On the Importance of Language:

Reclaiming Indigenous Place Names at Wasagamack ᐊᐢᑲᒪᒪᐠ First Nation, Manitoba, Canada

By

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Abstract

This research focused on utilizing Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and mapping to document over 500 local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation, Manitoba, and to explore the role of mapping tools in preserving and revitalizing local language and culture. Video interviews with local elder Victor Harper, highlight mapping and GIS as valuable, adaptable, and effective tools in supporting community priorities including: language revitalization, use of syllabics, land-based learning, connecting with the ancestral land, and land-use planning. His interviews, as well as the literature review, share the context of this work countering the immense impact of colonialism and the atrocities of residential school system, which forced a break in the natural order of Indigenous knowledge transfer. This research highlights and records the work of these elders, educators and land use planners in their efforts to reclaim not only local Indigenous place names, but their language and culture. Additionally, the process of mapping local Indigenous place names and including them as part of Manitoba's Geographical Names Data Base, increases the likelihood that Wasagamack's Anishinimowin language will enter the mainstream lexicon of Canadian society. The research further indicates that tools like mapping and GIS can have a positive impact on safeguarding language and culture, providing a permanency to knowledge that is otherwise retained orally among elders and at great risk of being lost to the world.

Acknowledgment

This journey would not have been possible without the support of my family, friends, and mentors. There are several individuals whom I would like to acknowledge.

Thank you to Elder Victor Harper for sharing his knowledge with me. Victor, you are truly the heart and soul of this research and I'm sorry that you are not here to see the end results. It is my wish that this work would make you proud.

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For her unwavering support and guidance on this thesis, I offer my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Shirley Thompson of the Natural Resources Institute who served as my advisor throughout this project. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Jessica Senehi, and Ms. Gaylen Eaton for their thoughtful feedback and insight.

A most heartfelt thank you to friends who supported me through this educational journey. Kari, Monika, Aneta, and Ola, I am humbled by your eagerness to listen, your offers of advice, and your support.

To my mom, thank you for your boundless love, support, and encouragement. You've always been my number one role-model and my hero. You taught me to face adversity head-on, to be curious and to ask questions, to be kind and compassionate, and to find happiness in small things.

To my precious boys Julian and Feliks, thank you for challenging me and making me want to become a better person. Because of you, I have a clearer vision of the things that are important in life.

Last, but not least, thank you to my loving husband Jason for being the sounding board to my thoughts, my editor, and my biggest supporter. Without you to lean on, I wouldn't be where I am today.

- Veronica

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to Julian and Feliks.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When you are able to speak your language, you understand where you are from and who you are. This leads you to a good life because you respect yourself again.

—Victor Harper, Wasagamack First Nation

1.0 Background

Canada's Indigenous people along with their language, culture, and traditional way of life, have been immeasurably affected by colonialism. Numerous policies and legislation were enforced with the goal, "to control and eventually assimilate the 'Indians' into the social and economic mainstream" (Thira, 2006, p.1). By forcibly taking their lands and displacing Indigenous peoples to reserves, European settlers sought to track and control the Indigenous population and "their traditional practices, which served spiritual, social, personal and economic tasks essential to the cultural survival of their communities" (Thira, 2006, p.1). The residential school system forcefully removed Indigenous children from their families with the intent to assimilate them and their families and communities into the dominant European society, with the ultimate goal of eradicating Indigenous nations (Milloy, 1999; Peristerakis, 2014).

As a result of colonialism, Indigenous people have suffered tremendous injustices, many of which are still being experienced today, particularly with respect to the loss of their languages. Efforts to bring back Indigenous languages are critical to the well-being of individuals, families and communities, and more broadly, to the health of all Canadians. Indigenous languages are a part of our "shared history and national heritage of all Canadians. They hold the keys to irreplaceable, intelligent worldviews and intimate understandings about the environment, intergenerational education and Canada's history" (McIvor, 2018, p.1).

In recent decades, Indigenous language revitalization has been identified as a human right. In Canada, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has called upon all levels of government to work together to try to rectify the harm afflicted onto Indigenous People and move forward toward a path of reconciliation. The loss of Indigenous languages is recognized not only in the Canadian context, but world-wide.

In response to the crisis, the United Nations has declared 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Language, citing that:

> Indigenous languages matter for development, peace building, and reconciliation. Languages play a crucial role in the daily lives of people, not only as a tool of communication, education, social integration and development, but also as a repository for each person's unique identity, cultural history, traditions and memory. (UNESCO/IYIL2019, 2018, Background section, para.1)

Collective, meaningful actions taken today to revitalize Indigenous languages can have profound effects on our existence as human beings. Indigenous languages hold "priceless insights into interspecies symbiosis and contain ecological knowledge" (McIvor, 2018, p.1) and are needed to help us live in peace and respectfully among one another as people.

1.1 Situating Myself

While attending a conference about land use planning on traditional lands, an Indigenous land manager, Ed Vystrcil (2017), described the process of mapping and the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) as the common language between two perpetually conflicting worldviews, Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Utilizing modern mapping techniques and GIS technologies, he emphasized, has the capacity to reaffirm Indigenous occupancy on the land and reclaim local traditional Indigenous place names. In a culture where much of the people's history, tradition, and language are retained orally among elders, Mr. Vystrcil's message was to

act now to document the vast body of knowledge that exists among his people or run the risk that it will be lost to future generations.

Indigenous people have a profoundly spiritual connection to the land, based on the belief that land is sacred and is the "great mother of all humanity" (Graham, 2008, para.2), a viewpoint which is often marginalized and not fully understood by those in power who hold a fundamentally different value system. Canada's Eurocentric narrative, which largely dictates Indigenous peoples' rights, dismisses the vast body of inter-generational Indigenous traditional knowledge as, "irrational relics of an earlier age" (Lane, 2006, p.386). The underlying principles of European power are rooted in the ideology of developmentalism, which states that all of society is on a path to development (Easterly, 2007; Lane, 2006). The focus of this ideology is on world goals; the autonomy of societies to choose their own path is seen as irrelevant to the eventual outcome of history. So how then, do we empower and engage Canada's Indigenous communities toward self-determination in a system that is stacked against them? This thought process ignited my desire to pursue the research herein.

Fundamentally, I believe the key to bridging the gap between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews lies in improved cross-cultural understanding and mutual cultural respect. To that end, reclaiming and preserving traditional Indigenous language and culture is imperative. Together, language and culture define who we are as human beings and provide the necessary tools for us to express ourselves. The Rt. Hon. Adrienne Clarkson (2016) writes, "we cannot act until we tell our own story in our own language—and, in doing so, add to the ongoing experiment that is Canadian life today" (para.11).

The research outlined below stems from my personal and professional experiences. As someone who grew up in Poland and came to Canada at 11-years-old without speaking a word of

the English language, I can attest to the importance my mother tongue has played in identifying with and relating to Polish culture. Language is key to cultural identity, and I believe it is a fundamental right for every human being.

For me, communicating in the language of "my people" has made it possible to truly connect—and stay connected—not only with my family and friends in Poland, but also with the expatriate Polish community in Canada. Professionally, I am eager and excited to have the opportunity to use my skills in mapping and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to explore how these tools can be used to protect and revitalize Indigenous language and culture—a vital and integral part of my adopted homeland.

1.2 Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is two-fold. Firstly, I will focus on using mapping and GIS technology to document the local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation. Secondly, I would like to explore the role and effectiveness of mapping and GIS technology in helping to safeguard Indigenous language and culture for future generations. This research aims to learn from the people of Wasagamack First Nation while exploring ways to protect traditional Indigenous place names, local language, and traditional cultural stories.

The research objectives are as follows:

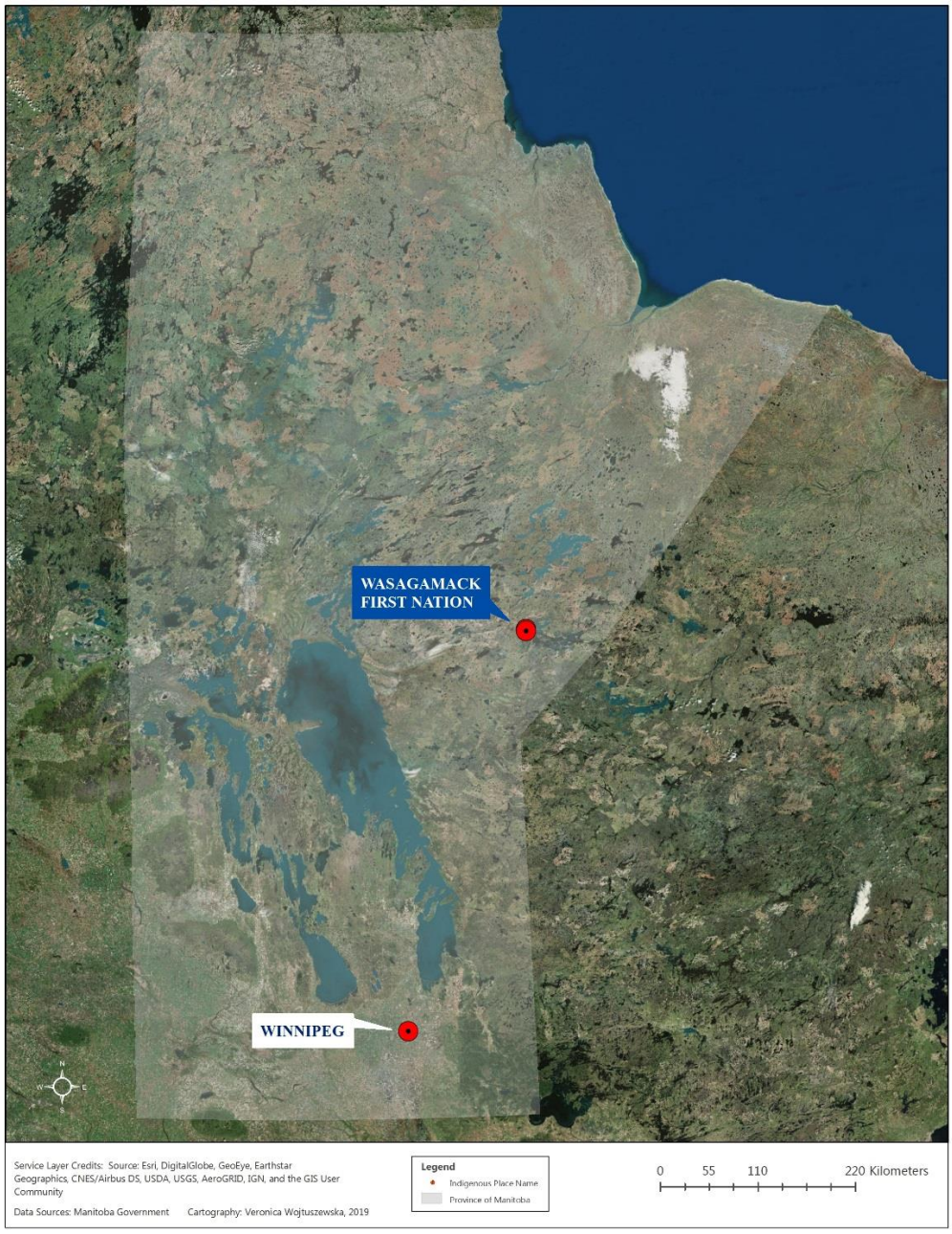
1) To document local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation and surrounding traditional territory.
2) To explore the role of mapping and GIS in helping Indigenous language and culture thrive, ultimately with the goal of encouraging mutual cultural respect and improving cross-cultural communication.

1.3 Community Profile

The research site selected for this study is the northern community of Wasagamack First Nation (see Figure 1). Wasagamack First Nation is one of four communities in what is collectively referred to as the Island Lake region, located approximately 605 km northeast of Winnipeg and 325 km southeast of Thompson. The three surrounding communities include: Garden Hill First Nation, St. Theresa Point, and Red Sucker Lake.

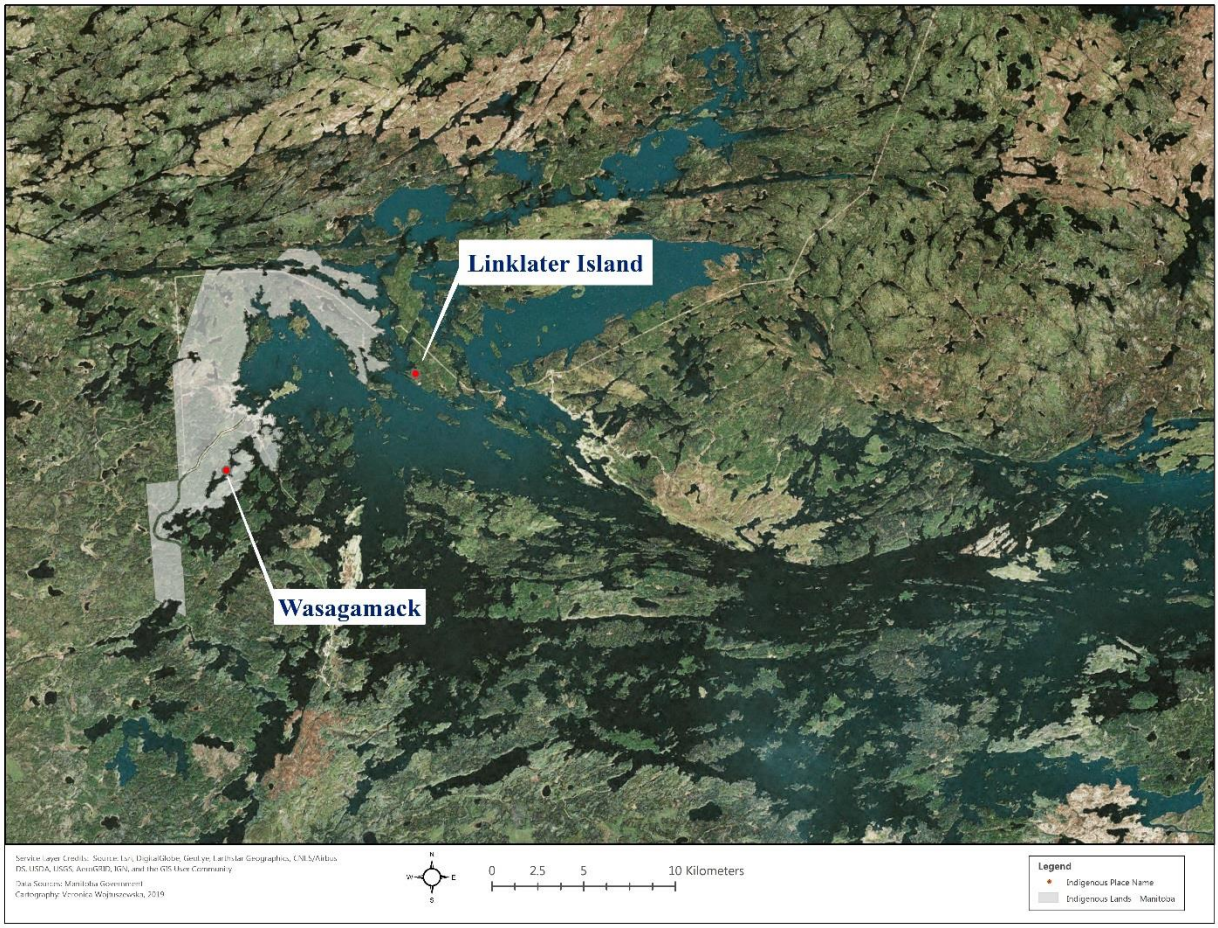
Wasagamack First Nation's population is 1,403. The reserve covers just over 80 square kilometers and is comprised mostly of single-detached dwellings (Statistics Canada, 2018). This remote northern community does not have an airport, and is accessible via boat or helicopter during ice freeze-up or break-up from the neighboring communities, St. Theresa Point or Garden Hill, or via winter road.

Figure 1. Location of Wasagamack First Nation.



Wasagamack became signatory to the adhesion of Treaty No. 5 on August 13, 1909. At the time, the Dominion of Canada instructed the people to move away from the land they had occupied at Linklater Island, known locally as Old Post (Wasagamack First Nation, 2010). Under the leadership of then Chief George Knott and Allan Wood, eleven families made their way to the shorelines of Wasagamack Bay, and the community remains here to the present day.

Figure 2. Location of Linklater Island - known locally as 'Old Post'.



1.4 Indigenous Language Profile

The local language of Wasagamack First Nation and surrounding communities is linguistically distinct. Officially, the language has been referred to as "Oji-Cree," however, the term "Oji" is considered derogatory by community members. Wasagamack Elder Victor Harper explains, "Oji in our language means maggot. We`re not maggot people - bastardized language" (Harper, 2017). Neewin Health Care's executive director Adam Wood, who is also from Wasagamack First Nation, condemns the term "Oji-Cree" to describe his people and their language.

> The Anishininew communities were referred to as "Oji-Cree" but are not to be mistaken for being "half" Cree nor "half" Ojibway. The Anishininew communities

> are the only distinct population of their kind in the province.… Anishininew have their own distinct and rich cultural heritage that differs from both Ojibway and Cree communities. (McDonnell et al, 2018, p.12)

The people of the Island Lake area, the Anishininew, are redefining who they are, and what their language and communities are called. The Anishininew people are shedding the settler terminology that has been applied to them and defining the course of their future. This process is an important step toward self-determination. In support, the following terminology shall be applied herein: *Anishininew* for the communities, *Anishiniwuk* to describe the people, and *Anishinimowin* for the language (FARHA, 2018).

The most commonly spoken languages at Wasagamack First Nation are Anishinimowin and English. In the 2016 Census Profile, the total population of Wasagamack First Nation was listed at 1,403. There were 1,365 speakers (97 per cent) of the official English language. Of those, 465 individuals listed the English language as their mother tongue, while 905 listed Anishinimowin[1] as their mother tongue. The community's age distribution profile is particularly relevant to the study of the Anishinimowin language, since Elders, not youth, tend to be Indigenous language speakers. 41.3 per cent of community members are between 0 to 14 years of age. Another 56.2 per cent, are between 15 to 64 years of age, while only 2.5 per cent are 65 and over. There are no living community members over 85 (Statistics Canada, 2018).

1.5 Research Limitations

Much of the secondary data which forms the basis of this research was collected as part of a past community project. A limitation of this research was the inability to connect with participants on the original project, since numerous individuals have since passed away. The

[1] At present, Statistics Canada uses the term *Oji-Cree* to refer to the local Indigenous language at Wasagamack.

individuals demise was a limitation, which underscored the urgency of documenting Indigenous knowledge.

Another limitation was the overall timeframe of a master thesis. The likelihood of a language and culture being revitalized within the same timeframe may not be conclusively measurable. A generational analysis might be worthy of further analysis to explore the question of how receptive younger generations are to mapping and GIS technologies, and how these methods and technologies affect their Indigenous language skills and connection to Indigenous culture.

Finally and maybe most importantly the barrier to this research on language was my inability to speak or write Anishinimowin or write out the syllabics.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter provides on overview of the research context and objective, a community overview and local Indigenous language profile. In this chapter I also situate myself as a researcher and discuss the motivation behind the project. The second chapter encompasses a literature review with an emphasis on: the importance of language in a general sense, the state of the indigenous languages globally, and more specifically, a look at Canada's Indigenous languages. I conclude the literature review with a discussion about the significance of Indigenous place names and the role mapping has in language and culture revitalization and preservation. The third chapter outlines the methodology used in this research. I begin with some reflections on Indigenous research as well as a further case study explanation. I then discuss the two types of research inquiry styles utilized in this project, and the sources of secondary and primary data upon which the thesis is based. The forth

chapter presents results and discussion. I begin chapter four with a series of maps depicting the Anishinimowin place names encompassing the traditional territory of Wasagamack First Nation and surrounding communities. Next, I discuss, largely through the voice of Elder Víctor Harper, the role mapping and GIS have in preserving local Indigenous language and culture. The fifth chapter provides a project summary, followed by conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The literature review section begins with an overview of the importance of language and culture in the overall progress of humanity. Following, is a discussion about the world's Indigenous languages, and Indigenous languages in Canada. Next, the significance of place-naming is explored from an Indigenous point of view. The chapter ends with a summary of how mapping plays a role in the revitalization and preservation of language and culture.

2.1 The Importance of Language

The importance of language has been recognized internationally by organizations which strive for world peace and universal equality for all human beings, such as UNESCO and the United Nations. In 2001, the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity was adopted at the 31st Session of UNESCO General Conference. Cultural diversity was defined as "the common heritage of humanity" and "as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature," making its protection vital:

> The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of persons belonging to minorities and those of indigenous peoples. No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope (UNESCO, 2001, p.4).

The Declaration further acknowledged the symbiotic relationship between cultural diversity, linguistic diversity, and biodiversity, as a key element in the continued progress toward universal human rights and global sustainable development.

The following recommendations regarding language diversity were made:

- Safeguarding the linguistic heritage of humanity and giving support to expression, creation and dissemination in the greatest possible number of languages.
- Encouraging linguistic diversity – while respecting the mother tongue – at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the earliest age.
- Incorporating, where appropriate, traditional pedagogies into the education process with a view to preserving and making full use of culturally appropriate methods of communication and transmission of knowledge (UNSECO, 2001, p.6).

Experts view the preservation of linguistic diversity as key in helping to move humanity forward, towards a path of living in a holistic and sustainable way among one another (Zuckermann, 2013).

2.1.1 The World's Indigenous Languages

In 2007, the importance of preserving linguistic diversity of the world's Indigenous peoples, was recognized by the United Nations General Assembly declaring 2008 as the "International Year of Languages". This year followed the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Language is explicitly mentioned in articles 13, 14, and 16:

- Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
- Indigenous people also have the right to be heard and understood in their own languages in different political, legal and administrative settings as for example in court, through an interpreter.
- Indigenous peoples have the right to set up and manage their own schools and education systems and the right to their cultures and languages being correctly reflected in education and public information. (UNDRIP, 2008, p.7)

There is an inextricable link between language and culture. When language is lost, culture is lost.

Verna Kirkness (1998), a highly regarded Indigenous language proponent, explains that, "language is the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from

one generation to another. Language expresses the uniqueness of a group's world view. Language defines who you are" (p.93). Settee (2007) writes that Indigenous cultures, which until recent history have not used written expression, have used language as the most fundamental way to preserve cultural information.

In fact, Indigenous languages are much more than simple communication tools, but are central to the identity of the people and retain extensive cultural knowledge. Richard Grounds (2016), Executive Director of the Yuchi Language Project, spoke on behalf of the Yuchi people on the importance of Indigenous languages:

> Indigenous languages are the core, the beating heart of our people, cultures and identities. Our languages tell us who we are. It is through our languages that we speak our worlds into existence. It is through our languages that we know how to live in this world (p.6).

There is a direct link between the health of Indigenous languages and Indigenous people, the former being an indicator of the overall well-being of the people. If the survival of Indigenous languages is threatened, so too is the survival of Indigenous peoples (UNPFII, 2008).

Experts theorize that a large number of languages spoken around the world today may become extinct by 2100, with estimates ranging from 50 to 95 per cent (UNPFII, 2016). There are approximately 6,700 languages spoken in the world today. Of those, an astounding 96 per cent are spoken by only 3 per cent of the world's population, suggesting the great majority speaks a handful of culturally-dominant languages.

By far, the vast majority of threatened languages are Indigenous. In fact, the situation is so dire that in 2016, the United Nations held a special meeting to discuss the urgency of protecting Indigenous languages and safeguarding the cultural identity and traditional knowledge of Indigenous peoples around the world. That same year, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 2019 the "International Year of Indigenous Languages."

2.1.2 Threats to Indigenous Languages

Experts view colonialism and colonial practices, which aimed to decimate Indigenous peoples' culture and languages, as the root cause of Indigenous language extinction. Through government policies such as relocation, forced assimilation, and the implementation of school systems which forbade speaking Indigenous languages, Indigenous languages today face the risk of dying out (Kirkness, 1998). Additionally, the problem has been exacerbated today by globalization, which has given rise to only a few culturally-dominant languages, further alienating and marginalizing minority languages. Some believe that without immediate and concerted action, the world may be facing a mass linguistic extinction (UNPFII, 2016).

2.2 Indigenous Languages in Canada

According to the 2016 Census of Population, over 70 Indigenous languages in Canada currently exist. These languages belong to 12 language families: Algonquian languages, Inuit languages, Athabaskan languages, Siouan languages, Salish languages, Tsimshian languages, Wakashan languages, Iroquoian languages, Michif, Tlingit, Kutenai and Haida. Several of these languages are now considered to be "endangered," while a few are considered "viable" in the long term (Statistics Canada, 2016).

In the 2016 Census, 260,550 Indigenous Canadians had reported speaking one of Canada's 70 Indigenous languages. More Indigenous people reported being able to speak an Indigenous language as a second language, as opposed to having an Indigenous language as their mother tongue. Statistics Canada suggests this as evidence that people are trying to "reconnect to their Indigenous roots" by learning their ancestral language (Sevunts, 2017). The stability of Indigenous languages depends on the ability of speakers to pass it on to younger generations as

well as government policy and supports in the school and other systems. In Canada, the number of Indigenous language speakers has been on a steady decline, thus resulting in a smaller base from which these languages can potentially be transmitted. To further compound the problem, the age of the remaining Indigenous language speakers is increasing, making efforts to safeguard Indigenous languages of utmost urgency (Burnaby, 1996; Statistics Canada, 2016).

As in other parts of the world, the decline of Indigenous languages in Canada stems largely from the forced assimilation and marginalization of Indigenous peoples' culture and language. *The Indian Act* of 1876 took away political decision making from Indigenous peoples, and later in 1884, an amendment made it mandatory for Indigenous children to attend day school, industrial school, or residential schools (Leeuw, Greenwood, & Cameron, 2010). Under the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, which began operating from the 1840s to 1990s, younger generations of Indigenous children were taken to residential schools where they were forbidden to speak their own language and forced to speak English or French. Young Indigenous children were intentionally removed and kept at a distance from their families to expedite the process of cultural assimilation. This system exposed Indigenous children to abuse and is directly responsible for disrupting the generational transmission of Indigenous languages, beliefs, and knowledge. The legacy of these atrocities remains today (Milloy, 1999).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was created as part of a "holistic and comprehensive response" to speak truthfully, to respectfully acknowledge the experience of Indigenous people in the residential school system, and to begin the process of healing and reconciliation. In 2015, the TRC summarized its findings outlining 94 Calls to Action with the goal to rectify the legacy of residential schools. The following recommendations pertain to language, culture, and education:

- We call upon the federal government to acknowledge that Aboriginal rights include Aboriginal language rights.
- We call upon the federal government to enact an Aboriginal Languages Act that incorporates the following principles:
  - Aboriginal languages are a fundamental and valued element of Canadian culture and society, and there is an urgency to preserve them.
  - Aboriginal language rights are reinforced by the Treaties.
  - The federal government has a responsibility to provide sufficient funds for Aboriginal-language revitalization and preservation.
- We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for Aboriginal families (TRC, 2015, p.6).

In 2016, Canada`s government underscored its commitment to revitalizing and preserving Indigenous languages when Prime Minister Trudeau announced the *The Indigenous Languages Act*.

2.3 The Names of Places

The names of places should represent the history of the land and people, which invokes language of the local people who lived on the land. For Canada's Indigenous population, this is not the case. During first contact, the common practice of renaming lakes, rivers or areas of land from existing Indigenous names into English or French, erased the presence of Indigenous people on the land and claimed the lands as free for the taking. Environmental activist and educator Briony Penn explains:

> It's about ownership. If you've got your name on it, then it's yours. When [European settlers] made a map of the West Coast and wrote *terra nullius* on it, they basically erased countless societies and cultures. That simple naming of 'empty land' changed the way people looked at that land. They didn't even see it as occupied.
> (as quoted in O'Connor, 2016, para.7)

Indigenous place names are neither arbitrary nor insignificant; they provide a richer understanding of the land and its people (O'Connor, 2016).

Métis visual artist and author Christi Belcourt (2013) explains what the reclamation of Indigenous names means to her:

> One by one, I am trying to learn the original names of places around me and speak their names out into words. Awakening into sounds and songs my respect for the places of my ancestors and the sacred ground I walk on. (para.12)

Taking back Indigenous place names is a significant and deeply meaningful process. Recognizing Indigenous place names is a way to honour and connect to a past which was hidden, to restore what once was, and to move forward with post-colonialism.

The process of reclaiming names signifies a turning point in Canadian society toward increased cultural appreciation and understanding, and moves this country closer toward reconciliation. In its 47th recommendation, the TRC calls for the, "federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous peoples and lands, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and *terra nullius*, and to reform those laws, government policies, and litigation strategies that continue to rely on such concepts" (TRC, 2015, p.5). Reclaiming Indigenous place names on the landscape asserts that Indigenous people - their languages, heritage, and culture - are a vital and integral part of Canada's history and future. Returning these original names and designations to our shared geography is an important step toward healing and reconciliation.

2.4 Mapping Indigenous Language and Culture

Technology is important in helping Indigenous people to protect their language and culture. Increased global access to the Internet has enabled improved communication and access to information, promoting literacy and economic opportunities (UNPFII, 2016). Creating local content, such as web pages, online dictionaries, and language learning apps, are a few possible

technological innovations which may help to safeguard Indigenous knowledge. Mapping and GIS is another example of modern technology which may play an important role is helping Indigenous languages and cultures thrive.

As the famed University of California Berkeley geographer Bernard Nietschmann once said, "more Indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns. And more Indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended by maps than by guns" (as quoted in Belcourt, 2013, para.8). Insofar as this is true, Indigenous territory can be expanded further by the reclamation of Indigenous language and culture. Indigenous peoples' profound connection to the land is deeply embedded in the culture and language. Therefore, mapping Indigenous presence on the land, and doing so while incorporating Indigenous language, can help not only to define but also to reclaim and reaffirm that connection.

The mapping process has the potential to heal Indigenous communities who were forcibly removed from their homelands, because mapping provides proof of their existence on the land (Vystrcil, 2017). Hunting and fishing spots, berry picking sites, sacred sites—these all exist on the landscape and so do Indigenous people; mapping has the capacity to return Indigenous people and their traditional way of life to the everyday landscape of Canada in a literal and symbolic sense.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology utilized in this research project. Firstly, I provide justification for the case study, followed by personal reflections on conducting Indigenous research, most notably, on working with Wasagamack First Nation's Elder Victor Harper. Secondly, I discuss the two types of inquiry modes applied to the research, qualitative and Indigenous. I conclude the chapter by providing a comprehensive overview of the secondary and primary data sources which underpin the research.

3.1 Case Study Selection

The study area selected for this research encompassed Wasagamack First Nation, and its traditional territory, broadly termed as the Island Lake region. Paramount to the success of this research was access to existing archival data as well as the ability to conduct in-person interviews with representative community members. Because my personal circumstances are limiting (a full-time working mother with two young children at home) conducting this research on a part-time basis, building the type of relationships as required for meaningful inquiry or stepping foot into a new community did not seem like a feasible option. Fortunately, my faculty advisor and mentor throughout this research, Dr. Shirley Thompson, has a well-established relationship with the Anishininew communities. Under Dr. Thompson's guidance, I was able to conduct this research with the community of Wasagamack First Nation.

Centering part of my research project on secondary data seemed like a reasonable course of action. Here once again, Dr. Thompson was a tremendous help. Because of her ongoing relationship with the Anishininew communities, Dr. Thompson has, through her research and

previous projects, extensively collected and archived data in these communities. Of particular interest to me was secondary data related to local Indigenous place names. Some time ago, members of the Anishininew communities undertook a project called, *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba*, which aimed to collect local Anishinimowin place names, and related cultural and traditional knowledge. The geographical area for this project covered the Island Lake region, Wasagamack First Nation included. This dataset was eventually provided to Dr. Thompson to use for ongoing research. I was able to incorporate and analyze this data as part of this project.

In additional to a secondary data source, I felt incorporating a primary data source to this research was crucial. Because the heart of this research deals with data related to a language and culture that is foreign to me, I needed a voice from within the community who would give meaning to the secondary data collected and to provide guidance on this research journey. That voice was Wasagamack First Nation's Elder Victor Harper. Victor was a man committed to preserving the language and culture of his people and open to the use of technology as a means to build a bridge between cultures. I am immensely grateful for the teachings that Victor imparted on me as well as his patience and willingness to guide me throughout this project.

3.2 Reflections on Indigenous Research

At the beginning of my studies at the Natural Resources Institute, I had the pleasure of seeing several of my classmates (who were nearing the end of their studies) present their research; the projects spanned the globe, the experiences were rich and diverse, and the lessons learned were many. At the time, I hadn't yet decided on the type of research I wanted to conduct, so it was too early to apply their experiences to my own research. However, there was one particular message that struck me.

A presenter was describing her experiences as a researcher in Costa Rica; she talked about teaching the local women and children the English language. She talked about being involved in a women's knitting group and playing games with the children. She did these activities in the most genuine way, to become a part of the community and to learn from the community members. The researcher finished her talk underlining that when conducting research in a community, we must make the relationship meaningful and reciprocal. Leave something behind, she stressed, it can be a meaningful interaction, a show of respect or understanding, or a kind gesture, but it should be something that has a positive influence on the community. I have kept this message in the back of my mind throughout this research journey.

As a non-Indigenous researcher conducting research among Indigenous people and within an Indigenous community, I questioned (and continue to question) how to make meaning within this frame. Eaton (2008) states that more collaborative approaches to cross-cultural research necessitate, "reflection on the researcher's attitudes, behavior and question how research designed is affected by ones' own cultural lens" (p.50). My cultural lens is deeply rooted in my personal experiences; that of an immigrant coming to Canada at age eleven, not knowing the language and culture of my new adopted home.

Going through the immigrant experience has taught me a great deal about the importance of holding onto one's language and cultural identity. As I see it, language and culture make up the basic parts of who you are as a person, and what you identify with. To forcefully take away those parts from a person, means that the identity of that person is stripped away.

3.3 Methodology

This research was framed within a mix of two methodologies: qualitative inquiry paradigm and Indigenous research paradigm. Both of these approaches add depth and value to this project.

3.3.1 The Qualitative Inquiry

The qualitative research method is a Western scientific method, suited for certain types of research questions. This type of research deals with, "the meanings, concepts definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and description of things" (Berg & Lune, 2012, p.3). According to Family Health International's *Data Collector's Field Guide*:

> The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue – that is, the often contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005, p.1).

Research methodologies are often broken down and described according to a set of characteristics. Figure 3 examines how the qualitative research method applies to the research herein using the following parameters: goal, research question, data, design, data collection tools, participant selection, analysis, and results (McGill University, n.d.).

Figure 3. Qualitative inquiry components as applied to this research project with Wasagamack First Nation.

	Qualitative Inquiry Method	Research Project w/t Wasagamack First Nation
Goal	• Aims to understand human behavior • Focused on meaning and is often descriptive.	• Aims to understand the relationship between language, culture, and Indigenous place names. • Indigenous place names are vital to the cultural identity of the people and offer an opportunity to preserve language. • The meaning of this complex relationship can only truly be expressed by the people.
Research Question	• Often applied to exploratory research.	• The research questions herein seek to document Indigenous place names and to explore the role of mapping and GIS in the revitalization and preservation of language and culture.
Data	• This approach uses varied data types.	• The data comes from primary and secondary sources. • Majority of research is based on interviews with community elders and other members.
Design	• Design must be flexible and may evolve, given the exploratory nature of the method.	• The design of this research was expanded to include syllabics. It became clear, through interviews with community elders, that syllabics are a vital piece of the puzzle in the study of language and culture at Wasagamack First Nation.
Data Collection Tools	• Tools often used in the qualitative method include interviews or observation, often in a participant's natural setting.	• Primary data was collected through in-depth face-to-face interviews. • Interviews were conducted in a variety of natural settings at the discretion of the participant (e.g. family home, hospital, hotel room, Indigenous education centre).
Analysis	• Analysis can be based on the characterization of data into patterns. • The researcher may induce and build theories based on the data.	• Analysis of the data collected herein was based on examining the in-person interviews and identifying important themes. • Based on the emergent themes, certain conclusions were made based on the data.
Results	• The results are often rooted in the participants' own understanding of the world around them.	• The results of this research are embedded in the message of the study participants. • This study tries to convey the voice of community members and elders of Wasagamack First Nation

3.3.2 The Indigenous Inquiry

At the onset of this project, I knew very little about the Indigenous research method, or even that one existed. That in itself is perhaps telling how engrained in the Western worldview is the idea that what is worthy of knowing, or how the world is to be dissected, examined, and understood, can only be done from "the one" point of view. Throughout this research journey, my own, what I would call, "norms," have been questioned and put to the test, at times making me re-evaluate my worldview.

Eurocentric research has been accused of emanating the "worst excesses of colonialism" (Tuhiwai Smith, 2001, p.2). Datta (2018) writes that for Indigenous communities:

> The terms research and researcher present challenges . . . because rather than recognizing Indigenous worldviews or ways of viewing life and the world around them, researchers trained only in Western scientific methods employ them from a colonial perspective that Indigenous peoples experience as a form of violence, exploitation, and discrimination towards their land, culture, and knowledge (p.1).

Scholars argue that Eurocentric research relies on positivist and post-positivist paradigms, which are rooted in the idea that only a single truth exists that values scientific knowledge above all other knowledge (Braun, Browne, Ka'opua, Kim, & Mokuau, 2014). Within this type of paradigm there is no room for knowledge which is based on a fundamentally different worldview.

While the Eurocentric research method awaits a reckoning, Indigenous scholars such as Marie Battiste, Winona LaDuke, Myrle Ballard, and Shawn Wilson, to name only a few, forge ahead with articulating Indigenous research concepts. Wilson (2008) argues that rather than having to justify the idea of being Indigenous to the dominant Eurocentric society and academia, "We (Indigenous People) can develop our own criteria for judging the usefulness, validity or worth of Indigenous research and writing. We can decide for ourselves what research we want

and how that research will be conducted, analyzed and presented" (chp.1, sec. Research is Ceremony, para.1).

Of its own accord, Indigenous knowledge systems and Indigenous research methods stand to challenge the pervasive impression that only Eurocentric ways of knowing are legitimate (Ballard, 2012). In recent years, there has been much interest in the relationship of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and sustainable development. At face value, the concept of sustainable development is considered to be Western, coined by *The Brundtland Report* and published in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (IISD, 2018).

As Indigenous knowledge systems continue to be recognized, so does the inherent ability of Indigenous peoples to live sustainably and in harmony with the environment (Ballard, 2012; Nelson, 2008; Deloria, 2003). The Indigenous worldview and ways of viewing and knowing offer insight beneficial to humanity and it is therefore imperative that Indigenous research methodologies are more fully understood and respected. Wilson (2007) suggests that Indigenous research can be advanced by, "anyone who chooses to follow its tenets" (p.193). On behalf of himself and the Indigenous scholar community, Wilson set forth the following principles for guiding research. I highlight a few of them below:

- Respect for all forms of life as being related and interconnected.
- Conduct all actions and interactions in a spirit of kindness and honesty; compassion.
- The reason for doing the research must be one that bring benefits to community.
- The foundation of the research question must lie within the reality of the Indigenous experience.
- Any theories developed and proposed must be grounded in an Indigenous epistemology and supported by Elders and the community that live out this particular epistemology.
- It will be recognized that transformation within every living entity participating in the research will be one of the outcomes of every project.

- It is recognized that the language and cultures of Indigenous peoples are living processes and that research and the discovery of knowledge is an ongoing function forth thinkers and scholars of every Indigenous group.
  (Wilson, S., 2007, p.195)

With these tenants in mind, I undertake the research herein.

3.4 Research Approach

The following section discusses the approach of this research project, starting off by listing the research tools and describing the ethics approval processes. An essential part of the research lies in the coherent and meaningful integration of secondary and primary data. The steps taken to achieve this cohesion are described below.

3.4.1 Research Tools

The research tools utilized in this project include the following:

1) Video Camera;
2) Interview Questions; and,
3) Informed Consent.

3.4.2 Ethics Approval

Under the University of Manitoba's guidelines, research conducted within a First Nation community requires approval by the Human Ethics Board. As part of this research, ethics approvals were gained under an existing ethics obtained by Dr. Shirley Thompson.

A second approval process in place for individual participants was through the process of informed consent. At the beginning of my series of interviews with Elder Victor Harper, I

discussed the scope of my research and objectives. Mr. Harper accepted the proposed research and agreed through the mechanism of informed consent, to a series of in-person interviews.

On a community level, Dr. Thompson shared the research concept with community members of Garden Hill First Nation, where many of the names were collected as part of the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project. The community members accepted the research. Elders were particularly enthusiastic about the idea that the names would be incorporated into the official Manitoba Provincial Names database because of the inherent authority (S. Thompson, personal communication, August, 2018).

3.5 Secondary Data: Project Description, Data Assessment and Processing (Phase 1)

Secondary data collected through the community-led project, *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba,* was a key component in this research project. However, since I wasn't personally involved in the collection of the data, it was important for me to understand the circumstances of how the names were collected, who was involved, and what the intended purpose of the data was. Following, I describe the original scope of project, give an overview of how the data collection was conducted, show an example of the raw data, and explain how I was able to confirm the validity and intended purpose of the project.

3.5.1 Project Description - *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba*

The effort to collect local Anishinimowin place names in Wasagamack as well as surrounding communities of St. Theresa Point, Garden Hill, and Red Sucker Lake, began with Mr. Ted Wilson and Ms. Connie Singleterry. Over a period of several years, Mr. Wilson met with local elders, trappers, hunters, fishermen, language teachers and educators, to archive local

knowledge pertaining to place names. A detailed list of key informants on the project is found in Appendix A. During the meetings, participants reviewed paper copies of 1:50,000 maps and imparted names, definitions, and stories.

In addition to conducting meetings with local community members, Mr. Wilson researched the names of places as given by the federal government as well as relevant historic information. He continued revising the maps until his death (C. Singleterry, personal communication, July, 2018). Ms. Singleterry's role in the project was to organize, scan, and number the maps. To date, Ms. Singleterry has been key in providing me with background information about the project and also in validating the legitimacy of the project. It is under her guidance, that I was able to understand how the names database came into existence.

Upon completion of the project, the local place names database remained in paper format and was provided thusly to the Natural Resources Institute in Dr. Thompson's care. The collected toponyms represent features on the land such as lakes, rivers, falls, portages, etc., in addition to important historical and cultural sites such as grave sites. The Anishinimowin place names are translated into the English language. The database also contains oral histories, revealing stories and cultural beliefs corresponding to place names. Below are some examples of the place names dataset:

Pansowan Sipink (creek):
- English translation: Smoking Fish Creek
- Cultural Reference: The old people [ancestors] used to camp here and catch fish, fillet them and smoke them.

Wasakunawewinik Niasik (narrows):
- English translation: Beacon Narrows
- Cultural Reference: Literally means, "someone made a fire during the night which could be seen by others".

Kakonikateosipink (creek):

- Cultural Reference: A trapper failed to jump the creek but his long legs saved him from going under.

Wasagamack First Nation (community):

- Historical Reference: The first settlement was established around the beginning of the 20th century by George Knott, later chief. However, the people remained nomadic in the area around Stevenson Lake, only settling here permanently in the mid-1960s when the first school was built. The name was officially changed to Wasagamack in 1999. CPGCN records (1964) noted the adoption of the community name Waasagomach (as opposed to Wassagomach) in order to maintain the same spelling as Waasagomach Bay after which it was named. The Post Office in Ottawa (1974) recorded the establishment of the new Post Office of Waasagomach Bay and its subsequent closing in 1976. CPCGN correspondence (1975) from the Band Council indicated that local usage was Wasagamack or Wasagamack Bay. Fieldwork confirms this latter form for both bay and community. And this became the official spelling for both in 1999. It is now known as Wasagamack First Nation.

It should be noted that not all of the local place names collected as part of this project have a name in the local Anishinimowin language, such as in the case of Wasagamack Bay and Wasagamack First Nation (noted above). Numerous place names in the traditional territory have English names which have simply been adopted to be the official name within the community. Nonetheless, the historical and cultural information collected through this project regarding the English place names is immensely valuable.

3.5.2 Creating a Spatial Database

As mentioned above, the names data I acquired was not electronic but in paper format. The names were organized according to the 1:50,000 National Topographic System (NTS), covering the traditional territory of the Island Lake region. Figure 4 shows an example of one map sheet, York Lake. Each map was broken down further into six smaller geographical areas (see Figure 5); place names were written on a separate sheet corresponding to the map using a numeric system (see Figure 6).

Figure 4. York Lake, Manitoba – 1:50,000 NTS Map. Contains information licensed under the Open Government Licence – Canada.

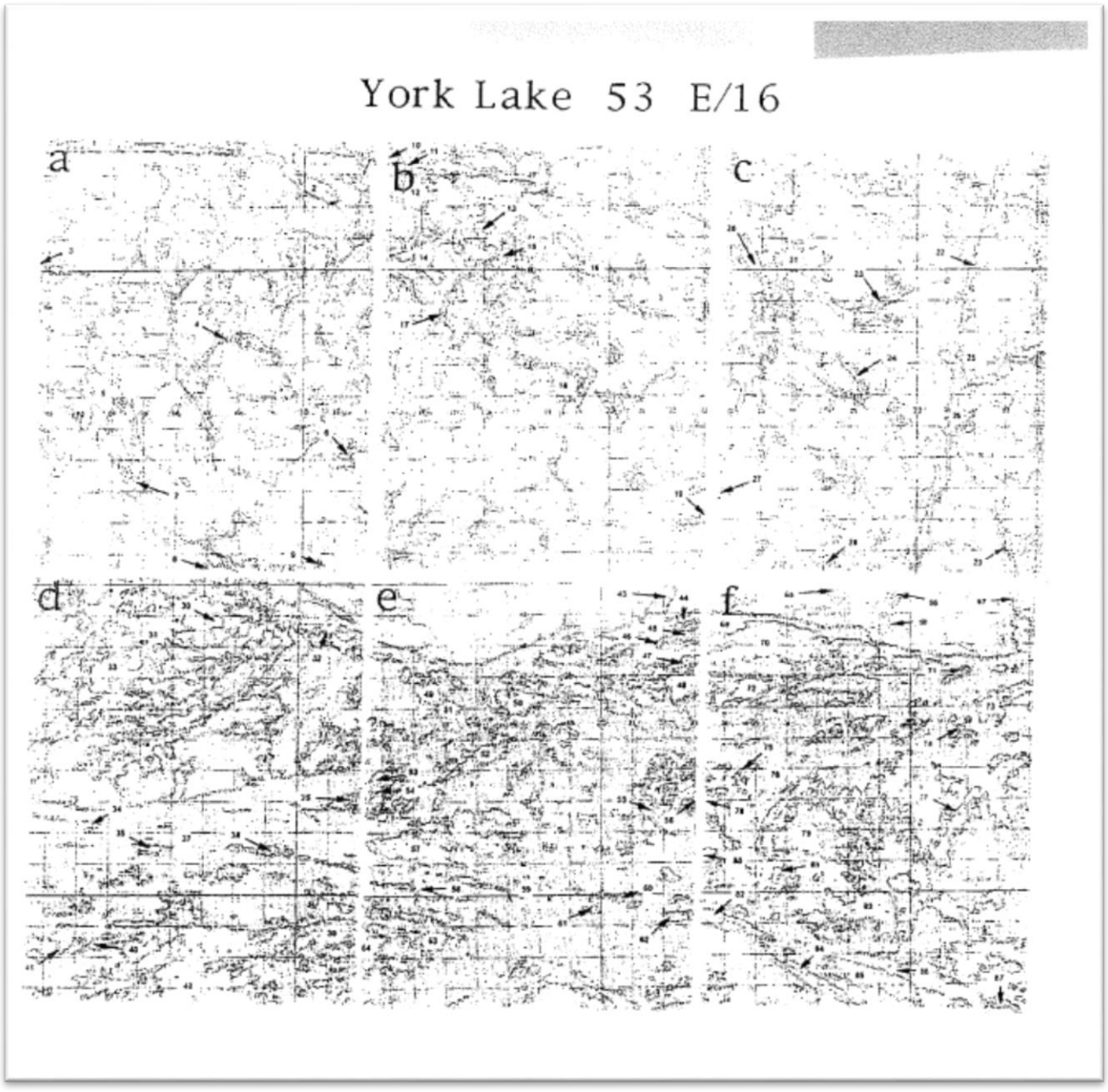


Figure 5. York Lake, Manitoba – 1:50,000 NTS Map, section 53 E/16a. Contains information licensed under the Open Government Licence – Canada.

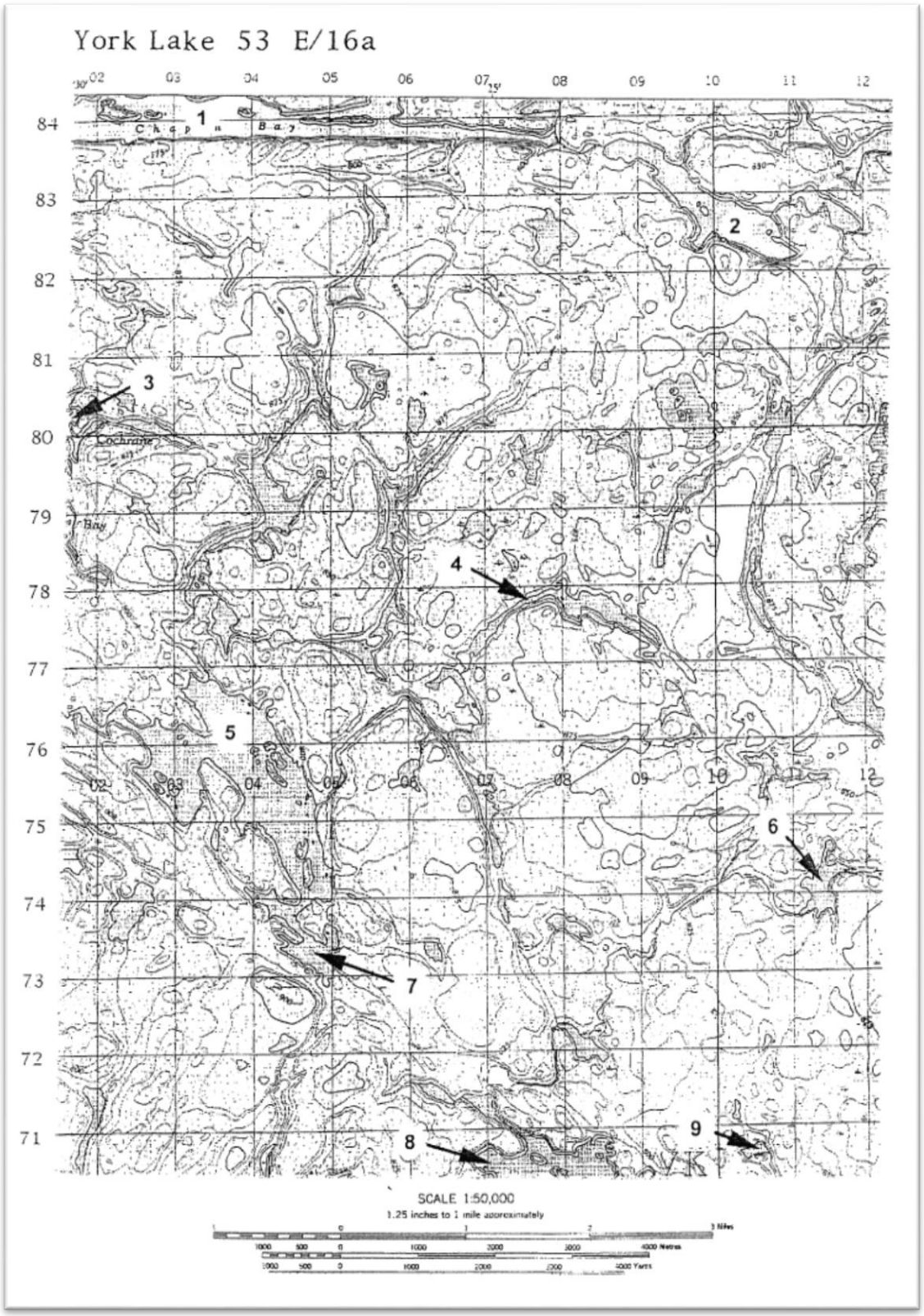
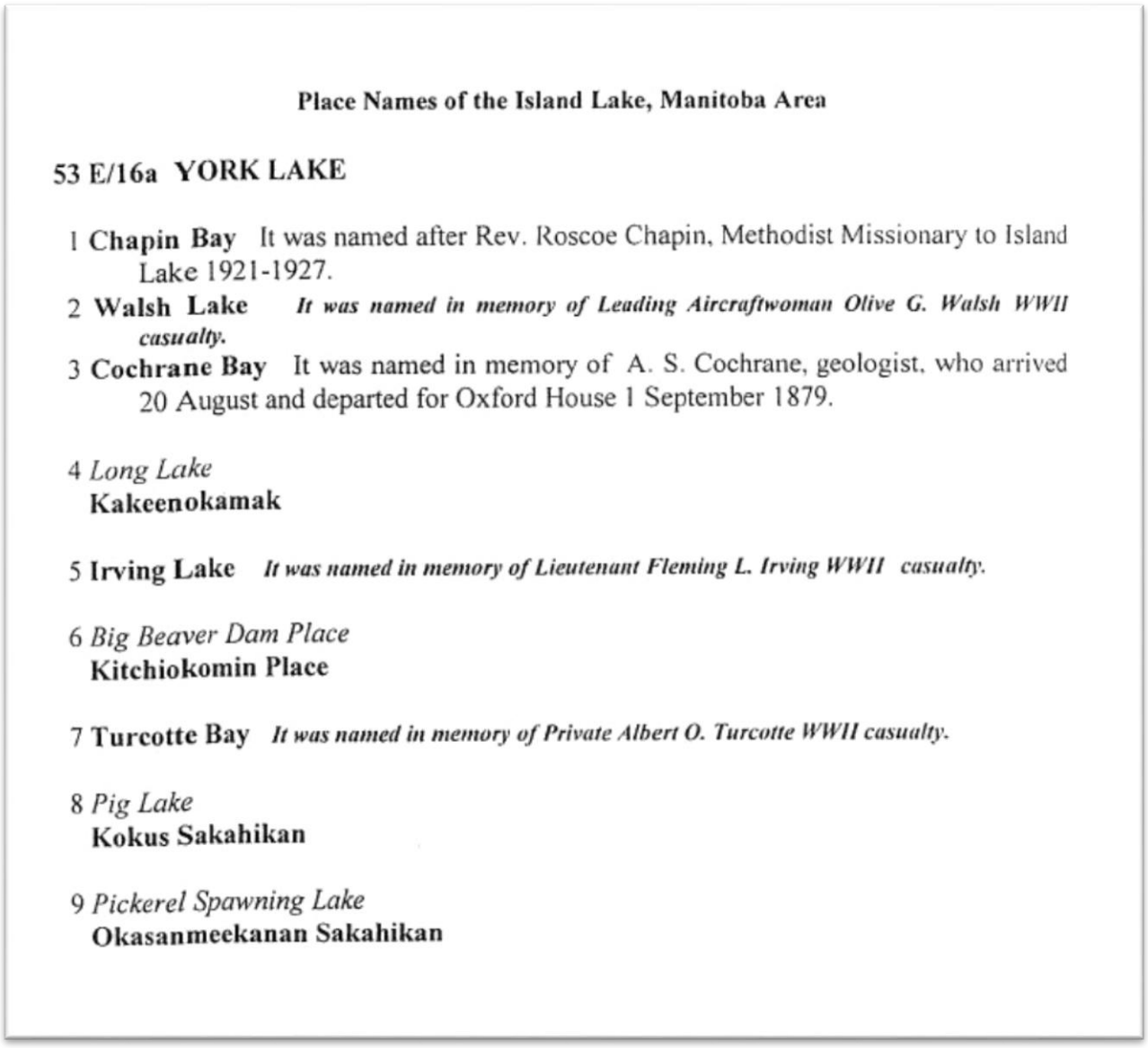


Figure 6. Local Indigenous place names corresponding to York Lake, section 53 E/16a.



Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba Area

53 E/16a YORK LAKE

1 **Chapin Bay** It was named after Rev. Roscoe Chapin, Methodist Missionary to Island Lake 1921-1927.

2 **Walsh Lake** ***It was named in memory of Leading Aircraftwoman Olive G. Walsh WWII casualty.***

3 **Cochrane Bay** It was named in memory of A. S. Cochrane, geologist, who arrived 20 August and departed for Oxford House 1 September 1879.

4 *Long Lake*
Kakeenokamak

5 **Irving Lake** ***It was named in memory of Lieutenant Fleming L. Irving WWII casualty.***

6 *Big Beaver Dam Place*
Kitchiokomin Place

7 **Turcotte Bay** ***It was named in memory of Private Albert O. Turcotte WWII casualty.***

8 *Pig Lake*
Kokus Sakahikan

9 *Pickerel Spawning Lake*
Okasanmeekanan Sakahikan

The first step was to transfer the names from paper into a digital format. I began by transferring all the names and descriptions into a spatial database with geographic coordinates. At the end of this process, I compiled nearly five hundred names into an electronic database. The complete electronic database is available in the appendices. As well, there are further maps that made with all these names and they were made available to the community in an electronic format and printed format.

Figure 7. An excerpt from the Anishinimowin place names database.

NAME	Name_Engli	Name_Other
Acheetamo Sakahikan	Acheetamo Lake	Squirrel Lake
Akatimo Sakahikan	Akatimo Lake	
Akik Sipink	Akik River	Kettle River
Amos Island		
Aneemus Sakahikan	Aneemus Lake	Dog Lake
Anekawasoseekak Sakahikan	Anekawasoseekak Lake	
Animus Lake		Dog Lake
Anishinabe Sakahikan	Anishinabe Lake	
Makataywachusk Sakahikan	Ankle Lake	Black Muskrat Lake
Apasi Pawitik	Apasi Rapids	Tepee Poles Rapids
Apeeta Sipink	Apeeta Creek	Half River Creek
Apeetakamuskakwak Winikum	Apeetakamuskakwak Portage	Half Muskeg Portage
Asikus Sipink	Asikus Creek	Little Fish Duck Creek
Asoheesipaywinink Wasak	Asoheesipaywinink Bay	Duck Blind Bay
Asooikaywanik Niasik	Asooikaywanik Narrows	Goose Blind Narrows
Atik Sakahikan	Atik Lake	Caribou Lake
Atikos Sakahikan	Atikos Lake	Little Caribou Lake
Atikwawikun Minitik	Atikwawikun Island	Caribous Back Island
Baling Fur Lake		
Minahikosipik	Banksian River	Pine River
Bear Lake		
Amikwachink Sakahikan	Beaver Hill Lake	
Beeminigi Minitik	Beeminigi Island	Prospector Island
Mosinak Sakahikan	Begg Lake	Moose Intestines Lake
Bella Lake		
Wapakwiak Wasak	Benson Bay	Umbrella Bay
Kitchipokokeena Sakahikan	Big Marker Lake	Big Brush Lake
Bittern Lake		South Lake
Bouchard Island		
Pokwakut Sipik	Bourne River	Urie RIver
Boyd Island		
Weesagumin Sakahikan	Cantin Lake	Swirling Rippling Water Lake
Chain Islands		
Chapin Bay		
Chapin Island		
Wasakomik Sakahikan	Charron Lake	Big Clearwater Laker
Chewaykunapesiskak Niasik	Chewaykunapesiskak Narrows	Dragonfly Narrows
Chuskakinaonik Sipink	Chuskakinaonik Creek	Red Breast Creek
Chuskakinaonik Sakahikan	Chuskakinaonik Lake	Red Breast Lake
Essu Sipink	Clam Creek	
Essu Sakahikan	Clam Lake	
Cochrane Bay		
Cochrane Island		
Collins Bay		Rabbit Stomach Bay
Confederation Island		
Constantin-Weyer, Lac		
Cordeau Lake		

3.6 Primary Data: Making Meaning with a Local Voice (Phase 2)

A large portion of the initial research was based on secondary data. Due to the fact that this data described a language and culture that is not my own, I felt it was tremendously important to enhance and enrich the quality of the project with a local Indigenous voice and a local perspective. While the secondary data provided me with a dataset of local Anishinimowin place names, the significance of these place names, and the relationship of the language and culture was missing. This, I believed, needed to come from community members.

Elder Victor Harper, 67, was one of the few surviving participants on the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project, which collected the secondary data for this study. Because of Elder Harper's involvement in the original place names project as well as his long-standing collaborative working relationship with Dr. Thompson, he seemed to me to be the ideal person to provide local context and insight regarding place names, language and culture. From here on in and with utmost respect, I will be referring to Elder Victor Harper as Victor, as this is the name he was most comfortable with during our correspondence together.

During our first in-person meeting, I outlined to Victor the scope of the research I was interested in conducting and listened for his input. He agreed that creating a geospatial database of the place names as compiled in the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project was an important step in ensuring those names along with the Anishinimowin language are protected for future generations. Victor agreed to hold in-person interviews with me while he was in Winnipeg for medical treatment which, due to his declining health, was quite often.

Elder Victor Harper passed away on January 5, 2018, a day before what was to be our 6th in-person interview. He was a humble man, wise and true at heart. He was devoted to his community, and had a passion for his people's language and culture that was evident in every

interaction I had with him. I am truly thankful to Victor for sharing his life experiences, wisdom and knowledge with me as part of this project. Without him, the place names would be just letters on paper to me. Through his guidance, I was able to better see the significance of local Anishinimowin place names, and the role mapping plays in community efforts to revitalize and preserve language, culture, and traditional ways of life.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by presenting a series of maps with the intent to show the local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation and surrounding traditional territory, as collected originally in the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project. The following, is a discussion about the role of mapping and GIS in the preservation and revitalization of local language and culture at Wasagamack First Nation. Elder Victor Harper shares his life experiences, knowledge and wisdom.

4.1 Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba

Stout (2018) defines place-naming as profoundly significant. Oral stories and place names, she states, speak of "how communities came to be, where sources of water, food and medicines were to be found, and how to uphold the collective well-being and survival of communities" (p.9). It is therefore imperative to reclaim local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation in order to sustain the language, history, knowledge, and culture of the people.

The following series of eight maps, Figure 9 to Figure 16, show a portion of the local Indigenous place names as recorded in the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project with points hand drawn onto maps. The maps are organized according to the National Topographic System (NTS)—much in the same fashion as the original community project was structured (see Figure 8). A complete list of place names collected in the project can be found in Appendix B.

Figure 8. Featured NTS Map Sheets are labelled and highlighted.

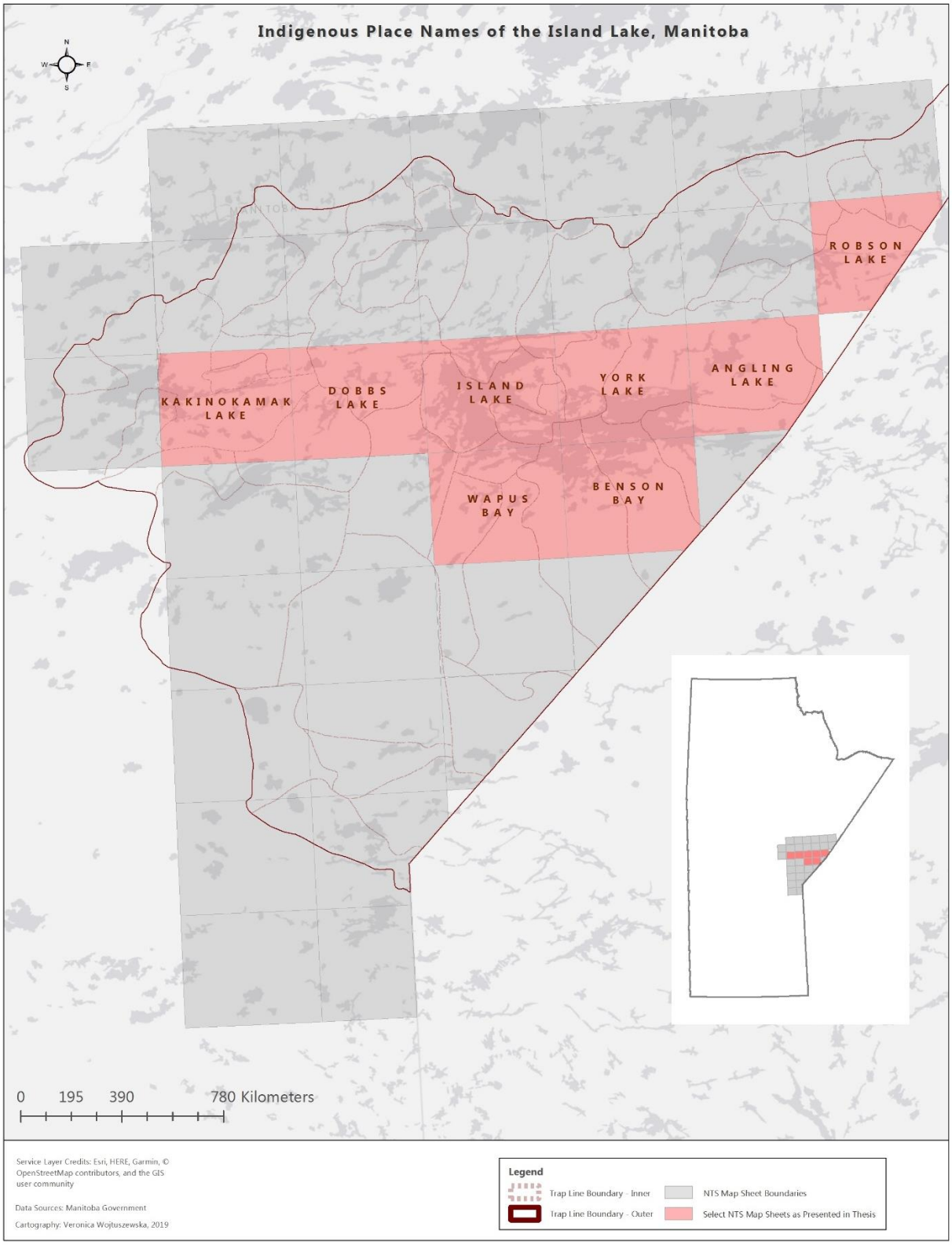


Figure 9. Angling Lake.

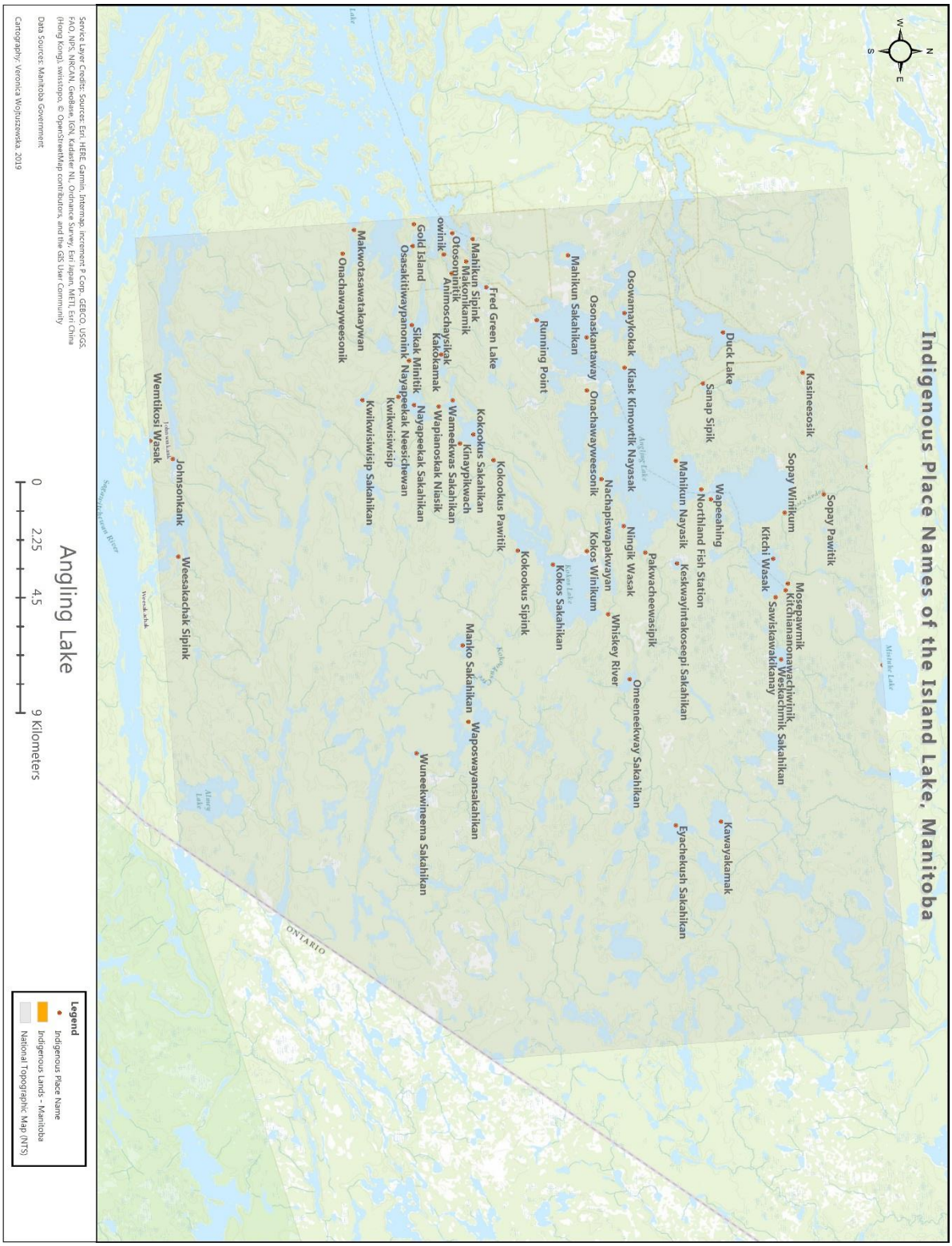


Figure 10. Benson Bay.

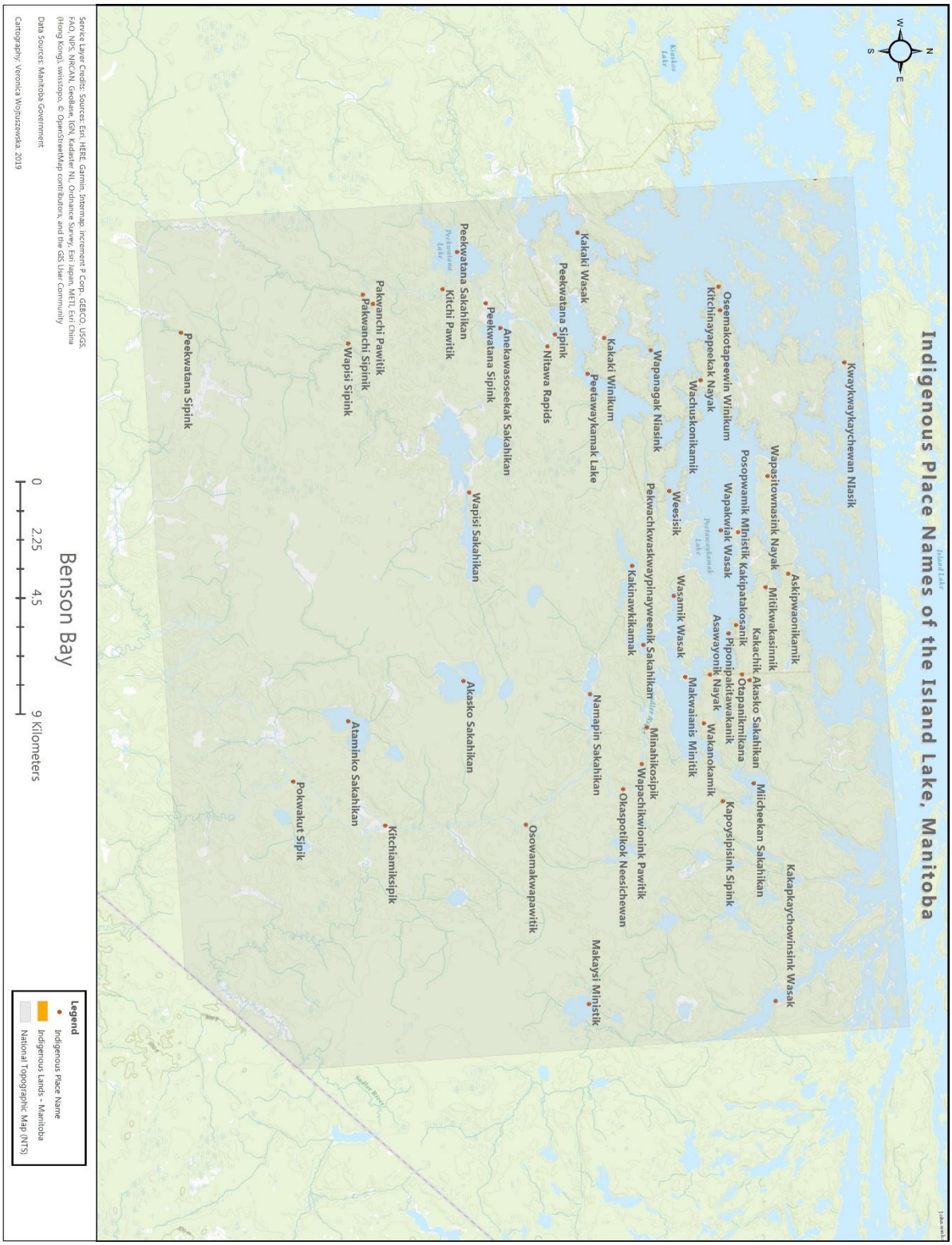


Figure 11. Dobbs Lake.

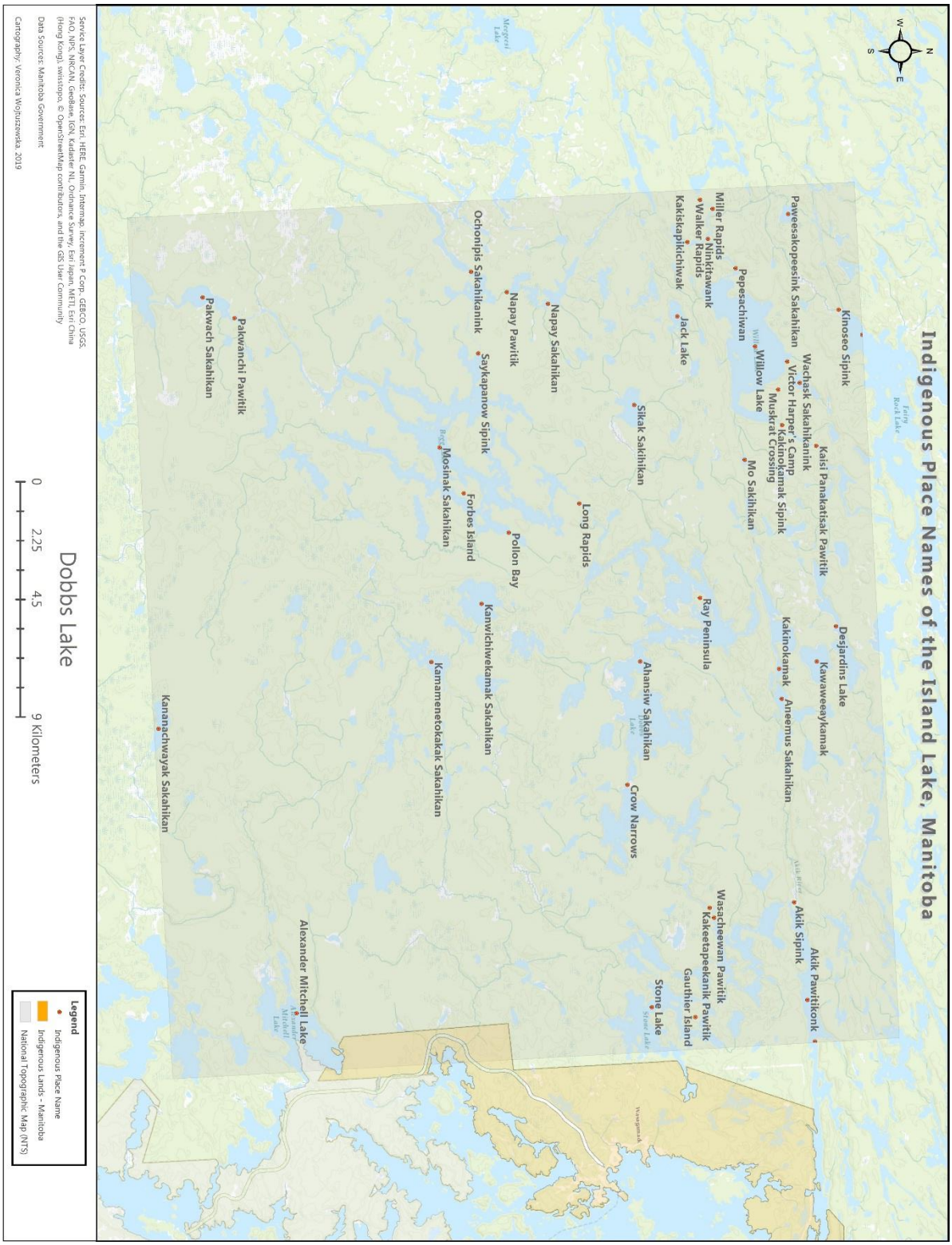


Figure 12. Island Lake.

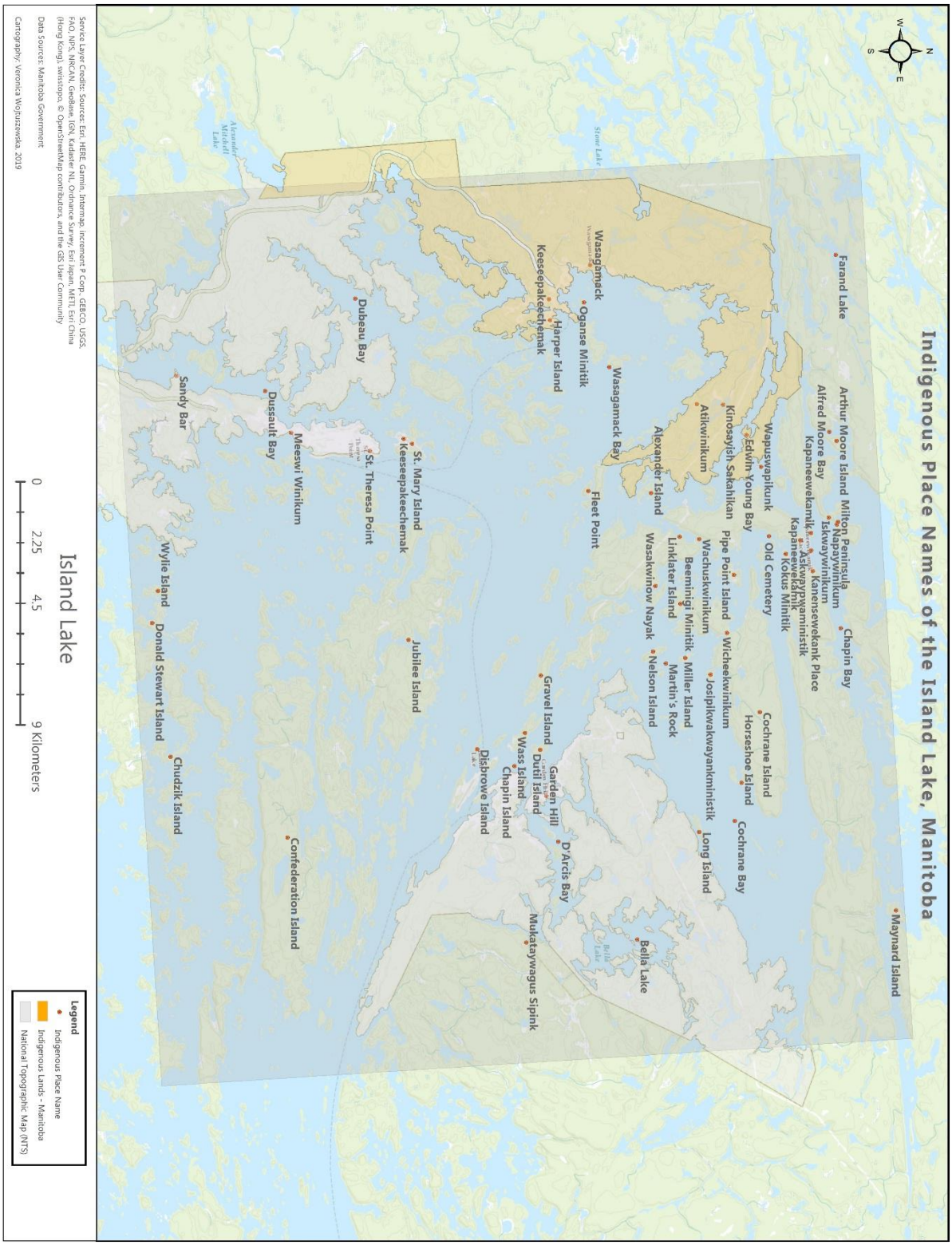


Figure 13. Kakinokamak Lake.

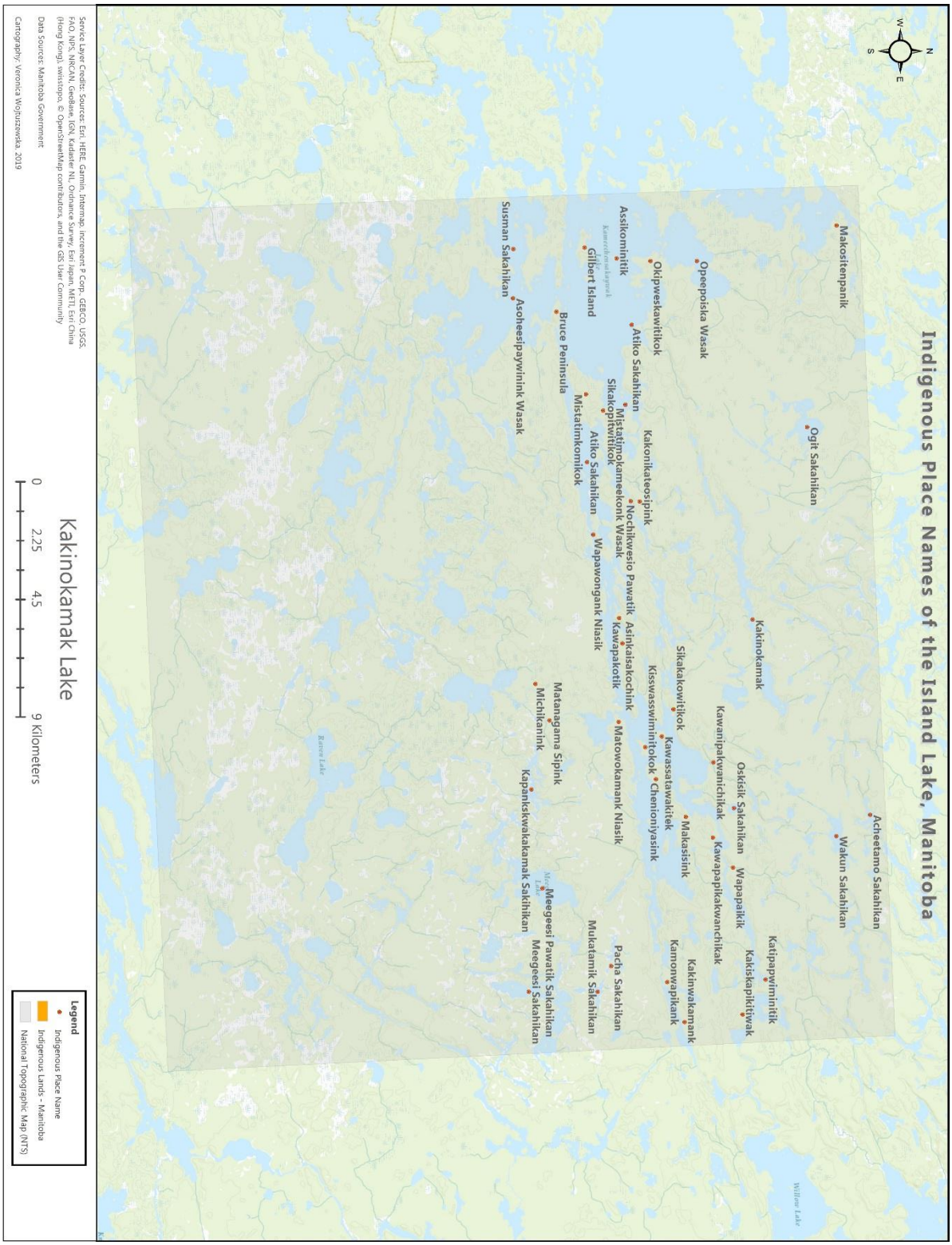


Figure 14. Robson Lake.

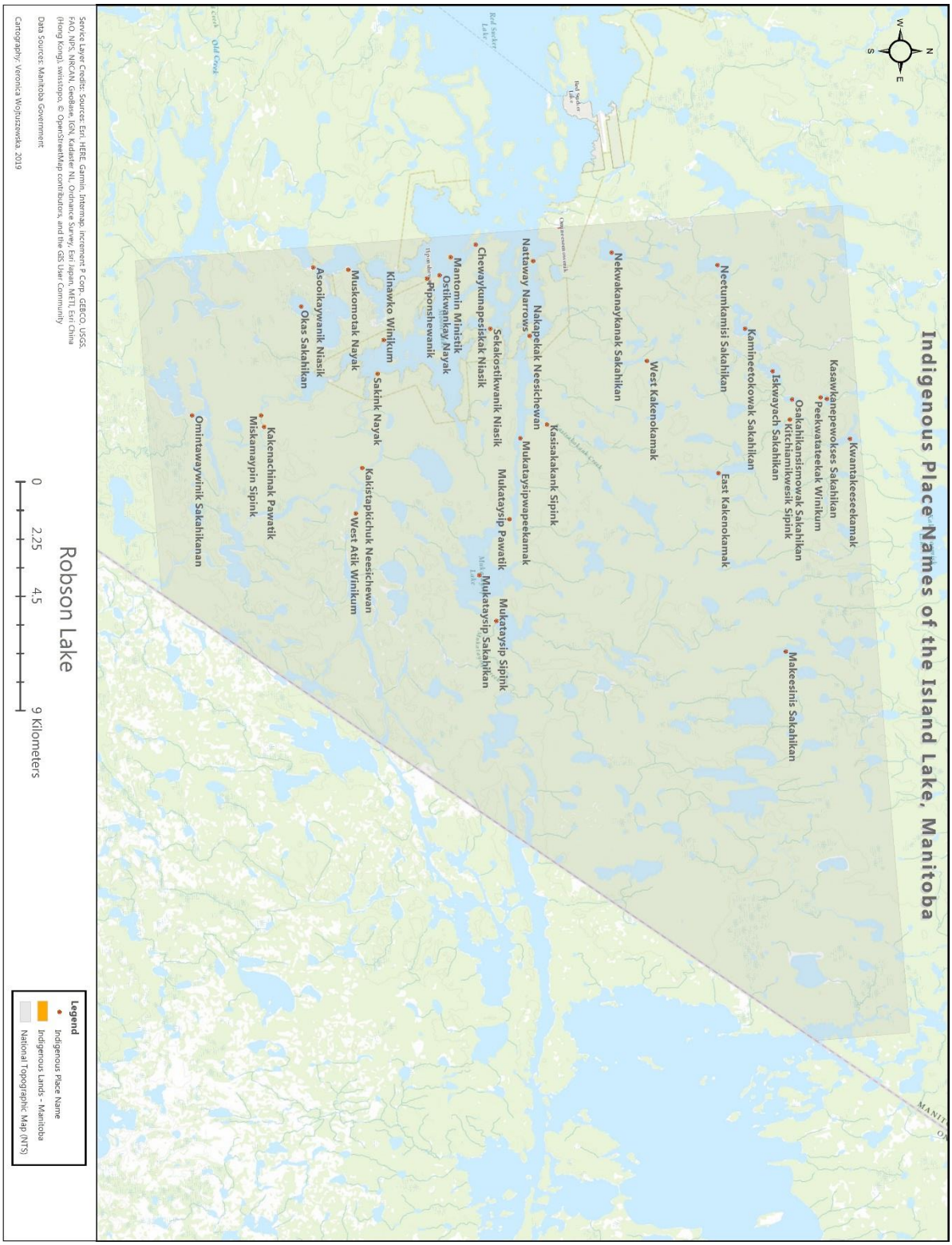


Figure 15. Wapus Bay.

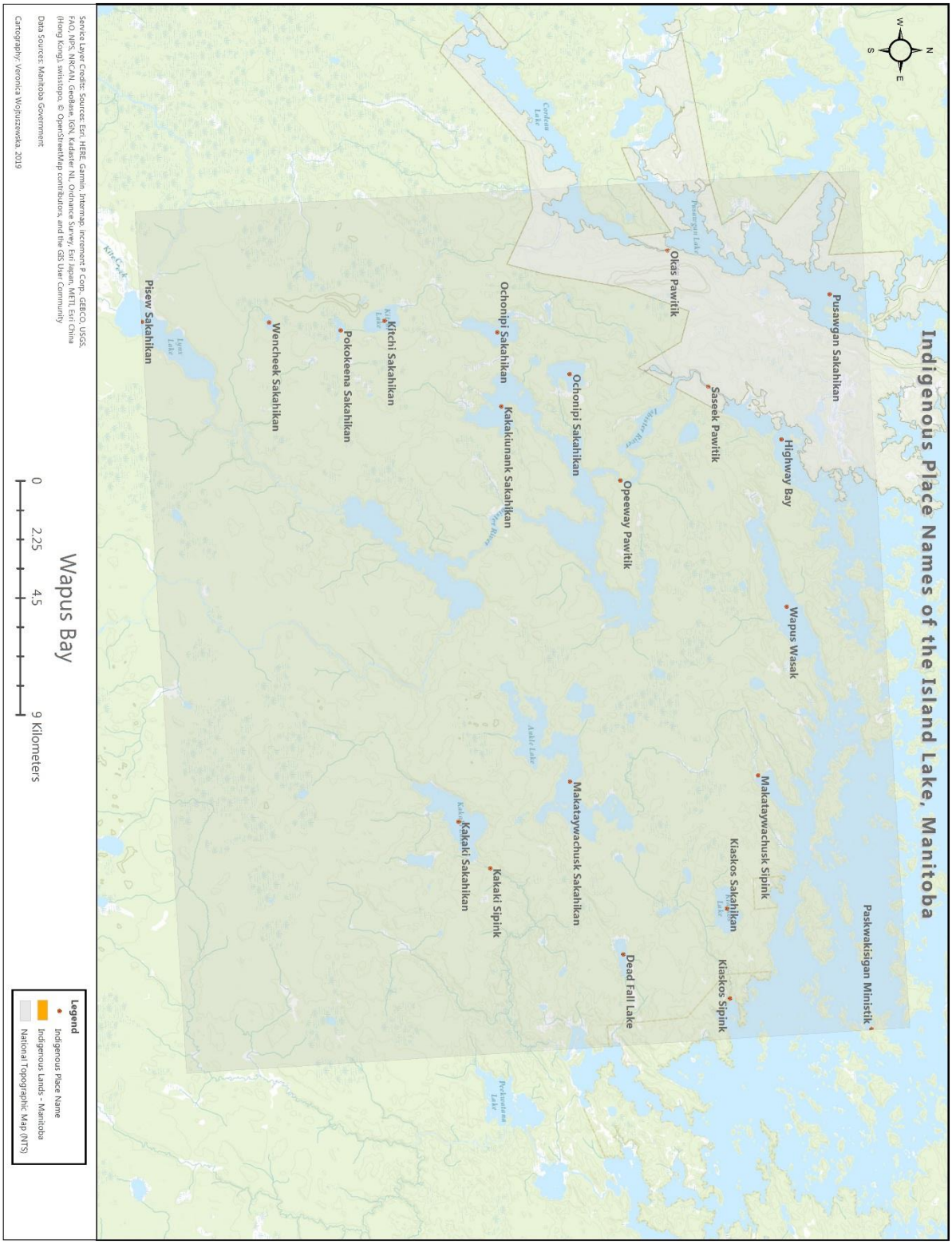
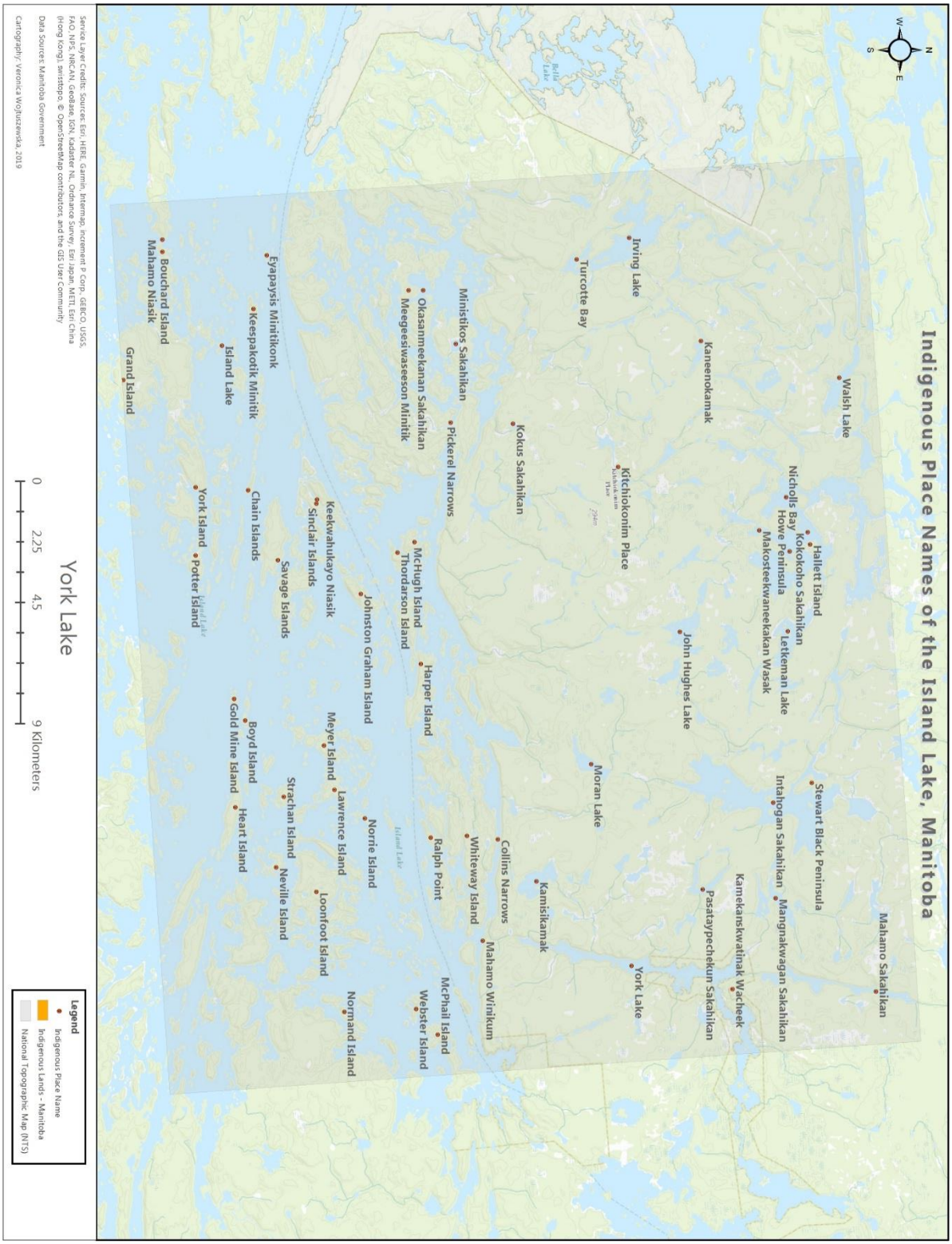


Figure 16. York Lake.



4.2 The Importance of Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Before discussing Indigenous Knowledge Systems, I feel it is important to acknowledge my own cultural lens and privileged worldview. As a non-Indigenous researcher of European descent, my ability to fully understand and define the term Indigenous Knowledge Systems is limited. Battiste (2000) states that merely asking the question "What is Indigenous knowledge?" is problematic because the question itself stems from a Eurocentric understanding of the world. There is no short answer to this question from an Indigenous worldview. Fundamentally, the question asks for a comparison between Eurocentric and Indigenous knowledge systems, for which, Battiste argues, there is no legitimate methodology.

Respectfully, setting aside the complexity in understanding and difficulty of categorizing Indigenous knowledge systems through a Eurocentric worldview, many scholars, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous have offered significant contributions in this area. Likewise, government agencies and organizations have offered their understanding of Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Several descriptions of Indigenous Knowledge Systems are explored below from different perspectives.

Indigenous scholar, Priscilla Settee (2007), discusses Indigenous Knowledge Systems at great length and acknowledges that her definition raises "more questions than answers in relation to Indigenous Knowledge definitions. Because I believe that this definition is ever-developing, I have included many questions in my definition" (p.7). At a very rudimentary level, Settee defines Indigenous Knowledge Systems as:

> The knowledge that has sustained Indigenous communities for millennia. . . .This inherited knowledge included the traditional forms of knowledge developed by parents and other elders in relation to ways of knowing, relationships/codes of conduct, and information that helped in daily living. Personal experience defines an individual's worldview. (p.6)

There are many parts to Indigenous Knowledge. Language, culture, history, environment, experience, economy, social structure, and spirituality are all interconnected and play a part in Indigenous Knowledge (Ballard, 2012).

A central value to Indigenous people is closeness to the land; this relationship is so central to Indigenous identity that, "many Indigenous peoples have names that are derived from connections to the land, such as people of the earth or people of the land" (Settee, 2007, p.7). From an Indigenous worldview, land is considered sacred, as such Indigenous Knowledge Systems have been centered on values of sustainability and living a good life in balance with the natural world.

Other interpretations of Indigenous Knowledge Systems are provided by government agencies. Canada's Parliamentary Research Branch, in a brief titled, *Indigenous Traditional Knowledge and Intellectual Property Rights*, described Traditional Knowledge as follows:

> Traditional knowledge encompasses the beliefs, knowledge, practices, innovations, arts, spirituality, and other forms of cultural experience and expression that belong to indigenous communities worldwide. . . .Unlike the western custom of disseminating knowledge through publication, traditional knowledge systems exist principally in the form of songs, proverbs, stories, folklore, community laws, common or collective property and inventions, practices and rituals. . . . Often, indigenous traditional knowledge systems contain a rich understanding of plant, crop and tree species, medicines, animal breeds, and local ecological and biological resources (Simeone, 2004, p.1).

While a rather comprehensive characterization by Western standards, the definition reads as though from an outsider's point of view.

Another definition of Indigenous Knowledge Systems is provided below by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in its document, *A Community Guide to Protecting Indigenous Knowledge*:

> Simply stated, Aboriginal peoples define it as an ancient, communal, holistic and spiritual knowledge that encompasses every aspect of human existence. Some say the emphasis

> should be on wisdom rather than on knowledge. Others say that IK [Indigenous Knowledge] must be understood within a spiritual realm, because knowledge cannot be separated from the spiritual. Most Aboriginal peoples agree that IK [Indigenous Knowledge] is unique to each tradition and is closely associated with a given territory. Thousands of knowledge systems probably exist, which are as many and varied as there are Indigenous peoples and territories. (Brascoupé & Mann, 2001, p.3)

Again, a very general summary of Indigenous Knowledge, which demonstrates the difficulty of using the European worldview to define Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Nonetheless, these characterizations of Indigenous Knowledge Systems, from both, an Indigenous and non-Indigenous point of view, offer important insights into an Indigenous worldview. While by no means extensive, all-knowing, or complete, these representations are important in helping to support cross-cultural understanding and communication. Personally, these characterizations have enabled me to better process and reflect on the research undertaken herein, particularly, my interactions with Elder Victor Harper.

4.2.1 Elders and Indigenous Knowledge

Elders hold an important role in transmitting local Indigenous knowledge and in the overall well-being of Indigenous communities. At Wasagamack First Nation, elders are regarded as, "the teachers of our culture and the keepers of our language. They help us with governance, and lead us forward towards our spiritual connection with the land. We always turn to them for guidance" (Wasagamack First Nation, Section: Elders, Ancestral Work & Parenting). Elders play a key role in process of language and culture revitalization, as demonstrated by Victor time and time again.

During numerous interviews, Victor made clear his experiences, knowledge, and wisdom. Despite many challenges in his own life, Victor was a tireless advocate for his people and his

community. When it came to the language, culture, and traditional way of life of his people, he never lost sight of what was important, "we are trying to regain and relive. The elders tell us there is no way you can live the way we used to live [physically], but spiritually, we can still live the way we used to." A profound reflection on what once was and what can be in the future, filled with a message of hope for future generations.

Victor's view of the world often demonstrated a unique ability to see his surroundings. The interconnection of cultural, environmental, economic, political, and spiritual knowledge was ever-present, as was the importance of elders in passing this knowledge to future generations. Below are some example of local Indigenous Knowledge conveyed by Victor:

Figure 17. An example of ecological knowledge at Bear Lake, Manitoba.

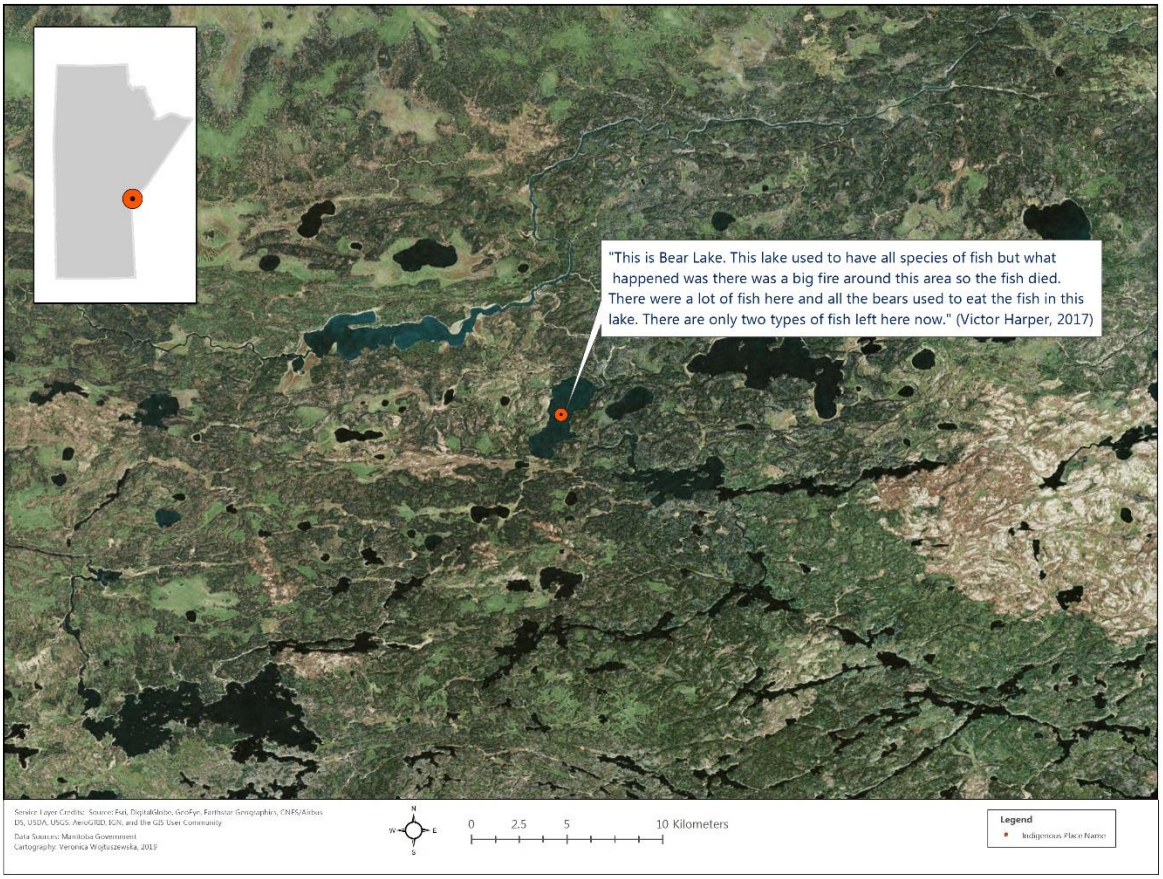


Figure 18. An example of cultural knowledge at Linklater Island, Manitoba.

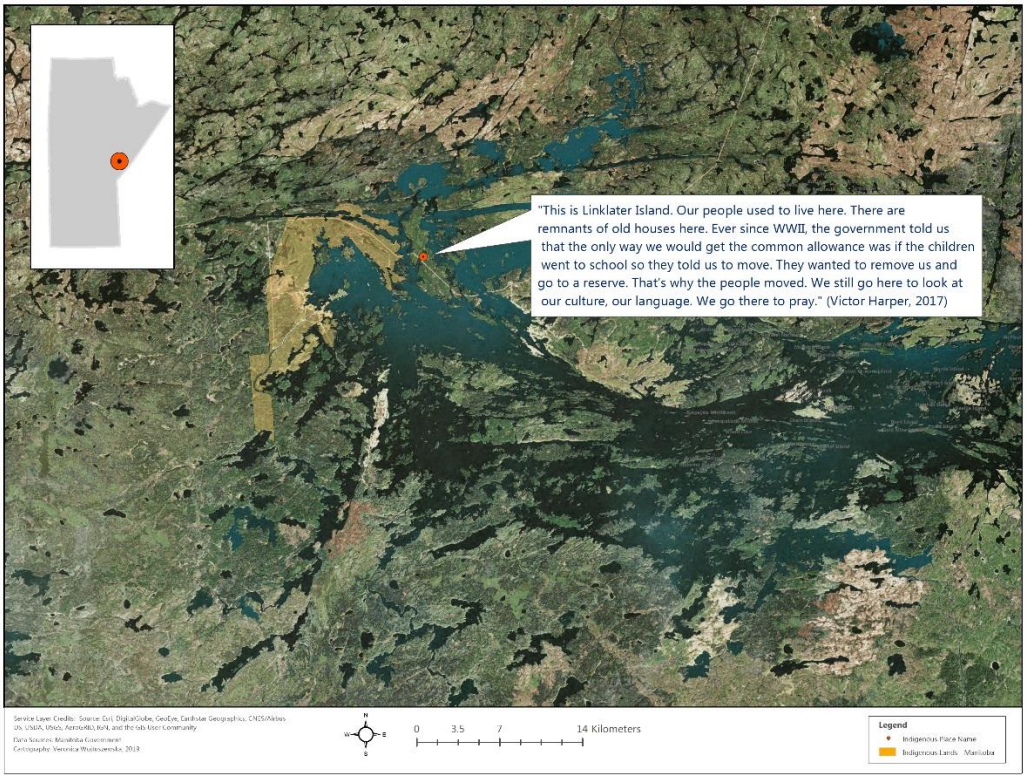


Figure 19. An example of spiritual knowledge at Amos Lake, Manitoba.

4.3 Community Priorities (as related to Mapping)

While analyzing interview data, several key themes emerged surrounding the role of mapping and how mapping can support community priorities. The five themes are discussed below in the following categories: language revitalization, use of syllabics, land-based learning, connecting with the ancestral land, and land-use planning. It was Victor's view, shared among community members he consulted with, that mapping can be instrumental in increasing the success of these priorities.

4.3.1 Language Revitalization and Preservation

Preserving the local Indigenous language is crucial to the well-being of the people of Wasagamack First Nation. Throughout my interviews with Victor, he often spoke of "regaining" and "reliving" the language, the culture, and the traditions of his people. He felt that connection to their ancestral language was fundamental in leading his people to a good life:

> When you are able to speak your language, you understand where you are from, and who you are. If you're able to understand who you are, and you speak your language and the words are sacred, you sort of tend to lead off taking drugs and alcohol. It leads you to a good life because you respect yourself again. That's why language is so important for us. And why we have to learn our language.

Knowing the ancestral language, Victor argues, helps people to "find themselves" and be comfortable with who they are, to find peace, and to heal.

The local Indigenous language of the Anishiniwuk people at Island Lake is a mixture of different languages. While pointing at a place on the map, Victor describes the local language:

> See this place here? People from the east were here, people from the south were here, people from the west were here, and Inuit were here too because of the river systems. Our language is made up of all the surrounding tribes. That`s how our language evolved. That`s how we traded through the river system.

As Victor spoke about the history of his people on the land, the world that used to exist before "first-contact" was almost palpable. Since the arrival of Europeans, that world has faced a great assault on many fronts.

With the arrival of Europeans, the language, culture, and traditional practices of Indigenous peoples have been systematically reduced through colonial practices. According to Thira (2006), the colonization of Indigenous peoples has generally fallen into three waves:

1) Legal – based on the notion that Indigenous peoples and communities were 'savage', legislation was introduced to identify and control the Indigenous people by suppressing their legal rights;
2) Administrative – the reserve system was designed to displace and isolate Indigenous people into groups and claim their traditional lands; and
3) Ideological – the residential school system and foster-parent system were intended to forcefully assimilate Indigenous children (and their communities) into the dominant European culture (McCormick 2002; Milloy, 1999; Peristerakis, 2014).

Each wave of colonization has contributed to the devastation of Indigenous language and culture in a painful and methodical way.

The legal wave of colonialism brought on legislation with the aim to "identify and control" the Indigenous population as well as their traditional practices. The overall goal of this wave was assimilation; spiritual, social, personal, and economic tasks necessary for cultural survival were outlawed. Totem poles, ceremonial objects such as masks, and regalia were destroyed or sold to collectors. In 1755, the Department of Indian Affairs was created to manage the lives of Indigenous people. Through this administrative body, traditional cultural practices

were criminalized, and Indigenous political, cultural, and spiritual leaders were jailed for facilitating "heathen practices" (Furness 1995). In 1876, *The Indian Act* further disenfranchised Indigenous people through increasingly coercive and controlling policies and legislations (Leeuw et al., 2010).

An example of legal colonialism is provided below, as Victor poignantly described how the community experienced this wave:

> The federal government was abolishing the rights of Native People, so the people of Island Lake decided to hide their ceremonial objects [near a lake]. No one has ever gone to that lake since. I've kept this to myself since 1967. My uncle told me then, 'Don't tell anybody until the time has come.' When I was laying in the hospital, from above he said, 'Now is the right time to tell people. There is a small lake [over here], and when you go there you will hear a humming sound. The reason it hums is because of the way the ancestral people fixed the rocks and the way the wind circles around the rocks.' He showed me a map where it is. Somewhere over there, something important to our culture was hidden. Our people are changing. I'm changing. Everybody is changing. We're leaving our ways. But if we find that place, then we find our culture and our way of life.

Whatever ceremonial objects were hidden by the people during the time when their language, culture, and traditional way of life were under assault still remain out there today. Toward the end of his life, Victor worked tirelessly to try to find what was lost to his people. Unfortunately, he would never get the chance to realize his dream.

The administrative wave of colonialism focused on the creation of reserves and forced community relocations. Early European explorers and settlers viewed Indigenous people as "heathen," their territory was considered to be free for the taking and the resources to be exploited by anyone who wished. As a result, communities were forcibly removed from their traditional lands to reserves which often had scant resources to offer for the continued survival of the people (Milloy, 1999). Many of these impoverished conditions on reserves still exist today.

The United Nations has described the current housing and sanitation on reserves as "third world." After his official visit to Canada, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous peoples, James Anaya (2013), said this:

> Canada consistently ranks near the top among countries with respect to human development standards, and yet amidst this wealth and prosperity, aboriginal people live in conditions akin to those in countries that rank much lower and in which poverty abounds. At least one in five aboriginal Canadians live in homes in need of serious repair, which are often also overcrowded and contaminated with mould. (p.1)

While Canada is taking measures to remedy the housing situation, Anaya states that what is missing is "mutual trust" and "common purpose." If we are to move forward in a meaningful way as a country, the well-being of Indigenous people must be viewed as a priority of all levels of government (Anaya, 2013).

Victor described an example of the administrative colonialism as we discussed Indigenous place names while looking at a map of the area:

> Our people used to get to Kalliecahoolie Lake by winter roads. We just follow the river system when we went there. Right here is where our people used to live (Victor points to an island/point on the map, near Kwaykwaycheewanik Narrows). There are remnants of old houses here. This place is open all winter. That's why people lived here because it's easy to get water.

When I questioned why people don't live at this location anymore, Victor stated that it was because they were removed from the land and told to live in a designated reserve area.

The third wave of colonialism, perhaps the most painful, destructive, and long-lasting, was ideological. Victor experienced this wave of colonialism in the most personal and terrifying way possible, through the residential school system. At the time, he was a 7-year-old boy, speaking Anishinimowin, living a traditional way of life among his family, friends, and community. Everything changed in 1956. A float-plane landed on the lake and a man got out and began to round up school-aged children (Sinclair, 1999). Victor recalls,

> I can still hear the mothers crying and hanging on to their kids. They didn't want to let them go. I went and hid. I was hiding under a bed and this guy in the red cloth came and got me. My mum was hanging on to me. And I remember looking back and my sister was crying. (as quoted in Sinclair, p.43)

Victor and other local children were taken away to Norway House, some 170 kilometers west of their home.

Jack River Residential School, operated by the Oblate Order of Priests and Grey Nuns, was one of 11 residential schools in operation there. The school had a mission to teach basics such as reading, writing, and math, and another mission to assimilate. Victor recalls, "we were taught that every white man was your master. They wanted to de-Indianize us. They wanted us to forget our culture" (as quoted in Sinclair, p.44). The children were forced to speak English and if they spoke their own language, they were punished.

Despite ongoing assaults on their language and culture, the people of Wasagamack First Nation have persevered. Through the wisdom, strength, and determination of Victor and other community members, the community's spirit is strong. Victor and his wife, Emma Harper, have been huge advocates for revitalizing the Anishinimowin language and together have worked tirelessly to provide language learning opportunities for the community. "The problem was that there was no program to teach the children about their way of life, their culture, and their language", according to Victor. But, Emma, a teacher at the local school, helped to change that:

> My wife started the immersion program in 1995. When the reserve understood what was trying to be done with the language, and they recognized the academics and professionalism [of the teaching methods], the program grew from 60 people to 900 people. From 60 to 900! That`s a lot!

Victor felt that mapping process and the reclamation of local Indigenous place names was a huge component of helping to revitalize the local language.

The act of infusing the Anishinimowin place names onto maps provides a sense of authenticity and legitimacy to the language which had been missing as a result of being overshadowed by the dominant English language. The youth, particularly, had turned more to learning and speaking English, partly because of a lack of learning opportunities, but partly because they had lost their connection to the language and culture. Victor underscored the importance of building relationships with people and organizations working toward the goal of language revitalization because, in his words:

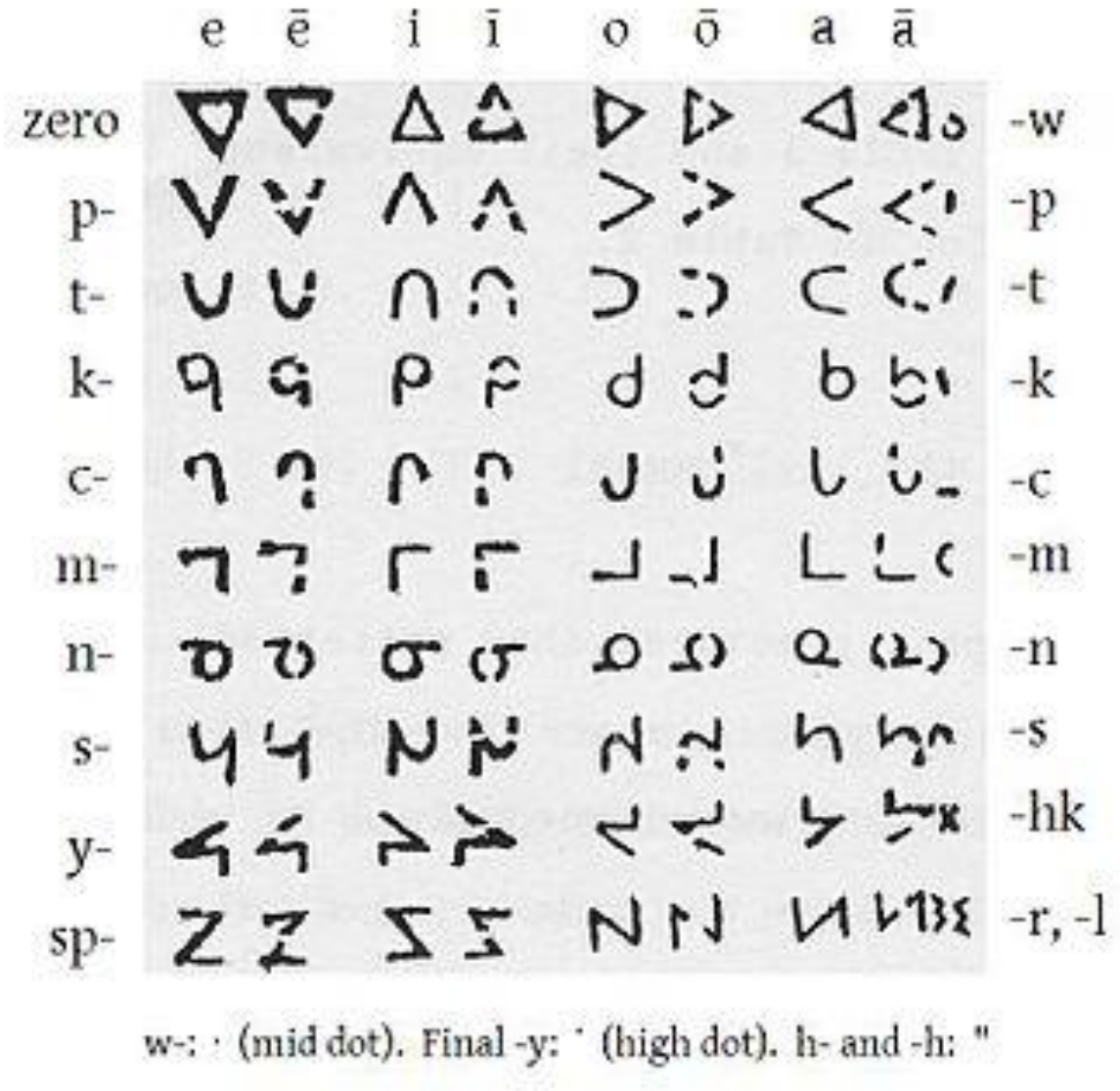
> Why reinvent the wheel? Once we get to work together, it will be good for us and it will be good for our children. We are doing everything for our children . . . not for us. For the sake of promoting our language.

Precisely for this reason, he was involved in guiding me in the research herein, to see the local Indigenous place names mapped for future generations.

4.3.2 Use of Syllabics

Before the arrival of Europeans in North America, Indigenous languages were orally transmitted and did not have a writing system. In 1840, Reverend James Evans, a missionary at Norway House in present-day Manitoba, invented Cree syllabics, which were gradually modified to adapt local dialect variations such as the Anishinimowin spoken at Island Lake, Manitoba (Darnell, 2018). The syllabics system (see Figure 20) is comprised of symbols that represent a combination of consonant and vowel, or only a consonant or vowel. It is considered a simple system with less than 50 characters and is valued for its distinctiveness from the colonially dominant Latin script. It was suggested that by the 19th century, thanks to the relative ease to learn, syllabics are credited with making the Cree achieve one of the highest literacy rates in the world (Rogers, 2005).

Figure 20. Rev. James Evans developed the Cree syllabics in 1841 (Nichols, 1984).



In Victor's words, based on his teaching experience and community consultation, syllabics are favored locally at Wasagamack First Nation to this day:

> What I learned from my life, when you ask the students what do you want to learn Roman orthography or syllabics? They say syllabics. When you use Roman orthography the words are just too long. When you use syllabics the words are short.

Victor's point is well illustrated in Figure 21 by two very lengthy Anishinimowin place names written in Roman orthography.

Figure 21. Examples of lengthy Anishinimowin place names written with Roman orthography.

Despite the local popularity of syllabics, their use has been overtaken by Roman orthography, at the behest of the government:

> When I was working for the federal government in 1974 [as a teacher], they wanted me to teach Roman orthography. The reason why they wanted me to teach Roman orthography is because they wanted me to teach English language and the English [writing] system. But the people said, I can`t read this but I can read syllabics.

It was the wish of Victor, as an educator and proponent of his culture, backed by the voices of the local community, to restore the use of syllabics. Victor had already began (re)teaching syllabics to community members through the local school system. He wished not only to see the local Indigenous place names documented with mapping but also to see them translated to syllabics.

4.3.3 Land-Based Learning

Victor, along-side his wife Emma and other community members, had been a relentless, life-long advocate for land-based learning. In September 2015, Victor gave an interview to the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre – he gave me a transcript in one of our first meetings together. In it, he describes how he first took interest in teaching:

> In 1967, I was just finishing my Grade 10 and my father told me 'it's my turn to teach you.' So he took me out to a trap line called Willow Lake and there for two days I held him in my arms and he told me, 'I'm dying. I'm dying now.' He told me to finish Grade 12. . . . ' Learn about the ways of the other system (the contemporary system) the government is pushing. Go to college, go to university and learn about that system. And once you have mastered some of the learning that is done at the educational institutions, I would like you to come to the land and learn from your people.' This was in '67. That is when I was introduced to land-based learning.

Victor followed this father's advice. He learned from the land and from the contemporary system, eventually earning a Bachelor of Education Degree. Victor saw value in contemporary and ancestral teachings, "open avenues to your teaching . . . use what the land has to offer. Open your eyes, accept what this person might have, clinically and ancestrally."

A desire for land-based learning certainly isn't unique to Wasagamack First Nation, and variations have emerged among other Indigenous communities in Canada. The Dechinta Centre for Research and Learning, a school based out of Blachford Lake, near Yellowknife, incorporates contemporary and traditional teaching methods. Land-based activities range from dog mushing and collecting traditional medicines to ice fishing and hunting moose. The school's vision is as follows:

> Dechinta believes in supporting self-determining and sustainable Northern communities rooted in Indigenous knowledge and values. We imagine a future of cultural revitalization through a reconnection with the land. (Dechinta, n.d.)

Wasagamack First Nation and its people have been actively pursuing the implementation of land-based education. According to Victor, local elders are questioning what has been taught to them in the past and planning for the future generations:

> We are starting to look at land-based learning now. You can teach everything together unlike the contemporary system which has separate subjects. We learn from one activity and we teach everything around it.
> We want to start using the land to heal our own people, with addictions and everything. We want to do our own curriculum. Land-based learning curriculum for the schools, that's what's planned for our area.

For Indigenous people, education is inherently connected to the land and this connection is directly instrumental in ensuring the culture and language continue to be transmitted to the younger generations (Hansen & Antsanen, 2016).

Victor saw mapping as a major component of Indigenous land-based learning. Maps, he noted, can be valuable in helping community members navigate the land, particularly the youth who had limited experience and exposure to the surrounding geography. Moreover, maps could be used as an educational tool to teach the youth about Indigenous place names, likewise the language and culture.

4.3.4 Connecting to the Ancestral Land

Indigenous people view ancestral land as sacred. Victor explained what that means:

> When I was working for the government they asked me, 'Why is your land sacred?' Because everywhere we went people killed animals, birds, fish, and our way of talking to God is we say "thank you" for everything we take. The trees, plants, where we use them we pray first. The medicines we use, we say "thank you." That`s why the land is sacred. Because everywhere somebody prayed.

Connecting to the land has the power to heal, according to Indigenous people. Victor described this connection as, "the land itself is where we get our medicine. Look outside and right away,

it's medicine….Even the berries and roots… It is the hospital." (as quoted in Thapa, 2018, p.79). In early 2018, it became clear to me what Victor was getting at.

While I was attending a funeral service for Elder Victor Harper, an Indigenous man in his mid-40s, came up to speak to former *Winnipeg Free Press* columnist, Gordon Sinclair Jr. and I. The three of us had been the first to arrive at the service and we had huddled together to share our stories of Victor, who had touched each of our lives in profound ways. The Indigenous man shared a short story about himself, which I thought at the time had authenticated much of what Victor had taught me about being on the Ancestral Land.

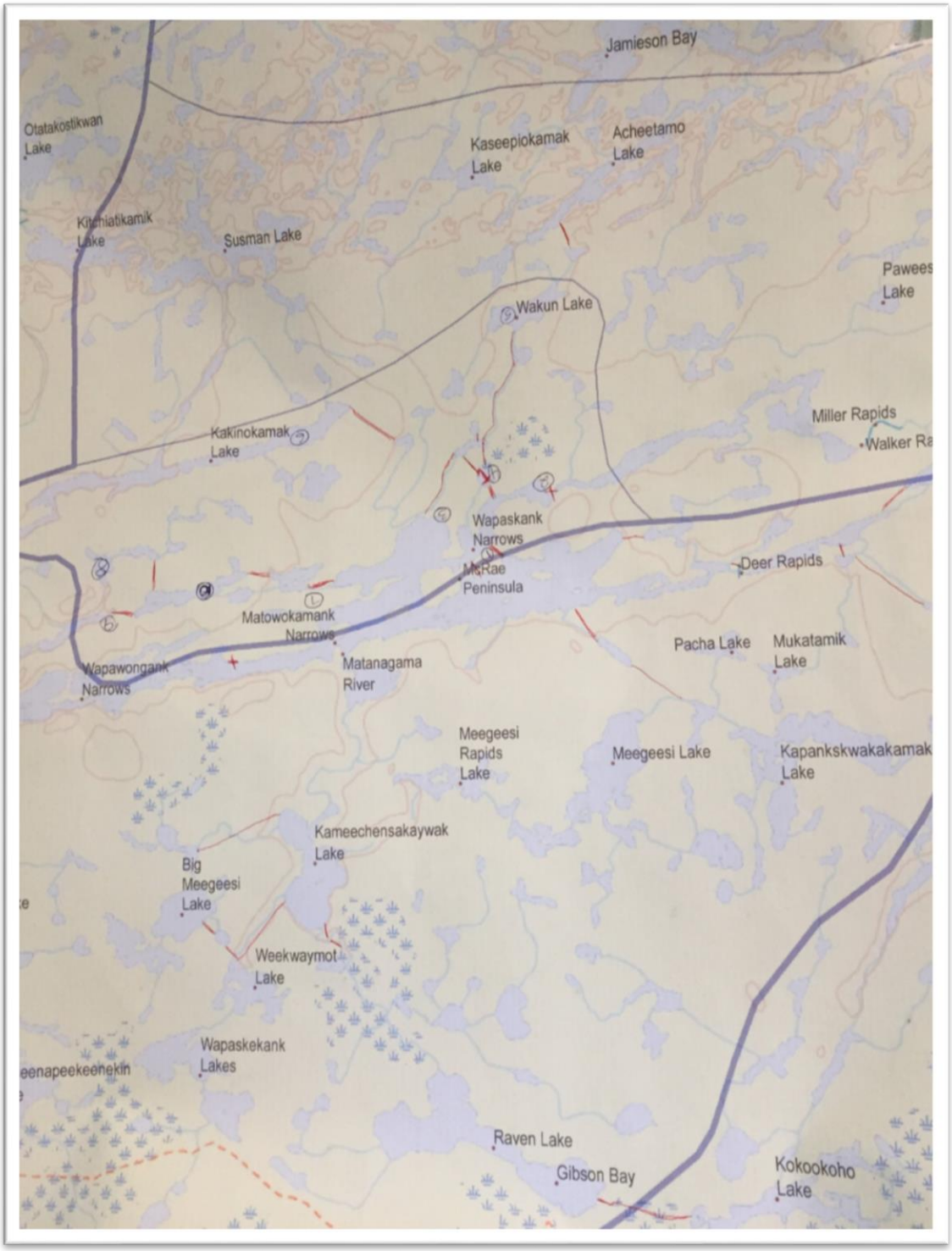
The man talked about how he was a single father of three young boys, ranging in age from about eight to sixteen. Myself, a mother of two young boys along-side a loving husband and father, I right away thought what an extraordinarily difficult job he was facing raising three boys on his own. He then recalled, rather painfully, how several years earlier he had fallen on hard times. I did not ask him to elaborate but it sounded like the type of situation that made one question life.

During this crisis, he reached out to Victor who immediately met up with him in the community and took him "out on the Land." The man credited Victor and the time they spent together on the Land as his saving grace, giving him the courage to turn his life around. Then he changed the topic and talked about all his boys now playing hockey, the way us parents always do, beaming with pride.

In addition to emotional healing, being on the land can also lead to physical health benefits. In one of our interviews, Victor, had brought back a map which had red lines drawn on it (see Figure 22). When I enquired what the lines represented, he said that they were old bush trails, that hadn't been maintained or cut in years. He said that the elders wanted to start using the

trails again for walking and exercising, “the elders are saying that they want to cut the trails to start moving. Instead of using helicopter and planes, the elders want to start moving . . . using canoes and exercising. People want to move.”

Figure 22. Numerous bush trails are marked in red on the map.



Reconnecting to the land also has the potential to strengthen Indigenous language and culture. According to Victor, "going out to the land and working with elders, I regained my

language and it has developed me. The language itself has given meaning to my personal life. I have a good life because I am able to communicate in my language." Together, these activities aimed at increasing the connection to the ancestral land were viewed to be significantly assisted with the use of mapping.

4.3.5 Land-Use Planning

Land-use planning was identified by Victor as essential to the overall well-being of Wasagamack First Nation people.

> The reason why we want to do Indigenous land planning is for [local] economic development. Now, when I listen to elders speak, I never hear "no" [to development], but they want to be a part of decision-making. Elders are environmentally-minded and there are ways of bringing industries like mining, etc. Elders will tell you how to do, what to do, where to do it. They have that information, it's been passed down through generations.

Indigenous people want to be involved in the process of land-use planning because it is the key process which can determine how land is used and future developments.

Land-use planning has tremendous implications on how Indigenous people live their lives.

> Land planning gives room for Indigenous people to get involved with their own land. As I said before, one of the things we are looking at is the healing process. We have a lot of people who are ill and sick.

Indigenous people have been using mapping, particularly computerized mapping and database management of geospatial information or GIS, since the 1990s (Sieber & Wellen, 2011). Indigenous land-use planning, natural resource management, and land claims, are all activities which have been aided with the use of mapping.

Reflecting back to the land-use planning conference which first triggered my interest in this research, I am reminded of Ed Vystrcil's message about the role of mapping and land-use

planning in preserving local Indigenous languages. In his view, mapping and GIS provides a platform and serves as the common language between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews. Utilizing modern mapping techniques and GIS technologies, he emphasized, has the capacity to reaffirm Indigenous occupancy on the land and reclaim local traditional Indigenous place names.

4.4 Indigenous Place Names Matter

The central idea of this research aims to broadly examine the importance of Indigenous place names and, from a more local perspective, to reclaim local place names at Wasagamack First Nation. Throughout this journey, these questions linger in the back of my mind; why are place names important to begin with and what is the significance of reclaiming local place names? An attempt to answer these questions follows.

The absence of Indigenous place names in Canada is very much a result of colonization. As European explorers viewed the land as empty, the use of English or French names was common practice. It was not uncommon for explorers to use place names from their homeland, a practice that is evident in Manitoba, as indicated in the examples below:

> **Rhineland**: Located in the Rural Municipality west of Morden. Established in 1881 and named after this district in the middle Rhine River valley in the west Germany (Garland 1975. The majority of the population was of Dutch, Swiss and German Origin (Hamm 1944).
> **Montcalm**: Located in the Rural Municipality south of Morris. Douglas (1933) indicated that it was named after Joseph de St. Veran, Marquis de Montcalm (1712-1759), Commander in Chief of the French forces at Quebec.
> **St. Alphonse**: Community southeast of Glenboro. The Post Office opened in 1885 on 34-5-12W as Decosse and changed to St. Alphonse in 1886. Correspondence from Postmaster T. Chapdelaine indicated that the area was settled by Roman Catholic colonists under the direction of a priest who, intending it to be a parish, placed the locality under the protection of St. Alphonse. (Geographical Names of Manitoba, 2000)

Fur traders and explorers often relied on Indigenous guides and in those cases, were more inclined to use Indigenous place names. However, once European settlers arrived, Indigenous names were often "Europeanised" and given the name of a place or an important figure relevant to the particular background of the cultural group. In the end, dismissing Indigenous place names as unimportant, irrelevant, and unworthy, further exerted the power of the colonizers in the attempt to assimilate Indigenous people.

In recent years, there has been a trend in Canada toward reclaiming local Indigenous place names and much has been written about the topic. Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices have underscored the significance of reclaiming Indigenous place names because, as they see it, to have Indigenous names be represented in mainstream Canadian culture is "about respect in a fundamental way" ("The Relationship Between Indigenous People," 2016). According to Ballard (2012), "Indigenous peoples' fundamental link with their land is based intricately with their language and the naming of things and objects" (p.74). Indigenous place names contain knowledge that has been passed down from generation to generation—knowledge that in all likelihood was based on oral history (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson, 2000; Ballard, 2012; Thomas & Paynter, 2010). Within the Indigenous oral tradition, Elders and parents would tell stories about the importance of place names and how these names should be respected (Archibald, 2008).

The process of reclaiming Indigenous place names is important on many levels. Reclaiming Indigenous place names is about decolonization and reconciliation, and moving this country toward a future based on peaceful coexistence and mutual respect. The act of restoring Indigenous place names is symbolic, underscoring the importance of Indigenous people in Canada and validates their presence on the land, a presence that pre-dates European arrival.

From the viewpoint of Indigenous linguistic and cultural preservation, reclaiming local Indigenous place names plays an important role. The presence of Indigenous place names helps infuse the language into mainstream Canadian society and culture. This helps to teach the general public about the language and history of the Indigenous people who live among them. Thomas and Paynter (2010) suggest that infusion of language via reclamation of place names can be instrumental in helping Indigenous communities assert sovereignty over their traditional lands.

From the perspective of Elder Victor Harper, reclaiming local Indigenous place names at Wasagamack First Nation is one piece of a much larger puzzle:

> We are doing everything for our children . . . not for us. For the sake of promoting our language. The problem we have in our community is that everyone wants to learn English but the Elders are saying, 'how come they talk in English? I can't even talk to my own grandchildren.'

According to Victor, the community of Wasagamack is making great strides to reclaim not only local Indigenous place names but also the Anishinimowin language and culture, and traditional way of life. This process is about "regaining, reliving, and trying to get back what once was," it's about healing, and it's about making things right again in the community whole again.

A big part of what is lacking, in Victor's view, is respect, both within the community on an individual level and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Revitalizing and conserving local language and culture through efforts such as reclaiming local Indigenous place names has the potential to authenticate and permeate the traditional Indigenous way of life and knowledge. Ultimately, if this process leads to increased cross-cultural understanding and communication, Indigenous people can feel proud of who they are and where they came from. They can regain self-respect, leading us back to Victor's words at the opening of this thesis,

"when you are able to speak your language, you understand where you are from and who you are. This leads you to a good life because you respect yourself again."

4.5 The Role of Mapping and GIS in Safeguarding Indigenous Language and Culture

The relationship between Indigenous people and mapping is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, mapping has been used as a tool by dominant nation states to, "assert their territorial rights and reinforce their power over Indigenous and other communities" (Caquard et al., 2009, p.84). On the other hand, alternative mapping has been described as "a vehicle of resistance, a language whereby rights to a place may be asserted or through which non-dominatory representations might be cultivated" (Pickles, 2004, p.113).

In the last two decades, several alternative mapping domains have emerged. According to Peluso (1995), counter-mapping is a form of mapping which can enable local people to "exert control directly by making their own maps" (p.387). Another example is community mapping and participatory GIS, a new type of GIS with the ability to "represent different measures and visions of place and integrate local knowledge, support cultural and multi-lingual distinctions" (Sieber, 2004, p.25). Indigenous communities have been using many of these alternative approaches to mapping and GIS for purposes such as: representing their territories, supporting land claims, natural resources management, and capturing traditional Indigenous knowledge for future generations.

In many respects, alternative mapping techniques, insofar as they are a true representation of the community, can be a valuable tool to help preserve Indigenous culture and language for future generations. However, there is a caution, as "early visionary of the use-and-occupancy map discipline," Karl E. Francis (1980) states:

> The problem in this case is that the maps, once drawn, tend to last forever. They appear very substantial even when every line on them is wrong and meaningless. When the lines reflect on people's rights and property for generations they clearly should be most carefully and professionally prepared. (as quoted in Tobias, 2009, p.1)

There is an inherent authority and permanency in maps which can be used to displace rather than to assert sovereignty. Hence, use-and-occupancy mapping is a most delicate undertaking.

Cartographer Sébastien Caquard (2014) suggests that maps are often taken at face value for being a truthful representation of what is being mapped. He argues several reasons why this is the case:

> First, the map is an image and we tend to associate images to elements of truth (we believe in what we see). Second, the map is a scientific image. It comes loaded with scientific connotations such as geographic coordinates, and levels of accuracy and it is deeply associated with the history of scientific measurement tools (from the compass to the GPS), which reinforces its truthfulness. Third, for most of our usages of a map, we don't need to challenge its scientific base. (Salinas, 2014)

It is important to note and be aware that mapping can be perceived as "being natural" by the undiscerning spectator. Critical cartographers have been particularly vocal about mapping being a construct of political, social, and cultural norms (Salinas, 2014).

Therefore it is imperative that mapping projects within Indigenous communities are conducted with an equal degree of importance, accuracy, and precision. Mapping can only become a tool to empower communities, and strengthen the connection to the land, when it conveys Indigenous community interests. Sletto (2014) suggests that shifting the focus away from maps as visual documents to the mapping process which incorporates oral histories, may be a more effective way for Indigenous groups to drive change.

4.5.1 Mapping Language and Culture at Wasagamack First Nation

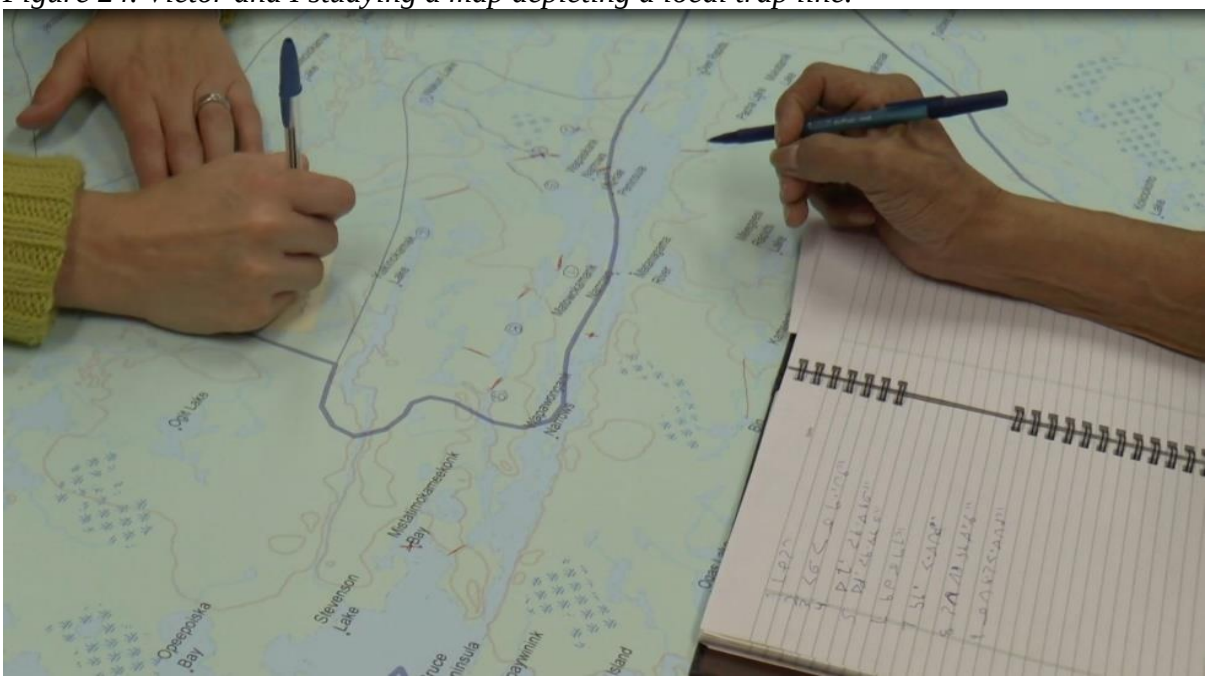
The community of Wasagamack First Nation has been a proponent of mapping projects—presently the community is involved in developing a land use and occupancy map for the traditional territory. In addition to mapping the traditional cultural activities, the community has also been mapping language by way of the local Indigenous place names. Mapping is clearly helping Wasagamack First Nation to represent their local culture and language.

Among the community, maps are generally viewed as official and authoritative. When presented with a map depicting the local Anishinimowin place names, community members from Wasagamack First Nation and Garden Hill First Nation responded with a sense of validation and pride (see Figure 23). Seeing their language on an "official" map is an important step not only in preserving the language but also in gaining respect for a language that community members were once forbidden to speak.

Figure 23. Community members examining local Anishinimowin place names.

When it comes to safeguarding culture and language, I believe maps have a natural ability to help recall history. During my interviews with Victor, we routinely contemplated over maps of the Wasagamack First Nation traditional territory (see Figure 24). As Victor used his hand to trace the waterways, from river to lake and so on, he recalled names of features and places on the landscape, stories of who trapped what animal and where and when, and other culturally and historically rich stories. I got the sense that having the maps in front of him helped Victor to better recall a time and place in his life that enabled him to share his teachings with me.

Figure 24. Victor and I studying a map depicting a local trap line.



At times, the limitations of the mapping method were evident. Following, Victor explains how the names of features can change in the local language:

> The problem with the rivers is that Stevenson River flows all the way from Stevenson Lake to Beaver Hill. The name of the river changes when you pass through a different territory. For example, this is John River, as it passes through territories it is quite a different name. It doesn't remain the same as the English name, in our language the name of the river changes.

While we didn't adopt the approach, it was important to know the limitations of mapping from a local Indigenous voice.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Summary of Research

This research focused on working with Wasagamack First Nation, a remote Northern Manitoba community, to document local Indigenous place names and to explore the use of mapping and GIS in helping to preserve and to revitalize the local language and culture. The foundation for this research was laid several years prior to the commencement of this work. It began as a community-driven project called *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba*. The goal of this project was to document local Indigenous place names for the traditional territory of the Anishiniwuk people. This included Wasagamack, St. Theresa Point, Garden Hill, and Red Sucker Lake. Under the leadership of Mr. Ted Wilson and Ms. Connie Singleterry, local elders, trappers, hunters, fishermen, language teachers and educators, met to document local place names.

During the workshops, participants reviewed paper copies of 1:50 000 scale national topographic maps, which detail features such as ground relief, lakes, rivers, and forest cover. Members transferred their local knowledge of the area onto the paper map, including local Indigenous place names, cultural stories, and historical information. Eventually, the list of local Indigenous place names was compiled into a paper document and provided to the Natural Resources Institute for further study. This data formed the backbone of this research.

One of the key contributors to the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project was Wasagamack First Nation's Elder Victor Harper. Victor was, at the start of this new research, one of the very few surviving members of the original Island Lake project. Victor played a crucial role in guiding the research herein, proving local voice and perspective on behalf of the

community. Keen to see the Indigenous place names authenticated and incorporated in maps, Victor took part in a series of in-person interviews discussing the importance of local Indigenous place names, language and culture. Additionally, the utility of mapping as a tool to revitalize and preserve language and culture was examined from Victor's perspective and the perspective of local community members.

5.1 Research Conclusion

The revitalization of local Indigenous place names is of utmost importance to Indigenous people, and should be to all Canadians. Place names contain the history, language and culture of Indigenous people, the original inhabitants of Canada. Their reclamation has the capacity to strengthen Indigenous language and culture for future generations, which is critical to the well-being of Indigenous communities.

Much like Indigenous language and culture, local Indigenous place names were casualties of colonial practices aimed at eradicating Indigenous people. The residential schools existed with the sole purpose to "strip Indigenous people of their languages and cultures" (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009, p.138). It's hard to imagine, that in a society where Indigenous children were being removed from their homes and families to force assimilation to European culture, that any consideration would have been given to Indigenous place names. In fact, the eradication of these names to make Indigenous culture and land rights invisible was actively carried out.

As explorers and settlers arrived, the common practice was to name places based on that which held significance to Europeans, over time, the map of Canada was covered with European names. As a result, local Indigenous place names rarely entered the mainstream lexicon of

society. Their omission from official government databases denotes a lack of respect for Indigenous people, their language and their culture.

In recent years, Canada has recognized the importance of reclaiming Indigenous place names. Natural Resources Canada, a branch of the federal government responsible for official naming, states that:

> The Geographical Names Board of Canada has worked with Indigenous groups to restore traditional place names to reflect the culture of the original inhabitants of the territory. Some names of European origin have been replaced by traditional Indigenous names, and some unnamed physical features and populated places have been given names in Indigenous languages. Each jurisdiction's approach is different, reflecting its particular geography, history and circumstances. This long-term work is still evolving as a means of representing the coexistence of all the cultures that have built our past and our present history (Natural Resources Canada, 2017).

Efforts to reclaim local Indigenous place names has been happening across Canada.

In 2017, Manitoba Government launched a project to collect Indigenous names, Des Kappel, Manitoba's provincial toponomist, describes the official naming process as:

> It's an opportunity to recognize traditional Indigenous names across Manitoba. To recognize the history, the cultural impact and the footprint of Indigenous people in Manitoba. It's really preserving, recognizing and remembering a part of our history that hasn't been particularly well captured on an official provincial level in the past. ("Original Indigenous place names," 2017)

A concerted effort to archive Indigenous place names is critical. As Kappel indicated, "if we had done this 10 or 20 years ago, we would have had a lot more information because some elders, and some community members who have passed away, had knowledge that is no longer recalled."

The urgency of this work is evident in the research herein, with Elder Victor Harper's passing. Victor was fighting to safeguard the local Anishinimowin language and culture, and collecting place names was an important piece of that fight. Ultimately, Victor was working to

regain respect for his people and their way of life—regaining the language was the path to get there.

5.2 Research Recommendations

With rhetoric of "decolonization" and "reconciliation," Canada aims to move toward a new pathway, one where ALL Canadians are respected and celebrated equally. The process of reclaiming Indigenous place names is inherent in the notion of reconciliation, and is fundamental to Indigenous land claiming and land sovereignty. Toward that goal, the implementation of government policies and programs can be instrumental in the revitalization and preservation of Indigenous languages and place names. Such efforts have the capacity to inject Indigenous languages into mainstream society and to promote their value, worth, and credibility.

Efforts by federal and provincial governments, non-for-profits, and the like, to preserve and strengthen Indigenous language and culture have been underway for sometime. Many, however, appear fragmented and moving too slowly to capture knowledge before it is lost to the world. This was noted by Elder Victor Harper, when he expressed eagerness for more collaboration, "the [Elders] I'm working with have a lot of information and they want more information from other people. Why reinvent the wheel? Once we get to work together, it will be good for us and it will be good for our children."

The year 2019 has been declared as the Year of Indigenous Languages by the United Nations with the goal to, "raise awareness of the consequences of the endangerment of Indigenous languages across the world, with an aim to establish a link between language, development, peace, and reconciliation" (IYIL2019, n.d.). Canada's commitment to this declaration has the capacity to speak volumes to Indigenous people at home and world-wide.

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Appendix A

List of community members involved in the *Place Names of the Island Lake, Manitoba* project.

	Name	Community
1	Ted Wilson	
2	Connie Singleterry	
3	Alex Knott	Garden Hill
4	Buster Day,	Garden Hill
5	Delia Day	Gods Lake Narrows
6	David Westfall	Brandon University
7	Emma Jane Wood	Garden Hill
8	Harvey Fiddler	Garden Hill
9	John Angus McPherson	Garden Hill
10	Jack McKay	Garden Hill
11	Micheal Day	Garden Hill
12	Murdo McDougall	Garden Hill
13	Saul McDougall	Garden Hill
14	Silas Sinclair	Oxford House
15	Victor Harper	Wasagamack
16	William Monias	
17	Jane Monias	Red Sucker Lake

Appendix B

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Acheetamo Sakahikan	Acheetamo Lake	Squirrel Lake	Hidden Lake	Local name by Cobham River Lodge.
Acheetamo Sakahikan	Squirrel Lake			
Ahansiw Sakahikan	Dobbs Lake	Crow Lake		Originally it was known as Methecanape Lake after John Methecanape, a trapper from Norway House. It was named after Arthur Dobbs 18th Century author of books on Hudson Bay.
Akasko Sakahikan	Akasko Lake	Sharp Tailed Grouse Lake		
Akatimo Sakahikan	Akatimo Lake			
Akik Pawitikonk	Twin Falls	Kettle Rapids	Ako Pawitikonk	
Akik Sipink	Akik River	Kettle River	Ako Sipinink	
Alexander Island				
Alexander Mitchell Lake				
Alfred Moore Bay				
Amikwachink Sakahikan	Beaver Hill Lake			Check notes for more into on name.
Amos Island				Named after an old trapper from Norway House.
Aneemus Sakahikan	Aneemus Lake	Dog Lake		
Anekawasoseekak Sakahikan	Anekawasoseekak Lake			Weeds growing in the water have a double appearance.
Animoschaysikak	Little Dog River			
Animus Lake		Dog Lake		
Anishinabe Sakahikan	Anishinabe Lake			This is a Saulteaux word meaning "original people" referring to themselves.
Apasi Pawitik	Apasi Rapids	Tepee Poles Rapids		
Apeeta Sipink	Apeeta Creek	Half River Creek		
Apeetakamuskakwak Winikum	Apeetakamuskakwak Portage	Half Muskeg Portage		
Arthur Moore Island				
Asawayonik Nayak		Duck Blind Point		The place you go to wait for ducks to pass by.
Asikus Sipink	Asikus Creek	Little Fish Duck Creek		
Asinkaisakochink				

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Askakwant Minitik		Bushy Island		
Askipwaonikamik		Potato Portage		Some people dropped lots of potatoes here on their way across the portage.
Askwaypwaministik		Potato Island		According to the Hudson's Bay Journals during the 1890s and early 20th century potatoes were planted here each year.
Asoheesipaywinink Wasak	Asoheesipaywinink Bay	Duck Blind Bay		
Asooikaywanik Niasik	Asooikaywanik Narrows	Goose Blind Narrows		
Assikominitik		Merganser Island		
Ataminko Sakahikan		Tullibee Lake		
Atik Sakahikan	Atik Lake	Caribou Lake		Caribou are locally known as deer.
Atiko Sakahikan	Stevenson Lake			Atiko means caribou which are known as deer in this area. Deer Lake is the local name for Stevenson Lake. More in notes..
Atiko Sakahikan	Deer Lake			
Atikos Sakahikan	Atikos Lake	Little Caribou Lake		Caribou are locally known as deer.
Atikwawikun Minitik	Atikwawikun Island	Caribous Back Island		Caribou are locally known as deer.
Atikwinikum		Caribou Portage		
Baling Fur Lake				Area trappers used to bale their furs here before returning to Island Lake. It is also on 53 E/2 Gorman Lake.
Bear Lake				It was named because many bears are seen here.
Beeminigi Minitik	Beeminigi Island	Prospector Island		
Bella Lake				Perhaps named after the wife of "Big" John Knott.
Bittern Lake		South Lake		Named after a trapper in Barrens River.
Blue Walleye Lake				Local name by Cobham River Lodge.
Bouchard Island				
Boyd Island				
Bruce Peninsula				
Chachasee Sipink		Pelican River		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Chain Islands				
Chapin Bay				It was named after Rev. Roscoe Chapin, Methodist Missionary to Island Lake 1921-1927.
Chapin Bay				According to local resident Tom Hamilton this bay was named for Rev. Roscoe Chapin, Methodist missionary at Island Lake form 1921 to 1930.
Chapin Island				According to local resident Tom Hamilton this island was named for Rev. Roscoe Chapin, Methodist missionary at Island Lake from 1921 to 1930.
Chenioniyasink				
Chewaykunapesiskak Niasik	Chewaykunapesiskak Narrows	Dragonfly Narrows		
Chudzik Island				
Chuskakinaonik Sakahikan	Chuskakinaonik Lake	Red Breast Lake		
Chuskakinaonik Sipink	Chuskakinaonik Creek	Red Breast Creek		
Cobham River		North Branch Severn River		It was named after Sir Alan Cobham, a famous British aviator. He is credited with developing flight refueling, but best remembered for his extraordinary flyng circus which brought aviation awareness to millions during the 1930's.
Cochrane Bay				It was named in memory of A.S. Cochrane, a geologist, who arrived 20th August and departed for Oxford House 1 September 1879.
Cochrane Island				It was named for the Bay.
Collins Bay		Rabbit Stomach Bay		The name was proposed in 1928 but not adopted. It was named after George Collins, Hudson's Bay Company manager at Island Lake, 1920s and 1930s.
Collins Narrows				
Confederation Island				*** See Notes***
Constantin-Weyer, Lac				Named after author Maurice Constantin-Weyer (1881-1984) who homesteaded in the St. Claude district from 1904-1914 before leaving Manitoba for war service.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Cordeau Lake				Named for Brother Joseph Cordeau who served the R.C. mission in Maria Portage (now St. Teresa Point) in the late 1920s and early 1930s.
Crow Narrows		Ahansiw Wapikamank		
D'Arcis Bay				Perhaps it was named after Harry D'Arcy, a free trader who had a trading post a half mile from the Methodist Mission on Kanensewekanak Place in the 1920s.
Dead Fall Lake				There are probably many dead trees in the water caused by the activity of beavers.
Desjardins Lake				
Disbrowe Island				
Donald Stewart Island				
Dubeau Bay				It was probably named after Reverend Father Joseph Dubeau, of the Roman Catholic Mission in Island Lake, who was the first priest at Maria Portage, (St. Theresa Point) 1925.
Duck Lake				There are two graves on the southeast side of Duck Lake. Information from John Monias.
Dussault Bay				It was named after Brother J. Dussault who served the people of Maria Portage (St. Theresa Point) in the late 1920s.
Dutil Island				
East Kakenokamak	East Kakenokamak Lake	East Long Narrow Lake		
East Mistuhe Sakahikan	East Mistuhe Lake	East Big Lake		
East Namaykos Sakahikan	East Namaykos Lake			
Edwin Young Bay				
Essu Sakahikan	Clam Lake			
Essu Sipink	Clam Creek			
Eyachekush Sakahikan	Eyachekush Lake	Fawn Lake		
Eyapaysis Minitikonk	Eyapaysis Islands	Young Deer Islands		There were named for Cuthbert Sinclair who opened a small Hudson's Bay Company post on Linklater Island in 1864.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Fairy Woman Creek				It is named after a wild woman you see in the bush. In Cree mythology the Maymaykwaysew (little people) are believed to live inside a rock.
Farand Lake				
Fleet Point				A Hudson's Bay Company storehouse was once located here.
Forbes Island				
Ford Island				This already exists in the provincial database but in a different location. Which one is correct?
Fred Green Lake				Fred Green was the pilot of a heavy loaded fish plane who was killed here when this place crashed.
Garden Hill				
Gauthier Island				
Gilbert Island				
Gold Island				Into he late 1940s Axel Johnson, trader and prospector, discovered gold on this island but said it was too difficult to retrieve. More info in notes.
Gold Mine Island				A gold mine on this island was active in the 1930s and 40s. A tractor train shipment of gold dust from this mine went through the ice in Cochrane Bay in the 1940s.
Gorman Lake				It was named after E.F. Gorman (Dominion Land Surveyor) Assistant on the Manitoba/Ontario Boundary Survey.
Grand Island				
Grand Portage Creek				This is a very large portage.
Grave Site				Two children of Daniel and Eva Day are buried here.
Grave Site				
Gravel Island				For many years this island was used as a source of gravel by nearby communities. The name erroneously shown on map 53 E/15 as Wass Island.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Gravesite				There are two graves on this island.
Gravesite 1				This grave is that of Mrs. Mary Harper, Jane Monias's grandmother.
Gravesite 2				The are 14 graves in this area, including that of Lucy, the wife of George Harper of Red Sucker Lake.
Gunisao Sipink	Gunisao River			It is a variant of Kiniseu meaning pike or jackfish. It is known as Jack River at Norway House.
Gunisao Sipink	Gunisao River			It is a variant of Kiniseu meaning pike or jackfish. It is known as Jack River at Norway House.
Hallett Island				
Harper Island				
Harper Island				It was named after the family of that name.
Heart Island				
Highway Bay				According to a paper prepared for ILTC in 1895 the first Hudson's Bay post was situated here. The post was moved to Sagawitchewan Way in 1819 to be closer to the NW Company. There are rock painting here by 19th century shaman Iron Hand.
Horseshoe Island				
Howe Peninsula				
Hudwin Lake				The name is derived from a combination of Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg, as this lake lies on the height of land between there two large bodies of water.
Intahogan Sakahikan	McGowan Lake			Searching the bay as for a body.
Irving Lake				
Isbister River				
Iskwayach Sakahikan	Iskwayach Lake			End of the lake.
Iskwaywinikum		Woman's Portage		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Island Lake		Lac des Isles	Ministik Sakahikan Island Lake	The Anglo-Saxon name Island Lake is appropriate enough and is probably derived from the North West Company Post which was listed as Lac des Isles, first mentioned in the HBC Journal for Sandy Lake, Ontario 1801.
Isputenow Winikum	Isputenow Portage	High Hill Portage		
Jack Lake				It was named after a trapper from Norway House.
John Hughes Lake				
Johnsonkank	Johnson's			According to informant this was one of Axel Johnson's camps. He died in a house fire on Johnson Island.
Johnston Graham Island				
Josipikwakwayankministik				It was named after the late Josie Harper who fished here.
Jubilee Island				***See Notes***
Ka-animak				A very difficult portage where there are a lot of rocks.
Kaisi Panakatisak Pawitik	Manitou Rapids			
Kakachik Akasko Sakahikan		LIttle Spruce Grouse Lake		
Kakakekos Pawitik	Kakakekos Rapids	Crow Beak Rapids		
Kakaki Sakahikan	Kakaki Lake	Crow Lake		
Kakaki Sipink	Raven Creek			
Kakaki Sipink		Crow River		
Kakaki Wasak	Kakaki Bay	Crow Bay		
Kakaki Winikum	Kakaki Portage	Crow Portage		Kakak is the local word for raven.
Kakakiunank Sakahikan	Kakakiunank Lake	Raven Point Lake		
Kakapkaychowinsink WAsak	Kakapkaychowinsink Bay	Nikay SAkahikan	Goose Lake	Nika is the local name for goose.
Kakeenukamak	Kakeenukamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		
Kakeenukamak	Kakeenukamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kakeetapeekanik Pawitik	Pakeetapeekanik Rapids	Short Portage Rapids		It is also spelled Pakeetapeekanik Rapids
Kakenachinak Pawatik	Kakenachinak Rapids	Long Rapids		
Kakenokamak	Kakenokamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		
Kakimochpichak				A portage where you can see the end but it is a long way away.
Kakinawkikamak		Long Narrow Lake		Kakinokamakon 53 E/13 Kakinokmak Lake and Kakeenukamak Lake on 53 L/2 Kakeenukamak Lake.
Kakinokakamak River	Stevenson River	Long Narrow River		
Kakinokamak	Kakinokamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		
Kakinokamak	Long Narrow Lake			
Kakinokamak Sakahikan	Kakinokamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		
Kakinokamak Sipink	Stevenson River	Long Narrow River		It was named after the lake which was named after Frederick L. Stevenson of Western Canada Airways who crashed near The Pas in 1928, He was a prominent commercial pilot who helped open up the mineral area of northern Manitoba and Ontario.
Kakinwakamank				
Kakipatakosanik		Swaying Point		A large tree which swayed in the wind used to stand here.
Kakiskapikichiwak				The rapids are like a falls.
Kakiskapikitiwak				
Kakistapkichuk Neesichewan	Kakistapkichuk Falls	Red Sucker Falls		
Kakistapkichuk Pawitik	Kakistapkichuk Rapids	Red Sucker Rapids		
Kakitayoamisk Sakahikan	Kakitayoamisk Lake	Bleack Beaver Lake		
Kakitayoamisk Sipink	Kakitayoamisk River	Black Beaver River		
Kakokamak	Kakokamak Lake	Long Narrow Lake		Kakokamak should be spelled Kakokamak correctly.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kakonikateosipink				
Kakwayukkusakewong Sakahikanan	Kakwayukkusakewong Lakes	Long Stretch Lakes		
Kamamenetokakak Sakahikan	Kamamenetokakak Lake	Some Islands Lake		
Kamatwaykomtuach Sakahikan	Kamatwaykomtuach Lake	Splashing Lake		
Kameesawaskwasik Sakahikan	Kameesawaskwasik Lake	Grassy Lake		
Kamekanskwatinak Wacheek	Kamekanskwatinak Hill	Red Hill		
Kamineetokowak Sakahikan	Kamineetokowak Lake	Island Lake		
Kaministikwapkak Sakahikan	Kaministikwopkak Lake	Reef Lake		The Indigenous spelling is different from what was previously there.
Kamisikamak	Kamisikamak Lake	Big Lake		
Kamonwapikank				
Kamosawaskwaysik Creek	Kamosawaskwaysik Sipink			Long weeds all over the creek that can be seen in deep water.
Kamsikoosik Niasik		Covered with Ice Point		In the springtime this point is covered with ice when the ice shifts.
Kananachwayak Sakahikan	Kananachwayak Lake	Sand Ridge Lake		
Kaneenokamak	Kaneenokamak Lake	Long Lake		
Kaneesosink Sakahikanan	Kaneesosink Lakes			
Kaneesotik Sakahikanan	Kaneesotik Lakes			Two lakes joined together.
Kanensewekank Place				The first Methodist missionary to visit Island Lake was Reverend Orrin German who came from Oxford House in the summer of 1875. More details in notes...
Kanuchuanus Pawitik	Kanuchuanus Rapids	Long Current Rapids		
Kanwichiwekamak Sakahikan	Kanwichiwekamak Lake	Fairly Big Lake		
Kaotatapeesatonanuk Winikum	Kaotatapeesatonanuk Portage			

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kapaneewekamik		The Old Post		Cuthbert Sinclair established a Hudson's Bay Company post at the north end of Linklater Island in 1865. The post operated in this location until 1938 when it moved to the north end of Stevenson Island. *
Kapaneewekamik		The Old Post		Cuthbert Sinclair established a Hudson Bay Company post at the north end of Linklater Island in 1865. Post operated at this location until 1938 when it was moved to the north of Stevenson Island.
Kapankskwakakamak Sakihikan	Black Beaver Lake			
Kapawoskiwiski Sakahikan	Kapawoskiwiski Lake	Boggy Lake		Boggy Lake meaning in Saulteaux.
Kapiskowuskwiatikos Sakahikan	Kapiskowuskwiatikos Lake			
Kapiskowuskwiatikos Sipink	Kapiskowuskwiatikos River			
Kapoysipisink Sipink		Cowboy Creek		
Kasapunakwak Sakahikan	Kasapunakwak Lake			See past the rapids to the other side.
Kasawkanepewokses Sakahikan	Kasawkanepewokses Lake	Little Slush Lake		
Kasayakamewayak	Kasayakamewayak Portage			
Kasayowapapeekak Pawitik	Kasayowapapeekak Rapids			
Kaseepakwak Sakahikan	Kaseepakwak Lake	Shallow Lake		
Kaseesapunakwak Sakahikan	Kaseesapunakwak Lake			As far as you can see through the rapids.
Kasineesosik		Twin Rapids		
Kasinimnikwanapikak Sakahikan	Kasinimnikwanapikak Lake	Rocky Lake		
Kasisakakank Sipink	Kasisakakank Creek	Very Thick Bush Creek		
Kaskakwak Sakahikan	Kaskakwak Lake	Heavily Treed Lake		
Kaskakwak Sipink		Heavily Treed Creek		
Katipapwiminitik				
Kawanipakwanichikak				
Kawapakotik				

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kawapapikakwanchikak				
Kawassatawakitek				
Kawaweeaykamak	Kawaweeaykamak Lake	Round Lake		
Kawayakamak	Kawayakamak Lake	Round Lake		
Kaweekwasatikak Nayak	Kaweekwasatikak Point	Birch Point		
Keekwahongay Sakahikan	Keekwahongay Lake	Wolverine Lake		
Keekwahukayo Niasik	Keekwahukayo Narrows	Wolverine Narrows		
Keeseepakeechemak				Where the plane should land. This is the location for the proposed airstrip which was never built.
Keeseepakeechemak				Where the plane should land - the airstrip on St. Mary Island.
Keeseepeekwawunpeekowuk Sakahikan	Keeseepeekwawunpeekowuk Lake			A place that never freezes over completely.
Keespakotik Minitik	Keespakotik Island	High Island		
Keewatinuk Wachusk Winikum	North Wachusk Portage			
Kenapik Ministikkonk		Snake Islands		
Keskwayintakoseepi Sakahikan	Keskwayintakoseepi Lake			
Kiask Kimowtik Nayasak		Seagull Shit Point		
Kiask Pawitik	Kiask Rapids	Gull Rapids		
Kiask Sakahikan	Kiask Lake	Gull Lake		
Kiask Sakahikan	Kiask Lake	Gull lake		
Kiaskos Sakahikan	Kiaskos Lake	Gull Lake		
Kiaskos Sipink	Kiaskos River	Gull Lake		
Kinawko Winikum	Kinawko Portage			
Kinaypikwach	Snake Pit			
Kinosayish Sakahikan		Fish Lake		
Kinoseo Sakahikanink	Fairy Rock Lake	Fish Lake		
Kinoseo Sipink	Fish River			

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kiskateena Sakahikan	Kiskateena Lake	Steep Hill Lake		
Kiskateena Sipink	Kiskateena Creek	Steep Hill River		
Kisswasswiminitokok	Angry Island			
Kitchi Minitik	Kitchi Island	Big Island		
Kitchi Muntu Sakahikan	Kitchi Muntu Lake	Great Gods Lake		Perhaps Great Spirit Lake might more closely reflect traditional religious beliefs. Muntu is usually spelled Manitou.
Kitchi Pawitik		Big Rapids		
Kitchi Sakahikan	Kitchi Lake	Big Lake		
Kitchi Wasak		Big Bay		
Kitchiamiksipik	Sadler River	Big Beaver River		It was named after David Sadler Jr. a deputy surveyor who surveyed in Manitoba in 1871.
Kitchiamikwesik Sipink	Kitchiamikwesik Creek	Big Beaver House Creek		
Kitchiamikwesik Sipink		Big Beaver House Creek		
Kitchiananonawachiwinik				Allan A. Harper's picnic place.
Kitchinayapeekak Nayak	Kitchinayapeekak Point	Big Rocky Point		
Kitchiokonim Place		Big Beaver Dam Place		
Kitchipeekwasin Sakahikan	Kitchipeekwasin Lake	Big Boulder Lake		
Kitchipokokeena Sakahikan	Big Marker Lake	Big Brush Lake	Pisew Sakahikan	A big marker of spruce boughs identify a dog trail here.
Kitchiwapeekamak Niasik	Kitchiwapeekamak Narrows			
Kitchiwasank		Big Bay		
Kochichink		Delta		
Kokokoho Sakahikan	Kokokoho Lake	Owl Lake		
Kokokoho Sakahikan	Krolman Lake	Owl Lake		
Kokookoho Sakahikan	Elliot Lake	Owl Lake		It was named after Arthur Elliott, Sir Alan J. Cobham's mechanic. The local name was Owl Lake. The Native name was Kokookoho Sakahikan meaning night owl or night hawk.
Kokookoho Sakahikan	Kokookoho Lake	Owl Lake		
Kokookoho Sipink	Cobham River	North Branch Severn River	Owl River	It was named after Sir Alan Cobham, a famous British aviator. More info in notes...

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Kokookus Pawitik	Kokookus Rapids	Owl Lake		
Kokookus Sakahikan	Kokookus Lake	Owl Lake		
Kokookus Sipink	Kokookus Creek	Owl Creek	Rabit Skin Creek	
Kokos Sakahikan	Kokos Lake	Bacon Lake		
Kokos Winikum	Pig Portage			
Kokus Minitik	Kokus Island	Pig Island		The Hudson's Bay Company apparently kept pigs on this island.
Kokus Sakahikan	Kokus Lake	Pig Lake		
Koseekanak Sipink	Koseekanak Creek			A point from which you start.
Kuchechek Pawitik	Kuchechek Rapids	Mouth of the River Rapids		
Kwantakeeseekamak	Kwantakeeseekamak Lake	MIxed Up Lake		
Kwaykwaycheewanik Niasink	Kwaykwaycheewanik Narrows			Current flowing both ways.
Kwaykwaykaychewan NIasik	Kwaykwaykaychewan Narrows			
Kweekweesaw Sipink	McPhail river	Gray Jay River	Whiskey jack River	It was named after Agnes McPhail. In 1921, the first year women were allowed to vote or hold office, she become the first woman elected to the House of Commons.
Kwikwisiwisip	Whiskey Jack Creek			
Kwikwisiwisip Sakahikan	Whiskey Jack Lake			
Lawrence Island				
Letkeman Lake				
Linklater Island				This island was probably named after Thomas Marwick Linklater, who was in charge of the post from 1873 until 1889.
Long Island				Named because of its shape.
Long Rapids				
Loonfoot Island				
Machunakus Minitik	Machunakus Island	Mystery Island		
Mackie Bay				This feature exists in provincial database but in a different place. Which one is correct?

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Mahamo Niasik	Mahamo Narrows	Shopping Narrows		Perhaps the name comes form the fact the Hudson's Bay Company often employed the "headman" at winter camps to distribute necessities.
Mahamo Sakahikan	Long Lake	Shopping Lake		Perhaps the name comes from the fact the Hudson's Bay Company often employed the "headman" at winter camps to distribute necessities.
Mahamo Winikum	Mahamo Portage			
Mahikun Nayasik		Wolf Point		
Mahikun Sakahikan	Mahikun Lake	Wolf Lake	Mahikunostawinik	
Mahikun Sipink	Mahikun Creek	Wolf Creek		
Mahingun Sakahikan	Mahingun Lake	Wolf Lake		
Makasisink				
Makataysip Lake		Black Duck Lake		
Makataysip Sakahikan	Makataysip Lake	Black Duck Lake		Locally the Double-crested Cormorant is called the Black Duck.
Makataywachusk Sakahikan	Ankle Lake	Black Muskrat Lake		
Makataywachusk Sipink	Makataywachusk River	Black Muskrat Creek		
Makaysi Ministik	Makaysi Island	Fox Lake		
Makeekat Sakahikan	Makeekat Lake	Crippled Leg Lake		
Makeekat Sipink	Makeekat Creek	Crippled Leg Creek		
Makeesinis Sakahikan	Makeesinis Lake	Old Moccasins Lake		
Mako Sipink	Bear River			
Makonikamik	Bear Portage			
Makositenpanik		Bear Paw		It is the whole of the area.
Makosteekwaneekakan Wasak	Makosteekwaneekakan Bay	Beaver Skull Bay		
Makwa Sakahikan	Makwa Lake	Bear Lake		
Makwa Sakahikan	Makwa Lake	Bear Lake		
Makwaianis Minitik		Bear Hide Island		
Makwastakwan Sakahikanan	Makwastakwan Lakes	Bear Head Lakes		
Makwotasawatakaywan				This is where the bears swim across.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Mamaykwaspepikonk	Fairy Rock			In Cree Mythology Mayumaykwaysew little people are believed to live in the rocks.
Mangnakwagan Sakahikan	Mangnakwagan Lake			
Manito Niasik	Manito Narrows	Great Spirit Narrows		
Manitopowitikonk		Great Spirit Rapids		
Manko Sakahikan	Manko Lake	Loon Lake		
Mankos Sakahikan	Mankos Lake	Little Loon Lake		
Mankoskapakayak Sipink	Mankoskapakayak River	Young Loon Hen River		
Mankoskapakayak Sipink		Young Loon Hen River		
Mantomin Ministik	Mantomin Island	Gooseberry Island		
Mantricia Lake				Named from a combination of Manitoba and the neighbouring Patricia portion of Kenora District.
Martin's Rock				
Matanagama Sipink	Waters River			
Matowokamank Niasik				
Maynard Island				
McHugh Island				
McPhail Island				
Mechekan Sakahikan	Mechekan Lake	Little Loon Lake		
Meegeesi Pawatik Sakahikan	Eagle Rapids Lake			
Meegeesi Sakahikan	Eagle Lake			
Meegeesi Sipink	Meegeesi River	Eagle River		
Meegeesiwaseeson Minitik	Meegeesiwaseeson Island	Eagle Nest Island		
Meeswi Winikum	Meeswi Portage	Maria Portage		A narrow neck of land at present day St. Theresa Point. Artifacts were found at Maria Portage indicating people lived in this area at least 4000 years ago.
Memenkwesiwapikonk				Rock where rock people live.
Meyer Island				

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Michikan Sakahikan	Kalliecahoolie Lake	Lake of the Dying Bullfrog	Fish Trap Lake	While plotting a survey of an unnamed lake, the party chief asked for a name. The cook was singing the song "My Little Grass Shack in Kealakakua Hawaii". Kalliecahoolie was the closest he could render. More in notes..
Michikanink	Fish Trap			
Miicheekan Sakahikan	Bear Skin Lake	Fish Trap Lake		
Miller Island				
Miller Rapids				
Milton Peninsula				
Minahikosipik	Banksian River	Pine River	Big River	The name may come from the scientific name for the only species of pine that grows in the area, Pinus banksiana.
Minahikosipik Sipink	Banksian River	Pine River		The name may come from the scientific name for the only species of pine that grows in the area, Pinus banksiana.
Ministikos Sakahikan	Ministikos Lake	Little Island Lake		
Miskamaypin Sipink	Miskamaypin Rapids	Red Sucker River		
Miskwa Sakahikan	Miskwa Lake	Red Water Lake		
Miskwa Sipink	Red Water River			
Mista Sakahikan	Mista Lake	Big Lake		
Mistatimkomikok		Horse Shed		
Mistatimokameekonk Wasak	Mistatimokameekonk Bay	Skunk Bay	Horse Shed Bay	This bay is misnamed. It should be Skunk Bay. The name is in the wrong location on map 53 E/13 Kakinokamak Lake. See Mistatimkomikok. (Correction by Luke Harper)
Mistuhe Sakahikan	Mistuhe Lake	Big Lake		Big lake - abundance, plenty.
Mistuhe Sakahikan	Mistuhe Lake	Big Lake		
Mistuhe Sakahikan	Mistuhe Lakes			Big lakes abundance.
Mitikwakasinnik		Wooden Shoes		The people made wooden shoes here.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Mitikwanisink	Kennedy Lake			It was named after a crewman on the survey team of the 18th Base Line under D. Sharpe in 1936.
Mo Sakihikan	Shit Lake			
Mohkamipin Sipink	Red Sucker River			
Mokoman Sakahikan	Mokoman Lake	Knife Lake		
Mooseekanik Niasik	Mooseekanik Narrows	Moose Narrows		
Mooskamoonik Nayak				
Mooskamoonik Sipink	Mooskamoonik Creek			
Moran Lake				
Mosawgun Sipink	Mosawgun River	Sisters River		
Mosepawmik	Moose Hind			
Mosinak Sakahikan	Begg Lake	Moose Intestines Lake		It was named after James Begg, a trader and freighter from Norway House.
Muche Sakahikan	Muche Lake	Bad Lake		
Muchwees Minitik		Bad Beaver House Island		
Mukatamik Sakahikan	Black Beaver Lake			
Mukatasip Sakahikan	Mukatasip Lake	Black Duck Lake		
Mukatawa Sakahikan	Mukatawa Lake	Black Lake		
Mukatawa Sipink	Mukatawa River	Black River		Cree meanings it is black along the burnt shore.
Mukataysip Pawatik	Mukataysip Rapids	Black Duck Rapids		
Mukataysip Sakahikan	Mukataysip Lake	Black Duck Lake		
Mukataysip Sipink	Mukataysip Creek	Black Duck Creek		
Mukataysipwapeekamak	Mukataysipwapeekamak Lake	Black Duck Narrows Lake		Locally known double-crested Cormorant is called the Black Duck.
Mukataywagus Sipink	Mukataywagus River	Black Fox Creek		
Muskego Sipink	Muskego Creek	Muskeg Creek		
Muskego Sipink	Muskeg Creek			
Muskego Sipink	Muskeg Creek			

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Muskomotak Nayak	Muskomotak Point	Medicine Bg Point		
Muskrat Crossing				
Muskwa Sakahikan	Muskwa Lake	Makwa Sakahikan	Bear Lake	
Mwoakwu Sakahikan	Mwoakwu Lake	Loon Lake		Cree - the name was submitted by a Conservation Officer.
Nachapiswapakwayan		Jackfish Narrows		
Nachowakak Nayak	Nachowakak Point	Sandy Point		
Nakapekak Neesichewan	Nakapekak Falls	Little Falls		
Namapanis Sakahikan	Namapanis Lake	Little Sucker Lake		
Namapin Sakahikan	Namapin Lake	Namayoansakahikan	Sucker Lake	
Namaupin Sakahikan		Sucker Lake		
Namay Neesichewan	Namay Falls	Sturgeon Falls		
Namaykos Lake	Namaykos Lake	Trout Lake		
Namaykos Sakahikan	Namaykos Lake	Trout Lake		
Namaykosogun Sakahikan	Namaykosogun Lake	Trout Bones Lake		
Namayopaskeetayhonik Sakahikan	Namayopaskeetayhonik Lake			Where they set their nets to catch sturgeon.
Namaypin Sipink	Namaypin Creek	Sucker Creek		
Napay Pawitik	Napay Rapids	Mans Rapids		
Napay Sakahikan	Napay Lake	Mans Lake		
Napaywinikum		Man's Portage		
Nattaway Narrows		Burnt Narrows		It was named after John Nattaway who burned off the bush here.
Natwingay Sakahikan	Natwingay Lake	Human Face Lake		Apparently some people caught a lynx here and the head was party eaten. They threw it in the fire when it took on the semblance of a human face.
Nayapeekak Neesichewan	Nayapeekak Falls	High Rock Falls		
Nayapeekak Sakahikan	Nayapeekak Lake	High Rock Lake		
Neekik Sakahikan		Otter Lake		It is a Native name for the wide part of the Cobham River south of Elliot Lake.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Neekitowak Sakahikan	Neekitowak Lake	Where the Rivers Divide Lake		
Neekitowak Winikum	Neekitowak Portage	Where the Rivers Divide Portage		
Neetumkamisi Sakahikan	Neetumkamisi Lake	First Big Lake		
Nekwakanaykanak Sakahikan	Nekwakanaykanak Lake	Snaring Lake		
Nelson Island				***see notes***
Neville Island				
Neyakwayak Point		Long Point		
Niapeeketik Point		Burnt Point		
Nicholls Bay				
Nikikwapik Wasak	Nikikwapik Bay			Where the otters play and hide in the rocks.
Nikikwapikonsik Wasak	Nikikwapikonsik Bay	Little Otter Rock Bay		
Ningik Sakahikan	Ningik Lake	Otter Lake		
Ningik Sakahikan	Ningik Lake	Otter Lake		
Ningik Wasak	Otter Bay			
Ningikomaset Sakahikan	Ningikomaset Lake	Otter Belly Lake		
Ninkitawank				The place where two rivers meet and flow as one.
Nitawa Rapids		Open Area Rapids		
Noahotakosiw Nayak	Noahotakosiw Point			Noah's visiting place - named after Noah Harper.
Nochikwesio Pawatik	Old Woman Narrows			
Normand Island				
Norrie Island				
North Rapids				Local name by Cobham River Lodge.
Northland Fish Station				Hector Harper's Trap line Camp. No longer in use.
Ocheek Ministikwak	Ocheek Reef	Fisher Reef		It was named for the fur-bearing mammal.
Ochipskosink Sakahikan				Lips shaped to kiss or lips pointed out because of the cold.
Ochonipi Sakahikan	Ochonipi Lake	Tullibee Lake		It was named for a species of freshwater fish.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Ochonipi Sakahikan	Tullibee Lake			It was named for a species of freshwater fish.
Ochonipis Sakahikanink	Tullibee Lake			
Ochumkumka Sakahikan	Ochumkumka Lake			The place where the beavers stay.
Oganse Minitik	Oganse Island	Pickerel Island		This was the name of a man who lived his entire life on this island.
Ogit Sakahikan	Ogit Lake	Nose Lake		
Okas Pawitik	Okas Rapids	Pickerel Rapids	Sawmill Rapids	Brother Cordeau and the local people built a sawmill here in 1927 in order to have lumber to build St. Theresa Church.
Okas Sakahikan	Okas Lake	Pickerel Lake		
Okasanmeekanan Sakahikan	Okasanmeekanan Lake	Pickerel Spawning Lake		
Okaspotikok Neesichewan		Pickerel Falls		
Okin Sakhikan	Okin Lake	Orange Berry Lake		
Okinnio Sipink	Orange Berry Creek			Rose hip.
Okipweskawitikok				
Oksano Sakahikan	Oskano Lake	Bride Lake	Roy Brown Lake	Newly married woman.
Old Cemetary				
Old Cemetery				This was probably in use until at least 1928,
Omeeneekway Sakahikan	Omeeneekway Lake	Drinking Lake		
Omineeseenowenik				A good place to lie down.
Omintawaywinik Sakahikanan	Omintawaywinik Lakes	Miserly Lakes		
Onachawayweesonik		Blueberry Picking Place		
Onachawayweesonik		Blueberry Picking Place		
Oneeskawaywin Sakahikan	Oneeskawaywin Lake			Fuzzy or messed up hair.
Opeepoiska Wasak	Opeepoiska Bay	Blocked Off Bay		
Opeeway Pawitik	Opeeway Rapids	Fur Rapids		
Opimekoskonewinik Sakahikan	Opimekoskonewinik Lake	Jumping Lake		
Opimekoskonewinik Sipink	Opimekoskonewinik Creek	Jumping Creek		
Opom Sakahikan	Opom Lake	HIndquarter Lake		Perhaps it is descriptive of its shape or meat may have been hung there.
Opowamo Sakahikan	Opowamo Lake	Dreamer Lake		Translation: Elder Emma Jane Wood

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Osakahikansismowak Sakahikan	Osakahikansismowak Lake	Their Little Lake		
Osasakitiwaypanonink	Bare Ass Narrows			A trapper's pants always slipped down when he bent over.
Oseekan Wasak	Oseekan Bay	Skirt Bay		A woman's skirt was found hanging in a tree here,
Oseemakotapeewin Winikum	Oseemakotapeewin Portage	Dragging the Canoe Over Portage		
Oseepapkosik Sipink	Oseepapkosik River			River that floods and flows under a rock.
Oseepapkosik Sipink				River that floods and flows under a rock.
Oskisik Sakahikan	Eye Lake			
Osonaskantaway		Flying Squirrel Island		
Osowamakwapawitik		Brown Bear Raipds		
Osowamaykokak		Smooth Whitefish Lake		
Ostikwankay Nayak	Ostikwankay Point	Skull Point		
Otamokeeseewayweenik Niasik	Otamokeeseewayweenik Narrows	Eating Eagle Narrows		
Otapanikmikana		Sled Road		
Otasokakownanik Niasik	Otasokakownanik Narrows	Lynx Crossing Narrows		
Otookeekachi Sakahikan	Otookeekachi Lake	Feast Lake		
Otoskwanay Nayak	Otoskwanay Point	Elbow Point		
Otosominitik	Aunty's Island			
Pacha Sakahikan	Dry Narrows Lake			
Pakaysakaytawak Nayak	Pakaysakaytawak Point			Where the shore of the lake turns in the other direction.
Pakwach Sakahikan	Pakwach Lake	Stumps Lake		
Pakwacheewasipik	Tree Stump River			
Pakwanch Sakahikan	Pakwanch Lake	Root Lake		
Pakwanchi Pawitik	Pakwanchi Rapids	Root Rapids		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Pakwanchi Pawitik	Pakwanchi Rapids	Root Rapids		
Pakwanchi Sakahikan	Pakwanchi Lake	Root Lake		
Pakwanchi Sipinik	Pakwanchi Creek	Root Creek		
Pakwanchi Sipink	Benson Creek	Root Creek		
Palsen River				Named after a member of the Manitoba - Ontario Boundary survey party in 1922.
Panko Niasik	Panko Narrows	Shallow Narrows		
Pansowan Sipink	Pansowan Creek	Smoking Fish Creek		The old people used to camp here and catch fish, fillet them and smoke them.
Pasataypechekun Sakahikan	Pasataypechekun Lake	Slingshot Lake		
Paskwakisigan Ministik	Paskwakisigan Island			All burned over in the fire.
Paskwamik Sakahikan	Paskwamik Lake	Beaver Cleared Lake		
Paweesakopeesink Sakahikan	Paweesakopeesink Lake			Dead trees around the Lake.
Paypannapatuwakak Sakahikan	Sharpe Lake	Merrys Lake		David N. Sharpe (DLS) was chief of the party which surveyed the 18th Base Line here.
Peekwakosip Lake	Peekwakosip Lake	Goldeneye Duck Lake		
Peekwatana Sakahikan	Peekwatana Lake	Tufted Treetop Lake		
Peekwatana Sipink	Peekwatana River	Tufted Treetop River		
Peekwatana Sipink		Tufted Treetop River		
Peekwatana Sipink		Tufted Tree River		
Peekwatateekak Winikum	Peekwatateekak Portage	Poplar Portage		
Peetawaykamak Lake	Peetawaykamak Lake	Twin Lake		
Peeutay Sakahikan	Stranger Lake			
Pekwachkwaskwaypinayweenik Sakahikan		Wilderness Fishing Lake		
Pekwachkwaskwaypineewenik Sakahikan	Pekwachkwaskwaypineewenik Lake	Wild Fishing Lake		
Pekwachkwaskwaypineewenik Sipink	Pekwachkwaskwaypineewenik River	Wild Fishing Creek		
Pekwachnamaykoskwaskwaypinwanik Sakahikan	Pekwachnamaykoskwaskwaypinwanik Lake	Wild Angling Lake		Where the wild trout are caught by hooks.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Pepesachiwan	Strip Rapids			These rapids may be known as Kapaysachiwak.
Pickerel Narrows				
Pikokosip Bay		Golden Eye Duck Lake		
Pikwakosip Sakahikanink		Common Goldeneye Lake		
Pipe Point Island				
Piponipakitawakanik		Winter Fishing Place		
Piponshewanik				Where the old people used to camp in the winter.
Pisew Sakahikan	Lynx Lake			
Pisew Sipink	Kite Creek	Lynx Creek		Named in memory of Flying Officer George Robert Kite WWII casualty.
Pisew Sipink	Kite Creek	Lynx Creek		
Pisew Winikum	Pisew Portage	Lynx Portage		
Pokokeena Sakahikan	Pokokeena Lake	Little Marker Lake		Spruce boughs were placed here to mark a dog trail.
Pokwakut Sipik	Bourne River	Urie RIver		Ojibway/Cree name - some fat/round people lived here. English name/ named after Robert Bourne a Dominion Land Surveyor who conducted surveys in the late 1880s.
Pollon Bay				
Ponask Sakahikan	Ponask Lake			Cooking fish on a stick.
Posopwamik MInistik		Lynx Leg Island		
Potter Island				
Pusagan Minitik	Pusagan Island	Red Sucker Island		
Pusawgan Sakahikan	Pusawgan Lake			Growth bump or conk on birch trees.
Queskekapow Sakahikan	Knight Lake			On the other side of the river it was named for John Queskekapow, a trapper from Norway House.
Ralph Point				
Ray Peninsula				
Red Sucker Lake				Presumably named after the species of fish.
Red Sucker Lake				

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Running Point				On his arrival here George Harper always immediately ran across to look for moose tracks.
Sagawitchewan Wasak	Sagawitchewan Bay	Water Flowing In Bay		
Sakawisi Sakahikan	Sakawisi Lake	Mink Lake		
Sakink Nayak	Sakink Point	Looking Around the Bend Point		
Sakkink Sakahikan	Sakkink Lake	Looking Around the Bend Lake		
Sakwasi Sakahikan	Sakwasi Lake	Mink Lake		
Sakwaysew Minitik	Sakwaysew Island	Mink Island		
Sakwaysew Pawitik	Sakwaysew Rapids	Mink Rapids		
Sanap Sipik		Syrup River		
Sandy Bar				This is a favorite recreational area.
Sangoesh Sakahikan	Sangoesh Lake	Mink Lake		
Saseek Pawitik	Saseek Rapids	Pelican Rapids		
Savage Islands				This island was probably named after an HBC post manager who was at Island Lake 1872-1873. (The Beaver, December 1936)
Sawiskawakikanay		Bloody Chest		
Saykapanow Sipink	Saykapanow River	Braided River		
Sekak Sakahikan	Sekak Lake	Skunk Lake		
Sekak Wasak	Sekak Bay	Skunk Bay		
Sekakostikwanik Niasik	Sekakostikwanik Narrows	Skunk Head Narrows		
Sekawees Minitik	Sekawees Island	Empty Beaver House Island		
Sesep Sakahikan	Sesep Lake	Duck Lake		
Shateminetakak	Shorty Island			Named after William "Shorty" Harper, grandfather of local resident Abraham Harper. "Shortly" drowned.
Sheekak Sakahikan	Sheekak Lake	Skunk Lake		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Sheekakway Sakahikan	Sheekakway Lake	Greasy Neck Lake		Apparently an old man was eating bear meat here and got it all over his neck and hair.
Shorty Lake				It was named after William "Shorty" Harper (grandfather of local resident Abraham Harper). "Shorty" drowned.
Sikak Minitik	Skunk Island			
Sikak Sakihikan	Skunk Lake			
Sikakakowitikok	Skunk Rapids			
Sikakopitwitikok	Skunk Rapids			
Sinclair Islands				
Slemon Lake				Named after C. Roy Slemon, a pioneer airman on a photo survey.
Sopay Pawitik	Sopay Rapids			
Sopay Sipink	Sopay Creek			Short portage where you can see through the trees to the other side.
Sopay Winikum	Sopay Portage			
Sowinik Wachusk Winikum	South Wachusk Portage			
St. Mary Island				The St. Theresa Point airport is now situated on this island.
St. Theresa Point				
St. Theresa Point				
Stewart Black Peninsula				
Stone Lake		Asinio Sakahikan		
Strachan Island				
Susman Sakahikan	Snow Snake Lake			
Susman Sakahikan	Snow Snake Lake			
Tach ├® Lake				Tache is the surname of a resident in Barens River.
Thordarson Island				
Titipikus Sakahikan	Titipikus Lake			Curled nail like those of the beaver.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Traynor Lake				Named after Isaac Traynor (DLS) who conducted a survey here between 1870 and 1900.
Turcotte Bay				
Two Legged River				It was named because there are two channels side by side.
Vicars Lake				Named after John Vicars who conducted surveys here between 1870 and 1900.
Victor Harper's Camp				Victor Harper's Camp
Wachask Sakahikanink	Muskrat Lake			
Wachusk Sakahikan	Wachusk Lake	Muskrat Lake		
Wachuskokak Sakahikan	Wachuskokak Lake	Muskrat Leg Lake		This lake was misspelled. Initial letter should be "W" for Wachuskokak not "K' Kacheskokak - Elder Emma Jane Wood
Wachuskonikamik	Wachusk Portage	Muskrat Portage		Many muskrat move across here when the water is low.
Wachuskwinikum	Muskrat Portage			
Wakanokamik				The place where sweat lodges were held.
Wakihikankasiayak Ministik	Wakihikankasiayak Island	Merrys House		Where the house sat. This is a possible site for Merry's House, an early 19th century trading post.
Wakun Sakahikan	Fish Egg Lake			
Wakus Sakahikan	Wakus Lake	Fox Lake		
Wakus Sipink	Wakus Creek	Fox Creek		
Walker Rapids				
Walsh Lake				
Wameekwas Sakahikan	Wameekwas Lake	Birch Bark Lake		
Wapachikwionink Pawitik		Narrow Stream Rapids		
Wapakwiak Wasak	Benson Bay	Umbrella Bay		There were lots of trees on the north shore which looked like umbrellas until a fire many years ago.
Wapanagak Niasink	Wapanagak Narrows			
Wapapaikik				
Wapasi Sakahikan	Wapasi Lake	Swan Lake		
Wapasitownasink Nayak		White Feet Point		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Wapatanak Sakahikan	Wapatanak Lake	Twin Lake		
Wapatanak Sipink	Wapatanak Creek	Twin Creek		
Wapatanak Sipink		Twin Lake Creek		
Wapatinasing Niasik	Wapatinasing Narrows			Narrows at this point.
Wapawongank Niasik	Wapawongank Narrows	Sandy Ridge Narrows		
Wapeeahing	Gravesite			
Wapeekamasink Niasik	Wapeekamasink Narrows			
Wapeekokookoho Sakahikan	Wapeekokookoho Lake	White Owl Lake		
Wapeenkway Sakahikanan	Wapeenkway Lakes	White Faces Lakes		
Wapianoskak Niasik	Birch Bark Narrows			
Wapisi Sakahikan	Wapisi Lake	White Swan Lake		
Wapisi Sipink	Wapisi River	White Swan Creek		
Wapos Otapimisimowinik				This is where rabbits fell off the cliff.
Waposumset Sakihikam	Waposumset Lake	Rabbit Belly Lake		
Waposwayansakahikan	Wapus Lake	Rabbit Skin Lake		
Wapus Sakahikan	Wapus Lake	Rabbit Lake		
Wapus Wasak	Wapus Bay	Rabbit Bay		
Wapuswapikunk		Rabbit Rock		
Warrington Lake				It was named after G.A. Warrington, Master Surveyor and Commissioner of the Inter-provincial Boundary Survey.
Wasacheewan Pawitik	Wasacheewan Rapids	Shining Rapids		
Wasachewin Pawitik	Wasachewin Rapids	Shining Rapids		
Wasagamack				
Wasagamack Bay		Round Bay		
Wasahatawakak Wasak	Wasahatawakak Bay	Sandy Bay		
Wasakamak Wasak	Wasakamak Bay	Round Bay		

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Wasakomik Sakahikan	Charron Lake	Big Clearwater Laker		Named after J.S. Charron, a Canadian airman on a photo survey of the Island Lake area. Charron Lake is mentioned in A Trapper's Life by Tom Belanger of Berens River who met people from Island Lake here.
Wasakunawewinik Niasik	Wasakunawewinik Narrows	Beacon Narrows		Literally this means "someone made a fire during the night which could be seen by others."
Wasakwinow Nayak		Bare Back Point		Wasakwinow was the nickname of John Harper of Red Sucker Lake who prospected here.
Wasamik Wasak		Beaver Lodge Bay		
Waseeswunkisiakotik Sakahikan	Waseeswunkisiakotik Lake	Hanging Bird's Nest Lake		
Waskao Sipink	Waskao River	Circling Around River		
Wass Island				It was named for Tom Wass trader and prospector. ***See notes***
Wass River				Named for Tom Wass trader and prospector at Island Lake from the 1920s to 1950s.
Wathacheewan Sakahikan	Wathacheewan Lake	Strong Current Lake		
Wathachewan Sipink	Gilchrist Creek	Fox Creek	Strong Current Creek	It was named after Sergeant D.R. Gilchrist, photographer on the survey here.
Wawakuskwayank Sipink	Wawakuskwayank Creek	Winding Marsh Creek		
Waypapeekowin Pawitik	Waypapeekowin Rapids	Flowing Away Rapids		
Waypapeekowin Sipink	Waypapeekowin Creek	Flowing Away Creek		
Webster Island				
Weeneeniasink Nayak	Weeneeniasink Point	Stinking Point		
Weesagumin Sakahikan	Cantin Lake	Swirling Rippling Water Lake		
Weesakachak				
Weesakachak Sipink	Weesakachak Creek	Whiskey Jack Creek		
Weesisik				Many animals build their homes here.

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Wemtikosi Wasak	Wemtikosi Bay	White Man's House Bay		White Man's House Bay notes mention "William, 1946 drilling" - presumably the "white man" and his purpose here.
Wencheek Sakahikan	Wencheek Lake	Stinking Lake		
Wendigo Sakahikan	Wendigo Lake			This is a widening of the Cobham River. Wendigo is a Saulteaux word meaning cannibal.
Wenusk Sakahikan	Wenusk Lake	Groundhog Lake		
Weskachmik Sakahikan	Weskachmik Lake			Diaphragm of an animal.
West Atik Winikum	West Atik Portage	West Caribou Portage		
West Kakenokamak	West Kakenokamak Lake	West Long Narrow Lake		
West Mistuhe Sakahikan	West Mistuhe Lake	West Big Lake		
West Namaykos Sakahikan	West Namaykos Lake	West Trout Lake		
Whiskey River				Hearing the name of the river a little boy drank some and got "drunk".
White Deer Rapids				
Whiteway Island				It was named for Robert Whiteway, manager of the Hudson's Bay Company post on Linklater Island, Island Lake 1893-1905.
Wicheekwinikum	Fisher Portage			
Willow Lake				
Winking Point				This is the site of the winter campsite of the Beardy, Knott and Nattaway families. In springtime the Beardys went to Kanuchuan Rapids, the Nattaways to Wasagamak Bay and the Knotts west of Winking Point.
Wuneekwineema Sakahikan	Wuneekwineema Lake	Son-In-Law Lake		
Wunneeheegunyap Sakahikan	Wunneeheegunyap Lake	Chain Lake	Thunder Lake	Chain Lake referring to the steel chain of a leg-hold trap.
Wunwie Sakahikan	Wunwie Lake	Cheek Lake		
Wylie Island				
York Island				
York Lake				

NAME_INDIGENOUS	NAME_ENGLISH	NAME_OTHER_1	NAME_OTHER_2	ORAL STORIES
Young Island				This island already exists in the provincial database but in a different location. Which one is correct?