

# Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge



**Tłıchǫ**  
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**Series 2**



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**2014**





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# **Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge**

## ***Final Report***

Submitted by Whàehdòè Nàowo Kò Dogrib Treaty 11 Council

To the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society

March 2001

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## **Habitat of Dogrib Traditional Territory: Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge**

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- Louis Whane and Jimmy Martin helping researchers with place names. (Photo courtesy of Madelaine Chocolate)

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## Dedication

This report is dedicated to the memory of all the elders and harvesters who passed on between 1995 and 2000. We thank them for sharing their knowledge with other members of their communities so that people can use Ṭḥcḥq̣ Nàowòd (Dogrib knowledge) long into the future.

---

### Behchoḳq̣ (Rae-Edzo)

Caroline Beaulieu	Joe Beaulieu	Mary Adele Bishop
Nick Black	Suzie Bruneau	Elizabeth Charlo
Robert Douglas	Joseph Etsemba	Johnny Eyakfwo
Johnny Football	Sammy Football	Liza Germaine
Harry Koyina	Elizabeth Lacorn	Eddy Lafferty
Alphonse Lamouelle	Charlie Mackenzie	Modeste Mantla
Phillip Mantla	Zimmie Mantla	John Pierre Michel
Harry Quitte	Vital Quitte	Adele Rabesca
Helen Rabesca	Jimmy Rabesca	Victor Rabesca
Phillip Tatsia	Morris Tinquì	Alphonse Wedawin
Harry Wedawin	Charlie Wedzin	Pierre Wedzin

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### Gamètì (Rae Lakes)

David Chocolate	Gabrielle Drybone	Paul Drybone
Andrew Gon	Pierre Gon	Pierre Sr. Mantla
Louis Wedawin	Jean Wetrade	Marie Zoe

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### Wekweètì (Snare Lake)

Joseph Boline	Pierre Judas	Monique Koyina
Marie Simpson		

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### Whatì (Lac La Martre)

Celine Eyakwo	Marie Klugie	Johnny Nitsiza
Joseph Zoe Fish	Mary Adele Zoe Fish	

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- The Toponymy Program, Government of the NWT and the Dogrib Community Services Board for providing travel and per diem for Dr. Leslie Saxon, the linguist from the University of Victoria.

## Tłichq Elders

Elders associated with the West Kitikmeot Slave Study between 1995 and 2001.

### Behchokò

Adele Wedawin	Annie Black	Eddie Lafferty
Elizabeth Chocolate	Elizabeth Mantla	Elizabeth Michel
Elizabeth Rabesca	Harry Apple	Harry Koyina
Harry Quitte	Jimmy Martin	Joe Migwi
Joe Suzie Mackenzie	Johnny Eyakfwo	Joseph Rabesca
Julie Mackenzie	Laiza Germaine	Caroline Beaulieu
Liaza Mackenzie	Liza Koyina	Harry Wedawin
Madeline Martin	Matton Mantla	Moise Martin
Nick Black	Paul Rabesca	Pierre Wedzin
Robert Mackenzie	Rosalie Drybones	Roseann Martin
Sammy Football	Suzie J. Bruneau	Theresa Lafferty
Zimmy Mantla		

### Gamètì

Alphonse Quitte	Angelique Mantla	Amen Tailbone
Bella Zoe	Elise (Alice) Simpson	Elizabeth Chocolate
Harry Simpson	John D. Quitte	Madelaine Arrowmaker
Madelaine Drybone	Mary Apple	Paul Wetrade
Phillip Zoe	Pierre Mantla Jr.	Pierre Quitte
Romie Wetrade	Rosalie Tailbone	

### Wekweètì

Alexis Arrowmaker	Joseph Pea'a	Louis Whane
Madelaine Judas	Margaret Lafferty	

### Whatì

Alexi Flunkie	Annie Simpson	Albert Wedawin
Dora Nitsiza	Joe Zoe Fish	Mary Adele Moosenose
Mary Madeline Nitsiza	Phillip Nitsiza	Pierre Beaverhoe

## Acronyms

CEC .....	Community Elders Committee
DRRC.....	Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee
GIS .....	geographic information system
GNWT .....	Government of the Northwest Territories
PAR.....	participatory action research (method)
PHP.....	Place names habitat project (this project)
RWED .....	Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (Department of the GNWT; now called Environment and Natural Resources)
WKSS .....	West Kitikmeot Slave Study (Society)



## Tɬɨchɔ Pronunciation Key

The sounds of most Tɬɨchɔ consonants are similar to the sounds made by consonants in English.

Tɬɨchɔ has four vowels—a, e, i, o—and four kinds of vowel sounds: plain, nasal, low-tone, and nasal low-tone.

Nasal vowels	Low-tone vowels	Nasal low-tone vowels
ḁ    ɛ̃    ɪ̃    ɔ̃	à    è    ì    ò	ḁ̃    ɛ̃̃    ɪ̃̃    ɔ̃̃
For nasal vowels, the air flows through the nose and mouth.	For low-tone vowels, the voice is deeper and the air flows through the mouth.	For nasal low-tone vowels, the voice is deeper and the air flows through the nose and mouth.

The following list shows some sounds that need explaining, including some consonants not found in English. The list is adapted from the Tɬɨchɔ dictionary<sup>1</sup>.

Letter	Pronunciation
ʔ    ɰ	The ‘click’ sound heard in the expression ‘ah-ah’ or ‘oh-oh’
ʌ    ɤ	Similar to the sound in ‘ <u>w</u> ant’
Ch    ch	‘ <u>Ch</u> air’; some dialects sound more like <u>wets</u> suit
Ch’    ch’	Same as <u>ch</u> , but with the click sound as part of it; an <u>ejective ch</u>
Dl    dl	Similar to <u>gl</u> ue; at times like <u>bad</u> ly
Dz    dz	Similar to <u>ad</u> ze
E    e	Usually like <u>se</u> t, but after w it is similar to <u>wo</u> od
ɛ̃    ɛ̃̃	Similar to <u>se</u> nt
Gh    gh	No similar sound in English; similar to the r sound in the French <u>rou</u> ge

<sup>1</sup> Dogrib Divisional Board of Education 1996

Letter	Pronunciation
Gw gw	Similar to lang <u>u</u> age
l l	Same as ski
ɭ ɭ	Similar to the sound in <u>m</u> ean <u>s</u>
J j	Can be as in <u>j</u> et or <u>a</u> d <u>z</u> e, depending on the dialect
K k	Like in <u>k</u> it; but in some words it is pronounced like <u>x</u> or <u>h</u>
K' k'	Same as k but with the click sound as part of it; an <u>ejective k</u>
Kw kw	Same as <u>q</u> uit
Kw' kw'	Same as <u>kw</u> , but with the click sound as part of it; an <u>ejective kw</u>
ɬ ɬ	Breathy l, similar to <u>f</u> lip or <u>s</u> lip
O o	Like <u>g</u> o; some pronounce it like <u>g</u> oo
ɓ ɓ	Similar to the sound in <u>d</u> on't
T' t'	Same as t but with the click sound as part of it; an <u>ejective t</u>
Tɬ tɬ	Similar to <u>s</u> ett <u>l</u> e or in some cases more like <u>c</u> lue
Ts ts	Like <u>c</u> at <u>s</u>
Ts' ts'	Same as ts but with the click sound as part of it; an <u>ejective ts</u>
Wh wh	Breathy wh as in <u>w</u> hen; wh with a following e sounds like <u>w</u> hirr
X x	No similar sound in English; sounds like a raspy h and similar to the German ch as in <u>B</u> ach
Zh zh	Similar to <u>p</u> lea <u>s</u> ure, but in some dialects sounds more like <u>p</u> lea <u>s</u> e

This report uses many Tɬɔhɔ words. We follow the orthography found in the Dogrib dictionary Tɬɔhɔ Yatì Enìht'è (1996). Or in the case of place names, we follow the spelling rules established by this project.

At the time of this project Dogrib is the common English term for Tɬɔhɔ. The term Tɬɔhɔ is used throughout this report, except on some maps and in the names of some committees or organizations.

## West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society (WKSS)<sup>2</sup>

The West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society was set up in 1995 to collect environmental and socioeconomic information from the perspective of both science and Aboriginal traditional knowledge. The overall purpose was to gather information to better inform planning decisions and to contribute baseline data to assess and mitigate cumulative effects of development.

The study area extends from the boreal forest of the NWT to the tundra of Nunavut and the NWT; from Great Slave Lake to the Arctic Ocean. It overlaps a large part of Tłıchǫ traditional territory. The area has extensive mineral deposits; the discovery of diamonds at Lac de Gras (ʔek'atı) in 1992 led to the biggest staking rush in world history.



Nine organizations came together to form the WKSS. Members included representatives from federal and territorial governments, environmental organizations, Aboriginal communities and governments, and the mining industry. Partners contributed funding and participated on the board. They developed a research strategy and formed a traditional knowledge steering committee and a project steering committee. Together they contributed close to \$10 million (about 80% spent directly on research) and funded projects related to the following areas:

- Wildlife and habitat studies, with a focus on caribou.
- Physical environment, such as water quality.
- Socioeconomic, such as developing indicators and a community-based monitoring system.

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<sup>2</sup> WKSS Final Report 2001



Communities in the WKSS area have populations that range from less than 100 to more than 18,000 people. Aboriginal people that use the area are:

- Tłıchq̓ of Behchok̓, Gamètì, Wekweètì, and Whatì in the NWT.
- T'atsaot'íne of Dettah and Ndilo in the NWT.
- Denesūliné of Łutselk'e in the NWT.
- Inuvialuit and Inuit of Bathurst Inlet, Cambridge Bay, Kugluktuk, and Umingmaktok in Nunavut.

Inuit, Inuvialuit, Dene, and Métis still travel their ancestors' trails. Hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering berries and medicines are widely practiced. People visit communities within their own region and travel long distances to visit other regions. Today people use snowmobiles, aircraft, trucks, ATVs, and motor boats more frequently than canoes, kayaks, and dog teams.

The WKSS five-year mandate ended on March 31, 2001. The final year was largely spent bringing the research projects to the final report stage and working out a proposal for next steps. This included a planning process to recommend a successor organization to WKSS, and a research program to monitor cumulative effects in the WKSS area.

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## Report Summary

The long-term objectives of this project are to:

- Identify and map habitat within the Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nìtì'èè<sup>3</sup>.
- Provide the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society, Tłchq communities, and others with baseline data to develop management strategies and other initiatives to monitor the cumulative impacts from development and to help protect dè<sup>4</sup>.
- Provide an understanding of similarities and differences between scientific and Tłchq habitat classification systems.

As with other Tłchq research projects, this project used the participatory action research (PAR) method. This approach is based on the belief that elders and harvesters are the primary experts with knowledge of dè. Researchers interact with elders in many ways: interviewing, travelling together, listening to oral narratives, and discussing concepts. Elders control how the research is conducted and how their knowledge is presented and used.

A Community Elders Committee (CEC) in each of the four communities (Behchokò, Gamètì, Wekweètì, and Whatì) gave direction on who to interview and why. A Regional Elders Committee oversaw the whole project and verified information the research team collected and what to include in the report.

The research team included the following people:

- Sally Anne Zoe: research and organizing data; GIS.
- Pauline Willeh: research and organizing data; data entry.
- Kathy Simpson: research and organizing data.

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<sup>3</sup> The territory acquired by Tłchq as described by Mqwhì to the Treaty Commission 1921.

<sup>4</sup> Dè is a term that is usually translated as land. But the concept is much broader. Dè is closer to the scientific concept ecosystem. Except where ecosystem is based on the idea that living things exist in association with non-living elements, the Dogrib term dè is based on the idea that everything in the environment has life and spirit. (Legat, Zoe and Chocolate 1995:5)

- Madeline Chocolate: research and organizing data; issues important to documenting plants and place names; Tłıchǫ literacy and translation.
- Alice Legat, research director: accounting and coordinating training; field research; data analysis; writing reports.

The research director coordinated on-the-job training so that each member of the research team developed better skills in their areas of responsibility.

The research took place between 1998 and 2000. The main activities included the following:

- Field trips to tundra and boreal forest locations
  - Consult with elders to decide where to go and who should go.
  - Organize and carry out field trips to identify plants associated with various habitats.
  - Fill out field data sheets to note habitat and associated vegetation communities.
  - Discuss place names with elders to understand literal and conceptual meanings.
- Elder interviews
  - Develop research guidelines to interview elders over 75 years old.
  - Interview elders. (50 elders from the four communities an average of four times each)
  - Transcribe and translate or summarize interviews.
  - Determine the meaning of place names.
  - Understand the vegetation associated with different types of habitat.
- Workshops
  - Hold six workshops to discuss conceptual and literal meanings of place names. (produced about 125 hours of tapes)
  - Include Regional Elders' Committee; Tłıchǫ language specialists; Leslie Saxon, linguist; and the research team.
  - Set rules for consistent spelling of place names to ensure correct translations and conceptual meanings.

- Maps
  - Put place names on topographic maps. Note and translate place names of sites noted.
  - Draw habitat on topographic maps.
  - Transfer information from topographic maps to digital maps.
  - Translate and transfer data from other projects, particularly the Toponymy and Dene Mapping Project.
  - Interpret vegetation from satellite image and fire data provided by Remote Sensing Division, Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development.
- Database
  - Create database and enter information.
  - Design database for future use when using information to monitor cumulative impacts and to develop management strategies.
  - Design database to collect information on observed impacts and problems to the environment.
  - Enter 3,158 locations.
  - Spell place names according to project rules and based on discussions to clarify pronunciation and meaning.
  - Work with Suzanne Carrière, botanist, to identify plants and attach Latin names. Plant identification is an ongoing process.
  - Make predictions of vegetation in noted habitat at particular sites.
- Literature review
  - Look for other indigenous environmental knowledge studies concerned with biodiversity, habitat, and place names.
  - Search five libraries in Yellowknife, Universities of Calgary and Aberdeen, and Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, England.

The research team collected place names throughout M̄qwhì Gogha Dè N̄l̄t'èè. They focused on ʔek'at̄iæets̄l̄l̄, N̄dz̄īkaà, and several sites near Behchok̄ò to define habitat and associated flora and fauna.

To best understand the data: first: examine the place names; second: examine different sites on the tundra and in the boreal forest, and the associated habitats and vegetation communities.

### *Place Names*

The research team found that most place names are indicators of biogeographical knowledge. Several categories of place names are indicators of topography, water flow, and biodiversity. Other categories are associated with mammals, human habitat, past events, and political and spiritual sites. We made a separate category for very old place names where the meaning is lost. Place names create a visual image for those who understand the inter-relatedness within the dè that the Tł̨chq value at these places.

Patterns associated with Tł̨chq place names suggest that names that contain topographic and water flow terms have the primary purpose of describing safe, understandable travel routes. Names that contain biological terms seem to indicate locations with various resources or biodiversity. Place names stimulate oral narratives that contain knowledge of socio-political relationships, social behaviour, resources, ancestral use, graves, and obstacles while traveling and camping in the area.

Both the database and oral narratives provided information that all places were associated with caribou, whether to hunt, travel through, or to leave families at while the men traveled further onto the tundra. Often a place name is mentioned to stimulate the listener's memory, hoping to encourage them to think and act in a certain way.

The elders discussed place names from the point of view of hunters, gatherers, and trappers who use their knowledge of the dè to survive. The interviews were done within the context of their concern for their grandchildren and during this time of rapid industrial development. The elders want the flora, fauna, and other aspects of the dè to be respected and remain healthy so their grandchildren will thrive and continue to use Dogrib traditional territory.

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### *Habitats within the Dogrib Traditional Territory*

The research team studied habitat in locations in the boreal forest and the tundra. They visited areas near each community, mapping and documenting flora and fauna associated with each habitat type.



Elders defined and discussed 28 different types of habitat. Most exist in both the dets̱ta (boreal forest) and the hoẕli (tundra or barrenlands). Some are similar to habitat classified by scientific communities.

Researchers documented baseline information about habitat and vegetation. Elders taught researchers what to expect when they know a particular habitat is in a certain place.

Using this knowledge and experience, the research team predicted plant communities at Sim̱ṯi and Gam̱ṯi. They did not have sufficient resources to verify their predictions. Based on other data collected and presented for this project, the team feels there is sufficient evidence that predictions can be made and used for monitoring cumulative effects, change, and stability in the future.

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### ***Conclusions and Recommendations***

Knowledge of place names and the associated habitat forms a basis for monitoring cumulative effects, particularly to the cultural and physical environment. This study shows:

- Ṯcẖ place names are reliable indicators of biogeographical knowledge.
- Knowledge recorded with place names can be used to make predictions concerning natural features.
- Biogeographical knowledge is important to increase our basic understanding of northern ecosystems or ḏ.
- Biogeographical knowledge could be very useful in helping to determine how resource development affects the landscape, including habitat that is particularly important for people, plants, and animals.
- Biogeographical knowledge is a valuable environmental tool as well as being extremely important to Ṯcẖ culture.

Ṯcẖ knowledge—all indigenous knowledge—is extremely valuable to the wider world. This knowledge is not available anywhere else. Elders are aging and dying, so there is a certain urgency to continue to gather and record their knowledge.

We need to do more work to determine how to best use this knowledge for environmental monitoring and other initiatives, without compromising or interfering with indigenous use of land and knowledge. This includes doing more work to understand how indigenous knowledge and science can complement and work together.

## Objectives

The project has the following long-term objectives.

- Identify and map habitat within Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nìt'èè.
- Provide the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society and the Tłchq communities with baseline data to develop management strategies to monitor the cumulative impact from development.
- Provide an understanding of similarities and differences between scientific and Tłchq habitat classification systems.

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## Project Background

Due to the effects associated with ever-increasing industrial development, people recognized a growing need for habitat studies and concrete indigenous knowledge of dè<sup>5</sup>. In 1994-95, the Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee (DRRC) was established to work with the Department of Renewable Resources<sup>6</sup> to ensure that environmental issues are addressed from a Tłchq perspective.

In September 1995, members of the DRRC stated at a WKSS workshop that habitat should be one of five research priorities. At the WKSS meeting in February 1996, all partners identified habitat as a research priority.

The Tłchq are particularly concerned about the impacts of development on wildlife, and on people who depend on the wildlife. Without an adequate understanding of dè, it is difficult to plan.

Wildlife management strategies, legislation, policy, guidelines, and other initiatives are based on scientific studies, which reflect a limited time frame. The Tłchq and others are concerned that initiatives developed from

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<sup>5</sup> Dè is a term that is usually translated as land. But the concept is much broader. Dè is closer to the scientific concept ecosystem. Except where ecosystem is based on the idea that living things exist in association with non-living elements, the Dogrib term dè is based on the idea that everything in the environment has life and spirit. (Legat, Zoe and Chocolate 1995:5)

<sup>6</sup> Now known as the Department of Environment and Natural Resources

scientific data alone are not sufficient to protect dè from development. It is essential to document Tłıchq elders' knowledge of dè to establish data that can provide a reliable and extensive baseline for monitoring environmental changes in the Tłıchq traditional territories.

Indigenous knowledge is qualitatively and quantitatively different from scientific knowledge. Working together and complementing each other, researchers of indigenous and scientific knowledge can better identify and talk about environmental change and cumulative effects. This is necessary for the Tłıchq and others to have more confidence that dè, on which they depend now as in the past, is protected in an appropriate manner for future generations.

## Study Area and People

The study area encompasses all the traditional territory within the M̄qwhì Gogha Dè N̄it'èè<sup>7</sup>. Although the research team collected place names throughout the study area, they focused on ʔek'atìʔets̄l̄l̄l̄, N̄dzikaà, and several sites around Behchok̄ to define habitat and associated flora and fauna.

The T̄h̄ch̄q are members of the Athapaskan linguistic group and represent the largest Athapaskan speaking population in the NWT. As currently stated by T̄h̄ch̄q elders and recorded by Helm (1981), the T̄h̄ch̄q traditionally occupied the area between Tideè (Great Slave Lake) and Sahtì (Great Bear Lake), extending from K̄ok'èetì (Contwoyto Lake), Ts'eèhgootì (Aylmer Lake), and ʔedaàtsotì (Artillery Lake) in the tundra to Dehtso (Mackenzie River) in the west.

Four language groups neighbour the T̄h̄ch̄q:

- Sahtúot'̄n̄q̄ Yatí (North Slavey) to the northwest.
- Dene Zhatìé (South Slavey) to the west and southwest.
- Denes̄l̄ine (Chipewyan) to the east;
- Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, and Inuinnaqtun to the north and northeast.

Richardson (1851) claims the T̄h̄ch̄q region extended to the Back River<sup>8</sup>. Back (1836:265) stated that the T̄h̄ch̄q traveled to the mouth of the Back River during war excursions with the Inuit. Petitot (1884:1891) states that the T̄h̄ch̄q area extended to Deèzàatideè (Coppermine River).

The research team found that the Dogrib traditional territory extends well to the east of the M̄qwhì Gogha Dè N̄it'èè. Traditionally, the T̄h̄ch̄q often traveled around Sahtì and to Įndààk̄ (Fort Resolution) as well as to Yabàahtì Yabàahtì<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> See map in Appendix III. This area is smaller than Dogrib traditional territory.

<sup>8</sup> The research team has yet to document the T̄h̄ch̄q name for the Back River.

<sup>9</sup> Two bodies of water are named Yabàahtì; known in English as Yamba Lake and the Arctic Ocean.

## Research Methodology

As with other Dogrib Treaty 11 Council research projects, this project used the participatory action research (PAR) model. This approach is based on the belief that elders and harvesters are the primary experts with knowledge of dè. They control the way the research is conducted and how their knowledge is presented and used.

At first the elders in Behchokò oversaw the project. In 1999 the elders set up a Regional Elders Committee to oversee the project. They verified information that the research team collected and what to include in this report. A Community Elders Committee (CEC) in each community provided direction on who to interview and why.



**Regional Elders Committee meeting in Whatì 2000**

**Standing at back: Louis Whane.**

**Back row: Mary Adele Moosenose, Romie Wetrade, Robert Mackenzie, Phillip Beaverho, Joe Migwi, Adele Wedawin, Alexi Arrowmaker, and Elizabeth Michel.**

**Front row: Georgina Chocolate, Harry Simpson, Aalice Legat, and Jimmy Martin.**

**(Photo courtesy of Sally Anne Zoe)**

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## Research Team

The research team that worked directly with the elders included the following people:

- Sally Anne Zoe: research and organizing data; GIS.
- Pauline Willeh: research and organizing data; data entry.
- Kathy Simpson: research and organizing data.
- Madeline Chocolate: research and organizing data; issues important to documenting plants and place names; Tłıchǫ literacy and translation.
- Alice Legat, research director: accounting and coordinating training; field research; data analysis; writing reports.
- Georgina Chocolate, researcher with the caribou project: helpful in discussing habitat and vegetation due to her research on caribou and habitat.

The research director coordinated on-the-job training so that each member of the research team developed better skills in their areas of responsibility.

- Use Geographic Information System (GIS) MapInfo to digitize information from topographic maps, input all data collected, and create maps based on various layers (GIS Administrator).
- Input data using Microsoft Excel and Microsoft Access (Data Entry Clerk and GIS Administrator).
- Create and use Data Field Sheets (all researchers).
- Photograph vegetation and vegetation communities; use the photos with data (all researchers).
- Press plants, collect vital plant parts (all researchers).
- Identify vegetation in English and Tłıchǫ (all researchers).
- Predict vegetation based on habitat type (all researchers).
- Perform preliminary analysis of data collected, particularly data connected with habitat and place names (all researchers).



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## Research Activities

The research took place between 1998 and 2000. The main activities included the following:

- Field trips to tundra and boreal forest locations
  - Consult with elders to decide where to go and who should go.
  - Organize and carry out field trips to identify plants associated with various habitats.
  - Fill out field data sheets to note habitat and associated vegetation communities.
  - Discuss place names with elders to understand literal and conceptual meanings.
- Elder interviews
  - Develop research guidelines to interview elders over 75 years old.
  - Interview elders (50 elders from the four communities an average of four times each).
  - Transcribe and translate or summarize interviews.
  - Determine the meaning of place names.
  - Understand the vegetation associated with different types of habitat.
- Workshops
  - Hold six workshops to discuss conceptual and literal meanings of place names (produced about 125 hours of tapes).
  - Include Regional Elders' Committee; Tłıchǫ language specialists; Leslie Saxon, linguist; and the research team.
  - Set rules for consistent spelling of place names to ensure correct translations and conceptual meanings.
- Maps
  - Put place names on topographic maps. Note and translate place names of sites noted.
  - Draw habitat on topographic maps.
  - Transfer information from topographic maps to digital maps.

- Translate and transfer data from other projects, particularly the Toponymy and Dene Mapping Project.
- Interpret vegetation from satellite image and fire data provided by Remote Sensing Division, Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development.
- Database
  - Create database and enter information.
  - Design database for future use when using information to monitor cumulative impacts and to develop management strategies.
  - Design database to collect information on observed impacts and problems to the environment.
  - Enter 3,158 locations into the electronic database.
  - Spell place names according to project rules and based on discussions to clarify pronunciation and meaning of place names.
  - Work with Suzanne Carrière, botanist, to identify plants and attach Latin names. Plant identification is an ongoing process.
  - Make predictions of vegetation in noted habitat at particular sites.
- Conduct a literature review on indigenous environmental knowledge studies concerned with biodiversity, habitat, and place names.
  - Search five libraries in Yellowknife, Universities of Calgary and Aberdeen, and Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, England.

The elders directed the research team to document place names and examine habitat and associated vegetation in both the tundra and the boreal forest. The elders continually state that each person must understand *nàowo* (various types of knowledge) associated with the boreal forest and the tundra.

## Research Results

To best understand the data collected between 1998 and 2000:

- First: examine the place names.
- Second: examine different sites on the tundra and in the boreal forest, and the associated habitats and vegetation communities.

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## Place Names

Before interviewing elders about place names, the research team examined place names and related information from other projects. Each project concentrated on a different geographic area within the study area. Overlapping and duplicate information confirmed and verified data.

Organizing and analyzing this data was challenging and time consuming for a number of reasons.

- The research team assumed that other projects completed literal and conceptual translations. But they had not. In most cases they used English names rather than translating Tłch̓ place names that may have provided rich biogeographical knowledge of the area.
- The research team assumed other projects provided site descriptions and site use. But few sites had this information.
- The research team assumed place names could be easily translated. But we found that a high number of place names have no obvious meaning in modern use or have more than one conceptual meaning attached to the same place name. Two examples are Nàdenìʔàatì (Exeter Lake) and ʔek'atì. Nàdenìʔàatì cannot be literally translated. But after discussions with the elders they conveyed information that this name is associated with an esker that stretches across a lake.
- Place names that contain the word parts kwek'a or ʔek'a are interesting because there are several conceptual understandings of the name. During the 1995 research in the ʔek'atì area, the elders referred to ʔek'a as representing the amount of food available in the area. Many elders talked about the importance of ʔek'atì as "like a freezer". One elder referred to ʔek'a or ek'a as the fatness of the caribou as they travelled south from their summer feasting on the tundra.

Most elders during the 1997 field work discussed ʔek'atì as “like a freezer”. But one elder during a taped interview and at least five elders in Behchokò discussed ʔek'a as the shortened version of kwek'a, that refers to a white rock with veins that look like caribou fat and is abundant in the area.

As researchers, we consider all these interpretations correct. When collecting information from a number of sources, we come to understand a more complete meaning of the place names. The terms Kwek'ati and ʔek'atì then provide information on the abundance of wildlife, especially caribou and fish, as well as data about the type of rock found in the area.

- The research team assumed a standardized Dene writing system. There were no established rules and rarely did transcribers spell Tłıchǫ place names consistently. Most transcribers/translators do not have Tłıchǫ literacy training. This meant we could not use the database to search for word patterns. For example, the place name Kweghoòdìà, correctly spelled according to the team's rules, was also spelled Kwigoodi (could mean rough caribou fence island) and Kweghoòdì (could mean rough rock island). The correct spelling tells the reader it is a small rough rock island.

The research team continues to work with other Tłıchǫ literacy instructors and Dr. Leslie Saxon, a linguist specializing in Athapaskan languages, to fix these problems and to agree on spelling rules for the place names.

Once spelling is consistent the above challenges will be easier to deal with. For example:

- The database can be searched for patterns in place names associated with biogeographical information.
- The conceptual and literal meanings will become clearer because the researchers and data entry person will know more about the word being used. For example, ʔedaa is “living” whereas ʔehdaà is “point”. These two words are consistently misspelled. And researchers must go back and listen to the tape before doing any analysis.

The research team found that most place names are indicators of biogeographical knowledge. Other place names are indicators of things such as past events, individuals who live in an area, or spiritual sites<sup>10</sup>. These names create a visual image for those who understand the inter-relatedness within the dè that the Tł̓chq̓ value at these places.

The interviews suggest that place names indicate essential information about the water flow, topography, and biodiversity of the sites. This gives people information about the land, waterways, and resources. The place names that indicate topography or water flow seem to have the primary purpose of making travel easier. Place names that contain the names of plants or animals seem to indicate biodiverse sites.

This research suggests that place names provide information that compliments the main task of hunting caribou. The elders discussed place names from the point of view of hunters, gatherers, and trappers who use their knowledge of the dè to survive. The interviews were done within the context of their concern for their grandchildren and during this time of rapid industrial development. The elders want the flora, fauna, and other aspects of the dè to be respected and remain healthy so their grandchildren will thrive and continue to use Dogrib traditional territory.

Between June 1997 and February 2001, the research team entered 3,548 sites in the geographic information system. Of the sites and areas we could translate, 1,103 were related to biogeographical knowledge. Of the 1,103 documented, we examine 310 place names in this report.

### *Categories of Tł̓chq̓ Place Names*

We examined the 310 place names from three perspectives.

- First: search the database for associated flora and fauna.
- Second: examine oral narratives for knowledge important to the site.

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<sup>10</sup> The names of places seem to indicate the time of the event. This is not discussed here.

- Third: sort the place names into nine categories as a method of searching for patterns.

The following table shows the nine categories of place names and the frequency of each category for the 310 place names we examined.

*Table: Frequency of Tłıchq place names in nine categories*

Category	Frequency (N=310)	% of Total
Indicators of Probable Crucial Lakes and Rivers	114	36.8
Indicators of Probable Landforms	35	11.3
Indicators of Probable Locations of Mammals	31	10.0
Indicators of Probable Vegetation	28	9.0
Indicators of Probable Fish and Fishing Locations	28	9.0
Name very old, meaning difficult to determine	27	8.7
Indicators of Human Habitat	23	7.4
Indicators of Political and Spiritual Sites	19	6.1
Indicators of Probable Bird Sites	5	1.6

Both the database and oral narratives provided information that all places were associated with caribou, whether to hunt, travel through, or to leave families at while the men traveled further onto the tundra. The database provided clear information on other resources found at particular places.

The oral narratives provided an understanding of the place on the landscape, the difficulties with traveling through particular places, and the joy of camping at locations with diversified resources.

See Appendix I for a list of all the Tłıchq place names from this project, in alphabetical order, with the literal translation and some other remarks. See Appendix II for maps that show the location of place names.

### *Place Names as Indicators of Topography and Water Flow*

Place names as indicators of topography and water flow provide a variety of information ranging from land forms to whirlpool, such as Behk'įzehdaà (cliff point) and Weyediitì (whirlpool lake). They are often part of what Andrews and Zoe (1996:6) refer to as travel narratives. Although mentioned in narratives, often as part of a long list of place names that describe a route travelled by hunters, few of these places seem to have oral narratives specifically associated with them.

Place names such as Kweghoòdìà (little rough rock island), Kwekaghootì (lake with rough tops of rocks), and Kweghoòzehdaàtso (big rough rock point) were probably important landmarks. They possibly provided information important to protecting the birch bark canoes that the Tłıchǫ used to travel onto the tundra to hunt caribou. Place names ?ewaànit'itì (lake with sand that stretches in a line) and Whandiìnoòlaa (string of sand islands) provide information on where it is likely that caribou will cross the lakes, and where both caribou and people can cross lakes safely and avoid wide, deep water lakes.

### *Place Names as Indicators of Biodiversity*

Place names and the associated oral narratives that contain biological terms, especially fish and plants, seem to be indicators of locations with various resources—locations that are biodiverse. These place names may be included in travel narratives. But the elders tell stories specific to these places.

Usually the place names include a description of other resources at the site. For example, when three women in their late 70s were discussing places, Margaret Lafferty (PHP<sup>11</sup>-98/02/17) described Kw'itì (mosquito lake) as a lake with small trees, mostly black spruce, blueberries, cranberries, and blackberries all around it. Rosalie Drybones (PHP-98/02/17) described

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<sup>11</sup> PHP = Place names habitat project (this project).



ʔitəm̄qəhdaà<sup>12</sup> (point with green leaves around it) as having lots of berries, ducks, and fish.

Examples also came up in casual conversations with one elder mentioning Tł'ok'edaati (living walking grass lake) in association with hunting muskox while his family camped at Ts'izedaa. Women often referred to Ts'izedaa as a good place because of the black spruce, fish, and berries. Alexis Arrowmaker (PHP-97/08/21) discusses this same place as the last stand of trees before moving further north when hunting or trapping. He explained it was an important location for collecting poles and wood before continuing onto the tundra.

Pierre Wedzin, a man in his nineties, describes a fishing site associated with several resources. He states:

*When hunting muskox ... I saw six wolf pups. ... The six pups just stayed put. They did not attempt to flee. ... Wolves do not leave their dens. The mom came back. ... Fox are the same. ... [Near] that area where the mine [BHP] is, it is called Łits'aʔà [spot where fish swim in a circle]. I was there with a birch canoe with my late uncle Bruneau. ... [We] hunted for ducks and caribou ... a great many people lived there for the caribou. ... We'd go there every summer and every year, every year since the time that I was able, it has always been the barrenlands. ... So I knew where the wolf and fox dens were. (Pierre Wedzin PHP-95/05/24)*

The place name ʔq̄hts̄k'e (like a backpack or freezer) did not fit within the five categories. But in reviewing the oral narratives, the name implies a place of biodiverse resources. When searching the database, most elders mention this location as having lots of white fish, ducks, and caribou.

### **Place Names associated with Mammals**

Information gathered so far about these names is not complete enough to include them as biodiverse places. The oral narratives and database both

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12 Not on a map

suggest that places with muskox, fox, or wolf in the name are associated with caribou. Although an oral narrative has not yet been recorded about ʔejienaẕi (standing muskox hill), Madelaine Drybone's statement from another project suggests that people hunted muskox when they could not find caribou.

*Our forefathers ... roamed on the dè. ... It's really far to the barrenland but they still would go there. That's where the caribou migrate. If there was no caribou they [the people] would take the caribou routes to follow after the muskox on the barrenland. (Madelaine Drybone PHP-95/03/13)*

### ***Summary of Place Names as Indicators***

The elders consider the land as their home and make statements such as, "It's the land that keeps things for us. Being our home it's important for us to take good care of the dwelling, the land, for wherever you go is home". (Rosalie Tailbones PHP-98/08/05)

Several categories of place names are indicators of topography, water flow, and biodiversity. Other categories are place names associated with mammals, human habitat, and political and spiritual sites. We also made a separate category for very old place names where the meaning is lost.

Throughout the research period, patterns associated with Tł̱cẖ place names suggest that names that contain topographic and water flow terms have the primary purpose of describing safe, understandable travel routes. Names that contain biological terms seem to indicate locations with various resources or biodiversity. Place names stimulate oral narratives that contain knowledge of socio-political relationships, social behaviour, resources, ancestral use, graves, and obstacles while traveling and camping in the area<sup>13</sup>.

Often a place name will be mentioned to stimulate the listener's memory, hoping to encourage them to think and act in a certain way. For example:

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13 Keith H. Basso (1996) discusses this concept in his book *Wisdom Sits in Places*.

- Tsotì is the older name for Whatì (Lac La Martre). Tsotì translates as excrement lake, which stimulates the memory of battles between the Tetsqòt'ìì (Chipewyan) and the T̥ìchq.
- Gots'òkàtì (Mesa Lake) translates as Cloudberry Lake and indicates resources and biodiversity. It also stimulates the memory of how Edzo, the last great T̥ìchq yahbahti (great leader who thinks of all people), made a peace agreement in the 1800s with the Tetsqòt'ìì.
- Kòmòlāa is difficult to translate. But it stimulates the memory of the first priests traveling to T̥ìchq territory and how the T̥ìchq told the priests their history, establishing a relationship with them.

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### Habitats within the Dogrib Traditional Territory

Based on information collected, the T̥ìchq traditional territory can be categorized into three main environmental regions. The map in Appendix III shows these three habitat areas: nqđìi, detsìta, and hozìi.

Nqđìi is a large plateau where people hunt woodland and barrenland caribou, trap small fur bearing animals, and find several important medicinal plants. Detsìta is a general term used for a forested area consisting of spruce, poplar, and birch. This area is heavily forested to the west and thins on the Canadian Shield; trees become progressively more sparse and stunted towards the detsìlāa (treeline). The third category is hozìi, which refers to the tundra or barrenlands.

Within these areas, the T̥ìchq define several habitat types. Some are similar to habitat classified by scientific communities. The research team studied habitat in various locations in the boreal forest and the tundra, and documented flora and fauna associated with the habitat type.

The overall objective was to document the following information for each site. In most cases they noted only the vegetation and habitat type.

- Describe (place)
- Name the plants at (place)
- Animals associated with (place)
- Soil and topography at (place)

- Changes to plants and animals from the past at (place)
- Types of dè found at (place)

The CEC in each community chose the places they wanted to visit. See Appendix II for a map that shows the locations.

- Wekweètì elders chose ʔek'atìzetsìlìlì and ʔek'atìdehtì where the water flows out of ʔek'atì.
- Gamètì elders chose Nìdziikaà on Simìtì.
- Behchokò elders chose Whagweètì, just off the road between Rae and the Mackenzie Highway; ʔìhdaatì, a site in the Stagg Lake area; Tamìk'awodeè and Edzonìht'èk'et'aak'è, places on the Mackenzie Highway.
- Whatì elders chose to discuss habitat at various locations on the lake where their community is located.
- The Regional Elders' Committee choose Deèzàatì as the place to go because individuals from all communities had traveled, lived, and worked there.

Elders discussed a variety of habitats; most of which exist in both the detsìta (boreal forest) and the hozìi (tundra or barrenlands). But we did not examine all habitats in detail or find all habitats at every site we visited.

Here is a list of habitat types known and discussed.

- ʔehateę: An area of black dirt associated with plants such as ʔìtsìghoò (wild rose), gòò (jack pine), and various types of tìo (sedges and grasses).
- ʔeht'èe: A general term for an area of sticky and/or soft mud, and is often associated with ts'oo.
- ʔeht'èet'oo: An area of sticky mud and mire.
- ʔeht'èk'òò: An area soft mud and mire.
- Dahdègoorò: A bog, swampy land that is considered "floating land".
- Dedlìnì: A place that has never had a forest fire.
- Dègok'eeek'ò: An area that has had a forest fire.
- Dègotsoò: A type of swampy, wet ground.

- Goèhʔaa: A valley characterized by a particular predominate shrub or tree and a small stream. There are several types. Goèhʔaa are important for such resources wood for fires and smoking meat and fish, or for willows to make fishing nets (as in the past).
- K'ògoèhʔaa: Stream valley with predominately willow.
- Ts'igoèhʔaa: Stream valley with predominately spruce.
- Kigoèhʔaa: Stream valley with predominately birch
- Gok'enük'òq: A burned area.
- Gòlo: A burned forest area.
- Googho: An area of thick bushes, thicket, and brambles.
- Gòzq: A meadow or a prairie.
- Hozliishia: A low, dry, sandy hill found on the tundra.
- Kw'ah: A large area of mostly moss.
- Kw'ia: A stand of ʔedzq (black spruce) on the tundra and important for firewood in association with a good campsite. Unlike the habitat known as goèhʔaa, the kw'ia is not in a valley.
- Kwekàashi: A rocky hill.
- Nòhkwòkwekà: A mossy ground in a rocky area. Although this area is predominately moss, there are several associated plants. It is usually fairly flat and surrounded by lakes.
- Tata: A large area found on the tundra where caribou live and wander around.
- Tʔ'oga/Tʔ'otè: These are both grasslands on the hozli where caribou wander and feed in the fall. During their discussion of vegetation, Louis Whane (PHP-98/08/04) explained that Tʔ'otè was a blanket of grass usually associated with ts'oo, and when the grass looks like a white blanket then that grass is call tʔ'oga. The soil is moist in parts and dry in others and grasses and sedges predominate.
- Tʔ'otia: A grassy pond.
- Ts'oo: An area characterized by hummocks that dry quickly after a rain but are surrounded by wet land.
- Whagweè: An area of sandy, dry ground that is flat and good for camping as it drains well. Whagweè is not a bushy area although a few

plants may grow. There are a number of important resources found in association with whagweè. Whagweè is similar in the boreal forest and on the tundra, but the whagweè in the boreal forest is characterized by gqò (jack pine).

- What'à: An area characterized by dry, with gravel and sand. In English it is called an esker.
- Whatè: A prairie like area with sandy soil.

We describe below the habitat and vegetation at various sites that elders mentioned have important cultural significance<sup>14</sup>.

### *Deèzàatì: A Hozìi (tundra or barrenlands) Site*

The research team visited Deèzàatì<sup>15</sup> from August 23 to September 2, 1999. Deèzàatì cannot be translated as it is a very old name and the roots of the name are unknown. The first part of this compound word possibly relates to where caribou calves are kept. The lake extends a great distance, taking in a greater body of water than the English name includes.

The research team (Sally Anne Zoe, Madeline Chocolate, and Alice Legat) worked with the following elders:

- Jimmy Martin, Elizabeth Chocolate, and Elizabeth Michel from Behchokò.
- Phillip Zoe, Elizabeth Chocolate, Romie Wetrade, and Paul Wetrade from Gamètì.
- Louis Whane and Margaret Lafferty from Wekweètì.
- Pierre Beaverhoe from Whatì.

All the elders had spent time on Deèzàatì when they were younger. Each morning the team met and discussed what habitats to examine and the elders they would work with. Sally Anne Zoe and Madeline Chocolate worked

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<sup>14</sup> Cultural significance is not discussed here.

<sup>15</sup> Point Lake and Lake Providence combined.

with various elders. Aalice worked with Margaret Lafferty, who speaks Tł̥ch̥q slowly and clearly, making it possible for Aalice to document information.

All team members collected, pressed, and identified plants. They photographed plants and the habitat where the plant grows. Sally Anne Zoe worked in habitats known as what'à, nòhkwòkwekà, and tł'oga. Madeline Chocolate worked in various types of goèhʔaa and kw'ia. Aalice Legat worked in habitats known as whagweè and ts'oo.

Each evening the researchers added notes to their forms and discussed their day with each other. Aalice Legat checked the field forms and Madeline Chocolate checked Aalice's Tł̥ch̥q notes. Due to snow, rain, and high winds, the research team was unable to work on three days.



A stream running through k'ògoèhʔaa (willow valley), with ts'oo (muskeg) in foreground, and kw'ia (small stands of spruce) in background, Deèzàatì, 1999 (Photo courtesy of Aalice Legat)

Several of the elders commented that there were fewer berries on the bushes in the ts'oo (muskeg) than they remembered.



The following table is a summary of the habitats and associated plants that are important to the elders. All except a few plants are identified by their Tłıchǫ name. Most have English and Latin names.

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàatì*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
Goèhʔaa		General name for habitat characterized by a valley	
K'ògoèhʔaa		Willow valley with small stream	
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	CEDUM Decumbeus ericaceae
	No name		CYCOPODIACEAE Cycopodium anunotinum
	Tł'o	General term for two types of grass and sedges	POACEAE sp. POACEAE Calamagrostis canadaesis
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
Ts'igoèhʔaa		Valley—mostly spruce	
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	Gòka	Green alder	BETULACEAE Alnus crispa
	Ts'i	Spruce	Picea sp.
Nòhkwòkwekà		Moss in rocky area	
	ʔadzjìdegoo	White lichen	At least seven types difficult to identify
	ʔadzjìdezò	Black lichen	At least seven types difficult to identify
	ʔjhk'aadzìi	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔjtl'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàati*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
	Dzièwà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Hozìi jt'òà	Barrenland leaves	Salix sp.
	Kwets' dezo	Plated rock tripe	UMBILICARIACEAE Umbilicaria muhlenbergii
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	unknown
	Shikat'o	Hill of grass/sedge	unknown
	Tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Kw'ia		Small stand of spruce	
	ʔedzò	Black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	Dzièwà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Gots'òkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Hozìi jt'òà	Barrenland leaves	Salix sp.
	K'òò	Type of willow	SALIACEAE Salix sp.
	Tf'o	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE Carex sp.
	Tf'owo	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE Carex sp.
	Tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Tf'oga/Tf'otè		Grassland	
	ʔadzìi	At least seven types	CLADONIACEAE Cladonia mitis

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàati*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
	ʔadzj̃degoo	White lichen	STEREOCAULACEAE Stereocaulon tomentosum
	ʔtʔ'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Gots'dzè	Unknown	Not identified
	Gòka	Green alder	BETULACEAE Alnus Crispa
	Gots'òkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Hozii ʔt'òà	Barrenland leaves	BETULACEAE Betula glandulosa
	K'alatso	Cotton grass	CYPERACEAE Eriophorum angustifolium
	K'òò	Willow (two sp)	Salix Sp. SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	Kw'ah	Little spiky green one White one	POLYTRICHACEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	Kw'ahdek'o	Type of moss	Not identified
	Kw'ahdezo	Type of moss	Not identified
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	Nòhkwòdek'o	Type of moss	Not identified
	T'owĩ	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE Carex aquatilis
	T'ogha	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE Carex bigelowii (???)
	T'owa	Type of grass or sedge	Not identified

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàati*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Ts'oo			
	ʔadzj̃	A green lichen	Possibly Peltigera aphthosa
	ʔadzj̃degoo	White lichen	Five types found, not identified
	ʔj̃hk'aadzì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔj̃t'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	ʔit'òtsàa	Flower	Not identified
	Dlòodiì	Mushroom	Not identified
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	Hozìj̃t'ò	Barrenland leaves	Salix sp.
	K'òò	Type of willow	Salix sp.
	ʔt'ò	Small leaves	ERICACEAE Loiseleuria sp. (Possibly procumbens)
	Kwahdek'o	Type of moss	Not identified
	Kwetsdegoo	Type of moss	Not identified
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	Sahwodi	Type of lichen	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	T'ò	Sedge and grass	

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàati*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
Ts'oo/ʔehtl'èe		Mix	
	K'alatso	Cotton grass	CYPERACEAE Eriophorum angustifolium
	Tl'oshia	Small hill of grass	CYPERACEAE sp.
Whagweè		Dry sandy area with specks of black dirt	
	ʔadzjdegoo	White lichen	Several types - not identified
	ʔadzidezo	Small black thread type of lichen	Not identified
	ʔlt'qtsàa	Saxifrage	SAXISRAGACEAE Saxitraga tricuspidale
	ʔjnk'aadzii	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔlt'q	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	Dlòodiì	Mushroom	Not identified
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Hozii ʔt'qà	Barrenland leaves	Salix sp.
	Kwetsdegoo	White rock lichen	Not identified
	Kwetsdezo	Black rock lichen	UMBILICARIA Muhlenbergi
	Sahwodj	Not identified	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	T'odzi	Old grass	CYPERACEAE Carex sp.
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE EMPETRUM NIGRUM
What'à		Esker	

*Table: Summary of habitats and associated plants at Deèzàati*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin name
	ʔadzjì	Lichen-general	Not identified
	ʔadzìidego		STEREOCAULACEAE Stereocaulon tomentosum
	ʔadzìidekwo	Has brown tip	CLADONIACEAE Cladina mitis
	ʔjhk'aadzì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔtʔ'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum var. uliginosum
	Gots'agoq	Type of blue berry	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Kw'ah	Little spiky green one— white one	POLYTRICHACEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	T'idzi		CYPERACEAE carex subspathacea (?)
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum

See the map in Appendix IV for locations of habitat types within the Deèzàati area.



Madelaine Chocolate mapping vegetation communities at Deèzàatì, 1999 (Photo courtesy of Georgina Chocolate)

*ʔek'atìzetsìlìlì and ʔeka'tìdehti: Two Hozìi (barrenland) sites near ʔek'atì*

The research team studied ʔek'atìzetsìlìlì and ʔeka'tìdehti between August 4 and August 10, 1998. They camped at ʔek'atìzetsìlìlì and hiked daily throughout the area and to ʔek'atìdehti.

The team included Sally Anne Zoe and Georgina Chocolate; elders Jimmy Martin, Robert Mackenzie, Elizabeth Michel, and Louis Whane; the cook Theress Zoe; and two students: Roger Champlain and Darla Beaulieu. During this time they noted flora and fauna as well as habitat. They completed nine interviews (15 hours of tape).

ʔek'atìzetsìlìlì translates in English as flow of fat lake<sup>16</sup>. The site consists of various habitats, listed below with their associated vegetation.

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16 See map in Appendix III for the location.

Habitats associated with animals were:

- Hozlìshìà (small barrenland hill): where gahtso (hare) and dedìì (type of barrenland squirrel) make their dens.
- What'à: where nògèe (fox), dìga (wolf), and nàbe (otter) can be found.

Other animals pass through ?ek'atìzetsìlìlì area:

- Sahtso (grizzly) who, like dìga, follow the caribou.
- ?ìhk'aa<sup>17</sup> who eats ?ìhk'aadzìì (bearberry) and ekwòkwò (caribou meat).
- Kwek'aa (snowbird) and k'aba (ptarmigan) who especially like k'òlaa (pussywillow) and dzìwa.
- Łìwezqò (trout) and hìh (whitefish) that we caught during the field season.

Elizabeth Michel (PHP-98/08/06) noticed that over the last 40 years the plant community has changed. According to her, tehdzìe, a red berry bush that grows in kw'ah, used to be abundant but has now disappeared. She also explained that there used to be a lot of tsqht'è (crowberry), ?ìt'ò (cranberry), and dzìewà (blueberry), but that now there are very few in comparison.

The Tìchq elders are constantly concerned for all aspects of the dè and the interconnectedness, no matter how insignificant it may seem to the outsider. For example, Jimmy Martin (PHP-98/08/08) expressed concern for the dedìì, who ate all these berries. Joe Suzie Mackenzie (pers. comm. with Georgina Chocolate 98/08/08) mentioned there used to be hozìì ejie (muskox).

The following two tables list the habitat and associated vegetation at these two hozìì sites: ?ek'atìzetsìlìlì and ?eka'tìdehti.

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17 Type of bird no longer found in the area



*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at ʔek'atìʔetsjìlì*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
ʔeht'èe		Soft and/or sticky mud	
Hozìishìà		Low dry, sandy barrenland hill	
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Tsɔht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	Dziewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	ʔìt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	ʔadzììdegoo	White lichen	Unidentified
Kw'ah		Mossy area	
	Dlòodiì	Mushroom	Not identified
	ʔìt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	ʔìhdqɔ	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
Kwekàashi		Rocky hill	
	ʔadzìì	Lichen	Various types, not identified
	ʔìt'òà	Small leaves	ERICACEAE Loiseleuric sp (possibly proeumbens)
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at ʔekʼatìʔetsjìlʔ*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
	Gotsʼqkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Tsqhtʼè	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Tʼotè	No vegetation documented; discussed importance of grassland	Grassland	
Tsʼoo		Muskeg	
	Gotsʼqkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Dłoodiì	Mushroom	Not identified
	ʔłtʼq	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Hozii ʔtʼqà	Barrenland leaf	Salix sp.
	Dzièwà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Kʼàkʼoo	Red willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔłhkʼaadzi	Type of black berry	Not identified
Whagweè		Dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔadzìdegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	ʔłtʼq	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dzièwà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	ʔłhkʼaadzi	Type black berry	Not identified

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at ʔek'atìʔetsjìlì*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
	ʔìhdq̄q̄	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Kwetsj	Black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Nòhkw̄q̄	Type of moss	Not indentified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
What'à		Esker	
	ʔadzjìdegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	ʔìhdq̄q̄	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	ʔìt'q̄	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Kwetsj	Black rock fungus	Not identified

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at ʔek'atidehti*

Habitat	Tłıchq Plant Name	Translation	Latin Name
K'ògoèhʔaa			
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Hozii ɬt'əa	Barrenland leaf	Not identified
	Kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHAECEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	Kwetsł	Black rock fungus	UMEILICARIA Muhlenbergi
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
Kwekàashi		Rocky hill	
	ʔłhk'aadzìi	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	Kwetsł	Black rock fungus	UMEILICARIA Muhlenbergi
Nòhkwòkwekà			
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
Tł'otè			
	ʔadzłdegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	ʔłt'ə	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp
	Dłòodiì	Mushroom	Not identified
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus ?
	Hozii ɬt'əa	Barrenland leaf	Not identified
	Kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHAECEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at ʔek'atidehti*

Habitat	Tłıchq Plant Name	Translation	Latin Name
	Sahwodli	Not identified	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	Tł'o	Sedge and grass	Not identified
	Tł'ot'aa	Type of grass	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Ts'oo			
	ʔadzjı	Lichen	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Hozli ıt'qa	Barrenland leaf	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHACEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	Tł'o	Sedge and grass	Not identified
Whagweè			
	Gots'qka	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus

### *Nìdzika: A Boreal Forest Site*

During the early 1900s, Nìdzika was the location of an important Ṭḥcḥ village. The site consists of whagweè surrounded by ts'oo. The whagweè of the boreal forest is sandy with specks of black dirt and, like that of the tundra, is hard and dry. This makes it a desirable place to camp.

Whagweè in the boreal forest has another advantage—it is open with very little undergrowth and breezy. So there are fewer bugs than in the thicker surrounding bush associated with ts'oo.

The research team visited Nìdzika (translates in English as on top of the hill) between July 9 and July 14, 1998. Look for the location on the map in Appendix III. The research team included Sally Anne Zoe, Alice Legat, 30 elders from Gamètì, and students Elsie Mantla and Phoebe Wetrade.

During this time we noted flora associated with habitat and completed 10 interviews (20 hours of tape). The elders mentioned four habitats at the site, but concentrated on whagweè and ts'oo.

The following table lists the four habitats and associated vegetation.

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at Nìdzika*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
Kw'ah		Mossy area	
Ts'oo		Muskeg	
	ʔedẓq̣	Black spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea mariana</i>
	ʔ̣ṭl'̣q̣	Cranberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i>
	Dẓiewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
Whagweè		Dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔaḍẓj̣degoo	White lichen	Not identified
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea glauca</i>

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at Nidzika*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔɪtsìghoò	Wild roses	ROSACEAE Rosa acicularis
	Gqò	Jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana
	K'i	Birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
	Lìgaezqò	Plant used for smoking	Not identified
	Dahkàà	Raspberry	ROSACEAE Rubus idaeus
	ʔedaghoò	Gooseberry	GROSSULARIACEAE Ribes oxycanthoides
	K'ìeh	Aspen	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
	ʔìhk'aadzìì	Bearberry	Not identified
	K'èèdzìe	Saskatoon berry	ROSACEAE Amelanchier alnifolia
	ʔìt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dzìewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Kwetsì	Black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Behtsà		Riverbank, bluff along the river	
	K'ia	Small birch trees	Not identified

*Whagweètì: A Boreal Forest Site*

Between May 21 and May 28, 1998 the research team camped at and documented the vegetation at Whagweètì (translates in English as sandy dry ground with jack pine trees and very little undergrowth).

The research team included Sally Anne Zoe, Bobby Gon, Georgina Chocolate, Allice Legat, and elders from Behchokò. Some elders stayed in the camp. Many of the oldest elders drove back and forth; Whagweètì is close to Behchokò. Elders concentrated on the importance of Whagweètì. We completed 11 interviews (18 hours of tape).

The following table lists the habitat and associated vegetation at Whagweèhtì.

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at Whagweètì*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
Whagweè		Dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔadzjìdegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔjtsjghoò	Rose bush	ROSACEAE Rosa acicularis
	Gqò	Jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana
	K'i	Birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
	Lìgaezqò	Plant used for smoking	Not identified
	Dahkàà	Raspberry	ROSACEAE Rubus idaeus
	ʔedaghoò	Gooseberry	GROSSULARIACEAE Ribes oxycanthoides
	ʔjhk'aadzì	Bearberry	Not identified
	ʔjhtò	Type of large red berry	Not identified



*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at Whagweètì*

Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
	K'èèdzìe	Saskatoon berries	ROSACEAE Amelanchier alnifolia
	ʔìt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitisidaea
	Dzìewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'qkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Kwets]	Black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum

### *Tam'ik'awodeè: A Boreal Forest Site*

Tam'ik'awodeè translates in English as Tam'i is the fish boss of this river. The habitat known as ts'oo is associated with this site. Although there are several types of vegetation associated with ts'oo, such as dzìewà (blueberry), the elders concentrated on explaining the fish found here. These are: ìih (whitefish), dehdoò (sucker), ʔìhdaa (jackfish), and ʔehch'èè (pickerel).

The research team drove to this site for a day trip in July 1998 and completed field notes there. The following table is a summary of habitat and associated plants at the site.

*Table: Summary of habitat and associated plants at Tam'ik'awodeè*

Habitat	Plants	Translation	Latin Name
Goèhʔaa			
	K'i	Birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
K'ògoèhʔaa			
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
Kwekàanq̄hkwo			
	Wohgwɪdzì	Juniper	CUPRESSACEAE Juniperus sp.
	Neghq̄chi	Not identified	Not identified
Ts'igoèhʔaa			
	ʔedzq̄	Black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	Ts'idaàghq̄q̄	Lichen growing on spruce	Not identified
Whagweè			
	ʔɪhdq̄q̄ɪt'q̄	Not identified	Not identified
	K'idaàghq̄q̄	Lichen growing on birch	Not identified
	Wohgwɪdzì	Juniper	CUPRESSACEAE Juniperus sp.
	T'ò	Grass and sedge	Not identified
	T'oola	Not identified	Not identified

### *Significant Sites associated with ʔɪhdaatì*

ʔɪhdaatì (there are lots of jackfish here) is the Tɪchq̄ name for Stagg Lake. In 1998-99 the research team camped at ʔenìtɪ (a place that freezes up) located beside the Stagg River bridge. They did not travel on the lake. The

Behchokò Elders Committee directed them to spend time on the river leading to ʔihdaatì.

The research team included Georgina Chocolate and Sally Anne Zoe; elders Jimmy Martin, Robert McKenzie, Elizabeth Michel, and Eddy Lafferty. They examined and defined two habitats and associated vegetation.

The team then spent one or two days at each of the places listed in the following table, naming the plants associated with various habitats. This was a step towards testing our premise that place names are indicators of biogeographical knowledge.

*Table: Place names associated with ʔihdaatì*

Area	Place name	Translation	Name on map
ʔihdaatì		Jackfish lake	Stagg Lake
	ʔenìtʔì	A place that freezes quickly	
	Ek'edqdeht	Up ahead lake	
	Wedziibàadehtìwegodq	Pierre Washie river lake up ahead	
	Kweghootailʔ	Rock-rough-between-flowing from	
	Wedziibàadehtì	Pierre Washie river lake	

All five place names act as indicators. Wedziibàadehtì (Pierre Washie River Lake) implies ownership, but the name also indicates the resources that people need to camp or settle in the location as they use it. Kweghootailʔ is known to have whagweè: relatively level ground and well drained sandy soil with a number of useable resources. The name also tells the traveler that the river is rough in that location. The other two place names indicate that Pierre Washie place is further along the river and that the river will widen.

*Predicting Vegetation based on Habitat at Gamètì and Sim̐tì*

Elders taught researchers what to expect when they know a particular habitat is in a certain place as they document baseline information about habitat and vegetation. Researchers documented vegetation communities associated with habitats in specific locations in both the tundra and the boreal forest.

Using this knowledge and experience, the research team predicted plant communities at Sim̐tì (Faber Lake) and Gamètì (Rae Lakes). Working at kitchen tables in Gamètì, they marked habitats on 1:50,000 scale maps.

The following table lists the habitat classifications and the predicted vegetation.

*Table: Habitat and vegetation associated with Sim̐tì and Gamètì*

Habitat	Predicted Landscape and Vegetation
K'ògoèhᐱaa	A valley with a small stream running through it with willow as the primary vegetation.
Kigoèhᐱaa	A valley with birch as the primary vegetation.
Ts'igoèhᐱaa	A valley with spruce as the primary vegetation.
Ts'oo	A muskeg-like area with ᐱedzò, (black spruce), ᐱᐱt'ò (cranberry), dziewà (blueberry) as the primary vegetation.
Whagweè	An area that has very little undergrowth due to its sandy dry ground mixed with some black dirt. Growth that is usually there: ᐱadzᐱdegoo (white lichen), ᐱedaghoò (gooseberry), ᐱᐱhk'aadzᐱ (bearberry), ᐱᐱtsᐱghoò (rose bush).
	ᐱᐱt'ò (cranberry), dahkàà (raspberry) dziewà (blueberry), gqò (jack pine), gots'òkà (cloudberry), k'èᐱdzie (Saskatoon berry), k'i (birch), kwetsᐱ (black rock fungus), gots'agoò (Labrador tea), ᐱᐱgaezqò (old time tobacco), nòhkwò (type of moss), k'òò (willow)
	K'ᐱᐱh (aspen), ts'iwà (white spruce), tsqht'è (crowberry)
What'à	ᐱadzᐱdegoo (white lichen), ᐱᐱt'ò (cranberry), ts'iwà (white spruce)

In the Gamètì and Simìtì area there are three types of goèhʔaa—a general term for a valley dominated by one main type of bush or tree. Elders defined three types of goèhʔaa: ts'igoèhʔaa (spruce valley), kigoèhʔaa (birch valley), and k'ògoèhʔaa (willow valley).

### *Predicting Vegetation based on Habitat at Wekweètì and Tsòtì*

Community researchers mapped significant habitat associated with Wekweètì and Tsòtì (also known as Whatì). These are: whagweè, ts'oo, and what'à. See two maps in Appendix IV.

The following table lists the habitat classifications and predicted vegetation.

*Table: Habitat and vegetation associated with Wekweètì and Tsòtì*

Habitat	Predicted Landscape and Vegetation
Ts'oo	Muskeg-y area. Primary vegetation: ʔedzq̄ (black spruce), ʔt'ò (cranberry), dziewà (blueberry)
Whagweè	Area that has very little undergrowth due to sandy dry ground mixed with some black dirt. Primary vegetation: ʔadzj̄degoo (white lichen), ʔedaghoò (gooseberry), ʔh̄k'aadzìi (bearberry) ʔtsj̄ghoò (rose bush), ʔt'ò (cranberry), dahkàà (raspberry), dziewà (blueberry), gq̄ (jack pine), gots'q̄kà (cloudberry), k'èèdzie (Saskatoon berry), k'i (birch), kwetsj̄ (black rock tripe), gots'agoò (Labrador tea), figaezq̄ (‘‘old time tobacco’’), dahkàà (raspberry), n̄hkwò (type of moss), k'òò (willow), t'oooh (aspen), ts'iwà (white spruce), tsq̄ht'è (crowberry)
What'à (esker)	Primary vegetation: ʔadzj̄degoo (white lichen), ʔt'ò (cranberry), ts'iwà (white spruce)

### *Summary of Habitat Information*

Tł̄chq̄ elders have provided detailed information on habitat and habitat classification within the Dogrib traditional territory. Although the elders did not explain all flora within each habitat at every site, they explained what they felt was necessary for the researchers to predict resources if they understood the classification system.

Although the research team made certain predictions for Simìtì and Gamètì, they did not have sufficient resources to verify their predictions. Based on other data collected and presented here, the team feels there is sufficient evidence that predictions can be made and used for monitoring cumulative effects, change, and stability in the future.



Joe Migwi, Robert Mackenzie, and Georgina Chocolate fixing graves after visiting the traditional site at Ts'iedaa (living spruce tree), ʔewaànit'iitì (Courageous Lake), 2001 (Photo courtesy of Allice Legat)

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### Links with Similar Studies

The report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group states:

*Among Northern Athapaskans it has been well established that place-names function as mnemonic devices ordering a variety of narratives that transmit and preserve culturally relevant information. It is also generally accepted that this knowledge exhibits both a great time depth and an empirical basis. ...named places and their associated narratives present a record of land use over time, recording generations of experience with a cultural landscape<sup>18</sup>.*

This seems to be true of most indigenous cultures; research into the use and cultural significance of place names has been done in many parts of the world. But relatively few of the studies that we examined took the same approach to the subject as this Tłıchǵ study.

Jiang Guoxun's study of Chinese place names demonstrates the wide range of uses for place names in "research on the structure, form, development, and distribution of the physical environment"<sup>19</sup>. Chinese place names continue to play an important role in:

- Delimiting the boundaries of natural regions.
- Indicating types and distribution of minerals.
- Indicating landform types and characteristics of their formation.
- Providing information on environmental change.
- Conveying information on different geomorphic agents.
- Indicating patterns of vegetation distribution.
- Indicating characteristics of rivers and streams.

Eugene Hunn illustrates the importance of the natural environment and its non-human inhabitants to the Sahaptin people of the Columbia Plateau. He states: "nearly 30 percent of all animals and plants named in Sahaptin are

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18 Rakekée Gok'é Godi: Places We Take Care Of, December 1999, p.22.

19 Jiang Guoxun, "The Use of Place Names in the Study of China's Physical Environment", in Dimng Congkart, 6, 1998



involved in place-naming” and “over 250 (more than 22.5 percent of all Sahaptin place names) may be considered ecologically based<sup>20</sup>”. Hunn points out an important cultural difference between Aboriginal and European place names, and how Aboriginal place names demonstrate a different approach to the natural world.

*What gets named in Sahaptin are places where things happen. ... Rather than name each mountain, they named places in the mountains where they would go to dig roots, pick berries, hunt mountain goats, or encounter spirits. Rather than name each river, they named village sites, campsites, and fishing places along those rivers. Thus, plotting the distribution of named places in Sahaptin is one means to appreciate the ecological niche occupied by local Indian peoples<sup>21</sup>.*

Julie Cruikshank studied Athapaskan place names in the Yukon<sup>22</sup>. She found that the names have a wide variety of associations:

- Descriptive (she says they, “...indicate the stunning ability of the Athapaskan languages to enclose an entire picture in a word.”)
- Historical events.
- Mythology.
- Fish and game species.
- Vegetation.
- Material culture.

Cruikshank also reminds us of the importance of understanding how Aboriginal people see their own place names, and the difficulties involved in trying to use place names outside their own context:

*... detaching names from the context in which they are presented as though they can be objectively isolated and filed on a map gives too little sense of how they are actually used<sup>23</sup>.*

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20 Eugene Hunn, “Columbia Plateau Indian Place-names: What Can They Teach Us?” in *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 6(1), 1996, p. 15

21 Ibid. p.18

22 Julie Cruikshank, “Getting the Words Right: Perspectives on Naming and Places in Athapaskan Oral History”, in *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 1990, pp. 52-65.



In another paper about her work in the Yukon, Cruikshank concludes that:

*... it can be argued that oral tradition and science are each capable of contributing to an overall field of knowledge. ... Any realistic attempt to combine the two frameworks must begin with attempts to discover terminological and classification systems used by ... oral societies. ... However, simply trying to learn these categories as an adjunct to western science is shortsighted, if not exploitative. The most effective and continuing interdisciplinary programs in the north seem to be in areas where native communities are very much involved in the projects<sup>24</sup>.*

The literature search did find one particularly relevant research project done elsewhere in the northern hemisphere. Tuija Rankama did an archaeological study of Sámi place names in Finnish Lapland. He assumed that place names generally are not only an aid to travel, but “convey information about the resources available in different parts of the environment<sup>25</sup>.”

Rankama found that Sámi place names most often consist of topographical root words with the addition of one or more “determinants” that give more detailed information about each specific location, or even its relation to neighbouring places. Rankama noted the frequency of the different types of determinants in his sample of 131 Sámi place names. The following table summarizes this information. About the list he noted that “toponyms referring explicitly to an available resource are rare<sup>26</sup>.”

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23 Ibid. p.55

24 Julie Cruikshank, “Legend and Landscape: Convergence of Oral and Scientific Traditions in the Yukon Territory”, in *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1981, p. 86.

25 Tuija Rankama, “Managing the Landscape: A Study of Sámi Place-names in Utsjoki, Finnish Lapland”, in *Études/Inuit/ Studies*, 1993, 17(1), p. 50.

26 Ibid. p.57

*Table: Frequency of different types of Sámi place name determinants*

Determinant Type	Frequency (N=333)	% of Total
Topographic	131	31.3
Showing relation of feature to others	41	12.3
People	27	8.1
Resources	27	8.1
Man-made features in the landscape	26	7.8
Man-made artifacts	20	6.0
Miscellaneous features	18	5.7
Events	13	3.9
Animals	12	3.6
Plants	11	3.3
Mythical creatures or sacred sites	7	1.8

Rankama went on to say,

*This is partly explained, however, through the knowledge about animal behaviour, which is embedded in the topographic information, which will be obvious to the expert occupant of the area. ...To appreciate this information it is necessary to understand the culture and subsistence systems of the people inhabiting the area.<sup>27</sup>*

It is interesting to compare Rankama's list of the frequency of place name determinants with the following list of the frequency of Tłıchǫ place names that indicate biogeographical knowledge.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p.57

*Table: Frequency of Tłıchǫ place names indicating biogeographical knowledge*

Category	Frequency (N=310)	% of Total
Indicators of Probable Crucial Lakes/Rivers	114	36.8
Indicators of Probable Landforms	35	11.3
Indicators of Probable Locations of Mammals	31	10.0
Indicators of Probable Vegetation	28	9.0
Indictors of Probable Fish and Fishing Locations	28	9.0
Name very old, meaning difficult to determine	27	8.7
Indicators of Human Habitat	23	7.4
Indicators of Political and Spiritual Sites	19	6.1
Indicators of Probable Bird Sites	5	1.6

Combining the Tłıchǫ place name categories of mammals, birds, plants, and fish and fishing locations gives an approximate equivalent of adding together Rankama's categories of animals, plants, and resources. But the percentages are quite different.

Tłıchǫ place names directly associated with animals and plants make up 29.6% of the place names studied. Sámi place names associated with animals and plants makes up only 15.0% of the total. Could this reflect possible differences in the ways of life of these two northern circumpolar people? The Sámi have lived for many generations in a very similar environment to the Tłıchǫ, a combination of forest and tundra, and the Sámi were not only hunters, but herders as well.

Another interesting comparison between the Tłıchǫ and the Sámi is the way place names are constructed and grouped so as to help people remember the names and their locations in the landscape. The Tłıchǫ classify *dè* within *dè*. The smaller area seems to be known by the main vegetation type or an animal that is often abundant in the area.

One example is kw'ah. It is both a type of moss and the name of an area associated with other plants. Another example is gah. It is an animal expected to forage on the vegetation found in whagweè. And a more specific area is classified using gah as a descriptive term for the habitat.

Compare this with the clusters and chains of Sámi place names noted in Rankama's study. Clusters are "groups of place names that are located adjacent to each other and have one or more elements in common"<sup>28</sup>. Clusters can overlap in various ways. One example is the nested cluster, in which one main cluster includes a number of smaller ones. Another form of clustering is the formation of linear chains of place names, "where one new root after another is added to a toponym to show it is adjacent to other sites in the same area"<sup>29</sup>.

One example of a linear chain is the Sámi place name Njilohkmohkkeávzecomat. When broken into its separate parts it means Njilj River + bend + gulch + hills. Compare this with the Tłıchǫ place name Ts'iekw'qòhtideè. It breaks down into bare spruce + lake + river; the river that flows out of the lake where trees are denuded by people taking branches for spreading in tents.

It is worth heeding Rankama's warning that the information contained in place names:

*... is very detailed and cannot be translated in a simple manner without using lengthy explanations, or even be properly understood without knowledge of the character of the ... landscape. ... the implicit information embedded in the topographic characterizations themselves ... is available only to [those] who are familiar with the landscape and the behaviour of the animals in relation to its different features. ... There are very few place-names directly indicating the actual harvesting of the natural resources. ... it is not sufficient to look for names overtly linked with resource utilization*<sup>30</sup>.

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28 Rankama, p. 58

29 ibid.

30 ibid. p.59

With this in mind, however, Rankama believes that the landscape information embedded in place names “has definite potential for archaeological application<sup>31</sup>.” He suggests that,

*With the help of this information it should be possible to draw maps indicating resource potential in different areas. These maps could be used as a basis for generating hypotheses about resource utilization, which could then be tested through archaeological reconnaissance and excavation<sup>32</sup>.*

The same can be said for using the knowledge embedded in Ṭḥcḥ place names, and not only for archaeological application. Ṭḥcḥ elders understand best the implicit information embedded in place names and are most familiar with the landscape and the behaviour of the animals in the study area. They can provide invaluable knowledge in generating maps of present-day and potential resource use. Such maps could be a basis for testing hypotheses about the impacts of proposed industrial development. We obviously need more work to determine the best way to go about such a task.

There are no doubt many other points of comparison to be made with indigenous place name systems in other parts of the world. More study is required to determine if such comparisons would help in further demonstrating the usefulness of Ṭḥcḥ place names as biogeographical knowledge, and how such knowledge could best be known and contribute to wise use of the dè.

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31 *ibid.* p.62

32 *ibid.* p.62

## Discussion and Conclusions

Results early in this study supported the assumption that place names are indicators of biogeographical knowledge that complement the task of caribou hunting. Fieldwork demonstrated that patterns associated with place names are useful in the environmental monitoring of Tłıchǫ traditional territory. Place names, together with oral narratives, provide information about dè. This knowledge provides baseline data, as well as knowledge of change and stability in dè, of which humans are an integral part. We may be able to make predictions about baseline resources and biodiversity, and therefore monitor cumulative effects more closely for change through time.

During the study, a pattern emerged that suggests that types of knowledge vary between gender and age. When sharing knowledge, women talk mostly about plants and caribou, whereas men tell of caribou crossings, travel routes, and fishing and trapping sites. It is interesting to note that the women over eighty seem to have similar knowledge to the men on caribou crossings, travel routes, and fish sites, but do not have the knowledge of trapping sites; nor do most men seem to have the same in-depth understanding of plants as the women.

Although place names are indicators of biogeographical knowledge, it is the oral tradition that contains the complete knowledge. Place names that have been handed down from the ancestors through oral narratives are indicators that more is known about a place and its surroundings. The following statement sums this up.

*Long ago, elders that were before our fathers and that worked upon the land were the ones who named the lakes, and to this day their names are still upon them and that is probably why they did it. And that until the end of the world. People do replace one another, but whatever [place] name is given; the elders did not work the land so that the place names would disappear. And wherever there are travel routes ... [we and our ancestors] worked without maps as they made dog team trails and boat trails. They did not need to work that [physically] hard at making the trails; only with their minds and by thinking did they work that hard [because the place names guided them]. Even if without maps, that is how they worked, [they used their minds]. Even as young*

*people go through life, it [the trails and place names] will not go away.  
(Joseph Pea'a PHP-97/08/13)*

The data show that:

- The elders' knowledge of dè is based on an understanding of the inter-relatedness of landforms, plants and animals, and all natural processes.
- The Tłıchq value the importance of biodiversity.

Place names lead individuals to places where resources should be available. And place names are designed to keep individuals away from potential hazards. The elders have used place names to lead the researchers through Tłıchq traditional territory, the territory they know as home.

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## Recommendations

Tłıchq place names are an extremely important part not only of Tłıchq cultural heritage, but also of the heritage of all northerners and humans as a whole. This project has done much work and gathered a lot of valuable information. And there is much more information to come. The work is not complete until all the place names and related information—such as habitat and vegetation—are recorded for future generations.

This study shows that:

- Tłıchq place names are reliable indicators of biogeographical knowledge.
- Knowledge recorded with place names can be used to make predictions concerning natural features.
- Biogeographical knowledge is important to increase our basic understanding of northern ecosystems or dè.
- Biogeographical knowledge could be very useful in helping to determine how resource development affects the landscape, including habitat that is particularly important for people, plants, and animals.
- Biogeographical knowledge is a valuable environmental tool as well as being extremely important to Tłıchq culture.

Tłıchǫ knowledge—and other indigenous knowledge—is extremely valuable to the wider world. This knowledge is not available anywhere else. Elders are aging and dying, so there is a certain urgency to continue to gather and record their knowledge. As resource development and other human impacts keep growing, the need for this baseline information and knowledge is great, to effectively monitor the impacts of specific projects, as well as define, monitor, and manage cumulative effects.

Other important initiatives may also make use of this knowledge, either indirectly or directly. For example, the Protected Areas Strategy recognizes the “need to protect areas that are unique in terms of their environmental, geological, cultural or historic features”. Indigenous knowledge is essential to fulfill the goals of the Strategy: “to protect special natural and cultural areas; and to protect core representative areas within each ecoregion.”

Tłıchǫ biogeographical knowledge, through place names and oral narratives, is also important in the context of land claims and land use planning.

More work needs to be done to determine exactly how this knowledge should best be used for environmental monitoring and other initiatives, without compromising or interfering with the Tłıchǫ’s traditional use of their land and their knowledge. This includes doing more work to know and understand how indigenous knowledge and science can complement each other and work together. As Julie Cruikshank wrote:

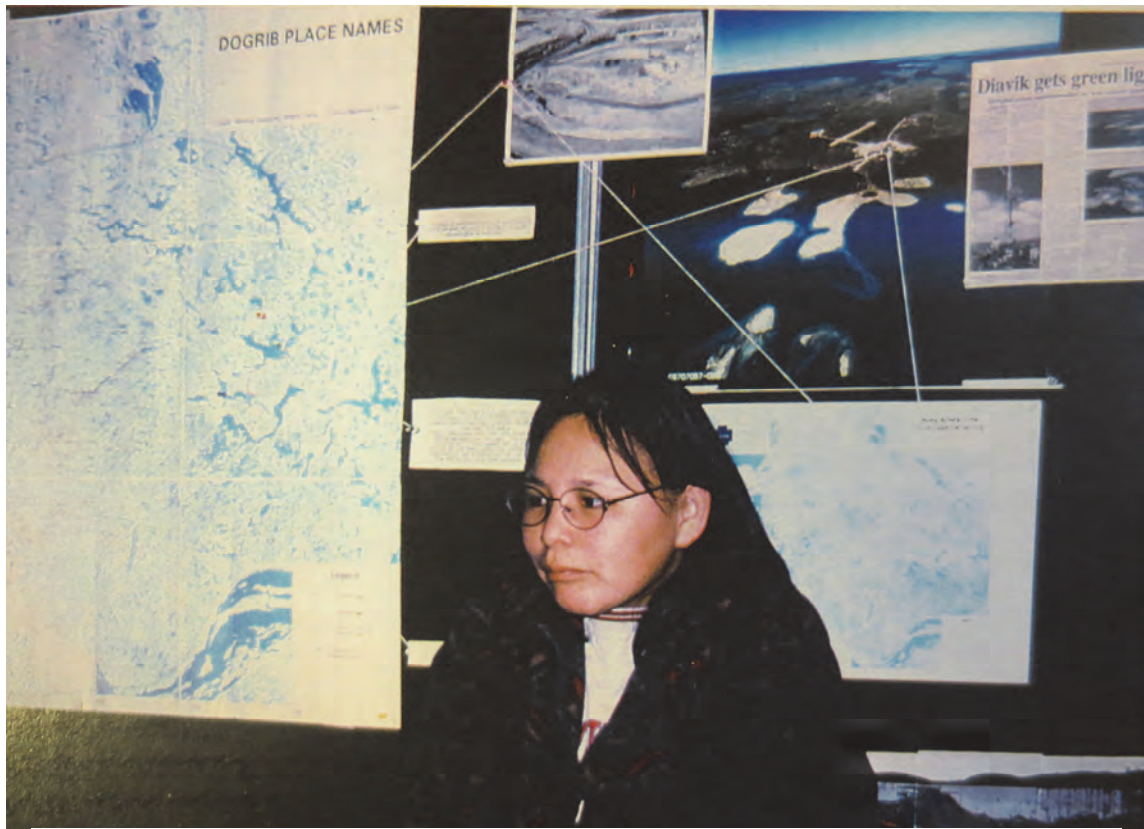
*... it can be argued that oral tradition and science are each capable of contributing to an overall field of knowledge. ... Any realistic attempt to combine the two frameworks must begin with attempts to discover terminological and classification systems used by ... oral societies. ...*

*However, simply trying to learn these categories as an adjunct to western science is shortsighted, if not exploitative. The most effective and continuing interdisciplinary programs in the north seem to be in areas where Native communities are very much involved in the projects<sup>33</sup>.*

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33 Julie Cruikshank, “Legend and Landscape: Convergence of Oral and Scientific Traditions in the Yukon Territory”, in *Arctic Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1981, p. 86.





Sally Anne Zoe explaining Tłıchǫ place names at Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary, 1999 (Photo courtesy of Alice Legat)

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## Appendix I: Place Names

The table at the end of this appendix lists all the place names in alphabetical order, according to their Tłıchq spelling. For each place, the table gives four types of information:

- Tłıchq name.
- English name on map.
- Literal translation and gloss: analysis of the parts of the name if known.
- Brief notes from interviews with elders.

The following four sections briefly explain each of these types of information.

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### *Tłıchq Name*

The basis for the spelling is *Tłıchq Yatı̄ Enı̄htł'è/A Dogrib Dictionary* (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1996). In a few cases the spellings differ from what is in the dictionary. We gain confidence in the spellings we have arrived at from our research methodology, characterized by intensive consultation with elders. See Appendix V for further discussion of spelling principles.

The spellings here are different from dictionary spellings in two ways:

- First, we spell place names as single words, with no internal spaces. For example, contrast the dictionary spelling of the name for 'Sarah Lake' with the spelling used in this report:
  - Dictionary spelling: Gqah Tı̄
  - This report spelling: Gqahı̄
- Second, the report spellings use the letter ʔ more than the dictionary does. The dictionary follows the principle to not use ʔ at the beginning of a word unless it begins a root word such as ʔoo (spruce boughs). Our practice requires that we write ʔ in every position where it occurs. For example, contrast the dictionary spelling for Marian Lake with the report spelling:
  - Dictionary spelling: ı̄hdaak'è Tı̄
  - Report spelling: ʔı̄hdaak'èı̄



If a reader is aware of the principles, it is straightforward to go between the two spelling systems.

A significant number of the place names are listed in two forms separated by •. This decision recognizes that Tłıchq-speaking communities show consistent variation in how they pronounce words spelled with (ch ch' j sh zh). For example, the word mountain can be spelled sìh or shìh. The dictionary and this report show both spellings, to respect both patterns of speaking.

For example, the name for Artillery Lake is spelled two ways:

ʔedaàtsotì • ʔedaàchotì

In the computer databases resulting from our research, the first spelling listed is the one referenced, for consistency.

A very few places in the Tłıchq region are known by two names. Both names are noted. For example, see the listing for Yaʔı̀tì.

A number of names appear in the list more than once (just as a name like Trout Lake or Long Lake appears many times in different parts of Canada.) When we need to tell one place apart from another with the same name, we identify the place by an important geographical feature in the vicinity. For example, the name Tidaa means long and narrow lake. We identify one specific Tidaa as Jìmìtì gà Tidaa, which means Tidaa by Jìmìtì. This is an important tool to use, to identify particular sites in the Tłıchq landscape.

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### ***English name on map***

When places have names on government maps, we list these in the table. We included as many map names as possible, and in some cases include map numbers to localize named places.

The Tłıchq and map names for a place do not necessarily cover the same area. For example, the Tłıchq lake Wekweètì is a body of water with two map names: Snare Lake and Roundrock Lake. Rawalpindi Lake is the same as two

Tɬichɔ lakes: Wek'ewhaɪɪtì (in the north, not included in the current listing) and ʔetsaàɪtì (in the south).

---

### *Literal Translation and Gloss*

Many Tɬichɔ place names translate literally as compound words, such as Kòtì (Fire Lake) or Degaimìhk'è (Holy Net Site). The notes in the third section of the listing give as much information as is known about the literal meanings of the names.

The usual method to present this information is in a gloss of the internal parts of the name, in the order they occur in the Tɬichɔ word. The gloss gives as much information as possible.

### *Notes on Glosses*

The gloss is the literal translation of the internal pieces of a place name.

For example, the gloss for the place name ʔehdaaghoò is: point-rough

- In idiomatic English the name therefore translates as rough point.

The gloss is much more complicated for the place name

Samèèyek'eɪgòhɔqòtì: Sammy-it-on-fish-he-foundDSuff-lakePNSuff

- This is a lake named by the sentence Samèè yek'e ɪ igòhɔq (Sammy found fish on it), (Lake Which Sammy Found Fish On). The grammatical patterns of the Tɬichɔ language determine the order of elements within the sentence. The structures of compound words determine that the word for lake occurs at the end of the compound.

As some of the grammatical patterns in English are the reverse of those found in Tɬichɔ, we must take some care in using the glosses.

- For example the gloss for the name Kwebàadiì is rock-alongside-islandPNSuff. It is properly translated as Island alongside Rocks.

Adjectival roots such as -ghoò (rough), -kàa (flat), -tso (big), and -ka (top) follow the word they modify. So Kweghoòdiì translates as Island of Rough Rocks and ʔɪt'òtsotì as Lake of Big Leaves.

The glosses show considerable detail. We consider this invaluable in our aim to express the elders' rich, fine-grained knowledge and understanding.

### *Gloss Abbreviations*

The glosses for almost all the place names in the database include one or more of four abbreviations: DSuff, PNSuff, SMSuff, and AreaPref.

#### **DSuff**

The descriptive suffix (DSuff) occurs at the end of a sentence or verb phrase that describes a thing. For example in Deghàedaa (looking at itself) the DSuff is the final doubled vowel in the word.

This suffix often corresponds roughly to the English suffix -ing. In Samèèyek'eḡìgòhʔòqòtì the descriptive suffix is the doubled -ò at the end of the describing sentence. This suffix also occurs in the following names.

- |                |                               |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| ▪ Ts'iedaa     | Living Spruce                 |
| ▪ Kwetɪɪʔàa    | Rocks Extending into Water    |
| ▪ Kwekàateèlɪɪ | Stream Over Outcrops of Rocks |
| ▪ Dehdaèhzaa   | River Dammed Up               |

#### **PNSuff**

The possessive noun suffix (PNSuff) occurs on nouns that are possessive. For example in Ts'èzqòʔehdaà, (Old Lady's Point), the suffix is the final -à of the word point, doubling the last vowel but showing marked low tone. Doubling of the vowel with the low tone is the usual shape for the possessive noun suffix in Tɬichq place names.

The following list shows some nouns commonly found in Tɬichq place names and their possessive forms. A large number of place names in our database include this suffix.

Plain Noun	Noun + PNSuff	Translation	Example showing PNSuff
ᵛehdaa	-ᵛehdaà	point	Ts'èzqòᵛehdaà
deh	-deè	river	Sahk'eèdeè
di	-diì	island	Sahdiì
dᵛka	-(di)ᵛkaà	narrows	ᵛèdzèᵛkaà
kwe	-kweè	rock	Tatsakweè
ti	-ti	lake, water	Wek'edèdᵛgòᵛti
what'aa	-what'aa	esker	Wenàzèèwhat'aa

The possessed noun suffix occurs also when a sentence defines the noun, as in our earlier example Samèèyek'eḡìḡhᵛqòti. All complex place names include DSuff (on the descriptor sentence) and PNSuff (on the noun).

Other examples are:

- Ts'inàwhedaati      Lake Where Ts'inà is [Buried]
- Nàk'òᵛaats'ahti      Side Lake of Willow Standing
- Tawoòhàelᵛti      Lake of Open Water Flowing Out
- Biayek'enàᵛdèeti      Lake on Which Bia Lived

## SmSuff

The small suffix (SmSuff) is the vowel -a added to a word or phrase to give the sense of a small or dear object. Here are some examples:

- Dehtià      Small River-Lake
- K'aàwidziwiᵛdià      K'aàwidziwi's Islet
- ᵛiwets'aᵛòà      Small [Place] Where Fish Swim in Circles
- Tèetiᵛdegheᵛᵛà      Little Stream Through Tèeti

Other small suffix options include: -tsoa (small), -tso or -cho (big), and -deè (great).

## AreaPref

The areal prefix (AreaPref) indicates that a word refers to an area or space. It takes the form go- or ho-. Here are some examples.

- |              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| ▪ ʔedaàgodeè | Great Crossing        |
| ▪ Tʔàgotso   | Big Bay               |
| ▪ hoteh      | Portage               |
| ▪ Hozìi      | tundra or barrenlands |

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## Remarks

Sometimes more information is available, such as a translation into idiomatic English; or elder's thoughts on the significance of a name. We provide this information in the further remarks in this section.

This section of the listing also includes general notes about the places (transcribed or summarized from interviews) such as:

- Physical descriptions of the locale.
- Information about burial sites and habitat.
- Stories or legends about the place and its associations.

## *Unanalyzed place names*

For some place names we know nothing about the origins of the words. In other cases we may have partial information.

Place names can be very old, so it is not surprising if we have lost track of some word origins over the centuries. The question marks in the glosses show unknowns.

For example, nothing is known about the place name ʔewih, so the gloss is ? For Beraitì, the last element identifies the place as a lake. But we know nothing about the origins of the rest of the word. Elders gave educated guesses for some elements with some place names. For example Dqdiidaetì is glossed as: person-food?-?-lakePNSuff

As we learn more about places and their names, we should be able to replace some of the question marks with more complete information.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔariagik'ewhelaadehtì		HarrySmSuff-them-on-there areDSuff-river-lakePNSuff (river lake on which ʔaria and them are [buried])	Named after ʔaria and whoever is buried with him at this place.
ʔedaà		caribou crossing	
ʔedaàtsotì • ʔedaàchotì	Artillery Lake	crossing-big-lakePNSuff	Named for an important caribou crossing.
ʔedaàgodeè		crossing-AreaPref-great	
ʔedazòtso • ʔedazòcho		ʔ-big	
ʔedazòtsoa		ʔ-small (point on Tsòtì)	
ʔeehgòtìtso • ʔeehgòtìcho		clear-lakePNSuff-big (big clear lake)	
ʔeehgòtìtsoa		clear-lakePNSuff-small (small clear lake)	Named after how it looks: very clear; you can see rocks on the bottom. Pierre Beaverho contrasted this name with the word ʔehtà'èti (mud lake), which has an opposite meaning.
ʔeehgòtìtsodagòèʔaa • ʔeehgòtìchodagòèʔaa		clear-lakePNSuff-big-up-AreaPref- (path) extendsDSuff (big clear lake landing)	Dagòèʔaa is the word for landing.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tɿjɕɔ	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔehdaaghoò		point-rough (there are lots of small rocks on this point)	
ʔehdaakwèɛ		point-offshore region	
ʔehdaakw'òò		point-?	There are two places with this name, one near Hàlɿj. It names a narrow point of land extending into a lake. There are people buried at one (or both?) of these places.
ʔehgòtitsoa		elbow/knee-lakePNSuff-small	
ʔehtl'ètì	James Lake	mud-lakePNSuff	There are a lot of fish in the creek feeding this lake. Named this way because it is very shallow.
ʔejjekweè		muskox-rockPNSuff	There was hunting of muskox in this area. The place is named after a hill.
ʔejjenaazìi • ʔejjenaazhìi		muskox-across?-slope?DSuff	This name is for high hills and was a place where people possibly hunted muskoxen in the past.
ʔek'adiì	island on Lac de Gras	fat-islandPNSuff (island of fat)	



*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔek'adii		fat-islandPNSuff	This is a second place with this name, an island in Deèzhàti • Deèzhàti. A good place for moose. HS visited this place three times when he was about 30 years old.
ʔek'adiiŋq		fat-islandPNSuff-tip (point on ʔek'adiitso where people camped)	
ʔek'adiitso • ʔek'adiiŋcho	greater Lac de Gras island	fat-islandPNSuff-big (big island of fat)	
ʔek'ati	Lac de Gras	fat-lakePNSuff (lake of fat/fat lake)	
ʔek'ati	Itchen Lake	fat-lakePNSuff	This is a second lake with the same name as Lac de Gras.
ʔek'atiʔehdaè	point on Lac de Gras	fat-lakePNSuff-pointPNSuff (fat lake point)	
ʔek'atiʔetsijŋŋ • ʔek'atiʔechŋŋŋŋ		fat-lakePNSuff-tail-flowsDSuff (outflow from fat lake)	
ʔek'atiʔqhtsjk'e		fat-lakePNSuff-?-on	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔek'atidaadlja		fat-lakePNSuff-ʔ-flowsSmSuff	Daadlja refers to the waterway connecting to a ʔets'ahti—place to set bait for fish.
ʔek'atidaadljats'ahti • ʔek'atidaadljach'ahti		fat-lakePNSuff-ʔ-flowsSmSuff-side-lakePNSuff (side lake to ʔek'atì associated with ʔek'atìdaadlja)	
ʔek'atideè	Lac de Gras river	fat-lakePNSuff-riverPNSuff (river of fat lake)	
ʔek'atidehti		fat-lakePNSuff-river-lakePNSuff	Dehti means a lake which is in the flow of a river.
ʔek'atitata		fat-lakePNSuff-water-among	An area bounded by bodies of water, which are ʔek'atì, ʔewaànit'iiti, and Nqdihahti.
ʔek'èdook'iwiidliwheʔq		upper-K'iwiidliwheʔq	
ʔekw'oòtìa		ʔ-lakePNSuff-SmSuff	Beyond this lake is ʔekw'oòtitso • ʔekw'oòtìcho.
ʔekw'oòtitso • ʔekw'oòtìcho		ʔ-lakePNSuff-big	

Table: List of place names 2001

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔekw'qəlaèə]jti		bone-?-behind?-lakePNSuff	This lake is on the edge of the tundra, near Jolly Lake (ʔezqti • ʔezhqti) so the bushes are generally short. Wood in this area was used to make snowshoes. There is a great white spruce tree here where people used to camp.
ʔekw'qəlaèti		bone-?- lakePNSuff	
ʔekw'qəlaetsij • ʔekw'qəlaechij		bone-?-woodPNSuff	Name of a wooded area of mostly ts'iwà, also kw'ia, at the edge of the tundra on the great boat trail to Jolly Lake (ʔezqti • ʔezhqti). The word bone in the name refers to short, stubby trees.
ʔelàetqhti		boat-trail-lakePNSuff	
ʔelàts'iïwek'ewhelaati • ʔelàch'iïwek'ewhelaati		canoe-old-it-on- there areDSuff-lakePNSuff (lake on which there are old canoes)	A slightly shorter form of this name is ʔelàts'iïwhelaati • ʔelàch'iïwhelaati (lake where there are old canoes).
ʔetèèdlj		reciprocal-with-it flowsDSuff ( )	At this place four waterways meet, going to Tsòtdeeè, K'eàgoti, Hozideè, and Hàelji.
ʔemqòts'iiti		around-gutsPNSuff-lakePNSuff	Named after the fatty caribou guts that sit around the wall of the belly.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłįchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔenàts'ikwì	Dogrib Rock	ʔ	Fighting took place at this site. ʔenà is an old term for enemy. Also pronounced ʔenàts'ikwì.
ʔenèegoo		ʔ	
ʔeneèkogòayek'elìgòhɔqqtì		old man-skinny-it-on-fish-he foundDSuff-lakePNSuff	
ʔeneèkokw'qòwhelaa		old man-bones-there areDSuff	Four elders are buried at this place.
ʔeniłtł		closed-it freezesDSuff	
ʔet'èqàbàti		ʔet'èe-ʔ-!lakePNSuff	Named after a man called ʔet'èe. We are not certain of the significance of the middle part of the word. This round lake tikàa is on a great trail, where moose and foxes can be found. It has one island on it. Also pronounced ʔet'èqàbàti or ʔek'èqàbàti.
ʔetsaàɔłtì	Rawalpindi Lake	ʔ-behindʔ-!lakePNSuff	There is a caribou crossing here at a narrow spot on the lake where there is a place to lie in wait for caribou.
ʔetséelł • ʔechèelł		tail-it flowsDSuff	As a general term this word refers to the place where water flows out of a lake. Also pronounced ɔetsłłł • ɔechłłł

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔewaàdìihdaa		sand-islandPNSuff-long+narrow	
ʔewaànit'ìi		sand-it stretchesDSuff (where sand stretches in a line)	
ʔewaànit'ìiti	Courageous Lake	sand-it stretches-lakePNSuff (lake of a stretch of sand)	A contraction is ʔewaàt'ìiti.
ʔewaàwedàljlj	Hloo Channel	sand-it-against?-it flowsDSuff	This is a dljka.
ʔewàakwii	Russell Channel	mouth-it pokesDSuff	At this place coney were so plentiful that people could use a stick to poke fish in the mouth and lift them out of the water.
ʔezq̄tì • ʔezhq̄tì	Ghost Lake	spirit-lakePNSuff	There are two lakes with this name.
ʔezq̄tì • ʔezhq̄tì	Jolly Lake	spirit-lakePNSuff	There are two lakes with this name.
ʔezq̄zìtì • ʔezhq̄zìtì		spirit-?-lakePNSuff	Also heard as ʔezhq̄jìtì from RW.
ʔjhdak'ètì	Marian Lake	jackfish-site-lakePNSuff	There are lots of fish in this lake, not just jackfish.
ʔjhdam]hk'è		jackfish-net-site	There are two places on Russell Lake with this name. The more southerly one is identified by being close to Dikaatso or Tł'àgotso.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
ʔjhdzaam]hk'è		jackfish-net-site	There are two places on Russell Lake with this name. The more northerly one is identified by being close to Kwekàaʔehdaàtso.
ʔjhdaaʔi	Stagg River	jackfish-lakePNSuff	There are lots of jackfish here.
ʔjndaàkq	Fort Resolution	far off-house	Named because Fort Resolution was way across the lake.
ʔjt'òdli		leaf-islandPNSuff [larger island sound of Nijʔaa]	
ʔjt'òkahtì • ʔjt'òhahtì	Hardisty Lake	leaf-narrows?-lakePNSuff	Abbreviated it sounds like ʔjt'òqhtì.
ʔjt'òmqòʔehdaà		leaf-around-pointPNSuff	
ʔjt'òtì	Norris Lake	leaf-lakePNSuff	There are lots of birch trees around that are very beautiful. People like to camp here because of this and the plentiful fish.
ʔjt'òtsotì • ʔjt'òchoʔi		leaf-big-lakePNSuff	
ʔjts'èeti	Hottah Lake	moose-lakePNSuff	This term for moose is more commonly used in Déline.
ʔqhtsjk'e		ʔ-on	
Baati		Baa-lakePNSuff (lake of Baa)	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Bezaiti	Winter Lake	?-lakePNSuff	
Behk'ijkaà		cliff-narrowsPNSuff (narrows bounded by behk'ii cliffs)	
Behk'òdeè		seagull-riverPNSuff	
Behtsokò • Behchokò	Rae	knife-big-house	Named after a trader nicknamed Behcho. An old name for a place in this area is Ts'ijka, which means spruce narrows.
Behtsotì • Behchotì	Shoti Lake	knife-big-lakePNSuff	Named after someone named Behcho.
Biayek'enàjdèetì	Undine Lake	Bia-it-on-livedDSuff-lakePNSuff (lake on which Bia lived)	Bia was the father of the late Johnny Migwi.
Bidoòmqmj'hk'è		Bidoò-mother-net-site	Place near Rae named after the mother of a woman named Bidoò, who went out in a boat by herself and fished. There is an eddy there and in springtime several kinds of fish can be caught here, as the lake is a dehtì with water flowing through it.
? Daàgootì • ? Daàk'ootì			

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłįchq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Daàghqqtì	Daran Lake	lichen type-lakePNSuff	Daàghqqtì is a type of lichen that hangs like cloth on trees; food for caribou. The first part of the name (da-) is used in words meaning things raised off the ground.
Daàts'iitì	Mosher Lake	?-guts-lakePNSuff	Pronounced by some people as Daàts'eeti.
Daàts'iitìk'eniwhelł		Daàts'iitì-on-it flows to a pointDSuff	
Dat'èhti	Humpy Lake	brant-lakePNSuff	Named after the duck dat'èh.
Dazhdàhtì • Dazhdàhtì		?-from-against-lakePNSuff	The elders said to compare this word with sazjdàà • sazhdàà (southward). A very shallow lake; a good place for moose.
Dechłèłł		stick-it flowsDSuff (a stream flowing through bushes)	
Deèzàatì • Deèzhàatì	Point Lake Lake Providence	?-lakePNSuff	Very old name; do not know the roots. The old word that is the first part of this compound word possibly relates to where caribou calves are kept. This lake extends a great distance, taking in a bigger body of water than the English name. This lake is an example of a dehti.



*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tʃiɕhɔ</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Deèzàatiɔetsʃʃʃʃ • Deèzhàatiɔechʃʃʃʃ		Deèzàati-tail-flowsDSuff	
Deèzàatiɔeè • Deèzhàatiɔeè		Deèzàati-riverPNSuff	
Degaimʃhk'è		holy-net-site	
Deghaʃʃʃʃ		river-through-it flowsDSuff	To the north of Wekweèti; dʃka—a narrows.
Deghàedaa		self-it looks atDSuff	Where two rivers flow together amidst hills, where they appear to be looking at each other.
Dehdaèhzaa • Dehdaèhzhaa	Snare River dam	river-dammed upDSuff	
Dehtia		river-lakePNSuff-SmSuff	A beautiful place with whagweè.
Dehtidaa		river-lakePNSuff-by	
Dehtsʃʃʃʃ • Dehchʃʃʃʃ		river-tail-it flowsDSuff	
Dèdʃʃʃʃti		old growth forest area-lakePNSuff	
Dètaèɔaa		land-amidst-it extendsDSuff	Name of a river that flows through rocks.
Dètaʃhtɔɔ	Tayonton Lake	land-amidst-[water] sits in a contained spaceDSuff	Name of a ɔets'ahti • ʔech'ahti, a side lake off some other lake.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Dikaatso		island-?-big	
Dikwits'ii		island-head-it combsDSuff	
Dinàhkotì		island-?-lakePNSuff (high island lake)	There is a high cliff on the island that the lake is named after.
Ditso • Dicho		island-big (big island)	
Ditsotsoa • Dichotsoa		island-big-small (small big island)	Also called Ditsoa (small island).
Dìgadegootì	Whitewolf Lake	wolf-white-lakePNSuff	Also pronounced Digaregootì.
Dìgati	Grizzle Bear Lake (86A) Zinto Lake (86C)	wolf-lakePNSuff	An old name. It is a long lake with narrows. There is a high esker, with white sand. Some elders say that the lake is named Wolf Lake because of the wolves that have dens in the esker and chase the caribou when they migrate across this lake. There are graves here.
Dqdiidaeti	Thoulezzeh Lake	person-food?-?-lakePNSuff	Name relates to the fact that it is situated on Mqwhi's trail and offers much to live on. It is at the edge of the tundra (hozilaa), a land of black spruce. There are graves here; Elizabeth Michel's mother Bâi is buried here. Also pronounced Dqdièdaeti and Nqdiidaeti.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tɿjɿq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Dɔkw'qɔdli		person-bones-islandPNSuff	Several different islands are named this; islands where people are buried.
Dòqti		?-lakePNSuff	
? Dzaɖalaati • Jɔɖalaati		Jean-?- lakePNSuff	Not certain if it is spelled laa or laà.
Dzɔti		muskrat-lakePNSuff	Three lakes have this name, including those called Dzɔtɿcho and Dzɔtɿtsoa.
Dzɔtɿtso • Dzɔtɿcho		muskrat- lakePNSuff-big	
Dzɔtɿtsoa		muskrat- lakePNSuff-small	
Gahk'eeɤehdaà		rabbit-?-pointPNSuff	
Gahk'eeɤt'àà		rabbit-?-bayPNSuff	
Gamèti	Gameti	Gamè-lakePNSuff (Gamè's Lake)	
Goèhɔaatso • Goèhɔaacho		stand of trees in a valley-big	
Gokwìkw'qòshii		our-head-bone-is-mountainPNSuff (mountain where our skull is)	A short way of saying Gokwìkw'qòwheɔqòshii.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tʃichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Gokw'kw'qòwek'ewheʔqqtì		our-head-bone-it-on-there isDSuff-lakePNSuff	A lake named after the mountain nearby that looks like a skull: Gokw'kw'qòshii. This lake is at the edge of the tundra; people carried wood from here into the tundra. The wood was used to make snowshoes, sleds, ax handles, and the like. There are two mountains near this lake but it is named after the one in the shape of a skull.
Gots'qkàtì	Mesa Lake	cloudberry-lakePNSuff	
Gqahṭì	Sarah Lake	jackpine-narrows-lakePNSuff	The full form of this word is Gqòkahtì • Gqòhahtì. Compare ʔit'qkahtì and Nqòdihahṭì.
Gòlodii		burned over area-islandPNSuff	There are two islands with this name. The burn was a long time ago.
Hàelʃ		out-it flowsDSuff	Also pronounced Kàelʃ and Xàelʃ.
Homṭì	Gordon Lake	?-net-lakePNSuff	
Hozideè	Emile River	barrenlands-riverPNSuff	
Jimṭì	Lower Carp Lake	?-net?-lakePNSuff	This is an old name. We do not know why the lake has this name. It is on a great route and has a very nice shore. This word was checked earlier and spelled Dzimṭì • Jimṭì. This is a revision in spelling from the earlier time.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
? Kàjts'ii		out-it blowsDSuff	
Kòk'èeti	Contwoyto Lake	fire-site-lakePNSuff	The word kòk'è refers to an empty campsite.
Kòtì	Nose Lake	fire-lakePNSuff	
Kòt'at'aati	Lastfire Lake	house-?-?-lakePNSuff	Also pronounced Kòt'adaati and Kòt'araati.
K'aàwidziwìdla • K'aàwijiwìdla		K'aàwijiwìi-islandPNSuff-SmSuff	A small island named after the person K'aàwijiwii. Dqk'aàwi is a word for middlemen in the fur trade.
K'àiti	Reindeer Lake	?-inside-lakePNSuff	This is a shortened form of K'azhiiti. There is a hill at this location and bear dens (sahᓃqq).
K'àati	Indin Lake	wait!-lakePNSuff	The term k'àa is an interjection meaning wait! It is also an adverb meaning while waiting. People possibly waited at this lake for caribou.
K'àbam]ti	Colville Lake	ptarmigan-net-lakePNSuff	Lots of ptarmigan here.
K'eàgotì	Hislop Lake	?-?-lakePNSuff	
K'itì		birch-lakePNSuff	
K'iwihndiwwheᓃqq		birch cluster-island-?-there isDSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Kwebàadii		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff	The island is also pronounced Hobàadii.
Kwebàadiiìlq		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff-tip	The name of the tip of an island bordered by rocks.
Kwebàadiiìlq		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff-tip	Also called Hobàadiiìlq by some people.
Kwebàati	Wopmay Lake	rock-alongside-lakePNSuff	There is an associated ʔechìjìlì.
Kwebàatsaa • Kwebàachaa	Fort Smith	rock-alongside-it boiled?DSuff	Named because of the rapids there.
Kwedaakq̄		rock-raised-it is there, on a flat surfaceDSuff (rock raised on a tableland)	A shortened form of Kwedawhekq̄. Caribou migrate through this area.
Kwedaakq̄tì		rock-raised-it is there, on a flat surfaceDSuff-lakePNSuff (the lake next to Kwedaakq̄)	Lake of Kwedaakq̄.
Kwedaahsii • Kwedaahshii		rock-it is humpedDSuff (high humped up rock)	A shortened form of Kwedawhehsii • Kwedawhehshii. The word contains the prefix da- (raised). This hill is on a major caribou trail.
Kwèeziiti • Kwèezhiiti		sucker-lakePNSuff	Named after the fish kwiezhi.
Kweghoòʔehdaà		rock-rough-pointPNSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tĩjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Kweghòðəhdaàtso • Kweghòðəhdaàcho		rock-rough-pointPNSuff-big (big rough rock point)	
Kweghòðdii		rock-rough-islandPNSuff (rough rock island)	
Kweghòðdia		rock-rough-islandPNSuffSmSuff (little rough rock island)	
Kwegaghòtì	Desteffany Lake	rock-on top-rough-lakePNSuff (lake of rough tops of rock ?)	
Kwegaghòtìdehtì		rock-on top-rough-lakePNSuff-river-lakePNSuff (river lake of the lake of rough tops of rock ?)	
Kwegaghòtì		rock-top-jagged-lakePNSuff	Ghò (jagged) refers to the fact that there are lots of small bays on the shores of this lake.
Kwekàəəhdaàtso • Kwekàəəhdaàtso		rock-flat-pointPNSuff-big	
Kwekàahtì	Wecho Lake	rock-flat-lakePNSuff (lake of outcrops of rock)	
Kwekàateèlɿj		rock-flat-over-it flowsDSuff 'flowing over outcrops of rock'	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tʃiɕhɔ</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Kwekàateèlʃʃts'ahtì • Kwekàateèlʃʃch'ahtì		Kwekàateèlʃʃ-side-lakePNSuff	
Kwek'aak'èwòo		rock-white-?-it floatsDSuff	This is a dʃʃka.
Kwek'atì	Lac de Gras	rock-fat-lakePNSuff (lake of rockfat)	This is a second name for Lac de Gras, that some say is older.
Kwek'odeè		rock-?-riverPNSuff	-k'o does not mean red. The rocks here are black. A place close to Rae Rocks (Kwetʃʃwàa).
Kwetʃʃwàa	Rae Rock	rock-into water-it extendsDSuff	
Kwet'jakògòwqqtso • Kwet'jakògòwqqcho		white personSmSuff-house-there isDSuff-big (big house location of little Whiteman)	
Kwetsahtì • Kwechahtì	Mazenod Lake	rock-?-lakePNSuff	There are lots of rocks here. According to Joe Migwi the middle syllable is not ts'a.
Kwetsoozhì • Kwechoozhì		rock-big?-mountainPNSuff	A large mountainous area west of Whatì. Also pronounced Kwejoozhì.
Kwetsòtì		rock-dirt?-lakePNSuff	Kwetsò is the term for black lichen.
Kwewiinàlʃaa		rock-puffy-down?-there areDSuff?	



*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Kwewiitaidèè		rock-puffy-amidst-riverPNSuff	This river has lots of fish because of how the rocks are configured.
Kwik'ììpedaà		gun-crossing	The site is on both sides of a place where caribou travel.
Kwik'ììpedaàts'ahti • Kwik'ììpedaàch'ahti		Kwik'ììpedaà-side-lakePNSuff	
Kw'ahtideèwexèhtq		chief-him-with-it frozeDSuff (where the chief was frozen in)	Possibly not a place name.
Kw'èhd'ia		Kw'èh-islandPNSuff-SmSuff	Small island west of ʔt'òdii; named after a person named Kw'èh.
Kw'iti	Ketcheson Lake	straight?-lakePNSuff	
Kw'ititata		straight?-lakePNSuff-water-among	Area bounded by Kw'iti and Tadeeti.
Kw'qòtì		ice overflow-lakePNSuff	Caribou like this type of place.
Łàdladii		broken apart-islandPNSuff	
Łatsoòtì		?-lakePNSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłįchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
łatsoòtiwhat'àà		?-lakePNSuff-eskerPNSuff	Name of an esker identified by the lake łatsoòti.
łédzèntì		clay-lakePNSuff	
łédzèjkaà		clay-narrowsPNSuff	In an area full of łédzèhshih (clay hills).
łèhđliiti		together?-frozenDSuff-lakePNSuff	
łiliiti		fish-frozenDSuff-lakePNSuff (frozen fish lake)	
łit'aàtitso • łit'aàtichò		fish-fin?-lakePNSuff-big (greater fish fin lake)	
łit'aàtitsoa		fish-fin?-lakePNSuff-small (lesser fish fin lake ?)	
łiwetek'àati		fish-it is fatDSuff-lakePNSuff (fat fish lake)	
łiwets'aòà	area on Lac du Sauvage	fish-around-swimSmSuff (little spot where fish swim in a circle)	Also pronounced łits'aòà.
łiwets'aòòats'ahtì • łiwets'aòòach'ahtì	Lac du Sauvage	fish-around-swimSmSuff-side-lakePNSuff (side lake of the little spot where fish swim in a circle)	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tĩjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
łiłhti		whitefish-?-lakePNSuff	Same lake as łiłhti; different pronunciation.
łiłhti	Parent Lake	whitefish-lakePNSuff	Very good for whitefish fishing.
łigqołti		whitefish-it driesDSuff-lakePNSuff	A place for drying fish. It is used as a campsite. The area has lots of rough white rocks and it is a good fishing area for all kinds of fish, even though the name includes only whitefish.
Madq̄yek'eʔekwq̄jhk'èeti		Madq̄-it-on-caribou-he shotDSuff-lakePNSuff (lake on which Madq̄ shot a lot of caribou)	The verb phrase ʔekwq̄ jhk'è means he shot [many] caribou. It contrasts with ʔekwq̄ whehk'è, which means he shot [a] caribou. Sometimes Madq̄ is Madq̄ezł • Madq̄ezhł and the lake is Madq̄ezłyek'eʔekwq̄jhk'èeti • Madq̄ezhłyek'eʔekwq̄jhk'èeti
Mĩneehdaà		net-?-pointPNSuff	The point where the village of Whati is built.
Mqlakq̄k'è	Fort Enterprise	Frenchman-fire-site (Frenchman's empty camp)	
Nàakaàti		aurora-lakePNSuff	
Nàdenìj̄pààti	Exeter Lake		Named after the esker that stretches across the lake. An area where people hunted foxes. The water flows towards Deèzàati. Some also called it Nàdegòj̄pààti

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tʃichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Nàgotsaà • Nàgochaà		?	Name of a dʒlka, narrows. Alongside this place is a nice area of old growth forest. Nothing is known about this name.
Nàgotsaàdʒlkaà • Nàgochaàdʒlkaà		?-narrowsPNSuff	
Nàʒlʒ		down-it flowsDSuff 'waterfall' [falls on Tsòtdeè]	
Nàʒlʒtì		down-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff (waterfall lake)	Name of the lake above the falls.
Nàkets'aàhk'qòdehtì		?-river-lakePNSuff	Named for the slope along this river lake and the fact that people have to walk on a slant.
Nàk'òʒaa		willow standsDSuff (willows standing)	There are a lot of k'òò (willows) here. A common grammatical construction: with k'ò built into the word nàʒaa (standing).
Nàk'òʒaats'ahtì • Nàk'òʒaach'ahtì		willow standsDSuff-side-lakePNSuff	This place has the last of a type of willow before hozii (tundra).
Nʒhsii • Nʒhshii	Old Fort Rae area	?-mountainPNSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Nłtsaghòòɔɔedaà		?-crossing	This is a caribou crossing. This is an old word; we do not know what the parts of the name mean.
Nłjt'èhtia		land?-charred-lakePNSuff-SmSuff (pond of blackened earth)	Nłj is probably an old form of dè. The soil is black around this small lake. It is a very good place for birds to feed and raise their young. There are lots of fish. There are two graves here.
Nłjɔaa		it extends to a placeDSuff	An old name for this place is ɔɔɔè ([beaver] dam) after the story of Yamoozha's beaver wife making a dam here
Nłjɔaataɔɔà		Nłjɔaa -among-path extendsDSuff (passage at the end of Nłjɔaa)	
Nłsatsq			This is an old word; we do not know what it means. There are white spruce trees here as big around as a 45-gallon barrel.
Nqđliihahtì • Nqđliikahtì	MacKay Lake	plateau-?-lakePNSuff	Pronunciation of k is from Jimmy Martin and is the older way of pronouncing the word. Compare ɔt'òkahtì and Gqəhtì
Nqgèedia		fox-islandPnSuff-SmSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tĩjchq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Saàhmjĩtĩ	Squalus Lake	bear-it swam acrossDSuff-lakePNSuff	First part is an abbreviated form of sah naèhmjũ (where a bear swam across) to shorten the word. In the middle of this lake is a narrows.
Saàt'ootĩ	Redrock Lake	?-?-lakePNSuff	The name of this lake is not related to bear.
Sahdĩi		bear-islandPNSuff	Associated with a story of ʔk'qoʔ.
Sahk'eèdèè		(name)-riverPNSuff	Named after a person called Sahk'eè.
Sahtĩ	Great Bear Lake	bear-lakePNSuff	
Samèèyek'elìgòhʔqòtĩ		Sammy-it-on-fish-he foundDSuff-lakePNSuff	Sammy Football is the Sammy. Also pronounced Samèèlìgòhʔqòtĩ • Samèèlìgòhʔqòtĩ
Satsòtĩ	Grenville Lake	?-lakePNSuff	
Sayaàdeeti		?-lakePNSuff	Also pronounced Savaàdeeti.
Sàqàdèèdèhtĩ	east-Desteffany Lake? west-Redrock Lake?	?-riverPNSuff-river-lakePNSuff	Two lakes of this name bound either end of the large lake Deèzàtĩ • Deèzhàtĩ. In English one of these lakes is called Desteffany Lake.
Sàqàdèhtĩ	Desteffany Lake	?-river-lakePNSuff	Also called Sàqàdèèdèhtĩ.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tʃichɔ	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Semjɛɛ		?-net-riverPNSuff	Our group did not research this name. But the name is known and is correctly spelled here.
Semjiti	Faber Lake	?-net-lakePNSuff	Compare semij (net area) and Semjɛɛ.
Siedzèa • Shìejèa		mountain-?SmSuff	People feel very happy here and tell of singing and dancing with happiness. The name is old; we do not know the origins.
Siigqòlàa • Shiigqòlàa	Shegonla Hills	mountain-?-?	These mountains extend to Wrigley. East of here is a gahk'è where there are lots of rabbits, and lots of nòda feeding on them.
Sqòmbak'è	Yellowknife	money-site	This is the term for a mine, the most prominent feature of Yellowknife when it became a town.
Taanits'ahti • Taanich'ahti		middle-side-lakePNSuff	Some give this lake a fuller name Wedoòt'ootaanits'ahti, after the bay Wedoòt'oo.
Tadeeti		shallow water-lakePNSuff	The water in this lake comes no higher than the knees and it is very clear. There are no fish because it is so shallow. It is on a boat and sled trail. The area provides lots of grass for caribou.
Taɔaa		through-(trail) extendsDSuff	The name relates to the fact that the trail really winds back and forth.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Tatsaà'ǵłtì		water?-?-behind?-lakePNSuff	There is a long point on this lake where caribou cross. There is a very nice what'aa. It is not known why the lake is called this.
Tatsakweè		falcon-rockPNSuff	Named for the small falcons tatsea that nest here.
Tatseèhnqǵ • Tacheèhnqǵ		water-?	A name remembered from childhood as a place where children were warned not to play; subject to flooding.
Tatsǵtì		raven-lakePNSuff	
Tawoòhàelǵtì		open water-out-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff	
Tawoòmǵhk'è		open water-net-site	There is water or soft ice here all winter. In spring people catch several kinds of fish here. There is also a variety of trees and berry bushes. It is a good area to hunt beaver and muskrat.
Tèetideghaèlǵa		underwater-lakePNSuff- through-flowingDSuff-SmSuff	
Teht'ati		water plant-lakePNSuff	There are lots of water plants here called tèeht'aa (water lily) on the plant list.



*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Teht'at'ia		water lily-lakePNSuff-SmSuff	
Teht'atitso • Teht'aticho		water lily-lakePNSuff-big	See earlier note re tèeht'aà (water lily).
Tidaa		lake-long+narrow	The suffix -daa means long and narrow. Because there is another lake named Tidaa not too far away, this lake is called Jimìtì gà Tidaa when the two need to be distinguished.
Tidaa		lake-long+narrow	A second lake with this name.
Tideè	Great Slave Lake	lake-great	
Tiegqòtì	Keller Lake	water-smooth?-lakePNSuff	This large lake has no islands; that is the source of its name. It is a good lake for fishing, beavers, and is habitat for a variety of trees and animals. Also pronounced Teegqòtì.
Tiegqòtì	Basler Lake	water-smooth?-lakePNSuff	The water is very smooth and delicious to drink. There is a djłka in the middle of the lake. Many types of medicine are available here, including a type of yellow flower and many useful grasses. Caribou and moose frequent the area. Also pronounced Teegqòtì.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tìjchq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Tieŋjlatì	Beauparlant Lake	lake-each other-end-lakePNSuff (lake where lakes come end to end)	
Tikàtì	Boulder Lake	water-flat?-lakePNSuff	someone heard Chikàtì.
Tikàtìdeghaèlja		Tikàtì-through-flowingDSuff- SmSuff	
Tikwootì		water-yellowDSuff-lakePNSuff	
Tikwootìdahzaak'è		water-yellowDSuff-lakePNSuff- baited hook-site	A good place to hook fish with a baited hook.
Titsjǎ̀èhzaadeè • Tichjǎ̀èhzaadeè		water-?-it extendsDSuff- riverPNSuff	This is a creek dehtsoa.
Titso • Ticho		lake-big	
Titsoṭì • Tichotì	Starfish and Seahorse Lake Also Big Lake (86A/15)	water-big-lakePNSuff (big water lake)	
Tits'eèhgootì		water-split-?DSuff-lakePNSuff	Name of a forked lake in the shape of a slingshot. Also pronounced Tìlats'eèhgootì.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłįchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Tiwheghòotì		water-it is crookedDSuff-lakePNSuff	Name comes from the curvy or crooked shape of the lake.
Tł'atsoòtì		?-lakePNSuff	Very old name. We don't know what it means.
Tł'atsoòtìwhat'àà		Tł'atsoòtì-eskerPNSuff (esker of Tł'atsoòtì)	This is a very long esker that has been described as a spine of the land.
Tł'àgotso • Tł'àgocho		bay-AreaPref-big	Name of a bay on Russell Lake.
Tł'ok'edaatì	Starfish Lake	grass-it walksDSuff-lakePNSuff (lake of walking grass)	
Tł'ok'edaatsìj • Tł'ok'edaachìj		grass-it walksDSuff-woodPNSuff	Name of a river through a wooded area.
Tsìk'eèmjìtì • Chìj'k'eèmjìtì		north-net-lakePNSuff	
Tsòtì	Little Marten Lake • Lac La Martre	excrement-lakePNSuff	
Tsòtìdèè	Lac La Martre River	Tsòtì-riverPNSuff	
Ts'eetì		?-lakePNSuff	This is a very long lake.
Ts'eèhgootì	Aylmer Lake	splits-?-lakePNSuff	Named because it is a forked lake.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Ts'èzqòsìi • Ts'èzhqòshìi		female-old-mountainPNSuff (old woman's mountain)	
Ts'èzqòʔehdaà • Ts'èzhqòʔehdaà		female-old-pointPNSuff	Burial place for the old woman that the mountain is named for. Close to the end of Snare Lake.
Ts'iedaa		spruce-livesDSuff (living spruce tree)	The tree is white spruce.
Ts'iedaats'òʔelàetq		Ts'iedaa -towards-boat-trail (boat trail to the living spruce tree)	
Ts'iehdàà		spruce-point	
Ts'iekw'qòhti	compare Tsepantee Lake	spruce-bare-lakePNSuff	Name comes from the fact that trees in the area had been denuded by people taking branches for spreading in tents.
Ts'iekw'qòhtideè		Ts'iekw'qòhti-riverPNSuff	This river flows out of the lake of the same name towards Sahti.
Ts'ijka		spruce-narrows (Spruce Narrows)	The Rae area used to be called this.
Ts'inàedaati		spruce-it movesDSuff-lakePNSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjchq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Ts'inàwhedaa		Ts'inà-isDSuff (where Ts'inà is)	A man named Ts'inà is buried here, at a narrows at the north end of a lake. The lake is named after the burial site.
Ts'inàwhedaati		Ts'inà-isDSuff-lakePNSuff (lake where Ts'inà is [buried])	See previous note.
Ts'inàzèe	Arseno Lake	canoe-huntsDSuff	Known as the hunting road, supplies were stored here. Ts'i means canoe. Other people said the first part of this name refers to spruce.
Ts'oodlii		muskeg-islandPNSuff	A long island that stretches across a lake.
Wedoòtt'oo		it-above-grass	Name of a bay in Russell Lake. Also called Wediitt'oo by some people.
Wedoòtt'oots'ahti • Wedoòtt'ooch'ahti		Wedoòtt'oo-side-lakePNSuff	
Wedzàakw'ooti		its-?-it fellDSuff-lakePNSuff	Name refers to a lake where a caribou calf fell at birth. Also pronounced Wedziakw'ooti. Usual word for calf is tsia. We are not certain if the two words wedzia and tsia are directly related to each other; there is no common rule that connects them. The name contains a shortened form of the verb nàekw'o (it fell down).

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tłjichq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Wek'edèdlıgòlɣtì		it-on-old growth woods-AreaPref-there areDSuff-lakePNSuff	This lake is on a great sled trail. It is mainly edzq growing in the area, though there is some ts'iwà. There is ɔajì for caribou and good berries, including plenty of gots'qkà and a tasty berry called ʔ]hk'aajì that resembles tsqht'è but is bigger.
Wek'ehàelɣtì		it-around?-out-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff	Where water flows out of a lake along a curvy path.
Wek'ewhaèhtsootì	Rodrigues Lake	it-on-sand-?-lakePNSuff	There is loose sand around this lake.
Wekweètì	Snare Lake/ Roundrock Lake	his-rockPNSuff-lakePNSuff	Also the name for the community.
Wekwit'aɣlɣtì	Mattberry Lake	its-head-top-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff	Water flows towards Rae, toward what looks like a head but is an island.
Wenàzèèdehtì		Wanazah-river-lakePNSuff (Wanazah's river lake)	
Wenàzèèewhat'àà		Wanazah-eskerPNSuff (Wanazah's esker)	
Wett'aezqqtì	Rebesca Lake	it-?-?-lakePNSuff	A lake where there is a weyèedi.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Tĩjchq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Wets'iiti	Boland Lake?	its-guts-lakePNSuff	Also pronounced Wets'eèti.
Wets'qnałııttı		it-from-down-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff(lake of the waterfall from it)	
Weyèediti	Wijinnedi Lake	frightening underwater creature-lakePNSuff	Far north near ʔezqti. Nice rock outcrops. This creature swimming creates a whirlpool that sucks things in. Related word weyii (inside it).
Weyihàak'ée		it-inside-out-it blastsDSuff (blasting out from inside)	This is a portage. Name comes from the fact that the place looks like an explosion happened here.
Wèet'aà		?	Very old name; we know nothing about it. A narrow peninsula. A caribou crossing where caribou got trapped among the surrounding islands before there were guns. Also pronounced something like Wòot'aà.
Whaàhtsoti		old?-?-lakePNSuff	
Whagweèhdii		sandy area-islandPNSuff	
Whagweèti		sandy area-lakePNSuff	

*Table: List of place names 2001*

<b>Třjchq</b>	<b>Map name</b>	<b>Literal translation and gloss</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Whahdiinoðlaa • Whahdiinaàlaa		sand-islandPNSuff-?-there areDSuff (string of sand islands)?	Compare dictionary di nř hoèlaa.
Whajtsoott'àà		far-highDSuff-bayPNSuff	Name includes a contraction of the word nàjtsò (it is high).
Whajtsoott'ààhàřřjř		Whajtsoott'àà-out-it flowsDSuff	The name of a high hill.
Whalaelřř		sand-there is-flowsDSuff (stream where there is sand)	Abbreviated from Whawhelaaelřř.
Whataelřř		sand-amidst-it flowsDSuff	Very good fishing place where the water flows through a lot of islands
Whatèhdřř		sand-mat?-islandPNSuff	This island is on Tideè, a large island in a windy spot near Nřhsřř • Nřhshřř
Whatèhdřa		sand-mat?-islandPNSuff-SmSuff	This small island is just sand so nobody lives there. The area has some good grass for caribou. Located at the end of Roundrock Lake, near Mřlakřk'è. Close to the tundra; trees are very short.
Whatř	Whatř (85N-M) Spider Lake (86B/11)	marten-lakePNSuff	Community formerly called Tsřtř.



Tɿjɕɕɥ	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Whatì		sand-lakePNSuff	
What'à		esker	
What'àanàɿtsòò		esker-it is highDSuff	
What'àèhdii		esker-?-islandPNSuff	
What'àniɿɕaa	(possibly not a place name)	esker-it extends to a pointDSuff (esker which points out)	Possible not a place name. Site with two graves on top of the esker. Also called What'àkwìɿɕaa by JM; What'àkìɿɕaa by RW; What'àtɿɿɕaa by HS.
What'àtèwhekòò		esker-flat-it is wideDSuff	Name of a high hill with a flat broad top by Kòtì. No rock on it and no lakes right by it, just sand. People hunted muskox here. Also pronounced What'àtèokòò or What'àtèekòò.
Yaɿɿtì	Lac Séguin	?-?-lakePNSuff	Another name is Kweek'oonaelaa (red rocks going across) Joe Migwi. Gloss: rock-red-across-there areDSuff
Yabàahtì	Yamba Lake	sky-alongside-lakePNSuff (lake of the edge of the sky)	
Yak'èdàtì		sky?-?-lakePNSuff	Some people heard n before d; uncertain about vowel length of the second last syllable.

*Table: List of place names 2001*

Tłjichq	Map name	Literal translation and gloss	Remarks
Yawàati	Zebulon Lake (86F/4) Grant Lake (86C/15) with -tso suffix?	?-sand?-lakePNSuff	There are two lakes with this name, one just west of ʔjts'èeti with the waters of Yawàatìhàelj flowing into ʔjts'èeti. Moose live in the area all year.
Yawàati	Little Crapeau Lake also with -tsoa suffix?	?-sand?-lakePNSuff	There are two lakes with this name. The waters flowing out of this lake flow into ʔjt'òkahtì.
Yawàatìhàelj		?-sand-lakePNSuff-out-it flowsDSuff	We do not know what the syllable ya means; there is a lot of sand at this place.
Yàezqati		etymology unclear	A lake near ʔjt'òkahtì.

## Appendix II Map: Tɬɨchq Degozì (Place Names)

This appendix includes five maps:

- Tɬɨchq Degozì (Place Names) full map.
- NE section of full map.
- NW section of full map.
- SE section of full map.
- SW section of full map.

We divided the full map into the four sections because the font size for the place names is very small on the full map. All maps are adapted from the map in the original report, with updated spellings.

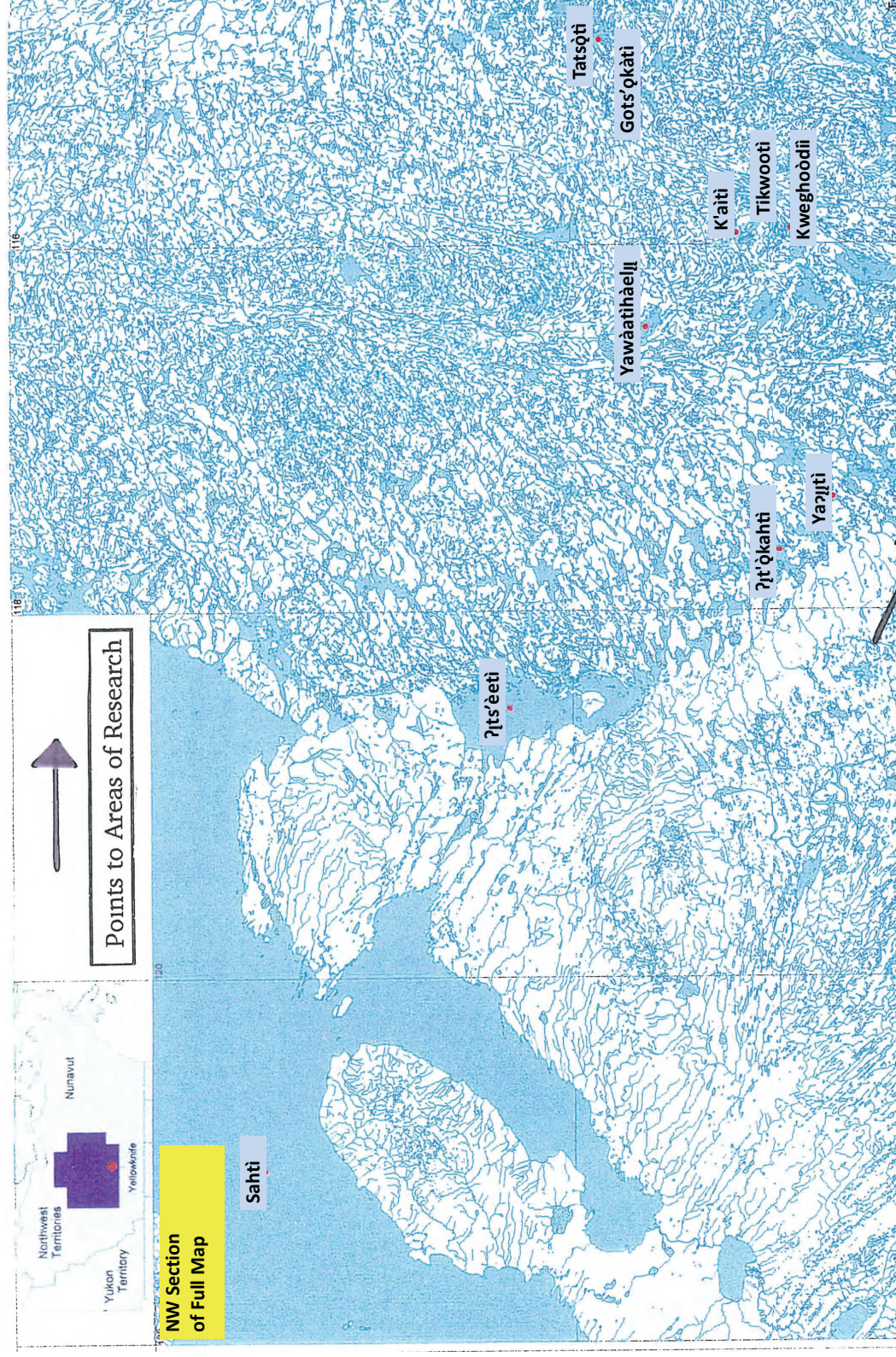


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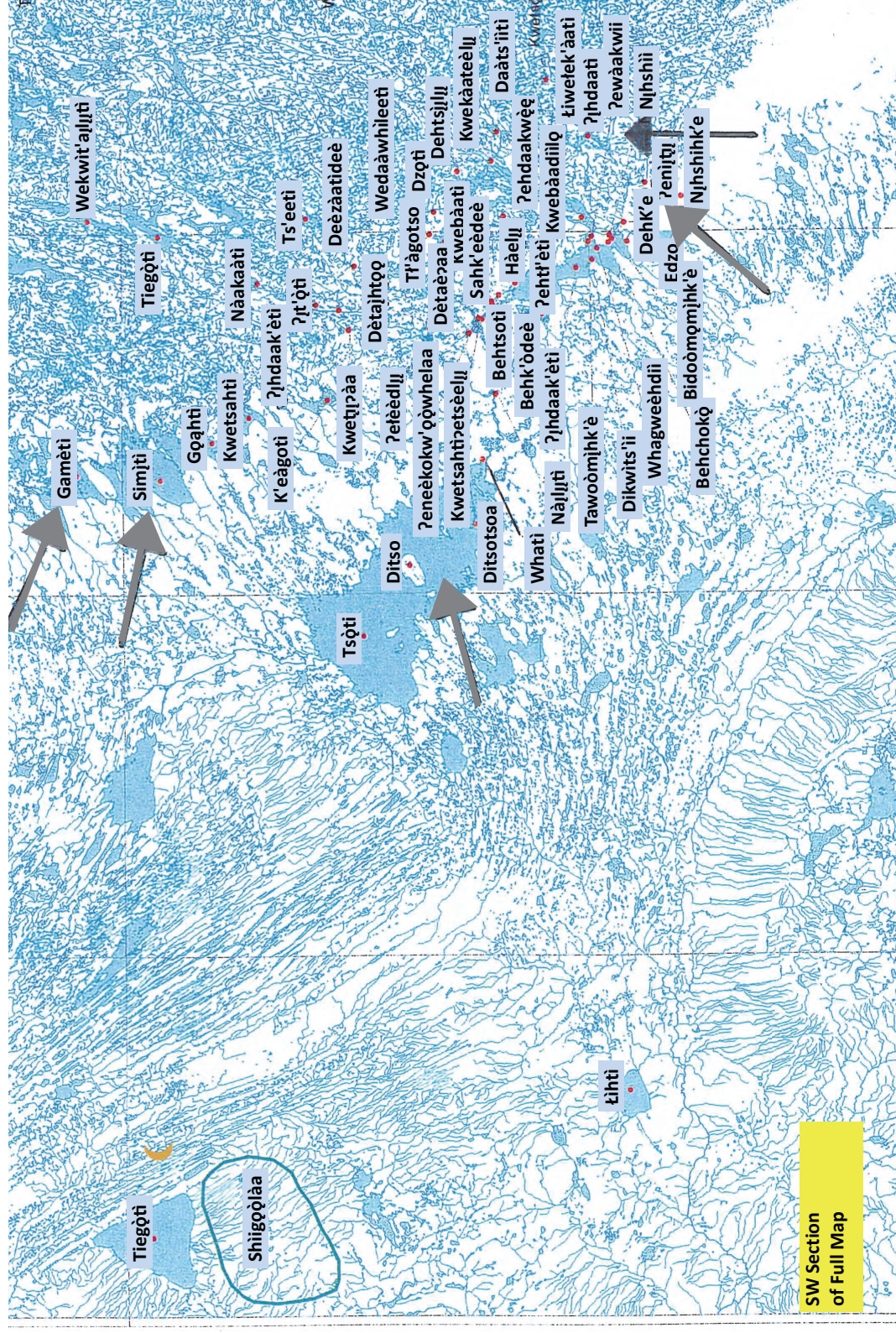












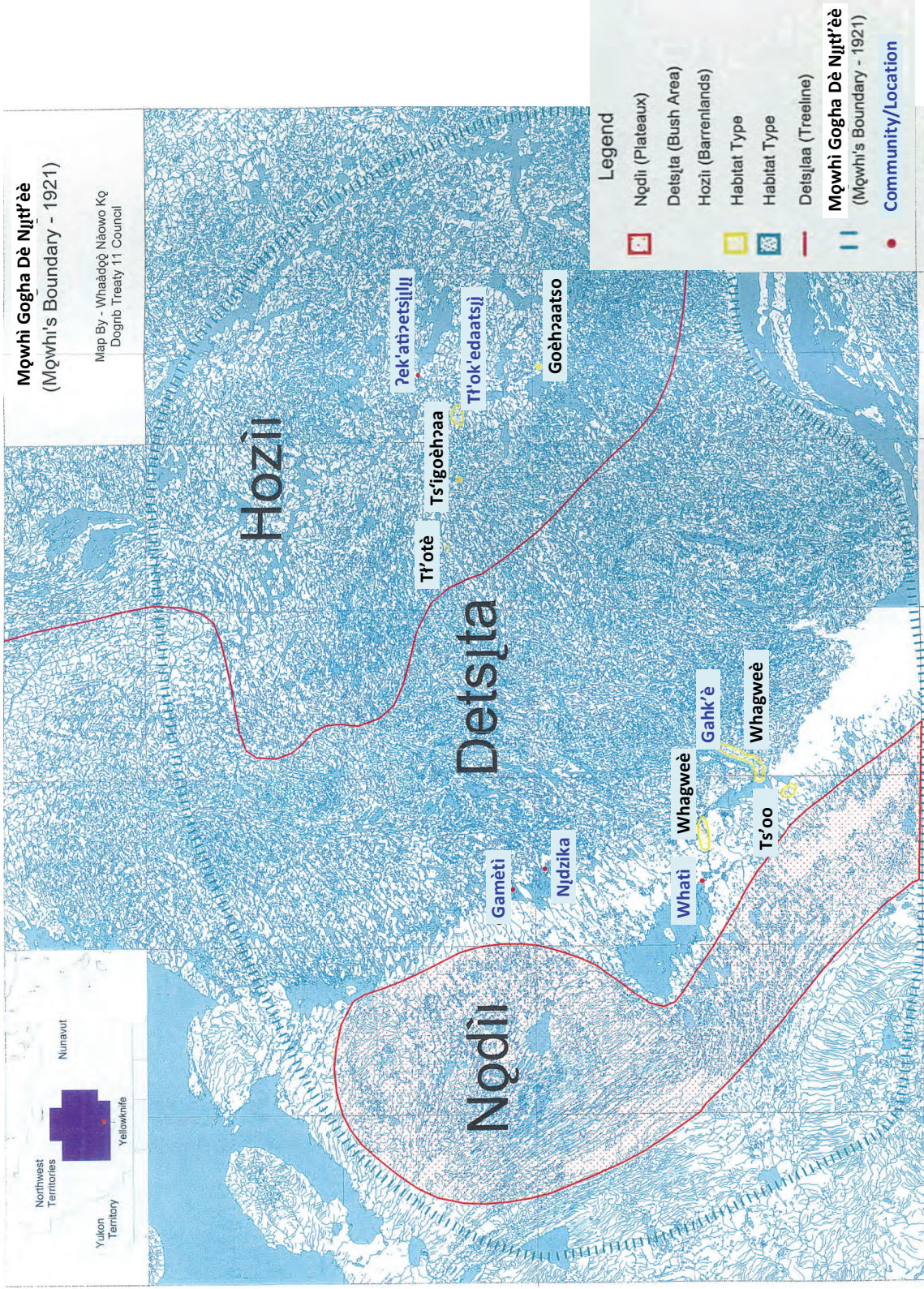


Appendix III Map: Habitat Classification within Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nɪtʼèè

This map shows three main habitat areas and some habitat types within each area.

Main habitat areas	Habitat types within each area
Hozìì (tundra or barrenlands)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Tʼʼotè: grasslands where caribou wander and feed in the fall. During their discussion of vegetation, Louis Whane (PHP-98/08/04) explained that Tʼʼotè was a blanket of grass usually associated with tsʼoo, and when the grass looks like a white blanket then that grass is call tʼʼoga. The soil is moist in parts and dry in others; grasses and sedges predominate.</li><li>Tsʼigoèhɔaa: stream valley with spruce as the main vegetation.</li><li>Goèhɔaatso: stand of trees in a valley.</li></ul>
Detsɪta (bush area; boreal forest)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Tsʼoo: an area characterized by hummocks that dry quickly after a rain but are surrounded by wet land.</li><li>Whagweè: an area of sandy, dry ground that is flat and good for camping as it drains well. Whagweè is not a bushy area although a few plants may grow. Whagweè is similar in the boreal forest and on the tundra, except the whagweè in the boreal forest is characterized by gqò (jack pine).</li></ul>
Nqɔlìì (plateau)	

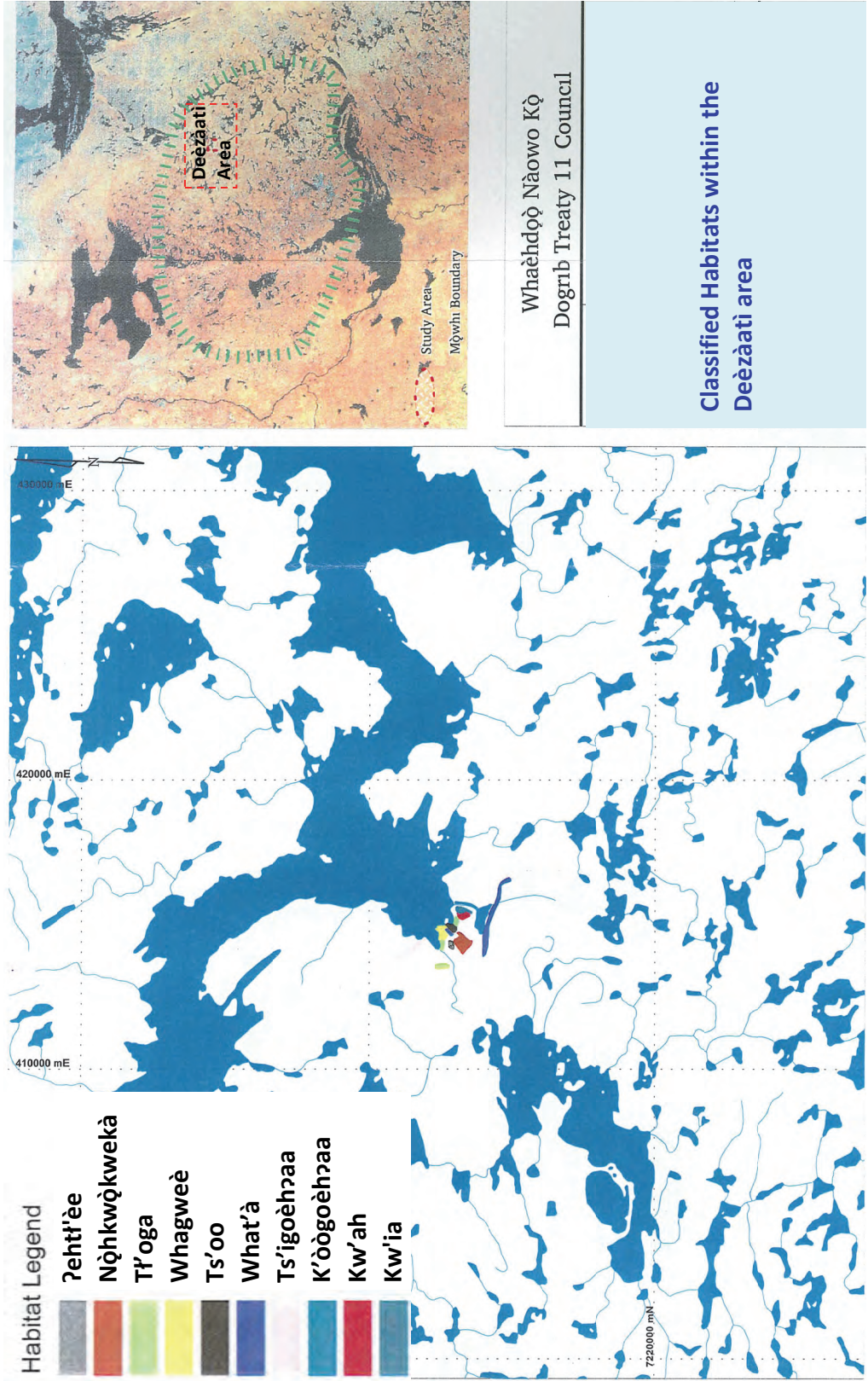




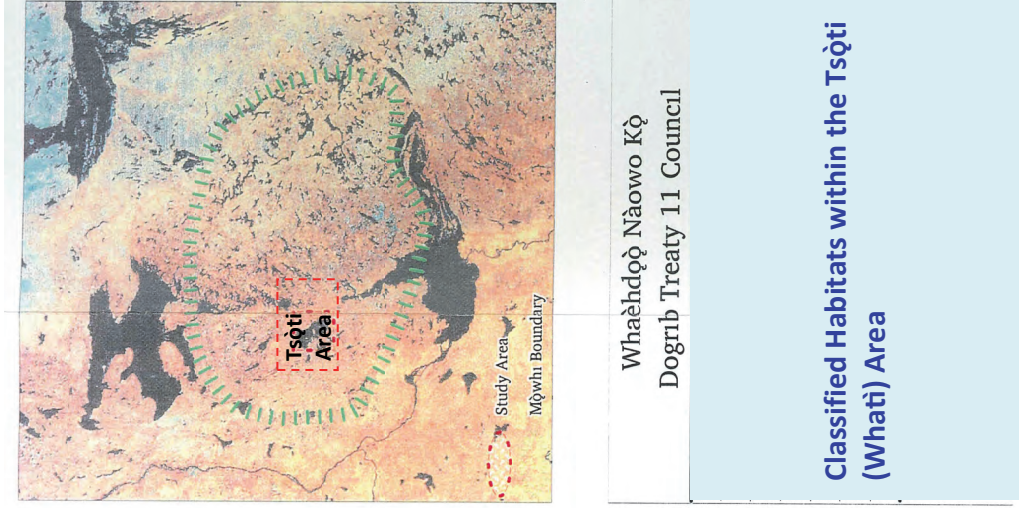
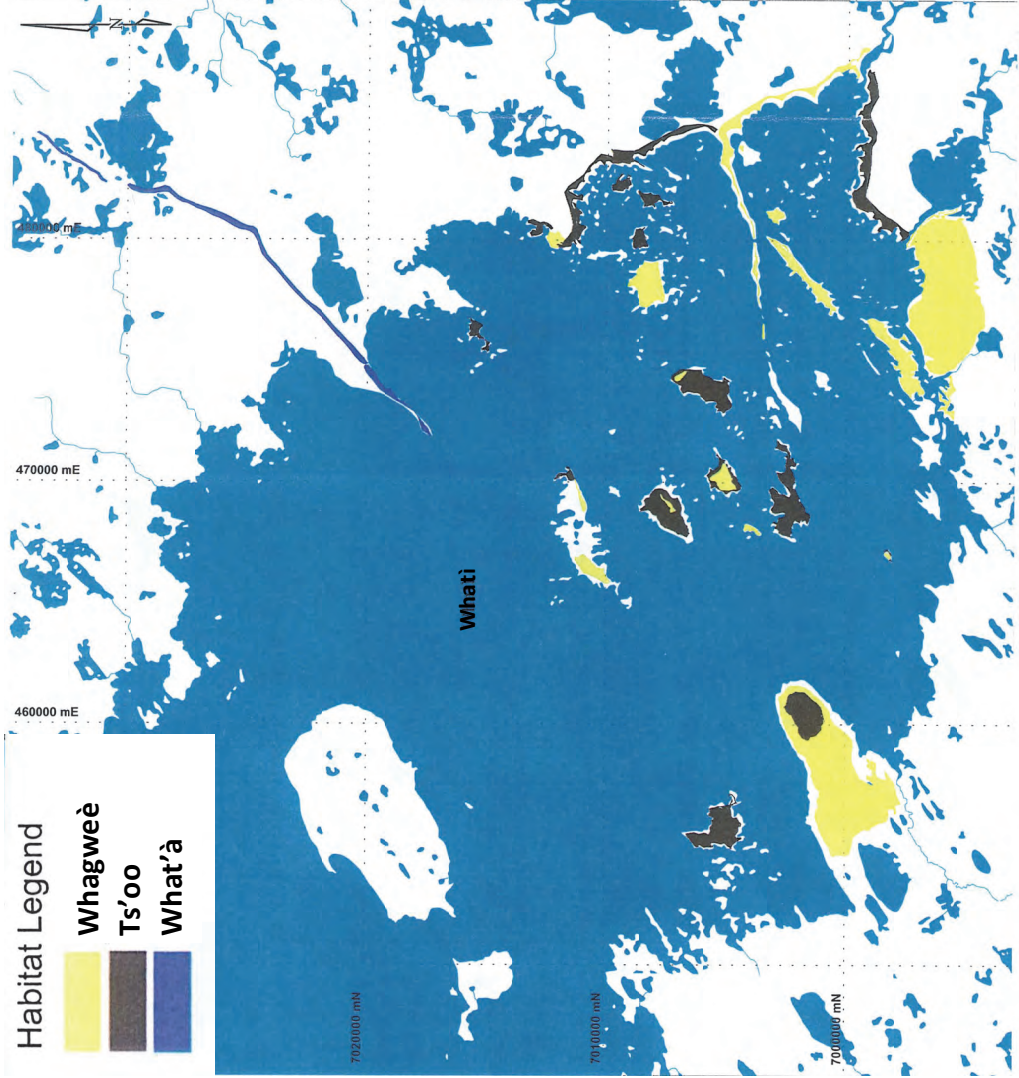


## Appendix IV Maps: Habitats in Designated Study Areas

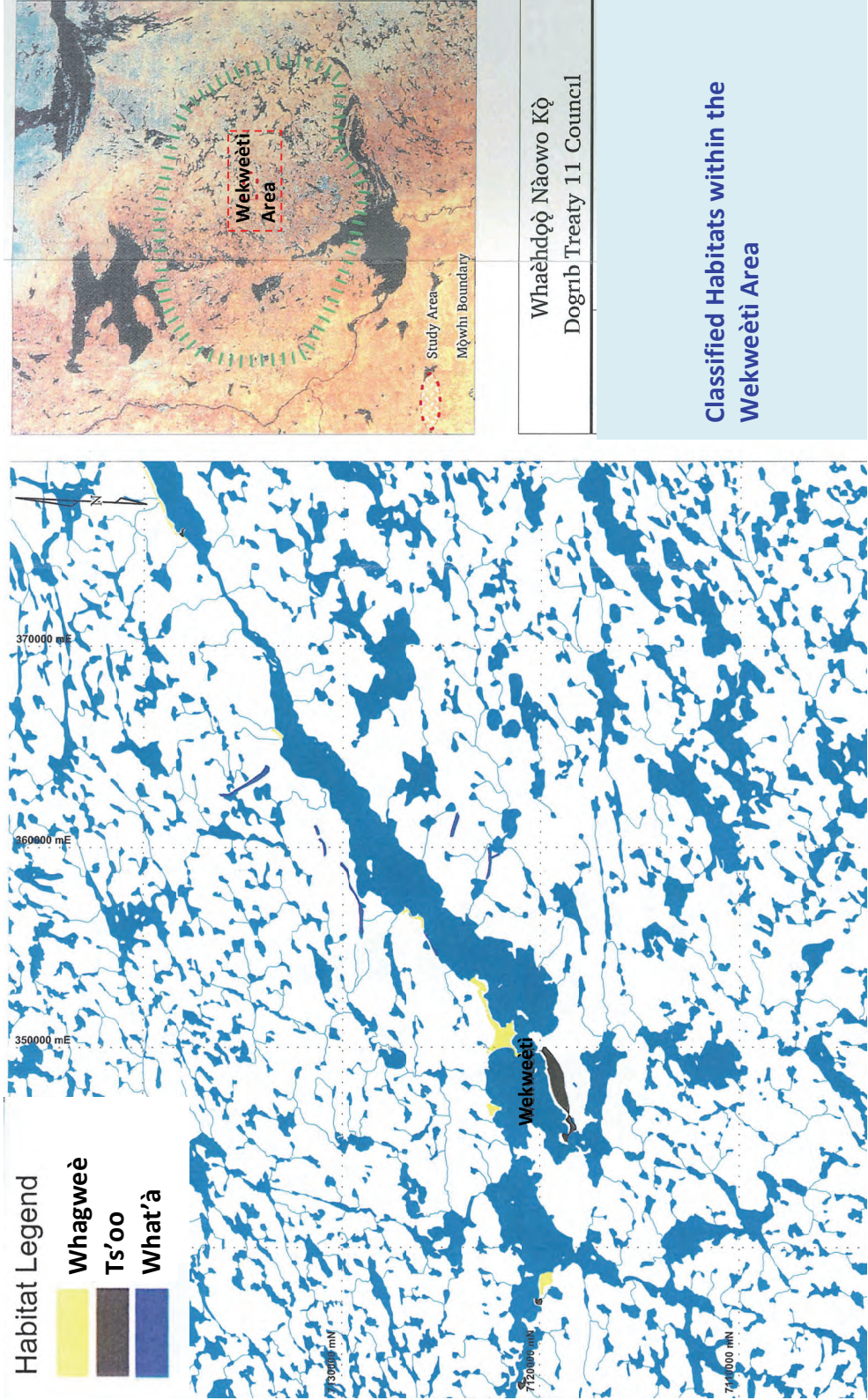
Habitats	Deèzàati	Tsoti	Wekweèti
<b>ʔehtl'èe</b> : general term for an area of sticky and/or soft mud; often associated with ts'oo.	✓		
<b>Nòhkwòkwekà</b> : mossy ground in a rocky area. Predominately moss, with several associated plants. Usually fairly flat and surrounded by lakes.	✓		
<b>Tl'oga/Tl'otè</b> : grasslands where caribou wander and feed in fall. When the grass looks like a white blanket it is called tl'oga. Soil is moist in parts, dry in others.	✓		
<b>Whagweè</b> : area of sandy, dry ground that is flat and good for camping as it drains well. Not a bushy area although a few plants may grow.	✓	✓	✓
<b>Ts'oo</b> : area characterized by hummocks that dry quickly after a rain but are surrounded by wet land.	✓	✓	✓
<b>What'à</b> : dry area with gravel and sand. In English it is called an esker.	✓	✓	✓
<b>Ts'igoèhʔaa</b> : stream valley with predominately spruce.	✓		
<b>K'òògoèhʔaa</b> : stream valley with predominately willow	✓		
<b>Kw'ah</b> : A large area of mostly moss.	✓		
<b>Kw'ia</b> : stand of ʔedzq (black spruce) on the tundra; important for firewood in association with a good campsite. Not in a valley.	✓		











## Appendix V: Orthographic System and Pronunciation Guide

The spellings in this report are based on the orthographic system explained in the introduction to *Ṭ̣cḥ̣ Yaṭ̣ Eṇ̣hṭ̣ḷ̣'è / A Dogrib Dictionary* (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1996). This appendix provides an overview of that system so that readers can understand the spelling principles.

Ṭ̣cḥ̣ and English employ different sets of sounds to create words. The Ṭ̣cḥ̣ alphabet includes characters for sounds that do not occur in English. Ṭ̣cḥ̣ combines letters in ways not used in English, to further increase the alphabetic possibilities.

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### Vowels

The most significant difference between English and Ṭ̣cḥ̣ is the vowel system. Ṭ̣cḥ̣ has four vowels (a e i o) that are pronounced approximately as in the English words pa, Dene, ski, and to or tow.

When a vowel in Ṭ̣cḥ̣ is doubled, the sound is drawn out. In contrast, doubling vowels in English usually yields a different sound entirely.

The following pairs of Ṭ̣cḥ̣ words show single and double vowels.

- |             |                              |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| ▪ weghà     | its fur                      |
| ▪ weghàà    | according to it              |
| ▪ ts'eda    | to be sitting                |
| ▪ ts'eeda   | to be living                 |
| ▪ di        | island                       |
| ▪ dii       | this                         |
| ▪ goxègodo  | he or she is telling stories |
| ▪ goxègodoo | the one telling stories      |

Many words have double vowels from the start. Many other words—as in the last pair above—have double vowels to adjust grammar.

Non-matching vowels can come next to each other.

- |            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| ▪ dea      | creek           |
| ▪ godoa    | a little above  |
| ▪ whaèhdqò | oldtimer        |
| ▪ dzìewà   | blueberry       |
| ▪ goɪde    | he or she spoke |

Each vowel is pronounced separately with its regular value, though in some instances there is a tendency for neighbouring vowels to be pronounced more like each other.

Tɬɨchɔ is a tonal language. This means that each of the four vowels can be pronounced with a high or low pitch so as to affect meaning. For example

- |       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| ▪ jih | mitt      |
| ▪ jìh | fish hook |

are identical except for the low tone on the second word (written with an accent above the vowel). The change makes for a different word, so it is important to represent tone orthographically. Tonal differences can also yield a new form of a word with an altered meaning.

Compare the words below.

- |          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| ▪ yehtsɪ | he or she is making it |
| ▪ yèhtsɪ | he or she made it      |

The use of double vowels and tone marks greatly simplify the comprehension of written Tɬɨchɔ. This report consistently shows double vowels and tone.

Tɬɨchɔ vowels show another contrast not found in English, between nasal and plain vowels. Nasal vowels (not found in English) involve airflow through both the mouth and nose; plain vowels have airflow through the mouth only.



The plain vowels have no marking; nasal vowels are marked by a hook under the vowel. Compare the words below.

- tso                                  firewood
- tsɔ                                  rain

The following pairs of words illustrate the fact that closely related words can differ just in the presence or absence of a nasal vowel.

- idà                                  I was there
- ɪdà                                  he or she was there

Vowel doubling, tone, and nasal marks can all be combined:

- kò                                  house
- mì                                  net
- tsàkèè                              beaver lodge
- gogòò                              arm
- geède                              they left
- dàà                                  west
- nìtla                                  get up
- tabàa                                shore
- daht'òò                              plastic

Note from the last several words above that doubled vowels don't necessarily have to match each other in tone or nasal marking. Though these aspects of Tɬɬchɔ spelling take some getting used to, they allow much more accurate writing and reading in the language.

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### **Consonants**

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Tɬɬchɔ has many more consonants than English does. Two special characters are used in the Tɬɬchɔ alphabet for sounds not found in English. And there are several letters or letter combinations with uses not found in English spelling.

The character ʔ (cap ʔ)—called glottal or glottal stop—represents a sound like what we hear in the middle of the English expression oh-oh. In Tłıchǫ this sound is an ordinary consonant. It is found in many words of all types:

- ʔoo                                      spruce boughs
- ʔłhdaa                                jackfish
- seʔeè                                  my jacket
- weʔòò                                beyond it
- nàʔeeli                                he or she is sewing
- nìʔǫ                                    it arrived
- k'eʔà                                  (animals) are roaming

The other special character is ł (cap Ł), called barred-l. It is similar to the letter l in English but has a breathy quality.

- łèdzèh                                clay
- łie                                      fish
- łekǫ                                  it is delicious
- hàahłà                                I did that
- ʔełèèdlı                              confluence of rivers

The apostrophe (or click) is used following a consonant or pair of consonants to represent a class of very distinct sounds, termed ejective or glottalized consonants. A glottal pop accompanies the release of the consonant. The glottalized consonants are as follows, with one word illustrating each:

- ch'                                      łehch'èè                              pickerel
- k'                                        k'i                                      birch
- kw'                                      kw'ah                                moss
- t'                                        t'oo                                    poplar
- tł'                                        tł'à                                    bay
- ts'                                        ts'oo                                  muskeg

Four other letters or letter combinations deserve mention.

- X is not pronounced as in English, but represents a sound similar to German ch as in Bach.
- Tḥchḡ gh is similar to French r as in rouge.
- Wh represents the breathy wh as in some English pronunciations of when.
- Zh is similar to z as in English azure.
  - x            xòo            snare
  - gh        deghàeda      he or she is looking at himself/herself
  - wh        whagweè      sandy area
  - zh        zhah            snow

Other letters and letter combinations are pronounced similar to the English letter values. For details see the introduction to *Tḥchḡ Yatì Enḥtḥ'è / A Dogrib Dictionary* (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1996).

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### **Orthographic Principles**

Three simple orthographic principles dictate the forms of place names in this report, apart from matters of matching sound to symbol. The decisions behind these principles derive from discussions with the Regional Elders' Committee.

The first requires that place names begin with a capital letter, following the practice in English and many other languages.

The second requires that place names be written as a single word, without spaces, no matter how complex the name is in its internal structure. This decision reflects the idea that since a place name represents a unique concept it should also have unique orthographically. Two somewhat long place names are analyzed below.

- ʔelàts'iìwek'ewhelaatì: "Lake on which there are old canoes"
  - ʔelà+ts'iì+wek'e+whelaa+tì
  - canoe+old+on it+there are+lake

- ʔihdaatideèhàelıı: “Mouth of Jackfish Lake River”
  - ʔihdaa+tì+deè+hàelıı
  - jackfish+lake+river+outflowing

Of course, many place names are of such antiquity that no analysis of them is possible.

The third principle is that the elders reach a communal decision about how to spell a place name that people may pronounce in more than one way. For example, we hear two variations to pronouncing this place: Kàelıı and Hàelıı. Much the same way that we hear variations to pronouncing these places: Tronna and Toronto; or Calgree and Calgary.

We decided to use the more common spelling Hàelıı. In other cases a spelling is chosen because it is more revealing of the concepts behind the name.









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