

OSHKAABEWIS NATIVE JOURNAL

FEATURING OJIBWE STORIES AND SCHOLARLY ARTICLES BY

EMMA FISHER, SCOTT HEADBIRD,
DENNIS JONES, SARAH LASLETT, JIM LITTLEWOLF,
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The *Oshkaabewis Native Journal* is an interdisciplinary forum for significant contributions to knowledge about native peoples. Special attention is given to Ojibwe language and history.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT



NEW DIRECTIONS IN OJIBWE LANGUAGE STUDY

ANTON TREUER[†]

Language and culture are inextricable. Understanding native languages is the key to understanding native peoples. For many Indian people as well, understanding their native language is an important part of identity. The Ojibwe people, with substantial land base and population densities in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana (Rocky Boy Ojibwe-Cree), Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, are one of the largest Indian groups in North America, and one of a handful whose language is believed to be sustainable into the twenty-first century. However, much has been lost, and the Ojibwe are becoming increasingly apprehensive about the future of ojibwemowin, the Ojibwe language.

The *Oshkaabewis Native Journal (ONJ)* was created as part of an ongoing effort to revitalize and retain the language—for teachers to share ideas, elders to share their stories and students to find another important resource and learning tool in their endeavors to gain Ojibwe language skills. The *ONJ* was always intended to open Ojibwe language study to new ideas—to further develop and refine orthographies, teaching methods and linguistic understanding. The articles and stories presented in this edition of the *ONJ* point to many new directions for the study of Ojibwe language. I am confident that the articles, stories and book reviews in this edition of

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the *ONJ* are some of the best ever published by the journal. Although the material speaks for itself, a few thoughts on orthography and format will further illustrate my editorial intentions.

The double-vowel orthography is the orthography of the Ojibwe language. Syllabic and phonetic systems, although not without merit, have not enjoyed widespread success. The well developed Ojibwe language programs at Bemidji State University, the University of Manitoba, Lakehead University and the Minneapolis Public School System all employ the double-vowel orthography, and with excellent results.

Systems of writing Ojibwe other than the double-vowel orthography have not met with parallel achievement. The syllabic system of writing Ojibwe is used by numerous Oji-Cree communities in northern Manitoba and Ontario, but is largely unknown to most Ojibwe speakers. Because learning syllabics requires learning a new system of symbols and is not well suited for expressing subtle changes in pronunciation in its common form, the syllabic writing system has not enjoyed wide-spread use in the United States or southern Canada.¹

The phonetic system (not true linguistic phonetics, but the practice of “writing it how it sounds to me”) is so fraught with inconsistencies and imprecise expressions of pronunciation, that it has frustrated most students and linguists. Some speakers do use a phonetic system, but it has not gained wide acceptance. The writing system developed by Frederic Baraga is not used at all, except by linguists seeking information on a word that may no longer be in common usage, or the usage of which may have changed over the past several decades. Baraga used French and German spelling conventions to try get the most exact pronunciation, making his orthography difficult to access for the layman not familiar with French and German. Also, a missionary named Albert Lacombe was allowed to edit Baraga’s manuscript and changed parts to conform to

Cree dialects, reducing the accuracy of Baraga's published work.

There is a growing body of publications that employ the double-vowel orthography and numerous classes at a variety of institutions which do likewise.² There is no excuse for the failure of so many scholars to acquaint themselves with the Ojibwe language and its most appropriate orthography—the double-vowel system. It is my hope that the *ONJ* can help spread the standardized double-vowel orthography, an important component of Ojibwe language revival.

As the editor of this edition of the *ONJ*, I have tried to include several monolingual Ojibwe texts. In fact, with the exception of Jim Littlewolf's story, all of the Ojibwe narratives in this edition of the *ONJ* are monolingual. Often, editors of Ojibwe language material seem to push for bilingual texts, making it all too easy for students to minimize contact with the language. People read the English versions simply because it is easier. With the monolingual texts included in this volume, there is no way to avoid the Ojibwe. A full glossary is included to aid students in deciphering the text, but the material must be accessed in the language.

This edition of the *ONJ* has a great deal to offer—insightful linguistic inquiries, entertaining monolingual stories and several long overdue reviews of Ojibwe language material. Apegiš da-wiidookaagooyeg ji-nanda-gikendameg i'iw anishinaabemowin weweni sa go ji-bimaadiziiwinagak.

NOTES

¹ The syllabic system, when used properly, does give full expression to Ojibwe pronunciation. However, the subtle differences between hard and soft consonants, such *d* and *t* or *g* and *k* are often omitted in every day use of the writing system. Fluent speakers, familiar with the correct pronunciation of those consonants have no trouble when familiar with the syllabic system. However, students new to the language find those differences extremely confusing.

² The best dictionary using the double-vowel orthography is John Nichols

and Earl Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). An excellent example of the double-vowel orthography being used in prose is available in Maude Kegg, *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood* (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1991). The most well developed college level Ojibwe language programs are at Lakehead University, Bemidji State University, the University of Minnesota, the University of Manitoba and Rainy River Community College.

ARTICLES



THE ANCESTOR'S BREATH IN THE VOICE OF THE WATER: CONNECTING LAND AND LANGUAGE IN THE OJIBWE REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT

SARAH LASLETT^{†‡}

The way I look at it, as far as language goes, we're at do or die right now. If people don't make an effort now, it'll die. It's that simple. Ojibwe will die. —David Treuer, University of Michigan

There's a high rate of drug abuse, a high rate of alcoholism and we are a grieving people. A lot of our people can trace back a lot of the pains and hurts to residential school... Relearning the language is part of a healing principle, reclaiming who we are as Indian people. —Dennis Jones, University of Minnesota

When you say old woman in English, what does that mean? It just means age. In Ojibwe, when you say mindimooyen, it means "someone who holds us together." That's the function of the elder women in Ojibwe society. They're the fiber that holds the community together... Or old man—in English, old man [just means] old man. But in Ojibwe, akiwenzii, has the word aki, the earth, the keepers of the earth, caretakers of the earth. —Anton Treuer, University of Minnesota

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[‡] My thanks to Dr. Carol Miller out of whose course on Native American Literature this project grew, and to my mother, Dr. Barbara Laslett. Their support and rigorous engagement was inspirational.

Our language is in the trees, our language is in our dreams,
our language is in the ground and the earth and our elders and it's
not going to be lost. —Henry Flocken, Leech Lake Reservation
Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig School

To understand the knowledge system in which the connection between land and language is central, land must be understood as more than geography and geology. Land is made up of not only the physical space itself with all its aesthetic and ecological qualities, but also the activities that go on there and, for the Ojibwe people, a living spiritual presence as well. The land itself has a spiritual life connected to the practices of the people through its expression in the Ojibwe language. An entire knowledge system is reflected by the connections between these three characteristics of place, spirit and word.

This article will explore the historical and contemporary connection between language and land, and the way in which this connection is informing Ojibwe language teaching practices. My concern with the connection between land and language led me to talk to the six men (five Ojibwe, one white) some of whose voices are transcribed in the quotes that open this article.¹ The depth with

¹ All those interviewed are involved with these educational attempts as teachers, students, administrators or curricular developers. Ranging in age from twenty-four to fifty-five, (the perspectives of elders is a significant absence) each of these men have a position which allows them an important critical view on the issues raised here, and a deep personal and professional stake in them. They have my deepest thanks for they're willingness to help me develop this research project. The absence of women interviewed for this project was a matter of coincidence, and a circumstance that I regret. It should not be assumed from this absence that women neither teach the language, learn it, nor have a stake in its revival. There are a number of women on the teaching staff at the White Earth Land Recovery Project. There are women language instructors in tribal schools, mainstream schools, colleges, universities and community programs. Does teaching the language to women require different pedagogical strategies as the

which those interviewed consider and describe their concerns with the language, and the creative force behind their curricular and pedagogical approaches place them within an indigenous set of practices, those of the elder, the spiritual leader and the teacher in their own intellectual tradition.

One of the ways in which a cultural relationship exists between the Ojibwe and their land base is through willow which is widely used by the Ojibwe in religious ceremony.

The language itself was created... for us and we were created for this area... Like that willow out there, that's what we make tobacco out of. You go someplace else, what are you going to do? It's a really strong connection (D. Treuer).

As a physical space, the Great Lakes and woodlands region has specific traits that are entwined with Ojibwe culture.

For many Minnesota Ojibwe, diet is also still determined by the ecology of this area. The traditional Ojibwe diet, comprised of deer and other wild game, fish, berries, wild rice and maple sugar, are all products of the land. Alcohol has been a significant departure from that diet. Achieving sobriety and the mental and physical health that accompany it was mentioned in a number of the interviews as a pre-cursor to the language learning process. Sobriety moved these students of the language closer to a healthy attitude towards life.

language reflects gender roles within the Ojibwe world? Do women who teach or study the language have an experience of educational institutions that is particularly colored by mainstream or Ojibwe notions of gender? How do the roles that women play as community leaders effect their view of language instruction? How is the information in this paper biased given that all of the information comes from men? Given the interviews I was able to conduct within the time parameter of this project, I cannot address these kinds of questions but they are important to understanding the language revival movement.

Language, like traditional foods, is also a component of health and well being.

When we eat Indian foods, when we eat berries and rice and deer—compare that to... processed foods... So now we're starting to find our culture, find our health, and even the physical part is improving. We need to do some of these physical activities, fishing, netting, getting back to earth based activities. It takes a lot of work and you start feeling good and that's what the language is doing, it's making us healthy (H. Flocken).

Reintroduction to traditional life ways is also an introduction to large parts of the Ojibwe language. For the Anishinaabe, action and language come together in land-based activities which define a sense of tribal identity.

One of the central characteristics of the Ojibwe language is its emphasis on verbs.

Ojibwe is two thirds verbs. There are more verbs about trees than there are names of trees... cutting trees, taking the bark off trees, bending the boughs of trees, making firewood out of a tree, making a lodge out of a tree, tapping it for maple sugar, trimming the canopy so it will make the sugar. Then all the words associated with maple sugaring, from tapping to boiling it down, to making sugars out of it, to stirring it. All those words have to do with maple sugar. It doesn't have to do with stirring any liquid, it has to do with stirring sap while it's boiling. Or with trapping, or hunting, or with ricing

too. There's a huge vocabulary just to do with ricing— parching, jigging, knocking the rice, all sorts of stuff. All that language has to do with those activities and all those activities have to do with the land. If we no longer had maple trees or if we no longer had wild rice, there would be nothing to say about them and huge parts of our language would die. The same thing's happening with canoe making... There are whole bodies of knowledge associated with birch bark canoe making. How many people make birch bark canoes? Earl [Nyholm] does. He's about the only one. Who does he talk to? Nobody. He does it alone... But even he's having problems making canoes now because there aren't many big birch trees left. That part of the language is dying... So in that way, our language is extremely closely tied with our land (D. Treuer).

Historical practices like these link land and language in an earth based knowledge system. These practices tie the Anishinaabe not only to a specific ecology, but also to historically important life ways.

Well, as far as land, it's probably as important as language. The language also describes who the people are. When I went down to the southwest three years ago for the first time, I was really impressed and envious of how traditional the Pueblo and the Hopi and the Navajo are. I asked my instructor why that was and he said that it was the land. He said these are their traditional homelands. It's pretty much the same with the Anishinaabe too

but the thing that's different there is that the Hopi still practice their traditional ways of subsistence. With us, ours was a seasonal migration going to different camps, the sugar bush, the hunting camps, fishing, growing. So when we were put on reservations, very small, we couldn't do that. So that was a loss of culture right there (J. Denomie).

This seasonal migration pattern and the specific activities associated with its cycles are reaffirmed as a central aspect of language learning in *Portage Lake: Memories on an Ojibwe Childhood*, an important language instruction resource.

In 1991, Maude Kegg, and Ojibwe elder, with the help of linguist John Nichols, published her memoirs, a bilingual text designed as a language resource. In addition to the bilingual format, the book has an introduction and glossary about Ojibwe language structure and how a student of the language should use the book. The structure of the book itself reaffirms the connection between the Ojibwe language and land based activities. The book is a transcription and translation of stories told by Maude Kegg to John Nichols and is split into four sections: Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter. Stories of activities (such as ricing) are each associated with a season and a particular physical setting. The skills and social functions associated with them, and the oral tradition by which those activities are taught, are incorporated into this language resource book.

Henry Flocken expressed most eloquently the final essential component of the land/language relationship, the spirituality of the land.

At the ceremonies, then you really see how serious the language is—understanding the self

esteem part of fulfilling yourself, of making that connection back to the beginning of time, the connection of generation after generation of Ojibwe heritage and blood, genes and environment and connection, the words that came from the trees and the rocks from right here. The trees have their own songs. The rocks have songs. They all have songs to teach us. They all have teachings. They all have spirits and they can talk to us but they're going to have to get an interpreter if they want to tell us in English! But that's where the language generates. It comes from... the earth right here. Our language is earth based and perhaps English is not (H. Flocken).

The land, then, is a living aspect of Ojibwe spirituality and traditional practice. The Ojibwe language is fundamental to the continuity of the spiritual connection between the Anishinaabe and their land base, since it is through that language that the spirits of place and the spirits of people communicate.

The relationship between land and language has a long and beautiful history among the Ojibwe. The first comprehensive history of the Ojibwe by a person of Ojibwe descent, *History of the Ojibway People*, by William Warren was published in 1885 and is still an invaluable source of information about nineteenth century Ojibwe life. Based on oral tradition it is very useful for exploring the function of language in the development of Ojibwe society and history, particularly in light of the fact that Ojibwe was never a textualized language prior to colonial contact.

Warren starts his account by placing the Ojibwe language in the Algonquian (or Algic) family,² an association also mentioned by

² "The difference between all these kindred tribes consists mostly in their speaking different dialects or idioms of the same generic language... but a direct

several of the interview participants.

The Algonquian language family spreads from coast to coast, primarily in the North. Linguists have recently said what the Ojibwe people have known for centuries—that we’re all one people of that family. The Ottawa and the Potawatami in particular are closely affiliated with the Ojibwe, not only in terms of language but culture. They’re members of the Three Fires Confederacy and there’s a long history to that. There’s a lot to the migration story and how those people diversified and language diversified with them (A. Treuer).

Warren explains how the language ties the Ojibwe people to the Great Lakes and woodlands regions of the upper Midwest in the United States and southern Canada. He then goes on to describe what he calls “the first and principal division, and certainly the most ancient (Warren, 34)” among the peoples of this language group: clan affiliation. He recounts a story of how these clans were established among the Anishinaabe (Warren, 44-45). Although only five totems are accounted for by the story, Warren lists twenty-one totems then existent among his people. All of them are signified by animal figures, such as the moose, sucker, loon and beaver, indigenous to the woodland/lakes region. All existing totem signs are descended from the five original clans which, in the oral tradition, are said to have emerged from the ocean (Warren, 43-44). This clan system links the Anishinaabe closely to the land through the totems. The people are linked to the clan system through the

and certain analogy and affinity can be readily traced to connect them (Warren, 34).”

language which describes the totems and their origination. Further, this clan system is alive and well today, and is being integrated into language instruction. At Ojibwe immersion camps, for example, Anton Treuer recounts:

Most of the people that come to language camp know very little and by the time they're done, they can give a small speech in Ojibwe. It really starts with the basics... [skills] they can use the most when they're in an Ojibwe context—whether they're at a ceremony or social event. So they speak about, not only their name and when they're from, but also clan. Some people even ask, "What's clan?" if they don't know. It's impossible to separate language from culture. So a lot of cultural stuff comes out too (A. Treuer).

Another important aspect of the Ojibwe culture is the migration story. Although the content of the migration story is sacred knowledge and not to be widely disseminated outside of its ceremonial context, Warren writes about the migration of the Ojibwe from the northeastern seaboard region to the great lakes region. The function of the migration story offers an important example of the connection between language and place. The migration story tells how prophesy led the peoples who became the Ojibwe, Ottawa and Potawatami (and others) to their new homes. Connections between oral tradition, spiritual prophesy, identity, and place continue to inform current Ojibwe language learners. As Jim Denomie, a current student of the language, says:

In my language it's so interwoven that it's obvious. Manoomin, that's the name for rice. The

word for that is where our land area is. Wild rice is part of our migration story. The Anishinaabe were told to migrate west until they found where the food grows on top of the water, and that's the wild rice (J. Denomie).

In the twentieth century, assimilation and reduction of land base have gone hand in hand. In *Teaching American Indian Students*, Jon Reyhner recounts the major governmental policies regarding Native languages, which were seen as blocks to Native assimilation. Along with the expropriation of huge chunks of land, cultural assimilation was enacted largely through the institution of Native boarding schools.

Jesuit missionaries acted as the early agents of assimilation and the Bible was their tool. Relevant to the Ojibwe people, the first translation of the Bible into an Algonquian language happened in the 1630's (Reyhner, 35). This religious movement was supported in some respects by federal action.

From the first treaty in 1778 till 1871, when treaty making with Indian tribes was ended, the United States entered into almost 400 treaties, of which 120 had educational provisions. Almost a billion acres of land were ceded to the United States in these treaties (Reyhner, 37).

Interpreters at treaty negotiations could do little to bridge the gap between cultural differences, even if they could somewhat successfully translate words from one language to another.

Education and the taking of land, then, were two parts of the same policy, the main goal of which was "cultural, and specifically linguistic, genocide (Reyhner, 37)." "Schools set up on the

reservations were designed to devalue the traditional culture and religion of Indian people and coercively to assimilate Indian youth into the dominant society (Reyhner, 37).” The effects of the boarding school policy are still felt by the Ojibwe. Dennis Jones recounts his own experience:

When I was born and raised we lived a traditional life style. The only language we spoke was Ojibwe. So that was my first language and we didn't learn to speak English until we went to school. In fact, [in] the school we went to it was forbidden to speak [Ojibwe] and the attempt at that school was to assimilate us. So that whole experience was a residential school experience (D. Jones).

The experience of de-culturation through language loss is a theme widely pursued by Native writers. Like Dennis Jones, Anna Lee Walters, author of *Talking Indian: Reflections on Survival and Writing*, experienced the confusion, grief and loss that colonial educational institutions instilled. Having themselves been through the experience of de-culturation, each have healed through practices associated with language. For Anna Lee Walters, that language practice was writing. For Dennis Jones, it was re-learning, and then teaching Ojibwe. The boarding school experience was mentioned almost consistently throughout the interviews conducted for this project.

The boarding schools taught us to hate ourselves, taught us to eat asparagus to be blond and we drank and beat ourselves, beat our children. We learned that from the boarding school, how to beat people, how to rape people, how to have incest. We learned that from the boarding schools, and from

foster families. After that was forced on us, we forced it on ourselves and then we became our worst enemies and we ran ourselves into the ground. We are physically sick, spiritually sick, emotionally sick and intellectually sick. We've lost our knowledge of our earth, of our surroundings... our Indian knowledge. We've lost our knowledge base (H. Flocken).

The loss of a knowledge base finally means the end of a people. Seen in both the historical record and the literature of Native Americans, the struggle to prevent the loss of language as it accompanies the loss of land is urgent.

To meet the challenge of language loss it has been necessary for the few generations that have been wrestling with this problem inside the Ojibwe community to develop strategies consistent with a holistic world view. Responding to such a possible loss requires a special mind set, and a collective effort—a recapturing of traditionalism, as Robert Warrior argues when speaking of Vine Deloria in *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions*:

First, he contended, the affirmation of tradition provides the necessary raising of consciousness among those who have been taught that the ways of their ancestors were barbaric, pagan, and uncivilized. Second, tradition provides the critical constructive materials upon which a community rebuilds itself (Warrior, 95).

There is a resonance today with Deloria's call from the 1970s among a group of Native intellectuals like those interviewed who are developing curricular and community strategies.

One of the initial challenges of embarking on work within this revival movement, or of thinking and writing about it, is to struggle with the slippery meanings of traditional. Languages and cultures change. There is no static, "original" picture of Ojibwe life. Although colonial contact and encroachment constitute a highly significant period of change in Ojibwe history, the life ways of the Anishinaabe people were changing long before that. The migration story itself is a marker of a great shift in the traditional ways of the Anishinaabe. Forces and pressures resulting from ecological change and balance and social structural changes due to interactions with other Native peoples, hostile or friendly, all caused great shifts in the life of the people who are now the Ojibwe. Further, the idea of the traditional has been used opportunistically by many scholars, including ethnologists and archaeologists who use the excuse of preserving the traditional ways and artifacts of Native peoples as a reason to pry into private ceremonies or burial sites. Writers, both Native and white, using the idea of tradition, have romanticized Indian life, and in doing so, often relegate these peoples and their life ways to a mythic past which does not usefully serve contemporary communities.

Within Native communities, there is also opportunistic manipulation of the concept of the traditional. Native politicians at either tribal government levels or national/federal levels have often adopted a position on tradition, positive or negative, which reinforces the argument for their political power. There is an important debate about the meaning of tradition today on northern Minnesota Ojibwe reservations, particularly regarding the need for language instruction. Several important characteristics of tradition were mentioned in the interviews, one in particular that is relevant to language learning. "To live the traditional ways is exactly that. It's learning what they are first and how you live your life making choices according to what you've learned (J. Denomie)." Tradition,

then, involves an education process. This is a new understanding of tradition, a post-colonial form of knowledge acquisition, since contemporary Anishinaabe people like Jim Denomie live in many worlds.

It makes me realize how split I am between the mainstream and this. My art... it's native art but it's not traditional. It reflects... my experience as a native person and being non-traditional. The language shows me that I'm trying to practice that [traditional] side (J. Denomie).

Even in the earlier periods of colonial contact, Native language was spoken throughout Ojibwe communities, and the land base was still somewhat intact. Language based identity and culture must now be pursued in new ways which shift the meaning of the traditional.

It always seems there's a core group of people that carry on our culture and everyone else is along for the ride. I think it's always been that way. Two hundred years ago it was a lot easier because everyone who was along for the ride spoke Ojibwe—maintaining ceremonies and doing things like that. There's still only a handful of really powerful medicine men and medicine women. At the same time, there were much greater resources to draw on [in the past] because everyone had their language and everyone hunted and fished and trapped and did other things as a way of life and we've lost a lot of that. Now everyone who's along for the ride doesn't speak the language so there's a big break and it's that much harder for those who are

trying to push the vision and make things happen (A. Treuer).

Living traditionally was undifferentiated from simply living. Now the pursuit of traditional life ways means, as with the pursuit of language, engaging in an active, self-aware process. This also means that contemporary notions of the traditional must be flexible enough to allow the person with multiple sites of identity to use it. Warrior asserts:

To understand what the “real meaning” of traditional revitalization is, then, American Indians must realize that the power of those traditions is not in their formal superiority but in their adaptability to new challenges (Warrior, 94).

Clarifying what tradition might mean in the contemporary world is essential.

There can be no doubt that cultures are always in a state of flux... I think that a certain amount of change is necessary and inevitable. Native people were borrowing from each other long before non-Native people were here and borrowed from non-Native people when they showed up... At the same time I think that tradition has to do with respecting the past, the teachings of our ancestors and the older ones today, and drawing the boundaries directing the best way to go forward, the most respectful way to do that and to retain what's important (A. Treuer).

In this sense, tradition looks both forwards and back, and teaching language is an aspect of a dynamic traditionalism. In terms of time-honored practices of language, ceremonies and the role of language within them were emphasized consistently in the interviews.

Ceremonial practices are sacred and private to the Ojibwe people. Little published information is available about them. What is important to this discussion, however, is not the content of the ceremonies themselves, but the function of the ceremonies within Ojibwe society and the function of language within the ceremonies. As Basil Johnston points out in *Ojibwe Ceremonies*:

We were given speech by the Great Spirit to foster goodwill among ourselves, and to commune with the spirits. It has both a practical and a spiritual end. It is a sacred act. If we utter words as if they are nothing more than sound, our thoughts will be regarded as shallow and worthless... as will we. In order to inspire trust we must attend to our elders, who have urged us to listen and to talk—but to be as gentle in our speech as the balm of the south wind (Johnston, 110).

The ceremonial use of language facilitates the relationship between the people and the spirits of the land. Oral practices of the Anishinaabe are essential to the traditional ceremonies. However, the emphasis on orality does not automatically limit “real” traditionalism to the world of the oral alone. Literacy has also become central to the way in which this revival movement must understand its task in teaching and learning the language and literacy has a precedent in the ancient practices of the Anishinaabe.

Ceremonial knowledge itself is an area in which language and teaching practices are central. Many Ojibwe ceremonies are long

and complex affairs, requiring careful maintenance by a core group of spiritual leaders. These leaders pass the traditions on to others through oral instruction. However, that oral instruction is supplemented by birch bark scrolls, the reading of which requires a form of literacy. The existence of these scrolls and their use within Ojibwe ceremonies will and should remain very restricted knowledge. What their existence adds to this discussion, however, is the knowledge that Ojibwe ceremonial practice and its dependence upon language have been maintained though a writing system now hundreds, and probably thousands, of years old. Warren refers to these writing practices in his history:

In the Me-da-we rite is incorporated most that is ancient amongst them—songs and traditions that have descended, not orally, but in hieroglyphics, for a long line of generations. In this rite is also perpetuated the purest and most ancient idioms of their language, which differs somewhat from that of the common every-day use (Warren, 67).

Although the scrolls are not written in a phonetic version of the Ojibwe language, a consistent symbolic writing system is used in their construction. As Warren points out, this literary tool strengthens the ceremonial practices of the Ojibwe people and helps to perpetuate language idioms basic to spiritual practice which tie the Ojibwe to their collective identity and homelands. It is in ceremonial settings that the language can be seen at its “purest” and most traditional. Because a core group of leaders maintain these ceremonial practices, and the scrolls are hidden even within the Ojibwe community, these spiritual leaders have become key repositories of the language. It is through them that ceremonial uses of language, including the scrolls, continue to guide the Ojibwe

Nations.

Ceremonies were mentioned consistently in the interviews as a central setting and motivation for the learning of the language.

I have found that my spiritual growth, my mental growth, my connections even within my own family and within the larger native communities, they're growing exponentially with my language. Archie Mosay and Earl Nyholm are the two that I go to for spiritual guidance and they say, you can't do a pipe ceremony in the English language (A. Treuer).

If they're done right, no Ojibwe ceremony should be done in English. There should be no English involved in any of that because the Ojibwe language is the vehicle for communication with the creator (D. Treuer).

Reaffirming Johnston's view of language as a sacred practice, both David and Anton Treuer articulate the way in which language learning has been spiritual learning, and how ceremonial participation defines the traditional at a very basic level.

Besides that spiritual fulfillment or emotional fulfillment, I look even more for knowledge—the knowledge of—what are they saying in the ceremony? What are the implications of what they're saying? What is that connection? What is that power that you can hear? What is the power of all these trees and these rocks? They all have different gifts and powers for helping (H. Flocken).

Just as the idea of tradition must encompass a wider range of Ojibwe life ways than ever before, so too pedagogical planning must encompass an entire world view—an earth based philosophy and a holistic picture of community. The connection between land and language opens up pedagogical practice to new and dynamic forms of classroom, family, and community strategies. These strategies, however, while exciting to conceptualize in the abstract, are often hard to implement.

Traditional practices and knowledge have been the building blocks of the revival movement for the Ojibwe language. Those engaged in the work to reclaim the language have seen that the stakes are much higher than language loss alone. As the statistics below indicate, revitalization of the Ojibwe language is a vision shared by many members of the Ojibwe Nations. According to the “Need Assessment” survey conducted in 1995 by the Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig School, 90% of students surveyed thought that Ojibwe language should be required in grades nine through twelve. In 1994, the Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig School parent survey reported that 66% of parents thought there was a “critical need” for K-12 Ojibwe language classes. In February 1995, it was reported that 67% of the Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig School staff and 100% of the school Elders Council thought Ojibwe should be mandatory K-12.

As these figures show, the vast majority of the Leech Lake Ojibwe community served by the Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig tribal school supports the aggressive pursuit of Ojibwe language skills. However, the structure of schools, the availability of trained Ojibwe language teachers, the non-standardized nature of language curriculum, and the general economic and infrastructural conditions of the reservations present enormous challenges to these communities and those who are spearheading the revival movement. Moreover, the historical legacy of de-culturation haunts these communities, particularly among those who internalized the self hate

of the boarding school experience.

The boarding school was awful. It was horrendous genocide, cultural genocide... so bad that the next generation did not learn. They were ashamed, literally ashamed. One of our Parent Advisory Committee members, he fights me in culture all the time because he still has unsolved issues from boarding school... He said it right in the meeting, "When I grew up I was ashamed of doing these things." His argument is, every moment we spend on culture we take away from academics (H. Flocken).

This legacy of assimilationist educational practice also conflicts with traditional emphasis on respect for elders. Although the role of the elder is traditionally that of advisor and mentor, and the younger generation of teachers and curricular strategists turn to elders in this light, many elders today have been through the boarding school experience and resist Ojibwe language revival because of that experience.

There are a lot of Native people who think that learning or retaining the Ojibwe language is backwards looking and it's something we shouldn't be doing. [They think that] the people who speak Ojibwe are going to be less intelligent or have less refined English speaking skills (A. Treuer).

The children of boarding school parents usually did not learn the language at home. The generation following them now has some distance from the experience of forced assimilation through language

loss. Now they are trying to reclaim both the land and the language. "We're getting past the boarding school era. We're no longer remembering why we hate ourselves." Speaking about a current day philosophy that reaches back to traditional life ways, Henry Flocken continued, "The language is also the foundation of our ceremonies. Language, culture, ceremonies—the ceremony is your spiritual side, and your emotional side, so that's half of your being." As the grandchild of a boarding school attendee, he is able to make this gesture back in time towards physical and communal health through language revitalization.

There is a further debate in Ojibwe communities, however, about how the language should be taught. Ojibwe language programs already exist in tribal schools like Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig, some public schools, tribal colleges, universities and community programs. However, the teaching in some of these settings is ineffectual, and children currently enrolled in schools where Ojibwe language is required frequently come out of that process without having achieved fluency. Teacher training is inadequate and pedagogical inconsistencies are widespread. These problems plague the revitalization movement and the attempt to activate the relationship between land, Ojibwe language and life ways. The gap in language skills represented by the boarding school generation also means that turning to current fluent and first language speakers as a resource can present challenges related to overcoming this historical de-culturation.

The speakers we have left are so old. There are maybe twenty speakers under the age of 30 in the United States that speak Ojibwe as a first language, if that. Since it's do or die, it's like war. And in war, when you're saving people, it's triage approach. You save those you know you can save. So in terms of

learning Ojibwe language, not everyone can learn it. You can only offer it to everyone and hope (D. Treuer).

Ensuring the survival of the language means that the conflicts and schisms within these communities must be overcome. Arguing for the legitimacy of language instruction outside of the political and educational institutions which the Ojibwe control is also essential, and pursuing pedagogical and curricular strategies that address the language as an aspect of an entire knowledge system makes the challenge even harder.

Standardization of orthography and curriculum in the language teaching process is a pedagogical issue that also touches on generational relations. There is currently a debate, referred to by all of the people interviewed, about different systems of writing Ojibwe: the syllabic system, the phonetic system, or the double-vowel system, promoted by Earl Nyholm, Professor of Ojibwe at Bemidji State University. The double-vowel system is being championed as the way to standardize Ojibwe language orthography for instruction, but conflict and controversy about this system also reflect the generation gap.

I've heard some people say, "Oh, we only use phonetic system because it's hard for elders to write this double-vowel stuff." And I never said anything to them but I really believe that that's not the right attitude. Who are we teaching the language to? Yes, we need to be respectful of elders but at the same time we're trying to transmit knowledge from them to younger people. Younger people get really frustrated when they're writing it one way here, they go to a different class and it's written a different

way. People become dependent on visual aids and so I do think that the writing system is important and should be consistent (A. Treuer).

Standardizing the Ojibwe language curriculum through consistent use of the double-vowel writing system would strengthen the revival movement throughout the Ojibwe Nations. The current generation of teachers must be able to develop new strategies to turn and teach the generations following them.

You lose too much teaching time, precious time, making arguments about whether you should write it or not, when really, you should be teaching the oral skills. The reading and the writing is secondary to the listening and to the speaking. So the success of any program is to get out of the argument, choose one way of writing and then do it (D. Jones).

The issue of orthography touches on the entire complex area of teaching an oral language using written resources. While written resources are necessary, they must not supersede oral skills. Throughout the interviews, the emphasized order of language skills instruction was listening, speaking, reading, writing. Standardizing the orthography is important, but it must first serve the needs of teaching fluency, not literacy. Curriculum must be able to rely on consistently written materials, most of which are only very recently developed, to respond to a population who speaks English as a first language.

Most sources, such as *Teaching American Indian Students*, focus on the teaching of English to students whose first language is Native. The challenge of teaching English-first language students, who now comprise the vast majority of those Ojibwe children

attending school, means thinking of bilingual education from the point of view of Ojibwe epistemology. Students whose first language is English expect written materials, since language proficiency in English is measured in literacy terms. The new curricular strategies being discussed are immersion language training and the communicative method.

In the Bug-O-Nay-Ge-Shig School Ojibwe Language Program Development Guide that Henry Flocken has put together, the communicative method is defined as follows: “Communicative methodology emphasizes ‘using’ the language in problem solving situations rather than talking about the language.” The communicative method negotiates between two important concepts in Ojibwe language learning. First, communicative method puts written materials in proper relationship to teaching an oral language.

In any classroom they try to make [the language] as real as possible, to excite your senses, to make it meaningful. There’s more meaning behind necessity than there is in translating the graphemes and understanding the phonemes and making sure that your penmanship is correct. So now, when you’re getting into the arguments of oral versus written in the classroom, it all depends on what you do with it. If I write [the word for knife in Ojibwe] and taped it on to my knife, now we’re talking written, but it’s in a real meaningful situation. There is no argument for written versus oral (H. Flocken).

Communicative methodology, then, can help make the connection between land and language because it will emphasize the use of language in activity, in problem solving. Second, the connection between land and language defines the Anishinaabe as a people, and

communicative method can take students into that relationship and make it real in a day-to-day way. In talking about developing curriculum for the White Earth Land Recovery Project, David Treuer said:

[After] researching Maori [language revival efforts], researching efforts in Navajo land and Hopi land, [I found that] successful language programs hinge on introducing language into the family and community and moving it away from the schools as the sole provider of language (D. Treuer).

The curricular approach needs to encompass the wider community life ways and knowledge, from traditional practices such as hunting, fishing and ricing, to the family and community practices which provide the ceremonial base of Ojibwe knowledge. It is in those traditions and earth based world view that the language lives. Developing curriculum means being able to teach in such a way that the connection between the land and the language is maintained and strengthened. In speaking about the Parent Advisory Committee member mentioned earlier, Henry Flocken said:

His argument is, every moment we spend on culture we take away from academic time, which is really idiotic because you can do academics within cultural things. You can divide rice, pounds of rice, quarter pounds of rice, divided by families. Now you're looking at values. You're dividing it. European values—you have forty pounds of rice, you can **sell** it to thirty [families], make this much profit. So now we're talking cultural values (H. Flocken).

Immersion training means that a language student spends

extensive time in a setting where only Ojibwe is spoken. This is the strategy of the White Earth Land Recovery Project Immersion Camps at which David and Anton Treuer, and Dennis and Dan Jones teach. The immersion philosophy also means that language instruction is taken out of the context of academics and put into a situation where the entirety of the culture, family structure, ceremonial practice and traditional land practices can be incorporated into the language learning process.

Being totally immersed in Ojibwe, there's a whole different reality, a whole different world view than the lifestyle we lead today. There's that relationship to everything in creation and in Ojibwe everything in creation is alive; they're animate. A tree, for example, is animate. So then, when you refer to a tree, you refer to a tree using verbs and nouns that are animate because there are two aspects to the language, there's animate and inanimate (D. Jones).

When combined with the idea of immersion training, language learning can teach a wide range of skills, from social and cultural skills to mathematics, and in an immersion setting, those skills would be acted out in each and every social situation. Immersion training would provide a setting for families and communities to build language skills together, but it has to be intensive to be effective.

We offer an immersion program in the schools for three-to-five year olds and we offer an after school program for their older siblings and a night program for their parents and language camps

once every two months for the whole family to go together. The idea being that parents would learn to parent in Ojibwe. Kids need to learn environment stuff in Ojibwe. If the program doesn't change it won't do any good and the language will die. It isn't enough. It's sort of like putting a band aid on a freshly amputated arm. It just won't do it. Being with those little kids in the immersion program, yeah it'll help for six hours a week, but how many hours are there in a whole week? It isn't enough. The after school program isn't enough. Language camps aren't enough. Written resources aren't enough (D. Treuer).

Clearly what would be enough to make these programs work—to truly activate the generative relationship between this language, the land from which it comes, and the people whom it defines—will take an enormous commitment of time, resources, and energy. Those who are involved with the revival movement at this moment see these challenges clearly and have the skills, energy and vision to meet them.

So the mission that we have is all pretty related to what's happening as a whole with Indian Nations. There's a revitalization going on with our people, a revitalization of the language, the culture, the history, the identity, who we are as Indian people (D. Jones).

I really like going into these Indian communities and being able to converse somewhat. I'm far from fluent but it feels good that I do know this and that I'm part of this movement where people

are learning the language again. It's a camaraderie, it's a social togetherness. We're Indian people and that feels very good (J. Denomie).

It's time for us as Indian people to be warriors for the language (H. Flocken).

Too many people are still teaching in relative isolation, unaware of the large community with whom they share goals. Standardization of orthography and curriculum are needed and some lines of communication between instructors around the United States and in Canada need to be opened. Such a forum may soon appear at the University of Minnesota. According to the chair of the American Indian Studies Department there:

We have funding to hold a conference next year on regional native language instruction. We'll bring in Dakota, Ojibwe, Winnebago and probably Lakota language instructors from this entire region to talk about what we're all doing. The purpose of this conference would simply be to get better communication among instructors so we can begin to share resources. We'd like to start a newsletter (D. Born).

The University of Minnesota may be able to take the lead in creating this kind of language instruction resource sharing through this conference. Further, there are plans to develop graduate level professional development and teacher training courses at the University. These kinds of teaching resources are essential to maintaining the Ojibwe language. Teachers need to be taught how to teach, and curricular strategies need to encompass the entirety of the knowledge system indicated in the relationship between the Ojibwe

language (and probably many native languages) and earth centered philosophies.

The language system of the Anishinaabe and the multiple levels of meaning embedded in it constitutes an entire knowledge system. Patterns in the language can be as simple (although not easy) as the form of verb conjugations. But the multi-layered derivations of words are what tie the Ojibwe speaker into an entire history and world view. Learning the language in its full depth means learning these many layers. Losing the language means losing this richness. Teachers, elders, parents, children, educational institutions and communities all have a role to play in the revitalization of the Ojibwe language. The beauty of the language and the life ways expressed through it must not be lost. As a political struggle, reclaiming the language is as important as reclaiming the land because the relationship between the Ojibwe language and the land where the Anishinaabe live defines them as a people.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME: THE MEANING OF OJIBWE

ANTON TREUER

Sorting out what is in a name is extremely complicated, especially when the meaning of a word is as contested as that of *ojibwe* (*otchipwe*, *ojibway*, *ojibbeway*, *chippeway*, *chippewa*). It is my hope that the research I present here can help add clarity to the multifarious possibilities in the etymology of *ojibwe*.

Alexander Ramsay asserted that *ojibwe* described the contraction of lakes at Macinack.¹ However, no linguistic analysis has ever been able to support this conclusion. He most likely confused the meaning of the place with the name of the people who lived there. Henry Schoolcraft believed that *ojibwe* was derived from *bwe* (pertaining to voice) and described a “peculiarity in intonation of the voice” in the Ojibwe language.² George Belcourt, for whom Belcourt, North Dakota was named, believed it was in reference to “drawling pronunciation.”³

A more widely accepted explanation of *ojibwe* is that it pertains to puckering, or drawing up tight. Some have asserted that this is in reference to the “puckering of lips in speaking or drinking.”⁴ William Warren wrote that most Ojibwe elders with whom he spoke said that the meaning of puckering is in reference to the puckered seam of the typical Ojibwe moccasin.⁵ Others feel that puckering is the meaning, but in reference to the tightening of wet moccasins near fire.

Warren drew a second conclusion as well, but it is based largely on circumstantial speculation and must be taken with a grain of salt. Warren's second definition of the word *ojibwe* is that it

described the process of roasting captives until puckered up, from *ojib* (to pucker) and *bwaa* (to roast).⁶ This seems linguistically improbable, for the *aa* sound in *abwaazh/abwaaN -/* (the transitive animate verb meaning “roast”) and *e* sound in *ojibwe* are very different. Additionally, this thesis is not historically probable. Captives were occasionally tortured by fire, but this was never a common practice. Additionally, it seems unlikely that Ojibwe people would use a term with that meaning for self-reference.

Helen Tanner believes that *ojibwe* is derived from the Ojibwe practice of writing on birch bark.⁷ Although she does not provide a linguistic analysis to back up this assertion, it seems highly plausible. The *zh* sound in Ojibwe is quite similar to *j*. Therefore, the root *oji* in *ojibwe* could easily be a derivation of the root *ozhi*, pertaining to writing, as in *ozhibii'ige*, meaning “he writes.” Edmund Danzinger drew the conclusion that *ojibwe* means “those who make pictographs.”⁸ This definition has merit as well considering the similarity between *oji* and *ozhi*.

Of all the aforementioned explanations, the ones about the puckered seam of the Ojibwe moccasin and the ones about writing practices common to the Ojibwe seem the most probable. However, it is not possible to pick one as the most correct. It is critical, however, to understand the different, important aspects of Ojibwe life to which these different explanations speak. Being Indian means different things to different people, and many of those meanings are contained within Indian languages themselves; and through this window, we can see the complexity and beauty of oral tradition and the Ojibwe language.

NOTES

¹ Alexander Ramsay as cited in Warren Upham, “Groseilliers and Radisson, The First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1659-60, and Their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River,” Vol. 10, Part 2, *Collections of the Minnesota*

Historical Society (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1905) 529.

² Philip P. Mason, *Schoolcraft's Expedition to Lake Itasca* ed. (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1993) 59.

³ George A. Belcourt as cited in Upham, "Groseilliers and Radisson...", 529.

⁴ Upham, "Groseilliers and Radisson...", 529.

⁵ William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People* ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984) 36. See also David A. Baerreis, Ermine Wheeler-Voeglin and Remedios Wycoco-Moore, "Anthropological Report on the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Indians in Northeastern Illinois and the Identity of the Mascoutens," *Indians of Northeastern Illinois* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974) 23.

⁶ Warren, 36. *Bwaa* is the correct double-vowel orthography equivalent to *bwa*, as it appears in the Warren orthography. It should also be noted that *bwaa* is a root word, not a complete word in itself. The full transitive animate verb (VTA) as noted above, is *abwaazh/abwaaN-/*.

⁷ Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987) 4.

⁸ Edmund Jefferson Danzinger, Jr., *The Chippewas of Lake Superior* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979) 7.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF ANISHINAABE

DENNIS JONES[†]

Anishinaabe is the tribal name that the Ojibwe (Chippewa) people use in reference to themselves. The most common definition of this word is “original people.” However, when one looks at the history of the word, it has many origins and meanings. This brief article shall examine the etymology of *anishinaabe* from the written, oral, cultural and spiritual traditions of the anishinaabe people.

My perspective is grounded in two major oral, cultural and spiritual beliefs of the Ojibwe. The first is a basic premise that the language and the culture are synonymous with one another—they are inseparable. The other tenet is that anishinaabemowin, the Ojibwe language, has always been an oral language and that the passing on of the language and culture was always through oral tradition.

Few authors have attempted to document the oral history of the Ojibwe people, and of those, fewer yet are of Indian descent. Edward Benton-Banai was one of the first Ojibwe people to make an effort. Benton-Banai is a full-blooded Lac Court Orielles Ojibwe of the fish clan and a recognized spiritual teacher. He has written a book called *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* and therein discusses Ojibwe oral history and the meaning of *anishinaabe*. In the first chapter of *The Mishomis Book*, titled “The Ojibway Creation Story,” Benton writes:

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It is said the Gitchie Manito then lowered man to the Earth. Thus, man was the last form of life to be placed on the Earth. From this Original Man came the A-nish-i-na'-be people. In the Ojibway language, if you break down the word Anishinabe, this is what it means:

Ani
from whence

Nishina
lowered

Abe
the male of the species¹

Benton-Banai goes on further to say that all tribes came from this Original Man and that these tribes are separated only by language. *Anishinaabe* then is a generic term that refers to all indigenous peoples of the North American continent. All tribes are *anishinaabe*.

In "The Ojibway Creation Story," Original Man noticed that all living beings were given a group to which to belong. The animals, birds and plants seemed to all have their own tribe. It was after this observation that the Creator gave Original Man a tribe to belong to, called *anishinaabe*. He was blessed even further by the Creator by being given an Indian name, Wenabozho. The progression of his identity was, according to Edward Benton-Banai:

Original Man
Anishinaabe
Waynaboozhoo

Wenabozho's name has been pronounced and spelled many different ways—Wenabozho, Onabozho, Nenabozho, Waynaboozhoo, Nanabush, Nanaboozhoo and others. He has been viewed as a cultural hero, a trickster, a spirit and even as a great uncle of the Indian people. Other tribes have similar beings such as Glooscap, Raven, Wisackijac and Coyote.

Many Ojibwe people believe that the Ojibwe word for hello—*boozhoo*—comes from Wenabozho himself as an abbreviated form of his name. It is said that when they repeat his name, they are really reminding themselves of their origin, as all anishinaabe descend from this original man. Others have said that the people await the return of Wenabozho, and when using his name as a greeting, they are also asking, “Are you Wenabozho?” Still others stipulate that Wenabozho is always among the Ojibwe people doing his work, and that explains the reason for using his name as a greeting. From examining the oral traditions of the Ojibwe people we can see that a great deal of meaning can be packed into even a very small word.

According to Louis Councillor, a spiritual leader from the Nagaajiwanaag First Nation, the word *anishinaabe* comes from *anishin*, a short form of *onizhishi*, meaning “he or she is good” and *aabe*, meaning “man” or “being.”² Councillor went on to say that a good being in the eyes of an Ojibwe is one who follows all the spiritual principles of living a good life. These include being charitable, honest, humble, forgiving, generous, loving, caring and respectful. If a person uses these principles in daily life, then he or she is being *anishinaabe*. Often, the leaders of Ojibwe communities were selected for their abilities to exemplify these characteristics.

According to certain elders from Nigigoonsiminikaaning, *anishinaabe* stems from *anishaa*, meaning “for nothing.”³ It is their belief that this serves as a reminder that anishinaabe is nothing

without the creator. Man is nothing without spiritual life. Additionally, this “nothingness” is an example of the humility the Indian people are supposed to live by.

Peter Kelley, Grand Chief of Treaty Council Number Three in Canada, echoed this thought when he defined *anishinaabe* as, “one who is humble before the creator.”⁴ Kelley went on to explain that the Ojibwe humble themselves in all their religious ceremonies, especially the vision quest. When on a vision quest, the Indian must not kill even a mosquito, to constantly remember the sacredness of life and his “nothingness.” Visions only come to the humble.

Moses Tom, of the Big Grassy First Nation, defined *anishinaabe* as an extension of *anishinaa*, meaning “at this time” or “why we are here.”⁵ This is, according to Tom, the first word most elders use when beginning a ceremony. Typically, they would begin by saying something like, “Anishinaa noongom bangii gegoo niwii-tibaajim gwek gaa-izhichiged anishinaabe mewinzha.” This translates as, “At this time, I am going to relay a little something about the way the Indian did things long ago.”

Tom provided a long story explaining the reason for using *anishinaa* to begin ceremonial speeches. In short, he said that original man used to live in the center of the universe with the creator. When it came time for original man to be placed on earth, he was reluctant to go, saying, “Why must I leave your side, my creator? Why must I go and live on earth?” The creator did not answer his question, but simply placed him on earth to find the answer on his own. Original man had to learn his reason for being from his own experience.

Many things can be learned from Tom’s story. However, one of the most important is not question the wisdom of elders. To question the advice or commands of elders is equivalent to questioning their authority to their wisdom. This is simply not done. Everyone has access to the truth through meditation. It is not necessary to ask why. The answers will come. Built into this

teaching is also the belief that no one person knows everything there is to know about spiritual matters. We all need to learn from one another.

In the oral tradition of the Wikwemikong Ojibwe from Manitoulin Island, *anishinaabe* is derived from *niizh*, meaning “two” and *aabe*, meaning “man.” This, they believe, is in reference to the second coming of man after a great flood. The story says that the Indian people lost touch with their given spiritual practices and began to hurt one another, bringing the wrath of the creator who covered the earth in a mighty deluge. Wenabozho saved himself by staying afloat on a log with numerous animals. Ultimately, the muskrat was able to dive to the bottom of the water and get a piece of earth to start over. On the back of a giant turtle, the earth began to grow and form anew.⁶ With this new earth came a second people and a second chance for anishinaabe to live a spiritual and fulfilling life. Stories of cleansing by water and a second coming of man exist among many cultures in different parts of the earth. However, the use of this story to explain the meaning of a people’s name seems particularly significant.

William Warren, whose writings about the Ojibwe in the late nineteenth century receive so much attention, offered an explanation of *anishinaabe* as well. Warren said that *an-ish-aw* means “without cause” or “spontaneous” and *in-aub-a-we-se* means “the human body.”⁷ Together they mean “spontaneous man” and yield the word *anishinaabe*. Warren wrote:

The belief of the Algics [Ojibwe] is, as their name denotes, that they are a spontaneous people. They do not pretend, as a people, to give any reliable account of their first creation. It is a subject which to them is buried in darkness and mystery, and of which they entertain but vague and uncertain notions;

notions which are fully embodied in the word Anish-in-aub-ag.⁸

Echoing the explanation offered by Warren, the oral history of the Ojibwe at Turtle Mountain, North Dakota, espouse that anishinaabe means “a void that is filled.”⁹

From my research on Ojibwe oral traditions, it has become quite clear that the diversity of explanations for *anishinaabe* add richness to its meaning. Oral history is not only a valid tool for understanding Indian peoples; it an essential tool. Everything does not have to be written down in order to be true.

NOTES

¹ Edward Benton-Banai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* (St. Paul: Red School House, 1988) 3.

² Interview with Louis Councillor, Nagaajiwinaag First Nation.

³ Nancy Jones, Nigigoonsiminikaaning First Nation.

⁴ Interview with Peter Kelley, Grand Chief, Treaty Council Number Three.

⁵ Interview with Moses Tom, Big Grassy First Nation.

⁶ From this story comes the naming of North America as Turtle Island, according to Ojibwe oral tradition.

⁷ William Warren, *History of the Ojibway People* ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984) 56.

⁸ Warren, 57.

⁹ Interviews at Mikinaak-wajiwang.

“WEAK OF HEART — STRONG OF HEART”: APPROACHING THE NARRATIVE ART OF DEDAAKAM OF MILLE LACS

JOHN D. NICHOLS[†]

Stories of bravery in war are favorites of Anishinaabe storytellers and well attested in William Warren’s *History of the Ojibways, Based Upon Traditions and Oral Statements* (1885).^{*} The story of bravery presented here, which I have titled “Weak of Heart—Strong of Heart”, was told to me by the late *Dedaakam*, Jim Littlewolf, of the Non-Removal Band of Mille Lacs Ojibwe at *Neyaashiing* (Vineland, Minnesota), during a story-telling session on May 25, 1971. He charged me then and on other occasions with preserving his stories for the Anishinaabeg of the future. He understood that writing them out and translating them would be one way that I would do that.

Transferring a spoken story into the written mode inevitably alters it, but it can preserve the content and carry over much of the form, if carefully done. The use of the voice (including relative pitch and loudness), speed, pauses, and gestures are lost or only partially reflected in a written transcription or script. The complete art of Native American performed literature can only be said to be maintained or preserved as speakers of the original languages continue to learn to and perform stories and texted songs creatively. Nonetheless, it is still important to document performances in writing, keeping in mind that the mode is a transferred one. A script

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^{*} Editor’s Note: Warren’s book has been reprinted as *History of the Ojibway People* ed. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1985).

helps in the study of a performance and thus allows us to more fully understand and appreciate its art.

The easiest way to write down a spoken text is simply to write down the words, one after another, in a block of prose, perhaps with indentations to mark paragraphs as the topic or quoted speaker changes. A translation may be added to aid those unable to deal with the original language text, either a word-by-word translation (of considerable use to students of the language, but not to the general reader), a full-blown literary translation, something in between, or both. There are hundreds of volumes containing performed Native American narratives that have been preserved in writing in these ways. Many of books contain texts that were dictated slowly by the narrator and recorded directly in writing; most of the more recent ones contain texts given at normal speed and mechanically or magnetically recorded, with the written text transcribed from the recordings.

In the past twenty-five years, many students of Native American languages and literatures have gone beyond the bare prose documentation of the performances of oral narratives. They remind us that narratives have structure and patterns at many levels, and may have more in common with the written poetry of literate traditions than with written prose. The transference of performances into blocks of prose on the page not only loses many of the oral features of the performance, but often obscures the patterns of the narrative and its language. The poetry is easily lost.

For work in this field of ethnopoetics which is concerned with these issues and with methods of presentation, and for examples of transcriptions and translations from languages other than Ojibwe, the reader is referred to the books in the bibliographic note at the end of this article, especially to the work of Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock. The ethnopoetic study of Ojibwe narrative has just begun, most notably by the folklorist Ridie Wilson Ghezzi, who has worked over some of the stories dictated by Minnesota and Ontario Anishinaabeg in 1903-5 to William Jones, a linguist who was, himself, a speaker of a related Algonquian language.

Taking the hint from these scholars, who suggest the spoken

line is the basic unit of North American narrative, I have transcribed Dedaakam's story by setting out each line as separated with pauses in the performance. This has helped me to hear and see structure in the text, and, especially, to appreciate the rich parallelism in the language. What was once described to me as an unfortunate characteristic of Dedaakam's story-telling—"He always says the same thing twice"—is now recognizable as an important part of his narrative art. In fact there are no exact repetitions of lines in the story. Some of the poetry is in the variation within the repetitions.

The struggle to find ways to show some of that art on paper begins. Changes in the spacing and indentation of lines, and in type size and font are two of the many possible ways to do this, both in the original Ojibwe text and in the translation. Many of the choices I have made are arbitrary, but I hope that now more of the art of this story can be appreciated than if I had left it in blocks of prose. In transferring modes, an interpretation is inevitable.

During the process of study not everything of interest in the text is discovered immediately. The understanding often comes with difficulty and over a long period of time, and false trails are followed. Not everything discovered about the performance and text can be shown on the page. Not everyone would find the same patterns or agree on the ways to present them. This presentation is an experiment, and I claim no rigor for the present method. I expect my presentation of this story will change in the future as I come to understand more about it and the verbal artistry of Dedaakam as revealed in his other stories and songs.

Following the Ojibwe text and translation are some notes on the structure of the text and my presentation of it. The English translation derives from Dedaakam's English summary and from a translation made with the help of Maude Kegg. At the end appears a glossary of the words in the text which do not appear in *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Nichols and Nyholm, 1995).

WEAK OF HEART — STRONG OF HEART

DEBAAJIMOD JIM LITTLEWOLF[†]

WEZHIBII' ANG JOHN D. NICHOLS

- Mii go miinawaa bezhig wii-tibaajimoyaan. 1
- Mii go geyaabi go gii-miigaadiwaad ongow bwaanag,
anishinaabeg, miinawaa bwaanag.
Mii gaa-izhi-maajaawaad nandobaniwaad owidi,
owidi ayi' iing Ogimaa-wajiwing. 5
Zaaga' igan-sh imaa ayaamagadodog imaa ingoji besho.
- Mii gaa-izhi-maajaawaad,
maajaawaad ingiw anishinaabeg
nandobaniwaad bwaanag.
Gaa-izhi-gabeshiwaad iidog imaa, 10
gabeshiwaad imaa;
Niibowa wiigiwaaman, iniw bajiishka'ogaanan, wiigiwaaman,
mii imaa gii-kabeshiwaad.
- HAAW*
Bezhig aw naagaanizid aw ogimaa, 15
mii aw nendobanid.
Mii go aw naagaanizid ogimaa a'aw sa go,
ogimaawid,
gaa-maajiinaad iniw
wii-o-miigaadiwaad. 20

[†] JIM LITTLEWOLF (1893-1975), BETTER KNOWN BY HIS OJIBWE NAMES, DEDAAKAM AND BIINDIGE-GIIZHIG, WAS A MEMBER OF THE NON-REMOVAL BAND OF OJIBWE FROM MILLE LACS. HE LIVED AT NEYAASHIING IN 1971 WHEN HE TOLD THIS STORY.

WEAK OF HEART — STRONG OF HEART

TOLD BY JIM LITTLEWOLF

TRANSCRIBED BY JOHN D. NICHOLS

Now I'm going to tell another story. 1

They were still fighting with the Dakotas,
the Ojibwes with the Dakotas.
And so they went to look for the enemy over here,
over here on this side of Chief Mountain. 5
There must be a lake near there somewhere.

And so they went off,
the Ojibwes went off
to look for the enemy Dakotas.
So they must have camped there, 10
they camped there;
In many lodges, in tipis, in lodges,
that's where they camped.

HAAW
There's a single chief who is the leader, 15
the one who looks for the enemy.
There is a chief who is the leader,
he is the chief,
who took them
into battle. 20

WAA

Miigwanan imaa oshtigwaaning
ezhi'od.

Mii aw OGICHIDAA;

OGICHIDAA mii aw.

25

Zhigwa

HAA

Gii-miigaadim ingwana imaa,
gaa-tazhi-miigaading gii-kabeshiwaad.

Mii imaa gii-miigaadiwiingen imaa
dazhi-gabeshiwaad.

30

Wiiwan-sh odayaawaan;

mii imaa wenji-wiidabimaad ishkwaandeming,
mii a'aw ogichidaa,

Wiin igo niigaanizi gaye miigaadiwind wiin igo iwidi niigaan,
ani-miigaazod.

35

Wa'aw idash ogichidaa,

mii imaa namadabiwaad ishkwaandeming
miinawaa iniw wiiwan.

Gibiiga'igaade dash i'iw ayi'ii
ishkwaandem wiigiwaam.

40

Baanimaa go giiwenh gegoo gaa-initamowaad
imaa ishkwaandeming

mii imaa namadabid a'aw ogichidaa.

Baanimaa go giiwenh imaa ba-dawegishkaanig i'iw ayi'ii
odishkwaandem,

45

gibiiga'igaadenig odishkwaandemiwaa.

Baanimaa go giiwenh awiya ba-zaagikweninid.

Mii gaawiin, mii gii-pakwajindibezhwaawinden iniw wiinizisan.

Mii gaawiin gegoo, meta go

anishaa go ayipidood iniw ozhaga'ayan imaa bangishininid,
anishaa go ayipidood, mii ezhi-waabid,

50

Biindigeyooded imaa zhigwa.

WAA

His head with feathers
arrayed.

He is a BRAVE;

a BRAVE is he.

25

Now

HAA

It turns out that there was a battle there,
they were camping where the battle was.

There must have been a battle there

where they were camping.

30

He has a wife;

he's sitting next to her at the doorway,
that brave.

He leads the battle, he is at the front

going into battle.

35

This is that brave

sitting at the doorway

with his wife.

There is a curtain

on the door of the lodge.

40

Suddenly they heard something

there at the doorway

where that brave is sitting.

Suddenly it pulled aside

that door of his,

their curtained door.

45

Suddenly a head poked through.

With no hair, for he must have been scalped.

There is nothing there, just him

trying to pull his falling skin aside,

trying to pull it aside to see,

As he crawls inside.

50

- W A A W
 Ogichidaa wayaabamaad, 55
 bazi gonjise,
 ezhi-aazhawigwaashkwanid imaa boodawaadenig,
 Y A A Y
 bangishing.
- Mii waabamaad aw mindimooyenh, 60
 onawadinaan giiwenh waagaakwad,
 gaa-izhi-niiwanaskindibe'waad iniw
 — iniw bwaanana—
 mii zaagjiwebinaad.
- Azhigwa 65
 HAA
 Mii gii-aada'ogod iniw wiiwan aw ogichidaa;
 Mii wiin nawaj gii-soongide'ed aw mindimooyenh.
- HAA
 Zhigwa gaa-izhi-maawanji'idiwaad ongo, 70
 ongo ogichidaag,
 Maawanji'idiwaad zhigwa,
 dibaakonind zhigwa
 aaniin ge-izhichigaazod zoongide'e.
- Mii gii-shaagode'ed nawaj aw ogichidaa;* 75
Iniw wiiwan nawaj zoongide'ewan.
- HAA
 Gaawiin geyaabi da-ogichidaawisiin.
 Wa'aw mindimooyenh—wiiwan—
 mii aw ge-ogichidaawid. 80
- Mii gaa-izhi-izhi'ind wiin:
 Wiin dash gii-ogichidaawid aw mindimooyenh;
 Gaawiin geyaabi iniw odakiwenziiyman.

W A A W

When the brave saw him, 55
 he stands up,
 and jumps across the fire,
 Y A A Y
 and falls.

The old woman sees him, 60
 grabs the axe,
 and, when she'd clubbed him on his head
 —that Dakota—
 throws him outside.

Now 65

H A A

The brave's wife had beaten him to it;
 It was she, the old woman, who was the more strong of heart.

H A A

Now they held a council 70
 of braves,
 They hold a council now,
 to decide now
 how to deal with his bravery.

It was this brave who was the more weak of heart; 75
His wife the more strong.

H A A

He will be a brave no more;
This old woman—his wife—
 will be the brave. 80

And so that is how he was dealt with:
 She, the old woman, became a brave;
 No longer was her husband one.

- Wa'aw idash gaa-waawiindamawid gaa-tadibaajimod,
 mii go geyaabi wa'aw gaa-tadibaajimotawid 85
 wa'aw akiwenzii.
- Zhaagobekiwenzhiinh izhinikaazo.
 Imaa Nesawigamaag gii-taa;
 mii go imaa gaa-tazhi-dadibaajimotawipan o'o,
 o'o iwidi debaadodamaan. 90
- Ingoding gidaa-ani-dadibaajim mikwendaman
 mii gaa-izhid.
- HAA*
- Apane ko ingii-ayaawaa imaa gii-pi-wiiji'ayaawag,
 gii-pi-wiiji'ayaawag wiigiwaaming. 95
- Wiigiwaaming imaa ingii-abimin;
 miish imaa gii-tadibaajimod.
- Ingii-mina'aa ko ishkodewaaboo ji-dadibaajimod;
 mii dash eshkam igo, miish iw gaa-tadibaajimod apane
 Babizindawag minotawag dadibaajimod; 100
 mii gaa-onji-izhichigaanag iw
 ji-gikendamaan aaniin ba-izhiwebak.

Mii iw.

The story-teller who told me this
is this same story-teller of mine,
this old man. 85

He is called Zhaagobekiwenzhiinh.
He lived there at Shakopee Lake;
that is where he told me this,
this that I have told there. 90

Sometime in the future you can tell it when you remember
what he told me.

HAA

I always used to be with him when I stayed with him,
when I stayed with him in a lodge. 95

We lived there in a lodge;
that's where he told stories.

I used to give him a drink of whiskey to tell stories,
always then he'd tell more.

I loved to hear him tell stories; 100
that's why I did that to him
so I could learn what had gone on before.

That's it.

FRAMING THE STORY

The performance of an Ojibwe *dibaaJimowin* ('narrative') can involve more than just the recitation of the events of the story. The story can be related to the story-telling event it is part of, to the audience, and to the tellers of it, past, present, and future. The text of this performance has all of these elements.

The text is framed by opening and closing formulas. At the beginning (line 1), the teller announces his intention to *dibaaJimo* again, identifying the genre of the story as a narrative (in contrast to a myth) and connecting the story to the story-telling event in which other stories have been told. At the end (103), the simplest of formulas closes the story. The rest of the text contains the story itself (2-83) and a coda (84-102), which contains a history of the story. This is similar to a colophon of a manuscript or early printed book, a section at the end in which the facts of publication are given. In this section, the history of the story is told through an identification of the story teller who told it in the past (84-88), an account of its transmission to the present teller, Dedaakam (89-90), and a license to Dedaakam's listener to be the teller of the story in the future (91-92). The colophon ends with more details of the original story-telling events and the transmission of this story to Dedaakam (94-102).

English conventions for written stories require an additional element in the frame: a title. Because the effect of the story would be reduced were the title to reveal its outcome, I have avoided using titles like "The Woman Who Became a Brave". Rather, I have selected key phrases from the text which express the fundamental contrast and problem: the acknowledged brave who turns out to be *zhaagode'e* ('weak of heart') and the true brave, the woman, who is *zoongide'e* ('strong of heart'). The title "Weak of Heart – Strong of Heart" thus contains the essence of the story and reflects one of the

many linguistic and stylistic devices used by Dedaakam in it, without revealing its outcome.

THE STORY ITSELF

The story itself is divided into three main sections: an introduction or *orientation*, the main events or *complicating action*, and the outcome or *resolution*. The italicized terms are those used in William Labov's studies of oral narrative structure (1972:362-370). The divisions he found repeatedly in the oral narratives he studied match those in Dedaakam's narrative well. Straddling the last two divisions is another element called by Labov, the *evaluation*, in which the point of the story is stated. Its initial appearance near the junction of the complicating action and the resolution, and its restatement at other points also occur in some of the oral narratives studied by Labov.

I further divide the text into verses (groups of lines related by parallelism, a tight sequence of events, or grammatical coherence) and into stanzas (groups of verses on similar topics or with other unifying features). The application of these terms to Native American narratives has been a feature of the work of Dell Hymes. My grouping of the lines of Dedaakam's narrative into verses and stanzas is still quite tentative. There is no clear set of markers that allow this to be done mechanically. The interjections *waa*, *haa*, and *haaw* do seem to correlate with the beginning of some of the stanzas, but are otherwise not well understood.

THE ORIENTATION

In the orientation section, the time, situation, background activity, and persons involved are identified. In first stanza (lines 2-6), the main groups of actors are identified as the Ojibwe and Dakota, the context and time set by the phrase "when they were still

fighting each other,” the initial action by the verb *nandobaniwaad* ‘they go to look for the enemy, are on the war path’, and the location as a place “this side of Chief Mountain” (Sisseton, now in South Dakota). The last verse (6) gives a specific fact about the location, that there is a lake nearby (possibly Lake Traverse).

In the second stanza (lines 7-13), the motion of *nandobaniwaad* (‘they go to look for the enemy’) of the first stanza (4) is repeated in the first verse (7-9); the second verse (10-11) advances the scene into the Ojibwe camp; and the third verse (12-13) paints a detailed picture of a camp of tipis (rather a village of domed bark lodges).

In the third stanza (lines 15-20), the first Ojibwe character is introduced and the specifics of the scene given. In the first verse (15-16), the male character is introduced and described as an *ogimaa* (‘chief’), a war chief, a leader of the chiefs, whose role is to be *nendobanid* ‘the one who goes to look for the enemy’. The first three stanzas as thus tied together by repetitions of forms of the verb stem *nandobani-* (‘go to look for the enemy’). In the second verse the first line of the first verse (15) is repeated in line 17 with the added particles *go* and *sa go*. The functions of the war chief are further explained in the other lines, ending with an echo of the first verb of the first stanza (*miigaadiwaad*) bringing us back to the background action. The first three stanzas seem to form a unit because of the reuse of verbs.

The short fourth stanza seems to cap this subsection by mentioning the chief’s feathered headdress, the visible symbol of his rank (22-23), and identifying him for the first time as an *ogichidaa* (‘warrior, brave’). This identification is marked out by chiasmus (cross-parallelism): “He is a BRAVE; a BRAVE is he.” Both occurrences of *ogichidaa* are spoken emphatically, a feature I represent in the written text by marking the words out with small capitals.

Translation of the word *ogichidaa* poses some problems. Of the various translations possible for this term, I follow Dedaakam's choice, for he used the English phrase "a brave man" in his translation. Since the word is later applied to the woman (for which Dedaakam hesitatingly offered the translation "a brave... woman"), I use the noun 'brave' alone rather than the adjective 'brave' to avoid over-differentiation with the sex-specific English nouns necessary with the latter.

In the next stanza (lines 26-31), the scene is narrowed down to the brave's camp near an ongoing battle, with parallel yet varied verses. In the final stanza (lines 32-41), the female character, the brave's wife, is introduced (32) and the scene moved into the tipi where the couple are sitting by the doorway (33-34). The brave's role as a war chief is confirmed (35-36) and the scene at the doorway returns (37-39). This stanza ends with an important detail, the presence of a curtain (or flap) at the doorway of the tipi (40-41).

THE COMPLICATING ACTION

In the first stanza (lines 42-48), the action begins in three parallel verses, the initial lines of which start with *baanimaa go giuwenh* ('suddenly') and contain a main verb made specific by the grammatical process of initial change (a process in which the first vowel of each verb is altered): suddenly they hear a noise; suddenly the door flap parts (or pushes in); suddenly a head comes through the doorway. The danger is made visible in the second stanza as the intruder, a wounded refugee from the battle, is described in gory detail (49-52) but not otherwise identified, and then is moved into the tipi (53).

In the third stanza (lines 54-64), there are two verses, each of which begins with the seeing of the invader by one of the couple and ends with their differing reactions to the sight. When the brave

sees the intruder, he attempts to flee by jumping across the fire but falls (54-59); when his wife sees the Dakota, she takes decisive action and finishes him off with an ax (60-64). Excitement in the first verse is heightened by the introductory long and loud exclamation *waaw* and another long and loud exclamation *yaay* as the brave falls. These exclamations are marked out as distinct from the less-emphatically spoken ones elsewhere through the use of capitals and extra letter spacing.

The identification of the intruder as a Dakota has been withheld until the second stanza (63). Also in this stanza, the woman, identified previously only as *wiiwan* ('his wife') in relation to the brave, is referred to with the word *mindimooyenh* ('old woman') for the first time (60). This suggests she is now to be seen as independent of her husband.

This division closes with an evaluation (lines 65-68) in which the essential problem created by these events is made explicit: the woman, again referred to as an "old woman" and not as "his wife", has beaten the brave to the action demanded by the event, proving to be the braver of the two. Their roles have been reversed, as it was the woman who was *nawaj zoongide'e* ('more strong of heart').

The choice made earlier to translate *ogichidaa* as 'brave' affects the translation choices here. I originally translated the verb *zoongide'e* with its most common English equivalent translation 'be brave'. Wanting to avoid the repetition of English 'brave' to translate two distinct Ojibwe words, one a noun and one an verb, I reverted to a literal rendering of *zoongide'e* as 'strong of heart'. 'Stout-hearted' would be a another possibility.

THE RESOLUTION

In this final section (lines 69-83) the problem is resolved: the reversal of the roles of the brave and his wife is made congruent

through the reversal of their status. In the first stanza (69-74), the other braves meet in council to judge the cowardly brave. I do not yet understand the grammatical function of the verb *zoongide'e* in line 74, so my translation of these lines 73-74 is quite tentative.

In the second stanza, the evaluation is restated, this time in the voice of the council (75-76). This summary of the problem and the judgment they then render are direct quotations, the only direct speech in the story. It is a striking feature of this narrative that the usual verbs of discourse of Ojibwe narrative do not appear framing the quotations with “they said...” and “...that’s what they said”. This bold direct speech seems to require a little more emphasis than that granted by English quotation marks and so I used italics to set it off from the rest of the text.

In the evaluation stanza, the reversal of roles is made explicit by the parallel verbs, the roots of which differ, but the medial and final parts of which are the same: the brave is *zhaagode'e* (‘be cowardly’) while his wife is *zoongide'e* (‘be brave’), both with *-de'* - the medial for ‘heart’. Since I have chosen to translate the second of these literally as ‘strong of heart’, the Ojibwe parallelism in this explicit statement of the problem of the story can be shown by translating *zhaagode'e* literally as ‘weak of heart’. Another possible choice is ‘faint-hearted’.

The problem of the role reversal is resolved in the judgment of the council by making the rank of the husband and wife congruent with their actions, stated first in the words of the council (78-80), and then in summary by the narrator (81-83) as he ends the story.

Changes in the words used to refer to the woman and the man in this division also signal the reversal of roles. The woman is first referred to as *wiiwan* (‘his wife’) in line 76 as she was when first introduced into the story. As the decision is rendered she is referred to with the independent *mindimooyenh* (‘old woman’) as she was when she took the decisive action, along with a

parenthetical cross-reference (not indexed grammatically in the verb) to her role as ‘his wife’ (79). When the narrator restates the judgment, the woman is referred to only by the independent *mindimooyenh* (‘old woman’) and by the positive verb *ogichidaawi* (‘be an *ogichidaa*’); the man, no longer an *ogichidaa*, is now identified only by his relationship to her with the word *odakiwenziiyman* (‘her old man’ or ‘her husband’) and an implicit negative form of the verb, completing the reversal of their relative status.

GLOSSARY

Word stems from the story not appearing in Nichols and Nyholm (1995) or having significantly different glosses from their entries there, are given below:

- ayipidoon** *vti2* pull s.t. a certain way repeatedly. *Reduplicated form of: ipidoon*
- aada’** /**aada’w-**/ *vta* get somewhere before s.o., beat s.o. to something
- babizindaw** *vta* listen to s.o. repeatedly. *Reduplicated form of: bizindaw*
- bakwajindibezh** /**bakwajindibezhw-**/ *vta* scalp s.o.
- biindigeyoode** *vai* crawl inside
- dawegishkaa** *vii* part (as something sheet-like), move to form a gap (as something sheet-like)
- inzhaga’ay** /**-zhaga’ay-**/ *nad* my skin
- izhi’** *vta* make s.o. a certain way, deal with s.o. a certain way
- izhichigaazh** *vta* do things to s.o. a certain way, deal with s.o. a certain way
- izhichigaazo** *vai* be made a certain way, be dealt with a certain way

nandobani vai go to war, go on the warpath, go to look for the enemy

Nesawigamaag place Shakopee Lake ('the lake in the middle', the middle one of the three lakes on the Rum River leading out of Mille Lacs Lake, named in English after Shagobekiwezhiinh.)

niiwanaskindibe' /niiwanaskindibe'w-/ vta give s.o. a stunning blow on the head

ogichidaa na warrior, brave, ceremonial headman

ogichidaawi vai be a warrior, be a brave

Ogimaa-wajiwing place Sisseton ('chief mountain')

zhaagode'e vai be cowardly ('weak of heart')

zoongide'e vai be brave ('strong of heart')

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STORIES



MAKWA BEKADED

DEBAAJIMOD EARL NYHOLM[†]

(1) Gichi-mewinzha gii-aawan. (2) Makwa ingoding giiwenh bakadegobanen. (3) Megwaa dash igo babaamosed, babaa-nandawaabandang waa-miijid, niibowa ogii-waabandaanan bawa'iminaanan dabasagoodenig imaa bawa'iminagaawanzhiing. (4) Imaa dash igo ani-nandakwaandawe mitigong, anishaa go, awashime aano-wiikwajitoo ji-debibidood iniw bawa'iminaanan. (5) Aaniish mii sa iw, eshkam igo eshkam ishpiming imaa akwaandawed, anishaa go apane. (6) Wa, tayaa! (7) Mii gaawiin igo ingod gegoo bawa'iminaanan aw makwa ogii-taangandanziin. (8) Aaniish mii sa iw, ezhi-niisaandawed, azhigwa go ani-maajaa. (9) Maajaapan dash, mii go giiwenh gaa-ikidod, "Booch! Geget igo onzaam mashkawisinooon iniw bawa'iminaanishizhan."

[†] EARL NYHOLM IS KEWEENAW BAY OJIBWE, DESCENDED FROM A LONG LINE OF TRADITIONAL STORYTELLERS. IN THIS ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL, HE BRINGS TO LIFE FOUR RARELY TOLD ANCIENT TALES. NYHOLM IS CURRENTLY A PROFESSOR OF OJIBWE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MODERN AND CLASSICAL LANGUAGES AT BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY.

GAAYOSEJIG

DEBAAJIMOD ANTON TREUER

(1) Eniwek mewinzha gii-ayaawag ingodwewaan wayaabishkiiwejig. (2) Niizhoodensag gii-aawiwag. (3) Waasinid, Menikwed gaye mii ezhinikaazowaad. (4) Apane iko gii-pabaa-giiyosewag. (5) Aanawi aapiji gii-kichi-bagandiziwag, ingiw niizhoodensag. (6) Gii-namadabiwag iko biindig odaabaaning gii-kiiyosewaad.

(7) Ingoding gii-babaamibizowag ji-nandawaabamaad iniw binewan. (8) Gaa-ishkwaa-dagoshinowaad imaa Gibaakwa'igaansing, aw Waasinid ogii-waabamaan bezhig binewan. (9) "Wegwaagi! Besho miikanaang ayaa bezhig," ikido Waasinid. (10) Ogii-tebibidoon i'iw isa anwii-baashkizigan ji-gagwe-nisaad iniw binewan. (11) Dash wiin ogii-baashkizwaan iniw odaabaanan. (12) Gii-pagoneganaanjiigaade apakwaan. (13) Gii-kagiibaadizi aw bine. (14) Gaawiin animisesii. (15) Mii dash miinawaa a'aw Waasinid gagwe-nisaad iniw binewan. (16) Dash wiin ogii-paashkizwaan oniikanisan, Menikwed ezhinikaazod. (17) Gii-kichi-pagoneganaanjiigaade odiyaaang.

(18) Gii-ipizowag imaa mashkikiwigamigong wewiib. (19) Igo gaye gii-ishkwaane Menikwed. (20) Azhigwa izhi-wiinzowag ingiw niizhodensag "Waasinid, oniikaanisan Aabita-diy, gaye." (21) Mii iw akeyaa gaa-kiiyosewaad ingiw niizh wayaabishkiiwejig.

INDAYAG

DEBAAJIMOD EMMA FISHER[†]

WEZHIBII' ANG ANTON TREUER[‡]

(1) Gwanaajiwan gii-agaashiinyaan. (2) Mii go apane ko wayaabamagwaa animoshag gaa-odaminoyaan imaa mitigokaag, ingii-animiwinaag, bimiwinagwaa imaa endaayaan. (3) Mii dash igo gii-ayaawagwaa midaaswi animoshag ingoji go, bimaadiziyaan imaa noopiming. (4) Mii go gii-kanawenimiwaad gaa-pabaa-odaminoyaan, ezhi-zegi'aad awesiinyan migoshkaaji'iwiniid.

(5) Ingii-tanizimin imaa megwaayaak, besho Gwiiwizensiwi-zaaga'iganiing, endaawaad niibowa anishinaabeg. (6) Aangodinong ingii-izhaamin imaa ji-mawadishiweyaang, gii-misawendamaan jidazhitaayaan gaa-ayaawaad abinoojiinyag. (7) Mii dash igo gii-saaga'amaan ji-bimoseyaan imaa mitigokaag wiiji-ayaawagwaa indayag. (8) Ingii-nisaanaanig akakojiishag ji-amwigod iniw animoshan. (9) Aapiji go gii-minwendaagwad. (10) Gii-pabaaminizha'waad waawaashkeshiwan, miinawaa go gaye ingii-akwaandawe imaa mitigong.

[†] EMMA FISHER IS LEECH LAKE OJIBWE, ORIGINALLY FROM THE VILLAGE OF BOY RIVER. SHE CURRENTLY RESIDES IN CASS LAKE, MINNESOTA.

[‡] I would like to thank the Leech Lake Tribal Council and the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC) for assistance with recording and transcription expenses. A special thanks is also due to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana for publishing this and other stories by Emma Fisher in book form as *Omaa Akiing* due in print in 1996. Thanks are also extended to Western Americana for permitting the release of this story prior to publication of *Omaa Akiing*, with whom copyright for this story will be held. Thanks also to Melvin Losh, Dennis Clayton and Alfred Bush for their support of this manuscript.

(11) Nookomis ogii-ayaan biiziki ganan ji-biizikamaan gii-pabaa-odaminoyaan agwajiing. (12) Mii dash igo ko gii-minwendamaan ji-zhaashaaginizideyaan. (13) Apane ko ingii-bimaazhagaame, bakobii gwaashkwaniyaan imaa zaaga'iganing gemaa gaye imaa ziibing. (14) Mii sa go gii-pimaadagaawaad indayag igaye. (15) Ingii-izhi-anishinaabe-wiinaag akina indayag. (16) Aanind odayaanaawaan zhaaganaashiimo-wiinzowinan, mii dash igo anishinaabe-inwemagak, dibishkoo go Jaanish, wiindeg Jaan zhaaganaashiimong. (17) Bezhigh gii-izhinikaazo Mazina'ige. (18) Oon, gagiibaadadoon akina owiinzowiniwaan, aanind zhaaganashiimong, aanind anishinaabemong.

(19) Nimikwendaan gii-agaashiinyaan, naanaagadawendamaan gaa-izhichigeyaan iw apii. (20) Apane ingii-izhaa imaa megwaayaak ji-odaminotawagwaa indayag. (21) Apane ko ingii-wiindamawaag ingiw i'iw isa gaa-wiindamawangidwaa ko anishinaabe-animoshag—"mawinazh!" (22) Mii gaazowag igaye.

(23) Aabiding ninzhishenyiban ingii-waabamig imaa noopiming. (24) Miinawaa go gaye gii-ayaayaan imaa mitigong. (25) Mii sa indayag gii-ayaawaad imaa ogidakamig, miish igo ayaayaan mitigong. (26) Ninzhishenh gii-noogishkaa imaa gaa-odaminoyaan gaa-izhi-bimosed imaa noopiming. (27) Gii-miishidaamikamban, dibishkoo go aanind anishinaabeg. (28) Mii go apane ezhi-debibinid, ingii-miishi-zinigonig indengwayang, mii go gaye wiisagendamaan. (29) Ingii-paazagobinaa, miigaanag. (30) Miish ezhi-ikidod a'aw, "Giga-wiidigemin netaawigiyan. (31) Inga-webinaa niwiiw." (32) Ingii-tebwetaag. (33) Ingii-maw, mii gaazoyaan igaye, wiikobidooyaan odiinisizisan miinawaa go gaye baazagobinag.

(34) Bezhigh giizhigh ingii-tebibinig ninzhishenh ishpi-ayaayaan mitigong, ezhi-ikidod, "Inga-akwaandawe imaa ji-wiiji-ayaawinaan, ji-wiidabiminaan. Giwii-wiidigemin niin sa mitigong." (35) "Gaawiin igo," ingii-ikid. (36) Miish ezhi-gagwejimid, "Aaniin danaa?" (37) "Mawinazh!" gaa-inagwaa indayag.

(38) Mii dash ezhi-ikidod, “Enh, gaawiin inzegizisii ji-miigaanagwaa gidayag.” (39) Ingii-anoonaag indayag maajii-naazikawid mitigong. (40) Akina indayag ozhiitaawag ji-mawinanaad. (41) Gaawiin daa-gii-kiimiisii ninzhishenh, miziwe gaa-ayaawaad nidayag. (42) Gaawiin idash owii-mawinanaasiiwaawaan biinish anoonaasiwagwaa.

(43) Endaso-mamaazikaad, gii-niikimowag, waabanda’aad odiibidaniwaan. (44) Miish apii bezhig animosh gii-tebibinaad ogiboodiyegwaazonan. (45) Miish ezhi-aazhikwed, “Tayaa! Geget igo indakwamigoog ingiw.” (46) “Geget oganawenimaawaan ingiw animoshag eyaad,” baanimaa owiindamawaawaan indinawemaaganinaanig.

(47) Ninzhishenh nonde-bi-wiidookaagoo.

(48) Nimishoomisiban gii-pi-naagozi, zaagajiwed ji-bimaaji’aad ninzhishenyan. (49) Gaawiin igo ingii-wii-wiidookawaasii.

(50) Ingii-shazhiibitam. (51) “Anoozh gidayag ji-booni-mawinanidwaa.” (52) Indig ninzhishenh anishinaabemong, “Wiindamaw gidayishag.” (53) “Gaawiin,” indinaa. (54) Ingii-wenda-majiw. (55) “Mawinazh!” Ingii-ikid. (56) Gii-niikimowag, naazikaagewaad besho, ezhi-dakwangewaad.

(57) “Aaniin,” madwe-ikido nimishoomis. (58) Mii dash igo ezhi-ikidod ninzhishenh, “Bi-naadamawishin.” (59) Gii-saagajiw nimishoomis, biidood zaka’on, mii go gaye zegi’aad, oshaakawaad iniw. (60) Ishkwaakamigak baanimaa ingii-noondawaa wiindamawaad nookomisiban, “Gego babaamendangen apane mitigokaag nazhike-baa-ayaad.”

NIGIG NEBWAAKAAD

DEBAAJIMOD EARL NYHOLM

- (1) Ingoding igo nigig giiwenh bi-minjiminamogobanen wiiyaas, bangii go. (2) Imaa dash igo ziibiinsing aazhawaadagaaban, gii-waabandang gegoo, imaa ezhi-mazinichigaazod anaamibiiig, dibishkoo go danaasag imaa waabamoojichaagwaanig. (3) Baabige go dash gii-inendam, “Mii go miinawaa bezhig wemiiijimid.” (4) Aaniish, mii sa iw gaa-inendang geget igo. (5) Gii-ani-maajaa, gaye wiin miinawaa ezhi-mazinichigaazod, maajiishkaamagadinig. (6) Wa, tayaa! (7) “Gaawiin igo giga-noopinanisinoon,” gii-ikido. (8) “Gaawiin igo gaye inga-bagidinanziin i’iw isa menjiminamaan.” (9) “Awas! Geget igo gigikenimin ayaawiyen gosha!” (10) “Bizhishig mazinichigan gidaaw ingwana!”

WAAWAABIGANOOJIINSH

DEBAAJIMOD SCOTT HEADBIRD[†]

WEZHIBII' ANG ANTON TREUER[‡]

(1) Aabiding gii-ayaawag ingodwewaan anishinaabeg gaa-onjibaawaad i'iw isa Miskwaagamiwi-zaaga'igan ishkoniganing.

(2) Obaashiing izhinikaade i'iw oodena gii-danakiiwaad. (3) Mii apane go gii-minikwewaad imaa sa gete-anishishinaabe-waakaa'iganishing. (4) Moozhag gii-kiiwashkwebiiwag ingiw niizh.

(5) Aabiding ezhi-minobiiwaad, baapinikamigiziwaad, bezhig inini ogii-waabamaan waawaabiganoojiinh ipitood imaa sa michisag.

(6) Geget igo gii-onzaamibiiwag ingiw anishinaabeg. (7) Bezhig ogii-gaganooaan odiijiinyan, wiindamawaad, "Oon ingashkendam jii-waabamag aw waawaabiganoojiinsh. Bakadenaagozi, giishkaabaagwenaagozi igaye. Nijii, miizh aw waawaabiganoojiinsh bangii o'ow isa ishkodewaaboo."

(8) "Ahaaw," ikido. (9) Mii dash gii-mamood gaanda'igwaason, mooshkinebadood, aabajitood i'iw ishkodewaaboo. (10) Miish apii gii-atood iw ishkodewaaboo imaa michisag.

(11) A'aw waawaabiganoojiinh ogii-waabandaan iw gaanda'igwaason atemagak imaa michisag ezhi-ipitood. (12) Ogii-nandomaandaan i'iw. (13) Mii dash geget igo gii-minikwed,

[†] JAMES "SCOTT" HEADBIRD WAS LEECH LAKE OJIBWE AND RESIDED NEAR CASS LAKE, MINNESOTA. HE WAS A GIFTED STORYTELLER, TRADITIONAL CRAFTSMAN AND POOL PLAYER. HE DIED ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1995.

[‡] I wish to offer a special thanks to the Minnesota Historical Society Research Grants Program for funding parts of the research that made publication of this story possible.

ziikaapidang akina. (14) “Inashke,” gii-ikido a’aw inini gii-wiindamawaad odiijiinyan ji-miinaad ishkodewaaboo, “Geget igo noonde-minikwe.” (15) “Aabiding miinawa miizh a’aw waawaabiganoojiinsh ishkodewaaboo. Gidinawemaaganinaan noonde-minikwe.” (16) “Ahaaw,” ikido. (17) Miinawaa ogii-siiginaan ishkodewaaboo biindig i’iw gaanda’igwaasoning. (18) Geget idash miinawaa gii-minikwe a’aw waawaabiganoojiinh. (19) Nising gii-miinigoo ishkodewaaboo.

(20) Agaashiinyiwag waawaabiganoojiinyag. (21) Mii iw ga-onji-gichi-giiwashkwebiid aw waawaabiganoojiinh. (22) Gii-kiiwashkwebitoo a’aw waawaabiganoojiinh ezhi-gagwe-baamibatood. (23) Eshkam igo gii-kiiwashkwebii. (24) Eshkam igo gaye gii-soongide’e. (25) Mii apii gii-ikwanagwenid a’aw waawaabiganoojiinh. (26) Mii dash ezhi-ikidod, “Aandi ayaad aw gaazhagens?”

WIINDIGOOG EZHIWEBIZIWAAGOBANEN

DEBAAJIMOD EARL NYHOLM

(1) Nashke naa, wayeshkad giiwenh bi-ayaawaagobanen imaa eko-wiisagisinaamagadinig gaa-kagwaanisagendaagozijiig, wiindigoog eninjig. (2) Geyaabi sa go ingoding giiwenh niizh ingiw babaamaadiziwag ani-zii-gwaninig. (3) Giizhaa dash igo weweni ogii-ozhitoonaawaa i'iw isa onawapwaaniwaa waa-na'animowaad, mii sa bezhig abinoojiinsan.

(4) Mii dash geget igo gaa-izhi-maajaawaad, bezhig wiineta go ezhi-bimoomaad iniw abinoojiinsan waa-amwaawaad igo.

(5) Aapiji dash igo ani-aabawaamagadogoban i'iw isa giizhigadinig gaa-maajaawaad. (6) Baanimaa dash ingoding igo ezhi-babimosewaad, aw dash bezhig wiindigoog zhayigwa ogii-izhi-moozhitoon imaa omisadaang ji-nonde-wiisinid. (7) Tayaa hay', eshkam, eshkam ani-godaganaandam.

(8) Naaningim ani-noogigaabawiwag, aapiji ayekoziwaad, gichi-bagidanaamowag ani-bimosewaad. (9) Iwapii dash ingoding igo megwaa anwebiwaad, aw gewanaandang ezhi-ikidod, "Bekaa naa niijiikiwenz, geget igo onzaam bangiiwagizi iw nayenzh ji-amoongiban, awashime da-onizhishin bezhig eta go ji-amwaad gosha!" (10) "Ambeshke naa, indaga dawaaj giga-ataadimin, gebakinaaged, mii aw ge-amwaad."

(11) Aaniish mii sa iw, bezhig dash igo wiindigoog ikido, "Wegonen dash ge-inataadiyang, aaniin igo gaye ge-izhichigewinagakiban?" (12) Mii sa baabige go ezhi-nakwetaagod, "Giin sa gegiibaadiziyen, nashke sa naa, ge-gichi-giiwanimod, mii

aw ge-amwaad!” (13) “Haaw, haaw goda, mii sa go iw,” ikido bezhig.

(14) Azhigwa go ezhi-inaabid giiwenh iwidi inagakeyaa, waasa iwidi debaabandang i’iw isa enigoowigamigoons nanaa’idaa imaa sa etemagadinig. (15) “Wegonesh iw giin genawaabandaman?”

(16) “Oon, wedi gosha, enigoowigamigoonsing inganawaabamaa enigoons bebaamooded.” (17) “Naa, giwaabamaa na gaye giin awedi enigoons?” (18) Mii dash aw bezhig ezhi-igod, iw isa ikido, “Aaniish, gaawiin inde-gashkitoosiin ji-waabamag, aanawi dash iw wiin igo inde-noondawaa eta go madwe’ooded gosha!”

(19) Aaniish mii sa iw, wiin geget igo gii-pakinaaged giiwenh aw nwaandawaad, mii sa gii-amwaad wiineta go iniw abinoojiinyan, weweni sa go gii-mino-wiisini, mii sa gaawiin miinawaa gii-wiisinisii baanimaa bijiinag wiikaa.

(20) Mii sa go maa go minik ekoozid.

MISKOBINES MANOOMINIKE

DEBAAJIMOD ANTON TREUER

(1) Mewinzha gii-paatayiinowag ingiw anishinaabeg. (2) Eni-agoojinid iniw manoominike-giizisoon ezhinikaazonid, mii go bijiinag ani-maajii-manoominikewaad. (3) Aabiding dash igo gii-ayaawag ingodwewaan anishinaabeg, Miskobines, Makoons, gaye, mii ezhinikaazowaad.

(4) Mii ezhi-ozhigewaad, wiigiwaamikewaad, ozhiitaawaad wii-bawa'amowaad. Ingoding dash bezhig gaagiigido ezhi-ikidod, "Inga-bawa'am ina?" (5) "Gaawiin gosha. Inga-bawa'am. Giin dash giga-gaandakii'ige," gii-ikido Makoons. (6) Mii sa go niigaan akeyaa ezhi-namadabid ji-bawa'ang aw Makoons. (7) Igo gaye, ishkwyaang niibawi ji-gaandakii'iged aw Miskobines. (8) Mii dash niminaaweshkaawaad.

(9) Aa, aapiji sa go minwabi aw Makoons bekish dash naana'idaa ezhi-bakobiised aw Miskobines. (10) Gii-paapi Makoons. (11) "Gego naa baapiken. Gegaa go ingii-kibwanaabaawe gosha," ikido Miskobines.

(12) Ginwenzh gii-manoominikewag. (13) Ishkwaa-manoominikewaad, biidoowaad imaa endaawaad iw manoomin. (14) Miish imaa ezhi-baasamowaad, gidasigewaad, mimigoshkamowaad, biinitoowaad, na'animowaad, gaye. (15) Mii iw akeyaa gaa-izhichigewaad.

INZHISHENYINAANIG

DEBAAJIMOD EARL NYHOLM

(1) Miinawaa gii-maajaa Wenabozho. Mii go iw apane ko ezhi-babaamosed. (2) Mii sa eni-babimosed, bijiinag ezhi-noondawaad giiwenh awiia nagamonid, mii sa yo'ow ena'aminid,

Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...

Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...

Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,

Onabozho ingoji go apa'iwegwen...

E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,

Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...

Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,

Onabozho menopogozid indaa-amwaa...

E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,

Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...

Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...

Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo.

(3) Wenabozho ezhi-ikidod giiwenh, "Aw waa-amwaaad Wenabozhon, yo'owidi anaamibag iidog danwewidam gosha!"

(4) Aaniish mii sa iw, iw dash azhigwa ogii-inaan Wenabozho, "Anaamakamig isa inga-apa'iwe!" (5) Mii dash igo miinawaa maajii-nagamonid,

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
 Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...
 Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho anaamakamig apa'iwegwen...
 E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
 Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho menopogozid indaa-amwaa...
 E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
 Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...
 Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo.*

(6) Miinawaa ezhi-giigidod Wenabozho, i'iw dash azhigwa go giiwenh enaad, "Ishpiming isa inga-apa'iwel!" (7) Mii dash geget igo miinawaa gii-madwe-nagamonid imaa anaamibag iniw gaa-tanwewidaminid,

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
 Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...
 Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho ishpiming apa'iwegwen...
 E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
 Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho menopogozid indaa-amwaa...
E a we he yaa wii yaa kwe yoo,*

*Onabozho yaa wii yaa booch igo...
Yaa wii yaa kwe yaa wii yaa kwe...
Yaa e oo haaw wii yaa wiiya haya wiiya haya kwe yoo.*

(8) Mii dash azhigwa giiwenh ekidod Wenabozho, “Awegwen igo wa’aw waa-amwid?” (9) Imaa dash geget igo obabaa-nandobaakinaan giiwenh iniw gaa-tanwewidaminid imaa nandawaabamaad. (10) Dibi iidog. (11) Wegwaagi! (12) Imaa dash ogii-mikawaan giiwenh gichi-waawaabishkimoosen. (13) Aatayaa! (14) Aaniish mii sa iw. (15) “Aa, mii wa’aw geget igo waa-amwid gosha,” odizhi-inaan giiwenh. (16) Mii dash imaa gwayak aw Wenabozho ezhi-gaashkiishkigijiibinaad, ingoji go dash geget igo ezhi-apabaginaad.

(17) Aaniish mii sa iw. (18) Mii sa azhigwa ezhi-madwe-biibaagid Wenabozho. (19) “Ambeshke naa, waawaabishkimoose! Naa, bizindawishin! Giga-ani-igoog inzhishenyag,” ogii-inaan dash igo. (20) Mii sa go iniw — anishinaabeg enaawaajin anishinaaben — “Inzhishenh”.

(21) Mii sa iw minik.

GEGWE-DAKAMIGISHKANG GAAGIIGIDO

DEBAAJIMOD PORKY WHITE[†]

WEZHIBII' ANG ANTON TREUER[‡]

- (1) Boozhoo. (2) Gegwe-dakamishkang indizhinikaaz. (3) Maang indoodem. (4) Niiwing azhigwa nimidew. (5) Gaa-sagaskwaajimekaag indoonjibaa. (6) Imbaabaa, Baadwewidang, gii-midewi. (7) Gii-oshkaabewisiwi imaa midewing. (8) Gii-wiidookawaad iniw akiwenziiyan midewing. (9) Gii-oshkaabewisiwi dibishkoo mii go gaye niin noongom ezhi-anokiiyaan. (10) Indooshkaabewisiw. (11) Gabe-zhigwa imbi-gikenimigoo ji-gikendamaan o'ow keyaa midewiwin. (12) Aanishinaa, o'ow niibing, niibing azhigwa indizhichige o'ow isa izhichigeyaan, wiidookawag sa niijanishinaabe gagwejimid gegoo akeyaa waa-gikendang o'ow isa akeyaa midewiwin. (13) Shke o'ow midewing gaawiin awiiaa gidaa-bagidinaasii ji-gikendang. Giimoodad. (14) Gaawiin ge awiiaa, anooj awiiaa, gidaa-inaasii weweni eta go ji-bizindaman gegoo, ezhi-

[†] WALTER "PORKY" WHITE IS LEECH LAKE OJIBWE. HE CURRENTLY RESIDES IN ROSEMOUNT, MINNESOTA.

[‡] I would like to thank the Leech Lake Tribal Council and the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC) for assistance with recording and transcription expenses. A special thanks is also due to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana for publishing this and other stories by Porky White in book form as *Omaa Akiing*, due in print in 1996. Thanks are also extended to Western Americana for permitting the release of this story prior to publication of *Omaa Akiing*, with whom copyright for this story will be held. Thanks also to Melvin Losh, Dennis Clayton and Alfred Bush for their support of this manuscript.

gikenimigooyan weweni ji-gikendaman ezhi-atemagak o'ow isa akeyaa, o'ow midewiwin.

(15) Naa dewe'iganan ingii-miinigoog ingiw bwaanag. (16) Naa a'aw opwaagan, mii gii-miinigooyaan igaye. (17) Naa opwaagan ingii-miinigoo. (18) Naa awiia gwiiwizensidewe'igan imbimiwinaa. (19) Mii azhigwa ishwaaso-niibinagak bimiwinag a'aw gwiiwizens. (20) A'aw opwaagan mii azhigwa ashi-niiyo-biboonagak zhigwa bimiwinag indoopwaagan. (21) Aa bwaan abezhig, niij-akiwenzii, ingii-miinig iniw opwaaganan. (22) Mii gaa-izhitwaad niij-akiwenzii ji-miinaasig awiia opwaaganan ji-aabaji'aad giishpin misawendang gegoo biidinamawaad ji-aabaji'aad. (23) Mii gii-pi-ikidod niij-akiwenzii. (24) Gaawiin ingii-adaawesii a'aw indoopwaagan. (25) Ingii-pi-miinig niij-akiwenzii iniw opwaaganan.

(26) A'aw niij-akiwenzii ingii-pi-mawidisig ji-miizhid gashkibidaagan. (27) Mii sa gii-paakaakonamaan i'iw gashkibidaagan, mii imaa waabamag a'aw opwaagan abid. (28) Mii imaa ezhi-ikidod a'aw akiwenzii, "Mii moozhag eni-aabaji'ad a'aw gidoopwaagan, oon ji-inaakonigeyan, mii i'iw wenji-miinigooyan." (29) Mii gii-pi-igoowaad niizh bwaanag, ininiwag wiijikiweg. (30) Bezhig opwaaganan gaa-miizhid, gii-nibo. (31) Amos Owen gii-izhinikaazo a'aw inini gii-miizhid iniw, iniw opwaaganan. (32) Naa Amos Crooks ani-bi-miinigoo iniw indoopwaaganan bemiwinagig, moozhag gaye niin aabaji'ag. (33) Indanama'etawaa ya'aw isa anishinaabe, inakonigeyaan sa. (34) Indoopwaagan zoongizi. (35) Indoopwaagan mashkawizii. (36) Aangodinong aakoziwigamigong bi-gaganoonigooyaan, gaganoonag anishinaabe ayaakozid, wenzaamed. (37) Indaabaakawi'aa a'aw anishinaabe aakozid. (38) Bi-giiwe. (39) Gaawiin geyaabi imaa aakoziwigamigong ayaasii.

(40) Mii ezhi-mashkawiziid indoopwaagan bi-gaganoonigooyaan ji-gaganoondamawag niijanishinaabe. (41) Mii go niso-giizhig, maagizhaa gaye niiyo-giizhig, mii iw, mii

bi-giiwed a'aw anishinaabe gaa-chi-aakozid.

(42) Mii sa iw ezhi-apiitenimag indoopwaagan. (43) Gaawiin awiia bakaan da-awi-ayaasii aaniindi indoopwaaganan, mii ingoji ezhi-ayaawaanen. (44) Mii go moozhag bimiwinag indoopwaagan. (45) Gaawiin ingikendanziin apii waa-kaganoonigooyaan ji-gaganoonag niijanishinaabe dibi go wenjibaagwen. (46) Mii go wii-wiidoonag niijanishinaabe moozhag.

(47) Aanishinaa mii iw gaa-igooyaan, gaye niin sa eni-anokiiyaan ji-wiidoonag sa niijanishinaabe gegoo wii-nanaandawi'ag. (48) Gaawiin mashkiki niin indayaanziin. (49) Mii eta go indoopwaagan haa aabaji'ag gaganoodamawag.

(50) Aa niijanishinaabe gaye wiin sa aakozid maazhendang, gaganoonag sa manidoo ji-wiidoonag sa niijanishinaaben ji-miinaad mashkawiziiwin ji-biinitood sa iniw odinendamowin, naa obimaadiziwin igaye. (51) Mii gaye niin noongom eni-anokiiyawag sa niijanishinaabe wiidoonag dibi go anoozhid ji-izhaayaan naadamawag, wiidoonag. (52) Mii go gaye wiidoonag niijanishinaabeg dibi go waa-izhichigewaanen, maagizhaa gaye wii-madoodoowaad, maagizhaa gaye wii-wiidoonag sa iniw gwiiwizensidewe'iganan. (53) Mii iw ezhi-onapinag gwiiwizensidewe'igan niin sa naadamawag niijanishinaabe dibi go wenjibaagwen.

(54) Mii weweni go anishinaabe ge-baatayiinod mino-anishinaabe-bimaadizid, bebakaan gidoonjibaamin, bwaanag, maagizhaa gaye asinii-bwaan, maagizhaa gaye midewanishinaabe, maagizhaa gaye omanoominii-anishinaabe. (55) Mii go moozhag waa-wiidoonag dibi go gaganoonag dibi ji-naadamawag, ji-wiidoonag igaye ji-gikinawaabiwaad, booch ezhaayaan akeyaa babaamaadiziyaan gaye niin sa ji-wiidoonag sa niijanishinaabe. (56) Amanj igo akeyaa waa-izhichigewaanen.

(57) Indizhichige akina gegoo akiwenziiyag izhichigewaad. (58) Aangodinong gaye niwiidigemaag. (59) Naa gaye nimiinaag

odizhinikaazowiniwaan. (60) Naa indabwezotawaag bi-inigaaziwaad.
(61) Naa o'ow gaye nimaajaa'aag anishinaabeg, gaa-nibojig.
(62) Niwiidookawaa ezhi-gagwejimid anishinaabe sa keyaa weweni
ji-maajaanid odinawemaaganan gaa-nibonid. (63) Niwiindamawaa
ojichaagwan sa akeyaa gaye ji-maada'adood sa o'ow miikana gaye
wiin sa ishkwa-giizhichigaademagak sa o'ow bimaadiziwin omaa
akiing.

MII SA IW

DEBAAJIMOD ARCHIE MOSAY[†]

WEZHIBII' ANG ANTON TREUER[‡]

(1) Aabiding gii-ayaa mooska'osi nandawaabamaad omakakiin imaa sa waabashkikiing. (2) Mii gaa-izhi-wiisinid aw mooska'osi, gii-pagamise zhashagi, nonde-wiisinid gaye wiin.

(3) Oгии-gagwe-maajinizhikawaan iniw mooska'osiwān.

(4) Mii nawaj sa mindidod zhashagi awashime iniginid mooska'osi. (5) Gaawiin idash gii-segizisii a'aw mooska'osi.

Gaawiin wii-maajaasii mooska'osi. (6) Gaawiin igaye wii-maada'ookiisii iw wiisiniwin. (7) Giizhiitaa ji-miigaazod.

(8) Enigok ogii-mawinanaan iniw zhashagiwan. (9) Geget igo gii-pakite'odiwag, aabajitoowaad oningwiiganiwaan, bapawaangeniwaad, dakwamidiwaad igaye. (10) Waasa gii-noondaagwad omii gazowiniwaa.

(11) Baanimaa go bijiinag a'aw mooska'osi ogii-bakinawaan iniw zhashagiwan. (12) Gegaa gii-niiwana'aagoo a'aw zhashagi.

(13) Mii dash ezhi-ikidod a'aw mooska'osi, "Mii sa iw. Mii sa iw."

[†] ARCHIE MOSAY IS THE TRADITIONAL CHIEF OF THE ST. CROIX OJIBWE AND THE HEAD MIDEWAKIWENZII AT BALSAM LAKE, WISCONSIN, WHERE HE CURRENTLY RESIDES.

[‡] I wish to offer a special thanks to the Minnesota Historical Society Research Grants Program for funding parts of the research that made publication of this story possible.

BOOK REVIEWS



BOOK REVIEWS

OJIBWEMOWIN. BY JUDITH L. AND THOMAS M. VOLLOM. ST. PAUL: OJIBWE LANGUAGE PUBLISHING, 1994. 304 PP.

When *Ojibwemowin* was in the making, Jerry Staples (one of the editors) approached me to offer suggestions and correct typographical errors. Mr. Staples was also concerned with the criticism of certain individuals who told him that the book project was wrong, that Ojibwe was meant to be an oral language only, and not produced in a written form. The editors of *Ojibwemowin* acknowledged that criticism but continued to pursue their project. As a teacher of the Ojibwe language, I am very glad they did. *Ojibwemowin* has much to offer.

Ojibwemowin is based in large part on the language curriculum developed by Earl Nyholm and now employed at Rainy River Community College and other such institutions. Although Nyholm did not have any direct contact with the editors while *Ojibwemowin* was being constructed, his influence on the project is tangible, and he is duly noted as a contributor. With full Ojibwe-English and English-Ojibwe translations, numerous illustrations, charts and photographs, *Ojibwemowin* is very user-friendly, informative and interesting. The visual aids do wonders to help link Ojibwe culture, history and language together. Accompanying the text is also a series of audio tapes and an interactive CD-ROM.

Although there are some typographical errors and a few minor bugs in the computer software, *Ojibwemowin* was expertly conceived, designed and put together. Combined with proper oral

instruction, *Ojibwemowin* can be a critical element in language revival. With declining numbers of Ojibwe speakers, we need all the help we can get to maintain and revive the language. *Ojibwemowin* makes a fine contribution in that direction.

DANIEL JONES, RAINY RIVER COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A CONCISE DICTIONARY OF MINNESOTA OJIBWE. BY JOHN D. NICHOLS AND EARL NYHOLM. MINNEAPOLIS: UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, 1995. 288 PP.

This new addition to the slowly growing number of Ojibwe language texts heralds a new age for the study and life of the Ojibwe language. Compiled and edited by John D. Nichols (University of Manitoba) and Earl Nyholm (Bemidji State University) the *Concise Dictionary* is invaluable for scholars, students and the curious alike. The easy to read entries, grammatical information, pronunciation guides, and compact size all lend a user-friendly aspect that makes it a pleasure to navigate what the *Guinness Book of World Records* calls “one of the most difficult languages in the world.” Often, when using the dictionary, one feels more in the company of a world-expert hunting guide, than a word list. For anyone studying the Ojibwe language, hunting is a closer analogy than anything else. Locating a word or distilling a verb stem from the heavily inflected form it takes in normal speech is usually excruciating if not impossible for the novice.

The dictionary is arranged in Ojibwe-English and English-Ojibwe format, with the entries grouped in conceptual relation to one another. For example, when searching for “look at” in the English-Ojibwe section one comes across “look at someone,” “look at something,” “look at things” and “they look at each other.” At first “look” it would seem that this arrangement serves those who are

searching for just the right word, or, worse yet, aren't sure what word they need. However, when cross-referencing in the Ojibwe-English section, it becomes clear that all of the entries for "look" are alphabetically adjacent to one another. This distribution of entries is the best yet, in that one can page through the Ojibwe-English portion and find all the entries in pure alphabetical order, while a more general, subject approach can be used when looking in the English corner. Such an arrangement, it becomes clear, facilitates those doing translation work from Ojibwe, and those composing Ojibwe text from English.

The only thing the dictionary is short on is geography and natural environment entries. Granted, it is a dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe, so geographical entries for other places in Ojibwe-country aren't germane. Though, an appendix with those other places would be helpful and informative for those studying and living in other areas. Moreover, the words for different plants and trees could be expanded so that those interested in life ways and their natural surroundings can use the dictionary for those reasons as well.

These are minor complaints with a truly excellent work, and most likely stem from the fact that the dictionary is so good, one wants more. An "unabridged" dictionary instead of a "concise" one would be the best next step, that along with an Ojibwe atlas and an accompanying grammar. But here, we want too much, and should be satisfied with wearing our new dictionaries into tatters. Everyone living in Ojibwe country (that is, from New York to Montana) should own a copy. Make that two copies.

DAVID TREUER, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PORTAGE LAKE: MEMORIES OF AN OJIBWE CHILDHOOD. BY MAUDE KEGG. JOHN D. NICHOLS, EDITOR. MINNEAPOLIS: UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, 1993. 272 PP.

The recent trickle of publications focused on the Ojibwe language has yielded many important books and articles, but few as useful as *Portage Lake*. As a student of the Ojibwe language for several years, I have used tapes, dictionaries and class notes on grammar. However, the format and content of the material presented by Maude Kegg represent a new and compelling set of tools that are truly a boon to Ojibwe language study. Through reading and studying the stories in *Portage Lake*, one can start to get grasp of the way the Ojibwe language works—the flow of dialogue, the way sentences and stories are put together. Accompanying that understanding comes a better appreciation of Ojibwe cultural mores.

Portage Lake is a window into the life of the Ojibwe people in earlier times, and a window into indigenous thought patterns and belief systems. Often subtle, but omnipresent are the values that come with language. In Ojibwe, the division between animate and inanimate becomes meaningful—a division sadly undermined in translation. However, even in that there are important lessons to learn. *Portage Lake*, while an Ojibwe text, is bilingual and therefore provides an opportunity to compare the values inherent in the language in contrast to those of English.

No book can answer all questions, especially about a subject as large as the Ojibwe language. However, *Portage Lake* provides the students of the language with material to help them ask the right questions—no matter how shy or dislocated from their communities. Much more than a language text, *Portage Lake* is an avenue to explore values, thought patterns and even the self.

ADRIAN LIBERTY, PINE POINT SCHOOL

A DICTIONARY OF THE OJIBWAY LANGUAGE. BY FREDERIC BARAGA. ED. ST. PAUL: MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESS, 1992. 422 PP.

Baraga's dictionary is probably the largest Ojibwe dictionary published to date, containing many words no longer in common usage. For this reason, it will have a value and use for Ojibwe speakers and linguistics for many years to come. However, Baraga's work has several problems, most notably in its orthography and dialect inconsistencies.

Baraga, who spoke French, Latin, German, English, Italian and Ojibwe, devised an orthography for Ojibwe to attain the most precise sounds possible. The problem with his orthography is that it used many French and German writing conventions to reach that precision, making use of his system cumbersome and difficult to understand for those without introductory knowledge of French and German. Complicating this significantly was the work of the original editor, Albert Lacombe, who spoke Cree and changed many of the entries to reflect the dialects with which he was familiar. Both Cree and Ojibwe speakers find numerous entries inconsistent with their dialects. Instead of expanding the dictionary's potential readership, he sadly reduced it.

The double-vowel orthography, developed by Leonard Bloomfield for southern Algonquin languages and adapted to Ojibwe by Charles Fiero, is the most widely used orthography for Ojibwe today. Especially with the advent of recent scholarship by Earl Nyholm and John Nichols, the double-vowel orthography has become the orthography of the Ojibwe language. Baraga's work made a significant contribution to Ojibwe language studies, but his dictionary is of interest primarily to linguists, not most Ojibwe speakers and students.

ANTON TREUER, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

*OJIBWA NARRATIVES OF CHARLES AND CHARLOTTE
KAWBAWGAM AND JACQUES LEPIQUE, 1893-1895.*
BY HOMER H. KIDDER. ARTHUR BOURGEOIS,
EDITOR. ED. DETROIT: WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
PRESS, 1994. 166 PP.

History and culture have always been passed on through oral tradition among the Ojibwe people. It seems quite appropriate, even critically important, to make that oral tradition available to a wider audience through publication of Ojibwe stories. However, there are many pitfalls to accompany the important work in textualizing Ojibwe oral traditions. *Ojibwa Narratives* stumbles into its share of them, but still accomplishes much.

Charles Kawbawgam (Naawakwe-giizhig) was a hereditary chief of the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwe and well known story teller. His wife, Charlotte and son-in-law Jacques LePique were also well versed in Ojibwe lore and tradition. The Kawbawgams were both monolingual Ojibwe speakers. Their stories were told to Homer Kidder in the late nineteenth century through LePique who was fluent in French, English and Ojibwe. It is clear that LePique edited stories as they were being translated and that Kidder took some rather substantial liberties once they were textualized. Additionally, when this edition of their stories was published by Wayne State University Press, Arthur Bourgeois rearranged the stories and provided a number of textual notes. The final text has been through several hands on its way from the Kawbawgams to the reader. Their voices are there, but filtered through one native and two non-native editors.

Many Ojibwe people would be troubled by some of the material included in *Ojibwa Narratives*. Wenabozho stories, intended for telling only in winter months when the ground is covered with snow, are exposed for all to read any time of the year. Even more importantly, some critical information about the jiisakaan

(shaking tent) and midewiwin (medicine lodge) are also discussed. It is not clear if LePique leaked information to Kidder not intended for Kidder's ears or if the Kawbawgams willingly told this information. However, the fact that such matters are considered taboo in a written text by many Ojibwe people today is important; and publication of that material in spite of such beliefs is significant.

In spite of the pitfalls just mentioned, however, *Ojibwa Narratives* does have much to offer. There is appropriate cultural, historical, and linguistic material in abundance. Surely, this will propel the narratives of the Kawbawgams and LePique to a level of lasting value.

ANTON TREUER, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GLOSSARIES



MAIN GLOSSARY

ANTON TREUER †

This glossary is composed of terms appearing in the stories published in this edition of the *Oshkaabewis Native Journal*. It is intended to assist students of the Ojibwe language in translation and comprehension of those stories. For a good Ojibwe dictionary, please refer to John D. Nichols and Earl Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

This glossary is alphabetized according to the Ojibwe double-vowel alphabet:

A, AA, B, CH, D, E, G, H, ', I, II, J, K, M, N, O, OO, P,
S, SH, T, W, Y, Z, ZH

For a description of codes and discussion of the double-vowel system, see Nichols and Nyholm, ix-xxvii.

† Many thanks to Earl Nyholm, who taught me the double-vowel system and virtually everything I know of Ojibwe grammar. I could never repay him for his countless hours of patient teaching, wise guiding words and support. Thanks also to John Nichols for his many helpful comments on the glossary and his ground breaking work on Ojibwe grammar.

A

a'aw *pr* that one (animate)
abi *vai* sit
abinoojiinh, -yag *na* child
abwezotaw *vta* put
 someone through sweat
 lodge ceremony
adaawe *vai* buy
adikameg, -wag *na*
 whitefish
agaasaa *vii* it is small
agaashiinyi *vai* be small
agoodoon *vti* hang it up
agoojin *vai* hang
agwajiing *pc* outside
akakojiish, -ag *na*
 woodchuck
akeyaa *pc* in a certain
 direction
aki *ni* earth
akik, -oog *na* kettle
akina *pc* all
akiwenzii, -yag *na* old
 man
ako- *pv* since
akoozi *vai* be a certain
 length
akwaandawe *vai* climb up
amanj *pc* I don't know
 (dubiative indicator)

ambeshke *pc* come on
amo /amw-/ *vta* eat
 someone
amoongi *vai* be consumed
anama'etaw *vta* pray for
 someone
anaamakamig *pc* under
 ground
anaamibag *pc* under the
 leaves
anaamibiig *pc* under water
ani- *pv* coming up into time
animise *vai* fly away
animiwizh /animiwin-/ *vta*
 take someone away, carry
 someone away
animoons, -ag *na* puppy
animosh, -ag *na* dog
animwaanasing *loc* little
 dog island
anishaa *pc* in vain, for
 nothing
anishinaabe, -g *na* Indian
anokii *vai* work
anokiitaw *vta* work for
 someone
anooj *pc* a variety of
anoozh /anoon-/ *vta* order
 someone, commission
 someone
anwebi *vai* rest
anwii-baashkizigan *ni*
 shotgun

apagin *vta* toss him
apa'iwe *vai* run away from
 people to a certain place
apakwaan *ni* roof
apane *pc* always
apii *pc* time, at a certain time
apiitenim *vta* hold someone
 in high regard
asinii-bwaan, -ag *na*
 Asiniboin Indian
ataadiwag /ataadi-/ *vai*
 they gamble with one
 another
atemagad *vii* put there
atoon *vti* put it somewhere
awas *pc* go away
awashime *pc* more so,
 much more
awesiinh, -yag *na* animal
awiiya *pc* someone
ayaa *vai* be somewhere
ayaan *vti* have it
ayaaw *vta* have someone
ayekozi *vai* tired
ayipidoon *vti* pull
 something a certain way
 repeatedly
azhegiwe *vai* returns
azhigwa *pc* now

A A

aabaakawi' *vta* revive
 someone
aabaji' *vta* use him
aabajitoo *vti* use it
aabawaa *vii* warm weather
aabiding *pc* once
aabita- *pn, pv* half
aada' /aada'w-/ *vta* arrive
 before someone
aakozinaagozi *vai* look
 sick
aakoziwigamig *ni*
 hospital
aanawi *pc* anyhow, despite,
 although, but
aangodinong *pc*
 sometimes
aanind *pc* some
aanind dash *pc* the others
aanish *pc* well, well then
aanishinaa *pc* well then
aaniiin *pc* how, why
aaniiin danaa *pc* well
 why?, well how?, why
 not?
aaniiindi *pc* where
aaniiish *pc* well now
aano- *pv* in vain, to no
 avail, without result

aapiji *pc* very
aapijita *vai* to be about
aawan *vii* be a certain thing
aawazh /aawan-/ vta haul
 someone
aawi *vai* be
aazhawaadagaa *vai* swim
 across
aazhikwe *vai* scream

B

babaa- *pv* go around, here
 and there
babaamaadizi *vai* travel
babaamendan *vti* bother
 with it
babaamenim *vai* care about,
 bother about
babaamibatoo *vai* run
 around
babaamibizo *vai* drive
 around
babaaminizha'
/babaaminizha'w-/ vta
 chase someone about
babaamose *vai* walk
 around
babaamoode *vai* crawl
 around
babimose *vai* fly around
babizindaw *vta* listen to
 someone repeatedly
bagaan, -ag na nut
bagaanibimide *ni* peanut
 butter
bagamise *vai* arrive by
 flight
bagamishkaagoon *vti*
 undergo it, it comes upon
 someone

- bagandizi** *vai* lazy,
incompetent
- bagidanaamo** *vai* breathe,
exhale
- bagidin** *vta* offer someone
- bagidinan** *vti* set something
down, release something,
offer something
- bagoneganaanjigaade** *vai*
have a hole shot through
- bakade** *vai* hungry
- bakadenaagozi** *vai* look
hungry
- bakazhaawe** *vai* clean fish
- bakaan** *pc* different
- bakinaw** *vta* beat someone
in a contest, fight
- bakinaage** *vai* win
- bakite'odiwag**
/bakite'odi-/ *vai* they
hit one another
- bakobiigwaashkwani** *vai*
jump in the water
- bakobiise** *vai* fall into the
water
- bakwajindibezh**
/bakwajindibezhw-/
vta scalp someone
- bangii** *pc* little bit, small
amount
- bangiiwagizi** *vai* be a little
bit, be few
- bapawaangeni** *vai* flap
wings, beat wings
- bawa'am** *vai* knock rice
- bawa'iminagaawanzh,**
-iig *na* pincherry tree
- bawa'iminaan, -an** *vai*
pincherry
- baabige** *pc* immediately
- baabii'** *vta* wait for
someone
- Baadwewidang** *na* name
of Sounding Voice
- baakaakonon** *vti* open it
- baakakaabi** *vai* open eyes
- baamaadagaa** *vai* swim
about
- baanimaa** *pc* afterwards,
later on
- baapi** *vai* laugh
- baapinikamigizi** *vai* good
time with laughter
involved
- baasan** *vti* dry it
- baashkiz** /baashkizw-/ *vta*
shoot at someone
- baashkizigan, -an** *ni* gun
- baatayiinadoon** *vti* have a
lot of it, plenty
- baatayiino** *vai* plentiful,
numerous
- baazagobizh**
/baazagobin-/ *vta*
scratch someone

- bebakaan** *pc* different
bekaa *pc* wait
bekish *pc* at the same time
besho *pc* near
bezhig *nm* one
bezhig *pc* certain
bi- *pv* coming
bi-naagozi *vai* appears
bijiinag *pc* after a while,
 recently, just now
bimaadagaa *vai* swim by
bimaadizi *vai* lives. life
 goes by
bimaadiziwin *ni* life
bimaaji' *vta* save
 someone's life
bimaazhagaame *vai* go
 along the shore
bimibatoo *vai* run
bimibizo *vai* drive
bimiwizh /bimiwin-/ vta
 carry someone along,
 bring someone along
bimose *vai* walk
bimoom *vta* carry someone
 on one's back
bine, -wag *na* partridge
biskaakonebidoon *vti*
 turn it on (appliance)
bizhishig *pc* empty
bizhishigwaa *vii* empty
bizindaw *vta* listen to him
- biidaasamishkaa** *vai* arrive
 by water
biidinamaw *vta* hand
 something to someone
biidoon *vti* bring it
biinad *vii* it is clean
biindasaagan, -an *ni* raft
biindig *pc* inside
biindigeyoode *vai* crawl
 inside
biini' *vta* clean someone
biinish *pc* until, up to
biinitoon *vti* clean it
biizikan *vti* wear it
biizikiigan, -an *ni* clothing
booch *pc* certainly, for sure
booni' *vta* quit someone,
 leave someone alone
booni- *pv* quit an activity
boozhoo *pc* hello
boozi' *vta* give a ride to
 someone
bwaan, -ag *na* Dakota
 Indian

D

dabasagoode *vii* hang low
dagoshin *vai* arrive there
dakama'o *vai* ferry across
dakamaashi *vai* sail, cruise
 (by wind)
dakamii *vai* ferry
dakwam *vta* bite someone,
 get a hold of someone
dakwamidiwag
 /**dakwamidi-**/ *vai* they
 bite one another
dakwange *vai* bite
danakii *vai* dwell, live
danaasag *pc* so to speak
danizi *vai* stay (somewhere)
danwewidam *vai* be heard
 speking in a certain place
dash *pc* and, but
dasing *pc* times
dawaaj *pc* preferable, better
 to
dawegishkaa *vii* form a
 part, gap
dazhi- *pv* location
dazhitaa *vai* spend time in a
 certain place
daa *vai* dwell
daangandan *vti* sample
 something by taste

daanginan *vti* touch it
de- *pv* sufficiently, enough
debibidoon *vti* catch
 something, grab
 something
debibizh /**debibin-**/ *vta*
 catch someone
debwetaw *vta* obey
 someone, believe
 someone
dewe'igan, -ag *na* drum
dibaabandan *vti* inspect
 something, look
 something over
dibi *pc* wherever, I don't
 know where
dibishkoo *pc* just like
dimii *vii* deep water
dino *pc* kind, type
dinowa *pc* kind, type

E

- enda-** *pv* just
endaso- *pv* every
endaso-dibik *pc* every
 night
endaso-giizhig *pc* every
 day; also **endaso-**
giizhik
enigok *pc* with effort,
 forcefully
enigoons, -ag *na* ant; also:
enig
enigoowigamig, -oon *ni*
 ant hill
eniwek *pc* relatively
eshkam *pc* increasingly so
eta *pc* only
eta go gaawiin *pc* except

G, H

- gabaashim** *vta* boil
 someone (in water)
gabe-zhigwa *pc* all the
 time now
gaganoondamaw *vta* talk
 for someone
gaganoonidiwag
 /**gaganoonidi-**/ *vai*
 they talk to one another,
 converse
gaganoozh /**gaganoon-**/
vta converse with
 someone
gagiibaadad *vii* foolish
gagiibaadizi *vai* foolish
gagwaanisagendaagozi
vai be considered terrible,
 be considered disgusting
gagwe- *pv* try
gagwejim *vta* ask someone
gagwejitoon *vti* try it; also:
gojitoon (Rainy Lake
 dialects)
ganawaabam *vta* look at
 someone
ganawaabandan *vti* look at
 it
ganawenim *vta* look after
 someone

- ganoozh** /**ganoon-**/ *vta*
call to someone, talk to
someone
- gashki'** *vta* earn someone
- gashkibidaagan, -ag** *na*
tobacco, pipe or bandolier
bag
- gashkitoon** *vti* be
successful at something
- gaskendam** *vai* sad
- gawanaandam** *vai* starve
- gaye** *pc* and
- Gaa-sagaskwaaajimekaag**
loc Leech Lake
- gaagiigido** *vai* talk, give a
speech
- gaanda'igwaason, -an** *ni*
thimble
- gaandakii'ige** *vai* pole
- gaashkiishkigijiibizh**
/**gaashkiishkigijiibin-**/
vta slice somebody into
pieces
- gaawiin** *pc* no
- gaawiin ginwenzh** *pc* no
longer
- gaawiin ingod** *pc* not a
single thing
- gaazhagens, -ag** *na* cat
- gegaa** *pc* almost
- geget** *pc* truly, really
- gego** *pc* don't
- gegoo** *pc* something
- Gegwe-dakamigishkang**
na name of Prancing
Horse
- gemaa gaye** *pc* or
- gete-** *pn* old time, old
fashioned
- geyaabi** *pc* still
- Gibaakwa'igaansing** *loc*
Bena
- giboodiyegwaazon, -an**
ni pants
- gibwanaabaawe** *vai*
drown
- gichi-** *pn, pv* very, greatly
- gichi-aya'aawi** *vai* grown
up; aslo: **gichaya'aawi**
- gichi-waaginogaan, -an**
ni big domed lodge
- gidasige** *vai* parch rice
- gigizhebaa-wiisini** *vai*
eats breakfast
- gigizhebaawagad** *vii* it is
morning
- gikendan** *vti* know it
- gikenim** *vta* know someone
- gikinawaabi** *vai* learn by
observing
- ginjiba'iwe** *vai* escape by
fleeing
- ginwenzh** *pc* long time
- gizhiibattoo** *vai* speed (by
foot)
- gizhiibizi** *vai* itchy

giizhiibizo vai speed (by car)
giimii vai escape
giimoodad vii secret
giin pc you, yourself
giishka'aakwe vai cut timber
giishkaabaagwe vai thirsty
giishkaabaagwenaagozi vai look thirsty
giishpin pc if
giiwanimo vai tell lies
giiwashkwe vai dizzy
giiwashkwebatoo vai staggering run
giiwashkwebii vai drunk
giiwe vai go home
giiwenh pc as the story goes
giiyose vai hunt
giizhaa pc beforehand, in advance
giizhendam vai decide
giizhichigaademagad vii finished, done
giizhig na day, sky
giizhigad vii it is day
giizhige vai complete (building)
giizhiitaa vai ready

giizhooshim vta wrap, bundle someone up warm-like
giizizekwe vai cooking
go pc (emphatic particle)
godaganaandam vai suffer miserably from starvation
goji' vta try someone (tease)
gojitoon vti try it (also: **gagwejitoon**)
gomaapii pc eventually, by and by
gonimaa pc for instance
gosha pc darn
gwanaajiwana vii beautiful
gwanaajiwai vai nice, beautiful, glorious
gwashkozi vai wakes up
gwaashkwani vai jump
Gwiiwizensiwi-zaaga'iganiing loc Boy Lake, also
Gwiiwizensi-zaaga'iganiing Gwiiwizensiwi-ziibiing loc Boy River; also
Gwiiwizensi-ziibiing gwiiwizensidewe'igan na little boy drum
hay' pc too bad; also: **hai'**
haaw pc all right, ok

I

- i'iw** *pr* that one (inanimate)
ikido *vai* say
iko *pc* as a habit,
 customarily
ikwanagweni *vai* roll up
 shirt sleeves
imaa *pc* there
imbaabaa, -yag *na* my
 father
ina'am *vai* sing a certain
 way
inagakeyaa *pc* towards that
 way there
inanjige *vai* want to eat
inanokii *vai* work in a
 certain way
inapine *vai* ill in a certain
 way
inashke *pc* look, behold
inataadi *vai* gamble
 periodically
inawemaagan, -ag *na*
 relative
inaabi *vai* glance, peek
inaakonige *vai* make a
 decree, law
indaga *pc* please, I beseech
 you
inday, -ag *na* my dog
- indengway, -an** *nid* my
 face
indoodem, -ag *nad* my
 clan
inendam *vai* think
inendamowin *ni* thought
ingiw *pr* them (animate)
ingod *pc* singularly
ingoding *pc* one time
ingodwewaan *pc* pair
ingoji *pc* somewhere,
 approximately, nearly
ingwana *pc* it turns out
 that, it was just so
inigaazi *vai* poor, pitiful
inigini *vai* be a certain size
inini, -wag *na* man
iniw *pr* those (inanimate)
injichaag, -wag
 /-jichaag-/ *nad* my
 soul, my spirit
inwe *vai* sounds like
inwemagad *vii* it sounds, it
 is spoken
inzhaga'ay /-zhaga'ay-/
nad my skin
ipidoon *vti* pull something
ipitoo *vai* runs in a certain
 way
ipizo *vai* speeds, travels by
 motor in a certain way
ishkodewaaboo *ni*
 whiskey

ishkonigan, -an ni

reservation

ishkwaa- pv after

ishkwaakamigad vii after

it happens

ishkwaane vai survive a

pestulance

ishkweyaang pc behind, in

the rear

ishpaagonagaa vii deep

snow

ishpi- pv above

ishpiming pc up above,

high, in heaven

ishwaaso-niibinagad vii

it is eight summers

iwapii pc at that time

izhaa vai goes there

izhi /in-/ vta say to

someone

izhi' vta deal with someone

a certain way, make

someone a certain way

izhi- pv thus, thusly

izhichigaazh

/izhichigaaN-/ vta treat

someone a certain way

izhichigaazo vai be treated

a certain way

izhichige vai does so

izhigewinagad vii it is

done (this way)

izhinaw vta see someone

(as something)

izhinaagozi vai look like,

form of

izhinikaade vii it is called

izhinikaazo vai he is called

izhinikaazowin ni name

izhitwaa vai have a certain

custom, belief or religion

izhiwebad vii it happens

izhiwebizi vai condition,

the matter

izhiwidoon vti take it

izhiwizh /izhiwin-/ vta

take someone

J

ji- *pv* to, so that, in order to
jiibaakwaadan *vti* cook it
jiigibiig *pc* along the shore,
 by the water

M

madoodoo *vai* attend sweat
 lodge ceremony
madwe-ikido *vai* be heard
 to say, speak from a
 distance
madwe'oode *vai* be heard
 crawling
majiwi *vai* be bad
Makoons *na* name of Little
 Bear
makwa, -g *na* bear
mamaazikaa *vai* agitate,
 move
manepwaa *vai* need of a
 smoke
manezi *vai* to be in need
manidoo, -g *na* spirit
manoominike *vai* harvest
 rice
manoominike-giizis *na*
 September, the ricing
 moon
mashkawisin *vii* strong
mashkawizii *vai* strong
mashkawiziiwin *ni*
 strength
mashkiki *ni* medicine
mashkikiwigamig *ni*
 pharmacy, hospital

- mawadishi /mawadis-/ vta**
visit someone
- mawashiwe vai** visit
- mawi vai** cry
- mawinazh /mawinan-/ vta**
attack someone, charge someone
- Mazina'ige na** name of Credit Charge
- mazinichigan, -ag na**
image, statue, doll
- mazinichigaazo vai** be represented in effigy, be represented as an image
- mazitaagozi vai** cry out
- maada'adoon vti** follow it (trail, road)
- maada'ookii vai** share, share things
- maadaapine vai** fall ill
- maajaa vai** leave
- maajaa' vta** send someone off, conduct funeral services for someone
- maajitooon vti** start to make it
- maajinizhikaw vta** chase someone off
- maajii- pv** start
- maajiidoon vti** take it
- maajiishkaamagad vii**
start to move
- maamawi pc** all together
- maang, -wag na** loon
- maazhendam vai** feel out of balance, sickly
- megwaa pc** while, in the midst of
- megwaayaak pc** in the woods
- meshkwad pc** instead
- mewinzha pc** long ago
- michisag pc** floor
- midaaswi nm** ten
- midewanishinaabe, -g na**
mide Indian
- midewi vai** be mide
- midewiwin ni** medicine dance, medicine lodge ceremony (also **midewin**)
- migi vai** bark
- migoshkaaji' vta** pester someone, bother someone
- migoshkaaji'iwi vai** be a pest, annoying
- mikaw vta** find someone
- mikwendan vti** remember it
- mimigoshkaaji' vta** tease someone
- mimigoshkam vai** jig rice
- mindido vai** big
- minik pc** amount, certain amount
- minikwe vai** drink
- minis, -an ni** island

- minjiminan** *vti* hold
something in place, steady
something
- minobii** *vai* pleasantly
drunk, drink and be merry
- minogaamo** *vai* pleasingly
plump
- minopogozi** *vai* tastes
good
- minotoon** *vti* make it nice,
good
- minwabi** *vai* sit
comfortably
- minwendaagwad** *vii* fun,
likable
- minwendan** *vti* like it
- minwenim** *vta* like
someone
- misaabe**, **-g** *na* giant
- misaabikong** *loc* rocky
island
- misaabooz**, **-oog** *na* hare,
jackrabbit
- misawendan** *vti* want it,
desire it
- mishiimin**, **-ag** *na* apple
- misiziibi**, **-wan** *ni* big
river
- Miskobines** *na* name of
Red Eagle
- Miskwaagamiwi-**
zaagaiganing *loc* Red
Lake
- mitig**, **-oog** *na* tree
- mitigokaag** *pc* forest
- miziwe** *pc* all over,
everywhere
- miziwezi** *vai* intact
- mii** *pc* it is, there is
- miigaazh** /**miigaan-** / *vta*
fight someone
- miigaazo** *vai* fight
- miigaazowin**, **-an** *ni* fight
- miijin** *vti* eat it
- miikana** *ni* path, trail, road
- miinawaa** *pc* again
- miish** *pc* and then
- miishi-zinigon** *vta* give
someone a whisker rub
- miishidaamikam** *vai* have
whiskers, mustache; also
- miishidaamikan**,
miishidaamikane
- miizh** /**miin-** / *vta* give
someone
- mooshkin** *pc* full
- mooshkinatoon** *vti* fill it
up with solids
- mooshkine** *vai* full
- mooshkinebadoon** *vti* fill
it up with liquid
- mooshkinebii** *vai* full of
water
- mooska'osi**, **-wag** *na*
shypoke, swamp pump,
American bittern

moozhag *pc* always
moozhitoon *vti* feel
 something on one's body

N

na'enimo *vai* store things
nakom *vta* promise
 someone
nakwetaw *vta* answer
 someone
namadabi *vai* sit
name, -wag *na* sturgeon
nanaa'ichige *vai* repair, fix
nanaa'idaa *pc* by
 coincidence
nanaa'idaabaane *vai* car
 repair
nanaa'idaabaanewinini,
-wag *na* mechanic
nanaa'in *vti* organize it
nanaandawi' *vta* doctor
 someone, heal someone
nanaandawi'iwe *vai*
 doctor, heal
nandakwaandawe *vai* try
 to climb
nandawaabam *vta* search
 for someone
nandawaabandan *vti*
 search for it, look for it
nandawendan *vti* want it
nandobani *vai* search for
 the enemy, go to war

- nandobaakinan** *vti* search for something by uncovering and opening
- nandomaandan** *vti* smell it
- nawaj** *pc* more so, more than
- nawapwaan** *ni* bag lunch, lunch taken along
- nayenzh** *pc* both
- nazhike-** *pv* alone
- naa** *pc* come on (emphatic)
- naadamaw** *vta* assist someone
- naadin** *vti* fetch it
- naanaagadawendam** *vai* reflect, ponder
- naanaagadawendan** *vti* reflect on something, consider something
- naangizi** *vai* feel light (weight)
- naangizide** *vai* light footed (good tracker, good dancer)
- naaningim** *pc* often
- naawakwe-wiisini** *vai* eats lunch
- naazh /naan-/** *vta* fetch someone
- naazikaage** *vai* approach
- naazikaw** *vta* approach someone
- Nesawigamaag** *loc* Middle Lake (known today as Shakopee Lake, on the Rum River near Mille Lacs)
- nibo** *vai* die
- nigig, -wag** *na* otter
- niminaaweshkaa** *vai* paddle away from shore
- nimishoomis, -ag** *na* my grandfather
- ninzhishenh, -yag** *na* my uncle
- nishi /nis-/** *vta* kill someone
- nishkaadizi** *vai* angry
- nisidotaw** *vta* understand someone
- nising** *nm* three times
- niso-giizhig** *pc* three days
- nitaawigi** *vai* grow up
- nitaawigi'** *vta* raise someone
- nitam** *pc* first time
- niwiiw** *na* my wife
- niibawi** *vai* stand
- niibidan, -an** *ni* my tooth
- niibin** *vii* summer
- niibowa** *pc* many
- niigaan** *pc* in the future, forward
- niigi** *vai* to be born
- niigi'** *vta* birth someone

niigi'aawaso vai give birth
niigitaw vta bear for
 someone
niij- *pv* fellow
niijanishinaabe, -g na
 fellow Indian
niijikiwenh, -yag nad my
 male friend
niijii, -yag nad my friend
niijiikiwenz nad my fellow
 (between older men)
niikaanis, -ag na brother
niikimo vai growl
niin pv me, myself
niinizis, -an nid my hair
niisaandawe vai climb
 down
niiwana' /niiwana'w-/ vta
 beat someone to death
niiwanaskindibe'
/niiwanaskindibe'w-/
vta give someone a
 stunning blow to the head
niiwing nm four times
niiyo-biboonagad vii it is
 four winters
niiyo-giizhig pc four days
niizh nm two
niizhodens, -ag na twins
noogigaabawi vai stop and
 stand in place
noogishkaa vai stop
noojimo vai heal

nookomis, -ag na my
 grandmother
noondaw vta hear someone
noondaagwad vii heard
noonde- pv need, want,
 crave
noongom pc today
nooni' vta nurse someone
noopiming pc in the woods
noopinadoon vti follow it
 (abstract)
noopinazh /noopinaN-/
vta follow someone
nooskwaada'
/nooskwaada'w-/ vta
 lick someone

O, OO

- o'ow** *pr* this one (inanimate)
- Obaashing** *loc* Ponema
- odamino** *vai* play
- odaminotaw** *vta* play with someone
- odaabaan, -ag** *na* car
- odaapin** *vta* accept someone, take someone
- odaapinaa** *vai* take
- odiy** *nid* his hind end
- ogichidaa, -g** *na* warrior
- ogichidaawi** *vai* be a warrior
- ogidakamig** *pc* on top of the ground, on the bare ground
- Ogimaa-wajiwing** *loc* Chief Mountain (Sisseton)
- omakakii, -g** *na* frog
- omanoominii-**
anishinaabe, -g *na* Menomini Indian
- omaa** *pc* here
- onapizh /onapin-/** *vta* harness someone, tie someone
- onaagoshi-wiisini** *vai* eats supper
- onaagoshin** *vii* it is evening
- ondin** *vta* get someone
- ongow** *pc* these ones (animate)
- oningwiigan, -an** *nid* his wing
- onishkaa** *vai* get up (from a lying position)
- onizhishin** *vii* it is nice, good
- oniijaanisi** *vai* has a child
- onji-** *pv* reason for
- onjibaa** *vai* be from somewhere
- onow** *pr* these ones (inanimate)
- onwaachige** *vai* psychic
- onzaam** *pc* overly, too much, extremely
- onzaamibii** *vai* drink too much
- onzaamine** *vai* deathly ill, extremely sick
- opwaagan, -ag** *na* pipe
- oshaakaw** *vta* scare someone away
- oshkaabewis, -ag** *na* messenger
- oshkaabewisiwi** *vai* be messenger
- oshkiniigikwe, -g** *na* young woman
- owaakaa'igani** *vai* has a house

ozhige *vai* build lodges
ozhishenyi *vai* have an
 uncle
ozhisinaagane *vai* sets the
 table
ozhitoon *vti* make it
ozhiitaa *vai* prepare
oodena, -wan *ni* village
oonh *pc* oh, well (emphatic)

S, SH, T

sa *pc* (emphatic particle)
shke *pc* come on, eh
 (emphatic)
tayaa *pc* good golly

W

wa'aw *pr* this one (animate)
wanaa'itooon *vti* fix it
wanitooon *vti* lose it
wayeshkad *pc* beginning of
a time sequence
wayiiba *pc* soon
waabam *vta* see someone
waabamoojichaagwaan,
-an *ni* mirror
waabanda' *vta* show
someone
waabandan *vti* see it
waabashkiki, -in *ni*
swamp
waabishkiwe *vai* be white
waabooz, -oog *na* rabbit,
cottontail
waagaakwad, -oon *ni* ax
waakaa'igan, -an *ni*
house
waasa *pc* far
waawaabiganoojiinh,
-yag *na* mouse
waawaabishkimoose, -g
na grub worm
waawaashkeshi, -wag *na*
deer
webin *vta* throw someone
away, part with someone

wegodogwen *pc* whatever
wegonen *pr* what, what is
it
wegwaagi *pc* behold
weweni *pc* properly, easily,
in a good way
wewiib *pc* hurry, fast
wiidabim *vta* sit with
someone
wiidigem *vta* marry
someone
wiidookaw *vta* help
someone
wiigiwaamike *vai* make
wigwam
wiiji- *pv* together, with
wiijiw *vta* go with someone
wiikaa *pc* ever
wiikobidooon *vti* pull it
wiikwajitoo *vai* endeavor
wiikwajitooon *vti* try to do
something
wiin *pc* by contrast
wiin *pr* him, himself
wiineta *pr* only him, only
her
wiindamaw *vta* tell
someone
wiinde *vii* it is called
wiindigoo, -g *na* windigo,
cannibal, winter monster
wiinzowin, -an *ni* name

wiipemaawaso *vai* sleep
with a child protectively
wiisagendam *vai* in pain,
suffer
wiisini *vai* eat
wiisiniwin *ni* food
wiinyaas *ni* meat

Z, ZH

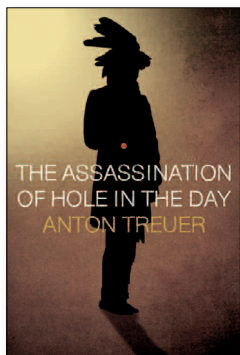
zagaswaa *vai* smoke
zaka'on, -an *ni* cane
zaaga'am *vai* go out, go to
outhouse
zaaga'igan, -iin *ni* lake
zaagajiwe *vai* come out
over a hill
zaagi'vta love someone
zegi'vta scare someone
zegizi *vai* scared, fearful
zhashagi, -wag *na* great
blue heron
zhayiigwa *pc* now already
zhazhiibitam *vai* stubborn
zhaaganaashiimo *vai*
speak English
zhaagode'e *vai* be
cowardly
zhaashaaginizide *vai*
barefoot
zhingobikaadan *vti* line it
with evergreen boughs
ziibi, -wan *ni* river
ziibiins, -an *ni* creek; also
zhiwoobishenh
(archaic)
ziiginan *vti* pour it
ziigwan *vii* it is spring

ziikaapidan *vti* gulp it
down

zoogipon *vii* it is snowing

zoongide'e *vai* be brave

zoongizi *vai* strong, solid



THE ASSASSINATION OF HOLE IN THE DAY

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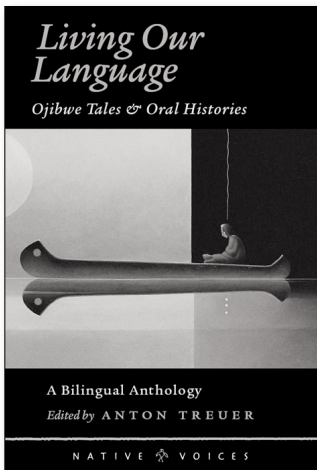
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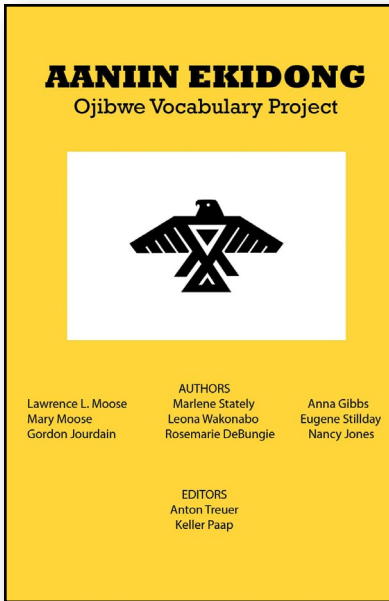
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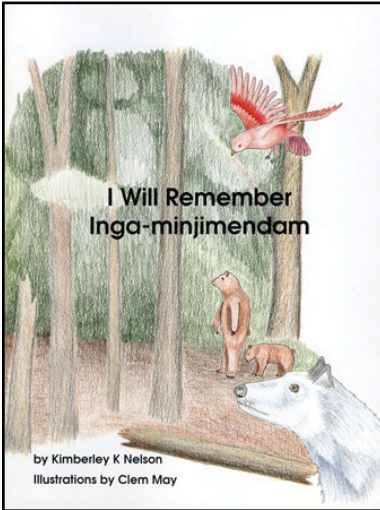


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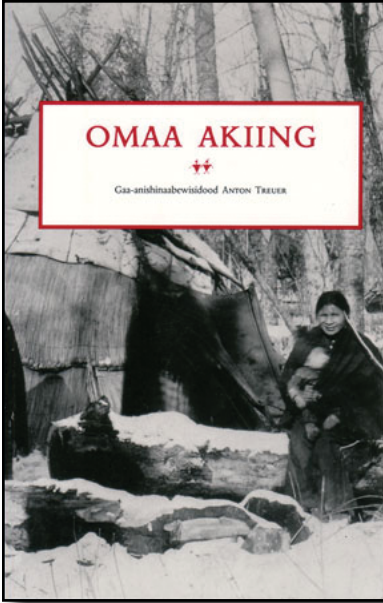
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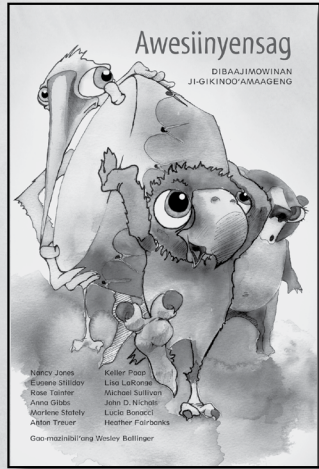
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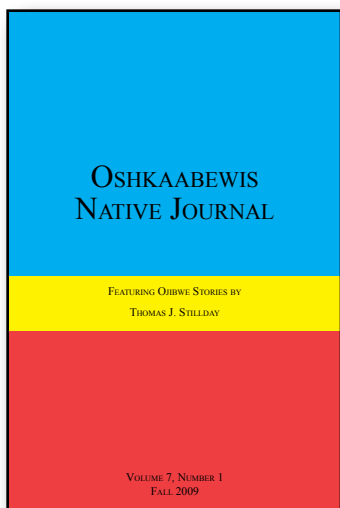
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