

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

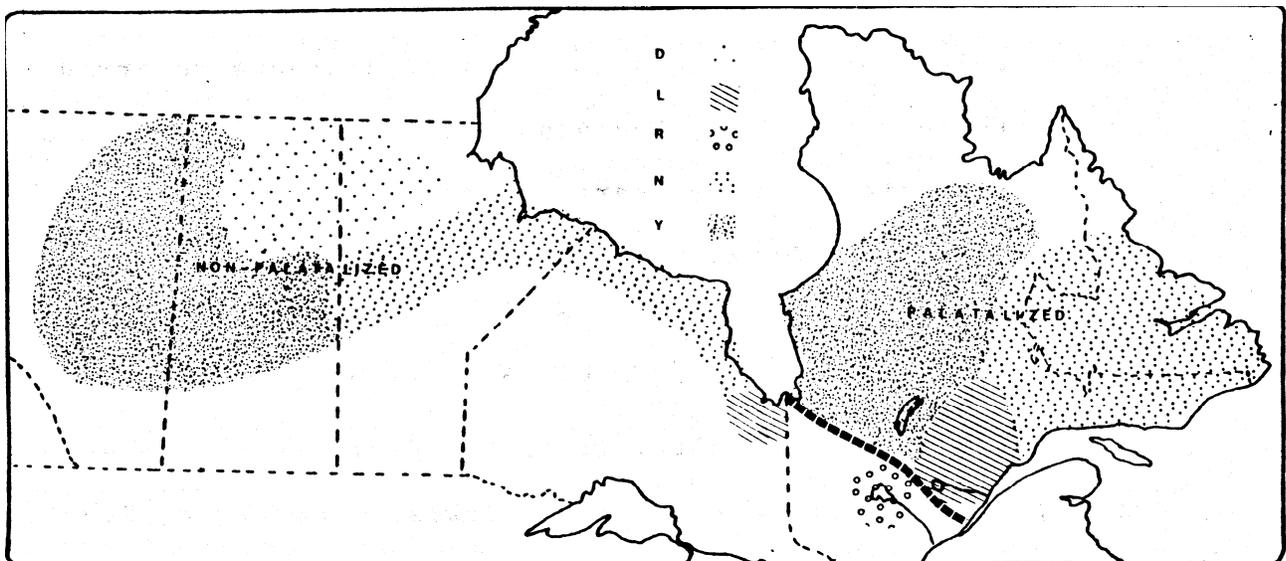
1.0 The Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi language, a member of the Algonkian family, is the largest Canadian Indian language. It claims at least sixty thousand speakers, from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the Labrador coast in the east.

1.1 Aim and Scope

This study will identify and describe some of the variation which exists within this language. An attempt will be made to establish to what extent the traditional dialect groupings can be maintained and to what extent the dialects form a continuum. The very name Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi indicates that subdivisions of the language exist. In fact, the nature of the relationship between the sets of dialects referred to by the three terms Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi has been a point of debate for many years. The majority of scholars favour a distinct break between Cree on the one hand and Montagnais-Naskapi on the other. Controversy arises, however, over which sub-groups are to be identified as Cree or Montagnais or Naskapi. In particular, it is the dialects of Quebec - Labrador, where velar palatalization takes place ($\underline{k} > \underline{c}$, 2.32), whose affiliation is in dispute. Throughout this study these dialects will be referred to as 'palatalized dialects'. All other dialects will be referred to as 'non-palatalized'.

The focus of this study is the description of variation

within the palatalized dialects in the areas of phonology, morphology and lexicon. Field work was carried out in most of the nineteen palatalized communities in Quebec - Labrador and detailed information collected for individual villages. The variants within the non-palatalized dialects will also be noted, whenever they are available from published sources. A very few years ago Wolfart observed that "the dialects of the Cree (excluding Montagnais-Naskapi) are yet to be described adequately" (1973). Today, the work of Wolfart himself, Béland (1978) and Pentland (1979) have provided several such descriptions for the non-palatalized varieties; to date none exist for the palatalized varieties. The areas where palatalized and non-palatalized dialects are spoken are outlined on Map 1-1.



Map 1-1 Palatalized and Non-Palatalized Dialects

The linguistic variation within Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is described in terms of a traditional dialect-geography model. The smallest geographical unit under consideration is the village. Systematic differences in speech from one village, or cluster of villages, to the next are the object of study. Differences in phonology, morphology and lexicon are identified and their geographical distribution is illustrated by means of isoglosses on maps.

In recent years dialect geography has come under criticism for narrowness of scope and outdated methodology. In a critique of mainstream American dialectology as exemplified by work on the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, Underwood pointed out that "of primary importance... are regional variables, of secondary importance are social variables, and of no importance are stylistic variables." (1974:28-29). If dialectology is to give an accurate description of language variation, he contended, the methodology must include refined interview and sampling techniques of informants, the recording of speech in a variety of styles, as well as tests of receptive and communicative competence. Variation within the speech community is no less significant than variation between communities.

Within the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi communities internal variation certainly exists and must eventually be described and accounted for. Correlation must be made between linguistic and non-linguistic variables. Some of the latter used in social dialectology, such as social class, may not be appropriate.

Cree society, unlike Euro-American society, is relatively egalitarian. Although there are economic disparities between individual families within villages, these families cannot be seen as belonging to larger groups based on social inequality. It will be necessary, then, to find the social variables elsewhere than in distinctions of class or caste. One such variable which is noted throughout this study is the age of the speaker. Age may also correlate with the degree of bilingualism in French or English. Although the sex of the speaker has not yet been found to correlate with specific differences, it remains a potential variable.

A second clear correlate of intra-community differences, in addition to age, is the family origin of the speaker. Most families are associated with a hunting territory in a particular location. The intra-community divisions described in 1.41 are reflected in speech patterns. It should be noted, however, that although the villages began as artificial constructs, they have, in the past twenty years, become established communities. As such, they can be expected to take on some of the characteristics of such an institution. As political power becomes more important, affiliations may shift away from geographically-based family groups to ones which contain political and economic features as a significant component.

It is expected then, that patterns of variation which are found between communities will also exist within communities. Speakers whose hunting ground is on the periphery of the

community territory may well have linguistic features associated with the neighbouring community. A difference which represents a regional variant among older speakers may spread to mark age groups within a single community. For this reason, a detailed description of regional linguistic differences is a necessary starting point for any study of intra-community variation.

1.1 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the controversy over classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects (1.2) as well as background information about the Indians of Quebec-Labrador who speak these dialects. The geographical setting is described in terms of relief, drainage basins, vegetation and fauna (1.3). Aspects of traditional and modern lifestyle are briefly discussed (1.4). The remainder of the Introduction outlines the method of investigation (1.5) and lists abbreviations (1.6).

In chapter II, the variation in consonants is described. The palatalization of k to c before front vowels and subsequent depalatalization of c to t or s account for a large number of phonological differences between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. The evolution of PA *1 as y, n or l occurs in both these groups, as does the loss or fricativization of pre-aspirated stops. Proto-Algonkian *g and *ḡ are retained in both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects around James Bay but merge in the dialects to the east and west.

Differences in vowels are discussed in chapter III.

It becomes clear that the processes of assimilation, lengthening, loss, rounding and neutralization occur in both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. In the non-palatalized varieties these changes are restricted to a few segments and a small number of environments. In the palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador these same processes have been generalized to a much larger number of lexical items.

Selected aspects of verb morphology and vocabulary have been treated in chapter IV. Sections 4.1 through 4.4 describe variation in the inflectional morphology of intransitive verbs. The less frequently used paradigms have been completely reshaped in the palatalized dialects. The formation of the negative of Independent order verbs is an innovation in the n- and l- palatalized dialects; palatalized y- dialect speakers use the same pattern as non-palatalized speakers (4.5). Similarly, the y- speakers share most lexical items with the non-palatalized speakers to the west; n- and l- palatalized speakers use related but different vocabulary (4.6).

Chapter V contains a summary of the dialect groupings which can be made on the basis of the information discussed in the preceding chapters (5.1-5.2) Linguistic innovations and the direction of change are identified (5.3). Innovation has generally occurred in those areas where there has been longest contact with populations which speak a different language: French, English, Inuktitut or Algonquin (5.4). Finally, correlation is shown between the patterning of linguistic and non-linguistic (geographic, social, cultural) features (5.5).

1.2 Previous classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects

The first serious linguistic classification of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi was attempted by Michelson in 1912. Previously, the Handbook of American Indian Languages had stated that Cree and Montagnais were related, but the nature of the relationship was unspecified. In his 1912 paper Michelson stated that Montagnais was "practically the same language as Cree" (247). He further pointed out that the dialects spoken on the east coast of James Bay were more closely related to Montagnais than to Cree and should be considered as such. In 1924 he proposed that the dialects of Eastmain and Rupert House be classified with those of Mistassini and Montagnais, while his 1933 note placed Tête de Boule (Atikamekw) with Cree proper. With the 1936 reports of his trip to James and Hudson Bays he began his insistence on a dividing line between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi. Although it was at this point that he first used the hyphenated term, Montagnais-Naskapi, Michelson never made an attempt to distinguish Montagnais from Naskapi as did some subsequent writers.

1939 saw the publication of Michelson's last major paper "Linguistic Classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi Dialects". While never stating that they are separate languages, he emphasized as strongly as possible the sharp boundary which he saw as existing between them. He viewed them as being derived from a common ancestor, rather than one from the other. Moreover, he asserted that the reflexes l, n and y of PA*l which

exist both in the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects developed independently.

Michelson did however distinguish sub-groups within Montagnais-Naskapi although he did not attempt to identify them by any terms except linguistic ones. He stated that among the dialects along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, Bersimis to Mingan is one unit and all communities east of those a second unit. These are all n or mixed n-l dialects. His first subdivision is made according to the reflexes of PA*l which divide Montagnais into four groups: one in y, one in l, one in n and a fourth mixed n-l group. His y-dialects contain all the present-day y-dialects except Fort Chimo, which Michelson classified as n, and among these, Fort George and Great Whale River form a sub-group. The pure l-group consists of Lake St. John (Pointe Bleue) and Bersimis (Betsiamites) but this grouping crosscuts the one in which he stated that Bersimis to Mingan is a linguistic unit. The problems of classification without a well-thought-out basis become clear.

Michelson clearly intended his classification to be a working one, as he states when proposing the reflexes of PA*l as a basis of division. He hoped that it would "serve as a stepping-stone to an exhaustive classification of Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi dialects" (85). While the present study cannot claim to be at all exhaustive, it will perhaps

carry the work of establishing a basis for classification of dialects somewhat further.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1946) stated unequivocally that Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi should be considered "as a single, separate language" (182) by an appeal to the criterion of mutual intelligibility. And indeed, inasmuch as speakers of neighbouring dialects can understand each other, then there is sufficient justification for such a position. They also pointed out that linguists had chosen to consider Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi as a single language while ethnographers preferred a two-way division. As will be evident from the following discussion, the situation is not so clear-cut.

Since Michelson's pronouncement that Cree and Montagnais were two separate entities it has been unclear just what in fact was the nature of the relationship among Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi. There is general agreement that the relationship is very close, certainly closer than that between Cree and Ojibwa, as is evident from the use of the hyphenated term Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. Most classifications of Algonkian languages use this convention to refer to what Wolfart termed a "language complex whose territory stretches from the Labrador coast to the Rocky mountains" (1973:7).

However, linguists who work with the non-palatalized dialects have always been reluctant to include Montagnais-

Naskapi in their descriptions of Cree. Wolfart (1973:7) stated that "until less ambiguous and more detailed evidence becomes available, the term 'Cree' should be used in its narrow sense". Pentland, in his recent thesis on the historical phonology of Algonkian, restricted his discussion of the Cree language to the non-palatalized dialects (1979). The palatalized dialects then are referred to either as Montagnais-Naskapi (Wolfart and Michelson) or simply as Montagnais (Pentland).

This has certainly not been the case for linguists who work on the palatalized dialects. They have tended to refer to the y-dialects from Mistassini to James Bay as Cree or Naskapi and the other dialects as Montagnais or Montagnais-Naskapi.

Gilles Lefebvre, in his 1953 M.A. thesis on the Algonkian language family, followed Michelson in referring to Montagnais-Naskapi and distinguishing dialects in y, n, l and mixed l-n. His examples from notes made by J.P. Vinay at Pointe Bleue in the late 1940's include some Mistassini words as well. The discussion of morphology focuses on the l-varieties which he consistently referred to as Montagnais and which he contrasted with the morphology of Plains Cree. In his comparative chart of Algonkian languages, he distinguished Montagnais from Naskapi. While the Montagnais words are clearly from an l-dialect, it is less clear what the source of the Naskapi words could be. The presence of y and both e: and a: vowels would indicate that the words are from a southern y-dialect. However,

the forms "sipo" (si:pu:) 'river' and "assi" (assi:) 'moss' do not occur in the y-dialects, only the n and l varieties; instead si:pi and asci: are used. As well, the term for 'it snows', given as "piwon" (pi:wan}, does occur in the northern y-dialects of Great Whale River and Fort Chimo. Unfortunately, these are just the dialects where e: and a: have fallen together as a:. The most likely source for Lefebvre's Naskapi word list, then, is a Mistassini person who has strong family connections with Pointe Bleue and who would be bi-dialectal. These are in fact the people interviewed by Vinay at Pointe Bleue.

Confirmation that Lefebvre regarded the y-dialects as Naskapi comes from the citation of "n'to:t" (nitu:t) as Naskapi and "n'to:s" (nitu:ss) as Montagnais (1953:45). But no attempt was ever made clearly and systematically to distinguish the two subgroups.

Vinay (1964) in his outline of the linguistic situation in Nouveau-Québec described Montagnais as consisting of three sub-categories: "Montagnais" - the dialect in l, "North Shore" - the dialect in n, and "Naskapi" - the dialect in y. This grouping is regrettably not as neat as it first appears since Davis Inlet, clearly an n-dialect, is included with Naskapi.

Rogers (1960), describing the Mistassini dialect, did not address the question of classification at all but referred only to the name Mistassini. MacKenzie (1971) describing the

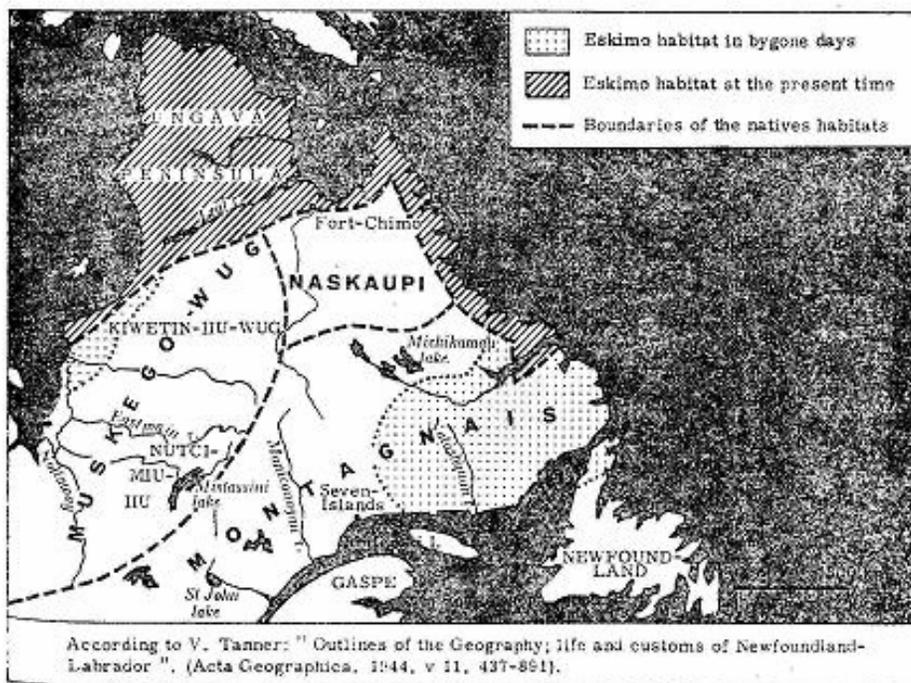
same dialect, referred to it as East Cree rather than Montagnais.

Drapeau et al (1975), in their paper on phonological aspects of Montagnais dialectology, included the y-dialect of Mistassini and postulated an old split between Cree and Montagnais. In her thesis Drapeau confirmed that Montagnais included all the dialects which have undergone velar palatalization (1979).

McNulty in the preface to his grammar of Mingan dialect distinguished all the y-dialects as "Cris-des-Marais" (Swampy Cree) and included the Fort Chimo (Schefferville) Naskapi as part of this group. He stated "I have avoided using the term Naskapi because I think it has much more bearing on Anthropology and History than on Linguistics since the language of the Schefferville Naskapi is the same as that of the Swampy Cree at Great Whale River" (1971:vii).

Ethnographic terminology is at least as varied as linguistic usage and does not overlap in any significant way. Honigmann (1964) provided a synopsis of nomenclature as applied by anthropologists. There is, undoubtedly, among ethnographers, as among linguists, general accord that the people from Pointe Bleue and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence are to be called Montagnais. Controversy arises only over which groups are to be called Naskapi and which Cree.

The following maps show two ethnographic classifications:



Map 1-2 From Honigmann 1964.



Map 1-3 From Honigmann 1964.

What seems clear from the above is that many writers distinguished at least three groups: a southern group always referred to as Montagnais, a northern group often referred to as Naskapi and a western group associated with the Cree of western James Bay.

Although scholars differ with respect to which populations they refer to by the terms Cree, Montagnais or Naskapi, the Indians themselves seem to have settled on which term they wish to be referred to by. When Indians speak their own language, of course, the problem does not arise since the phonetic variants of PA* iliniwa 'man, person, Indian' plus a geographic adjective are used. Thus the people on the east coast of James Bay would say cisa:si:pi:w-iyiyiwac, 'great river people', to refer to the people who live at Fort George, or wi:nipe:kw-iyiyiwac, 'salt water people', to refer to all the coastal villages as opposed to the inland ones (nu:hcimi:w-iyiyiwac, 'bush people'). But when an Indian speaks English, the term 'Cree' refers to the speakers of all palatalized y-dialects except that of Fort Chimo. 'Naskapi' refers to the people of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet, and 'Montagnais' refers to those in all other villages.

The terms Montagnais and Naskapi as well as Tête de Boule (Atikamekw) are an historical legacy which has unfortunately obscured the fact that these are all dialects of one language and form a dialect continuum. The fact that there is a great variation in the application of these terms emphasizes the need for a clarification of the actual

linguistic relationship between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects.

Although this thesis will focus on a description of the palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador, their relationship to the non-palatalized dialects will also be discussed (5.1). It is clear that the dialects of Atikamekw have much in common with the palatalized dialects and that the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects spoken around James Bay also share many features. This thesis will attempt to demonstrate that the "sharp boundaries" between Cree and Montagnais-Naskapi (k- and c-dialects respectively) are in fact rather blurred. The validity of a sub-division into three groups which corresponds with the nations of Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi will also be considered in light of the linguistic evidence.

1.3 Geographical Setting

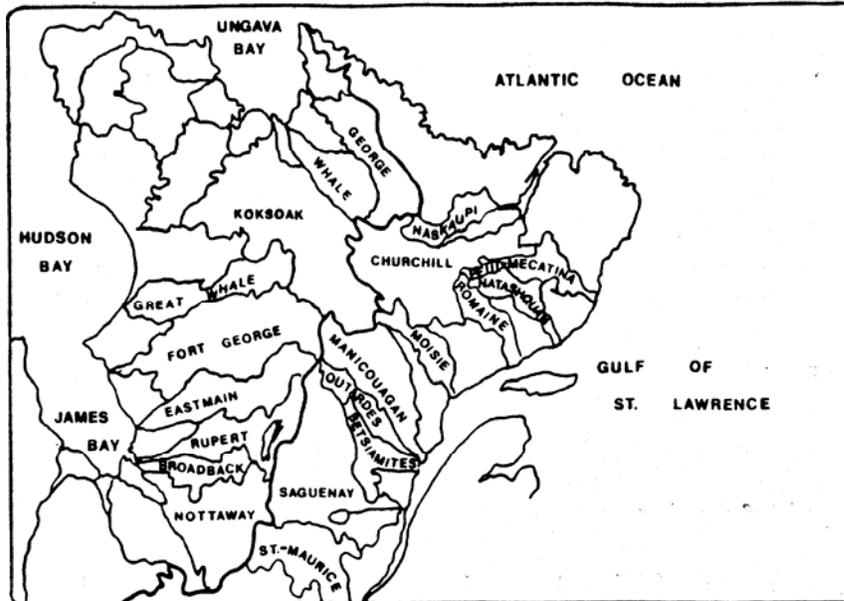
The Quebec-Labrador peninsula is assumed herein to constitute that land mass north and east of a line drawn from the bottom of James Bay (Ontario-Quebec border) to the southern shore at Lac St. Jean to the mouth of the Saguenay River (Tadoussac). This area includes all the communities which speak velar palatalized dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi and excludes those communities where the Atikamekw dialects are. These latter are the only representatives of the non-palatalized dialects in Quebec and are located

directly south of Waswanipi. Neighbouring Algonkian languages include Algonquin (a dialect of Ojibwa) in the region west of the Atikamekw villages, Abenaki to the east of the Atikamekw and Micmac across the St. Lawrence on the Gaspé peninsula.

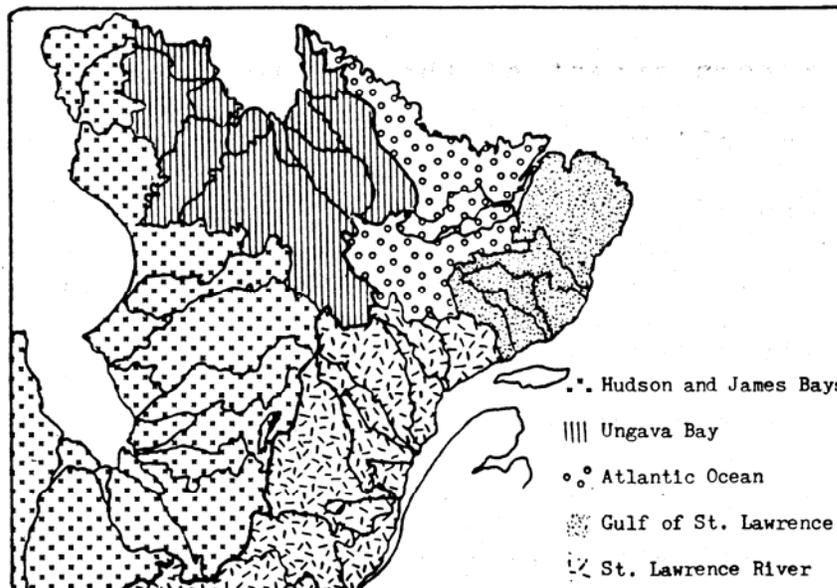
1.31 Relief

The peninsula, a sloping plateau, extends approximately 600 miles from east to west and 500 miles from north to south. The major portion has been inhabited by the speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The coastal and inland areas north of Latitude 55° N, are occupied by Inuit people. A central height of land divides the plateau, with rivers flowing either north-west to James, Hudson and Ungava Bays, or south-east to the St. Lawrence and Sea of Labrador. Map 1-4a shows the drainage basins of the major rivers in the peninsula. Map 1-4b shows the major watershed areas. Such geographic features as waterways and heights of land are well-known correlates of dialect differentiation. As is evident from Map 1-7, the hunting territories of most communities center around a single river or drainage basin. As well, all the palatalized y- communities lie north-west of the height of land while all the l- communities lie south-east of it. It would be misleading, however, to give undue importance to a single geographic feature. While the height of land is indeed difficult to travel across in the northern area, it is relatively easy

to do so in the southern area west of the Saguenay drainage basin.



Map 1-4a Major River Basins

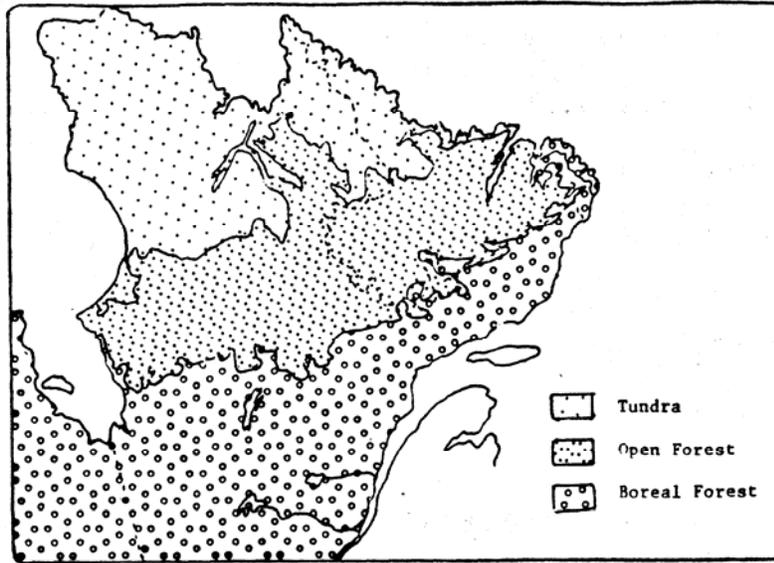


Map 1-4b Major Drainage Areas

1.32 Vegetation

From the south, beginning at the northern limit of the temperate climatic zone the peninsula extends north through a sub-arctic to an arctic zone which starts about the 55th parallel. The vegetation zones range from the boreal forests of the taiga in the south to the treeless barrens of the tundra in the north. While the northern-most area inhabited by the Indians is primarily barren ground, forest vegetation can be found in steep river valleys.

The boreal forest of the sub-arctic consists mainly of coniferous trees (black and white spruce, balsam fir, tamarack, Banksian pine), as well as white birch, common and balsam poplar. Bushy shrubs including alder and several kinds of willow and many types of berry bushes are also found there. The forest floor is covered thickly with moss. Toward the northern extent of the taiga the trees thin out considerably and all vegetation is smaller and closer to the ground. The ground tends to be covered with reindeer moss, a type of lichen. The southern reaches of Indian territory then are thickly forested with closed-crown boreal vegetation which increasingly becomes open-crown in the northern regions. At the peninsula's extreme northern limit, arctic tundra is everywhere present except in the river valleys (Map 1-5).



Map 1-5 Vegetation

1.33 Fauna

The same fauna are found from south to north, although beaver and moose are less common toward the north while caribou and ptarmigan become more numerous. Large game animals including moose, caribou and bear, are the preferred hunting of Indians. North and east of Lake Mistassini, caribou, rather than moose, are the focus of hunting. In addition some of the fur-bearers which are trapped, such as beaver, provide a reliable source of meat, as do porcupine and to a lesser extent, hare. Fox, marten, otter, mink, muskrat, ermine, lynx and wolf are also trapped. Waterfowl are an important seasonal

resource, particularly on the James Bay coast which constitutes part of a major flyway for migrating geese. Fish are a principal alternate food source whenever hunting and trapping does not provide enough meat. Important species include trout, pike, whitefish, burbot and sturgeon. Salmon provide a significant seasonal source of food for the Indians on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence and in Hamilton Inlet (North West River).

1.4 Social Setting

The Indians traditionally have lived in small groups of families which during the winter spread out over the peninsula to hunt and trap. In summer they returned in larger groups to certain coastal areas in order to take advantage of the seasonal resources such as migratory birds and salmon as well as to renew social contacts with members of other hunting groups. The majority of the families in the southern areas have hunting territories to which they return on a regular basis in the winter. They usually spent six to ten months in the bush.

When fur-trading posts were first established by the French and English there was fierce competition to attract Indians to particular posts. Attempts were made to oblige trappers to return to the same post all the time but the post managers' accounts from that period demonstrate the difficulty

of establishing this kind of loyalty. Families often took their fur to a post which was less convenient if they felt that a better bargain in trade items could be negotiated. The debt system, whereby Indians were advanced foods and equipment in the fall and the cost of these was deducted from the value of the fur at the end of the winter, was the main strategy used by traders to keep trappers attached to their own post.

In the more northerly areas, many resources were, as they are now, sparse and trappers were not able to obtain fur as readily as in the southern regions. The culture was, as today, centered around the caribou hunt with the result that the people were much more nomadic than Indians further south. Records from the last century kept by Hudson Bay managers confirm the lack of interest on the part of the northern people in the more settled and regulated life of a fur trapper (Cooke 1976).

The Indian communities referred to in this thesis are not necessarily coterminous with pre-contact groups. Instead, they usually are the result of the placement of fur trading posts in the 18th and 19th century. Previous to that era, a number of families gathered at coastal sites during spring, summer and fall in order to exploit the seasonal or migratory resources such as salmon or geese. During the winter they would return inland in small groups of families in order to hunt big game and trap fur. As religious and educational

services were provided in increasing numbers, the families did indeed return consistently to the same posts and eventually settled there. The communities which grew up around the trading posts became the set of bands in existence today.

1.41 Intra-community Divisions

However, historical records make it clear that there were once more bands than there are now villages. Some bands had undoubtedly amalgamated with neighbouring ones (Speck 1931:565. Thus within each village, subgroups are still distinguished by the Indians themselves. The basis of the classification may be the name of the river which the group ascended on their way to their interior hunting grounds or the name of the largest body of water in the area where they used to spend the winter (Tanner 1978, Mailhot personal communication).



Map 1-6 Band Territories (after Speck 1931)

Speck's map (1-6) shows the former situation. The Nichikun band now constitutes part of the Mistassini band while members of the Kaniapiskau band reside now at Fort George. The Ungava, Petitsikapau, Barren Ground and Davis Inlet bands have probably become the present-day Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet groups.

Within the community of Mistassini, a number of smaller groups can be identified: the Nichikun, the Neoskweskaw and those with Pointe Bleue links. In 1970 the post at Meniscau was closed and part of this community relocated at Mistassini. The remainder moved to Rupert House on James Bay.

When the post of Old Factory, between Fort George and Eastmain, was closed a number of people moved to Eastmain, rather than the new village of Paint Hills.

Tanner (1977) has proposed five separate groups within the present-day community of North West River. Each group is associated with a caribou herd which winters in a particular area traditionally frequented by that group. As well, there has been in-migration through marriage from Davis Inlet, Sept-Iles and St. Augustin.

The St. Marguerite and Moisie groups are now resident at Sept-Iles/Maliotenam.

Within most of the James Bay communities a distinction is made between 'coaster' and 'inlander' groups (Preston, in

press). Tanner (1978) has described migrations of coasters inland, of inlanders farther inland and changes in band affiliation at Fort George. The coaster-inlander distinction has its basis in material culture and social patterns. The coasters, who were much more involved in the exploitation of the coastal food resources such as seal and walrus, adopted some aspects of Inuit technology (Rogers 1964). They had easier access to the common settlements during winter than did the inlanders, whose hunting territories were up to 200 miles distant. The inlanders only visited the post in the summer. Moreover, they eschewed the use of seal for food, although they did trade with the coasters for sealskin boots. It is not completely clear whether this coaster -in- lander division is paralleled by a linguistic division.

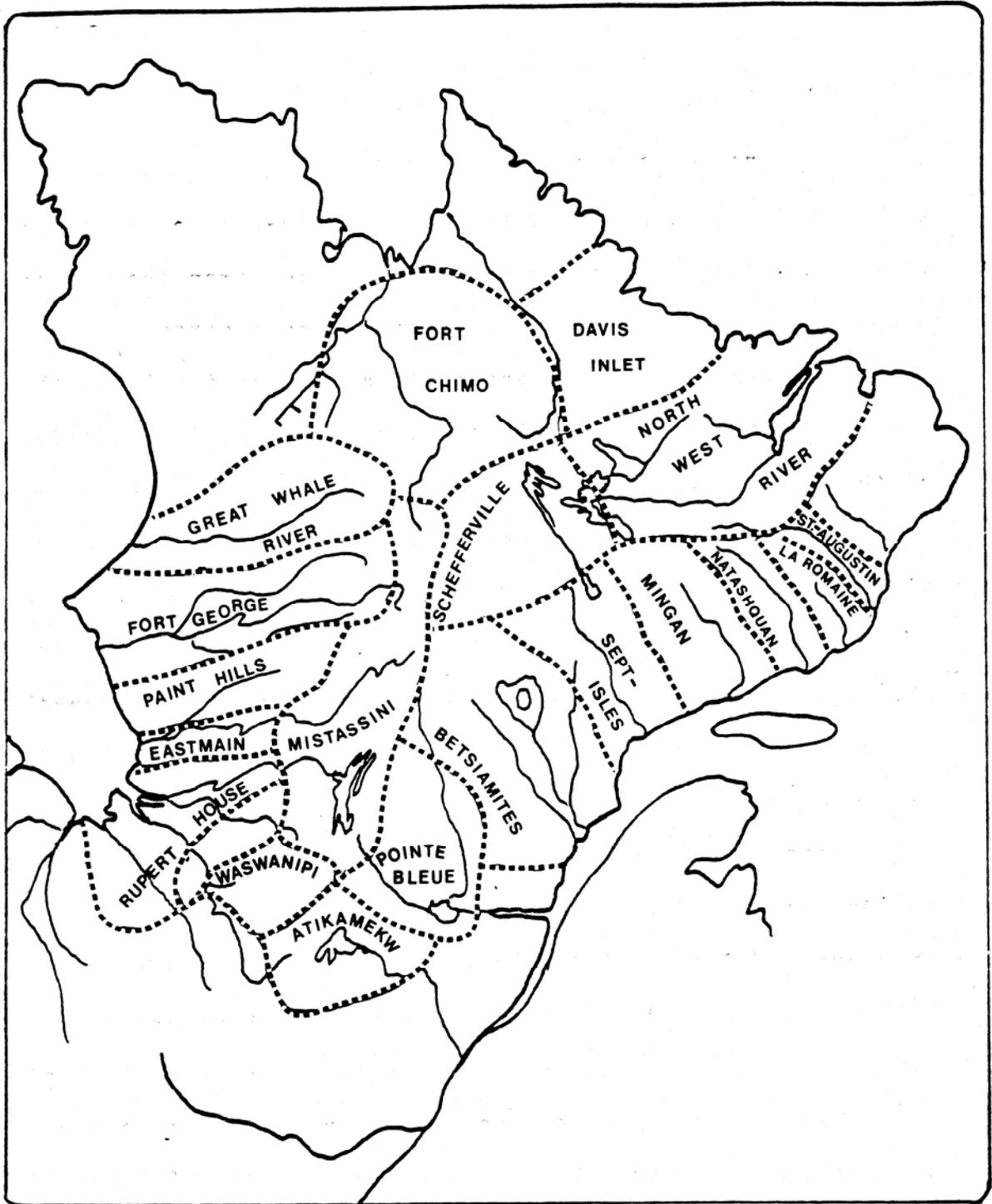
Since it is clear that all present-day communities contain geographically affiliated sub-groups, it is probable that within each community, these divisions will be reflected in linguistic variation. For purposes of this thesis, the assumption of relatively homogeneous speech communities will be maintained. Nevertheless, the fact of internal variation will be acknowledged and noted whenever information permits. Ethno-historical work such as that presently being undertaken by Morantz (1978) on the east coast of James Bay and by Mailhot and Vincent (in progress) on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence may well provide directions for more detailed

linguistic studies.

1.42 Demography

Figure 1-1 is a chart indicating the population and second language of the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects within the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, taken from the survey prepared by the Government of Quebec (Marcil circa 1978). The terminology of Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi follows the usage of the groups themselves. The approximate boundaries of the hunting territories used by each community are out-lined on Map 1-7. These territories usually centre around a single river or drainage basin (Map 1-4a & b). Note that no data has been obtained for the Lower North Shore community of St. Augustin. Only the Atikamekw communities contain speakers of non-palatalized dialects.

Although the speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, within the Quebec-Labrador peninsula share a common native language, they are divided by their second languages and the respective cultures associated with them. The Cree east of James Bay and inland to Mistassini as well as the Fort Chimo Naskapi speak English as a second language and profess Anglicanism as a Christian religion. Until the recent upsurge of Québécois nationalism and Quebec's discovery of its northern territory, the James Bay communities had strongest communicative links with Ontario. Native people were sent there to be educated and hospitalized. The Indian people of the Labrador coastal



Map 1-7 Community Hunting Territories (Present-day)

<u>Community</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Second Lang.</u>		<u>Grouping</u>
Great Whale River	372	English	Coastal	East
Fort George	1,611	English		
Wemindji	713	English		
(Paint Hills)				
Eastmain	335	English		
Rupert House	1,112	English	Inland	Cree (Y)
Nemiscau	104	English		
Waswanipi	811	English		
Mistassini	1,846	English		
Pointe Bleue	1,800	French	Moisie	Montagnais (L)
Betsiamites	2,000	French		
Sept-Iles	1,000	French	Lower North Shore	Montagnais (N)
Maliotenam				
Schefferville	600	French		
Mingan	300	French		
Natashquan	400	French		
La Romaine	525	French		
St. Augustin	700	English, French	Naskapi (N) (Y)	
North West River	700	English		
Labrador				
Davis Inlet	150	English	Cree (R)	
Labrador				
Fort Chimo	300	English		
(Schefferville)				
Atikamekw (3 villages)	2,000	French		

Figure 1-1 Population and Second
Language Distribution

villages also use English as a second language even though they were earlier converted to Catholicism by French Missionaries. The French clerics withdrew in the face of the Newfoundland English Catholic mission early in this century, so that only traces of the former association with the French remain in proper names and loan-words. The villages from Pointe Bleue to La Romaine (including Schefferville) use French as a second language and are Roman Catholic.

Indian political organizations have, within Quebec-Labrador, tended to form along second-language lines. The province-wide Indians of Quebec Association (I.Q.A.) which was formed in the 1960's, soon split along linguistic lines. Early in the 1970's, the Cree broke from the I.Q.A, and the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) was established to further and protect the interests of the English speaking villages in the James Bay area. This association is comprised solely of the palatalized y- communities, excluding Fort Chimo. Subsequently, the Conseil Atikamekw-Montagnais was created as these two groups withdrew from association with the Mohawks and Hurons. In Labrador, the provincial boundary fostered the isolation of the Davis Inlet and the North-West River people from their Quebec relatives, with the result that the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association (of Labrador) was formed.

New political affiliations can be expected to have an effect on the language of the individual communities. Although,

in the past, a regional standard language has never been implemented, it will be interesting to observe whether there will be linguistic convergence among members of any single political association. This is a distinct possibility for the East Cree villages since The Grand Council has requested a language commission to create and legitimize neologisms.

1.5 Data and Informants

The data for this thesis come from two types of sources: field notes and tapes gathered by the author and also by linguists and anthropologists who made them available to the author; published grammars and dictionaries of a few of the dialects. The author was able to visit all the palatalized communities except Pointe Bleue and those on the shore of the St. Lawrence River (Betsiamites to St. Augustin). Tapes, notes and transcriptions for n- and l- communities in Quebec-Labrador were generously provided by José Mailhot who has worked in the area as an ethno-linguist for over ten years. As well, William Cowan allowed his tapes of the n- and l- dialects to be copied. The only community for which linguistic data were not obtained is St. Augustin.

There are, to date, no published studies of any of the palatalized dialects of the scope of Wolfart's Plains Cree (1973). Most of the published works are in the form of language learning courses and, as such, are often less than exhaustive in presentation of phonological and grammatical

information. Béland's recent doctoral thesis, "Atikamekw Morphology and Lexicon" (1978) is the most detailed account of a Quebec Cree dialect but describes, of course, a non-palatalized variety.

Fieldwork for this thesis was not originally carried out by the traditional method of preparing a questionnaire to be administered in all communities. Instead, the list of phenomena which display variation was compiled over a number of years of trying to establish standard orthographies for the Cree and Montagnais communities. In the past ten years, there has been a demand from native people within Quebec for education in their own language. In almost all cases this has meant the teaching of reading and writing skills in the language of each community.

The Cree of Quebec and the Fort Chimo Naskapi have used a syllabic orthography for the last century, while the Montagnais (and Atikamekw) use a roman orthography introduced by the missionaries in the seventeenth century. There has never been a regional standard for either of these orthographies. Usually people teach themselves how to read and write. Some use the biblical model provided by religious literature. But often the religious books which are available in the native language are written either for a different dialect or for an earlier and more conservative form of the language. Consequently, many people use their own pronunciation as a guide to writing and the result is a large variation in

spelling of the same lexical items and morphemes.

The issue of a standard spelling system for either syllabics or roman has not yet been resolved. Nevertheless, the exercise of trying to establish such a system stimulated research into the dialect differences by Mailhot for n- and l-dialects of Montagnais (1975) and by the author for East Cree and Fort Chimo Naskapi. An initial list of lexical items was compiled as a result of this research. Items not already recorded in existing notes and publications were then elicited from speakers. As the analysis proceeded, new areas of significant variation were discovered and this necessitated further elicitation in as many locations as time and funding permitted.

Many aspects of inter-community language variation remain to be explored. As well, the whole issue of internal variation of each community has been merely touched on in this study. The data presented in this thesis, however, should provide a starting point for more detailed investigations.

1.6 Transcription and Abbreviations

The transcription used in this thesis is consistent with that in general use by Algonkianists. The vowels are e:, i:, a:, u:, i, a, u. The colon (:) marks the 'long' vowels. High rounded back vowels are transcribed by u: and u, rather than o: and o, which are used by other Cree linguists: Ellis (1971), Wolfart (1973), Béland (1978) and Pentland (1979)

following Bloomfield (1946). The grapheme <u> is the only one used by the Montagnais and is closer to phonetic reality for both East Cree and Montagnais. For this reason it is used here. All examples from published sources which use o: or o have been re-written with u: or u.

The consonants are p, t, č (written c) k, s, š, h, m, n, l, r, y, w. Phonemic forms are underlined, phonetic forms enclosed by square brackets ([...]) and morpho-phonetic forms enclosed in slashes (/.../). Forms in the original transcription of other authors are enclosed by double quotation marks ("..."). Glosses are enclosed by single quotation marks (' . . .').

Abbreviations are as follows:

TA	Transitive Animate Verb
TI	Transitive Inanimate Verb
AI	Animate Intransitive Verb
II	Inanimate Intransitive Verb
1	First Person Singular
11	First Person Plural Exclusive
2	Second Person
12	First Person Plural Inclusive
22	Second Person Plural
3	Third Person Proximate Animate
33	Third Person Plural
3'	Third Person Obviative Animate
0	Third Person Inanimate
C	Consonant

V	Vowel
R.H.	Rupert House
Em.	Eastmain
P.H.	Paint Hills
Ft. G.	Fort George
G.W.R.	Great Whale River
Ft. C.	Fort Chimo
D.I.	Davis Inlet
Sch.	Schefferville
S.I.	Sept-Isles
L.R.	La Romaine
Nat.	Natasquan
Min.	Mingan
Bets.	Betsiamites
P.B.	Pointe Bleue
Mist.	Mistassini
Was.	Waswanipi
Nem.	Nemiscau
Moisie	Sept-Isles and Schefferville
LNS.	Lower North Shore (includes Mingan to St. Augustin).
NWR.	North West River
Atik.	Atikamekw