

CREE CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS
IN
A MASHKEKO ('SWAMPY CREE') COMMUNITY

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an ethnography of Mashkeko ('Swampy Cree') children's art. Specifically, the way in which Cree-speaking children in Kashechewan - a small isolated community on the west coast of James Bay - use drawings as a form of discourse is discussed. Using techniques developed for the structural analysis of myths, the content and form of 200 drawings made by ten Mashkeko children aged 6-12 years are compared and contrasted to show some general characteristics of Mashkeko children's art. It is hypothesized that these drawings function in a way that is analogous to speech and writing. The theoretical relevance of this hypothesis to some current debates about the structure of language is discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
TABLES, CHARTS AND DRAWINGS	viii
INTRODUCTION	
Background to Fieldwork	1
Outline of the Dissertation	6
A Note on the Transcription and Translation of Cree Words	7
Striking a Balance Between Privacy and Disclosure	9
On Matters of Style and Convention	11
CHAPTER 1 - THE PEOPLE OF KASHECHEWAN	
Introduction	13
Kashechewan Today	13
A Brief History of James-Bay Cree People	38
CHAPTER 2 - LIFE HISTORIES	
Introduction	53
Life History of Mathew Goodman	57
Life History of David Moses	72
Life History of Terry Moses	82
CHAPTER 3 - ANALYSIS OF THE CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS	
Introduction	97
Methodology	99
Analytical Framework and Key Concepts	103
Binary Structures in Language	110
Debates about the "Substance" of Language, Writing and Art	119
Cross-Cultural Studies of Children's Art	123
Provenience of the Children's Drawings	135
CHAPTER 4 - "IT'S PARTY TIME!"	
Introduction to the Children's Drawings in Chart 1.00	137
Visual Structure	138
Verbal Structure	144
Overview of the Relationship of Visual and Verbal Structure	149
Narrative Structure	158
Overview of Children's Drawings as a Locus of Knowledge	169

CHAPTER 5 - NINJA TURTLES AS GUARDIANS OF "THE GOOD LIFE"	
Introduction to the Children's Drawings in Chart 2.00	177
Visual Structure	178
Verbal Structure	187
Narrative Structure	197
CHAPTER 6 - BATTLING "MONSTERS" AND STRUGGLING TO DEFINE "SELF"	
Introduction to the Children's Drawings in Chart 3.00	210
Visual Structure	211
Verbal Structure	214
Narrative Structure	225
CHAPTER 7 - MASKING "EVIL" IN KASHECHEWAN	
Introduction to the Children's Drawings in Chart 4.00	266
Visual Structure	267
Verbal Structure	282
Narrative Structure:	
(1) Masks and "Unseen Forces"	287
(2) A Lesson in Despair	293
(3) Biblical Themes of Hell and Damnation	299
Summary	304
CONCLUSION - LANGUAGE AND WORDPLAY IN THE CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS	
Introduction	309
A Note on Wordcounts	310
Patterns of Wordplay	312
Interaction of Language and Thought	317
REFERENCES	456

TABLES, CHARTS AND DRAWINGS

	Page
TABLES	
Table 1. Number of Words Beginning with /m/	283
Table 2. Major Categories of Wordplay (Adjusted for Double Entries)	311
Table 3. Simplified Summary of Major Categories of Wordplay	312
CHARTS AND DRAWINGS	
Charts 1.00-4.00. Concordances	327
Charts 1.01-4.14. Key Drawings	336
Charts 5.01-7.07. Words Associated with Pictures	378
Drawings 1-52. Supplementary Drawings	406

INTRODUCTION

Background to Fieldwork

This dissertation is an ethnography about the world revealed in Mashkeko ("Swampy Cree") children's drawings. Using methods originally developed for the structural analysis of language and myths, I explore 200 pictures drawn by ten Mashkeko children living in the village of Kashechewan. The world depicted in these drawings is a complex place, composed of fragmentary images and words which come from a variety of sources, including a "real" world somewhere "outside" the drawings and a "phantasy" world, existing in the minds of the children and expressed through the medium of the drawings themselves. These two worlds exist simultaneously, folding together images of the present with memories of the past as well as melding Mashkeko traditions together with traditions from the so-called "dominant society". The pictures are also strongly mediated by the children's own childhood perceptions, which are different from those of adults.

In analyzing and interpreting Mashkeko children's drawings, I am of course imposing my own perceptions onto the children's world. My perceptions are shaped by my own personality and life experiences, as well as by my background and training as an anthropologist. My understanding of the world Mashkeko children present in their drawings is limited by the amount of time I spent living in their community. It is shaped by the people in the community who became my informants, by my reactions to them and their reactions to me.

While in Kashechewan I lived with Matthew Goodman, a 64 year-old widower who had a room to let in his house. The experience of living with Matthew and getting to know

members of his family had a powerful impact on the direction of my fieldwork. Indeed, it was Matthew's grandson Terry Moses whose prodigious artistic-ability first opened my eyes to the world of Cree children's drawings.

Terry, Ed, Sam, and Janey Moses, along with their cousins John and Anna Kiskinowin, visited Matthew Goodman's house practically every day. They typically arrived together, between 4:00 and 6:00 p.m. on school-days. On weekends and holidays the time of their visits was less predictable and the children seldom came as a group. It was at these times that the children made their drawings. This practice began within the first week of my arrival at Matthew's house. The children saw me writing fieldnotes on scraps of paper at the end of each day and seemed to try to emulate this behaviour. Since their writing abilities were rudimentary, they expressed their observations in drawings. I often asked the children to write me stories, but throughout my stay they preferred drawing. To accommodate the children, I provided them with blank paper and pencils.

It was not my intention to collect, analyse and interpret children's drawings when I first arrived in Kashechewan. My plan was to be a participant-observer in St. Andrew's School - the local primary school. I hoped to be able to document patterns of teacher/student interaction and was particularly interested in how the local school, its teachers and students "reproduced" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 36) aspects of the historic relationship between Mashkeko people and Anglo-Canadian society. By focussing on the symbolic aspect of "student resistance" (Giroux 1983: 98-111) and "cultural penetration" (Willis 1977: 119-44), I hoped to assess the impact of using English as the medium of instruction in St. Andrew's School. To this end I audited classes for several weeks in November 1990 and functioned as the Grade 4 teacher's classroom assistant throughout February and March of 1991. Despite numerous misunderstandings and problems with teachers and the school

administration, I managed to learn a great deal about local students' responses to structured learning in an English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) environment.

In addition to gaining insights about the relationship between students and teachers, my experience at St. Andrew's School was invaluable in helping me to trace links between resistance and learning styles among Cree children. It sensitized me to the interconnectedness of language, culture and thought, as well as to the great importance of nonverbal communication in ESL classrooms, which in turn "opened my eyes" to some of the underlying patterns in Cree children's art. However, it was Terry Moses' drawings which turned my attention from classroom ethnography toward an ethnography of Mashkeko children's art.

In December 1990, when I returned home to spend Christmas with my wife Kathryn, I was already beginning to realize that the focus of my research was changing. I brought about 50 children's pictures back with me and spent a great deal of time thinking about them during my three-week holiday. However, it took me another four months to realize fully that my dissertation was to be about Cree children's art rather than student resistance. During that time I collected nearly 1,000 Cree children's drawings.

The period between May and December 1991 was an extremely turbulent time for me. As soon as I got back from Kashechewan Kathryn informed me that she was seeking a divorce. Feelings of confusion and grief surrounding her decision made it extremely difficult for me to refocus my research. Nevertheless, in the spring and fall of 1991 I presented a series of unpublished papers on children's art which helped to distill my thoughts about how to analyze the drawings of Terry and the other children. In October 1991 I returned to Kashechewan for one month of focussed research on children's art, collecting the 148 drawings collated in Charts 1.00-4.00 of the Appendix.

Following my second visit to Kashechewan I spent two months collating the children's drawings which I had brought back with me. By presenting the drawings in concordances I was able to document the structural processes at work in them. While at work analyzing the visual structure of the drawings in the concordances one of those rare epiphanies occurred which fundamentally changed my understanding of the children's pictures. I was reviewing the visual structure of the drawings in Chart 1.00 when I began to practice Cree vocabulary by reciting the names of some of the objects which the children had depicted. Moving horizontally across the concordance, from picture to picture, it began dawning on me that there was an unexpected pattern to the Cree words I was reciting. By writing the Cree words above the drawings in the concordance I discovered that two-thirds of the Cree words designating the objects depicted by the children are involved in various sorts of alliterative wordplay. This wordplay involves drawings which are contiguous and occurs along both syntagmatic (horizontal) and paradigmatic (vertical) axes in the concordance.

For the next year I compiled concordances and word lists of the Cree and English names for every object depicted in each of the 148 drawings in Charts 1.00-4.00. Compiling these concordances and word lists was a laborious process requiring constant cross-checking; it was complicated by the lack of a standardized orthography for Cree words, as well as my own substantial limitations in using the Cree language. A number of people, including Alex McKay, Louis Bird, Philip Goodwin, C. Douglas Ellis and Michael Paul-Martin provided invaluable assistance in matters of transcription and translation. While not always approving of my method of analysis or agreeing with my interpretations, these people have done their utmost to help me.

Once I had finished compiling verbal concordances to accompany the children's drawings I was able to begin the painstaking task of analyzing the patterns of wordplay. I

discovered that alliteration was not restricted to Cree words, but often involved code switching into English. I refined my verbal concordances, selecting only those Cree and English words which seemed to be involved in alliterative wordplay. I compared patterns of syntagmatic and paradigmatic wordplay within and across concordances, as well as selecting a subset of words recurring in two or more concordances. However I "sliced" the data, the same pattern emerged: wordplay was associated with 75-100% of the drawings (Mean = 77%) in each concordance, and of this wordplay, 50-75% was in Cree (Mean = 65%) and 25-50% was in English (Mean = 35%).

In March 1994 I returned to Kashechewan for a one-week visit. By that time I had completed Chapters 4-7 of this dissertation and wanted to discuss my findings with the children and their families. I also wanted to obtain the life histories of Matthew Goodman and David and Terry Moses. The visit was extremely productive. While I am not sure that Terry, David and Matthew completely understood my research, they were all very encouraging about my work. Despite his considerable reticence, Matthew collaborated with me to write his own life history. Terry provided me with new drawings and several stories. David was particularly supportive, devoting many hours to telling me his life story and also helping me to interpret his children's drawings.

In many ways, my analysis of Cree children's art represents a radical departure from my original research agenda. However, in a larger sense this dissertation is a logical extension of the research I began in my M.A. thesis (Fulford 1988), which investigated the relationship of Ojibwe words and imagery in Midewiwin "song scrolls". In that thesis I analyzed 218 pictographs and associated chants collected by Hoffman (1891). In this dissertation I have refined the techniques of structural analysis which I developed in my MA

thesis and extended them to investigate patterns of visual and verbal associations found in Cree children's drawings.

Throughout this dissertation my theoretical approach has been eclectic. In addition to methods of structural analysis and interpretation I have - when appropriate - incorporated perspectives from other social sciences, including semiotics, linguistics, psychoanalysis, depth psychology, gestalt psychology, object relations, cognitive psychology, art therapy and, of course, ethnography. It has not been my intention to rely on any single theoretical perspective, but rather to draw on various theories to help elucidate the world view revealed in Cree children's drawings. I have explored these theories realizing their limitations in helping to elucidate and explain the thoughts and feelings expressed in and evoked by the children's drawings. Following Clifford (1988: 52) I suggest that human behaviour is inherently indeterminate and thus best interpreted using multiple theories, models and voices (with particular respect being paid to those of one's informants).¹

Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 provides an ethnographic background of the Mashkeko Cree people living on the west coast of James Bay. Beginning with my own impressions of the village of Kashechewan, I go on to review ethnographic, ethnohistoric, archaeological and ecological data pertinent to understanding the community depicted in the children's drawings.

Chapter 2 consists of two sections. The first section provides an introductory discussion about the value of life histories in ethnography, followed by my own reflections on some of the practical problems in writing life histories. The second section consists of

¹Concerning the breakdown of "ethnographic authority" also see Marcus and Cushman (1982), Clifford and Marcus (1986), Marcus and Fisher (1986) and Tyler (1987). For a critique of these texts see Sangren (1988).

a three-generation life history of Matthew Goodman, Matthew's son-in-law David Moses and David's son Terry.

Chapter 3 focuses on the analysis and interpretation of children's drawings. General theoretical issues, as well as details concerning methodology and interpretation are outlined.

A detailed analysis and interpretation of Cree children's drawings is presented in Chapters 4-7. Each chapter is devoted to examining the pictures collated in a single concordance. The pictures in each concordance were drawn by a group of children working individually but sitting together and thus reflect both intra- and interpersonal creative activity. A similar presentation of the visual, verbal and narrative structure of the drawings is followed in each chapter, with allowances being made for differences in the overall "flavour" of drawings in each concordance. Two additional sections in Chapter 4 provide theoretical overviews to assist understanding the relationship between: (1) visual and verbal structure, and; (2) the overall structure of the drawings and other forms of Cree knowledge.

In the concluding chapter I present an overview of the patterns of language use and wordplay occurring in the children's drawings and discuss how these patterns are related to syntagmatic and paradigmatic processes of association. The relationship between Cree language structures and thought as revealed in the children's drawings is also discussed. Patterns of wordplay in the children's drawings are also related to some current research on "children's language" and "speech play".

A Note on the Transcription and Translation of Cree Words

Ellis (1983: 16-20) has outlined the sound structure of the l-dialect of Mashkeko Cree used in Kashechewan, Moosonee and Moose Factory. This dialect (known as "Moose Cree") consists of the following 19 phonemes, which I have transcribed according to the Nichols and Nyholm (1979) system: *e, i, ii, o, oo, a, aa, p, t, k, ch, m, n, l, s, sh, w, y and h*. Unlike

Ojibwe, consonants are generally unvoiced in Mashkeko Cree (stops are typically voiced after long vowels, but such cases of assimilation are not strictly phonemic).

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) is the standard system of transcription used by most linguists. I have chosen to adapt Nichols and Nyholm's system to Mashkeko Cree rather than using the IPA because the Nichols and Nyholm system conveys the relevant features of the Mashkeko Cree language without burdening the reader with unnecessary phonetic details. While lacking the precision of the IPA, the Nichols and Nyholm system has been developed specifically for Algonquian languages. Individuals who have grown up speaking Ojibwe or Cree and reading so-called "Roman orthography" generally find the Nichols and Nyholm system much easier to learn than the IPA, and for this reason Nichols and Nyholm is rapidly becoming the standard in phonemic transcriptions and translations of Ojibwe texts. Faculty at Lakehead University's School of Education use the Nichols and Nyholm system to train Ojibwe and Cree language instructors. This system has also been used in Rhodes' (1985) Eastern Ojibwa/Ottawa dictionary, as well as in a variety of Ojibwe-language texts (Kegg 1983, 1991; Nichols 1988; Williams 1991).

Syllabics are used instead of the Nichols and Nyholm system in publications which are specifically targeted for individuals who are literate in syllabics. Such individuals are typically monolingual native-language speakers who have not learned to read and write in English. Until recently, *Wawatay* newspaper used to publish a syllabic supplement for such readers, most of whom reside in remote Northern communities. Cree-language curriculum materials recently developed by the Mushkegowuk Tribal Council and the Local Education Authority in Kashechewan (Goodwin 1993; McLeod and Moore 1993; Parkes 1993; Stephen 1991, 1992; Wesley 1993) are also published in syllabics.

Following Bloomfield (1930), most current Cree language materials (Ahenekeew 1987; Wolfart and Carroll 1981; Ellis 1983) use the International Phonetic Alphabet, although some text anthologies (Bear et. al. 1992; Vandall and Douquette 1987) are beginning to incorporate syllabics. It has been my experience that publications using the IPA are generally designed for international academic readerships. Publications using the Nichols and Nyholm system are currently restricted to the Ojibwe language and seem to be designed for native readers and nonspecialists who have learned to read and write in English. Publications in syllabics appeal to native readers who have learned to read and write in their native language using syllabics. Given the largely-academic nature of my readership I have thus chosen not to use syllabics in transcribing Cree words. To make my transcriptions comprehensible to these readers as well as Cree and Ojibwe-speakers, I have chosen to use the Nichols and Nyholm system rather than the IPA.

Striking a Balance Between Privacy and Disclosure

It is virtually impossible to write ethnography without using details from people's private lives. Throughout this dissertation I have tried to adhere to the Ethics Guideline of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). I have been particularly concerned about protecting the privacy of my informants, consulting them for guidance and advice whenever the issue of privacy arose.

Work with children poses unique problems for researchers. A relationship of trust must be established with both the child and his/her parents. Sometimes children disclose information which is potentially embarrassing to their families, yet invaluable in understanding the child's view of the world. Whenever possible, I have consulted with both children and their parents to discuss these matters.

Kashechewan possesses something most Southern cities seem to have lost - a sense of community. It is almost impossible to be anonymous in Kashechewan. Everybody appears to know what everybody else is doing, yet there is seldom any gossiping. Something akin to a rhythm ebbs and flows through the village; whenever it is broken, people quietly take note. For this reason, many of my informants seemed surprised to learn that I had chosen to use pseudonyms in this dissertation. The children, in particular, seemed confused when I told them that I had changed their names in order to protect their privacy. I tried to explain what privacy was and why it is sometimes best to be anonymous. I think the children understood the gist of what I was trying to say, but I am not sure that they always agreed.

Writing one's name on a drawing is a powerful symbolic gesture, conveying a sense of identification between the artist and his or her drawing. I have inscribed pseudonyms in the place of the actual names which appeared on the drawings reproduced in the Appendix. By inscribing pseudonyms I have tried to convey the effect of the actual names written on the drawings without compromising the artists' privacy. However, it is impossible to strike a perfect balance in these matters. One boy was particularly upset when I showed him how I had deleted his real name from the drawings he had given to me. He seemed to feel that removing his name had severed part of his connection with his drawings.

I have not disguised the name of the community in which I did my research. Like each of the four other communities on the west coast of James Bay, Kashechewan has its own unique character and it is my belief that the value of recognizing this character outweighs my informants' need for privacy. In providing personal details about my informants I have made it possible for residents in Kashechewan to identify some of them. However, in the words of an elder who had the patience to endure a long speech about my personal misgivings about

ensuring the privacy of informants: "We already know more about each other than you are telling us."

On Matters of Style and Convention

Ethnography, like any other form of writing, has its own conventions. Throughout this dissertation I have employed the "ethnographic present" when discussing matters which occurred during my fieldwork. When citing published sources, I have generally used the present tense when referring to authors who are still alive and the past tense when referring to authors who are deceased. Since most of my informants were male, I have tended to use the indefinite pronouns "he" and "him" more often than "she" and "her". When reference is ambiguous, I try to use gender-specific pronouns with equal frequency.

Much of what I have written about children's drawings is interpretative. I have tried to convey this by qualifying speculative statements with words like "seem" and "appear" or "suggest" and "indicate". The frequent use of such words may seem pedantic and repetitive to the reader, but is necessary to highlight the fact that interpretations are, by their nature, conjectural.

Throughout this dissertation I have described the alliterations, puns and other forms of wordplay associated with the children's drawings as being "unarticulated" and "unconscious". The first of these terms applies strictly to latent verbal expression, alluding to the fact that, as they were drawing, the children seem to have been engaged in a form of silent wordplay akin to "inner speech" (Vygotsky 1986: 235, 249). The second term is used in the Freudian sense (1900: 601-2) of "primary process" to suggest that the wordplay associated with the children's drawings seems to be mediated in ways more characteristic of dreams than "conscious" thought. It is significant, I believe, that parents and occasionally

even children in Kashechewan told me that they conceptualized drawings to be an articulation of dreams as much as a representation of some "external" reality.

The use of psychoanalytic and semiotic jargon and my attempt to quantify some of the patterns of wordplay in charts throughout the Appendix (egs. Charts 5.06-07) may give parts of my dissertation a positivistic "feel". It is not my intention to indulge in "misplaced concretism", but merely to find an effective way of describing what I perceive to be patterns underlying the structure of the children's drawings. In the age of "postmodern ethnography" it may seem quaint and perhaps even naive to talk about matters such as structure and form, but I must confess my belief that such concepts do have an enduring validity and utility.

Finally, I would like to address the matters of "cultural appropriation" and the "appropriation of voice" - topics which are currently the subject of a lively public discourse. It is important to be aware of the abuse and oppression marginalized individuals and groups have suffered and continue to suffer. Such individuals and groups must be given opportunities to tell their stories. But this in itself should not preclude others from using their stories. The ethnographic enterprise is premised on the belief that "outsiders" and "insiders" can benefit from each other's insights. However, for such insights to be of lasting value the ethnographer and his or her informants must respect and trust each other. Through their drawings, children in Kashechewan taught me a great deal about themselves, their families and their community. I have tried to convey some of what I have learned to the reader without violating the children's trust.

CHAPTER 1 - THE PEOPLE OF KASHECHEWAN

Introduction

In this chapter I will selectively discuss some ethnographic, geographic, historical and archaeological research in order to reconstruct a history of Mashkeko people living in Kashechewan. My goal is to outline how Mashkeko people have adapted to living in the Lowlands region of Hudson and James Bay. It is not my intention to present a comprehensive picture of research on Mashkeko people, but rather to provide enough information to help the reader contextualize and interpret the children's drawings presented in subsequent chapters. I will begin with my own impressions of Kashechewan, based on my experience of living in the community for approximately ten months.

Kashechewan Today

Kashechewan is situated on the north bank of the Albany River, approximately nine kilometers west of James Bay and ten kilometers northeast of Fort Albany. Both Kashechewan and Fort Albany are part of the Albany reserve, which occupies an area of 363 square kilometers (89,810 acres), most of which is on the north side of the Albany River (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1985: 10). The reserve is located in a physiographic region known as the Hudson and James Bay Lowlands. This region embraces a 325,000 square kilometer tract - mostly of muskeg and spruce forest - lying within the drainage basins of the Harricana, Nottaway, Moose, Albany, Attawapiskat, Ekwan, Winisk, Severn, Nelson and Churchill rivers (Simms *et al.* 1979: 2).

Mean daily temperatures in the Lowlands region average 10°C colder than in Toronto: about -23°C in January and 13°C in July (Gardner 1981: 6). The average growing

season is 120 days, which is 80-100 days shorter than in Southern Ontario and comparable to Labrador and most parts of Alaska (Rowe 1972: 156). Rivers normally freeze in late October or early November and break up in early-mid May (Winterhalder 1983a: 24-5). Ice often remains in coastal waters until the end of June. An average of 225 centimeters of snow accumulates in the Lowlands region during the winter (Thompson 1968: 270).

In many places throughout the Lowlands region only the top meter or so of ground thaws in the summer. This underlying belt of "discontinuous permafrost" is responsible for the formation of the distinctive peat hummocks which dot the inland landscape throughout much of the summer. The core of these hummocks is ice, causing them to stand above the surrounding thawed-out land (Sjörs 1959: 15). Lowlands soils are typically highly acidic and not suitable for agriculture (Gardner 1981: 13). The land itself is extremely flat, with many meandering brooks and small rivers feeding into the major rivers flowing into the sea. The low-lying land between the tributaries of the major rivers in the region is filled with fens, bogs, stagnant pools and small lakes. Along the coast are extensive tidal marshes and mudflats (Hustich: 1957: 8-9).

Coombs (1954: 2) characterizes the Lowlands region as "a patchwork of lakes, rivers and streams, as well as extensive areas of swamp and muskeg." He subdivides the region into three physiographic zones. River banks and elevated levees, which together constitute about 8% of the total area of the region, are the only dry land. They support the growth of white spruce, cedar, poplar and birch trees. Beyond this "dry zone" lies a vast "muskeg and small lake zone" in which stunted black spruce, red willow, tamarack and a variety of lichens proliferate. A "coastal zone" varying in width from a few hundred meters to ten kilometers consists (moving from the coast to the interior) of salt marshes, low beach ridges, freshwater marshes, meadows and thickets (Coombs 1954: 2-15; Sims *et al.* 1979: 20-31).

During the spring and summer a wide variety of ducks, geese and other migratory waterfowl use the wetlands of the coastal and muskeg zones as nesting areas. Snow geese which nest further north use the wetlands as a staging area in the spring and fall. The coastal zone is also inhabited by a wide variety of shore birds throughout the summer, as well as small herds of woodland caribou seeking relief from biting insects. Foxes and, in northerly parts of the Lowlands region - polar bears - can also be found along the coast during the summer.

Between breakup and freeze up moose tend to browse on water lily roots and other aquatic vegetation in small lakes situated at the head of creeks and small rivers in the muskeg zone. Beavers, muskrats otters and other fur bearing animals inhabit the shoreline of small lakes throughout the year. With the approach of cold weather, moose begin feeding on the twigs of red willows, birch and poplars growing on stream and river banks in the dry zone.

For about one month beginning in mid-September migratory birds which have nested in the Lowlands region head south. At about the same time woodland caribou move inland from the coast, following stream beds and river banks. During the winter woodland caribou inhabit frozen muskeg areas covered by stunted black spruce and lichen forests. In the past these forests were also wintering areas for barren ground caribou.

Compared to communities in southern Ontario, Kashechewan seems small and isolated. Thousands of years of human occupation and more than 300 years of intensive trapping have had a strong impact on the Lowlands ecology. Nevertheless, the absence of large-scale manufacturing or extractive industries contributes to the relatively pristine

appearance of the region. Clean air and water abound, major ecosystems remain intact, and many types of small and large game can be seen within walking distance of the village.¹

No permanent roads link Kashechewan to other communities on the west coast of James Bay or to population centers to the South. From January until early April a winter road built across the ice and frozen muskeg extends north from Kashechewan to Attawapiskat and south to Fort Albany, Moose Factory and Moosonee. Residents with snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles, cars and trucks use the winter road. From mid-May until late October residents use outboard freighter canoes to travel along the coast and up the Albany River. A barge provides inexpensive freight service to the James Bay communities at this time.

Nearly every day throughout the year small turboprop aircraft carry passengers, mail and freight from Moosonee to Fort Albany, Kashechewan and Attawapiskat. Connecting flights link Moosonee to Timmins and thence Ottawa and Toronto. Moosonee is also the northern terminus of the Ontario Northland Railway, which runs south to Toronto. Unlike Kashechewan, which feels very isolated from the rest of Ontario, Moosonee has the feel of a northern "frontier border town" (Molohon 1981).

Seen from the air, Kashechewan first appears as a narrow band of bare ground bulldozed out of the bush. A closer look reveals docks, boats and numerous long neat rows of houses running parallel to the shoreline. The green spire of the Anglican church rises, like a large spruce tree, above the southwest corner of the village.² The Pentecostal church

¹The pristine appearance of the Lowlands region should not be taken a reason for complacency. The ecology of the area is extremely delicate, with windborn industrial pollutants, radiation and pesticides having an especially strong impact (Banfield 1974: 387-8).

²A bird's-eye view of the Anglican church and its immediate environs is presented in Drawing 1, which was drawn by a 9-year old boy named Terry Moses.

meeting hall is less obvious from the air, being situated amid a cluster of homes in the northwest corner of the village. A small complex of buildings housing the band office, police station, jail and post office is located near the enter of the village. Next door to this complex is the Northern Store, where most residents do their grocery shopping. Further to the east is the nursing station, school (kindergarten-Grade 9), teachers' residences and a community center/hockey arena complex. *Mikopemakosiipish* 'willow creek' marks the eastern boundary of the village. Beyond the wooded eastern bank of *Mikopemakosiipish* is about five kilometers of freshwater marshland bush, a kilometer or so of tidal mudflats and then the seemingly endless expanse of James Bay.

In superficial ways, Kashechewan resembles a suburb from the South transplanted into the bush. Prefabricated "ranch-style" bungalows such as the one illustrated in Drawing 2 line the village streets, each one built on a small rectangular lot. Drawing 2 was made by Janey (Terry Moses' 6-year old sister). The Moses' house is divided into seven rooms - a central living room and adjoining kitchen with two bedrooms and what appears to be a bathroom on one side and a bedroom and dining room on the other side.

Janey's home has a number of modern conveniences, including an electric stove and refrigerator, washing machine, living and dining room furniture, a radio, television set and videocassette recorder. There is, however, no plumbing or central heating. A wood stove located between the kitchen and living room heats the entire house. The "bathroom" is located near the back door and consists of a small, dark unventilated room in which there is a plastic bucket with a moveable toilet seat balanced precariously on the top. Whenever the "toilet" becomes too full to use, one of Janey's brothers empties it in a pit behind the house. During the summer Janey and her family use an outhouse.

When members of Janey's family wish to bathe, they use a five-litre stainless steel mixing bowl kept on a wooden table beside the toilet in the bathroom. They fill the bowl with cold water kept in a large plastic barrel in the kitchen. Every few days Janey's father refills the barrel by hauling water in two 25-litre buckets. From May to November Janey's father carries the water from a community tap, located about 100 meters from the house. When the weather turns cold the tap freezes and Janey's father must walk to the river (about 500 metres from the house) to fill the water buckets. It usually takes three trips to completely fill the barrel in the kitchen. Once a week, on "washing day", Janey's father makes two more trips to get enough water for the washing machine.

Kashechewan's band council provides free housing to all band members. Without a tax base, let alone a system of taxation, band council must rely entirely on federal government grants for housing, roads, education, health care and other forms of community infrastructure. To keep costs as low as possible, band council does not pave local roads and builds most houses with inexpensive materials such as clapboard and aluminum siding. To further cut costs, nearly all houses are built without basements. Strong winter winds and extremely cold temperatures cause houses in Kashechewan to deteriorate rapidly. In addition, the annual freezing and thawing of the earth causes those houses built without solid foundations to heave and pitch so much that walls, ceilings, windows and doors are shifted out of alignment.

Janey's house is only a few years old, yet the interior moulding, wallboard, floors and ceiling are already beginning to break away from the studs and other interior support structures. Walls have crept so far out of true that windows no longer open and close properly. Last year the doorbolts and metal face plates on the doorframes in the house crept so far out of alignment that it became impossible to close the doors properly. In order to

rectify this problem, Janey's father removed all the doorbolts and doorknobs in his house (to lock the doors for extended periods of time, he nails them shut from the outside). Janey has clearly illustrated the gaping round holes which are left in the doors in Drawing 2.

Perhaps surprisingly, Kashechewan has both a water and sewage treatment plant. Band council installed these facilities and laid the necessary pipes beneath most of the village streets in the 1980s. Band council office, the school, teachers' residences, nursing station, Northern Store, Anglican Church and a handful of houses have flush toilets and hot and cold running water. Since most local residents cannot afford to pay the substantial charge to hook their homes up to water and sewage it appears unlikely that many more houses in the village will have running water in the foreseeable future. Those who have made the investment complain that their water pipes freeze during the winter, forcing them to use "honey buckets" and to haul water from the river just like everybody else in the village.

Janey's parents, along with most of Kashechewan's workforce, are chronically unemployed. Her family, like most others in the village, relies on welfare, family allowance and other forms of government assistance for a large portion of its income. However, most families in Kashechewan also gain a significant portion of their income (calculated in terms of replacement value) from meat, fish, furs and other products of traditional subsistence activities.³

³Based on a 1992 survey of the six First Nation communities on the west coast of James Bay, Farley (1992: Appendix 2) estimates that the average Mashkeko household consists of seven people, with a combined income of \$33,920. In 1992 the average Canadian household consisted of 3.1 people with a combined income of \$52,504 (Statistics Canada 1992: 1; 1992a: 9). Farley (*ibid.*) notes that 38% of the average Mashkeko household income is derived from "income support" programs, 30% from wages, 25% from "bush" (i.e. traditional subsistence) activities and 7% from "other" (miscellaneous) sources. When factoring wages from government jobs with income support programs, Farley (1992: 5) states "The public sector accounts for 54% of the present [regional] economy." Citing a 1991 economic study carried out by the Research Program for Technology Assessment in Subarctic

In 1991 per capita incomes for Mashkekos on the west coast of James Bay are \$4,845.71, a figure which is 28.6% of the national average (Farley 1992: Appendix 2; Statistics Canada 1992: 1; 1992a: 9). Despite this fact, many families in Kashechewan own snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles and outboard motorboats. Similarly, in spite of the lack of permanent roads extending beyond the village, a growing number of families also own cars or trucks.

To an outsider, it may seem to be a contradiction that residents of Kashechewan spend tens of thousands of dollars on different forms of motorized transportation, but not on improving community infrastructure. People in the village do not seem aware of the contradiction. Like people in the South, the residents of Kashechewan place the feeling of freedom and independence that comes with owning a motorized vehicle ahead of many other so-called "necessities" of life. But motorized transport also has a practical value in the North. Residents stress the importance of travelling to Moosonee on the winter road to obtain relatively inexpensive groceries, gasoline and consumer goods. They also point out the value being able to travel upriver and into the bush to fish and hunt. By choosing to settle in a sedentary year-round community, people in Kashechewan have to travel much further to hunt and trap than they did when they spent the winter on traplines. Skidoos and outboard motorboats have thus become essential components of their traditional subsistence activities.

Free housing, the availability of welfare and the presence of motorized vehicles, furniture and major appliances in most households might lead an uninformed observer to

Ontario (TASO), Farley (1992: 7) estimates the regional rate of unemployment to be 64.4%. Preston (personal communication) notes that in Kashechewan in 1990 the total replacement value of food derived from traditional pursuits was \$1,729,536, or about \$9,250 per household.

conclude that life is fairly easy for the people of Kashechewan. Such a conclusion ignores both the low level of household income in Kashechewan relative to the rest of Canada and the federal government's treaty obligations to Mashkekos. In 1905 Treaty Commissioners representing the Governments of Canada and Ontario seem to have promised housing, education, health care and a number of other basic provisions of life to the Mashkeko and Ojibwe people who formally surrendered approximately 233,000 square kilometers of their traditional lands to the Crown.⁴

Few people in Kashechewan say that they believe that the Governments of Canada and Ontario have fulfilled their treaty obligations to the Mashkeko people. Many residents in the village point to recent federal cutbacks to postsecondary education and community infrastructure projects for native people living on reserves as examples of the failure of Canadians to live up to their treaty obligations to Cree people. But local discontent with the perceived obligations of the provincial and federal governments is generally of a more diffuse nature. For example, Janey cannot understand why her house lacks a basement, central heating, running water and toilets when the school, church and band council office have these amenities. Janey's parents seem to feel that "the government" should somehow provide their

⁴As Long (1989: 41) points out, there are substantial contradictions between the oral testimony of native people who witnessed the treaty-making negotiations, the written records of the treaty commissioners, and the text of the treaty itself. The text of Treaty 9 states (Canada 1906) that in return for ceding their land to the Governments of Canada and Ontario, native peoples would receive: (1) reserves "not to exceed in all one square mile for each family of five"; (2) "due compensation" for reserve lands appropriated by Governments in the future; (3) an annuity of four dollars "to be paid only to the heads of families for those belonging thereto"; (4) the "right to pursue...hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered", and; (5) sufficient money "to pay such salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians and also to provide such school buildings and educational equipment as may seem advisable". In addition, chiefs were to receive "a suitable flag and a copy of [the] treaty". See Canada (1930) for a report of the adhesions made to Treaty 9 in 1929 and 1930. For a discussion of these documents see Long (1978a,b).

home with basic amenities available in other parts of her community. Janey's grandfather also feels "the government" has let down people in Kashechewan. He says he cannot understand why young men in the village can receive welfare, but will not get paid if they want to hunt and trap in the bush. Janey's father is resentful that provincial game wardens frequently tell Mashkekos from Kashechewan that they cannot hunt geese in the spring when they know that this is a "treaty right". Janey's mother says she cannot understand how the federal government can believe it supplies her community with adequate medical services when there is no doctor on staff at the local nursing station. Last fall Janey's mother was hospitalized in Timmins for a month after miscarrying. If a doctor had been at the nursing station and a prenatal unit had been closer, she believes that her baby might have been saved.

Basic services which people in other parts of Canada take for granted are not available in Kashechewan. This is true in the area of social services as well as in community infrastructure. For example, despite high levels of depression and addiction, Kashechewan lacks a qualified social counsellor. After miscarrying last year, Janey's mother was extremely depressed. Mary Moses felt terrible, but did not know where to turn. Her family did not know how to deal with her depression. Staff at the nursing station told her that she would soon get over it. The part-time social counsellor hired by the band office (his only qualification for the job is that he is a graduate from a summer Bible college) told Mary he would pray for her. Feeling that there was nowhere else to turn, Mary looked for ways to take her mind off her loss. If Mary had a job, she might have thrown herself into her work. In the absence of a "real" job, Mary looked for alternate ways to use her time productively. Believing that her recent misfortune might mark a turning point in her luck, Mary began playing poker and pokeno. She used her grocery money to gamble and she often lost. She borrowed money from friends and family to play more games, and lost again. As a result,

there was no money available to pay for repairs to the family snowmobile when it broke down. Mary's husband sold the snowmobile to a friend and used most of the money to pay off Mary's debts. With the money that was left he went on a drinking binge.

Since there is so little wage-employment in Kashechewan, watching television has become the major activity of many residents. Cable hookup to a satellite dish owned by the band council provides homes in the village with a wide variety of TV channels, including the major Canadian and American networks and some pay-TV services. A second satellite dish provides the school with access to TV Ontario's educational services. For several hours each day the Northern Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) provides programming in Cree, but the rest of the channels broadcast exclusively in English. Some Cree programming is also provided by a local affiliate of the Wawatay radio network, which broadcasts music, news and a popular lunchtime "talk show".

Like most other people in Kashechewan, Janey spends much more time watching television and playing video games than reading or listening to the radio. Janey's favourite TV program is "Sesame Street". Her brothers like watching a cartoon show based on the Ninja turtles movies, as well as professional wrestling and "Hockey Night in Canada". Janey's father likes watching hockey games too, as well as programs on hunting and fishing. Although she has difficulty following the dialogue, Janey's mother likes watching the "soap operas" broadcast on weekday afternoons. With the possible exception of "Sesame Street", the programs which are most popular in Janey's home can be followed with only a minimal attention to dialogue. Cartoons, hockey games, sports shows and, to a lesser extent, soap operas, are action-filled and plot driven. Since large parts of such programs can be understood without listening to the commentary or dialogue, monolingual Cree viewers are able to follow them quite easily.

Hockey is indisputably the most popular sport in Kashechewan. No other sport comes close to hockey in terms of popularity and local involvement. In addition to watching National Hockey League (NHL) games broadcast by the CBC and "Junior A" games broadcast on The Sports Network, most residents attend local games played every night from the beginning of December until the end of March. These games are played in the community arena, which was built in 1990. A large number of boys and men in Kashechewan play hockey on one of the fourteen local teams which vie for ice time at the arena. These teams regularly play against each other, as well as against teams from Fort Albany, Attawapiskat and Moose Factory.

Janey's grandfather does not remember watching or playing hockey until the 1960s. When he was growing up Matthew remembers playing hide and seek and a form of tag called *mahikan* 'wolf' with his siblings and cousins. However, Matthew spent much more time learning "bush" skills than playing games when he was a boy.⁵

The first time Matthew recalls seeing Mashkeko people skating on the ice of the Albany River was in the 1960s. It was at that time that the manager of the "Bay" store started stocking skates and hockey equipment. At first, Mashkeko people did not have much time or money to devote to playing hockey. Hockey players used to fashion their sticks out

⁵Mashkekos do not appear to have played any games resembling hockey before the 1960s. In addition to the games mentioned by Matthew Goodman, Flannery (1936) notes that Mashkeko boys and men traditionally played tug of war, cup and pin, snowsnake and a game resembling badminton that was played by two individuals with bats and a ball. Mashkeko girls played *mahikan*, hide-and-seek, a make-believe house game and a ball game resembling modern-day broomball. Flannery (1936: 52) says that Mashkeko people did not traditionally draw age distinctions in their games (adults played the same games as children, often alongside them), but notes (1936: 55) that gender distinctions were important (men and boys did not play with girls and women). Among Mashkeko people, she states (1936: 55) that "There is no challenge and no drive to triumph over contestants", adding that "Ability to do things, not to beat others, is what counts."

of plywood. A few men even made their own skates by lashing home-made blades onto their winter boots. Hockey games were infrequent, occurring most often during the period between Christmas and New Years, when families from the bush congregated at Fort Albany. For most of the rest of the winter, young men were too busy on their traplines to spend time skating or playing hockey. However, with the gradual loss of incentives and motivation to trap, Cree men spent more and more time throughout the winter with their families in the village and had an increasing amount of leisure time to play hockey.

Janey's father first saw organized hockey games when he went to high school in the late 1970s. When he left high school and returned to Kashechewan he saved up to buy a pair of skates and then began playing hockey with other teenage boys. The boys cleared a rink on the frozen surface of the Albany River near the "Bay" store and played on all but the coldest and windiest days.

When television arrived in Kashechewan in the mid-1980s, the popularity of hockey surged. Mashkeko people did not need to understand English to follow hockey games on TV. The speed, skill and courage of the NHL players and the fact that hockey was already being played locally had a tremendous impact on viewers in Kashechewan. The outcome of nightly broadcasts of hockey games and sports reports about NHL team standings became a favourite topic of conversations. Wayne Gretzky, Mario Lemieux, Brett Hull and a host of other hockey stars became role models for boys who were searching for somebody successful with whom to identify. Boys and young men whose fathers had dreamed of being successful hunters and trappers dreamed themselves of wearing a NHL team uniform. While such dreams may have been unrealistic at the time, they inspired the organization of more and more local teams, which in turn motivated the band council to build a community arena. A staff to run the arena was hired and individuals were trained to coach and officiate.

Committees were established to organize tournaments and to raise money to cover the expense of sending the best local teams to compete in other communities. By the early 1990s nearly every family in Kashechewan had one or more members playing on a local team and was spending hundreds of dollars annually to equip aspiring players with the latest high-tech skates, colourful team uniforms, pads, helmets and hockey sticks.

Janey's two oldest brothers - Ed and Terry - play hockey on a pee-wee team which has travelled to Waskaganish, Timmins and Saugeen for tournaments. Janey's father does not play much hockey anymore. Instead, he devotes his attention to helping out the local pee-wee team on which his sons play. Janey and her mother would like get involved with hockey too, but for the moment there are limited opportunities for girls and women to play or coach hockey in Kashechewan.

As in many other parts of Canada, most people in Kashechewan perceive hockey to be "a man's sport". As a result, girls and women have been unofficially excluded from the game. In the winter, when her brothers are playing hockey, Janey and her best friend Anna slide down the snow-covered bank of the Albany River on a piece of cardboard. When the weather is warmer, the girls often play tag, hide and seek, or frolic on the swings in the school playground (Drawing 3). Sometimes they wade along the shore; afterwards they lie high above the water on the riverbank, sunning themselves and watching the clouds drift by (Drawing 4).

Female recreational activities in Kashechewan are generally less organized than those of males. This is not because Mashkeko women are less organized or more individualistic than Mashkeko men. Nor is it because women in Kashechewan have little time to devote to sporting activities. Quite simply, in Kashechewan less resources have been devoted to sporting activities for girls and women than to activities for boys and men. There is,

however, one organized women's team sport in Kashechewan - broomball. Broomball resembles hockey, but it is played in a gym rather than on ice and players use brooms and a ball rather than hockey sticks and puck. Both Janey and Anna's mothers play broomball on local teams.

In Kashechewan broomball is played in the gymnasium of St. Andrew's school. Broomball is a fast and exciting game to watch as well as to play, but limited space in the gym makes it difficult for spectators to attend. In addition, the "sandwiching" of broomball games between other community activities in the school gym restricts time for practice and competition. Lacking a prominent profile in Kashechewan, broomball is unlikely to become as popular as hockey in the foreseeable future.

Differences in the amount of time, money and attention devoted to hockey and broomball reveal much about contemporary Mashkeko values. Both sports are closely tied to traditional Mashkeko patterns of work which today, as in the past, are strongly differentiated on the basis of gender. Traditional perceptions that women's work is generally confined to the area in and around home continue in Kashechewan today.⁶ By choosing school as the venue for broomball, women continue to be associated with children during leisure-time activity. Hockey, on the other hand, is associated (albeit indirectly, now that it is played in an arena) with the outdoors. As with traditional male activities such as caribou hunting and the trapping of fur-bearing animals, hockey is an activity which usually takes place in the winter at a considerable distance from women, young children and home.

⁶A notable exception to this pattern was at the time of menstruation, when women were traditionally isolated in a small hut at the margin of camp. Brightman (1993: 125-32) interprets these rites as being predicated on an opposition between women's menstrual blood and the blood of animals as symbols of fertility. Concerning Mashkeko distinctions between men's and women's work see Graham (1969: 175-9), Flannery (1935) and Blythe *et al.* (1985). On women in fur-trade society see Van Kirk (1980).

The nature of both men and women's work has clearly changed with Cree people's transition from a subsistence to a cash-based economy. Many traditional "bush skills" have been supplanted by skills appropriate to an industrially-based urban economy. But Kashechewan lacks an industrial base to generate the capital necessary to sustain local community infrastructure.

In the past, when they lived on traplines, Mashkeko men maintained a degree of self sufficiency and economic independence. Traditional bush skills were essential for survival and highly prized. Skilled hunters are still respected in the community, especially by people who grew up in the bush. Hunting also has a perceived economic value. By supplying their families with "country food" hunters can redirect grocery money into other ventures. In addition, hunters derive income by selling surplus meat to other people in the village for an average price of about \$10 a kilogram.

While older generations who grew up in the bush still respect individuals who are good trappers, few people in Kashechewan seem to consider trapping to be a form of "work" anymore. Unlike hunting, the real and perceived value of trapping has declined dramatically in Kashechewan. Only five men trapped steadily throughout the winter of 1993-1994, compared to approximately 60 in 1991. This decline appears to be the result of the shrinking market for furs which has been brought about by the lobbying efforts of the animal rights movement and has been further exacerbated by the worldwide economic recession of 1990-1993. The decline in demand for furs is reflected in the price trappers from the James Bay region are paid for their pelts. For example, the average price paid for a beaver fur in 1990-1991 (the latest year for which there are published statistics) was \$13.18. This price represented a 20-year low - down 30% from the year before and 65% from the price paid

in 1986-1987.⁷ According to local trappers the price for beaver and other furs has not recovered since 1991 and is below the actual cost of trapping (Archie Wesley, personal communication).

In talking with people in Kashechewan and other James Bay communities it has frequently been suggested to me that the perceived value of traditional men's work has depreciated a great deal since the 1980s. However, the perceived value of women's work, it is often asserted, has remained relatively high, despite the fact that its real economic value is ignored (women are not remunerated for domestic tasks which they perform in their own homes). This perception seems to confirm what Cruikshank (1976: 109) has pointed out, namely that native women "have more to gain and less to lose than [native] men by trying to adapt to the new cultural system."

Evolving differences in the nature of work are undoubtedly the source of family tension in Kashechewan. Most Mashkeko men who relinquished their traditional role as hunters and trappers in order to integrate into a cash-economy have been forced to rely on welfare. Welfare pays most of the bills, but it does not provide much meaning for people's lives. In the past, Cree men were busy working in the bush throughout the winter. Today, with little to occupy them, men in Kashechewan turn to leisure activities to provide meaning to their lives. Playing hockey has become much more than a "game" for many of these men. Hockey has become a substitute for "work" and, as such, the primary source of identity, pride and accomplishment.

Hockey has tremendous economic, as well as symbolic importance to people in Kashechewan. In the 1980s the local band council borrowed more than \$1 million to build

⁷Overall, the price paid for wildlife pelts in 1990-1991 fell 26.8% from the previous year. For a summary of the number and value of wildlife pelts sold by Province and Territory in Canada from 1965 to 1991 see Statistics Canada (1991 and 1993: 27-32).

the local arena. To pay help defray arena building costs and annual operating expenses, the band council runs weekly bingo games in the community centre. These games are well-attended (mostly by women) and are extremely profitable, a single game generating revenue of several thousand dollars.

In the absence of other significant forms of production and exchange in Kashechewan, bingo has acquired a symbolic and economic importance equal to that of hockey. However, the nature of the two games varies considerably. Unlike hockey, bingo players do not need to invest large amounts of time to acquire physical skills, nor do they need to purchase expensive equipment. To play a large number of cards during a single game, bingo players certainly require dexterity and deftness, not to mention mental focusing and a sharp memory. But, unlike hockey, winning or losing at bingo is much more a matter of chance than of skill.

Bingo games in Kashechewan attract a wide variety of people. The dream of "winning the jackpot" inspires immense local involvement, with particularly enthusiastic or desperate individuals spending hundreds of dollars at the community centre in a single night. Indeed, the penchant for bingo is so strong that many people, in addition to participating in games at the community centre, also buy cards for games broadcast each week on the local radio station, as well as on a community cable-TV channel in Timmins. Cards for these games are sold by local vendors and winners can be redeem their cards by sending them to the sponsors of the games. In addition, many avid bingo players also attend games in other James-Bay communities, as well "monster bingo" games in Timmins, Sudbury and Toronto.

Most of the money spent on "radio bingo" and games held at the community arena funnels back into the local economy to support hockey and other activities. On the other hand, money spent on "TV bingo" and games held outside Kashechewan flows out of the community without bringing any benefit (with the exception of occasional winnings) back to

the community. Despite this fact, the lure of "the biggest bingo in the world" lures many people further and further afield.⁸

Provincial law prohibits unlicensed individuals from operating "gaming houses" in most parts of Ontario. However, the jurisdiction of provincial law is somewhat complicated by Section 91(24) of the British North America Act, Section 88 of the Indian Act, Section 35(1) of the Constitution Act, and the legal interpretations of these acts.⁹ The net effect of this constitutional and legal confusion is that semi-legal "gaming houses" and bingo facilities operate on many native reserves throughout Ontario. Some of these facilities - such as the bingo games run to support hockey in Kashechewan - are technically "non-profit". Others, however are run as strictly commercial enterprises.

In Kashechewan commercial gambling has become a cottage industry. It is difficult to estimate the actual proceeds from "private" games, but it is my impression that it is quite

⁸In *The Rez Sisters* Cree playwright Tomson Highway conveys the nearly-mythical appeal of bingo to native people from impoverished reserve-communities. In this fictional account of reserve life, Highway describes the dreams of seven native women who raise \$1,400 to attend "the biggest bingo in the world". By depicting the "bingo master" as a traditional Ojibwe mythic hero, Highway satirically compares bingo to the way in which traditional stories and dreams inspire the imagination of native people. While Highway clearly caricatures bingo players for the sake of humour and drama, he does capture what I perceive to be the essence of bingo's appeal to many native (and non-native) people. In a similar way, Highway presents a chillingly accurate picture of violence and abuse on reserve communities in his play *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing*.

⁹Section 91(24) of the BNA Act proclaims that the federal government has jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians". Section 88 of the Indian Act states that "Subject to the terms of any treaty and any other Act of Parliament of Canada, all laws of general application from time to time in force in any other province are applicable to and in respect of Indians in the province, except to the extent that such laws are inconsistent with this Act". Section 35(1) of the Constitution Act recognizes "existing aboriginal and treaty rights" without defining what those rights might be. For an overview of the "special status" of First Nations peoples in Canada see Boldt and Long (1988) and Henderson (1988). On the BNA Act, Indian Act, Constitution Act and judicial interpretations of these documents see Sanders (1988) and Little Bear (1988), Romanow (1988).

small. Private bingo games take place in people's homes. To participate in one of these games, players pay a cover charge of from \$50 to \$100 in addition to the cost of buying bingo cards. Although prizes are much smaller than those offered in games at the community centre, many players regularly attend private games, apparently believing that their chance of winning is much higher.

Bingo is unquestionably the most popular form of gambling in Kashechewan, but poker and pokeno are also well-liked. Many people play games such as solitaire and cribbage to entertain themselves, but only bingo, poker and pokeno games are organized commercially in the village. Like private bingo games, villagers learn when and where a poker or pokeno game will happen by word of mouth. Hosts provide cards, poker or pokeno chips, tables, chairs and other paraphernalia and try to insure that no cheating takes place. For these services the host charges each player a fee of from \$15 to \$25, depending on how many hands they play.¹⁰

Along with hockey and gambling, the consumption of alcohol has become an extremely popular leisure activity in Kashechewan. Although the local band council has passed a bylaw making the purchase and consumption of alcohol illegal in Kashechewan, many residents smuggle it with relative impunity from Moosonee and Fort Albany, which have no such restrictions. As a result, alcoholism is the most visible of local social problems. Inebriated people can be seen wandering down the streets of Kashechewan nearly every night, their numbers increasing manyfold in the days following the arrival of welfare cheques.

¹⁰Flannery (1936: 55-6) states that in the 1930s "The Cree and Montagnais of James Bay...had no gambling at all." During his visit to Attawapiskat in 1961 Nonas (1963: 10) observed that "There is little else for a man to do but play cards all summer and watch the dogs fight." From his description (1963: 9) of these card games it does not appear that money was wagered.

Gambling and the excessive consumption of alcohol seem to lead to abusive behaviour in Kashechewan. While I never witnessed abusive behaviour in either Janey or Anna's homes, I regularly saw evidence of such behaviour in the streets outside many other homes in the village. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes provides a typical example:

This afternoon (3 April 1991) I went cross-country skiing. As I was heading towards the river I passed two men fighting in the street. Both were barefoot and nearly naked. A crowd had gathered to watch them kicking, punching and hurling insults at each other. A little girl ran out of a nearby house with a baby in her arms. "It started in my house," she told me, "and then they came out here." After a few minutes, apparently numbed by the cold, the two men went into the house from which the little girl with the baby had emerged. I returned home and phoned the police.

The morning after the incident which I have just described, I found an 8-year old girl standing in a mud puddle outside the school. She was staring blankly at her feet. Recognizing the girl to be a younger sister of the girl who, the day before, had run from the house with the baby in her arms, I called to her.

"Hello Mary Lou," I shouted. "What's wrong?" As Mary Lou looked up from the mud puddle, I could see that she had a black eye. "People were drinking in my house," Mary Lou told me, "and somebody hit me." I waded into the puddle and gave Mary Lou a hug. Then I asked her if she should visit the school guidance counsellor with me. She said "OK", so we went to his office. I asked Mary Lou to tell the guidance counsellor what she had told me. She talked with the guidance counsellor for about 10 minutes. Afterwards the guidance counsellor took Mary Lou to her classroom. At lunch time I saw Mary Lou walking home for lunch with a group of other children. She stood alone on the porch outside her house for about five minutes before finally opening the door to go inside.

While many people in Kashechewan are aware of the social problems in their community, an ethic of "non interference" (Ross 1992: 12-28) seems to prevent most of them from intervening in cases like that of Mary Lou. This attitude may be a hold-over from earlier days, when Cree people lived on the land and the incarceration of a parent often jeopardized the entire family's survival. In such cases it was usually better not to report

most crimes to police or government officials and to concentrate on rehabilitation of the offender.¹¹ However, it would be wrong to think of the ethic of non-interference in purely instrumental terms, since it is deeply rooted in traditional Mashkeko spiritual attitudes about "power" and "control" (Preston 1976: 475 and 1979: 84; Preston and Preston 1991: 137).

With an increase in the number of reported cases of abuse, a shelter for battered women was established in Moose Factory in the 1980s. Although battered women and children from Kashechewan are encouraged to use the shelter, many seem to be reluctant to leave their community and families. Since social workers are obliged to tell victims of abuse that they may be called to assist the Crown in pressing criminal charges against their abusers, victims of abuse are reluctant to confide details, seeming to prefer the prospect of further abuse to the risk of being separated from and ostracized by their spouses and families.

Local churches in Kashechewan have launched vigorous campaigns against addictive and abusive behaviour. Native lay preachers called "catechists" have recently adopted a "fire and brimstone" approach which appears to have been inspired by TV evangelists. This approach has had - at best - marginal success. Attendance at the two local churches varies considerably from year to year and season to season. Churches are normally fullest during the winter, especially at Christmas and Easter. Attendance rapidly falls off during the spring goose hunt, when many families leave the village to go camping, and it remains low throughout the spring and summer, picking up again with the arrival of cold weather.

Addictive and abusive behaviour in Kashechewan seem to be the byproducts of the rapid switch from a subsistence to cash-based economy and the accompanying high rates of

¹¹Elders with whom I spoke claimed that addictive and abusive behaviour were extremely rare among Mashkeko people before they began moving to reserves in the 1950s. It would thus seem that such behaviour is a consequence of problems associated with adapting to a sedentary lifestyle and cash-economy.

unemployment. When Janey's grandfather Matthew Goodman was young, Mashkeko people spent most of the year living on camps near their traplines, coming together in temporary villages only during the summer months. Matthew does not recall playing bingo when he was a young man. He does remember playing poker, but notes that prior to the 1970s only men gambled and that when they bet they used matches rather than money.

Matthew Goodman visited his trapline for the last time in 1985. Since then he has seldom ventured out of Kashechewan. Matthew's parents and many of his neighbours adopted a sedentary lifestyle many years before he did. It was in the 1950s that the federal government developed social-assistance programs and launched a campaign to move Mashkeko and other native people off their traplines. Indian agents purportedly told hunters and trappers that they would get well-paying local jobs, free housing and income assistance, and that their children would be educated in government schools. Houses and schools were built and income assistance programs became available, although initially at woefully inadequate levels. Opportunities for local employment, however, did not keep up with the flood of people leaving their traplines. Most Mashkeko people were reluctant to leave their reserves to find jobs in the South. In this depressing environment, dreams of golden opportunities quickly soured. Addictive and abusive behaviour proliferated.

As Mashkeko people in the Albany band adopted a sedentary lifestyle, hostilities started to erupt between Roman Catholic and Anglican factions in the community. A degree of competition had always existed between the two churches in the James Bay region. However, when sectarian differences erupted into violence a group of Anglican families moved from Fort Albany to the present site of Kashechewan. That was in 1958. In the following three years nearly all the Anglican families in Fort Albany moved to the other side of the river. They called their community Kashechewan. As its population grew, the federal

government assisted residents in building a school, band office, roads and other infrastructure.

Despite modest improvements in their standard of living, many people in Kashechewan appear to feel that their quality of life is actually deteriorating. Nearly everybody in the community voices concern that there is not enough local employment. Most residents express optimism that schooling will provide the best way for future generations to find jobs. However, it is not clear how formal education alone can alleviate unemployment and its associated social problems.

Janey and her brother Terry say that they would like to go to high school when they are old enough. Their two brothers Sam and Ed do not like school very much, and says that they would prefer to learn how to hunt and trap like their grandfather. David and Mary Moses do not know what to tell to their children. They are worried that if Janey and Terry end up going to high school, they might start drinking alcohol or taking drugs. They are also worried that Janey and Terry might not want to come back to Kashechewan after they graduate from high school. At the same time, they are concerned that if Ed and Sam drop out of school, they may never be able to find jobs.

Janey's grandfather Matthew Goodman is not sure school is a good thing for his grandchildren. He says school is the main reason children in Kashechewan are losing their language and their culture. Matthew grew up in the bush. As a young man he learned how to survive and bring up a family living on a trapline. He extols the virtues of bush life, yet - like many other people in Kashechewan (including Janey's father) - Matthew does not hunt, trap or fish anymore. Matthew has not tried to impart his "bush skills" to his grandchildren, despite the fact that they are eager to go out into the bush with him. As a result, Matthew's grandchildren have grown up eating mostly foods imported from the South such as

hamburger, pizza, macaroni, and Kentucky fried chicken, which are available in the frozen food section of the local Northern Store.

Changes in diet are just one way in which Mashkeko people are adopting innovations from the South. Television presents what is arguably the most pervasive influence from the "dominant society". Since satellite broadcasts first became available in Kashechewan in the 1980s nearly every household has acquired a TV set. Mashkeko families now spend many hours each day watching TV programs, the majority of which are broadcast in English over American networks. Indeed, children in Kashechewan are beginning to behave in ways which suggest that they perceive the world they view on TV as being as "real" as the muskeg, spruce forest, lakes and rivers which surround their village. Janey's brothers can recite endless facts about NHL hockey players, yet they cannot remember the Cree names for many local plants and animals. Janey herself is familiar with Big Bird, Bart Simpson and the Flintstones, but does not know much about characters in traditional Cree stories such as Chakaapish, Wisekachak or Shinkipish. Yet, as I shall show in subsequent chapters, Janey and her brothers, like many other children in Kashechewan, retain a way of structuring the world which, despite many changes to their culture, has remained fundamentally Mashkeko.

While there is much general concern in Kashechewan about the loss of Mashkeko language and culture, very few people are actually doing constructive work to preserve and promote these things. Responding to what they perceive to be the imminent loss of traditional Cree knowledge, a small group of concerned parents and teachers have begun to record local stories, some of which have been transcribed into Cree syllabics and published. A number of people are also pressuring administrators on the Local Education Authority (LEA) to introduce Cree as the medium of instruction at St. Andrew's School. Local opinion on this matter seems divided, many parents believing their children should be learning

English and not Cree at school. In the spring of 1994 the LEA launched a community survey to determine whether or not to introduce Cree as the medium of instruction in the school, but to date the results have not been collated and analyzed.

Recognizing the importance of encouraging parents to teach their children Cree bush traditions, the LEA has designated two weeks each April as a school holiday. This holiday, known as "goose break", enables children to accompany their families to spring campsites where Canada geese are hunted. In many cases, families locate goose camps near the site of their old traplines. The spring migration of Canada geese has been an important part of the traditional cycle of James-Bay Cree life at least since the introduction of guns into the James-Bay area, and possibly much earlier (Craik 1974; Preston 1975a, 1978). "Goose break" thus allows families in Kashechewan to renew their tie with the land and their "bush traditions", as well as providing them with a valuable and much-needed source of food.

The actions of involved parents, the LEA, and some administrators and teachers at St. Andrew's School are laudable and do seem to be helping to rekindle pride in the Cree language and culture. Indeed, after a generation of dormancy, storytelling and bush skills seem to be on the verge of a revival in Kashechewan. While such traditions undeniably have a place in modern Mashkeko society, it would be naive to believe that the cultural and socioeconomic conditions which gave rise to them can be recreated or that change has never before occurred among Mashkeko people.

A Brief History of James-Bay Cree People

The late elder James Wesley used to say that Mashkeko people called the Albany River *kakikishichiwān* 'great everlasting river' for as long as anybody could remember.¹²

¹²When Anglican families moved away from Fort Albany in the 1950s they used this name for their new community. Many Mashkekos have since adopted "Kashechewan" (an English corruption of the Cree name) as the name of their community.

Numerous historical sources cited by Pentland (1981: 228-9) attest to the aboriginal use of this word. When the Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay (later known as the Hudson's Bay Company) established a fur trading post near the mouth of *kakikishichiwan* in the 1680s, they named it Fort Albany, in honor of Henry Stuart, the 6th Duke of Albany and father of King James I of England. To this day the English name of this settlement has prevailed in local usage over the Cree name - *pihtapekohk* '[place on] the ox-bow lake'.

As the pre-eminent custodian of legends and oral history in Kashechewan, James Wesley told many stories about Mashkeko people's early years of contact with Europeans, some of which were recorded by John Long (1986: 25-9, 39-40, 41, 43-6, 51, 56, 64-6) and later published as a book. The following is Wesley's (1993: 11) description of his ancestors' first contact with Europeans:

A long time ago, two Indians were among the driftwood up on the shore at the mouth of the Churchill River. They saw traces of someone else that were strange to them. They found that some wood had been cut using a fancy cut; this turned out to be from a saw for sawing logs. They also saw footprints in the sand. The two Indians stayed around here for a time. While there, they saw something in the distance in the Bay. Something that looked like a sail. This object came closer and closer. They saw the sails of the ship.

Mashkeko people call Europeans *wemistikoshwak*, which has been taken to mean "white man", but which literally translates as "stick-waving people". Ojibwe historian William Warren (1885: 117) suggested that this term refers to Jesuit priests' habit, when they first disembarked from boats, of consecrating land by waving the cross. However, people in Kashechewan generally reject this interpretation, suggesting that the "waving stick" actually refers to the rocking movement of the masts of early square-rigged European sailing vessels.

In Wesley's account, the two Indians who first spotted the sailing ship on the Churchill River were initially frightened of the Europeans on board. However, in time their fear subsided.

Through signs, the white people were able to tell the Indians that it was they who had cut the wood and whose tracks the Indians had seen the day before. The white people took the Indians aboard. The Indians were not worried; they did not think that they would be harmed or killed, because when the white man first saw them, they were sort of glad in seeing the two.

According to Wesley, before the two Indians left the ship, the white men had given them tobacco, matches and a gun (but no ammunition). Although the ship left shortly thereafter, other ships arrived at the same spot an unspecified period of time later.

Wesley's narrative seems to be an archetypal account of early contact experiences rather than a specific account of a single experience. His story could describe the meeting of Mashkeko people with any one of the early explorers who, in searching for the Northwest Passage, sought shelter in the natural harbour at the mouth of the Nelson River. Explorers who recorded visiting the Nelson River include Thomas Button (August 1612-June 1613), Jens Munk (September 1619-June 1620) and Luke Foxe (8-20 August 1629). In addition, the Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay sent Captain Draper to the Nelson River in 1680. Two years later the Company dispatched Zachary and Ben Gillam with two ships to build and man two forts on the Nelson River.¹³

In addition to building forts on the Nelson River, the Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay established outposts on Charlton Island and at Rupert's House, Moose Factory, Fort Albany and the Severn River. Believing that the English were making incursions onto land that was part of New France, the Compagnie du Nord (French rival of

¹³For details of these and other early expeditions to the Hudson Bay region see Tyrell (1931: 3-12) and Kenyon (1986: 1-9).

the Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay) sent two ships to establish a fort on the Hayes River. The French seized the two English forts on the Nelson River in the winter of 1683. For the next 30 years, until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, control of these and other forts in the region switched back and forth between the French and English.¹⁴

James Wesley (1993: 11) recounted that "smoke could be seen on the horizon" during the time when the French and English battled for control of James and Hudson Bay. "This," he continued,

was a very long process of white men competing against each other to possess and gain resources from lands that were formerly occupied by the Indians. Today we feel the burden of all this. The pressures created by companies trying to control areas in our midst. We are feeling the confusion, the pressures that are now here, which we did not have before the whiteman came. And, all in all, the *manitu* or Great Spirit must have known about it, how things were going to be after His creation.

With British hegemony established over the James and Hudson Bay posts after the Treaty of Utrecht, the Company of Adventurers Trading Into Hudson's Bay (renamed the Hudson's Bay Company) began to re-establish its fur trade, which had been disrupted by the hostilities between England and France. However, as Ray (1974: 14) has pointed out, the French continued to undermine the British trade by arming Lakota people from the western prairies and encouraging them to attack Assinboine, Ojibwe, Cree and other tribes trading at the Hudson's Bay Company posts. The intertribal warfare which proliferated during the next half-century was caused by native groups trying to control the trade between the

¹⁴For details on the battle for control of James and Hudson Bay see Innis (1970: 43-83), Tyrell (1931: 11-31), Kenyon (1986b) and (Ray 1974: 3-26).

Hudson's Bay Company posts on the coast and tribes in the hinterland.¹⁵ This period is documented in Mashkeko oral history (Long 1986: 43-4; Wesley 1993: 18-24) as well as in standard historical sources (Graham 1969: 253-5; Innis 1970: 84-145; Ray 1974: 51-71; Ray 1987; Moodie 1987: 143-144).

Prior to contact with Europeans, Mashkeko Cree people subsisted entirely through hunting, fishing and gathering and were organized into loose patrilineal bands (Skinner 1911: 56). Early historical sources (Bacqueville de la Potherie 1931: 224; Oldmixon 1931: 382; Graham 1969: 184-7) indicate that these bands were based on the extended family, which continues to be an important part of contemporary Mashkeko society today. Following an optimal foraging strategy (Winterhalder 1983b: 202-9), Mashkeko bands were maximally distributed along river drainage systems during the winter, congregating into larger groups of 300-700 people at prime fishing locations during the summer (Preston 1990: 3). Moose, caribou, beaver, otter, hare and ptarmigan were among the most important sources of food during the winter. Migratory waterfowl such as geese, ducks, swans and cranes were hunted from April until October, but were especially important during the spring. Muskrat and woodland caribou were important spring and early summer foods while berries were an important addition to the late-summer diet. The availability of fish seems to have been a significant factor in choosing the location of summer camps in the past, but it is likely that fish were important year-round.¹⁶

¹⁵See Ray, Moodie and Heidenreich (1987) regarding the distribution of native groups and the extent of the Hudson's Bay Company hinterland during this period.

¹⁶For an overview of Mashkeko subsistence patterns see Honigmann (1981). Detailed reconstructions of precontact and early contact Cree subsistence can be found in Rogers (1963a: 55-6 and 1963b: 71) and Honigmann (1956: 32-8). For archaeological data on precontact subsistence see Julig (1988), Lister (1988, 1993) Pilon (1988) and Pollock and Noble (1975). On changes in traditional subsistence which took place during the fur trade

Rogers (1963a: 55) suggested that size of precontact winter bands varied, depending on local population and the availability of resources. He observed that winter hunting groups at Mistassini in the 1950s consisted of from 3-5 nuclear families comprising a total of from 10-20 individuals. According to Rogers (1963a: 56), winter bands at Mistassini were ideally composed of a father and his married sons. Sons generally chose spouses from neighbouring bands and lived with their father-in-law for the winter following their marriage. Following this period of "bride service", the couple usually returned to live with the husband's band. Ojibwes at Weagamow Lake (Rogers 1963b: 71) and Crees at Attawapiskat (Honigmann 1948: 73-99) followed the same cycle of seasonal resource scheduling and social organization that was found at Mistassini, suggesting that a common precontact pattern existed among most Algonquian groups in the Subarctic.¹⁷

Mashkeko people utilize a bifurcate collateral system of kinship terminology, merging the terms for brothers and sisters with the terms for parallel cousins. The terms for cross cousins of the opposite sex and spouse's siblings of the opposite sex are also merged, suggesting that preferential cross-cousin marriage used to be practised (Hallowell 1932;

era see Skinner (1911: 25-8), Honigmann (1948: 72-205) and Tanner (1979: 48-72). Regarding changes in Cree subsistence that have come about as a result of adopting a sedentary lifestyle, see Trudeau (1966: 70-122). Concerning traditional Cree religion and its relationship to subsistence see Skinner (1911: 68-76), Speck (1935: 72-127), Preston (1975: 206-59 and 1978a), Tanner (1979: 136-181) and Brightman (1993: 77-135).

¹⁷Honigmann (1956: 58) observed that in Attawapiskat the ideal household consisted of two brothers-in-law. Concerning Mashkeko people on the Nelson River, Bacqueville de la Potherie (1931: 229) wrote that "The greatest consolation the father of a family can have is a number of daughters...They are the support of the house, whereas a father who has sons only may look forward to being abandoned by them when they have grown up." These statements suggest that matrilocality may formerly have been typical of Mashkekos on the west coast of James Bay (today the predominant pattern is neolocality). Rather than stressing inflexible normative patterns, it seems more productive to conceptualize Cree society as being highly fluid and capable of being adapted to local conditions and contingencies.

Honigmann 1953: 810). Levirate, sororal polygyny and sororate were practised by Mashkeko people in the past (Honigmann 1981: 221), but only faint vestiges of these practices can be discerned today.

Mashkeko society conforms to Service's (1966: 8) definition of a "band society" inasmuch as small interrelated family groups appear to have been the traditional basis for social organization. There were "no specialized or formalized institutions or groups that can be differentiated as economic, political, religious and so on" (*ibid.*) in traditional Mashkeko society. Research by Fried (1960: 718) and Hedican (1976: 47) suggests that James-Bay Crees, like other Northern Algonquian people, traditionally held a high regard for egalitarianism. Many people in Kashechewan still demonstrate this ethos in the respect they show to their elders and the emphasis they place on sharing.¹⁸

Today, as in the past, traditional values are epitomized by the leaders whom Mashkekos choose to represent them. However, the negotiating skills Mashkeko leaders require in order to be successful have changed considerably over the years. As in the past, chiefs today must command respect in their own communities. But modern chiefs must also

¹⁸According to Francis and Morantz (1983: 44-5), the so-called "trading captains" who proliferated among James-Bay Crees during the height of the fur trade period (circa 1700-1821) were a type of indigenous elite distinguished by their elaborate uniforms and right to redistribute goods given exclusively to them by Hudson's Bay Company traders. Morantz suggests (1983: 153) that the trading captain system was "a specialized institution and a formalized one" which she characterizes as "task-oriented". Trading captains commanded brigades of up to 100 canoes ((Ray 1974: 140) on their annual visits to Hudson's Bay Company forts and trading posts, reverting to their "normal" status on return to their winter hunting grounds. While Morantz is undoubtedly correct in her assertion (1983: 152-3) that the trading captain system challenges the view that traditional Cree society is strictly egalitarian, the system can hardly be said to typify either traditional Cree social relations or concepts of leadership. Rather, trading captains constituted a form of Cree leadership adapted specifically to the trading of furs to Europeans. Nevertheless, as Morantz (1983: 155) points out, "the trading captain may well have been the forerunner of the government chief in his formalized and influential position, backed by outside resources."

reach beyond their local communities, negotiating with with chiefs and representatives from other communities and nations. In their dealings with provincial and federal governments, James-Bay Cree leaders have had to acquire fluency and literacy in the English language. In addition, they have had to develop qualities of competitiveness and assertiveness in order to negotiate successfully with the federal and provincial governments. These qualities are in many ways antithetical to traditional Cree values such as reticence and humility. Yet chiefs without modern negotiating skills risk being ineffectual in their dealings with government officials. In the remaining part of this chapter I shall outline some of the ways in which Mashkeko concepts of leadership have changed since their first contact with Europeans.

Since negotiating treaties with Canada in 1905 and 1929, Mashkeko people have elected a local chief or *okimaakan* every two years. In Kashechewan and other James Bay communities the local chief presides over an elected band council. Chiefs from the reserve communities on the west coast of James Bay also sit on a "tribal council" (Mushkegowuk Tribal Council), a regional council (Nishnawbe Aski) representing native communities in Northern Ontario, a provincial body (the Chiefs of Ontario) and a national body (the Assembly of First Nations).

The Mashkeko word for an "elected" chief as defined under the Indian Act reveals much about traditional Cree concepts of leadership, being composed of the root *okimaa* 'chief' and the suffix *-kan*, which indicates 'artificial', 'made by human hands' or 'manufactured'. This suffix is not used with other words such as *ayamihewokimaa* 'priest or minister' or *amiskokimaa* 'game warden' (literally a "beaver boss" - designating an indigenous type of hunting leader in the past), suggesting that terms without the *-kan* suffix

bear a more organic relationship to traditional Mashkeko concepts of leadership. Concerning such concepts, Oldmixon remarked (1931 [1708]: 382):

The Indians of certain Districhs, which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an *Okimah*, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an Old Man, consider'd only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-Maker to the English; as also in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to settle the Disposition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have not Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some Family who have succeeded.¹⁹

Oldmixon's observations were penned in the 1680s, when Mashkekos still depended largely on hunting for subsistence. At this time the chief's function was primarily in mediating disputes and determining hunting territories. His organic relationship to the community is indicated by the absence of the suffix *-kan* in the term designating his position.

Nearly a century after Oldmixon's observations, Andrew Graham, chief factor at Fort Nelson, described the ritual importance of Mashkeko "trading captains". Graham (1969: 170) noted that "When several tents or families meet to go to war, or to the Factories to trade, they choose a leader; but it is only a voluntary obedience." Graham describes the qualities which make a great leader as follows:

...a person who is an expert hunter, one who knows the communications between lakes and rivers, can make long harangues, is a conjurer and has a family of his own; such a man will not fail of being followed by several Indians when they assemble in large parties at the building of their canoes. They follow him down to trade at the settlements, and style him *Ukimow*, that is a great man, chief or leader; but he is obliged to secure their attendance by promises and rewards, as the regard paid to his abilities is too weak a nature to purchase subjection.

¹⁹Oldmixon states (1931: 383) that the foregoing remarks on Mashkeko people are based on material provided to him by Thomas Gorst, who was stationed at the Company of Adventurer's post on the Rupert River during the 1670s.

Graham's observations were written at the height of the fur trade era, when a "home guard" had settled semi-permanently around trading posts on the coast of James and Hudsons Bay. Whereas the home guard had become dependent on European trade goods, what Graham called "inland" Indians remained self-sufficient and appear to have followed precontact patterns of subsistence.

In 1908 Alanson Skinner became the first anthropologist to visit James Bay. His visit provides many insights into Mashkeko life in the late fur trade era, when caribou and beaver were nearly depleted in the Lowlands region and the majority of Mashkeko people had moved onto traplines just a few days journey from Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. Skinner's notes on the "East Cree" thus reveal much about persistence and change in the Mashkeko concept of *okimaa*. Of particular significance to Skinner's observations is the fact that Mashkekos from Moose Factory and Fort Albany had negotiated a treaty with the Canadian Government in 1905. Here are Skinner's comments (1911: 57) regarding Mashkeko leadership:

At Moose Factory and other Posts comparatively near civilization, a nominal chief is now appointed by the Canadian Government to receive treaty moneys and to represent the Indians. Formerly, the chief was the best warrior and most trustworthy man. He was not elected or appointed, but acquired his office by tacit consent at the death of the former incumbent. He was not necessarily a relative of the dead man. A young man rarely attained office, owing to the requirements. The orders of the chief had to be obeyed, especially in time of war, but revolts and civil wars, especially where two men of ability were located in the same district, were not uncommon. If one chief was conquered, then the opposition carried the day.

Skinner's account agrees with those of Oldmixon and Graham on fundamental points. *Okimaawak* were traditionally men who were trustworthy and respected. They were generally elders. Their power was based on their ability to resolve disputes and manage local resources. Yet there were also fundamental differences in the three accounts. Oldmixon

stressed the role of the chief in speechmaking and determining the boundaries of hunting territories. Graham noted that skilled warriors, navigators and conjurers also possess desirable leadership qualities. Skinner observed that the chief was traditionally a warrior whose orders "had to be obeyed, especially in time of war". He further notes that "revolts and civil wars" (probably local disputes over resources which resulted in band fissioning) were not uncommon.

Whereas Oldmixon emphasized the chief's role in peacetime, Graham and Skinner stressed his role in war. Such differences are undoubtedly the result of the turbulent Anglo-French battle for Hudson Bay, as well as intertribal trade rivalries and wars that proliferated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Based on his analysis of Hudson's Bay Company records, Ray (1987) shows that approximately 90,000 pelts were traded at the Albany post between 1720-1780. While demand for beaver remained high throughout this period, returns of beaver skins at the Albany post steadily declined from approximately 2,400 per year in the 1720s to 150 per year in the 1780s. Although fur returns at the Albany post recovered during the early decades of the nineteenth century (Moodie *et al.* 1987), Mashkekos during this time experienced frequent winter food shortages, practicing what Heidenreich and Galois (1987) characterize as a "traditional economy in areas of declining and depleted game and fur resources".

Along with changes in production came changes in Mashkeko people's patterns of consumption. European trade goods - especially guns, cloth and blankets - had a huge impact on Mashkeko life. Ray (1987) shows that in the 1720s and 1730s arms accounted for approximately 50% of the value of all goods traded to Mashkekos from Fort Albany whereas cloth and blankets accounted for approximately 25% of this trade. By the 1780s arms accounted for less than 25% and cloth and blankets more than 75% of the trade to

Mashkekos from Fort Albany. Graham (1969: 145, 149) noted that by the 1790s Crees were utilizing European cloth to make capotes and jackets. Nowhere was the symbolic value of cloth more evident than in the uniform of Mashkeko "trading captains", described by Graham (1969: 317) as follows:

A coarse cloth coat, either red or blue, lined with baize with regimental cuffs and collar. The waistcoat and breeches are of baize; the suit ornamented with broad and narrow orris lace of different colours; a white or checked shirt; a pair of yarn stockings tied below the knee with worsted garters; a pair of English shoes. The hat is laced and ornamented with feathers of different colours. A worsted sash tied round the crown, an end hanging out on each side down to the shoulders. A silk handkerchief is tucked by a corner into the loops behind; with these decorations it is put on the captain's head and completes his dress.

Graham's contemporary James Isham (1949: 101) provides further insights into the importance Mashkekos attached to European cloth. Here is Isham's description (1949: 101) of Mashkeko prenuptial ceremonies:

When a Young man has a mind for a wife...the man goes out of his tent, to the woman's tent door, where he Looks in and Lays before her as much Cloth as will make her a smock, Sleeves, and Stockings, no words Spoke, he then Return's to his own tent, and waits for the womans Coming, - in the mean time, if the woman takes this Cloth up the match is made, that she will be his wife, when she gett's up and goes and Sitts by him in his tent; as man and wife and all is over; But if the woman [refuses] to take the Cloth, some one in the tent Carry's itt and Lay's itt by the man, which Denotes she will not be his wife...

From Isham and Graham's observations, it is clear that cloth had acquired symbolic as well as practical importance among Mashkekos by the mid-18th Century. By the time Skinner visited James Bay approximately 150 years later, traditional Mashkeko styles of everyday clothing were almost completely replaced by ready-made clothes procured from Hudson's Bay Company stores. Concerning this development, Skinner (1911: 14) wrote:

According to information gathered from various parts of the Eastern Cree territory, in former times, leather and fur clothing was used extensively, by both sexes; but the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company placed within reach of the Indians, first cloth, and later European garments of all sorts, which they have universally adopted.

The replacement of traditional skin garments with European cloth garments is a clear indication of the growing influence of European culture on Mashkekos during fur trade era. Changes in concepts of leadership provide further insights into the process of adaptation which has taken place since Mashkekos' first contact with Europeans more than 300 years ago. At the same time, it must be emphasized that Mashkekos have managed to accommodate many aspects of European culture within the context of their own traditional values.

By the 1960s the Mashkeko people were beginning to adopt a sedentary lifestyle and the fur trade era was coming to an end. As Nonas (1963) has documented, Mashkekos - like many other First Nations people across Canada at this time - seem to have lacked the confidence, community organization and resources to vigorously assert their rights. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a number of factors - the organization of various national native organizations following the Trudeau government's controversial "White Paper", a renewed call for "aboriginal rights" and "native self government", landmark Provincial, Federal and Supreme Court decisions pertaining to native land claims - seem to have precipitated the emergence of a new and forceful type of charismatic leadership in many native communities. Among James Bay Crees, this new form of leadership became most evident during negotiations leading up to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975.

Unlike their neighbours in Ontario, Crees on the rocky east coast of James Bay have a number of resources in their homeland which are valued by outsiders. These include

abundant timber, minerals and swift-flowing rivers suitable for generating hydroelectricity. The Quebec Government unilaterally began to develop roads to develop these resources in the 1970s. Faced with developments that would have a major impact on their traditional subsistence patterns, Quebec Crees rallied together to oppose the Quebec Government's development plans. In the process, a regional level of government presided over by a "Grand Chief" quickly evolved.²⁰

The following vignette (MacGregor 1989: 243) presents a revealing, if somewhat superficial picture of the first Grand Chief of the Crees of Quebec. It was written by Roy MacGregor - a journalist - as the former Grand Chief was addressing alumnae at the School of Business Administration at the University of Western Ontario, on 22 September 1986:

Billy Diamond stood at the podium in his best suit and tie, staring down at lecture notes that had been dictated off the top of his head and then carefully prepared for presentation by one of the most exclusive law firms in the country. He looked up from his evening talk, out over a room thick with chartered accountants, company vice-presidents and chief executive officers, and paused, beaming. "One seriously wonders," he said through a widening grin, "if five years ago, an invitation of this sort would have been offered to me."

It seems clear that the image of leadership which Diamond projected to the Business School alumnae is vastly different from that described by early commentators such as Oldmixon, Graham and Skinner. Yet such differences may, in fact, be misleading. As Salisbury (1986: 135-150) has pointed out, the Grand Chief, along with the regional government over which he presides, has created a new sense of regional solidarity among the eight Cree communities on the east coast of James Bay. But, like local leaders, the Grand

²⁰A similar form of regional government - known as the Mushkegowuk Tribal Council - has evolved (albeit under vastly different circumstances and with only a fraction of the financial resources of the Crees of Quebec) to represent Crees in Ontario. For an overview of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement see Salisbury (1986).

Chief must also demonstrate a blend of traditional and "modern" leadership skills and values in order to maintain public support. As in the case of *okimaawak* from the past, the Grand Chief must be a skilled orator in his or her own language and be able, when necessary, to mediate local disputes.

Diamond's emergence as an internationally-recognized political leader in the 1970s and 1980s marked a transformation of traditional James-Bay Cree notions of leadership. As in other aspects of Cree life, this transformation has involved a blending of the old and the new. Like a skilled hunter, Diamond knew how to "get under the skin" of his prey in order to anticipate its next move. Like a skilled trapper, he was able to "bait" his "traps" and "cover his tracks". He also had the patience to realize that unknown predators sometimes wreak havoc on a "trapline". But most of all, Diamond had the fortitude and tenacity to pursue his prey without giving up.

Billy Diamond was not the only Cree person to oppose hydroelectric development in Northern Quebec. But he does represent a new kind of Cree leader, successfully combining traditional and modern values. Although Mashkeko people on the west coast of James Bay have produced many prominent leaders, they have not produced one of Billy Diamond's public stature. Perhaps, given the crisis which launched Diamond and his successor Matthew Coon Come into public prominence, Mashkekos can be glad that they have not yet had need for such high-profile leaders.

CHAPTER 2 - LIFE HISTORIES

Introduction

In this chapter I will present a three-generation life history of Terry Moses, his father David and his grandfather Matthew Goodman (unfortunately, I was unable to obtain a full life history of Terry's mother). The primary purpose of presenting these life histories is to contextualize and facilitate the interpretation of the children's drawings which I shall discuss in subsequent chapters.¹ For a discussion of the importance of life histories in social science see Allport (1942), Gottshalk *et. al.* (1945, especially 78-193) Langness and Frank (1981) and Cruikshank (1990: 1-20).

During my stay in Kashechewan I found David Moses to be an honest, forthright, thoughtful and perceptive individual. I have transcribed his life history from four taped interviews that I conducted with him between 28-31 March 1994. Since David speaks English fluently and I have only a rudimentary ability to converse in Cree, our conversations took place in English. The interviews were open-ended and lasted as long as David felt like talking. I have rearranged some portions of the interviews for the sake of continuity, but otherwise presented David's story as he told it to me. It is my desire to convey David's "voice" to the reader as clearly as possible. In form and style, David's story is a collaborative confessional autobiography (Langness and Frank 1981: 91-2; Lejeune 1989: 186-92).

¹Terry Moses drew 28% of the 148 pictures in Charts 1.00-4.00 and 87% of the 46 supplementary Drawings in the Appendix. What these numbers cannot convey is the overwhelming influence Terry had on the other children, who looked to him as a leader when they were drawing.

It has not been possible to convey the "voices" of Terry Moses and Matthew Goodman in their life histories. Terry and Matthew's limited grasp of English and my limited grasp of Cree undoubtedly proved to be a major obstacle to communication. However, the problems I encountered in eliciting Matthew and Terry's stories transcended the obvious barrier of language.

Perhaps due to his age, Terry seemed to have difficulty constructing an oral narrative of his life. Whenever I asked him to tell me about himself, Terry seemed uncertain what I wanted him to say and seemed to have difficulty conceptualizing and verbalizing his life-story. Yet he had little difficulty drawing a self-portrait (Drawing 5) or engaging in mundane conversations about hockey, schoolwork or the weather.

Telling one's life story requires more than a facility with language; it also requires a degree of "decentering" which, as Piaget and Inhelder (1969: 94) have shown, is characteristic of the so-called "operational thinking" of school-aged children.² Telling an autobiographical story involves thinking of oneself in the third person and then translating the story of one's fictionalized "self" into language. Lejeune (1980) has coined the French phrase "Je est un autre" to capture the essence of this "autobiographical pact" between Self and Other.

²According to Piaget, children must transform "motor memories" into abstract representations in order to achieve operational thinking. This is facilitated by the process of "decentering" which involves "the transition from an initial state in which everything is centered on the child's own body and actions to a decentered state in which his body and actions assume their objective relationships with reference to all the other objects and events registered in the universe...The decentering of cognitive constructions necessary for the development of the operations is inseparable from the decentering of affective and social constructions" (Piaget and Inhelder 1969: 94-5). Decentering is an ongoing process throughout childhood, normally commencing at about the age of two years and continuing until about the age of 12 (Piaget and Inhelder 1969: 128). For a summary of Piaget's stages of cognitive development see Chapter 5, footnote 4.

For many children, the capacity to produce "realistic" drawings seems to jump ahead of operational-thinking skills (Piaget 1977: 671, 676-7, 684; Piaget and Inhelder 1969: 80-91; Kellogg 1969: 142-3; Gardner 1982: 86-90), possibly because such drawings model the objects which they represent in a way which is perceived as being less arbitrary than language, numbers and other highly-abstract notational systems. However, as children enter the stage of "formal operations", language comes to supersede drawing as the preferred mode of expression. Concerning this development, Gardner 1980: 150) has written that:

...the child of eight, nine, or ten comes to pay increasing attention to language and to rely increasingly upon it. Up to then, words were still an unreliable means of expressing feelings: drawings (be they of horses or Star Warriors), as a relatively accessible means of exploring complex thoughts and feelings, bore a special responsibility - and furnished a special opportunity. But by the school years, it is language that holds the key to genuine precision.

Perhaps the precocious drawing abilities of children in the "concrete operational" stage of development are intensified still further in situations of "home-school language shift". This pattern of development may explain why some children in Kashechewan are such prodigious artists.³ It may also explain why other children choose to "act out" their aggressive feelings. Whatever the reasons for the differences in Terry's (and many other

³Home-school language shift occurs in communities like Kashechewan, where students speak their mother tongue (Cree) at home and a second language (English) at school. Generally-speaking, "A home-school language switch does not appear to promote highly successful second language learning" (Toohey 1982: 52). While considerable effort has been made to promote the use of English in schools on the west coast of James Bay, Cree-speaking students attending these schools tend to fall further and further behind their English-speaking cohorts (Toohey 1982: 181). At the same time, relatively little effort is devoted to developing Cree children's fluency and literacy in their native language, resulting in a gradual deterioration of these skills (Louis Bird and Esther Williams, personal communication; Native Language Development Project 1993: 8). Such patterns may contribute to Cree children's reliance on nonverbal means of communication, especially during the concrete-operational period when their drawing ability flourishes. For a discussion of Cree children's drawing abilities see page 150, especially footnote 7).

Cree children's) ability to narrate personal events using drawings and language, his pictures eloquently express his perception of life in Kashechewan and provide telling insights into his developing personality.

My life history of Terry is based on insights revealed in Terry's portraits of family members, as well as of himself. It is also based on intuitions I developed through watching and interacting with Terry, as well as with a variety of other children living in Kashechewan. Finally, I have relied on what Terry's grandfather, parents and teachers have told me about him. For these reasons, it is appropriate to liken the life history I have written to a "cubist portrait". Owing to limitations in eliciting Terry's life history directly, my portrait lacks verisimilitude; in its place I have tried to present my subject from many different perspectives.

For very different reasons, the obstacles which I faced in writing Terry's life history were also present when I wrote the life history of his grandfather. Matthew Goodman had little difficulty using the Cree language to articulate his personal feelings and thoughts about a wide range of topics. Yet whenever I asked Matthew to talk about himself, he nearly always responded: "*Mona kiskentan kikiton* 'I can't think of what to say to you.'"

Even by Cree standards, Matthew displayed a great deal of "reticence". I base this observation on the fact that other elders in Kashechewan experienced little or no difficulty in telling me their life stories. It is likely that Matthew was still grieving his recently-deceased wife and that this may have made it difficult for him to talk about his past. At the same time, Matthew may have felt shame about the fact that he supplemented his welfare cheque by various illegal activities. It is, however, my suspicion that even in more favourable circumstances Matthew would have been reluctant to talk about his personal life. My questioning seemed to violate Matthew's personal, as well as cultural rules of etiquette,

which equally constrained him from telling me so. Nevertheless, as my "anecdotal biography" will show, Matthew was exceptionally skilled in expressing himself using allusions and other indirect means of communication.⁴

Life History of Matthew Goodman

Matthew Goodman was born in 1930 at his father's winter camp on the *mishipaskoya-siipi* 'big branch river'. He is the third-born of six children (five boys and a girl) born to George and Anna Goodman.

The Goodman family's hunting territory and traplines were between *mishipaskoya-siipi* and *wilipekomataw-siipi* 'dirty water river', both eastern tributaries of *kwetipahikan-siipi* 'S-shaped river' (known on maps today as the Stoooping River), about 60 kilometers from Kashechewan. *Kwetipahikan-siipi* is itself a southern tributary of *kakikishichiwan* 'everlasting river' (known on maps as the Albany River). The tributaries and upper reaches of *kakikishichiwan* extend more than 500 kilometers inland, draining the northern highlands of *kihchi-kamik* 'the great inland sea' we know today as Lake Superior.

Matthew Goodman says that in the distant past his ancestors lived far inland, in the vicinity of what is today called Lake Nipigon.⁵ However, for as long as anybody can remember, the Goodman's have made the eastern tributaries of *kwetipahikan-siipi* their traditional home. Matthew's grandfather Jamie Goodman had a camp near the headwaters of the *mishipaskoya-siipi*, about a 2-hour walk from *kenoshe-saakahikan* 'pike lake'.

⁴Concerning Cree discourse etiquette see Darnell (1974, 1988, 1991). For thoughtful insights into Ojibwe rules of discourse which might be extended to Cree, see Black-Rogers (1973, 1977 and 1988).

⁵Matthew could not remember the Cree word for Lake Nipigon. Honigmann (1981: 229) notes Nipigon is "an Old Ojibwa form *alimipi·k*, perhaps meaning '(where) the water begins' (referring to the height of land north of Lake Superior)". A more accurate transcription of this word would be *aninipihkok*.

Kenoshe-saakahikan empties into a river of the same name which flows east into *wilipekok* 'dirty-water place', also known as James Bay. *Kenoshe-saakahikan* is about 100 kilometers from Kashechewan and was the traditional land of the Williams family. To the south of *kenoshe-siipi* and also draining into *wilipekok* is *nichichichisik* 'fingers river', where Gaius Wesley (Matthew's father-in-law) had his camp.

A number of intermarrying families have their traplines and hunting territories in the vicinity of *kwetipahikan-siipi*. These families include: the Moses, who lived on the western tributaries of *kwetipahikan-siipi*; the Hughies, who lived at the juncture of *kwetipahikan-siipi* and *kakikishichiwak*; and the Koosees, who lived to the west in the region of the *kaapamapiskaw-siipi* 'fish weir river', a northern tributary of *kakikishichiwak*. Matthew Goodman's father and Matthew's own third-born daughter married members of the Moses family. Matthew's eldest daughter married a Goodman from the *kenoshe-siipi*, while his second-born married a Koosees. Only Matthew's youngest daughter (the only member of his family to attend high school) chose to marry somebody living outside the close circle of neighbouring families who had traditionally lived in the vicinity of *kwetipahikan-siipi*; she married a man from Attawapiskat whom she had met at high school.

Matthew fondly remembers growing up in the bush. He recalls his grandfather telling stories about Wisakechak, Chakaapish and various "other-than-human persons", but he is reluctant to tell these stories today. Matthew usually responded to my requests to tell stories with the statement "*Mona kiskentan kikiton* 'I can't think of what to say to you.'" This is the same phrase he often used in response to my requests for his life-story.

The following incident, from my fieldnotes of 24 January 1991, demonstrates some of the difficulties I had eliciting folktales from Matthew:

Last night Matthew told me the story of *mishi-shikaak* 'the giant skunk'. Hoping to encourage him to tell more stories, I went to the store this afternoon to buy some of Matthew's favourite tobacco. After dinner, I gave him the tobacco and asked if he would tell me another *ataalohkan* 'traditional story'. Matthew smiled and nodded. I took out my portable tape recorder, inserted a cassette and turned it on.

Matthew rolled himself a cigarette, then sat silently for a long while. Finally, he picked up a book of Plains Cree stories (Vandall and Douquette 1987) belonging to me. He thumbed through the book, stopping at a story called *kî-ocihcikiskisin* 'the longest memory', which he began to read out loud. When Matthew had finished the story, which is about a Cree man from the bush who claims to be able to remember the first words he uttered as a newborn, he smiled and asked Terry, who had just entered the room, if he could read the story in English. Terry read the story out loud. When he had finished, Matthew asked me if I could read the story in Cree. I took the book and read it slowly and haltingly. When I was finished I was completely confused, not only by the words I had read, but also by Matthew's action. "What are you trying to tell me?" I asked him. "Are you saying that anything that anyone says is a story, so long as it is repeated," I asked, "or are you just telling me that you don't want to tell any stories?" Matthew shrugged his shoulders, then asked me to play the tape recording back.

After listening to the tape with Matthew I went outside to cut some wood. After bringing the wood inside I sat down beside Matthew. We sat quietly for a few minutes, then Matthew asked me if he could borrow my tape recorder. "I'll get stories," he told me. Envisioning elders sitting in a circle around a wood stove, I eagerly gave him the machine, making sure to install fresh batteries and a clean tape. I then sat, eagerly awaiting his return.

Matthew got back home just before midnight. He took off his boots, hung up his coat and threw an extra log on the fire. Then he went to the kitchen to pour himself a cup of tea. Returning to the living room, Matthew put the tape recorder on the table in front of me. Slowly and deliberately he rewound the tape. Finally he pressed the play button. I sat, waiting to hear an authentic Cree story. Amid the hum of feedback and reverberation recorded on the tape, I heard the newly-elected chief thanking local voters for the chance they had given him to serve them. Matthew had recorded the chief delivering a victory speech at the community centre. I went to bed feeling dumbfounded.

Matthew's "memory lapses" and reticence about telling traditional Cree folktales also extended into his recollection of traditional Cree religious practices. He professed that he could not remember anything about *kosapaachikan* 'shaking tent', *pawakanak* 'guardian spirits', *okimawak* 'animal bosses', fasting, or the traditional disposal of animal remains. Yet Matthew disapproved of young hunters shooting bears as the bears were swimming across the river, suggesting that he still harboured traditional beliefs about the spiritual powers of bears. Matthew also recalled that his father used to throw a small amount of tobacco into the river and sing "*Niin osa ka ki nipahak, nistes* 'I myself have killed you, my (older) brother'" whenever he killed a grebe, indicating that he was familiar with the custom of offering tobacco to *okimawak* 'animal bosses' as well as being aware of a popular Cree legend about the grebe. In addition, on at least one occasion Matthew's son-in-law David Moses gave him the nose of a moose which he shot (a traditional gesture of respect). Matthew himself nominally practised traditional Cree marriage customs, including levirate and the avoidance of his youngest daughter's fiancé. Taken together, these practices suggest that Matthew Goodman continues to practice many traditional (precontact) Cree customs, but is reticent to confide his knowledge of these practices to outsiders.⁶

Reading the Bible and singing hymns were a regular part of growing up for Matthew. When visiting Fort Albany in the summer and during Christmas, Matthew remembers regularly attending the Anglican church. When out in the bush, he remembers singing hymns and praying on Sundays in a large tent pitched in the centre of his father's camp. To this

⁶Concerning respect accorded to bears see Skinner (1911: 69-73) and Speck (1935: 92-110). Ray and Stevens (1971: 68-71) provide a Cree legend about how the grebe murdered his older brother. Brightman (1993: 120-4) discusses the symbolism of giving the moose's nose to a respected male elder. On the Cree customs of levirate and avoidance of sons-in-law until the birth of their first child, see Henry (1927: 102).

day Matthew keeps syllabic transcriptions of the Cree translations of the New Testament and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer at his bedside. He occasionally sings hymns in Cree when he gets up in the morning and before going to bed at night. As far as Matthew is concerned, the *shaakanash* 'Anglican' faith is the only "true" Cree religion and syllabics have always been used by Cree people.

Matthew's father taught him how to read and write using syllabics. When paper and pencils were unavailable, Matthew practised writing on bark, hide, boards or whatever else was available using a charred stick. To remember the syllabary when no writing materials were present, Matthew learned to look for the shape of syllabic characters in the outlines of everyday objects and in the features of the landscape, a practice which he likens to searching for game trails in the bush. By the time he was 12 years old, Matthew Goodman was able to read the Bible, keep lists and write letters in syllabics.

Living with Matthew provided me with many unexpected insights into his experience with Christianity. Perhaps the most surprising of these occurred one February morning in 1991, when I found him sitting at the kitchen table contemplating a page in one of my reference books (Helm, Rogers and Smith 1981: 149). Since Matthew rarely read texts in English, I was surprised to see him looking at my book with such keen interest. Asking what he was studying, Matthew pointed to an illustration of a "Catholic ladder". "*Oma meskanaw ishpimik* 'it's the track to heaven'" he told me. "*Nimoshoom* 'my grandfather' tell me that when I grew up." Circumscribing the winding paths on the left and right sides of the picture with his finger, Matthew told me how people face temptations on their journey through life. "You take wrong track and end up here," he told me, pointing to fiery circles

representing hell on either side of the ladder. "This track to heaven," he said, pointing to a path running up the middle of the page.⁷

Matthew Goodman's recollection of the "track to heaven" story may refer to syncretistic practices brought to Fort Albany in 1843 by Apishaapis 'Small Eyes' (known as Abashabis to the local Hudson Bay post manager of the time) and Waastewin 'The Light'. Apishaapis and Waastewin (who may have been the same person) claimed to have visited heaven and brought back knowledge from Jesus Christ (they probably received instruction from the Methodist missionary James Evans, who had established a mission at York Factory in 1842). The "tracks to heaven" were undoubtedly pictographic representations, perhaps supplemented with syllabics, of sermons and Bible stories delivered by Evans.⁸

Given the importance of being able to locate game trails and read animal tracks, the "tracks to heaven" motif undoubtedly appealed to Cree hunters seeking explanations for why the animals on which they relied for their sustenance and livelihood were gradually becoming less and less dependable. Periods of famine and starvation, combined with epidemics of recently-introduced European diseases, probably undermined Cree people's confidence in the power of their traditional symbols and may have stimulated them to seek alternate ways to invoke the pity of *manitoowak* or 'spirits'. The rapid dispersal of syllabic texts from Norway House and York Factory in the 1840s therefore seems to have coincided with Cree people's

⁷*Nimoshoom* is a widely-used Cree term of respect; in relating this story Matthew was probably referring to a story he had been told by his grandfather, but that actually occurred in the even more distant past. As Ridington (1988: 70-79 and 279-286) has documented, the theme of the "trail to heaven" is also prevalent in the stories of *Dunne-za* (known in anthropological literature as the Athapaskan-speaking Beaver tribe of northeastern British Columbia). While the presence of this "motif" may point to a commonality in the experience of boreal forest hunting peoples, it is also possible that it was introduced by Roman Catholic missionaries during the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries.

⁸For details of this story see Brown (1982) and Long 1989.

growing desire to incorporate new symbols of power into their culture. It is thus not hard to imagine the sense of wonder Matthew Goodman's "grandfather" might have felt upon learning "that birch bark could 'talk', and above all that it could talk about the Great Spirit and say His words" (Young 1900: 190).⁹

Matthew went to school at Horden Hall in Moose Factory from 1942-1945. He believes that his father sent him there because, of his four brothers, he showed the greatest aptitude for reading and writing. Concerning his experience at the Anglican residential school, Matthew wrote the following story in syllabics, which, with assistance from Michael Paul-Martin I have transcribed and translated:

Apiishiish oko. Apiishiish ni wi tepachimo. Matthew Goodman nina.
Just a little bit. Just a little story I want to tell. I'm Matthew Goodman.

Kashechichan ochi. Oma kaa wi tepachimoyan. 1944 e-pipohk.
This is the story I want to tell. 1944 was the year.

⁹Preston and Preston (1991: 136) have commented that viewing life as a metaphorical journey is a recurrent theme in traditional Cree culture. "All those who make this journey in its various aspects - from the daily following of trails, to longer hunting trips, to seasonal periods of camp movement through a hunting range, to movement through the life course - are guided by paths." Burnham (1992: 96) has documented how animal tracks were an important Cree symbol during the early contact period. Animal tracks continued to be used as decorative designs throughout the early part of the Twentieth Century (Burnaby 1992: 19), but their symbolic and ritual significance may have disappeared (or at least been transformed) under the influence of Christianity. Based on an extensive review of Hudson Bay Company records, Bishop (1974: 11-12) and Ray (1974: 117-123) have documented that conditions of extreme privation - presumably resulting from overharvesting stimulated by the fur trade, but also related to natural population cycles - became increasingly common during the 1800s. Living near the southern limit of the winter range of barren-ground caribou and the northern limit of moose (Ray, Moodie and Heidenriech 1987), natives of the Albany River region would have been particularly vulnerable to such cycles. In the winter of 1842-1843 a shortage of game and fur-bearing animals and the late arrival of geese made conditions particularly difficult for the Cree people from around Fort Albany (HBCA B.3/a/147, fos. 15, 18, cited in Brown 1982: 56). Such conditions undoubtedly contributed to Cree people's willingness to integrate the messages and symbols introduced by early missionaries with their own traditional beliefs.

Iskoolihk kaa-itayapan. Eko maka iskooli ka ki itayan,
I was at school. Now the school I was at,

e-apitakiishikak oko ni ki skoolowin. E-kishkwapitashikak piko.
I only went to that school at noon. In the afternoon only.

E-kishepayak maka ni ki-apachitan. Mita ni ki nochitan e-manitoyan.
In the morning I worked. I cut firewood.

E-kiishkatahaman piko. Mona kiishkapochikan nitochi apachitan.
Just chopping it. I didn't have a bow-saw to work with.

Ekwani piko ka ki toteman. Oma e-kitotaman mona nitochi nahentin.
That's all I did. It wasn't what I wanted to do.

Mona nitochi kiishitan mona nitochi kiskinohason nitentin oma e-kitotaman.
But if I didn't finish the job, I couldn't do the school-work I wanted to do.

E-maniteyan piko. Ashishkatik maka piko ni ki-apachitan e-maniteyan.
I just cut firewood. It was green wood.

Neo misit kiishpiichispaw neta kiphiiastaskaniskam.
I stacked it in a pile four feet high and four feet wide.

Kotwaas owiik maka iskwawa oni mita.
Six feet long, those logs.

Chiikahikan ni ka ki mona itaaw, mona kiishikapochikan.
An axe is all I had, no bow-saw.

Eka maka e-ki-otayan ni mistikan e-kishepayak
And if I didn't finish cutting that wood in the first part of the day

mona nitochi ashamikawin e-apitakiishikak. Patima e-otakoshik.
I was not fed at noon. Only in the evening.

Ekwani piko e-kitachimoyan. Ekwani.
That's all I have to tell you. That's all.

Today Matthew is philosophical about his experience at Hordon Hall. He jokes that he learned a lot about woodcutting, even though he didn't get much of a chance to learn how to speak, read or write in English. He recalls how disappointed he felt about what school

was really like. Matthew went to school with a genuine desire to learn, but there were very limited opportunities for him to do that sort of thing at Horden Hall.

After his experience at residential school, Matthew returned to his father's trapline. Once again he adapted to the rhythm of living in the bush. Soon Matthew began thinking about establishing his own trapline; but first he would have to find a wife.

For most young men, the best opportunity to find a wife was during the summer, when Cree families from all over the region camped on the islands in the mouth of the Albany River. In May 1950, shortly after breakup, Matthew accompanied his father and mother to their family's summer campground on one of these islands. Shortly after setting up camp, Matthew paddled to visit the *kopani okimaw* 'company boss' at the Hudson Bay Company store. In exchange for the furs he had trapped during the winter, Matthew obtained credit at the Company store. Using part of his credit, he obtained new pants, a shirt, cap and some tobacco. Paddling back to his parents' summer camp, Matthew saw Pami Wesley sitting on the shore of one of the islands. Matthew pulled his canoe up beside her and asked her to marry him. Pami was very shy and ran away, but Matthew was persistent and asked her to marry him three more times that summer. Finally, one day, she said "yes".

Matthew and Pami had known each other since they were children. Each summer their families had occupied campsites on adjacent islands and they frequently socialized with one another after Sunday services at the Anglican church. However, arranging a marriage was not as easy as obtaining consent from the bride-to-be. According to Cree custom, Matthew was obliged to ask Pami's father for his permission to marry her. Pami's father refused Matthew's request, saying that his daughter was too young to get married (she was 15 years old). Matthew and Pami could have eloped, but they would have had no land to

set up their own trapline and no support from either of their families. Matthew's grandmother told him to propose to somebody older than Pami, but Matthew told her that he would rather wait. So he waited patiently for three more summers before asking Pami's father again. This time, Pami's father granted Matthew permission to marry his daughter; the young couple were married in the Anglican church at Fort Albany on 2 July 1953. According to Matthew, "people danced all night" after his wedding, a practice which was common in James Bay communities until the 1970s, when drinking parties began replacing "tea-dances".

For the first two years of his marriage Matthew worked on his father-in-law's trapline on *nichichichisik-siipi*. After his brideservice was over, Matthew established his own trapline on Goodman family land on *kwetipahikan-siipi*, about 40 kilometers from the summer camp on Sinclair Island. It was at the winter camp on *kwetipahikan-siipi* that Matthew and Pamela's four daughters were born. Like their parents and grandparents, the future-spouses of Matthew and Pami's daughters were among the children with whom they played in the summertime. Occasionally, when Matthew and Pami's girls got older, they visited neighbouring traplines just before breakup, where they were introduced to prospective marriage-partners.

Until skidoos became available in the early 1970s, Matthew Goodman and his family travelled to their camp by a *napakitabalask* 'dogsled,' drawn by 2-4 dogs. Only supplies were put on the sled when it was drawn by two dogs; all but the very youngest family member, who was carried on Pamela's back in a *tikinaakan* 'cradle board', walked. With four dogs pulling the sled Pamela and most of the children could ride with the supplies on the sled.

Matthew's family usually left their summer camp shortly after *teahkotaw* 'freeze up' in early November, staying out on the land until Christmas, when they returned to Fort Albany for two weeks. From January until April the family lived on the trapline, returning to the village periodically to exchange furs for flour, lard, tea, sugar and sundry supplies at the Hudson's Bay Company store. During an average winter in the 1950s and 1960s Matthew trapped approximately \$300 worth of mink and beaver.

Life was much more physically demanding on the trapline than in modern Mashkeko villages. If a member of Matthew's family was injured or became sick they would have to be taken by dogsled to the hospital at Fort Albany. If Matthew himself became sick, his family had to rely on his father or brothers for help. Fortunately, Matthew and his family were healthy most of the time.

When Matthew was a young man, he relied on credit from the Hudson Bay Company store if hunting or trapping was bad. When Matthew brought his furs to the Company boss each spring, most of the money from the furs paid off outstanding debts; what was left bought traps, snare wire, ammunition, tobacco, blankets, cloth and sundries. For the next few months the Goodmans fished near their island campsite, enjoying the company of neighbouring Cree families, visiting the "Bay" store on Anderson Island and going to the Anglican Church on Sundays.

Each year, early in June the people of Kashechewan receive "treaty payments". Today the money comes in the mail, but in the past the *sholian okimaw* 'treaty paymaster' (literally "money boss") used to visit Fort Albany to present each member of the band with their payment in person. Matthew remembers how the paymaster was accompanied by a Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman in dress uniform. The paymaster carried a strong-box full of \$2 bills - two for each person in the Albany band. The distribution of treaty money

(the amount has not changed since Treaty 5 was negotiated in 1905) is a largely symbolic event which was presumably intended to remind Cree people of the solemnity with which the Government of Canada undertook to fulfill its obligations to the Mashkeko people. Today, however, most people in Kashechewan scoff at the paltry amount of their annual treaty payments, which many see as evidence of broken promises made by the Canadian Government.¹⁰

When Matthew and Pami Goodman were raising their children, few people from Fort Albany had ever been in southern Canada. A number of Mashkekos had enlisted in the Canadian army during the two World Wars, and a few had remained there afterwards, but for most people in the Albany band "Canada" was little more than a semi-mythical land far to the south where *wemistikoshowak* 'white people' lived. Matthew Goodman remembers how, as a boy, he listened to an old radio that one of his uncles had bought at the Company store in Fort Albany. The old man called it *kosapaachikan* 'shaking tent' because it carried voices far from the South into his tent. Matthew remembers occasionally listening to the radio during the winter. Since he couldn't understand English, Matthew's uncle just listened to music on the radio. He listened to the music carefully in order to learn the songs, some

¹⁰Based on the oral testimony of Cree elders, Long (1989: 37-8) notes that Treaty Commissioners promised native signatories far more than was actually stated in the treaty document itself, including "a sawmill, housing, schooling, medical services, doctors, gardening tools, vegetable seeds, and livestock, etc." The signatories were also assured "Their hunting rights would never be taken away, their way of life would not change, and they would not lose their culture." One treaty commissioner said that "As long as you see the sun shining, the river flowing and the grass growing, these things will be remembered as a promise." Many of the elders which Long interviewed shared the feelings of James Carpenter of Attawapiskat, who stated (Mushkegowuk Council 1987: 30) that "Indian Affairs tears up letters and throw them in the garbage and laughs over that, things the Indians had asked for...They take what should be for us. They take our clothes, guns, boats. They just do whatever they want to do to us."

of which he later played on his fiddle. That way people could hear the songs without having to waste his batteries.

Canada only really began to enter into Cree people's lives and consciousness in the 1960s. It was at this time that patterns of exchange established during the fur trade era were finally replaced by a cash economy. Since there have never been many employment opportunities on the west coast of James Bay, cash has entered the local economy through government transfer payments. In the 1950s family allowance, welfare and old-age benefits were just beginning and amounted to very little - about \$35 a year for most Cree families. By the mid-1970s this amount had grown to about \$400 a month for an average-sized family. Now, in the 1990s, each family member qualifies for more than \$1,000 a month in social-assistance payments.

In the 1950s the federal government began supplying housing for Cree people who wanted to settle permanently at Fort Albany. A small year-round village soon sprang up on Sinclair Island, opposite the Roman Catholic Church and residential school. Matthew and his family continued living in the bush throughout the winter and camping on the island during the summer. However, in 1960 Matthew's parents moved into one of the new government houses. They relied on Matthew and his brothers to supply them periodically with "country food" and to carry their debts at the Company store. Welfare-payments, old-age pensions and free housing made it possible for Matthew's parents to adopt a sedentary lifestyle while maintaining a degree of independence and security.

In 1962 Matthew and Pami were told that their eldest daughter would have to go to school. Bad memories of residential school convinced them not to place Francis in the student residence adjacent to the school at Fort Albany. Instead, she lived with her grandparents on Sinclair Island. Matthew and Pami still felt uncomfortable about sending

their daughter to school in Fort Albany. The federal government had taken over the school from the Roman Catholic church two years earlier, but some of the Sisters of Charity were still teaching at the school in 1962. Matthew and Pamela were Anglicans; they did not want their daughter going to what, in their minds, still seemed to be a Roman Catholic school.

Beginning in 1957, a number of Anglican families began moving their summer camps from the south to the north side of the Albany River. Each summer a few more Anglican families moved to the north bank. By 1960 a semi-permanent village was established there and the Department of Indian Affairs recognized the new community - named Kashechewan - as an independent community, although residents continued to be registered as members of the Albany Reserve. Within a few years the government had helped to build houses, roads, a band office and school in Kashechewan. There was even an Anglican Church and Hudson Bay Company store.

Before returning to their trapline in the fall of 1962, Matthew and Pami decided to visit the new community on the north side of the Albany River. While they were there they visited the chief and applied for a house in the community. The house was ready two years later. The Goodmans moved into their house in Kashechewan in August 1964 and shortly afterwards registered their daughters at the local school.

Having a house in Kashechewan changed the pattern of life for the Goodman family. Matthew left for his trapline just before breakup, but his family stayed in Kashechewan. Matthew returned to the village between Christmas and New Year's, returning to the trapline early in January. But throughout the winter Matthew returned to the village every few weeks, bringing meat for his family and furs to exchange for credit at the Company store. The advent of skidoos in the 1970s made it much easier for Matthew to "commute" the 50 kilometers between his house in Kashechewan and the winter camp. However, decreasing

fur prices, high gasoline prices and Pamela's deteriorating health forced Matthew to abandon his trapline in 1985.

Pamela Goodman died of cancer in 1990. After the funeral, Matthew gave away his rifle and shotgun and sold his skidoo. Through these actions, Matthew intended to sever his connection with the past. Matthew withdrew into himself, becoming dependent on members of his extended family, friends and welfare payments, which amounted to \$1021 per month in March 1994. Each month Matthew pays \$375 for firewood, \$200 for groceries, \$200 for hydro, \$100 for telephone services and \$35 for cable television. This leaves him with \$111.00, which he frequently "invests" in the purchase of *ishkotewabo* 'whisky' at the liquor store in Moosonee.

Matthew drinks only a small amount of the alcohol he buys in Moosonee, reselling the rest to family and friends at a 500-1000 percent profit. Ironically, Matthew is able to charge \$60-100 for a "mickey" (375 ml. bottle) of rye whiskey because Kashechewan is a "dry" reserve. A local bylaw prohibits the sale and consumption of alcohol on the reserve. Yet the risk of fines and jail sentences is not enough to stem the growing tide of alcoholism in the community, and scarcely a family in the village has escaped the painful effects of dysfunction stemming from this addiction.

By reselling alcohol at a substantial profit, Matthew is able to buy cigarettes, cleaning and kitchen supplies, toiletries and even the occasional gift or article of clothing. However, Matthew's relies on the availability of cheap overland transportation to Moosonee in order to conduct his "business". Such transportation is only available between December-April, when the winter road is open. During the rest of the year Matthew is therefore forced to "invest" his disposable income in somewhat riskier ventures.

Matthew is a very skilled card-player, often doubling, tripling and even quadrupling his money in a single night of gambling. However, he also realizes that his "investment" in gambling remains secure only so long as his transactions involve players who are relatively unskilled. Since it is not always possible to find unskilled players, Matthew relies on a safer method of yielding returns on his money: he converts his residence into a gaming house. To play poker, pokeno or "bingo", players must pay 25 cents a hand to "the house". For this fee Matthew supplies players with card tables, free decks of cards (which he keeps in the refrigerator), pop and chips. According to house rules, players must bet \$1/hand, with the "pot" in a single game of poker, pokeno or "bingo" often reaching \$100, and occasionally even \$300. Games normally begin at 4 p.m. and continue until midnight. It is not unusual for \$1,500 to change hands in a single night of gambling at Matthew's house.

For Matthew, bootlegging and gambling have replaced hunting and trapping as a livelihood. While different kinds of skills are required to be a good hunter, trapper, bootlegger and gambler, Matthew admits that there is a fundamentally predatory quality to each of these activities. But whereas hunting and trapping involve the killing of animals, bootlegging and gambling involve a form of human predation, the long-term social cost of which probably exceeds Matthew's meagre rewards.

Life History of David Moses (told in his own words)

I didn't know my grandfather. He died when I was 4 years old. I didn't know my grandmother too. Since I never asked them these kind of questions, I never told them what was it like in the past, around 1900.

My father was married two times. First he had three sons. One year their mother died, one year after the youngest was born. Then they were orphans. Then about 10 years after that my father remarried my mother. They had 8 children, including me.

Two of my older sisters married Goodmans and my big brother married a Hughie. My other two older sisters married Williams and Wesleys. I married Mary Goodman. My little sister married a Noah and my baby brother is not married yet. So you can see, we married people who used to be our neighbours in the bush.

My father died in 1987, when Janey was 2 years old. Ed and Terry - only those two really knew him. I always wanted to be like my father. What he taught was good. He had discipline, he never hit anyone. He was a deacon in church for over 30 years. He never had any problem about alcohol. He told me: "I never touch that stuff." He said to me, when I was drinking: "I know you don't like drinking, but there's one thing you must never forget. Forgive yourself." That's what I heard him say to us.

My father's name was Roderick and his father was Peter Moses. I didn't really know my father's relatives until my mother told a story about them, about my father's relatives. I used to visit my grandmother [grandfather's sister] a lot when I was growing up. We used to live next door. She used to give me money. I was really surprised when my mother told me that my great aunt Anna Moses was my wife's grandmother. She was my grandfather's sister. She married George Goodman, my wife's grandfather. And my wife's mother Pamela was the daughter of my grandfather's sister.

My mother was born in 1921. Her name is Alice. She didn't know much about her family because she was an orphan. She never knew her mother - only her dad. She was in Sioux Lookout all the time and came back when she about 20. That's when she married my father. She is in the hospital now, in Moosonee.

I was born in Moose Factory in 1960. We used to go out in the spring hunt, my whole family - my brothers and sisters too. We used to snare rabbits. We played on the bank too, when we were small. We used to have great fun out in the camp. After the

breakup in the spring, my dad used to go back to the trapline to trap beaver, otter and muskrat. We used to go up the river to *kaskimaniso-siipiish* 'kingfisher creek'. We used to go there after the breakup.

I first met my wife down in spring camp when I was 5 or 6 years old. Her family were our neighbours in the bush. Like us, they lived on *kwetipahikan-siipi* - what you call the Stopping River today. Our camp was on one branch of the river and their's was on another. The two camps were really close - maybe half a day's walk. We used to stay together in the spring, Mary and her family and me and my family. We used to go out snaring together, that's what we did in the springtime when we were kids. We used to snare first, then around mid-April that's when the geese came. That's what I did until I was 7 years old. Then I went to school for awhile before I came back.

There was one thing I did when I was small - when I was 7 years old. I guess one time my father went out to get his traplines. He got up early and I got up after that and tried following him. He didn't know that I was following him. I guess my father moved too fast for me. There was this *pitapik* 'ox-bow lake', about two miles long. Then my mother noticed that I was gone. I guess she was calling me. Then she woke up my brothers and sisters. Then I guess my father noticed that. So he started looking for me on that lake. I remember some of that. I remember looking at the trees when I was walking. Then my mother came and meet me. I guess she followed the tracks - my tracks.

It's a funny thing. That's what happened to my eldest son, Ed. He was four years old. One night, at midnight or one o'clock, he opened the door of the house with a stick. He went out. He went to his grandfather's place and started knocking there. My father got up. He opened the door. He couldn't see anyone. Then I guess Ed told him. "*Mooshom* 'grandfather'," he said. And my father looked down. He couldn't believe Ed was standing

there in that doorway. Then that morning, my little brother came and woke me up. I didn't know Ed went out. "Did you know Ed went out this morning?" he told me. "No, I didn't," I said. I was really shocked. So I went to my father's house. Then my father started telling me these stories. I had four of them. "Ed is just like you," he said.

Ed told me he wants to quit school. He doesn't want to go to high school. I think he should finish Grade 8. I just want my sons to finish their school. I want them to learn English. Then they can choose after that. There's just one thing I don't want them to do - I don't want them to lose their language. That's one thing I don't want them to do. It's OK for them to understand English and speak it like me. But the one thing I don't want them to do is to lose their language.

Terry's teacher wants him to skip a grade. "How would you feel if I moved your son two grades ahead next year," she said, "because if I don't it's going to be too easy for him." "Terry won't like that," I told her, "because he likes to be with his brother Ed." You see, they started school together. We were talking about Ed too. I said that if it wasn't for Terry, Ed wouldn't be learning anything at school. He likes his brother, he wants to be with his brother. That's what I told the teacher, because Ed is having a hard time in school and Terry knows a lot in school. I told him how Ed missed a lot of school this winter because he went to hockey tournaments.

The teacher told us how one day when Terry got one question wrong he got really mad. "He's really a disciplined person," the teacher said. "I wish I had more students like this at school," she said.

Things were different when I was a kid. I started snaring when I was 5 or 6 years old. My father taught all us kids how to trap first, before he gave us a shotgun. I got my first shotgun when I was 9 years old. My father let me practice with that gun on a stump.

At first I missed the stump. I shot way up in the air. But I practised and got better. I got my first moose when I was 15 years old. I went out with my big brother. We were going out to the spring camp. It was October. Right by those islands at the mouth of the *kwetipahikan-siipi* - a moose was standing there. Right by the river bank. My brother was going to shoot him, but it was too far. We came closer. I guess that moose couldn't get up the river bank to get to the bush. So he jumped in the river. So we came up to him. He was just standing there on the shore. He was really tall. And my brother told me: "Shoot him, shoot him!" I got him on the first shot. Later we had a feast. I fed all my sisters. They all came over. Then, two years later we went for caribou - me and my older brother. We went up a creek about 50 miles and then we saw some caribou tracks. We didn't use skidoos to follow them - there were too many bushes. We just used snowshoes. We walked about an hour. It was pretty slow. There was lots of snow. I was getting lazy. I told my brother we should turn back. "We're getting close," he said. He knew, because they were walking upwind. There was a lake there about 500 feet wide. It was not a big lake. One caribou was really close - about 100 feet from us. Then we saw some about 20 feet. We began firing. We only got one. After we shot those, there was this caribou standing there, right beside us. We were out of shells. He started running. We didn't get him.

In the old days the people used to use dogsleds to hunt caribou. They used to know where the animals were going. They didn't have a hard time killing moose. They used to go after the moose, taking the shortcuts. They knew where the moose was going, because the moose always goes around, he walks upwind. They knew that. But we never do that. People today don't know how to moose hunt, even though they use skidoos. We don't know where the moose is going. Caribou too.

I guess when I was 7 years old, my father sent me to Moose Factory, to that school there. It was called Horden Hall. I was there for 3 years. I didn't come home for Christmas - only in the summer time. After that, maybe one time one of the kids were frightening me, were choking me with a rope on the bed there. I guess I was unconscious. That was the only time my father came and get me. Then after that, I had this thing - what do you call it - a speech therapist. I couldn't talk. I couldn't say anything. I tried to speak, but words would not come out. But my parents never take me to the principal to talk. They didn't think of it. About two years went by, then I started talking again. They were amazed about that. They never take me to a nurse or a hospital. My friends were amazed; they were teasing me because I couldn't speak. They were amazed when I started talking again. They were really amazed. My father couldn't believe it too. So that's what happened to me when I was 10 years old.

The teachers didn't do anything. I guess we were too... I guess I was... My father didn't say anything. I couldn't say anything. When he came to enrol [in the fall] he saw me lying there on the bed, unconscious. So he told them. There were four boys there. Then after that, when I went out I started living in the bush again with my parents on their trapline.

In 1975 I went to high school in Espanola. I went there for one year. It was really good. That's when I did best in school. But it was really polluted. It gave me stomach aches. That's why I moved to Timmins. I went to school in Timmins from September until November of 1976. I had good grades at that time, but that's when alcoholism started in my life. I started drinking there. It was my friends. At first, I never thought I could drink. That wasn't in my mind. The first day before I began school, one of my friends asked me if I wanted to drink. I said no. Maybe three times they asked me that. They were looking

at my money. Let's go to the store and buy some, they said. Then I started feeling sorry about my friends. They asked me why I wouldn't buy them something to drink from the store. They said: "Why? Don't you like us?" I told them I just didn't want to drink, but they said: "Come on, let's go." They were really desperate. One day I said OK, let's try it. They were happy I said yes. I only drank about two beers before I started to get high. I realize I should have said no. Maybe I wouldn't have got involved with that.

So I guess my father heard what was happening, and he didn't like that. So he came to Timmins and asked me: "Are you drinking here?" I couldn't lie to him. I said yes. He told me that I had to go home. So I went home, and I'm still drinking now.

When I was 18 years old I sang in a band. We played rock and roll music. My older brother's daughter came up to me in a dance and said: "Mary Goodman wants to see you." No, I said. About one year later, after that dance, my older brother's daughter came up to me again and said: "Mary wants to see you." That's how I met her. We started going out with each other. About 3 years went by and then I went to her house. I was really shy. I asked her father if I could marry her. I was 21 years old, she was 16 when we got married in 1981. At the wedding there was a feast, and after the feast there was a dance - a square dance. That's how it happened.

These days when people get married, they don't propose to the father. That's what happened to Cladius Hughie when his two daughters got married. I guess he was sitting on his couch in his house. And his wife told him: "It's time." He didn't know his two daughters were supposed to get married that day. "I was shocked," he said. "They never even proposed to me," he said. That's what he thought as he put on his suit.

People used to hunt until two years ago. People used to go moose hunting on skidoos. But hardly anyone does that anymore. I used to like it too, I used to like hunting.

We went out to goose camp last year. One day my wife was talking to me. She said: "We should go out in the bush for springtime." And I said: "OK" And I guess we were really happy. My kids want to go out again. I can't do anything right now. I haven't got a skidoo. My elder son wants to go out with his grandfather for the spring hunt. Sam wants to go with my older brother. And me, I'm going to go out in the Bay with Terry and one of my friends. So that's what I can do right now.

I first stopped going out in the bush when I was at Horden Hall. And then, when I went to high school, I stopped again. That's why I stopped going out in the bush. Our teachers keep telling us we have to get a high school education if we want to work. And that's what I wanted to do. But I never got to. So I went to high school. I went to Northern College. It was when I was in Northern College that I started going out to goose camp again. Then after that I became lazy. A friend of mine told me once: "Let's go trapping." And I said: "No." I was too lazy. All these things I once had disappeared when I had alcohol. That's what stopped me from doing anything at school too. That's what happened to me.

I'd like to say some things about some of the drawings the children gave you. First I will talk about this one [Drawings 26-27, depicting the front and back of a defaced playing card]. That card in the drawing [a Queen of Spades with the words "Mother" and "bitch" written on the back and "fuck-head" and "bitch" written on the front], we call it the bitch. I think that is what the girl who drew that feels about her mother. It is what she is trying to say to her parents about what they are doing with their money. Every time they get their welfare they play poker. They go gambling. When a kid sees that, I don't think they like it. They get really mad and frustrated at their mother and father for it. The kids want

money, but the parents don't give it to them. Then the kids are really mad. They want to say something to their parents, but they can't do it.

Now I want to talk about these drawings of a church [Chart 1.08]. When my kids were small we used to go to church. I used to take them to the church when they were babies. That's what we used to do. When they grew up and when they see us drinking, playing poker, I think it really hurts them. These pictures are telling me that. They want us to go back to church - that's what they're saying here. I guess that's what they're saying. They like to go to church. And here [Janey's drawings of the church and a *miikiwam* in Chart 2.06], I guess my daughter is saying she likes to go to church and she likes going out in the bush. I think that's what she's saying. She wants to go to church. She wants to go out to the bush. In these pictures [Terry's drawings of a church with an eye and a house split in two in columns 15 and 17 of Chart 3.00] I think Terry is saying he's got a broken home. That "M" on the house, that's for his mother [Mary].

This picture I want to talk to you about [Drawing 18]. It's the crucifixion. I got a movie once about Jesus, how he got here. Terry asked me: "Where did Jesus go?" I talked to him about that cross. When I saw him go to church I used to be happy. Then when I stopped going to church... The reason why people stopped going to church, I guess, is there were too many criticisms - like when somebody is on welfare. Like when the minister points at somebody he really hurts them. Like when he's talking about me. They say that in church. I don't think the minister should do that in church though. You can't tell people what they are because ministers don't know what the heart is. It hurts me when I see that. It happened to me.

Four years ago we had a healing meeting in the church. People were talking about their ideas about what they should do about drinking. But they were blaming each other. That's what they did. All that talking in the church - things just got worse.

I used to see my dad talk in the church, but he never said those things about what the people should do. He never said that. Lots of people don't know what they should do for a living - they've got families. My dad thought you should teach those people discipline and love in the church. But he never said anything about what those people are doing. Let's say, about alcoholics. He never talked about that in the church. He never pointed them out.

This picture [Drawing 21 - Terry's drawing of two people vomiting outside a house] it's our old house. We used to drink a lot there. When we first moved there, when we partied for the first time. Terry was five years old. He used to stand there and ask me what I'm doing in bed. I think that is what he saw. He saw that. What he's telling us is that he's hurt. He used to see people throwing up too, when they were going out. That thing hanging in the window is a heart. I think he wants peace in the house. Maybe he wants love in the house. I guess what he wants is love. I guess that's what he wants.

This drawing [Drawing 28, depicting two pills, a bottle of beer and a cigarette with a diagonal line drawn through them] is about alcohol, drugs and cigarettes. Terry is saying: "I don't like those." I guess he doesn't want that in his house. He's asking us to quit. I guess that's what he's saying.

You know, yesterday we were drinking again. My littlest son came to me - he's only four years old. He said: "Father, don't drink again." I realized it last night, lying in bed. I'll have to stop. It's going to take time, I guess. That's what I thought last night. It's going to take time. I won't say to my friends that I'm going to start drinking again. I know what they're going to say. But I have to, what I have to do is stop, I guess. I think it's

going to be hard. That's what I think. It's going to be hard. You know a micky costs \$60, up to \$100 in the summer time. And a 26 ounce (medium one) costs about \$200. People don't mind paying that.

Life History of Terry Moses

Terry is the second-born child of David and Mary Moses. In October 1991, when I collected the pictures in Charts 1.00-4.00, Terry and his older brother Ed were in Grade 4 at St. Andrew's school. Terry was, and continues to be an extremely conscientious student, often staying after school to work in the library or with his special education teacher. Terry has won school awards for his drawings, as well as for his academic achievements. One of his goals is to go to high school.

Compared to other members of his family, Terry is quiet, reserved and a loner. Compared to other children in his community, Terry displays very highly developed visual awareness. This awareness is revealed most clearly in Terry's drawings and confirmed by his parents and teachers, as well as by his performance on a Reading Style Inventory test (Carbo 1982, 1988). By any standards, Terry is keenly observant and displays remarkable intuitions about the behaviour of the people around him. These intuitions emerge clearly in Terry's drawings of other members of his family.

Terry's portrait of his grandfather, Matthew Goodman, is reproduced as Drawing 13 in the Appendix. The drawing reveals several aspects of Matthew's personality, including the fact that he is a chain-smoker and constantly wears a hat (wearing a hat seems to be a hold-over from Matthew's younger days, when he spent a lot of time working out-of-doors, but possibly also reflects his stubbornness and insecurity about changing old habits).

Matthew's forehead, nose and cheeks seem to recede behind his mouth and jaw in Terry's drawing. At first glance this might seem like a distortion, but it is actually an

accurate representation of Matthew's face as seen from the perspective of a small boy. The large, gaping, toothy mouth in Terry's drawing reveals as much about Terry's fear of being "eaten up" by his grandfather as it does about Matthew's actual features. In the original drawing Terry shaded his grandfather's face with a blue crayon, as if to suggest that he was "feeling blue".

The tiny body which Terry has given his grandfather in Drawing 13 reveals his perception of what the world must look like from Matthew's perspective. Note how Matthew's neck, body and legs seem to recede, as if the viewer is looking down. In using multiple perspective in his drawing of Matthew, Terry communicates his ability to see the world from more than one vantage point. At the same time, the juxtaposition of a gigantic head and tiny body creates a sense of incongruity in Terry's drawing. This sense of incongruity may reflect Terry's psychological perception of Matthew being "big headed" (i.e. stubborn and egocentric), while at the same time conveying the frailty of his body (Matthew takes medication for a heart condition). The juxtaposition of head and body may also reflect contradictions which Terry perceives in his grandfather's personality - Matthew's genuine sense of loss since the death of his wife and his obvious feelings of affection toward his grandchildren, juxtaposed against his readiness to sell alcohol to Terry's parents and take money from them on gambling nights.

Drawing 12 is Terry's depiction of his father, David Moses. In many ways this drawing is the most psychologically-revealing of all Terry's portraits. The furrowed brow, wide eyes, dilated pupils, flared nostrils and striations on David's neck seem to indicate that David is feeling "choked up". By depicting David in this way Terry appears to be referring to his father's experience of being strangled in residential school. Recall David's own words about this incident:

...one time one of the kids were frightening me, were choking me with a rope on the bed there. I guess I was unconscious. That was the only time my father came and get me. Then after that, I had this thing - what do you call it - a speech therapist. I couldn't talk. I couldn't say anything. I tried to speak, but words would not come out.

In addition to capturing what was undoubtedly one of the most frightening experiences in his father's life, Terry has managed to convey an impression of what his father looks like after a night of drinking. Note the figure's dishevelled hair, flushed cheeks, runny nose and "wild" eyes (this effect is produced by the juxtaposition of wide round eyes and tiny, differently-sized pupils). By (perhaps unconsciously) linking his father's residential-school experience with alcoholism in his portrait, Terry seems to convey his own intuitive understanding of how these experiences may be related. Remember that David's parents never talked to the teachers or principal at Horden Hall about what happened to their son and that the experience left David speechless for two years. Also recall that David's alcoholism began when he was in Grade 9 in Timmins, where he was once again away from home and in a situation where he felt intimidated by his "friends". At just the age when David was beginning to develop the ability to speak about his feelings, he discovered how to repress them with alcohol. Instead of verbalizing the latent feelings of anger and confusion which he undoubtedly felt about being strangled at Horden Hall, David appears to have numbed them in a boozy haze. Until he began recounting his life story to me, David had been at a loss for words to describe what alcoholism had done to his family. It is the numbing effect of this inability to speak which Terry so chillingly captures in his portrait of his father.

Drawing 11 is Terry's portrait of his mother. In this drawing, unlike those of Matthew and David, Terry has proportioned the head and body in a way which more closely corresponds to naturalistic conventions of "correctness". Terry has depicted his mother in a determined stance, conveying to me the impression that her "feet are on the ground". The

inclusion of many details in this drawing which are absent in his others - notably the correct number of fingers, folds in the dress and laces and heels on the shoes - indicate that Terry devoted a great deal of time and care to drawing the picture of his mother. Such care and attention to detail may also indicate that Terry feels "closer" to other members of his family.

By depicting his mother's head in profile, Terry seems to indicate that she is unable to "face up" to her own feelings. Perhaps, in depicting his mother in this way, Terry is also suggesting that he has difficulty facing up to his mother's own addictive personality (Mary is a compulsive gambler). Such difficulties in facing up to the reality of poverty, confusion and abuse have led to addictive behaviour in Terry's family and throughout his community. Addiction seems to provide a temporary relief from repressed feelings of horror and disgust, but in the long term spawns a "compulsion to repeat" which propagates a virtually-endless cycle of intra- and interpersonal abuse.¹¹

Note the expression of horror and disgust on the face of Terry's mother in Drawing 11 - she appears to be gagging and retching, as if she were about to vomit. While the viewer cannot see what is happening off the page which might be causing Terry's mother to feel this way, Terry has ingeniously managed to convey his perception of what his mother is thinking. Terry has done this by drawing a "thought-picture" encircled by a cloud-like cartouche such as might be found highlighting dialogue in a comic book. The thought-picture portrays a person impaled by a spear. Terry has drawn the impaled figure from the

¹¹Freud (1924: 150-1) suggested that the compulsion to repeat or "act out" past experiences is a form of "resistance against remembering". He noted that it is the job of the psychotherapist to help his patient "work through" resistances by bringing out painful memories of the past. "Giving the resistance a name could not result in its immediate cessation," he wrote (1924: 155). "One must allow the patient time to become conversant with this resistance with which he has now become acquainted, to work through it, to overcome it, by continuing, in defiance of it, the analytic work according to the fundamental rule of analysis [i.e. transference]."

perspective of a small child looking up at an adult. He has drawn a hat on the figure, suggesting associations with Terry's grandfather, Matthew Goodman.

Drawing 10 is Terry's portrait of his brother Ed. What I find most remarkable about this picture is that Terry has chosen to depict Ed as a cowboy. Although movies depicting battles between cowboys and "Indians" are frequently broadcast on TV in Kashechewan, I seldom saw children enacting these battles in their play. One notable exception to this, recorded in my fieldnotes and excerpted below, occurred on 7 March 1991:

This evening I was visited by Ed and Terry Moses. Ed seemed to be in a particularly unruly state. Unlike Terry, he did not want to sit down and draw pictures. Instead, he tried to provoke Terry with comments about his "girlfriend". When this failed to create the necessary turmoil, Ed went into my room and swaggered out with a prized goose carving. I tried not to take the bait, but after a few minutes of watching Edwin pretending to spear the delicate carving with a skipole, I took it from him and put it back into my room. Thankfully, at 6:45 p.m. the boys put on their winter clothes and left for the school, where a badminton game was going on in the gym. Before leaving, Ed boxed Terry in the ears. "It's easy to pick on someone smaller than you," I told him. "I am winner," he announced to me aggressively. Grabbing a mop from beside the door, Ed swung it like a baseball bat. "I hit a man like this," he boasted to me as he swung the handle. "That man ran home with a limp!" Shouldering the mop handle like a gun, Ed pointed it at me shouting: "Bang! Bang! I'm a winner. Police come to get me. Bang! Bang! Go to war with army. Bang! Bang! Indians all around me. Bang! Bang! Bang! Indians all dead."

Ed's boastful and aggressive comments about assaulting a man on the street, fighting against the police and army, and shooting Indians seem to express pent-up feelings of confusion and aggression. These feelings were constantly being provoked among children and adults in Kashechewan while I was there, and may be related to the natural anxiety Cree people feel about being assimilated into Anglo-Canadian and North American society. However, Ed's behaviour was also linked to events which he saw happening around him in the summer of 1990 and the winter of 1991.

Throughout 1990-1991 unprecedented images of terror and violence entered Cree people's homes through television. In the summer of 1990 many Cree people watched the "Oka crisis" unfolding daily on television sets.¹² As in many other reserve-communities across Canada, people in Kashechewan were confused about what they saw happening. When I first arrived in Kashechewan in October 1990 a number of people asked me why the Government of Canada sent the army to remove Mohawk people from their own land and why white people threw rocks at native people on the Dorion bridge, near Montreal. They told me how, in August 1990 a delegation of people from Kashechewan had flown to Timmins and then chartered a bus to take them to Ottawa. While the people on the bus had been unable to discuss the situation with either the Mohawk people besieged behind the barricades outside Oka or with officials from the Department of Indian Affairs, they did talk to many other people at a demonstration that was held outside Ottawa. Like most other Canadians that summer, the delegation from Kashechewan returned home without any clear answers about what happened in Oka and whether it could happen again elsewhere.

In the fall of 1990 many parents in Kashechewan were sufficiently concerned about what was happening to native people in Southern Canada to keep their adolescent children at home rather than sending them to high school in Timmins and North Bay. David and Mary Moses were relieved that their children were all too young to attend high school in the

¹²This crisis developed in July 1990 when Mohawks from the Kanesatake First Nation in the Province of Quebec opposed the the neighbouring town of Oka's plans to develop a tract of land into a municipal golf course. The Mohawks had never ceded the land in question to the Crown by formal treaty and claimed title to it. Their claim was not recognized by the Municipal Council in Oka. To delay development of the land Mohawks from Kanesatake occupied the proposed golf course and were in an armed standoff with the Quebec police and the Canadian army for 78 days before finally surrendering. A number of other First Nations communities across Canada also staged protests at this time. For details on the Oka crisis see York and Pindera (1991).

fall of 1991. Like many other people in Kashechewan, they were horrified when in October they learned that gang violence had erupted between Cree and French-speaking high-school students in Timmins.

Just as the racial tensions seemed to be easing in Timmins, Mashkeko people were once again disturbed by events which they were watching on TV. Throughout February surreal TV-images of bombs and Cruise missiles launched against a distant "enemy" entered the homes and imaginations of people in Kashechewan and other Cree communities on James Bay. Impressions of the Gulf War were fused with the still-fresh images from Oka in the drawings of many children. This syncretistic blending of terrifying images emerges clearly in Drawing 15 of the Appendix.

Drawing 15 was made by Terry's cousin John. It depicts a battle scene which has clearly been influenced by TV news reports showing bombs and cruise missiles landing on Baghdad. John has substituted helicopters for jet fighters and a turboprop aircraft for the stealth bombers he saw being deployed in the Gulf War. The helicopters he has drawn resemble those used periodically to evacuate people from the nursing station in Kashechewan, while the aircraft resembles an aging Hawker-Sidley which passes over his house each day at lunchtime, bringing passengers, freight and mail from Timmins to the nearby local airport.

John was capable of recollecting and drawing detailed images of police cars, fire trucks and apartment buildings which he probably only learned about through watching TV (having never been south of Moosonee, John could not have seen these things in person). Yet John substituted local aircraft for the sleek jets actually used during the Gulf War. I submit that John combines images of local and "foreign" objects in his drawing to convey his perception that Kashechewan is itself threatened by invading forces. This perception is conveyed by the captions "This is my home", "Help please, Mom" and "What is heppen?"

which, against the backdrop of urban warfare, suggest that John sees Kashechewan as a battleground.¹³

Children in Kashechewan often have difficulty understanding what is happening in the world outside their community. This world is brought into their lives primarily through the images the children see on TV. At times the "outside world" appears to be a very dangerous and hostile place. At other times, it seems to be a place of fabulous wealth and extraordinary opportunities. To a Cree family on welfare, the images of wealth and decadence broadcast on programs such as "Dallas" and "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous", not to mention advertisements for luxury products, can be construed to be typical of the people who live in the "mythical" cities far to the South. Parents can feel "cheated" or resentful that they cannot follow such lifestyles and children can develop unrealistic expectations about what their parents should buy for them. Such feelings are exacerbated when children ask their parents for things which children on television seem to have but which their own parents cannot possibly afford to buy for them. Sometimes at a loss for words, and plagued by feelings of inadequacy and urgency, some parents act out their fantasies by gambling large amounts of money in bingo or poker games. Other parents choose to deaden their feelings of inadequacy with alcohol. A few parents act out their

¹³Drawing 15 resembles many of the drawings of "Richard", a 10-year old boy who was a patient of Melanie Klein during the Second World War. In her analysis of Richard, Klein (1980) suggests that scenes of battle symbolize Oedipal conflicts between the boy and his parents. For example, Klein (1980: 54) interprets Richard's picture of British bombers attacking German battleships to symbolize Richard's fear "that if he [Richard] wanted to destroy the bad Daddy and bad babies inside Mummy, he would have to attack Mummy herself". While there is merit to Klein's interpretation, it ignores the actual content and structure of Richard's pictures (not to mention the boy's own interpretations). With the benefit of hindsight, it seems that it may be more productive to view Richard (and John's) war pictures as communicating simultaneous messages about intra- and interpersonal conflict on a number of different levels, rather than reducing interpretation to a single paradigm.

feelings through violent and abusive behaviour directed at loved ones. Such behaviour is an ever-present part of life in Kashechewan, but is especially rampant in the days following the arrival of welfare cheques each month.

Addictive and abusive behaviour disrupts many families in Kashechewan, eroding the sense of security and stability most children yearn to associate with their family, home and community.¹⁴ Television images of war, latent fears of linguistic and cultural assimilation and daily images of local family violence combine to create the impression in many children's minds that Kashechewan is a battleground. This impression is conveyed strongly in Drawing 15, as well as in acting-out behaviour such as that described in the following excerpt from my fieldnotes:

This afternoon (8 October 1991) I went for a walk with Elkeenah and Matthew Wesley, Acton Wynne, Sam Moses and a few other boys. We ambled up and down the streets and along a path to the north of the village. As we passed Sam's old house, Sam picked up a stone and threw it. The stone bounced off the aluminum siding with a loud clang. Sam had the satisfied grin of a marksman who had just hit a bull's eye. Proceeding west along the road the other boys picked up stones and began throwing them, first at a telephone pole, then at the boarded up windows of an abandoned store.

Just past the store Elkeenah found a stuffed bunny rabbit which appeared to have been inadvertently left outside by its owner. Elkeenah picked up a stick and began hitting the rabbit. Then he picked up the rabbit, threw it up in the air and tried batting it like a baseball. After a couple of tries, he succeeded in batting it across the road and back into the ditch. The other boys seized sticks and began violently hitting the rabbit, trying to knock the stuffing out of it. One of them grabbed it and batted it back to Elkeenah. For a few minutes the boys knocked the rabbit back and forth with their

¹⁴Following Lacan (1977: 1-7), Winnicott has remarked on the importance of "mirroring" in the healthy development of children. "When a family is intact and is a going concern," Winnicott wrote (1971: 138), "each child derives benefit from being able to see himself or herself in the attitude of the individual members or in the attitudes of the family as a whole." Before developing the "capacity to be alone", which is a sign of emotional maturity, (Winnicott 1965a: 31), children must first develop a strong sense of self through mirroring.

sticks, stopping only after so much of the stuffing had fallen out as to make it impossible to continue the game.

Brandishing their sticks, the boys walked over to a path skirting the north edge of the village. The boys began playing "Ninja Turtles", using their sticks as swords. Elkeenah wrote the word "Turtle" on the muddy path with his stick. Around the word he drew the image of a turtle shell which was about 3 feet in diameter. His brother Matthew lay down in the middle of the shell, pretending he was a Ninja Turtle. When he got up the other boys began hitting the shell with the ends of their sticks and chanting "turtle, turtle" in unison. The beat reminded me of the rhythm of the theme music for the first Ninja Turtle movie. After perhaps 30 seconds the boys ran off along the path, brandishing their sticks and hollering.

During walks through the village I frequently encountered 7-10 year old boys like Elkeenah, Matthew, Acton and Sam pretending to be Ninja turtles and occasionally acting out their aggression by throwing rocks at abandoned buildings. Older boys tended to drop their romantic attachment to fantasy figures, preferring instead to assail each other in bloody fights behind the community arena or to throw rocks through the windows of recently-built homes in the community. In the fall of 1991 stone-throwing and other acts of vandalism were so widespread that small vigilante bands of men patrolled the streets at night, dispensing harsh justice on those rock-throwing youths who were unfortunate enough to get caught.¹⁵

¹⁵Dick Preston (personal communication) recalls how, in the 1960s, Cree boys at Rupert's House, on the east coast of James Bay, used to stone small game animals to death. Such activities provided boys with the opportunity of learning how to take aim and shoot at living targets (a necessary bush skill that would be important in adult life). Alex McKay and Preston have both suggested (personal communication) that native boys on northern reserves may have "changed targets" from small game to members of their own community. If this is so, then it may be surmised that the transition from a subsistence to cash economy may involve an ideological shift from the harvesting of game to the exploitation of human labour. The apparent increase in interpersonal aggression accompanying this change in targets suggests that in practicing how to exploit members of their own community, Cree boys may be acting out resistance to the social and economic changes which they perceive to be going on around them.

Unlike boys, who project their feelings of anger and frustration, girls in Kashechewan tend to internalize these feelings. As the following excerpt from my fieldnotes reveals, young girls sometimes re-enact painful events from their personal lives when they play:

This morning (22 April 1991) Pamela, Roberta, Patricia, Charlene and Rosaline dropped by for a visit. They asked me for permission to play a game I shall call "pretend home". Since Matthew was out for the morning, I told the girls to go ahead and play. Charlene and Roberta pretended they were grown-ups while the others pretended they were their children. Two of the bedrooms served as "houses" while the third bedroom became the "nursing station". The living room represented an undefined "outdoor space".

Charlene began playing "pretend home" by shouting at her "daughter", blaming her for sleeping with her boyfriend. After a good deal of screaming and shouting, Patricia ran out of her "house" and into the living room. A few minutes later Pamela found Patricia lying on the floor. They called to Roberta, who pretended she was a nurse.

Roberta and Pamela carried Patricia to the "nursing station" and diagnosed that she had overdosed on sleeping pills. She was laid out on a bed and an "oxygen mask" fashioned from a sheet of paper was placed over her face. After a short time Patricia's "mother" fetched her from the "nursing station".

Following her "recovery", Patricia found an empty whisky bottle and a pack of cigarettes which had been discarded on the floor of Matthew's bedroom. Patricia pretended to smoke a cigarette and drink whisky from the bottle. Once again her "mother" found her. She took Patricia "home" and told her that she was grounded. Patricia's "mother" also warned her not to smoke or drink ever again. Following this, Patricia stole money (a deck of cards) from her "mother's" purse to buy another bottle of whisky and some cigarettes.

The "pretend home" game is a highly reflexive form of "social drama"¹⁶ re-enacting events which actually had transpired in Kashechewan several days earlier. At that time three teenage girls had stolen some money with which they bought a "micky" of whisky. After

¹⁶Turner (1974, 1982) has defined "social dramas" as consisting of four phases: (1) breach of rules; (2) crisis; (3) redressive action; (4) reconciliation. The characteristic structure of social dramas underlies rituals and other forms of reflexive human performance, making it possible for "actors" in them to symbolically transform crises and in so doing become self aware.

consuming the whisky, the girls overdosed on some sleeping pills. Fortunately, the parents of one of the girls found them all unconscious in their living room and rushed them to the nursing station, where they had their stomachs pumped out.

Juvenile girls, like their male counterparts, seek more direct ways to act out their negative feelings. But whereas juvenile boys project feelings onto each other or the symbols of male authority, girls tend to introject their feelings, resulting in feelings of depression and, in severe cases, suicide.¹⁷

Social dramas like the "pretend home" game provide creative opportunities for boys and girls to relive and reshape painful memories or experiences. Unlike "real life", participants in social dramas are able to control the outcome of the events which they are re-enacting. In so doing, they are able to gain insight and also symbolically transform painful situations. The impromptu social dramas in which I witnessed Mashkeko children participating were fairly accurate representations of events either described to me by their elders or which I myself witnessed in their homes or on TV. Such enacted stories were generally accurate representations of the "facts". Children's spontaneous drawings, on the other hand, appeared much more transformative, blending images from TV and real-life together to create a semi-mythical world in which drunken parents might become battling soldiers, witches or devils and in which children might be protected by "guardian spirits" such as Superman, Jesus and Ninja turtles. By blending images in this way, the children seemed to make sense of their world and in so doing creatively transform painful feelings into positive self-expressions.

¹⁷For a discussion of one teenage girl's self-destructive behaviour see Chapter 7, Part 4(2).

In his portrait of Ed (Drawing 10) Terry is able to show how Cree children syncretistically combine images from television and everyday life. It may seem ironic that Terry has depicted his older brother wearing a cowboy hat, with guns blazing, since "Indians" are usually depicted as villains in the "cowboy and Indian" movie genre. Yet why should we be surprised that a little boy would want to identify with what he perceives to be the "hero". Terry's portrait of Ed conveys the dark side of assimilating images from so-called "popular" culture into Cree culture. As I contemplate Drawing 10 and what it reveals about the acting-out behaviour of children in Kashechewan, Ed's words resonate in my mind: "Indians all around me. Bang! Bang! Bang! Bang! Indians all dead."

Drawing 9 is Terry's portrait of his "little" sister Janey (ironically, she appears as a rather big girl in this drawing). Janey is a very calm, reclusive and somewhat melancholy little girl, but in Terry's picture she seems frenetic, outgoing and jovial. Perhaps Terry has captured a side of Janey in his drawing that was hidden in real life. However, one feature of Drawing 9 - Janey's hair - does stand out as being truly aberrant. Janey's hair is actually long and straight, but in his drawing Terry has given his sister a "perm". This inconsistency undoubtedly reflects the influence of stereotypical images of little girls and women which Terry may have picked up from television advertisements, cartoons, children's storybooks, and comic books. However, it is also possible that Terry has drawn Janey with curly hair to convey his impression of how Janey wishes to see herself.

Drawing 7 depicts Terry's little cousin Anna. Anna and Janey are best friends and constant companions. Although Terry's has presented a very simplified rendering of Anna, he has managed to capture a few salient features of his subject. Anna has a round face and high cheekbones, which Terry has exaggerated in his drawing, giving her a clown-like appearance. Anna's clown-like appearance in Terry's drawing masks her real traits of

shyness and reserve. Like Janey, Anna also has straight hair, yet Terry has depicted her with a bouffant-like hairdo, once again suggesting that stereotypes of femininity and beauty imported from Anglo-Canadian society may have influenced his pictures and perhaps also the way girls and women in Kashechewan actually view themselves.

Like his picture of Anna, Terry's drawing of Sam (Drawing 6) lacks the detail to be found in his other portraits. As in his mother's portrait, Terry has depicted his little brother in profile with his tongue sticking out, suggesting that he is feeling sickened and disgusted. Terry provides no direct clues as to what might be causing his brother to feel this way. However, the recurrent themes of illness, sickness and revulsion, combined with frequent depictions of fighting and battles in many of Terry and the other children's drawings, suggest to me that Sam may be sickened by the linguistic, cultural and interpersonal conflict which seem to pervade life in Kashechewan.

Terry's portrait of his cousin John is reproduced in Drawing 8. John is carrying a hockey stick in his left hand and unidentified object (possibly a snowshoe) on his back. In the centre of John's chest (near his heart?) is the image of a man whom I interpret to be his father. John looks up to his father, who sometimes plays hockey on the "Old Timers" team and grew up in the bush. John is named after his father, and Terry seems to be fusing images of father and son together in Drawing 8.

Drawing 5 is Terry's self-portrait. Terry has depicted himself standing atop the bank of the Albany River. While the drawing appears spontaneous and free-flowing, Terry has devoted a great deal of care and attention - particularly to the hands and feet. The hem of the right pant leg has been carefully drawn so that it curls behind the subject's ankle while the feet and legs have been executed to conform to the rugged contours of the ground. Terry has also spent a great deal of effort on the fingers in his drawing. In addition, he has

carefully shaded the hands and face with a pink crayon and the hair with a black one. He has coloured the shirt green, the pants orange and the shoes purple. The river bank is brown and the sun is deep orange. The overall effect of these bright patches of colour is to enhance the vibrancy and liveliness of Terry's composition.

By positioning himself on the riverbank Terry has been able to portray himself above the viewer without exaggerating his own size. In this way Terry is able to convey an accurate image of himself, while at the same time projecting his own feelings of confidence and assertiveness (the viewer must "look up" to Terry). The way in which Terry has depicted his eyeglasses provides another example of Terry's positive self-image. Unlike many children his age, Terry did not appear to suffer any stigma about having to wear eyeglasses. By adorning the smiling visage of the sun with glasses, Terry makes a powerful statement about how glasses symbolize light and vision (both words being designated by the root *waapa-* in Cree).

Whereas the smiling sun in Drawing 5 is radiating warmth and light, Terry has depicted himself with clenched teeth, indicating that something is seems to be troubling him. There is nothing in Terry's self-portrait to indicate the source of his anxiety. However, the association of eyes and glasses with frightening or sickening experiences in Drawings 45-47 and the frequent depictions of scenes of conflict in Charts 1.00-4.00 suggests that Terry, like many other people in Kashechewan, has internalized the many conflicts which he perceives to be occurring around him. Unlike boys who act out their aggression by throwing stones or picking fights, Terry "draws out" his negative feelings.

CHAPTER 3 - ANALYSIS OF THE CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Introduction

In the next four chapters I will analyze the structure and content of 200 pictures drawn by ten children ranging in age from 6-14 years in order to explore the phantasy world, as well as the culturally-mediated modes of cognitive functioning of these children.¹ The children's pictures are reproduced in the Appendix. In this chapter I will provide some background information about how I collected, collated and analyzed the drawings reproduced in Charts 1.00-4.00. I will discuss some of the key concepts and theories which inform my analysis of these drawings. I also will compare my approach to others used in the analysis of children's art. Finally, I will discuss the provenience of the drawings.

The children's drawings reproduced in the Appendix were originally made on 8.5 x 11 inch sheets of plain white notepaper. To facilitate analysis, I have presented 148 of the children's drawings in 4 concordances.² These concordances are identified in the Appendix

¹Following J. Mitchell (1986: 22) I shall adopt the Kleinian practice of distinguishing unconscious *phantasies* such as dreams from conscious *fantasies* such as daydreams. Unlike Klein, I do not assume that unconscious phantasies derive from instincts. Instead, I focus on how such projections represent repressed thoughts and feelings which find playful expression through the imagination.

²The noun "concordance" [Latin *concordia*, 'state of being of one heart or mind,' plus suffix *-entia*, 'quality or action of'] is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "agreement, harmony or accord". In music the term refers to "agreement or harmony between...sounds and rhythmical movements" and also to "a combination of notes which is in itself satisfactory to the ear". In grammar it refers to "formal agreement between words as parts of speech, expressing the relation of fact between things and their attributes or predicates". In the study of literature it refers to an index of key words or parallel passages from a text. In this dissertation I use the term "concordance" to refer to my presentation of sequences of pictures drawn by children who were sitting together as they were drawing. I have arranged these pictures in such a way as to show formal similarities while at the same time preserving the order in which they were drawn.

as "Charts" with whole numbers (e.g. Chart 1.00, 2.00, etc.). Children's names are arranged in rows along the left side of the concordances, with each child's drawings arranged beside his or her name, extending across the page from left to right in the order in which they were created. Since the children appear to have been influenced by each other's drawings, pictures with similar content and/or form, drawn by different children are aligned vertically if they appear in the same sequential position. However, the sequence in which the pictures were drawn has not been altered in order to accommodate such alignment. To facilitate identification, pictures have been placed in columns which are numbered consecutively from left to right. From my own experience in analyzing myths, rituals, chants, pictographs and -most recently - children's art (Fulford 1988, 1988a, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, i.p.), arranging constituent units in this way provides the most parsimonious and effective means of systematically comparing and contrasting them in order to determine general structural features and patterns.

To fit the children's drawings into workable concordances, I have reduced each drawing to approximately six percent of its original size. Unfortunately, this degree of reduction has made many details difficult to discern. To facilitate more detailed study, I have reproduced 88 "key drawings" from the concordances at approximately 25 percent of their original size. The key drawings are identified in the Appendix as "Charts" with decimal fraction suffixes (e.g. Chart 1.01, 1.02, etc.). The whole numbers identifying these Charts designate the concordance with which they belong (e.g. the two pictures in Chart 1.01 are from the concordance identified as Chart 1.00).

What I have termed "unconscious wordplay" (i.e. unarticulated verbal associations which are revealed through alliteration when one names, both in Cree and in English, the objects depicted in the children's drawings) occurs in approximately two-thirds of the

children's drawings reproduced in the concordances. I have indicated examples of this wordplay in the key drawings, as well as in Charts 5.01-07, 6.01-07 and 7.01-07. Cree words appear in italic type while English words appear in regular type. Glosses are indicated in single inverted commas. Words which are hand-printed on the drawings were inscribed by the children themselves.

To elucidate certain themes and patterns appearing in the key drawings, I have included 52 supplemental "Drawings" (spelled with a capital "D") in the Appendix.³ Whereas the pictures reproduced in the concordances were drawn by children sitting as a group, pictures designated as "Drawings" were usually drawn by children sitting alone. I have reproduced Drawings at approximately 50 percent of their original size.

Owing to the large amount of data, I will discuss pictures appearing in and associated with each concordance in separate chapters of this dissertation. In each chapter I shall analyse the visual and verbal structure of the pictures in each concordance. Following this I shall compare and contrast the structural patterns found in each concordance in order to make a general statement about children's art.

Methodology

Much of my analysis rests on visual and verbal patterns of association which are most clearly revealed in Charts 1.00-4.00. In collating the pictures and determining the patterns of visual and verbal association in these concordances I was guided by the method of structural analysis pioneered by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963:206-31). While this method was originally designed for the analysis of myths, it can be applied to other semiotic systems, including children's art. The method involves creating a concordance in the following way:

³Drawing 1 is a detail from Terry's picture at the top of Chart 2.05 and has not been enumerated as a separate drawing.

(1) a corpus of data comprising a key story and its variations is obtained; (2) the stories are divided into their constituent units; (3) the constituent units of the key story are arranged from left to right in the sequence in which they were created; (4) the constituent units of the variations are arranged in the same way, but below those of the key story, such that similar units are in vertical alignment and dissimilar units occupy their own space; (5) the formal similarities and differences of the constituent units are analyzed in order to reconstruct the meta-narrative comprising the key story and its variations.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of my method of analysing children's drawings involves determining the patterns of wordplay associated with them. While the children were uninhibited about spontaneously producing drawings, they were hesitant to provide commentary and rarely responded verbally to my questions about their drawings. Nevertheless, in the process of analyzing the structure of the children's drawings it became obvious that the form and content of many pictures seemed to be influenced by verbal as well as visual associations. Most of these verbal associations were unarticulated (i.e. unconscious).

I have relied on demonstrable and consistent verbal patterning to determine verbal associations in the children's drawings. To determine such patterning systematically I first named (both in Cree and in English) as many identifiable features as possible in each of the 148 drawings in Charts 1.00-4.00. Whenever alliteration occurred in Cree, English, or through code-switching I noted it and then compiled a concordance of words associated with the children's drawings for each Chart. Particularly noteworthy examples of wordplay are also inscribed on the enlarged pictures which accompany Charts 1.00-4.00.

To facilitate analysis I have compiled comprehensive lists of the words associated with the pictures in Charts 1.00-4.00. These wordlists are provided in Charts 5.01-04 of the Appendix, while an overview of various categories of wordplay found in each concordance

is provided in Chart 5.06. Cumulative summaries of the comprehensive wordlists and wordplay categories can be found in Charts 5.05 and 5.07. Charts 6.01-07 and 7.01-07 provide similar information for words that have been selected from the comprehensive wordlists and summaries on the basis of syntagmatic (i.e. "horizontal") and paradigmatic ("vertical") associations between contiguous words or phrases in the concordances.

A systematic pattern of wordplay is manifest throughout the children's drawings in Charts 1.00-4.00, with some variation apparently resulting from differences in age, gender, the content of the drawings and context-specific factors. Data from Charts 5.06 and 5.07 reveals that between 72-100% of the 148 children's drawings in concordances are associated with words (the mean is 77%). Of the words associated with drawings, 50-77% (the mean is 65%) are in Cree and 23-50% (the mean is 35%) are in English. Only two Cree words were written by children on their drawings (the rest, comprising more than 99 percent of the total lexicon, were unarticulated). In contrast, between 22-53% (the mean is 40%) of the English words associated with the drawings are written. When adjustments are made for redundancy (i.e. words appearing in more than one concordance), the range of variation is generally reduced. Significantly, these trends continue when words are selected on the basis of syntagmatic and paradigmatic associations. Furthermore, the patterns of wordplay manifested in the children's drawings reflect the overall patterns of language use within their community, with Cree being the principal language of discourse, the use of English being confined to school studies, TV-viewing, reading and writing.

The visual and underlying verbal structure characteristic of Cree children's drawings bear marked resemblances to those of the nineteenth-century Midewiwin song scrolls and chants which I explored in my M.A. thesis (Fulford 1988; for published accounts see Fulford 1989 and 1990). Such resemblances seem to indicate the persistence of a world view (and

possibly cognitive processes) which are characteristic of northern Algonquian hunting peoples.

Both historic Midewiwin pictographs and contemporary Cree children's art exhibit a transformative quality emphasizing the close interrelationship of human and "other-than-human" persons functioning together in "a unified cosmos" (Hallowell 1960: 30 and 38; 1966: 274). In this cosmos the distinctions between visual and verbal percepts typically drawn by "educated" English-speaking academics need not apply. Indeed, the "shape" of images and words frequently interpenetrate in both the Midewiwin song scrolls and Cree children's drawings. This pictographic quality is reminiscent of the way stylized motifs emanate from letters and words on the pages of European medieval manuscripts. In each of these cases the shape of one class of forms functions as a palimpsest for the shape of forms in other classes.⁴

Verbal associations are strongly influenced by iteration in Midewiwin chants, consisting as they do of small sequences of words which are repeated over and over again. Such iteration exaggerates the amount of "language drift" (Sapir 1921: 155) in these chants, leading to the disintegration of some words into nonsense syllables and the reintegration of such syllables into new words. Under such conditions, patterns of alliteration evolve, influenced by background patterns introduced by percussive instruments (drums and rattles) and visual imagery (either mental or introduced through associated pictographs), as well as

⁴Concerning the notion of a "mystic writing-pad" or palimpsest in psychoanalysis see Freud (1925a).

the natural patterns of the Ojibwe language. Similar processes, introduced through retranscription, seem to influence the form of pictographs in Midewiwin song scrolls.⁵

Iterative processes seem to have a less influential role in determining the visual and verbal substrate of Cree children's drawings. This tendency may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Midewiwin materials are embedded in a mythic and ritual context, whereas the children's drawings were relatively spontaneous. On the other hand, there is ample evidence of borrowing in the children's drawings, which points to the social nature of this artform.

At times the visual and verbal associations emerging from the children's drawings analyzed in this dissertation evoke traditional Cree mythic and ritual contexts. Such affinities cannot always be explained in terms of direct historic links. One need not assume a theory of genetically-based archetypal structures in order to explain such affinities. Rather, they can be explained on the basis of a shared context of language and experience linking contemporary, historic, and possibly prehistoric northern Algonquian groups.

Analytical Framework and Key Concepts

Nelson Goodman (1976:225-232) suggests that pictures and paragraphs must both be read. What he means by this is that both visual and verbal signs are coded in an arbitrary and conventional manner that is learned, like spoken language. What Hjelmslev (1961:103) calls the "substance" of language differs according to its mode of expression. This substance is primarily verbal in the case of spoken language and visual in the case of art. Nevertheless, the underlying form of language remains the same.

⁵For more information concerning the influence of iteration on the shape of images and words in Midewiwin song scrolls and chants see Fulford (1988: 97-8 and 107-8; 1989: 149-51; 1990: 150).

I propose to analyze the sequences of children's drawings reproduced in the concordances as if they were paragraphs. Each child's "paragraph" comprises a personal "story", with its own unique narrative structure. These narrative structures include plot, setting, characters and theme. In addition to analyzing narrative structure, I shall explore the overall structure of the semiotic system used by the children to tell their stories. This system, based on a pictorial form of representation, has a linear visual and verbal structure which parallels that of words written using either the Cree syllabary or the Roman alphabet.

Real paragraphs are comprised of written words which have the potential to evoke vivid imagery. The narrative sequences of children's drawings which I explore have a latent verbal substrate, comprised of the unarticulated wordplay which emerges when the viewer names the objects depicted by the children. This substrate has a syntactic structure which is different from that of normal speech in either Cree or English. The syntax of these unarticulated verbal associations, like that of the drawings themselves, is structured in ways resembling what Freud has described as the unconscious patterns of dreams, puns and children's speech play (for a discussion see page 107, below).⁶

To my knowledge there have been no previous attempts to analyze the structure of children's art using the method I have proposed. Consequently, there is no pre-existing

⁶Freud frequently observed that the images found in dreams are often accompanied by latent verbal associations. For example, he relates (1900: 99, note 1) a story recorded by Artemidoros of Daldos (1881: 255) about how, during the siege of Tyre, Alexander of Macedon dreamt the image of a satyr dancing on his shield. Following Artemidoros, Freud pointed out that the image of the satyr encodes the latent verbal association *σα τύρος* 'Tyre is yours'. Freud (*ibid.*) concluded that Alexander's dream demonstrates that "every tongue has its own dream-language" and that "a dream is, as a rule, not to be translated into other languages." Freud (1900: 303) also remarked that processes similar to "the linguistic tricks performed by children...are the common source [of unconscious verbal associations] in dreams and psychoneuroses alike." His insights into "children's language" have been confirmed by Weir (1962), Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1976), Schieffelin (1983) and Dowker (1989).

technical vocabulary to describe the structures and processes which I shall explore. I have therefore coined a number of terms, some of which are used in other disciplines such as linguistics and gestalt psychology. As I introduce these terms, I shall define them and, when necessary, distinguish my usage from that of other disciplines.

Following the model suggested by Goodman, I suggest that each sequence of pictures included in a concordance represents a "paragraph". The entire collection of sequences presented in a concordance represents the children's collective "story". Each picture itself represents a "sentence" made up of a "vocabulary" of recognizable objects which I term "visual morphemes".

My use of the term "morpheme" immediately suggests parallels with the linguistic usage of this term. Exploring such parallels is a useful method of broadening the understanding of "language" and at the same time developing new ways in which to conceptualize the relationship of form and content in visual art.⁷ However, I do not presume that techniques developed specifically for linguistic analysis can be applied willy-nilly to the study of visual art. My primary reason for choosing the term "morpheme" is to convey a precise sense of the word "form". Any implied comparisons with the linguistic usage of this term must be understood to be largely metaphorical.

⁷Concerning the relationship of form and content in art, Ben Shahn (1957: 61) stated that "form is the visible shape of content." According to Shahn (1977: 68-72), content can be anything the artist or viewer imagines it to be. Form, on the other hand, "is the embodiment of content" and is shaped by theme, intention and the limits imposed by the chosen media of expression. Shahn's statements express the essence of my own understanding of the relationship of form and content in Cree children's drawings. However, such statements must be qualified when considering spoken and written language, in which largely-arbitrary phonological, morphological and syntactic conventions strongly mediate the relationship between form and content.

Visual morphemes, as I conceive them, loosely correspond to the morphemes of spoken language. They are the minimal meaningful units of the children's pictures. Unlike the constituent units of speech, which have a symbolic function, visual morphemes have an iconic function⁸. Visual morphemes are composed of various geometric shapes, but these shapes are not the visual equivalent of phonemes. They are "gestalts".

Like the term "morpheme", "gestalt" is closely wedded to a particular scientific discipline. While many of the techniques of gestalt psychology have enhanced the understanding of visual art (e.g. Arnheim 1966, 1969, 1974), I do not advocate the use of these techniques *per se*. Indeed, the main reason that I have chosen to use the term "gestalt" is to convey a precise sense of the word "form" and to differentiate this from what I have defined as a "visual morpheme".

Gestalts, as I conceive them, lack the "reality effect" of visual morphemes inasmuch as their form is not restricted to a single representation of an object. Gestalts are embedded in visual morphemes, but also influence the overall composition of a piece of art. Because they do not stand alone, but are part of something bigger, gestalts are often difficult to recognize. The viewer can learn to identify gestalts by looking for the forms which make up a picture, rather than searching for the recognizable objects in it.

⁸A symbol is a sign which represents an object in an arbitrary, highly conventionalized and culturally-mediated way. An icon is a sign which represents its object mainly by similarity (Peirce 1985:8-10). The concept of similarity is problematic, however. As W.J.T. Mitchell (1986:56-57) succinctly states, "Everything in the world is similar to everything else in some respects, if we look hard enough." Even more problematic is the so-called "reality effect" (Baudrillard 1987:47) of icons, which occurs whenever a viewer imparts a distinct sense of naturalness to the representation of an object. Following Goodman (1976:4), I suggest that "Denotation is the core of representation and is independent of resemblance." As such, similarity is itself an arbitrary convention. The distinctive character of icons is not that they are inherently "real" or "natural", but that the viewer becomes so used to recognizing them as representations of something "real" that he imbues them with a "reality effect".

Gestalts are the "visual substance" of the children's drawings. Since they are expressed nonverbally, and do not easily fit into verbally-derived categories, gestalts are most easily recognized in drawings which are syntagmatically or paradigmatically related. The structure of phonemes (in the case of spoken language) and gestalts (in the case of the "language" of visual art) can be generalized beyond the specific context in which they occur. But the minimal units of visual art do not appear to be as highly differentiated as the minimal units of spoken language.⁹

The children's depictions of characters from the Ninja turtle movies are examples of visual morphemes. These forms are highly conventionalized and readily identifiable. Drawings of churches, houses, airplanes, helicopters, television sets, geese, ducks, moose, the sun and the moon provide other examples of visual morphemes. On the other hand, parallel, perpendicular and oblique lines (including "M" and "V"-shapes), lozenge-shapes, circular forms (including mandalas) and other closed geometrical forms such as triangles and quadrilaterals are examples of gestalts. Gestalts are defined by their sign function, not by their geometry.

Like phonemes, gestalts are perceived as psychologically "real".¹⁰ They have

⁹One reason why gestalts are not as highly differentiated as phonemes may be that people tend to utilize a narrower band of perceptual modalities when they are drawing than when they are speaking. Whereas drawings are usually visual-kinaesthetic-tactile representations of visually-perceived objects, speech is usually a verbal-kinaesthetic-tactile representation of such objects. According to Jakobson (1971b:335) "We are prone to reify visual stimuli by identifying any object catching our eye." The "translation" of visually-defined objects into the verbal signifiers of speech may require a higher level of mental abstraction which itself facilitates a finer degree of differentiation and systematization of signifiers. Such a process is not necessarily confined to highly-visual cultures, since it is the result of "translating" one band of percepts into another.

¹⁰Sapir (1949: 8) noted that "Through the unconscious selection of sounds such as phonemes definite psychological barriers are erected between phonetic stations, so that speech ceases to be an expressive flow of sound and becomes a symbolic composition with limited

meaning, based on their contrastive forms. For example, Sam has drawn a stick figure in column 21 of Chart 1.00. The circle in this visual morpheme "means" the head, while the straight lines "mean" the body and appendages. The meaning of these gestalts is not intrinsically defined by circle and line, but by their contrasting shapes and by the iconic relationship of their arrangement on the page to the form of a real human figure.

Despite their obvious differences, gestalts and visual morphemes are subject to similar structural processes. These include: (1) *isomorphism* (in the case of gestalts) and *iconicity* (in the case of visual morphemes) - that is, the recurrence of forms; (2) *simplification*, or the elimination of details; (3) *elaboration*, or the addition of details; (4) *condensation*, or the conflation of forms; (5) the *substitution* of one form for another; (6) the *reduplication* or multiplication of a form; (7) *rotation*, or turning an object on its various axes.¹¹ While I have no quantitative proof, my impression after analyzing the children's drawings reproduced in the Appendix is that gestalts are somewhat more resistant to structural change than visual morphemes. If this is so, it may be because their structure is simpler than that of visual morphemes.

Throughout this dissertation I have assumed that the children's drawings have a narrative function. I have based this assumption on two observations pertaining to the children's drawings. First, each sequence of drawings contains identifiable elements of

materials or units." The psychological reality or "meaning" of a phoneme (Sapir 1949a: 46) is generally understood to be determined by its structural opposition to other phonemes in a given language. However, it has been pointed out (Kohler 1947: 173-4; Sapir 1949b: 69; Jakobson 1988: 181-91) that sounds can also acquire "meaning" which is isomorphically related to articulatory processes. Thus many individuals perceive /a/ to sound "bigger" than /i/ (Sapir 1949c: 69; Jakobson 1988: 188-9).

¹¹Two of these processes - substitution (i.e. "displacement") and condensation were identified by Freud (1900: 308) as fundamental elements in the unconscious structure of dreams, puns and children's wordplay.

narrative, including characters, setting, plot and theme. Second, the children have used their drawings to communicate discursively (i.e. "speak") among themselves and with others. Admittedly, children's art is a rather unusual form of speech, inasmuch as it is a silent form of communication. Nevertheless, 77 percent of the drawings in the concordances are syntagmatically and/or paradigmatically linked on the basis of verbal associations (for a summary of the data, see Chart 5.07 in the Appendix).

The children's drawings demonstrate a high degree of consistency in their sequential ordering and share many formal similarities.¹² Sixty-four percent of the drawings in the concordances are in vertical alignment, reflecting recognizable similarities in form, content and sequencing. Of the images in vertical alignment, Ninja turtles occur most often, with airplanes and birds, churches, television sets and witches being somewhat less common. Cree people have only recently borrowed these cultural objects from *wemistikoshowak* 'white people' (the so-called Anglo-Canadian "dominant society"). That Mashkeko children should reproduce and symbolically exchange such objects in their drawings reflects the high esteem with which they seem to regard these objects. Together, these observations demonstrate the facility with which Mashkeko children adapt words and images from the dominant society into their own language and culture.

¹²Determining formal similarities in the children's drawings is a qualitative judgement, based on shared content (i.e. visual morphemes). For example, all the drawings appearing in column 10 of Chart 1.00 depict the faces of Ninja turtles. It may be observed that many drawings with shared content also share gestalts. For example, in column 10 of Chart 1.00 the bifurcate gestalt appears in the fish in Terry's drawing and in the Ninja turtles' kerchiefs in Sam and John's drawings. Occasionally I have used shared gestalts as the primary basis for aligning drawings (eg. the pictures in column 2 of Chart 2.00). However, as a rule I have used shared visual morphemes to determine visual associations. This practice reflects the structure of the drawings, which tend to be naturalistic visual representations of real or imagined objects rather than purely kinaesthetic expressions of coordinated motor activity.

Lévi-Strauss suggests that we read concordances along both the horizontal and vertical axes in order to reconstruct the meta-narrative and understand the relations of its constituent units. Comparing this to the reading of an orchestra score, he observes (1963:212):

...an orchestra score, to be meaningful, must be read diachronically along one axis - that is, page after page, and from left to right - and synchronically along the other axis, all the notes written vertically making up one gross constituent unit, that is, one bundle of relations.

Relations of signifiers along the horizontal axis of the concordances can be likened to melody, while vertical relations can be likened to harmony. Whereas melody is a kind of temporal unfolding, harmony is akin to temporal enfolding. Following Hjelmslev (1961:39) I shall use the term "syntagmatic" to refer to the sequential unfolding of signifiers along the horizontal axis of the concordance, and "paradigmatic" to refer to the synchronous enfolding of signifiers along the vertical axis.

Binary Structures in Language

Throughout his landmark study of the science of language Ferdinand de Saussure (1959) employs a kind of Cartesian dualism, pairing opposites such as "sign" versus "signifier", "langue" versus "parole", "synchrony" versus "diachrony", "the axis of simultaneities" versus "the axis of successions" and "paradigmatic" versus "syntagmatic". The extension of this principle across phonemic boundaries to the level of morphemes has been termed "double articulation" and deemed responsible for the extraordinary productivity of human language (Barthes 1967: 67). Jakobson (1990: 90-1) has traced the history of Saussure's ideas about binary structures, as well as providing a cogent critique of the way such structures tend to reify and "atomize" language. In this section I will discuss what is perhaps the central binary structure in Saussure's work: his distinction between the "syntagmatic" and "paradigmatic" axes of language.

Saussure (1959: 127-9) called the interplay of syntagmatic and paradigmatic (what he called "associative") relations the "mechanism of language". By this he meant that in all discourse there is a temporal (syntagmatic) succession of meaningful speech elements which are (paradigmatically) selected and ordered on the basis of grammatical rules. He used the following metaphor (1959: 123-4) to illustrate this process:

From the associative and syntagmatic viewpoint a linguistic unit is like a fixed part of a building, e.g. a column. On the one hand, the column has a certain relation to the architrave that it supports; the arrangement of the two units in space suggests the syntagmatic relation. On the other hand, if the column is Doric, it suggests a mental comparison of this style with others (Ionic, Corinthian, etc.) although none of these elements is present in space: the relation is associative.

Saussure's notion of language rests on his definition of the "linguistic sign" and his distinction of *langue* (the abstract interpersonal system of signs used by members of a speech community) from the individual act of speaking, or *parole*. He defined (1959: 66) the linguistic sign as that which bonds a "signified" concept and a sound-image or "signifier"¹³, noting (1959: 67-70) that this bond is arbitrary and linear. Concerning language and speaking, Saussure observed (1959: 14-15) that the former is a collective, socially-mediated, homogeneous, concrete system of signs whereas the latter is individual, heterogeneous, unconscious and idiosyncratic. "If we could embrace the sum of word-images stored in the minds of all individuals," he wrote (1959: 13-14),

...we could identify the social bond that constitutes language. It is a storehouse filled by the members of a given community through their active use of speaking, a grammatical system that has a potential existence in each brain, or, more specifically, in the brains of a group of individuals. For

¹³Saussure (1959: 66) defined the sound image as "the psychological imprint of the sound, the impression that it makes on our senses." In his opinion language was based solely on the structure of sound images. Concerning visual images he asserted (1959: 15) that in language "There is only the sound-image, and the latter can be translated into a fixed visual image."

language is not complete in any speaker; it exists perfectly only within a collectivity.

Jakobson (1956: 75) refined Saussure's distinction of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of language, stating that any utterance is "a combination of constituent parts (sentences, words, phonemes, etc.) selected from the repository of all possible constituent parts (the code)." Furthermore, he made the critical observation that "The constituents of a context are in a state of contiguity, while in a substitution set signs are linked by various degrees of similarity". In short, Jakobson suggested that the syntagmatically-related units of an utterance are perceived mainly on the basis of their differences, whereas paradigmatically-related units are perceived mainly on the basis of similarities. More than this, paradigmatically-related concepts, when wed with syntagmatically-related signifiers, generate messages speakers and listeners perceive as "meaningful".

Jakobson's statement about paradigmatic elements being related on the basis of their similarities departs from Saussure's assertion (1959: 120) that "In language there are only differences." Saussure based this assertion on the fact that phonemes are defined purely in contrastive terms but, as Jakobson (1978: 64) points out, "He overhastily generalised this characterisation and sought to apply it to all linguistic entities."

Jakobson backtracked somewhat on the importance of linguistic relationships based on similarities when he stated (1981: 112) that phenomena such as onomatopoeia, sound symbolism and reduplication are of marginal importance, appearing "on the periphery of the conceptual lexicon". Jakobson acknowledged (1981: 113) that in poetry and children's language "sound symbolism becomes an actual factor and creates a sort of accompaniment

to the signified."¹⁴ But he distinguished these and other "special languages" from the "phoneme language" ordinarily spoken by adult speakers. "This phoneme language," he wrote (1981: 67),

...is the most important of the various sign systems, it is for us language *par excellence*, language properly so-called, language *tout court*, and one might ask whether this special status of phoneme language is not due precisely to the specific character of its components, to the paradoxical character of elements which simultaneously signify and yet are devoid of all meaning.

For Jakobson the structure of the phoneme, based as it is on contrasting features which themselves signify nothing more than contrast, provided the scaffolding for all other language structures. Whereas phonological processes are strongly limited by the process of articulation, he suggested that morphological, syntactic and other higher language processes are imbued with "meaning". According to Jakobson (1978: 58):

As soon as a certain group of phonemes is conceived to be a word, it looks for a meaning for itself. In other words it is a potential semantic element.¹⁵

Jakobson had little interest in Chomskian theories of syntax, departing as they do from the binary paradigm of structural linguistics. Rather, he focused on the relationship of

¹⁴"It has been found that for young children and feeble-minded persons, as contrasted to normal adults, the conditioned responses tended to generalize to words whose similarity to the original stimulus word was determined by features of sound rather than by grammatical and semantic features...That children enjoy playing with sound for its own sake has long been recognized as a prominent feature of child speech" (Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1976: 78, quoted in Jakobson 1988: 221). I shall return to these ideas in my discussion "Interaction of Language and Thought" in the Conclusion.

¹⁵The "accretion" of meaning onto words and other higher units of language parallels the way in which visual morphemes come to be recognized as meaningful objects. In both cases the degree of "meaningfulness" tends to increase as a direct function of the level of formal complexity and organization. However, in the case of children's speech play and drawings, as well as in certain "refined" forms of verbal and visual artistry, meaning often inheres to primary constituent units (i.e. phonemes and gestalts).

sound and meaning in words, sentences and other levels of discourse. "Any phonic device which serves to delimit the sentence," he wrote (1978: 59),

...is equally an independent sign. Thus cadence, falling intonation at the end of a sentence, indicates the end of the unit of meaning introduced by the sentence. In its subordinative function stress directly indicates the end of the unit of meaning introduced by the sentence. We can be unable to understand the words in a sentence and yet know that the cadence is announcing its end, know that the number of stresses is equal to the number of terms in the sentence, and know that the strongest stress indicates the most important term, that of which the signified serves as the point of departure.

Clearly, Jakobson's interest in the relationship of sound and meaning has distinct advantages over other methods in the interpretation of poetry, literature and children's language, but is of limited utility in the analysis of syntax.¹⁶ His ideas about "phoneme language" do not differ substantially from Saussure's assertions about the "phonic substance" of language and the potential of his observations regarding the paradigmatic function of similarity remain largely unrealized.

Jakobson's primary interest was in the syntagmatic structure, function and patterning of phonemes and the extension of such structures into other levels of language. He was not particularly interested in extending the concept of language to include nonverbal expressions. Nor was he particularly interested in the study of syntax or semantics for its own sake.

¹⁶Barthes (1967: 22) noted that Jakobson's concept of the "shifters" has potential applications in understanding structural relationships between phonemic, syntactic and semantic levels of language. Jakobson (1971:130-2) characterized shifters as being "duplex structures" or "indexical symbols" which convey messages through the use of redundancies or ambiguities in the linguistic code. He noted that in Russian verbs person, tense and aspect were shifters, indicating both grammatical categories coded in desinential affixes and "real" relationships. Silverstein (1976: 38-9) has developed this idea by showing how deictics are used to convey polite deference in certain languages (egs. the *vy/ty* and *vous/tous* distinctions in Russian and French). The duplex nature of deictics, pointing as they do to both grammatical distinctions of person and number as well as "real" distinctions between actual persons, makes them well-suited to conveying discourse functions such as politeness.

While Jakobson did venture into areas of expressive behaviour in which the importance of paradigmatic relationships were important (1956, 1968, 1971a,b, 1990a), these studies were always peripheral to his central preoccupation with "the spell of speech sounds".

Lévi-Strauss was profoundly influenced by Jakobson's phonological research,¹⁷ adopting it as the cornerstone of his own work in "structural anthropology". Lévi-Strauss (1963: 35) characterizes the "structural method" as follows:

To obtain a structural law the linguist analyzes phonemes into "distinctive features" which he can then group into one or several "pairs of oppositions". Following an analogous method, the anthropologist might be tempted to break down analytically the kinship terms of any given system into their components.

Lévi-Strauss (1963: 206-31; 1969; 1969a; 1976: 146-97) used the structural method to analyse the structure of myths as well as systems of kinship. "The relations between myth and language," he wrote (1978a: xxiii),

can be defined by saying that statements in the discourse of myth reproduce the structure of language but only because there is a shift in gear which disengages it from its normal operation: the basic elements of myth function like those of language, but they are from the start more complex in nature. As a result of this complexity mythic discourse becomes, in a manner of speaking, detached from the normal usage of language in such a way that there is only occasionally any precise correspondence in the results generated by the combination of these elements of different orders.

The universal social and psychological "laws" which Lévi-Strauss formulated on the basis of his understanding of the structure of the phoneme may have been naive and over-

¹⁷Lévi-Strauss (1978a: xiii) takes Jakobson's concept of the phoneme to be the model for all categories of human thought. "What Jakobson [1978: 76] writes here, about the phonic individuality of phonemes, can be said about any terms whatsoever, real or imaginary: 'The important thing...is not at all each phoneme's individual phonic quality considered in isolation and existing in its own right. What matters is their reciprocal opposition within a...system.'"

determined and for these reasons they have been extensively criticized.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Lévi-Strauss' method of organizing data into concordances for the purpose of determining patterns of structural variation remains a useful and productive tool, especially in the area of children's art. By presenting overlapping sequences of images and what appear to be unconsciously associated (i.e. unarticulated) words in concordances, researchers can systematically compare and contrast the structure of these forms, thereby tracing patterns of visual and verbal association. Such patterns enable the researcher to appreciate the social and fundamentally discursive qualities of children's art.

Relationships between "mythemes" which may seem opaque to the readers of Lévi-Strauss' major works on myths become much clearer if the concordances which the author has himself omitted are reconstructed. This sort of reconstruction is perhaps too much to expect from readers already overwhelmed by the sheer volume of Lévi-Strauss' magnum opus on "the science of mythology". Nevertheless, such an exercise pays great dividends to those prepared to undertake it.¹⁹

¹⁸Lévi-Strauss' work has been critiqued in three major areas: (1) his use of synchronic as opposed to diachronic analysis; (2) his distinction of "primitive" and "modern" mentalities; (3) his application of the structural paradigm. For an overview of the limitations of synchronic analysis see Scholte (1970). Concerning Lévi-Strauss' use of the term "primitive" see Zimmerman (1970). On the limitations of structuralism see Sperber (1974: 51-84). For critical overviews of Lévi-Strauss see Pace (1983) and Merquior (1986: 35-106).

¹⁹The concordance accompanying Lévi-Strauss' study of the Oedipus myth (1963: 214) is the only one published in any of his works on mythology. Unfortunately, Lévi-Strauss obfuscates his method in this study by conflating several versions of the key myth into a single sequence in his concordance of the Oedipus myth. Nevertheless, a former student of Lévi-Strauss' recalls seeing peg boards covered with horizontal rows of file cards in his teacher's office at the Collège de France. "Each row represented one variant of a key myth," according to Jim Freedman (personal communication), "and similar mythemes in each variant were aligned vertically." In this way Lévi-Strauss was able to experiment to see how variants of a key myth permuted into each other. Freedman speculates that Lévi-Strauss refrained from publishing his concordances because "he was embarrassed at the simplicity of his technique."

Many of the criticisms which have been levelled at the structural method would be considerably weakened if Lévi-Strauss had appended to his published works the concordances on which he based his analyses. For example, in a chapter entitled "Absent Meaning", Sperber (1975: 57) critiques Lévi-Strauss' structural method, commenting that:

...the representation of [structural properties] by means of tables, figures, etc., is a convenience of exposition; that the overall structure of the system remains essentially unknown and that we are far from being able to formalise it or explicate it; the model is vague and intuitive; this is a kind of frustration that every anthropologist, for the moment, must share.

By including the concordances on which he based his analyses of myths, Lévi-Strauss would have concretely demonstrated the relationships which Sperber felt to be "vague and intuitive". In so doing, he would have eliminated many of the frustrations Sperber and other readers encounter when trying to make sense of "shorthand" statements that are too abstract for anyone (including Lévi-Strauss) to reconstruct mentally and visualize without the aid of concordances. Concerning Lévi-Strauss' use of such shorthand devices, Sperber (1975: 69) states that "It is hard to see in what sense it explains or interprets symbolic phenomena". In apparent frustration, Sperber rhetorically asks: "What is the role, what is the nature of this organization?"

Providing the concordances Lévi-Strauss used to lay out key myths and their variations would not provide a complete answer to Sperber's question. Concordances would demonstrate how Lévi-Strauss derived his structural algebra of homologies, oppositions and inversions, but they cannot answer the more fundamental existential question of how binary structures based on contrast can become meaningful.

A more emic form of ethnography than that practiced by Lévi-Strauss, incorporating native statements and, whenever possible - native interpretations - would lend "authenticity" to the structural approach. An emic approach would require either that the ethnographer

already be testing interpretations while collecting data (necessitating longer periods of fieldwork), or that the ethnographer remain in close contact with key informants after he or she leaves the field. However, an emic approach will never eliminate the problem of translating concepts from one "language" into another - especially if these concepts are unconscious or nonverbal in nature. In the end, all ethnographic interpretation is contingent and subject to debate.

Appending concordances to structural analyses will not end debates about the open-ended nature of ethnographic interpretation and "meaning". As Lévi-Strauss himself suggests, debates about interpretation are a necessary element in the creation and search for meaning. By questioning themselves ethnographers continue a search for meaning which began and may ultimately end in the field.

One particularly cogent criticism of the structural method deserves special consideration. As Sperber (1975: 81) has observed, unrelated myths or other sequences of data can be introduced into a single concordance and, through a variety of structural processes, be made to appear artificially related. For example, in a discussion about myths about the origin of disease Lévi Strauss (1969: 258) observes that various kinds of birds are often used to symbolize carriers of disease. To illustrate this point Lévi-Strauss compares the structure of Kayapo and Iroquois myths, stating (1969: 258) that "from the point of view of medical properties, the Iroquois eagle is symmetrical with the Kayapo egret". While, in a formal sense, this convergence may demonstrate that the two myths are homologous and in a general way may reveal something of the structure of the human mind, it reveals nothing about what Lévi-Strauss (1969: 7-8) calls "the syntax of South American mythology". Such comparisons make a mockery of ethnographic analogy as well as violating Lévi-Strauss' own canon (1969: 2) that "mythic syntax" is best demonstrated when comparing "myths that

present certain analogies with the [key myth] although they derive from neighboring communities".

The best way to prevent spurious overgeneralizations in structural analysis is to insure that the data included in a concordance has a demonstrable integrity and thus belongs together. Contriving elegant rationalizations or theorems to justify the integrity of congeries of data is an indulgent and dishonest exercise. With that major proviso, there is no reason why Lévi-Straussian methods of structural analysis should not have an enduring value. As Merquior (1986: 105) states:

Structuralism may fall short of its own epistemological Utopia, an *instauratio magna* in social science as a whole; still, it did establish a new and fruitful way of looking at cultural phenomena. Most flaws in the analytical work of its founder can be reckoned as contingent, not as deriving from the structuralist perspective in itself.

Debates About the "Substance" of Language, Writing and Art

Saussure's views about the binary structure of language have had a profound and lasting impact on linguistics, semiology and structural anthropology. However, his view on the "phonic substance" of language has unnecessarily limited our understanding of the range of sign systems which can be defined as "language". Saussure's view that phonemes were the "substance" of language was criticized by Hjelmslev, who stated (1961: 103-4) that it overlooked the importance of kinaesthetic and graphic signs. To emphasize this point, Hjelmslev coined the term "ceneme" (Siertsema 1965: 16-17) to refer to the common substance underlying all semiotic systems, including speech, writing and visual art.²⁰

²⁰According to Sampson (1985: 30) there is no inherent reason why writing (and by extension all other semiotic systems) could not evolve into fully-developed "languages", although he claims that this process has never actually occurred in human history.

Hjelmslev's "ceneme" has not replaced the "phoneme" in the common parlance of linguistics. However, his ideas have helped to spark a number of critiques of what might be termed "phonocentrism". These critiques include Gombrich (1960 and 1979), Goodman (1968) and Derrida (1976). While there are notable differences in emphasis, all of these authors criticize what they perceive to be the unnecessary limitations of defining language in terms of a "phonic substance".

Both Gombrich and Goodman attack what they perceive to be Saussure's overly-narrow definitions of "reading".²¹ Gombrich points out that we "read" forms, designs, illusions, the representation of depth in two dimensional space and the narrative art in much the same way that we "read" text. He states (1960: 360-1) "that there is more in common between the language of words and visual representation than we are sometimes prone to allow." Likewise, Goodman (1976: 241) argues that "we have to read the painting as well as the poem" and suggests (1976: 225-44) that differences between pictures and paragraphs have more to do with "syntactic and semantic density" than with the so-called "substance" of language.²²

Similarly, Derrida stresses that the definition of language need not be restricted to a single sensory modality. In his work on grammatology, Derrida (1976: 40) calls Saussure's preoccupation with the phonic substance of language "ethnocentric" and goes to great lengths

²¹According to Saussure (1959: 23), language and writing (and by implication reading) "are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first."

²²According to Goodman language and visual art are both "notational systems". As such, they must have finitely differentiated "characters" and "compliance classes". "Characters" are the "syntactically organized" units of a notational system. "Compliance classes" are "semantically organized ranges of meaning". Pictures tend to be "syntactically dense" whereas verbal language tends to be syntactically "differentiated"; both systems are "semantically dense" (Goodman 1976: 127-56, 234, 238-9).

to "deconstruct" this idea of language by demonstrating the importance of graphic signifiers.

Concerning the relationship of sound and image in language, he writes (1976: 36) that:

...speech seems in its turn the speculum of writing, which "manages to usurp the main role." Representation mingles with what it represents, to the point where on speaks as one writes, one thinks as if the represented were nothing more than the shadow or reflection of the representer. [There is] a dangerous promiscuity and a nefarious complicity between the reflection and the reflected which lets itself be seduced narcissistically.

Although Derrida (1976: 89) stresses the importance of synaesthesia in both language and thought, he tends to focus on graphemes to the exclusion of other signifiers. However, as Ulmer (1985: 34) points out, Derrida demonstrates the impact of the major senses on language in many of his philosophical essays (egs. Derrida 1981, 1982 and 1982a). Indeed, it might be argued that in choosing to communicate through a textual medium, Derrida is prone to privilege graphemic over other signifiers.²³

The importance of synaesthesia and other supra-sensory phenomena was stressed by gestalt psychologists such as Wertheimer, Koffka and Köhler, who believed that all perceptions had a holistic form or "gestalt". Arnheim (1966: 58) has summarized this approach as follows:

Gestalt psychologists hold that expressive behaviour reveals its meaning directly in perception. The approach is based on the principle of isomorphism, according to which processes that take place in different media may be nevertheless similar in their structural organization.

Concerning isomorphism, Koffka (1935: 109) stated that "characteristic aspects of the physiological processes are also characteristic aspects of the corresponding conscious

²³For an overview of the influence of printed text on the organization of the senses see McLuhan (1962), Ong (1982) and Howes (1991). See Yates (1966) on how images can and do structure speech and thought. On so-called "oral cultures" see Parry (1971), Lord (1960), Havelock (1963), Finnegan (1970 and 1992). Goody (1977, 1986 and 1987) provides a good introduction to the cognitive and social impact of literacy.

processes." Expanding this definition to include unconscious psychological processes, Köhler (1947: 301) said that "The principle of isomorphism demands that in a given case the organization of experience and the underlying physiological facts have the same structure." Pomerantz and Kubovy (1981: 427-36) have discussed the difficulty of demonstrating a structural relationship between brain physiology and the organization of perceptions. Nevertheless, they recognize the intuitive merit of the concept of "isomorphism" as used by gestalt psychologists.

Throughout this dissertation I have used the term "isomorphism" in a much more restricted sense than that used by gestalt psychologists. I use the term to describe similarities between those constituent units of drawings which I have termed "gestalts". In pairing the terms "isomorphism" and "gestalt" it was not my intention to suggest comparisons with the way in which Koffka and Köhler used these terms. Rather, I wished to establish a technical vocabulary with which to describe the structural processes which become apparent when children's drawings are arranged into concordances.

Despite various limitations in its methodology, many aspects of gestalt psychology - particularly its holistic approach to the study of human behaviour²⁴ - are commendable. By focusing on similarities as well as differences and by searching for "wholes" as well as "parts", linguists, anthropologists, psychologists and other social scientists may one day move beyond narrow and unproductive debates about the "substance" of language. With such a vision, social science may further enrich our lives and lead to a humanistic understanding of the language of art and the art of language.

²⁴Wertheimer (1938: 2) stated that the fundamental "formula" of gestalt psychology is that "There are wholes, the behaviour of which is not determined by that of their individual elements, but where the part-processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole."

Cross-Cultural Studies of Children's Art

Psychologists, psychoanalysts and art therapists have long recognized the value of children's art in providing insights into how children "see" the world.²³ The qualities which make children's art such a valuable tool in these areas also make it of considerable value to ethnographers. Unfortunately, this value has not been realized. While there are numerous ethnographic accounts of non-Western art, virtually nothing has been published about children's art.²⁴ To date only two articles (Anastasi and Foley 1936 and 1938) and one monograph (Alland 1983) have been published on the anthropology of children's art. While these three works are certainly cross-cultural in their approach, none of them has the level of cultural detail of an ethnography.

Anne Anastasi and John Foley were both psychologists. They shared an interest in exploring how the drawings of children from different cultures might be used to construct a cross-cultural model of cognitive development. In 1934 they studied 602 drawings that were exhibited in New York at the International Exhibition of Children's Paintings. The drawings were made by 6-12 year olds from 41 countries. Anastasi and Foley published their findings two years later.

In their study of the drawings from the International Exhibition of Children's Paintings Anastasi and Foley (1936) investigated whether general patterns in children's art

²³There is a large body of literature on the psychology of children's art. Thomas and Silk (1990) provide a useful overview and synthesis of this material. Ferrara (1991) provides a good summary of psychological theories concerning developmental stages in children's art while Gardner (1980 and 1982: 83-201) presents an excellent synthesis of these theories. Segal (1991) traces the history of the psychoanalytic use of children's art whereas Ulman (1975) and Dalley (1984) discuss recent developments in the field of art therapy.

²⁴On the history of ethnographic studies of art see Fraser (1971) and Dark (1978). For introductions to the "anthropology of art" see Layton (1981) and Hatcher (1985).

could be explained by or related to cultural differences. To this end, they analyzed the children's drawings in terms of general patterns of content and form. Concerning content, they observed (1936: 715-21) that in many cases features such as the depiction of national costumes, religious festivals and styles of houses could be used to determine the artists' country of origin. They also discussed two formal features ("general technique" and "level of detail"). Concerning general technique, they remarked (1936: 723) that:

...the drawings from Bali, Canada, England, Germany, Japan, Lithuania, Mexico, Nicaragua, Poland, Scotland, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, U.S.S.R., and Yugo-Slavia tend to be complex and crowded, whereas simplicity is more characteristic of those from Liberia, Sweden, Tunisia and Venezuela. In striking contrast to the crowded drawings just mentioned are those from Palestine, which feature bird's-eye views of large areas of land.

Concerning level of detail in the children's drawings, Anastasi and Foley (1936: 724) noted that there was as much variation within objects depicted in single drawings as there was between the drawings of individuals or groups. They concluded (1936: 725) that "The extent of detail shown by the child...cannot be used to characterize a child's drawing behaviour as a whole."

Anastasi and Foley's conclusion had important repercussions for psychologists using the Draw-A-Man test devised by Goodenough (1926). This test purports to measure children's intelligence by determining the level of detail in their human-figure drawings. It continues to be used, in a somewhat modified version (Harris 1963) by many educational psychologists today. While the Goodenough's Draw-A-Person and Harris' Draw-A-Man test do have proven predictive value, Anastasi and Foley were apparently concerned that

unqualified acceptance of the results of such tests might promote racial theories of intelligence.²⁵

Anastasi and Foley's article attracted the attention of Franz Boas, whose research in anthropometry emphasized the importance of acquired versus inherited characteristics.²⁶ Boas' eclectic interests also spanned the anthropological study of children (1940c) and the ethnographic study of West coast native art (1927: 183-299). After reading their 1936 article, Boas gave Anastasi and Foley 159 drawings made by 5-18 year old native children enrolled in a residential school at Alert Bay, British Columbia. Boas had collected the drawings while he was on a field trip in 1931.

In studying Boas' collection of native children's drawings Anastasi and Foley followed the same procedure they had used in their previous article. They searched for general patterns of shared content and form which might characterize the drawings as a whole. They observed wide individual differences in subject matter, composition and use of colour as well as in the general level of detail in the drawings. At the same time, they found compelling evidence that the children were strongly influenced by the aesthetic norms

²⁵This apparent concern is suggested by two related remarks (Anastasi and Foley 1936: 689, 670): (1) that "The general psychologist finds the genetic study of drawing behaviour a possible clue to the nature of various related processes," and; (2) that "Another important question which has usually been overlooked or mentioned only incidentally [is] the influence of environment on the nature and developmental sequence of drawing behaviour."

²⁶Boas (1940a, b and c) provide a representative sample of the large number of articles he published on this topic. Like Anastasi and Foley, Boas was concerned about the impact the eugenics movement on social science. "No matter how weak the case for racial purity may be," he wrote (1940a: 16-17), "we understand its social appeal in our society. While the biological reasons that are adduced may not be relevant, a stratification of society in social groups that are racial in character will always lead to racial discrimination...As long as we insist on a stratification in racial layers, we shall pay the penalty in the form of interracial struggle. Will it be better for us to continue as we have been doing, or shall we try to recognize the conditions that lead to the fundamental antagonisms that trouble us?"

of their own native cultures. "The most distinctive feature of these drawings, which differentiates them from drawings by children in other cultures," they wrote (1938: 368), "is the presence of certain stylized representations patterned after traditional adult art of the northwest coast Indians." Anastasi and Foley (1938: 373-4) concluded that:

the results of the present investigation corroborate the conclusions reached in the writers' earlier analysis of drawings by children in different cultures. Both the subject matter and the technique of the drawings reflect specific cultural and experiential factors rather than age differences or developmental stages. Any attempt to employ specific features of the child's drawing as an index of developmental level independently of the child's experiential background is doomed to failure.

Anastasi and Foley's conclusion that the drawings of Northwest coast native children do not reflect developmental stages is undoubtedly overstated. Today there is ample evidence of developmental tendencies in children's art (egs. Ferrara 1991; Gardner 1980 and 1982; Kellogg 1969; Lowenfeld and Brittain 1987). While much of this research requires thorough cross-cultural testing, evidence of a fluid progression of stages in children's artistic abilities - as in other forms of psychological development - is compelling. Despite this shortcoming, Anastasi and Foley's research was important in establishing that culturally-specific aesthetic norms do have an important influence on children's art. This assertion has been confirmed in subsequent research (Alland 1983) and demonstrates that uniquely-human abilities such as speech and drawing are culturally-mediated. To impress this point upon their readers, Anastasi and Foley (1938: 374) stated:

An Indian child of the north Pacific coast, when directed to draw an animal, may produce a symbolical representation rich in stylized details which it would be futile to evaluate in terms of norms established elsewhere. The fact that in response to the request to draw an animal, some of the children drew mythical creatures is itself significant and quite unlike results which would be obtained under similar conditions with children in our own culture.

Anastasi and Foley's research strongly influenced Alexander Alland, who was the first (and to date only) anthropologist to publish a study of children's art. In the bibliography to his monograph (Alland 1983) he lists only 20 works, of which the aforementioned articles by Anastasi and Foley are the only works of a clearly anthropological nature. Alland (1983: 1) describes his study as "an empirical investigation of how children in different cultures draw and use a limited set of colors." "Its purpose," he continues, "is twofold:"

to see how current generalizations about the development of drawing skills in children hold up under cross-cultural examination, and to understand how children in different cultures put pictures together as a step-by-step process. The latter involves the derivation of rules for the generation of pictures.

Alland visited communities in Bali, Ponape, Taiwan, Japan, France and the United States to obtain pictures from 224 boys and girls aged 2-13 years (the majority were in the 4-6 year age range). In addition to collecting pictures, Alland filmed the children as they were drawing to gain insights into the process of drawing. Variations in age and gender distributions, as well as the relatively small size of his national samples make it difficult to make quantitative generalizations. However, at the qualitative level there is much of value in Alland's study.

Like Anastasi and Foley, Alland observes that culturally-defined aesthetic norms play a considerable role in the form of children's drawings. "It is quite clear from the data," he states (1983: 211), "that cultural influences appear early and have a strong effect on the overall style of children's drawing."

Balinese children grow up in an a highly-charged artistic environment. They are, according to Alland (1983: 28), "literally surrounded by art and artists." The natural environment of the island abounds in sources of visual stimulation, including "high volcanic islands, clear crater lakes, rushing streams and irrigation canals, dense forests, lush rice paddies, long stretches of sandy and black lava beaches, and finally, the sea" (Alland 1983:

27). Ornately carved Hindu temples and vital local traditions in basket and jewelry making, weaving, painting, dancing, opera, orchestral gamelan music, theatre and shadow puppetry represent some of the artistic expressions in the Balinese cultural environment (Alland 1983: 28-9).

Reflecting their natural and artistic milieu, Balinese children tend to use complex, dense and colourful geometric designs in their drawings (Alland 1983: 61-3). Perhaps as a result of Islamic influences from the dominant Indonesian society, Balinese children rarely depict people in their drawings. On the few occasions when Balinese children do depict human figures, Alland says that they are crudely drawn (Alland 1983: 61). Concerning the drawing process, Alland (1983: 213) remarks that "the Balinese child usually begins with a relatively open placement of medium-sized marks that wander over the surface of the page."

Alland (1983: 213) observes that Taiwanese children tend to fill the page in a manner similar to that of Balinese children. However, unlike Balinese children, Taiwanese children use "simple or compound units" rather than "independent marks". Alland does not define these terms, but a comparison of the Taiwanese and Balinese children's drawings reproduced in his book reveals that figures in the former tend to be characterised by a greater level of individual detail than those in the latter. Perhaps it is also significant that Taiwanese children tend to "build figures" around apparently scattered forms, giving a sense of unity to scattered areas of their drawings (Alland 1983: 105).

Of particular interest is Alland's statement (1983: 213) that Taiwanese children tend to place figures on the page in a linear fashion. Concerning this tendency, Alland (1983: 129) suggests that:

...the emphasis on learning the complex written characters of Chinese, a practice that requires attention to detail, contributes to the Chinese children's drawing style. It might even be that, for these children, writing and drawing are closely linked and even seen by the youngest and least artistically

experienced as more or less the same task. I suggest, therefore, that Taiwanese children's picture making is influenced by [the] relationship between pictorial representation and writing.

In Ponape Alland (1983: 95) observed that children have "a rather impoverished vocabulary of visual forms", relying on a small number of "schemas". Ponapean children beginning scribbling at about the age of 2 years. Instead of progressing through the "mandala" and "tadpole" forms characteristic of the drawing development of children in many other cultures (Kellogg 1969: 273), Ponapean children tend to depict angular geometric designs which they draw in "amoeboid fashion" (Alland 1983: 95) across the page.²⁷ By the age of 6-8 years children in the other cultures studied by Alland have a wide repertoire of representational forms in their "pictorial vocabulary". This contrasts with the extremely restricted "vocabulary" of Ponapean children, who generally rely on just two conventionalized schemas (a flower and schoolhouse) which they learned from schoolteachers. Alland attributes the relatively undeveloped level of artistic ability among Ponapean children to the low esteem visual art receives in their culture today. "Although Ponape had a flourishing visual art tradition, particularly carving, four successive colonial powers (Spain, Germany, Japan and the United States) have eliminated all vestiges of it except for flowered headdresses" (1983: 65).

²⁷Using approximately 1 million drawings collected from children from around the world, Kellogg (1969) produced a scheme of artistic development consisting of four distinct but overlapping stages: (1) *scribbling*; (2) *diagram stage*, in which six basic geometric shapes - rectangles, ovals, triangles, Greek and diagonal crosses and so-called "odd shapes" - coalesce out of random scribbles; (3) *aggregates stage* during which the child experiments in combining diagrams into composite forms; (4) *pictorialism*, when the child begins drawing recognizable "objects", including humans, animals, houses, trees and flowers. Kellogg suggests human figures are the first representational forms drawn by most children. Kellogg's "sun face" and "tadpole man" are based on an aggregate combining oval and cruciform diagrams which presumably coalesce into a representational form modeled on the face of the child's mother.

In Japan children are exposed to a high amount of visual stimulation and a vital artistic tradition incorporating both traditional values and modern technology. Important influences on children's art include temple art, landscape painting, fabric decoration, rituals such as flower arranging and the tea ceremony, and television programs. Parents and teachers encourage children to draw, paint and construct origami figures. As a result, Japanese children's human-figure drawings are "the most sophisticated" in Alland's sample of children's art. "This is," according to Alland (1983: 203), "consistent with the amount of art training even Japanese kindergartners are exposed to."

Japanese children, like those from Bali, Taiwan, the United States and France, tend to progress through the "normal" sequence of artistic development outlined by Kellogg (1969). Alland (1983: 134-5) characterizes Japanese children's drawings as being naturalistic, colourful, compositionally coherent and somewhat formulaic. Humans and flowers are the most common subjects, although "butterflies, cars, mountains, the sun, trees, a ghost, a garbage dump on fire, balloons, a television robot, game paddles and fish" were also depicted (Alland 1983: 135, 138). Compared to children in the United States and France, "Japanese children appear to make more complete, more interesting, and more harmoniously structured pictures" (Alland 1983: 154).

Like the Japanese children, the French children Alland studied were encouraged to paint and draw when they are very young. Their pictures were typically colourful, dense and filled with geometric designs. Human figures were rarely depicted, with naturalistic depictions of houses, trees, flowers and buildings predominating. Alland summarizes his French sample as follows:

In general, the French pictures in my sample are more like the Taiwanese and Balinese pictures than they are like those produced by American children. Like the Chinese and Balinese children, French children drew for a long time and produced complex designs. These differ from the Balinese pictures in

that only two of the French children constructed pictures out of discrete marks (and one of these was said to be a retarded child). Furthermore, the French pictures are unlike the pictures from other cultures because they are frequently composed of large units filled with color.

The pictures of the American children studied by Alland were typically monochromatic, sparse and somewhat incoherent. While human figures were drawn by some of the children, "kinetic scribbles" characterized the majority of the drawings. Concerning this regressive tendency, Alland (1983: 159) speculates that:

...the high frequency of kinetic scribbles found in the American sample [might be] caused by an affective element, namely aggression and the need for physical activity that it entails. During the filming we were struck by the degree of aggression displayed by the children, particularly toward the materials used in making the drawings and, in a few cases, towards us.

As in the other groups which he studied, Alland's data on American children is based on a sample of less than 50 drawings. Using such small samples raises the question of reliability. Alland might have circumvented such criticism either by using a large random sample of drawings, or (as I have done) by providing richer ethnographic data. In the absence of such information, his generalizations must be viewed with considerable scepticism.

Alland's data on American children illustrates one of the key problems with his study. The drawings which he describes characterize developmental norms for drawing ability (Kellogg 1969: 14-22; Gardner 1980: 25-37; Lowenfeld and Brittain 1987: 474) which are 2-3 years behind the actual age of the children he describes. Since these norms are based on American and European studies, one would assume that they would "fit" with Alland's American data, yet they do not. To complicate matters further, Alland (1983: 155) states that the younger children in his U.S. sample were from two nursery schools: "one for underprivileged children; the other for children of middle-class parents." Alland does not

indicate which of the two groups of American preschoolers was manifesting overtly aggressive behaviour and regressive drawing abilities, but the implication is clear. Unruly "underprivileged" American street children conjure up images vastly different from the "volcanic mountains" and "clear crater lakes" which Alland associates with Balinese children.

The characterization of cultural norms on the basis of limited samples and sparse ethnographic data will always be prone to the criticism that cultural stereotypes rather than norms are being described. Such criticism does not completely devalue studies such as Alland's cross-cultural comparison of children's art; it merely reminds readers that many of the generalizations which he makes about children's art are tentative, provisional and contingent. In order to overcome this shortcoming in my own study I have attempted to focus on a large number of drawings produced by individuals in a single community and to supplement my own observations, whenever possible, with rich ethnographic detail.

Research on children's art has been the nearly-exclusive domain of psychologists, whose interest in ethnographic detail is often outweighed by their desire to find universal laws of human behaviour. This tradition has informed Alland's work on children's art. The impact of psychological research is clear in Alland's self-professed desire to discover a biologically-coded "universal grammar" of aesthetic forms. "I believe," he writes (1983: 9), "that hypotheses about formal aesthetic universals should be entertained." "It will," he continues,

be important to distinguish between art and language as two different recursive systems and to discuss the evolutionary roots that gave rise to artistic behaviour.

As Piaget demonstrated when he studied the behaviour of his own children as they were growing up, insightful generalizations about human development need not be based on huge samples of data. Although the domains of interest are certainly divergent, there are

many parallels between Piaget's methods of study and those of ethnographers. Indeed, Piagetian psychology might profitably be described as a form of "thick description". Unfortunately, the fine-grained detail which marks good ethnographies is lacking in the studies of Anastasi and Foley (1936 and 1938) and Alland (1983).

To be of lasting value, future studies of children's art will probably have to move in one of two directions. Researchers will either marshal more precise quantitative techniques and apply them to large and carefully-selected sample populations or they will focus on detailed descriptions of the drawings and behaviour of small numbers of children. In this dissertation I have chosen to follow the latter path. My goal is to write an ethnography of Mashkeko children's art sufficiently rich in detail to provide insights into how Mashkeko children view their own culture, as well as that of the so-called "dominant society". In so doing, I will also describe some aspects of artistic development among Mashkeko children.

It may seem strange that I wed techniques of structural analysis with ethnography. It is not my goal to use structural analysis to make sweeping generalizations about human behaviour. My focus is on a small group of Mashkeko children in a remote Northern Ontario reserve community. These children provided me with a large number of drawings which succinctly convey their views of the world. It is my belief (I have no way of proving it) that the children gave me their drawings because they wanted to share their understanding of the world with me. Conveying this understanding of the world to the reader has been considerably complicated by the fact that the children were unwilling and/or unable to verbalize it.

Structural methods have enabled me to describe and explain what the children might have been "saying" in their drawings. These methods are a tool rather than an end in themselves. There are dangers in interpreting what somebody else (especially a child) might

be thinking or trying to say. It is my hope that in providing a detailed description of my principal informant, his family and his community I may be able to minimize some of these dangers. At the same time I feel considerable trepidation about tackling the task which lies before me.

Like the children who gave me their drawings, I temporarily find myself at a loss for words. How can an Anglo-Canadian adult such as myself describe a world which is so intimately not one's own as the world of Mashkeko children's art? In searching for the right words to describe the situation in which I find myself, I am drawn to a fanciful short story entitled "The Spiral" which was written by Italo Calvino. Calvino struggles with a problem similar to the one I have just described, although his frame of reference is entirely different. In "The Spiral" he tries to describe how the world might "look" to cephalopods known as nautili that drift on currents beneath the sea. Reflecting on the brightly coloured spiral shells of these sea creatures, Calvino wonders what function they might have, given that nautili have no eyes with which to see. "For the majority of molluscs," he writes (1968: 141),

...the visible organic form has little importance in the life of the members of a species, since they cannot see one another and have, at most, only a vague perception of other individuals and of their surroundings. This does not prevent brightly colored stripings and forms which seem very beautiful to our eyes (as in many gastropod shells) from existing independently of any relationship to visibility.

Mashkeko children often seem to see the world more clearly than adults. Studying their drawings reminds me how blind I remain to the things which they so effortlessly saw. Yet as Calvino points out, many species (including humans) remain blind to their own unique patterns. Culture and language might be conceived as functioning as protective shells, which are occasionally adorned with extraordinary and at times beautiful "markings". While at least partially invisible, these embellishments nevertheless provide humans with their own unique

sense of identity. Indeed, the markings we all carry on our "shells" are as real and as illusory as what lies inside.

Provenience of the Children's Drawings

As the first flakes of snow began descending in Kashechewan in the fall of 1991, Matthew Goodman decided he wanted to buy a new snowmobile. In October, instead of going hunting, he opened a gaming house. To gamble in his home, poker players paid Matthew 25 cents for each hand they played and had to bet one dollar each time they drew a card from the dealer. One dollar was the minimum amount that players could bet. Matthew refrained from gambling, and by the end of the month he had made enough money to buy his snowmobile.

Eight hours a day, for seven days a week throughout the month of October, 15-20 people gathered at Matthew's house to play poker. Terry's mother attended these games regularly with their children (David, her husband, was away hunting). Terry's maternal aunt and her husband also brought their children to these games. Most of the drawings in the concordances of the Appendix were made by children of these two sisters (i.e. Terry, Sam, Ed, Janey, John and Anna). The children arrived with their mothers after school. For an hour or so they played around the house while their mothers talked. By five o'clock there were usually enough adults to begin playing poker. While the grown-ups gambled, the children watched TV and drew pictures with pencils and paper which I provided. The children made their drawings in Matthew's dining room. They often looked at each other's work as they drew, but said very little.

After completing a drawing, each child got up, walked to where I was sitting and handed it to me. I kept each child's drawings in separate stacks on the floor, making sure

to preserve the sequence in which they had been drawn. This practice made it possible for me to present the children's drawings in concordances.

Each time a child gave me one of their drawings I thanked them and asked them to tell me about it. None of the children ever responded verbally to my question. They usually smiled shyly when I accepted their drawings, broke eye contact when I asked them to explain what they had drawn and then returned to where the other children were sitting to commence another drawing, which was later silently proffered as a kind of answer to my question. Occasionally I asked the children to tell me about their drawings in follow-up interviews. Terry was the only child to volunteer information about his drawings in these interviews and he did it only once, telling me about Drawings 39-44.

The children rarely drew together for longer than 30-45 minutes. There seemed to be a natural "group rhythm" which could not be sustained for a longer period of time. One child (John) occasionally left before the others were finished. After the rest of the children finished drawing, they put their pencils and blank paper on the dining room table and resumed watching TV. I put a paper clip on each stack of drawings and put all the stacks in a large manilla envelope. I also filed my written observations of the children and their drawings. Throughout the evening some children made more drawings, but they never seemed to coalesce again as a group. Poker playing continued until midnight, at which time the children went home with their parents.

CHAPTER 4 - "IT'S PARTY TIME!"

Introduction

In this chapter I shall explore the structure and content of 58 drawings, reproduced in Chart 1.00 of the Appendix. Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey drew these pictures on 18 October 1992. Forty-two of these drawings (72%) are associated with 52 different words in Cree and English. Thirty-five words (66%) are in Cree and 18 (34%) are in English. Half the English words were written on the drawings, whereas all of the Cree words appear, through puns and other forms of unarticulated wordplay, to be unconsciously associated with the drawings. For further details on wordplay see Charts 5.01, 5.06 and 5.07 in the Appendix.

Television has had a major impact on the children's drawings. Images of TV sets appear in four drawings; characters from popular movies which the children undoubtedly saw on TV are depicted in at least 17 additional drawings. One drawing shows a scene from a commonly-found video game. Other notable influences on the children's drawings are the local church (depicted in three drawings) and home (also depicted in three drawings). Although there are no depictions of the school, images of jack-o'lanterns, dinosaurs, calendars, writing and addition problems suggest that school activities exert an indirect influence on the children's drawings. Several depictions of scenes in the bush indicate that the children also feel a symbolic tie to the land.

A wide variety of gestalts, including parallel and oblique lines, cruciforms, circles, triangles, quadrilaterals and lozenge forms are found in the children's drawings in Chart 1.00. No single gestalt seems to be more prevalent than the others in this concordance.

When looking at Janey's drawings, however, one is particularly struck by the extraordinary productivity of the lozenge form, which she incorporates into a sequence of drawings of Ninja turtles, fingers, doors, airplane wings, television sets, quadrupedal animals and humans.

Ninja turtles are the most commonly-occurring visual morphemes, occurring in 45% of the boys' drawings but only 13% of the girls' drawings (the girls appear to identify more strongly with witches, which occur in 17% of their drawings). The boys (particularly Terry) appear to identify themselves with Ninja turtles engaged in archetypal conflicts against Shredder, Razhar and other forces of "evil". This conflict may be viewed against the backdrop of ongoing parental involvement in gambling and drinking parties.

Visual Structure

I shall begin this section by analyzing Sam's drawing of a helicopter in column 14. This drawing is syntagmatically related to Sam's drawing of a Ninja turtle in column 10. Larger and more detailed reproductions of these drawings are to be found in Charts 1.02 and 1.07. Sam makes the link between the Ninja turtle and helicopter clear in his drawings by inscribing the frontal outline of a Ninja turtle's head on the side of the helicopter. This outline is a simplification of his Ninja turtle image in Chart 1.02. The position of the kerchief knot has been reversed (a form of rotation called inversion) in the outline of the Ninja turtle in Chart 1.07. On the side of the helicopter, to the left of the outline of the Ninja turtle, Sam has drawn a slice of pizza (the favourite food of Ninja turtles and many children in Kashechewan). This addition represents an elaboration of the original Ninja turtle drawing in column 10.

To create his helicopter, Sam conflated the forms of his airplane in column 9 and Ninja turtle in column 10. The helicopter cockpit is clearly based on the Ninja turtle

drawing, whereas its rotors and fuselage are derived from elements in the airplane drawing. This collapsing or conflation of details is an example of condensation.

A close look at Sam's Ninja turtle drawing in column 10 reveals that it shares certain structural features with the airplane in column 9. Its cockpit is the same shape as the Ninja turtle's forehead, while the fuselage resembles the turtle's lower face. The aircraft wing is positioned in the same place as the turtle's mouth, while the forward landing gear suggest the form of the knotted end of the turtle's kerchief. All of these formal similarities are examples of isomorphism.

The bifurcate gestalt (a variation of the lozenge form) is repeated in the beak of the duck drawn by Terry in column 9, the knotted kerchiefs of the two Ninja turtles in column 10 and the fish in column 14. These too are examples of isomorphism. The unmistakable sneering quality of Terry's Ninja turtles is related to the asymmetrical shapes of their lower face and jaw. These gestalts are isomorphically related to the shape of the duck's body in column 9.

Terry's Ninja turtles are in a syntagmatic structural relationship with the duck drawing which precedes them. These two drawings share structural features by virtue of their contiguity. This is also the case with Sam's airplane, Ninja turtle and helicopter drawings. John's helicopter drawing, on the other hand, is in a paradigmatic structural relationship with Sam's helicopter drawing (see Chart 1.07).

Anna's Ninja turtle drawing is paradigmatically related to the other children's Ninja turtle drawings and syntagmatically related to her own depictions of a woman (column 1), witch (column 3) and snowman (column 13). Details of some of these drawings can be seen in Charts 1.03 and 1.05. It is noteworthy that the smiling jack-o'lantern is a feature in Anna's first three drawings, and has been isomorphically transformed into the snowman's

head in her fourth drawing. In each of these drawings the smiling head is juxtaposed with the figures of either a woman or witch, suggesting that Anna has substituted the snowman for a missing male figure. It is significant that the jack-o'lantern and snowman's head are shaped like a full moon which, in Cree mythology is associated with Chakaapish - a mischievous little boy who frequently gets into trouble by disobeying his big sister.

Each child drew at least one character from the Ninja turtle movies in at least one of their drawings. The children normally highlighted the importance of these characters by drawing them prominently in the centre of the page. Two exceptions to this rule are Sam and John's drawings in column 19. The Ninja turtles in these drawings are dwarfed by an immense brick wall in the background. Sam and John devoted much more time to drawing the wall than to drawing the Ninja turtles. They seemed captivated by the rhythm of the horizontal lines which predominate in these drawings. Indeed, Sam continued this rhythm into his next two drawings in columns 20 and 21. I interpret the message of these drawings to be that even Ninja turtles sometimes encounter insurmountable obstacles. However, through the process of drawing these obstacles are symbolically transformed and thereby overcome.

The recurrence of the lozenge gestalt is a characteristic feature of most of the drawings in Chart 1.00. It appears in the form of fingers and arms, aircraft wings and fuselages, pencils, doors and television screens, to name just a few visual morphemes. The isomorphic relationship of these visual morphemes is revealed clearly in Janey's drawings, reproduced in columns 12-32 of Chart 1.00.

In the drawing reproduced in column 12 Janey illustrates an extended arm and hand, with the index finger pointing downwards. The forms of both the arm and index fingers incorporate the lozenge gestalt. To the right of the downward-pointing hand and arm is an

unidentifiable lozenge form pointing upwards. This form serves to provide visual balance in Janey's drawing. Counterbalancing the two vertical forms is a horizontal cartouche inscribed around the words "Is nuisances".¹

In Janey's next drawing, reproduced in column 12, the two vertical lozenge forms reappear as the bodies of a little girl and boy, whereas the horizontal cartouche is realized in the form of the two figures' outstretched arms. The counterbalancing of the vertical and horizontal lozenge forms in these figures creates a new gestalt - the cruciform. The cruciform also appears in the window panes of the house Janey has drawn to the right of the images of the boy and girl. It reappears in her drawings of an airplane (column 14), Christian cross (column 15) and window panes (columns 15 and 16). At the same time, three of the other children have incorporated the cruciform gestalt into their drawings in columns 13-15. This shape is particularly evident in Anna's depiction of the female figure with outstretched arms in column 13 and her enigmatic depiction of a "Ninja-car" in column 14, as well as in Terry and John's drawings of churches in column 15.

There is an ebb and flow to Janey's use of the lozenge and cruciform gestalts. The lozenge form so prevalent in the drawings of fingers and human figures in columns 12 and 13 is displaced by the cruciform shape underlying the airplane, window panes and cross in columns 14 and 15. But just as quickly as it appears, the cruciform gestalt disappears from Janey's drawings. This is particularly evident in the way Janey systematically eliminates the cruciform from her drawings of the house and *miikiwam* 'tent' in columns 16 and 17.

¹Janey has written these words without vowels and backwards. The absence of vowels is characteristic of "prephonemic writing" and to be expected in preschool-aged children. However, the writing of words backwards suggests that Janey suffers from dyslexia (a diagnosis which was subsequently confirmed by Janey's teacher).

Janey's house-drawing in column 16 is isomorphically related to her depiction of the church in column 15. The method of rendering the roof and walls using orthogonal projection and the use of a lozenge form to depict doors is clearly the same in both drawings. However, in drawing the house Janey increased the number of doors, reduced the number of windows and eliminated the crucifix from the roof. At one level, these changes reflect obvious differences in the actual buildings which Janey drew (houses in Kashechewan do not have crosses on their roofs and generally have fewer windows than the Anglican church). On the other hand, Janey has introduced systematic distortions in her drawings: the Anglican church in Kashechewan actually has two doors (Janey has only drawn one) while most houses in the village have two doors (Janey had drawn three). In reducing her use of the cruciform gestalt and elaborating the lozenge gestalt in the house drawing, Janey has gone beyond simply depicting reality. She has altered the balance between these two gestalts from previous drawings and established a new pattern which continues in her next five drawings.

Janey's depiction of a *miikiwam* 'tent' in column 17 continues the theme of buildings established in her previous two drawings. Since traditional Cree tents had only a single entrance and no windows, Janey is permitted little leeway to experiment with the lozenge and cruciform gestalts in this drawing. However, in the drawings reproduced in columns 28-32 Janey manipulates the lozenge form. In column 28 she isolates the lozenge-shaped door of her previous three drawings and rotates it 45 degrees counterclockwise. This shape is then rotated 90 degrees clockwise and reduplicated in column 29. A V-shape is added to the top of this abstract form in column 30, producing what is easily recognized as the representation of a television set with a "rabbit ears" antenna. On the TV screen Janey has drawn the image of a quadruped, probably influenced by the moose depicted by Sam in columns 30 and 31. In column 32 Janey substitutes a human figure (cf. the little girl depicted in column 13)

for the moose in her previous drawing. She then simplifies and reduplicates this image to create the representation of somebody lying on a couch to the right of the TV set.

Janey's television set, derived as it is from the lozenge-form of the doors in her previous drawings, is much less angular than Anna and Sam's depictions of TV sets in column 30. Sam and Anna also stress linearity and angularity in their drawings of pencils in column 21. The angular characteristic of these drawings is related to the angular shape of pencils as well as to the linear form of writing, which Anna and Sam clearly associate with pencils in their drawings.

Throughout her drawings in Chart 1.00 Janey uses the lozenge gestalt, not the rectangle, in her depiction of doors. Yet the doors of houses and churches in Kashechewan are rectangular. I believe that Janey drew lozenge-shaped doors in order to preserve the rhythm and balance of these forms in her pictures.

The form of the lozenge-shaped upward-pointing finger in Janey's drawing in column 11 persists in the doors depicted in all her subsequent drawings of buildings, as well as in the shape of the wings, tail and fuselage of her airplane drawing in column 13. The interplay of lozenge, cruciform and rectangular gestalts provides a form of counterpoint in Janey's drawings. The lozenge gestalt establishes an underlying pattern which is punctuated by the other more angular gestalts in columns 14 and 34. The strength of this interplay of forms is revealed by their persistence in Janey's drawings and also by their eruption in the drawings of the other children. Indeed, the rhythmic ebb and flow of forms is a characteristic of all the children's drawings, reflecting apparently-unconscious borrowing that took place as the children silently drew together.

Verbal Structure

Wordplay occurs in 72% of the drawings in Chart 1.00. This might seem paradoxical, since the children wrote very little on their drawings. But the wordplay to which I allude has little to do with what the children actually wrote on their drawings. The wordplay in which the children were engaged while drawing emerges only when the objects they depicted are named. Since the children were silent during the time when they were drawing it must be inferred that this wordplay was mostly unconscious (i.e. not articulated).

I have indicated examples of the unconscious wordplay in which the children were engaged while drawing on the second page of Chart 1.00, as well as in the key drawings. I shall begin my analysis of the structure of this wordplay with Terry's drawing in column 2 of Chart 1.00, which is also reproduced as the upper drawing in Chart 1.01. In this drawing Terry depicts a hand with its index finger outstretched in a pointing manner. Below this is the incomplete form of a Ninja turtle's head. The Cree word Terry and other children in Kashechewan use for finger is *nichia* (a contraction of *nichichia* 'my fingers'). This suggests that there is an unconscious association between *nichia* 'my fingers' and *Nihcha* (the way in which Cree children in Kashechewan pronounce "Ninja").²

Another example of wordplay occurs in Terry's picture of Shredder (an evil father figure) and Razhar (a bad Ninja turtle) fighting one of the "good" Ninja turtles. This picture is reproduced in column 3 of Chart 1.00, as well as at the bottom of Chart 1.01. In this drawing Terry verbally associates *machi-mikinak* 'bad turtle' and *namachi-nik* 'the left arm/hand'. This is indicated by the outstretched left arms of the two "bad" figures,

²Terry is not the only child to associate fingers and Ninja turtles. His sister Janey makes the same association in two drawings reproduced in Chart 1.04. It is unlikely that Janey's association was spurious or accidental, since her drawings of the Ninja turtle and finger are contiguous.

juxtaposed against the outstretched right arm (*kihchi-nik*) of the "good" or "great" Ninja turtle (*kihchi-mikinak*). Terry drew Razhar twice in the series of drawings reproduced in Chart 1.00, and on both occasions depicted only his left arm. Conversely, three of Terry's eight drawings of Ninja turtles are depicted with disproportionately large right arms. This reflects the alliterative association of *mikinak* 'turtle' and *nik* 'arm', as well as of *machi* 'bad' with *namachi* 'left' as opposed to *kihchi* 'great/good' and 'right'.

The theme of a battle between the forces of good and evil also appears in Anna's drawings of witches. In her drawing in column 4 (also reproduced at the top of Chart 1.03), Anna makes unarticulated verbal associations between *aamo* 'bee', *machi-iskwe* 'witch' (literally 'bad woman'), and *machi-iskwesis nila* 'I'm a bad little girl'. These unconscious verbal associations are reflected in the visual form of the witch, with her large stinger-like protuberance in place of a nose and mouth, as well as in the semantic association of bee with itch and of witch with bitch.³ Phonemic associations include the alliterative play of witch-itch-bitch and the substitution of the voiced bilabial stop /b/ (realized as /p/ in Cree) for the velar glide /w/ in witch.

In addition to verbal associations inspired by the witch, Anna associates the shapes of the pumpkin and the moon. In so doing she seems to combine the English word 'bee'

³The placement of the stinger on the witch's nose more closely suggests the form of a mosquito (*sakiimiw*) than a bee (*aamo*). However, the association of the witch with Halloween seems to have led Anna to associate *aamo* 'bee' with *opiimaahopiisim* 'October', thereby influencing her apparent association of the witch with a bee rather than a mosquito. It is also possible that Anna utilized structural inversion in placing the bee's stinger on the witch's face instead of her behind. This inversion suggests Anna may have iconically associated the shape of the stinger with the shape of the witch's nose. That the bee's stinger replaces the witch's mouth as well as her nose suggests that Anna may also be commenting on the "stinging" nature of harsh words, as well as associating what comes out of the witch's anus with what comes out of her mouth. These are, of course, highly speculative interpretations and should not blind the viewer to the basic form and context of Anna's witch drawing.

with the Cree words *aamo* 'bee' and *piisim* 'moon' yielding, through a process of folk etymology based on code switching and homophonic associations, *opiimaamopiisim* 'migration moon', which is the Cree term for October. It is noteworthy that the children made their drawings in October 1991, less than two weeks before Halloween. Like their counterparts in the South, children in Kashechewan celebrate Halloween by dressing up in costumes and "trick-or-treating".

Anna's drawing at the bottom of Chart 1.03 is syntagmatically related to her previous drawing of the bee-witch and paradigmatically related to the other children's depictions of Ninja turtles. Anna represents the convergence of these influences by combining images of a Ninja turtle and a witch.⁴ In addition to this complex visual association, Anna's drawing evokes, through the substitution of an /l/ for the /n/ in "Ninja" and the deletion of the /j/ (realized in Cree as /ch/), the alliterative association of Ninja and *nila* 'I am'. When the image of the witch is substituted for that of the Ninja turtle, the unexpressed verbal message "*machi-iskwe(sis) nila* 'I am a witch (bad little girl)'" results. This complex visual and verbal association may reflect negative feelings Anna has about her mother and herself, feelings which are possibly related to perceived negative gender stereotypes, and perhaps also Anna's own discomfort about her parents gambling.

The apparently negative message in Anna's drawing of the Witch-Ninja is juxtaposed against the positive statement Janey seems to make in her contiguous drawings of a Ninja turtle and finger in Chart 1.04. *Nihcha* 'Ninja' and *nichia* 'my fingers' are near-homophones

⁴Anna accomplished this by pressing extremely hard as she drew the image of a witch, then turning the paper over and tracing the image of a Ninja turtle around the impression of the witch. Although the image of the witch was reversed on the Ninja turtle drawing, the effect was otherwise the same as drawing both images on a single side of the paper. This is the only drawing Anna or any of the other children fashioned in this way.

and may evoke the alliterative association *Nihcha nila* 'I'm a Ninja'. Despite her dyslexia, Janey wrote "I Ninja turtles" at the top of her drawing of a Ninja turtle, thus making her identification with Ninja turtles explicit. To highlight this symbolically powerful statement, Janey shaded the throat of the Ninja turtle in her drawing, as if to say "I can finally say it!" Janey juxtaposes this statement with the one at the top of her next drawing of the pointing hand (from where Janey was seated, the finger was pointing towards the poker table). Making allowance for dyslexia and the prephonemic nature of Janey's writing, and the fact that she was writing in her second language, the message written on this drawing reads: "[They are] nuisances".

Like other children in Kashechewan, Anna and Janey were conversant in both Cree and English. This fact is demonstrated by the messages Janey wrote on her drawings in Chart 1.04, as well as in the code switching which occurs in Anna's drawing at the top of Chart 1.03. This is not the only example of code switching. Anna and Janey also shift from Cree to English and back again in unconscious (i.e. unarticulated) wordplay occurring in Chart 1.05. Such deftness reflects the girls' competence to think and play in both languages.

In Chart 1.05 the key symbols are Anna's picture of a snowman and Janey's depiction of a man. Note how Janey carefully crossed out the man. The key verbal association seems to be between *ilili-koon* 'snow man' and *ilili* 'man' gone. Secondary associations appear to be with: (1) the witch ("Witch is gone"), which was in all Anna's previous drawings but which she replaced with a female stick figure in the drawing in Chart 1.05; (2) the female figure in Anna and Janey's drawings, which is probably a self-representation (this is indicated by the apparently-unconscious association of *niin* 'I/me' and *n'ihtaan* 'I am (in a place)' with Ninja turtles in each girl's previous drawings); (3) Janey's image of a house, which can be rendered *nihtaawin* 'my village' (the first two syllables of this word sound like *Nihcha*

'Ninja'); (4) the fact that at about the time the two girls finished these drawings John left the house.

Anna's unconscious wordplay continues in her drawing at the top of Chart 1.06, in which she depicts a house, finger and a complex image which conflates the forms of a snowman, Ninja turtle, finger, car, cross and drifting snow. The unarticulated verbal associations appear to be: (1) *ilili-koon* 'snowman' and *ilili* 'man' gone; (2) *nichia* 'my fingers', *n'ihtaan* 'I am here', *nihtaawin* 'my house' and Ninja; (3) *chaapanish* 'car' and *Chaanish* 'little John' (little John's father is also named John). The message which Anna weaves from this rich tapestry of visual and verbal associations seems to be: "I am still here but John junior has gone back to my place." The fact that Anna's brother John had actually stopped drawing with the other children and returned to his own home points to the way in which unconscious wordplay can express events which are going on around the children as they are drawing. Events such as John's departure appear to have been in the background of the children's consciousness, emerging in unconscious wordplay such as that found associated with Anna's drawing at the top of Chart 1.06. Such wordplay may, as in the case of Anna's picture, subtly influence the visual form and content of drawings.

A final example of unconscious wordplay is provided by Janey's drawings in Chart 1.12. The first of these drawings depicts an individual lying on a couch in front of a television set. On the TV screen is the image of a person resembling the individual lying on the couch. The second drawing depicts a calendar. Due to dyslexia, Janey has reversed many of the numbers on the calendar. Because the labiodental fricatives /f/ and /v/ do not exist in Mashkeko Cree and consonants are normally unvoiced, television is best rendered *telepiisim* while TV is best rendered *TP* or *tipi*. The Cree word for calendar is *piisimomasin-ahikan* (literally 'a month on paper'), while the words for sun and moon are *piisim* and

tipiski-piisim (literally ‘night sun’). The unconscious verbal associations in Janey’s pictures of a TV set and calendar are thus based on associations between the last two syllables of the loan word *telepiisim* ‘television’, *piisim* ‘sun’ and *piisimomasinahikan* ‘calendar’, as well as between *TP* ‘TV’ and *tipiski-piisim* ‘moon’. Significantly, the two drawings which Janey drew after the TV set and calendar depict a crescent moon and a smiling face representing the sun (Chart 1.00, columns 35-36).

The unconscious verbal associations in Janey’s drawings of the TV set, calendar and moon seem to reflect background activities which were subtly influencing her perceptions and train of thoughts as she was drawing. These activities include what was being broadcast on the TV situated on the other side of the room in which Janey was drawing, the fact that outside the house it was getting dark and the moon was coming out, and that the time was fast-approaching when the children would put down their pencils and stop drawing.

Overview of the Relationship of Visual and Verbal Structure

I have already remarked how the same structural processes operate at the level of gestalts and visual morphemes in the children’s drawings. These processes are also at work in the children’s unconscious wordplay. Signifiers in both the children’s drawings and wordplay are associated on the basis of similarity. "Iconicity," as Jakobson has pointed out (1971a:700), "plays a vast and necessary, though evidently subordinate part in the different levels of linguistic structure." By the same token, Jakobson notes that "No painting is devoid of ideographic, symbolic elements."

The alliterative nature of the children’s unconscious verbal associations is linked to the iconic quality of gestalts and visual morphemes in their drawings. The children’s association of *nichia* ‘my fingers’ with Ninja turtles, their linking of *ilili-koon* ‘snow man’ to John’s departure, and finally, the contiguity of Janey’s images of TV sets, calendars, the

sun and moon are all based on similarities in the sound of the words designating these things. Using a visual process that is structurally equivalent to alliteration, Terry associated the shape of a duck's bill with that of a knotted kerchief and the tail of a fish, while Sam associated the shape of a Ninja turtle's head with that of a helicopter cockpit. These examples of visual and verbal associations constitute what might be called "visual alliterations" and "verbal icons".⁵

The children's drawings reproduced in the Appendix have both spatial and temporal characteristics. As icons, they model visible objects occupying space. As units in a story, they follow each other and in so doing model the temporal succession of words in a sentence. Drawing a succession of isomorphic images thus evoked a succession of mental images of similar-sounding words. At first, the children associated these unarticulated words with objects depicted in the drawings. In time they began to associate the words with each other so that the words eventually influenced the ordering of their images.

The children used both Cree and English words in their drawings.⁶ Whereas fifty percent of the English words associated with drawings in Chart 1.00 were actually written

⁵Concerning the relationship of visual and verbal signs, Jakobson notes that the former take place primarily in space whereas the latter take place in time. "The spatial dimension," he writes (1971b:336), "takes priority for visual signs and the temporal one for auditory signs." "A complex visual sign," he continues, "involves a series of simultaneous constituents, while a complex auditory sign consists, as a rule, of serial successive constituents."

⁶An extensive wordlist for Chart 1.00 is presented in Chart 5.01. In compiling this list and the lists for the other concordances I have tried to be systematic and comprehensive. However, it is impossible to exhaust the creative possibilities of the visual and verbal games played by the children. Chart 5.01 should therefore be seen as a demonstration, rather than a definitive account of these games. The existence of consistent patterns in the relationship of unconscious and written Cree and English words associated with children's drawings in different concordances (see Charts 5.06-07 and 6.06-07) does suggest that there is reasonable veracity to my observation of unconscious verbal associations.

by the children on their drawings, their use of Cree words was confined exclusively to unconscious wordplay (no Cree words were written on the drawings in Chart 1.00, using either Roman orthography or syllabics). All of the nine English words which the children used in unconscious wordplay involved code switching (see Chart 5.01 and 5.06). The vast majority of the unconscious wordplay in the children's drawings in Chart 1.00 was conducted in the Cree language. This suggests that the children associated English with writing and Cree with speaking. This pattern of language use reflects the sociolinguistic situation in Kashechewan, where children learn how to speak English from television, learn how to read and write English from their teachers at school and learn how to speak Cree from their parents at home.⁷

Since the children's drawings represent a form of "silent language" or "inner speech", their use of Cree was confined to unconscious wordplay. However, if the children had been encouraged to continue drawing and to become verbalize their own unarticulated wordplay, I believe their inner speech would eventually be transformed into fully articulated stories. Once articulated verbally, I suggest that these stories would constitute expressions of the

⁷This bilingual environment, divided along the lines of home and school and also influenced strongly by TV, creates a complex and at times confusing language-learning situation for the children. The Local Education Authority, school administrators and many teachers are aware of this fact and are making concerted efforts to incorporate culturally-relevant materials and Cree language classes into the school curriculum. However, the predominance of monolingual English speakers among the teaching staff reduces the positive effect of such efforts. This situation has been discussed in detail by Cummins (1993), Reyhner (1993) and McCarty and Schaffer (1993). These researchers suggest that teachers who fail to communicate in native students' first language when that language is a native language undermine the students' confidence, self-esteem and academic performance. I personally became aware of the scope of this problem when a young and otherwise conscientious teacher in Kashechewan told me that parents who spoke the Cree language at home were "polluting" the English she was teaching her students to speak in the classroom. The only way to insure that her students would learn "pure" English, the teacher told me, was to place them in a community where the only language spoken was English.

children's personal and collective mythology. From a sample of 58 pictures, 52 different words (34 from the Cree language and 18 from the English language) have naturally evolved on the basis of wordplay. Over time, as more words were evoked by images, I believe the verbal message would gradually displace the pictorial one. Through conscious articulation the words would thus become externalized at the same time that the pictures would become unconscious and internalized.

The evocation of words through vivid images is not unique to Cree children. Indeed, Cree people have traditionally sought inspiration through dreams and vision quests. Richard Preston has identified this process as a "Cree style of abstraction". Concerning this style of thinking he states (1982:305):

...there is rich imagery but with much more attention to metonymy than metaphor. Images are found in dreams and remarkable percepts, and may be kept as private experience and without word form. Giving words to images is a problem of translation from inner experience into language, and this is fraught with problems, including the tendency of other Cree persons to take the words too literally, and the much more pronounced tendency of non-Crees to do so.

At the risk of offending both Preston and my own Cree informants, I have attempted to translate Terry, Sam, John, Janey and Anna's images into both English and Cree words. At the risk of further censure, I theorize that this style of abstraction is a social process involving what Vygotsky called "inner speech". Concerning this concept Vygotsky (1986:249) wrote:

Inner speech is not the interior aspect of external speech - it is a function in itself. It still remains speech, i.e. thought connected with words. But while in external speech thought is embodied in words, in inner speech words die as they bring forth thought. Inner speech is to a large extent thinking in pure meanings. It is a dynamic, shifting, unstable thing, fluttering between word and thought...

Vygotsky theorized that the child's first speech acts are social. Over the natural course of development the child internalizes discourse with mother and in so doing develops inner speech. Inner speech initially has a concrete nature, but eventually it develops into abstract thought. This process takes many years, initially involving the development of mental imagery and later literacy.

Following Vygotsky's line of reasoning about inner speech, mental images can be thought of as internalized pictures. But whereas spoken discourse usually requires a partner, drawing does not. In this respect, drawing is like writing, inasmuch as both activities are reflective and solitary. This fact does not, however, preclude drawing and writing from also being social activities. However, it does suggest that drawing and writing skills are grafted onto the social patterns of spoken discourse which the child has already internalized.

Vygotsky's ideas about mental imagery and literacy are barely sketched out in his own published works. In a short essay on the development of reading and writing abilities, he suggested that drawing occupies an important transitional position between the development of spoken and written language. "From the pedagogical point of view," he wrote (1978b:115), "this transition should be arranged by shifting the child's activity from drawing things to drawing speech. The written language of children develops in this fashion, shifting from drawings of things to drawing of words."

The developmental transition from drawing things to drawing speech has been recognized by Australian educator Alison Dewsbury. Echoing Vygotsky's insights, she observed (Dewsbury et al. 1983:2) that:

Many people who have difficulty reading the printed word do not have difficulty recognizing a picture. It has been found that some young children have problems when they first encounter the extremely abstract symbols of the alphabet. They may also have little concept of the sound/symbol relationship of the English language. These same children may be competent

users of language, at their own developmental level, in their own environment.

Dewsbury developed the Bridge Reading program for individuals with limited or impaired writing skills. This program pairs logographs or "word pictures" with spoken and written words. Abstract verbs, as well as morphemes and inflections which are difficult to represent iconically are matched with conventionalized marks and gestures. For example, the sentence "My dog likes balls" is represented by the following four pictures depicting: (1) an individual holding a large rectangular object, the gesture of holding being linked to "my"; (2) a dog; (3) an individual licking their lips, with a small "s" to the right, this gesture being linked to "like" plus the inflection "s"; (4) a ball, followed by a small "s" to the right.⁸

Dewsbury recommended that Kindergarten and Grade 1 teachers use the Bridge program to teach their students how to read. The program can also be used by parents with preschool children. Initially, children are taught to link spoken and written words with the logographs. Over time, however, the written words are substituted for the logographs, encouraging the child to recognize written words as meaningful representations of spoken language. After about ten weeks of instruction, children acquire a sight vocabulary of about 150 words and are quickly able to make the switch to "normal" reading.

According to Dewsbury, Bridge Reading encourages children to use "scanning skills, cloze, and fluent silent reading techniques not normally available to children reading at this early level." In addition, children develop the ability "to read for meaning", which enables

⁸This process of associating words with pictures is similar to that Freud described as operating in dreams (see, for example, the Artemidoros story cited above, page 103, note 6). Indeed, Freud (1938: 319) metaphorically compared the symbolic mechanism of dreams to the operation of the rebus in Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. This comparison is particularly apt when one is considering the unconscious verbal associations in Cree children's drawings.

them to comprehend "the whole before they are asked to fragment, or break words into their component parts." Focusing on developing these abilities is especially beneficial to young children at a concrete operational level of development. Such children usually have a highly developed ability to recognize pictures, but are not yet able to read or write.

Children in Kashechewan face unusual stresses when they are taught to write in the local school. While the language of instruction is English, nearly everybody outside the classroom communicates in Cree. This situation complicates the already difficult process of learning to read and write English in phonetics and Cree in syllabics. Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey's drawings thus represent the children's own attempt to develop a "bridge" between the languages they speak and phonetic and syllabic writing.

Like Dewsbury, Vygotsky (1978b: 118-119) stressed the importance of making reading and writing "relevant to life". "Make-believe play, drawing and writing," he wrote (1978b:116) can be viewed as different moments in an essentially unified process of development of written language". The development of reading and writing skills is obviously related to the development of internal speech. Yet Vygotsky's ideas on the acquisition of literacy and its relation to cognitive development are not spelled out in his books. His ideas about this topic do, however, find expression in the work of his colleague, Alexander Luria.⁹ In his landmark study of literacy and cognitive development, Luria (1976:161) observes that with the acquisition of literacy "major shifts occur in human mental activity...These are not limited simply to an expanding of man's horizons, but involve the creation of new motives for action and radically affect the structure of cognitive processes."

⁹During the early 1930s Vygotsky and Luria studied the influence of literacy among the peasants of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. In the preface to his book Luria (1976:v) notes that his research on literacy was undertaken "at Vygotsky's suggestion" and refers to the book as a collective undertaking.

According to Luria (1976:162-163), literacy promotes the development of abstract thought and metalinguistic awareness. Through objectifying spoken language, writing allows the individual to move beyond "practical situational thinking" into the domain of "theoretical, categorical thought". The mastery of writing marks a "transition from the sensory to the rational".

Vygotsky and Luria's ideas about the influence of inner speech and literacy on cognitive development strongly influenced American psychologist Jerome Bruner's own thinking about thinking. As the following quotation demonstrates, Bruner (1966:19) links Vygotsky's concept of inner speech to Socratic teaching and also to George Herbert Mead's concept of the "generalized other":

With Socrates, we know somehow that a dialogue can lead people to discover things of great depth and wisdom...Vygotsky and George Herbert Mead have both suggested that later thought is often an internal version of this art of dialogue. There are even inventions that help, as in the dialogue between the thinker and his written words pondered later. In such reflection, notation of one sort or another surely becomes enormously important, whether by models, pictures, words, or mathematical symbols.

Like Vygotsky and Luria, Bruner (1966:13) observed that among young children "visual memory...seems to be highly concrete and specific". He distinguished this ability from rational thought, which is arbitrary and abstract. But unlike Vygotsky and Luria, Bruner did not see drawings as inferior to spoken or written language. Rather, he saw them as different "notational systems".

Pictures and paragraphs (to use Goodman's apt phrase) are both forms of language, differing primarily with respect to what Bruner calls their "grammar". "In the experience of art we connect by a grammar of metaphor, one that defies the rational methods of the linguist and the psychologist" (Bruner 1979:74). While Bruner acknowledged that it is

possible to translate the artistic experience into words, "What is lost in such translations is the very fullness of the connection produced by the experience of art itself."

"There are," Bruner noted (1966:21), "a multitude of models available in the culture for shaping symbolic usage". He contended that "the heart of the educational process consists of providing aids and dialogues for translating experience into more powerful systems of notation and ordering." As part of this process, pictures are neither more childlike nor inferior to paragraphs. They are simply a different "notational system" (i.e. a different language).

Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey's drawings combine written English and "spoken" Cree (functioning at the level of inner speech) with a pictorial system of notation. Their drawings are thus a hybrid of pictures and paragraphs - what Jacques Derrida (1976:90) calls "picture puzzles". Picture puzzles combine visual and verbal reference in a single signifier. This signifier is "broken or constellated into a system: it refers at once, and at least, to a thing and to a sound." What Derrida calls "a sound" can be a phoneme, syllable, word or even an entire story. The important thing is not the size of the units of speech which the picture puzzle represents, but the process by which it represents them. According to Derrida, the thing which is depicted in a picture puzzle is itself "a collection of things or a chain of differences in space". As such, they can themselves be deconstructed and transformed in the manner of the visual morphemes and gestalts in the children's drawings.

Terry and Janey's drawings of fingers (Charts 1.01 and 1.04) are examples of picture puzzles. The fingers in these drawings represent a significant gesture (i.e. pointing). At the same time, the children's images of fingers represent the Cree word *nichia* 'my fingers', which the children unconsciously associate with Ninja turtles. Through association with the Cree words *niin* 'I/me', *n'ihitaan* 'I am here' and *Nihcha nila* 'I am a Ninja', the children

identify the Ninja turtles as powerful symbols of self. Through a long train of visual and verbal associations, these words and images are further linked to the archetypal themes of conflict, flight and the passage of time - in short, to personal stories of mythic proportions.

Narrative Structure

If, as I have suggested, the 58 children's drawings in Chart 1.00 tell a story, then this story must have a structure which includes setting, characters, plot and theme. In this section I shall discuss the narrative structure of the children's drawings. I will demonstrate that the children used their drawings to comment on events that were going on around them. In addition, they linked these events to the story told in the Ninja turtle movies. This weaving of phantasy and reality is the heart of mythic discourse.

Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey depicted many objects from their local environment in their drawings. These include wildlife (ducks, eagles and moose), technology (TV sets, video games, airplanes and helicopters) and local landmarks (their homes and the Anglican church). The setting for the children's story therefore appears to be Kashechewan. Yet some of the things the children depicted are not part of their local environment. These include witches and the characters from the Ninja turtle movies. The children learned about these objects by watching TV or reading storybooks at school. Such objects and the "mythical" Southern cities from which they come occupy prominent places in the children's (inner) phantasy world, coexisting with "real" objects in their own world.

Although Ninja turtles are not uniquely Cree, most adults and children in Kashechewan would accept them as authentic mythic figures which are part of their cultural environment today.¹⁰ This attitude helps account for the popularity of the Ninja turtle movies

¹⁰There are some differences of opinion in Kashechewan with regard to the perceived authenticity of recently imported objects and traditions. Many older members of the community regard Anglicanism as the only authentic Cree religion. Some of the younger

among children in Kashechewan. It also explains why characters from the Ninja turtle movies are depicted more frequently than any other object in Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey's drawings. Each child drew at least one picture depicting a Ninja turtle and one-third of all 58 children's drawings depict characters from the Ninja turtle movies. These movies were enormously popular among children during the time I was in Kashechewan. They could be rented on videocassette from a local convenience store and were also frequently broadcast on pay TV.

The Ninja turtle movies lack a well-developed plot. Instead, they rely on action sequences involving fights in which the Ninja turtles (Raphaelo, Donatello, Michaelangelo and Leonardo) are pitted against an evil monster named Shredder and his minions. These fight sequences are graphically illustrated in Terry's first five drawings in Chart 1.00. In the Ninja turtle movies, a wise rat named Splinter is the Ninja turtles' teacher and role model. Splinter is not depicted in any of the children's drawings. If the children had strong positive role models in their community, it would be logical that they would identify such people with Splinter in their drawings. The absence of any depictions of Splinter in the children's Ninja-turtle drawings, combined with the occasional depiction of Shredder, suggests that the children do not identify any positive adult role models in their community. However, it is also possible that Cree children find it difficult to identify a rat with a heroic father figure.

The battle between good and evil is the theme of the Ninja turtle movies. From a psychoanalytic standpoint, this theme re-enacts the Oedipal conflict between fathers and sons. In these movies fathers and sons are juxtaposed and split into heroes and villains. The Ninja

adults regard the Pentecostal church as being authentic, while others see the sweat lodge in a similar way. Many children in Kashechewan today see witches and Ninja turtles as being pseudo-religious figures. In the past, I suspect that Mashkekowak Cree children viewed characters from traditional Cree *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories' in much the same way.

turtles are youthful heroes, protected by Splinter, their benevolent but emotionally-distant father. The Shredder embodies the evil and villainous father. He is disfigured and wears a mask to disguise this fact. He holds power over Razhar, a snapping turtle with large upturned spines on his shell. Razhar symbolizes the evil son. The children's depictions of Ninja turtles appear in column 10 of Chart 1.00 and in Chart 1.02; the Shredder and Razhar, the "bad turtle" are depicted fighting one of the Ninja turtles in column 3 of Chart 1 and also in the bottom drawing of Chart 1.01. That the children have drawn images of Shredder and Razhar indicates that they do identify individuals in their immediate environment with these figures.¹¹

There is only one female character in the Ninja turtle movies - a beautiful princess figure embodying attributes of the "good mother". This virtual absence of women in the Ninja turtle world can be related to the fact that female figures are of only secondary importance in the Oedipal conflict, based as it is on competition between father and son for the affection of a single woman who is both wife and mother. Since no female characters are depicted in any of the boys' drawings, one is led to assume that these drawings reflect the male bias of the Ninja turtle movies. However, it is also possible that in their drawings Terry, Sam and John identify more strongly with members of their own sex than with

¹¹It is significant that names of the two father figures in the Ninja turtle movies refer to the process of splitting or shredding. According to Melanie Klein (1986:180-186), this process is of fundamental importance in understanding the relation of young children to their parents. Healthy splitting enables the child to distinguish himself from his/her parents. However, when the parents are unable to provide the child with emotional support, splitting can lead to disintegration of the child's ego, paranoid delusions and schizophrenia.

members of the opposite sex. In this case the boys would be expressing that near-universal form of female revulsion typical of preadolescent boys.¹²

Female figures appear nearly twice as often as male figures in Anna and Janey's drawings in Chart 1.00, suggesting that while the girls identify themselves with same-sexed role models, they do not experience a strong revulsion towards opposite-sexed figures such as experienced by the boys. It is noteworthy that the female figures most often portrayed in the girls' drawings are witches. While it is possible the girls were making a statement about the approach of Halloween, the prevalence of witch pictures may also suggest that Janey and Anna have a rather negative image of women, and possibly of themselves. Perhaps the girls' negative images of women are associated more generally with adults than with a specific gender.

The heroic figures in both the girls' and boys' drawings are Ninja turtles - symbols of what Donald Winnicott (1971:62-75) calls the "self".¹³ This identification is reinforced by the children's unconscious verbal association of *niin* 'I/me', *nila* 'I am', *n'ihtaan* 'I am (in a place)' and *nihtaawin* 'my village' with Ninja turtles. The children also identify with the conflicts in which the Ninja turtles find themselves. The theme of conflict in the children's drawings reflects the children's own Oedipal struggles, as well as family and wider social conflicts related to recent rapid changes in the lives of the Mashkeko Cree

¹²Sigmund Freud's theory of the gender development in boys and girls is outlined in two essays (1905, 1925). For a comprehensive overview and integration of the key psychoanalytic theories of gender development see Tyson and Tyson (1990: 277-292).

¹³According to Winnicott, the child's sense of self emerges through his/her object relations. "The sense of self," he writes (1971:71), "comes on the basis of an unintegrated state which...is lost unless observed and mirrored back by someone who is trusted and who justifies the trust and meets the dependence."

people. I shall discuss this issue in more detail later in this chapter, in a section entitled "Conflict and the Search for Wholeness".

Since the Ninja turtle movies lack strong female characters, they have a limited appeal to girls. This is reflected in the relative lack of figures from the Ninja turtle movies in Anna and Janey's drawings. Nevertheless, Anna and Janey were able to make the Ninja turtle story relevant by introducing witches (the female counterpart of Shredder and Razhar) in their drawings. In the bottom drawing in Chart 1.03 Anna has conflated the "bad" witch and "good" Ninja turtle figures in a single composite figure. In the top drawing of Chart 1.05 Anna then transforms this ambivalent figure into a snowman, which is juxtaposed with the female stick figure in the right corner of her drawing. The message in this drawing seems to be that Anna identifies more strongly with the "good" snowman than with the "bad" witch figure. Anna's identification with the snowman is echoed in wordplay (*ilili koon* 'snow man' → "witch is gone" → *n'ihtaan* 'I am here'). Conversely, Janey does not seem to associate herself with a male figure in the drawing at the bottom of Chart 1.05, although in a previous drawing at the top of Chart 1.04 she does identify herself strongly with a Ninja turtle.

Ninja turtles seem to be somewhat ambivalent figures in the drawings of Anna and Janey. Terry, Sam and John, on the other hand, seem to have portrayed them very positively. This is undoubtedly because the girls had a more difficult time than the boys in identifying with male characters. Terry's drawings exemplify the boy's positive identification with Ninja turtles. Throughout these drawings Ninja turtles are juxtaposed with "bad" figures such as Razhar and Shredder. In addition, the boys all associate Ninja turtles with flight. Through the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationship of their drawings, Terry Sam and Janey also associate Ninja turtles with the Anglican church.

With the exception of the witches drawn by Anna and Janey, the narrative structure of the Ninja turtle movies is identical to that of the children's collective story. This is most clearly expressed in Terry's sequence of pictures, which I have identified as the key story. The first picture which Terry drew, reproduced in column 2 of Chart 1.00 and also at the top of Chart 1.01, contains the key symbols of his and the other children's stories. It depicts a hand pointing across the page (from left to right). Above the hand, in the balloon-style caption familiar to readers of comic books, is inscribed the phrase "is party time." Below the hand is the incomplete outline of a Ninja turtle's head. This can be compared to Terry's completed picture of Ninja turtles, reproduced in column 10 of Chart 1.00 and also at the top of Chart 1.02).

It is noteworthy that as Terry was drawing, his mother and the other adults playing poker were seated at a table to Terry's right. The hand in Terry's first picture is pointing towards the right (*i.e.* in the direction of the poker table). It is also significant that the first words Terry's mother spoke when she sat down to play poker were: "It's party time!"

Terry seems to be commenting about gambling or "party time" in most of his drawings in Chart 1.00. In columns 8 and 10 Terry's Ninja turtles appear distorted, as if their images were reflected from waves. The Ninja turtles depicted in columns 7 and 22 are fleeing from a source of danger located off the page, in the direction of the poker table where Terry's mother was sitting. The turtle depicted in column 18 is marching military-style towards this perceived source of danger, while the turtles in column 25 are alternately confronting and fleeing from it.

Shredder and Rahzar symbolize evil and danger in Terry's drawings. They are depicted in Terry's second picture, reproduced in column 3 of Chart 1.00 and also at the bottom of Chart 1.01. These "bad" figures are also depicted in columns 6, 23 and 24. In

all of Terry's pictures Shredder and Razhar march from the right to the left side of the page (i.e. from the direction of the poker table towards the place where the children were drawing). They thus embody Terry's perception that his family faces danger while his mother plays poker.

In the picture reproduced in column 33 of Chart 1.00 and also in Chart 1.13, Terry has drawn a map. This map is a fairly accurate representation of the central area of Kashechewan and throws further light on the pointing hand depicted in Terry's first drawing. In drawing his map, Terry has followed the convention of orienting north at the top of his page. The wavy lines at the bottom of the page represent the Albany River, which marks the southern boundary of Kashechewan. Two roads run parallel to the river in an east-west direction. These roads are bisected by two others, one running north-south and the other running diagonally from the southwest to the northeast. The Anglican church is located in the east-central section of the map. Thirty small squares and rectangles represent houses. Six larger houses are depicted north of the church. The largest house, located at the end of a driveway just north of the church, is situated in approximately the same place as the gaming house in which Terry and the other children were drawing. To the north of this house Terry has drawn another large house. It is situated in approximately the same place as the house in which Terry and his family live. The other four large houses which Terry has drawn represent homes in his neighbourhood. The fact that the level of detail decreases in each of these houses, proceeding across the page from right to left, suggests that Terry began this picture by drawing the two large houses in the center of the map, then progressively simplified his subsequent depictions of houses and the church.

John is the only child not to have drawn a house, but he is also the only child to have made only two drawings. Each of the other children drew from 7-18 drawings, the average

being 14. Terry, Sam and Janey's house drawings are reproduced in columns 16 and 17 of Chart 1.00. Janey also depicts a house in a drawing reproduced in column 13. Anna's house drawing appears in column 14. A notable feature of all the house pictures is that they appear in roughly the same place in each child's sequence of drawings. In Terry and Sam's sequences, house drawings appear immediately after drawings of the Anglican church. In Janey's sequence house drawings appear before and immediately after her drawing of the church. Anna's drawing of a house appears in roughly the same sequential position as Janey's first house drawing. Although Anna did not draw the church, she includes a cross in her house drawing, suggesting that she too associated the house and church.

Sam, Janey and Anna's house drawings are in most respects quite conventional, corresponding in their general features with houses found in Kashechewan. On the other hand, Terry's drawing is idiosyncratic. Whereas the other children drew windows in their houses, Terry's lacks windows. Another unusual feature is the way in which Terry has extended lines representing the outer wall of his house above the roof, as if to emphasize the walled-off quality of his house. But the most significant feature of Terry's house is that it is split in half, suggesting conflict. The theme of conflict is reiterated in Terry's drawings of Ninja turtles. In column 18 a large and heavily armoured Ninja turtle marches to the right (i.e. toward the source of danger in Terry's drawings). In column 22 a more diminutive Ninja turtle is running across the page, from right to left, as if fleeing danger. In column 23 the intimidating figure of Razhar stands facing the left, as if chasing the Ninja turtle depicted in the previous drawing. A balloon-like bubble emanates from the bad turtle's mouth. This bubble could represent a comic-book style caption filled with "noisy" lines or it might represent smoke or flames. The only other time Terry used this device was in his

first drawing, when he inscribed the words his mother uttered when she sat down at the poker table.

Terry has drawn profiles of Razhar and the Shredder in column 24. These figures look across the page from right to left. Juxtaposed with these profiled heads is a frontal depiction of a Ninja turtle's face. In column 25 Terry has combined images of Ninja turtles from previous drawings in columns 3, 18 and 22. In this composite picture Terry recapitulates the theme of conflict which runs throughout his narrative. Ninja turtles are depicted marching into battle, fighting and fleeing. The source of danger is not identified directly, but is indicated as existing off the page, to Terry's right.

Terry, Sam and Janey each drew pictures of the local Anglican church, which they regularly attended with their parents. The children's pictures of the church are reproduced in column 15 of Chart 1.00 and also in Chart 1.08. Terry's picture is reproduced at the top of Chart 1.08. It depicts the church as it would appear to a viewer sitting on the river bank. The river is south of the church (i.e. on right side of the drawing). Terry has drawn a curious protuberance, representing an eye, on the northwest corner of the church.¹⁴ It is not depicted in Sam or Janey's drawings, nor is there anything like it affixed to the actual church building. In Terry's picture this protuberance "gazes" north, in the direction of both the gaming house and Terry's own family home. By depicting the church in this way, in the context of his other drawings in Chart 1.00, Terry seems to be saying that not even the church, with its all-seeing eye, can prevent his mother from gambling.

¹⁴While not appearing in Terry's other drawings reproduced in the Appendix, similar projections representing eyes appear in many other drawings. Of the 319 drawings Terry gave to me during my stay in Kashechewan, 49 (15 percent) contain depictions of people with projecting eyes.

It is significant that, along with the poker table, the Anglican church and Albany River were located to Terry's right while he was drawing. In fact, as the children were drawing I could see these landmarks through a window just beyond the poker table. The children's association of these things was not accidental. Like the Albany River during breakup, I believe that Terry felt that gambling could tear apart his and many other houses in the village (note his drawing of a house split in half in column 17). Watching his mother gambling probably gave Terry a sinking feeling such as one might experience when diving into deep water (note his depiction of eagles diving for fish in column 14). Like other children in the village, Terry knew what it was like to go hungry because money that was meant to pay for groceries had been spent on gambling.

Verbalizing what Terry and the other children are saying in their drawings is exceedingly difficult. Given the children's reluctance to tell me what their drawings meant and their tendency to respond to my questions about their drawings by making other drawings, I find myself having to qualify my own interpretative statements. Nevertheless, from my observations of the children in the process of drawing and from my analysis of their pictures it is clear to me that the children were able to express and to some degree alleviate their anxieties through drawing. For example, in the drawing reproduced in column 9 of Chart 1.00, Terry identifies himself with a duck which is able to swim far away from the village (at the same time he may be thinking of his father duck hunting or associating his mother with a "sitting duck"). In the drawing in column 14 Terry identifies himself with an eagle lifting a fish out of the water (again, he may be equating this picture with his father "the hunter", or perhaps he sees his family's welfare money as "easy pickings" for the people at the poker table). Like the eagle, Terry may wish to rise above the poker table, above the houses and church in his village. Through his drawings, I believe that Terry is able to

symbolically accomplishes this feat. The vantage point provided by these images, may also provide Terry with an "elevated" perspective on his world. Such a perspective is illustrated in Terry's map, which presents a "bird's eye view" of Kashechewan.

I submit that flying symbolizes rising above fear and anger in Terry's drawings. This theme seems to run throughout the children's drawings and symbolizes the process of sublimation. Sublimation is "a conversion or transmutation from a lower to a higher, and presumably purer, state or plane of existence" (Loewald 1988:12-13). It is a "developmental process by which instinctual energies are discharged in non-instinctual forms of behaviour" and involves the use of symbols to displace sexual energy, transform aggressive emotions and liberate psychic tension (Rycroft 1968:159). Examples of sublimation include humanitarian, intellectual, cultural and artistic pursuits (Hall 1979:82).

Sublimation involves the use of symbols to transform negative emotions such as fear and anger into positive ones like elevation and wonder. The behavioural effect of this transformation was evident in the harmonious way the children interacted while they were drawing, despite the fact that they were in a potentially anxiety-producing situation. The level of anxiety felt by the children can be inferred from their depictions of scenes of what might be termed "archetypal" conflict (Ninja turtles versus Shredder and Razhar; church versus home; "good" versus "evil"), as well as the feelings evoked by such depictions.

Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey used drawing as a vehicle to sublimate their negative feelings about their parents gambling. The pencil provided a means for this process to happen. Pencils were also used as symbols of empowerment in Sam and Anna's drawings, reproduced in column 21 of Chart 1.00 and also in Chart 1.10. In her drawing Anna depicts a large upward-pointing pencil. Beside the pencil she has written the names of the members of her family, along with their ages. The message in her drawing appears to be: "By means

of this pencil I am able to tell you about my family." Sam's pencil drawing has an even more dramatic message. In it the pencil is transformed into a rocket. The eraser at the end of the pencil becomes the rocket's engine; behind the "engine" is a vapour trail. A boy sits astride the "rocket pencil". On its the side is written the boy's name: Sam Moses.¹⁵

The link between flight and the process of sublimation is evident in all the children's drawings in column 14 of Chart 1.00. Terry drew eagles, while Janey drew an airplane and Sam and John drew Ninja-turtle helicopters. The cruciform shape in the foreground of Anna's drawing also has associations with flight and sublimation inasmuch as it suggests the shape of an airplane as well as the crucifix atop the spire of the Anglican church.¹⁶

Sublimation provided a means for the children to shape their feelings into drawings and words, modeled on the form of inner speech. The drawings and words themselves became vehicles for the children's search for and definition of self. This sense of self incorporates elements from the dominant society, absorbed through exposure to church, school and television, as well as elements from traditional Cree culture.

Overview of the Children's Drawings as a Locus of Knowledge

So far I have discussed the children's drawings as a form of discourse, without considering their wider significance in terms of Cree epistemology. In this section I would like to explore what the drawings reveal about contemporary Mashkeko knowledge. I shall begin with a brief discussion of some traditional Mashkeko sources of knowledge. Then I will describe the transformation of these traditions under the impact of *wemistikosho* 'white

¹⁵Sam's "rocket pencil" may also represent a phallus, symbolizing power. Compare this image to Terry's phallic depiction of a pencil in Drawing 40.

¹⁶Terry's airplane drawing is only reproduced in Chart 1.00. Larger versions of Anna and Janey's drawings appear in Chart 1.06. Larger versions of Sam and John's Ninja turtle helicopters appear in Chart 1.07.

man' values. Finally I will consider how Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey blend old and new traditions in their drawings.

In the past, before the proliferation of *wemistikosho* 'white man' values in the North, Cree values were transmitted through seeking *pimatisiwin* 'a good and balanced life'. People who attained this state respected all the animate and inanimate beings of the world. Through the practice of a hunting way of life Cree people understood the interconnectedness of life. As Hallowell (1934: 393-394; 1966: 274; 1971: 9-15) and Preston (1975: 25-291, 171ff.) have shown, Algonquian peoples were able symbolically to transmit their cultural knowledge through rituals such as *kosaapatamowin* 'conjuring' (also known as the 'shaking tent') and the telling of *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories'.

According to Hallowell (1971:7), *aatsokanak* 'sacred characters' (the Northern Ojibwe rendering of Swampy Cree *aatalohkanak*) were invoked through storytelling in a way that is analogous to the way in which *pawaakanak* 'dream visitors' were called during conjuring performances. Hallowell refers to these two types of beings as "other-than-human persons." The Mashkeko Cree elders with whom I spoke referred to such "other-than-human persons" as *kiin moshoominanan* 'our grandfathers'. Preston (1975: 106-107) notes that Cree people on the east coast of James Bay call such "attending spirits" *mistabeo* and observes that we might think of this term as referring to "a potent personalized power, 'belonging' to an individual, but with whom he is in only partial rapport."¹⁷

¹⁷Faries (1938) glosses *mistapeo* 'giant' and Baraga (1878) notes that *missaabe* is the Ojibwe term for 'giant'. Both terms are probably abbreviations of *mishi nape(o)* 'great man'. Through his usage, Preston's informant indicates that *mistapeo* conveys moral and spiritual greatness, rather than physical size (although the two may have been connected in his mind). Speck (1935: 33) glosses *mistapeo* 'great man' and notes that among the East Cree it is "the term by which the soul in its active state is referred to". According to Speck (1935: 34-45) *mistapeo* "is the reincarnation of an ancestor who wills to renew its life cycle to another generation". Dwelling in *mitei* 'the heart', *mistapeo* reveals itself in dreams. When the host

Hallowell (1966:278) describes the process by which Northern Ojibwas transmitted knowledge about their grandfathers in the following quote (the process he describes echoes what I was told by Mashkeko Cree elders in Kashechewan):

On account of the repeated recitation of myths winter after winter, children growing up in Ojibwa society became almost as familiar with their other-than-human grandfathers as they did with their human grandfathers. They also heard the voices of the former at conjuring performances. Furthermore, the individuality of other-than-human beings became reinforced by the fact that a character like Mikinak ['turtle'] always was heard to speak in the same characteristic manner whether in the narration of myths or in the shaking tent. Thus the reality of these characters did not depend upon conceptualization alone; their image was strongly reinforced by actual perceptual experience.

In the shaking tent ritual the walls of the *kosaapachikan* 'shaking tent' concealed the *pawaakanak* 'dream visitors' from the eyes of all but the conjurer. These supernatural visitors were, however, able to project their voices through the conjurer so that people outside the tent could hear and even talk to them.¹⁸ In a parallel way, the artist's work may conceal the physical presence of the artist from the viewer of their artwork. Yet, as the children's drawings reveal, artists can still "speak" through the opaque "screen" of their drawings. The pages on which Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey drew thus function in a way which is analogous to the conjurer's tent, concealing the child while at the same time providing them with an opportunity to project their voice.

In *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories', direct experience with other-than-human persons was similarly restricted to the storyteller. In the process of telling the story, the storyteller became a mouthpiece for characters in the story, allowing them to share their experiences

dies, *mistapeo* dwells *atchahkooshak* 'among the stars' until finding a new host.

¹⁸For descriptions of shaking tent performances see Hallowell (1971:35-52) and Preston (1975:37-71).

with the listeners. Like the conjurer, the storyteller was the medium by which dream visitors told their stories.

As a result of the influence of Christian missionaries, *kosaapatamowin* 'conjuring' has not been performed in the vicinity James Bay for at least 25 years. However, *pawaakanak* do still occasionally appear to people in Kashechewan. Concerning one such visitation, Matthew told me that he had seen a *memekweso* 'merman' while he was fishing on James Bay. "It had long hair, like an old man and was swimming like a seal," he told me. On another occasion a 12-year old boy told me that two men from Kashechewan had seen a *papiskokan* 'laughing skeleton' while they had been riding snowmobiles out in the bush. "It was well dressed and looked like a man," the boy told me, "but all the flesh was missing from its face." "It ran after the men and almost caught them, even though they were on skidoos."

In Kashechewan *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories' are still occasionally told in the wintertime. However, in the past decade television and storybooks have started to replace traditional storytelling as a means of imparting knowledge. This fact was impressed upon me by Silas Wesley, an elder and former chief of Kashechewan. According to Silas, few people in Kashechewan tell *aatalohkanan* today because children prefer watching television. "In the old days we didn't need TV or radio," he told me. "We had magic."

People communicated with each other through their stories and dreams. They could visit and talk to people who were far away without ever leaving their camp. But we lost these things when people started reading the Bible. Today we have lost our magic.

The magic Silas was talking about was inspired by the *pawaakanak*. "A Cree man long ago dreamed of a snake encircling the earth," Silas told me. "That was a railroad, and we could have built it if we had wanted." Silas told me about another man, who, in the old

days had dreamed of turning into a seal and swimming along the bottom of James Bay. "He saw many beautiful things and had he wanted to, he could have invented a submarine."

Other people dreamed of flying like birds. Had they wanted to, these people could have built airplanes. But they did not want to build airplanes. They choose to live in harmony with nature.

According to Silas, Cree traditions stress respect for the world. Cree people imagined such things as railways, submarines and airplanes, before the arrival of *wemistikoshowak* 'white men', but they chose not to invent these things. It is this element of choice which is fundamental. Whereas *wemistikoshowak* chose to dominate and exploit the world, Cree people chose to seek balance and live in harmony. This is the essence of *pimatisiwin* 'a good and balanced life'.

Since contact Cree culture has, of necessity, absorbed many European values. Most recently, since Cree people have chosen to give up the hunting way of life and move to reserve communities, traditional Cree values have been strained to the limit. But, as Preston (1986: 248-249) observes, the new strains have not reduced Cree culture to "a handful of dust". "Instead," he says,

we have a transformation from a mobile, family-centered bush locus for living, to a central place for sustained aggregation of hundreds of people in 20th-century villages, with an emergent urban Cree culture. The symbolic significance of the bear, beaver, caribou and other traditional "other than human persons" is no longer much remembered or viewed with a sense of loss by more than a few traditional-minded people.

In adapting to a new social, political, economic and cultural environment, Cree people are also adapting their concept of *pimatisiwin* to accommodate twentieth century realities. Nevertheless, many of the core values associated with traditional "bush life" remain strong, albeit in a somewhat changed form. One of the most important of these values is the

Mashkeko people's adaptability. In the past this quality was symbolically represented in sacred rituals and stories as the capacity of characters to transform themselves.

Transformation was a sign of power in the traditional Cree "bush world" and it remains so in the "urban world" for modern Cree people. Today this power is linked to the practical necessity of Cree people to adapt to their rapidly-changing environment in order to survive and flourish. As in former times, the power of transformation continues to be reflected in Cree symbols. But, like the material conditions of their life, Cree people's "symbolic world" has changed too. Such changes are attested in the syncretistic mixing of images from the bush, village and city in Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey's drawings.

As long as Cree people persevere in the task of seeking to attain their dreams, *pawaakanak* will continue to live among them. In former times these visitors used their capacity to change form in order to enter *kosaapachikanak* 'shaking tents' and *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories'. Through transformation the *pawaakanak* were also able to travel through air, earth, fire and water. They were able to acquire the forms of inanimate beings such as rocks, mud and manufactured objects, as well as animate beings such as moose, caribou, beavers, geese, sturgeon and, of course, people. If, as Silas Wesley says, modern life has lost its "magic", this is not because the *pawaakanak* have disappeared, but because they have assumed a new form. This new form may temporarily be difficult for elders who grew up in the bush to recognize. But it is readily apparent to Terry, Sam, John, Anna, Janey and many other children now living in Kashechewan.

As I have already noted, the children's drawings display a remarkable transformative quality. Images of birds, airplanes and helicopters evolve into Ninja turtles, prompting an association between turtles and flight. In addition, the children make unconscious verbal associations which suggest that they identify themselves with Ninja turtles. In this respect,

the children use drawings as a medium for Ninja turtles to express themselves in much the same way that storytellers and conjurers were in former times mediums for the *pawaakanak* 'dream visitors'.

The association of Ninja turtles with flight in the children's drawings may also reflect a traditional association between *pawaakanak* and flight in shaking tent performances. Pertaining to this, Preston (1975:73) notes that conjurers on the east coast of James Bay called *pawakaanak* "flying people". However, the parallel between the children's drawings and conjuring is much stronger than just this, for the pre-eminent dream visitor in conjuring performances was Mikinak the turtle.

According to Hallowell (1971:44-46) Mikinak acted as an intermediary and messenger for the other dream visitors entering the shaking tent. Speaking in a "throaty nasal voice not unlike that of Donald Duck", Mikinak was "good natured and easy going." He was also "quick witted and loves a joke." It was his special function to go (like the fantastic "Ninja turtle helicopters" pictured by Sam and John in Chart 1.07) "on long journeys to distant parts of the country to find out information requested by members of the audience." This information would have helped to alleviate the anxieties of people in the audience who were separated from spouses, children or other loved ones in the same way that the performance enacted in Terry, Sam, John, Anna and Janey's drawings helped alleviate anxiety about their parents gambling.

Mikinak and the Ninja turtles are both comic heroes who display the capacity for transformation. They each have the capacity to speak through their own special mediums. In the case of Mikinak, this medium is human and addresses the audience directly, although he is concealed by the walls of the *kosaapachikan* 'shaking tent'. The Ninja turtles, on the other hand, must communicate to the children via television and thence through their

drawings. For the children of Kashechewan television thus functions as the modern equivalent of sacred stories and the shaking tent. In this regard it may be significant that upon their arrival in the North many Mashkekos colloquially referred, first to radio and then to television, as *kosaapachikan* (English loan words were later adopted). The indirect association of Ninja turtles with television in the children's minds is thus reminiscent of previous generations' association between turtles and shaking tents.

It must be pointed out that Ninja turtles and TV sets are inventions of the dominant society (although they are interpreted in a Cree context by children in Kashechewan), whereas *Mikinak* and *kosaapachikan* are Cree inventions. Nor can it be forgotten that the Ninja turtle movies are broadcast in English, whereas the *pawaakanak* spoke Cree. Finally, it must be emphasized that there is no demonstrable historical link between *Mikinak* and the Ninja turtles.

It is impossible and would be foolhardy to suggest that children in Kashechewan consciously link Ninja turtle movies to shaking tent performances. After all, the children and indeed, most of their parents, are far too young to have ever witnessed *kosaapatamowin* 'conjuring'. However, the Ninja turtles do function as modern dream visitors for Terry, Sam, John, Anna, Janey and many other children in Kashechewan. They provide entertainment, act as role models, and provide "raw material" for the children's phantasies. For Cree children in Kashechewan, Ninja turtles are authentic, powerful and contemporary symbols of the self.

CHAPTER 5 - NINJA TURTLES AS GUARDIANS OF "THE GOOD LIFE"

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the 18 drawings reproduced in Chart 2.00. These drawings, all of which are associated with words in Cree and English, were made by Terry, Sam, John and Janey on 21 October 1991. A total of 34 different words are associated with the drawings, of which 17 (50%) are in Cree, 16 (48%) are in English and one (2%) is written in French. All of the Cree words were associated with the drawings through unarticulated ("unconscious") wordplay. Twelve (75%) of the English words were unconsciously associated with the drawings and four (25%) were written. For further details on wordplay see Charts 5.02, 5.06 and 5.07 in the Appendix.

Taken together, the idiosyncratic presence of a French word written by Terry on one of his drawings and the unusually large number of English words associated with all the drawings in Chart 2.00 seem to reflect the pervasive influence of a birthday card depicting a Ninja turtle carrying a cake which Janey Moses received on her birthday a few days earlier. Terry explicitly associates the text of this card with the theme of "party time" which he seems to associate with the gambling activity of his mother and the other adults in the house. This association was suggested by the words "It's party time" his mother uttered each night as she sat down to play poker. It was reiterated in a somewhat different context by Terry's father, who confided that during his own birthday parties friends often got drunk. Thus, in Terry's mind birthday cakes seem to have ambivalent associations with gambling and drinking, as well as birthday parties.

Ninja turtles are an important feature in Chart 2.00, providing symbolic heroes with whom the children can identify, tropes to facilitate unconscious wordplay and vehicles for the expression of *pawaakanak* 'dream visitors'. As in Chart 1.00, Sam and Janey continue to juxtapose home and church in their drawings. The pervasive influence of the church on the children's thinking is suggested by the frequent occurrence of the cruciform gestalt, associated as it is with the Christian symbols of the cross and crucifix, as well as in Terry's use of pictures of a dog (*atim*) and serpent as tropes for the biblical story of Adam and Eve. Continuing the convention she established in Chart 1.00, Janey uses the lozenge gestalt to represent doors and the square and cruciform gestalts to represent windows in her drawings of buildings. The same structural processes identified in Chart 1.00 continue to operate in the drawings of Chart 2.00 and all subsequent concordances.

Visual Structure

Cruciforms and mandalas are the most prevalent gestalts in Chart 2.00, occurring in Terry, Sam and John's drawings of Ninja turtles in columns 1, 6 and 7. Cruciform gestalts appear in the pattern on the shell on the turtles' bellies in columns 1 and 6, as well as in the shape of the swords and knives which they wield. The horizontally outstretched arms and vertically erect torsos of these figures also delineate a cruciform shape.

The Ninja turtles in columns 1 and 6 are depicted frontally with their arms, legs and torsos radiating symmetrically from the cruciform pattern of their bellies. The Ninja turtle drawn by Terry in column 7, on the other hand, is depicted from behind. The cruciform gestalt on the bellies of the Ninja turtles in previous drawings has been elaborated into a mandala pattern on the shell of the turtle in column 7. The arms and legs of the turtle in column 7 radiate outward from asymmetrical points of the mandala. The position of the

turtle's limbs, combined with the depiction of its head in profile, gives the impression of it marching across the page from left to right.

The asymmetrical form of the arms and legs of Terry's marching turtle in column 7 recurs in the street pattern of the boys' maps in column 10. The isomorphic relationship of the marching turtle's appendages to the streets in the maps is more obvious in Sam's somewhat simplified rendering than in Terry's detailed one. The street in the lower left corner of Sam's map corresponds to the left leg of the turtle in column 7, while the street in the lower right corner corresponds to the turtle's right leg; the street running across the top of Sam's map corresponds to the turtle's outstretched arms and the house corresponds to its head. For enlargements of the boys' maps see Chart 2.05.

Terry and Sam's maps in column 10 illustrate the complex relationship of the children's drawings to reality. At one level, the pattern of the streets in the maps is isomorphically related to Terry's Ninja turtle drawing in column 7. The mandala pattern on the turtle's shell (itself an elaboration of the cruciform gestalt of earlier drawings) has influenced the positioning of the turtle's limbs, which in turn have influenced the positioning of streets in the maps in column 10. But at another level, Terry and Sam's maps are representations of recognizable landmarks, streets and houses in the vicinity of the Anglican church in Kashechewan. Although there has been some transposition and distortion of these features, it is possible to identify the neighbourhood and pinpoint specific houses which Terry has depicted in his map.¹ *The form of the objects drawn by the children is thus related to:*

(1) the underlying gestalts in each child's drawings, which are themselves influenced by

¹In his map in column 10 of Chart 2.00 Terry has positioned the Anglican church on the east side of a block, near a bend in the river. In actual fact, the Northern store and band office are located here (the church is located on the west side of the block). Terry accurately depicts the position of the church in his map in column 33 of Chart 1.00.

gestalts in that child's previous drawings, as well as gestalts in other children's drawings, and the forms of objects in nature; (2) the visual morphemes in each child's drawings, which are influenced by the form of underlying gestalts in that child's, and other children's drawings, as well as the form of objects in nature.

Relationships based primarily on similarity of form at the level of gestalts are isomorphic and are usually the result of iteration. Relationships based primarily on similarity of form at the level of visual morphemes, on the other hand, are iconic. Iconic relationships are characteristic of naturalistic drawings, whereas isomorphic relationships are characteristic of designs. The simultaneous interaction of isomorphism and iconicity results in a curious form of "double articulation" between kinaesthetic and visual percepts which may contribute to the language-like quality of the children's drawings.

The simultaneous articulation of isomorphism and iconicity is revealed in Janey's drawings of buildings in columns 8-11.² These drawings are comprised of four gestalts: (1) triangles, representing the church steeple, roof gables and tents; (2) squares and rectangles signifying walls and window frames; (3) lozenge forms, depicting doors; (4) cruciforms used to illustrate the cross-members of window panes and the cross on the top of the Anglican church. Janey's use of these gestalts models the shape of actual structural features of buildings. Her tendency to repeat the gestalts, thereby establishing a rhythm in her drawings, reflects how the forms she draws are also influenced by kinaesthetic qualities

²Janey's church and tent drawings in columns 9 and 11, along with her drawing of a house in column 8, are nearly identical to a sequence of pictures which she drew several days earlier (see Chart 1.00, columns 15-17). The recurrence of these images suggests that Janey's drawings of buildings are symbolically, as well as isomorphically and iconically related. Like most other children in Kashechewan, Janey is usually with other members of her family when she is at home, in church or camping in the bush. Her drawings of a house, church and tent are thus symbolically related to the theme of family.

associated with the drawing process. For example, the numerous vertical cross-members in the window of her house drawing in column 8 elaborate the actual form of a window. Presumably, Janey reduplicated the vertical cross-members because she liked the feel and rhythm of inscribing vertical lines. This feeling of rhythm seems to anticipate the way in which Janey uses the cruciform in her church drawing in column 9. Here, the cruciform gestalt is transformed into a cross (i.e. an icon), which itself symbolizes the Christian church.

In addition to being a symbol, the cross in Janey's drawing of the Anglican church is an accurate representation of the actual cross. At the same time, it elaborates the shape of the cross-members in the church windows, as well as in the windows of Janey's previous house-drawing. The feeling of verticality Janey created by reduplicating only the vertical cross-members of the windows in her house-drawing is achieved in the church-drawing by exaggerating the size of the spire and the cross. The upward movement suggested by the spire is repeated in Janey's drawing of a traditional Cree tent in column 11. Finally, Janey's drawing of a window in column 12 re-establishes the formal link she made in her earlier drawings between window cross-members, the cross and the Anglican church.

The repetition of the cruciform gestalt and its realization in the Christian icon of the cross demonstrates how an underlying visual form can impart a common visual theme or leitmotif to many of the children's drawings. Through repetition and rhythm, gestalts sometimes become visual morphemes, acquiring iconic and occasionally symbolic functions. This process provides an insight into the interaction of "sensorimotor", "representational" and "operational" forms of intelligence in the children's drawings.³ Movement leads to rhythm,

³These terms refer to stages of cognitive development outlined by Piaget (1973: 10-11) as follows: (1) sensorimotor period in the first 18 months of life, when the infant's world is poorly differentiated from his/her body; (2) representational/preoperational period, from 18 months to 7 years, when the child acquires the ability to speak, draw and perform other forms of symbolic expression; (3) concrete operational period, from 7-12 years, when the

rhythm leads to the repetition of form, and repetition of form leads to the emergence of meaningful images and recognizable patterns.

The process of deriving meaning from repetition and rhythm is also a feature of traditional chants and drum songs found throughout the Algonquian culture area. Concerning Ojibwe drum songs, Densmore (1920:66) wrote that "The rhythm...is expressive of the idea contained in the songs." Like contemporary Cree children's drawings, the ideas underlying such music were often represented pictographically. "The Indian picture preserves the idea of the song, while our printed page preserves the words which are supposed to express the idea but which often express it very imperfectly" (Densmore 1910: 15).

While characteristic of Algonquian peoples, mnemonic techniques combining visual and kinaesthetic percepts are hardly unique to them. Indeed, the systems of pictographic notation found in traditional Ojibwe songs and contemporary Cree children's art are semi-formalized inscriptions of visual thought processes used by people throughout the world. As the anonymous author (1954: 209) of a famous tract on Latin rhetoric wrote in the first century A.D., mental images are "forms, marks or simulacra of what we wish to remember." Visual thinking involves making the mind function like "wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading."

child develops a semi-abstract syllogistic form of logic based on the contiguous relation of real objects; (4) formal operational period, when the adolescent develops a fully-abstract (hypothetico-deductive) logic based on algebra-like forms of mental processing. Whereas Piaget asserts that later cognitive stages supplant earlier ones, Gardner (1991: 29) suggests that "Piaget made a fundamental error in his contention that the older child's more sophisticated ways of knowing eradicate her earlier forms of knowing the world." According to Gardner "operational thinking" is fostered during formal schooling, while "representational thinking" takes place in the informal learning environment of the home. "Once the youth has left a scholastic setting," Gardner says that "earlier views of the world may well emerge (or reemerge) in full-blown form."

In the children's drawings, iconicity seems to be based predominantly on the similarity of visual percepts, while isomorphism seems to be more strongly influenced by kinaesthetic percepts. This, together with the tendency of most children to make increasingly naturalistic drawings as they get older, suggests that there are developmental correlations between the relative incidence of isomorphism and iconicity in children's drawings.

Based on my observations of Cree children's drawings, a high level of isomorphism seems to be characteristic of Cree children (e.g. Janey) in Piaget's sensorimotor and representational periods of development, whereas a high degree of iconicity is typical in the drawings of older children (e.g. Terry) who have entered the period of concrete operations. This corresponds with the findings of Kellogg and O'Dell (1967: 12-17), Koppitz (1968: 9-34), Gardner (1980: 143-163), Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987:37-42) and Thomas and Silk (1990: 34-41), who observe that children's drawing ability normally progresses through a series of developmental periods, corresponding to those outlined by Piaget. These include: (1) a scribbling stage (18-36 months), corresponding to Piaget's sensorimotor stage, during which time the child gains pleasure primarily through movement; (2) a design stage (3-5 years), corresponding to Piaget's representational stage, during which the child recognizes and reproduces meaningful shapes; (3) a pictorial stage (5 years-adolescence), corresponding to Piaget's concrete and formal operational stages, during which the child produces increasingly realistic pictures of objects in their world. As they approach adolescence, many children transfer much of their energy and concentration from drawing to reading, writing, mathematics and the solution of problems involving the application of logic. The degree to which such activities, associated as they are with the formal operational period of development, are influenced by culture and schooling remains unresolved.

To account for the development of imitation, symbolic play, drawing, language and memory, Piaget posits the existence of a "semiotic function" during the preoperational period. He suggests (Piaget and Inhelder 1969: 57) that this function supplements sensorimotor action schemas and is in turn supplemented by logico-mathematical operations in the concrete and formal operational periods. Piaget does not consider the development of image-making to be of critical importance in the overall cognitive development of children. "Images," he states (Piaget 1977: 652), "cannot be considered as an element of thought but at the most as an auxiliary."

Cross-cultural research has confirmed the general validity of Piaget's theory of developmental stages, but there have been no systematic investigations of these stages among James Bay Cree people.⁴ Piaget's undervaluation of drawing and language in cognitive development is particularly problematic when interpreting the drawings of children in bilingual and bicultural environments such as Kashechewan.⁵ Indeed, such deficiencies in piagetian research make it exceedingly difficult to generalize my own findings about the

⁴The most recent review of cross-cultural research on Piaget's theory of developmental stages (Berry, *et. al.* 1992: 118-121) states that "ecological and cultural factors do not influence the sequence of stages, but [do influence] the rate at which they are attained." According to McShane and Berry (1988: 392-395) there are no comprehensive reports of piagetian research in the Algonquian culture area. However, McShane and Berry do cite various studies of Cree and Ojibwe children's performance on a variety of cognitive tests which together indicate a general tendency towards highly developed visual and spatial abilities. Berry (1976: 135-136) has speculated that these abilities reflect the perceptual and cognitive consequences of a hunting and gathering lifestyle. Murdoch (1986: 76-80) suggests that James-Bay Cree adults pragmatically combine concrete and formal operational modes of thinking to suit the contexts in which they find themselves.

⁵Various researchers (Burnaby 1979: 384; Burnaby, Nichols and Toohey 1980: 11-12; Toohey 1982: 226-228; Cummins 1990: 9-10; Faries 1991: 115-117) have observed that children who speak a minority language (eg. Cree) as their first language but who must speak the majority language (e.g. English) in school may often experience learning difficulties. The cause of such difficulties remains a matter of debate. My own research suggests drawing provides Cree children with a way to express what they find difficult to verbalize.

discursive function of Cree children's drawings. Nevertheless, the drawings which I have presented in Charts 1.00-4.00 in the Appendix demonstrate that schoolchildren in Kashechewan do have uniquely-developed drawing abilities, combining visual and verbal forms of language. These abilities seem to be related to special aspects of Cree culture and language, combined with the unique language-environment in which Cree-speaking children find themselves today.

Connections between the capacity for language and drawing ability have been explored by Lorna Selfe, an educational psychologist at the Child Development Research Unit at the University of Nottingham in England. Selfe worked with Nadia, a severely-autistic girl who, at the age of three years (one year after the onset of her autism), developed prodigious drawing abilities. These abilities included: fine motor control; extraordinary attention to detail and nuances of texture and form, and; sophisticated mastery of perspective and foreshortening. Nadia's drawing abilities continued to develop until she was about nine years old, when she began integrating with classmates at a special school for autistic children. As Nadia recovered from her illness she expanded her vocabulary and acquired reading and writing skills. Concomitantly, her drawing abilities regressed until reaching a level more typical of children her age.

Based on her work with Nadia, Selfe (1977: 105) hypothesizes that "in the normal child, drawing ability parallels cognitive and conceptual ability because language predominates as the means for organizing experience." Nadia, on the other hand, suffered a major language deficit during the representational period of her cognitive development. Although Nadia failed to develop language skills at this time, "internal visual imagery did not fade but was further developed by her drawing" (Selfe 1977: 127).

Selfe (1977: 114-115) points to various physiological factors which were linked to the onset of Nadia's autism. However, she also cites (1977: 4) social and psychological elements which may have contributed to Nadia's condition. These include possible confusion resulting from a home environment in which a minority language was spoken (the only words Nadia uttered before the onset of her autism were Ukrainian), and emotional isolation (Nadia's mother suffered from severe depression). No single factor was likely responsible for Nadia's illness; however, in combination they all undoubtedly contributed to it.

Nadia is certainly unique, both in terms of the depth of her language deficit and the degree of her early visual compensation. Nevertheless, it is tempting to compare her extraordinary drawing talent with that of Terry. Evaluating Nadia and Terry's drawings using standardized tests (Goodenough 1926: 15-47; Harris 1963: 239-315) reveals that both children have exceptional abilities.⁶ But whereas Nadia was severely autistic, Terry experiences no symptoms of language pathology. Terry's ability to communicate in English is less developed than his ability to communicate in Cree, but he is capable of communicating effectively in either language. Indeed, the presence of puns and other latent verbal associations in Terry's drawings suggests that his drawing ability is strongly mediated by spoken language. The fact that these wordgames are unarticulated suggests that they are "unconscious".

⁶Based on a drawing of a man riding a horse published in Selfe (1977: Figure 24), Nadia's score on these tests equates to an IQ in excess of 250. Using the self portrait, reproduced in Drawing 1 of the Appendix, Terry's scores equate to an IQ of 140. Using the drawings of Ninja turtles in Chart 2.03 and the drawing of a little girl at the bottom of Chart 2.05, the test scores of John, Sam and Janey equate to IQs of 130, 112 and 100 respectively. In their study of Plains Cree children's scores on the Harris Draw-a-Man test, Wiltshire and Gray (1969: 120, 121) observed that "boys had significantly higher raw scores than girls" and that both Cree boys and girls "were equal to or better than the standardization sample". My findings, together with those of Wiltshire and Gray, suggest that Cree children have highly developed visual skills.

Verbal Structure

As well as sharing gestalts, Janey's pictures of a house, church and tent have semantic and phonological associations. The structural relationship between the shape of the church spire in column 9 and the tent in column 11 reflects a semantic association: in Cree the word for spire is *kaa-chiiposkitek* (literally "that which tapers up"). *Kaa-chiiposkitek* is a shape descriptor which applies both to the shape of a church spire and that of a traditional Cree tent or *miikiwam*. In addition to this semantic association based on shape, it should be noted that houses, tents and churches are different types of homes - one for families dwelling in the village, one for families dwelling in the bush, and one for the village community gathered in the presence of *Kihchi-manitoow* 'god'. That Janey made this association in her own mind is suggested by the fact that she drew a window after her pictures of a house (*waaskaahikan*), church (*ayamihewikamik*) and tent (*miikiwam*). The Cree word for window (*paspaapiwin*) is compounded from the root *pasp-* 'through (an aperture)', the deverbal final *aapi* 'look, see' and the noun-forming abstract final *-win*. Through a process of folk etymology which bears no relation to actual Cree word-formation, Janey may have associated *apiwin* 'home' with the deverbal and abstract finals of *paspaapiwin*. If this is, in fact, what she did, ideas of windows and home were probably linked both phonologically and conceptually in her mind.⁷

Another Cree word for home is *nihtaawin* 'my village'. This word is derived from the verb *n'ihtaan* (a contraction of *nitihitaan*) 'I am (at a place)'. John and Janey's drawings

⁷Note that after her drawings of a house, church and tent in Chart 1.00 Janey drew a calendar, the visual structure of which is derived from the grid form of a window. It should furthermore be noted that residents of Kashechewan employ a local variant of the Cree word *paspaapewin* 'window'. This variant is *paspaapoon*, which is derived from *paspaapewin* by eliding the high frontal vowel /e/ of the penultimate syllable with the semivowel /w/ and mid frontal vowel /i/ of the ultimate syllable.

in column 8 and Terry and Sam's maps in column 10 all give prominence to structures which could be identified as their homes. Significantly, Terry, Sam and John each drew Ninja turtles immediately before drawing houses (see columns 6-10). The contiguous relationship of these images thus seems to reflect a homophonic relationship between *Nihcha* (an approximation of the way the children pronounce "Ninja"), *n'ihtaan* 'I am (at a place)' and *nihtaawin* 'my village'.

In addition to phonological associations with home, Ninja turtles seem to be semantically associated with church. The symbolically-powerful cruciform gestalt provides the basis for this association. The Ninja turtles in columns 1 and 6, for example, are patterned on the cruciform gestalt, whereas the one in column 7 is patterned on a mandala (an elaboration of the cruciform). The cruciform is also used by the children in columns 9 and 10 to identify the Anglican church. This visual link between the cross and Ninja turtles is powerfully expressed by Terry in Drawing 17. Note the cross appearing on the Ninja turtle's forehead, as well as around its neck, indicating a connection between Ninja turtles and Christ, as well as a possible inversion of the familiar Christian icon of the crucifix.

Although there are four Ninja turtle characters, the only one specifically identified by the children in their drawings is Michelangelo, who is identified by the capital "M" embossed on his belt (see, for example, Chart 2.01, 2.03, 4.02 and Drawing 17). This selective attention to only one of the four Ninja turtle characters points to the homophonic relationship between Michelangelo's name and the Cree phrase *mishi-ancheliwiw* 'he is a great angel'. This association, based as it is on both semantic and phonological elements, is highlighted in Samson's self-portrait (Drawing 16), depicting a winged child beneath the head of a Ninja turtle. Notice how Samson has drawn a halo above the boy's head which conveys the idea that he is superhuman or divine, as well (perhaps) that he is thinking of the

turtle. This halo seems to be similar to the balloon-like captions used to frame discourse in comic books, and is also used by other children in their drawings (egs. Charts 1.01, 2.01-2, 4.03 and 5.01; Drawings 11, 29-34, 43-44, 49-50). Also notice how by affixing wings to the boy's back, Samson is able to establish an identity between the "little angel" at the bottom of his picture and *mishi-anchel*, the "great angel" at the top. This association is consistent with Terry's identification of Ninja turtles with Christ in Drawing 17 and also the code switching and wordplay based on Michelangelo's name in column 6 of Chart 2.00. It is also consistent with recorded associations between pre-Christian Cree mythical beings such as Mikinak (a turtle) and angels (Brightman 1993: 76).

In the drawings reproduced in columns 1 and 2 of Chart 2.00 (see also Charts 2.01 and 2.02) Terry associates "the great angel", with "party time". In the first drawing he has written "NO" beside a picture of Michelangelo while in the second drawing he has written "Is party time" above a picture of a Ninja turtle carrying a birthday cake. To understand why Michelangelo is saying "NO", it is necessary to contextualize the phrase "Is party time".

As I have remarked in my discussion of Chart 1.01, "Is party time" refers to an expression frequently used by Terry's mother when she sat down to play poker. As the drawings in Chart 2.05 demonstrate, Terry, Sam and the other children associate this expression with birthdays, as well as gambling and drinking parties. Whereas birthday parties evoke feelings of joy and excitement in the children, gambling and drinking parties are linked with unpredictable extremes of parental behaviour, including celebration and euphoria, as well as depression, anger, and possibly neglect, violence and abuse.

Notice how Terry and Sam have depicted children playing in the streets after dark in their drawings in Chart 2.05. In Sam's drawing smoke is coming from the chimney of his house, indicating somebody is at home. The porch light is on and dogs are barking at

an approaching visitor. A child is riding a bicycle on the street while police vans with flashing lights patrol the neighbourhood. A particularly large police van is pulled up outside the house; its headlights are trained on a window, suggesting something illegal is going on inside.

Sam's ambivalence about "party time" is revealed in his drawings of "card men", reproduced as Drawings 24-25 of the Appendix. Sam made these drawings during an early-morning visit to his grandfather's house. Sitting at the poker table, which was strewn with ashtrays full of cigarette butts, Sam took a card from the top of one of the decks. He placed it on a sheet of paper and made two tracings, which he then turned into faces. The first face Sam drew is smiling, whereas the second face is crying. Note how the smiling face is reduplicated in the middle of the card-man's torso, as if to indicate complete contentment (i.e. he is smiling in his heart). Also note that the smiling man lacks arms, suggesting that he does not need to "reach out". Compare this to the crying card-man, whose arms appear to be reaching out for help. Finally, note how Sam has divided the face of the crying card-man into an upper and lower half, suggesting that he is torn by conflicting feelings.⁸

Terry's ambivalence about "party time" is revealed in various pictures which he drew at different times during my stay in Kashechewan. These are included as Supplemental Drawings in the Appendix. In Drawing 19 Terry depicts a man carrying a flower and a Valentine card. The man's face and clothing are covered with hearts, suggesting love. In Drawing 20 Terry depicts a group of smiling heart-shaped houses, conveying the idea of a happy household and friendly neighbourhood.

⁸Similar feelings are expressed in the playing cards reproduced in Drawings 26-27. These cards were defaced by Sharon, a 9-year old girl whose mother frequently gambled.

The feelings conveyed in Drawings 21-23 are more ambivalent than in the heart and Valentine drawings. In Drawing 21 a Valentine heart is suspended from the window of a house. Outside the house Terry has drawn two people vomiting. Scenes such as this are commonplace in Kashechewan when families go on drinking binges. Drawing 22 illustrates a house which looks like a face. Terry has drawn the windows to resemble eyes. Clouds on the other side of the windows suggest the form of eyebrows and cheekbones while the arrangement of the woodstove and rugs creates the impression that the house has a nose, cheeks and mouth. The overall impression that Terry has created in this drawing is that the house is coming alive in order to tell the viewer about activities concealed behind its walls.

In Drawing 23 Terry has clearly drawn two eyes, a nose and a mouth inside the house. The opening walls have been transformed into wings and talons have been added, giving the house-face the appearance of a large and fearsome bird - perhaps an eagle.⁹ Two children are caught in the bird's talons. Despite the frightening appearance of the bird and

⁹According to Jenny Diamola, special education teacher at St. Andrew's school (personal communication), children in Kashechewan regularly use the eagle as a symbol of protective power in their drawings and stories. This association may reflect the fact that a stylized eagle is emblazoned on the doors of all local police vehicles in Kashechewan to represent peacekeeping. However, the appearance of raptors in Terry and other children's drawings, as well as on the door of police vehicles is undoubtedly related to the deeper symbolism of birds of prey in Algonquian mythology. Concerning this symbolism, Vecsey (1983: 60) has written that Ojibwes traditionally perceived the stalking of game to involve projecting the hunter's eagle-like "soul" above the forest, so that it could "move ahead, guiding the man like a scout." According to Vecsey, Ojibwe warriors projected the "soul" in a similar way to "warn of danger from its vantage point outside the body". Brightman (1993: 73) has noted that in both Cree and Ojibwe Trickster cycles *pinesiwak* 'thunderbirds' are juxtaposed with *misikenepikwak* 'great horned snakes', suggesting an opposition between good (associated with the sky) and evil (associated with the underwater realm). This symbolic opposition between earth and sky is evident in Midewiwin scrolls of the 19th Century (Hoffman 1891: Plates 9C, 10C-D, 13B, 16A and D, and 17A-B) and may be an expression of what Jenness (1935: 18-19) describes as the traditional distinction between *wiiaw* 'body' and *atchak* 'shadow/soul'.

the apparently dangerous aspect of the situation depicted, the children in the drawing are smiling. Their happiness, like the birthday candles which Terry has drawn on the roof of the house-bird, seems incongruous. Indeed, the candles evoke previous images of birthday cakes, while the shape of the roof is reminiscent of a party hat. The apparent incongruity of these features seems to reiterate Terry's own ambivalent feelings about "party time".

Through a process of folk etymology based on wordplay Terry and Sam appear to be engaged in a subtle form of wordplay in their drawings of Ninja turtles, dogs and a snake in columns 1-5. In addition to semantic associations with birthdays, gambling and drinking, the word "time" from the phrase "party time" may be homophonically associated with *atim* 'dog', *astotin* 'hat' "a (hockey) team" and "Adam". Terry seems to unconsciously associate these words with a dog in column 3 (see also Chart 2.04). Picking up the image of the dog from his brother, Sam substitutes a bird for the party hat in Terry's drawing, apparently to suggest that the dog is a retriever (i.e. "bird dog"). To reinforce this association, Sam depicts a hunter in a goose or duck blind. In depicting duck hunting Sam may also be indicating phonological and semantic associations between "shooting a puck" (illustrated in Terry's drawing) and "shooting a duck" (illustrated in his own drawing). He may also be semantically associating dogs, hunting and "goodness" with his father, who was duck hunting on the coast at this time.

It is noteworthy that Terry has exaggerated the size of the dog's nose in his drawings in columns 3 and 4. That Terry is code switching between the Cree word *mikot* 'nose' and the English phrase "me good" is suggested by his juxtaposition of the dog in column 4 with the snake (a Christian symbol of evil) in column 5. Further credence is given to this interpretation by the homophonic association of *atim* 'dog' with the biblical character Adam and the semantic association of the snake with Adam's wife, Eve. Terry and the other

children in his family became familiar with this and other Bible stories through regular attendance at the Anglican church.

The powerful influence of Christianity on people's lives in Kashechewan is revealed in the children's frequent depiction of churches in their drawings. Terry affixes an eye on the side of the Anglican church in his map in column 10 (for an enlarged version see Chart 2.05), suggesting that the church, and by association, the Christian god, is all-seeing. Phonological associations suggest links between *mishkiisik* 'eye' and *kiishik* 'sky'. There is also soundplay between the second syllable of *waaskaahikan* 'house', the English word "sky", and the first two syllables of the Cree word *askiwasinahikan* 'map' in this drawing. Finally, there is a likely association between the first syllable of *ayamihewikamik* 'church' and the English words "eye" and "I".¹⁰

As noted in my discussion of the narrative structure of drawings in Chart 1.00, Terry uses images of eyes to symbolize vision in many of his drawings. This may be related to the fact that he wears glasses. In Drawing 5, for example, Terry depicts himself wearing glasses. Above him and to the right a smiling sun is wearing glasses too. This association suggests that Terry understands his glasses are like light from the sun (i.e. the means of seeing).

Not only the sun, but also the Christ-like Ninja turtle in Drawing 17 wears glasses. In both Drawings 5 and 17 Terry seems to be using glasses as a metaphor for "clear vision". Glasses make it possible for Terry (and *Mishi-anchel* the "great angel") to magically see things people without glasses may not be able to see. Glasses extend Terry's range of vision. To make this point more obvious, Terry depicts eyes protruding from their sockets in Drawings 45-48. The eyes in these drawings literally reach out to touch what is seen. By

¹⁰See the second page of Chart 2.00, columns 7-10 for further homophonic associations.

associating vision with tactility, Terry makes the point that he is "touched" by what he sees. At the same time, Terry's drawing vividly demonstrates the simultaneous operation of sensorimotor, representational and operational forms of intelligence which together contribute to his remarkable vision of the world.

Many of the things which "touch" Terry are disturbing. As Drawings 45-47 reveal, some of the things Terry sees make him feel sick. Notice how in Drawing 47 he associates glasses with the protruding bloodshot eye (in the original drawing the streaks on the eye were coloured with a red crayon). Notice too the phallic-shaped syringe (associated with doctors, sickness and pain, but perhaps also with repressed pre-latency sexual feelings) and the extended tongue (coloured red in the original).

Several key features from Drawing 47 reappear in Drawing 48, but this time to make a somewhat more sublimated statement. Notice how the eye has become disembodied, as if to suggest that when Terry has visions he has the capacity to become dissociated and rise eagle-like from his body. This capacity is also reflected by the absence of glasses, with which Terry uniquely identifies himself, but which he does not uniquely identify with "seeing". At the same time the syringe of Drawing 47 has been replaced by a pencil in Drawing 48. Phallic associations have been retained by linking the eye to a scrotum-shaped form (itself perhaps an unfinished depiction of an eye) to the right of the pencil.

Drawing 48 is loaded with powerful sexual symbolism. At a formal level, the eye resembles a scrotum and the pencil resembles a phallus. This similarity in form suggests deep associations between the body and the repression of feelings, as well as "seeing", sublimation and the liberation of creative energy through drawing. It is noteworthy that with the exception of the ducks in Sam's drawing in column 3, depictions of flying are lacking from the children's drawings in Chart 2.00.

As I have already suggested, depictions of flying often seem to symbolize the sublimation of sexual energy. Nevertheless, Terry and Sam's images of Ninja turtles bursting through tables and walls in column 2, their representations of "shooting" in column 3, of dogs with elongated noses in columns 3-4 and of long knives in column 6, are all replete with potentially phallic symbolism. As in the case of the syringe and pencil in Drawings 47 and 48, the presence of these objects suggests that powerful tensions lie just beneath the surface of many of the children's drawings. While drawing provides a creative outlet for children to express these feelings, church provides them with a social and moral one.

Terry's depiction of the Anglican church in Chart 2.05 highlights the important role this institution has in Kashechewan. Note the eye protruding from the left corner of the church. As in his other drawings of eyes, this drawing resonates with visual (and verbal) associations related to "seeing". These include sublimated sexual power, visionary knowledge and judgement of behaviour and activities that are "right" and "wrong". In addition, Terry's inclusion of the Anglican church in his map of Kashechewan shows his intuitive understanding of how his village coalesced around this institution in the 1960s.

Since Kashechewan was established in the late 1950s, the Anglican church has provided a major focus and meeting place for local families. In a sense, the Anglican church has replaced traditional summer camps and trading posts as the primary vehicles of extra-familial social integration. After abandoning their traditional traplines and hunting territories in the 1950s and '60s, Cree families settling in Kashechewan built their homes and village around the Anglican church. Church services provided an opportunity for village families to meet regularly and continue to be an effective means of providing them with a sense of local identity and a means of social integration. The Anglican church is also the vehicle by

which most families in Kashechewan differentiate themselves from their Roman Catholic neighbours in Fort Albany and Attawapiskat. This denominational difference reinforces linguistic differences between the predominantly-Anglican communities of Kashechewan and Moose Factory (the residents of which speak an I-dialect) and the other predominantly-Roman Catholic communities on the west coast of James Bay (the residents of which speak an n-dialect of Cree).

Forging local identities around the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches has not been an entirely peaceful process for Cree communities on James Bay. Denominational differences have fostered considerable rivalry, hostility, and even violence, most especially between residents of Kashechewan and Fort Albany. In addition, the recent establishment of a Pentecostal church and a sweat lodge in Kashechewan has spawned destructive intravillage religious rivalries. These intravillage rivalries erupted in the summer of 1991, when members of the Anglican and Pentecostal congregations in Kashechewan vandalized each other's churches. In addition, a party of inebriated Christians from both local churches managed to overcome their denominational differences long enough to burn down the local sweat lodge that summer.

Christian churches have contributed to the sense of communal identity in modern Cree villages on James Bay. They have not, however, succeeded in promoting peaceful social differentiation at either the intra- or intervillage level. Such local institutions as band and tribal councils, hockey teams, sweat lodges, healing circles and even bingo games have been more successful than churches in promoting peaceful intervillage relations. Nevertheless, as the children's drawings demonstrate, the Anglican church remains the pre-eminent meeting place and symbol of social, moral and linguistic identity for most Cree families in Kashechewan.

Narrative Structure

The narrative structure of the children's drawings consists of their setting, characters, plot and theme. As in Chart 1.00, Kashechewan is the setting for the children's drawings reproduced in Chart 2.00. This is indicated in Terry and Sam's maps, which depict recognizable local landmarks, as well as in John and Janey's drawings of local buildings. Ninja turtles are the main characters depicted by Terry, Sam and John (only buildings are depicted in Janey's drawings). The activities depicted in the drawings include birthday party celebrations, gambling and drinking parties, playing hockey and hunting. These activities suggest a plot which reflects the local rhythms of life in Kashechewan. The competitive and conflictual nature of some of these activities, combined with the children's ambivalent feelings about parental involvement in them, indicates that one major narrative theme revolves around the battle between the forces of good (Ninja turtles, Adam from the biblical creation story, hockey players, goose hunters, dogs, the church and policemen) and evil (gamblers, drinkers, the serpent, Eve). This theme is imbued with distinctly Christian overtones, suggested by the frequent use of the cruciform gestalt (with its Christian associations with the cross and crucifix), as well as the juxtaposition of heroic Ninja turtles with the "evil" serpent (an important symbol in Christian mythology). Other themes include differences between the way boys and girls view the world, as well as the opposition between family and school.

Girls tend to draw female figures whereas boys tend to depict male ones, indicating that the figures children depict are probably self-representations. Whereas boys usually draw objects associated with traditional Cree "male" activities such as hunting (see, for example, Sam's picture in Chart 2.04), girls prefer depicting objects associated with traditional Cree "female" activities centred in and around the home (see Janey's drawings in Charts 1.00 and

2.00). Boys' also tend to depict activities that involve "breaking out" or "breaking away" from home (Chart 2.02). The things depicted in the boys' drawings are generally situated further from the viewer than those depicted in Janey's drawings. This suggests that the boys' relate to the world in a way which is more distant and remote than the way girls do.¹¹

Cree children's awareness of traditional gender roles is also revealed in their habits of work and play. At home, girls frequently assist their mothers by babysitting smaller siblings and performing domestic tasks around the house. Boys frequently help their fathers cut firewood and haul water; sometimes they also go fishing and hunting together.

Patterns of identity related to culturally-defined gender-roles are also revealed in the ways children play. As a rule, Cree girls and boys segregate themselves when they play. Girls from 5-10 years of age tend to play indoors or near home, often imitating tasks normally done by their mothers. Boys of this age seem to prefer wandering further afield, stalking birds, small animals and various imaginary prey at the edge of the village. Older boys often play hockey on one of the many local pee-wee or bantam hockey teams during the winter (in the summer there are no comparably-organized recreational activities). In the winter of 1994, for the first time, a small number of older girls played organized hockey in Kashechewan. However, for time being girls hockey is in its incipient stages and the extracurricular athletic activity of most girls is restricted to broomball.

Although boys and girls tend to segregate themselves in the schoolyard during recess, gender distinctions tend to become blurred when they are in school. Girls and boys play soccer, broomball and floor hockey together during their physical-education classes. They

¹¹Of the 18 drawings in Chart 2.00, only four were drawn by a girl (Janey). Indeed, of the 148 drawings in Concordances 1.00-4.00, only 30 (20%) were drawn by girls (Janey and Anna). While some sexual differences in "ways of seeing" are revealed in these drawings, the sample is not large enough to provide a basis for any definitive statements.

work together in their regular classes and read together in the library. School therefore seems to be "levelling" traditional Cree gender-roles. This levelling tendency is also found in the stories which children read in (English) language-arts class. These stories, which are for the most part designed for use in schools in Southern urban centres, reflect attitudes about gender distinctions which are current among Anglo-Canadian curriculum planners but which do not necessarily apply to northern reserve communities such as Kashechewan.

Traditional Cree stories tend to reinforce traditional Cree gender-roles. This tendency is clearly illustrated in the Chakaapish legends, identified as "cyclic heroic" stories by Ellis (1988: 10). Depicted as a Tom Thumb-like character who lived with his "Big Shishter" in a *miikiwam* in the bush, Chakaapish is "childlike and lovable, even if a mischievous and inquisitive little scamp." According to Ellis (1988: 12), these ever-popular tales, which continue to be told today,

...exhibit a recurrent motif, a humorous picture of venturesome little Man daring to explore unknown dangers and emerging triumphant - until the last adventure, that is, which nonetheless immortalises him. His constant mentor is his "Older Sister", mature Woman, voicing as always counsels of prudence and caution which have the precisely opposite effect of spurring him on to the very goals from which she attempts to dissuade him.

Even in this age of TV, Chakaapish stories continue to express an ethos which is alive and well in contemporary Cree society. This is not only revealed in the patterns of children's play, but also in the form of contemporary "tall tales". For example, a young man and his brother-in-law told the following story upon their return from a hunting trip together far up the Albany River:

We were going upriver, right beside the riverbank. I was in the bow and my brother-in-law Tom was driving. Suddenly, we saw a moose on the bank right in front of us. I stood up to fire just as Tom gunned the motor. The next thing I was in the water. I heard the moose bellow, then a shot and a crash. That's all. When I came up Tom was in the boat with the moose. The moose had jumped right in; Tom shot him while he was in the air.

As the young hunter told this tale, his wife and sister expressed concern about the dangers faced by their men, making them promise, like Chakaapish's "Big Shister", never take such foolish risks again.

Whereas there is much in the children's drawings which is suggestive of traditional gender-roles, the opposition between home and school is indicated as much by what is absent as by what is present in the drawings. Images of home, church and tents occur frequently in the children's (most especially girls') drawings. On the other hand, images of school are completely absent (there is not a single depiction of the local school in any of the drawings which children gave to me during my stay in Kashechewan). This is quite remarkable, considering that nearly all these children spent a significant part of each day in classes at the school. I interpret this omission to mean that school occupies a relatively insignificant place in the world Cree children depict in their drawings.¹²

The curious lack of pictures of school is all the more puzzling, since parents stated to me repeatedly that to "get ahead" their children would have to graduate from high school. While it is possible that children and parents' attitudes diverge on the issue of the importance of school, it is equally likely that what the children are trying to communicate in their pictures reflects the overwhelming importance of family (associated with home, church and the bush). In addition, the absence of pictures of school reflects the children's perceptions about the physical, sociocultural and linguistic separation of most schoolteachers from families in the community.

¹²This interpretation must be qualified with the observation that the content of the children's drawings has been undeniably influenced by their exposure to schooling. The influence of schooling is evident in the English words the children have written on various drawings throughout the concordances, as well as in Sam's inscription of an addition problem and Janey's representation of a calendar in column 34 of Chart 1.00.

Before the establishment of schools and the rigid enforcement of truancy regulations among the Mashkeko Cree, most teaching and learning took place informally within the family. Local elders such as Silas Wesley repeatedly told me how boys traditionally learned the skills of hunting and trapping from their father or father's brother, while girls learned domestic skills from their mother or aunt. The essential values of Cree culture were adapted to "living off the land" and were reinforced through stories (often told by grandparents), rituals such as the "shaking tent", and traditional rites of passage. As the primary vehicle of socialization and knowledge, the family was symbolically linked to the land. As Hallowell (1960: 26-30) Preston (1975:233) and Tanner (1979: 95) have remarked, Algonquian peoples traditionally described animate beings (including the sun, moon and winds) as "other-than-human persons" and often referred to them using kinship terms such as "grandfather" or "brother". Such terms, revealing as they do the intimate relationship of these people to their environment, are now remembered by only a few elders in Kashechewan.

In the past the family was the primary vehicle of education in Cree society. Children's elders informally taught them their Cree language, cultural values and bush skills. In their teachings, elders tried to foster independence by encouraging children to figure things out for themselves. Learning by doing was favoured over lecturing or direct intervention and children were rarely chastised for making mistakes. At the same time, elders encouraged children to work cooperatively with other members of their family.

Today schoolteachers provide new forms of knowledge and styles of learning which, while benefitting their students, sometimes conflict with what is being taught by elders. Schoolteachers emphasize the importance of "white man's knowledge" (reading and writing the English language as well as competence in basic numeracy skills) over traditional "bush knowledge". They encourage children to work on their own rather than together and

frequently intervene, judge and discipline students who fail to perform tasks at predetermined levels of competence. Unlike elders, teachers generally prefer to tell students what to do rather than showing them how to perform certain tasks.

Clearly, fundamental differences now exist in styles of informal and formal education in Kashechewan which did not exist in the past. These differences often appear to be a source of confusion for parents, teachers and children in the community and may be indicated by the omission of depictions of school in the children's drawings. The absence of depictions of the local school appears to show that children in Kashechewan perceive a fundamental dichotomy between the school and their community. In addition to indicating perceived differences between formal and informal learning, this dichotomy reflects the way in which the school physically separates children from their families, as well as the segregation of teachers from members of the community. However, as Terry's drawings about "party time" show, the modern Cree family is no more of a panacea to the social problems affecting Kashechewan than is schooling.

The problems underlying addictive and abusive behaviour in Kashechewan appear to be related to the considerable cultural changes that reserve life has wrought on Mashkeko society. These changes are symbolized in Janey's drawings of a house, church and traditional Cree tent. Whenever Janey frequents these buildings she is usually with other members of her family. This suggests that Janey recognizes that her family (and others like it) is at home both in the village (symbolized by a house and church) and the bush (symbolized by a tent).

In addition to traditional Cree and Biblical teachings, children in Kashechewan are influenced by popular sports shows and dramas broadcast on television, as well as current movies available on video or pay TV. The influence of such "TV stories" is most obvious

in the frequent depictions of Ninja turtles in Terry, Sam and John's drawings. For these boys Ninja turtles represent archetypal heroes, combining aspects of Jesus, Chakaapish and the adventurous hunter. Reinforcing this imagery is wordplay associating the Ninja turtle character Michelangelo with *mishi-anchel* 'the great angel'.

More subtle, but just as pervasive as the influence of churches and TV on the children's drawings, is the legacy of traditional Cree rituals. As I suggested in my discussion of narrative structure in the previous chapter, Ninja turtles appear to function as modern incarnations of the character Mikinak from traditional Cree shaking tent performances. The way Cree children unconsciously associate words with images from movies, TV and the bible is analogous to the appearance of "dream visitors" in such traditional performances. Indeed, as Bloomfield (1930: 239-246), Ellis (1988: 6, note 4) and Wolfart (1990: 370-374) have all demonstrated, in the past Cree people often incorporated borrowed words, and even entire stories, into their own traditions. This syncretistic tendency has also been documented by Granzberg (1977, 1980, 1982, 1983).¹³

According to Granzberg (1983: 37), when television was first introduced into Manitoba Cree communities, it was conceived as "a new source of storytelling, oratory, ritual, dance, and conjuring". He noted (1982: 49) that "Fieldworkers were often told that television was like dreaming or like the conjuring tent." Furthermore, "The native word for

¹³Granzberg's research is on the impact of television on northern Manitoba Cree communities. Research into the impact of television on James Bay Cree communities is limited to Molohon's (1984) study of Attawapiskat and Fort Albany. Her findings that sports programs, soap operas and "action" movies are the most popular forms of TV entertainment confirm Granzberg's findings, as well as my own observations in Kashechewan. According to Molohon (1984: 102), these kinds of TV programs "provide engrossing entertainment without the need to understand English [and] they also provide a focus around which highly gregarious family interaction may take place." Unfortunately, Molohon does not explore how "traditional" oral storytelling and "modern" television stories articulate with each other.

conjuring tent was the word that was felt to best apply to television." Granzberg suggested that conjuring was associated with TV because conjuring was the "primary traditional method for attempting live, long-distance communication" in Cree society.

Unlike Crees in Manitoba, people in Kashechewan have readily adopted the word *telepiisim* 'television' into their lexicon. However, elders such as Terry's grandfather recall calling early radios *kosaapachikanak* 'shaking tents', thus confirming Granzberg's observations about the relationship of electronic media to traditional rituals of long-distance communication.

Of particular interest to my research into children's drawings in Kashechewan are Granzberg's observations about Manitoba Cree children's responses to TV. "The boys favorite programs," he wrote (1977: 156),

...were programs such as "Tarzan," "Cannon," and "Hawaii 5-0". The superheroes are given personal meanings by the boys which are analogous to the personal meanings of the spirits in the shaking tent. The shaking tent spirits are "friends" and "magical helpers" of the shaman whose friendship was obtained through dreams. In return the shaman obtained a new name and new behavior and personality traits reflective of his "superhelper." In like manner, modern Cree boys become very attached to certain superheroes on TV; the name of their superhero becomes their new nickname and the behavior of their superhero is closely imitated.

Like the Cree boys Granzberg observed in northern Manitoba during the 1970s, many of the boys I observed playing in Kashechewan in 1992 imitated their favorite TV heroes. Girls, on the other hand, seemed less prone to this type of behaviour, modelling their fantasies on parents or other local role-models. This tendency is revealed not only in the

children's drawings, but also in their play. While I frequently observed girls pretending to be nurses or schoolteachers, boys seemed to prefer imitating television heroes.¹⁴

The extent to which boys in Kashechewan used Ninja turtles as role models was revealed to me one afternoon, when I was walking on a grassy knoll running along the north edge of the village. Just beyond the knoll I observed Terry, Sam and three other boys playing on a muddy patch of ground. Using a stick, one of the boys etched what appeared to be the outline of a turtle's shell on the ground. When the effigy was completed all the boys danced around it chanting "Ninja turtles, Ninja turtles" over and over again to the rhythm of the theme song of the second Ninja turtle movie. As they were doing this, each boy took a turn lying in the middle of the "shell" inscribed on the earth.

On another occasion I witnessed a group of older boys whom I did not know pretending to be Ninja turtles. They had painted their faces with lipstick and mud and tied strips of cloth around their arms, legs and heads in the manner of the Ninja turtle depicted by Terry in Chart 2A of the Appendix. As I walked past, they shouted "Kowabunga!" (the Ninja turtle war cry) and pelted me with rocks and sticks. I believe that the boys were projecting their own pent-up anger onto me (an adult non-native). In so doing, they identified themselves with "good" Ninja turtles and identified me as an "evil" outsider.

¹⁴The boys' tendency to imitate television heroes rather than their fathers may reflect a perceived absence of male role-models in their community. This behaviour may be related to the recent decline in the importance of hunting and other traditional male subsistence activities. However, it is also possible that the boys' role-modelling behaviour reflects the near-universal tendency for children to develop positive relationships with figures outside the family (Tyson and Tyson 1990: 288-289). Such distancing behaviour may be more emphasized in traditional Cree society than in our own, since most Cree fathers engaged in subsistence activities in the bush were separated from their families for longer periods of time than most fathers in cities working at jobs within commuting-distance of home.

Granzberg (1983: 39) observes that within just a few months of its introduction to northern Manitoba Cree communities, TV had become the "number one storyteller", undermining traditional legends as well as conjuring performances (the latter had been in decline since the turn of the century, owing to missionary efforts and the potlatch laws). A similar pattern is observable in Kashechewan. Nevertheless, the current rapid decline of traditional storytelling should not be taken as evidence of its inevitable disappearance. As Molohon (1984: 102) has noted, "It is likely that the James Bay Cree will continue to survive as a distinctive culture and to accept various aspects of non-Cree culture, including television, on their own terms."

Concerning the assimilation of stories from the dominant society into Mashkeko Cree culture, it is noteworthy that both the Adam and Eve and Ninja turtle stories are stylistically and structurally similar to a genre of traditional Cree stories known as *paastamowinan* 'parables'.¹⁵ According to Ellis (1988: 21), the body of these stories together comprises a theme cycle designed to teach traditional Cree morals. Marked by stock formulas and a relatively simple level of plot, theme and characterization, "the *paastamowin* is, in effect, a form of children's literature." Ellis (1988: 20-21) cites the following example of the genre:

[Once there were] two brothers, the younger of whom was frozen to death one winter. The older brother became angry with the snow, which he challenged to freeze him. "Just wait," said the snow. "I'll come and visit you again next Winter." This was somewhat frightening, but the older brother made appropriate preparations - then waited. One cold night during the winter he heard crunching footsteps, and a person came in "who looked like snow." His fire kept wanting to die; but he piled on more logs, pouring grease over them to aid combustion. At last the snow began to melt, and

¹⁵Ellis (1988: 2) glosses *paastamowin* 'tale of blasphemy and requital'. Faries (1986: 24) glosses the term 'blasphemy' while Baraga (1973: 70) notes that in Ojibwe the initial *baata-* (Cree *paasta-*) implies the idea of "sin, wrong, damage", as in *ni baatama* 'I accuse him [i.e. speak of him in a damaging way]'.

conceded victory. 'And then indeed, having got the better of that snow, he was never bothered by it again.'

The themes of the Adam and Eve story, the Ninja turtle movies, and the story of the two brothers are all structured around an opposition between two characters representing good and evil. Shredder and Razhar, the snake (and to a lesser extent, Eve) and Winter embody evil in these stories, whereas Ninja turtles, Adam and the two brothers embody good. In each story the forces of evil are potentially life-threatening, but in the end they are overcome by the forces of good. The Adam and Eve story, unlike the Ninja turtle movies and *paastamowinan*, stigmatizes women and inculcates the reader/listener with a sense of guilt and shame. This internalization of evil and expression in the form of shame is, I suspect, what distinguishes most Biblical stories from traditional Cree children's stories. In this respect it is significant that depictions of Shredder and Razhar (not to mention the bad spirits in traditional Cree stories) do not appear in Chart 2.00. Instead, there is a single drawing of a serpent, suggesting biblical associations with evil. Terry's choice of the serpent to represent the forces of darkness thus carries with it an implied sense of guilt and shame.

The verbal association of Michelangelo's name with a "good angel" and the visual association of this figure with the Christian symbol of the cross indicates that, for Terry and many other children in Kashechewan, Ninja turtles represent heroic and semi-divine characters. Like imprinting the design of the Ninja turtle's shell on the ground, incorporating the general form of the marching turtle in column 7 with the layout of Kashechewan (represented in Terry and Sam's maps in column 10) suggests that the children concretely associate the forces of good (symbolized in Michelangelo, the "good angel") with their community. However, the forces of evil (symbolized by the serpent and "party house" depicted by Terry and Sam) are perceived by the children to be a constant threat to their community.

The children's drawings reproduced in Chart 2.00 reveal much about contemporary, as well as traditional Cree culture. Janey's drawing of a traditional Cree tent shows that she (like other children in Kashechewan), continues to feel a symbolic tie to the land. This tie is renewed each spring, when families travel to their old traplines to camp and hunt Canada geese. But, through television, school, wage employment, welfare, subsidized housing, the evangelizing efforts of Christian churches, and a host of other "modernizing" influences, the Cree people of Kashechewan are also tied to the culture of the dominant society.

It would be untrue to say that people in Kashechewan have effortlessly managed to harmonize their own Cree values with those of the dominant Canadian society. There has been much human suffering and wasted potential resulting from the inability of many Cree people to resolve traditional and modern values. Various forms of neglectful, addictive and abusive behaviour aptly summed up by the phrase "Is party time" are the most obvious signs of breakdown and failure. At the same time, the creative efforts of Terry and the other children to find meaning in these potentially-conflicting value systems is a hopeful sigh that future generations of Mashkekos may reconcile their own traditional values with those of the dominant Euro-Canadian society.

Children in Kashechewan seem to see the clash of cultures in their community as an archetypal battle between the forces of good and evil. In their pictures Terry and Sam portray this cultural conflict as a fight between semi-divine Ninja turtles and the "evil" serpent of the Garden of Eden. They associate birthdays, dogs, hockey, hunting and the Anglican church with "goodness", while gambling and drinking are associated with "evil". They seem to feel no compunction about making such syncretistic associations, since the diverse characters and the value systems depicted in their drawings are part of their daily lives. For them it is perfectly natural to imagine hockey heroes and Ninja turtles, as well

as characters from traditional Cree stories and the Old Testament, all fighting together to protect "the good life".

CHAPTER 6 - BATTLING "MONSTERS" AND STRUGGLING TO DEFINE "SELF"

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the 36 pictures drawn on 20 October 1992 by Terry, Sam and John which are reproduced in Chart 3.00. Twenty-eight of these drawings (77%) are associated with 55 different Cree and English words. Thirty-six words (66%) are in Cree and 19 (34%) are in English. John and Sam each wrote one Cree word (*sisiip* 'duck'); all other Cree words were associated with the drawings through unarticulated wordplay. On the other hand, ten English words (53% of the total number of English words associated with the drawings) were written. For further details on wordplay see Charts 5.03, 5.06 and 5.07 in the Appendix.

As in previous concordances, Ninja turtles are associated with fingers, arms and birthday cakes while snowmen are associated with leaving. Unlike previous concordances, Christian crosses and representations of the local Anglican church are absent from these drawings. Instead, there are many drawings of hunting and camping scenes, one of which may be associated with a traditional Cree story associated with life in the bush. Once again, the influence of television is obvious in the children's drawings (there is one drawing of a TV set as well as images of a hurdler and the ubiquitous Ninja turtles, which the children almost certainly first encountered on TV). Depictions of ghosts, flying dinosaurs and Santa Claus also reflect the pervasive influence of Anglo-Canadian culture on the children's phantasy world. As in Chart 1.00, the children seem to be anticipating Halloween in their drawings of jack-o'lanterns and pumpkins. Birds (geese, ducks, an eagle and pelicans) and

planes are prominent, suggesting the continuing importance of the theme of flight, associated as it is with sublimation and imaginary travel.

Visual Structure

The same basic repertoire of gestalts and visual morphemes found in drawings included in previous concordances are to be found in the drawings in Chart 3.00. Terry and Sam's depictions of characters from the Ninja turtle movies in Chart 3.00 are highly conventionalized and readily identifiable visual morphemes. The boys' representations of geese, ducks, airplanes, snowmen, television sets and houses in Chart 3.00 are other examples of visual morphemes.

Circles and mandalas, triangles, squares, cruciforms, and lozenge shapes are the most commonly-occurring gestalts in the children's drawings in Chart 3.00. The mandala occurs in the representation of the sun in columns 1, 2 and 21. Simplified into the circle, it is also found in depictions of snowmen (column 6), the pelican's sack (columns 19 and 27), the moon (columns 20 and 24), a chimney hole (column 22), jack-o'lanterns (columns 24 and 25) and the face of a wrist watch (column 26). Triangular gestalts underlie the general composition of all the boys' drawings in column 2, as well as forms of visual morphemes such as trees, arrows and tents (column 2), flying geese (columns 1, 14 and 27), an eagle (column 3) and window panes (columns 4, 21 and 28). Triangular gestalts are realized in the form of the tent in John's drawing, the crossing lines of gunfire depicted by Sam, and the triangular trees and oblique line of arrows in Terry's picture. Terry continues using the triangle in his depictions of a house roof in column 4 and a hat in column 5.

The lozenge gestalt evolves from a leaf (columns 7-8) into a finger (column 10), then into the body of a moose (column 13) and finally into a flock of geese and the fuselage of an airplane (column 14). The rectangular gestalt predominates in Terry and Sam's drawings

in columns 17 and 18 and is a prominent feature of Terry's drawing in columns 16 and Sam's drawings in 20-23 and 28. The appearance of this gestalt alongside circular forms in many of the drawings in columns 16-27 establishes a "contrapuntal rhythm".

Sam's drawings of a moose and airplane in columns 13 and 14 of Chart 3.00 provide an excellent illustration of the operation of various structural processes. Enlarged reproductions of these syntagmatically-related drawings appear in Chart 3.08. Note the overall similarity in the composition and formal details of moose and airplane in these drawings. Particularly noteworthy is the isomorphic relationship between the head of the moose and the airplane's cockpit and between the moose's body and the airplane's fuselage. Sam has elaborated the moose's tail into the tail of the airplane and conflated the moose's forelegs and hindlegs into the airplane's fore and aft landing gear. He has substituted wavy lines (perhaps representing a cloud) in the airplane drawing for the antlers in the moose drawing, which he then rotated 45 degrees counterclockwise. In addition, Sam has inverted and conflated the moose's ear with its eye to produce the cockpit window and elaborated the mouth of the moose into a stripe running along the side of the airplane's fuselage. He rotated the moose's penis clockwise, transforming it into an airplane engine and simplified the line of birds in the moose drawing into a single line linking the airplane's fore and aft radio antennas. The runway beacon beneath the airplane is isomorphically related to the moose-droppings behind the moose, the position of these objects having been reversed on the page. Significantly, the runway beacon signals the path of the airplane for a pilot in much the same way that moose droppings signal the path of the moose for a hunter. The beacon and moose-droppings thus share qualities of visual as well as semantic isomorphism.

Sam's airplane drawing is paradigmatically related to Terry's drawing of goose hunters in column 14 of Chart 3.00. Not only do both drawings depict things that fly

(another example of semantic isomorphism), but the form of the flock of geese in Terry's drawing is isomorphically related to that of the airplane. Indeed, the lozenge gestalt underlies the visual morphemes of the flock of geese, the airplane and the moose. As I have already indicated, this gestalt is syntagmatically related to the form of the Ninja turtle's finger (column 10) and leaves (columns 7 and 8), reproduced in Chart 3.00.

Many other examples of the operation of structural processes on visual morphemes and gestalts can be found in Terry, Sam and John's drawings in Chart 3.00. As in previous concordances, the processes of isomorphism and iconicity seem to predominate in these drawings. Isomorphism involves a kind of kinaesthetic or sensorimotor "rhythm" and "momentum" which the children develop when gestalts from one drawing are repeated in subsequent drawings. Iconicity is a more overtly visual process than isomorphism; it is related to the recognition of recurring visual morphemes.

Isomorphism and iconicity operate on both syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes, contributing to the perseverance of underlying visual forms in the children's drawings. Such perseverance of forms can be seen in the continuity of the lozenge gestalt in Sam's drawings in columns 10-15 and the Ninja turtle visual morphemes in the drawings in columns 9-12. As a rule, in the children's drawings isomorphism seems to be more pervasive than iconicity. The lozenge gestalt, for example, continues across 12 syntagmatically and paradigmatically related drawings in columns 7-15 of Chart 3.00. On the other hand, Ninja turtles (the most prevalent visual morpheme in the concordance), appear in only five drawings (columns 9-12).

Since the gestalts in children's drawings represent "pure" forms which rarely coincide with natural or man-made objects, they seldom generate names which can be used in wordplay. Visual morphemes, on the other hand, depict nameable objects and stimulate a great deal of unarticulated wordplay which can in turn influence the form and content of the

children's drawings. Visual morphemes also seem to be associated with overt narrative elements (the representation of setting, characters and plot) in a way that gestalts are not. Sam's realistic depictions of birds in columns 1-3 thus express his interest in telling a story about hunting (his father was hunting on the coast at the time), whereas his drawings in columns 9-11 are allegorically related the Ninja turtle story.

Simplification, elaboration, condensation, substitution and rotation tend to involve visual morphemes rather than gestalts. These structural processes amplify the differences rather the similarities of visual morphemes across a sequence of drawings; they do not appear to directly influence the underlying structure of gestalts. The underlying form of the lozenge gestalt is thus evident throughout Sam's drawings in columns 13-15, despite the fact that the visual morphemes in the first two drawings have been transformed through simplification, elaboration, condensation, substitution and rotation.

Structural changes in the drawings tend to occur slowly, with small differences in form being amplified (through iteration) across a series of drawings. Sometimes, however, changes in visual form occur quickly and radically. This happens in columns 16-18 of Chart 3.00, when Terry and Sam replace the lozenge gestalt so prevalent in their earlier drawings with a rectangular gestalt. Sudden changes of form such as this usually mark the end of one train of visual and verbal associations and the beginning of another. Such changes of form thus seem to function as a type of punctuation mark in the children's drawings.

Verbal Structure

Wordplay occurs in 21 of the 35 drawings in Chart 3.00, of which 12 are reproduced in Charts 3.01-06 and 3.09. I shall begin with Sam's drawing at the top of Chart 3.01. Two Canada geese flying above water are depicted in this drawing. High in the sky, above and to the right of the geese, Sam has drawn the sun. The Cree word for Canada geese is *niskak*

while the words for sun and sky are *piisim* and *kiishik*. Adding the Cree plural marker *-(i)k* to the English word "geese" /giis/ yields a form which is phonemically similar to the Cree word for sky. Sam reiterates this verbal association in his drawing in column 2. Thus, in addition to depicting a familiar scene from goose hunting, Sam may have been unconsciously engaging in wordplay.¹

In the drawing at the top of Chart 3.03 Terry has depicted three coniferous trees, three arrows, a rabbit and ten people in sleeping bags clustered around two campfires. *Iiliiwatik* 'white spruce' (literally "man-tree") and *minatik* 'black spruce' (literally "good tree") are the predominant conifers found around Kashechewan. The Cree words for three arrows are *nisto atoosa* while the word for rabbit is *waapoos*. Ten sleeping bags are *mitaato waapoosayaan* (literally "ten rabbit skins" - hearkening back to the days when sleeping blankets were made in this way). Finally, the Cree word for fire is *ishkote*.

The wordplay between *waapoos* 'rabbit' and *waapoosayaan* 'sleeping bag' is relatively straightforward, based as it is on both sound and the semantic relationship between rabbit skins and sleeping bags. The phonemic similarity between *waapoos* 'rabbit' and *atoos* 'arrow' is also noteworthy, although residents of Kashechewan prefer the word *akask* as a term for "arrow". The depiction of the spruce tree shooting arrows is somewhat more elusive and may stem from a semantic association between the "man tree" (i.e. *iiliiwatik* 'white spruce') and a man shooting arrows. Through code switching, Terry may associate

¹The association of geese with periods of migration is strongly etched in Cree people's minds (April, for example, is known as *niskapiisim* 'Canada-goose month' while September is known as *wewehopiisim* 'wavey goose month'). "Your thoughts wander when you are lying in a goose blind, gazing at clouds and waiting for the geese," David Moses told me concerning his early memories of spring goose hunting. Sam and John seem to be expressing their own poetic associations between geese and the sky in the unconscious wordplay associated with their drawings in columns 1-2 of Chart 3.00.

the firing of arrows at the rabbit with the proximity of the rabbit to fire. Finally, eliding the words *ishkote* 'fire' and *waapoos* 'rabbit' conjures up the verbal image of *ishkotewapo* 'fire water/whisky'. While the association of fire and rabbits with whisky may be entirely spurious, I submit that Terry was associating these things with the consumption of alcohol in the bush and with the legendary Cree figure named Wisakechak (literally "bitter spirit") who reputedly changed himself into a rabbit in order to steal fire from an old man living in the forest (I shall develop this line of reasoning further in the next section, entitled "Conflict and the Search for Wholeness").

As well as referring to seasonal events such as the goose hunt, and possibly to traditional Cree stories or *aatalohkanan*, Terry's drawings seem to comment on more mundane events. For example, John's departure from his grandfather's house is recorded by Terry in his drawings in columns 4-8 of Chart 3.00 (these drawings are also reproduced in Charts 3.03-3.05). In the drawing at the bottom of Chart 3.03 Terry depicts a boy standing outside a house, reaching for the door. The phrase "This is my house" is written in English above the boy's head. In his next drawing, reproduced at the top of Chart 3.04, Terry depicts a boy wearing a hat. On the hat he has written "John" - the boy's name. Beside this Terry has drawn a snowman wearing a hat (the Cree word for snowman is *ilili-koon*). Through code switching, Terry appears to have unconsciously associated the snowman with his cousin John's departure. He did this by linking *ilili* 'man' with John and *koon* 'snow' with the English verb "gone". In effect, Terry uses the drawings in Charts 3.03-04 as pictographs to communicate the message "John has gone back to his house".

The theme of departure is reiterated in Terry's next drawing, in the middle of Chart 3.04. A stick figure wearing a hat stands beside a snowman which is also wearing a hat. To the left of the stick figure is a capital "G", which Terry seems to have connected to the

first letter of my own name, "George". Terry was thus saying that like John, I would also be going home soon. To indicate that my home was much further away than John's, Terry drew the stick figure and the snowman as if they were both on TV.

Terry's association of the TV with my home requires some explanation. Several days prior to the time Terry made the drawings in Chart 3.00 I told him that I would soon be returning to my home in Toronto. At that time Terry asked me to describe my home to him. I told Terry that I lived in house like his and that there were often pictures of Toronto on TV. In Terry's mind my home was thus linked with TV. In making a statement about my impending departure Terry therefore associated the stick figure and snowman with TV.

At first glance, Terry's pictures of leaves and a flower in Chart 3.05 seem to launch into a direction completely different from the symbolic world of home, TV sets and snowmen. However, a moment's reflection reveals that these drawings also revolve on the armature of departure. An interesting spin on this theme develops in Terry's botanical drawings in Charts 3.05-06: written boldly on each is the word "leaves". This label refers not only to the leaves depicted in the drawings, but also to the act of departure (i.e. "leaving"). In the context of his previous drawings, Terry's message is clear, consistent and simple: "John has gone home and George leaves soon."

Terry carries the theme of "leaving" into his picture of a Ninja turtle standing next to a flower at the top of Chart 3.06. In this drawing the form of the flower's leaves is isomorphically related to the outstretched arm and pointing hand of the Ninja turtle. The Ninja turtle not only points the home, but also functions as an armature for the alliterative association of *Nihcha* 'Ninja', *n'ihtaan* (an abbreviation of *nitihitaan*) 'I am (at a place)' and *nichia* (an abbreviation of *nichichia*) 'my fingers'. The image of the flower, on the other hand, provides an armature from which spin the words *waapihkon* 'flower', *waapa-koon*

‘white snow’, *owaapamikoon* ‘He (proximative) sees him (obviative)’, “John is gone”, *ihotoe* ‘he goes away’ and *liipia* ‘leaves’. Through a process of wordplay and folk etymology, the image of the Ninja turtle beside the flower may thus generate the unconscious messages “*N’ihitaan* ‘I am here’” and “*owaapamikoon ihtoteo* ‘He (Ninja turtle) sees him (John or George) leave’.”

As well as associating the Ninja turtle with the flower, Terry juxtaposes it with the form of Razhar (column 12), the “bad turtle” in Ninja turtle movies. In this picture Terry appears to be associating *machi-mikinak* ‘(the) bad turtle’ with his left arm (*namachi-nik*). This is indicated by the outstretched left arms of the “bad” turtle in column 12, juxtaposed against the outstretched right arm (*kihchi-nik*) of the “good” or “great” Ninja turtle (*kihchi-mikinak*) in column 10. Such associations reflect the alliterative play of *mikinak* ‘turtle’ and *minik* ‘an arm’, as well as of *machi* ‘bad’ and *namachi* ‘left’ as opposed to *kihchi* ‘great/good’ and ‘right’.

Between the images of the “good” and “bad” Ninja turtles, Terry has drawn a picture of a birthday cake and a cupcake. The general form of the cupcake resembles that of John’s party hat in column 5 and the house in column 4, while the birthday candles reiterate the lozenge shape of the leaves in columns 7 and 8 and the fingers associated with Ninja turtles in column 10. This resemblance is not accidental, but reveals associations Terry makes between parties in his house, children leaving and Ninja turtles. Terry’s placement of the birthday cake drawing between drawings of good and bad characters from the Ninja turtle movies seems to reflect his ambivalence about this complex range of associations.

In my commentary on verbal associations in Chapters 5 and 6 I have already discussed how Terry and Sam use birthday cakes to symbolically express their ambivalence about “party time” and these comments apply equally well to Terry and Sam’s pictures in

columns 9-12 of Chart 3.00. Several features of these pictures deserve special mention, since a general pattern of associations is clearly beginning to emerge. First, the boys appear to juxtapose "good" and "bad" characters from the Ninja turtle movies by drawing them on opposite sides of the page, usually in profile. Sam does not appear to adhere to a systematic schema in positioning his characters on the page. Terry, however, aligns the Ninja turtles depicted in his drawings with the position he and the other children occupy in the room in which they were drawing. At the same time, he aligns the adults in the room with the images of Shredder and Razhar in his drawings. In this way Terry's drawings map the actual position of children and adults around him.²

A second feature in Terry's drawings develops from his schematic positioning of "good" and "bad" characters on the page. By establishing a convention for positioning the Ninja turtles, Terry sets up a fertile field for verbal associations. These associations, as I have already mentioned, are based on a pun on *kihchi-mikinak* '(the) good turtle' and *kihchi-nik* '(its) right hand' as well as *machi-mikinak* '(the) bad turtle' and *namachi-nik* '(its) left hand'. This pun develops naturally from Terry's tendency to depict "good" turtles in right profile with their right hand and arm extended, and to depict "bad" turtles in left profile with their left hand and arm extended.

²The map-like quality of Terry's drawings reflects what Murdoch (1988: 235) calls "a topographical cognitive or perceptual style [which] is one of the core principles by which Crees understand the world and make it understood." Murdoch (1988: 235, 247) says this style of thinking is characteristic of hunters and gatherers, who typically make less-rigid distinctions between social and natural worlds than do people in Western industrial societies. A clear example of topographical thinking can be found in the East Cree conception of the "four winds" as brothers. As Tanner (1979: 95 and Figure 9) has shown, the relationship of these "brothers" is modelled on the actual position of "real" brothers in a traditional winter lodge. Significantly, Murdoch (1988: 233) observes that Cree people tend to use "shared images of relevant experience" rather than decontextualized logic when making abstractions.

A third feature of Terry's drawings is their discursive quality (the children literally appear to be talking to each other through their pictures). This language-like quality appears to be related to unarticulated verbal associations as well as the depiction of figures moving from left to right across the page. The illusion of movement Terry creates in his sequence of drawings thus leads the viewer's eye naturally to scan each page from left to right, as if reading lines of text. The composition of Terry's drawings thus parallels the syntagmatic quality of speech and writing, suggesting underlying similarities between the structure of his drawings and language.

Occasionally, Terry departs from the standard schema he has set up in his drawings. This happens when he depicts Ninja turtles in right profile, moving from right to left across the page (egs. columns 7, 22 and 25 of Chart 1.00). Whenever this happens, Terry seems to be indicating that the Ninja turtle is fleeing from, rather than confronting, a source of danger which seems to be located beyond the right edge of the page (i.e. in the direction of the poker table).

Terry also departs from his standard schema when he depicts Ninja turtles frontally. When he and the other children employ frontal depictions of Ninja turtles, as well as other figures (e.g. children, hunters, snowmen, jack-o'lanterns, flying birds), they appear to be challenging and confronting the viewer to reconsider what is happening on the page. In so doing, the children punctuate the established train of visual, verbal and narrative associations set up in their drawings. For example, in Chart 3.00 Terry and Sam punctuate the train of associations revolving around hunting and camping (columns 1-3) by introducing frontally-depicted figures (columns 4-6). These frontally-depicted figures establish a new train of associations based on leaves and leaving (columns 4-8) which is itself punctuated by Sam's frontal depictions of Ninja turtle characters (columns 9-11).

Frontal depictions of Ninja turtles and other figures function to arrest the viewer's attention, punctuate one train of associations and establish a new one. These effects are also accomplished when the children depict characters confronting each other, rather than the viewer. For example, Terry depicts a confrontation between "good" and "bad" Ninja turtles around a birthday cake in columns 10-12. This scene is reminiscent of Terry's picture of a birthday cake associated with "party time" in Chart 2.00 (column 2), as well as Sam's picture of a Ninja turtle carrying a birthday cake in Chart 3.00 (column 11).

An enlargement of Sam's picture of the Ninja turtle carrying a birthday cake is reproduced in Chart 3.07. This picture is nearly identical to Sam and Terry's pictures in Chart 2.02, which were drawn only one day later. Sam's sophisticated use of perspective in his drawings in Charts 2.02 and 3.07 departs considerably from the flat almost-crude quality of his other depictions of Ninja turtles (e.g. Chart 3.06). It is noteworthy that most children do not master the complex form of perspective found in Sam's drawings in Charts 2.02 and 3.07 until they are at least 14 years old (Lowenfeld and Brittain 1987: 400-401). Sam's display of technical precociousness in these two nearly-identical drawings, but no others, seems to point to a common source of inspiration. A clue into the nature of this inspiration is revealed in Terry's drawing at the top of Chart 2.02. Note how he has written the French word "fete" [sic] to the right of the image of a Ninja turtle carrying the birthday cake. Terry does not speak French and could not tell me, when I asked him, what the word "fête" means. It thus seems reasonable to surmise that Terry and Sam's pictures of a Ninja turtle carrying a birthday cake were based on a bilingual (French/English) birthday card depicting the same image. Indeed, Sam's sister Janey received just such a card a few days earlier.

Visual and verbal structure seem to interpenetrate in Terry and Sam's drawings of Ninja turtles carrying birthday cakes. Sam's "mastery" of perspective and Terry's use of

French in Chart 2.02 and 3.07 demonstrate the highly visual way in which both boys perceive the world. The boys are not directly copying their sister's birthday card, but rather inscribing their memory images of the card. These images are extraordinarily vivid, accurately encoding many details of the form and structure of objects and even text. As such, the boys' are able to abstract and "read" the world as if it were a picture. The boys' strongly eidetic view of the world reveals what Preston (1982: 305) and Murdoch (1988: 234) have termed a "Cree style of abstraction". This style of thinking seems to emerge during the concrete operational period (age 7-12 years) and may, as Murdoch (1988: 247) suggests, be associated with adaptations to a hunting and gathering lifestyle.

The wordplay associated with pictures reproduced in columns 16-28 of Chart 3.00 revolves around the theme of "leaving". In this sequence of drawings Terry and Sam depart from the pattern of visual and verbal associations underlying their previous drawings. The lozenge-shaped gestalt onto which were grafted the forms of leaves, fingers, a moose and airplanes in columns 7-15 has been replaced with a new gestalt - the rectangle. At the same time, Terry and Sam shift from wordplay inspired by Ninja turtles, hands and fingers to associations based on "leaving". This change in the predominant underlying visual form in Terry and Sam's drawings punctuates the established train of visual and verbal associations.

Terry's picture of the hurdler in column 16 is syntagmatically linked to his picture of a TV in column 18, and also to the theme of flight in his picture of geese in column 14. Terry probably saw hurdlers on sports competitions broadcast on television. He appears to logically associate jumping over hurdles with flying. TV and flight also link Terry to the world outside Kashechewan, a world to which he knew I would soon be returning. Through this train of associations Terry returns to the snowman - *ilili-koon* - and to the theme of "going home".

Sam's pictures of a cup and pelican in columns 17 and 19 are paradigmatically linked through wordplay to Terry's picture of a television set in column 18, as well as to the theme of "leaving". Sam plays with the sound of the last two syllables of *ilili-koon*, rhyming as they do with the last two syllables of "pelican"³ In addition, Sam's picture of a mug of hot tea (one Cree word for tea is *liipiishapo* - literally 'leaf liquid') provides a clear association with *liipia* 'leaves' and, through this, with the act of "leaving".

Terry's picture in column 23 depicts the moon, a fire-breathing winged monster, the devil and a ghost. The moon is linked to Terry's previous picture of a TV set through the soundplay of *telepiisim* 'television' and *tipiski-piisim* 'moon'. Terry undoubtedly associates the ghost and devil with Halloween as well as with fear of the dark, which he probably associates with the image of the moon (in one traditional Cree story Chakaapish is sent to the moon for disobeying his sister and looking at the moon's reflection in the water late at night). The wordplay of *telepiisim* and *tipiski-piisim* seems to prompt a shift in gestalts; the rectangular form previously associated with TV is thus replaced by a circular form associated with the moon and sun.

Sam combines the circular and rectangular gestalts, as well as linking the theme of fire with the sun in his drawing of a woodpile in column 20. In his next drawing in column 21 Sam shifts from the woodpile and fire outside the house and to the fire in the woodstove inside the house (the fire inside the house is indirectly represented by smoke issuing from the

³There is no Swampy Cree word for pelican, since the northern range of these birds does not extend as far as James Bay (Peterson 1980: Map 61). The Plains Cree word *chaachakeo* 'pelican' (Faries 1938: 49, 137) may perhaps be a cognate of the Swampy and Plains Cree word *ochiichak* 'crane'. In his pelican drawings Sam seems to be playing with the English, rather than the Cree name for this bird.

chimney). The theme of "inside" is reiterated in Sam's drawing of a person dancing beside a ghetto blaster in column 22. Sam may also associate the dancing figure with "party time".

In column 23 Sam returns outside "through the chimney". He transforms the smoke issuing from the chimney in his drawing in column 21 into ghosts, and links the shape of the moon to that of a pumpkin sitting on the roof. Sam incorporates a fire-breathing monster into his drawing in column 23, indicating a link between smoke and fire as well as between ghosts and winged monsters. Sam's fire-breathing monster is similar to the one depicted by Terry in the drawing in column 23. At the top of the drawing in column 23 Sam depicts Santa Claus flying through the night sky in a sled. It is worth noting that Santa Claus is supposed to enter homes through the chimney (an exercise requiring special talents in homes that are heated by wood stoves).⁴

Sam has drawn pumpkins in columns 23 and 24. In the first picture the pumpkin is associated visually and through wordplay with the moon. The last two syllables of *tipiski-piisim* 'moon' sound somewhat like the English word 'pumpkin'. The pumpkin is depicted alone in column 24, but is syntagmatically related to the watch and pelican in columns 25 and 26 through visual (the circular gestalt) and verbal associations ("pumpkin", *piisimokan* 'watch' and "pelican" are near-homophones). In addition, the concept of time is linked to the movement of the sun and moon in the Cree language.

The last two pictures in Chart 3.00 depict a goose flying headlong towards the viewer (column 27) and a scene which includes an airplane, house and garbage truck (column 28). These pictures are linked by the theme of flight (both the airplane and goose are flying) and

⁴Sam's allusion to entering the house through the chimney may have phallic significance, the chimney representing an anus or vagina and hence symbolizing procreation, transformation or rebirth.

by wordplay between the English words "goose" and "goes". The theme of "going" is thus extended to trucks and airplanes.

Narrative Structure

The general observations which I have made in my previous discussions of narrative structure apply to the drawings in Chart 3.00 and all subsequent concordances. I shall briefly review some salient points regarding setting, characters and plot before moving on to a discussion of cultural and generational conflict and the search for wholeness as a theme in Terry and Sam's drawings.

As in other concordances, local houses and various typical domestic scenes are depicted in a number of drawings (columns 4, 20-22, 28), confirming that Kashechewan is the primary setting for the children's narrative drawings. Significantly, in Chart 3.00 there are no depictions of the Anglican church, nor any of the Christian symbols so prevalent in Charts 1.00-2.00. However, a number of drawings of hunting and camping scenes in Chart 3.00 do appear to capture some of the boys' actual experiences in the bush.

The ever-present influence of television is indicated in two drawings of TV sets (columns 6 and 18) as well as in images which are obviously derived from television-viewing (e.g. the Ninja turtles in columns 9-12 and the hurdler in column 16). Terry and Sam seem to associate TV sets with departure and faraway places (note the proximity of images of snowmen and leaves in columns 5-7), providing further evidence for Granzberg's (1982: 49) hypothesis that, in modern Cree communities, television has a symbolic function analogous to traditional conjuring (both are metaphors for long-distance communication).

As in their drawings in other concordances, Terry and Sam have depicted Ninja turtles locked in combat with "bad guys" in Chart 3.00. This struggle seems to provide an

allegorical backdrop for the boys' continuing commentary on "party time" (note Terry and Sam's depictions of birthday cakes in column 11). Ninja turtles seem to embody spiritual strength and guidance, providing the boys with characters by which the traits of traditional Cree "other-than-human persons" such as Mikinak, Chakaapish and Wisekachak can be merged with those of the Biblical figure of Christ. As such, Ninja turtles are symbols of wholeness in the boys drawings.

The children's syncretistic merging of heroic qualities in Ninja turtles exemplifies their search for role models. It is undeniable that children in Kashechewan are confused by the clash between traditional role models (elders, good hunters, skilled skimmers and tanners, etc.) and those valued by the dominant society (teachers, medical personnel, skilled tradespeople, shopkeepers, etc.). This confusion was highlighted for me one afternoon when Terry dropped by his grandfather's house after school. With pride, Terry showed his grandfather a report card from school. "That's good," the old man told the boy in Cree, adding sarcastically in English, for my benefit: "Soon he'll be just like a white man."

Children in Kashechewan get mixed messages about school from their elders. They are frequently reminded about the importance of learning English and doing well in school so that they can "get ahead". Yet "getting ahead" seems to have more to do with cultural assimilation than with real improvements in standard of living or quality of life. Indeed, as Terry's grandfather implied, the lessons which Cree children are learning at school are contributing to the creation of a cultural, linguistic and experiential gap between children and their elders. In addition, the lack of employment opportunities in Kashechewan means that the dream of "getting ahead" is unattainable for the vast majority of students who come back to their reserve after completing their education.

While a generation gap is certainly opening up between Cree children and their elders, it must be added that in most societies it is quite normal for pre-adolescent children to become disenchanted with their parents and grandparents. Freud (1909: 237) has observed that "The child's most intense and most momentous wish...is to be like his parents". Yet this idealization of parents clashes with the child's growing need to be liberated from parental authority.

In their search for role models, Terry, Sam and John appear to be experiencing two quite different types of conflict: (1) a developmental conflict which boys and girls normally experience with their parents and, grafted onto this; (2) a cultural conflict between traditional Cree values and those of the dominant society.⁵ On their own, each of these conflicts poses a major challenge to the identity-formation of most normal, healthy children. Together, these conflicts present what, in many cases appears to be an insurmountable obstacle to Mashkeko children's self-esteem and healthy psychological development.

The ambivalent feelings Terry and Sam communicate about "party time" in their drawings in columns 9-12 may reflect the boys' growing disenchantment with their elders' preoccupation with drinking and gambling. By identifying with Ninja turtles, Terry and Sam are presumably seeking symbolic replacements for their father and grandfather. At the same time, Terry seems to identify with his father (depicted as a hunter) in his drawing in column 14. Sam also appears to identify with his father in his drawing in column 2 (for an enlargement of this picture see Chart 3.02). However, in Sam's drawing the small hunter (perhaps representing Sam) seems to be at cross-purposes with the big hunter wearing a hat,

⁵Concerning the expression of traditional Cree values in narrative see Preston (1975: *passim*, especially 171-197). Regarding the transformation of traditional Cree values in the twentieth century see Preston (1986).

who probably represents Sam's father.⁶ This potential conflict is suggested by the fact that the two hunters in Sam's picture are crossing their lines of fire (a highly dangerous situation).

According to Freud, it is normal and healthy for children to come into conflict with their parents. One way in which children seek to resolve so-called "Oedipal conflicts" is by creating imaginary substitutes for their parents. "The child's imagination", Freud stated (1909: 238), "becomes engaged in the task of getting free from the parents". Freud used the term "family romance" to describe the process of mythologizing the parents of one's infancy.⁷

It is ironic that children seek imaginary heroes to maintain a connection with their "mythical" parents, for in so doing they become disenchanted with and begin to psychologically separate⁸ themselves from their "real" parents. Freud (1909: 241) recognized this fact when he observed that imaginary heroes express "the child's longing for the happy, vanished days when his father seemed to him the noblest and strongest of men and his mother the dearest and loveliest of women".

⁶According to Machover (1949: 81-82), brimmed hats in children's drawings often have phallic significance. As in all psychoanalytic interpretations, one must assume a relativistic stance with regard to Machover's comments, weighing her generalizations about hats against other factors such as individual differences and cultural practices. The phallic significance of brimmed hats in Western cultures is undoubtedly based on: (1) the practice of men, rather than women, wearing brimmed hats; (2) the isomorphic relationship between the shape of a hat brim and the phallus. As in many other reserve communities throughout Canada, practically all men but relatively few women wear brimmed baseball caps.

⁷The Oedipus complex is the "shibboleth" of psychoanalysis (Freud 1905: 226, footnote 1) and the cornerstone of Freud's theory of infantile sexual development. For summaries of this theory, see Freud (1924a and 1925). For critiques and revisions of this theory see Tyson and Tyson (1990: 51-65 and 249-92) and Greenberg (1991: 1-18).

⁸What I term "psychological separation" may be likened to what Jung (1966: 173) calls "individuation", what Winnicott (1971: 105) calls "the capacity to use objects" and what Piaget and Inhelder (1969: 94-94) call "decentering".

Many Northern Algonquian stories deal with the theme of Oedipal conflict and the wounded child's search for his or her mythical parents. In the epic stories about Chakaapish (Cree) and Nanaboosho (Ojibwe) the main characters are orphans who spend their lives roaming the world in search of their parents. In the penultimate segment of the Ojibwe epic (Jones 1917: 483-95) Nanaboosho encounters a powerful male authority figure named Katchikikaaninkakwon 'Shin-scraper' (literally "He who scraped my shin"). Nanaboosho finds Shin-scraper living alone on an island, occupied in using a bone fleshing tool to scrape his own shins.

Confronting Shin-scraper, Nanaboosho accuses him of killing his mother and announces that he is finally able to avenge her death. He then engages in mortal combat with Shin-scraper and eventually overpowers the old man. In his death throes, Shin-scraper gives Nanaboosho "medicine", telling him that if he scrapes the bark from a tree and applies what he has given him to the wound he will be able to resurrect his parents. After "slicing [Shin-scraper] into small pieces with a knife" Nanaboosho removes the bark from a tree and applies the medicine he has been given to the wound. "As soon as he had done it to one tree, straightaway there stood in the place a man." "And so," the story continues,

to another [tree] he did it. Again to many [others] he did (it). And then by and by he found his father and his mother, and his elder brother Nanaapadam ['He who heals himself'].

Traditional Ojibwe and Cree herbalists applied bark scraped from various types of trees to flesh wounds in order to stop bleeding (Alex McKay and Louis Bird, personal communication). However, no specific type of tree is mentioned in the Nanaboosho story cited above, suggesting that the wounds to which the story alludes are more spiritual or psychological than physical in nature. These wounds, I submit, are related to the pain Nanaboosho felt concerning the death of his mother. Searching for the cause of his pain,

Nanaboosho discovers Shin-scrapers (a father figure). The old man's Ojibwe name (Katchiki-kaa-nikakwon 'He who scraped *my* shin") alludes to his ability to wound others, yet paradoxically, Nanaboosho finds the old man alone and engaged in the solitary act of hurting himself. This apparent paradox actually seems to reveal a basic psychological insight, namely that in hurting other members of his family the symbolic father-figure is actually (through blame and guilt) hurting himself, and that in hurting himself Shin-scrapers is actually acting out the pain he has inflicted on others.

Painful relationships between parents and their children seem to have inspired the classical Greek Oedipus myth (which itself inspired Freud's writing about infantile sexuality), as well as the Ojibwe Shin-scrapers story. Unlike the Oedipus tale, the Shin-scrapers narrative glosses over the theme of incest, focusing instead upon how harmful rivalries between fathers and sons can produce severe physical and emotional pain that ultimately destroy family unity. While the images and metaphors in each tale differ considerably, reflecting obvious differences between Northern Algonquian and European societies, the stories do share basic insights about how conflict between parents and their children can prompt disaffected children to search for the mythical parents of their infancy. This search culminates in the family romance.

Elaborating Freud's (1909) concept of family romance, Widzer (1977: 569) notes that the latency child "eliminates the contemporary, frustrating parents and replaces them with the idealized parents of his infancy." He (1977: 572) suggests that "The splitting of objects and the tendency to idealize the mother and the father,"

...occurs in the early days of childhood. By the time the child begins to recognize the father as a rival, the situation is ripe for the superimposition of the family romance fantasy. The family romance then organizes the oedipal conflict into a fantasy colored by developmental concerns ranging from

infancy to adulthood. It is both an oedipal saga and a portrayal of the painful struggle to attain individual identity.

In the past, Ojibwe and Cree children undoubtedly identified themselves and their "hostile" parents with "good" and "evil" characters from traditional stories such as the Shinscraper story. Such stories provided a means for children to express and (through play) enact their longing for ideal parents, thus fulfilling the fantasy of the family romance. However, the rapid cultural and technological changes Northern Algonquian people have experienced over the past 30 years have challenged the relevance of traditional stories, rooted as they are in bush life. As a consequence, traditional stories are being merged with stories "imported" from the dominant society via the bible, storybooks, comics and television programs. Children in Kashechewan are thus in the process of reinventing role models which combine the character traits of traditional heroes such as Chakaapish and Wisekachak (the Cree version of Nanaboosho) with Biblical figures such as Jesus and TV "superheroes" like the Ninja turtles (see, for example, Drawing 44). Judging from the children's drawings, these syncretistic characters take the outward form of TV superheroes, at the same time preserving some of the essential traits of the older characters from traditional Cree folktales, as well as bible stories.

Merging the personality traits of characters derived from different cultural and narrative experiences is certainly a creative approach to resolving developmental and cultural conflicts. As Piaget and others have shown, a syncretistic approach such as this reflects thought processes which are natural for most young children. However, if children are not encouraged to foreground their own culturally-distinct narrative traditions, they risk becoming assimilated into those of the dominant society.

Cree *aatalohkanan* 'sacred stories' have weathered the effects of Christian proselytizing, formal schooling and sedentism. Each of these events has contributed to the

transformation of traditional Cree stories, without destroying them. Now English-language television programs are having an impact. As I have shown in previous chapters, Cree children are incorporating TV superheroes into their drawings. Yet there is a much more subtle and pervasive way in which television is having an impact on these children.

Since its introduction into Kashechewan in the early 1980s, television has come to replace traditional storytelling. Before this time, parents and grandparents say that they told many more Cree "bedtime stories" to their children and grandchildren than they do now. Today most families in Kashechewan prefer to watch television. The consequence of this behaviour is that the Cree values and morals implicit in *aatalohkanan* are no longer being communicated directly to children.

Concerning the worldwide impact that television-viewing has had on storytelling traditions, Widzer (1977: 567) has remarked that "The old gods and heroes do not stand up against the cognitive conceit of the space-age child, whose technological knowledge far outstrips that of the old mythmakers." The truth of Widzer's statement was revealed to me recently in a conversation with Louis Bird, a Cree elder from Peawanuck who in 1992 started visiting St. Andrew's school in Kashechewan to tell his stories. "The first time I tried to tell a Cree story in that school," Louis told me, "the kids started running around and laughing."

I had to tell them to sit down and be quiet. "Where did you learn to be so disrespectful?" I asked them in Cree. "Don't you know how to behave when somebody is telling a story?" So those kids sat down and I told them a story. They stayed quiet and seemed to like it, so I told them another one.

What Widzer calls "cognitive conceit" is manifest in the disrespectful attitude children at St. Andrew's School in Kashechewan first displayed toward Louis Bird. In Terry and the other children's drawings such conceit is signalled by the prevalence of images and stories borrowed - via television - from the dominant society. Cree children's infatuation with the

technology, material wealth and the generational levelling which they seem to associate with television and the dominant society thus threatens to displace Cree cultural values such as sharing and respect. However, the popularity of Louis Bird's storytelling workshops at St. Andrew's School demonstrates that the "cognitive conceit" of Cree children is still rather superficial. That Terry and Sam's drawings are structured in a way which is identifiably linked to Cree language and culture further attests to the depth of such traditions among children in Kashechewan.

It is my impression that a continuity of structure still unites the thought-world of Cree children with that of their elders. However, through the influence of television, Cree children do appear to be populating their thought-worlds with "superheroes" and other role models which are unfamiliar to their elders. These superheroes have a different cultural "flavour" than traditional Cree role models. They lack the connection with the Cree language and bush traditions, as well as that ephemeral quality which Bettelheim (1975: 36) calls "refinement". Refinement results from:

...common conscious and unconscious content having been shaped by the conscious mind, not of one particular person, but the consensus of many in regard to what they view as universal human problems, and what they accept as desirable solutions. If all these elements were not present in a fairy tale, it would not be retold by generation after generation. Only if a fairy tale met the conscious and unconscious requirements of many people was it repeatedly retold and listened to with great interest.

Refinement (in Bettelheim's sense) happens when stories such as fairy tales are constantly repeated. Iteration ensures that each generation of children selects from the narrative traditions of preceding generations those stories which are most pertinent and relevant to their own lives. At the same time, refinement imbues fairy tales, *aatalohkanan* and other folktales with an aesthetic quality which Bettelheim calls "enchantment" and which Louis Bird described to me as "sacredness".

Bettleheim (1975: 12) describes enchantment as "the delight we experience when we allow ourselves to respond to a fairy tale". This sense of delight is derived from the poetic and literary qualities of folktales. "The fairy tale could not have its psychological impact on the child," Bettleheim contends (1975: 12), "were it not first and foremost a work of art."

While children do convey a great deal about their psychology in spontaneously-produced stories and drawings, Bettleheim says that such expressions cannot match the refined artistry or psychological depth of folktales. While this may be true, Sutton-Smith has demonstrated that there are many striking similarities between spontaneously-created children's stories and folktales. "Children's stories," Sutton-Smith has noted (1981: 2),

may be less well structured than fairy tales, folktales, legends, and myths, and they may be replete with modern content, but they nevertheless have the same basic plot structures and the same general concerns...as do those other genres. Furthermore, the repetitive nature of the stories that most of the children tell indicates that if the children were given the audience they desire, and if children came to tell each other's stories, the stories might indeed become folktales. But at present they are not folktales; they are more like tales in some embryonic stage. For this reason we have chosen to call them folkstories.

If, as Sutton-Smith suggests, children's "folkstories" are embryonic folktales, then the unconscious verbal associations in children's spontaneous drawings may be considered to be embryonic folkstories. The inspiration of spontaneous drawings, folkstories and folktales seems to lie in a common wellspring of cultural knowledge and lived experience which, as Sutton-Smith has remarked (1981: 29-33), probably has its origins in children's language, play, dreams, personal adventures and narrative experiences.

One way in which lived experience can shape the transmission of traditional folktales can be seen in Terry's drawing of a rabbit approaching a family sleeping around a campfire (reproduced in column 2 of Chart 3.00 and Chart 3.03). Indeed, the imagery and wordplay in this drawing, which records an actual experience Terry had when camping in the bush,

provides insights into the possible genesis of a traditional northern Algonquian story about the origin of fire.⁹

Terry and his brothers occasionally go camping with their father, his brother and their cousins at the family's old trapline in the bush. One afternoon, shortly after he had drawn the picture reproduced at the top of Chart 3.03, Terry told me about how, during a recent camping trip, he had seen a young rabbit. According to Terry, the rabbit came out of the forest just as he was falling asleep. It hopped around the edge of the campsite and then returned to the forest. The next morning Terry saw the rabbit nibbling the spruce boughs on which he and his brothers had slept the night before.

Terry's drawing appears to record his experience of seeing the rabbit. At the same time, the imagery and associated unconscious wordplay seem to evoke elements of the theft-of-fire story. In this story the Trickster transforms himself into a rabbit in order to steal fire from the hearth of an old man living deep in the bush. The old man discovers Trickster just as he is stealing an ember from the fire and tries to shoot him with his bow and arrows. However, the arrows miss their target and Trickster runs safely into the forest.

Various elements of Terry's drawing in Chart 3.03 function as indices, "pointing the way " to the plot of the theft of fire story, while at the same time providing insights into what Lévi-Strauss (1969:199) calls the "armature" of myth.¹⁰ Terry's depiction of three

⁹For an Ojibwe version of this legend, see Jones (1917: 6-15). Although I have been unable to find a published Cree text of this story, Louis Bird, a Cree storyteller from Peawanuck has told me that he is familiar with a Cree version that may have been part of the Wisekachak cycle. Although Terry's parents and grandparents were unaware of any Cree stories about the theft of fire, his teacher used a popular children's version of the Ojibwe legend (Cleaver and Toye 1979) in her language arts class at about the same time that he drew the picture at the top of Chart 3.03.

¹⁰The armature, according to Levi-Strauss (1969:199) is "a combination of properties that remain invariant in two or several myths". In the case of Terry's picture in column 2 of

arrows, for example, suggests that the events he is depicting occurred in the past, when Cree people still used bows and arrows. His depiction of people sleeping around a campfire indicates that these events may be associated with dreams and, by extension, storytelling. At the same time, Terry's drawing records a real and fairly common bush experience (the attraction of rabbits to campsites at dusk).

Images of the rabbit, campfire, sleeping bags and arrows, when wedded with words from the Cree language, provide raw material for an embryonic folkstory which is itself a "model of" and "model for" (Geertz 1973: 93, 123) the traditional story.¹¹ This intricately embedded relationship emerges through the wordplay of *waapoos* 'rabbit' and *ishkote*, which when elided yield *ishkotewapo* 'fire water/whisky'. Terry may have associated whisky with the name of Wisekachak, who's name means "bitter spirit" in Cree. The presence of "the man in the forest" is suggested in Terry's drawing of the "man tree" (*ililiwatik* 'white spruce') shooting arrows at the rabbit.

Terry's drawing of the rabbit by the campfire might be seen as an allegory for the Cree story of the theft of fire. While knowledge of this *aatalohkan* may have influenced Terry's drawing in Chart 3.03, all my efforts to demonstrate a causal link were unsuccessful. When I asked Terry if he had ever heard the story of how Wisekachak stole fire, he shrugged his shoulders. When I shared my interpretation of Terry's drawing with his mother, father and grandfather, they smiled politely, but were unwilling to comment.

Chart 3.00 and the Cree story about the origin of fire, words and images associated with the rabbit, fire and sleeping bags constitute the armature from which the myth is spun.

¹¹According to Geertz (1973: 93) genes are a "model of" reality whereas cultures are both "models of" and "models for" reality. "Unlike genes, and other nonsymbolic information sources, which are only models for, not models of, culture patterns have an intrinsic double aspect: they give meaning, that is, objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves."

Given the difficulty of proving that the theft-of-fire story actually determined the structure and content of Terry's drawing, I have sought an interpretive strategy which does not rely on intertextual explanation. This strategy involves relating events recorded in Terry's drawing and the "theft of fire" story to actual lived experience. Such an interpretation rests on the premise that traditional folktales, like children's folkstories and drawings, are meaningful expressions of a human need to share lived experience.¹²

Common themes in contemporary children's drawings and traditional Cree stories point to a shared context of lived experience spanning many generations. In concrete terms, Terry's drawing in Chart 3.03 and the story of the theft of fire both draw on a particular bush experience - the witnessing of rabbits approaching human habitation areas at dusk. It is not difficult to imagine how, in the past, Cree people might have associated their dying campfires with the emergence of rabbits from the woods. Perhaps this association first emerged (like rabbits from the forest), during sleep. The next day the dreamer might share his or her dream with other members of the family, one of whom might draw, paint or embroider the image of a rabbit on a suitable object identified with the dreamer. Perhaps the dream might recur and so inspire a story that, through telling and retelling, it was "refined" into the form now recognizable as the "theft of fire" story. In this way, dreams may facilitate the transformation of lived experience into visual and narrative experience.

¹²A similar hypothesis to my own was outlined by Roheim, who stated (1952: 428) that "The core of the myth is a dream actually dreamed once upon a time by one person." Roheim (1952: 115) called people's nearly-universal need to share their dreams "a prehistoric psychoanalytic situation" and suggested that "the colossal structure of fantasy we have built up from century to century actually starts in our dreams". Through expressing dreams in stories, song and visual art, one's dreams may appeal to others who "dreamed something similar". In this way, dreams and art can, over time, acquire spiritual significance. Individuals who repress their own dreams may lack insight into the symbolic aspects of human experience. Nevertheless, Roheim suggested that in all people "the unconscious somehow *knows* the dream origin of myth."

Dreams, inscribed images and folktales can thus become "models of" and "models for" reality.

The movement from lived experience to "refined" folktales via dreams and personal narratives has helped to ensure the persistence of traditional Cree stories over countless generations. This process may explain how Terry's drawing of the rabbit by a campfire parallels the theft-of-fire story. Through imagery and wordplay, Terry evokes not just his story, but the story of countless generations of Cree people who have seen, heard and imagined rabbits stealing embers from their campfires. I submit that as long as Cree people maintain a connection with their language and bush traditions, stories such as this will remain relevant.

Many of Terry, Sam and John's drawings in Chart 3.00 (columns 1, 2, 13 and 14) depict bush scenes. In addition, a variety of Terry's supplementary drawings of "monsters" (Drawings 31, 37 and 39) seem to be associated with the bush. The hunters depicted by Terry and Sam in columns 2 and 14 are also obviously associated with the bush and probably represent their father in his semi-mythical guise as "the great hunter". However, the boys' other heroes (columns 9-11 and Drawing 34) seem to be associated with either Kashechewan or "mythical" cities to the South. Such heroes clearly have a somewhat tenuous connection with the Cree language and bush traditions.

Terry and Sam have relied on the Ninja turtle movies for most of the imaginary heroes which they have depicted in their drawings. This tendency is also apparent in the role models they and other boys chose to emulate when they were playing out of doors. Whereas I frequently saw boys pretending to be Ninja turtles, I never saw them enacting stories involving Chakaapish, Wisekachak or any other characters from traditional Cree stories. The

children did, however, frequently report seeing a number of traditional "monsters", including *wiitiko*-like cannibals which they called "Bigfoot" and *chiipayak* 'ghosts'.

According to Murdoch (1988: 242), Cree parents traditionally encouraged their children to think of imaginary monsters as "real". They did this by telling their children stories about cannibals, ghosts and other mythic beings. These beings personified "agents of their world (e.g. sun, wind, etc.)" in order to convey "an accurate perception (of danger or consequences unknown) to a child, too limited by his experience to understand reason" (Murdoch 1988: 242-243).

My own experience confirms Murdoch's observations that traditional Cree "monsters" still function as warning signs. This is exemplified in the following story, told to me by Terry's grandfather just as I was about to embark on a long walk one February afternoon:

I was 16 years old. Walking on the ice. It was like today [warm and sunny]. The wind changed [from south to north]. Then it was snowing. I couldn't see a thing. I was walking, [but] going nowhere. Near that small island I heard wailing. Shaking bones. He was above and to my right, then in front, then behind. He was *papiskokan* 'a laughing skeleton'. *Papiskokan* kills people who get lost in storms. So I stopped at that island. I built a fire. A shelter. I stayed there. Then the snow stopped. I left.

The "laughing skeleton" personifies the danger of getting lost in a winter storm. In telling this story, Terry's grandfather was warning me about how unpredictable winter weather can be when a warm front suddenly moves in. He was also telling me what to do should I get caught in a snowstorm during my walk. I can personally attest to the enduring quality of the image of *papiskokan*, for I continue to associate laughing skeletons with winter storms and remain wary whenever I ever "hear" wailing and the sound of shaking bones.

A variety of mythical beings, including ghosts, flying dinosaurs, jack-o'lanterns and Santa Claus (columns 23-24) are present in Terry and Sam's drawings in Chart 3.00. Depictions of ghosts, devils, bats, Bigfoot and numerous other fantastic creatures appear in

many other pictures drawn by Terry, some of which (Drawings 33-43 and 49) I have reproduced in the Appendix. As Murdoch (1988: 243) points out, such monsters embody "an idea...which will later be modified, not discarded, when the child is more interested and susceptible to analytic or rationalised explanations."

In Drawing 33 Terry has depicted a ghost and two eagle-like birds surrounding a bat. At one level the picture represents images which Terry associates with Halloween. At a deeper level, it provides insights into Terry's growing sense of "self", his projection of this self into the outside world, and his search for a sense of wholeness in both himself and the world.

One of the most striking features of Drawing 33 is the mandala design in the center of the page. This design resembles pan-aboriginal "medicine wheels" which, through dancing costumes and handicrafts sold at summer pow-wows, are becoming popular among Cree people in Kashechewan and other communities along the west coast of James Bay. In questioning Terry about Drawing 33, I asked him if he knew what a medicine wheel was. Terry nodded his head and was able to identify the mandala design in his picture as a medicine wheel, but he would not elaborate the significance of the design.

The medicine wheel or "medallion" motif appears as an icon of the cosmos in a traditional Cree creation story (Brown 1977: 40-47) which is itself related to the story of the theft of fire.¹³ The design was also frequently used as a decorative motif on skin tents

¹³In this account, recorded in the 1880s by the Metis missionary James Settee, the first woman in the world was impregnated by the West wind. She subsequently bore six sons. The first four were named after the directions, to which they were obliged to travel when they came of age. The two youngest sons - Peawanuck 'flint' and Waapoos 'rabbit' - remained with their parents. One day Waapoos insulted Peawanuck. A quarrel ensued, during which Waapoos drove Peawanuck away from camp, leaving fire for the use of the Cree people. Notice how the roles of Peawanuck (the "old man" in Louis Bird's story) and the rabbit have been reversed in this version of the theft-of-fire story.

(Skinner 1911: 54) and clothes (Burnham 1992: 42, 60-63). It is thus not surprising to find that Terry learned about the significance of medicine wheels from a Swampy Cree story about the origin of the seasons.

Terry did not learn the story of the origin of the seasons from his father and mother, who claim to have forgotten the traditional stories they were told as children. Nor did he learn the story from his grandfather who, fearing criticism from lay ministers in the Anglican church, no longer tells *aatalohkanan*, which he describes as "the work of the devil". Perhaps surprisingly, Terry learned about medicine wheels and the origin of the seasons from a book (Scribe 1985) his non-native teacher assigned for reading in language-arts class. In this book Murdo Scribe, a Swampy Cree storyteller from Norway House (Manitoba) relates how, long ago, the summer animals kept the sun tied up in their *miikiwam*. Then, one day, the winter animals stole the sun so that they too could enjoy summer. In illustrations accompanying Murdo's story the sun is represented as a mandala consisting of a 12-pointed star (representing the months of the year) surrounding a central circle comprised of three complementary cruciform shapes (representing the days of the week and seasons).

The mandala Terry drew in Drawing 33 could have been modelled on the pictures in Murdo Scribe's book. On the other hand, it might be modelled on contemporary medicine wheel designs which appear to be of Zuni origin.¹⁴ In the end, perhaps the issue of origins

¹⁴Many of the medicine wheels sold by Cree craftspeople at summer pow-wows appear to be modelled on traditional Zuni fetishes. The religious significance of these fetishes is outlined by Cushing (1896: 368 ff.), who states that the Zuni cosmos is divided into seven regions (the four directions plus the zenith, nadir and center). Associated with each region is a particular colour, animal or bird and clan grouping. For illustrative material showing how the Zuni "medicine wheel" motif has disseminated into the art of neighbouring groups see Coe (1986: catalogue numbers 173, 177-180, 182-189, 194, 204 and 210). The Zuni symbolic mapping of the world is nearly identical to the Cree mapping outlined by James Settee and cited by Brown (1977: 40-47).

is less important that the fact that mandala designs are once again appearing in the work of native artists. As Coe (1986: 53) has pointed out, "any one Indian artistic production is too complex to fit into fixed categories of rise and decline. What seems gone will receive new life if there is a need." This syncretistic quality, which is also evident in Cree children's art, seems to reflect the fact that many native people have extremely flexible definitions of culture and tradition. "As traditions expand," Coe observes (1986: 41) that

they overlap, extend, slowly absorb new influences. There is a chain of action and reaction which often escapes notice. This happened often in the past, due to intermarriage and to the active trade among Indians during which motifs and designs were exchanged as well as goods.

The commercial revival of First Nations arts and crafts, the renewal of "native spirituality" and growing demands for aboriginal self government have enhanced the visibility and popularity of identifiably "native" symbols such as medicine wheels. The widespread popularity of these motifs is undoubtedly also related to the fact that mandalas had widespread symbolic significance among many native groups well before the recent growth in public awareness about native art and cultural awareness. Designs representing the "four quarters" are found among a wide variety of subarctic and boreal forest hunters, including the Beaver Indians of northwestern Alberta (Brody 1988: 106-108), the Ojibwe of northern Minnesota (Hoffman 1891: 155, 177), the James-Bay Cree (Brown 1977: 39-47; Tanner 1979: 95) and the Innu of northern Quebec and Labrador (Speck 1935: 56-59). It is therefore not surprising to find that, carried on the recent wave of pan-aboriginal cultural revival, medicine wheels have once again become popular in many native and non-native communities across North America.

Durkheim and Mauss (1963) have demonstrated the ubiquitous religious significance of the mandala design in various cultures throughout the world. They have speculated (1963:

49, 57-59) that among Zuni and Siouan peoples mandalas traditionally represent the position of families, clans, tribes or other social groups in a lodge, campsite, seasonal meeting place or village. "The camp," they wrote (1963: 65),

is the centre of the universe, and the whole universe is concentrated within it. Cosmic space and tribal space are thus only very imperfectly distinguished, and the mind passes from one to the other without difficulty, almost without being aware of doing so.

Among the James-Bay Cree and Innu of northern Quebec the mandala appears to be associated with the concept of an "other-than-human person" or "guardian spirit" associated with the four directions. Skinner (1911: 54) notes that at the turn of the century Cree people associated mandalas with the idea of propitiating animal spirits. Speck (1935: Figure 2) illustrates a mandala design from an Innu hunter's shot pouch which he obtained at about the same time. The owner of the shot pouch told Speck that the mandala represented his *mistapeo* 'great man' (what Speck calls "soul"). Concerning this concept, Speck wrote (1935: 35):

The Great Man reveals itself in dreams. Every individual has one, and in consequence has dreams. Those who respond to their dreams by giving them serious attention, by thinking about them, by trying to interpret their meaning in secret and testing out their truth, can cultivate deeper communication with the Great Man. He then favors such a person with more dreams, and these better in quality. The next obligation is for the individual to follow instructions given him in dreams, and to memorialize them in representations of art.

The widespread occurrence of mandalas in traditional and modern North American native art seems to support Jung's observation (1968: 183) that the design "is always repeating itself and is everywhere the same."¹⁵

¹⁵Speck's interpretation of the meaning of the mandala among Naskapis supports Jung's claim (1967: 208n) that such designs are "archetypal symbols" of the self. Roheim (1952:

It seems to be a sort of atomic nucleus about whose innermost structure and ultimate meaning we know nothing. We can also regard it as the actual - i.e., effective - reflection of a conscious attitude that can state neither its aim nor its purpose and, because of this failure, projects its activity entirely upon the virtual centre of the mandala. The compelling force necessary for this projection always lies in some situation where the individual no longer knows how to help himself in any other way.

In interpreting the mandala as a "conscious attitude that can state neither its aim nor its purpose" Jung unnecessarily problematizes the human urge for creative expression. As with other forms of creative human expression, including myths and folktales, visual art is "a conscious process which gives concrete form to feelings, which are often unconscious" (Dalley 1987: 2). At the same time, images seem to express and evoke feelings which are somehow inaccessible to speech. They provide "a way of exploring and expressing areas of ourselves that lie beyond the reach of words, and can create a bridge between inner and outer, towards greater integration of the two" (Hall 1987: 157). Like dreams and free

201, footnote 204a) disputed this interpretation, stating that the mandala "does not mean what Jung thinks, but simply [signifies] the uterus." Whereas Jung did not discuss the design reproduced in Speck (1935: Figure 2), or any symbolic material pertaining to Naskapis or Crees, Roheim (1952: 202) quoted Speck (1935: 227) in order to advance his own contention that the mandala had phallic significance. Speck himself does not connect the mandala with the phallus; indeed his interpretation is more in line with that of Jung than Roheim. Preston (1975: 273) notes that "The use of...Jung's analytic perspective may be at least a partial (but thereby distorted) explanation of the nature of a Cree individual's relationship to a Mistabeo." Stating that Jung's theory of depth psychology is "Western in conception, in data, and in language," Preston recommends caution in its use with Cree materials but concedes that it "is suggestive, and may act as an incentive to further understanding". However, Preston's own understanding of Cree narrative seems to be informed by a more directly experiential approach than those advocated by either Jung or Roheim. According to Preston (1975: 13-14), "Cree narration manifests inherent structure in the sense suggested by [Margaret] Mead's [1939] concept of plot and culture, where a typical aspect of early childhood experience is later expressed by the adult in symbolic forms." My own study of Cree children's art indicates that it is also possible for a typical aspect of adult experience to be expressed by children in symbolic forms.

association, drawings access what Freud (1938: 535-536) called "the unconscious" or "primary process".¹⁶

Interpreting the meaning of nonverbal symbols such as mandalas involves "translating" them into spoken language. As Cassirer has remarked, this process is often exceedingly difficult. What Cassirer (1957: 93-94) calls "the pure phenomenon of expression" (analogous to what Jung calls "archetypal symbols" and Freud's "primary process") is:

a mode of understanding...which is not attached to the condition of conceptual interpretation: the simple baring of the phenomenon is at the same time its interpretation, the only one which is susceptible and needful. But this unity and simplicity, this self-evidence, vanish at once, giving way to highly complex problems, as soon as the purely theoretical view of the world...turns to the phenomenon of expression and draws it into its jurisdiction.

Cassirer (1957: 92) warned that "the application of the category of causality to the pure expressive function cannot explain it but can only obscure it by robbing it of its character as an authentically original phenomenon." In my discussion of Terry's drawing of the rabbit beside a campfire I mentioned how linear causal explanations can impede one's understanding of creative expressions. Yet this is precisely the trap into which Jung fell

¹⁶Freud (1917: 228) equates the primary process with unconscious thought and phantasies given expression in dreams and observes that such thoughts are "topographical" (i.e. based on spatial rather than temporal or causal relations) and preverbal. Through condensation and displacement, "thoughts are transformed into images, mainly of a visual sort; that is to say, word-presentations are taken back to the thing-presentations which correspond to them, as if, in general, the process were dominated by considerations of representability." In secondary processes, on the other hand, images are transformed into thoughts. Secondary processes are temporal, causal, highly verbal and conditioned by the "reality principle". Whereas primary processes are present in the psyche from the beginning of life, secondary processes "take shape gradually during the course of life, inhibiting and overlaying the primary, whilst gaining complete control over them perhaps only in the prime of life" (Freud 1938: 536).

when he asserted (1967: 328; 1971: 400) that archetypal symbols have an innate biological basis.

When separated from his problematic assertions about the biological "cause" of archetypes, Jung's observations (1968: 95-102; 1969: 155-156) regarding the widespread psychological and religious significance of the mandala do seem to provide insights into the universal human need to make the world meaningful and comprehensible. That mandalas are frequently used to symbolize this need may be related to the fact that they are the first representational forms drawn by most young children in most cultures. According to Kellogg (1969: 65), mandalas are

...a key part of the [universal developmental] sequence that leads from abstract work to pictorials. The child proceeds from Mandalas to Suns to Humans. As he goes from one step to the next, he incorporates many features of his previous spontaneous art into his new drawings. This visually logical system of development accounts for the over-all shape of the first Humans drawn by the child, a shape that usually seems distorted, crude and inartistic to adults.

Referring to Jung's ideas about the significance of archetypal symbols, Kellogg states (1969: 230-231) that:

[Jung] told me then that the Mandalas which children draw at age three are to be explained as inborn images which appear at various times in consciousness. I would now say that children's Mandalas might also be explained as images that each individual develops through scribbling experiences.

Kellogg (1969: 231) suggests that the reason adults in certain cultures impute religious significance to the mandala is because "it is a balanced aesthetic form and because its origin in personal life goes back to an age when little that happened is remembered by the conscious mind." Adults therefore find integrative and cosmological significance in symbols which, as children, they perceived in an undifferentiated and meaning-laden way.

Developing Kellogg's ideas about the significance of the first recognizably representational forms in children's drawings, Arnheim (1974: 176) notes that, "The young child in his drawings uses circular shapes to represent almost any object at all: a human figure, a house, a car, a book, and even the teeth of a saw". "The circle," Arnheim continues (1974: 177), "does not stand for roundness but for the more general quality of 'thingness'".

Arnheim suggests that the circle is the simplest shape which children can draw. Children's first experiments in drawing circles may be little more than patterned scribbling, (i.e. sensorimotor activity). However, as they draw circles with more precision and perceive iconic relationships between the forms they draw and "real" objects in the environment, children make their drawings more representational.

Most children begin drawing mandalas (what Arnheim calls "sunburst figures") shortly after they draw their first circles. Mandalas are more differentiated than circles inasmuch as they are divided by radii. According to Arnheim (1974: 179), mandalas are the first clearly-differentiated drawings made by most children. While the radii in very young children's mandala drawings probably do not function as directional markers, they do appear to acquire such signification over time. An embryonic form of directional symbolism is evident in Terry's mandala picture (Drawing 33) and is elaborated still further in ritual objects, folktales and other adult representations of the "four quarters".

If, as I have suggested, Drawing 33 does share symbolic meaning with medicine wheels, as well as designs representing the "four quarters" and *mistapeo*, then the smiling bat in the center of Terry's picture probably represents Terry's sense of self, whereas the two eagles and ghost drawn around the periphery of the drawing probably represent images which Terry associates with "outside world". Such an interpretation is consistent with Durkheim and Mauss's observation that mandalas symbolize villages, camps or meeting places (i.e.

"home"). As well, it is consistent with Tanner's observation that, among James-Bay Crees, mandala designs are modelled on the layout of the traditional winter lodge. It is also consistent with Speck's observation that among Innu hunters such forms represent *mistapeo* 'the great man/soul' (i.e. the psychological centre or "self").¹⁷

It is striking how the general outline of the bat in Drawing 33 resembles that of the winged party house in Drawing 23 while the transcendent smile on the bat's face in the former drawing resembles the smiles of the two children caught in the talons of the bird-like party house in the latter drawing. This formal affinity between certain features in Drawings 23 and 33 suggests to me that Terry associates the bat with "home".¹⁸ The juxtaposition in Drawing 33 of the apparently-calm visage of the bat and the intimidating gestures of the two eagles, together with the fear suggested by the presence of the ghost, seems to indicate that Terry also feels the outside world is a potentially frightening place. This association is reiterated in Sam's depiction of a Ninja turtle attacking Shredder in Drawing 34 (note how the Ninja turtle is thinking about the "little bat" as he prepares to attack).

In Western European and North American folk beliefs, bats are associated with "badness" because of their nocturnal behaviour, associated as it is with "darkness" and "evil" (de Vries 1984: 36). This association is strengthened among English-speakers by the phonemic similarity between the words "bat" and "bad". Similar associations are also apparent in Cree folk etymology. For example, the stem of *pakwaachiis* 'bat' appears to be

¹⁷It is, of course, possible that Terry was merely doodling or that he copied the design of a medicine wheel which he had seen without being influenced by its deeper symbolism. However, the depth of symbolic expression in most of Terry's other drawings makes a superficial interpretation such as this extremely unlikely.

¹⁸The association of "bat/bad" with home would be consistent with the theme of "party time" found in Charts 1.01, 2.02, 2.05 and Drawings 16-21. It is also consistent with the recurring theme of the battle between the forces of good and evil in Charts 1.00 and 2.00.

etymologically related to *apakosiis* 'mouse' (Faries 1938: 124, 436; Baraga 24, 175). However, the stem *pakw-* coincidentally resembles that of the verb *pakwaasiweo* 'he hates'. In a similar vein, *pakwaachiisis* 'little bat' is phonemically similar to *pakwaachiisas* 'hateful Jesus' (a term which might also be glossed 'devil' or 'anti-Christ').

Brightman (1993: 371) notes that the Rock Cree of northern Manitoba consider bats, mice, voles, snakes and frogs to be *machi-pisiskisiisak* 'bad little animals', perhaps because of their ability to invade and destroy food caches or perhaps because of their liminal nature as nocturnal, flying mammals. There is no evidence associating bats with evil in published transcriptions and translations of northern Algonquian stories (Skinner 1911; Jones 1917, 1919; Bloomfield 1930; Clay 1938; Desbarats 1969; Lefebvre 1972; Savard 1974, 1979; Brightman 1989). Associations between bats and "badness" are nevertheless evident in Terry's drawings, as well as in the following dream, reported to Honigmann in 1955 by an Attawapiskat man and published by Preston (1987: 283):

Looks like a man is in fire, hell. One of those bats called devil, how many people believed man now kneeling in the fire, will put him in the same place where he is. In evening everyone has one flying birds there. Everyone. One of those bats trying to make people believe in man who is praying in fire. Just like from good to the evil. Some people are religious, some are bad and go to hell. The guy who will go there will stay for ever and ever. If I do what bad ones want me to do, I may be sent to hell and be miserable.

The lack of traditional Cree stories linking bats with evil may indicate that this association is of recent origin - perhaps connected with the activity of Christian missionaries in the James Bay region. On the other hand, the absence of bat stories could be the result of gaps in the published record of traditional Cree stories. Whatever the reason, Terry and Sam do appear to associate bats with badness in some of their drawings.

In Drawing 35 Terry seems to develop a verbal association with bats which differs from that of his previous drawings. Note how he has depicted himself (wearing glasses), his

big brother Ned and his little sister Janey as if they were "little bats". Also note how Terry depicts his brother Sam as a "little monster" (with the exception of this drawing, Sam is the only child to use the icon of a dinosaur in his pictures).¹⁹

The "bats/brats" and "little monster" in Drawing 35 stand beneath a spaceship, the form of which resembles *mekochakash* 'sucker'. While being "a sucker" (i.e. being "sucked in" or easily misled) has a negative connotation in colloquial English, I do not see any evidence that Terry was influenced by this association in his drawing. His depiction of the sucker-shaped spaceship seems more likely to have been influenced by the behaviour of these fish which, among northern Algonquian people, are renowned for having unusually strong fins. Concerning this matter, Thomas Fiddler, an Ojibwe from Sandy Lake (quoted in Fiddler and Stevens 1985: 5) observed:

With strong fins [a sucker] will even go over the tops of steep falls. It's like it flies to get to the top of rivers. So a sucker can go places other fish can't go.

This insight about the behaviour of suckers may explain their symbolic significance in Drawing 35. Indeed, Terry's modelling of the spaceship on the form of a sucker-like fish was probably not accidental, but based on information he learned by playing beside the river and going fishing. Terry's drawing of the sucker-shaped spaceship also seems to indicate that he was engaged in a form of unarticulated wordplay in which the stems *meko* (used in

¹⁹See Sam's pictures in column 23 in Chart 1.00, column 23 of Chart 2.00 and column 8 of Chart 4.00). In Cree the word for dinosaur is *maachi-kinepik*, literally 'ancient snake'. Brightman (1993: 73) states that northern Algonquian peoples traditionally associate *mishi-kinepikwak* '[mythical] great horned snakes' with the danger of crossing open water. He also notes (1993: 371-372) that Rock Crees traditionally considered "ordinary" snakes to "bad little animals". Among northern Algonquian peoples the Biblical association of snakes with evil may thus have been reinforced by traditional folk taxonomy. This taxonomy may also explain why Sam associated a dinosaur with being a "little monster".

the names of various species of bottom-feeding fish) and *achaak(oosh)* 'spirit (star)' were associated with *mekochakash* 'sucker'.

In Drawing 36 Terry depicts two bats "taking off" just as the local school bus arrives. A crossing guard stands on the road, stopping traffic so that children can board the bus, but there are no children. A police car with flashing lights is pulled up beside the crossing guard; the driver has his eye on two bats flying above the bus. Overall, the impression that is conveyed by this picture is of the danger "little bats/brats" might face if they attempt to "take off" from school.

Terry and Sam seem to associate bats with "being bad" and "thinking bad thoughts" in Drawings 33 and 34. In Drawings 35 and 36, on the other hand, Terry appears to associate bats with "brats" (i.e. "bad" children). Like many children, Terry and Sam were occasionally mischievous at home and in school. On the occasions when I saw this happen, it was not unusual for children's parents and teachers to call them "brats" or "little monsters". Based on feelings evoked by their pictures, I suggest that Terry and Sam have internalized such criticisms and negative comments. The boys may have sometimes wished that they could "take off" or "fly away" from the sources of such reproach. Perhaps this is why Terry and Sam depicted themselves as bats and a little monster in Drawings 33-36. It may also be why Terry drew bat-wings on the flying house-monster in Drawing 23. On the basis of the ambivalent and at times negative self-images conveyed in these pictures, I suggest that Terry and Sam have been strongly influenced by censure from authority figures.

Terry depicts a variety of monsters in Drawings 37-43. Drawing 37 illustrates a *wiitiko*-like creature which Terry called "Bigfoot". In Cree folk beliefs, *wiitiko* (known as *wiindigo* among Ojibwes and *atoosh* among Crees on the East coast of James Bay) is a cannibalistic spirit which possesses starving people during the wintertime. The following

story, told by a Plains Cree elder in the early decades of this century, transcribed by Edward Ahenakew and quoted in Preston (1978: 61-62), describes the genesis of a *witiko* monster:

There is no doubt that Wetikoos existed in the old days. Frequently, specially in the forest parts of the country there may be a family living in a teepee, the man hunting for fur and incidentally killing moose, deer and such for food. He might have an enemy somewhere. This man or woman - *mahokusumik*, i.e. curses him so that his luck leaves him, everything goes wrong, he can kill nothing...As days of fasting go by; hope dies and despair takes its place. A time comes when one of the party begins to look longingly though slyly at another. This person is being sorely tempted to kill, so as to eat. It becomes an obsession with him or her. At last - a chance offering, it happens. The person kills and soon he (or she) is eating. He has passed from being a human being to beastliness.

Swampy Cree people with whom I spoke in Kashechewan told me that *wiitiko* did exist in "the old days", when lone hunters used to sight such monsters in the bush. I was, however, unable to find anybody who would admit to having seen *wiitiko* themselves. Indeed, the last officially reported case of *wiitiko* possession was 87 years ago (Fiddler and Stevens 1985: vii). This notorious case was prosecuted by a magistrate in Norway House and occurred at a time when a wave of Christian missionaries was flooding into the North to convert Ojibwe and Swampy Cree people, and when police and Indian agents were starting to assert their jurisdiction over remote native communities.

While periodic conditions of severe deprivation continued to exist throughout the North until the advent of government welfare programs in the 1950s, reports of *wiitiko* possession do not seem to have persisted much beyond the turn of the century. It thus seems that the disappearance of *wiitiko* is related more to the increasing influence of Church and State than to the elimination of starvation in remote northern Algonquian communities. Perhaps this is why Cree elders in Kashechewan today are unable to remember ever having seen *wiitiko*, although they do recall experiencing starvation.

Perhaps it is premature to talk about the complete disappearance of *wiitiko*, since its memory has been kept alive in the games and stories of children in Northern reserve communities. Fiddler and Stevens (1985: 213) report that during the 1970s northern Ojibwe children played a tag-like game in which one child, called "Windigo" chased the others. Preston (personal communication) observed Cree children playing a similar game in Rupert's House in the 1960s. Children in Kashechewan still play this game today, although the *wiitiko* character has been replaced by a wolf.²⁰

Although children in Kashechewan no longer play games in which they pretend to be *wiitiko*, some of them do claim to have seen a *wiitiko*-like creature which they call Bigfoot. Many of these children told me that Bigfoot lives in the forest. They described Bigfoot as being a hairy 8-10 foot tall male humanoid with exceptionally large feet. Such a creature was depicted and identified for me by Terry in Drawing 37.

Terry's Bigfoot resembles classic descriptions of "bush men", summarized by Sharp (1988: 101-102). These figures are portrayed as large hairy creatures with big feet that have been variously described as "Indians [with] supernatural qualities", "bogeymen", "white trappers", "thieves" and "enemies" (Sharp 1988: 102-104). They embody feelings of shyness, fear and anxiety which, when projected onto "the Other" create a peculiar psychological "flux", described by Taussig (1993: 129) as a tension between "mimesis" and "alterity":

²⁰The wolf, according to Louis Bird, is symbolically equivalent to *wiitiko* in many Cree children's minds. Over time, the wolf seems to have displaced *wiitiko* in children's games in James Bay Cree communities. Although I did notice that many children in Kashechewan were particularly fearful of wolves, Terry said that he admired wolves "because they are good hunters."

Pulling you this way and that, mimesis plays this trick of dancing between the very same and the very different. An impossible but necessary, indeed an everyday affair, mimesis registers both sameness and difference, of being like, and of being Other. Creating stability from this instability is no small task, yet all identity formation is engaged in this habitually bracing activity in which the issue is not so much staying the same, but maintaining sameness through alterity.

Taussig suggests that individuals form identities by projecting elements of their sense of "Self" onto "others" while at the same time incorporating a sense of "Other" back into themselves. As such, personalities are themselves internalized projections, in some ways comparable to fetishes a Cuna shaman might carve to control or placate spirits (Taussig 1993: 2-10), that an Innu woman might have painted or embroidered on her husband's jacket or shot pouch in order to help him gain knowledge of game animals (Speck 1935: 35; Skinner 1911: 54, Burnham 1992: 13), or that a Cree child might draw in order to combat bad dreams (Drawings 37). Seen from this perspective, Terry's Bigfoot drawing is an expression of his sense of both Self and Other. Bigfoot is large (more adult than a child-like), hairy (more animal than human) and leaves huge footprints in the snow (suggesting he can leave visible signs in the mundane world even as he exists in other worlds). Conversely, Bigfoot is ambivalent (people say that he is "bad", but perhaps he is just "different" and really wants to be liked), marginalized (he must roam around the bush because he does not feel welcome at home, in church, or at school) and frustrated (since few people want to be around him, he acts out aggressive impulses which further alienate the people with whom he wants to be).

The process which Klein calls "projective identification" resembles the process of identity-formation described by Taussig.²¹ Klein (1986b: 197-198) defined projective

²¹One might also make parallels with George Herbert Mead's concept (1934: 154-156) of the "generalized other" and Bahktin's concept (1981: 305) of "pseudo-objective motivation".

identification as "splitting off parts of the self and projecting them on to another person". She observed that individuals use projective identification to avoid separation from a love object or to gain control over an object perceived to be a source of danger (Segal 1973: 27). When an individual introjects a love object, Klein suggests that fantasies of cannibalism can sometimes result (Klein 1986a: 119). Such fantasies are associated with an oral fixation.

In the light of Klein's assertion about cannibalism, the Cree concept of *wiitiko* takes on added significance as a projection of feelings of all-consuming love during times of extreme hunger (temporary oral fixation). This combination of feelings of love and hunger is apparent in the traditional Cree belief that the appearance of a stranger of the opposite sex in dreams portends the arrival of game animals in real life (Tanner 1979: 125). The perception of game animals as symbolic lovers has also been noted by Preston (1976: 228), who remarks that "[Cree] men hunt food-animals in a psychological milieu that parallels his love and sexual relationship with his wife, or his delight in and love for his children."

Bigfoot seems to represent a somewhat ambivalent member of the cast of characters in Terry's "family romance". Such ambivalence might be a projection of Terry's feelings of love and fear for his father, whom he associates with hunting, the bush and animals. These contradictory feelings seem to underlie the serene smile Terry has given the otherwise frightening Bigfoot depicted in Drawing 37.

No hint of ambivalence is to be found in the grimacing expression of Terry's devil in Drawing 38. Indeed, this figure appears to be a straightforward example of a "scary monster". This may be related to the strong and unambiguous Biblical association of the devil with evil and God with good. Perhaps it is also related to a perception that spirits associated with the church (the symbolic and spiritual centre of Kashechewan) are more powerful than spirits associated with the bush. Extending this logic somewhat further, it

would seem that, in Cree children's minds, TV superheroes and villains, associated as they are with "mythical" cities to the South, are as powerful as the Biblical figures of Jesus and the devil, whom the children seem to associate with their own church and village.

As I have already mentioned in previous chapters, Terry, Sam and the other children whom I met in Kashechewan found it extremely difficult to verbalize their thoughts and feelings about their drawings. This is not entirely surprising, given the limited conceptual tools most children have to articulate such things, as well as the language barriers which the children and I faced. Nevertheless, based on my own interpretation and analysis of the form and content of the 200 drawings reproduced in the Appendix, certain themes do appear to be more prevalent than others. Indeed, nearly 47% of the drawings in Concordances 1.00-4.00 and 35% of the Supplementary Drawings depict objects of broad religious, mythical or semi-mythical significance. These objects include churches, crucifixes, devils, Halloween figures and characters associated with Ninja turtle movies.

Despite the growing rift between generations in Kashchewan, I did get the impression that Cree children there are still strongly influenced by the religious ideas and attitudes of their elders. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes for 10 March 1991 records some of the ideas and attitudes Terry's grandfather has about religion:

This morning I discussed the topic of religion with Matthew [Terry's grandfather]. "When I was out cross-country skiing yesterday afternoon," I told him, "I saw a small *miikiwam* 'tent' just east of half-Kash [a small cluster of houses about 3 miles west of Kashechewan]." When I asked Matthew if he knew about it, he replied yes and told me that the structure was built by an old *miteo* 'shaman'. "That place scare me," Matthew told me. "Work of devil."

"What do you mean?" I responded. "Sweat lodges were used by Indian people long before the arrival the white man's religion and nobody objected to them back then." "Anyway, who told you that Indian religion is the work of the devil?"

"The Bible say that," Matthew told me perfunctorily. "*Miteo* like Indian Catholics."

[Matthew, like most people in Kashechewan, is *shaakonash* 'Anglican'. Being *shaakonash* in Kashechewan is practically synonymous with intolerance for other Christian denominations (most especially the Roman Catholics). Thus, in referring to *miteowuk* as "Indian Catholics" Matthew was expressing his disdain and disapproval of both Roman Catholicism and native spirituality.]

"I still can't see what makes you so sure *shaakonash* religion is the work of God while Indian religion is the work of the devil" I said to Matthew.

"*Wemistikosho* 'white man' God make many things," Matthew replied. "Television, radio, VCRs. These things never here when there was Indian god."

"But the Indian god gave his people animals," I said. "He looked after Cree people for many years before the white man came." Seeking to flesh out Matthew's attitudes a little bit further, I asked him why the *shaakonash* god should give white people in the South so much more material wealth than he had given to Cree people in the North. Matthew got a concerned look on his face, lit a cigarette and walked to his bedroom. He closed the door and remained inside his room for the rest of the morning.

Matthew's intolerance towards *miteo* and "Indian Catholics" seems to mask his own uncertainty and perhaps fear about why the *shaakonash* god should allow Cree people to be so materially-deprived in comparison to their "white brothers" to the South. Matthew seems to project his feelings of fear and uncertainty onto the practitioners of what he perceives to be an alien form of religion. In some respects, Matthew's projections of *miteo* and "Indian Catholics" are similar to those which traditional Cree people projected onto monsters such as *papiskokan* and *wiitiko*. The main difference is that Matthew is identifying himself with the Anglican Church, which he sees as "Cree religion", and projecting his sense of "Otherness" onto those people in his community who are trying to revive indigenous forms of religion.

It is ironic that Matthew considers Cree people attending the local sweat lodge to be "monsters", when, by his own admission, his grandfather was one of the last *miteo* 'shamans' to practice in Fort Albany. If there is something fundamental linking Matthew's religious attitudes to those of his grandfather, then perhaps it is the Cree conception of "monsters". Traditional Cree monsters might be thought of as situationally defined projections of feelings of fear and uncertainty - *papiskokan* 'laughing skeleton' being associated with getting lost in storms, *memekweso* 'mermaid' with crossing open water, *wiitiko* 'cannibal' with starvation, and *apichilili* 'dwarf' with the small and ever-present misfortunes (e.g. young children wandering away from camp) that befall people living in the bush.

Fears of starvation and getting lost in the bush threatened past generations of Cree people and were embodied in their "monsters". Today these fears do not afflict the people in Kashechewan to the same degree that they did in the past. Cree people today generally have enough to eat and spend only a small amount of time living in the bush. The fears of past generations have to some extent been displaced by newer ones, of which the threat of damnation is particularly prominent. Matthew is not alone in entertaining this fear in his projections about *miteo* and "Indian Catholics". Lay ministers in the Anglican church frequently threaten practitioners of "native religion" with hell and damnation. Such vituperative responses to the revival of indigenous religious practices may, in part, explain why members of the Anglican and Pentecostal congregations in Kashechewan threatened members of a local healing circle and subsequently burned down their sweat lodge in the summer of 1992.

The widespread perception that "Indian religion" is "the work of the devil" seems to echo the words of those missionaries and residential-schoolteachers who indoctrinated Cree people of Matthew's generation. The "ghosts" of these agents of "civilization" still colonize

the minds of Cree people in Kashechewan, who were promised "salvation" in return for abandoning their traditional religious beliefs.

Describing Cree "monsters" as situationally-defined projections is an intellectually satisfying thought-experiment, but it fails to capture any sense of the reality which these "projections" have for the people who perceive them. One cannot explain *papiskokan* or *wiitiko*, let alone *miteo* and "Indian Catholics" as mere hallucinations. To fully grasp the "reality" of these beings, one must at least admit the possibility of experiencing them directly.

Despite their conversion to Christianity, movement from the bush into villages, and adoption of new patterns of subsistence, the Cree people in Kashechewan still do experience spirits that would have been familiar to their ancestors. Old men like Terry's grandfather admit to having seen *papiskokan* and *memekweso* during their travels in the bush and on "the Bay" and sometimes describe Roman Catholics and the practitioners of "native spirituality" as if they too were monsters. Many youngsters still seem to fear *apichililiwak*, who were traditionally believed to "abduct children and carry them to distant places" (Speck 1935: 68). This fear is particularly evident when children from Kashechewan hurl rocks and insults at the lone dwarf who lives in their community. Finally, although *wiitiko* seems to have been supplanted by the Christian devil, recent "sightings" of Bigfoot suggest that yet another transformation of the cannibal-giant may now be taking place on the west coast of James Bay.

Drawing 39 is typical of several drawings Terry made depicting what he calls "grass monsters".²² I have been unable to find references to such creatures in standard texts of

²²My discussion of Drawings 33-36 is based on information about grass monsters which Terry volunteered to me when I asked him to describe these drawings. This is the only occasion when Terry freely talked with me about his drawings.

northern Algonquian legends (Skinner 1911; Jones 1917, 1919; Bloomfield 1930; Clay 1938; Desbarats 1969; Lefebvre 1972; Savard 1974, 1979; Brightman 1989) and none of my adult informants in Kashechewan could recall any stories about this type of mythical creature. Since Terry was the only person in Kashechewan to draw and describe grass monsters to me, I assume that they are his own personal invention, corresponding in some ways to traditional northern Algonquian notions of "nonhuman helpers" or "guardian spirits" (Speck 1935: 33-36; Preston 1975: 240; Tanner 1979: 113-116; Steinbring 1981: 251; Honigmann 1981: 223; Brightman 1993: 77-91). Grass monsters also seem to correspond to *apichililiwak* 'dwarfs' of traditional Cree stories (Speck 1935: 68). Similar creatures are also mentioned in Ojibwe (Hallowell 1992: 64) and Dene (Sharp 1988: 104) stories.

According to Terry, grass monsters are small (less than 4 feet high) humanoid creatures. They have bat-like wings, wear masks and live in the tall grass between the edge of the village and the forest. When I asked Terry if he had actually seen monsters such as the one depicted in Drawing 39 in the fields outside the village he replied: "No, I only see them in my dreams."

The grass monsters drawn by Terry generally have twine or rope wrapped tightly around their throats and heads. This constriction appears to cause the creatures great pain, as evidenced by their clenched teeth and grimacing faces. The constriction associated with grass monsters' heads and throats may be associated with an impeded ability to think and speak. Such symbolism is indicated in Drawings 45 and 46, which depict unidentified males (possibly Terry or his father) with constricted throats, extended tongues and bulging eyes. Details such as mucous dribbling from the nose, bugs crawling into the mouth and, in Drawing 40, hair standing on end, convey feelings of sickness, repulsion and shock.

In 1970, when he was only 10 years old, Terry's father was strangled in his bed at residential school by four fellow students (for an account of this experience see David Moses' life history in Chapter 2). Although David has told his children the story of how he was choked, he has tried not to dwell on his negative experiences at residential school since he and Mary want their children to go to high school. Yet David and Mary's children clearly have also been traumatized by their father's experience. This is obvious in Drawings 45 and 46, in which Terry uses the image of rope wrapped around the neck to convey feelings of being choked up and at a loss for words.

Terry's awareness of his father's horrifying experience is most evident in Drawing 12 - a portrait of his father. Note the presence of six horizontal lines representing the rope which was wrapped around his father's neck. Also note the creases in the figure's forehead, indicating tension (Terry appears to have elaborated these creases into the strands of rope binding the grass monster's heads in Drawing 39-42). Finally, note the bulging eyes, flared nostrils and gasping mouth, all of which suggest that Terry's father is losing consciousness as he is fighting for breath.

The image of the rope wrapped around his father's throat seems so strongly etched in Terry's mind that it assumes the status of a gestalt in some of his drawings. In Drawing 39 Terry inverts and reduplicates the grass-monster's striated throat to create a pointed cord-wrapped eminence on its head. This eminence is characteristic of the grass-monsters depicted in Drawings 40-42 as well.

In Drawing 22 Terry depicts a rope coiled around the roof of his house. Note how the shape of the roof resembles that of the eminence on top of the grass monsters' heads. The walls of Terry's house are opening up to reveal a human face inside. The face depicted

in Drawing 22 appears to be trying to "open up", yet seems burdened by painful memories of being choked (symbolized by its own cord-wrapped head).

Like grass monsters, the face inside Terry's house appears to be partially-hidden. Perhaps both the house and grass monsters are trying to mask their identity. At the same time, they both seem to wish to reveal their secrets and to come out of hiding. Drawings 40 and 41 are representations of what grass monsters look like when they begin to take off their masks. Terry has written the names "April" and "Billie" beside these depictions of grass monsters. "April and Billie are my friends," Terry confided to me. "But everybody know they bad kids."

I believe that in depicting his naughty little friends as grass monsters, Terry was trying to tell me that children who are perceived as "little monsters" are not really bad at all. Like Nanaboosho in the Shin-scraper story, they are just trying to hide the pain which they are feeling when their parents are absent. But, as in the Shin-scraper story, denial leads the children to violent and self-destructive acting-out behaviour (what Freud called "repetition compulsion"). Indeed, the rope coiled around April's head and the creases on her throat suggest that, like Terry's father, she is feeling "choked up" about what she feels inside.

In Drawing 42 Terry associates "bigness" with devils and "littleness" with grass monsters. This would be consistent with my earlier observation that Cree people in Kashechewan seem to perceive their own cultural symbols to be diminished in comparison to those of the dominant society. On the left side of Drawing 42 Terry has drawn a deranged looking devil whom he identifies as his big brother Ed, while on the right side he has drawn a grass monster whom he identifies as his little brother Sam. Note how Terry has emphasized the ugliness of both figures. Also note the unusually large feet of the otherwise diminutive grass monster, suggesting an association between grass monsters and Bigfoot.

Drawing 43 is Terry's depiction of what an adult grass monster looks like. It is a picture, drawn in very faint outline, of Razhar, the "bad" Ninja turtle. Large upturned spines (perhaps associated in Terry's mind with "devil's horns") protrude from the Razhar's shell while large and threatening-looking claws extend from his hand. An ovoid and cloud-like object, which Terry told me was bubble gum, extends from Razhar's mouth. Terry may have borrowed this device from comic books, where it is used to enclose dialogue.²³

Drawing 44 is the last in Terry's series on grass monsters. Rather than a picture, it is actually a word puzzle. Enclosed in eye-shaped bubbles similar to the one emanating from the "bad" Ninja Turtle's mouth in Drawing 44 are 14 words and names symmetrically arranged in two columns. To scan the words in the order in which Terry inscribed them, the reader begins with "Superheroes" and then moves sequentially through "Jesus", "Turtles", "good", "April", "Sam", "John", "Play", "Sam", "House", "Time", "Billie", "Superman" and "not". While it would be foolish to suggest a canonical reading of this word puzzle, one possible reading is: "Jesus and [Ninja] Turtles [are] good Superheroes. April, Sam, John [and Billy] play. [It is] time Sam [went] home. [April and] Billy [are] not [going] home, [they are still playing] Superman." Whatever the "correct" sequence of these words may be, the general message seems to be that through play (and by extension, drawing) Terry links children with "Superheroes" such as Jesus and Ninja turtles.

Most of the words in Drawing 44 are names, with two common nouns ("superheroes" and "house"), one adjective ("good"), an adverb ("not") and a verb ("play"). The

²³Like the creators of comic-books, Terry relies on pictures to tell his story. Words seem to be added (consciously through writing and unconsciously through silent wordgames) when Terry feels that his picture cannot stand on its own. Terry's pictures therefore tend to express feelings and thoughts which are difficult for him to express in words. This idea is embodied in his depiction of grass monsters with throats so constricted that it is difficult for them to articulate words.

predominance of substantives gives Terry's picture puzzle a "thing-like" quality which is in keeping with the representational nature of his drawings and concrete-operational level of his cognitive development. When words other than proper nouns appear in Terry's pictures, they are usually imperatives, functioning to convey a sense of urgency. Examples of such messages can be seen in Drawings 29-33. In all these pictures Terry depicts what he perceives to be dangerous and frightening situations. In the pictures of the boy about to be run over by a car and of the boy with a gun pointing at his head (Drawings 29 and 30), the subject is uttering imperative exclamations: "Stop!" and "No!" In Drawings 31-32, where the danger is less obvious, the subject is calling for help. Drawing 33 depicts a ghost a ghost saying "Boo".

Whether through writing, wordgames or powerful imagery, Terry's drawings express and evoke feelings of constriction, anxiety, fear and disgust. His drawings also reveal themes of intergenerational trauma and cultural conflict, which, when internalized, make him feel sick. Terry's bad feelings contribute to his image of children as "bats", "devils" and "little monsters". To combat these bad feelings, Terry conjures up images of powerful "other-than-human persons" such as Ninja turtles, Bigfoot and grass monsters. These mythical creatures are Terry's "guardian spirits", protecting him from dangerous people (symbolized by monsters such as Razhar, the "bad" Ninja turtle, whom Terry associates with "grown-up" grass monsters) and addictive behaviour such as drinking and gambling.

Terry's "guardian spirits" help him combat bad feelings. They symbolically protect him on his own epic search for identity and wholeness. Terry's search is taking him along a mythical path which countless other generations of Cree youth have followed. However, without massive changes in the reality of life in Terry's home and community, it is unlikely that guardian spirits and symbols will be enough to insure that he has a safe journey.

To have a meaningful and secure adult life in Kashechewan, Terry will have to come to terms with his father's traumatic residential-school experience. He will have to resolve his own Oedipal conflicts and resulting family romance. Above this, he will have to equip himself with the skill and determination necessary to improve the standard of living and quality of life in his community. In doing so he will face the challenges of chronic unemployment; substandard levels of sanitation, health care and diet; near-epidemic levels of family violence, addiction and suicide, and; the ever-present pressure of linguistic and cultural assimilation into the dominant society.

CHAPTER 7 - MASKING "EVIL" IN KASHECHEWAN

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss 36 pictures drawn by Ray, Ed, Terry, Sam and Rick on 3 October 1992 and reproduced in Chart 4.00. Ed is nine years old; he is Terry and Sam's older brother. Rick is six years old and Ray is fourteen years old. Rick and Ray are unrelated to each other or to the other boys. Ray's father works for the Ministry of Natural Resources as a game warden; his mother is a housewife. Rick's father works as a carpenter and his mother is a housewife. Ray and Rick accompanied their parents, who were playing poker with a group of other adults (including Ed, Terry and Sam's mother) at Matthew Goodman's house.

Twenty-seven of the 36 drawings in Chart 4.00 (75%) are associated with 50 different words in Cree and English. Thirty-eight of these words (77%) are in Cree and twelve (23%) are in English. All of the Cree words are unconsciously associated with the drawings through unarticulated wordplay. Nine of the English words (75%) are unconsciously associated with the drawings and three (25%) were written. For further details on wordplay see Charts 5.04, 5.07 and 5.08 in the Appendix.

The structural processes identified in previous concordances continue to shape visual and verbal associations in the drawings in Chart 4.00. These drawings also have the same basic repertoire of gestalts and visual morphemes as the drawings in the other concordances. "M" and "V"-shaped gestalts are characteristic of the drawings in Chart 4.00. These forms occur rather infrequently and have relatively minor structural importance in other concordances. The Anglican Church and television continue to have a ubiquitous influence

which is revealed in depictions of crucifixes, devils and characters from the "Super Mario" video game.

As in previous concordances, there are depictions of Ninja turtles, hunting scenes, and a variety of "monsters", including dinosaurs, devils and ghosts. These figures appear to function as "guardian spirits", symbolizing the fears, conflicts and aspirations of the artists. The pictures in Chart 4.00 have a uniquely macabre "flavour", perhaps reflecting the boys' preoccupation with Halloween and symbols of the "darker" side of life. There are numerous pictures of witches, skeletons, jack-o'lantern men, dungeons and haunted houses in Chart 4.00. The way in which Ed transforms "Dr. Mario" (a video-game character) into the devil is particularly creative and intriguing.

Visual Structure

All the drawings in column 1 (see also Chart 4.01) are strongly patterned on the "M"-shaped gestalt, which emerges from the shape of the ears of Ray's cat, the moustache and initial in the cap of Ed's Dr. Mario figure, and the wings of Rick's flying goose. In Ray and Ed's subsequent drawings the "M" shape is simplified into a "V" through a convergence of exterior lines at the bottom of the "M" and a divergence of the lines at the top.

The effect of transforming the "M" into a "V"-shaped gestalt can be seen in Ed's depictions of Dr. Mario in columns 2 and 12-14 (for enlargements of some of these drawings see Charts 4.11 and 4.12). Note how the form of the faces in these drawings becomes progressively "V"-like. This tendency is particularly obvious in the way Ed progressively elaborates the sharpness of Dr. Mario's chin and the pointedness of his ears in his drawings in columns 2 and 12.

In choosing to portray Dr. Mario in three-quarter profile, as if he were looking to the right side of the page,¹ Ed has initiated a particular set of formal limitations which will condition the way in which he can depict many details in this and future drawings. He has, for example, eliminated Dr. Mario's left ear (i.e. the ear on the figure's left hand side, shown on the right side of the drawing) in column 1. The disappearance of the ear, itself a consequence of foreshortening, sets in motion a series of structural processes based on the isomorphism of Dr. Mario's "missing" ear, nose, cap brim and moustache. These processes have a significant influence on the form of Ed's subsequent drawings.

A variety of structural processes are at work in Ed's drawings. These include isomorphism, simplification, elaboration, condensation and rotation. In column 2 Ed has condensed the forms of Dr. Mario's moustache and ears, since both are isomorphically related (i.e. they are "V"-shaped gestalts). Ed's decision to elaborate Dr. Mario's ear(s) in columns 2 and 12 appears to be related to the temporary disappearance of his moustache. Dr. Mario's right ear (i.e. the ear on the figure's right hand side, shown on the left side of the drawing) is elaborated more than his left one. This difference is probably related to Ed's depiction of the figure in three-quarter profile, looking to the right side of the page.

Dr. Mario's nose is very moustache-like in Ed's drawings in columns 2, 12 and 13. This feature is related to the elaboration of Dr. Mario's ears and the assimilation of his moustache, nose and right ear. Indeed, Dr. Mario's left ear and nose appear to have been condensed into the form of the nose in column 1. In column 2 Ed has conflated Dr. Mario's right ear and the right half of his moustache. In addition, he has inverted Dr. Mario's

¹Nearly all the figures depicted in Chart 4.00 seem to be either looking or moving towards the right side of the page. This tendency is probably related to the fact that, through reading and writing, the boys have learned to scan pages from left to right.

moustache and conflated it with his nose. In this way, the moustache has disappeared from Ed's drawings in columns 2, 12 and 13.

In column 13 Ed conflates Dr. Mario's right ear with his nose, resulting in the disappearance of the ear. At the same time, he elaborates the nose in such a way as to make it resemble half a moustache. In column 14 Ed conflates Dr. Mario's left ear and the missing half of his moustache. At the same time Dr Mario's nose and cap brim are conflated with the concealed left ear. Through these structural transformations Ed's depiction of Dr. Mario in column 14 has come to resemble the depiction with which he began in column 1.

The "M" form of the ears in Ray's depiction of a cat (column 1) is transformed into the "V"-shaped ghost, flying with upraised arms from a haunted house in column 9. The position of the ghost's arms is reiterated in the drawing of the jack-o'lantern man in column 15. Paradigmatic associations between Ray and Ed's drawings in columns 9 and 15 are evident, indicating the boys were unconsciously patterning each other's drawings.

Whereas Ray and Ed simplified the "M"-shaped gestalt of their initial drawings into a "V"-shaped gestalt in their subsequent ones, Rick chose an alternate path. Rather than "pushing" the tips of the goose's wings apart to form a "V", Rick conflated the two wings into one overlapping form, as can be seen in his drawings in columns 1, 4 and 5. In depicting the goose as if it were flying from the left to the right side of the page, Rick has condensed the form of the left and right wings. This wing position in turn suggests the gliding descent of a goose which is about to land. By extending the feet of the goose in column 5 (see also the top of Chart 4.05), Rick enhances the effect of the goose landing.

In his next two pictures (columns 6 and 7; Chart 4.05) Rick depicts a hunter, first hiding and then emerging from his blind. The hunter in column 7 is shedding tears because, according to Rick, "he had to shoot [the goose] his friend."

Rick and Sam's goose drawings in column 5 are clearly patterned on each other. Sam, Terry and Ed's ghost drawings in the previous column also resemble Rick's goose drawings, suggesting further unconscious borrowing. The ebb and flow of such borrowing permeates the drawings in this and the other concordances, establishing a contrapuntal creative rhythm in the boys' drawings. This rhythm involves basic structural processes operating at the level of shared visual morphemes and gestalts, as well as unconscious verbal associations. But it also seems to evoke other senses and assimilate other rhythms surrounding and enveloping the children, their families and their community.

Viewing the boys' Halloween drawings as a totality conveys to me the simultaneous effect of images, sounds, tastes, smells and feelings which I experienced while living in Kashechewan. I am lifted up and carried back to that small community on the west coast of James Bay by the pictures in the concordance. I imagine surreal images of Ninja turtles and Dr. Mario dancing across television screens; the sweet pungence of spruce logs crackling in a woodstove; wisps of blue smoke drifting from chimneys into the clear autumn sky late at night; smoke transformed into ghosts and chimneys into dungeons; a "V" of geese heading south, crying plaintively, sadly, eerily; black cats, jack-o'lanterns, dinosaurs, devils and ghosts rushing from house to house, driven as much by cold winds blasting in from the Bay as by the urge to hoard treats; the wind - harbinger of winter - pounding against the windows, shaking the roof and producing a bone-shaking rattle in the chimney.

As the euphoria of the senses subsides, I become aware that I am not in Kashechewan, but in my study. Once again, I gaze clinically at the drawings in Chart 4.00. The magic has left. But before resuming my analysis of the children's drawings, I reflect on the process by which I was "transported" to Kashechewan. My vivid memories of life in the village seem to have been evoked by a holistic "reading" of a totality constructed from images

presented by the children in their drawings, By scanning the pictures in Chart 4.00 and selectively piecing together the images which evoke my own memories I am able to recreate a mental picture of Kashechewan. At the same time, memories of sounds, smells, tastes and other sensations are synaesthetically combined to evoke a strong and immediate sense of "being there".

Resuming my exploration of the visual form of Cree children's drawings, my attention focuses on Terry's drawing column 3 of the concordance. It depicts a Ninja turtle - hardly a surprising choice of subject. Based on the drawings reproduced in Charts 1.00-4.00, Terry depicts a Ninja turtle in his first drawing 75% of the time. Ninja turtles are Terry's favourite subject, appearing in 43% of all his drawings reproduced in Charts 1.00-4.00. Ninja turtles not only appear more often than any other figure in Terry's drawings, but they appear more often in Terry's drawings than in any of the other children's drawings. Ninja turtles are Terry's favourite superheroes, with Michelangelo appearing to function as his own special "guardian angel".²

The capital "M" Terry has inscribed on the belt of the figure in column 2 (for an enlargement see Chart 4.02) not only distinguishes him as the character "Michelangelo"; it also reiterates the "M"-shaped gestalt motivating the form of Ray, Ed and Rick's drawings

²*Mishi-anchel* 'the great angel' is distinguished from other Ninja turtles by the capital "M" embossed on his belt. Compare Terry's depiction of Michelangelo in Chart 4.02 with those in Chart 2.01 and Drawing 10. In all cases the Ninja turtle is portrayed frontally, in a "battle ready" stance which permits the viewer to see the distinguishing mark on his belt (it is possible that many of Terry's depictions of Ninja turtles in profile may also depict Michelangelo - there is simply no way of knowing). In depicting Michelangelo frontally Terry also punctuates the left to right "flow" of his drawings. This "punctuation" often completes one cycle of visual and verbal associations so that a new one can begin. It also creates the visual effect of the hero "turning" from the action unfolding in one cycle of drawings in order to confront the viewer and move into a new plane of reality which exists beyond the page.

in column 1. The "M"-form is also revealed in the way Terry has positioned the appendages of the Ninja turtle in column 2. Note how the arms are elevated above the shoulders and also how the legs are extended beyond the abdomen. The upright and inverted "V"-forms traced by these appendages are linked by the nunchakas (Chinese martial-arts weapons popularized in the Ninja turtle movies) which Michelangelo holds in each of his hands. The impression is thereby created of an upright "M" vertically-counterbalanced by its mirror image.

The "M"-form is not the only gestalt to apparently influence Terry's drawing of Michelangelo. As in the depictions of this character reproduced in other concordances, the cruciform gestalt has considerable symbolic significance, associated as it is in the minds of Terry and the other children with the Christian icon of the crucifix. Terry appears to have invested such symbolic significance in the cruciform he drew on the shell of Michelangelo's belly. This gestalt does not appear to have strongly influenced the composition of Terry's drawing, but probably serves the symbolic function of linking Terry's personal "guardian angel" with *mishi-anchel* 'the great angel' and possibly also with the Biblical figure of Jesus (such associations are quite explicit in Drawing 17).

Rick has inscribed a cruciform on the belly of his Ninja turtle, which in many other respects also seems to have been unconsciously patterned on Terry's depiction. Sam, on the other hand, has departed from the "standard" Ninja turtle schema by drawing a "real" turtle. Sam's turtle drawing may have been influenced by Rick's "naturalistic" depictions of hunting scenes (columns 1 and 3-7), as well as by his brother's "fantastic" representations of Ninja turtles, ghosts, devils and dancing skeletons (columns 3-10).³

³Labels such as "naturalistic" and "fantastic" may obscure as much as they reveal about Terry, Sam and Rick's drawings. Concerning such labels, Radin (1914: 352) observed that a native person traditionally "does not make the separation into personal as contrasted with

Ed's depiction of a Ninja turtle (column 4 and Chart 4.03) conveys none of the sense of power characterized in Terry and Rick's drawings. Indeed, Ed has portrayed his diminutive Ninja turtle locked in the dungeon of a haunted stone castle (column 4 and Chart 4.03). Ed did draw imposing images of Ninja turtles on other occasions, suggesting that he, like his younger brothers, did admire the heroic qualities of Ninja turtles. However, in his drawings in Concordance 4.00 Ed seems to have been preoccupied with "darker" forces, symbolized in his drawings of ghosts, witches and devils (see Charts 4.09 and 4.10).

Ray is the only boy not to have drawn a Ninja turtle in Chart 4.00. However, the Frankenstein-like creature he depicts locked in a dungeon (column 4 and Chart 4.03) does resemble Ed's Ninja turtle. As in Ed and Terry's drawings, the stone castle Ray has drawn appears to be a "scary" place. Whereas Ed and Terry's castle are rectangular structures which in some ways resemble birthday cakes (cf. Charts 2.02, 3.07 and Drawing 23), Ray's castle is modelled on the form of his previous drawing (column 1 and Chart 4.01). Note how the roof of Ray's castle follows the same general curve as the top of his cat's head, with the large window in the middle representing the negative space between the cat's ears. The door and dungeon window in Ray's castle are isomorphically related to the cat's eyes, while the five second-story windows are elaborations of teeth in the cat's mouth (Ray has inverted the position of the cat's mouth and eyes in his castle-drawing).

Ray's cat and castle drawings are also isomorphically related to the heads of Terry and Rick's Ninja turtles. The head of the cat can be transformed into that of a Ninja turtle by: (1) eliminating the cat's ear-orifices; (2) partially conflating and reducing the size of the cat's "M"-shaped ears; (3) rotating the cat's ovoid eye sockets and "M"-shaped ears

impersonal, corporeal with impersonal, in our [Western] sense at all. What he seems to be interested in is the question of existence, of reality; and everything that is perceived by the sense[s], thought of, felt and dreamt of, exists."

clockwise 45 degrees on their respective axes; (4) conflating the rotated ovoids and "M"-shaped ears to form a knotted mask; (5) eliminating the whiskers. Conversely, the Ninja turtles' faces can be transformed into the cat's face by reversing these steps.

The structural similarities between Ray's rendering of the cat and the Ninja turtles drawn by Terry and Rick point to a common facial schema underlying all three drawings. This cartoon-style schema consists of: (1) a circular gestalt at the bottom which includes the jaw and snout, and; (2) a semi-oblong gestalt at the top which includes the eyes, forehead and (in the case of the cat) ears. Each artist has added certain details to the basic facial schema. Some details, such as the cat's whiskers and upright ears, or the Ninja turtles' masks, help the viewer identify what the artists have drawn. Such details tell the viewer a lot about what was drawn, but very little about the individual who was doing the drawing. Other details - the cat's sideways glance, one Ninja turtle's grimace and the other's smile - do not help the viewer identify what has been drawn, but do provide telling insights into what each artist might have been thinking or feeling as they were drawing. Such details suggest that Ray thinks cats are sly, that Terry looks up to Michelangelo as a fierce fighter, and that Rick wants Ninja turtles to be his friends.

There is an isomorphic relationship between windows and chimneys in the boys' drawings of castles and houses. This relationship is based on the fact that the underlying schema for windows and chimneys is a rectangular gestalt. The presence of an underlying schema seems to unify the viewer's perception of windows and chimneys, and may have created the same impression for the artists.

In association with ghosts, windows and chimneys are in complementary distribution throughout Chart 4.00. Ghosts emerge from windows in Terry's castle-drawing (column 4), as well as Ray and Ed's house-drawings (column 9). None of these drawings depict

buildings with chimneys. Ghosts emerge from chimneys in Ed's castle drawing (column 4), Sam's chimney-drawing (column 4) and Rick's house-drawing (column 9). Most of these drawings depict buildings with both chimneys and windows.⁴

The boys seem to depict ghosts in association with buildings in order to convey the idea of "being haunted". The emergence of ghosts from chimneys seems to be based on a perceived similarity in the form of ghosts and billowing clouds of smoke. On the other hand, the emergence of ghosts from windows seems to be based on a perceived similarity between windows and chimneys which is itself based on the rectangular gestalt underlying both forms.

The association of ghosts with the Christian devil in Terry and Ed's drawings in columns 8-9 has little to do with any formal similarities. Rather, the boys seem to perceive that ghosts and devils are mutually related through their association with fire. Indeed, ghosts, fire and hell are strongly linked through a series of Cree verbal associations which I will elaborate in the next section on wordplay. What is pertinent to the present discussion is that these verbal associations seem to have inspired formal links between the shape of ghosts and clouds of smoke in the pictures in columns 4 and 9, as well as between the shape of devil's horns and flames in column 8 (for enlargements of these drawings see Charts 4.03-04, 4.06-07 and 4.09-10).

Rick's drawings in columns 8-15 and Charts 4.07-08 demonstrate the formal association between ghosts and smoke. Note how the ghost in column 8 has been transformed into a cloud of smoke billowing from the chimney of the house in column 9. To highlight the association between ghosts and smoke, Rick has added eyes to the cloud of

⁴Since Sam has depicted a chimney standing alone in his drawing in column 4, there are no windows.

smoke. In column 11 Rick has transformed the smoke cloud into a full moon, which provides the backdrop to his Halloween scene of a witch flying on a broomstick.

The devil's head in Rick's drawing in column 15 recombines features from his picture of the witch in column 11. The complementary nature of these drawings is evident in Chart 4.08. Note the way in which Rick has transformed the full moon into the devil's head. By eliminating part of the witch's torso and then reduplicating and inverting this simplified form, Rick has generated the devil's horns, eyes, nose, mouth, fangs and beard. This structural transformation is based on the isomorphic relationship between the figure of the witch and the features on the left side of the devil's face. The top of the witch's peaked hat has become the devil's left horn, while the hat brim and head have been conflated into the form of the devil's left eye. The witch's shoulder, back and extended arms have been simplified into the left side of the devil's nose. The broomstick handle has been transformed into the left side of the devil's mouth and the witch's feet have been conflated to become the devil's left fang. The broom bristles have been rotated 45 degrees clockwise, becoming the devil's goatee. Finally, all the features on the left side of the drawing have been reduplicated. The reduplicated features have been inverted, thus completing the right half of the devil's face.

As well as being influenced by forms in his previous drawings, Rick's picture of the devil incorporates features from some of the other boys' drawings. The devil's head was clearly influenced by Ray, Ed and Sam's depictions of jack-o'lanterns, while his body appears to have been derived from the bodies of Ray and Ed's jack-o'lantern men. The curious horizontal line bisecting the head of Rick's devil seems to be related to the horizontal lines demarcating the stalk from the fleshy body of the pumpkins in Ray and Sam's drawings. Lastly, Rick's portrayal of the devil in column 15 was undoubtedly influenced by Ed and

Sam's devilish depictions of Dr. Mario and Razhar in column 13, and perhaps also Terry and Ed's images of devils in columns 8-9.

As I have already mentioned, the link between the devil and Halloween in the boys' drawings appears to be based on verbal associations between ghosts and hellfire and visual associations between the form of ghosts, smoke-clouds, the full moon and jack-o'lanterns. These associations surface in Ed's drawings in column 8 and 9, details of which can also be found in Charts 4.09-10. Observe the relationship of ghosts and devils to fire in these drawings. The ghosts seem to rise above the blaze as if they were smoke. The devils' horns are isomorphically related to the flames while the position of the devils' arms, legs and torso seems to be patterned on the shape of a crucifix. This latter feature is particularly obvious in Chart 4.09. It is also apparent in Sam's drawing of the devil at the bottom of Chart 4.13. In each case the artist has drawn a cross in the middle of the devil's torso, as if to highlight Christian religious associations.

The way in which the boys visually associate ghosts with smoke, fire and devils expresses their understanding of semantic and/or conceptual relationships between these things. In choosing to express these relationships through drawings, the boys must select properties which can be represented visually. Ghosts and smoke thus share properties of translucence and the ability to drift or float through the air. However, through secondary associations non-visual percepts can also be evoked. Drifting smoke may thus be related to fire and heat, which in turn are linked to hell, devils and (once again) ghosts.

Before moving on to the analysis of verbal associations in the next section, I would like to consider the visual aspect of the letters and words the children inscribed on their drawings. I have already discussed how Ray, Ed, Terry, Sam and Rick used the letter "M" as a gestalt in many of their drawings in Chart 4.00. In these drawings the boys seem to

perceive the letter "M" almost-purely in visual/spatial terms. They seem to be processing and perhaps decoding letters of the alphabet by means of their shape rather than by their sound. Sometimes the boys also process words in this way. Look, for example, at Sam's drawings of a goose and ghost in columns 4 and 5, also reproduced in Charts 4.04 and 4.05. As if to emphasize how much these words look and sound alike, Sam's depictions of the goose and ghost are modelled on the same underlying schema, which was undoubtedly influenced by Rick's goose drawings. More than this, Sam began writing "Goos" on his ghost drawing. Realizing his mistake before it was too late, Sam converted the first "o" into an "h" and added a "t" to the end of the word.

The similarity of Sam's depictions of the goose and the ghost appear to be visual expressions of his perception of the underlying similarity of the shape and sound of the English words designating these things. Sam could have drawn his goose and ghost in a variety of different ways, but he was restricted by the canon of "correct" English spelling (a canon which was the focus of most of his language arts classes in school) to writing the words in a single way. In choosing to draw the goose and ghost in a way that emphasized their underlying formal similarity, Sam therefore seems to have been strongly influenced by his mental image of the English words.

Other examples of the highly-visual way in which Cree children seem to perceive text can be found in the other concordances. In Chart 1.04 Janey correctly spelled her name and the phrase "I Ninja turtles". This achievement is quite remarkable, since Janey is dyslexic and other samples of her writing indicate that she is at an early phonemic level of writing development.⁵ Yet somehow (probably through coaching by her Kindergarten teacher) Janey

⁵According to Weaver (1988: 194), most children pass through the following stages as they are learning to write: (1) *scribble* writing - children know writing is symbolic, but cannot yet decode words into distinct phonemes corresponding to letters and are not

was able to master the correct spelling of her name and the phrase "I Ninja turtles". I submit that Janey was able to remember and reproduce the correct spelling of these words because she pictured them as visual rather than auditory images.

Another example of the way Cree children process written words as if they were pictures is found in Chart 2.02. Notice how Terry was able to correctly-spell the French word "fête" without being able to speak (let alone read or write) French. Terry was able to do this by focusing on his memory-image of the bilingual birthday-card on which this word appeared. In so doing, Terry decoded the word "fête" as if it was a visual image.

Terry was able to "see" and recall the word-image "fête" because he understood that text is meaningful, even though he may not have fully understood the precise meaning of the words themselves. On the other hand, his brother Sam does not yet seem to have grasped the idea that text is meaningful. This is indicated in his drawings in Charts 2.02 and 3.07. Like Terry's drawing in Chart 3.07, Sam's drawings are based on his memory-image of a birthday card. Unlike his older brother, Sam did not include word-images in his picture.

After more than two years of exposure to reading and writing in school, Sam does not yet seem to have fully grasped the meaningfulness of text (a skill many children in Southern schools have developed before they begin kindergarten). His brother Terry, with

sufficiently co-ordinated to inscribe letters; (2) *prephonemic* writing - children have sufficient co-ordination to inscribe letters, but cannot yet decode words into distinct phonemes that can be represented by letters; (3) *early phonemic* writing - children are able to distinguish the first and last consonants of a word and to decode these using letters; (4) *letter-name* writing - children are able to distinguish consonants from vowels and to decode three or more letters in each word; (5) *transitional* writing - the child is able to fully decode all the consonants and vowels in a word, but has not yet grasped the canons of spelling; (6) *conventional* writing - the child is able to write words which are spelled correctly. While individual differences and cultural factors (i.e. the emphasis parents, teachers and communities put on mastering and using writing skills) may influence the rate at which children pass through these stages, children typically achieve transitional writing by the end of the first grade and attain conventional writing by the end of primary school.

only one more year of schooling, does seem to have grasped the meaningfulness of text, although he perhaps still perceives words primarily as visual rather than verbal images.

From a non-native developmental perspective, it might seem strange that Sam can grasp the meaningfulness of "three point" perspective⁶ (a skill typically understood by much older children in the South), but that he was apparently unable to understand the meaningfulness of text (a skill grasped by most preschool children in South). Yet this is the pattern in Sam's drawings in Chart 2.02 and 3.07. Before discussing the ramifications of this pattern, I shall present one more example of the way some Cree children encode text.

Karen is a 10 year old Grade 4 student at St. Andrew's School in Kashechewan. She is an above-average reader who is highly motivated by her teacher. Unlike the other children I have discussed so far, Karen did not visit me at Matthew's house. I got to know Karen in February and March of 1991, when I worked as a classroom assistant for Karen's teacher. The following excerpt about Karen's remarkable method of decoding words written in English is from my fieldnotes for 2 April 1991:

This morning students read *Murdo's Story* in language arts class. Afterwards their teacher handed out a list of words the students were expected to learn for a spelling quiz at the end of the week. For practice, each student was asked to read a word from the list. When Karen's turn came she was supposed to read the word "idea". Unfortunately, Karen was unable to recognize the word. After a long pause, she said "bridge". The teacher looked somewhat confused, apparently unable to comprehend how Karen could turn "idea" into "bridge". He told Karen that she was wrong, then asked Carla to read the word. Carla correctly responded that the word was "idea".

⁶Lowenfeld and Brittain (1987: 399) define three point perspective as a canon for the representation of three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional plane. Three point perspective creates the illusion of depth on a flat page by mapping space in the foreground with lines which converge at a single "vanishing point" on the horizon. In his study of developmental stages in children's art Mitchelmore (1978) found that children only begin to grapple with the problem of perspective in their drawings when they are 13 years old and do not fully master three point perspective into the latter years of adolescence.

Mulling over how Karen might have derived "bridge" from "idea", it dawned on me that she had engaged in an elaborate, if somewhat misdirected series of logical steps to decode the word. The letters "i" and "d" were the key feature Karen selected to decode "idea" (these letters also appear in "bridge"). Not immediately recognizing the word on the basis of these features, but dimly recognizing the graphic features on which she had focused, Karen tried thinking of words she already knew that incorporated the graphic features of the word on the list. The vowels "e" and "a" confused her because she had not encountered them in this combination in previous word lists. Trying to make sense of these letters, Karen reversed their position, then rotated the "a" 180 degrees on its horizontal axis, thereby transforming it into a "g". Karen focused on the "i", "d", "g" and "e" which she now "saw" on the list in front of her. The image of three shaggy animals and a hairy man flashed into her mind. It was an illustration from the story Karen had read in language arts class the previous week. "Who's that walking on my bridge?" demanded the troll in the fairy tale *Three Billy Goats Gruff*. "Bridge" responded Karen with an air of jubilation. "Wrong," responded her teacher, with a look of consternation.

Karen's miscue does not stem not from a lack of cognitive development (she is capable of making complex visual transformations and structuring them logically). Rather, a growing body of research (see footnote 3, page 54 and footnote 7, page 150) seems to indicate that Karen's difficulty in reading and writing result from speaking a minority language (Cree) at home and learning in a second language (English) at school. While Karen would still have to struggle with the alphabet if she was learning in Cree (unless the syllabic system was employed), she would at least be learning how to read and write in a language with which she was familiar. Learning to read and write in Cree would allow Karen to use familiar auditory and grammatical cues in her native language to supplement the over-used visual cues on which she must presently rely when learning in English. Learning in Cree would allow Karen to develop cognitive skills which might in the long term be more productive in learning how to read and write in a second language.

Like the birthday-card drawings of Terry and Sam, Karen's miscue provides a tantalizing glimpse into the way some Cree children might decode written English.

Unfortunately, without further detailed observations of Cree children reading, writing and drawing there is no way of determining whether Cree children typically decode text as if it were a picture. Nevertheless, such glimpses into the inner worlds of Cree children do stimulate many important questions. Do children who speak a native language as their first language have different patterns of cognitive development than their non-native counterparts in Southern schools? Are Ontario Ministry of Education models of second-language teaching appropriate for teaching Cree children in Kashechewan? How can teachers in Kashechewan identify students experiencing language-related learning difficulties and address these children's special needs? Do language-related learning difficulties contribute to the high dropout rate of native children in Ontario high schools?⁷

To begin answering the questions I have raised will involve a vast and multifaceted program of research well beyond the range of a single dissertation on children's art. Nevertheless, I asked myself these and other questions while doing fieldwork in Kashechewan and later, when I was analyzing the drawings which children had given to me. I have found it to be productive to ask questions, even when there are no clear answers. It is my belief that the first step in finding more effective ways to teach children whose first language is a native language, parents, teachers, school administrators, government officials, academics and other concerned individuals must first question why things are the way they are.

Verbal Structure

Wordplay occurs in 75% of the drawings in Chart 4.00. As I demonstrated in the previous section on visual structure, the letter "M" seems to function as a gestalt, dominating

⁷McKay (1989: 15, 21) states that "In the 1980s between one-third and just over half of the registered Indian students in Grade 9 in Ontario provincial secondary schools can expect to obtain the secondary school graduation diploma three years later." Dropout rates are higher than the provincial norm for students coming from remote northern reserves such as Kashechewan.

the structure of most of the children's drawings in the first part of Chart 4.00. What is perhaps surprising is that the phoneme /m/ also seems to be involved in a significant amount of unarticulated wordplay. As Table 1 reveals, 42% of all the Cree words associated with drawings in Chart 4.00 begin with /m/. More Cree words in Chart 4.00 begin with /m/ than in all the other concordances combined. Indeed, more than half of all the words beginning with this phoneme in Charts 1.00-4.00 are found in Chart 4.00.

	<i>CREE WORDS</i>	<i>ENGLISH WORDS</i>
<i>Chart 1.00</i>	<i>3/35 (9%)</i>	<i>1/17 (6%)</i>
<i>Chart 2.00</i>	<i>3/17 (18%)</i>	<i>2/17 (12%)</i>
<i>Chart 3.00</i>	<i>4/32 (13%)</i>	<i>0/17 (----)</i>
<i>Chart 4.00</i>	<i>16/38 (42%)</i>	<i>2/12 (17%)</i>

TABLE 1. Number of Words Beginning with /m/ as a Percentage of the Total Number of Words that are Associated with Children's Drawings (Compiled from Charts 5.01-04).

In what follows I recapitulate the general patterns of wordplay associated with the drawings in Chart 4.00, showing how semantic and thematic linkages among words beginning with /m/ have influenced the entire pattern of verbal associations in the drawings. Details on wordplay are presented in the verbal concordance accompanying Chart 4.00. Examples showing how Cree and English words are associated with what the children have depicted in their drawings are highlighted in Charts 4.01-14 and tabulated in Charts 5.04 and 5.06.

Sixty-one percent of the fifty Cree and English words in Chart 4.00 contain /m/, which is in word-initial position 67% of the time. Distinguishing the phoneme /m/ from both the grapheme "M" and from the M-shaped gestalt may be a useful technical exercise. However, the prevalence and apparent interrelationship of these structural units throughout the boys' drawings in Chart 4.00 seems to indicate that all three are strongly associated in the boys' minds and would better be thought of as a single "phono-graphemic gestalt". For

this reason and also for the sake of simplicity, I shall use "M" to designate this bundle of features. I shall further assume that words beginning with /m/ which are associated with pictures in Chart 4.00 are also associated with "M".

Most of the words in Chart 4.00 which are associated with "M" refer to *manitoowak* 'spiritual entities'. The primary unconscious verbal association is thus with spiritual entities which seem to be linked with Halloween. Children in Kashechewan seem to have learned about Halloween from television and from their teachers at school. Elders with whom I spoke in the village asserted that Halloween was not celebrated in James-Bay communities prior to the 1980s.⁸ Nevertheless, the Halloween custom of masquerading does appear to be consistent with the Northern Algonquian practice of face painting. According to Alex McKay (personal communication) traditional face painting was meant to reveal - not conceal - an individual's true persona. In the same light, Halloween masks may be viewed as an expression of the wearer's inner self.

Wearing Halloween masks and costumes may be more akin to the traditional Cree custom of "dressing up" for special occasions than to the recently-introduced practice of concealing oneself. Indeed, dressing up for Halloween may be functionally equivalent to the bygone practice of wearing of decorative hunting jackets "to please the caribou" (Catherine

⁸Such assertions notwithstanding, it should be noted that Guy Fawkes day (November 5) was celebrated at Hudson's Bay Company posts throughout much of the 18th and 19th centuries (Baldwin 1977: 52; Shchepanek 1972: 44). Based on his research with Hudson's Bay Company Journals for the posts in the Missinaibi-Moose River region, Baldwin (1977: 14) states that "Christmas and Guy Fawkes day were the only regularly kept holidays or festivals." Hole (1940: 68) notes that Guy Fawkes Day, along with All Souls and All Saints Day and Halloween have assimilated vestiges of "sun worship" from the Celtic New Year's festival known as Samhain, which was traditionally celebrated on November 1. Such vestiges include the lighting of bonfires, effigy-burning and the wearing of masks and costumes. For further details see Frazer (1935: 106-7 and 226-46), MacGregor (1946: 175-9), McPherson (1929: 3-27) and Ross (1976: 119-25).

Oberholtzer, personal communication; for illustrations see Burnham 1992) and perhaps also the wearing of military-style uniforms by "trading captains" (for a description see Graham 1969: 317, quoted above, pages 47-8). The practice of dressing up for a special occasion continues today on Halloween night, as well as on other occasions (including Sunday services, baptisms, wedding and funerals at the local churches and the "Indian Days" pow wow held in Kashechewan each summer. Such occasions appear to provide opportunities for residents to project various aspects of their persona and also to show pride in their appearance.

Whether or not dressing up to go "trick-or-treating" on Halloween night is a recently introduced custom or builds on indigenous traditions seems to have little bearing on the appeal this practice has to people in Kashechewan. Nearly all local families buy treats to dispense to children on Halloween night and many devote considerable time and effort to making costumes. Indeed, it is not unusual for households to spend \$50 on a single child's costume and that much again on Halloween treats.

The spiritual entities depicted in the boys' drawings in Chart 4.00 can be distinguished into "good" and "bad" categories. The names of good spirits are designated by the prefixes *kihchi-* or *mishi-* and include the following: *kihchi-manitoow* 'good spirit/god' (columns 1 and 14; Charts 4.01 and 4.12); *mishi-anchel(iwiw)* '(he is) a good angel' (column 3; Chart 4.02); *kihchi-mikinak* 'good turtle'(columns 3-4; Chart 4.02), and; *kihchi-maniw* 'Super Mario'(columns 1, 14; Charts 4.01, 4.12). Through wordplay, Rick seems to associate *kichilaw niska* 'the goose goes' with *kihchi-mikinak* (columns 3-5; Chart 4.05), while Sam seems to associate the English words "goose" and "ghost" (column 5; Chart 4.04). Sam and Ed associate the Cree words for "fire" (*ishkote*) and "ghost" (*chiipaī*) with "hell" (*chiipayishkote* - literally "ghost fire") in their drawings (columns 4, 8-9; Charts 4.03-04,

4.09-10, 4.13). In addition, in their drawings in Charts 4.09 and 4.13 (see also columns 8 and 13) Sam and Ed link images of ghosts and hell with the Christian cross, which in Cree is called *chiipayaahitik* - literally 'a ghost stick'. Wordplay also seems responsible for Sam and Rick's association of ghosts and hell-fire with chimneys (*ishkotekanan*) and clouds of smoke (*chipwaapateo*) in columns 4 and 9 (see also Charts 4.04 and 4.07). Ed may be playfully connecting *mikot* 'nose' with the pidgin-English phrase "me good" in his drawing in columns 12 and 13 (see also Chart 4.11).

Bad spirits are designated by the prefix *machi-* 'bad'. A secondary unconscious verbal association thus seems to link "M" with bad spiritual entities. These entities include: *machi-manitoow* 'bad spirit/devil' (columns 2, 4, 8-9, 12-13, 15; Charts 4.03, 4.08-4.11, 4.13), *machi-anchel(iwiw)* '(he is) a bad angel' (column 13; Chart 4.13), *machi-achak* 'bad spirit' (column 15; Chart 4.08), *machi-mikinak* 'bad turtle' (columns 4, 13; Charts 4.03, 4.13), *machi-maniw* 'bad Mario' (columns 2, 12-13; Chart 4.11), *machi-iskwe* 'witch/bad woman' (columns 8, 11; Chart 4.08), *machi-ilili* 'bad man' (column 15; Chart 4.08). Sam seems to have been influenced by the rhythm of the *ma-* sound, associated as it is with drawings of "bad spirits", in his drawing of *maachi-kenepik* 'dinosaur' in Chart 4.06 (see also column 8). Rick may also have picked up the rhythm of this sound in his drawings of the concealed hunter and crying man in Chart 4.05 (*maateo* 'he/she is not here', *maatoo* 'he/she is crying'). Such alliteration is also evident in associations with *masinihikewin* 'writing' and *masinipiskahikanan* 'pictures' in Ray and Terry's drawings in column 4, and with *makitowak* 'big ears' in Ed's drawing of the devilish-looking Dr. Mario in column 12 (see also Chart 4.11).

The evident opposition between "good" and "bad" spirits in the wordplay associated with the boys' drawings in Chart 4.00 seems to indicate a dualistic perception of the world

which may be characteristic of traditional (precontact) Cree worldview. According to Oldmixon (1931: 548), Cree people at the time of contact believed in "two *Monetoos* or Spirits, the one sends all the good things they have, and the other all the bad." On the other hand, Skinner (1911: 59) interpreted the Cree belief in two *manitoowak* to have been influenced by Christian concepts of "god" and the "devil". Following Oldmixon, Cooper (1933: 105) interpreted the Cree belief in good and bad spirits as being indigenous. In addition, Cooper suggested that precontact Cree people conceived *kihchi-manitoow* 'the great spirit' to be a "Supreme Being". Honigman (1956: 66-67) noted that Cree people in Attawapiskat considered the concept of a "supreme being" to have been introduced by Christian missionaries in the 1800s. His informants' statements about the precontact origins of *machi-manitoow* 'bad spirit/devil' are contradictory.

As in their drawings in other concordances, Terry and Sam juxtapose "good" and "bad" characters in their drawings and wordplay throughout Chart 4.00. This is also a characteristic of Ed and to a lesser degree Rick's drawings. Contrary to Cooper's assertions about traditional Cree religion and mythology, the boys' drawings seem to point to a dominion of bad rather than good spirits. While a preoccupation with "dark forces" undoubtedly reflects the boys' anticipation of the arrival of Halloween, their apparent fixation on these forces also suggests they perceive *machi-manitoowak* 'bad spirits' to regularly exercise a strong influence in their world.

Narrative Structure: (1) Masks and "Unseen Forces"

The children's preoccupation with bad spirits in their drawings illustrates one aspect of their perception of life in Kashechewan. This perception is probably rooted in the daily reality of cultural assimilation and chronic unemployment, as well as the related problems of high levels of family violence, suicide, addiction and abuse. It would be a gross

exaggeration to characterize Kashechewan as a dysfunctional community. The vast majority of people in Kashechewan live in warm and loving family environments. Despite the limited opportunities for meaningful employment, there are ample opportunities for most people in Kashechewan to enrich their personal lives, as well as the lives of others. However, as in many other communities throughout Canada, there is also a "dark side" to life in Kashechewan. In this section I will explore three facets of this side of local life in order to contextualize and understand what the children may be trying to depict in some of their drawings. I shall begin with Terry's pictures of unseen forces in Drawings 49-52.

Drawing 49 depicts what Terry called a "magnet monster". This large bird-like creature has talons, wing-like arms and a round body which appears to be covered with feathers. Terry has drawn the "wings" and "feathers" so as to suggest that they are flapping in the wind. A bulky piece of headgear resembling a welder's mask conceals the monster's face, which Terry has depicted in profile. The eye hole of the mask is darkened, as if to keep out harmful rays. Affixed to the back of the mask is a horse-shoe magnet. Wavy lines emanating from the magnet emphasize its strength and power. A young child with outstretched arms suggesting that it is sleep-walking or in a trance is being drawn through the air by the magnet. The child is crying for help. The monster is facing away from the child, apparently oblivious to what is going on behind its back. It is sticking out its tongue in what seems to be a gesture of defiance.

The magnet monster's large size relative to the child suggests that it represents an adult. The monster's bird-like features evoke associations with mythical thunderbirds and other powerful sky-beings which may themselves be inspired by sublimated feelings. By turning to its left, the monster gazes off the page, avoiding eye contact with both the viewer and the child. Perhaps the monster does not want to face up to the effect he is having on the

child. Perhaps he wishes to deny what is happening in the world by turning away from it. Perhaps he wishes to maintain some sort of a pretence by wearing a mask.

In Drawing 50 Terry depicts three boys boxing. The two boys in the foreground are fighting each other. One of them, perhaps desperate and scared, is shouting "Mom". Note how the shape of the desperate boy's mouth resembles the shape of both the magnet and the smile on the sun's face. It is as if, through a simple process of rotation or inversion, Terry has reversed the symbolic force or "polarity" of the lozenge-shaped gestalt in each of these figures, thereby transforming a smile into a contorted cry.

In his drawings Terry seems to recognize that both the magnet and the sun exert invisible forces. He uses a smiling face and shimmering rays to represent the sun's warmth. The magnet, on the other hand, seems to be associated with feelings of desperation and fear, voiced in the plaintive cry of the boy with the magnet-shaped mouth.

Terry repeats the "magnet-mouth" motif in Drawing 51, which depicts an adult male head. The whiskers indicate that this figure is an adult - perhaps Terry's father. In Drawing 52, depicting Terry's mother and little sister Janey, the magnet-shape is associated with a telephone. As in his other drawings, Terry links the invisible force of magnets with mouths, speech and, in Drawing 52, messages transmitted via the telephone.

As I have already commented, children in Kashechewan were reluctant to talk to me about their drawings. It seemed to be enough for them to draw what they wanted to say. By southern standards, Cree children use words sparingly and seem shy - at times even withdrawn. Yet in Kashechewan such behaviour is perceived to be quite normal. Preston (1976: 454, 470) has characterized James-Bay Cree people as "reticent" and my own field experience corroborates this characterization. Preston defines reticence as a recognized form

of Cree social competence involving "social distance" and "self-control." "Quiet competence," he writes (1976: 470), "is viewed as ideal".

By Cree standards, what we call either "quiet" or "shy" is normal, what we call withdrawn would be called "shy" /esagwemut/ by the Cree. I do not know of a Cree term for "withdrawn", but it implies an active disinclination to interact, or a communication that personal secrecy is preferred.

Unlike Inuit and Iroquoian peoples, the Cree do not have a tradition of mask-making. The absence of mask-making may be due to Cree people's relatively high level of reticence. Preston (1976: 472-3) alluded to this fact when he observed:

The whole question of "masking" and selective self-exposure, and the Cree alternative of personal honesty mediated by reticence, stems from the universal human awareness that other persons may seek to deceive or conceal in their social relationships. Ulterior motives are a chronic possibility in any culture, and the Cree have placed a high value upon personal honesty.

Terry's depiction of masks in his drawings of grass monsters (Drawings 39-43) and the magnet monster (Drawing 49) suggests that under the pressure of living in a sedentary village environment, Cree people are beginning to feel pressure to find more overt ways to mask their emotions. As Chance (1968: 22) has observed, "the territorial controls [which] long ago worked out in the bush have not as yet been modified to resolve the problems in more permanent settlements and towns."

The greater complexity and increased "scale" of social life in reserves, villages and towns brought on by overcrowding, the need for more community-centered rather than hunting group-oriented decision-making, for increased conformity of behavior, for a more precise sense of time, and a host of other social requirements continually promote intra-group conflict and tension. Traditional modes of stress reduction whereby, for example, an individual or family left one hunting group for another, are no longer possible when employment or other considerations require permanent year-round residence.

Perceived threats of being linguistically and culturally assimilated into the dominant Anglo-Canadian society may also be contributing pressures on Cree people to hide their fears. The rapid integration of *wemistikoshowak* 'white people's' technology, religion, wage-

economy, recreation, entertainment and a host of other cultural patterns is undoubtedly creating stress and confusion among Mashkeko Cree people. Concerning such stresses, Chance (1968: 17-18) remarks that

...the cultural system appropriate to the traditional northern physical and social environment becomes maladaptive when applied to a western oriented technological, social and cultural world. The clash of two or more technologically unequal cultural systems is a worldwide phenomenon. And in the north, as elsewhere, the technologically less well-equipped peoples are prone to feelings of inferiority and self-disparagement. This attitude throws into question the worth of one's own identity, a questioning which is reinforced when the individual perceives that others' estimates of himself are similar to his own.

Chance's remarks must be qualified. Traditional Cree ecological awareness, family values and ethics such as sharing may, in the long term, actually be more adaptive than the traditions of industrial progress, individualism, greed which have come to dominate twentieth century North-American societies. In addition, since their first contact with Europeans Mashkekos have successfully incorporated technological innovations into their own society without fundamentally compromising their own traditions. Nevertheless, my own field experience confirms that during the last 20-30 years many Cree values and traditions which to previous generations may have seemed timeless do appear to have been displaced by the values and traditions of the dominant society. For example, Matthew Goodman and other people of his generation in Kashechewan frequently expressed their concern that young Mashkekos were no longer competent to work in the bush. In addition, village elders often indicated their displeasure that younger generations had lost the ability to read and write in syllabics, were speaking their native language in a simplified and "lazy" way, and were no longer practicing ethics such as respect and sharing.

Various researchers (Nonas 1963: 78-80; Honigman 1966: 205-6; Trudeau 1966: 138-141; Chance 1968: 21-6; Sindell 1968: 87-91; Wintrob 1968: 101-4; Wintrob and Sindell

1972: 269; Preston 1986: 246-9) have noted that the movement of James-Bay Cree people from traplines to sedentary reserve communities has had a substantial and irreversible effect on traditional Cree values, particularly in the realm of interpersonal behaviour. Traditional Cree notions of honesty, etiquette and competence that evolved in response to bush life have given way to new forms of behaviour adapted to sedentary village life. Preston (1979: 94) calls these behavioral changes "a shift of trajectory", which he describes as follows:

Social control, and thereby Cree cultural uniformity and stability, has been transformed and elaborated with political, economic, educational and religious institutions. The nearly exclusive focus on individual autonomy has given way to band councils, a grand council, a school board, a pentecostal movement; and self-control is yielding in a parallel fashion.

Terry's drawings reveal the extent to which children in Kashechewan are masking their feelings about the what they see and feel going on around them. In school, Terry is expected to speak English and to be assertive, competitive and ask questions. When visiting his grandfather, he is expected to speak Cree and display reticence and self control. "After only one year in school," Sindell (1968: 91) writes that Cree children "have already begun to change significantly toward acting in ways which are appropriate in Euro-Canadian culture but inappropriate in their own culture."

Cree children are caught between the behavioral norms expected by their elders and those expected by their teachers and other members of the dominant society. Caught in this cultural limbo, some children experience identity crises, withdrawal, depression and occasionally even suicidal tendencies (Wintrob 1968: 94; Wintrob and Sindell 1972: 260-1). Terry uses magnets and masks to symbolize some of these potentially-destructive "unseen forces" in Drawings 49-52. In his pictures in Chart 4.00 he uses images of Ninja turtles, ghosts, skeletons and devils to represent his perception that Kashechewan is the site of an epic battle between the forces of "good" and "evil". Terry seems to have aligned himself

with the forces of good, symbolized by the syncretistic figure of Michelangelo, "the great angel" in his drawings. Unfortunately, few children in Kashechewan have been able to discern the unseen forces ravaging their community with such equanimity and clarity.

(2) A Lesson in Despair

As Chance (1968: 17-18) has observed, individuals who are unable to integrate their own values with those of the dominant society can sometimes undergo feelings of inferiority and self-disparagement. The potential self-destructiveness of such feelings was first brought home to me during an afternoon walk in February 1991. About a mile and a half west of Kashechewan, on the frozen surface of the Albany River, I found a student's binder in a small pile of garbage. Picking up the binder, I wondered why somebody would throw away their notes in the middle of the school year. Believing that the notes inside the binder might provide an answer to this question, I tucked it into my backpack and carried it home.

Returning from my walk, I went straight to my room, closing the door behind me. I removed the binder from my backpack. It was still frozen and covered with snow. In opening the binder I knew that I would be violating its owner's privacy. I felt uncomfortable and unsure about what to do. I stared at the black covers as they thawed out, wondering what lay between them. In the end my curiosity won out. I wanted to know why somebody would throw away something that they must once have valued. I opened the binder and began reading its contents.

Inside the binder were English, math and science notes, as well as a number of completed assignments belonging to a 16 year-old girl named Francis (a pseudonym). Francis had been a Grade 9 student in the SCAN (Students Can Achieve Now) distance-

education program at St. Andrew's school.⁹ Judging from the grades and teachers' comments on her assignments, Francis was an above-average student. However, beginning in mid-November 1990 an increasing number of Francis' assignments were only partially completed. Why would a student succeeding in her studies lose the motivation to continue?

Tucked inside a flap in the front cover of the binder was the beginning of an answer to my question. There, on several pages of loose-leaf paper, I found the following song-lyrics painstakingly copied three times in longhand:

Two Out of Three Ain't Bad

Baby we can talk all night,
But that ain't getting us no where.
I told you every thing I possibly can,
There's nothing left inside of me
And Baby, you can cry all night
But that will never change
the way that I feel.
The snow is really piling up outside
I wish you never made me leave here.

I poured it on and poured it out
I tried to show you how much I care
I'm tired of words
And I'm too hoarse to shout
But you've been cold
to me, so long
I'm crying icicles instead
of tears.

⁹Distance-education programs utilized in the early 1990s in schools on the west coast of James Bay use lectures broadcast on television and teleconferencing to link Grade 9 and 10 students in their own communities with teachers in Timmins. While allowing students to continue with their studies without leaving home, the impersonality of such programs has impeded their success. Recognizing this deficiency, the Local Education Authority in Kashechewan hired a full-time teacher in 1993 to supervise Grade 9 and 10 students.

And all I can do
 Is keep on telling you
 I want you,
 I need you,
 but there ain't no way
 I'm ever gonna love you.
 Now don't be sad
 Cause two out of three ain't bad.
 Now don't be sad
 Cause two out of three Ain't Bad.

The following poem, which was also tucked into the front flap of the binder provides further insights into why Francis dropped out of the SCAN program:

Just a Matter of Time

There was a time
 You had no need for rhythm or rhyme
 And the world seemed so wild and so free
 You just wrapped yourself up in a dream
 All you had to do was believe
 And nothing was out of your reach
 So sure how it all falls in line.

It's just a matter of time,
 It's just a matter of time.

Then you wake up one day
 All your dreams some how faded away
 The road that you followed...it turned
 You can't find where the fire once burned
 In your heart of hearts...you've compromised
 Baby one day...we all cross that line.

It's just a matter of time,
 It's just a matter of time.

All alone in the still of the night
 You come face to face with your pride
 And how much you wanted it all
 You can't believe now you're taking the fall.

Then you reach out one day
To the light of a new dawning day
And you take just one small grain of sand
Right into the palm of your hand
And maybe you find in the end
You're able to dream...once again
And baby you fall back in line.

It's just a matter of time
It's just a matter of time

Other clues as to why Francis quit the SCAN program and threw away her notes appeared in unexpected places. On the back of an English handout I found an evaluation form with the question: "Did you have any problems with this lesson?" Below the question are two boxes, one with the word "No" printed next to it and another with the word "Yes" next to it. Following the "Yes" box are several lines for student comments. Francis had crossed out the last three words of the sentence, checked the "Yes" box and in the comments area written "Family Problems". I found another clue on the back of a story about making difficult choices, where Francis had written her name, then drawn a heart around it. Around the outside of the heart, Francis' name appears six more times. Below the heart, Francis wrote her address: Kashechewan Ontario P0L 1S0. On the left hand side of the page, two converging arrows point away from the heart. Beside the top arrow, the word "Drug". Below, beside the second arrow, another word: "Valium".

A final clue - a letter which Francis wrote to herself, appended to an English assignment. The terse but revealing letter reads:

Francis -----
 General Delivery
 Kashechewan, Ontario
 P0L 1S0

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am concerned for the population of Kashechewan.

Fuck off
 Fuck off Francis
 Francis -----
 Francis

Fran

The song, poem, letter and marginal comments on the assignments which I found in Francis' binder do not display outstanding originality or artistic merit, but they do reveal much about how one troubled teenage girl living in Kashechewan perceived her world. Feelings of sadness, abandonment and, above all, coldness, are evoked by images of "snow...piling up outside" and "crying icicles instead of tears" (lines 8 and 16 of "Two Out of Three Ain't Bad"). In "Just a Matter of Time" feelings of confusion and disorientation are evoked by images of a road with an unexpected turn (line 12), of being unable to find the place "where the fire once burned" (line 13) and of being "all alone in the still of night" (line 18). A depressing air of finality is echoed in the refrain: "It's just a matter of time, It's just a matter of time."

Upset by the feelings of vulnerability and exposure evoked by Francis' writings, I paid a visit to the guidance counsellor at St. Andrew's School. I showed him the binder I had found on the ice and discussed my concerns about Francis. The guidance counsellor told me that Francis did not come from a home where she had been encouraged to express her feelings. He said that Francis had broken up with her boyfriend at about the same time that she had dropped out of the SCAN program. Two weeks later she had left Kashechewan to

live in Timmins. She had enrolled at Timmins Collegiate and Vocational Institute and began attending Grade 9 classes.

The guidance counsellor concurred with my interpretation of the material in Francis' binder. However, he felt that in leaving Kashechewan and enrolling in high school in Timmins Francis was trying to improve her life. He had high hopes for Francis and adopted a "wait and see" attitude in regard to my concerns.

"Don't you think that Francis might still be sitting on strong feelings?" I asked the guidance counsellor. "Isn't there something you can do?" I reiterated my concerns about what the contents of the binder appeared to be saying. I wondered whether Francis might try to act out her repressed feelings. I described an encounter I had with eight boys in the schoolyard a week earlier. During recess the boys had jumped on top of me and pulled me down onto the snow. Lying helplessly under their combined weight I had felt their pent up rage. I had been frightened. The counsellor replied that many children in the village were angry. He suggested that their anger was often motivated by alcoholic and abusive parents.

"Is there no way to help?" I asked the guidance counsellor, with a growing sense of despair. "Bad family situations cannot be changed without the cooperation of parents," he told me. "In Moosonee," he continued, "they have healing circles for children. During these circles many children learn how to express their feelings. Sometimes there is a lot of anger and then crying."

In September 1992 Francis enrolled in Grade 10 at Timmins Collegiate and Vocational Institute. According to her high-school guidance counsellor, Francis was doing well at school that year. She was popular among students and teachers alike. Then one night in February Francis went to a party. She got drunk and left the party alone in a taxi. Getting out of the taxi, Francis apparently became disoriented. Perhaps feeling lost, she may

have looked for a familiar landmark or sign. Seeing a small shed resembling one behind her parents' house in Kashechewan, she crawled inside. She drifted into a deep sleep while snow piled up gently outside. Francis' frozen body was found nearly a week later.

During my stay in Kashechewan it was, and continues to be my perception that there are few, if any opportunities for people in Kashechewan to discuss their feelings. From the accounts of her guidance counsellors, Francis was a bright, sensitive girl who, in her own words, felt "concerned for the population of Kashechewan." Francis was undoubtedly angry and discouraged by what she perceived to be the hopeless situation of people in her community. She seemed to have felt helpless to change this situation and, in the end, she appears to have succumbed to what she perceived to be the world's coldness.

As I continue to reflect on Francis' short life, I am haunted by her feelings of despair and vulnerability. The lyrics of the Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young song that she transcribed three times still have an eerie sense of foreboding: "I'm tired of words and I'm too hurt to shout, but you've been cold to me so long [that] I'm crying icicles instead of tears."

(3) Biblical Themes of Hell and Damnation

Traditional patterns of reticence may make it difficult for many Cree people to talk about their troubles. In an apparent effort to seek a cathartic release, many villagers attend "fire and brimstone" sermons at church. However, these sermons often seem to magnify rather than diminish parishioners' feelings of fear and desperation.

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes for 19 March 1991 describes a typical "fire and brimstone" sermon. The sermon accurately captures the substance and tone of many other sermons given by both native and non-native lay preachers in the Anglican church. It is not representative of sermons delivered by the non-native Anglican minister responsible

for the parish. This minister, who lived in Kingston and visited Kashechewan for one week each month, stressed love, tolerance, forgiveness and healing when he was at the pulpit.

Here is my record (transcribed from detailed notes made at the time) of the first part of the sermon delivered at the Anglican Church in Kashechewan on 19 March 1991:

Tonight (Tuesday), at the prompting of some of my friends, I went to church. Arriving at 7:00 p.m., I found the pews to be about half full. Three evangelical preachers were sitting at the pulpit. One, who called himself Bruce Orr, was dressed in bluejeans and a white turtleneck sweater. A second evangelist wore black jeans and a black jean jacket (the colour seemed appropriate given the content of their sermon). The third wore dark blue pants and a light blue cardigan with horizontal purple stripes. All spoke with southern U.S. accents.

The first sermon was called "We are One in Christ". Reading from 2 Corinthians 5: 16 the evangelist in the blue striped cardigan extolled the virtues of being born again in Christ. "Don't let the devil, your own mind, or anyone else tell you differently," the preacher said. "When you are born again, God becomes your father. And if you are his sons and daughters, that makes him your very own father."

The preacher read from Galatians 3: 26 and Ephesians 6: 10, then continued his sermon. "The devil throws flaming arrows at you," he bellowed, pointing at a young woman on the left side of the church. "Thoughts of doubt may come to you," he roared, pointing at an old man across the aisle. "Other people may put thoughts of doubt in your mind," he whispered, looking directly at me. "All kinds of thoughts and words from other people may come into your mind to keep you away from Jesus."

"The battle is not against flesh and blood, but against evil-spirit power. That is the devil and the angels that fell from god. The angels that rebelled against god are your enemies. They will try to keep you from going on with Christ. They may do these things in your own mind, through your own thoughts and doubts. The real enemy is the devil. It is not yourself or other people. It is against the devil. The weapons of our warfare are from God. It's Jesus' power that defeats that kind of thing. The attack is on your own mind.

The harsh words of the preacher in the blue-striped cardigan inspired a strange rhythm in the church. During the sermon, whenever he raised his voice, many of the young children in the church began crying. The children's parents seemed to become uneasy, shuffling their feet, moving around in their seats and staring at the floor. At one point, after

the preacher had modulated his voice, a 12 year-old boy grabbed a mitten from one of his friends and began kicking it around the floor. Several other boys joined into the game, momentarily diverting attention away from the pulpit. The strong medicine being administered by the man in the blue-striped cardigan was not appear having the desired effect.

According to Terry's father, "fire and brimstone" sermons do not cause most people in Kashechewan to stop drinking or gambling. David stopped taking his own family to church when, one day during a sermon the preacher pointed at him and accused him of gambling and drinking. "It's true, I do those things," David told me. "But being judged like that in front of everybody doesn't help."

I used to see my dad talk in church, but he never said those things about what the people should do. He never said that. Lots of people don't know what they should do for a living - they've got families. My dad thought you should teach those people discipline and love in the church. But he never said anything about what those people are doing. Lets say, about alcoholics. He never talked about that in the church. He never pointed them out.

In addition to discouraging David Moses, "fire and brimstone" sermons seem to have encouraged religious intolerance in the community. I have already commented on the longstanding hostility between Roman Catholics and Anglicans in Fort Albany and Kashechewan. During the summer of 1992 denominational rivalry and hostility also surfaced between members of the Anglican and Pentecostal churches in Kashechewan, who repeatedly vandalized each other's premises. One night, at the height of these hostilities, members of the two congregations banded together to burn down the local sweat lodge, which they apparently saw as "the work of the devil".

Sermons emphasizing religious intolerance, hell and damnation also seem to have an adverse effect on children in Kashechewan. The children who gave me their drawings tended

to depict the devil and scenes from hell (for example, Charts 4.09-10, 4.13) much more frequently than biblical scenes emphasizing love and forgiveness (for example, Drawing 18). Sometimes children unexpectedly introjected stories and phrases from the Bible into their conversations. When this happened, it was usually in a stilted and disjointed manner that made me suspect that children were being "programmed" by their Sunday school teachers. One afternoon, for example, a 13 year-old boy named Angus spontaneously wrote the following story, which he entitled "Long Time Ago":

Long time ago people use to do odd things in middle nowhere. They use to drink sugar. The old man and his wife name Mary go hunter for food to eat and the old man kill a moose. The old man was very happy and the old lady was very happy too and the lady cook the moose leg. She put potatoes on it. Very yum, yum, yum. One day the old lady went to pick up some blue berry she went. The old lady want to eat some berry. The lady said the Bible says FOR GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLY SON THAT EVERYONE WHO HAS FAITH IN HIM MAY NOT PERISH BUT HAVE ETERNAL LIFE, JOHN 3: 16. The old lady said that. God said come to Jesus my only son. PRAISE THE LORD. Amen.

Angus frequently attended the Anglican church with his grandmother. His story contains phrases such as "God so loved..." and "praise the Lord" which I frequently heard during church sermons. The fact that Angus wrote these phrases in capital letters reflects the importance he attached to them. Unlike the rest of Angus' story, the words in these phrases from the Bible are correctly spelled and the phrases themselves are written in grammatically-correct English, suggesting that Angus had memorized them during Sunday school. The sudden and unexpected intrusion of phrases from the Bible into Angus' story about bush life indicates that Bible stories provide him with an archetype for all stories.

Angus' fixation on the truth of Bible stories seems to have blinded him to the possibility of other interpretations of events. I became acutely aware of this possibility one evening, when I asked Matthew Goodman to tell me a traditional Cree story. A number of

children, including Angus, listened as Matthew recounted how Chakaapiish had once killed a Giant. Later, after the story was finished, Angus ran to the kitchen, grabbed a large kitchen knife and began brandishing it in my face. On another occasion Angus asked me if I believed in Jesus. I replied that I believed everybody carried the spirit of Jesus in their hearts, regardless of their faith. I added that it had been my experience that people who were intolerant of other people's beliefs were generally the least likely to truly practice their own beliefs. Intolerant talk normally masked inappropriate behaviour, I said. Angus appeared somewhat perplexed my answer. After a moment of contemplation, he walked over to a table where I keep my books. He leafed through a copy of Scott Momaday's *The Ancient Child* and asked me if he could take it home. "Sure," I said, "but that's an awfully long book." "Why don't you take this one," I suggested, offering him a copy of Christel Kleitsch's *Dancing Feathers*, which is adapted from the TV Ontario's "Spirit Bay" series. Angus took the book and I was hopeful that he might read it. Later in the evening, when I went outside to get some wood for the stove, I found the book I had lent Angus torn up on the porch.

While in Kashechewan I was frequently reminded that Christianity has been an important part of James-Bay Cree people's lives for many generations. The Methodist missionary James Evans "invented" syllabics while he was at Norway House in the 1830s. He subsequently translated passages from the New Testament into Cree and transcribed them into syllabics. As Murdoch (1981) has documented, syllabic Bibles, hymn books and prayer books were quickly distributed throughout the James and Hudson Bay region, often arriving in communities before the first missionaries. Since the syllabic system is relatively easy to learn, vernacular literacy spread quickly throughout the James and Hudson Bay region. According to Bennett and Berry (1987: 233), "At the turn of the century the Cree-speaking

people of northern Canada had what was arguably one of the highest literacy rates in the world."

Angus' rigid acceptance of the authority of the Bible reflects the fact that for six generations the Bible has been the only readily-accessible book Cree people could read in their own language. However, unlike his grandparents, Angus has basic literacy skills in English which give him access to the roughly 3,000 books available at the local library. Angus' rigid adherence to the Bible as his only source of knowledge thus appears to satisfy a psychological need to cling to the moral authority of his elders and the church.¹⁰

Summary

The high value Mashkeko people traditionally place on reticence and controlling the overt display of emotions may account for their lack of an indigenous tradition of mask making. It is not so much that the people's faces functioned as masks in the old days, but rather that there was little need to mask behaviour. Life on the trapline was intimate, with few secrets among members of the related families which constituted winter bands. A semblance of privacy was maintained in the winter camp by respecting personal autonomy and individual space. Winter bands were small, mobile and came together for only a few months each year. If the behaviour of one's neighbours at summer camp was bothersome one could always move away.

¹⁰Seeking an explanation for Angus' behaviour, I visited Agnes (one of my best informants). She told me that Angus comes from a highly dysfunctional family. Agnes suggested that in asking Matthew Goodman to tell a traditional Cree story I may have unwittingly provoked Angus violent reaction to stories from his own past. My comments about the relationship of religious intolerance and inappropriate behaviour may have brought forth Angus' anger about abusive behaviour in his own family. Angus seems to cling to religious fundamentalism in order to sublimate his own feelings about what he sees going on in his family and community. So strong are his defenses that any book other than the Bible appears to be dangerous and threatening to him.

In many ways, Kashechewan is like a year-round summer camp. Anglican families from the lower Albany River drainage basin have congregated in the village much as they used to do on the islands around Fort Albany in the old days. While the standard of living has improved considerably, the cost has been a loss of independence and personal autonomy. This applies not only in the economic sphere, but also socially.

Today very few people in Kashechewan would consider giving up their houses in order to move away from bothersome neighbours. Long waiting lists for housing necessitate that young couples like David and Mary Moses live with their parents for several years. Mary gave birth to two children before she and David could move to their own house. This situation is still common in Kashechewan, where the average household today consists of eight people. If there is something wrong with a house or the occupants are unhappy living in a particular neighbourhood, they must put their name back on the waiting list and hope to be assigned a better place. The only thing guaranteed in this process is a long wait.

Many young couples do keep putting their names on the waiting list, hopping from house to house every few years in the hope of finding the ideal place. But most families do not move. They become "rooted" in their houses. This feeling of "rootedness" is different from what Mashkeko people feel when they periodically visit their old traplines and winter camps. Out on the land, many people from Kashechewan feel free and at peace. But in the village, these same people say they feel as if the world has closed in around them. They feel "stuck", and seldom venture outside the village.

Feelings of being stuck can cause people's behaviour to change. Elders like Matthew Goodman may seek to deny their feelings by cutting themselves off from the past. Victims of abuse and violence like David Moses may try to numb their feelings by getting drunk. Their spouses may turn to other forms of addictive behaviour, as Mary Moses has

turned to gambling. In other families, such as Mary Lou's, children can become the victims of abuse. Even in loving families children can be torn apart by feelings of hopelessness and despair. Some children like Francis try to contain these feelings and may end up becoming introverted, depressed and haunted by suicidal feelings. Other children like Angus may act out their hostile and aggressive emotions.

Moving off their traplines and into villages has modified Mashkeko people's behaviour as well as their technology and subsistence patterns. Parents and grandparents who have learned to withhold their feelings and to respect each other's privacy may find it difficult to deal with children's unexpected emotional withdrawal or sudden outbursts of aggression. Children whose parents and grandparents are unable to respond to their emotional needs may feel misunderstood and suffer from despair, which only exacerbates their feelings. More than ever before, people in Kashechewan are faced with the pressure of masking their feelings.

In Kashechewan Halloween is a time when children and adults alike dress up in strange masks and costumes. Many families spend a great deal of time and effort preparing for Halloween. Children and their parents work together to design and create disguises. A contest is held at the local school and awards are made for the best Halloween costumes (last year a Grade 7 student's wolf costume won the contest). On Halloween night groups of costumed young children go from door to door throughout the village canvassing for treats. Unlike their age-mates in the South, children in Kashechewan do not cry "Trick or treat!" In typically Mashkeko fashion they walk into houses without knocking and silently wait for the people inside to give them candies.

Children generally behave in a subdued fashion when they are visiting houses on Halloween night, but outside they are quite animated, taking on the personae of their

disguises. Wolves and ghosts howl, witches and goblins cackle and the occasional geese can be heard honking in the sky. In the fray, the young children are joined by roving groups of older siblings and even parents who, while too old to request candies, have donned disguises to partake in the revelry.

Hidden safely behind frightening masks, young people in Kashechewan are able to "unmask" many of their pent-up feelings on Halloween night. Groups of children, teenagers and young adults hoot, howl, shriek, holler, run, jump and chase each other, expressing feelings ranging from mirth to anger. The uninhibited expression of such feelings is perceived to be inappropriate in the company of elders inside their homes, but is tolerated and even encouraged outdoors on Halloween night. As such, the distinction between appropriate behaviour "indoors" and "outdoors" parallels the distinction between elders and children. The wearing of Halloween masks and costumes serves to heighten this distinction still further, while handing out candies establishes a temporary bond between youngsters and their elders.

On Halloween night generational conflicts are enacted outdoors by children and then symbolically resolved with the gift of candies which the children receive when they enter houses in the village. This process proceeds throughout the night until the children have visited each of their relatives and extended kin in the village. As such, Halloween functions as a secular ritual in Kashechewan. This ritual, while clearly not indigenous (Halloween was not celebrated before the arrival of television in the community about ten years ago), is nevertheless particularly well-suited to modern Mashkeko village life.

The celebration of Halloween is not in itself enough to promote and sustain emotional health in Kashechewan, but it does highlight the value of symbolism in helping to overcome generational conflict. Publically-acceptable enactments of real social conflicts present

participants and observers with the opportunity to heighten their consciousness of the source of such conflicts. Athletic competitions such as hockey and broomball, as well as creative activities such as "make-believe" play-acting and spontaneous drawings provide other opportunities for participants to express feelings and resolve conflicts. Such activities are most beneficial when participants are encouraged meaningfully to explore their own feelings in a safe, open and caring environment. The presence of an experienced, caring and trusted elder, such as a coach, counsellor, teacher or parent, also seems to be a necessary component of such an environment.

CONCLUSION - LANGUAGE AND WORDPLAY IN THE CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

Introduction

In this concluding chapter I will present a detailed analysis and interpretation of patterns of syntagmatic and paradigmatic wordplay found in Charts 1.00-4.00 and summarized in Charts 6.01-7.07. In previous chapters I have discussed how these patterns of wordplay reflect discursive processes which occurred as the children were drawing. Since the children did not talk as they were drawing, I have suggested that these processes were unconscious. As outlined in the Introduction, the discussion on methodology in Chapter 3, and the sections on verbal structure in Chapters 4-7, these processes are revealed through systematic patterns of alliteration which occur when the objects depicted in the children's drawings are named. This unarticulated alliterative wordplay occurs in Cree, English and through code switching between the two languages.¹

The patterns of wordplay which I have reconstructed in the verbal concordances in the Appendix are artifacts of discursive processes in which the children were engaged when they were drawing. The structure of this wordplay resembles that of "children's language" or "speech play" described by Weir (1962), Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1976), Schieffelin (1983) and Dowker (1989). Unlike normal children's speech play, the wordplay in the children's drawings is mediated by visual imagery. Therefore, elements of visual as well as verbal structure influence the selection of morphological elements associated with the drawings.

¹For a summary of the data see pages 94-5 and Charts 5.06-7 in the Appendix.

A Note on Wordcounts

The discussion of patterns of unarticulated (i.e. "unconscious") wordplay in the ten children's drawings tabulated in Charts 1.00-4.00 relies heavily on the enumeration of Cree and English words compiled in wordlists for each concordance. Summaries of this data can be found in Charts 5.06-07, 6.06-07 and 7.06-07. "Redundant words" (i.e. words that appear in more than one concordance) are highlighted in bold type in the wordlists (i.e. Charts 5.01-04, 6.01-04 and 7.01-04) but are not distinguished from other words in the summaries (i.e. Charts 5.06-07, 6.06-07 and 7.06-07). One can determine the number of non-redundant words in the summaries by subtracting "redundant words" from "all words". In Chart 5.07, for example, 109 of the total lexicon of 192 Cree and English words are redundant (i.e. appear in more than one concordance). Subtracting 109 from 192 yields 83 words which appear only once (i.e. are not redundant). This number can be checked by adding up the number of words appearing in non-bold type in Charts 5.01-04. The same procedure applies when determining the number of words appearing only once in Charts 6.06-07 and 7.06-07.

When adding totals from a given category in Chart 6.07 to those in the same category in Chart 7.07 the reader will note that sum is often more than the number indicated in the appropriate category in Chart 5.07. This discrepancy occurs because words which are associated on both syntagmatic (i.e. "horizontal") and paradigmatic ("vertical") axes have not been distinguished from those that are only syntagmatically or paradigmatically associated. This has resulted in occasional double-entries and over-counting in Charts 6.07 and 7.07. For example, in Chart 5.07 a total of 192 Cree and English words have been enumerated. Chart 6.07 shows that 132 Cree and English words are syntagmatically associated while Chart 7.07 shows that 80 Cree and English words are paradigmatically associated. Adding

the figures shown in Charts 6.07 and 7.07 yields a figure of 212 Cree and English words, which is twenty more than the number shown in Chart 5.07. This difference represents the number of Cree and English words which are both syntagmatically and paradigmatically associated. Table 2 summarizes the major categories of wordplay, with an adjustment to the total wordcount in each category.

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>REDUNDANT WORDS</i>
<i>CREE:</i>		
† <i>S</i> (CHART 6.07)	86	41
‡ <i>P</i> (CHART 7.07)	+60	+41
<i>S+P</i>	146	82
<i>TOTAL</i> (CHART 5.07)	-126	-72
§ <i>SP = TOTAL - [S+P]</i>	20	10
¶ <i>CT = TOTAL + SP</i>	146	82
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>S</i> (CHART 6.07)	46	25
<i>P</i> (CHART 7.07)	+20	+17
<i>S+P</i>	66	42
<i>TOTAL</i> (CHART 5.07)	-66	-37
<i>SP = TOTAL - [S+P]</i>	0	5
<i>CT = TOTAL + SP</i>	66	42
<i>CREE and ENGLISH</i>		
<i>S</i> (CHART 6.07)	132	66
<i>P</i> (CHART 7.07)	+80	+58
<i>S+P</i>	212	124
<i>TOTAL</i> (CHART 5.07)	-192	-109
<i>SP = TOTAL - [S+P]</i>	20	15
<i>CT = TOTAL + SP</i>	212	124

TABLE 2. Summary of Major Categories of Wordplay (Adjusted for Double Entries)

†Syntagmatic Wordplay ‡Paradigmatic Wordplay §Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Wordplay ¶Corrected Total (rounded)

The adjustment to the "CT" or "Corrected Totals" category in Table 2 does not appreciably change the wordcounts or percentages based on wordcounts in Chart 5.07. However, by factoring in those words which are involved in both paradigmatic and syntagmatic wordplay, Table 2 is more precise than Chart 5.07. To facilitate comparison

with data in Charts 6.07 and 7.07 I have simplified the relevant data from Table 2 and presented it in Table 3. Unless otherwise indicated, I will refer to the data from Table 3 rather than Chart 5.07 in the rest of this chapter.

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>REDUNDANT WORDS</i>
<u><i>CREE</i></u>		
<i>SYNTAGMATIC</i>	86 (59%)	41 (50%)
<i>PARADIGMATIC</i>	60 (41%)	41 (50%)
<i>CORRECTED TOTAL</i>	146	82
<u><i>ENGLISH</i></u>		
<i>SYNTAGMATIC</i>	46 (70%)	25 (59%)
<i>PARADIGMATIC</i>	20 (30%)	17 (41%)
<i>CORRECTED TOTAL</i>	66	42
<u><i>CREE and ENGLISH</i></u>		
<i>SYNTAGMATIC</i>	132 (62%)	66 (53%)
<i>PARADIGMATIC</i>	80 (38%)	58 (47%)
<i>CORRECTED TOTAL</i>	212	124

*TABLE 3. Simplified Summary of Major Categories of Wordplay
(Percentages refer only to numbers within a cell)*

Patterns of Wordplay in the Children's Drawings

In this section I will explore three interrelated matters, namely that the Mashkeko children whose drawings are under discussion: (1) tend to play unconscious wordgames when they draw as a group, but not when they draw individually; (2) use more Cree words than English ones when they play these wordgames; (3) associate Cree words with equal frequency on syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes, but prefer making syntagmatic associations when they use English words.

For the Mashkeko children whom I observed in Kashechewan, drawing is both an individual and social activity. All of the drawings included in concordances were drawn by children interacting as a group. Supplementary Drawings, on the other hand, were drawn

by children working individually. Unfortunately, only a few sequences of individually-made drawings were collected. Terry's depictions of grass monsters (Drawings 39-44) are one such sequence and in them there is no evidence of unarticulated wordplay. This is not to suggest that these drawings lack narrative qualities such as plot, theme, setting and characters. Indeed, through imagery and associated wordplay in his grass monster drawings Terry "tells" a compelling story about the relationship of trauma, marginalization and dysfunctional behaviour in his family (for a discussion see pages 259-64). However, unlike many of the drawings which he produced as a member of a group and reproduced in the concordances, Terry's drawings of grass monsters rely almost exclusively on visual signifiers to tell the story.

While Terry does not appear to have been playing unconscious wordgames while he was making his grass-monster pictures, he did write a number of English words (all nouns the majority of which are names) on these drawings. These words serve to identify the characters Terry depicted and were, I assume, affixed to the drawings for my benefit. This assumption is based on the fact that Terry wrote 50% more English words on his drawings when he was drawing alone in my presence than when he was drawing in a group with other Cree-speaking children.

Terry wrote 22 English words and 33 initials designating proper names on his 42 drawings included in Charts 1.00-4.00. Nearly all of these drawings were also involved in a substantial amount of unconscious wordplay, most of which involved Cree words. On his 41 drawings included as Supplementary Drawings Terry wrote 33 English words and no

initials. Very few of these drawings were involved in unconscious wordplay and all of this wordplay seems to have involved only English words.²

Terry's tendency to play unconscious wordgames in his drawings seems to be related to his preference for Cree words when playing such games. When drawing only in my presence, Terry tended to refrain from unconscious wordgames and restrict his language use to words written on the drawings in English. When drawing in the presence of other children who were also drawing, Terry tended to reduce the number of English words written on his drawings, introduce initials, and engage in elaborate wordplay in the Cree language. Together, this evidence suggests that Terry's patterns of language use were determined by who he perceived to be his addressee. When addressing verbal messages in his drawings only to me, Terry used a medium I could understand most easily. When addressing verbal messages in his drawings to other Cree-speaking children, Terry used a medium which they could understand best.

Observed differences in frequency of Cree and English language use on syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of the concordances appear to be related to the relative competence of the children in using these languages. A comparison of wordlists in Charts 6.01-04 and 7.01-04 reveals that the same basic lexicon of Cree and English words occurs in both syntagmatic and paradigmatic wordplay. However, more Cree and English words are associated syntagmatically than paradigmatically. Based on data from Table 3 it can be seen that 132 (62%) of the total lexicon of 212 Cree and English words are syntagmatically associated whereas only 80 (38%) are paradigmatically associated. When only redundant

²There are four examples of unconscious wordplay in Terry's Supplementary Drawings. In Drawings 33-34 he seems to have been unconsciously making puns about "being bad" and "being a bat" while in Drawings 35-36 he seems to be punning about "little brats" and "little bats". For a discussion of this wordplay see pages 247-50.

words are considered this margin of difference narrows considerably, with syntagmatic associations occurring 53% of the time and paradigmatic associations occurring 47% of the time.

When patterns of association are distinguished on the basis of language, it can be seen that Cree words are syntagmatically associated 59% of the time and paradigmatically associated 41% of the time. When redundant words alone are considered syntagmatic and paradigmatic associations have an equal probability of occurring. However, in the case of English words a somewhat different pattern emerges. English words are syntagmatically associated 70% of the time and paradigmatically associated 30% of the time. This margin of difference narrows when redundant words are considered. However, redundant English words are syntagmatically associated 59% of the time and paradigmatically associated 41% of the time. Among English words syntagmatic associations thus occur more often than paradigmatic associations.

Given the difficulty in compiling truly comprehensive wordlists and the fact that the data is based on a very small sample of children, a significant number of whom are from one family, the above findings must be considered very tentative. Nevertheless, it does appear that in alliterative wordgames associated with children's drawings language use may be influenced by patterns of association. Specifically, the sporadic use of English among children whose first language is Cree seems to occur more often in syntagmatic than in paradigmatic associations.

When English words are involved in wordgames, it is usually through code-switching and the words are often written. For example, in columns 5 and 6 of Concordance 3.00 Terry associates a snowman (*ilili koon*) with the departure of two people ("John" and "G"). In column 7 he draws eleven falling leaves and writes the English word "leaves" at the

bottom.³ In this case, there seems to be homophonic code-switching between *koon* 'snow' and "gone" (i.e. leaving). In his drawing in column 6 Sam picks up the image of the snowman from his brother and with it, possibly the word *ilili koon*. However, unlike Terry, Sam does not seem to have understood his brother's pun about snow and leaves.

When Cree words are involved in wordgames, it is most often through alliterations and puns with other Cree words. These games occur with equal frequency on syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. For example, in column 10 of Chart 3.00 Terry and Sam both associate Ninja turtles with hands and fingers, indicating wordplay between *Nihcha* 'Ninja' and *nichia* 'my finger'. In this case, Sam and Terry appear to be sharing the pun about Ninja turtles and fingers; they have together succeeded in making a paradigmatic verbal association.

An example of a syntagmatic wordgame involving Cree words can be seen in Terry's drawings in columns 5-8 of Chart 3.00. Terry has drawn a flower (*waapikon*). While clearly associated with the leaves depicted in his previous drawing, Terry's depiction of the flower also seems to involve a pun with the Cree word *waapa-koon* 'white snow', which is presumably associated with the snowmen depicted in his drawings in columns 5 and 6.

Various other examples could be cited to show Mashkeko children's differential patterns of language use in wordplay. The ten children whose drawings I have discussed tend to restrict their use of English to code switching. This tendency is undoubtedly related to the fact that they are much more comfortable talking and "thinking" in their first language. The use of English in wordgames associated with drawings therefore occurs more often along the syntagmatic than the paradigmatic axis. Cree, on the other hand, is used equally often on both axes.

³For enlarged versions of these pictures and wordgames see Charts 3.04 and 3.05.

Interaction of Language and Thought

When interacting with and observing children in Kashechewan I became aware that the children were often thinking in their native language, even as they were speaking English. This habit is vividly illustrated in the following anecdote from my fieldnotes for 18 March 1991:

This morning (Monday) I again sat in on the Grade 4 class at St. Andrew's School. The teacher was putting the new weekly vocabulary list on the blackboard when I arrived. The 9:00 bell rang just as I hung my coat up. Class began after the Lord's Prayer and morning announcements were delivered on the PA system. The teacher went over the new vocabulary list with his students. Pointing to the first word on the list (the word "mayor") and asked: "Who knows what a mayor is?" After a momentary hesitation a boy put up his hand. "Do you know what a mayor is?" the teacher asked the boy. The boy nodded and then answered: "Is something like a priest." Puzzled, the teacher replied: "No, that's wrong. A mayor is nothing like a priest."

In English there is no overt semantic link between a mayor and a priest, but in Cree this is not the case. In Cree a mayor is *okimaakan* (literally a "made boss") while priest or minister is *ayamihewokimaaw* (literally a "prayer boss"). In both words the root is *okimaa-* 'boss'. In the mind of the boy in the Grade 4 class both mayors and priests were types of *okimaak* 'bosses'. However, for the boy's English-speaking teacher, there was no semantic relationship between the two concepts.

The boy who observed that a mayor "is something like a priest" revealed that his thinking was mediated by Cree and not English semantic categories. In response to his teacher's question "Who knows what a mayor is?" the boy translated the English word into Cree, chose a word from his language which had the same root, and then translated this word back into English. Like the children who were playing unconscious wordgames as they were drawing, the boy in the Grade 4 class was relying on Cree rather than English in his linguistically-mediated higher cognitive functions.

Children in Kashechewan frequently code-switch as they speak. In the wordgames associated with children's drawings this process takes place on the basis of phonologically-motivated semantic associations (*ilili koon* → gone → leaves) as well as purely semantic ones (*okimaa* → mayor/priest). The direction of these associations is nearly always from Cree to English. In addition, Cree children perform the phonemic equivalent to code switching when they try to spell English words. For example, during a Grade 4 spelling class one girl consistently substituted "tch" for the final consonant in "always". The teacher seemed baffled that the girl could not spell the word correctly. Yet it is clear that the girl was decoding the word according to Cree rules of phonology (/s/ rarely occurs in word final position in Cree, but /tch/ (realized as *ch* in the Nichols and Nyholm orthography) does appear at the end of Cree words, as in, for example, *miikwech* 'thank you'). What the teacher articulated as /alweɪs/ the girl heard as /alweɪtʃ/. Her error was therefore not in spelling (she transcribed the word as she "heard" it), but in overgeneralizing Cree rules of phonology.

Some Cree schoolchildren's miscues and spelling errors appear to be motivated by graphemic inversions and rotations, as in the case of Karen's reading of the word "bridge" instead of "idea" (for a discussion see page 263). Such miscues seem especially common among children in kindergarten and Grade 1 and may be related to dyslexia. A number of teachers at St. Andrew's School commented on various occasions that more Cree children seem to suffer from temporary dyslexia in their early years at school than their age-mates in the South. If such anecdotal comments are true, then the putatively-high incidence of dyslexia among Cree children at St. Andrew's School might point to the substitution of visually-oriented higher cognitive processes for verbally-oriented ones. Such substitutions

could be related to difficulties experienced by young Cree children learning to read and write in a language in which they have difficulty speaking.

It has long been assumed that the grammar of a language conditions the "habitual thought" of its speakers. This was convincingly demonstrated by Benjamin Lee Whorf in his discussions of tense and aspect in Hopi verbs (1953: 55-6, 146-7). In addition to the phonological, graphemic and semantic processes I have already described, there are a number of other characteristics of the Cree language which seem to condition the thought processes of Cree speakers in Kashechewan. These include the distinction between animate and inanimate genders, inclusive and exclusive plural pronouns, proximative and obviative (the so-called "third" and "fourth" persons) and the use of roots marking what Whorf called "covert categories" or "cryptotypes".⁴

Quite often Cree-speakers (especially children) in Kashechewan confuse the pronouns "he/him" with "she/her" when they speak English. This is perfectly understandable, since in their language gender distinctions are made on the basis of animacy rather than sex. At the same time, when trying to distinguish people who are being spoken to in a group from those who are not, mature Cree speakers often find the English lack of inclusive and exclusive pronominal categories imprecise and frustrating. The lack of obviative marking in English pronouns is equally baffling to mature Cree speakers, giving them the impression that English is a vague and inexact language. However, it is in the area of covert categories

⁴"A covert category is marked, whether morphemically or by sentence-pattern, only in certain types of sentence and not in every sentence in which a word or element belonging to the category occurs...A covert category may also be termed a cryptotype, a name which calls attention to the rather hidden, cryptic nature of such word-groups, especially when they are not strongly contrasted in idea, nor marked by frequently occurring reactances such as pronouns. They easily escape notice and may be hard to define, and yet may have profound influence on linguistic behaviour." (Whorf 1953: 88, 92)

that some of the most interesting differences between the habitual thought of Cree and English-speakers occur.

There are many examples in the children's drawings of covert semantic associations, many of which are based on phonologically-similar Cree roots. In his drawing at the bottom of Chart 1.01 (and many others) Terry links *kihchi-nik* 'right hand' with *kihchi-mikinak* 'good turtle' and juxtaposes this complex of attributes with *namachi-nik* 'left hand' and *machi-mikinak* 'bad turtle'. In her pictures in Chart 1.12 Anna appears to associate the *telepiism* 'television' with *piisimomasinahikan* 'calendar'. In his depictions of a horn and telephone in Chart 1.11 Sam looks like he is associating *pootaatam* 'he plays a horn' with *telepoon* 'telephone'. Numerous other examples can be found in the discussions of verbal structure in Chapters 4-7.

Through a process of folk-etymology involving mostly-unarticulated alliterative wordplay, Cree children frequently link Cree and English words together on the basis of their sound. In the introduction to this chapter I mentioned how "speech play" has been observed to be a nearly-universal characteristic of language acquisition among children. Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1976: 77) note that "for a young child - and progressively less so for older children - the phonological component of language is more strongly organized than the syntactic, semantic or sociolinguistic." Dowker (1989: 198-9) suggests that children's preoccupation with alliteration and rhyme may be related to the mastery of new or difficult sound combinations and the development of metalinguistic awareness. Particularly interesting is her observation that language play (particularly alliteration) is highly-developed among children learning a second language. "Intensive language practice," she writes (1989: 200), "may be more important for children who have to learn a second language relatively quickly than it is in the more gradual process of first language acquisition."

Dowker's hypothesis may explain why Cree children use English in the wordplay associated with their drawings, but it must be qualified in order to explain the predominance of Cree words. If Cree children were merely developing their second-language proficiency through speech play in their drawings, one would expect that English - not Cree - would predominate, yet the reverse is true.

Jakobson hypothesized that children must develop metalingual competence in their first language before they can learn a second language. "The buildup of the first language," he wrote (1985: 121), "implies an aptitude for metalingual operations, and no familiarization with further languages is possible without the development of this aptitude".⁵ If Jakobson is right, then the children's wordplay in Cree would be a metalingual precursor for similar speech games in English. But Jakobson's definition (1960: 356) of metalangue as "a glossing function" (i.e. language about language) poses problems when it is recalled that the children's language games under discussion are related as much to the play of visual as to the play of verbal signifiers. At the same time, his equation of "function" with "aptitude" imparts an unduly intellectual teleology on children's speech play.

In discussing the relationship of visual and verbal structures in Chapter 4 I hypothesized that Cree children's drawings might function as a form of "silent language" or "inner speech" (Vygotsky 1986: 249) and suggested that "over time, as more words were evoked by images...the verbal message would gradually displace the pictorial one." Citing a reading program which employs logographs (Dewsbury *et al* 1983), I further theorized that Terry and other children in Kashechewan might use pictures as a temporary "bridge" between

⁵More recently, Cummins (1979, 1980) has hypothesized that for children whose first language is a "minority language" such as Cree, the development of proficiency in their first language is an important determinant of academic success when the medium of instruction at school is a second language such as English. For a critique of this hypothesis see McLaughlin 1985: 11-13).

the Cree and English languages, as well as between speaking and writing. As such, the images in Cree children's drawings would be functioning as hybrid signifiers, combining visual and verbal percepts in a form of "picture writing".

This hypothesis was partially confirmed during my last visit to Kashechewan, in March 1994 (thirty months after collecting the drawings in Charts 1.00-4.00). As on my previous visits, I rented a room in Matthew Goodman's house. Shortly after I had moved in, Terry came to visit me. I told him that I had used many of his drawings in my dissertation and tried to explain what I had written about them. Terry seemed pleased that I was still interested in his drawings and asked me if I would like some more. I told him that I would.

During the course of my one-week visit Terry provided me with three maps, twenty-seven drawings, and three stories written in English, together comprising 330 words. On his drawings Terry wrote 186 English words, but no Cree words. This averages nearly seven written English words per drawing. Terry wrote 33 words on his 41 pictures included as Supplementary Drawings (an average of less than one word per drawing). This sevenfold increase in the number of English words, combined with Terry's growing skill in listening, speaking, reading and writing in the English language (all presumably a consequence of his studies in school), indicates that he was no longer relying on pictures to tell me his story. Yet he clearly still had much he wanted to tell me.⁶

⁶I did not have the opportunity to observe children drawing spontaneously as a group on my last visit to Kashechewan, so it is impossible to determine how Terry's growing ease in using English influenced his proclivity to engage in unconscious wordgames. As I have already pointed out, Mashkeko children only seem to play wordgames when they are drawing as a group.

One of the stories which Terry wrote for me in March 1994 is about school. Terry likes going to school very much and according to his parents and teachers, he is a model student. The following is Terry's story about school:

In my class we learn the laganel [legends] about the long ago. We work very hard in the classroom. We were thirsty when we were hot. In 10:30 we have recess in 15 minutes. After recess we work Native social studies in half in hour. When we finish working Native social studies we play half in hour in the classroom. My brother always fight me. Then my teacher said "to Ed go to the office." Then I was happy when Ed is gone. Me and Joshua are playing checkers. I win when play with Joshua. In 12:00 we go home to have lunch. That's the end of the story.

Terry's story about school is coherent, well-written and uses English in ways which are grammatically correct. His use of /ɪ/ instead of /æ/ in the phrase "half in hour" echoes the way actually hears the phrase being said. Similarly, his use of /eɪ/ in "laganel [legends]" approximates the way he hears this sound, since Cree lacks the low fronted vowel /e/. Terry's use of "in" instead of "at" and "for" in the phrases "in 10:30", "in 15 minutes" and "in 12:00" suggests that he is employing a Cree locative construction. His use of "then" and "when" as sentence markers and of the phrase "that's the end" to mark the close of his story suggests that he has adapted the Cree formulaic constructions *eko maka* 'and so' (used to mark the beginning of a sentence) and *ekwasani* 'that's the end' (marking the end of a story) to English.

Of particular interest is Terry's idiosyncratic substitution of "el" for "d" in the word "laganel [legends]". It seems that the /e/ vowel and /nds/ consonant cluster in this English word (neither of which are found in Cree) caused Terry some consternation. While he was able to substitute the Cree vowel /eɪ/ for the difficult to pronounce English one, he seems to have been unable to sound out the problematic English consonant cluster. Terry

consequently shifted from a verbal mode of decoding into a visual one, substituting the near-homograph "el" for "d".

The miscues in Terry's story about school provide telling insights about his cognitive functioning. Although Terry has mastered many difficult rules of English grammar, English is still very much a second language for him. Although Terry has acquired a sizable English vocabulary, he continues to use some Cree rules of grammar and discourse. He appears to mentally sound out English words that are difficult for him to spell (reflecting the "phonic approach" used by his teachers) but still sometimes uses Cree phonology. When he is unable to spell words by sounding them out Terry reverts to the visual processes of cognition which were so evident in his earlier drawings. These processes are characterized by structural features such as isomorphism, simplification, elaboration, condensation, substitution, reduplication and rotation.

In addition to structural elements related to the processing of graphic signifiers, thematic elements link Terry's most recent stories with the pictures he drew in 1991. The theme of "party time" is a powerful element in Terry's pictures in Charts 1.00 and 2.00 and provides a strong element of continuity between these earlier pictures and the following story which Terry wrote in March 1994.

Terry's birthday last year

Last year I have a birthday summer. My mom and my dad they didn't bake a cake. The people came and try to make a party but my dad said "there will be no party because we didn't bake a cake." My grandmother came and said "I will gave Terry a money." I was so happy that my grandmother gave me a money. My friends said "it's your birthday today." Then I said "yes but we won't have a party because my parents didn't bake a cake." But we did have fun in the playground. When I go home the people in our home stole everything in the house. My parents was not there and I call a police. I said "the people are stoling everything in our home." I went to my friend's home and said "come hurry some people are stoling everything from us." When we got in my home everything was return. It was my elders who trick us.

Then my parents bake a cake. And the people came to party in my birthday.
That's the end of the story.

Terry's story is about how his parents held a surprise party for him last summer. The story has a happy ending, but one gets the feeling that Terry was profoundly disappointed when he thought his parents had forgotten his birthday. Especially telling is the statement "there will be no party because we didn't bake a cake." Terry seems to equate this statement, which he attributes to his father, with an act of theft. Not only does he feel that his parents deprived him of a party, but he also feels that they tricked him into believing that "the people in our home stole everything in the house." Terry's response to this crime is to call the police. However, in the end "it was my elders who trick us" and Terry finally gets his cake.

Compare the story "Terry's birthday last year" with Terry and Sam's pictures of Ninja turtles carrying birthday cakes and of police cars cruising through Kashechewan (Charts 2.02 and 2.05). Recall that the boys drew these pictures while their mother was at a poker party and that she said "Is party time" when first sat down at the card table to begin gambling. Also recall Terry's ambivalent associations of birthday parties with drinking and gambling in the drawings in Chart 1.01 and 3.07 as well as in Supplementary Drawings 21 and 23. Terry's concern that his parents cannot be trusted when it comes to remembering birthdays is made explicit in his third and final story.

The true story of Terry's families

One day in my dad's birthday he was love to drink beer because some people told him to drink in my dad birthday. I will finish it tomorrow George.

In "The true story of Terry's families" Terry links his father's alcoholism directly with birthday parties. In so doing Terry is able to find words to complete the train of associations running through his drawings - a train of associations which links birthdays with

gambling and drinking parties. So simple and yet powerful is the truth of Terry's story that he is once again at a loss for words.

The state of being at a loss for words - of grappling to articulate what seems impossible to say - motivates Terry and other Mashkeko children to use drawings to express themselves. The children's desire to find the right words motivated them to inscribe English words on their drawings and to engage in unarticulated (what I have also called "unconscious") wordgames as they were drawing. The struggle to understand the English language occasionally prompted the children to shift from a verbal into a visual register. The miscues, idiosyncrasies in spelling and apparent lapses in logic which often result are not simple "mistakes". They are creative expressions of the children's search to find meaning in language.

The association of speech games with children's drawings has not been documented by other researchers. It is therefore impossible to know whether such visually-mediated wordgames are unique to the children with whom I worked in Kashechewan. My intuition is that such games are not unique to these children, although they may be particularly refined among them because of unique factors related to the structure of the Cree language, local cultural traditions, "home-school language shift" and the recent impact of television. Confirmation of these intuitions must, however await further research.

APPENDIX

CHARTS 1.00-4.00. CONCORDANCES

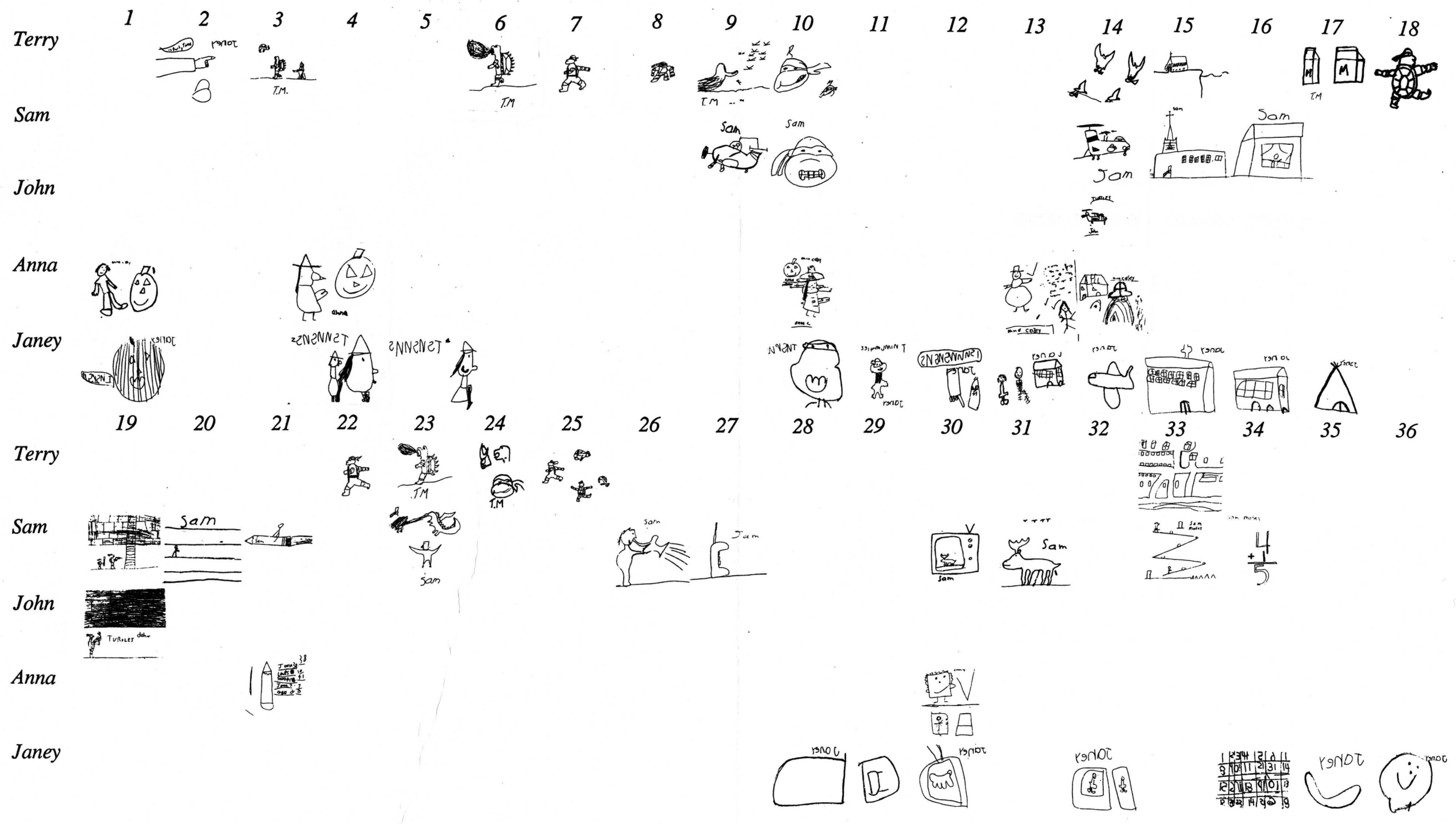


CHART 1.00 CONCORDANCE OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Terry		*Is party time Nihcha turtle nichia kihchi-nik kihchi-nik	Nihcha kihchi/machi-nik kihchi/machi-mikinak			Nihcha machi-mikinak namachi-nik	Nihcha kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik	Nihcha kihchi-mikinak	Nihcha kihchi-mikinak *R[aphaelo] *M[ichelangelo]						ayamihewikamik 'church' eye kiishik 'sky' miskishik 'eye'			Nihcha kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik	
Sam																			
John																			[I (am a) Ninja] *turtles
Anna	iskweo nila pumpkin tipiski-piisim			machi-iskweo nila aamo 'bee' witch/bitch/itch pumpkin tipiski-piisim opiimaamo piisim					machi-iskweo nila Nihcha nila n'ihtaan pumpkin tipiski-piisim				ilili-koon witch gone Nihcha gone n'ihtaan		oochaapanish Chaanish Nihcha nichia nihtaawin				
Janey	*Is nuisances machi-iskweo nila pumpkin tipiski-piisim			*Is nuisances	*Is nuisances				*Is nuisances Nihcha kihchi-mikinak	*I Ninja turtles Nihcha nila	*Is nuisances nichia		ilili gone n'ihtaan nihtaawin						
Terry	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
				kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik Nihcha	machi-mikinak namachi-nik Nihcha	kihchi-nik kihchi-mikinak Nihcha	kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik Nihcha								askiwasinahikan.				
Sam	asinimenikan Ninja turtles kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik	masinahikanatik masinipiskahikan			maachi-kenepik			pootaatam	telepoon				telepiisim/TP		iskwataweo iskwatem	akitam akitasowinan			
John	asinimenikan *(Ninja) turtles kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik																		
Anna		masinahikanatik masinihikewin											telepiisim/TP iskwatem						
Janey													telepiisim/TP		telepiisim/TP	piisimomasinahikan:	tipiski-piisim	piisim	

CHART 1.00 (CONTINUED) CONCORDANCE OF WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Terry						
Sam						
John						
Janey						

	7	8	9	10	11	12
Terry						
Sam						
John						
Janey						

CHART 2.00 CONCORDANCE OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Terry	*NO *M[ichelangelo] mishi-ancheliwiw kihchi manitoow machi-manitoow Nihcha	*Is party time *party *fete Nihcha *Turtles	astotin atim a team puck	atim Adam mikot me good	kihchi-manitoow machi-manitoow Evil/Eve	Nihcha
Sam		Nihcha	duck geese kiishik			Nihcha *M[ichelangelo] mishi-ancheliwiw
John						Nihcha *M[ichelangelo] mishi-ancheliwiw
Janey						

	7	8	9	10	11	12
Terry	Nihcha nila I am a Ninja turtle			nihtaawin ayamihewikamik miskiishik 'eye' kiishik 'sky' waaskaahikan askiwasinahikan		
Sam				nihtaawin waaskaahikan askiwasinahikan apiwin paspapiwin		
John		nihtaawin apiwin				
Janey		nihtaawin apiwin paspapiwin	ayamihewikamik paspapiwin		apiwin	paspapiwin

CHART 2.00 (CONTINUED) CONCORDANCE OF WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

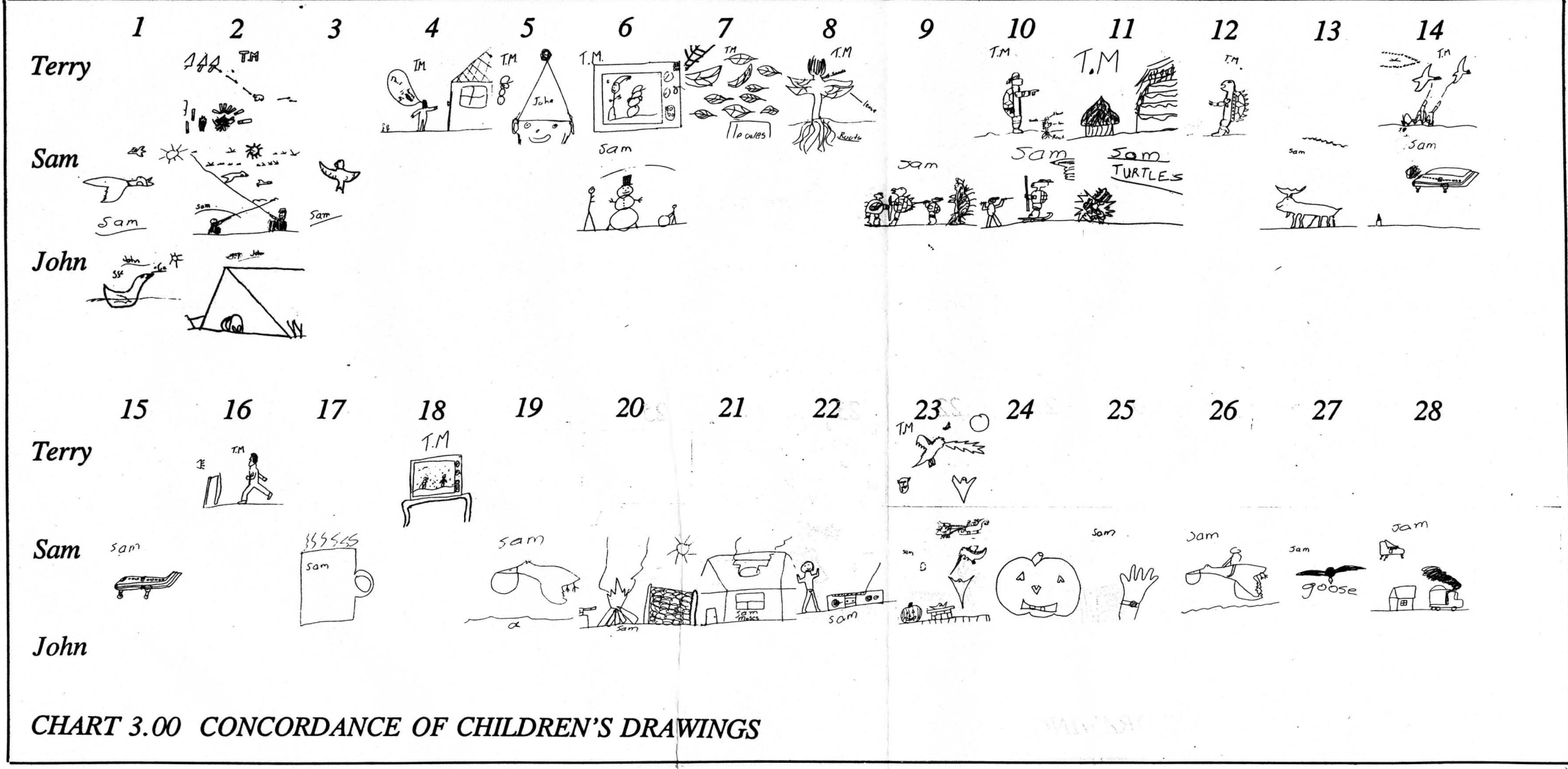


CHART 3.00 CONCORDANCE OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Terry		atoos waapoos waapoosayaan: ishkote ishkotewapo 'whisky' Wisekachak		*This is my home nihtaawin n'ihuaan	ilili-koon John gone	ilili-koon George gone	*leaves	waapa-koon waapikon owaapamikoon ihtoteo flower flour *leaves *roots *seeds		waapikon *flower *leaves *roots *seeds owaapamikoon ihtoteo	Nihcha nichia kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik	pakwesikan 'flour/cake'	machi-mikinak namachi-nik		niskak geese kiishik
Sam	*siisip kiishik geese	kiishik geese	mikiso			ilili-koon John/George gone waapa-koon owaapamikoon ihtoteo			Nihcha namachi-nik machi-mikinak owaapamikoon ihtoteo	Nihcha nichia kihchi-mikinak namachi-nik	*turtles kihchi-mikinak kihchi-nik				
John	*siisip kiishik														
Terry	15	16	17	18 ilili-koon George gone telepiisim/TP	19	20	21	22	23 machi-achak machi-manitoow maachi-kenepik tipiski-piisim	24	25	26	27	28	
Sam		liipiisha 'leaves' liipiishapo			chaachakeo pelican	piisim		maachi-kenepik machi-achak jack-o'-lantern pumpkin tipiski-piisim	jack-o'-lantern pumpkin	piisimokan	pelican	*goose			
John															

CHART 3.00 (CONTINUED) CONCORDANCE OF WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

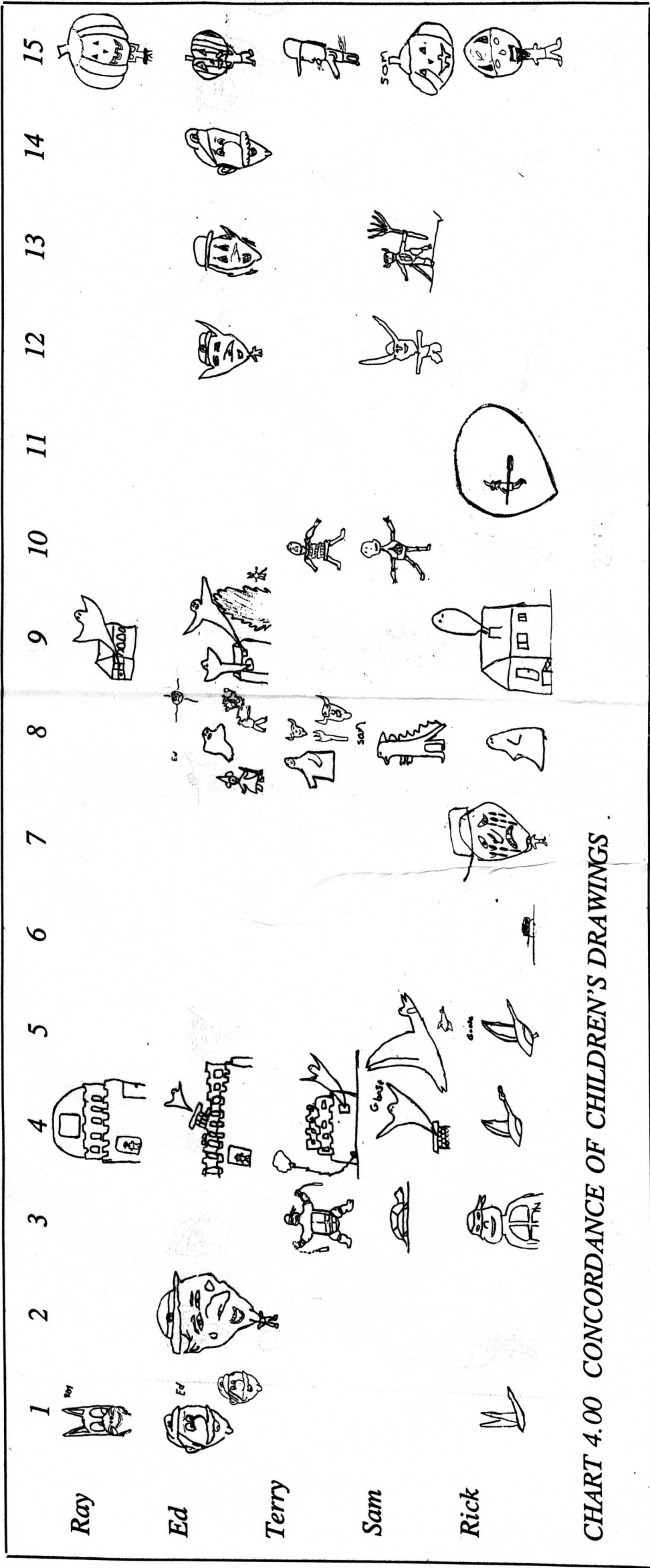


CHART 4.00 CONCORDANCE OF CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
<i>Ray</i>				<i>machi-mikinak</i> <i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>asiniwaaskaahikan</i> <i>masinihikewin/masinipiskahikan</i>												
<i>Ed</i>	<i>Kihchi-maniw</i> <i>kihchi-manitoow</i> <i>ministoowan</i>	<i>Machi-maniw</i> <i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>makitowan</i> <i>mikot</i> <i>me good</i>		<i>ishkote</i> <i>chiipai</i> <i>chiipayishkote</i> <i>ishkotekan</i>				<i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>machi-iskwe</i> <i>ishkote</i> <i>chiipai</i> <i>chiipayishkote</i> <i>chiipayaahik</i> <i>waashakotenikan</i> <i>o nikanoo</i>	<i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>ishkote</i> <i>chiipai</i> <i>chiipayishkote</i>			<i>Machi-maniw</i> <i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>makitowan</i> <i>manitowak</i> <i>mikot</i> <i>me good</i>	<i>Machi-maniw</i> <i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>mikot</i> <i>me good</i>	<i>Kihchi-maniw</i> <i>kihchi-manitoow</i> <i>manitowak</i> <i>ministoowan</i>		
<i>Terry</i>			<i>Michelangelo</i> <i>mishi-ancheliwiw</i> <i>kihchi-mikinak</i> <i>chiipayahik</i> <i>Nihcha</i>	<i>chiipai</i> <i>askiwaaskaahikan</i> <i>masinihikewin</i> <i>masinipiskahikan</i>				<i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>chiipai</i>							<i>notinikeo</i> <i>nootin</i>	
<i>Sam</i>				<i>*ghost</i> <i>chiipai</i> <i>chiipayishkote</i> <i>ishkotekan</i> <i>chipwaapateo</i>	<i>'goose</i>			<i>maachi-kenepik</i>				<i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>makitowan</i> <i>manitowak</i>	<i>machi-mikinak</i> <i>namachi-nik</i> <i>Nihcha</i> <i>nichia</i> <i>chiipayahik</i> <i>machi-ancheliwiw</i>			
<i>Rick</i>		<i>Nihcha</i> <i>kihchi-mikinak</i> <i>chiipayahik</i>		<i>niska</i> <i>goose</i>	<i>*goose</i> <i>kichilaw niska</i> <i>'goose goes'</i>	<i>maateo</i>	<i>maatoo</i>	<i>chiipai</i>	<i>chiipai</i> <i>chipwaapateo</i> <i>ishkotekan</i>		<i>machi-iskwe</i> <i>tipiski-piisim</i>				<i>machi-ilili</i> <i>machi-manitoow</i> <i>machi-achak</i> <i>jack-o'lantern</i> <i>pumpkin</i> <i>tipiski-piisim</i>	

CHART 4.00 (CONTINUED) CONCORDANCE OF WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

CHARTS 1.01-4.14. KEY DRAWINGS

is Party Time

ᑎᑭᑎᑭᑎᑭ

Nichia
'My finger'

Nihcha
'Ninja'

kihchi-mikinak
'good turtle'

kihchi-nik 'right'

namachi-nik 'left'

machi-mikinak
'bad turtle'

CHART 1.01 NINJA TURTLES
(TERRY'S DRAWINGS)

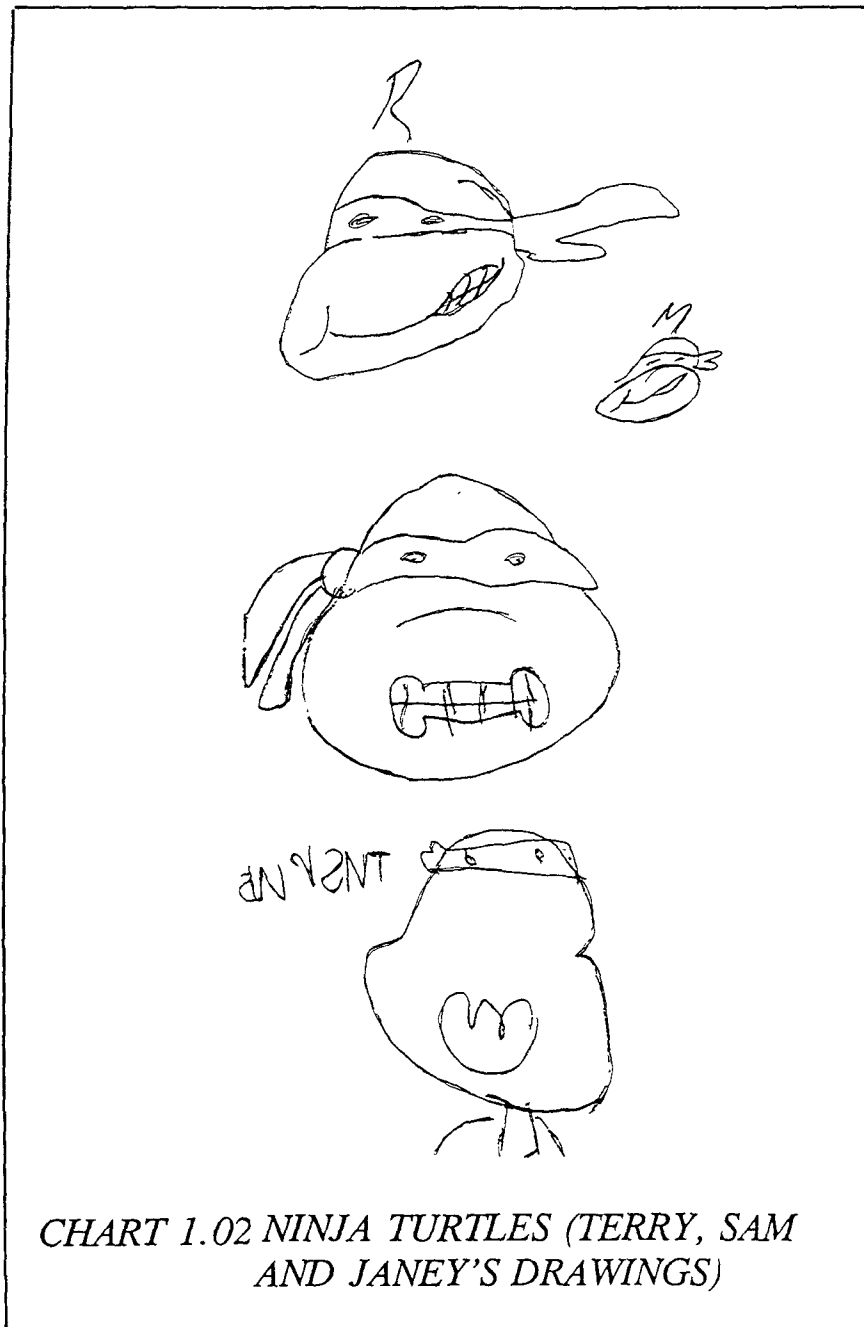
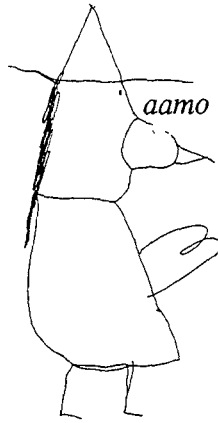


CHART 1.02 NINJA TURTLES (TERRY, SAM AND JANEY'S DRAWINGS)

BEE-WITCH/BITCH

machi-iskwe
'witch/bad
woman'



aamo 'bee'



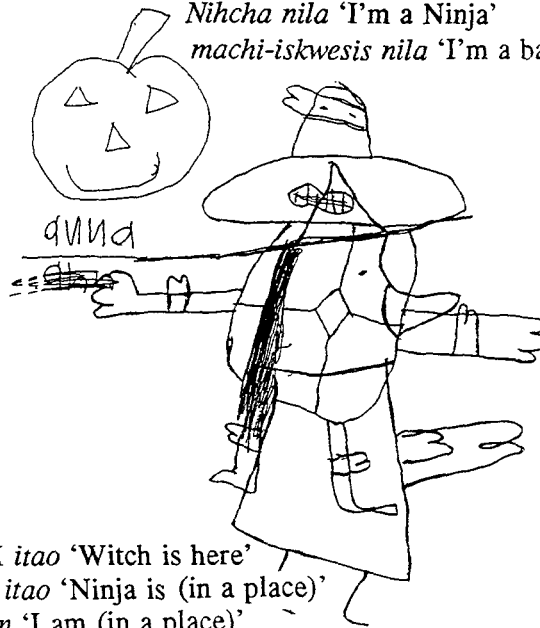
PUMPKIN-MOON

Opimaamo piisim
'migration moon/October'

WITCH-NINJA

Nihcha nila 'I'm a Ninja'

machi-iskwesis nila 'I'm a bad little girl'



WITCH *itao* 'Witch is here'
Nihcha *itao* 'Ninja is (in a place)'
n'ihtaan 'I am (in a place)'

CHART 1.03 WITCHES AND NINJA TURTLES
(ANNA'S DRAWINGS)

sgj fr4ta JMIN T

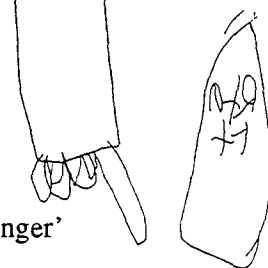


Nihcha nila 'I'm a Ninja'

K9NDL




70UC



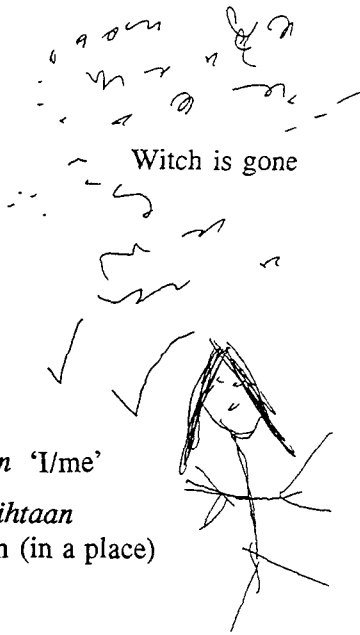
Nichia 'my finger'

CHART 1.04 NINJA TURTLES
(JANEY'S DRAWINGS)

ilili-koon 'snow man'

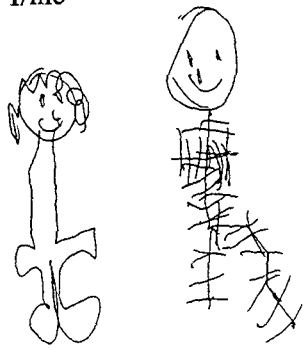


Witch is gone

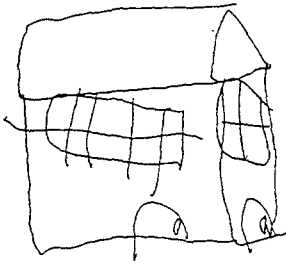


Niin 'I/me'
N'ihtaan
 'I am (in a place)'

n'ihtaan 'I am (in a place)'
Niin 'I/me'

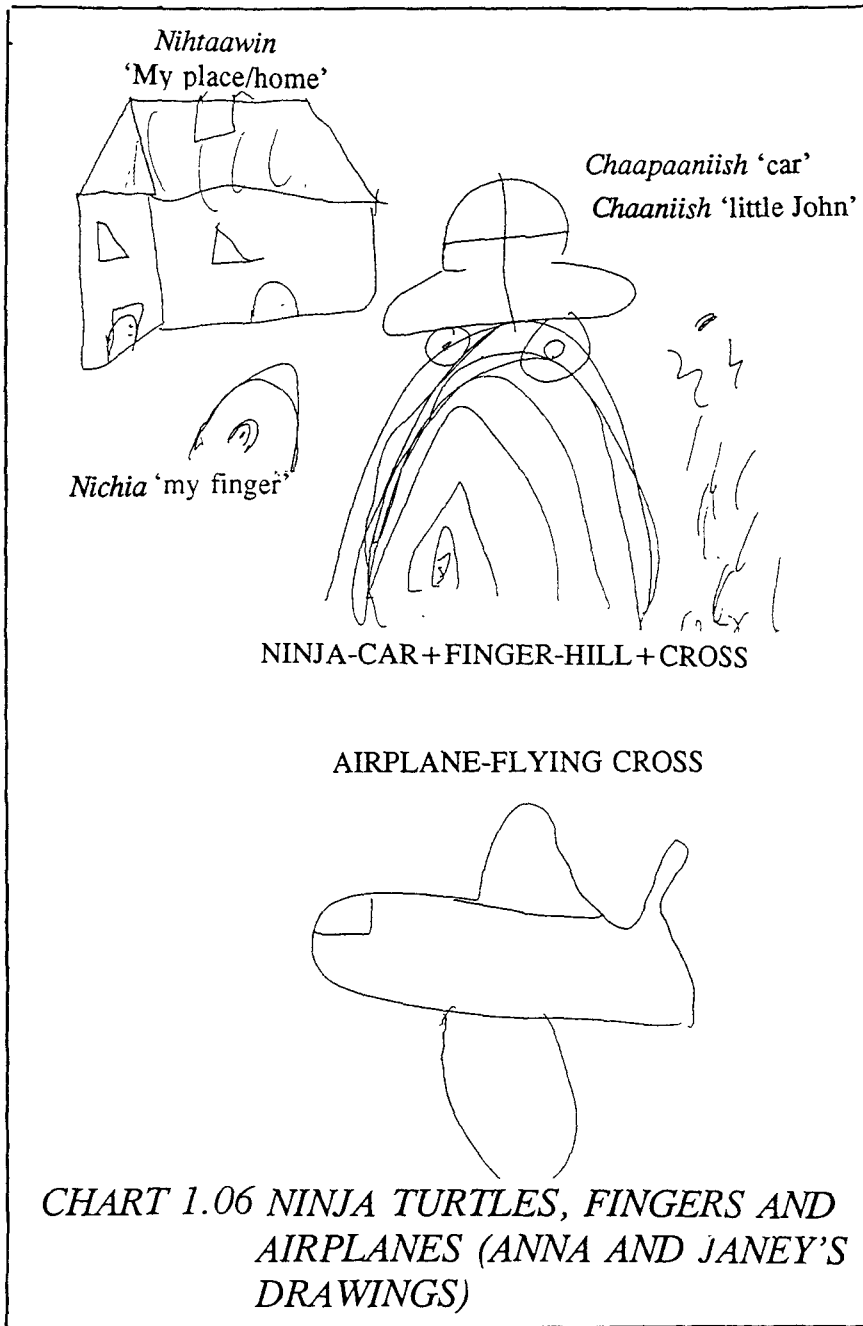


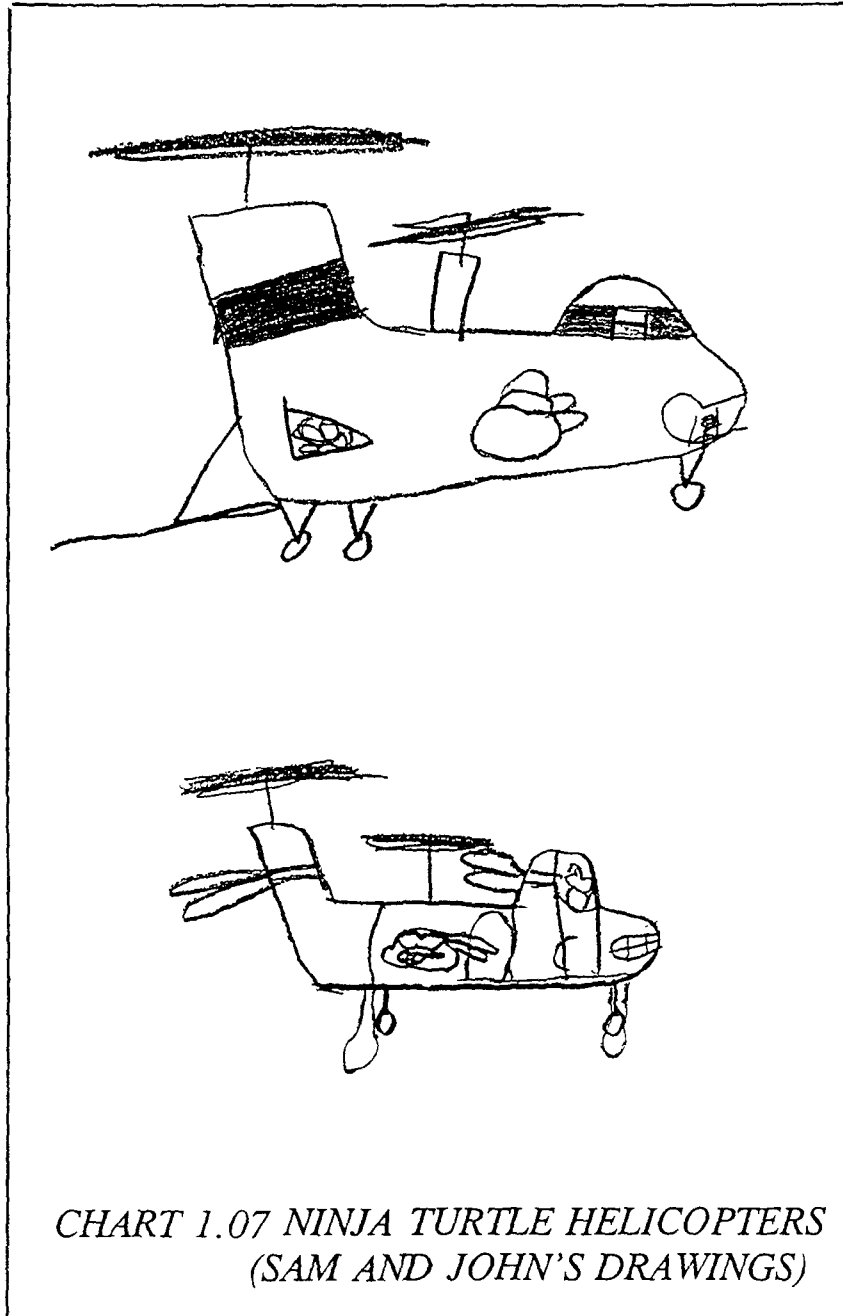
Ilili 'man' gone



nihtaawin 'My village'
 'My place/home'

CHART 1.05 CODE SWITCHING
 (ANNA AND JANEY'S DRAWINGS)





*CHART 1.07 NINJA TURTLE HELICOPTERS
(SAM AND JOHN'S DRAWINGS)*

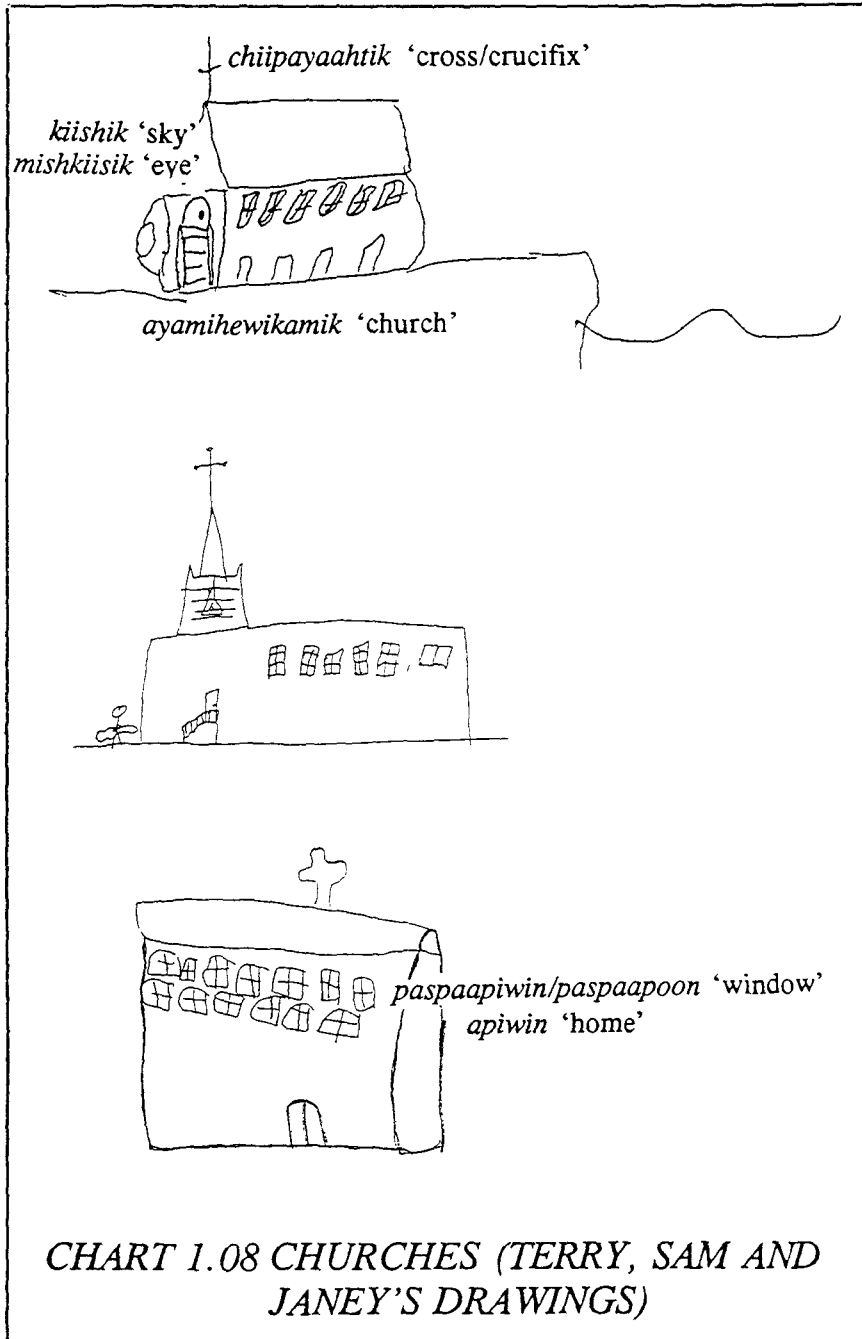
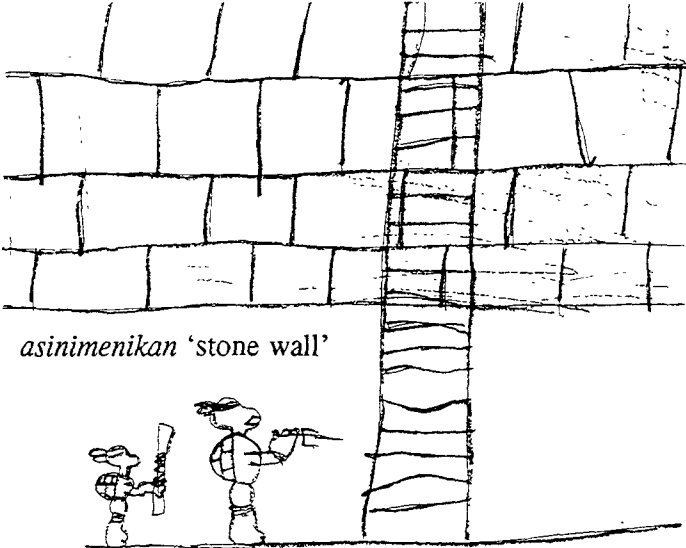



CHART 1.08 CHURCHES (TERRY, SAM AND JANEY'S DRAWINGS)



asinimenikan 'stone wall'

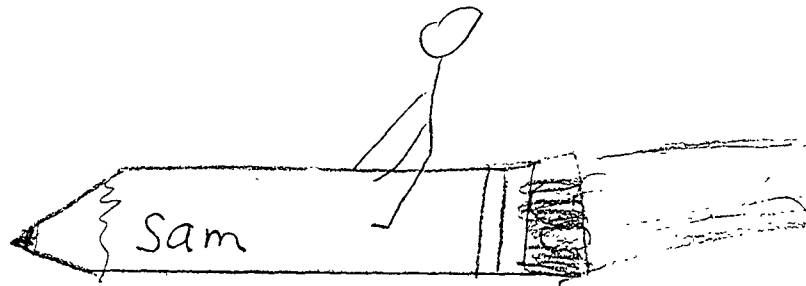
sam



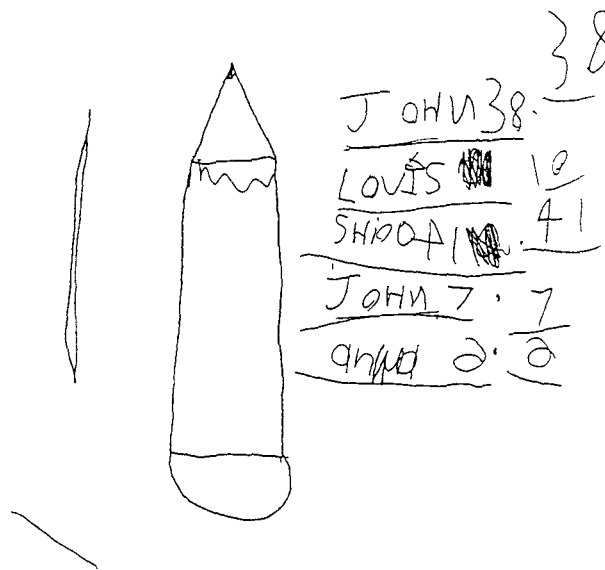
pimoteo 'he walks'
pimpateo 'he runs'

CHART 1.09 LADDERS AND BRIDGES
(SAM'S DRAWINGS)

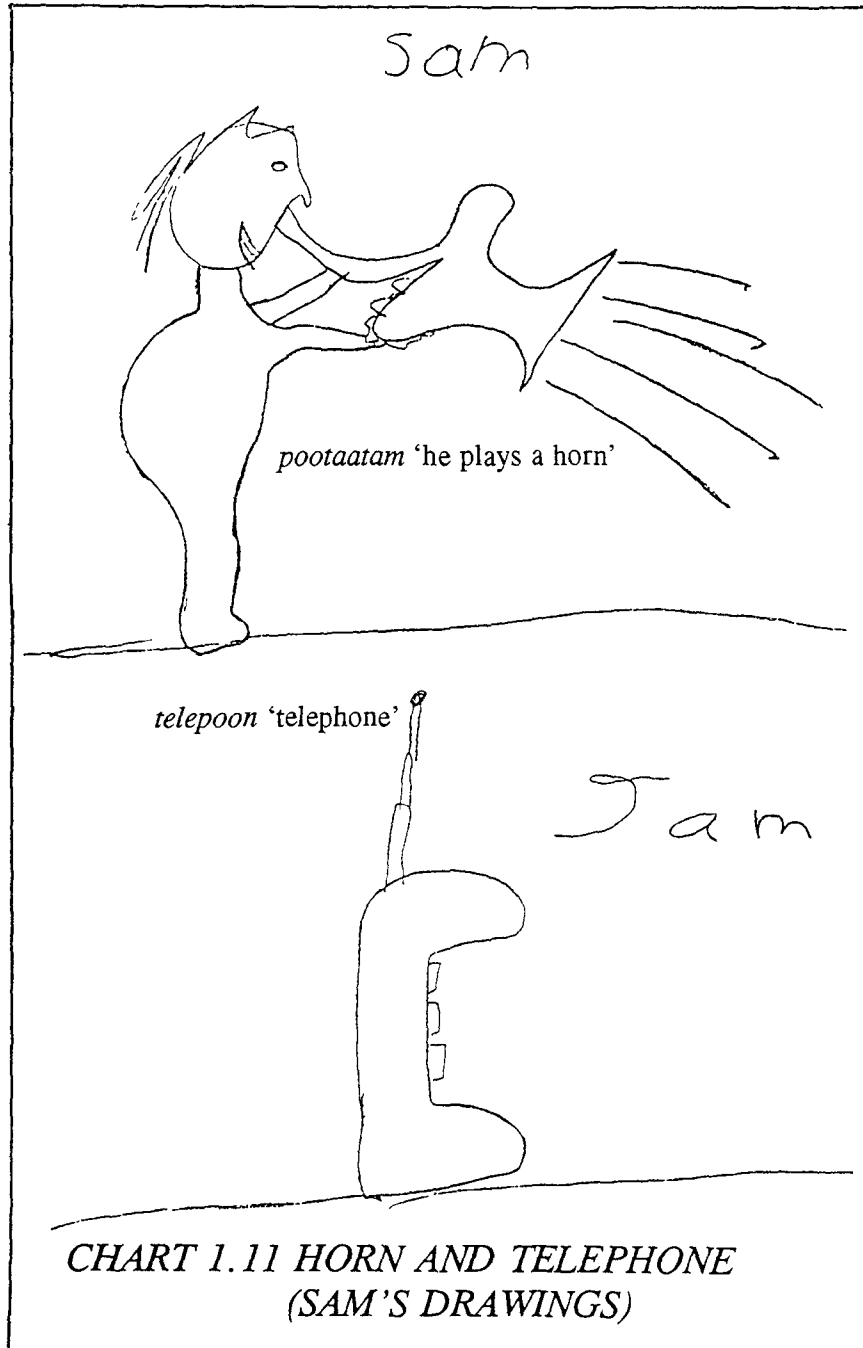
The image is a hand-drawn chart within a rectangular border. At the top, there is a drawing of a stone wall with a ladder leaning against it. Below the wall, the text 'asinimenikan 'stone wall'' is written. In the middle, the name 'sam' is written in a cursive hand. Below that, there are several horizontal lines. One line contains a simple stick figure drawing of a person walking, followed by the text 'pimoteo 'he walks'' and 'pimpateo 'he runs''. At the bottom of the chart, the title 'CHART 1.09 LADDERS AND BRIDGES (SAM'S DRAWINGS)' is printed in all caps.



masinahikanatik 'pencil'
masinikewin 'writing'
masinipiskahikan 'picture'

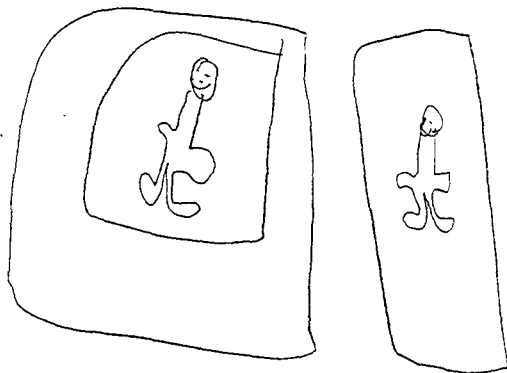


**CHART 1.10 PENCILS (SAM AND ANNA'S
 DRAWINGS)**



**CHART 1.11 HORN AND TELEPHONE
(SAM'S DRAWINGS)**

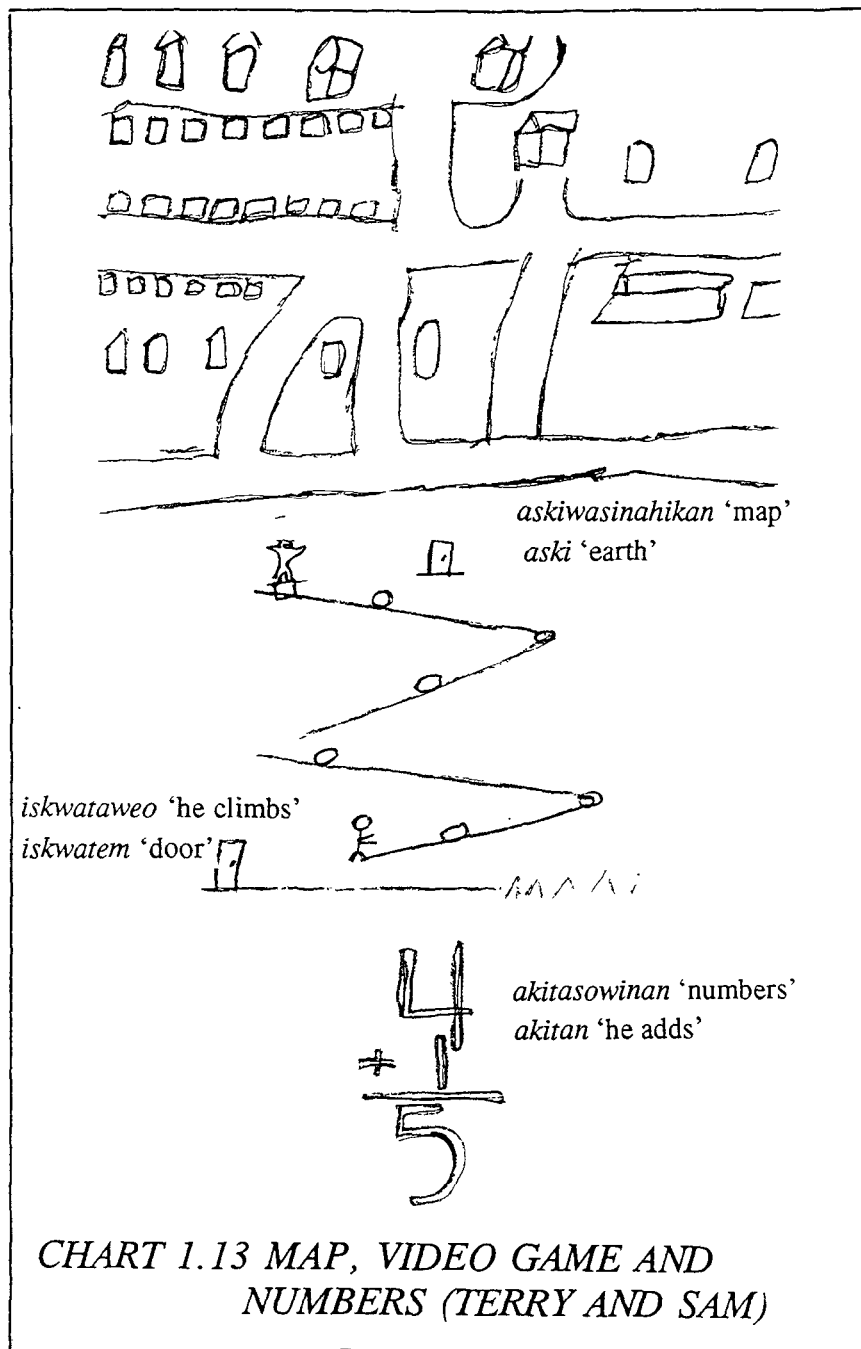
Telepiisim/TP 'television/TV'

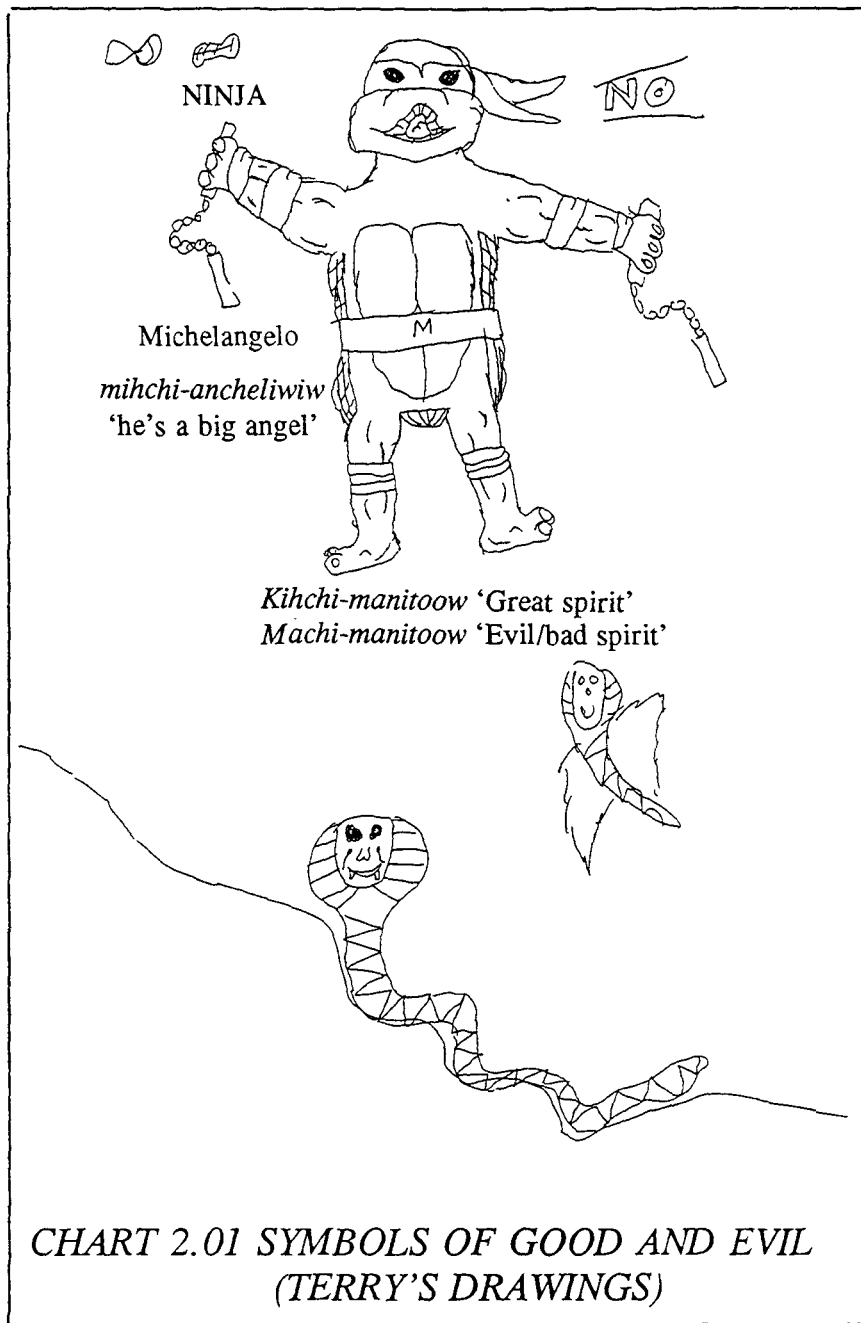


piisimomasinahkan 'calendar'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

**CHART 1.12 TELEVISION AND CALENDAR
(JANEY'S DRAWINGS)**





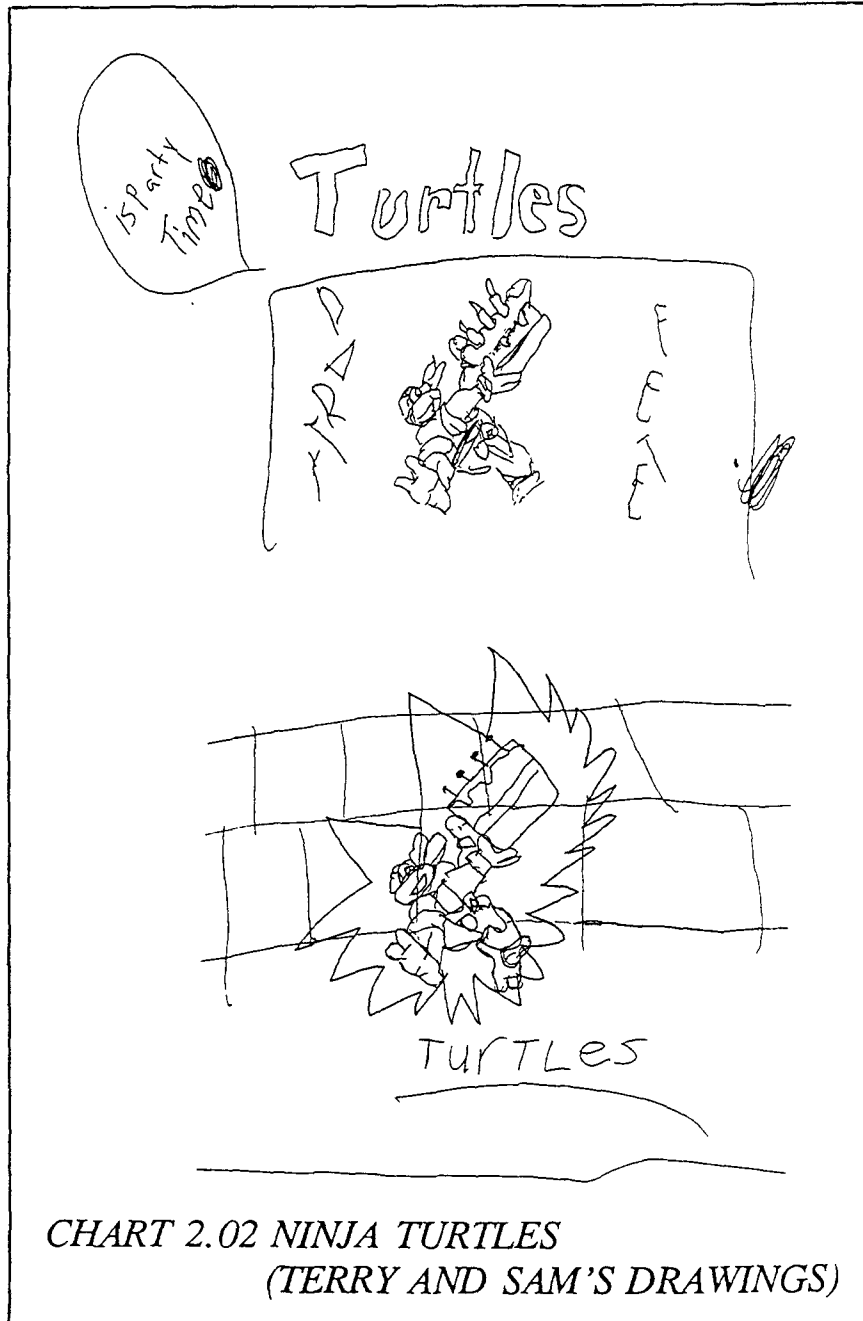
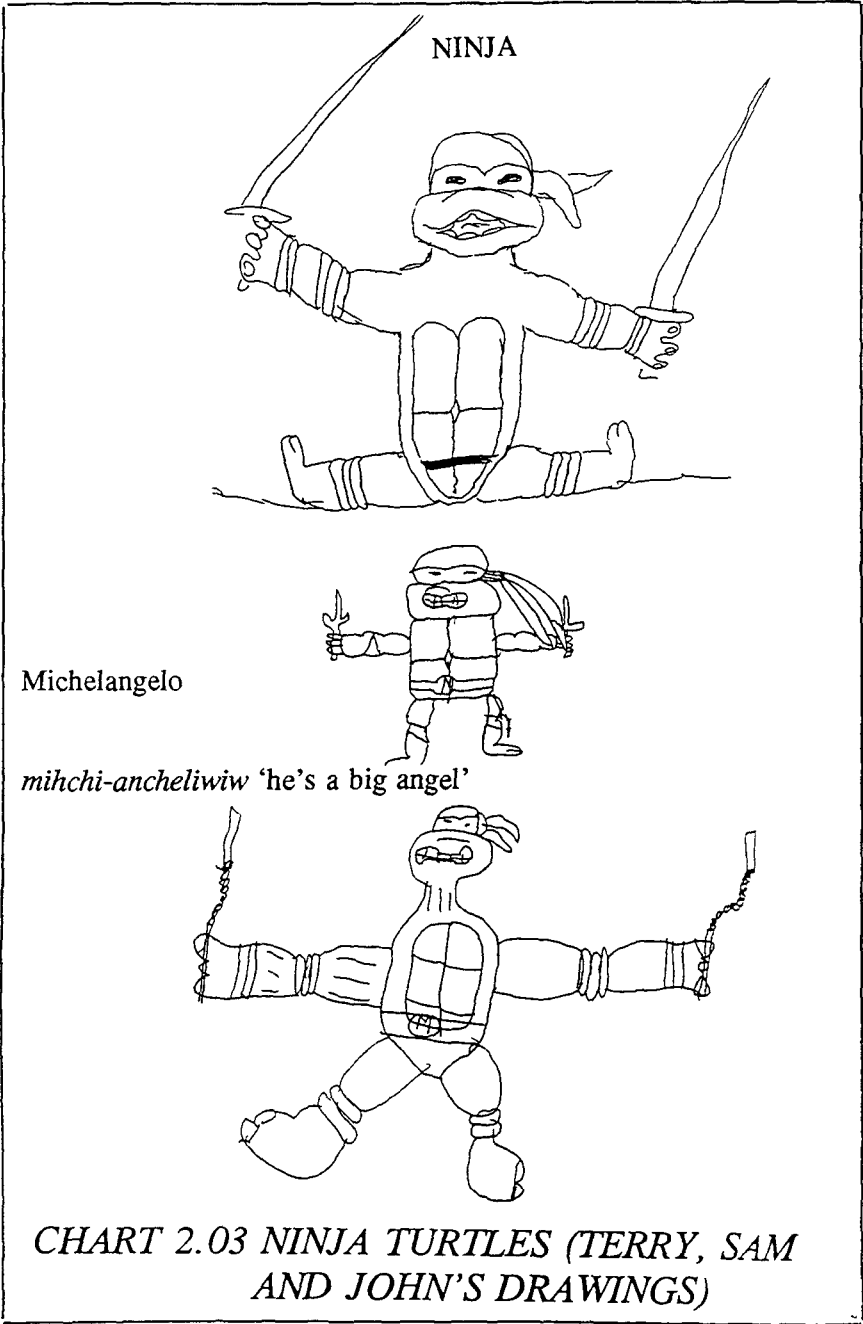
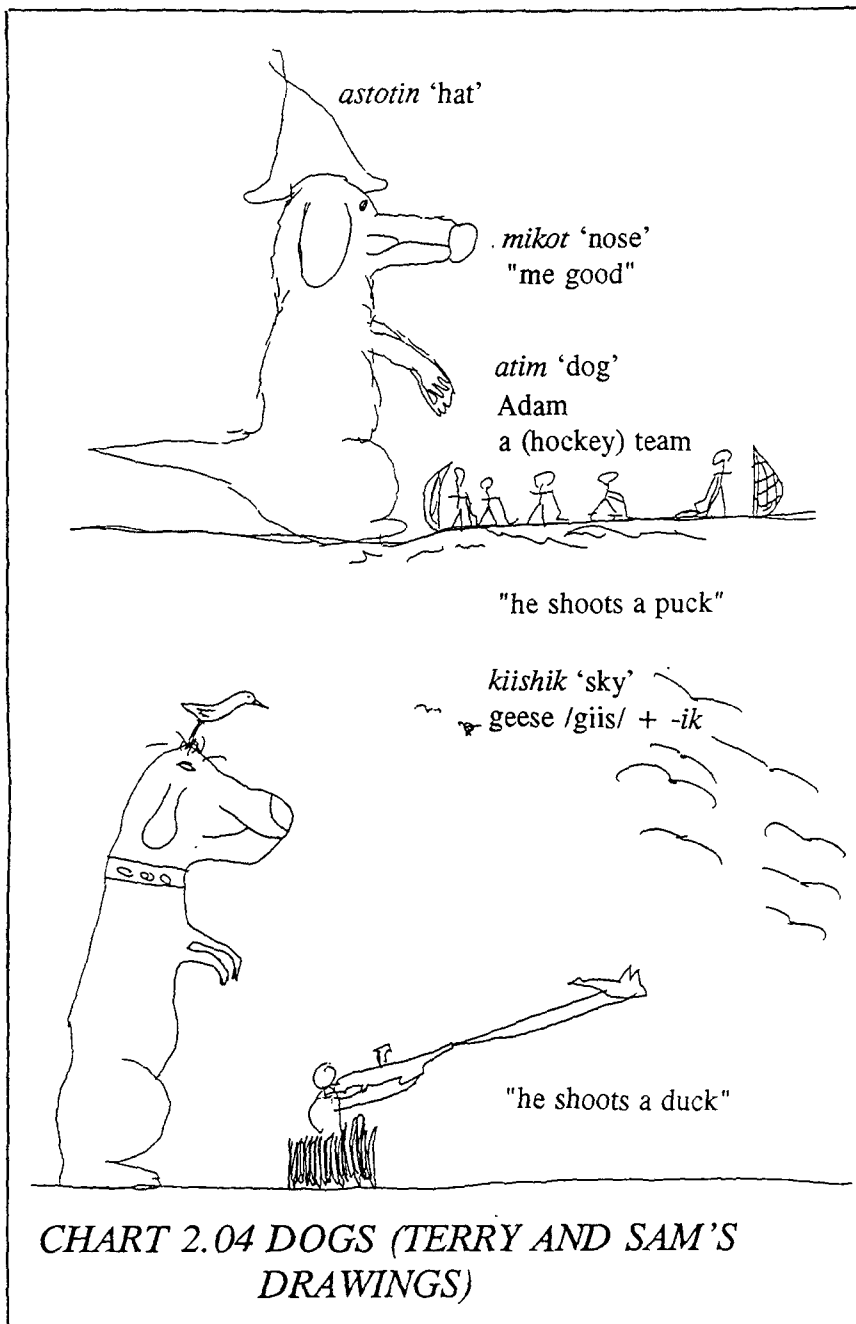
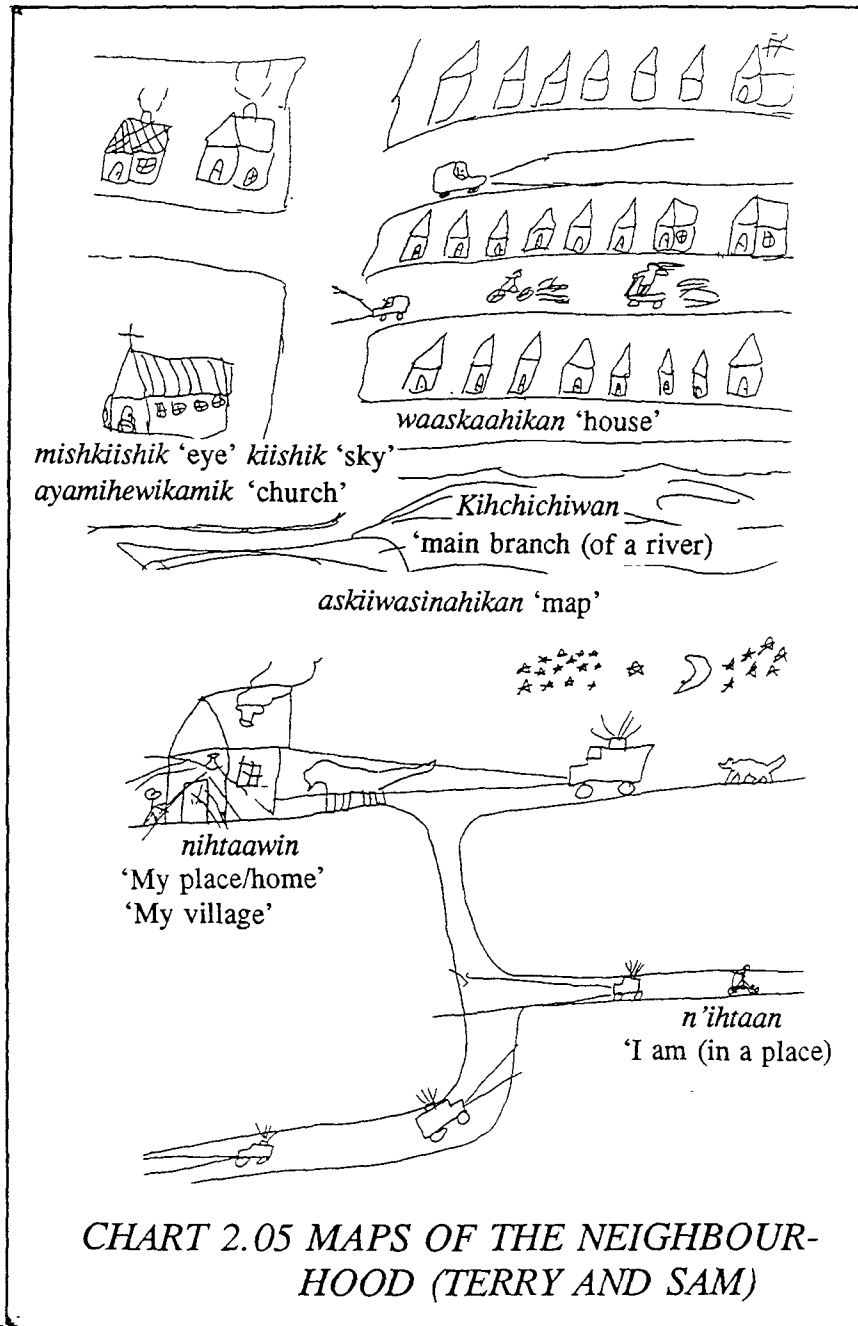


CHART 2.02 NINJA TURTLES
(TERRY AND SAM'S DRAWINGS)







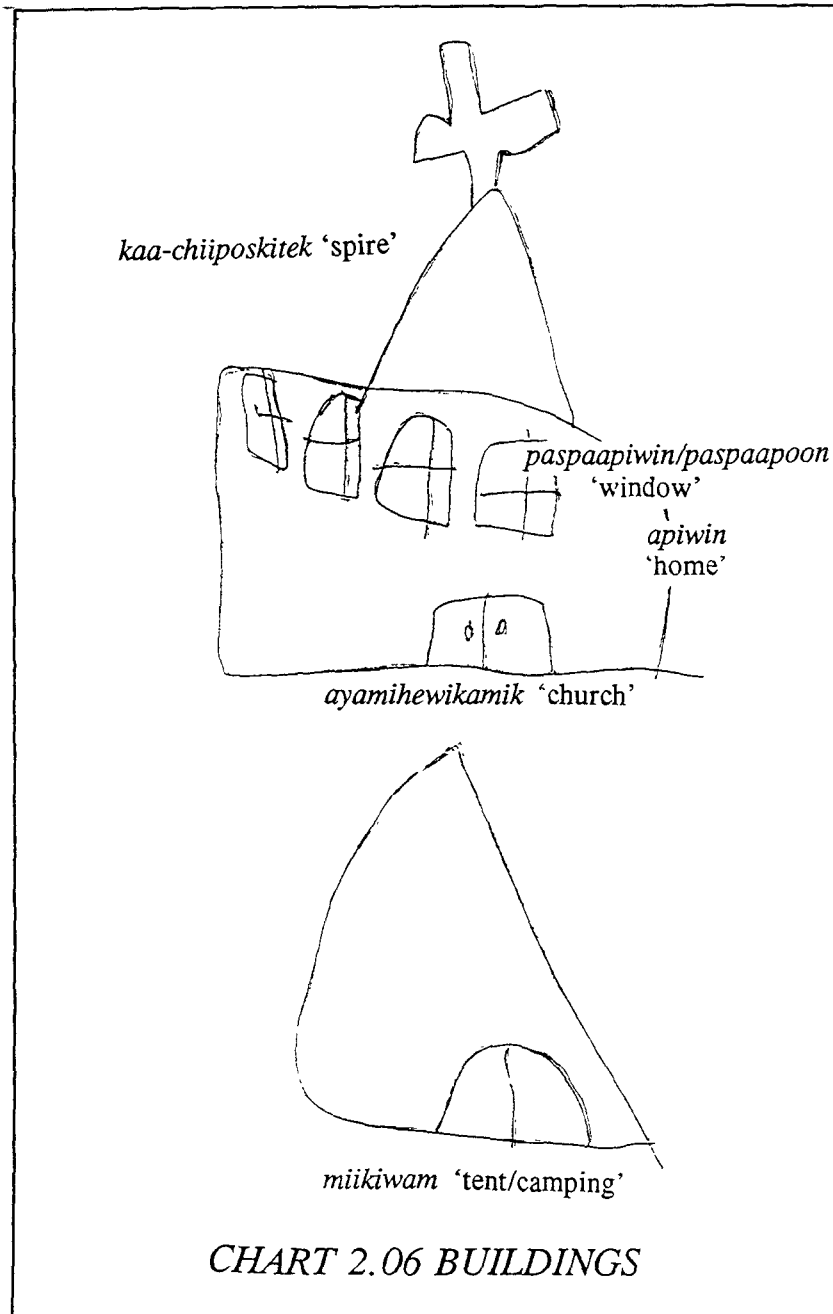


CHART 2.06 BUILDINGS

kiishik 'sky'

geese /giis/ + -ik = *kiishik* 'sky'

niskak 'Canada geese'

piisim 'sun'

John

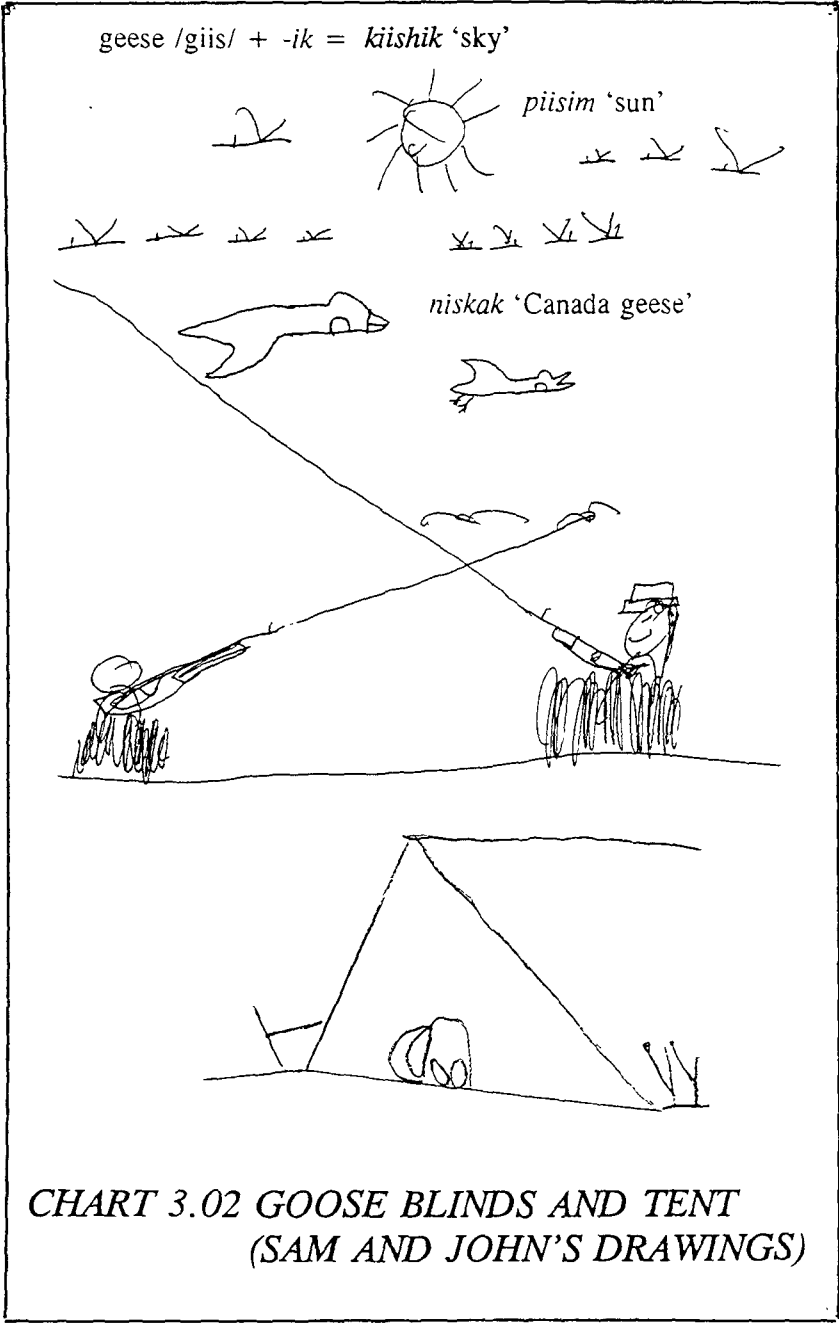
SS^c

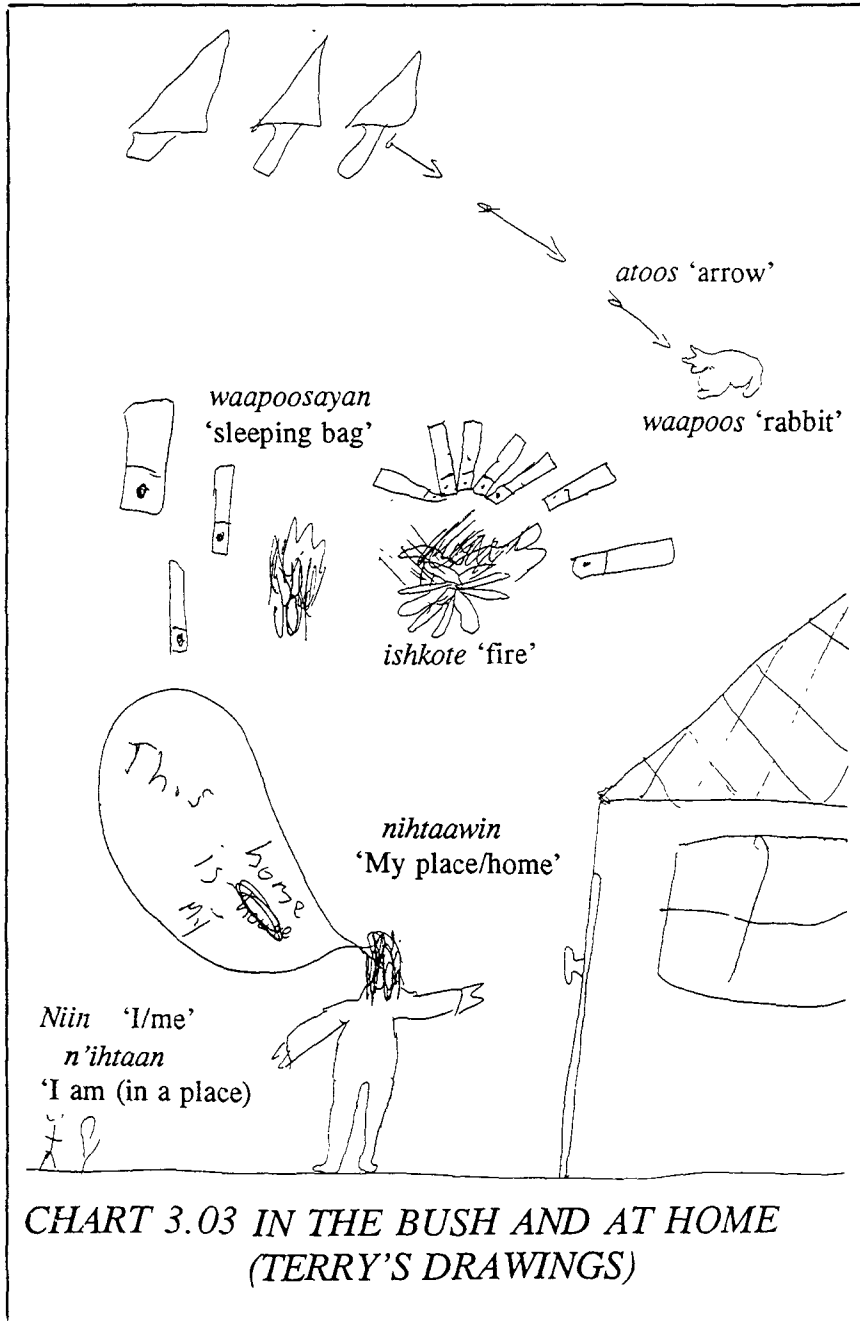
siisiip 'duck'

abe

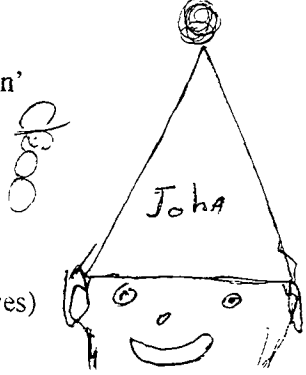
CHART 3.01 WATERFOWL (SAM AND JOHN)

The chart contains several hand-drawn illustrations. At the top left, a small bird is shown in flight with the syllable 'giis' written above it. To its right is a simple drawing of a sun with radiating lines. Below these are two larger drawings of Canada geese in flight, one above the other. In the lower half of the chart, a duck is shown swimming in water, with the syllable 'siisiip' written above it. To the right of the duck is a small drawing of a fly or insect with the syllable 'abe' written above it. The name 'John' is written above a horizontal line that spans across the middle of the chart.





ilili-koon 'snow man'



John gone (i.e. leaves)

George gone (i.e. leaves)

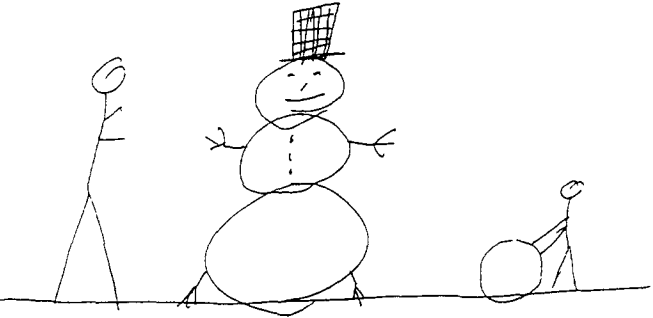
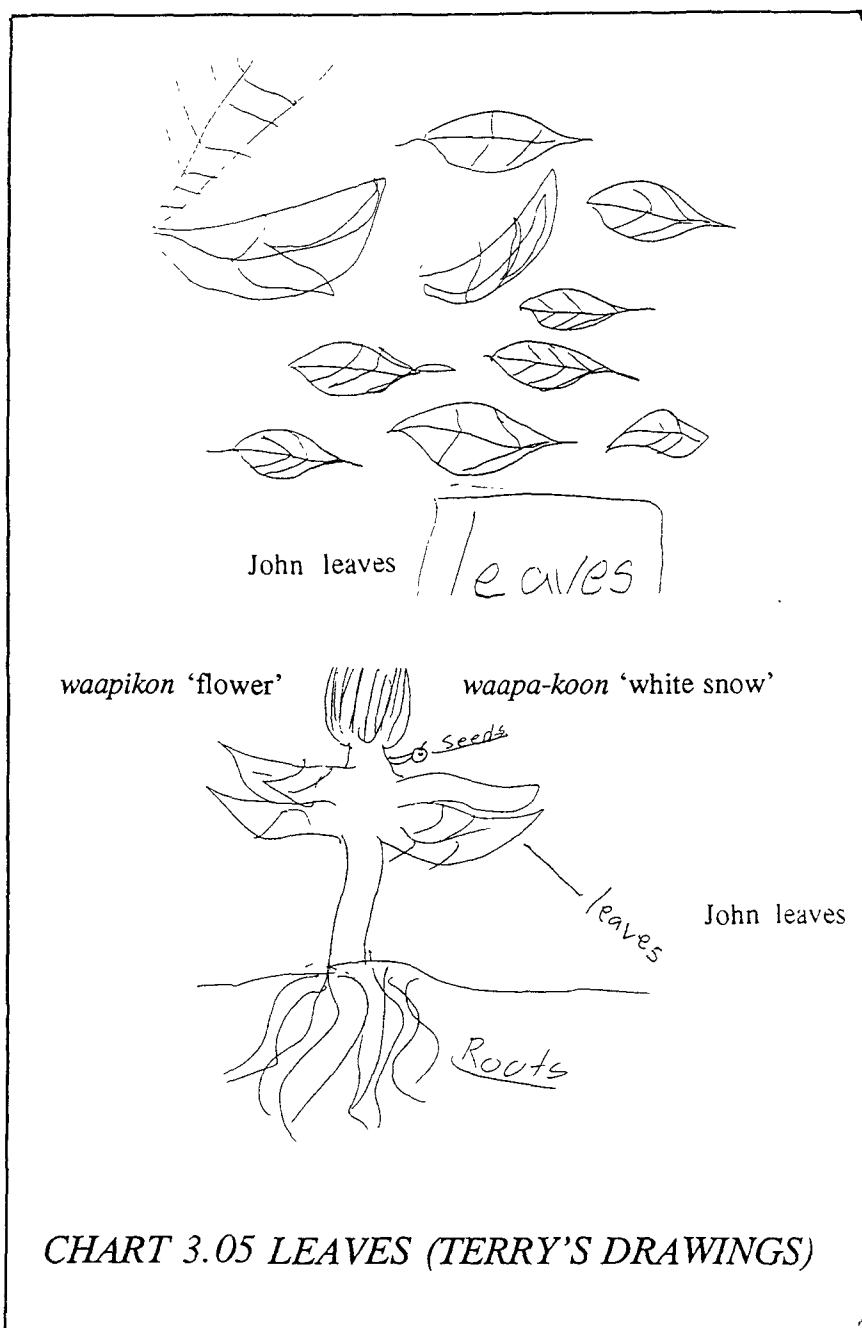
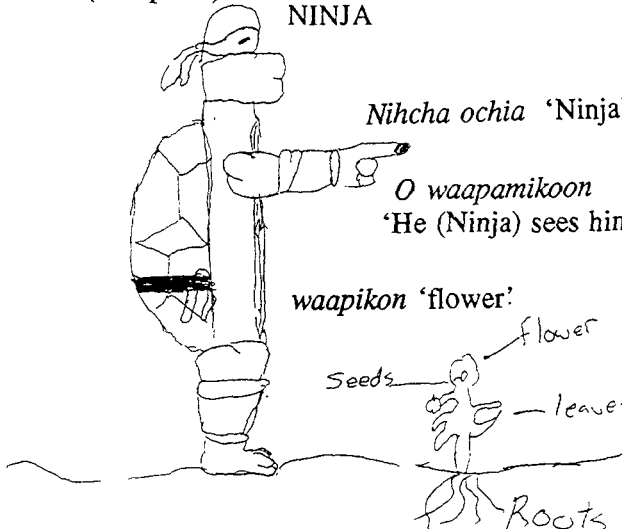


CHART 3.04 CODE SWITCHING
(TERRY AND SAM'S DRAWINGS)



n'ihtaan 'I am (in a place)'

NINJA

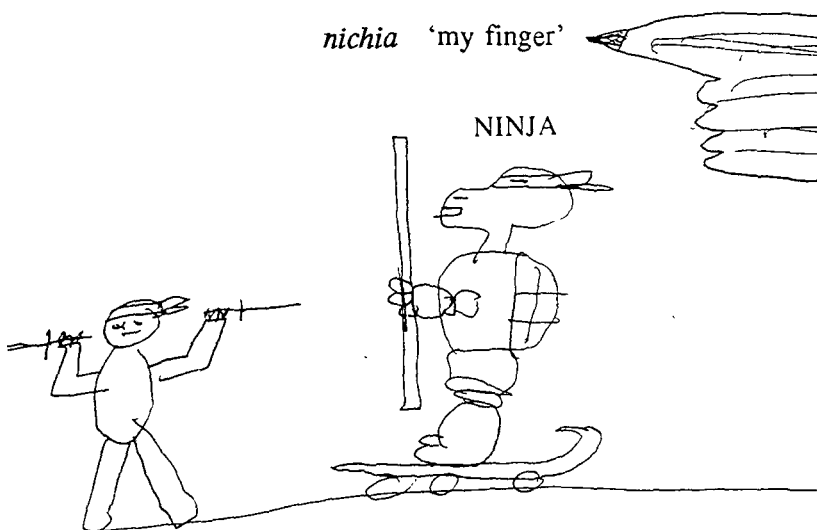


Nihcha ochia 'Ninja's finger'

O waapamikoon
'He (Ninja) sees him (John)'

waapikon 'flower:'

nichia 'my finger'



NINJA

CHART 3.06 NINJA TURTLES (TERRY AND SAM'S DRAWINGS)

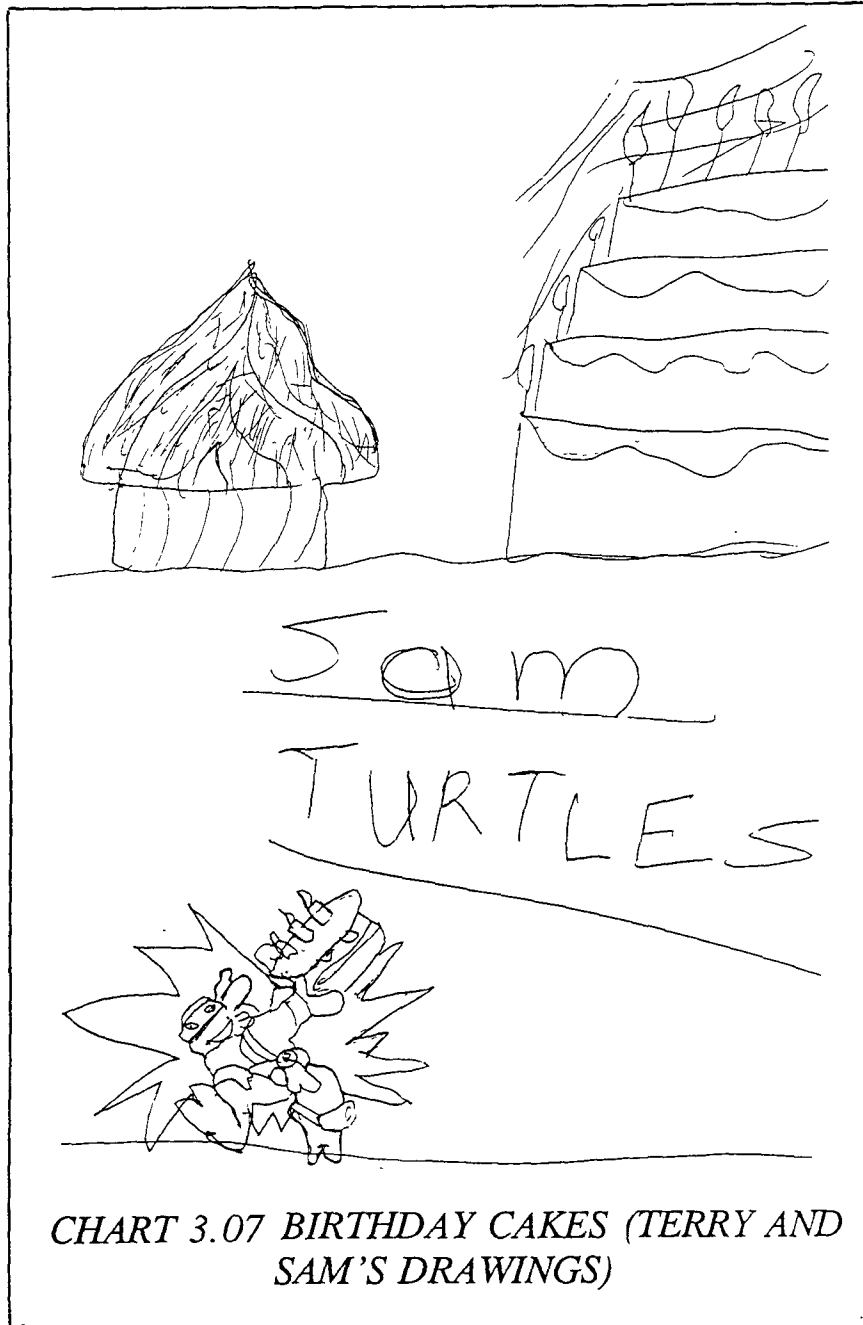
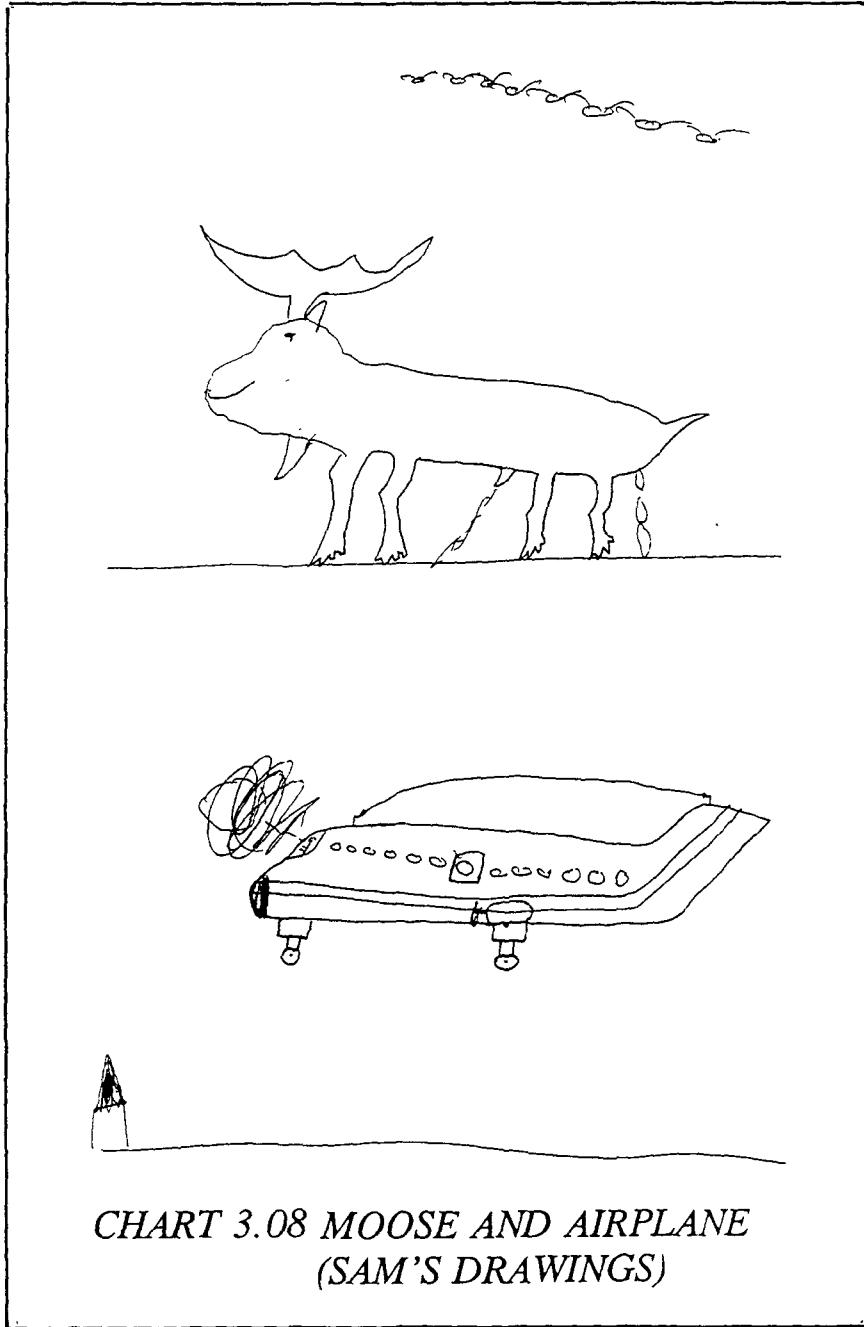
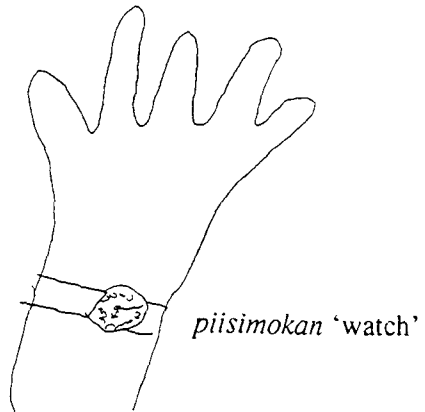
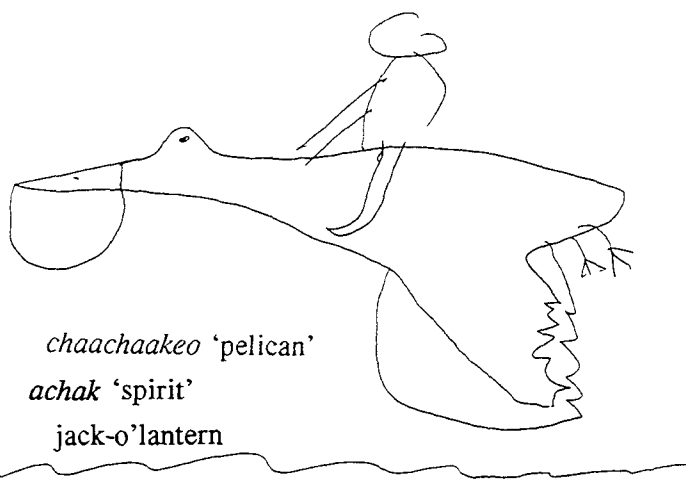


CHART 3.07 BIRTHDAY CAKES (TERRY AND SAM'S DRAWINGS)



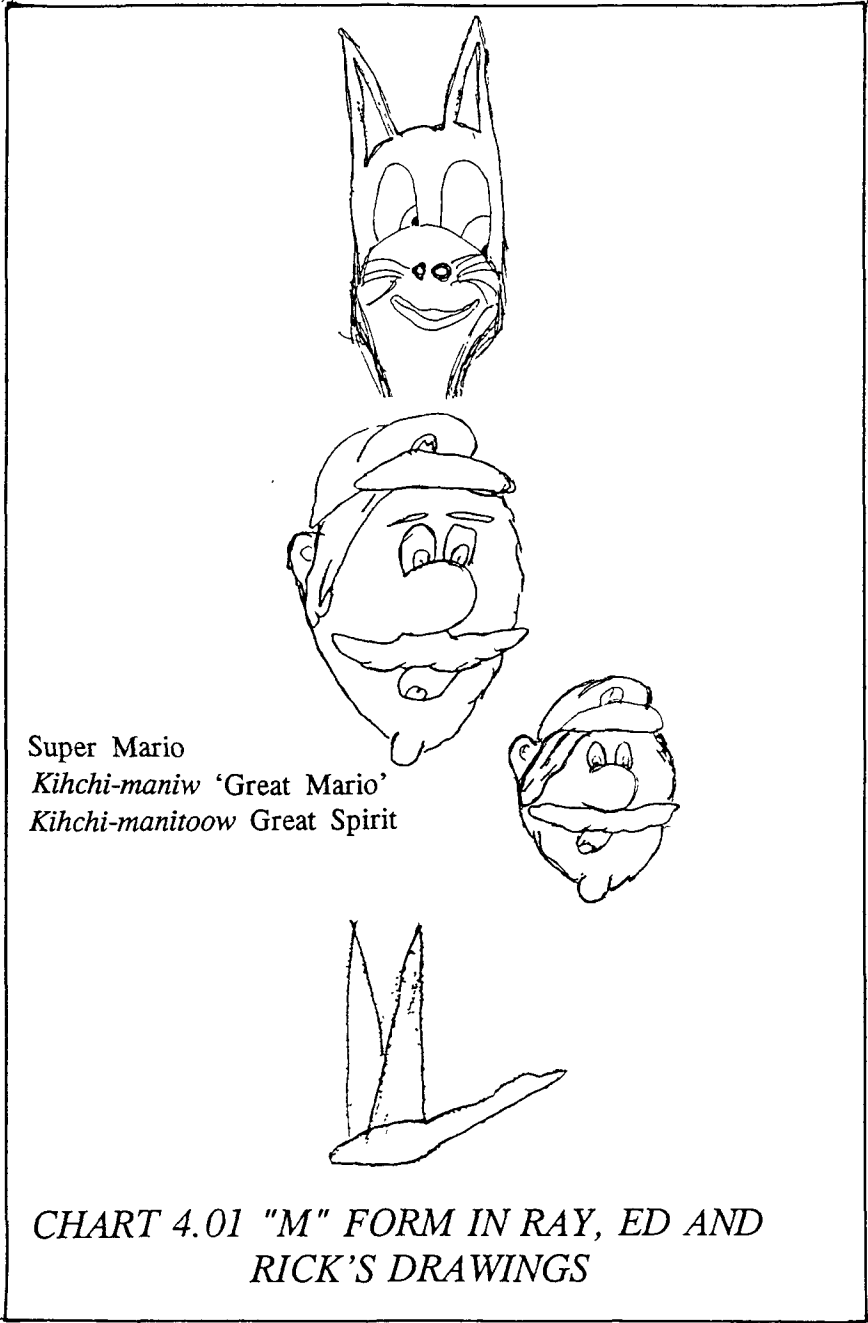


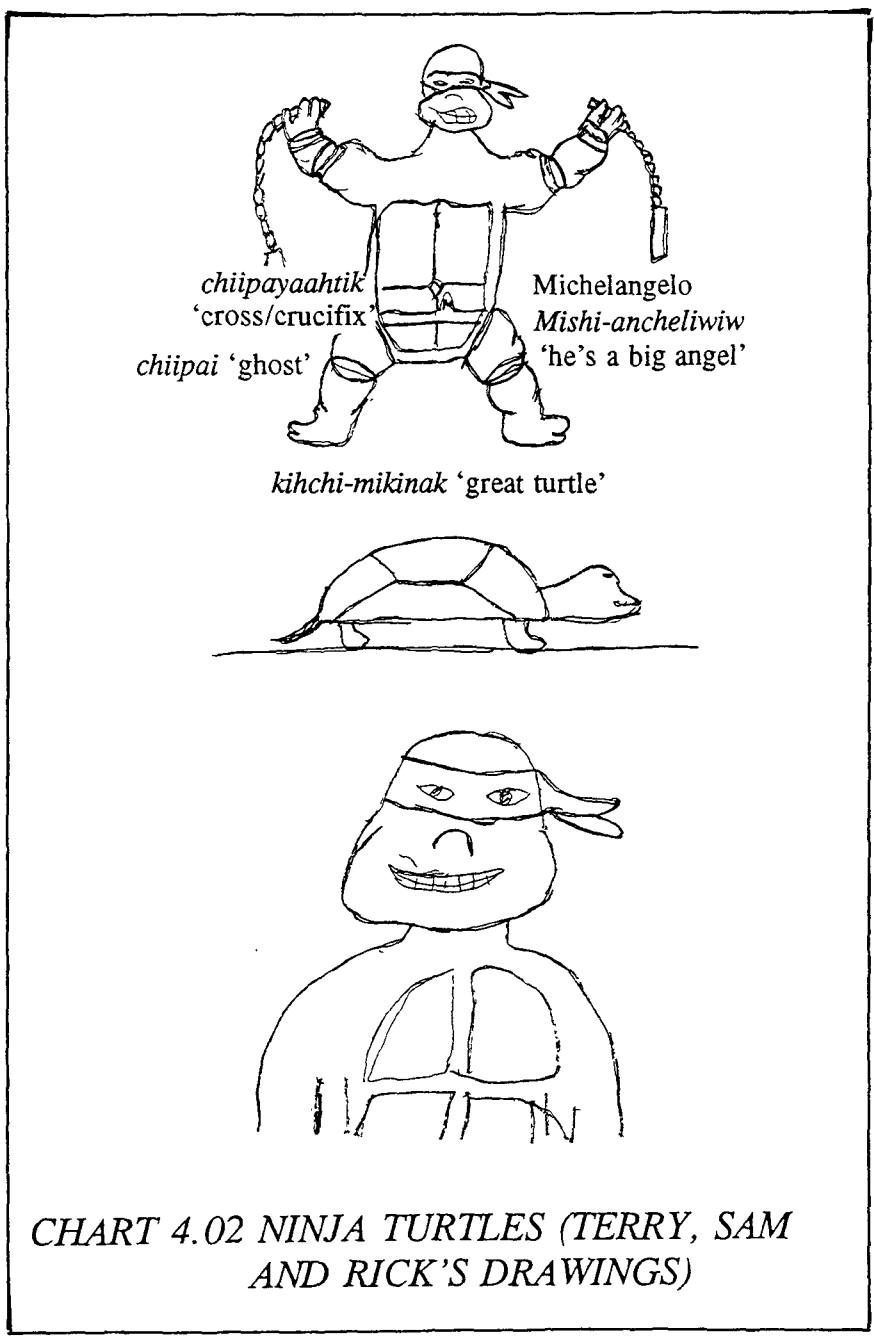
piisimokan 'watch'

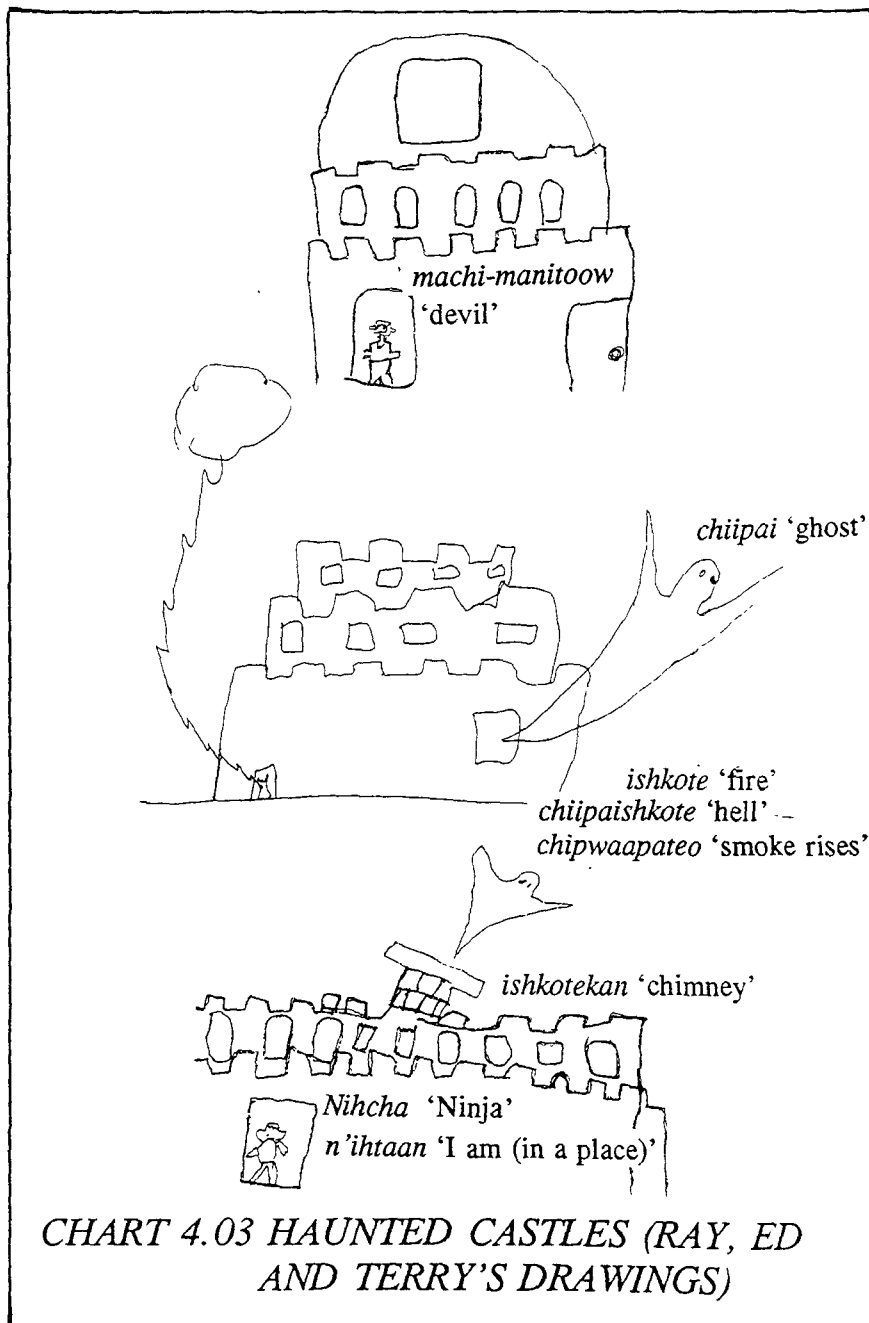


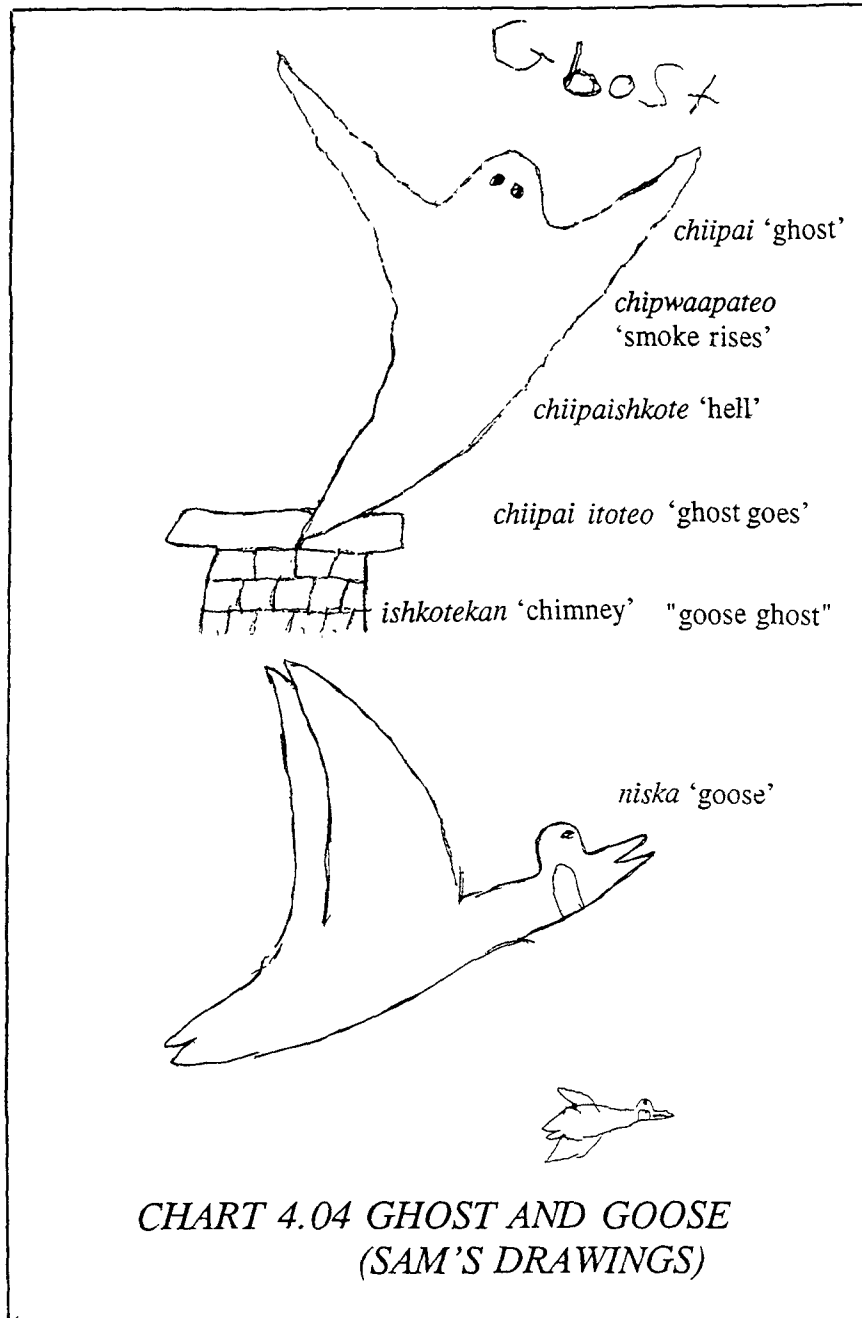
chaachaakeo 'pelican'
achak 'spirit'
jack-o'lantern

**CHART 3.09 CODE SWITCHING
(SAM'S DRAWINGS)**









Goose



kichilaw niska
'goes goes'

"goose ghost"

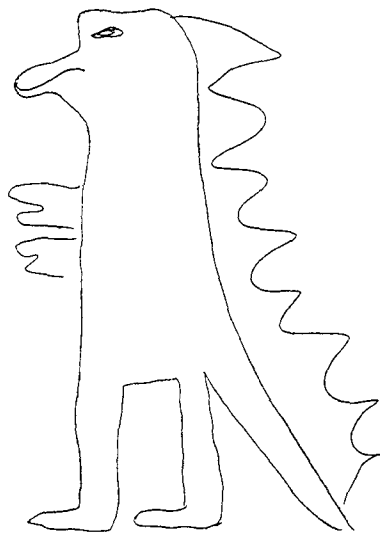


maateo 'he's not here'

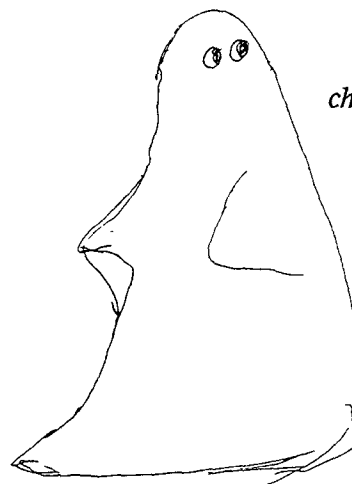


maatoo 'he's crying'

CHART 4.05 GOOSE HUNTER
(RICK'S DRAWINGS)



maachi-kenepik 'dinosaur'



chiipai 'ghost'

CHART 4.06 MONSTERS (SAM AND RICK)

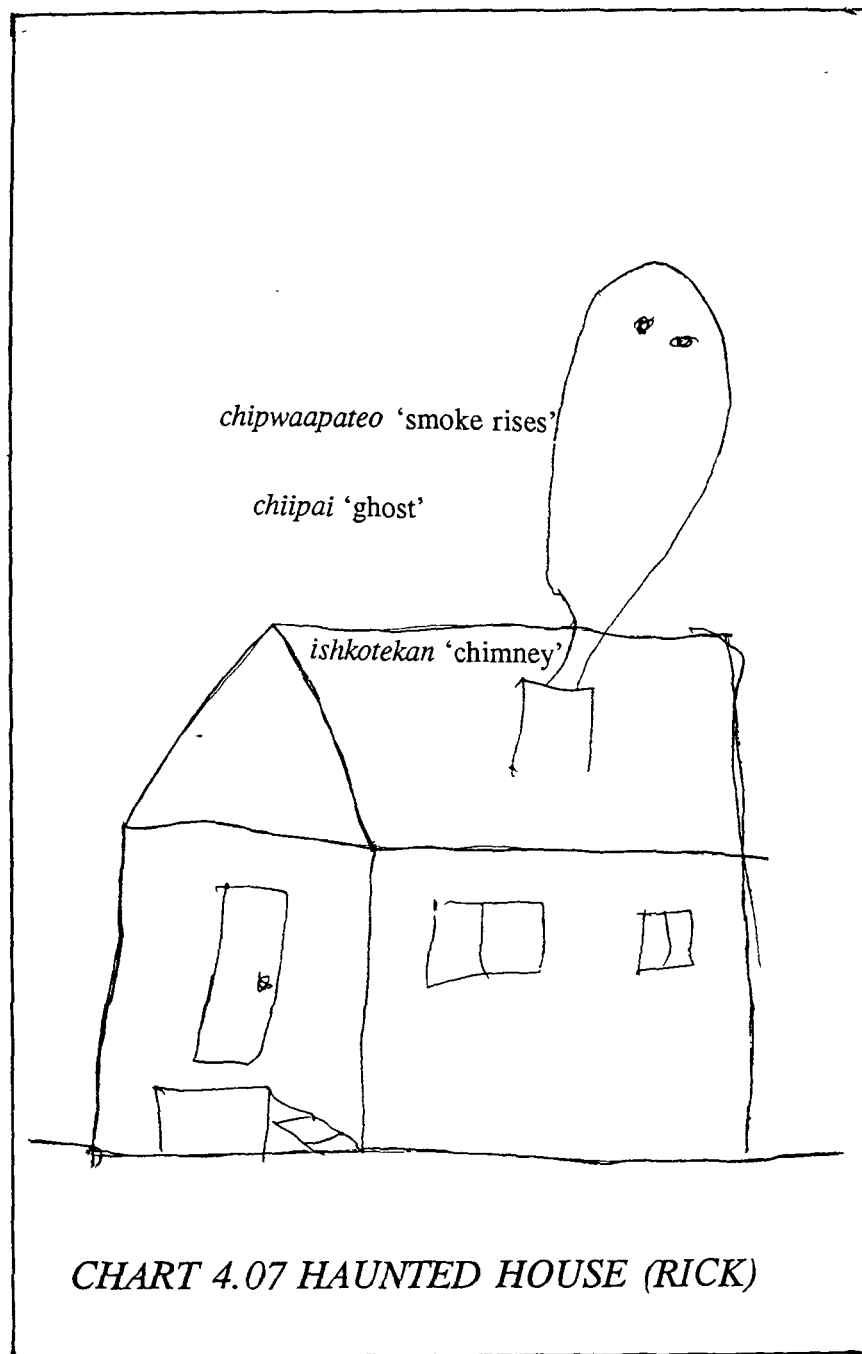
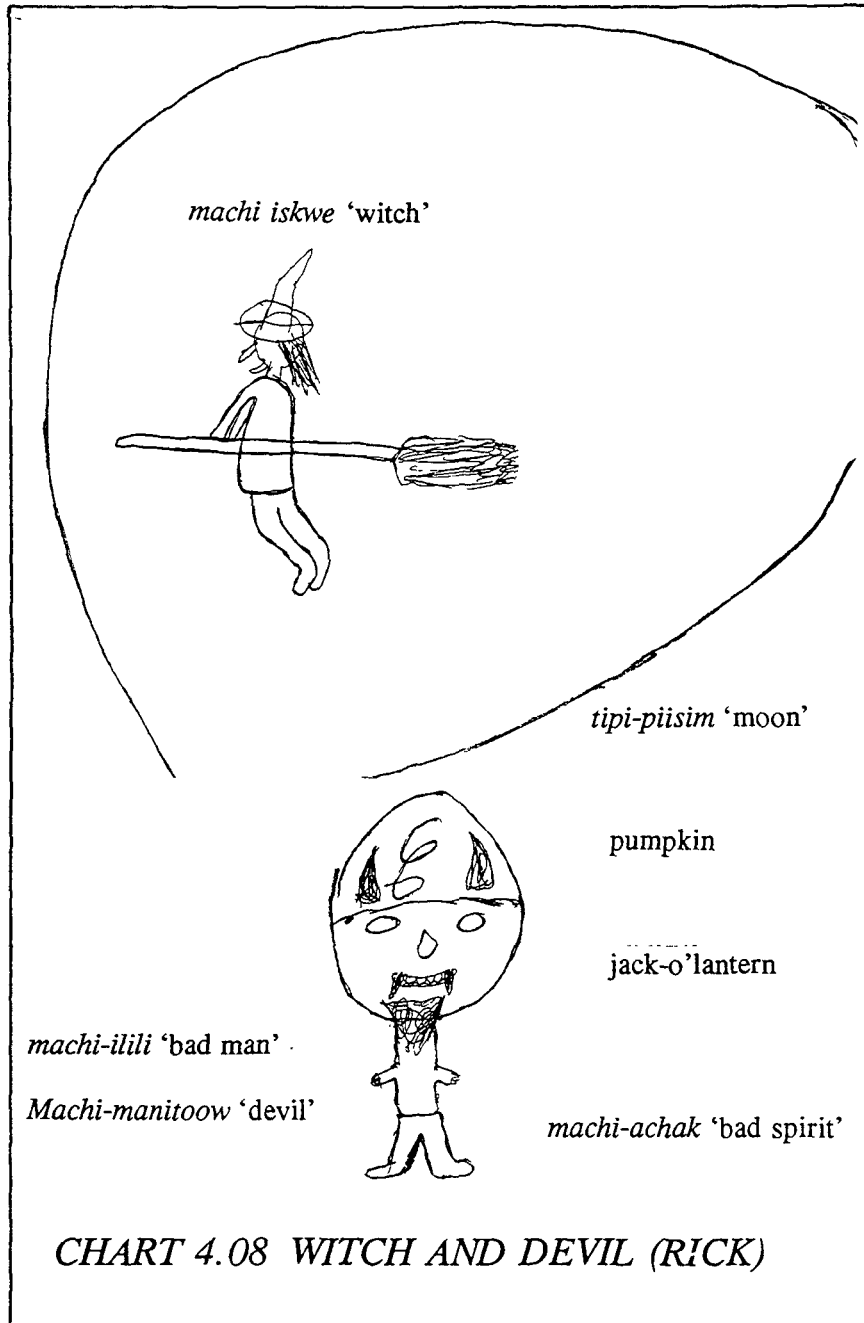


CHART 4.07 HAUNTED HOUSE (RICK)



machi iskwe 'witch'

tipi-piisim 'moon'

pumpkin

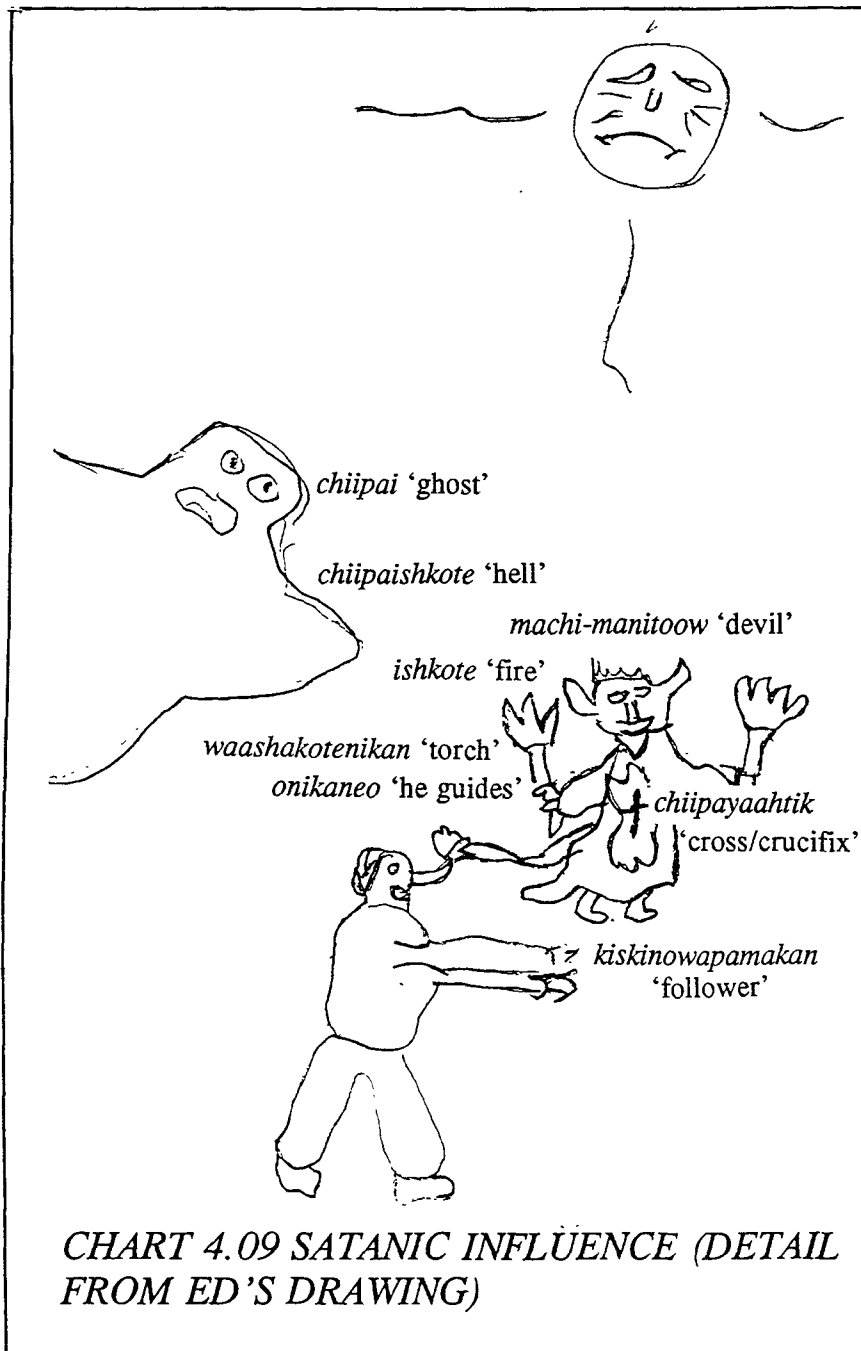
jack-o'lantern

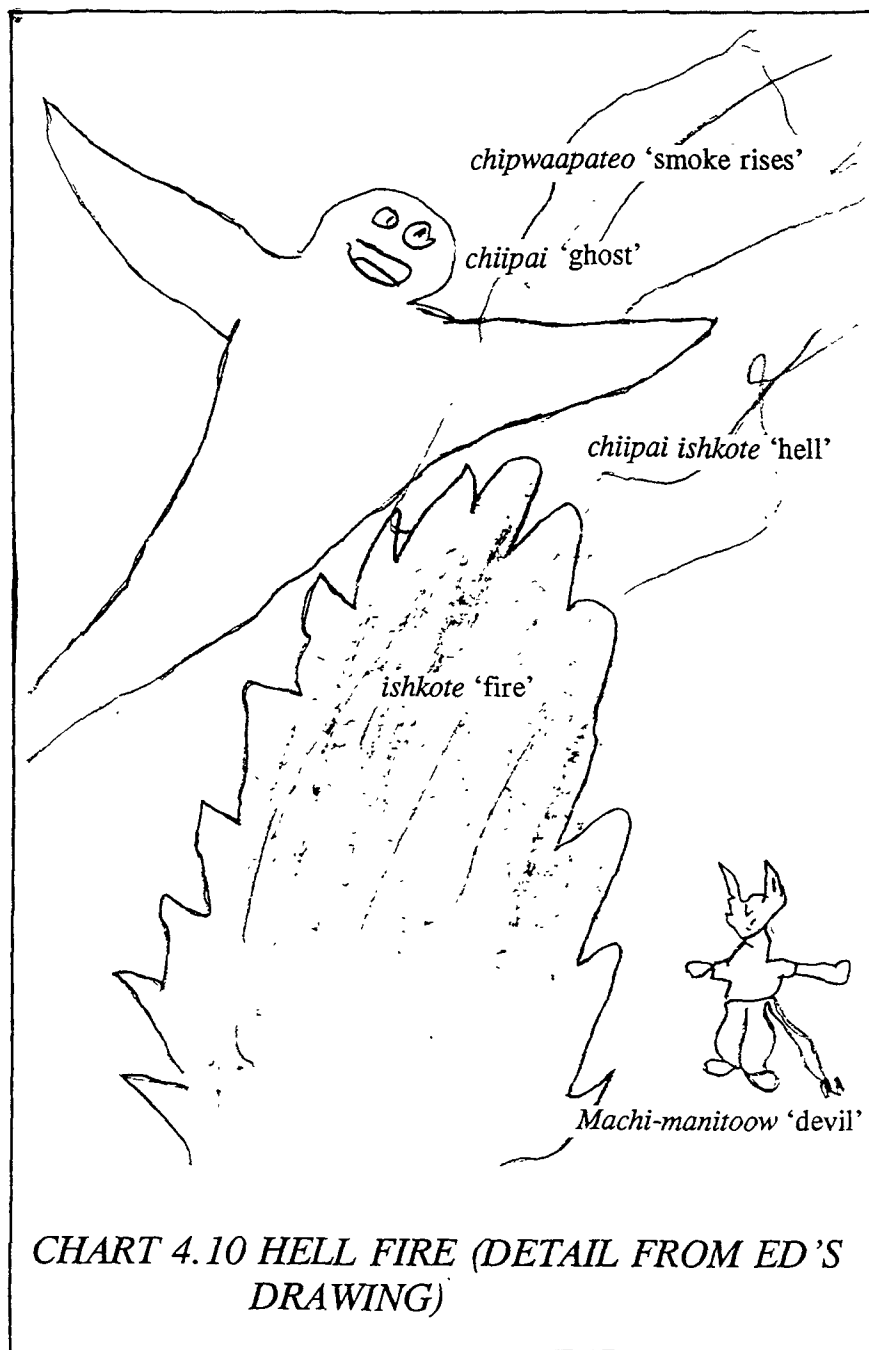
machi-ilili 'bad man'

Machi-manitoow 'devil'

machi-achak 'bad spirit'

CHART 4.08 WITCH AND DEVIL (RICK)





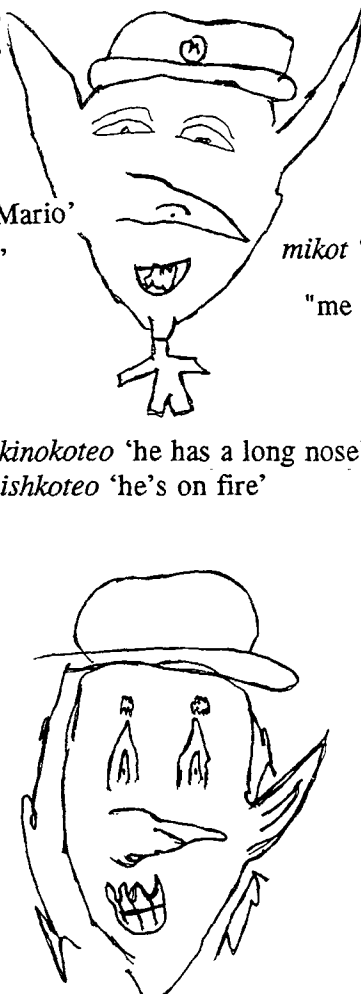
makitowakeo 'he has big ears'
makitowak 'big ears'
manitowak 'spiritual'

Machi-maniw 'Bad Mario'
Machi manito 'Devil'

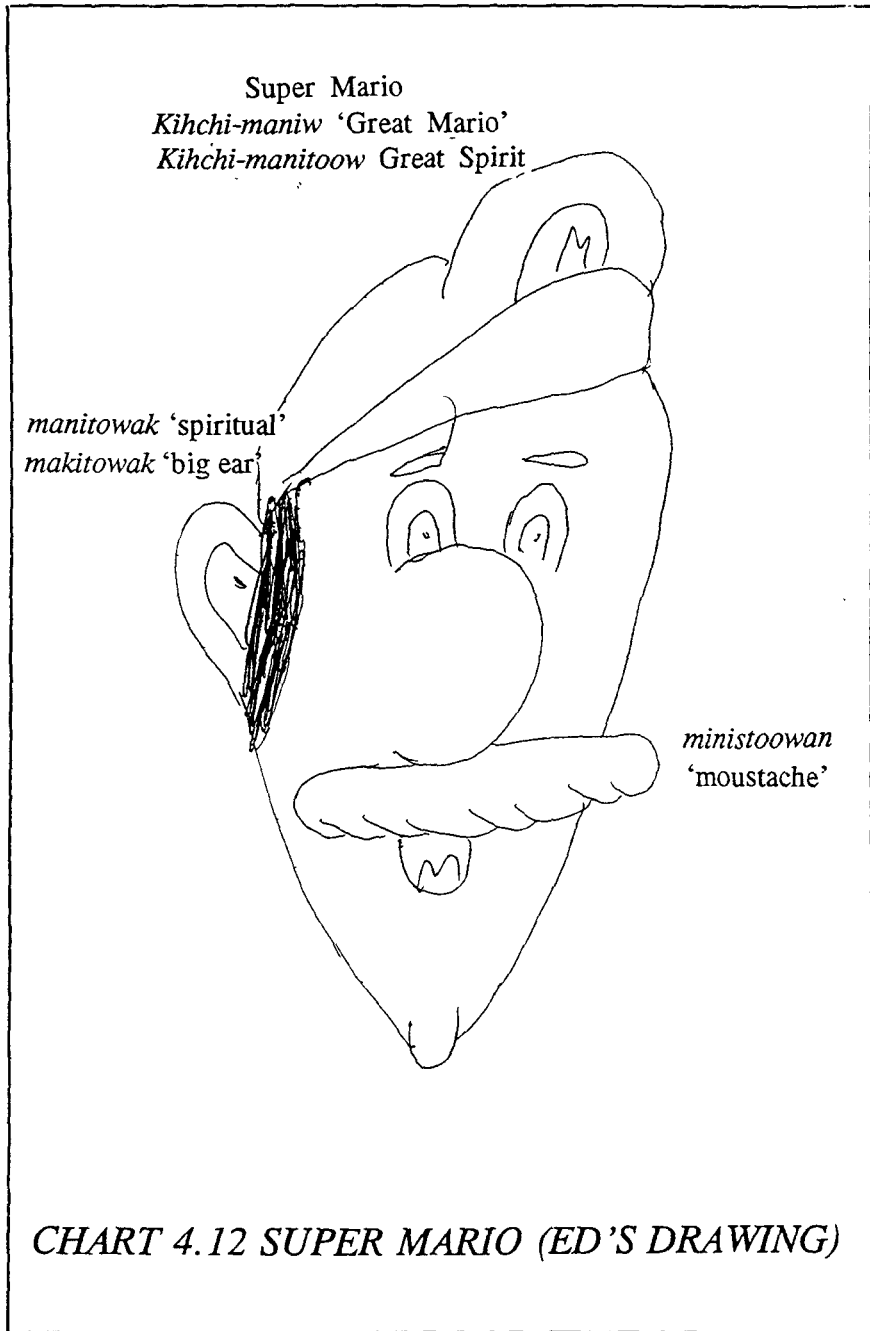
kinokoteo 'he has a long nose'
ishkoteo 'he's on fire'

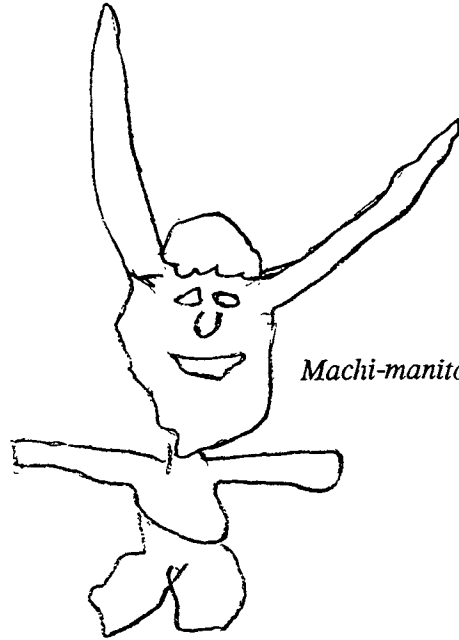
ministoowan
'moustache'

mikot 'nose'
"me good"



**CHART 4.11 EVIL DR MARIO IN TRANSITION
(ED'S DRAWINGS)**



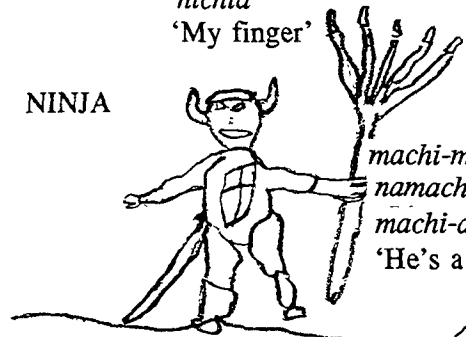


Machi-manitoow 'Devil'

nichia
'My finger'

Nihcha ochia
'Ninja's finger'

NINJA



machi-mikinak 'bad turtle'

namachi-nik 'left hand'

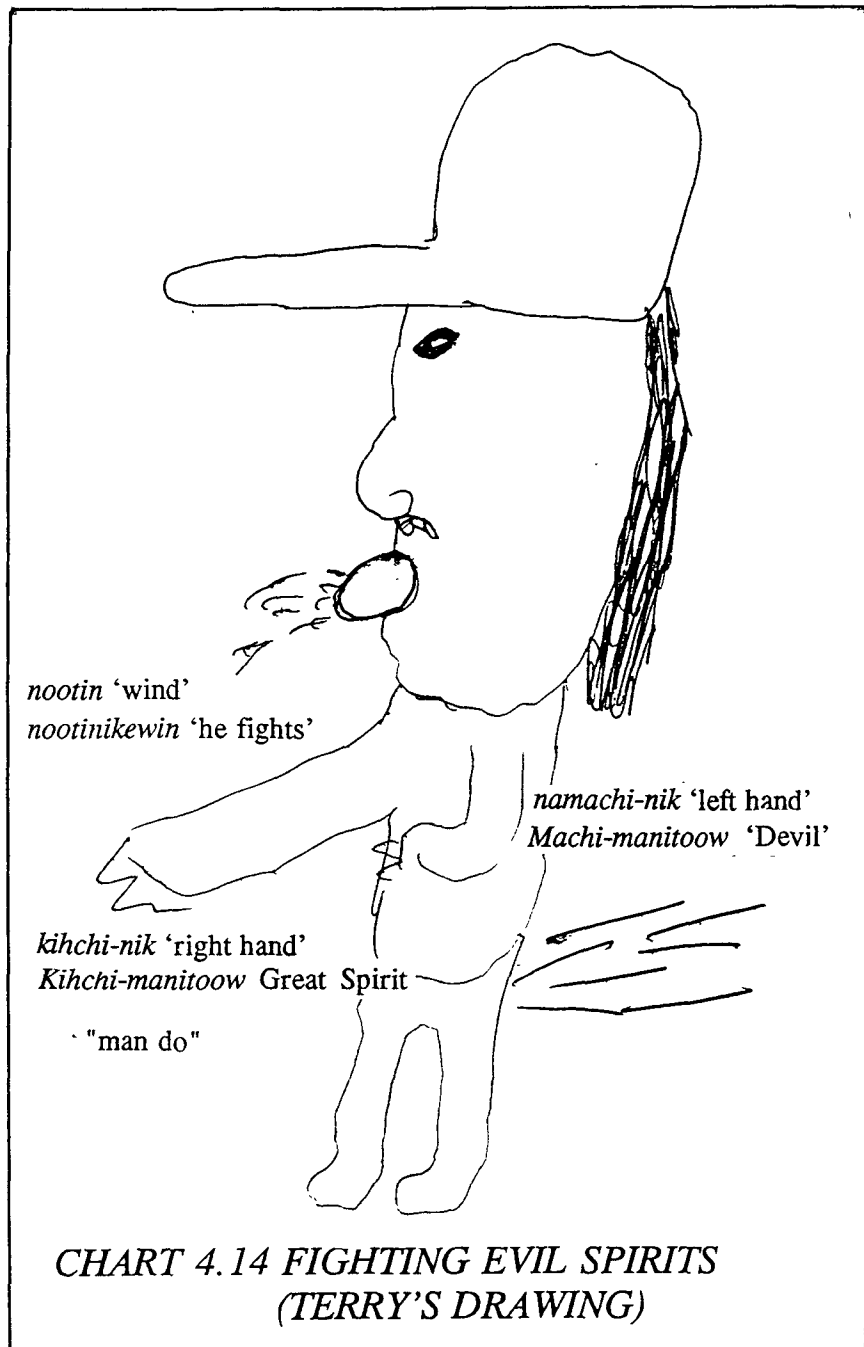
machi-ancheliwiw

'He's a bad angel'

chiipayaahatik 'cross/crucifix'

chiipaishkote 'hell'

CHART 4.13 DEVILS (SAM'S DRAWINGS)



CHARTS 5.01-7.07. WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURES

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡
	Is party time	2
	Is nuisances	1, 4*, 5*, 10*, 12*
<i>Nihcha nila</i> 'I'm a Ninja'	*I Ninja turtles	11*
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	2-3, 6-7, 10-11, 13-14*, 18, 19*, 22-25
	R[aphaelo]	10
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) '(he is) a big angel'	*M[ichelangelo]	10*
<i>n'ihitaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'		10, 13
<i>nihuaawin</i> 'my place/village'		13-14
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'		2, 12, 14
<i>kihchi-nik</i> 'right hand'		2-3, 7, 18-19, 22, 25
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'		3, 6, 23
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'		2-3, 7-8, 10, 18-19, 22, 24-25
<i>machi-mikinak</i> 'bad turtle'		3, 6, 23-24
<i>machi-iskweo nila</i> 'I'm a witch'	witch/bitch/itch	1, 4, 10
<i>aamo</i> 'bee'	bee	4
<i>opiimaamo-piisim</i> 'October'		4
<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man'	gone	13
<i>pootaatam</i> 'he plays a horn'		26
<i>telepoon</i> 'telephone'		27
<i>telepisim</i> 'television'/TP 'TV'		30, 32
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		1, 4, 10, 35
<i>piisim</i> 'sun'		36
	pumpkin	1, 3, 10, 36
<i>piisimomasinahikan</i> 'calendar'		34
<i>masinihikewin</i> 'writing'		21
<i>masinipiskahikan</i> 'picture'		21
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'		33
<i>aski</i> 'earth'		33
<i>akitasowinan</i> 'numbers'		34
<i>akitam</i> 'add'		34
<i>masinahikanatik</i> 'pencil'		21
<i>asinimenikan</i> 'stone wall'		19
<i>iskwataweo</i> 'he climbs'		33
<i>iskwatem</i> 'door'		33
<i>kiishik</i> 'sky'		15
<i>miskiiishik</i> 'eye'	eye	15
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'		15
<i>oochaapanish</i> 'car'		14
<i>Chanish</i> 'little John'	little John	14

†Words in bold type are associated with pictures in at least one other concordance.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 1.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 5.01 WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURES

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡
	Is party time	2
	party	2
	fête	2
	NO	1
	Ninja	1, 2, 6-7
	Turtles	2
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) '(he is) a big angel'	* M [Michelangelo]	1*, 6*
<i>kihchi-manitoow</i> 'great spirit'		1, 5
<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'bad spirit'	Evil/Eve	5
	Adam	4
<i>aïim</i> 'dog'	a team	3
<i>astotin</i> 'hat'		3
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	me good	4
<i>Nibcha nila</i> 'I am a Ninja turtle'	I (am a) Ninja turtle	7
<i>misküshik</i> 'eye'	eye	10
<i>küshik</i> 'sky'	geese	3, 10
	duck	3
	puck	3
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'		9, 10
<i>nihtaawin</i> 'my place/village'		8, 10
<i>waaskaahikan</i> 'house'		10
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'		10
<i>apiwin</i> 'home'		8, 10-11
<i>paspaapoon/paspaapiwin</i> 'window'		8-10, 12

†Words in bold type are associated with pictures in at least one other concordance;
a French word has been lumped with the English words in this Chart.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 2.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 5.02 WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURES

CREE†	ENGLISH†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	9, 10
	turtles	11
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'		10
<i>n'ihitaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'		4
<i>nihitaawin</i> 'my place'	*This is my home	4*
<i>kihchi-nik</i> 'right hand'		10
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'		10, 12
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'		9, 10
<i>machi-mikinak</i> 'bad turtle'		9, 12
<i>mikiso</i> 'eagle'		3
* <i>siisip</i> 'duck'		1
<i>niskak</i> 'geese'		14
	goose	27
<i>kiishik</i> 'sky'	geese /giis+ik/	1, 2, 14
<i>chaachakeo</i> 'pelican'	pelican	19, 26
<i>machi-achak</i> 'evil spirit'		23
	pumpkin/jack-o'lantern	23-24
<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'devil'		23
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		23
<i>piisim</i> 'sun'		20
<i>piisimokan</i> 'watch'		25
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		23
<i>telepiisim/TP</i> 'television/TV'		18
<i>ili-koon</i> 'snow man'	John/George gone	5, 6, 18
<i>owaapamikoon ihtoteo</i> 'he sees him leave'		5-10
<i>waapa-koon</i> 'white snow'		5, 6, 8
<i>waapikon</i> 'flower'	*flower	8, 10*
<i>pakwesikan</i> 'flour/cake'	flour	11
<i>liipiisha</i> 'leaves'	*leaves	7*, 8*, 10*
	roots	8, 10*
	seeds	8, 10*
<i>liipiishapo</i> 'leaf liquid (i.e. tea) tea'		17
<i>atoos/akask</i> 'arrow'		2
<i>waapoos</i> 'rabbit'		2
<i>waapoosayaan</i> 'sleeping bag'		2
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'		2
<i>ishkotewapo</i> 'whisky'	whisky	2
<i>Wisekachak</i> 'Whisky jack'		2

†Words in bold type appear in at least two concordances.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 3.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 5.03 WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURES

CREE†	ENGLISH†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	3, 13
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'		13
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'		3
<i>machi-mikinak</i> 'bad turtle'		4, 13
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'		13
<i>onikaneo</i> 'he guides'		8
<i>waashakotenikan/waashteliman</i> 'torch'		8
<i>notinikeo</i> 'he is fighting'		15
<i>nootin</i> 'wind'		15
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) '(he is) a big angel'	*M [Michelangelo]	3*
<i>machi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) '(he is) a bad angel'		4, 13
<i>kihchi-maniw</i> 'great Mario'	Super Mario	1, 14
<i>kihchi-manitoow</i> 'great spirit'		1, 14
<i>machi-maniw</i> 'bad Mario'	"Bad" Mario	2, 12, 13
<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'bad spirit'		2, 4, 8-9, 12-15
<i>manitowak</i> 'spiritual'		12
<i>ministoowan/mikowakwan</i> 'moustache'		1, 14
<i>makitowak(eo)</i> '(he has) big ears'		12
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	me good	2, 12, 13
<i>machi-iskwe</i> 'witch/bad woman'		8, 11
<i>machi-ilili</i> 'bad man'		15
<i>machi-achak</i> 'evil spirit'	jack-o'-lantern/pumpkin	15
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		8
<i>chiipayaahnik</i> 'cross/crucifix'		3-4, 8, 13
<i>chiipayishkote</i> 'hell fire'	*ghost	4*, 8, 9
<i>chiipai</i> 'ghost'		4, 8, 9
<i>kichilaw niska</i> 'goose goes'	*goose (goes)	5
<i>maateo</i> 'he/she is not here'		6
<i>maatoo</i> 'he is crying'		7
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'		4, 8, 9
<i>ishkotekan</i> 'chimney'		4, 9
<i>chipwaapateo</i> 'smoke rises'		4, 9
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		11, 15
<i>asiniwaaskaahikan</i> 'castle'		4
<i>masinihikewin</i> 'writing'		4
<i>masinipiskahikan</i> 'picture'		4

†Words in bold type appear in at least two concordances.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 4.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 5.04 WORDS ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURES

CREE WORDS†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	1.11*, 1.13-14*, 1.19*, 2.01-02*, 2.06-07, 3.09-11* 4.03, 4.13
<i>n'ih̄taan</i> 'I am (in a place)'	1.10, 1.13, 3.04
<i>nihtaawin</i> 'my village/place'	1.13-14, 2.08, 2.10, 3.04
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'	1.02, 1.12, 1.14, 3.10, 4.13
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	2.04, 4.02, 4.12-13
<i>kihchi-nik</i> 'right hand'	1.02-03, 1.07, 1.18-19, 1.22, 1.25, 3.10
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'	1.03, 1.06, 1.23, 3.10, 3.12, 4.13
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'	1.02-03, 1.07-08, 1.10, 1.18-19, 1.22, 1.24-25, 3.09-10, 4.03
<i>machi-mikinak</i> 'bad turtle'	1.03, 1.06, 1.23-24, 3.09, 3.12, 4.04, 4.13
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (iw̄iw) 'he is) a big angel'	1.10, 2.01, 2.06, 4.03
<i>kihchi-man̄itoow</i> 'great spirit'	2.01, 2.05, 4.01, 4.14
<i>machi-man̄itoow</i> 'evil spirit'	2.05, 3.23, 4.02, 4.04, 4.08-09, 4.12-15
<i>machi-achak</i> 'bad spirit'	3.20, 3.23, 4.15
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'	3.20, 3.23, 4.08
<i>machi-iskwe(o)</i> '(she's) a witch'	1.01, 1.04, 1.10, 4.08, 4.11
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'	3.02, 4.04, 4.08-09
<i>masin̄ihikewin</i> 'writing'	1.21, 1.33, 4.04
<i>masin̄ipiskahikan</i> 'picture'	1.21, 1.33, 4.04
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'	1.33, 2.10
<i>il̄ili-koon</i> 'snow man'	1.13, 3.05-06, 3.18
<i>telep̄isim/TP</i> 'TV'	1.30, 1.32, 3.18
<i>tipiski-p̄isim</i> 'moon'	1.01, 1.04, 1.10, 1.35, 3.23
<i>p̄isim</i> 'sun'	1.36, 3.20
<i>niska</i> 'goose'	3.14, 4.05
<i>k̄iushik</i> 'sky'	1.15, 2.03, 2.10, 3.01-02, 3.14
<i>m̄isk̄iushik</i> 'eye'	1.15, 2.10
<i>ayam̄ihewikamik</i> 'church'	1.15, 2.09-10

†Words in bold type are associated with pictures in at least two concordances.

‡The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.

CHART 5.05 SUMMARY OF ALL REDUNDANT WORDS

<i>ENGLISH WORDS†</i>	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡</i>
Is party time	1.02*, 2.02*
Ninja turtles	1.11*, 1.14*, 1.19*, 2.02*
M [Michelangelo]	1.10*, 2.01*, 2.06*, 4.03*
I (am)...	1.10, 1.11*, 1.14, 2.07
eye	1.15, 2.10
goose	3.01-02, 3.27*, 4.05*
geese	2.03, 3.01-02, 3.14
me good	2.04, 4.02, 4.12-13
go/goes/going/gone	1.13, 3.05-06, 3.18, 4.05
pumpkin/jack-o'lantern	1.01, 1.04, 1.10, 3.23-24, 4.15

†Words in bold type appear in at least two concordances.

‡The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.

*The indicated words in these Charts were written on the pictures by the children.

CHART 5.05 SUMMARY OF ALL REDUNDANT WORDS

	ALL WORDS	REDUNDANT WORDS†
<i>CHART 1.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	53	32
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	35 (66%)	22 (69%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	9 (17%)	3 (9%)
WRITTEN	9 (17%)	7 (22%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		58
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		42/58 (72%)
WORDS/DRAWING		53/42 (1.3)
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING		32/42 (0.8)

<i>CHART 2.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	34	24
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	17 (50%)	12 (50%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	12 (35%)	7 (29%)
WRITTEN	5 (15%)	5 (21%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		18
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		18/18 (100%)
WORDS/DRAWING		34/18 (1.9)
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING		24/18 (1.3)

†Words included in this column appear in at least two concordances.

CHART 5.06 CATEGORIES OF WORDPLAY

CHART 3.00

<u>TOTAL:</u>	55	24
<u>CREE</u>		
UNCONSCIOUS	35 (64%)	17 (71%)
WRITTEN	1 (2%)	0 (0%)
<u>ENGLISH</u>		
UNCONSCIOUS	9 (16%)	5 (21%)
WRITTEN	10 (18%)	2 (8%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS	28/36 (77%)	
WORDS/DRAWING	55/28 (2.0)	
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING	24/28 (0.9)	

CHART 4.00

<u>TOTAL:</u>	50	29
<u>CREE</u>		
UNCONSCIOUS	38 (77%)	21 (72%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<u>ENGLISH</u>		
UNCONSCIOUS	9 (19%)	6 (21%)
WRITTEN	3 (4%)	2 (7%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS	27/36 (75%)	
WORDS/DRAWING	50/27 (1.9)	
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING	29/27 (1.1)	

†Words included in this column appear in at least two concordances.

CHART 5.06 CATEGORIES OF WORDPLAY

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>REDUNDANT WORDS†</i>
<i>CHARTS 1.00-4.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL WORDS:</i>	192	109
<i>CREE</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	125 (65%)	72 (66%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	1 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	39 (20%)	21 (19%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	27 (15%)	16 (15%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>		148
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>		115/148 (77%)
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>		192/115 (1.7)
<i>REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING</i>		109/115 (0.9)

†Words included in this column appear in at least two concordances.

CHART 5.07 SUMMARY OF WORDPLAY CATEGORIES

CREE†	ENGLISH† *Is nuisances	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡ 1*, 4*, 5*, 10*, 12*
— <i>Nihcha (nila)</i> 'I'm a Ninja'	*(I)(Ninja) turtle(s)	2-3, 6-9, 10-11*, 13-14*, 18-19*, 22-25
<i>n'ihtaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'		10, 13
<i>nihtaawin</i> 'my place/village'		13-14
<i>kihchi/namachi-nik</i>		2-3, 6-7, 18-19, 22-25
'right/left hand'		
<i>kihchi/machi-mikinak</i>		2-3, 6-8, 10, 18-19, 22-25
'great/bad turtle'		
<i>(machi-) iskweo nila</i>	witch/bitch/itch	1, 4, 10
'I'm a witch'		
— <i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'	pumpkin	1, 3-4, 10, 30, 32, 35, 36
— <i>pootaatam</i> 'he plays a horn'		
<i>telepoon</i> 'telephone'		26-27
<i>telepiisim</i> 'television'		27-32
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		34-35
<i>piisim</i> 'sun'		35-36
— <i>piisimomasinahikan</i> 'calendar'		33-34
— <i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'		33-34
<i>akitasowinan/akitam</i> 'numbers/add'		33-34
— <i>iskwatem/iskwataweo</i> 'door/he climbs'		30-33
— <i>asinimenikan</i> 'stone wall'		
— <i>masinahikanatik</i> 'pencil'		19, 21

†Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 1.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 6.01 SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

CREE†	ENGLISH†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
	Is party time	2
	party	2
	fête	2
	NO	1
	Ninja	1, 2, 6-7
	Turtles	2
	M [Michelangelo]	1, 6*
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (iwiw) '(he is) a big angel'		
<i>kihchi-manitoow</i> 'great spirit'		1, 5
<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'evil spirit'		5
<i>Nihcha nila</i> 'I'm a Ninja' I		7
<i>miskishik</i> 'eye' eye		10
<i>küshik</i> 'sky'		3, 10
	geese	3
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'		9, 10
<i>nihtaawin</i> 'my place/village'		8, 10
<i>apiwin</i> 'home'		8, 10-11
<i>pa-paapoon/paspaapiwin</i> 'window'		8-10, 12

†Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances;
a French word has been included with the English words in this Chart.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 2.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 6.02 SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

CREE†	ENGLISH†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
[<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja' <i>kihchi/namachi-nik</i> 'right/left hand' <i>kihchi/machi-mikinak</i> 'great/bad turtle'	Ninja (*turtles)	9-11*
		10, 12
		9, 10, 12
[<i>niskak</i> 'geese' <i>kiishik</i> 'sky'	geese /giis + ik/	1, 2
		1, 2
[<i>piisimokan</i> 'watch' <i>chaachakeo/machi-achak</i> 'pelican/evil spirit'	pelican/pumpkin	25-26
	jack-o'-lantern	19, 23-26
[<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'devil'		23
[<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		23
	pelican	19, 26
[<i>piisim</i> 'sun' <i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon' <i>telepiisim/TP</i> 'television/TV'		20
		23
		18
[<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man' <i>owaapamikoon ihtoteo</i> 'he sees him leave' <i>waapa-koon</i> 'white snow' <i>waapikon</i> 'flower' <i>pakwesikan</i> 'flour/cake' <i>liipiisha</i> 'leaves' <i>liipiishapo</i> 'tea (literally "leaf liquid")'	John/George gone	5, 6, 18
		5-10
		8
	flower	8, 10*
	flour	11
	leaves	7, 8*, 10*
	roots	8, 10*
	seeds	8, 10*
	tea	17

†Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 3.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 6.03 SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

CREE†	ENGLISH†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
<i>kihchi/machi-mikinak</i>		3, 4
'great/bad turtle'		
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	3
<i>kichilaw niska</i> 'goose goes'	*goose (goes)	4*, 5
<i>chiipai</i> 'ghost'	*ghost	4*, 8, 9
<i>chipwaapateo</i> 'smoke rises'		4, 9
<i>chiipayaahnik</i> 'cross/crucifix'		8
<i>chiipayishkote</i> 'hell fire'		4, 8, 9
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'		4, 8, 9
<i>ishkotekan</i> 'chimney'		4, 9
<i>mishi/machi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>)	*M [Michelangelo]	3*, 4*, 13*
'(he is) a big/bad angel'		
<i>kahchi/machi-maniw</i>	Super Mario	1-2, 12-14
'great/bad Mario'		
<i>kihchi/machi-manuotoow</i>		1-4, 8-9, 12-15
'great/bad spirit'		
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	me good	2, 12, 13
<i>manitowak</i> 'spiritual'		12
<i>makatowak</i> 'big ears'		12
<i>mikowakwan</i> 'moustache'		14
<i>maateo/maato</i>		6, 7
'he is not here/he is crying'		
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		8
<i>machi-iskwe</i> 'witch/bad woman'		8, 11
<i>machi-ilili</i> 'bad man'		15
<i>machi-achak</i> 'evil spirit'	jack-o'lantern/pumpkin	15
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		11, 15

†Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 4.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 6.04 SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

<i>CREE WORDS</i> [†]	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> [‡]
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	1.02-03, 1.06-07, 1.10-11, 1.13-14, 1.18-19, 1.22-25, 2.01-02, 2.06-07, 3.09-11, 4.03
<i>n'ihitaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'	1.10, 1.13
<i>nihitaawin</i> 'my village/place'	1.13-14, 2.08, 2.10
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	4.02, 4.12-13
<i>kihchi/namachi-nik</i> 'right/left hand'	1.02-03, 1.06-07, 1.18-19, 1.22-25, 3.10, 3.12
<i>kihchi/machi-mikinak</i> 'great/bad turtle'	1.02-03, 1.06-07, 1.18-19, 1.22-25, 3.09-10 3.12, 4.03-04
<i>mishi-anchel(iwiw)</i> '(he is) a big angel'	2.01, 2.06, 4.03-04, 4.13
<i>kihchi/machi-manitoow</i> 'great/evil spirit'	2.01, 2.05, 3.23, 4.01-04, 4.08-09, 4.12-15
<i>kishilaw niska</i> 'goose goes'	4.05
<i>chaachakeo</i> 'pelican'	3.19, 3.26
<i>machi-achak</i> 'bad spirit'	3.23-24, 4.15
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'	3.23, 4.08
<i>machi-iskwe(o)</i> '(she's) a witch'	1.01, 1.04, 1.10, 4.08, 4.11, 4.15
<i>machi-ilili</i> 'bad man'	4.15
<i>ishkote/ishkotekan</i> 'fire/chimney'	4.04, 4.08-09
<i>chiipayishkote</i> 'hell fire'	4.04, 4.08-09
<i>chiipai/chiipayaahnk</i> 'ghost/cross'	4.03-04, 4.08
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'	1.33-34
<i>akitasowinan/akitam</i> 'number/add'	1.33-34
<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man'	3.05-06, 3.18
<i>owaapamikoon ihtoteo</i> 'he sees him leave'	3.05-10
<i>waapa-koon/waapikon</i> 'white snow/flower'	3.05-10
<i>pakwesikan</i> 'flour/cake'	3.11
<i>liipiisha/liipiishapo</i> 'leaves/tea'	3.07-10, 3.17

[†]Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

[‡]The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.

CHART 6.05 SUMMARY OF SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

<i>CREE WORDS†</i>	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡</i>
<i>pootaatam/telepoon</i>	1.25-27
'he plays a horn/telephone'	
<i>telepüsim</i> 'television'	1.30, 1.32, 3.18
<i>tipiski-püsim</i> 'moon'	1.01, 1.04-04, 1.10, 1.30, 1.32, 1.35-36, 3.23, 4.11, 4.15
<i>püsim</i> 'sun'	1.35-36, 3.20
<i>püsimokan</i> 'watch'	3.25
<i>püsimomasinahikan</i>	1.33-34
'calendar'	
<i>masinahikanaiik</i> 'pencil'	1.21
<i>asinimenikan</i> 'stone wall'	1.19-20
<i>niska</i> 'goose'	3.01-02, 4.04-05
<i>käishik</i> 'sky'	3.01-02
<i>misküshik</i> 'eye'	2.10
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'	2.09-10
<i>apiwin/paspaapoon</i>	2.08, 2.10-11
'house/window'	

<i>ENGLISH WORDS†</i>	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡</i>
Ninja turtles	1.02-03, 1.06-07, 1.10-11, 1.13-14*, 1.18-19*, 1.22-25 2.01-02*, 2.06-07, 3.09-11, 4.03
M [Michelangelo]	2.01, 2.06*, 4.03*-04, 4.13
Super Mario	4.01-02, 4.12-13
witch	1.01, 1.04, 1.10
Is nuisances	1.01, 1.04-05, 1.10, 1.12
I/eye	2.01-02, 2.06-2.07
goose/goes/ghost	4.04-05
John/George gone	1.13-14, 3.05-06, 3.18
me good	4.02, 4.12-13
pumpkin/jack-o'lantern	1.01-02, 1.10, 1.36, 3.23-24, 4.15

†Words in bold type are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

‡The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.

*The indicated words in these Charts were written on the pictures by the children.

CHART 6.05 SUMMARY OF SYNTAGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

	ALL WORDS	S-R WORDS†
<i>CHART 1.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL:</i>	32	16
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	23 (72%)	12 (75%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	4 (12%)	1 (6%)
WRITTEN	5 (16%)	3 (19%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>	58	
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>	33/58 (57%)	
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>	32/33 (1.0)	
<i>REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING</i>	16/33 (0.5)	

<i>CHART 2.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL:</i>	22	15
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	11 (50%)	7 (47%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	4 (18%)	6 (40%)
WRITTEN	7 (32%)	2 (13%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>	18	
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>	16/18 (89%)	
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>	22/16 (1.4)	
<i>REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING</i>	15/16 (0.9)	

†S-R (syntagmatically-redundant) words are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

CHART 6.06 CATEGORIES OF SYNTAGMATIC WORDPLAY

	ALL WORDS	S-R WORDS†
<i>CHART 3.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	39	17
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	24 (62%)	12 (70%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	10 (26%)	5 (23%)
WRITTEN	5 (12%)	1 (7%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		20/36 (56%)
WORDS/DRAWING		39/20 (2.0)
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING		17/20 (0.9)

<i>CHART 4.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	39	18
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	28 (72%)	10 (56%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	8 (21%)	6 (33%)
WRITTEN	3 (7%)	2 (11%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		23/36 (64%)
WORDS/DRAWING		39/23 (1.7)
REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING		18/23 (0.8)

†S-R (syntagmatically-redundant) words are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

CHART 6.06 CATEGORIES OF SYNTAGMATIC WORDPLAY

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>S-R WORDS†</i>
<i>CHARTS 1.00-4.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL WORDS:</i>	132	66
<i>CREE</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	86 (65%)	41 (62%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	26 (20%)	17 (26%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	20 (15%)	8 (12%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>		148
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>		92/148 (62%)
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>		132/92 (1.4)
<i>REDUNDANT WORDS/DRAWING</i>		66/92 (0.7)

†S-R (syntagmatically-redundant) words are syntagmatically associated in at least two concordances.

*CHART 6.07 SUMMARY OF SYNTAGMATIC
WORDPLAY CATEGORIES*

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja (turtles)	10, 11, 14*, 19*
<i>n'ihtaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'		13
<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man'	gone	13
	pumpkin	1
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'		1
<i>telepiisim/TP</i> 'television/TV'		30
<i>piisimomasinahikan</i> 'calendar'/ <i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'		33-34
<i>asinimenikan</i> 'stone wall'		19
<i>masinahikanatik</i> 'pencil'		21
<i>masinihikewin</i> 'writing'		21
<i>masinipiskahikan</i> 'picture'		21
<i>aski</i> 'earth'/ <i>akitam</i> 'add'/ <i>akitasowinan</i> 'numbers'		33-34
<i>iskwatem</i> 'door'/ <i>iskwataweo</i> 'he climbs'		30-33

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at least one other concordance.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 1.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 7.01 PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡:
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	2, 6
	Turtles	2
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) '(he is) a big angel'	*M[ichelangelo]	6*
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'		9-10
<i>nihtaawin</i> 'my village/place'		8
<i>waaskaahikan</i> 'house'		10
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'		10
<i>apiwin</i> 'home'		10-11
<i>paspaapoon/paspaapiwin</i> 'window'		8, 9, 10, 12

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at one other concordance.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 2.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

**CHART 7.02 PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED
WORDS**

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	10
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'		10
<i>kihchi-nik</i> 'right hand'		10
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'		10
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'		10
* <i>siisip</i> 'duck'		1*
<i>kiishik</i> 'sky'	geese /giiz+ik/	1
<i>chaachakeo</i> 'pelican' / <i>machi-achak</i> 'evil spirit' / jack-o'lantern		19-23
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		23
<i>tipiski-püsim</i> 'moon'		23
<i>TP</i> 'TV' / <i>liipiish apo</i> 'tea'		17-18
<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man'	John/George gone	6
<i>waapa-koon</i> 'white snow'		6
<i>owaapamikoon ihtoteo</i> 'he sees him leave'		6, 10

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.

‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 3.00.

*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

*CHART 7.03 PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED
WORDS*

<i>CREE</i> †	<i>ENGLISH</i> †	<i>ASSOCIATED PICTURES</i> ‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	Ninja	3̄
<i>kihchi-mikinak</i> 'great turtle'		3
<i>machi-mikinak</i> 'bad turtle'		13
<i>namachi-nik</i> 'left hand'		13
<i>mishi-anchel</i> (<i>iwiw</i>) 'big angel' *M[ichelangelo]		3*
'(He is) a big angel'		
<i>machi-maniloow</i> 'devil'		8, 12
<i>machi-Maniw</i> 'bad Mario'	bad Mario	12, 13
<i>manitowak</i> 'spiritual'		12
<i>makitowan</i> 'big ears'		12
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	me good	12-13
<i>machi-iskwe</i> 'witch/bad woman'		8, 11
<i>machi-ilili</i> 'bad man'		15
<i>machi-achak</i> 'evil spirit'		15
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'		8
<i>chiipayaahik</i> 'cross/crucifix'		3
<i>chüpai</i> 'ghost'		4, 8, 9
	ghost	4
	goose	5
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'		4
<i>ishkotekan</i> 'chimney'		4, 9
<i>asiniwaaskaahikan</i> 'castle'		4
<i>masinihikewin</i> 'writing'		4

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at least one other concordance.
‡Numbers refer to columns in Chart 4.00.
*These words and phrases were written by the children on their drawings.

CHART 7.04 PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

CREE WORDS†	ASSOCIATED PICTURES‡
<i>Nihcha</i> 'Ninja'	1.11*, 2.06, 3.10, 4.03
<i>n'ihtaan</i> 'I am (in a place)'	1.13, 3.04-05, 3.10
<i>nihaaawin</i> 'my village/place'	2.08
<i>nichia</i> 'my fingers'	3.10
<i>mikot</i> 'nose'	4.12-13
<i>kihchi/namachi-nik</i> 'right/left hand'	3.10, 4.13
<i>kihchi/machi-mikinak</i> 'great/bad turtle'	3.10, 4.03, 4.13
<i>mishi-anchel(iwiw)</i> '(he is) a big angel'	2.06, 4.03
<i>machi-manitoow</i> 'evil spirit'	4.08, 4.12
<i>manitowak</i> 'spiritual'	4.12
<i>makitowan</i> 'big ears'	4.12
<i>machi-achak</i> 'bad spirit'	3.19-23, 4.15
<i>maachi-kenepik</i> 'dinosaur'	3.23, 4.08
<i>machi-iskwe(o)</i> '(she is) a witch'	4.08, 4.11
<i>ishkote</i> 'fire'	4.04
<i>ishkkotekan</i> 'chimney'	4.04, 4.09
<i>asinimenikan</i> 'stone wall'	1.19
<i>asiniwaaskaahikan</i> 'castle'	4.04
<i>masinihikewin</i> 'writing'	1.21, 4.04
<i>masinipiskahikan</i> 'picture'	1.21
<i>masinahikanatik</i> 'pencil'	1.21
<i>piisimomasinahikan</i> 'calendar'	1.34
<i>askiwasinahikan</i> 'map'	1.33, 2.10
<i>akitam</i> 'add'/ <i>akitasowinan</i> 'numbers'	1.34
<i>iskwatem</i> 'door'/ <i>iskwataweo</i> 'he climbs'	1.30-1.33
<i>ayamihewikamik</i> 'church'	2.09-10
<i>waaskaahikan</i> 'house'	2.10
<i>apiwin</i> 'home'	2.10, 2.11,
<i>paspaapoon/paspaapiwin</i> 'window'	2.08, 2.09, 2.10, 2.12
<i>telepiisim</i> 'television'	1.30, 3.18
<i>liipiishapo</i> 'tea'	3.17, 3.18
<i>tipiski-piisim</i> 'moon'	1.01, 3.23
<i>ilili-koon</i> 'snow man'	1.13, 3.06
<i>waapa-koon</i> 'white snow'	3.06
<i>owaapamikoon ihtoteo</i> 'he sees him leave'	3.06, 3.10
<i>chiipai</i> 'ghost'/ <i>chiipayaahik</i> 'cross'	4.03-04, 4.08, 4.09
<i>kaishik</i> 'sky'	3.01
<i>siisip</i> 'duck'	3.01*
<i>chaachakeo</i> 'pelican'/ <i>achak</i> 'spirit'	3.19-3.23

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.
‡The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.
*These numbers indicate words that the children wrote on their pictures.

CHART 7.05 SUMMARY OF ALL PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS

<i>ENGLISH WORDS</i> †	
Ninja turtles	1.11*, 2.06-07, 3.10, 4.03
M [Michelangelo]	2.06*, 4.03*
I (am)...	1.11*
goose	4.05*
geese	3.01
ghost	4.04*
goes/gone	1.13, 3.06
me good	4.12-13
pumpkin	1.01
jack-o'lantern	3.23

†Words in bold type are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.

‡The first number in an entry refers to the concordance (i.e. Charts 1.00-4.00); the second number refers to the column therein.

*The indicated words in these Charts were written on the pictures by the children.

CHART 7.05 SUMMARY OF ALL PARADIGMATICALLY ASSOCIATED WORDS (CONTINUED)

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>P-R WORDS†</i>
<i>CHART 1.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL:</i>	22	15
<i>CREE</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	16 (72%)	10 (67%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	3 (14%)	2 (13%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	3 (14%)	3 (20%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>		58
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>		21/58 (36%)
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>		23/21 (1.1)
<i>P-R WORDS/DRAWING</i>		15/21 (0.7)

<i>CHART 2.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL:</i>	11	9
<i>CREE</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	8 (73%)	6 (67%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	2 (18%)	2 (22%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	1 (9%)	1 (11%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>		18
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>		11/18 (61%)
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>		11/11 (1.0)
<i>P-R WORDS/DRAWING</i>		9/11 (0.8)

†P-R (paradigmatically-redundant) words are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.

CHART 7.06 CATEGORIES OF PARADIGMATIC WORDPLAY

	ALL WORDS	P-R WORDS†
<i>CHART 3.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	21	14
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	16 (76%)	10 (71%)
WRITTEN	1 (5%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	4 (19%)	4 (29%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		8/36 (22%)
WORDS/DRAWING		21/8 (2.6)
P-R WORDS/DRAWING		14/8 (1.8)

<i>CHART 4.00</i>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	26	20
<i>CREE</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	19 (73%)	15 (75%)
WRITTEN	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
UNCONSCIOUS	4 (15%)	3 (15%)
WRITTEN	3 (12%)	2 (10%)
<u>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</u>		36
DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS		17/36 (47%)
WORDS/DRAWING		26/17 (1.5)
P-R WORDS/DRAWING		20/17 (1.2)

†P-R (paradigmatically-redundant) words are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.

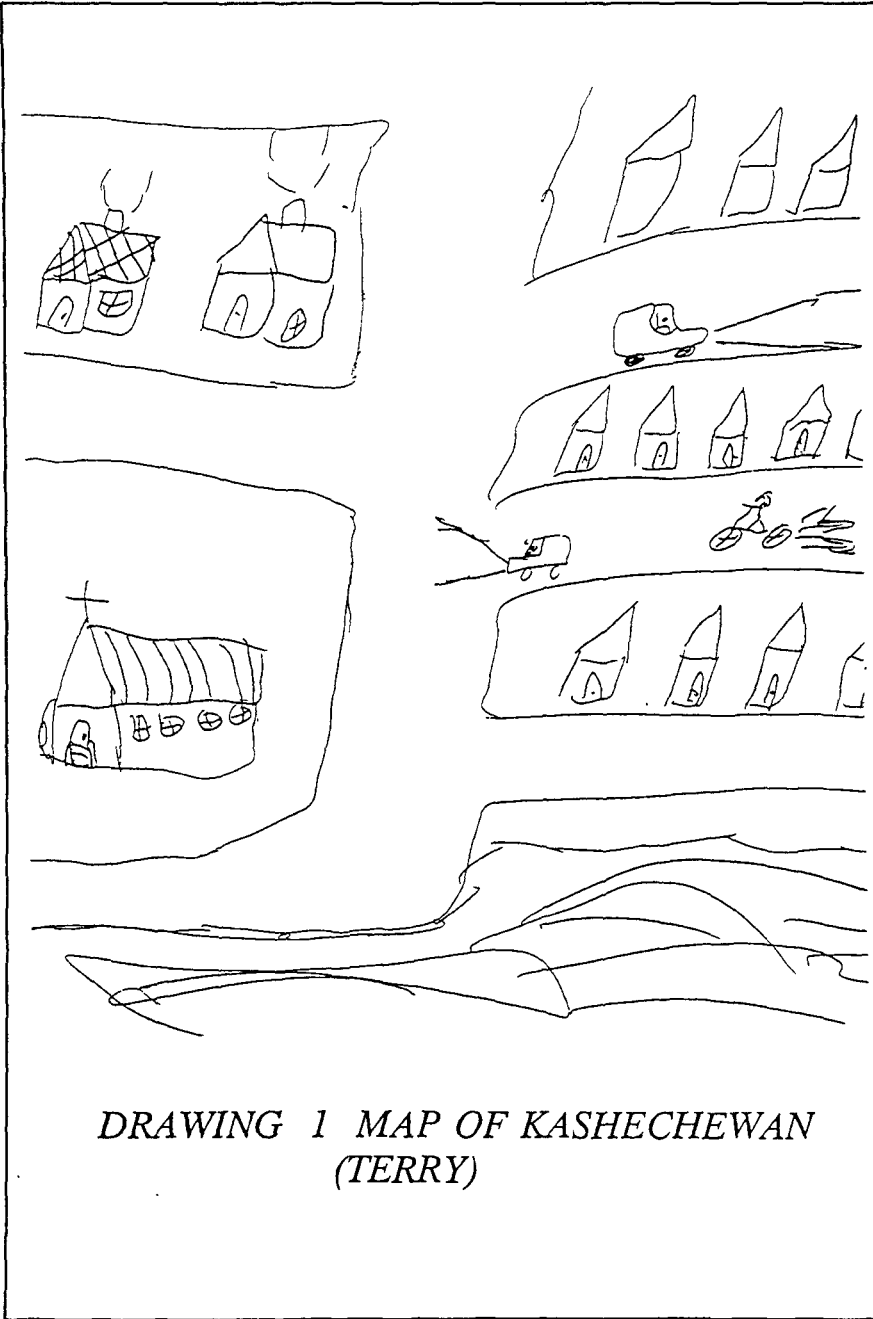
CHART 7.06 CATEGORIES OF PARADIGMATIC WORDPLAY (CONTINUED)

	<i>ALL WORDS</i>	<i>P-R WORDS†</i>
<i>CHARTS 1.00-4.00</i>		
<i>TOTAL WORDS:</i>	80	58
<i>CREE</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	59 (74%)	41 (69%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	1 (1%)	0 (0%)
<i>ENGLISH</i>		
<i>UNCONSCIOUS</i>	13 (16%)	11 (19%)
<i>WRITTEN</i>	7 (9%)	6 (12%)
<i>TOTAL DRAWINGS:</i>		148
<i>DRAWINGS ASSOCIATED WITH WORDS</i>		57/148 (39%)
<i>WORDS/DRAWING</i>		80/57 (1.4)
<i>P-R WORDS/DRAWING</i>		58/57 (1.0)

†P-R (Paradigmatically-redundant) words are paradigmatically associated in at least two concordances.

*CHART 7.07 SUMMARY OF CATEGORIES OF
PARADIGMATIC WORDPLAY*

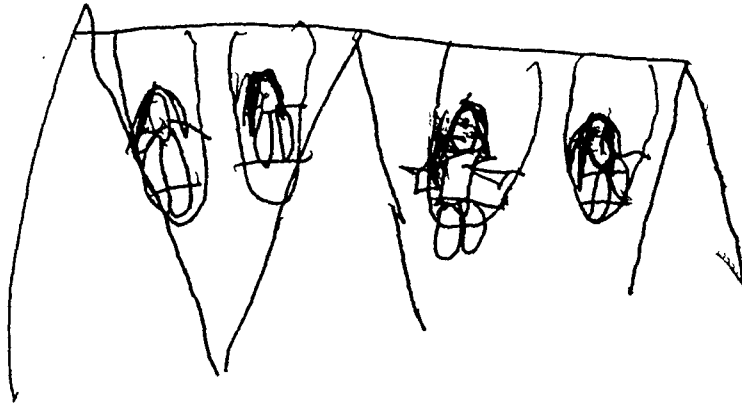
DRAWINGS 1-52. SUPPLEMENTARY DRAWINGS



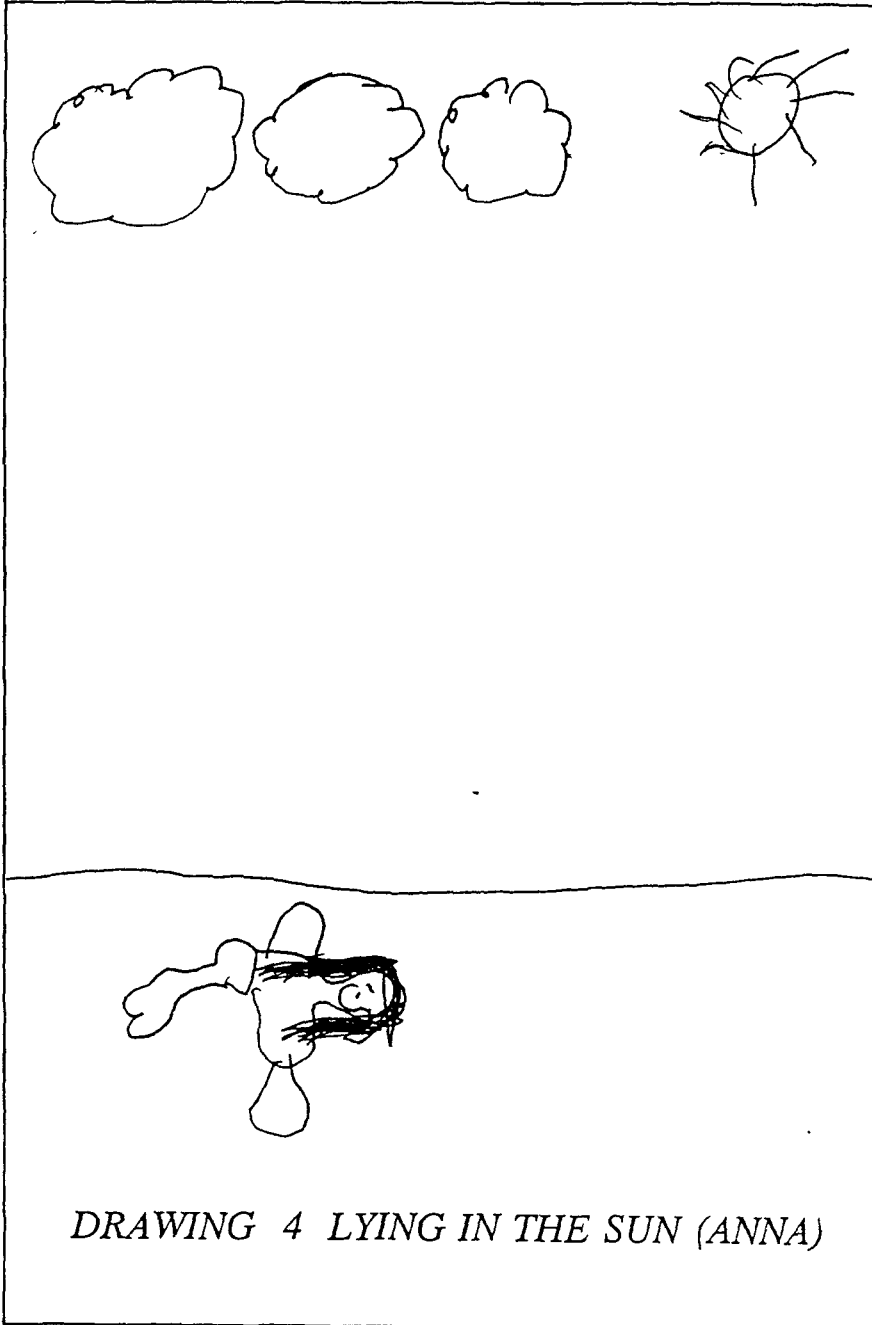
*DRAWING 1 MAP OF KASHECHEWAN
(TERRY)*

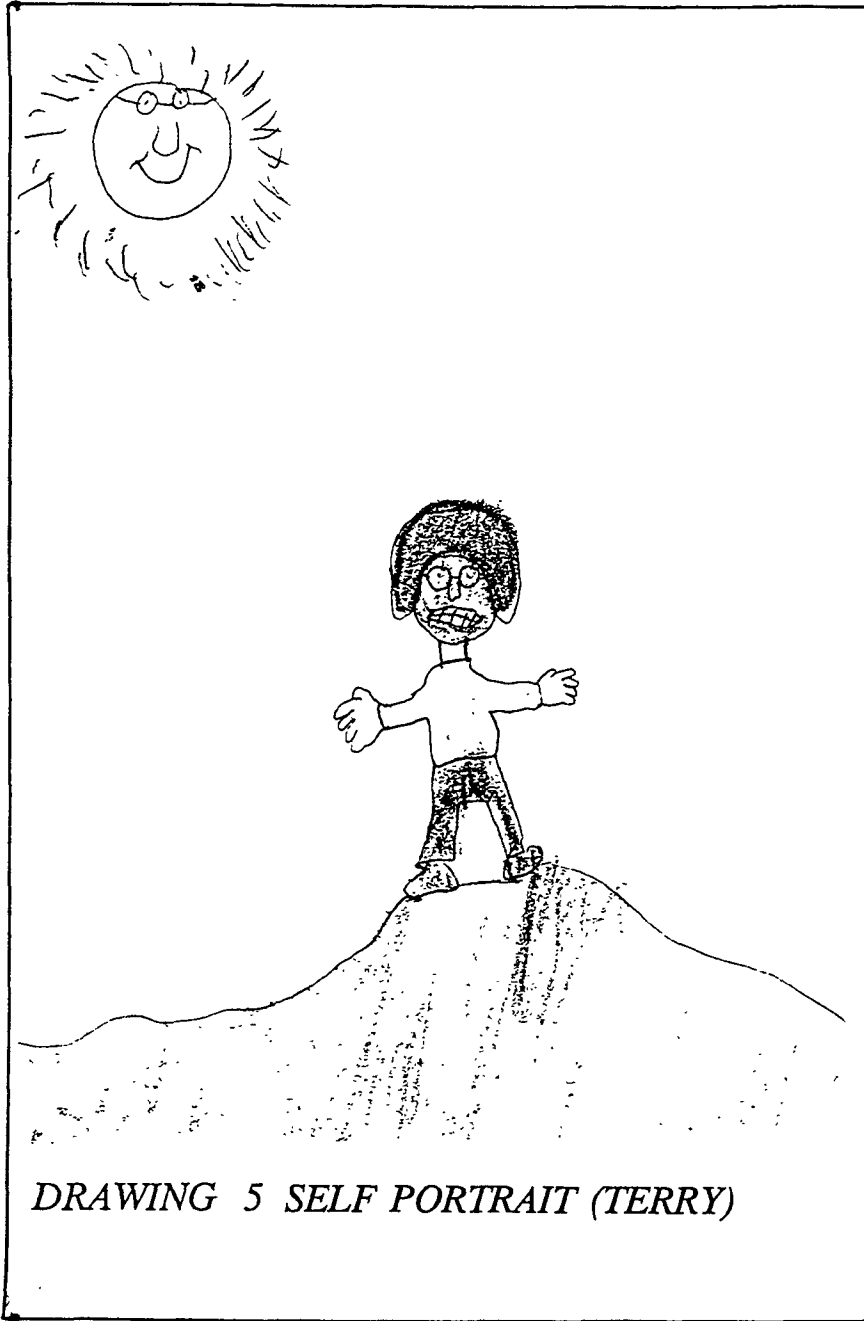


DRAWING 2 MY HOUSE (JANEY)

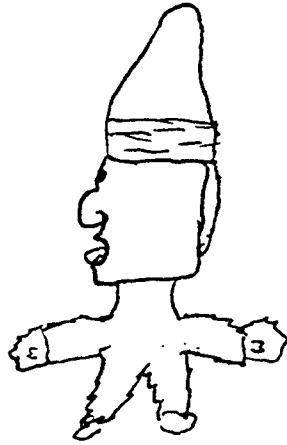


DRAWING 3 CHILDREN PLAYING (ANNA)

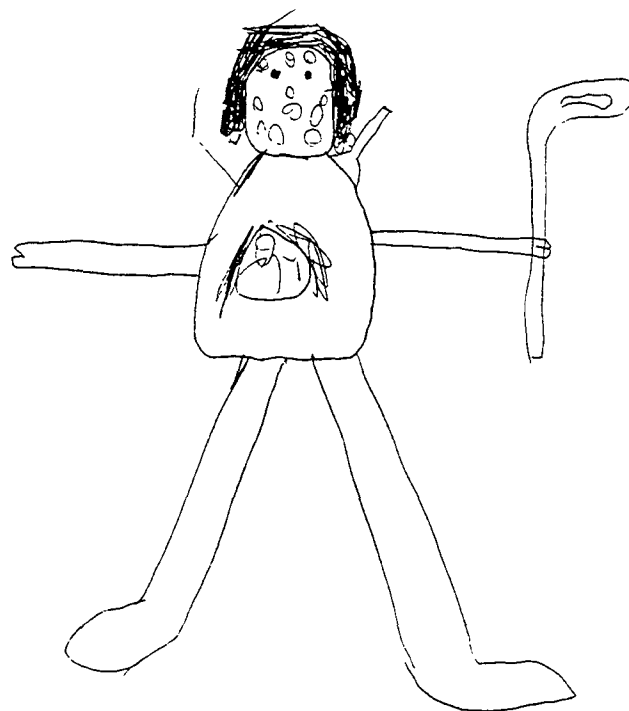




DRAWING 5 SELF PORTRAIT (TERRY)



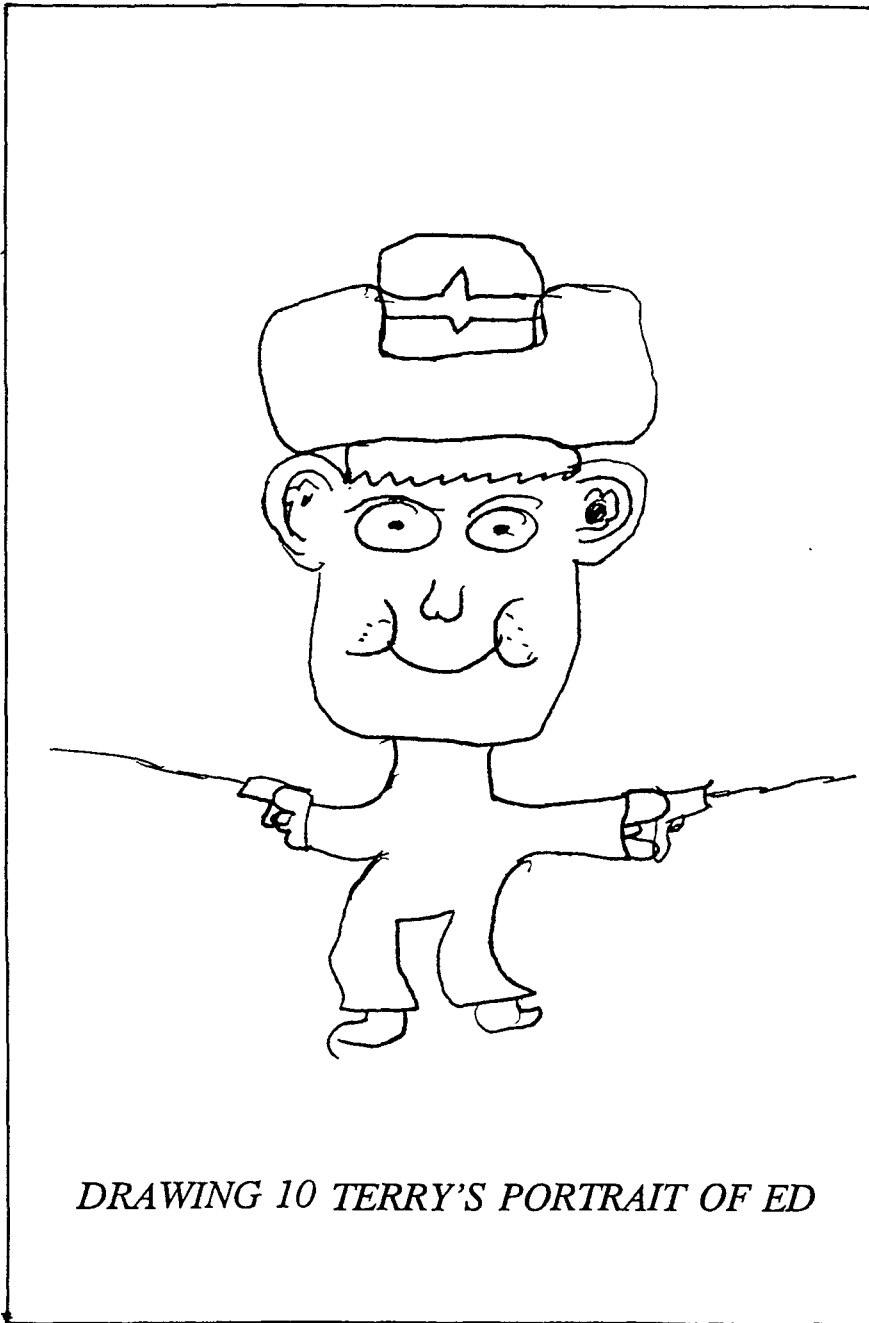
*DRAWINGS 6-7 TERRY'S PORTRAITS OF SAM
AND ANNA*



DRAWING 8 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF JOHN



DRAWING 9 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF JENNY



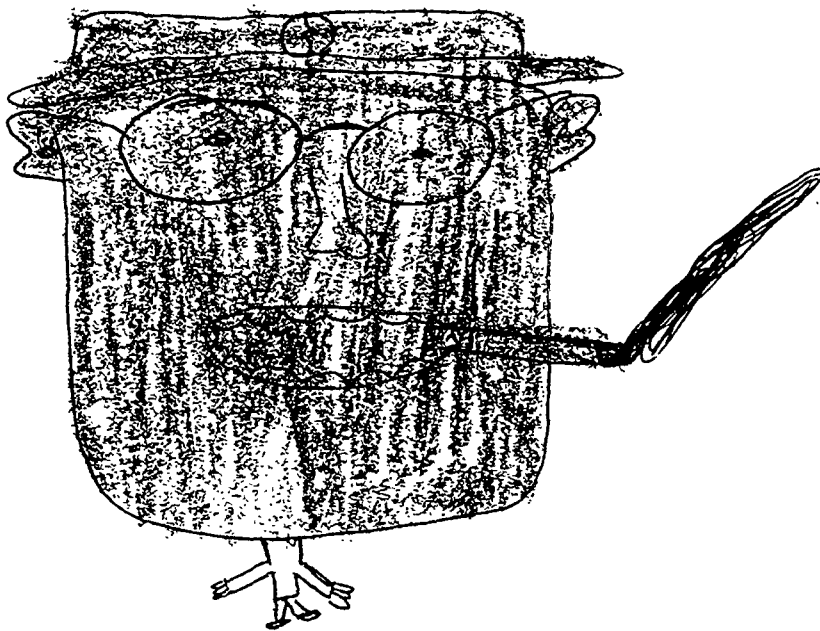
DRAWING 10 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF ED



DRAWING 11 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF HIS MOTHER



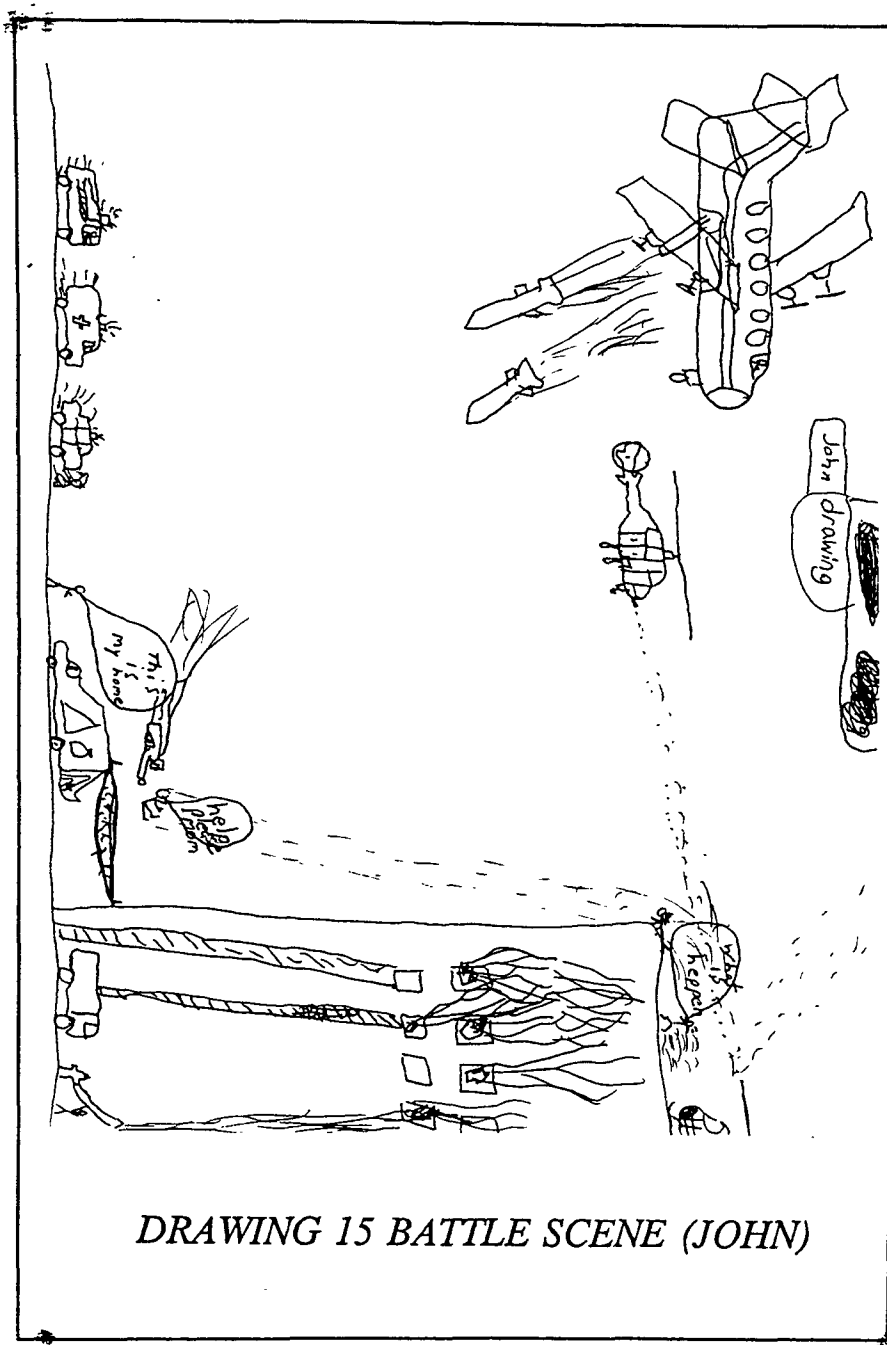
*DRAWING 12 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF HIS
FATHER*



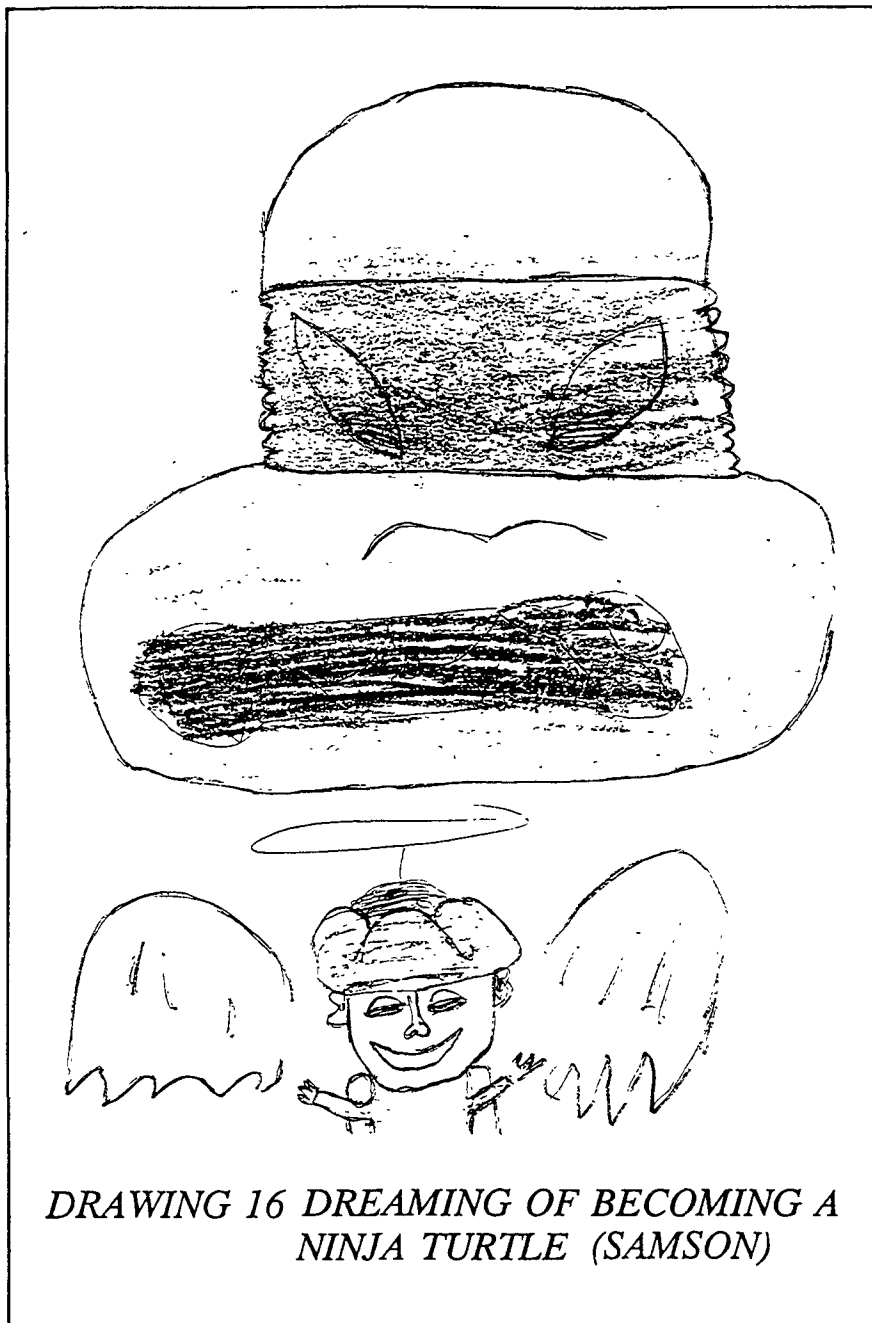
*DRAWING 13 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF HIS
GRANDFATHER*



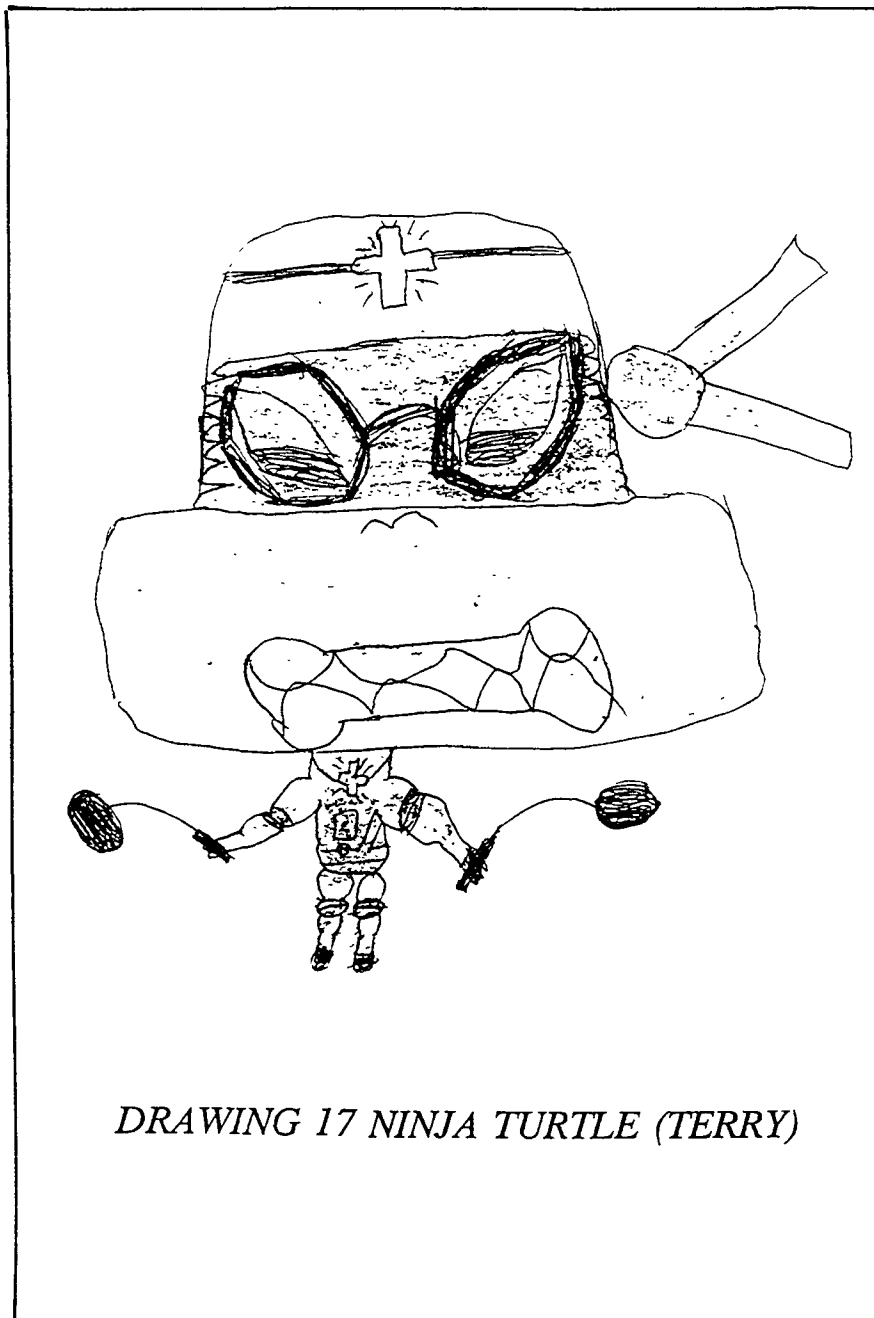
*DRAWING 14 TERRY'S PORTRAIT OF THE
AUTHOR*



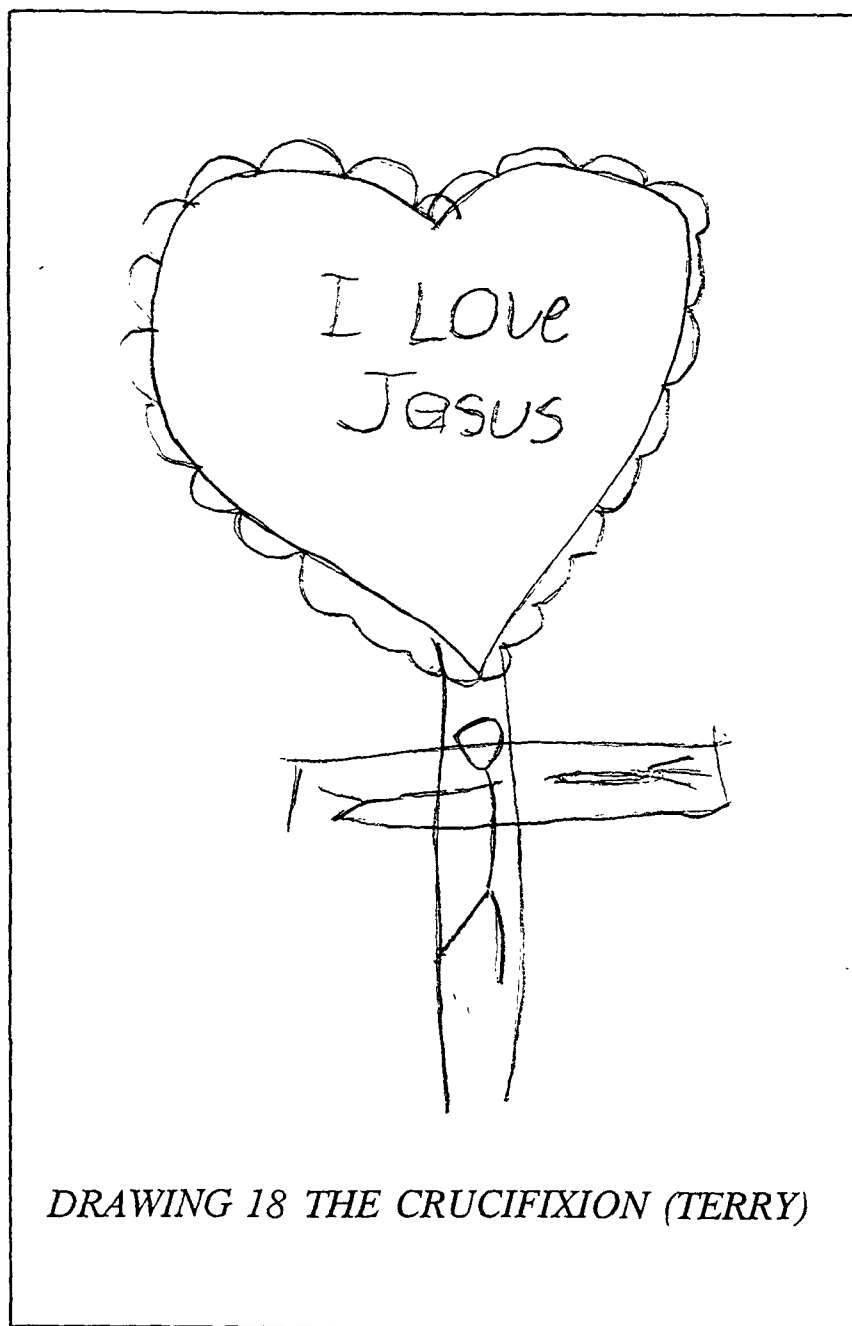
DRAWING 15 BATTLE SCENE (JOHN)



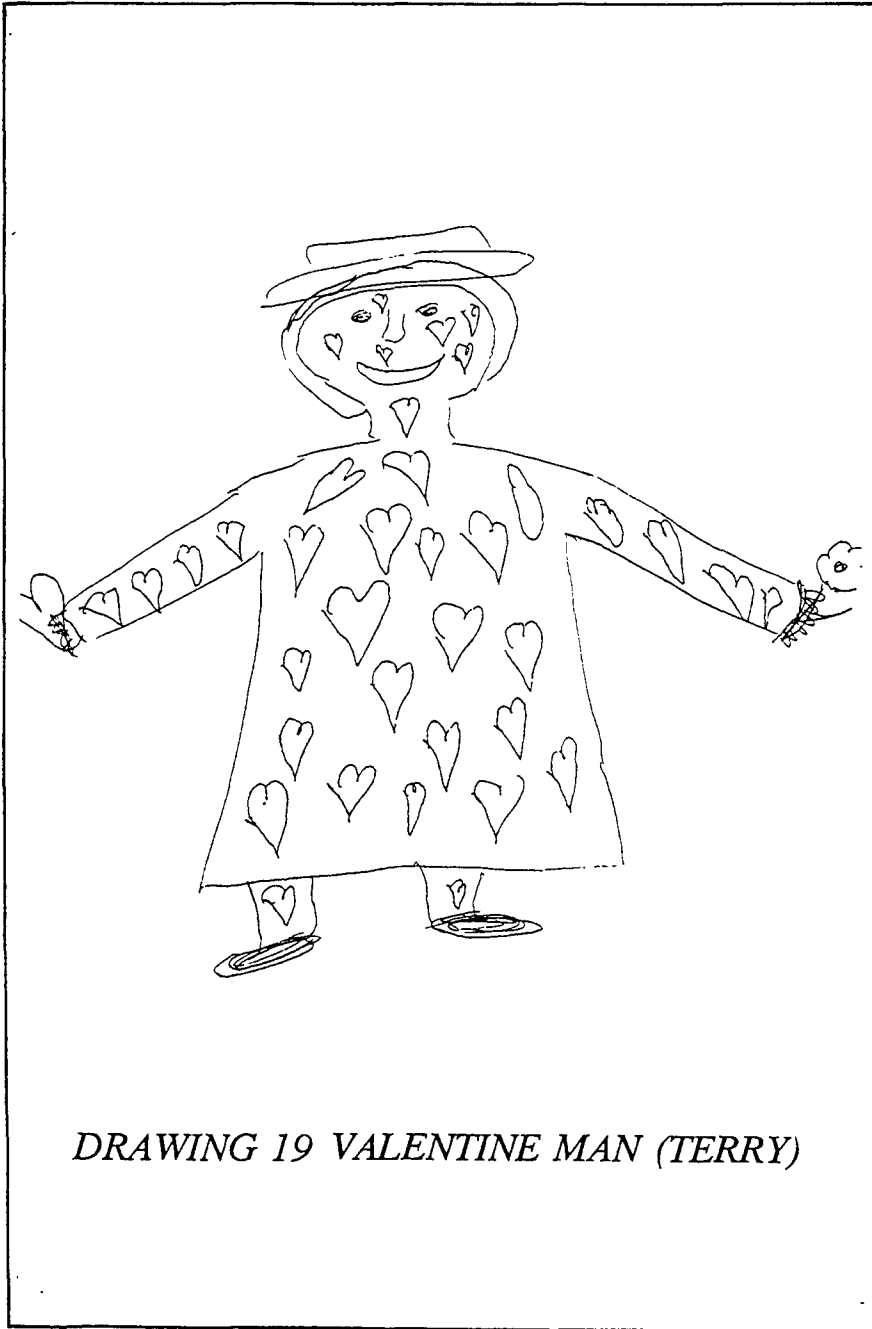
*DRAWING 16 DREAMING OF BECOMING A
NINJA TURTLE (SAMSON)*



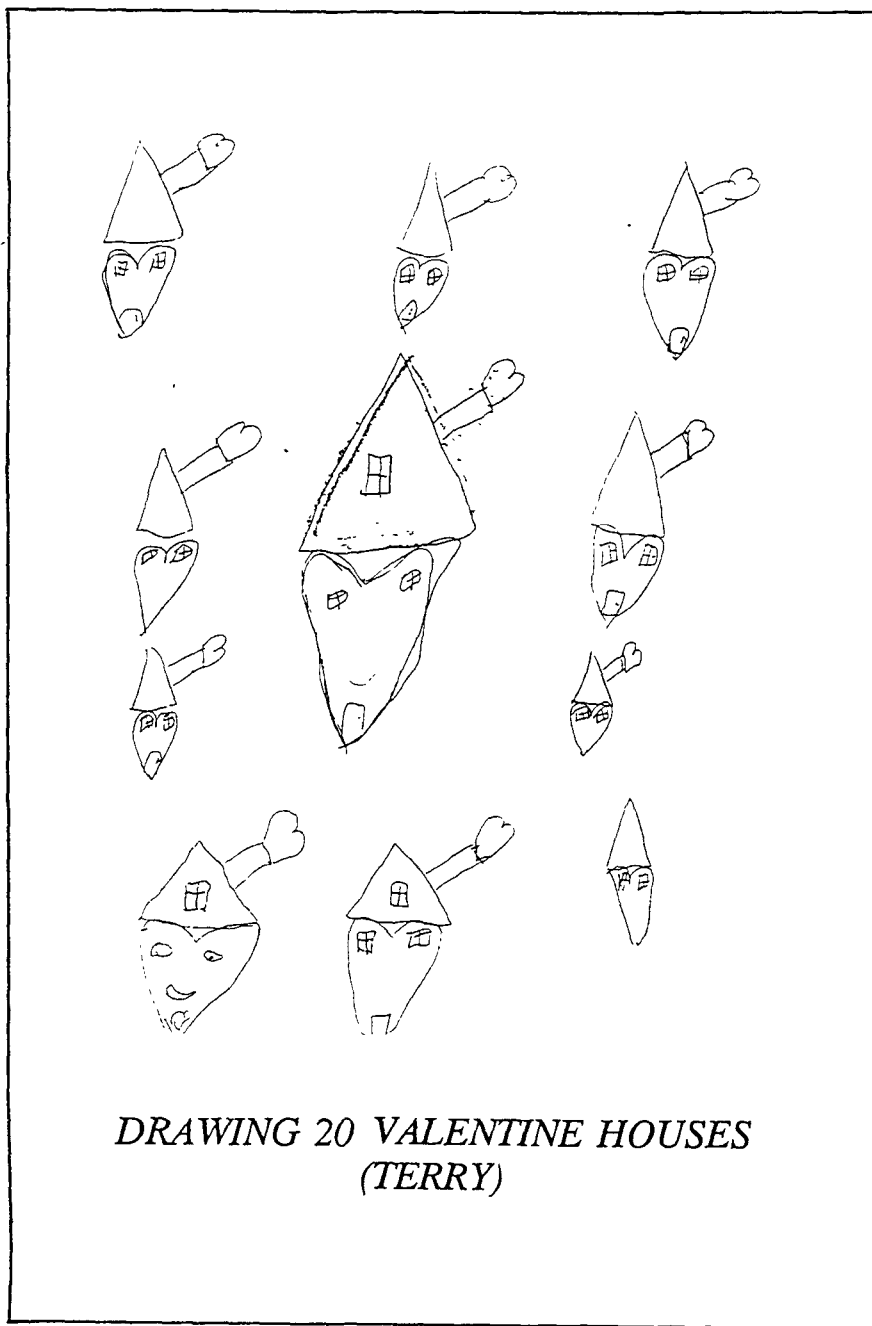
DRAWING 17 NINJA TURTLE (TERRY)

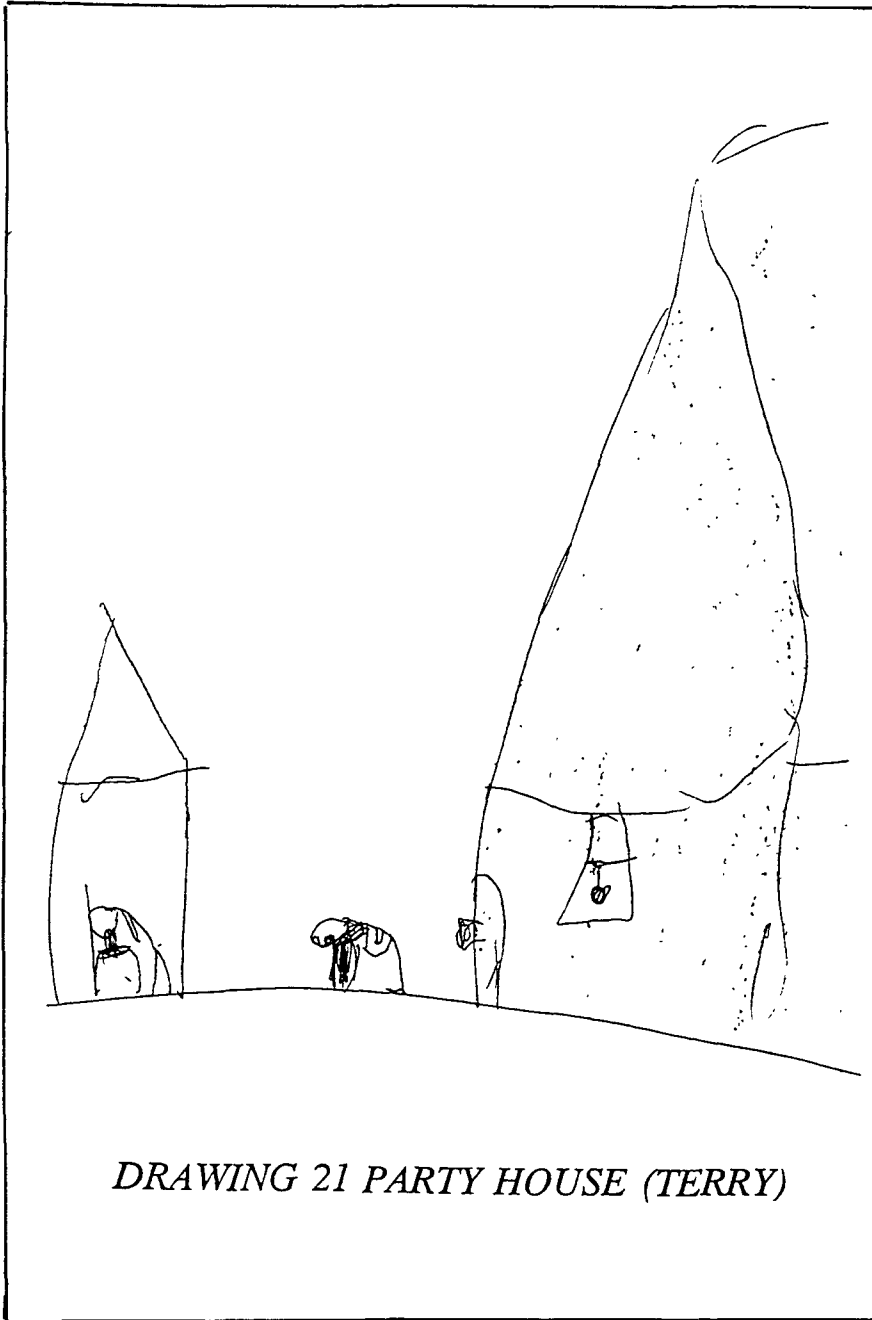


DRAWING 18 THE CRUCIFIXION (TERRY)



DRAWING 19 VALENTINE MAN (TERRY)

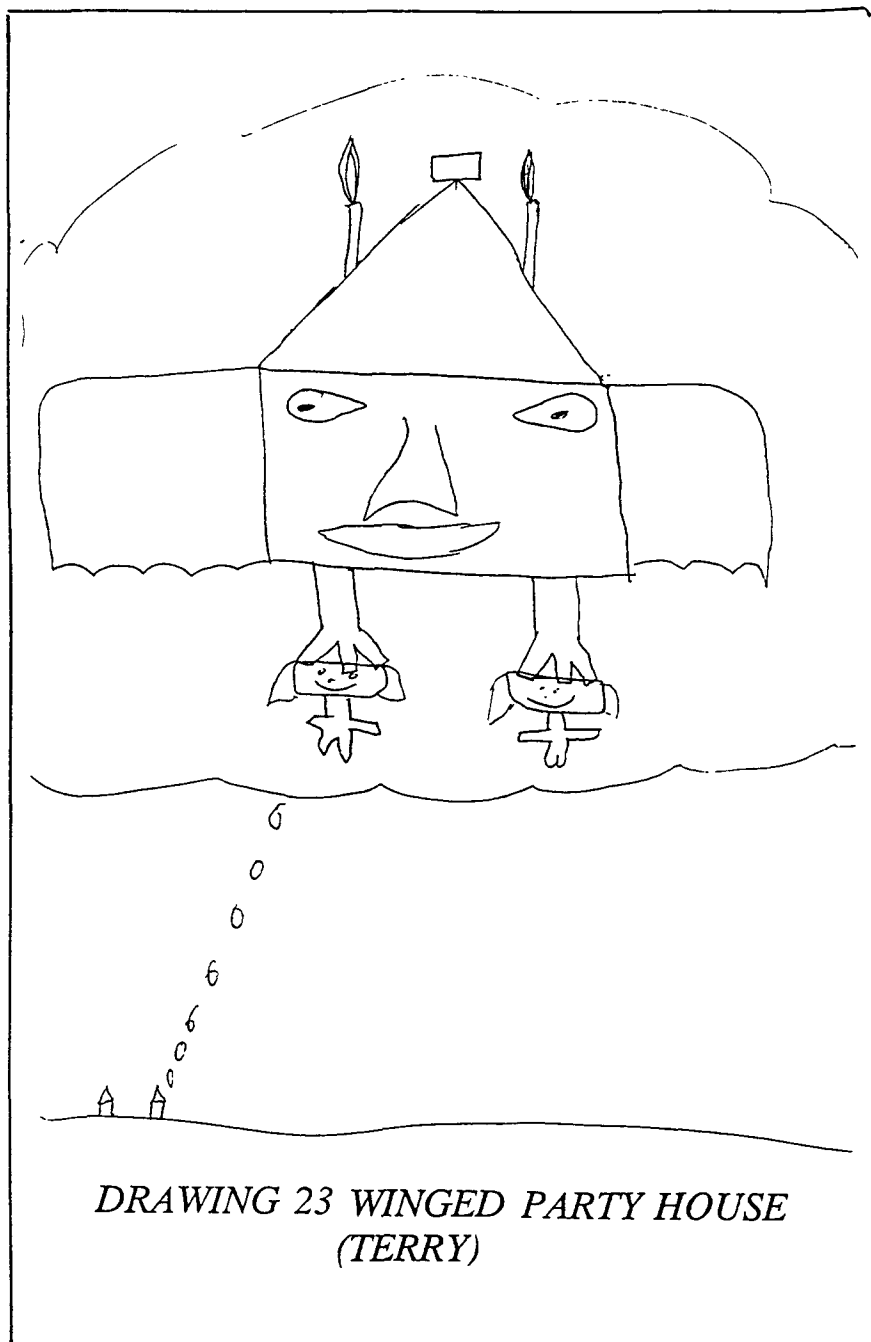




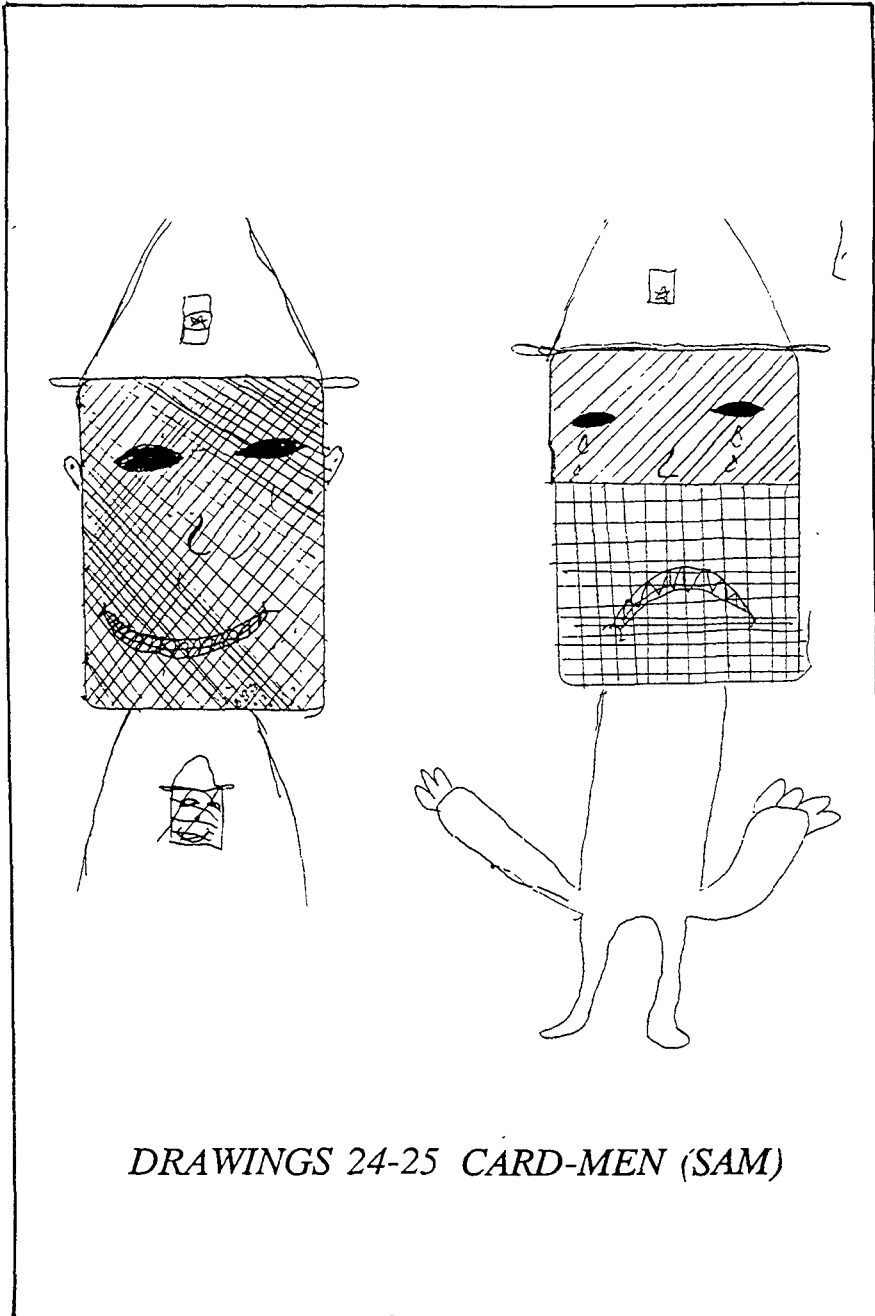
DRAWING 21 PARTY HOUSE (TERRY)



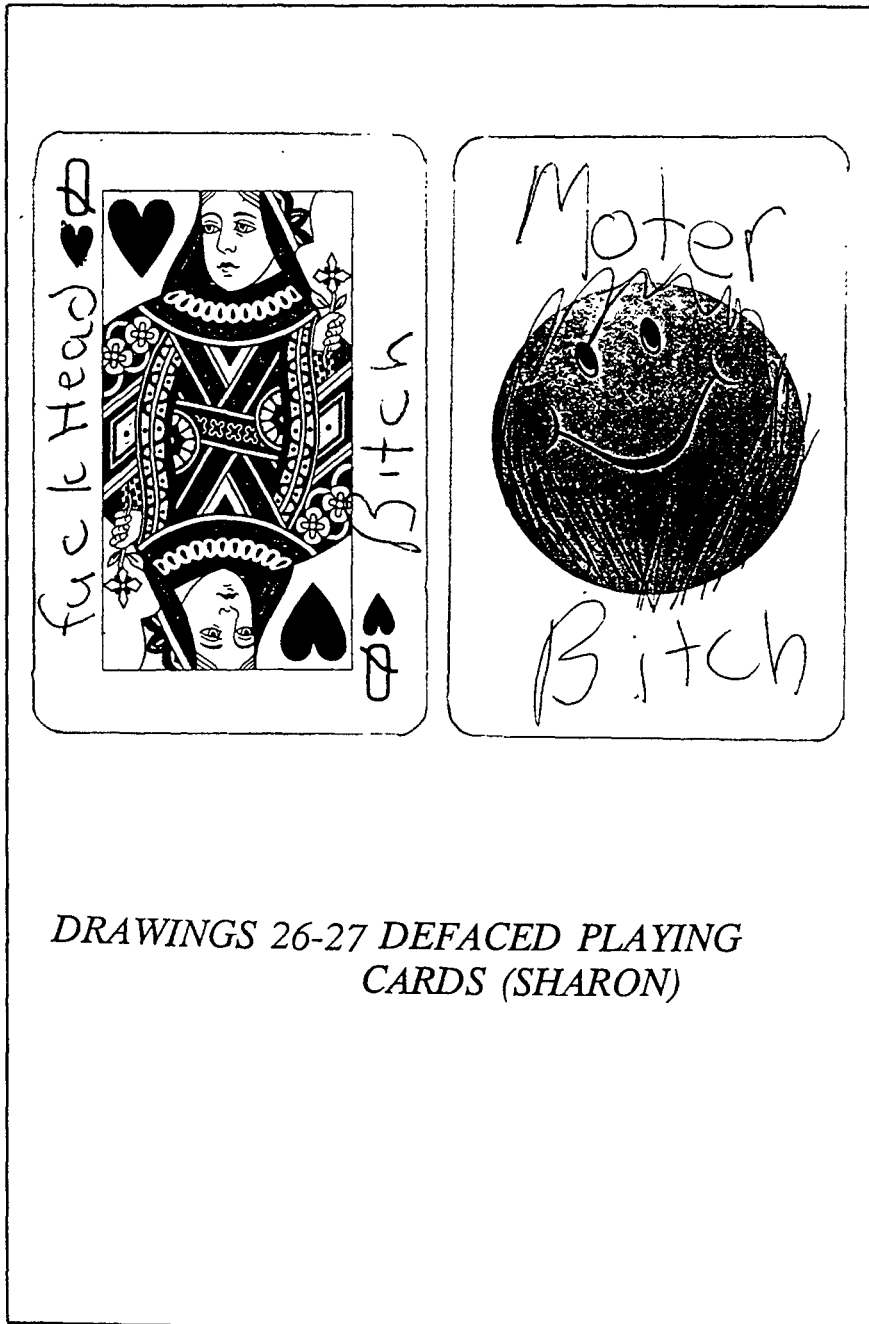
DRAWING 22 HOUSE-FACE (TERRY)



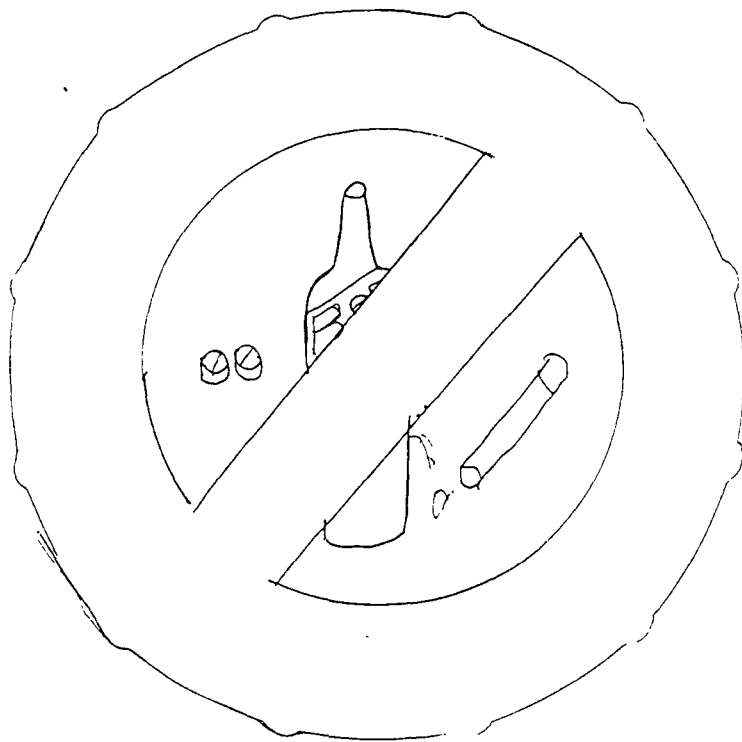
*DRAWING 23 WINGED PARTY HOUSE
(TERRY)*



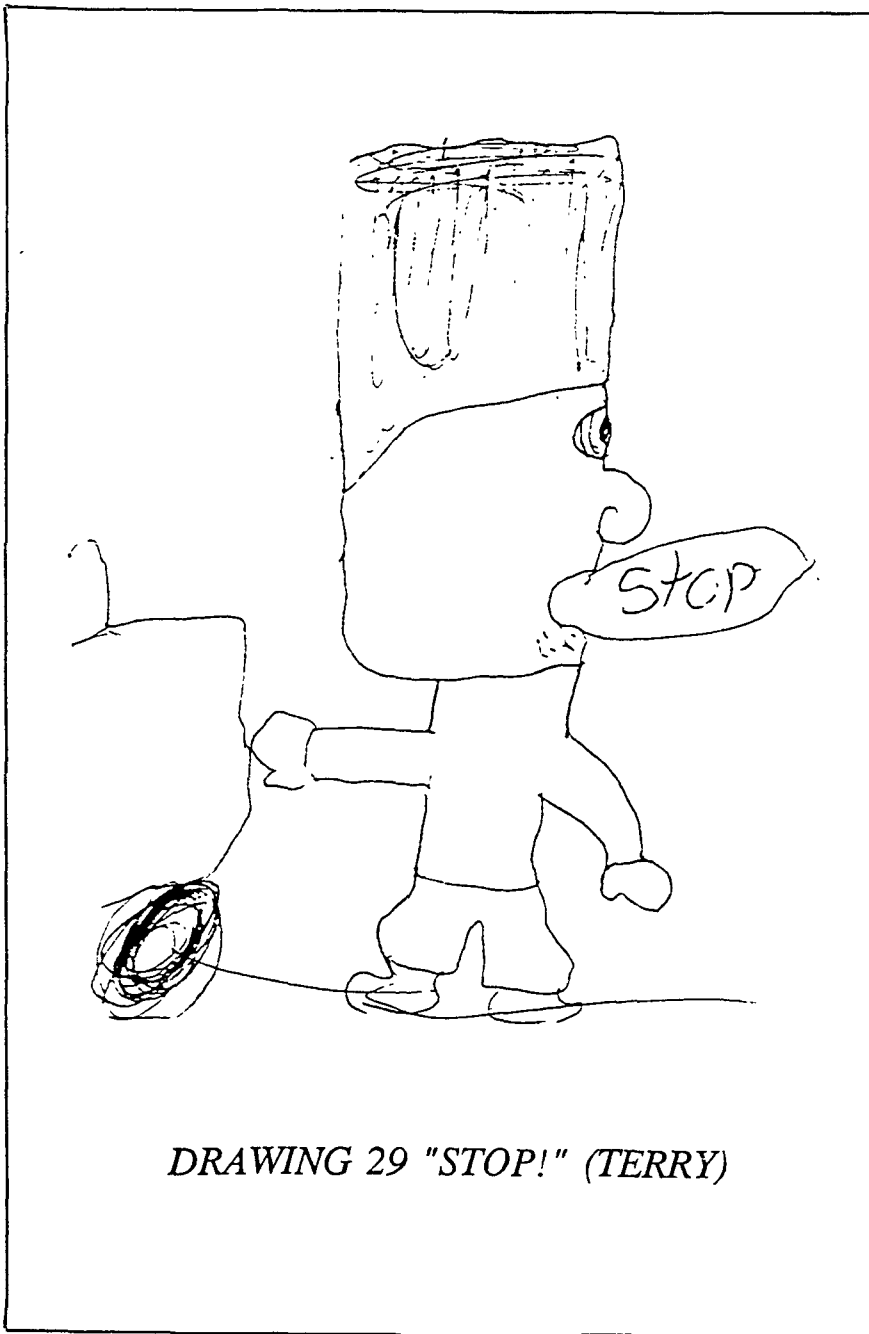
DRAWINGS 24-25 CARD-MEN (SAM)



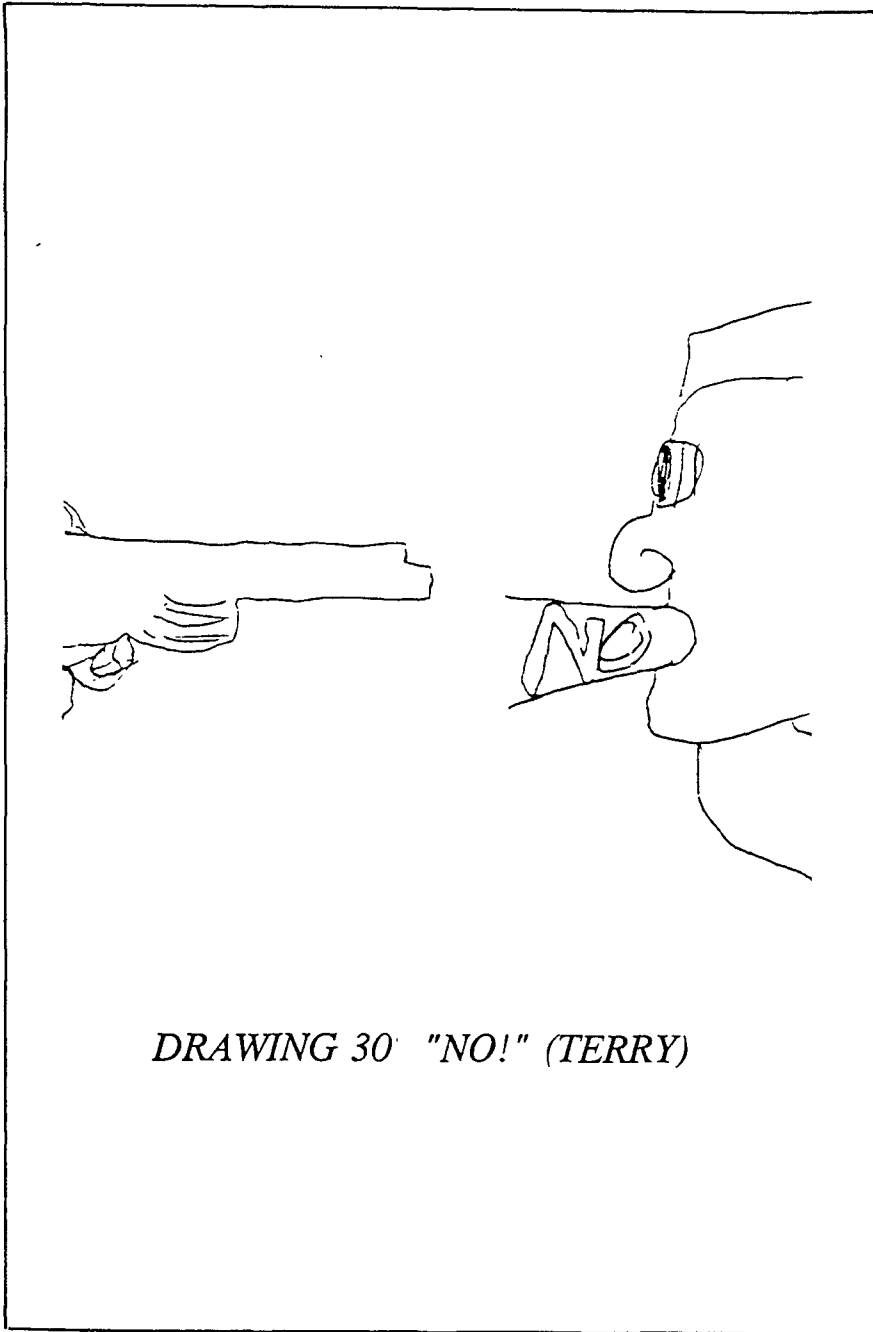
*DRAWINGS 26-27 DEFACED PLAYING
CARDS (SHARON)*



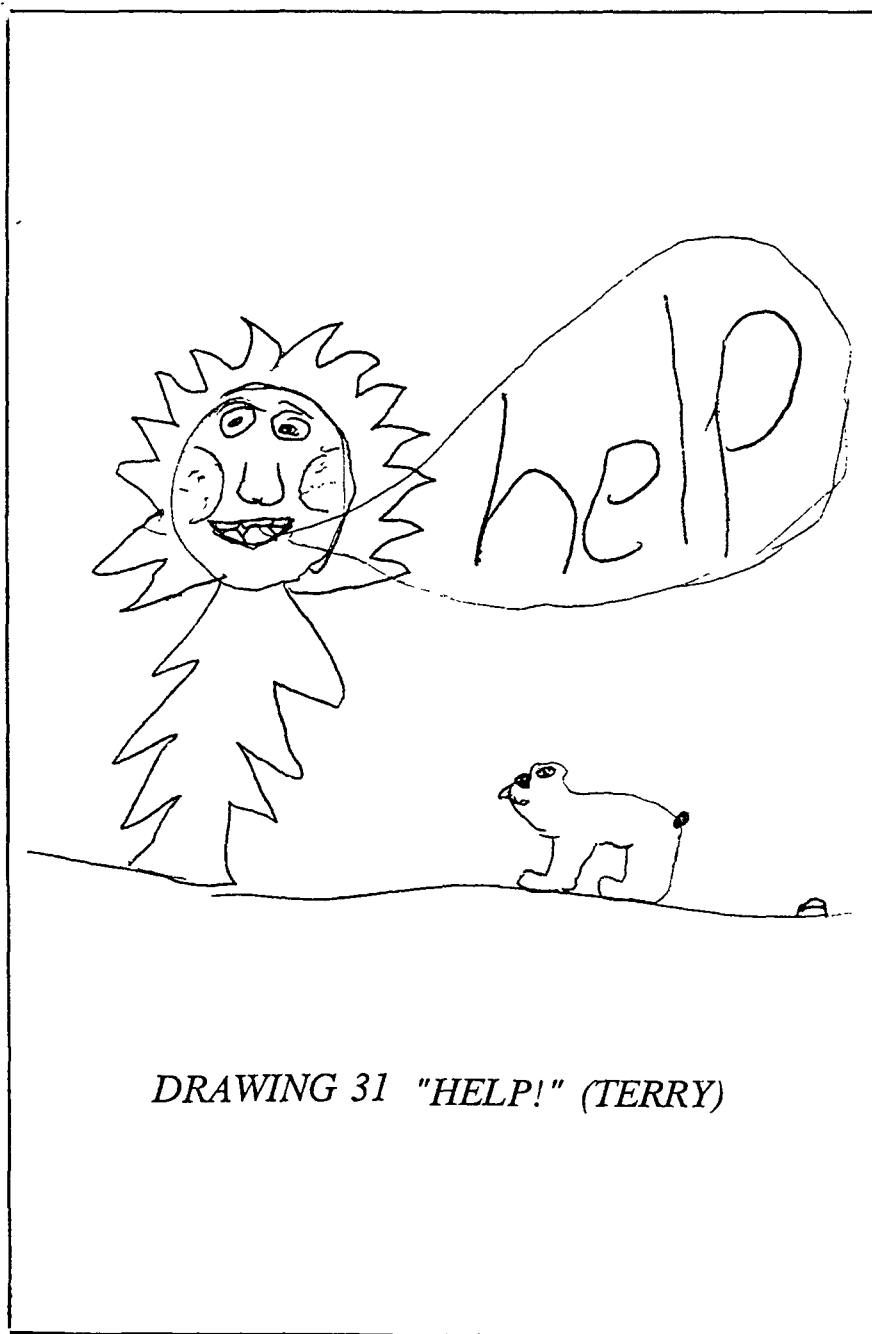
*DRAWING 28 NO PILLS, DRINKING OR
SMOKING (TERRY)*



DRAWING 29 "STOP!" (TERRY)



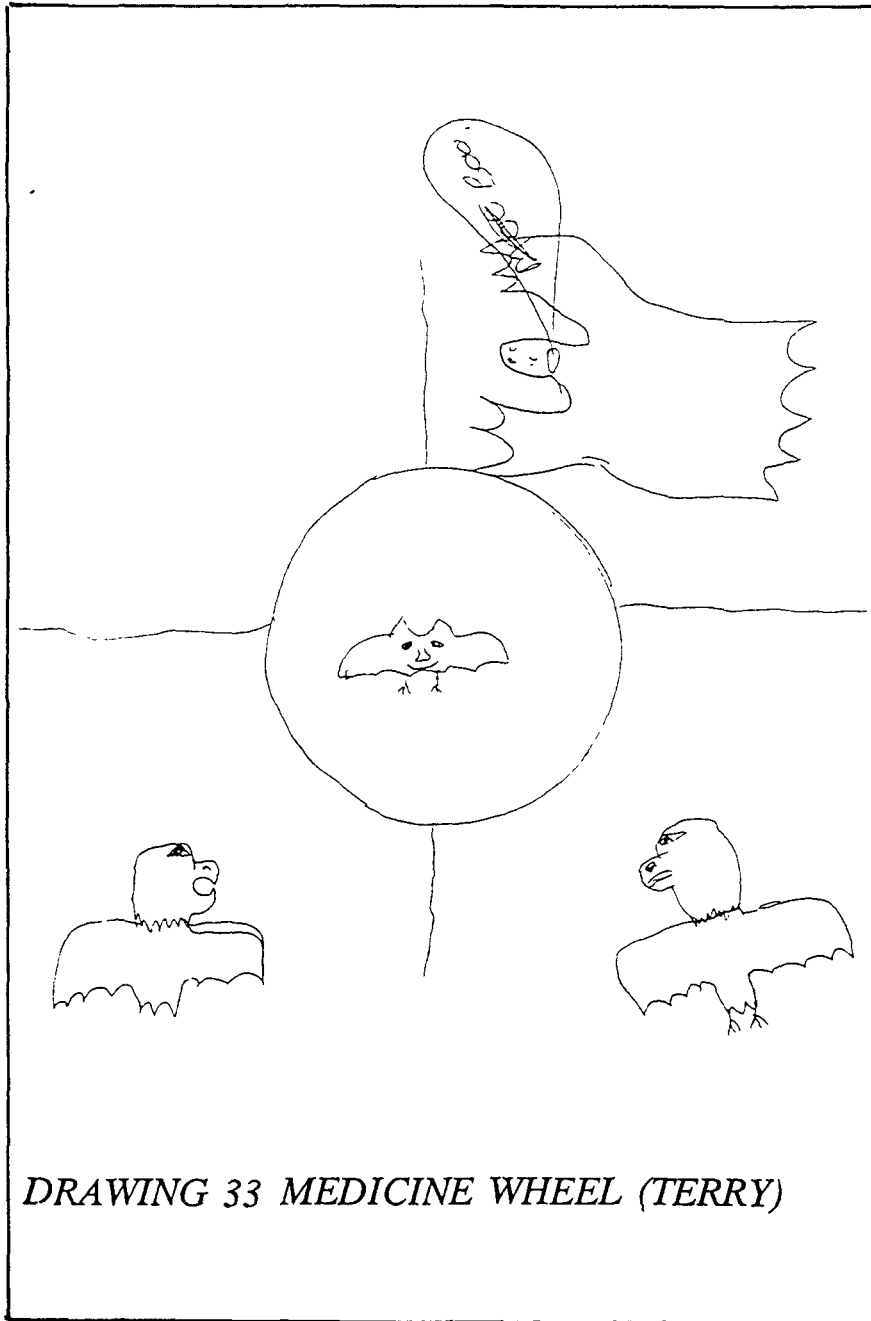
DRAWING 30 "NO!" (TERRY)



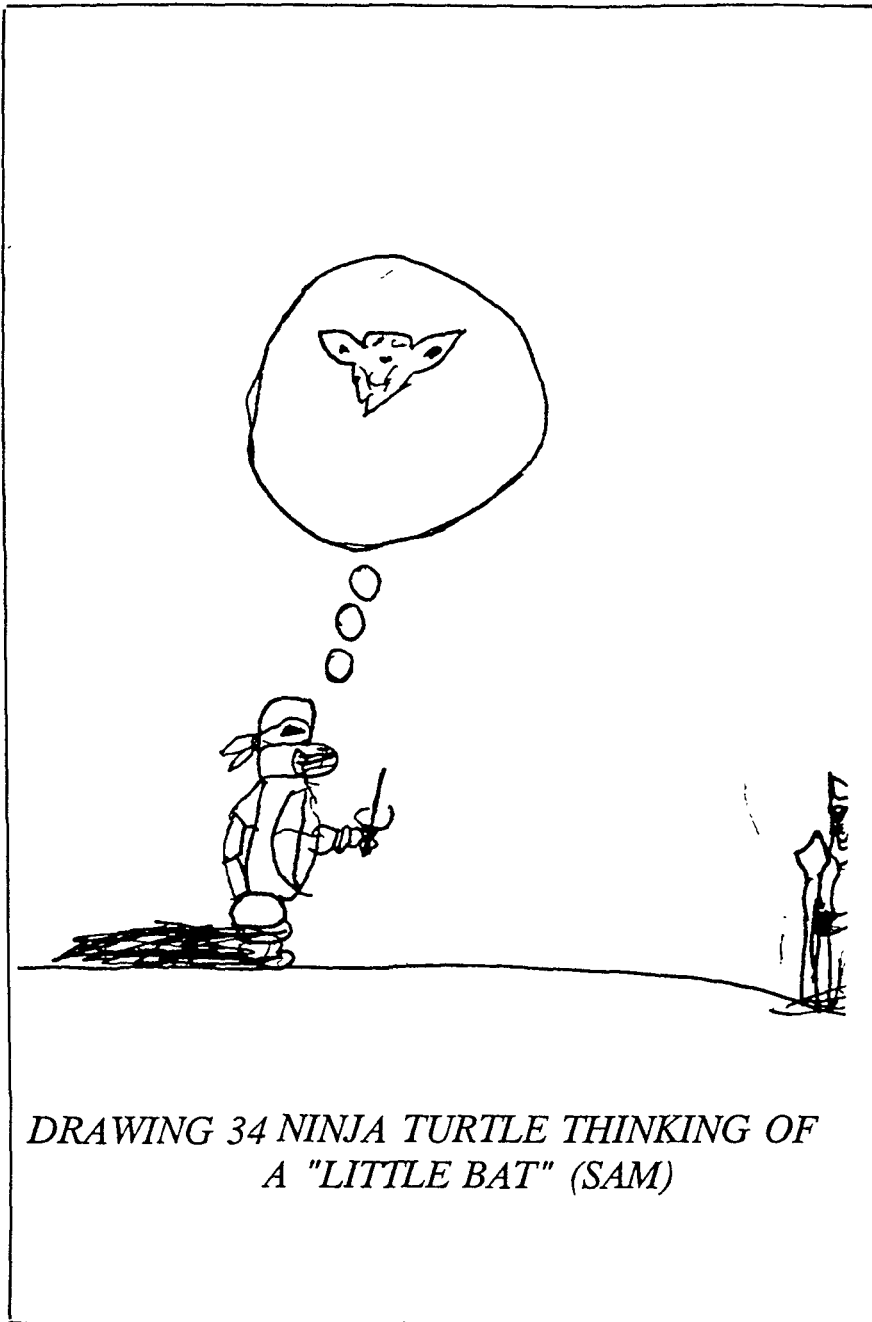
DRAWING 31 "HELP!" (TERRY)



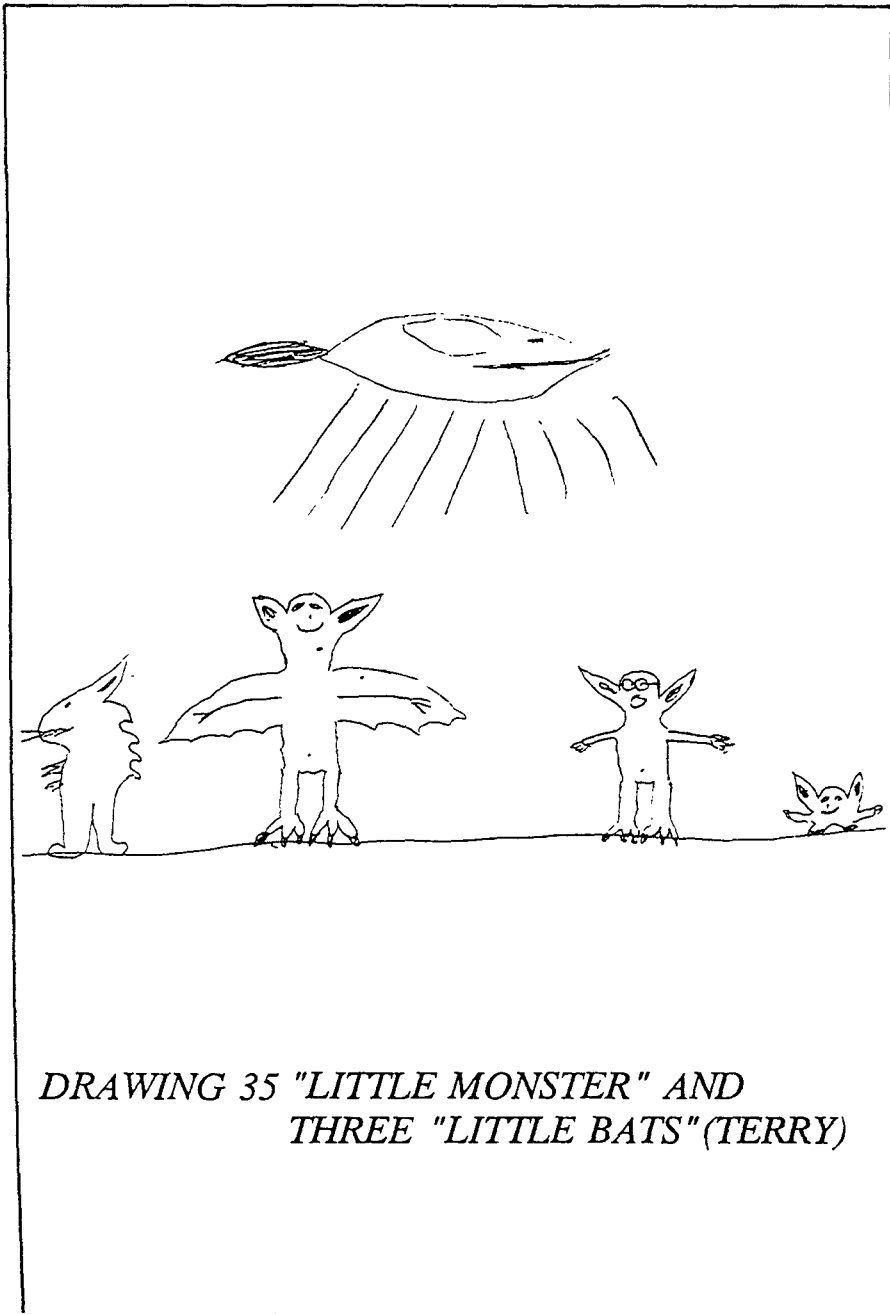
DRAWING 32 "GEORGE HELP ME!" (TERRY)



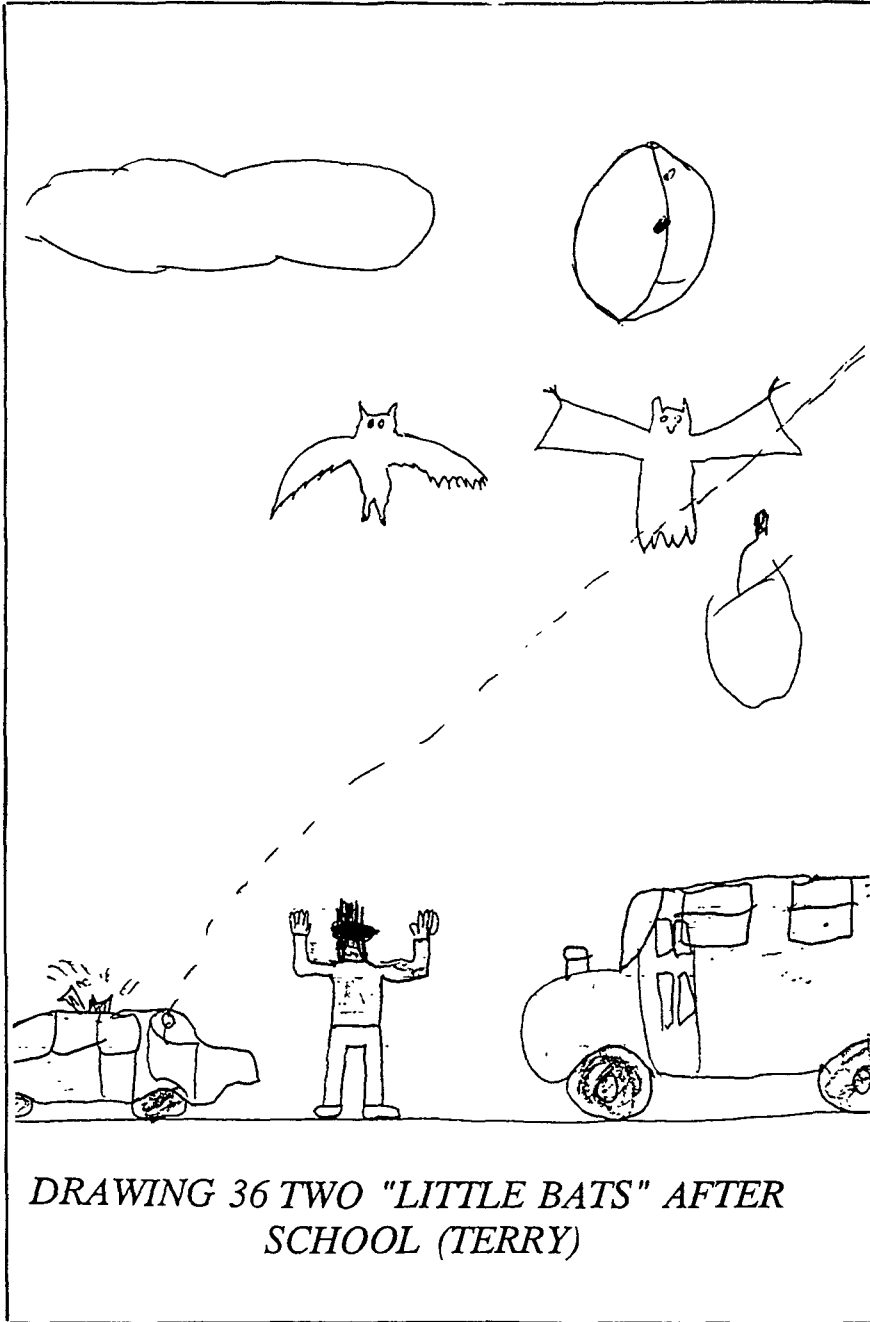
DRAWING 33 MEDICINE WHEEL (TERRY)



*DRAWING 34 NINJA TURTLE THINKING OF
A "LITTLE BAT" (SAM)*



*DRAWING 35 "LITTLE MONSTER" AND
THREE "LITTLE BATS" (TERRY)*



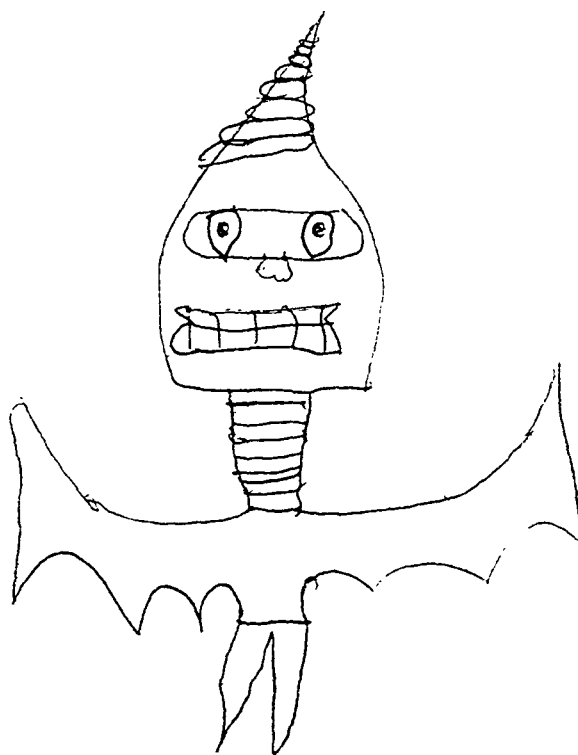
DRAWING 36 TWO "LITTLE BATS" AFTER SCHOOL (TERRY)



DRAWING 37 BIGFOOT (TERRY)



DRAWING 38 DEVIL (TERRY)

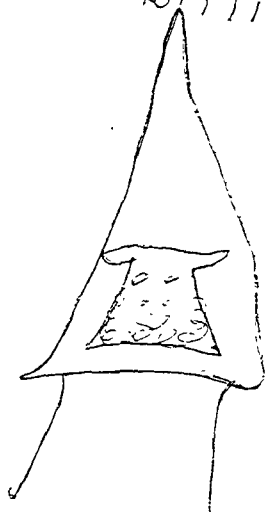


DRAWING 39 GRASS MONSTER (TERRY)

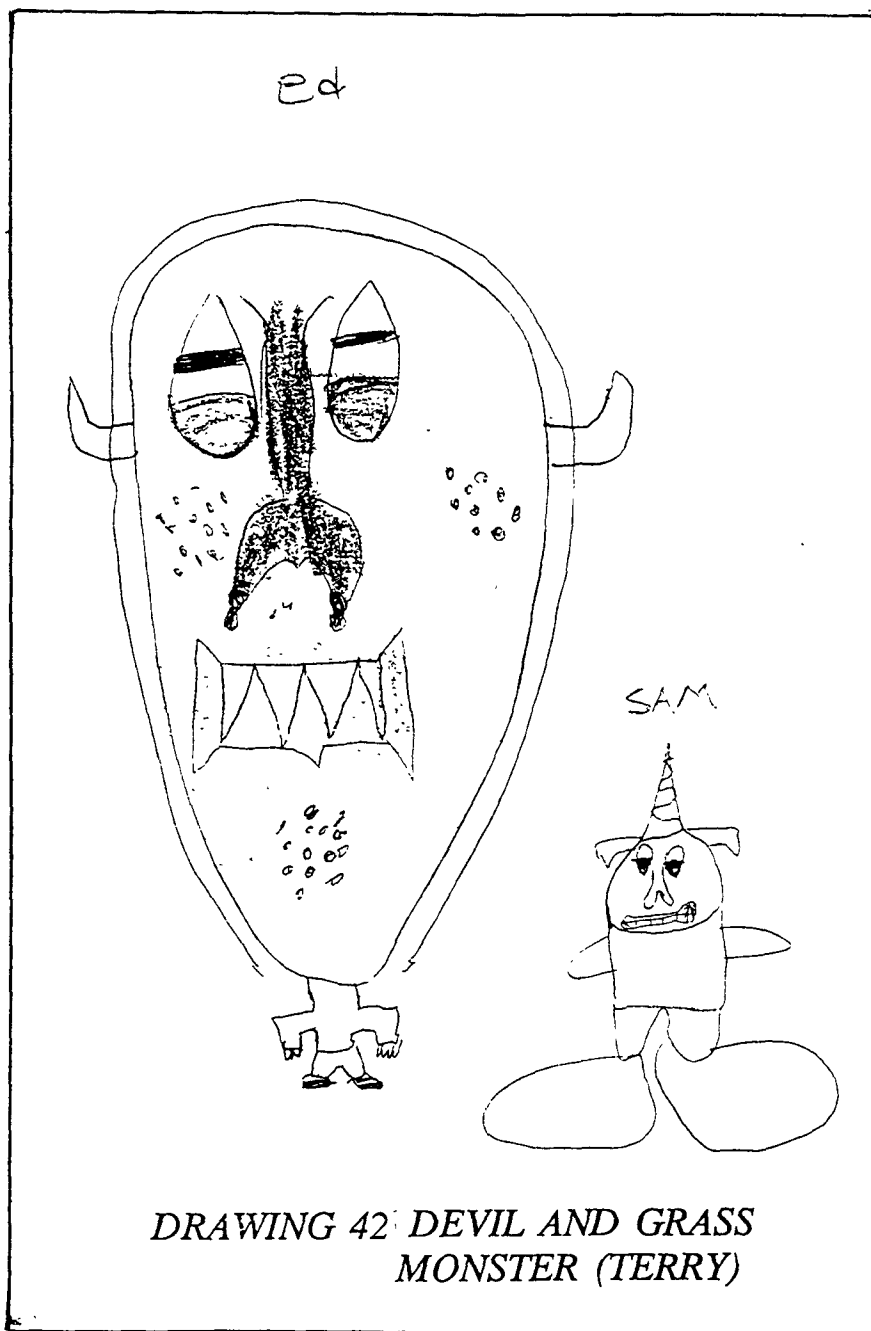
April

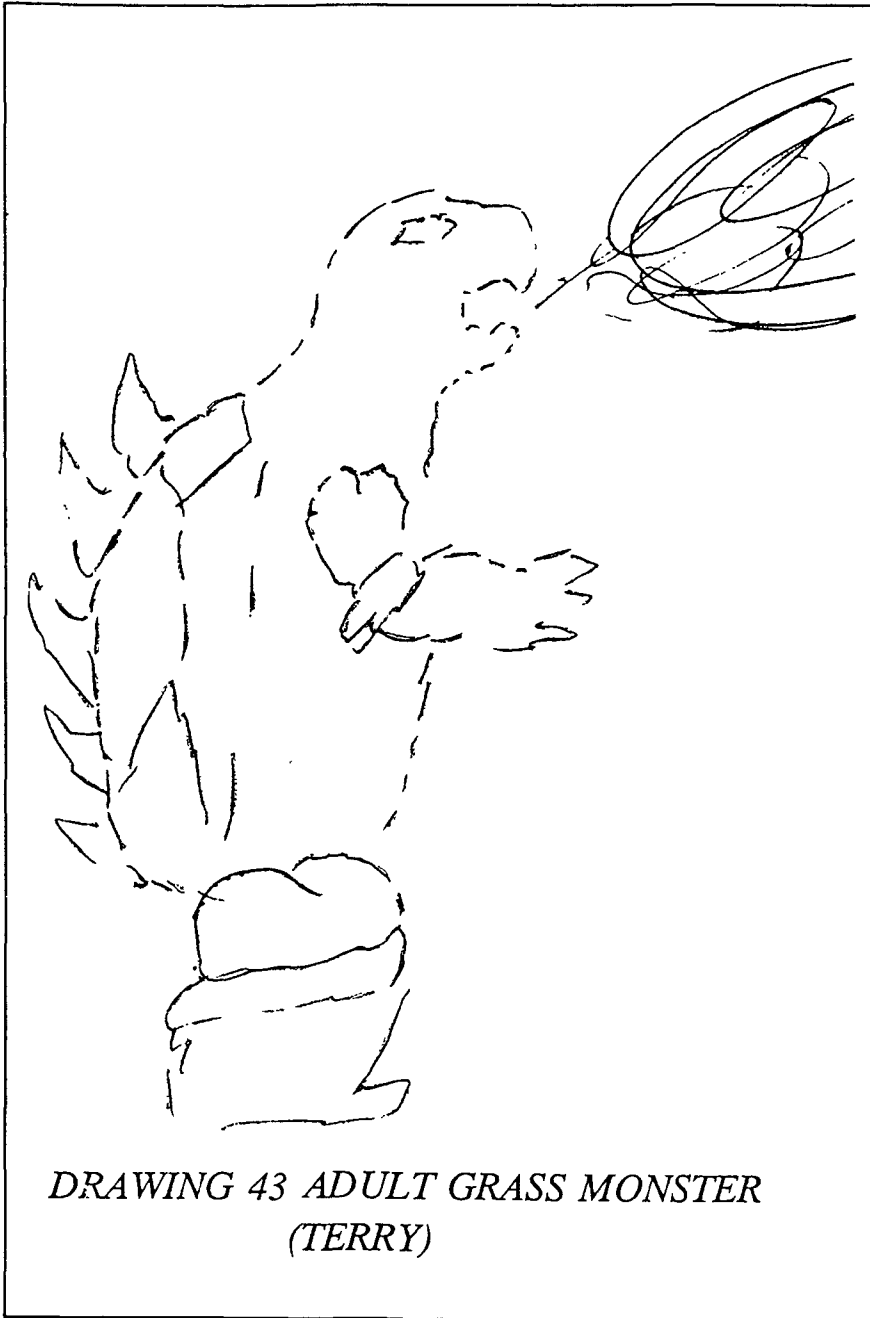


Billie

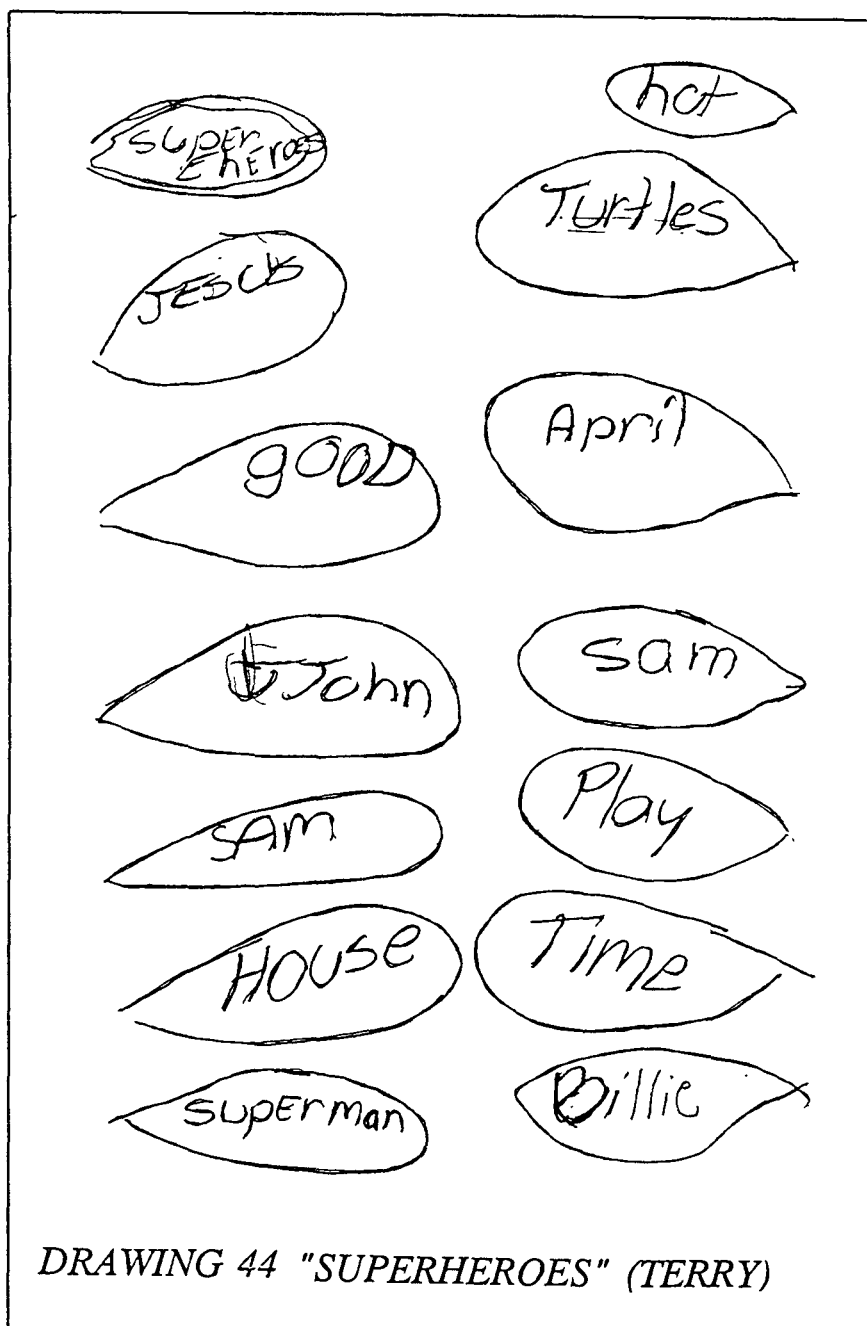


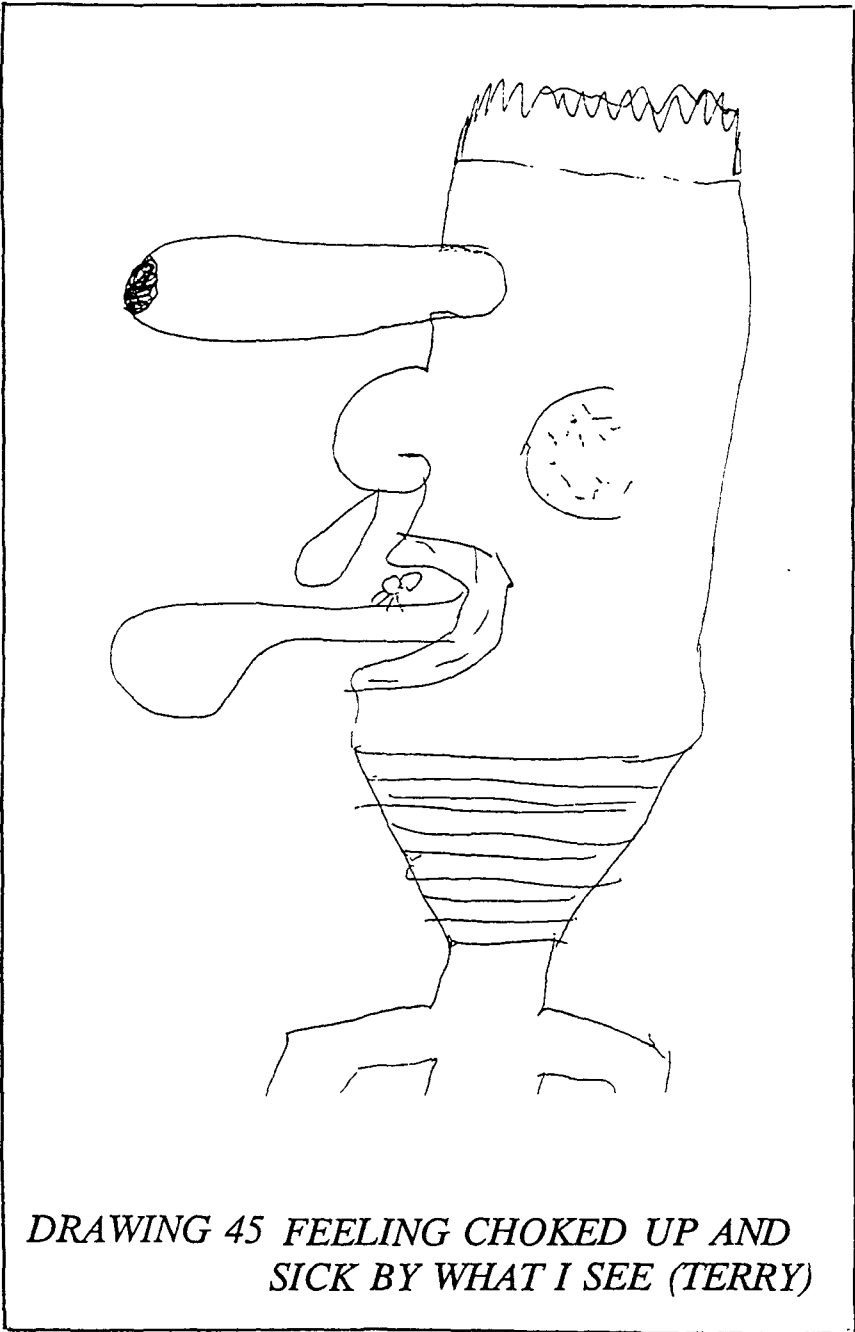
*DRAWINGS 40-41 GRASS MONSTERS
(TERRY)*



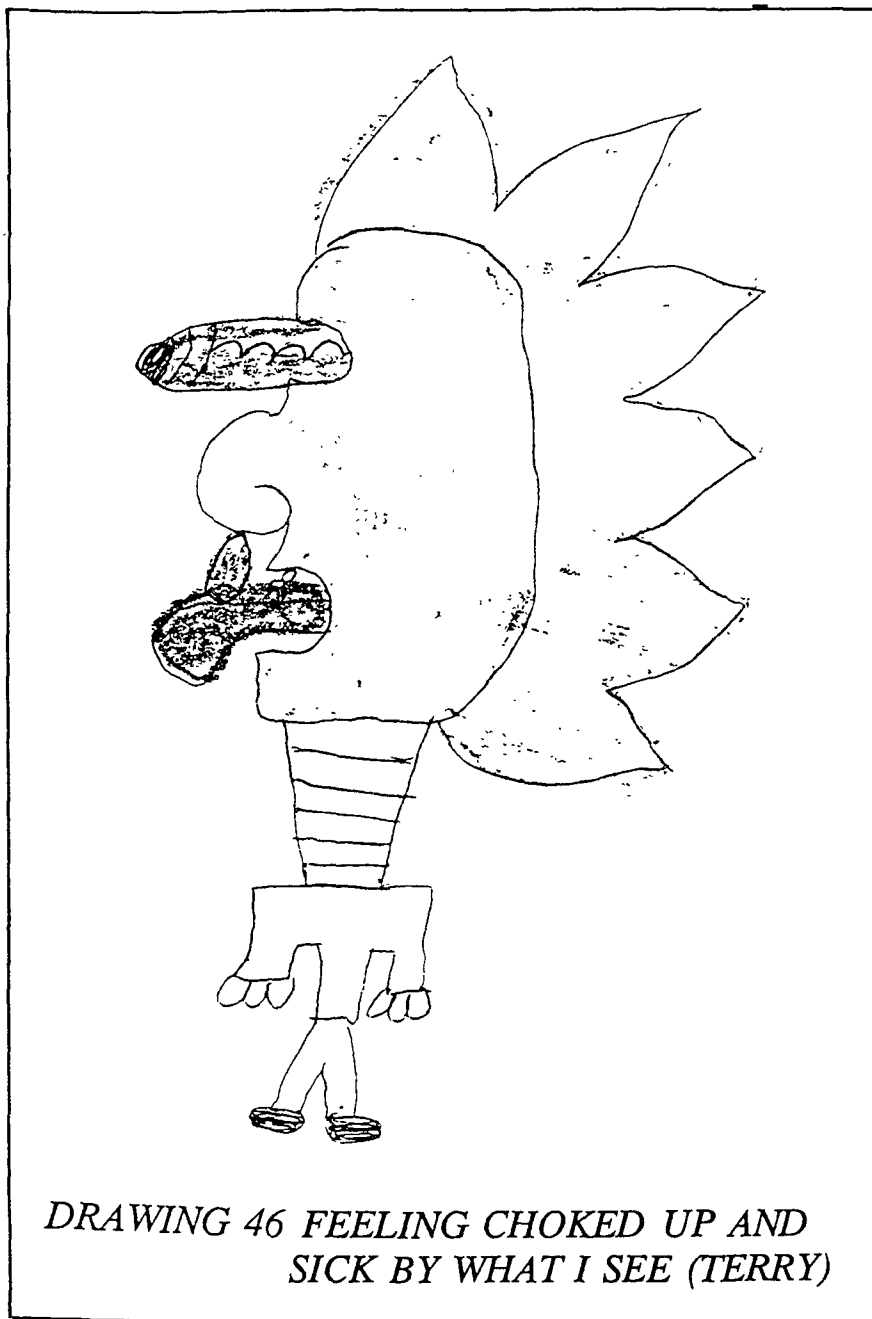


*DRAWING 43 ADULT GRASS MONSTER
(TERRY)*

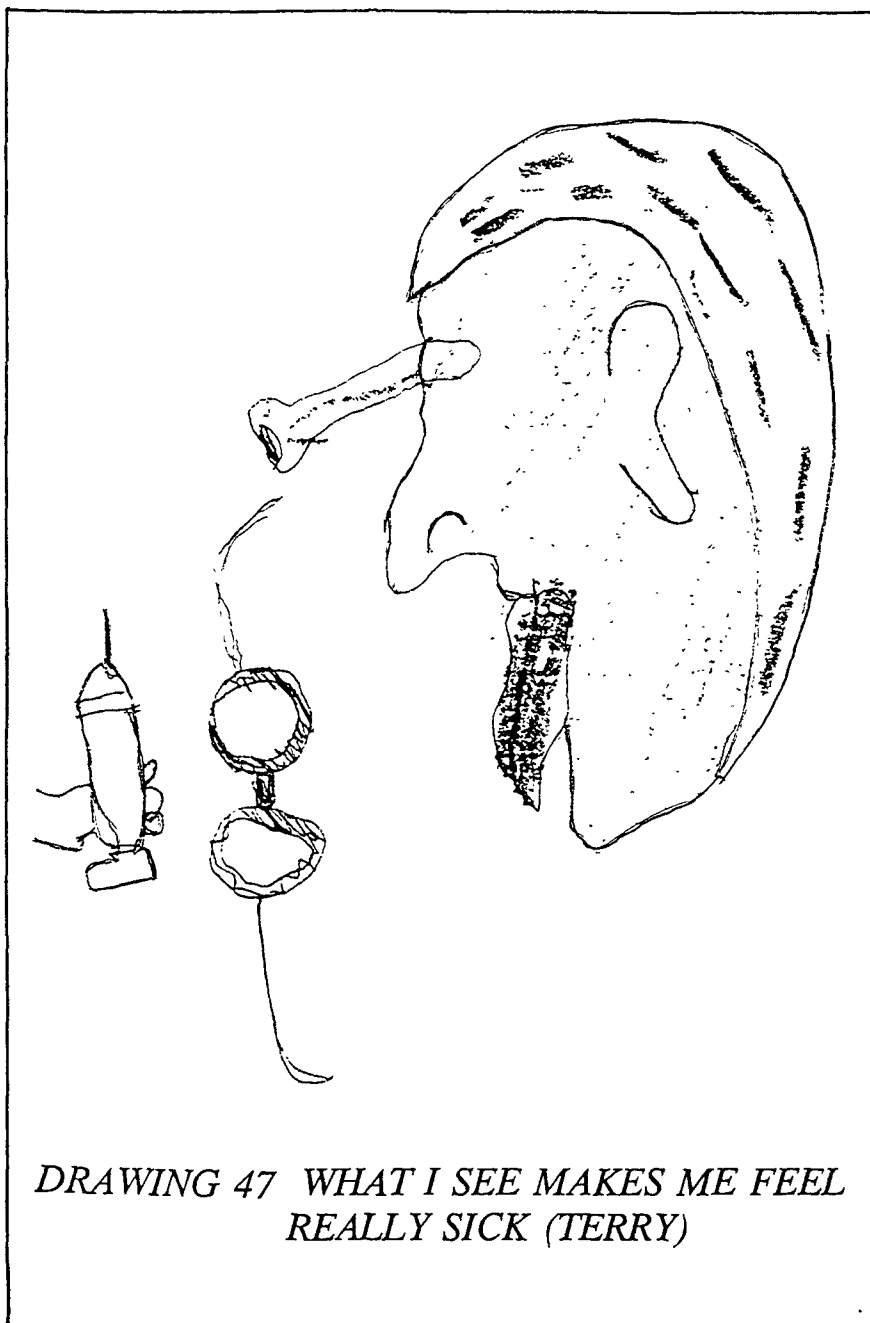




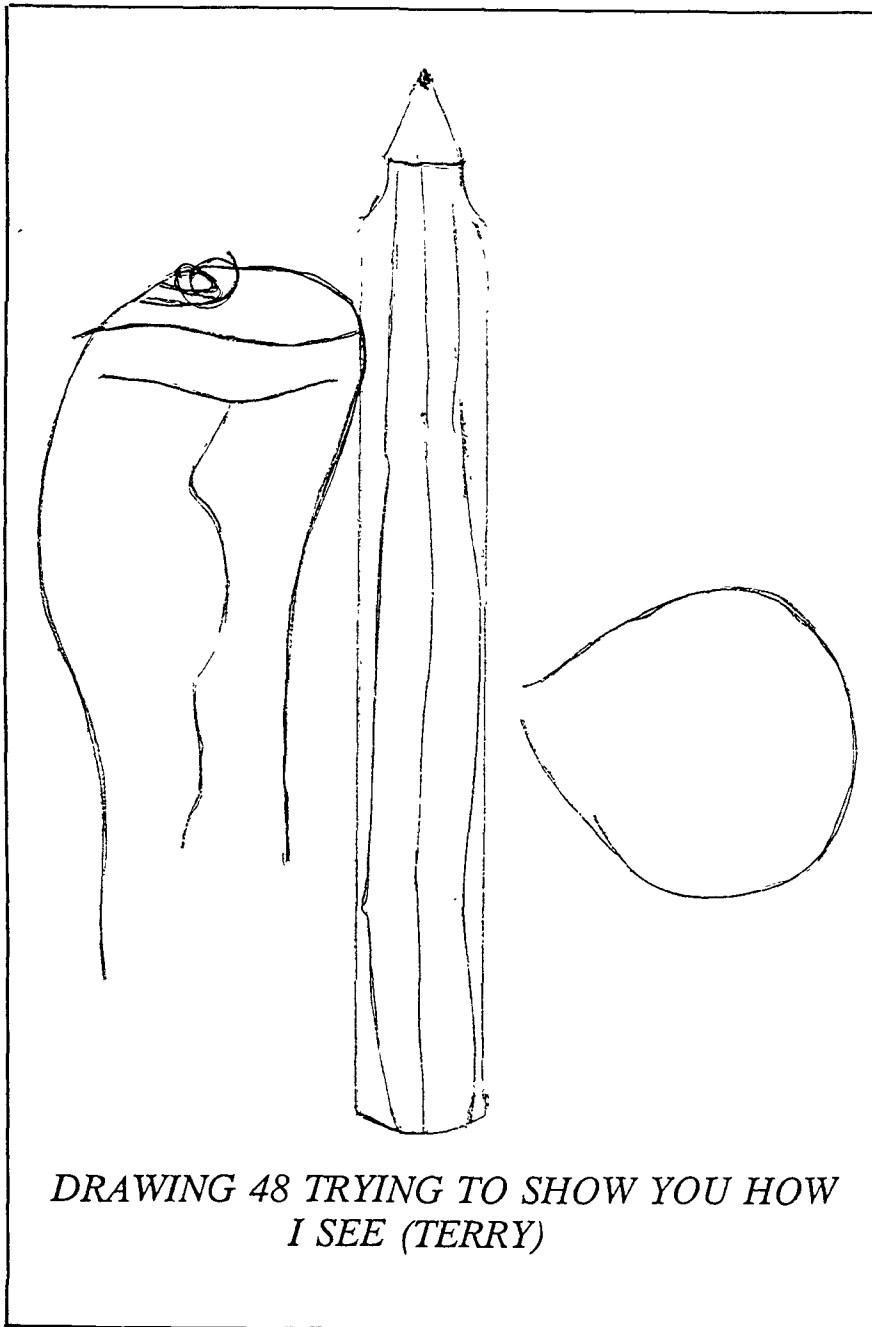
*DRAWING 45 FEELING CHOKED UP AND
SICK BY WHAT I SEE (TERRY)*

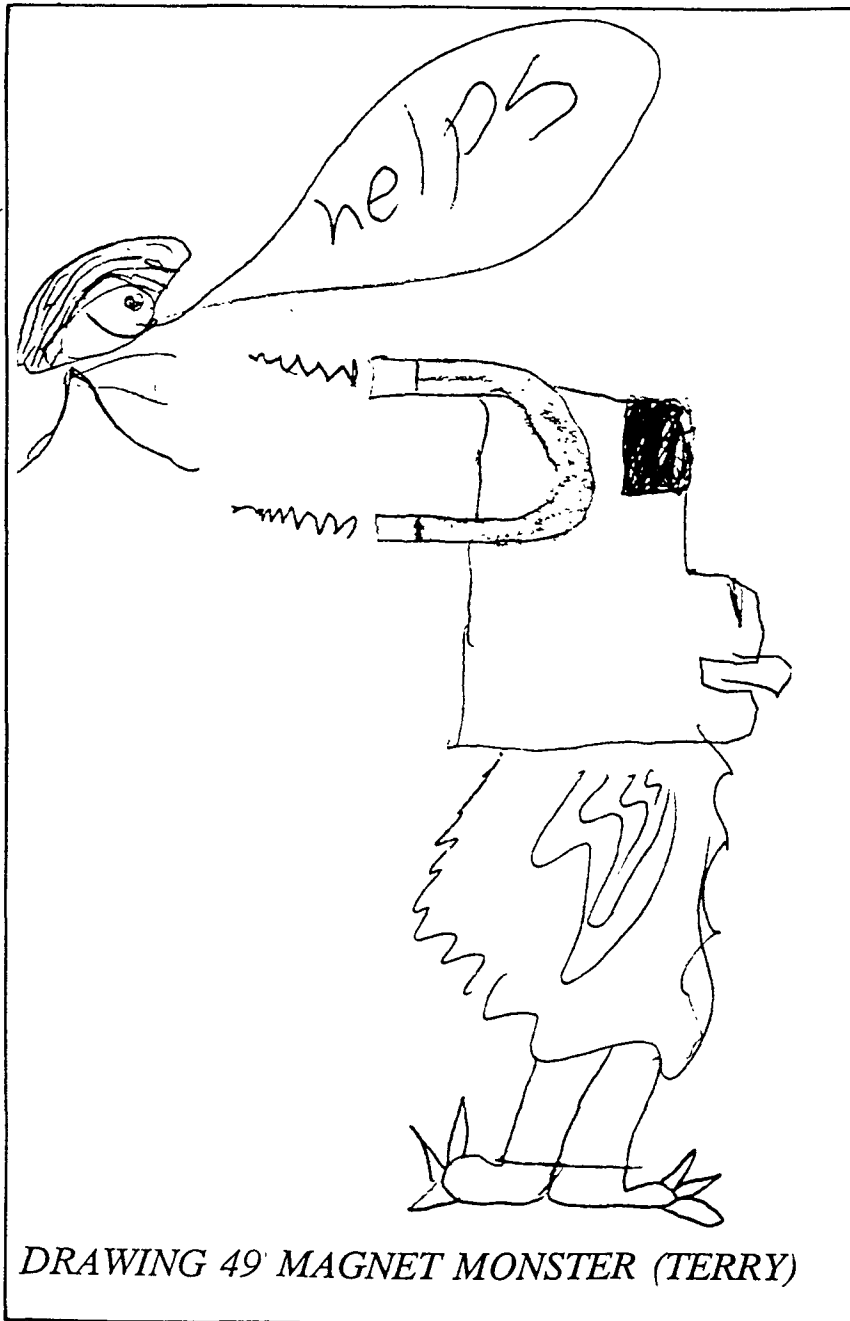


*DRAWING 46 FEELING CHOKED UP AND
SICK BY WHAT I SEE (TERRY)*

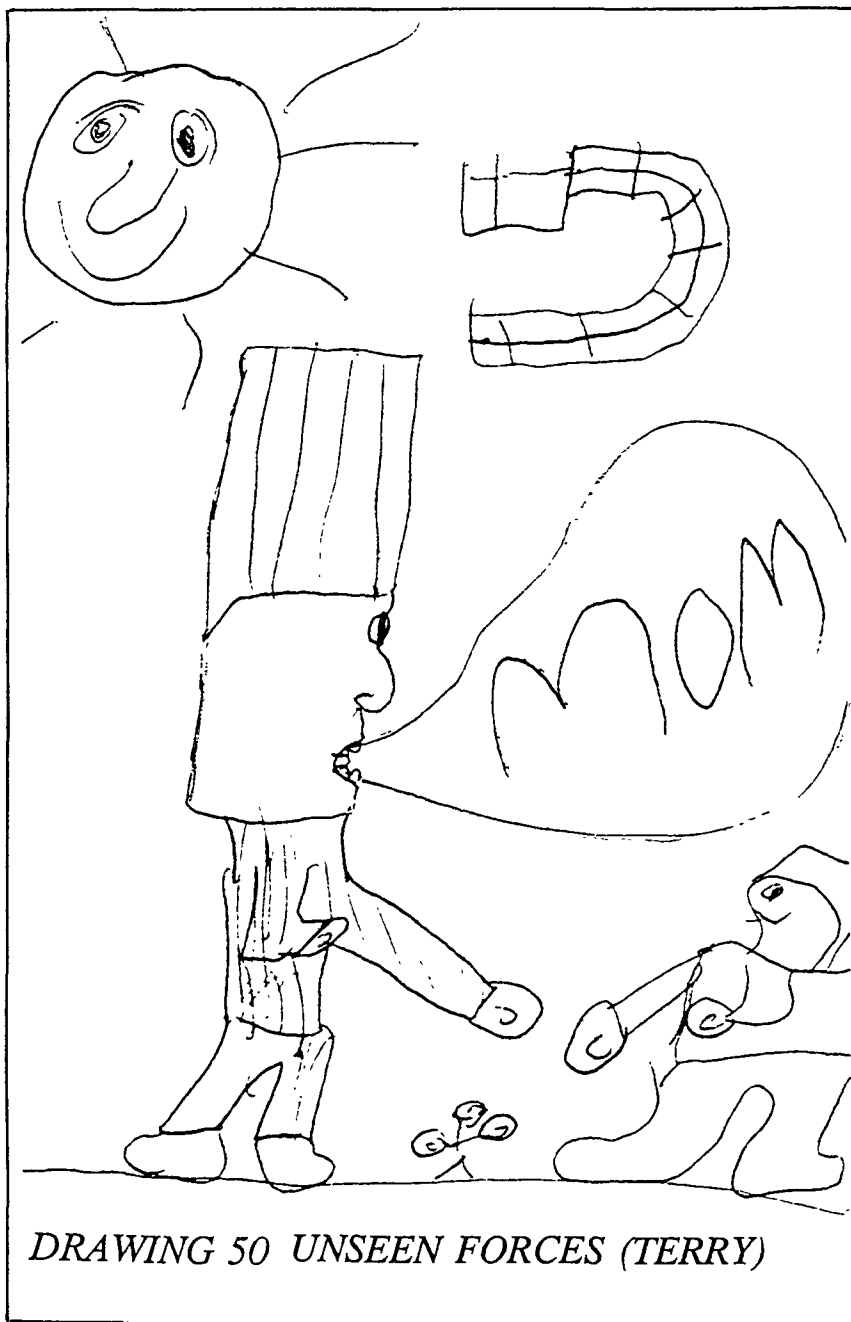


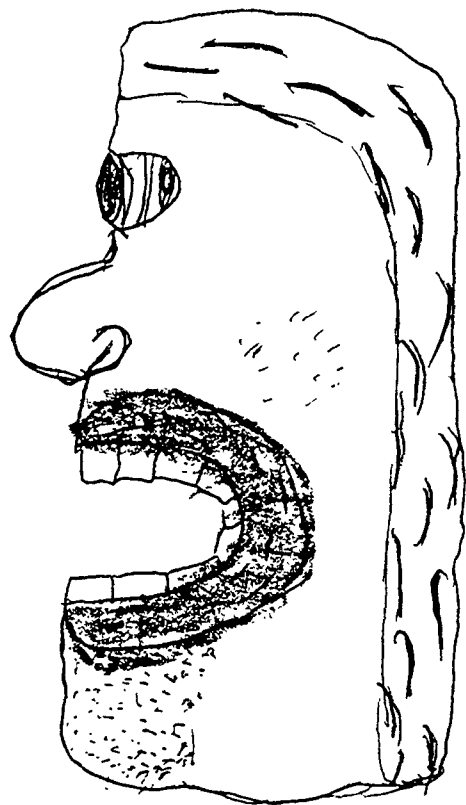
*DRAWING 47 WHAT I SEE MAKES ME FEEL
REALLY SICK (TERRY)*



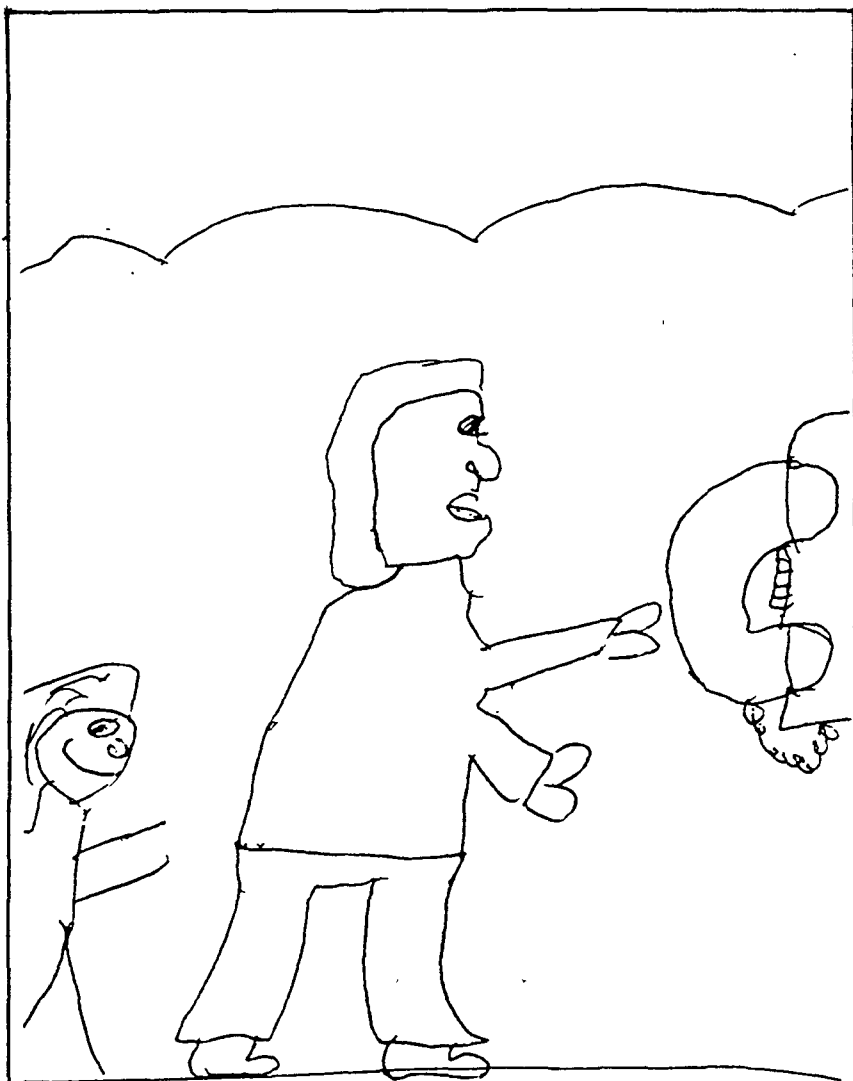


DRAWING 49 MAGNET MONSTER (TERRY)





DRAWING 51 MAGNET MOUTH (TERRY)



*DRAWING 52 MAGNET TELEPHONE
(TERRY)*

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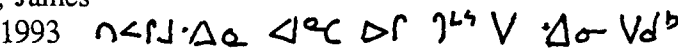
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