If the question of "language mixture" has lost little of the attraction it has held for many generations of linguists, the present century has clearly seen a shift in focus. At first, interest had concentrated on the historical problems of reconstruction and genetic classification; aside from a late revival in the Hall-Taylor controversy about Haitian Creole, this earliest phase reached a climax in Meillet's 'Le problème de la parenté des langues' (1914). The rich documentation, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, available for the Romance languages fostered a tradition of minutely detailed substratum and adstratum studies; the name of Hugo Schuchardt is only the best-known among many. When the linguistic system (rather than individual phenomena) began to emerge as the primary focus of linguistic analysis, it became necessary and reasonable to consider not only the effect of language contact on the linguistic system in its entirety, but also the susceptibility to interference of particular subsystems, as in Tesnière's 'Phonologie et mélange de langues' (1939). The handbooks of Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) presented abundant evidence in favour of studying the strictly linguistic aspects of languages in contact together with the social context of the contact situation. In the more recent literature, however, the holistic perspective appears to have given way to at least two relatively distinct trends. The study of creolisation has attracted special attention among sociologists of language who concentrate on language use; the more strictly linguistic approach to intra-systemic heterogeneity emphasises the role of variable rules which must be formulated as linguistic rules before they can be correlated with the social contexts in which they are embedded. The methodological and theoretical impact of this second, more general approach would be difficult to over-estimate; the seminal formulations of its implications for diachronic (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968) and synchronic (Labov 1964) studies are milestones in the history of linguistics.

While the most interesting results have recently been achieved in the study of situations where the linguistic nature of the variation was well known (e.g., in the Montréal studies of Sankoff, Cedergren, and their associates; cf., for example, Sankoff 1974), it seems self-evident that we must not neglect those areas where even the linguistic parameters are yet to be described adequately. Apart from the inherent interest of any language contact situation, the special types of interaction that take place among nomadic groups deserve to be studied in detail. Where the scale, finally, is microscopic by comparison (on the order of 1 : 1,000 if one compares the total populations of Montréal and Island Lake), this constitutes a challenge as well as a promise.
Background

Island Lake is located approximately 290 miles northeast of Winnipeg, just west of the Severn River system. The total population of 2,878 (as of April 1, 1976) is divided into four settlements: Garden Hill (1,270), St. Theresa Point (920), and Wasagamack (417) are within relatively easy travelling distance of one another (except at freeze-up and break-up times) while Red Sucker Lake (271) lies approximately fifty miles to the east and is customarily reached by air only. Island Lake history, the immediate provenance (places of birth) of its inhabitants, and the asymmetry of the four settlements in terms of visiting and marriage patterns, primary orientation towards Cree or Ojibwa neighbours, and Christian denomination, have already been outlined (Wolfart 1973b). Further evidence of asymmetry is presented in Walker's analysis (1973) of congenital hip dislocation at Island Lake which is part of a continuing study of Island Lake history and demography. Walker found (1973: 76) that the incidence of congenital hip dislocation, which is generally very high at Island Lake, is highest at Red Sucker Lake (16.6% of the total population) and St. Theresa Point (15.9%), somewhat lower at Garden Hill (14.4%), and substantially lower at Wasagamack (11.8%). Whether this skewed distribution correlates with ethnologically relevant factors, and especially whether or not the special status of Wasagamack might in any way reflect the presumed Cree component of the Wasagamack population, remains to be ascertained.

With respect to the larger ethnohistorical context, Bishop (1975) has proposed an intriguing hypothesis which would identify the speakers of Severn Ojibwa with a division of the Ottawa from the east shore of Georgian Bay who "seem to disappear from the literature by the end of the 17th century" (1975: 200). Bishop argues persuasively that this group, which was called Nassawaketon (translated as 'Nation of the Fork') or Carps, migrated north when the other three divisions of the Ottawa turned south, to re-emerge as the Suckers who by about 1770 hunted between Osnaburgh House and Trout Lake. According to Andrew Graham, the same territory is inhabited by "the Nakawawuck Indians [who] are the most northern tribe of the Attawa Nation" (cited after Bishop 1975: 202; emphasis supplied). We must eschew Bishop's etymological identification, even on the hypothesis of garbled records (1975: 206), of the terms Nassawaketon and Nakawawuck, which, fortunately, is not essential to his migration hypothesis; in fact, throughout the Plains Cree area, and at Island Lake as well, the term nahkawiwininw is translated as 'Saulteaux' (generally referring to any Ojibwa dialect encountered by the Plains Cree, and occasionally to other non-Cree languages as well), and the Cree verb form nahkawewak VAI 'they speak Saulteaux' may well be the model for Graham's Nakawawuck.

As Bishop himself points out, the migration hypothesis requires further corroboration; even in its present hypothetical form, however, an eastern origin for the Severn Ojibwa fits well with the sharp boundary separating them from the Northern Ojibwa (of Sault-Rainy Lake provenance) who directly adjoin them to the south. The next step, clearly, is to search for linguistic evidence connecting Severn Ojibwa with either "Ottawa" or Algonquin. While the use of the term Odawa by itself obviously does not suffice to identify the current inhabitants of
Manitoulin Island with the 17th and 18th century Ottawa, their speech deserves special attention—not least for the fairly extensive linguistic material made available by the "Odawa Language Project."

As concerns the speech of Island Lake specifically, the examination of the historical phonology (Wolfart 1973b) has shown that the reflexes of Proto-Algonquian clusters are of the Ojibwa type, placing Island Lake squarely into the Severn dialect whose Round Lake and Deer Lake variants have been described by Rogers (1963) and Todd (1970); Todd also includes some information on Big Trout Lake.

While the initial study of Island Lake had of necessity concentrated on phonological diagnostics and on cases of phonological interference, it is the purpose of the present report to outline the verbal morphology of Island Lake Ojibwa. It draws on interviews with twenty-four informants recorded by M. Wiebe during the winter of 1970-71 (the basis for Wolfart's 1973 report) and on an additional field session during January-February 1976. At that time Shrofel collected and analysed another large body of data with the help of eighteen additional informants. Seven informants each represent Garden Hill and Red Sucker Lake; four were interviewed at St. Theresa Point. A fuller description of Island Lake verb morphology, on which the current discussion is in part based, will be found in Shrofel 1977.

Island Lake Verb Inflexion

In presenting morphological evidence from Island Lake, we concentrate on individual inflexional affixes and on instances of direct Cree influence. The question of paradigmatic levelling will be explored separately; cf. Wolfart 1977. Not only the basic similarity between Manitoulin Island "Odawa" and Bloomfield's "Eastern Ojibwa" but practical considerations as well, have favoured the use of Bloomfield's Eastern Ojibwa (1958) as a constant against which to view the Island Lake system. Finally, it should be kept in mind that the present discussion is deliberately selective.

Personal Prefixes

The personal prefixes of the independent order, and especially the first person prefix, exhibit a fair degree of variation. Table 1 summarises the distribution of the epenthetic nasal of the first person prefix. (Note that the term stem here includes both verb stems and preverbs.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>consonant-initial stems</th>
<th>vowel-initial stems*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni____</td>
<td>76 84 99</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nin____</td>
<td>24 4 (nin) 12 (nim)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Epenthetic nasal in the first person prefix (in percentages).

Published in: Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)
The remaining 9% are cases without epenthetic t; note also that the figures for vowel-initial stems include instances of the second person prefix.

The most striking aspect of the Island Lake prefix system is the extremely low frequency of the epenthetic nasal which contrasts with the Eastern Ojibwa pattern of nint-.

Since Cree has no epenthetic nasal in the personal prefixes, it is not surprising that the asymmetry of the Ojibwa system should be under strong pressure.

The Theme Markers of the TA Paradigm

The distribution of TA theme markers in Island Lake Ojibwa is presented in Table 2; Table 3 summarises the TA theme markers of Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958: 46, 53, 60).

If we restrict our attention to the independent order for purposes of definition, we can briefly define as direct all those forms where the personal prefix agrees with the subject, and as inverse all those where it agrees with the object. (Note that our use of direct and inverse is much wider than Bloomfield's; for a fuller discussion a propos of Cree, cf. Wolfart 1973a.) 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, -ikō-, of the productive inverse morpheme -ikw- (cf. Wolfart 1973a: 47). The same pattern is found on Manitoulin Island (Piggott and Mossop 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.

The Modal System

It is a common experience among those doing fieldwork in Algonquian languages that some of the more elaborate parts of the verbal system, which figured so prominently in earlier records, appear to be falling into disuse. Whether this apparent "simplification" is due to massive interference from English or French, or to a "natural" development, cannot be determined. At least in part this impression may also reflect the field situation of the itinerant linguist as compared to that of the resident missionary. Finally, we should not underestimate the stylistic contrast between elicited words and phrases and the "classical" diction of literary texts which have become all too infrequent as a primary source of linguistic data.

With these strictures in mind, it would be unreasonable to state that a particular verbal category or even an individual form is absent from Island Lake Ojibwa. In fact, it seems futile.
Table 2. Island Lake TA theme markers (surface forms).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>-ā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third-person</td>
<td>-ā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>-ihsi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONJUNCT</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third-person</td>
<td>-ā-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>-ihsi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>Ø (imm), -ā- (del)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>-ihsi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Eastern Ojibwa TA theme markers (underlying forms).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>/ā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third-person</td>
<td>/ā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>/yi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONJUNCT</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third-person</td>
<td>/ā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>/yi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DIRECT</th>
<th>INVERSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>/yi/ (imm, del), /ā/ (prohib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you-and-me</td>
<td>/yi-šš/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Published in: Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)
to speculate about the question of Cree interference upon the modal system as a whole since any argument would of necessity be negative.

A distinction of marked and unmarked modes is supported by both formal and practical arguments. We treat as unmarked the indicative modes of the independent and conjunct orders, and the immediate mode of the imperative order; these are the basis for the formation of the marked modes. They are also of common occurrence and relatively fully attested. The remaining modes, which are very imperfectly attested, are considered marked.

The Unmarked Modes

The II paradigm parallels that of Eastern Ojibwa and of the other dialects in both the independent and conjunct indicative.

In the AI independent order paradigm, Island Lake shows the second person plural suffix -nawa where Eastern Ojibwa and Odawa have -m. In the corresponding TI paradigm, by contrast, where Eastern Ojibwa and Odawa mark the first person plural by -nän, Island Lake has -min. Thus, while an isolated incidence of -nawa in the AI paradigm might well be attributed to the influence of Cree where the second person plural is marked by -nawaw in both the AI and TI paradigms, the case of TI -min appears to constitute a change "away from Cree" for which another motivation must be sought.

In the first person exclusive (lp) of the AI paradigm, there is some variation between -min and -nän. -nän-forms were recorded from two speakers who normally use -min; while one of these is fully bilingual with Norway House Cree, the other does not mention Cree as a second language at all.

In the TI paradigm, the third person object is overtly marked only if it is plural; the plural suffix, however, is optional at Island Lake, e.g.,

\[ \text{niki-wapantan nisim mahkisinan (G5) 'I saw two shoes'; } \]
\[ \text{niki-wapantan nisim mahkisinan (S7, S11, G1, G6) } \]
\[ \text{ 'I saw two shoes'. } \]

Since the TI verbs of Cree have no overt object suffix, this variation may well be due to Cree influence.

In the mixed subset of the TA paradigm, Island Lake exhibits a free variation of -min and -nän for the first person plural, e.g.,

\[ \text{ka-wapamanan (G1, G6, S8) } \]
\[ \text{ 'we will see him'; } \]
\[ \text{ka-wapamamin (G5, G7, G8, S11, S12) 'we will see him'. } \]

Eastern Ojibwa, Odawa, and even the Severn dialect described by Todd have only -nän in these forms, and the same is true of Cree. This variation therefore appears to reflect the extension of -min from paradigms with a single animate actor into the domain of -nän. In a similar fashion, the second person plural suffix -nawa appears to be expanding its domain; the absence of an explicit plural marker is noteworthy in a 2p-3p form. Only one instance of -wák, the form occurring in Eastern Ojibwa, has been recorded.

The you-and-me subset of the TA paradigm exactly parallels that described by Todd in showing the second person plural
suffix -nāwā instead of Eastern Ojibwa -m, and -nām for first person plural objects; -nām also occurs in the imperative order where Eastern Ojibwa uses -nānk.

In summary, the independent order paradigms seem to have remained largely impervious to Cree interference.

Throughout the conjunct order paradigms, there are only very minor differences between Island Lake and Eastern Ojibwa. The most noticeable and pervasive of these is that wherever Eastern Ojibwa shows the cluster -nk- (in lp and 21 endings and in the 3 ending of the TI paradigm), we find -nk- in free variation with -hk- in Island Lake. There can be no doubt that this is a case of phonological interference from Cree, and several instances of stems showing the same phenomenon may be found in Shrofel 1977. (That the lp-3 ending -ankit, which differs markedly from its Cree counterpart -āyānk, is an apparent exception to this rule, may lend further support to the hypothesis of Cree influence; it may, however, be simply accidental.)

With TA verbs, the inverse forms for a third person acting on a first person plural show a great deal of variation. For the first person plural exclusive, there are a few instances of the suffix -ank (typical of the one-place paradigms) with the theme marker -ihši-, e.g.,

ē-wāpamihšiyānk 'as he sees us',

but by far the greatest number of speakers follow the Cree pattern of using the extended theme marker -iko- followed by the first person plural suffix -ank, e.g.,

ē-wāpamikoyānk 'as he sees us'.

Similarly, where Eastern Ojibwa has the theme sign -in- and the suffix -ank for a third person acting on a first plural inclusive, Island Lake shows only the Cree pattern, with the theme sign -iko-, e.g.,

ē-wāpamikoyānk 'as he sees us (21)'.

In the imperative order, no instances of the first person plural inclusive actor (21, to be translated as 'let us....') have been encountered. Island Lake speakers, when asked to translate sentences such as 'let's go', use the independent order indicative mode, e.g.,

ka-māčāmin (R7) 'let's go'.

The attested forms of the AI and TI paradigms correspond closely to those of Eastern Ojibwa.

The Marked Modes

Both Rogers (1963: 126-127, 132, 134) and Todd (1970: 24-25) present a system of marked modes which closely resembles that of Bloomfield (1958: 35, 38); the absence in Severn Ojibwa of the conjunct order negative modes and of the prohibitive mode of the imperative order will be discussed below. Instead of presenting a number of individual Island Lake forms which do not differ substantively from those referred to above (for further detail see Shrofel 1977), we will here concentrate on...
a few points which may bear on the issues of interference or historical provenience.

In the delayed mode of the imperative order we find the theme sign -ā- for forms with a third person object, and -ihši- for forms with a first person object. The vowel which precedes the delayed mode marker -hk- is lengthened, e.g.,

kanawāpamihšiحن (G16) 'look at me later'.

Eastern Ojibwa shows short vowels before the corresponding suffix -kk- (Bloomfield 1958: 60); no imperative forms are available from Manitoulin Island. The vowel lengthening observed at Island Lake (and also at Round Lake; cf. Rogers 1963: 136) is tentatively attributed to the influence of Cree where a full paradigm with lengthened -i- is found.

In the independent order, with TA and TI stems, the negative suffix -hsi- (which adds a "negative augment" -n in word-final position) may occur either before or after the person-number suffixes, e.g.,

niki-wapamahsīmin (S3, G16) 'we didn't see him';
niki-wapamahminsīn (S12) 'we didn't see him';
niki-wāpantāhsīmin (S10, S13) 'we didn't see it';
niwapantāminsīn (S4) 'we don't see it'.

The variation in the placement of the negative suffix suggests an interesting hypothesis: that, once it has moved from a position before the person-number morphemes to word-final position, the negative suffix may become an enclitic or even a post-position, and that it may ultimately disappear altogether. While only the passing of time and continued field work can confirm this hypothesis, it gains plausibility from the observation that, in a few instances, independent order verbs have already been observed without the negative suffix.

There is no direct Cree model, of course, for the fluctuation in negative suffix placement at Island Lake; however, one might suspect that the absence of negative suffixes in Cree exerts an unsettling influence on this paradigm.

The question of the negative has a much wider scope than is indicated by the last example. While the negative paradigms with their suffixial -hsī- (and several other variants of that suffix) play a very prominent rôle in the independent order, no such suffixially marked forms have been found in the conjunct order at Island Lake. This is in sharp contrast with the situation in Eastern Ojibwa where Bloomfield describes a completely parallel system of fully developed negative sets in both the independent and conjunct orders.

Even in Eastern Ojibwa, however, there exists a choice of expression for negative statements in the conjunct order. The suffixial forms, which occur without a negative particle, "are usually replaced by positive forms with the preverb pwa 'fail to, not'" (Bloomfield 1958: 38). At Island Lake, only this latter type of construction is found, but with the particle ēkā instead of the preverb pwa, e.g.,

ēkā kihkentank (S9) 'as he doesn't know it';

Published in: Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)
In the imperative order as well, the suffixially expressed prohibitive mode of Eastern Ojibwa corresponds to an Island Lake phrasal construction of the unmarked mode with a preceding particle, kāwin.

Island Lake and Round Lake (Rogers 1963: 126, 132, 134) show complete agreement in their negatives: particle kāwin and suffix -hsi- in the independent, particle ēkā with the unmarked mode of the conjunct order, and kāwin (or ēkāwin) with the unmarked mode of the imperative order. Deer Lake (Todd 1970: 24-25, 74-75, 273) differs by having either kāwin or ēkā in the conjunct.

It is tempting indeed to ascribe the absence of the negative mode in the conjunct order, and of the prohibitive mode in the imperative order, to interference from Cree where neither of these modes exists. This inference gains additional support from the obvious similarity of the Island Lake negative particle ēkā to the ēkā of Cree which is used with conjunct and imperative forms.

Another interpretation emerges, however, if we take Bishop's hypothesis seriously and look at Algonquin. While the various Algonquin sources (for details cf. Wolfart 1977) differ in minor points, there is overall agreement, from 1662 up to modern times, on the use of ēkā as the negative particle occurring with the conjunct order (and, in 1662, even with the prohibitive mode of the imperative order).

If this direct correspondence between Severn Ojibwa and Algonquin could be attributed to an immediate common origin, it might provide linguistic support for Bishop's migration hypothesis. Unfortunately, however, we can exclude neither the possibility of both being marginal remnant areas preserving an older form, nor that of parallel Cree interference at both language boundaries.

While restricting our attention to the inflexional affixes of Island Lake Ojibwa, we should at least mention the much more extensive admixture found in the verb stems themselves. As the initial study of Island Lake has indicated, Cree interference is by no means limited to simple loanwords or to the existence of Cree clusters within otherwise Ojibwa words (such as nistawihs NA 'my (m) male cross-cousin' instead of Ojibwa nihtawiss) but includes various degrees of syncretism (e.g., antohkī- VAI 'work'; cf. Cree atoske- and Eastern Ojibwa anokkī-) and hypercorrection (e.g., waniskan NI 'pit'; cf. Cree wātihkān and Eastern Ojibwa wanikkān). A number of verb stems are analysed in detail in Shrofel 1977.

The morphological evidence of verbal inflexion clearly points in the same direction as the phonological reflexes studied earlier: Island Lake is a dialect of Ojibwa with an admixture of Cree. While no attempt has been made to quantify the degree of admixture, it seems clear that interference from Cree is not very prominent in the verbal morphology of Island Lake Ojibwa. It is certainly a great deal less pervasive than the phonological influences which have been observed.

Apart from individual endings, the nature of Cree influence upon the verbal system as such is extremely difficult to assess.

Published in: Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)
There is considerable diversity among the dialects of Ojibwa and the discrimination of internal and external factors is a thorny issue which goes beyond the scope of this report. There can be little doubt that Island Lake is a variant of the Severn dialect of Ojibwa along with the Round Lake and Deer Lake variants described by Rogers and Todd. A synoptic and synthetic study of the three variants, while outside the bounds of the present paper, seems an urgent requirement.

In the meantime, there are still enough open questions about Island Lake itself, particularly with respect to the homogeneity of the four settlements. That the Red Sucker isogloss has not only analytic but also ethno-validity is evident from the teasing a Red Sucker Lake speaker was observed to receive at Garden Hill: in exaggerated imitation of this Red Sucker Lake peculiarity, a Garden Hill speaker caused him embarrassment by punctuating his speech with an ad hoc enclitic, -iêk.

Severn and Algonquin

The relationship of Severn Ojibwa to other dialects of Ojibwa remains very much an open question. If we had to assess the relative plausibility of the two specific hypotheses mentioned earlier, Severn would seem to have less in common with Manitoulin Island "Odawa" than with Algonquin. The case of the negative particle êkâ was discussed in some detail above. Long before Bishop formulated his hypothesis, Todd (1970: 266-268) had cited three "interesting similarities" between Severn and Algonquin: (a) particles in post-vocalic ê where other dialects have vowel-final particles; (b) the palatalisation of the suffix-final t in the conjunct order; and (c) the noun finals -ns and -nê in lieu of n? and ny. For all three of these "similarities" there is full agreement between Deer Lake and Island Lake.

There is another phonological feature of particular interest. Earlier studies of Severn Ojibwa and of Island Lake have pointed out the existence of a "Big Trout isogloss" (Todd 1970: 262) and of a tentative "Red Sucker isogloss" (Wolfart 1973b: 1319): Proto-Algonquian clusters of nasal plus stop which persist in the other Ojibwa dialects appear as geminate consonants at Big Trout Lake and as simple consonants at Red Sucker Lake. While nasal-stop clusters abound in Cuq's Algonquin material, Kaye (1976) has observed an exact parallel to the Red Sucker Lake situation in the Lac Simon variant of Algonquin: the nasal disappears without a trace.

Noun inflexion yields a feature which Algonquin shares with only one (the most southerly oriented) of the Severn dialects: the distinction of singular and plural in the obviative endings of animate nouns, reflecting Proto-Algonquian *-ali vs. *-ahi (cf. Bloomfield 1946: 96). For Round Lake, Rogers (1963: 119) reports an obviative singular ending -an in contrast with an obviative plural ending -a; no such distinction appears to exist at either Deer Lake or Island Lake. For Algonquin, Cuq (1891: 92) describes the number contrast in the obviative for both nouns and verbs, e.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o papamitawan} & \quad \text{okiman} & \quad \text{il obéit au chef}; \\
\text{o papamitawâ} & \quad \text{okimâ} & \quad \text{ils obéissent aux chefs}.
\end{align*}
\]
(The grave accent invites interpretation as a glottal stop or h.) That the number distinction in the obviative is not exclusive to Severn and Algonquin but shared by the dialect spoken at Lake of the Woods may weaken this particular argument in favour of Bishop's hypothesis but does not invalidate it. Above all, it emphasises the need for a closer investigation of the boundary which separates the Severn dialects from their southern neighbours.

The most striking parallel, however, is found in the second person plural of the AI paradigm. While all other non-Severn dialects use -m (cf. Wolfart 1977), the Algonquin of Lac Simon uses -nwa, e.g., kimemadibinwa 'vous vous asseyez' (Kaye 1976). If -nwa corresponds to the -nawa recorded throughout the Severn area, this would be a feature shared by all variants of the Severn dialect and Lac Simon Algonquin, and apparently shared by them exclusively.

Unfortunately, these parallels—tempting though they may be—generally admit of multiple interpretations. In terms of linguistic relationship, they do not add up to the systematic correspondences or common innovations that would be required.

In the context of Bishop's hypothesis, it would be premature to build migration routes upon so slender a bridge. But further study is clearly indicated.

NOTES

1 Dawson's claim (1976: 158) "that northwestern Ontario has been occupied from time out of mind by Algonkian speaking peoples" is based primarily on a negative argument: that it was not occupied by the Assiniboine (1976: 158-165). Even if Dawson's general assertion were supported by strong evidence, it would not necessarily conflict with Bishop's specific hypothesis.

2 We want to express our gratitude to the people of Island Lake whose cooperation and friendliness have made this study possible. We are also grateful to Paul H. Voorhis for his careful reading of the manuscript; his comments emphasise that many of the Island Lake features for which this report seeks Cree parallels are also found in Manitoba Saulteaux.

Financial support was provided by the Northern Studies Committee of the University of Manitoba and, as part of an M.A. Scholarship, by the Canada Council.

3 In spite of inevitable shortcomings, Bloomfield's Eastern Ojibwa remains the most complete and best-documented outline of an Ojibwa dialect. To recognise this fact does not imply a general disparagement of earlier studies; but it is evident that they cannot be relied upon in matters of vowel length or of the distinction of fortis and lenis consonants in its various manifestations.

4 Since the emphasis of the current report is on "gross morphology," only the absolute minimum of morphophonological information is included: underlying forms are enclosed in virgules. The transcription given in italics is broad phonetic; it agrees with that of Jones and Todd 1971 except that we write

Published in: Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)
hs, hš, hp, ht, hč, and hk where doubled obstruent symbols are used for the other dialects. For the person-number codes (which are presumably familiar to Algonquianists) cf. Wolfart 1973a: 13.

In the light of Bishop's hypothesis one might look to Algonquin, but while the nasal-stop clusters of Proto Algonquian are denasalised without a trace in Lac Simon Algonquin (Kaye 1976), the same may or may not be true of this secondary cluster; the evidence of Cuoq is necessarily inconclusive.

The same personal prefixes occur in the possession paradigm of nouns. Since Shrofel's study (1977) concentrates on verbal morphology, frequency figures for personal prefix variants in nouns are not available.

It is a matter of great regret that Nichols' pioneering study of intra-Severn isoglosses (Nichols et al. 1975) does not appear in the proceedings of the 1975 Algonquian Conference (Cowan 1976: 1).

This seems to be the reference of Todd's remark (1970: 109) that the number contrast "has been recorded elsewhere in northern Ontario." As Glyne Piggott and David Jones have pointed out in discussion, the obviative endings of the Kenora dialect end in -n for the singular, and -h for the plural (cf. Piggot and Mossop 1973: 58). Paul Voorhis (personal communication) reports the same distinction for most, if not all, of Manitoba Saulteaux. Recent recordings of Round Lake Ojibwa (Wolfart, field notes) confirm the -an : -ah contrast.

APPENDIX

RESUME

La langue de Island Lake au Manitoba a été décrite comme un mélange de cri et d'ojibwa à la fois dans la littérature et par ses propres sujets parlants. Les études linguistiques qui présentent le dialecte de Island Lake comme un dialecte de l'ojibwa auquel s'est superposé du cri ont récemment été situées dans un contexte historique plus général par une hypothèse de Bishop, selon laquelle le dialecte moderne Severn de l'ojibwa aurait une origine ottawa-algonquine.

Published in : Papers of the 8th Algonquian Conference (1977)