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Borrowing in Southern Great Lakes Algonquian and the History of Potawatomi

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Abstract. This article analyzes patterns of lexical borrowing in the Algonquian languages of the Southern Great Lakes region (Miami-Illinois, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Potawatomi), which have been in contact for centuries. Such an investigation not only helps distinguish which features of the languages are inherited and which are diffused, but also provides considerable insight into cultural connections prevailing in the Great Lakes area in the precontact and early contact periods. Some languages have borrowed far more than others, and others far less. The most extensive borrowing among these languages is that by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, which includes not just nouns, but also extends to verbs, numerals, adverbs, pronouns, and even morphological elements.

1. Introduction. Little has been published on borrowing among Algonquian languages. Several publications and presentations have noted the extensive borrowing that has occurred between Ojibwe and Cree (see, e.g., Goddard 1994b: 195–98), though no systematic description of this borrowing has yet appeared in print. Moreover, it is generally known among specialists that Attikamek and Menominee have borrowed from Ojibwe, that Menominee and, especially, Potawatomi have borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, that Penobscot has borrowed extensively from Passamaquoddy, and that Maliseet-Passamaquoddy has in turn borrowed from Micmac. However, even less has been published about these relationships than about the borrowing between Ojibwe and Cree.

The primary purpose of this article is to describe borrowing among the languages of the group with which I have the greatest familiarity, namely, what I call here “Southern Great Lakes Algonquian,” those Algonquian languages spoken at the time of the earliest contact in the southern Great Lakes region of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and southern Michigan. This group includes Miami-Illinois, Potawatomi, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (SFK), and, peripherally, Shawnee, but not Menominee, Cree, or, most significantly, Ojibwe-Ottawa, even though on strictly genetic terms it is clear that Potawatomi’s closest relative is Ojibwean (see below).¹ Southern Great Lakes Algonquian is thus a purely geographical grouping, and does not imply that any kind of special genetic relationship unites these languages to the exclusion of others.²

2. Individual Southern Great Lakes languages.

2.1. Miami-Illinois. Miami-Illinois is the cover term for a language consisting of a handful of very similar dialects in the earliest contact period in the southern

periphery of the Southern Great Lakes area, i.e., in Illinois, Indiana, and western Ohio (Trigger 1978:ix, Callender 1978a:673, 1978b:681). Their immediate neighbors were the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo to their northeast, the Shawnee to their east, the Winnebago to their northwest, and various Siouan-speaking groups to their south and west (Goddard 1999). Genetically, the Miami-Illinois language appears to be equally close to both Ojibwean and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo: it shares the most lexicon with Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, but it also has several significant morphological and phonological features in common with Ojibwe (Costa 2003:1). The groups speaking Miami-Illinois were primarily divided into the Miami proper, in northern Indiana and western Ohio, and Illinois, with the main subgroups the Kaskaskia and Peoria, in the central and western parts of that state. However, there are good archeological and linguistic reasons to believe that the Illinois tribes did not enter that state until the protohistoric period, around the late 1500s or early 1600s (Mazrim and Esarey 2007:185). Eventually all members of the Illinois tribes were forcibly relocated to eastern Kansas and then to northeastern Oklahoma in the mid-nineteenth century, as were about half of all the Miamis, while the remaining Miamis stayed behind in their homeland around the Wabash River area of northern Indiana. It is not entirely certain when the last original speakers of Miami-Illinois passed away, though semi-speakers of Miami still survived in Indiana as recently as the late 1970s.

2.2. Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo is a cover term for three very similar dialects spoken at the time of earliest contact in the southern half of the lower peninsula of Michigan. Their immediate neighbors were the Potawatomi to the north, the Miami-Illinois to their southwest, and, further off, the Shawnee to their southeast (Trigger 1978:ix; Goddard 1999). The Sauk and Fox dialects are extremely similar, with few lexical, phonological, or morphological differences. Kickapoo is more divergent, and clearly split off first from the other two. The Mascouten language was probably a fourth member of this dialect cluster, but the tribe was almost wiped out in the early colonial period, the survivors merging with the Kickapoo before their language could be documented (see Goddard 1978:584–85, 2003b:165). Fox, also known as Meskwaki, is the best documented, and is still spoken in the Meskwaki Settlement near Tama, Iowa. Sauk currently has a small handful of elderly semispeakers in central Oklahoma. Kickapoo has the most speakers of all three, with a few hundred speakers in central Oklahoma, Eagle Pass, Texas, and Nacimientos, Coahuila, Mexico.

2.3. Shawnee. Shawnee was originally spoken in the central Ohio area, though in the colonial period speakers of the language were scattered over a large area of the eastern United States, including Pennsylvania and the Southeast (Callender 1978c:623). While the Shawnee language is quite distinct within Algonquian, its closest relative is the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo language; this is implied by a large amount of shared vocabulary and morphology (e.g., see Goddard

1978:586, 2003a:37). Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Shawnee have been divided into three recognized tribes living in Oklahoma. The language survives today among less than twenty speakers in the central and northeastern parts of that state.

2.4. Potawatomi. The Potawatomi language was spoken at the time of earliest contact in the northern half of the lower peninsula of Michigan (see Clifton 1978:725; Goddard 1999). The Potawatomi most likely originated as an offshoot of the Ojibwe who split off from that tribe somewhere in the Sault Sainte Marie area, moving south into the lower peninsula. This move brought the Potawatomi into direct contact with members of the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten tribes, who then became the southern neighbors of the Potawatomi (see Goddard 1978:586). The Dumaw Creek site in Oceana County near the coast of Lake Michigan is probably a Potawatomi village from the late pre-contact period (Clifton 1978:729). In the wake of white settlement, the Potawatomi scattered throughout the midwest, with various bands ending up in Michigan, Wisconsin, eastern Kansas, and Oklahoma. The language survives today with a handful of elderly speakers, mostly in northern Wisconsin. From linguistic evidence, it is now accepted that the closest relative of the Potawatomi language is Ojibwe (Goddard 1978:585–86; Valentine 1994:100–101; Buszard 2003: 11–12), with which it shares an extremely similar morphological development and most of its core vocabulary. An indication of the closeness of Ojibwe and Potawatomi is that if one scores Potawatomi on the diagnostic morphological criteria for grouping Ojibwe dialects listed in Rhodes and Todd (1981:57), Potawatomi is most similar to Eastern Ojibwe, with which it shares all six criteria (allowing for automatic Potawatomi sound changes), as seen in table 1.

Table 1. Potawatomi Compared with Ojibwe Dialects

CRITERION	EASTERN OJIBWE	POTAWATOMI
Second person plural suffix on intransitive verbs	- <i>m</i>	- <i>m</i>
First person plural suffix on transitive verbs with inanimate object	- <i>min</i>	- <i>mən</i>
First person plural suffix on verbs with second person subject	- <i>min</i>	- <i>mən</i>
Suffix on verbs meaning 'we do something to you'	- <i>nimin</i> , - <i>inmin</i>	- <i>ənəmən</i>
Separate suffix for obviative plural	no	no
Suffix on conjunct verbs meaning 'he does something to us (excl.)' contains <i>m</i>	yes	yes

Among the other Ojibwe dialects listed by Rhodes and Todd (1981:57), Potawatomi is next most similar to Southwestern Ojibwe, with four points of similarity; they differ only in the 'we do something to you' endings and the presence of *m* in the Potawatomi conjunct suffix 'he does something to us (excl.)'. Somewhat surprisingly, Potawatomi shares only three out of six diagnostic criteria with

Ottawa and Central Ojibwe, even though these dialects were geographically adjacent to Potawatomi in modern times. Potawatomi also shares three points of similarity with Northwestern Ojibwe, but only two points with Saulteaux, Severn Ojibwe, and Algonquin. While these results are intriguing, it is unclear how much historical significance can be attributed to them, since it is unknown whether the dialects of Ojibwe had anything like their modern shape (or locations) at the time when Potawatomi split off from Ojibwe. Nevertheless, Potawatomi's close match to Eastern Ojibwe does serve to demonstrate the close affinity of the two languages.³

3. Borrowing between Miami-Illinois and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. To begin, it is possible to find several words peculiar to Miami-Illinois and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo that are not reconstructible to Proto-Algonquian. The words in table 2 were probably borrowed from Miami-Illinois into Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo.

The Kickapoo word for 'fox', *paapakamooha*, is shown to be a loan from Miami-Illinois, and not the reverse, by several facts. First, it is different from the Fox and Sauk word for the animal, *wa·koše·ha*, which is clearly the older word given that it has cognates across Algonquian (cf. Ojibwe *waagoš*, Unami *ɔ·k·wəs*). Second, since Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo does not allow nasal-plus-obstruent clusters, it is easier to explain Miami-Illinois *nk* being borrowed by Kickapoo as *k* than it is to explain why Kickapoo *k* would be borrowed by Miami-Illinois as *nk*. And third, the Miami-Illinois word has an etymology within that language while the Kickapoo word is isolated: *paapankamowa* is clearly an agentive noun from the Illinois animate intransitive verb *paapankamwi-*, as seen in Gravier's Illinois participle *paapankamwita* 'he who laughs loud, always jokes around, coughs in order to call secretly'.⁴

Kickapoo and Miami-Illinois also share a word for 'fawn', Miami-Illinois *apehsia* (older Illinois *apehsiiwa*) and Kickapoo *apeθiia*.⁵ This word has the look of yet another Miami-Illinois loan into Kickapoo, since the word is not found in Fox or Sauk, though it is present in the oldest records of Illinois.

In other cases, arguments for the direction of borrowing are more subtle, and require appeal to phonological evidence. For example, the Fox word for 'lead (the metal)', *asenipi*, is probably borrowed from Illinois *ahsenipi*. If the etymology of this word is 'stone' plus *-epy-* 'liquid' (referring to the ease of melting lead), then from similarly derived forms, one would expect Fox **asenepi* (Ives Goddard p.c. 2010). However, the third-syllable *i* in the Miami-Illinois form is easily explained as due to the reduction of *e* to *i* in odd-numbered syllables characteristic of Miami-Illinois. Thus, the third-syllable *i* in the Fox form probably means that the word was borrowed from Miami-Illinois. Geographically, it makes sense that the borrowing of this word should be in this direction, since in earliest contact times lead was mined on the upper Mississippi, in a region that was considerably closer to Illinois territory than to where the Fox were then living in Wisconsin. Thus, it is likely that the Fox acquired lead in trade from Miami-Illinois speakers.

Table 2. Miami-Illinois Loans into Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo

MI-GLOSS	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	FOX	KICKAPOO
'fox' (animal)	<i>paapankamwa</i> ^a (older <i>paapankamowa</i>)	(<i>wa·koše·ha</i>)	<i>paapakamooha</i> ^b
'tree, stick'	<i>ahtawaani</i> ^c	<i>ahtawa·ni</i> 'chief's staff' (Gd)	—
'it smokes'	<i>aahkoleewi</i> ^d	<i>a·hkone·wa</i> 'Indian tobacco'	<i>eehkoneewa</i> ^e
'lead' (metal)	<i>ahsenipi</i> ^f	<i>asenipi</i> (Gd)	—
'horse'	<i>neekatokašiiwa</i> ~ <i>neekatokašia</i> ^g	<i>F ne·kato·kaše·ha</i> , <i>ne·kato·škaše·ha</i> , <i>SK ne·kato·škaša·ha</i>	<i>neekotikaseeha</i> ^h
'fawn'	<i>apeešiiwa</i> ~ <i>apeešia</i> ⁱ	(<i>ke·takene·ha</i>)	<i>apeeθiiha</i> ^j
'puppy'	<i>alemontehsa</i> ^k	<i>anemohtesa</i> 'ceremonial word for "dog"' (Gd)	—
'be cold'	IL <i>ripaciwa</i> (AI), <i>ripanwi</i> (II) ^l	<i>nepaciwa</i> 'he is cold'	((<i>w</i>) <i>iisáacia</i> 'he is cold, feels cold')

^a Gr (papangam8a), Gt (pápangamwa), Mc (pāpāngámwa^m).

^b Not found in Voorhis (1988), but attested by Jones (1915:116) as (pāpāgamōha). Hockett (1938a) gives (pa·pakamohihkwe·a) in an untranslated text, probably phonemic **paapakamoohihkweea* and meaning 'fox's wife' or 'fox woman'.

^c Gr/LB/P (atta8ane), Gt (tāwani), Mc (tawāni).

^d Gr/LB/P (ac8re8i), V (axkoleoué).

^e From Michelson (1928) (fieldnotes from Joe Murdock), written (ä“kunāwa) 'tobacco'. Michelson notes of this word “ä not ā-,” apparently indicating that he expected it to have word-initial *aa* on the basis of the Fox form.

^f Gr (assenibi), LB (assenipi).

^g Gr (negat8cachi8a), LB (negatt8cachia).

^h Appears in Hockett's notes and Jones (1915); Voorhis (1988) gives (*nee*)*kotikasea*.

ⁱ Gr/P/LB (apessia), LB (apessi8are) (obviative), WP (pahfeu), D (apā'ssia).

^j Voorhis (1988) ambiguously glosses this as 'a kind of deer', but Tee Beleele (1988:35) confirm it as 'fawn'.

^k Gr/LB/P (arem8ntessa), Gt (lémundä“hsa), D (lämondä'sa). This is the only diminutive for *alemwa* found in the modern sources, but in old Illinois an alternate diminutive *aremoonsa* (Gr/LB/P (arem8nsa)) is also found; *alemontehsa* also appears in the modern Miami-Illinois records as the name for 'butterfly weed' (*Asclepias tuberosa*). Cf. also Unami *ntalámúntät* 'my puppy' (Gd).

^l Gr (ripatchi8a), LB (repa]tchi8o), Gr/LB/P (ripan8i), P/H (lipa·nwi). The inanimate intransitive of this verb is *nipanwi* ~ *neepanki* 'it is cold weather' for most modern Miami-Illinois speakers (V (nipāhanoué), Tr (nepāunwee), (näapungk), Gt (nipánwi), (nä'pangi), D (nipánwi), Mi/H (népangi)). Illinois animate intransitive *ripaciwa* has not been found in the modern language.

The relation between the Miami-Illinois and Fox words for 'horse' is even more complex. Fox has several attested forms, the most common being *ne·kato·kaše·ha* and *ne·kato·škaše·ha*, though *ne·kato·škaša·ha* (also the Sauk form) is also occasionally seen.⁶ The original second-syllable *a* seen in these forms has no phonological explanation within Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (it “should” be *o*), though it is easily explained as borrowed from Illinois *neekatokašiiwa* ~

neekatokašia, originally ‘single-clawed one’. The form *neekatokašiiwa* is expected for Miami-Illinois, where the reduction of second-syllable *o* to *a* in changed verbs derived from *ninkoti* ‘one’ is regular (cf. modern Miami-Illinois *neenkatohsiaaanki* ‘we (excl.) walk single file’ and *neenkatwikaneeki* ‘it is one-legged’). The sole Fox form with second-syllable *o*, *ne·koto·škaše·ha*, is never found in texts and probably represents a later adaptation to the normal morpho-phonemic patterns of that language (Ives Goddard p.c. 2010).

However, while the Fox and Sauk forms match the old Illinois word for ‘horse’, they are not as good a match for the form in modern Miami-Peoria; there, *neekatikaša*, with *i* in the third syllable, is consistently seen in all dialects from the late eighteenth century onwards.⁷ In fact, the modern Miami-Peoria form is a better match for Kickapoo *neekotikaseeha*, which also shows third-syllable *i*. Again, borrowing between Miami-Peoria and Kickapoo seems to be indicated, though it is less clear in this case which direction the borrowing went. Probably this word was borrowed in the early postcontact period when the Kickapoo and Miami were living near each other in northern Indiana.

Significantly, a common Ojibwe etymon for ‘horse’, with variants such as *bežiogoogažii*, *bebežiogoogažii*, and *bebežiogoganžii* (see Valentine 1994:750), also means ‘single-clawed one’, though with an Ojibwean initial for ‘one’.⁸ It is possible that the Ojibwe form was calqued by the Southern Great Lakes languages, but if Miami-Illinois speakers obtained horses earlier than Ojibwe speakers (perhaps via tribes to their south or the Spanish), the Ojibwe and Miami-Illinois forms are probably independent, parallel developments.

Fox and Sauk *nepačiwa* ‘he is cold’ is also probably a loan from Miami-Illinois, as Ives Goddard (p.c. 2011) has suggested to me, since in the Fox-Sauk word, the combination *nep-* plus *-ači* ‘by cold’ has been reanalyzed as a single unit.⁹ Moreover, unlike Miami-Illinois, Fox-Sauk has no corresponding inanimate intransitive verb with the same initial (cf. Fox *kesi·ya·wi* ‘it’s (very) cold (weather)’). In Illinois, one finds both the animate intransitive *ripaciwa* ‘he is cold, chilly’ and the corresponding inanimate intransitive *ripanwi* ‘it is cold weather’. In further support of this being a loan to Fox-Sauk is the fact that the word *nepačiwa* is apparently absent from Kickapoo, which instead has *(w)iisáačia* ‘he is cold, feels cold’.

Some of the words borrowed from Miami-Illinois into Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo denote items of considerable cultural importance; one such example is Fox *ahtawa·ni* ‘chief’s staff’. This word was borrowed from Miami-Illinois *ahtawaani* ‘tree, wood, stick’, as is shown by the fact that the Miami-Illinois word has numerous derived forms (e.g., *ahtawaanaahkiwi* ‘it is wooded land’, *ahtawaanhsalwi* ‘pointed wooden arrow’, and *ahtawaaniinkwiaakani* ‘wooden false-face mask’), while the Fox form is again isolated within that language.

Another loan of considerable cultural significance, Fox *a·hkone·wa* and Kickapoo *eehkoneewa* ‘Indian tobacco’, can be shown to be borrowed from Miami-Illinois *aahkoleewi* ‘it smokes, gives off smoke’ by the fact that the Fox

and Kickapoo forms are isolated within Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, while the Miami-Illinois verb has derivationally related forms such as the corresponding animate intransitive *aahkolesiwa* ‘he gives off smoke’ (from LB ⟨ac8ressi8o⟩ ‘il se fume’).

A further culturally important loan into Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo is the Miami-Illinois word for ‘puppy’, *alemontehsa*, which appears to have been borrowed into Fox as *anemohtesa*, an archaic ceremonial word for ‘dog’. Miami-Illinois *alemontehsa* is the normal diminutive of *alemwa* ‘dog’. That the word for ‘puppy’ went from Miami-Illinois to Fox, and not vice versa, is proven by the fact that it has a diminutive ending seen in several other Miami-Illinois words,¹⁰ while its ending is irregular and unique in Fox. Moreover, it is much easier to see how the Miami-Illinois word for ‘little dog, puppy’ could be borrowed as a ceremonial word for ‘dog’ in Fox than it would be to explain why a Fox word with such a specialized meaning would be borrowed as the normal Miami-Illinois word meaning ‘puppy’.

Together, these last three items show that the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo were not merely borrowing words for trade items or random vocabulary from Miami-Illinois speakers, but were borrowing cultural terminology at a level reflecting what must have been extensive, intimate contact.

Interestingly, there are very few instances where borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into Miami-Illinois is indicated, both of them evidently rather recent. Table 3 shows the two most promising examples I have found.

Table 3. Miami-Illinois Loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo

MIAMI-ILLINOIS GLOSS	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	SFK FORMS
‘Delaware Indian’	<i>waapanahkia</i> , <i>waapanahkiiha</i> ^a	<i>wa·panahki·ha</i> ‘Delaware’ ^b
‘people in Mishingomesia’s band’	<i>wii(h)sahkiihaki</i> ^c	<i>wi·sahke·ha</i> ‘name of the culture hero’

^a For *waapanahkia*, note Tr ⟨waubenāühkeeu⟩, Gt ⟨wapanáxkia⟩, and D ⟨wapanakia⟩; for *waapanahkiiha*, note Gt ⟨wapana’kíha⟩, D ⟨wápanáqkíha⟩, and Mc pl. ⟨wāpAna’kī’a’k’⟩.

^b The form *wa·panahki·ha* is also attested in Fox as an unglossed tribe name obtained by Truman Michelson (Ives Goddard p.c. 2012).

^c From ⟨wíssákiháki⟩ (Dunn 1919:81) and ⟨wíssákeháki⟩ (Dunn n.d. b). The phonemization of this word is uncertain; ⟨e⟩ in Dunn’s transcriptions of Miami-Illinois usually indicates phonemic *i(i)*.

The Miami-Illinois word for ‘Delaware Indian’ appears in two forms: *waapanahkia* and *waapanahkiiha*. The form *waapanahkia* (with word-final *-ia* from older **i·wa*; cf. Menominee *wa·panahki·w* ‘Stockbridge Mahican’) is historically what would be expected for modern Miami-Illinois. However, the equally common alternate with the ending *-iiha* is quite unexpected, and can only be explained as borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, since the very common Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo diminutive noun ending *-h* is otherwise unknown in Miami-

Illinois. Very likely Miami-Illinois *waapanahkia* is original, with *waapanahkiiha* borrowed from Kickapoo (or maybe Mascouten) when speakers of Miami-Illinois, Kickapoo, and Delaware were all living near each other in northern Indiana.

The second form in the table above is more complicated. Dunn gives this plural noun, *wii(h)sahkiihaki*, with the meaning ‘people in Mishingomesia’s band, on the upper Mississinewa, near Jalapa’. The Mishingomesia band is a Miami group whose descendants live in northern Indiana to this day. The name *wii(h)sahkiihaki*, which also shows the anomalous ending *-Vha*, has no discernible etymology within Miami-Illinois, though it appears to be borrowed from *wiiθahkeeha*, the Kickapoo name of the culture hero.¹¹ This form was most likely borrowed in the early nineteenth century when Miami and Kickapoo speakers lived next to each other in northern Indiana.

4. Borrowing involving Kickapoo. There are other borrowings centered on Kickapoo that deserve to be discussed here. The first of these involves some of the Kickapoo names for different types of white people they encountered. The first of these is the Kickapoo word for ‘white American, white man’, seen in (1).

- (1) older Kickapoo *meši-maaniθa* ‘American’, modern Kickapoo *maaniθa* ‘white American, white person’
cf. Fox and Sauk *mo·hkoma·na* ‘white man, white American’

The Kickapoo word for ‘white American’ is not the same etymon seen in Fox and Sauk. Kickapoo has a form *maaniθa*, or, as attested by Trowbridge in the early 1800s, *meši-maaniθa*,¹² while Sauk and Fox share a form *mo·hkoma·na* ‘white American’, presumably borrowed from Ojibwe *giči-mookomaan* ‘big knife, white person’.¹³ The origin of Kickapoo (*meši-*)*maaniθa* is more problematic; it does not contain the native Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo word for ‘knife’ (i.e., Kickapoo *maateθi* and Fox *ma·tesi*).¹⁴ However, it does resemble the word for ‘white American, white man’ found in Miami-Illinois and older Shawnee, both terms transparently meaning ‘big knife’.

Table 4. ‘Big Knife’ Terms for ‘White American’

GLOSS	KICKAPOO	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	OLD SHAWNEE
‘white American’	(<i>meši-</i>) <i>maaniθa</i>	<i>mihši-maalhsa</i>	<i>mhsi-maanhθi</i> ^a
‘knife’	<i>maateθi</i>	<i>maal(i)hsi</i>	<i>maanehθi</i>

^a Not found in Voegelin’s Shawnee materials, but attested in Ridout’s 1788 vocabulary (Edgar 1891:377) as (shemanthee) ‘Virginian’, in the early nineteenth-century materials of Trowbridge (1939:68) as (m’simaunthēē) ‘American’, by Thomas Alford (1936:321) as (msi mnrnfi), and in Gatschet’s (1878) fieldnotes as (psimán’tí).

Very likely Kickapoo (*meši-*)*maaniθa* was borrowed from either Miami or Shawnee: the *n* in the Shawnee form (the expected reflex of PA **nθ* in that language) matches the Kickapoo *n*, while one would also expect the *l* in the

Miami form to appear in Kickapoo as *n* (since Kickapoo lacks an *l* phoneme). On the one hand, the second-syllable *i* in the Kickapoo form phonologically matches the Miami¹⁵ but not the Shawnee form, and might argue that Kickapoo got the word from Miami. On the other hand, the Shawnee were further east than either the Kickapoo or the Miami, and so probably acquired the ‘big knife’ term (and encountered white Americans) before either of the other tribes.

The other borrowing centered on Kickapoo involves the Shawnee word for ‘white man’, namely, (*meh*)*tekohsiya*, given in (2).

- (2) older Shawnee *meh**tekohsiya*, modern *tekohsiya* ‘Englishman, white person’¹⁶
 cf. Kickapoo (*w*)*eemeh**tekoosiha*,¹⁷ Fox/Sauk *me·mehteko·ši·ha* ~ *we·mehteko·ši·ha*,
 all meaning ‘Frenchman’

Shawnee (*meh*)*tekohsiya* means ‘white person’ (originally ‘Englishman’) in that language, though in all other Algonquian languages its cognates mean ‘Frenchman’.¹⁸ These terms all ultimately derive from PA **me?teko·ši* ‘dugout canoe’.¹⁹ However, as first shown by Goddard (2003b:183), Shawnee (*meh*)*tekohsiya* is in fact borrowed from some Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo dialect (probably Kickapoo). This is shown by its preglottalized *hs* where plain **s* would be expected, since all intervocalic sibilants are in fact pronounced with phonetic (noncontrastive) preaspiration in Sauk, Fox, and older Kickapoo.²⁰

However, such borrowing can also go the other direction. One Kickapoo word which is almost certainly borrowed from Shawnee is the word for ‘alligator’, seen in (3).

- (3) Kickapoo *maskehteekwa* ‘alligator’; cf. Shawnee *mskehteekwa*
 cf. Fox *ko·hko·teni·ha* (Gd), Sauk *ko·ko·teni·ha*, Potawatomi *gokodni*, Unami *škéhte*
 ‘alligator’ (Gd)²¹

The Kickapoo word for ‘alligator’ is not the same as the French loanword found in Fox, Sauk, and Potawatomi, though the Kickapoo form does match Shawnee *mskehteekwa*. This indicates borrowing from Shawnee after the split up of Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into its constituent dialects. That the direction of the borrowing was from Shawnee into Kickapoo, and not the reverse, is indicated not only by the unrelated French loanword shared by Sauk and Fox, but also by the fact that the Shawnee very likely encountered alligators before the Kickapoo did, due to the Shawnees’ wider distribution and more southerly location. As a side note, Unami Delaware seems also to have borrowed the Shawnee word for ‘alligator’, as seen in its form *škéhte* (Ives Goddard p.c. 2010).²²

5. Southern Great Lakes borrowing involving Delaware. While Unami ‘alligator’ is borrowed from Shawnee, it is more common to find cases where the Southern Great Lakes Algonquian languages have borrowed from Delaware. For example, the Shawnee word for ‘house cat’ is borrowed from Delaware, probably Unami, as is indicated by the data in (4).

- (4) Shawnee *poosiiθa* 'house cat'; cf. Unami *pó·š·i·s*, Munsee *pó·ši·š*²³ for other 'house cat' terms, cf. Kickapoo *pesia*, Fox and Sauk *ka·šo·ha*, Potawatomi *gažo*, Ojibwe *gaažagens*, and Miami-Illinois *pinšiuwa*

Likewise, the Shawnee word for 'pig' is very likely borrowed from the Munsee word for that animal, as is seen in (5); the Munsee word is, in turn, borrowed from Dutch (Goddard 1974:155).

- (5) Shawnee *kosko* 'pig'; cf. Munsee *kó·ško·š*
note also Fox and Sauk *ko·hko·ša*, Miami-Illinois *koohkooša* and Ojibwe *gookooš*²⁴

Similarly, the Shawnee word for 'goat, sheep' is taken from the Unami word for 'sheep', given in (6), which in turn probably came from a Dutch imitative syllable for the animal (Goddard 1974:158).

- (6) Shawnee *meekeeθa* 'goat, sheep'; cf. Unami *méki·s* 'sheep'
note also Fox *me·mehta·neša*, Sauk *ma·neta·neša*, and Ojibwe *maaništaaniš ~ maanitaaniš*

And finally, the Miami name for General Anthony Wayne, who led the assault against a combined army of Great Lakes tribes at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, appears to be borrowed from Delaware, probably Munsee, as seen in (7).

- (7) Miami *kiihkaya* 'Anthony Wayne' and locative *kiihkayonki* 'Fort Wayne'; cf. Munsee *kíhkay* 'chief, ruler, leader' and Unami *khík·ay* 'elder, old woman'

Miami *kiihkaya*, which has no discernible etymology within that language, appears to be borrowed from Munsee *kíhkay* 'chief, ruler', which itself probably arose as a Delaware nickname for General Wayne. However, this Miami noun is seen much more often in the locative, as the Miami name for Fort Wayne, Indiana, *kiihkayonki*²⁵—literally, 'General Wayne's place'. This word was no doubt borrowed when Delaware speakers were living near the Miami in northern Indiana in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

6. Potawatomi loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. When one examines the broader patterns of lexical borrowing in Southern Great Lakes languages, the most striking grouping is that uniting Miami-Illinois, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, and Potawatomi (and sometimes Shawnee). For example, several animal names appear in Miami-Illinois, Potawatomi, and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, but not Ojibwe or Menominee. Some of these represent names for animals that were absent or rare in the more northerly Ojibwe homeland, but with which the Potawatomis would have become more familiar after they moved to southern Michigan or onto the prairies. Thus, the words in table 5 very likely represent borrowings from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into Potawatomi.

Table 5. Southern Great Lakes Animal Names

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'pronghorn antelope'	<i>wa·piti·ha</i> (Gd), SK <i>wa·pitiye·ha</i> ^a	<i>wabdi</i> ~ <i>wabdiye</i> ^b	— ^c	<i>waapitiiθa</i> ^d	<i>waapitia</i> ^e	<i>apistaciħkos</i>
'grizzly bear'	<i>ka·ka·nwi·kaše·wa</i> ~ <i>ke·ka·nwi·kaše·ha</i>	<i>gagangəži</i> ^f	<i>manidoo-</i> <i>makwa</i> , ^g <i>giči-makwa</i>	—	<i>keekaanwikaša</i>	<i>okistato wa·n,</i> <i>mistahaya</i>
'rock bass, crappie'	K <i>meskiikweewa</i> , <i>meskiikweea</i> 'perch' ^h	<i>mskiwe</i> 'crappie'	<i>agwadaasi</i> ⁱ	—	<i>mahiinkweewa</i> ~ <i>mahiinkwia</i> 'rock bass' ^j	—
'spotted skunk' (<i>Spilogale putorius</i>)	K <i>taahitaakwa</i> ^k	<i>datagos</i> ^l	—	—	<i>taahitaankwa</i>	—
'wolf'	<i>mahwe·wa</i>	<i>m?we</i>	<i>ma?iingan</i>	<i>mħweewa</i>	<i>mahweewa</i>	<i>mahi·ħkan</i>

^a Fox, Sauk, and Kickapoo all attest *wa·piti·ha*, while Sauk also has *wa·pitiye·ha*. The Kickapoo form is from Albert Gatschet's fieldnotes, where it appears as (wápiti). Though the Sauk forms here are glossed by Whittaker (2005) as 'white tailed deer, elk', they probably originally designated the pronghorn antelope as well. Hockett gives a Kickapoo form (wa·piti·ħo), though he glosses it as 'yellow jacket'.

^b This form is attested in the the online Potawatomi dictionary (Prairie Band Potawatomi n.d.) as (wapti), and by Gaillard as (wá'ptiyé).

^c Gatschet's (1884) fieldnotes on Oklahoma Ottawa give a form (wewapshkitiá) 'antelope', probably phonemic **wewaaššidiye*.

^d In Shawnee, the nondiminutive of this term, *waapiti*, means 'elk'.

^e In Miami-Illinois, this word is also commonly found as the participle *waapitiiaata* (Gt (wapitiáata), D (wapitiáata)).

^f A Potawatomi alternate *gagingəže* is also attested (both from Welcher [n.d.]).

^g Phonemized from the form given in the materials of Edwin James and John Tanner (John Nichols p.c. 2010).

^h From Hockett (1938a); Fox has *meški·kwe·ha* as an unidentified fish species and a man's Fish Clan name (Gd).

ⁱ Note also Ottawa *godaašiih* ~ *kodaašiih*.

^j For old Illinois, note (makingə8a) (Pinet = 'crapaut', Gravier = 'crapaut de mer, poisson ainsy nommé'); for modern Miami-Illinois, there is Gt (makingwia) and D (mük-k'i'n-gwyah), both glossed 'rock bass'.

^k Imprecisely glossed by Voorhis (1988:120) as 'black and white skunk'.

^l Dunn (n.d. c, from the Michigan Potawatomi speaker Quashma) gives this as (tah-tah-göss) 'polecat, white spotted small species'.

In fact, by far the largest group of loanwords among the Southern Great Lakes languages consists of words borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. There are three broad categories of Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans in Potawatomi. First are the large number of Potawatomi words revealed as being loans by the absence of cognates in Ojibwe. Tables 6–8 list examples of Potawatomi words in this category: nouns and adverbs in table 6, table 7, and borrowed numerals in table 8.

Rather than attempting to justify every word in tables 5–8 as a loan from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo to Potawatomi, I limit discussion below to some of the more revealing examples.

In table 5, ‘pronghorn antelope’ is one of the better examples of an animal that was very likely absent from the traditional Ojibwe-Ottawa homelands, but with which Miami-Illinois, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, and Shawnee speakers would have been more familiar, if not in their homelands, then in their annual hunting grounds. This word literally means ‘white rump’ and was almost certainly borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into Potawatomi. The two attested variants of this word in Potawatomi even match its two attested variants in Sauk.

In table 6, it can be seen that the Potawatomi form for ‘culture hero’ matches that in Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, which is itself a hypocoristic diminutive of the Proto-Algonquian form. This Proto-Algonquian etymon has been lost in Ojibwe and replaced with an unrelated term, *nenabožo*,²⁶ further confirming that the Potawatomi form is a loanword.

‘Deer’ in table 6 is more problematic. Potawatomi *səksi* resembles the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Shawnee etymon, which is not found anywhere else. By the normal patterns of borrowing between Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Potawatomi, if the Potawatomi form were a loan, one might expect it to be something like **bšəksəw* rather than actual *səksi*. The initial fortis *s* as well as the first-syllable *ə* show that an earlier initial syllable has been deleted from the Potawatomi form at some point, though by the earliest records this noun already begins with *s* (cf. Gaillard’s [n.d.] ⟨sūkisī̄⟩). Presumably the *s* where *š* would be expected is the result of some kind of sibilant harmony.

The Potawatomi form for ‘horse’ in table 6, *negdoša*, is highly reminiscent of the forms literally meaning ‘single-claw’ seen in Miami-Illinois and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the missionary Gaillard recorded an older form *negadoškəša*, pre-dating Potawatomi vowel syncope.²⁷ After applying vowel syncope to this form, one would get **negdoškša*; evidently, Potawatomi simplified the *škš* cluster of this word to simple fortis *š* (phonetic [š·]), giving the modern attested form *negdoša*. This cannot be a native Potawatomi word, since the actual final for ‘nail, claw’ in Potawatomi is *-əgəža-*, not *-əškəša-* (e.g., note Potawatomi *gagingəžat* ‘he has long nails, long claws’). Very likely, old Potawatomi *negadoškəša* is borrowed from the Sauk or Fox variant *ne·kato·škaša·ha* (itself ultimately an old Illinois loan).

Table 6. Nouns and Adverbs Borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'all'	ča·ki	jak	(g)akina	čaaki	ceeki	kahkiyaw
'arrowhead, spearhead'	aša·ti·hi ^a	žadi	biwaanag ^b	kiisha	wiipica	mo·hkoma·nitos
'board'	pasika·hkwa	bsəgak	nabəgisag	pθikahkwi	peepakihšiki	napakihlak
'my (woman's) breast'	neno·na·kani	nnonagan	nindoodoosim	nilenya	ninoonaakani	nitohto·sim
'bull'	ke·kinesi·ha ^c	gegnəsi	doonoo	keekilhsi	kiikilehšiwia	takuana·w
'bullfrog'	to·to·wa	dodo ^d	dende(nh)	tooto	toontoowa	te·hte·w ^e
'cannibal'	SK a·yamowe·wa (Gd), K ayamowe ^e ha ^f	ayamowē ^e	wiindigoo	*hamamowē ^h	eemamowia	wi·htikow
'culture hero'	wi·sahke·ha	wiske ⁱ	nenabožo	naasiiθeki	wihsakacaakwa	wi·sahke·ča·hk
'deer'	pešekisiwa ~ pešekisiwa	saksi	waawaaskeši	psekθi	moohsua	atihk, apisimo·sos ^j

^a Specifically means 'headed arrow, arrow with a separate stone or metal head as opposed to all wood' (Gd). Hockett (1938a) gives an ostensibly animate Kickapoo form (ʔaša·ti·h^{ca}) *ašatiha* 'spear'.

^b This is also the word for 'flint' (see below); see Rhodes (1985:58).

^c Besides a reflex of this form, Kickapoo also has the French loan *tonooha* 'bull' (also found in Ojibwe and Menominee).

^d Phonemicized from Gaillard's (toto); Gatschet (1878) also attests a Potawatomi form *gca-dodo*.

^e Faries (1938:470) gives this as a Swampy Cree form; it may well be an Ojibwe loan.

^f Fox has *ki·yamowe·wa* (Gd). The Kickapoo form is from Jones (1915:90) (Aiyāmowäha); the first vowel is probably long, though Jones never writes it thus.

^g Phonemicized from Gaillard's (áiyimowé) 'giant'; the twentieth-century Potawatomi form would presumably be **aymowe*.

^h Not found in the records, but can probably be safely inferred from Shawnee *hamamoweewe* 'cannibalism' and *hamowe* 'he is a cannibal'.

ⁱ Attested by Hockett (n.d.), as well as Clifton (1978:733, 736).

^j Faries (1938:55) glosses this as 'jumping deer'.

Table 6. Nouns and Adverbs Borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (continued)

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'doe'	F <i>oko(-)wa, Sk oko·ha^k</i>	<i>wgow^l</i>	<i>oniijaaniw</i>	<i>hokoweeθa</i>	<i>akoowa</i>	<i>no·se·tihk</i>
'(my) enemy'	<i>ni·či·škwe·ha^m</i>	<i>nijiškweⁿ</i>	<i>žaangenimij, žaangenijged</i>	<i>nimateeleetiuwena</i>	<i>nintahkiamwa</i>	<i>pakwa·cikan</i>
'far'	<i>peno·či</i>	<i>bnoč</i>	<i>waasa</i>	<i>pelowi</i>	<i>pilowi</i>	<i>wa·hyaw</i>
'fawn'	F/SK <i>ke·takene·ha</i>	<i>gedgəne</i>	<i>gidakaaoons</i>	<i>keetaksooθa</i>	<i>apehsia</i>	<i>apisimo·sosis</i>
'flint'	<i>ša·kohka·ni</i> 'piece of flint'	<i>*žagkan^o</i>	<i>biwaanag</i>	<i>saakohka</i>	<i>wiipici</i>	<i>pi·wa·nak</i>
'grasshopper'	<i>kwa·hkwa·te·ha</i>	<i>gwakwade^p</i>	<i>bapakine</i>	<i>kwaskwaanethi</i>	<i>kwaahkwaaansia</i>	<i>papakine·w, kwa·skohči·sis</i>
'horn'	<i>owi·wi·na</i>	<i>wiwin^q</i>	<i>eškan</i>	<i>wiiwiila</i>	<i>(a)wiiwiila</i>	<i>e·skan</i>
'horse'	F/SK <i>ne·kato·škaša·ha</i>	<i>negdoša</i>	<i>(be)bežigoo·gaži</i>	<i>mseeue</i>	<i>neekatokašiiwa ~ neekatikašia</i>	<i>misatim</i>

^k The Sauk form is supplied by Gordon Whittaker (p.c. 2010); the length of the vowel in the second syllable of the Fox form is unknown (Ives Goddard p.c. 2008).

^l Phonemicized from Gaillard's (n.d.) (oków) and Gatschet's (1878) (úko). Welcher (n.d.) and Halpern (1941) attest a form *wnijan* instead; see table 13 below.

^m Note also Menominee *ni·ci·skiw* 'my enemy', which looks to be a loan from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo.

ⁿ From Hockett (n.d.).

^o Phonemicized from Gaillard's (chā'kikin) 'flint of a gun'. In twentieth-century Potawatomi one would expect this to be *žagkan. Gaillard's transcriptions of Potawatomi show that by his time the merger of short vowels to ə had already taken place, though the syncope of unstressed short vowels was not yet complete (especially word-medially); by the time of Hockett's fieldwork, all nonfinal unstressed short vowels are gone.

^p Hockett (1939:149).

^q Hockett (1939:156).

Table 6. Nouns and Adverbs Borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo (continued)

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'leaf'	<i>ta·htapakwi</i> ^r	<i>datbak</i>	<i>aniibiis</i>	<i>msiski</i>	<i>mihsipakwa</i> , <i>kaakipakwa</i> ^a	<i>ni·piy</i>
'leather'	<i>pi·ša·kani</i>	<i>bisagan</i>	<i>bašwegin</i>	<i>pihsaaka</i>	—	<i>pahke·kin</i>
'mink'	<i>onepiškwe·ha</i> ⁱ	<i>(w)napškwe</i> ^u	<i>žaangwesi</i>	<i>saakweewehoi</i>	<i>šinkohsa</i>	<i>sa·kue·s(iw)</i>
'otter'	<i>ketate·wa</i> ^y	<i>gdade</i>	<i>nigig</i>	<i>kitate</i>	<i>kinohšamia</i>	<i>nikik</i>
'parents'	<i>omeso·ta·nahi</i>	<i>wmazodanan</i>	<i>niniigi?igoog</i>	<i>nikehkiyaamaki</i>	—	<i>nini·kihikwak</i>
'plum'	<i>po·hkama·wa</i> ^w	<i>bokma</i>	<i>bageasaanimin</i>	<i>pohkamaaθa</i>	<i>atehseemina</i>	<i>pake·sa·nimin</i> 'fig'
'prairie chicken'	F/SK <i>ki·wa·ni·ha</i> (Gd) ^x	<i>giwani</i>	<i>aagask</i>	<i>hapki</i>	<i>mihsihseewa</i> ~ <i>pihsihsia</i>	<i>pihe·w</i>
'pumpkin, squash'	<i>wa·pikoni</i>	<i>wabgon</i> 'pumpkin'	<i>okosimaan</i>	<i>waapikwi</i> ^y	<i>eemihkwaani</i>	<i>okosima·n</i> 'cucumber'
'son (voc.)'	F/K <i>nekwi·hi</i> , SK <i>nekwi·he</i>	<i>ngwi</i>	<i>(ningwis)</i>	<i>nikuwēhi</i>	<i>ninkwihse</i>	<i>nikose</i>

^r Hockett (1938a) gives *taahitopakwi*; Voorhis (1988) has the divergent *otoohitopakwi*.

^a *mihsipakwa* is the Miami word for 'leaf'; *kaakipakwa* (or *kaakipakwi*) is the Peoria and Wea equivalent.

ⁱ For Fox, Goddard (2002:55) has both *onepiškwe·ha* and *anapiškwe·ha*. For Kickapoo, Hockett (1938a) has only *onepiiha*, though Custer (1911) has (o-nup-pē-cku), which seems to better match the Fox forms. Fox also has the English loanword *miāka* (Gd).

^u Attested by Gaillard (n.d.), Bourassa (1843), and Gatschet (1878); an alternate *gnəpškwe*, with unexpected initial *g*, is given by Welcher (n.d.) and Shepard (1929).

^w Kickapoo has reshaped *ketatecha* (Hockett 1938a; Jones 1915:42).

^x Fox has *po·hkama·ha*, Sauk *po·hkama·wa*, and Kickapoo *pohkamaa*. Note also Munsee *pwāhkama·š* 'plum'.

^y The Sauk form is from Skinner (1923–25:147). The more common name for this bird in Fox (and the only name attested in Kickapoo) is *mešise·wa*, cognate with the Miami-Illinois term.

^z The development of this word is explained by Costa (2001:283).

Table 7. Verbs Borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'bite it'	<i>sakipotamwa</i>	<i>zgbɔdak</i>	<i>ɔagwandang</i>	<i>θakipotamwa</i>	<i>sihsantamwa</i>	<i>tahkwahitam</i>
'blame him'	<i>ahten-</i>	<i>ətan-</i>	<i>anaamim-</i>	<i>ahtel-</i>	<i>ahtel-</i>	<i>ata·mim-</i>
'blue, green' (AI)	<i>aškipakesiwa</i>	<i>skɔgəzət</i>	<i>ozaawaškozi</i>	<i>skipakiθi</i>	<i>iħkipakileeta</i>	<i>askihtakosiw</i>
'breathe' ^a	<i>ne·mowa</i>	<i>nemo</i>	<i>nese</i>	<i>lehθe</i>	<i>neehseewa</i>	<i>ye·hye·w</i>
'camp'	K <i>kehkesi-</i>	<i>gəkaša-</i>	<i>gəbeši-</i>	<i>kkehsi-</i>	<i>kihkihši-</i>	<i>kape·si-</i>
'freeze' (AI)	<i>si·kaciwa</i>	<i>zigjaw</i>	<i>maškawaji</i>	<i>θookaci</i>	<i>soonkaciwa</i>	<i>a·hkwaciw</i>
'happen' (II)	<i>inahkiwiwi</i> 'there is such going on'	<i>nəkiwək</i> 'it happens a certain way'	<i>inakamigad</i>	<i>yeesinaki</i> 'as it happens'	<i>ilahkiyowi</i>	<i>itahkamikan</i>
'laugh' ^b	K <i>aayeenia</i> 'he laughs' ^c	<i>ndayen</i> 'I laugh'	<i>baapi</i>	<i>haayeeeli</i> 'he laughs, smiles'	<i>kiiweeliwa</i>	<i>pa·hpiw</i>
'love him'	F/SK <i>tepa·n-</i> , K <i>tapaan-</i>	<i>daban-</i>	<i>zaagi?</i> -	<i>ahkweelem-</i>	<i>tapaal-</i>	<i>sa·kih-</i>
'skin him'	F <i>peši·n-</i> , K <i>pesin-</i>	<i>bašin-</i>	<i>bakon-</i>	<i>psin-</i>	<i>pehšin-</i>	<i>pahkon-</i>
'swollen'	SK <i>makwi·tamwa</i>	<i>magwidəm</i> ^d	<i>baagiši</i>	<i>makwitamwa</i>	<i>paakisiwa</i> ^e	<i>pa·kisiw</i>
'think so'	<i>išite·he·wa</i>	<i>žade?e-</i>	<i>inendam</i>	<i>sithe</i>	<i>išiteheewa</i>	<i>ite·yihitam</i>

^a See also table 11 below.

^b An agentive noun derived from earlier **a·ye·li-* 'laugh, smile' is the origin of the word for 'possum' found in most central Algonquian languages, e.g., Illinois (*aeri8a*) (Gravier n.d.), modern Miami-Illinois *eeyeeelia* (Costa 1992:21), Fox *a·ye·ni·ha* ~ *e·ye·ni·ha* (Goddard p.c. 2010), Potawatomi *ayeni* (Welcher n.d.), and Kansas Ottawa (Gatschet 1887) *ayenii* (*ayēni*), literally, 'the laugher'.

^c Hockett (1938a). This verb stem is not attested in Fox, though Fox does have the animate intransitive final *-a·ye·ni* 'laugh' (as in *pye·ta·ye·ni-* 'arrive laughing') (Gd).

^d From Gaillard (n.d.) (*nimokwītīm*).

^e Cf. Kickapoo *paakeθia* 'he is hard, solid'.

Table 8. Numerals Borrowed by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo

GLOSS	SFK	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'one'	<i>nekoti</i>	<i>ngot</i>	<i>bežig</i>	<i>nekoti</i>	<i>ninkoti</i>	<i>pe:yak</i>
'seven'	<i>no·hika^a</i>	<i>noʔək</i>	<i>niizwaaswi</i>	<i>niiswahθwi</i>	<i>swaahtheethwi</i>	PC <i>te:pakohp</i> , SC <i>ni·swa·s(ik)</i>
'nine'	<i>ša·ka</i>	<i>žak ~ žag^b žangaswi^c</i>	<i>žang,</i>	<i>čaakatθwi</i>	<i>nkōtimeneehki</i>	<i>ke·ka·-miita·taht</i>
'twenty'	<i>ni·šwa·pitaki</i>	<i>nižwabdək</i>	<i>niišana</i>	<i>niiswaaapitaki</i>	<i>niisomateene</i>	<i>ni·sitanaw</i>
'thirty'	<i>neswa·pitaki</i>	<i>nswabdək</i>	<i>nisimidana</i>	<i>nθwaaapitaki</i>	<i>nihsomateene</i>	<i>nistomitanaw</i>
'forty'	<i>nye·wa·pitaki</i>	<i>nyewabdək</i>	<i>niimidana</i>	<i>nyeewaaapitaki</i>	<i>niiyomateene</i>	<i>ne·mitanaw</i>

^a This Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo form is explained by Rhodes and Costa (2003:197–98). A cognate *no·hekan* is also present in Menominee. ^b *žak* is the only word for 'nine' in most Potawatomi sources, and the only form in the modern sources, but Gaillard attests (chàäk) *žak* and (chàäkà) **žagə*. Bourassa (1843) and the anonymous (n.d.) Potawatomi vocabulary at the American Antiquarian Society have yet another alternate, *žagdso* (Bourassa (shahg tso), Anonymous (Shoekt so)), no doubt formed by analogy with preceding *šwadsə* 'eight'; see table 13 below and also Rhodes and Costa (2003:193–94).

^c *žangaswi* is the most common Ojibwe form for 'nine', but Baraga (1853:162, 559) also attests *žang*, indicating that it was probably present in the form of Ojibwe from which Potawatomi descended. The presence of *žang* in older Ojibwe is corroborated by Kashechwan East Swampy Cree *ša·nk*, which can only be an Ojibwe loan (see Rhodes and Costa 2003:198–99; Ellis 2000:xxviii).

On the other hand, Bourassa (1843) gives a different nineteenth-century Potawatomi dialect variant, *negdogəža*,²⁸ which is either native or a borrowing of the Fox variant (*ne·kato·kaša·ha*). By the time of Gatschet's (1878) fieldwork, Potawatomi 'horse' is already (*negtósha*), the modern form seen everywhere thereafter. These developments are summarized in (8).

- (8) older Potawatomi *negadoškəša* 'horse' > later **negdoškša*, modern *negdoša*,
 < Fox/Sauk *ne·kato·škaša·ha* (< Illinois *neekatokašiiwa*); also, older Potawatomi
 alternate *negdogəža*, < Fox *ne·kato·kaša·ha* (or native)

The Potawatomi form for 'leaf' in table 6 is revealed as being a Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan by the fact that, besides not matching the Ojibwean etymon for this word, it resembles only the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo forms, for which it is a perfect match.

Likewise, the Potawatomi word for 'mink' in table 6, (*w*)*nəpškwe*, is obviously taken from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *onepiškwe·ha*, a neologism of unknown origin found in no other Algonquian languages.

The Potawatomi form for 'otter' in table 6 is shared with one found in Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Shawnee, which itself was probably coined at the Proto-Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo-Shawnee level. It does not match the Proto-Algonquian etymon seen in Ojibwe and Cree,²⁹ nor the unrelated neologism seen in Miami-Illinois.

The Potawatomi vocative for 'son' in table 6, *ngwi*, must be a borrowing because it shares a reflex of a long vowel *i·* with the irregular Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo vocative *nekwi·hi* ~ *nekwi·he*, while every other language shows only reflexes of short **i*.

Several Potawatomi numerals are revealed to be loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo by the absence of Ojibwe cognates (see table 8). The Potawatomi form for 'one' matches the most common Proto-Algonquian word for this numeral; still, this word is not found as an independent numeral in Ojibwe, indicating that it is probably a loan in Potawatomi. Potawatomi 'seven' is more unequivocally a loan, as it perfectly matches the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo form (including the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo deletion of its final syllable *-ni*; see Rhodes and Costa 2003:197–98), and is not found as a word for 'seven' in any other Southern Great Lakes language or Ojibwe. For 'nine', the most common Potawatomi form is *žak*, which matches what would be expected based on Ojibwe *žang*, but the dialectal alternate *žagə*, with its final schwa, can only be a borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *ša·ka*. As seen in table 9, the Potawatomi forms for 'twenty', 'thirty', and 'forty' similarly diverge from Ojibwe by their final *-abdək*, borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *-a·pitaki*. However, what is more unusual is that the higher multiples of ten ('fifty' and above) in Potawatomi are not borrowed, and retain the older, inherited Ojibwean ending, *-omdanna*.³⁰

The second category of Potawatomi loanwords, exemplified in table 10, consists of words that have cognates in Ojibwe, whose phonological shape

nonetheless reveals them as Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans rather than words inherited from Proto-Ojibwean.

Table 9. Multiples of Ten in Potawatomi, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, and Ojibwe

GLOSS	SAUK-FOX-KICKAPOO	POTAWATOMI	OJIBWE
'twenty'	<i>ni·šwa·pitaki</i>	<i>nižwabdək</i>	<i>niištana</i>
'thirty'	<i>neswa·pitaki</i>	<i>nswabdək</i>	<i>nisimidana</i>
'forty'	<i>nye·wa·pitaki</i>	<i>nyewabdək</i>	<i>niimidana</i>
'fifty'	<i>nyaánanwaápitaki^a</i>	<i>nyannomdanna</i>	<i>naanimidana</i>
'sixty'	<i>nekotwa·šika·pitaki</i>	<i>ngodwadsomdanna</i>	<i>ningodwaasimidana</i>
'seventy'	<i>no·hika·pitaki</i>	<i>no?ek-dsomdanna</i>	<i>niižwaasimidana</i>
'eighty'	<i>nešwa·šika·pitaki</i>	<i>šwadsomdanna</i>	<i>nišwaasimidana</i>
'ninety'	<i>ša·ka·pitaki</i>	<i>žak-dsomdanna</i>	<i>žaangasimidana</i>

^a Fox and Sauk also have *šekihkanawe* for 'fifty'.

For example, Potawatomi 'ant' is shown to be a loan by the fact that it has the unusual diminutive ending *-əno(s)* shared by Sauk and Fox, but not by any other sister language (including Kickapoo).

Potawatomi 'chest' is proven to be a Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan not only by the absence of the final *-igan* 'bone' that appears with the noun in Ojibwe, but also by the unusual fact that it even retains the word-final Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *-i*, as *-ə*; were this noun inherited directly from Proto-Algonquian, the word-final *i* would have been deleted at the Proto-Ojibwe-Potawatomi level.

'Game animal' is one of the best examples of a Potawatomi word proven to be a loan by its sound correspondences. Potawatomi *mijbe* is borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *mi·čipe·ha* (with the same meaning), which is itself the animate equivalent of Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *mi·čipe·hi* 'game food'. Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *mi·čipe·hi* is, in turn, the regular (diminutive) cognate of Potawatomi *mijəm* and Ojibwe *mijim*, both meaning 'food'. Reconstructing this term as Proto-Algonquian **mi·čiHmi*, it can be seen that the Potawatomi 'game animal' term has the *b* for **Hm*, the reflex expected for Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, while Potawatomi *mijəm* has the reflex *m* that one would expect of an inherited form. In other words, Potawatomi *mijəm* and *mijbe* are, respectively, native and borrowed reflexes of the same Algonquian word. The evidence is summarized in (9).

- (9) Potawatomi *mijbe* 'game animal' < Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo *mi·čipe·ha*;
but Potawatomi *mijəm* 'food', SFK *mi·čipe·hi* 'game food' and Ojibwe *mijim* 'food'
all directly < PA **mi·čiHmi*

Likewise, for 'crawfish', Potawatomi *šaki* is an exact match for SFK *aša·hki·wa*, with fortis *k* and final *i*, but much less of a close match for the Ojibwe form *ašaagesiinh*, with its lenis *g* and diminutive and pejorative ending *-ešiinh*. Similarly, the Potawatomi stem for 'choke', *no?go-*, is clearly borrowed from SFK *anohoko-*, which is itself a reshaping of the original PA stem **aθaho-*, the form reflected in the rest of Algonquian.

Table 10. Potawatomi Loans Revealed by Phonological Shape

GLOSS	POTAWATOMI	SFK	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'ant'	<i>angono</i> , <i>angwanos</i> ^a	F/SK <i>e·nikono·sa</i>	<i>enig</i>	<i>sekaalowehōi</i>	<i>eelikwa</i>	<i>e·yik</i>
'butterfly'	<i>memege</i>	<i>me·me·ke·ha</i>	<i>memengwaa</i>	<i>meemekičilakwe</i>	<i>kakatakilenkwia</i>	<i>mimikwa·s</i>
'cat'	<i>gažob</i> ^b	F/SK <i>ka·šo·ha^c</i>	<i>gažag(ens)</i>	<i>poosiiθa</i>	<i>pinšwa</i>	<i>mino·s, po·si·s</i>
'chest'	<i>nkaka</i>	<i>nehka·hki</i>	<i>nikaakigan</i>	<i>nhpaleewa</i>	<i>nihpalewi</i>	<i>na·skikan</i>
'choke (as on a bone)'	<i>no?got</i>	<i>anohokowa^d</i>	<i>ana?o</i>	—	<i>alahowa</i>	<i>atohow</i>
'crawfish'	<i>šaki^e</i>	<i>aša·hki·wa</i>	<i>ašaagesiinh</i>	<i>kahkasapa</i>	<i>šaahkiwa ~ saahkia</i>	<i>asa·ke·w</i>
'dung, feces'	<i>mowač</i>	<i>mo·weči</i>	<i>moč</i>	<i>moowi, moowici</i>	<i>mooyi^f</i>	<i>me·yi</i>
'game animal'	<i>mijbe</i>	<i>mi·čipe·ha</i>	<i>awesiinh</i>	<i>mekinhwe</i>	<i>aweehsa</i>	<i>pisikiw,</i> <i>awiya·si·s</i>
'grandchild'	<i>nossame^h</i>	<i>no·šisema ~ no·šiseme·haⁱ</i>	<i>noožišenh</i>	<i>noθeeθa</i>	<i>noohsema</i>	<i>no·sisim</i>

^a The form *angono* is from Hockett (n.d.); *angwanos* is from Welcher (n.d.). Gailland has older *anəgonos* (ánigónós). The initial *a* where *e* would be expected in Potawatomi is unexplained.

^b This form is attested by Gailland, Dunn (n.d. c), Gatschet (1878), and Halpern (1941). Welcher (n.d.) has an alternate *mayos*, which is probably onomatopoeic; see table 13 below.

^c Like Miami-Illinois, Kickapoo has only *pesia*, from PA **pešwa* 'bobcat'.

^d From Lucy Thomson (p.c. 2013).

^e From Hockett (1939:154) as well as Gailland (n.d.).

^f Rhodes (1985:252) gives an Ottawa form *moowič* 'oh crap!', which may be borrowed from Potawatomi.

^g Note also Miami-Illinois *nimooyici* 'my stomach, belly'.

^h Gailland attests an older form (nōsisé) *nosəse* 'my grandchild'.

ⁱ Sauk and Kickapoo attest only *no·šisema*.

Table 10. Potawatomi Loans Revealed by Phonological Shape (continued)

GLOSS	POTAWATOMI	SFK	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'heron'	zgəw ^l	sakiwa 'great blue heron' (Gd) ^k	žəsəgi	haθaki	sakiwa ~ sakiā	PC čahčakiw, SC sasakiw ^l
'mule, donkey'	mamakše	F ma·ma·keše·ha (Gd), SK me·ma·keše·ha ^m	memaangiše	keekanohse 'mule'	keekaanohšiiwa ~ keekaanohšia	so·so·sis, so·so·waitim
'nape (my)'	ntapə	nehtia·hpi ⁿ	nitaambling (loc.) ^o	nhtaapi ^p	nhtaampi	nita·hpiy
'older brother (my)'	nsaze	nesese·ha	Oj nisayenh, AL nisens	nθeeθa	nihseensa	niste·s
'it rains'	gməya ^q	F/SK kemiya·wi ^r	gimiwan	kimouwaanwi	piitisaanwi	kimiwan
'someone'	wəye ^r	awiye·ha	awiya	wiyeeθa	aweeya	awiyak

^l Welcher (n.d.). Gaillard (n.d.) and Shepard (1929) have an unexpected form *žəgəw 'heron, stork' (Shepard ⟨shé gew⟩, Gaillard ⟨chükōw⟩).

^k Kickapoo has ⟨thakiya⟩ θakia 'crane, stork' (Tee Beleele 1988:27, 123).

^l This Swampy Cree form is probably an Ojibwe loan.

^m Kickapoo has ⟨kakanosea⟩ (Tee Beleele 1988:62), probably phonemic *keekaanosea, literally, 'long ears', which in turn matches the Miami-Illinois and Shawnee forms. Borrowing from Fox also seems to be the source of Menominee ma·ma·kehse·w 'donkey, mule' (Ives Goddard p.c. 2010).

ⁿ Jones (n.d.) has a form ⟨uia'pi⟩ 'nape'.

^o This form is from Nipissing, where it is given by Lemoine (1909) and Cuoq (1866) as ⟨Ni tanbing⟩. The only other form they give for this noun, ⟨tanbin⟩, seems to imply a third person singular possessed form *otaambiin, with the obviative ending identifying this noun as animate. No nonlocative first or second person singular possessed form of this noun seems to be attested, so its unaffixed form is uncertain.

^p This is from Voegelin's unpublished Shawnee filecards.

^q The Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan gməya is from Welcher (n.d.); most other Potawatomi sources give gməwan.

^r Kickapoo has only ⟨w)eepeəəəanwi⟩.

^s Also found in Potawatomi is the native variant wəyə; see table 13 below.

Table 10. Potawatomi Loans Revealed by Phonological Shape (continued)

GLOSS	POTAWATOMI	SFK	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREE
'we/us' (excl.)	<i>ninan</i>	<i>ni·na·na</i>	Oj <i>niinawind</i> , OT <i>niinwi</i>	<i>niilawe</i>	<i>niiloona</i>	<i>niyana·n</i>
'we/us' (incl.)	<i>ginan</i>	<i>ki·na·na</i>	Oj <i>giinawind</i> , OT <i>giinwi</i>	<i>kiilawe</i>	<i>kiiloona</i>	<i>kiya·naw</i>

The Potawatomi form of 'mule' in table 10, *mamakše*, is shown to be a Fox loan by the long *a* in its first syllable; the other languages with cognates of this word in the table (Sauk and Ojibwe) show *e* in the first syllable. Moreover, there even exists a Potawatomi alternate *memakše*, which could either be a loan from Sauk, or borrowed from Ojibwe *memaangiše*. Though, of course, these terms are presumably acculturation items, and their ultimate etymologies are unknown.

Like 'chest', Potawatomi 'nape', *-tapə*, also preserves *-ə* as the reflex of the word-final **i* of its Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo cognate, which would be deleted if the word were directly inherited. Even more compelling, though, is the fact that the Potawatomi form shows fortis *p* for the Proto-Algonquian **mp* (< PA **-hta·mpy-*), an irregularity shared with Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. If this Potawatomi stem were directly inherited from Proto-Algonquian, one would expect it to appear as **-tab-*, since Potawatomi *b* is the regular reflex of Proto-Algonquian **mp*. Thus, the Potawatomi form seems to have acquired this irregularity from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, which also unexpectedly has **hp* for PA **mp* in this form.

For 'rain', Potawatomi has two forms, *gməya* and *gməwən*. The latter is presumably native, as it matches Ojibwe *gimiwan*, but *gməya* must be a loan from Fox or Sauk, as it is found nowhere else.

Evidence of how deep the borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo to Potawatomi went is the fact that the first person plural inclusive and exclusive independent pronouns of Potawatomi are also borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, as seen in the last lines of table 10. These Potawatomi pronouns only match those in Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, and not those in Ojibwe-Ottawa or any of Potawatomi's other neighbor languages.

Finally, a third category of loans in Potawatomi are words that phonologically could be either inherited Ojibwean words or loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, yet are revealed to be loans by glosses that match Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo but not Ojibwe, as shown in table 11. Perhaps the best example of such a word is the verb 'recover'. Even though Potawatomi *nese* 'he is cured, gets well' has exactly the phonological form that would be expected were it an inherited form (from PA **re·hre·wa* 'he breathes'), it is shown to be a Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan by the fact that it has the same meaning this verb has also acquired in Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, rather than the meaning 'breathe' that it has in every other Algonquian language. Reinforcing this is the fact that along with it, Potawatomi also borrowed the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo word for 'breathe', *nemo* (see table 7 above), which is itself not found in any of the sister languages.

Likewise, the Potawatomi form for 'my older brother', *nsəze*, is borrowed straight from SFK *nesese·ha*, with the word-final *-e* of the Potawatomi form matching the *-e·ha* diminutive ending of the SFK form. The Potawatomi form obviously matches SFK much more closely than the Ojibwe form *nisayenh* (*nisaye* and *nisayenz* in more northerly Ojibwe dialects, *nisens* in some Quebec Algonquin dialects).

Table 11. Potawatomi Loans Revealed by Glosses

GLOSS IN PT AND SFK	POTAWATOMI	SFK	OJIBWE	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS	PLAINS CREEE
'feather'	<i>biwəy</i> 'small feather' ^a	<i>pi·wayaki</i> 'small feathers'	<i>biwəy</i> 'animal's hair, fur'	— ^b	<i>piiwia</i> 'feather' ^c	<i>nipi·way(a)</i> (sg./pl.) 'my body hair, bristles, feathers'
'recover'	<i>nese</i> 'he is cured, gets well'	<i>ne·se·wa</i> 'he gets well, survives'	<i>nese</i> 'he breathes'	<i>lehθe</i> 'he breathes'	<i>neeħseewa</i> 'he breathes'	<i>ye·hye·w</i> 'he breathes'
'snake'	<i>mədo</i> 'snake, manitou'	<i>maneto·wa</i> 'snake, manitou'	<i>manidoo</i> 'manitou'	<i>maneto</i> 'snake'	<i>manetoowa</i> 'manitou'	<i>manito</i> 'spirit'
'tail of a bird'	<i>wkəč</i> 'tail of a bird' ^d	<i>ohkēc</i> 'tail feather'	<i>okij</i> 'pipestem'	<i>hohkici</i> 'his buttocks'	<i>ahkici</i> 'tail of a bird'	<i>oskičiy</i> 'pipestem'

^a From Gaillard's (n.d.) (piwiy).

^b No cognate for this noun has been found in Shawnee, though note the Shawnee final *-piuwe* 'feather'.

^c Although this noun is generally glossed as 'feather' in modern Miami-Illinois, the inanimate equivalent *piuweewi* (Gr (pi8e8i), LB (pi88i)) is glossed as 'poil' in old Illinois.

^d From Gaillard's (n.d.) (okutch).

7. Morphological borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo to Potawatomi.

By this point, I have reviewed most of the borrowing among the Southern Great Lakes languages of which I am aware, including virtually all the borrowing not involving Potawatomi. Therefore, it is clear that Potawatomi has borrowed more than any other Southern Great Lakes language, approaching or perhaps surpassing the level of borrowing seen between Ojibwe and Cree. An obvious question presents itself here, namely, whether Potawatomi has been similarly influenced by Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo morphologically. One clear example is the Potawatomi aorist preverb *e-*, which is used with conjunct verbs in narratives very much like the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo aorist *e·h-*, as “a mark of a certain style, namely that of story-telling and the like, in contrast to statements made about what has happened, in reality, to the speaker” (Hockett 1948b:139).³¹

An even more striking example of morphological borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo is the Potawatomi conjunct negative. In the independent verb order, Potawatomi has a negative conjugation which is extremely similar to that of Ojibwe (Goddard 2006:173, 186), a suffix characterized by (fortis) *s* which ultimately derives from an older Algonquian diminutive. This suffix, which I have elsewhere called the “*s*-negative” (Costa 2004, 2008:123), is also present in Miami-Illinois and Cheyenne, but is absent from all other Algonquian languages, including Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. However, in the Potawatomi conjunct order, the *s*-negative is absent, and is replaced by a preverb *bwa-*, which is clearly borrowed from the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo preverb *pwa·wi-* used in the same function.³² Thus, compare Potawatomi *e-gi-bwa-byat* ‘he didn’t come’ (Hockett 1948b:141) and Fox *e·h-pwa·wi-nesa·či* ‘and he didn’t kill him’ (see Bloomfield 1927:204), which have both the aorist and negative preverbs.³³

8. Potawatomi borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo: caveats. One major objection could be made to some of the borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into Potawatomi I described. My premise above is that since Potawatomi’s closest genetic relative is Ojibwe, the default expectation is that Potawatomi should share lexical items with Ojibwe the majority of the time (as it in fact does). Thus, where Potawatomi is missing an Ojibwe form and the form found instead matches Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, I assume this indicates that Potawatomi has most likely ousted the inherited Ojibwean word in favor of a Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan.

However, an alternate explanation is also conceivable—namely, where the Ojibwe word is cognate with the Cree equivalent while Potawatomi has a different form, Ojibwe may have ousted the old word and replaced it with a Cree loan. In such cases, the putative Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan in Potawatomi would in fact be an old inherited Ojibwean word which has been retained in Potawatomi, but not in Ojibwe proper, as can be seen in table 12. For instance, the etymon for ‘horn’ found in Potawatomi, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, Miami-Illinois, and Shawnee is clearly reconstructible to Proto-Algonquian.³⁴ Thus, it might be better to assume that Ojibwe lost this word due to Cree influence, rather than that Potawatomi originally lacked it and later borrowed it from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo.

Table 12. Possible Ojibwe Borrowings from Cree

GLOSS	PLAINS CREE	OJIBWE	POTAWATOMI	SFK	SHAWNEE	MIAMI-ILLINOIS
'all'	<i>kahkiyaw</i>	(g)akina	<i>jak</i>	ča·ki	čaaki	ceeki
'my (woman's) breast'	<i>nitohto·sim</i>	<i>nindoodoošim</i>	<i>nnonagan</i>	<i>nenō·na·kani</i>	<i>nilenya</i>	<i>ninoon·sakanī</i>
'camp'	<i>kape·si-</i>	<i>gabeši-</i>	<i>gəkašə-</i>	K <i>kehkesi-</i>	<i>kkehši-</i>	<i>kihkihši-</i>
'flint'	<i>pi·wa·nak</i>	<i>biuwaanag</i>	<i>žagan</i>	<i>ša·kohka·ni</i> 'piece of flint'	<i>saakohka</i>	<i>wiipici</i>
'heron'	PC <i>čahčakīw</i> , SC <i>sasakīw</i>	<i>žasagi</i>	<i>zəw</i>	<i>sakīwa ~ sakīa</i>	<i>haθaki</i>	<i>sakīwa</i>
'horn'	<i>e·skan</i>	<i>eškan</i>	<i>wiwin</i>	<i>owi·wi·na</i>	<i>wiwiila</i>	(ə)wiwiila
'love him'	<i>sa·kih-</i>	<i>zaagi?-</i>	<i>dəban-</i>	F/SK <i>tepa·n-</i> , K <i>tapaan-</i>	<i>ahkweelem-</i>	<i>tapaal-</i>
'path, road'	<i>me·skanaw</i>	<i>miikana</i>	<i>myew</i>	<i>mye·wi</i>	<i>myeewi</i>	<i>mīwi</i>
'parents'	<i>nini·kihikwak</i> 'my parents'	<i>niniigi?igoog</i> 'my parents'	<i>wmazodanan</i> 'his parents'	<i>omeso·ta·nahi</i> 'his parents'	<i>nikehkiyaamaki</i> 'my parents'	—
'plum'	<i>pake·sa·nimin</i>	<i>basesaanimin</i>	<i>bokna</i>	<i>po·hkama·wa</i>	<i>pohkamaaθa</i>	<i>atehseemina</i>
'skin him'	<i>pahkon-</i>	<i>bakon-</i>	<i>bəšin-</i>	F <i>peši·n-</i> , K <i>pesin-</i>	<i>psin-</i>	<i>pehšiin-</i>
'squash, pumpkin'	<i>okosi·m·n</i> 'cucumber'	<i>okosimaan</i>	<i>wabgon</i>	<i>wa·pikoni</i>	<i>waapikwi</i>	<i>eemihkwaani</i>
'wolf'	<i>mahi·hkan</i>	<i>ma?iingan</i>	<i>m?we</i>	<i>mahu·wa</i>	<i>mhuweewa</i>	<i>mahuweewa</i>

Likewise, Potawatomi 'path, road' may be an inherited form as well, since it matches Proto-Algonquian **mye·wi*, while the Ojibwe form, with the added final *-kana* 'path', looks to be modeled after the Cree form.

However, some of the other examples in this table are not as easily attributed to Cree influence; for example, the Potawatomi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Miami-Illinois verb for 'camp' (see also table 7) is found only in the Southern Great Lakes languages, and so it is most likely to be a regionalism that was borrowed by Potawatomi and was never present in Ojibwe. Even more strikingly, the Potawatomi words for 'squash' and 'flint' are shared only by Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Shawnee (i.e., they do not appear even in Miami-Illinois), and probably represent lexical innovations that were created at the level of the common ancestor of Shawnee and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and were later loaned into Potawatomi.

Thus, although I am sure that at least some of the examples in table 12 indeed involve Cree loans into Ojibwe, this factor will explain away only a small portion of the putative loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo to Potawatomi that I propose in this article. For most of the examples in tables 5–11, Potawatomi borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo seems overwhelmingly the most likely explanation.

9. The origins of the Potawatomi loans from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. The obvious question to ask at this point is when and where Potawatomi borrowed these words and from which Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo dialect. The Potawatomi were originally in the northern half of the lower peninsula of Michigan, adjacent (or very near) to the Sauk, Mascouten, Fox, and Kickapoo. In the wake of the Iroquois Wars, the Potawatomi scattered and moved around as much as the other Great Lakes tribes, being exposed to all the other Algonquian tribes in the area at various times.

In the earliest period, the Potawatomi are known to have been close to the Sauk, with whom they shared a border in Michigan, though this is, of course, no guarantee that all or most of the loans in Potawatomi come from Sauk. Additionally, at least some of the Potawatomi borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo must have taken place after the scattering of the different Potawatomi groups in the colonial period: some of the loans are found only in the speech of certain bands, while other bands retain the original words. Table 13 gives several examples of dialectally attested doublets in Potawatomi (all of them mentioned above), where one form is best explained as borrowed from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and the other is explained as native.

All Potawatomi sources agree on *gažo* for 'cat', except that Welcher (n.d.) gives the Wisconsin form *mayos*. For 'doe', Gailland and Gatschet agree on *wgow*, while Halpern's (1941) Wisconsin notes and Welcher have *wnijan*. For 'heron' Welcher has *zgaw*, while Gailland and Shepard have *žəgaw*. For 'nine', almost all sources agree on *žak*, except that Gailland has both *žak* and *žagə*. Hockett (1957:256) states that his speakers identified *gməya* as "Forest

Potawatomi,” while most other sources give only native *gməwən*. For ‘someone’, *wəyə* and *wəye* are both found in Hockett’s fieldnotes, while Buszard (2003:152) mentions both forms and points out that *wəye* is a loan.

Table 13. Native and Borrowed Doublets in Potawatomi

GLOSS	SFK	BORROWED POTAWATOMI FORM	NATIVE POTAWATOMI FORM	OJIBWE
‘cat’	<i>ka·šo·ha</i>	<i>gažo</i>	<i>mayos</i>	<i>gaažag(ens)</i>
‘doe’	<i>oko(·)wa</i>	<i>wgow</i>	<i>wnijan</i>	<i>onijaaniw</i>
‘heron’	<i>sakiwa</i>	<i>zgəw</i>	<i>žəgəw</i>	<i>žəšagi</i>
‘nine’	<i>ša·ka</i>	<i>žaga</i>	<i>žak</i>	<i>žang, žangaswi</i>
‘rain’	F/SK <i>kemiya·wi</i>	<i>gməya</i>	<i>gməwən</i>	<i>gimiwan</i>
‘someone’	<i>awiye·ha</i>	<i>wəye</i>	<i>wəyə</i>	<i>awiya</i>

Since most of the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans are attested in all dialects and all records of Potawatomi, it is likely that most of the Potawatomi borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo took place during the precontact period in Michigan, especially the borrowing of morphology and pronouns. However, the doublets in table 13 show that some of the borrowing is more recent—the fact that some Potawatomi dialects did not participate in the borrowing of certain Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo items while other dialects did implies that some of the Potawatomi dialects in question had already left Michigan when the terms were borrowed. Indeed, it is likely that some borrowing by Potawatomi from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo took place outside Michigan, perhaps in Wisconsin.

Some borrowing into Potawatomi looks very recent. For example, Potawatomi has two attested words for ‘porcupine’, *gak* and *gdemi*. The original Potawatomi form is obviously *gak*, since it has cognates in Ojibwe (*gaag*) and most of the rest of Algonquian (cf. Kickapoo *ka·kwa*, Munsee *ká·kw*) and reconstructs to Proto-Algonquian **ka·kwa*. The alternate *gdemi*, which is found only in Welcher (n.d.), is borrowed from Menominee *kete·mi·w* ‘porcupine’,³⁵ and must date to when the Potawatomi were living next to the Menominee in northern Wisconsin. The recentness of this loan is further emphasized by the fact that it is not even found in the notes of other recorders of Wisconsin Potawatomi (such as Hockett).

It is extremely difficult to pinpoint the exact origin of the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans in Potawatomi, since most of the putative Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans in Potawatomi could have equally well come from earlier forms of any of the three dialects. That said, there are some words that point to one dialect or another.

There are at least three probable loans into Potawatomi that are only found in Kickapoo: ‘spotted skunk’, ‘camp’, and ‘laugh’ (see tables 5 and 7). Perhaps not too much should be read into this, as it is possible that these words were once present in Sauk and Fox, but either were never recorded, or simply were obsolete by the twentieth century.

In any case, there are several loans in Potawatomi that clearly cannot be from Kickapoo, since they do not match the forms in that language; among these are ‘horse’ (table 6) and ‘ant’ (table 10). The oldest attested form of Potawatomi ‘horse’ (*negadoškāša*) is a much better match for Sauk and Fox *ne·kato·škaša·ha* than it is for Kickapoo *neekotikaseeha*. Potawatomi *angono* ~ *angwānos* ‘ant’ matches Sauk and Fox better than the archaic Kickapoo *eenikwa*, which lacks the irregular diminutive ending shared by Sauk and Fox.

Moreover, some loans in Potawatomi represent completely different etyma from those attested in Kickapoo; examples of this are ‘fawn’ (table 6), ‘mule, donkey’ (table 10), and ‘it rains’ (table 10). For example, Potawatomi ‘fawn’, *gedgāne*, matches Sauk and Fox *ke·takene·ha*, but not Kickapoo *apeeθiiha*. ‘Donkey’ does not match Kickapoo *keekaanooseeha*, but it exactly matches the Fox and Sauk forms. Similarly, Forest Band Potawatomi ‘rain’ does not match Kickapoo (*w*)*eepenaanwi*, but it is again cognate with the Fox and Sauk forms.

Of course, when a Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loan into Potawatomi is only attested in Fox, this means little, since that dialect is so much more extensively documented than Sauk and Kickapoo. However, some Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo loans into Potawatomi do look to be from either Fox or Sauk specifically. The two attested variants of Potawatomi ‘antelope’ (table 8) match the two alternates found for this word found in Sauk, though it is possible that both variants formerly existed in Fox and Kickapoo. Similarly, at least two loanwords in Potawatomi look to be from Fox and not Sauk or Kickapoo. Potawatomi ‘grandchild’, *nossāme* (table 10), takes its ending *-āme* from the Fox alternate *no·šiseme·ha*, which is not attested in Sauk or Kickapoo, and the Potawatomi variant *mamakše* for ‘donkey’ (table 10) must come from Fox, since only the Fox form shows first-syllable reduplicative *a·*. However, the Potawatomi word for ‘cannibal giant’ (table 6) must be from either Sauk or Kickapoo, as the required form is not found in Fox.

All in all, the linguistic evidence for which Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo dialect contributed most of Potawatomi’s loans is extremely ambiguous, with Fox and Sauk being more or less equally good candidates, and with some evidence indicating that Kickapoo is a less likely candidate. It is entirely possible that Potawatomi simply borrowed the words from different groups over the years. It is also possible that some of the loans came from the Mascouten, who were directly south of the Potawatomi in the protohistoric period, and who almost certainly spoke a dialect of the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo group, yet one which is virtually undocumented (though see Goddard 2003b). Or another possible scenario is that most of the loanwords were borrowed by Potawatomi so early on that the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten dialects had not differentiated yet. Given the lack of deep lexical documentation of Sauk and Kickapoo, and the fact that none of these languages are documented at all before the nineteenth century, it is basically impossible to say with confidence exactly where most of the loanwords came from.

10. Conclusions. In summary, borrowing among the Southern Great Lakes languages was extensive, with certain patterns emerging. First, the Potawatomi borrowed very heavily from groups speaking Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo. Most of these loans are found in all dialects and records of Potawatomi, so most of this borrowing probably happened in the precontact period when the Potawatomi were still in their original Michigan homeland.

In turn, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo groups borrowed several words from Miami-Illinois, with Kickapoo apparently borrowing the most. Several of the borrowed items are for items of great cultural or ceremonial significance, indicating close contact. Moreover, the Fox and Sauk also borrowed their words for 'horse' from Illinois, implying that they first got horses from groups speaking Miami-Illinois. Most of this borrowing probably happened in the protohistoric period when the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo were directly north of Miami-Illinois groups in Indiana, the southern edge of Michigan, and western Ohio. (Moreover, there is evidence for Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo borrowing from Ojibwe in the postcontact period, though I do not systematically investigate this here.) While there are several Miami-Illinois loans in Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, there are far fewer loans in the other direction, which would suggest that bilingualism between the Miami-Illinois and the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo was asymmetrical, with the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo learning Miami-Illinois more often than the reverse.

For whatever reason, Miami-Illinois seems to have borrowed from its neighboring Algonquian languages much less, with most such borrowing consisting of very recent loans from Kickapoo. However, among the languages examined here, Miami-Illinois seems to have borrowed more from non-Algonquian groups than any other Southern Great Lakes language has, specifically from Siouan languages. For example, a large number of names for tribes are borrowed from Siouan languages, including even the Miami-Illinois name for the Potawatomi (Costa 2000:42–43), and the Tutelo word for 'eight' was borrowed into the language early on (see Rankin 1985). This is presumably because in the original location of Miami-Illinois, all its Algonquian neighbors were to the north and east, and only non-Algonquian languages were spoken to the south and west.

The Shawnee, being geographically separated from the other Southern Great Lakes Algonquian groups, borrowed little from them, but did serve as a source of new vocabulary for others, such as the Kickapoo. Additionally, there is evidence for mutual influence between Unami Delaware and Shawnee, probably dating to contact between these two groups in Pennsylvania, as well as a little Delaware influence on Miami, probably from when the Delaware were passing westward through Ohio and Indiana.

Several patterns of borrowing in Algonquian are not addressed in this article, and would require much more extensive research before any kind of definitive statement could be made about them. For example, there is evidence for considerable Menominee borrowing from both Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Ojibwe. However, since there is no evidence that the Menominee were ever located

anywhere other than Wisconsin, their borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo presumably took place relatively late, after the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo-speaking groups had relocated to Wisconsin due to the Iroquois Wars. On the other hand, Menominee has very recently loaned words to Potawatomi, since some speakers of Wisconsin Potawatomi have at least borrowed the Menominee word for 'porcupine' (see section 8).

Finally, any truly definitive discussion of borrowing among the Great Lakes languages would have to address the massive borrowing that has taken place between Ojibwe and Cree—not only sorting out which words and morphology were borrowed, and in which direction, but when this borrowing took place, and whether any Cree influence later seeped out to Potawatomi or any of Ojibwe's neighbors. Hopefully, further work will flesh out our understanding of the borrowing patterns of the the Great Lakes languages in general, and what they can tell us about the relationships among the Great Lakes Algonquian groups.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank Ives Goddard, John Nichols, Gordon Whittaker, and an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments and data, and Laura Welcher for kindly sharing a draft of her Potawatomi dictionary.

Transcription. Fox and Sauk are transcribed in the same system that is used by Goddard (1994a), in which vowel length is marked with a raised dot, although I transcribe the interdental fricative of Sauk as θ . Kickapoo forms are transcribed in the same system used by Voorhis (1988). Shawnee and Miami-Illinois forms are transcribed in the same orthographies used by Costa (2001, 2003); in Shawnee, the sibilant is written as s and the glottal stop as h . Ojibwe forms are adapted from the practical orthography used by Nichols and Nyholm (1995) and Rhodes (1985); long vowels are indicated by doubling, fortis obstruents are written as voiceless, and lenis consonants are written as voiced, but (sh) of the practical orthography is here written as \check{s} , (zh) as \check{z} , (ch) as \check{c} , and glottal stop (') as $?$. Potawatomi forms are written following essentially the same principles that are used here for Ojibwe, but additionally the long mid front vowel is written e , and schwa is written as ə .

Abbreviations. In this article, the following grammatical abbreviations are used: AI = animate intransitive; excl. = exclusive; II = inanimate intransitive; incl. = inclusive; pl. = plural; sg. = singular.

Language abbreviations include: AL = the Algonquin dialect of Ojibwe; M-I = Miami-Illinois; F = Fox; IL = Illinois; K = Kickapoo; OJ = Ojibwe; OT = Ottawa; PA = Proto-Algonquian; PC = Plains Cree; PT = Potawatomi; SC = Swampy Cree; SFK = Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo; SK = Sauk. Unlabeled forms in columns labeled "Fox and Sauk," "SFK," or "Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo" are Fox (Meskwaki). Sauk or Kickapoo forms are not normally given unless they are unpredictably different from the Fox forms, or unless corresponding Fox forms are unattested.

Source abbreviations for cited data are as follows: D = Jacob Dunn's (n.d. a, n.d. b) Miami-Illinois notes; Gd = personal communications from Ives Goddard (from 2008 on); Gr = Gravier's (n.d.) dictionary of Illinois; Gt = Albert Gatschet's (n.d., 1895a, 1895b) Miami-Illinois notes; Hk = Heckewelder's (n.d.) Miami wordlist; LB = LeBoullenger's French-Illinois dictionary (n.d.); Mc = Truman Michelson's (1916) Peoria notes; Mi/H = Hockett's (1985) Miami notes; P = Pinet's French-Illinois dictionary (n.d.); P/H = Hockett's (1985) Peoria notes; Tr = Trowbridge's (1824–25) Miami notes; V = Volney's Miami notes; and WP = Wea Primer (Anonymous 1837).

1. There is also significant borrowing from French among the central Algonquian languages. I do not attempt to systematically document borrowing from French in this article, though I discuss it when it is relevant.

2. Unless otherwise indicated, forms from the various Algonquian languages are taken from the following sources: Fox: Goddard (1994a); Kickapoo: Voorhis (1988); Menominee: Bloomfield (1975); Munsee: O'Meara (1996); Ojibwe: Nichols and Nyholm (1995); Plains Cree: Wolvengrey (2001); Potawatomi: Welcher (n.d.); Sauk: Whittaker (2005); and Shawnee: Voegelin (1938–40).

3. Another striking morphological innovation shared only by Ojibwe and Potawatomi is the allomorph *-iši-* (underlying *-əšə-* in Potawatomi) of the theme 3 (first person object) marker in imperatives (see Hockett 1948b:147). Additionally, Potawatomi shares with Ojibwe a formal pejorative ending *-š* on nouns (Hockett 1948a:70–71), which is absent from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, Miami-Illinois, and Shawnee.

4. Or, in Gravier's original, "qui rit haut, qui badine toujours, tousse p[ou]r apeler secretement." This definition of (papangam8ita) probably refers to the fox's status as a trickster in Miami-Illinois culture.

5. These forms may or may not be cognate with Menominee *ape·hsos* 'deer'.

6. Other attested Fox forms are *kato·kaše·ha*, *kato·kaša·ha*, *kato·škaše·ha*, *kato·škaša·ha*, and *ne·koto·škaše·ha* (Gd).

7. Tr (neekoteekōshee), Hk (negattigasha), Gt (nekatikā'sha).

8. The Menominee word for 'horse', *pe·sekokasiw*, must be borrowed from Ojibwe, since Menominee otherwise lacks this initial for 'one'. The Algonquianist terms "initial" and "final" are used in this article to designate classes of bound morphemes that appear in initial or final position in stem structure, respectively (see also Goddard 1990).

9. As proof of this, note Fox *nepaci·ka·wačiwa* 'he has cold feet', where the *-aci* 'by cold' final is already present (the second instance of *-aci-*; the *-ka·(w)-* medial means 'foot') and there is no way for it to appear twice on the same verb as an independent morpheme. Hence, the first sequence of *-aci-* in the stem must be part of the initial.

10. For example, note *ahseninteehsa* ~ *ahseninteehsi* 'little stone, pebble' (Gr (assenintessi), Gt (sänindässa), D (sänindässi)), the diminutive of *ahsena* ~ *ahseni* 'stone' or *kwiiyonteehsa* (Gr obviative pl. (c8i8ntessahe), LB (c8i8ntessa), Tr (kweeyöondas), D (kwiondä'ssa)), the diminutive of *kwiiwa* 'young man, adult boy' (Gr (c8i8a), LB (c8i8o), Hk (quiwa), Gt (kwiiwa), D (kwéwa)).

11. The native Miami-Illinois form of this word is *wihsakacaakwa* (Costa 2003:152).

12. The longer Kickapoo form is transcribed as (musheemauneethā) by Trowbridge (1939:68). The element *meši-* is a prenoun meaning 'big'.

13. *giči-* is an Ojibwe prenoun meaning 'big', while *mookomaan* is the normal Ojibwe word for 'knife'.

14. These Kickapoo and Fox forms, as well as Miami-Illinois *maalhsi* and Shawnee *maanehθi*, all derive regularly from PA **ma·(n)θehsi* 'flint, flint knife, scraper' (see Goddard 1973:5).

15. Note Shea's (2005) transcription for 'knife', (marissa) (probably a plural), and Hockett's (1938b) Peoria transcription (maʔlihsj).

16. This noun is *tekohsiya* in all modern records, except for the stray form *laa·mehtekohsiye* 'among the white people' in Voegelin's (n.d.) fieldnotes. Shawnee (*meh*)*tekohsiya* is not attested by Trowbridge (1939), but was recorded by Thomas Ridout in the early nineteenth century as (metticosseeah) 'a white man or Englishman' (Edgar 1891:377). The Shawnee word for 'Frenchman' in all sources is *tooti*.

17. Voorhis (1988) and Trowbridge (1939) attest only *eemehtikoosiiha* (cf. Trowbridge's (ametaakoasheehā)), but in Hockett's (1938a) Kickapoo fieldnotes he gives the forms *we·mehitiko·ši·ha* and *me·mehitiko·ši·ha*.

18. In addition to the above forms, note also Miami-Illinois *meehtikoošia*, Ojibwe *wemitigooži*, Potawatomi *wemtagoži*, and Cree *we·mistiko·siw*.

19. Cf. Menominee *me?teko·s* ‘dugout canoe’. Menominee *we·mehteko·sew* ‘Frenchman’ is shown to be a loanword (presumably from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo or Ojibwe) by its *ht* cluster in place of etymologically expected *?t*.

20. Sibilants (*s* and *θ*) are not preaspirated in modern Kickapoo, though Gathercole (1983:75) has shown that they must have been preaspirated in an earlier stage of the language, as they still are in Fox.

21. The Kickapoo form is phonemicized from Tee Beleele (1988:6) (mahsh-keetekwa), the Sauk form is from Whittaker (2005), and the Potawatomi is from Gaillard (n.d.) (kokōtini) and Bourassa (1843) (ko-ko-dne). The Fox, Sauk, and Potawatomi forms are borrowed from Mississippi Valley French *cocodri* (McDermott 1941:53).

22. I am informed by Ray Whritenour (p.c. 2013) that in an eighteenth-century manuscript from the Gnadenhütten mission in Pennsylvania, David Zeisberger recorded a Delaware form ⟨skechteek⟩ ‘Crocodill’, with a plural ⟨skechtequak⟩. This form, probably from the Northern Unami dialect, appears to represent a more conservative form of the loanword, preserving Shawnee final *kw*. The presence of this word in Zeisberger’s materials shows that the Delaware borrowed the word for ‘alligator’ when they were still in eastern Pennsylvania, and not later in Oklahoma.

23. These Delaware forms are in turn borrowed from Dutch; see Goddard (1974:157).

24. While the Munsee word is borrowed from Dutch, the Ojibwe, Fox, and Miami-Illinois terms (as well as Menominee *ko·hko·s*) ultimately derive from a northern French dialect (see Goddard 1974:155). It is likely that the original borrowing from French was by Ojibwe, and that the Miami-Illinois, Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo, and Menominee forms were in turn borrowed from Ojibwe.

25. For original Miami forms, note Gt ⟨kikáya⟩, ⟨kikayûngi⟩, and D ⟨kí’kaya⟩, ⟨kikayúngi⟩. A plural noun ⟨kikaiáki⟩ *kiihkayaki* ‘people of the Fort Wayne band of Miamis’ also appears in Dunn’s fieldnotes. No Miami-Illinois source marks the preaspiration on the *k* in this word, though it is inferred from the Munsee form.

26. Certain Northern and Severn Ojibwe dialects that have been heavily influenced by Cree have replaced *nenabožo* with the loan *wiisakejaak*; for example, see Sugarhead (1996:148).

27. Gaillard (n.d.) writes this as ⟨núkitoch’kichā⟩. The ⟨ú⟩ in the first syllable of Gaillard’s form is unexplained, though he seems always to transcribe it with this vowel.

28. Bourassa (1843) writes this as ⟨na gdo kihzha⟩.

29. For the etymology of the Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo and Shawnee word, see Goddard (2001:203). For the Proto-Algonquian form **nekikwa*, cf. also Narragansett ⟨nkèke⟩.

30. The *nn* sequence in this ending is unexplained, though Hockett is consistent in writing it thus. Gaillard regularly writes this ending in such a way as to imply phonemic *-omadana*.

31. Hockett (1948b:139) calls this the “narrative” marker. This parallelism between Potawatomi and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo was first pointed out by Buszard (2003:86).

32. For Fox, see Bloomfield (1927:204), and for Kickapoo see Voorhis (1974:118–19). This preverb is pronounced *pái-* in modern Kickapoo, and as *pa·wi-* or casual *pai-* by current speakers of Fox (Goddard 1991:174). The Shawnee negative conjunct preverb *pwaa-* is used the same way as well (see Costa 2002:131–32), so this preverb probably constitutes an innovation of the common ancestor of Shawnee and Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo.

33. Another morphological borrowing from Sauk-Fox-Kickapoo into Potawatomi is for the transitive animate conjunct ending for first person singular acting on second person plural: this ending is underlying *-anago* (with an alternate *-anənago*) in Potawatomi (Hockett 1948b:147–48), which matches Fox *-enako·we* but not Ojibwe *-inagog*. The fact that Fox *-enako·we* (and Shawnee *-elako*) is an innovation and Ojibwe *-inagog* the

older form is confirmed by Miami-Illinois *-lak(ak)oki*, Menominee *-enakok* and Cree *-itakok*.

34. PA **wi·wi·θa* 'his horn, antler'; cf. Massachusett (weween), Western Abenaki *awiwil*, and Cheyenne *wévétse*.

35. I thank Ives Goddard (p.c. 2010) for bringing this form to my attention.

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