupuu**; Swampy, **mowapiw** and **kiyokew**. Bloomfield lists several forms for Plains, including **kiiwokew**, **kiiwootew**, **kiiyokew**, **kiiyookew** and **mawapiw**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI CH CL CO CT EA
 EF EM GL GN LA LH LL MA MO MU
 NB OG PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL
 RO RR SL SM TE WB WH
- BT KL OG OS SB
- CO DL OC
- ✕ CC MI SA WI WP
- ◆ AM WN
- . FH LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (37)
- (8)
- (5)
- ✕✕ (5)
- ◆◆ (2)



Water (noun)

There are two points of interest here. All Algonquin communities, including marginal BI and GL/MA have a long final vowel, **nibii**. All Ojibwa (MI, WI, CC, SA, WP) have a suffix, creating **nbiish**.

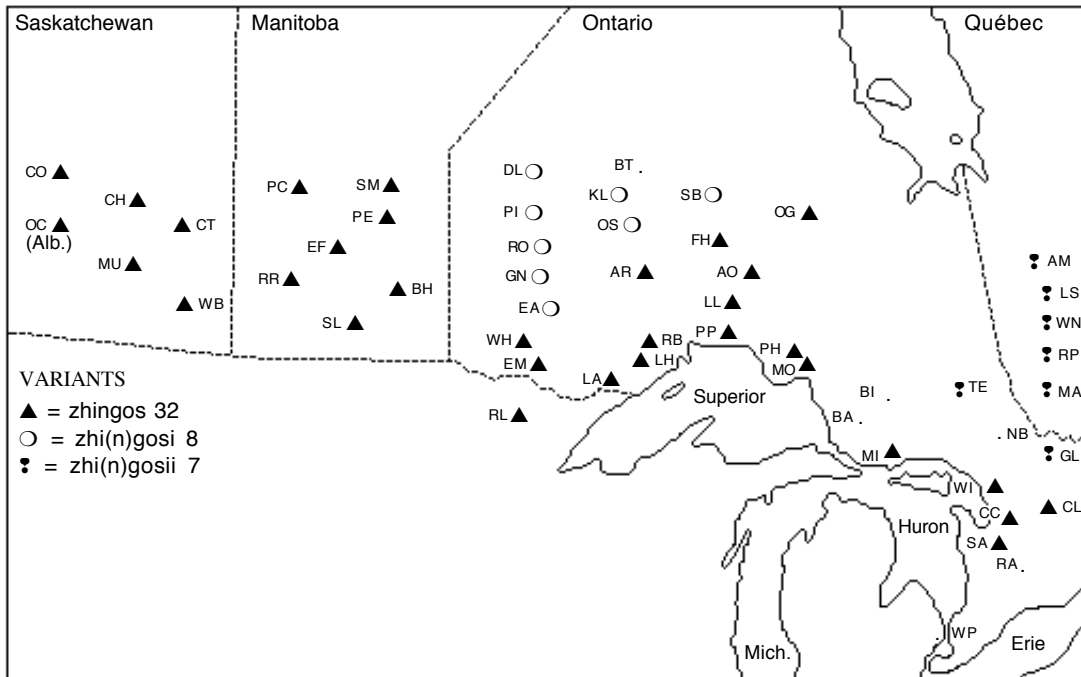
Plains, East and Swampy Cree all have **nipiy**. Potawatomi has **mbish**, **nbi**, **nbish**. Rhodes 1989:13 lists Miami **nipi**, Fox **nepi**, Shawnee **nepi**, and Menomini, **nepe:w**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BT CH CL CO CT DL
EA EF EM FH GN KL LA LH LL MO
MU OC OG OS PC PE PH PI RA RB
RL RO RR SB SL SM WB WH
- AM BI GL LS MA NB TE WN
- PP
- † CC MI SA WI WP
- . RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○•† (52)



Weasel/Ermine

While the basic form everywhere involves stem **zhingos-**, there are interesting regional variants. In the Algonquin range, including GL, one finds forms with a long vowel **ii** final. In the Severn area (but not the eastern communities of FH and SB), extending down as far as EA in western Ontario, one finds forms with a short vowel final **i**. Fort Severn Cree has **sihkosiw**, which also shows a short vowel **i** in the final syllable.

East Cree has **shihkushiish**; Swampy Cree, **sihkosiw**; Plains Cree **sihkos** and **sihkosiw**.

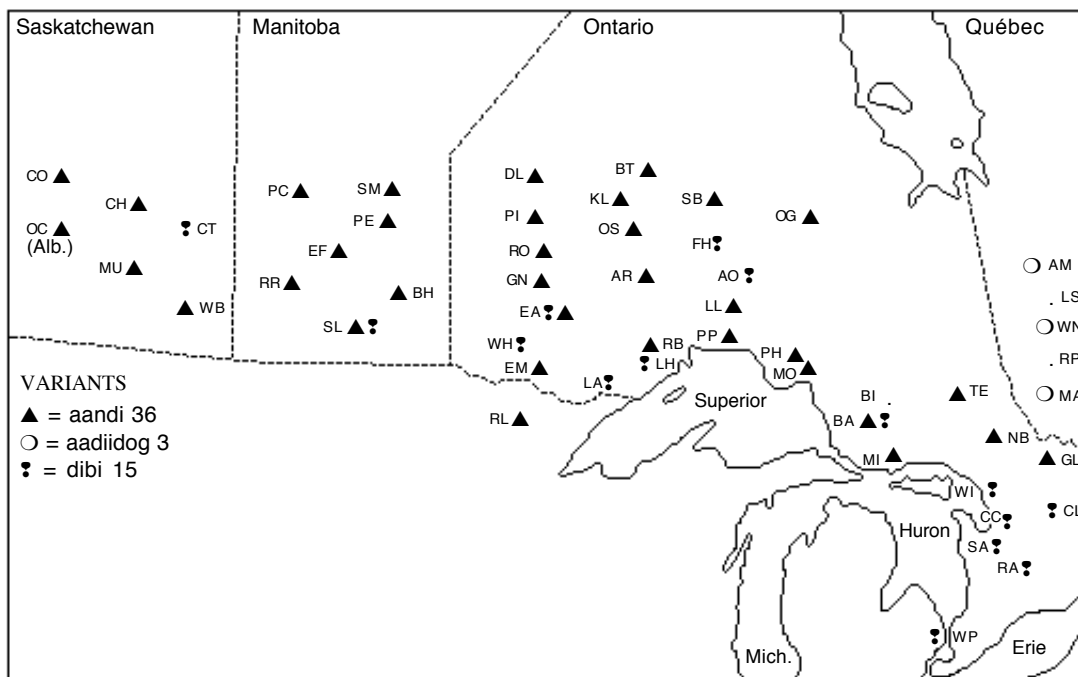
MA data from McGregor 1987:378.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH CC CH CL CO CT EF EM
FH LA LH LL MI MO MU OC OG PC
PE PH PP RB RL RR SA SL SM WB
WH WI
- DL EA GN KL OS PI RO SB
- AM GL LS MA RP TE WN
. BA BI BT NB RA WP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○• (47)



where(ever): I don't know where

Here I was checking for the existence of a distinct dubitative particle expressing doubt as to location, as in the examples occurring in the following citation from Baraga 1878: 386 (n.b., I have modernized spellings.)

Dibi. adv. This adverb cannot be given in English with a corresponding adverb. It signified 'I don't know where.' Aaniindi goes?— Dibi. Where is thy father?— I don't know where he is. Dibi ge-daapinewaanen. 'I don't know where I shall die.'

It thus translates as something like 'wherever' in English. In Baraga's example above, it occurs with the dubitative verbal mode (*daapine*, VAI, 'die in such a location'; *-waanen*, conjunct dubitative 1 sg.)

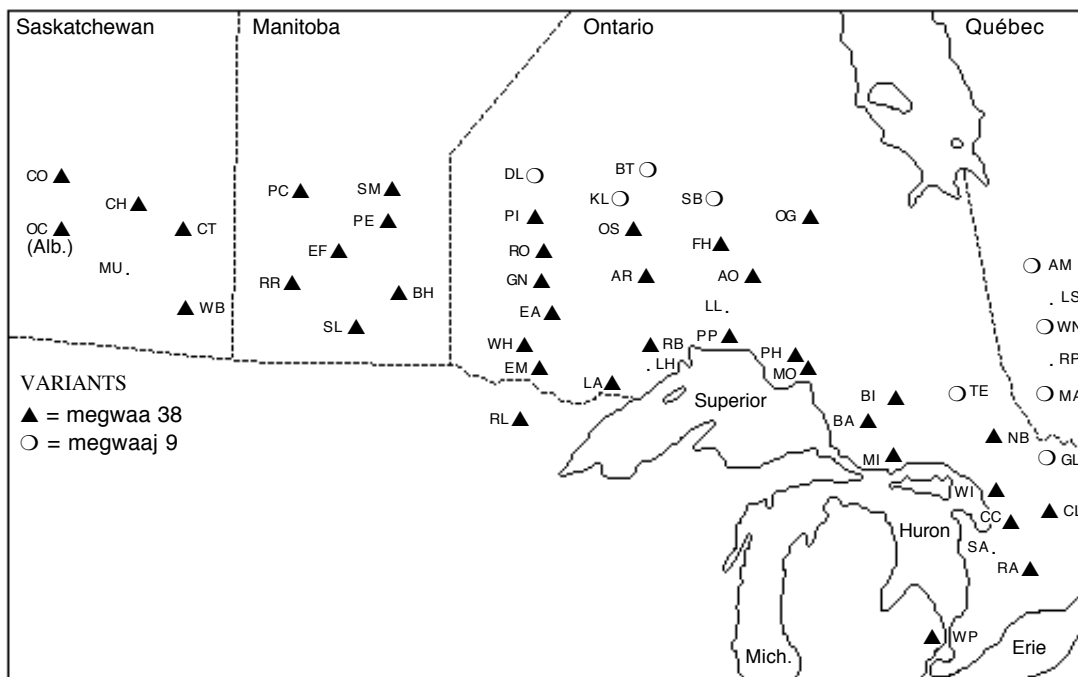
There are two main variants, **dibi**, found almost everywhere in the southeast, at BA, at AO and FH further north, and in several communities in the border lakes region of western Ontario (LH, LA, EA, WH). Algonquin (we only have data for AM and WN, but they agree) has **aadiidog**, as does MA (from McGregor 1987:35). Elsewhere the form I recorded was **aandi**, which is simply the standard word for 'where,' i.e., I did not record a special dubitative interrogative locative particle in the locations represented by **aandi**. There is some problem in collection though, as I did not really understand this word until acquiring a copy of Baraga's dictionary a few years ago, long after I had completed this survey.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BT CH CO DL EA EF EM
GL GN KL LL MI MO MU NB OC
OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO
RR SB SL SM TE WB
- AM MA WN
- AO BA CC CL CT EA FH LA LH RA
SA SL WH WI WP
- BI LS MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (39)
- (15)



While

This word is another which shows a strong relationship between Severn and Algonquin. In those dialects, extending into Nipissing (MA and GL), the form ends with a final **-j**, **megwaaj**. Elsewhere it is **megwaa**.

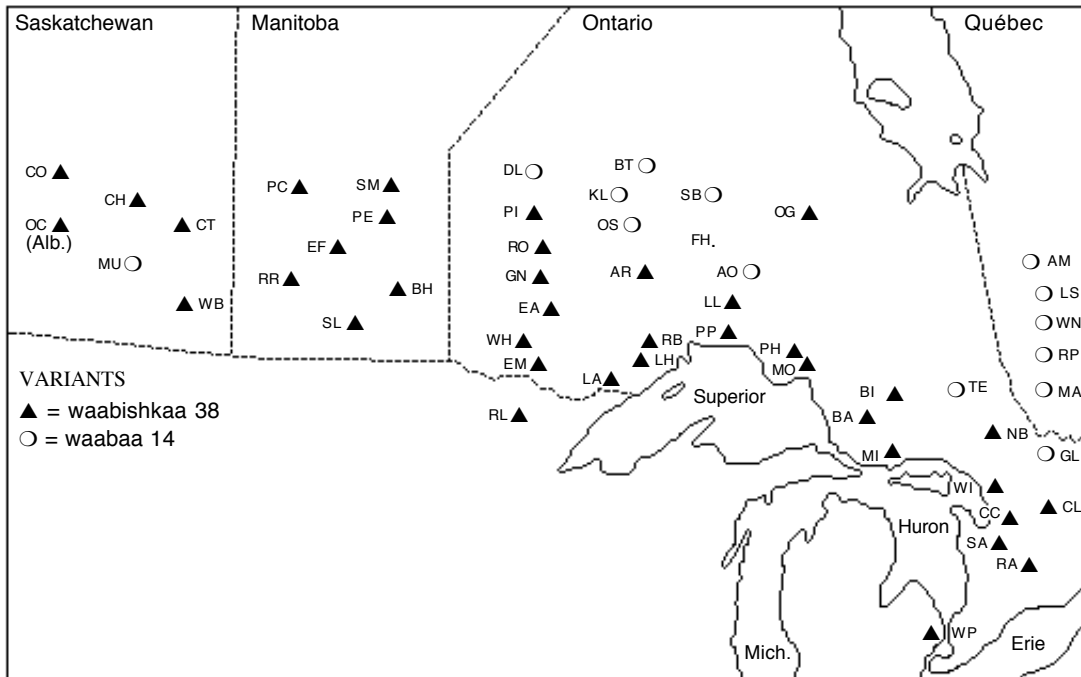
Plains Cree has **mekwaa**; Swampy Cree and East Cree both have **mekwaac**. Potawatomi has **megwa**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

▲ AO AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT
 EA EF EM FH GN LA MI MO NB OC
 OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL
 RO RR SL SM WB WH WI WP
 ○ AM BT DL GL KL MA SB TE WN
 . LH LL LS MU RP SA

Consolidations

▲▲○ (47)



Be white in color (VII)

This word divides the data range on a north-south axis. **Waabaa** is found in Severn, a lone community north of Lake Superior, though one showing many northern features, AO, Algonquin, and Nipissing. **Waabishkaa** is found elsewhere.

Plains, Swampy and East Cree all have **waapaaw**. Bloomfield also lists **waapiskaaw** for Plains. Potawatomi has **wabk'shyak**. Rhodes 1989:11 lists Miami **waapisita**, Fox **waapes&kyaawi**, Shawnee **waaps&kyaaki**, and Menomini **wa:peskiw**.

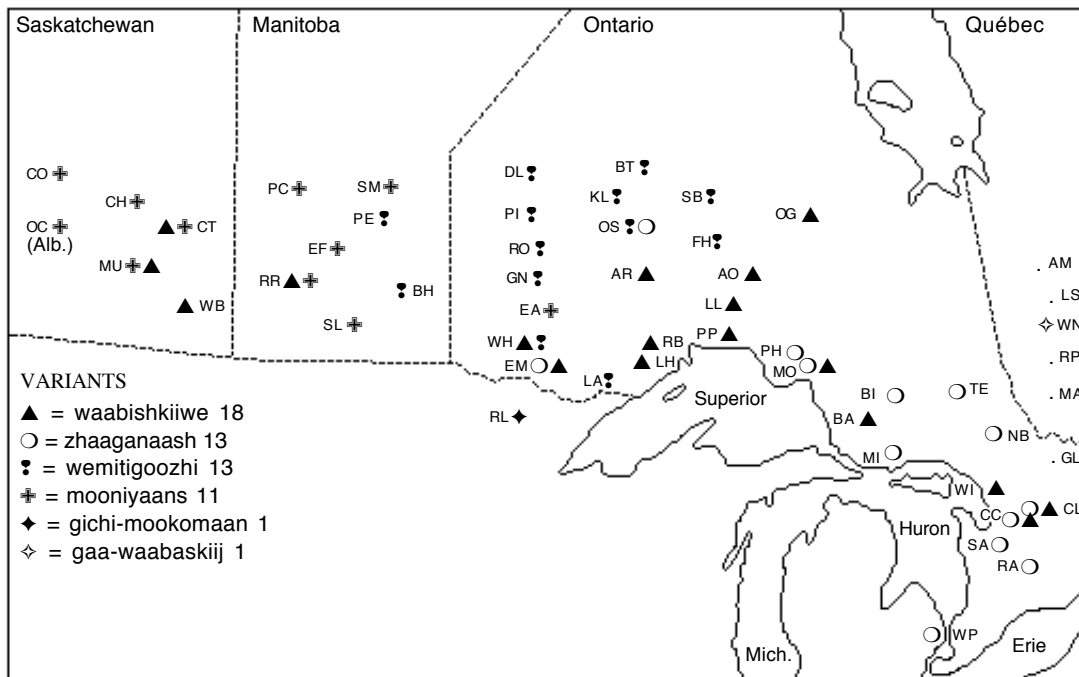
MA data from McGregor 1987:411.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AR BA BH BI CC CH CL CO CT EA
- EF EM GN LA LH LL MI MO NB OC
- OG PC PE PH PI PP RA RB RL RO
- RR SA SL SM WB WH WI WP
- AM AO BT DL GL KL LS MA MU OS
- RP SB TE WN
- . FH MA

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (52)

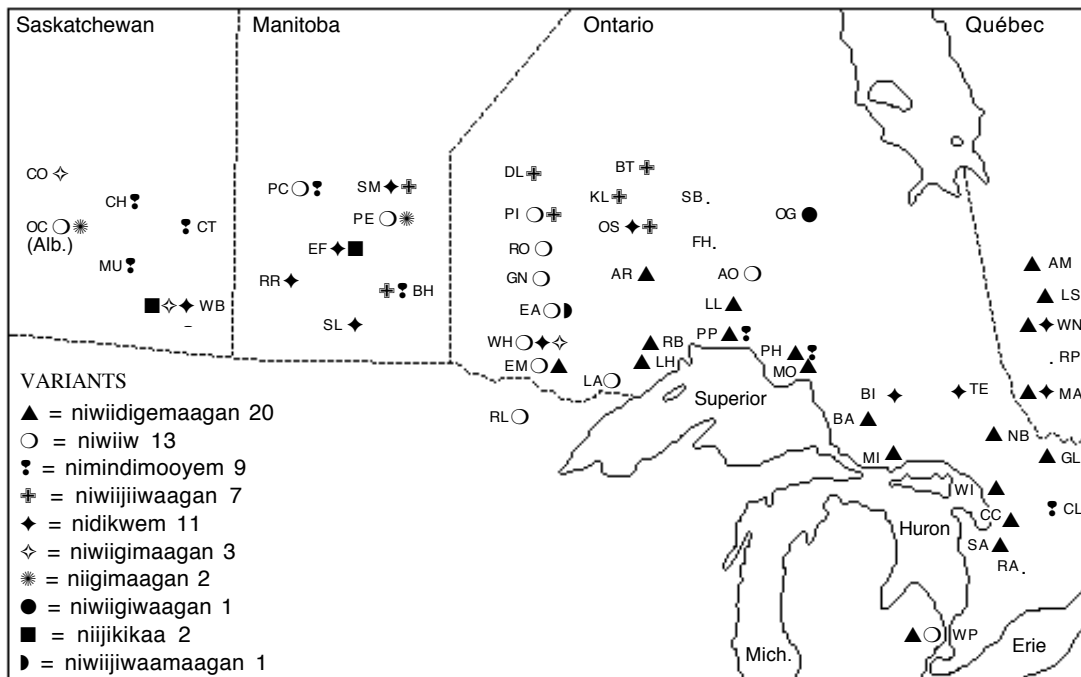


White man

This form shows regional variants which are related to the predominant ethnicity of the whitemen with whom local Ojibwes historically came into contact. In the southeast, from PH south (except BA), the form is **zhaaganaash**, which means 'Englishman' in many dialects. This word has been hypothesized to be derived from the French **les Anglais** (presumably by adapting the string 's Anglais').

In western Ontario, including all of Severn and extending down to LA, the form is **wemitigoozhi**, which often means 'Frenchman' in areas where a distinction between French and English is made. This form is possibly an old participle, meaning 'have a wooden boat,' perhaps in reference to traditional European sailing vessels. The form is no longer semantically transparent, and folk etymologies abound. Severn lacks any standard specific form for Frenchman. South and west of Lake Winnipeg (also at EA), the form is **mooniyaans**, from the French for 'Montrealer,' (perhaps with a historical diminutive or pejorative) evidently reflecting the close traditional association between the Saulteaux and French trappers. There is a wide band in Ontario focused north of Lake Superior which shows **waabishkiwe**, with a root meaning 'white.' This form also occurs widely elsewhere as well, generally in competition with some other form in each of the southern regions. Algonquin does not have a commonly used generic term for whiteman.

Swampy Cree has **wemistikooshiw**; East Cree, **wemistikushiiu**. Potawatomi has **gch'-mokman**.



My wife

This is a word with interesting variation, especially in the west. In western Ontario, in a corridor from PI to RL (Minnesota), the form is **niwiiw**, and occurs in other areas as well (AO, PC, and OC). In Manitoba the most common form given was **ndikwem**, literally, 'my woman,' which was also given at BI, TE, WN and MA. Severn, to PI and Saulteaux (SM and BH), has **niwijiwaagan**. EF and WB have **niijikikaa**, of unknown origin. Elsewhere, the most common form is **niwiidigemaagan**, apart from a few isolates.

East Cree has **uwiiuh**, 'his wife'; Plains and Swampy have **wiikimaakan**, with the meaning 'spouse.'

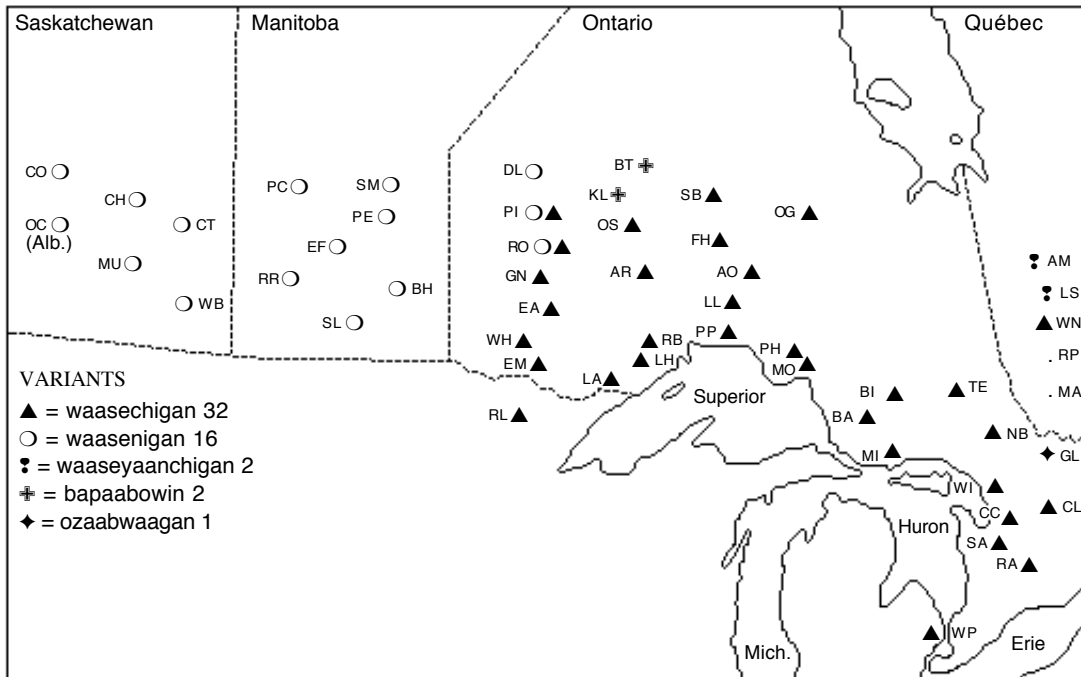
Potawatomi has **nd kw yom**, **nitakniw**. Rhodes 1989:9 has Miami **niwiiwa**, Fox **niwa**, Shawnee (**ho**)**wiiwali**, and Menomini **ne:w**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BA CC EM GL LH LL LS MA
MI MO NB PH PP RB SA WI WN WP
- AO EA EM GN LA OC PC PE PI RL
RO WH WP
- BH CH CL CT MU PC PH PP WB
- † BH BT DL KL OS PI SM
- ◆ BI EF MA OS RR SL SM TE WB WH
WN
- ◇ CO WB WH
- * OC PE
- OG
- EF WB
- EA
- . FH RA RP SB

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (20)
- (13)
- ◆ (11)
- †● (9)
- ◆† (7)
- ◇◇*● (6)
- *■ (2)
- (1)



Window

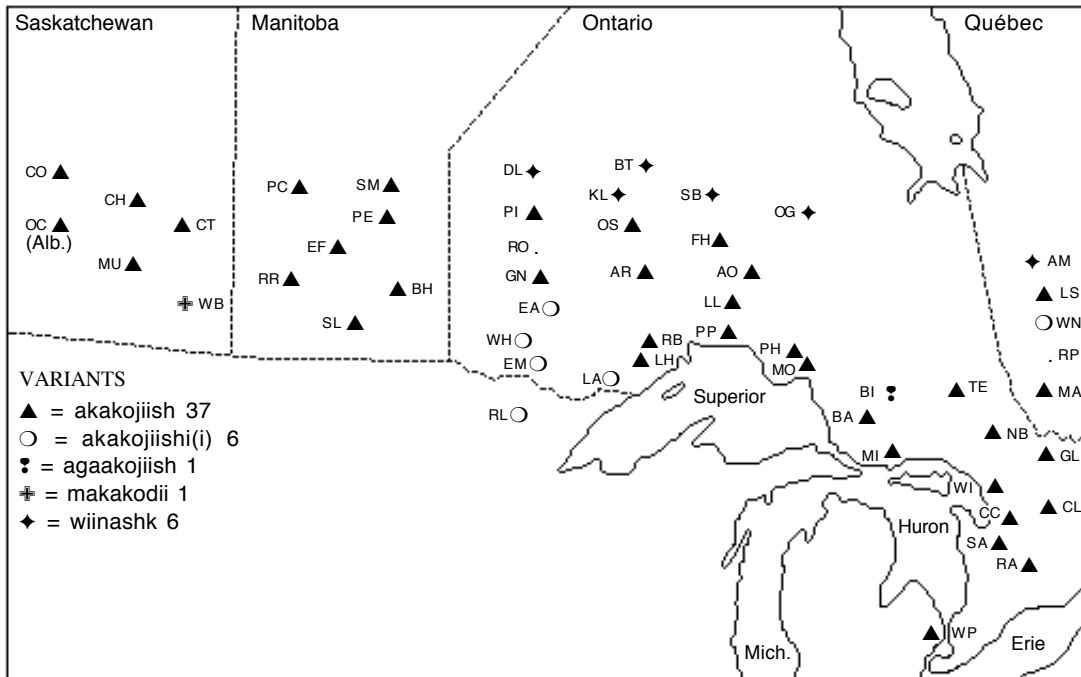
This form is interesting in that Saulteaux displays a unique minor variant. Everywhere except Saulteaux and isolated pockets, the form is **waasechigan**. Saulteaux uniformly shows **waasenigan**, which has its eastern limit at DL, PI and RO in western Ontario. AM and LS (Algonquin) have another variant, **waaseyaanchigan**. KL and BT of Severn have **bapaabowin**, cognate with Fort Severn (Cree) **paspapiwin**. East Cree has **waсениhtaakan**; Plains Cree, **waasenamaan** and **waasenamaawin**. Potawatomi has **wasejg'n**. Miami, **pokishUkan**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BI CC CL EA EM FH GN
 LA LH LL MI MO NB OG OS PH PI
 PP RA RB RL RO SA SB TE WH WI
 WN WP
- BH CH CO CT DL EF MU OC PC PE
 PI RO RR SL SM
 WB
- ♣ AM LS
- † BT KL
- ◆ GL
- . MA RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣ (50)
- † (2)
- ♣ ◆ (1)



Woodchuck/Groundhog

There are two principal forms here. The northern form, **wiinashk**, is identical to the Fort Severn Cree form, used in most Severn communities (as well as Constance Lake), and at the northernmost Algonquin community, AM. The general Ojibwe form appears to be **akakojiish**. Several communities clustering around the border lakes (EA, WH, EM, LA and RL) have a final **-i**. WN (Algonquin) also has a final **-ii**. The speaker at PP added a final **i**, but only when the plural was added. Nichols and Nyholm 1979:9 (representing a variety of Chippewa south of RL) have **akakojiish** as well, and Baraga 1878:24 (Michigan Ojibwe) lists **akakwijiish**, but glossed as ‘fisher (animal).’ MA data from McGregor 1987:24, and **akakwijiish** is listed as an alternate form.

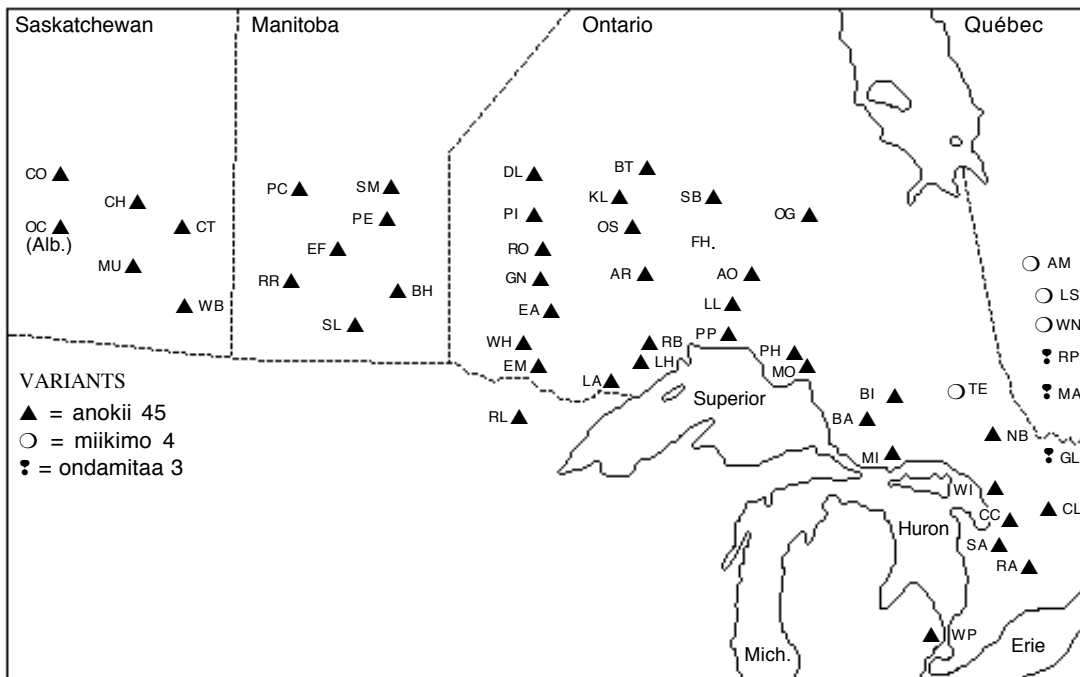
Swampy Cree has **wiinashk**; Plains Cree, **wiinask** and **ciinask**. Potawatomi has **k'kwjish**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH CC CH CL CO CT EF
FH GL GN LH LL LS MA MI MO MU
NB OC OS PC PE PH PI PP RA RB
RR SA SL SM TE WI WP
- EA EM LA RL WH WN
- ♣ BI
- † WB
- ◆ AM BT DL KL OG SB
. MA RO RP WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○♣† (45)
- ◆ (6)



Works (VAI)

The most common form is **anokii**. Algonquin has **miikimo**; RP, MA and GL have **ondamitaa**. Note that in these latter dialects, the word **anokii** is used to mean, 'he hunts.' Note also that **ondamitaa** is used in other dialects, e.g., Minnesota (Nichols and Nyholm 1979: 80) with a sense, 'be busy (in some work or activity)', i.e., the Nipissing form represents a lexical specialization. Atikamekw (Béland 1978:532) has **otamiro-** for work, perhaps cognate with Ojibwe **odamino**, 'he plays.'

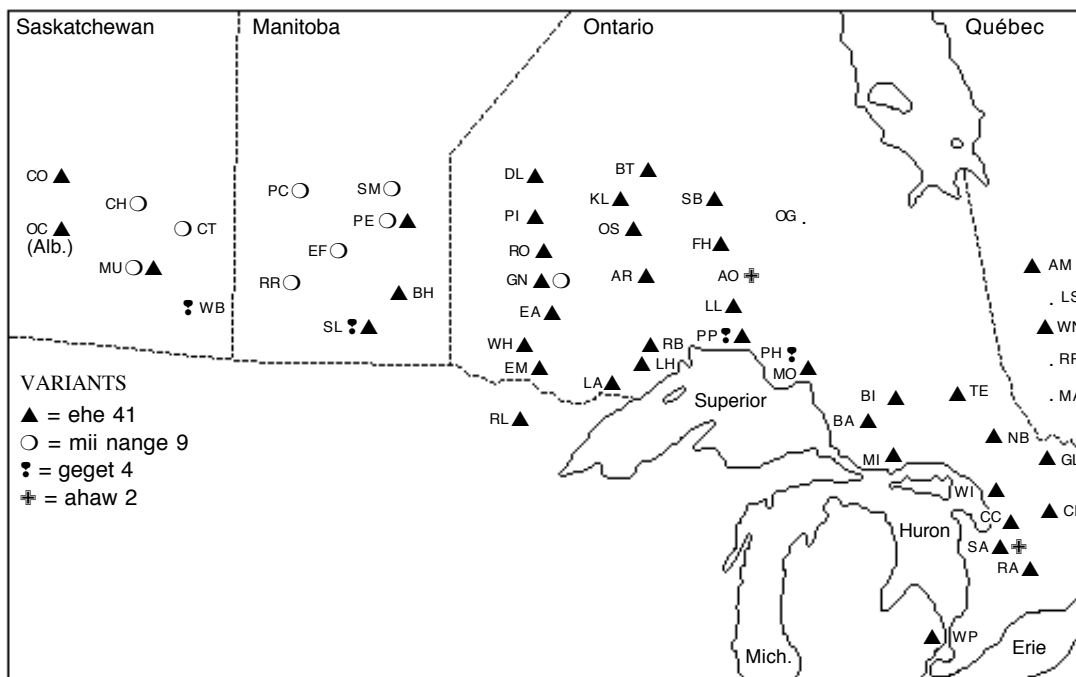
Swampy Cree has **aapatisiw**; East Cree, **aapatisiiu**; Plains Cree, **atoskew**. Rhodes 1989:11 has Miami **meehkimwita**, Fox **anohkyeewa**, Shawnee **pekatezi** and Menomini **anohki:w**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BA BH BI BT CC CH CL CO
- CT DL EA EF EM GN KL LA LH LL
- MI MO MU NB OC OG OS PC PE PH
- PI PP RA RB RL RO RR SA SB SL
- SM WB WH WI WP
- AM LS TE WN
- GL MA RP
- . FH

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (45)
- (4)
- (3)



VARIANTS
 ▲ = ehe 41
 ○ = mii nange 9
 ● = geget 4
 ✚ = ahaw 2

Yes

Mii nange is frequently found in the Saulteaux range. Elsewhere **ehe** is common.

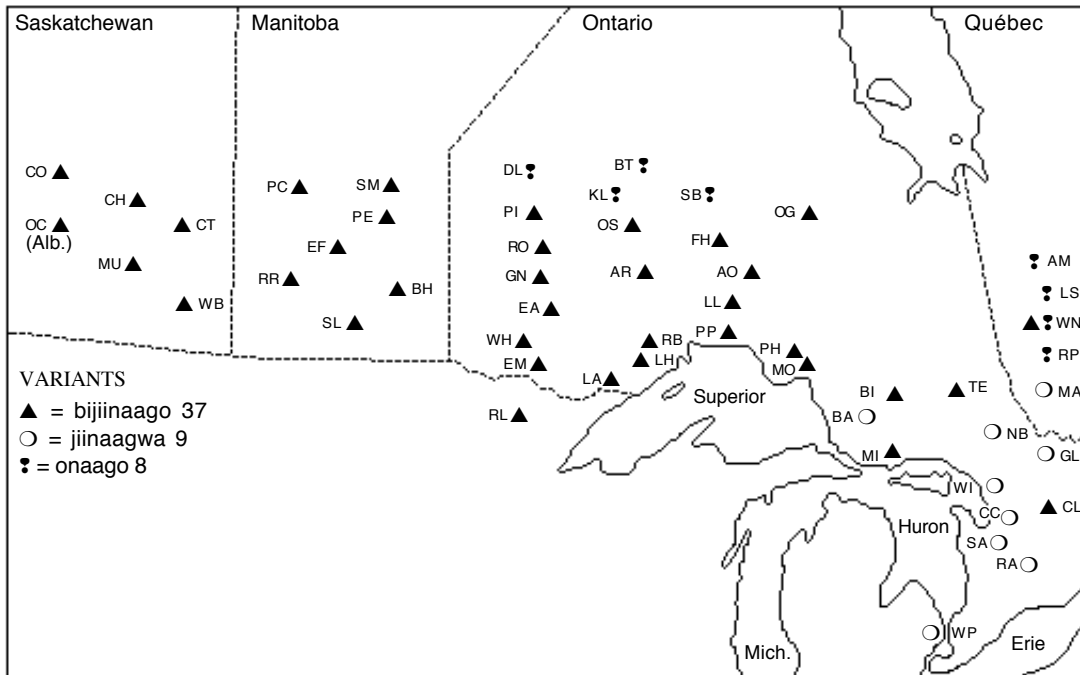
East Cree has **chemekaa**, **kiipwaa** and **ehe**; Plains Cree has **eha**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AM AR BA BH BI BT CC CL CO DL
 EA EA EM FH GL GN KL LA LH LL
 MI MO MU NB OC OS PE PI PP RA
 RB RL RO SA SB SL TE WH WI WN
 WP
- CH CT EF GN MU PC PE RR SM
- PH PP SL WB
- ✚ AO SA
- . LS MA OG RP

Consolidations

- ▲▲ (41)
- (9)
- (4)
- ✚✚ (2)



Yesterday

This is an excellent item for showing a relationship between Severn and Algonquin. These two dialects rather uniformly have **onaago**, while other dialects have **bijiinaago**. A group of Odawa and Eastern communities have **jiinaagwa**, perhaps due to loss of an unstressed vowel in the initial syllable. However, this is also the form that I recorded at GL, and it is listed in McGregor 1987:72 with the following note: ‘jiinaago: yesterday; n.b., the correct form of this word is ‘bijiinaago,’ and has been abridged, through usage, to the above form.’ So I find the reduced form even in a dialect where the general metrical syncope rule would not account for its reduction. The Nipissing form does end in /o/ as opposed to the /wa/ of the more southern variety, but I find **bijiinaagwa** in some Saulteaux communities, so the difference may not be crucial. It is also often very hard to hear the difference in many cases, and may not be reliably recorded in my data.

East Cree uses **utaakushiihch**, lit., ‘when it was evening.’ Swampy uses the equivalent form, **otaakoshiihk**. Potawatomi has **nagon**, **wnago**. Miami (D), **alakia**.

Communities Grouped by Variant

- ▲ AO AR BH BI CH CL CO CT EA EF
EM FH GN LA LH LL MI MO MU OC
OG OS PC PE PH PI PP RB RL RO
RR SL SM TE WB WH WN
- BA CC GL MA NB RA SA WI WP
- AM BT DL KL LS RP SB WN

Consolidations

- ▲▲○ (46)
- (8)