



IQALUKTUUQ ORAL HISTORY PROJECT REPORT

2000 - 2002

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report is a synthesis of oral history interviews conducted over the past three years at *Iqaluktuuq* (Ekalluk River) with the Elders of Cambridge Bay (see Figure 1). Oral history interviews are an annual component of an on-going archaeological/oral historical investigation of Inuit life at *Iqaluktuuq*. Max Friesen of the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, is conducting archaeological research at the site. Darren Keith and Emily Angulalik conducted the oral history component of the research in July of 2002. Oral histories were recorded by David Pelly and Gwen Ohokak in 2001, and Max Friesen and Gwen Ohokak in 2000.

The purpose of this report is to provide a synthesis of what has been learned in the oral history projects conducted at *Iqaluktuuq* thus far, and to assess what information should be pursued in future interviews. In the Discussion section (4.0) the three years of oral history interview transcripts and existing ethnographic sources are used to describe the seasonal life of *Iqaluktuurmiut* in the early 20th century. The three sets of transcripts form the appendices of this report, and for the sake of brevity, are referenced as A1 (2002), A2 (2001), and A3 (2000) when Elders quotations are cited in text.

Following the discussion an assessment of future information needs will be presented in the Recommendations for Future Research section (5.0). Appendix 5 is a glossary of *Inuinaqtun* terms discussed during the 2002 project. *Inuinaqtun* terms, with the exception of personal names and community names, are italicized.

2.0 2002 PARTICIPANTS

Interviewees

Frank Analok	Jenne Analok	Mabel Angulalik
Margaret Nakashook	Bessie Emingak	Tommy Kilaodluk
Mary Kilaodluk	Mathew Ehaloak	Mary Avalak
David Kaniak		

Oral History Researchers

Darren Keith	Emily Angulalik
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3.0 METHODS

Topics for discussion during oral history research at *Iqaluktuuq* were wide open, and interviews were conducted in an open-ended fashion. As interviewees raised interesting and new topics, new lines of questioning were pursued. Interviews were conducted at the project campsite that was located at the outlet of Ferguson Lake on the south shore of the Ekalluk River approximately 57 kilometres northwest of Cambridge Bay (see Figure 1). Interviews were recorded using mini disc either inside tents or outside on the ground.

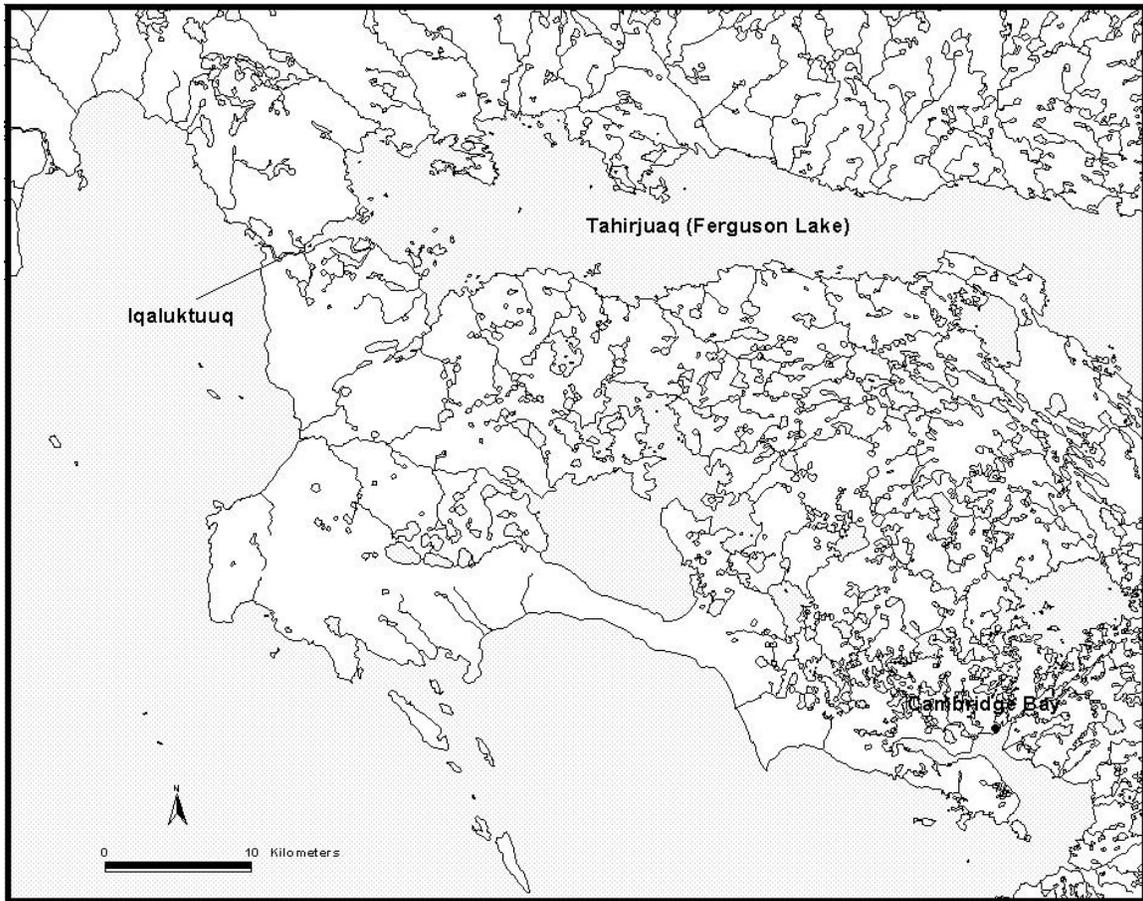


Figure 3: The Location of Iqaluktuuq in Relation to Cambridge Bay

4.0 DISCUSSION

4.1 Background

Ethnographers Vilhjalmer Steffanson, Diamond Jenness and Knud Rasmussen each made forays into the Copper Inuit area and documented the lifestyles of different regional groups. We can surely rely on their ethnographic descriptions as being analogous to the general subsistence activities and beliefs of the *Iqaluktuurmiut*. However, what was unfortunate about the fact that ethnographers did not visit the eastern part of Victoria Island is that the specific seasonal activities and locations of activity were not recorded before the fur trade; the virtual disappearance of caribou on Victoria Island; and the DEW line altered *Iqaluktuurmiut* life.

Though early ethnographers did not directly visit the *Iqaluktuurmiut*, they were very interested in them. Jenness wanted to visit the *Iqaluktuurmiut*, and he tried unsuccessfully to find a *Kangirjuarmiut* family that was planning to travel over to visit the *Iqaluktuurmiut*. Overland travel to spend time with the *Iqaluktuurmiut*, possibly fishing at *Iqaluktuuq*, was popular enough in the early 1900s that Jenness reasonably

expected to be able to accompany a family on this journey. He was not able to find a group to follow, however he did hear of people going to *Iqaluktuurmiut* territory (Jenness 1991: 404, 448).

When Danish ethnographer Knud Rasmussen visited the region in the winter of 1924, he had initially planned to visit the *Iqaluktuurmiut*. However, when he reached the region he decided to spend his brief time there with the *Umingmaqtuurmiut*, as Jenness had already spent time with people on Victoria Island, albeit western Victoria Island (Rasmussen 1999: 247). He did meet individual *Iqaluktuurmiut*, and learned about them through the Inuit of Bathurst Inlet whom they often met in sealing camps on the sea ice (Rasmussen 1999: 245).

Since the work of the early 20th century ethnographers, there has been no specific documentation of the *Iqaluktuurmiut*. Oral history work was initiated on *Inuit* life at *Iqaluktuuq* in conjunction with archaeological investigations by University of Toronto archaeologist Max Friesen in the year 2000. Elders from Cambridge Bay have travelled to *Iqaluktuuq* to participate in the archaeological investigations for approximately one week in the years 2000, 2001 and 2002. Many of these Elders have personal connections to *Iqaluktuuq*, as a place that they used to frequent for fishing at certain times in their lives. Three different interviewers have interviewed these Elders over those three years.

Of the Elders who have been interviewed at *Iqaluktuuq*, the senior Elder present was Frank Analok. Analok is in fact the oldest living of the original *Iqaluktuurmiut*. His presence as a child was documented by in Rasmussen's lists of families camped at various locations around the region. Analok and his extended family were recorded as being present at *Iqaluktuuq* in 1924 (Rasmussen 1932: 82). The list of families at *Iqaluktuuq* was reviewed with Analok during the 2002 project and the resulting notes form Appendix 4 in this report.

4.2 Regional Groups

The geographical area traditionally used by *Iqaluktuurmiut* extended from the lakes to the west of Wellington Bay, up to Washburn Lake to the north, and Ferguson Lake and the east side of Wellington Bay as far as Cambridge Bay (Farquharson 1976: 44). To the east of the *Iqaluktuurmiut* were the *Killinirmiut* who used southeastern Victoria Island and the Albert Edward Bay areas (Farquharson 1976: 44). To the south were the *Umingmaqtuurmiut* of Bathurst Inlet and the *Ahiarmiut* living on the mainland between the Ellice River (*Kuunajuk*) and Perry River (*Kuugjuaq*) (Farquharson 1976: 44) (see Figure 2).

On the west side of *Iqaluktuurmiut* land were *Nagjuktuurmiut* of the Byron Bay and Richardson Islands (*Nagjuktuuq*) area, and the *Kangirjuarmiut* who lived in Prince Albert sound and inland (Farquharson 1976: 44).

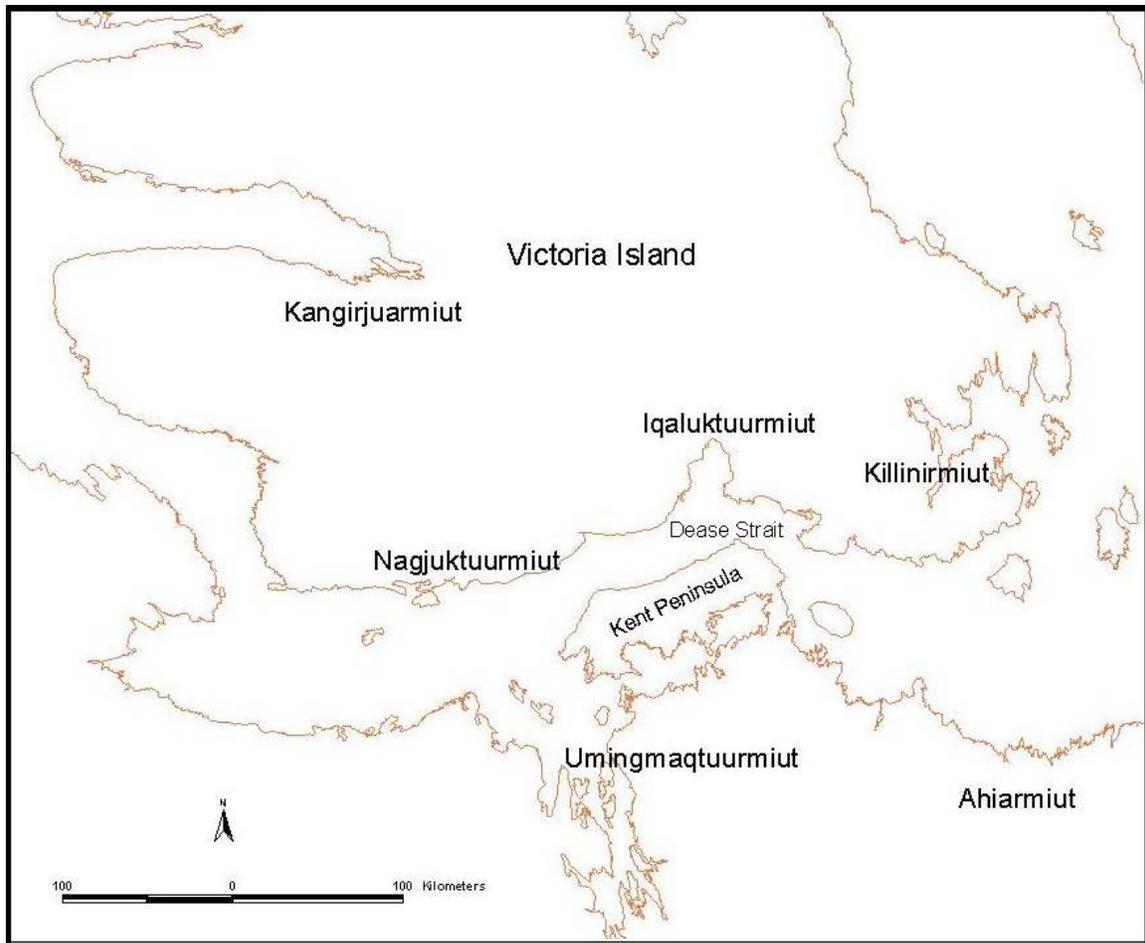


Figure 4: Regional Inuit Groups

4.3 Trade and Contact

It is clear from early 20th century ethnographic sources that there was a lot of contact between *Iqaluktuurmiut* and the regional groups that surrounded them. The rich fishery at *Iqaluktuuq* appears to have been well known in the region, and *Iqaluktuurmiut* were sometimes joined at *Iqaluktuuq* by *Inuit* from other regional groups. Frank Analok remember a portion of a traditional song (*pihiq*) composed by Amirunaaluk [possibly Amarunaaluk], a non-*Iqaluktuurmiutaq* that spoke of desiring to move to *Iqaluktuuq*, and in fact travelling there (A1: 32).

...people have talked about this [place] from the west. There was a person named Amarunaaluk that they talked about who made up a song about wanting to move here, actually coming, and arriving here in *Iqaluktuuq*. He sang this song while en route here, "Iqaluktuuq iqalulik tikijjanagu isumauqpik," That was told in the legends. There were other people from other places that moved here (Frank Analok, A3: 4).

The *Kangirjuarmiut* of western Victoria Island would sometimes travel to the west and meet *Iqaluktuurmiut* inland to the west of Wellington bay around the head of a river flowing into Prince Albert Sound (Jenness 1922: 246). Stefansson spoke to *Kangirjuarmiut* who were on their way up this very same river - the Kagloryuak River -

to meet the *Iqaluktuurmiut* and to hunt caribou and trade (Condon 1996: 51). Jenness surmised that some *Kangirjuarmiut* would have been to *Iqaluktuuq* and fished with *Iqaluktuurmiut* (Jenness 1922: 247). Frank Anolok remember *Kangirjuarmiut* by name, who used to camp with his family both at *Iqaluktuuq* and *Ahiaq*.

I remember people from Kangirjuaq named Kapuqturjuk, Algammihuk, Qaqimana, and others that I have forgotten the names of. When I was growing up that's the people who lived with us in Ahiaq. These people from Kangirjuaq and Ahiaq gathered here and lived together. They passed away in Ahiaq (Frank Analok, A3: 4).

Contact between the *Kangirjuarmiut* included trade, and one material of trade with the *Kangirjuarmiut* may have been native copper which is available at the head of Prince Albert Sound (Jenness 1922: 52). Scrap iron was also a available to Kangirjuarmiut from a wreck at Mercy Bay (Pálsson 2001: 265). Polar bear skins were also an important material that was traded by the *Kangirjuarmiut* (Jenness 1922: 52). The need for polar bear skins by *Iqaluktuurmiut* is unknown, as they sometimes hunted polar bears with *Killinirmiut* wintering near Jenny Lind Island (*Qikiqtarjuaq*) (Farquarson 1976: 44). *Iqaluktuurmiut* provided iron trade goods to the *Kangirjuarmiut* that were acquired by trade at *Akilliniq*, either directly or through *Ahiarmiut* intermediaries (Pálsson 2001: 265)

The *Iqaluktuurmiut* were also in regular contact with the *Nagjukturmiut* of the Richardson Islands (*Nagjuktuuq*) and Byron Bay areas, with some *Iqaluktuurmiut* families spending the winter sealing with the *Nagjuktuurmiut* (Farquarson 1976: 44).

Killinirmiut were near neighbours to the west who overlapped the western side of the *Iqaluktuurmiut* land-use area. As mentioned above, *Iqaluktuurmiut* would travel to Jenny Lind Island (*Qikiqtarjuaq*) to hunt polar bears with *Killinirmiut*.

Frank Analok remembered living at *Iqaluktuuq* with *Ahiarmiut* from the mainland, whom have been described as “the most nomadic of the Eskimo tribes” (Rasmussen 1999: 245). He also remembers living with them in their land located between the Ellice River (*Kuunajuk*) and Perry River (*Kuugjuaq*). The absence of caribou for a period in the mid-20th century appears to have caused *Iqaluktuurmiut* to seek caribou on the mainland, and sometimes spending the entire year there. The specifics of this move need further investigation and clarification. Ethnographer Knud Rasmussen recorded the absence of caribou from the island in 1924, and attributed this change in caribou movements to the widespread use of rifles.

Firearms have only recently been introduced in these regions, and in a very short time the effect has been that now there are never any caribou on Kent Peninsula or the hinterland of Hope Bay, and very few in Victoria Land. This scarcity of caribou is not due to their extermination, but simply to the fact that they wander along other routes when once they have been scared for a few years in succession by the report of rifles at places where the hunters usually meet them (Rasmussen 1932: 78).

And yet the decline of caribou on Victoria Island may have begun much earlier, before the visit of Vilhjalmer Stefansson when the bow and arrow was still the most common hunting weapon. *Kangirjuarmiut* told Stefansson that caribou were more plentiful in “the

time of their forebears” and he attributed the absence of *qajaq* hunting at that time to the scarcity of caribou (Pálsson 2001: 209).

Umingmaqtuurmiut were another group that *Iqaluktuurmiut* would sometimes camp with when they were on the sea ice in sealing villages in Dease Strait (Jenness 1922: 53; Farquarson 1976: 44). Contact with *Inuit* in the Bathurst Inlet region also occurred when *Iqaluktuurmiut* would travel through on their way to *Akilliniq* on the Thelon River near Beverly Lake.

One route, the main one perhaps, to the Akilinnik [Thelon] river and the Eskimos of the interior, has its starting point in Bathurst inlet...Victoria island natives sometimes follow the same route, for a Kilsusiktok Eskimo informed me that many Ekaluktomiut had come to his country on their way to the Akilinnik Jenness (1922: 48).

Akilliniq was a well known source of wood as well as *Qallunaat* trade goods originating in Hudson Bay, and most of the *Inuit* groups of what is now termed the *Qitirmiut* made the long journey to trade in that area.

Table 2: Iqaluktuurmiutut Seasons¹

Inuinaqtun Season	Activities
<i>upin'ngakhaq</i> (April and May)	- snow house villages on the sea ice are abandoned and people moved to the land (Damas 198: 398). - <i>kanngalat</i> caribou were hunted, sometimes at caribou crossings (<i>nalluq</i>) and dry meat was made (Analok, A1: 13, 15).
<i>upin'ngaaq</i> (June and July) <i>upinnguag</i> <i>aujaqhaq</i>	- moved inland to fishing river such as <i>Iqaluktuuq</i> or other rivers or lakes. - began fishing with <i>kakivak</i> and preparing dry fish. - continue to hunt caribou on foot. - hunting molting birds by snare or by driving them with a <i>qajaq</i> (Analok A3: 7).
<i>aujaq</i> (August and September)	- fishing in the river during the char run in late august. - caribou hunting becomes important and caribou are hunted by using drives on land or at caribou crossings where they were taken with kayaks (Analok, A1: 13). When it first starts icing up they would get clothing skins around the <i>Iqaluktuuq</i> area, or in <i>Ahiaq</i> [field notes].
<i>ukiakhaq</i> (October to November)	- fox trapping. - caribou start to move south to cross the ocean. - caribou hunting to cache meat, often hunted in drives at this time. - ice forms on lakes - fishing for spawning char with <i>kakivak</i> and <i>iqaluujaq</i> - ice forms on the ocean - beginning sometime in November people were idle and relied on cached foods. Sewing of winter garments by women was the most important activity at this time (Damas 1984: 398). - People gathered together during this time at camping sites referred to as “ <i>innagharviit</i> ” or “places of preparation” (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 3). Damas (1984: 400) referred to these as “finishing places”.
<i>ukiaq</i> (December and January) and <i>ukiug</i> (February and March)	- people moved out on to the sea ice and lived in <i>iglu</i> villages. - breathing hole sealing the most important activity

¹ The definitions of the *Inuinaqtun* seasons and their specific application to *Iqaluktuurmiut* must be addressed in future interviews.

4.4 Seasonal Round of *Iqaluktuurmiut*

Reconstruction of a detailed pre-contact seasonal round for *Iqaluktuurmiut* is difficult for two reasons: they were not visited by early ethnographers, and; caribou and muskox almost disappeared from Victoria Island in the mid-20th century, forcing *Iqaluktuurmiut* families, such as that of Frank Analok to move to the mainland *Ahiaq*. A description of the *Iqaluktuurmiut* seasonal round is provided below based on the memories of Frank Analok, and supported by the ethnographies of neighbouring Copper Inuit groups. A description of a more recent seasonal round is provided in the text box entitled “The Seasonal Round of Mathew Ehaloak’s Family in the 1940s”. Table 1 summarizes the traditional activities of *Iqaluktuurmiut* during the six *Inuinaqtun* seasons.

4.4.1 *Upin’ngakhaq* (April and May)

In the season of *upin’nakhaq* *Iqaluktuurmiut* were still living on the sea ice in *iglu* villages and engaging in seal hunting. The hunting of seal pups (*nattiaq*) was important at this time. At the end of this season the *iglu* villages were abandoned and people moved to the land. Caribou hunting was an important activity at the end of *upin’ngakhaq* and the beginning of *upin’ngaaq* as the caribou would be migrating north at this time. Caribou would cross the ocean to Victoria Island (*Kiilliniq*), and would continue to travel inland, crossing water bodies along the way. *Iqaluktuurmiut* would often wait for caribou at a known caribou crossing (*nalluq*) and kill caribou once they had crossed using the bow and arrow or later the rifle (Analok, A1: 13, 15). Caribou meat that were not needed for immediate consumption would be preserved by making dried meat (*mipku*). *Iqaluktuurmiut* referred to the caribou of *upin’ngakhaq* and *upin’ngaaq* as *kanngallat*, as their skins were shedding heavy winter hair (see Table 2). *Kanngallat* skins were not useful as clothing skins.

4.4.2 *Upin’ngaaq* (June/July)

Caribou hunting continued in *upin’ngaaq* as *Iqaluktuurmiut* moved to the *Iqaluktuuq* area. Winter clothing was cached for the summer at this time as the weather now permitted lighter clothing. A winter clothing cache is referred to as a *tigulaaqarvik* (Frank Analok, A1: 53). *Iqaluktuurmiut* would first head to fishing lakes to fish through the ice after caching their clothing.

...they buried [cached] their winter clothing and headed for the lakes to fish. They did this before the lakes became too watery. They fished through the ice (Frank Analok, A3: 12).

Later in *upin’ngaaq* *Iqaluktuurmiut* began fishing at *Iqaluktuuq* or other rivers or lakes. The *kakivak* was used in rivers while the *nuijaaqpak* was used in lakes (Frank Analok, A3: 8) in combination with waterproof wading boots made of seal skin with the hair removed (Mackie Kaosoni, A3: 8).

They never worried about getting wet when they were fishing. I remember my grandfather Matomiak., using a *nuijaaqpak* when he was fishing. They never worried about getting wet (Mackie Kaosoni, A3: 8).

Text Box #1 The Seasonal Round of Mathew Ehaloak’s Family in the 1940s (A1: 69-90).

Mathew Ehaloak was born close to *Iqaluktuuq* to Nuitiqtuq and Akuaqhiut. In the springtime Mathew’s family would camp and fish at the mouth of *Kuugarjuaq*, a river which enters *Tahirjuaq* (Ferguson Lake) to the northeast of *Iqaluktuuq*. Here they would catch fish using the *kakivak* and fishnets and they would make dry fish and cache it on a small island off the mouth of the river. In July, the family would move in the direction of *Iqaluktuuq* and camp at the old caribou-crossing (*nalluq*) site *Ajapkaut*. *Ajapkaut* is a small point on the north side of *Tahirjuaq* where the lake narrows to its outlet at *Iqaluktuuq*. Here they would continue fishing using nets, and they would prepare dry fish. They would use their rowboat for fishing. At this time there were very few caribou and muskox in the area.

From *Ajapkaut*, the family would move to the north side of the mouth of *Iqaluktuuq* taking the dry fish they prepared at *Ajapkaut* with them to cache at the river mouth. This occurred in August in order to coincide with the beginning of the char run up the river. Here they would fish with *kakivak* and fishnets. Their fishnets would be set parallel to the flow of the river, as the current was too strong to set it perpendicular. As the weather was now colder they were able to cache the fish they caught whole, without gutting them. They would continue to fish at *Iqaluktuuq* until the water started to freeze in September. After freeze-up in September, the family would travel towards *Niaqunarjuaq* where they would hunt seals with the rowboat.

In October the family would travel by boat to a small lake on the *Paallirjuaq* river and set nets through the ice. They would stay in this area waiting for the start of the trapping season (November 1st). After the sea ice had frozen in November, they would travel by dog team to the *Tikiraarjuk* area to go sealing. They would continue sealing in that area until February when they would return to the *Paallirjuaq* area to fish with nets through the ice. They would fish at *Haglaarjuk* as well.

In March the family would return to the sea ice to seal hunt, and sealing activities would continue through April and May when they hunted *nattiat* (seal pups). In May they would move across Wellington Bay to *Halukviit* where they would hunt geese, and continue to hunt seals. Finally, at the end of May or in June the family would move back across Wellington Bay to *Kuugarjuaq* to begin the cycle again.

Table 3: Caribou Terminology by Tommy Kilaodluk

Age/Sex Terminology	Meaning
<i>nurraq</i>	calf
<i>nuqatugaaq</i>	yearling male
<i>qulavak</i>	female with calves
<i>uplaulik</i>	pregnant female
<i>nurraituq</i>	old dry female
<i>pangniq</i>	mature male caribou
Hair Condition Terminology	Meaning
<i>kangalaqtut</i>	caribou with skins that are shedding their winter hair. This happens in <i>upin’ngaaq</i> – May/June.
<i>haggaqtut</i>	caribou with short new hair after shedding.
<i>mitqiuqtut</i>	caribou with the hair condition of early July – <i>upin’ngaaq</i> .
<i>akulliruqtut</i>	caribou with hair that is half of the full length
<i>tulrujuq</i>	This term is used when a caribou skin is thick. Bull caribou skins get thick and as they are stiff they are not used for clothing, but instead are used for bedding skins.
<i>ukialiqutut</i>	caribou with skins that have attained their full thickness of hair.
<i>ukiuliqtut</i>	caribou in winter who have skins that are beginning to shed.

One of the *aliqtaqtut* related to fishing for char, is that the soles of these seal skin waders had to be made of ringed seal skin and not bearded seal skin (Rasmussen 1932: 40).

Using *Iqaluktuuq* or other fishing rivers as a base, people would fish and make dried fish for storage, and go on multi-day caribou hunting trips away from the river.

In the springtime and when the weather starts to get warmer people would go out caribou hunting. People would come here to fish and hunt for caribou at the same time. After the caribou hunt, people would come back to this area for fishing... And in hunting caribou the people would move from one area to another in search of caribou (Frank Analok, A2: 5).

Caribou were hunted on foot using a bow and arrow. One strategy for hunting caribou on land was to organize a caribou drive. A caribou drive was constructed out of a line of markers or *inuksuit*. A piece of turf was placed on top of them to make them look human. Beaters would follow the caribou making sounds and movements to scare them towards the waiting hunters who were waiting with their bows, sometimes in a *taluq* (blind).

...by putting dirt on the tops [of the inuksuit] would make them look like people, because it looks like a human head it would scare the caribou away... I have seen the remains of them, sometimes they would be really small, the tops of markers... My adoptive parents would tell me about using them during the fall caribou hunt...It was our ancestors that used bows and arrows that made the markers...The women would make noises, they would make some sort of sound...Uu-uuu, uu-uuu, yeah, making noises... Yeah, women, they would deter the caribou toward the men that were waiting with their bows, yeah, the women (Frank Analok A1: 20/21).

Anthropologist Diamond Jenness participated in a Copper Inuit caribou drive on August 6th 1915 in southwestern Victoria Island.

At last about 5 p.m. two [caribou] were sighted, and nearly all of us went in pursuit of them. A caribou 'drive' was organised. Milukattuk and Qanajuq were sent off behind them, while the men set up a row of stones with a lump of black turf on top – it looked like a row of men sitting down, with black heads. Then they arranged themselves at intervals along the line, and Ikpuk and I took up positions on at each end. We alone had [high-powered] rifles [the others had bows and arrows], though Avrunna had my .22 automatic. Miluk and Qanajuq rounded the caribou and hoo-hoo'ed [they howled like wolves], but the caribou, after first running this way and that, finally fled in the direction exactly opposite to that in which we lay in wait (Jenness 1991: 496).

...the natives make shallow pits, tallut, across the neck of the barricades and shoot the deer as they are driven up. These drives call for a considerable amount of strategy and the careful utilization of topographical features. The caribou may be grazing at the end of a plain a quarter of a mile wide, bounded by a low ridge on one side and a lake on the other. Then the hunters will set up their turf-capped stones at intervals of thirty or forty yards along the top of the ridge, and probably swing the line round across the plain to within a hundred yards of the water's edge. Where the ground is low and stones would not show up with sufficient clearness, walking-sticks are driven into the soil, and coats, or laths of wood shaped like a bull-roarer, only broader, are fastened to their ends. The fluttering of the coats in the wind deters the caribou from breaking through the line; in the case of the laths a child is stationed near by to hammer them with a stick...Between the end of the barricade and the lake each hunter digs a shallow pit, using for his adze a sharpened antler. He stabs into the turf, pulls the clod up with his hands and lays it round the edge (Jenness 1922:149).

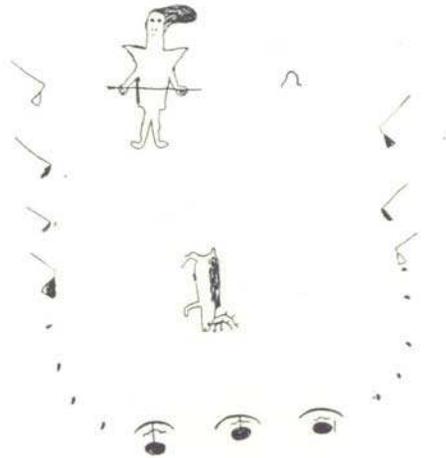


FIG. 49. A representation of a caribou drive, drawn by the Copper Eskimo Ikpakhuak

Figure 5: Drawing of a caribou drive by Ikpakhuak. Reproduced from Jenness (1922: 151).

Towards the end of *upin'ngaaq* or the end of July the caribou had completely shed their winter hair and have only a thin layer of hair. At this time they are called *haggaqtut*. The skins of *haggaqtut* were important for use in sewing the *atigi* or inner parka for winter. Skins that were taken and selected for clothing at this time were cached for later use in winter clothing preparation.

Another subsistence activity in *upin'ngaaq* was the hunting of molting birds.

Long ago people caught birds that were molting and flightless, they also used snares when they were nesting. I remember them catching molting birds. They used bows and arrows as well. Some people had kayaks and they used these to herd the birds to a certain area so people could chase them. They snared birds long ago such as loons. They snared these birds at their nests. Recently people started using traps (Frank Analok, A3: 7).

4.4.3 *Aujaq* (August/September)

As the season became slightly colder in the beginning to middle of August the season was referred to as *aujaq*. Caribou hunting continued to be important, as the caribou of mid-August had grown more hair and their skins were now appropriate as material for the *qulittaq* or outer parka. These caribou were referred to as *akulliruqtut* as their hair had now attained half of its eventual full length. Caribou killed during this period could now be cached as the weather was cool enough that the meat would not spoil or be infested with maggots. Caches would be marked with an *inuksuk* (Frank Analok, A2: 8).

During *aujaq* caribou were hunted either simply on foot, or by using a caribou drive as described above. At known caribou crossing (*nalluq*) the *qajaq* was also employed (Frank Analok, A3: 13) either with or without the use of a caribou drive. Inuit would wait in kayaks concealed on the shoreline until the animals had entered the water and

then they would paddle out behind the animals and spear them with a caribou lance or *kapuut* (Frank Analok, A1: 14). Hunters would carry two such lances on the decks of their *qajaq*, each with a tip made of native copper and a handle of wood (Frank Analok, A1: 15).

Diamond Jenness reported that the *qajaq* was rarely utilized on western Victoria Island (1922: 148), but that it was the most common method of hunting caribou in the Coppermine and Bathurst Inlet regions (1922: 124). Stefansson also recorded the absence of caribou hunting by *qajaq* among the *Kangirjuarmiut* on Western Victoria Island, positing that it had not been used for a generation due to the scarcity of caribou (Pálsson 2001: 209). The same situation seems to have occurred among the *Iqaluktuurmiut*, as Frank Analok had not personally witnessed the hunting of caribou in kayaks, but had heard about the activity from his adoptive parents (Frank Analok, A1: 15). Analok also knows of the locations of caribou crossings that were used by *Inuit* in the area. One of them is very close to *Iqaluktuuq* at *Ajapkaut* (see Figure 4). Caribou would pass through or close to this point, sometimes using the islands called *Qikiqhitaat* to the northeast, and they would swim from north to south (Frank Analok, A1: 11, 18).

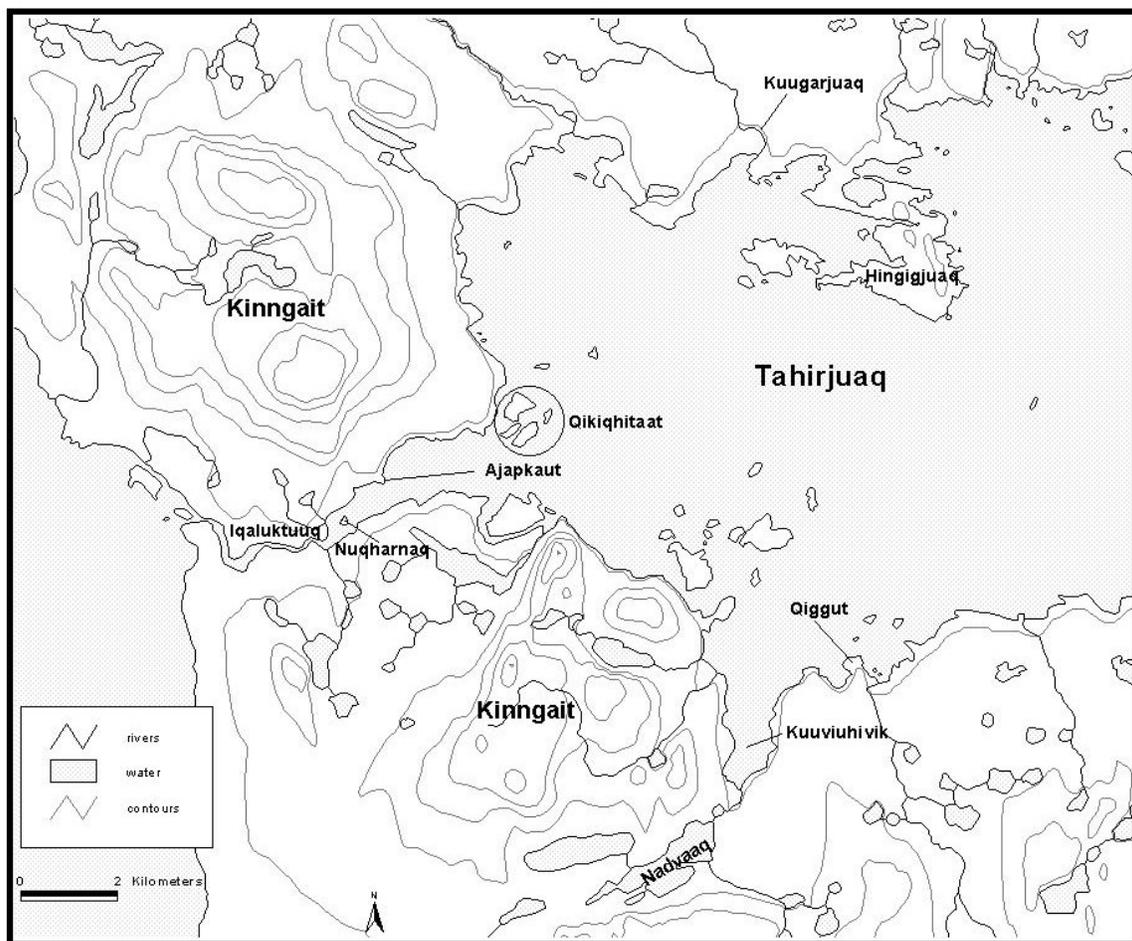


Figure 6: Iqaluktuuq and Surrounding Area

Analok had also heard of *Inuit* hunting at a caribou crossing at the east end of *Tahirjuaq* where the *Ivjuqtuup Kuugaa* enters *Tahirjuaq* (Ferguson Lake) (personal communication, October 2002).

Jenness referred to the use of drives to direct caribou to the hunters that laid in wait in their kayaks in the water (1922: 149). Raymond de Coccola also personally witness a Copper Inuit drive hunt that utilized kayaks as late as the 1940s (de Coccola and King 1989: 408-412). A drive system has been identified by archaeologist Max Friesen on the north side of *Iqaluktuuq* (personal communication, July 2002). This drive system could be associated with the known *nalluq* at *Ajapkaut* (see Figure 4).

Iqaluktuurmiut would cache the meat taken in during the hunt in *aujaq* if the weather was cold enough to avoid spoilage.

When it starts to cool off and flies have gone. When there are no more maggots they cached caribou for food for the winter. They know when it's the right time to store food (Frank Analok, A3: 14).

Iqaluktuurmiut returned to the mouth of *Iqaluktuuq* or other fishing rivers after the caribou hunt for the *akullirugtut*, arriving in time for the main body of the char run from the ocean to *Tahirjuaq* in late august. It is important to note here that beginning sometime between the visits of Jenness and Rasmussen the caribou failed to come to Victoria Island, at least in any numbers. As has been discussed above, Rasmussen has attributed the absence of caribou from the island to the introduction of firearms in the region (1932: 78). The lack of caribou on the island was still being felt when Mathew Ehaloak described the seasonal movements of his family in the 1940s (see Text Box #1). Due to this lack of caribou on the island the *Iqaluktuurmiut* had to cross to the mainland (*Ahiaq*) in order to hunt caribou beginning around 1920. According to Rasmussen, *Iqaluktuurmiut* still moved back to *Iqaluktuuq* for the char run in *aujaq*.

Caribou hunting in Victoria Land is never so prolific as on the shores of Queen Maud Sea. The *Iqaluktuurmiut* often abandon it in August, at the time when the young birds have grown, for then salmon fishing in the river *Iqaluktuuq* is at its best (Rasmussen 1932: 76).

It is weather *Iqaluktuurmiut* moved back to the island each year or if they sometimes spent the entire year in *Ahiaq*. This is a topic that needs to be reviewed with Frank Analok.

Families fished at *Iqaluktuuq* or other rivers periodically throughout July and August when not caribou hunting, and accumulated caches of dried fish. As the main body of the char run arrived all *Iqaluktuurmiut* would gather in force to fish.

As was the case throughout the open water period. Fish were taken at *Iqaluktuuq* with the *kakivak*.

I remember growing up here. When I was a little boy we would be camping here at *Iqaluktuuq*. We would be out here fishing in the late spring, early summer. In those days people would be fishing just with *kakivait* (spears) (Frank Analok, A2: 3).

In the later days of spring, and also in the fall, the man usually carries also a trident, *nuyakpak*, or a double-gaff, *kakivak* (Jenness 1922:153).

Iqaluktuuq was a deep fast flowing river that was unsuitable for the use of weirs in most places. Analok stressed that most fishing was done in the river without the aid of a weir. However, he had heard of the use of a weir in a specific location.

They built weirs in the shallow parts of the river because in the deep parts of the river the water was too fast. I've never seen that but I've heard of it. There is a place for a weir here that is a little island in the middle of the river and one side is shallower than the other (Frank Analok, A3: 3).

Analok had experienced fishing in weirs when his family chose to fish at *Halukviit* on the west side of Wellington bay.

Maybe around 7, 8 or 9 years old. I remember my parents had made a weir at Halukvik. Epsilon's family and my parents were there. They made these weirs and two channels for the fish to get into these. The weir started from both sides of the river. They also had a smaller trap for the fish that passed the bigger weir. They speared the fish that were trapped in the weir with the *kakivak*. When they had caught all the fish that were trapped they would go home for a while to rest. Then they would return in the evenings (Frank Analok, A3: 9/10).

The fish that were caught were prepared differently depending on the time of the season. When the weather was still warm fish was dried and cached (Frank Analok A2: 4). Later in August when the weather cooled off, whole gutted fish would be cached. (Frank Analok A2: 4). Both of these cache types are referred to by the term *qingniq* (Frank Analok, A1: 53; Mabel Angulalik A1: 58).

The success of the catch during the char run in *aujaq*, and the resultant caches of dried and frozen fish, were insurance against hunger if sealing was not providing enough food later in *ukiug*. The significance of the char run to *Iqaluktuurmiut* is apparent in the various *agliqtaqtut* – traditional observances or taboos – that were followed when camped along the river's edge.

No work on equipment or sewing was to be done in the tent at the fishing place. These activities were done at specific places that were located back from the river called *hanaviit* or working areas (Frank Analok A1: 2; Mabel Angulalik, A1: 2).

Because there was a superstition² [*agliqtaqtut*] about where to do repairs a long time ago. The repairs or making of tools was allowed to be done at a specific location away from the tents that they used every day for lodging. If you do your repairs in your tents, the fish would no longer be running. This was one of our superstitions [*agliqtaqtut*]... When I was a little boy I would watch people do their repairs. There is a repair place here by the large boulder that was used a long time ago (Frank Analok, A2: 4).

Yeah, I have heard about what Analok had mentioned earlier, about not working inside the tents except on the side, or even on rocky areas. They would work where it's rocky. Those are some of the traditions, but I haven't actually seen them practiced. I have heard from people that know about these things, it must have been the same when it came to sewing away from the tent. Those respecting and following traditions must have done that (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 2).

² The author does not agree with this translation of *agliqtaqtut*, Fortescue et al translates the root chunk *agliq* as "refrain from on account of taboo" (1994: 8) for the western Canadian Inuit dialects.

The women, I meant the women, they must have had to sew away from the tents just as the men had to work away from the tent. Those are the things that I've heard but haven't actually seen myself (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 1).

The observance of using the *hanavik* was one of the *agliqtaqtut* that applied to the fishing river. *Agliqtaqtut* were followed because to transgress them was to invite bad luck in fishing and hunting.

A long time ago our ancestors respected traditional ways because they thought it would bring bad luck when it came to hunting for food. People respected traditional ways when they wanted to be successful at hunting. I heard they followed certain rules such as not working inside the tents a long time ago, they probably didn't sew as well too, I'm not sure about that though, it must be the same too, I don't know (Frank Analok, A1: 1).

I have heard of certain traditions being followed in the past, I have not seen any being practiced but I have heard. People respected and followed certain traditions in hopes that they'd never run out of wildlife for food and to keep illness away, I think that's what they meant by following and respecting traditions. I have heard through stories but I haven't seen it myself so I don't know. I have only heard through stories about respecting traditions, like that (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 1).

Once the fishing has begun and fish are brought up on to the shore it was a traditional observance to take some soot from the hearth (*kikhuk*), and sprinkle it on the heads of the fish, thus ensuring continued fishing success. This rite was to be completed before the fish were touched, and invited continued fishing success (Frank Analok, field notes). Once on land one had to make sure that the fish were facing in the direction of the fish run. In the case of *Iqaluktuuq* the run was upstream to *Tahirjuaq*. Therefore fish had to face upstream when on land (Frank Analok, field notes). Jenness recorded this practice and noted that correct orientation of fish had to be maintained when fish were drying, or even after they were installed in caches. Dried or drying fish had to have their dorsal fins facing in the direction of the run (Jenness 1922: 157).

Jenness recorded additional *agliqtaqtuq* related to fishing and hunting implements. If fish spears were put down beside the river they were to be oriented so that their points were oriented in the direction of the fish run (Jenness 1922: 157). In addition:

Bows and arrows (and guns) must not be used within a hundred yards or so of the stream lest the fish should be frightened and cease to migrate; and when the salmon are running up-stream no iron utensil or weapon must be dipped into the water lest the fish should object to its taint (Jenness 1922: 157).

When fish were eaten at the riverside there was also a certain way to handle the bones. The bones were kept together in a pile, and were kept separate according to species. If the bones of different species were mixed this would invite bad luck in hunting (Frank Analok, field notes).

The gathering of *Iqaluktuurmiut* at *Iqaluktuuq* was an opportunity for celebration. Drum dances were sometimes held in *aujaq*.

People would gather here and camp. There were a lot of people camping together and sometimes across from each other. There were a lot of tents. Sometimes they would have drum dances in the dance houses,

either on this side of the river or the other. They went to the dances by kayaks sometimes (Frank Analok, A3: 17).

When the ice started to form on the lakes people would move from *Iqaluktuuq* and hunt caribou and fish at fishing lakes.

4.4.4 *Ukiaqhaq* (October to November)

After leaving the mouth of *Iqaluktuuq*, people would often move inland to continue caribou hunting in order to increase their caches of caribou meat for the winter. In *Ukiaqhaq* fishing was also continued when the lakes first froze over. At this time spawning char were abundant and they would be caught by using the *iqaluujaq* and the *kakivak* (Analok A1: 24).

There was also a traditional observance associated with catching fish through a hole in the ice. Fish caught through the ice had to be oriented with their heads toward the hole so the spirit of the fish would tell others to come (Tommy Kilaodluk and Frank Analok, field notes; Jenness 1922: 157).

Toward the end of the season of *ukiaqhaq*, Inuit moved from different places on the land and gathered at specific sites to prepare caribou skin clothing for the winter. These specific sites were referred to as *innagharviit*. *Innagharviit* has been translated as “places of preparation” (A1: 3), “places to complete things” (A1: 3), or “finishing places” (Damas 1984: 400). All these translations refer to the utility of the places as locations where caribou skin clothing was sewn. Specific sites on the land were needed for the preparation of clothing due to a strict taboo against the sewing of caribou skins on the sea ice during the early winter at the beginning of the sealing season. After the return of the sun in January it was again permissible to sew garments (Stefansson 1913: 266, 1919: 48; Jenness 1922: 182-184; Rasmussen 1932: 36; Damas 1984: 407).

... I have heard there were places to prepare for the winter, there were certain places that were called “places of preparation” where people would stop and prepare clothing. People would stop and prepare certain things such as clothing, what have you, those places are named as places of preparation. These are places where things were done, clothing was made, warm clothing, I’m sure they were working areas as well, that’s what those places were called (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 2).

It means that people are completing what needs to be completed, like we would get ready eh, we would finish off what we need, such as clothing and others that men need for hunting, women would sew. That’s why those places are called Places for Preparation, that’s where they prepared for another season in the olden days (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 3).

When people were going to head to the ocean to hunt seals those are the places where they’d prepare themselves. Before they went out to the sea ice to hunt. They would stop to prepare themselves and that’s why those places are called that. Yeah, that’s what they called certain areas on the land, where they’d complete their sewing and worked on equipment they needed for hunting (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 3).

Yeah, people would have to prepare themselves to hunt seals, whatever you needed to head down to the ocean, equipment for travelling, warm clothing, that’s what they called those places a long time ago, yeah, places for completing things (Frank Analok, A1: 3).

After the ocean had frozen and some snow had accumulated people would move out on to the sea ice to hunt seals. This occurred in November according to Mackie Kaosoni (A3: 15). *Iqaluktuurmiut* would often go to sealing in the ocean off of *Tikiraarjuk* (Frank Analok, A3: 4). Favourite locations for sealing villages in the early 20th century were south of Umanak Island (*Ummannaq*) in Wellington Bay and between Cape Colborne and Melbourne Island (*Qikiqtarjuaq*) in the Dease Strait (Farquarson 1976: 44).

4.4.5 *Ukiaq* and *Ukiuq* (December-March)

Iqaluktuurmiut would gather in seal hunting villages in Wellington Bay or in the Dease Strait area. For example, Jenness recorded their seal hunting village as being located midway between Victoria Island and the Kent Peninsula some time during the winter of 1918 (Jenness 1922: 40). Frank Analok explained that people “gathered at seal hunting areas from all over” (A3: 3). As mentioned in section 4.3 Trade and Contact above, families of *Iqaluktuurmiut* may from on occasion camp with *Nagjukturmiut*, *Umingmaqtuurmiut* or *Killinirmiut* in *ukiuq*.

In pre-trapping times, breathing-hole seal hunting was the main subsistence activity of *Iqaluktuurmiut* throughout *ukiuq*. A party of men would leave the village in order to locate and station themselves at seal breathing holes (*mauliqtut*) (Frank Analok, A1: 4). Breathing holes were located with the assistance of dogs. The hunter would wait for the seal to enter the *aglu*, and then would strike it with the sealing harpoon (*unaaq*). Ringed seals and the occasional bearded seal would be caught using this method (Damas 1984: 398).

Seal hunting also had various *agliqtaqtuq* associated with it. When a seal was caught it was necessary to bring it into the *iglu* through the door and for the woman of the house to take some water from the *qulliq* and put it into the mouth of the seal (Frank Analok, field notes). After seals were eaten it was also a taboo to break the bones of the seal, in particular the head.

They respected things such as not breaking the bones of caribous and seals. They were told not to break the skulls because they thought it brought bad luck? I don't really know much about those things, I have only heard but haven't seen anything (Margaret Nakashook, A1: 8).

When the camp was going to relocate to new sealing areas the unbroken seal skulls that had been collecting at the camp were taken along and placed along the ice along the trail on the way to the next camp.

I have seen that done once in a while when I travelled. It's because they were to leave the skull out on the ice that they would pack them so they're easy to get to and to place out on the ice away from the trail. They would stand them upright and leave them out there as they travelled. Yes, I have seen my parents leaving them out there, Hukkayahuk would sometimes do that, my adoptive father, yeah (Frank Analok, A1: 4).

That must have been done a long time ago, I haven't seen that being done because it was before my time, but I have heard about that. Yeah, the bones weren't just disposed of any how, they must have done that

with the skulls of seals. I think I have heard of that being done when people were out travelling and hunting for seals. When people were moving and wanted seal to be plentiful elsewhere, yeah, they would take the seal skull along and place it on the ice upright, and leave it there. I have heard of that but haven't actually seen it (Mabel Angulalik, A1: 4).

Yeah, that's what would be done before people travelled on to another area where they hoped the seal would be plentiful a long time ago. An unbroken seal skull would be placed upright on the side of the trail. That's how they left them (Frank Analok, A1: 4).

This traditional observance was practiced to ensure that the seals would be plentiful where the Inuit were going to camp next.

Later in *ukiug*, *Iqaluktuurmiut* would make a trip to *Iqaluktuuq* to retrieve their fish and caribou caches from their sealing villages (Frank Analok, A2: 13).

People would pick up cached fish from here. Sometimes it would be an overnight trip, and some days it would be just a one-day trip to pick up the food by dog-team. Some people would travel with someone to pick up the fish... it would be the same in picking up the caribou meat. (Frank Analok, A2: 14).

The timing of this trip would depend on the success of sealing and people's craving for different foods.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The above discussion was an attempt to fill out the details of *Iqaluktuurmiut* seasonal life based on three years of interview transcripts from *Iqaluktuuq*, and based on information in extant ethnographic sources. As the *Iqaluktuurmiut* were not visited by early 20th century ethnographers Steffanson, Jenness and Rasmussen, there is as yet no published description of the seasonal lifeways specific to *Iqaluktuurmiut*. The field notes of David Damas which are referenced in his article on the Copper Inuit in the Arctic volume of the Handbook of North American Indians (1984) should be requested to see if they have additional information on *Iqaluktuurmiut*. Another source of interview and ethnographic material may be any tapes, transcripts, maps and field notes from the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy project that are stored at the National Archives in Ottawa.

Other than the discovery of new ethnographic sources, any additional insights into early 20th century *Iqaluktuurmiut* lifeways will only come from further interviews with Frank Analok. As an original *Iqaluktuurmiutaq* who was a child before the changes brought by the fur trade, disappearance of the caribou, and the arrival of the DEW line, his personal experiences, and traditional knowledge is key to furthering our understanding of *Iqaluktuurmiut* life. It is recommended that further interviews be conducted with Frank Analok as soon as possible. These interviews need not wait until a 2004 trip to *Iqaluktuuq*, as he is likely to be unable to physically manage such a field trip.

Future interviews with Analok should cover the following subject areas:

1. Confirmation of the terms for caribou with different skin types to ensure we have them all and the seasons with which they are associated.

2. During what Inuinaqtun season did *Iqaluktuurmiut* hunt *kanngalat* caribou? *Upin'ngakhaaq* or *upin'ngaaq*? Did *Iqaluktuurmiut* hunt *kanngalat* caribou at caribou water crossings (*nalluit*) or anywhere? Did they use kayaks for *kanngalat* or was the hunt on land?
3. Want to go through the *Iqaluktuurmiut* seasons with Analok, including the specific environmental changes that define each season. Want to go through the earliest seasonal round he can remember with his family.
4. Want to go through which –“miut” groups visited *Iqaluktuurmiut* – visited *Iqaluktuuq*. Also who would *Iqaluktuurmiut* meet up with in the winter?
5. Has Analok ever heard of where *Iqaluktuurmiut* would travel to trade with other Inuit? *Nattilingmiut*? *Kangirjuarmiut*? *Umingmaqturmiut*? *Killinirmiut*? Who had what materials? What about longer trading journeys? *Akilliniq*? Where did *Iqaluktuurmiut* get their wood for *qamutik*'s, tent poles? Kayaks?
6. Where are all the known caribou crossings in the area? Which did the *Iqaluktuurmiut* use? Was the crossing at the mouth of *Ivjuqtuup Kuugaa* used by *Iqaluktuurmiut*?
7. Who are the *Killinirmiut*? Where were they in relation to the *Iqaluktuurmiut*?
8. Where are all the known caribou drives? Is there an *Inuinaqtun* term for caribou drive?
9. Where do the caribou usually cross to Victoria Island in the spring from the mainland? Through where? Where do the caribou cross from Victoria Island to the mainland and in what *Inuinaqtun* season?
10. When Analok was still living with his parents, during what month (season) would the ice on the lakes freeze? During what month would the sea ice freeze?
11. Confirm that the term *qingniq* is used to refer to a cache or whole or dried fish. My field notes say they are the same, but the 2002 transcript seems to have Frank saying *piffiup pirujaa*.
12. Ask about other *agliqtaqtut* mentioned by Jeness – fish spear orientation, use of bows or rifles close to the river, or dipping iron into the water.
13. When did the caribou (and muskox?) disappear from Victoria Island and did this force relocation to *Ahiaq*? Did *Iqaluktuurmiut* spend entire seasons in *Ahiaq* without returning to *Iqaluktuuq* or was it only for caribou hunting?
14. What were the main locations for *Innagharviit* camps for *Iqaluktuurmiut*? Can the David Damas' field notes of 62/63 shed some light on this?

15. Main areas gone to for seal hunting and the establishment of seal hunting villages? Inuit land-use and occupancy report says south of Umanak Island in Wellington Bay and between Cape Colborne and Melbourne Island.
16. Confirm name of *Iqaluktuuq* song composer – Amarunaaluk or Amirunaaluk?
17. Has Analok ever heard of *Iqaluktuurmiut* travelling to shipwrecks to get iron or wood? Has he ever heard of *Iqaluktuurmiut* trading with other regional groups for these materials?
18. Did *Iqaluktuurmiut* do all their own polar bear hunting? Did they ever trade for polar bear meat, bones or skin? Where would they go polar bear hunting?
19. What was the extent of *Iqaluktuurmiut* territory in the early 20th century?
20. Compare and contrast the three fish hunting spears *kakivak*, *nuijaaqpak* and *naulaq*. Rasmussen said that the *naulaq* was used “especially at [*Iqaluktuuq*]” (1932: 91). When and where were they used? Is *nuijaaqpak* spelled – *nuijaaqpak* or *nuijaaqpaak* as Rasmussen spelled it (1932: 91)? Has the *nikhik* ever been employed by *Iqaluktuurmiut*?
21. Has Analok ever heard of the use of a *qalu* – a fish trap made of plaited rushes described by Rasmussen (1932: 91)?

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Appendix 1: Iqaluktuuq 2002 - Interview Transcripts

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewees: Frank Analok (FA); Mabel Angulalik (MA); Bessie Emingak (BA); Jenny Analok (JA); David Kaniak (DK)

Interviewers: Emily Angulalik (EA); Darren Keith (DK)

DK: So this is tape number 2 where we were having a group together, we want to talk about akliqtaqtuq.

EA: Respecting tradition, showing respect for tradition, those respecting tradition.

DK: I was hoping that Analok could start by telling again about how they couldn't work in the tent and the working area.

EA: He would like to find out why people shouldn't work as well as find out more about respecting traditions?

FA: A long time ago our ancestors respected traditional ways because they thought it would bring bad luck when it came to hunting for food. People respected traditional ways when they wanted to be successful at hunting. I heard they followed certain rules such as not working inside the tents a long time ago, they probably didn't sew as well too, I'm not sure about that though, it must be the same too, I don't know.

MA: When a person passed away that's what they did.

EA: People weren't supposed to work beside the tent as well?

FA: Inside the tent eh, people didn't work inside tents a long time ago, only on the land, on either side of the tent, on the side, yes, that's what I've heard.

EA: He mentioned that people many years ago weren't allowed to sew inside the tents, like they would be sewing around the...

DK: Is it sewing?

EA: Yeah, sewing or working at the same time yeah, they weren't allowed to sew and work around the tent area but they were allowed to sew out on the land. Yeah, not too far from the tent or their camp area.

DK: Did he mention the word hanavik?

EA: Analok, were you talking earlier about the working areas, did you mention the working area?

FA: Working areas, certain working areas where you're filing, working on certain things, working areas.

EA: So, certain tools he's talking about that you had an area to work, like you had an area far from the tent to work with your tools.

MA: I have heard of certain traditions being followed in the past, I have not seen any being practiced but I have heard. People respected and followed certain traditions in hopes that they'd never run out of wildlife for food and to keep illness away, I think that's what they meant by following and respecting traditions. I have heard through stories but I haven't seen it myself so I don't know. I have only heard through stories about respecting traditions, like that.

EA: She remembers as a young child that her parents would tell her about respecting traditions, and she said she's never been... experienced it before but her parents had passed this on to her so that people won't allow sickness in their... amongst the people, that they had to follow these certain rules.

DK: Did she hear about what Analok was talking about not working by the tent site?

EA: Have you heard of what Analok was talking about regarding not working or sewing inside the tent?

MA: Yeah, I have heard about what Analok had mentioned earlier, about not working inside the tents except on the side, or even on rocky areas. They would work where it's rocky. Those are some of the traditions, but I haven't actually seen them practiced. I have heard from people that know about these things, it must have been the same when it came to sewing away from the tent. Those respecting and following traditions must have done that.

EA: The women as well...

MA: The women, I meant the women, they must have had to sew away from the tents just as the men had to work away from the tent. Those are the things that I've heard but haven't actually seen myself.

EA: I myself, did not... I myself, did not experience this but my parents, my grandparents passed this on to me that many years ago, that it was a taboo for people to be, like the inuit to be working inside the tent or sewing inside the tent, but they had a certain area where it's rocky. They had certain areas that they had a place to work or a place to sew. But I myself, didn't experience it myself but this was passed on to me by my parents.

DK: Does she remember what they were called? Did those places have a name?

EA: Did those sewing areas on the land or working areas have a name?

MA: They must have been called working areas. I wouldn't know when I haven't seen. They must have been called working spaces eh.

FA: Yeah, working area.

EA: And the sewing areas for the women, what were they called? Working spaces too? Were they the same?

MA: Probably, for sure. I know this because I have heard there were places to prepare for the winter, there were certain places that were called "places of preparation" where people would stop and prepare clothing. People would stop and prepare certain things such as clothing, what have you, those places are named as places of preparation. These are places where things were done, clothing was made, warm clothing, I'm sure they were working areas as well, that's what those places were called. Because that's where the caribou clothing was made, I'm sure for those working on their equipment as well. That's how they were. Those places are named for that. That's all.

EA: So the name would be called place of preparation, it's a place where they would prepare their skins and sew around that area and also the working area would be a place where the elders or the men would be in an area where they would work on their tools.

DK: So at the place of preparation they would actually make the clothes?

EA: Were those places where they sewed and worked on things?

MA: Sewing and working, I'm sure.

EA: Working as well, the men would be working?

MA: The men would work while the women sewed. Those places would be given that name for that reason.

EA: Because they're preparing for the future, to migrate to another community, to another land, they would have these areas, like the working area or the place where the ladies would be sewing. So they would both call them Places for Preparation, because they're preparing and completing their skins and their tools that need to use for the spring time or the summer, like you know... certain uses of the season.

DK: What would be the translation for innaghaq?

EA: What is the word for innaghaq? What is innaghaq? He would like to know what innaghaq is?

MA: It means that people are completing what needs to be completed, like we would get ready eh, we would finish off what we need, such as clothing and others that men need for hunting, women would sew. That's why those places are called Places for Preparation, that's where they prepared for another season in the olden days.

EA: It's like when you're going out on the land, like before you're going out on the land, you're preparing, you're getting your stuff ready, like you have to get your gear ready and stuff so that is what she's meaning about Innaghaqviit, is preparing and planning, getting everything ready for...

DK: Like a preparation place?

EA: Yeah, a preparation place.

MA: When people were going to head to the ocean to hunt seals those are the places where they'd prepare themselves. Before they went out to the sea ice to hunt. They would stop to prepare themselves and that's why those places are called that. Yeah, that's what they called certain areas on the land, where they'd complete their sewing and worked on equipment they needed for hunting.

EA: So before they would go out to the sea then they would get their stuff prepared. Like they would get their stuff prepared before they go out across the ocean, or across the sea.

DK: Would they have to be prepared before they left?

EA: Did those have to be done before you left? Did you have to have your sewing and equipment done?

MA: That's why it is eh, that's the meaning for it eh?

EA: Analok, before you went out travelling did you have to prepare and complete everything?

FA: Yeah, people would have to prepare themselves to hunt seals, whatever you needed to head down to the ocean, equipment for travelling, warm clothing, that's what they called those places a long time ago, yeah, places for completing things.

EA: They would have everything prepared before they go, they would have everything prepared, the sewing should be done, as well as the tools, so they would go to these certain places, like the place for preparation and do their... make the tools and sew as well before they travel on, then they would have everything prepared.

DK: Is it because they couldn't work on those types of things when they were on the ice?

EA: Is it because when you travelled out on the ice, you didn't do those things such as working and sewing?

MA: It wasn't us but the people before us, that's what I've heard through stories. Nowadays, people are doing things however they please but it was our parents' parents that did that. Stories like that have been told.

EA: We've never experienced this before but our ancestors have and this is what they've followed the rules of the tradition is that, but for us in our generation, we would do whatever we can.

DK: She was telling me earlier about when they were out sealing and they left a camp, that they would put the seal heads out on the ice in a certain way?

EA: When you went out on the ice to seal hunt did you gather all the seal heads together in a certain place as you travelled?

MA: That must have been done a long time ago, I haven't seen that being done because it was before my time, but I have heard about that. Yeah, the bones weren't just disposed of any how, they must have done that with the skulls of seals. I think I have heard of that being done when people were out travelling and hunting for seals. When people were moving and wanted seal to be plentiful elsewhere, yeah, they would take the seal skull along and place it on the ice upright, and leave it there. I have heard of that but haven't actually seen it.

EA: This has been told to me that that's what they've done, like when they're going out on the... like travelling out on to another camping area, camping ground, they would collect all of the bones, like they don't just throw it out anywhere. They would gather all the bones and then leave it in one spot but with the heads, as they travel on, they would put them against the ice.

DK: As they travel along?

EA: As they travel along.

FA: I have seen that done once in a while when I travelled. It's because they were to leave the skull out on the ice that they would pack them so they're easy to get to and to place out on the ice away from the trail. They would stand them upright and leave them out there as they travelled. Yes, I have seen my parents leaving them out there, Hukkayahuk would sometimes do that, my adoptive father, yeah.

EA: So, my adoptive father Hukkayaq, I've seen my adoptive father do this. Like he would have the bones prepared and then as he's travelling along he would... I've seen him put the bones, like put the bones down as they were travelling.

DK: That's interesting.

FA: Yeah, that's what would be done before people travelled on to another area where they hoped the seal would be plentiful a long time ago. An unbroken seal skull would be placed upright on the side of the trail. That's how they left them.

DK: Seal hunting area?

EA: Sealing area. Land? Like that? I'm thinking of something else eh? What are they doing when you say are mauliqtut?

MA: They're heading down to the ocean to seal hunt, that's what we'd call it. Going down sealing, sealing with traditional tools, not with rifles, during the winter.

EA: Yeah, like what you mentioned, they would put all of the heads into the seal holes and...

DK: That's what that's called?

EA: Yeah.

DK: Travelling down?

EA: Sealing area, going down seal hunting.

DK: Is there a term though, for when they put the heads in a row?

EA: What would you say the term for gathering seal skulls? Travelling down? Seal hunting?

MA: People would travel down to the ocean to hunt seals.

EA: So the proper would be seal hunting? Seal hunting eh?

MA: Yes.

DK: That's the seal hunting?

EA: Yeah, the seal hunting is when they distribute the, when they gather the seal bones and then they would put them on, as they're travelling they would put the... facing the head upward, so that they would have...

DK: I get it.

EA: Do you know anything about respecting traditions?

BE: I have heard from my in-law Pujjuktug, she was my mother in-law, I have heard of it but don't really know much about it.

EA: Well, I remember one of my in-laws telling me about respecting tradition and she had told me about it but I don't really recall about respecting traditions. You know a little bit about it, can you tell us about respecting tradition?

BE: I don't know much about following traditions just a little I know... I have heard of it but don't really understand what it's about.

EA: What do you know about it, what do you know?

BE: What they were talking about and what Ekvana had mentioned when people went out seal hunting they'd stand the skulls upright on the side of the trails.

EA: So I recall what Ekvana and Frank Analok had mentioned earlier about the... leaving the heads around on the sea ice. I can recall that what my in-law had told me about it. Anything else?

BE: I don't know much about others.

EA: I don't really know, but what Analok and Ekvana had mentioned is what I know of what my in-law had told me about it.

DK: Thank you.

EA: Do you know anything about respecting traditions?

JA: Following traditions when people have passed on? How?

EA: No, when people travelled. Were there any for when people passed on, do you know? You can go ahead and speak.

JA: On people, children?

EA: Yes. She said she has one about when there's a death, so... when people travelled as well on the sea ice and hunted for seals, do you know anything about that from a long time ago?

JA: People eh, the elders, that's how they were eh, not any more though eh. They respected traditions...

EA: Do you know about it?

JA: They would follow traditions eh, when people had passed on.

EA: Yeah, our ancestors has passed on but I may have just a brief about what they used to do many years ago. Like when they're out seal hunting. You can go ahead and tell us about it.

JA: When people had passed on there were certain traditions that people followed, my grandmother has told me about it.

EA: Okay, I'm talking about the time when a person has passed away, this is what my grandmother had told me, it's not about the seal hunting, go ahead.

JA: What?

EA: How does it go?

JA: When people passed on? When people passed on there were traditions that were respected.

EA: What did they do?

JA: They would refrain from working. Yeah.

EA: For how many days?

JA: I can't remember how many days, I'm forgetful, my in-law would talk about it too, my grandmother would tell stories as well but I'm forgetful.

EA: I'm forgetful, but what my grandmother had told me that many years ago, when people had passed on then you weren't allowed to work for a while. Like you weren't allowed to do anything, any physical work, any sewings and that. So that's what she had mentioned. I'm forgetful so I can't really say much at the moment.

DK: Does she remember not being able to sew at the tent by the fishing place?

EA: Do you remember any when people were fishing around here, such as people not being able to sew in the tents as well as work inside? Do you know about that?

JA: Yeah, when people passed on eh, after it's been a while then they'd go back to normal. When the people have passed on, people refrained from work.

EA: So when a person has passed away is when they weren't allowed to sew, or they weren't allowed to work inside the tent as well so they had a certain spots, like the working areas, like the preparation places. They had the certain spots that they were supposed to work, but they weren't allowed to work for a while.

DK: So she experienced that?

EA: Do you know anything about that?

JA: I have heard of that from my grandmother but I have forgotten.

EA: Yeah, my grandmother had told me and this is... but right now I'm forgetful. My mind is too vague.

JA: My grandfather and grandmother would tell me about it but I'm forgetful.

EA: What stories did they tell?

JA: They have mentioned that when a person dies people would stop working.

EA: So this is when a person had just recently passed away, you're not allowed to sew, you're not allowed to work. You weren't allowed to do anything for a while. So, this is what she's talking about.

JA: That's how you respected traditions eh, yeah.

EA: It's the same as respecting tradition.

JA: I'm starting to forget.

EA: Is that all?

JA: Yes.

DK: David Kaniak?

DK: Like that?

EA: Yeah.

DK: I'm David Kaniak, from Cambridge Bay, I'm not really from Cambridge Bay, I'm from Bathurst Inlet. Right now I'm living in Cambridge Bay. These people working for heritage want to know about... what was it?

EA: Respecting and following traditions.

DK: They want to know about following and respecting traditions. And this is what I've heard from my grandmother that people would do their sewing outside in the summer time, they would be making qayaqs and tents. They were told not to sew inside the tents during the summer, because it would bring bad luck, during the summer. It was okay to sew inside the snow house during the winter. Our ancestors know a lot about these things because they have always made their tents and qayaqs outdoors. Although they didn't want to sew outdoors as well as work but they had to complete their clothing and hunting gear before the winter came. Before the winter came people would prepare themselves but were told not to work inside the tents as well as sew. There's another one that should be respected where people weren't allowed to do anything on Sundays, it was bad luck to sew then. That was a day for rest so people were told not to work as well as hunt, I have heard about that. Nowadays the youth don't know much about following and respecting traditional ways. When people were out sealing and fishing out on the land, they aren't supposed to cook cod fish or fish in the broth that you had cooked seal in as it was a taboo. When that was done it brought bad luck when out hunting, to eat seal meat cooked in the same broth as fish. That was told by my ancestors. I've got more to say on that but nowadays the youth don't know much about following and respecting traditions that our ancestors practiced. Other traditions are that when you're out fishing through the ice on lakes or on the sea ice, you or your dogs weren't allowed to eat fish as it was bad luck. That brought bad luck for hunting. Another was that when you or your spouse cooked seal meat or cod in the same pot also brought bad luck. That way it was hard for those seal hunting during the winter. That was what I have heard from my grandfather and my grandmother. Those are some of the things I know about. That's it, that's all.

EA: Do you know about following traditions? Do you know about following and respecting traditions?

MN: I have heard some stories about it but I don't know much. It was before I was born, but I have heard from my parents about what these people were talking about just a while ago. I have heard things like that.

EA: About what?

MN: They respected things such as not breaking the bones of caribous and seals. They were told not to break the skulls because they thought it brought bad luck? I don't really know much about those things, I have only heard but haven't seen anything.

EA: She mentioned that her herself did not haven't experienced this but this was passed on to her that every time they're out hunting, they're not allowed to break the bones when they're seal hunting, they're not allowed to break their bones or anything. As well as the seal head because something bad might happen to the certain people that are at the camp so they weren't allowed to break the bones from the seals or as well as the caribou. Do you know of any thing else?

MN: I'm not too sure how? I don't know much about it, except what Ekvana and these people were talking about. How they weren't allowed to sew skins inside the tents eh, seal skins, caribou too maybe, they were told to work elsewhere on the land away from the tent, I have heard that as well from my mother. I don't really know how it goes though, but I've heard. That's when people would make seal skin and caribou skin boots in the summer. I have also heard of people working away from the tents, our ancestors know but I don't. I don't know much but have only heard.

EA: Thank you. She also mentioned that the ladies weren't allowed to sew, to sew the seal skins or the caribou skins, like they're not allowed to make the boots inside the tent, the area is where they're allowed to sew and that, this is what my mother had told me about it.

DK: Is there certain taboos for younger people is what she's asking.

EA: Do the younger boys and girls now of any taboos? Did the young girls and boys have traditions to follow?

MA: There were certain rules that they had to follow but now that they're being taught in schools, the youth are doing whatever they want. What we were told and taught, the youth don't know now. Because the young boys and girls were told what to do by their parents, it seemed things were better then. Back then when they were still children their parents had arranged their marriages when they wanted a certain person for a son or daughter in-law, it seemed like it was better then. Nowadays it seems as though the youth live with who ever they want and hide it from their parents, I think that's what causes separation. I was betrothed to a certain person whom I was willing to marry but it wasn't so. When I was about to marry I didn't want to, I started crying because I was afraid. Although I didn't want a husband it was hard for me because it wasn't up to us in those days. Nowadays youth do whatever they want because they don't listen to their parents. That's how they are now.

EA: She had mentioned that as a young child, her parents would tell her that... like when they were just little, like little kids then, the parents would arrange marriages for their children when they're just little tiny kids and then she mentioned that now it has changed a lot now. Like, as for myself, I had an arranged marriage with another person, that I wanted to marry so much but then she got married into another... well to another man, and she said she felt kind of bad about it. That she felt like it wasn't right. She cried the time when she got married to her husband, but then like later on she got used to it. But now it has changed so much, the younger people are going to school now and they have more freedom and more rights of their own, whereas in the old days it was like... it was always told, like their parents would tell them who to stay with, what to do and stuff like that. But now it has changed a lot. And that was also part of what was... that was part of our tradition is, we would listen to our parents and they would tell us you know I would like to marry this person. Like I would like you to marry this person so that he or she can be my son or daughter in-law and that's how it used to be. Do you know of any other traditions that young girls and boys had to follow?

MA: A long time ago young girls were told from their mothers what to do. They were told not to lay sideways on the bed as well as on the back end of the bed. They were also told not to enter into a place backwards because it would cause difficulties during child birth, it would cause breach births, that's what we were told as young girls. We were also told not to keep our arms in our coats because we would have big breasts. Those are the things that we were told.

EA: So she mentioned that when you're a young girl, like, you aren't allowed to sleep, you're feet shouldn't be facing the entrance, like the entrance of the tent, you're feet aren't supposed to be facing towards the doorway because you'll have difficulty when you're having a baby. You'll have difficulty when you're delivering your baby, either your baby will come out feet first. And you're not allowed to walk behind... like walking behind the doorway, you're supposed to just face the doorway and walk out because you'll have difficulty with delivering your baby. She also mentioned that the little girls aren't supposed to put your arms inside your body because you'll end up with big breasts, so they weren't allowed to do that...

DK: Inside the parka?

EA: Inside the parka. So that would happen, like you weren't allowed to leave your hands inside and walk around because you'll end up with big breasts. Maybe the men might have any of the taboos.

DK: Do you want to try?

EA: Okay then.

DK: We're going over to Frank to talk about youth taboos.

EA: Oh, she's got some more.

MA: You know because we sleep, when we wake, yeah, we're supposed get up as soon as we wake, that's what we're also told to do as girls. When we wake we're supposed to get dressed right away, go to the bathroom. That's what we were also told to do, that's all I have to say.

EA: She also mentioned that when you're a young girl, as soon as you get up from your sleep, you're supposed to look outside like, go outside of the tent as soon as you wake up, so that you can have an early deliverance when you're expecting.

DK: Now Frank.

FA: I have also been told what to do as a young boy. I was told that in order to have a good life you aren't supposed to pick on people such as older women and men, I was told not to do that as a young boy.

EA: He was told as a young boy by his parents that you're not supposed to tease the elderly, you're not supposed to laugh at them or you know tease them because if you do then you won't be able to live longer. So, if you don't tease the elderly then you will be able to live longer. This is what my parents had told me.

FA: Yeah, I have also been told not to sleep so much. Because if I slept most of the time I wouldn't become a good hunter, I won't have a wife as well if I sleep too much. Those are what I've been told.

EA: He was told too, as a young boy, that his parents told him not to sleep so much, sleep all day because he may be unsuccessful with hunting or he may be unsuccessful with not getting a wife, so his parents had told him that he's not supposed to sleep. Like he's got to get up and he's got to listen to what his parents had told him.

FA: Yeah, what they tell you is very true. What our fathers and mothers told us is very true, I still remember to this day. Akana and I were betrothed to each other as children as well.

EA: Your parents had already arranged it?

FA: Yeah, my adoptive mother and Akana's mother had arranged it. Yeah.

EA: He also mentioned that him and his wife Jenny have, they have arranged marriages so my wife and I are arranged by our parents and so this is what happens is... their marriage was arranged and he also mentioned in the beginning that he said that what his parents had told him are very true to this day as I'm old now and as I'm... as I have experienced everything, it's true. What my parents had told me is very true.

FA: Yeah, when we got together we were told to live good lives and to live together peacefully, that's what we were told when we were getting together.

EA: So when my wife and I first got together our parents had talked to us, to you know like stay together and work things out and stuff like he mentioned that this is what our parents had told us and now we've been together to this day.

FA: I don't know what else to say.

EA: I don't have anything at the moment.

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewee: Frank Analok (FA)

Interviewers: Emily Angulalik (EA); Darren Keith (DK)

EA: Do you know about it?

FA: Yeah, I remember that old camp site where I used to fish with a rod.

EA: Around Ayapqaut, he mentioned that there are sites around that area cause he remembers going there and catching fish with a fishing rod.

DK: Can he tell us about the caribou crossing there?

EA: Do you know when the caribou cross around there?

FA: After they've made it across they'd say it like they've made it up.

EA: How?

FA: Once they've crossed and made on land. They would make it on land once they've crossed, that's what they'd call it. The caribou would make it on land after swimming then they'd run, yeah, that's how they call it.

EA: There at Ayapqaut...

FA: That's probably what they do at Ayapqaut, I've heard of a crossing at Ayapqaut. It's an old camp site so there must be old things to find there.

EA: Yes, uh-huh. Where else would there be a caribou crossing?

FA: When they've come from that direction, eh. They'd come from that direction, yeah, from there. Yeah, I have heard of stories of caribou coming and crossing through there.

EA: Would they swim by Ayapqaut?

FA: Yes. Ayapqaut is an old camp site, they must enter the water by the point, the little point.

EA: Yeah, they would cross around that area of Ayapqaut. The caribou would be coming from inland and then crossing across.

FA: That way, yeah, that way.

DK: So where would the qayakers wait then?

EA: Where would those on the qayaqs wait?

FA: Close to the camp site eh.

EA: Where was the camp site?

FA: The camp site was there, the old camp site was there.

EA: Around their camping area, the qayaq...

FA: The old camp site is here, this is where they'd cross, by the point there. The old camp site is here, yeah, right there.

EA: There would be sites around this area and the caribou would cross from Ayapqaut to across the river. And the inuit would be waiting around the camping area. Waiting around here for the caribou to cross.

FA: Yes, they would come this way when they see caribou crossing. They would have their qayaqs ready.

EA: They would have their qayaqs prepared, their qayaq prepared and once they see the caribou crossing is when they would start hunting for them. Did you yourself use a qayaq around there?

FA: When there wasn't any caribou around I would use the qayaq like this, when they weren't crossing, yeah, there was hardly any caribou then. Now that there's caribou they must use that a lot but nobody's around there now. Yeah.

EA: Okay, so he remembers... I asked himself if he's done that before like hunt for caribou in the water, he said he's... like when he was there he would row his boat. With a qayaq?

FA: Yeah, I would use a qayaq when I went fishing with a spear, I have never seen caribou crossing though.

EA: He has never seen a caribou crossing around this area but he was told. And I had asked him if he has done like hunting caribou across here, he said no, but with his qayaq he would row to catch fish.

DK: With his rowboat?

EA: What kind of boat was it?

FA: Wooden.

EA: Yeah, with his rowboat.

FA: Around here eh, 22 foot, yeah.

EA: Okay.

DK: Did they do anything to make sure the caribou would come through that spot?

EA: What did people do in the past when the caribou...

FA: When the caribou were about to go through people must have gathered here a long time ago. Before the caribou came, yeah, people would gather here to the crossing because they know it.

EA: The people would know that the caribou would cross around there that's why they would have their camping area there.

DK: Is there any, what do you call those again, taboos concerning being at a caribou crossing?

EA: Taboos?

FA: Taboos.

DK: What do you call them?

FA: Respected traditions, people would be careful not to be seen or heard, they would become quiet, that was one tradition they followed, like that.

EA: Did people do that around here?

FA: Yeah, people would be careful not to be seen or heard, they would become quiet, that's what they'd do.

EA: They would stay really quiet and still and then they would have the... the caribou would be crossing. When that happened would all the people and children get quiet?

FA: That's what they would be told, eh, yeah, long ago children were told to stay quiet when the caribou were about to cross. Yeah, like that.

EA: So every time when they see a caribou about to swim then they have... tell everybody to stay quiet, to stay still.

FA: I remember doing that myself when I was younger during the spring when the caribou were coming toward the ocean. When caribou were first seen I was told not make any noises as well as the dogs, they would be kept quiet as well.

EA: So he remembers as a young boy that in the spring time when the caribou would be crossing as well, he was told to stay quiet and the dogs were told to stay quiet as well. Like he remember as a young boy that he was told to stay quiet because the caribou would be crossing.

FA: Yeah, that's what they'd do before they started shooting at the caribou, the caribou would then be made into dry meat, yeah, like that.

EA: Would they be shooting with rifles?

FA: They'd fire shots.

EA: With a gun. Like he remembers like as he was growing up that he was told to stay quiet and once the caribou would be crossing they would start shooting at the caribou and then from there they would like butcher the caribou and make dry meat out of the caribou.

DK: Was that there that they did that?

EA: Was that at Ayapqaut?

FA: No, at the mainland.

EA: In another area.

FA: That's probably what people did though when the caribou were crossing here for sure. Yeah.

EA: With bows and arrows? What with? What would they use?

FA: When they saw caribou about to cross that's probably what they did.

EA: What about those without rifles what would they use?

FA: They would use their spears from their qayaqs as they were crossing.

EA: Using spears as they're crossing?

FA: Yes. They'd even hunt caribou that weren't swimming with their bows and arrows. Yeah, that's how people were in the old days.

EA: So like... the inuit would use... like they would... he would... they would have to stay quiet first then when the caribou started crossing they would use their qayaq and use a harpoon or a spear and then from there, like people, when they're out on the land they would use the bow and arrow to catch the caribou.

DK: So could we expect to find blinds there? The blinds?

EA: There must be hunting blinds there, do you know?

FA: Yeah, there must be hunting blinds there but I haven't seen myself. I haven't looked around for blinds, but I know there are old camp sites there. There must be blinds for sure.

EA: I have not observed the land around there so there may be caribou blinds. But for sure there are sites around this area that I know of. But I have not observed to see if there's any caribou blinds, but for sure there may be.

DK: Okay. What was the name of the spear they used to use?

EA: What do you call the spears for hunting caribou?

FA: Spear.

EA: Spear?

FA: Yeah, spear. They have two of those things, yeah, spears they'd use on qayaqs. Yeah, right around here.

EA: So they would have two spears on their qayaq. On top of their qayaq.

FA: Maybe because when one broke they'd have a spare, yeah.

EA: Smart.

FA: Yes, smart.

EA: If one spear breaks then they would use the other spare to spear the caribou.

FA: When the caribou were moving they'd be speared, they'd spear them, yeah.

EA: So when the caribou has been speared sometimes... like the caribou moves quite a bit and sometimes that's how come they would keep their spare.

DK: Cause it would snap?

EA: Yeah, cause it would snap. Some of them would break eh?

FA: Yeah, when one broke they would use the spare, yeah.

EA: So if one breaks then they would use the other spear.

DK: Did he ever hear if there was a specific place that's good to hit them with that?

EA: Of the caribou? Where would one aim there spear at the caribou?

FA: Right around here, around here.

EA: Around here?

FA: Yeah, because the caribou is swimming they'd spear where it will kill them.

EA: So that's by around their rib. It's on the side of the caribou because they had said that they can die easily once they get hit on the side of the... like under the caribou, like the...

DK: Arms?

EA: The arms, yeah, and then they would...

FA: Once they've caught their caribou they'd haul them tying them with a rope and take back to camp. That's how they'd haul them.

EA: So once they catch their caribou, on the water they would use a rope, a skin rope, tie it around and then paddle back to in-land or into the land and...

FA: Yeah, people were smart back then.

EA: He said the people were very smart in the old days.

FA: I have also heard of some people capsizing their qayaqs when they were hunting caribou.

EA: Their qayaqs would overturn? He said that he was told too that people that would be caribou hunting, like on the... with their qayaqs, sometimes their qayaqs would tip.

FA: Yeah, I have heard of that, another person would be there to save them.

EA: So the people that... like if one tips then the people that are along with this person, caribou hunting, that person would save him from going into the water.

FA: Yeah, that's what I've heard.

EA: Save him from drowning himself, he has been told about that. Who told you this?

FA: My adoptive parents had told me this.

EA: My adoptive parents would tell me about that.

FA: Yeah, they would tell stories.

DK: Did he say anything about how the qayaqs would work together or how many would there be?

EA: How many people would be hunting for caribou, how many qayaqs would there be?

FA: When they have companions sometimes there'd be two qayaqs, yeah, there must be three sometimes as well for sure, I haven't seen that but I've heard.

EA: I have not seen this before but I have been told that two people would be hunting, like either two or sometimes it could be three.

FA: Yeah, that's how it would be when people had other companions.

EA: Like when they're together, like when they're camping together and they would be together, like the hunters would be together usually by two.

DK: What was the spear made out of?

EA: What was the spear made of?

FA: They'd have copper tips that were made.

EA: Copper?

FA: Yeah, copper.

EA: So the tip would be made of copper. What about that?

FA: Wood, wooden pole.

EA: The pole or the long handle would be made out of wood.

FA: Some arrowheads were also made of copper, yeah for the bow.

EA: The arrow and the bow as well, the arrow would be... like the arrowhead would be made out of copper.

DK: And what time of year would this be happening?

EA: What time of year or month would it be when that happened?

FA: In August and probably in the late spring as well they'd swim across. Some of the caribou travelling down toward the ocean are called kanngalat, those are probably the same ones that use the crossing when heading back inland, yeah it's been told.

EA: How do you say it?

FA: Even the caribou that are heading back south from over there would cross those, and others would be going the other way. That's how they crossed.

EA: So he said around the... like in the early fall is when the caribou would be crossing or in the summer?

FA: Yeah, in the summer around August, they probably cross through that area, probably around August.

EA: Like around the month... around the early fall like in August or so, the caribou would be crossing, sometimes they would be crossing.

DK: That would be from north and south?

EA: North and south, either way.

DK: But he also mentioned in the spring, during the spring migration?

FA: Yeah, spring caribou, the caribou would cross as well in the spring at other crossings.

EA: The caribou would also be crossing in the spring time, where would they come from?

FA: From over there I suppose. This must be a crossing, going that way, from there, from here, probably from here, that's probably where they come from, yeah.

EA: So they would be crossing from...

DK: The north?

EA: The north, yeah, from the north and then crossing the river.

DK: So they could come on either side, the east or the west side of Kingaquit?

EA: Where would they come from the west or...

DK: Or Kinngait?

EA: Would they come from the south or where would they come from?

FA: Yeah, some would come from that direction, the north side of Tahiqyuaq, to here, yeah, some would come from that direction and others would come this way.

EA: Yeah, either way, sometimes the caribou would be crossing the east and the west. But the caribou, sometimes they would be crossing inland. Sometimes the caribou would be crossing by the river.

DK: Okay.

FA: That's probably what they did.

DK: Do you remember what spring caribou is? Maybe we could get him to explain that. Kangallak?

FA: Kanngalaq.

EA: Kanngayaq?

FA: Kanngalaq, they're the spring caribou. Yeah, the hair is easy to pull out.

EA: Like this time of the year the caribou would be called kanngalaq cause of their fur is shedding.

FA: Their winter hair would be falling off so right now their called kanngalaq.

EA: Yeah, right now because they are shedding that that's what it's called.

DK: Kanngalaq?

FA: Kanngalat.

EA: Kanngalaq.

DK: Kanngalaq? So could we expect that there would also be some old sites on the south side of the river? Or would they always hunt from that one spot?

EA: This is Ayapqaut, eh, there must be some old camp sites here?

FA: I have no idea, yeah, there has to be some old camp sites there.

EA: Do you know about this area here?

FA: Around here, where is it, this is where I've spent time as well. After we'd been together for a while this is where I had nets and made dry fish a long time ago.

EA: When my wife and I first got together, we would go fishing, like fish netting around this area around here. There must be some old camp sites there.

FA: There are some old camp sites there, this is where people ice fished in the past.

EA: Yeah, people that would be jigging for fish. He said he has come across some sites around this area.

DK: Inuit or little people?

EA: We they little people or inuit?

FA: Inuit, yeah, people would ice fish, when holes started to form in the lakes yeah.

DK: Old sites? Old inuit sites?

EA: Are they old?

FA: Yeah, they're old.

EA: Yes, old inuit sites.

FA: They're old, eh, just as these camp sites are old.

DK: What does qiqighittaat mean?

FA: These are Qiqiqhittaat.

EA: He wants to know what are qiqighittaat?

FA: These are Qiqiqhittaat, these islands, yeah.

EA: How are they Qiqiqhittaat, why are they called that?

FA: That's where there would be caribou sometimes.

EA: Because at times the caribou would be crossing the islands, is that what they're called?

FA: Yeah, the people have always called them that.

EA: Is it because caribou would come here?

FA: Maybe in hot weather, they probably go there in hot weather.

EA: Why would they be called Qikighittaat?

FA: Because that's where caribou went sometimes, when it's too hot.

EA: Okay, so the caribou would cross there too, in the summer, cross there and you know, when it gets too hot too, they would cross there and... like when it gets really hot. That's why it's called qikighittaat.

FA: I haven't heard the name for this big island so I don't know.

EA: I don't recall the largest island there, I don't know what the name of that island is.

DK: Did these have names? These other little ones?

EA: What about these smaller islands?

FA: These islands are full of pebbles, the ice movement has caused them to become hills, yeah.

EA: The ice?

FA: The ice movement has caused them to become island.

EA: Okay, so it's from ice, icebergs piling up and then that's how they form.

DK: What are those called when that happens?

EA: When that happens from the ice what is it called?

FA: When ice collide, collision.

EA: Collision?

FA: Yeah, when the ice collides into the land that's what it's called.

DK: Apuqtittuq.

EA: Apuqtittut.

DK: Has he ever heard the term umiuyuq?

EA: Have you ever heard of umiuyuq?

FA: Umiuyuq?

EA: Umiuyuq.

FA: When you can't maneuver your boat, like when you're trying to get to land or water and there isn't much water to move your boat, that's the term.

EA: No place to move your boat?

FA: Yeah, when there's no place to move your boat that's what it's called.

EA: Those with no boating areas...

FA: When you use the ice as leverage. Using the sea bed, pushing on the ice at the bottom of the sea, using it as leverage.

EA: Oh, no place to move on your boat.

FA: Going towards the ice. They would use the ice to go towards the ice on the sea. I thought I had mentioned...

EA: When the ice collides, eh, the ice.

FA: Ice collides with the land, the ice would be pushed up on the land.

EA: And the other was umiu...

FA: They would also use that term when they were coming to shore on the ice, when they used pieces of ice to get to the ice, yeah, when they had ice bergs as floating devices to get to shore pushing on the bottom in order to move.

EA: Okay, yeah, so when there is a lot of ice. Moving on water.

DK: Did he ever hear about inuit using markers, land markers, around here to make the caribou go a certain way?

EA: Have you ever heard of people using markers during caribou hunts?

FA: Yes, yeah, they were put up to look like people. Yeah, I know what those are, sometimes people would put pieces of dirt to look like hair on the tops of those markers, on the tips of them.

EA: On the tip here?

FA: Yeah, on top of the markers, just plain dirt they'd place on top of the marker.

EA: Are there any like that around here?

FA: Yeah, there are some like that around here, over there.

EA: Like that?

FA: Yeah.

EA: So he had mentioned that the inuit would make markers and use dirt right at the top of the marker to make it look like a real person.

FA: Yeah, when the dirt is really dark and placed on the top of the marker, it would resemble a head.

DK: Was that specifically around here?

EA: Is there any like that around here?

FA: Yeah, there are some around here that are still there, I don't know how they are now.

EA: Are there any like that elsewhere?

FA: Yeah, where is it again, around here, it was around here, where.

EA: This is where we are right?

FA: Yeah, around here, there's some on the shore on the other side of Cambridge Bay.

EA: So on the south of... on the south of... where is it?

FA: This is where we are.

DK: Just looking at the map.

FA: There are some here that are still visible, when we're boating around here you can see them on the markers.

EA: Algaalik.

FA: At Algaalik yeah.

EA: At Algaalik, there?

FA: Yeah. Algaalik, yeah, Algaalik is what they call that and this is Tikiraaqyuk eh. Yeah.

EA: Are there land markers there at Algaalik?

FA: You can see markers there as well today, you can still see the markers today when you're boating, they're far apart.

EA: Okay.

DK: Did he hear about this from his elders?

EA: Have you heard that from your parents storytelling?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Markers.

FA: Those markers are used during the fall, they would be used for caribou there at Algaalik.

EA: In the early fall is when they would be using the markers.

DK: Who told him about the heads and the hair?

EA: Where did you hear about putting dirt on the markers as hair?

FA: Yeah, by putting dirt on the tops would make them look like people, because it looks like a human head it would scare the caribou away.

EA: Who told you about that or have you seen it?

FA: Yeah, I have seen the remains of them, sometimes they would be really small, the tops of markers.

EA: Because their really weathered now, they don't look as a real person as much now. Where did you hear that from?

FA: My adoptive parents would tell me about using them during the fall caribou hunt.

EA: My adoptive parents would tell me. Did they use that as well? And they would use the markers as well.

DK: They use them? So would they put fresh heads and hair on them sometimes?

EA: Would you sometimes put fresh pieces of dirt on the tops of the markers?

FA: No. Nowadays they don't use bows and arrows so they don't put new ones on.

EA: They don't put new ones on?

FA: Yeah.

EA: No, they don't, they just leave them the way it is and they don't... like put new hair on it or anything like that.

FA: It was our ancestors that used bows and arrows that made the markers.

EA: They made them? Okay. In my time I haven't done... like we just leave them but in the old days then, like they would put new hair or things like that. Smart people.

FA: Yeah, people are smart.

DK: Is there any thing else they would do to help the caribou go to a certain place like besides the markers?

EA: Do you know any other way that would help move the caribou toward the markers?

FA: The women would make noises, they would make some sort of sound.

EA: How would they do that?

FA: Uu-uuu, uu-uuu, yeah, making noises.

EA: The women?

FA: Yeah, women, they would deter the caribou toward the men that were waiting with their bows, yeah, the women.

EA: So when the women made that uu-uuu sound they'd go there. So the ladies would be making that sound and then that way the caribou would go directly to the hunters.

DK: So where would the ladies be when they were making that sound?

EA: Where were the women when they made that uu-uuu sound?

FA: They would be on the other side of the caribou because they're trying to move the caribou toward the men.

EA: So the caribou would be in one area, so behind the caribou.

DK: Okay.

EA: So if the caribou would be crossing northward then they would go behind and then make these sounds and then the caribou would go directly to where the hunters are.

FA: My adoptive father would tell stories of that when they had other companions and they were trying to catch caribou. There would be two women making that sound, pushing the caribou toward the hunters.

EA: So sometimes there would be two ladies saying that, like making that sound and then they would like make them go towards the hunters.

FA: Sometimes when people camped alone there'd be one woman.

EA: So, if they're with a group of people, they would have a couple of people doing that but if they were alone then the one lady would make that sound and then have the caribou go towards the hunter. Like make the caribou go towards the hunter.

DK: You know I was thinking to change the subject a little bit but when they were fishing with fish spear there must have been a lot of people around and stuff. Was there any little songs that they had or sayings while they were fishing?

EA: He wants to talk about something else, when you went fishing with fish spears were there many of you?

FA: Yeah, there would be a lot of people, they would fish with harpoons as well in the lakes when the fish went back upstream.

EA: So they would use that long spear and kind of...

DK: What's that called?

EA: Harpoon.

DK: Harpoon.

EA: Use that spear and then spear towards the fish and then it has a long rope so you can just grab, it's like a long hook and you grab it. And there would be a group of people doing that or using the fish spear.

FA: Yeah, using the fish spear, the spears were used in the rivers as well. These kind.

EA: In the river, they would use most of that... the harpoon like when they're fishing by the ocean, around that area, like around the bay...

DK: Around the mouth?

EA: Yeah, around the mouth and then they would use the fish spear when they're in the river.

DK: Okay, fish spear?

FA: Yeah, that's a fish spear, fish spear.

DK: So would they have any little songs or little sayings while they were fishing with the fish spear?

EA: Did people sing songs when they were out fishing with spears? Do they have songs for when they fished?

FA: I don't know, I haven't heard anyone singing.

EA: I've never heard anything like that.

DK: I know, like the old ladies in Gjoa Haven, when they're jigging, like they'd be qaqqaa, qaqqaa, like they'd have little songs.

FA: Wanting the fish to bite eh.

EA: Wanting the fish to bite.

FA: They want the fish to bite when they do that (throat sounds). Yeah like that.

DK: That's what it's called?

FA: They want the fish to bite, yeah, like that. Some fish don't want to bite.

EA: When you're being speared would you do that?

FA: No, they'd use a spear if the fish don't want to bite.

DK: What's that that is in his other hand? There's a fish spear in one hand and...

FA: This is a jigger, this person is jigging, and the other is holding a pole.

EA: Okay.

DK: What's on the line of the jigger?

EA: And this is... the line? It's made out of...

DK: No but what's the lure, what's it called?

EA: How would you say hook?

FA: Qaryuqhaq.

EA: Qaryuqhaq.

FA: And he's holding what is called the jigger.

EA: Aulajjut is the your little pole, your little jigger.

DK: So the lure, did it have a hook on it or not?

EA: Does that have a bullet?

FA: Yeah, it's called a hook, the hook is at the bottom for the fish to bite, yeah, hook.

EA: That's a bullet and what's that made of, bone?

FA: It's made of bone, it has jiggly things and is called a decoy.

EA: A decoy is what it's called.

DK: It's called a decoy?

FA: It's not barbed, it just has wiggly things on it. Yeah, a decoy.

EA: And it's called an iqaluuyaq?

FA: Iqaluuyaq.

EA: Okay, that's the one you were talking about?

DK: I was wondering if they used that?

FA: Only when they're spearing fish, they'd use that fish spear because the fish won't bite.

EA: Yeah, because they can't bite that hook they use their fork.

FA: That thing has a lot of little wiggly things on it to lure the fish from either direction, because they move.

EA: Okay, so everytime they see this lure, like if the fish can see it, like it's moving around eh, and then they would go for that hook and then they would spear it too. It must have been fun.

FA: They enjoy it eh, the spawning char, all kinds of fish, arctic char, even the trout that don't want to bite they'd spear.

EA: There's all kinds of fish that would go for it and then they would just you know...

DK: And that was in the lake?

EA: Where? In the lake?

FA: Yeah, that's what they would do in the lakes, yeah. In the early fall, when it first starts to freeze.

EA: So early fall.

FA: Yeah, in the early fall that's what they'd do.

EA: It must have been fun.

FA: It was a lot of fun, yeah.

EA: Must have been fun.

DK: Would that be here at Tahiqyuaq?

EA: Did they do that as well at Tahiqyuaq?

FA: They must have done that in the early fall and during the winter when they ice fished but I haven't seen that being done.

EA: Yeah.

FA: Yeah, that's what they would do in the fall.

EA: They may have done that before.

FA: There would be a lot of spawning char in the fall that's why.

EA: Any thing else? Any other questions?

DK: You?

EA: Not right now. This is Niaquqnaqyuaq this little area is Niaquqnaqyuaq.

FA: I don't know.

EA: This area here, this one.

DK: Is it wrong?

EA: Niaquqnaqyuaq? Is this Niaquqnaqyuaq? No?

FA: Takiyuaqyuit.

DK: Takiyuaqyuk?

FA: Nauyaalik.

EA: This is Nauyaalik.

DK: Takiyuaqyuk.

FA: Yeah, Takiyuaqyuk.

DK: Wrong one?

EA: Is this wrong?

FA: I don't know that area. I don't know it, yeah.

EA: I don't really know this area here. So it could possibly be it. Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: Cause there is another Niaquqnaqyuaq. He said it was...

FA: Right here, where, right here? Oh, right there.

DK: Maybe that's what he meant?

FA: Yeah, there's Niaquqnaqyuaq, yeah. Niaquqnaqyuaq, Algaalik.

EA: Algaalik.

FA: Tikiraaqyuk, Ipiulliit, Iqaluktuuq.

EA: Iqaluktuuq, so we're right around here. And this is the north?

DK: Yeah.

EA: It's around here, just wait eh, this is here is Iqaluktuuq, the river is right here, and Niaquqnaqyuaq is right around here, no? Is this wrong?

FA: Probably, must be mistaken eh, Niaquqnaqyuaq.

EA: Would there be two places called Niaquqnaqyuaq?

JA: There's Niaquqnaqyuaq and Niaquqnaaqyuk, two of them, the other one is smaller, it's small.

EA: There's two of them Niaquqnaaqyuk.

FA: The smaller one is here. Right here, eh, around here.

DK: Niaquqnaaqyuk?

FA: It's smaller, yeah, Niaquqnaaqyuk is smaller.

EA: So there's two of them.

DK: Where?

JA: One is bigger and the other is small.

FA: Around here.

EA: Around here?

FA: Yeah. Around there.

EA: This is Niaquqnaqyuaq eh?

FA: Yeah, Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: Is it across from that little island?

EA: Is it close to the island?

FA: Close to the shore here. Uh-huh.

EA: Around here?

JA: The small one on the shore, the other one is bigger.

EA: Small one on the shore, okay. How?

FA: Niaquqnaaqyuk.

JA: Niaquqnaqyuaq, Niaquqnaaqyuk, the other one is bigger. Niaquqnaqyuaq is bigger.

DK: I can't right with my left hand.

EA: Here I'll do it.

DK: Just right 11.

FA: This is called Niaquqnaqyuaq. They call this Niaquqnaqyuaq, Niaquqnaaqyuk.

DK: It won't erase.

JA: I used to walk the smaller island.

EA: 11 is Niaquqnaaqyuk.

JA: I used to walk the smaller island.

EA: Oh, that one?

JA: Yes, the smaller one. The other one is bigger.

DK: Niaquqnaaqyuk.

FA: Niaquqnaqyuaq.

EA: So there's two of them.

DK: This one might be wrong.

EA: I think so.

DK: Maybe we just misunderstood how far he was talking about.

EA: Well he kept saying like oh, oh, okay, so it could be eh? Okay, there are mistakes on here eh?

FA: This is mistaken, it's right on the lower part here.

EA: Ehaloak said this was Niaquqnaqyuaq. He's mistaken?

FA: He's mistaken eh? Yeah.

EA: Yeah, okay, he made a mistake.

DK: Are there any songs about list places, do they sing about place names?

EA: Are there any different songs made about those places?

FA: There are some songs about certain places eh. Songs are made up from people a long time ago when they went out sealing, they would make songs a long time ago eh.

EA: Yes, there are songs but it's only for hunting. Like when they're going to a specific place to hunt then they would have songs.

DK: Does he know any of them?

EA: Do you know any songs yourself?

FA: I don't know them but I have heard stories of them.

EA: Okay, he mentioned that he doesn't know any of the songs, but people would make the song. Can I ask a question about...did they keep the songs they made?

FA: Yeah. Even though they didn't write them they would make up songs that others would sing as well.

EA: Did anyone sing them?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Oh. So it was okay for others to sing my song...

FA: It was okay.

EA: It wasn't minded? Yeah, it's shared, the songs are shared, it's not like, if one person has a song then this person would be singing his song or her song so it doesn't matter. Interesting.

DK: Is there any song in relation to Uvayuq or those hills?

EA: Are there any songs made up about Uvayuq? Are there songs made up on Uvayuq?

FA: There must be songs about another area called Uvayuq, it used to be sung over there. There was a song made up for it. I have never heard of one made up for this one.

EA: Is there another place called Uvayuq?

FA: There's another place called Uvayualuk at the mainland.

EA: Uvayualuk? At mainland?

FA: Yeah, a song was made up by a person.

EA: There's a song, I mean there's a pihiq for another particular place, it's called Uvayualuk but it's in another place, in another area, but not about Mount Pelly. It isn't about Mount Pelly?

FA: Yeah. It was a large cliff, a cliff.

EA: It's a cliff.

DK: So does he know that one?

EA: Do you know that one?

FA: Yeah, a song was made up for it.

EA: Oh, no smoking allowed in here eh?

JA: No, I always smoke in here.

FA: There was a song made for it.

EA: Do you know how the song goes?

FA: Just parts of it.

JA: About Uvayualuk?

FA: Yeah.

JA: I'm travelling on to Uvayualuk, I don't know the rest of it.

EA: That's okay. Do you know it?

FA: I don't know the rest of it. I don't know it.

JA: Same here, I have heard it from Hukkayaq his adoptive father.

EA: Hukkayaq?

JA: Hukkayaq, his adoptive father.

EA: I have heard this song from his adoptive mother, her name was... was it Hukkayaq?

JA: Yes.

EA: Hukkayaq.

FA: Hingikyuaq. There's Hingikyuaq there.

EA: Hingikyuaq?

FA: Yes, Hingikyuaq.

EA: Is there a song made for that too?

FA: I have no idea.

DK: What about... is there any sites where Kiviuk has been around here?

EA: Is there Kiviuk around there?

FA: Ivyuq? I don't know.

EA: Somewhere around here, or are you talking about the sites?

DK: That person, Qiviuk?

EA: Do any of you know of Kiviuk?

FA: No. I don't know what he was like...

JA: Who?

DK: Qiviuk.

JA: Kiviuk?

FA: What is Kiviuk?

JA: Stories have been told of Kiviuk.

EA: People have told stories of him.

FA: Kiviuk. Inuit yeah, just a few days ago before we travelled here I heard Qittualik talking about him.

EA: Okay, Qittualik. He heard on the radio, just before we came to Iqaluktuuq. Qittualik was talking about the legend of Kiviuk.

FA: Yeah, he was talking about Kiviuk. The one that travelled on a qayaq.

JA: Yes, I have heard of that too.

EA: Is there anything like that here?

FA: Yeah, stories like that have been told around here by those that know.

JA: Kiviug is the one that has gone across the ocean with a fish?

FA: Yeah, he has travelled across the ocean with a fish. I have heard stories of him, yeah. He had come across a person that was at a camp, he was making a big fish that he could travel across the ocean with. Kiviug had used it to cross the ocean. Before he left the camp, where they were busy cooking fish, that person told Kiviug he will feel a vibration when he reaches shore. But because he won't make it right to the shore he should run until he reaches the land.

JA: To his wife?

FA: Yeah, he was looking for a wife.

JA: I have heard of that.

FA: He was looking for a goose for his wife.

EA: Was this a rat?

FA: He came across a person that making a big fish. Kiviug had crossed the ocean with that big fish looking for a wife.

JA: A woman with a child?

FA: I enjoy listening to that story when people tell it.

EA: Do you remember hearing stories of that when you were a child?

FA: I have heard from the people in the Keewatin about Kiviug's ways.

DK: So is it inukpahukyuk, is that the only legend that actually happens in this area?

EA: And around the Iqaluktuuq area there are legends of giants eh?

FA: Yeah, about the giant. Where is it again, is this Iqaluktuuq?

EA: Yeah.

FA: Where's Uvayuq again? Here's Uvayuq, Amaaqtuq.

EA: There's Amaaqtuq.

FA: There's been a boating accident at Amaaqtuq.

EA: Qayauvik. Is that Qayauvik there?

JA: We don't even make some tea.

EA: About the giants? Around here close by Iqaluktuuq?

FA: Close to Cambridge Bay.

EA: Close to Cambridge Bay is where the legend comes from eh?

FA: They were husband and wife.

EA: Husband and wife?

FA: Yes.

EA: So there was a husband and a wife that were giants around Cambridge Bay.

DK: What about the little people? Have you done stories on those?

EA: Are there any stories of little people from long ago?

FA: Yes, yeah.

EA: Do you know any?

FA: I have heard that there are little people around Cambridge Bay.

JA: Yeah, when we had a tent on the shore in Cambridge Bay.

FA: They had built a shelter at the dump in Cambridge Bay. They have been seen by some people as well as kids.

JA: Sounds scary.

EA: So they mentioned that there was one inuarullik that made their house beside their... were they fish netting?

FA: What?

EA: When they were checking nets?

FA: No.

JA: They were walking on the land.

FA: People had found out about their shelter close by the dump, they had built it with rocks. It had a plywood roof, people had found about them so they little people disappeared. The little people eh.

EA: Have you two ever seen little people?

JA: Our companions have.

FA: Our companions and kids who stay up all night have seen little people. I've heard of one little kid being chased by one, he had been teasing him that's why because he thought it was another kid, yeah. One kid had been being chased by one but then it ran somewhere.

JA: Kaplonak over there knows about it, Kaplonak knows about it.

FA: My wife and I have seen the shelter, they had been using a fox pelt for a mattress.

EA: They have said that they have not seen it with their own eyes but they have seen their, the little people's house. Their bed mat was made of fox skin, and one had been spotted going after... he mentioned that a group of people had seen little people around Cambridge Bay and one was following some people and they had thought it was a little child but it was a little person.

FA: Kids must have been teasing that one little person and one kid was being chased by one. They must have thought it was another kid. I don't know if he was okay though, I'm not sure. I don't know if the child ran and made it to other people safely. Yeah, a little kid had been chased by one.

EA: So one little person was following one of the children too, somehow it disappeared. I have heard Taipana and Kaughungni talking about little people when we were in Perry River in 1998, I think. They mentioned that one person had come across a little person that was carrying a caribou, he was carrying a huge caribou, and when the little person saw their harpoon he was eyeing it for a while. I guess that little person wanted the harpoon. That's what Taipana and Kaughungni were telling us. So this was told a few years ago, when a group of elders went to Perry River, one of the elders had mentioned that one of the elders had come across a little person and he was packing a huge caribou and he put his caribou down and then he kept looking at one of the elders' rope and I guess he wanted that rope very bad. He kept looking at it. I don't know if they have given it to him or not.

FA: I have heard of a story where Utuggauq, Taipana's father has seen one. Utuggauq was heading toward a caribou he had seen and came across a little person that was skinning a caribou. He started watching from the side and once that little person was done skinning and butchering he offered Utuggauq the hind quarters. The little person had been eyeing Utuggauq's seal skin boots. Yeah, that's what I've heard.

EA: Did he give them to him?

FA: I don't know, I don't know what happened. I don't know, because he had no others boots to go home with I don't think he did.

EA: He also mentioned that there was a man by the name of Utuggauq that... like he was out caribou hunting and then he came across a caribou, a dead caribou so he went to it and then he started watching this little person butcher the caribou himself and then he gave him the hind quarters, gave it to Utuggauq, and then this little person kept looking at one particular thing that Utuggauq was wearing. And he kept eyeing that and I guess he wanted it quite badly but Utuggauq didn't give it to him.

FA: Yeah, that's what I've heard from storytellers. Taipana must have told that story, yeah, before he passed on.

EA: There was also another person by the name of Taipaquyuk had told the story. Any thing else?

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewee: Frank Analok (FA); Tommy Kilaodluk (TK); Mary Kilaodluk (MK)

Interviewers: Emily Angulalik (EA); Darren Keith (DK)

EA: If you knew Amaruqnaaluk you can talk about him now.

FA: Okay? Yeah, okay. I have heard about Amaruqnaaluk from a long time ago but I myself have not seen him. Amaruqnaaluk in Cambridge Bay must be named after him. Those people eh, yeah.

EA: Where was he from?

FA: Amaruqnaaluk? From up there around Angmaluqqittak where he would winter with Kivgalualuk's. That's what Amaruqnaaluk had mentioned. As well as at Hiuqqittaaq, and where else, where was it, Haniraqhiq, yeah, Haniraqhiq.

Iqaluktuuq iqalulik imna

Tikijjanagu isumauqpik ayayaayaya

I don't know the rest of the song too well.

EA: That's the only part he knows about the song.

TK: People followed the migration of the caribou, they would come down to the ocean from inland. People would follow animals and made up songs as they hunted for caribou and seal as well on the ice. They hunted all animals like ice fishing, hunting birds, following the caribou when they're heading inland, that's when people would make up songs as well. The caribou would head inland in the fall, that's how they'd sing about them. I'm going to try starting this song.

Iyaa ayiia iyaa iyaa iya
Hilavyu aallangaa iyaa
Tunumut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa ayaiyaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa ayaiyaa
Iyaa iyaa iyaa
Kumaruyanimarilavyu halugit
Tunumut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa hahahaiyaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa hayiyaahha
Haa yiyaa hiyaahai
Iyaa iyaa iyayaa iyaa
Hilavyu aallangaa ayiyaa
Atimnut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa haa
Yaa iyaa iyaa haayihaa
Iyaa haa
Qayuyalli imaq ilavyuhalugit
Atimnut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaaiyaa iyaahaahiyaa
Yaaiyaa iyaahaahiyaa
Iyaahaa iyaa
Iyaa iyaahaa iyaahaahiyaa
Ilavyu aallangaa
Kilumut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Yaa hiyaa iyaa
Haa iyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa
Uvanganlu imaa qangatayahiinnaqman
Kilumut samungarilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa haahaa haaiyaa
Yaa hiyaa haahiyaa
Haayihaa
Iyaa iyaa
Ilavyu aallangaa
Qalgimi samanirilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaahaahaa iyaa yaa iyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa haa iyaa iyaa
Suqulayunimaaq ilavyu
Hanugi qalgimi samanirilavyu aallangaa
Yaa iyaa iyaa haa iyaa yaa iyaa
Haa iyaa

There's part of the song there, I don't know how the rest of the song goes but by the sounds of it, the person who made the song is thinking of going on a hunting trip. That sounds like it. I don't have anything else to say, that's all, you've heard me sing a song.

EA: Do any of you have any other songs? Did the women sing songs as well? Do they have songs too?

TK: Go ahead. Unless you want to dance, it's alright.

MK: Where?

TK: Around there. It'll be audible as well.

MK: One that I know eh? How now.

Ayiyaya
Qannguyungillanga talumnilu qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyayaa hiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Aiyiyayaa hiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Nagyulrupligukpakturinginmanga
Talumnilu qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyayaa hiyaa
Aiyiyayaa hiyaa iyaa iyaa
Aiyiyai
Qannguyungillanga nikpajjamin qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyayaa ayiyaa yaa iyaa hiyaa
Uqsulgupligukpaktuq inginmanga
Nikpajjamnit qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyayaa ayiyaa haaiyaa iyaa
Aiyiyaa iyaa haiyaa
Qannguyungillanga aklujjamnit qannguyungillanga
Aiyiyayaa iyaa haaiyaa ayiyaa hiyaa haayaa
Iyaa haa iyaa ayiya
Isuuqimik kikturinginmanga
Aklujjamnik qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyai haa iyaa
Aiyiyai hiyaa hiyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa ayiya
Qannguyunngillanga pinguqsaryungmit qannguyungillanga
Aiyiyayaa ayiyaa iyaa
Hiyaa iyaa ayiya
Nurrulgulirukpaktuginginmanga pinguqsaaqyungmit qannguyungillanga
Ayiyaa hiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa ayiya
Qannguyunngillanga qalgimilu qannguyungillanga
Aiyiyayaa ahiyayaa
Aiyiyayaa haa iyaa haa iyaa
Numiqtulli apquqluginmanga qalgimillu qannguyunngillanga
Aiyiyayaa haa iyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Iyarali hanagaluaqquq
Ayummivaktunga
Aiyiyayaa iyaa haa iyaa

TK: We made a mistake on that song. Go ahead and sing it.

Alianaraluaqquq pitighuqtunnulli ayummivaktunga
Ayiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
Ayayaa iyaa
Pitighuqtunnulli ayummivakkama
Nagyulikyuarliraaq tuhataqpik
Ayiyaa ayaa iyaa

Iyaa ayiyaa
Alianaraluaqquq nattiqsuqtunulli ayummivaktunga
Ayyaraa iyaahaa iyaa
Nattiqsuqtunulli ayummivakkama uqsulikyuqliq qaqqiktihaq
Ayyaa iyaa hayayaa iyaaraa
Alianaraluaqquq qayatqiktunulli ayummivaktunga
Ayyaara iyaahaa iyaa haa iyaa
Qayatqiktunulli ayummivakkama
Nurralikyuqliq kaliqsuataqpik
Ayyaaraaha ayiyaa iyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa
Alianaraluaqquq suqulayunulli ayummivaktunga
Ayyaariyaa iyaa iyaahaa iyaa
Suqulayunulli ayummivakkama
Qilautigali kivvattaaqtakpik

TK: Mary's dancing. That's Mary dancing, I'm singing for her.

MK: That was fun for while. This is too wet to sit on.

TK: Who's going to dance? I can sing a bit for them.

EA: Who's going to dance? Will you Kaniak?

TK: Charlie?

MK: Charlie can dance really well.

TK: Charlie can dance alright. You go ahead. I'm going to sing one more song that I know even though it's not the whole song.

MK: I'm lazy when it's not the whole song.

TK: I don't know all of it that's why.

MK: When part of the song isn't sung...

DK: Yeah, it's okay even if it isn't the whole song.

FA: Even if they're not sung it's okay.

TK: Those are the end of the songs, even if they're short sometimes they lengthen the song.

MK: Is this thing spinning?

TK: Yeah, it's spinning.

EA: Sing a song for a while.

TK: Iyaa aiyayaa iyaa hiyaa yaa iyaa yiyaa, how does it go again?

MK: You're singing without thinking of the song.

TK: Iyaa aaiyaa. I really can't remember that song. It's hard to remember.

DK: One that you know, even a short one.

TK: I really can't remember it.

Kumarujjat imaa uquqsarukpata.

MK: Play even a short one.

TK: Iyaa ayiyaa aiyaahayii iyaa
Nuna samna pisukpakkaluarira
Auyaqqaqan imaqquqpannuuq
Aiyaa iyaa hayiyaa
Qai iyaa iyaa ayiyaa
Kumarujjanut quqsaruqqata
Haariyaa
Qiniqsugit pisukpakkaluariyaa
Auyaqqaqan imaa quqpannuuq ai
Aiyiyaa ayiyaa haaqaa
Ayaa iyaa qiyaa iyaa aaiiyaa
Aiyaa iyaa
Siku samna pisukpakkaluarira
Ukiuqqan iijjinguqqannguq
Ayaaiyaa ayaiiyaa
Iyaa haa iyaa
Qayujjali unngusiktunnguq
Aiyaa
Ivaqsugit pisukpakkaluarira
Ukiuqqan iijjinguqqannguq
Aiyaiyaa ayiyaa
Aiyaa ayiyaa
Iyaa haa ayaa ha
Tattin makkua pisukpakkaluaritka
Upingaqqaqan maqqailua
Ayaa iyaa haa iyaa
Haqaa ayaa iyaa
Iyaa ayiyaa
Minngiriyat qiqluhakpangmata
Ivaqsugit pisukpakkaluaritka
Upingaqqaqan maqqailua
Aiyaa iyaa haa iyaa haqaa
Aiyaa ayaa haa iyaa
Iyaa

I can't remember the rest of it. Go ahead and sing it.

MK: Ah, I can't remember the rest of it either.

TK: Is that it then? Charlie Pudlat is dancing now. It's okay if the whole song isn't sung because I can't remember them. That must be it, I'm done now.

EA: Right there, go ahead.

TK: Iyaa haa iyaa
Una alianaqpaay iyaa
Nagyulikli pitingnialirivara una
Iyaa ayiyaa
Aiyaa iyaa ayiyaa unaa

Aiyaa hiyaa iyaa iyaa hiyaa
 Iklumnulli halvaksamaaliqsugu
 Nagyulikli pitingnialirivara una
 Iyaa haiyaa aiyaa iyaa
 Ayaara aiyaa hiyaa iyaa
 Hiyaa yiyaa iyaa una
 Alianaqpak uqsulikli kapinialirivara
 Una ayaa hiyaa
 Aiyiyaa una ayiyaa
 Aiyaa iyaa hiyaa
 Iyaa haa
 Qullimnulli uqsuksamaaliqsugu
 Uqsulikli kapinialirivara una
 Aiyaa iyaa unaa
 Ayiyaa aiyaa iyaa hayaa iyaa
 Hiyaa iyaa una
 Alianaqpak nurralikli apuqñialirivara una
 Ayaa iyaa hayiyaa una
 Ayiyaa iyaa hiyaa iyaa hiyayiya hii
 Iyaa iyaa
 Sanilimnut uquqsamaaliqsugu
 Nurralikli kapinialirivara unaa
 Ayiyaa hayiyaa
 Iyaa hayiyaa iyaa
 Aiyaa iyaa hayiyaa
 Alianaq hauniqluk apuqñialirivara una
 Iyaa ayiyaa aiyaa iyaa
 Una haiyiyaa aiyaa iyaa
 Iyaa aayiya
 Uvamnulli inuksamaaliqsugu
 Hauniqluk apuqñialirivara una
 Iyaa haa iyaa aiyayiyaa ayiyaa
 Aiyaa iyaa hiyaa yiyaa
 Iyaa haa iyaa
 Aiyayaa
 Sumutkiaqli kumarujjan inuqsitpakpanngaa
 Aiyayaa haa iyaa
 Hi yaa ayiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
 Nullait tullaiyara nunaqyuaqli samna
 Qaangagut tullavaksutit
 Inuqsivaktannga aiyaa iyaa
 Aiyayaa hiyaa iyaa
 Aiyaa sumutkiaqli qayujjalli naluqsitpakpannga
 Aiyaa haiyaa iyaa aiyayaa hiyaa iyaa haa iyaa
 Tullaiyara sikuqyuaqli samna
 Ataagut unguhavaksutik naluqsitpakpannga
 Aiyayaa haa iyaa aiyaa yaa hiyaa yiyaa
 Iyaa haa iyaa aiyaa
 Sumukiaqli

I can't remember the rest of it.

MK: We can't remember the rest of it. It's stuck again.

TK: I can't remember the rest of it, it's gone again.

Naluqhitpakpannga
Aiyiyaa haa aiyiyaa haa iyaa
Aiyayaa hiyaa hiyaa
Atugaqtik naktittiyugaqsugu
Numiqtun naluqsitpakpannga
Aiyayaa haa iyaa
Aiyaa hiyaa iyaa.

That's it for now eh.

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewee: Frank Analok (FA);

Interviewers: Emily Angulalik (EA); Darren Keith (DK);

EA: So you can ask the question, whatever question you want and I'll translate over to Analok. They cross now during the summer eh, because it's summer now?

FA: Yeah.

EA: How did, what did people do in the summer a long time ago?

FA: A long time ago people would travel to fish at the lakes when the rivers have just started flowing. They would be fishing to make dry fish

DK: Do you just want to translate it?

EA: So Frank Analok just stated that in the summer time like today, then people would be going out fishing, like out by the river catching fish.

DK: Did he say in the spring?

EA: Are you talking about the spring?

FA: Yeah.

EA: So in the spring. What did you do in the spring time?

FA: They would go fishing up to the lakes to make dry fish.

EA: Were they ice fishing?

FA: Yes, yeah. They were spearing too.

EA: In the spring time they would be fishing out by the cracks and ice jigging as well as using the fishing spear.

DK: So would that be, he said it would be on the lakes?

EA: Up at the lake during the spring?

FA: Yeah, people would be fishing at the river and making dry fish in the spring until July came.

EA: So in the spring time until July, they would be fishing by the lakes and by the river too. And fishing around that area and they would wait until the month of July. So in the spring time they would be fishing,

making dry fish and fishing as well and then they would be... they would wait until the summer time and then stop for a bit.

DK: Could he name specific lakes that used to be... that they used to always go to or rivers?

EA: Can you name the area and the lakes? Here around Iqaluktuuq?

DK: Just where he used to go. Like he said in the spring time he would go jigging and drying fish, so I'd like to know where exactly.

EA: Where did you travel when you were younger, where did you travel to fish?

FA: Kuugaqyuaq, Kuugaqyuaq which flows from Tahiqyuaq. We would travel there in the spring to fish, as well as to Umingmangnaq which is also a part of Tahiqyuaq. We'd catch a lot of big lake trout with spears there at Umingmangnaq.

EA: He would be travelling around Tahiqyuaq and a place called... was it Umingmangnaq?

FA: Yeah.

EA: He would be travelling around that area and he would be catching fish, spearing the fish as well.

DK: So when you say they were spearing fish, so they were spearing the fish through the hole or in the river?

EA: What river was it at that you'd use your spear?

FA: We'd fish at the river as well as the bays when there was a lot of fish that were going downstream into the ocean, there would be lots. Yeah, fish going downstream.

EA: How would you be fishing?

FA: In the fishing holes.

EA: In the fishing holes?

FA: As well as at the rivers, where there are openings in the river, when holes form on the ice on the river, we'd fish with jiggers and catch quite a bit. We'd ice fish when fish were moving down stream.

EA: Fishing with jiggers only?

FA: Yeah, with jiggers only.

EA: So just with a hook and line they would be fishing out in the crack or the fishing hole. Or the crack and they would be catching a lot of fish in the spring time.

DK: But he said they would use a fish spear too, so would they be using some kind of a lure?

FA: With a harpoon eh, they'd use harpoons when fish were going down stream, the fish spears would be used in the river.

EA: How do you say it? Nuiyaaqtat?

FA: Nuiyaaqpait, there the ones that are made of antler. Harpoons, they're used when fish are going downstream.

EA: Okay, nuiyaaqpait is the fishing lure that they would use.

DK: Nuiyaaqpait. It's a fishing lure?

EA: Yeah, it's a lure that they would use. And then the fish spear again, they would use in the river.

DK: So the harpoon heads, is that just a lure and you use a fish spear with it?

FA: Harpoon heads are attached to a pole, they've got this thing on it, harpoon heads, antler.

EA: Is this how they are? Like a long, what about that, the pole?

FA: Ipu. Yeah, it's a pole wooden.

EA: So the ipu would be the wooden pole.

DK: Ipu?

EA: Yeah, this would be the pole. And then the nuiyaaqpait would be the harpoon. That they would use in the spring time.

DK: So how would they get the fish to come to them when they were at the fishing hole? Was he saying that at the fishing hole they would come and spear them too?

EA: When you were fishing at a fishing hole how would you lure the fish?

FA: They're going downstream so there's a lot of them that they would catch with the harpoon, that's what they call manipqayut by, they would string them with their ropes as they caught them. Some would get really long.

EA: So the fish would be around, would the fish come to the fishing hole?

FA: Yeah. To the fishing hole.

EA: Everytime they're right by the...

DK: That's where they would hang around?

EA: They would hang them out and they would use this harpoon to catch the fish.

DK: So they wouldn't have to lure the fish there? You know those decoys?

EA: Minnows?

DK: Minnows maybe? The little fish shaped, they don't have a hook but they look like a little fish, to get the fish to come.

EA: What about those, are they out of bone? Like bone?

DK: I think it's a tooth.

EA: Those made of bone or the teeth of some animal, those that are made like little fish, were those used as well? Are they made of bone?

FA: Yeah, those were used as well, like minnows?

EA: Yeah, they're just like minnows. Did you use those as hooks?

FA: Yes, yeah, the hook? Yeah, we used hooks as well.

EA: And they would use the hook.

DK: Would they use the hook in the spring too?

EA: Did you use those hooks as well in the spring?

FA: No.

EA: No not in the spring time. Only in the summer?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Yeah, just in the summer time.

DK: So what kind of fish would they be catching in the spring time at the fishing hole?

EA: What did you fish for in the spring?

FA: Fish that are going downstream from the lakes, they would be caught with spears as well.

EA: What I meant was, what kinds of fish would you catch? He wants to know what kind of fish.

FA: Lake trout, arctic char, big lake trout, white fish, yeah those.

EA: So there's arctic char, and the lake trout, big lake trout and the white fish.

DK: So that's white fish, char so what are lake trout?

EA: Lake trout are those, the red?

FA: The lake trouts are small eh, some are huge fish like this, some lake trout are this big.

EA: I know what kind, I can't say what type of fish it is but it's the fish with the really red skin on the bottom.

DK: Is it like spawning char?

EA: Are they like the spawning char?

FA: Lake trout, no, the lake trout are those fish with the big heads. They're called lake trout those big fish. Lake trout.

EA: Is the fish from the lake?

FA: Yeah, from the lake.

EA: Okay, so it's the lake trout. The big lake trout is what he's talking about.

DK: That's lake trout?

EA: Are they called lake trout?

FA: Lake trout, they're called lake trout.

EA: Big lake trout?

FA: Yeah. Sometimes you'd find char inside the fish. Yeah.

EA: Yeah, they would swallow them tiny, the little fish. The big lake trout, the huge fish, that would be called big lake trout. What about the smaller lake trout. That would be the smaller lake trout.

FA: Lake trout. And those are called arctic char.

EA: Like those eh, arctic char?

FA: Yeah. But those red ones are called spawning char.

EA: Yeah, those red fish would only go upstream in the summer eh, the spawning char?

FA: Yeah. Some people would catch not very many of those in the summer.

EA: There were not very many lake trout, or the spawning char. There was not very much of that char in the summer time.

DK: All these types of fish he was saying, that was in the spring?

EA: Those fish that you named, lake trout, big lake trout, arctic char and white fish, all those are caught in the spring?

FA: Those white fish don't bite, they're called white fish.

EA: What's that?

FA: The white fish don't bite hooks because their mouths are too small.

EA: The white fish, the mouth is too small they weren't able to, like, can't catch them with a hook. How do you catch them?

FA: Spearing them eh.

EA: So with a spear, they would use. With these?

FA: Yeah.

EA: With the spear they would catch the white fish, because their mouth is a bit too small.

DK: So this is in the spring at the fishing hole?

EA: Would this be in the spring time at the fishing holes?

FA: Yeah, with fish nets you'd catch lots after the nets became available. That's when we started catching a lot of white fish.

EA: So with the fish nets as well. Like he grew up with the fish nets. The fish nets would catch a lot of white fish as well as the other fish. So either by the fork, spear, harpoon.

DK: So the harpoon head, the end that was made out of antler?

EA: How were these harpoon heads made, what were they made of?

FA: Using a certain saw, yeah, making sharp ends. They were made with a saw.

EA: A saw, okay, and also with copper.

DK: How do you say those?

EA: How did you say them, saw?

FA: A saw, a tool.

EA: Is it the same as this, like these?

FA: Yeah. Uh-huh. They would be sawed like this.

DK: Is that metal?

EA: Yeah, metal.

DK: And what's copper?

EA: And what would you call that other one?

FA: A saw, a tool.

EA: A tool? A tool.

DK: A tool? Is that copper?

EA: What about this?

FA: Pole.

EA: Pole. Made of wood?

FA: Yeah, long wooden pole.

EA: This is the pole. The pole would be out of wood and it is the pole.

FA: Yeah, okay.

EA: That's iron eh? Just like iron. This would be the iron, the one that you just mentioned earlier, not the copper, so this is the metal. The iron.

DK: And the tool? Just means the same sort of?

EA: No, he just mentioned that... they would make it out of the tool, is that they would be making the tool, this tool here to make the spear.

DK: Oh, okay.

EA: Those are the tools that would be used to work with eh?

FA: They're called saws.

EA: Saws. The saw is the iron.

MP: Mom, I'm hungry.

DK: Do you want to take a break?

EA: I guess so, she's hungry, I'm sorry. We'll continue in a bit. Would you like some tea?

DK: Finish off what's going on in the spring, before we move on.

EA: He would like to know what people did in the spring?

FA: After people camped here for the spring at Tahiqyuaq they would head down and seal hunt, they would hunt seals with their qayaqs.

EA: In the summer?

FA: Yeah.

EA: So after they've travelled from the spring camp, they would come around here, around the... here on the land eh?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Around the river.

FA: Around here on the ocean.

EA: Towards the ocean, they would have their camp towards the ocean and from there people would be using their... on their qayaqs?

FA: Yeah.

EA: People would be using their qayaqs to go seal hunting. What else? Only seals?

FA: Seals and birds eh. People would go hunting seals for food as well as eider ducks, looking for all kinds of food.

EA: So they would be catching... they would be going out seal hunting as well as geese hunting around that time.

DK: So what method were they using for seal hunting at that time?

EA: What did you hunt seals with?

FA: The fat would be used for the lamps, seal fat.

EA: When you went sealing how would you...

FA: Rowing.

EA: They would paddle their qayaqs to the seal. What would they use for seal hunting?

FA: Using a hook and harpoon head.

EA: They would use a harpoon and the hook.

DK: Harpoon?

EA: Harpoon.

FA: Yes, harpoon.

EA: Those with sharp tips?

FA: Sharp tips. Sometimes they'd have a rope attached, to the harpoon head.

EA: Is it like the harpoon head?

FA: Yeah.

EA: How long would the harpoon head be?

FA: How, any how, like that.

EA: Is it called a harpoon head?

FA: It doesn't have a harpoon head just a rope attached to the end.

EA: Okay, they would use a pole, it's called a harpoon, a pole and when they see a seal they would catch the seal with it.

DK: What kind of an end did it have on it?

EA: What did it have on it?

FA: Once in a while they would use a hook to retrieve the seal.

EA: Okay, with the gun, they would use the... this way... and then they would hook the... he would hook the seal with the hook.

DK: So what is this harpoon?

EA: What is the harpoon?

FA: Those harpoons have the rope attached to the harpoon heads. Sometimes there are two of them.

EA: Are they like this, how, like this?

FA: Yes.

EA: How's that?

FA: Sometimes there are two barbs on it. Like that.

EA: Like that?

FA: Yeah, two of them, yeah, like that.

EA: So they would be using a harpoon to catch the seal.

DK: Is that before they use guns or?

EA: When the guns were in use then?

FA: Yeah, there were rifles, 22, anything, 243, 25-20.

EA: Were these in use before you had the guns?

FA: No. They'd use them to keep the seal from sinking, yeah.

EA: This would be the one to... in case the seal sinks down. But they would use the gun. He recalls, he used the guns to catch the seal and they would use either hook or the harpoon to get the seal before it sinks down.

DK: Okay. Is this still in the spring?

EA: Was this in the summer?

FA: Yeah, in August.

EA: About the month of August.

DK: So how would they be hunting geese?

EA: How did you hunt for geese in August?

FA: Sometimes we would hunt molting birds on the shore of the ocean.

EA: So they would catch the small ducks, like the ducks that aren't flying yet. They would be chasing after them. They're called molting bird, molting birds, eh?

FA: Yeah, molting birds.

DK: Molting birds?

FA: Molting birds. Molting birds, when a goose is grown and molting, good.

EA: Goslings are what they're called?

FA: Yes.

EA: So either goslings or molting birds.

DK: What are goslings?

EA: What are goslings?

FA: The young ones when they've grown.

EA: Do they fly as well?

FA: Before they start flying.

EA: Goslings would be the much more older...

DK: Molting birds?

EA: Molting birds are the baby birds or the ducks that are just learning to walk, but these geese are not flying yet. So the goslings would be the ones that are...

DK: So these are all geese?

EA: These are birds eh, all kinds?

FA: They fly eh.

EA: The ones you're talking about.

FA: Those goslings usually start flying later in August.

EA: They're all the birds that their talking about is the gosling would be just learning how to fly.

DK: The gosling?

EA: Yeah.

DK: Just learning how to fly?

EA: Yeah. Learning to fly and the molting bird would be the baby birds or the baby ducks that aren't flying yet. So they'd just be running, you know the molting bird.

DK: So the gosling, would they actually be mature ones that don't have their feathers back yet?

EA: The goslings have their feathers already eh?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Yeah, they have their feathers already.

FA: Every August the fish would head back upstream and people would catch a lot with nets and spears.

EA: So around the month of August is when the fish are coming up the river, they would be using their fishing spear to catch the fish.

DK: Is that just one kind of fish or are there different species?

EA: Just the one type of fish... or is it all kinds of fish, what type of fish would there be, he wants to find out?

FA: Arctic char. Only arctic char eh.

EA: Arctic char.

FA: Arctic char and spawning arctic char.

DK: So only arctic char?

EA: And the... just the arctic char?

FA: Yeah, just the arctic char.

EA: Yeah the arctic char. Just those?

FA: Yeah, just those.

EA: And white fish too?

FA: Not those.

EA: Not those? Not the white fish, just the arctic char that would be going up the river. They'd go upstream?

FA: Yeah, they'd go upstream eh, they'd head back upstream.

EA: Yeah, they would be going up the river and that's when they would be using their fishing spear.

FA: When the ice starts to form then they'd stop running, they'd stop running in the river.

EA: Everytime the ice is coming in the fall time, when it first start icing, the fish would stop going up the river.

DK: So is that when they would move on to do something else?

EA: They'd go elsewhere eh, they'd go somewhere else?

FA: The fish would go elsewhere once the river starts to freeze up.

EA: I wonder where the fish would go once it starts freezing up?

FA: They would return from the ocean.

EA: They would go back to the ocean.

FA: Once it starts to freeze up.

EA: So everytime the river is icing up, around the river that's when the fish would go towards the ocean.

DK: So when would they do their caribou hunting?

EA: Where would, when would you start hunting for caribou?

FA: At the mainland, when people went to the mainland a long time ago they'd hunt for caribou.

EA: At the mainland?

FA: Yeah, mainland, mainland.

EA: Around the mainland.

DK: So they would leave here?

EA: Would you travel to the mainland from the river here?

FA: No.

EA: Just the men?

FA: Some people would go and spend the summer at mainland.

EA: People would migrate up in-land and then go caribou hunting from there.

DK: Is that still in summer?

EA: Would you travel to the mainland in the summer?

FA: In the spring time eh. Before the snow started to melt people would head to the mainland, some people would move to the mainland for the summer.

EA: So in the spring time they would travel in-land to go caribou hunting towards the spring and then they would do their caribou hunting around that time. But in the summer, towards the summer and fall time is when they do their fishing.

FA: Yeah, when people were at mainland they would make caribou dry meat as well.

EA: So in the spring time they would make their dry meat. They would make their dry meat out on the mainland.

DK: So did they do this all in one year? They're at the lakes up here fishing and then they leave to go inland to get their caribou and do they come back here?

EA: Is that how people would spend a year, traveling in the spring to ice fish and in the late summer and fall they'd go to the mainland, and fish here in the summer? Is that what people would do during the year?

FA: Yeah, sometimes.

EA: Yeah, sometimes they would do that. Sometimes they would go from different camp.

DK: That's lots of travelling eh?

EA: You traveled around quite a bit eh?

FA: Yeah. People didn't stay in one area all the time, when they wanted to move they'd move to another area.

EA: So, they don't stay in one area. They wouldn't stay in one area but they would be travelling like when the season changes and then they would move on.

DK: So what would they do for clothing skins?

EA: Did you have caribou skin clothing only, did you have that kind of clothing?

FA: Yeah, skins, caribou skins, yeah.

EA: What was the question?

DK: I was just wondering when they got their clothing skins.

EA: How did you get the skins for clothing? When you hunted in the summer, because they're thinner then?

FA: Yeah, the ones worn for clothing would be thinner, the thinner ones are worn as inner clothing and the thicker furs for outer parkas.

EA: Okay, during the winter when they're thicker...

FA: To be worn.

EA: So in the spring time is when they do their caribou hunting for the inner clothing, because they're much thinner, the skin is much thinner of the caribou. But in the winter time is when they go out caribou hunting, they would... the skin is much thicker, so they would use that for the outer parka, the outer parka.

DK: What inuinaqtun season would that be in that they hunted for the outer parka?

EA: When would you hunt for the caribou with the thicker fur, was it winter, spring, he'd like to know?

FA: During the winter when the fur was thicker they'd use for clothing because it's warmer, they'd use them for outer parkas because they were warmer.

EA: Or was it in the early fall, no? Just the winter eh?

FA: They would prepare them in the winter.

EA: In March? In February or March.

FA: They would prepare the skins in the fall, softening the skins.

EA: So in the fall time they would be scraping their skin. In the fall time eh?

FA: Yes, yeah.

EA: Is when they would do all their skin preparations and that.

DK: In the fall time?

EA: Yeah. In the fall. In the winter though...

FA: Yeah, they'd start using them once they were done, the outer parka and inner clothing.

EA: They would be using their winter clothing.

DK: They would be using it?

EA: They would be using their... in the fall time... they would do the skin preparations, eh?

DK: Uh-huh. So does that mean they already had the outer parka skins in the fall?

EA: In the fall the outer parkas...

FA: That were for use, yeah.

EA: Where would they be stored... I'm just asking him if they store them in certain areas too.

DK: What did he say?

FA: They would be stored during the summer, they never took them along, they would store them in caches and leave them for use again in the fall.

EA: So in the fall time, like... in the spring time, they would store their winter clothing in a cache and then use their summer clothing, in the summer time, the thinner caribou skins... the outer parka and that. But they would cache their winter clothing in an area. And, in the fall time they would go and pick them up.

DK: What's the word for fall?

EA: Early fall.

FA: In the early fall.

EA: Yeah, in the fall when it starts to get cold eh. Ukiughaq would be the fall, ukiuq is the winter.

DK: Ukiughaq?

EA: Ukiughaq is in the fall. Ukiuq is in the winter, upinngaghaq would be the early spring, upinngaamittauq...

FA: Upinngaaq, June.

EA: June.

DK: Upinngaaq?

EA: And the summer. Auyaq.

FA: Auyaq, August.

EA: August, around the month of August.

DK: So, there's no such thing as ukiaq?

FA: Ukiaq, October.

DK: Ukiaq?

FA: Ukiaq. It's October eh.

DK: Oh, so there is one.

EA: Ukiaq, okay then. So this would be early fall, ukiaghaq is the early fall.

DK: Ukiaghaq?

FA: Ukiaghaq, October.

EA: Early fall?

FA: Yeah, early fall.

EA: October?

FA: Yeah. November.

EA: What?

FA: November.

EA: October and November. But the winter is December and January, eh?

FA: Yes.

EA: What about February? February as well?

FA: People would start trapping in November a long time ago.

EA: Yeah?

FA: November is when people would go out trapping.

EA: In the fall?

FA: Yes. November.

EA: November, they would go trapping... they would be fox trapping. Trapping foxes around the month of November.

FA: December, Christmas.

DK: To go back to that storing clothing in the spring, is there a special name for those caches where they store clothing?

EA: When you stored your clothing, is there a term for it?

FA: The clothes that we stored?

EA: Yes.

FA: They would be stored in caches to be re-used in the fall eh, they'd take good care of their clothing making sure they won't spoil.

EA: Would they just be called caches?

FA: Yeah, uh-huh.

EA: They would call them the caches, they would cache their winter clothing in the cache, with the rocks.

FA: Yeah, rock cover.

EA: They would cover them with rocks.

DK: So is there a different word for meat cache?

EA: What about the meat caches, what were they called?

FA: Those...

EA: For meat.

FA: They would call them dry meat stored in caches, dry meat.

EA: A cache for dry meat?

FA: Yeah, they would be cached as well.

EA: How do you say it?

FA: Dry meat, a place for dry meat. A place to store dry meat is what they'd call the caches because they'd store dry meat in them.

EA: So they would call it the... to cache the dry meat, they would call it the dry meat cache. So a cache for the dry meat. And the cache for outer clothing, what would they be called?

FA: They'd be called tigullaaq eh, that's what they're called.

EA: Tigullaaqavik?

FA: Yeah.

EA: It's the clothing cache.

DK: Tigullaaqavik.

EA: Tigullaaqavik. Like that?

FA: Yeah. When the winter clothing is stored like that, that's how you say it.

EA: So, storing the winter clothing, the clothing.

FA: Yeah, that's how you'd say it.

EA: Oh, tigullaaqavik.

FA: Yeah, a place to store your winter clothing.

EA: But the ones for storing meat and dry meat are called meat caches?

FA: Yeah, and the caches for fish are called fish cache.

EA: How?

FA: Qingniq.

EA: Qingniq?

FA: Fish cache. A cache for storing fish.

DK: Qingniq?

FA: Yes. Qingniq.

DK: Qingniq.

EA: Qingniq. It's like saying Qingniqtaq?

FA: Yeah.

EA: Okay. Qingniq would be the fish cache.

FA: And the caches for storing dry fish are called dry fish caches, the caches where the dry fish were stored.

EA: Piffiun?

FA: Yeah, piffiun.

DK: A cache for dry fish?

FA: Uh-huh. Yeah, uh-huh.

DK: What about if it was just meat, like fresh meat?

EA: And for meat, when you store freshly caught meat, what would you call it?

FA: Meat that's to be aged. Aged meat. To be aged meat.

EA: A cache for aged meat? A cache for aged meat. So the freshly caught meat.

FA: When there's no chance of meat spoiling from worms they'd store meat in caches.

DK: A cache for meat that will be aged?

EA: A cache for meat that will be aged.

FA: The caribou meat.

EA: Okay, aged meat cache, freshly caught caribou and they're cached before they get any worms, like before the flies can get them then they would....

DK: Do I hear an "r" in there? Like niqaaqnittuut?

EA: Niqaaqnittuut?

FA: Yes. The cache for aged meat, they're stored in the summer. Yeah, in the summer.

DK: In the summer?

FA: They're stored in the summer to be aged.

EA: Yeah, stored in caches in the summer to be aged.

DK: So those good outer clothing skins, when do they, what season do they get them in? Summer or early fall?

EA: The outer parkas, are you talking about the outer clothing? Oh, okay. The outer clothing that are stored, when would people pick them up?

FA: When it starts to get cold they'd pick them up for use. When it starts to get cold.

EA: In the early fall eh?

FA: Once it starts to freeze up eh.

EA: Okay, when it first start icing up is when they get their outer clothing, their winter clothing.

DK: So when it first starts snowing?

EA: Yeah.

DK: So would that be here?

EA: Is that around here?

FA: Yeah, around here any where and at the mainland eh, that's what people would do a long time ago.

EA: Around this area or in the mainland.

FA: Yeah, that is what people did all the time because they were like one. Yeah, and in the fall...

EA: And in the summer at mainland? In the summer, ah how again, when people went to get their clothing at the mainland and here as well...

FA: It's the same.

EA: It's the same?

FA: Yeah.

EA: So either... or around the river area or on the mainland is when they get their cache, like their winter clothing or their spring, their clothing would be around this area too.

DK: Did I hear him say fall?

EA: You're talking about the fall eh?

FA: Yeah.

EA: He said in the early fall is when the ice start freezing, they would go and get their winter clothing from the mainland.

DK: So, is that in the early fall?

EA: In the early fall eh, is what you're talking about?

FA: Yes, uh-huh.

EA: Early fall is the fall from October, November.

DK: That's when the ice forms?

EA: Yeah.

DK: So is there such a thing as fall in your dialect?

EA: And in the fall is when it starts to get cold eh, fall?

FA: Yeah, uh-huh. When it starts to get cold outside, when it starts to freeze up around the lakes eh, when they're freezing up.

EA: Yeah, ukiuq would be in the winter time.

DK: Fall.

FA: Yeah.

EA: In the fall, winter, is the winter the same as fall?

FA: Fall is when it first freezes up, it's cold in the fall as well.

EA: Yeah, so it's the same.

DK: Ukiuq.

EA: Yeah.

DK: So which way do you say it?

EA: So ukiuq would be talking about last winter. Ukiuq would be talking about last winter. Just a minute, I'll be right back.

DK: Just gonna check that out?

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002
Interviews with Elders
Interviewee: Mary Avalak (MA)
Interviewers: Emily Angulalik (EA)

EA: Your name?

MA: I'm Mary Avalak.

EA: And who were your parents?

MA: Ekpakohainnak was my father, and my mother Quihok. My brothers as well?

EA: Your brothers, yeah.

MA: My younger brothers are Kingagolik, Nigiunaak, Epighaut, Nuyaaqqiq, Allen Navvalik, and I have a younger sister named Polly.

EA: Where were you born?

MA: I remember growing up in Iqaluktuuq, I was told I was born at Aniuvaagyuk.

EA: She was born around the area of Aniuvaagyuk. Aniuvaagyuk?

MA: Yes.

EA: Do you know what year?

MA: Yes. On May 13.

EA: What year?

MA: 1947.

DK: Where's Aniuvaagyuk?

MA: It's between here and Niaquqnaquyuaq.

EA: Niaquqnaquyuaq?

MA: Yes.

EA: Do you remember the Iqaluktuuq area?

MA: Yes. I remember growing up at Iqaluktuuq. This is where I grew up. I remember we were living alone with Hilaq's, my parents and Hilaq's. I remember traveling to Pangniqtuuq to trap for foxes and do some fishing as well with fish nets. I remember traveling from Pangniqtuuq, to areas such, I'm forgetting the names of the land I used to live around, Angmaluqtuq, Haklaaqyuk, I remember traveling to those areas. That's where we'd stay and set traps. We would spend the winter at Pangniqtuuq. We wouldn't spend the whole year there, when my father got quite a few foxes then we would come to our hut and my father would dry fox pelts there before we went on a trip to Cambridge Bay. And every spring around May we would travel to Ayapqaut and wait for ice fishing season, and during the season for ice fishing we would head out Qilanaaqtuaqyuk, Tahiqyuaq and Kuugaqyuaq. Sometimes we would spend the spring season at Kuugaqyuaq. We would fish during stops and make our way to Kuugaqyuaq.

EA: To Kuugaqyuaq?

MA: Yes, up there at Kuugaqyuaq. When we had settled there, we'd go on trips, only for, day trips, we would be out ice fishing and brought our catch to Kuugaqyuaq to dry when we got a lot. Once they were dry we would pack them in sack cloth and cache them. That's when sack clothes were available then.

EA: What is miisuk?

MA: Miisuk, how you say miisuk, it's like a netted material.

EA: Okay.

MA: Honey shackles, something like that. I forgot how you call them.

EA: Okay.

MA: That kind.

EA: Honey shackles?

MA: Something like that.

DK: Honeysuckles?

EA: Shackles.

MA: Once they were dry we would pack them and cache them. The fish would get dry, sometimes there'd be a lot of dry fish, dry is what we call them.

EA: Dry fish?

MA: Yes, lake trout, when the trout fish are dry. They would be really dry by August, July is when we'd spend time there and when August came, we would head out to Iqaluktuuq. We'd travel down to Iqaluktuuq. We would travel inland to the lake. Then we would head toward the ocean, when there's fish around the river, that's where we'd head. That's where we'd fish, this is after fish nets were in use, we'd get a lot of fish then. Around the end of August, around the 15th, we'd start catching a lot of fish and made a lot of dry fish then. Before the end of August, we would have a lot of fish drying and preparing them to

be stored in caches, there would be a lot, from here to that far, there would be a lot of fish. When they started to freeze in late August, that's what we did, when it started to freeze up. When they started to freeze up, we'd prepare them, freeze them and made caches for them, sometimes we would have a lot of caches too.

EA: What are qingniq's?

MA: Qingniq's are caches made of stones, they're called qingniq's.

EA: Caches?

MA: Caches, yes, there called fish caches. We call them qingniq. And the caches for meat only have another name. Meat such as caribou and musk-ox would be stored in other caches and are called piruyat.

EA: But fish caches are called qingniq?

MA: Qingniq is the term for fish cache once the fish are frozen. Food for winter. Food for us as well as the dogs. Once the fish were stored in caches, and the ice is thick enough then we'd go out sealing on the ocean. We didn't always head inland in May eh. Sometimes in May we would travel down to the islands and do some seal hunting, in the early spring.

EA: For seal fat?

MA: For seal fat, yeah. We would dry seal meat as well on the islands, we would be busy as well working on seals.

EA: You made dry meat from seals as well?

MA: Yeah, we would make a lot of dry seal meat too, very tasty.

DK: Was this at Takiyuaqyuk?

MA: Yes, here at Takiyuaqyuk. Once we were done there around the end of May we would come back here. In the fall, early fall we would come and fish with nets around here, once it started to freeze up, before the ice got too thick here at Ayapqaut. We would ice fish as well as fish with nets. When it was time to trap for foxes around the middle of November we would head inland. We didn't have a variety of food then except for seals and fish. In the spring time we'd hunt geese, when the geese arrived.

EA: Where did you go to hunt caribou?

MA: I don't recall seeing caribou around here, there was no caribou then...

EA: Here at Iqaluktuuq?

MA: Yes, there was no caribou. There would be a few once in a long while, maybe after a few years had passed then sometimes we'd come across caribou. That was it, sometimes there was none at all.

EA: So the people only ate seal and fish?

MA: Yes, yeah, around here. Only fish and seal. Fish, seals, those are what I grew up on. When it was spring though we'd eat geese as well as their eggs. That's how I grew up. We would also go and gather fire wood, we would gather fire wood because there wasn't any 2x4's then. Yeah, that's how I grew up.

DK: Did the women also do the fishing? Or only the.....

MA: No, just mostly my dad, my grampa, do most of the fishing, but women's like mostly prepared them. Cut fish. We would have a lot of dry fish then. It was our only food.

EA: Must have been fun.

MA: There was nobody else around, nobody around when I was growing up. Sometimes we would go on trips to Cambridge Bay to buy supplies such as sugar, flour, coffee and milk. When we made some money trapping foxes.

EA: When you went to Cambridge Bay, would you take your fox pelts there?

MA: Yes, when we brought our fox pelts to Cambridge Bay then we'd have some money then. We didn't get any other money then, seal skins weren't sold back then. Sometimes we'd get wolves too. Once in a long while.

EA: Are there any wolves around here? Iqaluktuuq.

MA: Once in a while when wolves come around there'd be wolves, although not many.

EA: Sounds like fun.

MA: Yes.

DK: When you were here fishing and making dry fish, and caching fish, where was it along the river that you always camped?

MA: Over at Ayapqaut, I don't know what Ayapqaut is called in English. I know it was only called Ayapqaut. When we camped down at Iqaluktuuq we would pack our fish on our backs and haul them to our cabin where we'd prepare them to dry. We worked hard back in those days, which was fun. It was fun back then, I enjoyed that then, just as it is fun now. Sometimes when I think of how we used to work, wish to do it over again, like the way I grew up. I wish to go back. I've got a lot of grandchildren now too...

EA: You want to share what it was like with them? Like, you want to show them what it was like.

MA: You know, go back to my home and show my grandchildren how... what I used to do. Everything what I used to do. I used to walk this far, back and forth, just to go see my Granny and my Grampa. Enjoying my world.

EA: Was it far?

MA: What was that?

EA: Was it a far walk to go see your granny and grampa?

MA: It's over there, where there's red, that point, can you see it?

EA: Uh-huh.

MA: That area, that's our old camp site. From our camp site at Iqaluktuuq I would walk there. Walking. It was not tiring then. No tiring at all. Jorgen and his wife made it. Should we stop this for a while?

EA: It's up to you.

MA: Is it going to be recorded?

EA: That's okay.

MA: It's okay?

EA: Do you want to continue with the interview or what?

DK: Did you want to go see these people?

MA: Not now.

DK: You know when you put the caches, was that in any specific place that you had the caches? Those big caches that you were talking about? The meat cache? Fish cache?

MA: Fish caches? We would have huge fish caches as well. Some would be big.

DK: Where?

MA: At Iqaluktuuq. Sometimes we'd have caches across there on those islands. Down there is what I should have mentioned earlier. I can picture that, that's where we had our campsite as well as our cabin.

DK: Maybe we should walk over there.

MA: Yeah, we should. I really really need to take a walk down there.

EA: Where?

MA: Down to Wellington Bay.

DK: On that side?

MA: Yeah.

DK: Other side?

MA: Yeah. Other side.

DK: We can do it.

EA: Why don't you take the four wheeler and go?

MA: If we go... too bad we can't get across eh?

DK: We could cross by boat and then walk.

MA: Yeah, I wouldn't mind walking.

EA: Can you cross just from around here and walk from there?

MA: Uh-huh. I can do that, me and my brother and...

DK: I'll come.

EA: I don't mind taking a walk there too.

MA: But it might be a little too far for you though.

EA: Why? Oh, it's up to you, doesn't matter. Would be interesting. But if... yeah, maybe Darren can take you guys over.

MA: I'm afraid he might tire you out. It's quite a distance that's why. If we went this way from here it's not that far alright.

EA: Well why don't you do that? Take the video camera. Not living with him? Like...

MA: With a man I love, it's very very kind of like, you seen it before and you used to have good times and go travelling. I used to travel with him by dog team only. There was no skidoos those days. And his dad, I used to go with his dad. Him and I mostly go with his dad but, later on, after a year, and then Analok, his dad, he start leaving us alone and him and I only do... I don't go up that way anymore, like where I used to go. But they were living in Cambridge Bay already.

EA: Was he teaching you guys how to do the hunting and that?

MA: Uh-huh.

EA: When he took you guys along?

DK: Analok?

MA: Uh-huh. So we had...

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewee: Annie Anayoak (AA)

Interviewers: Darren Keith (DK); Emily Angulalik (EA)

EA: You can start with your name and your parents too.

AA: My parents were Avaliraqs. My father was Avaliraq, my mother was Maghagak, no, Nalikkak, me I'm Maghagak.

EA: What is your name?

AA: Annie Maghagak.

EA: Annie Maghagak?

AA: That's what my family named me. Now I'm called Annie Anayoak because I was married to Sammy. You must know my first husband Panioyakkak eh?

EA: I don't know who he is but I've heard of him.

DK: When and where was she born?

EA: Where were you born?

AA: Analok mentioned that I was born here at Haklaaqyuk but I don't know where it is.

EA: Oh, at Haklaaqyuk?

AA: Yes, this was while my parents were hunting caribou with Nuitiqtuq's. I think my mother was with the caribou hunters when I was left out on land. She was going to leave me out there.

EA: You?

AA: Yeah, when my mother had delivered me.

EA: Oh, when she was born around this area her mother had placed her on the ground and left her there. Who picked you up?

AA: Tologaknaaraq's and Nuitiqtuq's had been together caribou hunting and Hukkayahuk was the one that picked me up.

EA: Oh, okay. So she's the one that picked you up?

AA: Yes, my mother had left me out there.

EA: Oh, okay. So Hukkayaq, a lady by the name of Hukkayaq had grabbed her and taken her because her mother had just left her there. And then she was adopted out to another family.

AA: Because there was no bottles back then, you know the sac of the ptarmigan throat, that was emptied out and I was fed broth with it.

EA: Her mother had left her and she had no bottle to be fed, so her adoptive mother had taken the tube, the throat of the ptarmigan and then fed her with soup and that's how she survived.

AA: Later on my parents had taken me back after leaving me out there first.

EA: How old were you then?

AA: I don't think I was even a year old when they took me back, they must've taken me back because Hukkayaq was quite old. She's the one that picked me up.

EA: Her adoptive mother, well she wasn't really adopted to this old lady, because her biological parents had grabbed her or taken her again and then she was raised from there.

AA: That's what I've heard so that's what I know. I only know that part.

EA: So that's the part that she remembers like, that she was told about it.

AA: I was born in 1931, there were no white men around here then eh.

EA: So around 1931 she was born and... there were no white men then eh?

AA: There weren't any white men around except in Cambridge Bay.

EA: That was before any white southern people came up here.

DK: And did she say she is an Iqaluktuuqmiutaq?

EA: Do you know if your from Iqaluktuuq?

AA: I remember my parents being here at Iqaluktuuq.

EA: Yes, she recalls living around Iqaluktuuq. Living around the land when she was a child.

AA: They would spend some time at the mainland as well, I remember they'd walk inland with dogs that were packing supplies.

EA: She recalls as a young person too, going to mainland, and camp around that area.

AA: I remember when I was growing up there weren't very many people, I didn't know there was people all over.

EA: She remembers that, she used to think there would be no people around, but as they were travelling around to certain places then she realized there were people. When they were going to this certain camp.

DK: Those times when they went to mainland, would they spend the whole winters there?

EA: Would you spend a winter in the mainland?

AA: Yeah. My family always spent time there after they spent some time here.

EA: First, they would camp around here and they would go to mainland and then spend time there.

DK: So what time of year would they be in mainland?

EA: What time during the year, or month would you be at mainland?

AA: In the early spring time eh.

EA: In the early spring?

AA: Yeah.

EA: Around the spring time.

AA: When the weather got warmer people would travel around then.

EA: She said when the people were, like, every spring time people would travel along and go to this area.

DK: Mainland?

EA: To the mainland?

AA: Yeah, mainland eh.

DK: So what would they be doing there in the early spring?

EA: What did you do at the mainland in the early spring?

AA: My family would travel around mostly alone, my father would always be alone that's why.

EA: Her parents would be travelling alone most of the time and they would be hunting and camping around that area.

AA: I remember as I grew bigger his companions would be his younger and older brothers.

EA: She remembers that her dad would be travelling with his younger brother and older brother as well and be travelling around the mainland.

DK: Did he hunt caribou at that time?

EA: Did they hunt for caribou?

AA: They hunted for caribou as well as molting birds in the summer.

EA: Yeah, in the summer time they would be out caribou hunting and catching ducks, little ducklings or geese.

AA: And in the fall time we would head down towards the ocean.

EA: In the early fall?

AA: Yes.

EA: So in the winter time too, they would prepare themselves and go to the ocean.

DK: Oh, in the winter?

EA: Yeah.

DK: So they would go to the ocean from mainland?

EA: Yeah, in the fall time, they would go from the mainland they would travel back to the ocean.

DK: So would they do fishing when they were on mainland?

AA: Yeah.

EA: Would you be fishing as well at the mainland?

AA: Yeah, yes.

DK: Was there any specific place?

EA: Do you remember the name of the place?

AA: We would be over at Kulgayuk, I remember being at Kulgayuk as well at the river Katimaak.

EA: Yeah she knows the place called Kulgayuk and it's on the mainland. There's a river there eh?

AA: Yes, a river.

EA: There's a river by that area too, and it's on the mainland.

DK: And what was that place? Katimannak?

AA: Katimaak.

EA: Katimaak?

AA: Yeah, the river at Kulgayuk.

DK: Is that a place or the river?

EA: Is the name of the river Katimaak?

AA: Yeah, a river.

EA: Yeah, the place of the river. This is Iqaluktuuq right?

AA: The river which is further up is Katimaak.

EA: Yeah, it would be called Katimaak.

AA: When I was a young girl my parents were at Kulgayuk with Ohokak's.

EA: I remember as a young girl that we would be travelling down to Kulgayuk along with a family by the name of Ohokaks.

AA: Hilaaq's were there as well, Aqhaaqyuk's parents, yeah, her mothers parents.

EA: Okay, and also they would be travelling along with Mary Avalak's grandparents.

AA: They had elderly companions by the name of Ohokak's, Ohokannoak's, Henry's father. Etegik was young then too, Mabel's first husband, and a young boy that was living with Ipiqhauraaluk's, Titaaq, he was disabled, Etigik and Titaaq went out to collect eggs rowing with a canoe.

EA: Where did they go?

AA: They went down towards the ocean to collect eggs.

EA: How?

AA: To collect eggs, they went to collect eggs.

EA: Oh, they went to collect eggs?

AA: Yes.

EA: She recalls, was this your father?

AA: Who?

EA: Who was it? I forgot.

AA: My brother Aagaq, I'm going to tell you about the past. He went along to collect eggs.

EA: Her brother Aagaq and two other people that she remembers seeing them travelling up and going egg hunting.

AA: When they returned, as they were coming, my brother was yelling, the tents were higher up that's why, because their companion got shot.

EA: What's that?

AA: They had shot their companion Titaaq. They hauled him home to the tent. I remember that. The young person that Ipiqhauraaluk's were keeping, he's disabled. He had been shot. This was when they were collecting eggs.

EA: What?

AA: He had shot him.

EA: He shot him?

AA: Yeah. He lived for three days before he died.

EA: Did he shoot himself?

AA: He didn't mean to shoot, he forgot it was loaded, he was fooling around eh.

EA: There was an accident out at the boat...

AA: Where they were collecting eggs eh.

EA: When they were egg hunting. The three guys, her brother Aagaq and Etigik, who was the other one?

AA: Titaaq.

EA: Titaaq. By the name of Titaaq, a man by the name of Titaaq, they were out egg hunting up by the islands and then one of them had accidentally shot... Aagaq accidentally shot?

AA: Etigik had shot him, accidentally shot him. They had started playing around that's why when they were collecting eggs.

EA: They had an accident. He accidentally shot another... Etigik... they were fooling around and he didn't realize the gun was loaded and then he accidentally shot this younger guy, his name was Titaaq. He lived for three days but then he passed away.

AA: That was at Kulgayuk I mentioned earlier.

EA: At Kulgayuk?

AA: Yes.

EA: This happened at Kulgayuk, up by the mainlands.

AA: I remember that really well, when he got shot.

EA: Shocking eh?

AA: It was really shocking. My brother was yelling because they were carrying a wounded person.

EA: Yeah, it was a shock for them because her brother was screaming and yelling and telling them something had happened and then from there they realized that an accident had happened.

AA: I remember when the white people started living in Cambridge Bay... I remember that as well when I was young, when the white people started going to Cambridge Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company, the R.C.M.P. and Canalaska had houses there as well as the missionaries.

EA: In Cambridge Bay?

AA: Yes.

EA: She recalls when Cambridge Bay was first established. There were the Canalaska Trading Post, RCMP and the missionary. Was the RC Mission or Anglican?

AA: Anglican.

EA: Oh, okay, Anglican minister were just establishing in Cambridge Bay at that time and she remembers when there was no white men around.

AA: That's when we settled there on the north side.

EA: On the north side?

AA: Yeah, we didn't travel back to the mainland when I grew older and had married.

EA: She said they hardly ever went to the mainland after she got married, as she got older and after she got married. Where did you camp then?

AA: We were at the river by Cambridge Bay, but we'd come here after Panioyak and I married.

EA: When my first husband and I, when we first got together we would be going out camping, either by the river in Cambridge Bay as well as... sometimes we would come down here around Iqaluktuuq to go camping.

AA: My first husband Panioyakkak and I had 8 children.

EA: My first husband and I had 8 children altogether.

AA: Now there are only 3 of them left.

EA: There's only three left that are alive. What happened to the rest of them?

AA: Some of my children had passed away. My youngest daughter from my first husband Panioyakkak is down there, you know she's deaf mute.

EA: Most of them had past away when they were just babies. My youngest one is the one that is deaf mute. She's in Cambridge Bay and she's our youngest.

AA: Panioyakkak had drank what he wasn't supposed to, my first husband had been drinking when I was at work at the transient centre.

EA: Did he die from that?

AA: Yeah.

EA: My first husband or her first husband had passed away by drinking ethyl... or wood alcohol maybe and from there he had passed away when she was working at the transient centre.

AA: No, he had told me to go and play cards, I had the two children then, Darlene and Murphy, and he told me to go and play cards, I didn't play cards so much then but that's when he had drank what he wasn't supposed to.

EA: She got mistaken here, her husband had told her to go and play cards. She never used to play a lot of cards at that time, but her husband had told her to go and play cards and take along the two younger children so she had done that. Did you go and play cards?

AA: When I got home in the morning to get ready for work, Nuaniqhuk was packing one of my kids and I went home. I started realizing that something was wrong when we went to bed, he had gone blind. He kept saying to me as he was feeling around to lay down on the bed, "Aah, aah" so I asked him "What's wrong with you?" and he replied "Annie, I can't stand this, shoot me." I thought then I would find a rifle close by. He was going to be sent out and his stomach was pumped out, he was sent to the nursing station but that's where he died. This was while I was working at the transient center. That's the time he passed away.

EA: She said she remembers when her husband had told her to go and play cards, so she went and she went and went to go play cards and when she got home she didn't realize for the longest time her husband had, he kept moaning as if he was in pain and he kept looking... like you know how blind people are, he kept looking for things and they can't... and that's how he was, and then... she didn't know that he was in this situation, in this state... the time she went to go work, and then when she got home from work, she asked her husband because she was... like just when they were going to sleep he was... he kept moaning and you know... like... as if he was in pain and that and she finally asked him "What's the matter?" and then her husband said "Annie, just shoot me, I'm so much in pain." So she brought him to the nursing station and then... was he sent away?

AA: He was about to be sent out but he stopped breathing.

EA: Just when they were going to send him out but he passed away then. You wanted to ask her or what?

DK: What was it like when they used to live here? When they used to come camping here?

EA: He would like to know what it was like when you came to Iqaluktuuq.

AA: Who?

EA: Him.

AA: I haven't been here in a long time after I married Panioyakkak. This is my first time here in a long time. I was told that my parents used to live here when I was little.

EA: Do you remember being here?

AA: Yeah, but I forgot.

EA: I remember being here but I really forgot what it used to be like here because after my husband died I haven't come here since. As a child she came around here, she grew up here but she really doesn't recall what it was like.

AA: Yeah, I don't remember.

EA: She's forgotten.

AA: After Panioyak had passed away my brother set me up with Sammy, it wasn't even a week later.

EA: She said that after her husband died just less than a week her brother had asked Annie to live with her second husband, his name was Sam Anayoak. Her brother had told her to...

DK: Arranged it?

EA: Did he want him that's why?

AA: My brother had wanted me to stay with him, he was your brother in-law eh?

EA: Yeah.

AA: Sammy Anayoak.

EA: Yeah, that was my brother in-law as well but she mentioned that her brother had arranged their marriage so they got together. Annie and Sam Anayoak.

AA: Sammy that passed away last year eh. You know who he is.

EA: Yeah, last year or the year before her husband had just passed away. We were out of town then.

AA: Yeah?

EA: Yeah, we were out of town then.

AA: He was out caribou hunting.

EA: Was he alone?

AA: Yeah, he was alone.

EA: He went out caribou hunting. Her husband went out caribou hunting alone and then that's when he died. Who found him?

AA: My son Murphy was out working but he knew he was out, he kept phoning to see if he had returned. It was so that he wouldn't return. A search party was sent to look for him and he was found by Okhina's son and Danny Mala. He was in this position where he had caught his caribou.

EA: Where was this?

AA: You know where we get our water from, there on the other side.

EA: Her husband was found when... like her son was worried about him because he couldn't come home and everytime he would call from work and ask if his dad was home and she would say he hasn't arrived yet, her son and couple of guys went to go and look for him and just behind water lake, around water lake he was found. Facing down on the snow while he was cutting caribou. Was he still alive?

AA: He was still alive but he was unconscious, I got a call from the nursing station when they brought him back so I went up.

EA: She said that he was unconscious. Like he didn't know, he was breathing alright but when they brought him to the health centre, that's when he passed away.

AA: It's hard.

EA: She said she's had hardships.

AA: I had two children from him.

EA: She said she had two children from Sam. And they both had passed away too. They're both gone as well?

AA: Yeah. The son Sammy and I had drowned too.

Iqaluktuuq Project 2002

Interviews with Elders

Interviewers: Darren Keith (DK); Max Friesen (MF); Emily Angulalik (EA)

Interviewee: Matthew Ehaloak (ME)

EA: This is Matthew Ehaloak and he is going to talk a bit about Iqaluktuuq.

ME: I'm Matthew Ehaloak and I want to talk a little bit. This was my homeland quite a few years ago. 60 years ago I think. Like that? All the way or what?

EA: Wait until he asks the questions. After he asks the questions you can answer, eh?

DK: So why don't we start with where and when he was born?

EA: Where were you born?

ME: Somewhere around here, I don't know.

EA: Is it close to Iqaluktuuq?

ME: Yeah.

EA: What were your parents names?

ME: Nuitiqtuq and Akuaqhiut.

EA: Were they from this area?

ME: Yeah.

DK: So, he's from Iqaluktuuq?

EA: He asked if you were from Iqaluktuuq?

ME: Yeah, from Iqaluktuuq, around here. Somewhere.

DK: Maybe you could tell us what it was like growing up around here.

EA: When you were young, when you were a child what did you do? What was it like here in Iqaluktuuq?

ME: There was no caribou and musk-ox around here. There. There was only people here.

EA: He said there was hardly any caribou and musk-ox just mainly people around here.

DK: So that was when he was a kid?

EA: Was that when you were a child?

ME: Yeah. I didn't know much, I was just a child.

EA: That's okay.

DK: So what does he remember them doing when they were here?

EA: Do you remember what the people did around here when you were a child?

ME: During the winter they would trap foxes, seal hunt and fish, they would trap foxes.

EA: He said they would be going out, like he remembers as a young person that they would be trapping, fishing and hunting.

DK: So is there any particular area along the river that they used to camp?

EA: Where did you have a camp?

ME: We used to camp around here on the other side.

EA: On the other side?

ME: Across there on the other side, at Iqaluktuuq.

EA: So you had camped at Iqaluktuuq across there?

ME: Yes.

EA: So from over on that area.

DK: Across from here?

EA: Yeah. And the mouth of Iqaluktuuq.

DK: So is there any particular time of year that they would be camping over here?

EA: Was it in the spring that you camped around here?

ME: Around here.

EA: Was it in the summer or in the spring, do you remember?

ME: We'd make dry fish in the spring. It's quite a distance from here.

EA: It's a little further from here, they would go to this camp in the spring time and make dry fish.

DK: Is it further than that little island Nuqqaqnaq?

EA: Is it close to Nuqqaqnaq? Around there? Where is it? There's a little island around here, is it close by or further?

ME: It's quite a distance over there. On the other side across there.

EA: A little further than the island.

DK: Was there a place name there?

EA: Is there a name for that area that you camped, do you know?

ME: It's called Kuugaqyuaq.

EA: Kuugaqyuaq.

DK: So here. Iqaluktuuq, Kuugaqyuaq.

ME: Right here. There. Yeah.

DK: So would they be catching fish in Kuugaqyuaq or in the lake?

EA: Were you fishing further up Kuugaqyuaq River or in the lake?

ME: At the mouth of the river. Around here, over there.

EA: Okay, part of the river here. Part of the river they would be fishing.

DK: In those days how were they fishing? By fish spear or?

EA: How did you do your fishing back then, were you using the fish spear or the fish nets?

ME: We would use spears and fish nets as well.

EA: With fish spears as well as with fish nets.

DK: And at that time when he was little and they were at Kuugaqyuaq, after they were finished there, where would they go?

EA: After you did your fishing at Kuugaqyuaq where did you move?

ME: We went over there, right around here on the other side.

EA: On the other side.

DK: So they would come in here?

EA: Yeah, right around here, eh?

ME: Yeah, we lived in this area right here. When we were done over there we'd come here.

EA: Is there a name for it?

ME: Ayapqaut.

EA: Ayapqaut?

DK: Ayapqaut? What time of year was that?

EA: What time during the year? What time of the year?

DK: Summer?

EA: Do you remember if it was summer or spring when you moved here?

ME: When the fish are going upstream is when we'd come to Iqaluktuuq.

EA: In the summer?

ME: In the summer during the month of August.

EA: Okay, so around the fall time like they would come around here.

DK: Right in Iqaluktuuq?

EA: Here in Iqaluktuuq?

DK: Or when would they be at Ayapqaut?

EA: When did you move on to Ayapqaut?

ME: In July.

EA: In July?

ME: Yes.

EA: So you'd be in Ayapqaut in July and at Iqaluktuuq in August?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Okay, so from Ayapqaut in July they would travel on to Iqaluktuuq around August.

DK: And what were they doing at Ayapqaut?

EA: What did you do in Ayapqaut?

ME: We'd be fishing and people would go sealing using rowboats.

EA: So they would be fishing, fishing and seal hunting with their qayaq, like their boat. Was it qayaq or boat?

ME: With boats, they'd be rowing only, there were no motors then.

EA: They had no engines so they would be rowing.

DK: So Ayapqaut is here eh?

EA: Is Ayapqaut around that area?

ME: Yeah, around there.

EA: This is Iqaluktuuq here.

ME: Yeah it's close to this area here.

EA: And the name is Ayapqaut?

ME: Yeah. It's called Ayapqaut.

EA: Is that it there?

DK: Kikighittaaq? Ayapqaut. Nuqqaqnak. Iqaluktuuq.

ME: Where's that area called Qiqighittaaq?

EA: Is this area called Qiqighittaaq?

ME: Yes. It's right around here close by.

EA: Is it close by? Here's Ayapqaut.

ME: Yes.

EA: It's right here. Nuqqaqnak?

DK: Nukaqnak. Qikiqtannuaq.

ME: Yes.

DK: Nuqaqnak.

EA: Nukaqnak.

DK: So they would actually go sealing from here?

EA: Did you go out sealing from here, from Ayapqaut?

ME: No.

EA: No.

ME: When we camped at Iqaluktuuq we'd go sealing while we fished there.

EA: Around the mouth of Iqaluktuuq.

DK: So what month was that in?

EA: What time of year, what month was it? What month was it in?

ME: Every September.

EA: Okay, around the month of September.

DK: Okay. So does he remember what they were doing when they were camped at Ayapqaut?

EA: Do you remember when you were at Ayapqaut? Do remember what you did there?

ME: We only fished there, there was nothing else around, no caribou.

EA: So they would be caribou hunting, they would be fishing, sorry. They would be fishing, there was no caribou at all.

DK: How would they be fishing?

EA: What did you use then when you were fishing?

ME: Fish nets.

EA: Fish nets?

ME: Yes.

EA: Okay, they would be fishing with fish nets.

DK: And does he know anything about Ayapqaut? Like are there old sites there? How was it used in the past?

EA: Do you know of any old camp sites around the Ayapqaut area as well as any caches?

ME: There are some old camp sites around there but there are no caches there except around here.

EA: So there's ah...are there many old camp sites around there?

ME: Not very many.

EA: Not very many?

ME: Yeah.

EA: There's a few sites around that area. But most of the caches would be further up.

DK: Towards the mouth?

EA: Yeah, towards the mouth.

DK: Did you ever hear about this being a caribou crossing?

EA: Do you know of any caribou crossings? Caribou crossing.

ME: No, I don't know of any caribou crossing, I was born a little later so I don't know.

EA: So he said he was born, he was... he doesn't remember the place called caribou crossing. It was much too older.

DK: So in August when they fished in Iqaluktuuq itself, where would they camp?

EA: When you camped at Iqaluktuuq in August, where did you have your camp?

ME: At Iqaluktuuq, around this area here.

DK: At the mouth of Iqaluktuuq?

ME: Yeah. This is on the other side.

DK: Okay. Camp on the north side.

EA: North side of Iqaluktuuq.

DK: At the mouth of Iqaluktuuq. So what would they be doing at that time?

EA: What did you do in that area?

ME: We would fish during the early fall and when it froze up we would finish.

EA: So they would be fishing around that area, and everytime its freeze up time then they would stop fishing.

DK: About when did it freeze up?

EA: When did it start freezing up?

ME: It would freeze up around September and when we were done we would go seal hunting down there.

EA: So in September when it's freeze up time they would go towards the ocean and seal hunt, seal hunt.

ME: Was it down here that we went, to Niaquqnaquyuaq.

EA: To Niaquqnaquyuaq?

ME: Yes. Where is it, right here.

EA: So they would go around Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: So which is that? What's Niaquqnaqyuaq?

EA: Right there, it's right here. Around here.

DK: That point? The point?

ME: Right here, in here somewhere.

DK: Can he point to it? That's Niaquqnaqyuaq?

EA: Niaquqnaqyuaq.

ME: Yeah.

DK: Is it just this spot or is it that point?

EA: Is this area Niaquqnaqyuaq only or is it this whole area?

ME: Just this is Niaquqnaqyuaq.

EA: Just that spot is Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: What does that mean?

EA: Do you know why they call it Niaquqnaqyuaq?

ME: Because it's short and it's shaped like a head. There's also a ball there.

EA: Is there a ball around there?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Because it's... or is it because it's rocky?

ME: It's a very rocky area with cliffs.

EA: It's because it's shaped like a... is it because it's shaped like a head?

ME: Yeah. And it's round.

EA: Because it's shaped... it's called Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: Shaped like a head?

EA: Yeah.

DK: The cliffs?

EA: There's a lot of cliffs.

ME: It's all cliff. Rock, very rocky.

EA: It's all cliff, very rocky, rocks. Are there any cliffs at Niaquqnaqyuaq?

ME: Yeah.

DK: Niaquqnaqyuaq.

EA: Yeah, Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: So that was in the fall in September when they would seal. So they would seal from here?

EA: Did you do any seal hunting there in September?

ME: It would freeze up in October.

EA: Okay, October.

DK: But in September they would be sealing by rowboat?

EA: Would you do any seal hunting by rowboat in September?

ME: Yeah.

EA: But when it freezes up in October...

ME: We would move to Niaquqnaqyuaq from here, down here.

EA: So around the month of September, they would be travelling on to Niaquqnaqyuaq.

DK: By rowboat?

EA: By rowboat? Would you travel there on a boat?

ME: Yeah, with a boat, we would also travel by dog team to this area.

EA: Walking as well?

ME: Yes. We would travel here from this area on a dog team.

EA: So they would walk to Niaquqnaqyuaq, by dogs, like walk their dogs and go to that particular spot.

DK: And then he said in October, that's when the sea would freeze up?

EA: Would this area freeze up in October? The ocean, does the ocean freezes up in October?

ME: When it freezes up we would travel on that way to Paalliqyuaq.

EA: So when it's freeze up, freezes up they would go to Paalliqyuaq.

DK: Oh, okay.

ME: Where abouts is it.

DK: Paalliqyuaq?

ME: Yes. I wonder if it's here.

EA: This is Paalliqyuaq. This area.

ME: Yeah, it's right there.

EA: This river is Iqaluktuuq, and this is Paalliqyuaq.

ME: Yeah, that's it there and we would go to the lake here.

EA: They would go to the lake around Paalliqyuaq.

ME: In the early fall we would go and set our nets when it froze up.

DK: Ugyulik?

EA: Is this area Uyaraghukyulik? Paalliqyuaq. This area is Uyaraghukyulik.

DK: Is that where they would go?

EA: Would you travel to that area as well?

ME: No. To a small lake.

DK: A small lake? Would they go up that river though?

EA: Would you travel up the river to this area?

ME: No. We didn't have any boats, when it first starts to snow we would fish with nets in the fall.

EA: So they would do their fishing with nets around here.

DK: And that was in October?

EA: Was that in October?

ME: Yeah.

DK: Okay, fishing by nets. Were they also seal hunting at this time or no?

EA: Would you also do some seal hunting around this area by Paalliqyuaq?

ME: No, we wouldn't be sealing during freeze up as we weren't able to use our boats. When there was no way to travel on the boat we would be fish netting then.

EA: Everytime it's boating season, they would use their boat and go up here too.

DK: But when they moved from Niaquqnaqyuaq to Paalliqyuaq was that over the ice or by boat?

EA: How would you travel from Iqaluktuuq to Paalliqyuaq, was it on a boat or with a dog team? How did you travel?

ME: When there was no way to travel by boat we would wait for freeze up on the lake, we would wait for snow fall there.

EA: Yeah, what about from here, when you were done your fishing at Iqaluktuuq how would you travel to Paalliqyuaq?

ME: It would freeze up then, we would wait for freeze up around here.

EA: Yes, when it froze up then would you travel on to the sea ice?

ME: No. We would come to this area on a boat.

EA: Okay, so by boat they would go to Paalliqyuaq, and then from Paalliqyuaq they would wait until freeze up.

DK: Okay. And where would they go after that?

EA: Where would you travel to when you were done at Paalliqyuaq? Would you come to this area?

ME: We would wait for trapping season around this area here.

EA: So they would stay there and do their trapping.

DK: Okay.

EA: Yeah, so they would stay there and do their trapping around this area.

DK: Was there any sealing? Any... did they do any seal hunting out on the ice?

EA: Would you go on to the sea ice to seal hunt? Would you go seal hunting as well?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Would you hunt for seals there?

ME: Down at Tikiraaqyuk.

EA: At Tikiraaqyuk? Right here?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Tikiraaqyuk. Right there.

DK: What time of year would they leave Paalliqyuaq to go there?

EA: When would you travel from Paalliqyuaq to Tikiraaqyuk? What year, what month?

ME: After it freezes up in November.

EA: In November?

ME: Yeah. December, somewhere around there.

EA: How would you travel, was it on a dog team?

ME: Yeah, only with dogs, we would walk with them.

EA: Okay, so by dog team they would go to Tikiraaqyuk.

DK: So when they were trapping in Paalliqyuaq what kind of dwelling were they using? Were they still in tents right up until they left for Tikiraaqyuk?

EA: When you camped at Paalliqyuaq were you using tents then?

ME: Tents.

EA: Tents? Okay.

ME: Like this.

EA: They would use tents.

DK: So how long would they stay around this area for sealing?

EA: Would you do some seal hunting as well at Tikiraaqyuk? Around here?

ME: Yeah. Around here.

DK: And then how long, when, how long would they be sealing before they changed?

EA: How long would you stay there, how many months did you hunt for seals around Tikiraaqyuk?

ME: We would travel on down after Christmas, it would be really cold then, it gets really cold.

EA: And when would you stop?

ME: People then would trap foxes all winter.

EA: So they would stay there all year long, like all winter long. For the whole winter.

DK: And then when would they move on?

EA: Where would you travel on to? What month would you start traveling again?

ME: Around the months of January and February.

EA: In either January or February? Okay.

ME: Really cold around there.

EA: Then where would you go from here?

ME: We would do some fish netting in the lake, around here.

EA: Okay. So when you were done at Tikiraaqyuk you traveled over here?

ME: Yeah.

EA: So they would travel on to Uyaraghukyulik.

ME: Where abouts. To Paalliqyuaq.

EA: To Paalliqyuaq?

ME: Yes.

EA: So from Tikiraaqyuk they would go to Paalliqyuaq.

DK: When was that?

EA: When was this? In January, February, or March?

ME: Around February.

EA: They would travel on. He mentioned that he... they would do their hunting.

DK: February?

EA: Yeah. Around here and then travel up here around February.

DK: So what were they doing up here now?

EA: What did you do in Paalliqyuaq in February? He would like to know.

ME: We would return down this way and do some seal hunting.

EA: When you were done your sealing would you come to this area?

ME: Yeah.

EA: And what did you do here?

ME: We would fish with nets.

EA: They would do their fishnetting.

DK: Through the ice?

EA: On the ice?

ME: Yeah. With fish nets.

DK: In the river itself?

EA: Here on the river?

ME: On the lake here.

EA: Around the lake they would do their fishnetting.

DK: Around the lakes? Was it any specific lake? Was it Uyarahukyulik?

EA: Where was this?

ME: At Haklaaqyuk.

EA: At Haklaaqyuk?

ME: Yes. Right there?

EA: Right here is Haklaaqyuk.

ME: Right here, there.

DK: So how long would they stay there till they moved on to somewhere else?

EA: How long would you stay there? How many months would you spend at Haklaaqyuk?

ME: We would return in March to do more seal hunting.

EA: In March?

ME: Yeah.

EA: So they would travel back to this area and do their seal hunting.

DK: What were they hunting? Were they hunting baby seals then?

EA: Seal pups... would you hunt for seal pups?

ME: Yeah. In April, April, May. We would catch some seal pups.

EA: So they would be hunting for seals then, and then by April and May they would be seal pup hunting.

DK: So in May they would still be out there? When would they move on?

EA: Would you be in this area around May?

ME: Yeah.

EA: In May. Where... where would you travel from here when you were done sealing?

ME: Over there to Halukvik.

EA: To Halukvik?

ME: To Halukvik.

EA: Where is Halukvik again?

ME: Here somewhere.

EA: Oh, right here. So when you were done sealing you moved on to Halukvik?

ME: Yeah.

DK: Halukviit?

EA: How do you pronounce it? Halukviit or Halukvik?

ME: Halukviit.

EA: Halukviit?

ME: Yeah.

DK: What would they be doing there?

EA: What would you be doing there? At Halukviit?

ME: We would be hunting for geese when they arrived as well as sealing, that's what we'd do.

EA: We would be geese hunting and seal hunting same time around that area.

DK: And that was in May?

EA: What month would that be, May, June? Was it May or June?

ME: In May.

DK: So by that time were they still in snow houses?

EA: Were you in snow houses then? Was it snow houses or tents?

ME: We would live in snow houses and then when it got warmer we would use tents.

EA: So they would be in snow houses but everytime it gets warm they would use the tents then.

DK: So when he says Halukviit, does he mean in the point here or the river?

EA: What you were just talking about, you were saying this is Halukviit and is this river Halukviit as well?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Is this whole area Halukviit then?

ME: This lake is Pangniqtuuq, Halukvik, Pangniqtuuq.

EA: So Pangniqtuuq lake would be around this area too.

DK: Pangniqtuuq?

ME: Yeah, this area, is this different?

EA: This area is Halukviit.

ME: The lake Pangniqtuuq is around the Halukviit area.

EA: This is a mistake then?

ME: Yes.

EA: This is Pangniqtuuq here, it's quite a distance eh?

ME: Yes. Halukviit is where Pangniqtuuq is located.

EA: Okay, so Pangniqtuuq is close... Halukviit is close to Pangniqtuuq.

ME: This lake is Pangniqtuuq, right there.

EA: Is this area Halukviit, right here?

ME: This is Halukviit.

EA: What about this area?

ME: This is a river right here.

EA: Yeah the river is visible here.

DK: So where would they be geese hunting, on the point or in the river?

EA: Would you do your geese hunting here or here in the river?

ME: We would hunt for geese on the other side here. Right around here close by.

EA: They would be hunting around this little point here.

DK: Did it have a name?

EA: Is there a name for that area?

ME: I don't know, I have never heard the name.

EA: I don't know if it's got a name around there.

DK: So that was in May. When would they move on to somewhere else?

EA: When you came this way, when you were done in May where would you go, where would you travel?

ME: Over here, we would come back here.

EA: They would go back.

DK: When was that?

EA: When was this, do you know what month?

ME: In May, or was it in June.

EA: May, June.

DK: Back to Kuugaqyuaq?

ME: To Kuugaqyuaq.

EA: They would travel to Kuugaqyuaq.

DK: In May or June?

EA: In May or June. Around the months of May, June.

ME: Yeah.

DK: So I guess they could travel by dogs all the way?

EA: Would you travel to Halukviit on a dog team?

ME: We would travel only on dog teams.

EA: Just by dogteams is what we had for transportation.

DK: I heard that at one time the winter clothing would be stored, when would they do that and where?

EA: He has heard that people would store their winter clothing in caches. Do you know anything about that?

ME: No. We would only have caribou skin clothes.

EA: He wants to find out where people sometimes stored their clothing, do you know any thing about that?

ME: No.

EA: No.

DK: So when they were at Kuugaqyuaq and they were making dry fish, would they cache it?

EA: When you made dry fish at Kuugaqyuaq would you cache it too?

ME: We would store them in caches on this island.

EA: They would go to an island and cache them.

ME: Around here.

EA: Around there?

ME: Around there, on the small island.

EA: The smallest one?

ME: Yeah the small one.

DK: See if we could see it on this one.

EA: It could be one of them, it must be around there, eh.

DK: I don't think it's going to show on this one, maybe. This right here is this.

EA: Is it that?

ME: Yes.

DK: So Kuugaqyuaq is here.

EA: That is Kuugaqyuaq, right here, or is it this, this little one here?

ME: It's so small it's not shown here. It is very small.

EA: The smaller one, eh? So the smallest island, they would cache their fish.

ME: It is very small.

EA: Yeah, the smaller one, eh?

DK: What's it called when you cache some dry fish?

EA: What is the term when you cache dry fish, what would you call the cache for dry fish?

ME: Dry fish, white fish, lake trout, arctic char.

EA: How do you say it, is there a name? Is there a name for when people cached dry fish?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Do you know?

ME: No.

EA: There is a name, but he doesn't know what it is.

DK: Is there a name for that little island?

EA: Is there a name for that little island?

ME: I don't know what the name would be.

EA: He doesn't know.

DK: And then, when they were at Ayapqaut, would they be caching?

EA: Would you cache fish when you were at Ayapqaut?

ME: We would haul our fish down to Iqaluktuuq.

EA: They would take their fish and take them to the mouth of the river.

DK: So that's where he used to have all the caches?

EA: Would you store your meat in caches?

ME: Yeah, down there.

DK: So he said on the north side?

EA: Around here?

ME: Yeah.

EA: Yeah, on the north side.

DK: And those were dry fish or whole fish?

EA: Were they dry fish or fish, did you cache dry fish or whole fish, would you cache dry fish there?

ME: Yeah.

EA: What about fish?

ME: Yeah.

EA: So both dry fish and the whole fish.

DK: When would they come back to get that fish? What time of year?

EA: What time during the year, when would you pick up the cached food, fish?

ME: January.

EA: In January?

ME: Yes.

EA: That's when it's cold then, eh?

ME: Yeah, cold.

EA: It gets cold sometimes.

DK: Does he remember any legends or stories of this area, Iqaluktuuq?

EA: Do you know of any old stories from the olden days regarding Iqaluktuuq, do you know any stories of the area?

ME: No.

EA: He doesn't really know.

DK: What about any songs?

EA: Do you know any songs, when people have dances they have songs, people have songs, eh? Do you know any songs from other people?

ME: No, I don't know.

EA: No.

DK: When they fished during the fish run, how would they do it?

EA: When the fish went up stream how would you catch them?

ME: With the fish nets, as well as with spears.

EA: With a fish spear as well as fishnets.

DK: Fish spear and fishnets.

EA: Yes.

DK: What about that, what's that throwing one. Harpoon.

EA: Did you use a harpoon as well? Harpoon, when they speared.

ME: We'd use a fish spear.

EA: Fish spear, they'd use the fish spear, the spear.

DK: What about the hook?

EA: Did you use the hook as well?

ME: Yeah, when we used the nets we would use the hook then.

EA: When we were fishnetting, we would use the hook.

DK: Oh, would they put the net right across the whole river?

EA: Would you have the nets in the river? The nets?

ME: We would have our nets in the river. Here's the river and the nets would be this way, the water would be flowing down and we'd have our nets this way.

EA: Okay, yeah, because the river is quite strong, it goes like, so they would have their nets almost like, the flow of the river, so the same way as how the river's flowing.

DK: Along?

EA: Yeah, along.

DK: The length, sort of?

EA: Yeah.

DK: Parallel.

EA: Yeah, the river is too strong. So it should be parallel.

DK: Do you have any questions?

EA: Do you have any other questions? Do you have any other stories to tell?

ME: No.

DK: In all the things that we talked about, I never really heard him talk about a time when they concentrated on getting caribou for clothing or for meat.

EA: He would like to ask where did you hunt for caribou? Where would you hunt for caribou?

ME: In the winter time at Haklaaqyuk. That's where we would hunt for caribou although they were few.

EA: There was hardly any caribou around Haklaaqyuk but they would go there. Go caribou hunting.

DK: And that was in the fall right? That's when they would move across to Paalliqyuaq?

EA: Whereabouts was this? What month was it? When did you go up there?

ME: February.

EA: In February?

ME: Yes.

EA: So you did your caribou hunting in February?

ME: Yeah.

DK: So when would they get the skins they needed for clothing?

EA: Did you wear caribou skin clothing then? Where did you hunt caribou for clothing?

ME: The people would hunt caribou for clothing, probably in August, something.

EA: Around August, they would go.

DK: So that was when they were here.

EA: Where would you go to hunt caribou in August?

ME: We didn't go hunting caribou in August. We would buy our winter clothing from the store.

EA: They would go to the post and buy clothing then.

DK: Oh, so where was the post then?

EA: Where was the store located at?

ME: Down there in Cambridge Bay.

EA: In Cambridge Bay, eh?

ME: Yes.

EA: In Cambridge Bay.

DK: He would buy caribou skin clothing? Or just the skins?

EA: Would the skins be bought at the store?

ME: Yeah.

EA: They would buy the skins.

DK: Wow, rough time for caribou then eh?

EA: You had hardships at times? There was no caribou then, eh?

ME: Yeah. It would be hard at times.

EA: They would have hardships at times too. Would you like to talk about anything else?

ME: I think I'm done.

EA: I think he's done.

DK: I was just wondering if they ever used mannaq?

EA: Do you know what a mannaq is? Did you ever use a mannaq?

ME: A mannaq? How's that?

EA: What is a mannaq? He doesn't know what it is.

DK: It's a little bone that you stick inside a fish.

ME: Oh yeah, a manaq? A manaq?

EA: A manaq. You said mannaq, so it's manaq.

ME: Manaq.

EA: Do you know of the manaq?

ME: Yeah. We would use the manaq around here, somewhere, where now.

EA: This is Paalliqyuaq here.

ME: I think around here. The manaq was more useful on the big fish.

EA: The fish are big around here so they would use a manaq. Around here.

DK: The lake southwest of Uyarakyuk.

DK: Thank you.

EA: He thanks you very much. It's time for coffee now, time to eat.

ME: What time is it?

EA: 12:00, five to 12. Good?

Appendix 2: Iqaluktuuq 2001 - Interview Transcripts

July 2, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Frank Analok (FA), the interviewer is David Pelly (DP), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO), and Max Friesen (MF) archaeologist is present. Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Before we start, Frank, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form?

FA: Yes, (nodding).

DP: In particular I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted?

FA: I agree with whatever work is being done here. We want to find out how our ancestors lived long ago and I am in agreement with whatever work is being done here.

DP: Thank you. Is it okay if we quote from your information and put your name underneath the quote?

FA: I am in agreement. Since this project has been going on and this is our second year, doing this sort of thing, I am in agreement with what you are doing here.

DP: Last question, do I have permission to use your information in my own writing work?

FA: I am in agreement with whatever work you are doing.

DP: Let me just record the fact that Frank has already signed the consent form on which he agreed to all of these things that we have just mentioned verbally.

GO: Earlier today you mentioned about an interesting legend. Could you tell about that legend?

FA: When I was small, we were told by a very old lady about a lake which is reddish/brown in colour. The legend is that somebody had been speared and this person went to the lake and that is how this lake is reddish in colour.

GO: Where is this lake?

FA: The lake is right across the river.

GO: Why was he or she stabbed?

FA: Since I was little, I have been told about this story, but I do not know who the person is that was stabbed, how he was stabbed, and who stabbed him. The children were always told not to drink from this lake because they may get sick and may even die from drinking the water.

GO: Is there anything else attached to this story that you have just told?

FA: The person who was stabbed must have died in the lake.

GO: Was the person who was stabbed a male or female?

FA: I do not know if the person was a male or female. But I think the person was male.

GO: You told me that you did not know the name of the person who was stabbed, but do you remember the name of the old lady who told the story to you?

FA: I forget the old lady's name that told the story.

GO: Was the story told here around this area?

FA: The story was told around this area.

GO: Where were you camping at that time. This side of the river or across on the other side?

FA: We were camping on the other side of the river, but we moved to this side of the river. The next day we were brought to this side by kayak. There were quite a few families that were camping around this area at that time. Once the people were across here, they were fishing.

GO: What did they use for fishing?

FA: They used fish spears in those days to catch fish. There were quite a few people camping around here, and there were a few people who used canvas tents and a lot more people who used skin tents at that time.

GO: Were there very many people here in those days camping?

- FA: There were quite a few families that camped around this area at that time. I remember people using musk-ox and caribou skins for bedding. The musk-ox skins were used for the bottom layer of bedding and the caribou skins were used for the top layer.
- GO: Why do you think this was a particular memory?
- FA: I remember this quite well because we do not use skins for bedding anymore. Not very many people now-a-days use the skins for bedding. They now use the store bought material, and that is why I remember this very well.
- GO: Did your family use musk-ox skins for bedding as well?
- FA: Yes, my family used the musk-ox bedding as well. The musk-ox skins would be at the bottom and the caribou skins would be at the top for bedding.
- GO: Was it possible to hunt musk-oxen here at that time?
- FA: They hunted musk-ox in those days with bows and arrows and they used dogs to help them with the hunt. They hunted with bows and arrows in those days before the rifle was introduced. Dogs were used to help them hunt musk-ox and sometimes the dogs would be gouged and killed by musk-ox during the hunt.
- GO: This morning you mentioned that you wanted to tell us your life story. This is the invitation to start.
- FA: I remember growing up here. When I was a little boy we would be camping here at Iqaluktuuq. We would be out here fishing in the late spring, early summer. In those days people would be fishing just with kakivait (spears). I was born around Cambridge Bay area, and coming here to fish was one of the main events. In the summertime people would fish with spears, and in the winter they would use jiggers to catch fish. I was born at Ikpigjuaq. When the fishing implements were broken they would make replacement parts for them or replace the kakivak all together.
- GO: Did you have to go to a special place to repair the kakivak?
- FA: The repair place would be a little farther away from

camp.

GO: And how would that place be selected? What was it about that place that made it a place to do repairs?

FA: Because there was a superstition about where to do repairs a long time ago. The repairs or making of tools was allowed to be done at a specific location away from the tents that they used every day for lodging. If you do your repairs in your tents, the fish would no longer be running. This was one of our superstitions.

GO: In some parts of the north, that repair place must be out of sight, and must be away from tents. I'm wondering if that was the rule here at Iqaluktuuq?

FA: It was that same procedure they used a long time ago. When I was a little boy I would watch people do their repairs. There is a repair place here by the large boulder that was used a long time ago. A long time ago men would be fishing all day, their wives would come by and bring them food to eat. The fish that have been speared would be cached and buried with rocks and would be kept there for the winter months.

GO: How was the fish prepared before going into the cache?

FA: Some of the fish would be dried and some would be gutted and put into cache.

GO: Did the process change as the summer moved on? Was there some way of preparing the fish early in the summer in a different way of preparing the fish later in the summer?

FA: The process of preparing fish would be different from season to season. In the early spring and summer the fish would be dried and stored for winter use, and in the winter time the fish would be eaten frozen or cooked.

GO: During the summer, would they store whole fish or did they only store whole fish starting near the end of summer?

FA: Towards the end of August it starts to cool down and that is when they would start to store whole fish, gutted, in the cache for winter use.

GO: Maybe you could talk about your life when you were a boy in a slightly more general way, talk about when you lived over on the other side and travelled here and give us a sense of the whole year or the whole two years of the cycle of your family's life here on the land.

FA: In latter part of July people would hunt for caribou when the skins would be ideal for making clothes. People would go out for days hunting caribou. I remember this is what my parents use to do. Towards the end of July is when people would go out to hunt caribou because the fur on the caribou was not too thick for making inner clothing. And sometime in August they would hunt for caribou to make outer clothing when the fur on the caribou starts to get thicker.

GO: Where did your family do their caribou hunting?

FA: My family would go caribou hunting by walking. They would walk a little farther inland to hunt caribou. They would take their time to hunt, going from one spot to another spot hunting caribou travelling by foot on land and by kayak on the lakes. I remember when the rifle was first being used when I was about six or seven years old.

GO: Do you remember with your family walking inland from Iqaluktuuq or was it over on the other side of Wellington Bay?

FA: In the springtime and when the weather starts to get warmer people would go out caribou hunting. People would come here to fish and hunt for caribou at the same time. After the caribou hunt, people would come back to this area for fishing. And in early winter people would hunt for seals out on the ice with harpoons. And in hunting caribou the people would move from one area to another in search of caribou.

GO: How long did you stay at Iqaluktuuq? In that travel, about how long would you stay here for fishing?

FA: People would come here towards the end of August when the fish would start to run upstream.

GO: Would you be hunting caribou here during that time?

FA: We would be hunting caribou along the way when

caribou were migrating. We would mostly do our hunting before the caribou starts to rut, which is in October.

GO: So after the fish run, or during the last part of the fish run, did you also have good numbers of caribou coming past here?

FA: After the fish run we would go caribou hunting. The hunting would vary from year to year. Some years there would be plenty of game and some years there would be just a few caribou and some years there would be none to hunt.

GO: Frank is indicating when he talks about North to South, of the migration of the caribou. The caribou migrates from North to South [in late summer, early fall].

FA: The migration of caribou would head towards Cambridge Bay, and that is how it was last year.

MF: So the caribou were not steady. Sometimes there were good years and sometimes there were bad years for numbers of caribou. Was the char run always dependable? Was there always huge amounts of char or were there some years when char was not as plentiful?

FA: It is the same for the fish. Some years the fish run would be not as long as previous years. The duration of the fish run would be shorter in some years and some years there would be a longer fish run.

MF: In a year with not many caribou and where the fish are all bunched up together so they could not get too many char, what would they do? Would there be a danger of famine or starvation or were there other sources that they could go after?

FA: There would be times when there are hardly any caribou and the fish stop running right away -- our main staple of food would be seal meat. The blubber of the seal would be used for food and for lighting of the qulliq.

MF: In the summer, how would people hunt for seals? In the winter there would be aglus (seal breathing holes), but in the summertime how did people hunt for seals? Would people hunt seals in the summertime in those days?

FA: People did not hunt seals in the summertime, only

before the ice breaks up is when people hunted seals, and when the ice is solid too. Since I became an adult I started noticing people go out seal hunting in the summertime because people now have boats and outboard motors to go hunting with. Long ago people did not hunt seals in the summertime. People can now hunt seals in the summertime because of boats and outboard motors, but long ago people did not have these commodities. That is why people hunted seals when the ice is solid.

GO: Did they hunt seals at the ice edge here? Did they hunt seals at ice cracks or agluit (seal breathing holes)?

FA: People would hunt seals along the ice cracks, and around aglu areas and not on ice floes.

MF: How late into the spring did they hunt seals on the ice, or when would be the last time they hunt seals in the springtime? Is it okay to go out and hunt seals right now?

FA: It is still safe to go seal hunting right now [early July] because the ice is still solid down there where the ice cracks are and the time when they don't hunt for seals is when the ice starts to break up.

GO: So there are another few weeks to hunt seals?

FA: Yes. But since rifles are here now you can go seal hunting anytime.

GO: But the hunting you are talking about then, on the ice at this time of year, was with an unaaq (harpoon) still?

FA: If you are hunting with an unaaq (harpoon) is when you hunt by an aglu (seal breathing hole). In the ice cracks you have to be very quick in order to get a seal, but mostly the hunting would be done by the aglu.

GO: What about hunting basking seals at this time of year?

FA: You crawl up to the seal and approach it facing the direction of the wind so that the seal does not detect your smell.

- GO: Let's go back to the caribou hunting. When you talk about walking inland and hunting caribou during the summer, in the late summer, what did you do when you got caribou? What did you do with the caribou you hunted and caught at a certain location?
- FA: If the hunting area is quite far away and they caught the caribou from quite a distance from the base camp, what they would do is they'd cut up the caribou and take whatever amount to sustain themselves for a few days and cache the rest until they can get to it at a later time.
- GO: How much later?
- FA: The caribou that has been caught would be cut up and take whatever was needed for food and the rest would be cached and then they would come back and get them in the wintertime. The caribou that has been cached would be marked with an inuksuk marker so that the place could be identified as to where the caribou has been cached.
- GO: What about the skins that you said you were getting for the purpose of clothing? The two different weights, what did you have to do?
- FA: The caribou that they hunted, the caribou that they caught would all be skinned because the skins were gathered and saved for making clothes.
- GO: So they left most of the meat but they took the skins and however much meat they needed for consumption?
- FA: Yes.
- GO: Was there any effort to establish places inland which were sort of depots of caribou meat or in other words if you killed a few caribou here and you skinned them and everything, and went to cache the meat, and then you start walking, and then the next day you see a few caribou over here, do you leave the meat for that second one here or do you bring it back so that it's all gathering in the same place?
- FA: If caribou was caught over here the caribou would be cached here, and if a caribou was caught at another area, then that caribou would be cached in that same area as where the caribou was caught.

- GO: So at the end of this process you would have a lot of little caches?
- FA: Where the caribou is cached then they would be marked with little inuksuks. Some people do not put markers by their cache and once they leave them without markers it is always hard to find them again, so there are a lot of caribou out there that are buried.
- MF: For your family when they were going out for the summer caribou hunting, did you try and keep the same route every year or was it just wherever they saw caribou going, they would follow them?
- FA: If people had plenty to catch in that same area in that year, they would come back to that same area next year, but if the game is not as plentiful as the previous years then they would move on to another area, and they would go as far as the mainland in the springtime across the ice.
- GO: One little thing I wanted to clarify from last year's transcript. This answer from Frank Analok last year – ahiaq – I wanted to know if that's the same place as Aariaq over by Amaqtuq?
- FA: The mainland is called ahiaq.
- GO: So we should not capitalize it because it is referring to mainland in general as opposed to a specific place name?
- FA: Yes.
- GO: Arriving here at the beginning of the fish run, you said was that you would try and get here ahead of time in order to do preparations. I would like you to describe those preparations. What were all the things that needed to be done?
- FA: People would come here to prepare for the fish run ahead of time in order to make kakivait (spears). Musk-ox horns were used to make kakivait and from caribou antlers as well. But the musk-ox horn is sturdier than the caribou antlers to make kakivak.
- GO: If you made the head of the spear from musk-ox horn, what would the barbs be made from?
- FA: The bones of animals would be used for the barbs. The antlers of caribou would be used as barbs too.

- MF: Was there any special clothing that had to be made or prepared specifically for fishing?
- FA: Seal skin hip-waders were used when fishing in those days. Some boots were made so that you had to tie it around so that water did not get inside the boots.
- GO: Any other kinds of preparations?
- FA: In preparing for the fishing time the soles of their boots would be mended and repairing kakivait (spears).
- GO: What about the weir (haputi)?
- FA: We did not use the haputi here because the river is too deep and it is a bit too swift. We used the haputi only if the river is not too deep.
- MF: So they would just stand in the shallower parts with no weir and spear the fish?
- FA: People would fish in the shallower parts of the river.
- GO: Was the fishing then happening just down where the shallow part is or also along the bank? Can you describe for us where all of the fishing with the kakivak occurred.
- FA: The fishing would be done along the shore of the river, people would be fishing there.
- GO: There's one place down by the river where it is not too deep, is that where people would fish?
- FA: People would fish along that area. When the fish are running, going up the river, fish stop to catch their breaths (so to speak) sometimes. The fish stop for a while before continuing on up the river, and that is when people would spear them.
- GO: Can you give us an idea of how many men would be fishing along this river in a busy time?
- FA: I never thought to count how many people would be fishing in those days but there were quite a few people. Some would be on the other side of the river and some

- would be on this side of the river and some would be on this side of the river in different areas. People were not in the same area of the river fishing – they would be spread out. The men’s wives would be watching their husbands out spearing fish.
- GO: What did the wives do while the men were fishing?
- FA: The wives would bring food to their husbands and the wives would end up watching their husbands spearing fish.
- GO: As the fish are piling up what happens then?
- FA: Some fish were dried, some fish were gutted and cached.
- GO: Do the women start to work on the fish right there beside their husbands fishing?
- FA: On a fishing trip when the husband catches fish and if the wife is there she would bring the fish to the camp and make dry fish.
- GO: So we’ve got people fishing on both sides of the river. Was the whole river used from where we are camped now all the way down past where we camped last year or were there only some parts of it used?
- FA: People would move from one area to another. People did not stay in one spot to do their fishing. People would have a central base camp where they prepared their food.
- GO: Whereabouts were the camps that you said you remembered as a little boy? Where else were other camps located?
- FA: Most of the people would camp along the shores of the river on this side or on the other side of the river.
- GO: All the way down to where we were camped last year?
- FA: Yes, across the river.
- GO: Was there ever an occasion for everybody from all of these camps to come together?

- FA: People would come together in those days. People fishing on this side of the river and the people on the other side communicated by shouting.
- GO: What would happen when everybody got together?
- FA: Once the people slowed down from their hunting, they would get together and have traditional games and drum dances.
- MF: Would that be the biggest gathering of the year when everybody was here after the fishing season or were there other times of the year that the gatherings were bigger?
- FA: Most gatherings would be in the springtime.
- MF: On the ice or where else?
- FA: On the lakes, ice fishing.
- GO: Before going over the land to hunt caribou?
- FA: Before the ice goes, that is when they would go ice fishing to make dried fish.
- GO: After the fish run is over and people got all their fish dried and cleaned and cached away here, they have their big celebration, traditional games and dance and so on, and then what happens?
- FA: During the gathering and just before they disperse they would talk and tell where they would be heading to. People would inform each other where they would be heading and spending certain amount of time at a specific place.
- GO: How did people chose where they would spent it, where that place would be, what were they thinking about to make that choice?
- FA: The decisions would be made by the elders.
- GO: Can you explain what they based their decisions on?

- FA: The decisions would be based on where and what type of game they wanted to hunt. If they wanted to hunt caribou then they would go to certain areas to hunt them or if there's water fowl, or where it is best to gather eggs, that is what they would base their decisions on.
- GO: What about your family? What did you remember about leaving here with your family, where did your father decide to go?
- FA: What I remember about is going to the lake to go fishing.
- GO: This is after the fish run here? You said you left here just as the first ice is starting to appear?
- FA: When people travelled long ago, some would travel along the shore to spend colder months there or they would travel inland to a lake to wait for the lake to freeze so they could do ice fishing. At freeze-up time, even though the ice isn't very thick, they would go and spear fish in the lakes. If there are no more char in that area then they would move on to another area.
- GO: And leave the fish that they caught in another cache when they moved on?
- FA: It is starting to freeze at that time so they would freeze the fish and just cache it on the land.
- GO: And in the meantime the fish you caught here at Iqaluktuuq is sitting in the caches here, right?
- FA: They would cache fish along the shore here and move on to another location.
- GO: How long was it left here? When did people come back to get the fish that was left behind?
- FA: Once the fish is caught, then cached, they would be cached for not even a year. The food would be eaten in that same year. In the winter time when people hunt seals, then they would go and pick up the cached fish.
- GO: And during seal-hunting time in the winter you lived out the sea ice, right?

- FA: We would live on the sea ice during seal-hunting time.
- GO: And while you were out there on the sea ice did some people come here to pick up fish from the cache?
- FA: People would pick up cached fish from here. Sometimes it would be an overnight trip, and some days it would be just a one-day trip to pick up the food by dog-team. Some people would travel with someone to pick up the fish.
- GO: Is it the same for the caribou meat that you left inland?
- FA: Yes, it would be the same in picking up the caribou meat.
- MF: When you came off the sea ice to pick up stored fish or caribou, would they be doing that because it was a hard time on the sea ice – because they weren't getting enough seals or just because they wanted a variety in their diet? Why would they chose to go get the caches?
- FA: If there's hardly any seals, that is when they would come by to pick up the food that has been cached. Also having a variety of food to eat and not just one kind of food, that they would go and pick up their cached food. Once this person has picked up his cached food and if he has enough he would distribute the food amongst others.
- GO: Among all the people that are in that group? That would be a few families that lived on the sea ice? About how many families would be out seal hunting together?
- FA: It would be families. A family would consist of mother, father, son, daughter-in-law, and maybe a child.
- GO: In one iglu?
- FA: There could be five people in an iglu.
- GO: And at the seal hunting camp there might be a few iglus?
- FA: Yes, and other little families.

- GO: This group of little families, were they all probably here at Iqaluktuuq earlier together?
- FA: The families would be here together in this area, or some families might spend time apart.
- GO: So the families that you spend the winter with seal hunting, those families also came here for the fish run?
- FA: Yes, those people would come here to fish.
- GO: And then at the fish run there were lots of other families that went somewhere else for the winter, is that right?
- FA: Yes, they would go where they wanted to go.
- GO: In the stuff we talked about today is there anything else you could think of to add to your story?
- FA: I do not have anything else to add to my story.
- DP: Thank you Frank. This is the end of the interview with Frank Analok.

July 3, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Marjorie Taptoona (MT), the interviewer is David Pelly (DP), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO). Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

- DP: Let me first record the fact that Marjorie has already signed the consent form on which she has agreed to the use of the material as specified. But let me just go over a couple of permissions verbally to make sure. Marjorie, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form?
- MT: Yes, (nodding).
- DP: In particular I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or me?
- MT: Yes, (nodding).
- DP: And finally, Marjorie, do I have permission to use your

information in my writing?

MT: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Thank you very much, Marjorie. Perhaps you could start by telling us about the first time you came to Iqaluktuuq.

MT: I moved here to the Kiilliniq area from Kugluktuk when I was 11 or 12 years old, so I've been living here since then. I moved here with my parents, and then I was sent off to school in Aklavik. We were picked up by a big boat. We were brought by boat from here [Cambridge Bay] to go to school. We stopped by Tuktoyaktuk and then we boarded another boat heading to Aklavik.

GO: Let's back up a little bit. Do you know why your parents decided to move from Kugluktuk to here?

MT: We moved from Bathurst Inlet area, not from Kugluktuk.

GO: Why did your parents move from Bathurst Inlet to Kiilliniq area?

MT: My family decided to move here because they had extended family living in this area at that time.

GO: Do you remember the trip when you were 11 or 12 years old? Can you remember that trip? Describe the trip to me, getting ready for it and making the trip.

MT: We moved here by dog-team. When my family moved to Cambridge Bay area, my father was working for the RCMP as one of the guides.

GO: Can you tell me what year this was?

MT: I was born in 1928, so it was around 1939/40 when we moved to Cambridge Bay.

GO: When you came by dog-team from Bathurst Inlet, did you come here or to Cambridge Bay?

MT: We came to Cambridge Bay.

GO: And then by boat to Aklavik for school? So I think you were one of the first people from here to go to Aklavik for school?

MT: There were quite a few people that went from this area to go to school in Aklavik. Possibly one of them was Jimmy Nakoyak and Mary Mingilgak.

GO: How did you feel going away to school?

MT: I was quite excited that I was going to school at first but once I reached Aklavik I was missing my family very much.

GO: Tell me a little bit about the experience at school, what was it like for you?

MT: I went to school in Aklavik for three years. The last year I was there I was quite ill, so I kept being brought to the hospital and had an operation on my neck. I enjoyed having school there. I was told to stay there for five years but I ended up staying just for three years because my mom and dad were missing me and they wanted me home then, so I went back home after three years.

GO: Did you come home to visit during the three years, at Christmas time or summer time?

MT: No, not at all. I got used to staying in Aklavik and I did not want to leave but my parents wanted me back home after three years. I could have stayed in Aklavik for five years without going home.

GO: How did your parents tell you they wanted you to come home?

MT: Somehow word got to them that I was ill most of that year so they wanted me home then. I don't know how word got to them about my illness.

GO: How did you come back? How did you travel back?

MT: By boat.

GO: How old were you when you returned home?

MT: Maybe 13 or 14 years old.

GO: Sometime later you came out here to Iqaluktuuq, when you were still a young woman, so tell me about that trip at that time.

MT: My father worked for the RCMP and in those days they travelled by dog-team and the dogs had to be fed, so my father would come here to catch fish for dog food.

GO: For the RCMP dogs?

MT: Yes, for the RCMP dogs.

GO: How about you, yourself, after Aklavik, sometime, some years later maybe, you were married by then, and you came here?

MT: My parents travelled here, before I got married, we would travel here to fish.

GO: In the summertime?

MT: In August, towards winter.

GO: How did you come here? How did you travel here?

MT: We would come here by boat and outboard motor.

GO: From Cambridge Bay?

MT: Yes, from Cambridge Bay.

GO: Tell me how many people were here in those years -- this must now be 1940s -- when you came in the summer?

MT: There were quite a few people in those days.

GO: Where did people camp?

MT: Along the shore, at the mouth of the river.

GO: Closer down, and up here too or everybody down there?

MT: Mostly along the mouth of the river, that is where the tents were, but maybe a few families would go up the river and camp there and fish.

GO: And how were they fishing in those days?

MT: With fish nets and kakivait (spears). Once the fish were dried, they would put them in cache and store them for the winter use.

GO: Did anybody use weir (haputi)?

MT: No, nobody used weirs then. I've never seen one around here. Just with kakivait along the shore and at the river. Some would fish by nets.

GO: Where did they put the nets?

MT: At the mouth of the river.

GO: And then they would put the fish in the cache for the winter? Does that mean the people came back here by dog-team during the winter to get the fish?

MT: They would pick up the fish in the wintertime and once they're getting the fish out of the ground they would come in big blocks because they are frozen together. They would make dry fish at the lake too. When I was much younger I didn't know how to make dry fish but I eventually learned how to make it.

GO: And then after you got married did you continue to come here with your family?

MT: Once I got married I would come here with my family and fish by the lake. We would fish by the lake, and at the beginning of August we would move down river and camp by the mouth of the river.

GO: Were there still a lot of people doing that in the summer? Did you see any change over the 1940s, 1950s? Did anything change here?

MT: When the white people started to move into the settlement of Cambridge Bay, I noticed the population of Iqaluktuuq started to decrease in the summertime.

GO: Why do you think that happened?

MT: Probably because of employment. They were also dispersing to their other camps.

GO: Do you remember hearing any old stories about this place?

MT: One of the things I noticed is that people were always travelling within our area here. They did not stay in one spot. They would travel from one spot to another and I remember people would be going to other lakes, other than Ferguson Lake, to fish. So people were travelling around all the time. They did not stay in one spot. They would travel from one place to another place.

GO: Did people who lived down in Bathurst Inlet area hear about this place? Was this a place, Iqaluktuuq, a place that was somehow known even by people who didn't come here, but they would be living far away and heard about this place?

MT: Yes.

GO: What was its reputation? What did people know about it?

MT: It was known for its good fishing place.

GO: I've heard that there was a song about this place. When you were young did you ever hear about this song?

MT: I have never heard of that song before.

GO: Anything else you can think of that you can tell us?

MT: One of the things I remember quite well, in those days when I was growing up, people would be travelling inland with dogs and some of the dogs would be saddled to carry belongings. In those days you were attached to your dogs. Your dogs knew what you wanted. You treated your dogs well because they are your helpers and if they help you, then you treat them well. I was mostly raised by my grandparents and I was quite close to them. One time we were travelling inland by foot, in Bathurst Inlet, and I was on my grandmother's shoulders when I spotted a wolverine and so I called out and said, "Look, there's a caribou over there!", and they looked and here it was a wolverine.

GO: Anything else you can tell us?

MT: Nauna (I don't know).

GO: Taimak?

MT: Yes.

DP: Thank you Marjorie. That's the end of the interview with Marjorie Taptoona.

July 3, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is David Kaniak (DK), the interviewer is David Pelly (DP), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO). Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: David Kaniak has already signed the consent form on which he agreed to the various uses of the material. I want to confirm a couple of things verbally. David, I just want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

DK: Yes.

DP: In particular I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or me?

DK: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Finally, David, do I have your permission to use the information you give on this tape in my writing?

DK: Yes.

GO: Let's start by telling me what you know about this place, Iqaluktuuq. You told me that you had some stories about this location, so perhaps I could ask you to start by telling those stories.

DK: First of all, I am not originally from this area so I don't know all of the stories from this area. I moved to Cambridge Bay from Bathurst Inlet by dog-team in the spring of 1959. My older sister was already in Cambridge Bay and she wanted us to move here with her. We had planned to stay just for one summer, but because the government asked my father to work, we did not return back to Bathurst Inlet. Since then I started to realize that we could not return to my homeland. I started to think of how and who can I help or be of help to anyone. My mother had always told me to help others so I decided to listen to her advice. In 1963 was when I first came here to Iqaluktuuq with my family to do

some fishing. Since then we have been coming across very old artifacts here while fishing and I started to think since seeing the artifacts and when we first moved to Cambridge Bay I've heard stories from the three elders who now have passed on. This is one of the stories that always interest me about their hunting and fishing techniques and their camping areas, and how they preserved their fish and caribou by caching them. The first one hundred years of Iqaluktuuq I have heard about is from all areas of this island (Victoria Island), people would come here to fish in the spring making dry fish and caching fish as well.

When the weather gets a little cooler people would cache their fish. In the summertime when it is quite warm people of long ago would not cache their food because they know it is unsafe to store food in the summer, only when the weather turns cooler is when they would cache their food. I have learned this practice from my grandparents about caching food – when it is safe and when it is unsafe to cache food. That is any food such as seal meat as well. The old ways of our ancestors are being forgotten and slowly disappearing and we do not follow the traditions of our fathers as much now. Our ancestors' ways of hunting and surviving and living off the land have been passed down to us which we still practice somewhat. Now-a-days it seems people are slowly forgetting our ancestors' ways of survival but we still see quite a bit of the traditions being passed down to us. We need people who know the traditions of our ancestors, how to live off the land and survival on the land, in order to preserve our way of living. I try and help others know about our ancestors' way of living but I have very poor eyesight. Just by hearing I get by but at times I hear about things I do not recognize. A long time ago Iqaluktuuq was where people were fishing with kakivait (spears) and with manat (fish hooks). A long time ago people would use animal parts for fishing gear. I've always wondered what manat was. Now I know it was part of fishing gear that they used a long time ago. And at the rivers when the ice is all gone from the lakes, when the fish are heading down river or heading up river people would go set up camps along the river and set up haputi (fish weir), and they would prepare fish and cache them. People of long ago would fish with just kakivait in those days. Once their supply of fish was enough by caching them which would be food for both man and his dogs for the winter. Since the

winters are always harsh up here people would do their food preparations in the warmer season of the year. In the winter it is much harder to fish and hunt. I've seen tools made out of copper and musk-ox horn used for fishing gear. Before the ice gets too thick these tools were used all the time. I don't know how durable these tools were, but I've heard from my grandparents and from people of Kiilliniq how they were used, and I always try to remember that so I can pass on the oral traditions to the younger people. Even though I do not know how to write, I try and retain the information in me on what the elders have taught me orally.

GO: In the beginning of your story there were three elders you have listened to, who now have passed on, tell you stories. Who were these three people?

DK: One of them is Ekpakohalok who was well known in the Kiilliniq area and in Cambridge Bay. I've listened to him talk about how they would hunt a long time ago. I enjoyed his stories of long ago. The other one is Panaktannuaq, and the third one is Taipaarjuk. These are the three people I enjoyed listening to. They told stories about Uvajuq and the people of the sea. I know there are a lot of other people who have interesting stories to tell.

GO: You mentioned you moved here in 1959 because your older sister was already here?

DK: Yes, she had already been here for three years because her husband was employed at the DEW Line station here and she had wanted us to move here as well.

GO: You said you moved to Cambridge Bay in 1959 and in 1963 you said you first came here to Iqaluktuuq?

DK: Yes, that year was the first time I came here to Iqaluktuuq.

GO: And what else can you tell me about this place?

DK: From then on I decided since I've started seeing old artifacts here at Iqaluktuuq, seeing their hunting tools, camp sites, their caches, so I imagine there was a lot of activity going on here a long time ago. The parents of Annie Anayoak use to live here a long time ago so I imagine Annie may know quite a bit about this place.

GO: What did you think of this place when you first came here?

DK: At first I didn't really think about this place but after a few days I started hearing about it that it was where people of long ago fished and lived. I started to think to myself and I did not tell my parents and said to myself, "How can I help the people of Kiilliniq, the people of Cambridge Bay?", following the advice of my mother and grandfather. Those were my thoughts then. At the end, after listening for I don't know how many years, in 1969 I acted on what I wanted to do in life. Following the advice of elders, trying to preserve what our ancestors have always taught us in terms of our traditional way of life and this is when I first began to realize that this is what I wanted to do in life then.

GO: Since you moved to Cambridge Bay in 1959 you did not go back to Bathurst Inlet to live?

DK: No, we did not return to Bathurst Inlet but since my parents and I did not return at that time I was taught being a lay person at the church from 1961 to 1963. Also there were elders there whom I wanted to follow as examples.

GO: Here at Cambridge Bay?

DK: Yes, here at Cambridge Bay.

GO: You were born and lived before that in Bathurst Inlet?

DK: I was born and lived between Contwoyto Lake and Bathurst Inlet.

GO: What year were you born?

DK: 1943 May 13.

GO: And you lived in that area basically until you moved to Cambridge Bay in 1959?

DK: Yes.

GO: Anything else you want to add?

DK: No, that's basically it.

DP: Thank you David. This ends the interview with David Kaniak

July 3, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Adam Mingilgak (AM), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO).
Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Before we start let me record that Adam Mingilgak has already signed the consent form on which he agreed to the various uses of the material. I want to confirm a couple of things verbally. Adam, I just want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

AM: Yes.

DP: In particular I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or me?

AM: Yes.

DP: Finally, Adam, do I have your permission to use the information you give on this tape in my own writing?

AM: Yes.

GO: Perhaps you could start by telling us a little bit about yourself, where you were born and raised, and your life as a young person.

AM: I was born in the Perry River area in 1933, January 1.

GO: And when did you move to Cambridge Bay?

AM: Probably in 1945.

GO: Maybe we could get you to describe those first 12 years from 1933 to 1945 when you were living at Perry River.

AM: I remember growing up in Perry River and my parents would go fishing at Ellice River and hunt for food there as well. And at springtime we would head back to Perry River once the snow started to melt. And that was when I first started to know Angulalik (Stephen). When we arrived at Perry River he had a trading post at Flagstaff Island.

GO: Was this before Angulalik married Ekvana (Mabel)?

AM: No, they were already married.

GO: And in 1945 you moved to Cambridge Bay?

AM: Yes. I went to Cambridge Bay in the summer of 1945 by Angulalik's boat, and from then I did not return to Perry River.

GO: Why did you move to Cambridge Bay?

AM: I moved to Cambridge Bay because my uncle David Panioyak wanted me to move there.

GO: Why did he want you to move to Cambridge Bay?

AM: He wanted me for his helper.

GO: Since you moved to Cambridge Bay from Perry River in 1945 you did not return to Perry?

AM: Since then I did not return.

GO: And since you moved to Cambridge Bay have you heard of this place Iqaluktuuq?

AM: Yes. I've always come here by kayak with my relatives from Cambridge Bay. We would travel here by kayak and by foot as well. We would travel here with our dogs saddled with our belongings, because everyone could not travel by kayak because the kayaks are too narrow to transport a group of people.

GO: Did you do that too?

AM: Yes, I travelled with my parents by kayak. My father would be paddling and I would ride on the front area of the kayak lying on my belly.

GO: So you rode on the kayak?

AM: Yes, we would travel close to the shore.

GO: You remember this trip?

AM: Yes, and the rest of the family would travel by foot on land. My mother, brothers and sister.

GO: How old were you when you made that trip? How long after coming to Cambridge Bay?

AM: I don't quite remember how old I was.

GO: Can you tell me something about that trip? Do you remember anything that happened on that trip?

AM: One of the things I remember travelling by kayak -- My father would be paddling and I would be lying on my belly facing my father. This is one of them that I remember the most.

GO: How long did that trip take?

AM: About ten days.

GO: Why did you ride on the kayak instead of walking with the family on the shore?

AM: Because my parents did not want me to get tired. The kayaks were about 12 – 15 feet long but they were very narrow. I had to stay very still, otherwise if I started to wiggle then the kayak would tip over.

GO: Were there other families travelling at the same time?

AM: We were the only ones travelling by kayak. When the water got quite rough I would be told to walk. I would get mad when I was told to walk because I always wanted to ride on the kayak.

GO: And what was the purpose of coming on this trip? Why did people come around here?

AM: People would come here to fish, so they can get a supply of fish for their winter use.

GO: Do you remember arriving here? Do you remember being here at Iqaluktuuq at the end of that trip?

AM: I remember quite well when we arrived here. And when we first arrived here we would prepare our kakivait (spears) and harpoons to get ready for fishing.

GO: Were there many camps here at Iqaluktuuq and were there many people?

AM: There were quite a few people camping here. But I don't

remember about how many people were camping at the mouth of the river.

GO: The camps were at the mouth of the river and was the fishing done at the mouth of the river too?

AM: The fishing was done where the rapids are, they would be spearing fish around that area.

GO: Were there any haputi (fish weir) there?

AM: No haputi. People would only spear fish [with kakivait].

GO: In that little narrow rapid half way up?

AM: At the lower rapid.

GO: Any fishnets or only kakivait (spears)?

AM: No fish nets, only with kakivait. People would fish by spearing and they would make caches and the caches were sometimes very high. We would cache fish for our winter use.

GO: What did you do with the fish?

AM: The fish would be for the dogs and people's use as well.

GO: Was it stored here after you caught it?

AM: They would be cached down by the shore.

GO: And then somebody came back in the wintertime to get it?

AM: When the weather turns warmer [early spring] is when somebody would come and pick up the cached fish.

GO: How long did you stay here for the fishing?

AM: We would be here just in the summertime gathering fish for the winter use.

GO: When did you decide to go back home to Cambridge Bay?

AM: Towards the end of August we would be heading back to Cambridge Bay, after the fish run here.

GO: Are there any particular events that happened here at Iqaluktuuq during your times here, anything that you have a strong memory of?

AM: My most vivid memory of Iqaluktuuq is when my older brother Panaktannuak had a boat with a sail.

GO: Did he travel here with that boat?

AM: He bought the sailboat in Cambridge Bay and he would sail it here and back every summer.

GO: And did you do this for many summers?

AM: Yes, we would travel back and forth with it every summer.

GO: With the sailboat?

AM: Yes, with the sailboat, with my older brother. It was a big boat so we would travel with the dogs in it as well. And the boat did not have a motor.

GO: This is now into the 1950s when you are coming back here with your brother's sail boat?

AM: This would be about 1949. After that I did not come back here every summer during the 1950s.

GO: So where did you go then?

AM: People would be fishing at the mainland at a place called Qairayuktuq. People's fishing spots were all over the place.

GO: So it was in the late 1940s when you made the trip by kayak and the trips with your brother in the sail boat?

AM: Yes.

GO: Were there lots of other people who kept coming here to Iqaluktuuq even though you didn't in the 1950s?

AM: Yes, there were people coming here to fish, including my father in the 1950s. People were already using fish nets then. When my father was checking the nets one time, my brother and I were going seal hunting, it was when the boat tipped

over. The mast of the sailboat hit my brother on the head. The boat tipped and the contents inside sank. My brother swam to the shore. All the fish sank as well. The boat did not sink, it was floating upside down, but all the fish were gone.

GO: What did you think about the old sites that we looked at today?

AM: I was quite happy in seeing the old sites. I never knew about them even though I've come here quite often before. I was quite amazed about them. I am happy to see what our ancestors did long ago and seeing the evidence right there before my eyes was enough to bring me to tears.

GO: Is there anything else you want to add?

AM: I don't have anything else to add right now.

DP: Thanks Adam. That's the end of the interview with Adam Mingilgak.

July 3, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Mabel Angulalik (MA), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO). Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Let me first record the fact that Mabel Angulalik has already signed the consent form on which she agreed to the various uses of the material. I just want to confirm a couple of things verbally. Mabel, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

MA: Yes.

DP: In particular, Mabel, I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or me?

MA: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Finally, Mabel, do I have your permission to use the information you give on this tape in my own writing?

MA: Yes, (nodding).

GO: Maybe we should start here with Iqaluktuuq. Tell us what you know about the history of this place and what experience you have of this place and what you learned also from your late husband about Iqaluktuuq.

MA: My late husband and my children and I moved to Cambridge Bay in 1967 and it was in the summer of 1968 the first time I came here to Iqaluktuuq. I am originally from the mainland. We moved to Cambridge Bay in the late summer of 1967 by schooner from Perry River. My late husband knew about this place because his parents had lived here before. My late husband Stephen Angulalik was born about 1896 and passed away in 1980.

GO: And how did you travel here in 1968?

MA: We came here by boat. We came by tuk-tuk boat. We were here maybe for a couple of weeks.

GO: Where did you camp?

MA: We camped on an island where the cabins are. Helak's were camping there as well.

GO: Were there other people there as well?

MA: Yes, there were quite a few people too.

GO: And how were they fishing at that time?

MA: With fish-nets.

GO: Was the fish for their own use, for people and dogs, or were they selling fish at that time to other people?

MA: It was for our own consumption. And here is what I have heard about this area. My biological mother and maternal grandmother were raised around this area, but I mostly grew up on the mainland because I was adopted as an infant and we lived mostly on the mainland. And the couple who adopted me happened to be from the mainland and were my relatives as well. I was adopted by my uncle, my father's older brother. My husband was born around this area, so he knows this place quite well. He would often tell stories about growing up here, fishing and hunting.

GO: Is there anything particular from those stories that you

could remember, any details that we should make sure are documented?

MA: He often talked about his grandparents Illiviuyaq and Koihok. Stephen remembered how his grandparents were, very strong people who hunted with bow and arrows and fished with kakivait (spears). Those were their hunting tools in those times. No rifles in those days. When the ocean freezes they would go seal hunting. His grandmother would also hunt and catch seal and that is the way he remembered his grandparents. He knew they were strong people, they had a very strong will to survive. Stephen Angulalik is from around this area but he moved to Perry River when the white people first started coming up north setting up base camps, like the Hudson's Bay Company, RCMP, and Roman Catholic Mission. They were the first white people setting up base, and that is when Stephen moved to Perry River. But he grew up around this area and he's always told stories about this area. This is not the only place to go fishing or to go hunting, they would go hunting all over this area. Stephen said when he was a small boy he would go polar bear hunting with the older people. When he got tired he would cry because it was a tough life. And as he got older he got used to the hunting and he would look forward to go on hunting trips. My adoptive mother is also from this area.

GO: Let's talk about your experiences a little bit. Explain to me when you first went to Perry River, how did that happen, how old you were, and why you went there.

MA: I grew up in the Perry River area. Long ago people would move from place to place. I grew up on the mainland between Perry River and Gjoa Haven. My adoptive parents moved to the mainland, but my adoptive mother is from around Iqaluktuuq area.

GO: And somehow you ended up with Angulalik at Perry River. I would like to know how that happened?

MA: The first time I noticed Angulalik, he was already living in Perry River with two wives and running a trading post. But I never thought that I would end up marrying him. It never crossed my mind.

GO: And then both of those wives passed away?

MA: Yes.

GO: And from sometime thereafter you were living at the trading post?

MA: I lived with my parents at the mainland. After the wives passed away Angulalik wanted me for a wife.

GO: Maybe you could tell me the story when you got married.

MA: Stephen Angulalik and I were married August 11, 1941. We were living together in the winter of 1941 and we went to Cambridge Bay by schooner and got married in the summer of 1941. I still have my marriage licence to prove that.

GO: Maybe you could start from there and tell us a nice long story about the life in the 1940s at the Perry River trading post, what the life was like, what happened, who else was around, what you did and what Angulalik did.

MA: In the 1940s, Stephen liked to trap foxes and I would go with him on his trips. Even though he ran a trading post, he also loved to hunt, fish and trap. He was the one that taught me how to set traps. He was the one that taught me how life was. He was my mentor, my friend and partner. He would get someone to look after the post for a few days and we would take off for the trap lines. He also enjoyed seal hunting. We always travelled together and he was the one who taught me the most. In early spring we would go to our sealing camp and in late spring we would head to our fishing camp and in late summer we would head inland by foot to hunt caribou for clothing. My husband always kept himself busy hunting, fishing, trapping and running a trading post in those days. Once our family started to grow and more children were being born almost year after year, he would watch the children while I was doing food preparations or sewing. He helped me a lot during our married life. In his later years he slowed down because of old age and his eyesight was diminishing, and he could no longer do the things he used to do.

GO: I'd like to talk about or hear about some of women's jobs in the old days. Describe for us, when you were growing up that time, what were the responsibilities of the mother in the camp, what was the woman's work?

MA: The woman's work is when a husband catches game, the wife's work would be to do food preparations such as making dry fish and meat. Working on caribou and seal skins drying, scraping and making clothing. Sewing skins for clothing. Making sure the qulliq is always lighted and burning brightly. They also reared children.

GO: What about medicines, traditional medicines or looking after injuries, are there any woman's skills or knowledge that you can record for us?

MA: I don't know of anything, but the only thing I know about is that shamans were used when they could do no more for the sick. As for traditional medicines I don't know of any, but if a person had a cut, they would use the lining of a caribou's heart as bandages and the skins of the caribou would also be used for bandages.

GO: Anything else?

MA: I don't have anything else right now. But the first white person I saw was Paddy Gibson in Gjoa Haven. And another thing, when Angulalik first saw a mirror he mentioned that there was "someone who looks exactly like me, every time I smiled he would smile too", and for the longest time he did not know that it was his reflection. There are other stories I could tell but perhaps at another time.

DP: Thank you Mabel. This is the end of the interview with Mabel Angulalik.

July 3, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Mackie Kaosoni (MK), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO). Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: First of all let me record the fact that Mackie Kaosoni has already signed the consent form on which he agreed to the specified use of the material.

MK: Yes.

DP: Just to confirm a couple of things verbally. Mackie, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

MK: Yes.

DP: In particular, Mackie, I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or me?

MK: Yes.

DP: And finally, do I have your permission Mackie to use the information you give on this tape in my own writing?

MK: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Quana. Okay, that gives us verbal confirmation of some of the things that you consented to on the form, thank you. Now what I would like to do is to start by asking you if you could give us a summary of what you know about the history of Iqaluktuuq or what you know about this place where we are?

MK: I mostly grew up in the Perry River area and the time I really started to know Iqaluktuuq area is between 1952 and 1962.

GO: Were you back in Cambridge Bay or had you moved up to Cambridge Bay then, is that why?

MK: The ship *Hiqiniq* was there frozen in water then, when I started to remember.

GO: In Cambridge Bay?

MK: No, in Perry River. It was frozen by the river near an island. This is where people would fish including Angulalik and that is where Canalaska had their houses too. The Hudson's Bay Company had their trading post there as well where the burial place is.

GO: When did you first began to know Iqaluktuuq here?

MK: After I took a wife is when I really began to know this place. Since I took a wife we did not come back here.

GO: Where are your parents originally from?

MK: They are originally from Kangirjuaq (Holman) area. From Kangirjuaq they came here. And I eventually ended up moving down to Perry River area.

GO: Where were you when you first heard about this place, Iqaluktuuq? You said that between 1952 and 1962 you learned of it?

MK: When I first got married is when I first heard of Iqaluktuuq.

GO: Were you still in Perry River?

MK: Yes.

GO: People even as far away as Perry River knew of this place? What did you hear about it?

MK: The first time I started to hear of Iqaluktuuq is when I was living in Perry River, and the story was that this was a good fishing place. Iqaluktuuq was a good fishing place. People would come here to fish. When I first moved to Cambridge Bay I started to work as a commercial fisherman, which was run by the Co-op Fisheries and it was 1962.

GO: [I'll have to check the year to make sure – I don't think it was 1962, but a little later on.]

GO: Was that about when you first started working with the fishery, was that the beginning of the Co-op Fisheries, the beginning of commercial use of the fish?

MK: Yes.

GO: You were the first people using commercial fishing?

MK: Yes.

GO: You have any idea how much fish they took in the beginning of the commercial fishery by the Co-op?

MK: In those days I do not know what the quota was.

GO: How did they transport the fish at that time from here to Cambridge Bay?

MK: By airplane with Willy Laserich.

GO: So lots of plane trips with fish?

MK: The plane would make trips back and forth because there were other fishing areas, at Ellice River, Iqaluktuuq, Surrey Lake. Also at Jayko Lake, there are a lot of fish in that area too.

GO: What did you think about the old sites, the old houses and things, that we saw today?

MK: One of the things I kind of regret is not coming here

often in earlier times and not knowing the old sites are here. If I had known about the sites earlier while I was able to walk long distances then I would have known about them earlier, but it is quite amazing what we saw there today. One of the things I was hoping to find was where people cached their dried meat because their caches would be a little deeper and they would be covered with flat rocks, but I didn't see any of those.

GO: So the caches we saw today were not for dried meat then? Were they for fresh meat then?

MK: The caches we saw today were used so that flies could not get in and lay their larvae there. People would cache their food for later use. In July they really didn't go hunting to store food because that was the warmest time of the year and the food would easily be spoiled. The caches we saw were for storing food. People would be hunting more towards the end of August when the weather turns cooler.

GO: When you were here with the Co-op Fisheries in the 1960s were there also other people who were coming here to get fish, lots of fish, for their own use, as they were in the 1950s?

MK: Yes.

GO: So there were still people coming here on their own to do their fishing and were they caching the fish?

MK: Yes. At that time people did not throw away food.

GO: Maybe we can go back to Perry River. Can you tell me about life when you were a young man living in Perry River?

MK: One of the things I remember the most is when I was taught how to use a rifle when I was young. My mother taught me how to use a rifle. And I also remember the jiggers (fish hooks). We were always in need of them. Whenever we could get them we hung onto them for dear life because we needed them to fish with.

GO: Did we record in the beginning what year you were born, Mackie?

MK: I don't know what year I was born in. I was born in

- the Kangirjuaq area. I was told I was born there.
- GO: You don't know what year it was, right?
- MK: Yes, I don't know. Also, probably my parents did not know as well.
- GO: When you were a young man, not a boy anymore, but a young man and living at Perry River area, can you describe for me the cycle of the year and how you lived? Sort of tell the story season by season if you would, keep going all the way through each season, and how you lived in each season and what you did and how you survived for a year.
- MK: When the weather turns warmer I would go out hunting. The first hunting I did was catching ptarmigans. I would also stay out for a couple of nights by myself. Once I got a rifle that is when I would stay out and hunt for several days at a time, and those were the times I enjoyed the most. My mother was the one who gave me advice on how to hunt. Then I started to set traps and then I eventually taught myself how to make an iglu, and that is when being out on the land was most enjoyable to me, checking on my trap lines.
- GO: Since you moved to Cambridge Bay, did you come here often to Iqaluktuuq every spring, every summer?
- MK: Yes, since I was with the Co-op Fisheries.
- GO: I'd still like to get a description of the year's cycle.
- MK: I learned how to hunt by going with people who knew how to hunt. I was always told to go with people who knew how to hunt, people like Angulalik and Matomiak. In the springtime I would go seal hunting, in summertime I would hunt for caribou and at fishing time I would go fishing then.
- GO: Do you have anything else to say?
- MK: Not at this time, perhaps at another time.
- DP: Thanks Mackie. That's the end of the interview with Mackie Kaosoni.

July 4, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Mary Mingilgak (MM), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO).

Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Let me first of all record the fact that Mary Mingilgak has already signed the consent form on which she agreed to the specified use of the material she is going to give us. And I just want to ask you Mary, if you have understood everything that was on the consent form?

MM: Yes, (nodding).

DP: In particular, Mary, I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or myself?

MM: Yes, (nodding).

DP: And finally, Mary, do I have your permission to use the information you give on this tape in my own writing?

MM: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Thank you, Mary. That gives us verbal confirmation of a few of the things on the consent form. Maybe you could start by telling us where you were born and when?

MM: I was born in Aklavik on May 29, 1935.

GO: And you grew up in Aklavik?

MM: I remember growing up in Banksland [Banks Island] because we had crossed over to Banksland from Aklavik by boat. We lived there in the wintertime because my parents were trapping there.

GO: Where is Banksland?

MM: Sachs Harbour is at Banksland.

GO: So you went to Banksland because of your parents? What were they doing?

MM: They went there to trap. We would go to Banksland every

summer by boat and we would go back to Aklavik to pick up whatever goods we needed to spend the winter at Banksland. Prices of fox pelts were quite high in those days.

GO: You would cross by boat, right?

MM: Yes.

GO: How long would you stay at Banksland?

MM: We would stay at Banksland for the winter and we would go to Tuktoyaktuk in the summertime to pick up food for the winter use at Banksland.

GO: Once you'd bought your food you would return to Banksland?

MM: Yes.

GO: You would spend the winters at Banksland?

MM: Yes. There were a lot of us people there at that time. There were two schooners that we used to cross with.

GO: Do you remember their names, the schooners' names?

MM: I only know *North Star*. I do not know the name of my father's schooner.

GO: At some point you started going to school, Mary, I believe?

MM: I went to school for only one year because I was sick most of the time while I was in school. My father got me to come home after just one year of school.

GO: Where did you go to school then?

MM: I went to school in Aklavik.

GO: And what year was this?

MM: Early 1940s. Marjorie Taptoona was there having school, and also Agnes Goose. I went to school for only one year because I was sick most of that year.

GO: How did you learn to speak such good English?

- MM: I stayed with my uncle Pat Keevik and he spoke English quite well. That is why I learned to speak it well too.
- GO: What other memories do you have of your childhood, of your growing up time?
- MM: My father treated me well but my mother was quite abusive to me that is why I was mostly with my uncle. At night time I would go home to sleep at my parents', but during the day I would mostly stay with my uncle. And at about age 13 I moved in with my older sister and her husband, Charlie Smith, because my mother was abusive towards me. I remember growing up at the Reindeer Station.
- GO: Is the Reindeer Station near Tuktoyaktuk or is it near Inuvik? Where is it about?
- MM: It is about 50 – 60 miles away from Inuvik. The people now have moved to Inuvik. People are no longer living at Reindeer Station.
- GO: What is the name of Reindeer Station in Inuvialuktun?
- MM: I don't know but it is referred to as Qunnilaat.
- GO: What was the connection to the Reindeer Station? Was somebody in your family working with the reindeer?
- MM: My brother-in-law Charlie Smith, he was an engineer there.
- GO: This is your older sister's husband?
- MM: Yes.
- GO: So when you stayed with your sister you were there at the Reindeer Station?
- MM: Yes, I stayed with them there. And then I started working with an older couple and while I worked for them, then I moved in with the couple, Mr. & Mrs. McInnis. I must have been about 18 years old, or maybe I was 17 years old, when I moved in with them, because they wanted to keep me as their helper. I would help them by keeping house and that is when I first began to really know about the white couple, Mr. and Mrs. McInnis.
- GO: Who were Mr. & Mrs. McInnis? What was their occupation?

MM: Mr. McInnis was a maintenance man and did carpentry work as well.

GO: At the Reindeer Station?

MM: Yes.

GO: What were they doing at the Reindeer Station, what was the project?

MM: Their main purpose was reindeer herding at Reindeer Station. In the summertime they would bring the reindeer to other places to graze, then they would bring them into the station in the wintertime.

GO: What did the Inuit think about this idea of having reindeer that were being herded and almost treated like cattle? They were being domesticated. I'm wondering what the Inuit who lived there, and obviously knew caribou a long time before, what they thought about this idea?

MM: I don't know what the Inuit thought about this. In the month of March they would slaughter reindeer for the people's consumption. Once they knew how much they would need for the summer they would start to slaughter reindeer in March. They would put the meat in the freezers once they were cleaned. The carcasses would be hung and cleaned well.

GO: Then let's move on to the next big event, which must be when a certain person from Cambridge Bay arrived to work at the reindeer station. Maybe you can describe how you met your husband?

MM: He was herding at that time, and he came to Reindeer Station and we got married then. We had known each other for quite some time. We must have been away from each other for a year before we got married. He came to Reindeer Station in October by dog-team, and in that same month we got married, October 20. There were just a few people who attended the wedding, there were Mr. & Mrs. McInnis, my sister and brother-in-law, Charlie Smith. We were married by a Pentecostal minister Don Violet and we borrowed Mr. & Mrs. McInnis' rings for the wedding.

GO: When was the first time you met Adam Mingilgak?

MM: In 1955 in Tuktoyaktuk, when he arrived by boat from Cambridge Bay. Komiak brought him there. Komiak came by plane and Adam came by boat.

GO: That was the first time you saw Adam?

MM: Yes, that was the first time I've seen him. You know how curious people would be in those days, to see if anybody arrives, they like to see. That was the first time I've seen Adam and Komiak.

GO: Once Mingilgak arrived in Tuktoyaktuk did he return back to Cambridge Bay?

MM: No, only after we were married we returned to Cambridge Bay. In 1956 we got married and we returned to Cambridge Bay shortly after that.

GO: You came to Cambridge Bay by boat? What boat? What kind of boat?

MM: We arrived into Cambridge Bay by Johnny Norberg's boat. It was a wooden boat.

GO: How was the decision made to move back to Cambridge Bay?

MM: I wanted to follow my husband.

GO: And he wanted to come back here?

MM: Yes.

GO: What did you think when you arrived in Cambridge Bay?

MM: When I first arrived into Cambridge Bay by boat, and once I got off the boat, I started to look around and noticed there was no wood to burn because I was used to having wood and thought to myself, "How am I going to survive here? There is no wood to burn! How am I going to keep myself warm?" Then I asked my husband how was I going to keep myself warm and Adam told me there is seal blubber out there, we'll use that for heat. This was one of my most disappointing experiences.

GO: Was there a house in Cambridge Bay for you to move into?

MM: No.

GO: What did you do?

MM: There was only the Nursing Station, RCMP, the little Northern store. It was called the Hudson's Bay Company then. It was quite small. When we went to buy at the store we would often have to wait outside to buy because the store was really small and couldn't take in many people at once. It wasn't a pleasant experience especially in the cold months.

GO: So where did you live when you arrived into Cambridge Bay?

MM: We lived in a shack. We would use canvas tents and we would double them up to keep warm. And we used snow blocks to keep out the draft.

GO: Did either you or Adam get work in Cambridge Bay in the early years?

MM: Six months after we arrived, he started work at the DEW Line station. He was picked up to go to work while I stayed behind. I stayed behind until I could go to join Adam. Itimak was here at that time, he was a social worker here. His real name is James Bond, and he was the one who looked after me while Adam was away. Adam was the first to go to the DEW Line.

GO: This is a different DEW Line station, not the one in Cambridge Bay, right?

MM: No, not the one in Cambridge Bay. It was Fox Main, farther than Gjoa Haven.

GO: Were there other Inuit people at the DEW Line station?

MM: Yes, there were a lot of other Inuit people when we arrived to Fox Main. They were strangers, they were from Igloodik.

GO: You must have had difficulty with the language being different there again.

MM: The Inuit language there was quite difficult to understand.

GO: When you first arrived into Cambridge Bay, even then, you must

- have had difficulty understanding the language?
- MM: The first couple of years were the hardest. I did not understand at first, by my uncle Sam Carter would talk to me in English, letting me know that people were calling to invite anyone for tea. Sometimes he would drag me out of the tent by my feet, in a playful way.
- GO: Are there any funny examples you can give us of words?
- MM: When people would be talking I would just look at them and watch their mouths to see what they were saying.
- GO: You have really seen Cambridge Bay grow right from the beginning of the town.
- MM: Yes. When we first got matchbox houses, it was so comfortable, then they started building more houses. It used to be that there were only matchbox houses. Adam used to help people build matchbox houses, so they gave us a long one because I had a big family.
- GO: Can you remember what year it was?
- MM: Early 1960s.
- GO: So those were the first matchbox houses then in the early 1960s?
- MM: Yes.
- GO: Seemed like luxury, eh?
- MM: Yes, and we felt a little more comfortable when they put in fuel burning stoves.
- GO: What do you think about this place here at Iqaluktuuq, where you have been?
- MM: I'm enjoying this place, staying outside. This is the second time I'm out here. The first time I came here was a long time ago by boat.
- GO: When you first arrived here, did you know of the old sites then?
- MM: No, we did not know of them then. We travelled here when Adam's uncle was taken to the hospital. He was out for a long time, so we brought Adam's aunt out here.

GO: For fishing? In the springtime, or in the summertime by boat?

MM: It was in the summertime by boat.

GO: And is that when you first heard of Iqaluktuuq?

MM: Yes.

GO: Were there lots of people coming here to fish just for their own use?

MM: Yes, when we first came, there were a few families who camped here. That is when I learned how to fillet fish for drying.

GO: Was the Co-op Fishery happening already by then?

MM: Not at that time.

GO: So this was early 1960s that you are talking about?

MM: Going to 1970s.

GO: And still the Co-op Fishery wasn't happening?

MM: No.

[GO: So the date we got yesterday from Mackie is little bit questionable?]

GO: In the 1960s, families were coming here then but there was no commercial fishing? And were families fishing with nets?

MM: They were fishing with nets. Mingilgak and Mingilgaagak (Lucy) were fishing with nets. They would come here to cache fish.

GO: What about the old sites and things we saw yesterday on the walk?

MM: I was quite impressed with what we saw yesterday and things we saw yesterday, like the fox traps. These were mentioned to me by my husband so I've heard about them before, but seeing them for the first time was quite impressive.

GO: Is there anything else you would like to add, Mary? Any other stories you can think of to tell us?

MM: My most memorable one was when I first moved here and the climate was quite cold, no wood to burn, my feet were cold. I found it quite hard at first, but I survived. I don't have anything else to add.

DP: Thank you Mary. That's the end of the interview with Mary Mingilgak.

July 4, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Tommy Kilaodluk (TK), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO).
Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Let me first record the fact that Tommy Kilaodluk has already signed the consent form on which he agreed to the specified use of the material. Tommy, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

TK: Yes.

DP: Thank you. In particular, Tommy, I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or myself?

TK: Yes, I am in agreement. If the stories are going to be printed and taped, it is a good idea because we want what our ancestors did a long time ago to be recorded. The stories are our information to pass on, too, so we need to record them.

DP: Thank you. One final question, Tommy, do I have your permission to use your information in my own writing?

TK: Yes.

DP: Thank you. That's verbal confirmation of some of the details on the consent form. Tommy, maybe you can start by telling us when you were born, where you were born and where you grew up?

TK: Between Bathurst Inlet and Kugluktuk is where I grew up but between Bay Chimo and the Kiilliniq is where they say I was born. Evaglokaak is the one who may know where I was born but she is no longer alive, just like my mom.

GO: What year were you born?

TK: I was born in 1935. It is recorded that I was born in 1935. I did not know my parents personally then but when my father visited Bathurst Inlet I remember him carrying

me. My boyhood friend John Ohokak and I grew up together and we both got our nourishment from Evaglokaak. I have a son whom I named after her, Evaglokaak. I did not know my parents personally because my mother passed away while giving birth to me. She did not wake up from her sleep after giving birth to me.

GO: Who raised you then?

TK: Do you know John Komak's name Emilgona? An old lady by the name Emilgona was the one who raised me. And Ovilok was her younger spouse. These were the people that I grew up with and they were the ones who taught me how to hunt. Emilgona was the one I remember being with the most, also Evaglokaak, Nellie Kanovaak and Hikok, Peter Alokaak, an old man. These were the people that I remember growing up with at Bathurst Inlet.

GO: When was the first time you came to Cambridge Bay?

TK: In 1956. I started work at the DEW Line after being in Cambridge Bay for one year. When I arrived into Cambridge Bay I did not stay there for very long because I was sent out to the DEW Line station to work.

GO: How many years did you work at the DEW Line?

TK: I worked there five years continuously.

GO: Was this before you took a wife?

TK: Yes, this was before I took a wife. I took a wife in 1958.

GO: So for the first 20 years of your life you were basically in Bathurst Inlet area?

TK: Yes. Maybe around 1940 is when I started remembering my childhood.

GO: What happened in 1940?

TK: It was around that time I started really remembering.

GO: I wonder if you could tell me kind of a complete description, a long description of your memories of the life in Bathurst area in the 1940s and up to when you were 20 years old, how

you lived, how the people there were living, where you were travelling, what things you hunted in different seasons?
Paint a picture for me of life in Bathurst Inlet. If you could talk for about ten minutes, it's fine.

TK: These are the people I grew up with, the Hikok's, Evaglokaak (Alice) and Kilakkivioyak, her husband. I was adopted by Emilgona and as I grew up I started to remember a place called Uqhuliutimi. From then on I can remember my childhood. In the summertime there were Nanegoak's and Kadlun's at that time and those are my most vivid memories. There weren't very many of us camping. There was also Henry Algona, his spouse had already passed away by then. We camped there with Kadlun's and Nanegoak's. Kadlun's father, whose spouse had already passed away as well. These are the times I remember being at Uqhuliutimi. After we left Uqhuliutimi in the summertime we went to go seal hunting. After hunting seals we went fishing to a fishing spot before the winter began to set in. We travelled on foot.

I remember travelling on foot with nothing to carry. We just walked, with Sam Anavilok (Haniliak's son), Rosie Anavialok and Haniliak. They were at a sealing camp and we came across them and we travelled to a fishing camp. I do not know Ayalikyoak's English name -- he was an old man, he was with us. There were only men that travelled by boat: Haniliak, Hala, Algona, Ovilok and Ayalikyoak. We went to a fishing spot and fished until early winter or until winter. And towards Christmas time people were heading to Bathurst Inlet. There were a lot of people who gathered there, and at that time I did not know there were other people out there. I thought we were the only people. I was a very shy child at that time. It was like I was a very well disciplined child. I was taught to behave well, especially in front of older people, by my adoptive parents, who taught me to respect others. That was how I was taught even though at times I like to be kind of rambunctious.

We went to go spend Christmas at Bathurst Inlet and that was when I noticed there were a lot of people gathering and that was the time I was most scared because I have not seen so many people at any one time. After Christmas, people started to head back to their trap lines. In those days there were a lot of people who would gather at Bathurst Inlet. Those were the times I started to remember. At one point we travelled towards Contwoyto Lake. It was in the spring time and it seemed we travelled on and on for a long time before we finally reached our destination. The weather started to get warmer all the time and we would hunt along

the way. The trip seemed to last a long time and the reason was that people were hunting as we headed toward our destination. Finally we arrived at where we were going to spend the summer, but we did not reach Contwoyto Lake. There was Komik's, Haniliak's, Hala's, Apattuu who was an older sister to me, Emilgona's daughter. Apattuu was the one I grew up with as well. Hala is one of Emilgona's children -- even though he was not the oldest, he was the one that took care of Emilgona in her later years. Emilgona was at an age, possibly about (Mabel) Ekvana's age now (76), when I remember growing up with her. There were quite a few elders that I knew when I was growing up. My grandparents, Komiks, were camping with my adoptive parents and Haniliaks. They would travel by foot just with bow and arrows. They were gone all the time out hunting. They would go out hunting just with bow and arrows and the old man would carry a .22 rifle. The older people at that time preferred to hunt with bow and arrows even though there were rifles. The older people would go out hunting for a number of days with bow and arrows. Topilak, who used to stay with us, would stay behind and look after the dogs for us. It seemed, at that time was when I started to wake up and remember events. It was at Qingalqhuaq --it was called Nose Lake in English because it is shaped like a nose -- was where I grew up. It is a high cliff and Sam Anavilok and I would go sliding on it with just our skin clothing and we would slide very fast. Towards springtime, before they headed to Bathurst Inlet to visit, Sam Anavilok and I would go sliding on the cliff.

In those days we would play out for a long time, enjoying being children. We stayed at that place for a long time. I don't know for how many years. Towards the end of the 1940s, people moved to Bathurst Inlet area. There were a lot of people then, and that was where people started to settle. That is the area where I grew up and learned how to hunt. Even though I could ride a dog-team by then, at that time I was a little afraid to go out by myself to spend a few nights. Eventually I started to go hunting by myself. That is when I really started to enjoy being out on the land. I would take a rifle with me, some tea supplies as well, even though there wasn't much to take. Anavilok is a little younger than I am. He would not come with me, but we were playmates as children. My adoptive mother passed away just shortly before I moved, and my adoptive father took on another wife, who was Taipana, Hagialok's mother. People would trap foxes in those days. My adoptive father would buy traps by the box-full and I used to think there were a lot of traps to buy in those days. When people would go out trapping they would be gone for about two, three,

- four or five days, and some days it would just be a one-day trip. In those days people would be gone for a number of days on their trap lines. They would bring a few days' supply of food with them when they went out trapping. Once I started to learn how to hunt, trapping is what I started to do as well.
- GO: And in the 1950s is when you moved to Cambridge Bay?
- TK: Yes, in 1956.
- GO: And where did Mary become your wife?
- TK: I went to go pick up Mary from Cam Two, to [take her] Fox Main. Her parents were working at Cam Two. She was with her parents because they did not want to leave her and let her be by herself because she did not like to stay behind by herself.
- GO: What year was that?
- TK: It was around 1956/57, around that time. In 1957 Meyok's (Mary's parents) were at the DEW Line when I went to do training as a heavy equipment operator. After my training I went back to the DEW Line station at Cam Bay, and then I went to Cam Two, where my older brother was stationed, before I got married. In 1958, I went to go get Mary towards wintertime. And at that time Sam Anayoak went to Perry River to go pick up Mary Angulalik for a wife.
- GO: And from then on you've always returned to Cambridge Bay?
- TK: Yes. After working at a DEW Line station for number of years then I started working for D.O.T. before it was renamed to M.O.T. I worked as heavy equipment operator. I enjoy working in that field.
- GO: Since you moved to Cambridge Bay have you always come here to Iqaluktuuq?
- TK: Yes, we came here often by dog-team. Possibly in 1960/61 was the first time we spent the summer at Cambridge Bay, then we came here by boat in the summer. There were quite a lot of people here at that time. After we fished for food here we would head back to Cambridge Bay.
- GO: Were people living in tents and shacks at that time?
- TK: No, just in tents. Helak's and Ekpakohainak's were living in tents as well, but in the winter they would move into their cabins.

GO: What did you think of the sites we saw yesterday?

TK: When the archaeologist mentioned about this area that there are a number of old sites which are quite large, even though it did not seem that way to us, I was amazed at how large they are. It was not a big surprise to me because I've often heard stories about them. Since people have lived here before I'm wondering how many feet deep down the old sites can get. I'm wondering how many years old the sites would be. Possibly one thousand years old?

GO: Sometimes two thousand, even three thousand years old.

TK: Even though I've heard about the old sites it still amazes me, now especially when artifacts are found dating back thousands of years.

GO: Thank you, Tommy. Anything else you want to add, Tommy?

TK: In closing I just want to mention that our children now seem not to want to listen to how our ancestors lived long ago. Even for me I've forgotten a few things about the old ways. And that is why recording our stories might be of help to people out there.

DP: Thanks Tom. That's the end of the interview with Tommy Kilaodluk.

July 4, 2001 at Iqaluktuuq. The informant is Mary Natit Kilaodluk (MNK), the interviewer is David Pelly (GO), the interpreter is Gwen Ohokak (GO). Translated and transcribed by Gwen Ohokak.

DP: Let me first record the fact that Mary Kilaodluk has already signed the consent form on which she agreed to the specified use of the material. Mary, I want to ask you if you have understood everything on the consent form that you signed?

MNK: Yes.

DP: Thank you. In particular, Mary, I want to know if you agree with being identified as the person who says the things that you are going to say on the tape, in the event that any of this information is quoted by the Kitikmeot Heritage Society, or researchers, or myself?

MNK: Yes.

DP: And finally, Mary, do I have permission to use your information in my own writing?

MNK: Yes, (nodding).

DP: Thanks. That takes care of those details and provides verbal confirmation of some of the things on the consent form. Mary, could start by telling us when you were born and where you were born and a little bit about your childhood.

MNK: I've been told I was born either at Tahikaffaaluk or at Tahirjuaq (Contwoyto Lake). I don't know the English name of Tahikaffaaluk.

GO: Where did you live growing up?

MNK: A long time ago my parents would travel all the time from one place to another place and that is how I grew up, travelling with my parents out on the land. But most of my memories are where we used to camp at Contwoyto Lake. My parents would go to spend summers at Contwoyto Lake with some of our relatives like Kaotak's, Haniliak's and my grandparents from my father's side. There were a lot of people then. This is where I started to remember, from then on.

GO: What year were you born?

MNK: 1943.

GO: It sounds to me like your parents were travelling and living between Bathurst Inlet and Contwoyto Lake?

MNK: My parents were travelling all the time, hunting and trapping. We would go to hunting spots where game was plentiful so we were moving from one spot to another spot.

GO: In the area between Contwoyto Lake and Bathurst Inlet?

MNK: Yes.

GO: Did you travel up to Bathurst Inlet?

MNK: Yes, we would travel to Bathurst Inlet at Christmas time. I vaguely remember my parents living at Iglurjuaq. We would also travel to Qalgilik. That is where my grandfather passed away, my paternal grandfather.

GO: Do you remember how old you were when your grandfather passed

away?

MNK: I was probably about five or six years old.

GO: Can you tell us what you did growing up during the different times of the year?

MNK: Some of the places, I don't know the names of them. At springtime, at a place I don't remember the name of, where Kanoyaoyak used to live, we would often go there as well. I remember a place called Nanitaaq, that is where we stayed for quite a while with Komaks. Nanitaaq is one of the places I remember.

GO: Is that where your parents would go hunting and fishing?

MNK: My parents would travel there to hunt caribou and spend the summers there.

GO: Anything else you can remember?

MNK: There is one place, I cannot remember what the name of it is. I think it was during wintertime, Koihoks and my parents, we were the only ones travelling and we stayed at an island during winter but I don't remember the name of the place.

GO: Were you just a little girl when you and your parents moved to Cambridge Bay?

MNK: I was about 10, 11 or 12 years old when we moved to Cambridge Bay. We travelled by boat, my grandfather Kanoyaoyak's boat.

GO: Did you travel from Bathurst Inlet to Cambridge Bay?

MNK: Yes, from Bathurst Inlet.

GO: What year was this?

MNK: Possibly 1955 or 1956 or 1957.

GO: Once you moved to Cambridge Bay, did you go anywhere else to live?

MNK: Once we moved to Cambridge Bay my father worked for the DEW Line and we would be living at DEW Line stations, at several

DEW Line stations, so we travelled during those times as well.

GO: Did your parents always return to Cambridge Bay?

MNK: Yes, during holiday times we would go to Cambridge Bay. My father would go to the east to go to work. There were a lot of people there too.

GO: Did you find their language was a bit different?

MNK: Yes. I think it was at wintertime we moved to Fox Main from Cambridge Bay. I can't remember the name of it in Inuinnaqtun.

GO: Do you know where Fox Main is?

GO: Somewhere, maybe Hall Beach?

GO: Would it be Sanirajak?

MNK: Yes.

GO: Is that where your father went to go to work?

MNK: Yes, he worked there for a long time. While he was working there, he passed away in the summertime. He was one of those who drowned.

GO: Do you remember the year?

MNK: Maybe July 1964.

GO: You were married by then, right?

MNK: Long after I'd been married. When my parents were moving east to go to work at the DEW Line station, I always wanted to go with them all the time because I hated being alone by myself so I quit school.

GO: When you went to school in Cambridge Bay, there must have been only a few teachers at that time?

MNK: Maybe only three or two.

GO: When did you know about this place Iqaluktuuq?

MNK: After I got married we would come here often.

GO: Did you come here to fish?

MNK: The first time I came here was just before the fish run and we travelled with my uncle Sam Tigitkuk and spent the summer here.

GO: And did you travel back to Cambridge Bay in the fall?

MNK: In the wintertime by dog-team, or it might have been in the late fall.

GO: Were there a lot of people living here at Iqaluktuuq then?

MNK: Yes, there were Helak's and Ekpakohainak's, while they were alive then.

GO: Anything else you want to add?

MNK: I don't have much to tell now.

GO: What did you think of the old sites we saw yesterday?

MNK: I've seen old sites before. There are a lot of them all over.

GO: These old sites were there long before the white people came, right?

MNK: Yes.

GO: I was wondering if we can go back to Contwoyto Lake to your youth, if you would try to tell us a little bit of a long story about life at that time. Give us an idea of how many people were around, how people were living, what you can remember, what animals were being hunted at different times of year and in particular maybe you could talk about what the women, your mother and the other women in that area, had to do, what their responsibilities for the family were and if you could just try and keep going uninterrupted for a few minutes.

MNK: Before the winter came people would prepare themselves by hunting and fishing and women would make clothing. And for heat and light women would prepare the fat from the caribou. I used to watch my mother preparing in this manner, getting the fat from the caribou, she would make large plates of it.

GO: Is this done by cooking caribou meat with a lot of fat?

MNK: This is done by cooking just the caribou fat.

GO: Would they also prepare for the winter months by sewing?

MNK: Yes. When the weather got cooler, women would prepare skins for sewing, drying and scraping skins. This is what I saw my mother do.

GO: Did people hunt caribou in any season?

MNK: Yes. Hunting was done in any season.

GO: And people would be fishing as well?

MNK: Yes, people would be fishing and making dry fish for the winter use. People were always busy in those days.

GO: If you had the opportunity to tell your great-great-grandchild, who isn't even born yet, what your life was like when you were young, what would you say to that child that's going to be born some year but will have no idea about a long time ago? What would you tell your great-great-grandchild about life as you knew it when you were young?

MNK: I'd like to talk to the younger generation about long ago but it seems like now-a-days the youths do not want to listen and are ignorant of how our traditions were then. Back then, when we got into trouble, our parents would discipline us and they disciplined us from the bottom of their hearts. This is what they taught us about so we can prepare for what life has to offer us.

GO: This is what you would also like for your great-great grandchild, as well?

MNK: Yes, this is what I want for my children but it seems like they are ignorant of them, but hopefully one of these days they'll wake up and try not to forget the old ways of our fathers.

GO: Anything else you want to add, Mary?

MNK: I would like to tell another story but only after it has been written down on paper. Maybe a little later on in life.

DP: Thanks Mary. That's the end of the interview with Mary Kilaodluk.

Appendix 3: Iqaluktuuq 2000 - Interview Transcripts

Interview #1

July 5th, 2000 at Iqaluktuuq. The interpreter is James Panioyak (JP) and the questioner is Max Friesen and the informants are Frank Analok (FA), Mabel Ekvanna Angulalik (MEA) and Mackie Kaosoni (MK).

JP: First of all we want to know where you came from and how you came to live in this area.

FA: A long time ago I remember living here in Iqaluktuuq as a young boy. There were people here along time ago as there are some old campsites and there are a couple across from each other. Right now the campsites are overgrown with grass and the rocks and paths are also covered. At these campsites people used to go spearing fish starting early in the morning as I remember it. They did not even have anything to drink or eat. They would go to the fishing spots while the fish were running in order to stock up for the winter by spearing fish. They did not have any nets. They buried fish in the rocks and dried them also. While the men were at the fishing weirs the women would bring them dried fish and fish heads. They would fish until it got dark then they would go home. Sometimes when their fish spears (*kakivak*) broke they would go home to repair them and then go right back to fishing while the fish were running.

JP: We will return to Analok in a little while but want to hear from Ekvanna and Mackie as to where they used to live.

MEA: I learned from my adoptive parents that I was born in Amaaqtuarjuk beyond Kuukjuaq [Perry River]. My parents never stayed in one area too long, They were nomadic. Near Gjoa Haven at a place called Nuvutiqquq they had a little house. It seemed like I woke up during that time when we lived in the little house. Again it seemed like I fell asleep and woke up at Kuukjuaq where Angulalik had a trading post. Our parents were nomadic and went where the game was. I was born when there were white men already and don't know much about the old ways. I lived in an iglu when I was a child, but we lived in the little house too. When I was a bit bigger we travelled to different places. When Angulalik became my husband we went to Cambridge Bay by dog team. Scotty Gall had a trading post there. That was the first time I came here, when people started to gather here, when my youngest child was born.

MK: I was told I was born in Kangirjuaq. Qaujinanga and party were here and probably went to visit their cousin Angulalik. That's what I remember, being in Kuukjuaq, when there were white men and a post and remember seeing Niglik [a ship] and Levinson [a trader]. I must not have left that place because I had kids when I returned here, because the post was closing. My mother told me that they were good hunters and told me to be like them. They traveled and weren't poor. That's what my mother told me. When I became able to trap that's all I did.

[three confusing, unintelligible sentences]

JP: Long ago, because Iqaluktuuq was a hunting spot, did people from other areas hear about it?

FA: Yes, people have talked about this from the west. There was a person named Amarurnaaluk that they talked about who made up a song about wanting to move here, actually coming, and arriving here in Iqaluktuuq. He sang this song while en route here, "Iqaluktuuq iqalulik tikijjanagu isumauqpik," That was told in the legends. There were other people from other places that moved here.

FA: I remember people from Kangirjuaq named Kapuqturjuk, Algammihuk, Qaqimana, and others that I have forgotten the names of. When I was growing up that's the people who lived with us in Ahiaq. These people from Kangirjuaq and Ahiaq gathered here and lived together. They passed away in Ahiaq.

JP: Long time ago when people went hunting they did not have ownership of this land. They came and went as they liked. Is this the way it was?

FA: A long time ago people were nomadic, they traveled to various hunting grounds, to their campsites.

JP: What did people call themselves when they were from a certain place? For example people from Iqaluktuuq would be called Iqaluktuurmiut and people from Kangirjuaq would be called Kangirjuarmiut?

FA: Groups of people were called by whatever the name of their community was called. Here people from Iqaluktuuq were called Iqaluktuurmiut. Yes, it was like that long ago.

JP: Did people live here long ago because it was a fishing and hunting area?

FA: Yes, there are old bones here on both sides of the river that have surfaced from the banks of the river sliding. Some of the bones, birds, caribou, were buried in the ground.

JP: When people stopped fishing, did they hunt caribou?

FA: When the fish stopped running, they hunted caribou that were migrating when the ground started freezing. It is like that now, the caribou come through Cambridge Bay.

JP: Because people hunted caribou and fished long ago, did this remain like that or when caribou or fish were scarce did Inuit experience starvation?

- FA: A long time ago it was said that the caribou had disappeared from this area for a number of years so people moved to Ahiaq from Iqaluktuuq and various places. There weren't any musk oxen either.
- JP: What about the fish, are they the same as long ago?
- FA: Yes, it's the same each summer. Some years some rivers and lakes have no fish.
- JP: When Iqaluktuuq had people, did these people come from different areas?
- FA: People gathered at seal hunting areas from all over.
- JP: When people gathered at Iqaluktuuq when they celebrated did they have drum dances, either in the summer or winter?
- FA: People celebrated when they got together with drum dances. They loved the drum dance.
- JP: Mabel, perhaps you can answer this question: Have you heard... he's read about some one talking about women gathering before fall to sew clothing for the winter?
- MEA: I don't know. I don't recall people getting together in groups to sew, but I know that women sewed in their own iglus and when the men weren't busy, they would scrape skins for their wives to sew. I've never heard of women gathering to sew.
- JP: As Analok was mentioning earlier the men that were fishing all day were brought food by their wives. Because only men fished in those days, did women take part in fishing as well?
- FA: Women helped with the fish by cutting them up for drying and the men build caches.
- JP: Seeing the river here, because it is wide and deep, when people made weirs did they make them to cross the river, or did they look for shallow areas?
- FA: They built weirs in the shallow parts of the river because in the deep parts of the river the water was too fast. I've never seen that but I've heard of it. There is a place for a weir here that is a little island in the middle of the river and one side is shallower than the other.
- JP: Long ago did people fish at the weirs using only kakivait or were there other methods?
- FA: They fished in the weirs, but some of the rivers are too fast for fishing and too deep, but some of the rivers have lot of fishing weirs, at Halukvik, even the river

- in Cambridge Bay. Long ago there weren't any fishnets. But now people have nets and boats.
- JP: Did they fish using only kakivait?
- FA: Yes, here.
- JP: Because they didn't have any nets?
- FA: Yes, they didn't have nets long ago I remember that. But later on people started to acquire boats and nets. Later on they made these campsites.
- JP: Looking at all the bones on the land - when did people go seal hunting and where?
- FA: I remember people having boats to hunt seals. In August they would hunt seals while they waited for the fall fish run to start.
- JP: Archaeologists long ago probably didn't realize this but now the seal bones that are showing, perhaps when they first started using boats they hunted seals while they waited for the fish to run and caribou to migrate?
- FA: At the old Tuniit campsites there are seal bones. I wonder how they hunted seal. Maybe they had harpoons.
- JP: Lastly before we leave, long ago did people stay at Iqaluktuuq because of good hunting or did they come and go from other areas?
- FA: People returned to this river because it seems like it has more fish than other rivers because it is deep and the fish ran until late fall. Long ago when it started to freeze they would remove their nets when there are still fish.
- JP: Did people stay there year round?
- FA: People waited for fall and then would go to their seal hunting areas at Tikiraarjuk.

July 6th, 2000. On top of the hill at Iqaluktuuq - at an area of small shells, concentrated in an area about 2 x 1 meters. There are two other areas with fish bones: one with all the spine and ribs and the other has all the skull bones. Interviewer Max Friesen with translator James Panioyak (JP) and informants Mabel Ekvanna Angulalik (MEA), Tommy Kilaodluk (TK), David Kaomayok (DK), and Frank Analok(FA).

- JP: These fish bones that were separated, heads from the rest, what was done then?

MEA: People buried fish heads to age them. Perhaps people put the bones together after having cooked fish heads and maybe the other parts were put together also. When I was younger I saw people put bones together when they were throwing them out, they didn't just throw them anywhere. Perhaps they did that with those bones.

TK: I agree with Ekvanna about throwing fish bones out. Long ago people didn't just throw out bones anywhere or together. They piled them in separate bone categories perhaps. This is to keep the camp area clean.

JP: He [Max] read somewhere about people not throwing anything just anywhere because of some beliefs. Are these beliefs very strong?

TK: [confused]

July 6th at one of the long-houses at Iqaluktuuq.

JP: Mabel, we want to ask you if you know of any people using long-houses. There is a long-house that is built with rocks. Is this a campsite?

MEA: That's what they say. I don't remember anything but I've heard stories about the Tuniit. They were very strong according to stories I heard from my parents and older people. They probably haven't seen them but heard stories about them. It's hard to know if you haven't seen anything. It may seem like I'm an elder but I'm not, not that old. I am telling what I heard from stories. The Tuniit were very strong according to the stories.

JP: Have you heard anything about the Tuniit way of life? Did they camp together?

MEA: I don't know, I haven't heard anything, Perhaps they lived like we do. But I heard from stories that they were strong.

JP: Have you heard of people meeting Tuniit?

MEA: I never heard of anyone meeting Tuniit. Sometimes I forget stories that were told.

JP: Aside from these ones, have you seen any others?

MEA: I don't remember, but near our campsite my parents used to travel by foot with dogs packing their belongings. I was just a little girl then and we went to rest near a big boulder. My older brother Emingak and I walked to the boulder to climb it. It was high and very big. This boulder was said to be the place for Tuniit to jump from and their footprints are big. It is said that they jumped with their feet together.

July 6th at Iqaluktuuq.

DK: That iglu is very long.

JP: Long-house?

JP: Who lived here?

DK: Ordinary people have small tent rings. Those are Tuniit tent rings.
[following sentence confusing]

JP: Have you heard of the Tuniit?

DK: Yes, I have heard of them. [rest of sentences confusing]

JP: Have you heard of people meeting Tuniit?

DK: [confused]

JP: Inuit and Tuniit didn't mix?

DK: Yes, they stayed together. They're not dangerous. They used cross bows. [rest of sentences confused]

JP: Have you heard of Tuniit and Inuit being together?

DK: [sentences confused]. They could pack a whole polar bear.

JP: Where did Tuniit and Inuit get together?

DK: At Qarmaarjuk. [rest of sentences confused]

JP: Did you see this that your mother had seen?

DK: Yes. There was a kamik there. Only one side. Looks like it was Inuk made but bigger. Big boots. Sold it to Hudson's Bay Co. My mother sold it to Hudson's Bay. Someplace in England somewhere, that boot. [sentences confused]

JP: Where did Inuit and Tuniit get together? Over there at Resolute?

DK: [sentence confused] But Tuniit's house is there too. But we don't fix that Tuniit's house.

JP: When you were a boy did you hear stories about the Tuniit?

DK: Yes, there were stories. Old people told stories.

JP: What were the stories?

DK: They told of their traditions. [sentences confused]

JP: Did they treat each other with respect?

DK: Yes. They respected each other. For a long time, until the end.

JP: Did you ever hear of Tuniit marrying Inuit?

DK: [answer confused]

JP: How did they disappear?

DK: [answer confused]

JP: Was it a legend?

DK: Yes. That is what I heard from elders. But these guys don't see them, but hear about the stories. They have a rock house up there. Not far from Resolute at Simpson Island. Not far from there. My mother and my aunt they fixed the houses. They take it up and put seal skins over top, put lots of stuff, pretty warm. You could tell Tuniit were up there. Tuniit's place. Inuit don't use the qarmaq.

July 6th at Iqaluktuuq.

[too windy to make out conversations]

July 7th, 2000 at Iqaluktuuq. Interviewer Max Friesen with translator James Panioyak (JP), and informants Frank Analok (FA) and Mackie Kaosoni (MK).

JP: First of all he wants to find out how you hunted birds long ago, such as swans.

FA: Long ago people caught birds that were molting and flightless, they also used snares when they were nesting. I remember them catching molting birds. They used bows and arrows as well. Some people had kayaks and they used these to herd the birds to a certain area so people could chase them.

FA: They snared birds long ago such as loons. They snared these birds at their nests. Recently people started using traps.

JP: Long ago when the weather is like this and the ice edge is far out do people still hunt seals or is it too dangerous?

FA: When it gets too dangerous people stop hunting seals on the ice. But the seals would be around the shores so people would still hunt them.

JP: How did people hunt seals when they had no rifles?

FA: I don't know. I know they used boats and rifles when they hunt seals.

JP: Yesterday they found some artifacts on the surface. They want to know what this is. (Ref. an article about 30 cm long)

[missing section is a discussion of parts of kakivak]

JP: These nuijaaqpait and kakivait are used separately?

FA: Yes, they used these separately. They used the kakivait at the rivers. These other ones they used while wading in the lakes.

[not clear on the meaning of "maninnaqhigaangat"]

JP: So, in the spring when the spear was used was it from a kayak or from the shore?

FA: They used it while they waded, not from a kayak.

MK: They used waterproof boots. [rest of description unclear].

JP: What kind of skins were used for these boots?

MK: Seal skins. They used sealskins that had the hair removed.

JP: When people were fishing along time ago did they use a spear or did they just jab them?

FA: They did not use spears. They used long poles. Itimangnaq was the only person I've seen use a spear! I have not seen anyone else here use spears.

MK: They did not loose their grip on the handles.

JP: Is it long?

FA: Yes, it's long.

MK: They never worried about getting wet when they were fishing. I remember my grandfather Matomiak., using a nuijaaqpak when he was fishing. They never worried about getting wet.

JP: Here's another one we found yesterday right around here.

FA: I wonder if it's an arrowhead. Could it be? Maybe?

MK: This is where the arrow goes into the head. It looks like it's eroded.

JP: Does this go in?

FA: Yes, slingshot.

JP: Either one of you could talk about using bows and arrows when you were young men. Did you see anyone using bows and arrows?

FA: Yes, my parents let me use a small bow and arrow to practice with on small birds and ptarmigans. It was made with an antler of a caribou. I did that when I was younger.

JP: Like that?

FA: Yes. I remember that my grandfather the late Epsilon was one of the last people to use a bow and arrow. I don't know what happened to his bow and arrow. Perhaps he sold them to a white-man. I don't know.

JP: Long ago did the small children learn using small bows and arrows?

FA: Yes, they did. They had small arrows and usually they would have one or two. They learned with these. They practiced on small birds in the summer time. Sometimes they would stay up all night.

JP: Just like Ayalik fishing.

FA: Yes, just like that. They sometimes start when they are 6 or 7 years old.

JP: Do you remember the first time you caught any game?

FA: I had a .22 rifle and remember catching rabbits, ptarmigans, ducks, and other water fowl.

JP: How old were you when you starting fishing with others at the weirs?

FA: Maybe around 7, 8 or 9 years old. I remember my parents had made a weir at Halukvik. Epsilon's family and my parents were there.

- FA: They made these weirs and two channels for the fish to get into these. The weir started from both sides of the river. They also had a smaller trap for the fish that passed the bigger weir. They speared the fish that were trapped in the weir with the kakivak. When they had caught all the fish that were trapped they would go home for a while to rest. Then they would return in the evenings.
- JP: As you have fished in Halukvik and here, which of these two places have more fish?
- FA: Iqaluktuuq. More people gathered here for fishing than anywhere else. My parents used to spend a couple of winters there then come here to fish.
- JP: Why did your parents move back and forth between Halukvik and here?
- FA: The area around Halukvik was where my parents trapped. This is when I started going with my Dad to learn how to trap. Then I started to trap by myself after a while.
- JP: When people returned to the weirs a year later would there be a lot of work to fix them up?
- FA: When they finished using the weirs or when the fish ran out they made an opening so that whatever fish were still going up they could go up river. The next year they would repair these because the ice would move them.
- JP: When people finished using the weirs did they dismantle them so that fish could still go there?
- FA: Yes, they dismantled them so that fish could go up river.
- JP: This was found in the long-house last year. Have you seen it?
- FA: Yes, I've seen it. It's a harpoon head. Some of it is split.
- [description of harpoon unclear]
- JP: This was found in the long-house. Perhaps the Tuniit lived there. Do you have any stories regarding these Tuniit?
- FA: Those long-houses were not the makings of ordinary Inuit, as well as the big boulders, they are too heavy for the ordinary Inuk to lift them. It is said that the Tuniit built these long-houses. Ordinary people are not as strong as the Tuniit.
- JP: What sort of people were the Tuniit? How did they live their lives?

FA: It is said that Tuniit were afraid of the ordinary people and would run away when encountered. Even though the ordinary people did not threaten them they would run away. It is said that the Inuit wanted to have a closer look at them, but couldn't.

MK: Earlier on I did not mention the kayaks going like this. I saw Qitiriittuq, when I had two children hunting swans. Three swans were molting and I was trying not to let them get on shore. Qitiriittuq used a harpoon to get two of them. The third one he couldn't get so he tired it out by chasing it and got it that way. I saw Qitiriittuq doing this, his traditional way of hunting.

JP: We are almost stopping for now but if you have any stories about the Tuniit you can tell those stories.

MK: My grandmother told about a Tuniit child. It was almost crawling and she put it in her parka for a minute. She went to get warm clothing for it as it was fall time when she found the child. When she went back to where the child was, it was gone. Perhaps it was the Tuniit's child. She said it was beautiful. Aside from that I don't know. She heard it crying.

July 7th, 2000 at Iqaluktuuq. Interviewer Max Friesen with translator James Panioyak (JP), and informants Mackie Kaosoni (MK), Frank Analok (FA), David Kaomayok (DK) and Tommy Kilaodluk (TK), Marjorie Taptoona (MT) and Mabel Ekvanna Angulalik (MEA).

JP: He wants to tape people talking so that others can listen to them in the future about the olden days. In the olden days did people follow the seasons when they hunted?

FA: When spring came people would go to their hunting grounds. Now because there are so few elders their traditional way of life is disappearing. People are following the white-man's way of life.

JP: In the spring how did people prepare to go to their hunting grounds?

FA: When spring came people would move from the sea to their hunting grounds at the lakes. There they would fish. This was done before the rivers opened and before the fish started their migration down river.

JP: When people decided to leave their seal hunting grounds when did they do it?

FA: When the snow started melting the people would start heading for hunting grounds inland. Ahiarmiut thought about the caribou hunts then. They dried their

winter clothing, making sure that they would not spoil, and buried [cached] them while they went inland to the spring hunting grounds.

JP: In the spring did people leave their seal hunting grounds to go inland?

FA: Yes, they buried [cached] their winter clothing and headed for the lakes to fish. They did this before the lakes became too watery. They fished through the ice.

JP: Did Inuit long ago return to their hunting grounds or elsewhere to hunt?

FA: They returned to their familiar hunting grounds. They went to dry fish so that they can cache these for their winter supply.

JP: Did you store your winter clothing and gear that you won't need?

FA: Yes, they put away their winter gear and kept their hunting equipment, and also their tools. They never left these behind.

JP: When people headed inland did they go in groups or just a few family members?

FA: Yes, sometimes families would camp together. Sometimes there would be others.

JP: When people moved to the lakes to go fishing what kinds of fish did they catch?

FA: Trout, char, whitefish. They used jiggers and kakivait to catch the fish.

JP: You can tell stories about hunting in the old days.

TK: I will say a few things about the Aharmiut. My name is Tommy Kilaodluk. I am not yet an elder, but I am getting there. I remember being in Ahiaq when I was younger. In the spring time they made dried meat before the flies came so that the meat or fish would not get worms. They shed their winter clothing then. They put away their winter clothing and used lighter ones. When the meat and skins were dried they cached these in rocks. They were hunting for caribou for more winter clothing and food. When they were drying meat they made sure the meat was not going to spoil from the heat by putting up skins for shade. When the flies came they hunted less and did not make dried meat. They hunted only what they needed then for themselves and their dogs. People had a lot of dogs then. They made dried meat for their dogs and when they fed them they moistened the meat to make it softer for them. When the meat was dried they cached it. They hunted for caribou when the fur was good for clothing in the early fall. During this time they put earth around the meat and cached it when the weather was cooling off and did not spoil the meat. They did this to freeze the meat. In the fall they would gather the meat with sleds and dogs and sometimes they would have lots because they also had to feed their dogs. This is what I know from those days. I don't know a lot about the real olden days.

JP: When people were making dried meat did they use the whole carcass or just some parts of it?

TK: They used parts that were easy to make dried meat with and saved some for the dogs. Sometimes they kept the meat in water to keep the flies off. They used these to feed the dogs the next day or so. If there were worms in the meat they would float to the surface. In the spring before there are any flies they dried the meat. This prevented them laying eggs. When the meat was ready to be put away, they laid willows on the bottom of the cache and put the meat on top of these. Then they draped skins on top to keep them dry. They did this to also prevent any animals getting at them. They did the same thing to the skins.

JP: After spring did people go elsewhere to hunt?

TK: Yes, they went to look for good hunting areas by foot around the lakes when the sea ice was too thin to get on. They camped around the lakes where it was easy to hunt from. They looked for good spots to hunt game. Sometimes there weren't that many people in a camp. Sometimes in the summer people would get together when they didn't make dried meat because of the flies to wait for the fall hunting season to start.

JP: In the summer when people hunted on foot as Kilaodluk mentioned, is it the same here in Iqaluktuuq when people went hunting?

FA: Yes, it's the same here as Inuit traditions are all the same. Some people carried their kayaks because there are caribou crossings in many areas. The caribou's behavior is the same everywhere in that they want to be near water when it's hot. The traditions of the Inuit are all the same no matter where one comes from.

MK: Long ago people used the snow buntings as a signal for the hunting season to begin. When the birds keep landing on the tents it was a signal to hunt for game to be used as clothing. This was a tradition of the ancestors. When the caribou had grown new fur it was a signal. They used bows and arrows.

JP: [cannot understand what he's trying to say]

MK: They used these birds as signal to start hunting caribou for clothing. This is what the ancestors said. When the meat tasted good too.

JP: In the summer did people group together or was it just the families involved?

MK: They wanted to hunt in the spring. They thought of hunting. They wanted to stock up on food.

JP: In the spring when people hunted did they take provisions?

- MK: When it gets too hot, they didn't do too much. They hunted just for what they needed then.
- JP: Did they just take whatever they needed?
- MK: They took just what they needed then and sometimes left camping gear behind to pick up later on.
- JP: When people were hunting how often did they stop for their rest periods?
- MK: They would travel until they found caribou.
- TK: The hunters all did the same thing. They had rest periods just like everyone else. Right now it seems we can't compare ourselves to them. They were very smart. They rested. Right now our lives are not like theirs. They waited for the right time. When there were too many flies in the summer they did not rush to do some hunting. In the early fall they hunted for food to last the winter when the meat wouldn't spoil.
- JP: In the summer after they've hunted and looked for the right places to cache food, how did they know that fall is coming?
- FA: When it starts to cool off and flies have gone. When there are no more maggots they cached caribou for food for the winter. They know when it's the right time to store food.
- JP: In the fall when they finished hunting where did they?
- FA: They followed the seasons. They scraped skins to be made into winter clothing. They prepared for winter this way. Some families have a lot of kids so they have to prepare ahead of time.
- TK: It is the same with people even though they come from different areas.
- JP: In the early fall did people gather together?
- FA: When the ocean started to freeze they gathered at the seal hunting areas.
- FA: When the char were spawning the people fished for these.
- FA: Sometimes the lakes were not very deep where they fished, maybe sometimes around 8 feet deep.
- JP: How did they fish for these char?

FA: With the spear. They looked for the spawning areas. You can tell these by the bubbles coming from where the fish are spawning.

[not sure what Mackie is talking about]

JP: In the fall just before winter when people went to their seal hunting areas, what types of food did they have?

FA: Fish and caribou. Dried fish. They brought these to the sealing areas. They pulled their sleds behind them.

MK: The ocean doesn't get snow on it right away. Maybe in November. They waited then to go seal hunting.

JP: In the winter when people went to their seal hunting grounds were there a lot of people then?

FA: Yes, there were a lot of people then. They went one after the other to the seal holes. They wanted each other to catch seals. Sometimes there were so many people that the seals they caught weren't enough to go around.

JP: When they cached meat for the winter to last...did they use these as well as seal meat?

FA: Yes, these were their food that they had prepared earlier. Sometimes they brought some of this food to other people even in small portions.

MK: They shared food amongst themselves. They looked after one another even though they aren't white people.

July 7th at Iqaluktuuq. Interviewer Max Friesen with translator James Panioyak (JP), and informants David Kaomayok (DK), Frank Analok (FA), Mackie Kaosoni (MK) and Mabel Ekvanna Angulalik (MEA). (Carries on directly from tape 4.)

DK: They did that. When there was long day light they travelled. There were a lot of travellers. Not at their usual campgrounds though, only temporarily. They hunted, for seal. There is no wood for fuel so they hunted seal for the oil for their qulliq.

JP: In the spring did you go inland?

DK: Yes, in the spring when days got longer we travelled. [cannot understand next sentence]. When we travelled we hunted for seals. At that point our seal oil

supplies were running low. They wanted fresh seal oil. They were at their seal hunting areas. They used harpoons.

JP: When the ice was too dangerous in the spring, did you go inland?

DK: We returned to our campsites. When the snow was melting before it became too watery we returned.

JP: In the summer how did Inuit live?

DK: They had kayaks. They hunted whales and walruses from the kayaks with the harpoons. They cached the whale and walrus meats to use as food and for dog food in the future. In the summer they stocked up on food. [cannot understand next sentences].

JP: Did this [that you are describing] happen at Creswell Bay?

DK: Yes. They did that.

JP: Perhaps it is still the same today?

DK: [cannot understand sentence]

JP: When you were a boy did they hunt whales from the kayak?

DK: Yes, I was there. The whales arrived when the ice floes broke up. Also the walruses when I was a boy.

JP: Did your parents hunt in Creswell Bay?

DK: Yes. [cannot understand next sentences]

JP: When did you arrive on Victoria Island?

DK: In 1952.

JP: When you arrived here did you hunt?

DK: Yes. I hunted. When I came here there were no caribou.

DK: We went up there by kayaks to hunt for caribou.

JP: To the mainland?

DK: Yes, to the mainland. We hunted the caribou for the furs to make clothing out of.

- JP: Let's return to the Iqaluktuuq cycles.
- DK: Iqaluktuuq, this one? This was a fishing spot for people of the Cambridge Bay region. When the run stopped people would return to their camps. [cannot understand next sentences].
- DK: People had a lot of dogs.
- JP: Long ago here in Iqaluktuuq, when in the season did people gather? Also how did they celebrate?
- FA: People would gather here and camp. There were a lot of people camping together and sometimes across from each other. There were a lot of tents. Sometimes they would have drum dances in the dance houses, either on this side of the river or the other. They went to the dances by kayaks sometimes.
- JP: When in the summer did people gather and dance? Which month?
- FA: In August while they waited for the fall run to begin they danced and sometimes they hunted seals by kayaks.
- FA: They had larger tents like this one for dancing long ago. This is where people gathered and sometimes for church services.
- JP: That's it for now but if you have anything else to add please do so now.
- FA: I would prefer if questions were asked.
- JP: We want to know more from the women about the new tools and when the new clothing started to be worn. When did people change from skin clothing to cloth?
- MEA: I will talk about what I remember from my childhood. Long ago when I lived with my adoptive parents I had only caribou skin clothing. I had cloth covering the caribou parka though. When I married I learned how to sew. People were nomadic in our area. I started trying to learn how to make caribou skin clothing although I didn't know how to do that. I made seal skin kamik as well for use in the summer. I also made kamik and mitts for use in the winter. But when we came to live in Cambridge Bay that was lost. I haven't made any clothing like that although I sew kamik for white people. We don't make anything for ourselves anymore. That tradition is being lost now. People want to use white man made clothing now that are already made. When we lived in our camps we used skin clothing, but when we moved to Cambridge Bay this was lost. Everything like sewing, preparing and doing things a certain way in camps is being slowly lost. We are being looked after now and not doing anything for ourselves. The people were busy in those days. Right now we have water and garbage and sewage trucks that take care of these. We are not doing anything for ourselves although it's good

for older people to have these now. But sometimes it gets boring just to stay in the house. Right now I am very thankful that we were brought here [to Iqaluktuuq] to camp.

JP: When calico was being used did they still make traditional skin clothing because they were warmer?

MEA: Yes, the caribou skin clothing is much warmer in the winter. The cloth clothing is very cold in the winter. But caribou skins are warm and soft and also to use as mattresses and blankets. They are warm to use as kamik too. I know this as do other people.

JP: When people were fishing in the rivers what were the women's roles?

MEA: I don't know anything about fishing in weirs but only when they were using fishnets. They set nets in the rivers and used bait to catch fish. When they caught fish the women would cut the fish to make dried fish. But when the weather was cooling off and the fish wouldn't spoil they made fish caches. They gutted the fish and put them in caches and some they didn't gut and put them in separate caches to use later as dog food.

JP: Yesterday Amanda asked a question about why some people long ago had more than one spouse?

MEA: Sometimes a woman had two husbands or the man had two wives. There weren't many of that though. My late husband Angulalik had two wives. When both of his wives passed away I became his wife.

JP: Were there problems long ago when women were giving birth or were there deaths as a result?

MEA: Some women had problems. It is difficult giving birth and some women had problems. I know a couple of births that were difficult because I was midwife to two children that were born after some complications. I helped when there were difficulties.

JP: When women were giving birth were there only women there that helped or were there men as well?

MEA: I know that the person that is giving birth does not want many people around, but had woman helpers. That's what I remember. When I was in labour I know I did not want many people around me and I had a woman helper.

JP: Long ago did men and women do things together or did they do things separately?

MEA: They helped each other. They lived this way. Even though they may not be husbands and wives they helped each other.

July 8th at Iqaluktuuq. Interviewer Max Friesen with translator James Panioyak (JP), and informants Frank Analok (FA), Mackie Kaosoni (MK) and Mabel Ekvanna Angulalik (MEA)

JP: You can add to the topic we were talking about in regards to changes.

FA: A while ago the number of white-men increased and that's when the changes started to take place. Especially when the DEW line sites came, that's when the lifestyle of the Inuit changed. People started to work for wages. People's lives changed for the worse when the DEW line came in. People began drinking alcohol at the sites. When people began earning money from these sites they started ordering alcohol themselves. That was when the changes began and [the effects] are still on-going today.

JP: Was that when people started to gather from their camps?

FA: Yes, that 's when it started. These young people's lives are now for the worse. The ones attending school are speaking only English. Also sometimes people become couples and have children and then separate. They seem to have forgotten wellness in their lives.

JP: Did Mackie want to say something?

MK: Alcohol is a problem. People are being asked to work for wages. Long ago they made Jesus' blood into wine. [hard to understand rest of what Mackie's point is]

JP: Not too long ago, when the white-man came, were there missionaries when people started to be settled in one area?

FA: Before I had a wife there were missionaries in Cambridge Bay. When they came they visited people at their seal hunting areas to hold services. They held services in the evenings before the drum dances started.

MK: Thank you Analok for talking about the missionaries. Before I had a wife also I heard about the missionaries coming up. [cannot understand the rest of what he's talking about]

JP: When the missionaries came did people convert to Christianity right away or did some people remain as they did living traditionally?

- FA: People started to follow the missionaries' beliefs. They started celebrating Christmas and Easter. Sometimes people that lived far away traveled to celebrate Christmas with others. They heard about Christmas and what a happy time it was from the missionaries.
- JP: Did they travel to Iqaluktuuq to celebrate?
- FA: Later on they came here to spend Christmas. People learned about Christmas and then Sundays and then calendars were handed out so that they could observe Sundays and holidays like Christmas. People realized that even though they didn't live in the same camp they could travel to Cambridge to be together to observe Christmas.
- FA: The first time I started using a calendar we used to cross off the day when it was done in the evening until it reached Sundays.
- MK: Some people traveled a long ways to celebrate Christmas with others at a trading post. Sometimes they camped several times en route.
- JP: Before the missionaries came what kinds of beliefs did people have in regards to hunting [rest of explanation is confusing].
- FA: I don't know anything about the belief of not building houses.
- JP: Are there any other beliefs like that before the missionaries came?
- FA: It seems they had beliefs. From what I've heard they believed in shamanism. They believed that shamans helped them find game and sometimes they gathered together to solve problems.
- JP: While we were talking to Ekvanna the tape got cut off. We were talking about child birth and have questions about it. What beliefs were there regarding this?
- MEA: When one was pregnant for the first time they were given advice on what to do and not do. They were told of what would happen. If they were in labour they were told not to hold back even though it hurt. That was what I was told when I first became pregnant. Not to hold back even though it hurts because it would not help. Sometimes women were afraid and would not push. It's like that. Sometimes it feels like you're going to die when giving birth. As soon as the child is out you think "I'm going to live." Because the child is big you feel like you'll die giving birth. Women know this.

Appendix 4: Notes on the Families Recorded to be at Iqaluktuuq in 1924
by Knud Rasmussen (1932: 81/82).

1. Qurliaq ♂ and Ulualuk ♀ - these are Frank Analok's grandparents through his father Tumaujaq. Their son Qipurqartuaq is Frank's uncle.
2. Tumaujaq ♂ and Qutliujaq ♀ - Tumaugaq is the son of Qurliaq and Ulualuk, and Frank Analok's. Tumaujaq and Qutliujaq are Frank Analok's natural father and mother. Their daughter Arvajuraittuq is Frank's younger sister. Frank was adopted out to Tulugarniq ♂ and Hukkajak ♀.
3. Pualuna ♂ and Haattuq ♀ - Frank said that Haattuq was actually called Haatuujak. Pualuna was Frank's Hanaji. He had something like a bib as he drooled a lot.
4. Nirijuq ♂ and Qijurvikhaq ♀ - Frank said these are Qurliaq's son-in-law and daughter. Their son is Milak. This is Frank's cousin (arnaqati).
5. Qaqimana ♂ and Ikuutaq ♀ - Frank said they called her Ikuutarjuk. These are the parents of Niutiqtuq. Their son Irharluaq is the younger brother of Nuiqtuq.
6. Nuiqtuq ♂ and Akuarhiut ♀ and son Mimi (Qupiuma). Tulugarniq ♂ married to Hukkajahuk ♀ and adopted son Anaq – this is Frank Analok.
7. Nalikkaak ♂ and Atuuttikkaaq ♀ - Frank was told that Nalikkaak put Frank on the front of a qajaq and paddled him across Iqaluktuuq. he was falling asleep because it was a long ride for him.
8. Aarhuk and wife Uhurqaq and son Ikpaku. Frank says it was Ikpakuhaq, and he knows because he grew up with him. Avarqanaq – wife. Arvarqana was the mother-in-law of Luke Nuvuligaaq. Kuhugaq, daughter of Avarqana was raised by her grandfather Nurahaaluk according to Frank Analok. And her actual name was Kuhugaaluk.
9. Nurahaaluk ♂ and wife Allalik ♀
10. Nulungiiq ♂ and Itigaittuq ♀ - Nulungiiq was deaf according to Frank Analok. He would lean in right close to people. Son Iatquluk and wife Haumik and adopted son Urqhina.
11. Huraluk and wife Aqaana – Frank Analok remembers them. Aqaana passed away in Cambridge Bay.

Appendix 5: Glossary of Inuinaqtun Terms

Glossary of Terms

Iqaluktuurmiut terminology as recorded from Frank Analok, unless otherwise referenced.

adraruhiq – part of the caribou stomach used for storing patiq (marrow).

agliqtaqtut – taboos or traditional observances.

akulliruqtut – caribou with hair that is half of the full length it will attain. This occurs in August – in aujaq (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

amaulik – female eider.

angutikapfualuk – large male muskox (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

aulajjut – fishing jigger. It is held in the hand and has the line wound on it.

avalu – whole fish cache. Same as Qingniq, but using a tub.

haggaqtut – caribou with short new hair after shedding (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

hanajut – copper.

hanavik – an area away from the tent and back from the fishing river where people would work on equipment or sew. It was a traditional observance (agliqtaqtut) to refrain from working in the tent.

havaruut – metal

hurluktuq – female eider.

ihat – immature goose that is not yet able to fly.

iqalukpiarjut – land-locked char.

iqalukpiit – arctic char.

iqaluujaq – a fishing lure without a hook. It is shaped to resemble a fish and may have small appendages which wiggle. This lure is jigged with the aulajjut to get fish to approach so that they can be speared with the kakivak.

ihuuq – lake trout.

ihuuqijuat – large lake trout.

ipu – handle of a spear.

kangalaqtut – caribou with skins that are shedding their winter hair. This happens in upin'ngaaq – May/June (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

kapihilik – a whitefish that is too small to catch with a hook. Caught with fish nets or nuijaaqpait.

kapuut – lance for spearing caribou from the qajaq at the caribou crossing.

mitiq – common eider.

mitqiuqtut – caribou with the hair condition of early July – upin'ngaaq (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

nauqqaut – harpoon used to keep the seal from sinking.

niqarnituut – fresh meat in aujaq [check].

niriaqtut – fish in the crack in the ice [in lake or ocean?].

nirlaaq – mature molted geese that are just starting to fly again.

nuijaaqpait – a type of fish spear.

qarjuqhaq – fishing lure with a hook.

patiq – bone marrow.

patqutit – caribou bone marrow aged inside a the adraruhiq – part of the caribou stomach.

piffiup pirujaa – dried fish cache.

qiharuaq – caribou stomach.

qingalik – king eider.

qingniq – whole (not gutted) fish cache.

tigulaaqarvik – clothing storage cache.

tulrujuq – This term is used when a caribou skin is thick. Bull caribou skins get thick and as they are stiff they are not used for clothing, but instead are used for bedding skins (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

ukialiqtut – caribou with skins that have attained their full thickness of hair (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

ukiuliqtut – caribou in winter who have skins that are beginning to shed (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

umingmaittuq – old dry female muskox (Tommy Kilaodluk in field notes).

unigliq – back eddy in a river.