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THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF PLACE NAMING IN QUÉBEC:
toponymic negotiation and struggle in Aboriginal territories

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ABSTRACT

In an analysis of the cultural politics of place naming in Aboriginal territories, and in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee particularly, I trace the themes of "myth-making as it relates to identity" and "knowledge is power" through a cycle of learning about the meaning of naming from the perspectives of "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", "Hearing With a Native Ear" and 'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures". I argue that although Québécois myth-making responds to, or is alternative to, the federalist construction of a national identity, it shares with it certain themes about Aboriginal peoples and places (i.e. the North). But, there are also some distinguishing sub-themes in Québécois nationalist discourse, such as the greater importance of hydro-electric development in the 'North as hinterland' theme and the greater importance of Aboriginal place names in the 'North as heritage' theme. I use a harvesting metaphor to describe how the Commission de toponymie, which has the power to officialize names in Québec, transforms Aboriginal place names into Québécois cultural resources. On the other hand, Aboriginal peoples in the north of Québec, including the Cree nation, tend to a perception of the 'North as homeland' and place names as "stories" about the environment, history and culture. When these two perceptions of places and place names meet in the same 'garden', toponymic negotiation and struggle ensue, for naming is personal and political. I conclude that when Aboriginal place names are examined and presented with their 'roots' intact (in cultural context), we can gain an appreciation for how place names and place naming are integral to Aboriginal resistance to cultural and territorial appropriation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION: ON NAMING AND TIMING

Innommées et regroupées, sises sur des terres publiques, dans un paysage remodelé en profondeur par l'action humaine, [les îles] constituaient un théâtre idéal pour une opération de dénomination d'envergure: c'est *Le Jardin au Bout du Monde*.

-Le comité *Poème géographique* (commémoration toponymique du vingtième anniversaire de la Charte de la langue française) de la Commission de toponymie du Québec. *Toponymix. Note toponymique 17*, Août, 1997b.

"Well, when they ask you, you tell them all the mountains already have names. When the Iyiyuuch first came they already named everything. How they saw things. There are already names for the mountains that are above the water. I would ask the ones who want to change the names not to. Those names have been there for a long time. There were names wherever I stepped."

-Samuel Bearskin, Cree culture teacher from Chisasibi, in an interview with the *Nation*'s Ernest Webb, Sept.12, 1997.

Le Jardin au Bout du Monde: the Commission de toponymie du Québec (CTQ) couldn't have chosen a 'better' name or location for its *poème géographique* commemorating the 20th anniversary of the National Assembly's adoption of the *Charte de la langue française*, Bill 101; 'better', that is, from the perspective of a graduate student researching the cultural politics of place naming in Aboriginal territories and particularly in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee (Cree territory). "Théâtre idéal", indeed.

These are no 'ordinary' islands. Less than 25 years ago, they were mountains and hills. The flooding that transformed them into islands has been controversial. And, just this past summer, these "unnamed" islands were named. More controversy. The plot thickens as I join the cast --

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the Commission de toponymie's poets, reporters for *Le Devoir* and the *Montreal Gazette*, authors of letters to the editors of these papers, the editors of *L'Actualité* and the *Nation* magazines, and Cree leaders, culture teachers and hunters/trappers -- in a discourse about the meaning of place naming. Okay, perhaps I don't play such a crucial part in this 'play', but there is no doubt that my thesis thickened. And I am among the emotional about this issue, for it relates to my identity as an academic. Others have stakes in this naming, greater and smaller than mine, for it is about those other people's and peoples' identities, too.

Le Jardin au Bout du Monde is the Commission's name for a collection of 101 'newly'-named man-made islands among some 300 islands and islets in the Caniapiscau Reservoir, "the largest expanse of water in Québec spanning the limits of the municipality of Baie-James to the MRC of Caniapiscau" (CTQ, *Canadian News Wire*, Aug.25, 1997c). The Caniapiscau Reservoir is itself man-made, "appearing during the flooding of the lac Caniapiscau region caused by the hydro-electric development of the basins of the Grande Rivière and rivière Caniapiscau" (ibid). The Commission claimed that a verification by surveys of the region revealed no traditional Inuit, Naskapi or Cree names associated with these islands (ibid). In a toponymic homage to the French language, the Commission bestowed a "contemporary nomenclature drawn from [Québécois] literature from the Post-war period to the present" (ibid). The title of a short story by Gabrielle Roy inspired the Commission's choice of a name for the archipelago (ibid).

But, is the Commission de toponymie du Québec the first to name these 'islands'? Is the Commission even the first to call the area a "garden"?

Where the Commission, an institution of the south, perceives a public "garden at the *end* of the earth", the Crees perceive *their* garden, not in the reservoir, but beneath its waters. "Our land is like a garden to us" read the headline of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec)'s "Fighting for Our Future" supplement to the *Hill Times*, published in 1991 at the height of the campaign against the James Bay II (Great Whale or Grande Baleine) phase of hydro-electric development. Boyce Richardson's documentary film sequel to "Job's Garden" (1972), entitled "Flooding Job's Garden" (1991a) tells the story of James Bay I's impact on Cree hunter and trapper Job Bearskin's land, now beneath the Robert Bourassa Hydroelectric Development (LG-2) reservoir. The titles for the films were inspired by Job Bearskin's own definition of the world, which he revealed to Richardson in 1972 and to the court in 1973:

> "O'REILLY: Mr. Bearskin, how much money would it take for you to buy in the store at Fort George [now Chisasibi] what you say you will lose over the next three years if the project continues?...
>
> BEARSKIN: It can never be that there will be enough money to help pay for what I get from trapping. I do not think in terms of money. I think more often of the land because the land is something you will have for a long time. This is why we call our traplines, our land, a garden." (Richardson, 1991b, p.121).

The Commission's and the Crees' garden metaphors, juxtaposed, reveal two value systems, two perceptions of place and two claims to territory, in two naming systems.

"However he (Iyiyuu) sees the mountain or the lake, that is how he names it", explained Samuel Bearskin in an interview about toponymy with the *Nation*'s Ernest Webb (Webb, Sept.12, 1997, p.11). As for whether the Commission de toponymie is the first to name these 'islands', Samuel and Margaret Bearskin, Cree culture teachers from Chisasibi whose hunting area is in and around the Caniapiscau Reservoir, when asked, said that there are already names for the mountains (ibid).

"They didn't ask us," said Chief Charles Bobbish of Chisasibi. "They unilaterally decided. The Cree people were hurt when they put in the (hydro-electric) projects. I don't think they should hurt them more by renaming the islands." (Roslin and Webb, The *Montreal Gazette, Sept.18,* 1997, p.A1; Roslin, The *Nation,* Sept.26, 1997, p.7).

Others have also reacted to the Commission's *poème géographique*:

> "There is no way that was an exhaustive study. There was never any idea that the list of names I did was exhaustive," said Marguerite MacKenzie, a Memorial University linguistics professor who did the Cree place names survey the Commission refers to. "They're trying to create instant history." (Roslin and Webb, The *Montreal Gazette,* Sept.18, 1997, p.A2; Roslin, The *Nation,* Sept.26, 1997, p.7).

> "It's a biological wasteland," said Alan Penn, an advisor to the Grand Council of the Crees. "It was the most environmentally harmful part of the way the reservoirs were built. It looks fine on a map, but for the people who know the area it's an area that has been lost. I suspect many of the authors wouldn't want their names associated with this place if they actually visited it." (ibid)

> "«*Le territoire m'apparaissait vierge et anonyme»* plaide Alain Vallière [sic]au nom de la Commission de toponymie. Si j'étais amateur de chasse ou de pêche, je n'irais pas amarrer ma chaloupe rue Sainte-Catherine à Montréal, je chercherais un endroit inhabité!" wrote Jacques Lamarche, "Écrivain «sans île»!" from Saint-André-Avelin in his letter to *Le Devoir* (Lamarche, *Le Devoir,* 26 Sept., 1997, p.A10).

> "This is a political move, an attempt to occupy our territory and rename it, rather than adopt local names," charged Bill Namagoose, executive director of the Grand Council of the Crees. "When you fight over territory or sovereignty, one of the important things is to have title to the names." (Peritz, The *Montreal Gazette,* Aug.23, 1997b, p.A6).

> "D'ailleurs, ces îles, que ne les avez vous nommées plus tôt? Elles n'existaient pas, répondez-vous. Bien sûr qu'elles n'existaient pas: les Québécois les ont faites, et le lac qui les contient," wrote "un inukshuk étonné" (Jean Paré) in a letter to Bill Namagoose. "Qui possède nomme, qui nomme possède." (Paré, *L'Actualité,* 15 Oct., 1997, p.11).

And my reaction to the controversy? Here was more proof that I hadn't invented an "emerging alternative toponymy of resistance in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee" after all! It has been and is rising out of the waters of the reservoirs, so to speak. I had constructed a sketch outlining how the

descriptive power of Cree place names is transformed (not lost) by the actions of Québec

institutions (Phase Four, Part Two of my thesis), and when the Commission de toponymie stirred

the waters this past summer, up came more empirical evidence. Although Hydro-Québec's

flooding has wreaked havoc on Cree territory, these Cree place names are not flotsam, and the

Crees themselves are not drifters. These are old Cree place names rising to be put to new,

political, uses by a people who are saying that they are as rooted as ever in their garden.

I had put the Commission's interest in Aboriginal toponymy in cultural-political context by

arguing that, with increasing control over economic development and with the rise of the

separatist movement, the theme of "North as heritage" became common in Québécois territorial

myth-making (Phase Two of my thesis). The reaction to the Commission's *poème géographique*

was more proof that when Québec institutions invent "instant history" and instant geography in

the name of preserving, promoting and celebrating 'Québec, the French-speaking island' in North

America, they are reminded that others perceive 'Québec, the archipelago', where on some

'islands', even on some big ones, the French language does not dominate. Moreover, Aboriginal

peoples do not see themselves as ethnics, and certainly not as one ethnic group. In Eeyou Istchee,

101 'newly'-named islands are the tops of already-named mountains above the water line, and the

Crees are a nation on their homeland, not on anybody's mythical heartland.

Given the controversy that has arisen over these 101 islands, it is ironic that the Commission de

toponymie claimed it wanted to avoid controversy. "I thought he might have felt our project was

a provocation," said Marc Richard, a geographer at the Commission and the inspiration behind the

project, about his decision to leave Mordecai Richler out. "It might have been risky, under the circumstances." (Peritz, The *Montreal Gazette*, Aug.23, 1997a, p.A6).

Alec Macleod, who has made two films for the National Film Board on Montréal playwright David Fennario, was "surprised" to read that Marc Richard was unable to find any suitable excerpts from Fennario's "Balconville": "He can't possibly have read or seen Balconville, for it is replete with wonderful possibilities that would be well-suited to the mood of the powers that be in Quebec City." Alec Macleod went on to offer up some suggestions for Richard's consideration: "My personal favourite comes from the character Ti-Bo, the hapless but curiously insightful delivery boy in the play. I suggest L'Isthme Phoque de Queen. The oblique references to a supposedly endangered sea mammal and a clearly endangered land mammal are rather poetic, not to mention thought-provoking." (Macleod, The *Montreal Gazette*, Aug.29, 1997, p.B2).

The choice of location for the *poème géographique* had apparently also been carefully thought out: "The toponymy commission saw the new islands as a bounty of virgin territory," explained Marc Richard. "It tries to avoid stirring the kind of controversy that arose when Montréal city council renamed Dorchester Blvd. after the late premier René Lévesque." (Peritz, The *Montreal Gazette*, Aug.23, 1997a, p.A6). Can anyone not understand why Bill Namagoose, the executive director of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec), was "incredulous" when he learned that, besides 'newly' naming 101 islands in the Caniapiscau Reservoir, the Commission had also decided to rename a section of the Caniapiscau River the Rivière René-Lévesque? "Namagoose recalled that 10,000 caribou drowned trying to cross the swollen river during their annual

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migration in 1984." (Peritz, The *Montreal Gazette*, Aug.23, 1997b, p.A6). At least one "inukshuk étonné", Jean Paré, was compelled to answer Bill Namagoose: "Vos protestations...ne laisse [sic] pas d'étonner. Enfin, pas vraiment, puisque vous chialez tout le temps et qu'à la seule vue de la lettre Q, vous grimpez dans les totems." (Paré, *L'Actualité*, 15 Oct., 1997, p.11).

In the wake of negative reactions to the *poème géographique*, there is some indication that the Commission may make amends: "If the Crees have some names in their inventories, the Commission will reconsider the file in light of this new information," said Christian Bonnelly, a geographer with the Commission who is in charge of the Aboriginal dossier. "It could lead to certain changes. We could replace some of the names. It's not a closed file. If we can officialize the Cree names, we will assuredly do so." (Roslin and Webb, The *Montreal Gazette*, Sept.18, 1997, p.A1; Roslin, The *Nation*, Sept.26, 1997, p.7). But, the Commission would do so on its own terms, for, as I had argued (Phase Two of my thesis), here is an institution of the south, a practitioner of the "scientization" of knowledge about the north. For one, the Crees would have to provide certain evidence in order for the Commission to consider a Cree place name legitimate: "Elle prendra toutefois en considération tout *"courrier officiel"* démontrant un désaccord avec son Jardin du [sic] bout du monde..., exigeant toutefois un dossier étayé...avant d'aller de l'avant avec un changement d'appelation." (Chouinard, *Le Devoir*, 19 Sept., 1997a, p.A12).

I had also constructed a harvesting metaphor to describe the Commission de toponymie's role in surveying, treating/processing and archiving Aboriginal place names (Phase Two, Part Two). My premise was that the Commission, mandated by the *Charte de la langue française*, re-makes

Aboriginal place names in the image of French-language toponyms. The Commission calls it "preservation" of Aboriginal cultural resources, but it is "invention" of a Québécois cultural resource. Even if the Commission does officialize some or all of the Cree names for the mountain tops, it might shorten some of them. It won't literally append a French-language generic element to these Cree names this time, since it chose to suppress generics in *Le Jardin au Bout du Monde* (CTQ, *Toponymix*, Août, 1997b), but the Commission's geographical imagination will re-make each Cree mountain top as an "île" or "îlot", as Hydro-Québec re-made these geographic features.

But, I doubt that would be the last we hear of this. For when Québec institutions try to appropriate Cree land and place names as national resources, their actions are met with resistance, because Cree land memory has a different story to tell.

From a selfishly academic perspective, I should thank the Commission de toponymie du Québec for stirring up such a timely and 'fruitful' controversy by authoring *Le Jardin au Bout du Monde.* I should also acknowledge that the Commission did oblige me when I asked for Cree territory place names data so that I could include some maps in my thesis (Phase Three, Part Two). At the time, I had no idea that the Commission was about to publish a map *of Le Jardin au Bout du Monde* in Cree territory.

From a socially responsible academic perspective, perhaps I can at least offer to contribute material for the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec)'s Web site or for the *Nation* magazine. By agreeing to telephone interviews and giving me copies of publications, the Grand Council of

the Crees and the editors of the *Nation* also obliged me.

My thesis focuses on toponymic negotiation and struggle in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, but Aboriginal land memory is also telling 'alternative' stories, in some cases in collaboration with academics, in other places where land and place names have been appropriated. Throughout my thesis, I introduce other 'characters' in this generalized 'play' about the meaning of place naming.

To start, I switch metaphors; instead of referring to acts in a play, I refer to phases in a cycle. Phase One describes how I have translated the research process that has resulted in this thesis into a "Learning Cycle". In it, I introduce the learning approach and the phases of the cycle, and I anticipate a return to the learning approach. As I introduce this thesis or modified parts of it into the public (academic and popular) domain, I anticipate more returns to learning, beyond the context of a graduate program. For, our imaginations, after all, are not 'islands', when we speak them.

PHASE ONE: THE LEARNING APPROACH

INTRODUCTION: Getting to Know About the Meaning of Place Naming

"The threat to change thousands of northern place names is disturbing. ... So also is the news that responsibility for naming geographic features in the North West Territories has been surrendered by Ottawa. I am dismayed at the sanctioning of this assault on the history of the Arctic, our collective Northern heritage" (*Nunatsiaq News* January 26, 1987).

- From retired Navy Captain Thomas C. Pullen's letter to the Toronto *Globe and Mail* editor on the renaming of Frobisher Bay to Iqaluit (Alia, 1994, p.11).

"Our land is our memory.... That's why it's so important to us. Almost every tree out there has a name, almost every rock. Something happened here, something happened there, somebody killed his first moose at that mountain. We know where the bear dens are, the moose yards, the beaver, the otter, the mink. Everything has a story and these are the stories that sustain us. It's why we feel attached to the land, why there's a special relationship with it."

- Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) Matthew Coon Come in an interview with *Maclean's* magazine (Came, 1995b, p.18).

Few people think about the *meaning* of place naming. We may occasionally think about the meanings of particular place names, such as when a non-native speaker asks us about the meaning of a place name he or she assumes is in a language we are familiar with; it is when the person assumes wrongly that we may ourselves wonder about the meaning of a particular place name which we have been using more or less regularly or have never even heard of before. But, even when we do think about the meanings of particular place names, we rarely consider more than their surface meanings (what they denote). It is generally only during those rare occasions when we hear or read about a conflict over a change in a place name that we may think about the deeper meanings of the 'new' name and the one it 'replaces' (what they connote) for the people principally involved. I write the word "new" in single quotation marks because the name in

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question (Iqaluit, for example) may have already been in popular use prior to gaining official (government) recognition. I write the word "replaces" in single quotation marks because the name which has lost its former status (Frobisher Bay, for example) may continue to be used unofficially. The ambiguity of these words hints at the complexity of place naming as a practice by which we create and express meaning about our relationships to places and to each other. The statements by Retired Navy Captain Thomas C. Pullen and Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) (GCCQ) Matthew Coon Come, presented at the beginning of this introduction to Phase One, reflect how, for some, place naming is declaring who one is as a person and as a people or nation. The juxtaposition of Pullen's and Coon Come's statements also highlights the tension between place names as one peoples' "heritage" versus place names as another peoples' "stories".

Because most people take place names for granted, the discourse about the meaning of place naming is rarely examined by observers of relations between Aboriginal peoples and the provincial and/or federal governments. For the participants, however, place naming has more than occasionally been an integral part of seizing territorial control on the one hand, and negotiating/struggling over territorial control on the other. With respect to the seizing of territorial control, Morissonneau (1972), Poirier (1979), and Dorion (1993) have elaborated on the "war" (Bonnelly, 1996, p.3) which was declared on Aboriginal place names at the beginning of this century by the Commission de géographie du Québec, certain members of the clergy, etc. With respect to negotiating/struggling over territorial control, Aboriginal peoples have used place names as evidence in documenting their land use and occupancy for land claims negotiations and

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the settlement of other territorial rights (Wonders 1987; Basso, 1984); and, most Aboriginal

communities or villages in Québec have had the English and/or French names for these places

officially changed to names in their own languages.

But, the negotiation of/struggle over territorial control through place naming is as much 'informal'

as it is 'formal' (the former involving unofficial processes): thus, some Aboriginal communities are

giving greater priority to recording the environmental, historical and cultural knowledge relating

to their place names than to requesting official recognition of these names (eg. Denton, 1996).

Some Aboriginal leaders, such as Matthew Coon Come, are using Aboriginal place names instead

of the officially recognized non-Aboriginal names in interviews, speeches and other forms of

cross-cultural communication.

Where Aboriginal peoples are involved in *negotiating* territorial control, they are agreeing to

operate within terms of reference which are not their own, but they insist that the governments in

question back up their rhetoric of recognizing Aboriginal peoples as equal partners (even nations),

as the word "negotiation" implies. Seeking official recognition of Aboriginal place names is

toponymic negotiation, and is part of negotiating territorial control. Where Aboriginal peoples

are involved in *struggling over* territorial control, they are putting forward their own terms of

reference; they insist on the inherent authority of their customs, traditions and institutions based

on their historical precedence, not on any non-Aboriginal government's sanction (Scott, 1993,

p.318).   Well meaning though it may be, the following headline of a feature article by the

Commission de toponymie du Québec's former President Henri Dorion seems to deny the inherent

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authority of Aboriginal cultures: "De l''invasion des noms sauvages' à la dignité retrouvée: Le

Québec compte plus de 10 000 noms de lieux d'origine amérindienne et inuit." [From the 'invasion

of savage names' to a new found dignity: Québec counts more than 10 000 place names of

Amerindian and Inuit origin] (Dorion, *Le Devoir*, 19 et 20 Juin, 1993, p.E5). The headline

contrasts the xenophobic attitude of the Commission de géographie at the beginning of the

century with the open attitude of the Commission de toponymie in recent decades. But, do

Aboriginal place names need to be validated (dignified) through official recognition? These types

of claims tend to say more about a government as it considers the nature of its own authority, at

times in crisis, than they say about the integrity of Aboriginal peoples' customs, traditions,

institutions, and place names. Aboriginal place names are, rather, validated through their use in

the context of Aboriginal cultures. Moreover, Aboriginal place names and the localized

knowledge associated with them can also be put to political use; that is, they can be made to

'speak' across cultures. The use of Aboriginal place names in the context of Aboriginal cultures

'unconsciously' counters the Commission's authority, while the political use of Aboriginal place

names deliberately challenges that authority.

Besides Aboriginal peoples and government place names authorities, toponymists (researchers

who specialize in the study of place names and who are sometimes also civil servants), some

geographers, anthropologists and archaeologists, as well as some academics who specialize in

Northern and/or Native Studies are among the few who think about the meaning of place naming.

For example, Keith Basso (1984; 1988), Julie Cruikshank (1990a), Ludger Müller-Wille (1983;

1984; 1987), Béatrice Collignon (1996), and David Denton (1996) have worked or are currently

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collaborating with Aboriginal communities on place names studies. Ludger Müller-Wille (1983) has considered the implications and constraints of inscribing (writing) Aboriginal place names, as well as how place names are an expression of cultural and territorial sovereignty (Ludger Müller-Wille, 1983, p.131). Robert Rundstrom (1991; 1992) has reviewed the place names research Müller-Wille has collaborated on with the Inuit of Québec (Müller-Wille and ACI, 1995 (1990)) and wonders about the risks the Inuit are taking by going public with their *Inuit Place Name Map Series of Nunavik*: "They are empowering themselves, but perhaps only to have their world reappropriated now in more detail. For now, the information is out there, and the dialogue will continue into the twenty-first century." (Rundstrom, 1991, pp.10-11).

It is as an observer rather than a direct participant that I enter into the dialogue on the meaning of place naming for Québécois, and, especially, for Aboriginal peoples in Québec, and particularly for the Cree nation. By the word "especially" I am not suggesting that place naming is less important for Québécois than it is for Aboriginal peoples in the province; rather, I am admitting to my bias, which is based on my belief that, as socially responsible academics, we should provide, within academia and our communities, a forum for the voices of resistance. The federal government has not acted with urgency and determination to assist Aboriginal peoples in their defence of territorial and other rights in Québec. At the same time, the federal government is the 'Other' against which Québécois separatists resist. I leave the tasks of raising awareness of and promoting French-language Québécois place names in the capable hands of the Commission de toponymie and other academics. My main task is to raise awareness of the roles of Aboriginal place names and place naming in Aboriginal resistance to cultural and territorial appropriation,

specifically in Québec. My main argument is that when non-Aboriginal institutions (re)invent

heritage, history, geography, etc. in nationalist identity discourses, Aboriginal peoples invoke the

power of their place names in cultural context in their own nationalist discourses to tell the stories

of who and where they are.

One of the challenges of socially responsible research is for academics to translate the language of

academia into the language of the community or communities they write about, and vise-versa.

Abele and Stasiulis (1989) point out that political economists (and other academics, I would add)

have much to learn from the literature of struggle by Aboriginal writers, who "...are concerned not

with arcane refinements of theories of oppression, but rather with understanding their own 'lived

experience'" (1989, p.251). I cannot assume that my thesis is relevant enough to Aboriginal

communities and peoples, and particularly to the Cree nation in Québec, to have it translated into

Aboriginal languages. However, I do hope that my attempt to 'translate' the research process - of

which this thesis in a product - into the "Learning Cycle" presented in Figure 1 makes a

contribution to the efforts of Aboriginal communities and nations to convey to non-Aboriginals,

and perhaps to their own youth, the meaning(s) they attribute to place naming.

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Figure 1: The Learning Cycle

My point of exit | My point of entry

The Learning Approach

Basic Framework	Key Elements
Theory	Myth-making and identity Knowledge is power
Method	Analysing the ways language is put to work
Ethics	Sharing knowledge
Goals	Academic contribution Helping communities to 'take back' the names

'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures

Place names as stories about identity politics

Naming Baie James/Eeyou Astchee

Negotiating/Struggling Over Place Naming

Hearing With a Non-Native Ear

Other peoples' myths about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names

The role of the Commission de toponymie du Québec in 'harvesting', processing and storing Aboriginal place names

Hearing With a Native Ear

Aboriginal place names as stories about the environment, history and culture

The power of Aboriginal place names in their places

Translating the Research Process into the Learning Cycle

> And on dozens of other occasions when I have been working or travelling with Apaches, they have taken satisfaction in pointing out particular locations and pronouncing their names—once, twice, three times or more. Why? "Because we like to," or "Because those names are good to say." More often, however, Apaches account for their enthusiastic use of place-names by commenting on the precision with which the names depict their referents. "That place looks just like its name," someone will explain, or "That name makes me see that place like it really is." Or, as Benson Lewis (example 4) states so succinctly, "Its name is like a picture."
>
> - Anthropologist Keith Basso's observations on the common use of place names in Western Apache communities (1984, p.27).

Like these members of the Western Apache communities, many writers in the academic community also seem to take pleasure in 'pronouncing' terms from the specialized languages (jargons) of their disciplines. The precision with which these terms 'depict' their referents (concepts) seems to also account for the enthusiastic use of jargon among academics, especially when they are writing mainly for others within their respective disciplines. And, just as non-Apaches cannot understand what Western Apaches mean unless they "learn the names"(Basso, 1984, p.24), people from outside academia, or even from outside the particular discipline in question, find it difficult to understand what academics mean unless they learn the terminology. But, perhaps unlike Western Apaches, 'insiders' from the academic community sometimes get confused by the terminology, especially when terms have been 'misplaced' (have been associated with concepts other than the original ones) because the original 'placement' was poorly explained or poorly understood. As an insider from the academic community, and more specifically from the geographic community, I have sometimes been confused by the terminology, and I have probably sometimes also contributed to the confusion by misplacing certain terms. For this reason, translating the research process into the "Learning Cycle" presented in Figure 1 helps me

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to clarify what I understand from the terminology about place naming and the issues around it; this clarification is for my own benefit as much as it is for anyone else's.

There are at least five phases in the learning cycle (assuming I make one round). In the first phase, I read, think and write about the "Learning Approach". With the theoretical and methodological 'tools' I collect in this phase, and with the ethics and goals I establish for myself, I move on to learning about place naming from the perspectives of "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", "Hearing With a Native Ear", and "'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures". As toponymic discourses are mutually responsive, "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" presents the extra-cultural context for understanding why and in what ways Aboriginal communities are involved in negotiations and struggles over place naming, while "Hearing with a Native Ear" presents the intra-cultural context. "'Speaking with Names' Across Cultures" highlights the cultural politics of place naming as it presents the interaction (articulation) of the non-Native and Native perspectives on Aboriginal territories (places which are shared with non-Natives to lesser or greater degrees). Finally, I enter the fifth phase of the learning cycle when I return to thinking and writing about the learning approach. In the next few pages, I first trace the paths of each of the two key theoretical elements through the cycle: they are "myth-making as it relates to identity" and "knowledge is power". Then, I summarize the learning cycle by relating the metaphors in the titles of the phases to academic terminology. Finally, I discuss scenarios describing different timings for my point of exit from the learning cycle.

My main purpose in entering into the learning cycle is to get a better understanding of why and in what ways Aboriginal communities and nations are involved in negotiations and struggles over place naming. In the introduction to this phase (Phase One), I made the observation that for some individuals and groups place naming is declaring who one is as a person and as a people or nation. This observation suggests, in a general sense, why not only Aboriginal communities and nations, but also certain non-Aboriginal communities, as well as non-Aboriginal governments are involved in negotiations or struggles over place naming: it is because for these groups and the individuals concerned, the idea of territory is especially important to their definitions of who they are.

I choose to write "idea of territory" instead of simply "territory" because I believe that this consciousness about being bound to a place, or perhaps even about being of a place (in the way that we are of our mothers), is what motivates these groups to negotiate and struggle over territorial control through place naming, regardless of whether or not the particular groups in question can clearly define the 'limits' of the territories with which they identify. Besides, the attempt to objectively define the limits and other characteristics (such as who belongs or does not belong there) of any particular territory always involves subjective interpretations of the physical 'facts'. By this I mean that myth-making tends to be an important part of the way in which communities and nations relate to places, including the way in which they describe the limits and other characteristics of their territories. Furthermore, the territorial and other types of geographical myths they rely on in distinguishing *where* they are from *where* others are tend to be interrelated with the myths they tell about those others.

This theme of "myth-making as it relates to identity" is discussed in more detail in all phases of the learning cycle because I have identified it as one of the key theoretical elements for approaching a better understanding of why and in what ways Aboriginal communities and nations are involved in negotiating/struggling over place naming. Aboriginal peoples both respond to other peoples' myths and (re)invent their own myths. This is why the extra-cultural and intra-cultural contexts for toponymic negotiation and struggle must be examined in order to have greater insight into cases of toponymic negotiation and/or struggle.

In the language of academia, and especially in those studies which examine colonial, administrative and scientific (that is 'dominant') discourses, myth-making is generally referred to as "representing" (or "representation"), and the myths are "representations". Other, more specific, terms have been associated with territorial myth-making; for example, "orientalism" (Said, 1995) refers to how the 'Orient' is defined as the opposite of the 'Occident' or the 'West' in 'Western' discourses; and, "oppositional spatialization" (Shields, 1991) refers to how other places in general are defined as the opposite of where we are. These myths tend to assume that binary terms such as "uncivilized-civilized", "undeveloped-developed", "exotic-ordinary", etc. are useful and appropriate for making distinctions between places (and between peoples).

Aboriginal peoples are, perhaps, more accustomed to recognizing the importance of myth to the way they understand their lived experiences. On the other hand, certain non-Aboriginal peoples have tended (at least in more recent history) to try to make an unequivocal distinction between 'myth' and 'reality'; in other words, they have tended to assume that there is little or no myth in

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their own depictions of reality. Thus, it may seem ironic that one of the ways that knowledge has advanced among peoples of European origin is by the identification or recognition of myths in their own theories in the social and natural sciences. For example, most academics now recognize that Social Darwinism is a myth which served as a justification for imperialism and colonialism. Likewise, knowledge about how civil servants, authors of popular (as opposed to academic) literature and 'lay' people understand their lived experiences has also advanced by the identification of myths in the claims these (mostly) non-academics make about themselves and their relationships to places and other people or peoples. For example, many Canadians from southern Canada describe northern Canada in ways that Northerners do not recognize as representing the places they know or their lived experiences.

In "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", the *second phase* of the learning cycle, I review literature by authors who analyse how myth-making about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names among non-Aboriginal peoples, particularly Québécois, relates to identity and authority. Like Handler and Linnekin's (1984) definition of "tradition", by "identity", I refer to a (re)creative process, or a (re)inventive process rather than to something which is preserved and passed on. I also refer to how identification relative to the 'Other' (the uncivilized, underdeveloped, exotic, etc.) can be positive as well as negative, resulting in contradictory representations of 'Self' and 'Other', 'here' and 'there'. I collect the writing resulting from this task in Part One of Phase Two under the heading "Other Peoples' Myths about Aboriginal Peoples, Places and Place Names".

This theme of "myth-making as it relates to identity" is also relevant to the tasks I accomplish in the *third and fourth phases* of the learning cycle. In "Hearing With a Native Ear", the *third phase* of the learning cycle, I review literature by authors who describe their collaborative work with Aboriginal communities on place names studies. This review in Part One of Phase Three is under the heading "Aboriginal Place Names as Stories about the Environment, History and Culture". Among other things, this review of literature reveals that in the Aboriginal communities with which these authors have collaborated, certain place names are associated with historical accounts and myths about the consequences of inappropriate social behaviour, including the consequences of abusing animals and wasting food. Certain other place names are associated with stories which describe Aboriginal peoples cosmologies, that is, their beliefs about the origin, and the structural and functional natures of the universe. In "'Speaking with Names' Across Cultures", the *fourth phase* of the learning cycle, myth-making emerges as a central theme from my review of literature by authors who analyse "Place Names as Stories about Identity Politics". Among other things, this review of literature in Part One of Phase Four reveals how myths are used by Aboriginal and other subjugated peoples to challenge the territorial myths (claims) of colonial, administrative and other 'dominant' discourses. But, in phases three and four of the learning cycle, the theme of "knowledge is power" takes precedence. I discuss this theme next.

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In my discussion of jargon, above, I argued that just as non-Apaches cannot understand what Western Apaches mean unless they "learn the names" (Basso, 1984, p.24), people from outside academia or a particular discipline find it difficult to understand what academics mean unless they learn the terminology. It is not difficult to see from these two examples how knowledge is power.

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In the first case, the outsider is excluded from the Western Apache communities, not only because she does not know the Western Apache language, but also because she does not know the moral narratives associated with Western Apache place names which teach and remind Western Apaches about how they should behave (Basso, 1984; 1988). Thus, besides the risk of being verbally misunderstood (assuming there is some communication), she is also at risk of being socially misunderstood if she unwittingly behaves inappropriately. It is difficult to see how the outsider could meaningfully participate in the social and political life of the communities unless she learns the language and the meaning of the names. In the second example, the outsider is excluded from the academic community because she does not understand the academic terms of reference (eg. assumptions, definitions), regardless of whether or not she shares the same language as the academics. If the outsider does not share the same culture, meaningful participation in academic debate is even more difficult to achieve since terms of reference are associated with value systems.

This theme of "knowledge is power" is discussed in all phases of the learning cycle because I have identified it as the other key theoretical element for approaching a better understanding of why and in what ways Aboriginal communities and nations are involved in negotiating/struggling over place naming.   In the language of academia, the idea that "knowledge is power" is generally expressed with the term "power/knowledge", and it is associated with the discussion of "discourse". "Discourse" is one of those terms within academia about which there tends to be some confusion. Despite the problems associated with defining this term, one of the important concepts is the idea that in discourse, "...power and knowledge are joined, but this juncture is imperfect;" thus, "discourse can be not only an instrument or an effect of power, but also a point

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of resistance." (Spurr, 1993, p.187 summarizing Foucault, 1980, p.101). In other words, discourse can be used to exclude others from power, but it can also be used to counter or challenge this exclusion by either using other people's or peoples' terms of reference for our own purposes (when negotiating) or by insisting on our own terms of reference (when struggling).

"Discourse analysis" is the term which is generally used to describe the 'method' used to study discourse. Like Berg and Kearns (1996), who have used discourse analysis in their work, I write the word "method" in single quotation marks because doing discourse analysis does not involve a systematic movement through clearly defined steps, which the word "method" implies; In Figure 1, *I translate discourse analysis as "Analysing the ways language is put to work".* Discourse analysis is the key methodological element in the learning approach of my thesis because I believe it is the best 'method' for getting beyond a superficial understanding of the meaning of place names and place naming for non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples.

In "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", the *second phase* of the learning cycle, I examine how the role of the Commission de toponymie du Québec in Aboriginal toponymy can be understood in terms of the production of an "archive of knowledge" (West, 1991) which testifies to the Commission's power (authority) over place naming in the province. The idea of an archive of knowledge emerges from the literature review on "Other Peoples' Myths about Aboriginal Peoples, Places and Place Names", which I accomplish in Part One of Phase Two. In Part Two, I use a harvesting metaphor to refer to the Commission de toponymie du Québec's activities with respect to Aboriginal place names. I feel this metaphor is appropriate for several reasons. The

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main reason is that parallels can be drawn between the harvesting, processing and storing phases of resource 'exploitation', and the surveying (field collection), treating/processing and archiving (preserving) phases of place names research by the Commission de toponymie. For example, just as the harvesting, processing and storing of a natural resource involves a transformation of that resource, so the surveying, treating/processing and archiving of Aboriginal place names by the Commission involves a transformation of this cultural resource. And, just as Aboriginal communities and nations may agree or disagree with the sharing of resources depending on their experiences with those others who wish to share those resources, Aboriginal communities and nations may agree or disagree with the sharing of their place names knowledge depending of their experiences with government authorities and academics.

The appropriateness of this harvesting metaphor becomes even more apparent in my elaboration on the "Power of Aboriginal Place Names in their Places" or "in context", in "Hearing with a Native Ear", the *third phase* of the learning cycle. I argue that by recording the environmental, historical and cultural knowledge associated with their place names, Aboriginal communities are countering Québec's production of an archive of knowledge which 'uproots' or takes Aboriginal place names out of context. One of the main tasks I accomplish in this phase is the analysis of the set of Cree territory place names extracted from the Commission de toponymie du Québec's archive of place names in Québec. In Part Two of Phase Three, I discuss the statistical and geographic distributions of these Cree territory place names according to two typologies: classification by type of feature (the nature of the named entity) and classification by the meaning of the names. I conclude that this type of analysis provides some indication of how the Cree

nation relates to its territory and allows some "identification of indicators or socio-economic and political developments between man and his environment and in intra- and inter-cultural relations" (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.2). However, I argue that to understand more about the meaning of place naming for Crees requires 'hearing' the place names in a context which goes deeper into history and culture. And, to learn more about why and in what ways Aboriginal peoples are negotiating/struggling over place naming requires looking at the "identity politics" or "cultural politics" of place naming.

The themes of "myth-making as it relates to identity" and "knowledge is power" come together in the theme of "identity politics". Here, the focus is on the mutually responsive nature of territorial discourses. In "'Speaking with Names' Across Cultures", the *fourth phase* of the learning cycle, under the heading "Place Names as Stories about Identity Politics", I focus on the study of how different communities and peoples put language (place names) to work in confronting each other in their efforts to maintain and increase or to challenge and increase power, depending on their respective positions. In Part Two of Phase Four, the case of negotiating/struggling over place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee (James Bay) provides an example of how the major themes in the learning approach come together in my original analysis of cultural politics 'on the ground'. Under the heading "Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee", I introduce a sketch of the cultural politics of place naming which outlines how Cree territory toponymy has been put to new, political, uses in the wake of the Crees' experience with the James Bay I hydro-electric project and, especially, the Crees' opposition to James Bay II and the "forcible inclusion" (GCCQ, 1995) of Cree territory in the idea of a sovereign Québec. Furthermore, the recent controversy over the

Commission de toponymie du Québec's naming of 101 islands in the Caniapiscau Reservoir, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Bill 101, provides a timely context for the analysis of the discourse about the meaning of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. As I have already outlined in my introduction to this thesis, the analysis of this controversy illustrates the relevance of the principal themes, models, and metaphors (and 'method') introduced in Phase One and throughout the other phases.

In summary, the learning cycle or research process involves a movement from the *first phase*, which includes a discussion of the key elements in the learning approach; through to the *second phase*, where "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" is a metaphor for the dominant (Euro-Canadian, Québécois) discourse on Aboriginal peoples, places and place names; through to the *third phase*, where "Hearing With a Native Ear" is a metaphor for how the dominant discourse on Aboriginal peoples, places and place names is countered by local knowledge of named places; and through to the *fourth phase*, where "'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures" refers to the cultural politics of place naming. The linear presentation of the research process in the TABLE OF CONTENTS implies that the process ends here, whereas the presentation of the Learning Cycle in Figure 1 implies that the second, third and fourth phases feed into the learning approach, and the cycle continues. I discuss the implications of this 'feeding into' and continuation with reference to scenarios describing different timings for my point of exit from the learning cycle.

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<u>My Point of Exit?</u>

As stated under the heading "The Learning Approach" in Figure 1, one of my goals in entering

this learning cycle is to make a contribution to academic literature, particularly the cultural

geography literature and the literature about Aboriginal peoples. Movement through the cycle

implies that the second, third and fourth phases feed into the learning approach. This implies that

what I learn in accomplishing the various tasks in these phases allows me to refine, redefine or

otherwise reconsider the key theoretical and methodological elements of the learning approach.

In terms of the academic contribution I make, I discuss this reconsideration of the key theoretical

and methodological elements in the concluding phase of my thesis (*Phase Five*). This return to

the learning approach is also a reminder of the ethical principal which I have already established

for myself, that is, to share the knowledge, and it is an invitation to establish other principles

should I continue in the cycle. The other goal which I have already established in the learning

approach is to help communities to 'take back' the names. I hope that, by completing one round

of the learning cycle in writing this thesis and sharing the knowledge, I have contributed to the

efforts of Aboriginal communities and nations to convey to non-Aboriginals (and perhaps to their

own youth) the meaning(s) they attribute to place naming in a way that at least partially reflects

the communities' and nations' own understandings of their lived experiences. Should I become a

direct participant in the dialogue on the meaning of place naming for Aboriginal peoples through

collaboration on place names research with a community or communities, then I would make

another round or more of the cycle, and would spend much more time learning about what it is

like to 'hear with a native ear'. And, depending on whether any of the communities would want

to 'go public' with their place names knowledge, then I would potentially also spend much more

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time learning about how peoples 'speak with names' across cultures.

PHASE TWO: HEARING WITH A NON-NATIVE EAR

INTRODUCTION: Other Peoples' Myths and 'Harvests'

For some individuals and groups, place naming is declaring who one is as a person and as a people or nation because the idea of territory is especially important to their definitions of who they are. Myth-making tends to be an important part of the way in which these individuals and groups relate to places, including the way in which they describe the limits and other characteristics (such as who belongs or does not belong there) of their territories. Furthermore, the territorial and other types of geographical myths they rely on in distinguishing *where* they are from *where* others are tend to be interrelated with the myths they tell about those others.

Myth-making (or representation) is among the "ensemble of social practices through which the world is made meaningful and intelligible to oneself and to others" (Gregory, 1994, p.136). In academic 'short-hand', these social practices are referred to as "discourse". Definitions of discourse, like the one cited above, often refer to activities involving the *construction* of definitions, images...and to the *use* to which these constructions are put, or the 'work' which they are made to do. For example, Hartley (1982) defines discourse "as the different kinds of *use* to which language is put", and he adds that it is in discourses that "language systems and social conditions meet" (p.6; emphasis in original). More specifically, Wetherell and Potter (1992) list some of the these uses: "justification, rationalization, categorization, attribution, making sense, naming, blaming and identifying" (p.2).

Geographical myth-making is among the social practices that are part of official, academic/professional and popular identity discourses, and geographical metaphors are also used by academics to define discourse and its analysis. The 'places' where language and social conditions meet are often referred to as 'sites' or 'fields' (Duncan, 1993a; Spurr, 1993; Mason, 1994) which permits a 'mapping' of discursive practices (Hartley, 1982; Jackson, 1989; Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Spurr, 1993): Spurr (1993) argues that "...there is nothing especially conscious or intentional in the [use of repertoires in discourse]; they are part of the landscape in which relations of power manifest themselves" (p.3).

Spurr (1993) also argues that it is the "crisis-riddled" nature of colonial, administrative, academic/professional authority which results in the "confusion of identity and difference" and in the use of "widely divergent rhetorical forms" of representing the 'Other' (p.7). Spurr's characterization of authority refers to the challenge to authority posed by cultural pluralism within a given place. In Phase Two: "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", I look at how the "crisis-riddled" nature of authority (in Québec) results in the telling of contradictory stories about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names, which are the projection of ambivalence about the 'Self' (we the Québécois) into attitudes towards the 'Other' (Aboriginal peoples in Québec).

Harvey Feit (1995a) is, perhaps, the only other outsider (particularly non-Cree) to focus on Euro-Canadian/Québécois myth-making about the Baie James/Eeyou Istchee (James Bay) region of Québec, also my region of interest. He looks at the continuity and change in the images of Aboriginal peoples which have prevailed among governments and corporations active in the

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region during the last four decades. Feit observes that the idea that Aboriginal peoples are deficient (morally and historically) has been used by Euro-Canadians/Québécois to rationalize and justify why they try to control Aboriginal peoples (p.107). Feit argues that, despite variations on the theme, the overall consequence of such a conception of Aboriginal peoples is the negation of a future and even a history that is different from the Euro-Canadian/Québécois experience; the past and future of Aboriginal peoples, according to Euro-Canadian/Québécois myth-making, is the story of how they are "becoming like us" (p.107). In Phase Two: "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", I refer to this myth about how they are becoming like us as the "myth of similarity". In the academic literature, this corresponds with the idea of "appropriation" or assimilation of Aboriginal peoples and places [and place names] through the promotion of "universality" (Spurr, 1993; Morisset, 1983).

But, I also argue that Euro-Canadian, and, more specifically, Québécois myth-making also tells the story of how "we" are becoming like "them". The idea that Canada's and Québec's destiny is in the North and the redefinition of Canadian heritage and "le patrimoine" in Québec to include aspects of Aboriginal heritage (such as Aboriginal place names) are examples of how myth-making about how we are becoming like them has implications for territorial control, both in terms of knowledge about and use of the territory in question. This 'simultaneous' myth-making about how we are becoming like them and how they are becoming like us is an example of the "confusion of identity and difference" characteristic of the "crisis-riddled" nature of authority (Spurr, 1993, p.7). This characterization of authority justifies why I believe a harvesting metaphor is an appropriate way of referring to the Commission de toponymie du Québec's

activities in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy. I argue that at the same time that Québécois toponymic heritage is redefined to include Aboriginal place names (our toponymy becomes like their toponymy), these 'resources', now 'uprooted' from their original cultural contexts, and processed to suit the 'tastes' of Québécois authorities, become Québécois cultural resources (their toponymy becomes like our toponymy).

Because I take into consideration both the stories of how they are becoming like us and of how we are becoming like them, my mapping of discursive practices in Québec and in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee from the perspective of "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" is, admittedly, sketchy in places, and my arguments are rather diffuse. I hope that the overview of parts one and two, which follows, guides the reader through the textual terrain I present in this second phase of the learning cycle. I don't doubt that another student of the cultural politics of place naming would organize the material differently, and come up with a different map. I would likely do the same in the future if I were to make another round of the "Learning Cycle".

Overview of Parts One and Two

"Hearing with a Non-Native Ear" focuses on responding to the following questions: Where did the images of Aboriginal place names come from?; how have these images shaped and how do they continue to shape the myths non-Aboriginals tell themselves about being Canadian and Québécois?; and, how have the images of Aboriginal place names affected place names policy and the achieving of place names knowledge?

"Other Peoples' Myths about Aboriginal Peoples, Places and Place Names" focuses on the way dominant discourses, be they administrative, academic/professional, or even popular, use images of or stories about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names to control, manage, etc., and to justify or rationalize these social actions. Thus, Part One of Phase Two of the learning cycle begins with two sections focussing on how the myth of similarity or the myth of universality is integral to the administrative and scientific 'take over' or appropriation of Aboriginal peoples, places and place names. These two sections focussing on the story of how they are becoming like us are followed by a longer discussion, throughout the remaining sections of Part One and including the first section of Part Two, which also describes the 'simultaneously' constructed story of how we are becoming like them.

This longer discussion begins to combine a chronological perspective with a thematic perspective. The British conquest of Québec and Québecois anxiety about survival as a distinct people are related to myth-making about Aboriginal *peoples*. The crisis of authority and identity begins with the British conquest, but it continues through the period of the Quiet Revolution and into the contemporary period characterized by the increasing importance of the separatist movement. The continuity and evolution in the nature of this crisis is associated with the continuity and evolution of "l'Indien imaginaire" (which I use as a section title).

Through the period of the quiet revolution and into the 1980s, the emphasis on becoming "maître chez nous" by gaining control over business and the economy is related to *territorial* myth-making. The theme of the "North as hinterland" or "North as resource" is particularly common in

the territorial myths of this period. With increasing control over economic development and with the rise of the separatist movement, the theme of the "North as heritage" becomes common in Québécois territorial myth-making. This is partly a response to the fact and challenge of the presence of Aboriginal peoples in the North, who generally neither share the southern perspective of the North as hinterland nor the belief in the principle of the "territorial integrity" of Québec.

The sections on "Imagining the North" and "Delimiting the North" elaborate on identifying and measuring the North as Other to, and yet part of, the South's image of itself. Then, particular attention is given to territorial myth-making in the context of what West (1991) refers to as the "scientization" of the North. The North as heritage theme is closely associated with the theme of how the (human) sciences, including toponymy, produce an "archive of knowledge" (West, 1991) about the North which testifies to non-Aboriginal institutional power (authority) over the North.

Throughout this discussion of the simultaneously constructed stories of how they (Aboriginal peoples) are becoming like us (non-Aboriginal peoples) and how we are becoming like them, I generally preface excerpts from the literature on myth-making as it relates to Québécois authority and identity with excerpts from the literature on myth-making as it relates to Canadian authority and identity. This reveals that, although Québécois myth-making responds to, or is alternative to, the federalist construction of a national identity, it shares with it certain themes about Aboriginal peoples and places (i.e. the North). But, there are also some distinguishing sub-themes in Québécois nationalist identity discourse, such as the greater importance of hydro-electric development within the North as hinterland theme, and the greater importance of Aboriginal place

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names within the North as heritage theme. These distinctions are mainly discussed in the first section of Part Two, "(Re)inventing "le patrimoine"" in Québec.

I should add that by my association of "Aboriginal" with "North" I do not deny the presence of Aboriginal peoples, places and place names in the South; I am, arguably, justified in making this association given my choice of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee as a site for a case study of the identity politics or cultural politics of place naming, in Phase Four.

The last two sections of Part One of Phase Two focus on myth-making about Aboriginal place names and on Aboriginal place names within the discourse on heritage. In the section on "Imagining Aboriginal Place Names", I make some parallels between myth-making about Aboriginal peoples and the ways in which Aboriginal place names have been described. The descriptions tend to associate Aboriginal place names with one side or the other of such dichotomies as exotic-ordinary and romantic-debased. This leads into my original review of a chapter on Aboriginal place names in Alan Rayburn's Naming Canada: Stories About Place Names from *Canadian Geographic* (Rayburn, 1994). My analysis of identity discourse in this professional/popular (as opposed to academic or governmental) Canadian text reveals how Canadian heritage is redefined to include Aboriginal place names, and how the justification for this inclusion relies on romanticized images of those place names. My review of Rayburn's chapter is a preface for my original review of La toponymie autochtone au Québec. Bilan et prospective (Bonnelly, 1996), the most recent of the Commission de toponymie du Québec's dossiers toponymiques, in Part Two. Whereas the former can be read as a claim to validate Aboriginal

place names through professional and popular recognition, the latter can be read as a claim to do so through official (government) recognition.

My review of La toponymie autochtone au Québec appears under the heading "The Role of the Commission de toponymie du Québec in 'Harvesting, Processing and Storing Aboriginal Place Names". It is introduced with a discussion on (re)inventing "le patrimoine". The Commission's claim to validate (dignify, revalorize) Aboriginal place names through official recognition is discussed as it relates to the theme of North as heritage and the production of an archive of knowledge about the North. I use a harvesting metaphor as a framework for discussing the Commission de toponymie's activities with respect to the surveying, treating/processing and archiving of Aboriginal place names in the province. Here is where I illustrate the argument that at the same time that Québécois toponymic heritage is redefined to include Aboriginal place names, these 'resources', now 'uprooted' from their original cultural contexts, and processed to suit the 'tastes' of Québécois authorities, become Québécois cultural resources. In my critique of the Commission's summary table describing its Aboriginal place names database (Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.27), I make suggestions for a more revealing presentation of this data in order to further the point that the archives of knowledge that are produced in dominant discourses tend to obscure the politics of their production.

Together, Parts One and Two of Phase Two provide some of the extra-cultural (geo-political, administrative, etc.) context for gaining a better understanding of why and in what ways Aboriginal communities and nations are involved in negotiating/struggling over place naming.

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Myth-making about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names has been and continues to be part of the dual processes by which Euro-Canadian and Québécois institutions assert their respective authority and Canadians and Québécois (re)invent their identities. But, the uses to which these images of or stories about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names are put by Euro-Canadians and Québécois are often contrary to Aboriginal peoples' perspectives on their lived experiences and interests, which is why these stories are sometimes challenged.

PART ONE: Other Peoples' Myths about Aboriginal Peoples, Places and Place Names

The Myth of Similarity: Appropriating Aboriginal peoples and places

> The European role in colonial territories depends on the clear demarcation of cultural and moral difference between the civilized and the noncivilized. But the ultimate aim of colonial discourse is not to establish opposition between colonizer and colonized. It seeks to dominate by inclusion and domestication rather than by a confrontation which recognizes the independent identity of the Other. Hence the impulse, whether in administrative correspondence or journalistic writing, to see colonized peoples as ultimately sympathetic to the colonizing mission and to see that mission itself as bringing together the peoples of the world in the name of a common humanity. (Spurr, 1993, p.32).

One of the important concepts in the definition of discourse is the concept of the "naturalizing function of discourse". This function refers to the way in which discourses "shape the contours of the TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED WORLD"; that is, it refers to the way in which they "'naturalize' and often implicitly universalize a particular view of the world and position subjects within it" (Gregory, 1994, p.136). In other words, one way in which administrative, scientific and other dominant discourses attempt to appropriate Aboriginal peoples and places is by promoting what I call the "myth of similarity".

The following excerpt from an analysis of a 'piece' of discourse (a transcript of an interview of a New Zealand politician, conducted in 1984), hints at how colonial/nationalist identity discourse *appropriates peoples*, in this case the Maori, and naturalizes the appropriation through promoting the myth of them becoming like us: "[The Maori] are described as an 'advanced' group, which seems to allow for some pride at the quality of 'our' indigenous people" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992, p.5). In this example, it can be assumed that the Pakeha ('White') politician believes that Pakeha are an advanced group, and so, he is *associating this same attribute* with the Maori in order to distinguish

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them from other Aboriginal peoples and to distinguish New Zealand itself. The sentiment is paternalistic, but it is probably also racist or ethno-centric in that 'our' indigenous people are probably viewed as the exception to the 'rule' that Aboriginal peoples are unadvanced. While this New Zealand politician does not represent the Maori as a deficient people, the consequence of his positive conception of the Maori is still the negation of a Maori future and history that is different from the Pakeha experience. In the quote introducing this section, Spurr (1993) elaborates on how colonial/nationalist identity discourse appropriates the colonized people by *promoting naturalization* (conferring citizenship through "inclusion" and "domestication"), thus "naturalizing" the appropriation in more than one sense.

Spurr's discussion of colonial/nationalist identity discourse and the *appropriation of places* further explains the naturalizing function of discourse:

> Colonial discourse takes over as it takes cover. It implicitly claims the territory surveyed as the colonizer's own; the colonizer speaks as an inheritor whose very vision is charged with racial ambition. Simultaneously, however, this proprietary vision covers itself. It effaces its own mark of appropriation by transforming it into the response to a putative appeal on the part of the colonized land and people. This appeal may take the form of chaos that calls for restoration of order, of absence that calls for affirming presence, of natural abundance that awaits the creative hand of technology. Colonial discourse thus transfers the locus of desire onto the colonized object itself. It appropriates territory, while it also appropriates the means by which such acts of appropriation are to be understood. (Spurr, 1993, p.28).

Spurr also discusses the promotion of the myth of similarity in that the colonizers' argument is that when Aboriginal places are 're-made' (tamed, populated, developed, etc.) in the image of non-Aboriginal places, it is in the interest of the colonized people and the land itself.

My juxta-position of the adjectives "colonial" and "nationalist" in the term "colonial/nationalist identity discourse", as well as my juxta-position of references to an analysis of contemporary administrative

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discourse in New Zealand (Wetherell and Potter, 1992) and an analysis of the discourse of imperial

administration (Spurr, 1993), is meant to highlight the continuity of certain aspects of dominant

identity discourses. My assumption is that, while the definition of what is publicly (and even

privately) acceptable to say about the Other continues to change, the change in attitude tends to lag

behind. Some observers, such as Wetherell and Potter (1992), argue that contemporary dominant

identity discourse often obscures the paternalistic, racist, etc. attitudes which we now recognize as

so blatantly expressed in historic administrative, scientific, and popular discourses. Jean Morisset

(1983) is another observer of contemporary administrative discourse who maintains that this

discourse attempts to obscure colonial attitudes, in this case in Canada and Québec. He argues that

the appropriation of Aboriginal territories for the purpose of stimulating colonization was, for three

centuries, the principle basis guiding relations between Europeans and Aboriginal peoples in Canada,

its continuity being precisely assured in Québec by the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement

(Morisset, 1983, p.63). Like Spurr (1993), Morisset argues that this control of geographic space is

couched in the language of "equality" (Spurr's "inclusion and domestication"), "ethics" (Spurr's

"response to a putative appeal"), and "generality" and "humanitarianism" (Spurr's "common

humanity") in an attempt to deny the independent identity of the Other:

> Il est de prime importance de bien discerner au départ les différentes appellations sous lesquelles on
> désigne "l'espace géographique et son contrôle" et qui se nomment indistinctement: "intégrité du
> territoire", "respect de l'environnement", "qualité de la vie", "auto-détermination socio-culturelle",
> etc. Ces expressions toutes faites ont pour objectif la mise au point de politiques générales et
> reposent sur une équité et une éthique dont il ne viendrait à l'esprit de personne de contester et
> critiquer le bien-fondé. Or, la généralité et l'humanitarisme de tels principes ont précisément pour
> rôle de masquer des objectifs beaucoup moins avouables et beaucoup plus réels: intégrer et assimiler
> le particularisme. (Morisset, 1983, p.63).

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A specific example of how the myth of similarity is expressed in the discourse around the interrelated issues of territorial control and Aboriginal - Non-Aboriginal relations in Québec is the justification given by the Québec Court of Appeal for suspending the Superior Court of Québec's temporary injunction on the construction of the La Grande hydro-electric complex (part of James Bay I development). The Cree and the Inuit had fought for the temporary injunction in the longest such hearing in the history of Canada. However, the decision to suspend was handed down a week after the decision in favour of the temporary injunction, in November, 1973. The justification reads as follows:

> "Les travaux dont la suspension fut ordonnée sont exécutés en vertu du chapitre 34 des Lois du Québec de 1971 et de certains arrêtés-en-conseil adoptés en vertu de cette loi. Cette loi crée la Société de développement de la Baie James et, par son article 4, lui donne "pour objet de susciter le développement et l'exploitation des richesses naturelles qui se trouvent dans le [..] Territoire [...] de voir à l'administration et à l'aménagement de ce Territoire [...] en donnant priorité aux intérêts québécois". Cette loi fut adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale élue par le peuple du Québec et, tant qu'elle ne sera pas déclarée inconstitutionnelle, elle doit être appliquée, à moins de circonstances absolument exceptionnelles." (Société de développement de la Baie James c. Kanatewat C.A.M. no. 09-00890-73, 22 nov. 1973, quoted in Mainville, 1993, p.72).

The reference to a law which gives priority to Québécois interests and which was adopted by a National Assembly elected by the people of Québec attempts to deligitimize the claims of the Crees and the Inuit by contrasting their 'particular' interests with the 'universal' interests of Québécois. While it could be read from this that the Crees and the Inuit are excluded from the definition of who is a Québécois, the analyses of colonial/nationalist identity discourses, referred to above, suggest that the definition is inclusive. In that case, the decision to suspend can be read as an admonition of the Crees and the Inuit for not taking into consideration the interests of other Québécois, who are, after all, the majority (at least numerically) with whom the Crees and the Inuit share the territory of Québec. But the assumptions on which the Québec Court of Appeal's decision was based can be challenged in at least two ways. It can be argued that the ostensibly universal interests of the people

of Québec are, in fact, the particular interests of non-Crees and non-Inuit, or non-Aboriginal peoples, or Francophones, or Hydro-Québec (the definition of who is a Québécois necessarily excludes at least the Crees and the Inuit). It can also be argued that it is the interests of the Crees and the Inuit which are, in fact, universal; the Crees and the Inuit were (and are) concerned about the negative environmental impacts of large-scale resource projects on their hunting, trapping and fishing territories, which are part of "mother earth" and the territory of Canada and (if not) Québec. (Separatists insist on the territorial integrity of Québec even though the Crees and the Inuit have recently challenged this claim). The first counter-argument I make challenges the myth of similarity by exposing 'Québécois interests' as equally particular to Cree and Inuit interests. The second counter-argument I make challenges the Québécois myth of similarity by promoting the idea of a common interest that is based on a value system different from one that gives priority to economic development over environmental health. The contest between the perceptions of territory, particularly the perceptions of the North, as "hinterland" versus "homeland" is also the contest between the ideas of "them" (Aboriginal peoples) becoming like "us" (Québécois) versus "us" becoming like "them". I discuss these themes in myth-making about the North under the heading "Imagining the North", below.

The appropriation and control of territory is not only manifested physically (eg. whose communities/settlements and/or whose economic activities/projects are in the place in question?); it is also manifested symbolically (eg. whose place names are there?). Ludger Müller-Wille has related the contest between perceptions of territory, including place naming:

> Not only the contest between different cultures and their socio-economic and political systems, but particularly the meeting of their respective oral and written traditions precipitated changes in the

established naming systems. Both traditions contrast in their patterns of communicating and the type of information emphasized and preserved. Also in respect to the perception of geographical space and its use, the needs were different. For the indigenous populations the application of geographical names and nomenclature has been propitious to the intensive use and spatial orientation in a specific territory. In contrast, explorers entered "uncharted" geographical regions of which they had no acquired knowledge or information. They had two choices: either to obtain the necessary knowledge from the local population wherever possible, or to develop and employ their own information pattern with its corresponding nomenclature. Naming places and labelling them on maps resulted in new information being recorded permanently and contributed to the integration of those distant locations into their geographical perception and, finally, territorial claim. (Müller-Wille, 1984, pp.2-3).

Müller-Wille points out that the second approach was predominant. The association between the appropriation of territory and place naming is discussed next.

Appropriating Aboriginal Place Names

The history of naming Canada is not the image of the funny story told in "The Naming of Canada" Heritage Minute, as seen on television or at the Odeon theatre. Müller-Wille reports that: "Over the centuries a large number of native place names have been incorporated into standard usage by European settlers in North America. On the other hand, as Poirier (1979) clearly pointed out, the uneven socio-economic conditions, linguistic barriers and cultural prejudices, or even plain geopolitics have effected the continued existence of indigenous toponyms." (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.3). Reference is made later on in this thesis to a decades-long policy toward Aboriginal place names in Québec which, had it continued, would have resulted in a veritable "génocide toponymique" (Poirier, 1979, p.24; Dorion, 1993, p.E5). But, the examples of Québec and Canada during the early part of this century certainly do not stand alone. Jackson (1989) argues that repression (at least) of indigenous toponymy occurs with every episode of colonization. Referring to an account of the European settlement of (what is now) Victoria, Australia, Jackson writes:

> The account takes the point of view of a spectator witnessing the unfolding of history, like an audience at a theatrical event. The fact that 'Aboriginals were *probably* stirring' is also indicative of the selective blindness of imperial history, a presence reluctantly admitted in accounting for an

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otherwise triumphant and unprecedented European 'discovery'. Even the use of place names in the
preceding passage [on the settling of Victoria] is revealing since they were, of course, only applied
once the process of settlement was under way. The naming and renaming of places is a crucial
aspect of geographical 'discovery', establishing proprietorial claims through linguistic association
with the colonizing power. The same logic applies in every episode of 'spatial history'. (Jackson,
1989, p.168).

Jackson describes the settlement of Victoria and its account as the appropriation, by physical and

linguistic means, of places which were occupied and used by the Aboriginal peoples of the continent.

It can be argued that this settlement account "covers" the appropriation by "transforming it into the

response to a putative appeal on the part of the colonized land..." (if not the people), in the form of

"absence that calls for affirming presence" (Spurr, 1993, p.28). In other words, in the case Jackson

describes, the appropriation of places by linguistic means involves the naming or renaming of these

places, as if there were either an absence of names or an absence of 'proper' (good) names. However,

in other cases, the appropriation of places (also) involves the appropriation of the Aboriginal place

names themselves, through translation, archiving, etc.

Rundstrom (1993) provides an example of the appropriation of Aboriginal places and place names

from recent spatial history:

> For the Zuni, getting coded into the [Geographical Information System] represents a very mixed
> blessing. For while the sole purported purpose is to improve rural health care delivery, the Zuni
> linguistic landscape is also converted into an English one. Few of the roads in the Zuni area had
> names prior to this project; few, if any, were in English. Zuni residents were solicited for Indian
> names, but other names were substituted in some cases because the original name was declared too
> humorous for a 'proper' road name. All were translated into rough English equivalents (Friedman
> 1991). (p.22).

In this case, it can be argued that the appropriation of place and place names is covered "...by

transforming it into the response to a putative appeal on the part of the colonized land and people"

in the form of "chaos which calls for restoration of order" (Spurr, 1993, p.28) (improving rural health

care delivery), and in the form of "absence that calls for affirming presence" (ibid) (few roads had

names). Even the supposed need for the "creative hand of technology" (ibid) is implied as a reason

for intervention as Zuni place names are getting coded into a Geographical Information System (GIS).

Of course, administrative (and any other dominant) identity discourse never completely covers itself,

for if it were able to, there could be no knowledge outside the dominant framework and no resistance

to domination. That is, in the case of the Zuni, there could be no recognition of a "very mixed

blessing" in being coded into a Geographical Information System.

This last example relates to the issue of how the (human) sciences produce archives of knowledge

about particular peoples or places which tend to serve interests other than those of the peoples

concerned (West, 1991). Those interests which benefit are usually the managers of the scientific

method (eg. administrative methods) or the technology (eg. a GIS) which is being applied. The

concept of the "archiving of knowledge" is discussed below under the heading "The Scientization of

the North". In Part Two of Phase Two, I illustrate how the Commission de toponymie du Québec's

involvement in Aboriginal toponymy can also be understood in terms of the production of such an

archive, which, like the example of Zuni place names getting coded into a GIS, also represents a

"very mixed blessing" for the Aboriginal communities or nations of Québec.

My discussion of the theme of appropriating Aboriginal peoples, places and place names in the first

two sections has moved from general statements to specific examples, mainly around the myth of

similarity, and more specifically the myth of them becoming like us. In the remaining sections in Part

One of Phase Two, the movement is both chronological and thematic (focussing on additional myths)

as I want to provide a context for understanding why the Commission de toponymie du Québec is

one of the producers and managers of the archive of knowledge about the North of Québec. I begin

to provide this context by reviewing the literature on the uses of images of Aboriginal peoples in

Québécois identity discourses. I identify examples of 'simultaneous' myth-making about how we are

becoming like them and how they are becoming like us. The review also begins to reveal the close

association between the geographical myths which Québécois rely on in distinguishing where they are

from where others are and the myths they tell about those others.

"L'Indien imaginaire" and Québécois Identity

> An Indian also served as a symbol of French Canada in Joseph Legaré's 1840 painting entitled *Paysage au Monument à Wolfe*. Here we see the Indian apparently offering to surrender his bow to the statue of the conqueror, General James Wolfe. Yet nearby, hidden behind a tree trunk, is a canoe waiting to carry the Indian away to his freedom. The critics seem agreed that the Indian (a Mercury figure) is more cunning than submissive, and that he is really preparing to escape to the freedom and independence of the forest. (Cook, 1986, p.50).

> The Cree leader [Matthew Coon Come] has made it clear that he wants no part of the Péquiste adventure. And he has signalled his intention to play a key role in building a coalition of native forces, encompassing all 11 of Québec's aboriginal nations, to fight Premier Jacques Parizeau's program. "The process that is now in place is a basic denial of aboriginal rights," he declares. "If Quebecers want to paddle away, that's their business. But it's our business to decide whether we want to jump in the canoe with them—or remain behind on dry land." (Came, 1995b, p.17).

While Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) Matthew Coon Come's metaphor

was likely not an intentional reference to the symbolism in *Canadien* artist Joseph Legaré's painting,

I have juxtaposed the two quotes to suggest that French Canadian and Québécois identity discourses

have, in one way or another, often had to contend with the Aboriginal fact(s). Often times since the

Conquest, these discourses have obscured or even attempted to deny the rights or even the very

presence of Aboriginal peoples in what was then Lower Canada and what is now Québec, while, at

the same time, they have used images of Aboriginal peoples and places in the process of defining and

redefining national identity. Legaré's painting is an example of the myth of us (French Canadians)

becoming like them ("Indians").

Several authors have elaborated on the uses of images of Aboriginal peoples in both Canadian (Haycock, 1971; Wilden, 1980; McGregor, 1985; Shields, 1991; Francis, 1992; Cameron and Dickin McGinnis, 1995) and French Canadian/Québécois (Vincent and Arcand, 1979; Cook, 1986) identity discourses. Furthermore, in Québec, at least two issues of the journal Recherches amérindiennes au Québec have dealt with the theme of "l'Indien imaginaire".

Both Daniel Francis, author of The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (1992), and Jean-René Proulx, author of the "Présentation" introducing the work of the Groupe de recherche l'Indien imaginaire (Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, XVII.3, 1987), stress the fact that, in looking at "l'Indien imaginaire", one is looking at non-Native culture: "On pourrait même dire de ces Amérindiens qu'ils n'existent pas... sauf dans nos livres, nos films, dans notre imaginaire. En fait ce numéro est un regard sur nous-mêmes, sur notre société et sur ce qu'elle s'imagine qu'un Amérindien est." (Proulx, 1987, p.2).

In looking at Canada, Francis (1992) also echos the main research questions in Gilles Thérien's (1987) article on "L'Indien imaginaire: une hypothèse":

> Pourquoi le Québécois (et peut-être aussi le Canadien) a-t-il besoin du phantasme de l'Indien, alors qu'il accorde bien peu d'importance à sa réalité. Quel rôle ce phantasme joue-t-il dans l'élaboration de notre culture, de notre discours identitaire? Quel effet a-t-il sur nos possibilités de connaissance de l'Indien, sur sa perception? C'est sous le vocable "Indien imaginaire", ni fictif ni réel, que nous avons regroupé toutes nos questions. (Thérien, 1987, p.3).

Thérien's definition of the term "imaginary" relates to definitions of discourse (see Phase One) which describe how language systems and social conditions meet at 'sites', or in 'fields' or other 'places', which permits a 'mapping' of discursive practices: "Le mot "imaginaire" est emprunté d'abord à Lacan (1966) et ensuite à Wilden (1983). Pour ce dernier, l'imaginaire est le lieu où s'énonce l'idéologie dominante. ...Registre particulier, l'imaginaire est le théâtre de relations phantasmées, plutôt que réelles, qui ont pour but de résoudre les ambiguïtés des relations concrètes en une dichotomie simple et efficace (du type "ou bien.., ou bien...""). (Thérien, 1987, p.3).

Spurr (1993) argues that it is the "crisis-riddled" nature of authority (Thérien's "ambiguïtés des relations concrètes") which results in the "confusion of identity and difference" and the use of "widely divergent rhetorical forms" of representing the Other (p.7). The telling of contradictory stories about Indiens imaginaires/Selves is also the projection of ambivalence about the Self into attitudes towards the Other (Duncan, 1993a, p.44) and is not unique to the Canadian and Québécois cases.

In Québécois identity discourses, both past and contemporary, there are examples of identification with both positive and negative definitions of l'Indien imaginaire. In *Canadien* artist Joseph Legaré's painting of the conquest, the association with a romantic image of l'Indien imaginaire is hopeful. In Thérien's examples of contemporary Québécois literature, the myth of us becoming like them is an association with a debased image of l'Indien imaginaire that does not foresee a secure cultural future:

> Les quelques exemples tirés de la littérature québécoise contemporaine démontrent que la perception de l'Indien comme peuple, comme collectivité à coloniser, à évangéliser, à soumettre, à fait place à la présence d'individus, coupés de leurs origines, de leurs racines: des individus errant sans identité, parfois sans même un nom, condamnés à servir d'exutoires aux passions exacerbées de Québécois incapables, eux, de supporter les institutions, impuissants à se définir dans un projet d'avenir. Le corpus étudié est d'une tristesse infinie. L'Indien imaginaire est devenu le miroir de la névrose québécoise. (Thérien, 1987, p.21).

On the other hand, in an interview with the Groupe de recherche l'Indien imaginaire, anthropologist Rémi Savard discusses the identification of contemporary Québécois with the romantic image of Aboriginal peoples' rootedness in nature:

I.I. - *Est-ce que c'est une façon de se créer une mythologie nord-américaine?*

R.S. - Il y a ça. Il y a aussi ce besoin de marquer, de pisser sur le territoire, de se créer des racines. Ce sont les seuls êtres qui ont des racines ici. C'est embêtant d'un côté, parce que s'ils parlent trop de leurs racines, ils mettent en relief le fait que nous n'en avons pas. Mais, d'un autre côté, si on réussit par un tour de passe-passe quelconque à se greffer sur cette racine-là, l'apport est extraordinaire. (Entrevue avec Rémi Savard. Groupe de recherche l'Indien imaginaire, 1987, p.36).

It is interesting to note that in the first case, the Québécois become like Aboriginal peoples by becoming cut off from their roots (negative), while in the latter case the Québécois become like Aboriginal peoples by grafting onto their roots (positive). In Part Two of Phase Two, I extend this idea of the Québécois grafting onto Aboriginal peoples' roots through my use of a harvesting metaphor to refer to the Commission de toponymie du Québec's interest and activities with respect to Aboriginal toponymy.

Savard's statement that Aboriginal peoples are the only beings with roots in Québec and North America is contrasted by the following statement by Claval (1980), who appears to overlook the presence of Aboriginal peoples: "Le groupe canadien-français est *le seul groupe ethnique* qui présente, sur le continent nord-américain, une implantation continue sur une surface importante, c'est le seul groupe européen dont l'ancienneté garantisse les droits." (Claval, 1980, p.43; my emphasis). The contrast in Claval's and Savard's statements reflects the role of academics and popular authors in 'prescribing for' as well as 'speaking for' the 'average' Québécois at various stages in Québécois nation-building. The contrast probably also reflects the fact that Aboriginal peoples in Québec and Canada have become increasingly vocal and, therefore, less easy to overlook or ignore than in earlier

decades.

This increase in the vocality of Aboriginal peoples is further reflected between the publication of the interview with Savard, in 1987, and the publication of Pierre Trudel's article, "De la négation de l'autre dans les discours nationalistes des Québécois et des autochtones", in 1995, which also appears in Recherches amérindiennes au Québec. In 1987, Savard stated:

> C'est vrai qu'on cherche à se confondre avec l'Indien. On a de la difficulté à reconnaître ses caractères propres et sa spécificité, son appartenance à un territoire qui est aussi le nôtre. Et là, les images s'embrouillent parce qu'on cherche à s'ancrer dans son territoire et à le faire à travers lui. C'est bien compréhensible; mais c'est rapidement l'impasse. Et c'est une impasse, je voudrais insister là-dessus, qui est vraiment la résultante de notre seule démarche. Parce que pour les Indiens, il n'y a pas d'impasse; ça c'est clair. Je me souviens d'avoir entendu René Lévesque dire à la radio: "On n'est pas pour tous se rembarquer dans des bateaux et s'en aller." Je n'ai jamais entendu un Indien, même le plus radical, qui ait tenu devant moi, en 25 ans de rencontres, un tel discours! (Groupe de recherche l'Indien imaginaire, 1987, p.37).

In 1995, Trudel argues that "la négation de l'autre" is not a phenomenon (rhetorical strategy) exclusive to the nationalist identity discourses of "Whites" or Québécois. He further insists that the nationalist identity discourses of Québécois and Autochtones are mutually responsive, and that the one can be better understood with reference to the other. In either case, the political objective of the negation of the Other is to preclude negotiation, since it is not necessary to negotiate with that which does not exist. However, if the Other cannot be made to 'disappear', one can always define the nature of the Other in such a way that negotiations proceed in a prescribed manner. For example, if the Other is demonized, then negotiations can be short and cede little (Trudel, 1995, p.53). Trudel categorizes the diverse forms of negation according to the following themes: the negation of the Other by contrast to physical stereotypes; the negation of the Other's history; the negation of the Other's cultural and political identity; the negation of territorial rights; and finally, the negation of the Other by demonization (Trudel, 1995, p.53).

With regard to the close association between territorial myth-making and myth-making about the

Other, Trudel provides examples of how the rhetorical negation of Aboriginal peoples' territorial

rights relies on hyperbole, in this case the negative caricature of Aboriginal peoples:

> Afin de démontrer le caractère démesuré et irréaliste des revendications territoriales des autochtones
> de la Colombie-Britannique, Lysiane Gagnon, de *La Presse*, écrit que ces derniers demandent non
> pas la totalité de la superficie de la province mais bien 110% du territoire! De façon quasi unanime,
> on caricature le fait que les autochtones revendiquent de grandes superficies au Canada. (Trudel,
> 1995, p.59).

> Cette prétendue démesure aida aussi les célèbres promoteurs de l'agrandissement d'un golf à cacher
> les véritables enjeux d'un conflit territorial. Quelques heures après le début de la crise d'Oka, les
> élus du conseil municipal d'Oka haranguaient la foule en leur demandant: "Accepteriez-vous de
> négocier 80% du territoire du Québec?"! (Trudel, 1995, p.60).

With regard to the close association between territorial myth-making and myth-making about the

other Trudel quotes Sylvie Vincent, who summarizes the four principle themes in the statements of

Québécois who wrote letters to the editor during the Oka crisis:

> "Nous nous trouvons donc devant quatre énoncés. D'après le premier, que je dirai désormais "de
> l'occupation antérieure", puisque les Amérindiens ont été les premiers habitants de l'Amérique du
> Nord, l'espace québécois est leur et les autres Québécois n'ont pas de territoire. D'après le second,
> que je dirai "des droits acquis", les Amérindiens étaient certes les premiers habitants du Québec,
> mais les autres Québécois y ont gagné des droits presque exclusifs en en [sic] développant les
> ressources par leur travail. Le troisième énoncé, que je dirai "de l'autochtonie généralisée", soumet
> qu'Amérindiens et Québécois de souche française étant tous des autochtones doivent avoir les mêmes
> droits. Selon le quatrième, enfin, que je dirai "de l'universalité du statut d'immigrant", les
> Amérindiens comme les Québécois de souche française ont été les premiers habitants." (Vincent
> 1992a: 221 in Trudel, 1995, p.54).

Trudel adds that most of his own post-Oka crisis observations support Vincent's findings (Trudel,

1995, p.54). The third and fourth themes relate to different approaches to appropriating the Other

by denying their 'particular' (as opposed to 'universal') claims: Vincent's theme of "l'autochtonie

généralisée" is about how we (the Québécois) are like them (Aboriginal peoples), while her theme of

"l'universalité du statut d'immigrant" is about how they are like us. The second of Vincent's themes

relates to "'race' talk" (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Berg and Kearns, 1996) and its association with

the myth of the North as hinterland.

In the section "Imagining Aboriginal Place Names", below, I relate the contradictory images of Aboriginal peoples to the discourse surrounding Aboriginal place names. I provide illustrative examples of the use of various rhetorical forms or strategies of representing the Other's place names, including negation by caricature. I argue that the dominant discourse on Aboriginal place names reflects the dichotomized images of Aboriginal peoples; that is, it tends to refer to Aboriginal place names in terms that either romanticize or debase them.

Imagining the North

As place naming is an integral part of 'discovering', controlling and representing territory, this thesis now turns to the literature on myth-making about the North, my region of interest, in order to provide a context for discussing place naming in the North. The review illustrates how academics and others who write about the North are sometimes less conscious, sometimes more conscious (and sometimes self-conscious) about their roles in archiving knowledge about the North, whether from more 'subjective' or more 'objective' orientations. Academics are not only observers; they influence 'official' discourse on the North as they are sometimes contracted by governments and their work is otherwise referred to by civil servants (and sometimes also reflect their perceptions). This is more reason to devote attention to academic discourse in this thesis. This review also introduces the various themes in the discourse about the North and highlights the competition within pair of themes, such as "North as hinterland" and "North as heritage" (within Québécois discourses) and the tension between North as "hinterland", "heartland" or "heritage" and "North as homeland" (between

Québécois and Aboriginal discourses).

Robert Bone, author of The Geography of the Canadian North (1992), introduces the reader to his

regional text dealing with the territorial and provincial norths with the following observation:

> Over the last fifty years profound changes have been creating a new Canadian North. They include
> the emergence of the resource industry as the dominant economy, Native self-government and land
> claims as the main political issue, and industrial pollution as the major environmental problem. The
> unleashing of such powerful economic, social and political forces is almost unprecedented in Canada.
> They have altered the definition of northern development from its almost exclusive association with
> economic growth to the much broader issues of the so-called hidden -- environmental and social --
> costs of development, and the place of Native people in the northern economy. (Bone, 1992, p.ix).

This generalized introduction to the current geo-economic, -social, and -political situation in the

Canadian North suggests what the current situation is like in the north of Québec, and also hints at

why the newer theme of "North as heritage" competes with the older theme of "North as hinterland"

in contemporary Québécois territorial myth-making. Québécois territorial myth-making has more

recently had to respond to the challenge of the presence of Aboriginal peoples in the North. This

review of literature by authors who either consider (Bone, 1992) or focus primarily on (Shields, 1991;

Heinimann, 1993; West, 1995) myth-making about the North, reveals that the theme of North as

heritage has its historical continuity in the theme of "North as heartland". The theme of North as

heartland is the southern counterpart to the theme of "North as homeland", expressed by Northerners;

and, the former competes with the themes of, "North as frontier", "North as resource", or "North as

hinterland" (basically synonymous), while the latter challenges them . The significance of each of

these themes becomes more apparent when I link them 'down' to the bases for identities, such as

'race' or ethnicity or nationhood, gender and class, besides linking them through time.

Bone sets the stage for understanding the geography of the Canadian North by discussing "Northern Perceptions":

> Canadians hold a number of visions of the North. Two dominate current thinking: the northern frontier, and the northern homeland. The northern frontier image is of a place where people are pitted against a harsh environment that contains great wealth. This is a popular perception among southern Canadians. The northern frontier image has its roots in the fur trade and its lineage stretches back to the early European explorers.... A more modern version of the image is that of a resource frontier where fabulously rich resources are ripe for development and where large-scale resource projects generate rapid economic growth, thereby solving many of the North's economic problems and adding to Canada's wealth. (Bone, 1992, p.2).

> Northerners, particularly Native northerners, hold a homeland image of the North. While Canadians think of themselves as a northern people, those living in the North have a special, deeper commitment to that place. Hamelin (1979: 9) described this feeling as 'a trait as deeply anchored as a European's attachment to the site of his hamlet or his valley'. In this single statement, Hamelin has captured the geographer's notion of place and the parallel idea of regional consciousness. (Bone, 1992, p.2-3).

Rob Shields (1991) argues that what he calls the mythology of the 'True North Strong and Free' "... opposes the different regional interests [in Canada] with a strong emotional argument. Central to this counterpoint of interests, is the Federal Government policy of 'developing the north for the benefit of all Canadians' (i.e. as a resource-rich colony)." (Shields, 1991, p.197-198).

In both Bone's first paragraph and Shields' statement of argument, we see reference to how colonial/nationalist identity discourse appropriates regional interests (particularism) by promoting the myth of similarity (Canadian universalism). In Bone's own reference to Louis-Edmond Hamelin's statement concerning the Northerners' homeland image of the North (his second paragraph), Bone appears to agree with Hamelin on a European standard for evaluating Native and non-Native Northerners' feelings for and "commitment" to the North. At the same time, Bone implies that non-Native Northerners are more like Native Northerners than like Southerners, who have a frontier

image of the North. But, many non-Native Northerners measure "commitment" to the North in terms

of 'development', such as their role in the generation of rapid economic growth through large-scale

resource projects. This has generally not been the way Native Northerners measure their commitment

to the North. In this section and the next, I point out other ways in which Bone and, especially,

Hamelin contribute to the myth of similarity and to the production of an archive of knowledge about

the North.

Shields (1991) argues that the North as heartland image and the resource frontier image (along with

the stance of "ignorance founded on [the North's] irrelevance to everyday life") coexist in the

imagination of the Southerner "...in complex and shifting formations of inconsistent practices and

prejudices, institutional policies and individual behaviour." (Shields, 1991, p.181). In other words,

in contrast to Bone, Shields allows for the fact that Southerners [and Northerners] could have

multiple perceptions and identities. In the same vein, I refer to a competition between themes of the

North within Québécois discourse.

The following excerpt from shields suggests that these themes or myths about the North are

"grounded" in concepts of 'race', gender and class (bases for multiple identities), despite May's (1992,

p.235) criticism that this grounded approach remains unexamined in Shields' work:

> In this light, the 'True North Strong and Free' is a perverse case of building a cultural identity from
> both sides of the equation civilised-uncivilised or culture-nature: of defining a dichotomy and then
> reappropriating elements which are often rejected because the dualism becomes associated,
> metaphorically, with other black and white categories such as good-bad. This 'True North' is a
> masculine-gendered, liminal zone of *rites de passage* and re-creative freedom and escape. It is a
> resource and economic hinterland which is simultaneously incorporated in a social spatialisation as
> a mythic heartland. I shall argue that such a dualism provides a foundation for Canadian nationalists
> because it provides the possibility of setting a 'Canadian nature' (The 'True North') off against
> 'American mass culture' entirely originating, or so we are asked to believe, south of the border.

(Shields, 1991, p.163).

Both Shields (1991) and Heinimann (1993) make reference to the racism of the "Canada First"

movement, whose definition of the Other 'race' intersects with notions of gender. Furthermore,

Heinimann points out that one can find examples of continuity in Québécois nationalist identity

discourse:

> The "Canada First" movement is the Canadian prelude to the twentieth century's crisis of
> nationalism. They envisioned a dominant and "vigourous Anglo-Saxon and Protestant 'northern'
> race," whose sentiment can be inferred from this assertion in *The Globe* newspaper: "Our bracing
> northern winters will preserve us from the effeminacy which naturally steals over the most vigorous
> races when under the relaxing influence of tropical or even generally mild and genial skies."
> Nevertheless, some French Canadians appeared just as determined to ride the sleigh: Camille Roy
> recalled Henri Bourassa's invocation of the Anglo-Norman past to defend the racial equality of
> French and English Canadians. (Heinimann, 1993, p.136).

Shields (1991) also provides an example of how 'race' talk was part of the *administrative* discourse

of another Canadian institution, the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources up to the

late 1950s (Shields, 1991, p.179). Both Shields and Heinimann would seem likely to agree with my

assumption that while the definition of what is publicly (and even privately) acceptable to say about

the Other continues to change, the change in attitude tends to lag behind.

Earlier in this thesis, I stated that by my association of "Aboriginal" with "North" I do not deny the

presence of Aboriginal peoples, places and place names in the South. Several authors argue that this

association tends to stereotype Aboriginal peoples because the association of the "North" with the

"Autochtone", the "Indigene" or the "Native" tends to rely on nature-culture and uncivilized-civilized

dichotomies. For example, Shields (1991) writes, "'The True North Strong and Free'...summarises

many aspects of southern central Canadian myths of the North: truth or honesty to an autochthonous

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spirit of the land,...." (Shields, 1991, p.164). West (1995) writes, "The word "indigenous" has received a more recent treatment in the work of Terry Goldie. Goldie argues that the "indigene is often used to present the possibility of nature in a human form. In the same way, the Indigene's closeness to nature is used to justify an emphasis on the indigene as the land. In one, nature becomes human, in the other, human becomes nature" (Goldie, 1989:19)." (West, 1995, p.286). One of the consequences of this association is that at the same time that the Other (Aboriginal peoples and the North itself) is appropriated in the notion of the North as the mythic heartland, the presence of Aboriginal peoples among Southerners is obscured. For example, Heinimann observes:

> ...a new discourse arose, one based, it appears, on a conception of the North as "empty," a view which might be seen as a tidy denial of the racist past. ... The White-Native dialogue that has finally been established has, however, gone to the other extreme: the North now seems synonymous with Canada's Native population, and ironic whirlwind of historical rhetoric. Do we have the beginnings of a discourse such as that identified and condemned by cultural critics: the construction of the other based on our definition of them? That has long been the case with the Native nations generally, but now we see it particularly in the association of the North with the Native. (Heinimann, 1993, p.136).

Heinimann asks, "Do Natives belong only in the North? That is where the federal bureaucracy has placed them: "Indian and Northern Affairs Canada" has been related in its dual function since Confederation." (Heinimann, 1993, p.137). In the latest manifestation of this federal department's name, "Indian Affairs and Northern Development" (DIAND), there is still the association between Native Peoples and the North, but the North now seems synonymous with the idea of "development". I discuss how territorial myth-making about the North is grounded in notions of class, in addition to notions of race and gender, next.

Besides sometimes obscuring the presence of Aboriginal peoples in the North, Shields observes that Canadian nationalist identity discourse also obscures the economic exploitation of the North by the South:

There is a certain sense of guilt in the face of an exploited internal colony (Hechter 1975). Canadians are reluctant imperialists. It comes as little surprise that the 'True North' myth also disguises the realities of the exploitation of the North for Southern profit (Coates 1985). A hypothesis for further research would be that such a spatialisation, which a Marxist would label as a *phantasmagoria*, appears to be an essential, if neurotic, part of a nation split by deep heartland-hinterland inequalities (in democratic control, provision of social services, average income and so on - see p.166 and Berger 1977; Coates 1985; Page 1986). (Shields, 1991, p.193).

Spurr (1993) would seem likely to add that the exploitation of the internal colony attempts to hide under the cover of a "response to a putative appeal on the part of the land and the people." (Spurr, 1993, p.28).

The remaining references to the literature on territorial myth-making in this section elaborate on the "North as hinterland" theme. The references reveal that this territorial myth-making has tried to negate the presence of Aboriginal peoples and another type of economy in the North, and being unable to make these facts 'disappear', has more recently tried to appropriate these facts in the model and associated economic practices described as "frontier dualism". This discussion has implications for the study of the cultural politics of place naming for two reasons. One, it suggests that since the earlier dominant Canadian and Québécois discourses on Aboriginal place names could not make the fact of these place names disappear, the more recent dominant discourses have had to appropriate the place names in new models of "heritage" and "le patrimoine". Two, it suggests that the intersection of 'race'/nationhood and class provides a useful basis for grounding the analysis of negotiations/struggles over place naming in a given territory.

Bone elaborates on the assumptions of the "hinterland model" of development, which is represented by the resource economy, the dominant commercial force in the North, and which can be contrasted with the "Native economy" (Bone, 1992, p.11):

> The hinterland model assumes that the northern economy will be integrated more closely into Canadian economic life and into the world economy system, and that persons are rewarded according to their role in this process. ...The second component of the hinterland model is the export of the products of the resource economy to markets around the world. The liberalization of trade between countries, and particularly the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, is expected to accelerate this trend. A third assumption is that the regional population is homogenous. The model does not recognize substantial cultural differences and major ethnic socio-economic variations within regional populations, a serious weakness when applied to northern Canada, where Native Canadians form a substantial element of the population. (Bone, 1992, p.13).

The first assumption relates to appropriation and to the promotion of the myth of similarity, whereby all persons (non-Native and Native) are said to be in a position to benefit equally by subscribing to the hinterland model of development and participating in the economy in the manner which the model prescribes. Bone's comments on the third assumption point to the reason why the hinterland model and the Native economy have became incorporated as one half each of the "frontier dualism" model: the distinctiveness or particularism of the Aboriginal population cannot be easily denied.

West (1995) elaborates on the rootedness of the "resource" and "Native" economies in assumptions about the relationship of humans to Nature and its implications for the relationship between Native and non-Native cultures:

> McMahon captures an essential characteristic of the relationship between Native and non-Native cultures; the Western or European language of survival is predicated on a recognition that we are in a general conflict with Nature because the objects of Nature are in a constant state of potential scarcity. This conflict requires the ordering of our economic practices which allows us to predict their potential yield. In the end, profit from accumulation serves as insurance against an unpredictable economic future. This linear progression and definition of interests was not a part of Native peoples ways of life. The re-wording of the priorities of Native peoples has required the re-wording of [Native] languages. (West, 1995, p.283).

By extension of the idea of natural resource scarcity to cultural resource scarcity, this characterization of the Western or European world view also suggests that 'stocking-up' on Aboriginal place names, especially if they are defined as part of Canadian heritage or "le patrimoine" in Québec may serve as insurance against unpredictable cultural futures. I elaborate on this metaphor in Part Two of Phase

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Two. Bone describes how the priorities of the Native economy have evolved with its increasing incorporation into the dual economy of the North: the Native economy has "...evolved from a subsistence hunting economy to one in which wage employment, transfer payments, and trapping provide cash income while hunting provides country food." (Bone, 1992, p.12). He argues that the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975 and the Inuvialuit land claim agreement of 1984 represent two major exceptions to Native governments' general minimal control or lack of control over resource development: "Both resulted in regional Native governments. These Native governments have the organizational structure, capital resources, and political mandate to engage in economic, political and social development." (Bone, 1992, p.14). Given these comments on these two agreements, Bone seems to agree with the assumptions of frontier dualism. He recognizes the challenge of certain "economic weaknesses, such as a limited renewable resource base, a small local market, long distances to major suppliers and world markets", etc. (Bone, 1992, p.16), which relate to 'Northern/Geographic Realities' (Bone, 1992, Chapter 10), but he believes the Native economy's incorporation in frontier dualism is generally beneficial: "Unlike cultural dualism, however, frontier dualism does not predict a particular outcome, that is, the disappearance of the Native economy. Frontier dualism assumes that peaceful and fair solutions will continue to result from land-claims negotiating. Such resolutions will accelerate the changing nature and goals of northern development, balancing the aspiration of both peoples." (Bone, 1992, p.16).

On the other hand, Harvey Feit's (1995b) evaluation of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement as it relates to Cree development seems to indicate that the "balancing of aspirations of both peoples" (Bone, 1992, p.16) may be quite precarious:

Concerning the evaluation of economic impacts on the Cree, Feit states, "The economic development provisions of the agreement have not to date greatly benefited the Cree. Nor has the hydroelectric project contributed systematically to community-level economic development within the Cree villages." (Feit, 1995b, p.214). Concerning the implications of future hydro-electric development on Cree autonomy, Feit writes:

...the proposed expansions of hydroelectric development have already begun to affect the Cree dramatically. For example, because the NBR [Nottaway-Broadback-Rupert rivers] project was initially expected to be built in the 1990s, and because there was a serious over-utilization of forests and wildlife further south in Québec, an acceleration of the commercial cutting of forests and of the sport hunters' harvests of wildlife in the areas that would have been flooded was allowed and encouraged by Québec, despite Cree opposition. Once the activities were established, the over exploitation then spread throughout the James Bay region, even though the NBR project has been delayed by at least a couple of decades. (Feit, 1995b, p.217).

Other authors are also sceptical about the notion that the dual economy of the North is mutually beneficial for Non-Natives and Natives. For example, West (1995) relates the Northern economy to the Canadian and global economies in the manner described by core-periphery or dependency models (West, 1995, p.182). Also in contrast to Bone (1992), other authors argue that radical approaches to Native - non-Native relations in Canada and Québec are required if Aboriginal peoples are to experience genuine development:

Most recently, Ken Coates [1989] and John D. O'Neil [1989] have directed northern discourse toward decolonizing what O'Neil calls Canada's "Fourth World." The discourse rejects the continuing perception of the North as locus of exploitation, as seen when, surprisingly, Thomas Berger [1988] in his Hurtig article employs headings called "Peoples of the North" and lists Natives only, and then in "Future of the North" describes White development first. Equally, Louis-Edmond Hamelin [1988] affirms that "the North should become and remain a 'national effort.'" Whose nation we mean depends on to whom we speak: Hamelin himself, Ovide Mercredi, or Conrad Black. (Heinimann, 1993, p.137).

In summary, according to West (1995) and Heinimann (1993), the Native economy's incorporation into the dual economy of the North and the North's incorporation into the Canadian and global economies represents an ambiguity of outcomes at best. In Part Two of Phase Two, I argue that the incorporation of Aboriginal toponyms into Québec's toponymic database as prescribed by the theme of "North as hinterland" (through the need for mapping) and, more recently, by the theme of "North as heritage" (in line with the incorporation of the Native economy in frontier dualism) also represents an ambiguity of outcomes for Native peoples.

Delimiting the North

The discussion above has focussed on the analysis of "...more 'subjective' or culturally oriented work which classifies [the North's] themes and occurrence", while this section turns to the analysis of "...more 'objective' interpretations which delimit [the North's] boundaries..." (Shields, 1991, p.198). I include this discussion because some toponymists, such as Nicolaisen (1990), have tended to assume that toponymy is among more "scholarly", "academic" and "neutral" (objective) as opposed to "political" (subjective) sciences (Nicolaisen, 1990, pp.193-194). The discussion also makes reference to problems of territorial definition related to the confusion of certain regional names for/in the North. The argument is that the distinction between 'neutral' and 'political' toponymy, like the distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' interpretations of the North, is largely artificial. I also include this discussion since the notion of the need to delimit the north or regions within in, such as Aboriginal territories, is contested by Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees Matthew Coon Come's insistence that "We Crees do not think of borders as sacred" and that it is place names that define "Eenou Astchee" (Cree territory) (Newman, 1995, p.441). Heinimann suggests that the dual

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process of geographical myth-making and the (re)invention of identity is the context for

understanding the production of conflicting 'objective' interpretations of the 'limits' of the North:

"Anyone who wanders through the conflicting conceptions of Canada's North cannot help but feel

a ... change. It has changed its latitude: from the country as a whole as North to the country having

a distinct North.. But has it changed its attitude?" (Heinimann, 1993, p.134). Like Shields (1991),

Heinimann implies that bases of identity, such as class, are important to the understanding of

territorial discourses about the North.

Heinimann argues that the concept of the country-as-North began at Confederation, while, today,

"[o]ur mythology is regionalism. Here we move into the second, conflicting sense of northerness:

the North-of-country. We find disagreement -but, surprisingly, little commentary - over the location

of Canada's North. Lack of consensus may result from its corollary topic of the North-as-frontier,

which is itself a shifty concern." (Heinimann, 1993, p.134). Perhaps Heinimann is suggesting that

delimiting the North has facilitated Southern economic incursion into the North. By extension,

perhaps toponymic surveys have also facilitated Southern economic incursion into the North as maps

represent place with both lines and points of reference.

Heinimann further argues that the interchange of certain terms for the geographical nomenclature of

the North also explains the conflicting conceptions of the North:

> Much of the confusion is based on making synonyms of the North, the two Territories, and the Arctic. ... Even astute Northernist Thomas Berger [1977 and 1988] confounds the North: in his pipeline inquiry it is the Territories, while in Hurtig's encyclopaedia he placed it above the country's east-west urban strip. Some advance is evident when geographer Robert Bone [1992] divides the North into "Arctic" and "Subarctic"; his Arctic referent is not decentred, as is the compass "North." Overall, these confused Norths result in what Louis-Edmond Hamelin [1989] calls the "Balkanization" of the North. (Heinimann, 1993, p.135).

It is geographer Louis-Edmond Hamelin who has probably made the largest contribution to the

"...academic geography debate over the southern boundary of this half-real, half-imaginary 'North'"

(Shields, 1991, p.166) by his identification of the factors which determine 'nordicity', which he defines

as:

> Nordicité: Nom donné à la *polaricité* de l'hémisphère boréal. État nordique d'un lieu, d'un
> caractère, d'une décision d'une population. Différents degrés dans la nordicité à partir d'un point
> 0), celui de *l'anordicité*. En fonction du domaine considéré, la nordicité est climatique,
> biogéographique, géographique (globale), psychologique... Dans sa venue, la nordicité mentale est
> instinctive, empirique, déductive, rationnelle; elle peut être théorique ou appliquée. La nordicité
> géographique se calcule, puis s'exprime en VAPO[valeurs polaires]. L'on peut considérer, outre la
> nordicité actuelle ou statique, la nordicité ancienne et prospective. (Hamelin, 1974, p.27).

Hamelin's (1974) definition of "Nouveau-Québec" suggests that "making synonyms" (Heinimann,

1993, p.135) of the various terms associated with the geographical nomenclature of Québec's

northern region may, as in the case of the Canadian North, also explain conflicting conceptions of

this region: "Nouveau-Québec: Nom québécois de l'ancien District d'Ungava. Le Nouveau-Québec

est un peu moins étendu que le "Québec nordique" dont les limites méridionales correspondent à

l'isoligne de 200 VAPO [valeurs polaires]; elles traversent à plusieurs reprises le 49e degré de

latitude. Population totale du Québec nordique, moins de 40 000 habitants." (Hamelin, 1974, p.28).

The term "Le Nord du Québec" has more recently begun to replace "Nouveau-Québec", at least in

'official' discourses, which along with other regional names, such as "Nunavik", "Baie James"

"Jamésie" and "Radissonie", adds to the number of terms which may potentially be confounded. Each

is associated with a different myth about the limits and other characteristics of the territories

concerned (eg. who belongs there). I discuss these place names in the context of people and place

myths in Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec (Barabé et al., 1982), in Phase Four.

Getting back to Hamelin's definition of nordicity, Bone explains that it claims to provide a "quantitative definition of the southern boundary of the North", which is represented by the 200 polar-unit isoline, as well as a "...composite measure of northerness for any place" (Bone, 1992, p.8). Bone appears to draw a correspondence between Hamelin's division of the North into "Middle North", "Far North" and "Extreme North" and his own division of the Canadian North into "Arctic" and "Subarctic" (Bone, 1992, pp.8-9), and he reports that "[o]f all the provinces, Québec has the largest 'northern' area, making up 81% of its territory." (Bone, 1992, p.5). However, Shields reports that, "[b]y Hamelin's method, [the amount of 'northern' land] ranges from 77 per cent of Newfoundland (i.e. Labrador) and 70 per cent of Québec down to 31 per cent of British Columbia." (Shields, 1991, p.170). This discrepancy concerning what proportion of Québec is northern may relate to the versions of Hamelin's boundaries these authors are referring to, as Hamelin has published in at least 1972, 1979, 1988 (Bone, 1992) and 1980 (Shields, 1991). The point is that 'objective' measures, such as limits and areas, are subject to (re)definition by 'subjective' (re)interpretations.

Both Bone and Shields point out that Hamelin's concept of nordicity is subjective in that it defines and measures the North from a southern perspective. Their evaluations of Hamelin's contribution to knowledge about the North are quoted below for their comments on the comparison and contrast between this southern geographer's 'objective' perceptions and those of people in the North. Bone (1992) writes: "...each descriptive label-Middle, Far, and Extreme norths-may seem strange and out of place to a Canadian born north of the 60th Parallel. Such a Canadian might have a different mental map of Canada with the North described as the 'centre' and southern Canada as the 'distant land'. Usher (1987: 527) has criticized the concept because it presents a southern perception of the North."

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(Bone, 1992, p.9). Bone adds, "Yet, for this very reason, Hamelin's nordicity concept has a practical use. Hamelin (1972b) used his nordicity index to develop a zonal system of isolation allowances for federal workers." (Bone, 1992, p.9). Thus, in Hamelin's definition of nordicity, we see another example of how the production of the archive of knowledge about the North serves interests other than those of the majority of Northerners.

Shields' comments on Hamelin's appropriation of "common sense" or "popular" perceptions in the guise of statistics relates to West's (1991) discussion of the archiving of knowledge about the North, discussed in the next section:

> Based on a measure of six environmental and four cultural criteria of the nordicity of Canadian towns he differentiates four zones......... 'Base Canada' is what most Northerners would call 'Southern Canada'. A minimum of 200 points is required to qualify as falling within the North. Edmonton, Canada's northernmost large city and provincial capital, scores 135 and is, therefore, not 'Northern'. For Hamelin, this roughly reflects the popular perception of that city. However, Hamelin's choice of 200 out of 1,000 as the significant statistical dividing point is less easily justified. The appeal to popular perception is indicative of a tautological circle in all of these studies: starting out from commonsensical intuition, statistics are gathered and then interpreted in the light of commonsense. Thus ennobled by the clothes of empiricism, commonsense is represented as scientific conclusions. A decade after his original publication, academics and Edmontonians hail themselves and examine the city as a 'Livable Winter City': being 'in the North' has begun to acquire more cachet than it once had and popular perception continues to change, making it an unstable basis on which to justify measures of 'norditity'. (Shields, 1991, pp.167-168).

Unlike Bone (1992), who acknowledges that the concept of nordicity has a practical use, Shields argues that the concept is superfluous:

> But we must ask why is it necessary to define the *limits* of the North? The debate revolves partly around entitlements to tax exemptions and 'isolation allowances' although northern-ness is not the primary criterion, only the corollary. The main standard of 'isolation' is distance from major cities. It is futile to draw further lines across the maps of the continent: '60 degrees north' is at least a memorable phrase. (Shields, 1991, p.171).

West (1991) would probably agree with the argument that Hamelin is yet another practitioner who is engaging in 'stocking up' on knowledge about the North. West explains: "In short, northern life is measured by standards that are, in a real sense, non-northern. The collected results of these measurements is a picture of northern life as a commodity that is compared with similarly created commodities in the exchange of knowledge between practitioners." (West, 1991, p.116). He concludes: "Taken together, the study of the commodities of life, labour and languages creates an archive or encyclopaedia of northern knowledge. It is within this archive that the truth of the North is contained. The North in Canada, then, becomes a fact that is produced by northern specialists who operate under the general title of Northern and Native Studies." (West, 1991, p.116-117). This idea of archiving the North and the related concepts of "scientization" and "nordification" of the North are discussed next.

The Scientization of the North

The example of the archiving of Zuni place names into a Geographical Information System and the translation which ensued, both in form (language) and substance (meaning) (Rundstrom, 1993), provides an indication of one science's (in this case geography's) impact on an Aboriginal community's social welfare system, as well as on its toponymy and identity. The example relates to Douglas West's (1990; 1991; 1995) discussion of the "scientization" of knowledge about Aboriginal peoples and places (and place names) in that, like Rundstrom, West describes an ambiguity of outcomes. West focuses on the Human Sciences, such as anthropology, archaeology and geography, which produce knowledge (e.g. taxonomies) about Northern life, labour and language, and concludes: "The practical application of this knowledge can serve the political and social interests of Northerners

in Canada, but I would argue, that more often it satisfies the requirements of the Northern "archive".

We must consider that the source of this archive is not physically or mentally located in the North.

It exists in the institutions which collect, disseminate and ultimately control the knowledge of the

North." (West, 1990, p.435).

West argues that the scientization of knowledge about the North results in a "nordification" of the

North when southern terms of reference and scientific practices are accepted or adopted by

Northerners, particularly Native Northerners: "The underlying premise of these requests for research

activity on the part of Native northerners is an explicit acceptance of the principles of research itself -

they are in many ways fully participating in the nordification of the North. More importantly, this

research, done on behalf of the North and Northern peoples is representative of what Said called an

"archive" of knowledge". (West, 1990, p.433-434).

West relates these processes of scientization and nordification to southern identity discourses.

He observes that continued research on the North is justified in the name of "cross-cultural"

knowledge (West, 1990, p.264), but, "[i]n the end, the cultural blending of Northerners and

Southerners effectively seals the nordicity of Canada into an homogeneous expression of Canada's

character as a Northern country. This tautology will form the character of the North from a Canadian

perspective." (West, 1990, p.456). Here again, the myth of similarity is implicated.

West devotes much of his writing to examining how the scientization of Northern life, labour and

language has been resisted (negotiated) by Northerners' "reformulation of the practice and control

of anthropological and archeological sciences" (West, 1991, p.109), including by Northerners' active

participation in collection and classification of their own artifacts (West, 1990, pp.260-61); by their

"political demands for economic supervision and environmental controls on resource development"

(West, 1991, p.109); and by their "revitalization of northern languages through the creation of new

northern educational curricula" (West, 1991, p.109). He challenges the claim that cultural blending

or cultural/political enfranchisement through these types of inclusion is more than "a variation on the

theme of the control and management of the knowledge of Northern Life." (West, 1990, p.265):

> What is most important about these "studies" of northern empowerment is that the assessment of
> Northern societies continues to take place within a southern logic that is taken to be universal
> because it satisfies the current demands of the Human Sciences. ... What we see here is nothing more
> than a continuity of the discursive strategy that makes the North in Canada a unified object for
> Northern Studies. If the North is truly different from the [S]outh, would we not encounter a wholly
> different logic that distinguishes it from the Human Sciences themselves, rather than modifications
> of categorization[s] that "fit" the North into the Human Sciences so that it may be released from
> colonialism? Would we not hear words different than "consensus style decision-making processes"
> or "traditional hunter-gatherer" societies, or "political evolution" and "political culture"? Does the
> posing of the "northern question" in these terms not place the North squarely within the universality
> of the Human Sciences which emphasizes the uniformity of the experience of the world? It may be
> that this is as far as we can ever travel in the North. (West, 1990, pp.422-423).

In Part Two of Phase Two, I examine how Québec's involvement in Aboriginal toponymy can also

be understood in terms of the production of an archive of knowledge which testifies to non-

Aboriginal institutional power (authority) over the North, while in Phases Three and Four I address

the issue of how Aboriginal peoples, and particularly the Cree Nation, counter and challenge the

scientization and archiving of knowledge about their place names. In these phases of the thesis, I

pose the following question, inspired by West (1990, pp.422-423): If the North is truly different from

the South, would we not hear words different than "record and preserve oral tradition" (CPCGN,

1992, p.1), "notre patrimoine toponymique commun" (CTQ, 1990, p.28), "la dignité retrouvée" (pour

les noms de lieux d'origine amérindienne et inuit) (Dorion, 1993, p.E5), and "revalorisation" of

Aboriginal place names (Michaud et al., 1987, p.II)?

Imagining Aboriginal Place Names

With this section of the thesis, I begin the transition to a more specific focus on myth-making about

Aboriginal place names, leading up to two 'primary', that is, original reviews of texts dealing with

Aboriginal toponymy in Canada and Québec, respectively. This section draws some parallels between

myth-making about Aboriginal peoples and the ways in which Aboriginal place names have been

described. The descriptions tend to associate Aboriginal place names with one side or the other of

such dichotomies as 'romantic-debased' and 'exotic-ordinary'. My original review of the chapter on

Aboriginal place names in Alan Rayburn's Naming Canada: Stories About Place Names from

Canadian Geographic (Rayburn, 1994) reveals how Canadian heritage is redefined to include

Aboriginal place names, and how the justification for this inclusion relies on romanticized images of

those place names. My review of myth-making in this professional/popular (as in non-academic and

non-governmental) Canadian text is a preface for my review of the Commission de toponymie du

Québec's latest dossier toponymique, La toponymie autochtone au Québec (Bonnelly, 1996), in Part

Two. I argue that whereas the former can be read as a claim to validate Aboriginal place names

through professional and popular recognition, the latter can be read as a claim to do so through

official (government) recognition.

Concerning the construction of idealized images of Aboriginal peoples, Francis (1992) writes:

> We have a long history of romanticizing Indians, discovering in their character and culture many
> fine qualities we think are lacking in our own. From the Noble Savage of years ago to the Mystic
> Shamans and Original Environmentalists of today, we continue to create idealized images of Indians
> which may have as little connection to reality as the demonic ones. (Francis, 1992, p.222).

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These idealized images of 'Indians' include idealized references to Aboriginal place names which compete with derogatory references and those which are probably closer to reality. For example, in the following quote, we see that Flick (1962 (1937)) cannot resist romanticizing Aboriginal place names, despite his attempt to present alternative views: "'Some of our very finest names in New York are aboriginal," Beauchamp declared; but deplored the fact that their full meaning had been lost, even to the descendants of the red men. He regarded these names as rarely poetical - a statement confirmed by Ruttenber. But who can hear the words Cascadilla, Chittenango...without finding them pleasing and musical? To be sure, there are names not so sonorous, such as Acabanoc, Caroga..." (pp.297-98). Canadian geographer Alan Rayburn has made similar statements in his earlier writing: "Names derived from native words possess a mysterious aura and a mellifluous quality. Few would dispute the distinctive charm and noble ring of such names as Antigonish, Miramichi, ... although many may unwittingly mispronounce some of them." (Rayburn, 1967, p.203). Nearly 30 years later, Rayburn (1994) still claims: "No one can really deny the musical charm and sweet lilt of Athabasca, 'where there are reeds'; Madawaska, 'land of porcupines,' in New Brunswick; ..." (p.135). The metaphor-as-title in "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" is particularly appropriate to the discussion of romanticizing Aboriginal place names in that it makes implicit reference to the myths about what Aboriginal place names sound like.

Romanticizing Aboriginal place names may stem from a genuine appreciation of *difference*. However, with reference to the Aboriginal place names mentioned above, given the history of writing Aboriginal place names, we must question how true the orthographies are to the real pronunciations of the names. These romanticized Aboriginal place names may be analogous to Francis' (1992)

"plastic shamans" which are "...accepted so easily because they conform to the image of the Indian held by the White world" (p.109). In other words, romanticizing Aboriginal place names establishes a non-Aboriginal standard by which to judge Aboriginal place names. With such a standard, the real (as opposed to idealized) place names can be disappointing or even dismissed when they are not judged to be lyrical or poetical, that is, when they don't 'perform' in any number of ways, as in an analogy to Francis' (1992) "performing Indians" (pp.87-108).

Aboriginal place names have also been referred to in terms that debase them. Henri Dorion (1993), former President of the Commission de toponymie du Québec, reports on the sentiments expressed by Eugène Rouillard, secretary of the Commission de géographie du Québec (predecessor of the CTQ) at the beginning of the century, concerning Aboriginal place names: "Il les jugeait «de digestion laborieuse, rébarbatifs, antipathiques, barbares». Il leur reprochait d'«écorcher le tympan avec leur allure antédiluvienne»" (p.E5). Alan Rayburn (1994), writing almost a century after Eugène Rouillard, reports, "Some people ... dismiss names of native origin because of either their simplicity in meaning or the awkwardness of their pronunciation." He continues: "Some names that mean only 'big bay' (Malpeque), 'big water' (Meelpaeg Lake, Nfld.), 'big river' (Mississippi, Koksoak, Yukon), and 'fine river' (Oromocto) are occasionally ridiculed because of their ordinariness. Names that are difficult to pronounce are avoided by many - Musquodoboit, 'flowing out in foam'; Magaguadavic, 'big eels place'; ..." (p.135).

It is largely the negative images of Aboriginal place names which have, until mid-century, influenced place names policy in Québec. Henri Dorion (1993) discusses the arguments against Aboriginal place

names which were used in the past to justify a policy which might have led to "un véritable génocide toponymique" (p.E5) in Québec. His report, which appeared in *Le Devoir* (June 19/20, 1993, p.E5) is translated and paraphrased here at length in order to present both some of the negative images and more objective perceptions:

> What were the arguments against Amerindian place names?
>
> 1-They are difficult. Is there a more subjective argument? Is there anyone who doesn't find it a little difficult to memorize or to pronounce a name in a language he/she is not familiar with? Yet, we are well acquainted with names such as Chicoutimi, Saskatchewan, Shawinigan and Anticosti. On the other hand, there are many examples of French place names which are difficult to spell. Take, for example, Saint-Laurent, which needs twelve letters to represent three syllables. For us (Francophones) it's simple; for an allophone, it isn't. All is relative.
>
> 2-Amerindian names are long. Let's not forget that Amerindian languages are agglutinate languages that accumulate in the same word several elements that, in Roman languages for example, constitute different words. Not only are the language difficulties of Amerindian names relative, but they are also subjective. Who can pretend that a name like Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur-de-Wolfestown is easy for someone who is not Francophone or even Québécois?
>
> 3-Amerindian names are changing/fickle. It's true, or at least it was true. This phenomenon is due to, among other things, the fact that there exists a large diversity of Amerindian languages and dialects in Québec. But the unstable character of Amerindian place names has as much to do with Whites as with Aboriginals; in effect, the explorers, surveyors and cartographers, ignorant of Amerindian languages, wrote the names by sound according to the way they heard them and their customary phonetics.
>
> 4-Names need not be officially recognized for which the meanings are not known. This proposition made sense and had prevented the printing on official maps of names as ridiculous as Notre-Dame de Koartac, meaning Notre-Dame des Vers Intestinaux (Our Lady of Intestinal Worms).
>
> These arguments and others were invoked to eliminate as many Aboriginal place names as possible. (Translated by Anna Nieminen).

The history of Québec's more recent engagement with Aboriginal place names is reviewed in Part Two of Phase Two. Among other arguments, I put forward that linguistic difficulties still appear to be used as a pretext for refusing official recognition of Aboriginal place names in Québec. Here, suffice it to comment on the title of Dorion's (1993) report, referred to above: "De l''invasion des noms sauvages' à la dignité retrouvée: Le Québec compte plus de 10 000 noms de lieux d'origine

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amérindienne et inuit" (p.E5). One could ask Dorion himself: "Is there a more subjective argument?"

This title implies that validation of Aboriginal place names in Québec comes from recognition by the

province. But, many Aboriginal place names continue to be used by Aboriginal Nations even though

they have no such recognition. In Phase Three, I elaborate on how the Commission de toponymie's

authority over recognition of place names is countered by the validation of Aboriginal place names

in the context of Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness (broadly defined). The final quote I present in

this section warns of the disservice that can be done to Aboriginal place names by assessing their

validity according to a non-indigenous standard. Hoare (1993) and Cruikshank (1990[b]), among

other authors, have cautioned against validation of Aboriginal peoples knowledge by comparison with

Western science:

> One of the main pitfalls of researching Indigenous knowledge is that well intentioned but
> inappropriate use of oral traditions, transcribed into a European context may lead to the
> misrepresentation of "far more complex messages than were in the original native narrative"
> (Cruikshank, 1990[b]:346). Furthermore, the attempt to sift the oral accounts for facts may detract
> from the value of that account by asserting positivistic standards for assessing truth or distortions.
> (Hoare et al., 1993, p.55).

The 'primary' review which follows in the next section demonstrates that in professional/popular (as

opposed to academic or governmental) Canadian identity discourses, we also encounter assessments

of the validity of Aboriginal place names according to non-indigenous standards.

Identity Discourse in Rayburn's Naming Canada

"No place names distinguish a country better than those of native origin. And each of us likely has

a favourite" (Rayburn, 1994, p.134). With these statements, Alan Rayburn (1994), a geographer who

specializes in the study of place names, and former Executive Secretary of the Canadian Permanent

Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN) from 1973 to 1987, introduces the chapter on

Aboriginal place names in his book <u>Naming Canada: Stories about Place Names from *Canadian*</u> *Geographic*. At face value, Rayburn is making claims about the characteristics of Aboriginal place names and the 'average' Canadian's interest in these names. I question these claims and provide counter-arguments in order to suggest that insight into the relationship between Aboriginals and Non-Aboriginals in Canada and into what it means to be 'Canadian' can often be found by probing beneath the surface of the claims that are made.

With respect to Rayburn's first statement, that no place names distinguish a country better than Aboriginal place names, it can be argued that this is perhaps more or only true in countries with large, relatively new and diverse immigrant populations (Canada, United States, Australia, New Zealand) and in countries which share their dominant languages with groups of other countries (the above group, 'Spanish-speaking' countries, 'Arabic-speaking' countries). Don't Finnish-language place names, for example, distinguish (as in almost uniquely identify) Finland as much as, or perhaps even more, than Sami-language place names, which are also found in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden? Is Rayburn not romanticizing Aboriginal place names?

With respect to Rayburn's second statement, I wonder how representative is the Canadian who has "...puzzled over the strange and unusual names that abound in Canada" (Publisher's note in Rayburn, 1994) let alone the one who has a favourite Aboriginal place name? The introduction to the appendix "Major Indian Place Names in the United States and Canada" in the <u>Atlas of the North American Indian</u> gives quite a different impression of awareness of and interest in Aboriginal place names: "A vast number of Americans and Canadians unwittingly speak in Indian tongues every day. When they

declare they are residents of Massachusetts or Ontario, or are visiting Alaska or Manitoba, they are using Indian phonemes" (Waldman, 1985, p.244). Furthermore, whether the Aboriginal place names are "strange and unusual" is relative.

Wonders (1987), who refers to Rayburn's original article on "Native Place Names" in *Canadian Geographic*, seems to agree with Rayburn's first claim and to both agree and disagree with his second claim: "Indigenous place names play a distinctive role in most countries. As Rayburn has noted, "No place names distinguish a country better than those of native origin" (Rayburn, 1984/85, 88). Four of our provinces as well as the nation as a whole enjoy such distinction and are a matter of satisfaction and pride to all Canadians." (Wonders, 1987, p.112). Again, can this claim about the average Canadian's feelings about Aboriginal place names be substantiated, or is it hyperbole? Wonders seems to contradict himself in the first half of the following statement:

> However important place names may be regarded by toponymists, by some few other specialists or currently by some indigenous peoples, it must be conceded that the general public gives them little thought. Research into the topic is considered esoteric at best and probably by many as of little practical use if not a waste of money. My purpose here is to acknowledge that on the contrary, such research often has important and very practical use in addition to its general cultural value. Specifically, it proved most helpful in the matter of overlapping Native land use and occupancy recently in Canada's Western Arctic. (Wonders, 1987, p.113).

In a review of Naming Canada, Konrad (1996) states: "Re-emergent aboriginal names make us more curious about what they mean. Now that Frobisher Bay is officially Iqaluit it is informative to know that it is "place of fish."" (Konrad, 1996, p.599). But, Konrad does not tell us why it is informative to know the meaning of "Iqaluit". Rather, might it really only be of interest and informative to some of us?

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Is Rayburn (along with Wonders and Konrad), then, not projecting his own passion for the study of place names onto the non-Aboriginal Canadian population rather than reflecting the real/actual level of awareness and interest? It is not unusual for a professional and author to perceive that there is some interest in his/her subject, other-wise there would be no point in publishing for a non-existent audience. But, Rayburn's claims reveal more than just his passion for the study of place names; they also reveal the way in which he would like the relationship between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada to be perceived by outsiders. Naming Canada is for sale on the "Canadiana" shelves in the book stores, and will likely be purchased by some tourists to Canada. However, like his popular column called "Place Names" in *Canadian Geographic*, the book is mainly aimed at a Canadian audience. Thus, more importantly, Rayburn's claim that "each of us likely has a favourite" Aboriginal place name reveals the way in which he would like the relationship between Aboriginals and Non-Aboriginals in Canada to be. That is, Rayburn projects and hopes for a Canada in which the 'average' Non-Aboriginal recognizes and values Aboriginal heritage. Shields (1991) makes similar points in his critique of an article written by Margaret Atwood for a popular Canadian magazine. He writes:

> Atwood's popularity and central position in what the critics call 'Canadian literature' contributes a certain authority to her observation. But, it is difficult to abandon the suspicious stance of the social scientist so easily. Does this novelist speak for the 'average' Canadian, or is there a hint of the prescriptive in Atwood's rhetoric: 'true' Canadians remember the North? Does she not also speak to Canadians? To what extent is she engaged in shaping public perception as opposed to accurately echoing it? Most Canadians rarely if ever visit the far North (Government of the Northwest Territories 1987). (Shields, 1991, p.167).

An analysis of the "Heritage Minutes -- those one-minute commercials for Canada shown since 1991 on television and in Odeon theatres...", published in *The Canadian Forum*, provides insight into understanding what is beneath the claims that are made about the relationship between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada and what it means to be 'Canadian'. Cameron and Dickin McGinnis

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(1995) state:

> The Minutes succeed because they function as "cues" — to use Levi-Strauss's term — activating
> convictions that Canadians hold dear. This was never clearer than at the screening of the Minutes
> to an American audience. Bewildered by what they saw, the viewers had to have not only the
> historical content explained but the cultural context as well.
>
> To give but one example of how Canadian audiences are destined to read the Minutes in a culturally
> conditioned manner, take the truism that Canadian heroes differ fundamentally from American
> heroes. While "theirs" is the larger-than-life aggressive individualist, "ours" is more appropriately
> dubbed a protagonist and is as likely as not to be a member of either a group or a collectivité, and
> to be a wimp or a woman (Cameron and Dickin McGinnis, 1995, p.12).

Rayburn's and the Heritage Minutes' Canadian heroes include the first place namers of (what is now)

Canadian territory. "The Naming of Canada" Minute, which is presented as a 'joke' about how the

Iroquoian word for "village" was applied to a whole territory, reminds Canadians that they are

humble enough to be able to laugh at their foibles, but it may also suggest the conviction that we are

not above recognizing and correcting (past) injustices, such as the elimination of Aboriginal place

names from official use. Rayburn's claims are even more likely to be appealing to this conviction

since, as a specialist of the study of place names, he must be aware of the injustices done to

Aboriginal place names in Canada. Perhaps this is why (beyond the obvious reason) Konrad's review

of Naming Canada states: "The stories begin, *logically and predictably*, with a discussion of the

references which attribute the naming of Canada to the Iroquoian Kanata or town first noted by

Cartier, and beyond this to the more tenuous claims and misinterpretations..." (Konrad, 1996, p.598;

my emphasis).

Cameron and Dickin McGinnis (1995) also comment on the other two Heritage Minutes with

Aboriginal themes: "The notion of making peace instead of war shows up in the Native legend of

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"Peacemaker" ... and [in] the confrontation between Chief and Officer in the episode on Sitting Bull now in production" (p.15). Rayburn's claims are also appealing to this notion of making peace. He projects and hopes for a Canada in which 'average' Canadians, and by extension Canadian institutions, recognize and value Aboriginal heritage.

In terms of an answer to the question of why we need to 'validate' Aboriginal place names by granting them recognition as Canadian and Québécois place names, the purpose seems to reveal itself as the need to construct and reconstruct, or invent and reinvent 'Self' in the face of crises of authority and identity. But, the point is also that Aboriginal place names don't need to be 'validated' by outsiders, whether informally by each of "us" having or choosing a favourite, or formally through their inclusion in national and provincial toponymic databases. Rather, Aboriginal place names are validated by virtue of their functions in Aboriginal cultures. This argument is developed in Phase Three: "Hearing With a Native Ear", which looks at "place names as stories" (that is, in context) rather than as "heritage" (out of context).

In Part One of Phase Two, I have covered a lot of territory in my effort to map the discursive practices in Canadian and Québécois myth-making about Aboriginal peoples, places and place names. I have pointed out ways in which appropriating Aboriginal peoples, places and place names, inventing and reinventing "l'Indien imaginaire", imagining, delimiting and archiving (knowledge about) the North, and imagining Aboriginal place names tell the stories of how they are becoming like us and we are becoming like them. This has included some discussion of how various themes in Canadian and Québécois myth-making about the North seem to relate to different stages in nation-building,

which involve various degrees of crises of authority and identity. My arguments are further developed with specific reference to Québec's role in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy in recent decades, in Part Two of Phase Two, which highlights the mutually responsive natures of one side and the other's discourses over disputed territory. The discussion reveals that, although Québécois myth-making responds to, or is alternative to, the federalist construction of a national identity, it shares with it certain themes about Aboriginal peoples and places (i.e. the North). But, there are also some distinguishing sub-themes in Québécois nationalist identity discourse, such as the greater importance of hydro-electric development within the North as hinterland theme, and the greater importance of Aboriginal place names within the North as heritage theme.

**PART TWO: The Role of the Commission de toponymie du Québec in 'Harvesting',
Processing and Storing Aboriginal Place Names**

<u>(Re)inventing "le patrimoine"</u>

> Québec City in Québec gave its name to the province. Québec means, in Algonkian, 'strait' or
> 'narrow passage.' The Saint Lawrence River narrows to a few hundred metres in front of Québec
> City. With a little imagination, one can suggest that this name appropriately evokes the fate of the
> province in North America. Very early after the British conquest of 1759, Québécois, calling
> themselves Canadiens at the time, discovered that their survival on this continent meant canoeing
> the narrow passage between Americans and Canadians, between United States and Canada. So,
> when a few years later, the Americans invaded the Saint Lawrence Valley, the neutrality of the
> Canadiens was traded with the British for religious and language rights. Conversely, for at least a
> century, from about 1830 to about 1930, French Canadians emigrated massively to New England
> and established North-South linkages that have been extremely important in the cultural
> construction of modern Québec.
>
> Recently, at a time when it is gaining control over its economy, Québec has been one of the
> Canadian provinces most in favour of the free trade agreement with the United States. For
> Québécois, geopolitical relations in the North of North America revolve around a triangle
> consisting of the United States, Canada, and Québec. The existence of this triangle colours the
> entire political life of the province. Playing Canada against the United States or the United States
> against Canada has been, since the start, one of the major survival strategies of Québécois in
> North America. This strategy implies both maintaining, on the one hand, a strong territorial hold
> on the Saint Lawrence Valley and, on the other hand, participating fully in the life of the rest of
> the continent (Louder and Waddell 1989). (Villeneuve, 1993, pp.100-101).
>
> - From Paul Villeneuve's 1992 Presidential Address to the Canadian Association of Geographers
> on "Inventing the Future in the North of North America".

In this section of the thesis, I focus on the question of how images of Aboriginal peoples, places

and, particularly, place names have shaped and continued to shape the myths that Non-Aboriginals

in Québec tell themselves about being French Canadian/Québécois. I begin with reference to Paul

Villeneuve's 1992 Presidential Address to the Canadian Association of Geographers on "Inventing

the Future in the North of North America" because it allows me to illustrate several issues from the

review of literature in Phase Two of the learning cycle. These issues include the appropriation of

Aboriginal place names in Québécois territorial myth-making; the transformation of Aboriginal

place names when they are appropriated or when they are incorporated into the archive of knowledge about the North, which is produced in the service of the dominant interest; and, the role of the academic in 'prescribing for', as opposed to 'speaking for', the 'average' Québécois.

Villeneuve appropriates the surface meaning of the Algonkian name "Québec" in a metaphor in which he explains the meaning of the Saint Lawrence Valley (and the whole of the province) for Canadiens/Québécois. The implication is that this place name does not 'just' refer to a feature of physical geography (a 'strait' or 'narrow passage'); rather, it is a symbol of the Québécois nation's geo-political history. It is also an example of how Québécois become like Aboriginal peoples by 'grafting' onto their toponymic 'roots'.

From the perspective of the Algonkian language and associated cultures, this place name is 'uprooted' or taken out of context in two senses. One, we are only told something about the surface meaning of this Algonkian place name, and we don't hear about what deeper meaning(s) it may have for the associated Aboriginal cultures. What are their stories about this place name? Two, the name is 'transplanted', that is, applied to the territory of Québec as a whole. From the perspective of the Algonkian language, this use of "Québec" probably doesn't make sense as the whole province can't be represented by a place name which refers to one type of geographic feature. Aboriginal place names for regions tend to reflect a regional scale. For example, "Nunavik" (Inuktitut) means "a very big place where people live" (Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones (SAA), 1988), and "Nitassinan" (Innu/Montagnais) and "Eeyou Istchee" (Cree) mean "our land" (Brian Craik, 1997).

Besides Villeneuve's use of the name "Québec" in a metaphor which tells the story of the Québécois nation, there is also a popular joke, which I heard growing up, about the origin of the name itself. It goes something like this: two French explorers were surveying the area where the Saint Lawrence narrows; one of them commented, "Quel bec!", in reference to the size of the other's nose, and the other explorer mistook his insult for the name of the territory. Other myths about the name claim it originates in such French exclamations as "quel cap!" or "quelle embouchure!" (Martijn, 1991, p.51). Whether or not many Québécois believe one or the other French expression is the origin of the name, many probably don't know of its Algonkian, more specifically Micmac, origin (ibid). Québécois say "Québec" without much thought to it because the use of this name and many other Aboriginal place names in the province has been "naturalized". In the remaining discussion in this section, I demonstrate how the discourse on Aboriginal place names in Québec is embedded within the discourse on heritage; and, I argue that the discourse on heritage, like other aspects of nationalist identity discourses, also "naturalizes" its appropriation of Aboriginal peoples, places and place names in a universalist or unitary view of Québec heritage and related rhetorical constructions.

In Part One, I argued that the claims made by geographer Alan Rayburn (1994) about the characteristics of Aboriginal place names and the 'average' Canadian's interest in these names, like the Heritage Minutes, are really statements about how contemporary Canadians want to be perceived by others and what they want to be. They are examples of our image of ourselves being (re)invented. The analysis of Québec's engagement in Aboriginal place names which follows also looks at how Québécois (re)invent images of themselves. I draw on Handler and Linnekin (1984)

and Handler (1984), but I also discuss the limitations of their analyses of the "invention of tradition" for looking at the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Non-Aboriginals in Québec. I also draw heavily on Berdoulay (1994) for at least two reasons. One, he has identified the role of geographers in influencing 'official' (governmental) discourse on territory and toponymy and in prescribing the 'average' Québécois' views on nationalism. Two, he has identified the importance of epic story-telling within French Canadian geographical myth-making; this latter discussion relates to my argument that Québécois nationalist identity discourse tells the story of how we (the Québécois) are becoming like them (Aboriginal peoples in Québec), and that this discourse has some distinctive sub-themes when compared to Canadian territorial myth-making.

Handler and Linnekin (1984) discuss efforts to clarify the concept of tradition, and establish their definition for the reader:

> ...does tradition refer to a core of inherited culture traits whose continuity and boundedness are analogous to that of a natural object, or must tradition be understood as a wholly symbolic construction? We will argue that the latter is the only viable understanding—a conclusion we have arrived at by comparing our independent investigations in two quite disparate ethnographic situations. In our attempts to analyse national and ethnic identification in Québec and Hawaii we have concluded that tradition cannot be defined in terms of boundedness, givenness, or essence. Rather, tradition refers to an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity. (Handler and Linnekin, 1984, p.273).

Handler and Linnekin (1984) elaborate on the "invention of tradition" in Québec, or how Québécois (re)invent images of themselves: "The invention of tradition, typified during the late 1970s by widespread concern for *le patrimoine*, has been a prominent activity in Québec since the mid-19th century (Handler 1983a). Tradition is invented because it is necessarily reconstructed in the present, notwithstanding some participants' understanding of such activities as being

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preservation rather than invention (cf. Hymes 1975:355-356)." (Handler and Linnekin, 1984, p.279). Handler and Linnekin (1984) argue that, like Québec tradition, the nation itself is also believed to be a natural object as opposed to an idea (such as what I referred to in Phase One as the "idea of territory"): "Nationalism in Québec is not a unitary social fact, and nationalist ideologies have varied and proliferated in relation to changing historical and sociopolitical circumstances (Dion 1975; Fenwick 1981). Yet all versions share an understanding of the nation as a bounded entity whose distinctiveness depends upon national culture, tradition, and heritage" (Handler and Linnekin, 1984, p.277).

Handler and Linnekin (1984) elaborate on the naturalistic metaphors of contemporary Québécois nationalist discourse:

> As fieldwork progressed it became clear that people's understanding of "nation" in relation to "culture," "tradition," and "heritage" was a crucial element in their construction of a national identity. In their discussions they relied upon a series of metaphors that establish national boundedness as the boundedness of a natural object. These naturalistic metaphors are used at three levels of abstraction in reference to: (1) the collectivity as an entity, a "collective individual," as Louis Dumont has called it (1970:33); (2) the collectivity as a "collection of individuals" (Dumont 1970:33); and (3) the human individuals who, in their capacity as culture-bearers, constitute the collective individual. (p.277).

Handler and Linnekin's (1984) analysis has limitations for the analysis of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Non-Aboriginals in Québec since it does not describe how Québécois account for the presence of Aboriginal peoples in their discourses on 'tradition', 'nation', 'heritage', etc. This limitation may be due to the types of questions which were asked of Québécois informants, but it may also reflect what Jackson (1989) describes as "selective blindness" (p.168). It suggests that, like the 'average' Canadian, the 'average' Québécois does not think about

Aboriginal peoples or place names, even if the government promotes them as Québécois residents and part of Québécois heritage, respectively.

Berdoulay's (1994) review of French-Canadian nationalist identity discourse as it relates to geographical myth-making seems to suggest that the reliance on "naturalistic metaphors" (Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Handler, 1984) has become more common as Francophones north of the U.S.A. have increasingly identified with the territory of Québec. Berdoulay's essay provides insight into why contemporary nationalist identity discourse in Québec is characterized by two competing territorial ideologies: "nationalism" and "universalism" (Claval, 1980). Claval (1980) argues: "Le problème du Québec actuel, c'est d'avoir à chosir entre deux idéologies territoriales: le modèle européen de la communauté nationale spatialement cironscrite et cimentée par la langue ou le modèle américain d'une société pluraliste à langue unique. Mais est-il nécessaire de choisir?" (Claval, 1980, résumé, p.31). If the existence of two territorial ideologies is not seen to be a "problem", then perhaps it is not necessary for Québécois to choose. Villeneuve (1993) argues that "...maintaining, on the one hand, a strong territorial hold on the Saint Lawrence Valley and, on the other hand, participating fully in the life of the rest of the continent (Louder and Waddell, 1989)" (Villeneuve, 1993, pp.101), in other words, not choosing between "nationalism" and "universalism" has been a survival strategy of Québécois in North America.

For Berdoulay (1994), a geo-historical perspective seems essential to understanding contemporary nationalist identity discourse in Québec: "Even though the contemporary growing affirmation of Québec as sovereign territory concerns the vast majority of Francophones north of the United

States, this population has evolved without a privileged relationship with the state (Brunet, 1957; Monière, 1979)." Berdoulay's essay is especially interesting for geographers since he insists that their discipline has significantly contributed to the evolution of nationalist identity discourse in Québec:

> The relatively 'quiet' and peaceful affirmation of Québec in the contemporary world can be better understood when one takes into account the long process which has led to a minimally conflictual adequacy of national identity and its spatial support. As the following pages will show, this relative adequacy comes in great part from the active work of geographers and from the societal success of their discourse on territory. (Berdoulay, 1994, p.184-185).

Berdoulay examines the rhetoric of French-Canadian geographic discourse, identifying the relative importance of such rhetorical devises or tropes as metonymy (synecdoche), ellipsis, hyperbole, and metaphor. The following comment by Berdoulay concerning the use of metonymy seems to suggest that the reliance on naturalistic metaphors which Handler and Linnekin (1984) and Handler (1984) describe may represent a 'solidified' version of a previously more 'fluid' rhetorical strategy:

> ...rhetoric took a particular slant in the French-Canadian geographic discourse. The figure of metonymy seemed the best fitted to glorify some elements of strategy while eschewing difficult aspects, especially those which escaped the French-Canadian influence. In a sense, it was a way of preserving ambiguity. For instance, the synecdoche whereby the part is taken for the whole was consistently used to shift ambiguously from the description of the francophones as a sub-group of the Canadian population to their representation as carriers of the country's characteristics and interests. This figure had the advantage of maintaining the ambiguity of territorial boundaries. For instance, the term *pays* allowed one to shift freely from the local scale to the provincial and then national (that is to say, federal) scales, while varying the degree of affective bonds that it may be wished to attribute of any of these levels. (Berdoulay, 1994, p.192).

Berdoulay argues that, instead of naturalistic metaphors, French-Canadian geographical myth-making relied more on epic story-telling: "The use of metaphor was relatively limited: they mostly concerned the rootedness of French-Canadians in their rural territory. ... This was in strong contradistinction to the importance of the organic metaphor in major national schools of

geography, especially in Germany and France " (Berdoulay, 1994, p.193). He elaborates:

> Why was French-Canadian national identity and geographic discourse not dependent on the
> organic metaphor? Obviously, this must relate to the avatars of the territorial history of this
> population. Without a clear spatial pattern, the territories of identity could not be easily described
> in a systems framework; rather, they would form the motive of a constant struggle against various
> environmental and political odds. Not surprisingly, the geographic presentation of French Canada
> often tended towards the telling of a narrative.... The epic dimension of the narrative highlighted
> the actions taken by the French-Canadian population. Even though these actions were diverse,
> they all tended towards cultural survival. The French geographer Raoul Blanchard evidently built
> on this tradition in his five-volume regional geography of French Canada (from 1935 to 1954).

> Writing the geography of French Canada was like finding the various evidences of the French-
> Canadian founding *geste*. Rather than organicism, the fundamental metaphor that should be
> singled out is that of an epic story about territorial conquest (or at time *reconquista*), and
> resistance. (Berdoulay, 1994, p.193).

Berdoulay not only contrasts the work of French-Canadian geographers with the work of German

and French geographers, but he also distinguishes French-Canadian geographical myth-making

from Canadian geographical myth-making. Referring to the work of Canadian geographer Harold

Innis, Berdoulay states that, "[o]ne cannot find the same interest in French-Canadian geographic

discourse for such environmental sources of (real or desired) Canadian unity." (Berdoulay, 1994,

p.190). He adds:

> Interestingly enough, environmentalism was mostly called for in association with this concern for
> survival. More precisely, its use served the purpose of legitimizing the French-Canadian claim to
> existence and respect. By underlining their anteriority in Canada over other Europeans, they
> strengthened their cause not only by stressing some historical right but also by pointing to their
> better adaptation to the environment (Miller, 1913). (Berdoulay, 1994, p.191).

Berdoulay's identification of the importance of epic story-telling, as well as his identification of the

specific use of "environmentalism" within French-Canadian geographical myth-making, seem to

suggest that there is greater correspondence with Aboriginal peoples' geographical myth-making

than one could say for correspondence between Canadian and Aboriginal peoples' geographical

myth-making. In contemporary Québécois territorial discourse, this specific use of

environmentalism within French-Canadian geographical myth-making seems to be expressed in the

theme of "l'autochtonie généralisée" (Vincent, 1992a, p.221 in Trudel, 1995, p.54). This lends

support to my rationale for using a harvesting metaphor as a framework for discussing the CTQ's

engagement in Aboriginal toponymy.

Concerning the two competing territorial ideologies of universalism and nationalism (Claval,

1980), Berdoulay indicates that the latter became more important with dissatisfaction with

Confederation:

> What follows from all this is a fundamental ambiguity vis-a-vis the province of Québec. On the
> one hand, the local level is hailed but, on the other, Québec is felt to be hearth of French-Canadian
> culture and the only territorial unit endowed with some State attributes which may be used by
> French-Canadians. The growing disappointment with the Confederation as a means of
> development for French-Canadians made Québec a more significant territory in their spatial
> strategy, at the expense of a transboundary territorial realm (Sénécal, 1989 and 1992).
> (Berdoulay, 1994, p.191).

Considering the more specific issue of rhetoric in French-Canadian myth-making about the North,

Berdoulay observes that, "[f]or a time, hyperbole would contribute to the construction of a whole

geographic myth, that of the North as the Promised Land (Morissonneau, 1978)." (Berdoulay,

1994, p.193). While Berdoulay argues that French-Canadians north of the U.S.A. have

increasingly chosen "nationalism" (Québec as "hearth") over "universalism", I would argue that,

rather, "universalism" has changed latitudes to focus on the territory north of the Saint Lawrence

Valley, including the North (Nouveau Québec, Baie James/Eeyou Istchee...) within this north

(Québec relative to the U.S.A.). Although Québécois myth-making continues to respond to, or to

be alternative to, the federalist construction of a national identity, it shares with it certain themes

about Aboriginal peoples and places (i.e. the internal North). But, there are also some

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distinguishing sub-themes in Québécois nationalist identity discourse, such as the greater

importance of hydro-electric development within the North as hinterland theme. A specific

example of how the territorial ideology of universalism or the "myth of similarity" is expressed in

the discourse about the interrelated issues of control over the North and Aboriginal - Non-

Aboriginal relations in Québec is the justification by the Québec Court of Appeal for suspending

the Supreme Court of Québec's temporary injunction on the construction of the La Grande hydro-

electric complex, giving priority to "Québécois interests" over Cree and Inuit interests (Société de

développement de la Baie James c. Kanatewat C.A.M. no 09-000890-73, 22 nov. 1973, quoted in

Mainville, 1993, p.72).

Another distinguishing sub-theme in Québécois nationalist identity discourse is the greater

importance of Aboriginal place names within the North as heritage theme. Berdoulay identifies

toponymy as one of the genres (the others being essays, travel accounts (journals), school

textbooks, and regional monographs) through which French-Canadian geographers were able to

influence the public discourse on territory:

> ...a quantitatively minor but ideologically important genre concerns toponymy. Its significance
> comes from the high stake in control over the land. Even when purely symbolic, this type of
> territorial appropriation or reappropriation was central to establishing a balance between national
> identity and environmental referents. It was spontaneously started by the elite (as evidenced in the
> respective Bulletins of the Société du Parler Français). Support from the state of Québec began
> with the creation of the Commission des Noms géographiques in 1912 at the instigation of
> geographer E. Rouillard. Since then, this geographic genre has been regularly cultivated,
> including within a broader perspective the university level (Dorion and Hamelin, 1966).
> (Berdoulay, 1994, p.192).

Indeed, toponymy is still an important genre for the expression of Québécois nationalist identity:

"Pour la ministre des Affaires culturelles du Québec, la toponymie représente avant tout une pièce

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majeure du patrimoine québécois, un bien culturel précieux et périssable qu'il est indispensable de conserver, et aussi de mettre en valeur, au nom de la fidélité à notre mémoire collective." (Bacon, 1987, p.1)

One specific example of the contemporary effort to cultivate toponymy within the education system is from former President of the Commission de toponymie Henri Dorion's presentation to the Congrès de la société des professeurs de géographie du Québec, Sept-Îles, 14 juin, 1986. His presentation, has the title "La toponymie et l'enseignement de la géographie: vers un inventaire toponymique national". Dorion writes: "...nous lançons l'idée d'un Inventaire national couvrant l'ensemble du Québec et qui mobiliserait des équipes d'étudiants de géographie de divers niveaux (sécondaire et CEGEP), adéquatement encadrés sur les plans pédagogique, méthodologique et technique. Différents cours de géographie se prêteraient à cet exercice qui offre des avantages variés...." (Dorion, 1986).

Considering the rhetoric about Aboriginal toponymy at the beginning of this century, Morrissoneau (1972) quotes from the speech of a member of the clergy invited to speak to "la Société du Parler français au Canada", arguing that linguistic difficulties were used as a pretext for eliminating Aboriginal place names, while the real reason for this policy was Québec's self-consciousness in the eyes of France:

> Une des raisons profondes spontanément verbalisée, explication ultime de cette intolérance
> violente et qui prendra la difficulté linguistique comme prétexte:
>
> "...notre orgueil national est blessé et notre fierté se révolte lorsque, de l'autre côté de l'Océan, on
> croit encore que le Canada est un pays de sauvages, l'on plaint avec pitié ces ignorants de France
> lorsqu'ils croient nous faire plaisir en retrouvant dans nos soldats des descendants des trapeurs

[sic] et des sang-mêlés...

Quand on habite un pays où l'on voit d'affreux sauvages sur les billets de banque... où les clubs de raquettes s'appellent Montagnais... Au nom du patriotisme et du bon goût, nous conjurons la Société Géographique de Québec... de poursuivre énergiquement sa campagne d'épuration..." (Morissonneau, 1972, pp.274-275).

Both the member of the clergy's endorsement of the Geographic Society of Québec's campaign to eliminate Aboriginal place names from Québec's toponymy and the campaign itself reflect a conception of 'nation' and 'heritage' very different from that which is reflected in the following pronouncement from the Commission de toponymie du Québec (1989):

Reconnaissant l'importance de la toponymie autochtone comme partie intégrante du patrimoine québécois, la Commission de toponymie poursuit ainsi le travail qu'elle a amorcé il y a plus de 10 ans rélativement à la dénomination des lieux habités ou fréquentés par les populations amérindiennes et inuit. Déjà la nomenclature géographique officielle du Québec contient 7 602 toponymes amérindiens et 1 892 toponymes inuit. (Communiqué, 19 octobre, cited in CPCGN, Canoma 15.2, 1989, p.34).

While the conception of 'nation' and 'heritage' reinvented in the statement above is not selectively blind to the presence of the Other, that is the presence of the Aboriginal, it is, nevertheless, still based on a universalist or unitary definition of culture which hides relations of dominance and subordination. Spurr's (1993) reference to Lugard's use of 'heritage' in the sense of 'inheritance' provides insight into how Québec's conception of heritage appropriates Aboriginal place names:

Lugard uses "heritage" in the sense of "inheritance,".... The right of inheritance belonging to "mankind"--one established by the history of this construct in European Enlightenment thought-- naturally supersedes the narrower political interests of the other two political entities present here, suzerain power and subject races. In the course of this supersession, however, two other discursive events take place: the native races are now subsumed under the title of "mankind"--appropriated by this construct--while it is taken for granted that the rights of mankind can only be served with the suzerain power in place. The preservation of colonial rule, as well as the exploitation of colonized territories, thus becomes a moral imperative as well as a political and economic one. (pp.28-29).

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Spurr's reference to the intersection of "moral", "political" and "economic" imperatives also

provides insight into the timing of Québec's decision to engage in systematic inventories of

Aboriginal place names in the province. Alain Vallières (1989a) reports: "C'est à partir de 1976,

au moment où les projets d'aménagement hydroélectrique risquaient de bouleverser sérieusement la

nomenclature géographique autochtone, que les autorités toponymiques ont décidé d'une

systématisation des inventaires en milieux cri et naskapi". (Vallières, 1989a, p.3). The timing of

Québec's decision to engage in systematic inventories of Aboriginal place names in the province

raises a couple of questions. One, has the collection of Aboriginal place names facilitated the

economic 'imperative' of hydro-electric development? Two, is the Commission de toponymie's

'preservation' or 'conservation' of Aboriginal place names rather an example of the invention of a

cultural resource (like the invention of "le patrimoine" in general) that responds to the Aboriginal

challenge to Québec' authority in the North? Concerning the association of different territorial

myths with different stages in nation building, I argued, in Part One, that through the period of the

Quiet Revolution and into the 1980s, the emphasis on becoming "maître chez nous" by gaining

control over business and the economy is associated with the theme of the "North as hinterland".

With increasing control over economic development and with the rise of the separatist movement,

the theme of the "North as heritage" becomes common in Québécois territorial myth-making. This

is partly in response to the fact and challenge of the presence of Aboriginal peoples in the North,

who generally neither share the southern perspective of the North as hinterland nor the belief in the

principle of the "territorial integrity" of Québec. Just as the incorporation of the Native economy

in the concept of frontier dualism is a response to the weaknesses of the hinterland model of

development due to its assumption of cultural homogeneity, so redefinition of "le patrimoine" in

Québec to include aspects of Aboriginal heritage, such as Aboriginal place names, is also an

example of the response to the challenge of the presence of Aboriginal peoples in Québec. The

first of these questions is also touched on in the remainder of this part of Phase Two, but it is

addressed mainly in Phase Four. The second question concerning the Commission de toponymie's

role in preserving Aboriginal place names versus inventing a Québécois cultural resource is

addressed below in my critique of the Commission's latest report on its activities in the domain of

Aboriginal toponymy.

'Harvesting' Aboriginal Place Names: Background and metaphor

The Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN) (1992), Canada's federal

place names authority, recognizes the urgent need to "record and preserve" Aboriginal place names

knowledge:

> Traditionally, geographical names have been passed orally from one generation to the next.
> However, written communication has been threatening these rich oral traditions to the point that
> much will be lost unless systematic programmes are followed to record and preserve oral tradition.
> As part of securing native languages and cultural heritage, both native communities and non-
> native bodies are now taking steps to ensure that geographical names are collected (p.1).

In 1980, the CPCGN (1980) ranked revision of the 1964 Bibliography of Canadian Toponymy as a

second priority item among four priority levels (p.16). Given the growing interest in Aboriginal

issues, members of the Committee decided to focus their efforts on compiling references on

Aboriginal place names; thus, in 1993, the CPCGN (1993) published Native Canadian

Geographical Names: an annotated bibliography (p.i). The second edition of the Bibliography,

published in 1995 (CPCGN, 1995a) contains 1428 entries (counting cross references), including

some entries (about 16%) on Aboriginal toponymy in other countries. Of the provinces and territories, Québec (including regions within the province) is listed in the "Alphabetical Index by Geographical Location" as having the most entries (285), followed by the Northwest Territories/Territories du Nord-Ouest (198) and Ontario (89) (ibid, pp.159-65), adding confirmation to Müller-Wille et al.'s (1987) observation that: "[r]ecently, Inuit and other indigenous place name surveys have received much more attention in Québec than anywhere else in Canada" (p.6).

The concern for recording and preserving Aboriginal knowledge on the part of non-Aboriginal authorities has not been a constant. Dorion (1993) reports that, in Québec, beginning in 1912, the Commission de géographie (1912-1977), the organization which was responsible for the endorsement of geographical names as official toponyms of the province, advocated to not accept Aboriginal toponyms except with the greatest circumspection (p.E5; translation by author). The toponymist Jean Poirier estimates that 15,000 Aboriginal names disappeared after having appeared on maps up until the end of the 19th century (ibid). In the first half of the 20th century, massive substitution of names contributed to eliminating 80% of the Aboriginal toponomy which had been in usage in previous centuries (ibid).

Today, however, Québec is one of the leading provinces in the effort to record and preserve Aboriginal place names knowledge. Dorion (1993) reports that the Guide toponymique du Québec clearly announces the policy adopted and applied by the Commission de toponymie: in the regions inhabited or frequented by aboriginal populations, the Commission accords particular

attention to the toponomy of Amerindians and Inuit (p.E5). Dorion reports that this policy has

bared fruit: in 1969, Québec only officially recognized 400 place names of Aboriginal origin. Less

than 25 years later, Québec officially recognizes more than 10,000 Aboriginal place names. Their

number has thus been augmented by more than 800 percent (ibid).

The publication La toponymie autochtone au Québec: Bilan et prospective, Dossiers

toponymiques, 24 (Bonnelly, 1996), is the latest report by the Commission de toponymie

concerning its engagement in Aboriginal toponymy. An English translation of this dossier, with the

title Native Toponymy in Québec: Past, present and future (CPCGN, 1996), was arranged by the

Secretariat of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names. The dossier begins

with an introduction, which briefly notes the current situation and the specific technical problems

with respect to Aboriginal place names. The body of the dossier provides a brief history of

Québec's involvement in Aboriginal place names; provides some background information on the

policy of the Commission de toponymie; provides an overview of the survey program, the

consultation and officialization process, the consolidation of Native toponymic heritage, as well as

the Commission's activities concerning workshops and commemorative names; discusses current

and future issues; and, comments on the Canadian and International situation with respect to

Aboriginal toponymy. The body of the dossier refers readers to the three appendices contained in

the dossier, namely: APPENDIX 1: Policy on Native geographical names; APPENDIX 2: Progress

in surveys for each nation; and, APPENDIX 3: Resolutions adopted at the "workshop on the

writing of Amerindian place names". Following a brief conclusion, the dossier provides a

bibliography of Commission de toponymie publications, including internal documents available for

consultation.

This latest dossier by the Commission de toponymie du Québec concerning its engagement in Aboriginal toponymy is reviewed here with reference to the Commission's other publications dating back to 1979, the year in which the Commission organized the Atelier sur l'écriture des noms de lieux amérindiens, in Québec. This context provides a better understanding of the Commission's progress with respect to Aboriginal toponymy than would a review of Dossier 24 without this hind-sight.

I use a harvesting metaphor as a framework for discussing the Commission de toponymie du Québec's activities with respect to Aboriginal place names. I feel that this metaphor is appropriate for several reasons. The main reason is that parallels can be drawn between the harvesting, processing and storing phases of resource 'exploitation' and the surveying (field collection), treating/processing and archiving (preserving) phases of place names research by the Commission de toponymie. For example, just as the harvesting, processing and storing of a natural resource involves a transformation of that resource, so the surveying, treating/processing and archiving of Aboriginal place names by the Commission involves a transformation of this cultural resource. And, just as Aboriginal communities and nations may agree or disagree with the sharing of resources depending on their experiences with those others who wish to share those resources, Aboriginal communities and nations may agree or disagree with the sharing of their place names knowledge depending on their experiences with government authorities and academics. The Commission's claim to validate (dignify, revalorize) Aboriginal place names through official

recognition is discussed as it relates to the theme of North as heritage and the production of an

archive of knowledge about the North. Here is where I illustrate the argument that at the same

time that Québécois toponymic heritage is redefined to include Aboriginal place names, these

'resources', now 'uprooted' from their original cultural contexts, and processed to suit the 'tastes'

of Québécois authorities, become Québécois cultural resources. In my critique of the

Commission's summary table describing its Aboriginal place names database (Bonnelly, 1996,

ANNEXE 2, p.27), under the heading "Taking Stock", I make suggestions for a more revealing

presentation of this data in order to further the point that the archives of knowledge that are

produced in the dominant discourses tend to obscure the politics of their production.

'Harvesting' or the Surveying (Field Collection) of Aboriginal Place Names

This discussion of the 'harvesting' of Aboriginal place names in Québec makes reference to the

history, policy and overview (survey program; consultation and officialization; consolidation of

Native toponymic heritage) sections of Dossier 24. Under the heading "The period of reaction" in

the section on history, Dossier 24 makes reference to the "war" which was declared on Aboriginal

toponymy in the early twentieth century by the Commission de géographie, certain members of the

clergy, etc. The war metaphor harks back to Morissonneau's reference to "...cette intolérance

violente..." (1972, p.274), as well as to Poirier's and Dorion's references to a veritable toponymic

genocide: "Nous considérons qu'il s'agit là d'une extinction peu commune et anormale en

toponymie pour ne pas dire un génocide toponymique" (Poirier, 1979, p.27); "...cette oeuvre de

nettoyage qui, si elle s'était poursuivie, aurait constitué un véritable génocide toponymique"

(Dorion, 1993, p.E5). This war metaphor is a counter-claim to the myth of "L'invasion des noms

sauvages". "L'invasion des noms sauvages" was the title of Eugène Rouillard's (soon to be first

secretary of the Commission de géographie) address, published in the Bulletin du parler français au

Canada, in 1908 (Dorion, 1993, p.E5). It is also a counter-claim to a member of the clergy's

(contemporary of Rouillard) claim that, "[n]ous sommes encerclés par un colossal bouclier rouge,

autrement plus redoutable et plus menaçant que le Bouclier canadien des géologues."

(Morissonneau, 1972, p.275).

Unlike these previous essays by Morissonneau (1972), Poirier (1979) and Dorion (1993), current

or former members of the Commission de toponymie, Dossier 24 does not make reference to the

linguistic 'difficulties' which were used as a pretext for the elimination of Aboriginal toponymy in

the early part of the twentieth century. Granted that Dossier 24 could not, arguably, have the

scope for detailed discussion on this matter given that the dossier covers not only the past, but also

the present and the future engagement of the Commission in Aboriginal toponymy, it could have at

least listed some of these perceived 'difficulties' of the past: Aboriginal place names are difficult to

memorize and pronounce; they are too long; they are fickle ("changeants"); their meanings are not

known, etc. (Dorion, 1993, p.E5). But in doing so, the reader could have also noticed that some

of these same problems are discussed in Dossier 24, in section five on "Current and future issues"

and in APPENDIX 1: "Policy on Native Geographical Names". The question which could then

potentially come to the reader's mind is, are these "specific technical problems" still being used as a

pretext for delaying inventories or decisions concerning officialising names in the Aboriginal

milieux? I discuss the processing of Aboriginal place names under the heading

"Treating/Processing" Aboriginal place names in the harvesting metaphor.

In the background to the section on the policy of the Commission de toponymie, Dossier 24 reports that, "The policy is a practical gesture designed to help remedy an injustice and protect the principle of conserving the historic memory of Native peoples." After making reference to the inclusion of the policy as APPENDIX 1, Dossier 24 points out that, "Québec is the only province in Canada with a clear policy on this issue." The "injustice" refers to the impact that the "period of reaction" had on Aboriginal toponymy, when 80% of the estimated 15,000 Aboriginal place names that appeared on maps of Québec in the nineteenth century were eliminated from official geographical nomenclature (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, pp.4-5; Dorion, 1993, p.E5; Poirier, 1979. p.27). Québec is the only province with a clear policy on Aboriginal toponymy; however, since the Native Geographical Names Symposium, organized by the CPCGN in 1986, all provinces have been able to refer to the 27 resolutions which were adopted at that time (CPCGN, 1987a).

Concerning the Commission de toponymie's survey program, the overview section of Dossier 24 reports that, "...the real campaign to survey Native geographical names was sparked by the announcement and start-up of the James Bay hydroelectric project. Some 3,000 names were collected in a 1976 survey among the Cree; work continued in Cree communities in 1979, with 800 new names collected in Nemiscau and Waskaganish" (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.6). The English translation, unfortunately, loses some of the sense of urgency in the original French version of Dossier 24, which states, "...ce sont les bouleversement géographiques et socio-culturels suscités par l'annonce et le début des projets hydroélectriques du territoire de la Baie-James qui enclencheront la véritable campagne d'inventaires de toponymes autochtones." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.7). This statement about the spur to Québec's contemporary involvement in

the archiving of Aboriginal place names also appears in the retrospective by Alain Vallières

(1989a), published in *Le toponyme*; in "Le dossier autochtone", presented by Alain Vallières

(1988) at the Stage international de formation en toponymie, which was held under the auspices of

the United Nations and with the participation of the CPCGN, in Québec in 1988; and in the report

by Christian Bonnelly (1987) on "Toponymie autochtone", in *Le toponyme*.

Given Québec's recognition that hydro-electric development would have impacts on Aboriginal

toponymy, the alliance with Hydro-Québec in the publication of Noms et lieux du Québec:

Dictionnaire illustré is, arguably, ironic: "Un soutien important est venu d'Hydro-Québec dont la

haute direction a accepté de l'associer à cette production qui s'inscrit dans des sphères d'intérêt et

d'intervention que partagent la Commission de toponymie et cette société d'État, à savoir la

valorisation de la ressource territoriale au Québec. Toute l'équipe de la Commission de toponymie

lui en est reconnaissante." (CTQ, 1994, p.IX). The alliance is ironic in that, at the same time that

Hydro-Québec 'valorizes' Québec territory through developing its hydro-electric potential, it

threatens the integrity of Cree territory, and therefore, Cree toponymy, yet it was this threat which

sparked the Commission's program of systematic inventories of Aboriginal toponymy.

The Commission's Rapport annuel 1994-1995 gives another example of collaboration with Hydro-

Québec:

> Le *Guide de toponymie* d'Hydro Québec a été lancé à Montréal le 13 décembre 1994. Cet ouvrage
> est l'aboutissement d'une fructueuse collaboration de membres du personnel d'Hydro-Québec, de la
> Société d'Énergie de la Baie James et d'une personne-ressource de la Commission, au sein d'un
> comité de toponymie formé pour la circonstance. Le *Guide* explique les différentes règles
> d'écriture pertinentes aux noms des installations électriques de la société d'État, de même qu'il
> recense les 1 500 principales installations au sein des quatre index suivants: les centrales, les

postes, les barrages et les réservoirs. La Commission a entrepris la tâche consistant à accorder un statut officiel aux toponymes hydro-québécois qui répondent à ses normes et critères, concrétisant en cela la fructueuse collaboration qui a présidé à la confection du *Guide*. (CTQ, 1995, p.22).

Again, the irony in this collaboration is that the official recognition of these 1 500 names for principal Hydro-Québec installations will partially 'cancel' the advances made in the *proportion* of officially recognized Cree place names in the toponymic corpus of Québec. According to APPENDIX 2 in Dossier 24, there are currently 2 591 officially recognized Cree place names resulting from the surveys indicated. (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.27).

In the Commission's collaboration with Hydro-Québec, the competing themes of "North as resource" and "North as heritage" in Québécois territorial myth-making are confounded. The result is that, for Aboriginal communities, the benefits of being incorporated into the archive of knowledge about the North, which the "North as heritage" theme promotes using such words as "preservation" and "conservation" (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.6), are, in fact, reduced. Müller-Wille has made a similar point with respect to the competition between existing English/French names and Inuit names:

In comparing the figures...it is quite apparent that the recent surveys resulted in an increase of recorded Inuit place names - they tripled approximately- , a situation the Inuit welcome. But it is also apparent that existing allogenous names are not being replaced by the original and objectively older indigenous names. This situation - seemingly favourable to the Inuit names because of an absolute increase in numbers - nevertheless presents a picture of the continuing competition between place-name systems - Inuit vs. English/French, each having different goals and aspirations (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.16).

Moreover, the flooding that has resulted with the implementation of the James Bay I (La Grande) phase of hydro-electric development has transformed Cree named places in and around the reservoir, which has also impacted on the describing power of the existing place names, especially those describing geographical features and faunal and floral resources. This is a point I return to in

Phase Four Part Two, on Naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee.

The discussion of the survey program in Dossier 24 also refers the reader to a table, appearing as

APPENDIX 2, which summarizes the status of progress on toponymic inventories and recognition

of names by (per) Aboriginal Nation. I reserve my comments on this table for after my review of

the main text. Thus, my critique of this table appears in the last section of Part Two: "Taking

Stock: The quantitative perspective on the representation of Aboriginal place names in Québec".

Concerning the Commission de toponymie's consultation and officialization process, the overview

section of Dossier 24 reports that,

> There are two possible catalysts for toponymic surveys in Native communities. The first is interest
> on the part of band councils, who see them as ways of conserving and enhancing their cultural
> heritage. The second is a need by the Commission de toponymie to fill a toponymic gap that has
> come to light during a map production project. In both cases, however, close collaboration among
> all the parties involved is required. (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.6).

One could argue that this statement concerning catalysts for research suggests that the inventories

in Cree territory in the 1970s were, at least partially, undertaken because maps of the area needed

to be revised to facilitate the incursion of hydro-electric development, and, thus, it was not so

much a matter of the Commission's desire to preserve and conserve Cree place names. This relates

to the idea that the production of an archive of knowledge tends to benefit the managers more than

those on whose behalf the research is supposed to be undertaken, the assumption being that

Aboriginal peoples need maps and toponymic data bases. Here again, the competing themes of

North as resource and North as heritage in Québécois territorial myth-making seem to be

confounded. On the other hand, the Commission does have a policy to give priority to Aboriginal

names in regions where there is an absence of official names and a concentration of Aboriginal peoples.

With respect to the two possible catalysts for toponymic surveys in Native communities, the following reference suggests that the top-down approach, that is, initiatives for inventories originating with the Commission, has usually been the case. The 1984 review of progress on the resolutions adopted at the Workshop on the Writing of Amerindian Place Names (1979) reports:

> At that time [1979], *the Commission also established numerous contacts* among the autochton and "allochton" populations. *Several band councils showed a willingness to collaborate* with the Commission in drawing up toponymic inventories in their respective territories. A number of people mentioned the existence of other reports on Amerindian toponymy. Researchers asked for funding to enable them to conduct land surveys in Amerindian communities. (CTQ, 1984, p.23; my emphasis).

Under the heading "Consolidation of the Native toponymic heritage", the overview section of Dossier 24 reports, "The data in Table 1 show the undeniable progress that has been made in Native toponymy in Québec over the past 25 years. When the Répertoire géographique du Québec was published in 1969, there were 1,560 Native place names, representing 4.7% of official place names. In 1995, 10,964 of them were official, representing 9.78% of official place names." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.6). Other statistics (projected and actual) presented in previous publications of the Commission suggest that this progress may not have met some of the Commission's hopes for progress. An article which appeared in *Le toponyme* in 1989 made the following prediction: "Ces étapes se poursuivent et nous sommes confiants de maintenir un rythme d'officialisation de quelque 350 à 400 toponymes autochtones par année et ce, pour les quatre ou cinq prochaines années. (Vallières,1989b). However, Table 6 in the Commission's Rapport

<u>Annuel 1994-1995</u> indicates that the annual number of officialized names for the first half of the 1990s was well below what was predicted, ranging from 72-268, despite the inclusion of odonyms (street and other route names) in these figures (CTQ, 1995, p.20). In terms of the quantitative representation of Aboriginal place names in Québec, it would appear that the Commission has not met some of its more specific targets, and budget cuts may account for part of this failure. I discuss the quantitative perspective on the representation of Aboriginal place names in Québec in more detail under the last section of Phase Two: "Taking Stock".

Treating/Processing Aboriginal Place Names

This discussion of the treating/processing of Aboriginal place names in Québec makes reference to the introduction, current and future issues (processing and writing rules) sections <u>of Dossier 24</u>, as well as to Appendix 1 on Québec policy concerning Native geographical names.

The brochure (CTQ, c1991?) describing the Commission de toponymie (history, mandate, objectives and policies, etc.), as well as the "Politique relative aux noms autochtones" (CTQ, 1990; reprinted in ANNEXE 1, Bonnelly, 1996) make reference to the dual cultural and technical contribution of Aboriginal toponymic heritage to Québec geography: "This heritage is rich in the way it divides and names space; just as important, the geographical names are extremely useful in the areas with the lowest toponymic densities." (APPENDIX 1, Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.15). Given this recognition, it is rather surprising that, in its introduction, under the heading "Both an ethical and a technical issue", <u>Dossier 24</u> focuses on technical problems rather than contributions. Some of the problems listed are: "...choosing among usages that create parallels between Native names and names of European origin, ...dealing with the length problem of names formed by

agglutination and handling redundancy in generic terms caused by the partial translation of geographical names". (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.4).

The mention of specific technical problems in the introduction to Dossier 24 is redundant given the discussion of these problems in section five on current and future issues. Is the inclusion of this mention in the introduction an indication of, or perhaps even a justification for, why there has been less progress in Aboriginal toponymy, in certain respects, than one might have expected? It is by reviewing Dossier 24 in the context of previous reports and other publications of the Commission de toponymie that some of these shortcomings become more apparent, as my discussion of projected and actual statistics, above, showed.

The question of *for whom* and *why* Aboriginal place names are "extremely useful in the areas with the lowest toponymic densities" also comes to mind. From the statement, it appears that the reference (average or highest) densities are based in non-Aboriginal areas, and, in that case, the question becomes why are Aboriginal place names "extremely useful in the areas with the lowest toponymic densities" from a *non-Aboriginal* perspective? Could these names somehow be symbolizing and facilitating the authority and control of non-Aboriginal institutions over these areas? Is this an example of the intersection of ostensibly moral imperatives (the Commission's "ethical issue") with political and economic ones? (Spurr, 1993, pp.28-19). The discussion below focuses on how the treating/processing of Aboriginal place names in Québec serves the political (cultural) interests of Québec institutions, which is characteristic of the "scientization" (West, 1990, p.435) of knowledge about Other (Aboriginal) peoples, places and place names.

Dossier 24 precedes the mention of these specific technical problems in treating/processing

Aboriginal place names by stating that, "[t]o respect a people's culture is to respect the

geographical names it produces." One might point out, however, that the policies the Commission

has adopted and applied in addressing some of the specific technical problems listed above do not

appear to be negotiable. For example, with respect to "... handling redundancy in generic terms

caused by the partial translation of geographical names", it is doubtful that the Commission would

ever adopt a policy of retaining an agglutinated Aboriginal-language generic element in an official

Aboriginal place name without adding a French-language generic, or retaining a separate

Aboriginal language generic instead of translating it to French. There is a precedent at the federal

level, sanctioning a province of Ontario initiative, for adopting generic terms from Aboriginal

languages into official geographic nomenclature. In a report (CPCGN, 1995b) on the third series

of additions to the Glossary of Generic Terms in Canada's Geographical Names, 1987 (CPCGN,

1987b), the generic "ziibi", the Ojibwe term for river, is listed as a new entry; the example given for

the entry is "Miskwaa Ziibi, Ont. 44 34 41 - 78 25 32 (31 D/9)" (CPCGN, 1995b). I say it is

doubtful Québec would do likewise because of the Commission's preoccupation with the

francisation of Québec's toponymy, which it accomplishes within a systematic francisation of

geographical terminology, including generic terms in place names (CTQ, c1991?, p.5).

In an article on "Toponymie et francisation" Christian Morissonneau (1985) argues that this

francisation policy, founded on the Charter of the French Language, which recognizes the right of

"Indians" and Inuit to maintain and develop their languages and cultures, is a compromise far

removed from the policies of the Commission de toponymie's predecessor, the Commission de

géographie: "On est loin de l'anathème circonstanciel du premier président de la Commission!"

Morissonneau elaborates: "Si les noms de lieux constituent un trait culturel autant que

linguistique, alors cette francisation signifie reprise en main de l'héritage français en même temps

qu'ouverture aux cultures menacées elles aussi dans un des traits spontanés de l'humain:

l'appellation des lieux qu'il parcourt et où il vit." (Morissonneau, 1985). Here is an admission that

Québec's interest in Aboriginal toponymy is, at least partly, motivated by 'Self'-interest, as

opposed to being strictly a moral imperative concerning the Other (Aboriginal peoples).

The fact that the Commission de toponymie was created within and is administratively attached to

l'Office de la langue française (CTQ, 1990, p.161) restricts its treatment of Aboriginal place names

to an approach which is more prescriptive than that which is advocated in the resolutions adopted

at the Native Geographical Names Symposium, held in Ottawa, in May 1986. Resolution 14

reads: "14 - That, as part of the handling of native toponyms, generic terms may [as opposed to

must] be translated and geographical names may be otherwise shortened, only if the meaning of

such toponym is in no way modified or affected" (CPCGN, 1987a, p.4). Québec's response,

presented in a report on the Symposium in *Le toponyme*, is, *"La Commission de toponymie essaie

de tenir compte de cette recommandation mais plusieurs problèmes techniques restent encore à

résoudre."* (CTQ, 1986a, p.2).

Like Rundstrom's (1993) example of how the coding of Zuni place names into a GIS represents a

"very mixed blessing" (Rundstrom, 1993, p.22), the francization of Aboriginal place names before

inclusion as official names in TOPOS (Québec's place names database) also represents such an

ambiguity of outcomes. With respect to the treatment of generic terms, the Commission acknowledges that, "The Commission's custom of *replacing* Native with French generic terms to avoid onerous, undesirable redundancy and make the names easier to understand to the uninitiated sometimes creates problems for certain communities." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.9) Putting aside for the moment the Commission's preoccupation with the francisation of Québec's geographical nomenclature, including its toponymy, it could be argued that redundancy could be avoided by promoting the adoption of Aboriginal-language(s) generics into Québec's geographical nomenclature.

When the Aboriginal-language generic element is agglutinated to the specific element (i.e. it is not separate), and is *deleted* in order to make a long name shorter, then the name undergoes an even greater transformation. The Commission recognizes the threat to name integrity that arises from the abbreviation of names that are "...so long that they become difficult or impossible to use for those unfamiliar with the languages involved." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.9). While the Commission points out that abbreviation may also be applied to French and English toponyms, it can be argued that the agglutinate character of Aboriginal languages and place names means that Aboriginal place names are more often subject to shortening. The Commission points out that shortening of Aboriginal place names is done "...in cooperation with an interlocutor from the nation involved." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, APPENDIX 1, p.16). Still, these various ways of treating/processing Aboriginal place names are one indication of how the production of this particular archive of knowledge, TOPOS, serves the interests of its non-Aboriginal managers.

Müller-Wille has presented examples of the kinds of constructions that result from addition of a

French generic term to an officialized native name:

> The added generic is...often redundant, an apparently unavoidable situation when two languages
> are combined in one geographical name. Often designator [generic or entity] parts of names are
> left out to avoid this problem, but this also destroys the geographical concept inherent in the Inuit
> name. This also can result in leaving the original name - the noun - in an unacceptable and
> awkward linguistic form like the genetive. For example, "Lac Tasiguluk" - "Poor Lake Lake"
> (tasiq = lake, -guluk -poor) or "Cap Assaasijuup" - "Belonging to the slanted place cape" from
> "Assaasijuup Nuvua" - (assaasiju q = slanted, -up = (Gen.) belongs to, nuvuk = point, -a = belongs
> to). (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.10).

Müller-Wille also presents a more general review of the phases of francisation in Québec (Müller-

Wille, 1983, pp.140-41), which include "the embroidery of some Inuit names with religious

connotations" during the first phase. According to Müller-Wille, the second phase began in 1977

with the advent of the new language law and the founding of the Commission de toponymie (ibid).

With reference to the harvesting metaphor and how Aboriginal place names are processed to suit

the 'tastes' of Québécois authorities, it can also be argued that, even today, the Commission de

toponymie is not preserving or conserving Aboriginal place names: rather, it is inventing a cultural

resource in its own image. The use of the French-language generic and shortened names are

examples of how their (Aboriginal peoples') place names are made to look like ours (French-

language Québécois place names). If the Commission were truly mandated to preserve Aboriginal

place names, would it not have to retain generics from the Aboriginal languages? If the specific

element of Aboriginal place names is accepted as Québécois heritage, why not the generic element?

If shorter Aboriginal place names are acceptable, why not longer ones? This would, in a sense,

mean that "our" names are becoming even more like "theirs". Perhaps place names are too

important a symbol of territorial control to concede to this easily.

Storing or Archiving (Preserving) Aboriginal Place Names

This discussion of the storing of Aboriginal place names makes reference to the history, overview

(workshops; commemorative names); and current and future issues (dissemination; conflict

between place names and land claims) sections of Dossier 24. In the section on history, Dossier 24

reports that the "Revival and promotion" of Aboriginal place names began in the mid-1960s:

"Native geographical names were from that time on considered an integral part of Québec

toponymy, and conserving and enhancing them became a priority. This period also marked the

beginning of systematic field surveys." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.5). The wording of the

heading "revival and promotion", or rather its French original, "La renaissance et la revalorisation"

(Bonnelly, 1996, p.4), deserves comment. If "revalorisation" is not translated as "promotion" but is

read as the English word "revalorization", then it refers to the Commission de toponymy's claim to

restore value or worth to Aboriginal place names by granting them official recognition, that is, by

granting them official status, or at least status as a "variant". The use of the term "revalorisation"

appeared as early as with the publication of the dossier on Attikamek toponymy (Michaud et al.,

1987, p.II). I have already pointed out that the notion that Québec's recognition of 10,000

Aboriginal place names constitutes "la dignité retrouvée" (Dorion, 1993, p.E5) is subjective.

Certainly, it reflects a shift in attitude by the province's place names authority, but this claim does

not take away from the fact that Aboriginal place names which are not officially recognized have

been and will continue to be used by Aboriginal communities. In Phases Three and Four of this

thesis, I challenge this claim of validating (dignifying, revalorizing) Aboriginal place names by

elaborating on their validation within the context of cultural distinctiveness or Aboriginal culture (understood in the plural). The appropriateness of the harvesting metaphor becomes even more apparent in my elaboration of the "Power of Aboriginal Place Names in the Places" or "in context" in "Hearing With a Native Ear", the third phase of the learning cycle. I argue that by recording the environmental, historical and cultural knowledge associated with their place names, Aboriginal communities are countering Québec's production of an archive of knowledge which 'uproots' or takes Aboriginal place names out of context.

In the discussion on workshops within the overview section of Dossier 24, the Commission makes reference to its organization of the Atelier sur l'écriture des noms de lieux amérindiens, held in 1979 in Québec, which resulted in the adoption of 19 resolutions to guide the Commission's future decisions. While the main themes of this Workshop are mentioned, and the 19 resolutions are included as APPENDIX 3, Dossier 24 only refers to the Commission's publication of Rapport d'étape concernant l'atelier sur l'écriture des noms de lieux amérindiens, in 1984, as well as to the Commission's participation in the Native Geographical Names Symposium, held in 1986 in Ottawa, without giving any details about progress achieved in the implementation of specific resolutions. The Commission might have reported on progress achieved in the implementation of the four resolutions it designated for action in the short term, and the one resolution it designated for action in the long term, concerning the 19 resolutions from the 1979 Workshop which the Commission prioritised and reported on in 1984. For example, with the publication of Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré, in 1994, the one resolution designated for action in the long term, namely "Resolution 7: Dictionary of Québec place names" (CTQ, 1984, p.13-14;), has now

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been fully implemented.

The four resolutions designated for action in the short term are the following: "Resolution 5: Compilation and centralization of inventories of amerindian place names"; "Resolution 8: "Creation of an advisory committee on amerindian toponymy", sections a, b and c; "Resolution 9: Agreement on a standardized spelling for Micmac place names"; and, "Resolution 17: "Preservation of Mohawk place names" (CTQ, 1984, pp.22-30). I discuss the first and second of these since they relate to Aboriginal toponymy in general.

In 1984, when the progress report concerning the implementation of the 19 resolutions was published, the Commission reported that, concerning Resolution 5: "...the task of locating all toponymic inventories complied in Amerindian communities remains to be completed." It also referred to the need to "...take into account bibliographic sources on Amerindian toponymy" in drawing up a document listing all bibliography titles on Québec toponymy. (CTQ, 1984, p.24). Given that Québec is represented by 285 entries in the CPCGN's (1995a) <u>Native Canadian Geographical Names: an annotated bibliography</u>, it can be argued that resolution 5 is at least partially implemented.

Concerning resolution 8, the 1984 progress report states,

> Having discussed, evaluated and measured the impact that the creation of a consultative committee would have on Amerindian toponymy, the Commission believes that such a committee should not be set up. The original idea was a good one but the financial, human resources and time implications are too great. Moreover, the proposals outlined in resolutions 8 (a) and 8 (b) do not come within the general mandate but into the hands of the Commission de toponymie under section 122 and 128 of Chapter III, Title II of the Charter of the French Language, 1977. (CTQ,

1984, p.26).

Concerning "8 b) the preparation of a guide for the pronunciation of Amerindian place names", the

Commission states that, while it is not within its mandate to act on this proposal, its point of view

concerning "sound" transcription versus phonetic transcription would be made known in three

Dossiers toponymiques concerning the Abenakis, Attikameks and Naskapis, which were scheduled

to appear in 1984. (CTQ, 1984, pp.26-27). Indeed, each of the three dossiers (Paré et al., 1989;

Michaud et al., 1987; Paré et al., 1985) does discuss transcription. The dossier on La toponymie

des Attikameks (Michaud et al., 1987), for example, contains a table on "L'orthographe

standardisée Atikamekw et les anciennes orthographes", which compares letters and phonemes

across these different orthographies. Concerning "8 c) the preparation of a lexicon of the elements

(generics, morphemes, roots) used in place names in Québec['s] various Amerindian languages"

(CTQ, 1984, p.26), the Commission states that,

> A contracting party, Marie-France Legault, hired by the Commission for the purpose, compiled a
> draft lexicon of geographic entities in the Amerindian language which comprises about 1000
> entries for some sixty entities. This file was taken over and added to by Pierre Paré and now
> contains 1617 entries – an increase of 37,1%. ... In addition, the Commission is considering
> publishing the information contained in the file in the ten Dossiers toponymiques which are
> planned for each of the Amerindian nations. (CTQ, 1984, p.27).

A review of the three dossiers toponymiques concerning the Abenakis (Paré et al., 1985),

Attikameks (Michaud et al., 1987) and Naskapis (Paré et al., 1989), reveals that, indeed, the

Commission is implementing this resolution. Each of the dossiers has a section on "Presentation

du lexique des entités géographiques" for the language concerned, and the lists of toponyms

inventoried contain information on the morphemes for each of the place names. In order to further

this raising of awareness of generics, morphemes and roots in the place names of Aboriginal

languages, the Commission could consider publishing the file in its entirity since it appears that the

Commission's program to publish the 10 individual Dossiers toponymiques has been set-back.

Under the discussion about dissemination of information on Aboriginal toponymy in the "current and future issues section", Dossier 24 reports that, "[t]he Commission has also published files [Dossiers toponymiques] on the geographical names of three Amerindian nations, the Abenaki, the Attikamek and the Naskapi. Native geographical names also feature prominently in the Commission's most recent encyclopaedic publication, **Noms et lieux du Québec, Dictionnaire illustré.**" (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, pp.9-10). The mandate to produce the dossiers toponymiques on each of the Aboriginal Nations in Québec goes back to at least 1985: "Toujours soucieuse, par ailleurs, d'assurer une diffusion adéquate de la toponymie autochtone, la Commission a entrepris, en 1985, de publier un dossier sur le sujet pour chacune des nations. J'ai mentionné au début de l'exposé que les deux ouvrages publiés jusqu'ici étaient disponibles pour distribution." (Vallières, 1988, p.219). Since the publication of the three dossiers (referred to above) between 1985 and 1989, another dossier has not been published. With respect to Cree place names, the Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec, published in 1982, was already passé in the mid-1980s, when Cree names for Cree villages were officially recognized (SAA/SAGMAI, *Rencontre. various issues*). The failure to produce any new dossiers toponymiques on Aboriginal place names in the 1990s is, perhaps, one of the most important challenges to the Commission de toponymie's claim to progress in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy.

Faced with substantial budget and staff cuts in the 1990s, it appears that the Commission gave priority to the completion of the dictionary of Québec place names, although it was the one

resolution, out of 19 from the 1979 Workshop, which was designated for action in the long-term

when the resolutions were prioritized and reported on in 1984 (CTQ, 1984, pp.13-14). In a

review of Noms et Lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré (1994), Charest (1995) challenges the

Commission's claim that Aboriginal place names feature "prominently": "Il ne faut donc pas

chercher dans ce volume une véritable toponymie autochtone et encore moins nordique. Un tel

ouvrage de synthèse reste donc à faire, bien que la Commission ait déjà publié quelques inventaires

partiels et maintenant dépassés." (Charest, 1995, p.106). I return to the discussion of this

dictionnaire in Phase Four Part Two.

Given the fact that the Commission de toponymie was created within and is administratively

attached to l'Office de la langue française (CTQ, 1990, p.161), it is not surprising that when

financial and political pressures necessitate a streamlining of its mandate, it gave greater priority to

publishing Noms et Lieux du Québec, including Aboriginal place names within it, rather than to

publishing additional Dossiers toponymiques on the Aboriginal nations. I argue that the

Commission's attachement to l'Office de la langue française restricts its treatment of Aboriginal

place names to a prescriptive approach which generally subsumes Aboriginal place names within a

unitary or universalist definition of Québec heritage, which hides relations of domination and

subordination.

However, there are some examples of the recognition of cultural pluralism in the Commission de

toponymie's discourse on Aboriginal toponymy. For example, on commemorative names in the

overview section of Dossier 24, the Commission reports that,

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Each year on Women's Day from 1981 to 1985, the Commission gave female Native names to Québec geographical entries. In 1993, to mark National Native Day, held in honour of the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous People, the Commission approved three names in homage to Native culture: **Anicinabe**, which in Algonquian means "we, the native people;" **Kitaskino**, which in Attikamek means "our land belongs to us all;" and **Nitassinan**, which in Montagnais means "our land." The places named by these designations correspond to the intersecting point of Québec's major drainage basins. These points are located in regions of interchange among the Amerindians of the Middle North, and also evoke the close relationship between Native people and their lands. (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.8).

The recognition of Anicinabe, Kitaskino and Nitassinan is commendable in that it challenges the

"... impertinence of [Québécois] pretensions of being "discoverers."" (Gourdeau, 1982, p.3).

While the designation of geographical features by female Native names is, arguably, also

commendable from the perspective of feminism, one might question its cultural relevance given

that the practice of naming places after people is generally not common among Aboriginal cultures,

while it is more characteristic of European naming practices.

Under the heading "Conflict between place names", in the section on current and future issues,

Dossier 24 gives examples of problems of toponymic overlap between layers of different

languages. For example, the dossier reports that the former village of Poste-de-la-Baleine (in

English the name was, non-officially, Great Whale River) now has the Cree name Whapmagoostui

and the Inuit name Kuujjuarapik. The Commission adds that,

There are more serious problems in regions where, in a significant number of places, toponymic layers are superimposed in different languages on the same places. In Haute-Maurice, for example, Attikamek place names which have long been in use but have only recently been officialized are under threat, because they are coming into competition with French geographical names used by hunting and fishing outfitters and their customers. These parallel, competing usages make it difficult for the Commission to apply the usual selection criteria. Nonetheless, because the areas were traditionally frequented by Amerindians, the Commission gives priority to Amerindian geographical names, and assumes responsibility for educating non-Native people in the area about the importance of preserving, and even enhancing, this aspect of our cultural heritage. (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.8).

The approach of the Commission in the case of this particular conflict seems to be consistent with Québec's policy, and is commendable. At the meeting of the CPCGN's Advisory Committee on Toponymic Research, Henri Dorion, then a participating observer from Quebec, reported that, "Québec has decided not to approve new names in regions where there is a possibility of Native names (either established or new). They will give priority to Natives to provide new names. The policy was in place earlier and is now being implemented." (CPCGN/ACTR, 1994). However, as recently as the late summer/early fall of 1997, the Commission was criticized by one of its own formerly contracted researchers for insulting the Crees by naming 101 islands in the Caniapiscau Reservoir (Cree territory) after the works of Québécois authors: "I'm amazed they're still doing that in this day and age" said Memorial linguistics professor Marguerite Mackenzie. "This seems to be an about face, a return to an earlier colonial situation", she charged. (Roslin and Webb, The Montreal Gazette, Sept., 18, 1997, p.A2; Roslin, The Nation, Sept.26, 1997. p.7).

Having said that the Commission's approach to competing usages in the Haute-Maurice example is consistent with its policy of giving priority to Aboriginal place names in areas of Aboriginal land use and occupancy, I still argue that collecting and granting these Attikamek place names official recognition does not necessarily go far enough in terms of preserving these toponyms. If over-exploitation of natural resources (such as game animals, fish, forests, etc.) is allowed in Haute-Maurice, as has been the case of the areas of Cree territory which would have been flooded by the Nottaway-Broadback-Rupert phase of hydro-electric development (see Feit, 1995b, p.217), then the claim to be preserving Aboriginal place names becomes more tenuous. This is especially the case with respect to Aboriginal place names which describe features of the landscape and floral and

faunal resources, since their power to describe is impacted when the places these names refer to are transformed by over-exploitation or hydro-electric development. With this argument I touch on the issue of the importance of 'hearing' Aboriginal place names in context and the corollary issue of the power of Aboriginal place names and naming . These issues are the themes in the headings of Part One and Two of Phase Three. The Haute-Maurice (Attikamek) case and particularly the Caniapiscau Reservoir (Cree) case are example of how the themes of North as resource and North as heritage are confounded in Québécois territorial and toponymic discourses.

On the matter of land claims, also discussed in the section on current and future issues, Dossier 24 states, "A thorough knowledge of the areas historically occupied by Native nations, acquired through geographical names and from other sources, can help create solid foundations for a proposed sharing of responsibility within the framework of the basic principle of territorial integrity." (Bonnelly, (CPCGN), 1996, p.10). Indeed, Aboriginal peoples have used place names as evidence in documenting their land use and occupancy for land claims negotiations and the settlement of other territorial rights (Wonders, 1987; Basso, 1984). However, in the struggle over territory, they have also put forward their own terms of reference. For example, the Cree (and Inuit) have challenged the "basic principle of territorial integrity" with their own referendum in the fall of 1995, when they voted by a 96% majority to "retain our relationships and stay" in Canada (GCCQ, 1996). The most definitive statement of the Cree on this territorial question is Sovereign Injustice: Forcible Inclusion of the James Bay Crees and Cree territory into a Sovereign Québec (GCCQ, 1995), which was released in October 1995, just prior to the Cree and Québec referendums. In this document, we see the political use of the 'unofficial' Cree name for their

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territory, "Eeyou Astchee". I elaborate on this and other examples of toponymic resistance in

Phase Four of the Learning Cycle.

Taking Stock: The quantitative perspective on the representation of Aboriginal place names in Québec

This section of the thesis turns to the exploration of the quantitative perspective on the

representation of Aboriginal place names by Nation in Québec. My purpose is to make

suggestions for a more revealing presentation of the data contained in the table "État d'avancement

du dossier des inventaires pour chacune des nations", which appears as ANNEXE 2 in Dossier 24

(Bonnelly, 1996, p.27). I do so in order to further the point that the archives of knowledge that

are produced in dominant discourses tend to obscure the politics of their production. My purpose

is also to highlight information which suggests research questions about the cultural politics of

place naming in Québec. This section begins by distinguishing Table 1: Geographical Names

Surveyed and Officialized by Nation, which I have created, from the table in ANNEXE 2. Next, it

presents two tables (3 and 4) which relate the data on number of geographical names *surveyed* and

officialized to data on language, tradition and lifestyle by Aboriginal Nation. (APPENDIX 1 of

my thesis describes the preliminary manipulation and limitations of the Aboriginal Peoples Survey

Community Profiles (APSCP) data (StatCan, 1994), which provides the data on the selected

Language, Tradition and Lifestyle indicators for the adult population by Aboriginal nation, and

which allows for the creation of Tables A and B and Tables 2, 3 and 4). Finally, this exploration of

the quantitative perspective on the representation of Aboriginal place names by nation in Québec

presents two tables (5 and 6) which describe toponymic density. This set of original tables are

presented with comments on their creation and appropriate interpretation as well as comments on their contribution to the study of place naming.

Unique Features of Table 1

The "Toponymes inventoriés" and "Toponymes officialisés" columns from the Commission's table in ANNEXE 2 (Bonnelly, 1996, p.27) form the basis of Table 1: Geographical Names Surveyed and Officialized by Nation in this thesis. The unique features of Table 1 are described. This is followed by a description of some of the more salient information which this table reveals.

There are supplementary columns which distinguish Table 1 from the Commission's table in ANNEXE 2. Table 1 adds two columns indicating the percent of total Aboriginal names surveyed and the percent of total officialized Aboriginal names by nation. These columns allow for a comparison across nations that is standardized to a base of 100 names. It is somewhat surprising that the CTQ's table does not provide this basic information. Granted, the CTQ was probably more concerned to provide other details (number of surveys, number and % of names processed), leaving two relatively simple calculations to the more interested of readers. On the other hand, although likely not deliberate, the failure to include such columns obscures, to a degree, the discrepancies between Aboriginal nations. The addition of population data allows for an additional comparison across nations to the one already mentioned: the last two columns of Table 1 present the number of names surveyed and officialized, respectively, over a base of 100 people by nation. The data on population size by nation is from the Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones' (SAA) figures in the booklet The Amerindian and Inuit in Today's Québec (SAA, 1995, pp.22-23)

Table 1

Geographical Names Surveyed and Officialized by Nation[1]

Nation	Population (SAA, 1995)	% of Total pop.	Names surveyed	% Total names surveyed	Officialized names	% Total official names	Names surveyed/ pop.	Officialized names/ pop.
Inuit	7840	17	7379	39	1511	22	94/100	19/100
Naskapi	529	1	651	3	217	3	123/100	41/100
Montagnais	12952	29	2666	14	1178	17	21/100	9/100
Micmac[2]	(4068)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Cree	12017	27	4822	25	2591	37	40/100	22/100
Attikamek	4461	10	1407	7	795	11	32/100	18/100
Algonquin	7323	16	2200	12	668	10	30/100	9/100
Total	45122[3]	100	19125	100	6960	100	42/100	15/100

[1]Data on number of names surveyed and officialized is from Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.27.

[2]There has not been a systematic place names survey of this Nation's territory (see source above).

[3]This total does not include the figure for the Micmac Nation.

My expectation in creating this table was that it would reveal that there is not a one-to-one correspondence of the numbers of place names surveyed or officialized, respectively, with population size by nation. Indeed, the last two columns of Table 1 indicate that this is the case, and this suggests that factors other than relative population size must be considered in order to gain insight into the quantitative representation of Aboriginal place names by nation in Québec. When the data are ranked, Spearman's measure (coefficient of rank-order correlations) comparing population and names surveyed is 0.77; and, Spearman's measure comparing population and officialized names is 0.94. These figures seem to indicate a good agreement (perfect agreement would be +1.0) between population size and number of names surveyed and officialized, respectively, but no statement about statistical significance can be made since the sample size is less than 10. However, these measures would be lowered if the Micmac nation were included by substituting zeros for number of names surveyed and number of officialized names. These measures would be further lowered if the Mohawk nation were included, given that it has the largest population of all Aboriginal nations in Québec, being 13,154 (SAA, 1995, p.22), but has only 17 place names surveyed and only 1 officialized place name (Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE, p.27) . The Mohawks were excluded from the analysis in this section of the thesis because they were not included in the APSCP data (StatCan, 1994).

Some Highlights from Table 1

Perhaps the most salient information which this table reveals is in the case of the Naskapi Nation. While the number of Naskapi names surveyed represents only 3% of both the total number of Aboriginal names surveyed and the total number of officialized Aboriginal names, there are 123

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Naskapi names surveyed and 41 officialized Naskapi names per 100 Naskapi persons. According to the figures in the second last column, no other Aboriginal nation in Québec has more than 1 place name *surveyed* per person; while the Inuit have 94 Inuit place names surveyed per 100 Inuit persons, the figures for the other four Nations are well below this, ranging from 21-40/100. According to the figures in the last column, the average number of *officialized* names per 100 Aboriginal persons is 15, almost three times lower than the figure for the Naskapi nation.

Concerning the second and third ranks for the last two columns in Table 1, the Inuit Nation comes in second in terms of place names surveyed per 100 persons and third in terms of officialized place names per 100 persons, while the ranks for the Cree Nation are the reverse of this. Inuit names represent 39% of all Aboriginal names surveyed and 22% of all officialized Aboriginal names, while the figures for Cree names are 25% and 37% respectively, making the case of the Naskapi Nation even more outstanding.

The fact that the Cree and Inuit nations signed the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement in 1975 (the first agreement of its kind to be signed in Québec and Canada), that the Naskapi Nation signed a similar agreement, the Northeastern Québec Agreement, in 1978, and that the Cree and Naskapi Nations are covered by the Cree-Naskapi (of Québec) Act instead of the Indian Act (SAA, 1995, pp.3-4) may have some bearing on the first, second and third rankings of the Naskapi, Inuit and Cree nations with respect to names *surveyed* per 100 persons. Assuming that these two agreements and the Cree-Naskapi Act translate into greater responsibility on the part of Québec toward these nations compared to toward the other Aboriginal nations in Québec, then this

assumption would logically imply greater responsibility toward these three nations in terms of the

Commission de toponymie's mandate respecting Aboriginal toponymy.   In La toponymie

autochtone au Québec: Bilan et prospective (Bonnelly, 1996), the CTQ reports that, "...ce sont les

bouleversements géographiques et socio-culturels suscités par l'annonce et le début des projets

hydroélectriques du territoire de la Baie-James qui enclencheront la véritable campagne

d'inventaires de toponymes autochtones." (Bonnelly, 1996, p.7).   It was Cree and Inuit opposition

to the announcement and start-up of James Bay hydroelectric development which lead to the

negotiation and eventual signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA)

(MacGregor, 1989; Richardson, 1991b; Feit, 1995a; Feit, 1995b, SAA, 1995), and, by extension,

to Québec's greater involvement in Aboriginal toponymy.

The fact that Cree territory has greater resource potential than Inuit territory from the perspective

of the Québec government may have some bearing on why the percent of total *officialized*

Aboriginal place names is higher for the Cree Nation than for the Inuit Nation, despite the reverse

situation with respect to the percent of total Aboriginal names *surveyed*.   The number of

officialized place names *per 100 persons* is also slightly higher for the Cree Nation than for the

Inuit Nation, despite the reverse situation with respect to the number of place names *surveyed per*

100 persons.   Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that toponymic inventories in Cree territory were

undertaken partly because maps of the area needed to be revised to facilitate the incursion of

hydro-electric development. One might also speculate that the need to maintain or improve the

quality of relations with the Cree Nation might be grounds for granting 'toponymic favours'.

Müller-Wille has referred to "a kind of applied cultural appeasement" (Müller-Wille, 1983, p.135)

and to "commemorative and political gestures" with respect to "planned and designed name-giving initiated by institutions and/or individuals who approach the names authorities." (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.8). With less interest in Inuit territory, the incentive to grant such favours is, arguably, less with respect to the Inuit Nation.

In order to gain insight into such research questions, one would have to be able to identify and control for other factors which likely contribute to the discrepancies between names *surveyed* and *officialized names* by Nation (or even by communities since the sample of Nations is small). Such other factors would likely relate to issues of processing; an indicator describing the degree of problems with standardization of orthography across nations (or even across communities) seems a logical candidate. For example, the CTQ identifies problems with standardization of orthography as an issue with respect to certain Inuit and Cree communities (Bonnelly, 1996, p.12). The degree of competition with place names of other nations or with already established French-language place names (Bonnelly, 1996, p.11) is another factor which would have to be accounted for. In addition, there are likely cultural differences between nations with regards to their emphasis on place naming which should also be considered. There is not scope in this thesis for focusing on such questions, but they certainly present interesting problems for expanding on the analysis which is provided here. This section of the thesis now turns to the consideration of the Aboriginal place names data by nation in the context of language, tradition and lifestyle indicators.

Presentation of Tables 3 and 4

In order to be able to create Tables 3 and 4, which present the CTQ's Aboriginal place names data by nation in the context of language, tradition and lifestyle data for Aboriginal adults, I first had to create *Table 2: Geographical Names Surveyed and Officialized by Nation (Alternative)*. The last two columns in Table 2 present the number of names surveyed and officialized, respectively, over a base of 100 adults (15 years and over) by nation. The data on adult population size, literacy, and cultural practices is from Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profiles (APSCP) (StatCan, 1994). *Table A: Total, Adult and Child Population by Aboriginal Nation* and *Table B: Language, Tradition and Lifestyle Indicators for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation,* as well as the related discussions concerning their creation, are in APPENDIX 1 instead of in the main text of my thesis since they support the creation of Tables 2, 3 and 4. Here, however, I highlight the fact that the Micmac Nation is the only Nation of the seven nations considered that has lower figures on the "%Read", "%Write", "%Participate" and "%On Land" variables when compared to the figures (average percents) in the "Total2" row. The Micmac Nation is also the only Nation of the seven Nations considered here for which there has not been a systematic place names survey of its territory (see Table 1). This suggests that there is a relationship between the place names variables and the selected indicators.

Table 2 combined with tables A and B have been used to generate tables 3 and 4, which describe the place names data as it relates to the selected language, tradition and lifestyle indicators for the adult population by Aboriginal nation. Factors such as language retention, participation in traditional activities and time spent on the land are all indicators of the vitality of Aboriginal

Table 2

Geographical Names Surveyed and Officialized by Nation[1] (Alternative)

Nation	Population (Adults 15+)	% Total Adult pop.	Names surveyed	% Total names surveyed	Officialized names	% Total official names	Names surveyed/ Adult pop	Officialized names/ Adult pop.
Inuit	3905	23	7379	39	1511	22	189/100	39/100
Naskapi	245	1	651	3	217	3	266/100	89/100
Montagnais	4605	28	2666	14	1178	17	58/100	26/100
Micmac[2]	(815)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Cree	4980	30	4822	25	2591	37	97/100	52/100
Attikamek	1750	11	1407	7	795	11	80/100	45/100
Algonquin	1170	7	2200	12	668	10	188/100	57/100
Total	16655[3]	100	19125	100	6960	100	115/100	42/100

[1]Data on number of names surveyed and officialized is from Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.27.

[2]There has not been a systematic place names survey of this Nation's territory (see source above).

[3]This total does not include the figure for the Micmac Nation.

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cultures, although they are by no means the only ones. Since place names not only represent the

linguistic association of peoples to places but also their use and occupancy of those places (and

express meaning about their relationships to those places), my expectation in creating tables 3 and

4 was that there would be more one-to-one correspondence of the numbers of names surveyed and

officialized with the language, tradition and lifestyle indicators than with relative population size.

At the same time, I considered that political factors, that is, relations with Québec, would also

enter into the equation and would possibly account for some of the lack of correspondence I still

expected to see in tables 3 and 4. My comments on these points appear along with the

presentation of the tables. Tables 1 and 2-5 provide an original quantitative description of the

situation of Aboriginal toponymy in Québec; they represent one of the contributions of this thesis

to the study of place names both in terms of the empirical value of the tables as is and in terms of

the empirical and theoretical questions which they suggest.

Table 3: Geographical Names Surveyed Expressed as a Proportion of Language. Tradition and

Lifestyle Indicators for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation

Concerning the creation of this table, the figures for "% Names surveyed" (the numerator in the

column headings) are from the "Names surveyed/Adult pop." (second-last) column in Table 2. The

figures in the denominators are from Table B. Thus, the figure after the equal sign in each of the

cells is the ratio of two ratios. Concerning the appropriate interpretation of these figures, in the

case of the "%Names surveyed/%Speak" column, for example, the figure over 100 in each of the

rows should be read as the number of geographical names surveyed per 100 adult speakers of an

Aboriginal language for the nation in question.

Table 3

Geographical Names Surveyed Expressed as a Proportion of Language, Tradition and Lifestyle Indicators for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation[1]

Nation	% Names surveyed/ % Speak	% Names surveyed/ % Read	% Names surveyed/ % Write	% Names surveyed/ % Participate	% Names Surveyed/ % On land
Inuit	189/99= 191/100	189/92= 205/100	189/88= 215/100	189/83= 228/100	189/58= 326/100
Naskapis	266/98= 271/100	266/43= 619/100	266/35= 760/100	266/76= 350/100	266/57= 467/100
Montagnais	58/83= 70/100	58/51= 114/100	58/38= 153/100	58/79= 73/100	58/49= 118/100
Cree	97/97= 100/100	97/38= 255/100	97/30= 323/100	97/79= 123/100	97/77= 126/100
Atikamek	80/99= 81/100	80/78= 103/100	80/67= 119/100	80/69= 116/100	80/66= 121/100
Algonquin	188/64= 294/100	188/46= 409/100	188/35= 537/100	188/80= 235/100	188/63= 298/100
Total	115/92= 125/100	115/59= 195/100	115/50= 230/100	115/79= 146/100	115/63= 183/100

[1]Refer to Tables 2, A and B for information on data sources and calculation of percentages.

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The calculations reveal that the Naskapi Nation is over-represented in terms of the number of geographical names *surveyed* per 100 adults who speak, read and write an Aboriginal language (each considered independently), and who participate in traditional activities, and who have spent time on the land. For example, the number of Naskapi geographical names surveyed is 7.60 times what one would expect if one assumed there should be a 1:1 correspondence with the number of Naskapi adults who *write* an Aboriginal language. The Naskapi Nation is also toponymically over-represented across all these cultural indicators relative to the "Total" row for all nations. Political factors, such as this nation's comparatively formalized relations with Québec in the context of the Cree-Naskapi Act, should be considered as a possible explanation for this over representation.

The calculations reveal that the Algonquin nation is also toponymically over-represented across all the cultural indicators, both in terms of an assumed 1:1 correspondence between the number of geographical names surveyed and each of the cultural variables, and in terms of the average figures for all nations in the "Total" row. Of the six nations included in the table, the Algonquin nation is the most highly over-represented on the "% speak" variable, since it has a relatively high number of place names surveyed (188/100) and a relatively low number of adult speakers of an Aboriginal language (64/100). This particular figure seems to weaken the argument that cultural factors explain toponymic representation, quantitatively speaking. On the other four cultural indicators, the Naskapi nation is the most highly over-represented of the six nations.

The Inuit nation ranks third since it is toponymically over-represented across all the cultural indicators in terms of an assumed 1:1 correspondence between the number of geographical names

surveyed and each of the cultural variables. With the exception of the figure for "% Names Surveyed/%Write), the Inuit nation is also toponymically over-represented relative to the average figures for all nations in the "Total" row. Again political factors, such as this nation's comparatively formalized relations with Québec in the context of the JBNQA, should be considered as a possible explanation for this over-representation.

The Cree nation has an even more mixed pattern of toponymic over-representation in that there is a 1:1 correspondence between number of Cree names surveyed/100 Cree adults and number of adults who speak an Aboriginal language/100 Cree adults, but non-correspondence (toponymic over-representation) on the other cultural indicators. Moreover, the figures for the "% Participate" and "% On Land" indicators are below the average figures for all nations in the "Total" row. The 1:1 correspondence for % names:%speak seems to support the argument that cultural factors explain toponymic representation, quantitatively speaking. However, the pattern of over- and under-representation across the other cultural variable seems to weaken this argument. On the other hand, if political factors are important, the suggestion I made about toponymic favouritism toward the Cree over the Inuit does not seem to be supported.

Finally, the calculations reveal that the Attikamek and Montagnais nations are toponymically under-represented across all cultural indicators relative to the figures for all nations in the "Total" row. One might have expected this for the Algonquin nation as well, if the relatively formalized relations between the Naskapi, Inuit and Cree nations on the one hand and the government of Québec on the other hand explain toponymic over-representation (eg. due to political favouritism).

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The influence of cultural and political factors on toponymic representation (here, names surveyed) appears complicated indeed.

A more generalized picture of the relationship between the number of names surveyed and each of the cultural indicators results from computing Spearman's coefficient of rank-order correlations (Blalock, 1979, pp.434-36). The measure for the correlation between % names surveyed and % speak is -0.68, indicating a moderate disagreement (perfect disagreement would be -1.0). The measure for % names surveyed and % read is 0.26, while the measure for % names surveyed and % write is -0.38, both of which indicate weak correlations. The measure for the correlation between % names surveyed and % participate, on the other hand, is 0.58, indicating a moderate agreement. Finally, the measure for % names Surveyed and % On land is 0.14, another weak correlation. Overall, the picture of the relationship between names surveyed and cultural factors tends to slight disagreement. No statement about the statistical significance of these measures can be made since the sample size is less than 10.

Table 4: Officialized Geographical Names Expressed as a Proportion of Language, Tradition and Lifestyle Indicators for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation

Concerning the creation of this table, the figures for "% Officialized Names" (the numerator in the column headings) are from the "Officialized names/Adult pop." (last) column in Table 2. The figures in the denominators in the column headings are from Table B. Thus, the figure after the equal sign in each of the cells is the ratio of two ratios. Concerning the appropriate interpretation of these figures, in the case of the "%Officialized Names/%Participate" column, for example, the

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Table 4

Officialized Geographical Names Expressed as a Proportion of Language, Tradition and Lifestyle Indicators for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation[1]

Nation	% Officialized Names/ % Speak	% Officialized Names/ % Read	% Officialized Names/ % Write	% Officialized Names/ % Participate	% Officialized Names/ % On land
Inuit	39/99= 39/100	39/92= 42/100	39/88= 44/100	39/83= 47/100	39/58= 67/100
Naskapis	89/98= 91/100	89/43= 207/100	89/35= 254/100	89/76= 117/100	89/57= 156/100
Montagnais	26/83= 31/100	26/51= 51/100	26/38= 68/100	26/79= 33/100	26/49= 53/100
Cree	52/97= 54/100	52/38= 137/100	52/30= 173/100	52/79= 66/100	52/77= 68/100
Attikamek	45/99= 45/100	45/78= 58/100	45/67= 67/100	45/69= 65/100	45/66= 68/100
Algonquin	57/64= 89/100	57/46= 124/100	57/35= 163/100	57/80= 71/100	57/63= 90/100
Total	42/92= 46/100	42/59= 71/100	42/50= 84/100	42/79= 53/100	42/63= 67/100

[1]Refer to Tables 2, A and B for information on data sources and calculation of percentages.

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figure over 100 in each row should be read as the number of officialized geographical names per 100 adults who reported that they participate in traditional activities, for the nation in question.

Table 4 reveals that the Naskapi Nation is, once again, outstanding. For example, the number of officialized Naskapi geographical names is 2.54 times what one would expect if one assumed there should be a 1:1 correspondence with the number of Naskapi adults who *write* an Aboriginal language. While the results for the Naskapi Nation are consistent with those in Table 3, it is not the case for the Inuit nation. Except for the figure on the "% On Land" variable, which is par with the average figure for all nations in the "Total" row, the Inuit are toponymically under-represented (not over-represented) across all cultural indicators. This would seem to go against an argument based on the importance of formalized political relations and toponymic favouritism. For the Cree and Algonquin nations, literacy seems to be a more important cultural factor than the tradition and lifestyle indicators. Overall, this table for officialized geographical names reveals more toponymic under-representation than the table for geographical names surveyed.

As stated earlier, one would have to be able to identity and control for factors related to issues of processing, the degree of competition among Aboriginal place names and with already established French place names, etc., in order to actually test hypotheses concerning cultural and political factors.

A more generalized picture of the relationship between the number of officialized names and each of the cultural indicators results from computing Spearman's coefficient of rank-order correlation

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(Blalock, 1979, pp.434-36). The figures for the correlation between % officialized names and % speak, % read, % write, % participate and % On land, respectively, are -0.48, 0.09, -0.63, -0.08 and 0.37. Overall, the picture of the relationship between officialized names and cultural factors tends to more disagreement than the relationship between names surveyed and cultural indicators, lending even more support to the argument that political factors should be considered. Again, no statement about statistical significance of these figures can be made since the sample size is less than 10.

Presentation of Tables 5 and 6

Since the Commission de toponymie du Québec has expressed interest and concern with respect to toponymic density in Québec (CTQ, 1986b; Richard, 1987), I suggest that one way to present the data in the Commission's table in ANNEXE 2 (Bonnelly, 1996, p.27) in a more revealing way is to calculate densities for place names by nation. In 1987, the Commission reported that the toponymic density of Québec is 0.056 toponyms/km2, which is 53 times lower than in France (Richard, 1987). In 1986, the Commission reported a figure of 0.058 toponyms/km2, which is significantly lower than the figures for the three Maritime provinces, and slightly lower than the figures for Newfoundland and Labrador and for Ontario (CTQ, 1986b).

Table 5: Toponymic Density for "Terres réservées aux Autochtones (km2)" by Nation

The column "Officialized Geographical Names/km2 of "Terres réservées aux Autochtones" reveals that, of the 8 Nations for which there are figures, only the Mohawk Nation has a toponymic density lower than that of Québec as a whole. The density of *officialized* geographical names for

Table 5

Toponymic Density for Terres réservées aux Autochtones (km2) by Nation

Nation	Names Surveyed[1]	Officialized Names	Terres réservées aux Autochtones (km2)[2]	Density of Names Surveyed	Density of Officialized Names
Inuit	7379	1511	8162.63	0.90	0.19
Naskapi	651	217	326.34	1.99	0.66
Montagnais	2666	1178	295.10	9.03	3.99
Mohawk	17	1	104.26	0.16	0.01
Micmac	---	---	(40.89)	—	---
Malecite	---	---	(1.69)	---	---
Huron Wendat	102	---	(0.70)	145.71	---
Cree	4822	2591	5544.60	0.87	0.47
Attikamek	1407	795	49.80	28.25	15.95
Algonquin	2200	668	201.77	10.90	3.31
Abenaki	161	27	6.76	23.82	3.99
Total	19405	6988[3]	14727.26[4] (14770.54)	1.32	0.47

[1]Data on number of names surveyed and officialized is from Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.27.

[2]Data on Terres réservées aux Autochtones (km2) is from Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones, 1991, p.13: "Au Québec, les terres réservées totalisent 14770km2 et les terres conventionnées de la catégorie I representent 95% de cette superficie. Les réserves et les établissements n'occupent que 5% de ce total, bien qu'ils regroupent plus des deux-tiers de la population autochtone vivant dans les réserves."

[3]"The figure of 6,966 corresponds to geographical names officially approved following specific surveys conducted in the communities. The figure of 10,964 in Table 1 represents the total number of official Native geographical names." (Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.21).

[4]The figure of 14727.26 does not include the figures for the Micmac, Malecite and Huron Wendat Nations.

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the Cree Nation (0.47) is in the order of the densities for the Maritime provinces: Nova Scotia (0.54), Prince Edward Island (0.45), and New Brunswick (0.25) (CTQ, 1986b). The average density for all nations combined is also 0.47, indicating that the Aboriginal Nations fare better in terms of this measure of toponymic density than the province as a whole. However, when a different land base is used, such as in Table 5, the results are quite different.

Table 6: Alternative Toponymic Densities by Aboriginal Nation

The table reveals that the figure for the Naskapi Nation in the column "Officialized Geographical Names/Territoires de chasse, de pêche et de piégeage (en km2)" is almost equal to the figure for Québec: 0.052 and 0.056 (reported in (Richard, 1987)), respectively. However, the rest of the densities for officialized geographical names for the Inuit, Naskapi, Montagnais and Cree are in the order of the density for the North West Territories (0.006), which has the lowest toponymic density of the provinces and territories in Canada (CTQ, 1986b).

Alain Vallières, who presents a "rétrospective de l'action de la Commission en matière de toponymie autochtone" believes that the over-representation of Aboriginal toponymes, considering the proportion of the Aboriginal population in Québec, "...se justifie pleinement par le fait que ces populations autochtones ont, les premières, occupé le territoire québécois." (Vallières, 1989a, p.3).

On the other hand, Charest (1995), who reviews Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnnaire illustré (CTQ, 1994), believes that regional population density should justify a larger representation of Aboriginal place names, especially in the North: " Par ailleurs, si la Commission a souligné expressément le critère de proportionnalité démographique, elle aurait pu aussi utiliser celui de la

Table 6

Alternative Toponymic Densities by Aboriginal Nation

Nation	Names Surveyed[1]	Officialized Names	Superficie au Québec (en km2)[2]	Territoires de chasse, de pêche et de piégeage (en km2)	Surveyed/ Superficie au Québec (en km2)	Surveyed/ Territoires de chasse... (en km2)	Officialized/ Superficie au Québec (en km2)	Officialized/ Territoires de chasse... (en km2)
Inuit	7379	1511	320000	320000	0.023	0.023	0.005	0.005
Naskapi	651	217	---	4144	---	0.157	---	0.052
Montagnais	2666	1178	550000	---	0.005	---	0.002	---
Cree	4822	2591	762000	390000	0.006	0.012	0.003	0.007

[1]Data on number of names surveyed and officialized from Bonnelly, 1996, ANNEXE 2, p.27.

[2]Data on Superficie au Québec (en km2) and Territoires de chasse, de pêche et de piégeage (en km2) is from Dufour, 1993, Tableau 2, p.275.

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proportionnalité territoriale ou de l'antériorité de l'occupation humaine. Alors un nombre beaucoup plus considérable de toponymes autochtones auraient pu être retenus [dans le dictionnaire] pour les régions nordiques et celles situées en dehors de l'axe géographique du Saint-Laurent". (Charest, 1995, p.106). Charest would likely argue that the toponymic representation of the Inuit, Naskapi, Montagnais, and Cree Nations in the total corpus of Québec place names as presented in Table 5 is also inadequate. Furthermore, the inadequacy is, arguably, especially great in the North, since "It is in the northern periphery of the Euro-Canadian ecumene where indigenous land-use patterns and thus place-name systems still survive and can be recorded before the progress of integration (as in the south of the ecumene) has imposed place names of allogenous variety to displace the historically evolved local geographical names." (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.4). In the south of the ecumene, we can expect to see lower densities of Aboriginal place names because of "assimilation and neglect, but also because of dislocation and displacement which has occurred in the intensive man-land relationship" (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.4).

Concluding Remarks on La toponymie autochtone au Québec. Bilan et prospective (Bonnelly, 1996).

My review of the Commission de toponymie du Québec's latest dossier toponymique has contextualized the Commission's claims about its progress in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy by making reference to the Commission's own statements of objectives, priorities, directives, etc., gleaned from its earlier publications, and by relating the surveying, treating/processing and storing of Aboriginal place names to the issues around myth-making about the North and the production of the archive of knowledge about the North. My review has also contextualized the CTQ's

presentation of the quantitative representation of Aboriginal place names by nation (Bonnelly, ANNEXE 2, p.27) by relating the Commission's data to data on various cultural variables and measures of surface area. This section on the quantitative perspective on the representation of Aboriginal place names in Québec may appear out of place in a thesis that is generally coming from a critical perspective, but it is intended to respond to the Commission's interest in amassing place names. A more critical approach would, for example, question the pertinence of the notion of toponymic density since it could be determined by the nature of the terrain or the unbalanced coverage of toponymic surveys. Toponymic (political) favouritism and the relative ease of linguistic treatment have already been mentioned as factors which should also be taken into consideration when looking at the number of names surveyed versus the number of officialized names by Aboriginal Nation. The issue of the preservation of Aboriginal place names goes beyond numbers ('stocking-up') and beyond how the names are treated/processed, which is only looking at these place names out of context. Perhaps an even bigger transformation of these names than is the translation of generics and shortening of the names before storing is when they are 'uprooted', that is, when they are separated from the environmental, historical and traditional knowledge relating to named places. Phase Three turns to an examination of these qualitative bases for the representation of Aboriginal place names.

PHASE THREE: HEARING WITH A NATIVE EAR

INTRODUCTION: The Power of Land Memory

Aboriginal peoples are, perhaps, more accustomed to recognizing the importance of myth to the

way they understand their lived experiences than are certain non-Aboriginal peoples, who have

tended (at least in more recent history) to try to make an unequivocal distinction between 'myth'

and 'reality', especially in their own depictions of reality. Aboriginal peoples' myths have tended

to be referenced to places, which is why Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's metaphor, "Our land

is our memory" (Came, 1995b, p.18), makes sense as a claim about why the land is so important

to the Cree nation. The idea of territory (as opposed to land) has relatively recently become

important in Aboriginal peoples' definitions of who they are, but their land use and occupancy

pre-dates non-Aboriginal peoples' lived experiences in territories which are now, to greater or

lesser degrees, shared with non-Aboriginals. Not only do their material relationships to places

where they are "seasoned inhabitants" (and users) (Basso, 1988, p.99) pre-date those of non-

Aboriginal peoples, but their symbolic relationships to those places are equally antiquated, and are

manifested in place names.

My reference to the power of land memory in the title of this introduction to the third phase of the

learning cycle is summed up in the following quote by anthropologist Keith Basso (1988)

concerning the functions of place names which go beyond reference: "...in their capacity to evoke,

in their compact power to muster and consolidate so much of what a landscape may be taken to

represent in both personal and cultural terms, place names acquire a functional value that easily matches their utility as instruments of reference." (Basso, 1988, p.103). Two inter-related concepts are introduced here: the importance of understanding Aboriginal place names in personal and cultural context, and the power of place names and naming. In Phase Three: "Hearing With a Native Ear", I elaborate on each of these in Part One: "Aboriginal Place Names as Stories about the Environment, History and Culture" and Part Two: "The Power of Aboriginal Place Names in Their Places".

Phase Three: "Hearing With a Native Ear" focuses on the intra-cultural functions of Aboriginal place names. As our (non-Aboriginal) understanding of these intra-cultural functions has often been mediated by the academics who have collaborated on place names research with Aboriginal communities, I am not claiming that the perspective is necessarily that of the Aboriginal cultures concerned. In fact, the metaphor in "Hearing With a Native Ear" implies that it is only through a familiarity with the particular Aboriginal language in question that one can really begin to understand how Aboriginal peoples "...know themselves to occupy [their landscapes]". (Basso, 1988, p.101). As non-natives, we can only travel so far in these unknown landscapes; but, perhaps we can still recount what we have learned along the way in a way that at least partially reflects the communities' own understandings of their lived experiences. In the overview of parts One and Two, below, I briefly sketch out the journey through this phase of the learning cycle.

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Overview of Parts One and Two

"Aboriginal Place Names as Stories about the Environment, History and Culture" focuses on the different kinds of localized knowledge associated with Aboriginal place names. Thus, Part One of Phase Three of the learning cycle begins with an example, the story about Kupe: the Discoverer from the Maori Oral History Atlas (New Zealand Geographic Board (NZGB), 1990), and then shifts into a general discussion contrasting romanticized images of Aboriginal place names with observations made by non-Aboriginal researchers that suggest less 'imaginary' approaches to engaging in Aboriginal toponymy. Next, I review the literature on research which focuses on Aboriginal place names in the context of the localized environmental, historical and cultural knowledge relating to named places. Among other things, this review of literature reveals that in the Aboriginal communities with which these authors have collaborated, certain place names are associated with historical accounts and myths about the consequences of inappropriate social behaviour, including the consequences of abusing animals and wasting food. Certain other place names are associated with stories which describe Aboriginal peoples' cosmologies, that is, their beliefs about the origin, and the structural and functional natures of the universe. In the examples which I draw on, the way in which land or landscapes are understood in personal and cultural terms is highlighted. Next, a related review provides examples of the popular presentation of Aboriginal place names in context, and returns to the example of the Maori Oral History Atlas. Finally, in the section on "Taking Back the Names: the political dimension of Aboriginal place names research", I begin the transition to a focus on more 'conscious' or 'self-conscious' uses of place naming within what I call the cultural politics of place naming

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In Part One, and in Phase Three more generally, I argue that the localized knowledge associated with named places counters the production of the archive of knowledge managed by non-Aboriginals which 'uproots' or takes Aboriginal place names out of context. Here, I refer to a challenge to 'official' toponymy which is not (so much) 'self-conscious' in that it is not (so much) in response to an extra-cultural (outside) threat. The argument is that it is the functions which place names serve within Aboriginal communities and cultures that validate these place names, rather than their collection and recognition by non-Aboriginals as "heritage", whether the recognition is formal (inclusion in national and provincial databases) or informal (each of "us" having or choosing a favourite).

I follow the discussion of other academics' collaborative research on Aboriginal place names with my own analysis of the Commission de toponymie du Québec's data on Cree territory toponymy from TOPOS, its archive of place names in Québec (CTQ, 1997a). In Part Two: "The Power of Aboriginal Place Names in Their Places", I preface this analysis of Cree territory place names data with a return to the harvesting metaphor. Under the heading "Mapping the 'Harvest': re-presenting the Commission de toponymie du Québec's data", place names are compared to certain natural resources that are, arguably, more valuable when left intact. However, since there are threats to Aboriginal toponymy which are perceived by Aboriginal peoples, there is also a case for Aboriginal peoples to inscribe their own names or to collaborate with academics and government authorities in place names research. Indeed, the Cree communities have collaborated with the Commission de toponymie in surveys of their place names in the early 1970s. However, except for some reports in *Rencontre* (SAA/SAGMAI, *various issues, various years*) and the inclusion

of some Cree place names in Noms et lieux du Québec: dictionnaire illustré (CTQ, 1994), it

appears that the Commission has neither done much in the way of widely disseminating the

information on Cree territory place names in TOPOS to the Cree communities, nor to non-Cree

communities. However, when I requested the data on Cree place names for my thesis, the

Commission did oblige me with Cree territory place names, including a file of "notes" on the

origin of the names (documented sources, such as references, to the appearance of the names on

maps, etc.).

My analysis of the Cree territory toponymy data goes beyond the discussion of the typological

distribution of these place names by providing a spatial context for understanding what these

place names reveal about the Cree Nation's relationship to the land. Thus my mapping of the

CTQ's set of Cree territory place names tries to re-present some of the descriptive and mnemonic

power of the place names in spatial context by presenting the distribution of the place names

according to two typologies: feature type and the meaning of the names, in 13 maps. There is

also a temporal element to my analysis as I am interested in knowing how the impacts of hydro-

electric development are possibly manifested in Cree territory toponymy. While I conclude that

this type of analysis provides some indication of how the Cree Nation relates to its territory, I

argue that to understand more about the meaning of the place names for Crees requires 'hearing'

the place names in a context that goes deeper into history and culture.

I am an observer of, or an indirect participant in, the discourse on the intra-cultural functions of

Aboriginal place names. As such, I model my two typologies of Cree territory place names on

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Béatrice Collignon's (1996) and David Denton's (1996) collaborative studies of Inuit and Whapmagoostui Cree place names, respectively. My assumptions are that their direct participation in the collection of the toponymic data they analyse provides some legitimacy to their analyses and conclusions from the perspective of the Aboriginal cultures concerned, and that their analyses and conclusions also have relevance for my own analysis, especially since I am at least twice removed from the Cree territory toponymy data I analyse (I am neither Cree nor was I involved in the collection of the data).

Together, Parts One and Two of Phase Three provide some of the intra-cultural (in the plural sense) context for gaining a better understanding of why and in what ways Aboriginal communities and Nations are involved in negotiating/struggling over place naming. As I stated above, in "Hearing With a Native Ear" the reference is to a more or less 'un-self-conscious' or even a 'taken-for-granted' use of localized knowledge to counter the dominant discourse on Aboriginal place names. But, not only is the power of place names invoked intra-culturally; it can also be and is invoked cross-culturally to do different kinds of discursive 'work', such as to resist another people's self-proclaimed 'authority' over knowledge and control of territory. I largely leave that discussion for Phase Four.

PART ONE: Aboriginal Place Names as Stories about the Environment, History and Culture

Beyond the (Sound) Images

KUPE: TE KAITORO

Ka rere mai a Kupe rāua tahi ko tana hoa wahine ko Kuramārotini i Hawaiki ki te kimi whenua hou. I mua atu, ko Kuramārotini te wahine a Hoturapa, te whanaunga ō Kupe, te tangata i whakamātau rā a Kupe ki te puta. Ko ētahi atu hoki o ngā whanaunga ō Kupe i hara mai i roto i tana waka whakahirahira a te *Matahorua*, ā, he huhua tonu ō rātau īngoa i kawea hei wāhi īngoa i Aotearoa. I te hāpua o Pikopikotawhiti i Raiatea, ka puta te maha o ngā take mō tana wehenga mai. Kātahi tētahi haerenga. Kia roa kē e whakawhiti ana i Te Moana Nui a Kiwa kātahi anō ka tau atu a Kupe ki Te Ika a Māui. E ai ki te kōrero, nā tana wahine, na Kuramārotini i tapa ko "Aotearoa" he īngoa mō Te Ika a Māui. Ka haere a *Matahorua* i te takutai o "Te Ika Nui", "ka patua te ika", i ā rātau e haere ana, otirā ka whakaīngoa haere i te whenua, ka whiwhi i te whenua, i a rātau e torotoro haere ana.

KUPE: THE DISCOVERER

Kupe sailed from Hawaiki on a voyage of discovery taking with him his wife Kuramārotini. She had been the wife of his relative, Hoturapa, whom Kupe had tried to kill. He also had with him in his great canoe *Matahorua* other relatives many of whose names figure in Aotearoa place names. Many of the events leading to his departure occurred on the lagoon Pikopikotawhiti at Raiatea. After a long voyage across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) Kupe landed on Te Ika a Māui (the Great Fish of Māui). It is said that his wife, Kuramārotini, gave the name "Aotearoa" to Te Ika a Māui. *Matahorua* voyaged along the coast of the "the Great Fish" "killing it" as they travelled, that is to say naming the land and possessing it as they explored.

-From the Maori and English-language versions of the story of Kupe Te Kaitoro/The Discoverer in HE KORERO PŪRĀKAU MO NGĀ TAUNAHANAHATANGA A NGĀ TŪPUNA/PLACE NAMES OF THE ANCESTORS: A MAORI ORAL HISTORY ATLAS (New Zealand Geographic Board, 1990, p.9, p.10).

I begin this first part of Phase Three: "Hearing with a Native Ear" with reference to the story

about Kupe: The Discoverer from the Maori Oral History Atlas (New Zealand Geographic Board

(NZGB), 1990) for several reasons. One, it reiterates the point that it is only through a familiarity

with the particular Aboriginal language in question that one can really begin to understand how

Aboriginal people "...know themselves to occupy [their landscapes]" (Basso, 1988, p.101). The

English translation of the Maori version of this story (and the others in the Atlas) surely does not

convey everything that the Maori version says to the Maori-speaker. Furthermore, as the

producers of the Atlas readily admit, the story of Kupe: The Discoverer presented in the Atlas is

only one combination of various Maori versions of the story, and other combinations are also

possible (NZGB, 1990, p. xiii). I would add that the real story is in the telling and hearing rather

than in the writing and reading of an inscribed version. In terms of the harvesting metaphor, any

inscription or other means of recording oral tradition involves removing the stories, names, etc.

from the social context in which oral transmission takes place. Even when Aboriginal peoples

record their oral tradition, they treat/process the particular cultural resource in question, but they

are more inclined and in a better position to 'preserve' their cultural resources with more of the

'roots' intact, and with fewer 'additives'. I also include the story of Kupe: The Discoverer in this

introduction because, like other stories in the Atlas, it counters (if not challenges) the

"...impertinence of [Pakeha's] pretensions of being "discoverers" (Gourdeau, 1982, p.3). Kupe

symbolically appropriates the land by 'killing' it through naming, for the land is "the Great Fish of

Maui". I refer again to the Maori Oral History Atlas in the section on the popular presentation of

Aboriginal places in context; but first, I challenge the '(sound) images' of Aboriginal place names,

and then discuss the intra-cultural functions of Aboriginal place names.

In contrast to the examples of romanticizing Aboriginal place names, presented in the section of

the thesis on "Imagining Aboriginal Place Names", the following quotes begin to suggest a less

Euro-centric, arguably more objective, approach to engaging in Aboriginal toponymy:

> There is no poetry in them—no "glittering waterfalls," no "beautiful rivers," no "smile of the Great
> Spirit," no "Holy place of sacred feasts and dances," but plain terms that have their equivalents in
> our own language for a small hill, a high hill, a mountain...or whatever the objective feature may
> have been as recognized by the Indian (Ruttenbur, 1906, p.4).

Beauchamp stressed the fact that to the Indians themselves, their names were not fanciful, but were realistic designations, coming as nearly to the bare facts as their language would permit (Flick, 1962 (1937), p.298).

While the names suggest an intense attachment to landscape, they also embed quite pragmatic information (Cruikshank, 1990a, p.62).

The following quote contrasts the negative images of Aboriginal place names as "ordinary":

It could be argued that native toponymies are simplistic, repetitive and plainly descriptive in nature. This impression is given apparently by place names such as "long, short, big island, point or river" which do, in fact, occur frequently as geographic descriptions but are essential as landmarks for orientation in a spatially extremely mobile society such as the Inuit hunters and gatherers. By analyzing a larger body of toponyms (see inventory in the contribution by Müller-Wille and Weber), it is surprising to note how low the degree of repetition is in names and content in considerably large geographic areas. Rather it was found that the seemingly simplistic toponyms carried important nuances of information concerning the physical topography and the cultural environment. In addition, historical events are often imbedded in toponyms, indicating a strong man-land relationship. (Müller-Wille, 1983, p.133).

Unlike the images of Aboriginal place names, Aboriginal place names heard with a 'Native ear' and understood from the perspective of the applicable culture are hardly limited to entertaining the (non-Native) ear at best, and assaulting it at worst. This does not mean that place names in cultural context do not sometimes entertain. For example, archaeologist David Denton (1996) observes that some Whapmagoostui (in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee) Cree place names are playful (Denton, 1996, p.5). And, anthropologist Keith Basso (1984) reports that one Western Apache cowboy from Cibecue on the Fort Apache reservation claimed he "'talked names' all the time". Basso (1984) adds:

And on dozens of other occasions when I have been working or travelling with Apaches, they have taken satisfaction in pointing out particular locations and pronouncing their names—once, twice, three times or more. Why? "Because we like to," or "Because those names are good to say." More often, however, Apaches account for their enthusiastic use of place-names by commenting on the precision with which the names depict their referents (Basso, 1984, p.27).

The last sentence above hints at the functions of Aboriginal place names which go beyond

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entertainment. Cruikshank's (1990a) study of perspectives on naming and places in Athapaskan oral history sums up these functions by reference to an informant's insistent words: "When Annie Ned instructs me, as she does all the time, 'we've got to get the names *right*,' she is absolutely correct. Through words the landscape is fashioned into a world of manageable, human proportions." (p.63).

A less Euro-centric, arguably more objective, approach to engaging in Aboriginal toponymy necessarily takes as its vantage point Aboriginal peoples cultures (understood in the broad sense of their respective material/ecological practices, histories, cosmologies, etc.). There are several sub-approaches to this engagement. One sub-approach is to examine Aboriginal place names from the perspective of traditional environmental knowledge (TEK), which focuses on material/ecological knowledge and practices associated with named places. Another sub-approach is to focus on the historical and cultural knowledge relating to named places. A third sub-approach is to focus on the ideological and political uses of place names and naming. I have chosen to say that these sub-approaches are "less Euro-centric" (but not completely non-Euro-centric) because they often still impose, to lesser or greater degrees, non-Aboriginal constructions (typologies of place names, for example) in their attempts to describe and/or explain some aspect of Aboriginal place names and naming. Even making reference to sub-approaches may give the impression that it is possible to separate one type of knowledge from the others, which is often not the case. The interrelatedness of these sub-approaches, or rather the interrelatedness of the types of knowledge and functions they focus upon, is apparent in the discussion of each, below.

Traditional Environmental Knowledge and Place Names

Martha Johnson, editor of Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge (1992),

provides a definition of traditional environmental knowledge which suggests a framework for

examining Aboriginal place names as one aspect of such knowledge. She defines traditional

environmental knowledge, or TEK, as:

> ...a body of knowledge built up by a group of people through generations of living in close
> contact with nature. It includes a system of classification, a set of empirical observations about
> the local environment, and a system of self-management that governs resource use. The quantity
> and quality of traditional environmental knowledge varies among community members,
> depending upon gender, age, social status, intellectual capability, and profession (hunter,
> spiritual leader, healer, etc.). With its roots firmly in the past, traditional environmental
> knowledge is both cumulative and dynamic, building upon the experience of earlier generations
> and adapting to the new technological and socioeconomic changes of the present. (Johnson,
> 1992).

Johnson's last statement corresponds well with my own references to place names as cultural

resources rooted in knowledge about named places. In what ways place names knowledge

includes a system of classification and/or includes a set of empirical observations about the local

environment and/or includes a system of self-management that governs resource use are questions

which could probably best be answered at the community level. While they did not focus

specifically on TEK, the Cree, Onondaga, Inuit/Chipewayan, Western Apache, and (Yukon)

Athapaskan place name studies described below seem to indicate that place names knowledge in

Aboriginal communities does include a system of classification (but see Denton, 1996, p.4,

below), as well as a set of empirical observations about the local environment given the

predominance of the descriptive type of place name.

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Fikret Berkes explicitly mentions the role of place names in TEK, and his definition of TEK suggests that a framework for examining Aboriginal place names as one aspect of TEK must examine the names in their social context:

> TEK is not merely a system of knowledge and practice; it is an integrated system of knowledge, practice and belief. The social context of TEK includes the following dimensions:
> a) Symbolic meaning through oral history, place names and spiritual relationships;
> b) A distinct cosmology or world view; a conceptualization of the environment that is different from that of Western science of which ecology is a part;
> c) Relations based on reciprocity and obligations towards both community members and other beings, and communal resource management institutions based on shared knowledge and meaning. (Berkes, 1993).

It is likely that it is the oral history Berkes refers to, including stories associated with some place names, which would reveal the degree to which and in what ways place names knowledge also represents a system of self-management that governs resource use. Archeologist David Denton provides an example, from a sample of Whapmagoostui Cree place names, of how stories or traditions associated with particular named places can represent, or at least contribute to, a system of ecological self-management:

> Some of the stories contain more explicit lessons about people who behaved foolishly and then suffered the consequences, as in the one relating to the place called Nanasiu Sakiikin [33I/10-10] ("Nanas's lake"). Imskwaapash a famous hunter and shaman, had warned people not to kill the beaver any more. All of the hunters obeyed him except for a man called Nasas [sic], who refused to listen. Later, Nanas cut himself with an axe. His wound would not heal and got infected and so he died from it. This place is Nanas's burial site. (Denton, 1996, p.12).

Much of the interest in place names as an aspect of traditional environmental knowledge is due to the fact that the grammatical character of many Aboriginal languages is particularly suitable for descriptive naming: "[S]uch highly synthetic forms of speech as are many American Indian languages seem to lose hold of the descriptive character of their terms less readily than does English, for instance, " wrote Sapir (1912, p.231). An example of this suitability for descriptive naming is the linguistic structure of Western Apache, an Athapaskan language (Basso, 1984,

p.27). The intra-cultural functionality of the grammatical (agglutinate) character of many

Aboriginal languages counters the dominant discourse's characterization of Aboriginal place

names as "too long".

In the Iroquoian language family the majority of place names are also of a descriptive nature,

referring especially to terrain morphology, plant and animal life, and human events (Gordon,

1984, p.221). In his essay, "Onondaga Iroquois Place-Names: An Approach to Historical and

Contemporary Indian Landscape Perception", Jeffrey Gordon explains the link between toponyms,

including the process of naming places, and experience, a link which is also described by James

Raffan (1992) in reference to the "land-knowledge triangle", which also includes the types of

stories that are told about the land (Raffan, 1992, pp.379-85). Gordon (1984) writes:

> First, Onondaga place-names were found to originate from direct experience. A reason for going
> to a place had to exist, and the Indian actually had to travel to this place with this specific
> purpose in mind for a place-name to be generated. ...Every place actually frequented was thus
> important in some manner to Onondaga life or culture. In order to readily converse about these
> experiences it was necessary to create meaningful place-names. As mentioned earlier, the place-
> names generated were descriptive in nature reflecting either the function drawing Indians to a
> place or a distinctive characteristic of the place that attracted their attention (Gordon, 1984,
> p.224).

In his essay on "Language and Environment", Edward Sapir made the same point about there

having to be a *reason for (place) naming*, but his comments are both more general and broader in

scope:

> Properly speaking, of course, the physical environment is reflected in language only in so far as it
> has been influenced by social factors. The mere existence, for instance, of a certain type of
> animal in the physical environment of a people does not suffice to give rise to a linguistic symbol
> referring to it [or a toponym referring to the place in which it is found]. It is necessary that the
> animal [or place] be known by the members of the group in common and that they have some
> interest, however slight, in it before *the language of the community is called upon* to make
> reference to this particular element of the physical environment. In other words, so far as

language is concerned, all environmental influence reduces at last analysis to the influence of social environment. Nevertheless it is practical to keep apart such social influences as proceed more or less directly from the physical environment, and those that can not be easily connected with it." (Sapir, 1912, pp.227-28; my emphasis).

Gordon's (1984) comments relate mainly to the naming of places which are important because they represent navigational markers or hazards or because they are hosts to some floral or faunal resource. Sapir's (1912) last statement above suggests that less directly material experiences, that is, Gordon's "human events", such as political organization, can also generate place names or resistance to established but non-indigenous place names. This point will be returned to in the discussion on the ideological and political uses of place naming. Müller-Wille makes the point that continued naming (i.e. use over time) within societies with active oral traditions depends on continued experience with the named places:

> place names can only survive in native societies with oral tradition if the community is active in the use of the land. If such man-land relationships are weakened - as has occurred among the Inuit as they have gradually moved into settlements and employed motorized vehicles for hunting, fishing and trapping - the usage of names of places not frequented regularly is reduced. Thus the transfer of intact bodies of names from generation to generation is no longer guaranteed. In a word, one has to go to and do something in places if one wants to know and apply their names (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.8).

It has been argued that knowledge of place names constitutes one of the ties that bind people to their environment and that it is the bond (not only the ecological knowledge embedded in many Aboriginal place names) which is important for mobilization, usually at the community level, for the purpose of maintaining or restoring ecosystem health (Raffan, 1992; Aberly, 1993). James Raffan argues: "...the knowledge that matters, if we care about getting people active on behalf of the environment, is the knowledge that *binds* them to place-toponymic, narrative, experiential and

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numinous knowledge." (1992, p.397). In his thesis, <u>Frontier, Homeland and Sacred Space: A Collaborative Investigation into Cross-Cultural Perceptions of Place in the Thelon Game Sanctuary, Northwest Territories</u>, Raffan (1992) explores the "sense of place" of Aboriginal peoples and Euro-Canadians residing in that part of Canada's North. He identifies four components of "sense of place" - toponymic, narrative, experiential and numinous knowledge - which interrelate to bind the knower to place. The first of these has to do with the knowledge and use of place names, as well as with the process of naming places or with the existence/development of naming systems (ibid, pp.379-80). The second of these components of sense of place refers to the types of stories that are told about the land. Raffan observes: "What sets apart Inuit and Chipewayan from Euro-Canadian narrative is that the native narrative is set into the land-knowledge triangle, and integrated into the mix of place names and personal experience that has for many years been used by elders to teach young people about land and survival" (ibid, pp.381-82). The third of these components of sense of place has to do with the personal encounter with the land, including with dependence on the land (ibid, pp.382-83). The final component of sense of place refers to the spiritual bond to place (ibid, p.385).

Raffan's description of the components of sense of place would appear to argue that the examination of "Symbolic meaning through oral history, place names and spiritual relationships", one of the dimensions of the social context of TEK described by Berkes (1993), requires that these three components of symbolic meaning be seen as interrelated with each other and with the other two dimensions Berkes describes (see above); thus, Raffan's and Berkes' frameworks have much in common.

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Aboriginal sense of place, then, can offer an alternative perspective for non-Aboriginal (eg. majority Euro-Canadian) communities to the human-centred world view, as Aboriginal world views generally embrace the belief that humans are immersed in nature and not distinct from nature (Miller, 1995, pp.29-30). Engendering this sense of immersion in place is what environmental educators like James Raffan (1992), and bioregionalists like Doug Aberely (1993) believe is an important basis for environmental activism. But first and foremost, Aboriginal sense of place is "a key value and indispensable political resource" (Scott, 1993, p.311) for Aboriginal communities. Raffan believes that since sense of place provides a sense or definition of who one is, failure to understand this may explain conflicts over land, such as the conflict at Oka in the summer of 1990 (1992, pp.386-87). Thus, Aboriginal place names knowledge, research and education, given that toponymic knowledge is an aspect of Aboriginal sense of place, potentially has ecological and political implications at and beyond the level of any one community. This point will be returned to in the discussion on the cultural politics of place naming. Raffan's discussion of sense of place also points to another sub-approach to the study of Aboriginal place names, that is, one which focuses on the historical and cultural (eg. moral, spiritual) knowledge relating to named places, discussed below.

Historical and Cultural Knowledge Relating to Named Places

Ethnographer Keith Basso believes that by "[a]ttending carefully to claims that people make about themselves, and then trying to grasp with some exactness what they have claimed and why...", "...one is able to move closer to an understanding of who the people involved imagine themselves to be...." (1984, p.19). This is the approach which I take in the review of Alan Rayburn's Naming

Canada, in Phase Two, where I argue that Rayburn is prescribing rather than reflecting the average Canadian's interest in Aboriginal place names. In at least two essays, Basso focuses on a small set of spoken texts in which members of the Western Apache community at Cibecue [near the centre of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in east-central Arizona] make claims about themselves, their language, and the lands they live on, in such statements as: "'The land is always stalking people. The land makes people live right. The land looks after us. The land looks after people.' [Mrs. Annie Peaches, age 77, 1977]" (ibid, pp.20-21). Basso describes how he is instructed by one of his consultants to "'learn the names of all these places'" (ibid, p.24) if he wants to understand how such statements "...find acceptance as valid claims about reality..." (ibid, p.21); As a result of learning about the place names, Cruikshank (1990a) reports that Basso is able to describe

> ...an unformalized model of western [sic] Apache storytelling which holds that oral narratives have the *power* to establish enduring *bonds* between human beings and features of the landscape, and that as a direct consequence of these bonds, people who behave improperly will be moved to think about their behaviour. How people think about the land, then, is intimately related to how they think about themselves. In other words, two symbolic resources, language and land, are manipulated to promote compliance with standards of behaviour. (Cruikshank, 1990a, p.54; my emphasis).

In Cruikshank's comments on Basso's observations, we have the opinion that it is the knowledge associated with Aboriginal place names, that is their context, which binds the knower to place. While Raffan describes how this knowledge is used to educate about relating to the land, Basso describes how it is put to work to teach about and reinforce social norms. Both models describe the power of place names in cultural context.

In Basso's model of Western Apache storytelling, the place names and their associated geographical features are the "...indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral

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teachings of [Western Apache] history." (Ibid, p.44). Basso presents several examples of Western

Apache place names in the context of Western Apache "historical tales", which "...focus on

persons who suffer misfortune as the consequence of actions that violate Apache standards for

acceptable social behaviour." (ibid, p.35-36). He also presents a typology of Western Apache

place names consisting of the following types:

> Type 1) Place names containing a perfective neuter verb;
> Type 2) Place names lacking a perfective neuter verb;
> Type 3) Place names alluding to former activities;
> Type 4) Place names referring to "dangerous places";
> Type 5) Place names alluding to historical events (1984, pp.28-31).

Basso points out that less than 11 percent of names in his sample of 296 place names collected

from among the Western Apaches at Cibecue were of the last three types, and opines that, "[t]his

finding would seem to lend added support to the view that Western Apaches favour place-names

that provide precise and accurate information about observable features of the natural landscape--

and the more information the better." (Ibid, p.32). He also reports that Type 1 names

> ...were consistently identified by a group of 12 Apache consultants from Cibecue as belonging to
> the "long" category of names, while those lacking a perfective neuter verb were consistently
> assigned to its "shortened" counterpart [This is a distinction the consultants themselves made].
> In addition, and more revealing still, all but one consultant maintained that the "long names"
> were "better" than the "shortened" ones because they "told more" or "said more" about the
> physical properties of their referents. (Ibid, pp.29-30).

Here again, the grammatical structure of an Aboriginal language counters the dominant

discourse's characterization of Aboriginal place names as "too long".

In the community of Cibecue, place names knowledge includes a system of classification since

consultants themselves make a distinction between "long" and "shortened" names, and both these

categories of names provide empirical observations about the local environment. It is not clear

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from Basso's papers whether place names knowledge among the Western Apaches at Cibecue also represents a system of self-management that governs resource use (see the definition of TEK from Johnson, 1992), but place names knowledge in this community certainly plays a role in governing "patterns of social action" (Basso, 1984, p.23). Basso insists: "Losing the land is something the Western Apache can ill afford to do, for geographical features have served the people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history." (Ibid, pp.44-45). Because of the association of place names with moral narratives, the Western Apaches at Cibecue can teach or remind one another or themselves about who they are simply by invoking the place names, the practice for which Basso names his essays: "'Stalking with Stories'': Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache" (1988) and "'Speaking with Names'': Language and Landscape among the Western Apache" (1984).

Julie Cruikshank has also studied naming and places in Athapaskan oral history, focusing on the perspectives of elderly speakers of several Athapaskan languages in the southern Yukon Territory. For example, she describes the types of names recorded in the booklet Èkeyi: Gyò Cho Chú/My Country: Big Salmon River, by Gertie Tom (Tom, 1987), a Northern Tutchone specialist with the Yukon Native Language Centre:

> There are descriptive names which indicate the stunning ability of the Athapaskan languages to enclose an entire picture in a word.... There are names warning of navigational hazards.... There are names associated with historical events.... There are mythological names.... Other names indicate the species of fish or game common there.... Geographical features are rarely named after people in Athapaskan languages, but people are sometimes named after places.... (Cruikshank,1990a, p.59).

This typology of Northern Tutchone place names has many similarities with that described by Basso of Western Apache (also an Athapaskan language) place names. Cruikshank also

summarizes the "...several ways in which place names help people to think about the past--ways

that give them special value for ethnohistorical reconstruction" (1990a, p.63):

> 1) Names are mnemonic: visiting familiar places provides a context for a range of memories about life experience.
> 2) Names can persist. Place names provide a way to continue to use Athapaskan languages even when English becomes the dominant working language as it is in much of the Yukon.
> 3) Names provide a unique way of encoding information. Many of the names reflect changes in landscape or in movements of plants and animals.
> 4) Names describe a rich "mythscape".
> 5) Names are indicators of land use. Interest in Indian and Inuit toponymy in northern Canada has increased considerably during the recent decade of land claims research. ...Their names for a broad range of landscape features also illustrates ways in which hunters experience their relationship with the land.
> 6) Names are a kind of language play (ibid, pp.63-64).

The types of functions described in points three and five are those which would be of most

interest to an approach focusing on place names as an aspect of traditional environmental

knowledge. Points one, four and six describe the functions which would be of most interest to the

ethnographer. Point five along with point two describe the functions of place names which would

be of most interest to an approach focusing on the political and ideological uses of place naming,

or the cultural politics of place naming. That stated, it is clear from Basso's and Cruikshank's

work among Athapaskan speakers, as well as from Denton's work among Cree speakers, that in

many situations, Aboriginal place names are functioning in two or more of these ways at the same

time.

In his essay, "The Land as an Aspect of Cree History", David Denton (1996) makes the point that

typologies of Aboriginal place names should be seen as constructions which do not necessarily

reflect distinctions that the Aboriginal community concerned would make; furthermore, he points

out that Aboriginal place names may belong to two or more categories at the same time, and thus,

function in two or more ways at the same time. With reference to Whapmagoostui (in Baie

James/Eeyou Istchee) Cree place names, Denton writes:

> For the purpose of this presentation, the following types of names can be described:
> 1) Names describing features of the physical environment
> 2) Names relating to faunal resources
> 3) Names relating to travel
> 4) Names relating to traditional technology
> 5) Names relating to events and people
> 6) Names relating [to] myth or spirit beings
>
> These categories are simply a convenient means of presenting the variety of names in the sample.
> There is no reason to believe that the Whapmagoostui people would make these distinctions.
> They are also "ideal" categories - in reality, many of the names consist of combinations of these
> types. (Denton, 1996, p.4).

Denton's comments are a reminder that it is only through a familiarity with the particular

Aboriginal language in question that one can really begin to understand how Aboriginal peoples

"...know themselves to occupy [their landscapes]" (Basso, 1988, p.101). The classification of

Aboriginal place names within collaborative research between non-Aboriginal researchers and

Aboriginal communities involves a meeting of language (including semantic) systems.

The percent of Whapmagoostui Cree place names in category five distinguishes the place naming

practices of the Whapmagoostui Cree (including ancestors) from the Athapaskan speakers

referred to in Cruikshank's study, who sometimes name people after places but rarely name places

after people (Cruikshank, 1990a, p.59), and from some other Aboriginal cultures:

> In contrast to some other North American native groups, the Whapmagoostui Cree name many
> places after individuals. These names may be related to particular events involving the
> individuals, or they may be places that were closely associated with the person during their life
> and through which the memory of the person is preserved. In the words of one Whapmagoostui
> elder: "it is like the person is still living through the name". Almost 400, or over 12% of the
> names in our sample mention individuals directly. (Denton, 1996, p.8).

This distinction between Cree and certain non-Cree toponymic systems illustrates the point that the study of Aboriginal toponymy must focus on localized knowledges at the scale of nations or perhaps even communities if it is to claim to capture some of the breadth and depth of this aspect of Aboriginal knowledge.

Like Basso, Denton presents some of the Whapmagoostui Cree place names from his sample in the context of the stories and community history relating to them, stating: "Rather than attempt to summarize this material, we present a few examples to illustrate their scope and variety in the hope that their *power* is best conveyed without extensive commentary." (1996, p.10; my emphasis). Denton goes on to give examples of the following types of stories related to named places:

> There are many places related to stories of how people were able to overcome adversity and survive through their heroic or exceptional efforts.... Some stories refer to families who did not survive. Some of the stories contain more explicit lessons about people who behaved foolishly and then suffered the consequence.... ...Some stories underline other traditional values, for example, the importance of not wasting food. ...Many stories underline the importance of spiritual power.... ...Some of [the] stories poke fun at human foibles. ...Some of the stories recall very funny incidents. (Denton, 1996, pp.12-13).

Summarizing the generic function of Cree place names in context, Denton states: "What they all have in common is that they link the memory of Whapmagoostui ancestors to particular places on the land and they add a human and cultural dimension to the environment." (Denton, 1996, p.14). This last statement would seem to equally apply to Athapaskan and Iroquoian place names in context; it also restates the point, made by Sapir (1912) that "...so far as language is concerned, all environmental influence reduces at last analysis to the influence of social environment." (1912, p.227-228).

This collaboration between academics and Aboriginal communities on place names research has

contributed to the academic literature in anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, geography,

toponymy, Native and Northern studies, etc. At the same time, and more often that can be said

for the past, this research is also appearing in popular (non-academic) formats, which makes it

accessible to a broader spectrum of individuals within the communities. The heading of the

following section, "From Inscribing Aboriginal Place Names to "Getting the Words Right", refers

to this increasing insistence within Aboriginal communities that when their place names are

'uprooted' from their original contexts, they must be re-presented in a way that reflects the

breadth if not the depth of their cultural significance.

From Inscribing Aboriginal Place Names to "Getting the Words Right": the popular presentation of Aboriginal place names in context

> The names act as triggers to remind her of a range of events and landscape changes which are
> clear and detailed. They also remind her of songs, of people, and of the puzzling dilemma that
> "all this is getting weaker since whiteman came." She indicates that perhaps some of the "power"
> can be restored to the names if they are *written* because, otherwise, they seem to fade. This
> theme of the power of writing comes up in other conversations. (Cruikshank, 1990a, p.58).

Cruikshank's study of perspectives on naming and places in Athapaskan oral history sums up one

of the main/general functions of Aboriginal place names by reference to an informant's insistent

words: "When Annie Ned instructs me, as she does all the time, "we've got to get the words

right," she is absolutely correct. Through words the landscape is fashioned into a world of

manageable, human proportions." (1990a, p.63). In Cruikshank's collaborative investigation,

""Getting the words right" becomes a metaphor for encoding the entire range of cultural

knowledge that should be passed on with those names." (Cruikshank, 1990a, p.58). That is, in

order to restore or keep some of the power of place names when inscribing them, they can not

simply be collected and presented as a list of names in an official gazetteer or as undifferentiated points (except, of course, for their unique locations) on a map, but must be collected and presented in the context of inscribed narratives.

It is from the Yukon Territory, where Annie Ned, Gertie Tom and others have informed Cruikshank (1990a) on naming and places in Athapaskan oral history, that we get one example of the popular presentation of Aboriginal place names in context. The booklet Èkeyi: Gyò Cho Chú/My Country: Big Salmon River, compiled by Gertie Tom (Tom, 1987), a Northern Tutchone Specialist with the Yukon Native Language Centre in Whitehorse, includes a section on "Big Salmon Place Names", which presents the place names in Northern Tutchone, gives the official (English) names (where applicable), provides translations, provides brief location narratives, keys the names to the fold-out map, and provides references to photos and stories elsewhere in the book. The booklet also includes a section on the Northern Tutchone alphabet, as well as two alphabetical listings of the names (Northern Tutchone and English). Thus, in some respects, it has features in common with the Commission de toponymie's dossiers on the various regions of Québec and on the place names of the Abenakis (Paré et al., 1985), Attikameks (Michaud et al., 1987) and Naskapis (Paré et al., 1989), as well as with Noms et lieux du Québec: dictionnaire illustré. However, what distinguishes this booklet on the place names of the Gyò Cho Chú/Big Salmon River region is the inclusion of a section with eight narratives related to the place names, presented in both Northern Tutchone and English. Thus, the booklet both "...challenges the conventional assumption, romanticized in the writings of Robert Service, that the Yukon is 'a land where the mountains are nameless.'"(Tom, 1987, p.2), as stated in the preface to the booklet, and

inscribes a part of the history of the Yukon from the Aboriginal perspective. In fact, as the

preface also describes, this inscription was doubly important since it was also associated with the

beginning of a process of preserving the Northern Tutchone language (English is the dominant

working language in much of the Yukon):

> Gertie Tom's work has provided much of the basic data from which the practical writing system
> for Tutchone was developed. The place name project began as a practical writing exercise for
> Mrs. Tom. As she became more comfortable with the writing system, her interest shifted to
> documentation of how and where her family had travelled in her childhood, of stories she had
> heard, and of Tutchone place names she remembered. (Tom, 1987, p.2).

The next example of a popular product of place names research demonstrates that collaboration

between Aboriginal communities and non-Aboriginal place names authorities can be equally

fruitful if there is a commitment on the part of the government to present Aboriginal place names

in context. In 1990, the New Zealand Geographic Board published He Korero Pūrākau Mo Ngā

Taunahanahatanga A Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of the Ancestors: Maori Oral History Atlas and

its smaller companion, Place Names of the Maori. The Editor's Introduction to the Maori Oral

History Atlas provides a brief explanation of the genesis of the project and places it in the context

of New Zealand's sesquicentennial celebrations. Like the Commission de toponymie du Québec's

recognition of the place names "Anicinabe", "Kitaskino" and "Nitassinan" to mark National Native

Day, during the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous People (in 1993),

the New Zealand project is commendable in that it challenges the pretense of European discovery.

But, the project goes beyond this in recognizing that Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness calls for

more that granting an official status to Aboriginal place names:

> This book had its origins in the concern of the New Zealand Geographic Board, the body
> responsible for the place names of New Zealand, to ensure that Maori place names of the country
> are properly recorded and understood in an appropriate cultural context. One of the Board's

responsibilities is to collect original Maori names for recording on official maps. The Board was concerned that much of the published literature on Maori place names failed to place the names in such a context. The Board felt that merely to list names in alphabetical order, with possible (and sometimes absurd) translations beside them was an affront to the depth of historical and cultural knowledge embedded in the names.

In anticipation of New Zealand's sesquicentennial in 1990, two members of the Board, Prof. Keith Sorrenson and Mr Tepene O'Regan, prepared papers suggesting the publication of a Maori Oral History Atlas and of a volume on Maori place names. After considering these papers, the Board resolved to publish two books as part of the country's 1990 commemorations. The two books express the Board's determination to ensure that Maori place names are seen by New Zealanders in their true significance and its wish to increase New Zealanders' understanding of the rich history behind Maori place names which are in daily use. One of these volumes records names linked by traditional stories; in the other, the names are classified by type, so expressing the different relationships of the Maori to the land and its resources.

This volume, the country's first Maori Oral History Atlas, relates specific place names to the exploits of early Maori discoverers, explorers and travellers. Its smaller companion, Place Names of the Maori, provides a framework within which Maori place names can be grouped according to types of names. (NZGB, 1990, p.ix).

The Introduction distinguishes Maori place names from Pakeha ('White') place names, indicating that "their" place names are not like "our" place names and also indicating why the conventional way of presenting place names in gazetteers and on official maps has been less appropriate or even inappropriate in the case of the former:

Most Pakeha names mark individual places and individual memories of parcels of history. They generally have no particular connection to each other, each standing in its own right. The meaning of many Maori names, though, can only be understood through their connection to other names and other places. Whole series of names belong together in groups, commemorating journeys of exploration by an ancestor, the myth memory of how the land was made or a series of traditional events and people relationships. This Atlas aims to record some of the stories that link groups of Maori names in what we call Oral Maps.

It is this relationship between the historical tradition and a group of names which gives rise to the concept of the "Oral Map". The Story explains and orders the geography and the land geography reinforces the history. The two serve each other." (NZGB, 1990, p.xiii).

Thus, by presenting Maori place names in cultural context, the Maori Oral History Atlas challenges the appropriation of Aboriginal place names in a unitary definition of New Zealand heritage. The NZGB recognizes that the dissemination of knowledge about Maori place names

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has tended to mis-represent the names by, for example, presenting them in alphabetical order, as if there were "chaos that calls for the restoration of order" (Spurr, 1993, p.28). In fact, "locally defined interdependence of geographical names" seems characteristic of Aboriginal place names systems (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.11).

The Maori Oral History Atlas is attractive and presents the place names information in an entertaining and culturally relevant way, distinguishing the presentation of Maori place names from the presentation of Pakeha place names in form and content. Two introductory narratives, "The Arrivals of the Canoes" (which describes the arrival of the ancestors of the Maori to Aotearoa/New Zealand) and "Oceans, Seas and General Names", are followed by eleven stories relating specific place names to the exploits of early Maori discoverers, explorers and travellers. The colour maps accompanying the narratives allow the reader to trace the connection between names places which commemorate the journeys of the ancestors, the myth memory of how the land came to be, or traditional events. Illustrations by noted Maori artist Cliff Whiting, each of which takes up two pages, supplement the narratives and maps.

The Maori Oral History Atlas is aimed at both Maori and Pakeha audiences, and the Editor's Introduction recognizes that literal translation of the Maori stories into English would not convey the meaning of the traditions. This is analogous to the inadequacy of only providing literal translations of place names, such as when only morphemes or word roots are presented: "Each story in this book is presented in two versions, first in Maori, then in English. The two versions are not literal translations of the other. Each language has its own idioms and each culture has its

own ways of expressing or explaining things, and the two versions of each story take this into

account" (p.ix). Here, the NZGB recognizes that the meeting of language systems is complex.

Finally, the Introduction to the <u>Maori Oral History Atlas</u> also recognizes that the inscribing of

Oral Maps will always have limitations since oral tradition varies across space and through time:

> This *Atlas* is a sample collection of Maori Oral Maps. It is far from complete because there are
> many more that are not included. Even for those that are included only one version is given. In
> some cases there are several versions and, where possible, an attempt is made to refer to these. It
> is difficult to argue that any one is the "correct" version. In some cases there are marked regional
> and tribal differences and in Others there has been interference by both Pakeha and Maori
> scholars of past times. In assembling this collection care has been taken to maintain the essential
> elements of the traditional histories concerned but they have, for reasons of space, been heavily
> compressed. There is no substitute for learning these rich traditional histories in full but that is
> beyond the modest scope of this *Atlas*. (1990, p.xiii).

Like Traditional Environmental Knowledge, oral mapping is both cumulative and dynamic and,

like Aboriginal custom and tradition in general, its mutability does not represent a loss of

integrity/legitimacy of the oral maps which are produced, unless the Aboriginal peoples concerned

believe there has been such a loss.

Besides the two examples of the popular presentation of place names research described above,

Aberly's (1993) description of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en peoples' atlas, which was produced

in collaboration with cartographer Louis Skoda, and David Denton's (1996) collaborative work-

in-progress with three Cree communities in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee are two others. The first is

referred to below, in the section on "Taking Back the Names", while part of Denton's work is

referred to in Part Two.

"Taking Back the Names": the political dimension of Aboriginal place names research

I refer to the articulation of different types of knowledge, different types of power (authority, experience, etc), the (re)invention of identity and place naming as the cultural politics of place naming. I have already suggested that the environmental, historical and cultural knowledge relating to Aboriginal place names counter the production of the (Northern) archive of knowledge, or the scientization of Aboriginal place names, which 'uproots' or takes Aboriginal place names out of context. I have also suggested that the power of place names authorities to grant official recognition to Aboriginal place names is countered by the functional power (uses) of the place names within Aboriginal communities and cultures. These interrelated challenges invoke the power of place names intra-culturally. But Aboriginal peoples are also invoking the power of place names cross-culturally.

Before actually looking specifically at the identity politics or cultural politics of place naming and toponymic 'acts of defiance', it is appropriate to provide a definition of cultural politics since it is important to understanding the concept of multiple discourses. The Dictionary of Human Geography has the following entry under "cultural politics.":

> Deriving from the field of cultural studies, 'cultural politics' signifies the domain in which meanings are constructed, negotiated and resisted. The term demands a plural definition of CULTURE as 'whole ways of life', ranked hierarchically in relations of dominance and subordination and ranging from the abstract 'maps of meaning' to the objectification of those meanings in concrete social practices and spatial forms (Hall and Henderson, 1977, p.10). The concept of 'cultural politics' draws attention to the unequal distribution of power that inheres within cultural conceptions of RACE, GENDER and sexuality, extending to personal identities as well as social relations (Jackson., 1994, p.115).

Aboriginal peoples' discourses of resistance insist on the recognition of cultural pluralism, and so they share with the 'new' cultural geography a rejection of a universalist or unitary view of culture and the "unitary standards and control" (Paine, 1985, p.61) associated with such a view. Jackson (1989) observes: "If cultures are addressed in the plural (high and low, black and white, masculine and feminine, gay and straight, urban and rural) then it is clear that meanings will be contested according to the interests of those involved" (Jackson, 1989, p.4). The 'new' cultural geography retheorizes the 'cultural' as 'political' and (its theory, questions and method) seeks to reveal/highlight how "...different cultural discourses engage each other in a constant struggle for POWER" (Cosgrove, 1994, p.112).

Since colonial/nationalist identity discourse never completely "covers" itself, there is always a potential for multiple discourses. Alternative discourses or the discourses of resistance engage the dominant discourses in struggles for power. This resistance often involves "taking back the names" (the title of this section), that is, engaging with (countering, challenging) the terms of reference of the dominant cultures. Spurr (1993) refers to the strategy of "taking back the names": "...the terms of authority, once given voice, are far from having a direct and unambiguous effect; on the contrary, they can be used by the colonized against the institutions from which they emanate." (p.186).

In the case of the cultural politics of place naming, resistance also involves taking back the place names. Referring to Carter (1987), who makes a distinction between "the scientific concerns of *exploration* and the proprietorial concerns of *discovery*" Jackson (1989) adds: "Exploration gives

only the illusion of knowledge under the guise of naming" (p.169). This is an interesting

statement for two reasons: one, it refers to a link between knowledge (whether illusory or based

on lived experience) and naming; two, if we recognize that knowledge is power then it suggests

that "Naturalized Knowledge" (Lickers and Haas, 1993), and, by extension, Aboriginal place

names, can play a role in localized resistance to domination. I choose to refer to the term

"Naturalized Knowledge" here as an alternative to TEK because I think it implies the link to the

"local" better than the term Traditional Environmental Knowledge. The cultural politics of place

naming involves cross-culturally contesting the conventional meanings of 'place name' and 'place

naming'. As attributes of historic and more recent place naming events, Aboriginal place names

are important in-and-of-themselves because of the many functions they perform in Aboriginal

communities/cultures. Thus, Aboriginal place names do not need to be validated by inclusion in

official inventories. Beyond entertainment and besides serving as referents for locating and

navigating (the conventional view), Aboriginal place names also serve as repositories of

Aboriginal language and Naturalized Knowledge, and thus have cultural, ecological and economic

functions. Because of their link to moral narratives in some Aboriginal communities place names

also have various social functions (Basso, 1984; 1988). The remainder of this section focuses

mainly on the political functions of place names. It demonstrates the relationship between

knowledge (of the functions of Indigenous place names) and empowerment, or what has been

conceptualized as "localized resistance" (Foucault 1978, p.96 cited in Mackenzie, 1990, p.703).

As one locus for interaction between the Canadian and provincial governments and Aboriginal

communities and nations, place naming is an important event to consider given its links to

negotiations (formal and informal) for territorial control (Aberley, 1993; Wonders, 1987, Basso,

1984, Alia, 1989). The focus here is on the interaction between non-Aboriginal governments on the one hand and Aboriginal communities and nations on the other hand. However, in the case of Québec versus Aboriginal communities and nations, the interaction takes place in the context of Québec's own resistance to the federal government.

While in many cases, changes in activities and communication practices, not to mention repressive policies toward Naturalized Knowledge, have been associated with huge losses of place names and other aspects of Naturalized Knowledge, there are examples of communities and nations which have been able to resist such negative impacts, to a greater or lesser extent. For example, Rundstrom (1991) describes how the Inuit of the Nunavik region (northern Québec) have claimed the process of inscribing knowledge about their territory by recording their place names (pp.9-11). Rundstrom (1991) gives a brief history of how the Inuit have related to colonial mapping, beginning in the 19th century, when they were "unwitting conspirators to their own disenfranchisement" by sketching maps for southern explorers, geologists, etc., and moving into the 20th century, when oral knowledge transfer came into serious competition with inscribing practices because of the dramatic changes in the Inuit way of life. Rundstrom explains:

> ...two events forever alter[ed] the mapping dialogue: forced relocation to fixed settlements during the 1950s, and the 1960s replacement of the traditional dog team with the snowmobile. The former meant resituating an entire successful environmental schema to a new and uncertain focal point, and the latter meant the 'driver' now had to solve disorientation problems on his own. Both had significant impacts on the way Inuit related to their environment, and created a situation in which using published maps could be helpful (p.9). [see also Müller-Wille, 1984, p.8]

Among Aboriginal communities in Canada, the Inuit of Nunavik are the first to have a complete place name inventory of their cultural area (Müller-Wille et al., 1987, p.2). The Gazetteer of Inuit

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Place Names in Nunavik (Québec, Canada), published by the Avataq Cultural Institute in 1987 and again in 1990, has grown from a concern to record geographical names from oral tradition, a concern which was formalized in a resolution at the Northern Québec Inuit Elders Conference in 1981 that gave high priority to the preservation of Inuit place names (ibid). In addition to their Gazetteer, the Avataq Cultural Institute has also published the *Inuit Place Name Map Series of Nunavik* (Müller-Wille and ACI, 1995 (1990)). The series includes 1:50,000 scale sheets on which "topographic", "hydrographic" and "human" areal and point features have been delineated and located. Each site is referenced with a number, and a key includes each name in both Inuktitut syllabics and Roman characters. For each site, the type of entity is also provided in English and French (e.g., lake/lac, mountain/montagne, camp).

Rundstrom has reviewed the *Inuit Place Name Map Series of Nunavik* in two articles in the journal *Cartographica*, discussing both the quality of the maps and the cultural and political implications of the mapping process itself. Rundstrom (1992) is generally impressed with the maps, stating, for example, that: "[a] quality lamination process leaves the maps rollable and durable in wet weather or when used in or near water, an obvious asset for Inuit hunters and travellers" (p.61). [Non-laminated, foldable maps are also available.] In terms of content rather than form, Rundstrom states: "[c]learly, the three-class categorization of feature types is Eurocentric" and, "[t]he generic [entity] identifiers in the key also derive from this perspective,..." (ibid). Finally, Rundstrom (1991) also considers the cultural and political implications of the Inuit of Nunavik's decision to map their place names:

> The Inuit have resituated themselves as part of the cartographic establishment. Working from an
> early position as victims whose cartography was co-opted for colonial purposes, they have

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recently burst through a kind of map insurrection - with government and academic assistance, and are now rapidly becoming part of the enfranchised, at least cartographically. By going public and inscribing their maps now, they have dangerously exposed part of their knowledge to *Qallunaat* [Whites].

The Inuit could have chosen other paths. Instead, they made a conscious and concerted decision to engage the enfranchised culture on its own terms, turning its technology and politics to their own purposes. ...They are empowering themselves, but perhaps only to have their world re-appropriated now in more detail. For now, the information is out there, and the dialogue will continue into the twenty-first century (pp.10-11).

Given that the Gazetteer and Map Series are, perhaps, intended as much to 'speak' cross-culturally as to 'speak' intra-culturally, the "Euro-centric" categorization of feature types and generic identifiers may actually be a strength rather than a weakness. After all, the completion of the Inuit Place Name Inventory of the Kativik Region took place under the auspices of the Avataq Cultural Institute in cooperation with the Commission de toponymie and was managed by geographer Müller-Wille. Perhaps this example is rather a mapping and toponymic "negotiation" rather than an "insurrection" (which would be toponymic struggle) as Rundstrom describes it.

Besides producing a gazetteer and map series, the Inuit have also "engage[d] the enfranchised culture on its own terms" by negotiating the recognition of some of their place names. Müller-Wille reports, "Although native toponyms are now treated as a cultural asset as part of Québec's policies towards ethnic minorities within its territories, it took considerable political pressure by Inuit communities to have their own settlement names reestablished as official names leaving the old English and new French names on the wayside (Québec, 1982 based on legalization in 1980....)" (Müller-Wille, 1983, p.141). Similarly, the Cree communities of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee have challenged the Québec government to live up to its recognition of 'minority' rights by

having the Cree-language community (village) names replace English and/or French names as official place names: "...a feature with an official name of francophone origin is normally kept in preference to a recorded native name unless a special plea is filed citing special cultural and historic arguments (e.g., native settlement names in the James Bay territory which were reinstated after having had English and/or French names." (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.10).

Furthermore, Aboriginal peoples' insistence on the official recognition of their place names is one way in which "...besides carrying inherent cultural value, toponyms can become instruments and symbols for certain political and socio-cultural goals and claims in the continuum of culture contact." (Müller-Wille, 1983, p.132). Another strategy of toponymic negotiation on this continuum of culture contact is the use of place names as evidence in documenting land use and occupancy for land claims negotiations and the settlement of other territorial rights (Wonders, 1987; Basso, 1984). Basso (1984) demonstrates that not only is research on place names of "theoretical interest", but it can also have "practical value" for those communities involved. He reports:

> During the last four years, I have authored a number of documents for use in litigations concerning the settlement of Western Apache water rights in the state of Arizona. Until a final decision is reached in the case, I am not permitted to describe the contents of these documents in detail, but one of my assignments has been to write a report dealing with Apache conceptions of the physical environment. That report contains sections on Western Apache place-names, oral narratives, and certain metaphors that Apache people use to formulate aspects of their relationship with the land.
>
> Preliminary hearings resulted in a judgment favourable to Apache interests, and apparently my report was useful, mainly because it helped pave the way for testimony by native witnesses (p.51).

Toponymic negotiations and struggles for territorial control are both formalized and non-formalized, as the following summary describes. A recent review (Aberley, 1993) of bioregional mapping in Canada, work which includes the recording of place names, lists Hugh Brody's (1981) Maps and Dreams as a successor to other Inuit studies, namely: The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, and Our Footprints Are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador (Brice-Bennet, 1977). In the 1990s, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut's Nunavut Atlas (Rieve, 1992) "played a critical role in the creation of Nunavut, Canada's newest territory" (pp.14-15). This same review reports that the Nisga'a people and their neighbours, the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en of British Columbia, are also involved in bioregional mapping. While the former group is planning to use this research "...to defend sovereignty, and aid in the stewardship of locally controlled forests, fisheries, and other resources", and while the latter group is using the research "as an underpinning for a legal challenge against imposed Canadian control over their territories", Aberley feels that the value of place names and related research may not be so much in the legal and political realms as in the cultural and social: "Sovereignty is not entirely a commodity that is returned by a court of the usurpers. Those who know the land, who live on the land, will ultimately be its stewards (p.15).

Finally, Aberley describes the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people's atlas:

> The maps, created with the assistance of one of Canada's most skilled cartographers, Mr. Louis Skoda, were put on public display in Hazelton, British Columbia, in November 1990. They were an immensely popular attraction: for once here was an atlas that didn't represent a government or corporate scheme to pillage the land. Instead, a beautifully crafted set of images described home: how people migrated to their present territories, the meaning of ancient place names, where berries grow, and where to catch salmon" (ibid).

With Aberley's claim about sovereignty and his description of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en

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people's atlas we return to the argument that if we recognize that knowledge is power then Naturalized Knowledge (of its own), including knowledge of the functions of place names, can play a role in localized resistance to domination. This is not to say that negotiating/struggling for territorial control should be limited to non-formalized engagements, ignoring the political reality of First Nations encapsulation within Nation States; but, neither are these negotiations/ struggles limited by the terms/frames of reference of the dominant discourse.

In Phase Four, I review a broader literature on the ideological and political uses of place names and place naming in order to illustrate how place names can be viewed as stories about identity politics and how the power of place names is invoked cross-culturally (eg. in claims to sovereignty). My elaboration on the validation of Aboriginal place names within Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness (as opposed to within the archive of knowledge produced by non-Aboriginal place names authorities) is elucidated with my case study of naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. In my opinion, this case study is particularly interesting because of the plural meaning of 'power' in relation to place names, place naming, and the administration, control and use of territory in this region of Québec. These meanings include the descriptive and mnemonic power of Cree place names and the threat to this power posed by hydro-electric development, another type of power; the power of the Commission de toponymie du Québec to officialize and "revalorize" Cree place names versus the practical (intra-cultural) and strategic (cross-cultural) uses of (unofficial) Cree place names; and, how these uses of naming relate to the Québécois struggle for sovereignty and the Cree struggle for self-determination, that is, for broader political power. Part Two of Phase Three sets the stage for my discussion of naming

Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, in Phase Four, by mapping the Commission de Toponymie du

Québec's set of Cree Territory place names (CTQ, 1997) in order to represent some of the

descriptive (type of feature) and mnemonic (meaning of the names) powers of Aboriginal place

names in spatial context. As "[t]racing and documenting place names allows identification of

indicators of socio-economic and political developments between man and his environment and in

intra- and intercultural relations" (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.2), I also suggest that the analysis of this

data provides some indication of the impacts of hydro-electric development on Cree toponymy

specifically, and Cree culture generally. Thus, in Phase Four, I describe a model that relates these

impacts to new, political, uses of Cree place naming.

PART TWO: The Power of Aboriginal Place Names in Their Places

Mapping the 'Harvest': re-presenting the Commission de toponymie du Québec's data on Cree territory toponymy

In the title to this section, "Mapping the Harvest", I return to two metaphors introduced earlier in the learning cycle. The first is the metaphor which compares discourses to 'places', 'sites' or 'fields' where language systems and social conditions meet, and which compares discourse analysis to a 'mapping' of discursive practices (see Introduction to Phase Two). The second is the metaphor which compares the Commission de toponymie du Québec's and Aboriginal peoples own activities in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy to the harvesting, processing and storing of a natural resource (see Part Two of Phase Two and Part One of Phase Three).

While I do literally map the Commission de toponymie du Québec's data on Cree territory toponymy, I do so in a way that highlights how the Cree language system meets the language system (ie. typologies) of the managers of TOPOS (the CTQ's database of Québec place names), as well as the language systems of three non-Aboriginal academics, namely Béatrice Collignon, David Denton and myself. In my analysis of the data and maps which result from this meeting of language systems I also highlight what the data and maps say about the meeting of language systems and social conditions 'on the ground'. Thus, I comment on how changes in Cree territory toponymy seem to reflect the impact of the southern discourse of the North as hinterland or resource and associated practices relating to hydro-electric development in the Baie James/Eeyou Istchee region. This relates the literal mapping to the figurative mapping of discursive practices

associated with material practices 'on the ground'.

My return to the harvesting metaphor has a dual purpose. The first is to point out to the reader that the place names data which is mapped and analysed here is the sample of the Commission de toponymie du Québec's Cree territory data collected through its survey program, and is not the 'population' of all Cree place names. An idea of the amount of data which is not included in the Commission's sample can be had by comparing the Commission's (1997) total number of Cree territory place names to Denton's (1996) number for the Whapmagoostui Cree community alone: they are approximately 3700 and over 3000 place names, respectively. No one harvester or even all harvesters combined will ever collect all the names.

The second purpose for returning to the harvesting metaphor is to point out that there are different ways of engaging in Aboriginal toponymy, and some are more appropriate than others, depending on the cultural situation. The case for not harvesting Aboriginal place names could be made, for example, by comparing these cultural resources to certain natural resources (such as rain forests) that are, arguably, more valuable when left intact. However, since there are threats to Aboriginal toponymy which are perceived by Aboriginal peoples themselves, there is also a case for Aboriginal peoples to inscribe their own names or to collaborate with academics and government authorities. The threats to Aboriginal toponymy include the factors which impact on oral tradition and Aboriginal languages and cultures more generally, such as settlement and resettlement, imposed models of socio-economic 'development', incursion of southern outfitters and other customers, etc. and other material/cultural influences. Müller-Wille argues that,

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[b]ecause of the weakening of oral tradition, Aboriginal societies, "in adapting to modern western society and written tradition, would be wise to follow the established procedures of recording names established by the majority society (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.81). But, since there are many obstacles to the legal acceptance of native place names in Québec [and elsewhere], Müller-Wille also argues that, "it is first necessary to establish native place-name inventories so the native users can expand and apply their toponymic knowledge and heritage. Then secondly, the procedure of officialization has to be pursued to cope with the legal status of the names (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.11). He concludes that, "[f]or native peoples their inventories are the valid ones for the land they use." (ibid).

The Whapmagoostui Cree community, with over 3000 names recorded (Denton, 1996), seems to be well into inscribing its toponymic tradition for intra-cultural purposes. Perhaps it will also engage with the procedure to officialize some of these names to have these names added to the approximately 3700 Cree territory place names already in the Commission's inventory.

The Commission de toponymie's activities in the domain of Aboriginal toponymy are a threat to Aboriginal toponymy, or a "mixed blessing", or commendable, depending on one's own interest in examining the Commission's practices and products. My focus is on examining the identity politics or cultural politics of place naming, and more specifically, on why and how Aboriginal peoples, particularly the Cree Nation in Québec, are negotiating/struggling over place naming. Thus, my evaluation of the Commission's practices and procedures tends to focus on short-comings rather than accomplishments. However, it should be recognized that the Commission de

toponymie du Québec is by far the most productive of the provincial place names authorities, including in the area of Aboriginal toponymy, despite recent budget cuts, the impacts of which should not be underestimated. It is true that the Commission has not published another dossier toponymique on an Aboriginal nation since the publication of the dossiers on the Abenakis (Paré et al., 1985), Attikameks (Michaud et al., 1987) and Naskapis (Paré et al., 1989) between 1985 and 1989, and that its energies in the early 1990s were devoted instead to the completion of Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré (1994). However, given the Commission's primary mandate to promote French-language toponymy and given recent budget cuts, a reverse order of priorities would have been surprising indeed. I should also point out that, as a graduate student, I have benefited from the Commission's situation in that I was given the Cree territory place names data free of charge. As the publication of new dossiers toponymiques on the Aboriginal nations does not appear to be as high a priority as in the 1980s, it seems to be in the Commission's interest to facilitate academic research using its data.

Besides attempting to extract information about socio-economic and political developments, my mapping of the CTQ's set of Cree territory place names also tries to re-present some of the descriptive and mnemonic power of the place names in spatial context by presenting the distribution of the place names according to two typologies: type of feature (the nature of the named entity) and the meaning of the names. It is fortunate that the Commission has collected such information relating to Aboriginal place names in the Province, but unfortunate that this information has not more often been presented. My re-presentation of this data is one of my contributions to the study of Aboriginal toponymy. I refer to a "re-presentation" to highlight how

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mapping counters the less revealing presentation of place names listed alphabetically. My maps are also complementary to the focus on qualitative information related to Cree place names in the Commission's database.

Selection of the Set of Cree Territory Place Names from the CTQ's Database of Amerindian Place Names

Figure 2 shows the distribution of all Cree territory place names, including those which refer to human features. Figure 2 is an example of the kind of mapping which does not go very far to present names in cultural context, although it does reveal the overall distribution of the names and provides some indication of the extent of Cree land use and occupancy. Because the place names data are undifferentiated (except, of course, for location), the map does not reveal that of the 3762 Cree territory place names in the Commission de toponymie's (1997) data set , 3567 (or 95%) refer to natural features, while 195 (or 5%) refer to human features (eg. Arrêt ferroviaire, Village, Pont). The other maps I present exclude these 195 names referring to human features. I should clarify that by "Cree territory" I am referring to territory that goes beyond "Terres de catégorie IA et IB crie" and "Terres de la catégorie II crie" which are contained within the limits of what I refer to on the maps as the "Cree community boundaries".

The distribution of all Cree territory place names in Figure 2 generally defines the "Terres de la catégorie III" of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA). However, the distribution does not extend as far south as the "Terres de la catégorie III", which includes the area of the Algonquin communities of Pikogan and Lac-Simon and the town of Val d'Or. Rather,

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Figure 2:
Cree Territory
Toponymy

All toponyms
Limits of Category II Cree Territory
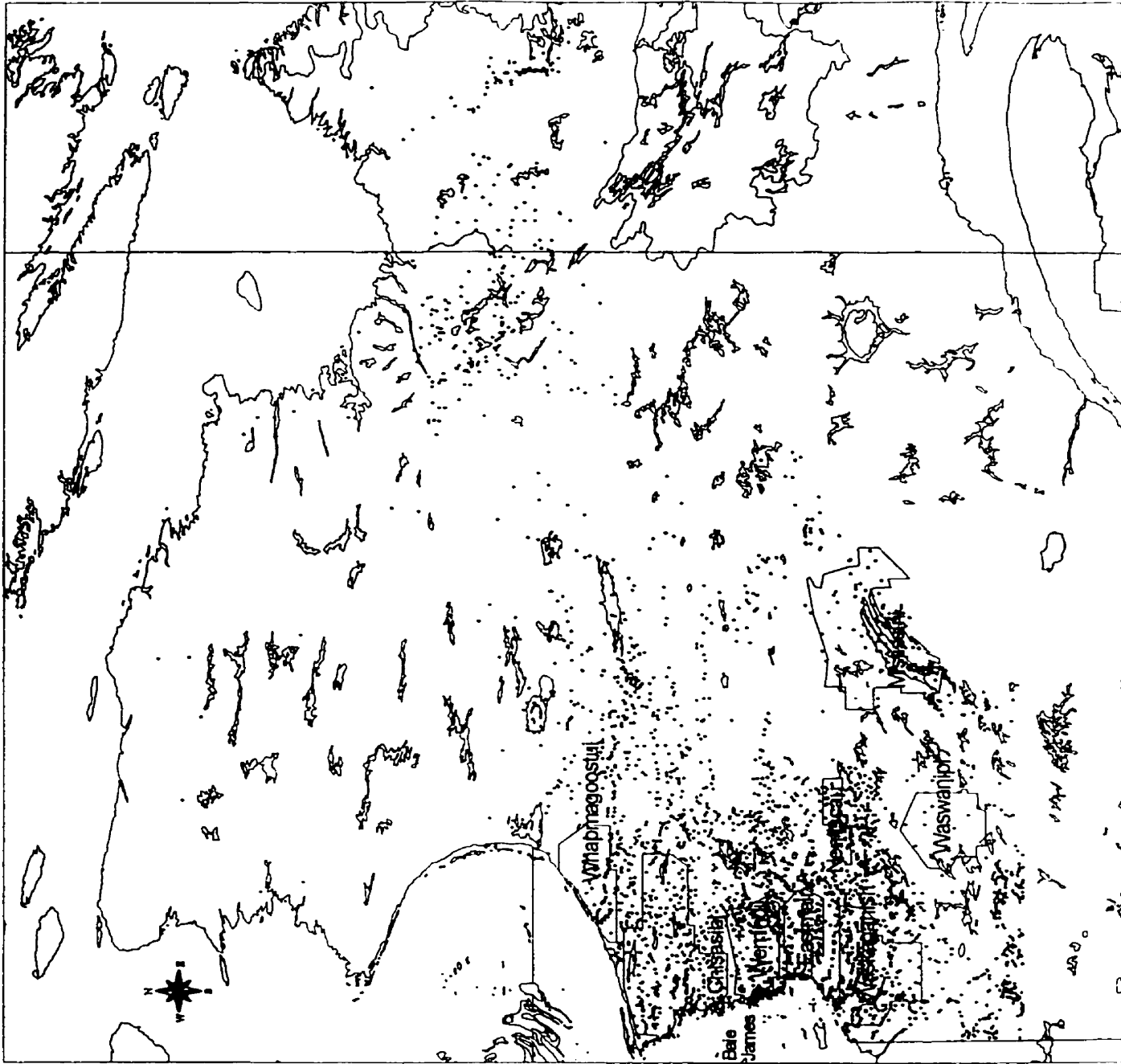
Whapmagoostui
Chisasibi
Wemindji
Eastmain
Nemaska
Waskaganish
Mistissini
Waswanipi
Baie
James

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

300   0   300   600   Kilometers

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the distribution of all Cree territory place names in Figure 2 seems to extend only to the 49th parallel. This is because the set of Cree territory place names which I received from the Commission de toponymie was extracted from the Commission's set of Amerindian place names by defining a territory. Although the Terres de la catégorie III includes Nunavik, there are no Inuit place names in the set of Cree territory place names since the Commission de toponymie's data base distinguishes between Inuktitut and the Amerindian languages.

The "Terres de la catégorie III" of the JBNQA includes "Terres de la catégorie IIN naskapie', and thus the set of Cree territory place names probably includes some Naskapi place names. The cluster of place names south of Baie d'Ungava to the north-east of Figure 2 are probably mainly Naskapi place names. In La toponymie autochtone du Québec: Bilan et prospective, the Commission de toponymie (Bonnelly, 1996) reports that there are 2591 "Toponymes officialisés" for the Cree Nation, and 217 for the Naskapi Nation (Bonnelly, ANNEXE 2, p.27), for a combined total of 2808. According to the Cree Territory place names data set, only 7 new names were officially recognized in the period 93/12/05-97/03/25, so the discrepancy in the totals between the set of Cree Territory place names in 1997 (3762) and the total for the Cree and Naskapi nations reported in 1996 (2808) cannot be attributed to the difference in the date of extraction of data from TOPOS and the publication of La toponymie autochtone du Québec. Either the set of Cree territory place names includes other Amerindian place names, besides Naskapi place names, or the definition of a place name is broader, perhaps including variant place names (Amerindian variants of non-Amerindian official names). Since the set of Cree territory place names probably includes Naskapi place names, in Figures 3-14 I focus on the territory west

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of 70 degrees West (west of the western shore of Baie d'Ungava). The figures on which the tables and charts in this section of the thesis are based probably include Naskapi place names, so the discussion of the statistical distribution of Cree territory place names by feature type and meaning of the names must be read with this caution in mind.

Classifying Cree Territory Place Names: the meeting of language systems.

Traditional approaches to toponymic analysis have looked at the statistical and geographic distributions of place names according to type of feature (entity). Recently, more in-depth analyses of Aboriginal place names have also looked at the statistical and geographic distributions of place names according to the meaning of the names (Collignon, 1996; Denton, 1996). As the Commission de toponymie's data set of Cree territory place names includes both a "Type d'entité" and two "Code sémantique" fields, I am able to create charts and maps according to both typologies. However, since the two "Code sémantique" fields within TOPOS are optional, the set of Cree territory place names for this typology is smaller (1290) than the set of Cree territory place names for the (natural) feature type typology (3567). Only the "Code sémantique 1" field is included for the purposes of this thesis since the "Code sémantique 2" field gives the option of identifying a second meaning for a place name, and for 86% of the place names this field is blank.

I have already mentioned that I am at least twice removed from the Cree territory place names data I analyse because I am neither Cree nor was I involved in the collection of the data. Thus, this analysis of Cree territory toponymy is a meeting of language systems in that the Commission de toponymie has already classified the place name in numerous categories according to feature

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type and the meaning of the names, and I further categorize (generalize) the Commission's set of

data according to the models presented by Béatrice Collignon (1996) and David Denton (1996).

My assumptions are that Collignon's and Denton's direct participation in the collection of the

toponymic data they analyse provides some legitimacy to their analyses and conclusions from the

perspective of the Aboriginal communities concerned (being the Inuit and the Whapmagoostui

Cree, respectively), and that their analyses and conclusions also have relevance for my own

analysis. Furthermore, my use of their classifications facilitates certain comparisons across

cultures (Inuit-Cree) and scales (community-nation) which allow me to elaborate on, among other

things, what the Cree territory data seem to reveal about the impact of hydro-electric

development

Classifying Cree Territory Place Names According to Type of Feature

Collignon (1996) classifies Inuit place names according to two complementary typologies: one is

founded on the nature of the named entity, while the other is founded on the meaning of the place

names. Collignon's argument that place names intervene on the "vertical plan" as opposed to the

"horizontal plan" in the construction of geographic knowledge relates to the discussion in Part

One concerning the functions of localized knowledge associated with Aboriginal place names.

She challenges the conventional view that the most important function of place names is their role

as referents for locating and navigating:

> Les noms de lieux sont essentiels non aux déplacements et à la survie des hommes mais à leur
> intégration au milieu, qui devient ainsi milieu humanisé où peut s'épanouir leur culture.
> Reprenant la terminologie du chapitre précédent, on pourra dire que les noms de lieux
> interviennent sur le plan "vertical" et non sur le plan "horizontal" dans la construction du savoir
> géographique. Ils assurent la pérennité d'une perception spécifique de l'espace, exprimée par des
> noms qui sont comme un commentaire sur le territoire habité. La toponymie trouve finalement

davantage sa place dans les longues veillées qu'au cours des déplacements. Les noms des lieux sont aussi avec l'ensemble de la tradition orale, les gardiens du souvenir, les points d'ancrage de l'histoire des Innuinnait, tant par les toponymes anecdotiques - qui fixent dans les mémoires un incident, une émotion forte, le nom d'un chasseur - que par ceux qui disent l'usage habituel de tel ou tel point.... (Collignon, 1996, p.116).

Concerning the relevance of a typology founded on the *nature of the named entity*, Collignon argues that the particular attention given to this or that type of entity is a cultural trait "par excellence" (Collignon, 1996, p.118). Collignon's typology founded on the nature of the named entity classifies place names into two main classes, which are further subdivided into three sub-categories each. The two main classes are place names which refer to features of the interior of the land, and place names which refer to features of the marine element. The class of place names which refer to features of the *interior of the land* is sub-divided into place names which either refer to lacustrine elements, water courses or elements of relief. The class of place names which refer to features of the *marine element* is sub-divided into place names which either refer to coastal features, islands or "Bras de mer". Collignon's typology of Inuit place names founded on the *meaning of the names* is not discussed here since I refer to David Denton's (1996) typology of Whapmagoostui Cree place names instead.

While the Inuit of Nunavik and the Cree of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee are two different cultures, I apply Collignon's model to the set of Cree territory place names (CTQ, 1997) since I don't have a Cree model for the classification and generalization of Cree territory place names according to feature type (nature of the named entity). And, since the Inuit and Cree territories over-lap in the north of Cree territory/south of Inuit territory, I assume that there might be some correspondence

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between Inuit and Cree perceptions of the physical environment, at least in the areas they use and occupy in common.

Collignon elaborates on the second order classification of Inuit place names according to feature type:

> On obtient ainsi la formulation suivante: pour l'intérieur des terres, les éléments lacustres (y compris les îles et les parties de lacs), les cours d'eau (ou parties de cours d'eau), les éléments du relief (collines, eskers, plateaux, etc); pour l'élément marin, le trait de côte (caps, petites baies, falaises, etc.), les îles, les bras de mer (détroits de toutes tailles et baies profondes). (Collignon, 1996, p.119).

My classification and generalization of the set of Cree territory place names according to Collignon's model is presented in Table 7. I have made some changes in the formulation, but in most cases the number of place names concerned is small. I have included the Commission's "Partie de lac" category (1 toponym) under Collignon's "Cours d'eau" sub-category instead of under "Élément lacustre". I chose to do this because David Denton (1996) reports that, "Cree naming also recognizes river widenings which are not obviously either "rivers" or "lakes" as a distinct category, anatwaayach of which there are many in the Whapmagoostui region." (p.4). I have included "Détroit" (1 toponym) under the "Cours d'eau" sub-category instead of under "Bras de mer" out of preference, and I have included "Falaise" (6 toponyms) under the sub-category "Élément du relief" instead of under "Trait de côte", again out of preference. With these last two decisions, the toponyms concerned have moved across the Intérieur des terres-Éléments marin divide. One limitation of applying Collignon's typology of Inuit place names based on the nature of the named entity (feature type) to the classification and generalization of Cree territory place

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TABLE 7

Cree territory toponymy (CTQ, 1997a) classified using "Typologie fondée sur la nature de l'entité nommée" (Collignon, 1996)

Intérieur des terres

Élément lacustre
Étang 494
Étangs 496
Lac 620
Lacs 628
Lieux de pêche 642
Marais 648
Marécage 656
Tourbière 966

Cours d'eau
Partie de lac 111
Segment de rivière 114
Chenal 324
Chute 328
Chutes 330
Confluent 364
Coude 384
Courbe 396
Détroit 440
Méandres 675
Rapide 842
Rapides 844
Remous 866
Rivière 898
Ruisseau 918

Élément du relief
Abrupt 108
Berge 203
Bois 204
Bosquet 208
Butte 236
Colline 346
Collines 348

Élément marin

Trait de côte

Île plus

Bras de mer plus

names is that all Cree place names which refer to island features ("Île" and "Archipel", "Îles", "Récifs") are categorized under the class of features of the marine element (227 toponymes). Although Collignon distinguishes between islands as "Éléments lacustres" (part of "Intérieur des terres") and islands as "Îles" (part of "Élément marin"), the Commission de toponymie does not make this distinction. Furthermore, Cree place naming makes a distinction between islands in lakes or on the sea (ministikw) and islands in rivers (ministikuchiun), and this is neither reflected in Collignon's classification (which is for Inuit place names, after all) nor in the Commission de toponymie's nomenclature. The point is that a classification based on a knowledge of the Cree language, and geographical nomenclature specifically, would best describe Cree perception of their landscape.

Collignon expresses confidence concerning the cultural relevance of her analysis and conclusions concerning Inuit place names since she was involved in the field collection of the set of place names she analyses:

> Le fait d'avoir conduit moi-même tous les entretiens était pour une telle entreprise un atout majeur, car j'avais ainsi acquis une connaissance approfondie du système toponymique inuinnait. Deux classements complémentaires ont été retenus. Le premier se concentre sur les types d'entités nommées, tandis que le second s'attache au sens véhiculé par les mots qui font les toponymes." (Collignon, 1996, p.118).

As I neither conducted my own fieldwork, nor was involved in the fieldwork which produced the set of Cree territory place names which I obtained from the Commission de toponymie, I have some reservations about claiming that my results and interpretations are valid from the perspective of Cree understanding of their own place naming practices. Nevertheless, my

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application of Collignon's typology of Inuit place names founded on the nature of the named entity to the set of Cree territory place names does allow me to present a set of maps, tables and charts over which Cree place naming can be discussed.

Unlike the *Inuit Place Name Map Series of Nunavik* (Müller-Wille and ACI, 1995 (1990)), which classifies place names according to the categories of "topographic feature" and "hydrographic feature" (as well as "human feature"), Collignon's classification of Inuit place names implies that Inuit (at least the Inuit of the Central Arctic, which includes the Inuit of Nunavik) perceive the physical environment as two contiguous spaces, "Intérieur des terres" and "Élément marin". Collignon explains that this perception of two contiguous spaces is related to the Inuit's ritual of faunal resource exploitation which alternates between two ecosystems according to seasonal changes:

> ...le territoire des Inuinnait s'articule autour de deux écosytèmes nettement différenciés: *nuna* (la terre) et *tariuq* (le sel, la mer) sont exploités alternativement au cours de l'année, en fonction d'une alternance saisonnière ritualisée. Cette division fonde l'organisation sociale comme l'occupation du territoire. Aussi a-t-il semblé intéressant de partir de cette division essentielle du territoire pour construire une typologie des entités nommées. (Collignon, 1996, pp.118-19).

The seasonal alternation of Inuit between the land and the sea is related to the caribou and seal hunting seasons and not directly to changes in the weather (which a non-Inuit or non-Aboriginal person might assume).

One advantage of Collignon's distinction between "Intérieur des terres" and "Élément marin" over a typology which distinguishes between topographic and hydrographic features is that it suggests making a comparison between the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities (Whapmagoostui,

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Chisasibi, Wemindji, Eastmain, Waskaganish) and the toponymy of the inland Cree communities (Nemiscau, Mistissini, and Waswanipi). My first expectation about this comparison is that the class of place names which refer to features of the marine element is numerically more important in the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities than in the toponymy of the inland Cree communities. But, this is not to say that the class of place names which refer to features of the marine element is numerically more important than the class of place names which refer to features of the interior of the land in the toponymy of the Cree in general (or perhaps even within the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities). I make this statement assuming a similarity to Collignon's findings concerning Inuit toponymy. Collignon (1996) reports that about 55% of her set of Inuit place names refer to features of the interior of the land, while 45% refer to features of the marine element. She explains:

> La répartition se révèle très équilibrée entre les deux principales classes. Les Inuinnait étant d'abord des chasseurs de mammifères marins, cela pourrait surprendre. Cependant, pour les Eskimo centraux, il ne faut pas négliger l'importance de l'intérieur des terres, exploité à partir du XVIIè siècle, sans doute, par les chasseurs de phoques qui intégrèrent peu à peu le caribou dans leur cycle annuel de prédation. Si l'organisme social ne s'épanouit pleinement que dans le cadre des camps d'iglous élevés sur la banquise, il reste que *nuna* est parcourue, exploitée et nommée. De plus on peut penser que la permanence de la terre, par opposition à l'éphémère banquise, lui confère une importance qui s'exprime dans le nombre de toponymes qui la désignent. (Collignon, 1996, p.119).

Since the Cree of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee perceive six seasons of the year, "based on the migrations of caribou, geese, sturgeons, and other relations, and on the ebb and flow of ice and water" (LaDuke Kapashesit in Richardson, 1991, p.ix), my second expectation concerning the comparison between the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities and the toponymy of the inland Cree communities is that place names referring to features of the marine element do not predominate in either region.

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Since Collignon suggests that the almost equal distribution of Inuit place names between the two principal classes is a result of a gradual evolution in the hunting practices of the Inuit, this also suggests that the present-day distribution of Cree territory place names between the two principal classes is a result of a gradual evolution in the faunal resource exploitation of the Cree. Thus, my third expectation is that place names referring to features of the marine element have gradually decreased in numerical importance since the 1960s. This seems to make sense since faunal resource exploitation on the islands and coast west of Chisasibi has been seriously impacted by the damming of the La Grande River (Richardson, 1991b), and since the number of intensive Cree hunters has increased following the JBNQA as a result of the provision of income security payments for Cree hunters (Feit, 1995b, p.211). As the Commission de toponymie du Québec's set of Cree territory place names includes a "Date de décision" field, I am able to look at the changing numbers and percentages of the names according to type of feature over time. I should clarify that the decision date refers to the date on which the Commission makes a decision concerning the official recognition of a name. Thus it does not primarily refer to the recognition of places newly named by the Cree, but rather it refers to the recognition of names already in use but which have been reported by the Cree and collected as part of the Commission's survey program.

Classifying Cree Territory Place Names According to the Meaning of the Names

I apply David Denton's (1996) typology of Whapmagoostui Cree place names to the set of Cree territory place names (CTQ, 1997) since I assume that a model based on a study of the meanings of one Cree community's place names is more appropriate to the study of Cree place names in

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general than a model based on a study of the meanings of Inuit place names (such as Collignon,

1996). David Denton's study is based on a sample of over 3000 Whapmagoostui Cree names

from 119 different 1:50,000 map sheets (p.3). Six different categories of place name meanings

are described: names which refer to the physical environment; faunal resources; travel; traditional

technology; events and people; and myth or spirit beings. In the Whapmagoostui Cree set, place

names which refer to the physical environment and faunal resources are the most numerically

important: each accounts for about one-third of the set. Place names which refer to fish or fishing

places (within the faunal resources category) account for nearly one-quarter of the whole set.

Places names which refer to events and people account for about 16% of the Whapmagoostui

Cree set, and this distinguishes Cree toponymy from most other Aboriginal peoples' systems of

place naming, which tend to give less importance to this type of naming. Place names which refer

to myth or spirit beings account for about 3% of the Whapmagoostui Cree set.

My classification of the set of Cree territory place names according to Denton's model is

presented in Table 8. I have made some changes in Denton's formulation in applying it to the

Commission de toponymie's set of Cree territory place names. Denton's category of place names

which refer to the physical environment includes place names which are descriptions of

"hydrographic, topographic, geomorphological and vegetational features" (p.4), while my

definition is probably broader. For example, I have included the Commission's categories of

place names which refer to "Ciel et corps célestes", "Temps et vents", "Qualités et états

physiques", and "Relation; ordre; valeur", among others. Denton's category of place names which

refer to travel include place names which relate to travel patterns (p.7), while I am not sure that

TABLE 8

Cree territory toponymy (CTQ, 1997a) classified using Whapmagoostui Cree typology (Denton, 1996)

Physical environment
Ciel et corps célestes 1110
Temps et vents 1120
Configuration et aspect 1210
Eaux 1220
Terrains et leur constitution 1230
Métaux 1250
En général 1310
Arbres 1320
Arbrisseaux 1330
Alimentaires 1341
Potagères 1342
Plants des prés et des bois; herbacées 1343
Autres 1345
Qualités et états physiques 2312
Relation; ordre; valeur 2313
Nombres et unités de mesure 2314
Espace 2315
Temps 2316
Causalité; mouvement; changement 2317

Faunal resources
En général 1410
Quadrupèdes 1420
Oiseaux 1430
Animaux marins et amphibies 1440
Reptiles 1450
Mollusques 1460
Insectes 1480

Travel
Transport 2260

Traditional technology
Agriculture 2241
Habitation 2250
Science et technique 2320

Events and people
Sexe; race; corps; santé et maladie; blessure; accident 2110
Sens 2120
Besoins ... 2130
En général 2141
Sensations et perceptions 2142
Sentiments 2143
Morale 2144
Famille et nation 2210
Langage 2220
Vie et société 2230
Travail 2240
Métiers; professions 2242
Industrie 2243
Organisation sociale 2270
Homme et son nom 2400
Homme 2421
Femme 2422
Patronyme (nom de famille) 2430
Surnom 2460
Raisons sociales 5200

Myth or spirit beings
Existence 2311
Religions en général 3110
Surnaturel et mythologie 3120
Église 3140

the Commission de toponymie's "Transport" category corresponds to this. Denton's category of place names which refer to traditional technologies includes mainly place names which relate to technologies used to harvest faunal resources (p.8), while my definition includes the Commission de toponymie's categories of place names which refer to "Agriculture", "Habitation" and "Science et technique". Finally, both my definitions of the "Events and people" and "Myth or spirit beings" categories are probably broader than Denton's definitions.

With these likely differences in Denton's model and his model as applied to the set of Cree territory place names from the Commission de toponymie, my fourth expectation concerning the classification and generalization of Cree territory place names according to the meaning of the names is still that the numerical distribution of the names is similar to the results described by Denton for the Whapmagoostui Cree set.

My fifth expectation concerning the classification and generalization of Cree territory place names is that the expected distinction between coastal and inland communities in the typology which classifies Cree territory place names according the *feature type* is also reflected in the typology which classifies Cree territory place names according to the *meaning of the names*. If the distinction between the toponymies of the coastal and inland Cree communities is important, then the toponymy of the coastal communities rather than the toponymy of the inland communities should more closely mirror Whapmagoostui (a coastal community) Cree toponymy as described in Denton's study.

In the section above on classifying Cree territory place names according to feature type, I stated

that since Collignon suggests that the almost equal distribution of Inuit place names between the

two principal classes (interior and marine) is a result of a gradual evolution in the hunting

practices of the Inuit, this also suggests that the present-day distribution of Cree territory place

names between the two principal classes is a result of a gradual evolution in the faunal resource

exploitation of the Cree. Thus, my sixth expectation is that the numerical importance of place

names which refer to fish and other aquatic resources has declined while the numerical importance

of place names which refer to terrestrial faunal resources has increased since the 1960s. This

expectation makes sense since the Cree have been cautioned to limit their consumption of fish due

to mercury and other contamination resulting from the flooding, and since the number of intensive

Cree hunters has increased following the JBNQA as a result of the provision of income security

payments for Cree hunters (Feit, 1995b, p.211).

Results of Classifying Cree Territory Place Names According to Type of Feature

My first expectation about the comparison between the toponymy of the coastal Cree

communities (Whapmagoostui, Chisasibi, Wemindji, Eastmain, Waskaganish) and the toponymy

of the inland Cree communities (Nemiscau, Mistissini, and Waswanipi) is that the class of place

names which refer to features of the marine element is numerically more important in the

toponymy of the coastal Cree communities than in the toponymy of the inland Cree communities.

Figures 3-5, which show the distribution of Cree territory places names in the "Trait de côte", "Île

plus" and "Bras de mer plus" sub-categories of the "Élément marin" class, confirm this

expectation.

Figure 3:
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Type of Feature,
Trait de côte

Trait de côte
Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Baie
d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waswanipi

Mistissini

Waskaganish

Baie
James

300   0   300   600   Kilometers

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

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Figure 4 : Cree Territory Toponymy Type of Feature, Île plus

Île plus
Limits of Category II Cree Territory

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Baie d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

300　　　0　　　300　　　600　Kilometers

Figure 5 :
Cree Territory Toponymy Type of Feature, Bras de mer plus
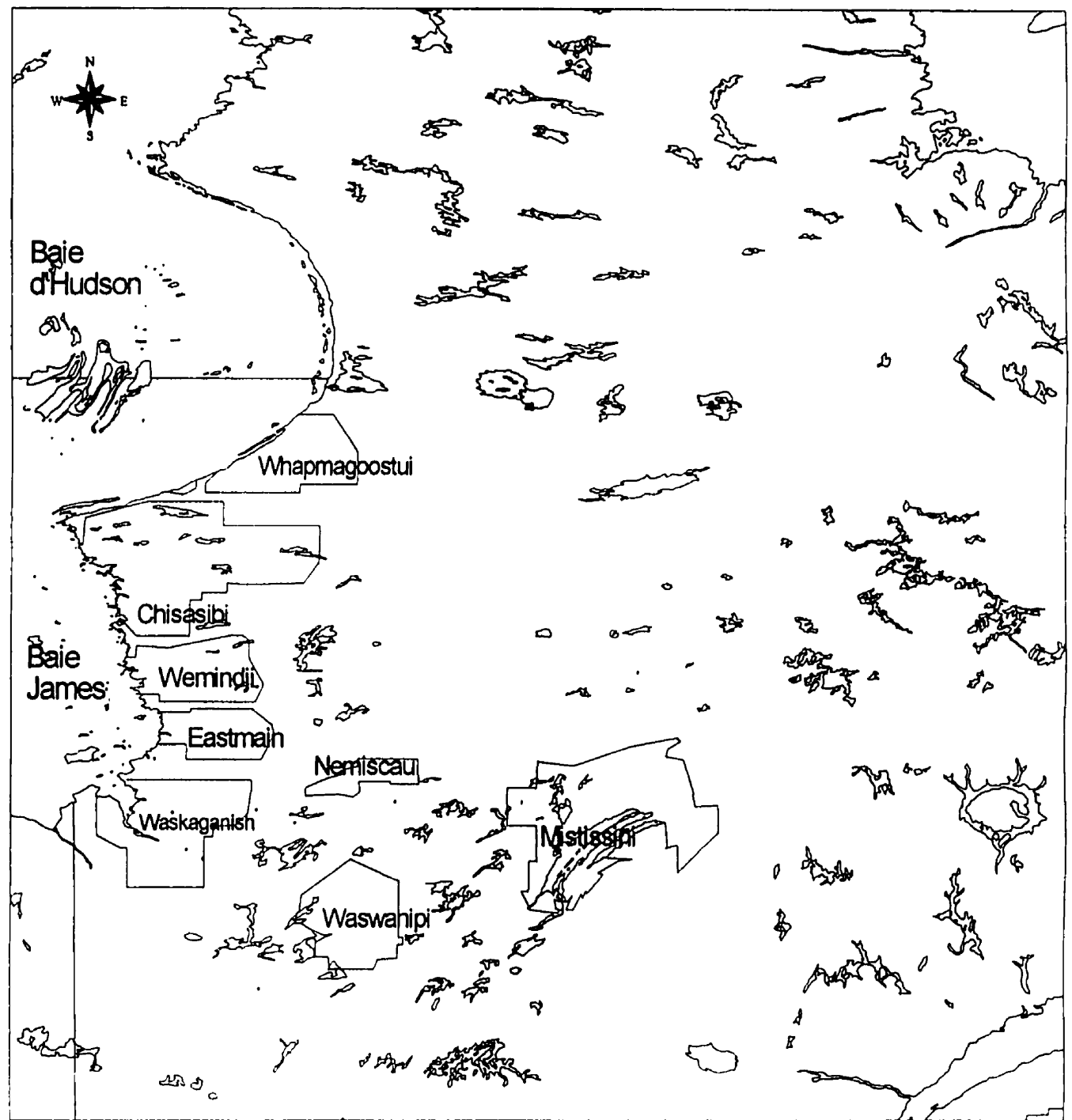
- Bras de mer
- Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
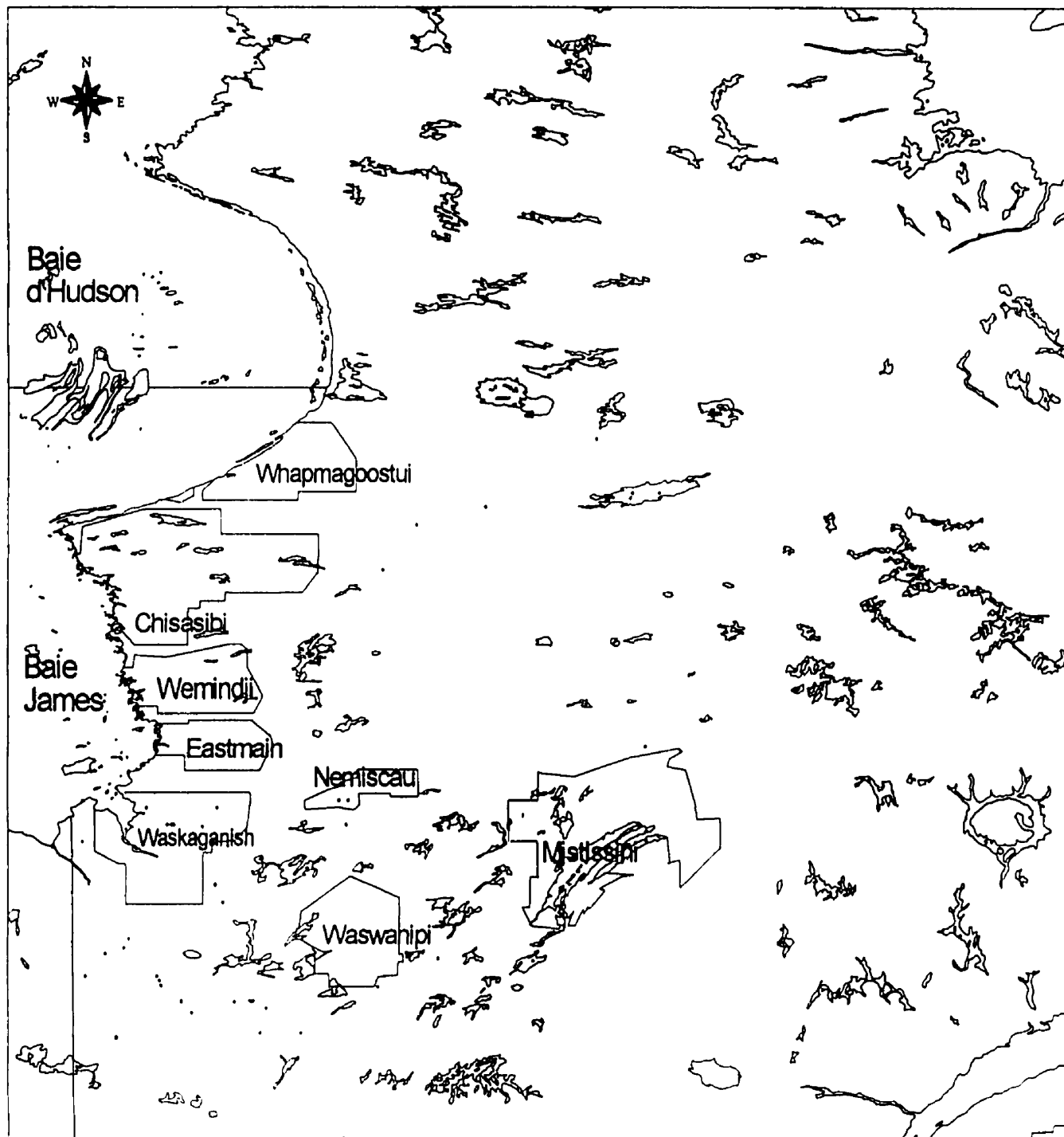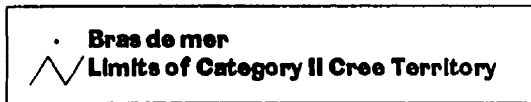with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

Baie d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mstiassini

Waswanipi

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

With respect to place names in the "Trait de côte" sub-category (Figure 3), they are distributed

along the Grande rivière de la Baleine, which runs through Whapmagoostui, and along the coasts

of Whapmagoostui and Chisasibi; they are especially numerous along the coasts of Wemindji and

Eastmain; and, they are also distributed along the coast of Waskaganish, as well as along the

Rivière de Rupert, which runs through Waskaganish. In the interior of Cree territory, there is a

notable concentration of "Trait de côte" place names on the coasts of Lac Mistassini and Lac

Albanel, which are within the Mistissini community boundary. A notable linear concentration of

place names east of Chisasibi appears to delineate the former course of the La Grande rivière

which is now submerged under the Réservoir LG-Deux and Réservoir LG-Trois (which don't

appear on the ArcWorld CD-Rom from which the Québec base map coverage was obtained).

In Figure 4, which shows the distribution of Cree territory place names in the "Île plus" sub-

category of the marine element, the distinction between the coastal Cree communities and the

inland Cree communities is maintained. These place names are especially numerous off the coasts

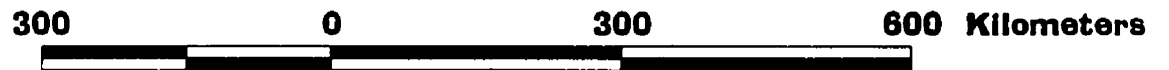of Chisasibi, Wemindji and Eastmain. Again, in the interior of Cree territory, there is a notable

concentration of "Île plus" place names associated with Lac Mistassini and Lac Albanel, which are

within the Mistissini community boundary.

The few place names in the "Bras de mer plus" (Figure 5) sub-category of features of the marine

element tend to be associated with Waskaganish community territory, and the Rivière de Rupert,

Rivière Broadback and Rivière Nottaway more specifically.

My second expectation concerning the comparison between the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities and the toponymy of the inland Cree communities is that the class of place names which refer to features of the marine element does not predominate over the class of place names which refer to features of the interior of the land in either region. Figures 6-8, which show the distribution of Cree territory places names in the "Élément lacustre", "Cours d'eau" and "Élément du relief" sub-categories of the "Intérieur des terres" class, when compared to Figures 3-5 for the "Élément marin" class, confirm this expectation. In fact, place names in the "Élément lacustre" sub-category of the "Intérieur des terres" class dominate in Chisasibi, Wemindji and Eastmain (all coastal), while place names in the "Cours d'eau" sub-category, also of the "Intérieur des terres" class, dominate in Waskaganish (also coastal). The Whapmagoostui (coastal) and Nemiscau (inland) communities' toponymies are a melange of place names in the "Élément lacustre", "Cours d'eau" and "Élément du relief" sub-categories, which predominate over place names in the three sub-categories in the class of "Élément marin" place names. In Waswanipi (inland), the class of place names which refer to features of the interior of the land also predominates over the class of place names which refer to features of the marine element. The Mistissini (inland) community's toponymy appears to be the most evenly distributed across the two principal classes and six sub-categories.

Besides the distribution of place names across the sub-categories within the limits of the Cree community boundaries, there are significant numbers of place names in the territory between Whapmagoostui and Lac Bienville; in the territory of the Réservoirs LG-Deux, Trois and Quatre (east of Chisasibi); in the territory around Lac Sakami and the Réservoir Opinaca (east of

Figure 6 :
Cree Territory
Toponymy:
Type of Feature,
Élément lacustre
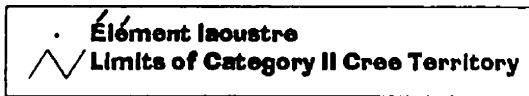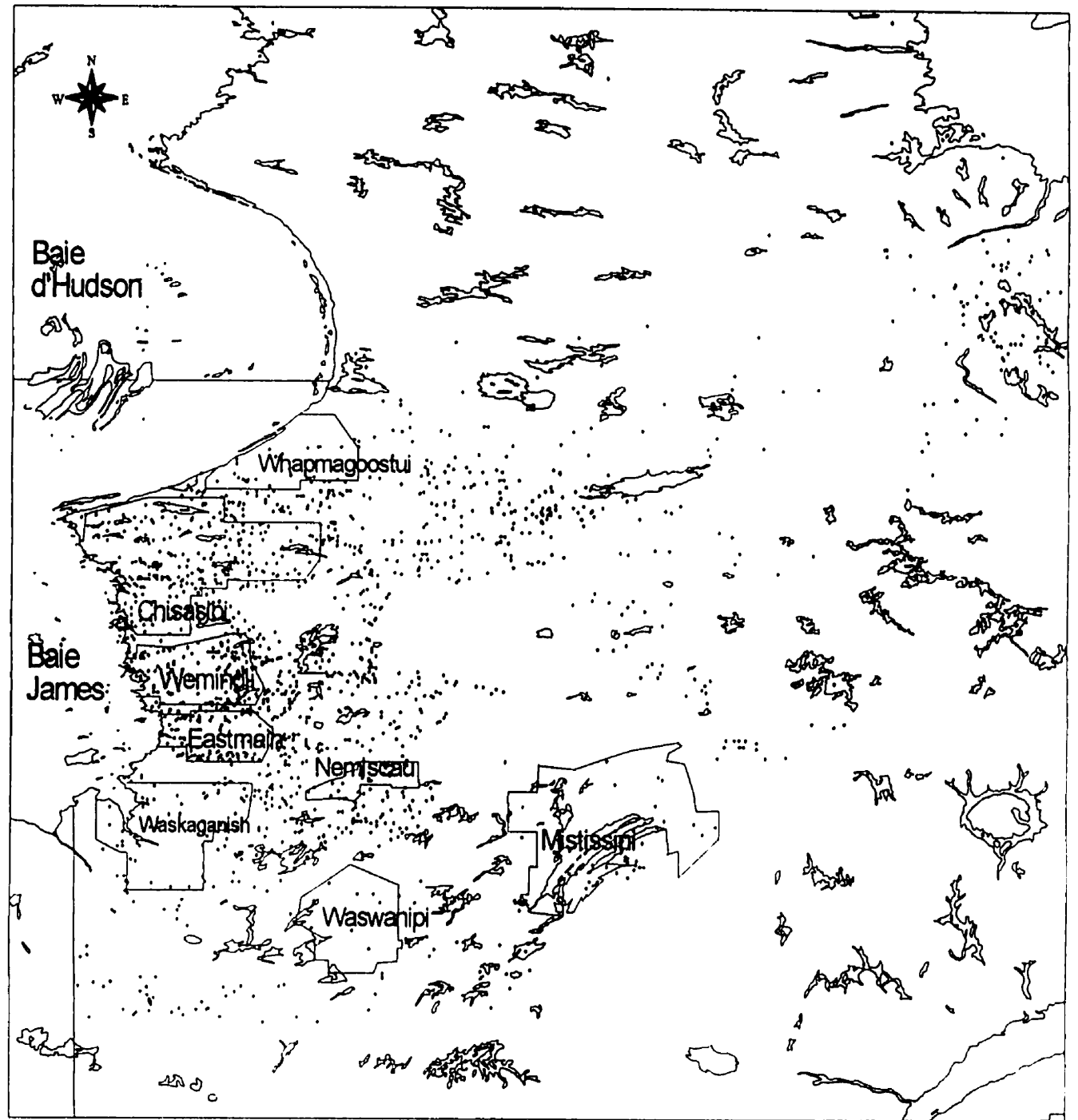
Légende:
· Élément lacustre
/\ Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

Figure 7 :
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Type of Feature,
Cours d'eau
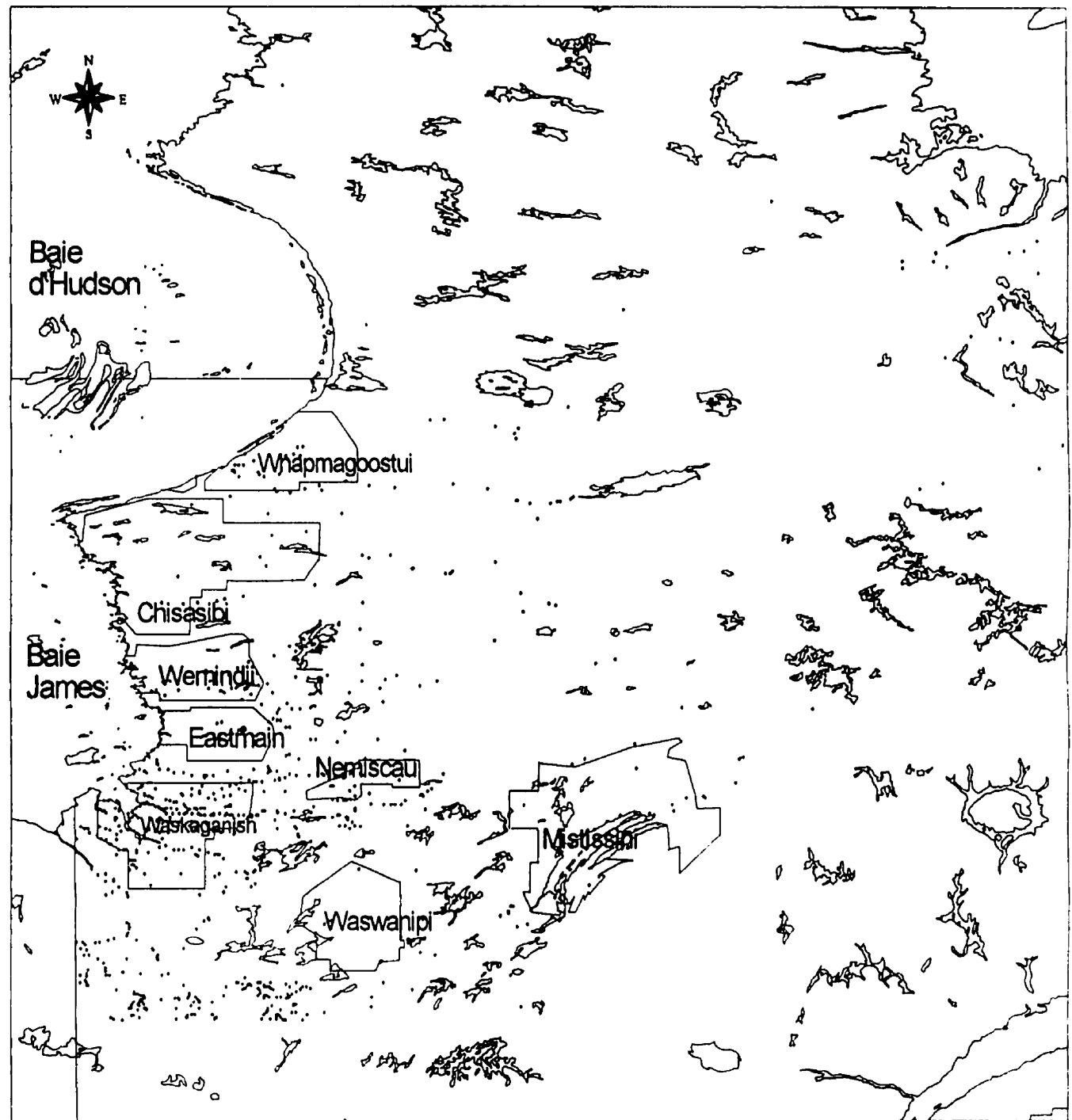
Legend:
- Cours d'eau
- Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Map labels:
- Baie d'Hudson
- Whapmagoostui
- Chisasibi
- Baie James
- Wemindji
- Eastmain
- Nemiscau
- Waskaganish
- Mistissini
- Waswanipi

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Scale: 300 0 300 600 Kilometers

Figure 8 :
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Type of Feature,
Élément du relief

Élément du relief

Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Baie
d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Wemindji

Eastmain

Baie
James

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Nemiscau

Waswanipi

300   0   300   600   Kilometers

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

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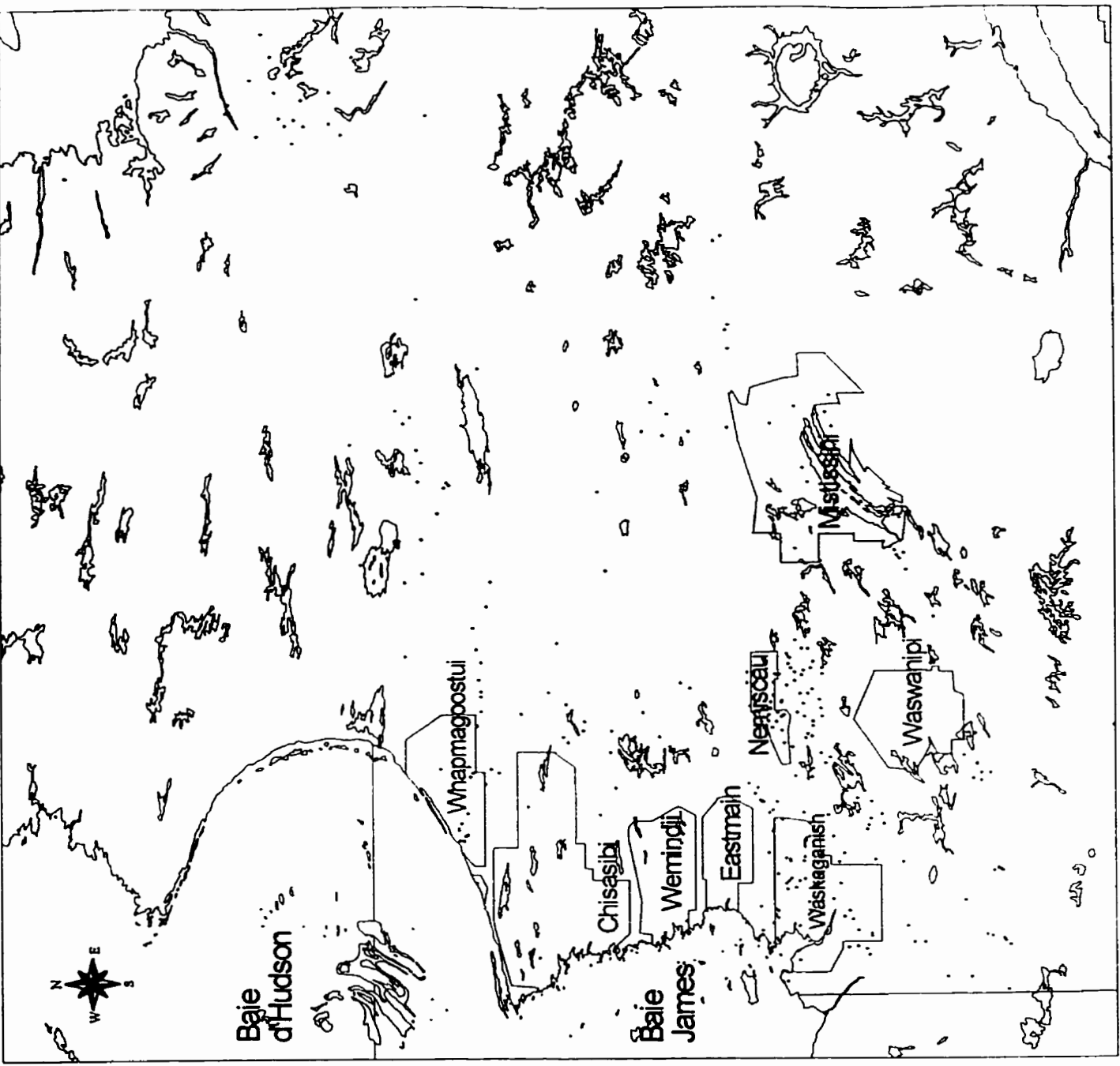
Wemindji and Eastmain); and in the territory south of Waskaganish to the 49th parallel. Place

names in the "Élément lacustre" sub-category dominate in all but the last of these territories,

where place names in the "Cours d'eau" sub-category dominate instead.

Above, I stated that to expect that the class of place names which refer to features of the marine

element is numerically more important in the toponymy of the coastal Cree communities than in

the toponymy of the inland Cree communities is not to say that this class of place names is

numerically more important than the class of place names which refer to features of the interior of

the land in the toponymy of the Cree in general (or perhaps even the toponymy of the coastal Cree

communities). I made this statement assuming a similarity to Collignon's (1996) findings

concerning Inuit toponymy. Collignon reports that about 55% of her set of Inuit place names

refer to features of the interior of the land, while 45% refer to features of the marine element.

While it is true that place names which refer to features of the marine element neither predominate

in the toponymy of the Cree territory in general nor within the toponymy of the coastal Cree
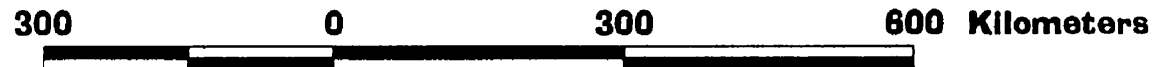
communities, my findings concerning Cree territory toponymy are not similar to Collignon's

findings concerning Inuit toponymy in that Cree territory toponyms are not relatively evenly

distributed between the two major feature type categories. In fact, 86% of the 3567 place names

which refer to natural features fall in the "Intérieur des terres" class, while only 14% fall in the

"Élément marin" class. This likely reflects differences in faunal resource exploitation, with the

Inuit being more reliant on seal and other more northern marine faunal resources, while the Cree

are more reliant on inland faunal resources. The distribution of "Terres de la catégorie I inuit" and

"Terres de la catégorie II inuit" lands show a more coastal orientation than the corresponding

"Terres crie" distributions.

My third expectation is that place names referring to features of the marine element have gradually decreased in relative numerical importance since the 1960s. Charts 1 and 2 show the statistical distribution of Cree toponymy according to Type of Feature at 5-year intervals (beginning 1968 12 05 and ending 1997 03 25). Chart 1 shows the distribution by number of toponyms (the total for 68/12/05-97/03/25 being 3567 toponyms), while Chart 2 shows the distribution by percent of toponyms. Chart 2 reveals that, after an increase in the period 73/12/05-78/12/05 over the previous period, the trend has been towards the expected *decreasing* importance in the percent of place names referring to features of the marine element. It should be noted that in the period 93/12/05-97/03/25 only one toponym, referring to a feature in the "Cours d'eau" sub-category, was officially recognized, which is why this sub-category accounts for 100% of toponyms for that period. Whether this decrease in the percent of place names referring to features of the marine element and the present-day uneven distribution of Cree territory place names between the two principal classes (interior and marine) is actually a result of a gradual evolution in the faunal resource exploitation of the Cree is hard to determine since it requires factoring out other possible influences, such as, for example, an uneven distribution in surveys in the informants' communities of residence across the different periods.

Results of Classifying Cree Territory Place Names According to the Meaning of the Names

My fourth expectation, concerning the classification and generalization of Cree territory place names according to the meaning of the names, is that the numerical distribution of the place names

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Chart1

Cree toponymy: Type of Feature
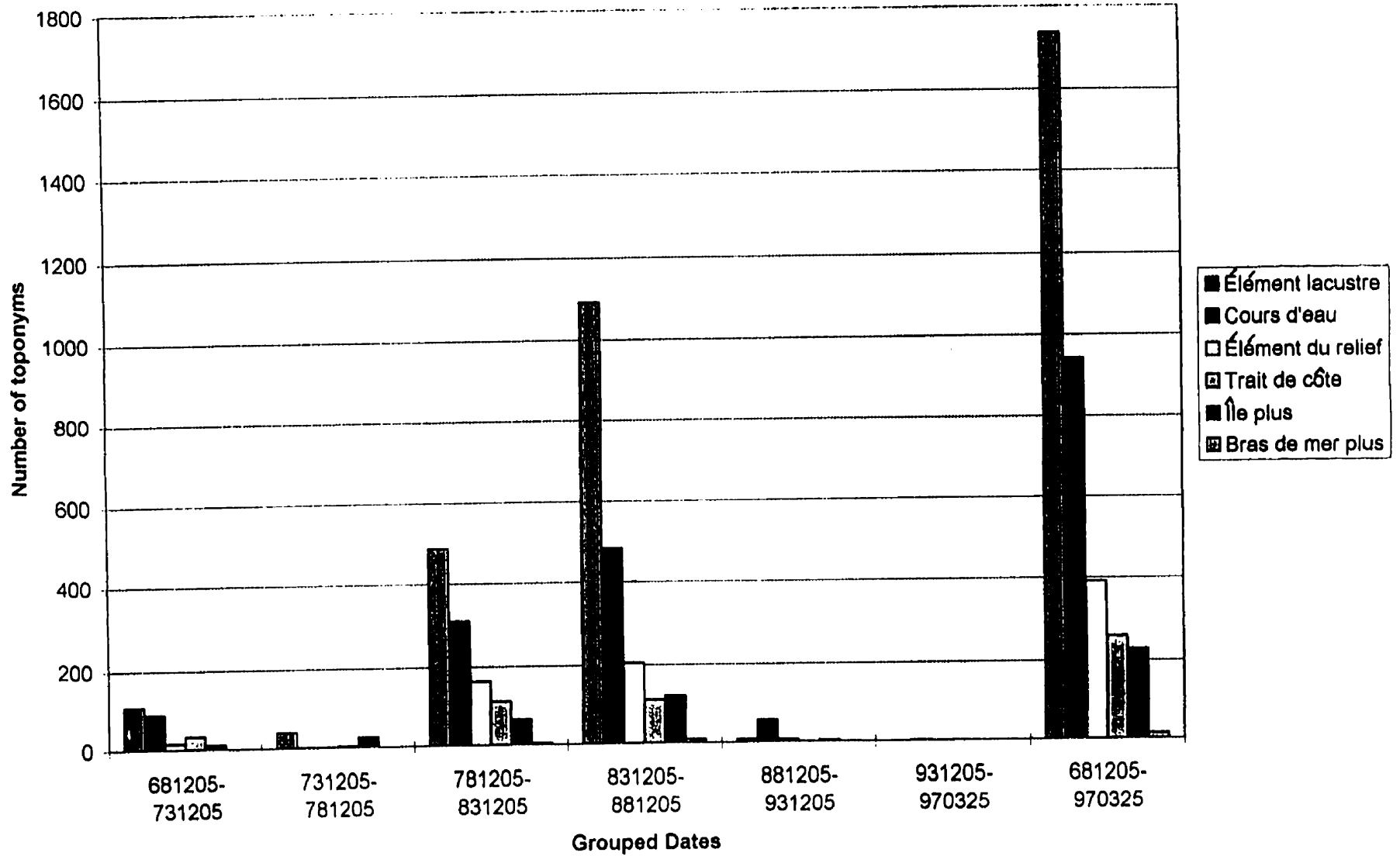
Chart2

Cree Toponymy: Type of Feature

Legend:
- Bras de mer plus
- Île plus
- Trait de côte
- Élément du relief
- Cours d'eau
- Élément lacustre

X-axis (Grouped Dates): 681205-731205, 731205-781205, 781205-831205, 831205-881205, 881205-931205, 931205-970325, 681205-970325

Y-axis: Percentage of Toponyms (0% to 100%)

214
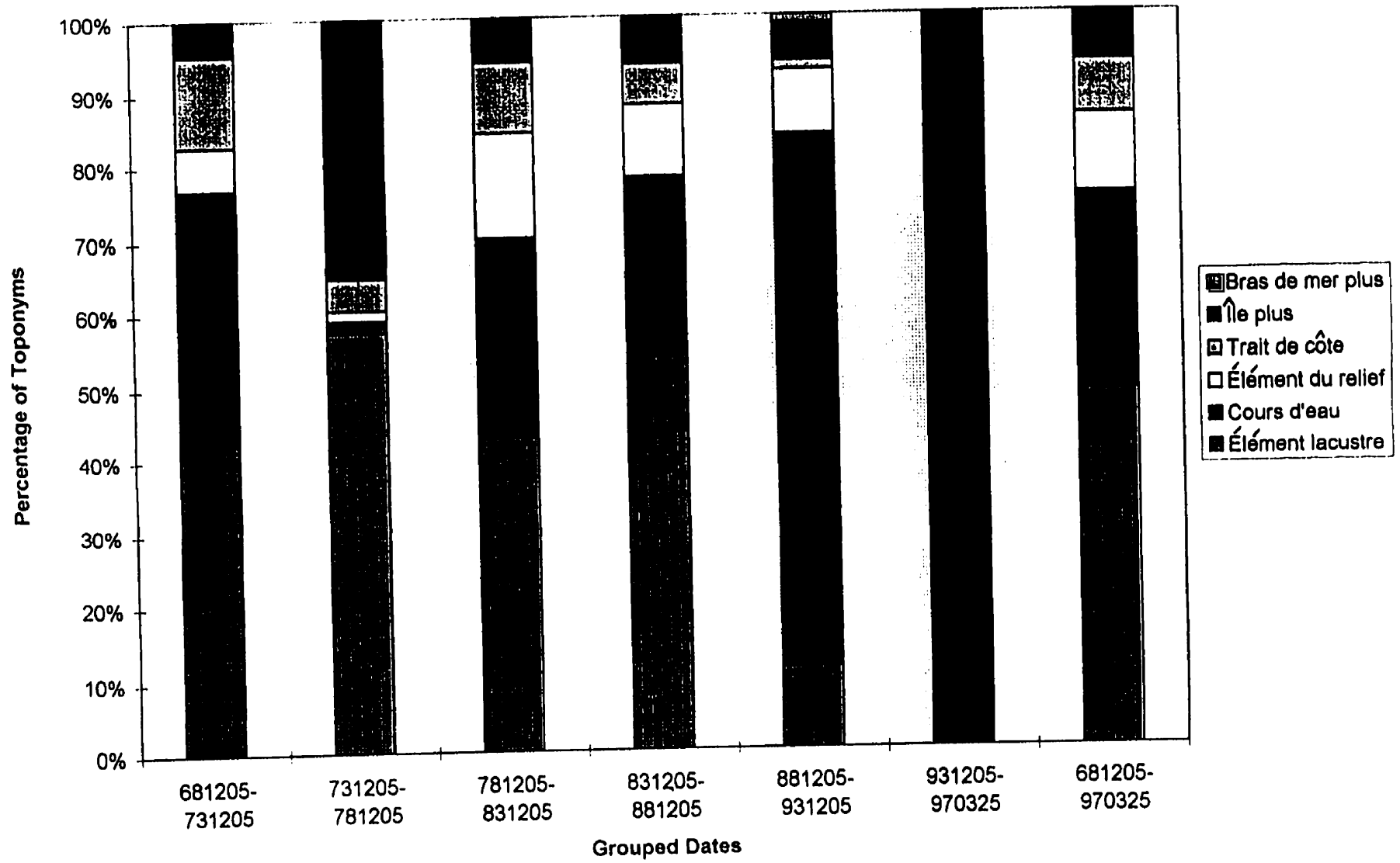
is similar to the results described by Denton (1996) for the Whapmagoostui Cree set. This

expectation is generally confirmed. In both the set of Cree territory place names and in the

Whapmagoostui Cree set of place names the "Physical environment" and "Faunal resources"

categories are the two most numerically important. However, while Denton reports that

approximately one-third of Whapmagoostui place names "are descriptions of hydrographic,

topographic, geomorphological or vegetational features" (p.4) and that over one-third of the

names "refer directly to faunal resources" (p.6), the corresponding figures for the set of Cree

territory place names are 60% and 20% (out of a total of 1290 toponyms). Of course, the

assumption in making this comparison is that Denton would have classified (generalized) the

Commission's categorization of the set of Cree territory place names in the same way that I did.

Since Whapmagoostui is the most northern of the Cree communities, it may not be among one of

the more 'typical' Cree communities in terms of it toponymy, which may account for these

differences between these percent figures for the Whapmagoostui Cree set of data and the

Commission de toponymie's set of Cree territory data.

Denton (1996) reports that "roughly 500" of the over 3000 Whapmagoostui Cree place names

"refer to events and to persons" (p.8), which is about 16%. In the set of Cree Territory place

names, place names which refer to "Events and people" account for 14% (out of a total of 1290

toponyms). In both cases, this category of place names ranks third in numerical importance, and

the percent figures are close.

Denton (1996) does not provide figures for the number or percent of Whapmagoostui Cree place names in the "Traditional technology" category. By process of elimination, I have determined that this category could represent up to about 12% of the set of Whapmagoostui Cree place names. (The assumption here is that the 90 place names relating to portages (about 3%) account for all the place names in the "Travel" category.) If this is the case, then the "Traditional technology" category ranks fourth among the categories classifying the meanings of Whapmagoostui Cree place names. In the set of Cree territory place names, the "Traditional technology" category also ranks fourth, at 2%.

Denton (1996) reports that about 3% of Whapmagoostui Cree place names relate to myth or to spirit beings (p.9), and another 3% relate to portages (names relating to travel) (p.7). In the set of Cree territory place names, the "Myth or spirit beings" and "Travel" categories each account for 1.86% (out of a total of 1290 toponyms). Thus, these categories classifying the meanings of Cree place names appear to be the least numerically important in Whapmagoostui Cree toponymy and in Cree territory toponymy in general, although this does not imply that they are the least culturally significant.

My fifth expectation concerning the classification and generalization of Cree territory place names is that the expected distinction between coastal and inland communities in the typology which classifies Cree territory place names according the feature type is also reflected in the typology which classifies Cree territory place names according to the meaning of the names. If the distinction between the toponymies of the coastal and inland communities is important, then the

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toponymy of the coastal Cree communities rather than the toponymy of the inland Cree communities should more closely mirror Whapmagoostui (a coastal community) Cree toponymy as described in Denton's study. My comments recall that Denton reported that about one-third of Whapmagoostui Cree place names are "descriptions of hydrographic, topographic, geomorphological or vegetal features" and one-third "refer directly to faunal resources".

Figures 9 and 10, which show the geographic distribution of Cree territory place names which relate to the physical environment and to faunal resources, respectively, do not seem to strongly confirm or disconfirm this fifth expectation. While in Chisibi, Wemindji and Eastmain (all coastal) the distribution of place names between these two categories seems to show a greater balance (like Denton's figures for Whapmagoostui) than the figures for Cree territory toponymy in general, in Whapmagoostui and Waskaganish (also coastal), place names in the "Physical environment" category clearly predominate over place names in the "Faunal resources" category, which is also the case for the inland communities of Nemiscau and Mistissini.

Figure 11, which shows the distribution of Cree territory place names which relate to events and people, seems to reveal that in two coastal Cree communities, Wemindji and Eastmain, and in one inland Cree community, Nemiscau, this category of place names is of above average numerical importance (the figure for Cree territory toponymy in general is 14% of 1290 toponyms). Again, this does not seem to support the case for a distinction between the coastal and inland Cree community toponymies. Figures 12-14, which show the distribution of Cree territory place names referring to Travel, Traditional technology, and Myth or Spirit Beings are presented but not

Figure 9:
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Physical environment

Physical environment
Limits of Category II Cree Territory

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Baie d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

300   0   300   600 Kilometers
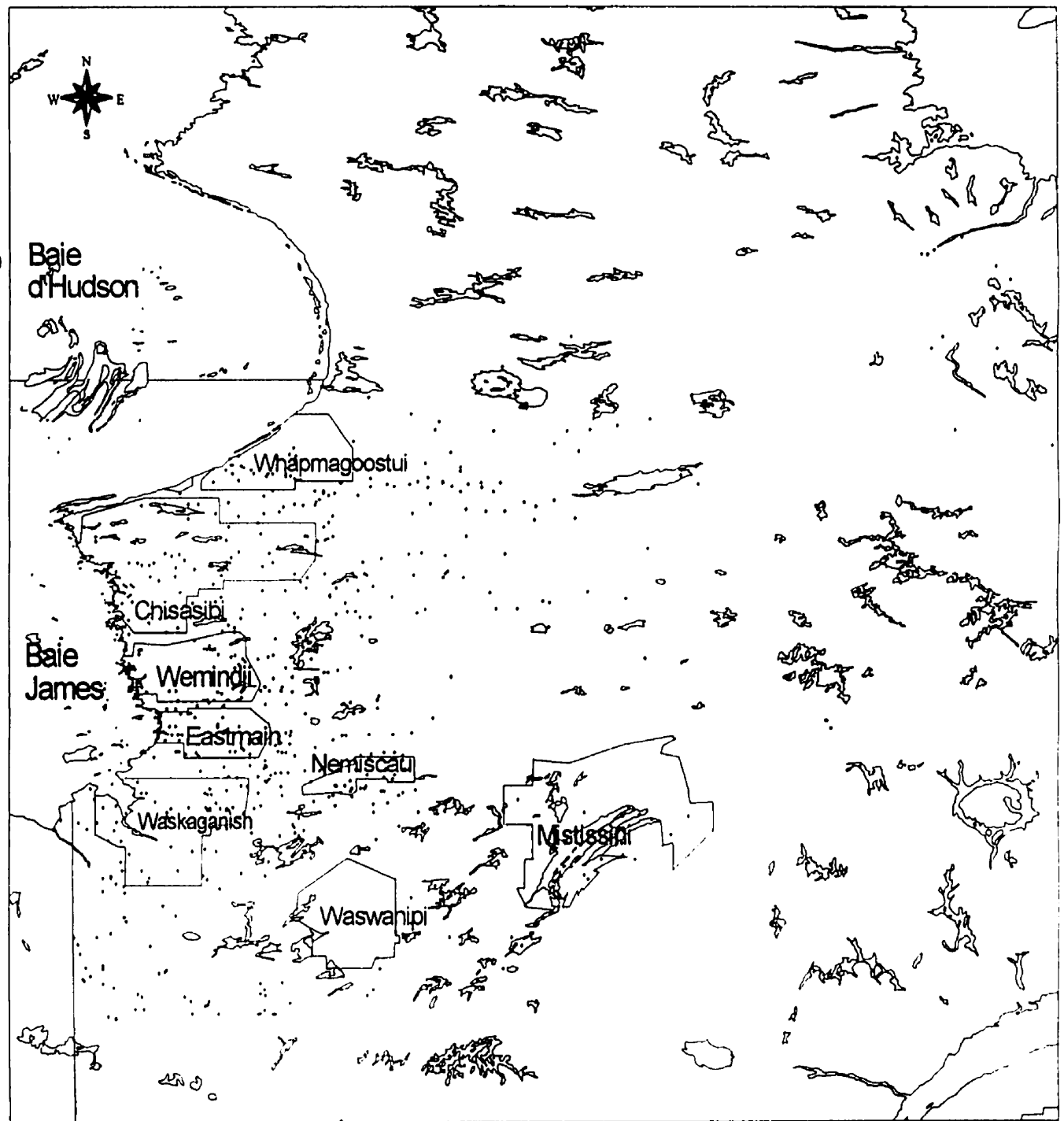
**Figure10:
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Faunal resources**

Baie
d'Hudson

Faunal resources
Limits of Category II Cree Territory
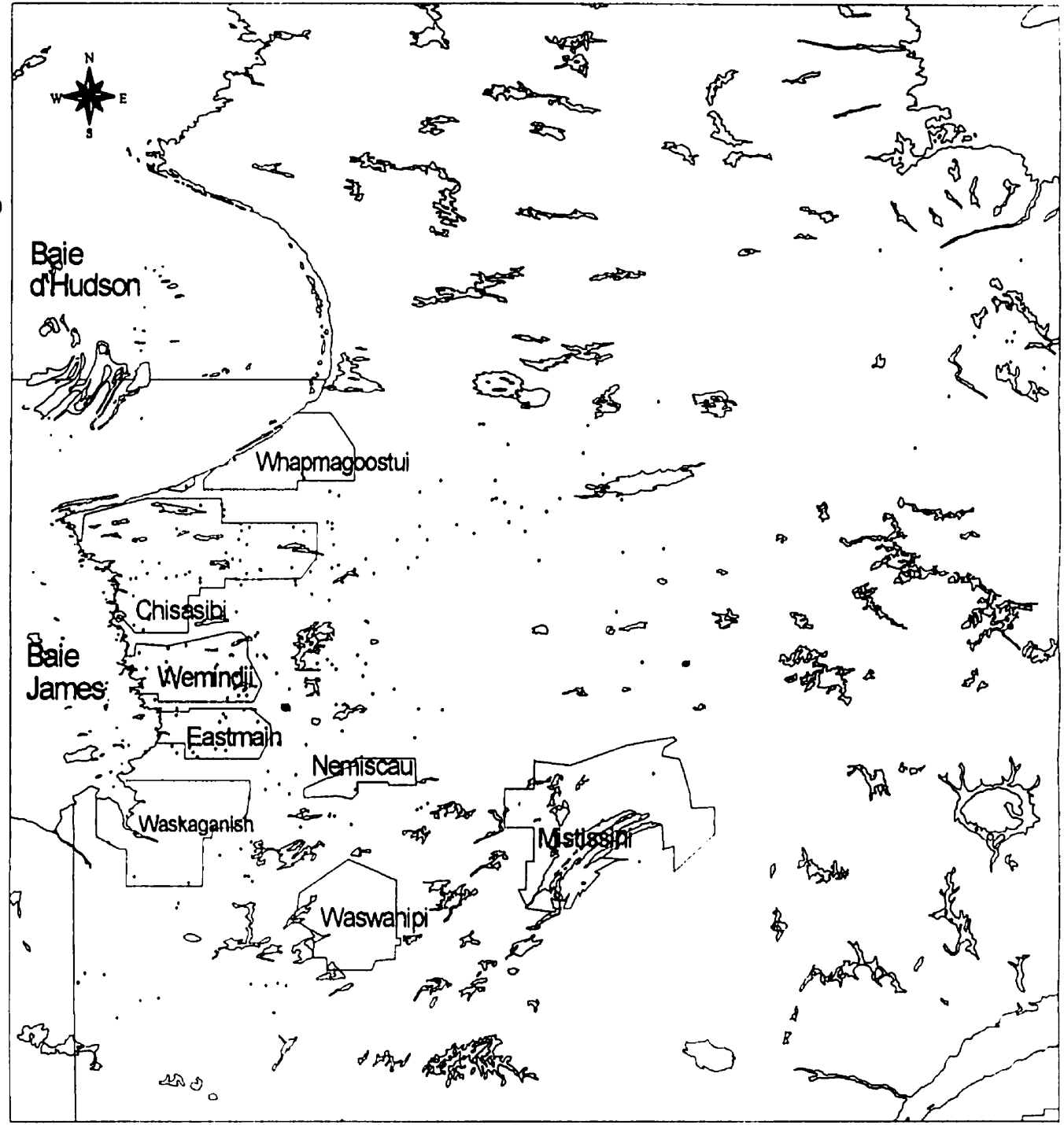
Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie
James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mstissibi

Waswanipi

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Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

Figure 11:
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Events and people

Legend:
- Events and people
- Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Baie d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibr

Baie James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

discussed since they neither directly relate to my focus on what the data reveal about socio-economic and political developments nor do the definitions of these categories which generalize the Commission's classification seem to correspond with Denton's categories.

My sixth expectation is that the numerical importance of place names referring to fish and other aquatic resources has declined while the numerical importance of place names referring to terrestrial faunal resources has increased since the 1960s. This expectation makes sense since the Cree have been cautioned to limit their consumption of fish due to mercury and other contamination resulting from the flooding, and since the number of intensive Cree hunters has increased following the JBNQA as a result of the provision of income security payments for Cree hunters (Feit, 1995b, p.211). Charts 3 and 4 show the statistical distribution of Cree toponymy according to the meaning of the place names at 5-year intervals (beginning 1968 12 05 and ending 1997 03 25). Chart 3 shows the distribution by number of toponyms (the total for 68/12/05-97/03/25 being 1290 toponyms), while Chart 4 shows the distribution by percent of toponyms. I include these charts for the reader's reference, but since t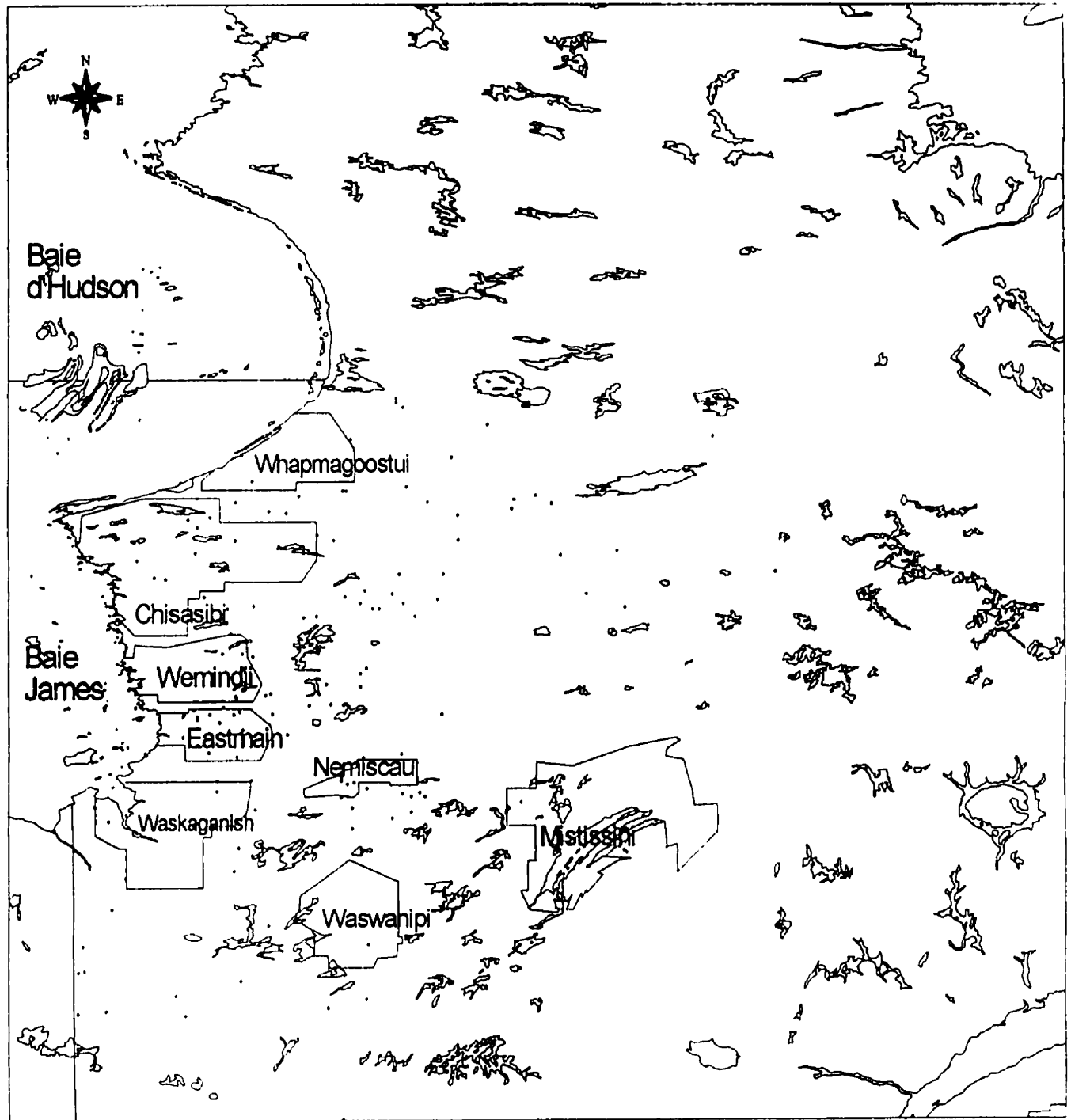hey do not show the breakdown of the "Faunal resources" category (or any of the other categories), I refer the reader to charts 5 and 6 in order to discuss this sixth expectation.

Charts 5 and 6 show the statistical distribution of Cree toponyms which refer to faunal resources across the sub-categories (Quadrupèdes, Oiseaux, Animaux marins et amphibies, etc.) at 5-year intervals (beginning 1968 12 05 and ending 1997 03 25). Chart 5 shows the distribution by number of toponyms (the total for 68/12/05-97/03/25 being 260 toponyms), while Chart 6 shows

Chart3

Cree Toponymy: Meaning of Place Name

Legend:
- Physical environment
- Faunal resources
- Travel
- Traditional technology
- Events and people
- Myth or sprit begins

X-axis (Grouped Dates): 681205-731205, 731205-781205, 781205-831205, 831205-881205, 881205-931205, 931205-970325, 681205-970325

Y-axis (Number of Toponyms): 0, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800
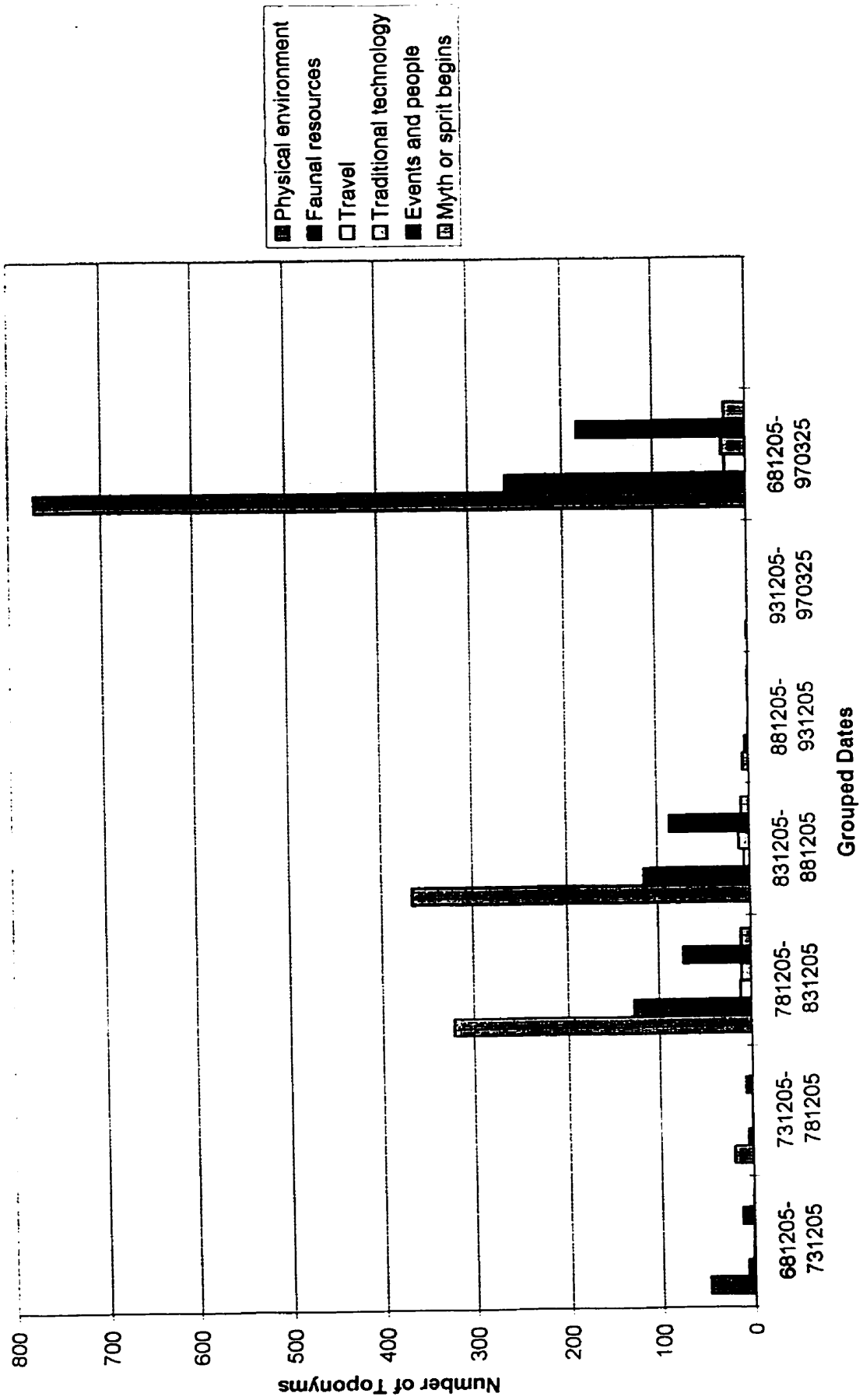
Chart4

Cree Toponymy: Meaning of Place Name

Chart5

Cree toponymy: Faunal resources

Legend:
- En général
- Quadrupedes
- Oiseaux
- Animaux marins...
- Reptiles
- Mollusques
- Insectes

Y-axis: Number of Toponyms (0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120)

X-axis (Grouped Dates): 681205-731205, 731205-781205, 781205-831205, 831205-881205, 881205-931205, 931205-970325, Grand Total

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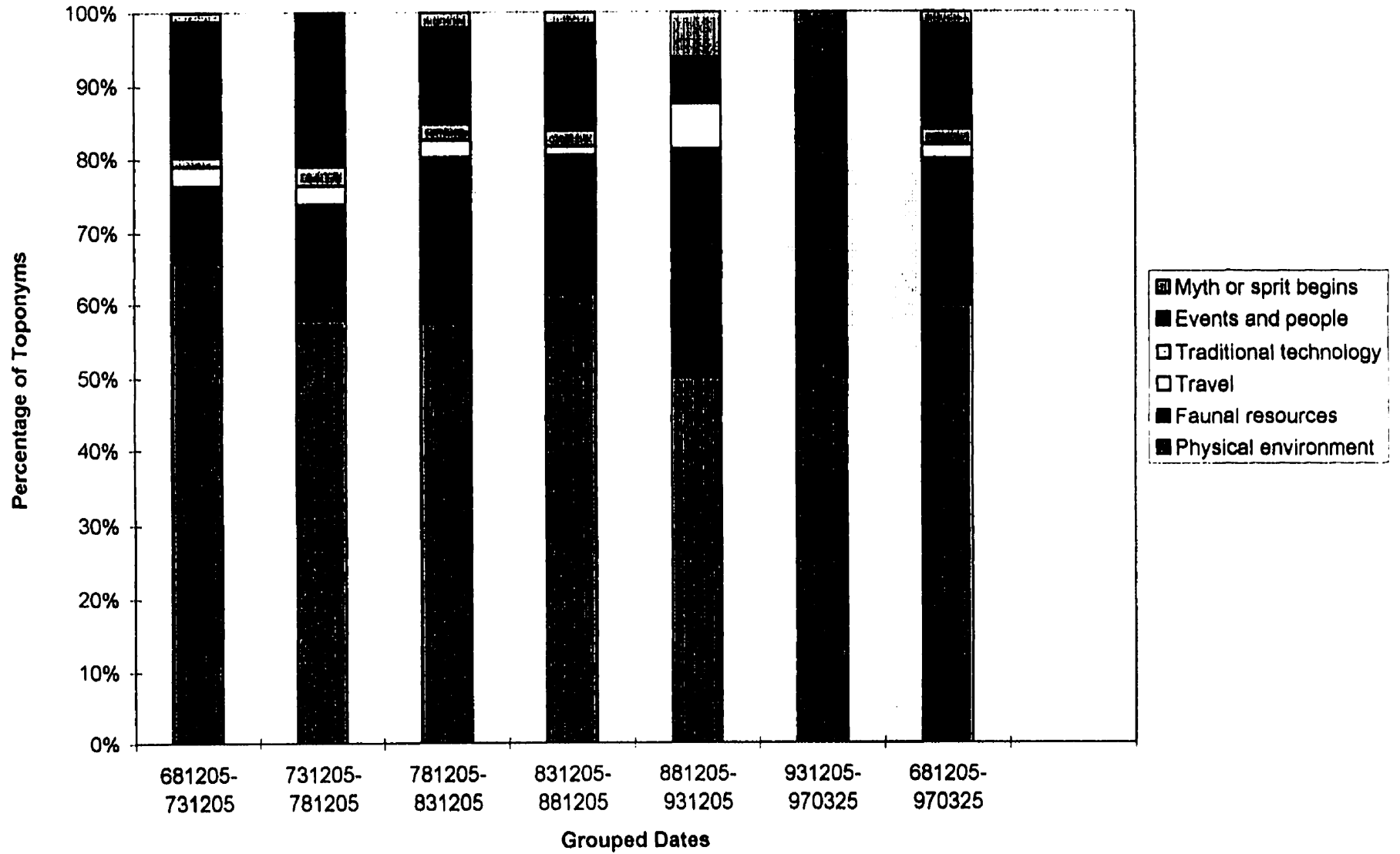
Chart6

Cree Toponymy: Faunal resources

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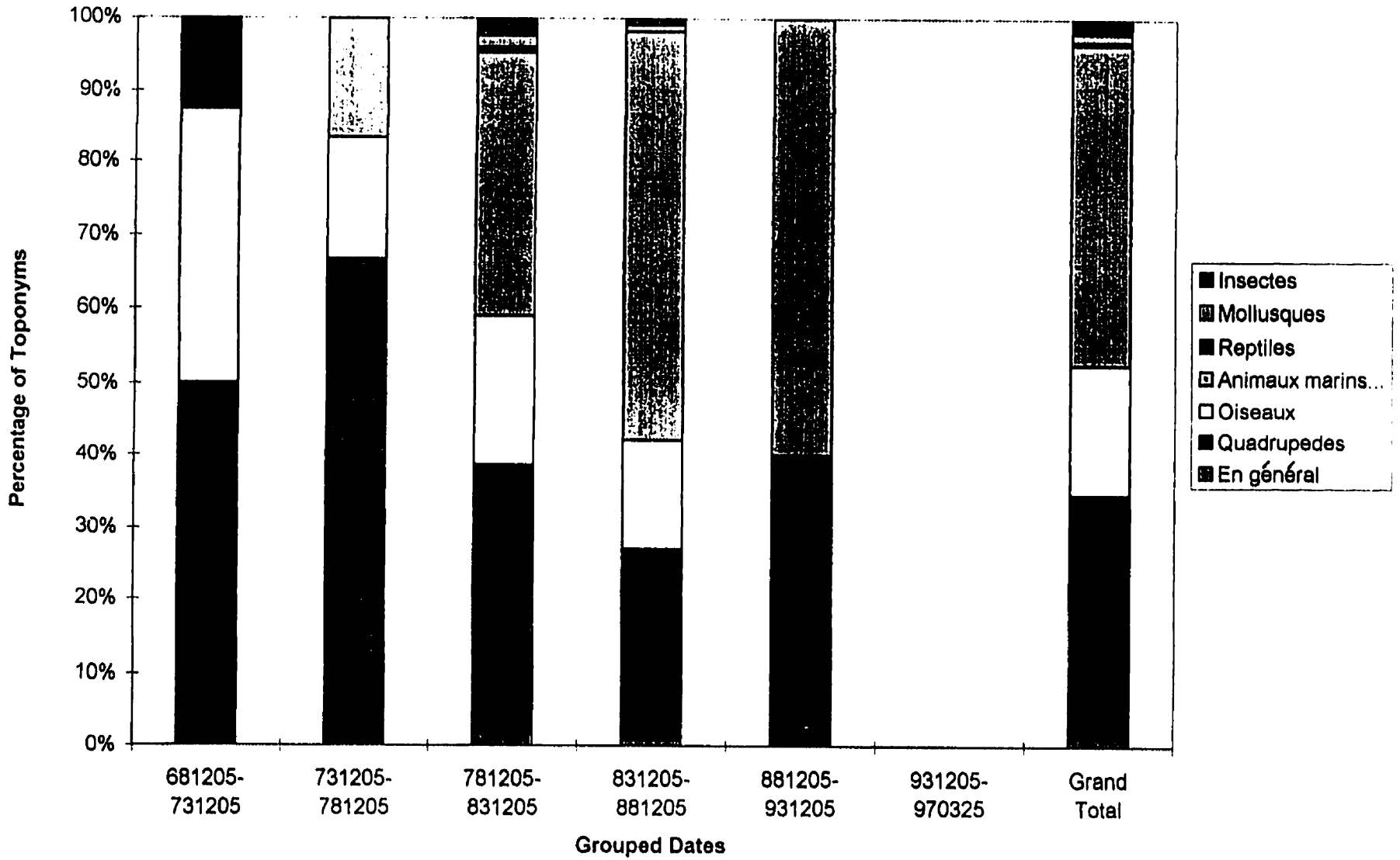
the distribution by percent of toponyms. The two charts do not support my expectation that the numerical importance of place names referring to fish and other aquatic resources has declined while the numerical importance of place names referring to terrestrial faunal resources has increased since the 1960s. With reference to chart 5 for example, although there is a decrease in the *number* of place names referring to "Animaux marins et amphibies" in the period 88/12/05-93/12/05, the trend since 68/12/05-73/12/05 has been an increase in the number of these place names. On the other hand, the number of place names referring to "Quadrupèdes" and to "Oiseaux" have declined from 78/12/05-83/12/05 to 88/12/05-93/12/05. No Cree territory place names referring to faunal resources were officially recognized in the period 93/12/05-97/03/25, which is why I have not included it in this discussion thus far. Chart 6 gives a clearer picture of the *relative distributions* of Cree territory place names across the faunal resources sub-categories. It reveals that from the period 68/12/05-73/12/05 to 88/12/05-93/12/05 there has been an increase in the percent of place names in the "Animaux marins et amphibies" sub-category from one period to the next, the opposite of what I expected. While the relative numerical importance of the "Quadrupèdes" and the "Oiseaux" sub-categories have fluctuated, taken together, the trend has been a decrease in the percentage of these place names, also not what I expected.

Again, in looking at the changing numbers and percent of place names across the different periods, the "naming" does not prim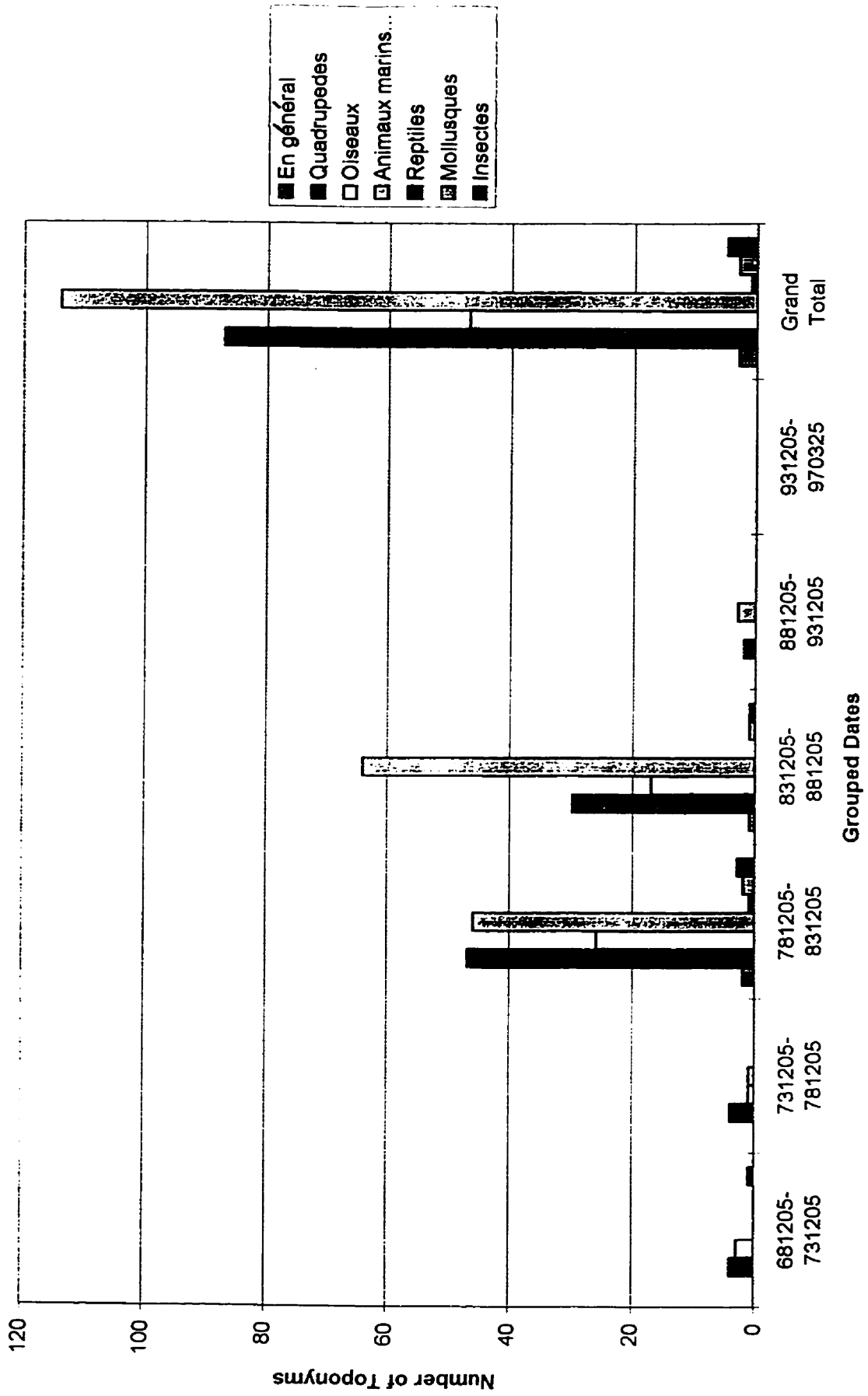arily refer to new naming, but rather it refers to the reporting of place names already in use and collected within the CTQ's survey program. Factors which could explain why my sixth expectation is not supported by the data include that the time period under consideration is too short to measure the impact of hydro-electric development and the

JBNQA on Cree territory toponymy. Another possibility is that the link between resource use and place naming (new naming, reporting of existing names) varies across faunal sub-categories - that is, the Cree may be more likely to name certain faunal types in toponyms regardless of the intensity of their use of those particular faunal types. For example, one name for the range (area) of a herd of caribou might be sufficient for communication about that resource, while more precise locational information (points) might be required for communication about fish resources. To get a better idea of how place names are indicators of socio-economic and political developments, it would seem that the study of Cree territory toponymy needs to go back in time as well as more in-depth into Cree naming practices, that is, deeper into the material and symbolic or "vertical" (Collignon, 1996, p.116) dimension of the construction of geographic knowledge. One aspect of a more in-depth re-presentation of the set of Cree territory place names is to map the names according to "locally defined interdependence" (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.11), which requires 'hearing' them in the context of stories about environment, history and culture (see Phase 3 Part 1). The Maori Oral History Atlas is one example of such an approach (NZGB, 1990). The Commission de toponymie du Québec's file of "notes" on the origin of the names may provide some clues, but this approach would necessitate in-depth interviewing in Communities.

Perhaps another reason why my sixth expectation (concerning a decline in names referring to marine faunal resources and an increase in names referring to terrestrial faunal resources) is not supported by the data is that place names are reported by the Cree with the goals of preservation and promotion of Cree toponymy in mind, which are cultural and political goals of a prescriptive nature. In that case, the reporting of place names during surveys does not necessarily reflect

current use or the intensity of current use of the various natural resources that certain place names

refer to. I turn to the examination of cultural and political goals of place naming in Phase Four.

Figure 12 :
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Travel
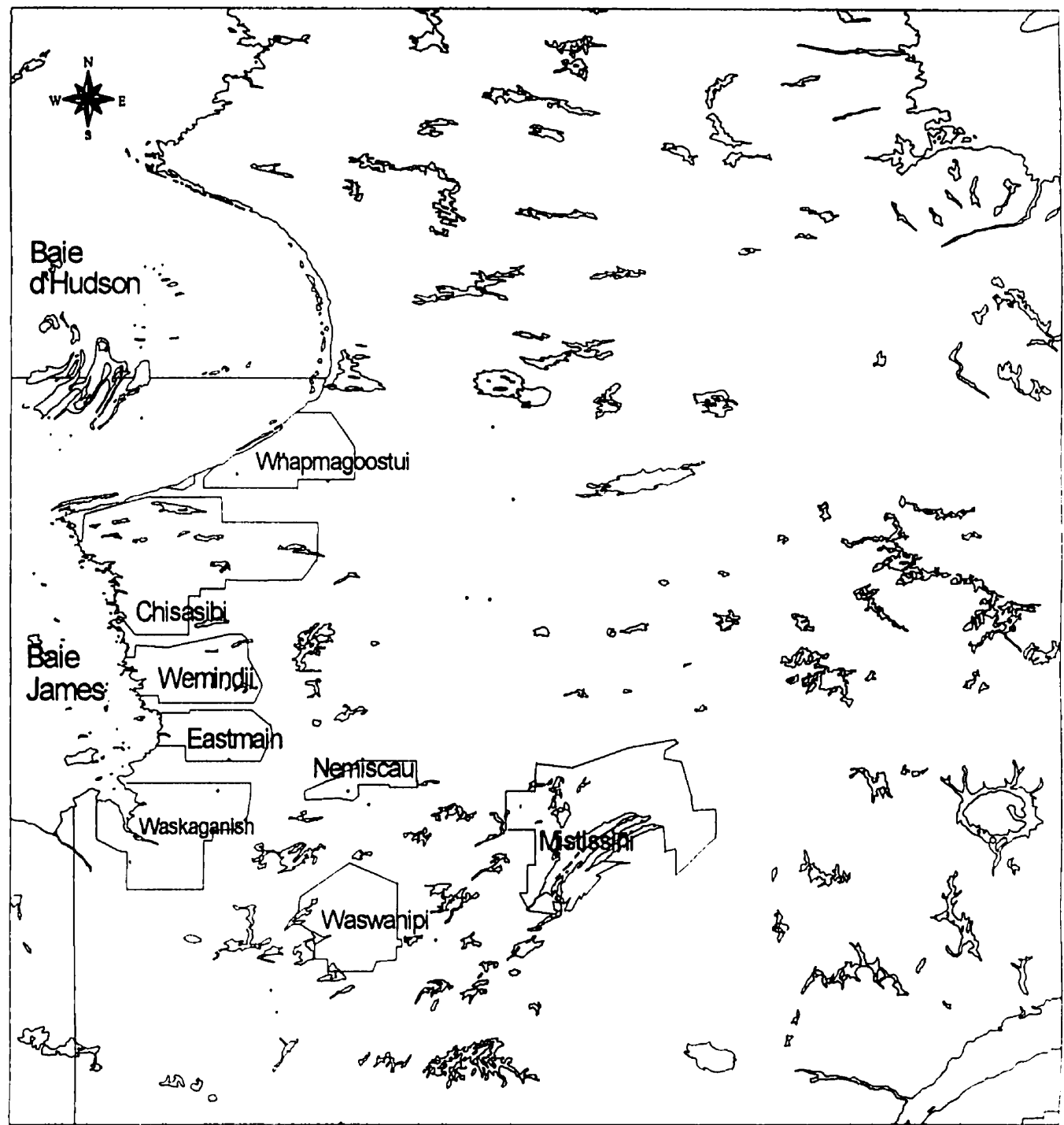
Travel
Limits of Category II Cree Territory

Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

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Baie
d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie
James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

Figure 13:
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Traditional Technology

· Traditional technology

/\/ Limits of Category II Cree Territory
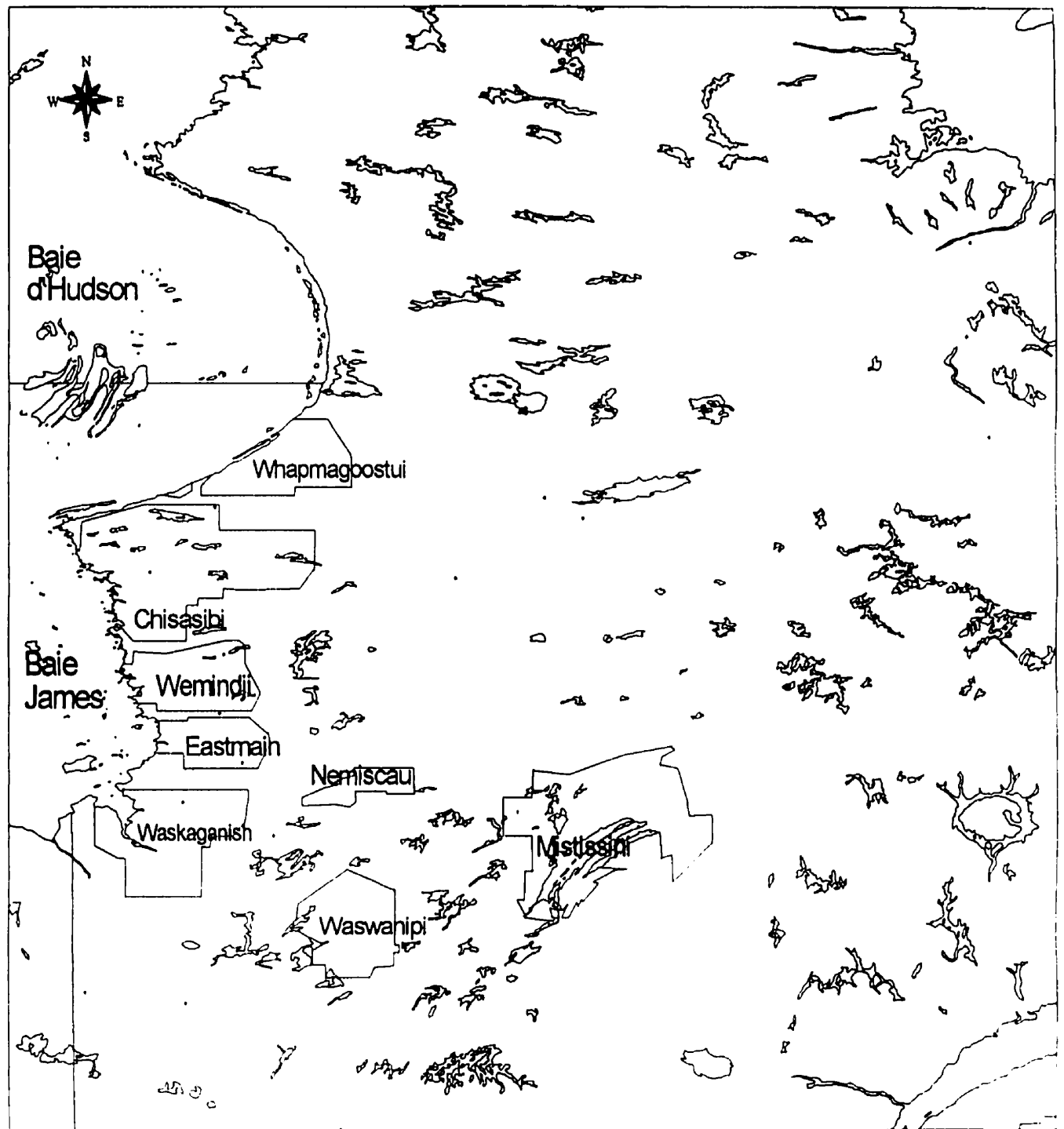
Baie
d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie
James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

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Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

Map created using ArcView GIS
with ArcWorld (Québec base map coverage)

300   0   300   600 Kilometers

Figure 14 :
Cree Territory
Toponymy
Meaning of Place Name,
Myth or spirit begins

- Myth or spirit beings
/\/ Limits of Category II Cree Territory
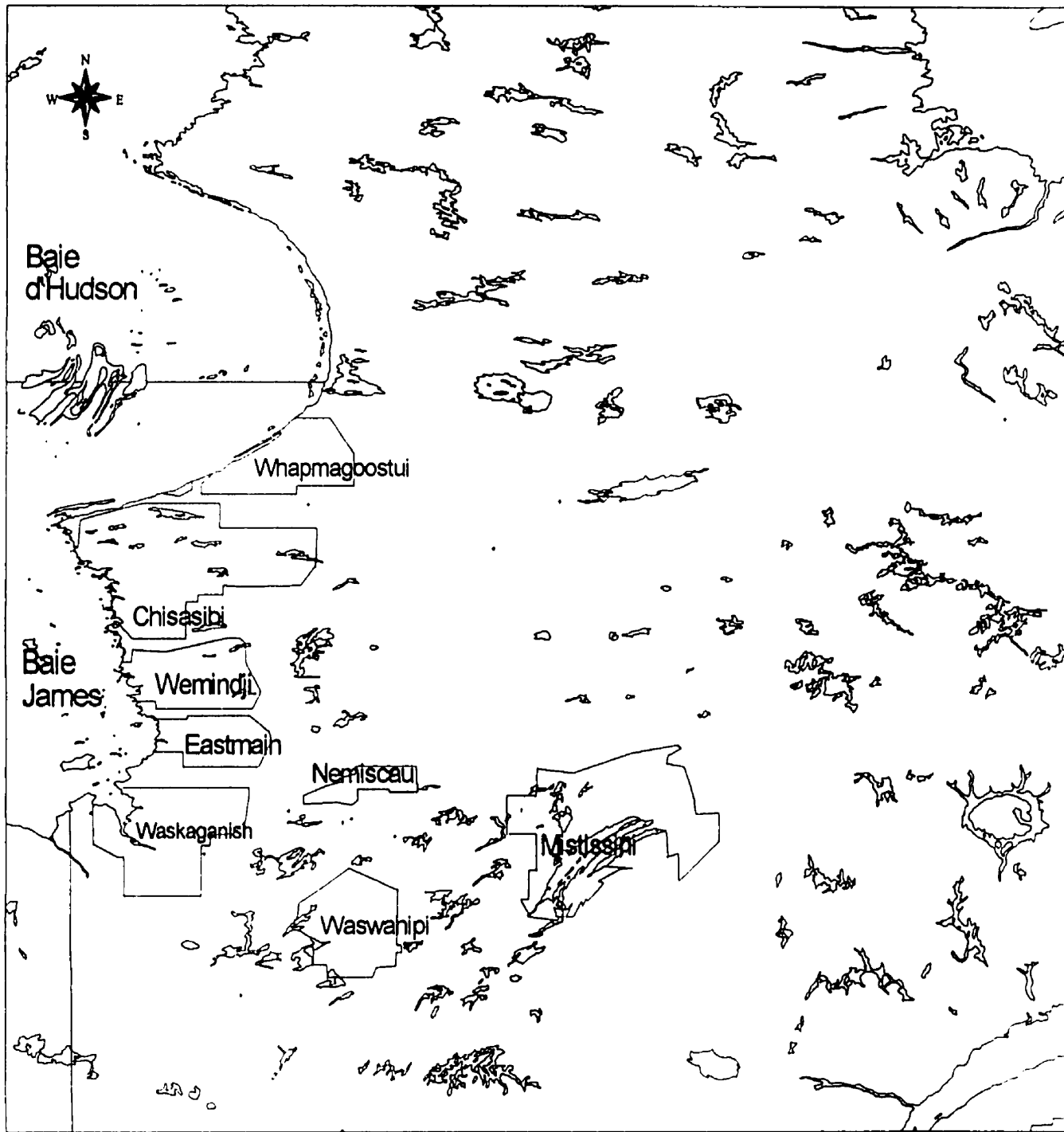
Baie
d'Hudson

Whapmagoostui

Chisasibi

Baie
James

Wemindji

Eastmain

Nemiscau

Waskaganish

Mistissini

Waswanipi

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Toponymic data from
Commission de toponymie
du Québec, 1997

300 0 300 600 **Kilometers**

PHASE FOUR: 'SPEAKING WITH NAMES' ACROSS CULTURES

INTRODUCTION: The Dual Meaning of Naming Across Cultures

'Speaking with names' is a term I borrow from the title of one of anthropologist Keith Basso's (1988) essays on place naming among the Western Apache. 'Speaking with names' refers to the Western Apache practice of using place names, which are associated with moral narratives, in "instances of everyday speech" (Basso, 1988, p.102) to teach and remind one another and self about what it means to be a Western Apache. Citing N. Scott Momaday's (1974) observations on how people "appropriate" their landscapes, Basso (1988) argues that it is "...chiefly through the manifold agencies of speech [that landscapes] can be "detached" from their fixed spatial moorings and transformed into instruments of thought and vehicles of purposive behaviour (Basso, 1988, p.102). The names are "detached" in the sense that their primary role in the particular "instances of everyday speech" (Basso, 1988, p.103) is not to refer (to locate in space) but to evoke (represent the meaning of a landscape). Thus, according to my harvesting metaphor, they are detached but not 'uprooted' since their power to evoke requires understanding the place names in cultural context. The action implied in speaking as opposed to hearing (which is relatively passive) is appropriate to this fourth phase of the learning cycle since I focus on more conscious or self-conscious (or perhaps even less 'taken-for-granted') instances of naming, specifically ideological and political naming.

My reference to looking at the practice of 'Speaking with names' "across cultures" has a dual meaning. One, it refers to the fact that instances of ideological and political naming can be found all over the world. Indeed, my review of the literature in Part One draws on examples from at least three different regions of the world. "Across cultures" also refers to how ideological and political naming responds to the discursive practices of the Other in a disputed territory. The juxtaposition of competing place names in "Israel/Palestine" and "New Zealand/Aotearoa", etc. highlights the contest between at least two naming systems, languages, world views, etc. in these disputed territories. My case study focuses on the contest of naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee.

Overview of Parts One and Two

In Phase Four of the learning cycle, the two key theoretical elements of the learning approach, namely the themes of "myth-making as it relates to identity" and "knowledge is power", come together in the theme of "identity politics" or "cultural politics". Under the heading "Place names as stories about identity politics", I focus on the study of how different communities and nations put language, specifically place names, to work in confronting each another in their efforts to maintain and increase or to challenge and increase power, depending on their respective positions. Thus, Part One of Phase Four of the learning cycle begins with a discussion of singer-songwriter-activist Buffy Saint-Marie's political use of the place name "Wounded Knee". I relate this discussion to Colin H. Scott's argument that Aboriginal peoples' cultural distinctiveness is a "key value and indispensable political resource" (Scott, 1993, p.311). Next, I 'travel' from the United States to look at the struggle over place naming in Iran, Israel/Palestine, Brazil and New Zealand/Aotearoa, gathering some 'tools' for the analysis of the cultural politics of place naming

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in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, my main destination. The literature review reveals that some of the bases for toponymic resistance are secular (or religious) identification, ethnic identification, ideological identification, economic identification, and a complex articulation of 'race', gender and class identifications. As I pointed out in Phase Two, Part One, the descriptive work that such themes as North as hinterland and North as heritage and also North as homeland do is better understood when they are linked 'down' to the bases for identification.

Under the heading "Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee", I begin my case study by discussing how Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's "civilizing" of the Cree of northern Québec is an example of how Aboriginal leaders recodify images of Aboriginal peoples and places. The purpose of my decision to refer to the region in question as "Baie James/Eeyou Istchee" (James Bay in English) is to highlight the articulation of two political and geographical discourses: the dominant discourse of the government of Québec, which is contested by the discourse of resistance of the Eeyou (the Cree Nation), mainly through the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec). Part Two examines official references to place names in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee in two publications of the Commission de toponymie du Québec: the Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec (1982) and Noms et Lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré (1994). Then, in the sections which follow, I describe the plural meaning of "power" in the context of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, and I introduce a sketch of the cultural politics of place naming which outlines how the plural meaning of "power" is implicated in toponymic resistance, particularly with respect to Cree place names associated with (describing) resources or resource exploitation. The sketch provides a context for examining how Cree territory toponymy is being put to new uses in the wake of the Cree

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experience of the James Bay I hydro-electric project, Cree opposition to the James Bay II and, particularly, the "forcible inclusion" of Cree territory in the idea of a sovereign Québec. Furthermore, in "Naming Caniapiscau", I return to the analysis of the recent controversy over Commission de toponymie du Québec's naming of 101 islands in the Caniapiscau Reservoir to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Bill 101. The relevance of the principal themes, models, and metaphors (and 'method') introduced in Phase One and throughout the other phases is highlighted in this analysis of the contest between prescriptive naming and resistance. The case study situates the contest between certain names at various scales in the broader contest between language systems, economic models and world views. Finally, under the heading "The Cree Imagination", I briefly discuss how Aboriginal discourses of resistance do their own "naturalizing" work.

PART ONE: Place Names as Stories About Identity Politics

<u>'Speaking With Names' in America</u>

Indian legislation on the desk of a
do-right Congressman
Now, he don't know much about the issue
so he picks up the phone and he asks advice
from the
Senator out in Indian country
A darling of the energy companies who are
ripping off what's left of the reservations. Huh
...
We had the Goldrush Wars
Didn't we learn to crawl
and still our history gets written
in a liar's scrawl
They tell ya
"Honey you can still be an Indian
d-d-d down at the Y
on Saturday nights"

Bury my heart at Wounded Knee
Deep in the Earth
Cover me with pretty lies
Bury my heart at Wounded Knee

(Buffy Sainte-Marie - Ensign Records Ltd., 1992)

I begin this section with reference to the song "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" from Buffy

Sainte-Marie's album, <u>Coincidence and Likely Stories</u> (Ensign Records Ltd., 1992) because this

song illustrates the link between personal and cultural identification and place naming in the

context of resistance to the dominant discourse on Aboriginal peoples and places. Sainte-Marie

"draws attention to the unequal distribution of power that inheres within cultural conceptions of

RACE, [class], GENDER..., extending to personal identities as well as to social relations

(Jackson, 1994, p.115). Sainte-Marie's reference to "Coincidence and Likely Stories" in the title

of her album relates to myth-making about Aboriginal peoples. The song "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" exposes some of these general and more specific myths, and challenges them.

The first stanza of the song situates Aboriginal peoples on their reservations, but this situation is precarious. Once the reservations (or other places in which Aboriginal peoples live) have been completely exploited by the energy (or other) companies with the support of the politicians, the implication is that these places can no longer sustain their populations. By the end of the song, Sainte-Marie exposes the ultimate goal of the authors of Indian legislation and official history, that is, to liquidate the reservation and '(re-)put the Indian in her place'. Her patronizers don't grant her the dignity of her own name, referring to her as "honey", and with a mock stutter, she is told that she can just as well be a drunken Indian in the city as on the reservation. But throughout the song—which more specifically tells the story of the events at and near Oglala, South Dakota, including the murder of activist Annie Mae and the wrongful conviction of Leonard Peltier (for the murders of two FBI agents near Wounded Knee, in 1975)—Sainte-Marie resists the attempt to be '(re-)put in her place'. She repeatedly commands that her heart be buried at Wounded Knee, *the* place symbolizing the truth of the history of Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relations in America. By invoking the name of a place which both commemorates a specific event (the 1890 massacre of Lakota families, ending the "Indian Wars") and more generally tells the story of Aboriginal resistance, Sainte-Marie, singer-songwriter-activist names/identifies herself along with Annie Mae, Leonard Peltier and Aboriginal peoples, for whom she speaks.

At the same time, Sainte-Marie has re-presented the dual image of the reservation as resource-to-be-exploited/federally-funded half-way house-to-be-closed by, repeatedly and with the last word, invoking the image of the reservation as the centre ("heart") of Aboriginal peoples resistance through her reference to Wounded Knee. This section of Part One further develops the argument, illustrated with reference to the song, that place names and place naming are integral to the re-presentation of Aboriginal peoples and places by Aboriginal peoples, and thus, to their resistance to domination.

I use the term "representation" to refer to images produced or invoked by the dominant discourse, and the term "re-presentation" to refer to images produced or invoked by Aboriginal peoples. My use of the term "re-presentation" does not necessarily imply that the images are new to Aboriginal peoples themselves, though in specific cases they may be, but rather that they are new to outsiders who have had much more exposure to the images produced or invoked by the dominant culture and its institutions.

Buffy Sainte-Marie's re-presentation of the American reservation as the centre ("heart") of Aboriginal peoples resistance through her invocation of the image of Wounded Knee relies on listeners/readers having some familiarity with the events that took place at Wounded Knee. Taken literally (denotatively), and without knowing the context, this place name could describe a physical injury sustained by someone in a battle or other type of confrontation that took place at that particular location, but it could equally describe a physical injury sustained while hunting, biking, playing basketball (assuming we have no time-frame), or while engaging in one of any

number of possible activities. If the place were named after a person with the name "Wounded Knee", the place name would commemorate the person but not necessarily an event that took place at that particular location. But perhaps, and, in fact, the name should not (only) be taken literally, thus allowing for such possibilities as that the name is (also) a metaphor for an affront to dignity, or for a massacre, or for resistance, etc. The point is that the effectiveness or *power* of using this place name to re-present the image of the American reservation is not in the place name itself but in the place name in its context (historical, cultural, etc.). This returns to the point that localized knowledges play a role in localized resistance. The plural meaning of "power" in the Baie James/Eeyou Istchee region makes analysis of the cultural politics of place naming in this region all the more interesting. Before looking at the intersection of dominant and localized knowledge, different types of power and naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, I seek out some tools for this analysis in the literature on the ideological and political uses of place naming.

Colin H. Scott (1993) argues that for Aboriginal peoples, cultural distinctiveness or Aboriginal culture is a "...key value and indispensable political resource..." in their resistance to domination (p.311-my emphasis). He notes that "[t]wo features of cultural rights are highlighted in the statements of aboriginal leaders" in discourses on self-government: "First, the authority of customs, traditions, and institutions stems from the customs and traditions themselves and their historical precedence, not from any non-aboriginal government. Second, aboriginal custom can adapt to contemporary circumstances without loss of rights" (p.318). Thus, the meaning of "Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness" in Aboriginal discourses of resistance challenges universalist claims to authority (or the myth of similarity), including the authority to judge the Other's cultural

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integrity (or lack thereof).

Robert Paine (1985) and Tord Larsen (1983) refer to the process by which cultural distinctiveness or Aboriginal culture is politicized as "recodification". Paine (1985) defines Fourthworlders, who are most often identified as indigenous minorities, as "...persons who recognize their encapsulation [ie as minorities or Nations within Nation-States] and devise strategies to combat it" (p.50). He argues that what characterizes Fourthworlders from others is that they seek "power inversions" through "symbolic inversions", including the use of "moral opposition" and "recodification" (ibid, p.51). According to Paine, recodification "...insists that ethnic identity and status must be by self-ascription, and no longer by the ascription of others" (ibid, p.57). Paine's observations on Aboriginal peoples' recodification efforts illustrate how the discourses of resistance of Aboriginal peoples insist on the recognition of the plurality of cultures:

> Increasingly, the term "minority" is dismissed by Fourth World ideologues as the colonial rhetoric of the privileged majority, and "First Nation" promoted (by Canada's Indians) as a principle of equal weight with citizenship of the state. In sum, what much of Fourth World ideology in the First World is working for is the replacement of encapsulation with a nesting relationship within the State - *minimizing unitary standards and control, maximizing cultural pluralism* (ibid, 1985, p.61-my emphasis).

An example of how the process by which Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness is politicized works to contest dominant meanings and images around a specific discourse is provided by Larsen (1983), who notes how welfare is "...sought, *recodified*, as compensation for lost land..." by the Aboriginal leadership on Micmac reserves (p.44-my emphasis). From this example, one can see how recodification is linked to issues of territorial re(-)presentation and control, as well as to economic (social) conditions. The following section of Phase Four explores how recodification

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works to contest dominant meanings and images around the discourse on place naming in various regions of the world. The sections which follow focus on how Cree recodification does contesting work in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. The review illustrates the dual meaning of 'speaking with names' across cultures in that it describes mutually-responsive discourses in disputed territories around the world.

The Ideological and Political Uses of Place Names and Naming

My intent in this section of Phase Four is to provide an overview (I don't claim to exhaust the literature) of various approaches within a sub-approach to toponymy which focuses on the ideological and political uses of place names and naming. First, I discuss W.F.H. Nicolaisen's essay "Placenames and Politics", where the author reflects on his initiation into an awareness of some of "...the variety of ways in which placenames can become politicized..." (1990, p.202). Then, I present two examples of politicized naming in the Middle-East: Lewis' (1982) "The Politics of Iranian Place-Names", and Cohen and Kliot's (1992) "Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle over the Administered Territories". Next, I discuss an example of an approach which the author himself refers to as the "political economy of placenames", i.e., J. Timmons Roberts' (1993) "Power and Placenames: A Case Study From the Contemporary Amazon Frontier". Finally, I draw on Berg and Kearns' "Naming as norming: 'race', gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand", an approach which considers the link between symbolic production and the production of material conditions (1996, p.119). It is this last example which is closest to an approach I refer to as the "cultural politics of place naming" (Nieminen, 1995). The authors themselves make reference to the cultural politics of

naming people and places, but in a narrower sense in the context of describing the English naming of New Zealand (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, pp.107-08). They identify cultural politics as generally too narrowly focusing on 'race' to the exclusion of gender, sexuality and other semiotic constructions (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.118); however, their discursive analysis of submissions made to the New Zealand Geographic Board concerning a proposed reinstatement of Maori names in the Otago/Murihiku region of New Zealand shares much with my broader definition of "cultural politics" in my thesis. In this literature review, I draw out the particular methodological and theoretical contributions of these various approaches to a broadly defined cultural politics of place naming.

W.F.H. Nicolaisen's essay, "Placenames and Politics", provides an overview of the Proceedings of an international conference, held in Bozen/Bolzano (Italy) on the "Official Use of Geographic Names", in which the author himself participated (1990, p.193). One reason why the essay is of interest is because, in reflecting on his initiation into an awareness of some of "...the variety of ways in which placenames can become politicized..." (1990, p.202), Nicolaisen reveals his own (past and present) emersion in the 'taken-for-granted world' of professional toponymy. I first introduced Nicholaisen in the discussion of "delimiting the North" to make the point that the distinction between 'neutral' and 'political' toponymy, like the distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' interpretations of the North, is largely artificial. From the perspective of cultural politics, such 'taken-for-granted' positions are politicized despite the subjects' belief in their neutrality. One of the main tasks of discourse analysis is to identify the rhetorical constructions which these subjects draw on in their naturalizing discourses. Thus, I approach Nicolaisen's essay

as both a text which is itself from *within* the discourse on place names and naming and which is *about* that discourse. Indeed, all of the texts reviewed here, and this thesis, share this dual situation of being within and about the discourse on place names and naming.

In his preliminary commentary, Nicolaisen reveals and himself relies on certain rhetorical constructions from the discourse of professional toponymy, or, more generally, from the discourse of academia. For example, the objective-subjective dichotomy is manifested in Nicolaisen's statement of his perspective:

> The perspective from which I present this information is unavoidably scholarly and academic, as I am not normally involved in the political aspects of naming and name usage. In fact, this gathering of experts in Southern Tyrol was an eye-opener for me, because until then I had been almost exclusively concerned with such matters as the spelling, pronunciation, morphology, grammar, meaning, content, and usage of names in a descriptive, somewhat detached manner, deliberately setting aside emotive issues and anything that might smack of political controversy. After all, is it not the scholar's prerogative—indeed, his duty—to stand back and describe and interpret in neutral terms the evidence he interrogates? (Nicolaisen, 1990, pp.193-94).

It may be argued that what I refer to above as the objective-subjective dichotomy is a more generalized example of the binaries or dichotomies associated with the (academic) ideal of impartiality, which include the universal-particular, public-private, and reason-passion dichotomies, among others (Young, 1990a, p.97 cited in Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.110). In his preliminary commentary, Nicolaisen is, more specifically, drawing on the universal-particular dichotomy. He identifies spelling, pronunciation, morphology, grammar, meaning, content, and descriptive usage of place names as the universal concerns of the professional toponymist, while he suggests that the political aspects of naming and name usage are the particular concerns of the partisan subject (e.g. the hosts of the Bozen/Bolzano conference). Nicolaisen reveals that he was (and to an extent still is) writing from a 'taken-for-granted' position which is "scholarly and

academic" and "neutral", as if concerning oneself with spelling, meaning, usage, etc. and politics

are mutually exclusive, and as if looking at "...such a controversial topic as 'Placenames and

Politics'" (Nicolaisen, 1990, p.194) means you risk becoming partisan, which assumes that before

you were not.

Despite his tendency to make a distinction between professional (universal) and political

(particular) involvement in place naming and name usage, Nicolaisen does recognize that this

distinction does not always hold; in his summary he states:

> ...contrary to their supposed "neutrality" in their primary task of designating individual
> geographical features, placenames when employed as evidence in the arena of politics become
> highly charged objects provoking emotive responses. Especially when identified with particular
> minority languages and cultures or with certain nationalistic movements, their treatment can
> become divisive and lead to strong political action.
>
> Under those circumstances, it does matter in what form a name appears on a sign at the entrance
> to a village, and a missing accent can cause displeasure. (Nicolaisen, 1990, p.202).

Unlike the rhetoric of 'race' relations (or multiculturalism) which assumes that relations between

majority and minority are harmonious and that demands for place name changes by the minority

can become divisive (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.114), Nicolaisen's statement above suggests that

it is the treatment of these demands by the authorities, and even by academics, which can become

divisive.

Returning to his commentary, Nicolaisen also reveals and himself draws on the reason-passion

dichotomy in discussing the place naming policies of government authorities:

> It might be assumed that well thought-out, acceptable, or even accepted policies would ensure
> that politics are kept out of the processes of naming and using names, but experience shows that
> this is by no means always the case. In times of linguistic controversy and cultural friction,
> names are apt to generate emotional rather than rational responses, and their symbolic force
> should never be underestimated, especially in the realm of politics. (Nicolaisen, 1990, p.195).

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Granted that Nicolaisen recognizes that there is an assumption in arguing that "well thought-out, acceptable, or even accepted policies" of a place names board, committee, commission, etc. would ensure the de-politicization of the process of naming and using names by allowing rational decision-making, he does not seem to question the rationality of the policies themselves, at least not in his preliminary commentary. On the other hand, the report on the official use of geographic names in Canada (one of the countries represented at the Bozen/Bolzano conference where Nicolaisen was in attendance) reveals that, contrary to the other provinces, the Commission de toponymie du Québec's role is largely prescriptive, that is, its policies and decisions are "...intended to preserve and ensure the French character of the whole of Québec's toponymic fabric (280)" (Nicolaisen, 1990, p.198). This case suggests that, neither are the policies of a national place names board, committee or commission (such as Québec's) necessarily or strictly rational (non-prescriptive), nor are the efforts of minorities, First Nations, and other nationalistic movements (such as the Québécois in the context of Canada) strictly emotional, for language loss (and preservation) does have material, social, and other broad cultural implications.

Not only is Nicolaisen writing from the position of a professional toponymist, but he is also writing from the perspective of an American observer. Zelinsky (1984) has noted that 25 percent of all county names in the U.S. were expressions of patriotism and nationalism (cited in Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.657), which suggests that the 'taken-for-granted' position of the professional American toponymist is itself politicized, especially when viewed from non-English, minority or First Nations positions, whether foreign or domestic. Zelinsky (1986) has also noted that "[o]nce a state achieves a level of maturity, and nationhood becomes almost taken for granted, the

pressure to continue to invent nationalistic symbols diminishes, as in the case of the U.S. by the late nineteenth century." (cited in Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.657). Cohen and Kliot add that, "[i]n this connection, we should point out that new and competing expressions of nationhood may have a profound impact upon the landscape in the mature state." (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.657).

Besides Zelinsky's characterization of naming in the mature nation-state, Nicolaisen suggests that an important factor explaining what he describes as a relatively non-divisive treatment of non-English, minority or First Nations place names in the United States is the absence of a single official national language, with the result that "...the possibility of political interference is highly circumscribed." (Nicolaisen, 1990, p.202). However, even if this were the case (some Aboriginal communities are likely to challenge this claim), there is still the issue of administrative interference, as in the case of Zuni place names getting coded into a Geographical Information System (Rundstrom, 1993). Despite Nicolaisen's own reliance on certain rhetorical constructions reflecting the ideals of (academic) impartiality, he nevertheless provides insight into the official use and politicization of geographical names in five European countries, Canada and the U.S. Perhaps the most important contribution of his essay is his identification of the problem of confusion between bilingualism and binominalism, that is, the confusion of "linguistic and onomastic usage", which the United States is, apparently, largely able to avoid.

Nicolaisen's overview of the situations in Austria, Belgium and France highlights the point that policies that treat place names as (exclusively) part of a lexicon, and thus make place names conform to exclusively linguistic rules, such as a standard, supra-regional orthography (spelling)

have led to the juxtaposition of modernized/official and old forms of place names, that is, binominalism (Nicolaisen, 1990, pp.195-97; 198-199). His comments on this confusion of linguistic and onomastic usage relate to the contest between nationalism (francization of Québec toponymy) and universalism (Aboriginal place names as Québec heritage) in Québécois identity discourse, as well as to the problems of standardization of Aboriginal orthographies, both discussed in Part Two of Phase Two.

Unlike Nicolaisen, Peter G. Lewis (1982) does not seem to believe that in focusing on the politics of place naming he might be writing from a perspective that is somehow less scholarly, academic and neutral than a toponymist concerned with what might be considered less controversial aspects of place names and naming (spelling, meaning, etc.). However, his highlighting of the contest between popular (local) and prescribed (central) place naming in Iran, as opposed to merely elaborating on how the central government of the Islamic regime has prescribed new names to replace those which were prescribed by the central government of the Pahlavi regime, suggests that the author might be sympathetic to toponymic resistance.

In his essay, "The Politics of Iranian Place-names", Lewis (1982) compares and contrasts the "...role of place-names in the iconography of the country..." and the process of place name changes in the immediate postrevolutionary periods of the Pahlavi and Islamic regimes. One can argue that, in a general sense, the role of place names in the iconography of Iran is the same under the two regimes as the purpose of the new state symbols (place names) "...is at once to remove evidence of the deposed regime and to establish an identity for the usurper[,]" given that the old

place names are "...reminders of a past from which a people wish to disassociate themselves and [the new place names] are symbols of a new beginning..." (Lewis, 1982, p.99; 102). In a specific sense, however, the role of place names in the iconography of Iran changed dramatically in that the new place names of the Pahlavi regime (both under Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza) embodied and reinforced the monarchy/dynasty, while those introduced by the central government of the Islamic regime embody and reinforce the ideals of the Islamic revolution (Lewis, 1982, p.99-100). Thus, it would seem that place naming in immediate postrevolutionary periods is particularly prescriptive as the authorities can not afford to take (popular) acceptance of a new definition of nationhood for granted, especially if there were strong contending visions in the prerevolutionary period. This relates to the point that in a mature (or un-self-conscious) nation-state (or nation-territory) which takes itself for granted, prescriptive naming is generally not as important as in the less mature nation state (Zelinsky, 1986; Cohen and Kliot 1992).

In contrasting the process of place name changes, Lewis observes that many of the then newly-emerging place names of the postrevolutionary Islamic period were being conferred by the citizenry rather than by the central government; he discerns two categories of new place names: those "...prompted by historical associations or gestures of independence, and place-names generated by the Islamic character of the recent revolution or directly renamed by the central government." (Lewis, 1982, p.100). The following quote illustrates how popular (local) and prescriptive (central) naming were competing to represent revolutionary achievements and ideals:

...at the time of my writing this article (late summer, 1981), there is evidence that the new central government is now taking measures to introduce place-names that are tuned to its ideological

disposition. There are instances where the state exercised its power of fiat to override initial popular choices when the government found the new appellation unacceptable. One such instance occurred when Pahlavi Avenue, a main north-south thoroughfare in Tehran, was changed by popular demand to Mossadeq Avenue in order to commemorate the man who was a paramount leader of the National Front, and who as prime minister during the early 1950s was responsible for the nationalization of oil and the shah's first exile. The islamic regime had outlawed the newly regrouped National Front and refused to allow the use of Mossadeq's name. Instead the government renamed the avenue Vali Asr, one of the names of the twelfth or hidden imam. (Lewis, 1982, p.100).

It would appear that in the case of this prescribed place name change, and likely in the case of other such changes, the official name superimposes the popular and/or former names rather than effacing them. One consultant has told me that, for example, some taxi cab drivers in Tehran use both names, referring to the "old" Mossadeq Avenue as a sort of translation of the "new" Vali Asr. Another consultant has told me that the name Mossadeq Avenue had little time to gain widespread use, but some pro-Shah residents still use the name Pahlavi Avenue among themselves. On the renaming of Pahlavi Avenue to Mossadeq Avenue then to "Vali-ye Asr" ("Vali Asr" in Lewis, 1982), Canadian freelance journalist Fred A. Reed (1994) writes, "The significance of the progression was lost on no one. Pseudo-dynastic Iran, then liberal nationalism, were consigned to the trash-bin of history. Henceforth, all wishing to travel back and forth between the depths and the heights of Tehran would travel along the path of the Twelfth Imam or they would not travel at all." (Reed, 1994, pp. 24-25). Journalists John Simpson and Tira Shubart (1995) note other place name changes in Tehran reflecting (Islamic) revolutionary ideals: Shah Reza Avenue to Revolution Avenue, Los Angeles Road to Islamic Dress Road, and Queen Elizabeth Boulevard to Peasant Farmer Boulevard. Perhaps one of the few exceptions to prescribing new names in Tehran is the retention of *Kuche Porofesor Brown*, Professor Browne Street" which commemorates the English scholar of Persia, Edward Granville Browne. Simpson writes, "[t]here is no chance whatever that *Kuche Porofesor Brown* might have escaped the notice

of the authorities. It is there because even they appreciate the affection Granville Browne had for

their country." (Simpson and Shubart, 1995, pp.343-44).

Lewis (1982) suggests that where popular choices have been superimposed by prescribed place

names, the superimposition is unlikely to outlive the regime: "Whereas many of the previous

names that were discontinued by the Pahlavi regime had the prerogative of standard, familiar

traditions behind them and had vernacular circulation, the new state-inspired or state-decreed

place-names have a marked, temporal cast—the same feel as the Pahlavi conceits. One wonders

how long these new place-names will survive the regime." (Lewis, 1982, p.102)

Lewis (1982) illustrates the fate of prescribed place names in the post-regime period, when they

must fend for themselves, so to speak, against place names "prompted by historical association or

gestures of independence" (Lewis, 1982, p.100):

> In Khuzestan Province, the Arab-tribal district town of Dasht-e Mishan (Land of Sheep),
> inhabited by members of the Bani Turuf tribe, has changed its name to Dasht-e Azadegan (Land
> of the Free Born). Pursuing a policy of settling and integrating nomadic tribes into the
> developing Iranian scene, Reza Shah had the fanciful notion that renaming the district after
> Persian sheep (mishan) would encourage the Arab population to feel more a part of the Iranian
> nation. Although many mishan are raised in the district, the place-name never lost its insulting
> ring and was abandoned soon after the [Islamic] revolution. (Lewis, 1982, p.101).

This example illustrates the attempt by a central government to "...'naturalize' and ... implicitly

universalize [Persianize] a particular view of the world [Iran] and position subjects within it."

(Gregory, 1994, p.136). It is also an attempt to naturalize in the sense of being an attempt to

confer citizenship, that is, to "...dominate by inclusion and domestication rather than by a

confrontation which recognizes the independent identity of the Other." (Spurr, 1993, p.32). But,

because the Arab population in Khuzestan Province (the Other) does recognize its independent

identity, this is ultimately an example which illustrates a peoples' resistance to imposed personal

and place naming. It might be argued that the prescribed name is an imposter that does not

represent the locals' definition of themselves or their territory, despite some truth to the image

which the prescribed name evokes (there are shepherds and sheep in the region). Thus, in the

name Dasht-e Azadegan (Land of the Free Born), the locals recodify (self-ascribe) their

relationship to the state, "...minimizing unitary standards and control, maximizing cultural

pluralism." (Paine, 1985, p.61). In the same way that Aboriginal peoples are promoting "First

Nation" as "...a principal of equal weight with citizenship of the state" (Paine, 1985, p.61), these

members of the Bani Turuf tribe are promoting their history of nomadism as a legitimate basis for

national identification as a distinct people within the Iranian state.

The example of Pahlavi Avenue/Mossadeq Avenue/Vali Asr indicates that in Iran, prescriptive

place naming by the current central government is contested by secular elements in the society

who may or may not share an anti-monarchial attitude with the central government. The example

of Dasht-e Azadegan (formerly Dasht-e Mishan) also suggests that, as under the Pahlavi regime,

prescriptive place naming by the current central government may also be challenged by ethnic

nationalistic aspirations. Secular (or religious, in other contexts) and ethnic challenges to

central/official place names and naming represent two of the bases for toponymic resistance.

Cohen and Kliot (1992), Roberts (1993) and Berg and Kearns (1996) demonstrate that the bases

for toponymic dominance and resistance can also relate to ideology, economics and a complex

articulation of 'race' (nation), gender and class identities. Of course, as Berg and Kearns' essay

best argues, these bases for toponymic dominance and resistance are not mutually exclusive.

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Like Lewis, Cohen and Kliot (1992) illustrate how competing nationalistic ideals within a group

which shares some broader ideal (anti-monarchialism, anti-colonialism ...) is symbolized in the

landscape, and, more specifically, in place names. However, in the case of place naming in the

Israeli "Administered Territories", the "two competing Zionist state-ideas" (Cohen and Kliot,

1992, p.655) have alternately been embodied as the central government, and thus the authors

focus on the place naming contest between these two expressions of the central government. This

is not to say that prescribed (central) place naming is not contested by popular (local) naming, but

only to point out that in Israel, the two Zionist camps have alternated between these two

positions. Like Lewis, whose case study is Iran, Cohen and Kliot also describe the Arab challenge

to prescribed place naming in Israel. By way of examples from their essay, I argue that Cohen

and Kliot's approach is more obviously politicized than Lewis'. This is not surprising since Cohen

and Kliot are both observers and insiders, while Lewis observes from the 'outside'.

In their essay, "Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle over the Administered Territories"

(Cohen and Kliot, 1992), the authors use a twofold frame of reference:

> The first examines the general role of place-names as reflections of the symbolic interaction of a
> people, in this case, the Israelis, with their environment. Place-names are treated as elements of
> the political landscape which in its totality expresses the ideological themes and political
> processes by which central governments make their impress on the landscape (Whittlesey 1935)."
> (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.654).

Their second framework examines the more specific role of naming in the Zionist context. The

authors argue that, "...the selection of place-names has become a powerful tool for reinforcing

competing national Zionist ideologies. Implicit in this competition are two major Israeli place-

name themes: the message of essentialism or continuity, and epochalism or change." (Cohen and

Kliot, 1992, p.652). In their theoretical elaboration in the second part of their essay, Cohen and

Kliot identify the contribution of Clifford Geertz (1973), who "...points to the dual nature of the

thread which links symbols: the interplay of essentialism (the desire for coherence and continuity)

on the one hand and epochalism (dynamism and contemporaneity) on the other." In 'short-hand',

Cohen and Kliot refer to the first as "continuity" and the latter as "change." (Cohen and Kliot,

1992, p.658). In the discussion which follows, the relevance of Cohen and Kliot's essay to

understanding the contest between "nationalism" and "universalism", "North as hinterland" and

"North as heritage" and the changing definition of "le patrimoine" in Québécois identity discourse

becomes apparent.

Cohen and Kliot characterize the names associated with the two major Israeli place name themes,

as well as identify the political parties and other groups which draw on these themes in their

nationalist discourses:

> Essentialism is expressed in Hebrew place-names and in a variety of other symbols that project
> Israel as the sole heir to the Holy Land. In this context, Biblical and Talmudic place-names are
> reintroduced or reinforce the bonds between the Jewish community in Israel and the land, as
> emphasized by the Likud party when in power, in alliance with the orthodox religious wing and
> nationalist parties of the extreme right. Epochalism is expressed through place-names that
> reflect modern Zionist settlement values and military heroes, or the renewed interaction of Jews
> with their land through identification with nature. This was the approach of the founders of the
> State of Israel; it continued while the Labor party was in power, and is likely to be reintroduced
> with Labor's return to power. (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.653).

Cohen and Kliot illustrate the competition between the two Zionisms in the context of the naming

of the West Bank/Judea and Samaria:

> Nowhere has the emphasis on Biblical ties and Biblical redemption [essentialism or continuity]
> been stronger than in Judea and Samaria on the West Bank. Witness the usage of the terms
> "West Bank," "Occupied Territories," "Administered Territories," or "Judea and Samaria."
> Immediately after the Likud election victory in 1977, the term Judea and Samaria was formally

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adopted as official usage instead of the West Bank. The message of the words Judea and Samaria is a message of continuity, while the message of "West Bank," "Occupied Territories" or even "Administered Territories" implies a temporary stage, perhaps presaging a changed territorial status. In this way, the names Judea and Samaria serve as political symbols which are meant to link territory and people (Deutsch 1955). (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.671).

Elsewhere in the essay, Cohen and Kliot point out that from the perspective of "continuity", and more specifically from the perspective of certain religious groups such as the Gush Emunim, which has established more than fifty settlements on the West Bank, Judea and Samaria is "liberated" territory (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.661). The Palestinian population on the West Bank, on the other hand, whose perspective is also one of continuity, characterize the territory as "occupied". Cohen and Kliot's perspective neither recognizes the continuity of the link between the territories and the Jewish people above that of the Arab people, nor vise-versa; rather, their perspective is more in line with the message of "change" identified with the approach of the Labour party. For example, in the title of their paper, Cohen and Kliot chose to use "Administered Territories" to refer to the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan Heights. Their qualification that "even" this name "implies a temporary stage" demonstrates that, unlike those who choose to refer to Judea and Samaria (in the case of the West Bank), Cohen and Kliot are not opposed to "...a compromise formula with the Arabs that will exchange land for recognition and peace" (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.678). While the authors do describe the Israeli occupation and Arab defiance of it as reflected in the landscape (pp.656-657), their use of the term "Administered" in the title of the essay implies that they recognize a civilian order, while the choice of "Occupied" would reflect the presence of the Israeli military and armed settlers in the territories, and "Occupied Palestinian Territories" would link the West Bank and Gaza to a

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different people (compared to the use of Judea and Samaria in the case of the West Bank).

Despite a position on the question of the future of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights

which is much more in line with international opinion than the position of the Likud party or the

religious or ultranationalist right, Cohen and Kliot's choice of regional terms in certain places in

the essay hints at some conservatism (essentialism). This alternation between a majority of

statements which suggest the authors' affiliation with a perspective recognizing the need for

"change" and some statements which suggest conservatism reflects the dual situation of the

authors, who write from within and about the discourse on place names and naming.

Nevertheless, Cohen and Kliot offer much insight into the -- sometimes ironic, given the material

and demographic context -- geographical imaginings of the Israelis (Jews). The following quote

suggests how the construction of imagined geographies, like the construction of imagined

communities, can involve a "confusion of identity and difference" (Spurr, 1993, p.7):

> For Israeli [...], a name offers instant symbolic meaning, for it evokes an image of the Israelite
> Kingdom. It is this past that is the idealized Jewish landscape of the Administered Territories.
> To be certain, a circle of modern mobile homes parked on a barren Samarian hilltop does not
> lend itself to being idealized, nor, perhaps, does a large cluster of white-washed red-tile roofed
> "cottages" that sprawls across a gentle ridge covered with natural vegetation or newly planted
> trees. Indeed and ironically, the landscape reality of the present Arab village, with its densely-
> packed stone houses surrounded by olive groves and sparse pastures, better supports the Jewish
> myth for it evokes the Israelite settlements of old. (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.657).

The authors go on to illustrate how these and other images are challenged by the geographical

imaginings of the Arabs, in the form of, for example, maps of Palestine from which Hebrew names

are removed (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.673). In their conclusion, Cohen and Kliot link place

naming and the broader ideological struggle over the "Administered" territories to the material

struggle for power. Thus, although this essay looks mainly at symbolic struggles, it also addresses

the questions Roberts (1993) identifies as central to a political economy of place naming (see

below). Cohen and Kliot conclude:

> The similarity in how both Arabs and Jews manipulate place-names as symbolic mechanisms is
> striking. It is a matter of conjecture whether the emergence of a Palestinian state on the West
> Bank and Gaza, and Arab recognition of Israel, would induce the Arabs to accept Hebrew place-
> names in Israel and the Territories, and how peace would affect additional Hebrew nomenclature.
> For the moment, the political initiative over the future of the Administered Territories lies with
> Israel because the balance of power between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs is so asymmetrical.
> (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, p.678).

In his essay, "Power and Placenames: A Case Study From the Contemporary Amazon Frontier",

Roberts (1993) defines his approach and the questions which it addresses: "I propose in this

article a political economy of placenames -- an attempt to decipher our namescape in order to

discover the power struggle that lies behind the names. Who has the power to name places?

What will the names represent? How will we perceive the places because of their names?"

(Roberts, 1993, p.160).

Roberts distinguishes his approach, which he also refers to as "socioonomastics" (Roberts, 1993,

p.175), from studies which assume a narrow definition of the meaning of place names, such as

etymology, the linguistic search for the roots of words (Roberts, 1993, p.162):

> Such studies are important linguistically but dangerous sociologically because they usually imply
> peaceful coexistence and deny differing levels of power of different actors and classes during the
> origination and evolution of names. Leslie and Skipper rightly state that "the meanings of names
> are the result of complex social negotiation" (273). To the contrary, linguistic studies often make
> it sound as if the languages, not the people, are interacting. (Roberts, 1993, p.163).

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For example, the title of a collection of essays edited by Henri Dorion (1972), Les noms de lieux et le contact des langues/Place Names and Language Contact, unfortunately gives the impression Roberts refers to. However, Morissonneau's essay, from the collection, argues that language contact is inseparable from culture contact, and that examining attitudes toward a neighbouring group's choronyms (place names) is the most interesting, though often neglected, aspect of "ethnochoronymie" (Morissoneau, 1972, p.274). In the quote above, Roberts argues that the discourse of professional toponymy, etymology or onomastics can obscure the politics of place names and naming. His questions and broad definition of the meaning of place names and naming, on the other hand, seek to expose the politics and the relation to representation of place, and thus his political economy of place names and naming has parallels with the conceptual framework of this thesis.

Roberts argues that one of the advantages of research in contemporary frontier areas is that it "...should provide critical insights into the process of naming new places by allowing more direct observation of the naming process..." and, thus, would also contribute to the development of a theory of how social power relates to place naming (Roberts, 1993, pp.163-64). In his own essay, which is based on his thesis work, Roberts examines contemporary place naming in the Brazilian state of Para, around the Carajas mineral project. Roberts contribution to the study of the ideological and political uses of place names and naming is that he relates the evolving namescape of his case study area to evolving material conditions. And, like Lewis (1982) and Cohen and Kliot (1992), Roberts provides examples of prescriptive naming by the central government which is attempting to assert its authority in the frontier or hinterland:

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Since the building of the Belem-Brasilia highway in 1958-1960 (Fig. 1), however, the Amazon region has been invaded in a more systematic and multifaceted way. Because of its active role in surveying the region and in establishing massive colonization and infrastructure projects since that time, the Brazilian state has had a curious top-down influence in naming towns and other features. (Roberts, 1993, p.165).

Like Lewis (1982) and Cohen and Kliot (1992), Roberts also reveals how prescriptive naming by the central government, such as the naming of towns after President-General Medici and the rational naming of towns after mile-markers along the Transamazonic Highway (Roberts, 1993, p.170), do not go unchallenged. He reveals how a diversity of material influences has resulted in a diversity of names:

The Amazon was thus brought hurriedly into the national and international economy in the last three decades and in a triple role. First, as raw materials hinterland to the country's south and the metropolitan centers of the world-economy; second, as safety-valve for the excess population expected from the mechanization and concentration of agriculture; and third, as target for geopolitical occupation. The Amazon's placenames today reflect the paradox of the region's occupation, a curious legacy of struggle resulting from uneven government initiative in the region, waves of colonists from the poor northeast and metropolitan southeast and south, and the expansion of large capitalist firms and the cattle frontier from the country's center-west. (Roberts, 1993, p.166).

To illustrate the process of popular (local) naming and its relation to material conditions, Roberts reports his observations of a "...series of land invasions in June and July of 1990 aimed at opening up new neighbourhoods because rents exceeded the incomes of most residents [of Parauapebas, in the case study region]" (Roberts, 1993, p.174):

De Soto reports that most organized squatter invasions in Peru and Mexico cannily name their new neighbourhoods after key political figures whose support they need for their invasion to succeed (22). In the end the mayor named the site Bairro da Paz 'Neighborhood of Peace' in keeping with his earlier naming of the town's new plaza after Mahatma Ghandi. The name has stuck, but many townspeople think it ironic given the struggle that continued to rage over its legality." (Roberts, 1993, p.174).

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Roberts' essay is not only of interest because of its theoretical parallels with my thesis; It is also of interest because it involves an empirical investigation of Aboriginal place names and naming. Besides his detailed qualitative investigation of the naming of a new town, Parauapebas, Roberts adopts Grant Smith's (1989a; 1989b) method and hypothesis for a quantitative analysis of place names. Smith's investigations of density variations of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal place names within the State of Washington and between British Columbia and Washington test the general hypothesis that, "...current placenames are productions of the European culture and that the frequency of Indian place names reflects the relative acceptance of the Indian presence, physical and cultural, by the immigrant European peoples." (1989a, p.140). Reporting on his own analysis of 871 settlement names on a recent political and highway map of the State of Para, Roberts writes:

> A preliminary proposition is testable with the following information: if Indian-White relations were generally bad and if Smith's hypothesis is correct, then the number of Indian names should decrease in areas with the greatest concentration of settlements. Surprisingly, there was a moderate correlation between Indian names (including those of Indian villages) and Catholic names. However this relationship fell to zero when the proportion of all names with indigenous elements was compared with the density of settlements. (Roberts, 1993, p.169).

Roberts concludes that "acceptance of the Indian presence", that is, an hypothesis assuming a narrow definition of cultural or social relations can not adequately explain variations in the frequency of Aboriginal place names . He advocates a broader definition of cultural relations: "Rather, the key seems to be the way in which indigenous peoples were integrated into the local economy, as Smith also suggests." (Roberts, 1993, p.170). Roberts speculates on why his results do not support Smith's general hypothesis:

> A key difference between the Amazon and Washington situations (and those of the United States in general) is that the Amazon remained exclusively an extractive frontier until recently, seeing

massive waves of colonists -- who compete with Indians for land -- only since 1960. By that time many names were already in place. The extreme labor shortage in the area forced greater contact with the Indians. Another possible reason for a positive correlation between density of settlements and frequency of Indian names might be the greater ability of urban dwellers to romanticize indigenous culture. (Roberts, 1993, p.170).

While Roberts argues that the perspective of political economy provides the most insight into place naming in the Amazon and other frontier areas he also recognizes the possible influence of (romantic) images of Aboriginal peoples on the place naming process. As I argue in Phase Two of the learning cycle, the evolution of images of Aboriginal peoples is linked to crises of authority and identity and responds to the challenge of the presence of Aboriginal peoples in disputed territories, such as in contemporary frontier areas. Thus, another possible reason for the positive correlation between density of settlements and frequency of Indian names might be the redefinition of heritage to include aspects of Aboriginal culture, including place names. Roberts' approach suggests that the process of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee could be compared to the situation in the Amazon as the former represents another case of place naming in a contemporary frontier area. Although I have not compared the density of non-Aboriginal settlements in Québec or Baie James/Eeyou Istchee with the density of Aboriginal place names, I do discuss naming in the context of a broad definition of cultural or social relations which looks at the integration of Aboriginal peoples and places into the Québécois and North American economies. In Baie James/Eeyou Astchee, this integration has accelerated with the advent of hydro-electric development in the 1970s. My discussions about how hydro-electric development relates to broader issues of perceptions, and re(-)presentations of place, particularly the North, began in Phase Two, but carries over into Phase Four with a more specific focus on territorial

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myth-making in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee.

Compared to Roberts (1993) and the other authors discussed thus far, Berg and Kearns (1996)

ground their investigation of place naming much more explicitly in theories of discourse and

power. In their essay, "Naming as Norming: 'Race', gender and the identity politics of naming

places in Aotearoa/New Zealand", Berg and Kearns consider the links between symbolic

production and the production of material or social conditions: "The naming of places is a key

component in the relationship between place and the politics of identity in contemporary societies.

In this sense, naming is a form of norming. Names are part of both a symbolic and a material

order that provides normality and legitimacy to those who dominate the politics of (place)

representation." (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.99). Their argument that "naming is a form of

norming" responds to the issue of the naturalizing function of discourse (Gregory, 1994, p.136).

Their statement also responds to the issue of the "embeddedness of discourse", that is, to the issue

of how discourse is "materially implicated in the conduct of day-to-day life." (Gregory, 1994,

p.136).

Besides the explicit grounding of their investigation of naming in Aotearoa/New Zealand in

theories of discourse and power, the authors also draw more specifically on theories of territorial

myth-making and its relation to authority and identity:

> We argue that naming places reinforces claims of national ownership, state power, and masculine
> control. Indeed, affixing names to places is inextricably linked to nation-building and state
> formation. (Cohen and Kliot, 1992, page 653). Naming places is thus implicated in the
> ideological processes involved in the formation of what Benedict Anderson (1983) has called
> Imagined communities. Such imagined communities arise from the historically contingent and
> culturally constructed phenomenon of nationalism. (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.100).

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The authors emphasize the necessity of examining the historical and cultural context of place naming as part of nationalist discourse. The cultural context should be understood in terms of multiple identities, and it is this insistence on the discursive nature of the politics of place naming which is Berg and Kearns' major contribution to the study of the ideological and political uses of place names and naming: "Although we accept in principle the notion that there exists an ongoing ideological struggle between Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders for ethnic, community, and national identity, we argue that such identity politics tend to be highly complex and nuanced by articulations with notions of gender, class, and sexuality." (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.102).

Much of Berg and Kearns' essay is devoted to demonstrating how Pakeha (White New Zealanders) rhetoric concerning place naming articulates with and reinforces masculine control over symbolic and material production. To this end, the authors analyse objections to a submission made to the New Zealand Geographic Board proposing amendments to three place names on the east coast of the Otago/Murihiku region. The authors identify the rhetorical constructions which the members of the 'local community' who were opposed to the changes used to represent the issue and support their opposition. The authors report that, in spite of the relatively large number of objections, the objectors relied upon a small number of rhetorical constructions (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.111). For example, the authors report that the first sentence of an editorial critical of the proposed name changes is illustrative of some of the rhetorical constructions common in the objections of other locals:

> "The adoption by the New Zealand Geographic Board of *one man's* proposal, and a *stranger* at
> that, to alter the *well-established local* names of Murdering Beach and Long Beach to *long
> Maori names*...has caused a great deal of unfavourable reaction in and around Dunedin" (*Otago
> Daily Times* 1990, page 8; emphasis added).

> The editorial adopts a viewpoint that putatively represents the view of 'the community' but its
> language gives away the highly specific nature of the Pakeha community it represents. This is an
> exemplar of one form of *community* discourse, where concrete specificity ("long Maori names") is
> subsumed by abstract universality ("well-established [European] names"). (Berg and Kearns.
> 1996, pp.109-110).

In elaborating on the rhetorical constructions in the editorial, the authors cite Iris Young (1990a,

page 97), who has pointed out that the "...ideal of impartiality produces a whole series of

dichotomies: universal-particular, public-private, reason-passion (to name but a few)", and Berg

and Kearns argue that these dichotomies are "...aligned with gendered and racialized ideologies as

well. Thus the universal is masculine and 'white', whereas the particular is feminine, black, and so

on." (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.110).

A more 'concrete' example from Berg and Kearns relates to their analysis of *resistance* to

(masculine) control over symbolic and material production. Berg and Kearns suggest that

masculine control is countered when the Maori invoke Maori tradition, particularly "whakapapa"

(genealogy), to prove claims to land:

> Spirituality and mana were (and remain today) closely connected to the land. Indeed, the land
> was more than an economic base: land, kinship, and individual identity were united for the
> Maori (James and Saville-Smith, 1989, page 17). Moreover, claims to land were not gender
> divided; they could be proven through whakapapa traced through either the male or the female
> lineage (Kawharu, 1977, page 294). Maori identity was inextricably linked to land and place,
> and the naming of place played an important role in their way of seeing the world. (Berg and
> Kearns, 1996, p.107).

Like Whetherell and Potter (1992), Berg and Kearns define the 'method' of discourse analysis as a

"craft" which can not be described in a "codified" manner (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.101). While

generally approaching their set of texts in the same way that Whetherell and Potter (1992)

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examine texts in <u>Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation</u>, Berg and Kearns also more specifically adopt Whetherell and Potters' categorization of discursive constructs under the descriptive terms 'race talk', 'culture talk' and 'nation talk'. Their comments on the identification of the link between 'nation' talk and the "liberal 'community' discourse" (see above) relates to Spurr's observation that nation-state rhetoric attempts to "dominate by inclusion and domestication rather than by a confrontation which recognizes the independent identity of the Other." (Spurr, 1993, p.32): Berg and Kearns argue, "In this regard, the concrete specificity of ethnic difference is subsumed by the abstract universality of national identity defined in masculine terms." (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.117). But, as in the case of other peoples of the "Fourth World" (Paine, 1985, p.61), the Maori are also recodifying their relationship to the state. The authors report, "On the other hand, Maori have appropriated 'nation' discourses to combat racist and masculinist domination. They argue for a notion of Maori sovereignty and self-determination, invoking the Treaty of Waitangi and its recognition of their nation status prior to the formation of New Zealand (Awatere, 1984; Walker, 1990; 1992)." (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p117). The authors describe how this recodification of the relationship of Maori to the state was invoked by John McLachlan, the man who submitted the proposed amendments to the three place-names in Otago/Murihiku:

> McLachlan invoked the second article of the Treaty of Waitangi in support of his claim, arguing that the proposed names were taonga of te reo Maori (treasures, or very important aspects, of the Maori language) (Lawrence, undated, page 4). At the time of his submission, McLachlan was residing in Paraparaumu (located on the North Island, near Wellington). But, as part of his submission, McLachlan cited his whakapapa (genealogy) which linked him to Ngaihuirapa, a hapu (subtribe) of the Ngai Tahu tribe long resident in the area where the names were to be changed. He thus invoked a concept of space as 'stasis' (Massey, 1992) and an essence of place in order to establish his 'legitimacy' in the politics of naming these particular places. As we shall see, his strategy did not completely foreclose others from invoking their own place-essences in order to contest the proposed name changes. (Berg and Kearns, 1996, p.109).

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The point here is that while colonial discourses never completely 'cover' themselves, neither do

discourses of resistance foreclose challenges from the dominant Other. In the case of naming Baie

James/Eeyou Istchee, I discuss this point in the section called "The Cree Imagination". Finally, in

reporting the outcome of the place names contest in Otago/Murihiku, Berg and Kearns return to

Keith and Pile's (1993) conceptualization of a dual politics of space/spacialised politics (Berg and

Kearns, 1996, p.111), which grounds the articulations of 'race', gender and other discursive

constructions in material conditions, such as regional demographics:

> The proposed name changes for Long Beach and Murdering Beach were declined, but the
> changed spelling of Purakanui to Purakaunui was approved (DOSLI, 1991). ...we speculate that
> it might involve too much political risk for a National Party (Conservative) Cabinet Minister to
> approve changing a place-name back to Maori within the regional context of a Pakeha majority.
> We suggest that were the foregoing narrative to have unfolded in a region such as Northland,
> where Maori representation and Pakeha sympathies are stronger, a different outcome and story
> could be told. In other words, we reiterate the dual importance of the politics of space [deciding
> who names and controls space] and a spatialised politics [whereby the spatial defines who has
> legitimacy to speak] at work in the process of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. (Berg
> and Kearns, 1996, p.111; 118).

Their comments support an approach like Roberts' (1993) or Smith's (1989a; 1989b) which

combines a consideration of material conditions (such as demographics) with perceptions and

attitudes (sympathies).

This review of various approaches within a sub-approach to the study of place names which

focuses on the ideological and political uses of place names and naming has identified the

particular theoretical and methodological contributions of these approaches to the cultural politics

of place naming, both as theory and 'method'. In the case of two of the essays, namely Nicolaisen

(1990) and Cohen and Kliot (1992), I have commented on the rhetorical constructions of the

authors themselves in examining the essays as texts within the discourse on place naming. In general, however, I have relayed some of the rhetorical constructions which the authors of the five essays have identified in their case studies. In turn, I search for these and other constructions in the texts relating to place names and naming in the Baie James/Eeyou Istchee region. Admittedly, my own analysis of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, in the Part Two of Phase Four of this thesis, falls short in that I do not consider gender. On the other hand, the strength of my analysis, compared to Berg and Kearns (1996), is that I do give greater consideration to the articulation of 'community' and 'national' identity ('language' and 'heritage', etc) with 'class', that is, with notions of the legitimacy of particular lifestyles or lifeways; in this analysis, Roberts' (1993) observations on place naming in contemporary frontier areas are of particular relevance, not to mention the comments by the authors of each of the five essays concerning recodification efforts by ethnic minorities and/or First Nations.

PART TWO: Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

Civilizing the Cree

> In the winter of 1994, Parizeau officially killed the Great Whale project, hoping as a result to win the loyalty of Matthew Coon Come, who had become his most ardent and most articulate opponent. The ploy only made the Cree more determined than ever to buck the separatist dreams of the Parizeau crowd. "There will be no annexation of ourselves or our territory to an independent Québec without our consent," Coon Come declared. "We Crees do not think of borders as sacred. We are part of the land. There is no other place in the world where everything, every hill, every stream, every fork in the river is named in Cree. Eenou Astchee [the Cree homeland] is the centre of Cree civilization, and it is inconceivable that we would cease to care for it." (Newman, 1995, p.441).

When we think of who has participated in "civilizing" the Cree of northern Québec, the images of missionaries toting bibles and of Canadian and Québécois bureaucrats toting briefcases probably come to mind. But, in the title to this introduction to Part Two of Phase Four of the learning cycle, I refer to one of the Cree's own, Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come. Furthermore, I am not referring to the image of Coon Come and other Cree leaders as an "assimilated elite, claiming to represent, and exploiting the interest of the minority of traditional Cree people in order to make claims against the rights of Quebecers and other Canadians to the territory" (Feit, 1995a, p.124). Rather, I am referring to Coon Come's recodification of the idea of "civilization" in his construction of the idea of "Cree civilization".

In the idea of "Cree civilization", the challenge to the image of a 'non-civilized' people in 'race' talk is obvious, but there is a more subtle redefinition of "civilization" in Coon Come's discourse. If 'average' North Americans were asked to name the ancient civilizations of the Americas, most would probably name the Aztecs, the Mayans and the Incas, but few would name the Cree. The Aztecs, Mayans and Incas are recognized and taught about, while the Cree are not (except in Cree

schools and probably in some Québec schools), perhaps because of a 'Western' bias toward 'great monuments' and urban culture as symbols of civilization and even as symbols of accomplishment. But, Coon Come has redefined the symbols of civilization, including ancient civilizations, to include named places and place names. The concept of possession or ownership of land and the concept of territory are generally not ones anthropologists or Aboriginal people themselves attribute to Aboriginal world-views. These have become important among the Crees in reaction to the competing Québécois claim to the territory. But, it is not national borders, not those that profess to define Cree territory, perhaps not even traplines, that give the Cree claim to the territory its legitimacy, according to Coon Come's recodification. It is Cree place names, found nowhere else, or certainly not at such densities (for names do get transplanted), that testify to Cree title. To use the language of geography, delimiting the periphery of the territory is not the most important claiming task; what matters the most is 'plotting' the points (place names) that tell the story of the periphery and, especially, the core.

While Coon Come's claim that "...everything, every hill, every stream, every fork in the river is named in Cree" (Newman, 1995, p.441) might sound like hyperbole, he is not necessarily referring to proper (specific) place names. Cree geographical and biological nomenclature probably does have a generic (entity) name for everything that is perceived in the Cree landscape and its ecosystems. Coon Come's claim is an example of how localized knowledge is used to counter the knowledge claims of non-Aboriginal authorities, such as big industry scientists, Québécois sovereigntist politicians and lawyers, etc. It is an example of how speaking *about* names is used to equate or elevate Cree claims to or above non-Cree claims.

Coon Come's claim is also an example of 'speaking with names' across cultures since Coon Come intentionally refers to "Eenou Astchee" as the name for a place or territory which is most closely associated with what is in French called the "Baie James" region of Québec. The Commission de toponymie recently replaced "Région de la Baie James" with "Radissonie" (Adolph, 1997; Aubry, 1997), but I continue to refer to the "Baie James" region because of this name's familiarity to readers through its use in "La convention de la Baie James et du nord québécois" (1976) and other references. Finally, in claiming that it is "inconceivable that [the Cree] would cease to care for [Eenou Astchee]" (Newman, 1995, p.441), Coon Come hints at the values that underpin Cree identity and perceptions of place. "Eenou Astchee" is the centre or the home of Cree civilization, not the hinterland or even the heartland of southern/Québécois perceptions of this region.

I should clarify that there are several Roman spellings of the Cree name for the Cree homeland. It is spelled "Eenou Astchee" in Newman (1995) and Hodgins and Cannon (1995), and it is spelled "Eeyou Astchee" in Sovereign Injustice (GCCQ, 1995), and, until recently, on the Grand Council of the Crees Web site (GCCQ, 1997a) and on the cover of the *Nation* magazine (Beesum Communications). It is currently spelled "Eeyou Istchee" on the Grand Council of the Crees Web site and "Iyiyuuschii" on the cover of the *Nation*. According to an informant at the Grand Council of the Crees/"Embassy of the Cree Nation" in Ottawa, the variant spellings are attributable to a north-south or coastal-inlander differentiation in the Cree language spoken in the region. Where applicable, I use the spelling used in the source; otherwise, I use the spelling "Eeyou Istchee" in accordance with the Grand Council of the Crees Web site (GCCQ, 1997a).

In Part Two: "Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee", I look at 'speaking with names' across cultures from both sides of the struggle in this part of the north of Québec. The purpose of my decision to refer to the region in question as "Baie James/Eeyou Istchee" ("James Bay" region in English) is to highlight the articulation of two political and geographical discourses: the dominant discourse of the government of Québec, on the one hand, which is contested by the discourse of resistance of the Eeyou (the Cree Nation), mainly through the Grand Council of the Crees (of Québec) (GCCQ), on the other hand.

My review first examines official references to place names in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee in two publications of the Commission de toponymie du Québec: the Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec (Barabé et al., 1982) and Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré (CTQ, 1994). I identify some of the rhetorical constructions which appear in these publications in order to illustrate how Québécois discourse on Baie James/Eeyou Istchee 'covers' or naturalizes its appropriation of this disputed territory. In the section which follows, I describe the plural meaning of "power" in the context of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, and, then, I construct a sketch of the cultural politics of place naming which focuses on how the plural meaning of "power" is implicated in toponymic resistance, particularly with respect to Cree place names associated with (describing) resources or resource exploitation. Next, my review comments on examples of what I refer to as an emerging alternative toponymy of resistance in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. By my use of the terms "emerging" and "alternative", I suggest that the context for the use of Cree place names has been expanding into the inter-cultural arena, not that these place names have not already been in use among the Cree themselves. The review highlights the political uses of place

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naming in the contexts of resistance to James Bay hydro-electric development and Cree

opposition to potential "forcible inclusion" of Crees and Cree territory in a sovereign and

secessionist Québec (GCCQ, 1995). I also return to the recent controversy over the Commission

de toponymie du Québec's naming of 101 islands in the Caniapiscau reservoir to commemorate

the 20th anniversary of the National Assembly's adoption of the *Charte de la langue française*,

Bill 101. The case study situates the contest between certain names at various scales in the

broader contest between world views, economic models and language systems. Finally, under

the heading "The Cree Imagination", I comment on how the Cree discourse of resistance does its

own naturalizing work.

People and Place Myths in *Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec* (Barabé et al., 1982)

Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec, or Place names in Nouveau-Québec (Barabé et al.,

1982) in its English translation (the latter is referred to here), is the 10th in a series of 24 dossiers

(to 1996) produced by the Commission de toponymie du Québec on the place names of the

various regions of Québec or on the work of the Commission on some aspect of place naming

(eg. standardization, Aboriginal names...). Unlike the more recent dossiers on the place names of

the Abenaki (Paré et al., 1985), the Attikamek (Michaud et al., 1987) and the Naskapi (Paré et al.,

1989), this dossier on Nouveau-Québec does not focus solely on Cree and Inuit place names; it

also discusses French and English-language place names, and, since its publication in 1982, some

of the place names referred to have been replaced by Cree designations or new spellings of the

Cree and Inuit place names. Examples of these replacements include: Fort-George to Chisasibi,

Fort-Rupert (also Waskagheganish) to Waskaganish, and Poste-de-la-Baleine (also

Whapmagoostoo) to Whapmagoostui, all of which are Cree village names.

Part 2 of Dossier 10 presents the names, such as "James, Baie" and "Radisson", along with their

histories (Barabé, et al., 1982, pp.5-21). For example, the entry for "James, Baie" reads:

> James, Baie
> Bears the name of Thomas James (1593-1635) who explored it in 1631-1632. For many years, French cartographers designated the bay as the *Fond de la baye d'Hudson*. On Bellin's 1744 map, there is a reference to *Fond de la baie de Hudson* appelé par les Anglais *baie James*. On maps by Hubert Jaillot and Nicolas Sanson, *baie James* refers solely to the inlet at the west of the bay. (Barabé, et al., 1982, p.11).

Besides discussing place names and their history (Part 2), Dossier 10 (Barabé, et al., 1982) also

discusses gentilitial names, that is, the names of inhabitants of the various localities (Part 3), as

well as some problems related to Nouveau-Québec place names (Part 5), thus making reference to

other place names which were in use, but whose official status at the time was still to be

determined. Among those place names mentioned in parts 3 and 5 of Dossier 10 are "Jamésie" or

"Jamesie", "Hudsonie" and "Radissonie" for constituent sub-regions of Nouveau-Québec, as well

as the name "Nouveau-Québec" itself.

The reference to the gentilitial name "Jamésiens", derived from "Jamésie", is particularly

illustrative of the political use of gentilitial and place naming by Québécois, and how this use relies

on the construction of the imaginary Self and Other and, simultaneously, on the construction of

imaginative geographies or geographical myths. The reference to Jamésiens follows the

discussions of names for inhabitants derived from Inuit (13) and Amerindian (3) place names. The

authors of Dossier 10 (Barabé, et al., 1982) preface the paragraph which appears below by giving

their reasons for why they couldn't "resist the temptation" to discuss this French gentilitial: "First

of all, not every day do we have a chance to help create something and to become acquainted with

the reasons behind the selection of a special construction; secondly, this constitutes an exceptional

sort of example, which can be applied to a great many other names of inhabitants." (Barabé, et

al., 1982, p.25). The entry reads thus:

[Jamésie]
When the Société de développement de la Baie James [James Bay Development Corporation]
celebrated its tenth anniversary, a competition was held to find a name for that company's new
house organ. No fewer than 260 names were suggested, from which Le Jamésien was finally
chosen. Françoise Gilbert is the editor of this newspaper; she explains why this name was finally
selected. "People ask us "Why le Jamésien?". Because Jamésie refers to the country along the
shores of the *baie James*. To a certain extent, that name is our property. It was conceived here,
created by one of our own, Camille Laverdière. Jamésie is a new country – a country rich in
promise, a country to discover and love. A Jamésien is a new breed of person: an enterprising
self-starter who devotes all his talents to serving a lost corner of the globe. He lives to develop,
build and create, in order to expand the Québec of tomorrow. We are all Jamésiens, and we
come by the name through our common action, our daily effort, as we look toward the future of
the northern lands. As Jamésiens, it is up to us to pick up the gauntlet ["] (*Le Jamésien*, n1,
April 1981, p.3 – unofficial translation). No one could have better described the depth and all
the richness which this most appropriate name conveys. (Barabé, et al., 1982, p.25).

In characterizing this "new breed" of residents in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, that is, the

francophone Québécois, Françoise Gilbert, editor of *Le Jamésien*, is also, by implication,

characterizing the Crees or previous generations of French Canadians/Québécois. I assume that

Québécois and Crees are dichotomised, but I do not assume that this is a deliberate effort on

Gilbert's part as the naturalizing function of discourse characterizes discourses as shaping and

reflecting taken-for-granted world views. Spurr (1993) argues that, "...there is nothing especially

conscious or intentional in the [use of repertoires in discourses]; they are part of the landscape in

which relations of power manifest themselves" (p.3). Gilbert is not likely distinguishing the

francophones from the Anglophones as the authors of Dossier 10 report that they have yet to find

one English gentilitial name in the entire region (Barabé et al., 1982, p.22). Heinimann (1993) might argue that Gilbert's discourse is an example of the "...invocation of the Anglo-Norman past" (Heinimann, 1993, p.136). The Cree, then, are the opposition, the Other, what Gilbert might call the 'old breed', and they are a deficient people. The Cree are, by implication, non-enterprising and, thus, do a disservice to the region. They do not live to develop, but remain backward. If to suggest they destroy is too negative, still they lose or would squander opportunities to build and create, and so they do not and would not contribute to expanding Québec. The standard by which the Cree character is measured, by implication, is based on Euro-centric assumptions about the nature of progress. In the image of picking up the gauntlet, the duty of the "new breed" to bring on the advent of the "future of the northern lands" makes reference to 14th century French combat tradition. The old breed and their old ways must be challenged, and the hinterland subdued. Feit (1995a) argues that, despite variations on the theme, the overall consequence of such a conception of Aboriginal peoples is the negation of a future and even a history that is different from the Euro-Canadian/Québécois experience; the past and future of Aboriginal peoples (and places), according to Euro-Canadian/Québécois myth-making, is the story of how they are "becoming like us" (Feit, 1995a, p.107).

Like the Cree people, the land, by implication, is also deficient. Gilbert (Barabé et al., 1982, p.25) does not or can not recognize the richness of what the Crees have referred to as their "garden" (GCCQ, 1991; Richardson, 1991a, 1991b, 1972; Feit, 1995a). Rather, the land's value is in what it promises, that is, its awesome hydro-electric potential, and other potentials (minerals, etc.) yet to be discovered. At the time of the tenth anniversary of the James Bay Development

Corporation, the hydro-electric potential had just begun to be realized with the launches of the La Grande-1 (LG-1) and La Grande-2 (LG-2) complexes in the late 1970s. According to the view of North as hinterland or resource, within which Gilbert seems to be situated, until the late 1970s, the region had been a "lost corner of the globe" (Barabé et al, 1982, p.25), despite 5000 years of Cree land use and occupancy.

With Barabé et al.'s (1982) endorsement of Gilbert's statements (see the conclusion of the paragraph quoted above), the government of Québec, through the Commission de toponymie, partakes in the perpetuation (deliberate or not) of the myth of a backward people inhabiting a wasteland, (or, more simply, partakes in the perpetuation of the myth of the non-existence of Aboriginal peoples). The land at least, if not both land and people, is apparently deserving of being 'developed', since it has 'potential', and this process requires and justifies the intervention of the dominant institutions: the hydro-electric and development corporations and the government of Québec.

In a *Rencontre* interview with geographer Louis-Edmond Hamelin, the honorary chairman of the International Symposium on the Future of Northern Québec, interviewer Jean-François Cloutier (1988) suggests that, were it not for this resource potential, the Québec government would have continued to largely ignore Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. Hamelin appears to agree:

> Q: Without the James Bay hydroelectric project, would not the interest of Québec in the development of the North and its inhabitants have been minimal?
>
> A: "The Agreement changed the situation of Northern Québec forever, and without James Bay I and the Agreement, the face of Northern Québec would have stayed the same, and the aboriginal peoples would not be where they are today." (Cloutier, 1988, p.20).

When Hamelin was asked how he envisioned phase 2 of the James Bay development project (also

referred to as James Bay II, James Bay 2, Great Whale and Grande Baleine), he replied thus:

> "I can't see Québec doing without James Bay 2. [...] there's no doubt that Québec is still a cold
> country. In fact, I have the impression that by producing surplus energy, Québec could solve part
> of its winter problems... However, that involves great technological advancements, but with
> James Bay 2, it's only logical that we succeed. I think that the aboriginal peoples and their
> advisors are also aware of this, so much so that James Bay 2 will be a major negotiation, but not
> necessarily a dialogue between two cultures." (Cloutier, 1988, p.20).

Here again, we see the construction of the imaginary Self, Other and territory. By characterizing

the planning and development efforts of the proponents of more hydro-electric development as

"logical" (rational) and, therefore, of universal interest, the implication is that to oppose more

development in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee is, or would be, illogical (emotional) and derives from a

particular interest. The geographical myth of a seemingly insatiable need for energy to cope with

Québec's ("still") cold climate justifies proceeding with negotiations, even if it could be argued

that the Crees would again be at the table under duress. In Gilbert's (Barabé et al., 1982) and

Hamelin's (Cloutier, 1988) discourses, the appropriation of Baie James 'covers' itself by

transforming Québécois aspirations into an "appeal on the part of the colonized land and people"

"in the form of "...chaos that calls for restoration of order, of absence that calls for affirming

presence, [and] of natural abundance that awaits the creative hand of technology." (Spurr, 1993,

p.28)

Hamelin's (Cloutier, 1988) use of the qualification "surplus" energy, however, hints at other

justifications for more development. A suggested discussion, research or essay question from the

CBC-TV News in Review: Resource Guide September 1991 for viewing "Power Struggle at

James Bay" asks viewers to evaluate the official rhetoric about James Bay II: "If Québec were not

in the market to export power to New York State and the New England states, would James Bay II be built? Why or why not?" (Brune and Fisher, 1991, p.52).

With James Bay II at a standstill since the winter of 1994, has the Québec government decided, contrary to the opinion of one of its most renowned geographers of Northern Québec, that Québécois need not be concerned about the cold? Wasn't the justification for more development really mainly economic and not climatic: that is, was it not the desire to produce surplus energy for export rather than for domestic consumption? And, does not the postponement of James Bay II development have more to do with political manoeuvring than a reconsideration of Québec's domestic energy requirements? Contrary to what Hamelin (Cloutier, 1988) predicted, there *has not* been a negotiation of James Bay II because there *has been* a dialogue, both direct and indirect, between two cultures: on the one hand is the government of Québec, which was attempting some reconciliation with domestic (Cree, Inuit...) and foreign (New York State activists...) critics of sovereignty by halting development; and, on the other hand are the Crees, who were taking their case against James Bay II to the environmentalists, such as Robert Kennedy Jr., and to the international community through the United Nations.

On the issue of the political use of toponymy in the context of Cree resistance to James Bay II, archeologist David Denton observes that the Cree leaders continued to use the non-Cree place names, such as Lac Bienville, in their inter-cultural verbal and written discourse (Denton, 1996b and 1996c). Perhaps this is the case because the fight against James Bay II was more directly a material struggle than Cree resistance to the idea of their inclusion in a sovereign Québec.

Newman (1995) writes:

> For the 17,500 Cree and Inuit who inhabited the lonely shores of Hudson Bay and James Bay, the fight against the project was not some form of ideological challenge to the authority of Québec; it was, plain and simple, the defence of a way of life. The Québec City negotiators never seemed to realize that life was not a commodity to be bargained away. Their offers were the equivalent of the citizens of Québec being told by a group of outsiders that they would be financially compensated for the forced removal of the benefits of living in Québec, including their food, their churches, their culture halls and their sports arenas. "It's a matter of the Cree trying to preserve a way of life that depends on what the territory provides," insisted Robbie Dick, Chief of the Cree band at Great Whale [Whapmagoostui] (Newman, 1995, p.439-40).

Even as recently as September, 1997, the Crees of Whapmagoostui's (1997) news release, reporting on a summer referendum in Whapmagoostui (Great Whale) concerning Hydro-Québec's proposal to divert the Great Whale River into the existing reservoirs of the La Grande Complex, used non-Cree place names: "Local older [sic] Andrew Natachequan, whose trapline would be affected by HQ's diversion plan, is concerned with the fact that the diversion of the river to the La Grande will necessarily flood all of Lake Bienville, the head waters of the Great Whale River. "This is unacceptable," he said. "Lake Bienville is a sacred area. It is the heart of the land....""". (Crees of Whapmagoostui, 1997).

Later in this review, I argue that it appears that an "alternative toponymy of resistance" began to emerge with the Cree challenge to the notion of the "territorial integrity" of a sovereign and secessionist Québec. Having achieved a measure of protection of their way of life through the effectiveness of lobbying efforts which contributed to the shelving of James Bay II, I argue that the Cree were in a position to challenge Québec in a more abstract debate about sovereignty, which has included toponymic struggle.

Along with "Jamésie", "Radissonie" is another constituent sub-regional name in Baie James/Eeyou

Istchee whose status was still to be determined in 1982, when Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-

Québec (Barabé et al., 1982) was published. On the other hand, the name "Radisson" had official

recognition:

Radisson
This name was accepted by the Commission de géographie on May 17, 1973, and given to a
Nouveau-Québec locality created within the framework of the development of the *Baie James*
hydroelectric potential. The Commission felt some honour was due to the memory of Pierre-
Esprit Radisson (1635-1710), a founder of the Hudson's Bay Company, who explored the *Baie
James* region in 1670, 1671 and 1682. The territories adjacent to the bay were once called
Radissonie, and some authors still to [sic] use this designation on occasion. (Barabé, et al., 1982,
p.17).

Given the importance of the fur trading era in contemporary Québécois discourse on "le

patrimoine" (Handler, 1988, 1984; Handler and Linnekin, 1984) as well as the importance of

hydro-electric development to Québec nationalism (McCutcheon, 1991; Gagné, 1994), it is not

surprising that the name of the man who identified the region's fur trading potential is

commemorated in a symbol of the region's hydro-electric development and additional potential.

Although Radisson was only supposed to be a temporary out-post, Québec is promoting it as an

administrative centre (David Denton, 1996b). For the hydro and development corporations and

the government, Radisson seems to symbolize Québec's now permanent expansion and claim to

the northern lands, while for the Cree it is a symbol of incursion into their way of life and

territory. In the fall of 1997, Québec's Natural Resources Minister Guy Chevrette endorsed a

plan to create a permanent francophone community at Radisson that would significantly increase

its permanent population of about 75 by settling 2000 Hydro-Québec employees (Aubry, 1997).

While the report says that Hydro-Québec could cut spending from $100 million to $20 million a

year by settling employees in Radisson instead of flying them in and out of the area, the Crees accuse the government of endorsing "ethnic occupation" of Cree territory to give the separatist vote a boost in the area in the next referendum (ibid). In response to the accusation, Shirley Bishop, a spokesperson for Chevrette, "suggested that perhaps some Cree leaders, particularly those working out of Ottawa, are trying to "sabotage" the improving relationship between Québec and Cree community leaders." (ibid).

The idea of a permanent non-Cree town at Radisson is not only objectionable to the Crees on political grounds; there is also concern about negative economic and social impacts. In a *Nation* interview (Nicholls, 1996) with the then newly-elected Deputy Grand Chief of the GCCQ, Violet Pachano of Chisasibi was asked her opinion on the Québec government considering Radisson a permanent town, despite the specification in the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA) (CBJNQ, 1976) that it is temporary. Pachano's reply suggests that non-Cree administrators are planning to promote the town partly by expanding into areas of northern economic development that have been identified as having great potential for First Nations communities: tourism and out-fitting, or what is more recently being referred to as "ethno-cultural tourism" (Séguin, 1995).

Pachano (Nicholls, 1996) explains:

> "We are always reminded by the general population that this was their understanding, that Radisson was temporary. This is the understanding of the people in Chisasibi that there would be no permanent town when LG-2 was built. Now we realize that people are trying to develop Radission [sic] into a larger community. We had people come to us, they were either the municipality or the corporation, who are really trying to promote tourism and outfitting.
>
> "They told us they'd even promote our culture for us. They would build a teepee for the tourists who came up to visit the dams. We of course said no. We're quite capable of promoting our own culture.

"It's always been an issue with Chisasibi since it's the closest town or place where people can get liquor. For myself and others this is one of the main reasons why we wouldn't want a permanent town." (Nicholls, 1996, p.17).

Ironically, while these names, "Jamésie", "Radissonie" and "Radisson", reflect a different type of 'hydro-centricity' than the cultural orientation of the Cree (recall the quantitative importance of the "Élément lacustre" names alone in the Cree territory data base), at the same time, we might expect to see attempts by non-Cree authorities and corporations to appropriate Cree symbols, such as the teepee from the example above, with the diversification of economic development of these regions and centres. Van den Berghe's (1995) essay "Marketing Mayas: Ethnic Tourism Promotion in Mexico" describes how the local elite in the city of San Cristobal de las Casas uses its "[...]political, economic, locational, and linguistic advantages to capitalize on the otherness of indigenous groups." in the context of the "[...]tourist quest for the authentic other[...]". (van den Berghe, 1995, p.583). It is this type of process which, according to Pachano, the Cree want to avoid.

According to a *Canada News Wire* release dated October 4, 1997, it appears that Hydro-Québec (HQ) may be going ahead with interpreting Cree culture at HQ's new theme park at the site of the "Robert Bourassa Development, previously known as La Grande 2" (HQ, 1997). The name "La Grande" was at least a translation of the Cree name for the river, but the new name reflects only the Québécois version of 'hydro-centricity'. At the same time, Hydro-Québec clearly wants to project an environmentally-friendly image: "Located at the foot of the so-called "giant's spillway", the new site offers visitors, in addition to the existing rest area, an interpretation facility displaying

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the materials found in the immediate environment. Coexisting in perfect harmony are the

engineering structures, rocks and plants that occupy the whole taiga landscape." (ibid). The news

release does not indicate whether Hydro-Québec has erected a teepee or incorporated other

symbols of Cree culture in Robert Bourassa Park, but it does seem to give the impression that

Aboriginal communities and hydro projects are equally interesting cultural elements for the tourist

to take in, which objectifies the communities:

> This new attraction for James Bay tourists reflects Hydro-Québec's desire to give visitors all the
> information they need, where possible in the form of visual elements located at strategic sites in
> the territory, to better appreciate the wealth and diversity of the flora of the [sic] Northern
> Québec. At the same time they can become familiar with the culture of the aboriginal
> communities that inhabit the region and learn the characteristics of the hydroelectric projects of
> the La Grande complex." (HQ, 1997).

Later, I will provide examples of how the promotion of ethno-cultural tourism by the Crees

includes sensitizing non-Crees to Cree place names.

In a summary reference to "Jamésie" and "Radissonie" in <u>Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-</u>

<u>Québec</u> (Barabé, et al., 1982), it is not clear whether the decisions to be made about the status of

these names were intended to extend to meeting with the approval of Crees as well as

francophone Québécois:

> The sub-regions
> In speaking of the various constituent parts of a territory as vast as *Nouveau-Québec*, residents
> and intellectuals tend to name those parts. Since the middle of the sixties, names like *Jamésie* or
> *Jamesie*, *Hudsonie* and *Radissonie* have been coined. Here again, the various specialized
> branches concerned must make a final decision as to the limits of these sub-regions, and agree on
> names which will meet with the approval of the people. (Barabé, et al., 1982, p.31).

Jamésie is an official name, and so can be found using the "current names" search of the records of

the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (CPCGN, 1995c). The Commission

de toponymie recently recognized "Radissonie", apparently without consulting the Crees or

Anglophones: "The Commission de toponymie has erased geographical reminders of the ethnic

past. The latest effort was replacing the grating "région de la Baie James" with "Radissonie"",

writes Carolyn Adolph of the *Ottawa Citizen* (Adolph, 1997, p.A13).

Here I have discussed the French-language naming of the sub-regions of "Nouveau-Québec"

within the context of economic models and world views. It is at the scale of naming "Nouveau-

Québec" itself that the Commission seems to be compelled to recognize the challenge of another

naming system. This suggests that at this scale naming is more explicitly ideological and political.

While the summary reference (in Barabé et al., 1982) to the sub-regional names for northern

Québec may not even hint at the competing Aboriginal names in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

(except if one asks: whose approval?), the reference to "Nouveau-Québec", the name for the

entire region, is explicit about such a challenge:

> **Nouveau-Québec**
> From the outset, this regional name presented a problem of definition. Even though the
> government of the time used this name to refer to the new *Québec* created by the changed
> boundaries, this no longer holds water with the local inhabitants who have lived there for
> thousands of years — and the trend is confirmed by certain public bodies. Consider the new
> socioeconomic contract signed by the governement du Québec and the local communities: the
> *James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement*. (Barabé, et al., 1982, p.30).

The biggest toponymic challenge to the definition and naming of Nouveau-Québec has come from

the Inuit. Nouveau-Québec extends beyond Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, into the Inuit territory to

the north, but since the Inuit and Cree territories over-lap, it is appropriate to consider the advent

of the sub-regional name "Nunavik". There is no mention of Nunavik in the Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec (Barabé et al., 1982) since, at the time, the Inuit toponymic challenge had only recently been formalized in a resolution at the Northern Québec Inuit Elders Conference in 1981 that gave high priority to the preservation of Inuit place names (Müller-Wille et al., 1987, p.2). However, Nunavik is referred to in *Rencontre*, the main publication of the Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones (SAA), which occasionally disseminates information about the activities of the Commission de toponymie:

> **Nunavik**
> The Commission de toponymie du Québec has officially recognized the term Nunavik to identify a region in Northern Québec. The Committee of Elders of Avataq Cultural Institute made the original request for the term's acceptance. Approximately 8 500 Inuit names have been made official since 1981. Nunavik does not correspond to an administrative and political entity but to a regional entity of a sociocultural nature which bears a close resemblance to the traditional geographic region. It encompasses, among other things, the entire area of Québec located north of the 55th parallel and all the Inuit villages in Québec. The word Nunavik means in Inuktitut "a very big place where people live." (SAA, 1988).

Interestingly, the report on Nunavik includes a map from the "Avataq Cultural Institute's Gazetter [sic] of Inuit Place names in Nunavik (1987)" where the SAA could have presented an official map, assuming one exists which has been or could be edited to show Nunavik. The map which does appear shows how this territory includes the Cree communities of Whapmagoostui and Chisasibi along with the 16 Inuit communities. The corresponding Inuit names for these communities are Kuujjuaraapik (Kuujjuarapik) and Mailasikkut, respectively (Müller-Wille and ACI, 1995).

The contest between "Nouveau-Québec" and "Baie James" (now "Radissonie"), on the one hand and "Nunavik" and "Eeyou Istchee" on the other hand is the contest between 'imposters' that don't describe Inuit and Cree perceptions versus self-ascribed names. "Nouveau-Québec", "Baie

James", and "Radissonie" are 'imposters' not only because they are imposed, but also because they neither reflect Inuit or Cree history (for whom is this part of Québec "new"?) nor demographics; rather, they reflect non-Aboriginal political and administrative imperatives to define the limits of places. "Nouveau-Québec" is also an imposter because "Québec" is a name of Algonkian origin with a meaning specific to its original geographical referent (Martijn, 1991), but which has been applied to ecosystems of the north of Québec as a whole. This environmental misrepresentation is probably not deliberate. But, getting back to Villeneuve's (1993) metaphor (see the introduction to Phase Two, Part Two), this region has been the "new" Québec (the new 'narrow passage') in the sense that the government's actions towards the region have reflected a 'navigation' between attempts to assert its sovereignty with more hydro-electric development and attempts to reconcile with domestic (Cree, Inuit) and foreign critics of sovereignty.

Baie James/Eeyou Istchee Place Names in *Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré* (CTQ, 1994).

Noms et lieux du Québec: Dictionnaire illustré (CTQ, 1994) is reviewed here since a more up-to-date dossier toponymique focussing on Baie James/Eeyou Istchee or on Cree place names than *Dossier Toponoymique du Nouveau-Québec* (Barabé, et al., 1982) has not yet been produced. Furthermore, I pointed out in Phase Two, Part Two, that the Commission gave priority to the completion of the dictionary, although it was the one resolution out of the 19 resolutions from the 1979 workshop on Amerindian place names (CTQ, 1979) which was designated for action in the long-term when the resolutions were prioritized and reported on in 1984 (CTQ, 1984, pp.13-14).

While Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994) presents only a sample of the 250,000 (163,000 officially recognized) place names in Québec, its content is, nevertheless, "impressive" (Charest, 1995. p.105): almost 1,000 pages, over 6,000 entries, 20,000 toponyms, 5,000 photos and 35 colour maps (Charest, 1995, p.105). Despite this general endorsement, reviewer Paul Charest, writing in Études/Inuit/Studies, argues that the Commission de toponymie's dictionary has limitations as a reference tool for nordic researchers with an interest in Aboriginal place names. Charest challenges the Commission's claim that Aboriginal place names feature "prominently" in the dictionary: "Il ne faut donc pas chercher dans ce volume une véritable toponymie autochtone et encore moins nordique. Un tel ouvrage de synthèse reste donc à faire, bien que la Commission ait déjà publié quelques inventaires partiels et maintenant dépassés." (Charest, 1995, p.106).

Charest (1995) points out that, while all northern [Inuit] villages and Amerindian reserves and villages are included, other feature types are poorly represented (Charest, 1995, p.105-106). He is also critical of the sparsity of Inuit place names relative to French and English place names on the maps of the northern regions (Charest, 1995, pp.106-107).

I have not completed a survey of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, particularly Cree, place names representation in Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994). This task requires reviewing the text of each of the entries for those place names which appear to be neither French nor English in order to distinguish the Cree names from the other Aboriginal names. I can, however, offer some preliminary comments relating to sub-regional and regional names.

Concerning the sub-regional names discussed in the review of_Dossier toponymique du Nouveau-Québec (Barabé, et al., 1982), neither "Hudsonie" nor "Radissonie" appear in the Commission's dictionary (CTQ, 1994), nor are they in the Canadian Geographical Names Data Base (CPCGN, 1995c), indicating that they do not have official recognition. However, recently, "Radissonie" replaced "Région de la Baie James" (Adolph, 1997; Aubry, 1997). Surprisingly, "Jamésie" does not appear in Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994) either, although it does have official recognition (refer to the "current names" search of the records of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names Web site (CPCGN, 1995c)). One would think that Jamésie would have be included in the dictionary given the excitement over this name that was expressed in the Dossier toponymique du Nouveau Québec (Barabé et al., 1982).

As for "Nouveau-Québec", also an official place name (refer to the "current names" search, CPCGN Web site (CPCGN, 1995c)), it is referred to in the text of the entry for Nouveau-Québec, Cratère du" in the dictionary, but does not have its own entry (CTQ, 1994, p.491). "Nunavik" does have its own entry in Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994, p.492-93). The French-language omissions of sub-regional names seems to add further support to the argument that Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994) has limitations for researchers interested in northern Québec, even if Aboriginal-language administrative names are better represented. On other (non-administrative) feature types, the text of the entry for "James, Baie" makes reference to alternative Cree names for the body of water: "Les Cris, selon qu'ils soient du sud ou du nord, identifient l'ensemble de la baie James et de la baie d'Hudson sous les appellations **Wiinipekw** ou **Wiinipaakw**, termes signifiant *eau sale*." (CTQ, 1994, p.295) The entry goes on to say a few

words about the lifestyle and localization of the Cree population. The entry also points out that, today, the region is mainly known for its gigantic dams and hydro-electric stations, and gives some details about current and projected mega-watt output (ibid). In this entry, the two different 'hydro-centricities' are revealed. The entry for "Baie-James (municipalité)" does not refer to alternative Cree names in its discussion of the municipality's location in the region (CTQ, 1994, p.37).

Will the next edition or another future edition of Noms et lieux du Québec (CTQ, 1994) include a reference to "Eeyou Istchee"? This will depend on the outcome of the mutually responsive toponymic discourses of Crees and Québécois authorities in this disputed territory in the north. Given Québec's place naming policy (Barabé et al., 1982, p.28-29), "Eeyou Istchee" would likely never replace the already established French toponym "Région de la Baie James", now "Radissonie" (Adolph, 1997; Aubry, 1997), assuming their territorial correspondence is fairly close. However, perhaps Eeyou Istchee could gain a status similar to that accorded to "Nunavik", if the Crees were to decide they want to engage with the Commission de toponymie in toponymic negotiation to get official recognition of a name they already use themselves. On the other hand, since the Inuit and Cree territories overlap, the prospect of such status is complicated by the fact that official recognition of "Nunavik" precedes such potential future recognition of "Eeyou Istchee". For now, the Crees are using "Eeyou Istchee" in a toponymic and broader ideological struggle over this territory, which is grounded in the material struggle for control.

In the sections which follow, I describe the plural meaning of "power" in the context of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, and I construct a sketch of the cultural politics of place naming which outlines how the plural meaning of "power" is implicated in toponymic resistance among the Crees. The sketch provides some context for understanding why Cree territory toponymy is being put to new, political uses, in "Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee" and in "Naming Caniapiscau".

The Plural Meaning of "Power" in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

Baie James/Eeyou Istchee is an interesting area for a case study of cultural politics because of the many meanings of "power" that can be associated with this disputed territory. Perhaps the meaning which comes to the minds of most people first is "hydro-electric" power. In terms of material or social relations, "control" comes to mind: For the Québécois, having power or control means being "maître chez nous", while for the Aboriginal nations in Québec, having power or control means "self-determination". In terms of power relating to *place naming*, "appropriation", "(re)naming", "francization", "officialization" and "revalorization" can be associated with the activities of the Commission de toponymie. "Recodification" and "resistance", including formal and informal (re)naming can be associated with the toponymic activities of Aboriginal nations in the province.

As already described in Phase 3 of the thesis, the "power" of *place names* relates to their functions. The descriptive power of Aboriginal place names, which is facilitated by the grammars of Aboriginal languages, is of practical importance for hunters and travellers. The mnemonic power of Aboriginal place names derives from naming systems which link place names

'horizontally' in "oral maps", and 'vertically' to stories about history, myth, tradition, and spirituality (places of power), etc.

The way in which the "hydro-electric" and "control" meanings of power come together 'on the ground' at any given time is part of what determines the context for naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. Where one stands on hydro-electric development depends on how one defines the value of the land, region or territory. In Baie James/Eeyou Istchee there are at least two definitions: the value of the Baie James region is in its potentials (Québec decision-makers tend to this view) versus the land as "garden" (the Crees tend to this view). I say "tend(s)" because the opinions on the Québécois side or the Cree side are not necessarily unanimous. How one defines the value of the land, region or territory is based on one's perception of one's relationship to it: is it a hinterland or a homeland? Whether or not hydro-electric development proceeds depends on the balance of political power, and this includes who one's 'friends' are. In the opposition to the James Bay II (Great Whale) phase of hydro-electric development, the Crees were the "darlings" of the Manhattan activist scene (Newman, 1995) and were supported in Europe and at the United Nations. With the sketch of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee which I present below, I argue that as the balance of power concerning James Bay II has shifted to the Cree side, the Crees have achieved a greater measure of protection and control of their material and social relations, making way for the ideological struggle over naming, that is, for new, political, uses of place naming. My sketch outlining how the plural meaning of "power" is implicated in toponymic resistance, particularly with respect to Cree place names associated with (describing) resources or resource use, is discussed next.

Sketch of the Cultural Politics of Place Naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

My sketch of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, which focuses on toponymic struggle, can be viewed as complementary to Ludger Müller-Wille's "Figure 1: Sequence of Preserving Native Place Names in Québec and for Adjacent Islands and Waters of the Northwest Territories" (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.9), which focuses on toponymic negotiation.

In my sketch of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, I use the example of place names which refer to natural resources or the exploitation of natural resources. I feel I am justified in focussing on this set of names because it represents a good part of Cree place names. For example, Denton (1996) reports that place names referring to faunal resources, alone, account for one-third of the Whapmagoostui Cree set. In the Commission de toponymie du Québec's (CTQ, 1997a) set of Cree territory place names, place names referring to faunal resources, alone, account for 20% of the total. The example of place names which refer to natural resources or the exploitation of natural resources is also compatible with the harvesting metaphor I used to describe the Commission de toponymie du Québec's role in surveying, treating/processing and archiving Aboriginal place names. In my "Sketch of Toponymic Struggle in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee", the text in italics represents the different stages in the process that leads to place names losing some of their original power to describe (intra-culturally) to place names gaining a new kind of power to describe (across cultures). The non-italicized text supports the sketch with examples or by elaborating on a particular stage. Finally, I relate the use of "Eeyou Istchee", the name for the Cree homeland, to the sketch.

Sketch of Toponymic Struggle in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

Cree resource exploitation based on seasons (i.e. on the migrations of animals) --> descriptive place naming based on resources or resource exploitation ---> Seasons (migrations) affected by Hydro-Québec projects: "Now, the rivers do not always flow, the animals are not always there, and strange as it may seem, there are no longer six seasons in some parts of this land. Hydro-Québec has made sure of that" (LaDuke Kapashesit in Richardson, 1991b, p.ix) ---> *Changes in resource exploitation --> Naming loses some of its original power to describe:* Here, naming refers to the use of existing names which no longer reflect the places they refer to because the places have changed, and/or ---> *Naming gains another type of power to describe as names are used politically:* Here, naming is a part of Cree resistance, and so the describing/claiming work that this naming does is inter-cultural rather than intra-cultural. A hypothetical example would be if the Crees had named the place where ten thousand George's River herd caribou drowned during their seasonal migration when water was released from the Caniapiscau Reservoir and if the Crees had communicated the new place name through the media.

Over the years since the advent of James Bay I, and particularly with the struggle against James Bay II, the Crees have communicated about the negative environmental and cultural impacts of hydro-electric development through the media and through lobbying. "Eeyou Istchee", the name for the Cree homeland of the Cree Nation, emerged as an example of naming as resistance as the Cree began to collectively express themselves through such fora as the *Nation* magazine (Beesum Communications) and at environmental rallies in New York and elsewhere. Even more recently, the collective experience of being a Nation within nation-states at two scales, that is within

Québec and Canada, has necessitated an even more concerted use of the collective name for the

Cree territory. I elaborate on the use of "Eeyou Istchee" and other names as resistance, next.

An Emerging Alternative Toponymy of Resistance in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee

As stated above, by using the qualifying terms "emerging" and "alternative", I suggest that the

context for the use of Cree place names is expanding into the inter-cultural arena, not that these

place names have not already been in use among the Cree themselves. Expanding on the sketch

of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, which I presented above, I

argue that as the balance of power concerning the James Bay II project has shifted to the Cree

side, the Cree have achieved a measure of protection and control of their material and social

relations, making way for the ideological struggle over naming, that is, for new, political, uses of

place naming.

One of the political contexts for the challenge to official Québec toponymy has been Cree

opposition to Québec separatists founded on Cree rejection of the concept of the "territorial

integrity" of a sovereign and secessionist Québec. The most definitive statement of the Cree

position on this territorial question is Sovereign Injustice: Forcible Inclusion of the James Bay

Crees and Cree Territory into a Sovereign Québec (GCCQ, 1995), which was released in October

1995, just prior to the Cree, Inuit and Québec referendums.

In Sovereign Injustice (GCCQ, 1995) we observe the use, though not throughout the document,

of the name "Eeyou Astchee". Under the Grand Council of the Crees' copyright, the place of

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publication is identified as, "Nemaska, *Eeyou Astchee*, (Québec) Canada J0Y 3B0." Not only has

the GCCQ not used "Baie James" or "James Bay", but by including "Québec" in parentheses

"Canada" seems to be given prominence. This decision possibly reflects the Cree position that, in

the event of a mandate from Québécois voters for Québec separation, the Crees, territory

included, would choose to remain in Canada. To be more precise, in their referendum of October

1995, the Crees voted by 96% to remain in Canada (GCCQ, 1996). Finally, under the Grand

Council of the Crees' copyright, the spelling of "Nemaska" differs significantly from the officially

recognized spelling of this Cree village name, being "Nemiscau".

Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's Message in <u>Sovereign Injustice</u> (GCCQ, 1995) also makes

use of the name "Eeyou Astchee". On the bottom of the second page of the message, opposite

Coon Come's title and name is, "Nemaska, *Eeyou Astchee* - October 1995". However, in the

letterhead over the Message, the address of the GCCQ/CRA appears as, "2 Lakeshore Road,

Nemaska, James Bay (Québec) J0Y 3B0". This inconsistency is possibly explained by the fact

that the letterhead identifies a return mailing address, and, so, arguably, has to refer to the official

regional name to ensure delivery of any correspondence. The French translation of the Message

does not translate this address from English.

If one could argue that the use of "Eeyou Astchee" below the copyright is not very strategic, and

that in combination with "James Bay" its impact is diminished on the Message pages, then the

most effective challenge to the official toponym is on the back cover of <u>Sovereign Injustice</u>

(GCCQ, 1995); there, it is both most likely to be noticed and it appears as both a regional name

and as part of an address.

While "Eeyou Astchee" is not used in the text of the document (GCCQ, 1995), arguably because it was written with the purpose of a legal (constitutional, international law...) defence of Cree rights and status in mind, Sovereign Injustice (GCCQ, 1995) nevertheless does introduce the reader to Cree toponymy. Besides the use of "Eeyou Astchee", already described above, readers are exposed to the nine Cree community (village) names in Roman characters and more rarely seen (among non-Crees) Cree syllabics. These appear on the bottom of the first page of the Message from Coon Come (English and French versions). The spelling of "Nemaska" and "Mistassini" with an "a" should be noted. The community names also appear in Roman characters on the "Map of Québec" showing the boundary extensions of 1898 and 1912. There, we see "Nemaska" again, and "Mistissini" spelled with an "i".

The appearance of "Mistassini" with an "a" at the bottom of the first page of the message from Coon Come (English and French versions) and the appearance of "James Bay" in the address of the GCCQ/CRA over the message suggest that the letterhead on which the message is printed pre-dates the change in Mistassini's name to "Mistissini" since the "Map of Québec" spells "Mistissini with an "i".

Besides the case of Sovereign Injustice (GCCQ, 1995) other examples of the political use of "Eeyou Astchee" (or variations on its spelling) can be found in a recent Annual Report (1994–1995) of the GCCQ/CRA, on the GCCQ Web site (GCCQ, 1997a) and on the cover of Beesum

Communications' the *Nation* magazine (published every two weeks), where it states, "Free in Iyiyuuschii" and "Serving Iyiyuuschii since 1993". Beesum Communications is a privately owned Cree company with membership in Cree, Aboriginal and Canadian communications, publishers and newspaper associations. According to Brian Craik (1997) of the Grand Council of the Crees, the *Nation* grew out of the struggle to stop the Great Whale project (James Bay II) as there was a growing sense of the need to "explain where we are" to Americans and southern Canadians: "Eeyou Istchee" means "Our land", like the Innu name "Nitassinan" (Craik, 1997). Also according to Brian Craik (1997), the territory of Eeyou Istchee goes beyond the Baie James/James Bay region: it includes the offshore islands, a bit of land in Ontario, some land in Kativik (eg. the area of Whapmagoostui/Kuujjuaraapik (Kuujjuarapik)), and some land south of the watershed.

As for how long the Crees have been using "Eeyou Istchee" collectively, Brian Craik (1997) reports that the name for the national territory has been used since Robert Bourassa made an offer to the Crees in 1972, which the Crees burned in a bonfire. Instead, the Crees published their own offer called "Our Land Our Dreams", which was translated into the Cree language (Craik, 1997). Prior to June 1971, when a meeting organized by several young Cree leaders brought together the leaders from each of the Cree villages to discuss the hydro-electric project, the Cree were "comprised of eight separate communities and bands having no regional integration or political structure." (Feit, 1995b, p.203). "It was the first meeting ever held by the James Bay Cree in the 5,000 years of their history," reports Boyce Richardson (1991b, p.82). Richardson adds:

> The elders of the culture, whose most sophisticated traditional political structure never extended to more than 100 or so people, had never felt the need for a meeting at a higher level. They had spent their time subsisting in the forest, and in recent years had accepted uncomplainingly the many derogations from that life which were occurring more and more as outsiders move into

Everyone at this first meeting was opposed to the project because of the severe damage it would

cause, and, as a result, they decided to organize within their own communities in order to solicit

support from other Aboriginal groups and the public at large (Feit, 1995b, p.203). It was at a

meeting in Waskaganish (then called "Rupert House") that the Crees in attendance decided to

burn the James Bay Development Corporation's ecological report because they couldn't

understand it, although it had been translated into Cree (Richardson, 1991b, p.104-106).

Until then, just as the elders never felt the need for a meeting at a higher level, the Crees had not

needed a name for the Cree homeland since they had neither seen themselves as nor had to act as

a collective. This illustrates Gordon's (1984) and Sapir's (1912) point about there having to be a

reason for naming in order for language to be put to use in reference to place. Furthermore, it

illustrates how less-directly material experiences, that is, Gordon's "human events" (Gordon,

1984, p.224), such as political organization, can also generate place names or resistance to

established but non-indigenous place names. Although the name for the Cree homeland was used

in the title of the Cree's own 1972 offer to the government of Québec, Brian Craik (1997) has

reported that it became more important as a concept since the Great Whale fight (James Bay II

opposition), beginning in 1989, and it is the "natural term" concerning the sovereignty debate

(Brian Craik, 1997). One of the most recent uses of "Eeyou Astchee" is in the Grand Council of

the Crees' (GCCQ, 1997b) September 1997 news release concerning its technical brief filed with

the U.S. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) demonstrating that Hydro-Québec's

power market study is deeply flawed.

The example of Mistassini/Mistissini needs more mention here as it is, perhaps, illustrative of the process of adjustment to the political use of a place name. Archaeologist David Denton is engaged in a long-term project which aims to build a data base of Cree historical and cultural knowledge relating to particular places throughout the territories of the Québec Crees (Müller-Wille, 1992). Denton (1996b and 1996c) believes that, if one argues that there is a struggle over place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, the concern of residents of Mistissini to change the spelling of their community's name from "Mistassini" to "Mistissini" (the latter being closer to local pronunciation) is probably the most explicit example of this struggle with respect to Cree village names. However, Denton (1996b and 1996c) has pointed out that this concern was mainly due to problems (eg. in mail delivery) related to confusion with another place name in Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean called "Mistassini". With respect to inter-cultural communication, it might be expected that the promotion and adoption of the new spelling and pronunciation would not be consistent. David Denton (1996b and 1996c) has observed that in their conversations with non-Crees, many Crees still use the former pronunciation in order to facilitate communication. The *Maclean's* cover story "Fighting for the Land" uses "Mistassini", although perhaps this is in a continued reference to "the shores of Lake Mistassini" (Came, 1995b, pp.16-18).

On the other hand, Mistissini's Internet site (Cree Nation of Mistissini, 1997) is an example of how the promotion of ethno-cultural tourism by the Crees includes sensitizing non-Crees to Cree place names. Each page on the site offers the viewer the chance to take a "Guided tour" of Mistissini. The main page of the site includes the community name in both Roman characters and Cree syllabics. On the "Geography" page, "Mistissini" is identified as the "home of the largest

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fresh water lake in Québec", which the authors of the page spell "Lac Mistissini" (note the spelling

with an "i"). Concerning the name of the lake, the authors explain:

> In the past, in documents and on maps, Mistissini was referred to as Mistassini or Baie du Poste
> by non-natives. However, the Crees have always named this community Mistissini and today
> Mistissini is the official name of the community. However, the Lake is still named Mistassini
> Lake because no official name change has been made yet. Also one should know that there is a
> non-native community in the Lac-St-Jean region that is named Mistassini." (Cree Nation of
> Mistissini, 1997).

Oujé-Bougoumou's Web site (Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Community, 1996) is another example of

how the Cree presence on the Internet includes sensitizing non-Crees to Cree place names. The

main and map pages on the site identify the meaning of "Oujé-Bougoumou" as "The Place Where

People Gather." In a feature article on Oujé-Bougoumou in a *Rencontre* issue focussing on

ethno-cultural tourism, a sub-heading appears to give a different meaning: "Oujé-Bougoumou -

Where the Lake Narrows" (Cormier, 1995, p.17). In combination, the meaning of "Oujé-

Bougoumou" seems to be 'the people gather at the place where the lake narrows'. Is this an

example of why translation of Aboriginal place names requires both a literal understanding and

'hearing' the place names in context? Getting back to Villeneuve's (1993) metaphor relating the

meaning of "Québec" to the geo-political history of the province, it is interesting to note that the

recent history of the residents of Oujé-Bougoumou is the story of being forced to 'navigate'

between an increasingly dense scattering of mining camps, non-Cree settlements and, eventually,

towns. The Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation, as they call themselves, endured seven relocations by

the Federal government between 1920 and 1970, which left members scattered. Neither the

Federal nor the Provincial government wanted to take responsibility for these "squatters" until, in

1981, when the Oujé-Bougoumou Crees elected a "provisional band council" (Cormier, 1995,

p.17). In 1992, the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation gathered in its new village, which has since

received several awards, including "international recognition as one of the world's 50 best

communities in the category of Human Settlements which exemplify the values of the United

Nations" (Cormier, 1995, p.19). Freddy Bosum's (1996) essay on the Oujé-Bougoumou Web site

reminds us that , "Today we [the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation] still live in our homelands, our

Eenou Astchee."

Bosum (1996) also exposes how non-Cree geographical myth-making has obscured, though not

completely covered, his personal history and that of other Crees:

> ...on most maps until 1992 the only way that someone could locate where I am from is when we
> look for the name of the non-aboriginal town smack down in the middle of our territory. The
> non-aboriginal population resides in Chibougamau, whose name is a mis-pronunciation of the
> word Ouje-Bougoumou. Chapais is the offspring of Chibougamau. Both are mining and forestry
> towns, both towns are within the boundaries of the Ouje-Bougoumou Eenou Astchee. (Bosum,
> 1996).

Naming Caniapiscau

Besides "Eeyou Istchee", the name for the Cree homeland, and "Mistissini", "Nemaska" and "Oujé-

Bougoumou", along with the other Cree community names, Cree place names on the land have

recently also been communicated cross-culturally. Old Cree place names on the land have

surfaced from beneath the waters, so to speak, in response to the Commission de toponymie's

(1997b) naming of 101 islands (formerly mountains) in the Caniapiscau Reservoir in its *poème*

géographique commemorating the 20th anniversary of the *Charte de la langue française.* Some

of the names in Cree hunter and culture teacher Samuel Bearskin's oral map of his hunting area in

and around the Caniapiscau reservoir were reported in an interview with the *Nation*'s Ernest

Webb: they are a mountain called "Napayaak Uuchii" (after a male porcupine), and lakes called

"Nimaas Sakhiikan," "Juumshuumnuu Sakhiikan", Waapuush Sakhiikan" and Amisk Sakhiikan",

and a large lake called "Kaamaamaachiishikmaach". (Webb, 1997, p.11). In their special to the

Montreal Gazette, Alex Roslin and Ernest Webb (1997) of the *Nation* report the English-language

translations of other names Samuel Bearskin noted had been given to the mountains whose tops

are still visible above the water: Rabbit Mountain, Fish Mountain, Beaver Mountain, and Our

Grandfather Mountain (Roslin and Webb, 1997, p.A2).

I return to the discussion of the controversy surrounding *Le Jardin au Bout du Monde* (CTQ,

1997b) because it allows me to illustrate the relevance of the principal themes and metaphors (and

'method') introduced in Phase One and throughout the other phases and because it relates directly

to my central argument: when Québécois institutions try to appropriate Cree land and place names

as national resources, their actions are met with resistance, because Cree land memory has a

different story to tell.

In the pages which follow, I take Keith Basso's (1984) approach to learning about cultural

identification: by "[a]ttending carefully to the claims that people make about themselves, and then

trying to grasp with some exactness what they have claimed and why...", "one is able to move

closer to an understanding of who the people image themselves to be...." (Basso, 1984, p.19). I

attend to the claims of Québécois authorities and Cree leaders, as well as to the claims of

'ordinary' residents of Québec to make the point that the stake in control over place naming is

everyone's .

Here is one of those rare occasions when we hear or read about a conflict over a change in a place name (in this case names) that presents the opportunity for us to reflect on the deeper meanings of the 'new' name and the one it 'replaces' (what they connote) for the people involved.

Despite Commission de toponymie geographer Marc Richard's claim that the Commission wanted to "...avoid stirring the kind of controversy that arose when Montreal city Council renamed Dorcheser Blvd. after the late premier René Lévesque" (Peritz, 1997a, p.A6), the choice of location for *Le Jardin au Bout du Monde* is controversial. From the perspective of the Crees, the "garden at the *end* of the earth" imposes another culture's names on the Cree garden, and it is part of the over-all sovereigntist strategy that also endorses imposing a permanent non-Cree settlement at Radisson. "This is a political move, an attempt to occupy our territory and rename it, rather than adopt local names," charged Bill Namagoose, executive director of the Grand Council of the Crees. "When you fight over territory or sovereignty, one of the important things is to have title to the names." (Peritz, 1997b, p.A6). Here is a statement from a Cree leader about the Crees' stake in control over place naming.

The toponymic struggle over "naming Caniapiscau" just began with the release of the *poème géographique* (CTC, 1997b), and there is some indication that negotiating the naming of the islands/mountains on Québec's terms may be a possibility. We may expect to see the toponymic struggle continue to manifest itself through the Crees' use of fora, such as the *Nation* magazine, the Internet and the mainstream media to appeal to public support for their claims. As the mutually responsive toponymic discourses of Québec authorities and the Crees shape and are

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shaped by the public discourse on Québec-Cree relations, which is also embedded in the discourse

about the relations of each of these nations to Canada, I now turn to that public discourse.

I focus on the reflections of the authors of six letters to the editors, as many as I could find in the

Montreal Gazette and *Le Devoir*, which responded to the news releases and articles reporting the

details of the Commission's project (CTQ, 1997b and 1997c; Chouinard, 1997a) and objections to

the *poème géographique* (Chouinard, 1997b; Peritz, 1997a, 1997b; Roslin, 1997; Roslin and

Webb, 1997). The letters to the editors suggest that, presented with the opportunity to reflect on

place naming, people do tend to reveal something of their own identities in how they relate to

others' expressions of identity through place naming, and people respond accordingly with

support for one side or the other in a toponymic controversy.

Of the six letters to the editors, one by Pierre Vadeboncoeur of Montréal reflects Québécois

feelings of pride in their ability to not only survive as a nation in Canada and North America, but

to make an impression technologically and artistically: "Notre littérature aurait-elle quelque chose

d'insulaire? Une mer, des îles: nouveauté prodigieuse, qui étonne déjà le monde entier."

(Vadeboncoeur, 1997). In this letter, one could say the perceptions of north as hinterland and

north as heritage are confounded.

Two letters (Macleod, 1997) and (Bell, 1997) reflect Anglophone feelings of resentment of and

their defiance of the definition of Québec as a French province. Alec Macleod's letter concerning

the Commission's failure to name an island with an excerpt from David Fennario's "Balconville"

was quoted in my introduction to the thesis. Don Bell's letter is quoted below. The other three of

the six letters to the editors are of most interest here because they respond to the Crees' objection

to the *poème géographique*. The four authors of the three letters support the Cree position in this

naming controversy, revealing their desire to disassociate themselves from positions based on a

universalist or unitary definition of Québec heritage and society.

The irony in the Commission's claim that it had chosen a location for their *poème géographique*

that would avoid controversy was not lost on Jacques Lamarche (1997), "Écrivain «sans île»!"

from Saint-André-Avelin: «*Le territoire m'apparaissait vierge et anonyme*» plaide Alain Vallière

[sic] au nom de la Commission de toponymie. Si j'étais amateur de chasse ou de pêche, je n'irais

pas amarrer ma chaloupe rue Sainte-Catherine à Montréal, je chercherais un endroit inhabité!"

(Lamarche, 1997). Lamarche asks Vallières to reconsider his 'obligation' to officialize the 101

island names when he has the option to respect Cree names already in use. Lamarche concludes

his letter with the question: "Appartient-il aux toponymistes de 1995... d'aller en Paradis par la

dictature?" (ibid). The largest of the 101 islands is named "Le Paradis Perdu" after a play by

Marcel Dubé, but Lamarche is mainly obliquely referring to toponymic decision-making

('obligations') inspired by separatist set-backs and aspirations. Most probably Lamarche is aware

that in their own referendum in 1995, the Crees voted by 96% to remain in Canada.

"May I submit that a hole be dug in the middle of one of Québec's Bill 101 islands and that it be

called Saturday Night at the Bagel Factory," wrote author Don Bell of Sutton in his brief letter to

the editor of the *Montreal Gazette* (Bell, 1997). While Bell appears to be poking fun at the idea

of a *poème géographique* by taking the proposed assignment of the title of his own book to an island to its 'logical conclusion', he is also making the more serious point that Bill 101 is not without its own 'holes' as far as universal support for the legislation goes.

Besides Lamarche's letter, two more letters to the editors out of the six which were published focus on the Cree objection to the *poème géographique*, and they are also critical of the Commission's position. G. Dionne of Montréal, who was compelled to contact the Commission de toponymie, had this to report about what he learned: "It's all pretty clear to me now. First, came ecological devastation of the region, then, topographic disguise, and now, cultural appropriation." (Dionne, 1997). Dionne's sketch of the process by which Québec asserts its sovereignty in the north of the province resonates with my own sketch of the process which has lead to toponymic resistance in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee.

Dionne (1997) goes on to argue that the *poème géographique is in the spirit of* Bill 101 since he believes the Bill itself is culturally oppressive: "The insensitivity of the Québec government shown in this project is a concrete demonstration of the intolerance and oppression that Bill 101 has come to symbolize. In that sense, assigning the names to commemorate Bill 101 is quite appropriate, though far from comforting."

In a third letter to the editor critical of the *poème géographique* for its insensitivity to the Cree presence, Patricia Desgagné and Simone Tourigny of Magog argue that the project must be denounced because it *is not in the spirit of* Bill 101:

Quand on pense que la loi 101 est née du besoin de protéger notre culture francophone, c'est un véritable contresens de l'utiliser pour bafouer une autre culture. Nous vous demandons donc de réviser vos positions et de vous soumettre, comme il aurait dû être fait préalablement, à la prétendue règle d'or de la Commission (vérifier par le moyen d'un inventaire si les populations locales et la tradition n'ont pas naturellement déterminé l'usage d'une appelation), afin d'éviter que le 20e anniversaire de la Charte de la langue française ne soit entaché de honte." (Desgagné et Tourigny, 1997).

Along with the three letters to the editors critical of the *poème géographique* for insensitivity to the Cree presence, two editorials, one in the *Montreal Gazette* (Sept. 11, 1997, p.B2) and one in the *Ottawa Citizen* (Adolph, 1997) also support the Cree position. On "replacing the grating "région de la Baie James" with "Radissonie"", Ottawa writer Carolyn Adolph, formerly with the *Montreal Gazette*, allows that "[p]etty acts of revenge on the anglos could be considered par for the historical course." However, concerning the renaming of the 101 islands, Adolph uses a not uncommon 'higher morality' argument: "...surely a people scarred by the effects of colonization would be driven by a higher impulse when dealing with others forced to accept strange laws and to speak a foreign tongue. Especially those with a stronger claim to the territory who have suffered more. But Québec just doesn't get it. Or at least that's its line again." (ibid). Adolph is responding to what she calls, "Québec's old ethnocentric myopia" (ibid) generally, but she may also be responding specifically to Marc Richard's 'inability' to see how for the Crees the project is blatantly offensive. Peritz (1997b) reports:

Marc Richard...said thousands of sites have been given Cree names already, and he has difficulty understanding why the Crees would take the governments "geographic poem" project badly. "They're not names that are offensive. There are no names of warriors," Richard said of the islands. "They will enrich pieces of land that now have no names." "I don't think that there should be borders which exclude certain names," he added. (Peritz, 1997b).

Adolph (1997) does not believe that Québec's need to assert its sovereignty in its remoter

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(geographically and culturally) reaches is the issue since she does not buy the argument that the Cree would never chose to stay, with their territory, in a sovereign Québec:

> Perhaps Québec believes it can't afford to treat the Cree as equals because it needs to control Cree territory. Perhaps Guy Chevrette is sending francophones north because he knows Québec's claim to the Ungava Peninsula, given by Canada in 1898 and 1912, is weak. But that's hard to believe because there is another option: The Cree have never excluded the possibility of living in a sovereign Québec. All they need is a better deal from Québec that from Ottawa." (Adolph, 1997).

Adolph is probably aware of the results of the Cree referendum of 1995, and she takes it to be part of the Cree strategy of engaging with Québec by "taking back the names": "...the terms of authority, once given voice, are far from having an direct and unambiguous effect; on the contrary, they can be used by the colonized against the institutions from which they emanate" (Spurr, 1993, p.186).

According to Jean Paré (1997), whose letter to Bill Namagoose of the GCCQ in *L'Actualité* is the most recent of responses to the controversy to be published in the southern press, the Cree had already made a deal with Québec, and that is what gives Québec every reason to name the islands in the Caniapiscau reservoir: "Qui possède nomme, qui nomme possède. Car ce territorie, ces îles, ils les ont bel et bien achetés. Ils, c'est-à-dire à peu près tout le monde, sauf vous. Vous vous étiez de l'autre côté du comptoir, vous touchiez le fric. Vos représentants ont crié victoire quand les tribunaux ont augmenté la somme. Et ils ont signé la vente. Puis encaissé." (Paré, 1997). According to anthropologist Harvey Feit's (1995a) analysis of continuity and change in images of Aboriginal peoples which have prevailed among governments and corporations active in the James Bay Region during the last four decades, Paré's characterization of the Crees as greedy is characteristic of the contemporary discourse of the Other, "...legitimizing the control that

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Europeans often have" (Feit, 1995a, p.108):

The third period (post-1985) is marked by the Cree opposition to the Great Whale hydro-electric development, and the period of the possibility of Québec separation. The Cree are actively a threat to the things Euro-Canadians want to do in the James Bay region. The focus on the Cree is that they are an already assimilated population crassly interested in increasing their monetary compensation. The Cree are increasingly portrayed as cunning and untrustworthy Indians." (Feit, 1995a, p.109).

According to Sylvie Vincent's (1992a reported in Trudel, 1995) identification of four principal

themes in Québécois discourses on Aboriginal peoples, Paré also seems to invoke a "droit acquis"

argument, whereby "...les Amérindiens étaient certes les premiers habitants du Québec, mais les

autres Québécois y ont gagné des droits presques exclusifs en développant les ressources par leur

travail." (Vincent, 1992a, p.211 in Trudel, 1995, p.54).

I conclude this section of the thesis on the naming of Caniapiscau with Paré's (1997) editorial in

L'Actualité because it is replete with other examples of "la négation de l'autre", and it also

demonstrates how the nationalist identity discourses of Québécois and "Autochtones" are

mutually responsive (Trudel, 1995). The Nation (Beesum Communications, 1997, Oct.10, p.7)

felt compelled to call Paré's (1997) editorial an "Iditorial", and to translate parts of it into English

to make it accessible to the Nation's mostly English (and Cree) readers. Paré's (1997) own

characterization of Bill Namagoose and Crees more generally was derogatory: "Sans minorité

francophone, pensez-vous que l'opinion, la Gazette et le Globe and Mail auront encore du papier

pour les naïfs utiles (Lénine brutal, disait «les idiots utiles»)." (ibid).

Besides accusing the Crees of manipulating the English press, Paré (1997) charges Bill

Namagoose with working for English Canada: "Vous croyez sans doute être un grand, un bon

Canadien, en vous faisant le mercenaire d'une guérilla anti-québécoise. C'est tout le contraire.

Vous ne nous dites pas qu'on ne peut pas être québécois et canadien à la fois. Vous faites le jeu

des souverainistes en jetant constamment de l'écorce de bouleau sur le feu." (ibid). Harvey Feit

(1995a) has identified this type of argument as, "Here Cree autonomy has been reduced to their

being used as dupes." (Feit, 1995a, p.125). This negation of the Other by "demonization" (Trudel,

1995) and by negation of their sophistication is complemented by negation of the Other by a

pseudo-psychiatric stereotype: "vous chialez tout le temps et qu' [sic] à la seule vue de la lettre

Q, vous grimpez dans les totems." (ibid). The combined result of these negations is the

deligitimization of the Cree claim to feelings of injustice.

Paré's (1997) letter also provides an example of the use of contradictory themes of negation of

the Other. In the following quote, what I call the "myth of similarity" is evident: "Voulez-vous

nous dire qu'il n'y a pas de place dans la moitié nord de la province pour les langues de 99% de la

population? Et, pour être plus précis, pour la langue de six des sept millions et demi de

Québécois. Le Nord, où vous vivez, nous appartient, comme Montréal et Cap-de-la-Madeleine,

où nous vivons, vous appartiennent [sic]." (ibid). Sylvie Vincent might categorize his statement

as either a "l'autochtonie généralisée" or "l'universalité du statut d'immigrant" argument (Vincent,

1992a, p.221 in Trudel, 1995, p.54). In the next quote, Paré (1997) distinguishes the

Francophones from the Crees. He attempts to deligitimize the claims of the Crees on the

assumption that demographics distinguish universal from particular interests: "S'il n'y a pas de

place pour les millions de francophones de ce pays, pour leur langue, leur culture, leur autonomie,

quel avenir pensez-vous avoir, vous, vos quelques milliers de frères et vos équipages?" (ibid).

Demographics are used as far as they support his argument, but Paré stops short of referring to what implications regional (northern) demographics might have for the debate on cultural and territorial sovereignty within Québec.

In the final section of Phase Four, Part Two, I consider how Cree discourse about places and place naming also relies on arguments which negate the claims of the Other.

The Cree Imagination

To reiterate, the purpose of my decision to refer to the region in question as "Baie James/Eeyou Istchee" is to highlight the articulation of two political and geographical discourses. At this juncture, the government of Québec and Québécois are not, of course, the only ones engaged in the construction of the imaginary Self, Other and territory: Pierre Trudel (1995) has surveyed attempts by both Québécois and "Autochtones", including Crees, to negate the Other in their respective nationalist discourses.

Examples of the political uses of characterizations of the Other can also be identified in an Annual Report of the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec)/Cree Regional Authority. On hydro-electric development, the Annual Report of 1994-95 states: "In 1971, the government of Québec and Hydro-Québec came onto our lands with a plan to destroy our waters and our lands and take the trees and minerals from around us and under our feet. You Crees, our leaders were told, are squatters on this land." (GCCQ/CRA, 1994-95, p.9). And, on Québec sovereignty and secession, the same Annual Report states:

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> The Cree position has been very clear. We are Eeyou. We have our own homeland called Eeyou Astchee. Cree consent is required to make any changes to our status, to our rights, and to our relationship with Canada and the Province of Québec. We Crees are not separatists. We are seeking to maintain and strengthen our relationship with the other governments on a basis of equality, respect and equitable sharing. (GCCQ/CRA, 1994-95, p.10).

One might allow that, at least in the period before November 1972 (when the Cree and Inuit were compelled to initiate the longest temporary injunction hearing in Canadian history (Feit, 1995b, p. 204)), the government of Québec believed the hydro-electric development, including the construction of roads which had just begun, would largely benefit the Aboriginal peoples of the north of the province. One might also allow that the government of Québec and Hydro-Québec did not perceive their actions as taking the "trees and minerals from around [the Crees] and under [their] feet" since Québec and HQ hardly seemed to see the Crees at all. Up until the 1970s, the Crees had neither seen themselves as a collective, nor had to act as one. By the wording "You Crees..." and "We Crees..." the GCCQ/CRA indicates that it believes the opposition of the government of Québec and the Cree Nation was and is absolute. Finally, in characterizing its own dealings with other governments, the GCCQ/CRA's statement can be interpreted to imply that the Québec government attempts to engage in inter-governmental relations on a basis other than "equality, respect and equitable sharing".

One might also argue that the name "Eeyou Istchee" suggests an imaginary region devoid of European and other descendants, even descendants of other Aboriginal Nations. And, as the negation of the Other in nationalist discourses is mutually responsive, perhaps Jean Paré (1997) felt justified in portraying Bill Namagoose's objection to the *poème géographique* and the renaming of a section of the Caniapiscau river after René Lévesque as more "blubbering" because

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Namagoose had claimed that "There are 10,000 caribou carcasses in there." (Peritz, 1997b).

Montreal Gazette reporter Ingrid Peritz's note to readers states that, "[i]n fact, the government

cleared the river of the carcasses." (ibid). The point here is that while colonial/nationalist

discourses never completely 'cover' themselves, neither do discourses of resistance foreclose

challenges from the dominant Other.

Having acknowledged that both parties, the government of Québec and the Cree Nation (mainly

through the GCCQ), engage (to varying degrees, perhaps) in the construction of the imaginary

Self, Other and territory, I do not suggest that I assume equal power relations. From the

perspective of cultural politics, the struggle over meaning involves a dominant (though not a

hegemon) and one or more Others who resist domination. Thus, if the goal is to work towards an

equalization of these unequal power relations, one could argue that the Others who resist

domination, in cases such as the Cree Nation's, or the "Eeyou"'s as they refer to themselves,

should be granted more 'latitude' in their attempts to protect their territorial relationships. After

all, non-Cree recognition, official or unofficial, of the name "Eeyou Istchee" would not change the

fact of over two decades of hydro-electric development and an even longer history of mining and

forestry, with all their impacts. However, as the power to name is linked to broader issues, such

as self-representation and self-determination, struggles over place naming do have implications for

struggles over territorial control. Furthermore, place names are important in and of themselves,

as this concluding quote from Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come testifies:

> "Our land is our memory," [Coon Come] says. "That's why it's so important to us. Almost every
> tree out there has a name, almost every rock. Something happened here, something happened
> there, somebody killed his first moose at that mountain. We know where the bear dens are, the
> moose yards, the beaver, the otter, the mink. Everything has a story and these are the stories that

sustain us. It's why we feel attached to the land, why there's a special relationship with it."
(Came, 1995b, p.18).

The Commission de toponymie and many Québécois can, no doubt, also relate to the spirit of

these sentiments. Neither are the policies of a national place names board, committee or

commission (such as Québec's) necessarily or strictly rational (non-prescriptive, etc.), nor are the

efforts of minorities, First Nations, and other nationalist movements (such as the Separatist

movement in the context of Canada) strictly emotional, for language loss (and preservation) does

have material, social and other broad cultural implications. As Müller-Wille points out, the

authority (eg. power to officialize) accorded to the Commission de toponymie du Québec over

naming in the province "... [is] an indicator of the importance and the symbolic value given to

geographical names." (Müller-Wille, 1984, p.8).

PHASE FIVE: RETURN TO THE LEARNING APPROACH

SUMMARY: Where the Theoretical and the Metaphorical Have Crossed Paths

In travelling into the textual terrain that has been my destination in this investigation of the cultural politics of place naming, I have tried to map some of the junctures where the tension between different conceptions of northern, particularly Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, place names has been the greatest. In the introduction to Phase One: "The Learning Approach", I juxtaposed retired Navy Captain Thomas C. Pullen's objection to the renaming of Frobisher Bay to Iqaluit (Alia, 1994, p.11) with Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's claim about the importance of the land to the Cree Nation (Came, 1995b, p.18) in order to highlight the tension between place names as one peoples' "heritage" versus place names as another peoples' "stories". I have also highlighted this tension in the metaphors and related discussions of "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" and "Hearing With a Native Ear". Then, in "'Speaking with Names' Across Cultures", I have focussed on how this tension between place names as heritage versus stories has shaped naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. Through these three phases of the learning cycle, I have traced the themes of "myth-making as it relates to identity" and "knowledge is power" in analysing the ways language is put to work in the negotiation/struggle over place naming. My main argument has been that when non-Aboriginal institutions (re)invent heritage, history, geography, toponymy, etc. in nationalist identity discourses, Aboriginal peoples invoke the power of their place names in cultural context to tell the stories of who and where they are. I refer to the articulation of different types of knowledge, different types of power, the (re)invention of identity and place naming as the cultural politics of place naming.

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In Table 9, I represent the tension between place names as heritage versus stories with examples from the thesis relating to people(s), places and place names. Table 9 is a re(-)presentation of the linear presentation of the research process in the TABLE of CONTENTS; with examples from the thesis, it permits a more detailed 'mapping' of discursive practices relating to place naming by highlighting some of the 'sites' or 'fields' where language and social conditions meet. By reading across the columns, one can get a sense of the oppositions between various actors, perceptions of place and uses of place naming. In the summary table, the harvesting metaphor comes through, and the tension between language systems, world views and economic systems is also represented.

The first column in Table 9, "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear", summarizes how the thesis has responded to the following questions: Where did the images of Aboriginal place names come from?; how have they shaped and how do they continue to shape the myths non-Aboriginals tell themselves about being Canadian and Québécois?; and, how have the images of Aboriginal place names affected place names policy and the archiving of place names knowledge?

I have argued that although Québécois myth-making responds to, or is alternative to, the federalist construction of a national identity, it shares with it certain themes about Aboriginal peoples and places (i.e. the North). But, there are also some distinguishing sub-themes in Québécois nationalist identity discourse, such as the greater importance of hydro-electric development within the North as hinterland theme and the greater importance of Aboriginal place names within the North as heritage theme.

Table 9: Summary of Learning

Hearing With a Non-Native Ear	Hearing With a Native Ear	'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures
People	**People**	**People**
		Buffy Sainte-Marie, activist
Pullen, Navy Captain	Residents of Iqaluit	
Rayburn, Geographer	Aboriginal peoples	
Hamelin, Geographer		
Villeneuve, Geographer	Algonkian speakers	
Commission de toponymie	Aboriginal communities, nations, elders in Québec	
Gilbert, editor of *Le Jamésien*	Eeyou/Eenou (CreeNation)	
Sovereigntists, Hydro Québec	Elders, hunters, trappers, etc.	Grand Council of the Crees, Matthew Coon Come and other Cree leaders; Cree lobby
Québécois academics	Archeologists, geographers and other collaborators	
Crisis of authority and identity leads to ambiguous stories about the Other; "l'Indien imaginaire" New breed, developers... Grafting onto Aboriginal roots; myth of similarity; universality	Self-ascription; cultures are dynamic (can change without loss of integrity) Elders, hunters, trappers, etc. Cosmology, history	Cree civilization
Vallières, Geographer (CTQ) Richard, Geographer (CTQ) Paré, *L'Actualité*	**Samuel Bearskin, Cree culture teacher, hunter and trapper**	**Alex Roslin and Ernest Webb, The *Nation* magazine Bill Namagoose**
Places	**Places**	**Places**
North as Other	South as Other	South (or southern) as Other
North as heartland	North as homeland	North as territory
North as heritage	"Our land is our memory"	
North as hinterland/resource	"Our land is like a garden to us"	
North of 200 VAPO/North of 60 degrees		"Centre of Cree (Aboriginal) civilisation"
Epic myth-making	Cosmology, history	
Illusory knowledge/ignorance about the North	Localized knowledge/lived experience	
Territorial integrity	Environmental integrity	Territories of Aboriginal Nations
Le Jardin au bout du monde	**The Cree garden**	**Iyiyuuschii**

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Place Names	Place Names	Place Names
Frobisher Bay	Iqaluit	
United States of America		Wounded Knee
New Zealand	Aotearoa	
Québec City	"Strait or narrow passage"	
Québec Province	Aboriginal territories ("our land")	
Jamésie	Part of Eeyou Istchee	Part of Eeyou Istchee
Baie James	Eeyou Istchee	Eeyou Istchee
Nouveau Québec	Nunavik, Eeyou Istchee, Nitassinan	Nunavik, Eeyou Istchee, Nitassinan
Nemiscau, Lac Mistassini	Nemaska, Lake Mistissini	Nemaska, Lake Mistissini
Chibougamau	Ouje-Bougoumou	Ouje-Bougoumou
Harvesting, processing, storing, taking stock; archive of knowledge	"Getting the names right", preservation	Recodification
Cutting names off from roots/taking names out of context	Names rooted in stories about environment, history, culture; names intact	Stories about identity; names "detached" but not 'uprooted'
Reinvention of a cultural resource	Counter myths about names	Challenge myths about names
Political tool; francization		Political tool
Facilitating economic incursion	Navigation and location	
Unconscious or conscious use	Unconscious use	Conscious use, concerted use
Responds to the Other	Intra-cultural functions (eg. moral narratives)	Inter-cultural functions; new uses
Prescriptive/imposed	Popular	Collective use
Central	Localized	National scale; community scale
CTQ mandate	Elders mandate; share or not to share	Responds to sovereigntists, etc.; 'going public', 'out there'
Validation, dignifying, revalorization	Validated within Aboriginal cultural distinctiveness	Using unofficially or demanding officialization
Official, standard	Unofficial or official	Unofficial use in cross-cultural discourse, political arena
Musical, etc.	Realistic	
Too long	Power to describe; names are like a picture	
	Power to evoke	Power to mobilize for resistance
Naming Canada	Ekevi: Gyo Cho Chu/My Country: Big Salmon River Maori Oral History Atlas	
Dossiers toponymiques	Inuit Place Names Gazetteer and Map Series Cree video disc project	The Nation; Sovereign Injustice; GCC, Mistassini and Ouje-Bougoumou Internet sites
Le Paradis Perdu, etc.	Napayaak Uuchii, etc.	Rabbit Mountain, etc.

The timing of Québec's decision to engage in systematic inventories of Aboriginal place names in the province raises a couple of questions: One, has the collection of Aboriginal place names facilitated the economic 'imperative' of hydro-electric development? Two, is the Commission de toponymie's 'preservation' or 'conservation' of Aboriginal place names rather an example of the invention of a Québécois cultural resource (like the invention of "le patrimoine" in general) that responds to the Aboriginal challenge to Québec's authority in the North? In answer to the first question, I have suggested that the intersection of 'race' and class provides a useful basis for grounding the analysis of the negotiation/struggle over place naming in Québec. In answer to the second question, I have suggested that 'Stocking-up' on Aboriginal place names, especially when they are defined as part of Canadian heritage or "le patrimoine" in Québec may be perceived by the authorities as serving as 'insurance' against an unpredictable cultural future.

The second column in Table 9, "Hearing With a Native Ear", summarizes how the thesis has responded to the following questions, among others: Why does Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's metaphor, "Our land is our memory", make sense as a claim about why the land is so important to the Cree Nation?; and, how does the localized knowledge associated with named places counter the production of the archive of place names knowledge managed by non-Aboriginals? In answer to these questions, I have discussed the importance of understanding Aboriginal place names in context and the power of place names and naming. I argue that it is the ecological, material, social, spiritual, etc. functions which place names serve in Aboriginal communities and cultures that validate these place names, rather than their recognition by non-Aboriginals, whether formal (inclusion in national and provincial databases) or informal (each of

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"us" having or choosing a favourite). In mapping Québec's 'harvest' of Cree territory place

names, I have tried to re-present some of the descriptive and mnemonic power of the place names

in spatial context by presenting the distribution of the place names according to two typologies:

feature type and the meaning of the names. In terms of the relationship to the material context of

place naming, I have suggested ways in which temporal changes in Cree territory toponymy seem

to reflect the impacts of hydro-electric development.

The third column in Table 9, "'Speaking With Names' Across Cultures", summarizes how the

thesis responds to the following questions, among others: How do different communities put

language, specifically place names, to work in confronting each other in their efforts to maintain

and increase or to challenge and increase power, depending on their respective positions?; and,

how is the plural meaning of "power" implicated in toponymic resistance in the context of Baie

James/Eeyou Istchee? In answer to the first question, I have provided examples of how a Native

North American singer-songwriter-activist Buffy Sainte-Marie (1992), Arabs of the Bani Turuf

tribe in Khuzestan Province in Iran (Lewis, 1982), residents of Parauapebas in the Brazilian state

of Para (Roberts, 1993), and Maori John McLachlan (Berg and Kearns, 1996) have recodified

their relationships to the state as well as the images of the places with which they identify. In

these cases, place naming occurs as instances of conscious, deliberate and concerted uses of place

names. Grand Chief Matthew Coon Come's (Newman, 1995) recodification of the idea of

"civilization" in the construction of the idea that "Cree civilization" is reflected in the place names

of "Eenou Astchee" is both an example of speaking *about* names and '*speaking with names*' across

cultures. I have argued that as the balance of power concerning the Great Whale project (James

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Bay II) has shifted to the Cree side, the Crees have achieved a greater measure of protection and control of their material and social relations, making way for the ideological struggle over naming, that is, for new uses of place naming. Thus, in "Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee", I have provided empirical and theoretical elucidation concerning the question of why and in what ways the Eeyou are negotiating/struggling over place naming.

The TABLE of CONTENTS and Table 9: "Summary of Learning" are both linear presentations of the research process and its outcome, but the presentation of the Learning Cycle in Figure 1 implies that the second, third and fourth phases feed into the learning approach, and the cycle continues. This return to the learning approach allows for a reconsideration of the key theoretical and methodological elements of the learning approach, and is also a reminder of the ethical principals which I have established and an invitation to establish others should I continue in the cycle.

The Learning Cycle in Figure 1 suggests that the metaphor of 'mapping' discursive practices in doing discourse analysis might not be as appropriate as a metaphor which describes sketching the 'sites' or 'fields' where social conditions meet as if they were projected onto a cone or cylinder (or globe). A map is, of course, a two-dimensional representation of the earth or some part of the earth. Different two-dimensional representations of the earth are created by projecting a globe onto cones, cylinders, etc. and then unrolling these shapes to produce a flat map. If people in general were more aware of how (scientific/commercial) maps are produced, they would be more aware of the kinds of distortions that result with different projections. By creating two-

dimensional collages of each of the phases of the learning cycle and presenting them as cylinders, I can use the third dimension to stand for my own role (self-awareness about my role) in representing the discourses being analysed. I can use the shape to represent the cyclical nature of my analysis, especially if I make one huge cylinder from the collages of all the phases. Furthermore, at the scale of the discourses themselves (eg. Naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee), I can use the shape to highlight the mutually responsive nature of 'discourses on the ground'. For example, on one 'side' of the cylinder, I can juxtapose the competing garden metaphors as well as Jean Paré's (1997) editorial "Lettre à Bill Namagoose" with the *Nation* magazine's "Iditorial" (Beesum Communications, 1997). One the other 'side' of the cylinder, I can juxtapose print-outs from the CPCGN's Web site, which includes the place names and maps of Nouveau-Québec and Jamésie, with the Mistissini and Oujé-Bougoumou Cree community Web sites, both of which provide examples of recodification or self-ascription in their toponymic discourses of resistance.

I discuss 'conclusions', directions for further research, and other points in the reconsideration of the learning approach, below.

Places to Dwell On

As with any travel, when you think back to where you have been, there are those places that you dwell on; so it is with my travel into the textual terrain that has been my destination in this investigation of the cultural politics of place naming.

I have already stated that because I take into consideration both the stories of how "they" (Aboriginal peoples, places and place names) are becoming like "us" (Euro-Canadian and Québécois peoples, places and place names) and the stories of how "we" are becoming like "them", my mapping of discursive practices in Canada, Québec and Baie James/Eeyou Istchee from the perspective of "Hearing With a Non-Native Ear" is, admittedly, sketchy in places, and my arguments are rather diffuse. However, I have begun to combine a chronological perspective with a thematic perspective, where the continuity and evolution in the nature of crises of authority, identity, nationalism, etc. in Canada and Québec is associated with the continuity and evolution of the "Imaginary Indian"/"l'Indien imaginaire" and perceptions of the North. A more systematic methodological approach to learning at this phase, perhaps combining discourse and content analyses, could continue to focus around a historic perspective of the imaginary 'Other'. Perhaps such an approach would lend more support to my suggestion that as the hinterland model of development has given way to the frontier dualism model, so the North as hinterland incentive for Euro-Canadian and Québécois toponymic incursion into Aboriginal territories has come into competition with a North as heritage incentive.

In terms of the quantitative (Phase Two) and qualitative (Phase Three) analyses of the Cree territory place names data - with a view to identifying indicators of change in political, social and material relations - I dwell on the question of what role place names surveys may have played in the incursion of hydro-electric development into the Baie James/Eeyou Istchee region, on the question of whether Québec feels the need to grant toponymic favours to those Aboriginal nations with which it has negctiated agreements, and on the question of what toponymy can reveal about

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people-land relationships.

In order to gain insight into such research questions, one would have to be able to identify and control for other factors which likely contribute to the discrepancies between names *surveyed* and *officialised* names by nation (or even by communities since the sample of Nations is small). Such other factors would likely relate to issues of processing; an indicator describing the degree of problems with standardization of orthography across nations (or even across communities) seems a logical candidate. The degree of competition with place names of other Aboriginal nations or with already established French-language place names (Bonnelly, 1996, p.11) is another factor which would have to be accounted for. In addition, there are likely cultural differences between nations with regards to their emphasis on place naming which should also be considered.

Factors which could explain why my expectation concerning a decrease in the percentage of place names in the "Animaux marins..." sub-category is not supported by the data (Phase Three) include that the time period under consideration is too short to measure the impact of hydro-electric development and the JBNQA on Cree territory toponymy. Another possibility is that the link between resource use and place naming (new naming, reporting of existing names) varies across faunal sub-categories, that is, the Cree are, perhaps, more likely to name certain faunal types in toponyms regardless of the intensity of their use of those particular faunal types. For example, one name for the range (area) of a herd of caribou might be sufficient for communication about that resource, while more precise locational information (points) might be required for communication about fish resources. In his talk "Geographical Names of Canada: Historical

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Treasure Chest" on the one-hundredth anniversary of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, 1997, Henri Dorion (1997) referred to the "principle of relative negativity". He gave the example of how, in Québec, Aboriginal place names meaning "caribou" are less common in areas of high caribou population density, and more common in areas of low caribou population density. He explained that this is so because naming recognizes the extra-ordinary not the banal or mundane. It would seem that the study of Cree territory toponymy needs to go back in time as well as more in-depth into Cree naming practices, that is, deeper into the material and symbolic or "vertical" (Collignon, 1996) dimensions of naming in order to confirm hypotheses about what toponymy can reveal about material-environmental relations.

Concerning conclusions about the role of the Commission de toponymie in Aboriginal toponymy and its relationship to material relations, radical models of economic development (as opposed to a model like frontier dualism) suggest that if the Commission is to serve the interests of preserving Aboriginal place names, it has to operate independently of the Office de la langue française or it has to devolve naming authority to Aboriginal nations. There would seem to be models for the second scenario in the Commission's own relationship to the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names and in the devolution of education, health and policing authorities with respect to certain Aboriginal nations or communities in Québec. Regardless of how likely such administrative arrangements would be, a pluralistic model of cultural relations suggests that "we" will increasingly be exposed to the syllabic systems and alphabets of Aboriginal languages as place names are recorded and presented. The fairly recent example of the addition of the generic geographical term "ziibi", Ojibwe for "river", to the Glossary of Generic Terms in Canada's

Geographical Names (CPCGN, 1995b) also suggests that cultural pluralism means we will increasingly be exposed to non-English and non-French generic names, at least in the publications of the federal government. Given the cultural politics of place naming in Québec, generic geographical terms are less likely to be adopted, and this may mean a greater incentive for Aboriginal communities to present their names through their own publications, both intra-culturally and inter-culturally.

In terms of naming as identity politics in general, secular (or religious, in other contexts) and ethnic challenges to central/official place names and naming represent two of the bases for toponymic resistance. While my review of the literature on the history of francisation of Aboriginal place names in Québec did refer to the "embroidering of some Inuit names with religious connotations" (Müller-Wille, 1983, p.140), and while my qualitative analysis of Cree territory toponymy did recognize place names referring to places of spiritual power (after Denton, 1996), the religious basis for toponymic resistance in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee remains under-explored in my thesis. Bill Namagoose's objection to the Commission's naming of the 101 islands in the Caniapiscau reservoir because "We [the Crees] have our people buried under that reservoir" (Peritz, 1997b) suggests that the religious or sacred basis of toponymic struggle is important in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. In his interview with the Montreal Gazette, Namagoose added, "naming these islands is the same as naming tombstones after people. It's totally inappropriate", and then went on to accuse the Québec government of political maneuvering through occupation and renaming of Cree territory.

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Cohen and Kliot (1992), Roberts (1993) and Berg and Kearns (1996) demonstrate that the bases

for toponymic dominance and resistance can also relate to ideology, economics and a complex

articulation of 'race' (nation), gender and class identities. Of course, as Berg and Kearns' (1996)

essay argues, these bases for toponymic dominance and resistance are not mutually exclusive.

Cohen and Kliot's (1992) investigation into how the toponymy of Israel and the disputed

territories reflects competing Zionist ideals suggests that there may be competing ideals of Baie

James/Eeyou Istchee. The area of the Caniapiscau Reservoir also includes Montagnais (Innu)

and Naskapi place names, but it was the Crees who responded to the Commission's naming of the

101 islands. While different nations' perceptions of shared territory and their different reactions

to the non-Native discourse on place naming in that shared territory is certainly an interesting

research area, perhaps even more interesting would be the investigation of competing intra-

cultural ideals of Baie James/Eeyou Istchee. For example, one question for future research could

be whether the Cree communities equally identify with "Eeyou Istchee", the name for the national

territory. I have already referred to the different spellings of this name, but I have not suggested

that there is a struggle among Crees concerning this name or other names in the national territory.

To be able to answer this and related questions would require access to documentation and

informants (for interviews) within the communities, and, understandably, the issue could be a

sensitive one and the researcher's motives could be questioned.

In terms of the intersection of 'race' and class bases for toponymic negotiation and struggle,

although I have not compared the density of non-Aboriginal settlements in Québec or Baie

James/Eeyou Istchee with the density of Aboriginal place names (after Roberts, 1993), I do

discuss naming in the context of a broad definition of cultural or social relations which looks at the integration of Aboriginal peoples and places into the Québécois and North American economies. Admittedly, my own analysis of the cultural politics of place naming in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee falls short in that I do not consider gender. Gender is, arguably, a factor which needs to be considered in further research into naming Baie James/Eeyou Istchee since Cree place naming practice tends to give more emphasis to naming places after people than other Aboriginal peoples naming practices (see for example, Denton, 1996). It is likely that the relative importance of 'race', class and gender bases, etc. of identification is different for different communities even within the same culture. Looking into these differences could possibly provide some insight into questions , such as: Why has the spelling of Mistassini been officially changed to Mistissini, but the spelling of Nemiscau has not been officially changed to Nemaska? This is an example of a question that would enhance the examination of toponymic negotiation, where as my emphasis has been on the examination of toponymic struggle.

It has been over four years since I read Keith Basso's (1984; 1988) essays about place naming and moral narratives among the Western Apache, which made me want to learn more about the cultural significance of Aboriginal place names, beyond their role as repositories of traditional environmental knowledge. I wondered: were other Aboriginal peoples' place names associated with stories that teach and remind about culturally appropriate behaviour? Had place names been used elsewhere in the legal defence of water and other territorial rights? And, because I tend to look for the political in things, I wanted to know more about the scope of what I thought looked like a cultural politics of place naming.

As for socially responsible academic research, I hope that I have written my thesis in enough plain

English, instead of getting caught up in too much academic jargon, and that my theoretical

elaborations, my sketches and my metaphors have not been too arcane. In the course of doing my

research I have read and re-read parts of Hugh Brody's (1981) Maps and Dreams and Boyce

Richardson's (1991b) Strangers Devour the Land for encouragement. Both are readable, and

have, hopefully, been read by Natives as well as non-Natives. I hope that my writing will be read

by some in the Cree community, even though I don't write from the perspective of experience in

the communities. Is that for the future? The reaction I get when I present the results of my

learning to certain individuals (see my acknowledgments) at the Grand Council of the Crees' and

the *Nation*'s offices will be some indication.

I don't doubt that there are other, more urgent priorities in the Cree communities and at the

national level than the defence or promotion of Cree place names. And, I won't pretend that

other priorities won't take me away from my interest in the cultural politics of place naming once

I've defended this thesis. But, perhaps there will be an occasion or occasions for collaboration on

place names research. I read on the *Nation*'s Internet site (Beesum Communications, 1997) that

the James Bay II hydro project has been revived. There won't be new dams, but the proposal

describes the diversion of the Great Whale and Rupert rivers into existing reservoirs. "Dreams

collide; new kinds of maps are made," wrote Hugh Brody (1981) about the situation of the Beaver

people on the British Columbia frontier as they faced the construction of the Alaska Highway

natural gas pipeline. When hydroelectric dreams collide with a hunting and trapping culture in

James Bay, new kinds of maps are also made there, and along with them, the topography and

toponymy changes.

One type of text which has not been included among the variety that I have analyzed so far in the thesis is poetry. As I recently came across Father Hugo Muller's (1976) book of poetry, "Waswanipi: Songs of a Scattered People", it seems fitting to refer to it here in the conclusion of my thesis since poetry is one option I am considering as a way to present my learning, at least in popular fora. Muller's poem "Waswanipi (Light on the Water)" is particularly relevant here because it incorporates references to seven different places names in its history of Aboriginal - non-Aboriginal relations, particularly in Baie James/Eeyou Istchee, to 1976. A note accompanying the poem informs the reader that "the Waswanipi were the first inland Cree people to feel the full impact of twentieth century society", and the poem itself is a reflection on the invisibility of the Crees to most non-Crees (Muller, 1976, p.34-35). The first stanza reads:

> To Alcatraz the Indians went.
> We questioned their defiance,
> and wondered what these people meant
> in sudden self-reliance.
> And then we heard of Wounded Knee --
> but no one knows Waswanipi. (Muller, 1976, p.34).

In the wake of the Crees' experience of James Bay I development, in their six-year international campaign against the James Bay II hydro-electric project, in their opposition to the "forcible inclusion" of their territory in the idea of a sovereign Québec, and in their recently publicized reaction to the Commission de toponymie du Québec's *poème géographique*, I don't think that I've only imagined Cree resistance through place naming. But, while this 'speaking with names' across cultures is sometimes loud, often it is not (eg. educating through Web sites), which perhaps

reflects the quiet affirmation of a culture's consciousness about being bound to a place, or even about being of a place (in the way that we are of our mothers). I hope that I represent this 'speaking with names' across cultures and the intra-cultural discourse on place names in a way that at least partially reflects the Cree communities' own understandings of their lived experiences. I hope that the non-Cree readers of this thesis in particular have come to know something of Waswanipi, Nemaska, Mistissini, Oujé-Bougoumou, Chisasibi, Whapmagoostui and the other Cree communities in Eeyou Istchee.

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APPENDIX 1

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profiles (APSCP) data: Manipulation and Representation of Nations by Communities

Introduction

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profiles (APSCP) (StatCan, 1994) is a product of the

Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS), a special survey which was conducted in 1991 following the

1991 Census. The APSCP provides data on the Aboriginal population in Canada (and Québec) at

the level of Census Sub-Divisions (CSDs), which include municipalities, Indian reserves,

settlements and unorganized territories, in a single table of 538 population characteristics

(APSCP manual, StatCan, 1994).

Representation of Nations by Communities: Preliminary manipulation of the APSCP data

The APSCP data for the communities in Québec has been grouped by Nation using the

"manipulate geography" option in the C-91 (Census 1991) software. There are 11 Aboriginal

Nations in Québec, that is, 10 Amerindian Nations and the Inuit Nation. The Hurons-Wendat, the

Malecites, and the Mohawks are not included in the APSCP. The only Huron-Wendat community

of Wendake and the three Mohawk communities were among the incompletely enumerated Indian

reserves and settlements during the 1991 Census, and thus were not enumerated during the

Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APSCP manual, StatCan, 1994). The Malecite Nation does not have

a community (SAA, 1995). The Abenakis are included in the APSCP, but since there are

suppressed figures (value of "0") for many of the variables of interest in my thesis, the Abenaki

Nation (two communities) has been excluded from the tables in my thesis (Phase Two Part Two).

In my tables and in the APSCP[1], the **Algonquins** are represented by the communities of Kebaowek, Winneway, Timiskaming 19 (Temiscamingue), Pikogan, Grand-Lac-Victoria (Kitcisakik), and Lac-Simon. The Algonquin communities of (Hunter's Point), Maniwaki 18 R (Kitigan Zibi) and Lac-Rapide are not included in the APSCP; the data for Maniwaki 18 R has been suppressed, while Lac-Rapide was incompletely enumerated during the 1991 Census. The **Attikameks** are represented by their three communities, being Atikamekw de Manawan (Manouane), Weymontachie 23 (Weymontachie) and Obedjiwan 28 (Obedjiwan). The **Crees** are represented by the communities of Waswanipi, Wemindgi, Waswanipi[2], Mistassini (Mistissini), Waskaganish, Nemiscau, Eastmain, Chisasibi, and Whapmagoostui. The Cree community of Ouje-Bougoumou is not included in the APSCP, and, in fact, did not exist at the time of the 1991 Census and special survey of Aboriginal communities. The **Micmacs** are represented by the communities of Gesgapegiag 2 (Gesgapegiag) and Restigouche 1 (Listuguj). The Micmac community of Gaspe is not included in the APSCP. The **Montagnais** are represented by all of their communities, being Mashteuiatsh, Betsiamites 3 (Betsiamites), Sept-Iles 27, Maliotenam 27A (Uashat-Maliotenam), Matimekosh, Pakuashipi, La Romaine 2 (La Romaine), Natashquan 1 (Natashquan), and Mingan; however, while in the APSCP the Montagnais are also represented by their community of Les Escoumins, this community has been excluded in my tables because there

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[1]Community names which follow are spelled as they appear in the APSCP, followed by alternate spellings or more current names as they appear in The Amerindians and Inuit in Today's Quebec (SAA, 1995).

[2]The first Waswanipi listed refers to VC 0213 while the second refers to TR 0125.

is suppressed data for many of the variables of interest. The **Naskapis** are represented by their only community, being Kawawachikamach. Finally, the **Inuit** are represented by all of their communities, being Kuujjuarapik, Umiujaq, Inukjuak, Kangiqsualujjuaq, Kuujjuaq, Tasiujaq, Aupaluk, Kangirsuk, Quaqtaq, Povungnituk (Puvirnituq), Akulivik, Kangiqsujuaq, Salluit and Ivujivik.

Representation of Nations by Communities: Limitations of the APSCP data

In the APSCP, it appears that those Inuit living in Chisasibi are included in the data for that largely Cree community. Similarly, individuals from any of the Nations listed above who are living in a community dominated by members of another Nation can neither be extracted and excluded from the data for the community in question nor, it follows, from the total for the Nation in question. This may be of particular relevance concerning the totals for Whapmagoostui and Kuujjuarapik, for example, since these communities are really two halves of one larger community. The point is that, given the limitations of the APSCP and the requirement of confidentiality, the data for each of the seven Nations considered in my tables does include some individuals from other Nations. Furthermore, those individuals residing in non-Aboriginal communities, such as Val D'Or, Montreal, etc. are not included in the totals for the seven Nations although some of these individuals are included in the total for "Québec". The "total" for "Québec" also includes data not released at the community level (APSCP manual, StatCan, 1994). Finally, where a particular Nation is not represented by all of its constituent communities, either because certain communities are among those not included in the APSCP, or because data for certain communities has been suppressed (e.g. Maniwaki 18 R), or because the community has

been excluded from this analysis (i.e. Les Escoumins in the case of the Montagnais), the assumption is that the inclusion of these communities would not significantly affect average values for the variables of interest at the Nation level; this assumption, of course, may be incorrect for some or perhaps even all of the Nations represented here.

Compared to the data on the Aboriginal population of Québec in The Amerindians and Inuit in Today's Québec (SAA, 1995), the total populations for the communities retained for analysis in my table appear under reported in the APSCP, with the exception of the totals for the Inuit communities of Aupaluk, Akulivik and Ivujivik, which appear overreported. Furthermore, a note accompanying the SAA figures states, "These figures only include Amerindians within the meaning of the Indian Act. In addition to these data, the 1991 federal census indicates some 60,000 people in Québec who identify themselves as aboriginal people living off-reserve." (SAA, 1995, pp.22-23). In another part of the SAA booklet, the SAA states that , "...some 15 000 aboriginal people live off-reserve in Québec, the vast majority in Montreal.", but it is not clear whether or not this statement is limited to describing the Inuit, Cree and Naskapi populations (SAA, 1995, pp.3-4). The SAA data, then, indicates a total Aboriginal population of 127 272 in Quebec (59 432 Amerindians + 7 840 Inuit + 60 000 Aboriginal people living off reserve) (SAA, 1995, pp.22-23). Compared to this figure, the total Aboriginal population figure of 56 300 in Quebec from the APSCP seems to grossly under report the actual total, even if one were to add totals for the Hurons-Wendat, Malecites and Mohawks (another 16266 combined (SAA, 1995, pp.22-23)), who are not included in the APSCP.

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One of the consequences of under reporting in the APSCP is that, given the requirement of confidentiality, some data has had to be suppressed by Statistics Canada. This suppression, represented by "0" values, is particularly notable for the two Abenaki communities, which is why they have been excluded from my tables, and, in the case of the Cree Nation, for the two Waswanipis and for Whapmagoostui. The population characteristics which have been retained for this comparison of Nations analysis (see **Tables 3 and 4**) have been selected (partly) on the basis of having no "0" values. Of course, these variables have also been retained for their relevance to the theoretical and empirical questions identified in my thesis.

Table A

Total, Adult, and Child Population by Aboriginal Nation[1]

Nation	Total population	Adults (15+)	% Adults	Children (<15)	% Children
Inuit	6815	3905	57	2910	43
Naskapi	395	245	62	150	38
Montagnais	7080	4605	65	2475	35
Micmac	(1210)	(815)	(67)	(395)	(33)
Cree	7890	4980	63	2910	37
Attikamek	3035	1750	58	1285	42
Algonquin	1845	1170	63	675	37
Total1[2]	27060	16655	62	10405	38
Total2[3]	56300	37670	67	18630	33

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[1]Data from Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profiles (APSCP), 1994.

[2]Data for the Micmac Nation has been excluded from the figures in this row.

[3]The total figures in this row are the figures for all of "Québec", that is all Aboriginal communities combined, as reported in the APSCP (Statistics Canada, 1994).

Table B

Language, Tradition and L style Indicators[1] for Adult Population (15+) by Aboriginal Nation[2]

| Nation	Speak	%Speak	Read	%Read	Write	%Write	Participate	%Particip.	On Land	% On Land
Inuit	3875	99	3590	92	3445	88	3250	83	2265	58
Naskapi	240	98	105	43	85	35	185	76	140	57
Montagnais	3815	83	2360	51	1750	38	3620	79	2260	49
Micmac	(620)	(76)	(185)	(23)	(75)	(9)	(380)	(47)	(95)	(12)
Cree	4835	97	1915	38	1515	30	3955	79	3850	77
Attikamek	1735	99	1365	78	1175	67	1205	69	1160	66
Algonquin	750	64	535	46	415	35	940	80	740	63
Total1[3]	15250	92	9870	59	8385	50	13155	79	10415	63
Total2[4]	17685	47	11455	30	9355	25	21035	56	15175	40

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[1]The indicators are: Adults who speak, read, and write an Aboriginal language; Adults who participate in traditional Aboriginal activities, and Adults who reported having been on the land in the 12 months prior to the 1991 survey. In the APSCP, the "On Land" variable is categorized as a "Mobility" variable, but here it is considered as a lifestyle indicator.

[2]Data from Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey Community Profiles (APSCP), 1994.

[3]Data for the Micmac Nation has been excluded from the figures in this row.

[4]The total figures in this row are the figures for all of "Québec", that is all Aboriginal communities combined, as reported in the APSCP (Statistics Canada, 1994).

IMAGE EVALUATION
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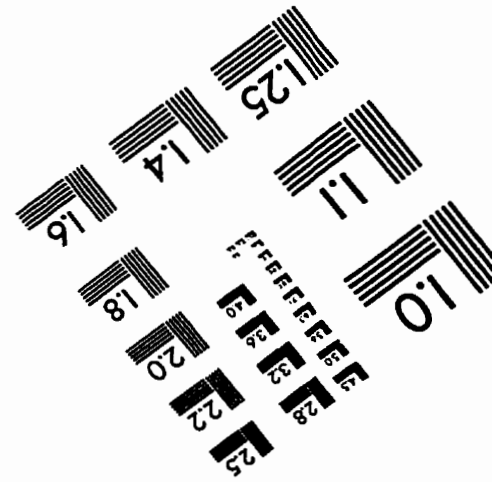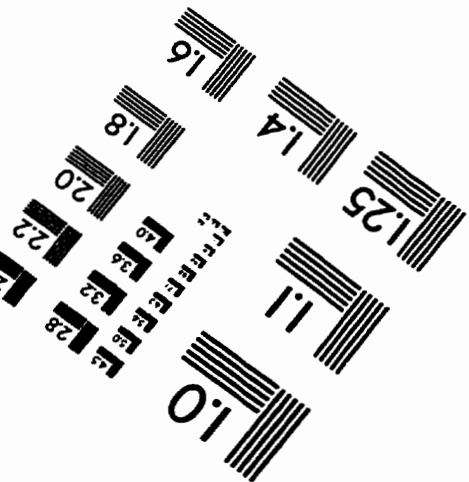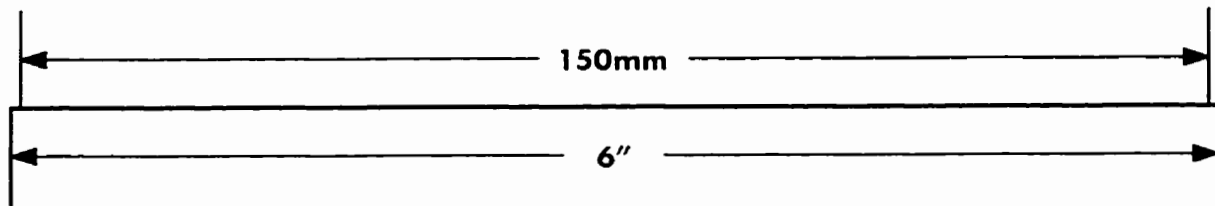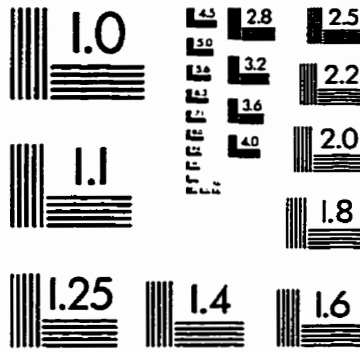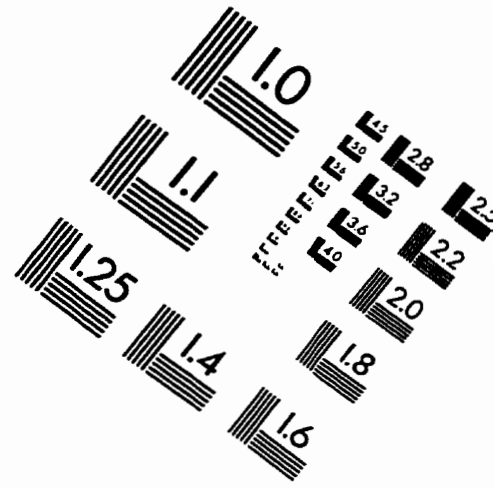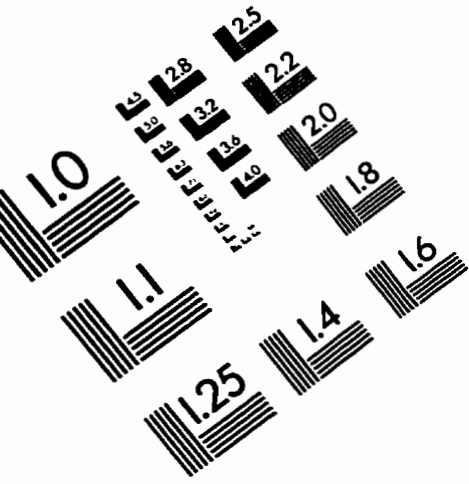
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