



# **KILUHIQTURMIUT NUNAA ORAL HISTORY PROJECT REPORT**

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## **Introduction**

The Kitikmeot Heritage Society conducted a week of oral history and archaeological research at a traditional caribou-hunting site at Bathurst Lake (Tahikaffaaluk), west of Bathurst Inlet, August 17<sup>th</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup>, 2004. The Tahikaffaaluk site, which was registered with the Archaeological Survey of Canada following the project as McNk-3, has at least 75 archaeological features relating to historic Inuit occupation of this site. Kiluhikturmiut elders Moses Koihok (born 1921), Luke Novoligak (born 1916) and Marjorie Taptuna (born 1928) were on site to discuss oral history of the region and they observed and identified many of the features, assisted by interpreter Joe Otokiak, Peter Avalak (elder), Mary Avalak (KHS director), Trisha Ogina and Aurora Tavanna (field assistants), all from Cambridge Bay, and Darren Keith (KHS researcher) and Andrew Stewart (consulting archaeologist). Tent rings, caches, hunting blinds, and other boulder features clustered on a series of bedrock ridges over an area of roughly 20 ha at the north end of the lake were mapped using an electronic theodolite. Caribou moving south and west from the calving grounds during the summer cross through this area annually, swimming across the northwest part of Bathurst Lake, or moving around the north end along the shore through the area of this site.

Elders Koihok and Novoligak, who are now in their 80s, believe this site to have been mostly used before their time. A significant part of their life experience was centred on Beechey Lake to the south. They travelled through this area on their way to the coast from the Back River. The appearance of the site today is consistent with this older (pre-1920) use: many features are thickly covered with slow-growing birch; most of the tent rings are traditional circular structures rather than square prospector-style tent outlines; and the hunting blinds attest to the use of the bow and arrow.

Though Elders Koihok and Novoligak had not engaged in the caribou hunting activity that characterized the archaeological sites in the study area, they were able to comment on the historical activity that took place there, and the area made a good backdrop for evoking memories of the Kiluhikturmiut way of life. An additional source of oral history material for this report were the interview transcripts of the Bathurst Oral History Project conducted by Doug Stern in 1993/1994 (Stern 1994). These transcripts are held at the Northwest Territories Territorial Archives. This report will comment on the seasonal way of life, history and beliefs of the Kiluhikturmiut by referring to the oral testimony of Koihok and Novoligak and also by referring to the ethnographic record.

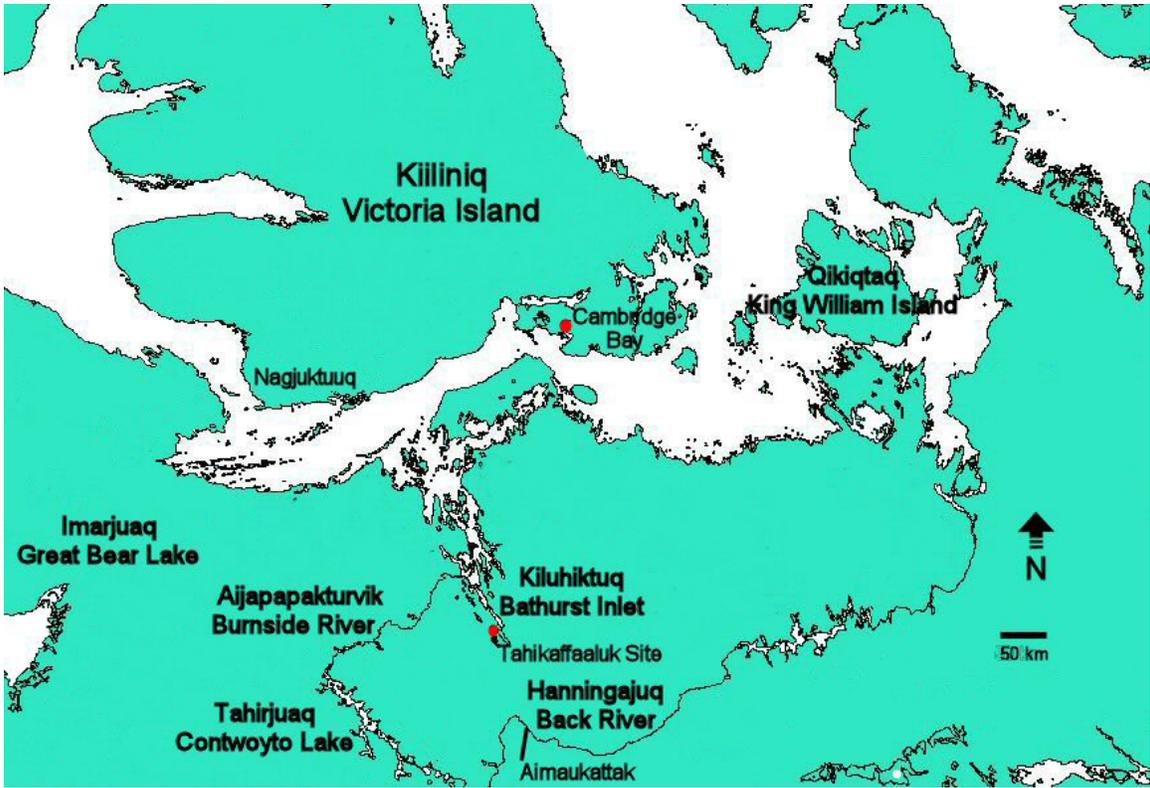


Figure 1: Location of Tahikaffaaluk Site in the Kitikmeot Region



Figure 2: Project Participants at Tahikaffaaluk.



**Figure 3: Elders discuss old caribou skin tent ring (Feature 15, looking west; see Site Plan 5 for identification of some internal features).**



**Figure 4: Darren Keith interviews Moses Koihok and Luke Nuvuligak.**



**Figure 5: Archaeologist Andrew Stewart with Marjorie Taptuna.**



**Figure 6: Interpreter Joe Otokiak discusses a hinihtarvik (Feature 68) with Moses Koihok.**



**Figure 7: Youth participants Trisha Ogina and Aurora Tavanna learn to field dress a caribou calf.**

## **Methods**

The research project began with a meeting in January of 2004 with Kiluhikturmiut Elders at the May Hakongak Community Library and Cultural Centre. At that time the Elders in attendance agreed that the north end of Tahikaffaaluk (Bathurst Lake), was a very important camping and hunting area for Kiluhikturmiut. A plan was devised to bring Elders to the site by float plane in August of 2004.

Background research was conducted by senior researcher Darren Keith into ethnographic sources regarding Kiluhikturmiut history – including extant interviews. Based on this background research, a number of questions were developed to provide a start to the interviews at the Tahikaffaaluk site.

With this list of questions as a guide, the senior researcher informally interviewed Elders Moses Koihok and Luke Novoligak, on site, with the help of interpreter Joe Otokiak, and took field notes. When significant topics were raised, the Elders were asked to record these oral traditions onto digital minidisk. These interviews took place in the cook tent.

When weather conditions allowed, the Elders, the senior researcher, interpreter and archaeologist visited the archaeological features that surrounded the campsite. They interpreted the features and commented on their memory of the type of activities that occurred there. Videotaped interviews were done towards the end of the week with the Elders. They were asked to repeat important details and stories related to the archaeological features and Kiluhikturmiut history for the video camera.

With respect to the material evidence on the ground at the site, researchers identified an area of roughly 20 ha around the 2004 field camp that contained evidence of Inuit settlement and land use (Site Plan 1). The evidence, mostly stone structures and a few artifacts, was located on both sides of the small bay east of camp. It extended also to the other (west) side of the stream that flows into Bathurst Lake from an unnamed lake northwest of our camp. This area was systematically walked by Andrew Stewart, Trisha Ogina and Aurora Tavanna, over the course of the first several days of the project, to locate and temporarily tag and number the archaeological features visible on the ground surface. No evidence was removed or disturbed during the course of our work and no excavations were made, according to the terms of the Class 1 Nunavut Territory Archaeologist Permit (No. 04-19A) issued for this project. A total of 78 locations with cultural structures or artifacts were found. Most of them (with the exception of features in Area A – see below) were mapped using an electronic theodolite (Site Plan 1). Each of these locations is referred to as a “feature” and is described in Appendix 3. Appendix 4 contains comments by Elders given while Elders walked about the site, examining individual features. These comments were simultaneously translated and recorded in field notes. Elders also recorded comments onto videotape or audiotape (Appendix 1). All relevant comments about individual features, from both Appendix 1 and 4, are included as part of feature descriptions in Appendix 3. Most features were also photographed using 35 mm slide film. A total of 95 numbered slides, contained in PrintFile archival preservers (5 sheets), are included with this report. An image catalogue is included as Appendix 5 (it also exists as a MS Windows Excel file).

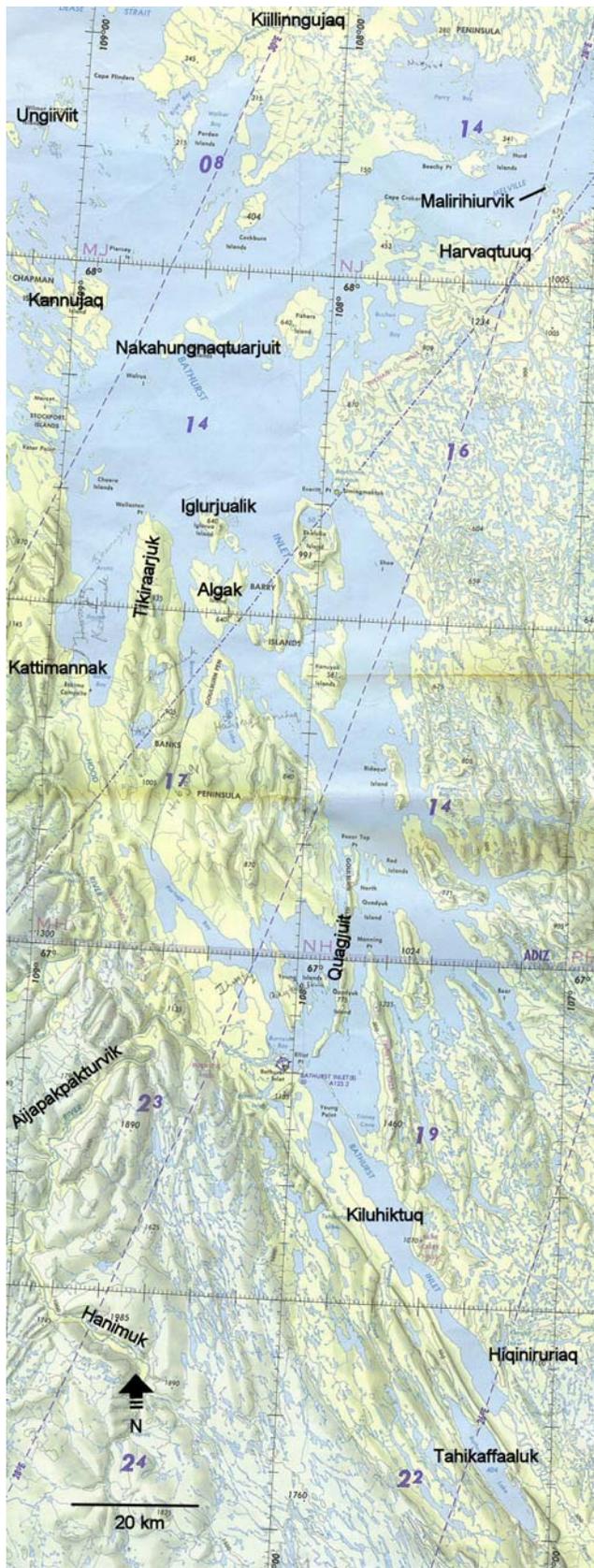


Figure 8: Map of Kiluhiktuq

## Kiluhikturmiut Seasonal Round (early 20<sup>th</sup> century)

Table 1: Inuinnaqtun Seasons and Activities<sup>1</sup>

Inuinnaqtun Season	Activity	Time Period
Ukiuq	- when all clothing and tools were ready they moved from the preparing places out onto the sea ice to hunt seals.	Nov.-Apr.
Upin'ngakhaq	The snow is just starting to melt and people move into caribou skin tents. People would fish for arctic cod (uugaq) at this time. People would start moving off the ice towards the coast and inland, often fishing around open river mouths.	May
Upin'ngaaq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- fishing when the shore ice on the lakes starts to break up and in rivers.</li> <li>- hunting caribou and making dry meat.</li> <li>- When rivers were open they would use Iqqahaut – fishing by throwing line.</li> <li>- continue to move inland by walking with dogs packing towards Aimaukattak and Hanningajuq.</li> <li>- Some families stay around river mouths for Aujaq.</li> </ul>	June
Aujaq	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- many people spent Aujaq at Aimaukattak.</li> <li>- people who stayed on the rivers near the coast fish the fish-runs at the weir.</li> </ul>	July-Aug.
Ukiakhaaq		Sept.
Ukiaq	In September when the snow comes. - start walking back towards the ocean.	Oct.

### Winter – Ukiuq

If Kiluhikturmiut families had enough caches of fish and caribou in a particular year they would sometimes not leave the land to go sealing on the sea ice (Koihok, field notes). However, the general pattern was to move from the land to the sea ice in Ukiuq. They would go to different areas in different years for sealing and so they would often live with people of other regional groups during this time of year. They would commonly meet Umingmaqturmiut as they shared one land with them (Koihok, field notes).

The Eqalugtormiut, Kungmiut and Nuvungmiut, who live on Victoria Land right opposite Melbourne Island, usually meet on the ice for the breathing-hole hunting between Kent Peninsula and Victoria Land. Sometimes the hunt takes them westwards, right over to Coronation Bay, so that they fall in with the Kiluhigtormiut who are sealing off Bathurst Inlet, sometimes to the west, sometimes to the east. In certain seasons the Kiluhigtormiut hunt so far to the east that they reach Lind's Island, Taylor Island, where they

<sup>1</sup> Season names and approximate months of seasons provided by Moses Koihok (field notes).

meet with the Netsilingmiut who go to the islands round Royal Geographical Society Island (Rasmussen 1932: 77).

When asked if there were favourite areas for sealing when he was young he said “Ungiviit...that is where a lot of people gathered to hunt seals...No water there, though it is all gravel. So water coming out of the ground (anilauqhiit=springs) in the valleys is where they would get their water, and that is the best tasting water. It is very clear.” (Novoligak, field notes). The other place Novoligak mentioned was Ukitarviit (field notes).

Knud Rasmussen asked where Kiluhikturmiut went during Ukiuq and he reported:

In certain seasons the Kiluhigtormiut hunt so far to the east that they reach Lind’s Island [Qikiqtarjuaq Ungalliq vs Q Tulliq Melbourne Is.], Taylor Island, where they meet with the Netsilingmiut who go to the islands around Royal Geographical Society Island. They also fall in with Ahiammiut when the latter make their way over to the ice round Linds Island from Melbourne Island (Rasmussen 77).

People who cooperate in seal hunting are called mauliqatigiit. Whenever someone caught a seal people would come for a share (niqaituriat). Hunters would have seal part partnerships with specific individuals and they were called haniraqatigiit. Haniraqatigiit would share certain blubber and meat parts of a ringed seal with each other. When an ugjuk or bearded seal was caught “...there would be like a frenzy and people would end up cutting themselves or each other. It was not formal like ringed seal” (Novoligak, field notes). Novoligak saw this at Ungiivik – it was like a charge to go get a piece of ugjuk. The frenzy continued until there is only the skin left. People might set meat aside and go for more if they were lucky. The head and the rear flippers were reserved for the successful hunter. They made rope from the skin (Novoligak, field notes).

Another activity that continued throughout the winter was the fishing of arctic cod (uugaqhiuq). It started in October or November and one would make a hole in the ice with a copper or antler ice chisel (tuuq) (Koihok, field notes). It was practiced all winter in places where the ice didn’t get very thick. It would take so long to chisel though the ice without modern metal chisels that they would not start fishing until the next day (Koihok, field notes). Another related species to the uugaq, called the hiurjuktuuq, was fished by Kiluhikturmiut. They are a smaller fish, but were tastier. Uugaq was the first wildlife that Koihok ever tried to catch in his youth (field notes).

There was not a man in a Kilusiktok settlement that I visited at the end of February whose face was not covered with great blotches where he had been severely frost-bitten. Even the women braved the weather, and fished for tom-cod through the ice behind the shelter of snow blocks (Jenness 1922: 108).

The Uugaq and all other fish caught through the ice were placed on the ice so that they faced the hole. This was an agliqtaqtuq or traditional observance (Koihok, field notes). Agliqtaqtut will be discussed in detail below.

After the fish is drawn up, it is killed with a sharp rap on the back of the head from the fishing-rod, and laid with its mouth towards the hole. The natives could give me no reason for this but merely said that “it had always been their custom” (pitkuherigaptigut uvagut) to point the fish towards the hole...(Jenness 1922: 155).

Polar bears were hunted opportunistically by Kiluhikturmiut when they or their tracks were encountered on the sea ice. Moses Koihok said one method of killing a Polar Bear (or Grizzly) was by tiring the animal out and wounding it enough so that it would die. He referred to this method by the term niliqshaijut (field notes).

### Spring – Upin’ngakhaq and Upin’ngaaq

The time when melting began was called upin’ngakhaq, or early spring. During early spring and later spring, or upin’ngaaq, Kiluhikturmiut spent some time fishing for arctic cod (uugaqhiuq) and then moved off the sea ice to the river mouths and further inland. At this time they were living in caribou skin tents. One of the places that Koihok remembered fishing during upin’ngakhaq was Tahikaffaaluk. They were fishing through the ice and then, later, when the shore ice started to break up, they would fish through natural breaks in the ice. They would use an antler fish lure and a fish spear – a nuijaaqpak, kakivak or nauligaq (Koihok, field notes).

As the weather warmed about the month of June, the season was referred to as upin’ngaaq. The caribou would have returned north in great numbers and Kiluhikturmiut were hunting caribou and making dry meat. They would also be fishing through the ice on lakes. When the rivers opened up, they would fish by throwing a sinew line and hook (iqqahaut) (Novoligak, field notes). The place where people chose to spend the spring was referred to as upinngiviksaq (field notes).

Some families would spend their time along the coast at the river mouths where fishing was good. Fish would start to migrate down the rivers (anirqijut) in upin’ngaaq when the lake ice broke up (Koihok, field notes). Sometimes, when people caught many fish upstream of their camp, they put the fish on a rope and hung on to it while the current took the fish downstream (Koihok, field notes).

Niriyualuks and Ayalikyoaks would camp just near the ocean. Some of the rivers have bays just leading down to the ocean. People went to the lake to ice fish, because Inuit people would head to the lakes to ice fish every spring. Parts of the bay were now open water and people would fish at the open areas. The two men did not know how they should bring the fish back to camp. Ayalikyoak asked Niriyualuk if they should carry them on their backs. So Niriyualuk told Ayalikyoak to transport the fish down river. And Ayalikyoak then asked, ‘But how do we do that, letting the fish go down river?’ As you can see, some Inuit people have never heard of such a thing, transporting fish down river, so Ayalikyoak did not know what to do. And so, Ayalikyoak asked Niriyualuk if there was a rope to gather the fish together and slide them down river (Moses Koihok, A1: 15).

During some years, some families would choose to spend time around the river mouths and lakes just inland from the coast. Other families would start moving farther inland earlier. They would begin moving inland, traveling by dogteam. For many of them, a

popular destination was the Aimaukattak (Beechey Lake) due to the importance of this area to calving caribou (Koihok, field notes). Elders Koihok and Novoligak explained that, according to their memory, most of this journey was done by walking with the help of dogs packing (iglukitaaqtut). A dog pack is referred to as an iglukitaut (Koihok, field notes). Both Koihok and Novoligak remember doing this with their families as young people. According to Koihok, the popular route for travelling to Aimaukattak involved passing just to the west of Tahikaffaaluk (Bathurst Lake) (field notes).

### Summer - Aujaq

Aujaq is the season of true summer when there is no snow on the land and the lakes and rivers are clear of ice. It corresponds to the months of July, August and part of September. Caribou calving begins in July around Bathurst Inlet and Aimaukattak. Inuit who had earlier in the year travelled inland would be hunting caribou. Other families who chose to stay at the coast would concentrate at productive fishing sites around the river using fish weirs during the August fish runs (Koihok, field notes). Luke Novoligak remembered Kilingujaq, Kangniqhuarjuk, Quunguarjuk, Harvaqtuuq and Naujaat as being important fishing sites when he was young (field notes). The site that people chose as their summer camp was called an aujivik (field notes).

Anthropologist Diamond Jenness recorded the habit of Kiluhikturmiut traveling south to Aimaukattak and Hanningajuq.

Hunting carries some of the Kilusiktok natives in summer as far south as Backs River, even after they have spent the spring fishing for tom-cod round the Barry islands. As a rule however, those who intend to spend the summer far inland leave the coast in spring and travel a large part of the journey by sled... (Jenness 1922: 125).

Hikhik, or ground squirrel, were hunted in the summer by making snares and placing them around the entrance to their dens. Hikhik was roasted on a patiqhitivik (cooking slab) covered with urjuq (yellow moss) (Koihok, field notes).

People of long ago would hunt in the spring, late spring and summer for ground squirrels. In those days people did not have any store-bought traps to use. These rocks here were used as squirrel traps. People would make squirrel traps long ago. They made traps for ground squirrels as best as they know how. People of long ago did not have much material wealth and they would make use of what they knew how to survive off the land. People would catch quite a bit of ground squirrels using these traps.

Right now the ground squirrels are feeding off the land. Every spring and summer, ground squirrels would eat plants and roots. Ground squirrels would claw at the plants to get at the roots. They would stock up on blueberries, cranberries and other berries for the winter, and bring them to their dens for the winter. The people would eat ground squirrels during the spring and summer seasons. The ground squirrel is a herbivore, so they are delicious to eat and their meat is very tender. Every spring and summer, Inuit people would trap and eat ground squirrels. Some people would spend the winter at their spring and summer sites.

Towards the end of May is when the ground squirrels venture out of their burrows. When people had not much for food, they would rely on the ground squirrel for their diet (Luke Novoligak, A1: 13).

They trapped squirrels with a longer string, close to the hole. You put a straw to keep the string up. It's lots of fun to trap squirrels that way. The hole of the string could get tighter. Stand the straw up to keep the string in place in front of the squirrel hole. That straw. When the squirrel gets caught the string gets tightened and they're caught but they could run around anywhere. The squirrels that are caught, that's the way they move. They called it string trapping. Those string trappers. I used to trap squirrels like that and it was so much to watch them running around anywhere. Lots of fun with squirrels. When they first come out in the spring long ago there used to be so many of them, long time ago (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

Caribou were hunted whenever available and processed into dried meat. Later in Aujaq when the skins were of the right condition for winter clothing (urquqsat), caribou were hunted at caribou crossings (sing. nalluq) using the qajaq and the bow (Koihok, field notes). Caribou movements were generally from north to south during this period and there are several well known crossings that were used by Kiluhikturniut. The site where the project camp was located at Tahikaffaaluk was clearly a caribou crossing that was hunted intensively by Inuit at one time. The area has several hunting blinds (sing. taluq) located along deeply furrowed caribou trails (tuktup apquhinia) where Inuit archers would lie in wait for caribou. Luke Novoligak remembered being around the Kiluhiktuq area when he was just starting to remember, and he saw people making bow and arrow. He remembered trying himself too (Novoligak in Stern Interviews).

Moses Koihok and George Kuptana also learned how to hunt with the bow when he was young .

When I first got a kayak and after learning how to use bow and arrow, I would hunt caribou. This was when guns were already introduced to the Inuit. I was taught how to use the bow and arrow to hunt when I was a young boy. That was how the younger people were taught in those days (Moses Koihok Appendix 1: 11).

I used to use a bow & arrow to hunt caribou but they were kind of hard to use although they'd catch a caribou or two. I find the kayaks more suitable way to catch caribou. The people used to make bow & arrow out of musk-ox horn. I still could make bow and arrow if there was some material and rather sell them than use them (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

Other hunters would be hiding in their qajaq at the water's edge for caribou to enter and begin crossing the lake. Once the animals were committed to crossing, the hunters would move in behind the animals and spear them using a caribou lance called a kapuut. The point of a kapuut is called a kukiq and the shaft, an ipu (Koihok, field notes). Both Novoligak and Koihok had engaged in this type of hunting in their youth. Both had done it at Hanningajuq (field notes). Jenness understood that there were many kayaks in the Bathurst Inlet region due to their use in caribou hunting (Jenness 1922: 155).

It's easiest to spear a caribou from the side. That's what I was told when I got my first kayak. That person knew more than we did, he was older than us. It was as if the caribou had fallen, floating on the water, when it died. When the caribou you're after falls behind you reach for

another one with your paddle and you'll be able to spear the caribou. There was a lot of caribou on each side. The elder speared a caribou while there were about 4 kayaks keeping things under control. One person caught quite a bit of caribou although there were 4 of us keeping the herd together in between us. As he got closer to the land we gave up. The person who caught the caribou prepared to skin it, after landing our kayaks. It was a lot of fun (Moses Koihok in Stern 1994).

Hunters would thrust the kaput just behind the rib cage so that it could reach the organs. This type of hunting could be done by one hunter, or by several working together. They would always approach so the animal was on the right hand side. Because they lean right with the paddle stuck in the tatigiq which is made of cords that are located in front of the cockpit and run towards the bow of the kayak (see figure 9) - brace and stab.

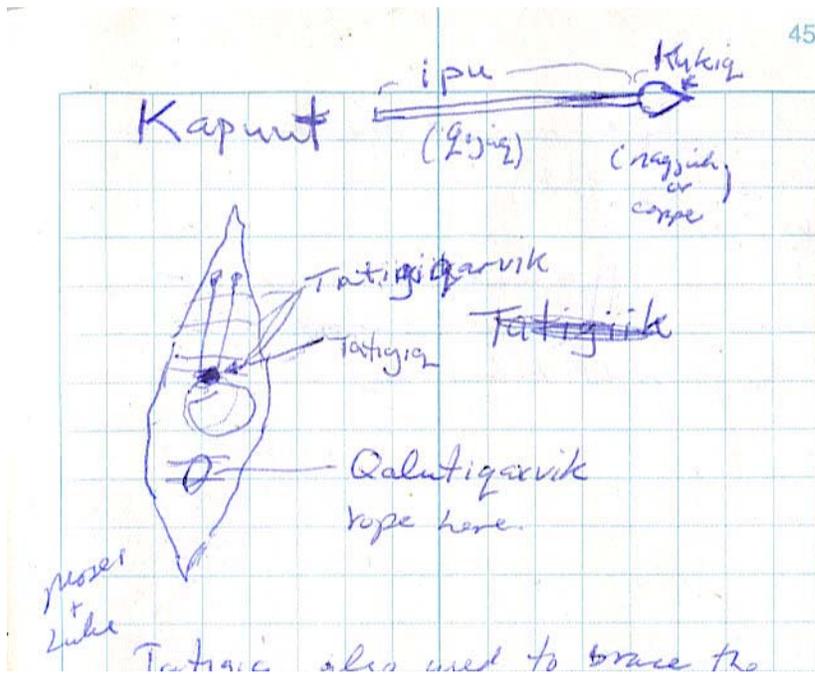


Figure 9: Drawing of kayak based on conversation with Mose Koihok and Luke Novoligak.

According to Koihok and Novoligak, the tatigiq was also used to brace the qajaq for entry by sliding the paddle under the tatigiq.

The place on the land where the caribou enter the water is referred to as immagiaq. When the caribou were approaching a nalluq or taluq, and were on a trail that would bring them by the hunters, Kiluhikturmiut referred to this as “aggiuliqtut”. And when the caribou were emerging from the water on the opposite shore, people would refer to this as “qaqivalliajut” – they are getting up (out of the water) (Novoligak, field notes).

Moses Koihok learned how to build and to hunt with a qajaq in his youth.

When I was a small boy, I remember people making kayaks and I helped make one. We younger ones were taught how to make kayaks. The kayaks were used for hunting and for transportation.

Once I first started using a kayak and when I learned how to maneuver it, I found it was fun to be on a kayak and to own one.

People had no guns when hunting a long time ago. Once I got a kayak I was to take good care of it. I was also told not to go on a kayak on a very windy day otherwise I would capsize. We were told always to have someone with us at all times during hunting trips. We were never to go out hunting by ourselves. We had to have hunting partners, in case something happens if we were alone on a hunting trip. I had a mentor who taught me how to hunt.

A person by the name of Amirairniq taught me how to hunt. He taught me well. He taught me how to make a kayak and taught me how to hunt. I followed his instructions on making a kayak and also how to hunt game (Moses Koihok, A1: 10).

A long time ago when I got married was the time I got a kayak too. I was told to make a kayak, which was hard for me to do. The centre was high. I made the centre of the kayak too high. I didn't know any better, that's why. There were 3 others...2 elders. The other elder would tell me what to do, often scolding me. I will tell you of the past.

I am going to share with you the history on kayaks. There were 3 of us side by side. The other person would show me what to do. The elders are calm and wise, passing on their knowledge. As we grew older we get wiser, not the way we were. Our parents would scold us but that was their way of teaching us. Our purpose was to hunt. That was what we looked forward to, daily. When I was making the kayak he said to me..."Why are you making your kayak so high...Do you ride in kayaks that are high?" I didn't know how to make one but I made my first and did the best I could.

It was so high, higher than the rest. The centre should be made lower. With help of the elders, I made the kayak lower. Measuring with the length of your hand from the tips of the middle finger and thumb (Moses Koihok in Stern 1994).

When Novoligak was growing up he also had experience in watching kayaks being built and hunting with the qajaq.

[I learned] from my stepfather and his brother and by watching them make them kayaks. Adjun and Ekalun (Luke Novoligak in Stern 1994).

I was taught by my father at Hanningayuq on how to use a kayak and how to hunt. Also by my stepbrother Ekalun and also by my grandfather. I was told if a caribou is swimming and you are trying to get it you were to get it in a certain way if you were right up against the caribou.

My relatives long ago had kayaks and at that time I did not have one. I was a small boy at the time and I didn't own a kayak, but we were told not to play with them but to learn how to use them for hunting. When the caribou are swimming, people would use the kayaks to hunt them (Luke Novoligak, A1: 11).

George Kuptana learned to use a kayak as a young man and also hunted at Aimaukattak – Hanningajuq.

I was taught by my future dad to use a kayak when I was just about twenty years old. I used to use a bow & arrow to hunt caribou but they were kind of hard to use although they'd catch a caribou or two. I find the kayaks more suitable way to catch caribou...I quit using the kayak when I got older, before I got too old. We used to use the kayaks at Beechey Lake (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

Hunting caribou from a kayak could be dangerous due either to the caribou attacking the paddler or to the strong currents created by swimming caribou. If there are many animals in the water, one must be careful not to go right behind them as the current they create can capsize the hunter (Novoligak, field notes). Novoligak has experienced being overturned by a caribou while hunting in a kayak (Novoligak in Stern 1994).

There is nothing wrong with bull caribous but the scary ones have their ears perked up when they are swimming. If the caribous are going to kick the kayak they prepare their feet, but the hunter will know when this will happen. The hunter will always go to only one side of the caribou so they could spear it. Sometimes there would be quite a few kayaks hunting at one time if there's lots of caribous, but other hunters would lose their lives because it's not all the same situation (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

I was told never to paddle at the very back of a herd of caribou. It's just like going down a river exactly, exactly the same. As I started following on hunting trips, the elders would speak as if he had been told by many. He said never paddle on the current that caribou make in the water. You should ride inbetween the caribou... I was told never to turn your kayak sideways between a caribou herd. The currents are too strong. Just like a river all the time. That's only when the tuktus swimming. Too much tuktu.

If you turn your kayak sideways behind a heard of caribou and paddle into the current you'll lose control. And if you try on the other side the same thing will happen. The currents are too strong...It's current that's why, you'll just lose your paddle. I was also told when I was young. When you get close to caribou say 5 or 3 that many maybe more. When you're approaching the caribou you will catch you should keep an eye on which ear drags. That's the caribou that'll be made a kayak. It'll drag his ear in the water, before it lays down. It'll then kick the kayak (with it's hind legs). Those are dangerous too. I've seen that happen twice. Caribou drag their ears as if they know they'll be made kayaks. In its final resting place when it kicks the kayak with its hind legs, you should turn your kayak over. Ill end it there (Moses Koihok in Stern 1994).

Kiluhikturmiut sometimes made special trips to collect wood for building kayaks.

Inuit used to make kayaks out of whatever sticks they had, even out of piece of trees. In the summer, the Inuit used to walk far inland to find wood that is suitable to make kayaks long ago. They used to walk in the mosquitos. The Inuit used to go inland when I was my teens. There would be lots of mosquitos and really hot to walk towards the tree line.

The people of Coppermine used to walk to the tree line, but the people of this area used to go as far as Contwoyto Lake because there were lakes. But during the winter months, the Inuit of Bathurst Inlet sometimes would go to the treeline to find sled boards while they at Contwoyto Lake (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

The priest Raymond de Cocola witnessed Bathurst Inlet people conducting a caribou drive at Hiuqitaaq in the 1940s that utilized inuksuit, bows and kayaks.

I helped Kakagun build a pile of rocks nearly five feet high and watched him applying the finishing touches with moss to give it a vague resemblance of a human form...One by one we built these crude man-like cairns about fifty yards apart, while Nokadlak and his helpers did the same along a parallel line two hundred yards away...Still our preparations were far from over. Until late that evening we toiled over our hunting equipment. Rifles were cleaned and checked. Bows were strung with new twisted caribou sinew. Arrows feathered. Short-shafted spears were made with chunks of loose copper found inland... "Let's find a good hiding place, Fala." He eventually drew my attention to what looked like a soldier's foxhole with a windshield of rocks.

There were many of them along the beaten caribou paths. “These hiding places were made long ago by our ancestors. They lay in them and shot arrows at passing caribou.”... “It’s easier to shoot laying down in a hole than standing behind a boulder.”... Naodluak and Agleroitok let the first wave enter the narrow alley before opening fire. From his foxhold Kakagun shot arrow after arrow with amazing accuracy. Only when his quiver was empty did he resort to this rifle... Several caribou were swimming midstream, and Nokadlak in his kayak was down on their necks, spear in hand...Kudnanak hopped into the second kayak to help his father retrieve them one by one with a rope... (de Coccola and King 1989: 408-412).

In addition to collecting skins for making winter clothing, aujaq was a time for caching caribou meat for later in the season. Caches were marked with a stone marker referred to as a nakkataq (field notes).

### Fall - Ukiakhaq and Ukiak

The families that had travelled inland to Hanningajuq/Aimaukattak would leave during Ukiakhaq and walk back to the coast with 1-3 dogs per person. The dogs would follow. In some cases they would use skins to put something in and the dogs would drag it (Koihok, field notes). This type of sled was called the same name as the sled used in the winter – aalliak. Novoligak remembered using skins and also a short wooden aalliak to move things by dogs over the tundra when there was no snow (field notes). The dog harnesses used were made from caribou leg skins. That is what they would use in the summer or fall (Novoligak, field notes). Once, when there was snow on the ground, Novoligak and his younger brother went from Tullaq at Aimaukattak to Qingauk (Bathurst Inlet trading post) in one day by dogteam. They traded the next day and left to return with a party who had left a day before them (Novoligak, field notes). The fastest walking trip Koihok had heard of between Tullaq and Bathurst was three days and was accomplished by Itoktuq, Palongayak and Agivgaagalok (field notes).

During Ukiak, Kiluhikturmiut were at innakharviit, or preparation places. These places are the camps where they stayed to prepare the clothing and other things they needed for life out on the sea ice (Novuligak, field notes). When asked if there were specific locations for innakharviit Novoligak and Koihok felt that people would make their innakharvik wherever they might be at the time.

An Innaksarvik is a place where a family is comfortable to make any kind of preparations before going to the sealing camp. They don’t want to be ill-prepared so that bad luck might come their way. (Novoligak in field notes).

Diamond Jenness recorded a specific location for the Kiluhikturmiut innakharvik at the time he was in the area.

All through the summer the families that compose each separate group or tribe have been scattered over various fishing and hunting grounds in the interior; but now they assemble once again at some well-known meeting place on or near the coast...the Kilusiktomiut on one of the Barry islands in Bathurst Inlet called Igloryuallik (Jenness 1922: 110).

...After spending the summer in the country around Bathurst Inlet the Eskimos regularly return at its close to this island of Igloryuallik to sew their winter clothing, while the natives round Grays bay repair at the same time to the north end of Hepburn Island (Jenness 1922: 39).

After preparations were complete, Kiluhikturmiut would move out onto the sea ice to begin seal hunting during Ukiuq.

## **Beliefs**

There are many beliefs that may have been forgotten, or are not recalled in interviews for reasons known only to the individuals. It is likely that the Christian beliefs of people today also influence the subjects they are willing to discuss. Although the Elders did not remember anything about the spirits of Hila and Arnakaffaaluk when asked, it is presented here due to its importance to understanding the basis of traditional observances or agliqtaqtut. Knud Rasmussen recorded the following information concerning Hila and Arnakaffaluk (elsewhere called Nulijuk) which was passed on to him by the shaman Hiiq, his son Tatilgak and the old shaman Ilatsiaq's adopted son Nattiit:

Hila is all that space above nuna and tarijuq. Hila is held up by immense pillars that stand out at the ends of the world in the four corners of the wind; its uppermost arch is called qilak: the sky.

Hila is not empty space as one might think; it is the dwelling place of hilap inue, supernatural beings who all seem to be untied through a great power: hilap inua itself: the spirit of hila. It governs the weather that makes it possible for people to live. It is not only the cause of the good weather that allows a man to go hunting, but bad weather too, especially blizzards, which cause the dwellers of the earth to suffer want (Rasmussen 1932: 22).

The Elders were also asked if they remembered any stories about Arnakaffaaluk. They did not recall hearing anything. The following was recorded by Rasmussen in 1924.

[Arnakaffaaluk]: the big woman, is the origin of all taboo. Of all the spirits, people are most afraid of her. She lives on a rock at the bottom of the sea in a puilannuaq: a little bubble. There she lives with her husband igpiarjuk and a small child. She is sovereign over all the sea beasts and therefore is particularly feared in winter, when the ice comes and sealing begins.

Should it happen that people break their taboo – she is especially touchy about unclean women – she gathers up all the women's sewing things and the men's work and covers the seals over with them so they cannot get out. All the sea beasts can be hidden under her side-platform, and they are shut up there when a taboo has been broken, the space under the side-platform then being blocked up with the work that was done under the taboo. This does not mean literally the sewing materials or the implements or tools that the men have worked with, but simply the souls of these things. The materials remain with the people and they do not notice that their souls are being piled up in the house of the Sea Woman. But suddenly hunting fails, and then the people can only be saved if a shaman forces Arnakaffaaluk up to the top of the sea (Rasmussen 1932: 24).

## Agliqtaqtut

Among us, people usually refrain from certain things and observe certain customs because they are afraid of hila: the spirit of the weather or air, who is also called qakimna: the one up there,

nitailaq: falling snow, aninnailaq: the reason why one cannot get out of a house or tent. If people did not keep to these customs Arnakaffaaluk: the woman who guards the seals at the bottom of the sea would get the idea that hila was offended at her, and she would then hide the seals under her side-platform, so that man would have no animals to hunt (Nattiit as recorded by Knud Rasmussen 1932: 36).

The old shaman Ilatsiak...confessed that he did not know what became of the winds in calm weather; nevertheless he knew certain things that would cause them to blow hard, for example, "if the women sewed new deerskin clothes during the dark days of winter, or if in spring and summer the Eskimos lingered too long round the lakes and islands, or ate the lungs of the caribou." (Jenness 1922: 180)

Agliqtaqtut were traditional observances that Inuit had to follow to avoid misfortune or the malevolence of spirits. These observances were present in many areas of life in traditional Kiluhikturmiut life. Koihok explained that the treatment of wildlife was one important area where agliqtaqtut had to be observed (field notes). People were not to mistreat wildlife, they were to give them a fast death and treat their bodies with respect after death. If people were guilty of mistreating wildlife could expect not to enjoy hunting success in the future. People who transgressed this agliqtaqtuq seemed to have a hard time getting game or the weather would not be in their favour (Koihok, field notes).

Even when skinning game Kiluhikturmiut were to be very careful and make sure all parts of the animal were used. Even the sinew ...they were careful not to cut the sinew off right away. In order to not cut the sinew the meat would be passed around and people ate the meat away from the sinew so it could be used for something such as a bow, a fishing line (uukuaq) or a seal harpoon line (Koihok, field notes).

Even the bones were always made into something useful or for games. The hooves were used for games and the antlers for tools. All this was done out of respect for the game (Koihok, field notes). If someone was careless in the construction of a tool to be used on game it would result in their not being successful. Men were not allowed to make tools during hunting time. When they did make them it was away from the tent (Koihok, field notes).

A person also had to be careful in their demeanor when it came to talking about hunting animals as the animals could be offended.

Even in the old days they mentioned that wildlife used to converse among themselves. I think that they must still do this. With any kind of game people must never mention that they are going to be successful. That they are going to get it. If someone says that then they are usually not successful. Because the wildlife probably heard it. Unanmihuk means being too sure of yourself. When someone is like that wildlife can hear this (Novoligak, field notes).

When going on a hunt you never say you are going to bring back food. Because wildlife listens. (Koihok, field notes)

According to Novoligak even their land was treated with respect. They couldn't sew if they were in areas that were new to them. They would have to be careful with their

clothing. Even if their clothing needed fixing they would not sew out of respect for where they were (Novoligak, field notes).

We're not like the people were in the old days. When hunting anything couldn't do? Respect was carried wherever Inuit were. It was the norm. Wildlife and people were always respected. In doing so they hoped all will be well. At caribou crossings you made sure you didn't do anything wrong. (Novoligak, field notes)

Another agliqtaqtuq was that traditionally people not play string games when the sun comes back and gets higher (Koihok, field notes).

In his youth, Koihok said that there were shamen who would know when certain people were not respectful. Agliqtaqtut touched the whole life and surroundings of Inuit (Koihok, field notes). When people believed that they were experiencing bad luck or the hardship as a result of transgressing agliqtaqtut they would try to take action to appease the offended powers.

If a sickness in the family and that sickness was long and not healing. Children too. One of the parents would put one of their tools out on the land. Thinking there are spirits out there that are not pleased. Leave a bit of clothing or tool may be a way of making the sickness go away eventually. Once you make that gesture it is like a payment (Ahivai) (Novoligak, field notes).

There was also tradition in relation to the treatment of burial places or iluvriit (sing. iluviq). When there was a death in the family and someone was buried in the area of the camp, the people would give small gifts to the grave before they left the area. And everytime they went by this place they would also give these small gifts (sing. aituq). They would leave a hook or a small facsimile of a tool. If there were items in the grave that they wanted to take then they had to leave something in exchange (Novoligak, field notes).

People used to find Illiqtit (grave goods) where someone was buried. Peter said if you wanted to take one then you had to leave something valuable. Otherwise it was like stealing from that person and the thief would have misfortune (Novoligak, field notes).

## Amulets

Amulets (atuqtut) were employed when parents wanted their child to possess a certain skill or ability. When asked why they did this Koihok responded that it was done so that

...a child would have success in hunting a certain type of game. Our culture was full when I was a young child and our parents wanted the children to be successful in doing certain things. They would treat the child so they would be successful. [For instance when ] parents wanted a kid to be very light footed and nimble this was done through amulets and words when they put it on (field notes).

## First Kill

There were special observances when a young person caught their first game of a specific species. Moses Koihok remembered:

At Ungiivik when I got my first seal I was on all 4s and they dragged the seal over my back. First catch of fish they would pull them through their outer parka from the bottom and out the neck. This was done so that the hunters are successful all the time. When I got my first caribou whoever was there would lift up the head and you would have to crawl under... That is one way of respecting the tradition and showing respect. Whatever the first catch was it was divided up to people in the camp... a small piece was kept for the young hunter. (field notes)

## Non-Human Beings

In Kiluhikturmiut beliefs as in the beliefs of other Inuit groups, there are other beings that exist other than human beings and wildlife. Moses Koihok described the Inuarulliit:

They had small size tools like Inuit. Made sure that they treated the same way because they were feared for their strength.

One time Inuit stumbled on the little Inuarulliit. One of the Inuarulliit just had a baby. People always said when they saw regular people they would flee. So they ran and left this little baby. So they [the Inuit] had this little baby. They figured that maybe the mother would come back so if we leave they are bound to come back for it. They figured the mother must have gone back for the baby. [This happened in the] Qunngurjuaq area (field notes).

## **Travel and Trade Between Kiluhikturmiut and Southern Inuit**

Kiluhikturmiut and other Copper Inuit groups traveled south from their home territory meeting and trading with Inuit from the Kivalliq region. This fact was clear in the oral traditions passed on by Moses Koihok and Luke Novoligak during this project and it is also clear in the documentary sources. In the oral traditions passed on by these Elders Kiluhikturmiut regularly travelled to Beechey Lake where they would meet with Inuit from the south. Sometimes Kiluhikturmiut traveled even farther to south in search of wood on the Thelon River in the vicinity of Tipjalik (Beverly Lake), and in order to trade. This fact has been discussed by several early ethnographic sources (Hanbury ; Stefansson; Jenness; Rasmussen). During these trips they would come into contact with Inuit groups to the south and they engaged in trade to their mutual advantage. Southern Inuit also sometimes traveled north to visit and trade with Kiluhikturmiut and other Copper Inuit groups. What is not clear is the antiquity of these practices of trade and travel.

Yvon Csonka (1994) has drawn out the earliest evidence of the age this interaction and he presents the following points of evidence:

1. In February 1772 Samuel Hearne (1958: 179) discovered some Chipewyan established permanently in the wooded oasis of the Thelon River, far north of the limit of the forest

and noted that some Inuit come freely to get wood. These Inuit could have come from Hudson Bay or the Arctic coast [ or both<sup>2</sup>]. [This question remains unanswered].

2. Franklin recorded a conversation with Augustus, an Inuk of the western Hudson Bay who guided for him from 1820-1822:

He says, however, that Esquimaux of three different tribes have traded with his countrymen, and that they described themselves as having come across land from a northern sea. One tribe, who named themselves Ahwhacknanhelett, he supposes may come from Repulse Bay; another, designated Ootkooseek-kalingmoeoot, or Stone-Kettle Esquimaux, reside more to the westward; and the third, the Kang-orr-moeoot or White Goose Esquimaux, describe themselves as coming from a great distance (1823: 264).

The last group mentioned above must be the Copper Inuit

3. McLeod, companion of Back during his expedition on the river that bears his name mentioned the cordial meeting in the summer of 1836 on the course of the Thelon River of Chipewyan, Inuit of Back River and Inuit who traded regularly to Churchill (King 1855: xxxvi, 236). The document was unfortunately vague as to the place; the Back River Inuit could have been Copper Inuit or Netsilik.

4. Finally, some years before 1844, the Inuit trading regularly to Churchill had met probably at the wooded oasis of the Thelon, some from the arctic coast. They killed them without learning more about them and we don't know if they were Netsilik or Copper Inuit (HBC D.5/12 fo. 130). (Taken from Csonka 1994).

The first indisputable evidence of Copper Inuit traveling south to the Thelon River came when explorer David Hanbury met a group of Copper Inuit on the Thelon River in 1899.

We had the good luck to meet the Eskimo from the Arctic coast, who resort to this river to obtain wood for their sleighs. These natives had never set eyes on a white man before, and had no articles of civilization whatever. They were all dressed in deerskins, and armed with long bows, arrows, and spears, beaten out of copper. The use of tobacco was quite unknown to them, and firearms they had only heard about. They gave me a good deal of information about their country and the copper deposits along the Arctic coast, and I obtained from them several copper implements, such as dags, spear and arrow heads, needles, &c., all beaten out of native copper, giving them in exchange knives, files, and needles, which last appeared to have by far the most value in their eyes (Hanbury 1904: 14).

By 1915 the Kiluhikturmiut shaman Illatsiaq had made the journey to Akiliniq three times. Kiluhikturmiut would sometimes stay with the southern Inuit and even travel with them to Chesterfield Inlet to trade with whitemen. The whitemen they traded with could have been at the HBC trading post established at Chesterfield Inlet in 1911 or American Whalers if this reference is to an earlier time. The trading post at Baker Lake was not established until 1916.

...the natives of the east end of Coronation gulf usually start from Bathurst Inlet. Sometimes they leave in winter and make the journey by sled, carrying seal-blubber for fuel and living on caribou

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<sup>2</sup> Chipewyan would likely not have distinguished between Inuit groups and so perhaps Inuit from both the Hudson Bay and Arctic coasts were frequenting the Thelon by 1772.

and muskoxen; sometimes in summer, packing their goods and provisions on their backs. One man, the shaman Ilatsiak, had visited the Akilinnik no less than three times, crossing in early winter and returning the following spring. He lived on caribou, he said, and instead of seal-blubber used caribou fat for fuel and light. Their supplies, however, frequently ran out, and then they would sit crouched up on their skins, shivering with cold (Jenness 1922: 48).

The Copper Eskimos secured guns and ammunition and knives from the Akilinnik people in exchange for the skins of caribou, musk-oxen and foxes. Ilatsiak had bought from them a saw, an axe, powder for his rifle, two big snowknives and a few things of lesser importance. At the same time the Copper natives obtain wood from which to make their sleds and weapons. Sometimes they stayed with the Akilinnik people for a year or two, and went down to Chesterfield inlet with them to meet and trade with white men; occasionally too, an Akilinnik native would return with them to Bathurst inlet (Jenness 1922: 48).

Although the age of this travel and communication corridor can not be determined it is certain that travel into the interior of the barren lands for summer and fall hunting was characteristic of the Kiluhikturmiut seasonal round in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. One traditional camping area was Aimaukattak or Beechy Lake on the Back River. Due to use of this location their territory overlapped with that of the Hanningajurmiut who spent the whole year along the Back River (Hanningajuq) system. The fact that Inuit from the southern barrens frequently visited the Kiluhikturmiut is born out in the oral traditions related to the site of Tullaq on Beechy Lake (Aimaukattak). Moses Koihok's adoptive mother Haturina and Luke Nuvuligaq's adoptive father Ajjiut both told stories about this site as being a meeting place of Kiluhikturmiut with people from as far as the Baker Lake and Arviat areas.

Sometimes they used to meet and gather at Beechy Lake [used word Hanningajuq] When they meet they usually be neighbors at one camp... Usually in the summer, sometimes in the summer and sometimes in the fall (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

A long time ago people from Baker Lake and Arviat area would congregate to this area, not on a yearly basis but sometimes they would meet people from different areas since people would walk for miles in those days. Tullaq is the place where people would gather... (Moses Koihok A1: 2).

When asked why people went to Tullaq Koihok answered that it was for “drum dancing, celebrations, competition, and singing. Ladies would get husbands and vice versa too “ (field notes).

One of the most important historic characters who was associated with Tullaq and Aimaukattak was the Ahiarmiutaq Qakhaami or Qakhaavik.

Qakhaaviks and Atangalaaks were the people who stayed there. When they were returning to Hanningayuq on their way to inland they would make caches and store their belongings at caches. They also cache their boats and left them and returned to Baker Lake (Moses Koihok A1: 1).

People would gather around Hanningayuq. What is Olie's Inuinnaqtun name? Bessie's husband. Oliffinas were there and people would walk inland and make caches. Kaotalok, Kuptana, Kudlak and I came across caches while we were traveling by foot. The caches were right on top of a bedrock. Very high. People made caches right on top of bedrocks. Once a person was robbed of his belongings, so he had made a cache where it could not be reached, right on top of a bedrock.

When people had no rifles or metals long ago, people would make caches. Qaqhaavina was the person who was robbed and he had made the caches.

The place called Tullaq, where people would also make caches, right at the mouth of the river. People wanted to spend time together visiting and dancing so they would gather at this place called Tullaq. At Tullaq, Ikhiks and Etoktogonaloks spent their time there in the spring and summer seasons. We came right across the two caches which were at the top of a bedrock. On the side of the cliff is where the caches are. A single person would have difficulty climbing back out if he got inside one of the caches. The lids of the caches were of flat rocks that were hauled from nearby. I'm amazed that the flat rocks weren't broken on the cliff (Moses Koihok A1:1).

According to trader Philip Godsell (1934: 272), before the opening of an HBC post at Ennadai in 1906, the Copper Inuit traded with an Inuit intermediary who resupplied at the Whalers at Chesterfield Inlet (Csonka 1994: 28). In 1906, trader Herbert Hall established a trading post at Ennadai Lake as an outpost of Lac Brochet he said:

...while I was inland [1906-1913], I had an Eskimo trading with the same band [Bathurst Inlet Eskimo] named Ka Ka me [Qakhaami] and from what I learned from him the majority are still in their primitive state and are still using bow and arrow (French 1919: 4).

Qakhaami and possibly other Ahiarmiut continually traveled to Bathurst Inlet to trade with Copper Inuit until around 1920 when trading posts were established in the Copper Inuit area. The memory of the visits of southern Inuit to Bathurst Inlet is also held by the southern Inuit groups. An Ahiarmiut elder who passed away some years ago was recorded singing a traditional song about a journey she did as a child up to Bathurst Inlet (personal communication Luke Suluk). One of the visits of Qakhaami was recorded by the Diamond Jenness in 1915.

Kaksavik [Qakhaami], a Pallik Eskimo who visited our station at Bernard harbour in December, 1915, left his native district in 1912 and migrated to the country of Saningaiyok or Backs river, because of the abundance of caribou and muskox in that region. In the summer of 1914 he met some Bathurst inlet natives who told him that white men were living to the westward, so as soon as the fall set in he left two of his wives and their children inland, and with his third wife, and a young couple from the Akilinnik, traveled north and west till he came to Bernard harbour (Jenness 1922: 49).

Qakhavik had three wives: Heqineq, Qitloq and Manitsiq – so great a hunter was he! When he went back to his own country two men from Bathurst Inlet traveled with him – Aitaoq and Nahuhugaluq. They told me that these three had set out from Bathurst Inlet on the last of the snow and traveled right up to the Akilineq mountains at Thelon River, where they spent the summer; when winter came again they went on to a trading post on the shore of a big lake and there was a large forest there. They told me this trading station had not been established there very long (possibly the post at Ennada Lake); ten days' canoe journey from it was another station with a number of white men. At that place lived both Itqitlit and Unalit (Chipewyan and Cree Indians), but no Eskimos were living there permanently; some Indians who could speak Eskimo were used as interpreters when Eskimos came to trade. They brought fox skins and thongs and bartered them for guns (Rasmussen 193 : 67).

As recorded by Rasmussen above, Copper Inuit also traveled south with the southern Inuit. In the case described above, they probably traveled as far as Ennadai Lake and Lac Brochet, an incredible distance overland. Kiluhikturmiut Elder Moses Koihok passed

on the oral tradition that “Aitaoks and Apatoaks went along to Baker Lake. That is what I’ve heard. They went eastward to Hanningayuq and Baker Lake (A1: 1).” This is likely the same trip that Rasmussen was told about.

There was also a story about one of the wives of Qakhaami:

Qaqhaavina had three wives. One of the wife’s name was Hiqiniq. I’ve forgotten the names of the other two wives. Iqiahuaq had told me that when she and Hiqiniq would go and fetch water and once they reached the water, Hiqiniq commented that “I’ve come here to fetch water but now I’m being lazy.” She had mentioned that because ‘iqiahuaq’ means ‘lazy’ in Inuinnaqtun. And then Iqiahuaq commented that “once the sun gets out, I wonder if it is going to get warm.” In return Iqiahuaq said that comment because ‘hiqiniq’ means ‘sun’ in Inuinnaqtun. These two ladies were joking about their names (Moses Koihok A1: 2).

Some of the Copper Inuit also settled in the south among the Ahiarmiut and possible other groups as well. Yvon Csonka interviewed an Elder named Haumik whose parents were considered Igjaaqqat, the name given to the Copper Inuit migrants by Ahiarmiut. Csonka points out that it is possible that there was a large number of Copper Inuit living at Dubawnt Lake where there were two distinct dialects of Inuktitut spoken in 1906 (Csonka 1994).

Kiluhikturniut Elder Luke Novoligak remembered the term Igjaaqqat:

I’ve heard of Ivyaraq a long time ago. Now I remember that people from around here that moved to Kivalliq were called Igjaaqqat by the people from Arviat area. I don’t know what it means here but it may mean something in the Kivalliq area (Moses Koihok A1: 2).

## **Oral Traditions**

### A Story of Starvation Among the Kiluhikturniut

The following story documents a period of starvation for the Kiluhikturniut when they were forced to relocate to try and find a better location for hunting. These families travelled on foot across Coronation Gulf to the islands that form Nagjuktuuq (Richardson Islands) on the south shore of Kiiliniq (Victoria Island).

Long time ago people that were called Kilugiktukmiot were going through a period of starvation. Because animals were scarce in their land. So these people traveled by foot to some islands called Nagyuktuk. There was four people that went ahead of everyone in the camp. Two men along with their wives had gone ahead of everyone so that they can build snow houses for them all to camp in when they have a lay over. So as everyone else in the camp was getting ready to travel, these two couples had gone ahead. As they went along they would lay over snow houses so everyone else would have an easier time looking some elderly and weak and women and children. And they left what little they could in the lay over snow huts. Few of the people that they were going to go and live with were Kitigutitkut, Anagvialok and Kukilukakavalok. As they were traveling one of the older women got so weak that she was in a state of freezing to death but they managed to carry her on one of the sleds and she barely made it to the camp. By the time they made it to the camp, parts of her were frozen. And they knew if they were to bring her in to one of the heated iglus she would die. So they put her into one of the cool outer storage rooms to thaw

slowly and she lived. It was in one place call Kilitak because it was not in the main part of the snow house (Peter Aligoetok in Stern 1994).

### A Battle Between Inuit

In Doug Stern's Bathurst Oral History Project Peter Agligoetok told the story of one group of Inuit attacking another in the Bathurst Inlet area:

The Inuit from Nunataak were planning to attack the Inuit from Tikigak. This [was] going to be a surprise attack. There were more people at Nunataak than tikigak. Tikigak Inuit did not know that they were going to be attacked, so one of the Inuit from Nunataak was going to inform the Tikigak people that they were going to [be] attacked. When he got there he said "the Inuit of Nunataak are coming to fight you and how are you going to win? I cam here to tell you because you do not know they will be coming." Right away they put him on their side. They did not know how they were going to win this battle.

There is one spot at Tikigak that is narrow just like the one we know today. At the narrow place, they decided to place oa lot of broken marrow bones, so they could surprise the Inuit of Nunataak. Tikigak people had surprise waiting for their counterparts. When they arrived, they attacked them and made them retreat. While they retreated, the people of Nunataak started poking from all the broken bones and all fell victim to Kitigak people. Theywere all thankful for the informer for telling them about the attack, that they found a wife for him and never to go anywhere else because they were so thankful.

Peter heard this story from Bob Kannuyayak (Peter Aligoetok in Stern 1994).

### An Arranged Killing

This story by Peter Aligoetok was recorded by Doug Stern in 1994. It recalls the killing of a man that was arranged by the man's own relatives. It may be that this was a case of the delivery of traditional justice for something the man had done wrong.

People a long time ago before us used to go out seal hunting very early in the morning and every morning too. They hunted seals in the breathing holes. Sometimes they stayed out hunting until the wee hours of the night. After such a hunt a man named Igshigvik was payed in things like tools to kill a man. The man's relatives had payed him to kill for them. Even though it was late at night people would have drum dances after all the men had come back from the days hunt. It was on a night like this that a man was killed a drum dancing hall which is made of snow and is very large. When Igshigvik got home from seal hunting he was told this was the night to kill the man his relatives had told him to kill. So when he got home he had some seal meat and some water as people back then did not have any tea. Then he went to the giant igloo used for their drum dances and waited by the door as people were coming in. He watched everyone coming in to the igloo and waited. When the man was coming in that he was to kill, he knew by the special hat the man wore for dancing who he was. The man did not even have to look his way to be recognized. It was by the special hat that Igshigvik knew it was him. At this time the big igloo was full of people and they had been dancing for a while. But the dance was interrupted when Igshigvik started stabbing the man as he came in the low door way and stood up. So the man did not have a chance to defend himself at all. Earlier the man's wife was told by her father not to wait for him to come home anymore. And that is how the dance had to end because the dance floor was full with blood and everyone went home (Peter Aligoetok in Stern 1994).

## Navarana

Although there is no mention of contacts with Dene in the ethnographic literature Koihok told a story about one incident where Dene actually came to Bathurst Inlet.

The Dene people came to Kiluhiktuq. There was a woman named Naviranaaq who had brought the Dene people from in-land to Kiluhiktuq. I'll tell a very short story about it the way I've heard it.

This woman Naviranaaq had gone to the Dene people after losing her husband to death. Naviranaaq knew the land very well so the Dene people had used her as their guide to bring them to the Inuit people.

Over at Piringaniq, Naviranaaq and the Dene people arrived at the Inuit camp, while the Inuit women and children were alone because their husbands and sons were away hunting. The Inuit women and children were left behind in their iglus. Once the children saw people coming from afar they went out to meet them. Since children of long ago would go out to meet the hunters returning from their hunting trips. Thinking that the people were the Inuit hunters the children set out to meet them. When the children reached the in-coming people they noticed they were not the hunters, but Dene people who were led by this woman Naviranaaq. The children were stabbed to death.

When the Dene people reached the iglus they would remove the windows of the iglus and attack the women and children. Naviranaaq would go to each iglu and exclaim, "There are more in here," repeatedly. So the Inuit women and children were attacked in their own iglus. The women and children that were left behind by their husbands and sons were all attacked and killed, except for a mother and daughter, who had just given birth.

When the window of their iglu was pried open, Naviranaaq shouted, "They're in here." The daughter had just given birth to a child and they three all escaped by burning the afterbirth of the newborn. Since the odor of the burning afterbirth was very offensive, that is how the three escaped from being killed. Then the Dene people departed after killing all the women and children except the three Inuit people. Then the Dene people left with Naviranaaq, heading towards Qurluqtuq.

It must have been very devastating for the Inuit hunters to have seen what happened to their women and children when they returned from their hunting expedition. Upon returning the Inuit hunters had very little to eat because of the great devastation, they ate very little from the two women that had escaped the massacre. Then the hunters, after drinking water, they then started out to go after the Dene people. They were able to track the Dene people's footprints and follow them. When the hunters reached the woman Naviranaaq, she had been left behind by the Dene people when they headed back to their territory or land. Naviranaaq was left behind because she had gotten pregnant. When Naviranaaq was reached and she was being questioned and knowing that she had no way of escaping punishment, she now was saying that she had a nice vagina and anybody could have her. She was saying this because she wanted to escape punishment. I'm sure the Inuit hunters did not let her escape.

Once the Dene people reached Qurluqtuq they had made a shelter out of snowblocks, and were in the middle of their dancing ceremony, so they put their weapons down, which were knives, to do their dancing. Upon reaching the Dene people the hunters quietly conferred with each other to see how they would attack the unsuspecting dancers. First, all of the Dene people's knives were gathered and then the top part of the iglu where they were dancing was plucked in by snow, so the Dene people could not breathe inside the snowblocks. Then the Inuit hunters attacked the Dene people. Here the Inuit people would exclaim, "There they go!"

The Dene people had no way of fighting back because their knives were taken away by the Inuit hunters. But there were two Dene people that had escaped by leaping off because they were the biggest and fastest runners, so they escaped even though they were followed. They had leaped up on a very high cliff. One of them was thought to be a medicine man. The land which is an island is now called Ikiarullik because of the two Dene people had escaped to it.

This Inuit woman Naviranaaq had reached the Dene people and brought them to the Inuit people. She had great knowledge of the land and that is why the Dene people used her as their guide. I guess the Dene people were fighting over land. (Moses Kohok, A1: 4)

The story of Narana was also told to Knud Rasmussen by Netsiit in 1924.

Once upon a time, when the men were out on the ice sealing at the breathing holes, the Indians attacked the women and killed them all. Only a mother with her daughter who had just been confined were spared, the mother having taken her daughter's after-birth and burned it over the lamp, making such a dense smoke that it hid them.

Then when the men came home from the hunt and saw that their women had been killed, they made haste to follow the Indians. When they could not find their trail they went in the direction they thought they were, and actually found them, so their footprints must not have been difficult to find.

They caught up with a woman. When they reached her, she cried to them that she was Navarana, and that whatever they did, they must not take her for another; she was good to lie with and clever at sewing.

After that they came to a number of people feasting. It was the ones they were following. It is true there was a man outside the house, but he did not see them. Then when they attacked they killed their enemies with their own knives. They killed them every one.

It is said that Navarana had been an Eskimo who had settled among Indians. She it was who had told them about Eskimos, and when they attacked them, she it was who all the time had pointed out the houses where there were women.

This took place at Uatliarjjuq, but no one knows just where (Netsiit as recorded by Rasmussen 1932: 243).

### Radford and Street Killings

When asked about the killing of two whitemen Radford and Street at Quagjuik in 1912 Koihok told the following story:

There was also a white man that was killed at Quagyuk. My adoptive parent would tell this story often. We've seen a picture of Kaniak (Qaniaq) here, right? Kaniak took a person out traveling. Kaniak's father-in-law killed the white person because he had pity on his son-in-law being mistreated by the white person. They traveled around Qurluqtuq and around Quaryuk's Point. There were a lot of people who camped around that area.

People would work on their dog-teams, preparing to go on trips. But I can't remember the father-in-law's name. So this is how the white man was killed. My son is named after Kaniak. My late wife Hikhialok named our son.

The people were all ready to leave but when the son-in-law was being mistreated, the father-in-law killed the white man. After the man was killed they took all of his dogs and traveling gear and scattered them all over the place. My adoptive parent Hatogina was also on that trip. Hatogina

got a can of food from the gear that was scattered, he opened the can and emptied the contents and said he'll use it for a drinking cup in the summer time, while he travels on foot. And also a 50 lbs flour bag would be emptied of its contents and use it for a hunting bag. There were matches as well. While Hatogina was emptying the flour bag outside, there was a slight breeze and the flour started to be blown away and it made a big puff of haze-like smog. Every time he tells this story he would start to laugh not knowing at that time the flour was something edible.

I'll end this story by telling that they buried the white man at a bedrock and that is the story I've heard (A1: 4).

Knud Rasmussen stayed in the iglu of Qaniaq in 1924 when he was at Malirisiurvik, and at that time he knew of his involvement in the killing of Radford and Street.

...Leo Hansen and I had at Malerisiorfik lived almost a whole month with two of the wanted murderers [of Radford and Street] Hagdlaglaog and Qanijaq, the latter in fact being our host (Rasmussen 17).

### Nakahungnartuarjukkut –the big-calved ones

When asked about non-human beings Luke Novoligak thought of the island “Nakahunguaqtuarjuk which is named after people in that area that had big calves. Small people with big calves. This island is very rocky and has cliffs. People who were sealing probably stayed in that area” (field notes). Knud Rasmussen recorded the story behind the naming of Nakahunguaqtuarjuit:

There were once two borthers, who, when people went up the fjord, used to attack them from a hiding place. They would suddenly appear in sight and stab them to death, after which they fled towards a great mountain; even if they were followed they always succeeded in escaping, right into the face of the cliff.

But one spring when people again started to go up the fjord [Kiluhiktuq], and the brothers as usual had appeared and had stabbed a man to death and thereafter took to their heels and were followed, it happened that they could not get the cliff to open when they wanted to slip inside, and so they themselves were stabbed to death. When they were killed, people say, they lay on the calves of their legs along. Now when they had been killed the people heard a woman's sobbing in the inside of the cliff, and a woeful voice that wailed: Didn't I tell them that they should not eat brains! Now surely they cannot come in!”

Thus the old woman wailed and sorrowed over the disobedience of her sons.

It is from this the two islands at the mouth of [Kiluhiktuq] have got their name: “The two big calved ones” (Rasmussen 1932: 199).

### The Two Giants

I'm going to tell a story about something different. I'll tell stories about it from what I can recall. The huge people, they fell asleep together side by side. The small person got a rock for throwing. Amazingly he was planning on climbing the huge people that were asleep. The two huge people were sleeping under the trees. First the small person got a rock for throwing, then he climbed up a tree, up the tree, he threw a rock at one of the huge people. One huge person woke up and just attacked the other. “What are you doing to me. What have you done to me?” he said. “What have you done to me?” He said that to him first then he just went back to sleep. When they went

to sleep again, he threw another rock at the other giant. He woke up and said to the other. "What are you doing throwing rocks at me?" He just attacked him. Why? They just went back to sleep. They just started sleeping again. When he threw a rock at the other guy, the one he threw the first rock to. He just got up and attacked the other guys. They really started wrestling each other hard. They were so mad at each other that they killed each other. They really killed each other. They thought each on was bothering the other on purpose, but it was that small person on the tree. First he put wounds on them then waited for a while. Then he went back home where he came from. When he went back to his camp he told everyone that he had killed the two giants. He recalls, actually they had killed each other. He had put wound marks on them. When the village went to see what he had done to the two giants. They were all in awe and surprised to see such a small person to have such an amount of strength. Such a small person with all that strength. He killed the two huge giants (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

### Legend of Kiviuna

The legend of Kiviuaq is well known around the Inuit world. It appears that Kiviuaq is referred to as Kiviuna by the Kiluhikturmiut and perhaps by Copper Inuit as a whole. Moses Koihok retold what he could remember of the Kiviuna story.

The father worried that she might've died on the island so he went to check on her after one year. She now had two sons and their names were Akhaq (Grizzly Bear) and Nanuq (Polar Bear). She had gotten the children from her dog. Once the children were old enough their mother told them each this saying, and turning to Nanuq she said once the boat is here I want you to strike my father by the buttock. And then she said to Akhaq to strike her father by the head.

Before the woman's father came by boat to check on his daughter, she had dug up dens for Nanuq and Akhaq and hid them there. The two sons had mauled their grandfather. At least twice now I have heard about this story. I've heard this story in Kuugaaruk.

A long time ago Kiviuna came across birds that were wading in water and so he watched them. The birds and humans would inter-marry with each other. There were probably about five female birds. The people probably caught two birds and took their clothing away. The birds were asking for their clothing back. You've probably heard of this story. The man was Kiviuna.

Even though the birds asked for their clothing back, they were not given to them. One was given her clothing and she now became the wife of Kiviuna. Probably in the spring time when the birds were molting is when she became his wife. They had four off-springs.

In the winter time she thought how she and her children would survive the winter. So the mother bird and her children left for warmer climate down south. And Kiviuna followed them but he could not cross the big lake. When Kiviuna came across someone by the lake, he told this person he didn't know what to do about crossing the lake, so this person told him that every time he chopped wood some splinters would float in the water. Some would turn into fish.

Since Kiviuna wanted to see where his bird wife was at, he went on a big log to cross to the otherside of the lake. But his wife told him that there was only water and no land. And this is how he became an owl. So in his flight across the lake he started to descend and he had gone under water and drowned (A1: 6).

### Inuarullitt – Little People

Do you want to hear stories about little people? Those little people. How those little people are. Those little things that are left behind will be touched by little people. Little people, that's what

they call them a long time ago. Those brother and sister. Long ago people used to get very old. Those little people, grandchild and grandparent. Those little people. Were going into the cover of the stuff left behind a long time ago.

They were using a polar bear for pulling sled when traveling. Sleds. Sleds. They used formed rocks for sleds those little people. Those little people. Little tiny people they were called. They had stone rock sleds, very heavy. Those little people had great tremendous strength that's the stories that used to be told about the little people. The little people decided that they would spend the night under the cover of stuff that were left there (camping gear. They ate cooked caribou meat because they took some food when they travel. They had a young polar bear for pulling the sled when traveling. They had the polar bear for the dog. The next morning when they woke up they decided to load up their sleds when they finished eating their breakfast. While they were all loading up the sled the old lady just spit on the caribou chest because she wanted the chest. The old that spit on the caribou chest took the chest from under the cover. She didn't need any help at all. That was the only thing left. The lady had hard time carrying the meat that the old lady took out by herself. The ones that the old lady had spit on with her saliva. When the lady went out she told her husband, "Take this, it's too heavy for me." Take this, it's too heavy." She had said. The husband told her that "It's too heavy, just leave it here." "It's too heavy, just leave it there." They just left it there, it was too heavy. The old lady really didn't like leaving the big meat but it was too heavy for a load, because she wanted it for her food. The caribou chest that the old lady had spit on weren't heavy for her but they were too heavy for the other lady when she tried to take them out. The little people had polar bear for a dog, those little people. They had a young polar bear. They had stone sleds. Those little people had a tremendous amount of strength that the story we've heard (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

### Nukatpiak and the Raven

Long ago, Nukatpiak was preparing for a hunt on foot, Nukatpiak was a young boy. He was a boy about this high. Nukatpiak packed his sleeping skins and started on foot to look for game. After a long journey he decided to settle down for the evening. He unpacked his sleeping skins and settled down for the night. As he was preparing himself to sleep, little did he know that the Tologakyoat "ravens" were coming his way. As the Tologakyoat approached Nukatpiak they circled in the air, one of the Tologakyoat cried out; "There is someone dead down there", "lets go and feast ourselves on human eyes". Apparently human eyes were a delicacy for the Tologakyoat. Once they landed one of the Tologak put Nukatpiak on his back and prepared himself to feast on the young boys eyes. All of a sudden the boy made an unusual sound that startled the Tologak enough to drop his knife, then the young boy picked up the knife and began walking away. As Nukatpiak was walking away the Tologak flew in front of him and explained, "I can show you where there is good hunting in exchange for my knife." As they looked beyond the hills the young boy can see animals grazing. Nukatpiak thought to himself; this is good hunting grounds, later on he decided not to give back the knife to the Tologak. Sometime later he decided to return to the hunting grounds. Again the Tologak approached him and demanded; We can circle the area and find some game for you if yhou only give me back my knife! As they flew they can see animals suddenly the boy noticed arctic foxes and Nukatpiak thought to himself "This is what I've been looking for" He was so pleased with the outcome that he decided to return the Tologak his knife. He returned home to plan his trapping season. He trapped until early spring, as time went on the young boy decided he had enough fox pelts to tan outside. The tribal leader had nitcied this and envied the young boy's catch and asked Nukatpiak "How is it that you've suddenly become a good trapper?" Nukatpiak replied "one day I decided to go on a hunt by foot, as darkness approached I layed my sleeping skins on the ground to rest. The Tologaat approached me as I was resting to feast on my eyes." The young boy explained how he took away the Tologak's knife and explained how he took away the Tologak's knife and explained the good fortunes. The tribal leader envying the boy's fortunes decided to pack his sleeping skins and set on foot. After a long journey, he got to the hunting area and decided to settle for the evening. As he covered himself with his sleeping skins the leader waited and pretended to sleep. As time passed he fell asleep in

doing so he had his eyes eaten out. Later on the leader died. Because he envied and wished for the boy's fortunes the leader had a tragedy. The end (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

### The Missing Girls

I will tell you a story about the traditional leaders who ruled a camp long ago. It goes like this; long ago there lived two camp leaders who each had a teenage daughter. One day the daughters decided to take a walk to pick berries. The two girls didn't return from their berry picking that day. The leaders ordered some young men to find their daughters, but the men came home empty handed. In the camp were two brothers that the leaders thought would be able to find the missing daughters. The two brothers searched and searched but like those before them came home empty handed. – I should mention in the story, I apologize, the leader would provide the searchers with food.

The story goes on like this. The camp leader again found a man to search for their daughters they insisted that the man take some food with him, the man resisted taking the food and instead replied "I will need jingle bells and some rope." The leader gave the man his wish and soon he along with some companions began their journey on foot searching for the missing girls. After some time they came upon a hole in the ground. Once at the hole, the man tied the rope around himself and told his companions to lower him into the ground so he can have a look inside. He gave instructions to the men and told them "if I ring the bells that is a signal to lift me up". Not long after the man started his journey down, he rang his bells, so the men at the top pulled him out because he was feeling uncomfortable. After a while he told his companions "I will try again, but if I should ring the bells don't attempt to pull me up. So the men once again began lowering him through the hole. After some time he neared the bottom of the hole, so he rang his bells, the men heard his, but did not try to pull him up. Once at the bottom he untied himself. As he discovered this was a different world than the one he came from. As he was exploring this unusual place he noticed two houses. Suddenly he saw the two missing girls in one of the houses. Apparently they had disappeared through the hole in the ground. He also noticed two giant men- Inukpak. The giants had taken the girls in as their wives. He approached the Inukpak and began talking to them. The Inukpak had been getting ready to eat, before this man Nukatiak had interrupted them. So the Inukpak invited Nukatiak to feast with them. Prior to the feast, the girls had advised him that; should he be told to select a knife to feast with, choose the rusty old one. With this in mind he chose a rusty old knife. Then one of the Inukpak spoke out, "you have chosen the rusty old knife that I was supposed to use." Nukatiak then knew the Inukpak were up to something, but decided to keep the rusty old knife as he was instructed and the Inukpak used a couple of shiny knives. They soon began feasting and enjoying the food. After the feast a fight broke out and they began chasing one another with their knives. As Nukatiak soon realized everytime he swung this knife at the Inukpak's knives, the knives would shatter and drop to the ground. Apparently the knives were made of crystal, that is why he was advised earlier not to use them. As we know smaller people are much quicker than bigger people. Using his quickness Nukatiak shattered both the Inukpak's knives and in doing so killed them. After the battle he led the girls to the hole where the rope hung down and tied one of the girls to the rope and ordered her to ring the bells. As she did the men above pulled her up. Then the second girl was tied to the rope and pulled up leaving Nukatiak alone at the bottom. Then came his turn, so he tied himself with the rope and signaled his companions with the bells to lift him up. To his surprise the rope was dropped. Apparently Nukatiak's companions had decided to take the girls home themselves for their wives. Alone with no one to pull him out of the hole. Nukatiak remembered an advice given to him about the Inukpak ears being magical. So he went to one of the dead Inukpak and cut off both his ears. He put one ear away in his pocket and bit on the ear, and to his amazement the ear began to float up in the air lifting Nukatiak out of the hole. Once on top, he rushed home to find his companions now living with the girls they rescued. He shouted out to the camp leaders "my companions didn't rescue your daughters, I did. I got them home to safety using the bells and some rope.!"

Apparently the men that rescued the girls, payed the leaders a couple of rings so they can take the girls as their wives. Because the leaders didn't know who was telling the truth. They decided to have a contest, so they told the men to climb on top of the igloo and leap, whoever lands on the ground without injuring himself, wins. The two men who had wives earlier would leap off the igloo one by one. Each man would hit the ground and just crumble to pieces. Nukatiak remembered he had a magical ear in his pocket. He took out the ear, bit on it and leapt off the igloo. Nukatiak floated slowly down to the ground (George Kuptana in Stern 1994).

## **Joking Partnerships (kipaqatigiit)**

Ayalikyoak would dance, he must have very strong arms because he would dance with a very heavy drum. I've seen Ayalikyoak and Adjun dancing with heavy drums. People must have had big muscles in those days. Adjun had very short back bone but he sure can dance and hold the heavy drum. He must have been a very tall man if his back wasn't short. I've seen Katiik and Navvalik dance. They were joking partners. They would carry each other around and would do this jokingly.

When Kingakhana and Kannoyaoyak would go to pick up supplies from the trading store, they would meet each other and shake hands, then they would carry each other and laugh and joke around. I didn't know the people in those days have muscles. I've seen these people a long time ago.

Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would joke together. They had left their boat one time on an island. It was an island where people would be left behind. There was always caribou on the islands around that area. It was getting dark so they had left their boat, and had made arctic hare that they had caught, to eat. Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always joke around with each other.

While they were eating, Ayalikyoak noticed that Tuktunngaak had very little to eat and was nawing on the arctic hare because it had very little meat on it. Ayalikyoak had the rump of the arctic hare and Tuktunngaak had taken it away from him. They were fighting over the rump of the arctic hare. Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always play tricks on each other.

In the middle of winter at Ungiviit they would go and purchase supplies at a trading post. Ayalikyoak went to go and purchase some supplies at Ungiviit. Since the weather was very bad for a number of days, he hadn't arrived from his trip for a long time. Tuktunngaak was camping over at Ayalikyoak's place. After sitting around for a while, he said to Ayalikyoak's wife that he needed to take a dump.

Ayalikyoak was at the trading post getting supplies. When Tuktunngaak saw Ayalikyoak coming back from the trading post he proceeded to take a dump in the porch. When Ayalikyoak reached the iglu, he noticed the smell of feces, and he exclaimed, "What is he doing, he is not a child and he is taking a dump right in the porch?" So Ayalikyoak grabbed him by the scruff and lifted him up. After Ayalikyoak let go of Tuktunngaak, and Tuktunngaak exclaimed, "What is wrong with him, he is always picking on people as if they are children?" Without saying anything further, Ayalikyoak proceeded to go inside the iglu. Once he got inside the iglu, his wife Kammaakyok was giving him a tongue lashing. Ayalikyoak then said to his wife, "Why is he doing this and it is not even his porch?" Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always play tricks on each other (A1: 6, 7).

## Archaeological Investigations

The nearest previously recorded archaeological sites that are within 10-15 km of the Tahikaffaaluk site are around the south end of Bathurst Inlet, with the exception of an inland site (McNk-2), recorded in 1974 near Amagok Creek to the west. According to Archaeological Survey of Canada records, this single inland site contained “part of a short, wooden bow” and “a nail-studded kayak paddle.” The sites on Bathurst Inlet itself (site numbers McNj-1 to McNj-16) relate to contact period settlement, land use, and caribou hunting, as well as to geological exploration. One site on the east shore is said to have “thousands” of inuksuit, according to the geologist who first recorded it in 1974. Evidence of indigenous land use includes tent rings, caches, inuksuit, and caribou bone. Further away, about 50 km southwest of the Tahikaffaaluk site, and north of Tikiraq Lake, four archaeological sites (MaNI-1 to MaNI-4) have been noted, including a “caribou drive lane” (an alignment of upright boulders) and a pre-contact site with stone tools. The presence of sites with evidence for intensive caribou hunting (e.g., inuksuit alignments that probably relate to large-scale, organized hunts, such as the one described by Raymond de Coccola in the 1940s, quoted in this report – see “Summer – Aujaq” in “Kiluhikturmiut Seasonal Round”) supports the identification of this region as an important corridor for seasonal caribou movement and the regular interception of this migration by Inuit (see Map 2 in Thorpe et al. 2001).

Features were found in several naturally-defined areas of the Tahikaffaaluk site (see Site Plan 1). The site is naturally structured by bedrock ridges and linear bodies of water that run northwest-southeast. There are three linear clusters of features on three or four bedrock ridges (Areas B-hill; C; and D). A stream and marshy willow floodplain separates Areas C and D. Another stream, which flows into Bathurst Lake from the unnamed lake to the northwest, separates the few features found on the south side of this stream (Area A) from the features in the low, willow-dominated ground immediately on the north side of the stream (Area B-flats) and from the main concentration of features on the highest ridge (Area B-hill) that rises steeply north from this low-lying ground. This large ridge is actually two parallel ridges separated by a shallow swale in the northwest part of the site. (See the distribution of features in Site Plan 3: Feature 71 is in the swale; six features to the north and west of Feature 71 are on a ridge distinct from the main ridge. The main ridge extends from Feature 72 southeast to Feature 59, then descends to Feature 70.) The distribution of numbered features is found in Site Plans 3 and 4. Numbers correspond to Feature descriptions in Appendix 3.

Types of features, which were identified by Elders, can be grouped into five broad categories by function (plus a sixth, “other,” category (Table 1). These categories are represented as symbols on Site Plans 1 to 4.

Table 2: Feature categories and types.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Types (from Appendix 3 and 4)</b>
Cache	meat cache (qingniq)
	meat cache (piruhkarvik)
Cooking	hearth (kikhu)
	cooking slab (patiहितivik)
	cooking place (igavik)
Dwelling	tent ring
	rectangular wall tent outline
	sleeping place (hiniktarvik)
Food Preparation	food preparation table or platform (niqiqarvik)
	meat drying rack (qimmitutikargvik)
Hunting	look-out (qinirvik)
	hunting blind (talug)
	wind shelter (iquurtaq)
Other	knife (havig)
	hikhik den trap (hitigak)
	qajaq stand
	standing stone (inuksuk)

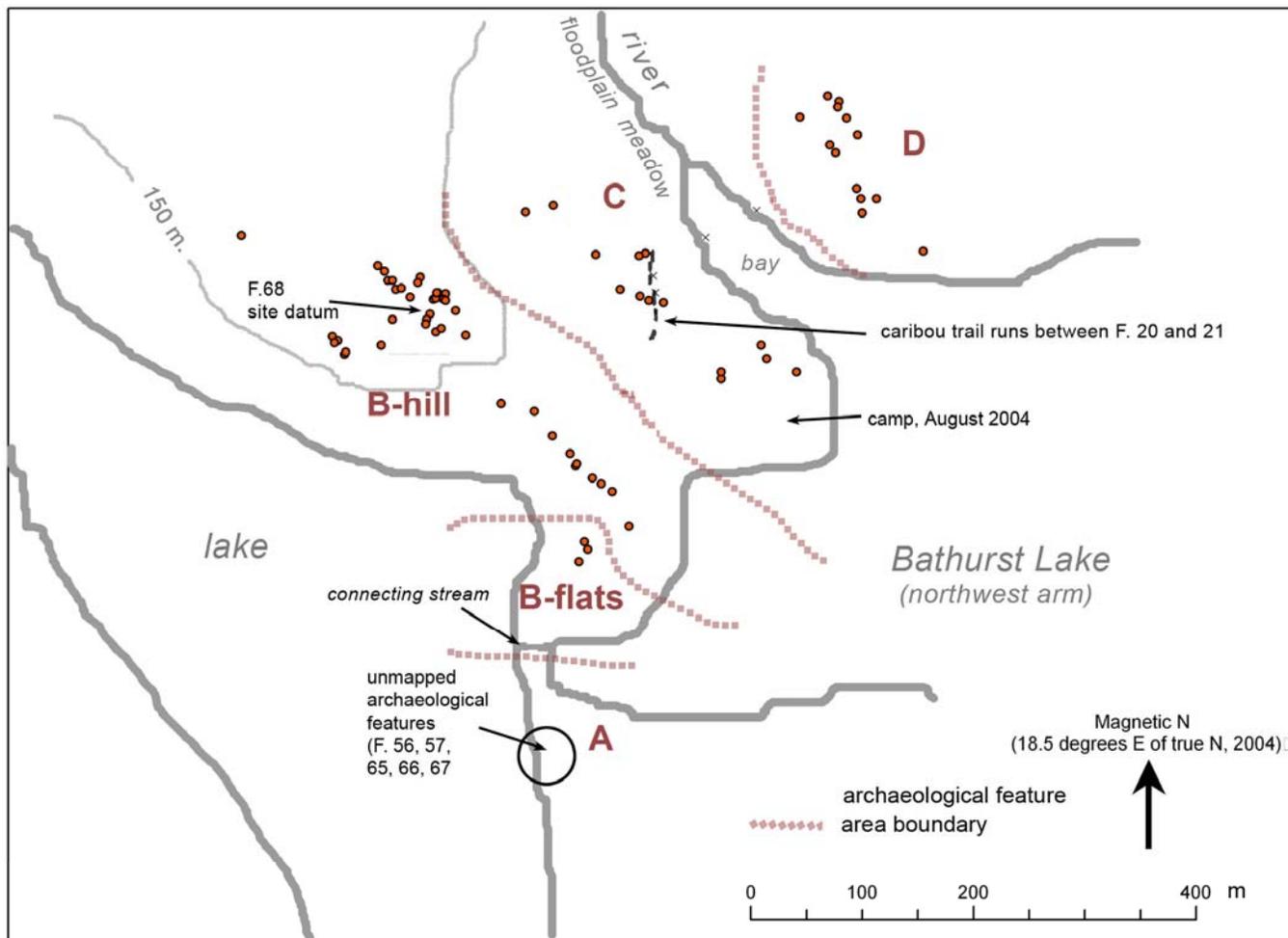
The distribution of features by type (Site Plan 2) shows that features that are related to hunting dominate the central part of the site (Area C). These features (mostly hunting blinds, e.g., Figure 10, but also including a lookout and a wind shelter that is not associated with a tent ring) are located on a relatively low ridge west of and overlooking a small river and its marshy floodplain. This river flows south into the little bay east of the 2004 camp (see Site Plan 1). Caribou trails run up the slope, here, past several blinds. The location of the most prominent trail is recorded in Site Plan 4, with blinds (F. 20 and 21) positioned on either side of the trail (Figure 11). There is also a qajaq stand (F.64) that could relate primarily to intercepting caribou crossing the bay. The bedrock ridges (Areas B and D) that overlook Area C are, by contrast, mostly domestic areas, with tent rings, food preparation and cooking features.

Some notable features were identified by elders – features that are either unusual for the Tahikaffaaluk site or other sites, or are particularly good examples of such features. These are described in Appendix 3. They include a den (hitigak) for ground squirrel (hikhik) constructed of rocks and used to trap squirrels (F.6)(Figure 12), and a pair of features in Area C identified by Novoligak as muskox hunting blinds (F.26 and 27)(Figure 13). Various internal features were identified in one of the tent rings by Elders (F.15)(Figure 3). They include: a storage area (ittavik) under a propped-up rock and hearth (kikhu) at the entrance; a wind break of propped-up boulders forming one side of the ring (iquurtaq); a paved sleeping area (iglik); and a paved food preparation area in the middle of the dwelling (aqiutaq). These features were sketched and are shown in Site Plan 5. Two features relate specifically to food preparation, including places where flat rocks were stood on end and used as racks on which to hang meat to dry

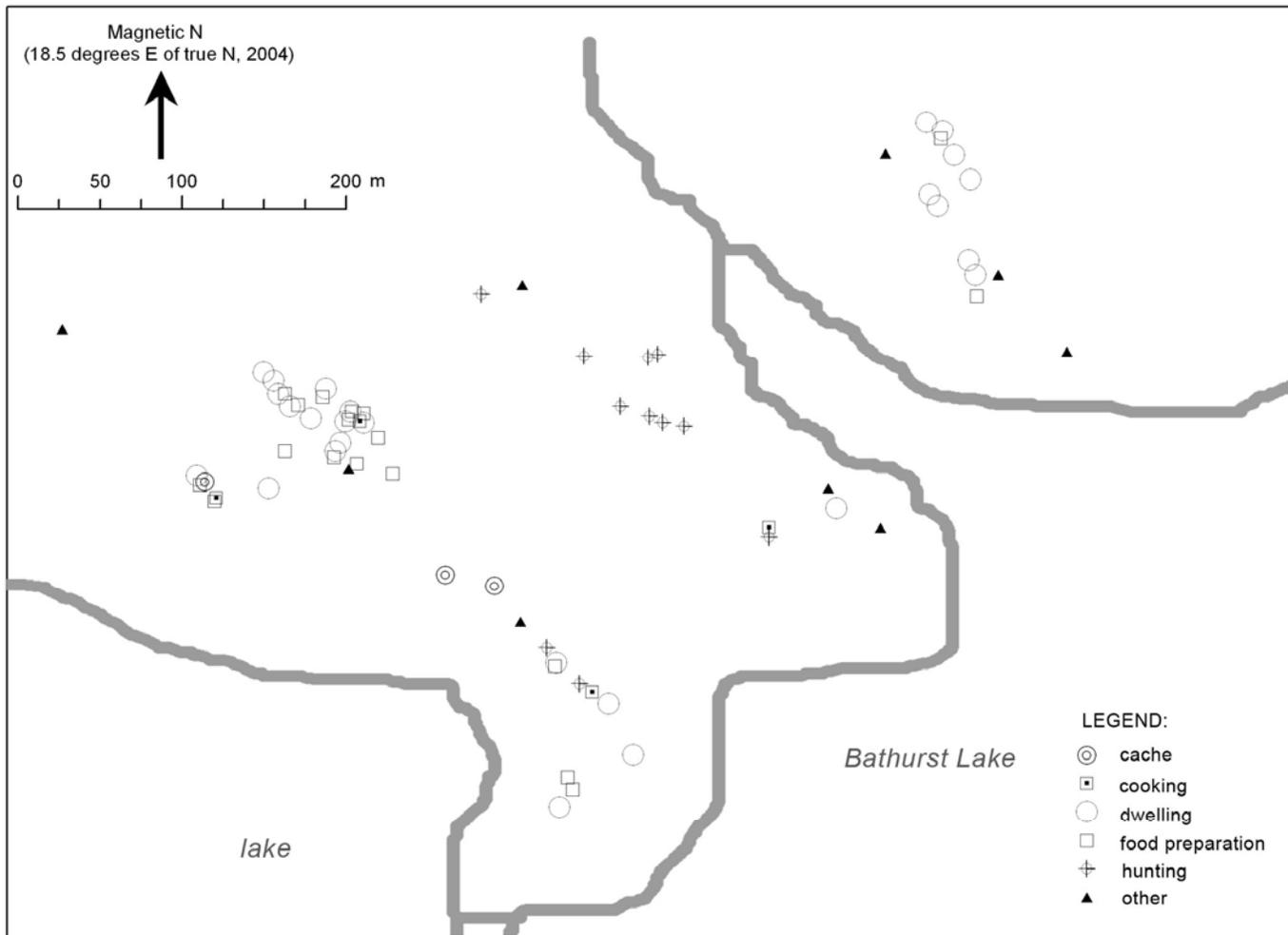
(qimmirutikargvik), and areas of flat rocks used as tables or platforms for meat to keep it clean (niqiqarvik)(Figure 14). These unassuming features are recognizable in the context of tent rings and other evidence of domestic activity, especially in Area B-hill. There is almost no artifactual evidence (e.g., portable tools) relating to the Inuit occupation of the site. An iron knife blade (havig) (F.22) is the only metal object found on the site. The remaining artifacts are fragments of wood that may have been parts of games or bows (F. 53, 62).

Not many caches were identified, possibly because these features are not necessarily visible when they are not culturally modified -- meat could be cached in any suitable, convenient boulder field, such as the one half-way down the slope in Area B-hill (F.7 and 8). Standing stones near boulder fields (e.g., F.49 in Area D) may mark caching places that are not otherwise visible. One exception is the open cache in Area A (F.56)(Figure 15). This is a different type of cache – in use during the warm season, rather than over the winter -- where dried meat was covered with skins. Finally, a large number of features in the centre of the site (Area C) are hunting blinds.

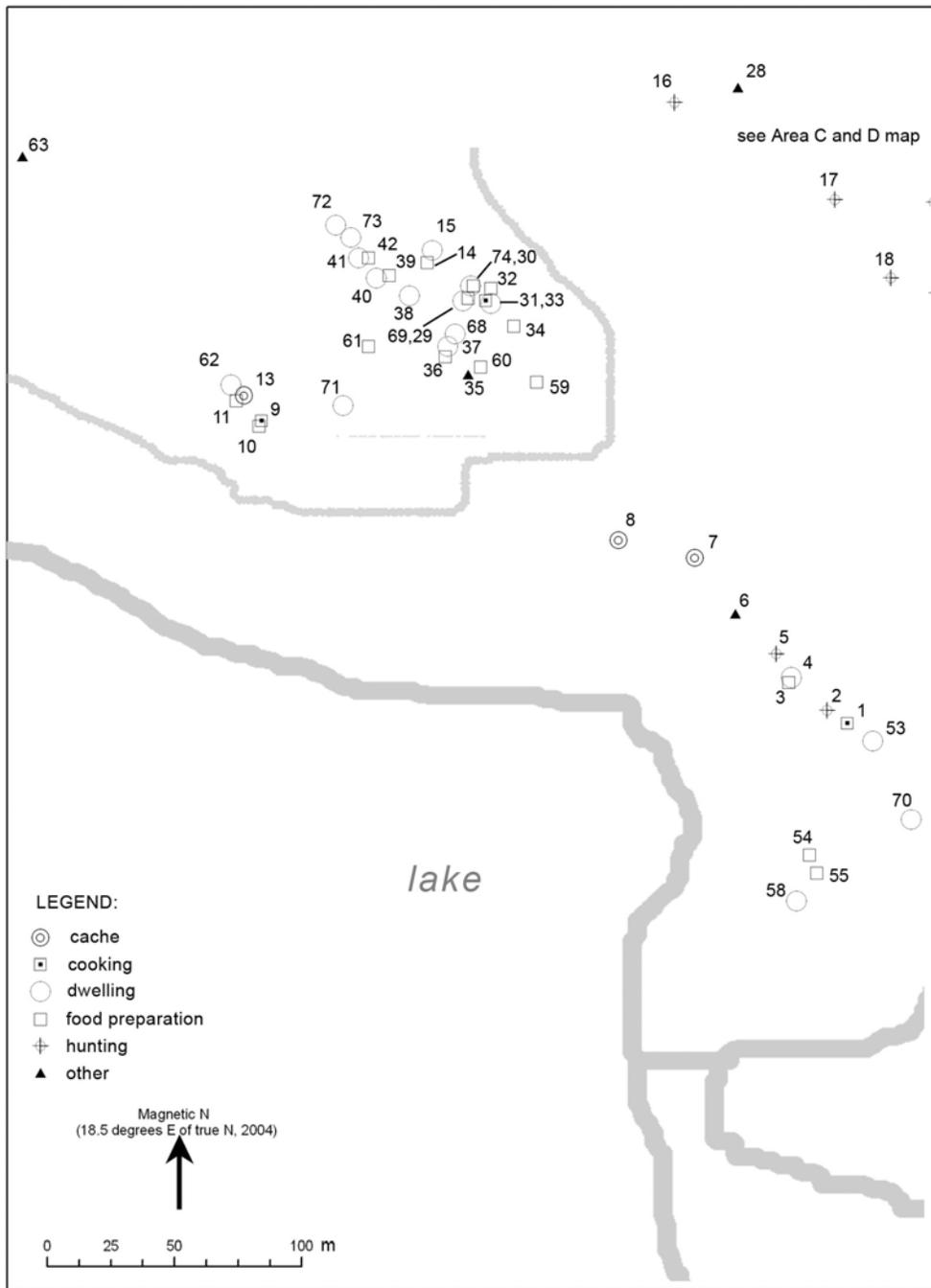
The age of use of the majority of features at the site likely predates, though possibly not by much, the 1920s or 30s, based on archaeological evidence. Most tent rings indicate the use of traditional caribou skin (round) tents. Only a few are rectangular outlines, indicating use of more recent canvas-walled tents. The presence of hunting or shooting blinds indicates the use of bow and arrow. Bow and arrow were still in use when Novoligak and Koihok were boys but were being replaced by guns (see “Summer – Aujaq” in “Kiluhikturmiut Seasonal Round”). There are no artifacts (with the exception of the knife blade) that relate the site occupation to a period of reliable access to manufactured items (e.g., during the period that trading posts were operating on the Kent Peninsula or Bathurst Inlet, following 1920 [Usher 1976:160-3]). Quartzite cobbles that appear to have been deliberately broken into fragments are scattered throughout the site, though not in any concentrations. If the result of cultural activity, this evidence may indicate occupation during the absence or scarcity of metal (for example, during a period before regular access to trade goods). On the other hand, it is possible that quartzite was used for strike-a-lights until recently, as it was elsewhere in the arctic. None of this rock exhibits unifacial or bifacial modification and its assignment to cultural activity is provisional, requiring more systematic field investigation.



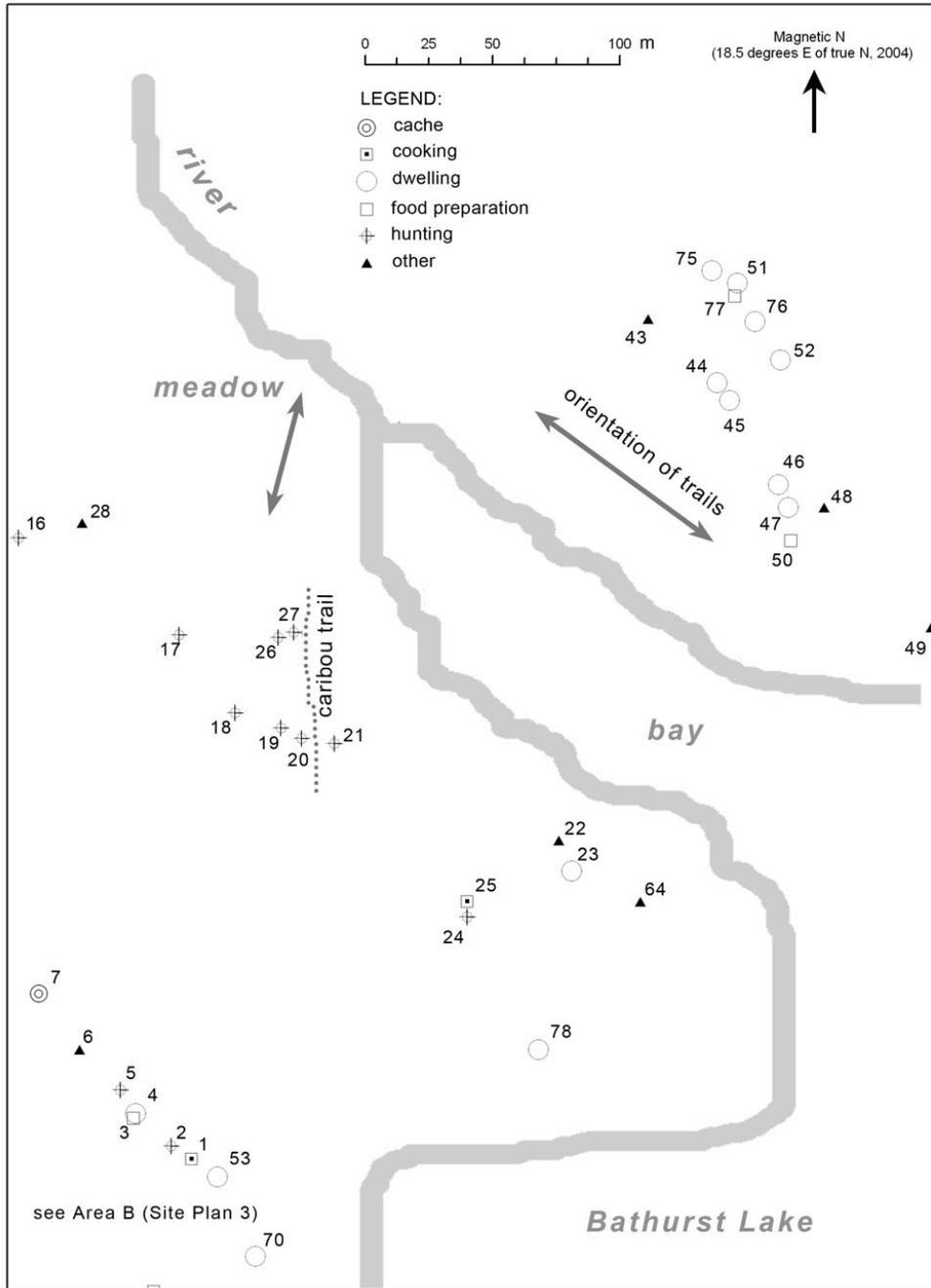
Site Plan 1: Tahikaffaaluk Site (McNk-3) at north end of Bathurst Lake: distribution of archaeological features and defined areas. Shoreline and contour line shown are approximate, based on topographic map 76 J/6. Site datum at 0392774 m E 7363140 m N (UTM grid 13N NAD27).



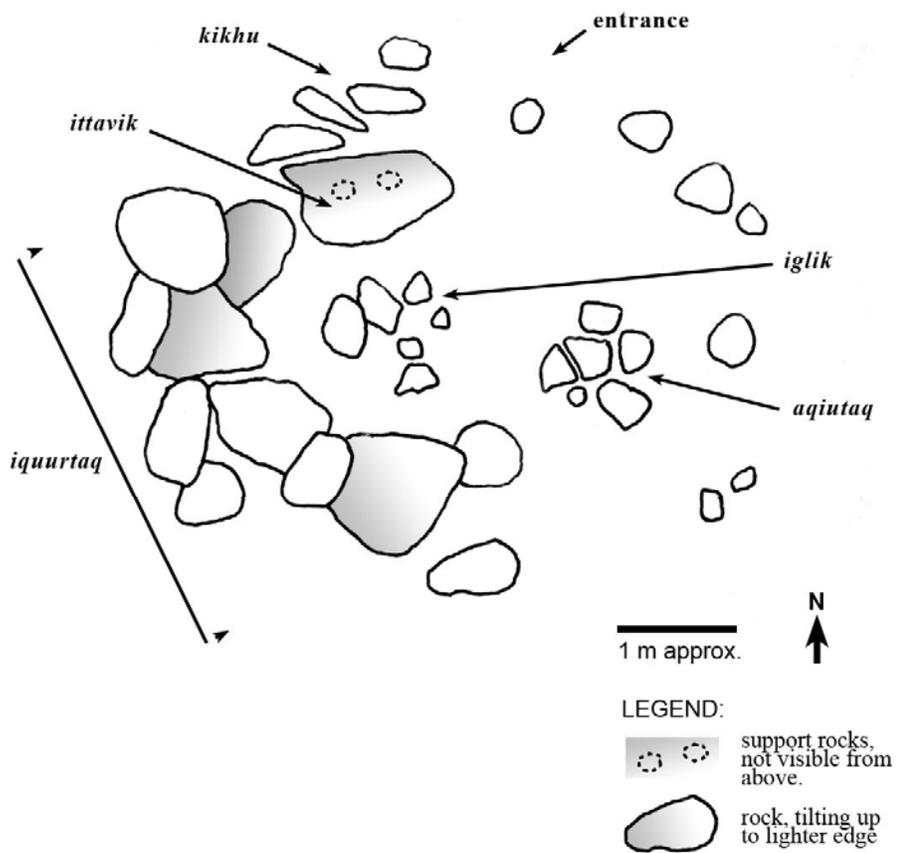
Site Plan 2: Distribution of archaeological features. See Table 1 for definition of categories of features.



Site Plan 3: Distribution of features in southwest part of site -- Area B-hill and B-flats. See Appendix 3 for feature descriptions.



Site Plan 4: Distribution of features in northeast part of site -- Areas C and D. See Appendix 3 for feature descriptions.



Site Plan 5: Sketch of tent ring (F.15) with associated internal features.



Figure 10: Taluq (hunting blind, Feature 16). Scale bar intervals = 5 cm. Catalogue no McNk-3:60T



Figure 11: : Taluq (hunting blind, Feature 21, foreground right), overlooking caribou trail (in swale, left); looking northeast down towards river floodplain (background right). Aurora Tavanna (left) and Trisha Ogina (right) are standing on the trail. Catalogue no McNk-3:72T



Figure 12: Hltigak (hikhik den-trap, Feature 6). Scale bar intervals = 5 cm. Catalogue no. McNk-3:12T



Figure 13: : Two features identified as muskox blinds, Features 26 and 27. Scale bar intervals = 5 cm. Catalogue no. McNk-3:81T



Figure 14: Niqiqarvik (food platform/table; Feature 59), in front of Trisha Ogina.  
Catalogue no. McNk-3:42T



Figure 15: : Piruqarvik (cache, Feature 56), centre foreground. Cache is about 2 m across.  
Catalogue no. McNk-3:2T

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**Appendix 1:**  
**Interview Transcripts**

## **Kiluhiktuq Audio Tape #1 – Bathurst Lake, August 17-24, 2004**

### **Moses Koihok:**

The land that was used, we'll look at them on the map after we've sung the song.

I want to talk about the land and their names. The place which is called Qaqhaavik is also called Qiblaq. Ikuhik is also a place near Qaqhaavik. People of long ago would be at Ikuhik. On top of Qaqhaavik there are two caches. Kuptana, Kaotalok, Kudlak and I all came across the caches at Ikuhik and the two brothers Ikhik and Koaha were there at Ikuhik. I had forgotten about a place called Ikuhik until someone mentioned it. I have not heard about it in a long time. We went to go visit the two brothers there and we had 'uunniq' which is fermented square flippers from seals.

The place names are Nunamiut, Kiluhikturmiut, Tahiryuaq, Aimaukattaaluk, Kivyaaqtuuq. I will say the place names during the singing. In saying the place names is when they start off the dancing.

*"singing ..."*

The song here will be recognized when it is being sung. That's the end of the song. You will see the place names mentioned in the song which are the map.

A long time ago people would make up songs of their everyday lives. Kannuyayuq would tell stories in those days.

### **Luke Novoligak:**

*"singing ..."*

This is the story that Kaotalok would sing which I'm singing even though I have forgotten some of the lyrics. Qaqhaavik is the place where people would gather in winter. Qaqhaaviks and Atangalaaks were the people who stayed there. When they were returning to Hanningayuq on their way to inland they would make caches and store their belongings at caches. They also cache their boats and left them and returned to Baker Lake.

## **Moses Koihok:**

Aitaoks and Apatoaks went along to Baker Lake. That is what I've heard. They went eastward to Hanningayuq and Baker Lake. Hiniruriaq is near Kiluhiqtuq. People would gather around Hanningayuq. What is Olie's Inuinnaqtun name? Bessie's husband. Oliffinas were there and people would walk inland and make caches. Kaotalok, Kuptana, Kudlak and I came across caches while we were traveling by foot. The caches were right on top of a bedrock. Very high. People made caches right on top of bedrocks. Once a person was robbed of his belongings, so he had made a cache where it could not be reached, right on top of a bedrock. When people had no rifles or metals long ago, people would make caches. Qaqhaavina was the person who was robbed and he had made the caches.

The place called Tullaq, where people would also make caches, right at the mouth of the river. People wanted to spend time together visiting and dancing so they would gather at this place called Tullaq. At Tullaq, Ikhiks and Etoktogonaloks spent their time there in the spring and summer seasons. We came right across the two caches which were at the top of a bedrock. On the side of the cliff is where the caches are. A single person would have difficulty climbing back out if he got inside one of the caches. The lids of the caches were of flat rocks that were hauled from nearby. I'm amazed that the flat rocks weren't broken on the cliff.

Qaqhaavina had three wives. One of the wife's name was Hiqiniq. I've forgotten the names of the other two wives. Iqiahuaq had told me that when she and Hiqiniq would go and fetch water and once they reached the water, Hiqiniq commented that "I've come here to fetch water but now I'm being lazy." She had mentioned that because 'iqiahuaq' means 'lazy' in Inuinnaqtun. And then Iqiahuaq commented that "once the sun gets out, I wonder if it is going to get warm." In return Iqiahuaq said that comment because 'hiqiniq' means 'sun' in Inuinnaqtun. These two ladies were joking about their names.

Luke Kudlak knows of the two caches as a young boy. I don't know where Qaqhaavina got his supplies from. Perhaps some people might have bartered with him. People from the Kivalliq area might have heard of this story. People from Baker Lake and Arviat.

A long time ago people from Baker Lake and Arviat area would congregate to this area, not on a yearly basis but sometimes they would meet people from different areas since people would walk for miles in those days. Tullaq is the place where people would gather and Hiqiniruriaq is the place where people from around here would spend the spring and summer seasons. Avadluk would tell a story about Nangaaq his grandfather had walked inland before.

Akana and Avadluk would be left behind at Hiqiniruriaq while the others would walk inland to meet people from the Kivalliq area. Since Avadluk was a small boy he would teach himself to shoot at ground squirrels. Nanegoak and Nangaaq came to pick up Akana and Avadluk. People would hunt and gather inland to spend time drum dancing. Drum dancing was a competition in those days.

People would get spouses from other areas too. I can't remember who would be from Kivalliq that had moved here. I've heard of Ivyaaraq a long time ago. Now I remember that people from around here that moved to Kivalliq were called Igyaaqqat by the people from Arviat area. I don't know what it means here but it may mean something in the Kivalliq area. We did call the people from Kivalliq, Kivallirmiut.

## **Kiluhiktuq Audio Tape #2 – Bathurst Lake, August 17-24, 2004**

### **Luke Novoligak:**

I've heard briefly about a killing of on one of the first white traders in Qurluqtualuk. Papak and Angivralukkaa had told this story about the killing that Hinihiaq and Tatamirana had committed. Tatamirana had done the killing. The RCMP were after these two that had done the killing of the white trader.

There was an alarm that went off at the holding cell, to sound of what had happened. The RCMP apprehended the killers. The trader had a wife who was the daughter of Tatilgaaluk. I haven't really heard about this story very accurately. While this white trader was going home he was shot. Otto was the son of the slain trader and his wife Taqturut, who was the daughter of Tatilgaaluk. Paitya was the slain trader's name.

When the white traders would travel with their Inuit guides, the traders would mistreat their guides so some of the white people would be killed because of the mistreatments the guides received.

### **Moses Koihok:**

The Dene people came to Kiluhiktuq. There was a woman named Naviranaaq who had brought the Dene people from in-land to Kiluhiktuq. I'll tell a very short story about it the way I've heard it.

This woman Naviranaaq had gone to the Dene people after losing her husband to death. Naviranaaq knew the land very well so the Dene people had used her as their guide to bring them to the Inuit people.

Over at Piringaniq, Naviranaaq and the Dene people arrived at the Inuit camp, while the Inuit women and children were alone because their husbands and sons were away hunting. The Inuit women and children were left behind in their iglus. Once the children saw people coming from afar they went out to meet them. Since children of long ago would go out to meet the hunters returning from their hunting trips. Thinking that the people were the Inuit hunters the children set out to meet them. When the children reached the in-coming people they noticed they were not the hunters, but Dene people who were led by this woman Naviranaaq.

The children were stabbed to death. When the Dene people reached the iglus they would remove the windows of the iglus and attack the women and children. Naviranaaq would go to each iglu and exclaim, "There are more in here," repeatedly. So the Inuit women and children were attacked in their own iglus. The women and children that were left behind by their husbands and sons were all attacked and killed, except for a mother and daughter, who had just given birth.

When the window of their iglu was pried open, Naviranaaq shouted, "They're in here." The daughter had just given birth to a child and they three all escaped by burning the afterbirth of the newborn. Since the odor of the burning afterbirth was very offensive, that is how the three escaped from being killed. Then the Dene people departed after killing all the women and children except the three Inuit people. Then the Dene people left with Naviranaaq, heading towards Qurluqtuq.

It must have been very devastating for the Inuit hunters to have seen what happened to their women and children when they returned from their hunting expedition. Upon returning the Inuit hunters had very little to eat because of the great devastation, they ate very little from the two women that had escaped the massacre. Then the hunters, after drinking water, they then started out to go after the Dene people. They were able to track the Dene people's footprints and follow them. When the hunters reached the woman Naviranaaq, she had been left behind by the Dene people when they headed back to their territory or land. Naviranaaq was left behind because she had gotten pregnant. When Naviranaaq was reached and she was being questioned and knowing that she had no way of escaping punishment, she now was saying that she had a nice vagina and anybody could have her. She was saying this because she wanted to escape punishment. I'm sure the Inuit hunters did not let her escape.

Once the Dene people reached Qurluqtuq they had made a shelter out of snowblocks, and were in the middle of their dancing ceremony, so they put their weapons down, which were knives, to do their dancing. Upon reaching the Dene people the hunters quietly conferred with each other to see how they would attack the unsuspecting dancers. First, all of the Dene people's knives were gathered and then the top part of the iglu where they were dancing was plucked in by snow, so the Dene people could not breathe inside the snowblocks. The the Inuit hunters attacked the Dene people. Here the Inuit people would exclaim, "There they go!" The Dene people had no way of fighting back because their knives were taken away by the Inuit hunters. But there were two Dene people that had escaped by leaping off because they were the biggest and fastest runners, so they escaped even though they were followed. They had leaped up on a very high cliff. One of them was thought to be a medicine man. The land which is an island is now called Ikiarullik because of the two Dene people had escaped to it.

This Inuit woman Naviranaaq had reached the Dene people and brought them to the Inuit people. She had great knowledge of the land and that is why the Dene people used her as their guide. I guess the Dene people were fighting over land.

There was also a white man that was killed at Quarryuk. My adoptive parent would tell this story often. We've seen a picture of Kaniak (Qaniaq) here, right? Kaniak took a person out traveling. Kaniak's father-in-law killed the

white person because he had pity on his son-in-law being mistreated by the white person. They traveled around Qurluqtuq and around Quaryuk's Point. There were a lot of people who camped around that area.

People would work on their dog-teams, preparing to go on trips. But I can't remember the father-in-law's name. So this is how the white man was killed. My son is named after Kaniak. My late wife Hikhialok named our son.

The people were all ready to leave but when the son-in-law was being mistreated, the father-in-law killed the white man. After the man was killed they took all of his dogs and traveling gear and scattered them all over the place. My adoptive parent Hatogina was also on that trip. Hatogina got a can of food from the gear that was scattered, he opened the can and emptied the contents and said he'll use it for a drinking cup in the summer time, while he travels on foot. And also a 50 lbs flour bag would be emptied of its contents and use it for a hunting bag. There were matches as well. While Hatogina was emptying the flour bag outside, there was a slight breeze and the flour started to be blown away and it made a big puff of haze-like smog. Every time he tells this story he would start to laugh not knowing at that time the flour was something edible.

I'll end this story by telling that they buried the white man at a bedrock and that is the story I've heard.

There was a woman who did not want a husband. Even though her parents would tell her to get a husband because they wanted a son-in-law, she would not give in to their demands of her getting a husband. So they brought her to an island with her dog. She was a good hunter. She would catch seals and other game.

The father worried that she might've died on the island so he went to check on her after one year. She now had two sons and their names were Akhaq (Grizzly Bear) and Nanuq (Polar Bear). She had gotten the children from her dog. Once the children were old enough their mother told them each this saying, and turning to Nanuq she said once the boat is here I want you to strike my father by the buttock. And then she said to Akhaq to strike her father by the head.

Before the woman's father came by boat to check on his daughter, she had dug up dens for Nanuq and Akhaq and hid them there. The two sons had

mauled their grandfather. At least twice now I have heard about this story. I've heard this story in Kuugaaruk.

A long time ago Kiviuna came across birds that were wading in water and so he watched them. The birds and humans would inter-marry with each other. There were probably about five female birds. The people probably caught two birds and took their clothing away. The birds were asking for their clothing back. You've probably heard of this story. The man was Kiviuna.

Even though the birds asked for their clothing back, they were not given to them. One was given her clothing and she now became the wife of Kiviuna. Probably in the spring time when the birds were molting is when she became his wife. They had four off-springs.

In the winter time she thought how she and her children would survive the winter. So the mother bird and her children left for warmer climate down south. And Kiviuna followed them but he could not cross the big lake. When Kiviuna came across someone by the lake, he told this person he didn't know what to do about crossing the lake, so this person told him that every time he chopped wood some splinters would float in the water. Some would turn into fish.

Since Kiviuna wanted to see where his bird wife was at, he went on a big log to cross to the otherside of the lake. But his wife told him that there was only water and no land. And this is how he became an owl. So in his flight across the lake he started to descend and he had gone under water and drowned.

I can sing whatever song.

*“Singing ...”*

This story is short which I’ve heard before. There’s a story to this song.

### **Kiluhiktuq Audio Tape #3 – Bathurst Lake, August 17-24, 2004**

#### **Moses Koihok:**

This is a story I’ve heard before. People would hunt for caribou. People would watch the caribou and the caribou would watch the people. The caribou were being taught by the older caribou of what people could do to them. The caribou would watch the people stalking them. I can’t remember the rest of the story. This is a song about the story of people hunting caribou.

#### **Luke Novoligak:**

*“Singing ...”*

Perhaps you can get the whole story if somebody else tells it. The song is not finished and I can’t remember the rest of it. Some of it, even though it’s not a story, here the people of the sea wanting to go in-land probably made up the song. I don’t quite know the songs but I do know that people of long ago would sing and dance. People would gather to sing and dance, but some of the stories are hard to understand.

#### **Moses Koihok:**

Ayalikyoak would dance, he must have very strong arms because he would dance with a very heavy drum. I’ve seen Ayalikyoak and Adjun dancing with heavy drums. People must have had big muscles in those days. Adjun had very short back bone but he sure can dance and hold the heavy drum.

He must have been a very tall man if his back wasn't short. I've seen Katiik and Navvalik dance. They were joking partners. They would carry each other around and would do this jokingly.

When Kingakhana and Kannuyauyaq would go to pick up supplies from the trading store, they would meet each other and shake hands, then they would carry each other and laugh and joke around. I didn't know the people in those days have muscles. I've seen these people a long time ago.

Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would joke together. They had left their boat one time on an island. It was an island where people would be left behind. There was always caribou on the islands around that area. It was getting dark so they had left their boat, and had made arctic hare that they had caught, to eat. Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always joke around with each other.

While they were eating, Ayalikyoak noticed that Tuktunngaak had very little to eat and was nawing on the arctic hare because it had very little meat on it. Ayalikyoak had the rump of the arctic hare and Tuktunngaak had taken it away from him. They were fighting over the rump of the arctic hare. Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always play tricks on each other.

### **Luke Novoligak:**

In the middle of winter at Ungiviit they would go and purchase supplies at a trading post. Ayalikyoak went to go and purchase some supplies at Ungiviit. Since the weather was very bad for a number of days, he hadn't arrived from his trip for a long time. Tuktunngaak was camping over at Ayalikyoak's place. After sitting around for a while, he said to Ayalikyoak's wife that he needed to take a dump.

Ayalikyoak was at the trading post getting supplies. When Tuktunngaak saw Ayalikyoak coming back from the trading post he proceeded to take a dump in the porch. When Ayalikyoak reached the iglu, he noticed the smell of feces, and he exclaimed, "What is he doing, he is not a child and he is taking a dump right in the porch?" So Ayalikyoak grabbed him by the scruff and lifted him up. After Ayalikyoak let go of Tuktunngaak, and Tuktunngaak exclaimed, "What is wrong with him, he is always picking on people as if they are children?" Without saying anything further, Ayalikyoak proceeded to go inside the iglu. Once he got inside the iglu, his

wife Kammaakyok was giving him a tongue lashing. Ayalikyoak then said to his wife, “Why is he doing this and it is not even his porch?” Ayalikyoak and Tuktunngaak would always play tricks on each other.

### **Kiluhiktuq Video Tape #1 – Bathurst Lake, August 17-25, 2004**

Mary Avalak cutting and cleaning caribou. She is scraping the sinew part of the caribou. The sinew was used for thread by the Inuit people long ago.

Joe Otokiak, Luke Novoligak, Moses Koihok, Marjorie Taptoona

#### **Moses Koihok:**

All groups of people want to know what these rocks are for. People of long ago used these rocks here for boats to lean up against. These rocks were put up a long time ago by our ancestors, before our time.

Rocks and inukhuit (land markers) were put up by our ancestors a long time ago. Rocks we see today seem like they are there naturally, but I know that these were put up by our ancestors.

When I was a small boy, I remember people making kayaks and I helped make one. We younger ones were taught how to make kayaks. The kayaks were used for hunting and for transportation. Once I first started using a kayak and when I learned how to maneuver it, I found it was fun to be on a kayak and to own one.

People had no guns when hunting a long time ago. Once I got a kayak I was to take good care of it. I was also told not to go on a kayak on a very windy day otherwise I would capsize. We were told always to have someone with us at all times during hunting trips. We were never to go out hunting by ourselves. We had to have hunting partners, in case something happens if we were alone on a hunting trip. I had a mentor who taught me how to hunt.

A person by the name of Amirairniq taught me how to hunt. He taught me well. He taught me how to make a kayak and taught me how to hunt. I followed his instructions on making a kayak and also how to hunt game.

### **Luke Novoligak:**

The rocks that were used to lean a kayak against, I cannot remember what they were called. When people are not using their kayaks they would lean them against these rocks here.

I just want to say that I am grateful to be here and having been brought here again from Cambridge Bay.

I was taught by my father at Hanningayuq on how to use a kayak and how to hunt. Also by my stepbrother Ekalun and also by my grandfather. I was told if a caribou is swimming and you are trying to get it you were to get it in a certain way if you were right up against the caribou.

My relatives long ago had kayaks and at that time I did not have one. I was a small boy at the time and I didn't own a kayak, but we were told not to play with them but to learn how to use them for hunting. When the caribou are swimming people would use the kayaks to hunt them.

Long ago people would hunt caribou and musk-oxen. There are differences between a caribou blind and a musk-ox blind. The musk-ox blinds are a lot bigger than the caribou blind. When men would hunt musk-ox, the women would shout like this and wave their arms around. The men would chase them towards rocky places or cliffs and then hunt them with bows and arrows. These blinds were very high are quite dangerous to be around them. These blinds here must be very old – they are right inside the ground.

### **Moses Koihok:**

I was asked what these rocks were used for. Why were the rocks put up the way they are. From here to Tahikaffaaluk where people of long ago lived, we were brought here to identify or to learn of how our ancestors lived long ago. The place where I am sitting at was made by Inuit long ago. It was used for hunting. As you can see over there, caribou would use that path leading up towards the hill. Caribou would make tracks in winter as well. People would put up blinds close to the caribou paths so as not to have to go very far to hunt them.

When I first got a kayak and after learning how to use bow and arrow, I would hunt caribou. This was when guns were already introduced to the

Inuit. I was taught how to use the bow and arrow to hunt when I was a young boy. That was how the younger people were taught in those days.

When it was very hot outside in the summertime, the caribou would run away from mosquitoes, we did not have to use the caribou blinds then. The caribou would run towards the lakes to cool off.

The blinds were used when the weather got cooler. Long ago people would hunt with bows and arrows. There were no guns in those days so bones were used for tools before our time. The caribou bones and antlers were used for tools. These blinds were used long before our time. Since the guns were now being used, the Inuit were abandoning their way of using blinds to hunt. The Inuit no longer use bows and arrows which our ancestors used for many generations are now replaced by guns.

### **Luke Novoligak:**

The stories that Moses Koihok and I are telling are not exactly the same. We talked about caribou and musk-oxen. There are differences in hunting caribou from hunting musk-oxen. People would make inukhuit (land markers) heading towards the blinds. The caribou were driven towards the blinds and people would hunt them when the caribou got to the blinds. As for the musk-oxen, I'm sure they used the same method in hunting them, but in a slightly different way. The blinds for hunting caribou is different from the blinds for hunting musk-oxen. There are some words that Inuit used long ago but I cannot remember what they are.

### **Moses Koihok:**

These are tent rings from long ago. These flat rocks were put inside the tent to keep things from getting wet. Flat rocks were used for almost everything from drying racks to plates for food. These rocks were used by our ancestors. Once a rock is in place it stays there until somebody discovers it. As you can see there are rocks to hold down the tents. Flat rocks were also used for burning moss to keep mosquitoes away. You can know the doorway of a tent as well.

Once the Inuit have been around certain places they make their marks and you can see the marks around here, the sites of our ancestors. The sites will not disappear if left alone. These sites here were used in the summertime and not in the wintertime.

### **Luke Novoligak:**

Our ancestors have used the land for many generations. The Inuit people would fix up their camping areas in the summertime to be used every year. Their way of life, I'm sure we no longer use them.

As you can see these sites have been used by our ancestors. We've told you what we know to the best of our knowledge about the sites. Some of our comments might not be accurate but we've told you as much as we know and have heard from our fathers. I am thankful having to come here to Tahikaffaaluk and tell stories.

When the men would go hunting by the blinds, the women and children would be left behind in their tents. The tents would be pitched a little further away from the blinds.

### **Marjorie Taptoona:**

Women would prepare and cut up meat for drying. The prepared meat would be put on top of rocks to dry. They were made sure that the meat would not be sticking to the rocks by occasionally turning them over.

### **Moses Koihok:**

Here at Tahikaffaaluk there are a lot of old sites that our ancestors had lived. These flat rocks were used for plates for eating, plates for preparing meat. This place was used for hunting area. As you can see all the flat rocks, they would be used for almost anything from eating plates to drying racks.

### **Kiluhiktuq Video Tape #2 – Bathurst Lake, August 17-25, 2004**

### **Luke Novoligak:**

People of long ago would hunt in the spring, late spring and summer for ground squirrels. In those days people did not have any store bought traps to use. These rocks here were used as squirrel traps. People would make squirrel traps long ago. They made traps for ground squirrels as best as they know how. People of long ago did not have much material wealth and they would make use of what they knew how to survive off the land. People would catch quite a bit of ground squirrels using these traps.

Right now the ground squirrels are feeding off the land. Every spring and summer, ground squirrels would eat plants and roots. Ground squirrels would claw at the plants to get at the roots. They would stock up on blueberries, cranberries and other berries for the winter, and bring them to their dens for the winter. The people would eat ground squirrels during the spring and summer seasons. The ground squirrel is a herbivore, so they are delicious to eat and their meat is very tender. Every spring and summer, Inuit people would trap and eat ground squirrels. Some people would spend the winter at their spring and summer sites.

Towards the end of May is when the ground squirrels venture out of their burrows. When people had not much for food, they would rely on the ground squirrel for their diet. Even though the Inuit people had good hunting tools, the game was not always readily available. People in those days sometimes would camp at their sites all year round.

I'm not sure what this would be. It is broken off of something. It may be a part of a bow and arrow. It is very old now and I have hard time trying to identify it. People of long ago may have used it to hunt. This piece of tool I do not know what it is from. The qablunaat (white people) would like to know what it is, but I'm having a hard time trying to identify it. This piece that was found, I'm trying to identify it. I don't know what the piece is from, my only guess is that it may be part of a bow and arrow.

Rocks here were probably used for drying meat. What I'm guessing is that this area was used for tent. You can know that these are drying racks. This is an old Inuit camp site from a long time ago. People would settle down at their hunting sites, and this may be one of them. Inuit people would prepare their meat around these camp sites.

This song was Kaotaluk's parent's song, and I am going to try and sing it.

*"singing ..."*

I'm lost a bit here.

*"singing ..."*

The song is not finished. I cannot remember the rest of this song.

### **Moses Koihok:**

Niriyualuks and Ayalikyoaks would camp just near the ocean. Some of the rivers have bays just leading down to the ocean. People went to the lake to ice fish, because Inuit people would head to the lakes to ice fish every spring. Parts of the bay was now open water and people would fish at the open areas. The two men did not know how they should bring the fish back to camp. Ayalikyoak asked Niriyualuk if they should carry them on their backs. So Niriyualuk told Ayalikyoak to transport the fish down river. And Ayalikyoak then asked, ‘But how do we do that, letting the fish go down river?’ As you can see some Inuit people have never heard of such a thing, transporting fish down river, so Ayalikyoak did not know what to do. And so, Ayalikyoak asked Niriyualuk if there was a rope to gather the fish together and slide them down river. The bay must have a lot of fish. The bay is quite deep.

Kohotak had told this story that when people started using fish nets, the nets would be put in a vertical position instead of in a horizontal position.

I don’t have anything more to say. Taimak.

**Appendix 2: Kiluhiqtuq Project Field Notes**  
**Darren Keith**  
**August 17-25, 2004**

**Kiluhiqtuq Project Field Notes**  
**Darren Keith**  
**August 17-25, 2004**

Wednesday August 18<sup>th</sup>

Moses Koihok – here they fished by kakivak and nuijakpait in Upinngaaq.

Moses – One time he went fishing with some guys with nuijakpaq. He was complaining about no fish coming into the shallows. He then got one and it was so big he had to let it go.

Moses – After the main herd was gone they would run into small groups but they would often be bothered by bugs.

Moses – Most of the caribou migrate on the west south-west side of Bathurst lake and the one to the north (connected by little creek).

Moses – Caribou tend to be found on the southern side of lakes.

Anniaqsiurvik [where is this?]

Luke brought up Qakhaavik right away when we were looking at the map of the area around Hanningajuq [the Back River itself]. He pointed out where Qakhaavik used to live on the south side of Beechey Lake [Aimaukattak]. Moses said that he [Qakhaavik] would come up and visit with Kiluhiqturmiut and was around the Kiluhiqtuq region.

They took him sealing because he wasn't used to living off the ocean.

Apatuatkut, Aitauqkut (Kiluhiqturmiut) accompanied Qakhaavik down to around Baker Lake.

\*Koihok ♂ and Atigirjuaq ♀  
Sons Koihok (ours), Ajagiaq (died) and Iqalukpialuk (died)

\*Koihok was a Puibirmiutaq and his parents were Kangirjuarmiut.

Luke doesn't know where Ajiut came from... he [Luke] spent a lot of time with Kannujaujaq.

Illattiaq killed Qirniqtaq's first husband [ this is my notes based on research – used as a question]

Moses - During spring Qamuarjuk ♂ was shot accidently while hunting. He was shot during a hunting trip where they were in blinds on two sides of the caribou.



They would roast hihik covered with urjuq (yellow moss). Cooked on the Patiqlhitivik.

Some people had tents with one pole in front.

The large, oblong tent ring top of the hill Nuvuligaq thinks is Tuniqtat – built by Tuniit. Moses thinks is an [Inuinait] tent ring.

Qingniq – any food cache [not specific to fish as at Iqaluktuuq].  
(Roll 1, Frame 1)

Qajaq stands were used to store the qajaq away from the wind to dry. They both forgot the name for it and just called it Qajaqarvik.

Qinirvik – lookout.

Nahikharvik – lookout

Apquhiniq – trail

Tuktup Apquhinia – caribou trail

Iquutaq – wind blind

Discussion over maps

Aijapaqpaqtuq – Burnside River (aijapiq means “on hands and knees”)

Tahirjuaq

Aimaqattaaluk

Kipjaqtuq

Qaumaugaqtuq – (near Tahirjuaq)

Moses – In 1959 Koihok went to Cambridge Bay from Kangikhuarjuk past Kattimanak.

- last frame of roll 1 shot at tent ring on top of hill.

Ittaviit – storage areas outside of the caribou skin tent made from flat rocks.

Qimirutit – meat drying rock

Kigutanirnaq – blueberries

Kingmingnaq – red currents

Mamaqhiqtiivik – cache for aging meat.

Qariariik – the name for a double tent ring according to Moses.

Qadgiq – dance house. I asked about the use of tents as dance houses but Luke said that they mostly did that in the snowhouse.

Numiq – dance

Hitigaaq – a rock structure designed to attract siksiks inside to catch them.

Hiniktarvik – Overnight tent. Temporary hunting shelter.

Maps with Luke

In winter they would travel from Hanningajuq.

Inland in spring (May) would move towards inland – once it starts to melt in upinngaqaq – By dogled. They would go through Bathurst Lake or to the west of it by dogteam south to Beechey Lake.

The calving area is south of Bathurst Lake and around Beechey Lake so that is why they went there (in spring and summer).

They would leave caches in the area too. So they didn't always have to go to the sea ice [if they had enough caches]. Some families wouldn't, and then they would go on the sea ice in the spring. If they didn't have enough caches then they would go to the sea ice.

Where there specific Innakharviit for Luke's people?

[No, they would just prepare equipment and clothing wherever they were on the way to the sea ice.]

Upinngiviksaq – place to spend spring.

If people knew where there was game they would travel with them.

Beechey lake was a favourite area.

Aujiviit – summer camping places.

Upinngaq

- would hunt caribou and make dry meat.
- fishing through the ice in lakes and rivers.
- When rivers were open they would use Iqqahaut – fishing by throwing line.
- sinew line and a hook made of antler with little things hanging – one metal hook (See Moses drawing).

Upinngaqsaaq

- just starting to melt. People are in caribou skin tents.

- Uugaqhiuq - They would do this Fall and Winter too.

Minidisc #1

Moses

- Qakhaavik
- lead up to Kiluhiqturmiut Song
- sings Kiluhiqturmiut Song.

Luke

- sings song. Kautaq Pihia.

The companions Qaqhaavik and Atungalaaq are the two referred to in the songs [is it just in Luke's song or both?]

Moses

- talked about Hiqiniruriaq

Qakhaavik

- left his camp and much of his belongings. Some of his things were stolen once. Therefore he made a cache in the side of the cliff to keep people from stealing anything. He did this before he left for the south. This was at Aimaqattaq – at Tullaq.
- Tullaq was a gathering place in spring and summer.
- On the side of the cliff he pulled out rocks from the top until he got way down.

Qakhaavik had three wives. Hiqiniq was one of this wives.

Story – Iqiahuaq and Hiqiniq went for water. Hiqiniq said that she was lazy to get water because part of her name was Iqia (= lazy). Iqiahuaq said I wonder if it will be warm when the sun comes out (teasing).

Darren: Was he a trader?

Moses: No but people bartered with him.

Was Hiqiniruriaq was a kind of stopping area on the way to Tullaq and beyond?

Moses: One time when others went to meet Kivallirmiut two young boys – Avalluq and Aqaana – were left to spend time at Hiqiniruriaq. All they lived off of was hikhik. They had dried meat and fish but all they caught was ground squirrels. They were afraid to go far. Naniruaq and Nangaaq came back to get them.

Why Tullaq?

Moses: Drum dance, celebrations, competition, singing. Ladies would get husbands and vise versa too.

Ipvaaraq – Luke head of this word as a name of people who moved down [into Ahiarmiut territory]. He has never heard of Tibjalik and Akiliniq.

Moses says you will find names originating from here in the Kivalliq.

Thursday p.m.

Moses: Aujaq – they used blinds here. Herds were going towards Hanningajuq.  
Uquqsat – caribou skin condition.

Moses on Agliqtaqtuq

- if people mistreated wildlife ...
- people made sure that wildlife was treated well.
- treat whatever they make with a lot of caution. Because if wildlife not treated well or they built things unfit they would run into hard times.
- even their clothing. They didn't cut them up even if they are worn for example.
- so that nother bad happens to them – so bad luck doesn't come.
- it must be a fast death for wildlife, and instant death.

People who transgressed always seemed to have a hard time getting game.

When they have done something wrong even the weather will not be in their favour.

At the time their were shaman they would know when certain people were not respectful. That touched on Inuits whole life and surroundings.

Even when skinning game they were to be very careful and make sure all was used. Even the sinew of game caught. They were careful not to cut the sinew off right away. To not cut the sinew the meat would be passed around and people ate the meat away from the sinew so it could be used for something such as: bow, fishing line (uukuaq) or seal harpoon line.

Bones were always made into something useful or for games. Hoves were used for games. Antlers for tools. Out of respect for the game.

A poorly made hunting tool would not be successful in getting game.

Men were not allowed to make tools during hunting time. When they did make them it was away from the tent.

[Agliqtaqtuq] pertained to most aspects of life.

If a sickness in the family and that sickness was long and not healing. Children too. One of the parents would put one of their tools out on the land. Thinking there are spirits out there that are not pleased. Leave a bit of clothing or tool may be a way of

making the sickness go away eventually. Once you make that gesture it is like a payment (Ahivai)

Hanivakhivaktut – putting things aside.

Hanivakhi

Illuvig

Family members of someone who died in the area would give little gifts to the grave before they left the area.

Every time they go to this place they would do that. Aituq – to present (aituqtaa).

They would leave a hook or something resembling a tool. That was okay.

If there was something that you wanted to take from these left goods you had to leave something in exchange.

Moses on Inuarulliit

Had small size tools like Inuit. Made sure that they treated the same way because they were feared for their strength.

One time Inuit stumbled on the little Inuarulliit. One of the Inuarulliit just had a baby. People always said when they saw regular people they would flee. So they ran and left this little baby. So they [the Inuit] had this little baby. They figured that maybe the mother would come back so if we leave they are bound to come back for it. They figured the mother must have gone back for the baby.

Darren: Where did this happen?

Moses: Qunngurjuaq area.

Luke on Agliqtaqtut.

Even their land was treated with respect. They treated their land well.

They couldn't sew if they were in areas that were new to them. Would have to be careful there – i.e. clothing. Even if their clothing needed fixing they would not sew out of respect for where they were.

We're not like the people in the old days. When hunting on. Anything couldn't do?

Respect carried wherever Inuit were. It was the norm. Wildlife and people were always respected. In doing so hope all will be well.

At caribou crossings we made sure you didn't do anything wrong.

Moses: Even the stomach was taken for a container. Even the intestines – if fat – the contents was cleaned out very well – then dried or cooked later on for food.

If not fat?

Probably leave it.

Pitiksitaq – part of the intestine. This was the only thing left unused because it punctured easily.

Luke: Even the contents of the stomach was later mixed with fat and other meat and made for food.

Luke: Alrarruhiit – two ball shaped – kidneys – they would eat those raw while waiting to pack the meat. While skinning people would eat parts of these.

Asked about Nakkataq and it is a cache marker

Asked about Ukumaara [didn't know of it]

Ataqtut – Amulets

For a child to have success in hunting that game. Their culture was full as a young child and their parents wanted the child to be successful in doing certain things. They would treat the child so they would be successful.

Urqihiqat (pl.) Urqhiraq (sing.) – parents wanting a kid to be very light footed and nimble. Done through amulets and words when they put it on.

Moses Friday A.M.

There was a battle between Kiluhiqturmiut and Itqiliit at Piringaniq. The men were out sealing and the women fought [told without translator].

Tape #2

Luke on murder of Tatilgaq's daughter Taqturut's husband the fur trader.

A little on two whites at Quagjuit.

Moses on Itqiliq fight

A lady Nivirana moved to Dene country. She was a scout for the Dene who came up to Piringaniq. When they came to camp just the women and children were there. The children thought they were friendly and they came out to meet them. The ladies

realized the children were being killed. Ladies went in the iglu. Nivirana looked in the windows of the iglu and let the Itqiliit know how many were in there. Would take the windows off and kill the women.

Only one lady survived. She just had a baby and the afterbirth. It was burned and didn't like the smell so they let the lady and child survive. When the men came back they were told by the surviving lady that the Itqiliit had killed everyone.

The men had a quick meal and went after and tracked the Indians towards Qurluqtuq. The Indians were having a dance in a ½ snowhouse. In the middle they were dancing. While they were dancing they left their weapons on the ledge when the Inuit came upon them. The Inuit built a wall of snow outside the one they were dancing in. Their plan was that no one would survive inside the wall. They took the weapons and started killing most of them in the ring. Two jumped over the wall.

Two got chased to a spot high on a cliff. They ran and were jumping up and were out of reach. They never caught the two. Thought on of them was a shaman because of the way he jumped.

Looking over the big map

Avaarvik – “place of being knocked out” – because a man wanted a kakivak and it was thrown across to him. He missed it and it knocked him out.

Hanimuk – Mara River

Ilruq's hunting technique

Niliqshaijut – attempting to tire out the animal and when wounded enough it will die. For Grizzly and Polar Bear.

Akhq and Nanuq – legend

Don't think that Panaqtaq picture is the Panaqtaq who is Marjory's grandfather.

Luke Nuvuligak born 1916

Moses Koihok born 1921

Marjory 1928

Hiruraqhiq – Hood River

Tikiraarjuk – there are two lakes Kangillialuk and Akullialik

Itibjaaq

Haniraqsiaruhiq

New Names

Qikiqtakaffaaluk

Ihuqtuq

Iglurjualiik – supposed to have a rock house

Ukiuk

Q: Who would they meet for sealing?

A: Not only in a given season but over the year from different groups.

Umingmaqturmiut and Kiluhiqturmiut have one land.

Even people from the south would also come north.

Mauliqatiggit.

different seal part partners

niqaituriat – sharing generally.

when someone caught a seal people would come for a share

Haniraqatigiit

would give out blubber and meat – specific parts.

Luke: With ugjuk it was like a frenzy and people would end up cutting themselves or each other. Not formal like ringed seal.

Luke: Saw at Ungiivik – it was like a charge to go get a piece of ugjuk. Frenzy continued until there is only the skin left. People might set meat aside and go for more if lucky.

Blubber and skin would be left and divided.

Did the successful hunter have rights to certain parts?

Head and the rear flippers are reserved for the hunter.

They made rope from the skin.

## Boys first skin

Luke: from what I can remember there wasn't

Moses: At Ungiivik when he got his first seal he was on all 4s and they dragged the seal over his back. First catch of fish they would pull them through their outer parka from the bottom and out the neck. This was done so that the hunters are successful all the time. When I got my first caribou whoever was there would lift up the head and you would have to crawl under.

Would anything be left for the hunter?

That is one way of respecting the tradition and showing respect. Whatever the first catch it was divided up to people in the camp. Would be the last person but a small piece was kept for the young hunter.

Moses: Joined by people from island.

Luke: Springtime there would be a gathering spot to hunt

Luke telling story of Ungiiviit – two boats tied together drifted to that area. Two families and two boats sailed into that area from Nagjuqtuuq. Waited for the right direction of the wind – even though it was rough. They spend the summer and early fall there.

Q: Favorite sealing area?

Luke: Yes that is where a lot of people gathered to hunt seals. Ungiviit. No water there though it is all gravel. So water coming out of the ground in the valleys is where they would get their water and that is the best tasting water. It is very clear.

Anilauqhiit – water that comes through the ground.

Q: Any other places?

Luke: Ukitarviit

Once people prepared their clothing well and are sure they will be well dressed that is when they would go out to the seal areas.

Luke: In Ukiak.

Innaksarvik – where they would prepare clothing in Ukiak.

Q: Where?

Luke: Wherever they may be.

Preparation wherever they camped was tradition.

Q: Is it due to Agliqtaqtut?

Luke: An Innaksarvik is a place where a family is comfortable to make any kind of preparations before going to the sealing camp. Don't want to be ill prepared so that bad luck might come their way.

Moses: In Jako Lake a lady had come into camp to visit and people said she knelt down at the river and that is where she turned to stone. Stone is probably still there. Maybe not much of the rock is still there.

Inukpahugjuk?

Luke has heard of it but not too sure.

Non human beings?

Luke: Nakahunguaqtuarjuk – is named after people in that area that had big calves. Small people with big calves. This island is very rocky and has cliffs. People who were sealing probably stayed in that area.

Calf = Nakahunguq

Niksilik?

Luke: Heard the term but not the story behind it.

Moses: Nisilik is now sometimes used to mean the Devil.

Luke:: Even in the old days they mentioned that wildlife used to converse among themselves. He thinks that they must still do this.

Luke: Any kind of game people never mention that they are going to be successful. That they are going to get it. If someone says that they are usually not successful. Because wildlife probably heard it.

Unanmihuk – being too sure of yourself. When someone is like that wildlife can hear this.

Moses: When going on a hunt you never say you are going to bring back food. Because wildlife listens.

Kilhiqturmiut Tatqiqhiutit

Moses says that they never had these

Puqtuq was the first person to keep track of the days of the week with strings. A bible was given to them, given to one person.

Moses: Ukiaqsaq – September when the snow comes

Ukiaq – Oct.

Ukiuq – Nov.-April

Upinngaqhaaq – May

Upinngaq – June

Aujaq – July and August

Moses: Uugaqhiuq – starting in October or Nov. Make a hole in the ice with Tuuq. Used to have copper and antler Tuuq.

All winter where the ice doesn't really get thick.

Because they didn't have a proper tuuq in those days – would take so long that you wouldn't start fishing until the next day.

Moses: [putting fish with heads towards the hole] This is an agliqtaqtuq. [Mary says that you do this with any fish]

Mary does this when she fishes for cod.

Hiurjuktuuq – fish in the ocean. It is like an Uugaq but smaller and tastes better.

Moses: When he first started hunting Uugaq was the first thing he did.

Moses on Agliqtaqtuq

In the old days they could not play string games when the sun comes back and gets higher.

Hikhiks are now collecting food in their home

The only time they hunted Akhak was in the den.

[they made lassos and put it around the entrance to a hikhik whole to catch hikhiks.

Luke: Has used kayak to chase caribou at Hanningajuq

Moses: Has done it at Hanningajuq and Contwyto Lake.

The stabbing instrument used from a kayak is called a Kapuut. The point is called a Kukiq and the shaft an ipu.



Moses and Luke – Tatigiq was also used to brace the qajaq by sliding the paddle under the tatigiq – this is done when getting in.

Q: Where do they want to hit the caribou?

Where the rib cage ends so you can get into the organs

Q: How many hunters work together?

Even one alone can do it

Luke: Always approach so the animal is on the right hand side. Because they lean right with the oar stuck in the tatigiq. Brace and stab.

Luke: If a lot of animals are in the water one must be careful not to go right behind due to the current created.

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Notebook

Luke: [the land where the caribou enter the water is called immagiaq in his dialect]

Aggiujuq – Caribou do this when they are approaching the nalluq or a blind (talug). They hit the trail that will bring them through the blinds or crossing and so we say “Aggiuliqtut”.

Qaqivalliajut – they are getting up (out of the water)

Qaqi – from a lower level to a higher level

Qangalaruq – shedding skins

Akulliruiq – in-between

Haggaq – the hair length is starting to get thicker. Good for inner parka. Also short winter pants qarligaarjuk.

Qulitaqhauruqtut – good for Qulitaq. Good from Qaarliq too.

Skins not thick enough for clothing are good for bedding.

Kumak – warble fly larva – they would eat them when they get caribou in the spring.

Tagjuq – parasites in the nasal cavity. When just starting to grow people are told not to eat that part of the caribou because you can catch a cold.

Moses: Tagjuk come out of the nose and turn into spiders.

Mamaqhitiiviit – intestines, stomach, liver and meat, tunnuq.

Puinirniq – fat extracted from bone and this is mixed with stomach contents (Akutuk).

Dried meat could be pounded into flakes and added.

Mamaqhitiujuq – skin the caribou and cut a hole in the belly and leave all the guts in and then leave it one or two days and the meat gets the flavour.

Cached caribou – will age too.

Cooking stone – Pahiqhiivik or Uujuliurvik (Uujuk – cooked meat)

They would hang the livers over the flame. They would meat inside the Urjuk (moss)

Layer the urjuk on top of the rock and then put the meat and then cover that with another layer of urjuk. Once in a while they put water on it so the bottom layer doesn't burn.

Luke: Mamaqhitiivik. Meat would be put in a cache just long enough to have the right taste.

Apquhiniq – trail Tuktup Apquhinia – caribou trail

Puitaq – parka fringe – used to use thick pukiq.

Sunday

[did filming of different sites and interviews on the sites]

### Tape #3

Song of hunters in pursuit of caribou and hunters are way out in front to get to the spot where they can catch up to them.

Often Inuit men used to try to out sing each other. From a dance after a gathering everyone would disperse and over a year songs would be composed. When they came back together they would sing their song.

Families passed on their songs to their family members. So the family could have many songs. Wouldn't have to get them from their parents.

Both men and women would sing and dance.

Moses: Nuvuligak's mom was going to get up to dance and someone said that they thought someone more nimble was going to get up to dance. That was the last time she ever got up to dance.

While drum dancing they are also showing feats of strength and endurance. He remembered two guys who used to tease each other (Kipaqatigiit). Navaluk and Katsiiq. Katsiiq used to pick up Navaluk and carry him around the iglu.

Moses: Ajaligjuaq and Tuktungaaq were also kipaqtigiit. One time they were having a feast of caribou meat and one took a piece of hind quarter and said there he goes again and so he took it away and started to eat it. So they got into a wrestling match.

Nuvuligak: Ajalik and Tuktungaaq were kipaqtigiit at Ungiivik. Inuit used to have a tuqhuq in the winter. They guy (Ajalgjuaq) that he teases was out of the iglu so he watched for him coming back. When he came back he took a dump in the porch.

“what is this guy doing taking a crap in my porch when he was only a guest”

He grabbed Tuktungaaq by the hood and started shaking him. Tuktungaaq said “what a way to treat a guy who isn't a kid”.

He heard Ajaligjuaq's wife getting mad at Ajaligjuaq for throttling Tuktungaaq.

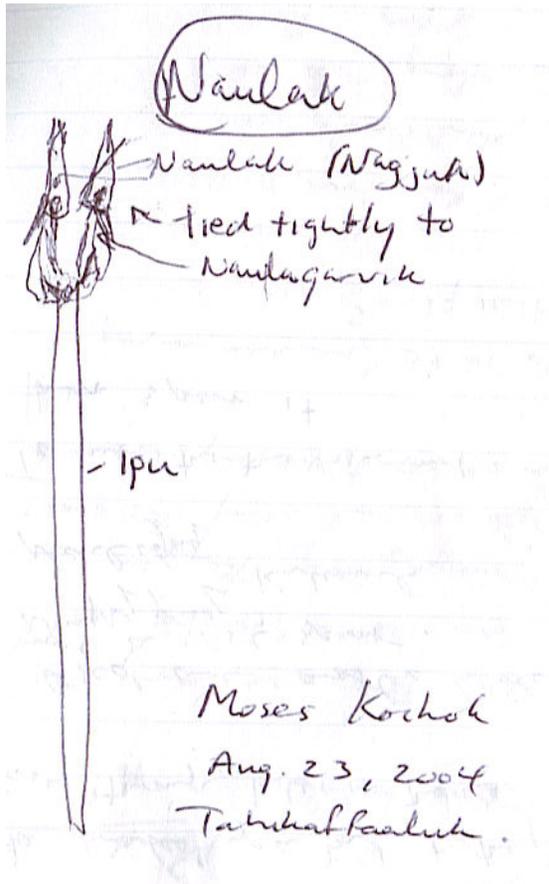
### Monday A.M. Videos up on hill

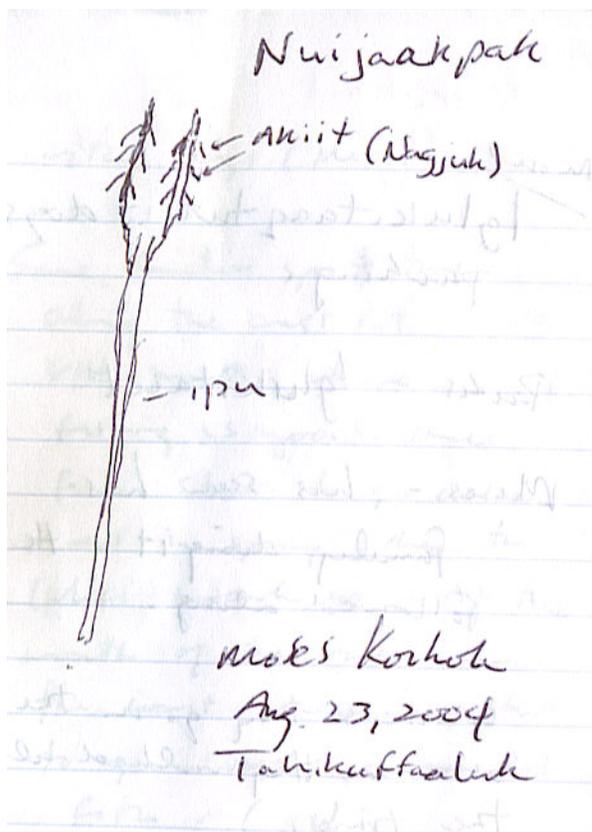
When they were living on the sea-ice and sealing in upinngaqhaaq they would spread out along the coast and start moving inland.

Do Moses and Luke remember camping at this place?

Moses: Remembers passing through when his family was fishing along this lake in early spring. They would fish through the ice and when the shore starts to break up a bit they would fish through holes in the ice.

Moses: Used on antler hook and a fish spear. Nuijaaqpak, kakivak or nauligaq. To lure the fish and then spear it.





Moses: Iglukitaaqtut – dogs packing

packs – Iglukitaut

Moses: has seen his family doing it. He followed along.

Moses: Wherever they go in the summer they walked all the time.

When leaving sealing grounds to go to Hanningajuq did they walk?

Moses: Yes, they would walk with dogs.

Moses: Some families spent time along the coast at river mouths where fishing is good. Once fish start to go down rivers in spring when the lakes break up. At the mouth of the rivers and the coast when they start to open up. They would fish.

Moses: Anirqijut – the fish going down the river to the sea.

Anirqijut

Ajaligjuaq and Nirijualuk at Kangiqhvarjuk

If people caught lots of fish at a river and they were a way from their camp at the river mouth. They were up river and couldn't pack them all. Would weave fish on a rope and hang on to it and let the river take the fish down.

Moses: They would stay at Hanningajuq until Ukiakhaq and then they would walk back to the coast with 1-3 dogs per person.

The dogs would follow. In some cases they would use skins to put something in and the dogs would drag it.

Luke: Aaliaq – this was the same term used for dogs pulling things in a skin [same as the term for the sled]

Luke remembers using only a short sled to move things by dogs over the tundra (no snow).

Dog harnesses were used from caribou leg skins. That is what they would use in the summer or fall.

Marjory: She remembers her father having reloading tools.

Moses: He had reloading tools. They heated up the lead to mold the bullets. They would always find their spent cartridge for reloading. They also looked for used lead in animals.

Moses: They traded from traders for blocks of lead.

Luke: HBC Hiqiniruriaq

HBC – Tikiraarjuk

“Pauli” = H.J. Pardy – Mrs. Kapolaaq’s father.

Canalaska Tikiraarjuk

“Ruuta” – trader

“Mitalima” – Mister Learmonth

“Kipsi” – William Paddy Gibson

Luke has heard of Hugh Clarke.

Moses and Luke remember that R. Jardine had a child Ruth Anarjuaq by Taqturut. Ruth is Helen Maksagak’s sister.

Luke: Paita – “Otto Binder” – he was Taqturut’s husband who was killed.

“Joss” – William Joss

“Mistahesli” – Mister Heslop

“Casey Yones” – Casey Jones

“Mikaisi” – MacIsaac

“Mauris” – Morris

Otto Binder was the son-in-law of Tatilgaaluk.

Nirijualuk – used to go for gum at the store. Granddaughter was also a ½ breed . Her stomach went wrong maybe too much gum.

Hiquq – Also has a trader father. Maybe the same as Harialuk (Mrs. Kapulaaq).

Luke: Luke and his younger brother went from Tullaq in Beechey Lake to Qingauk in one day. They shopped the next day and left to return with a party who had left a day before them.

Q: What was the fastest you have heard of someone walking that trip?

Moses: Itoktuq, Palongayak and Agivgaagalok did the walk from Tullaq to Bathurst in 3 days.

Luke:

People were still traveling on the sea-ice in June

Caribou calving begins in July.

Inuit moved by the end of June to the mouths of rivers to fish.

July, August and mid-Sept. then head back to the coast.

Moses: Some families would spend the summer around the river mouths. Fish weirs during the August fish run.

Luke has fished at the weir at Kililingujaq, Kangiqhuarjuk,

Quunguarjuk and Harvaqtuuq were the most populated areas. Naujaat.

Luke: Grizzly was hunted opportunistically.

## Tahikaffaaluk Site (McNk-3): Archaeological Feature Descriptions.

Descriptions of archaeological features (F numbers are keyed to site map). Features that were visited and examined by Elders are identified as such. Comments by Elders about specific features are included. Words (names) in Inuinnaqtun in italics were given by Elders at the time the feature was recorded. Words not in italics are names inferred by archaeologists based on resemblance of feature to features identified by elders. Elders' comments in quotation marks are extracted from the appendix containing translations of videotape transcripts; other comments noted here were made and simultaneously translated by Joe Otokiak at each feature and recorded by Andrew Stewart in his field notes.

The first line of each entry contains the feature number (F number), an interpretation of the function of each feature based on the translation of the Inuinnaqtun term, the area location (see site map), and photograph (Kodachrome slide) catalogue number(s) (from the photo catalogue appendix).

### **F.1** Cooking Place [Area B-hill; 7-9T]

Rock structure consisting of three columns of coursed flat rocks bridged by flat rocks placed across tops of columns. Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as place for cooking - *igavik* or *pahikhiivik*, referring to the flat rocks that are placed across the top of the structure (see F9).

Location of F.1 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13: 0392868E 7362962N.

### **F.2** Wind Shelter [Area B-hill; 10T]

Large, robust wall of rocks, collapsed. Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as wind shelter – *iquurtaq*. Unusually large and robust wall, perhaps of recent construction by Inuit.

### **F.3** Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]

Cluster of flat rocks on ground;, identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as food preparation platform -- *nqiqarvik*.

### **F.4** Sleeping Place (tent ring) [Area B-hill]

Small tent ring, identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as overnight sleeping place (*hiniktarvik*) for people hunting, fishing and traveling.

### **F.5** Hunting Blind [Area B-hill]

Small rock wall, identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a hunting blind (*taluk*).

### **F.6** Hikhik Trap [Area B-hill; 11T-13T]

Flat rocks stacked and arranged in several courses, with spaces among rocks, in a box-like structure, measuring about 20 by 30 cm in plan, and about 30 cm high. Identified by

Nuvuligak as a hikhik trap (*hitigak*), a structure imitating a hikhik den (*hiti*), to lure hikhiks to a place where they feel safe so they can be trapped.

**F.7 Cache [Area B-hill; 14T]**

Cavity within a boulder field – identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a probable meat cache (*qingniq*) for winter meat storage.

**F.8 Cache [Area B-hill; 15T]**

Cavity within a boulder field – identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a probable meat cache (*qingniq*) for winter meat storage.

**F.9 Cooking Place [Area B-hill; 16T]**

Flat rock is positioned over a hole in ground. The hole possibly served as a hearth. The flat rock was used to fry meat -- *pahikhiivik*. (Mary Avalak describes this method of cooking meat on flat rocks using moss placed below and/or above the meat).

**F.10 Meat-drying Rack [Area B-hill; 17T]**

Scattered large, flat rocks. These rocks have been placed on edge, but many of them have fallen down. Identified by Koihok, Nuvuligak and Taptuna as meat-drying rack – *qimmirutikargvik*.

**F.11 Meat-drying Rack [Area B-hill; 18-22T]**

Scattered large, flat rocks. These rocks have been placed on edge, but many of them have fallen down. Identified by Koihok, Nuvuligak and Taptuna as meat-drying rack – *qimmirutikargvik*.

**F.12 Meat-drying Rack [Area B-hill]**

Scattered large, flat rocks. These rocks have been placed on edge, but many of them have fallen down. Identified by Koihok, Nuvuligak and Taptuna as meat-drying rack – *qimmirutikargvik*.

**F.13 Meat Cache (?) [Area B-hill; 23-25T]**

A hole in the ground (about 20 cm square and 30 cm deep); identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a dry meat cache (*qingniq*) or (less likely) a place for aging meat (*mamaqhitiivik*).

**F.14 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill; 26-27T]**

A cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra. Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a food preparation area (*niqiqarvik*): a place to keep meat clean during preparation of meals.

**F.15 Tent Ring [Area B-hill; 28-31T; sketch plan]**

Circular outline of rocks, with flat rocks set on edge around the west part of the circle. These flat rocks are leaning in towards the centre of the circle (tent ring). (See sketch-plan for more details.)

Koihok: Flat rocks were (originally) placed on outside of tent skins and are referred to as a wind break *iquurtaq*. A storage structure for firewood (and anything else) is associated with the ring, on its northwest side. The storage structure (*ittavik* or *ittakagvik*) is a flat rock, about 0.7 m across. It is propped up at a 40-60 degree angle by two smaller, round boulders underneath and leans in towards centre of ring. This storage area was outside the tent. All information about this ring provided initially by Koihok. See 22 August for more observations about internal features of this ring by Nuvuligak.

Nuvuligak: Concentration of adjacent flat rocks are embedded in the ground located inside the ring in the eastern half near the centre – a setting for food, *aqiutaq*. Another area of adjacent flat rocks is located in the interior of the tent next to the west wall, just inside the upright rocks in the western half of the ring. This is a probable sleeping area -- *iglik*. The entrance to the tent might have been on the north side where there is a gap in the ring and rocks are sparse (the location of the *ittavik*, just east of this space, supports this idea).

Transcript from taped interviews recorded at F.15 on 22 August:

Koihok: “These are tent rings from long ago. These flat rocks were put inside the tent to keep things from getting wet. Flat rocks were used for almost everything from drying racks to plates for food. These rocks were used by our ancestors. Once a rock is in place it stays there until somebody discovers it. As you can see there are rocks to hold down the tents. Flat rocks were also used for burning moss to keep mosquitoes away. You can know the door way if a tent as well. Once the inuit have been around certain places they make their marks and you can see the marks around here, the sites of our ancestors. The sites will not disappear if left alone. These sites here were used in the summertime and not in the wintertime.”

Nuvuligak: “Our ancestors have used the land for many generations. The Inuit people would fix up their camping areas in the summertime to be used every year. Their way of life, I’m sure we no longer use them. As you can see these sites have been used by our ancestors. We’ve told you what we know to the best of our knowledge about the sites. Some of our comments might not be accurate but we’ve told you as much as we know and have heard from our fathers. I am thankful having to come here to Tahikaffaaluk and tell stories. When the men would go hunting by the blinds, the women and children would be left behind in their tents. The tents would be pitched a little further away from the blinds.”

#### **F.16** Hunting Blind [Area C; 60-61T]

Half-circle of flat rocks. Rocks are set at a shallow angle in the ground and are leaning inwards. Blind faces south. This feature is located in the drainage between the two major bedrock ridges on which most of the features occur – the high hill to the west (Area B) and a lower hill to the east (Area C). Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a hunting blind (*taluk*).

#### **F.17** Wind Shelter [Area C; 62-64T]

Rock wall: wall of small boulders, coursed or stacked, between two large boulders that are located at either end of wall. Wall is approx 0.7 m high. Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a wind shelter – *iquurtaq*. The protected (downslope) side is to the southwest.

Location of F.17 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13: 0392923E 7363193N

**F.18 Hunting Blind [Area C; 65-66T]**

Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a hunting blind – *talu*.

**F.19 Look-out [Area C; 67-69T]**

A cluster of 3 or 4 boulders on top of a knoll. Identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a hearth representing a look-out (*qinirvik*).

**F.20 Hunting Blind [Area C; 70-71T]**

This feature is one of a pair of hunting blinds (F.20 and F.21). Each was identified by Koihok and Nuvuligak as a caribou hunting blind (*talu*) positioned on either side of a caribou trail that leads uphill (southwest) from floodplain at the head of the little bay to the east. Both blinds consist of flat rocks that have been arranged in a curved line, convex side facing towards the trail and caribou approaching from the meadow. Rocks were probably placed on edge and have collapsed towards the interior of each blind.

Location of F.20 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13: 0392952 7363137.

**F.21 Hunting Blind [Area C; 73-75T]**

See F.20.

**F.22 Artifact (knife blade) [Area C; 76-77T]**

Iron knife blade lying on tundra surface. Identified by Avalak as a knife -- *havig* (general purpose knife). Knife blade is tanged, handle missing (would have been hafted to an antler handle).

**F.23 Tent Ring and Hearth [Area C; 78-79T]**

Outline of rocks, approximately circular, probably representing a tent ring. Identified as a tent ring by Koihok and Avalak (*tupirarvik*) with a possible hearth (*kikhu*) inside the outline.

**F.24 Cache (or Hunting Blind?) [Area C]**

**F.25 Hearth (kikhu) [Area C]**

**F.26 Hunting Blind [Area C; 80-81T]**

Circular heavy outline of many rocks (cobble and boulder-sized) that are embedded in the ground – one of two such features (see F.27). Inside diameter of ring outline is about 4.5

m. Thickness of boulder outline is between 0.5 and 1 m. The ring outline extends only slightly above the ground surface, which is mostly boulder field. This boulder field forms part of the west slope of the valley containing the small river and floodplain that separates Areas C and D of the site. This ring and F.27 are located near the base of this slope, between two parallel game trails that run north-south.

This feature and F.27 were identified by Nuvuligak as muskox hunting blinds: the blinds would have consisted of rock walls that are no longer in evidence. The interior space is large, allowing more than one hunter to manoeuvre, with bow and arrow, within the blind during a muskox hunt. Nuvuligak has heard of muskox hunts where people drove muskoxen over embankments or towards (into) boulder fields to injure them, making it easier to kill the animals. At this location, here, muskoxen might have been driven upslope from the east into the boulder field that contains these blinds.

Transcripts of taped comments recorded at F.26 and F.27:

Nuvuligak: “Long ago people would hunt caribou and musk-oxen. There are differences between a caribou blind and a musk-ox blind. The musk-ox blinds are a lot bigger than the caribou blind. When men would hunt musk-ox, the women would shout like this and wave their arms around. The men would chase them towards rocky places or cliffs and then hunt them with bows and arrows. These blinds were very high are quite dangerous to be around them. These blinds here must be very old – they are right inside the ground.”

Koihok: “I was asked what these rocks were used for. Why were the rocks put up the way they are. From here to Tahikaffaaluk where people of long ago lived, we were brought here to identify or to learn of how our ancestors lived long ago. The place where I am sitting at was made by Inuit long ago. It was used for hunting. As you can see over there, caribou would use that path leading up towards the hill. Caribou would make tracks in winter as well. People would put up blinds close to the caribou paths so as not to have to go very far to hunt them. When I first got a boat and after learning how to use bow and arrow, I would hunt caribou. This was when guns were already introduced to the Inuit. I was taught how to use the bow and arrow to hunt when I was a young boy. That was how the younger people were taught in those days. When it was very hot outside in the summertime, the caribou would run away from mosquitoes, we did not have to use the caribou blinds then. The caribou would run towards the lakes to cool off. The blinds were used when the weather got cooler. Long ago people would hunt with bows and arrows. There were no guns in those days so bones were used for tools before our time. The caribou bones and antlers were used for tools. These blinds were used long before our time. Since the guns were now being used, the Inuit were abandoning their way of using blinds to hunt. The Inuit no longer use bows and arrows which our ancestors used for many generations are now replaced by guns.”

Nuvuligak: “The stories that Moses Koihok and I are telling are not exactly the same. We talked about caribou and musk-oxen. There are differences in hunting caribou from hunting musk-oxen. People would make inukhuit (land markers) heading towards the

blinds. The caribou were driven towards the blinds and people would hunt them when the caribou got to the blinds. As for the musk-oxen, I'm sure they used the same method in hunting them, but in a slightly different way. The blinds for hunting caribou is different from the blinds for hunting musk-oxen. There are some words that Inuit used long ago but I cannot remember what they are."

**F.27 Hunting Blind [Area C; 82-83T]**

Same kind of feature as F.26. See F.26 for description and comments.

**F.28 Inukhuk [Area C]**

Single boulder standing 30 cm high, placed upright on a small knoll.

**F.29 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra; likely food preparation platform (niqiqarvik). Located adjacent to (probably associated with) a tent ring (F.69) to the west.

**F.30 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra; likely food preparation platform (niqiqarvik). Located adjacent to (probably associated with) a tent ring (F.74) to the west.

**F.31 Hearth and Preparation Platform (?) [Area B-hill]**

U-shaped outline of rocks with flat rocks around it, possibly representing a food preparation area (niqiqarvik).

**F.32 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill; 32-33T]**

A cluster of about 10 flat rocks embedded in tundra. Probably a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik).

**F.33 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

**F.34 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks; probably a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik).

**F.35 Inukhuk(?) [Area B-hill]**

A set of flat rock slabs standing on edge (perhaps representing a collapsed inukhuk) on prominent bedrock outcrop knoll.

**F.36 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks; probably a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik).

**F.37 Tent Ring [Area B-hill; 34-35T]**

Circular outline of flat rocks. Many of the rocks are on edge, leaning in towards centre of circle.

**F.38 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

Circular outline of subangular rocks (cobbles).

**F.39 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra; probably a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik).

**F.40 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

Circular outline of subangular rocks (cobbles).

**F.41 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

Circular outline of subangular rocks (cobbles).

**F.42 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra; probably a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik).

**F.43 Qajaq Stand [Area D; 89T]**

Only one set of rocks (flat slabs), representing one end of a qajaq stand, is visible.

Location of F.43 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13:  
0393134E 7363243N.

**F.44 Tent Ring [Area D]**

Flat rocks are set into floor. Substrate here is bedrock with gravel.

**F.45 Tent Ring? [Area D]**

Small ring (about 1.5 by 2.0 m) of flat rocks partly embedded in substrate.

**F.46 Tent Ring [Area D; 90T]**

Large ring (about 3.0 m diameter) of flat rocks. Flat rocks are also set flat on ground in centre of ring.

**F.47 Tent Ring (Rectangle) [Area D; 91T]**

Rectangular (wall tent) outline of subangular boulders and cobbles, shallowly embedded in substrate. Opening (entrance) is at south end.

Location of F.47 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13:  
0393159E 7363153N.

**F.48 Qajaq Stand [Area D; 92T]**

Three pairs of boulders (flat rocks) are positioned in a line that is 2 m long. All boulders were presumably originally set, upright, into the sand-gravel substrate at an angle, but have since fallen flat.

**F.49 Inukhuk [Area D; 93T]**

Single boulder (about 50-70 cm high), shimmed at its base, set in a boulder field. Possibly represents the marker of a cache (not found) within the boulder field. The

inukhuk is easily visible from the ridge where most of the features in Area D are located, despite the relatively low position of the inukhuk.

**F.50** Unidentified; possible collapsed meat-drying rack [Area D]

Flat rocks and subangular boulders that are positioned along the top edge of a bedrock slope that faces west. Rocks may once have been upright and are now fallen over. Possible meat-drying rack (qimmirutikargvik).

**F.51** Tent Ring (?) [Area D]

Circle of flat rocks. Circle is about 1 m in diameter. Rock slabs are large (e.g., 30-40 cm across) and are tilted upwards towards centre of circle. Possibly a sleeping place (hiniktarvik).

**F.52** Tent Ring [Area D; 94T]

Ring of rocks that is about 5 by 3 m.

**F.53** Tent Ring(?) and associated features and artifacts [Area B-hill; 38-41T]

Irregular circle of rocks embedded in peat. A few large, flat rock slabs are tilted at angles (probably collapsed from once upright positions; these rocks may have been a drying rack – qimmirutikargvik). Some flat rocks are embedded in the peat nearby in a cluster – a possible food preparation surface, or niqiqarvik. Artifacts are found on ground surface in and around the ring: a mammal bone fragment with drilled holes (very weathered); a flake of bone with stitch holes; a shaped wooden rod or cylinder (8 cm long; 0.5 cm wide) with constriction (encircling notch) at 1.5 cm from one end of rod. Elders believe it may be one end (handle) of a nilihktaq (string game with two wooden handles and antler or bone in middle of string).

**F.54** Preparation Platform [Area B-flats; 4T]

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra; possible platform for food preparation (niqiqarvik) or other kinds of work.

**F.55** Drying Rack and Preparation Platform (?) [Area B-flats; 5T]

Two parallel lines of flat rocks; some rocks are lying flat on ground and others are set on one edge, leaning over. The rocks at one of both lines are set upright. Horizontal rocks embedded in ground may be a platform for food preparation or other kinds of work.

**F.56** Dried Meat Cache [Area A; 1-3T]

Small rocks (gravel – mostly pebble or cobble in size) forming a circular berm around a cleared space (1-2 m diameter) with a gravel floor. Six boulders are placed on top of berm around the central space. Caribou bone fragments are scattered on ground inside and outside the berm. Two small caribou skulls are inside.

This feature is built against the west slope of a bedrock outcrop, an almost-vertical scarp face which is about 2 m high.

Elders visited and commented on this feature (Koihok and Nuvuligak, Saturday 21 August). It is a place where people stored dried meat before moving to the coast (for winter). Meat was dried in summer, so meat was likely placed in this feature during late summer or early fall. The dried meat would have been covered with skins so it wouldn't dry out too much. The skins would have been secured by the boulders along the top of the berm. The name for this type of feature is pirukharvik (Koihok) or qinngiq (Nuvuligak).

This feature was not mapped by electronic theodolite. Its location was identified by GPS (NAD27) as UTM 0392787E 7362749N (Zone 13).

**F.57 Tent Ring [Area A]**

This feature was not mapped. It is associated with (within 20 m of) feature 56.

**F.58 Unidentifiable [Area B-flats]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in tundra and overgrown with dense birch – possibly part of a food preparation platform (niqiqarvik) or tent ring.

**F.59 Preparation Platform [Area B-hill; 42T]**

Cluster of flat rocks embedded in dry, gravelly tundra adjacent to birch – probably a platform for food preparation (niqiqarvik) or other work.

**F.60 Meat-Drying Rack? [Area B-hill]**

Large, flat stones that are standing on edge, leaning at angles. Possible meat-drying rack (qimmirutikargvik).

**F.61 Meat-Drying Rack? [Area B-hill; 43-44T]**

Large, flat stones that are standing on edge, leaning at angles. Possible meat-drying rack (qimmirutikargvik).

Location of F.61 established by non-differential GPS (NAD27), UTM zone 13:  
0392739E 7363145N.

**F.62 Tent Ring (Rectangle) [Area B-hill; 45-49T]**

Rectangular outline of cobbles and boulders on tundra. Fragment of wooden artifact (rough, not milled) with notches for lashing along one long side is located on the ground just outside of the tent outline. Artifact is 15 cm long. Koihok examined this artifact and thinks it could be a bow fragment.

**F.63 Inukhuk [Area B-hill; 50-51T]**

A single, standing boulder, shimmed at base, standing about 30 cm tall. This stone stands on a linear north-south bedrock ridge, at the point where the line of the ridge begins to slope down to the north towards a small lake. This archaeological feature is at the north end of the features that are distributed along this ridge.

**F.64 Qajaq Stand [Area C; 84-86T]**

A pair of flat rocks, set upright, represents one end of a qajaq stand. Each rock leans away from the other and is supported by smaller flat rocks.

Transcript of taped interview recorded at F.64 on 22 August:

Koihok: “All groups of people want to know what these rocks are for. People of long ago used these rocks here for boats to lean up against. These rocks were put up a long time ago by our ancestors, before our time. Rocks and inukhuit (land markers) were put up by our ancestors a long time ago. Rocks we see today seem like they are there naturally, but I know that these were put up by our ancestors.”

Nuvuligak: “The rocks that were used to lean a boat against, I cannot remember what they were called. When people are not using their boats they would lean them against these rocks here.”

**F.65** Hearth (kikhu) [Area A]

This feature was not mapped. It is associated with (within 20 m of) feature 56.

**F. 66** Hearth (kikhu) [Area A]

This feature was not mapped. It is associated with (within 20 m of) feature 56.

**F.67** Hearth (kikhu) [Area A]

This feature was not mapped. It is associated with (within 20 m of) feature 56.

**F.68** Sleeping Place (hiniktarvik) [Area B-hill; 52-53T]

An oval outline of boulders (measuring about 1.5 m long N-S by about 1.0 m wide E-W) representing a sleeping shelter located on the east side of a prominent bedrock outcrop. The shelter outline is attached to the steep, east-facing vertical scarp of the outcrop. Outcrop scarp rises 60-70 cm above floor of shelter.

Koihok’s comments on this feature (22 August): One or two hunters passing through the site in summer-fall might have built this hiniktarvik (sleeping place) for overnight rest. They might have stretched one or two skins over it, supported by an internal pole or two, extending from the top of the bedrock to a boulder wall that they might have constructed (now reduced to the single course of boulders that we see on the east side of the bedrock). The rock wall would have been built up to the level of the bedrock and they would have weather-proofed it with moss.

This feature was used as the datum for mapping the site with electronic theodolite. Its location was identified by non-differential GPS (NAD27) as UTM 0392774E 7363140N (Zone 13).

**F.69** Tent Ring [Area B-hill]

A circle outline of rocks. Circle is about 2 m diameter. Rocks at north side of circle are flat and leaning inwards, as if they had once been propped upright. Some flat rocks are

level and embedded in tundra at south end of circle. This feature appears to be associated with a platform surface (feature 29) just outside the circle to the east.

**F.70 Tent Ring [Area B-hill; 54-55T]**

Approximate circle outline of large rocks, most of which are deeply embedded in peat. A few of the rocks are horizontal slabs that are set at angles leaning in towards centre of ring. This feature is at the southeast (low) end of the main bedrock ridge that constitutes part of Area B-hill.

**F.71 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

This tent ring is located in swale between two linear bedrock ridges that constitute Area B-hill.

**F.72 Tent Ring [Area B-hill; 56-57T]**

Loose circle of flat rocks on lichen-covered gravel surface. Some flat rocks are leaning in towards the centre of circle. This feature is at northwest end of main linear bedrock ridge that constitutes part of Area B-hill.

**F.73 Tent Ring [Area B-hill; 58-59T]**

Tight circle of flat rocks on lichen-covered gravel surface. Some flat rocks are leaning in towards the centre of circle. This feature is at northwest end of main linear bedrock ridge that constitutes part of Area B-hill.

**F.74 Tent Ring [Area B-hill]**

**F.75 Tent Ring [Area D]**

**F.76 Tent Ring [Area D; 95T]**

Loose circle of small rocks on lichen-covered gravel surface. Wood – probably cultural artifact fragments – is scattered on north side (downslope) of circle.

**F.77 Drying rack (? collapsed) [Area D]**

Three large flat rocks (each measuring 50-80 cm across) are lying horizontally on bedrock surface, or are propped up slightly by cobbles.

**F.78 Sleeping Place (hiniktarvik) [Area C]**

Ground surface on east side of large boulder – identified by Koihok as a likely hiniktarvik based on its location and size of the boulder (stands about 2 m high). There are tent rings within 50 m of this feature, most of which have been recently re-used as tenting places.

END

Kiluhitqurmiut Nunaa Inuinaqtun Immersion Oral History and Archaeology Project,  
Tahikaffaaluk Site (McNk-3), Bathurst Lake, 18 – 23 August 2004.  
Kitikmeot Heritage Society, Cambridge Bay, Nunavut.  
Nunavut Archaeological Permit # 04-19A

Personnel:

Darren Keith (Yellowknife)  
Andrew Stewart (Toronto)  
Moses Koihok (Cambridge Bay)  
Luke Nuvuligak (Cambridge Bay)  
Marjorie Taptuna (Cambridge Bay)  
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The following is a record of field notes by Andrew Stewart of on-site observations of, and comments on, archaeological features by elders Koihok, Nuvuligak, and Avalak. ‘F’ numbers are archaeological feature numbers as recorded during mapping of site features by theodolite. The order of features in this record corresponds to the order in which they were encountered during the documenting session on each day. Terms used by elders are given in italics, except where noted.

Thursday 19 August 2004:

Area C (walking out of our camp along the west shore of the little bay east of our camp, on the rise overlooking this small bay and the meadow-floodplain that drains into it):

F22: knife blade, *havig*, general purpose knife. Knife blade is tanged, handle missing (would have been hafted to an antler handle). (Discussed with Peter Avalak).

F23: tent ring (*tupirarvik* [term used by Peter Avalak]) with hearth (*kikhu*) inside. Narrow oval of rocks were identified by Koihok, initially, as a sleeping place (*hiniktarvik*) of *tunniit* origin (one giant sleeping place). But then rocks east of this pattern were considered to be part of same features and interpretation was changed to an Inuit tent ring, encompassing a small concentration of rocks representing an internal hearth (*kikhu*).

F19: a cluster of 3 or 4 boulders on top of a knoll; interpreted by elders as a hearth representing as a look-out (*qinirvik*). Another type of lookout (bigger?) is *nahikhurvik* (where several people waited, and used to pick lice out of each other’s hair). Koihok and Nuvuligak, clarified during discussions in tent on 21 Aug.

F20 and F21: each feature is a caribou hunting blind (*talu*) on either side of a caribou trail leading uphill (southwest) from floodplain meadow located to the northeast at the head of the little bay. Blinds consist of flat rocks that have been arranged in a curved line, convex side facing towards the trail and caribou approaching from the meadow. Rocks were probably placed on edge and have collapsed towards the interior of each blind. See also Sunday 22 August.

F. 18: hunting blind (*talu*).

F17: wind break – *iquurtaq*. Wall of small boulders, coursed or stacked between two large boulders located at either end of wall. Wall is approx 0.7 m high. Protected downslope side is to the southwest.

F16: hunting blind (*talu*).

Area B (continuing our walk westwards, up onto the prominent hill and series of bedrock ridges that overlook the narrows at head of Bathurst Lake, northwest of our camp):

F14: food preparation area, consisting of flat rocks placed adjacent on ground, forming a platform or table – *niqiqarvik*.

F15: tent ring, with flat rocks set on edge around one section of ring (west). These flat rocks are leaning in towards centre of ring. Flat rocks were (originally) placed on outside of tent skins and are referred to as a wind break *iquurtaq* (Koihok). A storage structure for firewood (and anything else) is associated with the ring, on its NW side. The storage structure (the term *ittavik*, was given on site with Koihok; the word *ittakagvik* was given later, back at camp, by Koihok, Mary translating, Trisha recording) is a flat rock, about 0.7 m across. It is propped up at a 40-60 degree angle by two smaller, round boulders underneath and leans in towards centre of ring. This storage area was outside the tent. All information about this ring provided initially by Koihok. See 22 August for more observations about internal features of this ring by Nuvuligak.

F.13: a hole in the ground (approx 20 cm square and 30 cm deep); identified as a place for aging meat (*mamaqhitiivik*). Alternatively, it may be a dry meat cache (*qingniq*). Discussion of aging meat with Koihok and Nuvuligak took place in tent (21 Aug). Outcome of discussion was that F13 is probably a cache because it is next to a meat drying rack (see F10-12).

F10, F11, F12: area of scattered large, flat rocks. These rocks have been placed on edge, but many of them have fallen down. They served as meat-drying racks – *qimmirutikargvik*.

F9: flat rock over a hole in ground, the hole possibly serving as a hearth. The flat rock was used to fry meat -- *pahikhiivik*. (Mary Avalak describes this method of cooking meat on flat rocks using moss placed below and/or above the meat).

F7 and F8: examples (among others in this area) of meat cache (*qingniq*): each is a cavity or open space among boulders, within a boulder field. (Koihok, Nuvuligak)

F6: a stone structure, *hitigak* (Nuvuligak): flat rocks stacked and arranged in several courses, with spaces among rocks, in a box-like structure, measuring about 20 by 30 cm in plan, and about 30 cm high. This structure is built, in imitation of a den (*hiti*), to lure hikhiks to a place where they feel safe so they can be trapped.

F5: caribou hunting blind (*talu*).

F4: small tent ring, or sleeping place, *hiniktarvik* (or *hiniktarnik?*): an overnight sleeping place for a hunter traveling through the site.

F3: concentration of adjacent flat rocks embedded in the ground *niqiqarvik* .

F2: *iquurtaq* (see F17). Unusually large and robust wall, perhaps of recent construction by Inuit.

F1: rock structure, consisting of three columns of coursed flat rocks bridged by flat rocks placed across tops of columns. Place for cooking: *igavik* (Koihok, Nuvuligak). This term was used by elders on site but later this feature was named *pahikhiivik* (during conversation with Koihok, in tent, with Mary Avalak translating) in reference to the flat rocks that are placed across the top of the structure (see F9).

F53: tent ring around (and in) which there is a scatter of bone fragments and worked wood fragments. The largest wooden piece is a cylindrical rod, about 10 cm long, that is notched completely around near one end. Koihok thinks this is a handle of the string game, *nilihktaq*.

Saturday 21 August 2004:

Area A: we walked to this area across the connecting stream between Bathurst Lake and the upstream lake to the northwest. The land immediately on the other side is a narrow peninsula. A high ridge of bedrock runs south from the stream floodplain along the east side of this peninsula. Archaeological features (a tent rings, 3 hearths and a cache) are located on the west of this ridge. Elders were interviewed at the site of the cache, F56.

F56: small rocks (pebble and cobble-size) form a circular berm around a cleared area (1-2 m diameter) with gravel floor. Six boulders are on top of berm around the area. Caribou bone fragments and two (juvenile) caribou skulls are on the ground surface within the berm. This feature is located in a minor cobble-boulder deposit adjacent to the west wall of the bedrock ridge (see Area A description, above).

Comments by elders on this feature: a place to store dried meat during the summer prior to people's move to the coast for winter. The meat would have been covered by skins

(secured with boulders) so it wouldn't dry out too much. Term used by Koihok: *piruhkarvik*; term used by Nuvuligak: *qingniq*.

#### Sunday 22 August 2004:

During early morning walk with Peter Avalak, 3 different types of substrate identified:

1. *huiaralulik* or *huiaralik*: large rock (glacial erratic) that is in our camp where there is also a sleeping place (F ).
2. *ugriuliaq*: tussock tundra in low areas around camp.
3. *kiggruliaq*: boulder field (e.g., where Peter's tent is pitched).

Taped interviews with elders during late morning and afternoon at features in Areas C and B:

#### Area C:

F64: two taped interviews, one each with Koihok and Nuvuligak.

F26 and F27: muskox hunting blinds. Heavy rock rings resemble frost polygons but Nuvuligak, without hesitation, identifies them as built features, muskox hunting blinds. Taped interview was recorded with Nuvuligak sitting inside, and commenting on, F27. Each ring is 4 to 5 m across, inside. The embedded ring of cobbles and boulders that encloses this space is between 0.5 and 1.0 m thick. The rocks in this ring barely extend above the level of the surrounding tundra. Nuvuligak states that the blinds would have consisted of rock walls that are no longer there. The interior space is large, allowing more than one hunter to manoeuvre, with bow and arrow, within the blind during a muskox hunt. Nuvuligak has heard of muskox hunts where people drove muskoxen over embankments or towards (into) boulder fields to injure them, making it easier to kill the animals. At this location, here, muskoxen might have been driven upslope from the east into the boulder field that contains these blinds. This boulder field forms part of the west slope of the valley containing the small river and floodplain separating Areas C and D of the site. The muskox hunting blinds are located near the base of this slope, in between two parallel game trails that run N-S.

F20 (see Thursday 19 August): Recorded interview with Koihok, and another one with Nuvuligak, sitting beside this caribou blind. Koihok describes the process of beating (driving) caribou towards the manned blinds. Here, beaters, *ungortit* (women and children), would have been stationed on the other (east) side of the valley, on the rock ridges overlooking the valley, when the wind was favourable (beaters would have to have remained upwind of caribou traveling northwest along the east shore of Bathurst Lake).

#### Area B:

F15 (tent ring): Taped interview with Koihok and Nuvuligak. Nuvuligak spent time observing and commenting on aspects of this tent ring (see 19 August for initial description of, and information given by, Koihok about this ring). Nuvuligak pointed out a concentration of adjacent flat rocks that are embedded in the ground located inside the ring in the eastern half near the centre – a setting for food, *aqiutaq*. He also pointed out another area of adjacent flat rocks located in the interior of the tent next to the west wall, just inside the upright rocks in the western half of the ring. This is a probable sleeping area, *iglik*. When asked, he suggested that the entrance to the tent might have been on the north side where there is a gap in the ring and rocks are sparse. He says that the location of the *ittavik*, just east of this space, supports this idea. All internal and external features of this tent ring have been sketch-planned

F39 (*niqiqarvik* and *qimmirutikargvik*). Taped interview with Marjorie Taptuna. Koihok comments here that the flat rock food preparation area serves to protect meat from sand. Some of the flat rocks here were formerly propped upright for a meat drying rack. The meat was dried out a little, not to make *mimku* (dried meat), but to slightly dry the meat (*haluaqhirviit*), thus reducing its weight for ease of transport.

F68: Koihok talks about this sleeping place, an oval of boulders (about 1.5 m long N-S by about 1.0 m wide E-W) attached to the steep vertical scarp of a bedrock outcrop to the west. One or two hunters passing through the site in summer-fall might have built this feature to sleep here overnight. They might have stretched one or two skins over it, supported by an internal pole or two, extending from the top of the bedrock (60-70 cm above the sleeping surface) to a boulder wall that they might have constructed (now reduced to the single course of boulders that we see on the east side of the bedrock). The rock wall would have been built up to the level of the bedrock and they would have weather-proofed it with moss.

#### General observations:

Age of site: elders use the term *inniturliq* to refer to the features at this site. Most tent rings are round (traditional caribou skin tents), not rectangular (canvas-walled). Caribou hunting blinds (for hunters armed with bows) are present. Quartzite fragments that appear to have resulting from splitting river cobbles are present throughout the site area. Evidence for consistent flake production or shaping of stone tools is, however, lacking. These observations suggest that the occupation of the site predates the introduction or reliable supply of trade goods. It probably dates to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (prior to about 1920), and earlier.

The valley that bisects the site (between Areas C and D) contains a braided stream that was flowing during the time of our field work draining into the small bay east of our camp. Valley slopes are rugged, with steep sides of bedrock and loose cobbles and boulders (scree). Hunting blinds are located at the top of the west slopes overlooking the lower part of the valley. Caribou trails lead across the lower part of the valley near the head of the bay and up the west slopes past the hunting blinds. Further up the valley,

there are thickets of willow and birch and stashes of dried birch were observed, probably relating to occupation of the camp associated with the archaeological features.