

Cree Admixture in the Verbal Morphology
of Island Lake Ojibwa

by
Salina Margaret Shrofel

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Location and Population

The Island Lake District, approximately 290 miles northeast of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada (See Figure I), is composed of four communities: Garden Hill, Wasagamack and St. Theresa Point, situated on the shores of Island Lake; Red Sucker Lake, situated approximately 45 miles north of Island Lake (See Figure I). The Island Lake District, on-reserve population distribution as of April, 1976 is shown in Table I. (Table I figures were received from the Department of Indian Affairs, Winnipeg.)

Table I

Island Lake District Population Distribution

Community	Population
Garden Hill	1270
St. Theresa Point	920
Wasagamack	417
Red Sucker Lake	271

1.2 The Island Lake Language

Although the Government of Canada (Canada, 1970) lists the Island Lake District as being composed of Cree-speaking peoples, many sources (Grant, 1929; Michelson, 1939) and many Island Lake residents disagree, preferring to refer to the language spoken in the district as a mix-

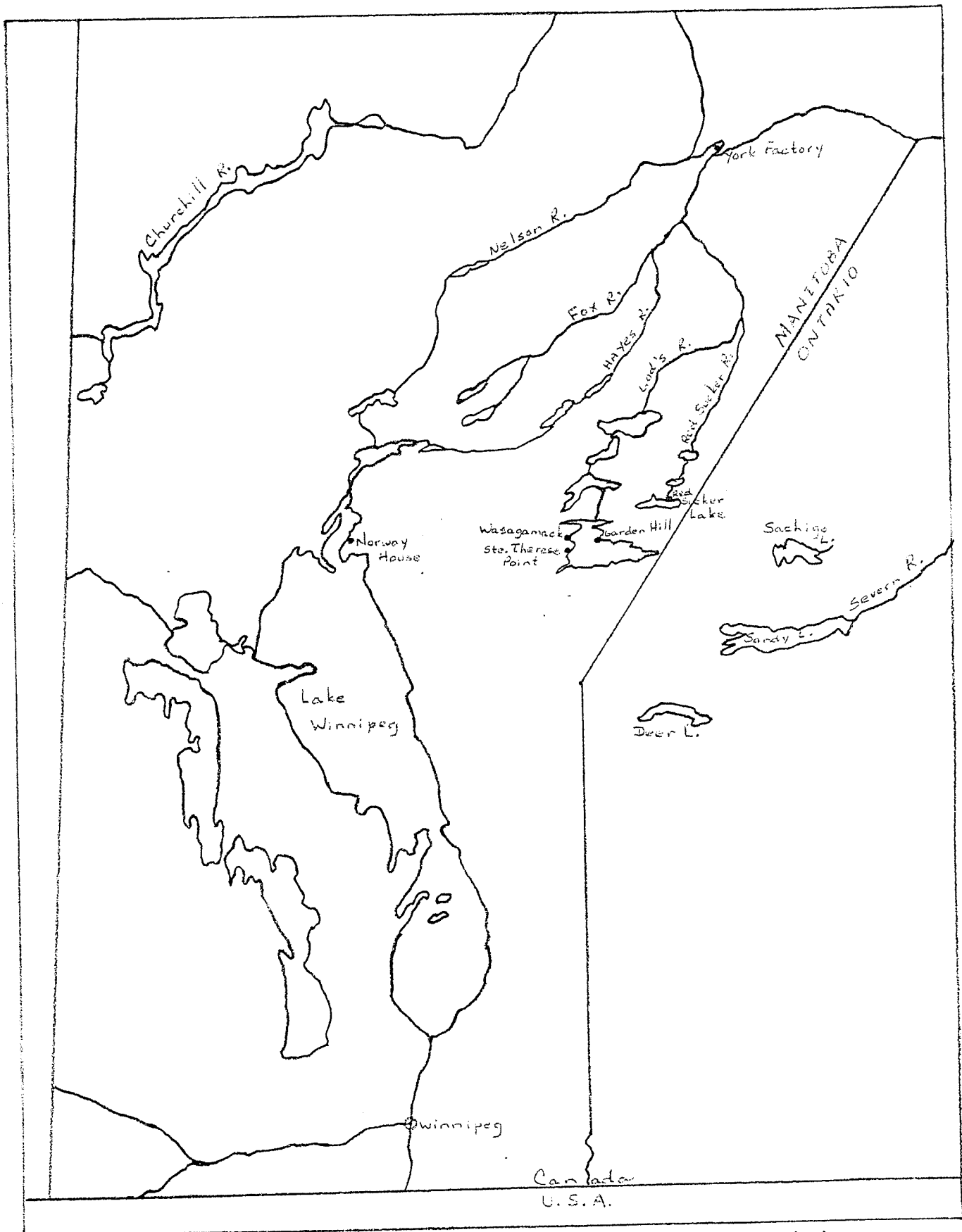


Figure I: Map Showing Location of Island Lake Communities

ture of Cree and Ojibwa. The following quotations from Island Lake residents are typical:

The Saulteaux [Ojibwa] we have here
[Island Lake] it just comes in half
Cree and half Saulteaux--our language. (G1)

Cree...Saulteaux...it's [the Island
Lake language] half and half...it's
really hard to learn...the Cree people
don't understand it and the Saulteaux
people don't understand it--just a few
odd words here and there. (G4)

A mixture--more Saulteaux than Cree. (G9)

Cree and mixed-in Saulteaux. (R3)

We're mixed--because [when] we're
talking some words, we use the
Saulteaux and Cree. (R8)

When pressed to apply a label to their language, a majority of residents of the district prefer to use the term Cree. Other terms such as Saulteaux [Ojibwa], Saulteaux-Cree, Cree-Saulteaux and Island Lake Language are also used in this context. Whatever term is chosen by a resident to refer to his language, it is carefully distinguished so as to apply to the Island Lake language only. The residents do not confuse their language with that spoken at Norway House, Oxford House or at other surrounding communities.

Wolfart (1973a) reports that communication between Island Lake residents and other Cree and Ojibwa speakers appears to be impaired. This statement is confirmed by dialect testing results of the Summer Institute of Linguistics as cited by Wolfart (1973a: 1307) and by

reports of Island Lake residents of which the statement by G4 above is typical.

That the language of Island Lake could be a mixture of Cree and Ojibwa is supported by an examination of the ethnohistory of the Island Lake area. The following discussion of the ethnohistory relies substantially on Sawchuk (1972) except where otherwise indicated.

Before the signing of treaties with the Canadian Government, the Canadian Eastern Subarctic was inhabited and exploited by small family hunting-trapping groups (Dunning, 1959; Sawchuk, 1972) who spent the winter months dispersed through the forest region and the summer months gathered together at various fishing locations where communal subsistence and ritual activities could take place.

The fur trade was initially responsible for affecting population mobility in the Island Lake area. Before a post was built at Island Lake, the natives of the area travelled to Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill) to trade furs for European goods. By 1823, a number of posts had been established in the Island Lake District: Island Lake, Sandy Lake, Trout Lake and Merry's House in the Severn area of Ontario. The occupation of these posts was dependent upon the availability of fur-bearing animals in the area and as a result of fluctuation in the fur-bearing population, posts were abandoned and re-opened affecting the composition and distribution of the native groups in

the area. In 1823 the post at Sandy Lake was abandoned and the natives attached to this post moved to Island Lake and Trout Lake. In 1824 the post of Merry's House was closed and the population of this area was divided between Island Lake, York Factory and Trout Lake. When Merry's House reopened in 1827, there was an immigration from Trout Lake and the Severn River regions. When the Island Lake post was closed in 1829, most of the residents moved to Trout Lake while a few moved to Little Grand Rapids and Oxford House. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the fur trade was responsible for a highly mobile population in the Island Lake area which probably substantially modified the ethnic population of the area (Sawchuk, 1972).

The following communities represent "potential or real sources of socio-genetic contact which may have modified the composition of the Island Lake population" (Sawchuk, 1972: 23): Cat Lake, Deer Lake, Fort Prince of Wales, God's Lake, Little Grand Rapids, Marten's Falls, Oxford House, Sandy Lake, Trout Lake, York Factory.

In 1909, Treaty Number 5 was signed and the population of the Island Lake area composed of those people living at Red Sucker Lake and at Island Lake proper and bounded by Red Sucker Lake, Stevenson Lake and the Cobham and Severn River Districts were formed into the government band of Island Lake (Sawchuk, 1972). The Red Sucker Lake population did not return to Red Sucker Lake after the signing of the

treaty. Instead, they settled at what is now Wasagamack with the rest of the Island Lake District population. (Sawchuk, 1972: 26). The three communities at Island Lake proper are the result of the locations of missions and trading posts around which the natives settled. Many families originally from Red Sucker Lake settled at Garden Hill. Early in 1950, the former residents of Red Sucker Lake and their families returned to Red Sucker Lake citing over-population of Garden Hill as the reason (R3).

The evidence from Island Lake residents, sources, dialect testing and ethno-history is inconclusive in that it does not speak to questions of details and extent of Cree/Ojibwa admixture. Only linguistic analysis can lead to reliable conclusions relating to the language spoken in the Island Lake area. Wolfart shows that the Island Lake language is basically Ojibwa "with an admixture of Cree" (Wolfart, 1973a: 1317). He bases his conclusion on the fact that a number of consonants and consonant clusters in the Island Lake language systematically contain Ojibwa reflexes and that there are instances where an Island Lake word combines features of both Cree and Ojibwa into a unique configuration (Wolfart 1973a: 1316).

1.3 Purpose

Wolfart has clearly shown that on the phonological level, at least, the Island Lake language is Ojibwa with an admixture of Cree. He deals briefly with

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the morphological level claiming that the evidence "points clearly in the direction of Ojibwa" (Wolfart, 1973a: 1317) and states that there is probably some Cree interference. The purpose of this study is to analyze the verb morphology of the Island Lake language to determine the details and extent of Cree interference.

1.4 Fieldwork and Informants

Fieldwork was conducted at Garden Hill, St. Theresa Point and Red Sucker Lake in February/March of 1976. A total of three weeks was spent in the field, one week in each community except Wasagamack. Eighteen informants were interviewed during this period; seven residents of Garden Hill, seven residents of Red Sucker Lake, four residents of St. Theresa Point. The work with these informants consisted mainly of tape-recording and transcribing elicited sentence-length utterances, some word lists and short texts. Circumstances prevented a visit to Wasagamack; however, it appears that a visit to the community would not have been especially fruitful as those informants asked about the language spoken at Wasagamack claim that it does not differ from that spoken at Garden Hill or St. Theresa Point.

A set of tape-recordings made by Menno Wiebe in the winter of 1970-71 and used by Wolfart in his 1973a study was made available to me. These recordings consist mainly of responses to Wolfart's Island Lake Survey Questionnaire (Wolfart, 1973a) by 24 informants but also contain a number

of spontaneous short texts and two longer texts as well as some non-survey elicited short sentences from three residents of Garden Hill. The tape-recordings were transcribed with the aid of three former Island Lake residents now living in Winnipeg.

Table II presents a summary of the data pertinent to the informants. Informant G20 speaks no English and an interpreter was used in order to obtain lengthy texts. These texts have been transcribed but not fully translated. Informant G14 understands but does not speak English and the fieldworker was able to conduct, in an awkward manner, an interview without the aid of an interpreter. Informant R5 has Norway House Cree as her native language but is considered to be bilingual by other members of the community. As can be seen from the table, the remainder of the informants are either English/Island Lake bilinguals or English/Cree/Island Lake trilinguals or English/Saulteaux/Island Lake trilinguals.

1.5 Algonquian Language Family

The Algonquian language family of which Cree and Ojibwa are members is the most widespread indigenous language family in North America. The territory covered by the family is enormous: representatives occupy a sizeable portion of the United States and Canada as pointed out by Teeter (1964: 1026):

Table II
Summary of Informants

Person Code	Sex	Birth-date	Residence	Birth-place	Other Languages Spoken
S1	m	1950	STP	GH	English
S2	m	1914	STP	STP	English, Norway House Cree
S3	m	1943	STP	STP	English
S4	m	1930	STP	STP	English
S5	m	1920	STP	STP	English, Norway House Cree
S6	m	1924	STP	Steven-son Lake	English
S7	m	1942	STP	STP	English
S8	f	1943	STP	STP	English
S9	m	1932	STP	STP	English, Norway House Cree
S10	f	1939	STP	STP	English
S11	f	1950	STP	STP	English
S12	m	1951	STP	STP	English, Norway House Cree
S13	m	1922	STP	STP	English
S14	m	1947	STP	STP	English
S15	m	1950	STP	GH	English
S16	m	1951	STP	GH	English
S17	m	1952	STP	STP	English
G1	m	1923	GH	White Rapids	English, Saulteaux
G2	m	1901	GH	Cobham River	English, Norway House Cree
G3	f	1929	GH	Island Lake	English
G4	m	1920	GH	GH	English, Norway House Cree
G5	f	1950	GH	RSL	English
G6	m	1941	GH	GH	English
G7	m	1941	GH	God's Lake	English
G8	f	1953	GH	GH	English
G9	f	1917	GH	STP	English, Norway House Cree
G10	m	1942	GH	Island Lake	English
G11	f	1912	GH	Oxford House	English, Cree
G12	f	1950	GH	GH	English
G13	m	1948	GH	GH	English
G14	m	1930	GH	GH	
G15	f	1949	GH	GH	English
G16	m	1942	[W]	GH	English
G17	m		GH	GH	English
G18	m	1922	GH	Angling Lake	English
G19	f	1946	GH	GH	English
G20	m	1895	GH	STP	
R1	f	1944	RSL	GH	English
R2	f	1920	RSL	GH	English
R3	m	1920	RSL	Island Lake	English
R4	f	1947	RSL	Benson River	English
R5	f	1947	RSL	Norway House	English, Norway House Cree
R6	f	1942	RSL	RSL	English
R7	f	1943	RSL	Island Lake	English
R8	f	1942	RSL	GH	English
Abbreviations: [W] - [Winnipeg]					
GH - Garden Hill					
RSL - Red Sucker Lake					
STP - St. Theresa Point					

Note: The Person Code numbers assigned to informants in this study do not correspond to those assigned to informants by Wolfart (1973a). The 1973a informants are incorporated into this study, but have been given different Person Codes.

The main body of the Algonquian languages stretches from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean. In the western plains the principal representatives of the family are Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, extending in roughly that order from Alberta to Colorado, east of the Continental Divide. Central and eastern Canada is the location of the widely scattered Cree dialects, including Montagnais and Naskapi to the northeast, and the dialects of Ojibwa (Chippewa) occupy southern Canada. In the midwest, extending southward through present-day Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois, are the Menomini, the Fox and related dialects, the Potawatomi, and the mutually intelligible Miami, Peoria, and Illinois. From north to south along the Atlantic Coast, from New Brunswick to North Carolina, are found the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Massachusett, Natick-Narragansett, Mohegan-Pequot, Delaware, and Powhatan, to mention the more important Algonquian languages of the East. The southernmost representative of the main group is Shawnee, found in Tennessee and the Carolinas.

The two most widely spread Canadian members of the family are Cree and Ojibwa who in many cases occupy adjacent territories. Figure II presents a short summary of relationships within the Algonquian Language Family.

1.6 Terminology

The terminology employed in this paper is essentially that of Bloomfield (1958). Because Bloomfieldian terminology is widely known and used in Algonquian linguistics, Bloomfieldian terms are used here without definition. Where a non-Bloomfieldian term is employed, it is defined at its first introduction.

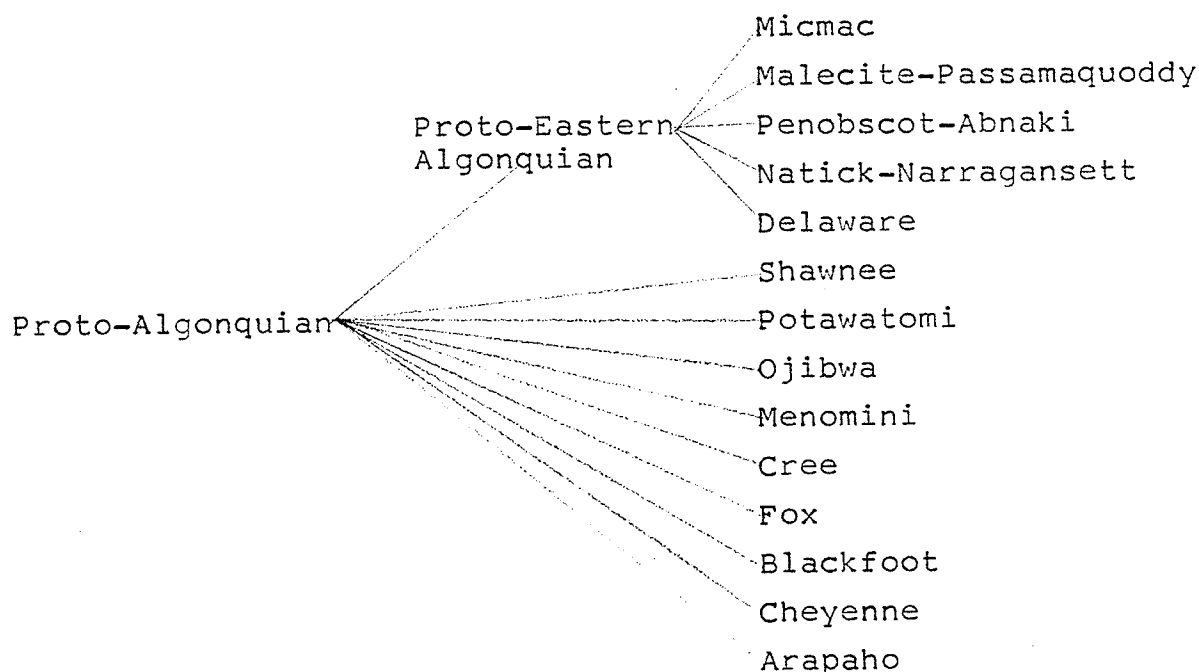


Figure II: The Algonquian Language Family
(From Teeter, 1967).

1.7 Orthography

Island Lake forms are given first in phonemic transcription and then in morphophonemic transcription using the following orthography:

Consonants: p t č k s š h m n

Semivowels: w y

Vowels: i i· e· o o· a a·

This orthography is essentially that of Bloomfield (1958).

Although it is a useful orthography, it by no means reflects a detailed analysis of Island Lake phonology--an analysis outside the scope of this study.

The sound system represented by the above orthography is identical to that of other Ojibwa dialects. It differs

from the sound system of Plains Cree in that Plains Cree lacks the š; Proto-Algonquian s and š have fallen together to s in Plains Cree.

Each Island Lake example used in this study will consist of four lines as follows:

ninta·-ki·-piša· na (G14)

'can I come?'

nin+ta·-ki·-piša·+Ø ina

1 +might-can-AI +1 question particle

The first line is a phonemic transcription and the third line is a morphophonemic transcription. A hyphen (-) is used to indicate the boundary between a preverb and a verb stem. All other morpheme boundaries are indicated by the plus sign (+). Word boundaries are indicated by two typewriter spaces. In Appendix A a set of reading rules which relate lines 1 and 3 of the examples is given.

Chapter 2: Language Contact and the Island Lake Area

2.0 Introduction

When two (or more) languages come into contact with one another, interference, defined as a deviation from the norms of any of the languages in contact (Weinreich, 1953: 1), will usually be a result. Mere geographic proximity of two languages is not a language contact situation; a necessary factor is the need for the two or more groups of people speaking the different languages to communicate. Generally, the need to communicate is fulfilled by some or many speakers of one of the languages learning the other language, so becoming bilingual.

2.1 The Prestige Language in Contact Situations

It is seldom that two languages in contact co-exist in a situation of equality. Generally, one of the languages is accorded more prestige by the speakers of both languages and becomes the dominant language. It is this dominant or prestige language that is learned by some speakers of the non-dominant language. The assigning of prestige to one of the languages depends, in large part, on the interaction of extra-linguistic factors discussed below.

2.1.1 Usually, the language with the greatest number of speakers becomes the dominant language. Often, if the population of the non-dominant group is very small, the

prestige language will eventually replace the non-dominant language unless other factors intervene. Non-English speaking immigrants to North America are the most striking illustration of the effect of numbers in a language contact situation. Bloomfield (1933: 463) notes that, "Among immigrants in America, extinction, like borrowing, goes on at great speed." The first generation immigrant usually becomes a bilingual using his native language in the home and when dealing with other immigrants, and using English in the larger community. This same first generation immigrant may even stop using his native language or, in exceptional circumstances, lose his ability to effectively speak his native language if he is isolated from other speakers of his language and especially if he marries a person of different speech (Bloomfield, 1933: 463). The second generation immigrant, if his parents do not speak English in the home, first learns the language of his parents. The influence of the English-speaking community soon causes him to become fluently bilingual. As an adult, he speaks English in his home, creating a third generation which speaks only English (Bloomfield, 1933: 463).

2.1.2 When languages come into contact as a result of peaceful migration, the language indigenous to the new area usually becomes the dominant language. That this is so is a function of the size of population discussed above

and of the assignment of real or assumed cultural superiority discussed below.

2.1.3 While the loss of a native language by an immigrant to North America can be attributed almost solely to his being outnumbered in his new environment, the large number of interferences from English which enter his native language must be attributed to real or assumed cultural superiority. Weinreich notes that a new cultural and physical environment requires that new words enter his vocabulary and, the immigrant is often culturally disoriented in the new environment, lowering his resistance to excessive borrowing (Weinreich, 1953: 91).

The immigrant is under great pressure to learn English; employment very often depends on an ability to communicate in English and he faces ridicule from native English speakers if he is unable to easily make himself understood by them. The ability to speak English becomes a matter of pride and even when speaking his native language with other immigrants, he will color his speech with English words. In some cases, these borrowed English words fill gaps in his native vocabulary; but, in many cases, the borrowings replace native words and constructions as illustrated below:

Soon after the German gets here, we find him using in his German speech, a host of English forms, such as coat, bottle, kick, change. He will say, for instance, ich

hoffe, Sie werden's enjoyen... 'I hope you'll enjoy it,' or ich hab' einen kalt gecatched... 'I've caught a cold.'... Some of these locutions,..., have become conventionally established in American immigrant German. (Bloomfield, 1933: 462).

2.1.4 In a language contact situation brought about by conquest or by the real political dominance of one group over another, the dominant language is generally that of the politically dominant group. In the eleventh century, as a result of the Norman Conquest, England was dominated by French-speaking conquerors. Most upper and middle class Englishmen, having a need to communicate with the conquerors and motivated by prestige factors, learned French. The borrowings from French to English that occurred during this period of French dominance are numerous, illustrating that the political dominance of a group speaking one language over another group speaking another language can result in interference in the language of the non-dominant group.

2.1.5 The effect of the above factors can be countered by what Weinreich calls "language loyalty" and defines as "the state of mind in which the language... [is seen] as an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being 'defended.'" (Weinreich, 1953: 99). Language loyalty can arise in contact situations where a

dominated group is forced to yield to another group in matters concerning language. It also can arise in contact situations where the non-dominant group feels itself superior or where, for some reason, the non-dominant group wants to be distinguished from neighboring groups. This latter is illustrated by upper-class and/or highly educated European immigrants to North America who view their own language and culture superior. They will learn English in North America but guard against Anglicisms entering their native languages.

2.2 The Source of Interference

The speakers of the non-dominant language are, in large part, the ones who become bilingual and/or borrow from the dominant language and it is these bilingual individuals who are the sources of interference between contact languages. The bilingual individual introduces borrowed forms into his native speech motivated by prestige or a need to fill lexical or syntactic gaps in his own language. Only if these introduced forms are copied by others who speak his language does language interference result which affects the native language spoken by his community. The degree of interference is a factor of interplay between the influence of the dominant language, the pull of language loyalty and the need to be able to communicate within one's own community.

2.3 Island Lake as the Non-Dominant Language

That the Island Lake language can be classed as a non-dominant language in the area can be shown by a brief examination of historical and contemporary facts.

2.3.1 Bishop (1974) has presented convincing evidence which shows that the presence of Ojibwa speaking peoples in northern Ontario and Manitoba is a post-white-contact phenomenon, largely influenced by the fur trade. In the pre-contact era, the Ojibwa occupied an area along the northeast shore of Lake Superior, the Cree occupied most of northern Ontario and the Assiniboine occupied the area west of Lake Superior. By the late seventeenth century, as a result of expansion of the fur trade in the upper great lakes region, the Ojibwa were travelling west and north to act as middlemen in the fur trade between the Assiniboine and the Cree and the white man. This middle-man function was ended when the English built forts (Fort Nelson, Fort Albany, York Factory, Fort Severn) in the region of Hudson's Bay and the Cree were able to trade their furs directly. A few small bands of Ojibwa moved into the northern interior at this time to trade with the English. By the 1720's, the Cree were shifting westward, trading at Fort Nelson rather than at Fort Albany and the Ojibwa were moving into the areas vacated by the Cree.

By the 1770's, Bishop concludes, "the Ojibwa had expanded into Northern Ontario and eastern Manitoba to approximately their present limits." (Bishop, 1974: 321). It is as a result of this migration that the contact between Cree and Ojibwa in the Island Lake area discussed in Chapter 1 begins. Bishop's research shows that Ojibwa was not the language indigenous to the northern area. While it does not follow directly that a non-indigenous language will be the non-dominant language in a contact situation, this is usually what occurs (cf. 2.1.2). From such historical evidence, it can be tentatively concluded that Ojibwa was historically a non-dominant language in the Island Lake area.

In a more recent article, Bishop has proposed that the Northern Ojibwa dialects are more closely related to the Algonquin spoken in the upper Ottawa Valley rather than to that spoken near Lake Superior. The historical records show that, at contact, the Ottawa lived on Manitoulin Island and perhaps also on the eastern shores of Georgian Bay. During the late seventeenth century, a group of Ottawa known as the Nassawaketon or Carps are noted in the records as living to the north of Green Bay. Bishop claims that the western movement of this group of Ottawa was probably the result of Iroquois raids and the expansion of the fur trade. By the early eighteenth century, Ottawa people were living north of Lake Superior and Bishop maintains that these Ottawa were the Nassawaketon or at least included

the Nassawaketon. By the 1770's, the Algonquian groups from the southeast had expanded into northern Ontario. The Osnaburgh House records for 1814 list the Cranes and the Suckers as occupying a territory where the Northern Ojibwa dialects are spoken today. Further, Andrew Graham, a Hudson's Bay trader, notes in his journal that these people are the Nakawawuck or Ottawa people. Bishop hypothesizes that the words Nassawaketon and Nakawawuck are cognates but this must be rejected as nahkawe·wak is the Cree form for 'they speak Saulteaux' and is probably the model for Graham's Nakawawuck. While Bishop's migration theory does not rely upon nassawaketon and nakawawuck being cognates, it does require further corroborating evidence as he himself points out.

Whether the dialect spoken in Northern Ontario has an Ojibwa or an Ottawa origin, the fact remains that the Northern Ontario dialects are not indigenous to the area.

2.3.2 It is contemporary evidence, though, that shows that the Island Lake language is, without doubt, a non-dominant language. The first missions, both Protestant and Catholic, at Island Lake were established early in the twentieth century. When biblical materials became available in Cree, these were imported to Island Lake and have become the basis of the religious rites at Island Lake. The Bible, written in Cree, is used in Church services even

though many of the parishioners do not understand Cree. The accepted language for Christian rituals, then, is Cree.

2.3.3 From the early twentieth century until the present, Island Lake residents have sent their children to boarding school at Norway House, a Cree speaking community. Students from Island Lake were outnumbered by Cree-speaking students and, although the language of the school was English, many students from Island Lake felt the pressure of numbers and dominance and learned to speak or at least to understand Norway House Cree.

2.3.4 The strongest evidence that Cree is considered the dominant language of the area comes from the contemporary, almost total identification of Island Lake speakers with the Cree. Most of the informants call their language Cree even though they will admit that it is a different Cree from that spoken by other Cree communities. In Chapter 1, it was noted that Saulteaux-Cree and Cree-Saulteaux were terms used by Island Lake speakers to describe their language. The latter term was a correction of what was considered to be a mistake by the fieldworker. When it was suggested by the fieldworker in a social situation that a good name for the Island Lake language would be Saulteaux-Cree, an Island Lake resident was quick to respond that it should be Cree-Saulteaux instead, the latter term presumably giving prominence to Cree. In-

formant G9 who states that the Island Lake language is more Saulteaux than Cree, speaks Norway House Cree but spent two years working at Favourable Lake where Ojibwa is spoken. Informant G9, as a result of exposure to both Cree and Ojibwa has a basis for comparison not available to most other Island Lake speakers represented by this study.

2.4 Results of Language Contact

2.4.1 Language contact situations result most often in lexical borrowing of the non-dominant language from the dominant language (Anderson, 1973: 95; Weinreich, 1953: 47; Haugen, 1956: 65). The extent of lexical borrowing is usually overestimated. Haugen (1956: 66) points out that, "Those who have taken the trouble to count the number of borrowings in running text report that it seldom runs over ten per cent and is usually much less, depending on the subject matter." It appears that borrowings into a language are more conspicuous to the observer than non-borrowed terms and hence the number of borrowings is exaggerated. The speakers of Island Lake, many of whom are Norway House Cree/Island Lake bilinguals, could be overestimating the amount of lexical borrowing from Cree that has occurred at Island Lake. There are many genetic correspondences between Cree and Ojibwa, and Island Lake speakers may be identifying these as borrowings from Cree.

In Chapter 4 of this paper, a number of Island Lake verb stems will be examined for their Cree and/or Ojibwa origins in order to determine whether such overestimation of Cree borrowings is occurring. By no means are all Island Lake speakers Cree/Island Lake bilinguals (See Table II) and the number of Cree borrowings into Island Lake will be constrained by this fact. On the other hand, residents of Island Lake identify strongly with the Cree and are therefore motivated to accept Cree borrowings into their language.

2.4.2 Many conflicting views on the borrowing of bound morphemes are to be found in the literature. The extreme negative view on the borrowing of bound morphemes is stated by Meillet:

In fact, up to now cases have not been found where one has been led to posit that the morphological system of a given language results from a mixture of the morphologies of two distinct languages. In all the cases observed up to the present time, there is one continuous tradition for a language; there can be a more or less large number of borrowings, and these borrowings can occasion certain new processes of word formation;...But there is only one tradition for the morphological system. (Meillet 1967: 101-02).

A directly opposite position is stated by Schuchardt and Bazell respectively: "Even closely knit structures... like inflectional endings, are not secure against invasion by foreign material" and "There is no limit in principle to the influence which one morphological system may have

upon another." (in Weinreich, 1953: 29).

Haugen (1956: 67) presents the middle position in this argument when he says, "Bound morphemes, whose independent meaning does not become apparent except by comparison of utterances...are seldom if ever borrowed." Hockett (1958: 415-16) while expressing considerable doubt about bound-morpheme borrowing admits that it is the most plausible explanation for the sharing of grammatical features which could not have developed independently in each of the languages, by neighbouring unrelated languages. The example he uses is that of Turkish, Armenian, Georgian and Ossetic of the Caucasus which share the method of forming the noun plural; namely, that a plural suffix is added to a singular stem and the plurals are then inflected for case exactly as if they were in the singular. Historical evidence shows that Georgian and Ossetic had a different case/number system. The actual suffixes used by the languages vary, but the system seems to have been borrowed.

Weinreich also presents a middle view:

The transfer of morphemes which are as strongly bound as inflectional endings in many European languages seems to be extremely rare...What appears at first blush to be a transfer of highly bound morphemes often turns out, upon a fuller analysis, to be something else.
(Weinreich, 1953: 31).

After such a cautious statement, Weinreich goes on to

discuss three cases, "...which can be explained in no other way than by the outright transfer of a highly bound morpheme" (Weinreich, 1953: 32).

One such ascertained instance is the transfer of Bulgarian verb endings for the first and second persons singular into Meglanite Rumanian...In that Rumanian dialect, the endings -um (-ăm) and -iș, of Bulgarian origin, occur in the place of the older -u, -i: aflum, aflis 'I, you find' for aflu, aflî. It is significant that in the surrounding Bulgarian dialect, the conjugation in -am, -iș is the most productive of several types...It is as if the analogical expansion of the -am verb class overflowed the boundaries of the Bulgarian language into the Rumanian dialect. (Weinreich, 1974: 32).

[In]...Romansch-Schwyzertütsch contact, ...a case bordering on bound morpheme transfer has occurred. Bilingual children have been replacing the Romansch feminine indefinite article in, an alternant of ina used before vowels, by ina-n...on the model of Schwyzertütsch, where, just as in English, the article a has an extended alternant, an, before vowels. (Weinreich, 1974: 32.)

The third case of bound-morpheme borrowing occurs in Welsh where the plurality of a collective noun is emphasized by the addition of an English -s (Weinreich, 1953: 32).

What is important about these cases is not just that a bound-morpheme has been transferred but the conditions under which the transfer took place. Rumanian already possessed the category of first person singular before the new morpheme to express it was adopted. Similarly,

Romansch possessed the feminine article and Welsh possessed a plural category. Another condition under which the transfers occurred is that of similar vocabularies: the Rumanian and Bulgarian vocabularies and the Romansch and Schwyzertütsch vocabularies are quite similar. Weinreich concludes, "Indeed, it stands very much to reason that the transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures; for a highly bound morpheme is so dependent on its grammatical function (as opposed to its designative value) that it is useless in an alien system unless there is a ready function for it" (Weinreich 1953: 33).

These examples cited by Hockett (1958) and Weinreich (1953) seem to show that under certain conditions, borrowings of bound morphemes can occur. The extreme views of Bazell, Schuchardt (in Weinreich, 1953) and Meillet (1967) seem to be unfounded when actual cases are carefully examined.

The language contact at Island Lake is between two related languages, Cree and Ojibwa. Being direct descendants of Proto-Algonquian (Bloomfield, 1946) they share many features. In the realm of vocabulary, many Cree and Ojibwa verb stems differ only by a few sounds which can be formulated by regular rules of sound change. As well, the inflectional systems of verbs for both languages are highly congruent. The conditions for bound-morpheme bor-

rowing from Cree into Island Lake are, then, highly favorable. In Chapter 3 of this study, the inflectional system of Island Lake verbs will be examined for the presence of Cree interference.

2.4.3 Language contact situations can also lead to the loss of a grammatical feature in the non-dominant language if the dominant language does not have such a feature (Weinreich, 1953: 43-44). Ojibwa has an independent order negative mode, a conjunct order negative and a prohibitive mode, none of which are present in Cree. In Chapter 3, these Ojibwa modes will be examined for possible loss as a result of Cree contact.

Chapter 3: The Verbal Morphology of Island Lake and Cree Admixture

3.1 Order

Verbs in the Island Lake language are inflected for independent order, conjunct order and imperative order.

Independent order verbs occur in declarative sentences:

niki·-kohta·č (S5)

'I was afraid'

ni+ki·-kohta·či+Ø

1 +past-AI +1

Conjunct order verbs occur in dependent clauses:

ki·špin kohta·čič (S11)

'if he is afraid'

ki·špin kohta·či+t

if AI +3

Imperative order verbs occur in imperative sentences:

te·pwe·htawihšin (G13)

'believe me'

te·pwe·htaw+ihši+n

TA +direct theme+2

3.2 Mode

Within the verbal category of order each verb is inflected for mode. Table III presents a summary of the orders and modes. In the independent order, verbs may be inflected for four modes: indicative, preterite, dubitative and negative. The independent order, indicative

mode is used for declarative statements and for yes/no questions:

piša.wak (G16)

'they come'

piša.+w+ak

AI +3+3p

ninta.-ki.-piša. na (G14)

'can I come?'

nin+ta.-ki.-piša.+Ø ina

1 +might-can-AI +1 question particle

The independent order preterite mode is used to describe past occurrences which were completed in the past:

ta.-ki.-ni.mipan (S16)*

'he could have danced'

ta.-ki.-ni.mi+w+pan+a

could-past-AI+3+preterite+3

The independent order dubitative mode is used to describe doubtful occurrences:

nino.nta.ko.mina.tik (G7)

'we are probably heard'

ni+no.ntaw+iko.+min+a.tik

1 +TA +passive+lp+dubitative marker

Verbs marked for dubitative mode occur infrequently in the data even though deliberate attempts were made to elicit this mode from various informants. Instead, a dubitative particle i.tohk or ma.škoč 'perhaps, probably' is used to denote dubitation:

*The reader is referred to 3.7.6 for a discussion of the preterite mode.

i·tohk wi·pač nika-ki·we·min (R7)

'we will probably go home soon'

i·tohk wi·pač ni+ka-ki·we·+min

perhaps soon 1 +future-AI+lp

ma·skoč iča·ki·wak (R6)

'they will probably be tired'

ma·skoč iča·ki·+w+ak

perhaps AI +3+3p

The few occurrences of this mode in the data are not correlated with age, sex or residence. It appears that the alternative expression of dubitation by using a particle expression is stylistically preferred by Island Lake speakers.

The independent order negative mode is used to negate all independent order indicative mode expressions:

ki·-piša·hsi·n (S2)

'he can't come'

ki·-piša·+hsi·+n

can-AI +negative+negative augment

There are no examples of negation of independent order preterite or dubitative mode verbs in the Island Lake data, nor are there examples of dubitative-preterite mode verbs or the negation of such. These expressions occur in other Ojibwa dialects (Todd, 1970: 24; Bloomfield, 1958: 35). The answer to the question of whether the omission of such expressions from the Island Lake data is accidental or a result of lack of such expressions in the language will depend upon further field work in the area.

In the conjunct order, verbs may be inflected for indicative mode, dubitative mode and preterite mode. There are no occurrences in the data of verbs inflected for conjunct order negative mode. Negation in the conjunct order is accomplished by the use of a negative particle which introduces the clause.

The conjunct order indicative mode is that form which occurs in ordinary clause statements:

e·-iši-na·kosič (S4)
 'that he appear thus'
 e·-iši-na·kosi+t
 that-thus-AI +3

The use of the conjunct order preterite mode parallels that of the independent order preterite mode:

e·-pa-pimohse·ya·npan (G9)
 'that I walked along'
 e·-pa-pimohse·+y+a·n+pan
 that-along-AI +connective+l+preterite

Conjunct order dubitative mode expressions are used to express occurrences of a doubtful nature:

ka·-wa·pamihšikwe·n (G14)
 'it is doubtful that he saw me'
 ka·-wa·pam+ihši+kw+e·n
 that-TA +inverse theme+3+dubitative

Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield, 1958: 38) has an optional conjunct order negative mode not shared by Island Lake. Cree also lacks a conjunct order negative mode. It remains to be determined, however, if Island Lake has eliminated this

optional mode as a result of Cree influence or if Island Lake has eliminated the mode as a result of a trend already present in the language. When discussing the conjunct order negative mode, Bloomfield (1958: 38) makes it clear that the negative mode was used infrequently in Eastern Ojibwa:

The negative modes corresponding to these conjunct modes are used without a negative particle...They are usually replaced by positive forms with the preverb -pwa·, 'fail to, not'...

No conjunct order negative clauses of the type with preverb -pwa· are found at Island Lake. Conjunct order negative expressions at Island Lake occur in the positive form after a negative particle e·ka· which is the Cree method (Wolfart, 1973b: 41) of forming a conjunct negative. Eastern Ojibwa does not contain a negative particle of the form e·ka· but does contain a negative particle ka· often followed by the contrastive particle win, used to negate independent order expressions. Island Lake appears to have borrowed the Cree particle e·ka· for use with the conjunct order.

The Eastern Ojibwa negative particle does not occur at Island Lake as ka· but as ka·win to negate an independent order or imperative order verb. The absence of the prohibitive mode (See 3.9.4) at Island Lake has meant that a negative particle is necessary to negate imperative statements. In Cree, the particle e·ka· is used for this purpose (Wolfart, 1973b: 41); at Island Lake, the particle ka·win is used as opposed to Eastern Ojibwa ke·kwa followed by a

verb inflected for prohibitive mode.

The borrowing of the Cree negative particle e·ka· seems to point to the conclusion that the absence of the conjunct order negative mode at Island Lake is the result of Cree influence. The Island Lake use of ka·win to negate imperative statements can be interpreted as a redistribution of an available particle to fill a gap in the lexicon.

In the imperative order are two modes, immediate and delayed. The immediate mode is used for imperative statements meant to be responded to immediately:

apin (G14)
 'sit you down'
 api+n
 AI +2

pi·to·n (G14) (G19)
 'bring you it'
 pi·to·+n
 TI +2

The delayed mode is used for imperative statements meant to be responded to at some later time:

piša·hkan (G14, S17)
 'come you later'
 piša·+hk+an
 AI +delayed mode+2

Table III
Summary of Orders and Modes

Order	Independent	Conjunct	Imperative
Modes	indicative negative-indicative preterite negative-preterite* dubitative negative-dubitative* dubitative-preterite* negative-dubitative-preterite*	indicative preterite dubitative dubitative-preterite*	immediate delayed

NOTE: An asterisk (*) placed after a mode in Table III indicates that the mode is not attested at Island Lake.

The modes listed in Table III are attested by Bloomfield (1958) and Todd (1970) for the Eastern and Severn dialects, respectively.

3.3 Verb Classes

Verbs are transitive or intransitive and each verb stem is specialized for animate or inanimate actor in the case of intransitive verbs and for animate or inanimate object in the case of transitive verbs. The four classes of verbs will be abbreviated as follows:

- AI - animate intransitive
- II - inanimate intransitive
- TA - transitive animate
- TI - transitive inanimate

3.4 Number and Person

Number is singular or plural. As in other Algonquian languages, the persons are first, second and third. In the first person plural, a distinction is made between a first person plural inclusive which includes the person being spoken to and a first person plural exclusive which excludes the person being spoken to.

When a sentence contains two animate third persons, one of the third persons is proximate and the other is generally obviative. An obviative third person is not marked for singular or plural. In many contexts where one expects to find an obviative person, one finds, instead, a proximate person. In Eastern Ojibwa, according to Bloomfield (1958: 32), "the proximate person often changes, so that obviatives are avoided." The same is generally true for Cree.

Intransitive verbs are inflected for person and number of the actor:

kino.še. ki.šis (S2)*

'the fish is cooking'

kino.še. ki.šiso+w+a

fish AI +3+3

ninki.-kohta.čimin (S5)

'we were afraid'

nin+ki.-kohta.či+min

1 +past-AI +lp

wi.ya.hs ki.šite. (G9)

'the meat is cooking'

wi.ya.hs ki.šite.+w+i

meat II +3+0

*Deletion of the stem final vowel in third person forms is optional at Island Lake (See Appendix A).

3.4.1 Transitive verbs are inflected for gender, number and person of the actor and number and person of the object:

oka-ki.šiswa.n (G14)

'he will cook him'

o+ka-ki.šisw+a.+an

3+future-TA +direct theme+3'

oki.-ki.šisa.n (S8)

'he cooked it'

o+ki.-ki.šis+a.+n

3+past-TI +direct theme+0

The subject-object relationship exhibited directly above is either direct or inverse and is signified by a theme suffix immediately following the verb stem.

The subject and object of a transitive verb are always distinct from one another; for example, if the subject is first person, the object can be any other person except first. There is a hierarchy of persons in Island Lake: second person, first person, proximate third person, obviative third person. When a person of higher status, according to the hierarchy, is acting upon a person of lower status, the voice is direct and is indicated by a direct theme suffix placed immediately after the verb stem.

niki.-wa.pama.min (G16)

'we saw him'

ni+ki.-wa.pam+a.+min

1 +past-TA +direct theme+1p

When the situation is reversed and a person of lower status is acting upon a person of higher status, an inverse theme suffix is placed directly following the verb stem:

ka-wa·pamikomin (S16)
 'they will see us'
 ki+ka-wa·pam+ikw+min
 2 +future-TA+inverse theme+21

Because transitive inanimate verbs always have a higher status person acting on a lower, the theme suffix is always direct.

3.5 The Theme Suffixes

The distribution of Island Lake theme suffixes is shown in Table IV. Following Wolfart (1973a) and using the independent order as a base, all forms where the personal prefixes agree with the subject can be defined as 'direct' and all those forms where the personal prefix agrees with the object can be defined as 'inverse'. The three subsets of the TA paradigm are defined as follows:

mixed: forms involving both third and non-third persons;
third-person: forms involving only third persons;
you-and-me: forms involving only non-third persons.

Island Lake differs from Eastern Ojibwa in two points: first, there is a one-to-one correspondence in the independent and conjunct orders between Island Lake -ihši and Eastern Ojibwa /yi/. Second, where Eastern Ojibwa has only one theme marker for the inverse you-and-me set, this set is further subdivided in Island Lake, with the introduction of

a longer variant. -iko·, of the productive inverse morpheme -ikw (Wolfart, 1973a). The same pattern is found on Manitoulin Island (Piggott and Kaye, 1973: 59), both the same pattern and the same morphemes occur in Deer Lake Ojibwa (Todd, 1970: 141). There is no evidence of Cree interference.

Table IV

Island Lake and Eastern Ojibwa Theme Suffixes
Island Lake TA theme markers (surface forms)

	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Inverse</u>
<u>Independent</u>		
mixed	-a·-	-ikw-
third-person	-a·-	-ikw-
you-and-me	-ihšī-	-ini- (with 1 subjects) -iko·- (with 1p subjects)
<u>Conjunct</u>		
mixed	Ø	-ihšī- (with 1 objects) -inw-ih- (with 2 objects)
third person	-a·-	-ikw-
you-and-me	-ihšī-	-inw-ih- (with 1 subjects) -iko·- (with 1p subjects)
<u>Imperative</u>		
mixed	Ø (immediate) -a·- (delayed)	
you-and-me	-ihšī-	

Eastern Ojibwa TA theme markers (underlying forms)

	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Inverse</u>
<u>Independent</u>		
mixed	/a·/	/ikw/
third-person	/a·/	/ikw/
you-and-me	/yi/	/ini/
<u>Conjunct</u>		
mixed	Ø	/yi/ (with 1 objects) /in/ (with 2 objects)
third-person	/a·/	/ikw/
you-and-me	/yi/	/in/
<u>Imperative</u>		
mixed	/yi/ (immediate and delayed) /a·/ (prohibitive)	
you-and-me	/yi-šš/	

3.6 The Person Prefixes

Person prefixes occur only in the independent order to indicate subject (if first or second person) of an intransitive verb and person of higher hierarchical status in a transitive verb. The prefixes are:

ni- 'first person'

ki- 'second person'

o- 'third person'

The remarks that follow concerning the person prefixes are intended to provide an overview for the reader. A summary table which quantifies the various occurrences of the person prefixes follows the overview (Table V).

Before stems or preverbs beginning with a vowel, the first person prefix often adds t and sometimes adds nt; the second person prefix often adds t. The third person prefix always adds t.

nitišinihka·somin (S15)

'we are named'

nit+išinihka·so+min

1 -AI +lp

nintonči-wa·pama·hsi·n (G14, S13)

'I don't see him'

nint+onči-wa·pam+a·+hsi·+n

1 +cause-TA +direct theme+negative+negative
augment

ki-ayamiya·min (G19)

'we pray'

ki+ayamiya·+min

2 +AI +21

Before stems or preverbs beginning with t, the first person prefix often adds n. Before a stem or preverb beginning with k, the first person prefix often adds n.

niki·-kohta·č (G13, S5)

'I was afraid'

ni+ki·-kohta·či+∅

1 +past-AI +1

ninkohta·čihsi·n (G1, S9)

'I was not afraid'

nin+kohta·či+hsi·+n

1 +AI +negative+negative augment

nitakohšin (G17)

'I arrive'

ni+takohšin+∅

1 +AI +1

ninte·pwe·htansi·min (G16)

'we don't believe it'

nin+te·pwe·ht+an+hsi·+min

1 +TI +direct theme+negative+lp

Before stems or preverbs beginning with p, the first person prefix sometimes adds m or n:

nimpimiška·min (R2)

'we canoe'

nim+pimiška·+min

1 +AI +lp

ninpiša· (R2)

'I come'

nin+piša·+∅

1 +AI +1

nipi.to.min (G16)

'we bring it'

ni+pi.to.+min

l +TI +lp

In Eastern Ojibwa, for phonological reasons, (Bloomfield, 1958: 22) the first person prefix always adds a nasal (m before p, n elsewhere) before p, t, k, č. All the person prefixes add t before a vowel.

Before a stem beginning with a vowel, by far the greatest number of Island Lake speakers add t to the first and second person prefixes. Of 166 possible occurrences, approximately 90% of the prefixes have t added. Approximately 9% of the prefixes have no t added and 1% of the first person prefixes have nt added before a vowel. Of a possible 96 occurrences of a first person prefix occurring before t, approximately 1% add an n before the t. The rest of the utterances have the person prefix added directly to the t. Before a stem beginning with k, the situation is slightly different as 24% of the first person prefixes add n. Before p, 12% of the first person prefixes add m, 4% add n, and the rest occur as ni- before p.

The great amount of variation in the use of Island Lake person prefixes is probably the result of Cree influence. In Cree, before stems beginning with a vowel, the person prefixes, in general, add t; elsewhere, they appear as ni-, ki-, or o-. (Wolfart, 1973b: 82).

Note: The above discussion applies only to verb stems. An analysis of the person prefixes with noun stems is outside the scope of this study.

Table V

Summary of Person Prefix Variation at Island Lake

Environment	No. of Instances	Epenthetic <u>t</u>	Epenthetic <u>nt</u>	Hiatus	Epenthetic <u>m</u>
ni- } ki- } __v	166	90%	1%	9%	
o- __v		100%			
ni- __t	84		1%	99%	
o- __t				100%	
ni- __k	473		24%	76%	
ki- __k				100%	
o- __k				100%	
ni- __p	24		4%	84%	12%
ki- __p				100%	
o- __p				100%	

The person prefix system at Island Lake seems to be in a state of flux. It is well known that when a rule is being added to a language, initially it appears only in the speech of a few bilinguals who borrow the rule. As the new rule is adopted by others, the two rules will exist side by side until one or the other gains ascendancy (Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1956). The occurrences of nin- / __p at Island Lake are probably instances of hypercorrection; the variation in the system causing speakers to insert a nasal where one is re-

quired but to insert a wrong nasal. Two sets of rules appear to be operating at Island Lake: a Cree-like person prefix system and an Ojibwa person prefix system. The interaction of these two systems results in the Island Lake person prefix system described above.

3.7 Independent Order Inflection

3.7.1 Inflection of the AI verb: The animate intransitive verb is inflected to show the person and number of the actor. Table VI shows the Island Lake AI independent indicative paradigm and the Eastern Ojibwa AI paradigm (Bloomfield, 1958: 44).

Table VI
Island Lake and Eastern Ojibwa
AI Independent Indicative Paradigm

Person	Prefix	Island Lake Suffix	Eastern Ojibwa Suffix
1	ni-	-Ø	-Ø
2	ki-	-Ø	-Ø
1p	ni-	-min	-min
2l	ki-	-min	-min
2p	ki-	-na·wa·	-m
3	Ø-	-w-a	-w-a
3p	Ø-	-w-ak	-w-ak
3'	Ø-	-w-an	-w-an
passive (sing.)	Ø-		-m
passive (pl.)	Ø-		-iwa·n

Note: The positing of -w-a '3' follows Bloomfield (1958) and Todd (1970). Under no circumstances is the presence of -w-a in the above paradigm meant to reflect a stand on the controversial issue of the status of these morphemes.

Some verb stems which are typical of this paradigm include the following: takohšin- 'arrive', api- 'sit', a.hkosi- 'be sick', ki.we- 'go home', pima.tisi- 'live'. A nearly complete paradigm for the verb pima.tisi- 'live' is shown below along with one inflected form of ki.we- 'go home'.

nipima.tis (G16)

'I live'

ni+pima.tisi+Ø

1 -AI +1

kipima.tis (G16)

'you live'

ki+pima.tisi+Ø

2 -AI +2

nipima.tisimin (G16)

'we live'

ni+pima.tisi+min

1 -AI +1p

kipima.tisimin (G16)

'we live'

ki+pima.tisi+min

2 -AI +21

kipima.tisina.wa. (G16)

'you live'

ki+pima.tisi+na.wa.

2 -AI +2p

pima.tis (G16)*

'he lives'

pima.tisi+w+a

AI +3+3

pima.tisiwak (G16)

'they live'

pima.tisi+w+ak

AI +3+3p

*See Appendix A

pi-ki·we·wan (S11)
 'he (obviative) comes home'
 pi-ki·we·+w+an
 hither-AI+3+3'

There are two instances of the first person plural ending being rendered -ina·n instead of -min at Island Lake:

ninki·-pi·ntike·na·n (G5)
 'we entered'
 nin+ki·-pi·ntike·+ina·n
 1 +past-AI +lp
ka-takohšina·n (R5)
 'we will arrive'
 ki+ka-takohšin+ina·n
 2 +future-AI +2l

Both of these informants consistently use the first person plural ending -min elsewhere in the data for similar contexts but these two aberrant forms are interesting in that the Cree first person plural ending is -ina·n (Wolfart, 1973b: 41). Informant R5 is a fully bilingual speaker of Norway House Cree and Island Lake and the -ina·n ending could be interference from the Cree. Informant G5 does not speak any dialect of Cree and the occurrence of -ina·n here could conceivably be a grammatical error--the use of the alternative TA independent order first person plural ending -ina·n.

The Eastern Ojibwa and the Island Lake paradigms are identical except for the second person plural suffix and for the suffixes that Bloomfield (1958) labels 'passive'. No 'passive' forms were collected at Island Lake and these

must, then, be excluded from discussion. What will be discussed are the second person plural suffixes: -m in Eastern Ojibwa and -na·wa· in Island Lake.

While -na·wa· 'second person plural' does not occur in Eastern Ojibwa it does occur in other Ojibwa dialects (Todd, 1970: 150; Rogers, 1963: 122). The Severn dialect described by Todd is referred to by its speakers as "mixed Cree and Saulteaux" (Todd, 1970: 1) just as the Island Lake speakers describe their language. Rogers also notes that the Round Lake dialect displays Cree influences. Because both the Severn dialect and the Round Lake dialect may have Cree influences, they cannot be used for comparison here.

It is possible that the Cree second person plural ending -na·wa·w (Wolfart, 1973b: 43) has been borrowed by all three groups and assimilated to the Ojibwa sound system by the rule $w \rightarrow \emptyset / V_ \#$. This same rule deletes the w (after the a has been deleted by another rule) in structures like the following:

ki·-iřa· (G4, G9, G13, G14, S4, S12, S15)
 'he went'
 ki·-isa·+w+a
 past-AI +3+3

The -na·wa· suffix, however, also occurs at Island Lake in the TI paradigm where it contrasts with -min '21'. The occurrence of -na·wa· in the AI paradigm where it also contrasts with -min '21' could, then, be based on the model of the TI paradigm.

3.7.2 II Independent Order Indicative Mode: Inanimate intransitive verbs are inflected for the number and person of the actor. Table VII shows the II paradigm.

Table VII
II Independent Order Indicative Mode

Person	Suffix
o	-w-i*
op	-w-an
o'	-ini

Some verb stems typical of the II paradigm are: pa·hte·- 'dry', aya·- 'be in a place', napaka·- 'be flat', na·nkan- 'be light', miskwa·- 'be red'. Examples of inflected II verb stems are:

miskwa· (G1, G4, G5, G6, G9, G10, G16, S2, S12)
'it is red'
miskwa·+w+i
II +3+0

ki·-aya·n (G1)
'it (obv.) was there'
ki·-aya·+ini
past-II +0'

miskwa·wan (G16)
'they are red'
miskwa·+w+an
II +3+Op

This paradigm is identical to that of Eastern Ojibwa and

*The presence of -w-i in this paradigm follows Bloomfield (1958) and Todd (1970). No stand is implied on the controversial status of these morphemes.

shows no Cree interference.

3.7.3 TA Independent Order Indicative Mode: The transitive animate verb is inflected with a prefix, with a direct or inverse theme suffix and with a suffix, to show the person/number of both the higher status and the lower status person. Table VIII shows the mixed and third person TA paradigm used with the theme suffixes -a- 'direct' and -ikw- 'inverse'.

Table VIII
Mixed and Third Person Subset
TA Independent Indicative Paradigm
-a- or -ikw- theme suffix

Person	3	3p	3'
1	Ø	-ak	
2	Ø	-ak	
1p	-min~ -ina·n	-min~ -ina·n	
21	-min~ -ina·n	-min~ -ina·n	
2p	-iwa·	-na·wa·	
3	X	X	-an
3p	X	X	-iwa·+-an
3'	-an	-iwa·+-an	X

Some examples of verb stems inflected for this paradigm follow.

niwa·pama· (S17)

'I see him'

ni-wa·pam+a·+Ø

1 -TA +direct theme+1

Note: Spaces left blank in Table VIII are not present in the Island Lake corpus although they are attested in other dialects (Bloomfield 1958, Todd 1970). Spaces marked with an X do not occur in any dialect.

niki·-kimo·timik (R2)

'he stole from me'

ni+ki·-kimo·tim+ikw+Ø

1 +past-TA +inverse theme+1

kiki·-wa·pama·k (S8)

'you saw them'

ki+ki·-wa·pam+a·+ak

2 +past-TA +direct theme+2

kiwa·pamikohsi·na·wa· (G11)

'they don't see you'

ki+wa·pam+ikw+hsi·+na·wa·

2 TA +inverse theme+negative+2p

kikanawe·nimikomin (G6)

'he takes care of us'

ki+kanawe·nim+ikw+min

2 +TA +inverse theme+21

nimpi·ki·yokamiko·k (G11)

'they visit me'

nim+pi·ki·yokam+ikw+ak

1 +hither-TA +inverse theme+1

The alternative endings listed in Table VIII seem to be cases of free alternation for they do not correlate with age, sex or residence. They are not dependent, either, on whether the higher status person is inclusive or exclusive.

niki·-wa·pama·min (G5, G6, G8, S13)

'we saw him/them'

ni+ki·-wa·pam+a·+min

1 +past-TA +direct theme+1p

ka-wa·pama·min (G7, G8, S11, S12)

'we will see him/them'

ki+ka-wa·pam+a·+min

2 +future-TA+direct theme+21

ka-wa·pama·na·n (G1. G6, S8)

'we will see him/them'

ki+ka-wa·pam+a·+ina·n

2 +future-TA+direct theme+2l

niwa·pama·na·n (G2)

'we see him/them'

ni+wa·pam+a·+ina·n

1 +TA +direct theme+lp

Eastern Ojibwa does not display such alternation; only -ina·n is grammatically acceptable in the above contexts. In the AI and TI independent order paradigms, the first person plural suffix is -min. What appears to be happening in Island Lake is that the AI and TI first person plural suffix -min is being extended to include another context which requires a first person plural suffix.

Other Ojibwa dialects (Todd, 1970; Piggott and Kaye, 1973) and Cree (for use with the exclusive first person only) (Wolfart, 1973b) have the first person plural ending -ina·n in this context. That -min is a recent introduction to this paradigm is attested by the high rate of alternation between -min and -ina·n and by the fact that this is a change in a direction away from other Ojibwa dialects. While it is true that the change is slight and does employ an Ojibwa first person plural suffix, it is a change, nevertheless, that simplifies the inflectional paradigms by requiring that one suffix -min be used to refer to first person plural. The introduction of -min as an alternate to -ina·n is a change

in a direction away from Cree where -ina·n 'exclusive' and -ana·w 'inclusive' are the first person plural suffixes (Wolfart, 1973b: 41).

The Island Lake ending -na·wa· shown in Table VIII is interesting as the ending for this context in Eastern Ojibwa is -iwa·+ak (Bloomfield, 1958). Only one occurrence of -iwa·+ak appears in the Island Lake data; elsewhere, the ending used is -na·wa·. In the Island Lake AI paradigm, -na·wa· is the second person plural ending. In the Island Lake independent order, the -na·wa· suffix occurs in many contexts either as an alternate suffix or as the only possible suffix where the second person plural is a participant. (See further discussion in the following sections.)

Table IX shows the Island Lake TA independent order indicative mode paradigm for use with the direct theme suffix -ihšī- and the corresponding Eastern Ojibwa paradigm.

Table IX

TA Independent Indicative Paradigm

You-Me Subset

Island Lake			Eastern Ojibwa		
Person	1	1p	Person	1	1p
2	-∅	-na·m	2	-∅	-min
2p	-na·wa·	-na·m	2p	-m	-min

Some examples of verb stems inflected by this paradigm

are:

kiki·-wa·pamiḥš (S4)

'you saw me'

ki+ki·-wa·pam+ihši+Ø

2 +past-TA +direct theme+2

kiki·-pi·tamawihšina·wa· (G1, G2, G4, G6, G7, S10)

'you brought it to me'

ki+ki·-pi·tamaw+ihši+na·wa·

2 +past-TA +direct theme+2p

kiki·-pi·tamawihšina·m (G5, S9)

'you brought it to us'

ki+ki·-pi·tamaw+ihši+na·m

2 +past-TA +direct theme+2p/2

The paradigms shown in Table IX differ considerably but do contain some similarities. First, the second person singular and plural subjects are not differentiated when the object is first person plural. Second, the endings in the 1p-column of the Eastern Ojibwa and Island Lake paradigms reflect the first person plural object. Third, the endings in the 1-column reflect the second person subject. The replacement of Eastern Ojibwa -m by -na·wa· at Island Lake is not surprising as -na·wa· has replaced -m in other contexts.

The origin of -na·wa·, as already noted, cannot be ascribed definitely to Cree influence. However, it should be noted that in this same context in Cree (Wolfart, 1973b: 41), the suffix is -na·wa·w.

The -na·m suffix listed in the above paradigm does not occur in Eastern Ojibwa in any context. It does, however,

occur in the Ojibwa dialect spoken at Kenora, Ontario, the Severn dialect and in the dialect spoken at Round Lake, Ontario (Piggott and Kaye, 1973: 59).

Table X shows the TA independent order indicative mode paradigm for use with the inverse theme suffix -ini-.

Table X
TA Independent Indicative Paradigm
You-Me Subset

Person	1
2	-Ø ~ -n
2p	-na·wa·

In Eastern Ojibwa, the second person plural ending is -m but at Island Lake, the -m has again been replaced by -na·wa·.

Table XI shows the TA independent order indicative mode paradigm for use with the inverse suffix -iko·-.

Table XI
TA Independent Indicative Paradigm
You-Me Subset

Person	1p
2	-Ø ~ -n
2p	-na·wa·

In Eastern Ojibwa, both endings are -min, the first person plural ending. At Island Lake, this ending has been replaced, in the case of the second person plural, by the second person plural ending, -na.wa., as discussed above. The -Ø~-n suffix has replaced -min as the second person singular ending, making the paradigm for use with -iko.-identical to that for use with -ini. There are only two examples in the Island Lake data of -n as the second person singular suffix with the theme suffixes -iko.- and -ini.

kipi.tamawinin (S5)

'I bring (it) to you'

ki+pi.tamaw+ini+n

2 +TA +inverse theme+2

kitonči-kihke.nimiko.n (G7)

'we know you'

kit+onči-kihke.nim+iko.n

2 +cause-TA +inverse theme+2

In all other cases, there is no suffix. One informant gave a form with the Eastern Ojibwa second person plural ending -m for use with inverse theme suffix -ini.

kiki.-mi.ninim (G16)

'I gave it to you'

ki+ki.-mi.n+ini+m

2 +past-TA +inverse theme+2p

There is no other occurrence of the suffix -m in the data in any context and whether this informant gave an archaic form, made an error, or the fieldworker made an error cannot be ascertained.

The so-called TA passives are formed as in Table XII below. The term 'passive' is used here in keeping with Bloomfield's use of the term (Bloomfield: 1958). Some linguists have objected to the term 'passive', arguing that what has been called the 'passive' in Algonquian languages are really forms with an indefinite actor. Because Island Lake paradigms are being compared to Eastern Ojibwa paradigms in this study, the term 'passive' will be used.

Table XII
TA Independent Indicative
Passive Paradigm

Person	Prefix	Passive Suffix	Person/Number Suffix
1	ni-	-iko·-	-Ø
2	ki-	-iko·-	-Ø
1p	ni-	-iko·-	-min
2l	ki-	-iko·-	-min
2p	ki-	-iko·-	-na·wa·
3	Ø-	-a·-	-w-a
3p			
3'			

No passive forms for 3p or 3' occur in the Island Lake corpus and the spaces have been left blank in the paradigm accordingly. Except for the second person plural ending

-na.wa. already discussed. this paradigm is identical to that of Eastern Ojibwa.

3.7.4 TI Independent Order Indicative Mode: The TI independent order indicative mode verb is inflected with a prefix to show the person of the actor and with a suffix to show the person and number of the actor in the case of 1p, 2l, 2p and 3p. The 1, 2, 3 and 3' suffixes are ambiguous in that one cannot ascertain whether they refer to the actor or to the inanimate goal. Table XIII shows the inflectional paradigm of the Island Lake TI verb.

Table XIII

TI Independent Indicative Paradigm

Person	Prefix	Suffix
1	ni-	-n
2	ki-	-n
1p	ni-	-min
2l	ki-	-min
2p	ki-	-na.wa.
3	o-	-n
3p	o-	-na.wa.
3'	o-	-n

Bloomfield does not list the second person plural suffix in his Eastern Ojibwa TI paradigm. That the suffix should be -na.wa. in Island Lake is not surprising as it appears elsewhere for second person plural. Except for the -na.wa. suffix, the Island Lake paradigm is identical to that of Eastern Ojibwa.

In the Eastern Ojibwa TI paradigm, a plural object is

always marked with the suffix -an as in the following example:

nenki--no·nta·nan 'I have heard them' (Bloomfield, 1958: 49).

At Island Lake, the plural suffix -an is optional:

niki--wa·panta·nan ni·šín mahkisinin (G5)

'I saw two shoes'

ni+ki--wa·pant+a·+n+an

1 +past-TI +direct theme+0+0p

niki--wa·panta·n ni·šín mahkisinin (G1, G6, S7, S11)

'I saw two shoes'

ni+ki--wa·pant+a·+n

1 +past-TI +direct theme+0

Since the TI verbs of Cree have no overt object suffix, this variation could be due to an unsettling influence from the Cree paradigm.

Some verb stems which are typical of the TI paradigm are: wa·pant-'see', te·pwe·ht-'believe' kihke·nt-'know'.

kikihke·nta·n (G1, G4, G5, G9, G16, S3, S4, S8, S9, S12, S14, S17)

'you know it'

ki+kihke·nt+a·+n

2 +TI +direct theme+0

okihke·nta·n (G1, G2, G4, G5, G9, G13, G16, S1, S2, S3, S5, S7, S9, S12, S13, S17)

'he knows it'

o+kihke·nt+a·+n

3+TI +direct theme+0

ninkihke·nta·min (G4, G5, G6, G10, G11, G13, S2, S3, S5, S7, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14)

'we know it'

nin+kihke·nt+a·+min

1 +TI +direct theme+1p

okihke·nta·na·wa· (G1, G4, G5, G6, G7, G16, S2, S3,
S4, S5, S7, S8, S9, S10, S11,
S12, S13, S15)

'they know it'

o+kihke·nt+a·+na·wa·

3+TI +direct theme+3p

kikihke·nta·na·wa· (G1, G4, G7, G9, G10, G16, S4,
S5, S9, S10, S13)

'you know it'

ki+kihke·nt+a·+na·wa·

2 +TI +direct theme+2p

nikihke·nta·n (G1, G4, G6, G16, S2, S3, S4, S5,
S7, S8, S9, S10, S11, S12, S13)

'I know it'

ni+kihke·nt+a·+n

1 +TI +direct theme+0

3.7.5 Independent Order Negative Mode: Negation of an independent order verb is accomplished for AI, TA, and TI verb stems by means of a negative suffix -hsi·- added directly to a verb stem in the case of AI stems or directly to the theme suffix in the case of TA and TI stems. The person/number suffixes follow the negative suffix. When the negative suffix is added to -ini- 'inverse theme suffix', the negative suffix and voice suffix are replaced by -hsi·no·-.

The Island Lake negative suffix -hsi·- corresponds to the Eastern Ojibwa suffix -ssi·- reported by Bloomfield (1958: 45). In Island Lake, the long vowel of the negative suffixes cannot occur in word final position and a negative augment -n is added. (Todd, 1970).

ka-ki·-pimohse·hsi·n (G15)

'you will not be able to walk again'

ki+ka-ki·-pimohse·+hsi·+n

2 +future-can-AI +negative+negative augment

kino·ntawsino·n (G4, G16, S2, S3)

'I cannot hear you'

ki+no·ntaw+hsino·+n

2 +TA +inverse theme/negative+negative augment

The TI direct theme suffix -a·- alternates with -an- before the negative suffix in Island Lake.

nino·nta·hsi·n (G4, G10, S4, S8, S9)

'I don't hear it'

ni+no·nt+a·+hsi·+n

1 +TI +direct theme+negative+negative augment

owa·pantansi·n (G12)

'he doesn't see it'

o+wa·pant+an+hsi·+n

3+TI +direct theme+negative+negative augment

nikihke·ntansi·n (G4, G5, G6, G16, S2, S4, S5, S7, S8, S9, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15)

'I don't know it'

ni+kihke·nt+an+hsi·+n

1 +TI +direct theme+negative+negative augment

In Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield, 1958: 49) the direct theme suffix for use in the TI negative mode is always -an-.

The alternation at Island Lake reflects this Eastern Ojibwa rule in that -a·- and -an- are alternate theme suffixes before the negative suffix. The alternation of -a·- and -an- occurs frequently in the data; however, -a·- occurs more than twice as often as -an- in this environment. In the TA independent

order negative mode, the direct theme suffix -a- is followed by the negative suffix -hsi-. There is, then, no phonological reason for the -a- -an- alternation and, as a result, the -an- theme suffix is falling into disuse. Informant S12 who consistently reverses the negative suffix and the person/number suffix uses -an- in the following example:

niwi--to·tanminsi·n (S12)

'we won't do it'

ni+wi--to·t+an+min+hsi·+n

1 +intent-TI+direct theme+lp+negative+negative
augment

In order to use the -an- theme suffix here, he had to violate a phonological rule which does not allow two nasals in sequence. This isolated case is mentioned here because it illustrates hypercorrection, an indication of a system in flux.

There are a number of instances in the data of informants reversing the order of the negative and person/number suffixes. One informant, S12, does so consistently and his TA independent order negative mode constructions look as follows:

niki--onči-wa·pama·na·nsi·n (S12)

'we didn't see him/them'

ni+ki--onči-wa·pam+a·+ina·n+hsi·+n

1 +past-cause-TA +direct theme+lp+negative+negative
augment

Other informants reverse the order of these suffixes very infrequently. The informants questioned about this reversal saw nothing ungrammatical--to them, it is just another way of saying the same thing. What the effects of this in-

novation will be. should it become a part of the grammar of many speakers. cannot be predicted beyond the fact that, certainly. the suffix will become -hsi·n rather than -hsi·- plus negative augment. An interesting future study will be to see if, in a few years' time, the innovation has become commonplace and in what ways it will have affected the language.

There are a very few examples of Island Lake speakers omitting the negative suffix entirely in an independent order indicative mode construction. These few examples could be grammatical errors or they could be individual innovations on the model of Cree where there is no negative mode. Only the passing of time and further fieldwork will answer the questions raised by these differing examples.

As in Eastern Ojibwa, an II independent order indicative mode verb is negated by the negative suffix -hsi·no·n added directly to the II verb stem.

aya·hsi·no·n (G12)

'it is not there'

aya·+hsi·no·n

II +negative

3.7.6 Independent Order Preterite Mode: Instances of the independent order preterite mode are scarce in the data and the description that follows is, as a result of data scarcity, necessarily incomplete. The favored means of indicating the past at Island Lake is for the speaker to use the preverb ki·- 'past' instead of the preterite mode.

To form the preterite of an AI verb stem, the morpheme -pan is added to the person/number suffixes. After the first person plural suffix -min, the preterite suffix has the form -a·pan. With a verb inflected for first person singular, the form of the preterite suffix is -na·pan.

nipa-pimiška·mina·pan (G1)

'we were canoeing along'

ni+pa-pimiška·+min+a·pan

1 +along-AI +lp +preterite

kipimiška·na·wa·pan (G1)

'you were canoeing'

ki+pimiška·+na·wa·+pan

2 +AI +2p +preterite

ta-ki·-ni·mipan (G15, S16) *

'he would have been able to dance'

ta-ki·-ni·mi+w+pan+a

future-can-AI+3+preterite+3

niki·-tipine·wisina·pan (S5, S12)

'I used to own something'

ni+ki·-tipine·wisi+Ø+na·pan

1 +past-AI +l+preterite

One informant used the alternant suffix -a·pan with a verb inflected for first person singular.

niki·-tipine·wisia·pan (G6)

'I used to own something'

ni+ki·-tipine·wisi+Ø+a·pan

1 +past-AI +l+preterite

To form the preterite mode of a TA verb stem, the preterite suffix -pan follows the theme suffix and the person/number suffix. As with the AI independent order

*The placement of -w '3' before -pan follows Todd (1970) and should not be construed as reflecting a stand on the status of the morphemes -w-a. It should be noted that Bloomfield (1958) posits only the suffix -pan '3 preterite.'

preterite, the alternant -a.pan is used after the suffix -min.

kino.ntawa.pan (S14)

'you heard him'

ki+no.ntaw+a.+Ø+pan

2 +TA +direct theme+2+preterite

niwi.-kakano.nikomina.pan (S12)

'he wanted to talk to us'

ni+wi.-kakano.n+ikw+min+a.pan

1 +intent-TA +inverse theme+lp+preterite

The preterite of a TI verb stem is formed by adding -pan after the person/number suffixes. The alternant -a.pan occurs in a verb inflected for first person singular.

niki.-kihke.nta.na.pan (G4, G5, G6, S5, S7, S8, S10, S11, S12)

'I used to know it'

ni+ki.-kihke.nt+a.+n+a.pan

1 +past-TI +direct theme+0+preterite

The independent order preterite mode at Island Lake shows no Cree interference.

3.7.7 Independent Order Dubitative Mode: As with the preterite mode, very few instances of the dubitative mode occur in the data. Only one form of this mode was recorded for an AI stem:

a.hkositik (S14) *

'perhaps he is sick'

a.hkosi+w+tik+a

AI +3+dubitative+3

*The placement of -w before -tik follows Todd (1970) and should not be construed as reflecting a stand on the status of the morphemes -w-a. It should be noted that Bloomfield (1958) posits only -tik '3 dubitative.'

Only two instances of a TA dubitative mode are found in the data.

nino·nta·ko·mina·tik (G7)

'we are probably heard'

ni+no·ntaw+iko·+min+a·tik

1 +TA +passive+lp+dubitative

kiki·-wa·pamihšina·tok (S4)

'perhaps you saw me'

ki+ki·-wa·pam+ihš+Ø+na·tok

2 +past-TA +direct theme+2+dubitative

One example of a TI dubitative mode is as follows:

kiki·-wa·panta·na·tik (G5, G6, S7, S10, S11, S16)

'you might have seen it'

ki+ki·-wa·pant+a·+n+a·tik

2 +past-TI +direct theme+0+dubitative

The independent order dubitative mode exhibits no Cree interference.

3.8 Conjunct Order Inflection

Both Bloomfield (1958) and Todd (1970) give examples of conjunct order initial change, although Todd states that initial change occurs infrequently in the Severn dialect. That no examples of initial change occur in the Island Lake corpus used in this study can be attributed to the questionnaire method of fieldwork.

3.8.1 AI Conjunct Order Indicative Mode: The AI conjunct indicative paradigm is shown in Table XIV.

Table XIV
AI Conjunct Indicative Paradigm

Person	Suffix
1	-a·n
2	-an
1p	-a·nk
21	-ahkw
2p	-e·kw
3	-t~ -k
3p	-iwa+t
3'	-ini+t

Some examples of verb stems inflected for this paradigm follow.

kohta·čič (G5, S3, S4, S5, S9, S10, S11)

'as/if he is afraid'

kohta·či+t

AI +3

takohšink (G1, G2, G4, G5, G12, G13, S2, S4, S7, S10, S11, S12, S13)

'as/if he arrived'

takohšin+k

AI +3

ka·-takohšina·n (G9)

'that I arrive'

ka·-takohšin+a·n

that-AI +1

e·-ki·-takohšiniwa·č (G4)

'that they arrived'

e·-ki·-takohšin+iwa·+t

that-past-AI +3p

ka·-takohšinan (G17)

'that you arrive'

ka·-takohšin+an

that-AI +2

e·-apiye·k (G5)

'that you were there'

e·-api+y+e·kw

that-AI+connective+2p

apiya·nk (S4)

'as/if we sit'

api+y+a·nk

AI +connective+1p

e·-išiya·nič (G16. S1)

'that he is there'

e·-išiya·+ini+t

that-AI +3'

pimiška·yahk (S4)

'as/if we canoe'

pimiška·+y+ahkw

AI +connective+21

The alternate third person singular suffixes shown in Table XIV are for use in different environments: -t is used in the environment of a preceeding vowel; -k is used elsewhere.

The Eastern Ojibwa paradigm (Bloomfield, 1958) differs from that given in Table XIV in one important aspect. In Eastern Ojibwa, the first person plural suffixes are -ankw and -a·nk. At Island Lake, these endings are -ahkw and -a·nk, but occasionally these endings are rendered as -ankw and -a·hk. In nearly all of the Island Lake lexicon, Eastern Ojibwa cluster nk corresponds to the Island Lake cluster nk:

<u>Island Lake</u>	<u>Eastern Ojibwa</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
na·nkan	na·nkan	'be light'(in weight)II
pankihšin	pankiššin	'fall' AI
-ink	-ink	'locative'

Because of such correspondences, the alternations -ahkw ~ -ankw and -a·nk ~ -a·hk cannot be attributed to a regular, consistent sound change. A few lines earlier it was noted that Eastern Ojibwa cluster nk did not always correspond to Island Lake nk. Some Island Lake informants occasionally

and inconsistently use the cluster hk in place of nk.

ki·-pahkihšin (G12)

'he fell'

ki·-pahkihšin+Ø

past-AI +3

sa·kahikanink (S4)

'at the lake'

sa·kahikan+ink

lake +locative

sa·kahikanihk (R2)

'at the lake'

sa·kahikan+ihk

lake +locative

The Cree cluster corresponding to the Ojibwa nk cluster is hk (Bloomfield, 1946: 88-89) shown in the following example:

<u>Cree</u>	<u>Ojibwa</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tahkiskawe·w	tankiškawa·t	'he kicks him'

The use of hk for nk at Island Lake is probably the result of Cree contact. The Island Lake use of the first person plural inclusive and exclusive suffixes -ahkw and -a·nk can be attributed to being part of such Cree influence on the Island Lake sound system. The effect of the alternations, though, is to make the Island Lake inflectional paradigm more like that of Cree.

3.8.2 II Conjunct Order Indicative Mode: The inflectional paradigm of the II conjunct order indicative mode, shown in Table XV, is identical to that of Eastern Ojibwa.

Table XV

II Conjunct Indicative Paradigm

Person	Suffix
0	-k
0p	-k+in
0'	-ini+k

Some examples of verb stems inflected by this paradigm are:

pa·hte·k (G15)

'as/if it is dry'

pa·hte·+k

II +0

e·-na·nkaninik (G5, S7, S10, S11, S13)

'that it is light (in weight)'

e·-na·nkan+ini+k

that-II +0'

wa·pančika·te·kin (R3)

'as/if they (0p)are seen'

wa·pančika·te·+k+in

II +0+0p

3.8.3 TI Conjunct Order Indicative Mode: Table XVI

shows the paradigm for the indicative mode.

Table XVI

TI Conjunct Indicative Paradigm

Person	Theme	Suffix
1	-am-	-a·n
2	-am-	-an
1p	-am-	-a·nk
2l	-am-	-ahkw
2p	-am-	-e·kw
3	-am-	-k
3p	-am-	-wa·+t
3'	-am-	-ini+t

Some examples of verb stems inflected by this paradigm are:

e·-kihke·ntank (G10, G16, S3, S4, S5, S6, S10)

'that he knows it'

e·-kihke·nt+am+k

that-TI +direct theme+3

kihke·ntamwa·t (G15, S4, S11)

'as/if they know it'

kihke·nt+am+wa·+t

TI +direct theme+3p

e·-wa·pantahk (G13)*

'that he sees it'

e·-wa·pant+ahk

that-TI +direct theme/3

wa·pantama·n (G1, G15, S4)

'as/if I see it'

wa·pant+am+a·n

TI +direct theme+1

*See discussion on the following page.

e·-ki·-wa·pantaminič (S10, S11)

'that he saw it'

e·-ki·-wa·pant+am+ini+t

that-past-TI +direct theme+3'

či-to·taman (G9)

'as/if you do it'

či-to·t+am+an

to-TI +direct theme+2

no·ntama·nk (S4)

'as/if we hear it'

no·nt+am+a·nk

TI +direct theme+1p

ka·-ine·ntame·k (G4, G6, S7)

'that you think it'

ka·-ine·nt+am+e·kw

that-TI +direct theme+2p

As this paradigm is identical to that of the AI conjunct order indicative mode, only a few points need be noted here. First, the first person plural suffixes show the same alternation as was discussed earlier in the AI conjunct section: -a·nk ~ -a·hk and -ahkw ~ -ankw. Second, before -k, the theme suffix has the form -an. A few informants render -an as -ah in the environment of the following -k. The Cree suffix in this environment is -ahk (Wolfart, 1973b). Whether the -ahk suffix found in the Island Lake data is the result of Cree influence on the sound system or a result of a direct borrowing used occasionally by some speakers cannot be definitely ascertained.

3.8.4 TA Conjunct Order Indicative Mode: Table XVII presents a summary of the TA conjunct order suffixes. Where data is not available at Island Lake, the spaces have been left blank. An asterisk (*) in a space indicates that the suffixes will be discussed below.

Table XVII
TA Conjunct Indicative Paradigm

MIXED							
Direct Theme Suffix <u>-ə-</u>				Inverse Theme Suffix <u>-ihši-</u> (1 objects) <u>-in-</u> <u>-ih-</u> (2 objects)			
Person	3	3p	3'	Person	3	3p	3'
1	-ak	-ak+wa·		1	-t	-wa·+t	
2	-at	-at+wa·		2	-k	-k+wa·	
1p	-ankit			1p	*	*	
21	-ahkw			21	*	*	
2p	-e·kw	-e·kw+wa·		2p	*		
THIRD PERSON							
Direct Theme Suffix <u>-a-</u>				Inverse Theme Suffix <u>-ikw-</u>			
Person		3'		Person		3'	
3		-t		3		-i+t	
3p		-wa·t		3p			
3'				3'			
YOU - ME							
Direct Theme Suffix <u>-ihši-</u>				Inverse Theme Suffix <u>-in-</u> <u>-ih-</u> (1 subjects) <u>-iko-</u> (1p subjects)			
Person	1	1p		Person	1	1p	
2	-an	-a·nk		2	-a·n	-an	
21				21			
2p	-e·kw	-a·nk		2p	-akok	-e·kw	

Some examples of verb stems inflected by this paradigm

are:

kakwe·čimihšīyan (R2)

'as/if you ask me'

kakwe·čim+ihšī+y+an

TA +direct theme+connective+2

ka·ške·nima·č (G16, S3, S5)

'if he is lonely for him'

ka·ške·nim+a·+t

TA +direct theme+3

e·-ki·-ma·kama·wa·č (S3)*

'that they bit him'

e·-ki·-ma·kam+a·+wa·+t

that-past-TA +direct theme+3p+3

e·-ma·komikoč (G4, G7, G9, S7, S11)

'that he bit him'

e·-ma·kom+ikw+i+t

that-TA +inverse theme+3'+3

ka·-ki·-mi·nihšīye·k (G4, G6, G16, S2, S5, S10, S11, S12)

'that you gave (it) to me'

ka·-ki·-mi·n+ihšī+y+e·kw

that-past-TA+direct theme+connective+2p

ka·-ki·-mi·nihšīya·nk (G2, G16, S2, S3, S8, S11, S12)

'that you gave (it) to us'

ka·-ki·-mi·n+ihšī+y+a·nk

that-past-TA+direct theme+connective+1p

ka·-ki·-mi·ninakok (S2, S3, S11)

'that I gave (it) to you'

ka·-ki·-mi·n+in+akok

that-past-TA+inverse theme+1

*The usual form of this stem is ma·kom-. At Island Lake, speakers occasionally render this stem as ma·kam-. (See 4.1)

ka·-mi·nak (G16)

'that I give (it) to him'

ka·-mi·n+Ø+ak

that-TA +direct theme+1

mi·ne·k (S4)

'as/if you give (it) to him'

mi·n+Ø+e·kw

TA +direct theme+2p

ka·-ki·-mi·nat (S17)

'that you gave (it) to him'

ka·-ki·-mi·n+Ø+at

that-past-TA+direct theme+2

ka·-no·ntawakwa· (S14)

'that I hear them'

ka·-no·ntaw+ak+wa·

that-TA +1+3p

no·ntawatwa· (S14)

'as/if you hear them'

no·ntaw+Ø+at+wa·

TA +direct theme+2+3p

e·-no·skwanihšič (G9, G16)

'that he lick me'

e·-no·skwan+ihšit

that-TA +inverse theme+3

ka·-wa·pamankič (G12, S7)

'that we see him'

ka·-wa·pam+Ø+ankit

that-TA +direct theme+1p-3

wa·pame·kwa· (S14)

'as/if you see them'

wa·pam+Ø+e·kw+wa·

TA +direct theme+2p+3p

e·-wa·pamihkwa· (G13, S5)

'that they see you'

e·-wa·pam+ih+k+wa·

that-TA +inverse theme+3p-2

onči-wa·pamahk (G5, S4, S12)

'as/if we see him'

onči-wa·pam+Ø+ahkw

cause-TA +direct theme+21

kakano·nihšiya·hk (G5, R6)

'as/if you talk to us'

kakano·n+ihši+y+a·hk

TA +direct theme+connective+lp

ma·komihšiya·č (R6)

'as/if they bite me'

ma·kom+ihši+wa·+t

TA +inverse theme+3p+3

kakano·nihšiya·nk (S11, S12)

'as/if you talk to us'

kakano·n+ihši+y+a·nk

TA +direct theme+connective+lp

kakano·nihk (G4)

'as/if he talks to you'

kakano·n+ih+k

TA +inverse theme+2

ka·-inina·n (G9, G16)

'that I say to you'

ka·-in+in+a·n

that-TA+inverse theme+1

e·-wa·pamiko·yan (R6)

'that we see you'

e·-wa·pam+iko·+y+an

that-TA +inverse theme+connective+2

wa·pamiko·ye·k (R6)

'as/if we see you'

wa·pam+iko·+y+e·kw

TA +inverse theme+connective+2p

Mixed Direct: The mixed direct paradigm corresponds to Eastern Ojibwa except for the alternation -ahkw~ -ankw which has already been discussed.

Mixed Inverse: The first person exclusive suffixes for use with a third person subject are -ankit and -ankit+wa· in other Ojibwa dialects. At Island Lake, there are three methods of forming a conjunct verb with first person plural object and third person subject.

One informant uses the Ojibwa suffix but without a theme suffix:

e·-wa·pamankič (S7)

'that he saw us'

e·-wa·pam+ankit

that-TA +lp

There are a few examples of Island Lake speakers translating questionnaire sentences with the gloss 'Conjunct: they/he VERB us (lp)' as follows:

e·-wa·pamihšiya·nk (S13)

'that he sees us'

e·-wa·pam+ihši+y+a·nk

that-TA +inverse theme+connective+lp

Examples such as the one given above are probably the result of misinterpretation of the sentence to be translated.

By far the greatest number of informants use Cree inflection when a first person plural inclusive person is acted upon by a third person. The following examples, all glossed 'as/if he sees us', will serve as illustration:

wa·pamikoyahk

wa·pam+ikw+y+ahkw

TA +inverse theme+connective+21

wa·pamikoyank (occurs very infrequently)

wa·pam+ikw+y+ankw

TA +inverse theme+connective+21

wa·pamikoya·hk (occurs very infrequently)

wa·pam+ikw+y+a·hk

TA +inverse theme+connective+lp

wa·pamikoya·nk

wa·pam+ikw+y+a·nk

TA +inverse theme+lp

In other Ojibwa dialects, the method of forming the conjunct with first person plural inclusive object and third person subject is as follows:

VERB+in+ankw

TA +inverse theme+21

There are no examples of this Ojibwa formation in the Island Lake data. That the forms for first person plural object with third person subject used by Island Lake speakers are a result of Cree influence is the most plausible explanation

for the data collected at Island Lake.

For the gloss 'Conjunct: he VERB ye', the few forms collected are identical to the form for 'Conjunct: he VERB you.' An answer to the question of whether this indicates that a second person plural object is not differentiated from a second person singular object or of whether this indicates difficulties in translating on the part of informants cannot be given without more fieldwork in the area.

Two examples of a different formation for the gloss 'Conjunct: they VERB you' occurred in data collected at Red Sucker Lake:

či-wa·pamiko·yan (R2)

'they see you'

či-wa·pam+iko·+y+an

to-TA +inverse theme+connective+2

kakano·niko·yan (R5)

'as/if they talk to you'

kakano·n+iko·+y+an

TA +inverse theme+connective+2

These latter two examples are inflected exactly as the conjunct passive to be discussed below. The informants, then, have probably misinterpreted the questionnaire sentence and given a passive form instead of the one asked for.

Third Person Direct and Inverse: The few suffixes attested at Island Lake correspond to those of Eastern Ojibwa.

You-Me Direct and Inverse: Except for the alternation

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-a·nk -a·hk which occurs occasionally, these suffixes show no Cree interference.

The conjunct 'passives' are formed in Island Lake just as they are in Eastern Ojibwa.

ka·-iši-wi·ntamawintwa· (R3)

'that they were told'

ka·-iši-wi·ntamaw+int+wa·

that-thus-TA +3 +3p

ka·čitininč (R4)

'as/if he is caught'

ka·čitin+int

TA +3

The passives of the first and second persons are formed with the theme suffix -iko·- followed by the AI conjunct order indicative mode person/number suffixes.

3.8.5 Conjunct Order Preterite Mode: For an AI verb, the three instances of this mode in the data exhibit the Ojibwa system described by Bloomfield (1958). The preterite suffix -pan is added to the suffixes of the AI conjunct order indicative mode. The third person suffix -t is replaced by -h in the environment of a following consonant. As in other Ojibwa dialects (Todd, 1970: 162 Bloomfield, 1958: 52), the preterite suffix has the variant -pa·n to be used with the first person singular ending.

ka·-ki·-išiya·hpan (S9)*

'that he used to be thus'

ka·-ki·-išiya·+t+pan

that-past-AI +3+preterite

e·-pa-pimohse·ya·npa·n (G9, G15)**

'that I walked along'

e·-pa-pimohse·+y+a·n+pa·n

that-along-AI +connective+1+preterite

ka·-ki·we·ye·kopan (R5)

'that you people went home'

ka·-ki·we·+y+e·kw+pan

that-AI +connective+2p+preterite

Only two examples of the TI conjunct preterite occur in the data and these show that the TI preterite is formed in the same way as the AI preterite.

Very few TA conjunct preterite forms occur in the data. Even though one form does not follow the rule that the third person singular suffix -t is realized as -h in the environment of the -pan preterite ending, no conclusions can be drawn because of the scarcity of examples. The examples are:

te·pwe·wike·nima·tipan (S16)***

'as/if he believed in him'

te·pwe·wike·nim+a·+t+pan

TA +direct theme+3+preterite

či·ki·-pahkite·hontipan (G11)

'as/if he was hit'

či·ki·-pahkite·hw+int+pan

to-past-TA +3passive+preterite

*Bloomfield shows the suffix -ppan '3 preterite.'

**In Eastern Ojibwa, the suffix -a·n '1' is rendered -a·m before -pa·n.

***The form expected here is te·pwe·wike·nima·hpan.

ka·-inihšihpan (S7)

'that he said to me'

ka·-in+ihši+t+pan

that-TA+inverse theme+3+preterite

Except for the first example given above, these forms agree with those of Eastern Ojibwa.

3.8.6 Conjunct Order Dubitative Mode: No forms for II or TI conjunct order dubitative mode occur in the data. One instance of the mode occurs for an AI verb and it exhibits the Eastern Ojibwa method of forming the dubitative.

e·-aya·kwe·n (R3)

'it is doubtful that he is there'

e·-aya·+kw+e·n

that-AI+3 +dubitative

The one example of this mode for a TA verb exhibits Eastern Ojibwa morphology: dubitative suffix -e·n following third person singular suffix -kw.

ka·-wa·pamihšikwe·n (S14)

'it is doubtful that he saw me'

ka·-wa·pam+ihši+kw+e·n

that-TA +direct theme+3+dubitative

3.9 Imperative Order Inflection

The imperative order is characterized by two modes, the immediate and the delayed. The subject of an imperative verb, in the Island Lake data, is always second person.

3.9.1 AI Imperative Order Immediate and Delayed Modes:

Table XVIII shows a partial AI imperative order paradigm; no second person plural forms for the delayed mode occur in the Island Lake data.

Table XVIII

AI Imperative Order Paradigm

Person	Immediate	Delayed
2	-n	-hkan
2p	-k	

This paradigm agrees with the Eastern Ojibwa paradigm.

Some examples of AI verbs inflected for the imperative order are:

minihkwe·n (G14)

'drink you'

minihkwe·+n

AI +2

pi-iša·hkan (G14) (S17)

'come you hither later'

pi-iša·+hkan

hither-AI+2delayed

3.9.2 TI Imperative Order Immediate and Delayed Modes:

The imperative paradigm for the TI verb shown in Table XIX is incomplete as some forms do not occur in the data. The second person singular suffix is added to the theme suffix -am-without connective, yielding -an. (Bloomfield, 1958: 59).

The second person plural suffix is added to the theme suffix -amo- to yield -amok.

Table XIX

TI Imperative Order Paradigm

Person	Immediate	Delayed
2	-n	
2p	-k	

The paradigm as shown corresponds to that of Eastern Ojibwa.

3.9.3 TA Imperative Order Immediate and Delayed Modes:

Table XX shows a partial TA imperative paradigm.

Table XX

TA Imperative Order Paradigm

Immediate Mode

Person	1	1p	3	3p
2	-n	-na·m	-i	-ik
2p	-ik		-ihk	
Delayed Mode				
2	-V·hkan		-hkan	

Some examples of TA verb stems inflected by this paradigm are:

pi·na·hkan (G2, G14)

'bring you him'

pi·n+a·+hkan

TA +direct theme+3delayed mode

na·skawihšina·m (G4)

'get you that for us'

na·skaw+ihš+na·m

TA +direct theme+1p

wi·čihšin (G15)

'help you me'

wi·čih+ihš+n

TA +direct theme+2

pi·nihk (G1, S4, S7, S13)

'bring ye him here'

pi·n+Ø+ihk

TA +direct theme+2p

nawatin (R5)

'catch you them'

nawatin+Ø+i

TA +direct theme+2

Table XXI shows the Eastern Ojibwa TA imperative order paradigm which differs in significant ways from that of Island Lake. For purposes of comparison, only those suffixes attested at Island Lake have been shown in the Eastern Ojibwa paradigm.

Table XXI
Eastern Ojibwa Imperative Order

Person	1	1p	3	3p
2	-n	-na·nk	-i	-i
2p	-k		-kon	
	Delayed Mode			
2	-kkan			

That the second person plural ending for first person singular object is -ik at Island Lake is ascertained by an examination of the following forms:

te·pwe·htawihšiyik (S5, S7)

'believe ye me'

te·pwe·htaw+ihš+i+y+ik

TA +direct theme+connective+2p

wi·ntamawihšiyik (G14)

'tell ye me'

wi·ntamaw+ihš+i+y+ik

TA +direct theme+connective+2p

The connective -y- is used in Ojibwa to separate long vowels at morpheme boundaries and to separate a suffix beginning with a vowel from a preceding vowel as in the conjunct. At Island Lake, a connective -y- appears also to be used to separate imperative suffixes beginning with a vowel from a preceding vowel.

Only one form of the delayed mode with second person singular subject and first person singular object appears in the data. The suffix exhibited by this form is the one that appears in Table XX.

kanawa·pamihši·hkan (G16)

'look you at me later'

kanawa·pam+ihš+i+V·hkan

TA +direct theme+2 delayed

While no definite conclusions can be drawn, it is important to note that in Cree, a vowel occurring before the delayed

mode marked -hk is always realized as a long vowel. In Cree, then, the delayed mode suffix always begins with a long vowel--either i· or a· depending on whether the object is first or third person. Both the Cree and the Island Lake delayed mode for third person singular object with first person singular subject have the suffix sequence -a·+hk+an. It is possible that Island Lake has borrowed the Cree rule which lengthens vowels before the delayed mode suffix -hk-. However, no definitive statement can be made until more delayed mode forms are obtained.

The form for third person object with second person plural subject (2p-3) is -ihk in Island Lake and Cree while Eastern Ojibwa exhibits -kon. It is very probable that -ihk has been borrowed from Cree. It should be noted here that the dialect of Ojibwa described by Todd also has -ihk as the 2p-3 suffix.

In Eastern Ojibwa, no distinction is drawn between a third person singular and plural object (Bloomfield, 1958: 59) but at Island Lake, one form with the suffix -ik was recorded. The form nawatin glossed 'catch them' also occurs. Whether this is an instance of the Eastern Ojibwa suffix -i being added for the 2-3p form or whether the informant did not understand the sentence to be translated are questions that I am not able to answer at this time. It is important to note that Cree exhibits -ik for this context. Again,

because of a lack of examples, no definite conclusion can be drawn.

In both Cree and Eastern Ojibwa, the first person plural inclusive is a possible subject of an imperative verb. At Island Lake, no imperative verbs with a first person plural inclusive subject were recorded. Informants, when asked to translate sentences with the gloss 'let's VERB', did so using the independent order indicative mode as in the following example:

ka-ma·č̣a·min (R7)

'let's go'

ki+ka-ma·č̣a·+min

2 +future-AI+21

Whether this indicates that the first person plural inclusive is not a possible subject at Island Lake must remain unanswered at this time.

3.9.4 Ojibwa Prohibitive Mode: Eastern Ojibwa has a prohibitive mode in the imperative order but no such mode has been discovered at Island Lake. A negative imperative sentence is formed at Island Lake with the negative particle ka·win followed by an imperative verb. Cree also lacks a prohibitive mode.

Chapter 4: Lexical Borrowing

A number of Island Lake verb stems are examined in this chapter for possible Cree interference. Table XXII presents these Island Lake verb stems (in alphabetical order) as well as Ojibwa and Cree forms, in the orthography of the source (when they are available). All Ojibwa forms are taken from Piggott and Kaye (1973) and all Cree forms are taken from Wolfart (W) (preliminary unpublished Plains Cree lexical file which includes lexical forms of Bloomfield) unless otherwise indicated in parentheses after the form. The symbols used for the sources are as follows:

Baraga, 1973	(B)
Bloomfield, 1958	(B1)
Faries, 1938	(U)

As the titles of 4.1 and 4.2 indicate, all conclusions regarding Island Lake borrowing from Cree are extremely tentative. The dictionary search method of finding similarly glossed forms is fraught with problems not least among them that the dictionaries consulted represent dialects far away from Island Lake. It may well be that these presumed Cree borrowings are widespread Northern Ojibwa stems.

4.1 Stems Likely to be Borrowed from Cree

An examination of Table XXII shows that stems likely to be borrowings from Cree are not numerous; approximately ten

percent of the Island Lake verb stems examined could be borrowings. A brief discussion of each of these presumed borrowings (listed in alphabetical order) follows.

4.1.1 amičike·-~ayamičike·- AI 'read': These alternate stems have been borrowed from Cree--probably influenced by Biblical materials written in Cree. (See also 4.1.4).

4.1.2 api- AI 'sit', nahapi- AI 'sit': Four stems glossed as 'sit' occur in the Island Lake data. The two given above could be borrowings from Cree and the other two, namatapi- and matapi- are Ojibwa. The Cree borrowings are used more frequently at Island Lake than are the Ojibwa stems. Both Cree and Ojibwa have the stem api- for 'be in a place,' but Cree uses this stem to mean 'sit' as well. While it may well be that api- includes the meaning 'sit' in other Ojibwa dialects, this was not clear from the dictionaries consulted. It could be that as a result of Cree contact, the meaning of the stem api- at Island Lake has come to include the meaning 'sit.'

4.1.3 atamaskaw- TA 'greet': The Ojibwa stem animihkaw- is a cognate of this Cree borrowing. The Ojibwa form does not occur in the Island Lake data.

4.1.4 ayamiya·- AI 'pray': This borrowing shows the influence of Biblical materials written in Cree. The Ojibwa stem is a cognate of the Cree stem.

4.1.5 a·hkwatin- II 'be cold': Although this stem is

borrowed from the Cree. it contains the II final -atin- 'cold' which is a Cree/Ojibwa cognate.

4.1.5 a·niman- TI 'be difficult': This direct borrowing from the N-dialect of Cree replaces the Ojibwa stem sanakat-. Ellis (1962) gives the Swampy Cree form a·niman-.

4.1.7 a·nimot- TI 'talk about', a·nimotamaw- TA 'talk about': In the Ojibwa dictionaries consulted, there is no word given for the gloss 'talk about.' These borrowings from the Cree appear to fill a gap in the Ojibwa vocabulary.

4.1.8 a·wa·si·wi- AI 'be a child': Here, the Ojibwa AI final -iwi- 'be, become' is added to a Cree noun to form the AI verb listed. This AI verb exists side by side at Island Lake with the Ojibwa formation apino·nči·siwi- 'be a child.'

4.1.9 kapa·simo- AI 'swim': This borrowing is the only stem used at Island Lake for the gloss 'to swim'.

4.1.10 kawasi- AI 'be cold': In this borrowing, the -ci- ending of the Cree form has been replaced by the common Ojibwa AI verb final -isi- 'state, shape.' One informant used the Cree form kawači-.

4.1.11 ka·si·ninči- AI 'wash hands': Both Baraga and Piggott and Kaye list this form as kisi·ninči-. At Island Lake, the Cree ka·si- has been borrowed for use with the Ojibwa final -ninči- 'hand'.

4.1.12 kinakisi- AI 'itch': This stem has been borrowed from the N-dialect of Cree. The Ojibwa form given by Baraga

does not occur in the Island Lake corpus. The common AI verb final -isi- again occurs.

4.1.13 kipiči-- AI 'stop': Unlike kawasi- kawači-, this stem does not replace the Cree -ci- with AI verb final -isi-. This stem does not violate the rule for acceptable Ojibwa AI stems, though, as -i- is a common Ojibwa verb final.

4.1.14 kisowaya-- II 'be hot/warm weather': Two words glossed as 'be hot/warm weather' occur in the Island Lake data, one Cree (given above) and one Ojibwa, kiša·hte-. The Cree form is used slightly more frequently than the Ojibwa form.

4.1.15 kišiwa·h- TA 'make angry': The verb final -h- meaning 'cause to' or 'act so upon' is a common Cree and Ojibwa TA final.

4.1.16 kišiwa·si- AI 'be angry': In both Cree and Ojibwa, the AI verb final -isi- 'state or shape' is a common AI final. No form resembling kišiwa·si- is found in any of the Ojibwa dictionaries consulted.

4.1.17 kitahamaw- TA 'forbid': This Cree borrowing occurs infrequently in the data. Usually, the Ojibwa cognate kinahamaw- is used by Island Lake speakers.

4.1.18 ki·nikwa·niška- AI 'walk in circles': The word for this gloss in Ojibwa is wa·ninosse (B) showing that this is a word very likely borrowed from Cree. However, the Ojibwa AI verb final -iška- 'go, move' is added to the Cree stem.

4.1.19 ma·č̣i- AI 'hunt': The Ojibwa word for 'hunt' nantawe·nč̣ike- occurs very infrequently in the data. The Cree borrowing ma·č̣i- has almost completely replaced it.

4.1.20 ma·kam- ~ ma·kom- TA 'bite': In Ojibwa, the TA verb final -am- means 'by mouth.' Here, it is used with a Cree borrowing. The stem ma·kam- occurs as an occasional alternate to this form.

4.1.21 ma·kwant- TI 'bite': The TI verb final which corresponds to the TA verb final -am- in Ojibwa is -ant- used here with a Cree stem.

4.1.22 ma·tiš- TI 'cut open': The TI verb final corresponding to TA -šw- 'by knife' is -š-.

4.1.23 ma·tišw- TA 'cut open': In this likely borrowing, the Cree final -sw- has been replaced by the Ojibwa final -šw- 'by knife', a common TA verb final.

4.1.24 nana·pe·wike·nt- TI 'be ashamed of': The Ojibwa TI verb final -e·nt- 'think' occurs here. This is a common TI final for use with verbs having to do with states of the mind like 'being ashamed.' The Ojibwa word for 'be ashamed' contains this final: akate·ntam-. The Ojibwa word does not occur in the Island Lake corpus.

4.1.25 nana·pe·wisi- AI 'be ashamed?, be shy': The Ojibwa AI verb final -isi- is used here with a Cree stem.

4.1.26 nawaha·n- TA 'track': Three stems at Island Lake can be glossed as 'track': ma·ta·ha·n-, pimiha·n- and

nawaha·n-. The first two are Ojibwa and occur frequently. The latter, a likely Cree borrowing, is occasionally used by Island Lake speakers.

4.1.27 na·hkawe·- AI 'speak Saulteaux': This borrowing occurs infrequently at Island Lake. Usually, one of the stems to be discussed in 4.2.13 occurs for this gloss.

4.1.28 ohpin- TI 'lift': This Cree cognate of Ojibwa ompin- occurs occasionally in the data. The Ojibwa stem is the usual one used by Island Lake speakers.

4.1.29 otitin- TA 'attack': That this is a likely borrowing from Cree is evidenced by the fact that the other dialects do not have such a stem listed.

4.1.30 pakači·- 'land, alight': There is no word listed in any of the Ojibwa dictionaries consulted which resembles this form. It is therefore assumed that it is borrowed from Cree.

4.1.31 papama·tihe·- AI 'skate': The Ojibwa word for skate šo·škwa·tahe·- is based on the II stem šo·škwa·- (O) 'be slippery/smooth'. While Swampy Cree has a cognate for the Ojibwa 'be slippery/smooth,' sooskwaw (U), the Swampy Cree word for 'skate' is not based on it. At Island Lake, the Swampy Cree word has been borrowed for 'skate'.

4.1.32 pimina·- AI 'fly': This stem borrowed from the N-dialect of Cree is used alternately with the Ojibwa stem pimihse·-, of the same meaning. The AI verb final -a·- is a common Ojibwa final.

4.1.33 pi·htwa·- AI 'smoke': Two stems which can be glossed as 'smoke' are used at Island Lake. The one given above is borrowed from the Cree. The other, sakahswa·-, is Ojibwa. Both stems are used with approximately the same frequency by Island Lake speakers.

4.1.34 te·wistikwa·ne·- AI 'have a headache': There are no occurrences of the Ojibwa form in the Island Lake corpus.

4.1.35 wawastamaw- ~ wastamaw- TA 'wave at': An examination of the Ojibwa dictionaries reveals a gap for no word with a gloss 'wave at' is listed. Cree stems may have been borrowed to fill that gap.

4.1.36 wi·čih- TA 'help': This borrowing replaces the Ojibwa stem wi·to·kkaw-.

4.1.37 wi·kito·- AI 'be married': This word is likely borrowed, replacing the Ojibwa stem.

4.2 Stems suspect of Having been Borrowed

As well as the likely borrowings discussed in 4.1 above, there are a number of Island Lake stems which seem to show Cree interference. Stems with possible Cree interference will be discussed in this section.

4.2.1 akana·hšī·mo- AI 'speak English': In Baraga, this stem begins with a consonant. At Island Lake, the

initial consonant seems to have been dropped perhaps on the model of the Cree word for 'speak English', akuya'semoo- (U).

4.2.2 isko·ni·we·- AI 'teach school': Ellis lists the Swampy Cree noun for school as isko·n-. Whether Island Lake has borrowed this noun from Swampy Cree and then formed a verb from it or whether the Island Lake form is an independent borrowing from English cannot be ascertained.

4.2.3 kisi·ška·- AI 'hurry': At first glance this word appears to be a borrowing from the Cree. However, it could also be Ojibwa with the AI verb final -iška·- 'by foot or body movement' instead of -ihka·- 'move, go.'

4.2.4 ki·yokam- TA 'visit': This stem appears to be modelled on the Cree form kiyokaw-, but with the Ojibwa abstract final -am- added to the Island Lake form. No instances of the Ojibwa form nipa·ččih- occur in the Island Lake corpus.

4.2.5 mače·nt- AI 'be sad': It is possible that this stem has been borrowed from Cree michenuwa'sew 'be sad' (U). The TI verb final -e·nt- 'think' is common in Ojibwa verbs having to do with states of the mind.

4.2.6 mosahka·- AI 'arrive by water': The Ojibwa dictionaries do not list any form which resembled mosahka·-. In the Cree dictionaries, the word given is misu'kaw- (U). The first vowel of the Island Lake form does not correspond to that of the Cree form. In Ojibwa, the AI verb final

-hka.- means 'go, move'. Whether this stem is a borrowing from Cree cannot be ascertained.

4.2.7 nipa·tinči.- AI 'get dirty hands': In Cree, the verb glossed as 'be dirty' is nipa'tisew (U) and yipa·tisi- (W). The nipa·t- part of this word also occurs in nipatunok (U) 'be in a dirty place.' Island Lake speakers seem to have adopted nipa·t from Cree and added the AI verb final -ninči.- 'hand.'

4.2.8 no·nte·ya·pa·kwe.- AI 'be thirsty': This stem (a calque) appears to be modelled on the Cree form no·hte·ya·pa·kwe.- (W). The preverb no·nte.- in Ojibwa means 'want, need' and it is added to the ending ya·pa·kwe.- 'thirst'. In the same manner, the Island Lake stem for 'be hungry', no·nte·ya·hkitisi- appears to be modelled on the Cree.

4.2.9 ončika.- AI 'leak', ošika.- 'leak' II: In the other Ojibwa dialects examined as part of this study, the AI and the II stems for the gloss 'leak' are identical: ončika.- 'leak AI and II.' At Island Lake, the stems for AI and II differ as shown above. The Island Lake II stem may be borrowed from Cree ocheko'wun (U), with a change from ch to š. The differing stems may also be an independent development at Island Lake.

4.2.10 piminišahw- TA 'chase', piminišah- TI 'chase': This stem seems to be Ojibwa with the TA verb final -ahw- 'by instrument or medium' and its corresponding TI verb final -ah- added. In other Ojibwa dialects, the TA verb final

used is -iškaw- 'by foot or body movement.' Whether the different final at Island Lake is an independent development or whether it has been influenced by the Cree endings of pimitisahw- TA 'chase' (W) and pimitissuhum TI 'chase' (U), cannot be definitely ascertained.

4.2.11 šo.pi.hkah- TI 'paint': This stem appears to be modelled on the Cree.

4.2.12 At Island Lake, two stems for each of the glosses 'change seat,' 'change shoes' and 'change snowshoes' are used interchangeably:

<u>antapi</u>	<u>mi.škotapi</u>	'change seat'
<u>antahkisini</u>	<u>mi.škotahkisini</u>	'change shoes'
<u>anta.kimi</u>	<u>mi.škota.kimi</u>	'change snowshoes'

The stems beginning with ant- are Ojibwa and they are cognate with forms cited by Faries (1938) beginning with at-. The stems beginning with mi.škot- could be based on the Ojibwa particle me.škot 'instead' or it could be modelled on Cree forms such as mi.skotayowinise- 'he changes his clothes' (W).

4.2.13 At Island Lake, there occur many different stems which can be glossed 'speak Cree and/or speak Saulteaux':

nanatihkito-
 nantihkito-
 natihkito-
 nantana.no.nta.kosi-
 natana.no.nta.kosi-
 na.no.nta.kosi-
 nanatakakano.n-
 nanatakano.n-
 natakakano.n-

In Ojibwa some of these stems can be glossed as follows:

na.no.nta.kosi-	'shout/yell/speak' (O)
ihkito-	'say' (O)
kano.n-	'call' (O)
kakano.n-	'talk' (O)

While the meaning of the prefix (na)na(n)t(a)- cannot be ascertained, it is interesting to note that Baraga lists a form which appears to contain it: nin nandaniinawe 'I speak the language of the people with whom I live'.

Table XXII gives a number of Island Lake verb stems (in alphabetical order and is intended to allow the reader to compare Island Lake stems with stems from other Ojibwa dialects and Cree. All stems referred to in 4.1 and 4.2 can be found in this table. Table XXII shows clearly that a number of Island Lake and Ojibwa stems are identical to their Cree cognates, e.g. akim- 'count' is identical in Cree and Ojibwa. It also shows that a number of stems are Cree/Ojibwa cognates, e.g. ahte.- (Island Lake), atte.- (Odawa), aste.- (Plains Cree) 'be in a place.'

The Ojibwa and Cree forms given below are the result of a dictionary search--a method that is problematic.

Table XXII

Island Lake, Ojibwa and Cree Verb Stems

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ačika·te·	II	atchigâde (B)	itaste·	be put
ahpahto·	AI	appatto·	pimipahta·	run
ahpe·nim~ ahpe·nimintaw	TA	appe·nimontaw	aspe·yimototaw	depend on
ahs	TA	ass	ah	place
ahšam	TA	aššam	asam	feed
ahte·	II	atte·	aste·	be in a place
ahto·	TI	atto·n	asta·	place it there
akana·hšimo	AI	šə·kana·šši·mo	akaya·si·mo	speak English
aka·hča·pi·kisi	AI	aka·čča·pi·kisi	pupu'kisisew (U)	be thin·
aka·hče·nči·	AI	aka·čči·nhi	apisa·sin	be small

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
aka·hčín	II	aka·ččín	pi·sa·pikoni·	be small
aka·wa	AI	agawa (B)	aka'wach (U)	be barely able
akim	TA	akim	akim	count
ako·te·	II	ako·te·	akote·	hang
akwa·pah	TI		kwa·pah	dip out
amači·	TA	amačia (B)	pe·kom	awaken
amičike·~ ayamičike·	AI	akinta·sso	ayamihčike·	read
amw	TA	amw	mo·w	eat
anihšina·pe·mo	AI	aniššina·pe·mo	nahkawimo~ nahkawe·	speak Saulteaux
anihšini·mo	AI			speak Indian
anohkaw	TA	anokkaw	atoskaw	work' for
anohki·	AI	anokki·	atoske·	work
antahkisini	AI	nind andakisine (B)		change shoes
antapi	AI	antapi (B1)	a·htapi	change seat
anta·kimi	AI			change snowshoes

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
api	AI	api	api	be in a place/be there
api	AI	namatapi	api	sit
apino·nči·siwi	AI		awa·sisiwi	be a child
atamaskaw	TA	animikkaw	atamiskaw	greet
ata·we·	AI	ata·we·	ata·we·	buy
awih	TA	nind awiâ (B)	awih	lend something to
ay	TI	ay	aya·	have
ayamiya·	AI	anamia (B)	ayimiha·	pray
aya·	AI	aya·	aya·	be in a place
a·hkosi	AI	a·kkosi	a·hkosi	be sick
a·hkosi·škaw	TA	a·kkosi·škaw	a·hkosi·skaw	make sick
a·hkwatin	II	maškawatin	a·hkwatin	freeze
a·nawe·nt	TI	anawendan (B)	anwatowao (U)	reject/refuse
a·niman	II	sanakat	a·niman(Ellis)	be difficult
a·nimot	TI		ayimoo'tum (U)	talk about

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
a·nimotamaw	TA		ayimootumowao (U)	talk about
a·nkwa·misi	AI	a·nkwa·misi	aya·kwa·misi	be careful
a·pačihtō·	AI	nin abadjiton (B)	a·pacihta·	use it
a·pahw	TA	nind âbawa (B)	a·pihkon	untie
a·pisko·n	TA	âbiskona (B)	a·pihkon	untie
a·tihso·hke·	AI	a·tisso·kke·	a·tayohke·	tell a story
a·wa·si·wi	AI		awa·sisiwi	be a child
ča·kis	TI	nin tchagisan (B)	cha'kisum (U)	burn
ča·kite·	II	ča·kite·		burn
či·či·kipinitisi	AI	nin tchitchigi- binidis (B)	či·hči·piči·ke·	scratch oneself
ihkito	TI	ikkito	kito (AI) 'call'	say
in	TA	in	it	say
ina·pi	AI	ina·pi	ita·pi	look thus
ine·nim	TA	ine·nim	ite·yim	think

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ine·nt	TI	ine·ntam	ite·niht	think
isko·ni·we·	AI		isko·n (noun) (Ellis)	teach school
iša·	AI	iša·	itohte·	go
iših	TA	iših	isih	cause to
išihčike·	AI	išiččike·	isi·hcike·	do it thus
išinihka·so	AI	išinikka·so	isiyi·hka·so	be called
išinihka·t	TI	išinikka·ta·n	isiyi·hka·te·II 'be called'	call
išiya·	AI	iši-aya·		be thus
išpa·konaka·	II	ishpagonaga (B)	ispa'konukaw (U)	be deep snow
kapama·čī·we·	AI	nind ogidākiwe (B)	kospamuchewao (U)	climb a hill
kakano·n	TA	kakano·n	kitot	talk to
kaki·hkam	TA	kaki·kkam	kake·skim	preach
kaki·pa·tisi	AI	kaki·pa·tisi	kukapa'tisew (U)	be stupid
kakwe·čim	TA	kakwe·čim	kakwe·cim	ask
kakwe·twe·	AI	kakwe·twe·	kakwe·cihke·mo	ask
kanawa·pam	TA	kanawa·pam	kanawa·pam	look at

Table XXII (Cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
kanawa·pant	TI	kanawa·panta·n	kanawa·pant	look at
kanawe·nim	TA	kanawenim (B)	kanawe·yim	control/take care of
kanawe·nt	TI	kanawe·nta·n	kanawe·yiht	take care of
kani·hke·	AI	mikwendam (B)	kiskisi	remember
kapa·simo	AI	pima·taka·	kapa·simo	swim
kapihta·n	AI	kipitân (B)	kipistane·	have a nose-bleed
kaških	TA	kaških	kaskih	manage
kaškihto·	AI	kaškitto·n	kaskihta·	manage it/be able to
kaškikwa·hso	AI	kaškikwa·sso	kaskikwa·so	sew
kaškikwa·t	TI	kaškikwa·t	kaskikwa·t	sew
kaškipin	TA	kaškipin		manage to pull
kawasi~kawači	AI	nin gikadj (B)	kawaci	be cold
kawinkohši	AI	kawinkošši	yiskikwa'mopuyew (U)	fall asleep
kawišimo	AI	gawishim (B)	kawisimo	go to bed
ka·čika·te·	II	kadjigade (B)	ka·te·	be hidden

Table XXII

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ka·ka·skahw	TA	nin gaskaskāwa (B)	ka·skahw	scrape
ka·ki·čikwe·we	AI	ka·ki·čikwe·we·		have a sore neck
ka·ki·činihke·	AI	ka·ki·činikke·		have a sore arm
ka·ki·tisite·	AI	ka·ki·tisite·		have a sore foot
ka·n	TA	nin kâna (B)	ka·t	hide
ka·ntin	TI	kândinan (B)	yukinum (U)	push
ka·pawi	AI	kâbaw (B)	ni·pawi and isika·pawi 'he stands so'	stand
ka·si·ninči·	AI	kisi·ninči·	ka·si·cihce·	wash hands
ka·ške·nim	TA		kaske·yim	be lonely for
ka·ške·nt	TI	kashkendam (B)	ko·tawe·yiht	be lonely for
ka·škipa·n	TA	ka·škipa·n	kaskipa'tao (U)	shave
ka·škipa·so	AI	ka·škipa·so	ka·skipa·so	have a shave
ka·to	AI	nin kâton (B)	ka·ta·	hide it
kičipah	TA	kičipah	ki·h 'he gets away from him'	escape
kihkanomake·	AI	nin kikinoamage(B)	kiskino·hama·ke·	teach

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
kihkanomaw	TA	nin kikinoamawa (B)	kiskino·hamaw	teach
kihke·nim	TA	kikke·nim	kiske·yim	know/learn
kihke·nt	TI	kikke·nta·n	kiske·yiht	know/learn
kihpakisi	AI	kippakisi	kispu'kisew(U)	be thick
kihpaka·	II	kippaka·	kispaka·	be thick
kihtike·	AI	kihtike·	kistike·	plant
kihtimi	AI	kittimi	kihtimi	be lazy
kikišk	TI	nin kikishkan (B)	kikisk	wear
kimiwan	II	kimiwan	kimiwan	rain
kimotim	TA	nin kimodima (B)	kimotamaw	steal
kinahamaw	TA	kinahamaw	kitahamaw	forbid
kinakisi	AI	nin gijibaje (B)	kinakisi and kiyakisi	itch
kina·hkwisi	AI	kenwa·kkusi (B1)	kinwa·skosi 'he is a long stick'	be a tall tree
kinwa·nihkwe·	AI	kinwā ^h nikwe (B)	kinwa'nuskwao (U)	have long hair
kipah	TI	kipaha·n	kipah	close
kipahe·ka·si	AI		kipahika·so	be closed

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
kipahe·ka·ti·	II	kipa·kkwe·ka·te·	kipuhikatao (U)	be closed
kipahw	TA	kipahw	kipahw	close
kipiči·	AI	nika·piso	kipi'chew (U)	stop
kipine·win	TA	kipine·we·n	kipiwanao (U)	choke
kipine·wiška·	AI		ataho	choke
kipiška·	TA	kipiška·	naka·n	stop
kisi·hsakah	TI	kisi·ssakaha·n		wash
kisi·hsakinike·	AI	kisi·ssakinike·	kisetukinikao (U)	wash floor
kisi·na·kane·	AI	kisi·na·kane·	kicistahina·kane·	wash dishes
kisi·nkwe·	AI	kisi·nkwe·	ka·si·hkwe·	wash face
kisi·pi·kin	TA	kisi·pi·kin	kisi·pe·kinamaw	wash
kisi·pi·kinike·	AI	kisi·pi·kinike·	kisi·pe·kinike·	wash clothes
kisi·ska·	AI	kisi·kka·	kisiskatao (U)	hurry
kiskatah	TI		ke'skutuhum (U)	chop wood
kiskatahe·ki	AI		ke'skutuhikao (U)	chop
kišowaya·	II	kiša·tte·	kesewa'yaw (U)	be hot weather

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
kiša·hte·	II	kiša·tte·	kisa·ste·	be hot weather
kiša·kamite·	II	kiša·kamite·		be hot liquid
kiša·pihkiso	AI	kiša·pikkiso	kisa'piskisoo (U)	be hot
kiša·pihkite·	II	kiša·pikkite·	kisa'piskitao (U)	be hot
kiša·pihkite·	II	kiša·pikkite·		be hot metal
kišite·	II	kišite·	kisite·	be hot
kišiwa·h	TA		kisiwa·h	make angry
kišiwa·si	AI	niška·tisi	kisiwa·si	be angry
ki·šite·po	AI	nin gisidebona (B)	ki·site·po	cook food
kitahamaw	TA	kinahamaw	kitahamaw	forbid
kitahkisini	AI	kitahkisini		take off shoes
kitako·ti	AI	kitako·ti		take off coat
ki·nikwa·niška·	AI	wa·ninosse·	kenikwa'notao (U)	walk in circles
ki·ših	TA	ki·ših	ki·sih	complete
ki·šihto·	AI	ki·šitto·n	ki·sihta·	complete
ki·šis ki·sis	TI	ki·šisa·n	ki·sis	cook done

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ki·šiso ~ ki·siso	AI	ki·šiso	ki·siso	be cooked done
ki·šisw ~ ki·sisw	TA	ki·šisw	ki·sisw	cook done
ki·šite·	II	ki·šite·	ki·site·	be cooked done
ki·škah	TI	ki·škaha·n	ki·skah	cut down
ki·škahamaw	TA	ki·škahamaw	ki·skikahw	chop
ki·škatah	TI	ki·škaha·n	keskutuwao (U)TA	chop, cut
ki·škatahw	TA	ki·škahw	keskutuwao (U)	chop, cut
ki·škipo·to·	AI	ki·škipo·to·n	ki·skipota·	saw wood
ki·škis	TI	ki·škisa·n	ki·skis	chop, cut
ki·škisw	TA	ki·škisw	ki·skisw	chop, cut
ki·we·	AI	ki·we·	ki·we·	go home
ki·we·win	TA	ki·we·win	kewa'nao (U)	take home
ki·yokam	TA	nipwa·ččih	kiyokaw	visit
kohs	TA	koss	kostao (U)	fear
koht	TI	kot (B)	kost	fear
kohta·či	AI	kotta·či	kostachew (U)	be afraid

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
kontipa•nih	TA	kom	kohcipayih	swallow
kosikwan	II	kosikwan	kosikwan	be heavy
kosikwani	AI	kosikwani	kosikwati kosikwun (U)	be heavy
koškon	TA	koškon	koskoh ~ koskon ~ koskowih	startle
kwe•hkika•pawi	AI	kwe•kkika•pawi	kwe•skika•pawi	turn around while standing
kwe•hkin	TI	kwe•kkina•n	kwe•skin	turn over
kwe•hkita•	AI	gwikita (B)	kwe•ski•	turn around
kwe•škohši	AI	kwe•škošši	kwe•skosi	whistle
mače•nt	TI	nin kaskkendam (B)	michenuwā'sew (U) kaske•yiht	be sad
mahkite•wa•	II	makkite•wa•	mukutāwaw (U) kaskite•wa•	be black
mahkite•wa•nihkwe•	AI	mekkite•wa•nekkwe• (B1)	kaskite•wa•niskwe•	have black hair

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
mahkite·wisi	AI	makkite·wisi	mukutāsew (U) kaskite·si	be black
manihsi	AI	nin manisse (B)	manis TI 'he cuts it to take'	chop
maški·komo	AI		ne·hiyawe·	speak Cree
matapi	AI	matap (B)	api	sit
matwe·hsin	TI	matwe·we·ssin	mutwāsin (U)	ring
mawa	AI	mawa	ma·to	cry
ma·ča·	AI	ma·ča·	sipwe·hte·	go away
ma·či·	AI	nantawe·nčike·	ma·ci·	hunt
ma·či·ntaw~ ma·či·nitaw	TA	ma·či·na·škaw		chase
ma·či·pahto·	AI	ma·či·patto·	sipwe·pahta·	run away
ma·či·wa·po·	AI	ma·či·wa·po		float along
ma·kam~ma·kom	TA	takkom	tahkwam ma·kwam 'he chews him'	bite
ma·kwant	TI		ma·kwaht 'he chews it' tahkwaht	bite

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ma·nkite·	AI	nin mangidéé (B)		have a large heart
ma·tahw	TA	nin mādâwa (B)	ma·tah TI 'he works it'	scrape a hide
ma·ta·ha·n	TA	mâdaana (B)	ma·ta·h	track
ma·ta·he·ke·	AI	nin mâtaige (B)	ma·tahike·	scrape a hide
ma·tiš	TI		ma·tis	cut open
ma·tišw	TA		ma·tisw	cut open
mihk	TI	nin mikan (B)	misk	find
mihkaw	TA	nin mikawa (B)	miskaw	find
mihkoška·te·nt~ mo·hkiška·te·nt	TI	migoshkâdjiigon(B)	mikoska'tāyetum(U)	worry
mihsawin	TI	missawina·n	aka·wa·t	desire
mihsawinaw	TA	missawinaw	aka·wa·t	desire
mihši·n	AI		tasi	be many
minah	TA	minah	minah	give a drink
minčimin	TA	minčimin	micimin	hold
mine·nim~ minwe·nim	TA	minwe·nim	miywe·yim	like

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
mine·nt~ minwe·nt	TI	minwe·nta·n	miywe·yiht~ minwe·niht	like
mine·ntam~ minwe·ntam	AI	minwe·ntam	mama·hta·kosi	be glad
minihkwe·	AI	minikkwe·	minihkwe·	drink
mino·aya·	AI	mino·aya·	miyw-a·ya·	be well
minoma·čihō~ minoma·nčihō	AI	mino·aya·	miyoma·hciho	feel good
mintawe·	AI	nin mindawe (B)	mihtawe· 'he is dissatisfied'	refuse
mintito	AI	mintito	misikiti	be big
miski·wan	II	miskwi·wan	mihko·wis	bleed
miskokaman	II		mihkwa·kami	be red liquid
miskosi	AI	miskosi	mihkosi	be red
miskwa·	II	miskwa·	mihkwa·	be red
miškawa·	AI	miškawa·	maskawisi	be strong
mi·škotahkisini	AI			change shoes
mi·škotapi	AI	antapi (B1)		change seat

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
mi·škota·kimi	AI			change snowshoes
mi·čī	TI	mi·čīn	mi·ci	eat
mi·kan	TA	mi·kan	no·tin	fight
mi·ka·so	AI	mi·ka·so	no·tinike·	fight
mi·ka·ti	AI	mi·ka·ti	no·tinito	fight each other
mi·n	TA	mi·n	mi·n~ miy	give to
mosahka·	AI		misu'kaw (U)	arrive by water
mo·hkiška·	AI	nin moki (B)	mo·ski·	come forth
mo·hkita·	AI			come forth
nahapi	AI	namatapi	nahapi	sit
nahkwe·škaw	TA	nakkwe·škaw	nakiskaw	meet
nakamo	AI	nakamo	nikamo	sing
nakan	TA	nakan	nakatamaw	leave behind
nakat	TI	nakata·n	nukutāo (U)	leave behind
namatapi	AI	namatapi	api	sit
nanantin	TI	nantane·ha·n	nana·ton TA 'he searches him'	search for

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
nanatakakano·n	AI			speak Cree
nanatakano·n	AI			speak Cree
nanatihkito	AI			speak Cree/speak Saulteaux
nanantinaw	TA	nantane·hw	nuna'tonāo (U)	search for
nana·pe·wike·nt	TI	akate·ntam	ne·pe·wisi AI	be ashamed of
nana·pe·wisi	AI	akate·ntam	ne·pe·wisi	be ashamed
nana·pe·wisi	AI	akačī	nunāpāwisiw (U)	be shy
nantana·no·nta·kosi	AI			speak Cree/speak Saulteaux
nantawa·pam~ antawa·pam	TA	nantawa·pam~ antawa·pam	nana·tawa·pam 'he looks out for him'	search for
nantawa·pant~ antawa·pant	TI	nantawa·panta·n~ antawa·panta·n	nana·tawa·paht 'he looks out for it'	search for
nantawe·nčike·	AI	nantawe·nčike·	nitawe·yihcike·~ nitawe·nihcike· 'he goes hunting'	hunt
nantawe·nim~ antawe·nim	TA	nantawe·nim~ antawe·nim	nitawe·yim	want

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
nantawe·nt~ antawe·nt	TI	nantawe·nta·n~ antawe·nta·n	nitawe·yiht	want
nantihkito	AI			speak Saulteaux
napaka·	II	napaka·	napaka·	be flat
natakakano·n	AI			speak Cree
natana·no·nta·kosi	AI			speak Cree
natihkito	AI			speak Cree/speak Indian
nawaha·n	TA	nin nosswaana (B)	nowuhatāo (U)	track
nawatin	TA	nawatin	nawatin	grab
na·hkawe·	AI		nahkawe·	speak Saulteaux
na·katawa·pant	TI	na·katawa·panta·n	nuna'kutuwapew(U)	watch
na·kati·	TA			watch over
na·kosi	AI	na·kosi	no·kosi	appear
na·nkan	II	na·nkan	ya·hkasin	be light (in weight)
na·nkisi	AI	na·nkisi	ya·hkitisi	be light
na·no·nta·kosi	AI			speak Cree

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
na·pahto·~na·pin	AI	nin nâbissiton (B)	tāpus'taw (U)	replace
na·sk	TI		na·t	fetch
na·skamaw	TA	na·tamaw	na·tamaw	fetch
na·skaw	TA	na·taw		fetch
na·skaw	TA	na·sikaw		approach
na·to·pi·	AI	na·to·pi·	kwa·pike· natuhipāo (U)	fetch water
nihs	TA	niss	nipahta· AI	kill
nihsa·pa·we·	AI	nissa·pa·we·	nista·pa·we·	drown
nihsa·po·n	AI	nissâbon (B)		go with current
nihsa·tahkose·	AI			go downstream
nihsihsitaw	TA	nissostattaw	nisitohtaw	understand
nihsihsitotaw	TA	nissostattaw	nisitohtaw	understand
nihsit~nihsihsit	TI	nissostatta·n	nisitoht	understand
nihsitaw	TA			understand
nihsitotaw	TA	nissitottaw	nisitohtaw	understand
ninkote·	II	ninkote·	me·state·	melt

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
nipa·	AI	nipa·	nipa·	sleep
nipa·tinči·	AI	wininindji (B)	yipa·tisi 'he is dirty'	get dirty hands
nipi·wan	AI	nipi·wan	nipē'wun (U)	be wet
nipo	AI	nipo	nipi	die
nišo·na·čih	TA	nin nishiwanadjia (B)	nisiwana·tisi AI 'he is ruined'	ruin
nišo·na·čito·	TI	nin nishiwanadjiton (B)		ruin
ni·mi	AI	ni·mi	nē'mew (U) ni·mihito	dance
ni·mih	TA	ni·mih	ni·mih	make dance
ni·pawi	AI	ni·pawi	ni·pawi	stand
no·nt	TI	no·ntam	pe·ht	hear
no·ntaw	TA	no·ntaw	pe·htaw	hear
no·nta·kosi	AI	no·nta·kosi	te·pwe·	shout
no·nte·ya·hkitisi	AI	pakkate·	no·hte·hkate·	be hungry
no·nte·ya·pa·kwe·	AI	ka·skana·pa·kwe·	no·hte·ya·pa·kwe·	be thirsty

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
no·skwa·n~ no·skwa·tahw	TA	nin noskwa·na (B)	no·hkwa·t	lick
no·skwa·t~ no·skwa·tah	TI	nin noskwa·tan (B)	no·hkwa·t	lick
no·skwa·tam	TI			lick
ompa·pate·	II	ombâbate (B)		smoke rises
ompin~ohpin	TI	ompina·n	ohpin	lift
ompinihke·	AI			raise arm
onaškinahto·	AI	nind onashkinadon (B)	pi·hciwe·pin	load (a gun)
ona·košin	II	onâkosh (B)	ota·kosin	be evening
ončika·	AI	ončika·	ocheko'wew (U)	lead
oni·hike·~oni·ke·	AI	oni·hike·	wanihike·	trap
onta·pate·	II	ondâbate (B)		smoke comes from
osa·wa·	II	osa·wa·	osa·wa·	be yellow
osa·wisi	AI	osa·wisi	osa·wisi	be yellow
oših	TA	oših	osi·h	make
ošihto·	AI	ošitto·n	osi·hta·	fix it/make it

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
ošihtamaw~ ošihtaw	TA	ošittamaw~ ošittaw	osi·htaw	build for
ošika·	II	ončika·	ohcistin	leak
ota·hpin	TI	ota·ppina·n	otin	take
otitin	TA		otihtin 'he seizes him'	attack
o·hsihsitam~ o·hsitam	AI	nin ossossodam (B)	ostostaske·	cough
pahka·nisi	AI	pakka·nisi	pahka·nisi	be different
pahkihte·hw	TA	pakkitte·hw	no·cih	hit
pahkise·nimi	AI	pagosenim (B)	pakose·yimo	hope
pahkite·sin	AI		pahkisin	fall
pahkopi·hse·	AI	pakkopi·sse·	pakastawe·payi	fall into water
pahkwe·niška·ko	AI	pakkwe·niška·ko		choke on something
pahkwe·nt	TI	pakkwe·nta·n	pahkwe·ht	bite off a piece
pahkwe·š	TI	pakkwe·ša·n	paskis	slice
pakači·	AI		pakici·	land, alight
pakitana·mo	AI	pagitanam	pukituta'moo (U)	breathe

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
pakitin	TA	pakitin	pakitin	put down
pakoni·h	TI	pakone·ha·n	pakone·h	chop a hole in it
pamih	TA	nin bamiâ (B)	pamih 'he tends him'	control
pankihsin~ pahkihsin	AI	pankissin	pahkisin	fall
papama·tihe·	AI	šo·škwa·tahe·	pupama'tuhew (U) so·skwana·tahi	skate
papa·si·	AI		papa·si·	hurry
pa·hkitawe·	AI	pagidawewinini (noun) (B)	pakitaha·	fish
pa·hkwa·	II	bâgwa (B)	pa·hkwa·sin	be shallow
pa·hpi	AI	pa·ppi	pa·hpi	laugh
pa·hpih	TA	pa·ppih	pa·hpih	laugh at
pa·hsisk~ pa·hsiskat	TI	pa·ssihka·n	tahkisk	kick
pa·hsiskaw~ pa·hsihkaw	TA	pa·ssikkaw	tahkiskaw	kick
pa·hte·	II	pa·tte·	pa·hka·	be dry

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
pa·sakwa·tahw	TA	pa·sakwa·tahw		scrape
pa·sa·kopito·	AI	pa·sa·kopito·n		scratch it
pa·škis	TI		pa·skis	shoot
pa·škisw	TA	pa·škisw	pa·skisw	shoot
pi-iša·	AI	pi-iša·		come
pi-iša·maka	II	pi-iša·maka		come
pima·čih	TA	pima·čih	pima·cih	rescue
pima·hkosin	II	bimakwissin (B)	pimas'kosin (U)	lie
pima·tisi	AI	pima·tisi	pima·tisi	be alive
pimiha·n	TA	nin pimaana (B)	pimuhumao (U)	track
pimihse·	AI	bimisse (B)	pimiha·	fly
pimina·	AI	bimisse (B)	pimiha·	fly
piminišah	TI		pimitisah 'he follows it'	chase
piminišahw	TA	pimina·škaw	pimitisahw	chase
pimipahto·	AI	pimipahto·	pimipahta·	run along
pimisin	AI	kawishim (B)	pimisin	lie down

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
pimiška•	AI	pemiška• (B1)	pimiska•	go by canoe
pimita•pi	AI	pimita•pi		pull a wagon
pimiwito•	AI	pimiwito•n	pimiwita•	carry it
pimohse•	AI	pimosse•	pimohte•	walk
pimwa•hsin	AI	bimwâssin (B)		throw a stone
pi-sakah	TI	bi-sagaam (B)		emerge from
piskane•	II	piskane•	piskina'o (U)	flame
pisint	TI	pisinta•n	pise'chetaw (U)	listen
pisintaw	TA	pisintaw	pise'chehao (U)	listen
pitis	AI	nin pitijan (B)		cut (hand)
pi•h	TA	nin pia (B)	pe•h	wait for
pi•kon	TI	pi•kona•n	pi•kopit	tear
pi•n	TA		pe•siw	bring
pi•ntike•	AI	pi•ntike•	pi•htoke•	enter
pi•ntike•win	TA	pi•ntikan	pi•htokah	bring inside
pi•ntike•wito•	AI	pi•ntikato•n	pi•htokata•	bring it inside

Table XXII

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
pi·pa·ki	AI	pi·pa·ki		shout
pi·tamaw	TA	pi·tamaw	pe·tamaw	bring
pi·to·	AI	pi·to·n	pe·ta·	bring it
pi·htwa·	AI		pi·htwa·	smoke
po·hkinike·sin	AI	po·kkonikke·		break arm
poni·hkaw	TA	poni·kkaw		leave along
po·tawe·	AI	po·tawe·	kotawe·	make a fire
sakahswa·	AI	sakasswa·	pi·htwa·	smoke
sa·kate·nin	AI	sâgidenaniwen (B)		stick out tongue
sa·kih	TA	sa·kih	sa·kih	love
sa·kwan	TA		sa·kowe· AI	shout at
sa·kwat	TI			shout at
sa·kwe·	AI	sassakwe (B)	sa·kowe·	shout
se·kih	TA	se·kih	se·kih	frighten
se·kisi	AI	se·kisi	se·kisi	be afraid
si·kinamaw	TA	si·kinamaw	se'kenumowāo (U)	pour for

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
so·piko ~ so·kihpo	II	so·kippo	mispon	snow
šo·pi·hkah	TI	šašo·ssakaha·n	so·pe·kayakan (noun)	paint
tahka·kami	II	takâgami (B)	tahkikami	be cold water
tahka·ya·	II	takke·ya·	tukaya'w (U) kisina·	be cold weather
tahkohka·t	TI	takkokka·ta·n	tahkoska·t	step on
tahkopin	TA	takkopin	tahkopit	tie
tahkopito·	AI	takkopito·n	tahkopit TI	tie it
tahko·si	AI	takko·si	tukosisew (U)	be short
tahkwa·hkosi	AI	takkwa·kkosi		be short (wood)
tahši	AI	tašši	tasi	be many
takohšin	AI	takoššin	takosin	arrive
tankišk	TI	tankiška·n	tahkisk	kick
ta·škike·	AI	ta·škikaha·n	ta·skihkot	split wood
te·pa·pam	TA	te·pa·pam		see in distance
te·pihta·kosi	AI	te·pitta·kosi		be heard from a distance

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
te·pin	TI	te·pina·n	tapinum (U)	reach
te·pwe·	AI	te·pwe·		be right
te·pwe·ht	TI	te·pwe·tta·n	ta·pwe·ht	believe
te·pwe·htaw	TA	te·pwe·ttaw	ta·pwe·htaw	believe
te·pwe·wike·nim	TA			believe
te·pwe·wike·nt	TI			believe
te·wistikwa·ne·	AI	te·wikkwe·	te·wistikwa·ne·	have a headache
tipe·nam	TA	tipe·nam	tipe·yim	master/own
tipe·nt	TI	tipe·nta·n	tipe·yiht	master/own
tipihka·	II	tipikkat	tipiska·	be night
tipine·wisi	AI	tipine·wisi		own
titipin	TA		titipin	roll
to·t~ to·tam	TI		to·t	do
to·taw~ to·tamaw	TA	to·taw~ to·tamaw	to·tamaw	do to/for
wanihš̌in	AI	wanišš̌in	wanisin	get lost
wanihto·	AI	wanitto·n	wanihta·	lose it

Table XXII

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
wani·hke·	TI	wani·kke·		forget
wani·hke·ntaw	TA	wane·nim	wani·hke·totaw	forget
wanota·pin	TA		pistin	take by mistake
wawastamaw~ wastamaw	TA		wa·stinike· AI wawastuwahumowao (U)	wave at
wa·hka·wi·	AI	wa·kka·wosse· 'walk around'	waskawi·	move
wa·hsawan	II	wa·hsawat		be far
wa·hse·ya·	II	wa·sse·ya·	wa'sayaw (U)	be light/day
wa·nahe·ki~ wa·nahke·	AI	wanike (B)	watihke·	dig a hole
wa·pam	TA	wa·pam	wa·pam	see
wa·pant	TI	wa·panta·n	wa·paht	see
wa·pantah	TA	wa·pantah	wa·pahte·h	show to
wa·pi	AI	wa·pi	wa·pi	see
wa·pisi	AI	wa·pisi	wa·piskisi wa'pisew (U)	be white
wa·piška	II	wa·piška	wa·piska·	be white

Table XXII (cont'd)

Island Lake	Verb Class	Ojibwa	Cree	Gloss
wa·wi·ye·ya·	II	wa·wi·ye·ya·	wa·wiye·ya·	be round
we·ntan	II	we·ntat	we·htasin	be easy
we·pin	TI	we·pina·n	we·pin	throw away
wi·čih	TA	wi·to·kkaw	wi·cih	help
wi·hkopin	TA	wi·kkopin		pull
wi·hkopito·	AI	wi·kkopito·n		pull it
wi·hsakapin	TA	wi·ssakapin		hurt
wi·hsakisi~ wi·hsakotisi	AI			be hurt
wi·hsake·ntam	AI	wi·ssake·ntam	wesukā'yetum (U)	be hurt
wi·hsakihš̃in	AI	wi·ssakišš̃in		get hurt
wi·hsini	AI	wi·ssini		eat
wi·kito·	AI	wi·tike·m	wi·kihto	be married
wi·n	TA	wi·n	wi·hy	name
wi·nt	TI	nin wintan (B)	wi·ht	name it
wi·ntamaw	TA	wi·ntamaw	wi·htamaw	tell it to

An examination of the above table shows that there are many similarities in Ojibwa and Cree vocabularies. Island Lake speakers may be interpreting these similarities as Cree borrowings thus overestimating the number of Cree words which have actually been borrowed.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion

The Cree/Ojibwa language contact at Island Lake has resulted in Cree interference in the basically Ojibwa verbal morphology of the Island Lake language. That Cree interference at Island Lake is extensive is the result of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors: the relationship of Cree and Ojibwa within the Algonquian language family; the non-dominant status of the Island Lake language; the extent of the contact.

It is in just this kind of contact situation that the borrowing of bound morphemes is most likely to occur (Weinreich, 1974). The present examination of the verbal morphology of Island Lake, though, has shown that little of what appears to be Cree interference in the inflectional paradigms of Island Lake can be directly and conclusively attributed to bound morpheme borrowing from Cree. The use of -ina·n by two informants for first person plural in the AI independent order indicative mode paradigm is not an indication that the suffix has been borrowed from Cree. The use of -na·wa· for second person plural in the AI independent order paradigm while possibly borrowed from Cree could also be Ojibwa in origin. The occasional appearance of the conjunct order alternant suffixes -ahk~ -ank and

-a·nk ~ -a·hk are the result of the nk ~ hk variation which occurs at Island Lake rather than the direct borrowing of a bound morpheme. In the TI conjunct order paradigm, the suffix for third person singular occurs as -ank at Island Lake, but occasionally occurs as -ahk which is the Cree suffix for third person singular. It is impossible to tell whether those few informants who use the -ahk suffix here have borrowed it from Cree or whether they have simply replaced the -ank with -ahk in accordance with the hk ~ nk variation discussed earlier. The only bound morpheme which can be attributed fairly definitely to borrowing from Cree is the TA imperative order immediate mode where Island Lake -ihk appears in place of Eastern Ojibwa -kon for second person plural subject with third person object. Even though the incidence of bound morpheme borrowing at Island Lake is slight, it must be pointed out that the cumulative effect of the changes in the inflectional system from Eastern Ojibwa to Island Lake has been to make the inflectional paradigms of Island Lake more like the paradigms of Cree.

In aspects of the Island Lake verbal morphology other than the inflectional morphemes, Cree influence is more readily seen. The loss of the conjunct order negative mode at Island Lake is possibly a result of Cree contact. It is also possible that as a result of the Cree contact, the independent order negative mode may disappear. While this is

a very tentative hypothesis that only time can prove or disprove, the occasional movement of the negative marker to a position after the person/number inflection and its very occasional omission by some speakers seems to point in the direction of eventual loss. The fluctuation between a Cree-like set of rules governing the person prefixes and the Ojibwa set with the resultant hypercorrection follows, without doubt, from Cree contact.

Of the Island Lake verb stems examined for Cree interference, about ten per cent were found to be direct borrowings from Cree. This is in the range of the upper limit for borrowings cited by Haugen (1956) who claims that borrowings seldom if ever exceed ten per cent.

This high incidence of lexical borrowing coupled with the changes already discussed has not, however, led to the creation of a new language neither Ojibwa nor Cree. The Cree influence, while considerable, has mostly affected areas outside of the inflectional paradigms, e.g. the person prefix system, the negative mode. As well, the verbal lexicon is mostly Ojibwa in origin. It must be concluded that the verbal morphology of Island Lake is basically Ojibwa with Cree admixture.

Appendix A

The following are a set of reading rules which will allow the reader to relate lines 1 and 3 of the Island Lake examples used in this study. These rules are not to be interpreted as phonological rules; a phonological study of Island Lake is outside the scope of this paper.

1. A short vowel followed by w is replaced by its long counterpart before the inverse theme suffixes -ikw-, -iko-, and -iko·-. The w is subsequently deleted.
2. A connective y is inserted after a vowel before conjunct suffixes beginning with a vowel.
3. A short vowel is lost when it follows a long vowel.
4. Interconsonantal h is deleted.
5. Conjunct suffix-final t is palatalized to č when it occurs word-finally.
6. Short vowels are deleted in verb-final position. This means that -a '3' and -i '0' are deleted when they occur in verb-final position. -w '3' is subsequently deleted.
7. The above rule is sometimes reapplied so that stem final vowels are deleted after -w-a or -w-i have been deleted. With further study, it may turn out that this phenomenon (not reported in other dialects) is somehow correlated with age. Informant S17 fairly consistently deletes the stem final vowel as in the following example.

pi.ta. sa kohta.č (S17)

'Peter is afraid'

pi.ta. isa kohta.či+w+a

Peter indeed AI +3+3

Older informants e.g. G14, G9, never delete the stem final vowel in third person forms. A more detailed study is required before any conclusions can be drawn.

8. -w '3' is deleted when it occurs before -pan 'preterite' or -tik 'dubitative.'

9. Stem final w plus -ak '3p' or -an '3'' occurs as wo.k, wo.n respectively.

10. After a consonant, the sequence wi is rendered o.

11. In other Ojibwa dialects, a nasal consonant assimilates to a following consonant (m before p, n elsewhere). At Island Lake, perhaps as a result of Cree interference, this rule is not always applied: one finds, for example, sequences of np in the corpus.

12. The inverse theme suffix -ikw- has the variant -iko- before a suffix beginning with a consonant.

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