Environmental Scan of
Indigenous Toponymic Activities in Canada

Geographical Names Board of Canada and
Archipel Research and Consulting

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous toponymy (the study of place names) is of great importance to Indigenous communities across Turtle Island[1] (North America). Place names are central in Indigenous cultures because they are reflections of creation stories, history and teachings, and markers of navigational information, environmental and ecological knowledge. They can convey the relationship between land and its inhabitants, or tell of places of danger, beauty, or gathering. Indigenous people across the country are currently working to identify, research, compile and restore their local traditional place names.

Unfortunately, the impacts of historic and ongoing colonization and assimilation policies like the Indian Act and residential schools have led to the erasure of Indigenous place names in many areas of Canada and have created barriers to their restoration. Centuries of land dispossession, remapping and renaming have resulted in the loss of countless traditional place names that are intrinsically linked to the environment around them.

This report seeks to identify a sample of the current and completed Indigenous toponymic activities in Canada. As the findings will indicate, these activities are being undertaken by Indigenous individuals, communities, organizations, and governments, as well as non-Indigenous organizations working in partnership with Indigenous communities. This research project did not ask participants to share Indigenous knowledge pertaining to the origin or meaning of place names. Oftentimes, specific details or histories pertaining to Indigenous place names is considered sacred knowledge that is held by communities with care and ceremony and asking for access to this information would violate the research protocols of Indigenous communities. Instead, the goal of this project was to ascertain the state of toponymic activities in Indigenous communities in Canada and the steps that are being undertaken to reclaim Indigenous place names.

To undertake this work, the Geographical Names Board of Canada (GNBC), through Natural Resources Canada, engaged Archipel Research and Consulting Inc. (Archipel). The GNBC is the national committee responsible for the standards and policies relating to place names. It is comprised of members from each province and territory, as well as several government departments and Indigenous advisors, working together as a multi-jurisdictional national body. Archipel worked to collect and analyze input from Indigenous and settler individuals involved in place naming activities, as well as Knowledge Keepers, language speakers, and Elders with perspectives on Indigenous toponyms. The results have been organized into regional profiles, key themes and a taxonomy of projects in order to better understand the communities that are engaged in these naming activities, and their familiarity and interest in working with the GNBC.

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[1] The term Turtle Island is often used to describe what is commonly known as North America and originates from the Lenape, Iroquois, Anishinaabe, and other Woodland Nations. Over time, many Nations across Canada have come to use the term 'Turtle Island', though it should be noted that not all Nations, including the Inuit, do.

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this research was to complete an environmental scan on the state of Indigenous toponymic (place naming) activities in Canada and identify current and completed place naming activities undertaken by Indigenous communities, organizations and governments, as well as other organizations who are working in partnership with Indigenous peoples.

This work was based in Indigenous research methodologies with five key principles guiding this research:

- a commitment to the use of Indigenous endonyms (the self-designated name for themselves)
- the acknowledgement that Indigenous geographies can be consistent with, or differ from provincial and territorial boundaries (for example, Sikniktuk and Kespek in the case of the Mi'kmaq communities of New Brunswick)
- an understanding of the cultural and political organization of Indigenous communities in each of the designated regions
- an awareness and sensitivity to the diversity of Indigenous Nations and reliance on adaptive and dynamic approaches and protocols for engaging with Knowledge Keepers and Elders within communities
- the importance of consent to knowledge sharing for Indigenous Nations

This research, in accordance with the literature on Indigenous research ethics, was committed to maintaining accountability. To strengthen this accountability, a participatory approach was applied, meaning that the project was a collaborative process in which research participants were considered to have an equal interest in the project.

Of particular importance was the attentiveness to differing protocols for obtaining research sanction in different communities. Historically, and still today, Indigenous peoples are exploited through research. Therefore, committing to obtaining prior and informed consent with all participants while simultaneously recognizing the desires of each participant and community to protect Indigenous knowledge was key. This research approached the collection of knowledge with awareness of these complex social and historical dynamics and of the immense diversity of Indigenous Nations. This research was conducted in ways that acknowledged these differences by being adaptive, reflective, and evolving.

To complete this, interviews were conducted with individuals involved in Indigenous toponymic activities in Canada and researchers compiled a list of secondary sources. With a low response rate from those involved in Indigenous toponymic activities, additional interviews were

conducted with language speakers, Knowledge Keepers and other community members with insights into Indigenous place names.

The interviews took place between November 2, 2020 and April 30, 2021 and ranged between 30-60 minutes in length. Interviews were conducted in a structured format with some open-ended questions. The interview guide was revised for use with language speakers and community members with insights into Indigenous place names. Participation was voluntary and prior and informed consent was obtained in advance of each interview in writing. Each interview was documented through an audio recording and notes were detailed in a separate document.

Interview questions (Appendix A & B) were sectioned off into the following areas of focus:

- Details about the Indigenous communities/Nations involved
- Toponymic project details
- Purpose of engaging in toponymic initiatives
- Experiences with the GNBC and future involvement

The findings of this report are also based on a review of existing public or private research on toponymic activities for Indigenous people. From compiling and analyzing the data collected through interviews and secondary sources, profiles of toponymic activities were developed as well as broad conclusions of the state of toponymic activities among Indigenous communities in Canada.

Recruitment and participants

Potential participants were identified through research of current and completed naming activities in the past ten years undertaken by Indigenous communities, organizations and governments, as well as other organizations who are working in partnership with Indigenous peoples with respect to place names. In total, there were 193 potential participants identified through online research and through researchers' personal networks and knowledge of Indigenous toponymic activities. In Phases 1 and 2, there were 180 potential participants identified based on their involvement in place naming projects. Phase 3 identified an additional 13 individuals for their insights into Indigenous place names as language speakers or Knowledge Keepers. After efforts were made to reach out to the list of potential participants, a total of 31 participants were interviewed, 17 of them were Indigenous and 14 were non-Indigenous. This study included Elders, Knowledge Keepers, community members and other Indigenous and settler people involved in Indigenous toponymic activities.

Province/Territory	Number of Interviews
Prince Edward Island	2
New Brunswick	1
Newfoundland and Labrador	0
Nova Scotia	1
Atlantic Subtotal	*4*
Quebec	6
Ontario	5
Central Subtotal	*11*
Manitoba	3
Saskatchewan	2
Alberta	2
Prairies Subtotal	*7*
British Columbia	6
West Coast Subtotal	*6*
Northwest Territories	1
Nunavut	2
Yukon	0
Territories Subtotal	*3*
TOTAL	*31*

Limitations

The findings of this study are limited to publicly accessible material available online, academic literature, and content analysis of the interview recordings and researcher notes. There may be many more Indigenous toponymic activities being conducted in communities that are not shared publicly online or through media outlets. Many communities also do not have websites through which they would communicate with members. Notably, Indigenous toponymic activities may also be connected to other community initiatives that are not made public, such as land use planning and sharing traditional knowledge like harvesting sites. Another limitation noted by Archipel was finding available participants in certain regions, notably in the Yukon and Newfoundland and Labrador, as these two jurisdictions are unrepresented in the final list of interviews despite Archipel's best efforts to recruit participants.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review aims to provide a practical and theoretical overview of Indigenous toponymic activities around the world. It demonstrates the historical significance of place names, their erasure through settler colonialism, and how their revitalization can play a vital role in the preservation and resurgence of Indigenous language and culture.

Section 1 explores the Indigenous methodologies which guided this research. This section establishes a research paradigm that honours Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies and ensures that research is conducted according to Indigenous ways of being. This section also includes a necessary exploration of the ethical considerations of conducting research with Indigenous communities. Finally, Section 1 also includes a brief historical overview of the importance of place names to Indigenous cultures – as it relates to environmental and ecological knowledge, navigational information, relationship to land, and language revitalization – as well as a historical overview of settler renaming practices, to demonstrate how this was part of the wider colonial project of assimilation and erasure. This literature forms the basis in which this project is grounded.

Section 2 of this literature review includes a review of scholarly and governmental work broadly related to toponymic activities of Indigenous communities in Canada. It also includes international examples, like the United States and Australia. Finally, Section 3 of this literature review includes a policy review of modern treaties and toponymic provisions, and a section that identifies and reviews any existing public or private research data on the toponymic activities for Indigenous people.

Section 1: Methodological and Historical Overview

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Research involving Indigenous peoples and realities must be grounded in Indigenous methodologies and approaches that respect Indigenous ways of knowing and being. A guiding principle of this is found in Margaret Kovach's foundational book *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.* This work offers a research paradigm that centres Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies and ensures that research is conducted according to Indigenous principles. Specifically, Kovach's work provides an outline of the central facets of Indigenous methodologies, including decolonizing theory, story as method, situating self and culture, Indigenous methods, protocol, meaning-making, and ethics. It overturns the narrative of doing research with Indigenous people according to traditional anthropological methodologies and challenges it with a different methodological paradigm. This work is therefore central to this research.

Additional sources that are vital to understanding how to conduct ethical research alongside Indigenous peoples are the book *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods,* and the article "What is an Indigenous Research Methodology?" both written by Shawn Wilson. Wilson's work is based on his experiences as an Opaskwayak Cree researcher from northern Manitoba and considers the foundational question of Indigenous research studies: what is Indigenous research methodology? The author explores how Indigenous researchers need to expand beyond Western academic paradigms of research because they fail to fully acknowledge the complexities of Indigenous ontologies. In Western methodology, knowledge is understood as something to be gained and that will be owned by the researcher. By contrast, Indigenous methodology is a relationship with all of creation. Using the themes of relationality and relational accountability, Wilson establishes that Indigenous researchers form relationships with their research subjects and ideas, and that this is indivisible from Indigenous ways of being. Thus, research is ceremony because there is accountability to the reciprocal relationships that research is built upon. This, combined with Kovach's work, has guided this research project.

Ethical Considerations for Research with Indigenous Peoples

In addition to understanding the intricacies of Indigenous methodology and research, it is also important to consider their practical application and how this manifests in research ethics. As such, it is important to identify the relevant protocols of engagement, cultural approaches, and requirements of Indigenous Nations based on regions and nations that will be consulted for the project. Marie Battiste, a member of the Potlotek First Nation, explains that respecting the knowledge and teachings of Elders is vital to conducting ethical research with Indigenous peoples.

Of particular interest to this project is the Government of Canada's Panel on Research Ethics Tri-Council Policy Statement on conducting ethical research involving First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples. This chapter was developed with the intention of providing guidance so that non-Indigenous researchers do not take advantage of the Indigenous peoples and communities with which they are doing research. This work emphasizes the rigour and thoroughness needed to protect intellectual property collected during research. As this research was being conducted for a government organization, this research was mindful of the protocols set forth by the TCSP. It is, however, important to recognize that this document was not created with the intention of the overriding pre-existing research protocols of Indigenous Nations. While the TCPS's work is useful, it is only intended to enhance or compliment the work that has already been done by Indigenous communities.

Historical Overview of Settler Naming Practices

Place names can be of great historical and contemporary significance for Indigenous communities. They carry importance in Indigenous cultures because they are reflections of

creation stories, history, teachings, and markers of navigational information, environmental and ecological knowledge. They can convey the relationship between land and its inhabitants, or tell of places of danger, beauty, or gathering. Indigenous place names also communicate traditional knowledge and cultural continuity related to the land, and, according to historian Susan Buggey, can be "key elements in stories passed from one generation to the next to enable them to continue the cultural activities of the group which has occupied an area over a long period of time." In their work "Learning as You Journey: Anishinaabe Perception of Social-ecological Environments and Adaptive Learning" Iain Davidson-Hunt and Fikret Berkes further explain that "place names provide a mental image of how a particular place within the landscape looks, how it is related to other places, what occurred at that place and/or what might be found at the place… [they] did not just mark places, but brought together places in relation to each other linked by paths of travel." Place names are, in short, important expressions of cultural and territorial sovereignty. Today, the revitalization of Indigenous place names can also play an important role in the protection and promotion of Indigenous languages as well as the continuity of culture.

Yet, when European explorers first arrived in North America, they largely adopted the practice of renaming geographical locations based on place names or notable people from their home countries, notably European. Amanda Murphyao and Kelly Black explored this in their article "Unsettling Settler Belonging: (Re)naming and Territory Making in the Pacific Northwest." The authors explain that these place names serve not only as a daily reminder of colonial presence but can also reveal layers of colonial possession and dispossession of a region. Looking specifically at the examples of the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Georgia along Coast Salish territory, the authors demonstrate the transformative potential of Indigenous place re-naming initiatives. Overall, Murphyao and Black's work is relevant to this research because it provides an example of how settler renaming processes erased Indigenous knowledges, and the work that has to be done to unsettle geographic names across Canada.

Furthermore, settler colonial renaming practices need to be understood as an extension of the principle of 'terra nullius' which resulted in the erasure of Indigenous knowledges, languages, and cultures. Renaming practices of settler colonialism also work to legitimize colonial claims to land and resources. Settler names help to give a semblance that non-Indigenous peoples are rightfully occupying these lands and subsequently, that they have a legitimate claim to use the land and resources. In short, it is easier to justify settler presence and resource use on traditional Indigenous lands if the longstanding presence of Indigenous peoples has been erased.

Recognizing the importance of place names, many Indigenous communities have organized in an attempt to reclaim or re-establish traditional place names across Canada. These efforts have taken several forms including negotiations under modern treaties (i.e., Nisga'a Final Agreement) or Land Use Plans (i.e., Thaidene Nëné Agreement).

These efforts have been met with opposition often rooted in a sense of sentimentality for a geographical place's colonial name, or experienced by way of bureaucratic delays.

Section 2: National and International Indigenous Toponymic Activities

This section reviews the scholarly and governmental work that has been done to date on toponymic activities in countries like Canada, the United States, Australia, and through organizations like the United Nations (UN). The findings have been useful to this research as it helps to illustrate the approaches, scope, and processes of place naming projects across the globe.

The most important component of this section is the work that has been done by scholars and governmental organizations in Canada. In addition to the previously mentioned scholarly work completed by MacDougall, Black, Murphyao, Ruck, and Gray, an important resource in this analysis is an interactive map that recognizes Indigenous place names, produced by Natural Resources Canada and released in June 2019. This map was produced in recognition of the UN declaration of 2019 as the Year of Indigenous Languages and featured over 780 geographical places whose official names originate from over 65 Indigenous languages. This map was useful to this research because it provided a clear and concise overview of traditional Indigenous place names across Canada. It is also important to note that the map was produced in partnership with Natural Resources Canada and the federal, provincial and territorial members of the GNBC, demonstrating the commitment of the GNBC to this work.

There has also been similar work that has been completed about toponymic activities in the United States. Notably, Thomas F. Thornton's article "Anthropological Studies of Native American Place Naming," explores various anthropological studies of Indigenous place names in the US. Thornton's work traces the development of toponymic studies, specifically relating to Indigenous place names, from its beginning – including the work of Franz Boas – into more recent years. Thornton, like many of the other scholars included in this review, explains that place names should be seen as important cultural artifacts that carry Indigenous knowledge of histories, languages, lands, and cultures. He concludes by explaining that Indigenous knowledge concerning toponymy tends to be highly localized and, as such, deserves special attention to be preserved.

Looking to the work that has been done in Australia is also important to understanding toponymic activities in Canada. Australia and Canada, both settler colonial nation states colonized by the British, share many similarities in their settlement and mistreatment of Indigenous peoples. A key piece of literature in the study of Indigenous toponymy in Australia is the book "Indigenous and Minority Placenames: Australian and International Perspectives," written by Ian D. Clark, Luise Hercus, Laura Kostanski. Published in 2007, this book is a compilation of papers presented at the Trends in Toponymy Conference and, as such, provides rich insight into a variety of toponymic activities both in Australia and abroad. Notable aspects of

this include a study of land and spirituality in place naming, and how place names inform local Aboriginal languages and worldviews.

Jim Wafer's work provides an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the study of Aboriginal place names can reveal much about the distribution of Aboriginal languages across Australia. Looking specifically at the example of the Upper Hunter Region in New South Wales, Wafer explores how the study of Aboriginal place names tells the history of both war and relationship between Aboriginal peoples. Also of importance in the study of toponymic activities in Australia is Harold Koch and Luise Hercus' book "Aboriginal Placenames: Naming and re-naming the Australian landscape." This book builds upon previous works around the disconnect between Indigenous and settler naming practices, provides an overview of renaming activities, and explores the role of memory in Aboriginal place naming in Australia.

Finally, the UN has also been involved in Indigenous toponymic activities for several years. The "Toponymy Training Manual," published by the UN Group of Experts on Geographical Names, a division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, provides an invaluable resource for understanding the work that has been done on geographic renaming projects across the globe. This report outlines the significance of place names, explaining the changes in power structures they represent. As stated by the report, place names can also tell the histories of political changes and migration. The authors then give an overview of onomastics, including its terminology and etymology, as well as the study of linguistics. Finally, this report includes a bibliography on toponymic sources that has been a useful tool for this study. This document is not only valuable for the vast amount of information presented on the history of toponymic activities throughout the world, but also for its straightforward explanation of relevant terms and etymology of the movement.

Section 3: Policy Review of Modern Treaties

An important aspect of Indigenous toponymic activities in Canada is an exploration of any toponymic provisions that are found in modern treaties. Modern treaties are, by definition, treaties that were signed after 1973, when the Supreme Court of Canada made its decision in Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia. This was notable because it is the Supreme Court decision that first recognized Indigenous rights. The first modern treaty that was signed after this point was the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975. Since then, there have been an additional 25 modern treaties signed between the Canadian Government and Indigenous peoples, which also includes comprehensive land claim agreements. A majority of these modern treaties govern areas in northern Canada – most notably the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement from 1993 – however, a number of them are also found in British Columbia. In the Northwest Territories, the following Indigenous groups have signed land claims: Inuvialuit in 1984, Gwich'in in 1992, Sahtu Dene and Métis in 1993 and Tłı̨chǫ in 2003. All have provisions to recognize Indigenous place names, except the Inuvialuit claim.

Communities work with the Geographic Names Program in the Cultural Places Program within the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, Government of the Northwest Territories, to officially recognize new names and rename features and communities. In the Yukon, 11 of 14 First Nations have signed land claim agreements, which also have provisions to recognize Indigenous place names with the ability to name places on their settlement lands, and work with the Yukon Geographical Place Names Board for recognition of place names on non-settlement lands.

In these modern treaties, there are several provisions that address toponymic activities. Gilles Champoux of the Canadian Institute of Geomatics explains that these modern treaties and land claim agreements "grant rights and establish self-government arrangements and include a section dealing with place names such as those for a river, lake, mountain, landmark, or other geographic features or locations within their own lands where [Indigenous] government may establish its own procedures and policies for place naming and is the final authority on the orthography, phonetics, diacritics, etc. of place name." Specific examples of this are found in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (1993), the Tlicho Agreement (2003), and the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (2004). A report submitted at the 11th UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (2017) explains that an important part of the process for approving new geographic names is the necessity of consultation, which is mandated by treaty and land claim agreements.

An example of the ways in which modern treaties have resulted in toponymic renaming is found in the Yukon, where the Yukon Geographical Place Names Board was established as a direct result of the Umbrella Final Agreement and First Nation Final Agreements. Their mandate is to "research and approve geographical names in the Yukon" and their duties are "to contribute expertise on linguistic place names, community use and to keep informed of issues relating to toponymy in the Yukon." As many of the place names in the Yukon were established during the gold rush period by settlers, they do not accurately reflect the Indigenous peoples who live there. Yukon's GPNB works to re-establish Indigenous presence in place names throughout the territory and should be considered as an important example of how toponymic activities can be conducted through governmental institutions.

While this research is primarily concerned with the toponymic activities that are taking place in the south, the toponymic work that has been undertaken through the modern treaties processes can be seen as a framework that could be used by other Indigenous place naming initiatives in Canada.

KEY FINDINGS

Regional Profiles

Each Indigenous Nation is unique. Within the same Nation – or even the same community – the culture, way of life, and use of a given language may vary considerably. The *Regional Profiles* below provide an overview of Indigenous Nations in each province or region. For a detailed list of Nations, Tribal Councils, and Inuit and First Nation communities by province, see Appendix C. The *Regional Profiles* also highlight unique themes around place naming initiatives that were brought forward by participants, as well as select case studies.

British Columbia

Mount Tzoulahem, British Columbia

Profile: British Columbia (BC) is located on the traditional territories of many different Nations, which can be grouped into eight language families. The Dalkelh, Dena-thah, Dunne-za, Kaska Dena, Sekani, Tagish, Tahltan, Tsilhqot'in, Tutchone, Nat'ooten, Wet'suwet'en Nations speak Athapaskan (Athabaskan) languages, and are located mostly in northern BC. Nations who speak Tsimshianic languages include the Gitxsan, Nisga'a, and Tsimshian, and are located in the northern/central regions of the province. Nations in the Salishan language family are situated in the interior and southern parts of the mainland, as well as Vancouver Island. These include Comox, Halkomelem, Se'shalt (Sechelt), Sḵwx̱wú7mesh (Squamish), Straits Salish, Nlaka'pamux, Nsilxcín (Okanagan), Secwepemc, St'at'imc (Lillooet) and Nuxalk. The Wakashan language speakers are also located on parts of Vancouver Island, as well as the Gulf Islands and the Sunshine Coast, and include the Haisla, Owik'ala (Heiltsuk), Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuu-chah-nulth Nations. Further, there are three Nations – the Haida, Kootenai and Tlingit – which are considered language isolates; languages that are unrelated to any others. Finally, near the northern border of Alberta, there are Algonquian (Cree) Nations. Within the province, there are also people who speak Chinook jargon – a grammatically simplified language drawn from several languages as means of communication that develops between two or more groups that do not have a language in common – as well as Michif, the language of the Métis people.

Together, these Nations make up 198 distinct First Nations in BC, along with Métis, Inuit and other off-reserve Indigenous peoples who do not live in-community. In BC, Indigenous peoples make up 5.9% of the population, and approximately 17% of the Indigenous population in

Canada lives in the province. Furthermore, it is believed that around 75-80% of Indigenous people in the province live off-reserve.

Treaties in BC are different from other provinces, as the province did not recognize Indigenous title when it joined Canada. As such, there are only two historic treaties, including the Douglas Treaties (1850-1854) on Vancouver Island, and Treaty 8 (1899) in northern BC, which was the last treaty signed between the Crown and BC First Nations until the Nisga'a Treaty (2000). This Nisga'a Treaty is considered to be a modern-day treaty, of which there are eight in total.

Most First Nation communities are represented by a Chief and Council, made up of one elected Chief and Councillors. Many communities, though not all, are affiliated with tribal councils, such as the Nlaka'pamux Tribal Councils, the First Nations of the Okanagan Nation Alliance, and Chilcotin Tribal Council, to name a few. The BC Assembly of First Nations (BCAFN) is a Political Territorial Organization (PTO) that represents some of the First Nations in BC, as well as the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), which is a First Nations political organization focused mainly on the recognition of Aboriginal rights and title. Métis people who are registered to one of the 38 Métis Chartered Communities in BC are represented by the Métis Nation British Columbia (MNBC).

Region-Specific Themes: Participants interviewed in this region were part of Coast Salish, Sinxt, Stó:lō, Gitga'at and Quw'utsun' Nations, as well as one visitor from the Cherokee Nation. Participants identified many themes specific to the region. First, they noted how the province was colonized later in the settler-colonial history of Canada, compared to eastern provinces. As such, contact between First Nations and non-Indigenous people occurred rather late in BC, some of the earliest recorded contact occurring in the late 1700s. Consequently, knowledge and memory of Indigenous place names is somewhat more accessible and obtainable in BC, compared to other provinces. One participant shared that he learned the language and place names from his great grandparents, who he lived with as a child:

> *"My great grandparents taught me [the language] and shared their knowledge with me about place names of locations such as the [name] mountain, which symbolizes the frogs basking in the sun."*

This is certainly an advantage for BC First Nations, however many other regional barriers were identified by participants. One challenge is that the province is dense with many different Nations, who sometimes speak vastly different languages. This can make it more challenging for Nations to collaborate with one another and share information, resources and knowledge, and to work with potential partners and governments. Further, given that Indigenous definitions of territory are generally more fluid than colonial interpretations, landmarks and sites may have been occupied or visited by many Nations. This is another challenge when it comes to officializing place names.

Participants generally felt that working with governments to officialize place names was an arduous, onerous and very lengthy process. It was noted that projects are drawn out and communication needs to be more clear and consistent. It is such a challenge that some communities chose to assert themselves by renaming place names on signage without the approval of local authorities, rather than try to work with municipal, provincial, territorial and federal governments. One participant expressed:

> *"Place naming processes by British Columbia can take decades. In [community], instead of going through the process, the community asserted themselves and their place names [...] without the approval or authorization of local and regional governments. But the process needs to be shortened by the province and Canadian Government."*

However, participants did express that more funding and resources from these governments would be helpful in order to build the capacity needed in community to undertake projects.

Selected Toponymic Projects in British Columbia

- *Reclaimed PKOLS:* Coast Salish First Nations in Victoria took direct action to restore the original name of the mountain known as Mount Doug by installing a sign with the traditional name, PKOLS, which was quickly removed by authorities. Local First Nations made an official application to the province shortly thereafter, which was officially recognized and celebrated in 2013. (Rose-Redwood, 2016)

- *Cstélen ne Secwepemculecw:* This project gathered over 250 place names in Cstélen - including important village sites, and provides a description in Secwepemctsin and an explanation of the traditional uses of the area.
  http://www.chiefatahm.com/WebPages/cstelen_placenames.html

- *A Stó:lo-Coast Salish Historical Atlas*: . The Stó:lō Atlas place names work was replicated in 2012 into a digital map format on a website for ongoing development. This website is available to all Stó:lō, both for place names and cultural sites. It is also used in dialogues with other governments and develop proponents. The atlas book itself includes 86 full-colour maps, with place names and archival photographs. (Carlson & McHalsie, 2001).

- *ímesh Mobile App*: *ímesh*, which translates to "to walk" in Sḵwx̱wú7mesh snichim, is a mobile app that allows users to tour Simon Fraser University campus, while providing traditional place names and histories for landmarks and vistas.
  http://www.sfu.ca/brc/imeshMobileApp.html

- *Ɂəms gɥɛ (Our Land)*: The City of Powell River has worked with the Tla'amin to document over 450 place names as remembered by the residents of the Tla'amin Nation. A map is available on their website, which identifies the place name in Sliammon

and English, as well as the meaning of the place name.
https://powellriver.ca/pages/photo-history-of-powell-river

- Musqueam Place Names Map: Musqueam First Nation developed a multimedia interactive map utilizing archival materials to document hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ place names throughout the territory, including audio in hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ language and photographs. http://old.musqueam.bc.ca/applications/map/index.html

- *Syilx Use and Occupancy Mapping*: See Case Study below.

Case Study: Use and Occupancy Mapping - Sylix Place Naming Projects

The Sylix traditional territory is located in the southern part of BC. The Okanagan Nation Alliance has undertaken Use and Occupancy Mapping (UOM) project, which combines interviews, questionnaires and mapping to develop data used to provide evidence of use and occupancy of the Sylix traditional territories, and to document and preserve the knowledge contained within place names.

"The Syilx language, when it talks about the land and describing place names on our territory, it's a verbal map. That verbal map is so descriptive you know exactly where that place is they're talking about. Those kinds of words, using the descriptions in our territory, you can't go wrong to where you're going – there's no mistaking where that is and what that is. So, to me, the Syilx language is that kind of language that is really descriptive, where it doesn't have that in English." Richard Armstrong (Sylix Place Names, 2017).

The reclaiming of Syilx toponymies as part of the UOM project ultimately supports Syilx title, rights, and interests, and has become a key strategy for decolonizing space and place. Importantly, place names also provide teachings in the *nsyilxcən* language and validate the relationship of the Syilx to their land.
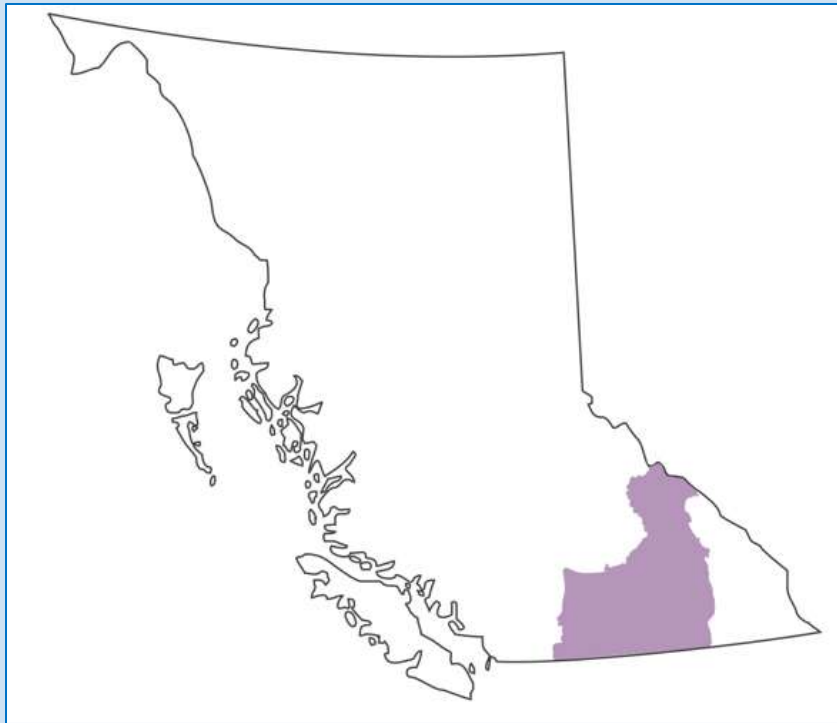
https://www.syilx.org/projects/place-names/

Figure.1: Approximate area of Syilx traditional territory © Archipel Research and Consulting

Alberta

Kananaskis, Alberta

Profile*:* In Alberta, there are 48 First Nations that are situated in three treaty areas: Treaties 6, 7 and 8, with Treaty 4 covering a small portion of southeastern Alberta and Treaty 10 covering a small portion of east-central Alberta. Alberta is the only province in Canada in which Métis people have rights over specific territories; the Métis Settlements. There are eight Métis Settlements recognized across northern Alberta as Buffalo Lake, East Prairie, Elizabeth, Fishing Lake, Gift Lake, Kikino, Paddle Prairie and Peavine.

The 48 First Nations communities are part of distinct Nations, which are diverse in size, culture, character, and language. In the north are the Denésoliné (Chipewyan), Danezaa (Beaver), Dene Tha' (Slavey) Nations, and the Nakoda (Stoney) as well as Paskwāwiyiniwak and Sakāwithiniwak (Plains and Woodland Cree, respectively) are located in central Alberta. The Tsuut'ina (Dene), Nakoda (Stoney), and the Blackfoot (Niitsítapi) Confederacy are located in the south.

First Nation communities are represented by Tribal Councils, including the Athabasca Tribal Council, North Peace Tribal Council, Lesser Slave Lake Indian Regional Council, Confederacy of Treaty 6, Kee Tas Kee Now Tribal Council, Western Cree Tribal Council, Tribal Chiefs Ventures Inc, Yellowhead Tribal Development, Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta and Maskwacis (Four Nations Administration). The eight Métis Settlements are governed by the Métis Settlements General Council (MSGC) and the six Métis Regional Zones are under the governance of the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA).

Indigenous people make up 6% of the total population of the province, and with 16% of the total Indigenous population in Canada living in Alberta, it is home to the third largest Indigenous population in the country. Further, Alberta had the largest Métis population in the western provinces, accounting for 19.5% of the total Métis population.

Region-Specific Themes*:* There are many similarities in Alberta to other prairie provinces. Participants from this region included individual Indigenous people working on place naming projects and non-Indigenous toponymic experts who worked with Indigenous communities. In Alberta, participants were clear about the ontological importance of Indigenous place names to their communities. Interviewees expressed how restoring Indigenous place names were vital for language revitalization, land rights and to promote awareness amongst settlers of whose land

they occupy. Moreover, participants explained how restoring Indigenous place names was a tangible way to further reconciliation efforts.

> *"Place names are paramount to that work of reconciliation. It's that relationship building, restoration of trust and integrity to the landscape and people who've been here prior to settlers."*

Participants from this region also universally expressed that they wanted to see greater communication between the GNBC and Indigenous peoples or communities working on toponymic projects. Specifically, those who had less experience working with naming authorities expressed a desire to see the GNBC reach out to communities to make them aware that officializing Indigenous place names was an option available to them.

> *"Let the leadership know who you are. To our chiefs and council, to our Assembly of First Nations, to our Métis nation. Reach out to community members and get into our community websites, or our Facebook. I'm pretty well versed in certain things, and I had no idea [the GNBC] existed."*

Other participants, including non-Indigenous allies hired by Indigenous communities or organizations, echoed this sentiment. One interviewee in particular, who had a significant amount of experience working with provincial naming authorities, expressed a desire to see the GNBC commit to providing sustained and long-term funding for Indigenous communities who wanted to undertake toponymic projects: "*Obviously funding is always an element of that. A lot of time and energy is involved in it.*" A lack of sustainable long term funding limits the research able to be conducted and affects all aspects of the implementation of the project. Participants from Alberta wanted to see a greater financial commitment from the GNBC to Indigenous communities.

Selected Toponymic Projects in Alberta

- *Placenames and Oral Histories of Change in the Peace River Sub-Basin (Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta):* Focusing on an area known as Beh Shih Ne in Dene, and as part of the University of Alberta's Tracking Change initiative, this project seeks to conduct "on-the land interviews and place names work" as well as documenting "places of social, ecological significance." https://trackingchange.ca/projects/

- *MCFN Indigenous Knowledge and Use Report for Teck Frontier (Misikew Cree First Nation):* This document is an example of place names being utilized as part of an Indigenous knowledge and use study. Pages 13-16 in https://www.ceaa-acee.gc.ca/050/documents/p65505/114483E.pdf

- *Blackfoot Place Map:* The Indigenous non-profit organization Indigenous Vision is creating an app to map Blackfoot historical sites and place names on both sides of the

border, based on a toponymic and heritage map they have created.
https://www.indigenousvision.org/maps/

- *Stoney Nakoda Place Naming Application:* The Stoney Nakoda nations have applied to the province of Alberta to have place names recognized, including Ijathibe Wapta (Bow River), Chuwapchipchiyan Kude Bi (Canmore), and Wichispa Oyade (Calgary). https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/alberta-calgary-first-nations-stoney-nakoda-canmore-place-names-1.4399941

Saskatchewan

Treaty 4 territory, Saskatchewan

Profile*:* The province of Saskatchewan is located on the traditional territories of five different Nations: Nêhiyawak (Plains Cree), Nahkawininiwak (Saulteaux), Nakota (Assiniboine), Dakota and Lakota (Sioux), and Denesuline (Dene/Chipewyan). Between 1871 and 1906, the Crown and First Nations signed Treaties 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 located in what is now known as Saskatchewan.

Figure.2 Map of Numbered Treaties

Today, there are 70 First Nation communities in the province, 63 of which are affiliated to one of the nine Tribal Councils. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations is a provincial political organization representing First Nations in the province. There are also historical Métis communities – or Métis settlements – located in Saskatchewan. Indigenous peoples account for approximately 14% of the total population, which includes First Nations, Métis and Inuit people. Of those who identified as Indigenous, 17% live off-reserve in rural areas, and almost half (46.7%) live in urban areas.

There are five First Nations linguistic groups in Saskatchewan, in addition to Michif, the unique language of the Métis. Of the First Nation languages, Nêhiyawêwin (Cree language) is most commonly spoken. Nahkawêwin (Saulteaux language), a dialect of the Ojibwe language, as well as Nakota, Dakota and Lakota languages, are also spoken in the province. Finally, there are a small number of Dene (Chipewyan) speakers in northern Saskatchewan.

Region-Specific Themes: There are many similarities in Saskatchewan to other prairie provinces. Participants from this region included individual Indigenous people working on place naming projects, with the support of their communities, and Indigenous Knowledge Keepers with perspectives on Indigenous place names. Participants universally expressed how important restoring Indigenous place names was to their communities, and how it has had positive impacts in regards to language revitalization and pride in their Indigenous identities. In some cases, the projects in this region were motivated by a desire to change names that included offensive terminology and to restore that place to its traditional name.

> *"[The name] was very offensive. And at the time, a young man was shot and killed by a non-Indigenous person in our area and the tone that it left with me was frightening. I didn't feel good knowing that a young man from my community was shot and killed, and then finding out that there was [an area with an offensive name.] It is violent. And so I think that's where the initiative came from."*

Furthermore, Saskatchewan is unique to other provinces in Canada because, as one Knowledge Keeper noted, many town and place names are already in Indigenous languages. *"Indigenous communities are fortunate in Saskatchewan, where a lot of the names and towns are already in the language. However, more can be done."* Participants from Saskatchewan were unfamiliar with the work of the GNBC, but expressed their desire for the GNBC to reach out to their communities to establish a relationship.

An additional theme that was raised by participants from this region was the central importance of Elders and Knowledge Keepers to place naming projects. In the case of Indigenous communities working to change offensive settler place names and restore their traditional place names, participants shared that working with Elders was central to the renaming process.

> *"We brought the Elders together and had a dialogue. … After about a year and a half of meeting with Elders and the community we came up with an appropriate name."*

Moving forward, participants in this region wanted to explore the possibility of gathering Knowledge Keepers and Elders together to map out their lands and place names. While this is something that numerous Indigenous communities have undertaken on their own, participants felt that the capacity and resources of the GNBC could be helpful for this undertaking.

Selected Toponymic Projects in Saskatchewan

- *First Nations Traditional Place Names (Saskatchewan Indigenous Cultural Centre):* In alignment with its mission to preserve the First Nation's languages, The Saskatchewan Indigenous Cultural Centre (SICC) in partnership with the Ministry of Parks, Culture and Sport developed a Traditional Place Names Map. Containing the original lands of First Nations, lakes, stones, etc. that existed before colonization, the names are in a variety of the Saskatchewan language groups and contains the traditional place name in the First Nation language, the English name, a short description and an image and video, when available. As it is incomplete, SICC expects the toponymic map to be populated as communities undertake further projects. https://sicc.sk.ca/traditional-place-names/

- *Kikiskitotawânawak Iskêwak Lakes Renaming Project (Killsquaw Lake renaming):* A small group of lakes near Unity, Saskatchewan was, until late 2018, disturbingly named "Killsquaw Lake". A year-long effort was led by a lawyer from the Red Pheasant Cree Nation, to change the name. Consultations with Elders and cultural carriers resulted in the new name "Kikiskitotawânawak Iskêwak" which means 'we honour the women'. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/unity-lakes-name-change-1.4912810

- Wahpeton Dakota First Nation Place Names Map: The Wahpeton Dakota First Nation public traditional land use and knowledge pages contain an interactive place names map. By clicking on a specific place on the map, a knowledge box pops up with the place name in Dakota and the English translation. In some cases, a Community Knowledge Keeper presents, via video the pronunciation of the place name. https://wahpeton.knowledgekeeper.ca/placenames-map

Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Profile: Manitoba is located in the traditional territories of the Cree, Dakota, Dene, Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe), and Ojibwe-Cree (part of the broader Anishinaabeg group) First Nations, and is also the Homeland of the Métis Nation. There are 63 First Nations in Manitoba, including some of the largest communities in Canada, and 17 of these communities are remote and not accessible by an all-weather road. A significant percent of the Indigenous population lives off-reserve, and as a result the capital of Manitoba, Winnipeg, has the largest population of Indigenous people of any city in Canada.

In the province, there are seven First Nations Tribal Councils. Further, First Nations are represented by three regionally divided provincial political organizations, including the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak and the Southern Chiefs Organization. There is also a Manitoba Métis Federation.

Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 cover the majority of the province's territory. Treaties 6 and 10 have no territories in Manitoba, but interestingly, four Manitoba First Nation communities are signatory to those Treaties, as they are recognized as having used and occupied the territories of those Treaties.

Finally, there are five First Nations languages in Manitoba. This includes Anishinaabemowin, Dakota, Anishinimowin (Oji-Cree), Denesuline (Dene) and Ininimowin, also known as Cree, which itself includes four dialects that are spoken in Manitoba: Plains Cree, Woods Cree, Swampy Cree, and Rocky Cree. Michif – a unique French-Cree creole which uses French nouns, Cree verbs, and some vocabulary from other local Indigenous languages, is also spoken by Métis peoples. Bungi (or Bungee), an English creole mixing Scottish English, Gaelic, French, Cree and Ojibwe was also spoken by Métis peoples along the Red River, although the dialect is now considered extinct.

Region-Specific Themes: There are many similarities in Manitoba to other prairie provinces. Participants from this region included non-Indigenous experts working with cultural institutions and Indigenous Knowledge Keepers and Elders with perspectives on place names. Participants from this region spoke of the damage that erasing traditional Indigenous place names has done to their communities.

"These colonial names throughout Manitoba erase the history of Indigenous peoples in Manitoba. There are thousands of years of history that gets erased by place naming in colonial languages."

In Manitoba, there are many communities that have reclaimed their community's traditional names, as evidenced by the work of the Manitoba Education First Nations Education Resource Centre (see "Selected Toponymic Projects in Manitoba" below). Outside of community names, there is an awareness that many protected areas are being renamed after white men and there are concerns that this continues to erase the histories of Indigenous people in the province. Both media sources and interview participants expressed that there is a need to support place naming initiatives in order for Manitoba's discourse in relation to reconciliation to be reflected in the landscape of the province:

"There is a lot of lip service from the Manitoba province in regard to reconciliation. Addressing these place naming initiatives would speak to that."

Many participants would like to see more collaboration with the GNBC and for naming authorities to reach out to communities:

"The role of these organizations should be to highlight the truth about whose land it belongs to and to educate non-Indigenous peoples on the on-going erasure of Indigenous peoples by naming locations after white men"

Several participants thus view place names as an educational opportunity for non-Indigenous people to learn about the Indigenous lands on which they are located:

"It's good and important to have the location recognized for what it really is and to (re)Indigenize the space. It becomes a form of recognition and an opportunity for settlers to learn about the language."

Selected Toponymic Projects in Manitoba:

- *Poplar River First Nation Traditional Place Names:* This is a provincial initiative in partnership with Poplar River First Nation in order to learn, document and translate traditional Cree names. The project intends to document Cree place names from all across the province and will recognize the Indigenous history, cultural impacts, and the footprint of Indigenous peoples in Manitoba.
  https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/indigenous-place-names-manitoba-1.3968249 ;
  https://pimaki.ca/wp-content/uploads/Poplar-River-Story-Map_low-res-14-July-2020-1.pdf

- *Traditional First Nation Community Names Map:* Supported by the Manitoba First Nations Resource Centre Inc., this map includes an approximate 50 names, in Cree, Dene, Oji-Cree, Ojibway, and Dakota. Each place has a video recording of a community member and language speaker sharing their definition of the words. https://mfnerc.org/community-map/

- *Cree Place Name Project:* See Case Study below.

Case Study: Cree Place Name Projects

The Cree Nation is the largest Indigenous group in Canada both by populous and territory with more than 350,000 people who identify as Cree or having Cree ancestry. Cree territory is expansive extending from Alberta to Quebec. There are multiple Cree regional groups which are Nêhiyawak (Plains Cree), Woods Cree, Rocky Cree, Mushkegowuk (Swampy Cree), Moose Cree, and Eeyou Istchee (James Bay Cree). The Cree language is a part of the Algonquian language family with multiple dialects with three main dialects which are "th" Woodlands (Woods and Rocky), "y" Plains, and "n" Swampy Cree. Cree is one of the most spoken Indigenous languages in Canada with over 75,000 speakers.
Cree Literacy Network (Manitoba)

A project of the Manitoba-based Cree Literacy Network, place names for Cree-speaking communities are being gathered and added to an interactive map. A work in progress and spanning the Cree territory of prairie provinces, community members are invited to add their favourite places and photos to the map which currently contains dozens of place names.

Each Cree community place name is denoted in Standard Roman Orthography (SRO) and colour coded according to one of 12 dialects. For each place name that is clicked on, the pop up contains a comprehensive description including: the Cree-SRO name, the community dialect, the province, longitude/latitude, and the syllabic.

https://creeliteracy.org/cree-place-names/cree-place-name-project/

Ontario

Old Woman Bay, Ontario

Profile: Ontario is located on the territories of 14 distinct Nations, who are part of four First Nation language families, including Anishinaabek, Onkwehonwe, Mushkegowuk, Lunaape. The Anishinaabek includes the Michi Saagiig (Mississauga), Chippewa (Ojibwe), Bodéwadmi (Potawotami), Omàmiwinini (Algonquin), and the Odawa. The Onkwehonwe (Haudenosaunee) are made up of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), Skarù·rę? (Tuscarora), Onödowá'ga: (Seneca), Gayogǫhó:nǫ' (Cayuga), Onyota'a:ka (Oneida), Onöñda'gaga' (Onondaga). There are also the Mushkegowuk (Cree) and Lunaape (Delaware) Nations. Additionally, Ontario is also the homeland to historic Métis communities.

There are 133 First Nations communities located across Ontario, and over 30 of these are considered remote, accessible only by air or ice roads. These First Nations have made treaties and other agreements both before and after Confederation. Pre-Confederation treaties include the Two Row Wampum Treaty, also known as Guswenta, between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch, and later 30 Upper Canada Treaties and two Robinson Treaties. Post-Confederation treaties include three numbered Treaties (Treaties 3, 5 and 9) and the Williams Treaties.

There are many Indigenous peoples located in urban areas as well; Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, Timmins, Ottawa and Toronto have high populations of Indigenous peoples. In fact, Thunder Bay is the Census Metropolitan Area with the highest proportion of Indigenous people in Canada. Further, Ontario is home to the largest population of Indigenous people, where 24% of all Indigenous peoples in Canada live in the province. There are a number of legally-recognized Métis in Ontario, as well as Inuit who have relocated to the province.

Political and advocacy organizations include the Chiefs of Ontario, the Anishinabek Nation (Union of Ontario Indians), Association of Iroquois & Allied Indians, Grand Council Treaty No. 3 and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation. The Métis Nation of Ontario (MNO) maintains the only recognized provincial Registry for Métis people who are eligible rights holders in Ontario.

Region-Specific Themes: Participants from Ontario included a diverse group of individuals and organizations working on toponymic projects. Interviews were conducted with individual Indigenous people working on place naming projects, representatives from Indigenous cultural institutions and Indigenous and non-Indigenous people working with post-secondary institutions.

Participants in this region spoke almost universally of the importance of traditional place names to their communities, specifically in terms of normalizing Indigenous languages and reasserting Indigenous presence on the lands.

A key theme that was brought up by participants in Ontario was a lack of capacity within communities to undertake toponymic activities. Issues surrounding the lack of clean drinking water or missing and murdered Indigenous women are more pressing in many Indigenous communities. One participant spoke of the devastating effects of the COVID-19 pandemic in their community, and how finding the time to undertake place naming projects did not take priority over that.

> *"Their concerns are not their names, their concerns are missing and murdered Indigenous women, their loss of language, the fact that I lost 7 Elders that speak my language to COVID-19. This is the stuff people really deeply care about."*

This participant was highlighting that Indigenous communities may deeply value their place names and are committed to working to ensure that they are restored, but that this does not take priority over the immediate material needs of the community.

Even so, participants wanted to see the GNBC and its provincial and territorial naming authorities reach out to communities to build a relationship: *"Get in touch with communities. Have a chat. They may have already been doing this work."* Despite many participants largely being unaware of the work of the GNBC, most participants expressed willingness to work with the GNBC, provided they were approached in a genuine way.

In relation to the Métis Nation of Ontario, participants generally felt that Anishinaabe should be leading place naming initiatives in Anishinaabe territories. There is the issue of displacement for Métis people from their homelands and have brought up the issue of other Nations being recognized in Ontario while Métis are left: *"Métis people are found in this complex situation where they are not the "title holders" of the territory that they are on now due to displacement."* Toponymies in southern Ontario and around Lake Ontario may have both Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee place names which is another consideration specific to Ontario.

Selected Toponymic Projects in Ontario

- *Temagami Mapping Project:* Temagami First Nation has led a mapping project focused on gathering information on the traditional use and occupancy. This has resulted in a multifaceted map that also serves as a database for traditional place names, traditional use, occupancy, and resources. https://www.temagamifirstnation.ca/land-and-resources/mapping-2/

- *Niagara Escarpment Indigenous Cultural Mapping Project:* This project is a multimedia online tool that contains information on Indigenous focused, historical, cultural, and natural information, called cultural mapping. The focus of this project was to develop the best approach to ensure Indigenous engagement and leadership in the organization and activation of Biosphere Reserves in Canada.
  http://www.thegreatniagaraescarpment.ca/about

- *Atlas of Kanyen'kehà:ka Space:* This project is being led by Professor Kahente Horn-Miller and Rebekah Ingram, in conjunction with Carleton University and funded by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). The project objective is to document Kanyen'kéha place names and knowledge through community and elder knowledge sharing.
  http://www.elpublishing.org/docs/4/01/FEL-2018-05.pdf ;
  https://www.facebook.com/events/2872796406076662/?acontext=%7B%22event_action_history%22%3A[%7B%22mechanism%22%3A%22search_results%22%2C%22surface%22%3A%22search%22%7D]%7D

- *Kanyen'kéha: an open source endangered language initiative:* Within this project exists the "Map of Places Identified with Traditional Kanienkeha Names", which consists of an original map with approximately 200 + additional traditional place names, including towns, rivers, areas, and communities. https://kanienkeha.net/map/

- *Paquataskamik Project:* This project is led by and based in Fort Albany First Nation and its objective is aimed at learning and fostering intergenerational dialogue and understanding the importance of traditional territory and its impacts to social, cultural, and economic well-being. This project includes a set of maps, including one devoted to the Albany River Watershed and one with Cree Names:
  https://paquataskamik.weebly.com/index.html

- *Mushkegowuk Guardian Program:* This community-based program enables youth, Elders and harvesters to work with environmental stewards using traditional knowledge to collect information on climate change for mapping purposes. This is accomplished through collective effort and research plots using GPS.
  https://www.indigenousguardianstoolkit.ca/communities/mushkegowuk-council-mushkegowuk-guardian-program

- *Lake Huron Treaty Atlas:* See Case Study below.

- *Manitoulin Island Place Names Project:* See Case Study below.

Case Study: Anishinaabemowin Place Naming Projects

Anishinaabewakiing (Anishinaabe territories) spans from Manitoba to Quebec and primarily in the Great Lakes region extending into the United States. There are a few Saulteaux communities that have moved west and are now located in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Anishinaabemowin is a part of the Algonquian language family and has several dialects including plains Ojibwe, northern Ojibwe, eastern Ojibwe, southern Ojibwe, Oji-Cree, Odawa, Algonquin and varies from community to community. There are currently approximately 28,000 speakers primarily in Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba.

A wide variety of toponymic initiatives are being led by speakers of Anishinaabemowin. These include the *Lake Huron Treaty Atlas,* a living-atlas which began with Stephanie Pyne's PhD thesis, "Sound of the Drum, Energy of the Dance: Making the Lake Huron Treaty Atlas the Anishnaabe Way" (2013) as a way of tracking some aspects of the Lake Huron Treaty signing and reserve survey processes. The project has since grown through the help of multiple research and funding organizations, as well as Indigenous organizations such as the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation and the Shingwauk Residential School Centre, to an Altas which focuses on understanding and presenting the complex history and geography of the Lake Huron Treaty region through a dedicated Anishinaabe lens. https://lhta.ca/index.html

The *Manitoulin Island Place Names Project* is another Anishinaabemowin place name initiative, led by an immersion group of several Anishinaabemowin experts and Wiikwemkoong First Nation. This project looks to explore the spirit of the traditional place names and work to define them to share the spirit of the place more widely within the community.

Finally, spanning the provincial border between Ontario and Quebec, the Algonquin Nation has developed a 'multimedia tour of Algonquin place names' through an interactive map that allows users to interact with stories of place. The goal of this project is to bring these stories back and map toponyms before they are lost forever.

http://www.algonquinnation.ca/toponym/en/map/

Quebec

Gespagegiaq, Quebec

Profile*:* Quebec is located on the traditional territory of 11 distinct Nations: Abénaquis, Algonquin, Atikamekw Nehirowisiwok, Eeyou-eenou (Cree), Huron-Wendat, Innu, Wolastoqiyik or Wəlastəkwewiyik (Malecite), Mi'gmaq, Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), Sťaschinuw (Naskapi) and Inuit. The 10 First Nations and the Inuit Nation represent approximately 1% of Quebec's population and are spread out over 55 Indigenous communities.

Inuit reside in 14 communities in the Nunavik region and each community is headed by a mayor and a council. There are 44 First Nation communities administered by their own elected band council, which is made up of a Chief and Councillors. The Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador is the provincial political organization representing First Nations in the province. Many Indigenous peoples also live off-reserve, though exact numbers are unknown. Some known statistics indicate that approximately 10% of Inuit from Nunavik now live in Montréal (1000-1200 individuals), for example.

In Quebec, Indigenous languages are divided into the Iroquoian, Algonquian and Inuit language families. Nine languages and their dialects are still spoken, though the status of these languages varies greatly. These include Inuktitut, Innu-aimun, East Cree (or James Bay Cree), Atikamekw, Anishinabemowin/Anicinapemo8in, Mi'gmaq, Kanien'kéha (Mohawk), Iyuw Iyimuun (Naskapi) and Abénaquis.

Region-Specific Themes: Interviews in this region included participants from Inuit, Algonquin and Wabanaki (Abénaquis) Nations. Projects varied greatly, and included community-based projects, projects supported by cultural institutions, as well as projects completed in partnership with academic institutions.

Participants noted that the province of Quebec is unique in many ways, particularly as a result of the particular history of colonialism in this region. The protection of the French language and culture is very important to (primarily) white Quebec residents. Language laws in Quebec that promote the use of French and restrict the use of English reflect the goals of preserving and strengthening Quebec culture and French language within the province. Indigenous communities are caught between the competing histories of colonial empires and as a result, precolonial history has been largely erased from the collective memory. For Quebec residents,

there is a "*tendency to forget that Indigenous peoples were here before colonization*," as stated by a participant in Quebec. They added,

> *"We want people to know about our territory prior to colonization. We don't see this in Quebec. In Vancouver, for example, we feel the history, we see it. Here, it's as if it doesn't exist. It's like it's not part of Quebec's history."*

Therefore, participants noted having to tread lightly and slowly with these projects, due to the sensitivity around protecting francophone history and culture. Indigenous groups leading place naming projects in Quebec are careful not to impede on French toponyms, but rather add to existing place names. These barriers to undertaking place naming projects in Quebec can make the process quite arduous. One participant shared how they asked the Quebec government to correspond with the community using the traditional spelling of their First Nation, as opposed to the francisized spelling, and the government convened a 'group of experts' to review this demand. These are key challenges faced by Indigenous communities, which are unique to the region of Quebec.

Selected Toponymic Projects in Quebec:

- *Tsi Tetsionitiotiakon - Tiohtiake Mohawk Place Names*: This project compiled the traditional knowledge of Elders at the Onkwawen:na Language Center in Kahnawake to present historical descriptive Kanien'kehá:ka place names to open the door to understanding an Indigenous history for Tiohtiake (Montréal archipelago) bio-region as well as Tewakhwishenhelon / Turtle Island / North America. https://sites.google.com/site/indigenecommunity/home/5-tiohtiake-mohawk-placenames

- *Atateken Street Renaming*: Montréal's Amherst Street, named after a British general who advocated the use of biological warfare to kill Indigenous peoples, was renamed to Atateken Street, which loosely translates as 'our relations'. The City of Montréal worked with local communities, First Nation leadership and the Kanesatake Language and Cultural Centre as part of this project.

- *Le Nitassinan*: Nametau Innu, a website dedicated to the transmission of Elders' cultural knowledge, has developed maps to immortalize their knowledge of their land. Traditionally, a place was named by describing a geographical landmark and therefore the maps describe the meaning of place names in their territory, such as Makatinau ("region of the highest mountain at the mouth of the River") or Mashkuanu ("place that looks like the tip of a bear's tail"). http://www.nametauinnu.ca/fr/culture/territoire

- *Tiohtià:ke Otsira'kéhne - Renaming of the peak of Outremont*: The city of Montréal moved to recognize the importance of the Outremont mountain to Kanien'kehá:ka people by renaming the peak Parc Tiohtià:ke Otsira'kéhne, which translates to 'the place

of the big fire'. The mountain was renamed in commemoration of how the hill had been traditionally used as a site for signal fires for warnings, or to signify gatherings.

- *Montreal in Mohawk - The Decolonial Atlas*: The Decolonial Atlas is a growing collection of maps, brought together by volunteers, to challenge relationships with the land and people. This map of Tiohtià:ke tsi ionhwéntsare (Montréal) lists toponyms including the Kanien'kéha place name, the English place name, and the translation.
  https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/02/04/montreal-in-mohawk/

- *The Land That Talks*: See "Anishinabemowin Place Naming Case Study" above.

- *Nunatop Project:* See Case Study below.

Case Study: Nunatop - Inuit Place Naming Project

There are four regions of Inuit Nunangat, the homelands of the Inuit within Canada. These regions include the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in northern Northwest Territories, the territory of Nunavut, Nunavik in northern Quebec, and Nunatsiavut in northern Labrador. Inuit Nunangat covers around 35% of the landmass in Canada and 50% of the coastline. The Inuit language is spoken across Inuit Nunangat which includes the following dialects; Uummarmiutun, Sallirmiutun and Kangiryuarmiutun in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (NWT); Inuinnaqtun, Nattilingmiutut, Paallirmiutut, North Qikiqtaaluk (North Baffin) and South Qikiqtaaluk (South Baffin) in Nunavut; Inuttitut in Nunavik (QC); and Inuttut in Nunatsiavut (NL). The Inuit language is the second most spoken Indigenous language in Canada with around 40,000 speakers.

In 1983, the Avataq Cultural Institute alongside McGill University initiated the Nunatop project. The objective of this project was to systematically collect Inuit geographical names for the Nunavik region to safeguard this traditional knowledge. As one Elder shared, "*We were taught by our ancestors the names of the land, lakes, hills and islands, and we have an obligation to pass these on to our young people*". Elder Samwillie Annahatak (Nunatop, 2020)

In 2012, Avataq Cultural Institute re-launched the project and travelled to communities to conduct toponymic surveys with Elders, Knowledge Keepers and hunters. These place names have now been made accessible through a variety of map collections, available in different scales and formats, online and in print. Nunatop has also imported these maps into the Avenza Maps App, a mobile maps app available offline.

The Nunatop Project is supported by the *Commission de toponymie du Québec*. About 200 toponyms per year are officialized as a result of Avataq Cultural Institute's relationship with

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the Commission. Since December 2020, more than 4,500 Inuit place names in Nunavik have been formally recognized by authorities.

https://www.nunatop.com/

Figure.4 Approximate area of Inuit Nunungat © Archipel Research and Consulting

Case Study: Cree Nation Government Place Names Program (Quebec)

The current place names program was put in place by the Cree Nation Government's Department of Social and Cultural Development in 2013 as part of its efforts to support the Cree language in Eeyou Istchee. Place names were considered an important aspect of Cree language that required specific attention. The program represented in many ways a renewal of the Cree Regional Authority's place names research projects which took place in Whapmagoostui, Waswanipi and Mistissini in the 1990s. The program has since begun consolidating existing research on Cree-language place names in Eeyou Istchee, pulling together 40 years of research by a number of partners.

It has also embarked upon a new round of place name surveys, both to validate the results of previous surveys, and to gather names in areas that had been overlooked in the previous surveys. Since 2013 hundreds of Elders have been interviewed. A great deal of emphasis has

been placed on ensuring that names are recorded in a manner that allows for their grammar to be understood, ensuring that future generations will have access to intelligible and properly recorded names. Currently, the number of place names in the Cree Nation Government's database is approaching 20,000. The goal of the program is to meet any needs the Cree of Eeyou Istchee or the 11 Cree communities of Eeyou Istchee might have with regard to place names, including the provision of digital data, the publication of maps that can be used in schools or in bush camps, and the creation of Cree-language road signage.
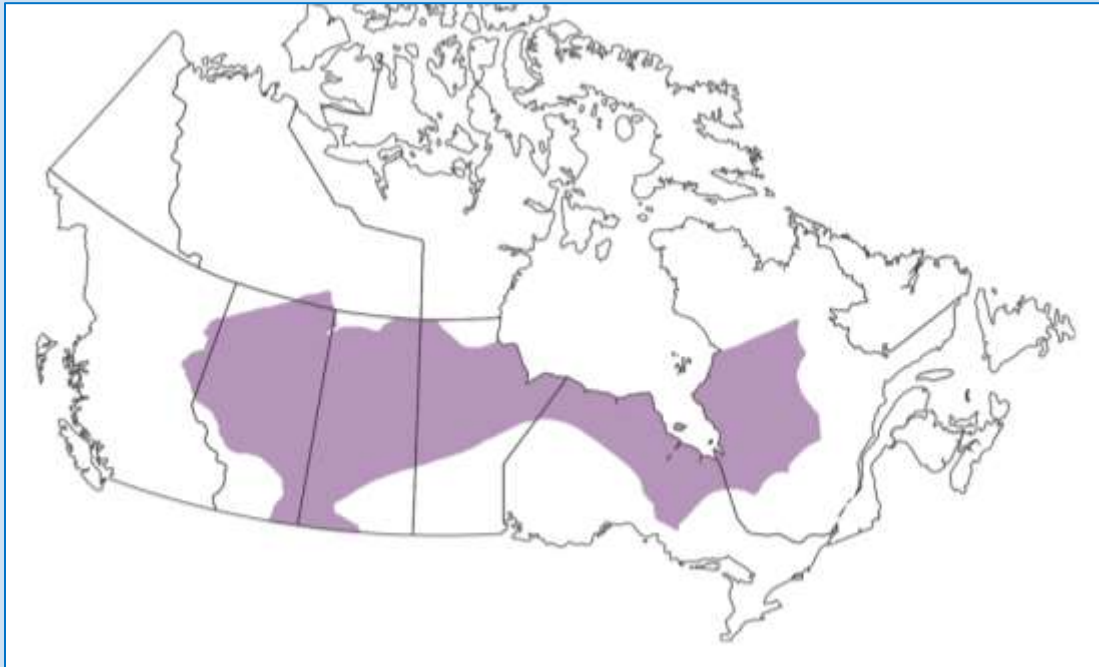

Figure.3 Approximate distribution of Cree speaking communities in Canada © Archipel Research and Consulting

Atlantic (New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador)

Sipeknekatik, Nova Scotia

Profile: The Atlantic region, which includes the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador, are mostly located on the territories of the Mi'kmaq and Wolastoqiyik or Wəlastəkwewiyik (Maliseet) peoples. While the Wolastoqiyik are mostly located in present day New Brunswick (and Maine), the Mi'kmaq territory stretches from the southern portions of the Gaspé peninsula eastward to most of modern-day New Brunswick and Newfoundland, and all of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

Labrador is inhabited by the Innu, Naskapi and Inuit people, though First Nation political groups (i.e., AFNQL) often include Indigenous peoples living in Labrador as part of the Quebec region. It is also important to note that the Beothuk were the original First Nation people of Newfoundland but by 1829 they were declared extinct. Oral histories suggest a few Beothuk survived and formed unions with colonists, Inuit and Mi'kmaq.

The Wolastoqiyik and Mi'kmaq are part of the Algonquian language family, however their languages and cultures are quite distinct. There are a total of 32 First Nations spread across the Atlantic provinces, and many First Nations, Métis and Inuit living off-reserve. In Nova Scotia, Indigenous people make up 4% of the province's total population, and in New Brunswick, they make up 3% of the total population. Indigenous people make up 2% of the total population of Prince Edward Island, the smallest Indigenous population of all provinces and territories. In Newfoundland and Labrador, Indigenous people make up 8.9% of the population.

In the Atlantic region, Peace and Friendship Treaties were signed with the Mi'kmaq, Wolastoqiyik and Passamaquoddy, a Nation no longer recognized in Canada. Unlike other treaties in Canada, the Peace and Friendship Treaties did not involve surrendering rights to the lands and resources, but were signed in order to encourage peaceful relations between First Nations and non-Indigenous people.

Today, the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq is a Tribal Council for Mi'kmaq First Nations in Nova Scotia. Other provincial political organizations include the Union of New Brunswick Indians, L'nuey and the Union of Nova Scotia. Like other First Nations across the country, communities are represented by an elected Chief and Council.

Region-Specific Themes: In the Atlantic region, due to settler colonialism, place naming can be quite complex for the Mi'kmaq Nation. There are 32 Mi'kmaq communities in the Mi'kmaq territory, Mi'kma'ki, which expands throughout Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, parts of Maine, the peninsula of Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador. The Mi'kmaq were amongst the first to be severely implicated by colonization and genocide. From the understanding of the Mi'kmaq, the Peace and Friendship Treaties were agreements to co-exist and to live harmoniously. However, the Mi'kmaq, along with the other Indigenous Nations in Mi'kma'ki were displaced and separated by colonial borders, and began to see the loss of their language, culture, and ontological beliefs and worldviews.

The research indicated, because communities are separated amongst these provincial borders in the Atlantic region, accessing support and resources from provinces can be challenging; especially for communities that are situated on provincial borders as noted by a participant,

> *"The role should be for the provincial governments and Canadian government to support and respect the Mi'gmaq rights and rights to the language. The French [people] understand the importance of language and should show the same respect for the First Peoples of these lands."*

The participant was highlighting the lack of support from specific provinces that push for colonial language retention despite not acknowledging and respecting the rights of Indigenous peoples and their push for language revitalization and Indigenous resurgence. With that said, provinces such as Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia demonstrated an interest in Mi'kmaq place naming projects and provided funding and resources through Parks Canada and universities within their province.

Selected Toponymic Projects in the Atlantic Region

- *Ktaqmkuk Place Naming Project:* Qalipu First Nation led a partnership with the College of the North Atlantic and Memorial University's Grenfell Campus to gather information into an interactive map which included more than 80 place names collected from Mi'kmaq community members. https://qalipu.ca/ktaqmkuk-mikmaq-place-names-project-please-contribute-your-photos-videos-and-stories-to-our-new-interactive-map/.

- *Mi'kmaq Place Names Cultural Preservation Project*: the project was a place naming initiative led by Mi'kmaq Leadership in Epekwitk (Prince Edward Island) with the collaboration of the Mi'kmaq Confederacy of PEI and Parks Canada, to address and revitalize language and culture through Mi'kmaq place naming. Today, the place name project is part of an initiative of the sister organization, L'nuey, and the government of Prince Edward Island to have Mi'kmaq place name signs throughout the province. https://lnuey.ca/resources/education-and-reconciliation/

- *Wolastoq:* Wolastoq was a place naming initiative and ceremony led by the Wolastoqik Elders, youth, and community members to reclaim the St. John River in New Brunswick.

https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/wolastoqyik-river-wolastoq-st-john-renaming-1.4719808

- *Languages and Landscapes:* Led by the University of New Brunswick's Mi'kmaq-Wolastoqey Centre, Languages and Landscape is an interactive map online compiled of Wabanaki place names throughout the Canadian Maritimes and the East Coast of the United States.
https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapJournal/index.html?appid=96f758a4708b4fd1999d6b1ddba62a46

- *Pepamuteiati nitassinat*: Since the 1970s, Innu in Labrador initiated various projects aimed at documenting Innu occupancy and territory use for the purpose of land claims negotiations with Newfoundland and Labrador and the Canadian Government. *Pepamuteiati nitassinat* is a website that compiles the Innu *place naming projects in Labrador.* https://www.innuplaces.ca/introduction.php?lang=en

- *Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek*: See Case Study below.

Case Study: Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek - Mi'kmaw Place Naming Project

Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek: Mi'kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas and Website Project was started in 2010 to research stories, place names, and history of the Mi'kmaq and the traditional territory Mi'kma'ki. With over 13,000 years of data throughout the Maritimes, the intent of the project was to educate, raise awareness and share stories of the land. As one participant from the project noted, *"[Mi'kmaq place naming projects] are a landscape of stories."* (Trudy Sable, 2021). The suggestions in the final report came from Mi'kmaw focus groups, interviews and several stakeholders.

"Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek Mi'kmaw Place Names Project is a partnership initiated by the Mi'kmaq-Nova-Scotia-Tripartite Forum in partnership with Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, Saint Mary's University, and the Nova Scotia Museum. Other partners have included, Parks Canada, Atlantic Region: Mi'kma'ki All Points Services (MAPS); Mi'kmaw Association of Cultural Studies (MACS), the Nova Scotia Provincial Government; and Kwilmu'kw Maw-kusuaqn Negotiation Office (KMKNO)"

Ta'n Weji-sqalia'tiek is still an ongoing research project that continues to be built upon and added to by other place naming initiatives happening throughout Nova Scotia and Mi'kma'ki.
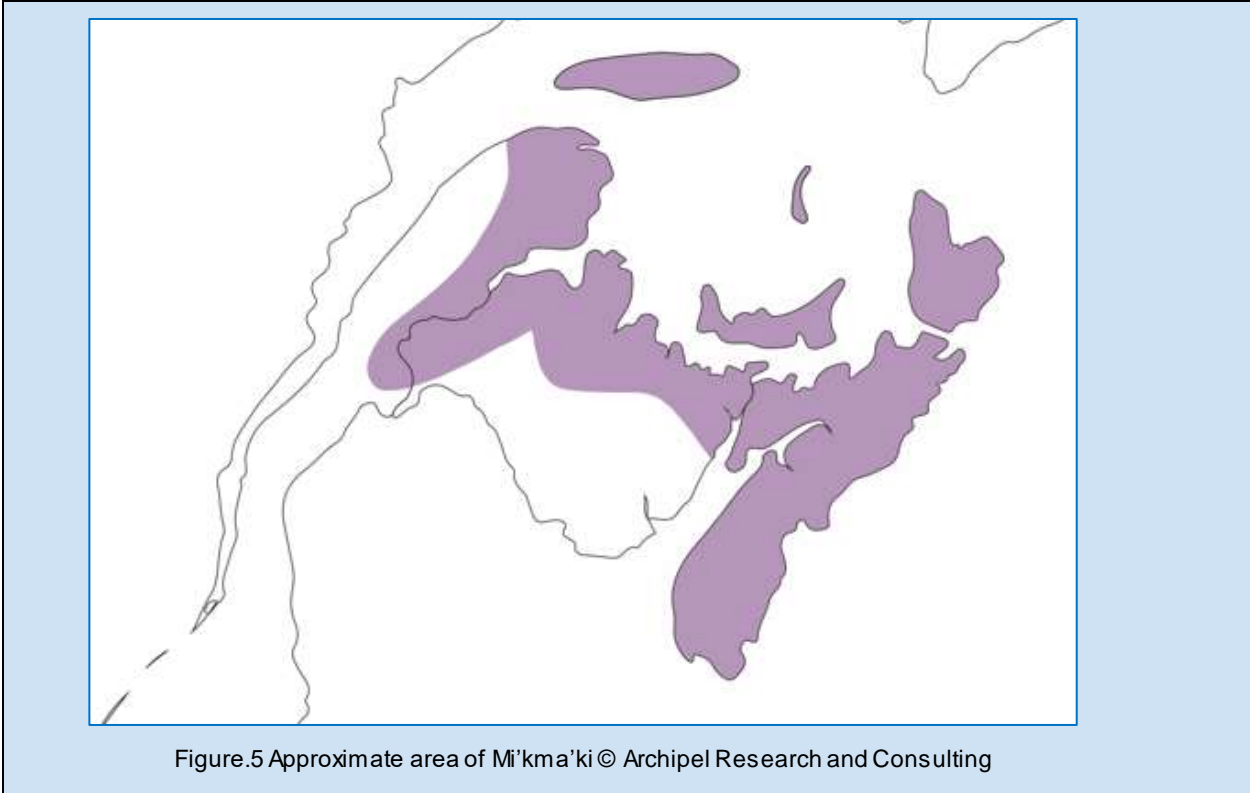
http://mikmawplacenames.ca/

Figure.5 Approximate area of Mi'kma'ki © Archipel Research and Consulting

Territories (Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut)

Frobisher Bay, Nunavut

Profile*:* In Canada, there are three territories: Northwest Territories (NWT), Nunavut and Yukon. The territories are unique in that they were created by federal law, and consequently, their local government powers are controlled by the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. However, more and more of the responsibilities have been devolved from the federal government to territorial governments. Indigenous communities in the territories have negotiated self-government agreements with these governments and consequently, Indigenous governments also share some responsibilities with territorial governments.

The territories are located on the traditional territory of both First Nations (Yukon and NWT) and Inuit (Nunavut and NWT).

In the Yukon, there are 14 First Nations and eight language groups, including Gwich'in, Hän, Kaska, Northern Tutchone, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Upper Tanana, and Tlingit. Most First Nations in the Yukon do not live on-reserve – rather, they are located in communities known as settlements. While Yukon has modern treaties, there are no historic treaties in the region, unlike most other provinces. Finally, approximately 25% of the territory's population are Indigenous. First Nations are represented by local governance structures, regional tribal councils, as well as the Council of Yukon First Nations, whose mandate is to serve as a political advocacy organization for Yukon First Nations.

In NWT, Indigenous people – including First Nations, Inuit and Métis – make up 52% of the total population of the territory. While historic Treaties 8 and 11 provided for reserves, there are only two reserves in the territory. However, there are several Indigenous regional governments recognized by the territory, including Akaitcho Territory Government, Dehcho First Nations, Gwich'in Tribal Council, Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Northwest Territory Métis Nation, Sahtu Secretariat Incorporated and the Tłı̨chǫ Government. Further, NWT is the only region in Canada that recognizes nine Indigenous languages (grouped into three different language families (Dene, Algonquian (Cree) and Inuit) through its Official Languages Act: Dëne Sųłıné Yatıé (Chipewyan), Nēhiyawēwin (Cree), Gwich'in, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Sahtúǫt'ı̨ne Yatı̨́ (North Slavey), Dene Zhatıé (South Slavey) and Tłı̨chǫ.

Nunavut has the largest population ratio of Indigenous peoples than any other region, where Indigenous people make up 85.9% of the population. Of those who identify as Indigenous,

almost 99% are Inuit. Inuit do not live on reserves, but in 53 contemporary communities located across Inuit Nunangat, which means "the place where Inuit live," in four Inuit regions: Nunatsiavut (Northern coastal Labrador), Nunavik (Northern Quebec), the territory of Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Western Arctic). The Inuit language is made up of a variety of dialects, including Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun. Inuit are represented by governing organizations formed to manage land claim implementation: Nunatsiavut Government, Makivik Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, and the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation.

Region-Specific Themes: The territories are unique in different ways, from each other and the rest of the country. Much of the toponymic work that is being done in the territories is further along than elsewhere in the country and, in many cases, these projects have been ongoing for several decades, especially in the framework of various modern treaties. One of the most significant place name changes made by the Government of the Northwest Territories was for the Mackenzie River, the longest river in Canada. In 2015, the Government of the Northwest Territories made five traditional Indigenous place names for the Mackenzie River official geographical names. Now with seven names—Dehcho, Deho, Fleuve Mackenzie, Grande Rivière, Kuukpak, Mackenzie River, and Nagwichoonjik—a person from any culture in the Northwest Territories can stand on its bank and know that their traditional name for the river is officially recognized. As the longest river in Canada, the Mackenzie River is one of the most significant geographic features in the Northwest Territories. All of the traditional names reflect the river's grandeur and translate as either "big" or "great" river. The river plays a major role, both historically and culturally, for the people of the Northwest Territories and is best understood as a strand of sinew tying the regions together.

Decolonizing toponymy is prevalent in the North with pushes to change larger bodies of water and islands like the Great Slave Lake and Baffin Island. Many communities in the territories have reclaimed their names in their languages across the region. Several participants shared how they involved their whole communities in toponymic research, and how oftentimes this included land-based research and ceremony. One participant noted that toponymic projects are part of modern treaties in some regions in the North:

> *"It's a land claim thing. It's how we interpret it. [Our organization] is responsible for it. No one else has taken it up."*

Furthermore, participants from the territories explained that they have submitted their place names and correspond only with the Northwest Territories and Yukon governments. For instance, in 2013, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI) worked with the Government of the Northwest Territories Geographic Names Program to officially recognize 418 Gwich'in place names. The GSCI further worked with the Yukon Geographical Place Names Board to recognize 60 Gwich'in place names on Gwich'in traditional lands in the Yukon, with an additional 156 names under consideration now. Potentially, over 600 Gwich'in place names will be officially recognized on future maps for the Northwest Territories and Yukon, significantly decolonizing the maps of northwestern Canada.

One participant further noted that some of the toponymic work that has been completed in this region is not being used in any way. Some of the challenges in the territories are related to limited access to resources in the North which impacts the processes of place naming projects.

> *"What is challenging to navigate in Nunavut is the lack of internet connection. Data collection and programs that rely on internet connection become tricky to use."*

There is a lack of capacity in mapping and GIS and some of the work needs to be done in the South because of the lack of resources. Participants expressed a desire to see the GNBC's provincial and territorial members commit to ensuring that Northern and remote communities have access to the resources they need to undertake toponymic activities.
Another issue is dissemination and the importance of making this work available to communities where internet access is limited.

Finally, despite an overall willingness to work with the GNBC and territorial naming authorities, several participants expressed a sense of hesitancy around sharing place names with a colonial institution.

> *"If it's going to show up on maps, is it going to sit on a shelf somewhere? I would be reluctant [to share.]"*

Participants felt that the GNBC needed to demonstrate that they would be using this knowledge in a good way before they would be comfortable sharing toponymic information with them.

Selected Toponymic Projects in the Territories

- *Gwich'in Place Names and Story Atlas:* The Atlas is an interactive online atlas that allows users to explore the culture, history, traditional knowledge and land use of the Gwich'in through Gwich'in place names. The Atlas also includes a set of 22 topographic place name maps for Gwich'in traditional lands in the Northwest Territories and Yukon (with 900 traditional names displayed), and a wall map with a subset of names. This place names and oral history research carried out over 23 years was the foundation of much other research carried out by GSCI. It has helped build a comprehensive heritage inventory for the Gwich'in Tribal Council for settlement lands, protect significant heritage sites within the Gwich'in Land Use Plan, identify new archaeological sites, designate eight new Territorial Heritage Sites and designate one new National Historic Site.
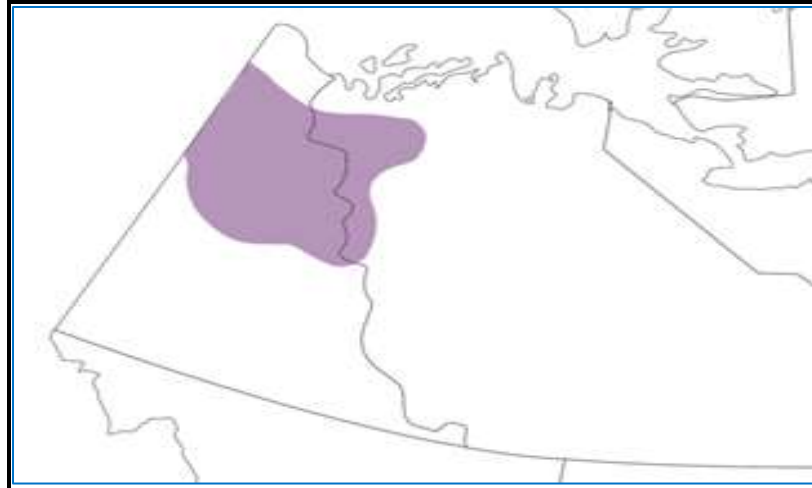
Figure.6 approximate area where Gwich'in language is spoken ©

Over the years, the place names research also resulted in changes in signage along roads such as the Dempster Highway, in communities, and in Territorial Parks. It was created in partnership with the Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre at Carleton University and the maps in partnership with MDT Communications Ltd. It includes participants from the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, Gwich'in Elders and traditional land users living in the Gwich'in Settlement Region communities of Aklavik, Fort McPherson, Inuvik and Tsiigehtchic. https://atlas.gwichin.ca/index.html / https://gwichin.ca/publications/gwichin-atlas-place-names-maps-and-narratives

- *Kitikmeot Place Name Atlas (Kitikmeot Heritage Society):* The Kitikmeot Place Name Atlas was created with the intention to record traditional Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun place names, including their pronunciations, meanings and associated oral traditions. This project is a collaboration between the Kitikmeot Heritage Society and the Geomatics and Cartographic Research Centre at Carleton University. https://atlas.kitikmeotheritage.ca/index.html?module=module.about

- Fifth Thule Expedition Atlas (Kitikmeot Heritage Society): The Fifth Thule Expedition Atlas is a visual compilation of the records of a Danish anthropological expedition conducted between 1921 and 1924. The project "seeks to develop an interactive multimedia atlas for the purpose of the digital return of Inuit cultural knowledge collected by the Fifth Thule Expedition." https://thuleatlas.org/index.html?module=module.project

- *Place Names Program (Inuit HeritageTrust):* The Inuit Heritage Trust Place Names Program is a decades-long project to document traditional Inuit place names. Its goals are to document traditional place names knowledge on topographic, thematic maps and make these traditional names official. *http://ihti.ca/eng/place-names/pn-index.html*

- *Dakéyi (our country) - Heritage sites, place names (Champagne and Ashishak First Nations):* This is a large map showing traditional settlements and old foot trails. The goals of the project are to document and protect their land-based history and to work to have these names officialized. *https://cafn.ca/government/departments/language-culture-heritage/heritage-sites-place-names/*

- *Tracking Change in Upper Kátł'odeh - Traditional Knowledge Assessment:* This project is a series of community-led initiatives to document place names through land and community based research. It is an example of place names forming a dimension of a traditional knowledge and use study. https://trackingchange.ca/projects/

- *Initiative to Replace Offensive Yukon Place Names with Indigenous Toponyms:* Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous political leaders are working together to rename using Indigenous languages for places named using a slur towards Indigenous women. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-place-names-indigenous-slur-1.5969761#:~:text=The%20term%20%22squaw%22%20is%20a,and%20S***w%20Point.

Thematic Analysis and Discussion

A growing number of Indigenous individuals, communities and organizations across Canada are undertaking projects relating to the (re)naming of their traditional lands. As the literature and regional profiles show, the impacts of historic and ongoing colonization have led to the erasure of Indigenous place names in many areas of Canada and have created barriers to their restoration. However, over time, Canadian organizations and governments are realizing what Indigenous communities have known since time immemorial: Indigenous toponyms are central, both historically and contemporarily, to Indigenous communities across the country.

The perspectives, experiences and concerns raised by those included in this research project further affirms what is suggested in the literature and regional profiles. These have been compiled into six overarching themes: the ontological importance of Indigenous toponymy; capacity and resources in Indigenous communities; the roles of non-Indigenous individuals, organizations and governments; awareness of opportunities, supports and potential partnerships; relationship to the GNBC and other toponymic institutions; and the need for sustained, long-term funding for place naming projects. These are summarized below.

Ontological Importance of Indigenous Toponymy

During the interview process, participants universally acknowledged the ontological importance of place names to Indigenous communities. Through colonial policies of renaming places that already had Indigenous names, the presence of Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island (North America) have been erased from view for most Canadians.

> *"These names were here before me, my family, and my ancestors. Everything had names. Trees. Mountain shapes. Understanding the land gave my ancestors the opportunity to navigate it in sustainable ways. Each location had a purpose as it would identify something specific of the location and/or the materials in or around it."*

Interviewees also expressed that knowing and sharing Indigenous place names helped to counteract this erasure, propagated by assimilationist policies like the Indian Act and the detrimental impacts of residential schools, and remind settlers whose land they were on.

Being surrounded by Indigenous place names would serve as a constant reminder for settler Canadians of who the stewards of this land are.

> *"We want non-Indigenous people to know whose land they're on, to recognize our history and peoples. It also shows our presence on the land, so people know this is our home first. And we want Canadians to be proud of this presence and history."*

In short, place-naming initiatives acknowledge the traditional territories and histories of Indigenous Nations who lived, thrived, and occupied those lands since time immemorial. Place-naming projects do the work of challenging current jurisdictions where municipalities and provinces may be unwilling to make significant changes and acknowledge the truth.

Through public awareness of these place names, non-Indigenous people are reminded of the nations on whose lands they live.

It was also highlighted how place naming projects support language revitalization in communities encouraging members to learn their language. Place naming projects are culturally affirming for community members because it helps them to see their language being documented. Witnessing the language being used to document places in culturally significant and relevant ways affirms community members' cultural identities. As one participant stated,

> *"There is signage throughout the territory. It makes community members and the old people proud of who they are as Quw'utsun' and Coast Salish people."*

It is important for Indigenous communities to reappropriate these spaces, and to affirm Indigenous presence on these lands. Participants also identified toponymic activities as a central part of language preservation and revitalization efforts by encouraging community members to use their language.

> *"We want for the language to be seen. All our street names in our communities are in our language. And community members know these words now, because they see them every day. This is what we want to develop on a bigger scale. For people to see the language and use it. It's part of our strategy to affirm our traditional territory."*

Asserting Indigenous presence through place naming projects helps to increase interest and stimulate learning of Indigenous languages. While the long term objectives of toponymic activities generally centre around counteracting colonial erasure of place names and language revitalization, many participants shared how participating in place naming projects can also have positive practical, short term impacts in their communities.

For instance, there is a need to equip Indigenous hunters with the tools and knowledge about the territory in their language. Documenting place names can help community members learn about the geography of their lands. Ultimately, all of these reasons serve as important reminders for what the motivation behind the work of the GNBC should be. As stated by one participant,

> *"Place naming in the language becomes a form of healing and medicine for the community members. The language ties everything back to the land and ceremony."*

Capacity and Resources in Indigenous Communities

The interest to undertake toponymic activities is present within many Indigenous communities across the country. However, participants expressed that they faced limitations regarding their community's capacity to undertake this work. Undertaking such projects often involves huge commitments of time, energy, and resources and not all Indigenous communities may be in a position to manage these projects. Furthermore, a participant shared that one of the limitations in carrying out Indigenous place names research, is the limited number of community people who can write the language in a way that meets orthographic standards for the language.

The lack of capacity within communities may also be due to other immediate needs and projects that take precedence over place naming initiatives. Participants spoke of other more pressing issues, such as access to clean drinking water, which often took precedence over place name research. While it was clear that Indigenous communities deeply value their place names and are committed to working to ensure that they are restored, such work does not take priority over some of these pressing needs in community.

> *"The issue with this kind of work is that Indigenous communities always need help with capacity. There is a two-fold relationship to support these projects. You need to empower the community to create the research they want to create, while also supporting them with capacity in some shape or form."*

Ultimately, interviewees wanted to see the GNBC address these concerns by offering support and funding for communities to undertake this research. While the GNBC does not currently provide funding for place naming projects, they might consider helping communities to coordinate in accessing funding from other sources. An additional theme concerning community capacity that was repeatedly raised by participants as a barrier for communities undertaking toponymic activities was the lack of reliable internet access, particularly by those in more remote and Northern communities. These sentiments were echoed by numerous participants from these regions, who expressed how challenging it was to have to deal with unreliable internet access, and how having to rely on individuals or organizations in the south was both costly and time consuming. Many of these toponymic projects can take years or even decades to complete and the cost of outsourcing data management is astronomical.

Roles of Non-Indigenous Individuals, Organizations and Governments

In many communities, non-Indigenous people have and continue to hold positions of leadership as it relates to toponymic/place naming activities. Oftentimes, non-Indigenous toponymists or geographers are hired by Indigenous communities to lead the technical aspects of these projects. There is also a significant amount of toponymic activity being done outside of, but often in partnership with, Indigenous communities. This work is being undertaken by non-profit

organizations, social and cultural institutions, post-secondary institutions, and municipal, provincial and territorial governments.

Participants emphasized that projects must be developed and implemented by Indigenous communities. These communities need to have ownership of the knowledge, data, and research being conducted and shared. Participants also highlighted that it is important that these projects include the involvement of all community members including Elders, youth, women, language speakers, Knowledge Keepers, and others.

> *"The role for these outside organizations would be to listen to the Indigenous peoples and acknowledge the communities to lead the place naming projects."*

Still, many participants felt that exploring partnerships between Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous organizations or governments would be beneficial:

> *"The partnerships can assist with securing funding and applying for opportunities ... With more organizations assisting the place naming projects, there are more resources for the [Indigenous] community to utilize."*

Overall, Indigenous interviewees welcomed the work that non-Indigenous allies were doing in partnership with them, but nonetheless felt that attention had to be paid to ensure that the work was done in a good way.

A particular area that was identified as somewhere that non-Indigenous allies could assist Indigenous communities with toponymic initiatives was in regards to the digital aspect of these projects. As previously mentioned, many Indigenous communities, particularly those in remote and Northern areas, struggle with a lack of reliable internet access. Furthermore, the digital equipment required to undertake toponymic activities can be very costly and many Indigenous communities may not be able to shoulder the upfront costs of it. Non-Indigenous allies or organizations looking to work with Indigenous communities on place naming projects should consider taking on this aspect of the work, in collaboration with Indigenous communities. In many cases, these partnerships are already in place.

> *"Communities collect the information and decide what names to use. We use our technology to put the name on the map and to tell a story, both visually and orally. It's about ensuring the community can tell it in their own way."*

Participants also called on the GNBC to aid in fostering these partnerships between Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous organizations.

Several participants expressed concerns about sharing the knowledge behind these names with non-Indigenous organizations or government agencies. Some knowledge pertaining to the specific details or origins of Indigenous place names may be considered sacred knowledge that

is held by communities with care and ceremony. As a result, Indigenous communities may be hesitant to write down or share such knowledge.

Some participants felt that the GNBC needed to demonstrate that they would be using this knowledge in a good way before they would be comfortable sharing toponymic information with them. The GNBC and other non-Indigenous organizations need to be cognizant of these intricacies and work closely with communities and Elders to be respectful of what can and cannot be shared. Even so, many participants expressed their potential interest to foster collaboration between Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous organizations, institutions or governments.

> *"We have to work together. It's an important step of reconciliation. We don't know one another. We need to work together, but politics gets in the way."*

Awareness of Opportunities, Supports and Potential Partnerships

Throughout the interview process, participants largely expressed that they were unfamiliar with the work of the GNBC. Aside from those who specifically work on toponymic projects, who are mostly non-Indigenous, many interviewees were largely unaware of the work that the GNBC and provincial and territorial naming authorities do. This is likely due to a lack of awareness based on promotion of the GNBC or the lack of relationships that communities have with members of the GNBC. Nonetheless, participants expressed their desire for the GNBC's naming authorities to reach out to their communities to establish a relationship.

> *"There would be a sense of excitement if the GNBC approached the community in regards to place naming projects throughout the territory. There would be an educational element for the community and others."*

According to participants, sustained commitment and collaboration from partners is important to the success of place naming projects. While projects must be led by Indigenous communities, working with partners is key to their success. Without mechanisms in place to support collaboration, relationship building, and partnership at the system level, Indigenous communities do not know who to turn to for support and resources.

Many communities undertaking place naming projects have partnered with academia. A handful of participants spoke about their relationships with provincial and territorial toponymic organizations, notably in Quebec with the *Commission de toponymie du Québec*. Participants had mixed experiences with these organizations, who were sometimes very supportive of projects, and other times were barriers to the completion of projects. Further, some participants were connected to various federal departments, like Transport Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, and Parks Canada, yet expressed a desire for more

concerted efforts, stable funding and genuine support from the federal government. One participant expressed that the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute always had a very positive relationship with the Geographic Names Program within the Government of the Northwest Territories, who were ready to assist in different ways, including, in earlier days, a funding program whereby communities could apply for funding to carry out place names research.

A specific area where interviewees wanted to see the GNBC partner with Indigenous communities was to help facilitate gatherings where Knowledge Keepers and Elders could get together to map out their lands. While this is something that numerous Indigenous communities have undertaken on their own, participants felt that the capacity and resources of the GNBC could be helpful for this undertaking.

Relationship to the GNBC and Other Toponymic Institutions

Despite participants largely being unaware of the work of the GNBC, most participants expressed willingness to work with the GNBC, provided they were approached in a genuine way. Nonetheless, there were several issues raised by participants concerning partnering with the GNBC that should be taken into consideration. Overall, participants expressed that honest communication between the GNBC and Indigenous communities was necessary to foster a relationship based on trust and mutual responsibility:

> *"I think communication is always a key part. Meet with communities to understand their needs and their priorities. Rely on our oral histories and our deep knowledge of our communities. Be willing to be uncomfortable, and be willing to be educated about the colonial narratives that you have propagated."*

Participants felt that the role of the GNBC should be to respect the Indigenous rights, local naming conventions and rights to the language. The GNBC needs to be mindful of the proper protocols for each Nation that they work with.

Participants felt that it was necessary that the GNBC needed to be honest about their own role within a colonial government. One way that the GNBC could explore their own role within the Canadian settler state would be to release a clear statement recognizing that these lands had names long before settlers came here and renamed them.

> *"Make it widely known that the Names Board knows that they recognize that these lands were named before settlers came here. I think if there was a model that would suggest that it's not just appropriation of a project or initiative without any 'meat and potatoes' behind it. If it's just for Canada to look cool, that's sort of empty."*

Ultimately, interviewees expressed that the role of the GNBC should be to highlight the truth about whose land they are on and to educate Canadians of the ongoing erasure of Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, participants shared that this might help to assuage any concerns that Indigenous communities had about working with the GNBC and to foster a relationship based on trust and mutual responsibility.

Participants also expressed concern regarding how lengthy the process of officializing a name could be. In some instances, going through the process can take decades and require huge commitments in terms of time, resources and money.

> *"Place naming processes in British Columbia can take decades. Instead of going through the process the community asserted themselves and their place names. Process needs to be shortened by the province and Canadian government."*

As previously explored, many Indigenous communities struggle with the community capacity to undertake and sustain toponymic projects. In addition to commitments to properly fund long term projects, the GNBC should consider a more efficient or culturally relevant process so that it is more manageable for communities to undertake.

Participants from Quebec shared unique experiences working with the province. One organization felt that they had been successful because they are supported by provincial toponymic organizations, notably in Quebec with the *Commission de toponymie du Québec*.

> *"We do work with the Commission de toponymie. We have yearly contracts with them, and they continue to support us. About 200 toponyms per year are officialised thanks to our relationship with them. [...] They make small requests for information, about 50 names at a time. We're a non-profit, so this works for us to work in small doses."*

Finally, one participant, who has experience working with provincial naming authorities, pointed to what they felt was a double standard in regards to officialising Indigenous toponyms.

> *"The element of it that we found most frustrating was the fact that for a place name to be recognized or accepted, it has to be [...] the exact geographic limit. It's very reductionist and a little hard for the Elders to wrap their heads around. If it was a hill, where does that end? Do I have to draw a line around the base of it? But it was an obligation of the process to do it. The irony of it is that when those features were named, none of that was done. But the First Nation has to do that work, which is a bit of a double standard."*

The GNBC might consider adopting a more fluid approach to how geographical place names are defined, so that it is more in line with how Indigenous communities interpret their relationship to their land.

Sustained, Long-Term Funding for Place Naming Projects

Almost all interviewees mentioned that a lack of sustainable long-term funding for place-naming projects was a hindrance to the success of their work. Without adequate funding, many place naming initiatives do not have the ability to hire and retain staff or purchase required equipment, for instance.

Furthermore, a lack of sustainable long-term funding also limits the research being conducted and affects all aspects of the implementation of the project. It has been identified by participants that projects can be lengthy, incomplete, and/or not as robust due to the lack of funding.

In some instances, participants identified toponymic work that had already taken place, including compiling local place names from Elders, but explained that they did not have adequate funding to advance further with these projects.

> *"We recorded all the Elder interviews [about place names] over 20 years ago, and we still have the tapes. We want this to be public, and we hope to work with someone to transcribe this information, but it hasn't been done. We need the capacity and funding to do this."*

This indicates that the interest and the expertise exists for toponymic projects but that they require sustained and long term funding for them to succeed.

Taxonomy of Projects

Indigenous place naming projects can be complex and challenging to navigate with limited resources. For this reason, it is essential to establish relationships with cultural institutions and organizations, postsecondary institutions, and municipal, provincial or territorial governments to assist Indigenous communities. Interviewees for this project included individual Indigenous people, representatives of Indigenous communities, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples who work with cultural institutions, municipal, provincial or territorial governments and postsecondary institutions. Several themes consistent with these classifications were noted by researchers and are explored below.

Projects Led by Indigenous Communities

Participants associated with Indigenous communities were largely unaware of the work of the GNBC and the provincial and territorial naming authorities. They noted a number of short-term goals for their work, notably equipping Indigenous hunters with the tools and knowledge about the territory in their language and language revitalization and retention. They were also motivated by larger and longer-term goals, including reaffirming Indigenous presence on the land and educating settlers about whose land they live on. In some cases, these projects centered around renaming a place that included offensive terminology. Participants from projects led by Indigenous communities wanted to see a greater emphasis by the GNBC on relationship building and sustained funding. They also wanted to ensure that these projects were led by Indigenous communities and that they retained ownership of the knowledge, data, and research being conducted and shared, so as to respect Indigenous geospatial data sovereignty and the preservation of Indigenous traditional knowledge (ITK) and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) systems.

Projects in Partnership with Cultural Institutes and Organizations

Cultural institutions and organizations that engage with place naming initiatives absolutely need the support of the Indigenous communities. Oftentimes, the cultural institutions and organizations are the supporters of the project and provide the resources and assistance to conduct the research. That support may be a wide range of resources such as hosting a series of community-based consultation sessions, providing tools that would enable land users to keep place names alive through the publication and distribution of place name maps, collecting and protecting the data, providing toponymists and researchers and building capacity to undertake the research.

Participants working for cultural institutions and organizations acknowledge the importance of returning colonial place names to their traditional Indigenous names or, in some instances, altogether changing place names so that they are meaningful and relevant to contemporary Indigenous communities. Participants of these organizations generally understand settler place

names are a means to erase Indigenous peoples from the land and water. Therefore, participants who worked for cultural institutions were largely motivated by a desire to preserve Indigenous place names before they were lost, and also acknowledged other benefits of place naming projects, such as language revitalization.

When it comes to engaging with the Indigenous communities for place naming projects, cultural institutions and organizations demonstrated the importance of trust and relationship building. Approaching Indigenous communities in regard to any research with the community needs to be done with mindfulness and a willingness to listen. Cultural institutions and organizations participants noted that not all data on place naming is public. There are examples highlighted in the research that these projects take years, sometimes decades and only have the data accessible to the communities involved in the place naming projects.

Projects in Collaboration with Postsecondary Institutions

Alongside most of the cultural institutions and organizations is the collaboration with postsecondary institutions. Postsecondary institutions may offer support such as research assistants, data collection, grant writing, access to technological instruments, such as interactive geospatial platforms and expertise in digital mapping or cartography. They can also offer a reach to other potential networks to contribute to the respective project. Within these postsecondary institutions that are involved with place naming projects, there becomes an opportunity for Indigenous students and faculty to work collectively with their Indigenous communities. However, it is important that the principles outlined in OCAP® (ownership, control, access, and possession) are applied in all research with Indigenous communities. OCAP® ensures that research and data is owned, controlled, and stewarded by First Nations communities or Indigenous organizations.

Projects Sponsored by Non-Indigenous Governments

Highlighted by those in partnership with place naming projects, there are instances where non-Indigenous governments sponsored and provided funding to the place naming research. Participants also mentioned there are provinces and territories that acknowledge Indigenous place names through treaty agreements with communities and Nations.

Through an extension of non-Indigenous governments, Parks Canada is actively involved in place naming projects in collaboration with cultural institutions and organizations, postsecondary institutions, and Indigenous communities. As stated on their website,

> *"Parks Canada has prioritized building positive relationships with Indigenous peoples and is committed to a system of national heritage places that commemorates the contributions of Indigenous peoples, their histories and cultures, as well as the connections and special relationships."* (Parks Canada, 2020)

NEXT STEPS

Wherever settler Canadians live, work and play, they are on the lands of Indigenous peoples. This may not always be apparent, given the historical and ongoing settler colonial ideologies, processes, and practices that have removed and erased Indigenous peoples from their lands. Over the past few centuries, the waters, rivers, mountains and lands have been renamed to reflect the culture and history of the settlers who colonized the territories that had been, and continue to be inhabited by Indigenous peoples since time immemorial. Yet, these places had culturally and spiritually significant names which related to Indigenous environmental and ecological knowledge, navigational information, and relationship to land.

Over the past few decades, commissions and inquiries like the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the National Inquiry on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), have brought the horrific history of Canada's genocide to light. As reconciliation and decolonization efforts are underway, there has been more and more support for cultural and language resurgence and revitalization endeavours, including the restoration of Indigenous place names.

The GNBC has an important role to play in supporting initiatives with Indigenous groups in their efforts to restore traditional place names. As part of this study, participants were asked to provide insights on how governments and organizations like the GNBC can genuinely, appropriately, and effectively support new and ongoing efforts. The findings from the information collected in this study informed the following recommendations regarding Indigenous toponymy, all of which are drawn from a close analysis of the answers given by the interview participants:

1. **Build relationships** with Indigenous communities, Nations and governments.

   Prior to establishing partnerships with Indigenous communities, the federal, provincial and territorial members of the GNBC should make concerted efforts to build relationships with community members, Knowledge Keepers and leaders in Indigenous communities. This will require sustained commitment, transparency, respect, investment and time, and should not presuppose expectations on the outcome of the relationship building process.

2. **Develop collaborative partnerships** and work with local Indigenous Nations to re-establish Indigenous toponyms.

   Following the principles of relationship building outlined above, the members of the GNBC should develop formal partnerships with Indigenous Nations and communities who want to undertake Indigenous place naming initiatives. These partnerships must be built on the priorities of communities, where Indigenous communities remain the primary agents determining the direction of the initiatives. As such, all partners must outline clear roles and responsibilities in a way where Indigenous partners are leading the way.

3. **Develop clear policies and processes** that lead to the recognition of Indigenous place names.

   The members of the GNBC should develop clear policies, processes and procedures that will guide Indigenous communities in undertaking place naming activities. Further, the GNBC must create awareness about these processes, potential opportunities, and existing supports.

4. **Advocate for cross-collaboration** across sectors and all levels of governments.

   The members of the GNBC should help create a seamless, coordinated process for Indigenous communities to undertake toponymic activities by enabling cross collaboration across federal, provincial and territorial governments and supporting communities in navigating the system.

5. **Create education and training opportunities** to build capacity in communities.

   The members of the GNBC should support capacity building in Indigenous communities through workshops, training, mentorships, and education opportunities with experts and organizations, to help address the challenges many communities face in terms of capacity to take on extra work.

6. **Provide adequate and flexible funding** and resources for communities.

   Governments should acknowledge their fiduciary responsibility to fund communities to undertake toponymic activities to address the impacts of colonial policies and law that sought to eradicate Indigenous toponyms.

7. **Recognize and promote** the importance of Indigenous toponymy.

   The members of the GNBC should promote existing initiatives and encourage the use of established Indigenous toponyms through inclusion in federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal policies, maps, and signs related to Indigenous place names.

The implementation of these recommendations will rely on continued work, collaboration and advocacy at all levels, and will ultimately lead to the restoration of Indigenous place names and the revitalization of Indigenous languages and cultures. Given the history of Canada, these are efforts that all have a responsibility to support.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE (PHASES 1 & 2)

Place names are of great historical and contemporary significance for Indigenous Communities. Place names carry importance in Indigenous cultures because they are reflections of creation stories, history and teachings, and markers of navigational information, environmental and ecological knowledge. They can convey the relationship between land and its inhabitants, or tell of places of danger, beauty, or gathering.

The Geographical Names Board of Canada (GNBC) is the national coordinating body for official place names. The federal, provincial and territorial members of the Geographical Names Board of Canada are working with Indigenous groups in their efforts to restore traditional place names.

Indigenous people across Canada are actively involved in efforts to identify, research, and compile local traditional place names. This research hopes to better understand the communities that are engaged in these naming activities, and their familiarity and willingness to work with the GNBC.

We would like to ask you a few questions about your community's efforts to identify, research, and compile local traditional place names.

Section1: Indigenous Community Details

This first section will ask a few questions to better understand some general information about your community.

1. What is the name of the community or communities that are involved in place naming projects?
2. What is the community's cultural decision-making body (community/government/regional or tribal agencies)?
3. What is the language and dialect spoken?

Section 2: Toponymic Project Details

The goal of this section is to obtain some details about any place naming activities your community is involved in. To clarify, this section will not ask for any details of Indigenous knowledge pertaining to the origin or importance of place names. As researchers, we understand that specific details or histories pertaining to Indigenous place names can be considered sacred knowledge that is held by Knowledge Keepers with care and ceremony. Furthermore, we also understand asking for access to this information could violate the research protocols of Indigenous communities, and so we are asking only for general information regarding existing projects.

4. What is the name of the project(s)?

     a. Are there multiple projects your community is involved in currently or has been over the last 10 years?

5. What is the geographical area encompassed by the project?

6. Given projects may be current and on-going, or conducted over the past 10 years

     a. When was the research project conducted?

     b. Has the project been completed?

7. What research methodology and approach was/were selected for this research project?

     a. How were place names and cultural knowledge identified, compiled, and documented?

8. Who were the participants involved? Who were the Indigenous community members involved?

9. Were there non-Indigenous participants/organizations involved?

10. How can individuals and your community access information about the research project/toponymic initiative?

     a. Is the project publicly accessible? If accessible online, please provide a weblink.

11. Are there recurring thematic categories or types of place names that can be identified in the collection of names as part of the toponymic initiative(s) for your community?

Section 3: Purpose of Toponymic Initiatives

This section would like to understand the reasons why your community engages in place naming activities. We understand that place names carry historical and contemporary importance in Indigenous cultures for many reasons including as a reflection of history and teachings, and as markers of environmental and ecological knowledge. Specifically considering the place naming activities in which your community is engaged, please try to answer the following questions.

12. Why was the research project/toponymic initiative conducted?

     a. What are/were the motives?

13. What are/were the short and long-term objectives for this research project?

Section 4: GNBC Experience and Future Involvement

As previously mentioned, GNBC is the national body responsible for official place names. In this section, we would like to better understand you and your community's / communities' experiences with the GNBC and what your community foresees for their future involvement.

14. Are you or your community familiar with the work of the Geographical Names Board of Canada (GNBC)?

15. How important is it (for both Indigenous Nations and Canada as a nation) that Indigenous cultural knowledge and place names to be officiated by the GNBC naming authorities (Provincial, Territorial and Federal authorities) ?

16. Has the community / government / regional or tribal agency ever submitted geographical / cultural names to a GNBC provincial or territorial naming authority to be officialised?

    a. If yes, how many previous submissions have there been?
    b. If yes, how was the submission experience? Did it have an impact on the community?
    c. c. If no, are there any reasons you are aware of for why the community has not submitted to the GNBC?

17. Would the community / government / regional or tribal agencies ever consider sharing some of the toponymic geographical / cultural knowledge with the GNBC's naming authorities in the future?

    a. If yes, what would facilitate sharing this knowledge (resources, support, understanding procedures)
    b. If no, are there ways the GNBC could support or facilitate this sharing?
    c. Have there been any concerns raised about sharing or this process?

18. What would encourage the community to share these names with the naming authority for the purpose of officialization?

    a. Are there any help that Indigenous groups or the GNBC could provide to facilitate the process of sharing?

19. How can the naming authority best facilitate this process while, at the same time, acknowledging and taking into account the local community(ies) interests, as well as, mitigating concerns?

    a. How can naming authorities consider the needs and interests of Indigenous communities?
    b. How can the GNBC support Indigenous communities and help address any concerns?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE (PHASE 3)

1. To which community or communities do you belong?

2. What is the language and dialect that you speak?

3. What is the cultural decision-making body in your community (community/government/regional or tribal agencies)?

4. Who are the people you seek out when you want to know the name of a location or a place in your language?

5. Do you know of any place naming projects happening in your community or at the nation level?

6. Why are place names important to you and your community or nation?

7. How would you describe the relationship between place names, land, and language?

8. How would you like to see your community or nation's place names recognized by outsiders?

9. Are you or your community familiar with the work of the Geographical Names Board of Canada (GNBC)?

   a. If yes, how would you describe your experience collaborating with the GNBC?

10. Would you like to see your community or nation's place names recognized by provincial/territorial or federal naming authorities?

    a. If not, what would be the reason(s)?

    b. If so, how can the GNBC support Indigenous communities or nations and help address any concerns they may have in regard to place names?

11. Would you ever consider working with the GNBC on these projects?

12. How can the GNBC build better relationships with communities or nations in order to work together on place name projects for the purpose of officialisation?

APPENDIX C: DETAILED REGIONAL PROFILES (NOT INCLUDING MODERN TREATY AREAS)

1. **Naming Authority: New Brunswick**

Nation	District	Community
Mi'kmaq Nation	Kespek	Esgenoopetitj (Burnt Church)
		Ge'goapsgog (Eel River)
		Metepenagiag (Red Bank)
		Natoageneg (Eel Ground)
		Oinpegitjoig (Pabineau)
	Sikniktuk	Bouctouche First Nation
		Elsipogtog (Big Cove)
		Elno Minigo (Indian Island)
		Fort Folly First Nation

Nation	Tribal Council	Community
Wolastoqey Nation (Maliseet)	Wolastoqey Tribal Council	Kingsclear First Nation
		Madawaska First Nation
		Oromocto First Nation
		Saint Mary's First Nation
		Tobique First Nation
		Woodstock First Nation

2. Naming Authority: Prince Edward Island

Nation	Tribal Council	Community
Mi'kmaq Nation	Mi'kmaq Confederacy of Prince Edward Island	Lennox Island First Nation
		Abegweit First Nation

3. Naming Authority: Nova Scotia

Nation	District	Community
Mi'kmaq Nation	Agg Piktuk	Pictou Landing First Nation
		Paq'tnkek First Nation
	Kespukwitk	Acadia First Nation
		Bear River First Nation
	Sipekne'katik	Annapolis Valley First Nation
		Glooscap First Nation
		Millbrook First Nation
		Sipekne'katik First Nation
	Unama'kik	Eskasoni First Nation
		Membertou First Nation
		Potlotek (Chapel Hill) First

		Nation
		Wagmatcook First Nation
		Waycobah First Nation

4. Naming Authority: Newfoundland and Labrador (areas not covered by modern treaties)

Nation	District	Community
Mi'kmaq Nation	Unama'kik aq Ktaqmkuk	Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation
		Miawpukek Mi'kmaq First Nation

5. Naming Authority: Quebec (areas not covered by modern treaties)

Nation	Community
Mi'kmaq Nation	Listiguj First Nation
	Gesgapegiag First Nation

	Gaspé First Nation

Nation	First Nation	Community
Malécite (Maliseet)	Première Nation Malecite de Viger	Cacouna
		Whitworth

Nation	Community
Huron-Wendat Nation	Wendake

Nation	Community
Mohawk Nation	Kahnawake First Nation
	Kanesatake First Nation
	Mohawk Nation of Akwesasne

Nation	Community
Abénaquis	Odanak First Nation
	Wolinak First Nation

Nation	Community
Anishinabeg / Anicinapek (Algonquin) Nation	Abitibiwinni First Nation
	Algonquins of Barriere Lake
	Eagle Village First Nation
	Kitcisakik First Nation
	Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg First Nation
	Long Point First Nation
	Nation Anishinabe du Lac Simon
	Timiskaming First Nation

	Wolf Lake First Nation

Nation	First Nation	Community
Atikamekw	Atikamekw d'Opitchiwan	Obedjiwan
	Atikamekw de Manawan	Manamaw
	Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci	Wemotaci
		Coucoucache

Nation	Band	Community
	Bandes des Innus de Pessamit	Betsiamites
	La Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John	Lac-John
		Matimekush
	Innue Essipit	Essipit

		Maliotenam
Innu	Innu Takuaikan	Uashat
	Les Innus de Ekuanitshit	Mingan
	Montagnais du Lac Saint-Jean	Mashteuiatsh
	Montagnais de Natashquan	Natashaquan
	Montagnais de Pakua Shipi	Pakuashipi
	Montagnais de Unamen Shipu	La Romaine

6. Naming Authority: Ontario

Nation	Tribal Council / Alliance	Community
Haundenosaunee (Iroquois Languages:	Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians	Wahta Mohawk Territory
		Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte (Tyendinaga)

Kanienkeha (Mohawk) Oneida Onandaga Cayuga Seneca Tuscarora		Oneida Nation of the Thames
	Independent	Six Nations of the Grand River
		Akwesasne Mohawk Nation

Lenape (Delaware)	Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians	Delaware Nation at Moravian Town

	Six Nations of the Grand River	Delaware at Six Nations
	Anishinabek Nation	Munsee Delaware Nation

Algonquin Nation	Algonquins of Ontario	Algonquins of Pikwakanagan

Anishinabe (Mississauga)	Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians	Hiawatha First Nation – Mississaugas of Rice Lake

	Anishinabek Nation	Curve Lake
		Alderville
		Mississaugas of Scugog
		Mississauga First Nation
	Independent	Mississaugas of the Credit

Ojibwe / Odawa / Potowatomi (Anishinabek of Great Lakes regions) - Non-numbered treaties	Anishinabek Nation - Northern Superior Region	Namaygoosisagagun
		Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek
		Red Rock (Lake Helen)
		Fort William
		Pays Plat
		Long Lake #58
		Biigtigong Nishnaabeg (Ojibways of the Pic River)
		Netmizaaggamig Nishnaabeg (Pic Mobert)
		Michipicoten
		Ojibways of Garden River
	Anishinabek Nation - Lake Huron Region	Thessalon
		Serpent River

		Atikameksheng Anishinawbek
		Wahnapitae
		Nipissing
		Dokis
		Henvey Inlet
		Magnetawan
		Whitefish River
		Wasauksing (Parry Island)
		Moose Deer Point
	Anishinabek Nation - Lake Huron Region (Manitoulin Island)	Wiikwemkoong Unceded Territory
		Sheguiandah
		M'Chigeeng
		Ojibways of Aundeck Omni Kaning

		Sheshegwaning
		Zhiibaahaasing
	Anishinabek Nation - Southeast Region	Chippewas of Rama
		Chippewas of Georgina Island
		Beausoleil (Christian Island)
	Anishinabek Nation - Southwest Region	Chippewas of Kettle & Stony Point
		Chippewas of the Thames
		Aamjiwnaang
	Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians	Caldwell First Nation
		Batchewana First Nation of Ojibways
	Saugeen Ojibway Nation	Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation
		Chippewas of Saugeen First Nation

	Nokiiwin Tribal Council *(Also includes Pic Mobert, Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek, and Fort William, included in Anishinabek Nation above)*	Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek
		Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek
		Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek
	Independent	Walpole Island (Bkejwanong Territory)
		Shawanaga First Nation
		Sagamok Anishinawbek
		Temagami First Nation (Teme-Augama Anishnabai) or Bear Island

Grand Council of Treaty Three	Bimose Tribal Council	1. Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation 2. Eagle Lake First Nation 3. Iskatewizaagegan 39 Independent First Nation 4. Lac des Mille Lacs First Nation 5. Naotkamegwanning First Nation 6. Niisaachewan Anishinaabe Nation 7. Obashkaandagaang Bay First Nation 8. Shoal Lake 40 First Nation 9. Wabaseemoong Independent Nations 10. Wabauskang First Nation, and 11. Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation

	Pwi-Di-Goo-Zing Ne-Yaa-Zhing Advisory Services	1. Couchiching 2. Lac La Croix 3. Naicatchewenin 4. Nigigoonsiminikaaning 5. Rainy River 6. Seine River 7. Stanjikoming
	Anishinabeg of Kabapikotawangag Resource Council	1. Animakee Wa Zhing 37 2. Big Grassy 3. Naongashiing (Big Island) 4. Northwest Angle 33 5. Onigaming 6. Wauzhushk Onigum
	Unaffiliated	Ojibway Nation of Saugeen (Savant Lake) (Treaty 3 Signator, but independent of Grand Council)
		Lac Seul First Nation (Treaty 3 signatory but Nishnawbe Aski member-included below)

Nishnawbe Aski Nation (Treaty 9 and Ontario portion of Treaty 5)	Windigo First Nations Council	1. Bearskin Lake First Nation 2. Cat Lake First Nation Cat Lake, Ontario 3. Koocheching First Nation 4. North Caribou Lake First Nation 5. Sachigo Lake First Nation 6. Slate Falls First Nation 7. Whitewater First Nation
	Wabun Tribal Council	1. Beaverhouse First Nation 2. Brunswick House First Nation 3. Chapleau Ojibway First Nation 4. Flying Post First Nation 5. Matachewan First Nation 6. Mattagami First Nation 7. Wahgoshig First Nation
	Shibogama First	1. Kasabonika First Nation 2. Kingfisher First Nation 3. Wapekeka First Nation

	Nations Council	4. Wawakapewin First Nation 5. Wunnumin Lake First Nation
	Mushkegowuk Council	1. Attawapiskat First Nation 2. Chapleau Cree First Nation 3. Fort Albany First Nation Fort Albany, Ontario (also known as Albany First Nation) 4. Kashechewan First Nation 5. Missanabie Cree First Nation 6. Moose Cree First Nation 7. Taykwa Tagamou Nation (formerly known as New Post First Nation) 8. Weenusk First Nation
	Matawa First Nations	1. Aroland First Nation 2. Constance Lake First Nation 3. Eabametoong First Nation 4. Hornepayne First Nation 5. Marten Falls First Nation 6. Neskantaga First Nation (also known as Lansdowne House First Nation) 7. Nibinamik First Nation (also known as Summer Beaver First Nation) 8. Webequie First Nation
	Keewaytinook Okimakanak	1. Deer Lake First Nation 2. Fort Severn First Nation 3. Keewaywin First Nation 4. McDowell Lake First Nation 5. North Spirit Lake First Nation 6. Poplar Hill First Nation
	Independent First Nations Alliance	1. Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug First Nation (formerly known as Big Trout Lake First Nation) 2. Lac Seul First Nation 3. Muskrat Dam Lake First Nation 4. Pikangikum First Nation 5. Whitesand First Nation
	Unaffiliated, within NAN	1. Mishkeegogamang First Nation 2. Mocreebec Council of the Cree Nation 3. Sandy Lake First Nation

7. Naming Authority: Manitoba

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty One	Southeast Resource Development Council	Brokenhead Ojibway Nation
	Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council	Sandy Bay First Nation
		Long Plain First Nation
		Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation
		Swan Lake First Nation
	Interlake Reserves Tribal Council	Peguis First Nation
	Unaffiliated	Sagkeeng (Fort Alexander) First Nation

Treaty Area	Nation	Community
		Dauphin River First Nation
		Little Saskatchewan First Nation

	Interlake Reserves Tribal Council	O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi First Nation (Crane River)
		Pinaymootang First Nation (Fairford)
Treaty Two	West Region Tribal Council	Ebb and Flow First Nation
		Keeseekoowenin Ojibway First Nation (Dauphin Lake/Riding Mountain)
		Skownan First Nation (Waterhen First Nation)
	Unaffiliated	Lake Manitoba First Nation (Dog Creek/Stswecem'c Xgat'tem)
		Lake St. Martin First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Three	Unaffiliated	Buffalo Point First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Four	Swampy Cree Tribal Council	Sapotaweyak Cree Nation
		Wuskwi Sipihk First Nation
	West Region Tribal Council	Gamblers First Nation
		Pine Creek First Nation
		Rolling River First Nation
		Tootinaowaziibeeng Treaty Reserve First Nation
	Unaffiliated	Waywayseecappo First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
	Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council	Chemawawin Cree Nation
	Interlake Reserves Tribal	Kinonjeoshtegon First Nation

	Council	
Treaty Five		Berens River First Nation
		Bloodvein Indian First Nation
		Hollow Water First Nation
		Little Black River First Nation
		Little Grand Rapids First Nation
	Southeast Resource Development Council	Poplar River First Nation
		Misipawistik First Nation (Grand River)
		Fisher River Cree Nation
		Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation
	Swampy Cree Tribal Council	Mosakahiken Cree Nation
		Opaskwayak Cree Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
	Unaffiliated	Cross Lake First Nation
		Fisher River Cree Nation
		Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
	Keewatin Tribal Council	Bunibonibee Cree Nation
		Fox Lake Cree Nation
		God's Lake First Nation
		Manto Sipi Cree Nation
		Sayisi Dene First Nation
		Shamattawa First Nation
		Tataskweyak Cree Nation
		War Lake First Nation

		York Factory First Nation
Adhesion to Treaty Five		Garden Hill First Nation
	Island Lake Tribal Council	Red Sucker Lake First Nation
		St. Theresa Point First Nation
		Wasagamack First Nation
	Southeast Resource Development Council	Pauingassi First Nation
	Unaffiliated	The Norway House Cree Nation
		O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation (South Indian Lake)

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Six	Swampy Cree Tribal Council	Marcel Colomb First Nation
		Matthias Colomb First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Ten	Keewatin Tribal Council	Barren Lands First Nation
		Northlands Dené First Nation

Nation (not affiliated with a Numbered Treaty)	Tribal Council	Community
Dakota Nations (The Sioux)	Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council	Birdtail Sioux
	Unaffiliated	Sioux Valley
		Canupawakpa
		Dakota Tipi
		Dakota Plains

8. Naming Authority: Saskatchewan

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Four	File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Council	Carry The Kettle First Nation
		Little Black Bear First Nation
		Muscowpetung First Nation
		Nekaneet First Nation
		Okanese First Nation
		Pasqua First Nation
		Peepeekisis First Nation
		Piapot First Nation
		Standing Buffalo First Nation
		Star Blanket Cree Nation
		Wood Mountain First Nation
		Kinistin Saulteaux Nation

		Mistawasis First Nation
		Muskeg Lake First Nation
	Saskatoon Tribal Council	Muskoday First Nation
		One Arrow First Nation
		Whitecap Dakota First Nation
		Yellow Quill First Nation
		Coté First Nation
		Kahkewistahaw First Nation
		Keeseekoose First Nation
	Yorkton Tribal Administration	Ocean Man First Nation
		Sakimay First Nation
		The Key First Nation
		Cowessess First Nation

	Unaffiliated	Ochapowace First Nation
		Pheasant Rump Nakota First Nation
		White Bear First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Five	Prince Albert Grand Council	Cumberland House First Nation
		Red Earth First Nation
		Shoal Lake First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
		Ahtahkakoop First Nation
		Moosomin First Nation
	Battleford Agency Tribal	Red Pheasant First Nation

Treaty Six	Chiefs	Saulteaux First Nation
		Sweetgrass First Nation
	Battlefords Tribal Council	Little Pine First Nation
		Lucky Man First Nation
		Mosquito-Grizzly Bear's Head-Lean Man
		Poundmaker Cree Nation
	Agency Chiefs Tribal Council	Big River First Nation
		Pelican Lake First Nation
		Witchekan Lake First Nation
	Meadow Lake Tribal Council	Flying Dust First Nation
		Makwa Sahgaiehcan First Nation
		Ministikwan Lake Cree Nation

		Waterhen Lake First Nation
	Prince Albert Grand Council	James Smith Cree Nation
		Lac La Ronge Indian Band
		Montreal Lake Cree Nation
		Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation
		Sturgeon Lake First Nation
	Saskatoon Tribal Council	Mistawasis First Nation
		Muskeg Lake Cree Nation
		Muskoday First Nation
		One Arrow First Nation
		Beardy's and Okemasis First Nation
		Big Island Lake Cree Nation (Joseph Bighead First Nation)

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
	Unaffiliated	Chacachas
		Onion Lake Cree Nation
		Thunderchild First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Eight	Prince Albert Grand Council	Black Lake First Nation
		Fond du Lac First Nation
	Meadow Lake Tribal Council	Clearwater River Dene First Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Ten	Meadow Lake Tribal Council	Birch Narrows First Nation
		Buffalo River Dene Nation
		Canoe Lake First Nation

	Prince Albert Grand Council	English River Dene Nation
		Hatchet Lake First Nation

Nation (not affiliated with a Numbered Treaty)	Tribal Council	Community
Dakota	File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Council	Standing Buffalo First Nation
		Wood Mountain First Nation
	Prince Albert Grand Council	Wahpeton Dakota Nation
	Saskatoon Tribal Council	Whitecap Dakota First Nation

9. Naming Authority: Alberta

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
		Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation
		Chipewyan Prairie First Nation

Treaty Eight	Athabasca Tribal Council	Mikisew Cree First Nation
	North Peace Tribal Council	Beaver First Nation
		Dene Tha' First Nation
		Little Red River Cree Nation
		Tallcree First Nation
	Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta	Bigstone Cree Nation
		Driftpile First Nation
		Duncan's First Nation
		Fort McKay First Nation
		Fort McMurray First Nation
		Horse Lake First Nation
		Smith's Landing First Nation
		Sucker Creek First Nation

		Swan River First Nation
	Lesser Slave Lake Indian Regional Council	Kapawe'no First Nation
		Sawridge Band
	Kee Ta Kee Now Tribal Council	Loon River First Nation
		Lubicon Lake Band
		Peerless Trout First Nation
		Whitefish Lake First Nation (Atikameg)
		Woodland Cree First Nation
	Western Cree Tribal Council	Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
		Alexander First Nation

Treaty Six	Confederation of Treaty Six First Nations	Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation
		Beaver Lake Cree Nation
		Cold Lake First Nations
		Enoch Cree Nation
		Ermineskin Cree Nation
		Frog Lake First Nation
		Heart Lake First Nation
		Kehewin Cree Nation
		Louis Bull Tribe
		Montana First Nation
		O'Chiese First Nation
		Paul First Nation
		Saddle Lake Cree Nation

		Samson Cree Nation
		Sunchild First Nation
		Whitefish Lake First Nation (Goodfish)

Treaty Area	Tribal Council	Community
Treaty Seven	Blackfoot Confederacy	Blood Tribe
		Piikani Nation
		Siksika Nation
	Stoney Nakota-Tsuut'ine Tribal Council	Stoney Tribe
		Tsuu T'ina Nation

10. Naming Authority: Northwest Territories (areas not covered by modern treaties)

Nation	Regional Government	Community
Dené Nation	Akaitcho Territory Government	Deninu Kųę́ First Nation
		Łutsël K'é Dene First Nation
		Salt River First Nation
		Smith's Landing First Nation
		Yellowknives Dene First Nation

Nation	Regional Government	Community
		Deh Gáh Got'įę First Nation
		Tthets'ék'ehdélı First Nation
		Ka'a'gee Tu First Nation
		Łíídlįı Kų́ę́ First Nation

Dené Nation	Dehcho First Nations	Nahʔą Dehé Dene Band
		Pehdzeh Ki First Nation
		Sambaa K'e First Nation
		West Point First Nation
Métis Nation		Fort Providence Métis Council
		Fort Simpson Métis Nation

11. Naming Authority: Yukon (areas not covered by modern treaties)

Nation	Tribal Council	Community
Kaska Dena	Ross River Dena Council	Ross River
	Liard River First Nation	Watson Lake
		Upper Liard

12. Naming Authority: British Columbia (Other than Nisgaa, Maa-Nulth and Tsawwassen modern treaties)

Tsilhqot'in (Chilcotin)	Tsilhqot'in National Government	1. ʔEsdilagh First Nation (Alexandria First Nation) 2. Tŝideldel First Nation (Alexis Creek First Nation) 3. Yunesit'in First Nation (Stone First Nation) 4. Tl'etinqox-t'in Government Office (Anaham Reserve First Nations) 5. Xeni Gwet'in First Nation 6. Toosey First Nation (Tl'esqox of the Tsilhqot'in)
Dakelh (Carrier) - 19 FNs total	Carrier-Chilcotin Tribal Council *(also includes Toosey First Nation included in Tsilhqot'in National Government above)*	1. Kluskus First Nation) - Lhoosk'uz people 2. Red Bluff First Nation (Quesnel) - Lhtako people 3. Ulkatcho First Nation (Anahim Lake) - Ulkatchot'en people 4. Nazko Indian Band
	Carrier Sekani Tribal Council	1. Burns Lake Indian Band 2. Saik'uz First Nation 3. Stellat'en First Nation 4. Tl'azt'en Nation 5. Takla Lake First Nation 6. Wet'suwet'en First Nation
	Independent	1. Cheslatta Carrier Nation 2. Lheidli T'enneh Band (Lheidlit'en) 3. Nak'azdli Indian Band (Nak'azdlit'en) 4. Yekooche First Nation 5. Lake Babine Nation (Nat'oot'en / Nadot'enne) 6. Witset First Nation

		7. Nee Tahi Buhn Band 8. Skin Tyee Band 9. Hagwilget (hereditary chiefs)
Ktunaxa (Kutenai or Kootenay) - 4 FNs	Ktunaxa Nation Council	1. Columbia Lake First Nation, Windermere 2. Lower Kootenay First Nation, Creston 3. St. Mary's First Nation, Cranbrook 4. Tobacco Plains First Nation, Grasmere
St'at'imc (Lillooet, St̓át̓imc, Stl'atl'imx) - 10 FNs	Lillooet Tribal Council - Upper St'at'imc (Upper Lillooet or Fraser River Lillooet) - Lil'wat First Nation (Mount Currie) of the Lower St'at'imc	1. Bridge River Indian Band - Nxwísten or Xwisten 2. Seton Lake First Nation - Tsal'álh, Ohin, Skeil, Slosh and Nkiat 3. Cayoose Creek First Nation - Sekw'el'wás 4. Fountain First Nation - Cácl'ep or Xa'xlip 5. Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation - Pavilion Band 6. Lil'wat First Nation (Mount Currie)
	Lower Stl'atl'imx Tribal Council(4 FNs of the Lower St'at'imc, Lower Lillooet or Mount Currie Lillooet)	1. Xa'xtsa First Nation (also known as the Douglas First Nation) 2. Skatin First Nations 3. Samahquam First Nation 4. N'Quatqua First Nation (Anderson Lake)
Nlaka'pamux (Nlakapamuk or the Thompson or Thompson River Salish) - 14 FNs	Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council	1. Boothroyd Indian Band 2. Boston Bar Indian Band 3. Oregon Jack Creek Indian Band 4. Spuzzum Indian Band

		5. Lytton Indian Band 6. Skuppah Indian Band 7. Ashcroft Indian Band
	Scw'exmx Tribal Council (Nicola Tribal Association) or Fraser Canyon Indian Administration *(Also includes Upper Nicola Band, included below in Okanagan Nation)*	1. Shackan Indian Band 2. Nooaitch Indian Band 3. Coldwater Indian Band 4. Lower Nicola Indian Band 5. Kanaka Bar First Nation 6. Siska Indian Band 7. Nicomen Indian Band
Syilx (Okanagan) - 7 FNs	Okanagan Nation Alliance	1. Westbank First Nation (Westbank) 2. Lower Similkameen Indian Band (Keremeos) 3. Upper Similkameen Indian Band (Keremeos) 4. Osoyoos Indian Band 5. Penticton Indian Band 6. Okanagan Indian Band (Vernon) 7. Upper Nicola Indian Band (Douglas Lake)
Sto:lo (Fraser River Indians or Lower Fraser Salish) - 25 FNs	Sto:lo Nation	1. Aitchelitz First Nation 2. Leq'a:mel First Nation 3. Matsqui First Nation 4. Popkum First Nation 5. Skway First Nation 6. Skawahlook First Nation 7. Skowkale First Nation 8. Squiala First Nation 9. Sumas First Nation 10. Tzeachten First Nation 11. Yakweakwioose First Nation
	Stó:lō Tribal Council	1. Chawathil First Nation 2. Cheam Indian Band 3. Kwaw-kwaw-Apilt First Nation 4. Scowlitz First Nation

		5. Seabird Island First Nation 6. Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation 7. Soowahlie First Nation
	Independent	1. Kwantlen First Nation 2. Skwah First Nation 3. Qayqayt First Nation 4. Kwikwetlem First Nation 5. Union Bar First Nation 6. Peters Band 7. Katzie First Nation
Haida	X̱aaydaG̱a Waadlux̱an Naay Council of the Haida Nation	1. G̱aaw (Old Massett) 2. Hlgaagilda (Skidegate)
Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw (Kwakiutl)	Kwakiutl District Council	1. Campbell River First Nation (see Wei Wai Kum and Laich-kwil-tach, also spelled Ligwitlda'xw or Legwildok or Lekwiltok; this name includes both WeiWeiKum and WeiWaiKai Nations; historically their name has been rendered as the Euclataws or Yucultas) 2. Cape Mudge First Nation (see Wei Wai Kai and Laich-kwil-tach, also spelled Ligwitlda'xw and this name includes both WeiWeiKum and WeiWaiKai Nations) 3. Kwiakah First Nation, also spelled Kwix̌a, another subgroup of the Laich-kwil-tach 4. K'ómoks First Nation aka Comox Indian Band

		5. Da'naxda'xw Awaetlatla Nation 6. Gwa'Sala-'Nakwaxda'xw Nation 7. Kwakiutl First Nation 8. Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em First Nation 9. Quatsino First Nation 10. Tlatlasikwala Nation
	Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council	1. Kwicksutaineuk-ah-kwa-mish First Nation (see also Kwicksutaineuk-ah-kwa-mish) 2. 'Namgis First Nation 3. Tsawataineuk First Nation
Coast Salish	Naut'sa mawt Tribal Council	Halalt First Nation, Crofton, BC Territories and locations of Naut'sa mawt Member Nations Homalco First Nation, Campbell River, BC Klahoose First Nation, Cortes Island, BC Malahat First Nation, Mill Bay, BC Nanoose First Nation, Lantzville, BC Sliammon First Nation, Powell River, BC Snuneymuxw First Nation, Nanaimo, BC Stz'uminus First Nation, Ladysmith, BC [3] Tsawwassen First Nation,

		Tsawwassen, BC
		Tsleil-Waututh First Nation, North Vancouver, BC
		T'sou-ke First Nation, Sooke, BC [4
Nuu-chah-nulth	Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council	Ditidaht First Nation
		Huu-ay-aht First Nation
		Hupacasath First Nation
		Tseshaht First Nation
		Uchucklesaht First Nation
		Central region
		Ahousaht First Nation
		Hesquiaht First Nation
		Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations
		Toquaht First Nation
		Yuułuʔiłʔatḥ (Ucluelet First Nation)
		Northern region
		Ehattesaht First Nation
		Kyuquot/Cheklesahht First Nation
		Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations
		Nuchatlaht First Nation
	Independent	Ditidaht First Nation

		Pacheedaht First Nation
Wuikinuxv-Kitasoo-Nuxalk	Wuikinuxv-Kitasoo-Nuxalk Tribal Council	Wuikinuxv First Nation Kitasoo/Xai'Xais First Nation Nuxalk Nation
Secwepemc (Shuswap)	Shuswap Nation Tribal Council	Adams Lake Indian Band (Sexqeltqin) Kamloops Indian Band (T'Kemlups) Shuswap Indian Band (Kenpesq't, at Invermere) Little Shuswap Indian Band (Quaaout, at Chase) Neskonlith Indian Band, (Sk'etsin at Salmon Arm and Chase) Skeetchestn Indian Band, (at Savona) Spallumcheen Indian Band, (Splatsin at Enderby) Bonaparte Indian Band (St'uxwtews, near Cache Creek) Whispering Pines/Clinton Indian Band (Pelltiq't, at Clinton) North Thompson Indian Band (Simpcw, at Barriere)

	Northern Shuswap Tribal Council	Canim Lake Band (Tsq'escen') Soda Creek/Deep Creek Band (Xat'sull/Cm'etem) Williams Lake Indian Band (T'exelc) Canoe Creek Band/Dog Creek Indian Band (Stswecem'c/Xgat'tem)
	Independent	Alkali Lake Indian Band (Esketemc) High Bar First Nation (Llenlleney'ten)
Treaty 8 (BC)	Treaty 8 Tribal Association	West Moberly First Nations – Peace River Country in northern British Columbia Doig River First Nation – Northeast of Fort St. John, British Columbia Halfway River First Nation – Northwest of Fort St. John, British Columbia Prophet River First Nation – South of Fort Nelson, British Columbia Saulteau First Nations – Chetwynd, British Columbia Fort Nelson First Nation – Fort Nelson, BC