A Look at the Ojibwa Vocabulary
of Baudry des Lozières

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I will discuss a somewhat brief Ojibwa vocabulary that appears in an 1802 publication by Louis Narcisse Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane, et sur le Continent de l'Amérique Septentrionale, fait dans les années 1794 à 1798*. A copy of this book is in the holdings of the Newberry Library in Chicago, where I first studied it. I was fortunate enough to obtain a xerox copy of the Ojibwa vocabulary, which I also used to prepare the present paper.

I would like to stress the fact that the findings presented in this paper are based on a preliminary examination of the data. Although the Baudry vocabulary is rather brief, a detailed, in-depth discussion of its contents must await further study. My purposes in this paper are much more limited: I want to give some idea of the vocabulary itself and to discuss a small number of linguistic topics relative to the manuscript with a view towards assessing its value as a source of (late?) 18th-century Ojibwa.

2. The Vocabulary

In his book, which is a general description of the Louisiana he had seen, Baudry devotes several pages to the various Indian groups that one could expect to encounter in the areas that he had visited. He begins his discussion (1802:241–245) by listing some 145 of these Indian groups, then treats a small number of them in more detail (246–253). His list is some-

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1I first saw this vocabulary when I attended a Documentary Workshop held at the Newberry Library in Chicago in the summer of 1991. It was through the assistance of Jay Miller of the Newberry staff that I obtained a xerox copy of the vocabulary, which was a great help in preparing the present paper. I would also like to thank David Pentland, Ives Goddard, Richard Rhodes, and John Nichols for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper; I alone am responsible, of course, for any shortcomings that persist.
times repetitive: the Menomini, for example, are listed twice, once as "les folles avoines" and once as "les malomines". Perhaps not unexpectedly, the Ojibwa (or any form thereof) are nowhere to be found either in Baudry's list or in the discussion following it, yet he appends two vocabularies to his book, one in the "Langage des Naoudoouessis" or Sioux (348–353) and one in the "Langage des Chipouais" or Ojibwa (353–362). What is surprising is that nowhere does Baudry offer any explanation for including the vocabulary of an Indian group that he mentions nowhere else, although it is certainly possible that he may have encountered Ojibwa speakers in his travels up the Mississippi River.

Be that as it may, Baudry's Ojibwa vocabulary (and, presumably, his Sioux vocabulary as well) is of some interest. He does not indicate that he took the vocabulary, either in whole or in part, from other sources, so the implication is that what he includes is based on his personal experience with Ojibwa speakers. This impression is given added weight by the comments he introduces the vocabularies by:

On ne voit ni f ni v dans les deux langues dont je vais donner une idée. J'ai tâché d'écrire comme on prononce; en conséquence, il faut lire toutes les lettres et les faire sonner. Les lettres où il y a un accent circonflexe [sic], doivent être prononcées longuement. Par exemple, ouâ âtô, ou ichinaoubâ. (Baudry 1802:348)

Since he is writing in French for a French audience, a further assumption is that he is using a French-based orthography.

There are 268 lines of Ojibwa in the vocabulary, comprising approximately 282 Ojibwa words. This last figure is an approximate one because Baudry sometimes divides compound words into their constituent parts and sometimes does not. The material is arranged in two columns, with the Ojibwa word first, followed by the French translation. For the most part, the vocabulary consists of a single Ojibwa word and its translation. On the last vocabulary page, however, Baudry uses the heading "Phrases" for a section containing twelve Ojibwa words that require an entire French sentence for a translation.

3. Phonological Considerations

3.1. Orthography

A close examination of his Ojibwa vocabulary shows that the orthography used by Baudry is quite unusual. At times, one can see clearly the influence of French. The sequence ch, for example, is sometimes used to write, among other things, [s], as in the following examples:
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1. choaminn 'grappes de raisin' (p. 360)
   chickiip 'canard' (p. 359)
   ichinaoubâ 'indiens' (p. 355)
   sagaounoch 'anglais' (p. 359)

It may also indicate [z], as in the examples in (2):

2. ninnch 'deux' (p. 353)
   pachic 'un' (p. 353)
   tochitonn 'faire' (p. 359)

Characteristic of French usage, the sequence ou is often used for [w]:

3. ouaubé 'blanc, blanche' (p. 356)
   ouig-ouaoum 'hutte ou maison de sauvage' (p. 355)

As for the various accents of French, there are no examples of his use of the grave accent, and Baudry uses the diaeresis in only one word:

4. ùoé 'corps' (p. 358)

Baudry does make ample use of the circumflex accent, as illustrated in the following examples:

5. maoubâ 'cela' (p. 357)
   minikouâ 'boire' (p. 359)
   tâ 'où?' (p. 356)
   mittaous 'des mitas ou des bas' (p. 357)
   sippim 'rivière' (p. 357)
   taounippi 'd’où?' (p. 356)

More important in this connection is his wide-ranging use of é, which sometimes appears to be used to indicate [e]:

6. alissinapé 'homme' (p. 355)
   kakégo 'rien' (p. 358)
   pakiité 'bruit de tambour' (p. 360)
   pimmoussié 'marcher, aller' (p. 355)
   papégic 'chacun' (p. 360)
   tibélinndonn 'deessein, intention' (p. 361)

In spite of these examples, however, many of the items in Baudry seem to be based on the orthographic practices of English rather than those of French. In addition to what is given above in (1) and (2), the sequence ch is also sometimes used to indicate [c] or [j], as in the following examples:

7. chémann 'canot' (p. 359)
   taoubiscouch 'qui se ressemble' (p. 360)
Most importantly, in addition to the examples in (6), many other examples of the use of é indicate a long or a short [i], as in the examples in (8).

(8) némé ‘danse’ (p. 360)
paskéssigan ‘fusil’ (p. 360)
péouaoubic ‘cendres’ (p. 358)
pirouégo ‘autrefois’ (p. 361)
alémonn ‘un petit chien’ (p. 359)
débicott ‘lune et nuit’ (p. 355)
nébbi ‘l’eau’ (p. 357)
okémaou ‘chef, cacique’ (p. 354)

Finally, in several words the graph a or â is used for [e], another feature that appears to be due to English influence:

(9) ichinaoubâ ‘indiens’ (p. 355)
jéccouassinn ‘fille’ (p. 360)
minicouâ ‘boire’ (p. 359)
pachic ‘un’ (p. 353)
papégiç ‘chacun’ (p. 360)
pooual ‘le poil des animaux’ (p. 354)
scouttaouaoubâ ‘eau-de-vie, rum [sic] et toutes liqueurs fortes’ (p. 358)
scoutta ‘feu’ (p. 359)
tibarimaou ‘arranger, gouverner’ (p. 360)

A fairly messy picture emerges from these considerations. Some of the items in the vocabulary appear to follow French orthographic practices, still others follow English orthographic practices, and many have features attributable to both. What is clear is that one has to be aware of various features of both French and English orthography when attempting to analyze Baudry. In spite of Baudry’s introductory statements, then, the evidence would seem to indicate that at least some of his items were taken from other sources, either English or French, with perhaps some fairly minimal changes and some dialect mixture. I have several possibilities as to sources in mind, although little at the present time in the way of concrete suggestions. I have examined Barton (1798), Carver (1778), Kalm (1770), Knox (1769), Lahontan (1703), and Long (1791). Of these, Kalm is the only one that can easily be eliminated. The others are more problematical, with Carver and Lahontan appearing to be the most likely sources for at

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2In addition to English influence, Richard Rhodes has suggested that one should take into account the fact that long and short [i] are lower in some dialects, which may also explain some of these spellings.
least some of the items in Baudry. It must be pointed out, however, that Baudry shows numerous differences from these two sources, even if some of the resemblances are rather striking.3

This use of an English- and French-based system poses a number of problems, of course, such as the fact that it is difficult to indicate vowel length in a satisfactory manner:

(10) allissinapé 'homme' (p. 355)
    mocomann 'couteau' (p. 354)
    némé 'danse' (p. 360)
    okémouaou 'chef, cacique' (p. 354)

These examples amply illustrate the fact that Baudry often uses the same symbol for both short and long vowels: the first a in ‘homme’ is short, the second is long; in ‘couteau’, the first o is long, the second short; the é of ‘danse’ represents a long i, but the é of ‘chef, cacique’ stands for a short i. In spite of the numerous difficulties posed by the orthography, however, much of the vocabulary is at least partially intelligible to anyone who has some familiarity with Ojibwa.

3.2. Word length

I will now turn to an examination of a number of selected linguistic topics that are relevant to a study of the Baudry vocabulary, beginning with word length. There are a number of words in the vocabulary showing differences from the expected word length. Of these, several are missing an initial segment or segments (in the following examples, the presumed missing portion is in parentheses at the beginning of each word):

(11) (w-)agacouett 'hache' (p. 358)
    (all-)ichinaouba 'indiens' (p. 355)
    cf. allissinapé 'indiens' (p. 355)
    (e-)micouonn 'cuillère' (p. 356)
    (a-)jouacann 'esclave' (p. 356)
    (o-)poagann 'pipe' (p. 357)
    (i-)scoutta 'feu' (p. 359)
    (i-)scouttaouaouba 'eau-de-vie, rum [sic] et toutes liqueurs fortes' (p. 358)
    (i-)scoutéké 'le feu qui sort d’une pierre, briquet' (p. 361)
    (i-)spiminc ‘au-dessus’ (p. 358)

3In an intervention, Ives Goddard pointed out that these early vocabularies, though written down by and attributed to a particular author, were nonetheless frequently compiled over time in diverse locales and from a multiplicity of sources, with all the linguistic consequences that such a variegated situation might entail.
Perhaps not surprisingly, in the last four words the missing segment is an initial i-, a segment that is often elided in initial position, particularly before [s], even in dialects which tend to keep most unstressed short vowels, such as Golden Lake. Nonetheless, one can also find examples of words in the vocabulary with an initial i-:

(12) iccoui ‘femme’ (p. 356)  
irini ‘nation’ (p. 356)

Two words appear to be missing a final segment:

(13) napp(-e) ‘mâle’ (p. 356)  
(cf. ichinaoubâ ‘indiens’ (p. 355))

In the following item, in addition to the missing initial segments, there is no indication of the plural:

(14) ichinaoubâ ‘indiens’ (p. 355)

Several words in the vocabulary have more segments than expected:

(15) bobélochinn ‘enfant’ (p. 359)  
Cf. abinodji ‘child’ (Baraga 1973:48a), bobilouchins ‘child, little children’ (Lahontan 1703: 737), abinotciinj ‘garçon ou fille jusqu’à l’âge de 3 ans’ (Lemoine 1909: Enfant), and binoojinh ‘child’ (Rhodes 1985:442)  
metgouatch ‘je vous remercie’ (p. 362)  
Cf. miguetc (Lemoine 1909: Merci) and miigwech (Rhodes 1985:596).  
mipidach ‘après’ (p. 358)  
Cf. mi dac ‘après’ (Lemoine 1909: Ensuite) and mii dash ‘and then’ (Rhodes 1985:102).  
petchilaougo ‘hier’ (p. 357)  
Cf. tcinâgo (Lemoine 1909: Hier) and jiinaago (Rhodes 1985:622); one also finds, however, pitchinâgo (Baraga 1973:295a).  
sippim ‘rivière’ (p. 357)  
Cf. sibi (Baraga 1973:214a), sippim (Barton 1798:80), sipi (Lemoine 1909: Rivière), and ziibi (Rhodes 1985:554).

4 For purposes of comparison, I am including where appropriate data from various dictionary sources of Ojibwa.  
5 The pagination in Lemoine only goes to 258, roughly half of the book. Because of this, I will refer to entries therein by the French word. The dictionary is only French-Algonquin.
3.3. Distortions

A number of words in the vocabulary seem to be somewhat garbled; several of the most obvious examples follow:

(16) chickiip 'canard' (p. 359)
Cf. jishib (Baraga 1973:81a), chickhip (Carver 1778:422), cicib (Lemoine 1909: Canard), and zhiishiib (Rhodes 1985:395).

dzikérémaou ‘savoir, connaître’ (p. 355)

maouskinct ‘plein’ (p. 359)
Cf. moshkine ‘it is filled’ (Baraga 1973:101a), mockine ‘il est rempli’ (Lemoine 1909: Plein, e), and mooshkned ‘be full’ [AI Conjunct] (Rhodes 1985:252).

ouiss ‘viande’ (p. 355)
Cf. wiiass (Baraga 1973:168a), wias (Lemoine 1909: Viande), and wiiyaas (Rhodes 1985:367).

pabaouchigann ‘pain’ (p. 358)
Cf. pakwejigan (Baraga 1973:34a), pa-bouchigan (Lahontan 1703:736), pakwejigan (Lemoine 1909: Pain), and bkwezhgan (Rhodes 1985:68).

3.4. Other comments

Interestingly, a number of items do not show the expected [s], but have [s] instead:

(17) allissinape ‘homme’ (p. 355)
(cf. ichinaoubé ‘indiens’ (p. 355))

maşkiki ‘l’art de guérir’ (p. 356)

oustäcouann ‘tête’ (p. 355)

paskéstigan ‘fusil’ (p. 360)

scoutta ‘feu’ (p. 359)

scouttaouaoubá ‘eau-de-vie, rum [sic] et toutes liqueurs fortes’ (p. 358)

simaoğann ‘sabre, épée’ (p. 356)

spiminc ‘au-dessus’ (p. 358)

The earliest Ojibwa documents show an r from PA *l or *θ. This r subsequently changed to an l before becoming an n in modern Ojibwa. In this regard, one of the more interesting phonological features of the Baudry vocabulary is the large number of words written with either r or l, at least some of which reflect these historical sound changes. In those relatively few cases where I am reasonably sure of the PA segment, I have added it:
(18) chinngaourimaou 'haine' (p. 360)
dzikérémaou 'savoir, connaître' (< PA *1) (p. 355)
ganouérimaou 'une petite maison' (p. 355)
irini 'nation' (< PA *1) (p. 356)
marcaouté 'noir' (p. 360)
marri 'allié' (borrowed from French?) (p. 356)
naranmittaounaou 'cinquante' (< PA *1) (p. 354)
narann 'cinq' (< PA *1) (p. 353)
nérémozin 'maîtresse de maison' (p. 356)
pigouégo 'autrefois' (p. 361)
tibarimaou 'arranger, gouverner' (< PA *1) (p. 360)

akilaogoué 'perte, oubli' (p. 356)
aljissinapé 'homme' (< PA *1) (p. 355)
aljanc 'étoile' (< PA *0) (p. 357)
alémonn 'un petit chien' (< PA *0) (p. 359)
aléouinn 'boule' (p. 360)
alim 'chien' (< PA *0) (p. 359)
alocokigonn 'marchandise' (p. 355)
bobélochinn 'enfant' (p. 359)
caoulatch 'bon' (p. 360)
cocali 'toujours' (p. 358)
endaoulaoikinn 'la campagne' (p. 359)
kécalch 'froid' (p. 359)
laoumac 'esturgeon' (p. 357)
laoutinn 'vent' (p. 357)
lissis 'chevelure humaine' (p. 354)
maccoulaou 'honneur' (p. 355)
malatal 'qui ne vaut rien du tout' (p. 354)
maoulaoutissié 'menteur, hableur' (p. 355)
mélominn 'mais, ou bled [sic] de Turquie' (p. 360)
millaou 'donne' (< PA *1) (p. 354)
mimilic 'assez' (p. 359)
nantaoubaoulou 'la guerre' (p. 356)
naoubal 'à demi' (p. 360)
nauoppétélémaou 'estimer' (< PA *1) (p. 360)
nibilou 'beaucoup' (p. 356)
occolou 'vêtement de cérémonie' (p. 362)
ojaoubich 'ventre' (p. 354)
oalaouga 'tasse à boire' (< PA *1) (p. 360)
onctlaoubâ 'sans doute' (p. 359)
oualibic 'prompt, alerte' (p. 361)
petchilaougo 'hier' (p. 357)
piliaouâ 'surprenant, admirable' (p. 358)
pouual 'le poil des animaux' (from French?) (p. 354)
4. Morphological Considerations

4.1. Noun morphology

Turning now to morphological questions, the noun morphology of the vocabulary is rather sparse. I have found no examples of noun plurals or obviatives, nor are there any examples of possessives. There are a small number of diminutives, one with -s, the others without.

(19) akikonns 'chaudière, marmite' (p. 355)
alémonn 'un petit chien' (p. 359)
bobélochin 'enfant' (p. 359)
jéccouassinn 'fille' (p. 360)
maconn 'un jeune ours' (p. 360)
minnissinn 'presqu'île, péninsule, isthme' (p. 357)

There are also a small number of locatives:

(20) agankitchigaouminc 'mer ou grand lac' (p. 357)
kitchi gaouminc 'lac' (p. 354)
nopaouinnc 'en avant' (p. 361)
spiminc 'au-dessus' (p. 358)

4.2. Verb morphology

The verbal morphology of the vocabulary is also rather sparse, and many of the forms are defective in some way. Most appear to be in the Independent Mode with a third-person singular subject. Unfortunately, the glosses given by Baudry are often not very helpful.

4.2.1. AI verbs

Animate intransitive verb forms are by far the most numerous I have found, with most of the forms appearing to be in the Independent Mode:
(21) AI minicouâ 'boire' (p. 359)  
némé 'danse' (p. 360)  
nip 'mourir' (p. 361)  
nippi 'dormir' (p. 356)  
oouissine 'manger' (p. 359)  
paooupi 'rire' (p. 355)  
pimmissicaou 'aller sur l'eau' (p. 360)  
pimmoissié 'marcher, aller' (p. 355)  
tacouchinn 'venir, arriver' (p. 358)

One form appears to be in the Conjunct Mode, although a detailed analysis of this form is unclear to me:

(22)  
entaiient 'chez soi, à la maison' (p. 355)

One other form, albeit a somewhat garbled one, also appears to be in the AI Conjunct:

(23) maouskinctt 'plein' (p. 359)

4.2.2. II verbs

I have found very few examples of Inanimate Intransitive verbs:

(24) II kimmeouann 'pluie' (p. 357)  
kissinn 'gelée' (p. 361)  
kissinn magat 'forte gelée' (p. 361)  
malatatt 'qui n’est bon à rien' (p. 356)

One form appears to be in the II Conjunct Mode:

(25) oussouaoubounc 'demain sitôt le jour' (p. 362)

4.2.3. TA verbs

There are also few examples of Transitive Animate verbs, and those that occur are usually deficient in some way:

(26) TA dzikérémaou 'savoir, connaître' (p. 355)  
millaou 'donne' (p. 354)  
ouaoubémo 'voir, regarder' (p. 356)  
oouipémaou 'se coucher' (p. 354)  
tibarimaou 'arranger, gouverner' (p. 360)

4.2.4. TI verbs

I have also found few examples of Transitive Inanimate verbs:

(27) TI kémaoutinn 'voleur' (p. 357)  
tibélindonn 'dessein, intention' (p. 361)  
tochitonn 'faire' (p. 359)
5. Deictics

Given the fact that the vocabulary is by and large a series of Ojibwa words translated into French, there is little in the way of syntactic information. One small bit can perhaps be gleaned from the deictics, but, here again, there are few examples:

(28) aconda 'voici, c'est ceci' (p. 354) (?)
couagonié maoubâ 'qui est-là?' [sic] (p. 362)
maoubâ 'cela' (p. 357)
maounda 'ceci' (p. 357)

6. Conclusion

From this very brief survey of the Baudry vocabulary, what reasonable conclusions may we draw? First, and most obvious, it seems to me, there is good reason to be skeptical of Baudry's implication that he bases it largely on his personal experiences with Ojibwa speakers. Although this is an area that awaits further study, much of the vocabulary appears to have been taken from other sources, including English ones, and there may be some dialect mixture because of this. Secondly, there are numerous oversights and errors in the data, which, in addition to the problems of decipherment of Baudry's orthography, restrict its usefulness. A third problem is no doubt its brevity. However much we might realize that such a short vocabulary obviously can not contain a great deal, much of what we would like to see is just not there: the morphology is limited, the syntax is virtually non-existent, and the glosses often leave something to be desired. Given these negative aspects of the vocabulary, is there anything positive we can say about it? Unfortunately, not very much. Perhaps the numerous words Baudry includes with r and l, at least some of which come from PA *l or *θ, may prove of some value as we attempt to fill in the details of the phonological history of Ojibwa, but most are probably more reliably available elsewhere. On a more general level, as I was working through the vocabulary, I was struck by the number of words I was unable to find in my fieldnotes or in any of the several standard references I consulted. Thus, it seems to me that one service this kind of vocabulary may provide is pointing up problems associated with the adequacy of coverage of our reference materials. Some of the vocabulary items in question may, of course, have changed meaning or dropped out of current usage. So a final point to be made is that, just as these early documents may provide us

6Richard Rhodes pointed out in an intervention that the forms for 'cela' and 'ceci', as well as the form for 'd'où?' in (5) above, are from Ottawa.
with a window on phonological, morphological, and/or syntactic change, vocabularies such as the one by Baudry, may also provide us with a very important window on the phenomenon of lexical change.

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