

WEST KITIKMEOT / SLAVE STUDY SOCIETY

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

STUDY DIRECTOR RELEASE FORM

The above publication is the result of a project conducted under the West Kitikmeot / Slave Study. I have reviewed the report and advise that it has fulfilled the requirements of the approved proposal and can be subjected to independent expert review and be considered for release to the public.



Study Director

Feb 25/02

Date

INDEPENDENT EXPERT REVIEW FORM

I have reviewed this publication for scientific content and scientific practices and find the report is acceptable given the specific purposes of this project and subject to the field conditions encountered.



Reviewer

04/03/02

Date

INDEPENDENT EXPERT REVIEW FORM

I have reviewed this publication for scientific content and scientific practices and find the report is acceptable given the specific purposes of this project and subject to the field conditions encountered.



Reviewer

April 19/2002

Date

BOARD RELEASE FORM

The Study Board is satisfied that this final report has been reviewed for scientific content and approves it for release to the public.



Chair West Kitikmeot/Slave Society

April 13/02

Date

HABITAT OF DOGRIB TRADITIONAL TERRITORY:
PLACENAMES AS INDICATORS OF BIOGEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

FINAL REPORT



Report Submitted By

Whàehdòq Nàowo Kò
Dogrib Treaty 11 Council

to the

West Kítíkmeot Slave Study Society
Yellowknife, NT

March 2001

NOTE:

Due to the size of this report, the photos and maps have not been included in this web version.

COVER PHOTO

- Elizabeth Chocolate and Margaret Lafferty at Deèzàati

PHOTO CREDITS

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Whàehdòq Nàowo Kò
Dogrib Treaty 11 Council

Research Team

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To

West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society
Yellowknife, NT

March 2001

Report by

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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 Ṭḥcḥ Nàowoò (Dogrib knowledge) will be used long into the future.

Behtsokò (Rae)

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

Wekweètì (Snare Lake)

Joseph Boline, Wekweètì
Pierre Judas, Wekweètì
Monique Koyina, Wekweètì
Marie Simpson, Wekweètì

Gamètì (Rae Lakes)

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

Whatì (Wha Tì)

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

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following people for their assistance and help with the research and the report:

- The Dogrib Rae Band Council and the Committee responsible for the Rae Senior Citizens Home for providing space at the Seniors' Home during the first year of the project.
- John B. Zoe and family for providing their home in Behtsokò (Rae) for our office between 1998 and 2001.
- Chief Jimmy Bruneau School for desks, tables and filing cabinets.
- The Dene Cultural Institute for use of some office furniture and a tape recorder.
- Gagos Social Analysts for the use of some office furniture.
- The Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary for use of a computer.
- Chris O'Brien for assisting with the Latin terms for plants
- Mary McCreadie for assisting with the editing of this report.
- The West Kitikmeot Slave Study for funding this project.
- The Toponymy Program, Government of the Northwest Territories and the Dogrib Community Services Board for providing travel and per diem for Dr. Leslie Saxon, the linguist from University of Victoria.

SUMMARY

The long-term objectives of the Place Names as Indicators of Biogeographical Knowledge project have been:

- to identify and map habitat within the M̃qwhì Gogha Dèṇṇtł'èe;
- to provide the West Kitikmeot Slave Study Society and the Dogrib communities with baseline data to develop management strategies to monitor the cumulative impact from industrial development; and
- to provide an understanding of similarities and differences between scientific and Dogrib habitat classification systems.

These objectives have been pursued in several ways. Initially the research staff looked at data from past Dogrib traditional knowledge projects, initiated field work in the study area, and compared the findings with satellite imagery data collected the Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development Department of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT). In addition, other information from the GNWT, the Dene Cultural Institute, and Arctic Institute of North America, and the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council was examined and transferred to a Geographic Information System database.

At the same time the project research team focused on gathering information to determine the conceptual and literal meanings of Dogrib place names as indicators of bio-geographical knowledge. The team also started documenting habitat types and associated flora and fauna, and did a literature search on indigenous environmental knowledge studies concerned with bio-diversity, habitat and place names.

Throughout the project the information suggested that Dogrib traditional place names indicate essential information about the water flow, landscape and bio-diversity of the sites, which provides people with information about the land, waterways and resources which allow them to survive while participating in the main task of hunting caribou.

The knowledge both of place names and the associated habitat forms a basis for monitoring cumulative effects, particularly to the cultural and physical environment.

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1. OBJECTIVES

The following are the long term objectives for the project.

- to identify and map habitat within Mowhì Gogha Dènghtl'èè.
- to provide the West Kìtikmeot Slave Study Society and the Dogrib communities with baseline data to develop management strategies to monitor the cumulative impact from industrial development.
- to provide an understanding of similarities and differences between scientific and Dogrib habitat classification systems.



Louis Whane, Romie Wetrade, Phillip Nitsiza,
Robert Mackenzie, Angelique Mantla

2. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

2.1 The People

The Dogrib are members of the Athapaskan linguistic group and represent the largest Athapaskan speaking population in the Northwest Territories, Canada. As currently stated by the Dogrib elders and recorded by Helm (1981), the Dogrib traditionally occupied the area between Tìdeè¹ and Sahtì,² extending from Kòk'èetì,³ Ts'eèhgootì⁴ and ?edaàtsotì⁵ in the barrenlands to Dehtso⁶ in the west. Four language groups neighbour the Dogrib: the North Slavey to the northwest; the South Slavey to the west and southwest; the Chipewyan to the east; and the Inuit to the northeast.

Richardson (1851) claims the Dogrib region extended to the Back River⁷, and Back (1836:265) stated that the Dogrib traveled to the mouth of the Back River during war excursions with the Inuit. Petitot (1884:1891) states that the Dogrib area extended to Deèzàatìdeè.⁸ The research team found that the Dogrib traditional territory extends well to the east of the Mòwhì Gogha Dènùtì'èè⁹. Traditionally, the Dogrib often traveled around Sahtì and to ?ìndààkò¹⁰ as well as to Yabàahtì.¹¹

¹ Officially known as Great Slave Lake. See Appendix IV for Dogrib pronunciation guide.

² Officially known as Great Bear Lake

³ Officially known as Contwoyto Lake.

⁴ Officially known as Aylmer Lake.

⁵ Officially known as Artillery Lake.

⁶ Officially known as the Mackenzie River.

⁷ The research team has yet to document the Tìchq name for the Back River.

⁸ Officially known as the Coppermine River.

⁹ Known in English as the Mowhi Boundary.

¹⁰ Officially known as Fort Resolution.

¹¹ There are two bodies of water named Yabàahtì: one is officially known as Yamba Lake and the other is the Arctic Ocean.

2.2 Background of Project

Due to ever-increasing industrial development, there is a growing recognition of a need for concrete indigenous knowledge of dè.¹² In 1994-95, the Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee (DRRC) was established to work with the Department of Renewable Resources¹³ to ensure environmental issues would be addressed from a Dogrib perspective. In September 1995, members of the DRRC stated at a workshop with the WKSS that habitat should be one of five priorities to be studied. At the WKSS meeting in February 1996, all partners identified habitat as a priority for research.

The need for habitat studies in the North Slave Geological Area arises from possible effects associated with industrial development. The Dogrib are particularly concerned about the impacts of increasing developments on wildlife, and effects on people who depend on the wildlife. Without an adequate understanding of dè, it is difficult to plan. Dogrib elders' knowledge of dè is being documented for the purpose of establishing data which will provide a baseline for monitoring environmental changes in the Dogrib traditional territories.

Wildlife management strategies, encompassing legislation, policy and guidelines, are based on scientific studies, which reflect a limited time frame. There is concern among the Dogrib and others that strategies developed from scientific data alone are not sufficient to protect dè from development. Indigenous knowledge is qualitatively and quantitatively different from 'scientific knowledge'. Documenting knowledge based on long-term observations is essential to provide reliable and extensive baseline data.

¹² Dè is "a term which is usually translated as land, however the concept is much broader. Dè is much 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)

¹³ Now known as Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development, GNWT.

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 Dogrib and others to have more confidence that dè, on which they have always depended, will be protected in an appropriate manner.

2.3 The Study Area

The study area encompasses all the traditional territory within the Mòwhì Gogha Dèṇṭł'èe.¹⁴ Although place names were collected throughout the study area, the research team focused on ʔek'atìʔetsìllı, Nıdzıkaà, and several sites in the vicinity of Behtsokò to define habitat and associated flora and fauna.

¹⁴ See map entitled Mòwhì Gogha Dèṇṭł'èe. This area is smaller than the Dogrib Traditional territory.

3. ACTIVITIES

3.1 Methodology

As with other research projects being done by Dogrib Treaty 11 Council (DT11C), the participatory action research (PAR) model was used. This philosophical approach is used because the leadership and the elders believe the Dogrib elders and harvesters are the primary experts with a lot of knowledge of dè¹. They want control over the way research is being conducted and the manner in which their knowledge is presented and used. The implementation of PAR between 1998 and 2000 was as follows:

- Initially the elders in Behtsokò (Rae) oversaw the project; however, in 1999 the Dogrib elders requested a regional elders' committee be set up to oversee the project documenting and using their knowledge.
- The Community Elders' Committees in each community provided direction on who was interviewed and why.
- Members of the Dogrib Regional Elders Committee verified information collected and written in this report.

Sally Anne Zoe, Pauline Willeh, Kathy Simpson and Madeline Chocolate were responsible for research and organization of the data collection. In addition, Sally Anne Zoe oversaw the GIS, and Madeline Chocolate oversaw issues important to documenting plants and place names as well as Dogrib literacy and translation. Pauline Willeh was responsible for data entry. Alice Legat, the research director, was responsible for field research, analysis of the data, writing the reports, accounting and coordinating the training. Georgina Chocolate, a researcher with

¹ This concept has been explained in past annual reports as, "a term which is usually translated as 'land', however the concept is much broader. Dè is much closer to the scientific concept 'ecosystem', however 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)

the caribou project, was instrumental in discussion on habitat and vegetation due to her research on caribou and habitat.

3.2 Activities

All activities between 1998 and 2000 are related to the objectives listed in Section one. These activities were to:

- Develop research guidelines for interviewing elders over 75 years of age.
- Interview elders to determine the meaning of place names. 50 elders from all four communities were interviewed an average of 4 times each.
- Hold six (6) workshops with the Dogrib Regional Elders' Committee, Dogrib language specialists, Leslie Saxon, a linguist, and the research team to discuss conceptual and literal meanings of place names, resulting in approximately 125 one-hour tapes.
- Interview elders to understand the vegetation associated with habitat types.
- Transcribe and translate or summarize the interviews.
- Fill out field data sheets noting habitat and associated vegetation communities.
- Put place names on topographic maps.
- Enter 3,158 locations into the electronic database.
- Draw habitat on topographic maps.
- Note and translate place names of sites noted.
- Do field trips to both boreal forest and barrenland locations to identify plants associated with various habitats.
- Transfer information on topographic maps to digitized maps.
- Translate and transfer data from other projects particularly the Toponymy and Dene Mapping Project.
- Discuss place names with elders to understand literal and conceptual meaning.
- Establish rules for consistent spelling of place names to ensure correct translations and conceptual meanings.
- Make predictions of vegetation in noted habitat at particular sites.
- Design database for future use when using information to monitor cumulative impact and to develop management strategies.
- Design database to collect information on observed impacts and problems to the environment.
- Do training for database and GIS.
- Enter place names in database. These were spelled according to project rules. Had discussions to clarify pronunciation and meaning of place names.

- Interpret vegetation from satellite image and fire data for Mqwhì Gogha Dèngtì'èe provided by Remote Sensing Division, Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development. This data was translated to MapInfo format and printed.
- Work with Suzanne Carrière, the Botanist with the Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED) to identify plants and attach their Latin names. Plant identification is an ongoing process.
- Conduct a literature review on indigenous environmental knowledge studies concerned with bio-diversity, habitat, and place names. The search was conducted at five libraries in Yellowknife, at the Universities of Calgary and Aberdeen, and at the Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge, England.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

The research team found most placenames are indicators of bio-geographical knowledge. Other placenames are indicators of things such as past events, or individuals who live in an area, or spiritual sites¹. These names create a visual image for those who understand the inter-relatedness within the dè that the Dogrib value at these places. For this reason, the elders directed the research team to document the placenames, and to examine habitat and associated vegetation in both the barrenlands and the boreal forest. The elders continually state that each person must understand nàowo (various types of knowledge), particularly the nàowo associated with the boreal forest and the barrenlands. The data collected between 1998 and 2000 can best be understood by: first, examining the placenames and second, examining different sites on the barrenlands and in the boreal forest, and the associated habitats and vegetation communities.

4.1 Placenames

Prior to interviewing elders about placenames, the research team examined placenames and related information from other projects. Although the research team only used some of the information, the examination of this data was useful. Each project concentrated on a different geographic area within the study area.

Overlapping and duplicate information between projects acted as confirmation and verification of data. Organizing and analyzing this data was challenging and time consuming for a number of reasons:

- The research team assumed literal and conceptual translations had been completed in other projects. However, they had not. In most cases English official names were used rather than translating the Dogrib placenames, which may have provided rich bio-geographical knowledge of the area.

¹ The names of places seem to indicate the time of the event. This is not discussed here.

- The research team assumed site descriptions and site use would have been provided. Few sites had descriptions or site use information.
- The research team assumed placenames could be easily translated. We found a high number of placenames have no obvious meaning in modern usage or there was more than one conceptual meaning attached to the same placename. Two examples are 'Nàdenìzàatì'² and ?ek'atì. 'Nàdenìzàatì' cannot be literally translated. However, after discussions with the elders they conveyed information that its name was associated with an esker that stretches across a lake.
- The place-names containing the word parts 'kwek'a' or 'zek'a' are interesting because there are several conceptual understandings of the name. During the 1995 research in the ?ek'atì area, the elders referred to 'zek'a' as representing the amount of food available in the area. Many elders talked about the importance of 'zek'atì' as "like a freezer", whereas one elder referred to 'zek'a' or 'ek'a' as referring to the fatness of the caribou as they travelled south from their summer feasting in the barrenlands. Although most elders during the 1997 field work discussed 'zek'atì' as "like a freezer", one elder during a taped interview and at least five elders in Behtsokq discussed 'zek'a' as the shortened version of 'Kwek'a' which refers to a white rock with veins that is found in abundance in the area, and which looks like caribou fat. As researchers, we consider all these interpretations to be correct. When collecting information from a number of sources, a more complete meaning of the placenames is understood. The terms 'Kwek'atì', and 'zek'atì' then provide both information on the abundance of wildlife, especially caribou and fish, as well as topographic data about the type of rock found in the area.
- The research team assumed a standardized Dene writing system. Rarely did transcribers spell Dogrib placenames consistently. Rules had not been established for spelling placenames. Most transcribers/translators do not have Dogrib literacy training. This meant we could not use the database efficiently since we could not search for word patterns. For example, the placename 'Kweghoòdia', which is correctly spelled according to the teams' spelling rules, was spelled 'kwigoodi' which could mean rough caribou fence island; and, 'kweghoòdi', which would mean rough rock island. The correct spelling tells the reader, it is a small rough rock island.

² Known officially as Exeter Lake. See Appendix IV for information on pronouncing Dogrib words.

The research team continues to work with other Dogrib literacy instructors and Dr. Leslie Saxon, a linguist specializing in Athapaskan languages, to rectify these problems and to agree on spelling rules for the placenames. Once spelling is consistent the above challenges will be easier to deal with. For example:

- The database can be searched for patterns in placenames associated with bio-geographical 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 have been consistently misspelled. Therefore researchers must go back and listen to the tape before analysis can be done.

The interviews from the past three years suggest that placenames indicate essential information about the water flow, topography and biodiversity of the sites. This gives people information about the land, waterways and resources, and allows them to survive while participating in the main task of hunting caribou. The placenames 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 bio-diversified sites.

This research suggests that placenames provide information that compliments the main task of hunting caribou. The elders discussed placenames from the point of view of hunters, gatherers and trappers who survived by using their knowledge of the dè. 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, three thousand, five hundred and forty-eight (3,548) sites were entered in the Geographic Information System (GIS). Of the sites and areas we found that could be translated, one thousand, one hundred and three (1,103) were related to bio-geographical knowledge. Approximately three-quarters of the sites were mentioned in all projects and by most elders. Of the 1,103 documented, 310 placenames are examined in this report.

4.1.1 Categories of Dogrib Placenames

The 310 placenames were examined from three perspectives. First, the data base was searched for associated flora and fauna. Second, the oral narratives were examined for knowledge important to the site. Third, the placenames were sorted into nine categories as a method of searching for patterns. The table below shows the nine (9) categories and the frequency of each category.

Frequency of Dogrib Placenames Indicating Bio-Geographical Knowledge		
Category	Frequency (N=310)	% of Total
Indicators of Probable Crucial Lakes/Rivers Information	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

Both the data base and oral narratives provided information that all places were associated with caribou, whether to hunt, to travel through, or to leave families at while the men traveled further onto the barrenlands. 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.

Appendix I lists all the Dogrib placenames in alphabetical order, and gives the literal translation with some pertinent remarks.

4.1.2 Placenames as Indicators of Topography and Water Flow

Placenames as indicators of topography and water flow provide a variety of information ranging from land forms to whirlpool, such as Behk'įehdaà [cliff point] and Weyediùtì [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 placenames that describe a route travelled by hunters, few of these places seem to have oral narratives specifically associated with them. Placenames such as Kweghoòdìà, [little rough rock island], Kwekaghootì [lake with rough tops of rocks], and Kweghoòzehdaàtso, [big rough rock point] were probably important landmarks, and possibly provided information important to protecting the birch bark canoes the Dogrib used to travel into the barrens to hunt caribou. Whereas, the placenames ?ewaànit'ùtì [lake with sand that stretches in a line] and Whandiñoòlaa [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 wide lakes.

4.1.3 Place-Names as Indicators of Biodiversity

Placenames that contain biological terms, especially fish and plants, and the associated oral narratives, seem to be indicators of locations with various resources -

locations that are biodiverse. These placenames may be included in travel narratives. However, the elders tell stories specific to these places. Usually they include a description of other resources at the site. For example, when three women in their late 70s were discussing places, Margaret Lafferty (PHP: 98/02/17) described Kw'itì [mosquito lake] as a lake with small trees, mostly black spruce, blueberries, cranberries, and blackberries all around it; while Rosalie Drybone (PHP: 98/02/17) described ȩtòmòèhdaà³ [point with green leaves around it] as having lots of berries, ducks and fish. Examples also came up in casual conversations with one elder⁴ mentioning T'ok'edaati⁵ [living walking grass lake] in association with hunting muskox while his family camped at Ts'izedaa, which was often referred to by the women 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 on the barren land.

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'aʔòà, [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

³ Not on a map.

⁴ Reference was misplaced..

⁵ See map entitled T̥chq̥ Degozi.

since the time that I was able, it has always been the barren lands.... So I knew where the wolf and fox dens were. (Pierre Wedzin 95/05/24)

The placename ʔqhtsɨk'e⁶ [like a backpack or freezer] did not fit within the five categories. However, 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 and ducks, as well as caribou.

4.1.4 Placenames Associated with Mammals

Information gathered so far associated with these names, is not complete enough to include them as biodiverse places. The oral narratives and database both 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 ʔejienazì⁷ [standing muskox hill], Madelaine Drybone's statement from another project suggests that muskox were hunted when the caribou could not be located:

Our forefathers ... roamed on the dè ... It's really far to the barren land 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 barren land. (Madelaine Drybone 95/03/13)

4.1.5 Summary of Placenames as Indicators

The placenames were discussed in depth with elders, and later the collected placenames were sorted. 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 its important for us to take good care of 'the dwelling', the land, for wherever you go is home" (Rosalie Tailbones: Home: 98/08/05-1/1).

⁶ See Map entitled, T̥chq Degqai, Appendix II. Located at the east end of ʔekàtì (Lac de Gras).

⁷ See map entitled T̥chq Degotì.

Several categories of placenames are indicators of topography and water flow, and of biodiversity. Other categories are placenames associated with mammals, placenames indicating human habitat, and placenames indicating political and spiritual sites. Placenames that are very old yet their meaning has been forgotten were also counted as a category.

Throughout the research period, patterns associated with Tłıchǫ placenames suggest that names that contain topographic and water flow terms have the primary purpose of describing safe understandable travel routes, whereas the primary purpose of the placenames containing biological terms seem to indicate locations with various resources or biodiversity. Placenames 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.⁸ Often a placename will be mentioned to stimulate the listener's memory, hoping to encourage them to think and act in a certain way. For example:

- Tsotì is the older name for Wah Tì (Lac La Martre). Tsotì translates as 'excrement lake', which stimulates the memory of battles between the Tetsǫt'ı̨ (Chipewyan) and the Tłıchǫ
- Gots'ǫkatì (Mesa Lake) translates as cloudberry lake and indicates resources and biodiversity. It also stimulates the memory of how Edzo, the last great Tłıchǫ yabatı (great leader who thinks of all people), made a peace agreement in the 1800s with the Tetsǫt'ı̨ (Chipewyan).
- Komolada is difficult to translate. Nevertheless, it stimulates the memory of the first priests traveling to Tłıchǫ territory and how the Tłıchǫ told the priests their history, thereby establishing a relationship with them.

4.2 Habitats Within the Traditional Dogrib Traditional Territory⁹

⁸ Keith H. Basso (1996) discusses this concept in his book entitled, **Wisdom Sits in Places**.

⁹ See maps in Appendix III to show habitat classification in specific areas.

Based on information collected, Dogrib traditional territory can be categorized into four main environmental regions. As can be seen on the map entitled M̄qwh̄ Gogha D̄en̄ht̄'èè Dogrib terms for these large areas are: N̄d̄ī, Dets̄ta, Dets̄laa and Hoz̄i¹⁰. N̄d̄ī is a large plateau where both woodland and barrenland caribou are hunted, and where small fur bearing animals are trapped and several important medicinal plants are found. Dets̄ta 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, and becomes progressively more sparse and stunted towards the Dets̄laa or treeline. The area just below the treeline is known as dets̄ts'oneè. The fourth category is hoz̄i, which refers to the barrenlands.

Within these environment areas, the Dogrib define several habitat types some of which which are similar to habitats classified by scientific communities. The research team studied habitat in various location in the boreal forest and the barrenland. These will be described below.

To document the Dogrib classification system for habitat types, the research team visited areas near each of the communities, mapping and/or documenting flora and fauna associated with the habitat type. The Community Elders' Committees in each community were asked which places they would like to visit. The Wekweètì elders chose ʔek'at̄iʔets̄l̄l̄ and ʔek'at̄ideht̄i where the water flows out of ʔek'at̄i; the Gamètì CEC chose N̄dz̄ika on S̄im̄t̄i; and, the Behtsok̄ CEC chose Whagweèt̄i, which is just off the road between Rae and the Mackenzie Highway; ʔ̄h̄daat̄i, a site in the Stagg Lake area; Tam̄k'awodeè¹¹, and Edzon̄ht̄'èk'et'aak'è which are places on the Mackenzie Highway. The Waht̄i CEC chose to discuss habitat at various locations on the lake on

¹⁰ See map in Appendix II

which their community is located. Maps showing the location can be found in Appendix II. The Dogrib Regional Elders' Committee choose Deèezàatì as the place to go because individuals from all communities had traveled, lived and worked there.

The following points were to be documented:

- Describe [place]
- Name the plants at [place]
- What animals are associated with the [place]
- What is the soil and topography like at [place]
- Have the plants and animals changed from the past at [place]
- What types of dè can be found at [place]

However, in most cases only the vegetation and habitat type were noted:

Although the elders discussed a variety of habitat, most of which exist in both the detsìta (boreal forest) and the hozìì (barrenlands), not all habitats were examined in detail nor were all habitats found at every site visited.

The following is a list of habitat types known and discussed.

ʔehat̚eg: An area of black dirt associated with plants such as ɳtsìghoò¹², goò¹³ and various types of t̚o¹⁴.

ʔehtl'èe: A general term for an area of sticky and/or soft mud, and is often associated with ts'oo.

- ʔehtl'èet'oo - An area of sticky mud and mire.
- ʔehtl'èk'òò - An area soft mud and mire.

Dahdègooʔò: A bog, swampy land that is considered "floating land".

Dedl̚un̚: A place that has never had a forest fire.

¹¹ See the map entitled T̚tsq Degqzi in Appendix II.

¹² Known in English as a wild rose bush.

¹³ Known in English as jack pine.

¹⁴ General term for grasses and sedges.

Dègok'eek'ò: An area that has had a forest fire.

Dègotsoò: A type of swampy, wet ground.

Goèhʔaa: A valley characterized by with a particular predominate shrub or tree and a small stream. There are several types. Goèhʔaa are important for such resources as securing wood for fires and smoking meat and fish as well as for using willows to make fishing nets in the past.

- K'ògoèhʔaa- Stream valley with predominately willow.
- Ts'igoèhʔaa –Stream valley with predominately spruce.
- Kigoèhʔaa – Stream valley with predominately birch

Gok'enuk'òq: A burned area.

Gòlo: A burned forest area.

Googho: An area of thick bushes, thicket, and brambles.

Gòzo: A meadow or a prairie.

Hozìishia: A low, dry, sandy hill found in the barrenlands.

Kw'ah: A large area of predominately moss.

Kw'ia: A stand of ʔedzò (black spruce) on the barrenlands and important for firewood in association with a good campsite. Unlike the habitat known as goèhʔaa, the kw'ia is not in a valley.

Kwekàashì: A rocky hill.

Nòhkwòkwèkà: A mossy ground in a rocky area. Although this area is predominately moss, there are several associated plants. It is usually fairly flat area and is land surrounded by lakes.

Tata: A large area found in the barrenlands where caribou live and wander around.

Tłoga/Tł'otè: These are both grasslands on the hozìì (barrenlands) where caribou wander and feed in the fall. During their discussion of vegetation, Louis Whane (PHP-98/08/04) explained that Tł'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 tł'oga. The soil is moist in parts and dry in others and grasses and sedges predominate.

Tł'otia: A grassy pond.

Ts'oo: An area characterized by hummocks which 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 may grow. There are a number of

important resources found in association with whagweè. Whagweè is similar in the boreal forest and on the barrenlands, but the whagweè in the boreal forest is characterized by gòò (jack pine).

What'à: An area characterized by dry, with gravel and sand. Known in English as esker.

Whatè: A prairie like area with sandy soil.

The habitat and vegetation at various sites, mentioned by the elders as important because to its cultural significance¹⁵, is described below.

4.2.1 Deèzàatì: A Hozìì (Barrenlands) Site

The research team visited Deèzàatì¹⁶ 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. However, the first part of this compound word possibly relates to where caribou calves are kept. This lake extends a great distance, taking in much more and a greater body of water than is included by the English name.

The research team, consisting of Sally Anne Zoe, Madeline Chocolate, and Alice Legat worked with the following elders: Jimmy Martin, Elizabeth Chocolate and Elizabeth Michel from Behtsokò; Phillip Zoe, Elizabeth Chocolate, Romie Wetrade, and Paul Wetrade from Gametì; Louis Whane and Margaret Lafferty from Wekweètì.; and Pierre Beaverhoe from Wha Tì. All the elders had spent time on Deèzàatì when they were younger. Each morning the team would meet and discuss which habitats would be examined and with which elders the researchers would work. Sally Anne Zoe and

¹⁵ Cultural significance is not discussed here, as this section of the report is describing habitat and classification as described by the elders.

¹⁶ Point Lake and Lake Providence combined.

Madeline Chocolate worked with various elders, while Alice worked specifically with Margaret Lafferty who speaks Tłchq slowly and clearly making it possible for Alice to document information. All team members collected, pressed, and identified plants, and they photographed the plants and the habitat within which the plant was growing. Sally Anne Zoe worked in the habitats known as what'à, nòhkwòkwekà, and t'oga; Madeline Chocolate worked in various types of goèh2aa and kw'ia, whereas Alice Legat worked in the habitats known as whagweè and ts'oo. Each evening the researchers would add additional notes to their forms and discuss their day with each other. Alice Legat would check their field forms and Madeline Chocolate would check Alice's Dogrib notes. Due to snow, rain and high winds, the research team was unable to work on three days.

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

The following is a summary of the habitats and associated plants that are important to the elders. All except a few plants are identified by their Tłchq name and most have an associated English name. Many but not all are identified by their Latin names.

Summary of the Habitats and Associated Plants at Deèzàatì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Goèhɔaa	-----	General name for habitat characterized by a valley.	-----
K'ògohɔaa	-----	Willow valley with small stream	-----
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	CEDUM Decumbeus ericaceae
	No name		CYCOPODIACEAE Cycopodium anuntinum
	It'o	General term for grass and sedges. Two types were collected and identified	POACEAE sp. POACEAE Calamagrostis canadaesis
	K'ò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
Ts'igohaa	-----	Valley - predominately spruce	-----
	K'ò	willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	Gòka	Green alder	BETULACEAE Alnus crispa
	Ts'1	spruce	Picea sp.
Nòhkwòkwekà	-----	"Moss in rocky area"	-----
	ʔadzìidegoo	White lichen	At least seven types difficult to identify
	ʔadzìidezo	Black lichen	At least seven types difficult to identify
	ʔìhk'aadzìì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoq	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Hozìʔt'òà	"barrenland leaf"	Salix sp.
	Kwets'dezo	Plated rocktripe	UMBILICARIACEAE Umbilicaria muhlenbergii
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	unknown
	Shikat'o	"hill of grass/sedge"	unknown
	Tsoht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum

Continued: Summary of Habitats and Associated Plants at Deèzàati			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Kw'ia	-----	"small stand of spruce"	-----
	ʔedzə	Black spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea mariana</i>
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>
	Gots'okà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	Hozìʔt'òà	"barrenland leaf"	<i>Salix</i> sp.
	K'ò	Type of willow	SALIACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
	Tl'ò	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE <i>Carex</i> sp.
	Tl'owo	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE <i>Carex</i> sp.
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>
T'loga/Tl'otèh	-----	Grassland	-----
	ʔadzìì	At least seven types	CLADONIACEAE <i>Cladonia mitis</i>
	ʔadzìidegoo	White lichen	STEREOCAULACEAE <i>Stereocaulon tomentosum</i>
	ʔt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i>
	Dziewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
	Gots'agoq	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>
	Gots'dzè	Unknown	Not identified
	Gqka	Green alder	BETULACEAE <i>Alnus Crispa</i>
	Gots'okà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	Hozìʔt'òà	"barren land leaves"	BETULACEAE <i>Betula glandulosa</i>
	K'alatso	Cotton grass	CYPERACEAE <i>Eriophorum angustifolium</i>
	Kò	Willow (two sp)	<i>Salix</i> Sp. SALICACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
	Kw'ah	Little spiky green one	POLYTRICHACEAE <i>Polytrichum juniperinum</i>
		White one	SPHAGNACEAE <i>Sphagnum</i> 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
	Tl'owì	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE <i>Carex aquatilis</i>
	Tl'ogha	Type of sedge	CYPERACEAE <i>Carex bigelowii</i> (???)
	Tl'owa	Type of grass or sedge	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>

Continued: Summary of Habitats and Associated Plants at Deèzàatì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Ts'oo			
	ʔadzìì	A green lichen	Possibly Peltigera aphthosa
	ʔadzìidegoo	White lichen	Five types found, not identified
	ʔhkh'aadzìì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔt'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	ʔt'òtsàa	flower	Not identified
	Dloodu	Type of mushroom	Not identified
	Dzièwà	blueberry	ERICACEAE VACCINIUM ULIGINOSUM
	Gots'agoq	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Tsoph't'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	Hozìʔt'òa	"barrenland leaves"	Salix sp.
	K'ò	Type of willow	Salix sp.
	ʔt'òa	"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
	Sahwodì	Not identified	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	T'ò	Sedge and grass	
Ts'oo/ʔeht'èe		mix	
	K'alatso	Cotton grass	CYPERACEAE Eriophorum angustifolium
	T'oshia	Small hill of grass	CYPERACEAE sp.
Whagweè	-----	Dry sandy area with specks of black dirt	-----
	ʔadzìidegoo	"white lichen"	Several types - not identified
	ʔadzìidezo	Small black thread type of lichen	Not identified
	ʔt'òtsàa	Saxifrage	SAXISRAGACEAE Saxitraga tricuspidale
	ʔhkh'aadzì	bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	ʔt'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE sp.
	Dloodu	Mushroom -general	Not identified
	Dzièwà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens

Continued: Summary of Habitats and Associated Plants at Deèzàatì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Whagweè continued	Hozìt'òà	"barrenland leaves"	Salix sp.
	Kwetsìdegoo	"white rock lichen"	Not identified
	Kwetsìdezo	"black rock lichen"	UMBILICARIA Muhlenbergi
	Sahwodì	Not identified	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	T'odzì	"Old grass"	CYPERACEAE Carex sp.
	Tsqht'è	crowberry	EMPETRACEAE EMPETRUM NIGRUM
What'à	-----	Esker	-----
	zadzì	Lichen-general	Not identified
	zadzìdego		STEREOCAULACEAE Stereocaulon tomentosum
	zadzìdekwo	Has brown tip	CLADONIACEAE Cladonia mitis
	zìhk'aadzì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	zìt'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'ìdzì		CYPERACEAE carex subspathacea (?)
	Tsqht'è	crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum

4.2.2 ?ek'atìzetsùllì and ?eka'tìdehtì: Two Hozì (Barrenlands) Sites near ?ek'atì

The research team studied ?ek'atìzetsùllì and ?eka'tìdehtì between August 4 and August 10, 1998. They camped at ?ek'atìzetsùllì and hiked daily throughout the area and to ?ek'atìdehtì. The team consisted of Sally Anne Zoe and Georgina Chocolate with elders Jimmy Martin, Robert Mackenzie, Elizabeth Michel and Louis Whane. Accompanying

the team were two students, Roger Champlain and Darla Beauleu as well as the cook Theress Zoe. During this time flora and fauna was noted as well as habitat. Nine (9) interviews, which amounted to 15 hours of tape, were completed. ?ek'atì?etsùl̥l̥ is translated as '... flow of fat lake', and its location can be found on the map entitled, Mq̥wh̥ Gogha Dèn̥ht̥'èè¹⁷. The site consists of various habitats which are listed below with their associated vegetation. Those habitats associated with animals were 'hozìishìà' (small barrenland hill) where gahtso¹⁸ and dedì¹⁹ make their dens, what'à where nogaa, d̥iga²⁰ and nàbe²¹ can be found. Other animals expected to pass through ?ek'atì?etsùl̥l̥ are sahtso²², who, like the d̥iga, follow the caribou, ɣhk'aa²³, who eats ɣk'aadzì and ekwòwò²⁴ kwek'aa²⁵, and k'aba²⁶, who especially like k'olaa²⁷ and dzìwa. In addition hwezq̥ and h̥h²⁸ were caught during the field season.

Elizabeth Michel (PHP-98/08/06) noticed that over the last forty years the plant community has changed. According to her, tehdzìe, which is 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), ɣt̥l'ò (cranberry) and dzìewà (blueberry), but that now there are very few in comparison. The Dogrib elders are constantly concerned for all aspects of the dè and the interconnectedness no matter how

¹⁷ On the map this location is called 'ek'atì?etseel̥l̥', which is one of the old spellings.

¹⁸ Arctic hare.

¹⁹ Type of barrenland squirrel.

²⁰ Foxes and wolves

²¹ Otter

²² Grizzly

²³ Type of bird that no longer seemed to be found in the area

²⁴ Bearberry and caribou meat.

²⁵ Snowbird

²⁶ Ptarmigan

²⁷ Pussy willow

²⁸ Trout and Whitefish

insignificant it may seem to the outsider. For example, Jimmy Martin (98/08/08) expressed concern for the dedì, who ate all these berries; and, Joe Suzie Mackenzie (pers comm with Georgina Chocolate 98/08/08) mentioned there used to be ejì²⁹.

Summary of Habitat and Associated Plants at ʔek'atì'etsìllì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
ʔehtl'èe	-----	Soft and/or sticky mud	
Hozìishuà	-----	low dry, sandy barrenland hill	
	Gotsòk'a	cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	Tsòht'è	crowberries	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>
	Dziewà	blueberries	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
	ʔìtl'ò	cranberries	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i>
	ʔadzìidegoo	white lichen	Unidentified
Kw'ah	-----	mossy area	
	Dloodu	a type of mushroom	Not identified
	ʔìtl'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium vitis-idaea</i>
	ʔìhdòq	kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE <i>Arctostaphylos uva-ursi</i>
	Dziewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
	Gots'òk'à	cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
Kwekàshì		Rocky hill	
	ʔadzìì	Lichen	Various types, not identified
	ʔìtl'òà	Small leaves	ERICACEAE <i>Loiseleuria</i> sp (possibly <i>proeumbens</i>)
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>
	Gots'òka	Cloudberries	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	Tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>
T'otè	-----	grassland	
		No vegetation documented, just discussion about importance of grassland	

²⁹ Muskox

Continued: Summary of Vegetation and Associated Plants at ʔek'atì'etsùll			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Ts'oo	-----	muskeg	
	Gots'oka	cloudberries	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Dłòodł	Mushroom-general	Not identified
	ʔłtł'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Hozìì'łtł'ò	Barrenland leaves	Salix sp.
	Dzìewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	K'àk'oo	Red Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔłhk'aadzì	A type of black berry	Not identified
Whagweè	-----	dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔadzìidegoo	white lichen	Not identified
	ʔłtł'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dzìewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	ʔłhk'aadzì	a type black berry	Not identified
	ʔłhdqò	kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	Gots'ok'à	cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Kwetsł	black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoq	labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Nòhkwò	A type of moss	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	crowberries	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	-----	esker	
What'à	ʔadzìidegoo	white lichen	Not identified
	Gots'agoq	labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	ʔłhdqò	kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	ʔłtł'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Kwetsł	black rock fungus	Not identified

Summary of Habitat and Associated Plants at ʔek'atidehtì			
Habitat	Dogrib Plant Name	Translation	Latin Name
k'òògoèh2aa			
	gots'agoò	labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	hozììʔt'ò	'barrenland leaves'	Not identified
	kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHAECEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	Kwetsì (kwets???)	black rock fungus	UMEILICARIA Muhlenbergi
	nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
kwekàashì	-----		
	ʔìhk'aadzìì	bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylo rubra
	Kwetsì	black rock fungus	UMEILICARIA Muhlenbergi
Nòhkwòkwekà	-----		
	nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
Tl'otè	-----		
	ʔadzìidegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	ʔt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE sp
	dìdòdu	General – mushroom	Not identified
	gots'òkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	hozììʔt'ò	'barrenland leaves'	Not identified
	kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHAECEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	sahwodh	Not identified	MASONHALEA Richardsoni sp.
	t'ò	Sedge and grass	Not identified
	t'ot'aa	Type of grass	Not identified
	tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Ts'oo	-----		
	ʔadzìì	Lichen	Not identified
	gots'agoò	labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	hozììʔt'ò (Hozììt')	'barrenland leaves'	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	kw'ah	Little spiky green one, white one	POLYTRICHAECEAE Polytrichum juniperinum SPHAGNACEAE Sphagnum sp.
	t'ò	Sedge and grass	Not identified
Whagweè	-----		
	gots'òkà	Cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus

4.2.3 Nìdzika: A Boreal forest site

During the early 1900s, Nìdzika was the location of an important Dogrib 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 barrenlands, is hard and dry which makes it a desirable place to camp. In the boreal forest, whagweè has an additional advantage in that it has very little undergrowth and it is open, and therefore breezy, so there are fewer bugs than in the thicker surrounding bush associated with ts'oo.

The research team visited Nìdzika which translates as 'on top of the hill', the location of which can be found on the map entitled Tłtsq Degqzì. The research team, consisting of Sally Anne Zoe and Alice Legat, accompanied 30 elders from Gametì to this site between July 9 and July 14, 1998. The students Elsie Mantla and Phoebe Wetrade accompanied the team. During this time flora was noted associated with habitat. Ten (10) interviews were completed totaling 20 hours of tape. The elders mentioned four habitats at the site, but concentrated on whagweè and ts'oo. All four habitats and the associated vegetation are listed in the next table.

Summary of Habitat and Associated Plants at N̄dzika			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
Kwah	-----	mossy area	
Ts'oo	-----	muskeg	
	ʔedzɔ	black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	ʔt'ɔ	cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dziewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
Whagweè	-----	dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔadzìidegoo	white lichen	Not identified
	Ts'iwà	white spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	K'òò	willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔitsjghoò	wild roses	ROSACEAE Rosa acicularis
	Gɔɔ	jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana
	K'ì	birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
	Ligaezɔɔ	plant used for smoking	Not identified
	Dahkàà	raspberry	ROSACEAE Rubus idaeus
	ʔedaghoò	gooseberry	GROSSULARIACEAE Ribes oxycanthoides
	T'ooh	aspen	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
	ʔhk'aadzì	bearberry	Not identified
	Kèedzì	saskatoon bush	ROSACEAE Amelanchier alnifolia
	ʔt'ɔ	cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dziewà	blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gots'ok'à	cloudberry	ROSACEAE Rubus chamaemorus
	Kwetsì	black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Nòhkwò	type of moss	Not identified
	Tsɔht'è	crowberries	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
Behtsì	-----	riverbank, bluff along the river	
	K'ia	small birch trees	Not identified

4.2.4 Whagweètì: A Boreal Forest Site

The research team camped at and documented the vegetation at Whagweètì between May 21 and 28, 1998. Eleven (11) interviews, totaling 18 hours of tape, were completed. Whagweètì can be translated as ‘sandy dry ground with jack pine trees and very little undergrowth’. The research team consisted of Sally Anne Zoe, Bobby Gon, Georgina Chocolate, and Alice Legat. Although some elders from Behtsokò stayed in the camp, many of the oldest elders drove back and forth, as Whagweètì is close to Behtsokò. Elders concentrated on the importance of Whagweètì.

Summary of Habitat and Associated Plants at Whagweètì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin
Whagweè	-----	dry sandy ground with very little growth	
	ʔadzùidegoo	white lichen	Not identified
	Ts'iwà	white spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea glauca</i>
	Kò	willow	SALICACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
	ʔitsìghoò	rose bush	ROSACEAE <i>Rosa acicularis</i>
	Gòò	jack pine	PINACEAE <i>Pinus banksiana</i>
	K'ì	birch	BETULACEAE <i>Betula papyrifera</i>
	Ligaezà	a plant used used for smoking	Not identified
	Dahkà	raspberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus idaeus</i>
	zedaghoò.	gooseberry	GROSSULARIACEAE <i>Ribes oxycanthoides</i>
	ʔìhk'aadzì	bear berry	Not identified
	ʔìhtò	type of large red berry	Not identified
	Kèdzì	saskatoon berries	ROSACEAE <i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i>
	ʔit'ò	cranberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium vitisidaea</i>
	Dziwà	blueberry	ERICACEAE <i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
	Gots'ok'à	cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	Kwetsì	black rock fungus	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>
	Nòhkwò	type of moss	Not identified
	Tsòht'è	crowberries	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>

4.2.5 Tam'ik'awodeè: A Boreal Forest Site

The research team drove to this site for a day trip in July 1998. Site field sheets were completed at this location. Tam'ik'awodeè can be translated as “Tam'ı 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 dziewà³⁰, the elders concentrated on explaining the fish found here. These are: hh, dehdo, Ɂhdaa and Ɂehch'è³¹.

Summary of Habitat and Associated Plants at Tam'ik'awodeè			
Habitat	Dogrib Plant Name	Translation	Latin Name
goèhɁaa			
	k'ı	Birch	BETULACEAE <i>Betula papyrifera</i>
k'òògoèhɁaa			
	k'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
kwekàanòhkwò			
	mòhgwıɁòò	juniper	CUPRESSACEAE <i>Juniperus</i> sp.
	neghòèchi	Not identified	Not identified
ts'ıgoèhɁaa			
	Ɂedzò	Black spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea mariana</i>
	Ts'ıdaàghòò	Lichen growing on spruce	Not identified
whagweè			
	ɁhdòòɁt'ò	Not identified	Not identified
	k'ıdaàghòò	Lichen growing on birch	Not identified
	mòhgwıdzıì	juniper	CUPRESSACEAE <i>Juniperus</i> sp.P
	t'ò	Grass and sedge	Not identified
	t'oola	Not identified	Not identified

³⁰ Blueberry bush.

³¹ Whitefish, sucker, jack fish and pickerel.

4.2.6 Significant Sites Associated With ʔihdaatì

ʔihdaatì can be translated as 'there are lots of jackfish here' and is the Dogrib name for Stagg Lake. The area examined by the research team, consisting of Georgina Chocolate and Sally Anne Zoe along with elders Jimmy Martin, Robert McKenzie, Elizabeth Michel and Eddy Lafferty, was generally referred to as ʔihdaatì. However, the research team did not actually travel on the lake, rather the Behtsokò elders committee directed them to spend time on the river leading to ʔihdaatì. The research team camped at ʔeniitì, which translates as 'a place that freezes up' and is located beside the Stagg River bridge. Two habitats and associated vegetation was examined in 1998-1999. Additional information was collected at ʔeniitì with two additional habitats and associated vegetation being defined. The team then spent one or two days at each of the places listed in the table below, naming the plants associated with various habitat. This was done as a step towards testing our premise that placenames are indicators of bio-geographical knowledge.

Placenames Associated with ʔihdaatì			
Area	Placename	Translation	Official Name
ʔihdaatì		Jack fish-lake	Stagg Lake
	ʔeniitì	Freeze up (a place that freezes quickly)	
	ek'edodeht	Up ahead-lake	
	Wedzìbàadehtìwegodò	Pierre Washie-river lake-up ahead	
	Kweghootailì	Rock-rough-between-flowing from	
	Wedzìbàadehtì	Pierre Washie-river lake	

As can be seen in the above table, the researchers found that all five names for the places examined with the elders did act as indicators. Although 'Wedzìbàadehtì', which translates as 'river lake', is named as belonging to Pierre Washie and implies

Boreal Forest Sites within ʔihdaatì Area

Habitat & Plants Associated with ʔenìttɩ			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Names
Dègoezhì	-----	Dry, hard dirt without sand	-----
	K'ia	Small birch tree	BETULACEAE Betula sp.
	K'àhdzàa	Dry willow branches	Not identified
	K'idaàghoò	Lichen on birch bark	Not identified
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	ʔadzì	Lichen	Not identified
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
ʔehatɛɛ	-----	Area of black dirt with grasses	-----
	ʔitsighoò	Rose bush	ROSACEAE Rosa acicularis
	Gòò	Jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana
	T'odekwoo	“yellow grass”	Not identified
	T'ok'à	Foxtail grass	POACEAE Hordeum jubatum
	T'ok'àhwhì	Cattails and reeds	Not identified
	T'ot'àa	Type of grass or sedge	Not identified
Googhoò	-----	Thick bushes in black dirt	-----
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	Daàghoò	Type of lichen found on trees	Not identified
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
K'òògoèhʔaa	-----	Willow woods in a valley	-----
	ʔit'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Gòhkàa	Alder	Not identified
Kwekàanòhkwòò	-----	Mossy area on rocks	-----
	ʔedzò	Black Spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
Kwekàadè	-----	Land with rocky outcrops	-----
	ʔadzì	White lichen	Not identified
	ʔihdòò	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
Ts'igoèhʔaa	-----	Spruce woods in a valley	-----
	T'ok'àhwhì	Cattails and reeds	Not identified
	Ts'ì	Spruce (general term)	PINACEAE Picea sp.
Ts'oo	-----	Muskeg	-----
	ʔedzò	Black Spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	ʔihdòò	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	ʔit'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
Łèdzè	-----	Clay (“powdery gum”)	-----
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
Whagweè	-----	Sandy area with little undergrowth	-----
	ʔadzìidegoo	White lichen	Not identified
	ʔedaghoò	Gooseberry	GROSSULARIACEAE Ribes oxycanthoides
	ʔedzò	Black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	ʔhk'aadzì	Bearberry	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos rubra
	ʔit'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
	ʔihdòò	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	ʔitsighoò	Rose bush	ROSACEAE Rosa acicularis
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Gòò	Jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana

Habitat & Plants Associated with ?enìttì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Names
Whagweè (continued)	Gòhkàa	Not identified	Not identified
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>
	Gots'òkà	cloudberry	ROSACEAE <i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
	K'àk'oo	Red willow	SALICACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
	K'ì	Birch	BETULACEAE <i>Betula papyrifera</i>
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE <i>Salix</i> sp.
	Lìgaezòò	“old time tobacco”	Not identified
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE <i>Populus tremuloides</i>
	Ts'ìwà	White spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea glauca</i>
	Tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>

Habitat & Plants Associated with ?ek'èdoodehtì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Dègoezhì	-----	Dry, hard dirt without sand	-----
	K'ìdaàghòò	Lichen on birch bark	Not identified
Googhòò	-----	Thick bushes in black dirt	-----
	Daàghòò	Type of tree lichen	Not identified
Kwekàadè	-----	Land with rocky outcrops	-----
	?adzìì	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
	Ts'ìwà	White spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea glauca</i>
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	?hðòò?edabàa	Unripe red berry on ground (kinnickinnick?)	Not identified
	Kwetsì	Rock tripe	Umbilicaria <i>muhlenbergii</i>
	Kweht'axàsòò	Type of plant on rocks	Not identified
	T'ò	Grass and sedges (general term)	Not identified
Lèdzè	-----	Clay (“powdery gum”)	-----
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE <i>Populus tremuloides</i>
	Nòhkwò	Type of moss	Not identified
	Ts'ìwà	White spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea glauca</i>
	K'ì	Birch	BETULACEAE <i>Betula papyrifera</i>
	K'ìadezòò	Black small birch	BETULACEAE <i>Betula</i> sp.
	K'ìdaàghòò	Lichen growing on birch	Not identified
	?edzò	Black spruce	PINACEAE <i>Picea mariana</i>
	?adzìì	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
	Tsòht'èzòò	Crowberry plant	EMPETRACEAE <i>Empetrum nigrum</i>
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE <i>Ledum decumbens</i>

Habitat & Plants Associated with Kweghoòtaḥ			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Names
Dègoezhìi	-----	Dry, hard dirt without sand	-----
	Daàghoq	Type of tree lichen	Not identified
	K'ia	Small birch	BETULACEAE Betula sp.
	K'àhdzàa	Dry willow branches	Not identified
	K'idaàghoq	Lichen on birch bark	Not identified
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
	Ḥhdqoq	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
Kwekàadè	-----	Land with rocky outcrops	-----
	Mqhgwḥoò	Juniper	CUPRESSACEAE Juniperus sp.
	Nḥtsqò	Unidentified black berry (?)	Not identified
Lèdzè	-----	Clay ("powdery gum")	-----
	Ḥadzìi	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
Ts'oo	-----	Muskeg	-----
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	Ḥt'ò	Cranberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium vitis-idaea
Whagweè	-----	Sandy area with little undergrowth	-----
	Ḥadzìi	Lichen	Not identified
	Ḥedzq	Black spruce (edge of area)	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	Ḥhdqoq	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	Gqò	Jack pine	PINACEAE Pinus banksiana
	Gqhkàa	Not identified	Not identified
	Nòhkwq	Type of moss	Not identified
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
	K'i	Birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	Ḥhdqoqḥt'òq	Kinnikinnick plant	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
	Kw'ah	Moss	Not identified
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.

Habitat & Plants Associated with Wedzeèbàadehtì wegodoo			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Dègoezhìi	-----	Dry, hard dirt without sand	-----
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
Googhoò	-----	Thick bushes in black dirt	-----
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp.
Kwekàa	-----	Rocky outcrops	-----
	Ḥadzìi	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
Kwekàanòhkwòq	-----	Area of moss between rocks	-----
	T'oghòa	Type of grass	Not identified
	Tsqht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Kwetsì	Rock tripe/black fungus	Not identified
Lèdzè	-----	Clay ("powdery gum")	-----
	Ts'iwà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
Nathinde	-----		-----
	Ḥedzq	Black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana

Habitat & Plants Associated with Wedzeèbàadehtì			
Habitat	Vegetation	Translation	Latin Name
Dègoezhì	-----	Dry, hard dirt without sand	-----
	K'ia	Small birch	BETULACEAE Betula papyrifera
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp
	Daàghòq	Type of tree lichen	Not identified
Googhoò	-----	Thick bushes in black dirt	-----
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp
Kwekàa	-----	Rocky outcrops	-----
	ʔhdq	Kinnikinnick	ERICACEAE Arctostaphylos uva-ursi
Kwekàadè	-----	Land with rocky outcrops	-----
	ʔadzì	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
	Tsì'wà	White spruce	PINACEAE Picea glauca
	Nòhkw	Type of moss	Not identified
	ʔhdqʔedabàa	Unripe red berry on ground (kinnickinnick?)	Not identified
	Kwetsì	Rock tripe	Umbilicaria muhlenbergii
	Kweht'axàsòq	Type of plant on rocks	Not identified
	T'ò	Grass and sedges (general term)	Not identified
Kwekàanòhkwò	-----	Area of moss between rocks	-----
	T'oghòa	Type of grass	Not identified
	Tsòht'è	Crowberry	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	Dziewà	Blueberry	ERICACEAE Vaccinium uliginosum
	Kwetsì	Rock tripe/black fungus	Umbilicaria muhlenbergii
Łèdzè	-----	Clay ("powdery gum")	-----
	K'iadezq	Black small birch	BETULACEAE Betula sp.
	K'idaàghòq	Lichen growing on birch	Not identified
	K'òò	Willow	SALICACEAE Salix sp
	ʔedzq	Black spruce	PINACEAE Picea mariana
	ʔadzì	Lichen (general term)	Not identified
	Tsòht'èzoò	Crowberry plant	EMPETRACEAE Empetrum nigrum
	T'oooh	Aspen/white poplar	SALICACEAE Populus tremuloides
	Gots'agoò	Labrador tea	ERICACEAE Ledum decumbens
Nòhkwòdè	-----		-----
	ʔedaghoò	Gooseberry	Not identified
	Lìgaezq	"old time tobacco"	Not identified
	Mòhgwìzoò	Juniper	CUPRESSACEAE Juniperus sp.

ownership, the name indicates necessary resources for camping or settling in that location as it is used. Kweghootailı̃ is known to have whagweè, which is relatively level ground, well drained sandy soil with a number of useable resources. Nevertheless, the name Kwegootailı̃ tells the traveler the river is rough in that particular location. The other two place-names indicate that Pierre Washie place is further along the river and 'zek'edqodehtì' which translates as 'a river lake up ahead' tells that the river will widen.

4.2.7 Predicting Vegetation based on Habitat Classification at Gametì and Simitì

Given that baseline information is being documented for the purposes of monitoring and managing Dogrib territory, the following prediction of plant communities in the Simitì and Gametì³² are based on the following:

- Elders teaching researchers what to expect when knowing that a particular habitat is in a certain place and the researchers documenting this information; and,
- Documenting particular vegetation communities associated with habitats while at specific locations in both the barrenlands and the boreal forest.

Habitats were mapped using 1:50,000 maps while sitting at kitchen tables in Gametì. The following table lists the habitat classifications that were assigned to locations in column one. Column two lists the vegetation the researchers predict will be at these sites.

Habitat and Vegetation Associated with Simitì and Gametì	
Habitat type	Predicted landscape and Vegetation
K'ògohaa	A valley with a small stream running through it with the primary vegetation being willow.
K'ìgohaa	A valley with the primary vegetation being birch
Ts'ìgohaa	A valley with the primary vegetation being spruce.

³² Officially known as Faber Lake and Rae Lakes.

Ts'oo	A muskeg areas with the primary vegetation being: ʔedzɔ, (black spruce), ʔitʔ'ò (cranberry), Dziewà (blueberry)
Whagweè	An area that has very little undergrowth due to its sandy dry ground mixed with some black dirt. The growth that is there is usually: ʔadzìidegoo (white lichen), ʔedaghoò (gooseberry), ʔìhk'aadzì (bearberry), ʔtsìghoò (rose bush), ʔitʔ'ò (cranberry), Dahkà (raspberry) Dziewà (blueberry), Gɔò (jack pine), Gots'ok'a (cloudberry), Kɛdzì (saskatoon), K'ì (birch), Kwetsì (black rock fungus), Gots'agoɔ (labrador tea), Lìgaezɔò ("old time tobacco") Dahkà (raspberry), Nòhkwò (type of moss), K'ò (willow) T'ooh (aspen), Ts'iwà (white spruce), Tsqht'è (crowberries)
What'a	ʔadzìidegoo (white lichen), ʔitʔ'ò (cranberries), ts'iwà (white spruce)

There are three types of goèhʔaa in the Gametì and Simitì area. From discussions with elders while working in the barrenlands and in Gametì, it has been determined that goèhʔaa is a general term for a valley which is dominated by one main type of bush or tree. Elders define the three types of goèhʔaa as: tsìgoèhʔaa (spruce valley), k'ìgoèhʔaa (birch valley) and k'òògoèhʔaa (willow valley).

4.2.8 Summary of Habitat Information

Dogrib elders have provided detail 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 predictions were made, the research team did not have sufficient resources to verify their predictions in the Simitì and Gametì³³. Nevertheless 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.

³³ Officially known as Faber Lake and Rae Lakes.

5. DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

Preliminary research results early in this study supported the assumption that place names are indicators of bio-geographical knowledge that complements the task of caribou hunting. Fieldwork in subsequent years has demonstrated that patterns associated with place names will be useful in the environmental monitoring of Dogrib traditional territory. The data suggests that place names associated with flora and fish are indicators of biodiversity, whereas place names with topographical or water flow information are descriptions of the landscape and water situation which make travel safer and easier. These generalizations do not suggest that certain places are associated only with single resources or travel routes. Rather they simply mean that, based on place names, we may be able to make predictions about baseline resources and biodiversity, and therefore monitor these sites more closely for change through time. In determining the generalizations, oral narratives have been important. Together, the place names and 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.

During the study, a pattern has 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 bio-geographical 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. This is encapsulated in the following statement:

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 guide 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 97/08/13-2/5)

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, and that the Dogrib 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 Dogrib traditional territory, the territory they know as home. The knowledge of several places was documented through habitat classification and defining vegetation communities, and the research team has made predictions of what vegetation should be at particular places. Such predictions, along with baseline knowledge of what resources are found at particular sites, will be invaluable in the development of cumulative effects assessment programs.

5.1 Recommendations

Dogrib place names are an extremely important part not only of Dogrib cultural heritage, but also of the heritage of northerners and of the human as a whole. Much work has been done over the past four years, and a lot of valuable information has been gathered, but there is much more information to come. The work will not be complete until all the place names and their related information, particularly habitat and vegetation communities, have been recorded for posterity. This study has shown that Dogrib place names are reliable indicators of bio-geographical knowledge, and that the knowledge recorded with the place names can be used to make predictions concerning natural features. The knowledge is important to increase our basic understanding of northern ecosystems, or *dè*. The knowledge could be very useful in helping to determine which parts of the landscape might be adversely affected by non-renewable resource development, including which habitat is particularly important for people, plants and animals. This knowledge is a valuable environmental tool as well as being extremely important to Dogrib culture.

Dogrib 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 associated with ensuring that the effort to gather and record their knowledge continues. Also, non-renewable resource development, especially mining and the associated infrastructure, is proceeding rapidly. The need for this baseline information and knowledge is great, so that there can be more effective monitoring of the impacts of specific projects, as well as defining, monitoring, and managing cumulative effects.

Other important initiatives also make use of this knowledge, either indirectly or directly. For example, the Protected Areas Strategy recognizes the “need to protect areas which 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”.

Dogrib bio-geographical 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 Dogrib’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.¹

¹ 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.

6. LINKS WITH PARALLEL STUDIES

As stated in “Rakekée Gok’é Godi: Places We Take Care Of”, the report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group,

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.¹

This seems to be true of most indigenous cultures, and research into the use and cultural significance of place names has been done in many parts of the world. However, relatively few of the studies examined (see bibliography) have taken the same approach to the subject as the present Dogrib study.

In Jiang Guoxun’s study of Chinese place names, the author demonstrates the wide range of uses for place names in “research on the structure, form, development, and distribution of the physical environment.”² 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

Illustrating the importance of the natural environment and its non-human inhabitants to the Sahaptin people of the Columbia Plateau, Eugene Hunn found that “nearly 30 percent of all animals and plants named in Sahaptin are involved in place-naming”,

¹ “Rakekée Gok’é Godi: Places We Take Care Of”, the report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group, December 1999, p. 22.

² Jiang Guoxun, “The Use of Place-names in the Study of China’s Physical Environment”, in **Diming Congkart**, 6, 1998.

and “over 250 (more than 22.5 percent of all Sahaptin place names) may be considered ecologically based.”³ Hunn pointed 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.⁴

Julie Cruikshank has studied Athapaskan place names in the Yukon,⁵ and has found that the names have a wide variety of associations:

- Descriptive (which, she says, “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.⁶

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

³ Eugene Hunn, “Columbia Plateau Indian Place-names: What Can They Teach Us?”, in *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 6(1), American Anthropological Association, 1996, p. 15.

⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵ 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.

⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

...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.⁷

The literature search uncovered one particularly relevant research project done elsewhere in the Northern Hemisphere. In an archaeological study of Sámi place names in Finnish Lapland, Tuija Rankama 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.”⁸

Rankama found that Sámi place names most often consist of topographical root words with the addition of one or more “determinants” giving 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 333 Sámi place names. The following table summarizes this information.

⁷ 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.

⁸ Tuija Rankama, “Managing the Landscape: A Study of Sámi Place-names in Utsjoki, Finnish Lapland”, in *Études/Inuit/ Studies*, 1993, 17(1), p. 50.

Frequency of Different Types of Sámi Place Name Determinants

Determinant Type	Frequency (N=333)	% of Total
Topographic	131	39.3
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	5.4
Events	13	3.9
Animals	12	3.6
Plants	11	3.3
Mythical creatures or sacred sites	7	2.1

Rankama noted in the above list that “toponyms referring explicitly to an available resource are rare”.⁹ He 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.¹⁰

It is interesting to compare Rankama’s list of the frequency of place name determinants with the list below of the frequency of Dogrib place names indicating bio-geographical knowledge.

⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

Frequency of Dogrib Place Names Indicating Bio-Geographical Knowledge (2000)

Category	Frequency (N=310)	% of Total
Indicators of Probable Crucial Lakes/Rivers Information	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

Combining the Dogrib 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 end up being quite different. Whereas the Dogrib 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 Dogrib, a combination of forest and tundra, and the Sámi were not only hunters, but herders as well.

Another interesting comparison between the Dogrib 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. As stated elsewhere in this report,

As is consistent with other classification systems, the Dogrib 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, which is both a type of moss and the name of an area associated with other plants. Another example is associated with gah, an animal expected to forage on the vegetation found in whagweè. Nevertheless, 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 which are located adjacent to each other and which have one or more elements in common.”¹¹ 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.”¹² One example of a linear chain is the Sámi place name Njilohkmohkkeávvzecomat which, broken into its separate parts, means ‘Njilj River’ + ‘bend’ + ‘gulch’ + ‘hills’. Compare this with the Dogrib place name Ts’iekw’qòhtideè which breaks down into ‘spruce’ + ‘bare’ + ‘lake’ + ‘river’, the river that flows out of the lake where trees had been 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

¹¹ Rankama, p. 58

¹² Ibid., p. 58

natural resources. ... it is not sufficient to look for names overtly linked with resource utilization.¹³

With this in mind, however, Rankama believes that the landscape information “embedded” in place names “has definite potential for archaeological application.”¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

Needless to say, the same can be said for using the knowledge embedded in Dogrib place names, and not only for archaeological application. Dogrib elders, who best understand the implicit information embedded in the place names, and who are most familiar with the landscape and the behaviour of the animals in the study area, could provide invaluable assistance in generating maps of present-day and potential resource use. Such maps could be used as a basis for testable hypotheses about the impacts of proposed industrial development projects. Obviously more work will be required to determine the best way to go about such a task.

There is 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 Dogrib place names as bio-geographical knowledge, and how such knowledge could best be presented, promoted, and shared, so as to contribute to wise use of dè.

¹³ Ibid., p. 59

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 62

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 62

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APPENDIX I

List of Dogrib Place Names

APPENDIX I -- Place names

The place names below are listed in alphabetical order according to their Dogrib spelling. Four types of information are given for each place: the Dogrib name; its official name and/or map number; an analysis of the components of the name, if known; and brief notes from interviews with elders.

Dogrib Names

The basis for the spellings is *Tł̥chq̣ Yatì Eṉhtł'è* / *A Dogrib Dictionary* (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1996). In a few cases the spellings of words or names differ from what is found in the dictionary. We gain confidence in the spellings we have arrived at from our research methodology, characterized by intensive consultation with elders. Please see Appendix IV for further discussion of spelling principles.

There are two respects in which the spellings here differ in principle from the dictionary spellings. First, the place names are consistently spelled as single words without internal spaces, for reasons given above. Thus, we contrast the dictionary's spelling of the name for 'Sarah Lake' with that used in this report:

Gq̣ah Tì	<i>Tł̥chq̣ Yatì Eṉhtł'è</i> spelling
Gq̣ah Tì	<i>Whaèhdq̣ Nàowòd Kq̣</i> spelling

Second, the spellings here make more use of the letter **ɬ** than the dictionary does. The dictionary follows the principle that **ɬ** at the beginning of a word is not written unless it begins a root word such as **ɬoo** "spruce boughs". Our practice requires **ɬ** to be

written in every position where it occurs. The spellings for ‘Marian Lake’ therefore contrast as follows:

Ìhdaak’è Tì *Tḥchṓ Yatì Enḥtl’è* spelling
ʔhdaak’ètì *Whaèhdṓṓ Nàowòḥ Kṓ* spelling

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

A significant proportion of the place names are listed in two forms separated by • . This decision follows the dictionary in recognizing that Dogrib-speaking communities show consistent variation in the pronunciation of words spelled with [ch ch’ j sh zh]. The word meaning “mountain”, for example, can be spelled either sìh or shìh. Both types of spellings are listed in the dictionary, and here, so as to respect both patterns of speaking. The name for ‘Artillery Lake’, among many others, is listed 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 Dogrib region are known by two names. Both names are noted: see the listing for **Yazṭì** below, for example. In the reverse situation, there are a number of names which recur in the listing, just as a name like **Trout Lake** or **Long Lake** recurs many times in the Canadian gazetteer. When it is necessary to distinguish one place from another with the same name, there is a means of identifying the places by an important geographical feature in the vicinity. The name Tìdaa means “Long and Narrow Lake”; a specific Tìdaa can be identified for example as Jìmìtì gà Tìdaa,

meaning “Tıdaa by Jımìtì”. This mechanism is important to observe as it is revealing of particularly significant sites in the Dogrib landscape.

Official Name

When places known to Dogrib people have official names found on government maps, these names are listed in the table below. We include as many official names as possible, and in some cases have included map numbers to localize named places.

The Dogrib and official name for a place do not necessarily cover the same area. As a great many of the lakes in the Dogrib region lie in the flow of river systems draining into Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie River, Great Bear Lake, or the Arctic Ocean, these mismatches are not surprising. The Dogrib lake named Wekweètì is a body of water identified by two official names, Snare Lake and Roundrock Lake. Rawalpındı Lake is coextensive with the two Dogrib lakes Wek’ewhałıttì (in the north) [not included in the current listing] and ?etsaàłıttì (in the south).

Literal Translation and Remarks

Many of the Dogrib place names are linguistically analyzable as compound words, such as Kòtì, which translates literally as “Fire Lake”, or Degaim̀hk’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 of presenting this information is in a gloss of the internal parts of the name in the order in which they occur in the Dogrib word. Even if a name is not wholly analyzable, as much information as possible is

indicated in the gloss. Sometimes more information on a name is given in the further remarks in this section, such as a translation of the name into idiomatic English or elders' conjectures on the significance of a name whose internal structure is not strictly analyzable.

This section of the listing also includes general notes about the places transcribed or summarized from interviews, ranging from physical descriptions of the locale to information about burial sites and habitat to stories or legends about the place and its associations.

Technical Notes on Glosses

What follows is a somewhat technical discussion of some of the fine-grained information given about a place name. The term 'gloss' is used for the literal translations of the internal pieces of a place name. For the place name ?ehdaaghoò, the gloss is:

point-rough

In idiomatic English the name therefore translates as "Rough Point". Much more complicated is **Samèèyek'e ɬì gòhɔ**, glossed as:

Sammy-it-on-fish-he foundDSuff-lakePNSuff

This is a lake named by the sentence **Samèè yek'e ɬì gòhɔ** "Sammy found fish on it", "Lake Which Sammy Found Fish On". The grammatical patterns of the Dogrib

language determine the order of elements within the sentence, and 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 Dogrib, some care must be taken in using the glosses. The name **Kwebàadiì**, for example, glossed “rock-alongside-islandPNSuff”, is properly translated as “Island Alongside Rocks”. Adjectival roots like **-ghoò** “rough”, **-kàa** “flat”, **-tso** “big”, and **-ka** “top” follow the word they modify, so **Kweghoòdiì** translates as “Island of Rough Rocks” and **ʔit’òtsotì** as “Lake of Big Leaves”.

Abbreviations

The glosses for virtually all of the place names in the database include one or more of four abbreviations for which some technical explanation is given below:

The **descriptive suffix (DSuff)** occurs at the end of a sentence or verb phrase which describes a thing, as in **Deghàedaa**, translated as “Looking at Itself”, where it is the final (doubled) vowel in the word. This suffix often corresponds approximately to the English suffix **-ing**. In **Samèèyek’ehgòhʔoòtì**, the descriptive suffix is the doubled **-o** at the end of the describing sentence. This suffix also occurs in the names below.

Ts’iedaa	“Living Spruce”
Kwetʔàa	“Rocks Extending into Water”
Kwekàateèlʔ	“Stream Over Outcrops of Rocks”
Dehdaèhzaa	“River Dammed Up”

The **possessed noun suffix (PNSuff)** occurs on nouns when they are identified in terms of a possessor, associated thing, or other defining element, as in **Ts’èzòòrehdaà**,

translated as “Old Lady’s Point”. The suffix takes the form of the final -à of the word ‘point’, doubling the last vowel but showing marked low tone. Doubling of the vowel, with low tone, is the usual shape for the possessed noun suffix. Below are displayed some nouns commonly found in place names and their possessed noun forms. A large proportion of the place names in our database include this suffix.

Plain Noun	Noun + PNSuff	Translation	Example showing PNSuff
zehdaa	-zehdaà	point	Ts’èzòòzehdaà
deh	-deè	river	Sahk’eèdeè
dì	-dì	island	Sahdì
dḷka	-(dì)ḷkaà	narrows	Łèdzèḷkaà
kwe	-kweè	rock	Tatsakweè
tì	-tì	lake, water	Wek’edèḷḡgòḷtì
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’ehḡòhḡòtì**. All such complex place names therefore include both the descriptive suffix (on the descriptor sentence) and the possessed noun suffix (on the noun). Other examples are:

Ts’inàwhedaatì	“Lake Where Ts’inà is [Buried]”
Nàk’òḡaats’ahtì	“Side Lake of Willow Standing”
Tawòhàèḷtì	“Lake of Open Water Flowing Out”
Bìayek’enàḡdèetì	“Lake on Which Bìā Lived”

The “**small**” suffix (**SmSuff**) is the vowel -a suffixed to a word or phrase to give the sense of a small or dear object. Some place names involving this suffix are shown here:

Dehtia	“Small River-Lake”
K’aàwıdzıwıdia	“K’aàwıdzıwı’s Islet”
Łiwets’aḡòa	“Small [Place] Where Fish Swim in Circles”
Tèetideghaèḷa	“Little Stream Through Tèetì”

There is another suffix **-tsoa** with a similar sense, glossed “small”, as well as suffixes glossed “big”, **-tso • -cho**, and **- deè**, glossed “great”.

The **areal prefix (AreaPref)** is a grammatical prefix indicating that an area or space is being referenced. It takes the form **go-** or **ho-**, and is found in a few items, including:

ʔedaàgodeè	“Great Crossing”
Tʔàgotso	“Big Bay”

(It also occurs in the words **hotèh** “portage” and **hozù** “barrenlands”.)

By including information about these four affixes and other linguistic particularities, the glosses show a considerable amount of detail, which we consider is invaluable in our aim to express the elders’ rich, fine-grained knowledge and understanding.

Unanalyzed place names

For some place names nothing is known about the origins of the name; in other cases there may be only partial information in people’s grasp today. Place names can be vastly old, so it is not surprising if some etymologies have been lost over the centuries. The question marks in the glosses indicate unknowns. Nothing is known about the place name ʔewih, for example, so its gloss is given as “?”. In the case of Beʔaitì, the last element of the name identifies the place as a lake, but nothing is known about the etymology of the rest of the word. With some place names, educated guesses from the elders are provided for some elements, as with Dòdùdaetì, which is glossed as:

person-food?-?-lakePNSuff

As more is learned about the places and their names, some of these question marks should be able to be replaced with more firm information.

PLACE NAMES – Whaèhdòè Nàowoò Kò (2001)

Tłichò k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔariagik'ewhelaadehtì		HarrySmSuff-them-on-there areDSuff-river-lakePNSuff [river lake on which ʔarià and them are [buried]]; this dehtì is named after ʔarià 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- <i>big</i>
ʔedazòtsoa		ʔ- <i>small</i> [point on Tsòtì]
ʔeehgòtitso • ʔeehgòtìcho		clear-lakePNSuff- <i>big</i> ('big clear lake')
ʔeehgòtitsoa		clear-lakePNSuff- <i>small</i> ('small clear lake') [this lake is named after how it looks. It is very clear; you can see rocks on the bottom of the lake. Pierre Beaverho contrasted this name with the word ʔehtł'ètì 'mud lake', which has an opposite meaning]
ʔeehgòtìtsodagòèʔaa • ʔeehgòtìchodagòèʔaa		clear-lakePNSuff- <i>big-up-AreaPref-(path) extendsDSuff</i> ('big clear lake landing') [dagòèʔaa is the word for 'landing']
ʔehdaaghoò		point-rough (there are lots of small rocks on this point)
ʔehdaakwèè		point-offshore region
ʔehdaakw'oò		point-? (there are two places with this name, one near Hàelł. 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- <i>small</i>

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔehtł'ètì	James Lake	mud-lakePNSuff (there are a lot of fish in the creek feeding (?) this lake, which is named this way because it is very shallow)
ʔejiekweè		muskox-rockPNSuff (there was hunting of muskox in this area. The place is named after a hill.)
ʔejienaazì • ʔejienaazhì		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'
ʔek'adiì		fat-islandPNSuff (this is a second place with this name, an island in Deèzàatì • Deèzhàatì . A good place for moose. HS visited this place three times when he was about 30 years old.)
ʔek'adiìlǫ		fat-islandPNSuff-tip (point on ʔek'adiìtso where people camped)
ʔek'adiìtso • ʔek'adiìcho	greater Lac de Gras island	fat-islandPNSuff-big 'big island of fat'
ʔek'atì	Lac de Gras	fat-lakePNSuff 'lake of fat/fat lake'
ʔek'atì	Itchen Lake	fat-lakePNSuff (this is a second lake with the same name as Lac de Gras)
ʔek'atìʔehdaà	point on Lac de Gras	fat-lakePNSuff-pointPNSuff 'fat lake point'
ʔek'atìʔetsìlǫ • ʔek'atìʔechìlǫ		fat-lakePNSuff-tail-flowsDSuff 'outflow from fat lake'
ʔek'atìʔqhtsìk'e		fat-lakePNSuff-?-on
ʔek'atìdaadlǫ		fat-lakePNSuff-?-flowsSmSuff (the term daadlǫ refers to the waterway connecting to a ʔets'ahtì . A place to set bait for fish.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔek'atidaadlǵats'ahtì • ʔek'atidaadlǵach'ahtì		fat-lakePNSuff-?-flowsSmSuff-side-lakePNSuff (side lake to ʔek'atì associated with ʔek'atidaadlǵa)
ʔek'atideè	Lac de Gras river	fat-lakePNSuff-riverPNSuff 'river of fat lake'
ʔek'atidehtì		fat-lakePNSuff-river-lakePNSuff (dehtì 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'ı̀tì, and Nǵdiihahtì)
ʔek'èdook'ı̀wı̀hdı̀wheʔǵǵ		upper-K'ı̀wı̀hdı̀wheʔǵǵ
ʔekw'oòtì		?-lakePNSuff-SmSuff (beyond this lake is ʔekw'oòtıtso • ʔekw'oòticho)
ʔekw'oòtıtso • ʔekw'oòticho		?-lakePNSuff-big
ʔekw'ǵǵłàèǵǵtì		bone-?-behind?-lakePNSuff (this lake is on the edge of the barrenlands, near Jolly Lake (ʔezǵtì • ʔezhǵtì) so the bushes are generally short here. The wood in this area was used to make snowshoes and the like. There is a great spruce (white spruce) tree here where people used to camp.)
ʔekw'ǵǵłàètì		bone-?- lakePNSuff
ʔekw'ǵǵłàetsǵǵ • ʔekw'ǵǵłàechǵǵ		bone-?-woodPNSuff (this is the name of a wooded area of mostly ts'ı̀wà, with kw'ı̀a also, at the edge of the barrenlands, on the great boat trail to Jolly Lake, ʔezǵtì • ʔezhǵtì. The 'bone' in the name refers to short, stubby trees.)
ʔelàetǵhtì		boat-trail-lakePNSuff
ʔelàts'ı̀ı̀wek'ewhelaatì • ʔelàch'ı̀ı̀wek'ewhelaatì		canoe-old-it-on- there areDSuff-lakePNSuff (‘lake on which there are old canoes’. A slightly shorter form of this name is ʔelàts'ı̀ı̀whelaatì • ʔelàch'ı̀ı̀whelaatì, which means ‘lake where there are old canoes’)
ʔelèèdlǵ		reciprocal-with-it flowsDSuff (at this place four waterways meet, going to Tsòtìdeè, K'èàǵtì, Hozìideè, and Hàelǵ)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔemǫǫts'ı̀tì		around-gutsPNSuff-lakePNSuff (this lake is named after the fatty caribou guts which sit around the wall of the belly)
ʔenàts'ı̀kwì	Dogrib Rock	ʔ (fighting took place at this site) (ʔenà is an old term for 'enemy'. Also heard as ʔenàts'ı̀kwì)
ʔenèegoo		ʔ
ʔeneèkogǫ́ayek'ełıgǫhʔǫǫtì		old man-skinny-it-on-fish-he foundDSuff-lakePNSuff
ʔeneèkokw'ǫǫwhelaa		old man-bones-there areDSuff (four elders are buried at this place)
ʔenı̀tıı		closed-it freezesDSuff
ʔet'èǫbàatì		ʔet'èe-?-lakePNSuff (this lake is named after a man called ʔet'èe. It isn't certain what the significance of the middle part of the word is. This round lake tı̀kàa is on a great trail, where moose and foxes can also be found. It has one island on it. The word is also pronounced as ʔet'ǫǫbàatì or ʔek'èǫbàatì.)
ʔetsaàʔı̀tì	Rawalpindi Lake	ʔ-?-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)
ʔetsèelıı • ʔechèelıı		tail-it flowsDSuff (as a general term, this word refers to the place from which water flows out of a lake. It is otherwise pronounced as ʔetsı̀ıı • ʔechı̀ıı.)
ʔewaàdihdaa		sand-islandPNSuff-long+narrow
ʔewaànit'ıı		sand-it stretchesDSuff 'where sand stretches in a line'
ʔewaànit'ı̀tì	Courageous Lake	sand-it stretches-lakePNSuff 'lake of a stretch of sand' (a contraction is ʔewaàıt'ı̀tì)
ʔewaàwedàıııı	Hloo Channel	sand-it-against?-it flowsDSuff (this is a dı̀ıka)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔewàakwıı	Russell Channel	mouth-it pokesDSuff (at this place coney were so plentiful that a stick could be used to poke fish in the mouth and lift them out of the water)
ʔezǫtì • ʔezhǫtì	Ghost Lake	spirit-lakePNSuff (there are two lakes with this name)
ʔezǫtì • ʔezhǫtì	Jolly Lake	spirit-lakePNSuff (there are two lakes with this name)
ʔezǫzìtì • ʔezhǫzhìtì		spirit-?-lakePNSuff (also heard as ʔezhǫjìtì from RW)
ʔıhdaak'ètì	Marian Lake	jackfish-site-lakePNSuff (there are lots of fish in this lake, not just jackfish)
ʔıhdaamǫhk'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]
ʔıhdaamǫhk'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]
ʔıhdaatì	Stagg River	jackfish-lakePNSuff (there are lots of jackfish here)
ʔındààkǫ	Ft Resolution	far off-house (so named because Ft Resolution was way across the lake)
ʔıt'ǫdì		leaf-islandPNSuff [larger island sound of Nìǫaa]
ʔıt'ǫkahtì • ʔıt'ǫhahtì	Hardisty Lake	leaf-narrows?-lakePNSuff (abbreviated it sounds like ʔıt'ǫǫhtì)
ʔıt'ǫmǫǫʔehdaà		leaf-around-pointPNSuff
ʔıt'ǫtì	Norris Lake	leaf-lakePNSuff (there are lots of birch trees around which are very beautiful. People like to camp here because of this and the plentiful fish.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
ʔı́t'òtsotì • ʔı́t'òchotì		leaf-big-lakePNSuff
ʔı́ts'èetì	Hottah Lake	moose-lakePNSuff (this term for 'moose' is more commonly used in Déline)
ʔǫhtsǫ́k'e		ʔ-on
Baatì		Baa-lakePNSuff 'lake of Baa'
Beʔatì	Winter Lake	ʔ- lakePNSuff
Behk'ìjkaà		cliff-narrowsPNSuff (narrows bounded by behk'ì cliffs)
Behk'òdeè		seagull-riverPNSuff
Behtsokò • Behchokò	Rae	knife-big-house (it is named after a trader nicknamed Behcho. An old name for a place in this area is Ts'ı́jka, which means 'spruce narrows')
Behtsotì • Behchotì	Shoti Lake	knife-big-lakePNSuff (this lake is 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)
Bidoòmǫmǫhk'è		Bidoò-mother-net-site (this place near Rae is 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		
Daàghǫǫtì	Daran Lake	lichen type-lakePNSuff (daàghǫǫ is a type of lichen which hangs like a cloth on trees, food for caribou. The first part of its name da- is used in words meaning things which are raised off the ground)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Daàts'iitì	Mosher Lake	?-guts-lakePNSuff [also pronounced by some people as Daàts'eetì]
Daàts'iitìk'enìwhelıı		Daàts'iitì-on-it flows to a pointDSuff
Dat'èhtì	Humpy Lake	brant-lakePNSuff (named after the duck dat'èh)
Dazıdàhtì • Dazhıdàhtì		?-from-against-lakePNSuff [the elders said to compare this word with sazıdàà • sazhıdàà 'southward'] [a very shallow lake, therefore a good place for moose]
Dechıèlıı		stick-it flowsDSuff (a stream flowing through bushes)
Deèzàatì • Deèzhàatì	Point Lake Lake Providence	?-lakePNSuff (the name is very old and it is not known what the roots of the name are)(the old word which 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 much greater body of water than what is included by the English name. This lake is an example of a dehti)
Deèzàatìretsıılıı • Deèzhàatìrechıılıı		Deèzàatì-tail-flowsDSuff
Deèzàatideè • Deèzhàatideè		Deèzàatì-riverPNSuff
Degaimıhk'è		holy-net-site
Deghaılıı		river-through-it flowsDSuff (to the N of Wekweètì) (dııka - a narrows)
Deghàedaa		self-it looks atDSuff (this is the name of a spot on a river where two rivers flow together amidst hills, where they appear to be looking at each other)
Dehdaèhzaa • Dehdaèhzhaa	Snare River dam	river-dammed upDSuff
Dehtìa		river-lakePNSuff-SmSuff [a beautiful place with whagweè]

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Dehtıdaa		river-lakePNSuff-by
Dehtsǰııǰı • Dehchǰııǰı		river-tail-it flowsDSuff
Dèdlııtı		old growth forest area-lakePNSuff
Dètaèʔaa		land-amidst-it extendsDSuff (the name of a river which flows through rocks)
Dètaǰhtǫǫ	Tayonton Lake	land-amidst-[water] sits in a contained spaceDSuff (this is the name of an ʔets'ahtı • ʔech'ahtı, a side lake off some other lake)
Dikaatso		island-?-big
Dıkwıts'ıı		island-head-it combsDSuff
Dınàhkotı		island-?-lakePNSuff (the name means 'high island lake'. There is a high cliff on the island that the lake is named after)
Dıtso • Dıcho		island-big 'big island'
Dıtsotsoa • Dıchotsoa		island-big-small 'small big island' [also called 'small island' Dıtsoa]
Dıgadegootı	Whitewolf Lake	wolf-white-lakePNSuff (also pronounced as Dıgaregootı)
Dıgatı	Grizzle Bear Lake (86A) Zinto Lake (86C)	wolf-lakePNSuff (an old name, some elders say that the lake is named 'Wolf Lake' because of the wolves which have dens in the esker and chase the caribou when they migrate across this lake. It is a long lake, with narrows. There is a high esker here, with white sand. There are graves here)
Dǫdııdaetı	Thoulezzeh Lake	person-food?-?-lakePNSuff (the name of this lake relates to the fact that it is situated on Monwhi's trail and therefore offers much to live on. It is at the edge of the barrenlands hozıılaa, a land of black spruce. There are graves here; Elizabeth Michel's mother, Baı is buried here. Its name was also heard as Dǫdıèdaetı and Nǫdııdaetı.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Dǫkw'ǫǫdìi		person-bones-islandPNSuff [several different islands are named this, islands on which people have been buried]
Dǫǫtì		?-lakePNSuff
?? Dzǫdalaatì • Jǫdalaatì		Jean-?- lakePNSuff [laa or laà] not certain
Dzǫtì		muskrat-lakePNSuff (there are three lakes with this name, including those also called Dzǫtìcho and Dzǫtìtsoa)
Dzǫtìtso • Dzǫtìcho		muskrat- lakePNSuff-big
Dzǫtìtsoa		muskrat- lakePNSuff-small
Gahk'eeǫehdaà		rabbit-?-pointPNSuff
Gahk'eetł'àà		rabbit-?-bayPNSuff
Gamètì	Gameti	Gamè-lakePNSuff 'Gamè's Lake'
Goèhǫaatso • Goèhǫaacho		stand of trees in a valley-big
Gokwìkw'ǫǫshìi		our-head-bone-is-mountainPNSuff (a short way of saying Gokwìkw'ǫǫwheǫǫshìi 'mountain where our skull is')
Gokwìkw'ǫǫwek'ewheǫǫtì		our-head-bone-it-on-there isDSuff-lakePNSuff (this is the name of a lake named after the mountain nearby which looks like a skull. The mountain is named Gokwìkw'ǫǫshìi. This lake is at the edge of the barrenlands and wood was carried from here into the barrenlands. The wood here 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'ǫkàtì	Mesa Lake	cloudberry-lakePNSuff
Gǫǫhtì	Sarah Lake	jackpine-narrows-lakePNSuff (the full form of this word is Gǫǫkahtì • Gǫǫhahtì) (compare ǫt'ǫkahtì and Nǫdìihahtì)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Gòlodì		burned over area-islandPNSuff [there are two islands with this name] [the burn was a long time ago]
Hàelıı		out-it flowsDSuff (also pronounced as Kàelıı, Xàelıı)
Homı̀tì	Gordon Lake	?-net-lakePNSuff
Hozııdeè	Emile River	barrenlands-riverPNSuff
Jımı̀tì	Lower Carp Lake	?-net?-lakePNSuff (as this is an old name, it is not known why the lake has this name. This lake is on a great route and has a very nice shore) [This word was checked earlier and spelled Dzı̀mı̀tì • Jımı̀tì. The middle syllable seems to be equal to 'net', so the same spelling is used here. This is a revision in spelling from the earlier time.]
?? Kàıts'ıı		out-it blowsDSuff
Kòk'èetì	Contwoyto Lake	fire-site-lakePNSuff (the word kòk'è refers to an empty campsite)
Kòtì	Nose Lake	fire-lakePNSuff
Kòt'at'aatì	Lastfire Lake	house-?-?-lakePNSuff (also pronounced as Kòt'adaatì and Kòt'araatì)
K'aàwıdzıwı̀dìà • K'aàwıjıwı̀dìà		K'aàwıjıwı̀-islandPNSuff-SmSuff [a small island named after the person K'aàwıjıwı̀. Dòk'aàwı is a word for middlemen in the fur trade]
K'aìtì	Reindeer Lake	?-inside-lakePNSuff (this is a shortened form of K'azhı̀tì,. There is a hill at this location, which also has bear dens sahı̀qòq)
K'ààtì	Indin Lake	wait!-lakePNSuff (the term k'aà is used as an interjection meaning 'wait!', and it is also used as an adverb meaning 'while waiting') (people possibly waited at this lake for caribou)
K'àbamı̀tì	Colville Lake	ptarmigan-net-lakePNSuff (lots of ptarmigan here)
K'eàgotì	Hislop Lake	?-?-lakePNSuff
K'ıtì		birch-lakePNSuff

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
K'ıwııhdııwheʔǫǫ		birch cluster-island-?-there isDSuff
Kwebàadiì		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff (the name of the island is also pronounced Hobàadiì)
Kwebàadiìlǫ		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff-tip (this is the name of the tip of an island bordered by rocks)
Kwebàadiìlǫ		rock-alongside-islandPNSuff-tip [also called Hobàadiìlǫ by some people]
Kwebàatì	Wopmay Lake	rock-alongside-lakePNSuff (there is an associated ʔechǫlǫlǫ)
Kwebàatsaa • Kwebàachaa	Fort Smith	rock-alongside-it boiled?DSuff (the place is so named because of the rapids there)
Kwedaakǫǫ		rock-raised-it is there, on a flat surfaceDSuff (the name is a shortened form of Kwedawhekǫǫ, meaning approximately 'rock raised on a tableland') (caribou migrate right through this area)
Kwedaakǫǫtì		rock-raised-it is there, on a flat surfaceDSuff-lakePNSuff 'lake of Kwedaakǫǫ' (the lake next to Kwedaakǫǫ)
Kwedaahsıì • Kwedaahshıì		rock-it is humpedDSuff (the name is a shortened form of Kwedawhehsıì • Kwedawhehshıì), meaning 'high humped up rock'. The word contains the prefix da- meaning 'raised'. This hill is on a major caribou trail)
Kwèezıìtì • Kwèezhıìtì		sucker-lakePNSuff (the lake is named after the fish kwıezhıì)
Kweghoòʔehdaà		rock-rough-pointPNSuff
Kweghoòʔehdaàtso • Kweghoòʔehdaàcho		rock-rough-pointPNSuff-big 'big rough rock point'
Kweghoòdì		rock-rough-islandPNSuff 'rough rock island'

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Kweghoòdia		rock-rough-islandPNSuffSmSuff 'little rough rock island'
Kwekaghoòti	Desteffany Lake	rock-on top-rough-lakePNSuff 'lake of rough tops of rock' ?
Kwekaghoòtidehti		rock-on top-rough-lakePNSuff-river-lakePNSuff 'river lake of the lake of rough tops of rock' ?
Kwekaghòti		rock-top-jagged-lakePNSuff (ghò 'jagged' refers to the fact that there are lots of small bays on the shores of this lake)
Kwekàarehdaàtso • Kwekàarehdaàtso		rock-flat-pointPNSuff-big
Kwekàahti	Wecho Lake	rock-flat-lakePNSuff 'lake of outcrops of rock'
Kwekàateèlǫ		rock-flat-over-it flowsDSuff 'flowing over outcrops of rock'
Kwekàateèlǫts'ahti • Kwekàateèlǫch'ahti		Kwekàateèlǫ-side-lakePNSuff
Kwek'aak'è?òò		rock-white-?-it floatsDSuff (this is a dǫka)
Kwek'atì	Lac de Gras	rock-fat-lakePNSuff (<i>'lake of rockfat'</i> . This is a second name for Lac de Gras, which 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/Kwetǫ?àa.)
Kwetǫ?àa	Rae Rock	rock-into water-it extendsDSuff
Kwet'jakògò?òòtso • Kwet'jakògò?òòcho		white personSmSuff-house-there isDSuff-big 'big house location of little Whiteman'
Kwetsahti • Kwechahti	Mazenod Lake	rock-?-lakePNSuff (it is called this because there are lots of rocks here. The middle syllable is not ts'a, as in ?ets'ahti, according to Joe Migwi.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Kwetsoozì • Kwechoozhì		rock-big?-mountainPNSuff (a large mountainous area to the west of Whatì. Also heard as Kwejoozhì.)
Kwetsòtì		rock-dirt?-lakePNSuff (kwetsò is the term for 'black lichen')
Kwewìnàl̥aa		rock-puffy-down?-there areDSuff?
Kwewìtaideè		rock-puffy-amidst-riverPNSuff (there are a lot of fish in this river because of the configuration of rocks)
Kwìk'ìr̥edaà		gun-crossing (the site is on both sides of a place where caribou travel)
Kwìk'ìr̥edaàts'ahtì • Kwìk'ìr̥edaàch'ahtì		Kwìk'ìr̥edaà-side-lakePNSuff
Kw'ahtideèwexèhtǫǫ	(possibly not a place name)	chief-him-with-it frozeDSuff 'where the chief was frozen in'
Kw'èhdìà		Kw'èh-islandPNSuff-SmSuff [this island is named after a person named Kw'èh] [small island w. of ʔłt'òdì]
Kw'itì	Ketcheson Lake	straight?-lakePNSuff
Kw'ititata		straight?-lakePNSuff-water-among (area bounded by Kw'itì and Tadeetì)
Kw'òǫtì		ice overflow-lakePNSuff (caribou like this type of place)
Łàdladiì		broken apart-islandPNSuff
Łatsoòtì		?-lakePNSuff
Łatsoòtìwhat'àà		?-lakePNSuff-eskerPNSuff (the name of an esker identified by the lake Łatsoòtì)
Łèdzèhtì		clay-lakePNSuff
Łèdzèłkaà		clay-narrowsPNSuff (in an area full of Łèdzèhshìh clay hills)
Łèhdlı̀tì		together?-frozenDSuff-lakePNSuff

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Łılırtì		fish-frozenDSuff-lakePNSuff 'frozen fish lake'
Łıt'aàtıtso • Łıt'aàticho		fish-fin?-lakePNSuff-big 'greater fish fin lake' ?
Łıt'aàtıtsoa		fish-fin?-lakePNSuff-small 'lesser fish fin lake' ?
Łıwełek'àatì		fish-it is fatDSuff-lakePNSuff 'fat fish lake'
Łıwets'aʔòà	area on Lac du Sauvage	fish-around-swimSmSuff ('little spot where fish swim in a circle'. Also pronounced as Łıts'aʔòà)
Łıwets'aʔòats'ahtì • Łıwets'aʔòach'ahtì	Lac du Sauvage	fish-around-swimSmSuff-side-lakePNSuff 'side lake of the little spot where fish swim in a circle'
Łìèhtì		whitefish-?-lakePNSuff (despite the different pronunciation, the same lake as Łìhti)
Łìhti	Parent Lake	whitefish-lakePNSuff (this lake is very good for whitefish fishing)
Łìgǫǫtì		whitefish-it driesDSuff-lakePNSuff (this is a place for drying fish, as its name indicates, and is used as a campsite. There are lots of rough white rocks around this area, which is a good fishing area for all kinds of fish--even though the placename includes one type of fish in its name.)
Madǫyek'eʔekwǫjhk'èetì		Madǫ-it-on-caribou-he shotDSuff-lakePNSuff (the name of the lake is 'lake on which Madǫ shot a lot of caribou'. The verb phrase ʔekwǫ jhk'è means 'he shot [many] caribou', and contrasts with ʔekwǫ whehk'è, which means 'he shot [a] caribou'. Sometimes Madǫ is referred to as Madǫezıı • Madǫezhıı, and the lake may be so named also: Madǫezııyek'eʔekwǫjhk'èetì • Madǫezhııyek'eʔekwǫjhk'èetì.)
Mıneehdaà		net-?-pointPNSuff [the point on which the village of Whatì is build]

Tłıchọ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Mòlakòk'è	Fort Enterprise	Frenchman-fire-site 'Frenchman's empty camp'
Nàakaàtì		aurora-lakePNSuff
Nàdenìṛàatì	Exeter Lake	(the lake is named after the fact that there is an esker which stretches across the lake. This was an area where foxes were hunted. The water flows towards Deèzàatì. Some also called it Nàdegòṛàatì.)
Nàgotsaà • Nàgochaà		? (this is the name of a dṛṛka, narrows. Alongside this place there is a nice area of old growth forest. Nothing is known about this name.)
Nàgotsaàdṛṛkaà • Nàgochaàdṛṛkaà		?-narrowsPNSuff
Nàṛṛṛ		down-it flowsDSuff 'waterfall' [falls on Tsòtideè]
Nàṛṛṛtì		down-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff (this is the name of the lake above the falls after which it is named) 'waterfall lake'
Nàkets'aàhk'òòdehtì		?-river-lakePNSuff [there is a slope along this river lake so that people have to walk on a slant along the lake. The lake is named after this]
Nàk'òṛṛaa		willow standsDSuff (there are a lot of k'òò 'willows' here. The word means 'willows standing', with k'ò incorporated into the word which means 'standing', nàṛṛaa. This is a common grammatical construction.)
Nàk'òṛṛaats'ahtì • Nàk'òṛṛaach'ahtì		willow standsDSuff-side-lakePNSuff (at this place is found the last of a type of willow before hozì)
Nṛṛhsì • Nṛṛhshì	Old Fort Rae area	?-mountainPNSuff
Nṛṛtsaghòòredaà		?-crossing (this is a caribou crossing. Because this is an old word it is not known what the parts of the name mean.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Nìht'èhtia		land?-charred-lakePNSuff-SmSuff (the name means 'pond of blackened earth', with nì probably being an old form of dè 'earth or land'. 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 in it. There are two graves here)
Nìjʔaa		it extends to a placeDSuff [an old name for this place is ʔeʔèè, meaning '[beaver] dam', after the story of Yamoozha's beaver wife making a dam here]
Nìjʔaatajʔàa		Nìjʔaa -among-path extendsDSuff [passage at the end of Nìjʔaa]
Nìsatsò		(this word is so old that people don't know what the name means. There are white spruce here as big around as a 45-gallon barrel)
Nòdiihahtì • Nòdiiikahtì	MacKay Lake	plateau?-lakePNSuff (the pronunciation with k is from Jimmy Martin and is the older way of pronouncing the word) (compare ʔit'òkahtì and Gògahì)
Nògèedia		fox-islandPnSuff-SmSuff
Saàhmjìtì	Squalus Lake	bear-it swam acrossDSuff-lakePNSuff (the first part of this name is an abbreviated form of sah naèhmjì, meaning 'where a bear swam across'. The abbreviation is what we would expect in a shortening of the word. In the middle of this lake is a narrows.)
Saàt'ootì	Redrock Lake	?-?-lakePNSuff (the name of this lake is not related to 'bear')
Sahdì		bear-islandPNSuff [associated with a story of ʔik'òò]
Sahk'eèdeè		(name)-riverPNSuff (this river is named after a person named Sahk'eè)
Sahtì	Great Bear Lake	bear-lakePNSuff
Samèèyek'ełıgòhʔòòtì		Sammy-it-on-fish-he foundDSuff-lakePNSuff (Sammy Football is the Sammy mentioned. Also pronounced as Samèèłıgòhʔòòtì or Samèèłıhòhʔòòtì)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Satsòtì	Grenville Lake	?-lakePNSuff
Sayaàdeetì		?-lakePNSuff (also heard as Sayaàdeetì)
Sąàdeèdehtì	east- Desteffany Lake? west- Redrock Lake?	?-riverPNSuff-river-lakePNSuff (there is two lakes of this name at either end of Deèzàatì • Deèzhàatì , and so these lakes bound that large lake. In English one of the lakes is called 'Desteffany Lake'.)
Sąàdehtì	Desteffany Lake	?-river-lakePNSuff (also called Sąàdeèdehtì)
Semǵdeè		?-net-riverPNSuff (this name was not researched by our group, but the name is known and is here correctly spelled)
Semǵtì	Faber Lake	?-net-lakePNSuff (compare semǵ 'net area' and Semǵdeè . Also heard as Simǵtì .)
Sìedzèa • Shìejèa		mountain-?SmSuff (people feel very happy at this place and tell of singing and dancing there from their happiness. The name is so old that the origins of the name are not known.)
Sìigǵòlǵàa • Shìigǵòlǵàa	Shegonla Hills	mountain-?-? (these mountains extend all the way to Wrigley. East of here is a gahk'è where there are lots of rabbits, and therefore lots of nòda feeding on them.)
Sǵòmbak'è	Yellowknife	money-site (this is the term for a mine, the most prominent feature of Yellowknife when it became a town)
Taanits'ahtì • Taanich'ahtì		middle-side-lakePNSuff [this lake is also given a fuller name by some, after the bay Wedoòtł'oo , Wedoòtł'oootaanits'ahtì]
Tadeetì		shallow water-lakePNSuff (the water in this lake comes no higher than the knees. The water in this lake is very clear but there are no fish in it because it is so shallow. It is on a great boat and sled trail and the area provides lots of grass for caribou.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Tajıaa		through-(trail) extendsDSuff [the trail really winds back and forth and the name relates to this fact]
Tatsaàǰı̄tì		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 (this place is named for the small falcons tatsea which nest there)
Tatseèhnǫǫ • Tacheèhnǫǫ		water-? (a placename remembered from childhood as a place where children were warned not to play; subject to flooding)
Tatsǫtì		raven-lakePNSuff
Tawoòhàelı̄tì		open water-out-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff
Tawoòmı̄hk'è		open water-net-site (this place gets its name for the fact that there is water or soft ice here all winter. In springtime several kinds of fish can be caught here. There is also a variety of trees and berry bushes. It is a good area for beaver and muskrat hunting.)
Tèetideghaèlı̄a		underwater-lakePNSuff- through-flowingDSuff-SmSuff
Teht'atì		water plant-lakePNSuff (there are a lot of water plants of the specific type here. The full form of this water plant on the plant list is tèeht'aà, where it is termed 'water lily'.)
Teht'atìa		water lily-lakePNSuff-SmSuff
Teht'atitso • Teht'atı̄cho		water lily-lakePNSuff-big [teht'aà 'water lily'] [see earlier note]
Tı̄daa		lake-long+narrow [-daa is a suffix which means 'long and narrow'] [Because there is another lake named Tı̄daa not too far away, this lake is called Jımı̄tì gà Tı̄daa when the two need to be distinguished.]
Tı̄daa		lake-long+narrow (a second lake with this name)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Tideè	Great Slave Lake	lake-great
Tiegòtì	Keller Lake	water-smooth?-lakePNSuff (this large lake has no islands in it, which is the source of its name. It is a good lake for fishing, beavers, and is the habitat for a good variety of trees and animals. The name of this lake is also pronounced as Teegòtì.)
Tiegòtì	Basler Lake	water-smooth?-lakePNSuff (the water is very smooth on this lake, and also delicious to drink. There is a dı́ka in the middle of the lake. Many types of medicine are available here, including a type of yellow flower and many useful grasses. The area is frequented by caribou, and also moose. The name of this lake is also pronounced as Teegòtì.)
Tieǰǰlatì	Beaupalant Lake	lake-each other-end-lakePNSuff 'lake where lakes come end to end'
Tikàtì	Boulder Lake	water-flat?-lakePNSuff [someone heard Chikàtì]
Tikàtìdegħaèlǰa		Tikàtì-through-flowingDSuff-SmSuff
Tikwootì		water-yellowDSuff-lakePNSuff
Tikwootìdahǰaak'è		water-yellowDSuff-lakePNSuff-baited hook-site (a good place to hook fish with a baited hook)
Tıtsǰǰǰèhǰaadeè • Tıchǰǰǰèhǰaadeè		water-?-it extendsDSuff-riverPNSuff (this is a creek dehtsoa)
Tıtso • Tıcho		lake-big
Tıtsotì • Tıchotì	Starfish and Seahorse Lake also Big Lake (86A/15)	water-big-lakePNSuff 'big water lake'
Tıts'eèhgootì		water-split-?DSuff-lakePNSuff (this is the name of a forked lake in the shape of a slingshot. Also pronounced Tıłats'eèhgootì.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Tıwheghòotì		water-it is crookedDSuff-lakePNSuff [this name comes from the curvy or crooked shape of the lake]
Tł'atsoòtì		?-lakePNSuff (because the name is very old we don't know what the name of this lake means as a word)
Tł'atsoòtìwhat'àà		Tł'atsoòtì-eskerPNSuff (it means 'esker of Tł'atsoòtì'. This is a very long esker which has been described as a spine of the land.)
Tł'àgotso • Tł'àgocho		bay-AreaPref-big (this is the name of a bay on Russell Lake)
Tł'ok'edaatì	Starfish Lake	grass-it walksDSuff-lakePNSuff 'lake of walking grass'
Tł'ok'edaatsı̀ • Tł'ok'edaachı̀		grass-it walksDSuff-woodPNSuff (this is the name of a river through a wooded area)
Tsı̀k'eèmjìtì • Chı̀k'eèmjìtì		north-net-lakePNSuff
Tsòtì	Little Marten Lake also Lac La Martre	excrement-lakePNSuff
Tsòtìdeè	Lac La Martre River	Tsòtì-riverPNSuff
Ts'eetì		?-lakePNSuff (this is a very long lake)
Ts'eèhgootì	Aylmer Lake	splits-?-lakePNSuff (so named because it is a forked lake)
Ts'èzqòsì • Ts'èzhqòshì		female-old-mountainPNSuff 'old woman's mountain'
Ts'èzqòrehdaà • Ts'èzhqòrehdaà		female-old-pointPNSuff (this is the burial place for the old woman for whom the mountain is named. It is close to the end of Snare Lake.)
Ts'iedaa		spruce-livesDSuff (('living spruce tree'. The tree is white spruce.)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Ts'iedaats'òrelàetǫ		Ts'iedaa -towards-boat-trail 'boat trail to the living spruce tree'
Ts'iehdaà		spruce-point
Ts'iekw'òǵhtì	compare Tsepantee Lake	spruce-bare-lakePNSuff (the name comes from the fact that trees in the area had been denuded by people taking branches for spreading in tents.)
Ts'iekw'òǵhtìdeè		Ts'iekw'òǵhtì-riverPNSuff (this river flows out of the lake of the same name towards Sahtì)
Ts'ıjka		spruce-narrows (the Rae area used to be called this: 'Spruce Narrows')
Ts'inàedaatì		spruce-it movesDSuff-lakePNSuff
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'inàwhedaatì		Ts'inà-isDSuff-lakePNSuff ['lake where Ts'inà is [buried]'; a man named Ts'inà is buried at the narrows at the north end of the lake, and the lake is named after the burial site]
Ts'inàzèe	Arseno Lake	canoe-huntsDSuff (known as the hunting road, supplies were stored here. The word ts'ı is a word meaning canoe. Other people said that the first part of this name refers to spruce.)
Ts'oodì		muskeg-islandPNSuff (a long island that stretches across a lake)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Wedoòtł'oo		it-above-grass (the name of a bay in Russell Lake. This place is also called Wedìtł'oo by some people.)
Wedoòtł'oots'ahtì • Wedoòtł'ooch'ahtì		Wedoòtł'oo-side-lakePNSuff
Wedzàakw'ootì		its-?-it fellDSuff-lakePNSuff (this name refers to a lake where a caribou calf fell at birth. The name was also heard as Wedziakw'ootì . The usual word for calf is tsia , and it isn't certain if the two words wedzia and tsia are directly related to each other, because there is no common rule which would connect them. The name contains a shortened form of the verb nàekw'o , meaning 'it fell down'.)
Wek'edèdlıgòlıjıti		it-on-old growth woods-AreaPref-there areDSuff-lakePNSuff (this lake is on a great sled trail. It is mainly edzǫ growing in the area, though there is some ts'iwà also. There is ʔajì for caribou and there are good berries, including plenty of gots'ǫkà and also a tasty berry called ʔjhk'aajì , which resembles tsǫht'è but is bigger.)
Wek'ehàelıjıti		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/ the settlement	his-rockPNSuff-lakePNSuff
Wekwìt'aııjıti	Mattberry Lake	its-head-top-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff (water flows towards Rae, flowing 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'

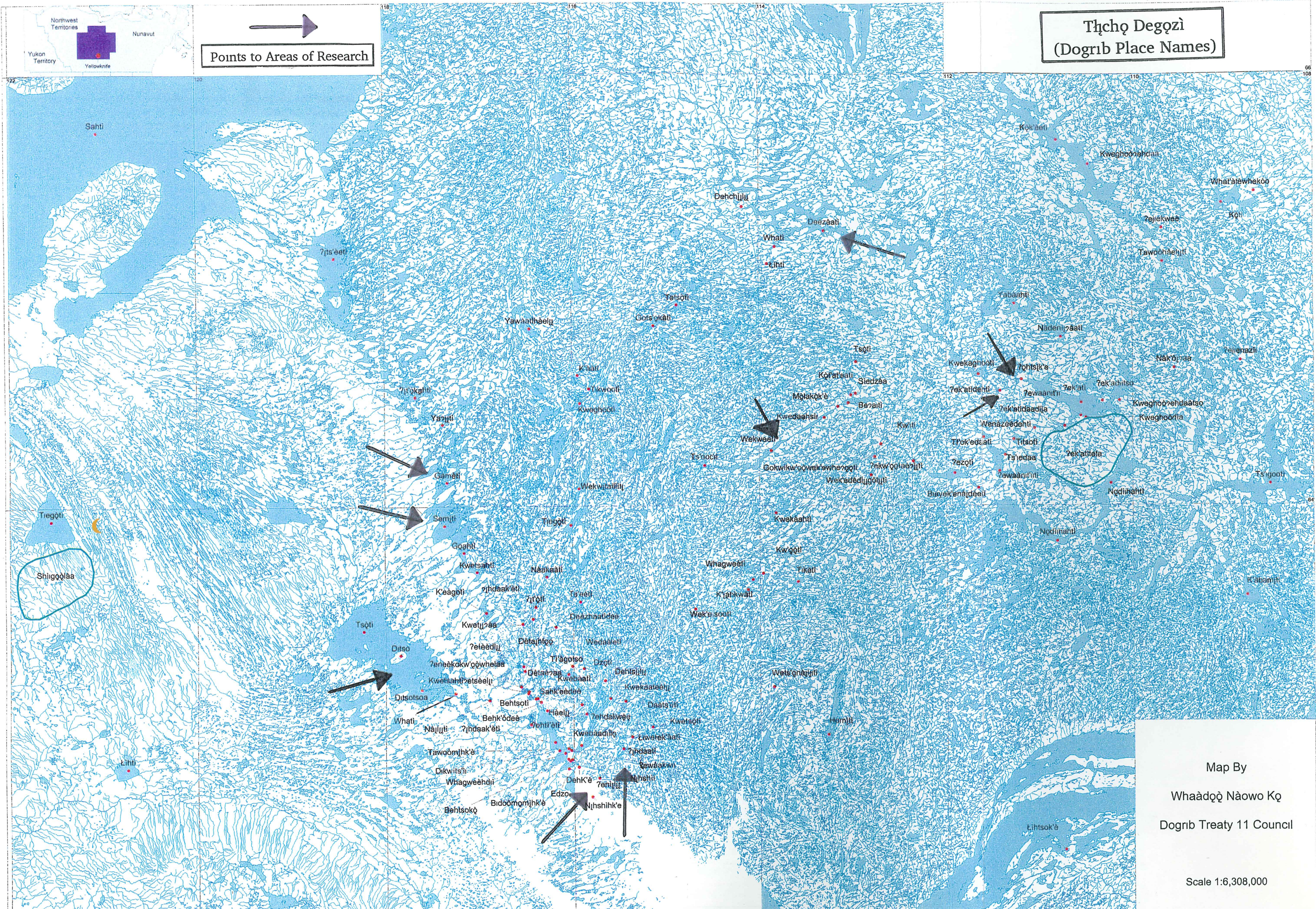
Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Wetł'aezǫǫtì	Rebesca Lake	it-?-?-lakePNSuff (a lake where there is a weyèedi)
Wets'ìtì	Boland Lake?	its-guts-lakePNSuff (also heard as Wets'eètì)
Wets'ǫnàǵǵtì		it-from-down-it flowsDSuff-lakePNSuff 'lake of the waterfall from it'
Weyèeditì	Wijinnedi Lake	frightening underwater creature-lakePNSuff (far north, near ʔezǫtì. Nice rock outcrops. The swimming of this creature creates a whirlpool which sucks things into it. A related word is weyìl 'inside it'.)
Weyìhàak'èe		it-inside-out-it blastsDSuff 'blasting out from inside' (this is a portage. Its name comes from the appearance of the place, which looked like an explosion had taken place here.)
Wèet'aà		? (nothing is known about this very old placename. A narrow peninsula. A caribou crossing which was a place where caribou were trapped in among the surrounding islands before there were guns. This name is also pronounced something like Wòot'aà.)
Whaàhtsotì		old?-?-lakePNSuff
Whagweèhdiì		sandy area-islandPNSuff
Whagweèhtì		sandy area-lakePNSuff
Whahdiìnoòlaa • Whahdiìnaàlaa		sand-islandPNSuff-?-there areDSuff 'string of sand islands' ?? (compare dictionary di nǵ hoèlaa)
Whàṭsòotł'aà		far-highDSuff-bayPNSuff (this placename includes a contraction of the word nàṭsò, meaning 'it is high')
Whàṭsòotł'aàhàǵǵ		Whàṭsòotł'aà-out-it flowsDSuff [the name of a high hill]
Whalaelǵ		sand-there is-flowsDSuff (stream where there is sand', abbreviated from Whawhelaaelǵ)

Tłıchǫ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Whataèlǫ		sand-amidst-it flowsDSuff (a very good fishing place where the water flows through a lot of islands)
Whatèhdiì		sand-mat?-islandPNSuff (this island is on Tideè, a large island in a windy spot near Nłhsì • Nłhshì)
Whatèhdia		sand-mat?-islandPNSuff-SmSuff (this small island is just sand so nobody lives there, though in that area there is some good grass for caribou. It is located at the end of Roundrock Lake, near Mòlakòk'è. Since it is close to the barrenlands, the trees are very short in this area.)
Whatì	Whati (85N-M) also Spider Lake (86B/11)	marten-lakePNSuff [the community formerly called Tsòtì]
Whatì		sand-lakePNSuff
What'à		esker
What'àanàtsòo		esker-it is highDSuff
What'àèhdiì		esker-?-islandPNSuff
What'ànìṛaa	(possibly not a place name)	esker-it extends to a pointDSuff (‘esker which points out’, site where there are two graves on top of the esker. Also called What'àkwǫṛaa by JM and What'àkǫṛaa by RW and What'àtǫṛaa by HS.)
What'àtèwhekòo		esker-flat-it is wideDSuff (this is the name of a high hill with a flat broad top by Kòtì. There is no rock on it, and no lakes right by it, just sand. Muskox were hunted here. Also pronounced as What'àtèokòo or What'àtèekòo.)
Yaṛǫtì	Lac Séguin	?-?-lakePNSuff (another name for the same place is Kweek'oonaelaa, which means 'red rocks going across' (rock-red-across-there areDSuff) - Joe Migwi)
Yabàahtì	Yamba Lake	sky-alongside-lakePNSuff (‘lake of the edge of the sky’)

Tłıchọ k'èè	Official name	Literal translation and remarks
Yak'èdàtì		sky?-?-lakePNSuff [some people heard n before d; we were uncertain about vowel length of the second last syllable]
Yawàatì	Zebulon Lake (86F/4) also Grant Lake (86C/15) with –tso suffix ?	?-sand?-lakePNSuff (there are two lakes with this name, one just west of ʔıts'èetì, with the waters of Yawàatìhàelıı flowing into ʔıts'èetì) (moose live in the area all year)
Yawàatì	Little Crapeau Lake also with –tsoa suffix?	?-sand?-lakePNSuff (there are two lakes with this name. The waters flowing out of this lake end up flowing into ʔıt'òhahtì.)
Yawàatìhàelıı		?-sand-lakePNSuff-out-it flowsDSuff (it is not known what the syllable ya means but there is a lot of sand at this place)
Yàezqatì		etymology unclear (a lake near ʔıt'òkahtì)

APPENDIX II

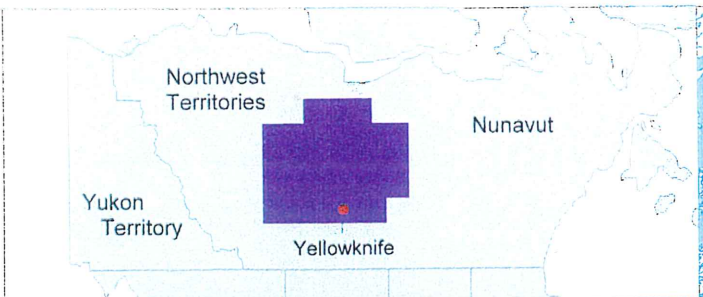
**Maps: Ṭchọ Dègoizì (Dogrib Place Names) and
Ṃowhì Gogha Dèṇṭ'èe (Dogrib traditional use
area) showing habitat classification
(reproduction of photocopies found in WKSS
warehoused files)**



Tłchq Degqzi
(Dogrib Place Names)

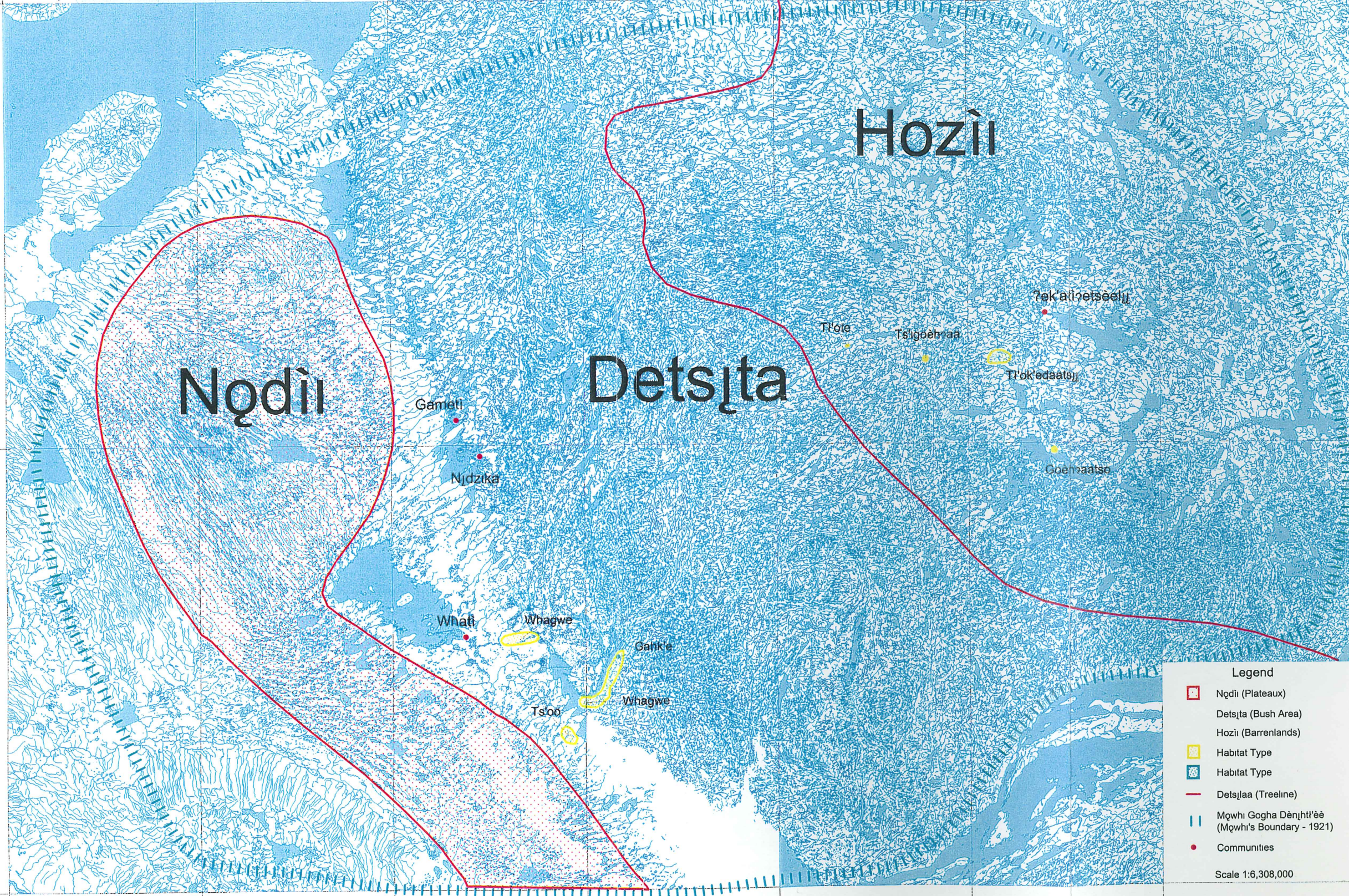
Points to Areas of Research

Map By
Whaàdqō Nàowo Kq
Dogrib Treaty 11 Council
Scale 1:6,308,000



Mqwhi Gogha Dènghtl'èè (Mqwhi's Boundary - 1921)

Map By - Whaàdōō Nàowo Kō
Dogrib Treaty 11 Council



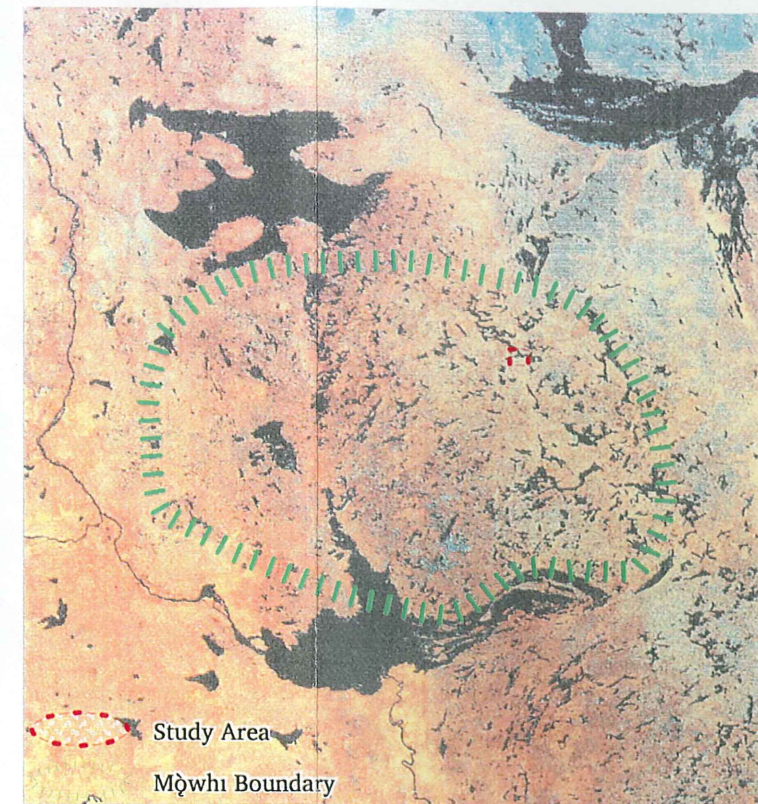
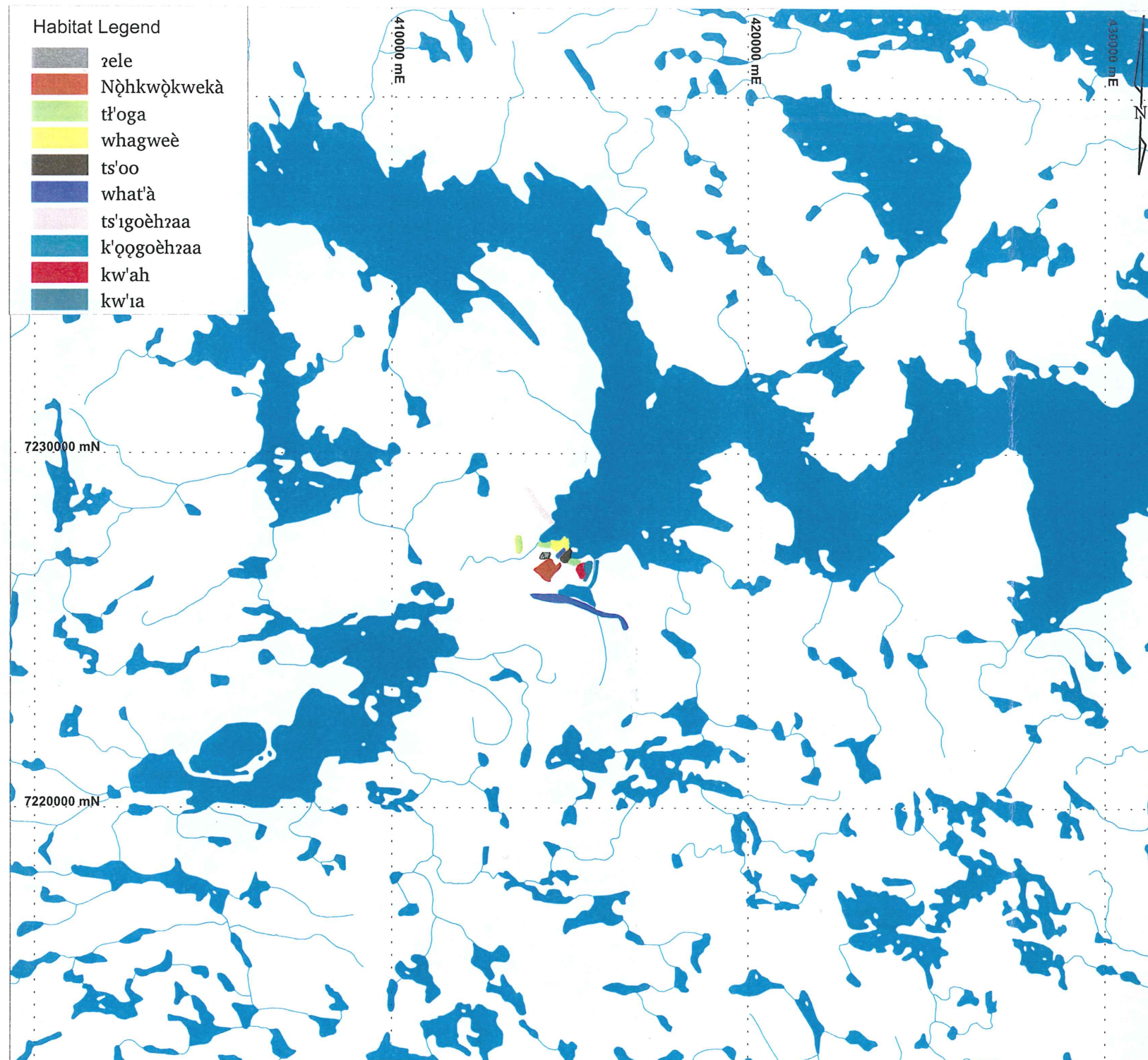
Legend

- Nqdi (Plateaux)
- Detsjta (Bush Area)
- Hozii (Barrenlands)
- Habitat Type
- Habitat Type
- Detsjlaa (Treeline)
- Mqwhi Gogha Dènghtl'èè
(Mqwhi's Boundary - 1921)
- Communities

Scale 1:6,308,000

APPENDIX III

Habitat Maps



Whaèhdòq Nàowo Kò Dogrib Treaty 11 Council

Project: NA

Date: 31/3/2001

Author: EcoTech Ltd.

Office: YK

Drawing: NA

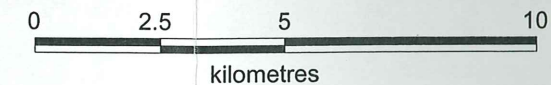
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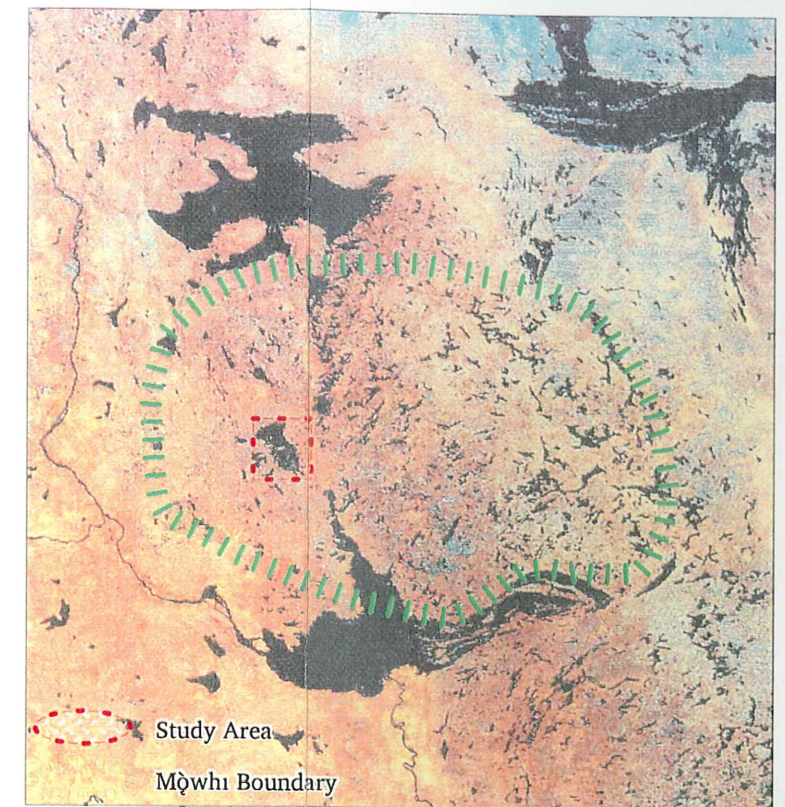
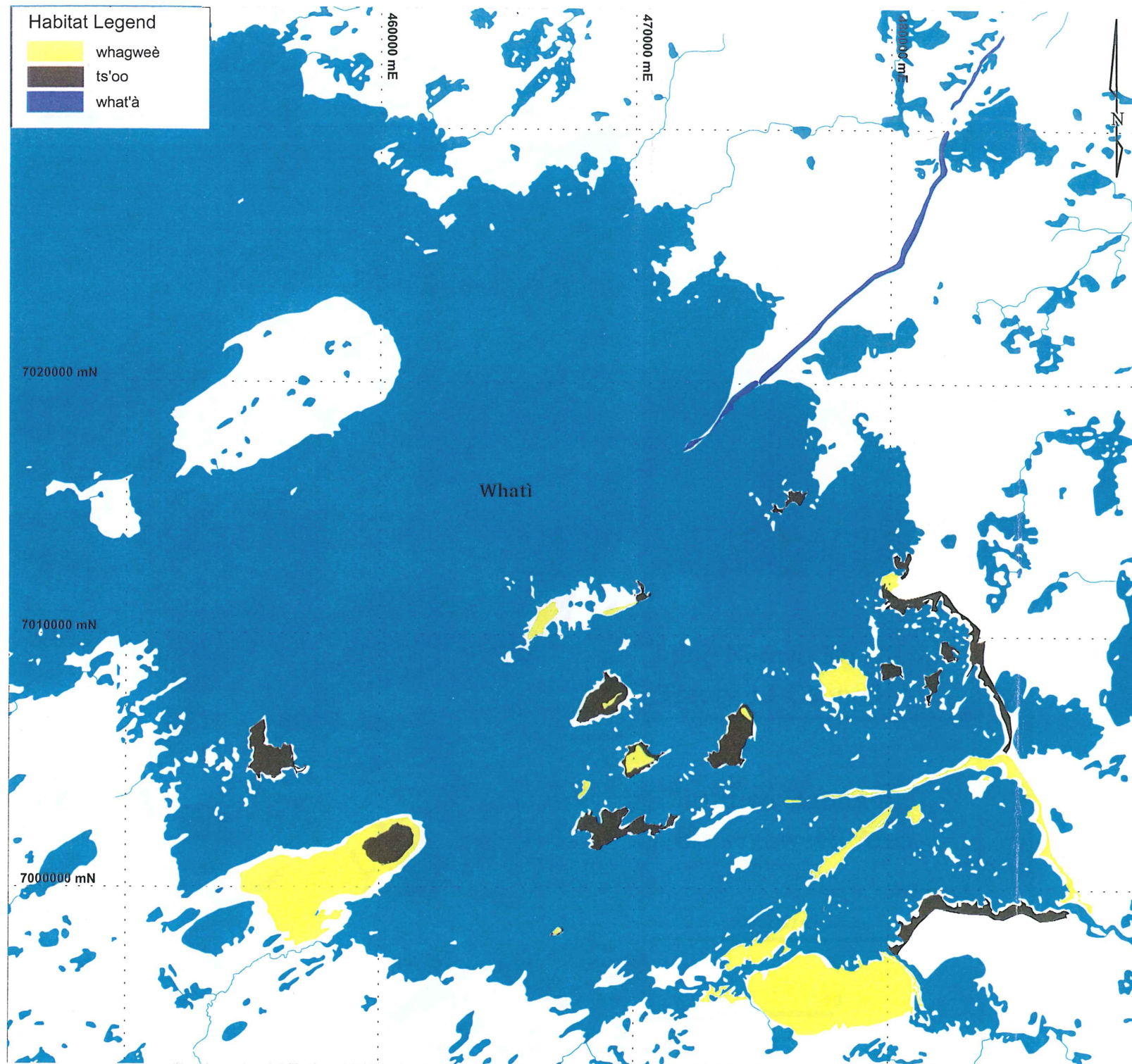
Scale: 1:150000

Projection: UTM Zone 12 (NAD 27 for Canada)

Classified Habitats in the Deèzàatì Area

Map 1





Whaèhdòp Nàowo Kò
Dogrib Treaty 11 Council

Project: NA

Date: 31/3/2001

Author: EcoTech Ltd.

Office: YK

Drawing: NA

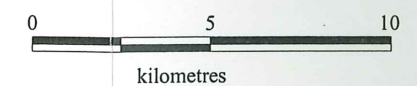
Declination: ~23°

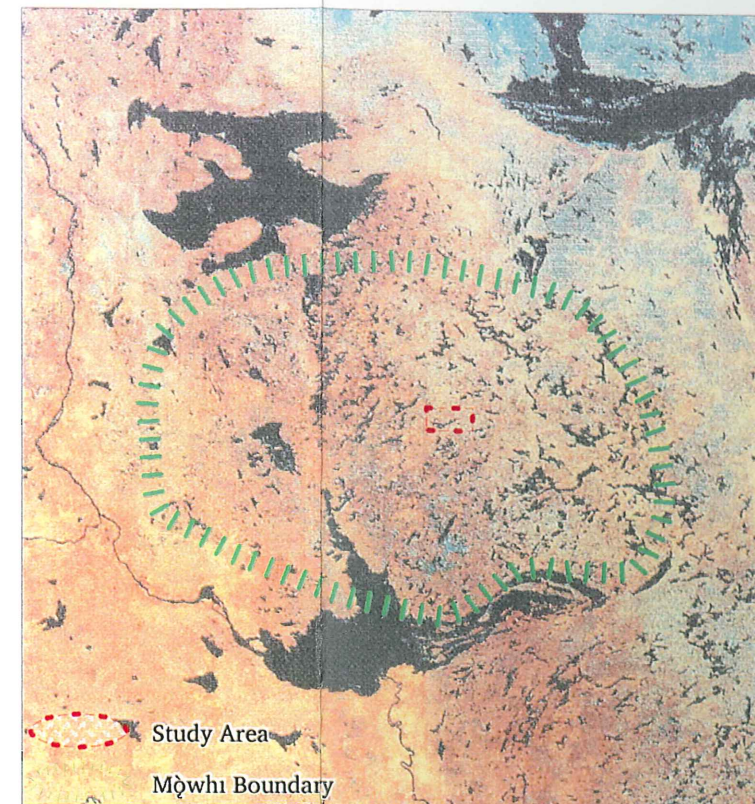
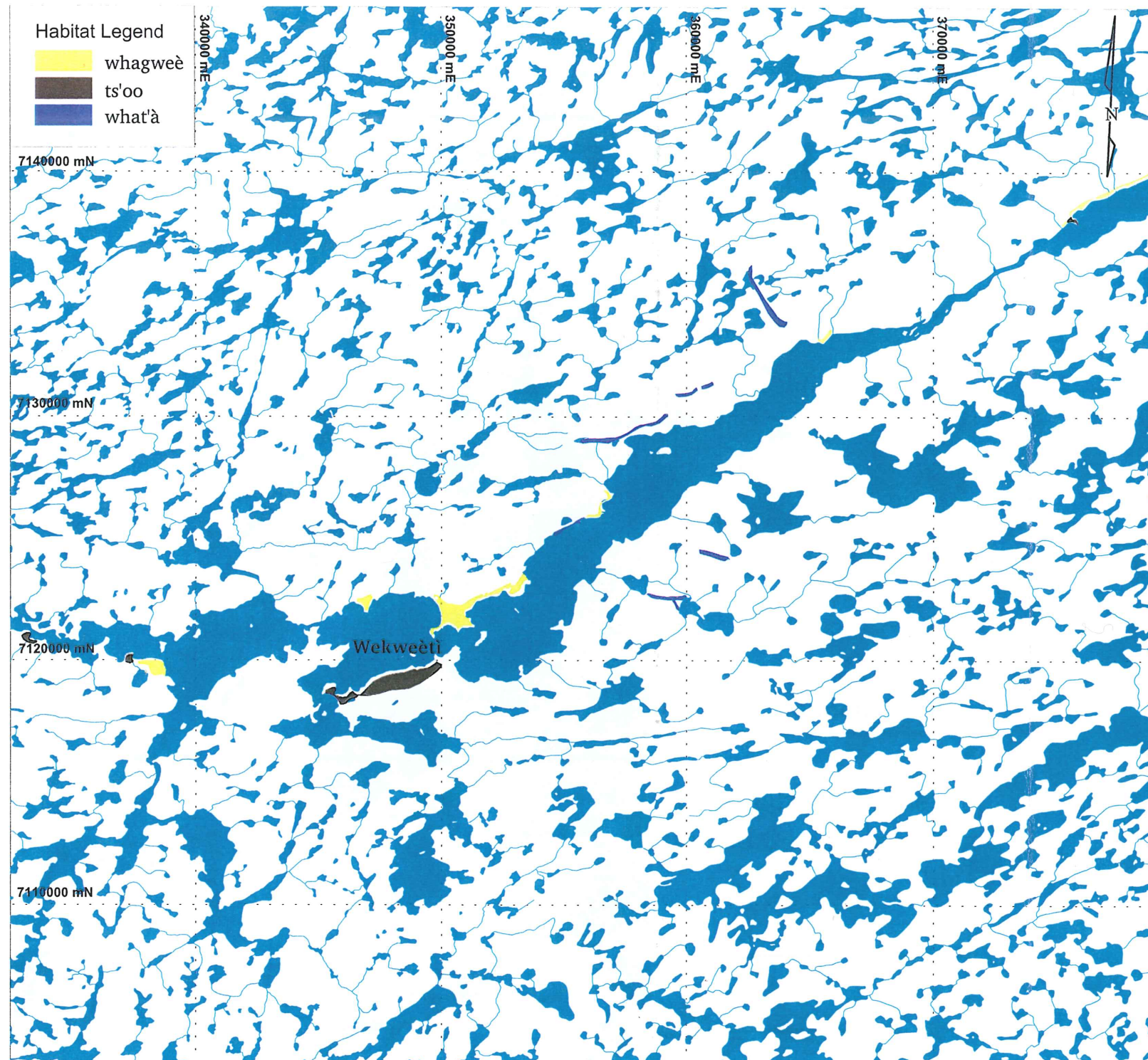
Scale: 1:210000

Projection: UTM Zone 11 (NAD 27 for Canada)

Classified Habitats
in the Tsòtì Area

Map 2





<p>Whaèhdòp Nàowo Kò</p> <p>Dogrìb Treaty 11 Council</p>	
<p>Project: NA</p> <p>Date: 31/3/2001</p> <p>Author: EcoTech Ltd.</p> <p>Office: YK</p> <p>Drawing: NA</p> <p>Declination: ~23°</p> <p>Scale: 1:220000</p>	<p>Classified Habitats in the Wekweètì Area</p> <p>Map 3</p> <p>Projection: UTM Zone 11 (NAD 27 for Canada)</p>
<p>0 5 10 kilometres</p>	

APPENDIX IV

Dogrib Pronunciation Guide

APPENDIX IV - Orthographic System and Pronunciation Guide

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

Dogrib and English employ different sets of sounds to create words. The alphabet used for Dogrib is expanded to include characters for sounds not occurring in English. Letters are combined in ways not used in English to further increase the alphabetic possibilities.

Vowels

The most significant differences between English and Dogrib lie in the vowel system. Dogrib has four vowels [a e ı o] which are pronounced approximately as in the English words **pa**, **Dene**, **skı**, and **to** or **tow**. When a vowel in Dogrib is doubled the sound is drawn out. (In contrast, doubling vowels in English usually yields a different sound entirely.) In the pairs of Dogrib words below simple and double vowels are exemplified.

weghà	its fur
weghàà	according to it
ts'eda	to be sitting
ts'eeda	to be living
dı	island
dıı	this

goxègodo he or she is telling stories
goxègodoo the one telling stories

Many words have double vowels from the start and many other words show double vowels as a consequence of grammatical formations, as in the last pair above.

Non-matching vowels can come next to each other, as shown below.

dea creek
godoa a little above
whaèhdòò oldtimer
dziewà blueberry
gojde 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.

Dogrib 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, the words

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.

yehtsɿ he or she is making it
yèhtsɿ he or she made it

The use of double vowels and tone marks greatly simplifies the comprehension of written Dogrib. Therefore double vowels and tone are consistently shown in the spellings in this report.

Dogrib 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, while 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
tsɔ̃	rain

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

ɪdà	I was there
ɪdà̃	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
nùtla	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 Dogrib spelling take some getting used to, they allow much more accurate writing and reading in the language.

Consonants

Dogrib has many more consonants than English does. Two special characters are used in the Dogrib 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**, called ‘glottal’ or ‘glottal stop’, represents a sound like what we hear in the middle of the English expression “oh-oh”. In Dogrib this sound is an ordinary consonant. It is found in many words of all types:

ʔoo	spruce boughs
ʔhdaa	jackfish
seʔeè	my jacket
weʔòò	beyond it
nàʔeelı	he or she is sewing
nıʔʔ	it arrived
k'eʔà	(animals) are roaming

The other special character is **ł**, called ‘barred-l’. It is similar to the letter **l** in English but has a breathy quality.

łèdzèh	clay
łe	fish
łekʔ	it is delicious
hàahlà	I did that
ʔelèèdlı	confluence of rivers

The apostrophe (or ‘click’) is used following a consonant or pair of consonants in representing a class of very distinctive sounds, termed ‘ejective’ or ‘glottalized’ consonants. There is a glottal pop which accompanies the release of the consonant. The glottalized consonants are as follows, with one word illustrating each:

ch'	ʔehch'èè	pickerel
k'	k'ì	birch
kw'	kw'ah	moss
t'	t'ooh	poplar
tʃ'	tʃ'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**. Dogrib **gh** is similar to French **r** as in **rouge**. **Wh** represents the breathy **wh** as in some English pronunciations of **when**. Finally, **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 not far different from the English letter values. For details see the introduction to *Tł̨chq̄ Yatı̀ Enıhtł'è / A Dogrib Dictionary* (Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, 1996).

Orthographic Principles

Three simple orthographic principles dictate the forms of placenames in this report, apart from matters of matching sound to symbol. The decisions behind these principles derive from discussions with the elders' committee.

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

The second requires that placenames be written without spaces as a single 'word', no matter how complex the name is in its internal structure. This decision reflects the idea that since a placename represents a unique conceptualization it should be treated as unitary orthographically as well. Two somewhat long placenames are analysed below.

ʔelàts'ìiwèk'ewhelaatì "Lake on which there are old canoes"

ʔelà + ts'ì + wèk'e + whelaa + tì
canoe + old + on it + there are + lake

ʔhdaatìdeèhàelᵛ "Mouth of Jackfish Lake River"

ʔhdaa + tì + deè + hàelᵛ
jackfish + lake + river + outflowing

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

The third principle is that a communal decision is to be reached among the elders being interviewed concerning which variant pronunciation of a placename should be

most closely represented in spelling. For example, the two variants [Kàelɥ, Hàelɥ] are heard for a single place, rather in the way that the English names **Toronto** and **Calgary** have a range of variant pronunciations. The decision was made in this cases to use the spelling **Hàelɥ**, which is more commonly used. In other cases a spelling is chosen because it is more revealing of the concepts behind the name.