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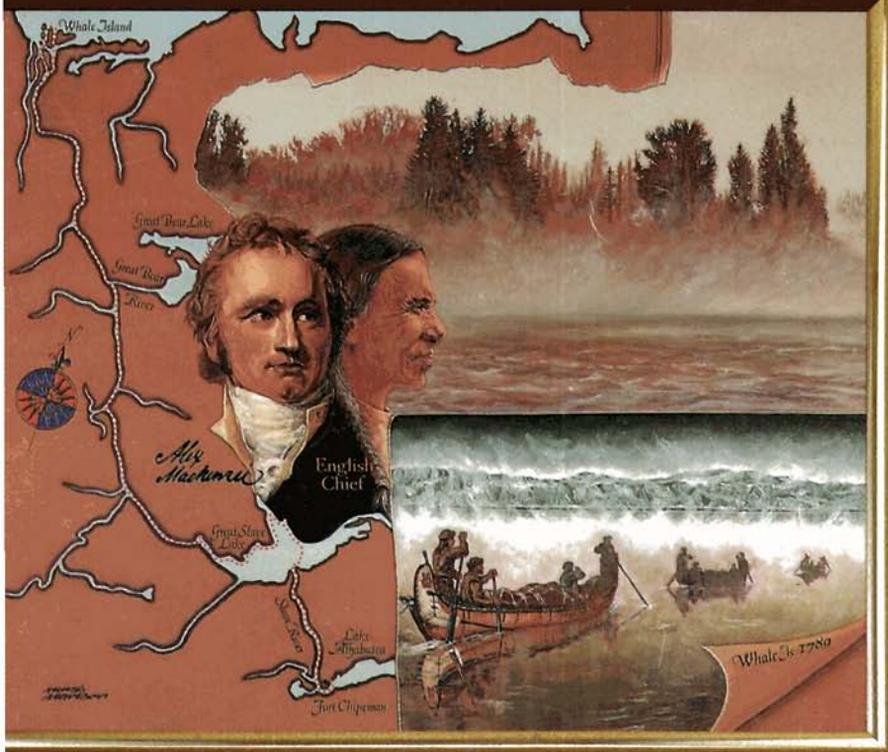
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ABOUT CANADA

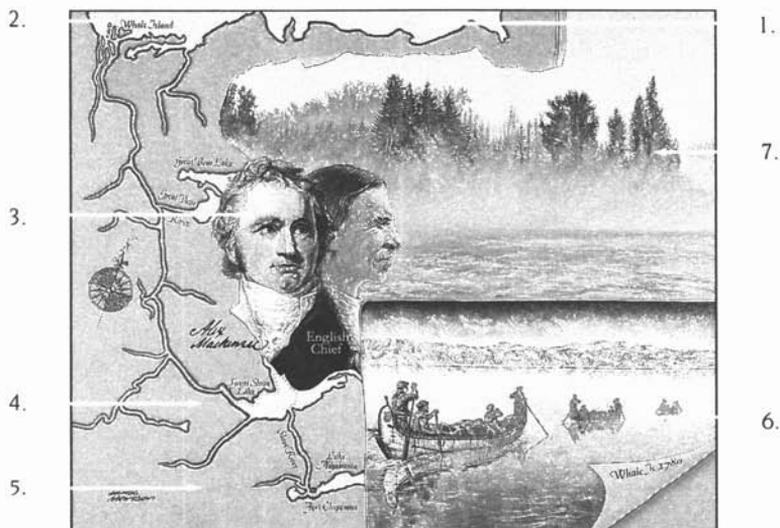
THE CANADIAN NORTH AND ITS CONCEPTUAL REFERENTS



Canada

Artist's Notes

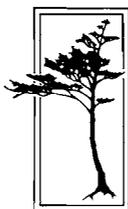
1. Alexander MacKenzie's discovery of the western sector of the Arctic Ocean. During his search for a northwest trading route on behalf of the Northwest Trading Company, he opened the northwest Arctic for future explorers to study and research the Native peoples along the northern hemisphere of Canada and the snow-clad land masses (which the rest of Canada seems to be akin to by the peoples of other countries).
2. Whale Island, named by MacKenzie. He was unaware at the time of having been the first explorer to reach the Arctic on the west.
3. Alex MacKenzie, the foremost explorer of his time, and his guide and interpreter English Chief, a Chipewyan Indian who, along with Matonabbee, had travelled on Hearne's exploration of coppermines.
4. Map of MacKenzie's journey to the Arctic. MacKenzie's canoe expedition left Fort Chipewyan on the morning of June 3, 1789 and returned on the afternoon of September 12, 1789.
5. MacKenzie was one of the very few explorers to complete expeditions without encountering violence, loss of life or serious injury, both within his group and with the many Indian and Native tribes on his routes. His northern expedition made such immense and basic contributions to geographical knowledge and to that of the peoples he encountered that the interest is perpetual, and the importance to present-day researchers self-evident.
6. Inset of the area of the Arctic as MacKenzie was approaching a snow-covered island under cold conditions (he later named it Whale Island). This area was also shrouded in mist upon his landing. Along with the Eskimos that he camped with in the northern area, he found an Inuit camp on Whale Island.
7. The background is rapids near the area where Mackenzie's expedition ventured from and ultimately returned. Possibly this is the view he had on his return in the late fall, with the mists over the rapids.





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THE CANADIAN NORTH AND ITS CONCEPTUAL REFERENTS

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The opinions expressed in this series are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect federal government policy or opinion.

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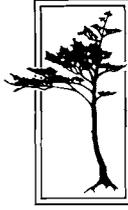
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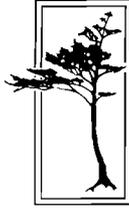


Preface

To promote a broader understanding of Canada, the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada is publishing "About Canada," a series of works dealing with the country and its people.

This booklet is part of the series produced by the Canadian Studies Directorate and written by prominent researchers under the auspices of the Association for Canadian Studies.

We are confident that distribution of these publications, which are available free of charge from the Department of the Secretary of State, will help bring about a greater appreciation of Canada, its inhabitants and its distinctive characteristics and will instill in Canadians an even greater sense of national pride.



Note on the Author

*Louis-Edmond Hamelin, who specializes in the North, was a professor in the Department of Geography at Laval University from 1951 to 1978. He founded the Centre d'études nordiques [Northern Studies Centre] in 1961 and continued to serve as Director until 1972. He sat as a member of the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories in Yellowknife from 1971 to 1975, and was Rector of the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières from 1978 to 1983. He is also the author of **Le Périglaciaire par l'image/illustrated Glossary of Periglacial Phenomena** (1967) and **Canadian Nordicity** (1975). Dr. Hamelin has won numerous honours and awards, including the Order of Canada in 1974.*

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Louis-Edmond Hamelin

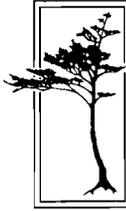
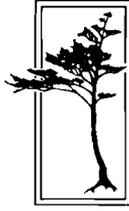


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Résumé

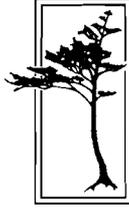
In order to determine how the non-Native population views the Canadian North, we shall explore four avenues: terminology, perception, circumpolar factors, and habitability. This approach is taken in all three sections of the text.

The first part deals with studies of the North. Macronordology shows that the Canadian North is still subject to European concepts. Evidence of this may be found in the law of the sea applied to the Arctic Archipelago (or Northern Cone) and in Aboriginal claims. Until recently, "nordic" meant only "Scandinavian."

In the second part, a geographic index helps define the North, delimit its boundaries (70 per cent of the country lies in the North) and subdivide the vast sub-Arctic and Arctic region (Middle North, Far North, Extreme North). Further, northern values are used to draw comparisons between the nordicity of the seven northern provinces and that of the two territories, and between the nordicity of Northern Canada as a whole and that of other high-latitude countries.

Finally, the author establishes links between the perception of the North and economic development by examining artistic production, territoriality, political structures, big business and defence. He recalls the five main developmental perceptions in light of various components of normative nordicity.

The Canadian North (approximately 400,000 inhabitants) could be the focus of a national effort.



Introduction

Remembering the Thousand Years of Viking Voyages in North America

The North,* that vast upper portion of the northern hemisphere, may be approached in different ways. In this paper the thematic approach will be favoured, with four major dimensions.

We will first pursue our continuing concern for the meaning of terms and things. The word "north" has evolved greatly from its use in mathematics and geography by eastern Mediterranean thinkers; it has come to express more than just one of the cardinal directions or an astronomical concept. The North was seen as a specific space, a region located more or less in proximity to the Arctic pole. This territory, once taken to mean solely the European portion of the "frigid" area, was finally extended to include all of the higher circumpolar latitudes. To understand the contemporary North, it would seem essential to trace the ancient development of the word and the concept. This conceptual background, the result of light cast by more than one discipline, leads to a recognition of the outlines of a certain "specialty language" (*Northern world,* Middle North**).

Secondly, the quality of northernness, or "nordicity,"* (1965) is not restricted to geography which, in traditional fashion, would regard the cold regions as following a thematic continuum from rock to urban area. Here, the framework draws on two major sources: the factual and the intellectual, photographable facts and pure ideas, the visible landscape and ideological representations — in short, the real and the imaginary. Such an approach, partly phenomenological, might appear inadmissible to those for whom the Arctic expresses only the harshest reality, as in "ships

Note: Asterisks () refer the reader to the glossary at the end of the paper.*

wrecked on the ice packs" or "gone, never to return." The inhabited North is a human adventure, and man's every presence illustrates in one form or another a degree of fiction. "The northern land has a soul," according to Dene* politician James Wah-Shee.

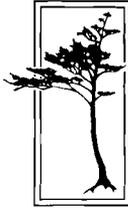
This paper makes another departure from other writings of its type. Canadian norths are not defined exclusively within national borders; this does not leave them without any specificity. In Canada, curiously but certainly, what is "north" owes a great deal to polarology* elsewhere. The first Native peoples* known to Europeans evoked images of Siberian features, so much so that the Eskimo* kidnapped by Frobisher in the 16th century passed for an Asian Russian in Europe. The first Whites in the Canadian North,* the Irish (?), the Vikings, and then the Portuguese (before Columbus), came from the "old countries," and brought with them the intellectual dimensions of those countries. Also, the disheartening descriptions of maritime Labrador as "an indescribable floating mass of frozen snow" (Corte-Réal, 1501) and the land-mass of Labrador as "the land God gave to Cain" (Cartier, 1534) were an extension of the polar imagination of the earliest ages of humanity.

In fact, Europe was not seeking out the Canadian North for its own merits, but was solely interested in the country that counted at that time; China, on the real continent, Asia. The Canadian North, little known in comparison to Norden,* began its modern history pledged to distant ambitions: from the outset, the notion of this awkward continent was a by-product. The discovery of "northern Canada's" Northwest Passage also came about in this way. Other "Norths" are still the dream of Canadian planners: Danish navigation through the ice, the *Alaska Settlement Act* (1971), *Greenland Home Rule* (1979) and even the Soviet Union's "territorial production complex" have inspired them on occasion.

Whether viewed historically or in contemporary terms, Canada's nordicity is as much circumpolar as it is strictly domestic.

Finally, the northern world has long been inhabited, if we include eastern Siberia, homeland of those who were to cross the Bering Strait and who were probably the ancestors of the American Native peoples. At present there are apparently 12 million people living within the entire polar zone, whose borders we will define further in this paper. Approximately 70 per cent of these northern people live in the USSR, and 15 per cent in Fenno-Scandia;* the rest are distributed among Alaska, Canada, Iceland and Greenland. Although Canada contains only about 2.5 per cent of the total population of the zone, we will deal with the territory in reference to all of its human population.

This fourfold dimension — conceptual, global, international and human — is the basis of this paper, which will be presented in three parts: first, a review of the development of northern knowledge; second, a territorial definition, using a recent index enabling comparisons to be drawn between the situation of Canada and that of other cold countries; and lastly, an assessment of the intellectual aspects of nordicity in terms of development paths in recent decades.

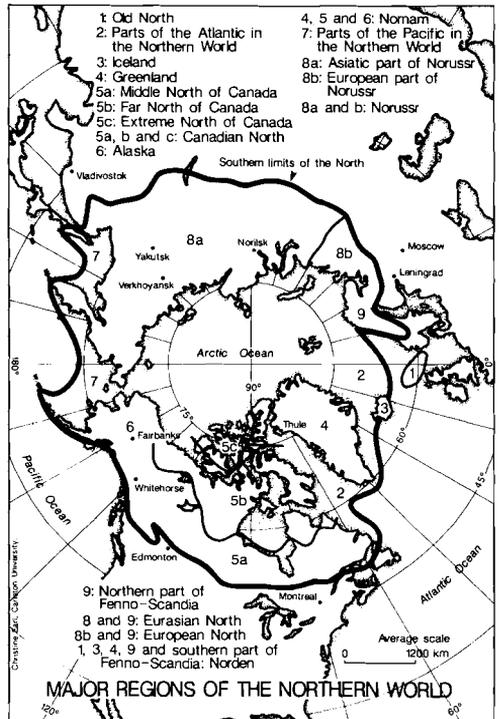


I Development of Nordology

The term "nordology,"* coined in the past decade, refers to the study of cold regions in northern latitudes, a study which in fact enables "nordicity" (the state or quality of "northernness" or being "north") to be grasped. There are two levels of nordology: *micronordology*, which is devoted to gaining knowledge of a singular thing — fact, place, family, closed community, or limited problem; and *macronordology*, which, based on the light cast by several disciplines, should lead to a comprehensive understanding of the immense complexities of the North and even of the North as a whole, and perhaps to a theory of nordology. While in the past the majority of researchers chose the first category, an increasing number of recent studies has been situated between the extremes of these two levels. In spite of the progress of the last century (first international polar year, 1883), nordology is far from having covered its subject; also, polar regions still refer to an "elusive concept."

Our principal sources come from our own research, along with analysis of documents, accounts of explorations, cartographic evidence, historical interpretations and interpretations of literary and artistic works, all of which invite reflection on the interrelationships among geographic blocks of the zonal North.

The Canadian North may well be regarded as a modern area in economic terms, but it is nevertheless subject to very old concepts, older even than recognition of the North as a distinctive region. Thus we must go back further in time than the last war, further than the exploits of Amundsen



and Perry, further than the military expeditions of Le Moyne d'Iberville in Hudsonia.* In reality, the history of the concept of "north" encompasses the azimuths of humanity, from the paleolithic period in Europe. The "North" is not merely a point on the compass; it has filled our minds for thousands of years, and it has been referred to by the word *north* itself at least since the time of the *Nortmannus* in the ninth century.

A. Ancient Mediterranean Attitudes Toward the North

The present-day North, whether European, Soviet or North American, is subject to two types of exaggerated images in the minds of non-Native peoples. On the one hand, it is seen as a promised land, the ancient passage to the fabled Orient, a place of enrichment, planning and personal development; and on the other hand, as a land of failure, hell, non-living, a gulag. These contradictory emotions were to be fed by several contingencies. However, to present these views as being in opposition is somewhat academic, as the second perspective has triumphed by far. Among the major causes of the predominantly negative view is the referent "temperate country," with no ice and no polar night, but rather with pleasant temperatures, trees, "fruits of the land" and "civilization." Compared with these advantages, the North would seem not very attractive.

Zonal construction of the educated ancients

Although the Bible, in Genesis 4:22, speaks of a nomadic people of the North, before the Flood, it was the Greeks who produced one of the oldest literatures on northern countries. This half-conceptual, half-descriptive heritage still influences us today.

The Greek perception of the North was based on four kinds of sources. The first came from an astronomical vision of a

round earth: several centuries before Christ, Pythagoreans had identified a frigid cap between each temperate band and the poles. Second, the logical exploitation of this geographic structure filled the North with notions of remoteness, cold, wind (*boreas*), ice, storms, danger, bears (*arctos*), and night — in short, inhospitability. Third, the sky, in the opposite direction from the south and equidistant from the Occident and the Orient, revealed a seven-star constellation (*Septentrio*), the last star of which would be the polar star that was to guide sailors and adventurers. Lastly, the ancients took into account the outcome of heroic voyages. The map drawn by Eratosthenes in the third century B.C. showed the island of Thule, situated somewhere between Norway, Iceland and Scotland, and hence well to the south of the present-day Thule in Greenland (Map 1). Ptolemy's contribution (second century A.D.) remains more doubtful, as he is generally known to us through the *Tabulae Modernae*, corrections made at the end of the Middle Ages; he apparently still pointed to a *terra incognita* north of the 65th parallel, that is, near the Arctic Circle. Tacitus spoke of the Saami or Lapps, no doubt based on travellers' accounts of them. The basic words, both symbolic and scientific — *boreal*, *circle*, *Arctic*, *septentrional*, and *polar* — would survive in parallel up to the present. The term *North* seemed to be missing, save for the possible connection between the roots *bor* and *nor*, given their phonetic and semantic resemblance.

These contributions by the Greeks would have several lasting influences. For example, zonal arrangement would lose its subjection to latitude; the idea would be taken up repeatedly in regionalizations: Arctic/sub-Arctic, Far North*/Middle North* Inuit*/Dene* territories (Mackenzie), Inuit/Cree territories (Nouveau-Québec), permanent/seasonal floating ice, and continuous/discontinuous permafrost.

The Meso-European pragmatism of the Romans

The Greeks' intellectual nordology influenced Rome's, but the new era would be somewhat hyponordic. Although Agricola made several voyages by ship to northern Europe, the Roman Empire was primarily land-based and centred on the south. Rome was interested in territories inhabited by sedentary populations, less difficult to control than wandering tribes. "Roman culture only took into consideration the part of the known world which was deemed useful" (Chevallier in Rey, 1984). Contrary to the Vikings who were to come, the Roman world lived south of the North. The Mediterranean contribution to vocabulary was modest as well; the Latin language had few if any words for *north*. It was through borrowing that a Roman province in the northeast part of the Empire (near Austria) was called *Noricum*, a Latin form, in the end, of a Celticized Illyrian root.

Roman culture is not absent from contemporary northern countries, however. Greek-Latin etymological dictionaries connect the notions of ill omen, north, left (with respect to the rising sun), sinister and unfavourable. Rome's contribution appears more clearly in the field of navigation: with its national interests in the Mediterranean, Rome developed the concept of *mare clausum*, *mare nostrum*, closed sea or sea subject to one nation. It is this notion that the USSR applies along its Arctic shores and that Canada is to have recognized within its polar Northern Cone.* Later, antipollution and operational maritime belts would extend the responsibilities of riparian countries. At the other extreme is the idea of *mare liberum*, or open sea, which developed greatly during the 17th century and provided one of the objectives for the future Law of the Sea.

Roman society was made up of groups of citizens with different rights and social customs; under Roman law, slaves were classed as things. Plebeians had to struggle for a long time before enjoying improved

status. In the same spirit there were nomadic clans, conquered or unconquered, living in loosely-organized societies (or at any rate not organized along the lines of the dominant countries), and fitting the concepts of "indigenous" or "barbaric," an idea that would be developed in the era of low Latin. These disparaged peoples were automatically unable to enjoy the rights of groups who assumed the power to grant those rights. Was this not a Mediterranean cultural heritage that would go on to justify many attitudes adopted by "discoverer" nations toward both American and Eurasian Native peoples?

B. Men of Iron in Wooden Ships, from the Middle Ages

Until the Middle Ages, the Canadian North had no existence other than the basic one of its first occupants. Things would change radically beginning with the sixth century (Brendan?). The Vikings of western Europe would sail to the west as well as the east (F. Durand, 1965). Between the 15th and 19th centuries, a number of other European migrations would take place. Traffic and discovery would win out over the objective of intense settlement of northern lands.

Modern times would begin with the greatest confusion over territory in all of human history. Europe, in looking for a shorter sea route to Asia than the one around Africa, crossed the Atlantic and encountered, first, insular lands (Iceland, West Indies, Anticosti), and then very extensive lands, *terra firma*, mainlands. Unfortunately for "Sinomaniacs," these façades and prefaçades formed the initially unsuspected continent of America.

International policy (the discovery of America in 1492, Roman treaty of the following year, correction of this treaty) implicitly recognized two stages to this American barrier: a southern, tropical band coveted by Spain and Portugal, and a northern band disputed by Portugal, the

Netherlands, France and Great Britain. Within the cold zone, unforeseen lands were regarded as Asian peninsulas; hence the first rapids of the St. Lawrence River became the *Lachine Rapids*; Native peoples were automatically given the generic name of *Indians*; those living in the woods, in the strict sense, were *savages*. The error affected every aspect of discovery. Every body of water — the St. Lawrence, Hudson's Bay, Davis Strait, and even the estuaries of the United States' Atlantic coast — were seen as leading to the Asian paradise. This was "northern Europe's China syndrome" (Saladin d'Anglure in Rey, 1984).

What is of interest to us here is not this immense misunderstanding in itself, the mistaken otherness of which America was victim, but rather the very places where these blind efforts took place. Theoretically, the Canadian North offered a shortcut in the mad race to the Orient, fuelled by multinational competition. Toward 1540, it was imagined that this cold barrier was doubly likely to be the gateway to the fabled East: either by way of a strait around the top of the continent, the "waie of the Northe" described by the English in the 16th century, or by a series of connected seas, described as *North* or *West* seas, whose fanciful shapes were likely to fulfill every myth for scientists who knew very little about them.

This sort of nordology by exploration, which was new for Europe, where the Viking tradition seemed no longer to exist, would nonetheless confirm the ancients' knowledge of climate. In spite of the seafarers' bravery, ice prevented their small wooden boats from crossing the American continent by the North. It was only during the Second World War, in fact, that a ship (the RCMP's *St. Roch*) took the Northwest Passage from one ocean to the other forth and back.

The cartographic language of earlier times expressed the hardships involved by terms such as *mare congelatum* (1427), *mare glaciale* (1595), *eis land*, *Noort Zee* (1598) and *France*

arctique. Expeditions using an elementary technique current in times of zonal cooling would contribute greatly to reaffirm the ancient *frigore inhabitabilis* that some conquering peoples would have liked to forget.

The adventures and accounts of explorers contained their own contradictions. While it was considered good form to kidnap Natives for the amusement of European society and for proof that land had in fact been reached, these very acts of piracy proved that the North was settled to some extent.

C. Precedence of Native Peoples and Colonization

Man's more remote penetrations into the North preceded by far the arrival, toward the 15th century, of those who called themselves "discoverers." This is the message left from scientific studies by Quaternary period archeologists and prehistory researchers (J. L. Giddings). Settlements of Europe, Asia and America since the *Wurm*, *Zyrianka* or *Wisconsin* glaciation are partly known (Kozłowski in Rey, 1984). These settlements were intermittent, and left "corridors" for nomads; population movements generally took place northward, following replacement of glacial conditions by periglacial, plant ("greening") or animal environments, and by progressive or regressive adaptation of techniques. Biogeographic zones did not appear as fixed as they do today, thus discouraging diachronous comparisons. During the interpleniglacial periods, cultural transfers from coastal Siberia to Alaska, and then to Canada, took place. Human settlement of *Nornam** at the time was lagging behind Asia and northern Europe.

To a great extent, the history of early migrations remains hidden; of the tens of thousands of probable sites in the Canadian North alone, only a few thousand have been subjected to extensive digs, rescue surveys or simple location surveys.

Nevertheless, the fact that certain enclaves are still occupied by Native peoples poses a most difficult problem for contemporary northern countries: that of Aboriginal rights over ancestral lands and waters. The "contact period" should be studied in detail, by region, time period and people; this sort of sound requirement also goes beyond our objective.

Political competition in Europe was not to favour autonomy for the American nomads who already inhabited these cold regions, and they were to fall under the domination of powerful temperate countries, with no opportunity to consent. In the official history of Canada, the first inhabitants do not form part of the founding peoples; the fact of precedence did not count for anything. Symbolically, it was a triumph of *Kigavik* (the bird of prey) over *Iqaluk* (the fish), as in the painting of Kananginak (1976). Those who were already on the land were denied any title to that land, and this permitted the European settlers to consider the land as vacant, appropriate it and then consolidate the land grab by means of new cartography and place naming, the only official versions.

We can see in this attitude the reflection of an ideology of a "superior" society, in which no consideration could be given to individuals not living within the structures of monarchy and true religion. This systemic low regard for Native peoples was accompanied by appropriate language: *pagan, cannibal, savage, barbarian, infidel, vagabond*. The people on the receiving end of these epithets, however, regarded themselves as no less than "men," *Inuit* or *Innu*, perhaps the only men. It is hard to imagine a greater semantic distance! European and post-European depreciation of Native peoples was perhaps an expression of the old disdain of sedentary peoples for nomads, people of letters for practitioners of the oral tradition, or "men of bread for men of meat" (Rémi Savard).

Moreover, this serious domination was not

decided between residents and those arriving, but only within a circle of nations foreign to the Native peoples: Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, and others.

At that time, in Canada at any rate, lands containing forests and mines were ostensibly to be declared as belonging to the King, then to the Crown. Domination extended to every field; the more private field of the soul "benefited" from the Papal Bull of 1537, which, after much discussion, granted Native peoples the right to be converted; and the Jesuits, before the Oblates, devoted themselves to the task, following the work of the great monks of Ireland and Iceland with other types of Christians several centuries before.

This is no unnecessary digression in our remarks; it enables us to better understand the Inuit Zebedee Nungak, who stated, "We are not going to go around trying to prove that we own the land; it is up to the people who are invading it to try to disprove our ownership." (*Northern Perspectives*, 1987.) Moreover, the Yukon and Northwest Territories condemned the idea of two founding peoples that underlies the Meech Lake accord (1987). Thus there are direct links between the cavalier manner of the early explorers, and even that of contemporary entrepreneurs, and the hard-to-resolve political situation today.

In Canada, present-day non-Native peoples seem to have to repent for the original sin of the discoverers; history would seem to have left us a tainted gift, since our ancestors were already practicing the "take now, pay later" philosophy. Within the northern world, a sort of differential historical sedimentation has predetermined a good part of contemporary policy programs. Even the sparsely-populated North reflects the way in which humanity has accommodated itself.

D. Diachrony of the Term *North*

Several terms have borne witness to the preceding development. The term *north*,

for which appropriate forms are found in both of Canada's official languages, is of unknown origin (*Oxford*). In spite of this etymological embarrassment, a hypothesis on the development of the word can be suggested. In a planetary and age-old view of things, the term *north* developed along two major axes, out of phase in time and perpendicular in space.

a) The first axis, north-south and south-north, connecting the Mediterranean and Scandinavian worlds in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, could have been translated by three phenomena. Before Rome, parallel syntagms, or word groups, using various trunks, were apparently used to describe proximal or distal northern situations. Next, several terms for "north" came into the language, either newly created or by simple adaptation of Scandinavian words. Lastly, dissemination of this polar protolanguage occurred with new southern or Hanseatic colonization. Hence, Romance and Germanic languages were the major languages in the world to use the lexeme "north." The known cold portion of this first axis was connected with one level only of the *Near North** (in contemporary language).

b) Beginning with the era of the Vikings, and particularly with the Renaissance, the term *north* developed along a second axis, in a direction described as "east-west by north," extending from Europe to both Asia and to America. Accordingly, the *Nordsetuferdir* (voyages) of the Vikings resulted in American districts named *Nordseta* (Oleson, 1963); similarly, the British *Northwest* was able to disembark at the Canadian Mackenzie, and a *Nordvík*, of Norse appearance, reached eastern Siberia. This new axis also penetrated further into the true North and, in going beyond the Main Ecumene, brought recognition to at least two areas described as *Middle North* and *Far North*, a recent scientific promotion of lexical units taken from the common language.

Although the northern substance of the second axis is greater than that of the first, the vocabulary was to remain limited by the imprecise meaning, low in nordicity, of previous terms; it had become difficult to describe regions of acute northern conditions and zoned on the basis of a language established with a view to low polaricity and low heterogeneity. Adjustment of the vocabulary has not been completed even today; competition among basic words continues, even among scientists whose writings are variously entitled *Resources and Dynamics of the Boreal Zone* (1983), *Unveiling the Arctic* (1984), *Managing Canada's North* (1984), or *Canada and Polar Science* (1987). Recently, adventurers in language have sought greater rationalization of terms and have suggested some degree of standardization. Neologisms have appeared: *Norden* for Scandinavia,* Finland and Iceland; *North North America* abbreviated to *Nornam*. *Nordic*, which had been an exclusively European term, provides an example of a new encounter between a descriptor and the reality of the situation. +

The term *nordique* in French was a very late arrival when compared to the corresponding linguistic forms and functions in Icelandic (time of the Vikings) and English (in the 12th century). In Quebec toward the mid-20th century, *nordique* appeared in the scientific literature to designate a direction or area vaguely northern. In France, the word took up seven lines of small print in the *Robert* dictionary (1963), but there was no separate entry for it. For Dupré (1972), *nordique* meant only "Scandinavian." In our dictionary of the North (1978), there are about ten entries under the heading. In addition to previous meanings, uniquely European, three main semantic additions have been proposed:

- i) circumpolarization of the reference territory (meaning extended to regions other than Scandinavia);
- ii) specialization of thematic content (the word would refer to a minimal content of geographical nordicity);

iii) extension to the groups of individuals designated.

Based on these logical adjustments, we may now assess how "northern" ("nordique"), or how little "northern," the Scandinavian countries themselves are, countries which until now have been the only ones entitled to the term; accordingly, we discover that spaces such as Canada, which had scarcely any access to the term, have more real nordicity than those countries from whom the term was not withheld. This freeing of the term has greatly facilitated the literal and figurative description of numerous "cold" things: establishments, institutions, positions, groups, and so on. The *Grand Robert* French dictionary (1985) has lexicalized part of this language development from Canadian French.

In addition to its considerable volume (over 1,000 units), the "northern" vocabulary brings together groups of useful terms, not only morphologically with affixes, compound words and syntagms, but in particular semantically. The recent arrival of a master term, *nordicity*, and two dozen or so subtypes already, has given body to this vocabulary previously left to itself, which had competed with other "cold" trunks such as *boreal*, *Arctic*, *polar* and *septentrional*.

Now, the French *nord* appears just as highly developed, if not more so, than the Anglo-American *north* and the Scandinavian *nor*. The whole of "northern" language, while still incomplete, not highly lexicalized, and, except for a few terms, not yet given offi-

cial status, displays several features of a network, that is, of an organized linguistic apparatus. It enables us to describe what is pertinent to a megaregion of the globe, and to do so with more fine distinctions than previously. It serves as a basis for the necessary complements.

"Northern" language, as shown, has extended its temporal, spatial and institutional capabilities: from upstream downstream, it joins the *Old North*, of which is known only the date of its disappearance, inaccurate at that, to the present-day psychological North of committed northerners; * in space, it extends, in varying degrees of intensity, to each of the large cold areas of the northern latitudes; "north" has also entered into the administrative terminology of government departments, private-sector firms and research.

In short, *nordology* teaches us, among other things, that events, perceptions and terms from Greece, the Roman Empire and western Europe have had direct and indirect resonances in North America. Accordingly, the majority of concepts current in the Canadian North either began their career before the political entity of Canada was formed, or afterward and as a result of outside influences.

+ *Translator's Note: The following comments regarding the development of nordique as a generic adjective are translated from the original French, and may not necessarily apply to the same extent to the English adjective nordic.*



Conclusion

This presentation of the Canadian North owes a great deal to the notion of nordicity, which may be broken down into a series of singular, pragmatic concepts:

- a) a multidisciplinary subject of study, nordicity revealing all types and levels of "north;"
- b) perceptions producing a very rich range of intellectual nordicities;
- c) artistic and aesthetic representations (literature, art, architecture, place names);
- d) economic activities (lifestyle, heavy industry, military installations) suited to some degree to ecological requirements;
- e) normative scales and rules under development;
- f) government intervention for reparation and assistance to Native peoples (lands in different categories, constitutional conferences);
- g) nationalist policies aimed at greater Canadianization of the Arctic Archipelago.

The North isn't the same any more. Today's cariboo can be found walking

around with a radio now — that's a transmitter attached by a biologist to track the animal at a distance! What a change from the days when estimates of the herds came from the inner turmoil of a sweating shaman in a *Chichemanitou ouitchchouap* (House of the Great Spirit). The polar bear and the Canada goose are also part of the new club of anonymous informers.

The preceding research has attempted to testify to the slow rate of change in certain longstanding issues (Aboriginal rights, aversion to the North, biogeographical zones, domination over nature, competition among the major powers, parallel languages) which have retained a surprising degree of relevance.

Nordology, not a science as such, but a set of methods of knowledge applicable to a region, has contributed greatly to revealing the territorial aspects of the northern polar world: a land/sea with its physiographic components, its resource stages, and its inhabitants. Simply recognizing the North casts aside the concept of a "useful Canada" once located solely on the southern fringe of the country; cultures, military outposts and hydro-electric power stations in the Middle North attest to the usefulness of the pioneering edges of the country.

The northern zone cannot be taken as being only natural; one of the contributions of this study has precisely consisted in showing the existence of concepts, notions, and ideas in all types of planning, whether the work of Native peoples or of others. The total north thus includes a rich, dynamic and integrated combination of spatial norths and intellectual norths.

No doubt, with the appropriate tools and evaluation scales, discrepancies, irregularities or a lack of adjustment between the real and fictional worlds are discovered. While "undesirable repercussions" have marred many a large project, it must still be acknowledged that even intellectual

undernordicity drew upon good faith. Moreover, taking care of such an extensive, harsh and fragmented North has always been and still is a heavy burden for such a sparsely-populated nation.

Canadians in the South still have much to learn about the North, from the North, and through personal reflection; does an Inuit not build his igloo from the *inside*? Canada itself cannot provide its first full definition before all of its northern dimensions have been acknowledged as an integral part of it. We might end by reiterating that the North should become and remain a "national effort" (Symons, 1987).