

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
Master of Arts in the Department of Anthropology
The University of Manitoba
February, 1977



"CREE ADMIXTURE IN THE VERBAL MORPHOLOGY
OF ISLAND LAKE OJIBWA"

by

SALINA MARGARET SHROFEL

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

© 1977

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Acknowledgments

I want to acknowledge the support of the Northern Studies Committee, University of Manitoba who funded the research presented in this thesis. Also, Canada Council is thanked for the fieldwork travel funds they provided as part of the Canada Council M.A. Scholarship.

My gratitude goes to Ray Shrofel for his patience, endurance and encouragement under conditions that would have done in most husbands. Of course, my advisor, H. C. Wolfart, is thanked for his advice and support. The people at Island Lake are especially thanked for their time, effort and friendliness without which fieldwork could not have been conducted.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	i
List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	v

Chapter	Title	Page
1	Introduction	1
	1.1 Location and Population	1
	1.2 The Island Lake Language	1
	1.3 Purpose	6
	1.4 Fieldwork and Informants	7
	1.5 The Algonquian Language Family	8
	1.6 Terminology	10
	1.7 Orthography	11
2	Language Contact and the Island Lake Area	13
	2.0 Introduction	13
	2.1 The Prestige Language in Contact Situations	13
	2.2 The Source of Interference	17
	2.3 Island Lake as the Non- Dominant Language	18
	2.4 Results of Language Contact	22
3	Verbal Morphology of Island Lake and Cree Admixture	28
	3.1 Orders	28
	3.2 Modes	28
	3.3 Verb Classes	34
	3.4 Number and Person	35
	3.5 The Theme Suffixes	37
	3.6 The Person Prefixes	39
	3.7 Independent Order Inflection	43
	3.8 Conjunct Order Inflection	64
	3.9 Imperative Order Inflection	80

4	Lexical Borrowing	87
	4.1 Stems Likely to be Borrowed from Cree	87
	4.2 Stems Suspect of having been borrowed	93
5	Summary and Conclusions	129
	Appendix A	132
	Bibliography	134

List of Figures

Number	Title	Page
I	Map Showing Location of Island Lake Communities	2
II	Algonquian Language Family	11

List of Tables

Number	Title	Page
I	Island Lake District Population Distribution	1
II	Summary of Informants	9
III	Summary of Orders and Modes	34
IV	Island Lake and Eastern Ojibwa Theme Suffixes	38
V	Summary of Person Prefix Variation at Island Lake	42
VI	Island Lake and Eastern Ojibwa AI Independent Indicative Paradigm	43
VII	II Independent Order Indicative Paradigm	47
VIII	TA Independent Indicative Paradigm Mixed and Third Person Subset	48
IX	TA Independent Indicative Paradigm You-Me Subset	51
X	TA Independent Indicative Paradigm You-Me Subset	53
XI	TA Independent Indicative Paradigm You-Me Subset	53
XII	TA Independent Indicative Passive Paradigm	55
XIII	TI Independent Indicative Paradigm	56
XIV	AI Conjunct Indicative Paradigm	64
XV	II Conjunct Indicative Paradigm	68
XVI	TI Conjunct Indicative Paradigm	69

XVII	TA Conjunct Indicative Paradigm	71
XVIII	AI Imperative Order Paradigm	81
XIX	TI Imperative Order Paradigm	82
XX	TA Imperative Order Paradigm	82
XXI	Eastern Ojibwa Imperative Order	83
XXII	Island Lake, Ojibwa and Cree Verb Stems	98

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-

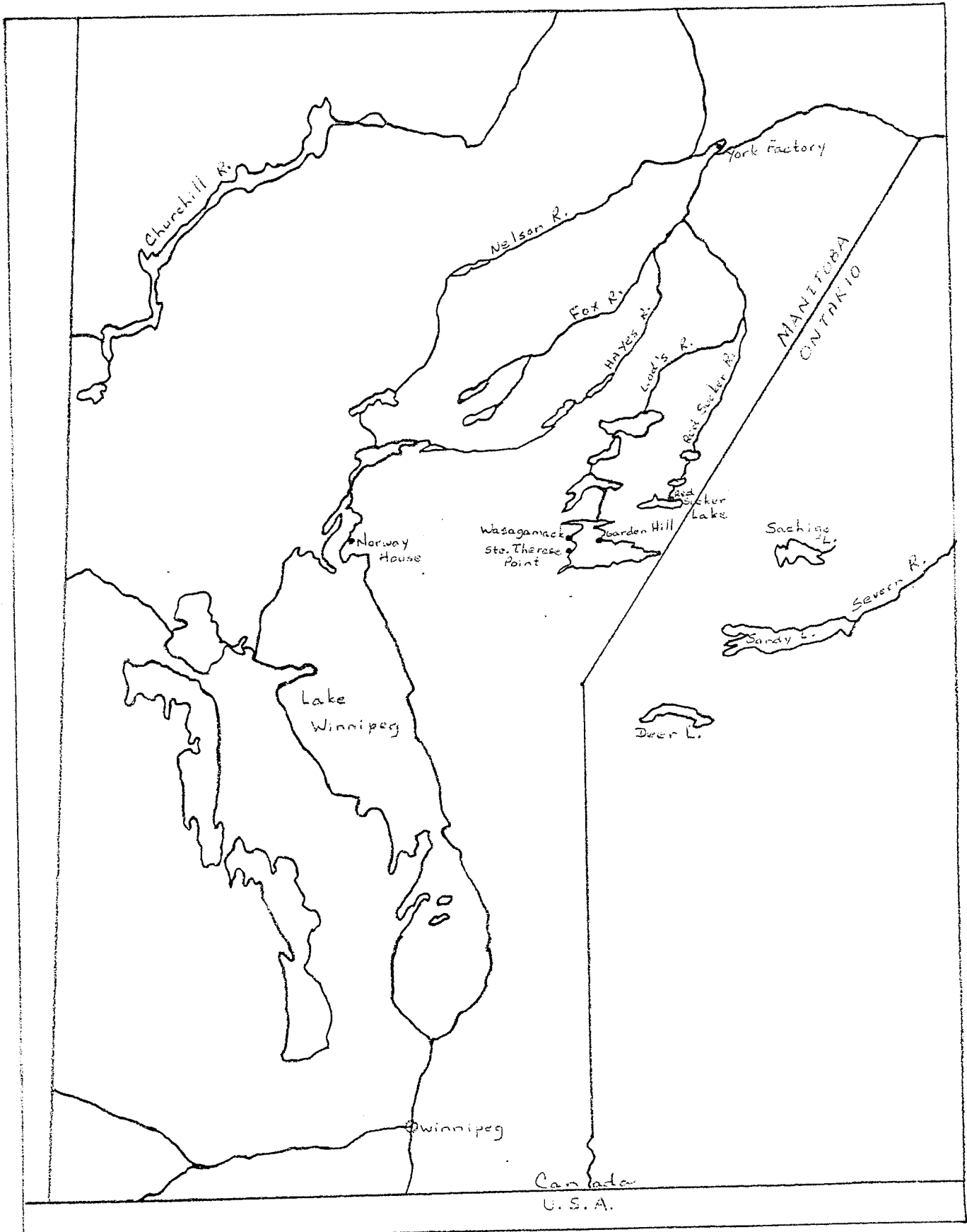


Figure I: Map Showing Location of Island Lake Communities

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; Sawchuck, 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

7

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, Sauteaux
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	English
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	English
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. Massachusetts, 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.

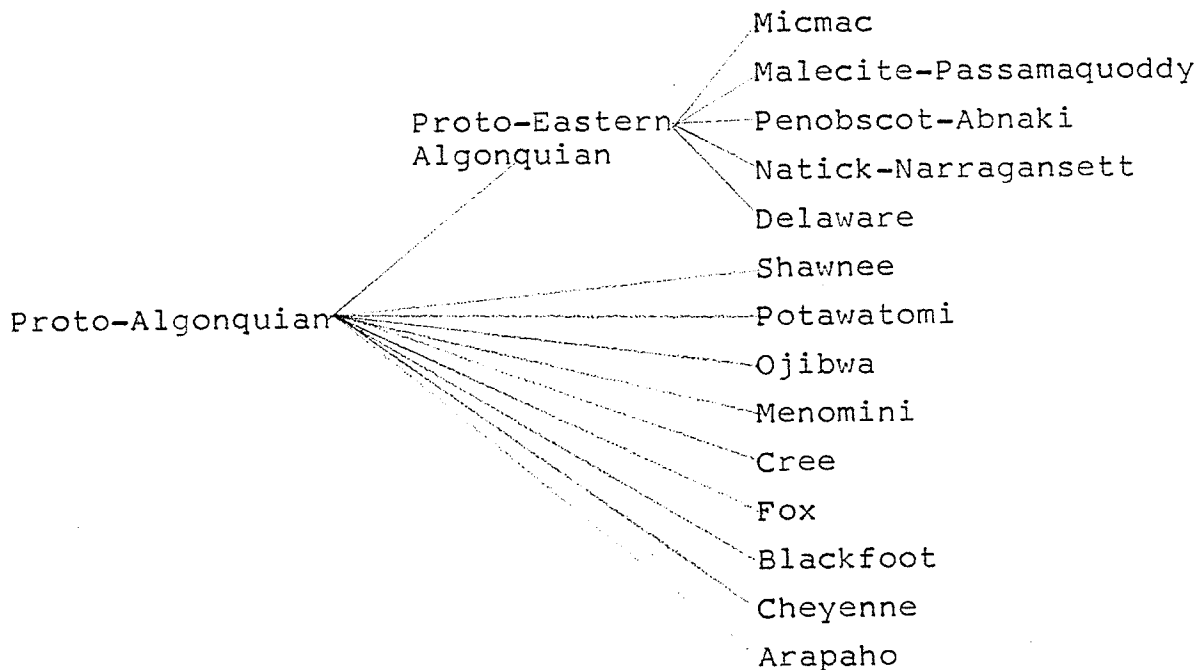


Figure II: The Algonquian Language Family
(From Teeter, 1967).

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