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Place Name Restoration in Haudenosaunee Territory: Frameworks for Language and Landscape

Sophie Brown
sebrown@syr.edu

PLACE NAME RESTORATION IN HAUDENOSAUNEE TERRITORY:

FRAMEWORKS FOR LANGUAGE AND LANDSCAPE

by

Sophie Brown

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To be approved by:
Sharon Moran, Major Professor
Lee Newman, Chair, Examining Committee
Douglas Johnston, Department Chair
S. Scott Shannon, Dean, The Graduate School

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To my lovely family

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

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In place name restoration, especially in indigenous territory, layers of place and language are actively complex; as place names survive, evolve, and resist forces of colonialist erasure, violence, and distortion, elements of place name restoration become critically obscured. By engaging with existing literatures and contextual knowledges, it is possible to understand place name restoration as a reparative act. This thesis explores place name restoration within the Haudenosaunee territory of upstate New York and the surrounding landscape; the thesis works to explore the terrain of place restoration in this territory, and to understand the positioning of researcher within this terrain. This work argues for the importance of holistic and reflexive place name restoration: to resist forces of settler colonialist suppression, and to [re]imagine place. This research proposes an innovative theoretical framework that clarifies elements of place name restoration and charts their possible relationships, for geolinguistic projects on large and continuing scales.

Key Words: Toponymy, Language, Landscape, Geolinguistics, Indigenous Issues, Restoration, Counter-mapping, Mapping, Indigenous Resurgence, Haudenosaunee, Iroquois, Geography

S.E. Brown
Candidate for the degree of Master of Science, May 2019
Sharon Moran, Ph.D.
Division of Environmental Science
State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry
Syracuse, New York

Chapter 1: Introduction

When I first started my studies for this research, three years ago, I drove back and forth from Ithaca to Syracuse, New York twice a week. This is less often than I would make the drive a year later, during the first year of my Master's degree, but more frequently than I do now, in the spring semester of my final year, when I am occupied with writing this thesis.

It is not a large drive from Ithaca to Syracuse. It is 62.4 miles, which is not long, if you have a car which will hold together, and if you use the time to think along the way. I would start at my house, which is on west bank of Cayuga Lake, halfway between the towns of Ithaca and Trumansburg, and in the township of Ulysses. On the drive down towards Ithaca, I could see the lake reflect the sun, up and glittering, though the water is a long way down, and far away. My drive was framed by this view, and it is in this way that I would begin the trip to Syracuse.

Farther along, I would drive up the hill again on the west side of Cayuga Lake, towards the smaller roads that would lead eventually to a larger highway. I would try to get a glimpse of the hawks that like the spot, if there were any that day. Even farther along, I would reach the intersection of highways, after Cortland, near Homer, New York. It was on the large highway named I-81 that I felt a dramatic passing of landscape; when it was winter, the weather changed as I drove. Some hills were drifted with snow, and some were melted in shapes; there were bands of climate there, and shifting clouds. And you would see the city of Syracuse, eventually, as it rises up from the landscape.

Before that moment, not far before Syracuse, I would pass a sign for Onondaga Nation territory. This sign reads: Onondaga Nation – Onoñda'gegá' Ganakdagweniyo'khe. The phrase Onoñda'gegá' Ganakdagweniyo'khe can be translated as 'Onondaga the Capital,' which I would later learn refers to the role of the Onondaga Nation as Firekeepers of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Onondaga Nation, n.d.).

It is not a dramatic sign; it is part of the highway, but also independent from it. The Onondaga Nation writes that:

> this sign is an important reminder to travelers passing through that Onondaga still continues the traditional governance of clan mothers and chiefs which was given to us on the shores of Onondaga Lake by the Peacemaker. The sign illustrates that there has been continuous governance by the people for hundreds of years. (n.d.)

Later, when I was beginning to learn about the Haudenosaunee languages and the words and the letters used, I would wonder whether the orthographies used on the sign were accurate and authentic; whether they were easy to reproduce on a sheet of metal; I would also wonder who made the sign; and whether there were more like it behind me, along the line of highway reaching east, or onwards to the west.

This thesis, in material terms, is informed by my repeated journey back and forth from place to place. It is also informed by the sight of that sign as I drove: its continued indication of presence, and its layered contestation with the landscape. I do not claim one singular moment as an origin point for this thesis research; I would say instead that this work stems from this particular landscape, and my attention to its passing by. Both Syracuse and Ithaca (as these places are

called) are territory that is not mine, in a multiplicity of ways; they are also territory that is mine, in many others.

The work of my research began with my study of Haudenosaunee linguistics, and continued into my studies in environmental science and linguistic geography. This thesis works to examine Haudenosaunee place names in the Haudenosaunee territory that is called Upstate New York; it works to interrogate and create a radical toponymy, or terrain of place names: one that acknowledges indigenous presence within landscape, and one that resists violent settler-colonialist paradigms as they are enacted on the Haudenosaunee place names within the region. The following research represents my own theoretical and material engagements with Haudenosaunee place names – with their presence, survival, and endangerment within this, my home landscape of Upstate New York and Turtle Island.

Certain, and several, overarching objectives guide the inquiries of this thesis. The work aims, primarily, to explore the terrain of place restoration in this territory, and also to understand the positioning of researcher within this terrain. In this way, this thesis is descriptive, reflexive, and representative of the iterative research process; it is also respectful of post-disciplinary research, or research that transcends strict boundaries of conventional disciplines, and respectful of already established indigenous place name and language restoration projects as they resist and reclaim the terrain of indigenous knowledges.

In material terms, the following inquiry into place name scholarship may do many things, and is suggestive of many more paths for future work. This research works to: 1) construct a body of

archival knowledge consisting of Haudenosaunee place names collected from historic and contemporary archival sources; 2) begin a restoration effort that compiles, maps, and linguistically analyzes Haudenosaunee place names, and 3) provide a dynamic framework for future indigenous place name restoration projects, on both large and continuing scales.

In doing so, the thesis work that follows is committed to an authentic and innovative approach to indigenous place name restoration: one that responds to layers of place, language, and culture as they are present here and in other territories. It is my hope that this work conveys my experience within this landscape: my critical inquiries within it, and my appreciation to be part of, and living within, this place.

Chapter 2: Autoethnography

Autoethnography is the "research, writing, stories, and methods that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political" (Ellis and Adams, 2014, pg. 254). As a methodology, autoethnography is a way of positioning the self within the larger spheres of story and context. Autoethnographies also resist the notion that researchers are objective, impartial observers, or that they are otherwise disconnected from relationship to their material. Australian indigenous scholar Jennifer Houston tells us that autoethnography is born from a crisis of representation, one that is "reflective of the discontentment with traditional research practices that for far too long have been viewed as the only way in which to understand and interpret human experience, behaviour and culture" (Houston, 2007, pg. 45). The autoethnography, by including considerations of the self within research, "rejects the notion that lived experience can only be understood indirectly" (Houston, 2007, pg. 47).

In research in indigenous issues, or in research that approaches and interprets cultural knowledge that has come from oppressed places, autoethnographies may be especially important. These are realms in which research has become a contested and often exploitative practice (Brugge and Missaghian, 2006). Houston writes that "historically, research produced knowledge about Indigenous peoples, it shaped popular perceptions of them, fed racist ideologies and stereotypes and created distorted images [...]. In short, research corrupted perceptions of the Indigenous Other" (Houston, 2007, pg. 45). Within this context, it seems crucial to clearly represent the self, as researcher, in relation to these histories and to one's own personal ethos. Wilson (2003) suggests that an 'indigenous methodology' must be guided in part by the "acknowledgement that

the researcher brings to the research his or her subjective self" (Atkinson, 2001; Wilson, 2003, p. 174).

As an ally and as a researcher who is not indigenous, I acknowledge I am formed by the positionalities of the personal, the historic, the narrative. In this autoethnography I work to situate myself within the concerns of this research, and hope to communicate where I come from, in geography, in identity, and in allyship – the act and practice of being an ally.

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When I was young, I moved around many times before settling in the place where I live now, on the western bank of Cayuga Lake, in Gayog̱ohó:nǫʼ or Cayuga territory. These moves took place all in the same Ithaca region; each time I moved I lived in a slightly different landscape: in the woods, near a pond, in front of a creek, in a field with long grasses. I lived in this region until I moved to the Hudson Valley for college; after four years there, I moved back, and have lived here since. On reflection, it seems true that I have lived in this landscape all my life, though this place and my relation to it feels varied, changing as it has throughout the years. Now, and throughout the course of this master's degree program, I am settled – though I drive a varying number of times in the week from Ithaca to Syracuse, to work and attend classes at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry.

My academic background is varied and multi-disciplinary. During the time that I lived away from Cayuga territory, I lived in the Hudson Valley and earned a B.A. in Environmental

Communications from Bard College, granted in 2011. Bard College has a different landscape than this Cayuga one: it looks out across the Hudson River to the Catskill Mountains, and one can follow the course of the river up, or down. My degree was a self-designed course of study that combined creative writing, visual art, and environmental studies, and included work in scientific illustration and naturalist writing. My coursework at Bard College also included classes in archeology, where I worked on the east bank of the Hudson River at the Spicebush site, a 1400 year old indigenous fishing site.

Years after my undergraduate work, when I was twenty-six, I was living at home in the Cayuga landscape. My mother suggested to me that I take a Certificate program up in Syracuse in Iroquois Linguistics. We both liked language and thought that the certificate program sounded interesting and important: thought, also, that it had bearing on our roles as writers in this landscape. (She was and continues to be a naturalist poet, while I wrote naturalist non-fiction in college, then fiction, and now only return in small moments to the idea of short stories.) The Syracuse University certificate was one of the only language programs that I knew about at the time that welcomed non-indigenous peoples to Haudenosaunee language learning; this remains a unique characteristic of the program, and one that I am grateful for.

The Certificate program in Iroquois Linguistics at Syracuse University, designed and taught by Onondaga linguist and professor Percy Abrams, was my introduction to Haudenosaunee language and was the beginning of my formal academic interest in indigenous studies and indigenous language restoration. The Certificate program is one year long and spans four courses and a summer capstone course; its teachings examine the internal structures and patterns of the

six Haudenosaunee languages. During the summer capstone, I wrote a mini-grammar of the Ahkwesasne Mohawk language; earlier, in the spring, I completed a smaller project that linguistically analyzed Haudenosaunee place names of bodies of water and illustrated their locations -- work which served as a template, a pilot project, for this current research.

Within the Iroquois Linguistics certificate course, I moved from a layperson's incomprehension of the complex Haudenosaunee language systems to a more informed student's perspective – possessing, if not a robust linguistic comprehension, than at least the ability to approach Haudenosaunee language work with clear vision as a proficient beginner. This education was a powerful experience for me, and as it had connected my thoughts of language and landscape, I began to consider continuing my studies in a graduate context, in language, geography, or geolinguistics. At the end of the program Percy Abrams said to me, with some surprise, that he is glad the program gave me something to think about. Percy Abrams continues to be my language mentor, and has contributed significantly to this thesis research.

In 2017 I began a master's program at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science in Forestry in Environmental Science; I had applied late in the spring, almost early summer, and I was welcomed and supported in my studies by ESF professors Sharon Moran (my advisor and major professor) and Neil Patterson (my current committee member, who I had met previously through his connection to the Iroquois Linguistics program). Throughout this master's program, I have carried this project about Haudenosaunee place name restoration with me as I have continued, as a crystallization of my interest in language and landscape.

In the two years that I have almost completed at SUNY ESF, my research into place name restoration in Haudenosaunee territory has been enriched by my educational experiences, and by coursework in a variety of disciplines. Through my research, I have been involved with and have contributed to the work of the Center for Native Peoples and the Environment at SUNY ESF, and have been involved with their mission to enrich narratives of environmental restoration and preserve traditional ecological knowledge. This thesis is informed by the theoretical frameworks of restoration, which can be defined as acts of revitalizing, restoring, and [re]imagining cultural practice within land. My inquiries and coursework at SUNY ESF have also offered me opportunity to explore and engage in dialogues of geographical scholarship: these dialogues, both traditional and contemporary, have been crucial in influencing my conception of restoration practices as they manifest in this research.

Other educational experiences and coursework here at SUNY ESF have formed my research motivations in material ways. These include engagements with indigenous studies and the study of indigenous movements of resurgence; with structures of decolonization and restitution; with feminist methodologies; and with dialogues of environmental ethics. They also include experiences with the vocabulary of biocultural restoration; the study of water in this landscape; college teaching and radical pedagogy; and with literatures surrounding dialogues of toponymy and mapping. In the summer of 2018 I continued my language education by attending the Mohawk language learning program at the Kanatsiohareke Mohawk community. My project and research into Haudenosaunee place names has evolved alongside, and in concert with, these varying elements of education.

I live now with my family (mother, step-father, two brothers and sister) on a small farm. It is on the western side of Cayuga Lake, ten miles from the foot of the lake and the town called the city of Ithaca. Our farm is about 12 acres, surrounded by fields and some woods. The area is becoming more developed, but slowly; if you stand on the highest point of land, you can see farmland, hedgerows, and the far slope of Cayuga Lake's opposite, eastern banks. We live close to where Cayuga peoples lived in their southwestern settlements (such as on the Klinko, Payne, Schempp, Indian Fort Road, Parker, and Carmen sites) before they joined the Cayuga living on the eastern shores of the lake sometime after 1600 C.E. (Engelbrecht, 2003). This is also an area where the Haudenosaunee planted and tended sizable orchards before those orchards and many Haudenosaunee settlements were razed by the Sullivan-Clinton campaign of 1779 (Kerrigan, 2008). My residence here, and my family's land tending, constituted what would have been called a homestead a few years ago, but is now shifted slightly in scale, and has grown into a small farm -- first gardens and bees, strawberries and apple trees, then sheep and goats, a sugar shack, horses, and a greenhouse. For me, this place is defined by the good rich soil that makes things grow; the birds that drift back and forth in the fields; and the straight tall grey maple trees behind our house.

These landscapes, my home, form this research in material ways. My experience living in this Haudenosaunee landscape defines and grounds my work as an ally, and my work as a researcher who is aiming to position my research in the frameworks of allyship. There are also other elements of my identity that significantly shape my approach to this work: my identity as a woman, and my identity as a Jewish person. Both of these identities form my commitment to

humanistic concerns. First, I am a woman and a feminist, and as a woman, I inherit the lineage of my mother's family; I recognize the line of my mother, my grandmother, my great-grandmother as the foundation of my family, and I recognize their roles, individually and collectively, as women who have defined my world. I find resonance here with the Haudenosaunee respect towards women as facilitators, leaders, and "carriers of the family line" (Hill, 2017, pg. 61), though I also recognize that these roles may be misinterpreted by Western scholars. As a Jewish woman, my culture also recognizes the blood-line of women as the bearer of identity and history.

As a woman, I am continually reaffirmed in my commitment to disassemble mechanisms of power and illegitimate authority within our everyday landscapes. Feminist thought has been a formative ethos for me, in its reclaiming and resituating potentialities; geographer and scholar Mei-Po Kwan writes that "feminist geography affords a rare discursive space for making emotions, feelings, values, and ethics and integral part of our work" (Kwan, 2007, pg. 30). I am certain in the knowledge that feminist thought may act to expand traditional scholarship, and to extend what Kwan calls "embodied practices and passionate politics […] that are attentive to bodies, emotions, and subjectivities" (Kwan, 2007, pg. 30).

I am also a secular Ashkenazi Jew. My great-great-grandparents on my mother's side came from Eastern Europe, from Polish, Russian, and Austrian landscapes. My maternal grandfather's family came from a similar part of the world, and, like my grandmother's family, were ethnically Jewish. Judaism has many good things to say about situating ourselves within the world: about liberation, freedom, suffering, dispossession, home and belonging. My understanding of Jewish tradition is also that it is a strongly intellectual one; the works of Jewish

thinkers and the traditions of my family suggest to me that deep thought and inquiry are linked to the health, to the morality of the soul. Contemporary Judaism is not without tensions and anxieties of its own, but I find it powerful in its suggestion that knowledge and education may help us grow, remember, and be liberated from oppression.

My Jewish ancestry is also interesting in its particular legacy of relation to place, and relation to absence of place. Because of the losses of the Holocaust, I am not sure where my family is from, exactly, and I have no place names of my own that I know, recognize, or speak. This legacy of dispossession is also formed, in more abstract and textual ways, by the Jewish history of exile and slavery. Within this diaspora, the names and ancestry of my family are difficult to trace, as are their material and emotional histories within the land. These dispossessions involved the loss of knowledge, culture, and body; my own ethnography, therefore, continues to be partially erased, and not readily accessible. It is possible that this perspective gives weight to the immediate geography of my present day, within this region -- Jewish tradition tells us that, because of our losses, we carry our culture with us, and that we recreate it daily, at the table or in our homes. There is a certain responsibility, in this way, to remember, and to be aware of shattered histories and lost names.

Loss, also, extends itself to the present day. As I am grounded within this landscape in solid and encouraging ways, I am also grounded in its reminders of pain and anxiety. There are shatterings in this daily landscape: in my neighboring fields, where large-scale farming practices erode and pollute; in the lakes of the area, which are threatened by toxicity and encroachment. In my own life, this is the landscape where I have suffered a car accident, personal trauma, and family

violence. These moments also form identity, and as a chronology of loss shapes all inquiry, academic and otherwise. In her book *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, indigenous author and scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson relates: "I wrote down on large topographical maps every place-name for every beach, bay, peninsula, and island they could remember – hundreds and hundreds of names." Part of this process, she articulates, is the mapping of loss:

> We also recorded pain. The prisoner-of-war camp, the internment camp, and its school that some Nishnaabeg kids attended so they could continue to live with their families and not go to residential school. The 150 years of clear-cuts. The hydro-electric dams, the road, the railway tracks, the mines, the pipeline, the hydrolines. The chemical sprays, the white people parks and campgrounds. Deaths. The overlays showed decade after decade of loss. They showed the why. Standing at the foot of a map of loss is clarity. (Simpson, 2017, pg. 15)

Through these elements of my identity -- place, experience, loss, and study – I arrive at this research. As I grow older, as past experiences and my own reflexive frameworks become integrated with each other in new and different ways, I work to cultivate an ethos of radical care and attention: one that emerges from and works to respect my own formative ethics. This ethos of care constitutes a belief in equitable practices at a systematic level, and a commitment to radical attention to the individual experience, in compassionate and material ways. When applied to the landscape of my home and this region, this frame of reference naturally brings me to support movements of indigenous resurgence, restitution and reclamation of territory, land, and

identity, and moves me to construct a personal framework of allyship that supports indigenous well-being.

My mother talks often of an ethic of scale, and this, too, is part of my academic motivation. I had a teacher once who was very dear to me, and who passed away when I was young; her name was Beth Furbush. She once said that I work best when I work slowly. Give Sophie time, she said. I acknowledge the rightness of this statement, and I would also add that I work best when my work is as small as possible, when it is grounded as closely as possible in the details of daily experience. It has been my goal to bring to this work as much slowness and smallness as I can: to look at place names as they are, and not how I imagine them to be, or how researchers want them to be. This is decolonizing work in its time-taking ability, in its resistance to the rushing of things. This is the way that I do good work, and I hope it is also an appropriate way to do this work – as an endeavor that requires careful, slow, attention.

In the tradition of recognizing the fullness and contextuality of names, I end this autoethnography by relating my full name, which is Sophia Ellen Brown. The name Sophia was given to me by my mother; she is a poet, and pays attention to the sound of words. The name derives from the ancient Greek word sophía or Σοφία, and means wisdom. She named me Sophia so that I would have a choice between Sophie and Sophia, if I ever wanted it; I have always been called Sophie, but have always been glad of the extra option. My middle name is Ellen, which is my grandma's name. She was very happy when I was born, and I am glad I carry her name with me. My last name is Brown, which is my father's last name, and which I tend to associate with the extensive Brown family who lived in Oklahoma, where he grew up. I have recently been

thinking of changing my last name to Marks, which is my mother's last name. Family-wise, the

name of Marks relates me to my mother's family on her father's side, and my maternal

grandfather; my grandmother also kept the name of Marks after her divorce, so it relates me, too,

to her parents and her family, who were Jewish and lived in New York.

Chapter 3: Background

In analyzing place names and place name language materials, it seems important to consider the landscape, language, and particular toponymic terrain that informs these materials. This thesis argues for the preservation, restoration, and revitalization of indigenous place names, and for the creation of a radical and resurgent toponomy. In North America, as in other geographies, the erasure of indigenous language and place names has been part of a cultural violence enacted upon the landscape through the attempted erasure of indigenous identity. This restoration seeks to address this violent erasure – of language, of culture, and of place.

It is one of the tenents of this research that restoration should be grounded in the particulars of place. This research takes place within and works to examine the landscape of Haudenosaunee territory, and is spatially and temporally embedded in this geography at multiple scales. At the landscape scale, this project is informed by the geographic and cultural history of the land; at the regional scale, it is shaped by considerations of place name location and relationship between settlements and natural features; at the local scale, it is affected by the intricacies of place and daily lived experience. This work is also informed by the geography of Haudenosaunee territory in other constant and shifting ways: by dialogue with Haudenosaunee peoples, by engagement with the contemporary and historical archives that are available in area, and by my own personal experience of living, working, farming, and studying in this place. In these ways and many others, this research is formed, in detail and in larger paradigm, by the contextual dynamics of this region.

Landscape and Territory

The territory of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy reaches from the Ratirón:taks to Kanahnòn:ke and from the Kawehnohkowanénhne to Ahkwesáhsne; in institutionalized English, we might say that this territory extends from the Adirondack Mountains to Lake Erie and from the Susquehanna to the St. Regis River. This territory spans what is called New York State and parts of northern Pennsylvania and Ohio within the United States of America, as well as the provinces of Ontario and Quebec within the country of Canada, with current additional holdings in the Green Bay area of Wisconsin, in Oklahoma, and in North Carolina.

Before the loss of much of their ancestral territory to colonialist occupation, the Haudenosaunee lived on 49,526 square miles of land (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, 2017). The Haudenosaunee jurisdiction included 39,000 square miles in what is now called New York State alone: four-fifths of the current total area of the state (George-Kanentiio, 2000). This geography is one of forests, lakes, valleys and mountains. Historical ecologist Catherine Landis writes that the historical landscape of what is called Central New York is a place of an "unusually rich combination of water bodies, diverse plant communities, soils, fisheries, and wildlife, as well as mineral resources (Landis, 2018, pg. 175).

The forced dispossession of this land from the Haudenosaunee peoples has been historic and ongoing, encompassing centuries of legal violation, cultural warfare, and material violence by settler-colonialist governments. Dispossession has reduced the Confederacy's land holdings by significant and devastating amounts. This research, however, takes the Haudenosaunee

worldview as its reference, and recognizes the Haudenosaunee as the rightful title-holders to their original ancestral territory. This recognition is founded in considerations of sovereignty and restitution, and also in acknowledgement of the fact that land was seized from the Haudenosaunee nations in multiple illegal exchanges, in violation of federal and state treaties and the U.S. rule of law (Grand Council of Chiefs of the Haudenosaunee, 1982; Edgerton, 2007). This research advocates the return of indigenous land to indigenous nations; as an extension of this worldview it is possible to consider my home, and much of Upstate New York, to be occupied land. I write this text from the territory of the Cayuga, Gayogo̱hó:nǫ', within Haudenosaunee lands on Turtle Island.

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy is a coalition of six separate indigenous nations who act together as a participatory democracy. These six nations are: the Mohawk, or Kanien'kehaka, which can be translated to People of the Flint; the Oneida, or Onyota'a:ká:, People of the Standing or Upright Stone; the Onondaga, or Onoñda'gegá', People of the Hills; the Cayuga, or Gayogo̱hó:nǫ', People of the Great Swamp; the Seneca, or Onödowaga, People of the Great Hill; and the Tuscarora, or Skarù·rẹʔ, the People of the Hemp. "We are joined in that order by our Peacemaker," Onondaga Clanmother Audrey Shenandoah states, "who walked among our people in another millennium or time in our history. Today we continue as brothers and cousins, a family of people since that time" (Shenandoah, 2000).

The Confederacy formed over a thousand years ago under the auspices of the Peacemaker, Skennenrahawi, who brought together the five nations of the then-contemporary landscape. Oral tradition tells us that the Peacemaker traveled from what is called eastern Ontario into the region

that is called New York State, through Haudenosaunee country; he "drew together the previously warring elements of the Iroquois into a great league based upon the principles of peace" (George-Kanentiio, 2000, pg. 10). The Great Law of Peace – and its principles of democracy, unity, and harmony – continues to define and support the Confederacy. After its formation, the Confederacy was joined by the Tuscarora, who shared geographic origins with the original five nations of the Confederacy. In the early history of the Haudenosaunee, when individual Haudenosaunee nations were first forming, the Tuscarora had migrated to the eastern part of what is called North Carolina: Doug George-Kanentiio writes that in that time "another group went far to the south to what is now North Carolina" (2000, pg. 22). Some of the Tuscarora then returned to the Northeast after dispossession of their North Carolina homeland territory in the early 1700s; they joined with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy as the sixth nation of the league in 1722. Each of the nations within the Confederacy "retains its authority to govern its own affairs and manifest the will of the people within the framework of the spiritual teachings, the Great Law, and its own Nation's laws" (Gonyea, 2014, pg. 9).

The formation of the Confederacy, and the design of its structure and constitution, established what author, activist, and educator Doug George-Kanentiio calls "the world's first united nations organization" (2000, pg. 9), or what the National Museum of the American Indian calls "one of the earliest examples of   a formal democratic governance structure" (2009, pg. 3). The Great Law of Peace provided a structural model for the United States Constitution, and played a role of material influence in the design and conception of United States democracy. I have heard the Haudenosaunee Confederacy referred to as one of the oldest democracies in the world, and as "the oldest, continuously operating form of traditional government in North America (Gonyea,

2014). It may be important to note, when considering forces of sovereignty and power within landscape, that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy is recognized by the United States in three distinct treaties, and that its nations are all federally recognized as Indian sovereign nations (Patterson, 2018). This is not to say that federal recognition is an important factor in establishing the sovereignty of a peoples, the matter of sovereignty being determined by a nation itself: "sovereignty is an inherent right that […] was established with the formation of the Haudenosaunee and adoption of the great law of peace" (Onondaga Nation, 2014).

In much of scholarly literature the Haudenosaunee are referred to as the Iroquois Nation, or the Iroquois League of Nations. "Following common practice," scholar William Engelbrecht writes, "the term Iroquois refers to the Five Nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk) while 'Iroquoian' is used for additional groups like the Huron, Neutral, and Susquehannock, whose members spoke a language belonging to the larger Iroquoian language family" (2003, pg. 3). This vocabulary is common within mainstream scholarly and non-scholarly dialogue. The word 'Iroquois,' however, is what is known as an exonym, a name that outsiders use to refer to a specific place or group – or, as the Collins dictionary writes: "a name given to a place by foreigners" (Collins Dictionary, 2019). 'Iroquois' is not the name the Haudenosaunee use to describe themselves; according to the Six Nations website and the Syracuse Peace Council "it is derived from a French version of a Huron Indian name that was applied to our ancestors and it was considered derogatory, meaning 'Blake Snakes'" (Six Nations, 2019). I have also heard the word 'Iroquois' translated to "Snake Eaters" (2018).

An endonym is a name by which a peoples know and call themselves – in their own language and by their own agency. The Confederacy states that the nations are "properly" called the Haudenosaunee, "meaning People of the Longhouse" (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, 2017). The word 'Haudenosaunee' may also be translated as "they made the house," a symbolic reflection of the unity of the Confederacy (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, 2017). As a peoples, the Haudenosaunee may also call themselves the Ongweh'onweh, which can be translated as "the first people," "the original people," or "real human beings" (National Museum of the American Indian, 2009). This thesis uses the name Haudenosaunee exclusively, as a matter of cultural and linguistic respect. The only use of 'Iroquois' in this text is in linguistic contexts, and in specific reference to the Northern Iroquoian linguistic group to which the Haudenosaunee languages belong, which as a category is not referred to in any other way within the linguistic community.

Haudenosaunee territory, as a reflection of the Confederacy's structure, is spatially unique. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy website states that:

> the Haudenosaunee symbol of the long house, provided by the Peacemaker, is recognized in traditional geographic locations. Upon confederation each nation took on a role within the metaphorical longhouse with the Onondaga being the Keepers of the Fire. The Mohawk, Seneca and Onondaga acted as the Elder Brothers of the confederacy while the Cayuga and Oneida were the Younger Brothers within Grand Council. The main meeting place was and still exists today on Onondaga territory (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, 2017).

Traditional boundaries between each nation's territories were clearly established and were geographically specific (George-Kanentiio, 2000); as one moved West from the Hudson Valley to Lake Erie, one first reached the Mohawk territory, then the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and

Seneca and Tuscarora. These delineations are reflected in the map "Historic and Current Haudenosaunee Territory," Figure 1. Figure 2, "Core Areas of Northern Iroquoians in the Sixteenth Century," depicts an approximation of earlier settlement patterns.
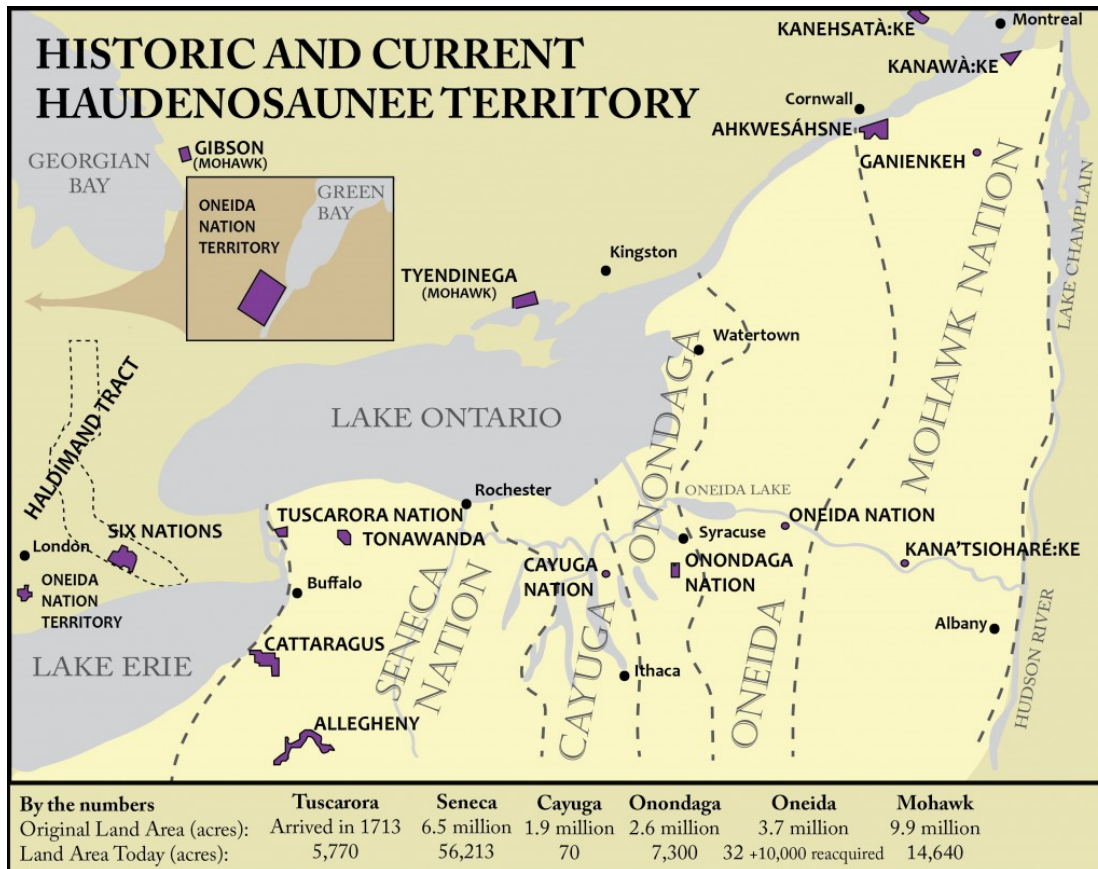
Fig. 1: Historic and Current Haudenosaunee Territory (Two Row Wampum Renewal Campaign, 2013)
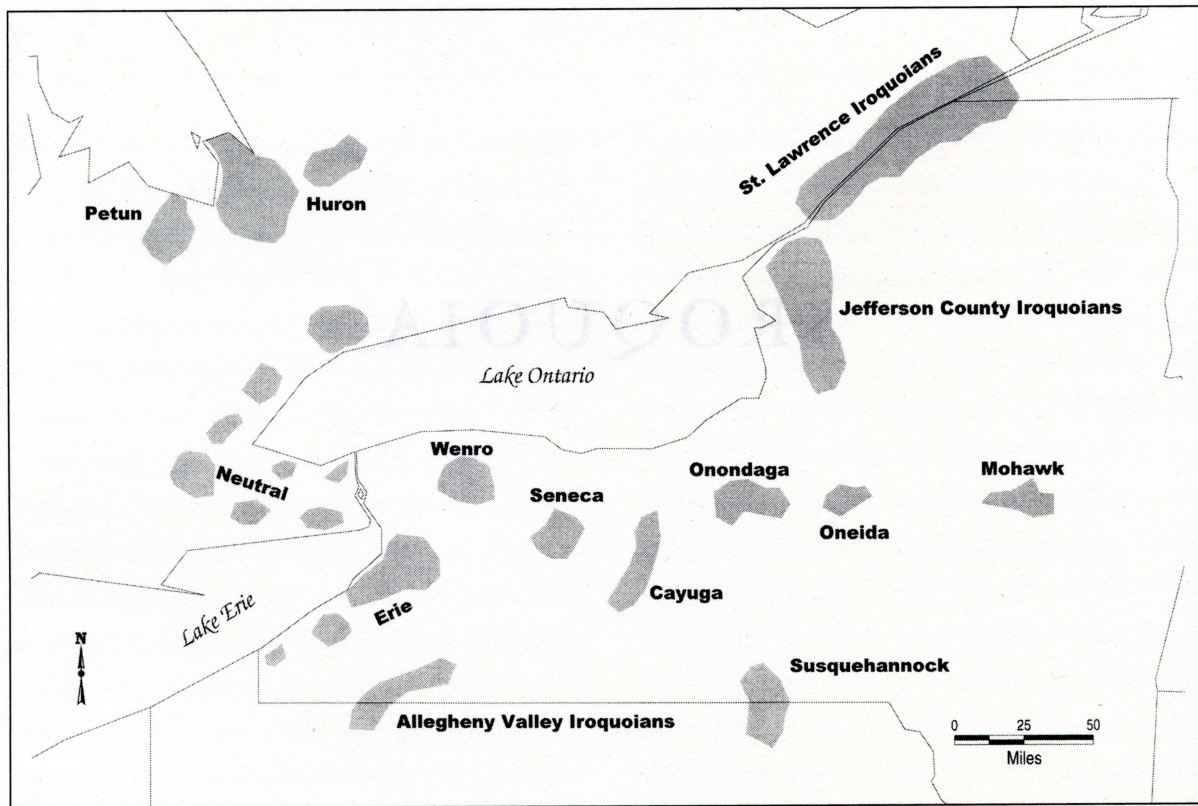
Fig. 2: Core Areas of Northern Iroquoians in the Sixteenth Century (Engelbrecht, 2003)

One way to describe the present lands of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy is to describe their current land holdings – both federally-recognized and privately owned. The Mohawk hold multiple territories: Ahkwesasne/ St. Regis; Gaienkeh; Kahnawake; Kanesatake; Kanatsiohareke; Tyendinaga; Wahta/Gibson. The Oneida hold land in New York State and in the Green Bay area of Wisconsin. The Onondaga hold a single territory located near what is called Syracuse, New York. The Cayuga hold no federally recognized land in what is now New York State, but hold small properties in the Finger Lakes region. Seneca holdings make up the largest land base of any one nation in the Confederacy, and include the Cattaraugus, Allegany and Tonawanda reservations, as well as the Seneca/ Cayuga Reservation in Oklahoma. The Tuscarora hold

territory at the western edge of New York State, near Niagara Falls. The Haudenosaunee

Confederacy also owns the Six Nations Reserve, which is home to peoples of all six

Haudenosaunee Nations.

These land holdings represent a fraction of Haudenosaunee traditional lands (Grand Council of

Chiefs of the Haudenosaunee, 1982; George-Kanentiio, 2000). In considering these losses and

oppressions, there is particular opportunity to adjust our narratives about this landscape and

about indigenous peoples within it. Literature about Haudenosaunee peoples and Haudenosaunee

territory often places emphasis on a linear understanding of history in landscape, and on a

narrative distinction between historic and contemporary: between then and now, between an

abundant past and an impoverished present. In its article "Information for Teachers," the Six

Nations website recommends that educators "*do* make the point that indigenous people are alive

and well today," and "*don't* use the past tense unless discussing historical events" (Six Nations,

n.d.). By resisting inauthentic narratives of time and place, place name research and restorations

can affirm the continued existence of indigenous peoples and nations.

The manifestation of settler-time is evident not only in artificial demarcations between past and

present: scholar Mark Rifkin (2017) interrogates a larger frame of reference by asking:

> What happens to the possibilities for conceptualizing Indigenous sovereignty and self-
>
> determination when they, a priori, are understood as occurring within a singular temporal
>
> formation oriented by settler coordinates? How might we see, in Veena Das's terms, "the
>
> signature of the state" at play in these ways of marking time? (pg. 9)

A complicating of these frames of reference, and a complicating of traditional historical narratives, may recognize the forces of settler-colonialism as they are present within our paradigms. This work may also act to negate colonialism's self-justifying paradigm, which paints itself as a linear, unstoppable phenomenon. Indigenous author and educator Taiaiake Alfred (2005) writes that "imperialism has not been a totalizing, unknowable, and irresistible force of destruction, but a fluid confluence of politics, economics, psychology, and culture" (pg. 30). It seems possible to recognize the importance of contextualization and historicization of place while also acknowledging the fluidity and complexity of these narratives within landscape.

In considering the history of this region, and in considering also those narratives that reject traditional historicizations of landscape, dynamic forces can be recognized within this Haudenosaunee territory. These forces include practices of spatial home-making and home-losing; state-making and state-disassembling; and individual experiences of living within geography, of recognizing, and of naming. George-Kanentiio, who was raised in Ahkwesasne Mohawk territory, writes that "as a nation and as a people we are of this land and no other" (2000, p. 22). Legal and cultural efforts to reclaim lost land and retain current rights in this geography continue. It is in acknowledgement of this landscape, and of its context of dispossession, contestation, and resilience, that this thesis and its examination of language and land is positioned.

The Haudenosaunee languages belong to what linguists call the Iroquoian language family. This family has two primary branches: the Northern and Southern Iroquoian. The Southern Iroquoian branch consists of the Cherokee language, while the Northern Iroquoian branch includes the Haudenosaunee languages, the Huron, and the Wyandot. Other languages belonging to the Iroquoian family -- such as the Laurentian and the Susquehannock -- are known to have existed, but are no longer spoken; Susquehannock, for instance, was last spoken in the mid-18th century (Mithun, 2004, 2006). All Iroquoian languages stem from a common ancestry in the Proto-Lake Iroquoian environment of three thousand to four thousand years ago (Mithun, 1984; Lounsbury, 1961); a chart describing these relationships can be found in Figure 3.

(Ch = Cherokee, N = Nottoway, T = Tuscarora, M = Meherrin, H = Huron, W = Wyandot, S = Seneca, C = Cayuga, Oo = Onondaga, Su = Susque-hannock, Oe = Oneida, M = Mohawk)

Fig. 15.2. Relationships among Iroquois languages
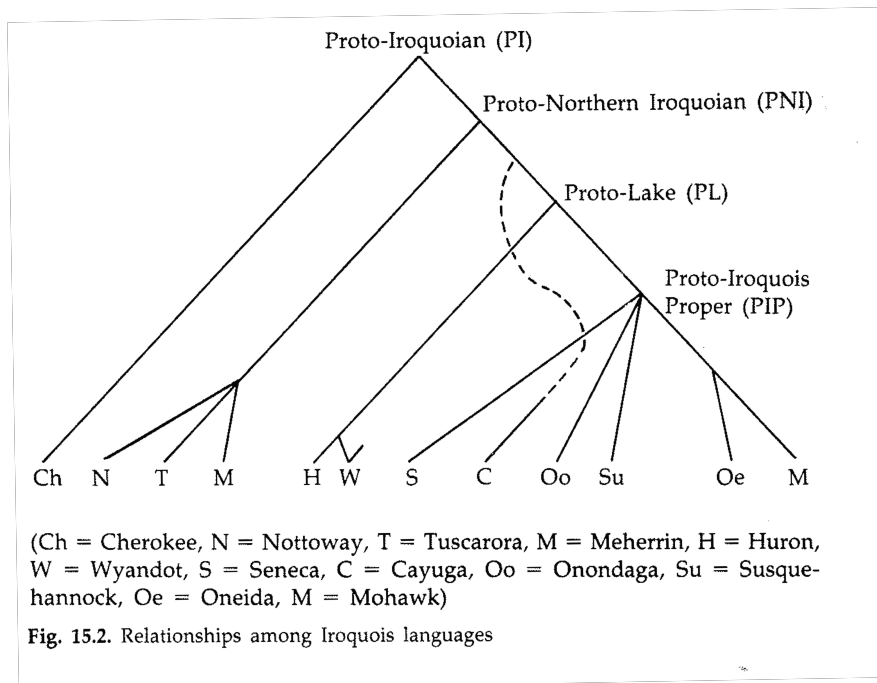
Fig. 3: Relationships among Iroquois Languages (Mithun, 1984)

The Haudenosaunee languages share common ancestry and common structures; they are the six

languages of the six nations: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora.

These six languages have certain differences in orthography (the alphabetical or spelling system

of a language; its surface expression); because of this and other differences in language use,

Haudenosaunee language programs and revitalization efforts do not necessarily treat language

instruction in one of the six languages as relatable to language instruction in another. One of the

premises of the language instruction that I have received in Iroquois linguistics -- from

Onondaga linguist Percy Abrams teaching at Syracuse University – is that the six languages are

deeply related and that their underlying structures are nearly identical. In *Onondaga Pronominal*

Prefixes (2006), Abrams writes that "this dissertation represents many years of studying the

Onondaga language, fruitlessly for the most part, until I discovered that there was order and

regularity in the words, in their form and their meanings" (2006, pg. 2).

The Haudenosaunee languages are highly polysynthetic (Mithun, 1989), which means that

Haudenosaunee word structures are often made up of multiple morphemes (meaningful

components of words) that behave independently and in relation to each other. Linguist

Marianne Mithun writes that "polysynthetic languages are distinguished by the rich internal

structure of their words, a characteristic that has major effects on the ways in which ideas are

expressed" (1996, pg. 160). Haudenosaunee words are often verb-based (Bonvillain, 1973), with

affixes modifying the central verb stem; this centrality of verbs as a structural unit contributes to

the ability of Haudenosaunee words to act uniquely as entire sentence-units. Abrams (2006)

writes:

The Onondaga language consists of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of words. This large number is largely due to the organization of information in the words of the language. An Onondaga word that contains an action verb stem is the structural equivalent of at least a simple declarative sentence in English. No one would attempt to write a 'dictionary of sentences' in English because there is no end to the possibilities available to a sentence of English. This is nearly the case with verb structure in Onondaga, although I do believe that the number of possible Onondaga verb stems would be a large, yet ultimately finite, number. (pg. 8)

As a consequence of historic and contemporary distortion and suppression, the six Haudenosaunee languages face conditions of serious language endangerment. This project by necessity navigates and responds to these conditions. In 1997, an informal survey at the Haudenosaunee Language Conference at Kanatsiohareke recorded the approximate number of fluent speakers in each nation. At that time, Mohawk had 3,433 fluent speakers; Oneida, 160; Onondaga, 17; Cayuga, 62; Seneca, 25; and Tuscarora, 12 (Looney, 1998). Some of these language communities have changed since then: some language communities have grown, while others now possess fluent speakers in the single digits. The Haudenosaunee Confederacy website states that:

For most languages the number of fluent speakers has gone down but individual nations are working to restore their languages and keep them alive. The Mohawk language is the healthiest with 3000 fluent speakers spread out in Canada and the United States. Cayuga and Oneida is in decline but elders and the younger generation are working together to revive the languages. Onondaga is spoken mostly in Canada while Seneca is spoken

mostly in the United States. […] The Tuscarora language is all but lost but young Tuscaroras are working to learn their ancestral language again (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, 2019).

A methodological guideline for determining the vitality of existing languages was commissioned in 2002 and 2003 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO. The resulting Language Vitality and Endangerment framework takes into consideration such forces as intergenerational language transmission and availability of educational language resources (UNESCO, 2011). According to this framework, as represented in the "UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger," the six Haudenosaunee languages range from 'definitely endangered,' such as Mohawk, and 'severely endangered,' such as Seneca, to 'critically endangered': Cayuga, Tuscarora, Onondaga, and Oneida (Moseley, 2010). These categories can be defined in terms of intergenerational language transmission, among other criteria: 'severely endangered,' for instance, means that "language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves." 'Critically endangered,' on the other hand, indicates that "the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently" (UNESCO, 2011, pg. 6).

This critical endangerment is part of a global and ongoing trend. According to UNESCO, "about half of some 6,000 languages spoken today are in danger of disappearing" (2011, pg. 4). 577 languages in the world are currently designated as critically endangered, while 230 have become extinct since 1950 (UNESCO, 2011). "The crisis currently facing us as linguists," Mithun writes,

"is at last becoming generally recognized: linguistic diversity is vanishing from our world at an alarming rate" (1993, pg. 1).

Just as Haudenosaunee languages are affected by global forces, they are also affected by local ones: forces specific to this landscape and to this cultural geography. In the introduction to his *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary*, linguist Wallace L. Chafe writes: "Above all I have wanted to provide data that can be used in comparative Iroquoian studies. Such work is stymied, as it is in most American Indian language families, by the absence of detailed lexical material" (1967, pg. 2). Mithun writes that "for most languages of the Americas, there are no written records comparable to those for major languages of Europe" (2010, pg. 674). The Haudenosaunee languages are not traditionally written languages (Mithun, 1984); Haudenosaunee oral histories and knowledge-ways are rich and varied, but are carried primarily within language communities. Because of the scale of this project, and as a matter of ethics, these oral traditions are not closely examined in this thesis.

Because written methods were introduced to the Haudenosaunee early in the post-contact landscape, written Haudenosaunee language material does exist, generated during historic times by a range of indigenous and non-indigenous authors. "From the early moments of first contact on this continent," Lyons (2000) writes, "the construction of Indian and non-Indian senses of sovereignty was a contested and contradictory process. It was also a rhetorical one" (pg. 450). It is important to consistently assess written materials produced at this time (as well as written materials produced at other times) for accuracy and authenticity, with attention to authorship and historical context. Distortion, violence, bias, and outright invention by non-indigenous authors

are common. Authentic contemporary language materials are easier to find than authentic historic ones, but contemporary materials suffer just as significantly from marginalization and obscurement. The body of written Haudenosaunee language materials, then, represents at times a contradictory dynamic – an abundance and a true scarcity. There are significant challenges to this thesis work, especially when it comes to source scarcity and integrity; there is also significant opportunity for this thesis work as it seeks to contribute to language clarification and restoration within the landscape. When describing the role of Haudenosaunee languages, Onondaga author and scholar Theresa McCarthy (2016) writes that "it is often said that indigenous traditions require context to be meaningful, and the language provides that context. Our languages are one of the first places to turn to in order to discern what tradition means to Six Nations people" (pg. 18).

Haudenosaunee Place Names

Haudenosaunee place names exist across the entirety of the Haudenosaunee geography, from Mohawk territory to Tuscarora. Place names, like other elements of indigenous language, have often suffered historic and contemporary linguistic distortion through colonialist occupation. Place names are affected by the same forces of endangerment that affect indigenous language use as a whole and that threaten a language's survival and daily use; it could also be suggested that place names face unique pressures and currents of settler-colonialism, as parts of language that are present within landscape in material and visible ways.

A deeper inquiry into place names within landscape will follow in later chapters. This thesis will explore the body of literature that surrounds toponymy, the study of place names; will examine possible methodologies for toponymic scholarship; and will raise questions about toponymic restoration and revitalization. It is important to emphasize here that Haudenosaunee place names exist in this landscape of the United States, Canada, and Turtle Island. Just as these Haudenosaunee place names are defined and affected by the cultural and linguistic context of the area, which has been briefly described in this chapter, it is also true that Haudenosaunee place names themselves shape and define those cultural and linguistic contexts, this geography.

Living in this landscape, I encounter Haudenosaunee place names in a variety of ways. Since I have begun my studies in place name restoration three years ago, I have encountered names on road signs, in archives, in conversation – in places of great contestation and places also of quiet. It is my impression, though, that these names are largely hidden from the mainstream paradigm; that their existence is obscured on many scales, and often in intricate and violent ways. The terrain of place name knowledge, then, is a produced space – one that we can approach with care and attention, with a commitment to examine the evidence and the absence of language, of place names as they are formed, remembered, obscured, and revitalized within landscape.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

This thesis is grounded in and is informed by previous scholarship, and by a range of work both academic and non-academic that explores notions of place, language, repair and resurgence. Because this research is multi-disciplinary in scope, as is much of toponymic scholarship, the literatures that shape and inspire this project are various. It is in part the interdisciplinary nature of this work that allows this project to be an innovative and radical inquiry that is both resonant with existing scholarship and also representative of a unique intersection of these elements of scholarship, as they are present within this landscape at this time.

As a part of this multi-disciplinary effort, my research uses lenses of feminism, anti-racism, and decolonization. This thesis work is situated within dialogues of linguistics, critical geography, geolinguistics, and indigenous studies; it is also informed by projects of indigenous mapping, language restoration, biocultural restoration, land reclamation, and assertions of sovereignty -- all of which help to guide this particular effort to [re]visualize and [re]imagine our landscapes in authentic terms.

Within this range of literatures, this research is most materially shaped by ideas within three fields of inquiry: toponymy; indigenous rights and resurgence; and counter mapping.

Toponymy

Toponymy is the study of place names. The discipline of toponymy emphasizes the significance both of the act of naming, and of the names themselves as they are positioned within landscape. Toponymy examines names as consequential and material elements of our worldview. The Dalai Lama (2007) writes that "as soon as we name an aspect of reality, we mentally eliminate all other aspects and we designate the chosen object by a word that applies only to that object and this enables us to recognize it" (pg. 290).

Toponymy explores the ability of place names to carry various knowledges. As a discipline, toponymy "provides invaluable keys and insights into landscape histories, settlement origins and patterns, physical geographies of places, sequent occupance, ethnic and political changes, nationalistic sentiments, human activities, and cultural diffusion processes" (Savage, 2009, pg. 178). Mapping projects such as the Gwich'in Place Names and Story Atlas project articulate the ability of place names to preserve traditional knowledges, and with those knowledges an intimate and detailed knowledge of place and locality. The Gwich'in Place Names and Story Atlas discusses the process of recording traditional Gwich'in place names: "documenting the names has [...] preserved ancient aspects of the language and place-based knowledge (including traditional knowledge) so it can be used today and carried forward into the future" (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, n.d.). When discussing the work of Irish place name scholar Tim Robinson, geographer Catherine Nash (1999) writes that "for Robinson, a placename reins in history, folklore, social codes and beliefs, and ties them through a shared language to a location

in space" (pg. 474). The study of place names, Nash writes, "can be a window to detailed local

knowledges and inclusive versions of belonging" (1999, pg. 474).

Place names are also interpreted within existing literatures as loci of memory, culture, and

identity. Hoelscher and Alderman cite anthropologist Nathan Wachtel in saying that "the

preservation of recollections rests on their anchorage in space" (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004);

Hoelscher and Alderman also propose that "place offers the context to examine the relationship

of people to their cultural and physical worlds." (2004, pg. 79). The Gwich'in Place Names and

Story Atlas also connects place names to culture and identity: "Gwich'in place names are rooted

in Gwich'in knowledge about their lands and are a window into how the Gwich'in world was

culturally constructed" (The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, n.d.).

As a field of study, toponymic scholarship has followed a dynamic trajectory within academic

and non-academic contexts. The study of place names has been "a long research tradition among

historical and cultural geographers" (Savage, 2009, pg. 178), and has been critiqued for its

antiquated and esoteric roots; William Wonders (1987) writes that "research into the topic is

considered esoteric at best and probably by many as of little practical use if not a waste of

money" (pg. 113). In their paper "Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in

critical place-name studies" (2010), Rose-Redwood et al. suggest that the field of toponymy has

entered a new era during the past twenty years, shifting away from an "association of place-name

studies with antiquarian empiricism" towards an understanding of place-names as interrelations

of space, place, and textuality. This new revitalization defies what Rose-Redwood et al. call the

"largely esoteric and encyclopedic nature of much of the traditional scholarship on place names" (2010, pg. 455).

This shift in perspective is visible in contemporary toponymic scholarship, which often includes various degrees of reflexive and critical consideration of power and context. According to Rose-Redwood et al. (2010), recent shifts in toponymic theory are producing "an exciting new body of research, which situates the study of toponymy within the context of broader debates in critical human geography" (pg. 455). This expansion of the discipline invites and in many ways requires a complication of earlier narratives that claim toponymy as a quantitative study, and resists understandings of toponyms as objects and or artifacts, separate from issues of social and political struggle. Such scholarship may consciously subvert nationalist and essentialist trends; in her study of Irish place names "Irish Placenames: Post-Colonial Locations" (1999), Catherine Nash writes that "placenames can always be enlisted in essentialist articulations of identity, but what is so notable about contemporary approaches to them in Ireland is the expression of a critical but inclusive recuperation of located tradition" (pg. 475). Rose-Redwood et al. (2010) add that "a critical analysis of the *politics* of spatial inscription remains one of the most effective strategies for challenging essentialist claims to affixing stable identities to particular spaces" (pg. 454).

Naming therefore can be understood as a social and political act. Author Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008) writes that naming "is about retaining as much control over meanings as possible. By 'naming the world' people name their realities" (pg. 157). Nash (1999) suggests that:

Linking language and geography, placenames, at once both material and metaphorical,

substantive and symbolic – read, spoken, mapped, catalogued and written in the everyday

intimate and official bureaucratic geographies of road signs, streetnames and addresses –

are all about questions of power, culture, location and identity. (pg. 457)

Toponymy, then, is positioned to examine the role of place names as manifestations of power

within landscape, often inscribed through everyday practices of state-archiving; data-collecting;

sign-making; and census-taking (Nash, 1999).

When thinking about dynamics of power as they are exhibited and reinforced through toponymy,

the practice of colonialist re-naming can be examined as a reoccurring act, used in both historical

and contemporary landscapes to violently perpetuate settler paradigms in occupied lands.

Colonization is described by Taiaiake Alfred, indigenous author and educator, as an intentional

disruption of indigenous connection to place (Alfred, 2013); re-naming, as a part of this practice,

often acts to erase the indigenous cultural knowledge and memory connected to a particular

landscape. Nash (1999) writes that "European colonial impulses to name and simultaneously

claim newly 'discovered' or explored land, and the systematic mapping and naming of territory

in white settler colonies of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the United States or Latin America

are well known (Carter 1987; Mundy 1996)" (pg. 460). Nash adds that "these naming processes

have been read as practices of cultural erasure in which the newly named and mapped places

were appropriated as the indigenous cultures were subordinated" (1999, pg. 460). Wonders

(1987) describes the practice of re-naming geographies in contemporary landscapes, within

contemporary bureaucracies:

Until recently the general naming procedures followed the earlier pattern of southern

Canada: when it became necessary for a feature to be identified, for economic, political,

or other reasons, a European name usually was applied. In reality many such features

already were known to the indigenous peoples of the area and identified by them with

names. (pg. 113)

This re-naming and re-interpretation of already existing toponymies can be interpreted as

evidence of continued imperialist expansion and control within contemporary landscapes.

When considering issues such as re-naming and inscription, current toponymic scholarship often

brings a post-colonial lens to the study of place names; in such new and revitalized scholarly

terrain, toponymy may expand to include concerns of intersectionality and post-disciplinary

practice. Contemporary studies of place names within landscape include inquiries about memory

and place (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004); power dynamics and warfare (Kadmon, 2004);

construction of heritage and identity (Alderman, 2008); emotion in landscape (Kearney and

Bradley, 2009); land use (Wonders, 1987); and indigenous mapping and participatory research

(Savage, 2009).

It seems important, when considering toponymic work within the contexts of postcolonial

scholarship, to acknowledge that post-colonial narratives are not without tensions, anxieties, and

contradictions, which may affect place name research that use these frameworks. Nash (1999)

notes that:

Research providing a greater sense of complex interplay of class, gender, sexuality and

racialized forms of power has exposed the inadequacies of simple models of power,

culture or identity. Nevertheless, post-colonialism has also been criticized for its use as a

generalizing term that collapses the differences between colonial experiences; for

implying a temporal break that elides continued neocolonial processes and internal

oppressions; for justifying a return to the texts of the colonizers, even if this rereading of

the canon is critical; and for seeming to treat former colonies as sources of raw materials

for Western theoretical processing. (pg. 459)

This thesis research navigates the intricacies of toponymy, as a discipline, as it is positioned

within these ideological tensions: including both considerations of power and social inscription

within place naming, and concerns for marginalization within the discipline of toponymy. This

thesis work is continuously affected by considerations of power, colonialism, and violence; in

interpreting place within landscape, this research hopes to be aware of the responsibilities and

privileges of this field of study.

Another relevant element of toponymic scholarship that informs and shapes this particular

inquiry is the approach of toponymy to authenticity within language and geography. Neither

post-colonialism nor contemporary critique of post-colonialism negates a search for authenticity,

which can be seen as a critical and grounded endeavor, and which we can situate within

dialogues of power, context, and place. Nash (1999) writes about the work of Irish language

scholar Tim Robinson: "despite his awareness of the mutating nature of toponyms over time,

Robinson still seeks a measure of accuracy in tracing their origins. The multiple forms and

meaning of the placenames are, for him, part of their accumulated significance. A placename, he

writes,

is perpetually gathering and shedding meanings; it comes down to us as a loose bundle

which may or may not still contain that kernel, the initial grain of sense that set it rolling

through time. (Robinson, 1990 as cited in Nash, 1999, pg. 474)

Indigenous Rights and Resurgence

The framework of indigenous rights and resurgence is a radical concept that affects the direction

of this and other scholarships. Within this framework, this thesis research is informed by efforts

of indigenous sovereignty and agency, indigenous land reclamation, language revitalization, and

restoration of indigenous relationship to land and landscape.

Indigenous resurgence as it is represented in existing literatures is an endeavor that is supportive

of individual projects of revitalization as well as collective efforts to develop pathways to

indigenous freedom. Resurgence can be understood as an emergent response to the terrain of

historic violence and contemporary settler-colonial paradigms. Resurgence can also be

understood as a conscious shift away from attention to the colonialist paradigm, proposing a

focus on frameworks of renewal and revitalization. Indigenous scholar and political scientist Jeff

Corntassel writes that "if colonization is a disconnecting force, then resurgence is about

reconnecting with homelands, cultures, and communities" (pg. 97). Resurgence, Corntassel

writes, "is in these everyday actions where the scope of the struggle for decolonization is

reclaimed and re-envisioned by Indigenous peoples" (2012, pg. 89). Corntassel continues:

> If one thinks of peoplehood as the interlocking features of language, homeland,
>
> ceremonial cycles, and sacred living histories, a disruption to any one of these practices

threatens all aspects of everyday life. The complex spiritual, political and social

relationships that hold peoplehood together are continuously renewed. These daily acts of

renewal, whether through prayer, speaking your language, honoring your ancestors, etc.,

are the foundations of resurgence. (2012, pg. 89)

These resurgent acts may together represent what Wilson (2003) calls a "shift in terminology, a

shift in understanding" (pg. 170).

When considering ways that the indigenous resurgence framework incorporates elements of

resistance to the settler-colonialist paradigm, it can be useful to consider the history of

indigenous resistance on Turtle Island. The history of indigenous protest in North America

includes the American Indian or Red Power movement of the 1960s; the occupation of Alcatraz

in 1969; the seizure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. in 1972; and the

occupation of the village of Wounded Knee in 1973. In *500 years of Indigenous Resistance*

(2009), Gord Hill writes that:

Along with an explosion of international struggles in the 1960s, including national

liberation movements in Afrika, Asia, and in the Americas, there was an upsurge in

Native people's resistance. This upsurge found its background in the continued struggles

of Native peoples and the development of the struggle against continued resource

extraction throughout the Americas. (pg. 58)

Resurgence as a contemporary concept may be grounded in these movements, and in decades of

struggle to protect and reclaim   traditional Indian lands; "a primary focus of these Indigenous

movements," Hill writes, "was recuperating stolen lands" (2009, pg. 58). Movements of

resistance during this time included specific actions by the Haudenosaunee peoples, such as the

seizure of Seaway International Bridge in Ontario 1968, the 1975 occupation of Moss Lake by

Akwesasne and Kanesatake Mohawks, and the 1990 occupation of the Pines by Mohawks of

Kanesatake (Hill, 2009).

Indigenous resurgence scholarship reaches beyond paradigms of protest and direct action.

Michael Elliott (2018) writes that "survival and decolonization each depend […] on a collective

redirection of energies away from attempts to further modify the conditions of colonialism and

towards positively creating alternative social realities in the here and now" (pg. 62).

Vocabularies of resurgence include concepts of unity: Tadodaho Chief Leon Shenandoah, as

quoted by Steve Wall in *To Become a Human Being*, states that "now we must join with the

indigenous peoples / around the world and become one / with respect for all of life. We can do

this/ by showing that we are stronger/ than all the forces that have tried to separate/ and remove

us from Mother Earth" (Shenandoah and Wall, 2001, pg. 32). Vocabularies of resurgence include

resilience and unity; they also include concepts of indigenous sovereignty and agency. In

"Sovereignty, Racism and Human Rights: The Case for Indian Self-Determination" (1994),

Robert Williams writes that there is a need for a human rights language that recognizes a "right

to meaningful cultural sovereignty and self-determination, a right to have indigenous people's

aboriginality protected and enshrined as an absolute value" (1994, pg. 7). Vocabularies of

resurgence may also be considered anti-racist (Shenandoah and Wall, 2001), anti-capitalist

(Corntassel, 2012), and fundamentally opposed to state abuse (Corntassel, 2012).

The literature of resurgence within which this thesis is positioned is connected to and grounded

in concerns of landscape and stewardship. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2017) writes that

"the intellectual and theoretical home of resurgence had to come from within Indigenous thought systems, intelligence systems that are continually generated in relationship to place (pg. 16). According to indigenous author and scholar Vine Deloria, in *God is Red* (2003),

> a belief in the sacredness of lands in the non-Indian context may become a preferred belief of an individual or group of non-Indian individuals [...] The same belief, when seen in an Indian context, is an integral part of the experiences of the people -- past, present, future. (pg. 275)

Julian Lang, of the Klamath Tribe, is quoted by Dennis Rogers-Martinez (1992): "For us the vision of the future is grounded in the responsibility of annually fixing the world. We cannot conceive of a time when stabilizing the world will become an irrelevant act" (Rogers-Martinez, pg. 65). The continued commitment to revitalize, repair, and care for the landscape is an embedded consideration in frameworks of indigenous resurgence.

This connection of resurgence and stewardship is not purely theoretical; it is referenced in the daily contestations of the struggle for indigenous rights, title, and land reclamation. The Onondaga Land Rights Action, for instance, cites stewardship as a primary motivation for the effort to reclaim title to Onondaga territory (Onondaga Nation, n.d.). Author and scholar Robin Kimmerer writes that

> when they finally got their day in court last October, members of the Onondaga Nation argued that the land title they're seeking is not for possession, not to exclude, but for the right to participate in the well-being of the land (2008).

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) also recognizes the connection between sovereignty and stewardship, stating that the General Assembly formally

recognizes "that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment" (United Nations, 2008, pg. 2).

As a restoration effort, this research is situated concretely within these environmental paradigms, and within the restorative and revitalizing frameworks of cultural and landscape repair as expressed in dialogues of indigenous resurgence. It is also influenced specifically by frameworks of biocultural restoration (Kimmerer, 2011). A biocultural restoration framework integrates concerns of place and culture, and argues that a restoration effort requires and is enriched by a consideration of the lived history of the landscape, and a complication of the conventional mainstream paradigm of ecological restoration. The Sinkyone Intertribal Park Project, for instance, is described by Dennis Rogers-Martinez (1992):

> In the past ecological restoration projects have been defined almost entirely in landscape terms, but the Sinkyone project will be different in that it will also involve the restoration of indigenous cultures, which we recognize as a major factor in the ecology of the systems we aim to restore. In other works, what we aim to restore is not only the land, but our relationship with it. The project rests on our understanding that the landscape and the people, nature and culture, are ultimately inseparable. The land reflects culture, just as culture reflects the land. Hence restoration of the historic landscape of the Sinkyone depends as much on restoration of the historic Indian cultures that helped shape that landscape as on restoration of old-growth forest and bunchgrass prairie. (Rogers-Martinez, 1992, pg. 69)

Restoration, here, can be defined as an effort that brings awareness to issues of endangerment and survival; context and history within landscape; and the intertextuality of culture and place. The process of restoration as explored in existing literatures defies inaccurate conceptions of a singular ecological base-line state; it also defies linear and prescriptive notions of the restoration process, which may demand an arbitrary end-point for such projects. I define this research as a restoration project, for instance, because it looks to restore more accurate and authentic understandings of place, although its work of restoring language within landscape is not finite but continuous and ongoing.

Another important element of indigenous resurgence scholarship is its emphasis on language and language revitalization. Tadodaho Chief Leon Shenandoah, as quoted by Steve Wall (2001), says that "everything around us is trying to destroy us/ by getting us to forget our language and our way of life." He continues: "but we didn't go away. We're still here./ We still know what Mother Earth means to us/ and our languages are still spoken by many./ We will continue with our ceremonies" (Shenandoah and Wall, pg. 33). Cultural critic and author Paul Chaat Smith (2009) writes that "the new traditionalism that does exist in Indian Country was won at great expense and effort. After all, it wasn't so long ago that Indian languages and ceremonies were discouraged and in many cases outlawed." (pg. 18). Article 13 of UNDRIP, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, connects language to self-determination, stating that:

> 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future
> generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and

literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and

persons.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to

ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and

administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by

other appropriate means. (United Nations, 2008, pg. 7)

Indigenous language is increasingly recognized within mainstream and popular scholarship as an

important element of cultural survival. This year, 2019, has been designated the 'International

Year of Indigenous Languages' by the United Nations General Assembly, in recognition of the

importance of language revitalization and in response to the increasing endangerment of

indigenous languages around the world. "Languages are a core component of human rights and

fundamental freedoms," the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

writes; "languages around the world continue to disappear at an alarming rate, and most of them

are spoken by indigenous peoples" (UNESCO, 2019). As a language restoration effort, my

research fits within this context in a timely manner – according to UNESCO, 40 percent of the

estimated 6,700 languages spoken around the world are in danger of disappearing (International

Year of Indigenous Languages, n.d.). My research also exists independently of the United

Nations Year of Indigenous Languages project, which is at least in part defined by its centralized

and government-sponsored nature.

Restoration of language, landscape, and culture are important parts of the indigenous resurgence

framework; these vocabularies of reclamation and repair are particularly resonant to me, as a

researcher, and are influential to this work. "Within a colonial context," Corntassel (2012) writes, "acts of remembrance are resurgence" (pg. 91). Acts of remembering can resist the erasure of indigenous culture and indigenous existence; Smith (2009) writes that

> I have avoided here the usual recitation of broken treaties, massacres, genocide, and other atrocities. It's what we're supposed to talk about, but business as usual has been a dismal failure as far as dialogue goes, and I find guilt trips incredibly boring and useless. So when I say, for example, that the Americas are built on the invasion and destruction of a populated land with hundreds of distinct, complex societies, and a centuries-long slave trade involving millions of Africans, I offer this as an observation that is the minimum requirement for making sense of the history of our countries. This unpleasant truth is why Indians have been erased from the master narrative of this country and replaced by the cartoon images that all of us know and most of us believe. (pg. 20)

Whether literatures about indigenous resurgence deal directly with litanies of oppression, or seek to move away from these legacies, they work to reclaim the indigenous narrative: defining and demarcating the territory of indigenous existence in their own terms. "By resisting colonial authority and demarcating their homelands via place naming and traditional management practices," Corntassel writes, "these everyday acts of resurgence have promoted the regeneration of sustainable food systems in community and are transmitting these teachings and values to future generations" (Corntassel, 2012, pg. 98).

The scholarship and dialogue surrounding indigenous resurgence shapes this research, continually directing this work towards expressions of revitalization and resistance. Houston writes that indigenous methodologies may produce literature that is "'tracing diverse and

complex forms of knowledge - philosophies, cartographies, languages, genealogies', and

subjugated knowledges (Subramani, 2001, p. 151)" (Houston, 2007, pg. 46). Houston further

writes:

> Imagine research that is based on Indigenous epistemologies, that focuses on our own
>
> ways of seeing, knowing and doing. There is real potential for research to be conducted
>
> that focuses on discovery, representation, reciprocity and recovery; research that
>
> acknowledges, benefits and enriches the communities from which it came. (2007, pg. 46)

Counter Mapping

The literatures of toponymy and indigenous resurgence ask, in the words of Mishuana Goeman:

"How do we uproot settler-colonial social and material maps that inform our everyday

experiences?" (Rifkin, 2017, pg. 96; Goeman, 2013). In order to answer this question through

critical study, this research examines the maps that have traditionally and contemporarily been

used as measures of erasure and control. Indigenous and environmental scholars Chapin et al.

(2005) write that "cartography has been, over the centuries, a tool used by the powerful to carve

out empires and maintain control over them. 'As much as guns and warships,' observes Harley in

one of his more frequently quoted statements, 'maps have been the weapons of imperialism'

(Harley 1988, p. 282)." Chapin et al. continue: "cartography has rightly been dubbed 'the science

of princes,' used by governments and elites to stake claim to valuable land and resources, a

science of which the indigenous peoples have been the most common victims" (2005, pg. 622).

The scholarship that explores Western cartography as an oppressive tool is various and multi-

disciplinary, critiquing traditional mapping practices in geographical, toponymic, and indigenous

studies literature, as well as in disciplines of mapping and cartography. These literatures more than suggest that traditional Western cartography is built on foundations of settler colonialism; indigenous cartography scholars Margaret Wickens Pearce and Renee Pualini Louis (2008) write, for example, that "Western knowledge and science shapes the structure of Western Western cartographic language, from the smallest part of the symbol to the overall look of the map and the ways in which the map is used" (pg. 112).

Just as traditional Western mapping practices may be considered to be grounded within a larger imperialist paradigm, they may also be considered as material tools of that paradigm. Geographer Robert A. Rundstrom (1995) writes that

> the history of cartography is replete with examples of people from inscribing cultures appropriating geographical information from those of incorporating cultures, and ultimately using it to disenfranchise, if not to completely obliterate them. We now admit (see, particularly, Wood 1993) that it has been the territorial ambitions of modern states and their predecessors, and the need for long-distance trade and resource exploitation that call such "re-presentations" into being. (pg. 51)

Pearce and Louis (2008) explore the role of Western cartography within contexts of settler-colonialist expansion and indigenous dispossession:

> when one society expresses spatial concepts by using the rhetorical structures of another society's cartographic tradition, it is a process of cartographic translation in which information is inevitably lost. The history of the mistranslation and misrepresentation of Indigenous cartographies virtually defines the history of Western colonization and coercion of Indigenous peoples. (pg. 110)

In this particular region, the landscape of Haudenosaunee territory, settler-colonialist motivations clearly shape the historical maps and literatures of the region. When discussing his study of botanist Frederick Pursh's journeys through what is now called New York State, James Carrott (2003) writes that "the dominant purposes of most Revolutionary-era maps were political and military – stressing the borders, boundaries, and strategic concerns of the new nation" (pg. 373). Carrot later writes that "throughout the eighteenth century, maps played a central role in the efforts of European powers and eastern British-American elites to order and control the frontier" (2003, pg. 373). During this time period of colonialist expansion, "professional surveyors and mapmakers struggled to reduce, if not eliminate, the ambiguities of landownership and control in a newly colonized region" (Carrott, 2003, pg. 374). The settler-colonialist lens has significant effects on the authenticity of data represented within these maps. Carrott writes that:

> As copying from previous maps proved a common practice among cartographers of the period, map makers' implicit assertions of accurate representation of terrain a political fact were, in practice, subsumed in an extended game of visual "telephone," where many official-looking and formally printed maps proved noticeably removed from original, firsthand data of any kind. (2003, pg. 376)

Traditional Western mapping practices can be examined in terms of accuracy of representation; they can also be examined as these mapping practices exist and evolve in the contemporary landscape. Settler-colonialist motivations may be considered in modern practices that use geospatial technology (GT), including GIS, GPS, satellite, and other digital mapping tools (Pearce and Louis, 2008). Geographer Mei-Po Kwan (2007) writes that

much has been written about the limitations of geospatial technologies (GT) since the early 1990s (e.g., Sheppard 1993; Curry 1994; Pickles 1995). Critiques have focused largely on issues of epistemology, representation, power, ethics, privacy violation, and the noncivilian deployment of these technologies. (pg. 22)

Rundstrom (1995) writes that "GIS technology, when applied cross-culturally, is essentially a tool for epistemological assimilation, and as such, is the newest link in a long chain of attempts by Western societies to subsume or destroy indigenous cultures" (pg. 45). When maps do attempt to represent indigenous cultural knowledge, that knowledge is "often distorted, suppressed, and assimilated into the conventional Western map" (Pearce and Louis, 2008, pg. 109).

Geospatial technology as it is used to map indigenous lands and as it used in more traditional Western contexts has been critiqued in various ways; for example, contemporary GT mapping has been critically examined in terms of spatial and cultural representation: "the chief failing of this technology [Western GT] has been its inability to further our understanding of the cultural logic that lies behind the relation of space" (Fox, 1995; Pearce and Louis, 2008, pg. 111). Contemporary GT mapping has also been critically examined in terms of epistemology and perspective: Kwan (2007) writes that "The kind of knowledge produced with such disembodied positionality denies the partiality of the knower, erases subjectivities, and ignores the power relations involved in all forms of knowledge production" (pg. 24). Contemporary GT mapping has been critically examined in terms of its anthropocentrism: "the GIS literature has yet to regard plants, animals, fire, land-forms, and other nonhuman elements as anything other than manipulable objects under varying degrees of human control" (Rundstrom, 1995, pg. 46). And contemporary GT mapping has also been critically examined in terms of diversity: Rundstrom

(1995) writes, "my interests in the geographical ideas of indigenous peoples of North America and the impact of Western technology in non-Western settings have led me to consider GIS as potentially toxic to human diversity, notably the diversity of systems for knowing about the world" (pg. 45).

With these critiques in mind, it seems important and appropriate to engage with literatures of counter mapping. Counter mapping is one term used to describe mapping practices and projects that engage with and resist traditional Western cartographic paradigms. In one of the first uses of the term, Nancy Lee Peluso (1995) writes that "maps can be used to pose alternatives to the languages and images of power and become a medium of empowerment or protest. Alternative maps, or "counter-maps" as I call them here, greatly increase the power of people living in a mapped area to control representations of themselves and their claims to resources" (pg. 387). Hodgson and Schroeder (2002) write that "these efforts, sometimes called 'counter-mapping' (Peluso, 1995) due to their intent of countering dominant representations of property regimes and land use practices, have opened up new political ecological terrain on which struggles over resources are linked to fundamental questions of culture, identity and power" (pg. 79).

In 2005, Chapin et al. write that

> indigenous mapping has been in existence slightly more than 35 years in Canada and Alaska and no more than a decade to a decade and a half in other parts of the world. It has been a powerful tool for indigenous peoples in their struggles to defend and claim their ancestral lands, manage their resources, plan economic development, and preserve their cultures. (pg. 630)

Pearce and Louis (2008) describe a similar history of indigenous mapping: "indigenous mapping has emerged since the 1970s as a movement that utilizes the power of maps for visually explaining and defending issues that arise from cultural use of territory, including land claims, natural resources, and sovereignty" (pg. 108). Indigenous mapping can be considered attentive to all aspects of what we conceive of as the traditional map; Pearce and Louis write:

> We call for a transformation of cartographic language in all of its dimensions, from graphic marks to the topologies, interrelationships, media, and distribution of those marks, in ways that are epistemologically and ontologically meaningful for Indigenous cultural knowledge. (2008, pg. 113)

Similar to literatures of indigenous resurgence, literatures about counter-mapping practices center in part around resistance to the perpetuation of the settler-colonialist paradigm. Kwan (2007) describes her own mapping projects within this context: "it is in this sense that my GIS art project can be understood as part of a broader counterhegemonic struggle over GT, as a form of questioning, and a form of protest and resistance" (pg. 28). Kwan also writes:

> Map artists and art activists have long created art maps that contest the authority and content of official maps – witness the maps produced by the Surrealists and the Situationists (Krygier 2006; Varanka 2006; Wood 2006). Art maps are often created by extensively reworking preexisting maps, "redrawing, digitally altering, painting over, and reorienting the original images (Wood 2006, 10). They point towards worlds other than those mapped in official maps and seek to "produce new configurations of space, subjectivity and power" (Kanarika 2006). (Kwan, 2007, pg. 28)

The use of counter-mapping practices are, also, acts of indigenous resistance, resurgence, and reclamation:

> In a very real sense, indigenous mapping represents a shift in the way cartography is both undertaken and used. Whereas those in power have employed maps over the centuries to mark off and control territories inhabited by indigenous peoples, indigenous peoples are now putting together their own maps and wielding them to defend their ancestral lands from encroachment by those in power. (Chapin et al., 2008, pg. 620)

Much like the narrative of indigenous resurgence, the narrative of counter-mapping may be described in terms of resistance to the dominant settler-colonialist paradigm, and also as a movement away from attention to colonialism, towards authentic expressions of indigenous culture and stories, and towards a reclaiming of the indigenous narrative. To reclaim the indigenous narrative in spatial terms may communicate what scholar Mark Rifkin (2017) calls "an experience of being and becoming whose textures, regularities, and negotiations cannot be captured through reference to a universal chronology" (pg. 31). In reference to Fox's paper, "Spatial Information Technology and Human-environment Relationships" (1995), Pearce and Louis (2008) write: "The cultural logic that has been left behind by the encoding of Indigenous knowledge in GIS, writes Fox, includes concepts of scale, time, and 'boundaries and areas and the preservation of continuity between them'" (pg. 111). Counter-mapping practices seek to reclaim these and other elements of indigenous experience and landscape.

It is important to note that indigenous mapping may use methods of traditional Western cartography, and digital mapping tools such as GIS, GPS, and satellite. Mapping projects and

literatures that use these methodologies may still be said to resist the encroachment of
imperialist expansions and narratives; geographer Sébastien Caquard and cartographic scholar
William Cartwright write that:

> one of the main reasons Indigenous communities have been mapping their Indigenous
> knowledge has been to define their territories through Western spatial formalisation
> processes and artifacts, in order to reverse colonial power's geographical outcomes and to
> reclaim dignity and sovereignty over their lands. (Caquard and Cartwright, 2014, pg. 102)

According to Pearce and Louis (2008),

> Indigenous communities have successfully used Western geospatial technologies […]
> since the 1970s to protect tribal resources, document territorial sovereignty, create tribal
> utility databases, and manage watersheds. The use of these techniques and technologies
> has proven to be a critical step for protecting cultural sovereignty by communicating the
> importance of Indigenous cultural knowledge to people outside the community. (pg. 107)

Counter-mapping practices, however, may also include radical methodologies that depart from
traditional Western practices, to [re]envision and [re]imagine indigenous territory, landscape,
and cultural terrain. "Particularly in the last decade," Pearce and Louis write, "interest in and
implementation of cultural mapping projects for Indigenous communities has exploded" (2008,
pg. 108). These cultural mapping projects, and the growing body of work surrounding counter-
mapping, include various radical methodologies: narrative cartography (Caquard and Cartwright,
2014); art mapping (Kwan, 2007); story-mapping (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, n.d.);
process mapping (Rundstrom, 1995; Pearce, 2008); participatory mapping (Chambers, 1997);
subsistence mapping (Ellanna et al. 1985); place name mapping; and more. "The potential of

maps to both decipher and tell stories," Caquard and Cartwright write, "is virtually unlimited" (2014, pg. 101).

One element of counter-mapping scholarship that I find particularly relevant to this research is an emphasis on the 'process' of a map: the process of map-making and map-situating and map-viewing. Caquard and Cartwright write that "in a post- representational perspective, the map is as good as the different narratives it is associated with that describes its context of appearance, and its production process, as well as all the discourses associated with the map, and the political and personal agendas it helped to push forward" (2014, pg. 105). By examining the process of a map and of map-making, it is possible for researchers and cartographers to examine the positionalities of the work, and its relation to the context of the region that is mapped. "From a post-representational cartography perspective," Caquard and Cartwright write,

> the map is less important than the process of making it and using it. This shift towards a more processual approach of mapmaking increases the importance of the narratives in comparison to the map. Telling the story of how maps are created and how they come to life in the hands of their users becomes a new challenge for mapmakers. (2014, pg. 105)

Using this perspective, it seems possible to honor the process of research and of mapping, in deliberate and radical ways.

Counter-mapping as a discipline, informed and enriched by perspectives from toponmy and indigenous resurgence, offers clear and radical directions for research, such as in this project. "In what ways, and under what circumstances," one must ask, "do mapping projects serve to empower or marginalize indigenous peoples?" (Chapin et al, 2005, pg. 631). Kwan (2007)

describes her research in similar terms: "I have argued in this article that embodied practices and passionate politics of GT that are attentive to bodies, emotions, and subjectivities will help us move beyond software and data to focus on real people and real lives" (pg. 30). "We should engage in the development of GT practices," Kwan writes, "that help to create a less violent and more just world" (2007, pg. 30).

Chapter 5: Methodology

Summary

This project aims to contribute to place name restoration inquiries, and to explore the elements of language, place, and ethical research that such cultural restorations entail. In doing so, this project is grounded in the effort to contribute to Haudenosaunee place name restoration in Haudenosaunee territory. This restoration effort works to compile, map, and translate Haudenosaunee place names, and to begin to formulate questions that linguistically and conceptually examine the ways these names work to describe, define and create   the landscape of the region.

In broad terms, the methodologies of this project fall into three major categories, or themes. These three foundational themes are:

> 1) Place Name Gathering
>
> 2) Linguistic Analysis
>
> 3) Mapping and Illustration

A description of each of these three major themes follows.

Place Name Gathering: The first major foundational theme that arises from and defines this project is the act of compiling and recording place names in their most accurate geographic and linguistic form. Place name gathering in this particular project has involved locating and gathering Haudenosaunee place names from eight published archival sources, both historical and

contemporary. Data collection has also involved the collection of information about the archival

sources themselves, about authorship of the sources, and about the ways that each archival

source embeds Haudenosaunee language within its text. The aim of place name gathering in this

project is to preserve an accessible record in the face of archive complexity, as well as to provide

a space where components of place name information exist side by side, so that relationships

between language, location, and context of place may be more clearly seen. The resulting

compiled data might be useful to language restoration projects and/ or language communities

who may or may not have the time to extensively compile archival language data.

Linguistic Analysis: The second major theme that arises from and defines this project is the

linguistic examination of selected place names. Linguistic analysis in this research involves the

morphemic breakdown and translation of a sample of the previously collected Haudenosaunee

place names, with guidance from linguist Percy Abrams. Linguistic analysis allows for some

insight into the components of Haudenosaunee place names as they define and are defined by the

Haudenosaunee geography; the aim of linguistic analysis here is not to produce evidence of

cultural practice or suggest definitive depictions of language use within community, but instead

to understand place names on their own linguistic, cultural, and geographical terms, and to allow

this understanding to shape the direction of this and other place name inquiries.

Mapping and Illustration: The third major theme that arises from and defines this project is the

mapping and illustration of place names, which involves the production of illustrations that

situate the place names and corresponding geographic features within the Haudenosaunee

landscape. This component of the research works to record and situate place name data, in

recognition of the spatial and visual dimension of place name relationship with land; illustration in this cartographic context works in parallel with and hopes to complement indigenous mapping projects. I am also invested within this particular mapping and illustration work in protecting indigenous cultural knowledge through responsible counter-mapping practices and decolonizing methodologies such as hand-drawn illustration.

These foundational themes – place name gathering, linguistic analysis, and mapping and illustration – have shaped my research from the beginning of my studies in this field three years ago. These themes are what I would call the internal goals of the restoration effort: those goals that respond to the need for preserving this particular Haudenosaunee linguistic endangered knowledge base. They are also the grounded, context-specific themes that shape the more abstract inquiries within this research.

As the design of methodology for this project has evolved, the design process itself has become a large and motivating element of this inquiry. In each stage of this research, I have encountered some of the dynamic forces that have been previously discussed: variability of place name authenticity; questions of ethical research; emergent layers of knowledge, erasure, and distortion within landscape. The design of this project has needed to respond to the evolving lens of this research in ethical, creative, and practical ways. Because this project has evolved and adapted both to changes in inquiry and to emergent forces within landscape, the methodology for this project can then be examined descriptively: as an experience and as a process that has evolved in response to external and internal necessity. A descriptive, reflexive breakdown of the project's methodology is listed below. The listed stages of the methodology can be considered both as

individual processes that navigate components of place name restoration, and also as expressions of the foundational themes (data collection, linguistic analysis, and mapping and illustration) that ground and form this research.

       i. Archival Survey: designing a way to look at language sources

       ii. Source Selection: navigating evidence and absence

       iii. Source Background: examining how sources approach language

       iv. Place Name List: compiling information in accessible ways

       v. Place Name Selection: selecting an appropriate sample

       vi. Linguistic Analysis: looking closely at language in place

       vii. Mapping and Illustration: visualizing toponymies

       viii. Ethics: developing and continuing an ethical framework

i. Archival Survey: designing a way to look at language sources

An archival survey is a survey designed to collect information from an archive. In the context of this research, the archival survey facilitates the recording of place names and language data from each chosen archival source. I created an archival survey in the spring of 2018, with guidance from SUNY ESF professor Mary Collins. The survey is six pages long, and was revised once after collecting names from the first archive; I used the revised survey for the entirety of subsequent archival research in this project.

One benefit of a survey as a methodological tool is its ability to ask specific questions of a data source: questions that can be applied consistently across archival material and that can organize the understanding of each source and its available data. Dillman et al. (2014) write that surveys are "motivated by the desire to collect information to answer a particular question or solve a particular problem" (pg. 2). Here, the survey interprets information about Haudenosaunee language as it was recorded within each text, by a certain author at a certain time. The process of collecting archival data in this project was in some ways complicated by the interdisciplinary nature of place name work – place names may be described in a variety of ways within a text: using data about geography, language, or cultural practice; using location or landscape description; using naming practices or naming histories. The type of language data that is used may vary from source to source, or may vary within a single source. A historical travel narrative, for instance, might include both a map and linguistic descriptions of that map, while a dictionary might include entries that contain morphemic breakdowns or translations. It is important to provide for this range of expression in place name data, and for variation in language, authorship, accessibility, and authenticity within a source.

This archival survey was designed to record data in explicitly holistic ways, acknowledging the archival source as a produced, contextual document. The *Guidelines for Respecting Cultural Knowledge* (2000)*,* adopted by the Assembly of Alaska Native Educators, recommends that native language specialists "encourage the use and teaching of the local language in ways that provide appropriate context for conveying accurate meaning and interpretation" (pg. 17). It has been my experience in doing this research that one of the primary apparatuses of language distortion in text is the presentation of *partial* language information in place of, and often

masquerading as, the *entire* language data. Place name translations for instance may be provided without descriptions of relevant interpretative decisions. For instance, locations of Haudenosaunee place names may be represented only with English language indicators; geographic context may be left out; language type may not be indicated; tentative locations or translations may be represented as verified data. In contexts of knowledge fragmentation and suppression such as those in the Haudenosaunee landscape, explicit consideration of context becomes crucial to authentic understandings of data.

This survey contains two major sections. The first section of the survey contains background information on each archival source, including information about medium, authorship, and indigenous input: this is data that might affect the way that place names are presented within a text. The second section of the survey contains information about the place names themselves, and aims to catalogue data about each place name individually.

The survey includes the following pages: an *Archive Reference Sheet*, which summarizes my findings for quick reference; an *Archive Processing Record* page, which details my own interactions with the archive; an *Archive Overview* page, which gives basic information about the type and medium of the archive; an *Author Information and Indigenous Input* page; a *Language of Archive* page, which describes the integrity and characteristics of the language-use within the source; and then multiple *Place Name* pages that serve as records for the linguistic and geographical information of each place name found within the source. The full archival survey can be found in Appendix A; I used this survey (in hard copy) while processing each source.

Note: Completed surveys of archival sources are not included here, for the sake of conciseness; selected relevant data has been recorded in the following sections. The full compilation of archival surveys is available for viewing upon request.

ii. Source selection: navigating evidence and absence

Because of the limited time and scale of this project within the master's degree program, I have chosen to focus my place name data collection on *written, published* sources. If this project at any time extends into further graduate work, which its structure would certainly allow, further data collection could include interviews with language speakers and other members of the Haudenosaunee Nations, depending on the availability and interest of speakers and language communities.

Brugge and Missaghian (2006) recommend that in order to resist a legacy of exploitative academic research practices, "researchers wanting to work with indigenous communities should consider dedicating much time and effort to getting to know the community, gaining their trust and forging strong relationships based on mutual respect" (2006, pg. 496). Because the short span of my two-years master's degree – and an even shorter time for data collection – has not allowed for such commitment, it has seemed important for me not to engage in participatory action research that must necessarily be short-changed. Within the current context of a master's degree, this research has focused on place name data that has already been published or shared in the public sphere, in order to avoid sharing sensitive traditional cultural knowledge, and in order to navigate a history of violent research practices.

The written corpus surrounding Haudenosaunee languages is a varying one, and one that I do not

pretend to comprehensively understand. In navigating the complex archival terrain of a

suppressed and endangered language group, I have primarily used a snowball sampling, a non-

probability sampling technique, in finding useful archival sources. Naderifar et al. (2017) write

that "snowball sampling is a convenience sampling method. This method is applied when it is

difficult to access subjects with the target characteristics" (pg. 2). 'Snowball sampling' often

refers to the process of finding respondents or participants for research by asking existing

participants of the research to suggest or recruit future participants (Naderifar et al., 2017). In

this research, the archival materials that I used in the beginning stages of research yielded rich

suggestions of further archival sources; this concentration of knowledge about archival sources

makes sense, given the specificity and scarcity of this literature body, and a methodology that

was attentive to these relationships yielded robust and rigorous data.

Suggestions for possible archival sources were also provided by Syracuse University professor

Percy Abrams, SUNY ESF professor Neil Patterson, and historical ecologist Catherine Landis:

suggestions that were particularly useful in the beginning stages of my research. I am also deeply

appreciative of the help of Cornell professor Kurt Jordan, who set me on the right path early on

in my archival studies.

During my experience of navigating the evidence and absence of authentic language data within

Haudenosaunee language materials, I have noticed some groupings of archival source type.

These categorizations are generalizations, but are perhaps useful in painting a picture of the

terrain of available language materials in Haudenosaunee territory. Firstly, there is a body of linguistic work centering around Haudenosaunee languages, written by linguistic scholars. There is also a relatively extensive body of anthropological and archeological work, which often has an historic and academic bent. There are a growing number of dictionaries, the most recent of which are collaborations between linguists and Haudenosaunee language speakers. There is a small but growing body of publically available educational materials that are generated by Haudenosaunee language communities and language restoration programs. (The first priority of language restoration programs is rarely to generate written texts, but I mention restoration programs here in order to emphasize the importance of their work in the contemporary Haudenosaunee landscape, and to recognize the significance of their efforts to preserve language and the influence of these programs on language material produced elsewhere.) In noting possible source categories, I also recognize overlaps between these categories: language speakers of a community may be linguists and academics, just as members of language restoration programs may be writers and authors.

I add here a note on orthography, the alphabetic system or surface expression of a language. Because Haudenosaunee languages were not traditionally written languages, archival sources by non-indigenous authors treat Haudenosaunee orthographies flexibly for much of post-contact history. Linguists have also used various orthographies, according to personal preference or scholarly opinion. There are, however, authentic and inauthentic Haudenosaunee orthographies: authentic orthographies are ones that are preferred, used, or created by Haudenosaunee language communities themselves. Each Haudenosaunee language has a slightly different orthography; these differences, however, are not necessarily significant when one has the tools to compare

orthographies. A glottal stop, for instance, is a consonant used in every Haudenosaunee language; it is represented in some orthographies by ' and some by ʔ. The glottal stop has no equivalent in the English spelling system, but "is just as important in Mohawk as a t̲ or a k̲," (*Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary*), and should not be omitted or disregarded. Where it has been appropriate, I have used the preferred/ authentic orthography of each nation when recording place names to the best of my knowledge, and have replaced those orthographical markings which have been invented by the author or those which are unnecessarily obscuring (such as separations or markings between syllables). Otherwise, I have preserved the original style of recording as expressed in the archive.

iii. Source Background: examining how sources approach language

For this research, I have selected eight archival sources for language data collection. This group of sources includes historical and contemporary material. More information about each of these sources can be found in the chart below, in Table 1.

Forming a more descriptive assessment of each source and its approach to language was also a part of the research process: describing, for instance, the authorship, authenticity, style, and approach of a particular source. These descriptions are not included in this thesis for the sake of conciseness, but are available on request for anyone interested in using these sources for further language work.

Assigned Number	Source Name	Author(s)	Date created/ Published	Publisher	Archive Type	Languages Included	# Names Recorded	Language Integrity	Indigenous Authorship
001	'Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk'	Karonhí:io Delaronde; Jordan Engel	2015	The Decolonial Atlas	map; descriptive article	Mohawk	130	good	authorship: Delaronde, Mohawk speaker
002	*Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary*	Editor: M. Mithun Authors: M. McDonald, A. Barnes, L. Cook, J. Herne, R. Jacobs, L. Jock, H. LaFrance, E. Ransom, W. Sinclair, E. Tarbell	1977	New York State Museum	book; dictionary	Ahkwesasne Mohawk	33	excellent	authorship: language materials developed by Mohawk educators at Ahkwesasne
003	*English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary*	F. Froman; A. Keye; L. Keye; C. Dyck	2002	University of Toronto Press	book; dictionary	Cayuga	60	excellent	authorship: L. Keye, A. Keye and Froman language teachers; A. Keye Cayuga faith keeper
005	'They Would Not Take Me There: people, places, and stories from Champlain's Travels in Canada, 1603-1616'	Authors: M. Hermann; M. Pearce; Translator: R. Pelletier	2008	University of Maine	map; historical narrative	unknown	22	tenuous	none; presumable contribution to original document

Assigned Number	Source Name	Author(s)	Date created/Published	Publisher	Archive Type	Languages Included	# Names Recorded	Language Integrity	Indigenous Authorship
006	*Schroeppel* and supplementary materials	P.W. Huntley; in-text letter by Chief P. Waterman	2003	Arcadia Publishing	book (pt. 1); supplem. materials (pt. 2)	Onondaga and unknown	6	(pt. 1) strong; (pt. 2) unknown	contribution: in-text letter by Chief Paul Waterman
007	*Seneca Morphology and Dictionary*	W.L. Chafe	1967	Smithsonian Institution	book; dictionary	Seneca	56	excellent	second-hand: "assistance provided by numerous speakers"
008	*League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*	L.H. Morgan; edited and annotated by H.M. Loyd	1904; orig, published 1851	Dodd, Mead, New York	book; map; anthro. work	Seneca; Oneida; Onondaga; Mohawk; Cayuga	92	unknown (consistent, if falliable)	contribution: Ely Parker's "invaluable assistance"
009 pt. 1	*The Six Nations of New York: the 1892 US Extra Census Bulletin*	Carrington, H.B.; intro by Venables, R.W.	1996; orig. published 1892		book; government document/ publication	unknown	14	unknown;	none; participation (involuntary)
009 pt. 2	'Map of the Province of New York, 1771, Showing the Country of the Six Nation'	Guy Johnson	1996; orig. published 1771		map; government document	unknown	27	dubious	unknown; possibly none

Table 1: Archival source background data   *(Note: Source 004 was removed during data collection; original numbering preserved for clarity)*

The assessment of language integrity in this project, found in the column marked 'Language Integrity' in Table 1, was determined by considering a number of factors. Language integrity and authenticity may have varying definitions within research and within language communities; my assessment for this project was shaped by my understanding of the authorship of the source and by my experience working with the specific language data within its text. In this chart, language integrity is characterized as either 'excellent,' 'good,' 'tenuous,' 'dubious,' or 'unknown.' One example of 'excellent' language integrity in my determination is a source that has been authored by numerous speakers and language community members, such as the *Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary* (1977), Source 002. An example of 'good' language integrity might be a source that is authored by a single indigenous person, such as the 'Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk' (2015) map, Source 001. Language data in the project and map "They Would Not Take Me There: people, places, and stories from Champlain's Travels in Canada, 1603-1616" (2008), Source 005, is characterized as 'tenuous' because the map does not have significant indigenous authorship, and because the place name data included in the map was recorded in a historical context by a settler-colonialist 'explorer.' One example of language data that I have characterized as 'dubious' is the language data found in *The Six Nations of New York: the 1892 US Extra Census Bulletin* (1996), Source 009; this data may be linguistically authentic and accurate, but the language knowledge included is by necessity affected by the conditions of its collection and authorship, and should be considered within that context of settler nation-building and exploitation.

It seems important to note that language integrity assessments used in this project are informed by my experience as researcher and language student, and are not meant as objective judgments

on either source or author. It is possible that sources with less than 'excellent' language integrity (as determined by this project) may be of great use, and may act as important contributions to language restoration projects; language integrity does not always affect a source's ability to act as educational tool or geographical illustration, for instance. This determination is a specific metric that allows me, as a researcher, to consider linguistic integrity as a force that may shape the authenticity of specific place names.

iv. Place Name List: compiling information in accessible ways

After compiling place name data from each source using the archival survey I began to condense this data into a single master list. This process involved transferring relevant data from the surveys to an excel spreadsheet; it also involved considering how place name data might be best represented within a single document. The condensed form of this master list allows: 1) a way for me, as a researcher, to sort and maintain place name data, to note overlaps in place name data between sources, and to observe larger patterns and trends, such as geographical range within the data set, and 2) a way for readers or interested parties to engage with the place name data in slightly simplified form.

As of this moment, as a result of three months of data collection using the archival survey and the eight archival sources described above, the place name master list includes 440 Haudenosaunee place names. The list also contains relevant place name data for each name/ entry, although one individual place name may have attached information that another does not, according to source type and source descriptiveness. One source, for example, may contain a

geographical description of a place name's location, but no language information; another might contain language information or translations, but no listed geographical location. The place name master list includes the following information when available: the Haudenosaunee place name (i.e. Akwesásne); the ID of the archive in which the place name is found (i.e. 001); the language of the place name (i.e. Mohawk); the corresponding English place name, if applicable (i.e. St. Regis, NY/QC/ON); whether there is a corresponding morphemic breakdown; whether there is a corresponding free translation; what that free translation text is (i.e. place of where the partridge drums); notes on location; space for additional notes; and the archive page number where the place name was recorded.

There are many ways that archival sources record place name data, and many different choices that the author of such sources makes – both consciously and unconsciously – when representing data to a reader. The eight sources that I used each record place names in different ways; I take this as an indication that a wide range of style and representation may exist across the body of Haudenosaunee language material. Variation may occur in the linguistic representation of place names. Some authors use linguistic breakdowns: for example, when examining the place name Tyo'skwae:ta:se:h, Chafe (Source 007, 1967) indicates the presence of a noun root, kö(:)w(ö), which he translates to 'knoll, ridge.' Some authors provide a breakdown of a place name by syllable; Chief Paul Waterman does this in his contribution to the *Schroeppel* text, in the place name Kahn-ne-wo-nah (Source 006, Huntley, 2003), for example. Some authors, on the other hand, provide approximate translations of place names: Froman et al. (Source 003, 2002) records the place name Kanesatake as 'place of crusty snows,' and Morgan (Source 008, 1904) records Chudenäng' as 'where the sun shines out.' Place name representations in the text may vary

depending on the author's personal preference or communication style; place name representations in the text may also vary depending on the depth or type of language knowledge an author carries. When translating a place name, for instance, an author might translate that name by recognizing its internal linguistic structures, or she might translate this word by recognizing it as it is used in speech.

Variation also occurs in the way that place names are represented spatially and geographically in a text: here, variation occurs in the ways that place names are situated by the author in the Haudenosaunee landscape. Some place names are mapped, as they are in the Decolonial Atlas' map "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, 2015) or in Hermann and Pearce's map "They Would Not Take Me There" (Source 005, 2008). Some authors use English names as references for Haudenosaunee place name locations, such as McDonald et al. (Source 002, 1977) do when providing translations for place names Tsi Iakokiéhthá, 'Raymondville, NY' or Kawehnohkowanén:ne', 'Cornwall Island.' Some authors refer to contemporary landscapes, as Froman et al. (Source 003, 2002) do when describing the place name Hanadagányahsgeh, or 'place of the President or Destroyer of towns,' while some authors choose to refer to a historical landscape, as Morgan (Source 008, 1851) does when describing the place name Känätägo'wa, or 'Onondaga Castle.' The elements of place name knowledges are layered, and the representation of these layers by archival authors or by others are correspondingly complex. The master list of collected place names in this project aims to provide space for these various representations. Where information about a place name is lacking in one category, I have recorded other types of information from within the source that might provide a fuller picture of language, location, and authenticity.

Another defining feature of the compiled master list is the design of this list in respect to its intended audience. In order to construct appropriate ethical boundaries for this project, and in order to respect existing guidelines for research dealing with sensitive cultural knowledge, I consider this list private outside of my steering committee and outside advisors. I am including the place name master list as an appendix to this document ('Appendix B') before publication and during defense, and will remove it before final publication of the thesis. I will then make this list available to interested language communities and community members, with deference to my advisors, and abiding by relevant cultural advice. Because this project depends on a decolonizing method of repair and resurgence, I have included qualitative studies of ten place names in this thesis in 'Chapter 6: Results,' as a way of grounding this work in the particulars of language and place, and as a way of guiding the reader through the terrain of place name restoration. The qualitative studies included in 'Chapter 6: Results' focus on place names that I have selected for analysis and that act as a sample of the larger place name data set: names that are in certain ways representative of the features and the character of this larger body of data.

v. Place Name Selection: selecting an appropriate sample

After compiling place name data from archival sources, and after condensing that data into a central database, the next stage of this research included selecting a sample of place names from the larger data set of 440 Haudenosaunee place names. This sample consists of thirty names, a number of which were selected for geographic and linguistic analysis, found in the qualitative studies of individual place names in 'Chapter 6: Results.' The sample selection in this research

process included consideration of each collected place name from the archival surveys, as well

each place name's accompanying geographic and linguistic data.

The selection of place names from the larger data set was guided primarily by the overarching

questions of this research: to explore the terrain of place restoration in this territory, and to

understand the positioning of researcher within this terrain. This sample looks to more fully

illustrate the elements of place name restoration, as it is navigated by the researcher; it also looks

to illustrate, in a small way, the terrain of Haudenosaunee place names within this particular

Haudenosaunee landscape. It is my hope that the resulting sample is representative of my

experience of navigating the Haudenosaunee place name data set as a larger whole.

As guided by these objectives, sample selection could be said to be grounded in techniques of

purposive sampling. According to the *Encyclopedia of Survey Methods* (2008),

> A purposive sample, also referred to as a *judgmental* or *expert sample*, is a type of
>
> nonprobability sample. The main objective of a purposive sample is to produce a sample
>
> that can be logically assumed to be representative of the population. This is often
>
> accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the population to select in a nonrandom
>
> manner a sample of elements that represents a cross-section of the population. (Lavrakas,
>
> 2008)

When writing about purposive sampling as a method of selecting informants or interviewees for

ethnobotanical research, Tongco (2007) writes that "the purposive sampling technique, also

called judgment sampling, is the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the

informant possesses" (pg. 147). Tongco goes on to write that in the process of purposive

sampling, "the question the researcher is interested in answering is of utmost importance" (2007, pg. 147). Illustrative sampling offers similar opportunities in qualitative research; the Society of American Archivists defines illustrative sampling as a "method of appraisal that selects a portion of records for preservation from a larger series based on the selector's judgment, which may be informed by specific criteria" (n.d.). It is important to note that illustrative sampling is "neither systematic nor random" (Society of American Archivists, n.d.).

Purposive and illustrative sampling can be specifically suited to data collected by survey. "Purposive sampling," Tongco writes, "can be used with a number of techniques in data gathering (Godambe 1982). A study may be started with a survey, then purposive sampling done based on the survey (Brown 2005)" (2007, pg. 151). The criteria for purposive sampling was radically inclusive of the individual experience of considering each place name: the individuality of each name as it represents a different combination of layered knowledges in landscape. I have selected place names that represent the variety of the data set: in place name type, in place name geography, in place name language, in available information about naming practices, and in possible place name relationship to the other place names in the data set.

vi. Linguistic Analysis: looking closely at language in place

Linguistic analysis creates a space and a methodology for examining the structure of language as it relates to place, and may also resist colonization in its space-making and time-taking abilities. Linguistic analysis may also aid in determining the linguistic authenticity of individual place names as they are recorded within an archival source: the process of close linguistic analysis

often indicates which parts of the word are tenable, and which have suffered distortion in transcription, translation, or in conventional English use.

Linguistic analysis of selected place names in this thesis primarily includes analysis of these names using the interlinear five line translation method, which was taught to me by mentor and Haudenosaunee linguist Percy Abrams. As discussed in previous chapters, Haudenosaunee word structures often contain multiple morphemes, or meaningful components of the word (Mithun, 1989). When translating Haudenosaunee language, one can deconstruct Haudenosaunee word units into these individual morphemes (Abrams, 2006), and translate the morphemes both separately and in the context of the larger word. The interlinear five line translation method is one way of presenting the underlying linguistic information in a Haudenosaunee word or place name.

The interlinear five line translation method includes 1) the Haudenosaunee text, 2) the Haudenosaunee word unit broken down into morphemes, 3) the identification of the morphemes as parts of speech and their individual translations, 4) the translation of the word units, and 5) a 'free' or discretionary translation of the line of text, which takes context and syntax into consideration. Below is an example of an interlinear five line translation, excerpted from my translation of a traditional Haudenosaunee Thanksgiving Address (Brown, 2017):

swatahuhsi·yóst	*Haudenosaunee text*
swa – at – ahuhs – iyo – st	*breakdown into morphemes*
you3-SRF-hearing-be.good-CAUS-IMP	*identification of morphemes*
make your ears good	*translation of word units*
'Listen well'	*free/ discretionary translation*

All of the individual qualitative studies of selected place names included later in 'Chapter 6: Results' include some version of the interlinear five line translation. In many of the place name studies, parts or all of lines two and three (breakdown into morphemes and identification of morphemes) were provided by Percy Abrams. In some of the place name studies, I have provided lines two and three myself. The most challenging part of translation, for me, is in recognizing the individual morphemes underlying the word structure. Morphemes may take different forms in each of the six languages; morphemes also often shift phonological form as a result of the presence of other morphemes (Bonvillain, 1973): "patterns of phonological modifications and alterations resulting from the co-occurrence of separate morphemes are complex and pervasive" (Bonvillain, 1973, pg. 51). It takes skill and experience to recognize these different forms as they present themselves in a Haudenosaunee word, and I am grateful to have the guidance of Percy Abrams in this practice.

I use the interlinear five line translation method in the following qualitative studies of place names because the method is thorough, visually accessible to non-Haudenosaunee speakers, and expressive of the internal mechanisms of the language. The interlinear five line translation method is one way of presenting linguistic information, and of closely examining this information in the process of translation and morphemic analysis. There are also other ways of presenting linguistic information about a Haudenosaunee word; some of the archival sources I use in this thesis contain morphemic breakdowns and translations, and often present this linguistic information in unique manners. Linguist Wallace Chafe (1967), for example, in *Seneca*

Dictionary and Morphology, provides groupings of words that are organized according to the use

of particular verb or noun roots, as in Figure 4, below:

497. -(h)á(ă)-/-(h)a- (before some vb. rts.) /-á(a)-
(before others), NN. RT., *road, trail, path, furrow,
row of corn kernels:* with vb. rt. -te-, ʔo:ateʔ
road etc.; with vb. rt. -atokéht- and refl.,
ʔotha:tókɛhtɔh *the road is straight;* with vb. rt.
-ɔ(:)ni- and ext. loc. [26.4], waɔníʔkeh *railroad
track;* with -ɔ(:)ni- and nom., waɔníʔshæʔkeh
railroad track; plus vb. rt. -téhta-, waɔniʔ-
shætéhta:ʔ *railroad track;* with vb. rt. -o-,
oppos. I, and refl., honótha:okwɛh *their landing
place* (for boats); with vb. rt. -o- (-ʔhowek-) and
dupl., teyáoɔh [ya < yoaʔ] *plantain (Plantago
major),* lit. *covering the path,* also *toad rush* (cf.
-keoʔj(a)-); with vb. rt. -(C)(æ)-, caus. I, and
transloc., heyó:æhtɔh or heyǽ:æhtɔh *North
Collins, N.Y.,* lit. *where the road has been put on;*
with vb. rt. -ine- and refl., kathá:ineʔ *walk:* *I'm
walking;* plus ext. loc. [26.4], ʔatháinɔʔkeh [15.6]
on a journey; with vb. rt. -ʼhkw-, refl., and dupl.,
take a walk, tewakathá:hkwɛh *I've taken a walk.*

Fig. 4: '-(h)a(a)-/-(h)a-' Dictionary Entry (Chafe, 1967, pg. 51)

The noun root included in this dictionary entry, for instance, is '-(h)a(a)-/-(h)a- (before some vb.

rts.) /-a(a)- (before others)' which can be translated as 'road, trail, path, furrow, row of corn

kernels.' The dictionary entry also provides word structures that use or incorporate the noun root,

including ʔotha:tókëhtöh, 'the road is straight'; teyáoöh, 'Plantain (Plantago major),' literally

'covering the path'; or the place name Heyó:aehtöh, 'North Collins, New York,' literally

translated as 'where the road has been put on.'

Contemporary linguistic materials not included in this research's archival survey also represent a

variety of ways to present linguistic analysis and morphemic deconstruction. When discussing

the Thanksgiving Address in the *Oneida Teaching Grammar,* linguist Clifford Abbott (2006)

presents Haudenosaunee text descriptively: first providing important words that can be found

within the text alongside their translations, then providing sections of the text with accompanying translations and morphemic breakdowns. Linguist Gunter Michelson (1973), in *A Thousand Words of Mohawk*, provides a 160 page 'Particle and Roots' list, which also includes examples of word structures that incorporate these individual morphemes. Methods of linguistic representation vary from author to author, and the use of these methods also can vary within a single linguist's body of work over time, according to shifts in knowledge, technology, and accepted language use.

When linguistically analyzing selected place names in this research, I have relied on my background in Iroquois linguistics; on contextual geographic knowledge to guide individual translations; and on advice and direction from Percy Abrams. This linguistic work is also supported by dialogue with my friend and University of Buffalo linguistics PhD candidate Joe Baiz; by access to linguistic resources such as those written by Abrams, Lounsbury, Bonvillain, Mithun, Abbott, Chafe and Michelson; and by my previous classwork in Mohawk language speaking at Kanatsioharake language community.

It is important to note here that, in presenting the linguistic analysis of individual place names, I do not claim authority about these place names as they are spoken in the Haudenosaunee languages, or as they are used within Haudenosaunee language communities. Lines two and three of the interlinear five line analyses provided in Chapter 6 represent my interpretative translations of the selected place names, based on an examination of the place name as it is represented solely within the archival source.

vii. Mapping and Illustration: visualizing toponymies

The mapping and illustration of place names in this research allows the situating of these names in landscape and in physical space. In this stage of the research, I produced three illustrations as part of the qualitative analysis of selected Haudenosaunee place names.

These illustrations and mappings are completed in gouache (opaque watercolor) paint on heavy watercolor paper. I used photographs, maps, and personal observations as reference for the illustrations. All illustrations for this project were completed in Haudenosaunee territory: on the territory of the Cayuga, Gayogo̱hó:nǫ', within Haudenosaunee lands on Turtle Island. Each illustration took two to eight hours to produce.

These illustrations were completed after the linguistic analysis and geographical analysis of individual selected place names, and so integrate and interpret information from these different analyses. These illustrations also reach beyond textual analysis: as a crucial part of the individual place name qualitative studies in this research, the illustrations may locate, spatialize, contexualize, visualize, or [re]imagine place and land within Haudenosaunee territory. The process of illustration and mapping are decolonizing in these ways, and in their ability to depict layers of place; the decolonizing and destabilizing abilities of mapping in particular have been earlier discussed 'Chapter 4: Literature Review' in the section titled 'Counter Mapping.' The decolonizing potential of hand-illustration, as an observational and time-taking endeavor, is discussed in the following section, 'viii. Ethics: developing and continuing an ethical framework.'

Some of the illustrations included here use elements of conventional map-making, such as borders, compass roses, and topographic representations. Other illustrations depart from conventional cartographic models, and represent instead facets of place that are not traditionally depicted (experience of place, for instance), or experiment with scales that are not traditionally used (scales of personal experience, for instance).

viii. Ethics: developing and continuing an ethical framework

A large part of this project has been the development, revision, and re-imagining of an ethical framework for this work. As a non-indigenous researcher and inhabitant of this landscape working with endangered indigenous cultural knowledge, I acknowledge that the formal academic setting of my research and the larger conditions of settler-colonialist violence and erasure necessitate a dynamic ethical framework. In the process of conducting this research, I have learned much about the need for positioning oneself sensitively: with respect for the lived experience of indigenous peoples around me, with respect for Haudenosaunee place names themselves, and with respect for place and landscape within Haudenosaunee territory.

This ethical framework is multi-faceted. Its development is an ongoing process, and is re-shaped by continuing events and by the growing body of indigenous and decolonizing scholarship; this framework will continue to evolve for me as long as I continue to pursue this research. The ethical component of this project is also designed to incorporate feedback and respond to the

needs of community members: I welcome feedback and future input to this research from readers and interested parties.

There are a few primary issues that this ethical framework addresses: one is the position of this work in relation to community. As I have discussed in previous sections, it has seemed appropriate and respectful to conduct this research independently, using published information, and not dependent on or intrusive into language communities themselves. The level of involvement in community language work has been a point of discussion among my advisors: there is, on the one hand, a need to respond to the specific needs of the community and to allow "participants to be deeply involved in the research, becoming co-researchers, not mere subjects" (Houston, 2007, pg. 47). On the other hand, there are the limitations of a short research program undertaken in a formal academic setting, and there is the importance of defining the direction of one's research before requesting consultation. I hope this project takes the middle ground: recording a large amount of archival information in order to provide useful data to interested language communities, while also acting independently in order to respectfully respond to the scope of the project.

Another part of this ethical framework involves the researcher's approach to sensitive cultural material. Brugge and Missaghian (2006) write that: "because many researchers have published sensitive material that according to tradition should only reside in the minds of indigenous people, the community has become cautious with researchers and their studies (pg. 495). In order to respond to a history of exploitative research practices, I have worked to maintain a strong emphasis on privacy in every stage of this project. Hard copies of archival surveys have helped

to aggregate data in a private and controlled manner; the process of slow and careful data collection has also brought attention to each place name as cultural knowledge in its own right. As previously mentioned, I consider some producible components of the research private outside of my steering committee and outside advisors. I appreciate that there are benefits to keeping culturally sensitive information within language communities, and I also acknowledge that sharing cultural knowledges with the inhabitants of a landscape can be an effective method of cultural revitalization. Both the sharing of cultural information and the keeping of cultural information private can be powerful acts of decolonization. This work attempts to balance these two perspectives -- by conscientiously sharing some information and by protecting other information from unnecessary exposure.

A third aspect of the ethical framework emphasizes the use of decolonizing methodologies in the research process. Decolonizing methodologies in this thesis include the use of an autoethnography; assessments of source and language authenticity; and a continuous reflexivity towards research practices and the self as researcher. In this thesis, I also explore hand drawing and hand data recording as a decolonizing methodology, in recognition of ideas about the relationship between GIS mapping of indigenous lands and institutional Western exploitation (Rundstrom, 1995; Chapin et al., 2005). Hand mapping methods exist in contrast to digital, sometimes more publically available maps; when producing physical hand-drawn maps, separation from the digital sphere allows for separation from institutional or state entities that may have interest in using, owning, or obscuring indigenous knowledges.

The act of hand mapping and hand illustrating can also be a decolonizing process. It is my thinking that painting or drawing allows an illustrator to see in a different way than she would when taking a picture, for instance, or when creating a GIS map. By interpreting a subject's shape, color, and location, one understands the subject differently, perhaps more deeply than one otherwise would. This intimacy may be communicated to the viewer, as well; the field of naturalist illustration is based on the idea that an illustration may express the full experience of a subject, and may allow a visualization of those elements of a place or subject that are unobservable (Hodges, 2003) or beneath the surface. An illustration, for example, might work to describe the temperature of a lake; the direction of its current; or the lake's relation to the surrounding landscape. *The Guild Handbook of Scientific Illustration* (2003) states that "communication of shapes, anatomy, details, and concepts that cannot be conveyed via words forms the essence of this type of art" (Hodges, pg. xi). Illustration, as a tool of description, may resist the flat modalities of traditional cartography, and with it the assumed narratives and hierarchies that come from a partial understanding of landscape.

Another aspect of this ethical framework concerns the overarching approach to one's research. When defining one's research in areas of sensitive cultural knowledge, it seems important to avoid bringing one's own agenda to the research material: in this case, to avoid pre-supposing particular cultural or linguistic patterns in the body of Haudenosaunee place names. Instead, one can work to respect emergent patterns in the process of research, allowing space for these patterns to emerge naturally from the data at hand. It is my feeling, overall, that this work has been grounded in this way in the language and the geography of this region, and has been guided by their influence. I do not say this abstractly – it has been my experience that any inauthentic or

hasty conclusions that I make about this material feel obviously disingenuous, and do not progress the work in any way. Similarly, I have also felt the appropriateness of respecting conclusions that arise from the material. Wilson (2001) writes about authenticity within research in terms of an indigenous methodology:

> To me an indigenous methodology means talking about relational accountability. As a researcher you are answering to *all your relations* when you are doing research. You are not answering questions of validity or reliability or making judgment of better or worse. Instead you should be fulfilling your relationships with the world around you. (Wilson, 2001, pg. 177)

It is my hope that this research is guided by such questions.

Chapter 6: Results

Observations on Collected Place Name Data

Some of the results of this research include 1) archival surveys of eight archival sources and the place name data they contain; 2) a compiled list of 440 Haudenosaunee place names and corresponding place name data; and 3) a close examination of a sample of collected Haudenosaunee place names, including individual linguistic analyses and illustrations. This third section of producible results can be found in the following section, *Qualitative Study of Individual Place Names: Illustration and Linguistic Analysis.*

The archival survey allows some elements to be recorded in a way that might allow for broader understandings of Haudenosaunee archival language data; in this way, the survey is designed to provide insight into available archival source material and the ways that this source material represents Haudenosaunee language data. If this thesis chose to use more formal, quantitative methods of data analysis, one could use the body of place name data collected from the eight archival surveys to hypothesize trends within that data.

In recognition of this aspect of the research, I would like to acknowledge some observations about the collected place name data. These are informal notes that may be helpful to researchers and community members interested in Haudenosaunee language as it is represented within archival sources. By indicating areas of absence and scarcity, as well as areas of evidence and availability within source material, the following observations are suggestive of possible further

work. Trends in the collected place name data can tell us something about what obstacles one may encounter in Haudenosaunee place name restoration and in Haudenosaunee archival work; similarly, observable trends can tell us more about opportunities for productive engagement and revitalization within this work.

One observation involves the language distribution of place names within the data set. The sources I used for data collection include place names in five of the six Haudenosaunee languages; the archival survey records the language type of each place name within the source, and also notes when the language of the place name is unknown (this might occur, for instance, when the author is not a speaker, or when the place name has suffered enough distortion that it has become unidentifiable). Out of a total 440 place names, 173 of these are in the Mohawk language; 9 in Oneida; 18 in Onondaga; 63 in Cayuga, 93 in Seneca, 0 in Tuscarora, and 84 of unknown language type. These breakdowns according to language type are further illustrated in Table 2.
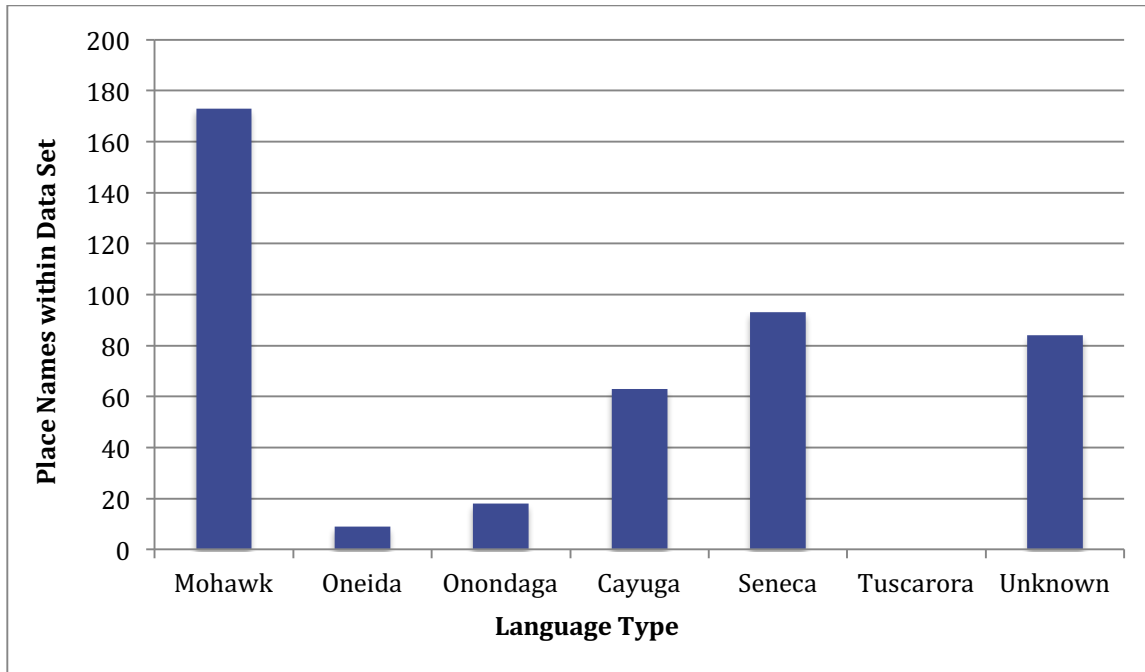
Table 2: Language distribution in place name data

The language distribution exhibited here corresponds with my general understanding about the language vitality of each language group, and perhaps can be attributed to the availability of archival sources in each Haudenosaunee language. This is not a firm correlation, though, since language distribution in this particular data set is shaped by my positionality as researcher: by my access to these sources; and by my choices in selecting sources from this available pool.

Another observation about collected data in this project concerns the way that Haudenosaunee place names are represented in source material. As discussed in previous sections, place names can be provided in a text alongside various other information, about language, geography, or context. I was able to note the number of Haudenosaunee names that are recorded alongside an English translation; I was also able to note the number of Haudenosaunee place names that are recorded alongside an associated English place name, which is often provided as a geographical

reference point for a location in Haudenosaunee territory. A representation of this data can be seen below, in Table 3:
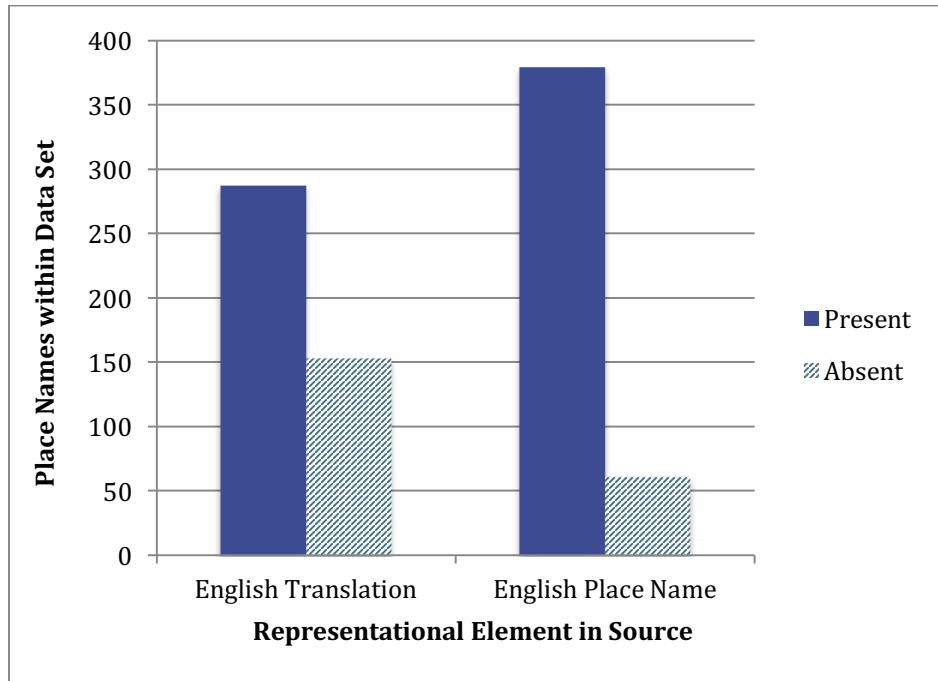
Table 3: Language representations in place name data

In total, there were 287 Haudenosaunee place names within the data set that were recorded alongside an English translation, and there were 153 that were recorded without an English translation. There were 379 place names within the data set that were recorded alongside an English place name, and there were 61 that were recorded without an English place name. The majority of Haudenosaunee place names collected, then, were listed with corresponding English translations and English place names. This trend in which Haudenosaunee place names are listed with English translations and English place names may be a reflection of conventional mapping practices, which may encourage authors or map-makers to define indigenous knowledges in settler-colonialist terms.

Another observation about the body of place name data concerns the linguistic data available within source. On the archival survey, I asked four questions about linguistic information: whether the source contained Haudenosaunee orthography; whether the source contained morphemic breakdowns (a break-down of the name by meaningful word component); whether the source contained morphemic translations (translations of each meaningful word component); and whether the source contained an English free translation. The resulting data is represented below, in Table 4. Where linguistic information varied within the source, I gathered data by individual place name; often, though, the source had a particular style of linguistic representation that was used consistently throughout the text. Data relating to English translations was addressed in Table 3, above, but is also provided here as a linguistic element that may be compared to other linguistic elements within a source.
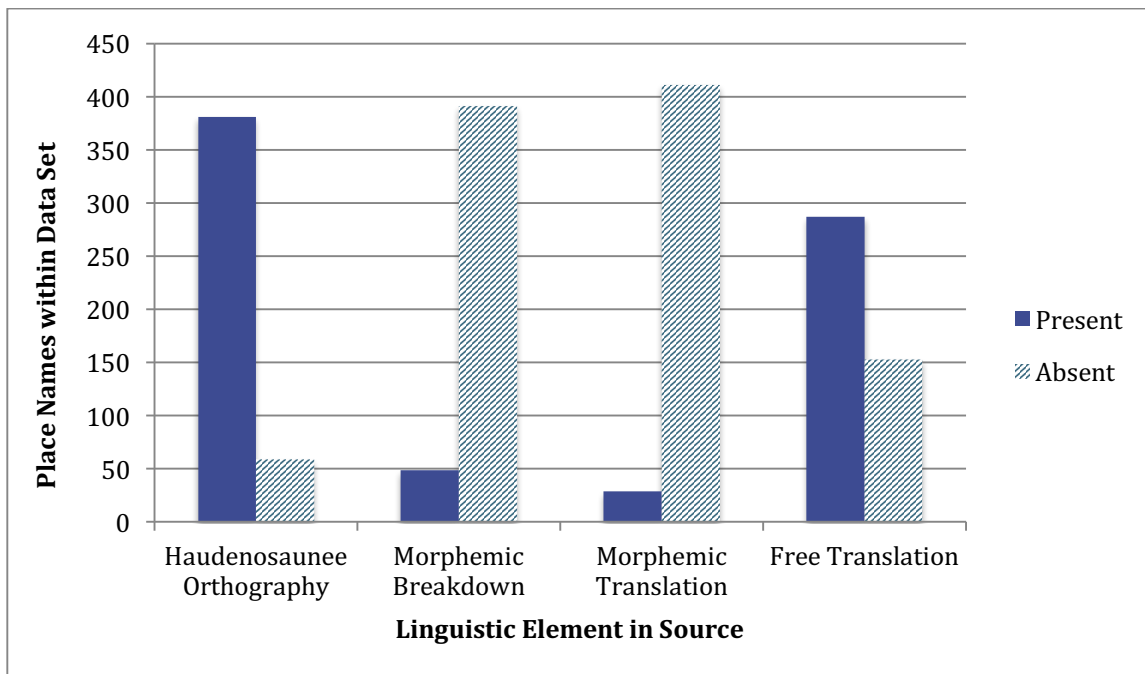
Table 4: Linguistic information in place name data

In total, 381 Haudenosaunee place names within the data set are represented within a text using Haudenosaunee orthography, and 59 are not. 49 place names are broken down according to morpheme, and 391 are not; 29 place names are provided with morphemic translations, and 441 are not. As previously noted, 287 place names are provided with English free translations, and 153 are provided without English free translations. As can be observed from the data, few sources provide morphemic breakdowns or morphemic translations alongside Haudenosaunee place names. This absence of morphemic breakdowns and morphemic translations is most probably a reflection of whether the source in question is intended to be a linguistic resource, or whether it is authored or contributed to by a linguist. The use of Haudenosaunee orthography also varies by source: it might be possible to use the presence of authentic orthography as an indicator of authenticity in source, or authenticity of particular place name.

Qualitative Study of Individual Place Names: Illustration and Linguistic Analysis

The following qualitative studies examine ten individual Haudenosaunee places names chosen from my larger data set of collected archival material. These qualitative studies are close examinations of individual place and language within Haudenosaunee territory: examinations that ground and form larger inquiries about toponymy and place name restoration. By looking closely at particular places and place names in Haudenosaunee territory, this research is grounded within the geography, language, and culture of the Haudenosaunee landscape.

These qualitative studies look to represent holistic examinations of place. The structure of the studies is therefore flexible, accommodating of the diverse range of collected place name data and accompanying information. Depending on the nature of each place name and its representation within the original archival source, I may include in each qualitative study the following components: linguistic analysis and interlinear five line translation; illustration of place and landscape; a description of geography and relevant natural features; a discussion of naming histories; and/ or an examination of other, related Haudenosaunee place names. In this way, I engage with the material provided by the archive, and expand on that material using my knowledge of language, landscape, and lived experience. This process respects emerging observations and questions that might arise from the study of a particular place name, and from the landscape or place name itself.

In this section of the thesis, this research considers what can be done to materially transform traditional representations and considerations of place within landscape, and also practices transformative revisualizations of landscape. The qualitative studies that follow use non-traditional methodologies described in previous sections: methodologies that are slow, careful, and resistant to generalizations of experience. Both this work and relevant literatures suggest that there is a profound difference between considering place names as they are represented on a traditional map or list of data, and considering place names as they are represented through careful and slow examination of a singular place within landscape; the qualitative studies included in this section look to practice this slow examination, in the particular context of this Haudenosaunee landscape. When considering place names in a list of aggregated data or on a conventional map, individual place names may seem small and insignificant: by positioning

oneself within a careful examination of landscape, a researcher can restore the scale of individual place names, and within that place can consider what has been mapped, and what has not.

As these qualitative studies works to re-envision landscape through linguistic inquiry, it is possible to acknowledge the uncertainties within the linguistic work that follows by holding and marking a space that cannot be filled at this moment in time. This space considers the researcher's positionality in relation to Haudenosaunee language, and considers how language shapes the worldview of a speaker of any language. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is a concept that discusses the influence of language on conception of and experience of the world. Brown (1976) summarizes Whorf's theory: "the structure of anyone's native language strongly influences or fully determines the world-view he will acquire as he learns the language" (pg. 128). In other words, the terms set by language affect our understanding of the world. This idea, an informal academic hypothesis that has been debated in linguistic and anthropological communities (Kay and Kempton, 1984), can be seen as applicable when considering Haudenosaunee language structures, which contain certain features that may be said to form experience of the world, such as extensive personal pronominal systems that affect understandings of gender and perspective (Abrams, personal communication, 2019).

By holding a space for uncertainty within this work, I acknowledge that I am informed by the spoken English language of my upbringing. My translations of Haudenosaunee language exist within this space, as an acknowledgement of their partial and uncertain nature. Even within the particular bounded contexts of archival work, which translates language data as it is represented within archival sources instead of language as it is spoken within living language communities,

translations in this research are affected by my worldview, and act only as estimations of contextual meaning.

In the following qualitative studies, it is possible to recognize other uncertainties concerning language and landscape as they exist, and as they are given space to be other than authoritative or self-perpetuating knowledges. During linguistic analysis, abstract discussions of erasure and distortion within the Haudenosaunee landscape are made manifest, as material effects of settler-colonialist forces on the linguistic integrity of Haudenosaunee place names become visible. When examining the orthographies of particular place names as they are represented in the selected archives, it becomes clear that indigenous names in these archives were re-interpreted and re-positioned through the lens of multiple and conflicting settler-colonial orthographies over a large span of time: through the lens of old French, English, and Dutch orthographies, among others. The scale of orthographic distortion is unknown, but it seems true that these influences were significant, ongoing, and continue to this day. At the same time that settler-colonialist orthographies were re-interpreting existing indigenous language systems, Haudenosaunee orthographies were also undergoing internal shifts: in the past 400 years, for instance, Seneca and Onondaga underwent loss of the R consonant (Abrams, personal communication, 2019). Linguistic and orthographic shifts such as these represent significant markings within the linguistic landscape: shifts that this research does not address within the scope and scale of this work.

Uncertainties within the archival language work in this research, stemming from the positionalities of researcher and the positionalities of archival author, may point to areas of

future work within this research. These uncertainties may also encourage an awareness of the larger forces of paradigm and worldview within landscape: forces that may be unknown to us, but that mark our daily lived experiences of language and land. The linguistic analyses in the following qualitative studies are tentative explorations of language – respectful of historical and contemporary forces that are seen and understood by me, the researcher, and respectful of forces that I am not yet aware of, or do not yet understand.

Note: Many of the lines two and three (breakdown into morphemes and identification of morphemes) in the following interlinear five line translations were provided by Percy Abrams (Personal communication, 2019).

Ratirón:taks

(Mohawk)

from source 001: "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Delaronde and Engel, 2015)

According to the map "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015), one Mohawk name for what is called the Adirondacks is Ratirón:taks, which is translated within the source as 'they eat trees.'

The place name Ratirón:taks is marked on the "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" map (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015) as the mountainous region in the northeast of what is called New York State; the English place name 'Adirondacks' is provided as a geographical reference point. This region encompasses a group of approximately one hundred mountains, which do not form a connected range, but instead form a circular dome; the mountains are young, having been carved by glacial activity 10,000 years ago, but the rocks themselves are very old (New York State Adirondack Park Agency, n.d.). When referred to in English, the

'Adirondack wilderness' is considered to encompass 5000 and 6000 square miles of mountain, lake, plateau and forest (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911); these landscapes include rivers, streams, northern hardwood forests, wooded swamps, and alpine communities.

As recorded in "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015), the place name Ratirón:taks is not provided alongside a linguistic analysis of the name. The place name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down the separate morphemes of the name as follows:

Ratirón:taks

Rati – ront – a – k – s

MXpA – tree – j – eat – habitual

'they (masculine or mixed gender) are eaters of trees'

'they eat trees'

The pronominal prefix 'rati' indicates a 3rd person masculine or mixed gender plural agent in an intransitive capacity, with a variation for a consonant-stem noun+verb root. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'they.' The noun root of 'ront' here is 'tree'; the verb root 'k' means 'eat,' with a joiner vowel between verb and noun root; and the 's' is a habitual aspect suffix and indicates that the action of the verb takes place habitually or repeatedly, or that the action is an ongoing or continuing action. My tentative approximation of a literal English translation would be something along the lines of 'they repeatedly, regularly eat trees,' or 'they are eaters of trees.' Delaronde and Engel (Source 001, 2015) translate the word as 'they eat trees.'

It is possible that this name refers to the once-occupants of the Ratirón:taks, the Algonquins; in the description that accompanies the "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" map, Delaronde and Engel (Source 001, 2015) write that Ratirón:taks is "named so because of the Algonquin people who were in the area." The Haudenosaunee may have referred to this geography by the name they had given the Algonquins, "supposedly because those peoples boiled the inside bark of evergreens for their vitamin C in winter" (Steckley, 2008, pg. 20). George-Kanentiio (2000) writes that "it is said the Iroquois were enslaved by the Algonquins and spent many years laboring for a people we called the Adirondacks, or 'bark eaters,' because they had the habit of flavoring their food with shredded bark" (pg. 22).

A number of other place names listed within the "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" map use the English place name 'Adirondacks' as a geographical reference. These (Mohawk) names are: Ratirón:taks; Ratirón:taks tsi iononténion/ ionontahrónnion; Kohserà:ke; and Tsi Kario'tanákere. They are translated within the source, in that order, as 'they eat trees'; 'mountains of the Ratirón:taks'; 'place of winter'; and 'said to be the place of animals.' Each of these names refer, in the same language, to a similar region, but are descriptive of or may refer to different aspects of place. In "Principles of Naming in Mohawk," (1984), Marianne Mithun writes of Mohawk naming practices:

> proper names vary much more from one community to another than does the rest of the
> lexicon. The same name often has different referents, as *Skaniatará:ti* and
> *Oʔseronnì:takon* [...] and, conversely, a single location will often be known by different
> names in different communities or even among different individuals, even though they

would feel that they speak the same language. Names for Europe, for example, include

Skaniatará:ti 'on the other side of the water' and *Ohontsiakaiónhne* 'in the old land.' (pg.

53)

Illustration by Author, Fig. 5: Ratirón:taks (Brown, 2019)

Kohserà:ke

(Mohawk)

from source 001: "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Delaronde and Engel, 2015)

As previously noted, Kohserà:ke is a Mohawk name for what is called the Adirondacks, according to the map "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015). This name is translated within the source as 'place of winter.'

Although the English name 'Adirondacks' is provided as a reference point within the source (as with the place name Ratirón:taks'), the description of the map "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015) notes that the place name Kohserà:ke is "named more for the wilderness of the Adirondacks."

This place name and its relationship to the geography it refers to may resist easy correlations with an English place name and corresponding location. In English, the name 'the Adirondacks' refers to a region; it is not necessarily geographically descriptive, except in that it is in common usage associated with mountains and a mountainous environment. As an English place name, 'the Adirondacks' also does not distinguish between areas within that region, either geographically or descriptively. The Haudenosaunee place name Kohserà:ke, on the other hand, refers to an area or areas that have specific characteristics: those associated with wilderness. The difference between this Mohawk name and the English place name 'Adirondacks' may be a simple difference in place name location: Kohserà:ke may refer to 'that deeper wilderness over there', while 'Adirondacks' may refer to the larger mountainous region. On the other hand, the

difference between these two names may be more complex: Kohserà:ke may descriptively refer to a number of wildernesses within the greater mountainous region, which would be a different use of place names than is commonly found in naming practices in English. Another entirely different possibility is that the name Kohserà:ke may be used to refer to the mountain region as a whole, and tangentially carries specific connotations relating to wilderness.

It seems important to be aware of these different possibilities when examining a place name. It is possible when doing so to resist interpreting Haudenosaunee or other indigenous place names in the terms and vocabularies of mainstream settler-colonialist naming paradigms, which may suggest inaccurate or overly simplistic answers to place name inquiries. Whether a Haudenosaunee place name is descriptive or whether it is lexicalized may not be immediately clear. Lexicalized, here, refers to a word that is added to the lexicon and may become better known for its referential qualities than its sense-giving qualities, and is "no longer inferred each time from the context at hand (Mithun, 1984, pg. 50). Mithun (1984) writes that:

> The exact moment at which a word loses all sense and becomes purely referential, where the referent is defined by convention, may not always be identifiable, nor the same for all speakers in a community. A particular term may even be used sometimes as a common noun but other times as a proper name by a single speaker. The St. Lawrence River is called *Kaniá:tara,* for example. The common noun *kaniá:tara* denotes any large body of water, such as a wide river, a lake, or a sea. The St. Lawrence is the only such body of water in the vicinity of the Mohawk communities of Caughnawaga and Akwesasne. When asked for a translation of St. Lawrence, Mohawk speakers reply *Kaniá:tara*. Is this

a common or proper name in this context? No capital letters, definite articles, or plural markers provide clues. (pg. 50)

A linguistic analysis of the place name Kohserà:ke is not included within the "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" map (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015). The place name Kohserà:ke can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down the separate morphemes of the name as follows:

<div align="center">

Kohserà:ke

K – ohser – aʔ– ke

NA - winter – NSF – at/on

winter place

'place of winter'

</div>

Kohserà:ke is a noun. The pronominal prefix 'k' indicates a 3rd person neuter agent in an intransitive capacity; this prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' According to the *Mohawk Language Descriptive Root Dictionary* (Kanatawakhon, 2005), the noun root of 'ohsera' here means 'year,' or 'winter.' The 'aʔ' is a noun suffix, which occurs in a noun word structures. The 'ke' is an additional suffix and adds a meaning of 'at/on' or, roughly, 'place,' to the word structure (personal communication, Abrams, 2019). My approximation of a literal English translation would be the same as Delaronde and Engel's (Source 001, 2015) free translation, which is 'place of winter.'

Gyonǫhsadé:geh

(Cayuga)

From source 003: English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary (Froman et al., 2002)

According to the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), Gyonǫhsadé:geh is a Cayuga place name, translated within the source as 'the house that burnt there.'

The place name's location is described within the source as "a place on a Cornplanter Reserve" (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002); the source does not provide a corresponding English place name. The Cornplanter Reserve, or Cornplanter Tract, is a Seneca Nation territory in what is called Pennyslvania, once owned by Cornplanter, John Abeel III, or Kaiiontwa'kon, 'By What One Plants' (Seneca Nation, n.d.). Cornplanter was a Seneca leader and the brother of Haudenosaunee Chief Handsome Lake; Cornplanter lived on the 1500 acres of the Cornplanter land until his death in 1836, when the tract was passed to his heirs. In 1964 the grant of the Cornplanter Tract "expired"; the land was repossessed by the federal government, and was flooded by the reservoir created by the construction of the Kinzua Dam. The residents of the reserve were forced to relocate to the Allegany Reservation, and the cemetery where Cornplanter was buried was moved to higher ground (Seneca Nation, n.d.).

The *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002) does not include a linguistic analysis of the place name Gyonǫhsadé:geh. The name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Gyonǫhsadé:geh

G – yo – nǫhs – a – de:g - eh

Cislocative – 3N/ZsP – house – j – burn up – Stative

a house is in the state of burning there

'the house that burnt there'

The pre-pronominal prefix 'g' indicates a cislocative meaning, which adds a 'here' or 'there'

significance to the form. The pronominal prefix '(y)o' indicates a 3rd person neuter or zoic

singular patient in an intransitive capacity, with the appropriate variation for a consonant-stem

noun+verb root. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it,' or 'one.' The noun root of

'nǫhs' here is 'house'; the verb root 'deg' means 'burn up', with a joiner vowel between verb

and noun root. The 'eh' is a stative aspect suffix and indicates that the form is "a state of affairs

that has taken place or that is taking place" (Froman et al., 2002, pg. 741), and adds a meaning of

'state' to the word, whether that state is intrinsic or the result of an already-completed action. My

approximation of an English translation would be along the lines of 'a house is in the state of

burning there,' or, as is freely translated by the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary*

(Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), 'the house that burnt there.'

The *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002) provides a

separate Cayuga place name for the Cornplanter Reserve as an entire territory, "near Warren,

Pennsylvania." This name is Gayę́twa̱hgeh, translated within the text as 'where it is planted.' The

name Gyonǫhsadé:geh, 'the house that burnt there,' is bounded within a smaller space, and

represents a specificity of place and of experience: a particular moment in time that defined (or is defining, or continues to define) this location. Place names can be this, too: expressive of singular place and lived experience.

Although this place name is specific, it does not limit our understanding of landscape. Instead of indicating a story or memory within the name ('once there was a house that burnt there,' for example), Gyonǫhsadé:geh indicates a state of being, and is translated as 'the house that burnt there.' The stative aspect of the word (the last morpheme of the word Gyonǫhsadé:geh – 'eh'), suggests a more complicated dynamic than a singular fixed reference: by suggesting a continued state of house burning within landscape, this specific location is both grounded in and released from a specific memory. The meaning of this place name, as indicating a continuing 'state of affairs,' may also act to resist the dispossession enacted on the Cornplanter Reserve, and may assert the continued existence of this now flooded and obscured landscape.

It is worth noting that Morgan, in *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (Source 008, Morgan, 1904), lists the Haudenosaunee name for 'Cornplanter's Village' as De-o-no'-sä-da-ga, translated in that source as 'burned houses.' This meaning may be related to Cornplanter's role in the 1778 Iroquois Loyalist attacks, when Cornplanter and others participated in warfare on behalf of the British crown. The meaning may also be related to Cornplanter's later plea to George Washington, in which he condemned the violent acts and widescale burnings of Seneca and other Haudenosaunee villages and crops committed during the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign.
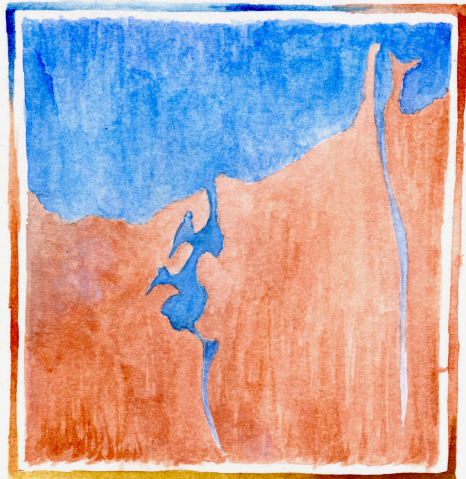
Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ:

(Cayuga)

From source 003: English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary (Froman et al., 2002)

According to the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ: is a Cayuga place name, translated within the source as 'a crooked house there.'

The place name Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ: is provided alongside the English place name 'St. Catharine's, Ontario' (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), as a geographical reference. The place known as 'St. Catharines' in conventional English is located on the southwestern bank of what is called Lake Ontario, near the falls now called Niagara, and near Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve. French Jesuit presence in the area in the early 1700s may suggest early origins of the name St. Catharine; Jesuit presence may also suggest a context for the Haudenosaunee place name Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ:, translated within the source as "a crooked house there." It is possible

that this Haudenosaunee place name is a reaction against the presence of Catholic missions within the area, and conveys a moral judgment by characterizing those missions as "crooked"; the French missions were primarily established on the St. Lawrence to the northeast of St. Catharines, but their influence reached through Ontario to Ohio and the Great Lakes region. It is not likely that this interpretation of Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ: is accurate; the name may refer to another form of crookedness, and may be geographically descriptive in other ways: for instance, the map "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015) provides the place name Tetiotenonshà:kton (Mohawk) alongside the reference point 'St. Catharines, Ontario,' and translates the place name within the source as 'a curved house.' A search for the meaning of the place name Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ: nonetheless reminds me that singular place names are often connected to and affected by larger paradigms within the larger landscape. Farther to the northeast of Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ:, the place name 'Sainte-Catherine' appears on the banks of what is called the St. Lawrence, and is a tangible reminder of oppressive and coercive settler practices.

The *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002) does not include a linguistic analysis of the place name Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ:. The name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ:

De – g - yǫ - at - nǫhs - akdǫ - ʔ

Dualic – Cislocative - 3N/ZsP – Semireflexive – house – crooked – Stative

a house is in the state of being crooked there

'a crooked house there'

The adverbial pre-pronominal prefix 'de' indicates a dualic meaning, which indicates that the verb's action involves two elements, or in this context, that the verb may involve a change of position or state from one thing to another. The pre-pronominal prefix 'g' indicates a cislocative meaning, which adds a 'here' or 'there' significance to the form. The pronominal prefix '(y)o' indicates a 3rd person neuter or zoic singular patient in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it,' or 'one.' The derivational aspect 'at' indicates a semi-reflexive meaning, which in this context may indicate a change from an active verb to a passive one. The noun root of 'nǫhs' here is 'house'; the verb root 'akdǫ' means 'bend, bent, or crooked'. The 'ʔ' is a stative aspect suffix and indicates that the form is "a state of affairs that has taken place or that is taking place" (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002, pg. 741). My approximation of an English translation would be along the lines of 'a house is in the state of being crooked there' or, as is freely translated by the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), 'a crooked house there.'

Illustration by Author, Fig. 6: Degyotnǫhsá:kdǫ: (Brown, 2019)

Dwa̱hyáyętwęh

(Cayuga)

From source 003: English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary (Froman et al., 2002)

According to the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), Dwa̱hyáyętwęh is the Cayuga place name for the place called 'Jordan, Ontario.' The place name Dwa̱hyáyętwęh is translated within the source as 'fruit is planted there.'

The *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* does not provide a linguistic analysis of this place name; the name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

<div align="center">

Dwa̱hyáyętwęh

T – w – ahy – yętw – ęh

Cislocative – 3NA – fruit, berry – plant – Stative

Fruit or berries are in the state of being planted there

'fruit is planted there'

</div>

The pre-pronominal prefix 't' indicates a cislocative meaning, which adds a 'here' or 'there' significance to the form. The pronominal prefix 'w' indicates a 3rd person neuter agent in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root of '(a)hy(a)' here is 'fruit' or 'berry'; the verb root 'yętw' means 'plant'. The 'ęh' is a stative aspect suffix and adds a meaning of 'state' to the word, whether that state is intrinsic or the result of an

already-completed action. My approximation of an English translation would be along the lines

of 'fruit or berries are in the state of being planted there,' or, as is freely translated by the

English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), 'fruit is planted

there.'

By describing this location as the place where fruit is planted, the place name Dwa̱hyáyẹtwẹh is

descriptive of the activity of fruit planting and of the fruit itself: the availability of the fruit and

the characterization of this place as a fruit-growing region. There are a number of

Haudenosaunee place names in the collected data for this research that provide information about

the resources of the area; plants, fish, trees, nuts, wood, fruits. Some of these names include:

Qui-e-hook-gah, 'supplied with fish' (Source 006, Huntley, 2003); Olehis'ka, 'nettles' (Source

008, Morgan, 1904); and Gänea'sos (Seneca), 'place of nanny-berries' (Source 008, Morgan,

1904). These names are not solely indicators to usable resources, nor should they be interpreted

as such; they are descriptive of the geography of the landscape and the daily experience of that

landscape, which may sometimes include subsistence use for indigenous and non-indigenous

inhabitants of this region. Mithun (1984) writes that:

> Most Mohawk proper names referring to persons and places are verbs. They pertain to
>
> such natural things as trees, grass, flowers, rivers, mountains, meadows, islands, the sky,
>
> stars, the mind, voice, or events or activities somehow associated with the person or place
>
> named. (pg. 46)

Tkají'ehto'

(Seneca)

From source 007: Seneca Morphology and Dictionary (Chafe, 1967)

According to the *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (Source 007, Chafe, 1967), Tkají'ehto' is the Seneca place name for the place called 'Farnham, New York.' The place name Tkají'ehto' is translated within the source as 'crab in the water there.'

The *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* does provide a linguistic analysis of this place name; the name can be linguistically analyzed similarly here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Tkají'ehto'

T – ka – jiʔeht – o – ʔ

Cislocative – 3NA – crayfish, crab, lobster – in water – Stative

crayfish, crab, or lobster are in the state of being in the water there

'crab in the water there'

The pre-pronominal prefix 't' indicates a cislocative meaning, which adds a 'here' or 'there' significance to the form. The pronominal prefix 'ka' indicates a 3rd person neuter agent in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root of 'jiʔeht(a)' here is 'crayfish, crab, or lobster'; the verb root 'o' means 'be in water' or 'put in water.' The 'ʔ' is a stative aspect suffix and adds a meaning of 'state' to the word, whether that state is intrinsic

or the result of an already-completed action. My approximation of an English translation is along the lines of 'crayfish, crab, or lobster are in the state of being in the water there' or, as is freely translated by the *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (Source 007, Chafe, 1967), 'crab in the water there.'

This place name is a description of natural environment: of what is there in a place, as opposed to what is here in another place; of what can be found, and what characterizes a place. The place called Farnham in English is located along the southern banks of Lake Erie, almost at its eastern tip. There is a stream running through the area, in English called 'Muddy Creek'; one can imagine that crayfish can be found there in the stream or in the lake. Abrams translates the root within this place name ('jiʔeht(a)') as 'crayfish'; Chafe (Source 007, 1967) translates the noun root within the place name as 'crab,' but when listing the roots as isolated morphemes, translates 'jiʔeht(a)' as 'crayfish, crab, or lobster.'

Kanatasé:ke

(Mohawk)

From source 002: Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary (McDonald et al., 1977)

According to the *Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary* (Source 002, McDonald et al., 1977), Kanatasé:ke is the Mohawk place name for the place called 'Norfolk, New York.' The place name Kanatasé:ke is translated within the source as 'place of the new town.'

Kanatasé:ke is a place name that is found in multiple sources within my archival studies, and is translated similarly across these sources. According to "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015), the Mohawk place name Kanatasé:ke refers both to what is called 'Geneva, New York,' and to what is called 'Seneca Lake'; in reference to both these locations, Kanatasé:ke is translated as 'place of the new town.' According to the *English-Cayuga Cayuga-English Dictionary* (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002), the Cayuga place name Ganádase:' refers to what is called 'Newtown, Cattaraugus,' translated within that source as 'new town.'

Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary (Source 002, McDonald et al., 1977) does not provide a linguistic analysis of this place name; the name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Kanatasé:ke

Ka – nat – ahse – ʔ – ke

3NA – town – new – Stative – at/on

town in the state of being new place

'place of the new town'

The pronominal prefix 'ka' indicates a 3rd person neuter agent in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root of 'nat' here is 'town'; the verb root 'ahse' means 'new.' The 'ʔ' is a stative aspect suffix and adds a meaning of 'state' to the word, whether that state is intrinsic or the result of an already-completed action. The 'ke' is an additional suffix and adds a meaning of 'at/on' or, roughly, 'place,' to the word structure (personal communication, Abrams, 2019). My approximation of an English translation would be along the lines of 'town in the state of being new place' or, as is freely translated by the *Iontenwennaweienstahkhwa' Mohawk Spelling Dictionary* (1967), 'place of the new town.'

As a place name that refers to multiple locations across the landscape, Kanatasé:ke may be descriptive of a state of being, rather than of a singular location. Percy Abrams has suggested that some Haudenosaunee place names are used in this way – not as a referent to a single place, but as a word that describes a recurrent state (personal communication, 2018). It is possible to attribute 'muddiness,' for instance, to multiple places within geography, and to call a place 'muddy' without necessarily naming it. The Haudenosaunee may refer to multiple places as 'muddy' as a way of referring to those places geographically and functionally. This relationship to land, as is possibly represented in names such as Kanatasé:ke, may resist the conventional

understanding of a place name as language that must claim singular meaning in a singular place. Archival material is rich with examples of settler-colonialists applying their own definitions to indigenous language; this practice of misinterpretation and (intentional) misrepresentation extends to contemporary understandings of indigenous place names, in Haudenosaunee and other landscapes.

If we do consider this group of place names within the lens of conventional toponymic scholarship, it is interesting to consider the meaning of 'new' as it is used in these names. The translation of Kanatasé:ke as 'new town' or 'place of new town' may suggest that new towns are present across the landscape; it may also suggest that these towns are particularly notable as 'new.' The characterization of a town as 'new' within a place name implies, in some ways, a continuation of this 'new' state, as place names continue within landscape. If these place names refer to settler-colonialist towns in the landscape, those towns will be remembered continually within this context. The marking of these towns as 'new' prevents these towns from becoming understood as 'old'; these names may obstruct a settler-colonialist town's ability to grow old, and to become normalized within landscape.

'ohi:yo'

(Seneca)

From source 007: Seneca Morphology and Dictionary (Chafe, 1967)

According to the *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* (Source 007, Chafe, 1967), 'ohi:yo' is the Seneca place name for the river called 'Alleghany River' and the territory called the 'Allegany Reservation.' The place name 'ohi:yo' is not translated within the source.

The Allegany Reservation is a Seneca Nation territory that is situated along and includes part of the Alleghany River. The Allegany Seneca territory borders both banks of the river for approximately twenty miles, as the river curves and bends to the south and eventually becomes the Alleghany Reservoir. The Allegheny River is also the headwaters of the Ohio River, which is formed further south, at the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers. The Alleghany River and the Ohio River are considered by some to be one continuous river body. Morgan (Source 008, 1904) writes that "O-hee'-yo, the radix of the word Ohio, signifies 'the beautiful river'; and the Iroquois, by conferring upon the Allegany, or head branch of the Ohio, have […] fixed a name from their language upon one of the greatest rivers of the continent" (Vol III, pg. 101).

Other place names that appear in the recorded data that refer to this region are similar across Haudenosaunee languages and across source material. Ohí:yo', for instance, is the Cayuga name for Allegheny, New York, which is translated in the source as 'nice flowing stream' (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002). Oheeyo is a name for the Alleghany River, recorded in an unknown

Haudenosaunee language, translated in the source as 'the beautiful river' (Source 009, Johnson, 1996).

The *Seneca Morphology and Dictionary* does provide a linguistic analysis of the place name 'ohi:yo'; the name can be linguistically analyzed similarly here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

'ohi:yo'

ʔo – hi – iyo – ʔ

3NP – creek, river – be good, beautiful – Stative

the river is in the state of being good or beautiful

'the beautiful river'

The pronominal prefix '(y)o' indicates a 3rd person neuter patient in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root of 'hi' here is 'creek' or 'river; the verb root 'iyo' means 'be good, beautiful.' The 'ʔ' is a stative aspect suffix and adds a meaning of 'state' to the word, whether that state is intrinsic or the result of an already-completed action. My approximation of an English translation would be along the lines of 'the creek is in the state of being good or beautiful' or 'the beautiful river.'

Neah'gä Tecarneodi'

(Seneca)

From source 008: League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois (Morgan, 1904)

According to the *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (Source 008, Morgan, 1904), Neah'gä Tecarneodi' is the Seneca place name for what is called 'Lake Ontario.' The place name Neah'gä Tecarneodi' is translated within the source as 'the lake at Neah'gä.' According to Morgan (Source 008, 1904), Neah'gä is the name of a "Seneca village at the mouth of Niagara River" (Vol. III, pg. 97): it is possible to record Morgan's translation in its entirety as "the lake at the Seneca village of Neah'gä."

The relationship between the place called Lake Ontario and the village Neah'gä, as represented within the place name Neah'gä Tecarneodi', may be explained by a particular naming practice that Morgan suggests is used in Haudenosaunee naming conventions. This suggested practice relates the naming of water bodies to the names of nearby settlements; Morgan (Source 008, 1904) writes that:

> it frequently happened that the same lake or river was recognized by them [the
>
> Haudenosaunee] under several different names. This was eminently the case with the
>
> larger lakes. It was customary to give to them the name of some village or locality upon
>
> their borders. The Seneca word Te-car-ne-o-di', means something more than "lake." It
>
> includes the idea of nearness, literally, "the lake at." Hence, if a Seneca were asked the
>
> name of lake Ontario, he would answer, Ne-ah'-gä Te-car-ne-o-di', the lake at Ne-ah'-gä
>
> . This was a Seneca village at the mouth of the Niagara river. If an Onondaga were asked

the same question, he would prefix Swa-geh' to the word lake, literally, "the lake of Oswego." The same multiplicity of names frequently arose in relation to the principal rivers, where they passed through the territories of more than one nation. It was not, however, the case with villages and other localities." (pg. 79)

The accuracy of this theory has not been confirmed or denied by any Haudenosaunee literature that I have come across, and I have not seen this relationship referred to in linguistic work. There are, however, many place names in the larger data set that I have collected that are singular names that refer to two locations: a water body and a settlement or location of a city. For instance, Delaronde and Engel (Source 001, 2015) write that the Mohawk place name Kanà:tso, translated within the source as 'pail in the water' or 'pail boiling,' can refer to either the 'Ottawa River' or what is called 'Ottawa, Ontario'. Another example is the Mohawk name Thahná:wate, recorded by Delaronde and Engel (Source 001, 2015), that can refer to either 'Tonowanda Creek' or what is called 'Tonowanda, New York'.

In *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (Source 008, 1904), Morgan writes further about the place name Neah'gä Tecarneodi':

Colden wrote it *O-ni-ag-a-ra*, in 1741, and he must have received it from the Mohawks or Oneidas. It was the name of a Seneca village at the mouth of the Niagara River, located as early as 1650, near the site of Youngstown. It was also the place where the Marquis De Nonville constructed a fort in 1687, the building of which brought this locality under the particular notice of the English. The name of this Indian village in the dialect of the Senecas was *Ne-ah'-gä*, in Tuscarora *O-ne-ä'-kars*, in Onondaga *O-ne-a'-*

gä, in Oneida *O-ne-ah'-gäle*, and in Mohawk *O-ne-a'-gä-rä*. These names are but the same word under dialectical changes. It is clear that Niagara was derived from some one of them, and thus came direct from the Iroquois language. The signification of the word is lost, unless it be derived, as some of the present Iroquois suppose, from the word which signifies 'neck,' in Seneca *O-ne-ah'-ä*, in Onondaga *O-ne-yä'-ä*, and in Oneida *O-ne'-arle*. (Vol III, pg. 97).

The name Neah'gä Tecarneodi' can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Neah'gä	Tecarneodi'
Neahʔ – gä	Te – ka – nyadi – ʔ
Neck, throat – place	Dualic – 3NA – lake
neck place	lake
'the lake at the neck place'	

The noun root 'neahʔ' or 'nyáʔs' means 'neck' or 'throat.' The additional suffix 'gä' adds a meaning of 'at/on' or, roughly, 'place,' to the word structure. In the next word, the adverbial pre-pronominal prefix 'te' indicates a dualic meaning, which occurs when a verb's action involves two elements, or in "verbs whose inherent meaning involves the idea of *two*" (Michelson, 2011). 'Ka' is a pronominal prefix and indicates a 3rd person neuter agent in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root 'nyadi' here, or 'nyota,' means

'lake.' My approximation of an English translation is along the lines of 'the lake at the neck place,' or, as is freely translated by Morgan (Source 008, 1904), 'the lake at Neah'gä.'

Other sources used for this research also list 'neck' or 'nape' as translations for place names that refer to places within the Niagara region. According to "Haudenosaunee Country in Mohawk" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015), the Mohawk place name Oniahkarà:ke refers to what is called the 'Niagara River' and is translated within the source as 'the nape.' According to the same source (001), the Mohawk place name Oniáhkara refers to what is called 'Niagara Falls' and is translated as 'the nape': "called so because where the falls is located, the head is Lake Ontario and the body is Lake Erie and the falls is the nape" (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015).

Place names that refer to 'Lake Ontario' within the collected data include the Cayuga place name Ganyadáiyo', translated as 'beautiful lake' (Source 003, Froman et al., 2002); the Mohawk place names Kaniatarí:io or Skaniatarí:io, Oniarà:ke, and Oniatarí:io, also translated as 'beautiful lake' (Source 001, Delaronde and Engel, 2015); the Mohawk place name Kaniatarí:io (Source 002, McDonald et al., 1977); and the place Ontario in an unknown Haudenosaunee language, translated within the source as 'beautiful waters' (Source 005, Hermann and Pearce, 2008).
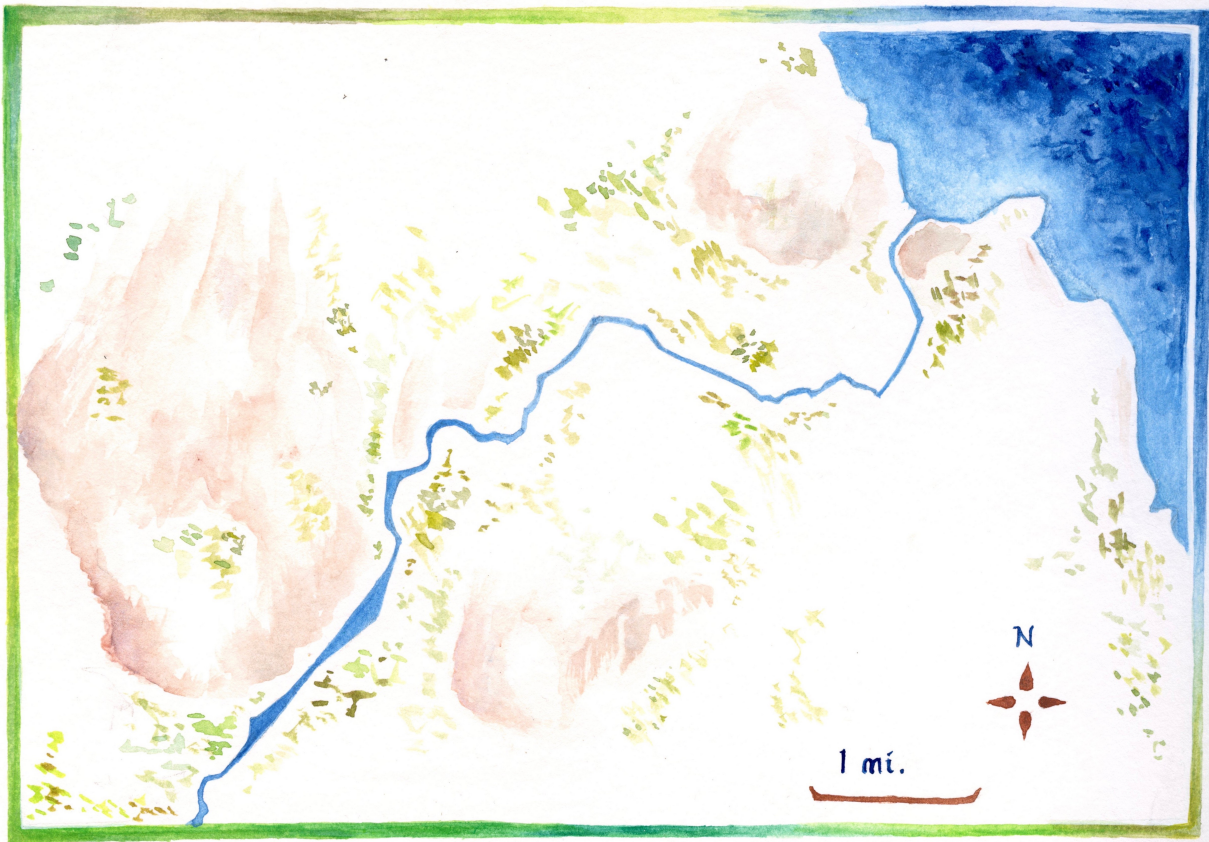
Oyä'han

(Onondaga)

From source 008: League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois (Morgan, 1904)

According to the *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (Source 001, Morgan, 1904), Oyä'han is the Onondaga place name for the site of what is called 'Camillus.' The place name Oyä'han is translated within the source as 'apples split open.'

In the *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* Morgan (Source 001, 1904) writes that the place name Oyä'han refers to "the site of Camillus.' This geographical reference point is

different than referring to 'the town of Camillus' itself; Morgan indicates that the geography or the region itself is called Oyä'han, and predates or is unrelated to the name of 'Camillus.' The town of Camillus lies five miles to the southwest of what is called Onondaga Lake, near the city of Syracuse, and is located along what is called 'Nine-Mile Creek,' which flows northwards and connects what is called Otisco Lake to Onondaga Lake. Further downstream of the town Camillus, closer to Onondaga Lake, there is a designated state-protected forest area called 'Camillus Forest Unique Area.' Another area, owned by the Central New York Land Trust, is called 'Camillus Valley Natural Area.'

It seems possible that the 'site of Camillus' refers to this geography: the region surrounding creek and forest area and town. This landscape includes woods and open areas; a forest in what is called the 'Camillus Forest Unique Area' is "old sugar maple and American beech forest that is nearly two centuries old and is one of the finest examples of a mature northern hardwood forest in Central New York" (Sierra Club, n.d.). The landscape provides views to the northeast, east, and southeast; "on a clear day the panoramic view includes part of the City of Syracuse, Onondaga Lake, Mattydale, Liverpool, and the tops of hills and higher ground in Oswego and Madison counties" (New York State Department of Conservation, 2004). According to historical ecologist Catherine Landis (2018) the historical landscape may have contained salt-meadow grass, a cedar swamp, and black ash, possibly used for basket-making. Although apples trees are not referenced in any literature that I have seen, it seems possible to me that apples may have grown in this part of the landscape, or that they may grow there now.

The *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (Source 001, Morgan, 1904) does not include a

linguistic analysis of the place name Oyä'han. The name can be linguistically analyzed here by breaking down its separate morphemes as follows:

Oyä'han

O – hy – hän

3NP – fruit – break into pieces

fruit is broken into pieces

The pronominal prefix '(y)o' indicates a 3rd person neuter patient in an intransitive capacity. This prefix translates roughly in English to 'it.' The noun root of 'hy' here is 'fruit' or 'berry'; the verb root 'há' means 'break into pieces.' My approximation of an English translation is along the lines of 'fruit is broken into pieces,' or, as Morgan (Source 001, 1904) freely translates, 'apples split open.'

Illustration by Author, Fig. 7: Oyä'han (Brown, 2019)

Chapter 7: Discussion

Elements of Place Name Restoration

Within this Haudenosaunee landscape and using this research work and its detailed exploration of place names within this territory, it is possible to recognize certain elements of language, landscape, and place that are actively complicated by setter-colonialist forces of violence and distortion. By recognizing these elements individually and as they relate to each other, it is possible to form a map of the terrain of place name restoration: a visualization of the components of place name restoration, and a charting of their possible relationships.

The framework explored in this section looks to visualize place name restoration holistically, by acknowledging interrelationships between elements of geography, language, and lived experience. This theoretical framework – a mapping of place name restoration terrain -- does not look to simplify the layered experience of place or to reduce the complex work of confronting settler-colonialist forces of suppression and erasure within landscape. The qualitative studies in the previous chapter are representative of these complexities, as they look to approach individual toponymic study holistically, and as they look to acknowledge uncertainties and subjectivities within their inquiries.

This framework recognizes certain elements of place name restoration as they emerge from this research: elements that may guide future place name restoration work within Haudenosaunee territory or in other geographies. The elements discussed below are singular considerations

originating in scholarships of toponymy, indigenous resurgence, and frameworks of resistance such as counter-mapping; there are more elements of place name restoration that are considered in this larger thesis, and there are more that are not considered within this research. The included elements introduce the structure of the place name research that I have undertaken, and hope to provide an indication of the place name restoration terrain that an inhabitant of landscape, researcher, group, or nation may experience in their inquiries. This chapter proposes a framework that responds to the dynamic nature of place name restoration work: a framework for future geolinguistic projects, on both large and continuing scales.

By encouraging and facilitating holistic approaches to place name restoration, this theoretical framework fills a critical gap. Literatures about place names often focus on the significance of place names as cultural and geographical objects, with gradually increasing emphasis on the ability of place names to shape our everyday experiences (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). These toponymic literatures do not provide material direction or frameworks to restore or revitalize these place names within landscape, nor do they always connect to work being done by community-led mapping or language revitalization projects. Other literatures and lenses used within this work, such as those of ecological restoration, for instance, or indigenous resurgence, can be similarly insular, and are often concerned with the particular frameworks of their discipline. Place name restoration work is being done throughout Turtle Island, in the face of settler-colonialist erasure and violence; community mapping projects and language revitalization programs restore and sustain language and tradition on a daily basis, in a variety of landscapes. These radical efforts by language communities themselves expand the boundaries of scholarship, and define the paradigm of resurgence in formative ways. It seems possible, however, that there

are still gaps to fill within the terrain of these community projects, since mapping and language projects can often be bounded by the particular context and scope of their individual work, and do not or can not always speak about place name restoration in expansive terms.

This thesis, and the following framework in particular, represents an intersection of these lenses: an intersection necessitated by the needs of Haudenosaunee and other indigenous territories in the face of immediate erasure and endangerment. I use the word radical at times throughout this thesis: within this work, this framework is most representative of radical thought, as it envisions transformative potentialities, in both materially useful and academically rigorous ways. Daigle and Ramírez (2019) describe radical decolonial geography the following way, resonating with the foundational motivations of this framework: "we situate decolonial geographies within embodied theories and praxes of liberation to elucidate the connective fabric of various decolonial struggles" (pg. 79). Daigle and Ramírez (2019) go on to write:

> Constellations are in formation all around us, re-envisioning and re-embodying a politics of place by interweaving spatial practices of resistance, refusal and liberation. These historical and always emerging relationships across decolonial struggles transcend colonial boundaries by disclosing the interconnected terrain of racial capitalism, colonialism and white supremacy from one space to the next. More than this, through the spatial concept of constellations, differentially situated peoples are renewing and creating futures that have always been present in their/our own communities. These spatial formations of resistance and creation draw from the histories and geographies of Black, Brown and Indigenous peoples to re-root and re-route toward more accountable relations.

And this what we see as the heart of decolonial geographies: that these stars form

constellations to guide us toward decolonial futures. (pg. 82)

Note: This framework may contain material from previous chapters; the framework aims to

synthesize and reflect on the experience of conducting this inquiry in Haudenosaunee territory,

and to consider my experience of place name restoration in its entirety.

Elements of Place Name Restoration Framework

The first part of the place name restoration framework charts the potentialities of place names

within landscape, as shown below in Table 5. According to this framework, place names can

describe, situate, and define layers of place and landscape.

Place Names can:

| Define | Describe | Situate |
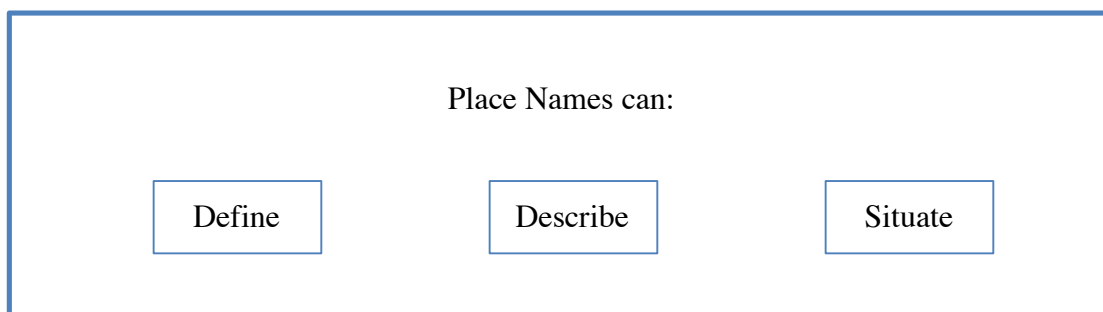
Table 5: Elements of Place Name Restoration Chart, part 1

<u>Describe</u>

Place names within landscapes carry various knowledges and work to describe the landscape in

various ways. These knowledges may include "landscape histories, settlement origins and

patterns, physical geographies of places, sequent occupance, ethnic and political changes, nationalistic sentiments, human activities, and cultural diffusion processes" (Savage, 2009, pg. 178). Place names can also preserve traditional knowledges, and with those knowledges an intimate and detailed knowledge of place and locality. The study of place names, Nash (1999) writes, "can be a window to detailed local knowledges and inclusive versions of belonging" (pg. 474). The ability of place names to describe and to carry knowledges works to contextualize and historicize our understanding of particular place. "Within a colonial context," indigenous scholar and political scientist Jeff Corntassel (2012) writes, "acts of remembrance are resurgence" (pg. 91).

Situate

By naming a place, a place name works to situate and ground us within landscape. Places themselves can be considered as loci of memory, culture, and identity: Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) cite anthropologist Nathan Wachtel in saying that "the preservation of recollections rests on their anchorage in space" (pg. 79). Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) also propose that "place offers the context to examine the relationship of people to their cultural and physical worlds" (pg. 79). As references to physical place and landscape, place names may describe our spatialities, as well as certain points in geography, and so may describe the location of places in spatial, temporal, and epistemological ways.

Define

A place name within landscape acts to claim and define a certain geography. A place name can also claim and define experience through language. The Dalai Lama (2007) writes that "as soon as we name an aspect of reality, we mentally eliminate all other aspects and we designate the chosen object by a word that applies only to that object and this enables us to recognize it" (pg. 290). Place names may act to inscribe certain realities onto the landscape: Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008) writes that "renaming the land was probably as powerful ideologically as changing the land" (pg. 51). In its ability to express paradigm and worldview, a place name has powerful ability to shape, and be shaped by, the lived experience of place; place name restorations have the potential to recognize this ability, and to explore a place name's significance beyond its descriptive and situating abilities.

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The second part of the place name restoration framework charts possible themes of inquiry within a place name restoration project, as shown below in Table 6. When considering the potentialities of place names within landscape, it is important to examine: concerns of language accuracy and authenticity; concerns of place, geography, and landscape; and concerns of the lived experience of place as it informs and is informed by place names.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                                       │
│                          Place Names can:                             │
│                                                                       │
│        ┌──────────┐          ┌──────────┐         ┌──────────┐        │
│        │ Describe │          │ Situate  │         │  Define  │        │
│        └──────────┘          └──────────┘         └──────────┘        │
│                                                                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

            ↓                        ↓                    ↓

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                                       │
│  Therefore it is important, when engaging in place name restoration,  │
│  to examine:                                                          │
│                                                                       │
│   ┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐     │
│   │ Language accuracy│   │ Place, geography,│  │ Lived experience│    │
│   │ and authenticity │   │  and landscape   │  │    of place     │    │
│   └─────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘     │
│                                                                       │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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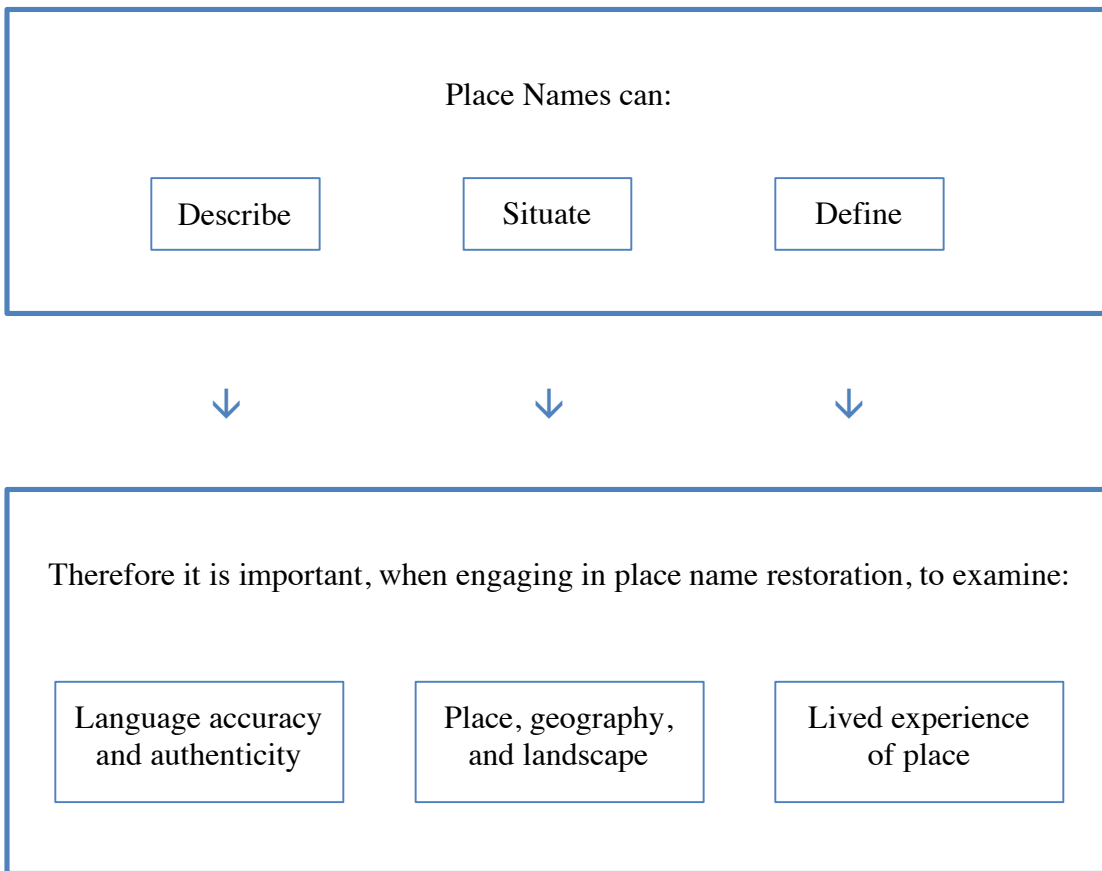
Table 6: Elements of Place Name Restoration Chart, part 2

<u>Language accuracy and authenticity</u>

Place name restoration in this project takes as one of its primary concerns the authenticity and accuracy of language and of studied place names. In the Haudenosaunee landscape, as in other geographies, place names survive, evolve, and resist forces of colonialist erasure, violence, and distortion. The design of place name restoration projects are able to respond to these conditions in ethical, creative, and practical ways.

Language integrity and authenticity may have varying definitions within research and within language communities; this variation necessitates the development of appropriate criteria for the assessment of language materials, and requires a consistent attention on the part of the researcher to authorship, historical context, and the standards of individual language communities. In the Haudenosaunee landscape, distortion, violence, bias, and outright invention by non-indigenous authors are common; authentic contemporary language materials are easier to find, but suffer just as significantly from marginalization and obscurement. Attention to these forces within language is crucial, as is attention to the specific forces of the studied landscape, as they work to form intricacies of language, vocabulary, and place names of a particular place.

Place, geography, and landscape

A place name is able to situate us within space and time; with this consideration, it becomes important to integrate concerns of landscape into the design of place name restorations: to recognize place, geography, and landscape as grounding forces within toponymic scholarship.

By considering the ecology of place carefully within toponymies, place name restoration projects are able to acknowledge the relationship of place to everyday experiences and to academic inquiries. This research suggests that there is a profound difference between considering place names as they are represented on a traditional map or list of data, and considering place names as they are represented through careful and slow examination of a singular place within landscape. Decolonizing or alternative methodologies may be particularly relevant to this component of

place name restorations, as a response to these differences, and also as a response to the physical and temporal scale of landscape.

Lived experience of place

Place name restorations have the opportunity to examine the place as a multi-layered and dynamic concept, one that is materially created and affected by the lived histories and contemporary presences of peoples within landscape. By acknowledging these presences, researchers may develop an understanding of place as densely layered, and may cultivate awareness of the different lived experiences that intersect within place.

Place name restorations allow attention to this lived experience within landscape: attention which actively confronts paradigms within landscape that may be invisible, but are expressed in language and geography. Mishuana Goeman (2013) writes that "the various intersections constructed by the colonial geographies enframe the boundaries of the state and manage its population, thus affecting our current actions in the world" (pg. 3). Researchers have the opportunity within place name restoration efforts to address legacies of violence and oppression within their home or studied landscapes. Frameworks of indigenous resurgence and resistance may also be visible within landscape, creating interactions of contestation and reconciliation that form the daily experience of land for both indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitant. Place name restoration offers opportunities to examine the positionality of self within landscape and within research, and to acknowledge cultural and traditional ownerships, assertions of agency and sovereignty, and guidelines for appropriate research practices.

The third part of the place name restoration framework charts the practices that place name restoration may participate in, as shown below in Table 7. These practices are ideas – frameworks, literatures, and actions – that are informed by the dynamic nature of place names themselves, and their roles within the landscape. It is therefore important within place name restorations to engage in practices of: [re]naming; practices of [re]imagining of landscape; and practices of repair.

Place Names can:

Describe	Situate	Define

↓   ↓   ↓

Therefore it is important, when engaging in place name restoration, to examine:

Language accuracy and authenticity	Place, geography, and landscape	Lived experience of place

↓   ↓   ↓

It is therefore be important, as part of place name restoration projects, to practice:

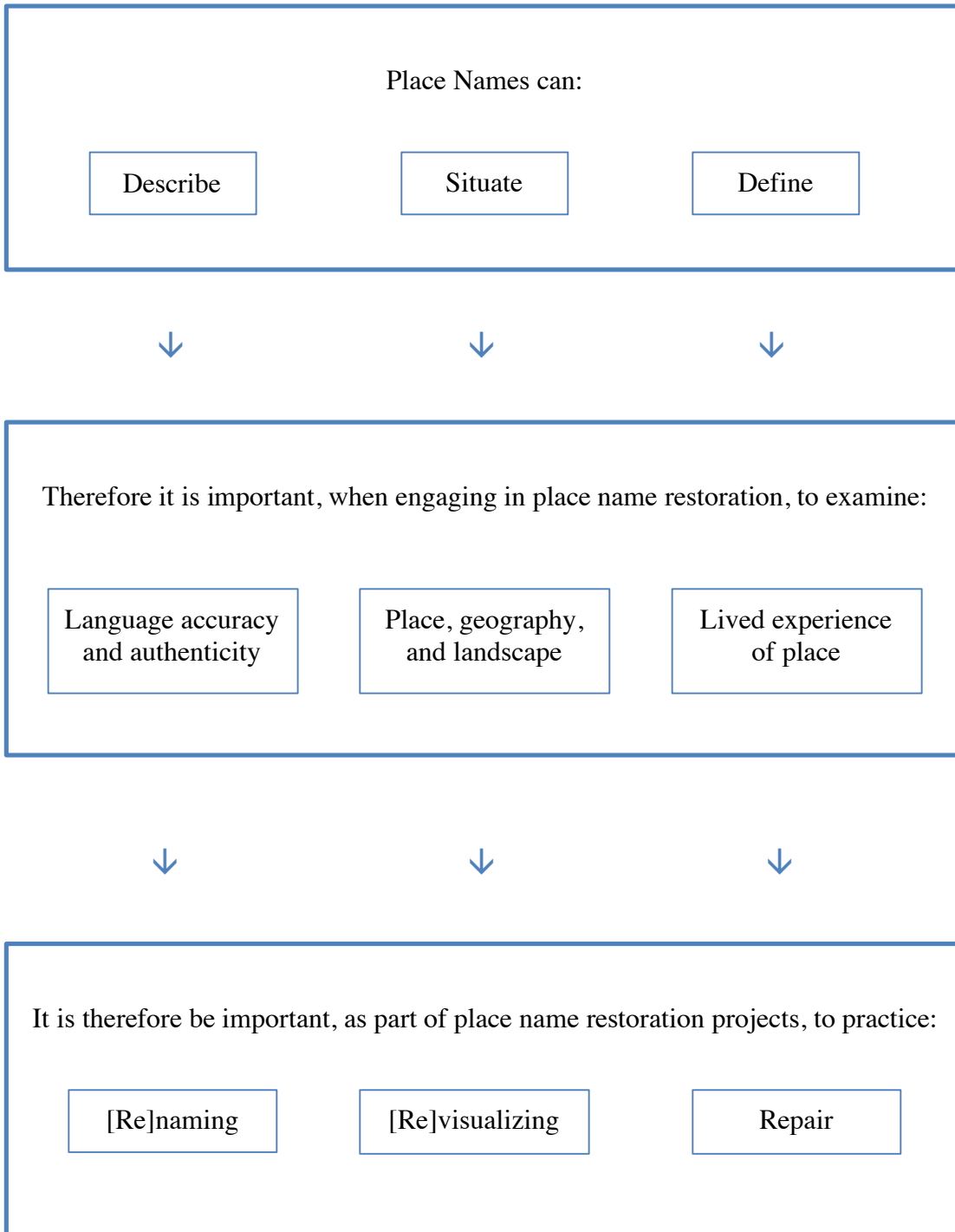| [Re]naming	[Re]visualizing	Repair

Table 7: Elements of Place Name Restoration Chart, part 3

[Re]naming

One radical framework that is available to efforts of place name restoration is the framework of

[re]naming, which seeks to restore more authentic place names to landscape. [Re]naming

practices work to replace the names that have been used in both historical and contemporary

landscapes as tools of imperialist expansions; the use of these tools in occupied lands often act to

erase the indigenous cultural knowledge and memory connected to a particular landscape

(Alfred, 2013; Nash, 1999). [Re]naming these geographies through the restoration of indigenous

place names acts to reclaim traditional knowledge, and also promotes the use of more accurate,

descriptive place names: names that are specific to this landscape, and that are grounded in time

and place.

Within practices of [re]naming indigenous landscapes, it is important to recognize the possible

limitations of [re]naming through conventional means, or of using conventional methods such as

geospatial technology in [re]naming projects (Rundstrom, 1995; Pearce and Louis, 2008); it is

possible to question the effects of institutional or state-sponsored influence on place name

restoration efforts in certain contexts. [Re]naming, though, may be considered a powerful tool to

reclaim indigenous territory, and to disassemble mechanisms of violence in the landscape.

[Re]visualizing

The literatures of toponymy and indigenous resurgence give room for the question: "How do we

uproot settler-colonial social and material maps that inform our everyday experiences?" (Rifkin,

2017, pg. 96; Goeman, 2013). It is possible to transform conventional understandings of experience by [re]envisioning and [re]imagining the landscapes we live in. Such re[visualization] seeks to resist conventional and Western cartographies, and to contest historical maps and literatures shaped by imperialist motivations; [re]visualization of the landscape also leaves behind concerns of the settler-colonial sphere, and works instead to reclaim indigenous territory, landscape, and cultural terrain.

The framework of [re]visualization can offer clear directions for future research and suggests a variety of radical methodologies, including but not limited to narrative cartography (Caquard and Cartwright, 2014); art mapping (Kwan, 2007); story-mapping (Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, n.d.); process mapping (Rundstrom, 1995; Pearce, 2008); participatory mapping (Chambers, 1997); subsistence mapping (Ellanna et al. 1985); and place name mapping.

Repair

The nature of place name restoration work as it addresses layers of obscurement and distortion can be motivated in material ways by a larger ethos of repair and replenishment: it seems true that place name restoration projects of any scale are connected to the larger repair of our landscape: a repair of language, a repair of lived experience, and a repair of relationship within land. Frameworks of indigenous rights and resurgence are able to deepen these efforts; resurgence as a radical movement, according to Corntassel (2012), "is in these everyday actions where the scope of the struggle for decolonization is reclaimed and re-envisioned by Indigenous peoples" (pg. 89).

Restitution and reclamation in landscape becomes a radical part of our efforts of repair, along with tangible projects of language revitalization. Corntassel (2012) writes that "if colonization is a disconnecting force, then resurgence is about reconnecting with homelands, cultures, and communities" (pg. 97). Place name restorations, incorporating frameworks of reconnection and repair, give density to the ethics of place name restoration: allowing work to examine and identify those elements of our experience that are broken, and allowing them also to imagine languages and landscapes that are whole.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Future Work

I end this exploration into place name restoration in Haudenosaunee territory with an appreciation for the terrain of restorative work, as it is undertaken across Turtle Island and in other landscapes where language, place, and culture is threatened. I also end this research with a clearer understanding of the scope of possible future work. In this respect, this thesis is a beginning: a charting of possible directions, and a foundation for further radical inquiry.

By developing theoretical frameworks and by carefully describing the processes and positionalities of this thesis work, the research that I have undertaken with Haudenosaunee place names suggests multiple directions for future place name restoration work, both for continuation of this specific project, and beyond it. Future work could include: respectful and appropriate toponymic mapping of Haudenosaunee geographies; studies of the role of water in Haudenosaunee toponymic landscapes; further examination of re-naming practices by and with indigenous communities; the development of practical re-naming frameworks for restorative projects; further archival work from available Haudenosaunee language sources; and a continuation of this and other inquiries into the ethics of repair and revitalization.

I end this thesis with an appreciation for language itself within landscape: the intricate, dynamic, and restorative nature of place names, as they exist in this and other geographies, which might form what scholar and critical theorist Elizabeth A. Povinelli (2016) refers to as "a present world we had not noticed manifesting itself as the world composed of entities and relations far richer and differentially relational than we had thought" (pg. 59). I also end this thesis with an

appreciation for the forces that have made me feel at home in this landscape, and that have enabled me to do this work clear-sightedly: forces of family and belonging, mentorship and inquiry.

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Appendix A: Archival Survey

Archive Reference Sheet

Archive ID #

Archive title: _____

Date accessed: _____

Location housed: _____

Location accessed: _____

Author(s): _____

Date published/ created: _____

Publisher/ journal title etc: _____

Type of archive: _____

Primary source?   □ Yes   □ No

Indigenous source?   □ Yes   □ No

Extent of indigenous input: _____

Number of place names included: _____

Primary language of archive: _____

Haudenosaunee language(s) included in archive: _____

Archive includes (*check all that apply*):

         □ indigenous orthography   □ morphemic translations

         □ morphemic breakdowns   □ free translations

Integrity of language: _____

Notes: (*usefulness of source, integrity of source, etc*.)

<u>Archive Processing Record</u>

Archive ID #

Archive title: _____

Date accessed: _____

Location housed: _____

Location accessed: _____

Accessibility of source: _____

Condition of archive: _____

Source of archive referral: _____

Referenced in known literature?   □ Yes □ No

    By: _____

References other archives?   □ Yes □ No

    Details: _____

Approximate time spent with archive: _____

Notes:

<u>Archive Overview</u>

Archive ID #

Archive title: _____

Author(s): _____

Date published/created: _____

Primary source?　　　□ Yes　□ No

Approximate era:　　□ historic *(before 1945)*

　　　　　　　　　　□ contemporary *(1945 and after)*

Archive form (*check all that apply)*:

　　　　　　　　□ oral history　　□ travel narrative

　　　　　　　　□ interview　　　□ periodical

　　　　　　　　□ map　　　　　　□ book

　　　　　　　　□ journal　　　　□ educational material

　　　　　　　　□ other: _____

Archive medium (*check all that apply)*:

　　　　　　　　□ digital　　　　□ print

Notes:

Author Information and Indigenous Input

Archive ID #

Author(s): _____

_____

Author type: □ indigenous   □ non-indigenous   □ unknown

Author information (*nationality, background, etc.)*:

Extent of indigenous input:

□ authorship   □ second-hand

□ collaboration   □ peripheral

□ contribution   □ none

□ other: _____

Number of Indigenous language *speakers* involved: _____

Speaker fluency: □ native speaker

□ learned fluency

□ some language

□ unknown

□ other: _____

Speaker information (*nationality, background, etc.)*:

<u>Language of Archive</u>

Archive ID #

Are place names consistent across source in language, orthography, and format?
    If yes, continue on to provide general language info for entire source.
    If no, fill out language info for each individual place name, using pg. 5.

Does source indicate language type?

      ☐ No

      ☐ Yes ➤   ◇ Mo.   ◇ Se.

                                    ◇ On.   ◇ Ca.

                                    ◇ Onon.   ◇ Tu.

Does source use indigenous orthography?

      ☐ No   ☐ Yes ➤   _____

Does source contain morphemic breakdowns?

      ☐ No   ☐ Yes ➤   _____

Does source contain morphemic translations?

      ☐ No   ☐ Yes ➤   _____

Does source contain free translations?

      ☐ No   ☐ Yes ➤   _____

Linguist involvement?

      ☐ No   ☐ Yes ➤   _____

Integrity of language, **Notes**:

<u>Place Name</u>

Archive ID #

Name: _____

Language: □ Mohawk   □ Seneca

                     □ Oneida   □ Cayuga

                     □ Ononondaga   □ Tuscarora

                     □ unknown   dialect: _____

English translation in source?

                 □ No   □ Yes: _____

English/ institutionalized place name in source?

                 □ No   □ Yes: _____

Location: □ Specific: _____ (*latitude, longitude*)

                 □ Approx: _____

                 □ Unknown

Basic Physical Description:

Indigenous orthography?   □ No   □ Yes ➤_____

Morphemic breakdown?   □ No   □ Yes ➤_____

Morphemic translation?   □ No   □ Yes ➤_____

Free translation?   □ No   □ Yes ➤_____

Notes:

Sophie Brown

2291 Perry City Road; Ithaca, NY 14850

sebrown@syr.edu

(607) 229-6910

Education

M.S. in Environmental Science, *degree expected May 2019*
Environmental and Community Land Planning
State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry

Graduate Certificate in Environmental Leadership *anticipated completion May 2019*
State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry

Certificate in Mohawk Language Learning *July 2018*
Kanatsioharake Mohawk Community

Undergraduate Certificate in Iroquois Linguistics *July 2017*
Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY
Dean's List

B.A. in Environmental Communications *May 2011*
Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY

Work Experience

SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, Open Academy *2019*
Assisted the Dean in the creation and review of online education program materials

SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, *Graduate Assistant* *2018*
Graduate Teaching Assistant for college courses Environmental Governance and American Government

Durland Alternatives Library, Cornell University, *Board of Advisors* *2018 - present*

SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, *Independent Editor* *2018*
Independent editor for PhD. dissertation "The Heart of the Country: Historical Ecology of Onondaga Lake,"
C. Landis

Durland Alternatives Library, Cornell University, *Independent Consultant* *2017- 2018*
Implemented Center for Transformative Action grant to curate and reconstruct library collection

Geography Department, University of Maynooth, Ireland, *Independent Research Assistant* *2016*
Independent Research Assistant for M.A. thesis "Evidence and Absence in the Archives," S. Brown

Alternative Community School, Ithaca, *Independent Tutor* *2014 - 2016*
Tutored high-school students in writing and social studies

Prisoner Express, Durland Alternatives Library, Cornell University, *Project Manager* *2012 - 2016*
Created and manage the Prisoner Express Journal Project, which publishes and cultivates the reflective
writings of incarcerated peoples; wrote for blog and quarterly newsletter

Southworth Library, Dryden, *Assistant Librarian* *2013 - 2014*
Served the library in such areas as circulation, front desk, and outreach

Namaste Montessori School, *Assistant Teacher* *2011 - 2013*
Taught in toddler, pre-school and elementary classrooms

Bard Academic Resource Center, *Writing Fellow* *2008 - 2011*
Tutored three classes of freshman writing and one advanced history seminar. Worked with individual students
throughout each semester.

Cornell Lab of Ornithology, *Science-writing and Scientific-illustration Intern* *2010*

Haudenosaunee Water Landmarks Illustrated. The Decolonial Atlas, 2019

Elements of Place Name Restoration: repair and replenishment in language. Paper to be presented in "Geographies of Repair" session at EUGEO Conference, Galway, Ireland, May 2019

Elements of Place Name Restoration. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Geographers, Washington D.C., April 2019

Place Name Restoration in Haudenosaunee Territory. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Geographers, New Orleans, April 2018

Interpreting Red-Winged Blackbird Behavior, illustrations and article. BirdScope: Cornell Lab of Ornithology Quarterly, 2010.

Myriad Seabirds Help Track Mercury Pollution. BirdScope: Cornell Lab of Ornithology Quarterly, 2010.

All About Birds. Cornell Lab of Ornithology website, 2010