

**Our homeland for the past, present and future: ᐱᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏ ᐱᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏ ᐱᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏ
Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq (Aberdeen Lake) and ᐱᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏ ᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏᑏ
Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq (Schultz Lake) landscapes
described by Elder John Killulark**

By

Paula Kigjugalik Hughson

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

Master of Natural Resources Management

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Qamaniq (Aberdeen Lake) and ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ ᐱᑦᑭᑦ ᑭᑦᑭᑦ Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq (Schultz
Lake) landscapes described by Elder John Killulark**

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The
University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of

Master of Natural Resources Management (M.N.R.M)

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ABSTRACT

In working with Elder John Killulark, this project aimed at documenting the history of the Amaruq and Kigjugalik families and his perspective of the Land around ᐱᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq (Aberdeen Lake) and ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq (Schultz Lake). The study area is on the west side of Hudson Bay, Nunavut, and has been used by the families for many generations. In sharing his thoughts about life prior to moving to the permanent settlement of Baker Lake, John Killulark began by documenting the family history and kinship going back to four generations. He then described the family's homeland through stories, songs, and legends and by providing a detailed map of the area including more than 290 place names. Some of these place names were ancient names and although the meaning has been lost, the names are still used today. Other place names described key landscape features, the location of birthplaces, camp areas or gravesites, ancient creatures that inhabited the area or where legends originated. John Killulark also talked about Inuit traditions and how shamans and respected elders guided people through time.

The Land is rich in history, resources, and life. Our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and ancestors were once closely linked to the Land. The Land is important to Inuit and through this project, we can reflect on how old and new traditions are coming together to provide a bright future for Inuit.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
DEDICATION	V
LIST OF TABLES	VIII
LIST OF FIGURES	IX
LIST OF PHOTOS	X
LIST OF PLATES	XI
COPYRIGHT (PERMISSIONS)	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 PREAMBLE	1
1.2 BACKGROUND	2
1.2.1 <i>Study Area</i>	2
1.2.2 <i>Family History</i>	4
1.2.3 <i>Cultural Landscape</i>	8
1.3 ISSUE STATEMENT	9
1.4 RESEARCH GOALS AND OBJECTIVES	10
1.5 LIMITATIONS	10
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE	11
1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THESIS	12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	13
2.1 CULTURAL LANDSCAPES	13
2.2 INUIT LAND USE.....	19
2.3 INUIT QAUJIMAJATUQANGIT AND ORAL HISTORIES	23
2.3.1 <i>Stories, Legends and Songs</i>	25
2.4 PLACE NAMES	26
CHAPTER 3: METHODS	29
3.1 LEARNING AND DOCUMENTING THE TUNDRA LANDSCAPE	29
3.2 INTERVIEWS	30
3.2.1 <i>Semi-Structured Interviews</i>	30
3.2.2 <i>Oral History</i>	30
3.3 MAPS	30
3.4 ON THE LAND DOCUMENTATION.....	31
3.5 VERIFICATION	31
3.6 OUTCOMES - VIDEO.....	32
CHAPTER 4: FAMILY ROOTS	33

4.1 JOHN KILLULARK’S ANCESTORS	36
4.1.1 Paternal side	36
4.1.2 Maternal Side	39
4.2 JOHN KILLULARK’S PARENTS AND SIBLINGS:	41
4.2.1 Amaruq.....	42
4.2.1.1 Amaruq’s training and development to become a shaman	42
4.2.2 Kigjugalik.....	50
4.2.3 Siblings.....	51
4.3 FAMILY DYNAMICS	62
4.4 THE QUEEN ELIZABETH II CORONATION MEDAL PRESENTATION TO KIGJUGALIK.....	65
4.5 CONCLUSION.....	69
CHAPTER 5 – THE LAND.....	69
5.1 LEGENDARY CREATURES AND TABOOS - KAVVAVAK’S:.....	70
5.2 SHAMAN/ANGAKKUQ	77
5.3 TRADING FOR GOODS AND TRAVELING ON THE LAND.....	83
5.4 PLACE NAMES.....	85
5.5 CONCLUSION.....	119
CHAPTER 6 - SONGS AND LEGENDS.....	119
6.1 SONGS	120
6.2 LEGENDS/UNIPKAAQTUAQ.....	123
6.2.1 Kaukjakjuk.....	124
6.2.2 Aplurjuaq	134
6.2.3 Two Men.....	139
CHAPTER 7 - DISCUSSION	151
CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSION.....	160
REFERENCES.....	163
APPENDICES.....	171
APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	171
APPENDIX 2: METADATA CHECKLIST - PLACE NAMES WORK.....	172
APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH LICENSES	173
3.1 Nunavut Research Institute Licence	173
3.2 University of Manitoba Research Licence.....	174
APPENDIX 4: CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT.....	175
APPENDIX 5: PHOTOGRAPHIC/VIDEO PERMISSION FORM.....	176
APPENDIX 6: VIDEO: “SONGS AND LEGENDS – PERFORMED BY JOHN KILLULARK” ..	177

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Place names provided by John Killulark and classified into eight categories.....	89
Table 2: Place names collected during John Killulark's interviews.....	91-109

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: John Killulark's family to his great-grandparents; four generations.....	36
Figure 2: Amaruq's parents and family.....	37
Figure 3: Amaruq's paternal grandfather family, with two wives.....	38
Figure 4: Kigjugalik's parents and family.....	40
Figure 5: Amaruq and Kigjugalik's family.....	41
Figure 6: Place names provided by John Killulark and tabulated into eight different categories.....	90

LIST OF PHOTOS

Photo 1: Landscape of the lower Thelon River area looking from top of Blueberry Hill..	4
Photo 2: Family trip by airplane back to their homeland Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake & Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq – Schultz Lake area.....	8
Photo 3: Inuit in kayaks along Thelon River circa 1900.....	20
Photo 4: John Killulark verifying place names data.....	32
Photo 5: Coronation medal presentation to Kigjugalik by RCMP Corporal Clare J. Dent.....	65
Photo 6: Inuit starting on a caribou hunting trip, Baker Lake; N.W.T., ca. 1926.....	85
Photo 7: John Killulark setting up for songs and legends.....	121
Photo 8: John Killulark acting out the legend <i>Kaukjajjuk</i> with the tusks in his hands..	124

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Map of Thelon River and surrounding water bodies; including Aberdeen Lake...	3
Plate 2: Distribution of Caribou Inuit between 19 th and 20 th Century.....	6
Plate 3: A drawing of John’s family iglu style, when he was growing up out on the Land.....	64
Plate 4: Study area with seven subdivided areas (A1 to A7) for greater detail ©2009 Google Earth.....	111
Plate 5: A1 – Tipjalik Qamaniq – Beverly Lake and Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq – Aberdeen Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	112
Plate 6: A2 –Iglurjualik area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	113
Plate 7: A3 – Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq – Schultz Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	114
Plate 8: A4 – Qamani’tuup Kuunga – Thelon River area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	115
Plate 9: A5 – Qamani’tuaq – Baker Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	116
Plate 10: A6 – Harvaqtuuq – Kazan River area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	117
Plate 11: A7 – Tahilukjuaq – Pitz Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth.....	118

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- Page 3** – Map of the Thelon River. Credit: Canadian Heritage Rivers System (CHRS) program. Permission received on December 15, 2009.
- Page 6** – Map of Distribution of Caribou Inuit 19th and 20th century. Credit: Arima, Eugene, Y., 1984: Caribou Eskimo. In Damas, D (ed.), Handbook of the North American Indians: Vol 5, Arctic: Smithsonian Institution, 447-462. Permission received February 1, 2010.
- Page 20** – Photo: Inuit in kayaks along Thelon River circa 1900. Credit: University of Toronto Libraries. Permission received January 31, 2010.
- Page 65** – Photo: Coronation medal presentation to Kigjugalik by RCMP Corporal Clare J. Dent. Credit: Clare J. Dent/NWT Archives/N-1992-136-0001. Permission received January 25, 2006.
- Page 85** – Photo: Inuit starting on a caribou hunting trip, Baker Lake, N.W.T., ca 1926. Source: Library and Archives Canada/ Credit: L.T. Burwash/ Richard Sterling Finnie fonds/e002342647. Permission received February 3, 2010.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

The time spent gathering Inuit knowledge from Inuit elders is critical because the knowledge that they have about the Land will be lost if it is not communicated to the next generation. This knowledge was historically passed on to the next generation orally, but now that families are not living in small family groups on the Land, the knowledge is not being passed down to all family members as easily (Nakasuk, et al. 1999). Some of the reasons for these changes are nested in a change of lifestyle; families are now living in permanent and larger settlements where amenities like televisions and the internet, for example, are in competition with the traditional oral transmission of knowledge through story-telling, legends or songs (Bennett & Rowley, 2004; Kappianaq & Nutaraq, 2001). This has been the case for me.

I do not know much about the history of my mother's family and how she lived on the Land before her family moved to the community of ᖃᓴᓴᓴᓴ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake in the late 1950s. Through this project, I worked with John Killulark, my uncle and Inuk elder from ᖃᓴᓴᓴᓴ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake, Nunavut. John Killulark is unilingual in Inuktitut and since I am not fluent in Inuktitut, I depended on a translator to help capture his perspective and knowledge of the tundra landscape in the area surrounding ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ ᖃᓴᓴᓴᓴ Akulliqpaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake, and ᖃᓴᓴᓴᓴ ᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴᓴ Qamaniq Tugliqpaq - Schultz Lake, Nunavut.

This knowledge of the landscape can be gathered using a number of methods including the documentation of place names and the recording of stories, legends, and songs shared by elders. For example, place names are an important source of information about an area because a name expresses more than just a location, it may describe an event or it may represent the spirituality of a place (Müller-Wille, 2003). In relation to place names, this descriptive information is rapidly disappearing as the elders who hold this knowledge pass away. With the change in Inuit nomadic lifestyle to a more sedentary life in permanent communities, opportunities to spend time on the Land have greatly diminished. Many people have a set schedule and are busy with family and school and if they go hunting, the trips are often over a few days using snow mobiles and modern technology (Collingnon, 2006).

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Study Area

The Land of our ancestors, our grandparents, our parents and the Land of our birth, our Homeland ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake, ᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq - Schultz Lake and ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ Tahilukjuaq - Pitz Lake is a large area of land in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut. ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake is one of many lakes along the Thelon River. It is approximately 91 km in length and is located 213 km south of the Arctic Circle (Evans, 2005; GN, 2005). ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake has a shallow and sandy bottom with low sandy shores, but deep water can be found at the

River and ᖃᑲᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲ Qamani'tuup Kuunga - lower Thelon River empty into ᖃᑲᑲᑦᑲᑦ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake (Pelly, 1996; Soublière, 1998) and are important to the Inuit who live in the area as major travel corridors used to hunt caribou during the major caribou migrations (Arima, 1984) (Photo 1).



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Photo 1: Landscape of the ᖃᑲᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑲᑲ Qamani'tuup Kuunga - lower Thelon River area looking from top of ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ Paungatuq - Blueberry Hill.

1.2.2 Family History

ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᖃᑲᑲᑦᑲ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake and the surrounding area was occupied by my family for many generations prior to the government relocation to ᖃᑲᑲᑦᑲᑲ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake in the 1950's (Canada, 2004). Inuit followed the

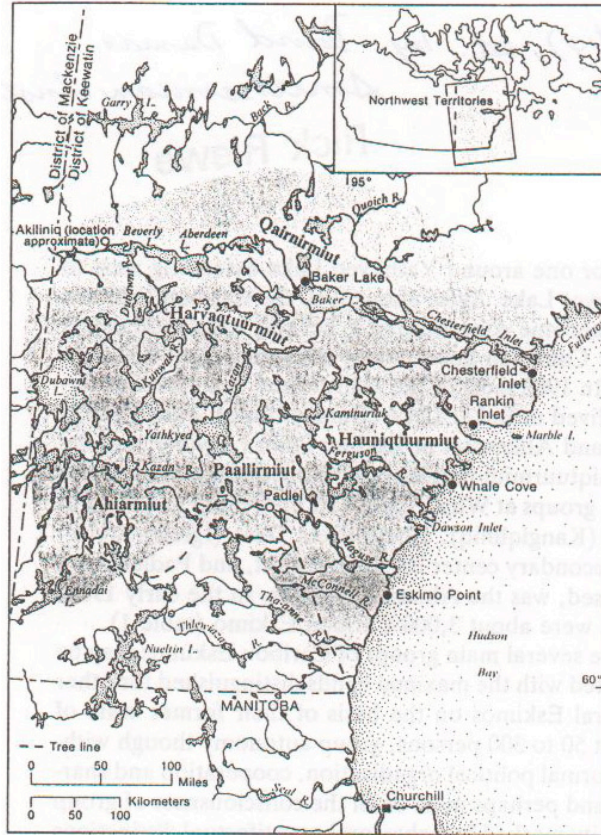


Plate 2: Distribution of Caribou Inuit between 19th and 20th Century

Credit: Arima, Eugene, Y., 1984: Caribou Eskimo. In Damas, D (ed.), Handbook of the North American Indians: Vol 5, Arctic: Smithsonian Institute, page 448.

John Killulark is approximately 10 years older than Betty Natsialuk Hughson and this makes him about 74 years of age. John Killulark has extensive knowledge of Inuit legends and learned them from his father, Amaruq. John participates actively at venues where opportunities exist to entertain an audience; usually at the community hall in ᖃᓄᓄᓄᓄ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake, the local museum, or local hotels when organized tourist groups come to town. As well, he is invited to the local elementary and high schools to share stories and legends.

John Killulark has agreed to participate in this project because he feels it is important to document the history of his family as well as the lands they originally occupied; a way of life that is no longer practiced. Traditional Inuit knowledge is slowly being lost because it is not being passed down to the younger generation in the same manner as in the past (Kappianaq & Nutaraq, 2001; Nakasuk et al., 1999). Inuit now live in modern homes with all the modern amenities, which have spread family groups over greater distances, and new technologies have modified the modes of knowledge transmission between elders and youth and this may be limiting communication between elders and youth (Collignon, 2006).

The major part of this research project took place in ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake and included a flight by single otter over the family's homeland (Photo 2). During the flight, John Killulark described features and explained events that happened in the area both during the interviews and as we traveled by plane through the ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ Qamani'tuup Kuunga - lower Thelon River area. The flight was a very enlightening trip as it brought to life how populated the area once was. As we flew over different areas, John described the locations of various family groups, and where their tents or iglus and food caches were. He also remarked that he was saddened by the current absence of human life on the land. This trip took a very emotional toll on John and his siblings and it made me realize how quickly they had transitioned from living on the Land to living in a permanent settlement.



Photo 2: Family trip by airplane back to their homeland – ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ
 Akulliqpaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake & ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ Qamaniq
 Tugliqpaq – Schultz Lake area.

Left to Right: John Michael Hughson, (husband of Betty Natsialuk Hughson), **Joan Qilluaq Killulark** (wife of Victor Ujumngat Killulark), **Victor Ujumngat Killulark** (brother and son of John and Hannah, brother and nephew to Betty Natsialuk Hughson), **Erik Amaruq Hughson** (son of Michael and Betty Hughson), **Hannah Taliruq Killulark** (wife of John Killulark), **John Killulark**, **Betty Natsialuk Hughson**, **Moses Aliqtiksaq Killulark** (son of John and Hannah Killulark) and **Paula Kigjugalik Hughson** (daughter of Michael and Betty Natsialuk Hughson).

1.2.3 Cultural Landscape

The topic “cultural landscape” will be discussed in greater depth in chapter two but here I will give a brief introduction to this subject as it pertains to this project. *The Canadian*

Oxford Dictionary defines the term “cultural” as “*pertaining to culture in a society or civilization*” and “landscape” as “*natural or imaginary scenery, as seen in broad view*” (Barber, 2001). In this project, John described events of the past and how this landscape was utilized during that time period. During the interviews, John named a particular place and at time, talked about an event that happened there or sang a song that pertained to that particular place, or recited a legend that had been passed onto him by his father or grandfather. The interviews helped me better understand my culture and the area where my maternal family came from.

1.3 Issue Statement

Many research projects have taken place in the ᖃᐱᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake area and have ranged from interviews with artists of the community to interviews with hunters whose knowledge of the area around ᖃᐱᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake is vast (Mannik, 1989; Pelly, 1996; Stewart et al., 2004). Very few research projects have focused on one individual person for the gathering of greater details about a given area, a given time period. Time is a key factor; it allows for the interview process to mature and a relationship to develop between the interviewee, translator, and interviewer. I have considerable advantages over a researcher who has never been to the community or who is not familiar with the culture. First, I have a personal relationship with the informant and he feels the project is really important. Second, I have a personal relationship with the translators.

1.4 Research Goals and Objectives

The main goal of this project is to capture Elder John Killulark's understanding of the tundra landscape surrounding the ᐱᐃᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑲᐅᑦᑦ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake area prior to moving to ᑲᐅᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake, through kinship, place names, stories, and legends. Different technologies such as geographical information systems (GIS) and various recording devices were used to help document Elder John Killulark's knowledge of the area.

The three objectives of this project are:

- 1. To document the history and kinship of the Amaruq and Kigjugalik families,*
- 2. To document John Killulark's perspective of the landscape during the time period that his family occupied the ᐱᐃᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑲᐅᑦᑦ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake & ᑲᐅᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑲᐅᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ Qamaniq Tugliqpaq - Schultz Lake areas prior to moving to ᑲᐅᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake (pre 1960's), and;*
- 3. To reflect on how John Killulark's perspective of the landscape compares to the newly defined concepts of cultural landscape.*

1.5 Limitations

The main limitation for this research project was my limited knowledge of Inuktitut, the language spoken by Inuit. An interpreter was present during all the interviews. The interviews were also recorded, transcribed, and translated from Inuktitut to English. Another limitation was with the interpreters, as they were both women and their

knowledge of technical terms associated with hunting activities traditionally known by men was at times limited. My uncle mentioned this during one of the interviews when a question about clothing was asked; he answered that he was not sure, as he was not familiar with this topic; a topic traditionally better known by women.

1.6 Significance

The significance of this research lies in its capacity to help the younger generation of ᖃᓚᓂ'ᓂᓴᖃ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake Inuit learn about life on the Land prior to Inuit moving and living permanently in the community of ᖃᓚᓂ'ᓂᓴᖃ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake. Different media including audio and video recordings, mapping and note taking were used in collecting, representing, and sharing project results with members of the community of ᖃᓚᓂ'ᓂᓴᖃ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake, other communities in northern Canada and beyond.

This research project will hopefully complement other research that has been done in the ᖃᓚᓂ'ᓂᓴᖃ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake area (Mannik, 1989; Müller-Wille, 2003; Pelly, 1996; Stewart et al., 2004). This research project will add the perspective of one community member about a specific time period. It is a piece of history that is recounted or told by an Inuk elder who lived the time period which likely contrasts from the viewpoint of a person or persons who moved and lived in the area for a short time period, like government workers such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Brody, 1975,1991). The project covers different aspects of life away from the community and prior to the late 1950's.

1.7 Organization of thesis

This project starts in ᖃᓚᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake, Nunavut, where the initial interviews took place to get both John and myself familiar with the maps and the history of the area. Some interviews took place outside the community, which is in a more natural setting away from motorized vehicles, telephones and the busy life of the town. Due to health restrictions, John Killulark was not able to go on a canoe trip to the ᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂ ᖃᓚᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂᓂ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake area as originally planned; the bulk of the work was therefore done around the community using maps to trigger memories of days gone by. A trip by airplane to the homeland area was organized where, along with family members, John sang and spoke of the Land. This trip proved to be very beneficial to me because prior to this, we were working inside with maps and his narration during the trip brought the maps and interviews to life. The one-hour plane trip was emotionally draining to the siblings and to us who had not been to the area before. It reconnected us to our distant, but tangible past. When we looked out of the window of the plane, us who are not familiar with the landscape, we could see the rolling tundra in the colours of fall but as John spoke in the microphone, we learned how our family occupied and thrived on this landscape. It brought the landscape alive and it was not just rolling empty tundra as we flew by, it had a history, and we were a part of it. This project, through John's memories, brought the family history alive through place names, stories, songs, and legends.

The organization of this thesis is as follows. The first chapter is a brief introduction to the project. In chapter two, I attempt to summarize the literature pertaining to oral

histories, place names, Inuit land use and cultural landscapes. In chapter three, I discuss the methods used in this project. In chapter four, I present the results of the interviews by first understanding the family of John Killulark, from his ancestors to his siblings. In chapter five, titled “The Land”, it is difficult to separate out the interviews and so I divided this chapter into four sub sections consisting of the Land of a different time when kavavak’s were more commonplace, the shamans as healers and helpers, John’s family living in different areas depending on the caribou and place names of the area were known by all who lived and used the area. In chapter six, I present the songs and legends that have been passed on to John by his father, Amaruq, and who in turn had learned them from his grandfather who had raised him. In chapter seven, I attempt to tie the results from the interviews to the literature discussed in chapter two. In the final chapter, I conclude the thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will attempt to summarize the literature pertaining to the topics of cultural landscapes; Inuit land use, oral histories, stories, legends, songs, and place names.

2.1 Cultural Landscapes

The term landscape has been used in many different fields of study, such as geography, landscape design, ecology, and history and each field has defined landscape accordingly, to meet their needs (Jones, 2003). For example, geographers use the term landscape to include the physical components of the earth whereas landscape architects are more interested in the visual aspects of the landscape and aesthetics (Naveh & Lieberman,

1994). Getting an appreciation of the transdisciplinary nature of landscape studies involves understanding the meanings and definitions of landscapes across many fields of study (Naveh, 2005). Different disciplines define landscape in different ways.

Landscapes are described by different individuals and cultures and can be represented in many ways because people think and feel differently (Meinig, 1979). A single scene viewed by different people can be seen as a landscape, as nature, habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place and aesthetic (Meinig, 1979). The study of landscape can be a complex topic and an interdisciplinary approach can help improve our understanding of the topic. Landscape has been defined “as a way of seeing” by Cosgrove in Terkenli (Terkenli, 2001). This takes into account how landscapes are both materially and perceptually constructed.

Cultural landscape has been defined as “elements of the landscape created by people” (Wallach, 2005). This definition is sufficient when describing the landscape when people have transformed the land, but this definition does not capture the spiritual nature or connections that people have to a landscape or physical landform. The term ‘cultural landscape’ has evolved over the years and more recently Buggey (1999a) has introduced the definition of cultural landscape.

The term cultural landscape has been embraced by many international organizations such as UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee. The Committee has used this term as a conservation category to protect areas that are culturally significant (Jones, 2003).

Studying how cultures define or see a landscape can help a researcher understand the worldview of that culture (Strang, 1997). Looking at the same area, two different cultures can have very different representations of the landscape, as described by Strang (1997). When an Australian aborigine described a lagoon, the main focus of the description was on the spirituality of the place and the need to respect the area while visiting. When ranchers of the area described the same lagoon, the focus was on the importance of the place as a watering hole for their cattle. It is the same landscape, but seen and used in different manners by different peoples. Different values are placed on the same area (Strang, 1997). Another example of worldviews imposed on a landscape has happened in Canada's north. For many years, discourse was dominated by the government or non-aboriginal perspective and gradually evolved through the recognition of aboriginal rights; gradually the perspective of those who have a long relationship with the Land has been heard (Lee, 2004). The government view is from a European centric perspective whereas the aboriginal perspective takes into account the intangibles such as spirituality, songs, life lived in this landscape (Buggey, 1999a, 1999b; Lee, 2004). In Canada, the aboriginal perspective is becoming better acknowledged and appreciated with respect to protected areas. Since the 1990's, with the advancement of aboriginal land claims and with aboriginal people acquiring decision making power over their natural resources, they have been able to better express their perspectives, their way of understanding and respecting the natural world (Buggey, 1999a, 1999b; Lee, 2004).

Buggey (2010) has been at the forefront of incorporating the aboriginal perspective and has been credited with a new definition. This definition, albeit long, captures the complexity of how landscapes are “viewed” by aboriginal peoples.

An Aboriginal cultural landscape is a living landscape that an Aboriginal group values because of their enduring relationship with that place and its continuing importance to their cultural identity. Reflecting the mobility of traditional life, many Aboriginal cultural landscapes are characterized by a network of routes and places important to the life of a family or group. Intimate knowledge of the area - its landforms, waters, species and spirits - derives from traditional wisdom and sustained observation of weather patterns, water quality, animal behaviour and plant growth while journeying in the seasonal round: following animal movements for hunting and trapping, seeking the best fishing grounds, collecting plants and saps for food and medicine, camping, gathering with kin, and holding ceremonies. Reciprocal relationships with animals, plants and spirits of the area, constructed through long and close association, are reflected in traditional practices. Continuous observation and complex understanding of the area shape evolving land-care practices in response to changing circumstances and technologies (Buggey, 2010).

After researching the topic of landscapes, I became interested in learning how Inuit Owned Lands (IOL) identified in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) had been

selected (Canada., 1993). In Article 17 – Purposes of Inuit Owned Lands, of the NLCA - it mentions a list of categories from which Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) on behalf of Inuit would be interested in those particular parcels of land (Tungavik and Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993). Here is article 17.1.2 of the NLCA.

17.1.2

Inuit Owned Lands are expected to include areas with the following characteristics, not in order of priority:

(a) areas of value principally for renewable resource reasons, including

(i) principal or other wildlife harvesting areas,

(ii) areas of significant biological productivity or of value for conservation purposes,

(iii) areas of high potential for propagation, cultivation or husbandry,

(iv) areas of current or potential occupation by outpost camps,

(v) areas of value for sport camps or other tourist opportunities;

(b) areas of value principally for reasons related to the development of non-renewable resources, including

(i) areas of known or potential mineral deposits,

(ii) areas of value for various operations and facilities associated with the development of non-renewable resources;

(c) areas of commercial value; and

(d) areas of archaeological, historical or cultural importance.

I have attempted to contact various Inuit organizations; Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated and Kivalliq Inuit Association, Institute of Public Government the Nunavut Planning Commission and the Federal Government to understand the land selection process. I am particularly interested in knowing why each community selected particular land parcels. I think it is important to learn about our history and how Inuit used and organized themselves on the landscape, the principles, and values that guided their decisions and this, for the present and future. Some of the areas are documented in the Nunavut Atlas as caribou crossing areas, important fishing areas (Riewe, 1992), caribou calving grounds, and important heritage sites as documented in the Keewatin Regional Land Use Plan 2000 (NPC, 2000). The Land in the study area is also managed either by the Kivalliq Inuit Association or the Canadian government under the Indian and Northern Affairs Department whereby permits are issued for mineral exploration. During the negotiations for the Nunavut Settlement Area, land ownership and title was a very sensitive subject for Inuit and the federal government (McPherson, 2003). This is important information since Inuit organizations now have the responsibility to ensure that the Land is held in high regard as it once was before mineral exploration or other industrial activities began. Understanding the land ownership or titles and the land selection process is critical to future use of the Land. The Inuit organizations must work openly and transparently to ensure they do not start to act like the federal government did in the early days, making decisions without meaningful and transparent consultation to all groups who use the Land or are interested in the health of the Land (McPherson, 2003).

In the context of this project, John Killulark will share his own perspective of the landscape and I will try to understand how he views the landscape. Indirectly, all Inuit are responsible for land management in Nunavut, through the election of political leaders at the municipal, territorial, federal and Inuit organization levels. It will be interesting to examine John's perception of the landscape in light of the existing literature and whether the IOLs that are in the study area were selected for resource protection or exploitation, if the documents can be found.

2.2 Inuit Land Use

Today, the term 'Inuit' meaning "the people" is the term Inuit use to refer to themselves in Inuktitut (Schneider, 1985). The older term 'Eskimo' is not used to represent the first peoples that inhabited the Arctic regions of northern Canada; the term 'Inuit' will be used throughout this thesis. Inuit from the ᖃᐱᓂᓐᓂᓐ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake area have been referred to as the 'Caribou Eskimo' (Boaz, 1974). The Inuit occupied lands across northern Canada and the Caribou Inuit occupied the western coast of Hudson Bay and inland towards the tree line in the Kivalliq region of Nunavut (Plate 2). Inuit have identified themselves by their *-miut* groups, meaning "the people of" and Inuit are familiar with these groupings. Until recent contact, the Fifth Thule Expedition grouped these *-miut* groups together in a bigger region, which is now the Kivalliq region of the territory of Nunavut (Correl, 1976).

There are six main *-miut* groups of Caribou Inuit: the ᖃᐱᓂᓐᓂᓐ Qairnirmiut, ᐱᓂᓂᓐᓂᓐ Hauniqtuurmiut, ᐱᓂᓂᓐᓂᓐ Harvaqtuurmiut, ᐱᓂᓂᓐᓂᓐ Paallirmiut,

Tipjalik Qamaniq - Beverly Lake and the ᐅᖃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐅᖃᐱᐱᐱᐱ Uqsugiarjup Kuunga - lower Dubawnt River. The Paallirmiut lived south of the Hauniqtuurmiut and Harvaqtuurmiut. They occupied the lower Maguse River and lived west towards Yathkyed and Dubawnt Lakes. The Ahiarmiut lived in the southwest of the region between the upper Maguse and ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Harvaqtuuq – Kazan Rivers. John Killulark describes the Akilinirmiut as a separate group. The Akilinirmiut were once part of the Harvaqtuurmiut but a group went hunting game near the ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Tipjalik Qamaniq - Beverly Lake area and stayed there because the hunting of game was better. From then on they were referred to as the Akilinirmiut.

In February 1973, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), now known as Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) proposed to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs that the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project be undertaken as part of a global effort to document the Inuit perspective of the Land and the cultural and ecological importance of the area. This study was led by Milton Freeman and completed in 1976 (Freeman, 1976). The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project aimed to produce a comprehensive and verifiable record of Inuit land use and occupancy in what was the Northwest Territories (Freeman, 1976). This project tried to document the way Inuit view the Land and the role the Land played in defining cultural and ecological perceptions of the area (Freeman, 1976). The ITK is a national Inuit organization that represents Inuit from four regions of Canada: Labrador, Northern Quebec, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit region of the Northwest Territories and its main goal is to represent Inuit in issues that are of a national nature

(ITK, 2005). On paper, information of this nature did not exist and proved valuable in determining land claims settlements.

The information gathered in the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project was gathered by interviewing a range of Inuit including elders, hunters and the youth; who had used the Land extensively or were still using the Land (Arima, 1976). This work showed that the knowledge of younger people was accurate and the transmission of this knowledge from the older to the younger generation was ongoing and accurate (Collignon, 2006).

Following this work, Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), today known as Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), spearheaded a land use and occupancy project. The Nunavut Atlas was produced in 1992 based on this work, and recorded Inuit land use in what is now the Nunavut territory. This atlas describes and illustrates Inuit land use in the Nunavut settlement area based on data gathered from hunters and elders in Nunavut communities (Riewe, 1992).

The literature identified in this section shows how Inuit knowledge has been documented to represent abundance and distribution of wildlife species, the migration patterns of animals and Inuit occupancy of lands in current and historic times in the Nunavut region. These are hard copy records of Inuit land use of the area. For my study area, these documents point to a number of caribou crossing areas and fishing areas, and sites occupied by Inuit. A number of wildlife species can be found in the areas including caribou, fish, grizzly bears and wolves to name a few (Riewe, 1992).

2.3 Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and Oral Histories

Traditional ecological knowledge has been defined simply as a knowledge-practice-belief-complex system (Berkes, 1999). This definition was further clarified in Berkes et al. (2000) with the additional mention of the incorporation of the accumulation and transmission of traditional ecological knowledge through generations about human surroundings and animal and ecological processes related to their cultural landscape. Work in the field of traditional ecological knowledge has grown immensely since the 1980's and has been used in resource management decisions affecting lands that indigenous peoples occupy and continue to use (Berkes et al., 2000). Traditional ecological knowledge may be captured during interviews with elders knowledgeable in those areas.

Inuit have a term in Inuktitut for traditional ecological knowledge and it is “Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit”. This term as described in Wenzel 2004, “*encompasses all aspects of traditional Inuit culture including values, world-view, language, social organization, knowledge, life skills, perceptions and expectations*” and has been incorporated in the Government of Nunavut's Wildlife Act, Bill 35, and policies (Tester & Irniq, 2008; Wenzel, 2004).

Mannik (1989) did extensive oral history documentation with people who lived around Baker Lake. She asked elders what their earliest memories were and where they lived.

Some elders spoke of a range of topics including the times of starvation, shamanism, and marriage.

Cruikshank (1990) brought another observation in that the elder may be presenting the information to the interviewer as a simple story because this person may not be fluent in the language. Overall, the researcher must be aware of the ways an elder may answer the questions because the elder will be forming answers depending on who their audience is. This will have implications in my research because John Killulark will tell me stories as if he is speaking to his mother because I am named after his mother. In Inuit culture, a namesake is the naming of a baby and the name given is usually of a person who is a relative who has passed away and from then on the baby is to be addressed as whomever they are named after (Bennett & Rowley, 2004; ICI, 1982). John may also tell me stories knowing that I am not familiar with the language or he may be telling the story in a simplified way. He may also be telling the story in more details to ensure that the meaning is properly captured. All these scenarios must be considered when John is interviewed.

Oral histories are biographies of people and traditional stories that have been passed on from generation to generation (Cruikshank, 1981; Van Deusen, 2004). Oral histories are important in aboriginal communities because historically, information, values, and beliefs were passed on to the next generation orally through stories and legends (Calliou, 2004; Cruikshank, 1998; Van Deusen, 2004).

2.3.1 Stories, Legends and Songs

Stories, legends and songs relate to events in history and can be relied upon to accurately document an event (Cruikshank, 1981, 1998). These stories, legends, and songs have been passed down through oral traditions. Studies have been done to document the accuracy of the story-teller and whether the information provided is correct in detail (Cruikshank, 1981). For example, Cruikshank describes a story of a young woman who was interviewed about the history of the local area. The information she reported was compared to information from an interviewee who actually lived in the historical time period from a time before the young woman was born and the information the young woman repeated was correct in all details (Arima, 1976; Cruikshank, 1981). Historically, oral history has not been written; it has been passed down verbally through time, to the next generation to forewarn or teach about important areas of knowledge necessary for survival, including migration routes or places where materials for tools can be found (Cruikshank, 1981; Stewart et al., 2004).

These oral narratives are complex and may describe a place, event or moral teachings and recording these at the actual sites helps the researcher understand the landscape in which the story or legend is being told (Cruikshank, 1990). John Killulark mentions during the interviews, some stories, legends, and songs have moral teachings for the listener and tell us something about human nature and the consequences of taking a good or bad path in life. Stories, legends, and songs may explain why certain features like giant stone markers are present on the landscape and these stories and legends have been passed down orally through time (Stewart et al., 2004; Van Deusen, 2004).

Stories, legends, and songs help orient the people who are familiar and have lived on the Land. These stories, legends, and songs have a reference point and the listener who is familiar with the landscape knows where they are and immediately understands the storyteller (Cruikshank, 1990; Stewart et al., 2004). These are like mental maps of the area told through stories, legends, or songs (Nuttall, 1992). A mental map is what the listener develops as he/she listens to the story, song or legend.

2.4 Place names

Place names are a very important part of a culture (Muller-Willie, 1987). Place names are very descriptive and provide key information to navigate and locate crossing points and meeting sites, hunting areas, and land features which include archaeological and topographical features (Brice - Bennett, 1977; Geomatics Canada, 1992; Freeman, 1976; Müller-Wille, 2003; Pelly, 1996; Stewart et al., 2004; Welland, 1976). Place names are important to document because they represent the cultural viewpoint of that particular area and eventually these place names become official topographic names through a process led by territorial and federal governments (Aporta, 2004; Geomatics Canada, 1992; Freeman, 1976; MacDonald, 1998). Place names can be descriptive in nature or rely on some historical events (Stewart et al., 2004). The Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) receives its mandate from the NLCA and is defined in *Article 33, Part 4 – Inuit Heritage Trust* and in *Part 5 – Place Names* of this same article (Tungavik and Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1993). These articles outline the importance of place names and the need to gather and promote the use of these traditional Inuit names by IHT. IHT has

been actively trying to gather names since its inception and continues to find ways to get the information out to the public in new and innovative ways (IHT, 2008).

Place names as outlined by Cruikshank (1990) are triggers to historical events of the past. These place names can persist in settings where the dominant language is not the original language. They are also a unique way of describing a particular land use, for example, a caribou crossing. Place names may describe a mythscape where origins of landmarks are portrayed (Cruikshank, 1990). They are indicators of land use, such as a soapstone quarry. Finally, there is immense complexity in language whereby a name is a viewpoint from which a person is standing (Stewart et al., 2004). For example, a place name may exist in relation to a river and a set of rapids and how a herd of caribou crossed the river. Such place name may tell the hunter where to go to catch a caribou along that river.

Place names have been important for people who live and travel on the Land because when trouble hits, the traveler can call for help using a VHF radio or satellite telephone and describe the land features and eventually be rescued (Aporta, 2004; MacDonald, 1998). It has been documented in Iglulik, Nunavut that some young people who have not traveled by dog team and only traveled by snowmobile, generally do not gain an awareness of their surroundings and have gotten into trouble when they cannot describe their surroundings. But with extensive questioning by knowledgeable people, rescuers can eventually figure out where the stranded traveler is located and initiate a rescue (Aporta, 2004).

Places described along the lower ᐱᓕᓕᓂᓂᓂᓂ Harvaqtuuq – Kazan River have names that are ancient and this is revealed when elders who are from that area do not know the origin of the names or the stories have faded from current understanding (Stewart et al., 2004). Other names have direct meaning to the landscape. For example, one name is directly translated as ‘portage’ and this can be seen on the ᐱᓕᓕᓂᓂᓂᓂ Harvaqtuuq – Kazan River landscape; the area is not navigable by qajaq because of the rapids (Stewart et al., 2004).

My research with John Killulark touches on all aspects of this literature; cultural landscape, Inuit land use, oral histories, stories, songs and legends and place names. These different areas often overlap and complement each other, bringing deeper meaning to the landscape. Throughout the interviews, I wished I could have experienced the time period that was researched just like looking at a hologram. The important task for the moment is to ensure the data are gathered as correctly as possible so that these stories remain strong and alive within the community.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Learning and documenting the tundra landscape

My research project took an interdisciplinary approach and aimed to incorporate a variety of disciplines including, but not limited to, geography, anthropology, sociology, and ecology (Brice - Bennett, 1977).

The bulk of my research took place in a home setting as the original plan to take a trip to ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake area was cancelled due to poor health of John Killulark (Creswell, 2003). Multiple methods of data collection were employed to understand the ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ ᐱᑦᑲᑦᑲᑦ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq - Aberdeen Lake area while interviewing John Killulark. These include, but are not limited to, note taking, videotaping, audio-recordings, and interactive map documentation using GIS (see Appendix 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5).

The interviews were conducted in Inuktitut. A translator was chosen based on their ability to understand intimately the descriptions of places, songs, or words not commonly used in a modern society as John Killulark speaks. A family member helped determine the best candidate for this critical position. Interviews took place where John Killulark felt the most comfortable and interview time frames varied in length to accommodate him (Berg, 2004; Creswell, 1998, 2003; Dunn, 2000).

3.2 Interviews

3.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interview method was used. This method employed basic flexible questions (see Appendix 1) formulated before the interview, but I was not limited to these questions and used these questions as jumping-off points for the interviews (Creswell, 1998; Dunn, 2000; Fox, 2002). With semi-structured interviews the informant was allowed to follow his or her train of thought and to allow the interview to flow without being interrupted (Fox, 2002).

3.2.2 Oral History

An oral history method was incorporated in this research project. The purpose of an oral history method is to record the perspective of the individual on past events (Dunn, 2000). With this approach, the researcher attempts to gather information of personal events, their causes and their effects from the individual (Creswell, 1998). The information gathered, was recorded on video, mini disk recorders and on paper including maps and notes.

3.3 Maps

National Topographic System (NTS) maps of Canada produced by Natural Resources Canada will be used in this research project (Natural Resources, 2001). Both 1/50 000 and 1/250 000 scale maps will be used. NTS maps 56D, 56M, 66A, 66B, and 66C have been acquired digitally from the GIS Librarian – Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba. Paper maps were purchased to aid the interviews.

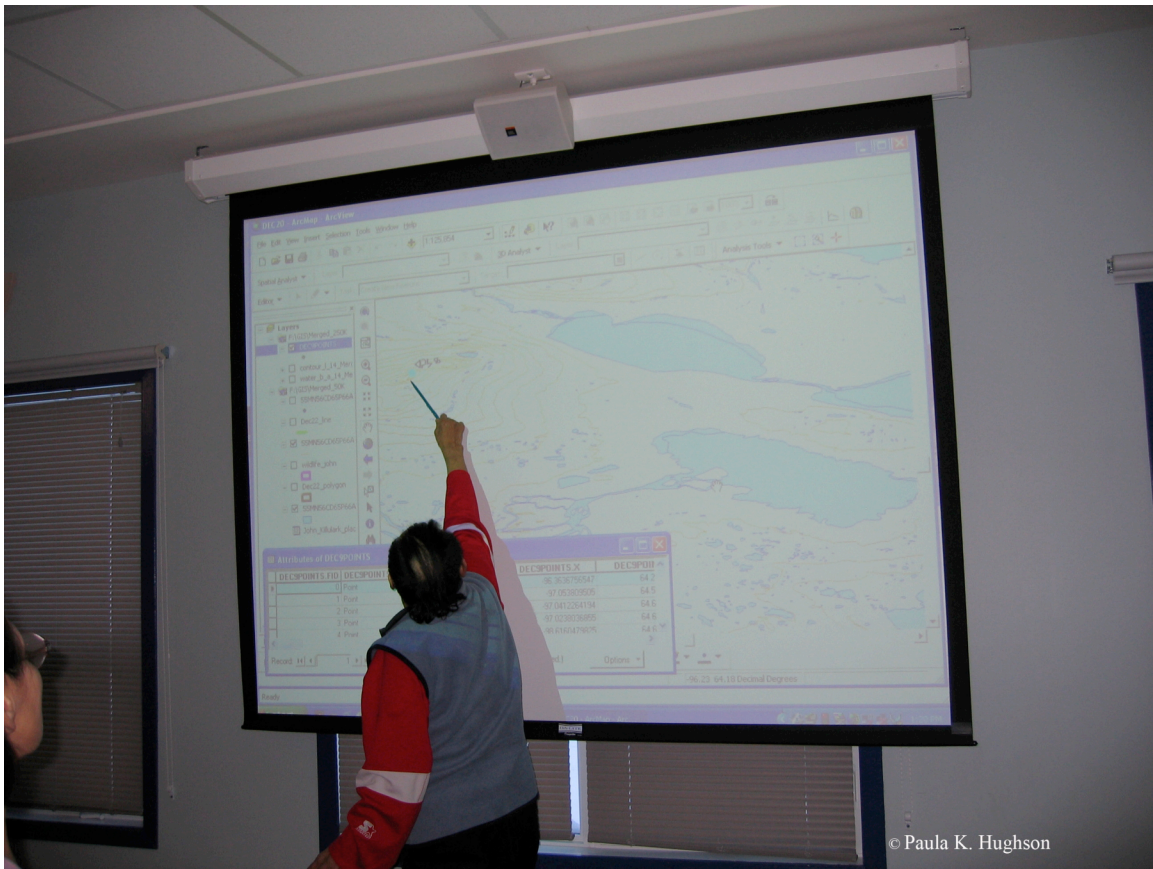
3.4 On the Land Documentation

The interviews conducted with John Killulark were recorded on minidisks, video, photos, and paper (Appendix 2). An interpreter was present during the interviews and ensured that the concepts were clearly understood and place names were properly spelled and defined (Creswell, 1998; Emerson et al., 1995).

A one-hour airplane flight over the study area proved to be beneficial to the family members as John sang and told stories pertaining to the family and gave the area more meaning. Trips to areas accessible by truck were done to change the interview environment and give me a greater understanding of the maps and area John spoke of in the home interview environments.

3.5 Verification

Once all the interviews were transcribed and translated, the material summarized and presented in text, map, and video format was further discussed with John and the interpreters until agreement was reached. A trip back to ᑲᓴᓴᓴᓴ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake from Winnipeg occurred to ensure the information was correct and has not been misconstrued in any way. As an example, the place names were projected on a screen using mapping software and each place name was verified and or corrected, see Photo 4.



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Photo 4: John Killulark verifying place names data.

3.6 Outcomes - Video

A video was produced to ensure that the information that was gathered during the interviews complemented the thesis (see Appendix 6). The video was a way to capture the essence of storytelling and for one to visually see John tell the songs and legends aspect of the project. John wanted this video portion done outdoors and himself dressed in traditional Inuit clothing to give the songs and legends more meaning and more context.

CHAPTER 4: FAMILY ROOTS

Researching my Inuit family background has given me a sense of awe for my uncle John ᖃᓯᓐ ᓂᓕᓐᓂᓐ Qillulaaq (Killulark), my mom Betty ᓇᓴᓴᓐᓂᓐ Natsialuk Hughson and those who moved from living on the Land to the permanent settlement. The cultural shift from living on the Land to the internet age within fifty years is an immense lifestyle change for this generation. People have chosen different paths in life and are dealing with the decisions they made rightly or wrongly. This generation has seen the arrival of “new” things to help make their lives better and other “new” things that make their lives more challenging. The consequences of those decisions have not only affected their own selves but also their immediate families and those generations of the future. Examples of these “new” things range from tools for hunting such as high powered rifles, snowmobiles, to lifestyle choices such as addictive substances, alcohol, drugs or embracing the educational tools available to help build a stronger healthy cultural sense of well being. The federal government is now embracing change to accommodate the “first” peoples who inhabited this continent before their arrival. The aboriginal population is progressing towards self-government and trying to limit their reliance on the systems that have been imposed on them, but adapting the system to suit their needs. Federal government, missions and other programs and systems imposed from the outside were not always for the good of the Inuit people (Tester & McNicoll, 2008). Inuit today are working to shape a better system that will suit the needs of today (Brody, 1975,1991). Different interactions with different waves of contact groups have brought change to the Inuit way of life some positive and some destructive. The different interactions start with

to hear, and some that would be. I will be using the Inuit names of people but provide the Christian names given by missionaries in brackets except for John Killulark and Betty Natsialuk Hughson. As well with some names, I will be using older roman orthography spelling of some names as this is what people are accustomed to. I will use the syllabic spelling when the person is first introduced and from then on use roman orthography spelling of the person's name. With the Baker Lake dialect of Inuktitut the ᓄ si, ᓄ su, ᓇ sa's are pronounced with an 'h' like this, ᓄ hi, ᓄ hu, ᓇ ha's. For example the word "what" in Inuktitut is "huva" is the same as "suva".

John Killulark reminisces about times gone by when he would go out hunting with his older brothers and father or of times of hardship or family life out on the Land. The stories John retells, give a taste of what life was like in the days when they lived out on the Land and gave me a sense of seeing the way of life through his eyes. Part way through the interviews, which took place inside Natsialuk's house, we took a trip by plane and flew over the family's homeland and John described their campsites and what he could see; where everyone once had lived and now was so empty and desolate. This clearly showed how much life had changed in his lifetime. In modern terms, flying over their homeland looked empty especially when John described family groups that camped along the way.

This chapter will give a broad introduction to John Killulark's family by first introducing John's ancestors, then his parents and his siblings. A few stories will be shared to give an idea of the family dynamics. When I introduce a couple, I will start with the husband and

then the wife. Names in the Inuit culture can be given to both males and females. Where space is limited, I will use (m) to denote a male and (f) for a female. In the pedigree charts, blue is used for male and pink for female.

4.1 John Killulark's Ancestors

The following is a description of John's ancestors from what he knows and remembers, see Figure 1. I will start with John's paternal side of the family and then describe his maternal side.

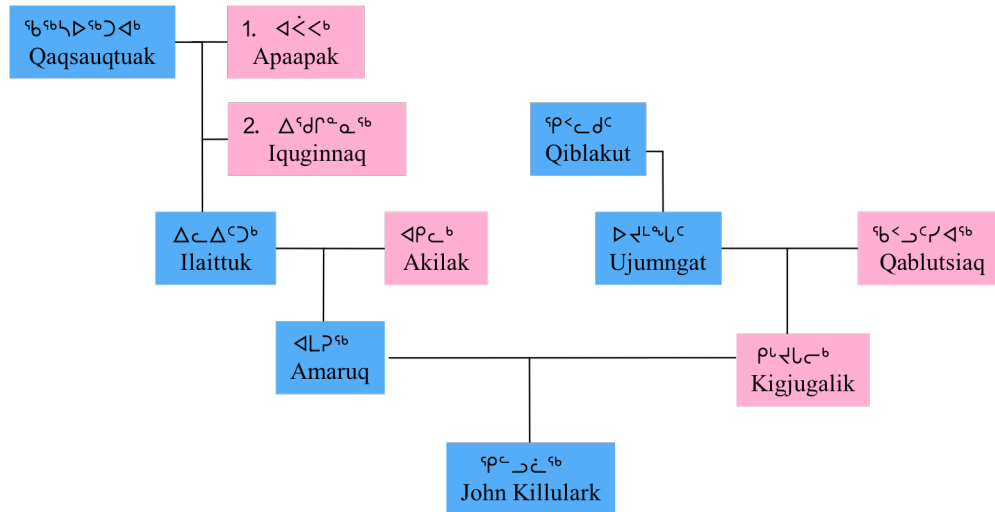


Figure 1: John Killulark's family to his great-grandparents; four generations

4.1.1 Paternal side

Amaruq's parents were Ilaittuk and Akilak and they had two children, Amaruq, and a younger sister named Himga, see Figure 2. Amaruq and Himga had the same mother but different fathers. Himga was married to Itiblijuq and

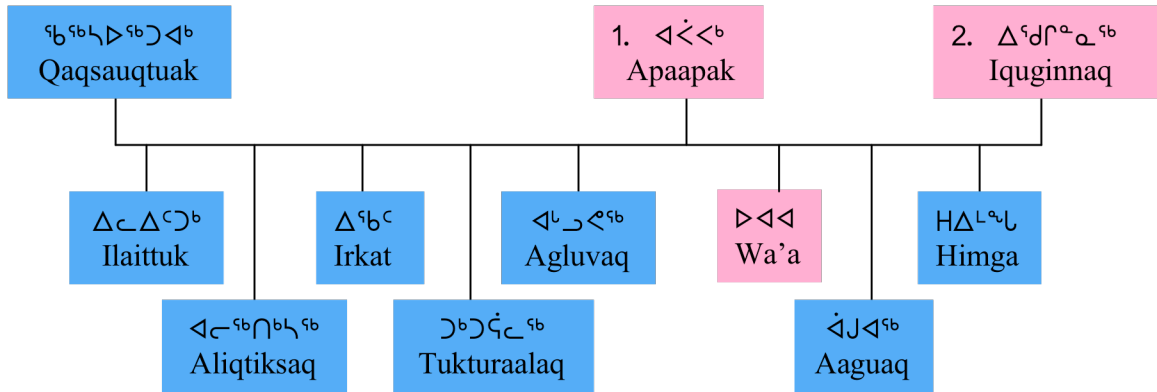


Figure 3: Amaruq’s paternal grandfather family, with two wives

Qaqsauqtuak and Apaapak had five children, five boys; ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Ilaittuk, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Aliqtiksaq, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ Irkat, ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Tukturaalaq, and ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Agluvaq. Apaapak was Amaruq’s biological grandmother.

Qaqsauqtuak and Iquginnaq had three children including one girl, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ Wa’a, and two boys, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ Aaguaq and ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Himga (ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Itsanguaq was his other name).

John Killulark recalls an incident with Himga when John was a teenager. Himga was John’s great-uncle and his grandfather, Ilaittuk’s half brother. The following story was important because it was a story of a murder and murder was not commonplace because it went against Inuit beliefs; not to harm your fellow human beings as John’s father had taught him.

Himga and his wife ᐱᐱᐱᐱ Miaku were murdered later in life by a man named ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Iquginnaq at a place named ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Arviqtalik, located on the north western shore of ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ

Qamaniq Tugliqpaq - Schultz Lake. It was speculated that Iquginnaq had gone crazy after coming in contact with a wolf that had rabies and that pelt may have been used as a fur ruff for his parka. But no one knows why he went berserk. Approximately six months to a year prior, Himga was visiting Amaruq's camp and everyone in the family had gathered to eat a large pot of caribou tongues as they had a relative visiting. Himga broke down crying and apologized for his outburst. No one understood why he had done this but maybe Himga knew this would be the last time he would see his nephew Amaruq and his family.

When John finished this story he explained that when this event occurred even the white people in the community did not know why Iquginnaq had done this terrible act.

4.1.2 Maternal Side

Kigjugalik's parents were ᐃᓄᓄᓄᓄ Ujumngat and ᓄᓄᓄᓄᓄᓄ Qablutsiaq and they had three children, of which Kigjugalik was the youngest, see Figure 4.

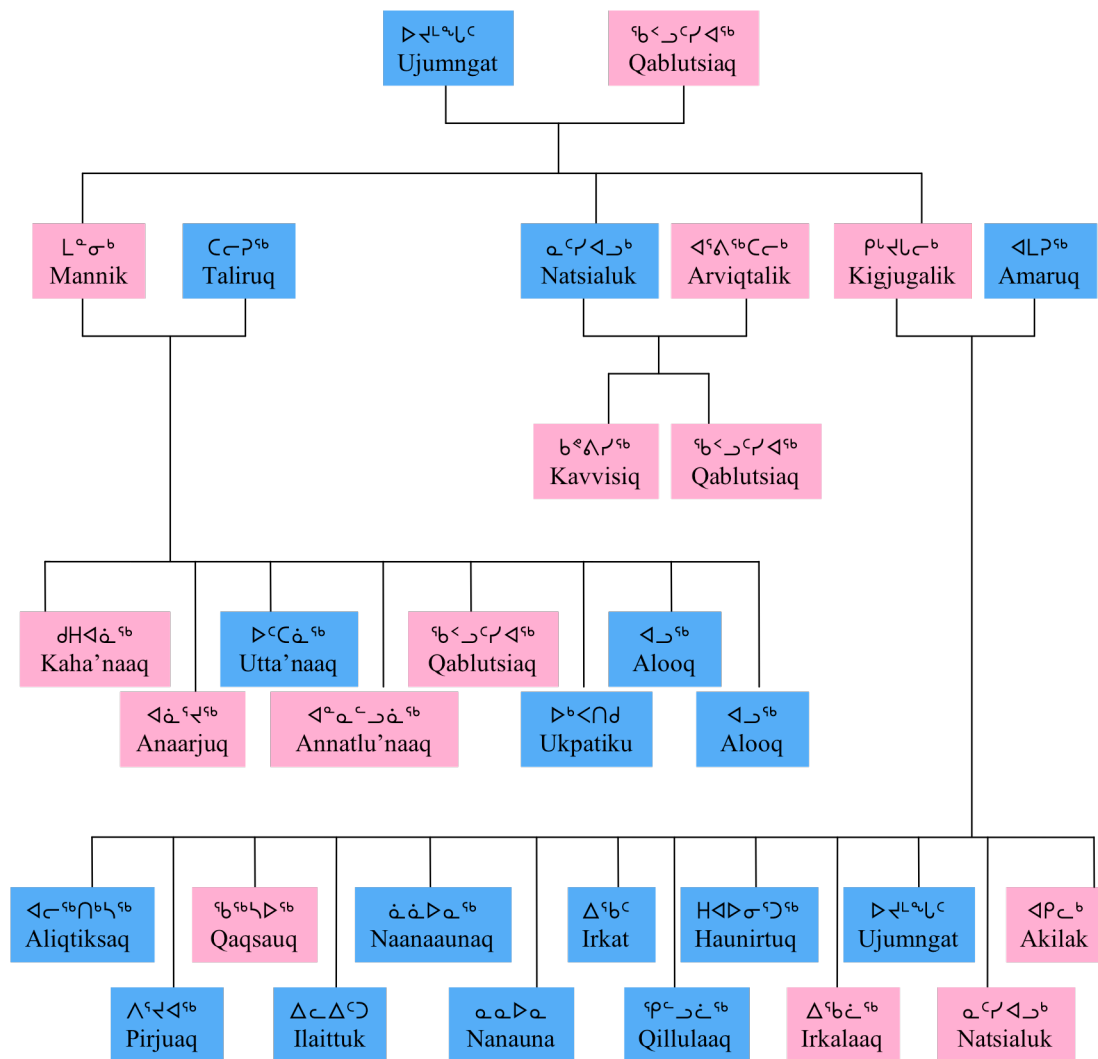


Figure 4: Kigjugalik’s parents and family

The oldest sibling was her sister $L^a\sigma^b$ Mannik who was married to $C\tau^b$ Taliruq and they had eight children, $dH\dot{a}^b$ Kaha'naaq (f), $\dot{a}^b\dot{a}^b$ Anaarjuq (f), $\tau^b C\dot{a}^b$ Utta'naaq (m), $\dot{a}^a\dot{e}^c\tau\dot{a}^b$ Annatlu'naaq (f), $^b\tau^c\tau^b\dot{a}^b$ Qablutsiaq (f), $\tau^b\dot{a}^b\dot{a}^b$ Ukpatiku (m), \dot{a}^b Aloq (m) who was mauled and killed by a dog as a young boy, and another child named \dot{a}^b Aloq (m).

Her brother $\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{r}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{b}}$ Natsialuk was married to $\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{b}}\mathfrak{c}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{b}$ Arviqtalik and they adopted two children because Arviqtalik could not have children, $\mathfrak{b}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{r}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{b}$ Kavvisiq (f) and $\mathfrak{b}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{r}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{b}}$ Qablutsiaq, Hattie (f), who was actually Natsialuk’s niece.

4.2 John Killulark’s Parents and Siblings:

Amaruq, (Michael) and Kigjugalik (Martha) are husband and wife. They had 13 biological children, 9 boys, and 4 girls, see Figure 5. Amaruq and Kigjugalik are the parents of John Killulark who is the eighth child and Betty Natsialuk Hughson is the twelfth. These are the two last surviving biological siblings of the family. Amaruq and Kigjugalik were each married once and Amaruq asked Kigjugalik not to remarry when he passes away and she respected his wish. Once Kigjugalik was living in the settlement of Baker Lake, she adopted two more children: one girl (Lucy $\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{b}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{c}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{b}$ Iqalaaq Evo) and one boy (Victor $\mathfrak{b}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{r}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{a}^{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{c}^{\mathfrak{c}}$ Ujumngat Killulark).

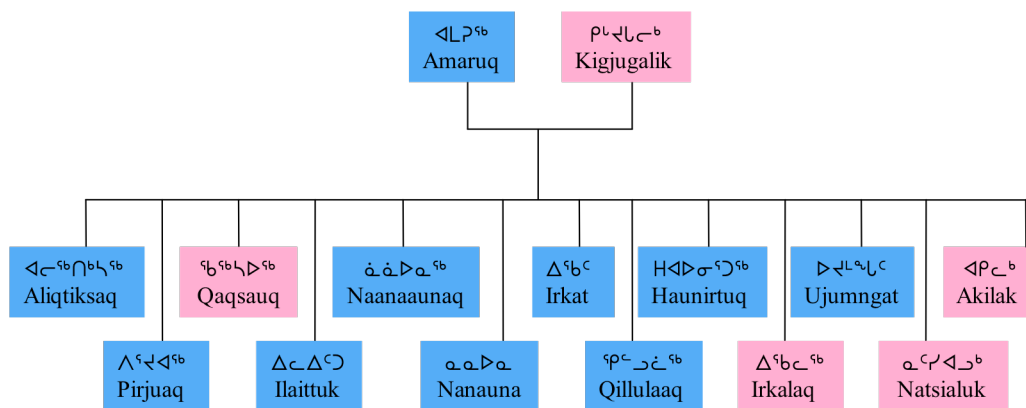


Figure 5: Amaruq and Kigjugalik’s family

4.2.1 Amaruq

The name Amaruq means ‘wolf’, in Inuktitut. Amaruq was a shaman for most of his adult life and towards the end of his life he converted to Christianity. He was born around 1895 and died in 1952. John Killulark says he has only heard of these things regarding shamans. He said that he did not fully understand the old ways; the only one he understands is Jesus Christ. Jesus was in the wilderness for 40 days before He was crucified. John commented that when looking at both types of spirituality, it is as though the shamans followed the same type of process where they died and came back to life. He commented on the similarity of rebirth in Christianity and Inuit shamanism and remarked that it was possibly not like that. Below is a description of the shaman process Amaruq followed as told to John by ᐃᐱᐱᐅᐅᐅ - Ipiaq. This detailed description gives an explanation of the rules that were followed, those being on the cusp of shamanism and Christianity. Amaruq was a very strict father and this possibly came from his tutelage to become a shaman or the hard work needed to survive on the tundra landscape.

4.2.1.1 Amaruq’s training and development to become a shaman

The following are terms for describing different states of shamanism and different situations a shaman can be in while practicing as a shaman. A description of how Amaruq became a shaman is described.

ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ **Aklirniq** is the term used for an individual who is in the process of becoming a shaman.

ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ **Pituqutit** is a belief that a person would use any type of a object from an animal, for instance the tail of a fox or a tail of

- *He was to be in an area during the day where there would not be any human footprints,*
- *He was to return to the iglu by sunset*
- *When he returned he was only allowed to have a drink of water, he was not allowed to eat any meal with the people in the iglu.*

Sometime during Amaruq's five days of shaman ritual of fasting, Amaruq started to become weak and while out on the Land he shouted, "Nothing will stop me and I will keep going on. All I want is for the people to live better and to help my people". The reason Amaruq sought to become a shaman was because he wanted to be able to feed people or people in need.

During his fasting out on the Land, a rabid fox approached him. He gave his mitt to the animal and Amaruq lost consciousness. Amaruq apparently caught the rabid fox and in those days the prices for fox pelts were high, so he started walking back towards the iglus and when he could see the iglus he raised the skin. John Killulark's namesake; Qillulaaq saw Amaruq and started to approach Amaruq. Amaruq was careful to be in an area where there were no human footprints and since he saw that Qillulaaq was approaching, he left the fox pelt on top of a rock for Qillulaaq to pick up.

When Qijuarjuk learned that Amaruq had come into contact with Qillulaaq's footprints, he was very disappointed and said that Amaruq could not continue with the fasting and the preparations that go with becoming a shaman. Qijuarjuk said he would now have to shoot Amaruq when he returned to the camp that evening because the ceremony was now invalid. Qijuarjuk explained that Amaruq approached an area where there were going to be human footprints made by Qillulaaq and so Amaruq's ceremony was deemed incomplete. For this reason, the only way Amaruq could now become a shaman was if he was shot or speared. Nobody was supposed to come into contact with Amaruq's own footprints while he was still in the process of becoming a shaman. When Qillulaaq went and approached Amaruq's footprints, this terminated the ceremony. Qijuarjuk had to shoot Amaruq to complete the process quickly.

Qijuarjuk explained some rules that needed to be followed since a new course of action was needed for Amaruq to continue to the process of becoming a shaman. No one was to set foot on the floor of the iglu; they must all remain on the raised bedding area of the iglu. Qillulaaq was selected to assist Qijuarjuk and so was able to touch the floor but no one including Qillulaaq was allowed to exit the iglu

when the shaman ceremony was in session. Qijuarjuk also explained that no one was to speak, utter a sound or anything like that and that no one was supposed to cry when he shoots Amaruq. He explained to them that being silent would greatly help with the process.

Qijuarjuk apparently had hidden a 30/30 rifle under the bedding skins prior to Amaruq's arrival that evening because he was getting preparations ready to make Amaruq a shaman. At that time, Amaruq had no knowledge that Qijuarjuk had hidden a rifle.

When Amaruq returned to the iglu at sunset, he and Qijuarjuk kept going in and out of the iglu. The rest of the people in the iglu remained on the raised bedding area as they were instructed earlier. While Amaruq and Qijuarjuk kept entering and exiting the iglu their appearance and actions changed. They looked and acted like they were drunk, they were very active, light on their feet and very talkative. When the two men were outside the people in the iglu could hear the two men running around the iglu periodically. It came to the point where Amaruq appeared to look very, very drunk and he didn't quite know what he was doing.

Qijuarjuk was described as a very small man. His body was a bit deformed, his back was shaped in a bent position, and when he was walking they had to put antlers on the sled to help him stay up.

As soon as Qijuarjuk came back into the iglu, he leaped from the doorway of the iglu to behind where the people were sitting around the raised bedding area. This was the point when he was going to shoot Amaruq. When Amaruq came in the doorway, the doorways used to be small where they had to bend their heads to get into the iglu. Amaruq bent his head and started entering the iglu. As soon as he entered and straightened his back, Qillulaaq covered his head with a caribou skin.

Once Amaruq's head was covered with a caribou skin, Qijuarjuk who was hidden amongst the people, shot Amaruq. In preparation for this event, they had already placed a bull caribou skin on the floor in the kitchen area where Amaruq would be shot. When Qijuarjuk shot Amaruq, he fell backwards onto the pre-positioned bull caribou skin.

Qillulaaq assisted Qijuarjuk to roll and bind the body with the caribou skin, and then take him outside but Qillulaaq made sure that he did not step his foot outside the iglu. Qijuarjuk was going to drag

Amaruq the rest of the way from outside the iglu to the ice, where there were no tracks. They were gone for a long period of time, it felt like possibly half an hour or more, but they could not go out and check because Amaruq's ceremony of becoming a shaman was still happening.

Again Qijuarjuk, in the same manner as he had entered the iglu the previous time, leaped from the doorway to the bedding area.

The reason why Qijuarjuk was running in the first place was because he was running away from Amaruq. Amaruq when he came back to life, he remembered that Qijuarjuk shot him and he wanted revenge. Qijuarjuk leaped and hid behind Aliqtiksaq, Amaruq's uncle, and tried to make sure that Amaruq did not see him. Aliqtiksaq adopted Amaruq when Amaruq's father, Ilaittuk died. Amaruq always felt like he was more of a son to Qaqsauqtuak who was actually his grandfather and was the father of Ilaittuk and Aliqtiksaq.

Amaruq later came in the iglu and started asking "where's Qijuarjuk, where's Qijuarjuk, I'm going to pay him back". He started looking behind the people. Qillulaaq gave Amaruq a drum and said, "He's not here, play the drum".

It was as though Amaruq was still drunk so as soon as he was told to play the drum and dance, he did that immediately. And Kigjugalik

was expected to sing all of Amaruq's songs when her husband started dancing. Apparently, Amaruq had a lot of songs that he made up but Killulark only remembers one song. He remembers part of other songs but he doesn't remember all of the song.

Amaruq was apparently very good with the drum and he had lots of very good songs and because his leg was already crooked, he took advantage of this to swing his body around. And the one thing Ipiaq remembers is Kigjugalik kept trying to go on singing but her voice was all used up.

Qijuarjuk said if the people completed the whole process of becoming a shaman, there was no need to be shot or hit with a spear. Qijuarjuk also said the ones who did not die, the ones who were shot or who were hit with a spear, had a weaker spirit than the ones who died and came back to life. Those who died and came back to life had stronger spirits.

This story of Amaruq's tutelage to become a shaman intrigued me because in the story, he described a lifestyle that is no longer lived, living in an iglu during the winter season, the importance of the rules and the consequences when those rules were not followed. Shamanism was an important part of Inuit cultural past and potentially the present because the rules that Inuit followed were embodied in this practice (Laugrand, 2010). I

have included this account to give an insight into a time and practices that neither John nor myself have experienced.

4.2.2 Kigjugalik

Kigjugalik was a devout Christian throughout her whole adult life. She was born in 1905 and died in 1969. The name Kigjugalik has a longer story of how the name came to be. The meaning of Kigjugalik is, ‘tattoos on the face’. In Inuit culture, tattoo beautification was reserved to women only. The following is a story of how a person named Qiblakut, was given the name ‘Kigjugalik’ as told by John. This story helps understand the dynamics between two different cultures, the Inuit and the Indians, where they usually did not trust each other and how a person can be given a new name in life.

The story goes that the Kigjugalik’s namesake was a man named Qiblakut who was confronted by an Indian man either Dene or Cree with war paint on his face, as he was going back to his camp with a caribou on his back. The Indian had a spear and it was aimed at Qiblakut’s armpit area and the Indian attempted to stab Qiblakut with the spear. Qiblakut then grabbed the spear and broke it in half and stabbed the Indian back with it and ended up killing the Indian. They were fighting to the death; if Qiblakut did not fight back, the Indian would have killed him. It was said that when Qiblakut killed the Indian, you could hear the Indian’s wife crying and the crying came from somewhere in the distance. When

Qiblakut returned to camp, there were marks on his face. He told the group at the camp what had happened on his way home from hunting. It was decided that since he had killed a man that he would be punished. His punishment was to have tattoos applied to his face for having killed another human being. Tattoos in Inuit culture were usually reserved for women and it was regarded as a sign of beauty. The tattoos are applied with a needle and thread with ash on the thread. This is a very painful process as the ash is left behind and is visible under the skin. The next day it was decided that the Inuit group would bury the Indian but when they arrived at the site, the body was gone. It was speculated that there were more Indians in the area and they took the body away.

John further explains that the root of the name “Kigjugalik” means tattoos; hence Qiblakut was given a literal descriptive name. Tattoos were usually reserved for women and so this would have been another form of punishment for Qiblakut for killing his fellow man as John reflects after telling this story.

4.2.3 Siblings

The following is a description of John’s siblings starting from the oldest to the youngest and a brief life history of all siblings.

Qaqsauq

ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Qaqsauq, Rhoda was the third child and was married twice. Her first husband was ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Ujumngat, Andrew. They had four children, ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Qimmiu'naaq, Sally, ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Nguanguaq, Janet, ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Iqaalaaq, Lucy and a boy named ᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃᖃ Amaujaq who passed away as a baby when Qaqsauq was at Clearwater Lake with tuberculosis, Amaujaq had had a seizure. Ujumngat passed away while on duty as a special constable for the RCMP. He was out fishing for dog food in the summer time for the RCMP dog team and drowned while out on duty. When Ujumngat passed away, Qaqsauq and her family went to live with Kigjugalik. John describes the events that took place.

When Ujumngat passed away, Aliqtiksaq traveled to the town of Baker Lake to bring back Qaqsauq and her family of four children to our home. I remember we were camping in tents in the fall time and one day Qaqsauq came with him to go caribou hunting. They caught sixty-seven caribou using four packages of bullets. This was lots of work to prepare the meat, skinning and to carry it back to our campsite. I remember Kigjugalik told Qaqsauq, “don't try to know more than your brother”, as they were skinning the caribou. There were so many caribou to work on that some were freezing.

(Kigjugalik favored Killulark) Qaqsauq was getting tired from carrying the meat and I remember Qaqsauq went into the tent crying even though she was older than me. She was carrying pouches of meat while I was carrying whole caribou on my back. This was lot of

Naanaaunaq

ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Naanaaunaq, was the fifth child. He died as a young boy.

Nanauna (Itikuq)

ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ, Nanauna, Paul (ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Itikuq was his nickname, he use to tease his cousin Akilak, Moses), was the sixth child and he married ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Annallu'naaq, ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Ukpatiku's sister. They had two children. The first child was a boy named ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ, Ilaittuk, but died accidentally by suffocation. John recalls the story;

<ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Paungat and ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Itikuq, two cousins were going to go to

ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Mannik's (Annallu'naaq's mother) camp by canoe.

Annallu'naaq wanted to follow as well to be with her parents, when

the baby was to be born. Kigjugalik was against her traveling at

such a late stage in her pregnancy. All three left, but on the way to

the other camp Annallu'naaq went into labor across from ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ

Iglurjualik. Apparently Annallu'naaq fell asleep with the baby right

against her and the baby suffocated to death.

Their other child, died when Annallu'naaq passed away.

We were living in this area ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Aulatsirviarjuk, located at

ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Qamaniq Tugliqpaaq - Schultz Lake when Amaruq

passed away and we started moving to the ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Iglurjualik

area because there were still caribou meat caches to live on. In our

camp there were six of us, Kigjugalik, Itikuq, Annallu'naaq, myself – Killulark, Qatrgulaq (Ujumngat) and Natsialuk.

Δ^ˆˆ^ˆΔ^ˆΔ^ˆΔ^ˆ Ingangaittuk came to our camp to bring us to his camp at ˆbLσ^ˆ ˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Qamaniq Tugliqpaq - Schultz Lake, because we were running out of food. As well Δ^ˆˆ^ˆΔ^ˆΔ^ˆ Ingangaittuk's brother, ˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Ulukpaa wanted Kigjugalik for a wife. Apparently Amaruq asked my mother not to remarry when he dies. She respected his wishes.

ˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Siksiknaaq wanted us to follow to their homeland area at ΔΔLˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Iamaukattattuaq down near by Cˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Tahilukjuaq -Pitz Lake. Δˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Isiktagutnaq was going back in the direction of our homeland and so we followed him.

From Δ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆˆ^ˆ Arnatqaksaatnuaq we followed a river called Δσ^ˆˆ^ˆ Aniguk and waited for Aliqtiksaq. We were all ice fishing as there was little to no food. I decided to sleep while the others were fishing; when they were sleeping I was the only one awake. This is when I spotted two caribou, a female, and calf. We were in need of food then and Itikuq and I shot them.

While we were in this area, other people were in the area camping and ice fishing. ΔḍḐ^{ᶜᵇ} Ikuutaq and HΔ^ᵇᵇ^ᵇ Hiksagak came to our camp and we thought they were coming to have some fish as Annallu'naaq was preparing a fire with mosses to cook some fish. Both men were shamans but Hiksagak had helping spirits that accurately foretold future events and they came true. Hiksagak came to Kigjugalik fishing shelter and when she offered him tea, he started weeping and said "Do not believe me for what I am about to say, in his vision he saw Annallu'naaq's spirit walking away from our camp and she was quite a distance already and then he saw either Qatrgulaq's spirit or his spirit (Killulark) following her' and that is when he decided that he should come and tell the family what his helping spirits foretold. He mentioned to Kigjugalik that if she gives him a token he maybe able to prevent this. He knew we were as poor as him and suggested a match stick or a piece of nipku (caribou dried meat) but Kigjugalik did not want to participate because she explained she was a Christian and she didn't want to go through his shaman spirit for help.

Annallu'naaq, Qatrgulaq, and he were all healthy and no one was sick even though we have little food. We were catching fish while living in this area. It was now springtime, the ground was starting to thaw, and the sleds had no mud for the runners so we were going

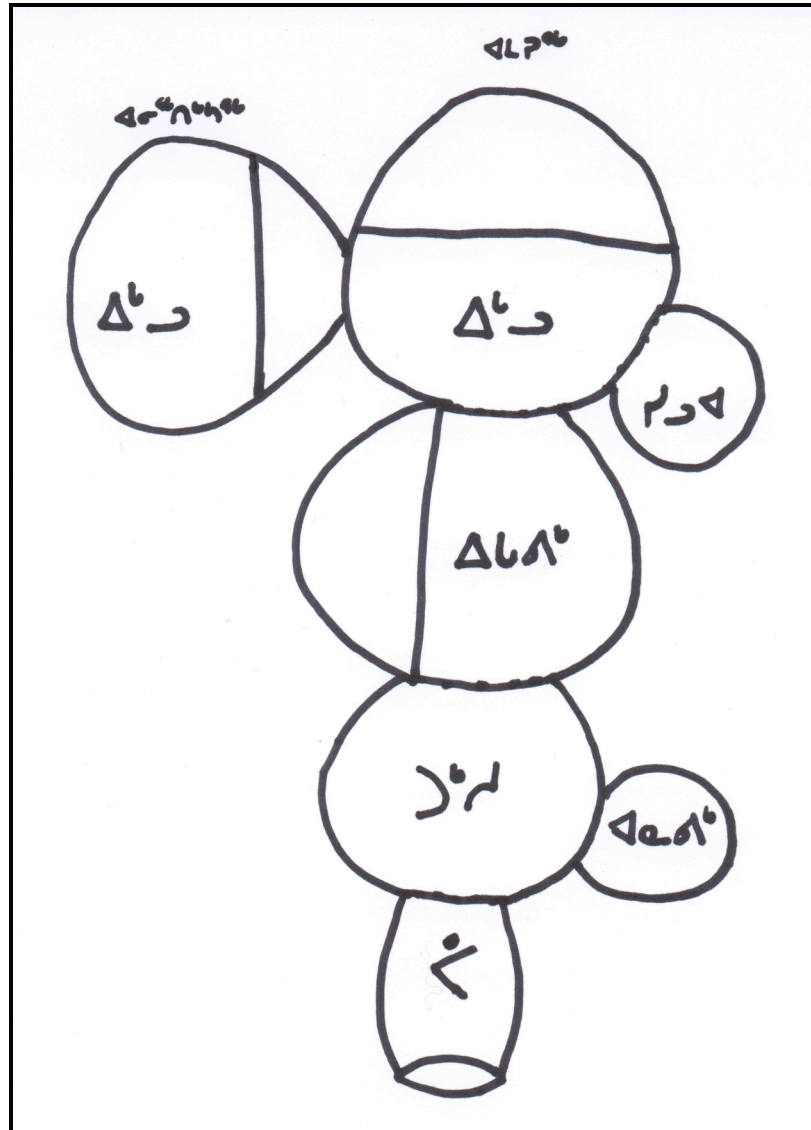


Plate 3: A drawing of John's family iglu style, when he was growing up on the Land.

(ᐱᐱᐱᐱ paa - the entrance, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ tuksu – the porch area, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ anarvik – toilet area, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ igavik – kitchen/cooking area, the ᐱᐱᐱᐱ- iglu area where they slept then there could be another ᐱᐱᐱᐱ- iglu attached plus a small ᐱᐱᐱᐱ sirlua used for storage)

RCMP officer Corporal Clare J. Dent had been assigned to the Baker Lake detachment in September 1953 and while familiarizing himself with his new post, he came across in the safe, a sealed, registered, official OHMS envelope and inside this envelope was the Coronation medal and a piece of paper explaining who the medal belonged to; "E2-109 Ooyoumut" who was Amaruq. The paper described Amaruq as "An outstanding hunter and provider amongst the native people", Corporal Dent asked his S/Con. Ujumngat if he knew of this person and Ujumngat explained he did but that E2-109 had passed away a few years ago. He explained that Amaruq's wife E2-110 Kingualik (Kigjugalik) was still alive and was living out on the Land. Corporal Dent then waited for permission to have the medal presented to Amaruq's wife instead. Permission was granted but Corporal Dent was to make sure photographs were taken with him in his Red Serge uniform for this historic event. Then came, the task of finding Kigjugalik because it would take at least three weeks to find her by dog team, as this was the only means of travel to the Inuit camps that were scattered in all directions from Baker Lake. During the spring of 1954, a single otter RCAF plane landed at Baker Lake and was on a training mission. They asked Corporal Dent if he would like to see his district by plane and he agreed. He put on his Red Serge uniform as instructed by Ottawa, as this was an official ceremony. He wore

his caribou skin clothes over top of his uniform and once Kigjugalik's camp was found and the details of the medal explained, the final parts of the instructions were to have this moment in history documented on photograph. Off came the caribou skins and all present laughed at this spectacle. Once the medal was presented, all gathered for tea and an in-depth discussion regarding the medal and its significance were underway, with S/Con. Ujumngat as interpreter (Pers Comm. Clare J. Dent, Feb. 2010, with permission to reprint).

The above account ties with the information John told me about the medal. It was said that The Queen ordered that the people from the north also be recognized because they are Canadians too. Amaruq was recognized because he was a provider for a large family even though he limped. Amaruq and Kigjugalik had thirteen biological children, nine boys, and four girls. When Amaruq was born, his parents had placed a taboo on him; no metal was to touch the bone of a caribou he consumed. The taboo was placed on him because his parents wanted him to become a fast runner. When he was a young boy someone who was at their camp smashed a caribou bone with a metal axe and was not aware of this taboo placed on Amaruq. Amaruq then lost the flesh on his leg, his feet pointed in either direction; his leg was crooked and from then on walked with a limp. Instead of becoming the fastest runner, he became the slowest. From a distance, Amaruq was easily recognizable because of his limp. Amaruq was also a great drum dancer and used his crooked leg to his advantage by spinning around on his one leg and drumming

away (See page 50, 4.2.1.1 *Amaruq's training and development to become a shaman*). Amaruq had many songs and his wife Kigjugalik was expected to sing them whenever he played the drum. John Killulark mentioned that he was not present when the photograph was taken because he was out hunting for the family.

4.5 Conclusion

The interviews conducted with my uncle John Killulark gave me a brief glimpse of how the family members interacted with each other and what life was like out on the Land at their various camps, in different seasons. During one of the interviews, my uncle reflected that he did not live life as his parents or older siblings had done before him but had kept traditions that reflected the new lifestyle of living in a settlement. He would go out hunting to feed his family and teach his children how to live out on the Land as best he could. For me, this glimpse into the past helped me understand how connected Inuit families once were before living in the settlement. Today, John and the family still have strong connections to the Land. In the next chapter, John will continue to share his insights of the family homeland through detailed place names work and stories of life during the times prior to moving to the settlement of 'bLσ' ᐃᐱᑖ Qamani'tuaq - Baker Lake.

CHAPTER 5 – THE LAND

Today, going on the Land is a source of rejuvenation for those fortunate enough to have the time, the knowledge, or the means to travel, even if it is just for a day, a weekend or if

you are lucky a little longer. It replenishes your soul and clears your mind and then you are ready to return to your occupations in the community. This chapter will provide stories to go along with some of the place names included in (Table 1). By including these intimate stories, it gives life to the places named and a sense of how the family lived prior to the creation of the permanent settlements. All is interconnected. During the first interview with John, he told me that some stories would not be pleasing to hear and some would be. The stories ranged from encounters with irijaqs – evil creatures that can change into different beings to stories of hunting and hardships when living on the Land. Through these place names, stories relating to his personal relationships with his parents and siblings are expressed.

5.1 Legendary Creatures and Taboos - Kavvavak's:

During the interviews, John described an incident where his two oldest siblings, Aliqtiksaq and Ilaittuk, and their families camped in an area where camping was forbidden, unless one could not go further. His father, Amaruq, learned that his two eldest sons did not respect ancient Inuit customs. Amaruq warned that one should not disrespect these customs, as they are very powerful.

This event takes place when Aliqtiksaq was married to Imaima and they have a child named Ajapia'juk, his real name was Tuluktuk, Ajapia'juk was his nickname. Ajapia'juk was a little boy when this incident happened.

Aliqtiksaq, Ilaittuk, Imaima, Kukijaut, and Ajapia'juk were on their way to ᐱᑕᐱᑕᑦᐱ Atgaktalik but stopped at a place where it is forbidden to camp overnight, you can only camp there if you are in dire need and there is no other alternative.

They had stopped there because they caught a caribou and so decided to camp there. The area where it is forbidden to camp is not all that big, maybe half a square kilometer. If something is holding you back and you have to camp in this area you can, but if everything is fine then you must move on because there are ᐅᑦᑕᑕᑦᐱ kavvavak's; trolls - evil spirits [this the closest I can come in English for this term] in this area. There are four different types of kavvavaks; ᐱᐱᐱᑕᑦᐱ Amautalik, ᑕᐱᑕᑦᐱ Tupilak, ᐱᐱᑕᑦᐱ Inurarulik, and ᐱᑕᑕᑦᐱ Ijirak.

While camping there, Aliqtiksaq and Ilaittuk went out caribou hunting and Imaima, Kukijaut and Ajapia'juk were left at the campsite. It was in the springtime and Ajapia'juk was playing in front of the tent and the entrance part of the tent was open. When you are in the tent you can see outside and Ajapia'juk was playing just outside and was visible to Imaima and Kukijaut. Imaima and Kukijaut were busy mending caribou skin kamiks/boots because the kamiks had holes in the soles. Kamik mending was a chore that was

always done because these boots are prone to wearing out.

Ajapia'juk was right near the tent playing and they could see him, as they were sewing. When Ajapia'juk started crying as if he was in terror, they, Imaima and Kukijaut both at the same time started going out of the tent, but there was a pole right in front of them and they got stuck there because they were really trying to go out at the same time. By the time they got out of the tent, the child was already way up there and when they saw him, he was covered with mud and moss all over him and was just crying his head off. Ajapia'juk said: "A white man took me, a big white man!" Ilaittuk saw what happened and ran as fast as he could to Ajapia'juk. When they reached him, Ajapia'juk could not stop crying.

My father's camp was at ᐱᓐᐱᓐᐱᓐᐱᓐ Arviqталik, in front of ᐱᓐᐱᓐᐱᓐᐱᓐ Arviqталik that time. When they (Aliqtiksaq, Ilaittuk, Imaima, Kukijaut and Ajapia'juk) came to our camp, my father started scolding Aliqtiksaq and Ilaittuk right away. My father knew what they had done without them telling him.

My father said: "The beliefs of the Inuit are not to be played around with. It's just like Christianity. You believe something; Inuit beliefs are exactly like what they say they will do. They come to pass. You have to respect them. Do not even think or say that you do not

believe in these because before white man came, these actually did happen.”

*Ajapia'juk, passed away around that area, ᐱᓐᓂᓐ ᐱᓐᓂᓐ ᐱᓐᓂᓐ ᐱᓐᓂᓐ
Arviqtaalik imnajuit. Maybe I was... around 8 years old at the time
when the incident happened. Because Aliqtiksaq and Imaima
camped in the forbidden area, their oldest son died. They were not in
dire need so they should not have camped there.*

The following story John told is of his encounter with a creature when he was about 17 years old. This is a story of creatures that change from one animal to another. His father, Amaruq, did not believe his story but his mother did. His father Amaruq did not cherish John but his mother very much loved him. John's father always tested John and his mother was always after his father not to be so hard on John. Here is a story of the creature that John encountered.

*My father, Amaruq was scanning the landscape near our camp with
his telescope, looking for wildlife and I was having a nap. I was
about seventeen years old at this time. My mother, Kigjugalik was
drying out all the caribou skins by laying them out to dry on top of
the ground and Annallu'naaq was preparing all the firewood.
Natsialuk and Qatrgulaq were little children and were playing
outside in front of the tent.*

When I first got up from my nap, I was stretching and while stretching I was scanning the Land for wildlife and saw three caribou. The caribou were coming towards our camp and they were near the only little hill around our camp. The caribou were disappearing behind the little hill and I ran for my 25/30 rifle, as they were about one kilometer or more away. It was too far to take a shot so I had to go in the direction that the three caribou had disappeared, behind the little hill. When I reached the top of the hill there were no caribou, but what I found were ptarmigan, a flock of ptarmigan, and all making noises in a circle. There were no stones to throw at them and my rifle was too big to get a ptarmigan, so I put the rifle down and went back to our camp to get a less powerful rifle. Our family was tired of eating fish and white man's food like flour used to make bannock, fried flat type bread.

As I passed my mother, Kigjugalik, I said, "There's no caribou but there's lots of ptarmigan" and I started rushing around and grabbed the 22 rifle as fast as I could. My father, Amaruq, was still scanning the Land with his telescope and said, "Where are the caribou that you said you were going to hunt?"

When I returned to the hill where the ptarmigans were, they were still there. I went right to them so I wouldn't miss my shot. When I aimed at the ptarmigan with my gun, the ptarmigan became a jaeger, and all of the ptarmigans transformed into jaegers, every single one of them.

When I first saw them, they were caribou. Then the second time, they were ptarmigan, and the third time I saw them, they became jaegers. I don't know what happened. I was thinking to myself, "What is happening here? They were caribou when I first saw them and it was broad daylight, the sun was quite high." I was trying not to be scared but fear started entering into me... I am a man, I shouldn't be scared. I could feel something coming towards me. I could feel it and I started shivering and shaking because I could sense it, getting closer to me. All those jaegers were still there and I was facing the jaegers and our tent was behind me. There were no human beings visible.

Now the fear became more intense and as the fear intensified I turned towards camp and ran as fast as I could. I was a fast runner when I was a young man. My father was still scanning the landscape and was scolding me since I came back to camp empty handed, "Where are the caribou that you were hunting? Where are the

My brother Itikuq had a taboo placed on him. He was not allowed to eat caribou tongues because his parents wanted him not to brag about himself. My parents did not want him to say he was going to do something and in the end not do it. They wanted him to become a good hunter and they believed this would help him do so.

John and his brother Ilaittuk had a taboo placed on them as well, they were not allowed to sit on hard surfaces because Amaruq wanted them to become fast runners.

Some taboos were placed because an individual killed another human being. Some of these people had taboos placed on them, for example they may not be allowed to speak for a length of time or had to sleep alone in their own iglu or tent.

5.2 Shaman/Angakkuq

John recalled an incident where his father, Amaruq, foretold of a family member's future and John nearly witnessed a shaman ritual, which he had never seen practiced. Amaruq was a shaman and wanted to help his grandson become healthy but was stopped by his wife, Kigjugalik.

This year was a really bad year for our family. Michael Amaruq, who is Aliqtiksaq's first and only child with his first wife Apaapak, was sick for a really long time. My father was a shaman and he

didn't throw away his shamanism belt and still believed in the old ways. My father was going to spear Michael in the stomach and use his shaman powers to try and heal him but my mother forbade that. The reason why my father wanted to spear Michael was to get rid of Michael's sickness. My father said that if he doesn't spear Michael, during Michael's lifetime he is going to have a really poor health. My father prophesized that Michael will have a really poor health and this came true; Michael had a really poor health.

John recalled an incident when his father, Amaruq, and his shaman helping spirit entered the iglu and went to Amaruq's grandson Michael Amaruq who had the same name; his grandson's other name referred by the family as Uivaruhigiaq.

When I entered the iglu, my father was putting a handle onto a pana (a knife with a long metal blade about a foot in length, men generally use this knife to make iglus, it is apart of their toolkit). My father was on the bed with his boots off, making up a pana handle. Myself, Uivaruhigiaq and Irkalaq were children and playing by running around to the different sections of the iglu.

As we were playing, Uivaruhigiaq, went in front of Amaruq and Amaruq told him " Uivaruhigiaq, take this pana ... and put it on the other side."

Uivaruhigiaq took it and said, "Wow! My, my, this is going to be my (pana) now." Uivaruhigiaq was saying this and it was very out of the ordinary for him to do that.

When Uivaruhigiaq was saying this, he was in a trance. He was swaying back and forth looking at the pana and he nearly poked Amaruq with the pana. Amaruq jumped back a bit and the pana flew behind Kigjugalik. The pana went behind her and she said: "There is the pana... grab the pana ... right away!"

Ilaittuk came right away and took away Amaruq (Uivaruhigiaq). He looked as if he was really light when he grabbed him. He took the pana away and placed it where Uivaruhigiaq was told to place it in the first place.

Amaruq came out from behind Kigjugalik and said: "I didn't expect my spirit to actually come inside the iglu."

It wasn't Michael actually saying it - it was Amaruq's helping spirit that was speaking and swaying back and forth...

I was scared and we all ran to the bed because we were scared at what we saw. At that time, I thought Uivaruhigiaq (Michael Amaruq) would become a shaman too...

Amaruq was careful to ensure his shaman spirit did not hurt his family when he passed away. John explained the events that took place prior to his father's death and the instructions Amaruq left prior to his death. The following is what John remembered when his father passed away.

*In the springtime, my father passed away right there, ᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱ
ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ amaruq iluvia kangiqhuarjuup
paangani kivataani. My father was telling my mother, and he
mentioned this a couple of times to her; Amaruq was a shaman and
he said that my time is coming near. I'm going to turn my back to
shamanism and turn to Christianity. I will try my best not to turn
towards shamanism again but lean on a Christian life.*

*Amaruq had a shaman's belt that had numerous things hanging from
it; fox ears, arctic hare feet, bright red pieces of cloth as well as
white pieces, caribou hoofs, and wolf feet that were divided in half.
They had been placed first by people who had requested help. That
was the way people would request help from a shaman, so the belt
itself had become quite thick with things hanging down from it. So
when he had decided to turn away from practicing shamanism, he
threw it away. Shortly after that, he passed away.*

*In the month of June, it was in the springtime, everybody was
sleeping inside the tent. Amaruq was the only one awake, and*

everybody else was in bed. Amaruq was outside making noises, banging away, he was fixing a pana (snowknife), a chisel, a wooden shovel; he was fixing these tools. John shouted to him and told him to be quiet but he didn't even hear him because he and Amaruq are not a favorite to each other.

After Amaruq finished fixing all those tools, he went in and asked his wife Kigjugalik, "Is there tea? I'm thirsty", as if nothing happened. After he drank his tea, he was taking his clothes off and getting ready to go to bed.

In the sleeping quarters, everybody sleeps together on the sleeping platform except for myself I had my own bed. The reason why I had my own bed is because I get irritated easily, I get mad at everything and anything so that's probably the reason why I had a bed of my own.

When Amaruq was taking his (atigi) outer garment off, his arms were still in the sleeve part of his garment. When he looked at John, John saw him, and he was the ugliest person that he'd ever seen. Amaruq was making faces at him. He thought he's going to be scolded again by him so he didn't say anything but turned his back on him.

John heard him starting to cough. He was coughing so much that John quickly got out of his blanket and saw that was the time; Amaruq took his last breath.

Apparently Amaruq had said several times that if he should die during the summer time, we were to move our tent nearby; and if he were to die during the winter time, to make sure that we move away from his death place, but to spend a night there. My mother made sure that his instructions were honored. So as soon as we laid his body to rest, we moved away. Amaruq had said that he didn't want us to stay around where he had been buried; he wanted us to move our camp right away. If we didn't do that, his spirit would be bound to stay in one place. That's why they moved on right away when he passed away.

John explained that he didn't fully understand or know very much, he only knew the things that he had heard about how Inuit or why Inuit used to have certain traditions; how they lived. He did not try to imitate them or he did not try to live the life that they lived. John referred to the shamanism rituals and laws that were practiced prior to Christianity arriving in the north. He explained that these beliefs are strong and ought to be respected.

5.3 Trading for goods and traveling on the Land

John recalled how his older brothers and father would go to the settlement of Baker Lake to trade their fox pelts, caribou skins or sinews for goods that were at the Hudson Bay Company store. This story describes a time period in the early 1940's when Inuit were in contact with "white" people from either the Hudson Bay Company store, the Anglican or Roman Catholic missions or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and did not customarily stay in the community longer than required.

My older brothers, Aliqtiksaq and Ilaittuk, because they used to travel faster and were older, they used to travel greater distances to trap foxes. Fox trapping was the early way of getting what you needed. We would trade fox pelts for items from the Hudson's Bay Company trading post such as tea, bullet. This was the only way to get these items for survival. I think all across the North, everybody was doing the same (trapping foxes for food or provisions).

Long time ago they use to go to the settlement to buy provisions that they needed from the settlement. It was usually in April was the last time that they would go to the settlement because the weather would warm up and colder weather was needed to travel on the Land; frozen mud was needed for the runners of the sled. Mud was mixed with water and put on the bottom of the runners of the sled; the mud froze and made travel over land much easier.

Today plastic replaces the need for mud on the runners of the sled. Ujumngat, Aliqtiksaq, Amaruq, and Ilaittuk went to Baker Lake to purchase whatever they needed and it is that same year that Aliqtiksaq bought the outboard motor.

John recalled a story about dogs and traveling on the Land in the summer (Photo 6). Dogs were valuable because they helped you hunt and carry your possessions across the land. John explained how a person who had dogs was able to travel great distances and hunt for food or go farther to trap foxes and therefore potentially acquire more provisions for the family.

When I was a young boy I remember an incident with dogs. We, my brothers Aliqtiksaq and Ilaittuk and I, were traveling around ᐱᓴᓴᓴᓴ Kingajuit - Halfway Hills area, and I guess I must have gotten tired and one of my brothers put me on top of the load of the dogs, tied me down on top with the load of whatever the dogs were carrying probably because they were thinking I'm too slow to keep up with them. When my mother found out what my brothers did, she started scolding her oldest sons and said: "Do not put him on top of the dogs. He might get lost. A dog might start wandering off and he might be lost." And they took all the ties off him. She explains that once the dogs spot a caribou the dogs just take off and if John was on top he might be hurt or lost.



Photo 6: Inuit starting on a caribou hunting trip, Baker Lake; N.W.T., ca. 1926
Credit: Library & Archives Canada Credit: L.T Burwash/Richard Sterling Finnie
fonds/e002342647

5.4 Place Names

Place names are important to document because some names tell a story or recount an event that took place, or can be a description of a land feature. I have collected 290 place names during the interviews with John and those mainly pertain to an area where he and his family lived prior to moving to Baker Lake. John mentioned during the interviews that he would not provide all the names because they are too many; those names shared and recorded should give an idea of the main places they occupied. During one of these interviews, he indicated that he wished his health was better so that he could show me in person the places he talked about. This would have allowed him to explain and share in more intimate details the meaning of these places; he was still happy to do what he could.

Since the arrival of explorers to this northern landscape, some of the original indigenous place names have been replaced with new names given by explorers. Some indigenous names have made it on the national topographic maps but not all the place names have been added to these maps. When looking at the topographic maps, one can see a vast landscape dotted with many unnamed lakes, rivers, streams, and hills. These maps are bare, leaving room for new explorers to give new names even if the first inhabitants have already named most of these places and the naming protocol is extremely important to their society and culture.

Currently the mining exploration companies are trying to use Inuktitut words for their camps but they are not the original names of the area. This further disconnects people who use those areas, who grew up there and the growing population of Inuit who do not know the original Inuit names for these places. The people who are most familiar with these areas are passing away and the knowledge they have of the area is extremely rich. My project just skims the surface as much has already been lost. The Inuit population of Baker Lake is becoming more disconnected from the Land and it is important to reconnect this generation back to the Land.

With many undocumented names used by the Inuit that lived out on the Land and used the Land for the majority of their lives, these names were common to them. Now that people have been living in permanent settlements, some names have been forgotten, lost or have changed. The mining exploration companies have come in search for new wealth in or on the ground and are either temporary camps or become permanent depending on

what is found. The mineral exploration maps of the local area, have new names on these maps and in most cases do not reflect the local permanent users knowledge of the area but are names given by the geologists or the camp managers. These new English or Inuktitut names are used when the company submits the paperwork for their permits because on the national topographic maps, there often are no official names. But these places are well known to Inuit families and have been “mapped” in great details.

To Inuit, the Land usually encompasses more than just the physical features as is seen by government, industry, or now our Inuit organizations. It includes what is on, in, and under the ground plus the sky, streams, rivers, lakes, seas, and the spirituality of an area from ancient times. The place names data collected for this project is all in Inuktitut and some depth is lost in translation into English. The place names data has been categorized conceptually and are tabulated below (Correl, 1976). This project is comparable to the traditional knowledge and archeological work of the Kazan River area done by Stewart et al. (2004). The categories used are comparable to (Stewart et al., 2004) because their study area was in the same area as this project. I have added another category, “unknown” when John did not know the meaning of the place name. There are eight categories and are defined as follows with examples from this project I did with John:

- 1) Literal descriptive – are names that describe places in geographic terms or orientation to the landscape; for example *Qikiqtarjuaq – big island* or *Tasijuaq Akulliqpaaq – lake in the middle*.

- 2) Natural Resources – are names that deal with plants, animals, or mineral resources; for example *aniguk nalluq – a caribou crossing area the caribou swim through.*
- 3) Cultural / human activities – are names used in human activities; for example *Hupiumivik kingaq – the place where it is hard to start a fire the old way using a bow drill.*
- 4) Metaphorical – are names used in reference to metaphors; for example *imullutuit kingait – the hills look wrinkled.*
- 5) Historical events – are names used for events that took place at different times, for example *iqiliktat – a place where Dene Indians were killed by Inuit,* or gravesites or birthplaces.
- 6) Spiritual names – are names that are spiritual in nature for example; *akilasarjuk – place where you seek revenge right away.*
- 7) Mythological – are names referred in myths or legends for example; *amaruqturvip nuvua – the point of the place where the pack of wolves with no eyes that were worms underground.*
- 8) Unknown – are names which John Killulark does not know the meaning of, for example *piqqik.*

The place names gathered are tabulated below in Table 1 and shown graphically on Figure 6. The data show that fifty five percent of the place names are descriptive in nature and describe the landscape for which the name is given. The next four categories, Natural resources, Cultural/ human activities, Metaphorical, and Historical events make up forty-two percent of the place names gathered. The last three categories, Spiritual

names, Mythological, and unknown make up the last three percent of the place names collected. This breakdown of the place names data closely follows Stewart et al. (2005), data. The full list of place names is also presented in Table 2.

Category	Number	Percentage
Literal descriptive	159	54.8%
Natural resources	41	14.1%
Cultural/Human activities	34	11.7%
Metaphorical	22	7.6%
Historical Events	24	8.3%
Spiritual names	1	0.3%
Mythological	6	2.1%
Unknown	3	1.0%
Total	290	100.0%

Table 1: Place names provided by John Killulark and classified into eight categories.

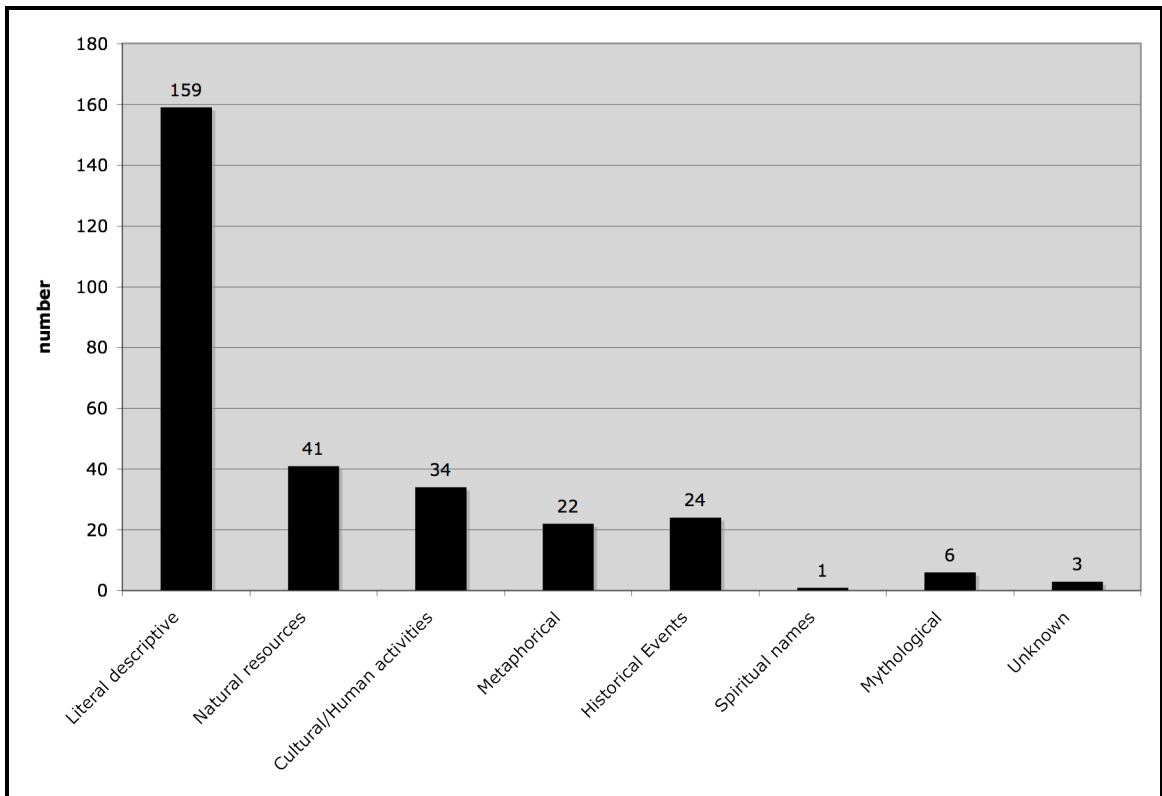


Figure 6: Place names provided by John Killulark and tabulated into eight different categories.

Table 2: Place names collected during John Killulark's interviews				
No.	Inuktitut	Roman Orthography	English Name	Latitude (N) Longitude (W)
167	ᐱᐃᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Akurlirpaaq qamaniq	Lower Aberdeen Lake.	64.47 N 98.78 W
168	ᐱᐅᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦ	aniguk tasiq	Lake - crossing lake because it is narrow. John Killulark was born at Anigook.	64.33 N 96.90 W
169	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Ajukturvik	Lake - Kigjugalik, said a woman is bedridden for a period time after giving birth, once she is ready to leave the iglu or tent she must run in any of the directions in hopes of the newborn child becoming a good hunter or seamstress so the child would be good at what they do.	64.58 N 96.94 W
170	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Ajukturviariusiq	It is a little lake similar the bigger lake number 112.	64.57 N 96.88 W
171	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Amarulik taHiq	Lake - named this because it is the denning area for the wolves.	64.73 N 96.12 W
172	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Alaniriktuaq tasiq	Lake - shaped like the sole of the foot, when the sun shines behind the hill.	64.44 N 96.17 W
173	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Anaquasatnuaq kangiliq	Two lakes south of Baker Lake, name of a person; Arngnakquaksaaqnaq.	63.78 N 96.33 W
174	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Aulasivitua tasiq	Jigging (ice fishing) place lake.	64.26 N 94.68 W
175	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Aupaluktukuluk tasiq	The sand and the bottom of the lake is all red so therefore the lake looks red. Even when it is cloudy and they are close to the ground, the clouds look red because of the reflection of the red from the ground.	64.64 N 98.05 W
176	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	A'tigiit tatsiit	3 lakes that are exactly the same. These are located near each other and shaped almost the same.	64.74 N 96.47 W
177	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	A'tigiit tatsiit kanangnaliqpaq	"All the lakes that look alike" east side.	64.74 N 96.47 W
178	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᐱᐃᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	A'tigiit tatsiit akulliipaq	"All the lakes that look alike" middle.	64.72 N 96.52 W
179	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	A'tigiit tatsit kivalliipaa	"All the lakes that look alike" west side.	64.71 N 96.56 W
180	ᐱᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ	Aimaukattanaaq taHiq	Lake - "Completely round lake" but smaller.	64.01 N 96.23 W

Table 2: Place names collected during John Killulark's interviews				
No.	Inuktitut	Roman Orthography	English Name	Latitude (N) Longitude (W)
194	ΔΠJQΔ ^{sb}	Itigutuaq	It's the cliff or steep area (too steep to climb) of the urination area for the foxes.	64.53 N 96.84 W
195	C'Δ ^b Δ ^c P ^q Δ ^q JΔ	Tasilukjup qingngua	Cove - northern tip of the lake.	64.05 N 96.91 W
196	Q ^b Δ ^c Δ ^b	Qariasaluk	It looks like part of the inside of the fish, near 30-mile lake. It is curved.	63.66 N 96.84 W
197	Q ^b LΔ ^c Δ ^b Δ ^b	Qamanaugakuluk	Shallow area where your motor can touch the bottom, in the winter there is no water because there the ice and the land are touching. No water.	64.18 N 96.20 W
198	Q ^b Δ ^c Δ ^c Δ ^{sb}	Qaitutnaaq	West side of clear water river - good place to dry your meat with birch, it's the only area that is not sandy.	64.06 N 95.26 W
199	Q ^d Δ ^q J ^{sb}	Qunguq	An area of the lake where it narrows.	64.56 N 99.08 W
200	Q ^d Δ ^c Δ ^c Δ ^b Δ ^c Δ ^b Δ ^d Δ	Qulaitujavi akkua	Qulitook is the person's name. Because of the wind the strong wind broke up his boat. The ice was breaking up at the same time and damaging the boat. He managed to get the boat to the island and not sink.	64.09 N 95.15 W
201	Q ^p JQΔ ^c Δ ^{me}	Qigutuar nuna	Land area with lakes - lots of boulders in that lake. No real place to land. During fall or winter, you could break your leg because of the boulders.	64.40 N 95.93 W
202	Q ^p P ^{sb} CΔ ^b Δ ^{sb} Δ ^c Δ ^l C Q ^b LΔ ^c Δ ^l	Qikiqtaujaaqgup kuugaata qamanaugaa	It's a creek that enters a lake and exits.	64.73 N 96.65 W
203	Q ^c Δ ^c Δ ^c Δ ^{sb} Δ ^c	Tula'tuit nuvuat	Beaching area, the point of it.	64.72 N 97.07 W
204	Q ^c Δ ^c Δ ^c P ^c Δ ^c Δ ^b Δ ^l	Tula'tuit killinaugaa	Beaching area, south side of a lake.	64.72 N 97.00 W
205	Q ^c Δ ^c Δ ^c	Tulait	Beaching area of the shoreline.	64.65 N 98.16 W
206	Q ^r Δ ^q Δ ^{sb} Δ ^c Δ ^c P ^c Δ ^c Δ ^{sb}	Murjungni'tuap kivataani	West side - where the water starts to empty from a lake.	64.56 N 100.31 W
207	Q ^r Δ ^q Δ ^{sb} Δ ^c Δ ^c bΔ ^q Δ ^{sb} Δ ^c	Murjungni'tuap kanangnaanit	East side - where the water starts to empty from a lake.	64.57 N 100.30 W
208	LΔ ^c LΔ ^{sb} Δ ^c	Manimaningit	When the ice breaks up in the spring, the ice goes there and stops.	64.12 N 94.89 W

Table 2: Place names collected during John Killulark's interviews				
No.	Inuktitut	Roman Orthography	English Name	Latitude (N) Longitude (W)
272	Δ ^o σ ^o ρ ^o ρ ^o Δ	Ingnirgit nuvua	Jigging Point – where they used to use rocks to light fire, ingniq means to light.	64.27 N 95.53 W
273	ΔCσ'Δ ^o Δ ^o	Atani'naaq	It's the point, the joining area of the land.	64.61 N 97.03 W
274	Δρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Agiriatuap kilinauga	If it is a point, there should be an end part of the point. The water parts are called points.	63.70 N 95.62 W
275	ΔΔ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Aulatsivviarjuk nuvuk	It is the point where they jig for fish.	64.59 N 98.43 W
276	ΔΔ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Aulatsirviarjuk	Jigging Point, Shultz Lake area.	64.66 N 97.11 W
277	ΔNC ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Patitarriavik	The area where they use to collect caribou leg bone marrow.	64.62 N 99.16 W
278	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Aariaq	Aagiaq - mouth of the river, where the river begins.	64.76 N 97.07 W
279	Cρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Tasilukjuap kuunga	River - of Pitz Lake.	64.07 N 96.26 W
280	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Qamani'tuup kuunga	Any rivers the are going into or out of Baker Lake.	64.63 N 96.52 W
281	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Kunnuak	It's not a creek or river but in between. But you can still go up by boat.	63.95 N 98.05 W
282	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Majurtusiruvik akilasarjup kungani	River/crossing - Anguhalluq named this place. The area where he caught a lot of fish with a kakivak.	64.36 N 95.83 W
283	ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Kinnguraujaap kuunga	It's a river that flows from the lake called Paadlak.	64.85 N 97.25 W
284	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Uqsugiarjup kuunga	Dubwant River.	64.34 N 99.78 W
285	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Avaliqu kuuk	There are two rivers and they split into two.	64.07 N 94.18 W
286	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Akkutuaq	End of a big river.	64.30 N 95.32 W
287	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Aksanik kuuk	Floating ice, river, there is a current at high and low tide. Like a tug of war.	63.99 N 94.18 W
288	Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Aliqsiqtup qamanaugaata killinaugaa	The rapids, the tip of the small lake of the rapids (kilinik south side).	64.73 N 96.81 W
289	Δ ^o ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Akilasaarjup kuunga	Prince River.	64.36 N 95.84 W
290	ρ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o Δ ^o	Kitigatuak	(John doesn't know the meaning of this name)	64.24 N 94.79 W

The following maps contain the place names points overlaid on ©2009 Google Earth program to give a visual presentation of the place names data. Additionally, KMZ files generated from this project are included as part of this thesis.

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Plate 4: Study area with seven subdivided areas (A1 to A7) for greater detail ©2009
Google Earth

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Plate 5: A1 – Tipjalik Qamaniq – Beverly Lake and Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq – Aberdeen Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 6: A2 –Iglurjualik area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 7: A3 – Qamaniq Tugliqpaq – Schultz Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 8: A4 – Qamani'tuup Kuunga – Thelon River area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 9: A5 – Qamani'tuaq – Baker Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 10: A6 – Harvaqtuuq – Kazan River area. ©2009 Google Earth

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Plate 11: A7 – Tahilukjuaq – Pitz Lake area. ©2009 Google Earth

5.5 Conclusion

The Land is interconnected at many levels as the place names work exemplifies. The stories John shared from the time period prior to moving to the community of Baker Lake show how closely Inuit were connected to the Land and how Inuit are still connected.

When one says, “they are going out on the Land”, it can mean anything from just outside of town to many kilometers or hundreds of kilometers from town; it is an extension of their home.

CHAPTER 6 - SONGS AND LEGENDS

This chapter is dedicated to songs and legends. John Killulark saved this part of the interview until we could arrange to have some traditional items setup and it was to take place out on the Land. I asked the Inuit Heritage Centre in Baker Lake whether I could borrow the caribou skin tent they had, and they agreed once they knew the objectives of the project. I would like to take the time to thank Winnie Owingayak and Moses Aupaluktuq who were the employees at the time and who greatly helped with this aspect of the project. For the other items like a whip, bow and arrows, winter clothes, hat, mitts and such, John or his wife Hannah Talirug had made them. I assumed John knew how to put up the tent until he asked me who was going to put it up. He said that they were not using caribou skin tents when he was growing up; he only knew how to set up canvas tents. This was unexpected and so, I asked a lady by the name of May Keenalik Haqpi to help us. She agreed and she was a great teacher. The day was October 8, 2005 and it was a day of different weather, from fresh snow on the ground with the sun shining to later a cool fog bank rolling in, to snow again. It was a nice day to film because there

was no wind and the light was not too bright. I had my brother, Erik Amaruq Hughson, and my cousin, Devon Uqpigaasiaq Killulark, help set up the tent and help transport the equipment. They stayed during the filming and during the break John showed them how to use the whip and they practiced using it. Lucy Evo was my translator and technical assistant. After the games, we all enjoyed some tea in the caribou skin tent.

6.1 Songs

The songs and legends John recites are passed on to him from his father, Amaruq (see Photo 7 and video in Appendix 6). John explained that Amaruq had many songs that he learned from his grandfather, Qaqsauqtuak (John's great grandfather). John also explained that Qaqsauqtuak was more like a father to Amaruq as Qaqsauqtuak raised him. John explained that the proper term in Inuktitut for songs is ᐃᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ Imngirajaktuq pisirmik and not ᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱᐱ aajaja as is currently used today. Aajaja is reserved for baby talk in Inuktitut.



Photo 7: John Killulark setting up for songs and legends

When Amaruq played the drum, Kigjugalik was expected as his wife to sing Amaruq's songs. Amaruq also had many songs and Kigjugalik knew them all. John said Amaruq was a good drum dancer as well and used his crooked leg to his advantage when he spun around with the drum while he danced (See page 50, *4.2.1.1 Amaruq's training and development to become a shaman*).

The first song John sang is the song that Amaruq always sang first. John goes on saying that he will likely not finish the song because he feels he is not a good singer.

Here I sing, here I sing, here I sing of what I've heard before.

6.2 Legends/Unipkaaqtuaq

John explained that the legends that follow were from his great grandfather, Qaqsauqtuak. He was an old man and so he used to tell ancient legends; the ones told by our ancestors. Qaqsauqtuak wanted us to know the legends because we had to know them; they were part of our heritage and were told to Inuit before contact with other peoples from other lands.

John had previously recorded the following three legends in an unpublished document through the Inuit Heritage Centre in Baker Lake and when this project was proposed to John, he asked if it could be video taped, as it gave greater context to the songs and legends he learned from his father, Amaruq. John remembers listening to his father; Amaruq used to tell these legends when living out on the Land and sitting in the iglu during blizzards and sometimes, the blizzards would last for five days straight. Afterwards, Amaruq would explain the meaning of the legends. The basic moral of all three legends that John will tell are, “to be good to your fellow human beings otherwise bad things will come around” (Killulark, no date).

The next three legends John narrates are from October 8th, 2005 during a field excursion, which was, video taped (see Photo 8 and Appendix 6). He wore traditional clothes and used a variety of tools to help reenact the legends like his father had done in the past:

- i. Kaukjajjuk, a legend of revenge and mistreatment*

- ii. *Aplurjuaq*, a legend of a shaman and the multitude of wolves
- iii. *Two Men*, a legend of cunning and whit



Photo 8: John Killulark acting out the legend *Kaukjakjuk* with the tusks in his hands

6.2.1 *Kaukjakjuk*

Once upon a time Kaukjakjuk's older brother walked on foot looking for people. People lived in scattered places even though they were not too far from each other's camps. Some people used to live here, there and over there. They had summer camps and winter camps. Kaukjakjuk's older brother came to visit looking for people. By coincidence he came to a camp where Kaukjakjuk's adopted parents lived. Kaukjakjuk's biological parents passed away when he was just a little boy. An unrelated family raised him. Because an unrelated family raised him, he was not loved and was mistreated.

It was during that time when Kaukjakjuk was being mistreated that

Kaukjajjuk's older brother came for a visit. When he arrived, he ate soup, fish, caribou, and other food (I'm not too sure exactly what he ate.) After a meal, he went out and built an iglu for himself. When Kaukjajjuk's older brother started making the iglu, Kaukjajjuk came and helped by wind proofing the iglu. To wind proof the iglu one packs loose snow on the exterior of the iglu snow blocks. Maybe his brother recognized him, it was certain. Kaukjajjuk's brother did not even look at him when he was trying to help. He didn't even say a word to him.

Just when Kaukjajjuk's brother was completing the iglu, after putting the final top part of the iglu block in place and was ready for the dwelling, he finally said something to Kaukjajjuk and told him.

"Let's go to the top of the hill." Kaukjajjuk said yes to him.

They went to the hill. When they went on top of the hill they went around the bend where the iglus were not visible even though the iglus were quite close. Kaukjajjuk's brother said to Kaukjajjuk,

"This boulder (we, Qairnirmiut, say [miksitaq] the type of boulder that are barely visible from the surface of ground and most of the boulder is underground - miksitaq) pull it out." Kaukjajjuk knew that he could not pull it out but he tried anyway.

"Hgu Hgu Hgu Hgu", No it cannot be done.

The ground is also frozen and most of the rock is underground, only the top part is visible. He tried a second time.

"Hgu Hgu Hgu", it does not even move because it cannot be done.

By the third time, Kaukjajjuk's brother was whipping him really hard using a shamanism belt. The belt was beautiful. A person may want a shaman to do shamanism rituals so they could be successful to catch a fish or caribou or wanting healing because of a sickness. The shaman used to add trinkets on the belt such as caribou's hoofs, or wolf's tail end, or wolf's paws. People give them these items as a token to the shaman for helping them.

Kaukjajjuk's brother had a beautiful belt. Some were black, white, black and white stripes of fur and parts from pelts of animals were attached onto the belt. There were so many tokens that some pieces were tangled together on the belt.

By the third time he said, "Go ahead and try again to pull it out" whipping him hard as he said that. Kaukjajjuk tried as hard as he can and he was

thinking to himself, "I wonder why he is whipping me with a shamanism belt? I think he is not fooling around."

So Kaukjajjuk tried his best and hardest to pull it out.

"Hgu Hgu Hguuuu."

He pulled it out, the big boulder, even though he would never have done it otherwise. He was helped by shamanism's spirit. When he pulled it out of the ground, his brother said to him,

"You are fine now. Do not tell the others about what just happened when we go back to the iglus. Hide somewhere where it is a good hiding place and do not hide in the toilet section of the iglu. Hide in a place where you don't usually go. Tonight the people will be asking for you."

Kaukjajjuk was just nodding his head. He was badly mistreated by his adopted parents because he was not loved. The area of the iglu he slept was either the toilet area or where the dogs were kept. He used to have dogs as warmth and mattress. When midnight and darkness came and when he was ready for bed, and once no one was walking around outside, he used to say to the dogs,

"My mattress, my pillows go check outside."

He probably was scared too because he was just a child, I mean a young teenager.

He used to sleep where the toilet area is. The only time he went inside the iglu was when he was going to chop oil for the qulliq (lamp).

(Oil for the qulliq came from seals, whale, and caribou and was used as a fuel source for lighting for qulliq. The animal fat had to be chopped and pounded to a mash to produce the oil like substance for the qulliq. The qulliq is made from soapstone and is in the shape of a half circle and carved with a gentle slope, to hold the oil. Arctic cotton grass is used as a wick and is placed length wise across the shallow edge to wick the oil up.)

He did not go in when he was not going to chop oil because his dwelling place was where the toilet area was.

By midnight the people that camped together were gathered in one iglu talking about what they did that day and saying,

"I went fishing. I went hunting for caribou. I went out to get caribou cache."

They were conversing like that whenever they were not doing anything. While they were having a conversation among themselves someone suddenly came into the iglu and said,

"Big polar bear. Big polar bear. It came into the camp and is right here!"

The men went out as quickly as possible. They were going to try to hunt the bear down using bows and arrows and spears. They were getting their weapons ready quickly. Bows and arrows and spears were the only weapons used for hunting and survival. These weapons can even kill a polar bear. Bows and arrows and spears were the tools used.

The people were trying to kill the polar bear. The polar bear was right there and the dogs were barking. I mean barking like quickly trying to bite the bear and running away from the bear, surrounding the bear. The dogs were keeping the bear from moving here and there. There were lots of people and all trying to kill the bear. Some using bows and arrows and saying,

"Here it is!" and trying to spear it. "There it is."

The bear broke the spears, bows, and arrows. The bear was really hard to kill. The bear was breaking all the arrows and spears and stomping on them or biting them and breaking them. The bear was breaking all the weapons. The people were really trying to kill the bear.

"Down there he is!"

There was no way to kill him and all their weapons were gone. The bear was breaking them all. The bear was not acting like a bear. The people did not even wound the bear. The people got scared because the bear was too difficult to kill. There was an old lady sitting where she usually sits. She did not move from her place inside the iglu. She was looking after the children. One of the people said to ask the old lady a question as how to or what to do to kill the bear. One of them went in to ask for direction from the old lady. She was a very old lady and never moved. The people used to ask for directions from elders or old women when they did not know what to do and asked for advice. The elders had wisdom for hard decisions because they already had experienced difficulties.

One of them went inside and said,

"The bear is too difficult to kill. He is breaking all the weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears. We are running out of weapons. What shall we do?"

The old lady did not reply right away because she was asked a question. Because she's an old lady, she did not reply right away and started making a decision. From inside the long entrance, the entrances used to be long. The layout of the iglu, from inside of the iglu is the dwelling area, kitchen, porch; outer entrance and toilet area. The toilet was connected to the porch. The porch part was empty. You can hear the old lady coming out from inside the iglu and it was dark. The rest of the iglu area was not lit, just the dwelling part was lit. You could hear the old lady screaming,

"Kaukjajjuk, where is he? The one to be the attractant. The one to be the lure. The one to use as bait."

She was screaming like that. Kaukjajjuk could hear her. She was yelling. He was told by his brother to stay put until someone inquires about him. He was hiding inside the kitchen, underneath all those twigs. Kaukjajjuk could hear her yelling.

Once she finished yelling, Kaukjajjuk had to go outside now. He was coming out of the iglu from the entrance, from underneath all those twigs and saying, repeating what an old lady was saying,

"Kaukjajjuk, where is he? The one to be the attractant. The one to be the lure. The one to use as bait."

He was repeating the words of the old lady. Once he was visible from the porch, one of them throws him to the polar bear and he landed on the polar bear. He was in front of the bear, lying down. The polar bear just sniffed him (Kaukjajjuk) but he didn't do anything to him. He just left him the way he was. Kaukjajjuk started singing again,

"Kaukjajjuk, where is he? The one to be the attractant. The one to be the lure. The one to use as bait."

Kaukjajjuk became big and had a deep voice.

"Pivallikpuuq Sujangittunga Pivalliqputnga Pivaliqpaliqpunga. Let the bait be used. Kajugiksaksaliritsi. Kaukjajjuk, where is he? The one that can be used as bait."

He was singing like that and throwing all those people to the polar bear. All the people were thrown to the polar bear and not one person was left. All those men were looking at Kaukjajjuk who was not himself. But the men were confused as to what was going on. They all wanted to be the one to kill the polar bear because the polar bear was really difficult to kill and they

wanted praise. They all became confused and were looking at the polar bear and seeing what was going on. They were being killed one by one and all the men were killed.

Kaukjakjuk did not kill the two big young women. They were the only ones left. When Kaukjakjuk was being mistreated, the two young women used to pull him by the nose as he was entering the iglu to make oil for the lamp. Kaukjakjuk lived in the toilet area. That was where he would start entering the iglu. When Kaukjakjuk was told to make more oil for oil lamp, he would enter from his dwelling area, which was the toilet area. As he was entering the iglu part, the two young women would poke Kaukjakjuk up by his nose using ivory tusk. As he was entering he would say,

"Argg argg arggg."

The two young women would take him to where he was going to chop more oil for the lamp.

Kaukjakjuk said that he spared them because he wanted the two women to become his wives. But he was lying. He just wanted revenge because they mistreated him, by pulling him in with a tusk up his nose. It must have hurt too. So he spared the two women saying that he wanted them to become his wives. As he was entering the iglu the two young women would laugh and mocked at him.

"HaHahaahaa."

Kaukjakjuk couldn't fight back because he was just a young boy. He was overpowered. When they were playing, they would really mistreat him. He couldn't even cry because he would just try to breathe as he was being mistreated.

He killed all those men and he was the only man left. He spared the two big women. Kaukjakjuk was the only man in the camp now and he was going to marry the two young women. Because he is a man he used to go hunting. He used the bow and arrows, which used to belong to the men in the camp. He now owned the dogs that belonged to the men. Kaukjakjuk was a good hunter. A good hunter was one that always caught game such seal, whale, or fish. When he came back to the camp to his wives, as he was entering he would say,

"My hair sticks, are they sharp?' (Hair sticks were those made out of wood for parting hair, like this, wrapping around the hair) "My hair sticks, are they sharp?"

transformed into multitudes of wolves. Kattat or katjat. They are wolves. They can hear them. They always move when they travel on the ground. When they were moving, you could hear them howling. You know how dogs make sounds, "Um um um um." They make sounds like that when dogs love their puppies. They were making sounds like that "Um um um um." You can really hear them because they were so many. The sound started from Nuvuttuaq (Point) down to here on top of Blueberry Hill and you could see the smoke outside from the pack of wolves. It was wintertime.

You could hear them now. Aplurjuaq, who is the eldest of the group, and two young men, Aplurjuaq asked,

"Who, which one of you is a shaman? Who, which one of you has powers? Who, which one of you has helping spirits?" He asked these questions to them.

The two men who he was with are ordinary men with no powers. They are not shamans. They have no powers. They have no helping spirits. (Aplurjuaq's other leg does not bend down. He tries walking like this. He was a slow runner and walker. Even if he's running, he's does not run fast because his other leg does not bend down). Something happened during his ritual of preparation of being a shaman. He probably did not follow through or did not obey what he was supposed to do. He just possessed big steps. He did not fly. To give you an example; Aplurjuaq would run from the top of Blueberry Hill to the front of Aprujaq. He made big steps now. The real shamans would fly really fast when they were with their helping spirits. Aplurjuaq got his name from his name sake (Aplurjuaq). That's how he was named Aplurjuaq. He was a shaman in a discreet manner.

When he found out that the two men he was with did not possess any powers, like they were not shamans, they had no powers or no helping spirits; he made a decision since they were just ordinary human beings.

"Please do not take anything with you, such as a snowknife, ice chisel or anything to protect you with and start running as fast as you can. I will follow you. Do not look back or look back towards me or look back towards the multitudes of wolves. Keep your eyes forward to your home. Do not look back, like this."

They started running since it was the only thing to do now and they were young men too. They were uneasy because they were told not to take anything with them to protect themselves. They had to listen to him since he was older than them. That is how it used to be when difficult situation arose, they had to obey the elder. They started running from Nuvuk to the inlet of Aprujaq since that is where their iglus were. It is not too difficult to see from

Mamautit as it is flat ground with no humps to Kingnguq.

There were no tops to climb but just little humps of snow. They ran without looking back. When you were running as fast as you could, you tried not to be so close to the other person. You tried to keep your distance a little bit for there might be something in front of you such as slush, rocks or icy parts and you had to go around these areas. They ran with a little space between them. They reached the top of Mamautit and Aplurjuaq was already far behind them because he did not walk with ease and was a slow runner. They ran. Aplurjuaq suddenly caught up to them in between their space and it looked as if he was trying to stop from running even though he was running.

They kept on running without looking back and Aplurjuaq was falling behind again. As he was falling behind again he said,

"Don't look back. Don't look back. Don't look bacckk!" The sound faded from behind them.

They kept on running. They reached Qingngut and Aplurjuaq caught up to them again and looked as if he was trying to stop again. He was a slow runner because of his poor leg and he was the eldest of the group. He was falling behind again.

"Don't look back. Don't look back. Don't look bacckk" The sound fading again.

They tried not looking back since they were told not to look back and kept on running because they wanted to live since they did not have anything with them. They reached Qingnguq to where their iglus were and they were anxious about him again since he fell behind again. When he finally reached them, he was really sweating and panting. He did not say anything. He did not even mention that they were running away from the multitude of wolves. The two men who were with him did not mention anything since Aplurjuaq did not mention anything. They thought that he was a shaman because he suddenly kept catching up to them. That fascinated them.

Some shamans did not let anyone know that they were shamans. Aplurjuaq made big steps but was very powerful with his helping spirits.

These legends are the ones that I can remember well. I probably omitted some parts of the legend or made a mistake on some points. I just tell the legends that I can remember. This is the end of the legend.

good life and kavavaaks can't do bad things to them." Amaruq said those who are bad, liars, thieves, mean to others, putting down others or mistreating others were prone to being attacked by bad spiritual beings like kavavaaks. Living a good life would leave you less prone to attack; you would have an easier life, fewer burdens (Killulark, no date).

6.2.3 Two Men

Once there were two men who went looking for people in the fall time. Maybe it was in early fall, in November. The two men went looking for people because it is going to be a long winter again. They were thinking maybe there are people in close distance and want to know about it. Some people live here, some live over there and some here. In the summer time people wander from place to place looking for caribou. Because of that situation people lose contact with each other as to where they are. The two men went looking for people to see if there were people in short distances because it was going to be a long winter.

They went looking for people. They went to the place where people usually winter and spend overnight there. They move to another location looking for people since they were searching for people still. There were no people again at this place. They moved on to another location to where people usually winter such as rivers since they knew where they were. They went here and there. They went to the last place.

In the evening they walked on the lake. It was a large lake and they saw a window, a window from the iglu. In the evening and walking on ice you can see light coming from the window from the distance. Iglus had an ice window in those years. They were happy when they saw the window and started walking fast towards it now because they were tired and hungry from walking for three days now.

When they reached the iglu they stood right beside the iglu really close to the entrance of the iglu. The one man said to the other one,

"I am going inside this one and you go to the other one."

There were two iglus. In this iglu there were drum dancing and there was no sound coming out of the other iglu. The man that said that he was going this iglu where there was drum dancing and told him to go to the other one where

there was no sound. The other man just agreed to the other man's decision. He was thinking that after eating and drinking he would go to this one where there was drum-dancing going on. There was drum dancing in this bigger iglu.

"Mani ijaija ija imngirajalipunga"

They were drum dancing and the man started going inside to where there was drum dancing. The other man went to the one where there was no sound coming from it. The man that went inside to where there was drum dancing and as soon as he appeared from the entrance,

"Arrgggg, arrggg."

They were wolves that transformed into human beings. They devoured him right away.

The other man who went inside the iglu where there was no sound went inside to Uivarasugiaq. He went inside the iglu where Uivarasugiaq was. She was a big beautiful woman sewing away. She was alone. As soon as he entered she wanted to eat him because she could smell that he was a human being.

To him, "Arggg, arggg,"

When she wanted to eat him, he handed her the pana. He had a pana with him and he quickly gave her the pana because it looked like she was going to attack him. He also smelled that she was not a human being. It was a wolf that transformed into a human being.

He handed her the pana and said, "Put a sole on my Kamik."

She wanted to attack him but saw a pana made out of metal and was fascinated by the pana. Uivarasugiaq did not attack him. She just took the pana instead. She hid the man inside the hole where she kept her strips of caribou skins. They used to make a hole, which was quite big to keep pieces of caribou skins that were left from cutting and this was near where she usually was in the iglu. There used to be quite a bit of strips left over from cutting caribou skins and she kept them in the hole. She hid him there and placed pieces of strips on top of him to hide him. If the others knew about him they would devour him right away. Uivarasugiaq's husband was also where there was drum dancing next door. They were drum dancing in the other iglu.

"Mani ijaija imngirajalipunga imngiraja&apunga imnalikli

tusaumalilaaaat"

They kept singing the same song over and over again even though another person was going to do drum dancing. They kept singing the same song over and over again because they were wolves that just transformed into human beings. They were wolves. Long ago they say that they were wolves that transformed into human beings. They were animals that just look like human beings. They used to see those kinds of beings.

Uivarasugiaq's big husband came from the other iglu where they were drum dancing carrying a small rib for his wife. It was for his wife to eat. It was a small piece of rib that he gave his wife to eat. As soon as he came in carrying a rib

"Taunimii, taunimi."

Taunimii, taunimi, smelling something and looking around when he went inside the iglu. Uivarasugiaq replied,

"Iikk, don't do anything. This man gave the big pana in exchange for me to put a sole on his kamik" handing the pana at the same time to her husband. He stopped looking around and stopped wanting to eat him. The man was hiding and he could smell the human being. He reached for the pana and took it and said,

"Ohhh, ohhh, my goodness. What a nice pana. Give me your big pana. Give me your big pana. Put a sole on. Put a sole on. Put a sole on."

He was saying that and making motions. The people next door when they had finished devouring the other man, they kept coming into Uivarasugiaq's iglu and kept asking upon entering the iglu and sniffing at the same time.

"Taunimii, taunimii, taunimii, taunimi."

Uivarasugiaq keep on replying, "I wonder why they want me to there and keep sniffing there?"

There was an older man who entered the iglu who was one of the last ones to come. He asked,

"Taunimii, taunimi?"

Uivarasugiaq replied, "I wonder why they want me to there and keep sniffing there?"

There was a drying rack with two wooden sticks poked into the iglu in line with each other. On top of the wooden sticks were twigs placed above the qulliq for drying. The drying rack was placed near where the woman usually sat. On top of the rack was the pair of kamiks drying. They belonged to the human being who was hiding. The older man looked at the kamiks and asked,

"Whose kamiks are those on top of the drying rack?"

The older man asked Uivarasugiaq this question.

Uivarasugiaq replied, "Amisuu, my husband's."

She replied like that but he kept looking at the pair of kamik and asked again because he knew these were not kamiks that wolves usually wore,

"Why do they have gathered stitches on them?"

Some kamiks are sewn with gathered stitches but these that I am wearing don't have gathered stitches on them because I am wearing ones that wolves wear. He was fascinated with a pair of kamiks that had gathered stitches on them. The wolves' pair of kamiks don't usually have gathered stitches on them.

"Amisuu, I can sew with gathered stitches," she replied again.

The people slowly stopped coming inside the iglu by now because it was really late at night now. They stopped coming into Uivarasugiaq's iglu. Uivarasugiaq's husband checked outside to see if the next door people's light went out yet. He kept checking outside to see. When the light from the window goes out, you knew that they are sleeping. Uivarasugiaq's husband kept checking outside and when he came inside the iglu he kept taking the pana. When someone comes in, he quickly hid the pana because he didn't want it taken away from him. After checking outside, he came in and kept taking the pana,

"Your big pana, give it to me. Your big pana, give it to me." and making motions of cutting blocks of snow, "Put a sole on, put a sole on, put a sole on."

He kept saying that after coming in from checking outside. After checking outside a few more times, he said,

"Next door is sleeping now. The lights went out."

Once the light went out, you knew that they were sleeping now. Uivarasugiaq had just finished sewing a sole on a pair of kamiks. They started conversing among themselves. Uivarasugiaq, Uivarasugiaq's husband, and the man who went into her iglu were conversing. They talked about where they came from. They were conversing like that. They were talking so closely together, like this standing. The two who were wolves that transformed into human beings were wiggling their noses so much when talking. When they smiled you could really see their big white teeth shining. They did not attack him because they received a snowknife. They really liked the pana. These two snowknives are not the same. This snowknife was very fascinating to them because they usually have this other kind instead. The only time they possessed snowknives was when they had been transformed into human beings.

Uivarasugiaq said, "Those people will know right away that there is someone, by seeing his tracks and by smelling him. When you start walking home, break those sleds in front of the iglu."

(We used to have sleds on the ice in front of the iglu.) There were three layers of sleds piled up quite high on the ice.

Uivarasugiaq said, "They will know about you right away and they will smell you. They will pursue you right away. They are really fast too because they use themselves as sled and dogs at the same time. They dog team like that. When you start running home, make sure that you break all the cross pieces on the sleds. Break all of them before running home."

That seemed so uncomfortable and they were so near too because they also ate his companion. The man was so scared but had to do what he was told to do first. It was really late at night now and the daylight was short too. The moon was shining brightly and in the dark because it was nighttime. It was really nice out with no wind. He finished breaking all the cross pieces and started running home. He started running as fast as he could. Those people would find out right away about him and track him down. When he was being chased they would have caught up to him right away. That was very likely to happen like that. She told him how to escape such a situation. When they caught up to him from behind, he was to bend down face away from them and shoot them with the bow and arrow, trying to aim at the leader by their right ear.

The man kept running since it was the only thing to do now. His destination was quite far since they had walked for three days and he wasn't sleeping yet. He was also tired and he wanted to survive and tried his best to escape. Because he tried his best to survive, he survived. It was really nice outside and he kept looking back even though it was really dark outside. It was a

clear night with no clouds. It was the middle of the night too.

At dusk he looked back again and saw someone behind him that looked like a person. He didn't make out what it was because it was midnight. He kept looking back and kept on running. After running for a while, he kept looking back. He wanted to keep looking back. He knew now that he was a bit closer to his destination and saw smoke. It was those wolves that transformed into humans and they were chasing him. They used themselves as dogs and sled at the same time and now they were pursuing him. They were getting closer and closer. He recognized Uluttuaq and kept on running and they were getting closer and closer to him. He knew now that they were chasing him.

He could hear them now since they were getting closer. He heard whipping.

"Orkkat, orkkat, orkkat, orkkat."

They were saying that.

"Taulurjuit, tuarlurjuit, taulurjuit."

They were whipping and coaching them on.

"Orkkat, orkkat, orkkat, orkkat, taulurjuit, taulurjuit."

What they were saying was "children, children, humans, humans." They were coaching their dogs and whipping away.

"Orkkat, orkkat, orkkat."

They were really fast teams. Really, really fast and very close to each other and following each other. The man knew now that he was going to be caught up to, so he stood up to catch his breath and was waiting for them to get closer. They were coming in really fast. Now they were really close. He did exactly what Uivarasugiaq told him to do. "Turn away from them, bend down, and shoot between his legs to shoot the leader by his ear." Uivarasugiaq told him like that. He was standing now. They became within reach so he turned away from them, bent down, and shot the leader by his ear. He shot his right ear. The arrow was in the ear now,

"Maaq, maaq, maaq, maaq."

He reached him right beside him. The rest of them saw the arrow on his ear bleeding and when they saw bleeding while still alive, they just started devouring him. They didn't do anything to the man but just kept looking at the wounded dog.

CHAPTER 7 - DISCUSSION

The interviews with my uncle John Killulark gave me a glimpse of his youth, when his family still lived on the Land and greatly depended on their detailed knowledge of the area to survive. Although only 60 years have passed, this time period or this way of life appears historical and almost absent from people's memory. Today, Inuit live in communities of varied sizes, they are familiar and dependent on technology, and they are part of the wage economy and connected to television broadcasts from all corners of the world. The north is not as isolated as it once was, even from a decade ago. The increased services to communities provide opportunities for increased access to goods and services (Alexander, 2009). From this project, I was confronted by my limitations in the Inuktitut language, and by my lack of knowledge of my family history, the places where the family lived and travelled, stories and legends, life in the past and present, and how land management programs could benefit from the information gathered from this project.

Inuktitut

The major limitation I had during this project was my limited understanding and knowledge of Inuktitut. With the help of two translators, I was able to learn more about my family. There were limitations with my translators as well because there were old Inuktitut words that were not used today, in everyday conversations. When my translators did not understand John, I would ask them to ask him to repeat or explain what he had said. One example was the term *manniq*, which is a type of moss, and it was

used for light when dipped in caribou fat and lit. This type of light was used when moving around in the iglu for example, from the sleeping area to the toilet area.

The richness and depth of topics that were discussed with John Killulark gave me a renewed inspiration to learn Inuktitut. I enjoyed listening to stories of days gone by and did this often with relatives on my father's side. Listening to John talk about life out on the Land made me wish I had a deeper understanding of Inuktitut because his stories were very detailed. For example, his discussions about kavavaaks or travels on the Land were very interesting to me as this is a lifestyle that is no longer lived. Learning about a time period that is not in the distant past but is no longer practiced gave me a sense of urgency, since this information will be gone when elders who lived in those time periods pass away. Hopefully, the information gathered will help people understand life on the Land a little better.

My translators and transcribers are relatives and through this project I learned how closely related I am to them. They are my first cousins and the children of my late uncle Aliqtiksaq and late aunt Qaqsauq; we all learned new insights about our past.

Kinship

From the beginning, in the first interview with my uncle John Killulark, he explained that he would be revealing some information that may not be pleasing to hear. He was preparing me to understand that life out on the Land was not always easy and that there were hardships as well; during times of plenty, life was good. I learned how closely I

was related to different members of the families in the community and discovered that some were my first cousins. I knew I had a large family but did not know how large until I started learning more about Amaruq and Kigjugalik's family and their parents. My mom was the second youngest of thirteen children and I never met her parents or most of her siblings; I have only met three siblings, Pirjuaq, Qaqsauq and John Killulark.

Learning about my family history prior to them moving to Baker Lake gave me a greater appreciation of life out on the Land and little more understanding of family dynamics. I learned about some of my first cousins' parents and how they interacted with one another. For example how the older brothers and father of John Killulark, Aliqtiksaq, Ilaittuk and Amaruq, were great providers for the family and travelled great distances to trap foxes to trade for provisions at the Hudson Bay store in Baker Lake. I also learned about how Amaruq taught his children to respect the old Inuit customs, as they were just as relevant as the new Christian customs that are currently practiced. Amaruq explained that Inuit customs are not to be disrespected as they have been in practice for many generations prior to Christianity arriving in the region and are still applicable to life out on the Land. This was evident when Aliqtiksaq decided to camp in an area that was forbidden if there was no urgent need and paid the consequences, as his young son came into contact with a being that was not from the natural world.

Place Names

During the course of the interviews with my uncle John Killulark, I gathered 290 place names. I did not go out on the Land and see the places that he described to me, except

during the one airplane trip that we took together. My uncle's health did not allow for us to spend time out on the Land as originally planned. Instead we used 1:250000 and 1:50000 topographic maps and as he spoke about different places, he would then tell a story or incident that happened there. The main difficulty was language as Inuktitut is a very descriptive language. This became apparent with terms that described the middle lake, because the lakes were described in relation to one another. It took me a while to understand what the translator was trying to explain; sometimes it was because people struggled to find the right term in English that would best describe the Inuktitut term.

These terms are important because, for example, if a caribou cache was made and instructions were left to another person to go and gather some meat from there, a person would need to know how to get there. The landscape is like a road map and those familiar with the landscape can explain where they are. As well, those who are lost can also relay where they are by describing the surrounding landscape and those familiar with this landscape can then pin point where they are. This has been done in the past when young hunters have been lost and an elder asks them to explain the terrain and what landmarks that they might have passed. The elder then can have the search party meet the lost hunter and bring them home.

Some of the place names gathered are ancient names and the meaning has been lost but the terms are still used. For example, *Piqqik* is a term used at a spot along the ᐱᓕᓴᓐᓴᓐᓴᓐ Harvaqtuuq – Kazan River. Some place names describe areas where ancient creatures once inhabited or where legends once played out. For example, *Amaruqturvik* – a place

where worms with no eyes came out of the ground and turned into a pack of wolves that covered the landscape. Other place names refer to places where relatives were born or where their graves are located.

Past and Present

The Land is rich in history, resources, and life. Our parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and ancestors were once closely linked to the Land and we are also too today, to a degree, but not as connected as we once were. The shift to permanent residence in a community and the wage economy has changed the relationship that Inuit have with the Land.

The Land is important to Inuit and there is still a strong connection to the Land. Going out on the Land is comparable to southerners referring to escaping the life of town, the city or the day-to-day life. Going out on the Land can be a short distance from town to many kilometers or hundreds of kilometers. Going out on the Land can include summer travels by boat or all terrain vehicles and winter travels on the snow and ice by snowmobile or dog team. The purpose of these outings can be to harvest food like caribou, sea mammals, fish or berries or it to go to the cabin to relax and enjoy the space and tranquility.

The education system in Nunavut sees the importance of having students from kindergarten to grade twelve have cultural land trips to experience life outside of town. These trips out on the Land for the students allows them to connect or reconnect to their

Inuit heritage by learning how to utilize the Land like our ancestors had done before them. For some students, this is the first time away from the community because their family may not have the resources or equipment to go out on the Land (Collignon, 2006). Another program called the “Nunavut Sivuniksavut Program” is an example where Inuit Nunavut beneficiaries learn about their Inuit culture/ history and learn about the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement plus how to live in a southern environment and for most students this is their first time away from home (NS, 2005). This program would be beneficial to all students in Nunavut and give students the building blocks to learn about how Nunavut works in the modern world, there is hope yet for this to happen with more students graduating from this program and maybe they will be our next leaders and see that this is an important piece of education that all Nunavut students should have in their own community. Educating all Nunavut students about Inuit history and heritage will hopefully help tie the knowledge gained from the past to the future.

Nunavut’s greatest resource is its people and it is growing rapidly (GN, 2010). Investing in the education system would be the first step to ensure all beneficiaries graduate from high school and that the standards are comparable to the rest of the country and the students can enter the post secondary institutions of their choice. This would ensure Nunavut beneficiaries can achieve their dreams, can become entrepreneurs, doctors or anything else they set their minds too.

Land Management

In reviewing the literature and while conducting this research, I became very inspired by the work of Cruikshank (1998) and Brice-Bennet (1999) on storytelling and the work of Bugey and Lee (2004) on cultural landscapes. These themes are growing in the policy and government arenas worldwide and the information I gathered in my thesis exemplifies how important it is to understand the past and how the Land was managed. The Land was taken care of by shamans and elders and the rules for managing the Land were passed on through generations. The elders today are consulted but there seems to be a disconnect when it comes to including their knowledge in policy (Alexander, 2009; Kappianaq & Nutaraq, 2001; Wenzel, 2004).

In the past, old Inuit customs were practiced and shamans were approached to learn how land management would be practiced. This included when and where families would live or move to harvest wildlife for example. Power was in the hands of shamans or respected elders and that information was used to make land management decisions. Today, management decisions over the Land are in the hands of politicians, governments at all levels; federal, territorial and municipal, lawmakers, policy makers, Inuit Organizations, and Institutions of Public Government who rightly or wrongly decide the future for the lands of Nunavut (Tungavik and Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1993; Lee, 2004; McPherson, 2003). As Lee (2004) has noted, there is *unequal power between parties* involved in decisions made about the Land.

We see the emergence of these ideas in the mid 1980's with the recognition on the world stage of the concept of cultural landscapes and the introduction of Category V: Protected Areas; Protected Landscape and Seascape of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The Protected Areas program has grown to include not only the natural, biological, and historical aspects of the landscape but also the cultural components, which help tell the story of the protected area and are proving to be just as valuable as the other components. The program accounts for people as part of the landscape, especially the aboriginal peoples. An example that is taking place in Canada's north and is embracing the cultural landscapes framework for protected areas is the Sahtu Dene, an aboriginal group located in the Sahtu Region of the Northwest Territories in Canada. They have sought protected status for a site called Sahyoue/Edacho, located on the western shore of Great Bear Lake and encompassing about 5585 km² (Mitchell et al., Buggey, & Brown, 2004). This cultural landscape defines the Sahtu Dene as they believe the Land is sacred and alive with stories of their people and culture and hence the Sahtu Dene were in agreement of National Historic status (Parks Canada., 2000). This was achieved with the cooperation of different communities, different levels of government, regional organizations, environmental groups and industry, as the aim was to maintain the areas traditions. The Sahtu Dene and the federal government represented by Parks Canada have progressed towards a protected area that is of cultural significance to the Sahtu Dene and has created a National Historic Site called Sahyoue-Edacho.

It would be prudent for NTI, DIO's, and all levels of government to keep an inclusive approach when looking at the landscape of Nunavut, including not only the

industrial/mining viewpoint but to also all that is interrelated and intertwined with the landscape - nature and people, the past, the present and the future, the physical and the social and cultural dimensions of the landscape (IUCN, 2002). None are inseparable and not one part should be held in higher regard than the other. They are all interconnected. Davis (2009) summarizes this point as follows, “The western culture assumes that a landscape has no culture, for example industry who has no ties to the landscape or history to the place can come and legally remove, disturb and leave the area that is physically and culturally important to the people who have lived there for generations.”

With the signing of the NLCA, Inuit have now adopted this way of thinking about the landscape, but there is room for Inuit to decide how they want the landscape to be managed. Article 17 of the NLCA gives a framework or a foundation for the management of these lands and the institutions of public government are still developing in their roles and progressing towards accountability for all levels of governments, Inuit organizations and those involved in land management in Nunavut.

It is important that a balanced approach be taken for all aspects of land management in Nunavut, that all viewpoints be taken seriously and be equally considered. Only time will tell if the bar will be set high enough because this Land is for the future generations who will be left with the land management decisions made today.

The more Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Inuit knowledge, is incorporated in meaningful decision making processes at all levels of government, Inuit organizations and institutions

of public government and those in power, the better the landscape of Nunavut will be managed and the more closely the culture of Inuit will be integrated in policy and will complement the western culture that is greatly relied upon today (Alexander, 2009). The Nunavut Atlas (Riewe, 1992) is the most recent document prior to the NLCA to show Inuit land use and occupancy of Nunavut and the Nunavut Planning Commission, an institute of public government is in the process of developing a Nunavut wide land use plan for the Nunavut Territory (NPC, 2010).

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSION

Through this project, I learned of family members I had never met and caught a glimpse of how people interacted together before moving to the community of Baker Lake. The information gathered from this project brings the landscape alive and adds to the story of those who lived on the Land and those who still utilize the area of ᐱᐃᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑦᑲᐅᑦᑦ Akulliqpaaq Qamaniq (Aberdeen Lake), and ᑦᑲᐅᑦᑦ ᐅᑲᑦᑦᑦᑦᑦ Qamaniq Tugliqpaq (Schultz Lake) landscapes.

A trusting and respectful relationship is needed when land management issues are discussed and developed in Nunavut. Working in a cross cultural environment where two very different cultures are at odds with one another, an open dialogue is needed where one side is not given more weight in land management decisions. The cross cultural environment not only includes the Inuit and European cultures but also the traditional hunting and wage economy cultures that modern Inuit face today (Brody, 1975,1991, 2000; Davis, 2009). The old values of respecting the Land have been replaced by the

monetary value of the Land. As the territory develops, the old values should prevail and guide land use activities and associated decisions; providing for a sustainable use of the Land and healthy communities. Challenges for this new territory are to ensure that community members along with different levels of government and industry are included in land management decisions. Opportunities for Nunavut beneficiaries to truly participate in various land exploration, exploitation or conservation initiatives are needed and a more open and transparent system needs to be developed to help people truly understand the decisions that will not only affect this generation but also future generations - a system where economics is not the only factor to steer a decision about land management, but equal weight is given to the cultural, environmental and economical aspects of land management.

“The Land” is home to Inuit and the old perspectives of the Land need to continue to be documented, respected, and incorporated in policy and legislation that are being developed for today and for the future. One way to ensure this continues is to incorporate the protected areas approach or use its criteria to help ensure the decisions made about the landscape today and into the future result in a healthy environment that our past generations would be proud of.

Continuing to document and incorporate the rich history and values Inuit have of their landscape will eventually lead to better informed decisions for all aspects of life in Nunavut. Understanding our past will help us plan for our future.

John Killulark mentioned at the end of the project that it was nice to share these stories because all the people mentioned in the project are now gone, except for himself and his younger sister Natsialuk. I was truly thankful for him sharing this information and it was a privilege for me to learn from him about my Inuit heritage. He brought my ancestors to life with his stories and for that, I am truly grateful.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Sample Interview Questions

Family

1. What is the place name where Betty Natsialuk Hughson was born?
2. How long was the family living there?
3. Where did the family travel in the:
 - a. Spring
 - b. Summer
 - c. Fall
 - d. Winter
4. Did the family travel to the same areas year after year?
 - a. What were the reasons for this?
5. What major events do you remember while living in the area?

Cultural Landscape

1. How do you describe this area?
 - a. Why is it described that way?
 - b. Is it because a river or lake is nearby?
2. Are there places that are spiritual in nature?

Oral History

1. Are there places that are considered, special, haunted, or not safe to travel?
 - a. What is the story or legend behind this
2. What is your most memorable place?
 - a. What makes it memorable?
3. Are there songs about this place?

Place Names

1. Are there places that have special meaning?
 - a. Can you explain why this place is called that?
2. Are there place names named after people?

APPENDIX 2: Metadata Checklist - place names work

(Modified from discussions at the GN-IHT Place Names Meeting: Feb. 22-24, 2005.
Ottawa)

Project history: Name Document

1. methods of recording, collection (location field work)
2. media (minidisks, tapes, video)
3. dates of review (chronology)
4. resulting material (maps, shape files, storage location, tapes, md's)
5. participants, elders, language experts
6. community review process hamlet council? Council resolution
7. interviewer – contact information
8. background material (reports, previous projects accessed)
9. access to use and constraints
 - a. issues of confidentiality – discussion
 - b. access restrictions

Project extent:

List of all map sheets numbers

Interviews

1. Elders
 - Names
 - DOB
 - Area they grew up in
 - Location of birth
 - Oral biography
 - Reference to tape, minidisk (#'s)
 - Consent form
2. Language experts
 - Training
 - Names
 - DOB
 - gender

APPENDIX 3: Research Licenses

3.1 Nunavut Research Institute Licence

Nunavummi Qaujsaqtulirijikkut / Nunavut Research Institute
Box 1720, Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0 phone:(867) 979-7279 fax: (867) 979-7109 e-mail: slcnri@nunanet.com

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

LICENCE # 0301205N-M

ISSUED TO: Paula Hughson
Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba
Sinnott Building, 70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, MB
R3T 2N2 CA
204 474-8373

TEAM MEMBERS: J. Killulark, B. Natsialuk Hughson, L. Evo


AFFILIATION: University of Manitoba

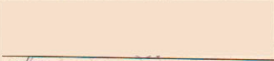
TITLE: Understanding the tundra landscape surrounding Aberdeen Lake, Nunavut, through the eyes of an Inuit elder, John Killulark

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:
The main goal of this research project is to document the place names, stories, legends and to gather Inuit ecological knowledge of the Aberdeen Lake area. This project aims to bridge the gap between the elders and the youth by integrating modern data gathering tools familiar to most youth for example global positioning systems (GPS) and computers. The information gathered from this project will be documented in thesis format as well in video or CD format. Elder John Killulark is the primary subject and is knowledgeable of this area. This is the area where his family grew up before moving to the community of Baker Lake in the early fifties. He feels it is important the knowledge is documented so his family and other people know of its history before it is lost forever. The primary research will take place on the land at Aberdeen Lake. The primary research will take place on the land at Aberdeen Lake. The primary method of travel will be by boat up the Thelon River where Elder John Killulark will explain the areas in detail. Methods of documentation will be recorded on maps, tape recorder, and video recorder. Two other trips possibly by chartered aircraft will take place in early June and early September. The purpose of these two trips are to trigger memories before the major trip by boat and trigger memories associated with the landscape in different times of the season


DATA COLLECTION IN NU:
DATES: June 01, 2005-May 30, 2006
LOCATION: Baker Lake

Scientific Research Licence 0301205N-M expires on December 31, 2005
Issued at Iqaluit, NU on July 20, 2005




Earle Baddaloo
Science Advisor

3.2 University of Manitoba Research Licence



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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

10 August 2005

TO: Paula Kigjugalik Hughson
Principal Investigator

FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2005:093
"Understanding the Tundra Landscape Surrounding Aberdeen Lake
Nunavut through the Eyes of an Inuit Elder, John Killulark"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please insure all correspondence such as consent forms are printed on letterhead.

Please note that, if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

APPENDIX 4: Confidentiality Agreement

Confidentiality Agreement

For the research project titled: “Understanding the tundra landscape of Aberdeen Lake, Nunavut, through the eyes of an Inuit elder, John Killulark.

Researcher: Paula Kigjugalik Hughson

Translator: _____
Name – printed

I, _____, agree to keep confidential anything that
Translator name – printed

I might learn/hear/see, etc. while translating during the course of the research project.

Translator’s name

Translator’s signature

Date

Researcher’s name

Researcher’s signature

Date

APPENDIX 6: Video: “Songs and Legends – Performed by John Killulark”

This video was recorded on October 5th, 2005 on the out skirts of Baker Lake, Nunavut. Paula Kigjugalik Hughson filmed John Killulark as part of this research project and is part of Chapter 6 in this thesis, titled “Songs and legends”. John was dressed in traditional Inuit clothes and helped with determining the location and props to be used in the video. He wanted the video to be recorded outdoors to give the songs and legends he learned from his father, Amaruq, more meaning, and context. The following is the order of the legends as presented in the video and in Chapter 6.

- iv. Kaukjakjuk*, a legend of revenge and mistreatment
- v. Aplurjuaq*, a legend of a shaman and the multitude of wolves
- vi. Two Men*, a legend of cunning and whit