

# Official Recognition of Canada's Aboriginal Toponymy: an Historical Perspective

**Helen Kerfoot**

*Natural Resources Canada*

From the early days of a national geographical names board in Canada, at the turn of the century, this authority has been concerned with the official recognition of Aboriginal toponymy for government and public use. Initially, the principles of nomenclature of the Geographic Board of Canada addressed the writing of such names; in more recent years the work of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN) has included a wider ranging approach.

The CPCGN has provided forums for discussion of languages and writing systems; has published guidelines for field collection and bibliographic material; and has addressed the use of extended Roman alphabet characters for spelling Aboriginal names on the Canadian Geographical Names Database.

Recording Aboriginal names from oral tradition and the systematic creation of records at provincial/territorial and national levels will continue to be a significant activity of the CPCGN into the twenty-first century.

---

April 1, 1999 is a very significant day in the history of Canada. On that date, the territory of Nunavut officially took its place on the map, altering forever the pattern of administrative units across the country. Nunavut ("our land" in Inuktitut), with its capital in Iqaluit, is home to 17,500 Inuit, as well as some 4,500 non-Inuit. Inuktitut is the primary language; English and French are secondary languages. Over the coming years the world will watch with interest the steps taken within the vast lands (some 1.9 million km<sup>2</sup>) of Nunavut to reflect in its toponymy the oral tradition and cultural history of its population. Will Baffin Island, Lancaster Sound, Resolute and Gjoa Haven still be authorized names as we move through the twenty-first century? Will maps continue to show Ellesmere Island, Foxe Basin, Pond Inlet, and Arctic Bay? Will names written in syllabics become familiar to the general public? Time alone will provide us these answers. But, let us look back over the past century to see what role the national geographical names authority in Canada has played to this point in providing official recognition to Aboriginal names, not only of Canada's north, but across the whole country.

## **Geographic Board of Canada: Rules of Nomenclature**

In the 1880s, mapping in the West and in the Yukon underlined the need expressed by geographers and geologists to have a single authority to

which questions of geographical nomenclature and orthography could be referred for decision. At that time the use of Aboriginal toponymy was already under discussion. Following Lieut. Schwatka's "unwarrantable liberty" applying new names where names were already in local use in the Yukon River basin, there were, for example, discussions about the confusion of Tes-lin-too, Nas-a-thane, Hootalinqua, Newberry and Tes-el-héena, all being used as possible names for but one river (Kerfoot 1988, 16). To structure the naming and recording of Canadian toponymy through a regulatory authority, the federal government eventually established the Geographic Board of Canada in December 1897.

From the outset the Board established its Rules of Nomenclature, and early in the twentieth century had included several referring to recognition of Aboriginal toponymy. In particular, that "the spelling of native geographical names should represent, approximately, the true sounds of the words as pronounced in the native tongue;" that the "use of hyphens to connect parts of Indian names" be avoided; and that the rules of orthography as established by the Royal Geographical Society for British official use be adopted (essentially with vowels as pronounced in Italian and consonants as in English) (GBC 1901, 17). In keeping with these principles was the approval of such names as Alsek (rather than Alseck) river<sup>1</sup> in the Yukon, Chilkoot (rather than Chilcoot or Chilcut) pass in British Columbia, and Kishikas (not Kee-she-kas) river in Ontario.

In its report of 1909 (GBC 1909, 9), the Board turned its attention to "names of Indian origin in the province of Quebec," indicating that use of Board rules of orthography (based on those of the Royal Geographical Society) was "preferable to French practice as being simpler and in accordance with international usage." For example, Chensagi (rather than Tshensagi) lake and Kaniapiskau (rather than Caniapiscau) river were the forms preferred by the Geographic Board.<sup>2</sup>

As part of its Ninth Report in 1910, the Board published a list of official names and their meanings for northern Canada (White 1910). Most of these names were applied by European explorers to the sea and landscape of the Arctic islands. James White notes that about nine-tenths of the coast was explored by naval officers and explains that the extreme paucity of Native names results from the uninhabited nature of the greater part of the region, as well as the lack of communication with the "Eskimo" as expeditions were not provided with interpreters (White 1910, 232). He indicates that the greater number of Native names (or their translated forms) in the inland areas of northern Canada were obtained by officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who as fur-traders were in close touch with the inhabitants of this vast land.

Up until July 31, 1927 all decisions of the Board were published in nineteen reports (followed by cumulative supplements until 1930), and the Board's recognition of Aboriginal names can be clearly seen. Although no derivations of toponyms were supplied, a glance through the decisions

of the first Annual Report (GBC 1901) indicates that some 85 names out of 380 stemmed from words in Aboriginal languages. In the Nineteenth Report which covers the period April 1924 to July 1927 (GBC 1928), the proportion was approximately 100 out of 660. In this report, some names are recorded as originating from particular languages, such as Cree (e.g. Muskiki Lake, Alberta - "medicine"), "Micmac" (e.g. Escuminac River, New Brunswick - "look out place"), Chinook (e.g. Mowitch Point, BC - "deer") and "Eskimo" (e.g. Amadjuak Lake, NWT<sup>3</sup> - "that which opens out before the vision"). Others are simply indicated to be of "Indian" origin. Some inclusions in this decision list illustrate questions faced by the Board:

- Choice between many spelling variants (e.g. Nicomen Island, BC, rather than Nicoaamen, Nicoamen, Nicomeen or Nicomin).
- Treatment of long names, difficult to pronounce for non-speakers of the language: for example, Seltat Peak on the BC/Alaska boundary is a contraction of Seltathinschokschage, as rendered on a map by Arthur and Aurel Krause in 1883. The approved toponym shows minimum relationship to the original word - but then the Krause representation of "an Indian name" could be a questionable starting point for a name said to be of Tlingit origin.
- Selection of Aboriginal name or another recorded form (e.g. Kwakiutl point, BC, not Reef nor Ommany's point; but La Reine river, Ontario, not Okikodosik river).
- Endorsement of used, yet corrupt forms (e.g. Mespark Lake, Nova Scotia; corruption of "Micmac Indian word *mespak* signifies 'the water comes up to it'").
- Use of an Aboriginal name or its translation (e.g. Tethul river, NWT, using the Chipewyan form, rather than "Hanging-ice").

In later times the spelling of toponyms often remained unchanged, even though spelling standards changed. For instance, Tsimpsean Peninsula, British Columbia, was approved and today retains this spelling, even though the people and language are now referred to as Tsimshian.

#### **The Board's work: ups and downs from the 1920s to the 1960s**

Among the publications of the Geographic Board in the 1920s and 1930s were several provincial volumes devoted to names and their origins. Here can be seen that names derived from Aboriginal languages are many and varied. Those in everyday use (for instance, Toronto, Québec, Winnipeg or Saskatoon) are still generally spoken or written with little thought as to their Native language origins. But Pangnirtung, Chibougamau, Similkameen Falls or Kejimkujik Lake still today elicit curiosity from the general public.

Constraints on the work of the Board in the late 1930s and early 1940s are apparent from the lack of meetings and published toponymic material of this period. However, during and immediately after the years of the Second World War, considerable topographic mapping was undertaken in

northern Canada. Geologists and topographers were recording names in the field, and providing these for use on the new maps being produced. Many Aboriginal toponyms supplied for these names lists were approved and are still found as part of today's official names and are shown on topographic maps. Field scientists conscientiously gathered local toponymy during their work, but as can well be imagined, the recording and orthography used by one scientist was not necessarily consistent with that of another. In addition, certain liberties were taken in rendering names official. For example, Dr. Diamond Jenness, anthropologist, in correspondence with Surveyor General F.H. Peters in February 1943 indicated "improvements" to some Inuktitut names being considered for a new 1:250,000 scale map of southern Baffin Island. The short form Tikera was suggested instead of the very common Tikerakdjuk ("small promontory") Bay; Kangerk (rather than Kangerlukjuak) Fiord; Kangilo (rather than Kagilortung) and so on (Jenness 1943). Some feature names in their "simplified" forms were approved by the Executive Committee on behalf of the Board and most remain in good standing to this day.

Following the years of the Second World War, the Board was reconstituted as the Canadian Board on Geographical Names (CBGN). Its new principles of nomenclature (CBGN 1948) included a reference to the subject of long Aboriginal names, found by most speakers of European languages to be difficult to pronounce and remember. "Long Indian and Eskimo names are objectionable, but if the native name is short and euphonious ... may be accepted." By 1955 (CBGN 1955), this principle was modified somewhat to "Use of Indian and Eskimo names should be avoided unless the Native name is short and euphonious." However, despite these statements which today would certainly be viewed in a negative context, a more progressive and encouraging principle was also included: "Indian and Eskimo names should not be translated for English text publications."

#### **The Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names: Guiding Principles**

In 1961 the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN) succeeded the CBGN, giving all provinces the responsibility for naming within their jurisdictions. The 1963 principles recommended "Eskimo" names be recorded according to a recognized national orthography, and in 1969 stated that "All names of Eskimo origin are to be spelled according to the recognized standard orthography for Eskimo language geographical names in Canada." (Names of "Eskimo" origin already officially accepted were normally retained in their existing adopted forms.) A paper by Alex Stevenson submitted to the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in 1977 (Stevenson 1981) explained the writing systems accepted at the time by the Inuit Tapirisat and by the federal and territorial governments. A dual orthography (Roman and syllabics) had been developed to provide a

common writing system for the Inuit across northern Canada, to safeguard the language and to form a common base for teaching materials. The application of this system can be seen, for instance, in the current spelling of Iqaluit, on Baffin Island, and Sanikiluaq on the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay, and in the use of Inukjuak, rather than Inoucdjouac, in northern Quebec. More recently, however, the Geographic Names Program of the Government of the Northwest Territories has relied on its Language Bureau for orthographic standards, accepting these norms, unless there is a local/regional dialectal form of a submitted name.

Not all Aboriginal languages in Canada have recognized Roman orthographies, and in 1976 the principles of naming were modified to acknowledge this. "The names of Amerindian (Indian) and Inuit (Eskimo) origin will be recorded according to a recognized Romanized orthography or according to considered opinion of recognized linguistic authorities." In Manitoba from 1975-78 considerable toponymic field work was undertaken through a cooperative federal-provincial venture. It was estimated at the time that 50 percent of some 7500 toponyms collected would originate from Aboriginal languages (Chipewyan, Cree, Ojibwa - Saulteaux and Sioux - Assiniboine) without standardized written forms and that this toponymy would be drawn from about two-thirds of the province (Munro 1981, 379). Toponyms that had previously appeared extensively in print were generally left unchanged. For "new" names a set of writing guidelines (Munro 1981, 380-381) was developed with the help of linguists, and was implemented with Native interpreters undertaking the field recording. As a result of this systematic field work, over 3000 Aboriginal names became available for topographic mapping and general use.

In principles of the CPCGN during the 1980s and 1990s (CPCGN 1990), Aboriginal names are no longer singled out for special consideration, but are included under the general umbrella guidelines. Names boards and authorities have now approved names which previously were deemed cumbersome and unpronounceable, and so were shortened or rejected. The corpus of official Canadian names now includes entries such as Kapeekwanapeekpakeecheewonk Rapids in Manitoba and Kapenakahkueu Uhtukuan, a *lieu-dit* in Quebec.

### **Recent Initiatives of the CPCGN**

During the 1980s and 1990s, the CPCGN took particular initiatives to encourage the recording and processing of Aboriginal toponymy in Canada - endorsing a number of resolutions; publishing tools, such as a field guide and bibliography; investigating the inclusion of special characters in toponyms and addressing the method of their inclusion in the national database.

In May 1986, the CPCGN sponsored a symposium on Aboriginal toponymy,<sup>4</sup> with 80 participants from Canada, Australia, Greenland and the United States. Arising from the various workshops were 27

resolutions addressing: collection of Native geographical names (12); writing of these names (7); funding (2); future prospects (6). The full text of the resolutions can be found in the CPCGN's journal *Canoma* (CPCGN 1986). The CPCGN endorsement of these resolutions was a significant milestone in the recognition of Aboriginal toponymy as an important and integral part of Canada's cultural heritage. The resolutions emphasized the need to speed up the efficient and accurate recording of toponyms currently preserved, mainly in the oral tradition of elders, and the specialized knowledge necessary to undertake this complex process. They acknowledged the importance of harmonizing the objectives of standardization with respect for special characteristics of Native languages, and the need for ongoing open dialogue between all levels of government and Native peoples.

The resolutions have been followed up, by the Committee, in various ways. For example, a field guide and bibliography have been published, locally-undertaken surveys have been reviewed and many names given official recognition by the appropriate provincial/territorial authority, the locations of field work (noting Native names collection) have been plotted by the CPCGN, discussions on writing names and the use of generic terminology have taken place at CPCGN meetings in different parts of Canada, and provincial/territorial members of the CPCGN report annually on activities in this field. At the provincial/territorial level considerable progress has been made over the past decade. For instance, the Northwest Territories has financed community oral history projects which include recording toponyms; in the Yukon Territory the names board now has equal Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal representation; in British Columbia, First Nations' toponymy is being recorded as part of land claims procedures (e.g. by Nisga'a in the Nass River valley); and in Quebec individual books in the *dossiers toponymiques* series have, for instance, addressed toponymy of the Abenaki, Attikamek, and Naskapi.

A direct outcome of the Symposium was the publication by the Committee of a field guide (CPCGN 1992) to provide a tool for Aboriginal communities to undertake their own names recording. Professor Ludger Müller-Wille (Department of Geography, McGill University) had since 1973 gained experience in the design and conduct of systematic toponymic surveys with the Inuit in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic (for example, Müller-Wille 1987). In conjunction with Professor Müller-Wille, the CPCGN developed this practical guide from his earlier comprehensive (manuscript) manual prepared for the academic user. Although presenting only one methodological approach, this new guide documents protocol, required experience, equipment and supplies, and a process for posing questions and recording the collected information. This document has been translated into French, but at least on an official basis has not yet been translated in its entirety into Native languages. It has, however, been distributed and found to be a valuable manual both nationally and internationally.

A second major tool for Aboriginal naming is an annotated bibliography now in its third revised edition (CPCGN 1998). This latest edition, acknowledged as a most useful reference work, contains annotated entries for 1444 Canadian sources, as well, for comparison purposes, as a selection of 293 titles from non-Canadian sources. Indexes by location and Aboriginal groups/languages assist the user with their searches.

As a follow up of the 1986 resolutions, in 1990 a pilot project was undertaken for a small area of the Mackenzie River valley downstream from Fort Simpson. The area has very few permanent residents, but is used seasonally by the South Slavey (whose language is one of five Athapaskan, or Dene, languages made official in the Northwest Territories). Resolutions had recommended that specific writing characteristics of Native languages be reflected in the orthography of toponyms and that generic terms be translated, or names shortened, only if the meaning is in no way changed. It is "important for the CPCGN ... to harmonize the objectives of standardization of geographical names with a respect for Native traditions and the special characteristics of Native languages" (Kerfoot 1991, 27). Standardization of the Dene languages Chipewyan, Dogrib, Gwich'in, North Slavey and South Slavey is a goal of the Government of the Northwest Territories. In the meantime, the challenge of writing geographical names remains the accurate representation of the sound system of the language while communicating a reasonable chance of fairly accurate pronunciation to non-speakers of the language. For the inclusion of names on maps, this is a particularly pertinent consideration. In the Yukon, the Northern Tutchone sounds have been captured with multiple diacritics (Tom 1987, 21) to indicate tone and nasalization (e.g. ɛ̃ - nasalized high tone; ɬ - voiceless fricative) and are so used in publications; South Slavey of the pilot project was less formalized, but written words still contained some diacritics used in a way unfamiliar to English or French speakers.

The aim of the pilot exercise was to present a portion of a topographic map<sup>5</sup> with various written forms and representations of generics to map users for their feedback. Further details on the project and an analysis of the results can be found in Kerfoot (1991) and Lapierre (1997). The results showed a keen interest in protecting Native culture and language, but also expressed concern that maps should provide quick and unambiguous recognition of named features to non-local people, noting that correct spelling and pronunciation are both important elements. On reviewing the details of responses to the survey the CPCGN in 1990 recommended seven guidelines<sup>6</sup> on the writing of Aboriginal names, acknowledging that further work should be undertaken on this subject.

A direct development from there was the question of representing various characters used in Canadian Aboriginal languages<sup>7</sup> in the Canadian Geographical Names DataBase. At present this UNIX database uses the Extended ASCII (Roman/Latin) character set ISO 8859 (extended Roman). The need had developed to encode geographical names including modified extended Roman alphabet characters (as well as syllabics) which could not be accommodated in this standard. A solution was sought which would provide a short term approach, while allowing future compatibility with evolving international standards. In brief, the following was recommended (Idon 1992) and adopted: all records containing such characters are flagged at the record level; each different modified extended Roman alphabet character (or syllabic) is represented by a unique number and delimited by brackets { } (or [ ] for syllabics). Although the system has not yet been implemented for syllabics, for Roman alphabet characters, a cumulative list, currently with 27 entries, is now maintained, expanded as needed for new records, and used for toponyms on the CGNDB. For instance, the Chipewyan name Déline in the Northwest Territories and the Gwich'in name Ch'itr'ū Ndī in the Yukon would be coded on the CGNDB as Dél{10}ne and Ch'itr'{13} Nd{21}. Such names can still be searched on the database by using Roman alphabet characters without diacritics. This approach provides a practical, although somewhat cumbersome, solution which can be upgraded as ISO/Unicode standards are extended and implemented to cover all Canadian Aboriginal language characters.

Changes in the names of communities, to adopt or re-adopt the Aboriginally used names, are given every consideration by the provincial/territorial names authorities. Often cited is the change from Port Brabant to Tuktoyaktuk (NWT) in 1950; this was just a forerunner of the gradual change that has started to take place in northern Canada. During the 1980s and 90s, in what was then the Northwest Territories, community name changes (for Dene and Inuit communities) went through the process of local referendum and approval by the NWT Executive Council before becoming official. Use of *Iqaluit* and *Arviat* (formerly Frobisher Bay and Eskimo Point) is now well engrained in airline timetables and in the media, following the official acceptance of these names in 1987 and 1989 respectively. Since then eight more have been changed; most recently (November 1998) the hamlet of Broughton Island became Qikiqtarjuaq. In the 1970s the Inuit communities of northern Quebec decided on their own names - this brought about such changes as Fort Chimo to Kuujjuaq, re-spelling of Koartac to Quaqtuq and the disappearance of Maricourt, previously Wakeham-Bay, in favor of Kangiqsujuaq; more recently, spelling modifications have changed Povungnituk to Puvirnituk. In other parts of the country there have also been a small number of changes to recognize the names used by First Nations (e.g. Gitwinksihkw instead of Canyon City in British Columbia).



More common, in most provinces and territories, has been the adoption of names for landscape features in local Aboriginal languages.

With the general spread of internet web technology in the 1990s, the CPCGN made the national database available for public reference purposes. In addition, particular units about Aboriginal names and naming are included on the site (<http://geonames.nrcan.gc.ca>). Information about collection of names from Alberta First Nations' oral history is highlighted; updates on name changes and origin material pertinent to Aboriginal toponymy are included.

No real estimate has been made of the number of Aboriginal names officially recognized in Canada, but recently some provincial/territorial jurisdictions have gathered statistics on this subject. The annual report of the Commission de toponymie du Québec for 1997-98 (Gov. du Québec 1998) notes that in the TOPOS database of Quebec, 3056 official toponyms are recorded as having Inuktitut language origins, and 8391 have Amerindian origins (c.f. total official toponyms 115,052). Alberta (O'Neil 1998, 21) claims approximately 25 percent of all its geographical names to be of Aboriginal origin - some are words from Aboriginal languages, others represent ideas and events significant to the many Aboriginal cultures of the province.

At the national level today, encouragement is given for Aboriginal umbrella groups to participate in CPCGN activities, and for CPCGN advisory committees to provide a forum for discussion and education of names practitioners in aspects of Aboriginal naming, recording and processing. Provincial and territorial names authorities actively seek Aboriginal representation on their names boards, work closely with Native language centers, and in several cases are financing community names studies. Land claims settlements are providing a vehicle for names recording and preservation of Native heritage, although systematic studies and processing of the results may take several years to complete. In the meantime, publications, such as Yukoner Gracie Tom's story (1987), Alberta's community guide (O'Neil 1998) and the Quebec series on Native language toponyms all help to provide guidelines and awareness of the complexities of recognizing the toponymy of a landscape which exhibits temporal layers of cultural activity, represented by different language forms.

#### Notes

1. Apart from *Mount*, at that time generic terms were not capitalized.
2. The toponyms currently approved by the Commission de toponymie du Québec and hence by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names are *Lac Chenagi* and *Rivière Caniapiscau*.
3. Amadjuak Lake on Baffin Island now lies in the territory of Nunavut.
4. The Commission de toponymie du Québec had earlier organized a provincial workshop on the writing of Aboriginal toponyms in 1979.

5. Part of the National Topographic System map 95J/11 at the scale of 1:50,000 was selected, with 17 physical features variously named on six different copies of the map. This package was mailed to 108 recipients, and a 40 percent return of the questionnaire was received.

6. The CPCGN recommended that:

(1) the standard orthography of Aboriginal toponyms be respected;  
(2) those Aboriginal groups who do not have a standardized orthography be urged to develop and approve such standard writing systems;

(3) The principle of dual and/or alternate naming be acceptable in the Aboriginal context, except in the case of populated places;

(4) In keeping with UN Resolution I/4D(b), the status of each name in a dual and/or alternate context be clearly specified;

(5) Maps using standard Aboriginal orthography be accompanied by appropriate pronunciation guidelines for non-standard (i.e. English/French) letters and/or diacritics;

(6) The issue of dual and/alternate names be given further consideration, especially in the context of:

(a) use of English/French generics either as an addition or as a replacement for the Aboriginal generic;

(b) possible orthographic adaptations of the name;

(7) Gazetteers incorporating Aboriginal names always cross-reference dual and/or alternate forms.

7. Statistics Canada and *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (1988) identify 53 Aboriginal languages falling into 11 families (Algonquian, Athapaskan, Eskimo-Aleut, Haida, Iroquoian, Kutenai, Salishan, Siouan, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Wakashan).

#### References

- Canadian Board on Geographical Names (CBGN). 1948. *Revision of Regulations, Principles of Nomenclature and By-laws*. Ottawa: King's Printer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1955. *Revision of Regulations, Principles of Nomenclature and By-Laws*. Provisional manuscript, CPCGN office.
- Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN). 1986. "Resolutions of the Native Geographical Names Symposium, Ottawa, May 7-9, 1986." *Canoma* 12.2: 1-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990. *Principles and Procedures for Geographical Naming 1990*. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. *Guide to the Field Collection of Native Geographical Names*. Ottawa: Surveys, Mapping and Remote Sensing Sector, Energy, Mines and Resources Canada.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1998. *Aboriginal Canadian Geographical Names: an Annotated Bibliography/La toponymie autochtone du Canada: une bibliographie annotée*. Ottawa: Natural Resources Canada.
- Geographic Board of Canada (GBC). 1901. *Annual Report of the Geographic Board of Canada 1900*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1909. *Eighth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, Containing All Decisions to June 30, 1909*. Ottawa: King's Printer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1928. *Nineteenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, Containing All Decisions from April 1, 1924 to July 31, 1927*. Ottawa: King's Printer.
- Gouvernement du Québec. 1998. *Commission de toponymie: Rapport annuel 1997-1998*. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- Idon Corporation. 1992. *The Treatment of Modified Extended Roman Alphabets and Syllabics in Canadian Toponymic Data Bases*. Ms copy, CPCGN office. 56 pages.
- Jenness, Diamond. 1943. Letter from D. Jenness to F.H. Peters, February 1, 1943. Manuscript in CPCGN file 25NW & 25NE.
- Kerfoot, Helen. 1988. "Towards the Formation of the Geographic Board of Canada in 1897." *Canoma* 14.2: 16-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. "Native Toponyms - Pilot Project 1990." *Canoma* 17.1: 27-33.
- Lapierre, André. 1997. "Mapping Linguistic Realities: the Case of Aboriginal Toponymy in Canada." *The Canadian Vision/La vision canadienne* 5. Messina, Italy: Centro Studi Canadesi, Università di Messina.
- Müller-Wille, Ludger. 1987. *Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik, Quebec, Canada*. Inukjuak, Quebec: Avataq Cultural Institute.
- Munro, Michael. 1981. "The Treatment of Toponyms in Manitoba from Languages Without an Alphabet." *Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names [Athens, 1977], Vol. II. Technical papers*, pp. 378-381. New York: United Nations. [Presented as paper E/CONF.69/L.14]
- O'Neil, Chris. 1998. *Name Your Place. Using Community-based Research Methods to Document Alberta's Place Names*. Edmonton: Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society.
- Stevenson, Alex. 1981. "A New Inuit Orthography for Geographical Names." *Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names [Athens, 1977], Vol. II. Technical papers*, pp. 376-377. New York: United Nations. [Presented as paper E/CONF.69/L.11]
- Tom, Gertie. 1987. *Ékeyi: Gyò Cho Chú. My Country: Big Salmon River*. Whitehorse: Yukon Native Language Centre.
- White, James. 1910. "Place-Names - Northern Canada." *Ninth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada [1909], Part IV*. Ottawa: King's Printer.