INUIT PLACE- NAMES AND MAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS,
PELLY BAY, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

By

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Abstract

The Inuit of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. have been among the last groups of native people in Canada to experience contact, and to settle in a permanent community. In this isolated settlement the Inuit culture, although changing and constantly adapting, remains strong. The traditional economy, based upon the harvesting of land-based resources, continues to be a vital part of the culture. The thesis examines the nature and extent of this man-land relationship, in the present-day context, and follows the on-the-land activities of all members of this community through one harvest year.

Particular emphasis is paid to the nature of the location of such activities, and the methods by which Inuit navigate from place to place. The thesis details the location and translated meaning of 307 Inuktitut place names within the Pelly Bay land-use area, and demonstrates that an ordered and logical pattern of organization of named physical features exists, a perception of landscape unique to the local region. The knowledge of these toponyms, combined with several supplemental techniques, forms a complete and functional system of navigation which continues to be used by the Inuit of Pelly Bay in their yearly cycle of on-the-land activities.
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Imagine a landscape that could be read like a book, in which the names of physical features all had readily apparent meaning and history, understood by all. Imagine a language subtle enough, yet superbly descriptive, in which even complex meanings could be effectively reduced to single words, rich enough in themselves to easily convey such meaning. Imagine a large area inhabited by a small mobile population intimately familiar with the whole, for whom a knowledge of the land and its resources was synonymous with life itself. Imagine a people who can collectively remember back in time to when the world they moved into was new, with a rich tradition of oral history of the changes of the nature of the occupation of the area, passed from generation to generation. Such a landscape would have considerable human meaning attached; such a landscape could be intimately known to its initiates, and read like a text.

The thesis argues that such a landscape exists, within the immediate land-use area, and within the collective memory of the Inuit of the present-day settlement of Pelly Bay, in the Northwest Territories of
Canada. The research has focused upon examining the perceptions of the physical environment as expressed in commonly-used local Inuktitut place-names, and attempts to portray this present-day world view as expressed by those who know it best, the elders of the settlement.

The elders of Pelly Bay are the present-day repositors of the wisdom of their forefathers. This oral knowledge, built up through many generations of intimate knowledge of the local landscape, represents the sum total of previous Inuit land-use experience, and in many ways can be considered the legacy of those who have lived here before."Hunting and gathering people study the life cycles of plants and animals carefully. They internalize detailed information about topography, seasonal changes, and mineral resources. They plan their own movements in relation to the information they hold in their mind about the world in process around them...

Their plans are central to an adaptive strategy in which control of information maximizes control over their relationship between people and environment. Unlike food-producing people who must transform nature 'to make it reproduce the way they want it to', hunters and gatherers 'live more or less with nature as a given' (Lee, 1979: 117). Instead of attempting to control nature, they concentrate on controlling their relationship to it. Thus they have developed highly
cost-effective techniques for thinking about their own activities in relation to the world they see in process around them. The carrying device is an essential artifact of hunting and gathering technology, but the technique of being able to carry the world around in your head is even more fundamental" (Ridington, 1990: 87).

The elders of Pelly Bay carry in their heads a clear and ordered representation of their world, acquired from their fathers and forefathers, and refined by a lifetime of activity on-the-land. It is through their eyes, through their perception, that this landscape is to be best understood. Their collective memory is the key to the reading of the text of the landscape. The thesis is the recording of that text, on paper, so that others may read it.

Arguments in the thesis are arranged to support the following premises:

1. that the Inuit of Pelly Bay have retained, through the comparatively recent period of contact, a conceptual geographic framework of the topography of the region that they inhabit.

2. that this unique perception of landscape constitutes a highly developed pattern of interpretation which allows for an ordered and logical knowledge of the natural features of the land-use area, both land and
3. that the content of this perception is expressed through the location, pattern, and meaning of the place-names that are attached to the individual features of this landscape.

4. that, while this particular way of "knowing of the world" has been affected by the introduction of such influences as rifles, snowmobiles, and the creation of a permanent settlement site, it has adapted and continues to exist as a coherent classification of spatial phenomena, a localized but complete system of Geography, capable of being passed orally from generation to generation. This knowledge constitutes, within itself, a functional and complete system of navigation for the study area.

5. that this system of navigational skills, coupled with intimate knowledge of the resources of the landscape, is used by the present-day Inuit of Pelly Bay to follow a vital and vibrant round of seasonal land-use activities.

These premises will be followed throughout the thesis in the stream of demonstrating the primary argument: that a unique, functional, and previously undocumented system of topographic organization of the landscape of the study area exists for the Inuit of Pelly Bay, Northwest Territories. The thesis documents the
present-day perception of the land-use area, a perspective which involves aspects of material technology that have been incorporated comparatively recently into the local culture, such as the use of firearms, fish nets, and snowmobiles in harvesting operations. While these additions, as well as the establishment of a permanent settlement site, reflect an adaptation to externally imposed influences, the perception of the nature of the land-use area represents today the oral traditions of a society that still relies, to a great extent, upon hunting and gathering activities for sustenance.

The Oral Tradition:
Knowledge as Shared Text

Ferdinand de Saussure, one of the founders of the modern study of linguistics, has emphasized the primacy of oral speech as the very basis of communication among human societies. Writing, he concludes, is a type of complement to oral speech, and should not be thought of in itself as a transformer of verbalization (Saussure, 1959: 23-4). Walter J. Ong, in "Orality and Literacy" states "language is so overwhelmingly oral that of all of the many thousands of languages - perhaps tens of thousands - spoken in the course of human history only
around 106 have ever been committed to writing to a degree sufficient to have produced literature, and most have never been written at all" (Ong, 1982: 7). Munro E. Edmonson, a prominent recorder of folkloric tradition, states "Of the some 3000 languages spoken that exist today only some 78 have a literature (Edmonson, 1971: 323, 332). It is clear that much of the history of the human occupation of the world has been, and continues in many cases to be, of an oral tradition. A part of the mandate of our western scholarly tradition has been to record and preserve this oral history in print.

A tradition of fieldwork in oral societies has been established by many anthropologists, sociologists, ethnographers, geographers, and others. It would be difficult to list all such endeavors for all societies here, but, for the study area such recordings as Rasmussen (1927, 1930, 1931), Birket-Smith (1940, 1959), van den Steenhoven (1959), Balikci (1964, 1970), and Poncins (1985), are of particular importance in the recording of this oral tradition. Inuit perception of landscape has been surveyed by such authors as Stefansson (1921), Boas (1964), Freeman (1976), Brice-Bennett (1977), Lopez (1986), and Brody (1987). Inuit toponymy has been recorded in recent years by Muller-Wille (1987, 1983a, 1983b), and by Rundstrom (1990).
Although the Inuktitut syllabic alphabet was introduced by missionaries during the early years of this century, there have been very few publications, with the exception of church literature, in Arvilingmiut Inuktitut. English language education was begun sporadically by the mission in 1935, and has been continuous since the establishment of a school in 1961. Literacy levels in English among adults, however, still remain relatively low compared to the rest of the country. The availability of written materials, both in English and Inuktitut, has been a fact of life for the people of Pelly Bay for several generations, and many Inuit are, in the strictest sense of the word, literate now. However, with no literary tradition, and with much of the tradition and culture of the Arvilingmiut remaining unrecorded in text, Pelly Bay may be considered as somewhat of an anomaly in today's world: a culture that is primarily oral. As Walter Ong states: "today primary oral culture in the strict sense hardly exists, since every culture knows of writing and has some experience of its effects. Still, to varying degrees many cultures and subcultures, even in a high-technology ambiance, preserve much of the mind-set of primary orality" (Ong, 1982: 11). It is one of the contentions of the thesis that the Inuit of Pelly Bay retain, to this day, such a primarily oral mind-set. The
focus of the study is upon recording the perception of landscape as expressed by the elders and active land-users. All fieldwork for the thesis was conducted orally, in the Arvilingmiut dialect of Inuktitut, and translated into English.

There are some basic differences in the ways in which knowledge is managed in cultures that are literate and cultures that are oral. One difference is the tendency of sentence structures in oral societies to be very descriptive. Sentences in oral cultures tend to carry a surplus of descriptors, which for a literary society would seem excessively expressive. "Oral expression...carries a load of epithets and other formulatory baggage which high literacy rejects as cumbersome and tirelessly redundant because of its aggregative weight" (Ong, 1977: 188). Another tendency of oral cultures is to concentrate effort and attention upon nuance and intonation as forms of expression, a process that can easily be overlooked or misinterpreted by those not intimately familiar with the language, and which does not translate easily into print. Oral societies also typically invest great energy in repeating over and over again what has been learned and passed down over the ages. While literate societies record their wisdom and move on to discover new forms, oral societies typically spend time passing on the old
stories and wisdom anew (Ong, 1982: 41). In a literate society we can "look up" a desired piece of information, and find it in a text if needed. Oral societies do not study text as we do: wisdom is to be found and retained within the mind, and can be released only through the medium of speech (Ong, 1982: 31). In oral societies learning is accomplished by a program of apprenticeship, with the initiates typically watching, listening, experiencing, mimicking, repeating, and finally mastering the complexities of the tasks that they are expected to learn (Rundstrom, 1990, 163). Longer and more complicated learning processes are accomplished with the use of mnemonics, aids to learning such as stories, rhymes, and chants. Ultimate wisdom, however, is for people in such a society to be found in the minds of the elders, the repositories of the learning of the previous generations. It is the recording of that text, the perception of the landscape that the elders of Pelly Bay possess, expressed orally, that the thesis documents.

The word "text" comes from the root "to weave". In order to read the text of landscape in an oral society it is necessary to understand the context of the root "to weave". There are cultural connotations involved: woven throughout the Inuit perception of the landscape are the webs and strands of the many layers of their
cultural consciousness. Perception of landscape is inextricably allied with the nature of the Inuit culture itself. The thesis has attempted both to incorporate the nature of the oral tradition of the Arvilingmiut, and to synthesize a concurrent rationalization of the interweaving of Inuit culture and perception of landscape. In translation from Inuktitut, the Inuit elders and respondents of Pelly Bay have been willing and able, through this work, to share their oral knowledge of this perception as the text of the thesis.

Scope of the Study

The thesis is divided into two main sections. The first, within the main body of the text, refers to the methods and patterns that the Inuit of Pelly Bay apply to the use of their present-day territory. Reference is made to on-the-land activities throughout the thesis. These activities are not, however, restricted to the land, and are used within the text to refer to harvesting of the resources of the immediate environment, be they on land, open water, or sea-ice. Land-use activities which are documented likewise refer to both maritime and terrestrial resources.

Reference is also made to two economies that function side-by-side in contemporary native communities: the
modern-day cash-based economy and the traditional hunting-and-gathering land-based economy. In many cases they are part of a continuum, with Inuit working in the cash economy in order to procure enough money to enable them to buy the equipment and supplies necessary to partake of the modern-day equivalent of the traditional economy. The thesis focuses upon this traditional economy, and illustrates its nature and extent by exploring the methods used to travel to and harvest available resources in the seasonally-driven round of on-the-land activities. It pays particular attention to various methods involved in navigating from one area of land use to another, and to and from the settlement itself. Inuit methods of navigation and on-the-land travel are examined for all seasons, all types of weather, and all conditions in turn, and in considerable detail.

The second section, contained within the Appendix, is a Gazetteer of Inuit place-names, their translations, locations, and origins. 114 Inuit place-names were located on two maps of the study area in 1984 as a result of a toponymy prepared by Father Frans Van de Velde, OMI., the Roman Catholic priest in Pelly Bay from 1937 to 1961. His work has been reexamined, in some cases clarified, and extended. Through fieldwork, an additional 193 Inuit place-names were added, giving a
total of 307 toponyms. The place-names comprise a gazetteer of the area that represents, as closely as possible, the total number of named places currently used by active land-users of Pelly Bay. The translations are grouped broadly within two major areas: a) names which are physically descriptive, and b) those that reflect human lived experience. They are used extensively within the text to portray the meaning of the named parts of the landscape understood by knowledgeable land-users of Pelly Bay.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two presents the background of Pelly Bay and the study area. It includes a comprehensive historical analysis of Inuit-white contact from early explorers and the fur trade to the arrival of missionaries and the effects of military DEW Line construction. It also describes the growth and development of the permanent settlement, and community life as it exists today.

Chapter Three examines the nature, distribution, and use of Inuit place-names in the Pelly Bay area. It begins with a detailed physical description of the land and sea. This is followed by discussion of the role of place-names as indicators of landscape perception, and a general review of the philosophy of naming place. The
etymologies of place names for the area are analyzed within the framework of the generic categories proposed in "Names on the Globe", by Stewart (1975). A detailed analysis of the location, distribution, and pattern of the place-names for the study area follows. The chapter concludes with an examination of the importance of various man-made landmarks, including inukshuks, in the study area.

Chapter Four is concerned with the use of toponyms by the active Inuit land-users of Pelly Bay in their day-to-day lives. It analyzes actual land use patterns and navigational skills practiced by all members of the settlement during one harvest year: July 1, 1987 to July 1, 1988, as they follow their seasonally-dictated rounds. Travel patterns are classified into day trips, overnight trips, family camping trips, and intersettlement travel, and this permits the study of basic and supplemental navigational techniques used by Inuit active on-the-land during this period. The chapter concludes with a section of traditional knowledge, stored experience, and strategies to meet serious trouble while travelling on the tundra landscape.

Chapter Five brings together the various strands of the thesis argument, as a conclusion, and offers suggestions for the application of the study material, as well as implications for further study.
Fieldwork Techniques

The fieldwork for the thesis was carried out in and about the settlement of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. in June and July, 1988. Many Inuit are engaged in on-the-land activities during this time, and some of the interviews were conducted at campsites scattered about the bay, although a study office was located within the community itself. The author was already familiar with the study area, having lived the previous three years with his family in Pelly Bay, and had spent time hunting, fishing, and travelling with Inuit.

Field techniques involved several methods of data collection. The first method utilized was participant observation. As part of the community of Pelly Bay the author was able to record much information while taking part in many local activities both in the settlement and out on-the-land. The author had access to a snowmobile, an all-terrain vehicle, and all necessary equipment for extended excursions onto the surrounding landscape. Inuit friends and companions were willing and able to introduce him to some of the mysteries of the land, and answered an unending series of questions with unvariable good will.

The concern for the introduction of a "western bias" within participant observation research has been taken
into consideration during both the fieldwork and compilation of the thesis. It has been suggested, by Clifford Geertz (1977), among others, that a researcher must attempt to set aside his or her own preconceptions, and view the experiences of the culture to be studied from the point of view of their own ideas. Every effort was made to incorporate the perception of landscape from the Inuit point of view, as seen through Inuit eyes, although the author recognizes the inherent limitations of such an attempt. The author assumes full responsibility for errors or discrepancies that may have resulted from the difficulties of cross-cultural interpretations.

The main fieldwork technique involved in the study was to locate and identify toponyms on the maps. Residents of Pelly Bay suggested that the best way to proceed was to focus upon the elders of the community. Consequently twelve of the elders, ranging in age from 49 to 77 years of age, agreed to be involved in the recording of the toponyms that they knew. All were most knowledgeable of the named features of the landscape, and were very interested in recording and preserving this information for the benefit of future land-users. The recording of their intimate knowledge of the local landscape forms the central core of the data for the thesis.
Each elder was presented with copies of both maps of the study area at a scale of 1:250,000, and invited to examine them, talk about places and the land-use associated with those places, and to provide any place names that they could furnish. The elders did this alone, without the assistance of other land-users. The names were recorded on separate maps, so that no elder could see the work of others, and they only saw the final products when all the elders were finished with the project. As a control for the validity of the observations, it was determined that at least three elders should concur as to the exact name and location of each toponym. In reality there was a remarkable degree of agreement among the elders. Of the total of 193 toponyms recorded there was initial and unassisted agreement by at least three elders on the location and naming of 191 of them. The toponymy records the names of the elders that identified each of the place names so that their accuracy may be verified.

Another technique used in the field was to tape-record interviews with the elders and representatives of other cohorts of active land-users. Because the majority of the population speaks only Inuktitut, a translator was hired, and this segment of the fieldwork involved a series of translated questions and answers relating to all aspects of local land-use
both present and past. Many elders chose this time to record illustrative stories of life on the land in their early days, as well as to pass on traditional advice relating to present-day land-use. A total of forty-five hours of tape recordings were made, and used as a reference during the writing of the thesis.

The final fieldwork technique employed a survey/questionnaire. The head of each family in Pelly Bay was interviewed about land-use activities by himself or herself and all family members for the previous year, and a questionnaire filled out. The questionnaire detailed basic family data, and the methods, location, duration, extent, and harvest of land-use activities. All of the families in the settlement responded to the questionnaire, a 100% return rate. It provided the detailed documentation for land-use activity by all residents of Pelly Bay for the harvest year July 1, 1987 to July 1, 1988 (see Tables I and II).

Every effort was made to operate along the acceptable lines of community consensus developed within the local government of Pelly Bay. They included permission from the Hamlet Council prior to initiating the study, and participation by Council members in the gathering of research data. A presentation was made to this council before beginning the research, to explain the nature and extent of the data to be collected. Similarly, the
elders of the community were asked for their permission and participation, and contributed immeasurably to the success of data collection. Father Joseph Meeus, the present priest to the mission, is both a gifted linguist in Inuktitut and a student of toponymy in his own right, and he provided active assistance in vetting the work as it progressed.

This research was conducted under the auspices of N.W.T. Scientific Research Licence Number 8051-12-410-235, issued by the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories, April 7, 1988. The principles outlined in "Ethical Principles For The Conduct Of Research In The North", published by the Association of Canadian Universities For Northern Studies (1982) were adhered to throughout the course of this research.
Acknowledgements

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I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable academic assistance of my advisors at the University of British Columbia: Professors J.K. Stager, J. Ross MacKay, and R.C. Harris of the Department of Geography, and Robin Ridington of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology. They have had the patience to bear with me to the conclusion of this work.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to the generous assistance of the primary respondents, the twelve elders of Pelly Bay, N.W.T., who contributed their substantial collective knowledge, life-experiences, and memories to this recording of land-use information and toponymies. It is their words, translated and recorded for the benefit of future generations, that fill these pages.
Chapter Two

Setting The Stage: A Background to Pelly Bay and the Study Area.

Location

The Hamlet of Pelly Bay, in the Northwest Territories of Canada, is located at Lat. 68°32' N., Long. 89°49' W., approximately 210 kilometers above the Arctic Circle. It is 177 air kilometers southeast of Spence Bay, N.W.T., the nearest community, and 1312 air kilometers northeast of Yellowknife, the source of most settlement supplies. Pelly Bay is very nearly on the same longitude as Thunder Bay, Ontario, albeit approximately 2,350 kilometers northward.

The settlement is near the bottom of Pelly Bay, one of two large bays at the southern reaches of the Gulf of Boothia. The hamlet is built on a rock and gravel base between 5 and 20 meters above sea level on the south shore of the Kugajuk River, at the point where it flows into St. Peters Bay, on the southwest side of Simpson Peninsula (see Figures 1 and 2).

The present-day settlement is at the site of a
traditional fishing camp used for many generations during summer and fall. The Inuktitut name for Pelly Bay is "Arvilidjuark", which, according to Rasmussen, means "the land of the great whales" (Rasmussen, 1927: 167"). This name originally referred to the bay, but is now used to designate the settlement as well. Those Inuit who are descended from the original inhabitants of the area on and surrounding the middle reaches of this bay refer to themselves as "Arvilingmiut", or "people of the bay where there are whales".

The reference to whales in the name dates from long ago, since whales of any type are now very seldom found in the waters of Pelly Bay. The elders recall only a very few occasions when whales were taken locally, and relate that, within the memory of their parents and grandparents, this has been true for several generations. However, the relative abundance of bleached whalebone on the shores suggests that this was not always the case. It also suggests that the Inuktitut naming of features in the area dates back to a time, long ago, when whales were relatively abundant.

The study area is bounded by Latitudes 68.00 N. to 70.00 N., and Longitudes 88.00 W. to 90.00 W. This area is included within the bounds of two topographic mapsheets at a scale of 1:250,000; Pelly Bay (57A), and Harrison Islands (57D), published by the Department of
Energy, Mines, and Resources, Canada (see Figures 19-22). It corresponds to nearly all of the land-use activities carried out presently by the Inuit of Pelly Bay. Although the settlement is located towards the southern part of the study area, most land use activities are concentrated on the bay, which occupies the central part of this area. Travel on the bay is easier than overland travel at any time of the year, and land-use patterns reflect this fact.

Traditionally the Inuit have been a coastal people (Bandi, 1969: 4-5). The cycles of freezing and thawing of the water bodies have always dictated the rhythms of nomadic movements between land and sea. The margins between water and land have assumed particular importance as boundaries in this environment. In the past the shorelines of the bay, the islands, the rivers, and to a certain degree the lakes, have been the zones where a good deal of life was lived. Today, the shorelines are still reference points for navigation, and campsites. It is along the shores of Pelly Bay, and of the waters draining into it, that the majority of interest will be focused.

Historical Perspective: The Explorers

Pelly Bay is one of the most remote and isolated
settlements in the Canadian Arctic today. All other Arctic Inuit settlements can be reached and resupplied annually by ocean transport; Pelly Bay can not (N.W.T., 1989b: 64).

Pelly Bay itself is a dead end cul-de-sac at the end of Prince Regent Inlet and the Gulf of Boothia. There is a constant year-round flow of multi-year pack ice through this area, with the general movement from northwest to southeast (Stager, 1984: 29). Much of the ice is released through Fury and Hecla Strait, which precludes open-ocean entry from Foxe Basin. While ice conditions differ from year to year, the Inuit of the area have learned to identify the presence of a "Hina'aq", or floe-edge, as a permanent reality to the north of their homeland. The only European explorer to enter the area by sea, Sir John Ross, could not sail out again. In 1832, after several winters of being frozen into the ice, he and his crew abandoned their ships and walked out of the area to ultimate rescue. The lesson was learned by experience; these ice-filled waters were treacherous at best, and did not lead to a navigable northwest passage. While the all-water routes to most of the points on the Canadian Arctic Mainland and Arctic Islands Archipelago have been pioneered and long established, Pelly Bay has yet to record the passage of a single supply vessel, and the waters of the bay have
not been charted to this day. As a direct result of ice conditions, Pelly Bay has been almost completely cut off from the outside world until very recent times.

Prior to the nineteenth century the Inuit of Pelly Bay relied totally upon the resources of their immediate environment (Rasmussen, 1927: 168). Their technology relied upon the raw materials at hand; snow, ice, bone, stone, antler, and animal skins (Balikci, 1970: 3-22). By combining these materials the Arvilingmiut Inuit crafted specialized tools and equipment adapted to survival in their environment. The efficiency of some of this technology is unmatched to this day. The igloo is still the most efficient form of cold-weather tundra shelter, and caribou skin clothing the warmest, lightest, and driest available. "Their warm-to-hot houses and excellent garments led Vilhalmur Stefannson to describe their physical environment somewhat dramatically as subtropical or tropical" (Oswalt, 1979: 71). The Inuit-style sled, leister (fish-spear), ulu, snow shovel, and harpoon are very much in evidence in Inuit communities today.

However specialized, Inuit technology did have limitations that became evident especially when new materials of European origin began to filter slowly into the region in the middle of the nineteenth century. The advantages of wood, to a society that had been beyond
the reach of even driftwood, and of forged metal, were immediately recognized by the Arvilingmiut (Balikci, 1964: 35). Once encountered, these were worked into the material technology, and a desire created for more (Oswalt, 1979: 57-8).

Prior to the arrival of a European presence in the Arvilingmiut areas of the Central Arctic there were lines of contact and communication, albeit somewhat limited, among the various Inuktitut-speaking peoples along the coastal regions (Oswalt, 1979: 163). Visiting among Inuit groups who shared the same territory was a popular local form of recreation, and many people were interrelated. News, stories, and gossip spread quickly from one end of the local culture area to the other. The families that lived at the extremities of a particular society quite often shared ranges and contacts with neighboring groups of Inuit, and, in many cases quite amicably exchanged news of the latest events.

Inveterate travellers, small groups of Inuit would often set out on longer trips for adventure, to visit distant relatives, explore new hunting areas, or to find wives from an unrelated gene pool. Many ethnographers have commented upon this facet of Inuit life. Oswalt has stated that "Northern Eskimos not only shared a common lifeway but were also great travellers and lived along coasts that posed few barriers to movement by boat or
dog team (Oswalt, 1979: 163). Rundstrom has noted "that Inuit were inveterate travelers is perhaps the most typical image of this migratory people (Rundstrom, 1990: 162), while Rasmussen, in referring to the Arvilingmiut in particular, mentions that "these hardy folk were not afraid of making long journeys by sledge, being away sometimes for a whole year..." (Rasmussen, 1927: 169-70). When strange ships filled with white men with odd habits began to appear in isolated corners of the arctic, news spread eventually to the far reaches of the Inuktitut-speaking world announcing their arrival.

The Arvilingmiut of the Pelly Bay area, for many generations, have had extensive cultural contact with the Aivilingmiut of the Repulse Bay area on the northern coast of Hudson Bay (Rasmussen, 1927: 169, Balikci, 1964: 41). A well-marked travel corridor across Rae Isthmus connected the two cultures, and intermarriage between these groups was, and remains to this day, a common practice (Balikci, 1970: 129). The Aivilingmiut of the Repulse Bay area were visited by such explorers as Christopher Middleton (1741-2), Wm. Parry (1821-22), John Rae (1846-7 and 1854), and Charles Francis Hall (1866). By the late 1820’s, British whalers had begun to penetrate this area. In 1855 two Aivilingmiut Inuit from the Repulse Bay area, Hannah ("Tookolito") and Joe ("Eiberbing"), were taken, evidently with their consent,
to England by the captain of a whaling ship. During a two year's stay in London they learned to speak passable English, and to enjoy certain English customs. They were treated as celebrities while there, and, unlike previous Inuks displayed before the English audience, returned home alive, in the employ of the explorer Charles Francis Hall. Throughout the early years of European exploration in the Eastern Arctic, their presence, strange customs, and the nature of the technology they possessed was made known to the Arvilingmiut Inuit of Pelly Bay primarily by way of the Aivilingmiut of the Repulse Bay area. The Pelly Bay-Repulse Bay travel corridor was therefore the route over which the small bits and pieces of "outside" technology first entered the Arvilingmiut culture (Balikci, 1970: 168).

Among the elders of Pelly Bay there exist stories of a "white man's" ship found frozen in, intact, but completely deserted, in Frozen Straight, north of White Island, between Southampton Island and Melville Peninsula. Traditionally this event predates the Arvilingmiut discovery of the remnants of the Ross expedition in 1832, and indicates the (unrecorded) loss of an early whaling ship in the area. Although Repulse Bay Aivilingmiut were the major benefactors of this providential find of wood, metal, and other European materials, a certain amount found its way to the Inuit
The Pelly Bay people discovered their own treasure trove of "outside" raw materials when they found the intact remains of Sir John Ross's ship, H.M.S. Victory, abandoned in the ice of the northern part of Lord Mayor Bay in the spring of 1832. This was, in the words of Jose Angutingungnigq, an elder of Pelly Bay, during the time when "his grandfather's mother was still being packed" (recorded interview, 1988). Van den Steenhoven mentions a 1957 interview with an elder, Niptajok, who was the great-grandson of Tullorealik, the Inuk fitted with a wooden leg by the carpenter of the 'Victory' (van den Steenhoven, 1959: 11), while L.A. Learmonth records a 1948 narrative by a Pelly Bay man, Ohokto, of the oral tradition of the first meeting with members of the crew (Gedalof, n.d.: 67). Rasmussen, in his ten days in the Pelly Bay area in 1923, has managed to record what is perhaps the most complete account of the oral history of this event (Rasmussen, 1927: 170-2). According to local lore, parts of this ship were salvaged and used immediately upon its discovery, while other parts were hauled ashore to a nearby island. The cache provided a ready store of wood and iron, and was visited regularly for many years. Shipwrecks, therefore, provided the first large-scale source of "outside" raw materials—wood and metal pieces that soon found their way into the
tools of nearly every Arvilingmiut family group (Rasmussen, 1927: 170, Balikci, 1964: 45).

In July of 1845 the twin 370-ton ships H.M.S. Erebus and Terror were last reported by an Aberdeen whaler to be sailing westward in Baffin Bay. It was to be the final and most ambitious attempt to chart a northwest passage across the top of North America. By this time the still unknown portions of a northwest passage lay to the north and eastward of the mouth of the Castor and Pollux River, which drains westward from traditional Arvilingmiut territory. However, in attempting to force this remaining unknown passage, Sir John Franklin and all 129 members of his crews simply vanished into the Arctic. The search for the Franklin expedition brought many explorers and their parties to the Arctic, and vast new areas were charted as a result.

The first European explorer to enter the Pelly Bay area, Dr. John Rae, was among the first of the arctic explorers to travel light in the Inuit fashion, using dogteams with local guides, and living off the land. He reached the shores of Pelly Bay from Repulse Bay in the spring of 1854, and immediately discovered what the outside world had been eagerly waiting to hear - word of the fate of the Franklin expedition (Rae, 1850). An Inuk named Inookpoozheejook described to Dr. Rae the final resting place of thirty-five white men at the mouth of a
river ten to twelve days travel westwards along the
mainland coast, in an area now called the mouth of the
Back River. As proof, Dr. Rae was presented with a Royal
Navy officer's golden hat band. It was too late in the
season to visit the site, but Dr. Rae did manage to
collect other relics of the Franklin expedition from the
Pelly Bay Inuit: silver forks and spoons with officers'
crests, a gold watch, a silver pencil case, a surgeons
knife, English coins, and even one of Sir John
Franklin's military decorations (Berton, 1988: 266). The
fate of at least part of the lost expedition was now
determined, and with it came a reward, to Dr. Rae, of
ten thousand English pounds from Parliament.

Following up this information, a second explorer, the
American, Charles Francis Hall, arrived in the Pelly Bay
area two years later, in the spring of 1866. He too
travelled overland in the Inuit mode. He was accompanied
by two Aivilingmiut Inuit, Hannah and Joe, from the
Repulse Bay area, who served as guides and interpreters.
These Inuks had just returned from a two year stay in
London, and they told many stories to the Pelly Bay
people about the strange manners and customs of white
people. Through the interpreters, Charles Francis Hall
gathered more information about the last days of the
Franklin expedition. Many years before, it was reported,
a group of Iluilermiut, who lived on the west side of
King William Island, came across a large group of white men, starving, and dragging a heavy boat overland. The Inuit were nearly starving themselves, and did not have the capability of feeding the white men. Hall managed to obtain, through trade, more relics of the Franklin expedition on this visit to Pelly Bay. They included a spoon with Croziers’ initials, a mahogany barometer case, and a pair of scissors much prized by its owner. Hall’s guides, fearing the fierce reputation of the Iluulermiut, refused to travel to King William Island, and Hall was forced to return to Repulse Bay for the winter.

After following a series of false leads, which took him to the north end of Melville Peninsula, Hall returned to the Pelly Bay area once again in 1869, passing through to King William Island. There he confirmed, from the local Inuit, the stories he had heard regarding the fate of the Franklin survivors. From them he learned of the abandonment of the ships, and the attempt to sledge overland to the Back River. The Inuit of the area plundered the abandoned ships, and followed the sledge route picking up what they could. Many of the items they found were of immense value to them. Other items, such as papers and books, had no value and were left to the elements. Some things were kept as curiosities, and one story relates how a youth
'accidently blew up an igloo after placing a bag of black powder near the fire (Berton, 1988: 378). Charles Francis Hall managed to gather an impressive trove of Franklin artifacts while on King William Island, including bones of a skeleton later identified as Lieutenant Le Visconte of the Erebus. As he returned through the Pelly Bay area, Hall realized that he had discovered the final conclusion to the Franklin search: there were no more survivors alive (Nourse, 1979: 133).

For the Inuit of Pelly Bay, the shipwreck disasters were viewed as a godsend of treasures. The salvage of abandoned European technology effectively propelled them from the stone age into the iron age overnight. Iron and wood were quickly reworked into the local technology, and these materials, as well as any usable or decorative articles found nearby, soon spread throughout the culture. The items recovered by Dr. Rae, Charles Francis Hall, and later visitors, were merely a small part of the European flotsam that circulated throughout the area as a direct result of the search for a northwest passage.

The passage of the early explorers Rae and Hall provided entertainment value as the source of stories told in camps for many years hence, but otherwise had little effect on the Arvilingmiut of Pelly Bay. The explorers passed through the area quickly, travelled
lightly, and did not carry trade goods. When they were gone, no more of their kind came back to Pelly Bay.

Historical Perspective: The Traders
And Missionaries

The Inuit of Pelly Bay were left to their traditional isolated existence. Yet a desire had been created among them for European materials and trade goods. From their neighbors they learned of the existence of trading posts far to the south, where these materials could be obtained. Before the turn of the twentieth century several expeditions left the Pelly Bay area for the southern Keewatin to barter, either directly with the established posts, or with native middle men (Rasmussen, 1930: 26). The wants of the Arvilingmiut Inuit were relatively simple: they were not yet dependent upon the new technology, but merely wanted those tools and materials that would enhance their traditional technology.

For many years, however, the Pelly Bay Inuit were the poor "second-cousins" of the fur trade era. Their homeland was the only area of the Canadian Arctic inaccessible by sea, and they had to travel considerable distances overland to conduct their trading. The easiest exchanges were with the Inuit of the Repulse Bay area.
They had better access to Hudson Bay whalers who, when the whale population was declining, turned to trading opportunities to increase their profit margin. Repulse Bay people were also much closer to the established trading posts in the southern parts of Hudson Bay, and they arranged alliances which allowed them to travel there on an annual basis. Sometimes they would barter with the Arvilingmiut for "second generation" trade goods, and used the proceeds to procure the latest technology (Balikci, 1964: 45). Neither the Hudson's Bay Company, nor any other trading consortium, ever established a trading post in Pelly Bay.

For the Arvilingmiut the traditional round of land-use activities, and their relationship with the land, did not change significantly until the acquisition of firearms. Whatever snippets of "outside" technology that had managed to enter the area previously merely served to make certain parts of the material lifestyle more efficient, and perhaps easier. Wood, iron, and a few manufactured trade goods had, until this time, been a blessing, and were appreciated. Even the few smooth-bore black-powder second-hand firearms that had been acquired were slow-firing and inaccurate, and barely more efficient than traditional methods of killing game. Therefore, life had gone on much as before, relatively undisturbed and unaltered, until the
introduction of the new rifled, accurate, repeating firearms.

The first modern repeating rifle to enter the area was presented to Nulialuk by Roald Amundsen in 1906 (Balikci, 1964: 45). Around 1915 Ubluriasuksuk managed to exchange a dog for a rifle from the Repulse Bay area, where a shortage of good dogs was in effect. By 1919, however, with the opening of a trading post at Repulse Bay, nearly all Arvilingmiut hunters had availed themselves of the opportunity to acquire firearms (Balikci, 1970: 168).

Modern rifles allowed individual hunters to kill more animals at greater distances and in all seasons, and to increase individual kill-ratios considerably. Not only was harvestability increased, it was extended beyond the local ecosystems capacity to reproduce. For a decade or more following the introduction of modern firearms a disruption of the ecology of local wildlife occurred in the Pelly Bay area (Freeman, 1976, Treude, 1975, Balikci, 1964).

Inuit, who had long lived with a concept of endless resources, did not realize that their numbers could be finite. "Following the establishment of trading posts on the migration routes and the consequent general use of rifles, the caribou migration ceased in the years between 1920 and 1939" (Balikci, 1964: 7). The
once-common herds of musk-oxen were easily slaughtered and permanently eradicated from the area. During his visit to the Pelly Bay area in 1923, Rasmussen writes "the country round about is famous among the Eskimos because it is the only region where it is profitable to hunt methodically the musk-ox..." (Rasmussen, 1931: 33), while Balikci notes that "the evidence assembled here suggests that the musk-ox in traditional times was to be found in many areas in the Netsilik country, with possibly the highest concentration in spring on the west coast of Committee Bay, and also west of Pelly Bay in the valley of Simpson Lake and the surrounding hills" (Balikci, 1964: 8). Fr. Van de Velde mentions five areas which in the past had an abundance of musk-oxen (Van de Velde, 1984). By 1964, however, Balikci notes that "Presently, no musk-oxen are found in the country of the Netsilik" (Balikci, 1964: 8).

As noted by Balikci, the introduction of rifles, as well as concomitant material technology such as fish nets, wooden boats, and steel traps, had effects upon the lifestyles of the Inuit as well. Hunting and fishing activities, which had previously been carried out largely as a result of the group efforts of an extended "ilagiit", or extended family group, now became much more individualized. Whereas previously caribou were hunted only at certain times of year, and were driven by
concerted effort to particular crossings to be harvested by hunters in kayaks or hiding behind "tallun" (man-like inukshuks), the situation was changed so that "caribou hunting with rifles was conducted individually" (Balikci, 1964: 46). Older patterns of subsistence, which were categorized by a somewhat unpredictable reliance upon "aglu" (open-hole) sealing with harpoons in the winter months, now tended to reflect an increasing reliance upon food obtained by the use of rifles. As Balikci has noted: "The introduction of the rifle...brought about the abandonment of numerous traditional techniques and a general individualization of hunting practices. Contemporary (1964) Pelly Bay economy is characterized essentially by highly successful rifle sealing, net fishing, and the absence of systematic trapping with trap-lines. The need for new rifles and ammunition, canvas for tents, imported clothing, and a few imported foodstuffs established firm symbiotic links between the Pelly Bay people and the Euro-Canadian economy" (Balikci, 1964: 60).

The introduction of modern repeating rifles to the Inuit of Pelly Bay thus marked the beginning of both a profound change in the traditional man-land relationship and the growth of a certain degree of dependency upon "outside" resources. Rifles required bullets, the acquisition of bullets required trade, trade required
marketable furs, and the acquisition of furs required steel traps. The demands of the fur trade required some change of life-style. No longer was the traditional pattern of land-use activity dictated solely by the season-driven need to acquire, preserve, and store food products and raw materials: now this process was complicated greatly by an economic circle that included the need to harvest tradeable furs. Furs began to be a factor within the local economy, and a desire for and, eventually, a reliance upon outside resources was created. Bullets, traps, and steel knives had become necessities, and new food products, such as flour, sugar, and tea, indispensable staples of the local lifestyle. The Inuit of Pelly Bay were soon dependent upon Euro-american trade goods to complete the continuum of the evolved local economy. They were, however, among the last native groups in North America to succumb to the attractions of the barter economy, and their isolation was a buffer to its full effects.

The dependence on trade increased with the opening of a Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Repulse Bay in 1919. Pelly Bay Inuit followed the long-established travel corridor to this post for many years, and traded for what had now become the necessities of daily existence. The various landmarks of this trade route became a mnemonic to the people of Pelly Bay; the route
has been travelled so often by so many Inuks that it is fixed within the collective memory of the majority of residents. Most older adult Inuit of Pelly Bay can traverse this route, even in the darkest times of the year, virtually at will.

In 1935, apparently at the behest of several local Inuit who had converted to Catholicism at the mission established at Repulse Bay, Father Pierre Henry, OMI., was sent to the Pelly Bay area to build a mission outpost. Father Henry chose a site which became the Hamlet of Pelly Bay. His successor, Father Van de Velde, was the only other permanent white resident of the area until 1961. The stone church and the small residence built by the priests were the first permanent buildings around which the settlement developed in later years.

The Hudson Bay post which opened at Fort Ross on Boothia Peninsula in 1937 provided another trading outlet for the Arvilingmiut, and competition to the traders at Repulse Bay (Lyall, 1979: 105-6). For a decade or more, visits to one of these posts were part of the annual springtime ritual for most of the families in the area. Considerable status could be obtained by nature of one's purchases and possessions. Expensive and luxurious items like hand-operated sewing machines, phonographs, and outboard motors for wooden boats were sledged laboriously over the established trade routes.
In 1947, in response to local demand, the Catholic mission opened a small store in the stone church. Inuit came here to trade for what were now perceived to be necessities; bullets, coffee, tea, sugar, flour, tobacco, and baking powder. Within a short while this basic stock was expanded to include such luxuries as cloth, raisins, oatmeal, jam, biscuits, and a few manufactured goods such as knives, needles, and rubber boots. Occasionally, orders of special items could be placed in advance for delivery a year later (Balikci, 1964: 50). Normally supply for the new trading post involved an annual spring-time dog-team trip to Repulse Bay, although on several occasions the mission successfully managed to dispatch a small supply boat through the sea-ice to Fort Ross and back. Also, to the general amazement of the general populace, a new source of resupply, the airplane (in Inuktitut "tingmiuk", meaning "big bird") had begun to appear from the skies. On August 3, 1937, the "Flying Cross", owned by the diocese and piloted by Father Paul Shulte, OMI, first landed at Pelly Bay (Choque, 1985: 94). Airplanes began to visit the area with increasing regularity over the next several decades.

Although the Inuit of Pelly Bay had developed a penchant for the "outside" materials and foods found at the trading posts, their way of life was not as
disrupted by the fur trade as native groups elsewhere. The desire to obtain fox furs for trade did not significantly alter the seasonal round of land-use activities. The primary focus remained on food gathering: if an occasion to shoot or trap foxes presented itself during the course of such activities, it was taken. Few hunters set up full-time traplines, instead trapping was regarded more as a profitable sideline (Balikci, 1964: 49).

With no trading post within the Pelly Bay area, trade goods were harder to obtain here than in nearly any other area of the arctic, and they were much more expensive. As a result, the Inuit continued to rely, until very recently, on the traditional resources. Without a trading post the Pelly Bay Inuit were not part of the credit system, and avoided its inherent dependency. Hunting and fishing, not trapping, remain their most important land-use activities.

The Establishment And Growth Of A Permanent Settlement

Following the Second World War, the strategic importance of the arctic began to assume military significance. The emergence of a "cold war" between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the 1950's emphasized the
critical importance of continental air defences (Byers, 1986: 7). Together with Canada, the U.S.A. formulated a
North American Air Defence (NORAD) agreement, part of
which called for the building of the Distant Early
Warning (DEW) Line radar defence. It extended from
Greenland, through Baffin Island, and across the
mainland coast of the Canadian Arctic to Alaska, roughly
at latitude 68.00 north.

Construction of the DEW Line station near Pelly Bay
began at a site approximately 12 kilometers southeast of
the mission in early 1955. Without the possibility of
sealift supply, the materials for the Pelly Bay site had
to be flown in by heavy air transport. The advance crew
landed on the shores of Barrow Lake ("Tasserdjua'ark",
meaning "the big lake", in Inuktitut, and now called,
locally, DEW Line Lake), and a caterpillar tractor was
airdropped to build a landing strip. Materials and
equipment were landed on this strip by C-130 Hercules
transport planes, and relayed by a new road to the top
of a nearby mountain, where the radar station was
assembled.

Since few of the local Inuit could speak English, and
had no construction experience or skills, only one or
two on occasion were hired as casual laborers. They were
paid in cash, a phenomena heretofore unknown to the
Inuit of Pelly Bay. At first this money was worthless,
because there was nowhere to spend it, but the concept gained ready acceptance when the DEW Line opened a small PX store with subsidized prices. It was the DEW Line project that introduced, in a limited way but for the first time, the cash economy to the Inuit of Pelly Bay.

Before 1955 the local Inuit had encountered only a handful of white people passing through the area; only two successive priests had remained over the years to spend any time among them. Thus the arrival of a number of construction workers caused quite a stir, and the DEW Line site became, for a time, an attraction, a gathering place, and the source of much local entertainment. Moreover, the project produced quantities of usable waste. As packing boxes, scrap lumber, metal, other construction materials, and even surplus food items were disposed of, the nearby dump became a valuable resource. Wood, and other construction materials, allowed some people to build permanent "shanty" houses at the Pelly Bay mission site (van den Steenhoven, 1959: 3). It had become normal for the Inuit of Pelly Bay to congregate at the mission for mid-winter Christmas religious services, and again at Easter, and at several other times a year they visited the Church and Store. The mission was the focus of life on the bay, and it was logical that some families decided to settle permanently at the mission site. By 1961 a small village existed at
Pelly Bay, complete with church, store, electricity (provided by a small windmill generator), and radio communications (Balikci, 1964: 50-1).

By this time, the federal government, which had assumed responsibility for Inuit affairs, began to deliver a variety of government benefits and services. As a result, settlements were set up across the Canadian Arctic to deliver these services. The first government building for Pelly Bay arrived at the DEW Line airport in 1959. It was transported cross-country by cat-train, and erected at the mission site in time to become the temporary hospital and morgue for an outbreak of Influenza. During the winter of 1959-60 sixteen local people died of the disease (Balikci, 1964: 66). The emergency care provided by the hospital, however, saved the lives of many other local Inuit.

In the fall of 1961 the new government building became a school and the first teacher, Frank Gonda, offered elementary education in the English language. Up until then, the only local education consisted of several promising local students having been sent to the Catholic mission school at Chesterfield Inlet. Soon other government services, such as health, welfare, dental care, and pensions were available at the new government building, and more Inuit began to live permanently at the settlement site.
The critical problem for the new arrivals was housing. Scrap houses were in short supply and inadequate. People moved in with their relatives, creating excessive crowding, or lived in tents, tent frames, dugouts, or igloos on the margins of the nascent community. There was no provision for communal settlement services: each family had to haul its own water by hand or by dog-team, and sewage and garbage were dumped a discreet distance away. There were long lines of dogs staked out around the settlement. They greatly outnumbered the local inhabitants, and created sanitation problems.

Very quickly the housing situation in Pelly Bay became an emergency. Following a series of letters written by the priest, in which he described the poor local housing conditions compared to other native settlements, the government responded. In the late winter of 1961 three housing kits were airfreighted in to the settlement. Each kit contained the necessary construction materials to build a small one-room insulated house, complete with an oil furnace. These houses, followed by four more the next year, provided much-needed accommodations, and were regarded at the time as quite luxurious.

Other arctic Inuit settlements found that government and other services could be provided on a regular
year-round basis, but Pelly Bay mission, without sealift or an airport, relied upon the good will of the local DEW Line station for the occasional use of their airport services. This was not really satisfactory and, in 1962-63, construction of a permanent runway at the Pelly Bay mission site was begun with the aid of donated surplus NORAD machinery, and built with local labor. This particular airport has become legendary among arctic pilots. Not only is it located between the steep cliffs of a mountain valley, it runs uphill towards the west. The remains of several crashed aircraft have been converted into storage shelters around the settlement, much to the visual chagrin of visiting pilots.

Throughout the 1960's adequate housing for the Inuit of Pelly Bay continued to be a problem. The last of the local families had moved permanently into the settlement, and several families arrived from Spence Bay and Repulse Bay. The influx, coupled with an increase in the birth rate, soon saw all available permanent housing packed to capacity. When two DEW Line stations near Pelly Bay closed in the mid-1960's, they provided, for a time, a welcome source of construction materials for jerry-built shelters including the first Cooperative store. It did not, however, serve to alleviate all the housing problems.

In 1967 the government introduced rental housing and
constructed thirty-two, low-cost public housing units. These units, called "512's" (interior area: 512 sq. ft.), were a marked improvement over the previous matchbox (the local term) houses. They were assembled by outside contractors to approved standards. Families that occupied the units were to pay a percentage (25% initially) of their income as rent. By this time at least one person in virtually every family received some cash payments during the year, either from family allowances, old-age and other pensions, or wages from casual labor. The provision of thirty-two houses, and the establishment of an instant "planned settlement", did not alleviate the housing crisis in Pelly Bay. Even now housing supply has not kept pace with the demands of a rapidly increasing population. In 1988, for example, one of the original "512"s" had over twenty full-time inhabitants. Adequate housing remains a central problem in many northern native settlements, including Pelly Bay.

In 1966, under the direction of Fr. Andre Goussaert, the first locally-owned store, the Coop, opened its doors for business. The building from the abandoned DEW Line site at Keith Bay housed the first truly commercial venture to be attempted in Pelly Bay. It has proven to be a long-term success. The Koomiut Eskimo Cooperative remains the primary source of outside goods and services
in the settlement, and it has branched out to provide ancillary services such as fuel delivery, runway maintenance, freight delivery, and taxi service. It extended credit to the Inuit, which allowed, for the first time, the purchase of larger consumer items, such as the very first one-cylinder Bombardier snowmobiles in 1967.

The Snowmobile Revolution

The introduction of snowmobiles (commonly called skidoo's, regardless of their make), brought a major change to the lifestyles of the Inuit (Pelto et al, 1972, Smith, 1972, Villiers, 1969). The first snowmobile to be seen in the settlement came from the DEW Line site in early 1966, and was met with much amazement. The very first order for such a revolutionary motorized vehicle was placed by the mission itself, and when it arrived, was viewed with both interest and suspicion.

At that time the Inuit were totally unfamiliar with machinery. The technology of the snowmobile was an alien concept, and early owners had many problems. A skidoo required the owner to become familiar with a whole new realm of technology; fuel-oil ratios, small-engine mechanics, specialized tools, and the ability to describe and order parts in a foreign language. There
were no facilities for repair nearby, and every Inuk had, by necessity, to become his own mechanic for these new "iron dogs".

The snowmobile has now become a necessity for Inuit. It has allowed the Inuit of Pelly Bay to harvest, from a central base, an area of land equal to, or in many cases, greater than their ancestors. If dog teams could average six to eight kilometers per hour, a snowmobile can easily travel at ten times that rate. Before the introduction of snowmobiles travel distances were measured in "sleeps", the number of overnight stops. Now virtually any destination frequented by Pelly Bay Inuit can be reached, by skidoo, in one day.

In the past, a working dog team required a major commitment of time and energy. Large quantities of food had to be obtained and stored. Time was spent in exercising and training the dogs, and repairing harnesses. The ownership of snowmobiles, power boats, all-terrain vehicles, and other modern technology associated with present-day Inuit land use activities is no less onerous of time and energy. Equipping a modern Inuit hunter is a very expensive proposition. A new snowmobile costs approximately six thousand dollars (plus delivery), and a full-time hunter can easily wear one out in the course of a year. Gasoline, at $5.00 a gallon plus oil, rifles ($300 - $600 each), bullets at
$1.00 apiece, tents, sleds, and all of the other basic equipment needed to go out on the land today add up to a considerable sum.

A trade-off of time and energy has to be made to harvest the landscape today. Inuit who are best able to afford the cost of this technology are the salaried employees, who, because of jobs are not well situated to use this equipment effectively, as they are limited to holiday or weekend harvesting excursions.

As wage employment grows, a form of mutual interdependence, the dual economy (wages/hunting) has developed among families and kin groups. Local hiring practices exhibit concerns both of filling of the job properly, and for the community welfare. The community consensus is that at least one person from each household should hold a full-time job. This person provides the money required for the cash economy. But a family in Pelly Bay, even with government subsidies, cannot exist entirely in the cash economy. In nearly every family group, one or more members are involved in the traditional economy as hunters and fishermen. The wages earned provide the money for the equipment and supplies needed to go out on the land; the hunters and fishermen who are not employed in jobs bring home the harvest. Traditional kinship sharing insures that every Inuk has an adequate supply of country food.
Another aspect of technological change has emerged, in which the ownership of expensive capital items pass through three component stages of ownership. New items like boats, outboard motors, skidoos, and all-terrain vehicles are purchased by the wage earners. They are used mainly on weekend or holiday excursions, or lent to family members in return for country food. There comes a point, however, at which costs of repair and upkeep become too onerous. At this point, a new machine is purchased by the wage earner, and the old one is sold to a more active land user. These Inuit have the time and motivation to keep older machines running. For them, reliability is not a major concern; if the machine breaks down on the land it can be repaired in the field, or the owner can set up camp and wait for assistance. The useful working life of a machine can, with ingenuity, be extended for many years. Ultimately vehicles reach the end of their working life, and become a source of parts. Many young adults, well versed in small engine mechanics, drive vehicles that are a combination of two or three others abandoned by their owners. This trickle-down system has permitted nearly every Inuk to own a snowmobile, regardless of age or socioeconomic status.
The Development of Local Government

Over the years Pelly Bay has earned the reputation of having a local government structure that works effectively. In early years, when the federal government was creating the physical infrastructure of the settlement, authority was vested in a settlement manager brought in from outside. There were inevitable cultural conflicts. For the local people, the primary consideration was the welfare of their community. They found it difficult to understand the nature of arbitrary authority over their lives resulting from the interpretation of policies by the government representative.

When responsibilities were transferred from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967, it resulted in an increase in local participatory democracy. Autocratic settlement managers were replaced by Northern Service Officers who were educated to guide local natives in democratic practices and procedures (Oswalt, 1979: 299, Duffy, 1988: 200). Committees were set up, first to advise the administrators, but later to assume local control. It was a long term policy that met varying degrees of success across the N.W.T. It was, however, very successful in Pelly Bay.

On April 1, 1973, Pelly Bay became the first
settlement in the Central Arctic to achieve Hamlet status. The Hamlet Council has guided local affairs effectively since that time, incorporating a mixture of learned democratic procedures with traditional Inuit consensus. In 1979 the Hamlet was one of the first in the N.W.T. to deal with the growing problem of alcohol abuse by enforcing a complete prohibition, still in effect. Through the many local bodies in Pelly Bay— the School Committee, the Coop Board of Directors, Church Committee(s), the Health Committee, the Land Claims Secretariat, the Hunters and Trappers Association, Housing Committee, and others, the Hamlet of Pelly Bay is now very much in charge of its own affairs.

Pelly Bay Today

Pelly Bay is one of the smaller settlements in the Kitikmeot Region of the Northwest Territories. The population as of July, 1988, was 334, all but 11 of whom were Inuit.

There are 63 residences in the settlement, each occupied by an immediate or extended family. There are three exceptions; the priest who lives in the church rectory, the nurse who lives in the nursing station, and the Coop manager, who lives in a house provided by the Koomiut Cooperative Association. There are three general
classifications of houses in Pelly Bay, relating to ownership. Five units are owned and maintained by the Government of the Northwest Territories for their employees, primarily the teachers. The largest proportion of housing, 56 units, is owned by the N.W.T. Housing Corporation, and is allocated as low-income public housing. These buildings run the gamut from twenty year old "512's" to modern two-story bungalows. Rent is charged as a percentage of income. Many employees receive a partial housing subsidy as a condition of their employment. The cost of upkeep, maintenance, and the delivery of services to both types of government-owned housing units is heavily subsidized.

In recent years the Government of the Northwest Territories has instituted a Home-ownership Assistance Program (H.A.P.) in order to encourage a private housing market. The successful applicant is given a loan to purchase the materials for a house. Through a system known as "sweat equity" this individual is paid to construct his or her own house. Once constructed, the owner must pay full market prices for utilities, and maintain the building to appropriate standards. After five years the loan is forgiven, and full ownership of the building is turned over to the occupant. There are, at the moment, two privately-owned H.A.P. houses in Pelly Bay, but there are plans to build several more in
the coming years.

Non-residential buildings in Pelly Bay are primarily dedicated to commercial and service infrastructures. The Pierre Henry Community Center, a large, imposing, and centrally-located building, is the hub of much activity in the settlement. Territorial, regional, and local government offices, as well as Hamlet Council Chambers, a gym, canteen, coffee room, post office, community radio station, and common meeting area are located here.

The Koomiut Cooperative Association occupies several warehouses, a hotel, a garage, a managers residence, and a small retail store. Apart from the Coop, several small business enterprises have begun in the past few years. A small confectionary and skidoo-parts shop occupies one former house, and a craft shop, confectionary, and games hall another. The local Hunters and Trappers Society maintains a small office building, from which they sell hunting and camping supplies to their members.

The Catholic Church, Rectory, and several warehouses are interspersed among the residences. On a point of land behind the settlement can be found the old stone church built by Fathers Henry and Van de Velde, now used as a museum.

Various levels of government are responsible for many of the other buildings in the community. These include the nursing station, school, airport terminal, fuel tank
farm, and electric generating plant. Other permanent government facilities, such as workshops, garages, and warehouses are distributed randomly, as are several portable trailers used for telecommunications facilities and visiting R.C.M.P and N.W.T. Wildlife Service Officers.

All movement of goods and services in or out of Pelly Bay is by air. Scheduled service is provided to the east (Iqaluit) and west (Yellowknife) by First Air three days a week. Charter services are provided by Adlair, Calm Air, and N.W.T. Air. Large and oversized cargos, as well as the annual fuel lift, are normally brought in by N.W.T. Air Hercules charters.

Modern and Traditional Economies

For the Inuit of Pelly Bay there are essentially two separate economies in operation today. One sector, the modern wage economy, is driven by cash income. There are between 32-35 full-time jobs available to Inuit. These are nearly all associated with the various levels of government (local, regional, or territorial), or with the Coop. Many of these jobs include a northern benefits package, with provisions for settlement, travel, and isolated-post allowances, as well as certain housing subsidies. However, considering the high cost of living
in Pelly Bay, there are many full-time jobs that would, in comparison to living standards in the rest of the country, be considered as minimum wage employment, and reflect the relatively low standards of education of most adults in the community.

Part-time and seasonal employment is offered to the reserve labor pool at times, especially during the summer months. Most contractors adhere to a "local hire" policy. Make-work projects, such as an annual spring "hamlet clean-up drive", are also utilized to provide constructive employment. Unemployment Insurance benefits, as in other areas of Canada with high rates of joblessness, also figure highly as a source of income in Pelly Bay.

Very few of the Inuit of Pelly Bay venture outside of the community for employment. Although there have been instances in which a local Inuk has accepted employ with a resource or exploration company, most have returned to the settlement after realizing their immediate financial goals of a skidoo, outboard motor, or boat. Very few Inuit from Pelly Bay have ever spent more than one season in the employ of an outside employer (Hobart, 1981).

For those with the inclination or talent, carving, sewing, or the creation of traditional handicrafts can serve to bring in some cash income. Pelly Bay is
especially noted for small, finely-crafted ivory carvings, and animal-hair couchings. Some local artisans prefer to specialize in one particular medium or genre, and are known for their fine soapstone birds, chess sets, or wall hangings. Although a local attempt at establishing an Inuit print-making center failed a number of years ago, several local Inuit have sold small pieces of artwork on occasion. Most art and craftwork is sold to, and through, the local Coop store, although income from this source tends to be quite cyclical in nature. The production of Inuit art and handicrafts provides, for some residents of Pelly Bay, a welcome cash-flow dividend but is generally not relied upon as a secure source of year-round livelihood.

Commercial hunting and fishing provides a source of occasional income. Although an attempt was made several years ago to establish a commercial arctic char fishery in the area, it was abandoned due to lower than anticipated stocks (Kristofferson, 1982). Several fishermen, however, still retain commercial fishing licences, and sell fish locally through the Coop. Hunting activities bring in some income, most of which comes from the sale of polar bear furs at auction.

Commercial trapping, as a source of income is, in the Pelly Bay area, relatively minimal. In the harvest year June 1987-88, a total of 59 traps were set for fox,
resulting in 54 fox pelts. These traps were set and checked, for the most part, by young, unemployed males for incidental income.

Other sources of cash revenue include pensions, family allowances, and welfare assistance. Although there had been in previous years an aversion to accepting welfare payments, this source of income has now become the norm among the young adults of the community, many of whom are relatively uneducated, and find local employment difficult to obtain.

There is, however, a second economy in Pelly Bay, as in many other native communities, which functions alongside the cash economy. This is the traditional Inuit one, which revolves around the collecting and harvesting of local resources from the surrounding landscape. The value of the country food obtained by such excursions is essentially uncalculable, as nearly every member of the Pelly Bay community, at some time or other during the course of the year, is involved in on-the-land hunting and gathering activities. Hunters and fishermen bring large quantities of fish, fowl, and meat into the settlement. These activities are often supported by entire families, including the children. The basic diet of the majority of the inhabitants of Pelly Bay includes a large percentage of country food, both by choice and necessity. The nature of this
secondary economy, a vital part of the present-day existence of the Arvilingmiut of Pelly Bay, and the various methods relating to the culturally-learned utilization of the surrounding landscape to provide these necessary resources, including the unique navigational skills involved, will be considered in the following chapters.
Figure 2: Pelly Bay and the Surrounding Area
Chapter Three

Uncovering the Perception of Landscape: The Nature and Use of Inuit Place-Names in the Pelly Bay Area.

Introduction

To a person arriving in a tundra landscape for the first time the sense of perspective can be disorienting. By far the majority of humans internalize cognition of their immediate environment by looking to markers of place in the foreground of their vision. In most environments these near to mid-distance visual clues provide the markers by which places, and the space between them, are learned. For most people the lived environment is bounded by trees, buildings, roads, boundaries, and fences. Navigating through this environment is a process of recognizing and spatially rationalizing those objects that are on the surface of the earth. The earth itself, the soil and bedrock, is covered up, and exposes itself rarely. The far horizon, for most people, is an alien concept, hidden by the myriad of objects which populate the foreground. The forest is hidden by the trees.

One of the first things that any visitor to the
tundra regions of the arctic notices is a sense of vast spaciousness in the physical environment. There is an unimpeded view from horizon to horizon, broken only by the outer surface of the planet's crust. There is very little foreground, and few middle distance foci upon which the eye can dwell for orientation. The far distance is where one's vision tends to settle, a circular plane which may, from horizon to horizon, exceed fifty kilometers. Many visitors experience an uneasiness at first with such a perception, and have difficulty in navigational orientation. It is easy for newcomers to become lost in the arctic.

To "outsiders" familiar with a world which holds a plethora of visual clues of all sizes, shapes, and colors the world of the arctic offers, upon first glance, a paucity of resources. The dominant colors in winter are black, white, and various gradations between. In summer this expands to brown, with occasional patches of green. One must look very closely indeed to find other colors. Dominant shapes are non-angular, with sea level and the horizon being the only true constants. Distances are deceiving. Many a traveler has mistaken a nearby rock for a mountain, a white fox for a polar bear, or flat land for the ocean, and experiences no embarrassment in the telling. Mirages are commonplace, and whole ranges of mountains can appear where there are
none. The regular cycle of the passage of the sun, so familiar to those from southern climes as rising in the east and setting in the west, is absent as well. Above the arctic circle this primary visual cue is of little import; it circles the horizon endlessly during the summer, and disappears entirely during mid-winter. Compasses do not point north in this area, but merely circle feebly about the rose. They are as likely to indicate the direction of the nearest zipper as they are the magnetic pole. Detailed topographic maps, fundamental navigational icons in other climes, are, in many instances, likely to be of little assistance on the tundra. Maps show surface features. During the wintertime these surface features are covered with a protective blanket of snow and ice, which provide their own surface topography not shown on any map. The brilliant blue of a lake on the map can be exceedingly difficult to relate to the reality of a landscape covered in white. The distinctive shape of a prominent hill, as shown by a carefully drawn series of contour lines, is easily camouflaged by a crown of wind-blown snow.

Travellers, by experience, have learned to be wary, or at the very least, cautious, about passage through arctic realms. Stories of disaster by the uninitiated or unprepared are legion. The 'outside' perception of the
tundra regions still, for the most part, reflects the adage that this is 'the land that God gave Cain'. The area is often referred to as "the barren lands", and is considered by some to be desolate.

Yet, to the people who have been born here, and have grown to internalize this environment as their own, there is a different perception of this landscape. To the Inuit, and those few outsiders who have chosen to make it their home, the arctic tundra is a providential homeland, the center of the perceived universe. Vilhjalmar Stefannson, a man well versed in its mysteries, has called it "the friendly arctic", and it is a certainty that most Inuit would agree with this perception (Stefannson, 1921). To the attuned Inuk travelling on-the-land there are as many visual and tactile clues defining place and location as are provided in any other physical environment. Knowledge of the arctic landscape is, to the initiate, as complete a knowledge as can be found for any other landscape: it is only in its perception that it differs. What to one person is a bare rock island, totally indistinguishable from a hundred others like it, assumes meaning to another whose grandmother was born in a camp on its shores. The island is the same: the perception is what differs. This chapter will attempt to portray the perception of the surrounding tundra environment from
the perspective of the active land-users and elders of Pelly Bay.

Physiographic Regions of the Study Area

The landscape of this study lies between Latitudes 68.00 and 70.00 North, and Longitudes 88.00 to 92.00 West, in the Northwest Territories of Canada. The waters of Pelly Bay are central to this area, and form the physical basis for much of the travel which connects the constituent parts. The settlement of Pelly Bay, from which these travel patterns now emanate, lies in the south-central portion of the study area, towards the bottom of the bay. The entire study area lies within the bounds of two 1:250,000 topographic mapsheets: Pelly Bay (57A), and Harrison Islands (57D), published by the Department of Energy, Mines, and Resources of the Government of Canada (see Figures 1, 19-22). By far the largest proportion of the land-use activities conducted by the residents of Pelly Bay occur within this area.

The entire study area lies above the arctic circle, and is considered to be in the tundra biome. The area is in a zone characterized by continuous permafrost. January temperatures average -35 Celsius, a condition which places the study area in or near the lowest mid-winter isotherm on the Canadian mainland. Surrounded
by waters laden with multi-year ice frozen for most of the year, and subject to the continentality of a mainland location, Pelly Bay is consistently one of the coldest places in North America.

The area to the west and southwest of Pelly Bay is in the Kazan Region of the Canadian Shield, and is physiographically part of the Boothia Plateau (see Figure 15). The surface rock in the area is Precambrian. There are some massive outcroppings of crystalline basement rock, among the oldest rock on the planet, and the surficial topography is typical of the Canadian Shield (Figure 16). The northern area is a rolling, dissected, rocky uplands with pockets of thin moraine deposits. Toward the south the surface topography becomes slightly less rugged, with more glacial marine deposition, especially in coastal areas. There is generally an underdeveloped surface drainage pattern. Between 10% and 20% of the surface area is covered with lakes and ponds, the majority of which are quite shallow. Rivers and streams tend to follow bedrock fractures and form deeply entrenched valleys. Towards the southern parts of the study area, and closer to the coast where marine deposits are thicker, dendritic drainage occurs, channeling meltwater into Pelly Bay through several larger rivers, the most noteworthy being the Arrowsmith and the Kellett.
The shield area has patchy soil and a low productivity of plant materials (Figure 18). The bedrock exposures are devoid of vegetation except for lichens. Protected wet sites and sheltered slopes support limited growths of cover such as mosses, sedges, tussocks, and trailing shrubs. The mainland shield areas provide enough habitat for small herds of barren-land caribou. There are no local established migration routes in the study area; caribou graze those parts of their range that have rejuvenated slowly from past foraging. There is evidence that there were migrations in the past, but now small, wandering herds are the norm. Chances of successful caribou hunting generally increase towards the southern portions of the area, in the drainage basins of the Arrowsmith and Kellett River systems.

The coastal region is a prime habitat for migratory waterfowl and shore birds during the meltwater season. Offshore islands, protected from land-based predators, offer nesting sites to many species of birds during the summer months, and are harvested by local hunters. The shorelines toward the northern extremes of this area are utilized as maternity denning sites by polar bears during mid-winter months. Raptors are to be found among the steeper cliffs farther inland. The offshore and between-island areas of the shield region provide an ideal habitat for ringed and bearded seals, once a
mainstay of the local winter economy, but now seldom hunted.

The boundary of the Canadian Shield passes a few kilometers to the east of the settlement, and continues towards the bottom of Simpson Peninsula. The landscape to the east of this division is classified as the Boothia Plain Arctic Lowlands (Figure 15). Geologically, it is underlain by Ordovician and Silurian sediments. Marine fossils, including the earliest land plants, can be found in the exposed sedimentary outcappings of the area, and have long fascinated local residents. This homogeneous physiographic comprises the northeastern half of Simpson Peninsula, and is called "Ha'aktuk", meaning "the flat part", in Inuktitut.

This area is quite flat, especially when compared to the Canadian Shield. It is covered with marine overlap and fluvioglacial deposits, primarily sorted and unsorted gravels. Raised beaches are common along the coastal reaches, and some are found several kilometers inland. Esker formations, running in series to twenty kilometers or more, can be found at the northern end of the peninsula. Smaller eskers and kame complexes are scattered throughout, as well as several drumlins. Glacial flutings and striations are common, generally tending to the northeast and southwest (Figure 17).

The Arctic Lowlands Region is divided into two
general areas: coastal plains and inland plains (Figure 18). The coastal plains are nearly level gravel surfaces with numerous raised beaches, overlying flat sedimentary bedrock. Relief is low (up to 50 meters), with bedrock outcroppings rising in places to heights of 100-150 meters. Less than 5% of the area is covered with water, and what lakes there are tend to be small, interconnected, and often dry at the end of the meltwater season. The coastal area is flat enough to allow for virtually unlimited access by all terrain vehicles during summer months, although few people pass this way.

The inland plains are undulating with noticeably thicker marine gravel deposits with occasional boulder fields and glacial erratics. Local relief rises to 100 meters, interspersed with bedrock outcroppings up to 150 meters or more. Approximately 10% of the area is covered with small lakes and ponds, which empty through poorly developed, irregular drainage to both east and west. There are several larger lakes which link to form the watershed of the only major river of the area, the Kugajuk.

The Arctic Lowlands are the most barren region in the Pelly Bay land-use area. The gravel surface supports little vegetation, especially along the coast. Some moss and lichen can be found, with occasional patches of
scrub sedges in low-lying marshy areas and along stream beds. There is a small population of barren-land caribou. Their numbers are also kept low because of their close proximity to the settlement. In summer months the interior is an important breeding and nesting habitat for migratory waterfowl. The coastal margins become a polar bear denning site in winter. Here the floe-edge is relatively close to the land, and hunters search this coast for male polar bears during late winter. The offshore area has both ringed and bearded seals, but fewer in number than the shield ecoregion. This entire region has not been utilized by the Inuit as much as the Precambrian Shield areas to the south and west.

Place Names as Indicators of Landscape Perception

Inuit have made their home in the region for countless generations. Consequently a large body of knowledge regarding every facet of the local environment has been accumulated and passed down for the benefit of the present population. Through intuition and experiment the Inuit have learned to exploit to the utmost the resources of their homeland. The land and its resources are well known, and through this knowledge has come the culturally ingrained perception of landscape that the
present-day land-users hold.

This intelligence has many facets. Until very recently the accumulated knowledge of the elders was the entire economy of the Arvilingmiut. It was the only thing that supported Inuit life. Every family unit had to have a complete knowledge of every aspect of the seasonally-dictated patterns of movement, the sources of food, appropriate harvesting techniques, the location of raw materials, a mastering of complex skills such as igloo-building and sewing, as well as the culturally evolved social mores and cosmology of society itself. For hunting and gathering peoples, Ridington states "artifacts that must be carried from place to place have a high cost in that they compete with infants, clothing, and trail food for the very limited carrying capacity of the human body, For such people, techniques that can be carried in the mind and implemented using locally available resources are far more cost effective than artifacts that must be carried in the hand" (Ridington, 1990: 86). Knowledge, combined with the labor required to bring it to fruition, was life.

The concept of "place" assumes importance for all humans. Lived experience provides a hierarchy of known places of greater or less import for ones life. The perception of these places varies individually and culturally, and places, over time, become known as
recognized phenomena, with names that can be identified. For a place to be named it must have humanly perceived importance; it follows, then, that perception of an environment can be inferred by examining the places that have been important enough to be named.

The Philosophy of Naming Place

A place must be considered a culturally recognizable entity, separate and distinguishable from others within the culture realm, in order to be named. Once named, it must be important enough to continue to be referred to by its name. With repeated usage comes acceptance, and eventually permanence.

The etymology of place names, regardless of their language of origin, allows for six rather broad general categories (Stewart, 1975). They reflect the specifiers of place names, not the generics, and assume that generic translations (ie: "Rio", "Kuug", "Cho", and "River") infer consistent meaning between languages.

Within this classification the first three divisions (ie: Descriptive, Associative, and Incident names) are considered to be "evolved" names, and are closely associated with a long oral tradition. Thus they are found more often in aboriginal toponymies than in European (literate) societies.
Descriptive names express the obvious physical attributes of a particular place, as, for example: Muddy River, Long Lake, or Rocky Mountains. Many descriptions emanate from the senses, with visual stimulus predominating. This is the most common origin for place names, especially in an oral culture, where sensed values are transmitted with nuance and inflection. Most aboriginal preliterate place names are descriptive.

Associative names are those which are linked with some object, animal, or thing. Examples include: Mill Stream, Cache Creek, or Beaver Creek. The attribute of the qualifier is associated with the location, and there is the inherent assumption that there are (or were) beavers at "Beaver Creek". This classification is quite commonly found in aboriginal toponymies.

Incident names arise from a memorable incident or event, often datable, which happened at a particular site. For example, near the French town of Selongey on September 7, 1793, a six-year-old boy named Nicolas Roth was killed and partially eaten by a wolf. Ever since, the creek nearby has been called Fontaine de Loup ("Spring of the Wolf") (Stewart, 1975: 106). Incident names are fairly rare in European nomenclature, but many oral societies were fond of such names.

Other classes of place names are associated more with the European traditions of naming, and generally not
found within aboriginal toponymies. For example, **Possessive names** that arise from the long ownership or occupation of a particular place are wide-spread in Euro-american nomenclature. Nomadic societies do not have the concept of ownership of land, and such names are rare. **Commemorative names** preserve the memory of, or honor a person, place, or thing worthy of recognition. Many of the English place names in both the Arctic and Antarctic are of this type (eg: Franklin Point, Queen Maude Land). Aboriginal toponymies rarely employ this format. **Commendatory names** deliberately create a favorable image in the mind of the listener or receiver. Eric the Red, for example, coined the name "Greenland" to entice settlers to his newly found land, and modern housing developments promote favorable images by names such as "Oceanview Estates". This sort of name is very seldom found in aboriginal toponymies.

The Origins of Recorded Inuktitut Place Names in the Pelly Bay Area

The Inuktitut names that appear on the present-day maps of the Pelly Bay area were recorded by one man, Father Frans Van de Velde, O.M.I., and incorporated onto the maps in 1984. Prior to this time, no Inuktitut names were on the mapsheets, and none have been added since.
Father Van de Velde was the second Roman Catholic priest to the Pelly Bay mission. From 1937 until 1961 he was the only non-Inuit resident on Pelly Bay. He lived on and from the land like his parishioners, and learned their language fluently while travelling extensively throughout the region. He collected and compiled a lexicon of 662 Inuktitut place names from this and other areas, translated their meanings, and recorded such other information as was provided to him. Of the 662 place names listed by Fr. Van de Velde, 312 were given official status in 1984, and Inuktitut names that appear on the two mapsheets of the study area result from this single previous toponymy.

The toponymy of the thesis is an extension of the toponymic work of Father Van de Velde. The research was aided by the fact that many Inuktitut place names are still in current use by the older, active land-users of Pelly Bay, and they confirm the accuracy of Father Van de Velde's work thirty years previously. It was possible to verify origins, and a final toponymy for 193 new names in the the area was prepared (see Appendices 3 and 4). In all cases at least three elders independently confirmed the sites and naming. There is some urgency to record this knowledge, because the younger generation born in permanent settlements are losing their language and land-skills, and do not possess the knowledge of
their grandparents.

Analysis of Inuktitut Place Names in the Pelly Bay Area

The 307 Inuktitut place names, and their meanings are listed, by category, in Appendix 5. Of this total, 58% (178) are descriptive, 37% (114) are associative, 3% (9) are incident place names, while 1% (4) are possessive, and only 2 commendatory. In all cases save one (HI42) the Inuktitut names are clearly translatable within the local context of the physical appearance or some aspect of human lived experience. Figures 21 and 22 illustrate these Inuktitut place names and their translated meanings, while figures 3 to 8 show their relative locations by named class.

Descriptive Place Names

Descriptive place names which clearly describe the salient physical features of a place are the most common. Names such as "Amitsurdjuaq" (Lake, meaning "the big, narrow lake), "Ichu'uaq" (Islands, meaning "the two little islands at the end"), and "Ha'aktuk" (Peninsula, meaning "the flat part") are common throughout the study area. Most descriptive names use adjectives and phrases
to qualify the noun, as in "the two, little islands at the end". Inuktitut is a polysyllabic agglutinating language, in which morphemes are combined without fusion or morphophonemic change, and in which each grammatical category is typically represented by a single morpheme in the resulting word. The addition of one or more affixes to a base, in this case physiographic generic nouns such as "lake, river, or island", can convey a wealth of descriptive detail and nuance to a place name. Slight variations of the morphemes or intonation can change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, from the root word "isuq" (meaning "mud"), we can derive the place names "Isuqtuq" (Lake, meaning "it is muddy"), "Isuqtuarjuk" (Lake, meaning "the only small, muddy one"), and "Isuqtunajuk" (Lake, meaning "the big one that is muddy"). By the addition of phonemes a descriptor in Inuktitut can be modified to convey a great deal of meaning, as in "Ujarasugjuarapaardjuk" (Bay, meaning "the small one where there is a place where there are big rocks"), or "Kuugarjuaraardjuk" (River, meaning "the little, big, little river"). Such a language can convey in one word what in other languages would require a sentence. In English a description such as "where there is a waterfall which fish cannot pass, and which resembles a crevice in appearance" becomes, in Inuktitut, "Ku'niurvik". Inuktitut, by its very nature,
is a language that is marvelously adapted to the description of landscape.

It is not unexpected, then, to find that fully 58% of the place names were found to be entirely descriptive of the places (see Figure 3.1). There are, in this category; 39 Islands, 33 Lakes, 17 Rivers, 17 Points, Capes, or Peninsulas, 12 Bays, 12 Mountains or Hills, 8 Inlets, and lesser numbers of other physical features. 90% of the descriptive named places are directly accessible by water. The pattern of spatial distribution of the names is not separate from other types of place names because there are no categories in Inuit perception of named place: all toponyms are equally perceived be they physical or experiential. Thus a locational analysis of the physical place names, by themselves, is of little value, but will be considered within an interpretation of the total pattern of all named places in the study area.

Place Names Which Reflect Human Lived Experience

Apart from those names that describe the purely physical landscape, most other names reflect various aspects of human lived experience. They rely upon a culturally dependent view of the landscape where significant human activities have taken place. Newcomers
to a landscape see only space, not historically meaningful place. Spatial history, for any group of people occupying a new area, begins in the act of naming. By naming, space is transformed into place. Place, in cultural context, is space with a human memory. Established place names become cultural icons of landscape, and immovable physical markers on the surface of the land upon which life is lived. Humans have an inherent need to explore, to know and understand the physical world around them. To know the world in detail means preserving its particulars in memory. Culturally conferred place names are mnemons to this end.

There are 129 place names in the study, 42% of the toponyms, which represent the human lived history of the Inuit of Pelly Bay. In this category are 40 Lakes, 39 Islands, 10 Hills and Mountains, 8 Rivers, 7 Points, Capes, and Peninsulas, 5 Caribou Crossings, and numerous other special sites. Of these, 92 (71%) are directly accessible by water, while 37 (29%) are inland sites.

The spatial distribution of these names is shown in figures 4 to 7. The locations do not reveal a particular pattern since the Inuit do not distinguish their place names by generic type. As a result, the analysis of location of all place names will be taken together.
Analysis of the Location of Place Names

in the Study Area

Figure 8 shows the location of all of the place names collected by this study. In all cases the toponyms follow the pattern of specifiers, which identify the particulars of a place, applied to a generic topographic feature. In most cases these generics are representative of physical features commonly recognized the world over, and require no specific cultural acquaintance to local conditions. These generic features, in the order of frequency of their being named, are:

- Islands..................................................78
- Lakes....................................................73
- Rivers....................................................25
- Capes, Points, Peninsulas.........................24
- Mountains, Hills.....................................22
- Bays.......................................................17
- Inlets.....................................................8
- Cliffs.....................................................8
- River Junctions and Bends.........................6
- Straights, Channels.................................5
- Valleys..................................................5
- Rapids, Falls.........................................4
- River Mouths..........................................4
- Narrows...............................................4
In several cases, however, the generics are locally specific, and are not usually found in other geographic regions. Sites of this nature include:

- Caribou Crossings
- General Areas
- Rock Outcroppings
- Rock Terrace
- Tallun Inukshuks
- Area of Yearly Ice Buildup
- Floe Edge

In several place names where the generic name is used for a particular geographical phenomena it may have a local meaning that differs from the recognized interpretation. "Akkulik" (Bay, Sea, meaning "salt water"), refers in this study specifically to the waters of Committee Bay, although is used to designate any body of salt water. "Ha'aktuk" (Peninsula, meaning "the flat part"), in this instance refers to Simpson Peninsula, but it can describe any flat area. "Haalguk" (Island,
meaning "the flat island") is a generic name for any flat, featureless island. Many names throughout the Inuit world, are generic, and are found in many locations. It does not signify, however, a lack of imagination in naming practices, but illustrates the point that place names have to be examined in the context of their surroundings.

The translation of place names poses a danger to the loss of original meanings, or to having meanings altered significantly. This is especially difficult when the original language is without writing, for the subtle inferential nuances of an oral culture do not lend themselves easily to script. Place names, which together form for the host culture a coherent spatial representation of the world around them, are easily stripped of their contextual meaning when translated and viewed analytically by another culture. As a result we must be careful to examine place names in the total context of their interrelationships one to another.

Figures 21 and 22 include phonetic equivalencies of the original Inuktitut place names and a comprehensive translation of their meanings; they comprise the mental maps of an experienced Inuk land user of the area.

On the map of all named places (Figure 8), several patterns of location are immediately obvious. There is a rather even clustering of place names about the margins
of Pelly Bay. This is to be expected, because before the establishment of the permanent settlement of Pelly Bay, the Arvilingmiut spent most of the year living on the sea ice of the bay. During the eight months or so when the sea ice was frozen the bay became the stage upon which life was played out, and there were strict taboos against the use of land animals. The bounds of the bay, visible from all places on it, were the landmarks of location, and the remain so today. The preeminent landmark is the highest island peak, "Korvigdjuak" (meaning "the big chamber pot"), centrally located, and visible on a clear day from nearly all parts of the bay. The other major landmarks are the peaks of the "Tasserjub Kingait" (Mountains, meaning "the mountains by Tasserdjua'ark"). Their distinctive shapes can be seen framed against the horizon from a great distance, and provide the visual reference to the lower eastern bounds of the bay. The highest of the peaks is today topped with the large white geodesic dome of a DEW Line site, visible from far out in the bay.

An important distinction must be made regarding the salt-water shoreline as a seasonal division of perceptual realities. Many elders pointed out that, although the Arvilingmiut were a maritime people who lived from the resources of the sea for a goodly part of the year, they did not have a tradition of travelling on
the water. Open water was, until recent years, generally avoided. Use of the bay for travel was primarily restricted to the time of the year when the sea ice was frozen. In past years there were cultural taboos relating to a separation of maritime and terrestrial resources that emphasized the seasonal difference in the sea surface. During life on the sea ice, land animals were not harvested, while, during the brief summer months when the camps were located on land, the waters of the bay were avoided (Balikci, 1970: 55). The primary determinant here was the presence or absence of sea-ice. It has only been since the arrival of missionaries and wooden boats that the taboos have been replaced and open water navigation introduced among the people of Pelly Bay. The elders still relate stories from living memory of the first open water crossings of the bay in boats.

Most names date from a time before contact, and the perspective of the maritime features of the landscape reflect the frozen, and not the open water surface. We must view the surface of the bay essentially as a snow covered plain, easily traversed between named places. The Inuit heartily welcome the arrival of winter. Summertime brings hordes of insect and a severe restriction of surface travel. Freeze-up permits freedom of movement over the entire landscape, not the least being over the surface of the bay that is so central to
their lives.

Apart from the margin between sea and land, the bay has an important boundary to the north, the "Hina'aq" (Floe Edge). The floe edge coincides roughly with a line drawn between the northern tip of Simpson Peninsula and the northern reaches of the Astronomical Society Islands, and is marked by a jumbled mass of moving ice that defines the northernmost limit of surface sea ice travel. Multi-year ice, piled along the floe edge by powerful southeasterly currents in the Gulf of Boothia, forms a barrier between the sea-ice and the open water polynya commonly found here. This ice is arrested in its movement by the northern tip of Simpson Peninsula ("Nuvakhilit Nuvua", meaning "the point by Nuvakhilit") to form an "Ivu" (meaning "where the ice builds up"), impassable at any time of the year. In summer months the relationship of the two parts of the "Hina'aq" are reversed, with the open waters of the bay blocked by moving ice to the north. Travellers need be extremely cautious and vigilant in this area at all times of the year, as the ice shifts quickly and unpredictably. It is a biologically productive area with seals, polar bears, birds, and, occasionally, whales and walrus found along the margins. Many polar bears are taken near here and a survival cabin located on "Puntuja'aituq" (Island, meaning "the place to go hunting"), and referring
specifically to polar bears) has been erected in recent years by the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Society for the use of its members in the vicinity.

Many of the non-descriptive place names on the bay refer to its primary harvest at the time of naming, seals. Such place names as "Avaktaguik" (Islands, meaning "a place to knock on baby seal heads"), "Ikughiktuk" (Island, meaning "tough seal intestine"), "Uglara'ardjuq" (Island, meaning "the small place where male seals fight"), and "Atiqsilirvik" (Island, meaning "the place to begin hunting for seals at their breathing holes in the fall"), are examples. The islands of the bay harbour large populations of migrating birds in the summer. The harvesting activities relating to them are illustrated by such place names as: "Mitikhiuvik" (Islands, meaning "place to hunt eider ducks"), "Qirliaqtuq" (Island, meaning "where there are quirliags" - a type of bird), and "Irniturniq" (Island, meaning "the place of the birth of many birds").

Other human usage of the bay is reflected in such place names as: "Iglulik" (Island, meaning "place where there are igloos"), "Igluligaarjuk" (Island, meaning "the small place where there are igloos"), and "Qanisiurvik" (Island, meaning "place to carry things ahead to when moving camp"). The reliance upon a good source of drinking water while living on the salt water
bay has resulted in a number of place names dedicated to its sources, among them: "Imilik" (Lake, meaning "a place to drink water" - two occurrences), "Imiq" (Lake, meaning "fresh water"), and "Imargha'auq" (Lakes, meaning "small water to drink").

Land travel in this area is generally contained within naturally circumscribed corridors. The two primary corridors, as shown by the obvious clusterings of place names on figure 8, are along the Kellett (in Inuktitut "Kuug", meaning "big river") and "Kugajuk" (meaning "little river") rivers. These rivers were and are important sources of fish during the summer and fall. On these shores food was harvested, preserved, and stored for the winter. During the melting seasons the majority of the Arvilingmiut would locate their camps along the banks of these rivers, at locations reflected in the numerous place names recorded. Such names as "Nighikturvik" (Narrows, meaning "a place to snag fish with a hook"), "Naulingniarvik" (Narrows, meaning "the place to throw the fish spear"), and "Kavihiliikuturvik" (part of the river, meaning "the place to catch scaly fish") richly illustrate the usage of these places.

During the summer months, while the elders and the very young remained at the coastal or riverside fish camps, the able bodied adults would walk inland to hunt.
The place names fan out from the summer camps following natural travel corridors, and decrease in number outwards. One of the primary land activities was the harvesting of caribou. Many of the inland sites refer specifically to caribou hunting, and are represented by such place names as: "Nadlut" (Lake, meaning "caribou crossing"), "Utatkrevikdju'a'ark" (Pass, meaning "the larger place where one can very well wait for caribou to cross"), "Nalluq" (Lake, meaning "place of a caribou crossing"), and "Tallun" (Inukshuks, meaning "that which to hide behind while hunting caribou").

During early summer many Inuit moved from the sea-ice to coastal areas as a preliminary move to the river systems. As a result there are numerous coastal margins which, although occupied for only a short time each year, were named. Examples of these places include: "Tupikturvik" (Point, meaning "a tent site"), "Tuapagiktug" (Island, meaning "it has excellent gravel for camping"), and "Ujaratza'a" (Point, meaning "where there are rocks for holding down a tent").

Other groupings of place names can be found along the two major corridors of travel between the Arvilingmiut and neighboring Inuit (Figures 8 and 13). To the southeast were the Aivilingmiut of the Repulse Bay area. Relationships with this group have always been, and remain, quite strong and amicable. The travel route in
this direction led to extensive interaction with the Inuit of Repulse Bay, and the first contact with whalers and traders. This was also the route that the missionaries and the first trade goods followed into the Arvilingmiut heartland. Various physical features of this corridor are readily evident from the grouping of place names between the Kellett River and the shores of Committee Bay. Most Inuit of Pelly Bay are intimately familiar with the named signposts along the overland trail between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay.

In the opposite direction lived the Sinimiut (whose name means "those who live at the end of the land"), toward the upper reaches of Pelly Bay and the mainland of Boothia Peninsula. Interrelationships between Arvilingmiut and Sinimiut have generally been quite extensive, and travel through the corridor frequent. The opening of Hudson's Bay Company trading posts at Fort Ross, Gjoa Haven, and, eventually, at Spence Bay long before such facilities arrived in Pelly Bay also encouraged travel along this corridor. The grouping of place names along Halkett Inlet and towards the settlement of Spence Bay reflects the importance of this travel corridor.

Finally, there are a number of scattered place names in the study area which must be examined not for pattern but for origin. Several place names refer to the sources
of raw materials necessary to the pre-contact Arvilingmiut culture complex. Examples include: "Kaijuutitsaq" (meaning "where we get things to make tools"), "Hillitiksarvik" (Bay, meaning "place to get the proper stone for sharpening utensils"), and "Utkhiutkaq" (Island, meaning "place where there is soapstone"). Other place refer to particular strategies employed in obtaining raw materials or food, such as: "Haviurark" (Island, meaning "where you have to cut out blocks of snow from the tops of polar bear maternity dens to get at them"), "Ichuaktuvik" (Bay, meaning "the place to look through windows", and referring to a specific type of seal hunting technique), "Pualatalik" (Hill, meaning "where a mitten has been left", and referring to a place where good "mannerk", fire-starting moss, may be found), and "Iviuktuk" (Lake, meaning "where there is good mud for putting on sled runners"). It must be assumed that, over the course of many generations of Inuit land-use and occupancy, every area and every conceivable source of raw materials was explored. The places that best furnished these resources are those that have been named.

Two place names in particular, however, fall outside any general pattern. These possessive names, "Ukivak" (Islands, meaning "the ones where they spend the winter"), and "Tuunertat" (Hills, meaning "where there
are **Tuunit things**) refer to a people who occupied the landscape prior to the arrival of the Inuit, the "**Tuunit**" (meaning, in Inuktitut, "the people who were here before us"), a people we refer to today as the Dorset Culture. Although these are the only two named sites whose etymology refers to the presence of "**Tuunit**", there are at least ten other sites in the study area where elders recognize the presence of artifacts and man-made structures separate from and predating their own (Figure 9). Local lore has it that the "**Tuunit**" in this area cohabited ranges with the Inuit for many years, and that they were among the last of their people to disappear (Rasmussen, 1927: 221, Balikci, 1970: 211-2). Stories of interaction, both peaceable and otherwise, are still recounted by the elders, and one site in particular, "**Tinuardjuq**" (Bay, meaning "the end of the little bay by Tinurat"), is recounted as a site of extensive continual contact. While several of the Dorset Culture sites have been excavated by Fr. Guy Marie-Rousseliere (1965), others still remain to be examined.
Man-made Landmarks of the Study Area

Aside from the natural physiographic features of the area that are named, there are a number of man-made structures which serve to define and identify a place (see Figure 9). By far the oldest of Inuit origin are the numerous inukshuks, pillars of rock piled into columns, which dot the landscape. The inukshuks are basically of two types: individual and grouped, and represent differing usages.

Individual inukshuks, of which there are far too many to map and identify, were built to serve a variety of purposes. The most common function was to serve as trail markers for summertime trips inland. As a hunting party walked along, certain places were marked with signs of their passage, often on prominent hilltops or ridges within sight of each other. These markers, rocks stacked one on the other, were meant to show the way travelled. Often individuals or members of a family unit would develop distinctive building patterns so that their markers could be identified from others. By following these man-made landmarks over otherwise uneventful terrain, later parties of inland trekkers could catch up with trailblazers, and all could easily retrace their steps back to the base camp. They also served to mark caches of tools, equipment, and food.
Other individual inukshuks were used to accentuate or identify individual places. They were generally built at or near sites that were inhabited for specific periods of time, and normally assumed the characteristic human-like format. Many of these inukshuks appear to identify one particular place as being distinct from others nearby. In many island groups one peak or ridge has been personalized with a solitary inukshuk, with similar occurrences along rivers, beaches, and headlands. Although signifying importance as a place, many of the sites are not specifically named, and probably reflect occasional usage.

The origins of many other solitary inukshuks are not clearly understood, even by the Inuit of the area. In all likelihood they reflect the desire of an Inuk, or perhaps a "Tuunuk", at one time to commemorate his or her presence at a particular place by piling rock upon rock as a memorial of passage (Rundstrom, 1990: 164). To the present day Inuit most solitary inukshuks have very little meaning per se: they are simply there, and are as if they have always been.

One site, the flat gravel plain of "Tinuardjuq" (Bay, meaning "the end of the little bay by Tinurat"), however, is remarkable for the proliferation of individual inukshuks. There are over a hundred inukshuks in an area of three or four square kilometers. They are
not aligned in rows, as they would be if they were "Tallun", meant to drive caribou to a crossing, but are arranged haphazardly across the landscape. This particular area is rich in cultural meaning for the Inuit. It has been, and remains a popular springtime seal camp location, and garbage from many generations can be found strewn across the tundra. This was reputed to be a "Tuunit" campsite. Several depressions in the rock surface are referred to as "Tuunit" footprints. Two large rock pylons, and a striation in the surface of the rock between them, are said to be the site of a game of strength that the "Tuunit" practiced here, carrying a large rounded rock as far as they could. The rock itself was moved to Pelly Bay a number of years ago. Here, too, is the location of a story of conflict between Inuit and "Tuunit": evidently a number of "Tuunit" were killed, and afterwards speared in the kidneys to make sure that they were dead. The inukshuks that adorn this site are, judging by their extensive lichen cover, quite old indeed. However, if they once had any purpose other than decoration, it has been long since forgotten.

There are at least six locations in the study area where the second type of inukshuks, locally named "Tallun", occur. They are large, man-like inukshuks arranged in long regular rows, and were used to drive migrating caribou to a narrow choke point where they
could be harvested in quantity (Stefannson, 1921: 401, Arima, 1975). Their building was obviously deliberate, and required considerable group effort to use and maintain. Several "Tallun" were arranged to drive caribou to water crossings, where they could be speared by waiting kayakmen. Others were sited to channel caribou to a narrow pass or choke point where hunters in hiding could effect their slaughter. These "Tallun" are, judging by the growth of lichen cover, of great age, and have not been used within living human memory.

Other man-made markers of place are of more recent origin. There are the remains of at least twelve Roman Catholic religious shrines dotted about the landscape (see Figure 9). They were erected by Fathers Henri and Van de Velde between 1935 and 1961. For the most part they consist of rock and mortar bases approximately two meters tall, upon which are mounted a box open on one side containing a religious statue or symbol, and supplanted with a cross. Although at one time religiously maintained, their upkeep has deteriorated somewhat in recent years. The artifacts from several have been brought for safekeeping into the settlement by passers by, and it is only those shrines near town that exist in their original form. The one religious landmark of exception is the large cross, over twenty meters in height and built of discarded oil drums, that adorns the
top of the hill across from the settlement. This prominent landmark can be seen from a great distance.

In the mid 1980's, under a grant from the Territorial Government, a number of small survival cabins were constructed in Pelly Bay, and subsequently towed by skidoo to various locations within the land-use area (see Figure 9). Five cabins are in occasional use today, but maintenance has been rather erratic. The cabins at "Puktuja'a'aituq" (Island), used by polar bear hunters, and at "Matsuq" (River Bend) on the Kellett River, used by fall fishermen, see the most consistent usage. The rest are essentially abandoned, but are useful as landmarks, or in case of emergencies.

Other man-made landmarks in the study area include the two abandoned DEW line sites at Simpson Lake and Keith Bay. Over the years usable portions of this tundra flotsam were removed to the settlements, but many of the original DEW line buildings remain in place, and are occasionally visited.

Both the present-day settlement of Pelly Bay and the nearby active DEW line site represent the most obvious man-made features of the landscape within the study area today. Both may be detected from a considerable distance away, the DEW line because of its location atop the highest point of land, and the settlement by the network of trails leading to it. Both places have permanent,
year-round, and well-maintained airport facilities that operate day and night. Both airports have powerful rotating strobe-light beacons to guide incoming aircraft, visible for many kilometers. It is these lights, circling in the sky and on the bottoms of the cloud cover which, during all but bright daylight, now form the preeminent landmarks of place for the Inuit of Pelly Bay.
Figure 3: Descriptive Place Names

Figure 4: Associative Place Names

Figure 5: Incident Place Names

Figure 6: Possessive Place Names
Figure 7: Commendatory Place Names

Figure 8: All Named Places

Figure 9: Man-Made Landmarks of the Study Area
Harvesting of natural resources of the surrounding landscape remains, for the Inuit of Pelly Bay, a vital activity. Nearly every family spends part of the year living on the land, camping with their friends and relatives in favorite locations. On clear days throughout the year hunters can be seen leaving the settlement early in the morning, and returning in the evening with loads of country food. A skidoo or all-terrain vehicle awaits at nearly every doorstep, and boats abound in the small harbor, ready to transport their owners to the harvest beyond the edges of the community.

In an Inuit community the surrounding landscape is a major theme of day to day life. The physical presence of the tundra ecosystem just meters beyond the buildings is an inescapable reality. Buildings are, for the most part, not built on the ground but, due to the permafrost, above. The settlement appears to perch above the landscape, not part of it but merely an alien aberration. There is no attempt to blend with the
environment. In the vastness of the Arctic, settlements appear as small and isolated centers of human habitation overshadowed by their surroundings. From a distance it is easy to detect such a community, from within, however, the focus of attention is outward, to the land itself.

The Inuit of Pelly Bay do use and harvest the land and resources around them on a consistent basis. Much of the food consumed in the settlement is country food, not only by necessity, but of choice. Cultural ties not only to land food but to the land are strong. Knowledgeable land users are referred to as "Inumiaruit": "the real Inuit". While there are two mutually interdependent economies in operation in Pelly Bay today, the traditional and the modern, participation in the traditional one is viewed locally as being the more important of the two. Participation in the modern wage economy is perceived as necessary, an imported "outside" concept accepted only for the tangible rewards that it can bring. Participation in the traditional economy, however, also produces for Inuit vital intangible reaffirmations of cultural self: a continuation of long tradition, a direct link to generations past, a tie with the land, and an important statement of identity. To use the land wisely and well is to be and to feel "Inumiaruit".
This chapter will explore the nature of land-use patterns for the Inuit of Pelly Bay for one year: July 1, 1987 to July 1, 1988. It will examine the climatically-driven cycle of harvest activities from season to season for each family group that utilized the landscape during this time. The location and duration of occupation sites on the land will be examined, and the patterns relating to land-use evaluated. The nature of the navigational skills required by Inuit to identify and travel between these sites will be examined in considerable detail.

Land-Use: Spring

Table I illustrates the land-use activities of each of the 48 families active on the land between July 1, 1987 and July 1, 1988. Table II lists the location and duration of family group camps during the year, while Figures 10 to 12 show their relative locations. All data was collected from the family heads during fieldwork conducted in Pelly Bay in June and July of 1988.

As indicated by the tables, Springtime is by far the most popular time for on-the-land activities. While springtime is a relative term used in this part of the world to refer to the warmer months after the passage of the worst of winter and before the complete melting of
the sea ice, it generally corresponds to the months of May and June. During the dark and cold months of midwinter Inuit spend a great deal of time indoors. Travel is difficult, and on-the-land activities limited. Winters now, as in the past, are still long and physically and psychologically draining. After months of inactivity, the coming of springtime is eagerly anticipated. With the lengthening of daylight comes the corresponding increase in temperatures. From December to March the temperatures hover about -40°C, and the winds are strong, cold, and predominantly from the northwest quarter. For much of this time the area around Pelly Bay is gripped in temperatures lower than most other places on the continent. The warmer temperatures of spring are relative; after having endured many months of minus -40°C, a daytime temperature of -20°C is balmy in comparison. After months of biting winter winds (in Inuktitut "Uanaq", meaning "the strong one that is cold"), the arrival of "Nighiq" ("the warm wind from the land") heralds the arrival of the long awaited passage of seasons.

Following months of near and total darkness ("Ubluiq", meaning "blackness"), daylight increases quickly as it approaches "Arviktuk" - 24 hour daylight. As the sun circles for longer and longer each day its increasing power can be felt. Travelling conditions
become more and more comfortable for drivers and passengers alike. Goggles or sunglasses must be worn to limit the incoming radiation, and to prevent snowblindness. Exposed faces quickly become sunburned, except for the protected areas around the eyes, producing a raccoon-like countenance among active land-users.

Spring is the time of rebirth, of the awakening of life after the long, cold winter months. By the end of April the settlement of Pelly Bay is a hubbub of activity as Inuit prepare for the upcoming travels. Skidoos are overhauled, sleds built or rebuilt, tents repaired, and caribou skins hung out to dry. The first clear, sunny days open with the sounds of snowmobile engines starting, warming up, and straining onto the sea ice with sleds loaded to overcapacity. Trails branch out from the settlement, becoming wider and more compacted as time goes on, until they resemble roads. Seemingly endless traffic moves along these tundra highways both day and night, as people, supplies, and machines are ferried back and forth to the camps. On Friday afternoons the store is packed to the rafters with people purchasing supplies; on the weekends the town is empty. Those employees who can, take holidays; those who can't, often do anyway. More often than not their immediate supervisors are out on the land as well. A
survey taken on Tuesday, June 7, 1988 found that, of those employees who should have been at work, fewer than half were even in the settlement. The local school enrolment decreases dramatically, and on fair weather days it is not uncommon for teachers to outnumber students.

Camps spring up along the margins of the bay, individual tents in some locations, clusters in others. People transfer, gypsy-like, between encampments. Children disappear for days at a time among their various relatives, and can be seen happily playing outside at four in the morning. Time becomes endless and loses all meaning beyond that which nature dictates. Family members eat, sleep, or entertain themselves when they feel like it. Hunters hunt and fishermen fish for one entire day, or two, or three without end. Visits continue unabated for as long as pleasure dictates, fueled by endless cups of tea. A warm feeling pervades the entire scattered assemblage; the winter is over and the long-awaited spring is here.

Springtime in the Arctic is a time of freedoms. After the darkness of winter one is free to see and explore the world of light again. After the long indoor confinement the world out-of-doors once again beckons, and becomes the field upon which life is played. The cold of winter, the insects of summer, and the low
clouds and freezing rains of fall do not make the outdoors unpleasant in the spring. Nor do the melting season barriers of bog, mud, fast-flowing rivers, and floating masses of sea-ice limit surface passage. The ultimate freedom of springtime for the Inuit is that of surface movement, virtually unlimited. At this time of the year the landscape is covered with a hard shell of wind-packed snow, cemented by the rays of the nascent sunshine. Travel is possible everywhere on this surface. Barriers are frozen; tundra mounds are filled in, rivers become highways, and the sea-ice surface becomes a flat, featureless conduit between one spot of activity and the next. Also, unlike any other season, surface travel in the springtime can be undertaken in relative comfort, especially for passengers riding on the sleds.

For family units as a whole the primary activity in springtime is the erection and occupation of campsites. Each family group loads as much equipment as can fit onto a sled and proceeds to the chosen site. Some families return to traditional sites year after year, others select new sites every spring, and yet others join with extended family members or close friends at group sites. Movement between sites is quite fluid, as individuals go from camp to camp and relative to relative. Eating and sleeping arrangements are of no concern, as common protocol dictates that anyone is
willing and able to share anything with anyone at any time. Visitors move freely from camp to camp, from tent to tent, giving and sharing as the need or desire arises. In all camps the silence is broken many times a day by the arrival of visitors or the shout of "*teatuit'tae*", meaning "the tea is ready", upon which all who are awake or otherwise not occupied converge upon a particular tent for mugs of tea laced with sugar, and help themselves to the fare spread for them by the matron of the family. This generally includes pilot biscuits, butter, jam, canned meat (Coop luncheon meat in particular), cookies, stews, soups, and piles of raw, frozen, or dried caribou, fish, and seal meat. The pleasure of the host is in the giving, and momentary status is conferred by the act of visitors visibly enjoying the hospitality. In the Inuit world it is as good, or better, to give as to receive.

Table II lists the location and duration of the camps of spring, 1988, while Figure 10 shows their location. As is readily apparent from Figure 10, all camps were along the shores of Pelly Bay, save one. All sites are similar in that they have a flat, gravel-covered surface well suited to camping. Most, if not all, exhibit signs of previous occupation ranging from last year's pampers to ancient tent rings. The sites are usually east or southeastward facing, with a natural barrier to the
northwest to provide some protection from the "uanaq" ("prevailing northwest wind") should a spring storm blow up. All are directly accessible by sea-ice.

The largest encampment was at "Akulliq" (Point, meaning "the one that is between the two parts of the sea"). During several visits in the spring of 1988, upwards of forty people were recorded at this site. It is a favorable site, protected by a series of low hills, well endowed with gravel and a small freshwater stream, and faces an area of the bay populated with seals. A nearby hill, "Nasersurvik" (meaning "a high place to look out over the surrounding countryside"), provides an excellent place to scan the bay for seals basking in the sun beside their breathing holes or by cracks in the ice. On June 10, 1988, eleven seals were spotted from this location, three of whom were harvested by residents of this camp by the close of the day. The campsite has been used for many years, judging by the amount of ancient and modern garbage strewn about. Seal and caribou bones abound, and form a thick carpet that crunches underfoot. An Inuit game that utilizes various seal backbone vertebrae is popular, as all of the pieces required can be picked up in a matter of minutes. Several pieces of bleached whalebone were observed here, as well as a human skull and bones.

Two other larger sites existed in the same general
area in the spring of 1988. Four family groups spent varying periods at "Tinnipppajuk" (Bay, meaning "the one that tends to have a tide"), just north of "Akulliq". "Tinuardjuk" (Bay, meaning "the end of the little bay by Tinurat", and also referring to tidal action) was also occupied, at various times, by five family groups, four of whom are interrelated. Both sites have gravel beaches, protection from northwest winds, freshwater streams, and a good view of the bay.

Five sites around the margins of the bay were used by groups of two families who chose to camp together. In all instances the occupants were either members of an extended family, or the family heads were good friends and hunting partners. Two mainland coastal sites, "Kivikiktat" (Cape, meaning "it looks like an animal on a piece of ice just big enough to support it, tipping slightly") and "Ujarasigjuarraq" (Bay, meaning "the small bay where there is a place where there are big rocks"), have the same favorable qualities as other more populous camps, but have the advantage of fewer people competing for resources. Three of the smaller camps were situated on island shores: "Kighiktajuaq" (Island, meaning "the big, imposing island"), occupied by one family for 45 days and visited by another for only a short time, "Tuapagiktug" (Island, meaning "it has excellent gravel for camping on"), occupied by a father,
son, and their families, and "Iglulik" (Island, meaning "place where there are igloos"), near to the settlement and favored by "commuters" who wished to live on the land. All of these island locations are favorable sites well used in the past, but tend to suffer from a lack of fresh water, especially later in the spring when the snow on the land has melted.

Seventeen sites in the Pelly Bay area were occupied by only one family or party in the spring of 1988. They are scattered about the margins of the bay, and were occupied from one day to twenty. Five of the sites were along the western margins of the bay, interspersed among the larger camps, and within easy visiting distance. Three sites were recorded on the islands across from the settlement, and one across the river. These latter four sites were favored by the elderly, occasional weekend users, and "commuters", as all are within an hours drive of Pelly Bay. Other sites reflected the territorial preferences of individual hunters and their families, for whom the harvest was more important than the socialization. One family spent a short time inland at "Kitingura'ak" (meaning "where there are two mountains that used to fit together") on the Kellett River hunting caribou.

The primary harvest activity during spring camping is seal hunting. Recently the price of a seal pelt has
declined dramatically. With no financial incentive the harvest has declined, to the level of personal consumption only. In the spring of 1988 a total of 161 kills were recorded.

There are two patterns of seal hunting. In the first, individual hunters spot seals basking near a breathing hole or crack in the ice, and stalk close enough to effect a kill. Many hunters use a white canvas blind to conceal themselves until until they are within range. Others crawl along on the ice and mimic the actions of a seal until they are within effective killing distance. Care must be taken to kill the seal with a single shot, as one muscle spasm can flip them into the breathing hole. Many seals are wounded and lost.

The second pattern of seal hunting, the group hunt, is usually more successful. Whole family groups converge on the ice and attempt to locate all of the breathing holes that an individual seal uses. Although some holes are open at the surface, many are covered and found only after much prodding with harpoon shafts. Once most of the breathing holes in an area are located, one person is stationed at each with a ready harpoon, while the children are dispatched to other holes to frighten the seal away if it should surface. Seals must breathe every twenty minutes or so, and it is only a matter of time before it surfaces at one hole or another. If the seal
is caught the entire family group moves on to a nearby area to begin the process again.

Seal hunting by using seal hooks or large-mesh seal nets, are rarely, if ever, used in this region.

The other major springtime harvesting activity is caribou hunting. During the spring of 1988, 145 caribou were taken, most within an hour or two's snowmobile drive from encampments. There are no major caribou migration routes through the Pelly Bay area, and all hunting is concentrated on the small herds that wander throughout the region. These herds normally number twenty or less, and their whereabouts are difficult to predict. Throughout the year the chance of killing caribou increases with the amount of time a hunter spends in search of game. As most hunting excursions during the year both begin and end at the settlement, the numbers of game animals decline nearby. Thus moving to external base camp locations in springtime increases the chances of success, especially in those areas less frequented by community-based daytime and weekend hunters.

Incidental activities at spring camps include such things as ice-fishing and bird hunting. Camps are often located near inland lakes where it is possible to jig for lake trout and land-locked char. In the late spring it is also possible to jig at cracks in the sea ice for
sculpin, cod, and other salt-water fish. Occasionally nets are set across open water passages that open up at the very end of the season. The area is visited by migratory waterfowl, and ducks, geese, cranes, and swans are occasionally taken to provide a welcome change of diet. Ptarmigan, an area year-round resident, are shot by younger camp members armed with small-calibre rifles and shotguns.

As spring progresses into summer, surface travel begins to be exceedingly difficult. In late spring travel is limited to late evening and early morning hours when the melting sea-ice surface has had a chance to freeze a bit. Eventually, however, sea-ice travel becomes impossible, and there is a scramble to return people, equipment, and machinery to the settlement. Some families misjudge the last possible moment to leave spring camps and occasionally are stranded, to be rescued by boat when there is sufficient open water.

Land-Use: Summer

Summer begins when the sea-ice has melted enough for open water navigation. This generally occurs toward the middle to latter parts of July, with the earliest recorded date being July 15 and the latest August 25 (Allen, 1977: 6). Many elders relate stories of times,
when the bay did not melt at all. The ice cover normally reforms in October, with September 21 being the earliest date recorded, and November 1 the latest (Allen, 1977: 11). Complete freeze-over of the bay in fall normally follows within a few days of the first ice cover. The northern end of Pelly Bay is blocked year-round by permanent ice at the "Hina'aq" (Floe Edge), and northerly winds can drive large masses of ice into the bay at any time during the short summer.

Unlike springtime, summer camping excursions are relatively short and less common. Of forty-eight families, only fifteen spent any time at a summer camp, of which ten went only for the weekend. Of the five families that stayed out longer, two were at "Qatairrujuaq" (Cliff), a fifteen minute boat ride across the river from the settlement, and were essentially commuters. Thus only three families from Pelly Bay spent more than a week at summer camps; two along the coast at "Ikaqtalik" (Point) and "Atanirsliq" (Inlet), and one at an inland lake, "Isuqtuq" (see Figure 11).

It follows that nearly all other land-use activities in summertime originate from the settlement itself. Thirty-five of the forty-eight families (73%) owned and operated a boat during the summer of 1987, with four families having more than one. The boats are from twelve
to twenty-eight feet, and propelled by outboard motors. These boats were used for, or as part of, nearly all summertime harvesting excursions.

The most common land-use activity in Pelly Bay during summer is shooting seals from open boats. Unless the seal is killed instantly there is a danger of it submerging. Even if killed outright, seals begin to sink immediately, and a hunter must harpoon it quickly. A total of 488 seals taken in the summer of 1987. Because there is no market demand for the pelts, furs and meat were solely for personal consumption, and represent a considerable amount of country produce for the community.

Boats are also used for net fishing. Thirty-four families (70%) participated in this activity in the summer of 1987. Nets must be checked at least once a day, so most activity takes place close to the settlement. There are short summer and fall runs of char in the Kugajuk River and many nets are set at this time. Returns, however, tend to be diminishing due to overfishing. Unlike the past, summer fishing has not been relied upon as a source of winter food for several years.

Overland travel in summertime has increased since the introduction of all-terrain vehicles. Three and four-wheeled cross-country motorcycles seem ideal for
tundra travel. Forty-two of the forty-eight families in Pelly Bay owned at least one such vehicle in 1987, and ten families had more than one, for a total of 55 in the community. Most A.T.V.'s can carry cargo, and all can be used to pull a sled or cart. They can be loaded onto a boat and transported to coastal sites to forage inland, increasing the range of interior hunting and fishing activities. In the summer of 1987, 27 families (56%) used A.T.V.'s for interior fishing and trips, and this is the primary reason that as many caribou (260) were brought into the community in summer as in winter.

Other ancillary summer activities are carried out in close proximity of the settlement. These include the hunting of small game such as rabbits and ptarmigan, mainly by younger teenagers and adults, and rod-and-reel fishing, as well as "kakivak" (fish spear) fishing at the remnants of "sapputat" (stone fish weirs) during the summer char run. As well, many of the women and children engage in berry-picking in the late summer.

Land-Use: Fall and Winter

With the coming of the first snows Pelly Bay once again becomes a hive of activity. Boats and outboard motors are stored, and snowmobiles uncovered and overhauled. Every family owns at least one, with some
families having as many as three snowmobiles. The forty-eight families of Pelly Bay owned a total of sixty-five operational snowmobiles in 1988. There were still 15 active dog teams of various sizes in the community, but their use is primarily recreational.

The primary land-use activity of the fall is fishing. As soon as the first snows allow for surface travel, families depart for the fishing camps. There is some urgency to this, as fish nets must be set as close as possible to first freezing to insure a bountiful catch. This fall fishing provides the indispensable store of country food for the winter, upon which the Inuit have relied for generations. Fish - raw, frozen, dried, and cooked, continues to be a major part of the wintertime diet of the people of Pelly Bay. Almost all of it is obtained in the two week period after first freeze-up, and nearly all from one source: the "Kuug" (Kellett) River.

The "Kuug" (meaning "the big river") has played a vital part in the lives of the local Inuit for a very long time. There is evidence that the previous inhabitants, the "Tuunit" (Dorset Culture), camped and fished along the margins of this river (Mary-Rousseliere, 1964). Traces of camps both ancient and modern dot the shores, with the accumulated refuse of generations piled high at prime sites. Forty
families (83% of respondents) reported the use of this river for fall fishing in 1987. Of the remaining families in Pelly Bay four went fall fishing elsewhere, and one went to another location in addition to the "Kuug" (see Figure 12). Only three families in Pelly Bay did not report intensive fall fishing activities in 1987.

The importance of fall fishing activities at the "Kuug" is reflected in the place names. As Figure 8 shows, there is an intense concentration of named places along the river. Nearly every hill, valley, bend, and shore has a name in Inuktitut, and families return year after year to favored campsites. Each family has a special site to fish on the frozen river, staked out over generations. Most Inuit know where the families traditionally camp and fish, and respect the boundaries.

The actual work begins when the first brave fishermen demonstrate that the ice is safe to stand on. Salt-water sea-ice will support the weight of a man when it is in the nature of 10-15 centimeters in thickness, and Inuit are generally quite adept at gaging its relative safety. Fresh water ice, especially on the surface of a moving river, is considerably harder to assess, and occasionally errors of judgement are made in the hurry to begin fishing. Fresh water ice increases in thickness very quickly, and the sooner the work is begun the less
ice must be chopped through, and the easier it becomes. A series of holes must be chopped in the ice, and a guide rope passed from hole to hole for each net. In most cases this rope is passed from one long pole to another under the water, until the entire length of the net is strung. Some Inuit, however, make use of an ingenious "ice-walker" which, with practice, can be manoeuvred upside-down under the ice surface from the starting hole to the final hole without having to surface. Once the guide ropes are strung the nets are hung, and the Inuit await their catch.

Inuit build ice boxes in which to cache the fish. Large chunks of ice a meter or two in length and a meter or so in height are chopped from the surface of the river and placed on edge to form rectangular walls. This box is then covered with an ice top. Once caught, the fish are flash-frozen and deposited whole. The ice boxes protect the cache from most scavengers, with the occasional exception of barren-land grizzly or polar bears. These fish storage containers are left in place all winter and visited by their owners when the need arises.

The fall camps are, like their spring counterparts, alive with warmth and cheer. Once the hard work of setting the nets and erecting the ice-boxes is over, there is time for an endless circle of visiting,
interrupted once or twice a day for the checking of the nets. The average stay for families at the Kellett River camps in the fall of 1987 was 1 week (7.6 days), with the shortest being one day, and the longest 34. During this time a significant part of the population of Pelly Bay could be found encamped here.

Unlike springtime, fall weather can be quite uncomfortable, with freezing rain, sleet, and snow. The nights are dark, and the temperatures increasingly colder. It is not the cold, however, that worries the harvesters along the banks of the "Kuug", but the return of unseasonably warm weather. This can be a disaster for the fishermen. Sudden warming can cause the river to break up and flow again, and nets and caches are quickly swept out to the bay, and are almost impossible to recover. Once the fall char run is over, the loss by melting cannot be replaced, and the stocks of available fish can be seriously depleted (Kristofferson, 1982). As well, sudden warming can leave the camps stranded, isolated from the community, as both overland and water travel are impossible during this time. With too much ice for boats, not enough snow for snowmobiles, and several intervening rivers flowing with meltwater and ice, the only option for families is to remain in place until freeze-up returns again.

The other major activity of the fall and early winter
is caribou hunting. In the months of October and November the caribou are considered to be in their prime, both for their meat and for their skins, which do not shed if collected at this time of the year. The rut is over (this gives a bad taste to the males), the warbles and insects of summer are no longer a problem for the caribou, and their stomachs bulge with "tunnuk" (belly fat), much prized by Inuit.

The caribou of the Pelly Bay region are found in small herds scattered throughout the various ranges. Because the regenerative capacity of the ecosystem is limited, and slow, caribou that have grazed one area may not return for years, and must constantly search for fresh pastures to forage. Therefore they are not to be found in any particular area at specific times of the year, although generally they are found in larger concentrations in the southern and western portions of the shield country. The flat areas of the northern interior part of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula) are nearly devoid of all wildlife, including caribou.

Most caribou hunting is accomplished by day trips from the community. Typically, an individual hunter or two hunting partners will choose a general area to examine, often after consultation with hunters who have been successful in previous days. They leave the settlement early in the morning by skidoo, pulling a
sled containing an absolute minimum of equipment, including spare parts, gasoline, oil, a camp stove, a snow knife, grub box, bullets, and a few caribou skins, the whole wrapped in an old tent or canvas tarp. The hunters are usually dressed in caribou-skin clothing, and carry their rifle slung over their shoulder. The rifles are commonly of small calibre and high velocity, ranging in bore size from .17 to .243 mm., and equipped with a telescopic sight.

Two general strategies of hunting are used in combination, the first being to examine the countryside quickly by traveling from high point to high point. At these *Nasersurviks* ("high places to look out over the surrounding countryside") the hunters pause to survey the landscape. On a clear day it is possible to scan an area of a hundred or more square kilometers with the use of telescopes and binoculars. Most hunters have developed a practiced eye for spotting game on the tundra landscape. If caribou are sighted the hunt proceeds in that direction, if not it proceeds to the next vantage point.

The second strategy involves tracking the quarry. After several hours of moving across the landscape the hunters are almost certain to find the tracks of passing animals. The hard snow surface holds a record of all that moves across it, a record that can be read by those
versed in its language. By examining tracks closely the hunters can determine what animals have passed, their numbers, speed, direction of movement, general condition, and, most importantly, when they have passed. Promising leads can be followed to their source, as a hunter on a snowmobile has the crucial advantage of speed.

Once sighted caribou are generally quite easy to kill. Many of the herds that are located farther away from the settlement have not yet learned to have a fear of man and his machines, and will continue to graze as those around are felled by hunters' bullets. Even if the herd is alarmed into flight, they are no match in speed compared to a modern snowmobile. Those herds that are in closer proximity to the settlement, and are consequently startled more easily into flight, can be followed until they tire, and then harvested. There is a general tendency, however, to avoid killing caribou that have been run a great deal, as this tends to make their meat less palatable.

Once killed, the caribou are skinned and gutted immediately. The Inuit of Pelly Bay have developed their own particular way of doing this, distinguishable from that of people from other settlements. Cuts are made around the ankles, traced down the legs, and joined to a midriff cut from tongue to tail. The hands are then
worked into the space between the inner and outer skin, and with a series of slicing movements beginning at the extremities and working towards the back, the skin is loosened. This procedure also serves to keep the hands warm in the sub-zero temperatures. The head is then severed, and the entire skin pulled off at the tail. Gutting is accomplished with a quick slice through one side of the belly at the base of the lowest rib, a severing at the rectum, another at the base of the diaphragm, and a rolling of the carcass in the opposite direction to spill the contents of the bowels. The vital organs above the diaphragm are generally left in to be eaten later. The carcass is then commonly cut into five pieces: the two hind quarters disjointed at the top of the femur, the two front quarters (not connected by bones to the torso, and thus easily severed), and the main body. An experienced hunter can skin, gut, and dismember a caribou in this fashion in under five minutes. After the hunt the carcass is securely lashed to the sled, and the hunters either continue the hunt or return home.

Most fall and winter caribou hunts in the Pelly Bay are of one, or at the most, two days duration. To the local perception caribou appear to be plentiful. Many of the elders believe that their numbers have grown in recent decades, and that they are now to be found in
ranges farther north than in previous years. In the fall and winter of 1987-88 a total of 260 caribou were killed in the Pelly Bay area. When added to the 145 caribou killed in spring, and the 260 in summer, this produces a total harvest of 665 for the year, an average of two caribou per person per year.

Other land-use activities for the fall and winter of 1987-88 include seal, wolf and polar bear hunting. Seal hunting through the sea ice was once the mainstay of the local wintertime economy, but is generally not practiced today. This type of hunting involves locating an "aglu" (seal breathing hole) on the ice, and then waiting with a harpoon until the seal chooses to surface at that particular hole. As a seal breathes only once every twenty minutes or so, and can have upwards of a dozen individual breathing holes, the wait can often be a long one. Many Inuit today do not have the desire or patience for this type of hunt. Only 12 hunters reported participating in winter sealing, killing 32 seals between them.

Wolf hunting can be quite a remunerative occupation. Wolf fur, especially the long guard hairs of the back, is the preferred cold-weather parka hood trim among Inuit, and is much prized for its ability to shed condensation while continuing to provide warmth. A hunter can confer much status upon himself and members
of his family by providing them with such trim. He can also provide a substantial addition to the families income, as a prime wolf skin is worth between $300 - $400 at auction. Arctic wolves, however, are wary creatures, and are notoriously difficult to track. A special type of knowledge and dedication is required for wolf hunting, and the successful hunter must be prepared to spend a great deal of time at it. Wolf hunting is normally limited to those hunters that have the expertise and time required to track an animal for days on end, and to bring the chase to a successful conclusion. Of the ten hunters that engaged in wolf hunting during the winter of 1987-88, seven classified themselves as full time hunters (with no wage income from jobs), one worked half-time, and the other two were full-time employees. Between them they managed to kill 21 wolves.

Polar bear hunting is a rather special type of land-use activity. While the harvest of other game in the Pelly Bay area is limited only to need, the hunting of polar bear is strictly managed and controlled by the Territorial Department of Renewable Resources. A quota system, based on population surveys, has been established for each Inuit settlement near polar bear ranges. The quota for Pelly Bay in 1987-88 was set at 12 bears, however a bit of trading between communities is
allowed. If one community is under its allotment near the end of the season it can transfer tags to another. In late 1987 one polar bear tag from Spence Bay was transferred to Pelly Bay. Thirteen polar bears were allotted as a quota, and thirteen bears were taken.

There are two general areas used for polar bear hunting in the Pelly Bay area, both along the margins of the "Hina'aq" (floe edge) to the north. The less utilized area is to the east of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula), while most hunters prefer the area toward the north end of Pelly Bay. The Hunters and Trappers Association has erected a small cabin here for the use of its members. The northern and western fringes of this territory are shared with hunters from the nearby community of Spence Bay.

Various techniques and strategies are used in polar bear hunting. The simplest involves setting up camp near the floe edge and waiting until an inquisitive polar bear arrives nearby. Other strategies involve tracking, spotting with telescopes and binoculars, and setting bait. When encountered, the hunters must be careful not to damage the hide unduly in the killing, as this lowers the value. A prime quality polar bear skin can be sold for $1,500 or more.

Trapping is of minor importance in the Pelly Bay area. It is generally only conducted by teenagers and
young adults in search of pocket money, and in areas relatively close to the community. In the winter of 1987-88 fifteen Inuit set fifty-nine traps for white fox, with a total return of fifty-four pelts. In the spring auctions of 1988 the average price for a white fox was between $15-20.

Patterns of On-The-Land Travel

On-the-land travel patterns for the Inuit of Pelly Bay fall into four categories: 1) day trips beginning and ending at the settlement, 2) overnight trips of several day's duration, 3) family camping trips, and 4) intersettlement travel. They will be examined here in turn.

By far the largest percentage of on-the-land travel in this area involves day trips. Be it by boat, snowmobile, or A.T.V. the basic premise is the same: leaving the settlement very early in the morning and arriving back late at night in order to maximize time on-the-land. These types of trips are most common during the summer, fall, and winter.

The most frequent type of day trip is wintertime caribou hunting. On days, especially weekends, that break clear and show promise of good weather, hunters throughout the settlement, particularly those whose
larders are beginning to near depletion, awake early and ready themselves for the days hunting. Preparations begin with the loading of a small sled with a minimum of equipment, fuel, and supplies. Travelling on the tundra, especially on a powerful machine capable of maintaining highway speeds for hours and many kilometers away from the nearest source of help, combined with the use of high-powered rifles, flammable fuels, and a temperature many degrees below freezing, is a dangerous occupation. Nearly every hunter who leaves the settlement knows of someone who has experienced problems while on the land, and, perhaps, someone who has died as a result. Machinery breaks with alarming frequency at extremely cold temperatures, seemingly solid ice can break up under one's path even in midwinter, and accidents occur at any moment. A hunter must be prepared to deal, by himself, with all eventualities. There is, however, also a need to keep one's equipment to a minimum, and each hunter must balance these considerations in his own way. A hunter learns from every trip how to be better prepared for the next, and each develops a personal style. Some hunters carry the absolute minimum of supplies: a snow knife, caribou skin, a few tools, and spare gasoline. Others add camp stoves, tents, spare parts, sleeping bags, grub boxes, unbreakable thermoses of tea or coffee, and prepared lunches to their kit. A
few carry C.B. radios. All, however, leave the community with what they consider an absolute minimum of baggage.

Active hunters spend a great deal of time talking "shop" with other active hunters. There is a constant trade of banter as to who got what, when, where, and how. Hunters learn from each other's successes and mistakes and, over the course of time, have a relatively good idea of where to go to maximize their hunting potential. Communication also serves to inform hunters as to who is likely to be in a particular area at any given time, so that duplication of efforts can be avoided. This word of mouth is also useful in alerting the community to the approximate whereabouts of any hunter who fails to return to the settlement within an appropriate time.

Before leaving the settlement, most hunters have a general area of destination in mind. Most hunters on day trips prefer to hunt by themselves, although some leave the settlement with hunting partners. It is very rare for more than two hunters to join together for one-day caribou hunts. The hunters proceed to their respective hunting areas with as much haste as possible, often along trails laid out by those who have passed in the days or weeks before. On arriving at a particular area the most common hunting strategy is to cover as much area in as little time as is possible, all the while
looking for traces of caribou, stopping occasionally at higher vantage points to scan the horizon with a telescope or binoculars. As caribou tend to be found in relatively small herds, the chances of encountering them increase with the speed of movement. Given that a snowmobile can maintain, on a good surface, a speed of 50–60 kilometers an hour for many hours on end, the chances of finding caribou are definitely in the hunters' favor.

Although it has been found impossible to document the location of each of the 260 caribou kills recorded during the winter of 1987–88, as even the hunters do not know their exact locations, it has been possible to delineate the general areas favored for such hunts. The only areas not utilized for caribou hunting were the northern part of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula), the mainland north of Halkett Inlet, and the offshore islands. Hunters traversed most other parts of the study area at one time or another in search of caribou, spreading out from the main trails (see Figure 13). Favored areas were to the south and east of the settlement, and across the bay to the north and south of the main trail to Gjoa Haven. As midwinter trips are limited essentially to the short hours of daylight, most caribou were obtained within a 2–3 hour (approximately 50–60 kilometers in radius) drive from the settlement.
Most parts of the landscape within this area were and are combed rather thoroughly by caribou hunters in any given winter.

Caribou hunters are also opportunists on the lookout for other types of quarry as well. Although wintertime wildlife is limited in this area, if the occasion presents itself, hunters can harvest rabbits, ptarmigan, foxes, and occasionally wolves on excursions whose primary focus begins with caribou. While hunting, the hunters mind-set focuses intently on the landscape - and whatever comes along is fair game.

Daytime seal hunting from open boats in the summertime presents a contrast to wintertime caribou hunting. Not only is the focus of activity (the sea rather than the land) different, but the time frame (24-hour daylight as opposed to a few hours of twilight) and sense of urgency (mild, even warm weather as opposed to freezing temperatures) are poles apart. In the summertime there is no need to leave early in the morning and hurry home at night; one can leave whenever one pleases and return when ready. Seal hunting consists primarily of day trips. However, in the 24-hour-a-day daylight of an arctic summer this can be somewhat misleading: a one day's trip may mean hunting seals for twenty-four hours continually. Two days of seal hunting are not unusual, the only limitations being concern over
the spoilage of meat, a lack of freeboard as seals are loaded aboard, running out of bullets, and a desire to sleep.

Open-water travel patterns for summertime seal hunting are concentrated, for the most part, along the leeward side of the islands on the eastern portion of the bay, in waters protected from swells and ice. Almost all activity proceeds northwards from the settlement, threading between the seal-rich waters of these islands. The waters between islands tend to be rather calm, the islands make good spots to stop for tea, and there are many sheltered refuges in which to wait out a storm. The western portions of the bay are visited by boat only during periods of great calm, relatively rare in the summertime, and even then with trepidation. Waves of a size capable of swamping a small boat can blow up in the open waters of the bay very quickly, and the Inuit are all well aware of the fact that they can not swim. In the final analysis neither this, nor the wearing of life jackets is of much comfort: the ice-filled waters of the bay are so cold that a human will freeze to death before he or she will drown. Thus the Inuit of Pelly Bay are conditioned to be somewhat cautious about open-water travel, and normally stay as close as possible to the shores.

During the summer season many Inuit now travel
overland for day trips on all-terrain vehicles. The extent and duration of these trips, however, is somewhat limited by the topography, as marshes, surface water, cliffs, lakes, and rivers all present barriers to surface travel. Several well-travelled trails do exist, built up over the years by passage over the summer tundra surface, along naturally-defined corridors of easiest access. The main trail proceeds eastwards from the community for approximately five kilometers, and then forks into two. The southern trail proceeds over a gravelly plain, and eventually to the DEW Line station. From here it is possible to travel along the margins of "Tasserdjua'ark" (Barrow, or DEW Line Lake), and to the flat plains to the east and southeast. It generally takes between 2-3 hours to drive from the settlement to the DEW Line along this route.

The other fork passes over the "Alliarusiq" River at a shallows, and proceeds to the interior of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula). This area is an elevated gravel plain with low relief, perfectly suited to A.T.V. travel. The only real limitations here are the shallow surface lakes and the numerous rivers. This area is where many of the summertime caribou hunts are carried out.

On many occasions all-terrain vehicles are carried by boat to areas where they can be offloaded for overland
use. During the summer of 1987 a small herd of caribou was stranded by meltwater on "Kighiktajuaq" (Island), and several hunters used A.T.V.'s to travel the island in search of them. Several hunters and fishermen went overland from the bay to "Isuqtuq" and "Isuqtunajuk" Lakes south of the settlement. Others explored the raised beaches along the eastern margins of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula), which allow ready access to overland travel, but hold little in the way of harvestable resources.

Deliberately planned overnight excursions are conducted, for the most part, by those hunters who are engaged full-time in the traditional economy. In 1987-88 this segment of the population consisted of nine individuals. These full-time professional hunters are best able to exploit the windows of opportunity that present themselves during the course of a harvest year. If those opportunities require more than a day or two to meet, it is this group of land-users, not tied to settlement jobs, who will be there first.

Most travel by professional hunters is multi-purpose in that they are willing and able to harvest nearly anything that they encounter. Their sleds are loaded with enough food and equipment to allow for extended forays of several days. Many form partnerships with other full-time hunters. For them, land-use activities
are not limited by the time constraints imposed by wage employment. They are essentially free to roam about at will, nomads of the tundra today.

These hunters normally use parts of the local land-use area that are beyond the reach of single-day settlement-based harvesters. They have the freedom to set up camps at the peripheries, and to operate from these advance bases. By doing so they have access to ecosystems essentially unaltered by the passage of other harvesters, and have far greater chances of success.

Family camps in spring are nearly all located about the margins of Pelly Bay (Figure 10). Many of the larger camps are along the main trail between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay (Figure 13). By the middle of April this trail is well defined, a major highway on the ice. Smaller trails have their tendrils at the individual camps, and funnel towards the apex at the community. These trails that develop from continued usage become the conduits along which the traffic of springtime is funneled.

Travel to summer camps by boat is nearly always direct and limited to periods of calm weather. Most (66%) summertime camping excursions are limited to weekends only. In summer of 1988 the longest summer camping excursion was of two weeks duration.

Most fall family camps are located along the Kellett
River. In 1987, 40 of the 43 families in Pelly Bay came here for fall fishing (see Figure 12). An overland trail running directly south of the settlement to the mouth of this river is laid down immediately following freeze-up, and sees a great deal of usage during the short fishing season. Over the winter this trail is kept open by virtue of passage to and from the caches of fish left on the river ice. As this is a primary wintertime trail, many hunters utilize it for quick passage to areas where they can begin their hunting activities.

Intersettlement travel is limited almost exclusively to the warm, long days of springtime. The only exceptions during the study period were four trips to Spence Bay and back during the Christmas holidays, and two to Spence Bay and back by polar bear hunters in late winter. During the springtime, overland travel is quite frequent between the settlements of Repulse Bay, Pelly Bay, Spence Bay, and Gjoa Haven. Intersettlement travel in this area normally does not proceed beyond these communities.

For the Inuit of Pelly Bay intersettlement travel to Spence Bay is the most frequent, with 19 return trips in 1987-88. Other intersettlement travel included 12 return trips to Repulse Bay, 8 to Gjoa Haven overland, and 4 to Gjoa Haven via Spence Bay. All of these settlements can be reached within one good day's travel time from Pelly
Bay.

Intersettlement travel generally proceeds along established corridors (see Figure 13). More often than not these visits are by entire families, with the family head on a skidoo pulling a long sled behind. In the springtime these sleds normally have a large box attached for the family members to ride in. Some are quite elaborate, with partial or complete coverings, plexiglass windows, and even small heaters. Travel on the land at this time of year is a quite convivial affair, with several families often travelling together, and frequent stops for tea and visits with other families passing by.

During the very early spring, as hunters begin to travel farther and farther afield, the hunting trails of the various settlements begin to overlap. As these trails tend to follow traditional paths along lines of least resistance, and eventually funnel back to the community of origin, the procedure for the first intersettlement travellers of the season is to follow the trails from the home community until they intersect those of the next, and follow these to their source. As the first visitors of the season have, in all likelihood, passed through many times before, the corridors tend to follow the same trails from year to year. Later travellers merely have to follow these
trails laid out on the snow and the sea-ice to arrive at the settlement of their choice. Even, the passage of a spring storm will not completely erase a well-travelled trail once laid down, and the main trails soon become unmistakable to the initiated. Children, after passage of these trails with family excursions, come to internalize the various segment characteristics and landmarks on the way, and are able to follow them when they are old enough to drive their own vehicles. It is a rare Inuk, of any age, who has not travelled overland to several of the settlements in the immediate vicinity.

Navigational Techniques - Basic

The basic technique for surface travel in this area during the wintertime is to follow a trail. The hard-packed snow surface retains an image of all that passes over it, and can be read, by those versed in its interpretation, like a book. A fresh track is incised clean and clear in the crust. Direction of movement can be read either by the context of the print, or by the way it disturbs the sastrugi. These ripples in the snow form in parallel ridges aligned at right angles to the prevailing wind, which in this area is from the northwest quarter. The peaked edges face away from the prevailing wind. Movement toward the grain will crumble
the leading edges inward, while movement with the grain will produce a downward compaction. Movement by a solitary passage will produce a surface that produces small crystal growth within hours, and has a grainy appearance. Repeated passage produces a more polished texture. After several days the tracks tend to widen, as the powder "sugar" snow beneath the crustal layer readjusts to isostasy, and the disturbed crust once again thickens and hardens in contact with the air. Surface-blown snow fills in the tracks, leaving a record especially of the first such wind as it attempts to reduce surface friction. If the track is not disturbed by further surface passage it will tend to be eroded along the softer sides, producing eventually a small raised imprint of the original in reverse. By the end of the winter it is not unusual to find small pillars of crusted snow several centimeters high, each topped with a small print or dropping.

The hunters who venture onto the surrounding landscape after the first snowfall are generally those more experienced land-users well versed in the location of local landmarks. They follow the natural corridors of previous seasons, both from locational memory and by noting the imprint produced upon the permafrost surface by continued disturbance. Over many years of passage the main trails can be identified in summer by their
dissimilarities to the surrounding countryside: they are either more lushly carpeted by mosses as a result of compacted snows lasting later in the melt, or they lack vegetation cover and are scarred by fluvial erosion as a result of the surface disturbance of the active layer above the permafrost base. More and more often today the main trails can also be identified by the presence of human debris, as piles of garbage, used parts, and derelict machinery become the markers of place and passage, inukshuks of the industrial age.

Subsequent land-users need only follow, along the main trails at least, the tracks in the snow of their predecessors. Over time, and with continual passage these trails grow wider, more compacted, and smoother. They afford increasingly faster travel as the season progresses, and become the corridors along which much of the local traffic passes to and from areas of harvest. After a week or two of snow cover these trails already lead to most areas of interest in the winter season to come.

It is knowing which trails to follow, however, that is of importance. Many land-users follow the trails only to a point, and then branch off to explore the surrounding territory. Short-cuts abound, as do separate trails to individual areas of interest. There are trails between trails, and trails left by those who are merely
joy-riding about the countryside. As the winter progresses parts of certain trails become obliterated by snow cover while others, months old, appear relatively fresh. Even following a distinct and obviously well-travelled trail, a traveller needs to know and be reassured that he or she is on the right track and going to the right place. Even the best of trails can be obscured quickly in a storm.

In the winter, surface navigation during clear weather involves a knowledge of the landscape on two levels: abstract and specific. On the abstract level, besides an understanding of where well-travelled trails are likely to appear, is a general knowledge of the outline of the confines of Pelly Bay. The elders express this as a "rule of thumb", that is: if you hold up your right hand, palm inward, the fingers represent the mainland and Boothia Peninsula, the thumb Simpson Peninsula, and the open space between, the water surface of the bay. It is fairly difficult for initiates of this knowledge to get lost on the bay as, given enough time, travelers on the sea ice must eventually arrive at either the shore or the floe edge.

For specific navigation from place to place on the bay itself directions are given and used in the form of recognized local landmarks. By following a series of such landmarks, and keeping the correct spatial
alignment between them, accurate navigation is possible. Direct line of sight between landmarks is of primary consideration. Precise measurement of the interconnected variables of "dead reckoning", time and distance, were, until introduced by contact, of little consideration. Distances were considered in terms of "sleeps", the number of overnight stops necessary to arrive at a particular place. The distance between sleeps could vary considerably depending upon travel circumstances. What mattered most was arriving at and passing the various landmarks associated with the journey. These stations on the way were the true measures of the stages of travel.

A sea-ice trip from the settlement of Pelly Bay to "Akulliq" (Point, meaning "the one that is between the two parts of the sea", a common spring seal camp) would, for example, require the following directions:

- upon leaving the settlement travel on the sea-ice keeping the cliffs of "Qatairrurjuaq" ("the only place where there are big rocks that have fallen from the cliff") to landward, and passing between these cliffs and "Simik" (Island, meaning "the plug in the channel").
- turning near the end of these cliffs and passing onto the open sea-ice between "Haalguq" (Island, meaning "the flat island") and "Tallinguvik" (Island, meaning "if you want a shoulder", and referring to an argument over the sharing of game at one time).
- at this point a general direction of straight sea-ice surface travel would be plotted across the bay. Horizon landmarks on both sides of the bay give a general indication of direction, but there is, at this point, no discernible landmark to aim towards. Experienced travelers will feel the direction of the wind on their cheek and note the prevailing alignment of the wind-blown sastrugi on the ice surface, and attempt to keep these relatively constant during the passage.

- during the passage over the central portions of the bay the low shores of "Sennerak" ("the other side") will appear closer and closer. Upon passage of "Kiniktuq" (Hill, meaning "the one that is higher than the others around it"), if it can be sighted to landward, or somewhere around the middle of the passage, the islands of "Qikiktak" (meaning "the two big islands of the group") will come into view on the "Sennerak" side.

- shortly thereafter, from the lower shores of the far side, the distinctive peak of "Nasersurvik" (Hill, meaning "a high place to look out for game") will appear, as an aiming point.

- by steering to the right of this point, and passing between "Qikiqtanajuk" (Island, meaning "the big island of the group") and "Pigiulariut" (Island, meaning "the place to find birds eggs"), and keeping the preeminent landmark of the bay, "Korvigdjuak" (Island, meaning "the
big chamber pot") opposite, one will be able to see "Tikiranajuk" (Point, meaning "the big point"), beyond which lies the destination, "Akulliq".

There is a need, therefore, for land-users to be familiar with the landmarks of place that define their passage over the landscape, on or off the network of trails. These landmarks, for the study area around the settlement of Pelly Bay, are the named places described in Chapter Three of the thesis. The essence of navigation for the Inuit of this area is the ability to identify these markers of place, and to understand their spatial relationships one to another. By knowing the landmarks the land becomes known.

To a person in a city the markers of place are primarily man-made structures: directions are given as "go to the 7-11 and turn left". In rural areas a combination of natural and man-made landmarks is the norm, as in "follow Highway 37, turn at the bridge and follow the creek". In much of Canada most places recognizable as such have been officially named and recorded on mapsheets available to those who choose to use them. It is the contention of the thesis that there exists among the Inuit of Pelly Bay a similar arrangement of landmark recognition and interpretation, a way of knowing and arranging in logical order of the surrounding landscape. This local ordering of the world
exists, albeit in the Inuktitut language, and is a concrete perceptual reality for the land-users of Pelly Bay. It has simply not been documented for this area before.

Figures 21 and 22 serve to show the location and translated meaning of the named places that would be recognizable to a knowledgeable land user in the study area. These places also serve to delineate those areas that are used by the Inuit of Pelly Bay. If a place is named, and if the name is perpetuated, then it follows that it must be as a result of continuous usage. These places, their association with accepted names, the ability to identify them, and the knowledge of their spatial interrelationships provide the means whereby the Inuit can effectively follow the physical and mental trails that link the constituent parts of their immediate surface environment into a whole.

Navigational Techniques: Supplemental

Following a trail, or making one's own while navigating by reference to named and recognized landmarks is a technique that works well for Inuit when weather conditions are clear, and visibility is unlimited. There are many occasions, however, when this is not the situation. Storms, fog, wind-blown snow,
rain, darkness, and white-outs can and do occur, and anyone travelling in tundra regions must be prepared to deal with them. This section will illustrate the supplemental techniques used to navigate during such times when conditions are less than perfect.

Humans have relied upon navigation by landmark recognition for most of their existence upon this planet. This technique has distinct limitations, however, when a direct line of sight can not be maintained between recognizable landmarks. When out of sight of landmarks some other constant must be sought in order to maintain a consistent bearing of travel. In some cultures the relative locations of the sun, moon, and stars were used in this regard. Above the arctic circle, however, this is simply not feasible for most of the year. During the mid-winter there is 24 hour-a-day darkness, and long distance travel is simply not done. During the summertime the sun circles endlessly around the horizon, obscuring the stars. During the spring and autumn the daily variations are extreme, and of little use for navigation without precise means of measurement. None of the elders could recall hearing any stories relating to the use of the stars, sun, or moon in reference to navigation.

In other cultures the magnetic forces of the earth were discovered, and used as cardinal reference points
for navigation. Compasses point toward the north magnetic pole, creating a usable and convenient constant for most areas the planet. However, as the north magnetic pole is located so close to the area, compasses do not work here. They merely circle about aimlessly, and are as likely to point to the nearest piece of metal as they are to the direction of the magnetic pole. In the absence of celestial or compass bearings the Inuit have had to rely upon other constants for a sense of direction. These they found in the locations of the open sea and the directions of the prevailing winds (see Figure 14).

The primary environmental constant in this area is the presence, for most of the year, of a prevailing cold and dry wind from the northwest quarter. This wind, blowing from the perpetually ice-covered margins of the Arctic Ocean, is called "Uanaq", meaning "the strongest wind", in Inuktitut. "Uanaq" is the wind that blows for most of the days of the year that surface navigation is possible, the cardinal locator, and the critical element of the physical environment.

In this environment temperature is largely irrelevant to outdoor comfort. It is "Uanaq" alone that produces the coldness and discomfort of winter. Other winds bring warm air, other winds can not freeze. In the Inuit pantheon of elements "Uanaq" is the central figure, the
one environmental constant. It determines whether hunting or fishing can take place, whether one will experience comfort or discomfort, or whether one will, in exceptional circumstances, live or die. In the arctic environment the concept of "felt cold" is of critical importance for human life. "Uanaq" is, for the Inuit, the source of this cold.

"Uanaq", the northwest wind, is the one element that any traveller in these realms should be aware of at all times. In most cases, during those times of the year when surface travel is conducted, it is impossible not to notice its presence, as its biting coldness can be instantly felt on any exposed skin, and can freeze the surface in a matter of minutes. Even in its absence it is known by the marks it leaves upon the landscape. The wind-blown sastrugi align themselves at right angles to the force of "Uanaq", and every obstacle that protrudes from the surface is smoothly molded over with a covering of snow whose sharp-edged peaks indicate its direction. These surface features, ubiquitous in the wintertime, are constants in themselves, omnipresent markers of direction produced by the primary locator of direction, the prevailing wind.

There are other winds whose presence and characteristics are recognized by the Inuit elders of Pelly Bay. "Pinganaq" (the west wind) can be
differentiated from "Uanaq" (the northwest wind) by its lack of bitter "bite" on exposed skin, even though they can both flow from the same general quadrant during the same times of year. "Pinganaq" is a land wind, "Uanaq" is a sea-ice wind, and therein lies their essential difference. "Kananuq" (the east wind) is the opposite to "Pinganaq" (the west wind), in that it flows from the sea, and carries the essence of the sea with it, yet it is not bitterly cold. Its flow is relatively uncommon in winter, and is more associated with the calmer periods of summer. Both "Pinganaq" and "Kananuq" are responsible for the rains of summer and fall. "Nighiq" (the south wind) is the mortal enemy of "Uanaq" (the northwest wind), for when it begins to blow it undoes the work of "Uanaq". "Nighiq" is the only true warm wind that the Inuit of this area know, and its presence heralds the coming of spring. It is a true land breeze, carrying with it the fragrance of areas inland and far to the south. It is viewed as a destroyer of snow and ice, its dryness responsible for a great deal of the melting of the spring. "Nighiq" is viewed as benevolent, as it does not bring snow, cold, stormy weather, or rain. "Nighiq", together with "Kananuq", are the harbingers of good weather.

For the Inuit of this area, the wind is the weather. The nature of the wind, not the temperature, determines
whether outdoor activities can or cannot take place. A storm is the result of the wind, while good weather is characterized by its absence.

The elders still make some references today to "Narssuk", the giant baby weather god of old, master of the winds. He was reputed to be a wicked spirit who detested mankind and, consequently, had to be kept tied up. Whenever his bonds became loosened he released storms upon the land. As this was unpredictable, and as he was a baby whose temperament could not be controlled, the timing and severity of these ill winds was totally a matter of chance. They could blow up at any time, in any situation; and in any season. As the causes were viewed as being totally random, the weather itself was considered to be essentially unpredictable. Even to this day the Inuit have few rules of thumb concerning the prediction of weather. Most hunters embarking on a day's land-use excursion merely look out the window or test the wind. If it is clear and relatively calm they depart, but are prepared for all eventualities, as they know that the wind and weather can change quickly at any time.

Even though winds are such a crucial part of Inuit land-use activities, they are not generally used as directions in and of themselves. Directions are given, in this area, by reference to the constants of the sea.
and the land. Adult land-users have a general conception of the positioning of the relative locations of water and land in the vicinity. To the north of the bay is the "Hina'aq", the year-round open-water floe edge, and this direction is referred to as "himum" (or "kimut"), meaning "towards the Hina'aq". Travel in this direction is referred to as "himuareartunga", or "travelling in the general direction of the Hina'aq". The direction corresponding to south is referred to as "tigvamut", meaning "to the inland", or as "himvamut", which means "the opposite direction of that one would follow to the Hina'aq". The direction into the face of the prevailing wind, "Uanaq", however, is referred to as "ualiarmut", meaning "in the direction of "Uanaq" (the northwest wind)". The opposite direction (southeast) does not have its own name but is referred to as "uliavamut", meaning "that which is opposite to ualiarmut (the northwest wind)".

These directions are important to remember for the person setting out to travel on the land. At the start of a trip a traveler would be advised to feel and remember the direction of the wind on an exposed cheek. This can be used as a constant if the visibility deteriorates. If the wind is kept on the same cheek one can be somewhat assured that he is continuing to travel in the same general direction, and will eventually
arrive at a recognizable landmark on the way. Without the presence of such an external indicator there is a general tendency, especially in severe storms or in cases of white-out, to travel in circles.

It is also advised to compare the alignment of the parallel ridges of the sastrugi in the snow to the direction of travel. For long trips on sea-ice, especially during times of reduced visibility or when out of sight of land, it is important to maintain the appropriate angle of contact throughout the passage. This method also can be of use for open-water travel in the summertime, with the general direction of the waves providing a constant during times of high seas or heavy fog.

If a severe storm blows up and obliterates both the trail and the visibility of nearby landmarks, the direction of the wind and the sastrugi can be used to maintain a constant vector along a straight line for a time, but in this instance it would probably be advisable to stop and set up camp until the storm blows over. Knowing when to proceed, knowing when to stop, and especially, knowing the margins of safety between the two is the mark of a seasoned traveller in these realms. Knowing the differences is an important consideration; mistakes can be fatal.
What To Do If You Are Stranded, Disoriented, Or Lost: Traditional Advice.

A traveler leaving an arctic community would be advised to be prepared for all eventualities. The arctic can be a dangerous place. If the unexpected occurs help can be hours or days away, if it is available at all.

Inuit who venture onto the surrounding landscape are prepared for its exigencies; they best know what to expect. Over the generations a body of experience covering all conceivable situations has been amassed. Every hunter in a small Inuit settlement hears eventually of the fortunes or misfortunes of other hunters. Every hunter learns from every excursion onto the land how to make the next safer and more comfortable. Every land-user spends a great deal of time talking to other land-users about activities on the land, and they all share the benefits of discussions with their elders. This section of the thesis is meant to provide a brief summary of this advise from the elders of Pelly Bay as to what to do if you are stranded, disoriented, or lost on the land.

The first important piece of advice is to be prepared both physically and mentally for the entire spectrum of eventualities that could occur. Physically, this means carrying with you, or on your sled, all of the food and
equipment necessary to function as a self-sufficient entity. Prior to contact this was the case with every single journey: it was impossible to forget anything as Inuit carried their entire stock of worldly possessions with them at all times when travelling. Today these possessions have grown heavier, bulkier, far more complex. The basic equipment today consists of a piece of machinery, a snowmobile, boat, or perhaps all-terrain vehicle, and some place to carry a bit of cargo. The basic requirements of food, clothing, heat, and shelter must be met. However, added to this are other requirements equally as basic: a working rifle and ammunition (for both harvesting and protection from predators), gasoline, oil, tools, spare parts, and either an unbreakable thermos filled with liquids or the kit necessary to boil water, as dehydration can in itself be a problem. Add to this a small medical kit, harvesting tools, spare rope, a few needles and some thread, and matches or a lighter, and one is physically prepared to go out on the land. The lack or loss of even one of these items could lead to disaster.

Mental preparation is equally important. A land-user needs to have the knowledge to deal with all of the difficulties that the environment presents. All eventualities must be taken into consideration. The hunter must have the knowledge and skills necessary to
repair a broken-down vehicle or any piece of equipment, the means and imagination to fashion or improvise anything he needs in this regard, and a comprehensive and working knowledge of the nature of the landscape through which he must pass. He must have an intimate understanding of the processes of freezing and thawing of snow and ice, for often his life and livelihood depend upon snap decisions regarding their exact states. He must be able to read the subtle signs imprinted in and on the land around him, and understand their meaning. He must be skilled at driving a machine over a variety of surfaces, and understand the exact borders of its limitations. He must be able to build an igloo or erect a shelter, if the situation demands, or fix a wound or set a broken bone or defend himself from a bear. He must be able to do this, and more, if he is to be successful in his harvest. What's more, as the elders point out, he must have the ability to do this with the utmost confidence. Every hunter must be familiar not only with what exactly he can do in any given situation, but in many cases it is critical that he should also be intimately familiar with his limitations; that which he can not do.

Even the most careful and prepared hunters occasionally encounter difficulties on the land. The most common such problem is to be stranded when a motor
quits and can not be repaired, or runs completely out of fuel. Machines in the Pelly Bay area have a long history of doing this. The first outboard motors and snowmobiles were notoriously unreliable, and the Inuit had no tradition of mechanical knowledge to call upon. Fixing such machinery was, at first, largely a matter of trial-and-error, made considerably easier, however, by their simplistic designs. Many Inuit have walked or paddled away from an engine malfunction, and lived to tell the tale. If a person is stranded as the result of an engine break-down that can not possibly be repaired in the field, knows exactly where he is and is going to, and is reasonably certain that he can walk unaided to assistance, then that is the course of action to take. Many hunters have successfully walked back along their tracks, sometimes for days, after their machines have broken down. Several others, however, have not been so lucky, and have suffered frozen fingers, toes, faces, or worse. If there is any doubt whatsoever of the possibility of walking to a nearby camp, survival cabin, or to the settlement itself after being stranded on the land the advice given is to stay put, erect a shelter, boil some tea, and await assistance.

Occasionally travellers become disoriented in unfamiliar country, or lost. Normally a momentary disorientation means the loss of sight of familiar
landmarks as a result of blowing snow, rain, darkness, or white-out conditions, and can be resolved upon finding a familiar landmark and regaining ones bearings. However, if this does not happen within an appropriate time-frame, the best possible advice is to stop, set up camp, and await the passing of the weather. If one is totally and completely disoriented with the arrival of clear weather, it is possible to retrace ones tracks back to familiar territory. If this is not possible the best advice is to stay put, and wait for help to arrive.

There are other times, too, when this is the best possible advice. In case of illness, accident, breaking through thin ice, or stranding as a result of breakup, freezing, a leak in a boat, or the separation of ones ice-flow from the pack, it is suggested that the appropriate action be to stay put, make ones self as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, have patience, and wait for rescue.

Pelly Bay, like most Inuit settlements in the Canadian Arctic today, is a small, closely-knit, and largely interrelated community concerned to a great extent with the welfare of the individuals involved. If a hunter or group is overdue from an excursion on the land, and the immediate family or families are in the least bit concerned as to their safety, this concern is immediately voiced at the community level. There is an
active Search and Rescue Committee, operating under the auspices of the local Hunters and Trappers Association, and trained and equipped by the Territorial Government. They have vehicles, gasoline, and equipment set aside expressly for such occasions, with members also volunteering their own in times of need. They have established five survival cabins at various locations around the countryside, have portable radio communication equipment and a base readily available, and can call upon assistance from the R.C.M.P., N.W.T. Wildlife Service, N.W.T. Search and Rescue, the Canadian Armed Forces, or any passing airplane or helicopter if needed. The community is never as focused as when one or more of the members are in need of help. If it is determined that this is indeed the case, a coordinated and concerted rescue mission is launched, and everyone in the community, and the next, and often the entire Territory watches and awaits its conclusion.

Although the decision to inaugurate each search for a lost hunter or hunters is made individually, after a close examination of the facts pertinent to the situation at hand, the general rule of thumb is to wait for twenty-four hours in the case of an inexperienced, underaged, or non-inuit land-user, or for someone from outside of the community who may not be familiar with the landscape. Experienced Inuit are normally given
three days.

The Search and Rescue Committee is composed primarily of those land-users who are intimately familiar with the territory, are (or at one time have been) full-time professional hunters, and who are respected for having a great deal of stamina and experience. If they, and the resources at their command, are applied to searching for an overdue hunter or party on the land there is a good possibility that, regardless of the weather or situation, it will be successful. The best advice that the elders can give is to be prepared, but that if you do get into trouble out on the land that you can not get yourself out of, stay where you are, have patience, and wait for rescue.
Directions of "Winds Coming From" in Arvilingmiut Culture

Directions of Travel in Arvilingmuit Culture
### Table I

#### Land-use Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Head</th>
<th>Alaska, Cape</th>
<th>Alaska, Utqiagvik</th>
<th>Alaska, Nome</th>
<th>Alaska, Kotzebue</th>
<th>Nome, Utqiagvik</th>
<th>Nome, Kotzebue</th>
<th>Nome, Galena</th>
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#### Number of Dependents

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#### Wage Employment in Family Unit

|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|

#### Family Unit Transportation Owned:

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#### Springtime Sea-Ice Activities:

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#### Summer Activities:

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#### Fall and Winter Activities:

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#### Intersettlement Travel (No. of Trips)

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---

**Note:**
- Y = Yes
- N = No
- F = Full Time
- P = Part Time
- S = Seasonal
- H = Homemakers
- E = Elderly
- D = Days
- IE = 165
### Land-use Information

**Pelly Bay, N.W.T.**  
July 1, 1987 - July 1, 1988

**Family Data:**

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<td>All Terrain Vehicle(s)</td>
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<td>Boat(s)</td>
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**Springtime Activities:**

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<td>Ice Fishing (Y=Yes, N=No)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bird Hunting (Y=Yes, N=No)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caribou - No. of Kills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seals - No. of Kills (approx.)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Caribou - No. of Kills</td>
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<td>Overland Fishing Excursion(s)</td>
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<td>Fall and Winter Activities:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fall Fishing With Nets Through Ice</td>
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<td>Cashing at Fall Fishing Site, Duration</td>
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**Intersettlement Travel (No. of Trips):**

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<tr>
<td>Gjoa Haven Via Spence Bay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gjoa Haven Overland Direct</td>
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<td>Repulse Bay</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Repulse Bay</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Fall Fishing

- **Sleeks**
  - Father: Yes
  - Mother: No

### Ice Fishing

- **Sleeks**
  - Father: Yes
  - Mother: Yes

### Summer Activities:

- **Caribou - No. of Kills**: 4
- **Bird Hunting (Y=Yes, N=No)**: Y
- **Seals - No. of Kills**: 2
- **Family Unit Transportation Owned**:
  - Skidoos: 1
  - All Terrain Vehicle(s): 2
  - Dog Team (Active): 1

### Fall and Winter Activities:

- **Caribou - No. of Kills**: 3
- **Overland Fishing Excursion(s)**: Y

### Fall Fishing With Nets Through Ice

- **Caribou - No. of Kills**: 4
- **Seals - No. of Kills**: 2
- **Wolves - No. of Kills**: 0
- **Polar Bear - No. of Kills**: 1

### Intersettlement Travel (No. of Trips)

- **Spence Bay**: 1
  - No. of Foxes Caught: 1
- **Ejoa Haven Via Spence Bay**: 0
- **Ejoa Haven Direct Overland**: 0
- **Repulse Bay**: 0

### Total No. of Families:

- 40
Table II

Living On The Land: Location and Duration of Seasonal Family-group Camps in the Pelly Bay Area, July 1, 1987 - July 1, 1988.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Head</th>
<th>Spring Camp Location</th>
<th>Spring Camp Duration (Days)</th>
<th>Summer Camp Location</th>
<th>Summer Camp Duration (Days)</th>
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Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

Early on the morning of February 22, 1987, an elderly Inuk was seen at the margins of the sea-ice near Pelly Bay preparing to leave for a caribou hunting excursion of several day’s duration. Unlike most Inuit today, he was setting out by dog-team, his seven dogs panting and chafing at their traces, eager to be off. The hunter was clothed from head to toe in caribou clothing: caribou kamiks (moccasins) lined with caribou socks with the hair facing in, caribou pants, caribou parka, and elbow-length caribou mitts. On his sled were the bare minimum of supplies: a snow knife, stove, two pots, a sleeping bag, caribou skins, bullets, tea, sugar, and salt. As the author approached this traditional scene to record it on film, the hunter leisurely lit a cigarette, smiled, and pulled back his hood to adjust the headset of his portable Sony Walkman. "Johnny Paycheck", he said, as he turned up the volume, cracked his whip, and sledged off into the morning ice-fog.

For the past several centuries one of the themes of Canadian history has been the clash of indigenous
cultures with a dominating Euro-american industrial culture-complex. In many cases it has been the native peoples who have felt the inevitable consequences of such contact, and it is their cultures that have had to adapt. All native cultures within Canada have felt the impact of the now-dominant society upon many aspects of their daily lives. No native group in Canada now lives within a world unaltered by the changes wrought by contact. The world has shrunk considerably, and for the native peoples of this country the changes have occurred exponentially faster and faster, until constant and unpredictable change is, in itself, a dominant theme in day-to-day life. No native settlement, however isolated, is today immune from the all-pervading effects of these changes. Aboriginal traditions, languages, life-styles, and cultures are in a constant state of flux, readjusting at all times to the influences of externally-imposed stimuli. No native community today is beyond the impact of microwaves, satellite communications, gasoline engines, alcohol, or the country music of Johnny Paycheck.

Yet cultures, to be alive and vital, are continually in a process of change. Cultures are adaptable, and all cultures have had to cope, at one time or another, with externally imposed variables. What differentiates the native peoples of Canada from the dominant society is
the rate of those changes, and the fact that these changes were brought to them, without their full realization or permission, on their home territories.

Native cultures today are a blend of the old and the new. Along a continuum, all can be said to have given up some elements of the original culture, retained others, and synthesized aspects which are totally new. Culture adapts to situation, situations change, and it follows that cultures, too, must change over time to adapt. Yet culture, for those who continue to view themselves as a distinct and separate people, remains a vital part of the process of self-identification. Culture, to native people today, is an adaptation to present-day influences of who they are, not who they have been. Tradition is important, but in a world in which change is a constant facet of life, once a tradition becomes an accepted part of a culture it matters not whether it was adapted in the past decade, the past century, or the past millennium. Who is to say that a button blanket, a beaded jacket, a trapline, or bannock are not parts of present-day native culture? Who can say whether a sweat lodge covered with a plastic tarp is or is no less of a sweat lodge? Is a native person following the traditional pursuit of hunting, armed with a modern high-powered rifle and telescope, and listening to country music, any less of a native in today's native
culture? Adaptation to externally enforced stimuli is a hallmark of all cultures, and this is evident in the culture that has evolved through the years of contact for the Inuit of Pelly Bay.

Pelly Bay Inuit Culture Today:
A Brief Overview

For the Inuit people of Pelly Bay, the Arvilingmiut, cultural change as a result of external stimuli has always been a factor of life. The pace of this change, however, has increased significantly over time, especially since the advent of contact with Euro-american influences, until today it is a dominant theme in daily life. Elders alive today, who were quite literally born in the stone age, have entered and adapted to the atomic age in a fragment of a single lifetime. Elders who were taught to fashion stone tools as youngsters now while away their retirement time playing Nintendo games, zapping electronic bugs on a television screen. Inuit senior citizens, who had no comprehension of the existence a written language for the better part of their lifetimes, are now having to fill out their T-1 General income tax forms on time. Grandparents, who speak only Inuktitut, cannot talk with their grandchildren, who speak only English. Inuit
hunters now routinely carry rifles, ride snowmobiles, eat chocolate bars, listen to country music on headphones, and return early to watch the hockey game on television.

Yet, although the Inuit culture has changed its form over time it still exists as a vital force within the community of Pelly Bay. The Inuit have been able to adapt to what they perceive as the beneficial aspects of the dominant culture. To their forefathers the material advantages of steel knives over stone, of bullets over arrows, and of flint and steel firestarters over friction were readily apparent. Over the years more and more modern material technology appeared from afar, and, if its value was evident, replaced the traditional. In many ways aspects of this new material culture made life easier. The elders are unanimous. They have lived both in the past and in the present. They agree that igloos were cold and that they dripped, that tents were cramped and drafty, and that children and adults died early deaths with alarming frequency in the past. They have enjoyed the use of boats and skidoos and rifles and nets and all of the accoutrements that have made life as an Inuk considerably easier. Not one elder alive in the settlement today would want to trade life today for a life in the past.

Material culture, however, in itself is not the total
of technology. Technology is, rather, only a part of an overall adaptive strategy. It is not the tools or equipment themselves, but the knowledge of how to put them to use, that is important to survival. Technology itself has two parts: the material and the mental. As Miles Richardson (1974) states in his introduction to a collection of essays on material culture, "The Human Mirror"; "Tools, concepts and language are all made of the same stuff; all are symbols taken out of the mind and impressed onto material, behavior, or sound waves..." (Ridington, 1990: 85). Technology is the symphony, the artifacts merely the instruments. Technology, both artifice and artifact, reveals the world-view, the mind-set, the philosophy a people uses to perceive the world. Pelly Bay Inuit culture has changed, adapted to, and incorporated new technology over the years. The dichotomy of technology, however, must be remembered. The thesis has focused upon place-names, and their present-day application in the yearly round of land-use activities. They are the artifacts and, while important, it is not the place-names themselves, but rather the knowledge of how to use them, the inter-relationships between them and the many other aspects of the harvestable environment, that are of importance. The sum of the cultural world-view is greater than the parts.
Christianity has come to the Arvilingmiut, as has education, health care, local democratic government, a cash economy, and permanent housing. They have all been assimilated in turn. Alcohol, dental caries, tobacco, tuberculosis, crime, and AIDS have also arrived, and have had to be rationalized. Yet the Inuit culture, for all of its external challenges, has adapted. Although it has changed, is at this time changing, and will, in all likelihood, continue to evolve rapidly, it is still alive and vibrant as the present-day culture and world-view of the Inuit of Pelly Bay.

Summary of Thesis Precepts

For the present-day Inuit of Pelly Bay cultural ties to the land and sea remain strong. There are cultural reason to go out on-the-land, beyond the necessity of returning a material harvest of resources. This link with the land is among the strongest remaining adaptations of the traditional culture, and continually draws the Inuit to its bounty. Many other things may have changed; the land has not. It is still there, essentially as it has been for generations past. It has not, at least as of this writing, been ceded, leased, or sold, or otherwise alienated, and remains the Inuit birthright. The land remains, just outside of the
doorways of the houses of the people of Pelly Bay, and it beckons to the cultural soul of the Inuit to partake of its benefits. There is a particular perception of the landscape for the Inuit: the land exists physically, yet there is also a irrepressible cultural component. To be out on-the-land is to feel pride in being Inuit: to feel a part of the land is to feel a part of the culture. As the elders state, to use the land, and to use it wisely, is to be and to feel "Inuimaruit", "the real Inuit".

The thesis has demonstrated that the Inuit of Pelly Bay continue to use the surrounding landscape extensively, throughout all seasons. The thesis has explored the Inuit perception of that particular landscape, and detailed many of the facets of this unique perception. Of particular concern has been the examination of the place-names that the Inuit apply to the various named features of the landscape. Through analysis of the origins, location, and meanings of these place-names, a detailed description of how the Inuit of Pelly Bay perceive their local landscape has emerged. By understanding the nature and extent of this perception we can come close to seeing this landscape through Inuit eyes. The interpreted meanings are the key to the reading of the Inuit perception of the landscape. The text may be read by those who are their initiates.

The maps at the end of the thesis (Figures 21 and 22)
serve to show the sum total of collected place-names for the area presently used by the Inuit of Pelly Bay. They serve to best illustrate the primary argument of the thesis, that is: that a system of topographic organization of the landscape of the study area exists. These maps represent, in spatial terms, the landscape as perceived by the present-day elders and active land-users of the community. They are included as a summary of the thesis premises, and graphically represent the proof of the argument that such a topographic organization exists. While the place-names and their meanings are the visible and identifiable manifestations of the material culture of the present-day Arvilingmiut, it must be remembered that they are but a small part of the whole. It is not the place-names themselves, but their locational interrelationships one to another, and to the other aspects of the Inuit culture, that are important in establishing the thread of the argument of the thesis. The world view of the Inuit of Pelly Bay includes these features, but to travel on-the-land among them requires the appropriate cultural mind-set attuned to many other variables. To travel in the Inuit mode requires, at least in part, an acceptance of the cultural perception of the landscape identified in the main body of the text.
Travel throughout this landscape is of a nature far different than that of the rest of the regions of the world. The pages of the history of arctic exploration are replete with examples of the fates of those who were unprepared for its rigors, or uninitiated to its mysteries. Many men have lost their lives in these realms as a result of a lack of local knowledge. Yet, if they had paid more heed to the Inuit way of life, they need not have perished at all (Berton, 1988). The Inuit have perfected the ways of travel in those areas that they occupy. They best know the land around them, and are willing to share its secrets. We need not devise new methods of surface travel and navigation for arctic regions, for these, at least in the Inuit mode, have already been perfected. The thesis demonstrates that one such comprehensive system of topographic organization of the landscape, a functional form of navigation, exists and continues to be utilized in practice by the Inuit of Pelly Bay, N.W.T.

Conclusion

The thesis has demonstrated that a local toponymy of the area of land-use for the Inuit of the settlement of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. exists and is in current usage. Furthermore, a local knowledge of these named places and
their relative locations each to the other, combined with several supplemental techniques, forms a reliable method of navigation for the study area. These methods of navigation, utilizing the local Inuit perception of the landscape, and incorporating the appropriate mind-set, can be effectively used by anyone familiar with them for travel within the study area.

Implications of the Thesis

Although many of the cultural traditions associated with land-use practices have successfully adapted to the present day circumstances in the settlement of Pelly Bay, this situation is changing rapidly. The utilization of the practices and techniques outlined in the thesis requires the maintenance of present renewable resource yields, a desire on the part of younger Inuit to continue to harvest these resources, and the persistence of Inuktitut as a living and vibrant language. Sadly, many of these preconditions are now in danger of disappearing. Externally imposed elements such as the presence of industrial pollution, as well as increasing pressure upon resources as a result of a rapidly increasing local population, are beginning to have their impact upon the surrounding landscape. The tundra ecosystem is a fragile one, and can be easily disrupted.
While many of the adults of the settlement continue to harvest the resources of the landscape, the younger generations of Inuit are beginning to show a lack of interest in such activities. Many of the younger members of the community are now falling between the cracks of the safety nets of both local economies. Many do not have the education or job skills necessary to compete effectively within the modern cash economy, nor do they have the land-skills and experience needed to participate successfully in the traditional land-based economy. The young people of Pelly Bay are also in danger of losing the Inuktitut language, as English is becoming more and more commonplace.

The elders of Pelly Bay are becoming worried about these tendencies, and more and more of the adults and local decision makers are voicing their concerns in these regards. The traditional ways of life are passing quickly, too quickly for most, and the changes that have become the norm are now being seriously questioned. It is no mere coincidence that this willingness to challenge the externally imposed forces of change, which until now have been viewed largely as being random and beyond control, has coincided with the growth of local, regional, territorial, national, and international Inuit political movements (Duffey, 1988).

The Inuit have never been conquered, signed treaties,
or ceded control over their land to any external organizations or government. They are only now, through the comprehensive land-claims procedure, negotiating their entry into, and their political future within, the bounds of Canadian Confederation. The Inuit, through their various negotiating committees, are only now beginning to assume some degree of real control over the changes that have characterized their lives within human memory. In order to negotiate with the Government of Canada the Inuit must establish a legal claim to the land that they occupy (McCullum, 1975). One way to do this is to document the nature and extent of continuous usage, to demonstrate clearly that the landscape has been, and continues to be, a source of livelihood (Muller-Wille, 1983). In this regard there is some urgency to the present collection of Inuktitut toponyms for all areas of Inuit occupation and land-use: for if you are the first to name a place, and if that name is perpetuated by continuous usage, is not usurped by another place-name, and is still used and recognized in practice today, then it can be conclusively demonstrated that that place is effectively yours.
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Appendix 1

Physical Features, Surface Ecology, and Related Maps of the Study Area.

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2) Figure 16, Surface Geology.........................204
3) Figure 17, Glaciology..............................205
4) Figure 18, Ecodistricts............................206
5) Description and Key for Ecodistricts..............207
Physiographic Regions of the Study Area:

- Canadian Shield, Kazan Region, Boothia Plateau
- Borderlands, Arctic Lowlands, Boothia Plain
- Shield and Borderlands Boundary
Surface Geology of the Study Area: (in descending ages)

**Palaezoic Era** (230 - 700 million years ago):
- Ordovician and Silurian ........................................

**Precambrian Time** (700 - 3,800 million years ago):
- Proterozoic (Aphebian) Gniess and Schist ...............
- Proterozoic (Aphebian) Amphibolite, Metamorphosed ....
- Archaean and/or Proterozoic Metamorphosed Granitics...
- Archaean Metamorphosed Granitic Gniess .................
- Archaean, Metamorphosed Volcanic Crystalline Basement.
Glacial Map of the Study Area:

- Area of Wisconsin (last) Glaciation, mainly ground moraine.

- Area of Maximum Marine Overlap, primarily marine residues and raised beaches.

- Prominent Eskers, Kames, and Kame Complexes, (shown in white)

- Glacial Striation, with direction indicated.
ECODISTRICTS OF THE STUDY AREA

(See Key on following pages)

Figure 18

Harrison Islands

Gulf of Boothia

Simpson Peninsula

Pelly Bay
Ecodistricts of the Study Area, Description and Key:

1. Rolling, dissected, rocky uplands and islands of metamorphic granite bedrock with pockets of thin moraine deposits. Ice wedge polygons may be found in interior areas, and marine gravel deposits are common in low lying areas along the coasts. The relief, in most areas, is moderate (20-50 m.), but locally rugged. The areas to the south of Pelly Bay, however, are exceptionally rugged, nearly mountainous, with local relief to over 300 meters.

This area is essentially devoid of vegetation with the exception of lichen. Some grasses and shrubs may be found in protected wet sites. Lakes, which cover approximately 15-20% of the surface area, tend to be small to medium (1-5 sq. km.) in size, relatively deep, and strongly bedrock controlled. Rivers and streams tend to flow east and south along bedrock fractures, and form deeply entrenched valleys.

This area supports small and scattered herds of barren-ground caribou, especially to the south of Pelly Bay. The cliffs and islands of this ecoregion provide safe nesting sites, and support large numbers of migratory birds during the spring and summer months. The offshore reaches provide prime habitat for ringed and bearded seals. The islands and coastal areas to the north and west of the Harrison Islands are important maternity denning areas for polar bears.

2. Nearly level coastal plain with marine deposits and numerous raised beaches over sedimentary bedrock. This area contains mainly glacial meltwater debris, including sorted and unsorted gravels, and a few eskers and kames, interspersed with bedrock exposures. Relief is generally moderate (up to 50 meters), with underlying bedrock hills in places reaching heights of 100-150 meters.

This area is the most barren in the Pelly Bay area. The gravel deposits support little vegetation. Some lichen can be found in low lying wet areas inland, with scrub sedges along the stream beds. Lakes cover less than 5% of this ecodistrict, and they are generally small (under 4 sq. kilometers).

There is very little wildlife in this area, although the coastal margins near the floe edge are used as polar bear maternity dens in winter.

3. Undulating plain with thin to moderate marine and moraine deposits over sedimentary bedrock. This is a relatively flat interior plain broken by bedrock outcroppings rising to 150 meters. Gravel deposits predominate, with numerous eskers and kame complexes.
Some sand, clay, and loam are present, and, in places, there is evidence of weak soils.

Approximately 10-15% of this area is covered by ponds and small lakes (under 10 sq. kilometers), with poorly developed, irregular drainage tending to the east and west. The area supports a very few small herds of caribou, but is important as a waterfowl habitat.

4. Rocky uplands with thin moraine deposits and frequent granite bedrock outcrops, typical of the Canadian Shield. Some weakly developed soils are found between outcrops, providing a base for herb-lichen, herb-sedge, and herb biomes. Many small lakes, and their in and outflows, are oriented along bedrock fractures. One large water body, Burwash Lake (over 15 sq. kilometers), is located in this area.

This area is ideal winter range for barren-land caribou, and is visited by Inuit primarily for this harvest. The steep cliffs also provide a nesting habitat for raptors.

5. Coastal plain sloping gently to the shores of Keith and Committee Bays. This area has deep marine sediments and glacial outwash deposits, as well as many raised beaches. Relief is very low, with the exception of deeply incised gullies running from inland to the coast. Sedimentary bedrock outcroppings are common. Drainage is generally poor, and surface water tends to form numerous small ponds.

This area supports discontinuous lichen-moss-shrub complexes, and is an important habitat for barren-ground caribou, waterfowl, and shore birds. The offshore areas have a thriving population of seals. Due to the distance from the settlement of Pelly Bay this area is rarely harvested at present.

6. Level to undulating lowlands and valleys with thick eroded marine deposits, fluvial outwash deposits, and isolated pockets of shallow moraine over pre cambrian bedrock. Some parts of this area exhibit knob-and-kettle topography as a result of glaciation. Generally flat to rolling, the relief in this area can be locally rugged, with many fluvially eroded valleys. This area is well drained by a complex dendritic pattern, resulting in few lakes that last throughout the summer. Much of the surface runoff is directed into the Kellett and Arrowsmith River systems.

This area supports discontinuous moss-lichen and trailing shrub vegetation on weak soils that have developed on stable slopes. It is an important habitat for barren-ground caribou, and is harvested regularly by Pelly Bay hunters in late fall and early spring. It also
a nesting area for waterfowl, shore birds, and glaucous gulls. Seals may be found offshore, especially during the spring and fall arctic char runs.

7. Simpson Lake valley and plain. This micro-ecodistrict is a great valley, with rugged slopes and cliffs, but with a gentle bottom dominated by Simpson Lake. Both the lesser slopes and the valley bottom have thin morainic soils, rather well developed for this region, and support discontinuous tussock cover with mosses and lichens, and some sedge growth. This is a major nesting area for waterfowl during the spring and summer months, but is now seldom harvested.

8. Rolling and hilly uplands, mainly shallow moraine, boulder fields, and precambrian shield outcroppings. The active layer is primarily composed of marine sands over glacial till, producing weak soils in places. Sorted gravel deposits are common, especially eskers, which run southwest to northeast. The area is poorly drained, with many stagnant, shallow, small lakes and ponds. The rivers and streams are poorly organized, and tend to follow bedrock fractures. Relief is moderate, but can be locally rugged.

Vegetation is relatively sparse, with moss and lichen predominating. In some lower-lying areas with favorable slopes there is sedge-moss cover, and some low trailing willow shrub patches.

This is a habitat for barren-ground caribou, and also a nesting area for waterfowl and raptors. The rugged nature of the terrain, as well as the relative absence of riverine travel corridors, precludes easy surface travel in this area. This, combined with relatively low concentrations of game, has resulted in few visits to the area by Pelly Bay harvesters in recent years.

- Information regarding these ecodistrict classifications is adapted from maps 57A (Pelly Bay) and 57D (Harrison Islands), Land Use and Information Series, Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, 1983.
Appendix 2

Background Information and Data Pertaining to the Enclosed Toponyms

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6) Short List of Toponymy Informants ........... 216
7) Names, Addresses, and Other Information Regarding Toponymy Informants ................. 217
Introduction

This toponymy of the area bounded by Latitudes 68.00 N. to 70.00 N, and Longitudes 88.00 W. to 92.00 W., contains 187 Arvilingmiut Inuktitut place-names in current and general usage among the Inuit of the hamlet of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. Twenty-six of these place-names have been previously labelled on their respective topographic mapsheets in English, but are commonly referred to by the local Inuit using Inuktitut toponyms. All of the toponyms collected by this research are new, and previously unlisted in the gazetteers of this area. These place-names may now, if officially approved, be appended to any future editions of the two topographic mapsheets covering this area.

The information presented in this toponymy pertains to physical geographic features which can clearly be identified from the surface as navigational landmarks, and as sites of long-term local Inuit land use and occupancy. All sites are within the confines of two topographic mapsheets published by the Department of Energy, Mines, and Resources of the Government of Canada. These two mapsheets, which were used as the base maps for this toponymy, are;


The information contained within this toponymy has been vetted against all other topographic mapsheets of the regions publicly available, at all other scales, and has been found to be accurate. Photographically reduced versions of these base maps have been included with this publication.

Rationale

The material within this local toponymy was collected during the months of June and July of 1988, in and about the hamlet of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. The author had spent the previous three years as a teacher and resident in Pelly Bay, prior to returning to graduate school. Many week-ends and holidays during this time were spent out on the land with local Inuit. Much of the landscape described within this toponymy has been experienced as a result of personal observation. This toponymy forms a basis of the research component of a M.A. Thesis in Geography at the University of British Columbia.
The Community

Pelly Bay is a somewhat unique settlement within the Northwest Territories, in that the aboriginal Arvilingmiut Inuit presently living there were among the last native people in Canada to experience the influence of continuous and prolonged outside Euro-American contact. Pelly Bay is inaccessible by sea at any time of the year. The eastward flow of multi-year pack ice from the Beaufort Sea and the Gulf of Boothia precludes open-ocean navigation to this particular area of the arctic. Pelly Bay is one of the two Canadian Arctic communities that can not be presently serviced by barge transportation on a regular basis (the other being Grise Fiord, N.W.T.). Every (outside) commodity in Pelly Bay must be flown in to the airport, at considerable expense. There is a great deal of reliance by local Inuit upon the traditional lifestyle and livelihood, albeit supplemented with such modern additions as rifles, canvas tents, fossil fuels, and skidoos. As a result, Pelly Bay has remained, to this day, as the model of a community in which the traditional Inuit land skills have remained virtually intact. Inuktitut is still the primary language of Pelly Bay, and going out on the land is still the most important economic activity. Country food is in this, the (arguably) most isolated Inuit settlement in the Northwest Territories, the most important source of sustenance presently available. The hunters and fishermen who gather these resources are still considered to be the primary sources of food and livelihood for their families and kin. They are regarded as "Innumiaruit" (the "real Inuit") and are respected, as in traditional times, as the "people who use the land well". It is these "Innumiaruit", primarily the elders and senior hunters of Pelly Bay, who have furnished the place-names for this toponymy. They are the ones who, through continuous usage and occupancy, are most familiar with the land and resources that their forebears have effectively used and occupied for many successive generations.

This particular area was generally by-passed by early European and American explorers intent on seeking an all-water route leading to a northwest passage around the North American landmass. In the early 1830's the English explorer, Captain (Sir) John Ross, made a passage close enough to these Arvilingmiut Inuit homelands to desert his ships, the H.M.S. Victory and H.M.S. Krusenstern, to the elements. These gifts were speedily and readily utilized by the local Inuit, effectively propelling them from the 'stone age' to the 'iron age' overnight. Other than brief contacts with passing explorers and Franklin search parties, the
Arvilingmiut Inuit of Pelly Bay were spared any further continuous contact with 'outside' civilization until the arrival of the Roman Catholic missionary priest, Fr. Pierre Henri, O.M.I. (Kajuallik), in the mid 1930's. Although a small stone church and rectory were built at the site of the present-day community of Pelly Bay, Fr. Henri and his Roman Catholic missionary successors remained the only permanent 'outside' influences in this area until the early 1960's.

The origins of the movement to permanent full-time residence of local Inuit within the settlement of Pelly Bay can be found both in the federal government initiatives to centralize social services, and in the availability of readily accessible cast-off building materials from the nearby D.E.W. Line garbage dump. Pelly Bay was one of the last communities to be formally established as such in the N.W.T., and dates (officially) only from the construction of the first government building in 1961. Prior to the establishment of the settlement, the Arvilingmiut Inuit of this area spent all of their time living on the land, and engaged in traditional economic pursuits. Many, if not most, of the Inuit of Pelly Bay, still spend a significant part of the year engaged in these activities.

Methodology

Prior to the early 1960's, the majority of Arvilingmiut Inuit in the Pelly Bay area lived a full-time life on the land, in much the same way as they and their forebears had done for many generations. The perception of (local) environment was very much a working knowledge of the land, accumulated by collective experience, and passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. The movement to permanent, year-round residence within the settlement of Pelly Bay is a relatively recent phenomena, especially within the memories of the elder residents. Many of these elders were born, raised, married, and lived a good part of their adult lives engaged in a traditional nomadic hunting-and-gathering lifestyle. The living elders are a direct link to the Arvilingmiut Inuit knowledge of the land that their fathers and forefathers used and occupied. These elders, and the knowledge and wisdom which they possess, are still very much acknowledged and respected within the hamlet of Pelly Bay.

At the beginning of this study a decision was made to consult with and interview the male elders of the community, beginning with the eldest and working downwards in age chronologically. Twelve such elders were selected, involved, interviewed, and have made significant contributions to this toponymy. A list of
these informants is included, and each toponymic entry is credited accordingly by number. The current address, and other relevant information, of each informant is provided for purposes of authentication or verification of data.

Each informant in this study was interviewed several times, either at their own homes, their camps out on the land, or at the study office in Pelly Bay. Each elder was initially presented with a topographic mapsheet of the region, at the scale of 1:250,000, and invited to talk about various places that he was familiar with. Through a series of questions and comments the discussion was directed to specific aspects of traditional knowledge, and, ultimately, to the place-names of the specific sites involved in this toponymy. All of the informants were very adept at locating places and physical features on the maps, and could interpret them from any side or, indeed, upside-down. None of the informants were able to speak, read, or write in English. They were therefore not distracted by the previously recorded English place-names already published on the maps presented to them. As none of the informants could speak English, a translator was hired and was present for all interviews. Where possible, all interviews were tape recorded, with translations, for purposes of recollection and authentication. Over forty-five hours of such recordings were collected during the fieldwork sessions of this study.

As the interviews progressed certain place-names were corroborated many times. Each informant worked with an unmarked map, and was unaware of the place-names presented by other elders. Each place-name in this toponymy has been independently confirmed for both name and (exact) location by at least three elders, and credit is given for each entry (numerically) accordingly. Entries that could not be independently verified by at least three sources have not been included, as have place-names on other map sheets.

This toponymy was cross-referenced with an unpublished manuscript entitled "Geographic Lexicon of Eskimo Place Names for the Area Surrounding Pelly Bay", by Fr. Franz Van de Velde, O.M.I., filed as a report with the Geographic Names Secretariat, Ottawa, and also with the Archives Deschatelets (175, Rue Main, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 1C3). This work, completed during the years 1937-59, while Fr. Van de Velde was the resident Roman Catholic priest at the Pelly Bay mission, was originally prepared in French, but an English translation was used for the purposes of this research. While some of the locations on this toponymy have proven to be difficult to locate accurately, 312 of the 662 Inuit place-names
listed by Fr. Van de Velde were given official recognition by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Place Names in 1984, and now appear on the topographic maps of a wide area. With the exception of one suggested correction, those Inuktitut place names already on the maps of the study area were excluded from this toponymy. Credit is given, however, to cross-references in Fr. Van de Velde’s toponymy for many entries accordingly.

Orthography

As there is currently no uniform, standard orthography in recognized and widespread use for all of the many dialects of Inuktitut across the circumpolar world, the translations contained in this toponymy are literal approximations based on the phonetic written Inuktitut syllabic alphabet, as in current usage by the N.W.T. Translator Corps, and taught in the Inuktitut Language Programme of the Department of Education of the Government of the Northwest Territories. "A New Inuit Orthography for Geographical Names" (Stevenson, 1978), the result of the Third United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names held in Athens, 1977, was used as the standard throughout.

In many cases a second, or even third English phonetic translation of a particular toponym has been included. The initial translations of place-names have been made in conjunction with the translator hired for this project, and are considered to be the most reasonably accurate. Many, if not most, of the translations have been vetted by Fr. Joseph Meeus, O.M.I., the present, resident Roman Catholic priest in Pelly Bay, and a man well versed in the Arvilingmiut dialect of Inuktitut. A computerized spelling-checker has been programmed and utilized to provide consistency in the translations from Inuktitut.
Toponymy Informants: Pelly Bay, N.W.T.; (Short List)

1. Kutsiuhtkku, Pauli; b. ?/?/1911, age: 79 years.
2. Qayaqsaag, Timothy; b. ?/?/1914, age: 76 years.
3. Qaggutag, Patrick; b. ?/?/1915, age: 75 years.
4. Oogaag, Fabian; b. ?/?/1919, age: 71 years.
5. Inuksaq, Simon; b. , age: 67 years.
6. Angutingunngiq, Jose; b. 7/06/1925, age: 64 years.
7. Apsaktaun, Otto; b. , age: 57.
8. Kakkianiun, Guy; b. , age: 55 years.
9. Anaittug, Augustine; b. , age: 54 years.
10. Akka, Gino; b. , age: 51 years.
11. Alakanuag, Ovide; b. , age: 51 years.
12. Anguti, Yvo; b. , age: 50 years.

Note: Entries in the enclosed Toponymies are keyed to this list of informants. At the end of each toponymic entry a reference is provided as to the corresponding numbers of the three elders that concurred upon its authenticity. All entries may thus be cross-referenced to insure accuracy of information.

In many instances there is a further reference made at the end of an entry to the work of Father Franz Van de Velde, O.M.I., who prepared the original toponomy of this area during the years 1937-59. Any cross-references to his work are credited accordingly.
Names, Addresses, and Other Information Regarding Toponymy Informants:

A total of twelve informants were involved in the collection and recording of the toponyms of this study. All are male, and all are regarded and respected as elders and life-long land-users within the community of Pelly Bay. These informants represent, in chronological order, the twelve eldest males currently living within the study area. They are:

1) Kutsiuhtkku, Pauli, b. ?/?/1911 (approx.), H. C. P. # 142-6790, Occupation: Retired Hunter. Phone: (403)-769-7801. Resident in the area for 79 years. Pauli was, at the time of writing, the oldest man in Pelly Bay. He does not speak English, although his son Mark may be called upon to translate for him.

2) Qayagsaag, Timothy, b. ?/?/1914 (approx.), H.C.P. # 142-6733, Occupation: Retired Hunter. Phone: (403)-769-7141. Resident in area for 76 years. He does not speak English, although his daughter Elizabeth may be called upon to translate for him.

3) Qaggutag, Patrick, b. ?/?/1915 (approx.), H.C.P. # 142-5768, Occupation: Retired Hunter. Phone: (403)-769-6471. Resident in area for 75 years. He does not speak English, although his son Ema may be called upon to translate for him.

4) Oogaag, Fabian, b. ?/?/1919 (approx.), H.C.P. # 142-7111, Occupation: Retired Hunter / Part-time Cultural Inclusion (Traditional Land Skills) Instructor at Kugaardjuk School, Pelly Bay. Phone: none. Resident in area for 71 years. He does not speak English, although his son Eric may be called upon to translate for him. Eric may be reached during working hours at the office of the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association, tel. (403)-769-7411.

5) Inugsaq, Simon, b. 31/03/1923, H.C.P. # 142-6550, Occupation: Retired Hunter. Phone: none. Resident in area for 67 years. He does not speak English, although his son Bosco may be called upon to translate for him.

6) Angutingungniiq, Jose, b. 7/05 or 7/06/1925, H.C.P. # 142-6261, Occupation: Heavy Equipment Operator. Phone: none, but may be contacted through the office of his son, Makabe, currently Mayor of Pelly Bay, at (403)-769-6281 or (403)-769-7442. Resident in area for 64 years. He does not speak English, although his son Makabe, or any of his other children, may be called upon
to translate for him.

7) **Apsaktaun, Otto**, b. 01/07/1932, H.C.P. # 142-6444, Occupation: Hamlet Council Employee. Phone: (403)-769-7803. Resident in area for 57 years. He does not speak English, although his son Teddy, or his daughter-in-law Laetitia may be called upon to translate for him.

8) **Kakkianiuq, Guy**, b. 20/08/1934, H.C.P. # 142-6691, Occupation: Hunter / Chairman of Local Education Authority / Member of Tungavut Federation of Nunavut Land Claims Commission. Phone: (403)-769-6481. Resident in area for 55 years. He does not speak English, although his son Etienne may be called upon to translate for him.

9) **Anaittuq, Augustine**, b. 25/09/1935, H.C.P. # 142-6196, Occupation: Hunter / Carver. Phone: none, but may be contacted through the Hamlet Council Office at (403)-769-6281. Resident in area for 54 years. He does not speak English, although his son Francis, or his daughter-in-law Cathy may be called upon to translate for him.

10) **Akka, Gino**, b. 10/08/1938, H.C.P. # 192-9504, Occupation: Pelly Bay Housing Association Employee. Phone: (403)-873-6904. Resident in area for 51 years. He does not speak English, although his son David may be called upon to translate for him.

11) **Alakanuaq (or Allakannuaq), Ovide**, b. 25/12/1938, H.C.P. # 142-6352, Occupation: Coop Mechanic / Member of Various Committees. The former Mayor of Pelly Bay. Phone: (403)-769-7503. Resident in area for 51 years. He does not speak English, although any of his children can be called upon to translate for him.

12) **Anguti, Yvo**, b. 26/05/1939, H.C.P. # 142-6402, Occupation: Hunter. Phone: none. Resident in area for 50 years. He does not speak English, although his son Cedrik may be called upon to translate for him.

*Note*: at least three of these informants, as indicated in the section of Appendix 2 relating to Methodology, have concurred on the validity of each entry in the toponymies included. They may each be contacted personally in order to verify the authenticity of the data involved. The author takes personal responsibility for any errors or omissions that may have occurred in the compilation of the data provided to the study by these elders.
Appendix 3

Pelly Bay Mapsheet Toponymy

1) Pelly Bay Mapsheet and Key to the Numbering Sequence Used in the Toponymy..................220

2) Toponymy of Inuktitut Place Names, Origins, and Their Translated Meanings: Pelly Bay Mapsheet.....222
Toponymy Key:

Pelly Bay Mapsheet

District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories

Map 57 A, Edition 2, Scale 1:250,000

Energy, Mines and Resources, Canada

Published 1987.
New Inuktitut Names and Inuktitut Names of Places
Formerly Named in English Only on this Mapsheet: (NOTE: a * before the name designates it as being the Inuktitut name of a place which is already identified on the map in English)

1) * AKKULIQ, (or AKUDLIQ or AKULIK), (Bay, Sea),
Lat. (approx.) 67,10 N. to Lat. (approx.) 78,00 N.; Lat. (approx.) 85,00 W. to Lat. (approx.) 94,00 W.; means "salt water"; the Arvilingmiut Inuktitut name for Committee Bay, the Gulf of Boothia, Prince Regent Inlet, Franklin Straight, and other sea-water bodies surrounding their homelands. This name refers generally to any body of salt water or ocean. (See also Van de Velde # 5) (Informants 6, 8, and 11).

2) AMAARTUK KUUGA, (River), flowing from Amaartuk Lake (on map) at Lat. 68,15, Long. 89,05, to Keith Bay (on map); means "the river that flows from Amaartuk (Lake)". There are several old "sapputit" (stone fish weirs) along the course of this river. In recent years a small survival cabin has been erected approximately five kilometers from its mouth by the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association, although its maintenance has been somewhat neglected. This area is not used a great deal, although Guy Kakkianiuq, his family, and (occasionally) several other families come here for spring fishing. (Informants 8, 6, and 2).

3) * AMAARTUK PAANGA, (River Mouth and Bay), Lat. 68,14 N. to Lat. 68,23 N., Long. 88,10 W. to Long. 88,22 W.; means "the body of salt water at the mouth of the Amaartuk (River)". This term refers more specifically to the mouth of the "Amaartuk" (River), while the northern arm of "Akkulig" (Committee Bay), named Keith Bay in English, is referred to as AMAARTUK KANGERSLUK (meaning "the Bay of the Amaartuk River) in Inuktitut. A DEW Line station was built on the east side of this bay in the 1950's but has been long abandoned. Several of the first permanent buildings in the Pelly Bay townsite, including the old Coop store and garage, were transported by cat-train from this site in the mid-1960's. Traces of the DEW Line station remain, including the airstrip which is still occasionally used by small aircraft equipped with tundra tires. (See also Van de Velde # 449) (Informants 8, 12, and 1).

4) ANGUIAKTURVIK (or ANGUIAKTUVIQ, or ANGUIAKTURVIQ),
(Bay, in "Tasserdjua'ark", Barrow, or DEW Line Lake), Lat. 68.26 N., Long. 89.37 E.; means "a place where you catch what you eat", with the suffix "turvik" meaning "a place to eat something". A DEW Line station was built here in the late 1950's, and (as of 1990) is still in operation. An ice landing strip has been built here during several of the winter seasons to transport materials in and out using large military aircraft. Prior to the arrival of the DEW Line station this spot was used frequently for spring and summer fishing. At present the Inuit prefer to fish at locations farther south on the lake. "Tasserdjua'ark", or Barrow Lake, is readily accessible by snowmobile in wintertime or by all-terrain vehicle in summer. Occasionally people still walk overland from the townsite to this lake. (Informants 1, 2, and 6).

5) **ANGUT KUUG**, (River), Lat. 68.31 N., Long. 88.43 E.; means "little boy's river". (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

6) * AREARK (or AGHEARK), (Lake), Lat. 68.31 N. to Lat. 68.38 N., Long. 91.16 W. to Long. 92 W., the Inuktitut name for Simpson Lake; means "the longest lake". A smaller lake, "Kuutsinaaq" (or "Kuutsineark"), at Lat. 68.31 N, Long. 91.17 W., flows into the eastern end of "Areark" (or Simpson Lake). The name of this smaller lake means "it is above Areark" or "it flows downhill into Areark". Because of its suffix it can be considered to be a part of "Areark". The term "Areark" is sometimes used to designate this general area, particularly the valley portions. The ground cover in this area consists primarily of sand and gravel with (comparatively) little vegetation. A DEW Line station was built on a flat plateau on the southern side of "Areark" (Simpson Lake) in the late 1950's, and abandoned in the mid-1960's. Much of what remained on this site after abandonment has been salvaged by the people of Pelly Bay and brought to the townsite. The airstrip is still usable by small aircraft equipped with tundra tires. (See Van de Velde # 36) (Informants 1, 7, and 12).

6A) * There is a second AREARK on this mapsheet, at Lat. 68.11 N. to Lat. 68 N.; Long. 89.22 W. to Long. 89.56 W. This is the Inuktitut name for Cameron Lake. In Inuktitut this also means "the longest lake". Below this lake the "Kuug" (Kellett River) has no major tributaries. This lake is sometimes differentiated from the other "Areark" by the prefix "Kuug", becoming, then, the KUUG AREARK (translated literally as "the longest lake on the far side of the preeminent river). (See Van de Velde # 37) (Informants 12, 7, and 1).
7) *ARIAKSLERK* (or *ARGIAGHLIT*), (Lake), the Inuktitut name for Ballenden Lake, Lat. 68,29 N. to Lat. 68,35 N.; Long. 88,31 W. to Long. 88,40 W.; means "little long stomach lake", although the meaning of the reference to stomach could not be precisely established by the informants. This, the furthest lake that drains into the "Kugajuk" (River), has and continues to be utilized as a fishing camp. (See Van de Velde #38) (Informants 10, 2, and 9).

8) *ARIA'AQ* (or *ARIA'AK* or *ARIA'ARK* or *ARIA'ARQ*), (lake-like part of the "Kuug" or Kellett River), Lat. 68,14 to Lat. 68,16, and Long. 89,34 to Long. 89,42; means "like a long lake". The "Kuug" (Kellett River) widens considerably in this area, there are several small sandbar islands in the middle, and, because of the reduced current (especially towards fall) it does indeed resemble a long, narrow lake. The lower reaches of the "Kuug" (Kellett River) have and continue to provide a major source of fish for the Inuit of the region. Most, if not all of the families in Pelly Bay establish a fish camp on the shores of the (lower) "Kuug" (Kellett River) at first freeze-up in the fall. Large boxes built of ice are constructed on the river, and the considerable numbers of fish taken from the nets are stored for winter use. On occasion a warm spell after first freeze-up causes the river to flow again, resulting in the loss of nets and fish, and preventing the Inuit camping on the far shores from travelling to the community until the river refreezes. (Informants 3, 4, and 11).

9) *ARVILIDJUARK* (or *ARVILIGDJUARK*, or *ARVILIGUAK*), (Bay), the Inuktitut name for Pelly Bay, Lat. 68,14 N. to Lat. (approx.) 69,20 N.; Long. 89,20 W. to Long. (approx.) 91,00 (at its widest); means "the large place where there are whales". Traditionally this bay was of primary importance to the Arvilingmiut Inuit of this region; it defined the center of their territories. The locations of most seasonal activities not carried out on the bay itself could be referred to in relation to this bay. From freeze-up to break-up Arvilingmiut Inuit life was conducted on the frozen surface of this bay, with spring and fall camps being on its shores where various rivers entered. Only in the brief summer months would those (generally younger) Inuks physically capable of carrying heavy loads walk inland in search of caribou and other land animals. "Inland" in this sense derives its meaning as being "away from the water", and thus is linked to the bay as its origin. The central place of this bay in local perception can be inferred by the name that the Inuit of this region have traditionally used to
refer to themselves in relation to outsiders: "Arvilingsmiut", which translates as "people of the bay".

There is some dispute among toponymic researchers as to the exact origin and translation of this name. Within living memory there have been only a very few whales in Pelly Bay. Nine narwhals were taken during the early fall of 1985. Five or six beluga whales were taken on one occasion during the mid-1970's, and there are only a few accounts among the informants of this survey relating to the sighting or harvesting of whales in previous years. Certainly, within living memory at least, whales of any species in this bay are a rare phenomena. The people who have lived in this and other regions close by have been referred to as "Metsilik", or "people of the seal" by most researchers of historic times. Indeed, for many generations, the seal, and not the whale, has been the predominant source of livelihood for the local Inuit. Why, then, is there a reference to whales in the naming of the preeminent geographical feature of the region?

According to Fr. Franz Van de Velde, O.M.I., who lived among and ministered to these people from 1937 to 1961, and who became one of the foremost linguists of Arvilingsmiut Inuktitut, the accurate translation should be "the large place where there are whales". In his toponymy of the Pelly Bay area he states of "Arvilidjuark" (sic); "This is the Eskimo place name for Pelly Bay. The abundance of whale bones in the area proves that the meaning given above is the correct one. The name is not linked, as has been claimed by Rasmussen among others, with islands resembling whales, because if this were so the Eskimo name would contain an infix signifying resemblance. Personally I have not yet found the supposed 'islands resembling whales'. Etymologically, the word Arvilidjuark definitely means that there are whales, although there are no longer any in the bay". (Van de Velde toponymy, # 29). Modern translations, as recorded by this researcher, of reliable and knowledgeable informants (elders) within the region, indicate that the origin of the word "Arvilidjuark" means precisely "the large place where there are whales". The abundance of whale bone on the shores of the area attest to the fact that there were whales in Arvilidjuark (Pelly Bay) in the past. It is the opinion of the informants of Pelly Bay that the name "Arvilidjuark" refers to the presence of whales at the actual (historic) time of naming. (See Van de Velde # 29) (Informants: 1, 2, and 4).

10) AVLIHANA'A, (or AVILIGHANA'AQ), (Whirlpool, Rapids), Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,26 W.; means "a place of a whirlpool". This curve in the "Kuug" (Kellett
River) has a powerful current. An object floating downstream will come close to shore and then move around in circles. This area can be dangerous for travel during freeze-up. As it is on the main travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay many people pass this way overland. They are advised to stay close to the shore at this point until well into the winter season. (Informants 6, 2, and 1).

11) HA'AKTUK (or HA'ATUQ, or SA'ATUQ), (Peninsula, general area), Lat. (approx.) 68,30 N. to Lat. 69,19 N.; Long. (approx.) 87,55 to Long. (approx.) 89,45 (at its widest extent); means "the flat part", specifically of a mainland area. This term is used to describe the general area on the northern part of Simpson Peninsula that is relatively flat and covered with gravel and small boulders. This area begins, in the south, at the point where the topography flattens out (approx. Lat. 68,45 N.), and ends at the northern point of Simpson Peninsula (called "Nuvakhilit", meaning "the point" in Inuktitut). In past years, generally prior to the mid-1930's, various families of Inuit would spend the summer months hunting caribou and fishing inland in this area. However, the caribou population appears to have declined in this area in the latter 1930's, and it has been utilized infrequently since that time. While this area was much frequented by polar bear hunters in the past, it is now utilized only sporadically. The local perception is that, in recent years, there are fewer polar bears denning in this region than in former times. It is now occasionally utilized as a spring and summer fishing area, and some rather large char and lake trout have been pulled from the waters of this area. (See Van de Velde # 478) (Informants 1, 3, and 4).

12) HAALGUQ (or HAALRUK), (Islands); the (generic) name for a flat, thin island. There are many islands in the area with this name. On this map sheet there are three: 1) Lat. 68,59 N.; Long. 89,47 W., 2) Lat. 68,35 N.; Long. 89,58 W., 3) Lat. 68,21 N.; Long. 90,03 W.; in all cases the meaning is the same: "a thin, flat island". (Informants 1, 2, and 7).

13) ICHU'UAQ, (Islands), Lat. 68,53 N.; Long. 89,22 W. to Long. 89,25 W.; means "the two little islands at the end", and refers to two small, flat islands at the north end of "Kighiktajuaq" (Helen Island), occasionally used as landmarks for spring sealing in the "Kangersluk" (meaning "inner bay") area. (Informants 1, 4, and 12).

14) IGAVAUT (or IGAWAUT), (Island), Lat. 68,36 N.; Long. 90,04 W.; means "a cooking place". This small island
quite far out in the bay is a good place to stop for soup or tea when crossing "Arvilidjuark" (Pelly Bay). Prior to the introduction of outboard motors this island was a welcome landfall and resting place for those paddling across the central portion of Pelly Bay. A large colony of arctic terns nests on this island during the summer months. Father Van de Velde built a small stone shrine, approximately two meters tall, as a marker beacon while delayed here by a summer storm in 1941. (See Van de Velde # 70) (Informants 1, 2, and 4).

15) *I'inarjuaq* (or INARDJUAQ), (Cliffs): Note; there are two locations on this mapsheet with this name, the first at Lat. 68,14 N., Long. 89,35 W., and a second at Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,24 W.; means "a cliff beside the river". Both of these locations are steep cliffs on the north side of the "Kuug" (Kellett River), are in areas utilized for fall fishing, and are landmarks on the main Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay travel corridor. As this is the common name for cliffs beside a river there are many more "I'inarjuaqs" in the surrounding regions. (Informants 6, 7, and 4).

16) *Ikedruardjuk*, (underwater Shoal), Lat. 68,41 N., Long. 90,20 W.; means "the small shoal". In winter this becomes a landmark because of the breaking of the ice surface by tidal action over the shoal. As a result of the unevenness of the surface, which tends to catch and hold wind-blown snow, this was a good place to build igloos, especially in the early winter when good igloo-building snow is hard to find on the smoother surfaces of the bay. Boaters are advised to be vigilant in this area in summer. At low tide the waves can be seen to break over these shoals. (Informants 1, 3, and 10).

17) *Ikhaktulik* (or IKKAARTALIK, or IKHAKTALIQ), (Beach, Campsite), Lat. 68,45 N., Long. 89,42 W.; means "where there are two rock piles (for storing a kayak)". In previous days a kayak was a valuable possession, and care was required to protect the edible skin covering from predators and dogs. Stone pillars were constructed in various locations for this purpose, two of which can still be found here. Nearby are the stone and whalebone remains of an old "Taunit" house. (See Van de Velde # 82) (Informants 1, 3, and 4).

18) *Ikpiik*, (Cliffs), Lat. 68,23 N., Long. 90,21 W.; means "place where there are clay cliffs". In past years the runners of sleds were glazed with mud. This was one of the prime sources for this material. There are several other sources for this material in the
region, and they, too, are called "Ikpiik". (Informants 4, 11, and 3).

19) **ILLUTU’UK** (or ILUTU’UR), (Valley), Lat. 68,17 N., Long. 89,47 W.; means "the big empty space". At this point on the "Kuug" (Kellett River) the steep clay banks converge to give the semblance of a large valley. This is, and traditionally has been quite a good spot for fall fishing. Every fall, upon freeze-up, there are several fish camps located here. This location is also one of the landmarks on the main Pelly Bay - Repulse Bay travel corridor. (See Van de Velde # 92) (Informants 6, 1, and 4).

20) * **IMMILIK** (or IMMILIQ), (Island), Lat. 68,16 N. to Lat. 68,18 N.; Long. 90,09 W. to Long. 90,14 W.; means "a place to drink water". There is a good supply of fresh water open or accessible until late in the year (called the "Immilik" or "drinking hole") at the small lake in the center of this island, which flows to the sea via a small stream. People often camp here, especially in the spring and summer. Numerous tent rings indicate that it has been a popular camping site for generations. (See Van de Velde # 102) (Informants 1, 6, and 5).

21) **IMINERQ** (or IMINERK), (Lakes), Lat. 68,23 N., Long. 90,23 W. to Long. 90,25 W.; means "water drains out". This series of small lakes fill with meltwater in the spring, but are emptied through a small stream flowing to the mouth of the "Kuug Uanaslerk" (Arrowsmith River) by mid-summer, forming mudflats. (Informants 1, 6, and 7).

22) **INERDJUIT KINGAIT** (or INERDUIT KINGAIT), (Mountains), Lat. 68,08 N. to Lat. 68,12 N.; Long. 89,15 W. to Long. 89,19 W.; means "the small mountains close to I’inarjuaq". The "I’inarjuaq" (translated as "a cliff beside the river") referred to is the southernmost one mentioned in # 15 of this toponymy, and, because it is the junction at which the main overland travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay meets the "Kuug" (Kellett River), it is a well recognized local landmark. The "Inerdjuit Kingait" (Mountains) should be to the north while travelling along this section of this travel corridor. A small and very narrow pass ("Naksarjuark", meaning "the big pass") exists between the northernmost hill ("Ikiturmattuq" Hill on the mapsheet) and the main part of "Inerdjuit Kingait", although it is seldom used. Must overland traffic in this region occurs to the south of "Inerdjuit Kingait" along the "Avalikuarjuk" (River). There is a small glacier, called "Nilakdjuaar’k"
(meaning "the big pile of ice", see # 71) on the eastern slope towards the center of this range. (Informants 6, 3, and 1).

23) **INIRJUARAJUQ** (or **INERJUARARJUK**, or **INNERDJUARAARDJUK**), (river Bend), Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,30 W.; means "the big little place where there are many traces of sleds having gone by". In the past most Arvilingmiut Inuit of the region would converge upon the "Kuug" (Kellett River) after fall freeze-up for fishing. The char were, and still are, plentiful at this time of year. During the run an ample supply of fish for winters use can be caught, flash-frozen, and stored in ice boxes on the river surface. There is a connotation with this name that it is "the right place for fall fishing". A family fishing here could virtually be assured of success. As well, because of its location both in the heart of prime fall fishing territory and on the main overland Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay trail, anyone camped here would see a lot of traffic go by: thus the reference to many sled tracks.

On August 11, 1940, a heavy rainstorm was recorded in this area. The elders of the community remember this storm, and agree that they have never seen a storm of such intensity. A great deal of rainfall fell in a short time, causing rapid flooding. The soft banks of the "Kuug" (Kellett River), as well as the gullies leading into it, were heavily eroded. The whole course and shape of the "Kuug" was changed as a result. Many local Inuit lost caches that they had made on what they thought was solid land along the rivers edge. Father Van de Velde has estimated the crest at more than three meters above normal levels. He records that the waters of "Arvilidjuark" (Pelly Bay) were muddy for thirty to forty kilometers north of the river mouth. All present-day informants who were alive at the time agree that the basic topography of "Inirjuarajuq" was altered considerably at this time, (See Van de Velde # 117) (Informants 1, 2, and 6).

24) *ITTIGUQ* (or *ITIGU*), (Cape), Lat. 68,14 N., Long. 88,09 W.; means "place of small cliffs", from the root "Ittiuk" which means "small cliffs"; the Inuktut name for Keith Bay. A DEW Line site was built here in the latter 1950's, and abandoned in the mid-1960's. Several buildings from this site were transported, after abandonment, by cat-train to the Pelly Bay townsite in its early years, including the first Coop store, the Coop garage, and material for various Catholic church buildings (see # 3). There are still remains of the DEW Line site in place, including the airstrip which is occasionally used by small aircraft equipped with tundra
tires. In former times this area was used for seal hunting along the floe edge in fall and early winter. It is seldom visited today. (See Van de Velde #147) (Informants 8, 5, and 6).

25) IVIAGANIUK (or IVIAGHANGNIUK, IVIENGERNAT, or IVIENGNERJAAQ), (pair of Hills), Lat. 68.29 N., Long. 91.17 W. to Long. 91.24 W.; means "shaped like a woman's breasts". These twin hills, which lie side by side and point upwards, bear a striking resemblance to their anatomical origin. They are one of the foremost landmarks in this area, and can be seen, on a clear day, from a distance of sixty kilometers away. They are one of the navigational landmarks to watch for on the overland corridor between Pelly Bay and Gjoa Haven. This name is also used locally to identify the area to the south of the upper reaches of "Areark" (Simpson Lake) and its source "Kuutsinaaq" (Lake, see #6). There are a number of "Iviaganiuks" in the Inuit culture realm; "Kugluktuk" (Coppermine, N.W.T.) is built on the northern slopes of a pair of hills with the same meaning. The Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik (Quebec, Canada) lists at least seventeen such places with the same origin (Muller-Wille, 1987). In actuality any two hills with this same configuration can be called, in Inuktitut or its various dialects, "Iviaganiuk". (See Van de Velde #662) (Informants 3, 2, and 9).

26) IVIANGNULIK (or IVIAGHANNULIK, IVIENGERNUAT, or IVIENGJUAQ), (Lake), Lat. 68.27 N., Long. 91.24 W.; means "the lake beside Iviaganiuk". A small, inland lake occasionally used for (spring) lake trout fishing. (Informants 2, 1, and 4).

27) IVIUKTUK (or IVIUKTUQ), (Lake), Lat. 68.17 N. to Lat. 68.20 N.; Long. 91.28 W. to Long. 91.43 W.; means "where there is good mud for sled runners". In previous years a source of good mud for the covering of sled runners was considered important, and this was one of the primary sources. The silt collected from the margins of this lake was considered as "prime" because of its resiliency. (See also # 18) (Informants 12, 2, and 6).

28) IVUNIRA'ARUQ (or IVUNERAARDJUK, or IVUNIGHA'ARUQ), (Island), Lat. 68.34 N., Long. 90.04 W.; means "place of frequent pack ice". It can be distinguished from its neighbor "Igavaut" (meaning "a cooking place", see #14) by the pack ice which frequently surrounds it and makes it completely inaccessible during the early summer to late fall. "IVUNIRA'ARUQ" (Island) is almost completely devoid of vegetation during most of the year. (See Van
29) **KA'ANGNAK** (or **KA'NAQ**), (River Junction), Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,23 W.; means "where a little river flows into a larger one". This particular "Ka'angnak" is at the point where the "Avalikuarjuk" (meaning "the river on the way to Repulse Bay") flows into the "Kuug" (Kellett River, whose translation is "the big or preeminent river"). This is a generic name for any place where a smaller river joins a larger one, and there are several other "Ka'angnaks" in the region. (See Van de Velde # 177) (Informants 6, 2, and 9).

30, (A and B). **KAERTUARDJUIT** (rock outcroppings), two locations in the same general area; one (A) at Lat. 68,20 N., Long. 90,18 W. (inland approximately one kilometer S.E. of "Tupikturvik" Point), and the second (B) at Lat. 68,14 N., Long. 90,14 W. (near the mouth of the "Niaqurnaarjuk" River); means "the only place where there are rocks". In this rather flat area at the lower end of Pelly Bay outcroppings of rock stand out prominently, and are useful as local landmarks. (Informants 4, 11, and 1).

31) * **KAIGIKLUT** (Bay), Lat. 68,38 N. to Lat. 68,46 N.; Long. 89,40 W. to Long. 89,52 (at its widest); means "the inner bay". This is the Inuktitut name for Login Bay, although it includes the area of water immediately north of this bay to the area between the northernmost point of "Kighiktajuaq" (Helen Island) and "Nuvuagjuk" Point. The relatively open and unprotected waters north of this point are referred to as "Kangersluk" (meaning "the bay inside the islands"). The waters of "Kaigiklut" are quite placid, and are a favorite summer sealing spot. This area quite often is free of ice in the spring before other areas. The melting spring ice frequently strands caribou on nearby "Kighiktajuaq" (Helen Island), and they are, consequently, quite easy to hunt. In recent years this area has been used extensively for summer fish camps utilizing shore nets. (Informants 1, 4, and 10).

32) **KAIJUUTIKSAQ** (place), Lat. 68,06 N., Long. 89,22 W.; means "place to make tools" or, possibly, "place where we get things to make tools" (the prefix "Kaijuut" means "tool"). The origins of this place name are rather obscure. It has not been used as a place to obtain or make tools within living memory. Perhaps, as Pauli Kutsiuhtkku (the oldest living man in Pelly Bay) has suggested, this is an area where good stone was obtained for the preparation of stone tools in the days before any contact with Europeans. He also has suggested that
this is an area where flint for fire making could be obtained. The elders of Pelly Bay cannot remember a time when there was no iron, and indicate that when they were young their parents and grandparents could not remember a time when iron or wood was not available. Until the mid-20th century, however, iron and European trade goods were rare in this culture, as Pelly Bay is not accessible by water. There were no whalers here, and the Hudson Bay Company never reached the shores of "Arvilidjuark". However the people of this culture were great wanderers and scavengers, and traded extensively with Inuks from other areas that they came into contact with.

By the middle part of the 1800's iron, brass, and wood from explorers and whalers shipwrecks, were found in the Arvilingmiut culture, as well as a few (but relatively scarce) trade goods. Several of the elders can remember their parents or grandparents talking about visiting a shipwreck in Repulse Bay many years ago to obtain wood and iron. In the 1830's the abandonment of Sir John Ross' ship "H.M.S. Victory" at the north end of Lord Mayor Bay provided a godsend of European technology to the people of this region. The ship was utilized and scavenged by Inuit for several decades, and, indeed, parts of it were dragged to a nearby island for safekeeping. As Jose Angutingungniq recalls, the remains of this ship were visited when his grandfathers' mother was still being carried in the pouch of an "amout" (Inuit packing parka) and, at that time, the Inuit regarded the ship as a treasure trove of valuable materials. As Pauli Kutsiuhtkku recalls, there was never a time within living human memory where there was a total reliance by members of this culture upon stone tools. Iron or brass or, possibly, copper, have been available and were carefully and sparsely utilized in the creation of tools.

While stone tools were a part of the culture until quite recently, their use was limited to absolute necessity, with tools crafted from European flotsam and trade being by far the tools of preference. Several elders can remember cutting up caribou or fish with stone tools on occasion, and making fire with flint-and-steel. Pauli Kutsiuhtkku recalls that a well-crafted stone tool was probably sharper than a trade knife, and that he could, in all likelihood, gut, skin, and quarter a caribou as fast with such an instrument as with a steel knife. The fact remains, however, that the sole usage of stone tools has long since disappeared from this culture, that the preference of tools with a European origin has predominated for the last two centuries at least, and that this particular source of tool material has not been utilized
extensively for many years. (Informants 1, 3, and 4).

33) KALUSARUIT (or KALASA’ARUIQ, or KALUSARVIT), (Lake), Lat. 68,51 N., Long. 90,58; means "the place where (the man, Utjudjuat) was thrown by the horns of a musk-oxen". By most accounts of the elders the introduction of firearms resulted in the virtual elimination of musk-oxen from the Pelly Bay area. There was a time when these animals were common in this region, and the origin of this place-name lies in this era. Evidently an Inuk hunter by the name of Utjudjuat was charged and thrown by the horns of an enraged bull muskox at this spot. According to legend he was thrown a long way, evidently to the middle of "Kangersluk" (Bay), a distance of over 30 miles (48.3 Kilometers)! This particular hunter was evidently killed by a musk-ox, and his name has been passed down to us by local legend. (See Van de Velde #’s 174 and 631) (Informants 1, 3, and 4).

34) KAMANAAJUQ (or KAMMANAYUQ, or KRAMMANERK), (Campsite, section of the Kellett River), Lat. 68,12 N., Long. 89,31 W.; means "like a lake (of "Kunuardjuk", # 52 of this toponymy) but on the river", with the prefix "Kamenerk" meaning "a widening of a river". At this point the "Kuug" (Kellett River) widens slightly, and resembles an inland lake. There is good fishing here for arctic char in the fall after first freeze-up. The name "Kamanaaajuq" refers generally to the widening of any river, and there are several places with this name in the region. (See Van de Velde #’s 212, 214, and 215) (Informants 1, 6, and 7).

35) KAMINIRJUARK (or KRAMMANERDJUAARK), (Valley, part of the Kellett River), Lat. 68,14 N. to Lat. 68,18 N., Long. 89,47 W. to Long. 89,52 W.; means "long, deep, and narrow part of the river valley", with an infix suggesting the connotation "big". This area is a good place for fall char fishing (particularly with nets) after first freeze-up. (See Van de Velde # 218) (Informants 6, 1, and 8).

36) KANGERSLUK (Bay), Lat. (approx.) 68,46 N. to Lat. (approx.) 69,02 N.; Long. (approx.) 89,49 W. to Long. (approx.) 89,85 W. (at the widest); means "the bay inside the islands". This bay is separated from Pelly Bay by a series of interspersed islands, and is distinguished from "Kaigiklut" (Login Bay) to the south by the fact that, while the lower bay bay is quite sheltered and protected from swells (more like a lake than open salt water) the waters of "Kangersluk" can become quite dangerous due to wave action. A line
between "Nuvuagjuk" Point and the northern tip of "Kighiktajuaq" (Helen Island) is the accepted local demarcation between "Kaigiklut" and "Kangersluk".

Because of its funnel-shaped mouth facing northward this bay can fill with ice quite quickly during the summer and early fall. Broken ice exists during these times at the floe edge only a few kilometers north of the upper end of "Kangersluk", and a slight northwesterly breeze (the dominant wind in this area) can bring many small icebergs and bergy bits into this bay. As the southerly winds required to transport these obstructions to navigation away are relatively rare, it is common to find ice in this area during the open water period. In many years this jumble of ice is present during freeze-up. The resulting surface of protruding icebergs and bergy bits is difficult to pull a sled through. It is normally far easier, at any season, to bypass this area; consequently it is not utilized as frequently as the contiguous parts of "Arvilidjuark" (Pelly Bay) to the south and west.

This bay appears to mark a geological borderline. To the immediate west there are high cliffs of sedimentary granitic rock. The highest hill in this area, "Korvigdjuak" (meaning "the big chamber pot" or "the big urinal"), is one of the preeminent local navigational landmarks, and is visible, on clear days, for over forty kilometers across the sea ice or water. To the east, however, is a flat area of sand and gravel, raised beaches, and very gently rolling plains with exceptionally sparse vegetation called "Ha'aktuk" (meaning "the flat area"). There are few obstacles in "Ha'aktuk" (the northern part of Simpson Peninsula), and it is relatively easy to cross by skidoo or dog team, although there is little game here. In modern times it has been found that this area is readily accessible by all-terrain vehicles for the purpose of fishing in the spring and summer months. Because this area has not been utilized extensively, some rather large lake trout and char can be pulled from these waters. Local Inuit recognize the demarcation of surficial geology on either side of this bay. In the winter there is quite often a north-south crack in the ice down the middle of "Kangersluk", and this is said, by several of the elders, to represent the point of division of the rocks. (See Van de Velde # 195) (Informants 1, 4, and 5).

37) KANIGAVIA'ARUQ (Point), Lat. 68,56 N., Long. 89,54 W.; means "the point of land". A small point of land on the extreme south-east part of "Kighiktajuaq" (meaning "the big island"), it is occasionally used as a sealing camp in early spring, before breakup. There is a Roman Catholic shrine built of rocks (approx. 2 meters high)

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here, dating from the early to mid-1940's. It is in a state of disrepair at present, but its distinctive shape can be used as a navigational landmark. Because of the year-round presence of small icebergs in this general area it is not frequented utilized, although "uggyuks" (large "bearded" seals) can occasionally be harvested in the waters around this point. (Informants 4, 1, and 7).

38) KANNIK (or KA'ANERQ or KANGNERK), (Point, Headland), Lat. 68.57 N., Long. 90.34 W.; means "a firm part (of land)" with the first part of the influx "kangimuktut" (meaning "in the habit of at this time of year") or "kangiwaktut" (meaning "being, at this time of year, in the direction of") predominating. A well used, traditional, and still popular local early spring sealing camp site. When the sea ice is no longer safe for habitation or (daytime) travel many camps are set up on prominent headlands intruding into Pelly Bay. At this time of year, when the sun is above the horizon for twenty-four hours a day, families travel onto the ice during the cooler hours of the evening, when temperatures are below freezing, to search for the "aglus" (breathing-holes) of seals and their pups. Seal hunting is conducted as a family or kinship-wide exercise. When an "aglu" is discovered the members of the hunting party fan out to cover all possible holes in the area with harpoons at the ready. As a seal must breathe approximately once every twenty minutes or so, and has a fairly small area of possible breathing holes to select from, the chances are quite good that a concerted familial effort on the part of the Inuks involved will result in a kill. This is generally a "time of plenty" for the Arvilingmiut Inuit. Not only are seals plentiful at this time of year, but other activities, such as spring fishing through the ice, and the hunting of newly arrived migrating birds provide a welcome source of fresh protein. Several prominent headlands such as "Kannik" provide the dry-land camping bases during this time of year.

The Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association have erected a small survival cabin approximately three to four kilometers south-east of lower "Kannik" (Point). This survival cabin recognizes the fact that this is an area of extensive present land-use (especially in the early springtime), but it is not actively maintained or provisioned on a regular basis. (See Van de Velde # 186) (Informants 3, 4, and 6).

39) KAVIHILIKTURVIK (or KAVISILISIUURVIK), (Lake), Lat. 68.20 N., Long. 89.57 W.; means "the place to catch scaly fish"; the connotation "scaly" meaning "whitefish" as opposed to "arctic char". Some Inuks are more
inclined to prefer whitefish to arctic char for winter food, and thus some families prefer to fish at this spot during the annual fall run. This is the preferred spot to catch whitefish at freeze-up, and there is usually a family or two (or more) camping here at this time of the year. There is an old (1945-46 era) stone, Roman Catholic shrine (approx. 2 meters high) immediately northwest of this popular fall-camping site. Although it is in need of repair it remains a local landmark of some repute. (See Van de Velde # 206) (Informants 10, 1, and 1).

40) * KIGHIKTAJUAQ (or KEKERTARDJUARK), (Island), Lat.68,40 N.to Lat. 68,52 N.; Long. 89,48 W. to Long. 90,04 W. (at its widest point); means "the big, imposing island"; the Inuktitut name for Helen Island. The high cliffs close to the water do indeed make this an imposing island, and provide for few good camping spots. Towards the southern part (near "Aivru Itiblia" Isthmus, meaning "where the walrus cross the land") walrus bones can be found, although there are no longer any walrus in Pelly Bay. Several of the elders report sightings of eagles on this island in the past, although none in recent years. (See Van de Velde # 269) (Informants 11, 1, and 4).

41) KIGHIKTAJUAQ (or KEKERTALUIT) (Island), Lat. 68,52 N. to Lat. 68,59 N.; Long. 89,53 W. to Long. 90,02 W. (at its widest); means "the big island". The southernmost point, "Kanigavia'aruq" (meaning "the point of land") is occasionally used as an early spring seal camping site. A small Roman Catholic shrine, approximately two meters high, has been built here and serves as a navigational landmark. (See Van de Velde # 269) (Informants 4, 1, and 9).

42) KITINGURA'AK (or KETINGUJARK) (Valley, place), Lat. 68,19 N, Long. 89,54 W.; means "there are two mountains here that (we believe) used to fit together but are separated now". This spot, a popular early fall fishing place, is extensively utilized upon first freeze-up to place nets below the ice for arctic char. There are usually more people camping and fishing here at this time of year than at any other spot along the "Kuug" (Kellett River). A small survival cabin, provided by the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Society, is located on an elevated gravel ridge to the south of "Kitingura'ak". Several old "Tuunit" sites, which have seen excavation under the supervision of Fr. Guy-Mary Rousseliere, O.M.I, can be found on both banks of the "Kuug" (Kellett River) at this point. Marine fossils are in evidence in the exposed layers of the steep banks. Local legend has
it that a woman committed suicide by jumping off the cliff here many years ago to protest her husband's unfaithfulness.

This is one of the best-known sites among the present-day Inuit of Pelly Bay. Aside from its excellent fall fishing it is also occasionally used during the summer for fishing or camping, as it is at the point (or just beyond) where a boat can reach up the "Kuug" (Kellett River). It is also at (or close to) the turn-off point where the main overland winter trail between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay turns northward and overland away from the river surface. It is also the first steep valley encountered as you proceed up the "Kuug" (Kellett River). (See Van de Velde # 252) (Informants 6, 7, and 2).

43) KRELUKSLUK (or K RELUKS LERK) (Cliff), Lat. 68,21 N, Long. 89,42 W.; means "(the rocks here look like) ptarmigan droppings". This cliff, and, evidently the small plateau at the top, received its name because of the resemblance of the many small rocks found here to ptarmigan droppings, only that they are a bit larger, as if from giant ptarmigan. The valley to the north of here was, in previous days, a caribou crossing named "Utatkrevikdjua'ark" (meaning "the small place where one can very well wait", with the connotation of a "lesser" crossing as compared to "Nadiinut", "the crossing", farther south). The valley to the north of "Kreluksluk" was, in former days, part of the pass between the "Kuug" (Kellett River) and "Tasserdjua'ark" (Barrow or DEW Line Lake), but is not often used today. The general area of "Kreluksluk" has not been utilized except for occasional forays from fall fishing camps on the "Kuug" (Kellett River) in search of caribou. (Informants 1, 4, and 6).

44) KRIMIA'ARDJUQ (or KRIMINA'ARDJUQ) (Mountain Ridge), Lat. 68,17 N. to Lat. 68,16 N.; Long. 89,25 W. to Long. 68,28 W. (at its widest); means "the small ridge which resembles a dog's backbone". Possibly this valley was an occasional caribou crossing in years past. This general area is not generally frequented today except by hunters in search of caribou from the fall "Kuug" (Kellett River) fish camps. (See Van de Velde # 235) (Informants 1, 2, and 3).

45) KRINGUA (Area, Region, cultural heartland), Lat. 68,14 N. to Lat. (approx.) 68,34 N.; Long. 89,30 W. (ie. the mouth of the "Kugajuk" River) to Long. 90,15 (at its westernmost extent, ie. the mouth of the "Uanaslerk" (Arrowsmith) River). This name is used to designate those lower portions of Pelly Bay that are and were commonly utilized by the Arvilingmiut during the times
of the year when the bay was not frozen. It includes that mainland part of the lower bay between the "Kuug Uanaslerk" (Arrowsmith River) and the "Kugajuk" River on which the land camps were generally based between break-up and freeze-up. The present-day site of Pelly Bay is included in this region, as is the main source of winter protein, the fishing camps of the "Kuug" (Kellett River).

The people who spent their warm-weather months here were called, and referred to themselves as "Kringuanattuit", or "people of Kringua". They were generally the majority of Arvilingmiut. They called those who lived on the far (western) shore "A'anittut" (collectively) and "A'anermiut" (individually), a name which means "people of the far side". Those Inuit who inhabited the area of "Arvilidjuark" (Pelly Bay) on the eastern shores during the melt-water seasons were referred to as "Unanittut" (individually) and "Unnarniumiut" (collectively), a name which means "generally beyond" or "inhabiting an area generally beyond that which is favorable". Perhaps the generic name "Kringorn" or "Kringu'ut" (meaning "from a location which is somewhat favorable") comes from habitation in this area. (See Van de Velde # 635) (Informants 1, 4, and 6).

46) * KUGAARDJUB PAANGA (or KUGAARDJUK PA'ANGA), (Bay, river mouth), Lat. 68,31 N.; Long. 89,50 W. to Long. 89,58 W. (at its widest); means "the bay at the mouth of the Kugaardjub (or Kugajuk, or Kugaardjuk) River". "Kugaardjub" (or its various spellings) means "the little river". Thus "Kugaardjub Paanga" means, literally translated, "the bay at the mouth of the little river". There are other places in the area of Arvilingmiut habitation with the same name. This is the Inuktitut name for St. Peter (or St. Peter's) Bay, so named by Father Henry after the patron saint of the Pelly Bay mission. (See Van de Velde #'s 324 and 660) (Informants 1, 2, and 4).

47) * KUGAARDJUARK (River), Lat. 68,37 N., Long. 90,30 W. (at the mouth); means "the big, little river"; the Inuktitut name for the Becher River. The mouth and lower parts of this river are quite good for fishing in spring, summer, and fall. There are often fish camps located here, and evidence abounds of many generations of occupancy along the shores. In previous years many families left the elders to catch and dry fish along these banks during the summer months, while the younger members walked inland in search of caribou. Along the middle reaches of this river the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association has erected a small survival cabin.
Inuit using the main Pelly Bay to Gjoa overland travel corridor pass close to here. (See Van de Velde # 328) (Informants 4, 7, and 12).

48) **KUGARDJUARKPA** (River Mouth), Lat. 68,37 N., Long. 90,30 W.; means "the mouth of the Kugardjuark (River)". (See # 48, above) (Informants 4, 7, and 12).

49) **KUNUARDJUK** (Narrows), Lat. 68,24 N., Long. 89,29 W.; means "the little narrows", or "the little narrow part". The narrowest part of "Tasserdjua'ark" (also called Barrow or DEW Line Lake), with "Tikirarjuaq" Point (meaning "the point", or perhaps "the large point") to the west, this area is a favorite spring fishing camp among local Inuit. This area is accessible by skidoo during the seasons of snow cover, but is mainly utilized for fishing in late spring and early summer when there is still ice cover on "Tasserdjua'ark" (Barrow Lake), but most of the snow cover has melted on the land. At this time of the year, when overland sea ice travel has become difficult or impossible, but the sea ice has not melted sufficiently to allow for boat travel, this area is accessible by all-terrain vehicle, or even by walking. The fishing here is good, and there is always the chance of shooting caribou. There is a DEW Line site on the northwestern shores of this lake. Many local Inuit stop by here to purchase goods at the P.X. canteen on the way to and from spring fishing. Since the arrival of the DEW Line station most people have preferred to fish in those parts of "Tasserdjua'ark" farther away from the military site. (Informants 4, 1, and 10).

50) **KUNGULAARIT** (or KUNGULARIT), (River), Lat. 68,55 N., Long. 88,14 W. (at the mouth); means "the small groups which little by little and in succession tend to become a river". This river, on the far side of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula) from the present-day site of Pelly Bay, is very infrequently visited today. Only a few hunters in search of polar bears ever pass this way today. Father Van de Velde and several of the elders allude to this as a "Tuunit" site. Several of the elders refer to stories indicating that the sites at the mouth of this river were the last places occupied by "Tuunit" within living human memory. They also mention the fact that, as this area has not been visited or utilized regularly (the sea-ice conditions being somewhat dangerous), these "Tuunit" sites appear to be relatively undisturbed and pristine. Most informants agreed that there are the remnants of stone and sod huts covered with whalebone of great age in this area. The term "Kungulaarit", however, can also be used to refer to this general area. Thus anyone interested in pursuing
this reference to "Tuunit" sites should be prepared to invest a bit of time in exploring the general vicinity. It is difficult at any time of year to travel overland to this area from the present-day Hamlet of Pelly Bay. (See Van de Velde # 343) (Informants 1, 2, and 4).

51) KU'NIURVIK (Falls); Lat. 68,19,30 N., Long. 90,42 W.; a contraction of "KUPISIMASIURVIK" which means "a place where there is a waterfall which fish cannot pass and resembles a crevice in appearance". These falls mark the point on the "Kuug Uanaslerk" (Arrowsmith River) where migrating fish cannot proceed further upstream. The river narrows considerably here, and the entire flow of water passes through a small channel with great force. There are some fish in the downstream reaches of this river, but the relatively limited area of river available for spawning keeps their numbers low. There are occasionally fall fishing camps in this area. (See Van de Velde # 311) (Informants 6, 1, and 2).

52) KUNUARDJUK (or KUNGUARDJUK), (Narrows), Lat. 68,12 N., Long. 98,32 W.; means "little narrows". A narrowing of the river valley on the middle reaches of the "Kuug" (Kellett River), with a small set of rapids, this neck leads (going upstream) to "Kamanaajuq" (which means "like a lake of Kunuardjuk", with the infix "Kamanerk" meaning "a widening"). This has been traditionally, and remains, one of the prime fall fishing locations in the entire area. There are many remains of camps here, both ancient and modern. Before contact with Europeans most fishing was done using "kakivaks" (fish spears) at "sapputit" (man-made fish weirs) or at gentle rapids such as "Kunuardjuk". Since the introduction of nets, most fishing is now done under the thin fall ice at wider spots on the river.

There is a Catholic shrine, built of rocks and mortar (topped with a wooden box open to the river side, which previously contained a statue of the Virgin Mary), approximately two meters high, on the shore of the north bank of "Kunuardjuk". (See Van de Velde # 338) (Informants 6, 7, and 2).

53) * KUUG (or KURG), (River), Lat. 68,21 N., Long. 90,05 W. (at its mouth); means "the (preeminent) river". The work "Kuug" refers specifically to a river, as there are other, and quite specific, names used to designate a stream, creek, tributary, etc. This is the Arvilingmiut Inuktitut name for the Kellett River.

This is the largest and longest river which flows into Pelly Bay. Its headwaters lie over two hundred kilometers away, near the Arctic Circle. It has two major tributaries; the "Avalikuarjuk", meaning "the
smallest and furthest toward the end"), and the "Aturquait" (or "Atukwait"), which means "a road to follow". A widening of this river beyond its confluence with the "Avaiikuurjuk" is called "Kuug Areark" (Cameron Lake), and has numerous small islands. Although there are a number of small falls and rapids along its lower and middle courses fish can swim upstream as far as "Kaliptaarsiurvik" (Falls, meaning "the place to fish for fish that are stuck") beyond the upper portions of "Kuug Areark" (Cameron Lake).

The "Kuug" (Kellett River) has, and continues to be, the primary source of winter food for the Arvilingmiut Inuit of the region. Nearly every family in Pelly Bay travels to their favorite fishing spot along this river upon its first freezing over in the fall. Nets are set under the thin ice, and tended periodically from camps on shore. Large boxes are built by cutting rectangular blocks of ice, setting them upright, and capping them with an ice lid. The char are flash-frozen whole directly from the nets, and cached for winter usage. Occasionally warm fall weather causes the "Kuug" (Kellett River) to break up and flow again after first freeze-up. At these times the fish caches, and sometimes the nets, are washed out to sea. Occasionally Inuit are stranded on the shores, unable to travel back to the settlement, until the river freezes solidly again.

There is a small survival cabin provided by the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association on the southern shores, at "Kitingura'ak", near to several old "Tuunit" sites. A small Catholic shrine has been built on the north shore at "Kunuardjuk". The presence of many small Inukshuks in the area south of here indicate their use, long ago, as "Tallun" (man-like constructions placed so as to drive caribou to a particular water crossing) for caribou hunting. The "Kuug" (Kellett River) area was, aside from Pelly Bay itself, the major area of occupation for the Arvilingmiut Inuit, and, for that part of the year when the sea ice was not frozen, represented the primary location of most activity. (See Van de Velde #’s 43, 50, 171, and 320) (Informants 6, 7, and 1).

54) * KUUG AREARK (Lake, wide part of the "Kuug" or Kellett River), located along the "Kuug" (Kellett River) from Lat. (approx.) 67,57 N.; Long. 98,50 W.; to Lat. 68,10 N.; Long. 89,23 W.; means "the longest lake on the Kuug". "Areark", in Arvilingmiut Inuktitut, means "the longest lake", while "Kuug" means "the preeminent river". Thus the complete translation would be "the longest lake on the preeminent river". This is the Inuktitut name for Cameron Lake. There are other "Arearks", and other "Kuugs", but only one "Kuug
Beyond this wide but shallow section of the "Kuug" (Kellett River), no major tributaries join this river. There is little mention by informants about extensive Inuit usage of this lake for fishing. In the past this was an area for inland summer caribou hunting, although for the past thirty years or so the caribou have been coming further north, and are now to be found much closer to the present-day settlement of Pelly Bay. During the winter of 1987-88 two local hunters were lost for several days in this area, and a successful search was conducted by the Search and Rescue Committee of the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Society. (See Van de Velde # 37) (Informants 12, 7, and 1).

55) **KUUGPA** (or KUUG PAANGA), (River Mouth), Lat. 68,21 N., Long. 90,05 W.; means "the mouth of the Kuug (Kellett River)". This is the mouth of and entrance to the largest, longest, and most important (for the local Inuit) river that flows into Pelly Bay. Most of the frozen-season overland traffic to the "Kuug" (Kellett River) bypasses the mouth of the river, preferring instead the overland shortcut to the north of "Matsuq" (meaning "a good place to go up the banks of the river") Bend. (See Van de Velde #'s 470 and 363) (Informants 6, 7, and 1).

56) * **KUU UANASLERK** (River), Lat. 68,22 N., Long. 90,19 W. (at its mouth); means "the river which lies in the direction of the Uanaq (northwest, or prevailing wind)"; the Arvilingmiut Inuktitut name for the Arrowsmith River. Because of a high and impassable waterfall named "Ku’niurvik" (meaning "a place where there is a waterfall which fish cannot pass, and resembles a crevice in appearance"), located approximately fourteen kilometers upstream from the mouth of "Kuug Uanaslerk", this river is not used very often for fishing by the local Inuit. There are many marine fossils in evidence along the shores of the mouth of this river. (See Van de Velde # 320) (Informants 6, 10, and 4).

57) **KURLURTULINNUARK** (or KUGLUKTULINNUARK), (Rapids), Lat. 68,33 N., Long. 89,44 W.; means "the little place where there are rapids, and where there is a fish weir". As you proceed up the "Kugajuk" River you encounter two sets of rapids. There are fish weirs built across the river at both places to trap fish during the spawning seasons. These weirs consist of semi-circular traps made with innumerable boulders, many of which are displaced during the spring river break-up. In years past the "sapputit" (fish weirs) were repaired by a collective effort prior to the fall arctic char run, in preparation
for the harvest with "kakivaks" (fish spears). In recent years the primary harvest has been with nets, not "kakivaks", and now most fish weirs have fallen into a general state of neglect. Some Pelly Bay Inuit continue to come to the fish weir closest to the community with "kakivaks" for fishing, although it is today primarily recreational. There have been some efforts at repairing the first "sapputit" encountered on the "Kugajuk" River, and it is, in some ways, still functional in that it stops the arctic char during their run long enough to spear a few of them. "Kurlurtulinnuark", however, is the second "sapputit" (fish weir) upstream from the settlement, and has not seen the same amount of usage in recent years. Consequently it has fallen into a state of disrepair, and consists primarily of a series of large boulders spread across this narrow channel of the "Kugajuk" River at, or below, the fall water level. "Kurlurtulinnuark" is no longer a usable "sapputit" (fish weir), but merely a relic of former times. (Informants 1, 2, and 3).

58) MAMITSUI'TUK (Polynya, place, on the "Tinippajuk" River, which does not freeze until very late in the winter; an annually recurring natural oddity), Lat. 68,56 N., Long. 91,00 W.; means "it never closes over" or "it never freezes". This is a small patch on the southern shores of the "Tinippajuk" River which does not freeze over until very late in the winter. In some years it does not freeze over at all, leaving a small patch of open water throughout the winter. As this is an anomaly in a region in which water is normally frozen solid for a majority of the year, it is a local landmark of repute. This small patch of open water is not regarded as a hazard to navigation, but rather as a novelty to those who happen to pass this way. The advective fog which results from this warm water can be used as a local navigational landmark, although this area is not utilized extensively today. (Informants 7, 1, and 2).

59) MANGIGIARK (or MA'ANIGHIARQ), (Lake, or traditional caribou crossing), Lat. 68,50,30 N., Long. 91,42 W.; means "a place where bull caribou are seen eating as greedily, and in the same fashion as hungry dogs", a reference to the tearing or jerking head movements (from the influx "maniktuk" or "quick head jerking in response to food") of caribou feeding on the relatively sparse and tough grasses of this predominantly gravel-covered area. There are ancient "Tallun" (Inukshuks in the form of humans, meant to drive migrating caribou to a desired water crossing where they could be easily harpooned by kayakmen) leading to this crossing. This was, however, only a minor caribou crossing site in the past. This
particular area has not been utilized a great deal, primarily because of its sparse vegetation and near-desert-like state, within the memory of the elders of Pelly Bay. Lichen growth on the "Tallun" of this area is extensive, indicating that it has been a long time since these Inuksuks were actively used to drive caribou (or, perhaps in earlier days, musk-oxen) to the "Nangigiark" crossings on the "Tinippajuk" River. (Informants 3, 2, and 4).

60) NADLUI'UJARK (River), Lat. 68,17 N., Long. 90,04 W. to Long. 90,06 W.; means "it is like a caribou crossing". This is a short, small river joining "Isuqtuarjuk" (Lake, meaning "the small, muddy lake") with Pelly Bay. It has an unusual double "sappuit" (fish weir) to catch fish both ascending and descending the river. The river itself is now too small and shallow to act as a good place to spear caribou while crossing, as they can normally run across any point along this river. The reference to a caribou crossing probably refers to the small bay on the west side of "Isuqtuarjuk" (Lake), where caribou could have been harvested in this manner previously. (See Van de Velde #371) (Informants 1, 5, and 7).

61) NADLUUT (or NALLUQ or NADLURK), (Lake), Lat. 68,18 N., Long. 89,38 W.; means "caribou crossing". This lake, at the end of a narrow pass, was a place where caribou could be driven into the water and speared from kayaks. As it was relatively close to the favoured warm-weather fishing sites along the "Kuug" (Kellett River) it probably provided a welcome diversion, a change of diet, and a chance to make dry meat for the coming winter months. There is another lake by this name ("Nalluq" Lake) to the south of the "Kuug" (Kellett River) at Lat. 68,11 N. to Lat. 68,13 N.; Long. 89,40 W. to Long. 89,47 W., which was used for the same purpose. There are other bodies of water in the area utilized by the Arvilingmiut Inuit with the same name or root. Many "Nadluut" are accompanied by "Tallun" (Inuksuks meant to drive caribou to a particular crossing; or for hunters to hide behind) leading in rows to the crossing. (See Van de Velde #'s 366 and 369) (Informants 6, 4, and 2).

62) NAKSARJUARK (Pass), Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,19 W.; means "the big valley you can pass through". This is the only pass through the "Ineerdjuit Kingait" (Mountains); the alternative is to go around them. This pass is quite steep, and sleds going downhill require a brake of some sort to slow them down. (See Van de Velde #388) (Informants 6, 7, and 1).
63) **NAKTURALIKTA'ALIK** (Cliff), Lat. 68°25' N., Long. 89°55' W.; means "place where there is an eagle". In some years there is an eagles nest here. It has been occupied by nesting eagles from 1986 to the present. There are probably several other eagles nests in this vicinity, as sightings have been relatively common in the past four or five years. Many of the elders recall that there was a period, roughly between the late 1950's to the mid 1980's, when eagles were rare or nonexistent anywhere around Pelly Bay. Evidently there were many more eagles in the area prior to the mid-1950's, and they were thought to have been common-place. Nowadays they are sighted rarely, and such sightings are noted as uncommon occurrences. (See Van de Velde # 377) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

64) **NASERSURVIK** (Hill), Lat. 68°49' N., Long. 90°29' W.; means "a high place to look out on the surrounding country". While hunting, Inuit quite often climb to the top of a prominent hill to examine the surrounding countryside for game, a task now normally aided by binoculars, monoculars, spotting scopes, or rifle scopes. On a clear day caribou or other game can be spotted a great distance away. Almost any high hill may be called "**Nasersurvik**". This particular "**Nasersurvik**", however, is especially valuable for locating seals basking on the ice in springtime. The dark shapes of the seals stand out prominently against the white background of the sea ice. While the seals themselves will probably disappear at the approach of people, a good hunter will have memorized the location of their breathing holes, and can await their return. On the early afternoon of June 11, 1988, the author was able to observe, unaided, eleven seals basking on the ice of Pelly Bay from the top of this "**Nasersurvik**". (Informants 10, 4, and 8).

65) **NATERNARDJUA'AR** (area), Lat. 68°10' N., Long. 89°00' W. (at the approximate center of this area); means "the big floor; like the floor of an igloo or tent". A large, relatively flat area to the east of "**Inerdjuit Kingait**" (Mountains), and towards "**Akkulig**" (Committee Bay) covered with (for this area of the arctic) relatively tall grasses. (See Van de Velde # 399) (Informants 6, 8, and 1).

66) **NAUJAARDJUIT** (Cliff), Lat. 68°29' N., Long. 89°44' W.; means "the big gull colonies". This sheer cliff by the side of a lake harbours a large colony of gulls. Occasionally Inuit descend this cliff from the top with ropes to collect eggs in the springtime. (See Van de Velde # 382) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).
67) **NAUJAARDJUIT TASSEA** (Lake), Lat. 68,28 N., Long. 89,45 W.; means "the lake by *Naujaardjuit* (the big gull colonies)". While there are not many fish in this small lake it is said that the lake trout here are so fierce that they will bite the paddles of a kayak. Many people pass this way on the main trail between the settlement of Pelly Bay and the nearby DEW Line site. A small Catholic shrine, approximately two meters tall, and topped with a framed statue of the Virgin Mary, lies at the foot of this valley. (See Van de Velde # 382) (Informants 5, 7, and 2).

68) **NAUJAARDJUIT KUUGA** (River), Lat. 68,28 N., Long. 89,42 W. to Long. 89, 82,36 W.; means "the river of *Naujaardjuit* (the big gull colonies)". A small river which drains the waters of "*Naujaardjuit Tassea*" to "*Alliarusiq*" (meaning "lower than another lake"), which, in this case means that it is lower than "*Tasserdjua'ark*", or Barrow Lake), which, in turn, passes into the "*Kugajuk*" River. (See Van de Velde # 382) (Informants 5, 7, and 2).

69) **NAULINGNIARVIK** (Narrows), Lat. 68,34 N., Long. 89,48 W.; means "the place to throw the naulingniut, (fish spear)". A narrows of the river, where, during the run, it is possible from the nearby rocks to see fish swimming by. These fish are normally at a distance at which it is not possible to use a *kakivak* (three-pronged fish spear or leister), which is thrust but not thrown, usually in the enclosed spaces of a *sapputit* (fish weir) or ice hole. In this case a special fish spear ("*naulingniut"*) is used, with a rope attached, to impale the passing fish. The Inuit have learned to account for the differential optics of air and water by experience. As it is quite difficult under any circumstances to spear a moving fish in the water this is more of a game or recreational activity, normally pursued by the teenagers or younger adults, than a serious method of food gathering. (See Van de Velde # 397) (Informants 1, 3, and 8).

70) **NIGHIKTURVIK** (or **NIKSIKTURVIK**), (Narrows, fishing spot, place), Lat. 68,20 N., Long. 89,55 W.; means "a place to snag fish with a hook". At this point the "*Kuug*" (Kellett River) narrows, and its northern banks are formed into a series of terraces above the river level. This is a perfect place to snag fish during the fall arctic char run. A very large hook is thrown as far as possible into the river and dragged quickly back to shore, impaling the fish as they swim by. For the several days of the actual run, when the river is teeming with fish, this can be a quite profitable
exercise. This activity is quite suited to this part of the river before freeze-up, as it is normally too muddy for bait or "kakivak" (leister) fishing. (See Van de Velde # 410) (Informants 6, 5, and 3).

71) NILAKDJUAARK (or NILAKDJUAARUQ), (Glacier), Lat. 68,10 N., Long. 89,18 W.; means "the big pile of ice". This small glacier on the northeast slopes of the central part of "Inerdjuit Kingait" (Mountains), while partially covered with dust and gravel, is a readily apparent landmark, particularly in summer months, visible from the relatively flat plains of "Maternardjuar'ar". It is definitely composed of (solid) ice, and not multi-year (crystallized) snow, which would be called "aniuk". Several informants have expressed the belief that "Nilakdjuaark" (Glacier) has receded slightly in recent years. There are several other "Nilakdjuaarks" known outside of the area of this map sheet. (See Van de Velde # 414, also # 57, Harrison Islands Toponymy) (Informants 1, 6, and 8).

72) NUVAKHILIT (or NUVAKHLEET, or NUVUKSLIK), (Islands), Lat. 68,52 N., Long. 90,23 W. (at their center); means "the ones at the end". This could mean that these islands are at the end of "Akkuliq" (meaning "salt water", or "salt water headland") (Point), or that they are (nearly, with the exception of several small and generally unused islands, the "Tuunngagtuug", meaning "spirits of the Tuunit") the last islands encountered while travelling northward on this side of the bay. These islands point directly towards "Korvigdjuak" (meaning "the big urinal", Island), the highest and preeminent landmark in this area. The name "Nuvakhilit" is quite often used to designate the (central and) largest of these islands, as the other islands surrounding it are quite small in relation to it. The area of "Akkuliq" Point is frequently utilized as a spring sealing camp. On June 10, 1988, there were 34 people camped here. Judging by the amount of garbage, both ancient and modern, this site has been extensively utilized for a very long time. Old tent rings abound in this area, as do remnants of old camping, hunting, fishing, and sealing gear. An old human skull, along with some other human bones, was found here, but no grave sites. Seal bones are abundant, and in places form a carpet which crunches under your feet as you pass over them.

The islands of "Nuvakhilit" are protected by land meltwater from the intrusion of foxes and other terrestrial predators during the spring and summer, and thus offer a protected environment to migrating birds, who utilize these islands in large numbers at this time.
of year. These islands are also protected from the presence of man by sea-ice movements, which make the passage between "Akkuliq" Point and the "Nuvakhilit" Islands difficult during spring and early summer months. (See Van de Velde #'s 319, 431, and 582) (Informants 7, 10, and 4).

73) **PAULANGNIUT** (Island), Lat. 68,31 N., Long. 89,56 W.; means "the place to get tattooed". A small island in "Kugaardjub Paanga" (St. Peter Bay), approximately seven kilometers from the present-day settlement of Pelly Bay, this was, by custom, a place to get tattooed. The elders ascribe no particular significance for this activity on this island, other than local custom. In the past tattoos were quite common, especially among women, and were viewed as "beauty lines". The face and the hands were most commonly tattooed, and nearly always with geometric designs composed of straight lines. Several of the elders mentioned that there was evidently a bit of pride associated with having undergone the painful process, as a test of courage. The origin of the name "Paulangniut" refers to the "paullit", the wooden, bone, ivory or (in later years) steel instrument used to apply lamp soot to the holes in the skin made by the "kakkut", a sharp needle. The popularity of tattooing has declined in recent decades. (See Van de Velde # 455) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

74) **PERKEB KANGANI** (or PIQQIQ KANGANI) (Hill), Lat. 68,08 N., Long. 89,13 W.; means "the look-out hill by Pepkrek" (see next entry, # 75)". From the top of this hill a hunter can scan a vast area to the east, across the plains of "Maternardjua'ar", and almost to "Akkuliq" (Committee Bay). Until the latter 1950's this was an important area for fall and winter caribou harvesting, but since that time the caribou have been observed to be moving northwards. This hill is adjacent to an important turn-off point on the Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay corridor, and any families passing this way from Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay would be wise to climb "Perkeb Kangani" to scout for game in the immediate vicinity. (See Van de Velde # 456) (Informants 6, 8, and 1).

75) **PEPKREK** (or PIQIQ) (Bend, turn-off point on the Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay corridor), Lat. 68,07 N., Long. 89,13 W.; means (in all likelihood), "a sharp bend". At this point the "Avalikuarjuk" (meaning "the smallest and furthest toward the end"); a tributary of the Kellett River), makes a sharp (90 degree) turn southwards. This is an important navigational landmark on the Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay travel corridor, for, at this point (going eastwards) the relatively smooth frozen river
surface of the "Kuug" and "Avalikuarjuk" (Rivers) changes to the rough overland segment of the (relatively flat but featureless) plains of "Maternardju'ar" (meaning "the big floor") and onwards to "Akkuliq" (Committee Bay). There are many Inukshuks south of this turnoff point, indicating extensive usage in past times. These Inukshuks are not "Tallun" (meant to drive caribou to a particular crossing) but specific and individualized navigational landmarks meant to show the way that a particular family of summer caribou hunters was proceeding overland. Each hunter had a particular style of Inukshuk, which could be used to direct other hunters along his path, or could be followed backwards to the origin of the summer trek, where the older people (unable to keep up with the strenuous activities involved in overland walking and carrying) were camping and drying fish. (See Van de Velde # 456) (Informants 6, 8, and 1).

76) PIGIULARIUT (Islands), Lat. 68,49 N., Long. 90,22 W.; means "the place to find birds eggs". These small offshore islands are a natural haven for migrating birds. They are protected from land predators by the spring meltwaters of the inflowing rivers and streams of the mainland. This is a good place for Inuit to come in late spring to harvest eggs. (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

77) * PINGUAARDJUK (Hill, Pingo), Lat. 68,04,30 N., Long. 88,42 W.; means "a hill of clay and sand", as opposed to "Pingurdjuark", which specifically means "a mountain of clay and sand" (see Van de Velde # 458); the Arvilingmiut Inuktitut name for Mount MacTavish. "Pingo" are hills composed of clay and sand, while hills composed of rock are called "Kingark". Many, if not most, "pingo" are probably structures known, in English, as "pingos", a term borrowed from the Inuvialuit dialect of the Mackenzie Delta in the Western Arctic. Several of the informants (#’s 4, 3, 6, and 1), as well as Fr. Van de Velde (# 459), suggest that "pingo" appear on the ground and "grow" into "Perurtut", or "growing pingo".

This pingo or hill is used as a prominent landmark amid the relatively flat area of "Maternardju'ar" (a plateau meaning "the big floor") by those passing on the main Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay corridor. "Pinguaardjuk" should be on the north (ie. on the left going to Repulse Bay and on the right on the return trip). It has given its name to a series of rivers, "Pinguaardjuk Kuuga", beginning in this general region and flowing eastwards into "Akkuliq" (Committee Bay). (See Van de Velde # 459, and next entry) (Informants 3, 6, and 1).
78) **Pinguaardjuk Kugaa** (River, or River System), Lat. 68.01 N., Long. 88.23 W. (at its mouth); means "the rivers that start in the area of Pinguaardjuk (meaning "a hill of clay and sand", quite possibly a pingo, see previous entry)"; a series of small rivers that flow into Colville Bay, part of "Akkuliq" (Committee Bay). The mouth of this river would be called "Pinguaardjuk Kuuga" (meaning "the mouth of the Pinguaardjuk River"). The point in this bay is called "Ujaratza’a" (meaning "where there are rocks for holding down a tent"). This point was used in the past as a warm-weather fishing camp, but has seldom been used since the local Inuit have settled in the permanent settlement of Pelly Bay, as there are many more profitable areas for fishing closer to the community. This site at the mouth of the "Pinguaardjuk Kuuga" (River) has, and continues to be used as an overnight camping place on the Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay corridor. As the name suggests, there are many large rocks here which are suitable for holding down a tent. (See Van de Velde #’s 459 and 614) (Informants 6, 8, and 3).

79) **Pinguaardju’ut** (Hills, twin Pings), Lat. 68.22 N., Long. 89.30 W.; means "twin pingor, or hills of sand and clay". The ending of this term designates twins. These can also be called "Tasserdjua’ark" (meaning "the big lake", Barrow, or DEW Line Lake) Pinguaardju’ut", to differentiate them from other "Pinguaardju"ut that the Arvilingmiut Inuit recognize. These twin hills are a landmark in this relatively flat area. An overland trail of sorts leads from the community to the shores of "Tasserdjua’ark" (Lake), and as far as this point. A one-way trip by all-terrain vehicle from the community to "Pinguaardju’ut" takes approximately five to six hours. Local Inuit tend to come here to fish during the late spring melting period, when the sea ice is unsafe for surface travel, but not yet accessible by boat. (See Van de Velde # 459) (Informants 1, 3, and 6).

80) **Pualutalik** (Hill), Lat. 68.21 N., Long. 89.49 W.; means "where a mitten has been left". This name is a sort of joke or pun, and refers indirectly to the "mannerk" (fire-starting and carrying moss) which grows here. It is a small hill on top of another, quite steep hill, which offers a majestic view of the surrounding countryside. On the southward-facing slopes of "Pualutalik" grow the longest "mannerk" in the entire area. This moss was collected and used for summer fires. It was also saved for wintertime, and was prized as a slow-burning fuel with which fire embers could be carried from one place to another. In the winter, when a camp was being set up on the sea ice, there was
generally a friendly competition to build the first igloo and kindle the first fire. As fire-making, in previous days, was generally a long and tedious process involving a mouth-held bow drill to create the friction required for kindling, the family that sparked the first fire shared this flame. The women from the other igloos would bring a small amount of "mannerk" to this first fire, light one small corner (thus producing a "naneraut", or lighted mannerk), and place it in a small soapstone or "uggyuk" (meaning "bearded seal") leather container, with holes drilled through; called a "kurvik" (meaning "fire holder"). The "kurvik" was then placed under the front of the "kuliktaq" (meaning "winter outer parka"), and held in place against the force of the wind for the hurried return trip to one's own igloo by placing one, or (occasionally) two, arms inside the "kuliktaq" and against the skin. This also prevented burning the flesh with the fire, but resulted, quite frequently, in the carrier forgetting a mitt or two at the igloo from which the fire was originally borrowed. Often jokes were made of this forgetfulness, and it is said that women forgot their mitt, or mitts, as an excuse to return to the (by now warm) igloo in which fire was first made, while the men completed and insulated the other igloos as they warmed. This time was also, it seems, used by the women as a "gossip" time, and a time to compare the various igloo-building skills of their husbands.

As "mannerk" was an important part of the old way of life (before contact) the significance of long, and, thus long-lasting, stringy, fire-moss in a well-made "kurvik" cannot be underestimated. It is said that the "mannerk" from "Pualutalik" could sustain a spark for over two days in a proper "kurvik" while a hunter or family travelled from one camp to another. (See Van de Velde # 465) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

81) PUKTUAJAQ KANGERSLUA (or PUKTAJARK KANGERSLUA, or PUKTAUJAAB KANGERSLUK) (Bay, or, more correctly, part of, or area within, Pelly Bay), Lat. (approx.) 68,27 N., Long. (approx.) 90,15 W. (at its center); means "the sea area opposite to Puktuajaq Bay". "Puktuajaq" means "as if it were floating", with the prefix coming from the word "pektark", meaning "floating ice". This is in reference to the fact that, on approaching this area from the north, east, or northeast, the shoreline appears to be composed of floating ice. It may also refer to the fact that this is a relatively shallow area, with a later break-up than the rest of the bay, and is also an area where large chunks of ice become stranded and immobile on the shallows. Because of the shallow waters this area of Pelly Bay is not a good area
for spring, summer, or winter seal hunting, but is an excellent place for fall sealing (especially on or near "Sivannigtuq" Island). This is (according to some of the elders) due to the in-welling of fresh water from the many rivers that flow into the southern part of Pelly Bay during the summer months, or, perhaps because of the fall arctic char spawning season. It is said that, in the old days, seal heads were, for a period of a week or two in early fall, as numerous as ducks swimming in these waters in spring. A man in a kayak could harvest many seals during this short period. With the introduction of wooden boats as trade goods (in the latter 1930's) this area was utilized heavily for sealing during the short fall season, but is now not used as extensively for seal harvesting. (See Van de Velde #'s 466, 514, and 195) (Informants 1, 2, and 3).

Qatsiktuk Pinguaa (or Katjiktut Pinguaa) (Hills), Lat. 68,28 N., Long. 89,00 W.; means "the pingor at Qatsiktuk". "Pingor" refer to hills of sand and clay, in all likelihood pingos. "Qatsiktuk" refers to the series of interconnected lakes in this region, and means "the lakes that are on top", referring to the fact that these lakes are on an elevated plateau. These lakes provided the ideal topography for a unique type of organized summer caribou hunt. If there were caribou in the area young men who were swift runners were sent behind the herd, and, by imitating the sounds of wolves, could drive them slowly into the central parts of this series of lakes. At this point the caribou would be almost completely surrounded by the various small lakes, and a concerted final drive would drive them into the water, where they could be speared by waiting kayakmen.

"Qatsiktuk Pinguaa" are several small mounds of sand and clay rising from the relatively flat surface immediately south of "Qatsiktuk" Lakes. They are an easily recognizable landmark in this region. Evidently, if hunters are in this region they refer to them as "Pinguaa" (meaning the group of pingor), as they are the only group of "pingor" in the area. (See Van de Velde #'s 185 and 462) (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

Sennerkak (or Sennerkak, or Tennerkak) (shore, i.e. the entire western shore of Pelly Bay), from Lat. (approx.) 68,15 N. to the northern area of the bay at Lat. (approx.) 69,30 N.; and west of Long. 90,15 W.; means "the other side" or, simply, "across". As most activities of the Arvilingmiut Inuit not conducted on the sea-ice were carried out along the "Kuug" (Kellett River), the "Kugajuk" (River), or in the general area of these rivers, the seldom-used lands on the other side of the bay were referred to as "across". These lands were
used primarily during a short period in the spring for sea-ice sealing camps, and occasionally for warm weather fishing and inland caribou hunting. They were not the primary area of habitation for the Arvilingmiut Inuit, and formed a buffer zone between them and the Netsilingmiut and Sinimiut Inuit to the north and northwest. Those few Inuit who lived on this side of the bay were called, variously (using the prefix "Sennerak"); "Sennerarmuit", "Sennerkanmitut", "Sennerkannit" (or "Sennerkanniq"), or "Sennerkak". In all cases the implied connotation is that these are people who lived "across" from the majority of Arvilingmiut Inuit. (See Van de Velde # 515) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

84) SILITIKSARVIK (or HILLITIKSARVIK) (Bay, place), Lat. 68,27 N., Long. 89,30 W.; means "a place to get the proper stone for sharpening". On the shores of this bay Inuit are able to gather stones which sharpen metal tools better than comparable sharpeners, and the stones gathered from this area are preferred for this purpose. Evidently metal objects, although scarce, have been available through trade for several generations. This is the place to procure the best sharpening stones for such tools. It was also the site of a seldom-used summer fish camp, and is very occasionally frequented today. Nowadays most sharpeners are bought at the local Coop store. (See Van de Velde # 509) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

85) SULUARNA'ARDJUK (or HUTLUARNAAJUK, or SULUANA'ARJUQ) (Channel), Lat. 68,59 N. to Lat. 68,58 N.; Long. (approx.) 90,02 W.; means "the small (or perhaps the "smaller") channel". This is a small and generally (during the melting seasons) ice-free channel between "Maniturjuaq" (or "Manitordjuark") (Island, meaning "the only small uneven one, unsuitable for camping"), and "Kighiktajuaq" (or "Kekertardjuark", meaning "the big island"). This channel is seldom used today. (See Van de Velde #'s 269, 354, and 522) (Informants 1, 3 and 5).

86) TA'ASLUKSIANGA (or TA'ASLUNGIANGA) (Cliff), Lat. (approx.) 68,55 N. to Lat. 68,46 N.; Long. (approx.) 90,00 W.; means "the place or side away from the sun where it is black". This is the eastern side of "Korvigdjuaq" Island (meaning "the big urinal"), the highest island in the bay, and the preeminent landmark of this area, that is shaded from direct (western, i.e. daytime in spring and fall) sunshine by the tall (central) cliffs. It can be seen from many kilometers away. Most other places in this area of the bay can be
located in reference to "Korvigduak" Island and "Ta'asluksianga". (See Van de Velde # 531) (Informants 7, 10, and 9).

87) TALLUN (place of Inukshuks in a row), Lat. 68°21' N., Long. 89°21' W.; means "that which to hide behind". At the lower end of "Tasserdjua'ark" (Barrow, or DEW Line Lake) are a series of fence-like Inukshuks made of rocks piled up on top of each other, designed long ago to drive migrating caribou into a particular path where they could be picked off with arrows or spears by hunters standing very still, or who were using these "Tallun" to hide behind. There are well over one hundred Inukshuks in two long rows this area, indicating a communal effort in past times. Some are fallen down today, while others are still standing at the approximate height of a man. These Inukshuks are generally in the shape of a human, with protrusions meant to resemble two outstretched arms and a head. They are not navigational Inukshuks meant to show the direction a passing hunter has travelled, nor do they accentuate an already-present navigational landmark. They are designed purely and simply to resemble humans, to drive caribou to a particular spot, and to be used as cover to hide behind. There are several other "Tallun" known to the Arvilingmiut. One, called "Itiblinuark" (meaning "the small crossing", and on the next map north of this) is remarkably well preserved, (Van de Velde # 151), and another one is close to Repulse Bay, but this is the only "Tallun" on this mapsheet, and in this general vicinity. (See Van de Velde # 525) (Informants 1, 2, and 10).

88) TASSEA ISUQTUQ (or TASSEA ISURTUK) (Lake, general area), Lat. 68°24' N., Long. 89°57' W.; means "the lake of Isuqtuq". "Isuqtuq" means "it is muddy", and can refer to any number of lakes, rivers, or areas. There is a connotation included in this name, however, which suggests that this "Isuqtuq" is a good place to procure mud for sled runners. Thus the full meaning of "Tassea Isuqtuq" would be "the shores of the lake where there is good mud for sled runners".

In the past, and, for dog teams even today, the runners of sleds were covered with a slurry of mud, planed smooth, and glazed with a covering of warm water applied with a small piece of polar bear skin. This produced a smooth, almost frictionless surface able to glide across snow and ice easily. However any harder obstruction encountered, every rock, every crack in the ice, indeed even instantly frozen dog feces, was apt to dislodge the leading edges of this sled runner, causing the entire lubricating surface to disintegrate
immediately with forward motion. Over many years of trial and error some sources of mud became favoured over others due to their resiliency and capabilities to resist breakage. This is one such source of sled runner mud.

There are several old "Tuunit" houses on the shores of this lake, and a large number of very old whale bones, including some ribs which were evidently used as rafters for the "Tuunit" houses. Father Rousseliere evidently conducted some rather fruitful archeological excavations here many years ago. Among the artifacts he discovered were a finely-crafted and fully intact ivory comb and (reputedly) a very old bison-like bone. (See Van de Velde #'s 141 and 546) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

89) * TASSERDJUA’ARK (or TASSEDJUARK) (Lake), Lat. 68,16 N. to Lat. (approx.) 68,29 N.; Long. 89,22 W. (at its easternmost extent) to Long. 89,38 W. (at its westernmost extent); means "the big lake". The Inuktitut name for Barrow, or DEW Line Lake.

A traditional summer fishing place, this lake continues to be used by the people of Pelly Bay. A summer A.T.V. trail connects the community with "Tasserdjua’ark", while a well-travelled winter trail also exists. This lake, thought to be very deep, does not freeze over until late in the winter. The ice can be up to three meters thick by spring, however, and it does not completely thaw until August.

A DEW Line station, still in operation, was built on a site overlooking the northern part of this lake in 1957-58. A road connects this site, at the top of the highest hill in the area, with an airport runway along the shores of "Tasserdjua’ark". Often in the past an ice runway was constructed on the surface of the lake close to this point to allow oversized aircraft to bring in machinery, fuel, and bulk supplies. Many of the earliest buildings in Pelly Bay were built of scrap wood from the DEW Line, and for several years the DEW Line airport serviced the needs of the community. There are presently between ten and fifteen personnel at the site. There is a small PX which is occasionally visited by Inuit from Pelly Bay. (See Van de Velde # 534) (Informants 4, 6, and 9).

90) TASSERDJUB KINGAIT (Mountains), Lat. (approx.) 68,17 N. to Lat. (approx.) 68,28 N.; Long. (approx.) 89,30 W. to Long. (approx.) 89,48 W.; means "the mountains by Tasserdjua’ark". This name refers to the high mountains to the west of "Tasserdjua’ark" (Barrow, or DEW Line Lake). A DEW Line station has been built at the highest point of this range. Interior parts of this mountainous area are to be avoided, as the many cliffs and deep
valleys (some with dead ends) are dangerous, especially in inclement weather. Some stories exist which speculate (or, in the past speculated) the existence of evil spirits (generally in the form of large, hairy, man-like giants) in this area - another reason to avoid travelling here. (See Van de Velde # 534) (Informants 1, 3, and 5).

91) TIKTUHRALIK (or TIGHTU’UA’ARLIK, or KRIKTURSALIK) (Island), Lat. 68,32 N., Long. 89,53 W.; means "an island that is almost broken into two". This small island in "Kugaardjub Paanga" (St. Peter Bay), visible from the community of Pelly Bay has, indeed, almost been broken in two by the actions of erosion. (See Van de Velde # 231) (Informants 1, 3, and 12).

92) TINUARDJUQ (Bay), Lat. 68,43 N., Long. 90,28 W.; means "the end of the little bay by Tinurat". "Tinurat" is the mouth of the "Tinuurslugu" (River), just north of here. The common prefix here probably comes from the word "tunuurslugu", which is used to describe the actions of a polar bear trapped in its den. When such a bear is harassed by hunters it breaks through the roof of its den with a powerful upwards motion, pushing with its back, and emerging enraged and ready to fight. In previous years this was a polar bear denning site. The name probably refers to a "tunuurslugu" witnessed many years ago.

There are over one hundred Inukshuks in an area of three or four square kilometers here. The Inukshuks are not "Tallun", meant to drive caribou to a particular location, nor are they navigational landmarks. They are randomly placed. If they once had any purpose other than decoration it has been long since forgotten. The extensive covering of lichens indicate that they have been here for a very long time indeed.

This is reputed to be a "Tuunit" campsite. Several depressions in the nearby rock, which resemble large footprints, are reputed to be "Tuunit" footprints. A large, round, and very smooth rock, which was found here but subsequently brought into the village, is called "the rock that no one can lift". Local legend has it that the "Tuunit" would meet here, and use this rock as a test of strength. It is said that they carried it between two rock pylons, which are still standing. Another local story relates that this was the site of a conflict long ago between Inuit and "Tuunit". The "Tuunit" were evidently killed, and then, afterwards, speared in the kidneys to make sure that they were dead. There is much evidence that this was a popular camping place. Tent rings abound, and there is a considerable amount of ancient and historic garbage about. There are
several graves to be found in this area. One of these graves was the site of a 1988 archeological dig by a team from Rikkyo University in Japan. Father Rousseliere has also, evidently, explored this site archaeologically. (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

93) **TINURAT** (Bay), Lat. 68,4 N., Long. 90,31 W.; means "the bay of the Tinuujisaq River". A good fishing spot in summer and early fall, "Tinurat" also serves as a base for spring sealing on the sea ice. There is evidence of long occupation of this site. In previous years a fish trap was built on the nearby "Tinuusaq" River. This river rises and falls with the tides. The fish traps were constructed to catch fish during the low tides. There are reputed to be the remains of several old "Tuunit" houses near here. (Informants 1, 3, and 6).

94) **TUAPAKJUARK** (River Bend, traditional fishing camp), Lat. 68,19 N., Long. 89,53 W.; means "the big place where there is gravel on the shore". "Tuapak" means gravel specifically. As there are few spots along the "Kuug" (Kellett River) that have gravel along their shores this name is quite specific. This has been, and remains a popular place to set up a fall fishing camp. The Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association has erected a small survival cabin here. There are the remains of several old "Tuunit" houses nearby. They were excavated about twenty years ago by Father Rousseliere. (See Van de Velde # 587) (Informants 6, 4, and 1).

95) **TUUNERTAT** (Hills), Lat. 68,13 N., Long. 89,12 W.; means "where there are Tuunit things". A series of small hills south of "Amaartuk" Lake, this is an area that has not recorded human habitation within living memory, but there is evidence that it was extensively used long ago. There are evidently quite a few remains of old "Tuunit" stone and sod houses in this area, as well as artifacts dating back a very long time. As far as is known this area has never been explored by archeologists. This is an area seldom frequented even today. Occasionally caribou hunters come this way, and some people travel this way as a short-cut on the Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay corridor. (See Van de Velde # 597) (Informants 6, 1, and 3).

96) **TUUNGARKUKTUJUK** (or TUUNGARKUKTUYUK) (Mountain), Lat. 68,21 N., Long. 91,22 W.; means "it has great spirits". This large mountain, the highest in the area, is a prominent landmark. In the past this was an area where lone bull muskoxen (called "kisimaark") could be frequently found. These animals were greatly respected, and it is thought that the reference to spirits in the
name of this mountain relates to the spirits of the muskoxen taken here. There is also another suggestion that the name refers to the spirits of the great hunters who were killed here by these dangerous bull muskoxen. (See Van de Velde # 583) (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

97) TUUNGARKUKTUJUK KUGA (or TUUNGARKUKTUUYUK KUGAA) (River, small lake), Lat. 68,19 N. to Lat 68,20 N, Long. 91,15 W. to Long. 91,29 W.; means "the river by Tuungarkuktuuk (Mountain, see previous entry)". It is difficult to tell if this small body of water is a wide river or a narrow lake, but the translation implies that it is a river. It drains through a narrow channel into "Iviuktuk" (meaning "where there is good mud for sled runners") Lake. This area is not frequented much today. (See Van de Velde # 583) (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

98) TUUNUTURMAKTU'RUR (or TUUNUKTURMATUUR) (Lake, caribou crossing), Lat. 68,11 N., Long. 89,30 W.; means "a place to eat much tuunuk (caribou belly fat)". This is an area south of the main summer and fall fishing areas on the "Kuug" (Kellett River). There are many "tallun", or inukshuks placed in long rows so as to drive migrating caribou to a water crossing. In this case the "tallun" are arranged to drive northward moving caribou to the waters of the small lakes, where they could be speared by waiting kayakmen. At the inevitable feast which followed one of the favorite foods of the Inuit, the belly fat of fall caribou (called "tuunuk"), could be eaten in large quantities. In the old days it was the custom to cut out the flesh of the caribou around the spear holes, and place these fatal wounds in a crack in the rock nearby to appease the spirits of the dead animals and ensure their return. Such a spot was called an "Ikkiturmatu'ur", meaning "place of many wounds", with the implied inference that, only if one were starving, and no other food was available, could Inuit eat the remnants of this meat. In reality this meat either rotted away or was taken by scavengers. There are other "Tuunuturmaktu'ur" at other caribou crossings, but not on this mapsheet. (See Van de Velde #'s 111 and 598) (Informants 6, 7, and 1).

99) UAKNAKHILIQ (River Mouth, lake-like area), Lat. 68,19 N. to Lat. 68,22 N., Long. 90,18 W. to Long. 90,37 W.; means "the mouth of the Kuug Uanasierk (Arrowsmith River)". This lake-like part of the river is the only part that has any fish, owing to the impassable falls at the upper end known as "Ku'niurvik" (see entry # 51). It is not used extensively for fishing, although there are spring seal camps located here on occasion. There are beds of marine fossils along the shores of
"Uaknakhiliq". (See Van de Velde # 321) (Informants 3, 5, and 6).

100) **UGLARA’ARDJUQ** (Island), Lat. 68,59,30 N, Long. 90,08 W.; means "the small place for (seal) fighting". The name apparently is derived from the root "uglartut" (or "ugliartut") meaning "the seals are fighting". This small island north of "Hatsiktuq" and "Maniturjuaq" Islands is a place where seals go to mate. The competition for territory and mating rights among the males results in a great deal of noise and fighting during mating season. (See Van de Velde # 609) (Informants 7, 10, and 2).

101) **UJARAJUQ** (Rock, probably glacial erratic), Lat. 68,04,30 N., Long. 89,04,30 W.; means "little rock". This boulder by the side of the "Avalikuarjuk" River marks the spot where the main overland trail between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay leaves the flat river surface and proceeds overland. It is an important landmark to watch for on this trail. The rock is on the east side of the river, and is readily identifiable. (Informants 6, 7, and 1).

102) **UJARATZ'A** (or **UJARAKTARK**, or **UJARATUA**) (Point), Lat. 68,00,30 N., Long. 88,21 W.; means "where there are rocks for holding down a tent". This point in "Pinguaardjuk Kuuga" (see # 78) is on the main Pelly Bay to Repulse Bay travel corridor, and is of note because this is the only place on this side of "Akkuliq" (Committee Bay) where there are suitable numbers of rocks for pegging down a tent. Most other shores in this area are covered with sand and gravel only. In the old days there would probably be a family or two camped here in the spring and summer months. This was a favorite spot to cache food or possessions, as it is readily accessible and identifiable. Now it is used primarily as an occasional overnight camping place for travellers between Pelly Bay and Repulse Bay. (See Van de Velde # 614) (Informants 6, 8, and 2).

103) **UKI’ITURLERK** (or **UKHI’IGHIKTURLIK**) (Hills), Lat. 68,59 N., Long. 91,10 W.; means "where you go most often in winter (with the understood assumption that you are looking for muskoxen)". This is a small range of hills once much favoured by the muskox herds that inhabited this area before the arrival of firearms. There are Inukshuks in this general area which were said to be used to drive muskox and caribou to a particular pass where hunters would lie in wait. This area has not been frequented for many years now, and only the elders remember the name. (See Van de Velde # 620) (Informants
1, 2, and 3).

104) **ULUKAUMAVIK** (Cliffs, also area), Lat. 68.27 N., Long. 89.55 W.; means "place where the sounds of geese ("ulu-ulu-ulu") echo between the cliffs". In spring and early summer many geese congregate on the upper "Atanirsliq" Inlet to feed on the abundant vegetation of this southwestward facing valley. Their sounds echo between the canyon walls. The human voice can be heard to echo two or three times in this area. When the geese are here there is a great deal of noise associated with these echoes. The Inuktitut word for this is "ulukaumasuatsianaluit" or "many ulu-ulu-ulu sounds of geese put together and echoed back and forth between the high cliffs to produce a lot of sounds as if there were endless numbers of birds". (See Van de Velde # 622) (Informants 1, 6, and 11).

105) **UMMANARK** (or **UMANNARK**) (Island), Lat. 68.41 N., Long. 89.57 W.; means "shaped like a heart". This small island at the entrance to "Hutluarnirjuak" Channel is shaped like a heart. This is a fairly common name, and is used for other islands as well. This particular "Umanark" is home to a large sea gull colony. (See Van de Velde # 439) (Informants 1, 3, and 7).

106) **UTATKREVIKDJUA'ARK** (caribou crossing, entrance to pass), Lat. 68.21 N., Long. 89.43 W.; means "the larger place where one can very well wait for caribou". This caribou crossing was not as important as "Nadlut" (see # 98) to the south of the "Kuug" (Kellett River) but was used occasionally to harvest caribou, especially in the fall. This is a natural pass from the "Kuug" (Kellett River) through the hills to "Tasserdjua'ark" (Barrow, or DEW Line Lake). The pass is quite easy to spot from the river, and leads gently to this narrowing, with a hill blocking passage down the center of the valley. The western route around this blockage is called "Utatkrevikdjua'ark", and is the passage generally followed by caribou. The narrower eastern route is called "Utatkrevikdjua'aruit", a diminutive which means "the smaller place where one can very well wait for caribou". It is also sometimes referred to as "the child of Utatkrevikdjua'ark". Inuit hunters, with infinite patience, would station themselves along the walls and behind rocks at this narrow pass, and wait for caribou to pass through. Quite often runners would be sent to herd the caribou past the hunters, and then blockade them on the far side, bottling them into the narrow passage, where they could be harvested. (See Van de Velde #'s 627 and 628) (Informants 6, 3, and 1).
Appendix 4

Harrison Islands Mapsheet Toponymy

1) Harrison Islands Mapsheet and Key to the Numbering Sequence Used in the Toponymy .............. 262

2) Toponymy of Inuktitut Place Names, Origins, and Translated Meanings: Harrison Islands Mapsheet .... 264
Toponymy Key:

Harrison Islands Mapsheet
District of Keewatin, Northwest Territories
Map 57 D, Edition 2, Scale 1:250,000
Energy, Mines and Resources, Canada
Published 1985.
New Inuktitut Names and Inuktitut Names of Places
Formerly Named in English Only on this Mapsheet:
(NOTE: a * before the name designates it as being the Inuktitut place-name of a place which is already identified on the map in English)

1) *AGHUVAQ, (or ARGHUVAK, or ARVAK), (Peninsula),
Lat. 69,31 N. to Lat. 69,40 W.; Long. 91,12 W. to Long 91,43 W.; the Inuktitut name for Ross Peninsula; means "a curved shape", and is thought to refer to the curved shape of the upper part of a "pana", or snow knife. A circumnavigation of this peninsula leads one to believe that it is indeed the shape of a traditional snow-knife handle. There is a second, possible, source for this name, in that it sounds very much like the root word "arverk", meaning "whale". The informants for this place name, however, agree that its source is most likely the reference to it's being shaped like a snow-knife handle.

It may be somewhat appropriate for this area to be named, in English, Ross Peninsula, as the English explorer Sir John Ross was in this general vicinity in the early 1830's. While he wintered in his ship "H.M.S. Victory" many kilometers north of here, a second, smaller ship, (probably the "Krusenstern") was abandoned approximately 25 kilometers north of this peninsula. There are stories even today among the elders of Pelly Bay relating to contact with Sir John Ross and his crew. As Jose Angutingungnig, one of these elders, relates, this was in the time when his grandfathers mother was still being carried in a packing parka. During the stay of these explorers, who were viewed by the local Inuit much as visitors from another planet would be today, the ability to obtain scarce, valuable, and superior European materials and technology were seen as a godsend. The fact that Sir John Ross and his crew abandoned their ships and many of their supplies virtually intact was very much appreciated by the Inuit, who, for several years (and possibly decades) thereafter, plundered the remains as a welcome source of raw materials for their traditional technology. In essence, it was the flotsam of the second expedition of Sir John Ross which propelled the Arvilingmiut, Sinimiut, and Netsilingmiut Inuit (and, through trade, many of their neighboring cultures) from the Stone Age into the Iron Age.

"Aghuvaq" was once part of the homeland of the
Sinimiut Inuit, who occupied the general area north and northeast of the pass between "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) and "Ichuaktuvik" (Lord Mayor Bay). It lies to the north of the travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay and, in former times, the H.B.C. outpost of Fort Ross. This area is not frequented a great deal today, except (occasionally) by hunters in search of "uggyuk" (large, bearded seal) or polar bears. The mountains of "Aghuvaq" are now most commonly used as a landmark during the cold-weather months of the polar bear hunting season by hunters at the "Hine'aq" (floe edge) to the north and northeast of "Aghuvaq". (See also Van de Velde # 39), (Informants 4, 6, and 1).

2) * AKKULIQ, (or AKUDLIQ or AKUDLIK), (Sea), Lat. (approx.) 67,15 N. (and northwards), Lat. (approx) 85,00 W. (and westward to Boothia Peninsula); the Inuktitut name for the Gulf of Boothia and Committee Bay; means "salt water", and is used to refer to any large body of salt water. This term is not, however, used to refer to Pelly Bay, which is called "Arvilidjuark", meaning "the large place where there are whales". The informants for this name have said that the waters of Pelly Bay are not as salty as those of "Akkuliq", as the fresh water from the various rivers flowing into "Arvilidjuark" remains at the surface. Although salty, it is not as salty as sea water. The waters of Pelly Bay are also enclosed by land, whereas any water body that is named "Akkuliq" is not bounded. (See Van de Velde # 5) (Informants 4, 1, and 6).

3) AKKULIVIK, (or AKKUDLIVIK), (Channel, Straight), Lat. (approx.) 69,05 N. to Lat. 69,18 N.; Long. (approx.) 90,15 W. to Long. 90,30 W.; means "the little sea between the two". "Akkulivik" is a channel between the islands at the north end of Pelly Bay. In the summer it is often jammed with ice, while in the winter it does not freeze until very late in the season. There are strong currents here. (See Van de Velde # 6) (Informants 4, 2, and 6).

4) AKVAK NUVUA, (or AKVAK NUVUGUA), (Islands), Lat. 69,37 N. to Lat. 69,39,30 N.; Long. 91,04 W. to Long. 91,13 W.; means "the smaller islands at the end" of "Aghuvaq" (Ross Peninsula). These islands are so close to the end of the peninsula as to be virtually indistinguishable from it. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

5) AMIKSANGERK, (Lake), Lat. 69,19,30 N., Long. 90,17 W. to Long. 90,20 W.; means "the place to fish with amiksak (bits of skin from an old kayak)". This small lake on "Hadlikh" (meaning "the most directly opposite
to the mainland"), one of the Harrison Islands, was, in the past, a popular spring sealing camp site. While the men were on the sea ice hunting the women and children would spend a part of their time fishing through the ice of the chain of lakes beginning with "Imarguuk" (meaning "small water"), and ending at "Amiksangerk". Evidently the bait of choice at this lake was strips of old sealskin kayak covering. (See Van de Velde # 15) (Informants 4, 6, and 10).

6) AMIKSANGNIK, (Lake), Lat. 69,23 N., Long. 91,27 W.; means "the (little) place to fish with amiksak (bits of skin from an old kayak)""). The meaning is the same as for "Amiksangerk" (see # 5), except for the diminutive ending "nik", indicating smallness. This small lake is very close to the natural travel corridor between "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) and "Ichuaktuvik" (Lord Mayor Bay). The area around this lake was a popular summer camping place in years past. This lake is crossed frequently today as it is on the overland route between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay. (Informants 4, 2, and 1).

7) ARMITUA'ALUK (or AMIKTUA'ALUK), (Lakes), Lat. 69,25 N, Long. 91,38 W. to Long. 91,48 W.; means "thin (or narrow) lakes". These long, thin, and interconnected lakes are occasionally used for obtaining land-locked char and lake trout in spring time. (See Van de Velde # 19) (Informants 4, 5, and 1).

8) ATANIQHLIK TASSEA, (or ATANASLERK TASSEA), (Lakes), Lat. 69,23 N. to Lat. 69,24 N.; Long. 91,16 W. to Long. 91,25 W.; means "the lowest, attached lakes". These four small, interconnected lakes, which eventually flow into "Ikaluhvigurit Paanga" (meaning "a fiord that is good for fishing"), form virtually the complete watershed in this area. They are only occasionally visited today, and the fishing in the lakes is reputed to be poor. (See Van de Velde # 42) (Informants 4, 5, and 1).

9) AUNERK, (Island), Lat. 69,24 N., Long. 90,28 W.; means "it is like it has been burnt". This small island is unlike any other island in the region. It is composed of a brown, crumbly rock, that looks as if it has been burnt. The surface is jagged and rough. The whole effect suggests that the island is in a state of decay. As this island is immediately recognizable to anyone having passed this way it is an important landmark in this local area. (See Van de Velde # 63) (Informants 4, 3, and 7).

10) AVAKHTAGUIK, (or AWAARTARVIT), (Islands), Lat. 69,01 N. to Lat. 69,03 N; Long. 89,51 W.; means "a place to
knock on heads". In springtime seals give birth on the sea-ice around these islands. It is easy to kill the seal pups at this time of year by clubbing them over the head. (See Van de Velde # 45) (Informants 4, 7, and 3).

11) AVATAPA’ARUQ, (or AWATARPARDJUK), (Lake), Lat. 69,24 N., Long. 91,29 W. to Long 91,36 W.; means "a lake shaped like an avatarpait (a bag made from a whole sealskin carefully peeled from a seal and used to store seal blubber for fuel)". This lake, and others in the general vicinity, were popular places for spring and early summer fishing in the past. The waters of "Avatapa’aruq" are reputed to be very deep. (See Van de Velde # 47) (Informants 4, 7, and 3).

12) HA’AKTUK, (or HA’AKTUQ, or SA’ATUQ), (Peninsula, general area), Lat. (approx.) 68,30 N. to Lat. 69,19 N.; Long. (approx.) 87,55 W. to Long. 89,45 W. (at the widest extent); means "the flat part", and, more specifically, of a mainland area. In general this name is used to refer to the northern end of Simpson Peninsula; in particular it refers to the flat, gravel covered area of raised beaches along its margins.

"Ha’aktuk" is an area that has not been occupied by Inuit for many years now. Prior to the 1930's a family or two could profitably spend the summer months here fishing and hunting for caribou; since that time there appears to have been a reduction in the numbers of caribou available in this area (see Van de Velde # 478). The elders contacted for this toponymy concur with this assessment of "Ha’aktuk". This area has always been difficult for Arvilingmiut or Sinimiut Inuit to reach. The sea-ice moving counter-clockwise and southeastwards along the southern reaches of the Gulf of Boothia becomes jammed against the barrier of "Ha’aktuk", producing masses of constantly moving ice, both winter and summer, along the coast. In summer this is a dangerous area for boats, while in winter the frozen jumble of moving pressure ice renders sea-ice surface travel difficult. It is far easier to avoid the coastal margins of this area than to travel to or in them.

There are evidently the remains of several reasonably-well preserved "Tuunit" encampments to be found here, according to several of the informants. As this area has not been extensively utilized within recent memory, it is speculated that these sites would be relatively pristine. Local lore has it that these "Tuunit" sites were among the last such sites occupied within Inuit memory. Due to the difficulty in reaching "Ha’aktuk" during the summer season in previous years, these sites remain unexplored. The recent introduction of all-terrain vehicles, however, has opened this area
to summertime exploration, and the flat coastal margins of "Ha'aktuk" are now readily accessible, providing that the intervening rivers and creeks can be crossed. (See Van de Velde #478, also Pelly Bay toponymy #11) (Informants 1, 3, and 4).

13) HADLIKH, (or SADLERK), Lat. 69,15,30 N. to Lat. 69, 28 N.; Long. 90,07 W. to Long. 90,30 W.; means "the most opposite to the (main) land", indicating an island. This, the largest of the Harrison Islands, lies directly across from the mainland of "Ha'aktuk". Its eastern shores are a denning area for polar bears, and are visited by hunters during the mid-winter polar bear season. The Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association maintains a cabin on nearby "Puktua'aituq" (Island, meaning "the place to go hunting") for the use of polar bear hunters in mid-winter. "Hadlikh" has been, and remains a popular place for springtime seal camps. The waters of the several deep lakes on the island are good for fishing, and berries can be found here in the fall. There are several graves, both historic and modern, to be found on the island. Prospectors from INCO (International Nickel Company) explored parts of Hadlikh in September of 1959. (See Van de Velde # 487) (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

14) HAGLIGUAK, (or HAGLIRGUAK, or SAGLERDJUARK), (Islands), Lat. 69,02 N. to 69,14 N.; Long. 89,54 W. to Long. 90,20 W.; means "thin, flat layers of". This name refers to the many layers of multicolored sedimentary rock to be found in the cliffs of this island group. These layers tend to be exposed along the southwestern face, and dip to the northeast. Their uniform composition readily identifies these islands as a cohesive group, and also differentiates them from other landmasses in the area. These islands are quite good places to go sealing at any time of year, and the remains of encampments abound on their shores. These camps are generally to be found close to the several sources of fresh water on the larger islands. The narrow channel to the northeast between these islands and "Hadlikh", called "Akkulivik" (meaning "the little sea between the two"), is often kept free of ice by a strong current until very late in the winter. Although conditions can be dangerous here the sealing is especially good in the early and mid-winter periods.

The small island archipelago of "Imiliagahkrruit" (meaning "the small islands where there is drinking water"), and the islands of "Ublaarslit" (meaning "farthest to the morning") and "Ikluhiktuk" (meaning "tough seal intestine") are part of "Hagliguak". (See Van de Velde # 481) (Informants 4, 7, and 11).
15) **HALUKTALIK**, (or **SADLURTALIK**, or **SANDLURTALIK**), (Island), Lat. 69,09 N. to Lat. 69,11 N.; Long. 90,38 W. to Long. 90,46 W.; means "the place where there is lean". This name is taken from the root word "hadlujuk" (or "sadlujuk"), meaning "lean", and is probably a reference to the fish taken from a small but deep lake, called "Irkalulik" (meaning "small fishing lake"), in the northeastern part of the island. This island is a popular place for spring sealing camps, and is in an area where "Kautaliks" (seals that supposedly use a rock held in one flipper as a tool) are said to be occasionally found. It is also a favorite stopping place for people travelling in winter between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay. It is one of the landmarks to watch for on this corridor, for here the trail leaves the sea-ice and proceeds along the sheltered waters of "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet).

Between two hills at the southeastern tip of "Haluktalik" is an opening called "Pudlat" (meaning "place to go in", and referring to the door of a trap built of stones). Local lore has it that any years ago a newly-wed young couple died in their igloo here after it was struck by an avalanche. (See Van de Velde #'s 467 and 493) (Informants 4, 11, and 1).

16) **HAVIURARK**, (or **SHAVIUJARK**), (Island), Lat. 69,41 N., Long. 91,15 W. to Long. 91,17 W.; means "a place where you have to cut out blocks of snow from the tops of polar bear dens to get at the polar bears". This name comes from the root verb "haviujarturtut" (or "shaviujarturtut"), meaning "the action of cutting out a block of snow", normally in the context of building an igloo. Polar bears, it seems, like to bury themselves in the hard banks of snow on the northern parts of this island, and hunters are forced to dig them out with their snow knives. Polar bears are still occasionally taken in this area by Spence Bay and Pelly Bay hunters. (See Van de Velde # 497) (Informants 4, 7, and 2).

17) **HINA'AQ**, (Floe-edge), Latitude and Longitude are constantly changing depending on currents, winds, and ice conditions. This is the Inuktitut name for the floe edge of sea-ice, and means "the edge of open sea water". The floe edge in this area runs approximately from northwest to southeast and generally parallels the offshore islands and the top of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula). The movement of ice is predominantly southeasterwards in this area, and counterclockwise in relation to "Akkuliq" (The Gulf of Boothia). Even in the depths of winter a polynya of open water exists north of the "Hina'aq" (floe-edge). There is moving ice in this
area during the summer as well, quite often spilling into Pelly Bay. This year-round presence of moving ice is the reason why Pelly Bay is not serviced by barge resupply. The ice conditions here preclude a consistent yearly access to ocean-going barges without an icebreaker escort. Only a few small boats have ever gone through this area safely, notably those of the Roman Catholic mission, and these passages only during the years 1937-49, when the Hudson Bay Company operated a trading post at Fort Ross on the east end of Bellot Straight. Since the closing of this post there has been no need to pass the treacherous waters of the "Hina'aq", as the waters beyond do not connect to any up-to-now navigable passages to the outside world. The "Hina'aq" has, and continues, with few exceptions, to mark the northern and northeastern extent of the navigable surface world of the Inuit of the region.

Generally any place that marks the transition of solid ice and sea has been considered a good place to obtain food by the Inuit. The "Hina'aq", although dangerous, was, and still is a source of livelihood for the Inuit of the region. Seals are plentiful here. In previous days walrus, narwhal, and beluga whales could occasionally be taken here. There are stories of a type of shrimp being harvested at the "Hina'aq" by Inuit. But the prime quarry for hunters at the floe edge has, and continues to be, the polar bear. As there is a consistent and year-round source of food for these animals at the "Hina'aq", there is a resident population of polar bears in this area. They are now harvested under a quota system, and during a set mid-winter season, administered by the N.W.T. Department of Renewable Resources in conjunction with local Hunters and Trappers Associations. The hunters of both Pelly Bay and Spence Bay share the polar bear harvest in this area. The sale of these skins, which have consistently maintained a good price in the fur markets, is one of the few land-based activities that bring in a cash dividend to land users. The Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Association maintains a cabin for the use of its polar bear hunters on "Puktujaituq" (Island), which, while protected from the scouring ice flow, is near enough to the floe edge to provide a secure base camp for polar bear hunting. At one time, it is related, an Arvilingmiut, Sinimiut, or Netsillingmiut boy did not become a man in the eyes of the community (nor cut his hair) until he had killed a polar bear. Even today it is considered a mark of the "passing of age" for a young male to kill his first polar bear. (Informants 4, 1, and 2).

18) HULUANIGUAQ, (or SULUARNERDJUARK), (Channel or
Pass), Lat. 69,45,30 N. to Lat. 69,46,30 N.; Long. 91,28 W. to Long. 91,40 W.; means "the one that is the big (or best) channel to go between". This is a natural channel between the two largest islands of the "Kikhikhtajuaq" (meaning "big islands") group (The Astronomical Society Islands). As it is offset to the general flow of pack ice in this area, "Huluaniguaq" (channel) is normally ice-free during the warm-weather melting months, and provides both a welcome summer harbor and a smooth surface for winter travel in this area. "Huluaniguaq" is in an area that is now only occasionally visited, primarily by hunters in search of polar bears. (See Van de Velde # 519) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

19) IBLAUT (or IBAUT), (Islands), Lat. 69,13 N. to Lat. 69,14 N.; Long. 90,41 W. to Long. 90,47 W.; means "fetus" (or "small baby"), and refers to a birthing area for seals. There are two origins suggested for this group of small islands; one that suggests that this is a good place to find seals with intact fetuses, considered by some a delicacy, and a second source that suggests that these small islands received their name because of their baby or fetus-like sizes. (See Van de Velde # 644) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

20) * ICHUAKTUVIK (or IKTUARTURVIK), (Bay), Lat. (approx.) 69,30 N. to 70.00 N.; Long. (approx.) 91,30 W. to Long. 92,40 W.; the Inuktitut name for Lord Mayor Bay; means "the place to look through windows" or "the place where one often watches through the windows". In years past this was the site for a particular type of spring seal hunting which was possibly unique in the Inuit culture realm. The Inuit in this area would either find a seals breathing hole ("aglu"), or carefully create a replica through the ice. A small igloo with very thick walls (an "agluark") was constructed over the breathing hole so as to prevent sunlight from entering. In this way, and especially during the evening and morning twilight of latter spring, the hunters could watch the seals swimming below the surface. As seals evidently prefer breathing holes that appear darker from their perspective under the water, this technique was often very successful for the Inuit hunters, who harpooned them as they came to the surface.

In the warmer weather of late spring, when the "agluark" began to melt, a variation of this technique was continued. The "aglu" or "agluark" was carefully covered with loose snow, and one small hole made through this covering with the harpoon shaft. When the seal approached a small splash of water would emerge through this opening, and the hunter could strike through the snow at the emerging seal.
This unique type of spring seal hunting was especially prevalent in the archipelago of "Maniiterkut" (the Sons of the Clergy Islands), within the southern confines of "Ichuaktuvik" (Lord Mayor Bay). The Inuktitut name for this area, "Maniiterkut", means "the group of many bumps", or, more specifically, "the place of many agluarks", and refers to the many remnants of such structures that could be found here by the end of the springtime sea-ice hunting season. (See Van de Velde #'s 98 and 356, also Balikci, 1970, p.77) (Informants 4, 7, and 2).

21) **IKALUHVIGURIT** (or **IRKALUVIGDJUARK**), (Lake), Lat. 69,24 N. to Lat. 69,26 N.; Long. 90,47 W, to Long. 91,06 W.; means "a long (or big) lake where you can catch large (fully mature) fish". As this long, meandering, narrow lake has been visited relatively infrequently, the few fish to be caught here were normally quite large. The infix "vik" or "vig" means "large". When used in the descriptive "ikaluvinalu", it refers to a large, mature fish. (see Van de Velde # 122) (Informants 4, 7, and 12).

22) **IKALUHVIGURIT PAANGA** (or **IRKALUVIGDJUARK PAANGA**) - (NOTE: Fr. Van de Velde suggests that the qualifier "KANGERSLUA", meaning "Bay", rather than "PAANGA", meaning "Inlet of ...") was used occasionally to describe this area in previous days. All informants as of 1988, however, referred to this area as "PAANGA", signifying "the Inlet of Ikaluhvigurit".); Lat. 69,24,50 N. to Lat. 69,31 N.; Long. 90,57 W, to Long. 91,16 W.; means "the Inlet of Ikaluhvigurit". This long fiord-like passage, into which the waters of "Ikaluhvigurit" (Lake) drain, has seldom been used by Inuit of the area, except for passage. There are the remains of a small Catholic religious shrine approximately two meters tall, erected in 1947, at the confluence of the river which drains "Ikaluhvigurit" (Lake), and the Inlet. (see Van de Velde # 122) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

23) **IKALULIK** (or **IRKALULIK**), (Lake), Lat. 69,09,30 N., Long. 90,40 W.; means "place where there are fish". There are land-locked char to be found in this small but deep lake on "Haluktalik" (Island). The other, smaller, lake on this island is called "Sungurdjuark", meaning "I have eaten too much fat". These lakes are generally visited by springtime seal hunters who camp on the shores of "Haluktalik". The remains of an old stone bear trap can be found close to this lake. (See Van de Velde #'s 120 and 493) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

24) **IKALUTIAQ**, (Lake), Lat. 69,19 N. to Lat. 69,21 N.;
Long. 90.59 W. to Long. 91.07 W.; means "place where there are lots of little fish". (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

25) **IKITNUARUQ**, (Lake), Lat. 69.26 N. to Lat. 69.27 N.; Long. 91.36 W. to Long. 91.42 W.; means "the small crack in the rock", with "nuaruq" as the inflection for "small". This small lake provides smooth winter sledding on the pass between "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) and "Ichuaktuvik" (Lord Mayor Bay). (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

26) **IKLUGHIKTUK**, (Island), Lat. 69.02 N., Long. 90.11 W.; means "tough intestine", referring to seal intestines. As this is a popular spring seal hunting site, this name probably refers to the attributes of seals caught in the waters surrounding this area. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

27) **ILLINGNU'UQ**, (or IGLIRNAQ, or IGLERNAT), (Terrace), Lat. 69.18 N., Long. 91.10 W.; means "flat like a bed". This is a series of flat terraces above the entrance to "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet), and has been used as a camping place for many years. (See Van de Velde # 71) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

28) **IMA'AUAKTUQ**, (or IMAUAKTUQ), (Island), Lat. 69.14 N., Long. 90.46 W.; means "water flowing into or over the top". This meaning is said to refer to water flowing over the top of the boots of a person wading in meltwater. This is in reference to the fresh meltwater from the island flowing over the springtime sea-ice creating patches of rotten ice. Travelers are advised not to pass too close to this island in the springtime while travelling over the sea-ice, as these areas of rotten ice can be dangerous. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

29) **IMARGHA'AUQ**, (or IMARGU'UQ, or IMARDJUIT), (Lake, or Lakes), Lat. 69.17 N. to Lat. 69.18 N.; Long. 90.17 W.; means "small water". There are five small and interconnected lakes at the south-east end of "Hadlikh" (Island), a popular camping site for springtime seal hunters. The outlet of these lakes provides abundant fresh water for drinking, an important consideration for an island surrounded by salt water. This toponym refers more to the general area than to any one particular lake, and should thus include all five of these lakes. (See Van de Velde # 643) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

30) **IMILIAGAHKRUIT**, (or IMMILIGAARDJUIT), (Islands, Archipelago), Lat. 69.04 N., to Lat. 69.06 N.; Long. 90.16 W. to Long. 20 W.; means "the small islands where
there is drinking water. A group of small islands on the travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, they serve both as a landmark for turning from the sea-ice to the overland pass through "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet), and a convenient place to stop for tea. There are several small freshwater lakes on these islands which provide water for campsites. (See Van de Velde # 104) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

31) IMILIK, (or IMMILIK), (Island, Drinking Hole), Lat. 69,02,30 N., Long. 90,00 W.; means "place to drink". There is a small but deep pool of water on this island that does not freeze until late in the winter. Hunters in early winter, and especially before the advent of gas stoves made heating water a relatively quick process, were wont to stop here for a drink of fresh water. A small plume of evaporation from the drinking hole in early winter made this a local landmark. (See Van de Velde # 102) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

32) ISARUTARK, (Peninsula), Lat. 69,17 N., to Lat. 69,23,30 N.; Long. 90,39 W. to Long. 90,46 W.; means "piece that sticks out like a wing". This peninsula of "Kighiktajuag" (Island), to the east of "Kanigluvak" (Bay or Inlet), is indeed shaped like the wing of a bird, from which it takes it's name. (See Van de Velde # 131) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

33) IVO, (area of build-up of moving sea ice), Lat. (approx.) 69,19, Long. (approx.) 89,20, means "where the sea-ice piles up". Constantly moving sea-ice churning in a slow counter-clockwise direction in "Akkuliq" (meaning "the salt-water sea"; the Gulf of Boothia) tends to strike the land-locked shore-ice and the land in this area north-west of the mainland of Simpson Peninsula to form pressure ridges of constantly varying heights. This is a good area for casual travelers to avoid, as there are ridges of ice year-round, although venturesome polar bear hunters can find their quarry here at any time of the year. Consequently, for much of the year, this is a very dangerous place to be. The "IVO" can extend for a considerable distance north-eastward during years of intensive ice movement, and is considered as an area in which extreme caution is warranted at all times. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

34) KANAJULIK, (Lake), Lat. 69,21 N, Long. 90,12 W.; means "where there are sculpins". The root "Kanajuk" is the Inuktitut word for a type of scaly bottom-dwelling fish with a large head and sharp spines on both sides. These fish can be caught by jigging with a hook and line through the ice in this lake. (See Van de Velde # 648)
35) * KANIKLITUURUK, (or KANIKHLITU’UARUK), (Inlet), Lat. (approx) 69,17 N. to Lat. 69,22 N.; Long. (approx.) 91,09 W. to Long. 91,25 W.; the Inuktitut name for Halkett Inlet, means "the big, long bay (or inlet)". This inlet is an important travel corridor during the frozen seasons, as it leads directly into the overland pass that connects Pelly Bay with Spence Bay, and the hunting grounds north of here where caribou, polar bear, and, to a lesser extent, seals may be found. The upper reaches of this inlet are popular as a place to stop for tea on the travel corridor to Spence Bay. During the summer months this area serves as a natural "seal trap", and may be exploited accordingly by Inuit with powerboats. The very steep cliffs in this inlet preclude camping, although "Illingu’uq", at the head of "Kaniklituuruk", is, and has been for many generations, a popular campsite. "Kaniklituuruk" is distinguished from neighboring "Kanigluvak" (see # 36), which has a similar meaning, by an inflection that means "big". In this case this inflexion can be assumed to mean that "Kaniklituuruk", while not necessarily "bigger" than "Kanigluvak", is much more utilized by the local Inuit, primarily because of its location on a primary travel corridor. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

36) KANIGLUVAK, (or KANIKHLUVAK), (Inlet), Lat. (approx.) 69,17 N. to Lat. 69,22 N.; Long. 90,39 W. to Long. 90,47 W.; means "long bay (or inlet)". This inlet on the north-east side of "Kighiktajuaq" (Island), between the main portion of the island and Isarutark (Peninsula, meaning "piece that sticks out like a wing", see # 32) is distinguished from nearby "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) by the lack of the inflection that means "big". It is thus the "long bay", rather than the "big, long bay (or inlet)". It too is a natural seal trap, although it has not been used as such for many years. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

37) KANULHIKTA’ARLUAQ, (or KANULHIGHTA’ARLUAQ), (Island), Lat. 69,39 N., Long. 91,33 W.; means "place to have lots of harp seal". The root words "Kanuhluk" (meaning "harp seal"), "Ta’ar" (meaning "to have" or "to be able to get"), and "Luq" (meaning "place to get lots of") identify this island as a past source of harp seals for the Inuit of the area. It is seldom visited today, except by occasional hunters in search of polar bear. (Informants 4, 7, and 2).

38) KAURKTUKTUK, (or KAUTTARTUT), (Islands), Lat. 69,09 N. to Lat. 69,11 N.; Long. 90,30 W. to Long. 90,34 W.;
means "where there are Kautaliks". The root word "Kautalik" means "those who often knock", and refers to a particular type of large seal that is alleged to use a rock held in a flipper to bang against the bottom of the ice as it approaches its breathing hole. Sightings of "Kautaliks" are rare, and none of the elders involved in this survey had actually seen one. The stories they told were second-hand, about other people whom they had known who had caught these creatures. Most of the elders, however, believed in the presence of "Kautaliks" in the waters of Pelly Bay, and especially in the area of "Kaurktuktuk". (See Van de Velde # 228) (Informants 1, 2, and 3).

39) KEASIITUQ, (or KEASITTUK), (Inlet, Bay), Lat. (approx.) 69,17 N. to Lat. 69,22 N.; Long. 90,55 W. to Long. 91,07 W.; means (roughly) "the place without a shoulder-blade", although an exact translation has not been possible. Beyond a reference to caribou, none of the informants could speculate further as to the source of this name. There is some debate as to the name of this inlet itself, as it can also be called IKALUTIAQ KANGERSLUA (meaning "the bay of the lake where there are lots of little fish", see # 24). Another name, NAGAURUQ (meaning "newly born seagull"), and used specifically to describe the far northern end of this inlet, is also used, at times, in reference to the inlet itself. The general consensus, however, appears to be that "Keasittuk" is the most commonly used name for this inlet. Beyond passing the mouth, which lies on a major travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, and occasional visits by powerboat, this inlet is now seldom utilized or visited. (see Van de Velde #'s 125 and 650) (Informants 1, 2, and 4).

40) KIGHIKTAJUAQ, (or KEKERTARDJUARK), (Island), Lat. 69,12 N. to Lat. 69,22 N.; Long. 90,26 W. to Long. 90,47 W.; means "the big, imposing island". This is a generic name for a large island or group of islands, and there are other islands with the same (or similar) names (see #’s 40 and 41 of the Pelly Bay mapsheet, also # 41 of this toponymy) in the Arviplingmiut land-use area. L. Muller-Wille lists at least nine islands of the same etymology (with the spelling "Kingittuajuit") in Nunavik (Arctic Quebec), while, if the root word "Kighik" (meaning "big, imposing") is included (in its various Inuktitut translations) as a quantifier, this source produces at least twenty-four entries in the "Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik (Quebec, Canada)" (Muller-Wille, 1987, p. 249).

This particular "Kighiktajuaq", one of the Harrison Islands, is an area in which polar bear dens can be
occasionally found in winter, and its southern reaches show evidence of previous campsites, although it is infrequently visited today. (See Van de Velde #269) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

41) * KIGHIKTAJUIT, (or KEKERTARDJUIT) (Islands), Lat. 69,43 N. to Lat. 69,56 N.; Long. 91,16 W. to Long. 91,51 W.; the Inuktutuq name for the Astronomical Society Islands; means "the big, imposing islands". There are many Inuktutuq place names which incorporate the prefix "Kighik", meaning "big, or imposing" (or translations thereof, see entry # 40, above). This toponym indicates a plural, and refers to the entire group of islands to the north and offshore of "Aghuvaq" (meaning "a curved shape", the Inuktutuq name for the Ross Peninsula). Seen from the mainland or approached in a small vessel, these towering islands would seem imposing indeed. The waters around these islands were traditionally used for winter seal hunting by a few families who lived in this area, and who spent the warm-weather melting months on the mainland. For the past several decades this area has been used almost exclusively for polar bear hunting, and this only infrequently. In the very early spring of 1987 several hunters from Spence Bay killed a large walrus, a rare event for this community, near these islands.

Local stories in Pelly Bay relate that, as Jose Angutingungniq (Informant # 6) discloses, in the time that "his grandfathers mother was still being packed", a "kablunaq" (white man's) wooden ship was abandoned, frozen in the ice several kilometers north-east of these islands, and was loaded with valuable salvage. The Inuit of the surrounding regions, according to these old stories, evidently salvaged a great cache of "kablunaqtuq" materiel, refloated the ship by cutting through the ice in the late spring, and towed it near to one of the small islands of this group. Most of the salvageable remains were carried to the shores of this island, and, together with the ship, which settled in fairly shallow water, these sites remained as a valuable source of iron, brass, and wood well into the present century. In all likelihood, this vessel was the "Krusenstern", the small (sixteen-ton) supply ship of the Sir John Ross expedition to the area in 1829-33. (See Van de Velde # 278) (Informants 6, 2, and 1).

42) KILIKTINUAQ, (Island), Lat. 69,49 N., Long. 91,18 W. The meaning is unclear, but is believed to derive from the root word "kilik", meaning "cut". This small island of the "Kighiktajuit" (Astronomical Society Islands) group, being close to the "Hina'aq" (floe edge), yet sheltered somewhat from the movement of ice, is a good place to find polar bears. (Informants 4, 7, and 1).
43) **KIMIUTUQ**, (or HIMIUTUQ), (Island), Lat. 69,14 to Lat. 69,16 N.; Long. 90,59 W. to Long. 91,04 W.; means "if you moved the island a bit you could bottle up the bay (referring to Kanikliituu... (278)

44) **KINIKTUA’ARUQ**, (or KINIKTUAARDJUK), (Island), Lat. 69,07,30 N., Long. 90,22,30 W.; means "the only little island with a hill". The root word "kiniktuk" is used to describe one hill that is higher than another close-by. As the name suggests, this island is the only one of the group of small islands in this area that has a hill, and is used as a local landmark. It is in an area utilized for springtime sealing, but is seldom used as a campsite. (See Van de Velde # 246) (Informants 4, 6, and 7).

45) **KINIKTUK**, (Island), Lat. 69,12 N., Long. 90,44 W.; means "the hill that is higher than the others". Of the three larger islands at the entrance to "Kanikliituu... (278)

46) **KIVIARIARK**, (Peninsula), Lat. 69,15,30 N. to Lat. (approx.) 69,17 N.; Long. 90,47 W. to Long. 91,06 W.; means "trying to turn your head". As the interior of this peninsula is seldom visited, this name refers primarily to the coastal headlands as landmarks in the region. As these headlands are on the major travel corridor between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, viewing them would involve turning one’s head in passage, especially in navigating from the sea-ice of Pelly Bay to the pass of "Kanikliituu... (278)

47) **KIVIKIKTAQ**, (Cape, Point), Lat. 69,05 N., Long. 90,38 W.; the Inuktitut name for Cape Berens; means (in literal but approximate translation) "an animal on a piece of ice just big enough to support it, possibly sinking". The root word "kiviuk" means "sinking". This point or cape is an important landmark on the corridor between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, as well as in the
sealing areas of the northern part of Pelly Bay. When travelling from Pelly Bay to Spence Bay over the sea-ice, this is the cape that is the target of the cross-bay portion; one aims to turn north-west into "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) just north of here. On the return trip one leaves this cape and aims south-east to cross the bay. On a dark night with low cloud cover the reflection of the rotating airport beacon in Pelly Bay can sometimes be seen from here. The shoreline area around this cape is a popular springtime seal-camping site, and occasionally there are summer camps in the vicinity. (Informants 4, 6, and 7).

48) * MANIITERKUT, (Islands), Lat. 69,31 N. to Lat. 69,36 N.; Long. (approx.) 91,42 W. to Long. (approx.) 91,58 W.; the Inuktitut name for the Sons of the Clergy Islands; means "the group of many bumps". While now visited infrequently, primarily by hunters in search of polar bears, this area was, prior to permanent settlement in communities, the home of several families. It was also the site a popular springtime seal hunting camp. During the late spring a unique type of seal hunting was practiced on the sea ice surrounding these islands (see entry # 20). Small igloos with walls thick enough to prevent sunlight passing through were built over "aglus" (seal breathing holes), enabling the enclosed hunters to see quite clearly the antics of the seals under the water. The seals evidently preferred the darker breathing holes, and could be taken quite easily by the awaiting hunter. However, if any blood remained at the breathing hole other seals became wary of using it. Consequently the hunter would move to another hole, and build a new small igloo over it. By the end of spring the area would be dotted with many of these seal hunting igloos; thus the name "group of many bumps". (See Van de Velde # 356) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

49) MANIKTUGVIK, (Lake), Lat. 69,27,30 N., Long. 91,35 W.; means "place to put bait in the water". This small lake north of the Pelly Bay to Spence Bay travel corridor is a good place for ice fishing, primarily for land-locked char. It is not utilized very frequently today. (Informants 4, 7, and 11).

50) MITIKHIUVIK, (or MITIKHIUGVIK), (Islands), Lat. 69,13 N., Long. 90,56 W.; means "place to hunt eider ducks". These two small islands at the entrance to "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) are ideal nesting places for waterfowl, especially those arriving in early spring, as the fresh meltwater that surrounds these islands provides protection from mainland predators. Eider ducks and their molted down can be found here.
51) **NADLUA’ARDJUK**, (Island), Lat. 69,14,30 N., Long. 90,55 W.; means "a small place to cross". This small, relatively flat island would be unnoticed except for its location in an area that has traditionally been extensively utilized by the Arvilingmiut Inuit, particularly during the spring and early summer months. As the name suggests, it is a small piece of land in an area normally traversed over the sea-ice. There are other features with the same name, and many more that incorporate the root word "nadlua", meaning "crossing" (see Van de Velde # 370, also #'s 60 and 61, Pelly Bay toponymy). (see Van de Velde # 386) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

52) **NAGAURUQ**, (Creek, traditional campsite), Lat. 69,22 N., Long. 90,57 W.; means "newly born seagull". This camping site at the head of *Keasiituq* (Inlet, see # 39), while not used today, was, in the past, a place where several families could spend the late spring and early summer months sealing, fishing, or walking inland in search of caribou. This particular campsite, situated close to the freshwater stream from which it derives its name, also had the advantage of being near a large seagull nesting area, from which eggs and small birds could be obtained. (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

53) **NAKUNGAJUT**, (Islands), Lat. 69,06 N. to Lat. 69,07 N.; Long. 90,27 W. to Long. 90,30 W.; means "to look cross-eyed". These four small islands are landmarks for the sea ice crossing of the Pelly Bay to Spence Bay travel corridor. On this leg of the trip across Pelly Bay there is a long traverse over the frozen bay, and veteran travelers aim to arrive just north of *Kivikiktatq* (Cape Berens). There are, however, several headlands and high hills that are visible over the horizon while making this traverse, and it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other. These islands, passing to the left, are an indication, especially on overcast days, that one is generally on track and heading to the mouth of *Kaniklituuruk* (Halkett Inlet). In late spring it is important to proceed along the southern portions of this inlet to avoid patches of "rotten ice" caused by fresh water runoff. Thus one looks "cross-eyed" for these low-lying islands as a verification of position after spending time crossing the featureless sea-ice. (Informants 4, 7, and 11).

54) **NAUJA’ARDJUK**, (Mountain, Cliffs), Lat. 69,28 N., Long. 90,40 W.; means "the small(er) seagull colony".
There is an old travel corridor that existed between Pelly Bay and the Hudson Bay Company trading post at Fort Ross between 1937-49. This corridor proceeded up "Tukjukahktaq" (Channel), over "Takhiuruk" (Bay), through "Tahiaravruq" (Bay), and overland past the southern slopes of this mountain. There was a small colony of sea gulls on the cliffs here in later spring, which were quite noticeable in passing. This area is not visited very frequently today. (see Van de Velde # 383) (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

55) NETCHUKTUK, (River), Lat. 69,31 N., Long. 91,56 W. (at the mouth); means "trying to pull out a fish as big as a seal". This small river between high cliffs, and with both natural rapids and the remains of very old "sapputit" (fish weirs) was at one time (before settlement life) reputedly the source of several very large fish. It was once utilized as a summer fish-camp site for some of the families that lived in the area of "Naniiterkut" (Sons of the Clergy Islands, see # 48). (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

56) NIAKULNAGUAQ, (or NIAKRUNNARDJUARK), (Mountain), Lat. 69,17,30 N., Long. 91,14 W.; means "shaped like a head". The cliffs on the north of this high hill, if seen from the right angle, look somewhat like a human head. "Niakulnaguaq" is visible from the Pelly Bay to Spence Bay travel corridor. A small bay to the southeast is connected to "Kaniklituuruk" (Halkett Inlet) by a narrow and quite shallow channel. Occasionally seals are trapped in this small bay during low tide or freeze-up. There are several other place names in the Arvilingmiut land-use area that utilize the root word "niakuk" (meaning "head") combined with a qualifier. Fr. Van de Velde lists six such toponyms (other than "Niakulnaguaq"), although, through discrepancies in his calculations of latitude and longitude, they have proven impossible to accurately locate. (See Van de Velde #’s 401 – 9, with # 406 corresponding to this particular "Niakulnaguaq") (Informants 4, 7, and 1).

57) NILAKDJUAAR’K, (small Glacier), Lat. 69,16 N., Long. 91,10 W.; means "the big pile of ice". On this north-facing slope the winter snows do not completely melt during the short summer months, and a very small accumulation of ice has accrued. It is definitively labelled as ice, rather than late summer snow remnants (for which the root word "aniuk" would be used). This small glacier is partially covered with dust and gravel and is generally of a dirty brown color, although a sharp eye can detect it from several kilometers away. On certain occasions the white snow that glistens from
between the covering layers can be seen from a greater distance. Although this small glacier appears to be relatively static at present, the elders suggest that it disappeared completely for several years in the late 1950's and early 1960's, and has since rejuvenated. Although there are many small pockets of snow that last until late summer in the Arvilingmiut land-use area, there are only two places where multi-year ice is consistently found; here, and at a site in the "Inerdjujik Kingait" (Mountains) south-east of Pelly Bay (see # 71, Pelly Bay toponymy). The other "Nilakdjuaar'k" has evidently receded slightly in the past several decades. (See Van de Velde # 414) (Informants 3, 4, and 10).

58) NUVUA AGHUVAQ, (or NUVUA AKVAK), (Peninsula), Lat. 69,37,30 N. to Lat. 69,39 N.; Long. 91,14 W.; means "point, at the end, looks like islands". It is hard to tell from the ground if this small, elongated peninsula at the very end of "Aghuvaq" (Ross Peninsula) is an island or not. In fact it is connected to the mainland by a very thin isthmus. (See Van de Velde # 433) (Informants 4, 7, and 10).

59) NUVAKHLEET, (or NUVUKSLERK), (Lake), Lat. 69,05,30 N. to Lat. 69,11,30 N.; Long. 89,04 W. to Long. 89,11 W.; means "the one furthest toward the point". This is the largest and most rewarding of the lakes of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula) to fish for lake trout and land-locked char. It can be reached relatively easily overland from Pelly Bay by skidoo in the months of snow cover, and by all-terrain vehicle in the spring, summer, and fall. However, as several other good fishing sites can be reached with less time, trouble, or effort, this lake is seldom utilized today. It is now visited most often by the use of all-terrain vehicles that can travel easily, in the summer months, over the flat gravel beds and raised beaches which comprise the shoreline margins of this peninsula. (See Van de Velde # 428) (Informants 4, 7, and 10).

60) * NUVAKHLEET NUVUA, (or NUVUKSLERK NUVAA), (Cape), Lat. 69,17 N., Long. 89,06 W.; the Inuktitut name for Cape Chapman; means "the point by (the lake) Nuvakhleet". Evidently the remains of an old "Tuunit" camp can be found here. Floe ice, moving in a counter-clockwise direction in the Gulf of Boothia, tends to pile up along the shores here, and presents a hazard to travel on the sea-ice or in a boat. This area is now frequented mainly by polar bear hunters, and is an area where dens may be occasionally found. (See Van de Velde # 428) (Informants 5, 8, and 6).
NUVAKHLEET KUGAA, (River), Lat. 69.14 N., Long. 88.57 W. (at the mouth); means "the river that flows from Nuvakhleet Lake". This is a small river that flows through the flat gravel plains of "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula). (See Van de Velde #428) (Informants 5, 6, 8).

NUVIGCHUQ, (Island), Lat. 69.39 N. to Lat. 69.41 N.; means "last island at the end of the land". For travelers proceeding over the sea-ice from Pelly Bay to Thom Bay, or points northward, this island appears as the last island with any connection to the mainland. From here the trails northward fan out onto the open sea-ice and the clearly maritime islands of "Kighiktajuit" (the Astronomical Society Islands). This island is a polar bear denning site, and now is visited primarily by hunters in search of them during the late winter season. (Informants 6, 7, 10).

NUVUTERUK, (Cape), Lat. 69.41.30 N., Long. 91.04 W.; the Inuktitut name for Cape Kjer; means "the last point of land". This cape, on "Nuvigchuq" (Island, meaning "the last island at the end of land", see #62, above), is indeed the last point of land associated with the mainland in the area. This point is a landmark for sea-ice travel. It is rounded going northwards onto the sea-ice, and is a point to aim for when coming off the open sea-ice. The "Hina'aq" (floe edge) is only a few kilometers northeast of this cape. The constantly moving ice makes surface travel dangerous in this area, thus it is wise to keep as close to this point as possible in passing. Alternately, travellers can pass behind the island through the passage between "Nuvigchuq" and "Avvak Nuvua". This area now is utilized primarily for polar bear hunting in the late winter. (See Van de Velde #426) (Informants 6, 7, 10).

PATKHURAQ, (Islands), Lat. 69.43 N. to Lat. 69.45 N.; Long. 91.20 W. to Long. 91.26 W.; means "they resemble caribou marrow". The root word "patkerk" means "marrow", with the infinitive verb "ku" meaning "resembling". There are small, elongated fragments of sedimentary rock to be found along the shorelines of these islands which resemble caribou bone marrow in shape, size, and color.

These small islands were once used as springtime sealing camp sites by the Sinimiut Inuit that lived in the area, but since the movement into permanent settlements this area has been utilized primarily by hunters in search of polar bear. (See Van de Velde #473) (Informants 1, 4, 7).
PITIKTARVIK, (Islands), Lat. 69,53 N. to Lat. 69,54,30 N.; Long. 91,37 W. to Long. 91,46 W.; means "where the bow was drawn", or, in literal translation, "a battlefield where people have been killed by arrows drawn by enemies bows".

Before the arrival of Canadian sovereignty, and the presence of the R.C.M.P. to enforce it, there were a number of "vendetta", or "retribution" murders in Inuit society in this area. Normally, if a member of a nuclear family was heinously harmed, abducted, seriously slighted, or killed, an adult male who was very closely related would swear revenge, and seek out the perpetrator, now matter how long it took. There were certain areas of sanctuary in which the murderer could seek asylum, however; one of which corresponds with the present-day location of "Umingmaktuk" (Baychimo), in Bathurst Inlet.

Retribution for previous deeds was a life-long obsession, sometimes extending to the second generation, and, as a result, there were hunters who were afraid to turn their backs, even when stopping to urinate on the trail, on the members of their own travelling party. These grudge vendettas, in a culture in which stories of family traditions were preserved both by oft-repeated oral histories of lineage, and by a system of name-transferral from the recently-dead to the newly-born, insured that any perceived injustices of the past would be ultimately avenged in kind. Normally these retrributions were directed at the original perpetrator, and in direct revenge. Occasionally they were carried out upon a particular and identifiable group of Inuit who were considered outsiders. This is evidently what happened at "Pitiktarvik"; a group of aggrieved Inuit from the Boothia Peninsula allegedly attacked a group of Sinimiut or Arvilingmiut (or a combination thereof) Inuit en masse, and slaughtered nearly the entire encampment. It is not known exactly when, or on what island this event took place, and so these islands collectively are known as "Pitiktarvik"; in essence "a battlefield". (See Van de Velde # 645) (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

PUDLAT, (or PUDLIAT), (Cape, Point), Lat. 69,03,30 N., Long. 90,38 W., "the entrance", or "the place to go in". The word "pudlat" refers to the entrance hole of an upright stone trap, generally used for foxes, but sometimes for larger animals. The mouth of this trap, which has bait inside, is built high enough above the bottom pit that an entering animal is prevented from jumping up to escape from the same hole. This point of land, just south of "Kivikiktaq" (Cape Berens), was,
evidently, a good place to place stone fox traps during the first days of contact. Many years ago a young couple, recently married, were buried by an avalanche in their igloo at the base of the cliffs here, and died. This point was, and remains, a popular place to camp during the spring seal-hunting season. (See Van de Velde # 467) (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

67) **PUKTUJA’AITUQ**, (Island), Lat. 69,29 N., Long. 90,08 W.; means "the place to go hunting". This small island is normally quite close to the "Hina’aq" (floe edge) in wintertime, and is a popular place to camp while hunting for polar bear. There is a small wood-frame survival cabin placed on this island by the Pelly Bay Hunters and Trappers Society. It was built in Pelly Bay and towed by skidoo over the ice to its present location in 1986. (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

68) **TAKHIUA’ARUQ**, (Lake), Lat. 69,24 N. to Lat. 69,29 N.; means "like a small sea". Lake trout and land-locked char can be caught here, although it is not visited very frequently. (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

69) **TAKHIUAVRUQ**, (Inlet), Lat. 69,27 N., Long. 90,39 W.; means "the smaller sea". This is the entrance to an overland travel corridor that was used extensively to travel from the Pelly Bay area to the Hudson Bay Company trading post at Fort Ross while it was open during the years 1937-49 (see # 54). It is very seldom used today. (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

70) **TAKHIURUK**, (Bay), Lat. 69,24 N., Long. 90,34 W.; means "the small sea". This bay, surrounded by islands and the mainland, has relatively calm and sheltered waters. It is a good place to go seal hunting by boat in the summer months. It generally freezes over smoothly, and is a good surface for sea-ice travel during the winter months. (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

71) **TASSEUJARUTIT**, (Inlet), Lat. 69,28 N. to Lat. 69,33 N.; Long. 90,38 W. to Long. 90,45 W.; means "it is almost like a lake". This long, narrow inlet has a shallow opening that becomes dry land at low tide, making the interior parts a salt water lake for several hours a day during the meltwater months. In the winter this narrow neck freezes to the bottom, isolating the rest of the inlet. Occasionally seals are trapped in these waters, and they were often checked upon passing, with generally good results, in previous days. This is an area where polar bears may be found, and several dens have been reported in the cliffs near the northern end. Near the north shore are the remains of a 'Tallun'; a
series of inukshuks in parallel lines meant to drive caribou into the water at a particular spot, where they could be harpooned by waiting hunters in kayaks. There are the remains of a Roman Catholic religious shrine, a cairn approximately two meters tall, near here, that acts as a local landmark. The lower reaches of "Tasseuarutit" are part of a natural pass used for wintertime travel. This pass was used as part of the travel corridor between Pelly Bay and the H.B.C. post which operated at Fort Ross during the years 1937-49. This corridor, and this general area, has not been used very often since the closure of Fort Ross. This area in now visited primarily by polar bear hunters in late winter. (See Van de Velde # 557) (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

72) TIKHIRAQ, (or TIKERAK), (Peninsula), Lat. 69,31 N., Long. 91,00 W.; means "the point". The root word "tikhiraq" is used in many different variations (See Van de Velde #'s 563-77), and there are several places that utilize the root word alone, such as this peninsula. This "Tikhiraq" is the only one to be found on this mapsheet. (See Van de Velde # 560) (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

73) * TUKINGASUARUSERK, (or TUKHINGAURARUHIQ), (Island), Lat. 69,33 N. to Lat. 69,36 N.; Long. 90,17 W. to Long. 90,22 W.; the Inuktitut name for Kull Island; means "the one that is most exactly opposite". This island is much taller than the others in its group, and forms a distinctive landmark for travellers in this area. Its name is meant to identify it as the island most opposite "Ha'aktuk" (Simpson Peninsula). There are often polar bear dens on this island, which is in an area commonly used in late winter by polar bear hunters. (See Van de Velde # 592) (Informants 4, 7, and 12).

74) TULLUGARNAK; (Lake), Lat. 69,11 N. to Lat. 69,15 N.; Long. 91,46 W. to Long. 91,56 W.; means "where there are crows". The word "tullugarnak" means "crows", which are an unusual sight in this area, where ravens tend to predominate. This lake, far inland, is evidently a place where crows nest. In the past this lake was probably visited by caribou hunters walking inland during the summer months. In recent years this lake is occasionally crossed in winter by hunters in search of caribou or by travellers on their way to the Shepherd Bay DEW Line site. (See Van de Velde # 596) (Informants 4, 7, and 10).

75) TUNUNGAJUK, (Island), Lat. 69,49 N. to Lat. 69,52,30 N.; Long. 91,38 W. to Long. 91,51 W.; means "it has
turned its back (on the sun)”. The steep cliffs of this island, the second largest of the "Kighiktajuit" (Astronomical Society Islands) group, face south, and thus very seldom receive direct sunlight during the spring and fall months; it seems as they have turned their back on the sun. This island is in an area frequented by polar bears, and there are occasional sightings of "uggyuks" (bearded, square-flippered seals) in the waters surrounding it. This area is visited by hunters from Spence Bay more often than those from Pelly Bay. (See Van de Velde # 599) (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

76) **Tunungasuaruserk**, (Island), Lat. 69,46 N. to Lat. 69,50 N.; Long. 91,26 W. to Long. 91,45 W.; means "the foremost that has turned its back (on the sun). The cliffs on this, the largest (foremost) island of the "Kighiktajuaq" (Astronomical Society Islands) group, face south, and thus very seldom receive direct sunlight. They appear to be perpetually in the shade, and it is said that they have turned their back to the sun. There are polar bear dens on this island, and occasionally "uggyuks" (bearded, square-flippered seals) are sighted in the waters nearby. As with its smaller island neighbor to the north, "Tunungajuk", it is visited more frequently by hunters from Spence Bay than from Pelly Bay. (See Van de Velde # 600) (Informants 4, 7, and 9).

77) **Ublaarslit**, (Island), Lat. 69,06 N. to Lat. 69,08 N.; Long. 89,54 W. to Long. 89,59 W.; means "island of the morning". The root word "ublaak" means "morning". As it is the custom for family groups to go spring sealing on the sea-ice in this area at night, when the surface meltwater is frozen, movement from one group of breathing holes to another is usually northeastward, away from the base camps and toward the sun dipping towards the horizon. As "Ublaarslit" is the island farthest east in this group, it is normally encountered early in the morning during spring sealing. Arrival at this island is quite often a signal to turn around and proceed back to the shore camps, generally located on the western islands or mainland of Pelly Bay. (See Van de Velde # 615) (Informants 4, 5, and 7).

78) **UKivaq**, (or UKiiwait), (Islands), Lat. 69,11 N. to Lat. 69,13,30 N.; Long. 90,22 W. to Long. 90,31 W.; means "the ones where they spend the winter". There are the remains of old "Tuunit" encampments on these islands, and it is said that this is where some of these people would spend the winter. The "Tuunit" lived in subterranean earth and stone houses on land, while the Inuit spent the winters living in igloos on the sea-ice.
There are several stories in the Arvilingmiut culture that refer to a time when the Inuit and the "Tuunit" coexisted in the same areas. There are several "Tuunit" living sites preserved within the area of present occupation of the Inuit of this region. The waters around "Ukivaq" are now utilized primarily for springtime sealing activities. (See Van de Velde # 619) (Informants 1, 4, and 5).

79) UKPAT, (Island), Lat. 69,31 N., Long. 91,34 W.; means "looks like the two cheeks of a bum (buttocks) sticking out of the bay". This small island at the farthest inland reaches of Franklin Inlet bears a striking resemblance to the source of its naming, and it is said that once you have seen it you won't forget it. This area is seldom visited today. (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

80) UNGILITAITUK, (Inlet), Lat. 69,28 N. to Lat. 69,30 N.; Long. 91,43 W. to Long. 91,48 W.; means "at the mouth of a deep inlet". A rather common name, used to designate the mouth of an inlet, generally where the surrounding beaches permit camping, this is the only "Ungilitaituk" on this mapsheet. There are evidently the remains of an old "Tuunit" camp on the beach at the mouth of this inlet. Local lore suggests that, long ago, some "Tuunit" were encountered by Inuit here, and that they ran away, never to be seen again, leaving all of their possessions behind. Father Van de Velde evidently donated some of these artifacts to a man named Patterson in August, 1947, who was to convey them to a museum. (See Van de Velde # 444) (Informants 1, 4, and 7).

81) UTKHUTKIAQ, (Island), Lat. 69,15,30 N., Long. 90,48 W.; means "place where there is soapstone". There are several small deposits of usable soapstone on this island, which were utilized long ago. They are not of commercial value, being generally quite small and hard to find. Today there is a fairly readily accessible deposit of soapstone available at Lat. 68,07 N, Long 92,50 W. (approx.), about eight kilometers west of the bottom of Murchison Lake. Occasionally the local Coop will contract out the collection of some of this soapstone to a consortium of people from Pelly Bay. Emiliano Quirnuq has a gasoline-engine driven stone-saw that he found at an abandoned geologists camp in the vicinity of the Shepherd Bay DEW Line site several years ago, and, normally after dynamite blasting, this is used to cut blocks of this fairly soft soapstone for use by the carvers of Pelly Bay. Most of the soapstone for carving, however, is now brought in by air from other areas through the Coop charters, and the qualities of
this imported raw material are generally preferred to the local soapstone. Many of the local artisans of Pelly Bay prefer to forego soapstone for the medium of ivory today. (Informants 4, 7, and 9).
Appendix 5

Place Names Listed By Category

1) Descriptions and Parameters of Categories..............291
2) Descriptive Place Names.................................292
3) Associative Place Names.................................301
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Place Names Listed By Category:

- an alphabetical listing of all recorded Inuktitut
  place names in the study area of the thesis according to
  the toponymic etymological categories outlined in "Names
  on the Globe", by George R. Stewart (1975). These
  categories, and their selection criteria, are:

1) **Descriptive Names**: which clearly describe the obvious
   physical attributes of a place, as perceived by the
   senses. These entries refer to the characteristics of
   the place itself, and assume that the attributes are
   locally unique enough to provide for unambiguous
   recognition. Reference may be made to nearby features,
   such as White Rock Lake. Other examples would include
   such entries as Rocky Mountains, Muddy Creek, and Red
   Lake.

2) **Associative Names**: differ from descriptive names in
   that they identify a place not by description as such,
   but by association with some other variable familiar to
   the lived experience of the namers and users of the
   area. The place is clearly connected, in its etymology,
   with an action, an object, or a thing. Examples would
   include Caribou Lake, Spring Camp Island, and Seagull
   River. Places in which there is a direct association
   with specifically named individuals or groups of people
   are not included in this category.

3) **Incident Names**: refer to one specific incident, or
   repeated incidents of the same specific event occurring
   more than once, and becoming, in the perceptions of the
   land-users, intrinsically linked to that place. The
   nature of the event is of importance, as it must have
   had, at the time of naming, relevance enough to warrant
   long-term remembrance. Examples include Suicide Island,
   Battle Creek, and Airplane Crash Hill, all of which
   refer to specific incidents.

4) **Possessive Names**: refer to the perceived ownership of
   a place (or the rights to a particular aspect thereof),
   or to the persistent long-term occupation of a site by a
   definable person or group of people. The place is thus,
   within the group perception, linked with the name of a
   person or group. Examples include Bill's Island, Nartok
   Summer Camp River, and Netsillik Lake.

5) **Commemorative Names**: are names that are bestowed at a
   particular point in time to preserve the memory of, or
   to do honor to, a particular person, place, or thing,
   and are to be a memorial to that remembrance. Although
   many Euro-american place names, with their relative
permanence once officially affixed to paper, are of this category, few place names from aboriginal, oral societies retain this etymology. Examples include Mount Eisenhower, Lake Champlain, and Lady Franklin Point.

6) **Commendatory Names**: are names that are coined to deliberately provide a favorable image of a place or area in the imagination of the user. The intent of a commendatory name is to bestow, at the time of naming, a positive perception of the named place, and to associate this forevermore as a place having these desirable attributes. A noteworthy example was the naming of Greenland by Eric the Red, a misnomer calculated to draw immigrants to the new colony from Iceland. Other examples include Paradise Valley, Golden Acres Estates, and the Happiness Hills.

**Note**: in the listings of Inuktitut place names by category below, the entries immediately following the numbers refer to the location of the toponym in the appendix of the thesis. The initials **OG** refer to Inuktitut place names which were collected by Father Van de Velde, officially recognized in 1984, and which were already affixed to the original base maps used for the study. The initials **PB** are used to designate entries from the thesis toponymy for the Pelly Bay Mapsheet (See Appendix 3), while the initials **HI** refer to the Harrison Islands toponymy (See Appendix 4). HI3 would, for example, refer to entry 3 of the Harrison Islands toponymy.

**Descriptive Place Names**:

1) **HI1** **AGHUVAQ** (Peninsula), "a curved shape" - like the handle of a snow knife.

2) **OG2** **AKULIARUT** (Island), "place where there is a means of going between the two (parts of the island at low tide)".

3) **PB1** **AKKULIQ** (Bay, Sea), "salt water".

4) **OG3** **AKULLIQ** (Point), "the one that is between the two parts (of the sea)".

5) **HI3** **AKKULIVIK** (Channel, Straight), "the little sea between the two".

6) **HI4** **AKVAK NUVUA** (Islands), "the small(er) islands at the end".
7) **OG4** ALLIARUSIA (Lake), "the lowest lake".
8) **OG5** ALLIARUSTIQ (Lake, and River), "lower than another (close by)".
9) **OG6** ALLUQSIARUTAA (Islands), "on the exposed side of the big (island, Korvigduak)".
10) **OG7** AMAARTUK (Lake), "red lake", refers to leachates, with a second possible etymology as "wolf lake".
11) **PB2** AMAARTUK KUGAA (River), "the river of Amaartuk".
12) **PB3** AMAARTUK PAANGA (River Mouth, and Bay) "where the Amaartuk empties".
13) **OG8** AMITSURDJUAQ (Lake), "the big, narrow lake".
14) **PB6** AREARK (Lake), "the longest lake" (note: two occurrences).
15) **PB8** ARIA’AQ (lake-like part of the river), "it is like a long lake".
16) **HI7** ARMITUA’ALUK (Lakes), "thin (narrow) lakes".
17) **OG11** ASUNGASUNARK (Cliffs), "they look as if they are about to separate (or fall down)".
18) **HI8** ATANIQHLIK TASSEA (Lakes), "the lowest, most attached lakes".
19) **OG12** ATANIRSLIQ (Lake, and Inlet), "the lowest, most attached one(s)".
20) **HI9** AUNERK (Island), "it looks as if it has been burnt".
21) **OG15** AVALIKUARJUK (River), "the smallest and furthest toward the end".
22) **HI11** AVATAPA’ARUQ (Lake), "shaped as an avatagpait (sealskin storage container for seal oil)".
23) **PB1** AVLIHANA’A (Whirlpool, or Rapids), "the whirlpool".
24) **PB11** HA’AKTUK (Peninsula), "the flat part".

HI12
25) PB12 HAALGUQ (Island), "the flat island".
OG17

26) HI13 HADLIKH (Island), "the one that is the most opposite (to the mainland)".

27) HI14 HAGLIGUAK (Islands), "they have thin, flat layers (of rock)".

28) OG18 HATSIKTUQ (Island), "the one that has high cliffs".

29) HI17 HINA'AQ (Floe Edge), "the edge of open sea water".

30) HI18 HULUANIGUAQ (Channel), "the one that is the big (best) channel to go between".

31) OG21 HUTLUARNAAJUK (Channel), "the small channel".

32) OG22 HUTLUARNIRJUAK (Channel), "the (big) one that is the most channel".

33) PB13 ICHU'UAQ (Islands), "the two little islands at the end".

34) PB15 I'INARJUAQ (Cliffs), "the cliffs beside the river".

35) HI22 IKALUHVIGURIT PAANGA (Inlet), "the inlet of Ikaluhvigurit (Lake)".

36) PB16 IKEDRUARDJUK (underwater shoal), "the small shoal".

37) HI25 IKITNUARUQ (Lake), "the small crack in the rock (where we can pass)".

38) PB18 IKPIK (Cliffs), "where the cliffs are made of clay".

39) HI27 ILLINGNU'UQ (Terraces), "where rock ledges are flat like a bed".

40) PB19 ILLUTU'UQ (Valley), "the big empty space".

41) PB21 IMINERQ (Lakes), "where the water drains out (by the end of the summer)".

42) OG28 INALINNUAQ (Lake), "the small lake where there are cliffs".
43) PB22 **INERDJUIT KINGAIT** (Mountains), "the small mountains close to I'inarjuaq".

44) OG28 **INNAJUKAARJUK** (River), "the small river with many cliffs".

45) HI32 **ISARUTARK** (Peninsula), "piece (of land) that sticks out like a wing".

46) OG34 **ISUQTUARJUK** (Lake), "the only small, muddy one".

47) OG35 **ISUQTUNAJUK** (Lake), "the big one that is muddy".

48) OG36 **ISUQTUQ** (Lake), "it is muddy".

49) OG38 **ITIGULIK** (Lake), "the lake where there are cliffs of white stone".

50) PB24 **ITTIGUQ** (Cape), "place of small cliffs".

51) PB25 **IVIAGANIUK** (pair of Hills), "they are shaped like a woman's breasts".

52) PB26 **IVIANGNULIK** (Lake), "the lake that is beside Iviaganiuk".

53) HI33 **IVU** (area if ice buildup), "where the sea ice builds up".

54) PB28 **IVUNIRA'ARUQ** (Island), "place where there is frequent pack ice".

55) OG41 **KAAKNAK** (River Junction), "where a tributary joins a larger river".

56) PB30 **KAERTUARDJUIT** (rock outcropping), "the only place where there are rocks".

57) PB31 **KAIGIKLUT** (Bay), "the inner bay".

58) PB34 **KAMANAAJUQ** (widening of the river), "like a lake (of Kunuardjuk), widening, but on the river".

59) PB35 **KAMINIRJUARK** (part of the Kellett River), "long, deep, and narrow part of the river valley".

60) PB36 **KANGERSLUK** (Bay), "bay inside the islands".
61) PB37 **KANIGAVIA'ARUQ** (Point), "the point of land".
62) HI35 **KANIKLITU'URUK** (Inlet), "the big, long bay".
63) HI36 **KANIGLUVAK** (Inlet), "the long bay".
64) PB38 **KANNIK** (Point), "a firm part (of land)".
65) PB40 **KIGHIKTAJUAQ** (Island), "the big, imposing island".
66) HI41 **KIGHIKTAJUIT** (Island), "the big, imposing islands".
67) PB41 **KIGHIKTALUAQ** (Island), "the big island".
68) HI43 **KIMIUTUQ** (Island), "it looks as if you moved the island a bit you could bottle up the bay".
69) HI44 **KINIKTUA'ARUQ** (Island), "little island with a hill".
70) OG43 **KINIKTUQ** (Island), "the one that has a hill that is higher than the others (around it)".
71) OG43 **KINIKTUQ** (Hill), "the one that is higher than the others (around it)".
72) OG44 **KINNGAARJUK** (Hill), "the small mountain".
73) PB42 **KITINGURA'AK** (Valley), "here there are two mountains that (we believe) used to fit together, but are separated now".
74) HI47 **KIVIKIKTAQ** (Cape), "it looks like an animal on a piece of ice just big enough to support it, tipping slightly".
75) OG45 **KORVIGDJUAK** (Island), "the big chamber pot" : the preeminent landmark of the bay.
76) PB43 **KRELUKSLUK** (Cliff), "(the small rocks at the base) look like (giant) ptarmigan droppings".
77) PB44 **KRIMIA'ARDJUQ** (Mountain Ridge), "the small ridge that resembles a dogs backbone".
78) PB46 **KUGAARDJUB PA'ANGA** (Bay), "the bay that is situated at the mouth (of the Kugajuk River)".
79) OG46 KUGAJUK (River), "the little river".
80) PB47 KUGARDJUARK (River), "the big little river".
81) PB48 KUGARDJUARKPA (River Mouth), "mouth of the Kugardjuark River".
82) PB49 KUNGUARDJUK (Narrows), "the little narrows".
83) PB50 KUNGULAARIT (River), "the small groups which little by little and in succession tend to become a river".
84) PB51 KU'NIURVIK (Falls), "place where there is a waterfall which fish cannot pass, and which resembles a crevice in appearance".
85) PB52 KUNUARDJUQ (Narrows), "the smaller narrows".
86) PB53 KUUG (River), "the big (preeminent) river".
87) PB54 KUUG AREARK (wide part of the river), "the longest lake on the Kuug".
88) OG47 KUGARJUARAARJUK (River), "the little, big, little river", one that varies in size.
89) PB55 KUUGPA (River Mouth), "the mouth of the Kuug (River)".
90) OG48 KUUTSINAAQ (Lake), "above (Areark Lake)".
91) PB57 KURLURTULINNUARK (Falls, or Rapids), "the little place where there are falls (rapids), and where there is a fish weir (of rocks)".
92) PB58 MAMITSUI'TUK (Thermal Spring), "a place where it never freezes".
93) OG49 MANIITTUARJUK (Island), "this is the only little (uneven) one (with many large rocks)".
94) OG50 MANIITURJUAQ (Island), "this is the very big (uneven) one (with many large rocks)".
95) HI51 NADLU'A'ARDJUK (Island), "a small flat place (to cross)".
96) PB62 NAKSARDJUARK (Pass), "the big valley you can pass through".
97) OG55 NATIRNGNARJUAQ (Valley), "it is very flat, like a floor".
98) PB67 NAUJAARDJUIT TASSEA (Lake), "the lake by Naujaardjuit".
99) PB68 NAUJAARDJUIT KUGAA (River), "the river of Naujaardjuit".
100) HI56 NIAKULNAGUAQ (Mountain), "it is shaped like a (human) head".
101) OG58 NIAQUPTAGJUJAQ (Hill), "place of (slippery tundra hummock) heads (that make it hard to walk)".
102) OG59 NIAQURNAARJUK (River), "place that is near to Niakulnaguaq".
103) OG60 NIAQURNAQ (Hill), "looks like a small (human) head".
104) PB71 NILAKDJUAAR'K (small Glacier), "the big pile of ice (that does not melt)".
105) PB72 NUVAKHILIT (Islands), "islands at the end".
106) HI60 NUVAKHILIT NUVUA (Cape), "(the point that is) by Nuvakhilit".
107) HI61 NUVAKHILIT KUGAA (River), "the river that flows from Nuvakhilit".
108) HI62 NUVIGCHUQ (Island), "the island at the end of the land".
109) OG63 NUVUAGJUK (Peninsula, Point), "the small(er) point at the end, looks like islands".
110) HI63 NUVUTERUK (Cape), "the last point of land".
111) HI64 PATKHURAQ (Islands), "the rocks here resemble caribou marrow".
112) PB77 PINGUAARDJUK (Hill), "a (rounded) hill of clay and sand".
113) PB78 PINGUAARDJUK KUGAA (River), "the river that flows from Pinguardjuk".
114) PB79 PINGUAARDJU'UT (Hills), "the two (twin) hills
that are made of sand and clay."

115) OG64 PIIQIQ (River Bend), "nearly all the way around".

116) OG65 PUKTAUJAQ (Bay), "looks somewhat like puktark (floating ice)".

117) OG71 QAMANAARJUK (Bay, although on a river), "the small opening (widening)".

118) OG72 QAMANNAK (Lakes), "opening (widening), on the river".

119) OG75 QATGIRJUAK (Lake), "it has many bays".

120) OG76 QATSIKTUARJUK (Lake), "the one that is on a level with the little (lake that is on the top of the flat plateau)".

121) OG77 QATSIKTUJUK (Lakes), "the lakes that are on top".

122) PB82 QATSIKTUJUK PINGUAA (Hills), "the pingar (hills of sand and clay) at Qatsiktuk".

123) OG78 QIKIQTARJUK (Islands), "the two big islands (of the group)".

124) OG79 QIKIQTANAJUK (Island), "the big (or biggest) island (of the group)".

125) OG80 QIKIQTANAJUK (Peninsula), "one would say that it is a big island (although it is not)".

130) OG81 QIKQIKTAJUAK (Island), "the bigger island".

131) OG86 QURLUQTUQ (Falls), "falls".

132) OG87 QATAIRRURJUAQ (Cliff), "the place where there are (big) rocks (that have fallen from the cliff)".

133) PB83 SENNERAK (the entire western shore of Pelly Bay), "across, the other side (of where we live)".

134) OG88 SIMIK (Island), "the plug (in the channel)".

135) OG89 SIMIUTAQ (Island), "the little plug".

136) PB86 TA’ASLUKSIANGA (Cliff), "the place away from
the sun where it is black".

137) OG93 **TAHIRARJUAQ** (Lake), "the big, little lake".

138) OG94 **TAHIRJUAQ** (Lake), "the big lake".

139) HI68 **TAKHIUA'ARUQ** (Lake), "the big lake like a small sea".

140) HI69 **TAKHIUAVRUQ** (Inlet), "the smaller sea".

141) HI70 **TAKHIURUK** (Bay), "the small sea".

142) PB89 **TASSERDJUA'ARK** (Lake), "the big lake".

143) PB90 **TASSERJUB KINGAIT** (Mountains), "the mountains by Tasserdjua'ark".

144) HI71 **TASSEUJARUTIT** (Inlet), "it is almost like a lake".

145) HI72 **TIKHIRAQ** (Peninsula), "the point".

146) OG96 **TIKIRANAJUK** (Point), "the big point".

147) OG97 **TIKIRARJUAQ** (Point), "the small(er) point".

148) OG98 **TIKIRARUARAARDJUK** (Point), "this is the large point".

149) PB91 **TIKTHUHRALIK** (Island), "the island that is almost broken in two".

150) OG99 **TINNIPPAJUK** (Bay, Lake, and River), "here are the one(s) that tend to have a tide".

151) PB92 **TINUARDJUQ** (Bay), "the end of the little bay by Tinurat".

152) PB93 **TINURAT** (Bay), "the bay at (or by) the end of the Tinuujssaaq River".

153) OG100 **TINUUJSSAAQ** (River), "where there are pools (for fishing) left behind (at low tide)"

154) OG101 **TINUUGJAAJUK** (River), "the place where rocks break through (the water when the tide is going out)"

155) PB94 **TUAPAKJUARK** (River Bend), "the big(ger) place where there is gravel on the shore".

(300)
156) HI73 **TUKINGASUARUSERK** (Island), "the one that is most exactly opposite (to Ha'aktuk)".

157) HI75 **TUNUNGAJUK** (Island), "it has turned its back (to the sun: its cliffs are nearly always in the shade)", a diminutive.

158) HI76 **TUNUNGAJUK** (Island), "the foremost that has turned its back (to the sun: its cliffs are nearly always in the shade)".

159) PB97 **TUUNGARKUKTUJUK KUGAA** (River), "the river by Tuungarkuktujuk".

160) PB99 **UAKNAKHILOQ** (River Mouth), "the mouth of the Kuug Uanaslerk".

161) PB101 **UJARAJUQ** (Rock), "little rock".

162) OG110 **UJARAQTUUNNUAQ** (Island), "a small place where there are many rocks".

163) OG111 **UJARASUGJUARRAARJUK** (Bay), "the small one (bay) where there is a place where there are big rocks".

164) HI79 **UKPAT** (Island), "looks like the two cheeks of a bum (buttocks) sticking out of the bay".

165) OG112 **ULITUQISALIK** (Island), "it is one that has a place that gets submerged by the tide".

166) PB105 **UMMANARK** (Island), "it is shaped like a heart".

167) OG113 **UNNGILITAITUQ** (Inlet), "a deep inlet".

**Associative Place Names:**

1) OG1 **AIVRU ITIBLIA** (Isthmus), "place where walrus cross the land".

2) HI5 **AMIKSANGERK** (Lake), "the place to fish with amiksak (bits of skin from an old kayak cover)".

3) HI6 **AMIKSANGNIK** (Lake), "the little place to fish with amiksak (bits of skin from an old kayak cover)".
4) PB4 **ANGUIAKTURVIK** (Bay), "a place where you catch what you eat".

5) PB7 **ARIAKSLERK** (Lake), "small long stomach lake".

6) PB9 **ARVILIDJUARK** (Bay), "the (large) place where there are whales".

7) OG13 **ATIQSILIRVIK** (Island), "the place to begin hunting for seals (in fall) at breathing holes".

8) OG14 **ATORQUAIT** (River), "the road to follow (for caribou)".

9) HI10 **AVAKHTAGUIK** (Islands), "the place to knock on (baby seal) heads".

10) OG16 **AVATAQPIVIK** (Island), "place of avataqpait (sealskin storage containers filled with seal oil for winter fuel)".

11) HI15 **HALUKTALIK** (Island), "place where there is lean".

12) HI16 **HAVIURARK** (Island), "the place where you have to cut out blocks of snow from the tops of polar bear (maternity) dens to get at them".

13) OG19 **HIKSLIQ** (Lake), "a place of many small animal droppings".

14) OG20 **HILLITIKSARVIK** (Bay), "a place to get the proper stone for sharpening utensils".

15) HI19 **IBLAUT** (Islands), "the fetus", it refers to a birthing area for seals.

16) HI20 **ICHUAKTUVIK** (Bay), "the place to look through windows", refers to the many small, seal hunting igloos found here.

17) PB14 **IGAVAUT** (Island), "a cooking place".

18) OG23 **IGLULIGAARJUK** (Island), "the small place where there are igloos", a spring camping place.

19) OG24 **IGLULIK** (Island), "a place where there are igloos".

20) OG25 **IKAAQTALIK** (Point), "a place where there have
been erected two piles (for storing a kayak)".

21) HI21 **IKALUHVIGURIT** (Lake), "the long (or big) lake where you can catch large (fully mature) fish".

22) HI23 **IKALULIK** (Lake), "the place where there are fish".

23) HI24 **IKALUTIAQ** (Lake), "place where there are lots of little fish".

24) OG26 **IKITURMATUUQ** (Hill), "he who wishes to eat many wounds", a reference to the wounds of caribou killed at the yearly crossing here, which were cut from the bodies and placed in cracks in the rocks to appease their spirits.

25) HI26 **IKLUGHIKTUK** (Island), "tough seal intestine".

26) HI28 **IMA'AUKTUQ** (Island), "water flowing over the top (of a boot)", refers to springtime rotten ice here.

27) HI29 **IMARGHA'AUQ** (Lakes), "small water to drink".

28) HI30 **IMILIAGAHKRUIT** (Islands), "the small islands where there is drinking water".

29) HI31 **IMILIK** (Lake, and Island), "a place to drink (water)"

30) OG27 **IMIQ** (Lake), "fresh water".

31) PB23 **INIRJUARRAJUQ** (River Bend), "the big, little place where there are many traces of sleds having gone by".

32) OG30 **IPUQJUAQ** (Valley), "(the small, winding pass through here) is like a rope (coiled on the ground)"

33) OG31 **IQAHITSIARVIK** (Lake), "a place of many small fish".

34) OG32 **IRNITURNIQ** (Island), "the place of the birth of many (birds)"

35) OG33 **ISLUURAARJUITTUQ** (Lake), "a place where there are never any isluu (lake, or inland char)".
36) OG37 **ISUULIK** (Lake), "the place where there are *islau* (lake, or inland char)".
37) OG40 **IVITAARUGTUAQ** (Lake), "a place of *ivitarurtuq* (a type of lake trout with dark red skin)".
38) PB27 **IVIUKTUK** (Lake), "where there is good mud for putting on sled runners".
39) PB32 **KAIJUUTIKSAQ** (Place), "the place where we get things to make tools".
40) HI34 **KANAJULIK** (Lake), "where there are sculpins".
41) OG42 **KANGUTALIK** (Lake), "the place of the major departures (for fall hunting and fishing)", a meeting place.
42) HI37 **KANULHIKTA’ARLUAQ** (Island), "place to have lots of harp seal".
43) HI38 **KAURKTUKTUK** (Islands), "place where there are *kautaliks* (a type of seal reputed to use a rock as a tool to knock on the bottom of the ice)".
44) PB39 **KAVIHILIKTURVIK** (part of the river), "the place to catch scaly fish".
45) HI39 **KEASIITUQ** (Inlet), "this is the place without a shoulder blade".
46) HI42 **KILIKTINAUAQ** (Island), meaning unclear, but believed to derive from the root word *kilik*, meaning "cut", with a diminutive.
47) HI46 **KIVIARIARK** (Peninsula), "trying to turn your head (in passing, as a landmark)"
48) PB56 **KUUG UANASLERK** (River), "in the direction of *uanaq* (the predominant north wind)"
49) PB59 **MANGIGIARK** (Lake, Caribou Crossing), "a place where caribou are seen eating as greedily and in the same fashion as hungry dogs"
50) HI48 **MANIITERKUT** (Islands), "the group of many bumps", refers to the remnants of many small, springtime seal-hunting igloos in the area.
51) HI49 **MANIKTUGVIK** (Lake), "place to put bait in the water".
52) OG51 Matsuq (River Bend), "where it is easy to go up (onto the land) from the river by sled".
53) Hi50 Mitkhiuvik (Islands), "place to hunt eider ducks".
54) PB60 Nadlu'ujark (River), "it looks like a caribou crossing".
55) PB61 Nadlut (Lake), "caribou crossing".
56) Hi52 Nagauruq (Creek), "newly born seagull".
57) PB63 Nakturalikta'aliik (Cliff), "place where there is an eagle".
58) Hi53 Nakungajut (Islands), "to look at cross-eyed (for these small landmarks on approaching from the sea ice)".
59) OG52 Nalluarjuk (Lake), "the place of the small(er) caribou crossing".
60) OG53 Nalluq (Lake), "place of a caribou crossing".
61) OG54 Nallut (Lake), "the place of a small (or smallest) caribou crossing".
62) PB64 Nasersurvik (Hill), "a high place to look out over the surrounding countryside (for game)"
63) OG56 Naujaalik (Lake), "where there are gulls", a diminutive.
64) PB66 Naujaardjuit (Cliff), "the big gull colonies".
65) Hi54 Nauja'ardjuk (Cliff), "the small(er) seagull colony".
66) OG57 Naulingniarvigjuaq (Lake, and River), "the big place to throw the naulingniut (leister or fish spear)"
67) PB69 Naulingniarvik (Narrows), "the place to throw the naulingniut (leister or fish spear)", a diminutive.
68) Hi55 Netchuktuk (River), "trying to pull out a fish as big as a seal".
69) PB70 Nighikturvik (Narrows), "a place to snag fish
with a hook".

70) OG61 NIPGURNILIGVIK (Lake), "place where one finds nibgurnilervik (green fish slime) in the water".

71) OG62 NURRAQSIURVIK (River), "place to hunt caribou calves".

72) PB73 PAULANGNIUT (Island), "place to get tattooed".

73) PB74 PERKEB KANGANI (Hill), "the look-out hill by Pepkrek".

74) PB76 PIGIULARIUT (Islands), "the place to find birds eggs".

75) PB80 PUALUTALIK (Hill), "where a mitten has been left", refers to a place where mannerk (fire-starting and carrying moss) is found.

76) OG66 PULLAGAARDJUK (Island), "a small place where there is (an entrance to) a stone fox trap".

77) OG67 PULLAT (Island), "where there is (an entrance to) a stone fox trap".

78) HI67 PUKTUJA'AITUQ (Island), "the place where we go (polar bear) hunting".

79) OG70 QAJUUTIKSAT (Lake), "place to get that from which to make tools".

80) OG73 QANISIURVIK (Island), "a place to carry things ahead to (when moving camp)".

81) OG74 QARMAQTALIK (Lake), "place where there are igloos with unfinished roofs (ice shelters used during fall fishing)".

82) OG82 QILUQSLUK (Hill), "ptarmigan droppings".

83) OG84 QINNGUUQ NAUJAA (Island), "the gull colony at Qinnguuq".

84) OG85 QIRLIAQTUQ (Island), "place where there are quirliags (a type of bird)".

85) OG90 SINNAKTURVIK (Island), "a place where one may dream".
86) OG92 **TAHILUGJUAQ** (Lake), "the big good-for-nothing lake", no fish here.

87) PB87 **TALLUN** (Inukshuks), "that which we hide behind (while hunting caribou at a crossing)".

88) OG102 **TUAPAGIKTUG** (Island), "it has good gravel (for camping on)".

89) HI74 **TULLUGARNAK** (Lake), "where there are crows".

90) OG103 **TUNNGAVIK** (Lake), "the place to set foot on land", refers to the many small islands in this lake where caribou stop while crossing.

91) OG104 **TUPIKTURVIK** (Point), "a tent site".

92) OG105 **TUTJAAK** (Lake), "where there is a ford (where we may cross)".

93) OG106 **TUTJAARAARJUK** (Lake), "place where there is a small(er) ford (where we may cross)".

94) OG108 **TUUNGAQTTUQ** (Islands), "they have spirits".

95) PB96 **TUUNGARKUKTUJUK** (Mountain), "there are great spirits here".

96) PB98 **TUUNUTURMAKTU'UR** (Lake, Caribou Crossing), "place to eat much *tuunuk* (caribou belly fat)".

97) OG109 **UALLIQ** (Lake), "in the direction of *uanaq* (the predominant north wind)".

98) HI77 **UBLAARSLIT** (Island), "island of (or toward) the morning (farthest to the east)".

99) PB100 **UGLARA'ARDJUQ** (Island), "the small place for *ugliartut* (male seals fighting during mating season)".

100) PB102 **UJARATZA'A** (Point), "where there are rocks for holding down a tent".

101) PB103 **UKI'ITURLERK** (Hills), "the place where you go most often in winter (to hunt musk ox)".

102) PB104 **ULUKAUMAVIK** (Cliffs), "place where the sounds of geese (*ulu-ulu-ulu*) echo between the cliffs".
103) **OG114** **UTAQQIVIARUT** (Creek, Caribou Crossing), "the small(er) place where one can very well wait (for caribou to cross)".

104) **PB106** **UTATKREVIKDJUA'ARK** (Pass, Caribou Crossing), "the large(r) place where one can very well wait (for caribou to cross)".

105) **HI81** **UTKHIUTKAQ** (Island), "place where there is soapstone".

**Incident Place Names:**

1) **OG9** **ANGUSUUQJIRIAK** (Hill), "this is the place where a large adult male (musk ox or barren-land grizzly bear, of exceptional size) was killed".

2) **OG10** **ARNAK** (Hill, and River), "of the (two) females", refers to two women who attempted to ford the river here, fell in, and were the brunt of jokes for many years.

3) **PB33** **KALUSARUTT** (Lake), "the place where he (an Inuk named Utjudjuat) was thrown (very far) by the horns of a musk ox".

4) **HI65** **PITIKTARVIK** (Island), "where people have been killed by arrows drawn by enemies bows", refers to the site of a battle of revenge.

5) **OG68** **QAJAOTUGAUSUITTUQ** (Lake), "one would not travel in a kayak on it for anything in the world (because of spirits that have caused a drowning)", a reference to a real event.

6) **OG69** **QAJUAVIK** (Lake), "place of a drowning".

7) **OG83** **QIMIVVIK** (Island), "place where one hangs oneself", refers to a time when this island was reserved for this function.

8) **OG95** **TALLINGUVIK** (Island), means "if you want a shoulder", and refers to a specific argument over the sharing of a caribou.

**Possessive Place Names:**

1) **PB5** **ANGUT KUUG** (River), "little boy's river".

2) **PB45** **KRINGUA** (Area), "where the Kringuanattuit (people from a location which is somewhat
favorable) live", refers to the largest group of Arvilingmiut. This term can, among the Kringuanattuit themselves, be loosely translated as "the people from our (favorable) side (of the bay)"

3) PB95 TUUNERTAT (Hills), "where there are tuunit (Dorset culture) things", refers to the remnants of tuunit houses, and various artifacts obviously not of Inuit manufacture, that have been found in the area.

4) HI78 UKIVAK (Islands), "this is where they (tuunit, people of the Dorset culture) spend the winter": there are the remains of tuunit subterranean houses here, and local lore refers to a time when Inuit and tuunit coexisted in the area, albeit long ago.

Commemorative Place Names:
- while nearly all English place names that appear on the base maps of the study area are commemorative (with the majority dating to the age of arctic discovery and exploration), none of the Inuktitut names are of this category.

Commemorative Place Names:

1) OG39 ITIGULINNUAQ (Lake), "the beautiful little lake that has white cliffs".

2) OG91 SIVANNIQTUUQ (Island), "the fine place where seals are (as numerous as or) like ducks".