CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 In this chapter the variation in phonology, morphology and lexicon which was presented in preceding chapters will be discussed from several points of view: evidence for a Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect continuum, sub-groupings of the palatalized dialects, areas where change has taken place through innovation, linguistic innovation as a result of areal contact with other language groups and, finally, the geographical, social and cultural correlates of the linguistic groupings. The reader will no doubt find it useful to refer to the maps and tables in preceding chapters.

5.1 The Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi Continuum

The discussion of the relative status of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects in 1.2 made it clear that most linguists propose a boundary between the palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. This was based primarily on the single phonological feature of velar palatalization. The cumulative maps for phonological and morphological isoglosses tend to support such a boundary. They also show, however, an equally distinct boundary between the palatalized y-dialects (East Cree) and the palatalized n- and l-dialects (Montagnais). The lexical isoglosses show the major boundary to lie within the palatalized

area - again between the East Cree y- communities and the n- and l- communities; the Atikamekw dialects are also lexically separate. It has become clear that, when all levels of language are taken into account, the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects form a continuum. The phonological, morphological and lexical variations outlined in previous chapters support this conclusion.

5.11 The sound shifts fall into three groups: a) shifts which range across both palatalized and non-palatalized varieties, b) shifts which occur in either but not both, and c) shifts which occur in both varieties but which may have arisen independently.

For the purposes of discussion the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects around James and Hudson Bays will be referred to as 'central' dialects. Those closer to the plains in the west and the Labrador coast in the east will be referred as 'peripheral' dialects.

A phonological feature which spans both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects is the retention of PA·*s and *s̀ as s and s̀ respectively. It can be described as a 'James Bay' phenomenon, although the Atikamekw dialects are also included. The retention of final -kw and the operation of rules of vowel harmony extend into Atikamekw from the palatalized dialects. Short vowel apocope, syncope, assimilation and neutralization are more generalized in the palatalized dialects but also occur in the non-palatalized ones, particularly in the east. The retention of pre-aspirated stops also extends to both east and

west coasts of James Bay. The majority of the lexical items which were discussed occur on both sides of James Bay, Similarly, the demonstrative pronouns and the negative marker for Independent verbs are used by both non-palatalized speakers and palatalized y-speakers.

5.12 Sound shifts which are found exclusively within the palatalized dialects are mostly a result of the process of velar palatalization. The affricate c created by this rule undergoes subsequent depalatalization and de-affrication, aided by the widespread short vowel syncope. The ṡ > h shift, which as yet primarily affects n- and l- speakers of Montagnais, is a recent sound change. The Dubitative paradigms within the palatalized dialects are quite different from those found in the non-palatalized ones. Among the lexical items surveyed, only the numeral for 'nine' was not used in non-palatalized communities.

The non-palatalized varieties show variation between hp~sp, hc~sc, sk~Θk (Pentland 1979:82). This does not occur in any palatalized dialect.

5.13 A number of other sound shifts occur in geographically non-contiguous areas of both palatalized and non-palatalized dialects. These changes may have begun in pre-Cree before the split into n, l, y, r and đ dialects. Or, they may have arisen independently through natural phonological change. This is a question that will be left to the expertise of historical linguists. Changes which occur towards both the eastern and western peripheries of the dialect continuum are,(a) lengthening of

short vowels before h; (b) fricativization of pre-aspirated stops; (c) loss of pre-aspiration; (d) merger of e: with another long vowel; (e) merger of s and ṣ; and (f) the development of l as n, y, r or l.

5.2 Sub-Groupings of Palatalized Dialects

The palatalized dialects also form a continuum but sub-groupings may be established. One previous sub-classification includes separating y, l, and n into Western, Southern and Eastern (Pentland 197_). Indians themselves have adopted another set of terms: (East) Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi; the area of usage of the latter terms only partially overlaps that of the former. In this section the linguistic basis for these sub-divisions will be examined.

5.21 A major division between the y-dialects of East Cree and the n- and l- dialects of Montagnais is most strongly supported by morphological and lexical isoglosses. No vowel or consonant isoglosses run parallel to the y, n and l lines. Vowel isoglosses indicate separation of northern and southern y, n and l- communities on the basis of different innovations (5.3). Consonant isoglosses generally run between the y-dialects on the one hand and the n- and l- dialects on the other. They diverge around Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet in the north and Pointe Bleue in the south. Morphological and lexical isoglosses also follow this pattern, although Pointe Bleue appears more unambiguously part of the n/l- group.

5.22 The y- group includes all those communities which refer to themselves as East Cree, plus Fort Chimo Naskapi.

The recent adoption of y to replace n by Fort Chimo speakers will be discussed below (5.24). Within the y- group, two major divisions appear: one indicating a north-south split and a second separating the four James Bay villages from other y-communities. Characteristics of the northern sub-groups include the merger of e: with a:, the neutralization of initial i with i: less procope, less syncope, use of both -ic and -wa:w Conjunct pluralizers and a number of lexical differences. The boundary runs through the community of Eastmain, where e: is in variation with a:. People from this village, however, generally consider themselves part of the southern group.

The east-west grouping cross-cuts the north-south one and is based on the merger of PA *š and *s as s outside the immediate James Bay area. Inland communities also use i:nu:- instead of i:yu: for the morpheme 'Indian, ordinary'. Several lexical isoglosses separate the inland communities of Mistassini and Waswanipi from the coastal ones. These two villages use n/l- Montagnais vocabulary. Nemiscau is a transition dialect where s and š are beginning to merge and i:nu:- alternates with i:yu:.

5.23 The two l- dialects of Pointe Bleue and Betsiamites are separated by a number of phonological isoglosses. Pointe Bleue retains inter-vocalic and pre-consonantal h, and final c as [ts] instead of [t], as do the y-communities to the west. There is some evidence that Betsiamites speakers have lost h and reduced c to [t] within this century (Lemoine 1901, Drapeau 1979). There is no feature which has so far been found exclusively

in these communities is the retention of the e:~a: stem vowel variation in AI verbs, and the use of l <PA*1 also occurs in the Moisie varieties. Both these l- villages share the morphology and lexicon with the n- villages.

5.24 The n- dialects can be divided into three major groups: Moisie, Lower North Shore and Davis Inlet. Davis Inlet, however, shares relatively few features with the other n- communities. Its affiliation will be discussed below (5.25).

One n-community, North West River, exhibits characteristics of all three major n-groups.

All the n- communities can be grouped together on the basis of the limited set of lexical items examined in 4.4. No doubt divisions would appear on the examination of a larger vocabulary sample.

The Moisie dialects share with other southern palatalized dialects the innovation of assimilation and deletion of short vowels. The Lower North Shore and North West River share lengthening of short vowels, and incipient fricativization of pre-aspirated stops and retention of final short vowels, with the Naskapi communities of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet. The Lower North Shore dialects are conservative in using [sts] instead of [ss] for sc; they are the source area of nasalization and also the change of s̀ > h, both of which are now spreading to other villages. At the morphological level, these dialects share the use of -k with n- stem II verbs; North West River shows variation in these inflections.

5.25 The term 'Naskapi' has a long history of usage

and application to various northern palatalized dialects. Today, the Indians of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet refer to themselves as Naskapi. The linguistic evidence does give limited support to the posited existence of Naskapi sub-group; this group is best seen, however, as transitional between the y-dialects of East Cree and the n- dialects of North West River and the Lower North Shore.

Strong support for a Naskapi sub-grouping is found in the distribution of lexical items. The two villages share some vocabulary not used elsewhere. Phonologically, these dialects are the source of the innovations of short vowel lengthening before h and fricativization of pre-aspirated stops. The unusual n/y alternation reported for Davis Inlet speakers also exists among older Fort Chimo speakers. There is evidence that Fort Chimo speakers used n, instead of y, in the last century. The innovation of y and the merger of e: with a: are relatively recent sound shifts, due to the influence of the James and Hudson Bay dialects (MacKenzie 1979). The Naskapi communities also share the retention of the cluster sc and final c with the East Cree.

This pattern is confirmed by the distribution of negative markers for Independent verbs. The use of apu: plus the Conjunct is restricted to the l- and all other n- dialects. It would seem, then, that in the past, speakers of Naskapi formed a relatively isolated sub-group, which, however, had contact with both northern East Cree and eastern Montagnais groups. The dialect of Fort Chimo, in particular, has undergone recent

change which makes it slightly closer to East Cree. The historical and social reasons for this will be discussed below (5.5).

5.26 Besides the major east/west division for Quebec-Labrador, a secondary cross-cutting north/south division emerges. This results from two patterns of innovation, one spreading north-west from the Saguenay region, and a second spreading south-east from the Ungava region.

5.3 Innovation and Change

There have been a number of innovations between Proto-Algonkian, pre-Cree and the present day dialects. It is relatively simple to identify these changes at the level of phonology, since a proto-level is well established. At the level of morphology and lexicon, the task becomes more difficult.

5.31 Innovations which have affected the peripheral areas of the dialect continuum have been: (a) the merger of PA *s and *š as either s or š, (b) the merger of e: with another long vowel, (c) lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops; (d) fricativization of pre-aspirated stops; (e) loss of pre-aspirated stops. These changes apparently occurred independently in widely separated palatalized and non-palatalized dialects.

5.32 Other innovations are restricted to one or other of these major groups. The loss of final w after k is largely confined to the non-palatalized dialects. Where kw is retained in non-palatalized Atikamekw and all palatalized dialects,

short vowel rounding also takes place. Loss of short vowels through deletion and assimilation is most generalized in the palatalized dialects from Sept-Isles westward. In the non-palatalized Swampy dialects west of James Bay, these phenomena are still more frequent than in the Woods and Plains groups beyond. To the east and north of the Moisie area, as well, these changes diminish in frequency.

Only in the palatalized dialects have velar palatalization and subsequent depalatalization occurred. Certain changes, such as s̲ > h̲ and nasalization, are confined to the n̲- and l̲-palatalized area. Neutralization of short with long vowels is also most general in this area.

5.33 It is possible to identify the area of maximum phonological innovation among the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects. This area includes the southern palatalized dialects and stretches from Rupert House on James Bay to Sept-Isles on the St. Lawrence River. The community where the dialect is changing the most rapidly is Betsiamites. It is not co-incidental that Betsiamites is the closest community to Tadoussac, which was the site of the first mission to the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, established at the beginning of the 1600's. This is the area of heaviest and longest European settlement. However, the southern palatalized dialects, on the northern periphery of European settlement, have undergone the largest amount of phonological change. This set of changes is generally moving from east to west.

Another set of changes, the lengthening of short vowels before pre-aspirated stops and subsequent fricativization of these stops, appears to have begun in the northern area with the Naskapi dialects of Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet. These shifts moved south along the eastern periphery of the dialect continuum to the Lower North Shore communities.

The Lower North Shore is the source of the recent innovation of s̀ > h. This change has spread rapidly outwards (within thirty to forty years) to the other n- and l- communities.

The effects of the changes in the vowel system seem to have been to make the phonological system more like that of Indo-European languages (i.e. English and/or French). The symmetrical Proto-Algonkian system of four long and four short vowels is evolving into a system of three or four tense vowels and one or two lax ones. The fricative series is being expanded through the addition of f and x while the pre-aspirated stop series is disappearing. Some dialects which have lost pre-aspirated stops nevertheless maintain two series of stops. These may be voiced/voiceless or fortis/lenis. Words may now begin with clusters of s and a stop, as in English and French.

5.34 It is more difficult to determine where innovation has taken place in the inflectional suffixes for verbs. Only phonological variation is readily identifiable as the result of the sound shifts described in chapters II and III. The frequently used Indicative paradigms of both the Independent

and Conjunct orders differ only phonologically across the dialect continuum. The Dubitative paradigms, however, have distinctly different forms within the palatalized and non-palatalized groups. Goddard has prepared a valuable comparison of Independent Indicative inflectional suffixes (1967) but unfortunately nothing comparable exists for the other paradigms. Whether the innovations have occurred in the palatalized or non-palatalized dialect will be left a question until further comparative evidence becomes available.

The negative formation process of apu: plus the Conjunct, innovated since the eighteenth century, occurs only in the n- and l-palatalized dialects (excluding Davis Inlet). The set of demonstrative pronouns in all the palatalized dialects has undergone simplification so that the three-way distinction of 'this here', 'that there' and 'that over there' is breaking down into a two-way distinction 'this' and 'that', as used in English and French. In the demonstrative adverb system of 'here' 'there' and 'over there' the tripartite distinction is still maintained. Within the palatalized group, the n- and l- dialects have undergone extreme phonological restructuring.

At the lexical, as well as morphological, level, determination of which forms are innovated is still a problem. Forms used as minihkwe:w 'he drinks' and ma:tuw 'he cries', used in the non-palatalized and East Cree dialects, are geographically more widespread. The n- and l- Montagnais forms miniw 'he drinks' and me:w~wma:w 'he cries', however, are cognate with

forms from other Algonkian languages (Fox and Menomini) (Aubin 1975, Bloomfield 1975).

5.4 Areal Contact

Once the nature and directions of language change are identified and described there still remains the problem of actuation - why the change began at a particular time in a particular place.

One of the accepted causes of linguistic change is contact between different languages and dialects. In this section and the next, some patterns of language contact in Quebec-Labrador will be discussed briefly.

Areal linguistics refers, in general, to the exchange of linguistic features between speakers of genetically unrelated languages who are in close geographical contact. Over hundreds of years of such contact, two languages may come to resemble each other very closely in phonological and morphological structure. It is not necessary that the languages under study be genetically unrelated, although such a situation strikingly exemplifies the effects of prolonged linguistic contact. It is also possible to see the effects when two languages of the same family are spoken in the same area as in the case of Cree and Algonquin. Non-Algonkian languages which have been spoken

in areas inhabited by the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi are Inuktitut, French and English.

The medium of innovation through areal contact is usually the bilingual or bidialectal individual (Scherzer 1973, Winter 1973). It is not necessary that all members of the community know a second language, since bilingual speakers may serve as prestige models. It is hypothesized, then, that certain innovations which have taken place in the Quebec-Labrador dialects of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi were stimulated by contact with speakers of different languages: Algonquin, Micmac, Inuktitut, French and English.

5.41 In the south-western part of Quebec the non-palatalized dialects of Atikamekw Cree, the palatalized dialects of East Cree (Waswanipi and Rupert House) and Montagnais (Pointe Bleue, Betsiamites) and the Ojibway dialects of Algonquin share a number of features.

The neutralization of a and i noted in the western palatalized dialects is also reported in some Algonquin dialects (Daviault et al 1978:57) as is deletion of unstressed lax vowels (Piggott 1978:161). The tensing of initial short vowels which takes place in Pointe Bleue Montagnais is noted for Algonquin as well (ibid 162).

In Atikamekw Cree, fricatives may be voiced. This is the only Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialect where this occurs regularly, although the rule is being innovated in Betsiamites Montagnais. Voiced and unvoiced series of fricatives and stops occur in all

dialects of Ojibway and Algonquin. Béland has reported the existence of a voiced/voiceless series of stops alongside the pre-aspirated/plain series in Atikamekw. He has referred to the fact that speakers of Atikamekw Cree read the Montagnais and Algonquin religious literature with little difficulty. Béland's lexicon includes the innovation of some Algonquin phonological features, such as loss of final w in iskute 'fire'. Béland also recorded Algonquin lexical items in Atikamekw, e.g. ci:ma:n instead of u:t for 'canoe' (1978). The use of ci:ma:n 'canoe' has spread to the palatalized dialect of Waswanipi.

The Algonquin dialect data reveals the extent to which there has been influence of Cree. At the phonological level, nasal consonants can no longer occur before stops in Algonquin. Lexical borrowing from Cree is also evident (Piggott 1978, Daviault et al 1978). As Daviault et al pointed out, collaboration with ethnohistorians, with the aim of documenting Cree-Algonquin contact, should prove highly fruitful for linguistics (1978:57).

5.42 Contact between Micmac speakers and Montagnais is also an area to be explored. The innovation of a marker apu:, which requires Conjunct verbs, and the loss of nama, which requires Independent suffixes, has increased dramatically the use of the Conjunct forms. In this respect Montagnais is becoming more like the Eastern Algonkian languages, such as Micmac, which no longer use Independent forms at all.

5.43 Contact between the Inuit and the Cree within the Labrador peninsula has been long-standing and intimate. Although their relations have often been characterized as antagonistic, recent ethno-historical research into genealogies, as well as accounts by the Indians themselves, indicate that there has been intermarriage between the groups (M. Hammond, personal communication). On the east coast of James Bay, a large family of Inuit who lived on the Charlton Islands offshore from Eastmain are fluently bilingual in Inuktitut and Cree. There has always been a minority Inuit population at Fort George. At Great Whale River, where East Cree and Inuit share the settlement, the Inuit are in the majority. The Fort Chimo Naskapi group traded at that post, now an Inuit community, for one hundred years and were settled there for some years before 1954 (Cooke 1976). At least one Naskapi has married into the Inuit community and many older Fort Chimo Naskapi speak some Inuktitut. This stands in contrast to the James Bay Cree who did not learn Inuktitut unless one of their parents was Inuit.

Historical records indicate that the Inuit once occupied the coast of Labrador right down to the gulf of St.Lawrence (Taylor 1978). The coastal-oriented Inuit and the Inland-oriented Indians would certainly have met from time to time. There is some genealogical evidence that the progenitor of one of the large Labrador Indian families was part Inuit and had been raised by Inuit in Nain for a number of years (M. Hammond,

personal communication).

The material culture also gives evidence of contact through the exchange of tools and techniques. Rogers (1964) detailed a large number of shared items, while archeologists speculate that the bent fishing hook was adopted by the Inuit from the Indians (J. Tuck, personal communication).

What are the linguistic facts which suggest contact between Inuit and Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi speakers? Without more detailed analysis of the contiguous dialects of each language, no firm answer can be given. However, the phonological changes noted for the more northern Indian groups suggest several hypotheses. In the northern -y area, along the coast of James and Hudson Bay and inland to Ungava Bay, there has been long-term contact and even inter-marriage. It is in just this area where the e: phoneme has dropped out of usage, leaving three tense vowels, a:, i: and u:. The vowel system of Inuktitut has only these three vowels and does not include e: as a phoneme.

The fricativization of hp to [f] or [ɸ] and hk to [x] is most widespread among the Naskapi speakers. It can be presumed from the wider distribution of the fricative throughout the lexicon, that the change originated in this northern area, rather than on the Lower North Shore where it is restricted to final position. Inuktitut also has /f/ and /x/ as phones. The reduction of the series of four tense vowels to three can be explained in terms of establishing a symmetrical

relationship with the series of three lax vowels. The loss of the tense vowel e: which has no lax correspondent has also occurred in some dialects of Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973). In Plains Cree, however, e: merged with i:, rather than with a: as in northern Quebec-Labrador. It is possible that it was the contact with Inuktitut which fostered coalescence with a: among the latter although this did not happen in similar situation on the west coast of James Bay.

Fricativization of pre-aspirated stops is reported for the Shamattawa and Winisk dialects of Cree in Ontario, where there has been little, if any, contact with Inuktitut. The phonologica1 stability of stop clusters with h in Shamattawa should be investigated, as should the length of contact with speakers of Scottish dialects of English, who also use [f], [Θ] and [x].

5.44 The Saguenay River region near Tadoussac, where in the early sixteen hundreds the French established a mission for the Montagnais, is a source area for many innovations (5.3). Those which can be specifically attributed to French are the use of word final stress and nasalization. The loss of initial short vowels and the innovation of initial consonant clusters sp, st, sc and sk occurs in areas of longest French or English contact. The neturalization of the long and short vowels is best documented for the Lower North Shore dialects, but is occurring elsewhere in Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi. The emergence of a series of voiced/voiceless stops in Atikamekw and one of fortis/lenis stops in Betsiamites could be due to the influ-

ence of French; or it might have been stimulated by contact with Algonquin speakers. The level of language which shows unambiguously the separate spheres of influence of French and English is the borrowing of lexical items.

Bilingualism among speakers of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects in Quebec-Labrador has increased dramatically with enforced school attendance. Most Indians under twenty years of age speak English or French as a second language. The imposition of these European languages as the only languages of schooling has meant that, in some cases, the younger peoples' command of their native language is decreasing. An accelerated rate of change at all levels of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi is to be expected. Already, young speakers at Mistassini have adopted many English words as verb stems, using them with Cree inflection. In addition, the suffix -a with a falling intonation, which marks a yes/no question, can be replaced by the rising intonation pattern used for these questions in English.

5.5 Non-linguistic Patterns

Two macro-linguistic patterns for the palatalized dialects in Quebec-Labrador were established in the preceding sections. An east-west division separates the y- dialects from the l- and n- dialects. Mistassini and Pointe Bleue in the south and Fort Chimo and Davis Inlet in the north are transition dialects on this boundary. A north-south division sets off the southern area of innovation, from Rupert House to the Moisie River.

Thus the Lower North Shore and North West River dialects form distinct sub-group of the major eastern division and the northern y-dialects form a distinct sub-group of the major western division. The pattern of cross-cutting isoglosses is a familiar one in the dialect geography of Europe, where such lines reflect the extent of changing political boundaries. Bynon reported that it may take fifty years for a political boundary to be reflected in a linguistic isogloss, but that it can be maintained as such for five hundred years after the disappearance of the political correlate (1978). Linguistic isoglosses reflect, in a very limited and approximate manner, the extent to which communication between groups is promoted or inhibited. The patterns of communication are continually changing as social, political and economic relations change. Effective barriers to communication are likely to be different at different times.

This section will point out a correlation between the broad linguistic patterns and certain social and cultural patterns which have existed among the Indians of Quebec-Labrador in historic times. The ethno-historical summary used here is the result of discussions with anthropologists currently researching the historical movements of the Cree, Montagnais and Naskapi (A. Tanner, J. Mailhot, T. Morantz). The summary is highly tentative and is intended only to facilitate correlation and suggest areas for much-needed further research.

5.51 Prior to historic contacts there were trade routes which covered all of North America. European trade goods started

to enter the Quebec-Labrador area 100 to 150 years before regular contact with white settlers. These supplies came from whalers and fishermen who had minimal contact with Indian people around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Strait of Belle Isle. Stone from Mistassini and from northern Labrador was traded to distant areas. Iroquoian pottery seems to have been traded both north to James Bay and inland and east to the Lower North Shore. Other items such as tobacco would not leave obvious signs for archeological research, but it seems probable that the trade included other goods.

A north-south division between tundra and forest vegetation is still reflected in differences in cultural values and way of life. Tundra dwellers, especially the Naskapi, are caribou hunters on a full-time basis. This means that they gathered in groups of up to 200 for communal hunts. While caribou hunting was also highly valued by the Montagnais, it was one of a number of hunting activities, and people only assembled occasionally for group hunts. However, this group-caribou-hunting pattern, and the associated cultural features (strong leaders, competition for leadership, strong emphasis on divination, caribou marrow-fat the main feast food) were found to a lesser degree among the Lower North Shore Montagnais, who thus were to some extent a transitional group among the Montagnais and Naskapi. The reason may be that, unlike other Montagnais groups, they had access to large herds of caribou (in the Mealy Mountains, Attikonak-Lac Joseph and, to some extent, George River

areas) and this influenced their cultural values. The northern East Cree hunters from Great Whale River, Fort George and Nichicun (north of Mistassini) were also more involved in caribou hunting than the forest dwellers to the south who depended on beaver and moose.

Both the forest-dwellers and the tundra groups probably had a pattern of annual alternation between small, widely-scattered groups and larger concentrations. The time of the year when the larger groups got together would have depended on the resources available, and this also determined the size of the groups.

The tundra-dwellers, although they were thinly scattered over a very large area, probably were able to assemble in very large groups (up to 200 people) at those times when the caribou were in big herds (mainly fall and early winter). On James Bay the geese would have allowed large groupings in the spring and fall, and fishing might have extended these periods.

It is probable that the Indians further south found it easier to get material for canoes, and so were more mobile in the summer than the more northern people. Again, in terms of the kind of resources they tended to make use of, it may be said that the forest-dwellers (Cree and Montagnais) were more likely to stay close to rivers and lakes, and to stay away from higher land with few rivers or lakes. The tundra-dwellers, on the other hand, were less tied to waterways, for two reasons: (a) their chief game, caribou, is as often as not found in the

hills, (b) the tundra environment makes walking travel away from waterways easy, while in the forest it is necessary to travel along water courses because the trees impede travel. Also, of course, the Naskapi covered far greater distances. These factors would not divide sharply between the southern and northern groups but gradually shade from one another. In winter it is probable that there was some tendency for the forest groups to have a range of hunting land they returned to year after year. Again the Lower North Shore may have lacked this pattern, because of the relative scarcity of beaver, a lack of moose and the importance of the caribou herds.

Having looked at the probable prehistoric situation (given the need for caution because of the scarcity of archeological data) it would appear that variation would be expected between the southern James Bay and St. Lawrence River groups (which had summer contact with others along the same coast, but who would have rarely if ever travelled to the other coast). One would also expect the inland groups between them to provide a transition, as there is little barrier to travel, and people probably could have communicated in either direction. Given the same basic interests and activities, they could have married or lived as guests with each other. Both the northern James Bay (Great Whale and Fort George) and the eastern Montagnais (Lower North Shore) would probably have been transitional groups between the southern forest and northern tundra, able to live either the forest or tundra way of life, because of their proximity to large herds of caribou.

Whatever the aboriginal pattern of social contacts among Indians, it would tend to be reinforced by contact influences. The Indians no doubt influenced the traders and missionaries in the routes they followed and the other groups they contacted. Thus the French and English 'empires' to some extent reflected past geographic tendencies of travel and contact, and have themselves created barriers to further contact, even when transportation overcame the dependence on watersheds. However, these 'empires' had limited effect in the interior, so that groups like the Waswanipi, Mistassini, Nichicun (now at Mistassini), Schefferville Montagnais and the Naskapi in general were less influenced by these restraints than those nearer the James Bay or St. Lawrence shores. This broad pattern correlates with the linguistic one, where greatest divergence is found between the James Bay Cree and eastern Montagnais groups.

5.52 The first historic period is during the French monopoly, from 1600 to 1670. Until the 1650's the French were restricted to the Quebec and Saguenay region, as well as Huronia. Some James Bay Indians were probably receiving trade goods via the Hurons and the Ottawas while others were trading via the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean middlemen. On the Lower North Shore, intermittent trade continued with the fishermen and whalers and goods must have moved inland by intertribal trade routes.

The French immediately encouraged the Indians to attach themselves to a settlement wherever there was a religious mission. Some Indians in the immediate vicinity did so and became

similar to the "Home' Indians later to appear on James Bay. The registers of Tadoussac reveal a good deal of inter-marriage between linguistic 'nations', not only of Montagnais, but including Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki. This provides a possible source for linguistic innovations.

5.53 The next period is roughly between the time of the founding of the Hudson Bay Company (1670) and the time the HBC absorbed the Northwest Company (1821). During this period there emerged the distinction between Rupertsland (the area granted to the HBC under its charter and including the James and Hudson Bay watersheds) and the Domaine du Roi (mainly the watershed of the St. Lawrence, centered on the Saguenay/Lac St. John region). In the hinterland, the claims overlapped so that Mistassini and Waswanipi received traders from both sides. After 1760, the Domaine du Roi became the King's Posts, but the competition with the HBC continued, although the French St. Lawrence traders were replaced by the Scottish Northwest Company men, and free traders.

During this period the main fur trade gatherings were on salt water (both St. Lawrence and James Bay) and Saguenay/Lac St, Jean. Several excursions were made by traders into the interior, but few of them became established on a regular basis. The Indians were moving back and forth a great deal between the French and English posts.

At the same time, a large part of the peninsula had no posts at all, and Indians had either to take the long journeys to the coast, or obtain the few supplies they needed from other Indians. This latter pattern of intertribal trade was probably

enforced by some of the groups closest to the posts, who profited as middlemen. Nevertheless, this middleman pattern did not become as strongly entrenched as elsewhere on the continent.

Records show that Mistassini and Nichicun people were turning up both at the St. Lawrence posts and on James Bay during this period. This would imply that the interior people, plus the lower north shore Montagnais, were relatively mobile during this period, compared to the western Montagnais and coastal Cree. Again, this trade pattern would be consistent with the transitional dialect pattern of diverging isoglosses found in the interior.

5.54 From 1800 to 1945 Sept-Isles seems to have been a major fur trade centre, drawing Indians from Kaniapiskaw (now Fort George band), Michikamau (now Schefferville Montagnais), and even George River (Naskapi) and Hamilton Inlet (North West River). However, the trade pattern was subject to shifts according to the prices being offered by inland posts closer to these Indians.

Prior to 1945 the pattern was probably quite different between the Montagnais (those accessible from the St. Lawrence) and the Cree and Naskapi. The former began to undergo influence from European settlers starting in the early 19th century. In the Lower North Shore area cod fishing and seal hunting were major summer industries, especially from Mingan east. In the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean area first lumbering and then farming brought Whites, and these activities also began

to move downstream. The result in both cases was to draw some Indians into these activities, especially in summer, and to facilitate travel within the regions (Saguenay/Lac St. Jean by road, Lower North Shore by boat). In winter most Indians still went in the bush.

During the same period, the Indians of James Bay, Great Whale and Fort Chimo/Fort McKenzie had little or no contact with Europeans apart from traders and the occasional missionary. For those on James Bay, the group most attached to a specific post were called the 'Home Indians'. Other Indians spent more time in the bush; these 'Inlanders' probably were most likely to change which post they went to from time to time. During this period, among the East Cree Inlanders, the HBC was gradually having more and more success in tying down each Indian to a particular post. However, the posts in the interior opened and closed, and it is probable that the customers of particular post had little in common identity. They would have only spent a few weeks together.

There were other social groupings. There seem to have been regional sub-groups which gathered together in the bush away from the post. These groups probably met in spring and fall, at places of resource concentrations (fall fishing and berrying, spring water birds). They traveled together to the post. They may even have formed the crews of the canoe brigades that supplied the inland posts, so that the brigades that supplied the inland posts, so that the brigades would have been one source of intergroup contact. From around 1800 to about 1927 Waswanipi, Mistassini, Neoskweskau and

Nichicun were supplied from James Bay; afterwards their supplies came from Oskelaneo (in the CN line, between La Tuque and Senneterre). However, the latter route did not entail much social contact. The Oskelaneo Indians carried the goods half way (to Lynx Eye portage) and the Mistassini carried them from there. As well, a group of Indians identified as Mistassini regularly traded at Pointe Bleue. It is not known if they trapped between Lac St. Jean and Mistassini, but by 1915 when Speck interviewed them, their hunting grounds were well within the present Mistassini land (i.e. on the James Bay side). One can only assume they went to Lac St. Jean because of cheaper prices, or to see relatives.

The same period saw the first direct trade with the Indians of the Ungava Bay drainage. This trade appears have utilized links with many other parts of the peninsula. First, the traders set out from James Bay, and later they encouraged James Bay Indians to move into the Ungava and inland region. Later, the supply route was changed to the Atlantic Coast (North West River) and the posts moved farther south (Petisikapau, Michikamau and Winokapau). These later posts were also visited by Montagnais, and the Montagnais were involved in the founding and supplying (i.e. mail service from Sept-Isles) of Fort McKenzie, where the Naskapi were settled for a period.

It is likely that the boundary between the Montagnais and the Naskapi remained distinct, despite these contacts, owing to their different cultural values and way of life (forest vs.

tundra dwellers, respectively).

5.55 Since about 1945 strong pressures have been exerted to tie each Indian person to a specific village. These pressures include churches, schools, band lists, houses, welfare and jobs. This has not stopped interband communication. However the pattern of communication is now influenced by road, rail and air routes, by past marriages, by second language, by religious affiliation and by political groupings -both Indian Affairs 'districts' and Indian organizations.

Before 1950, the North West River Montagnais of Labrador had strong marriage ties with the Sept-Isles people in Quebec. After this time, which coincides with the entry of Newfoundland/ Labrador as a Canadian province, these links shifted to Davis Inlet, the Naskapi village up the Labrador coast. Programs for Indians in Newfoundland and Labrador are not administered by the Department of Indian Affairs but by the province. This political fact has led to a strengthening of links between the two Labrador villages.

The Fort Chimo Indians who had been settled at posts in the Ungava region were relocated at Schefferville in 1956. This mining town had been built since 1950 and many Indians from the Sept-Isles band had relocated there as well. These people had always hunted in the surrounding area and eventually formed the Schefferville Band of Montagnais. The two groups have shared a village site for the past twenty-five years. The Naskapi have become diglossic in Montagnais (but not vice-

versa, a reflection of the differing social status of the two groups). Today, the speech of young Naskapis shows heavy phonological and lexical borrowing from Montagnais.

The formation of regional Indian political organizations since 1970 has reinforced the division between East Cree and Montagnais groups. The use of syllabic and roman orthographies for the native language and of English and French as second language supports this division. It may be expected, then, that dialect differences which already existed between the groups will increase as contact between them is minimized.

Within the group of communities which make up the Grand Council of Crees (of Quebec) there is a tendency towards standardization of the syllabic orthography and vocabulary used for translating political documents. At the moment, two standards are evolving, a northern and a southern, following the dialect patterns which have been established. It remains to be seen whether a single standard will emerge.

5.6 Conclusion

This study has attempted, through the methods of dialect geography, to show the existence of a continuum of Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi dialects across Canada. The palatalized dialects of Quebec-Labrador form an integral part of this continuum. Within the palatalized dialects sub-groupings can be made according to the distribution of linguistic features. These sub-groupings have come about through the spread of linguistic innovations due to contact between groups of speakers. The

patterns of linguistic innovation and change correlate with patterns of social contact, due to marriage, trade and political factors, between Indian groups.

Recently the methods of dialect geography have been criticized as being inadequate and outmoded. Although detailed patterns of regional, social and stylistic variation which correlate with a large number of regional geographic and social factors cannot be described, patterns do emerge. There is a certain amount of evidence that these patterns are replicated in the speech behaviour of individuals or communities. For the purposes of describing linguistic variation among a non-stratified nomadic population, such as the Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi, dialect geography provides a necessary and entirely adequate starting point.