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Inuit Place Names and Land-use History on the
Harvaqtuuq [Kazan River], Nunavut Territory

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts in Geography

by

Darren Keith

January, 2000

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ABSTRACT

Inuit Place Names and Land-use History on the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River],

Nunavut Territory

Darren Keith

This thesis classifies Inuit place names and analyses their meanings to reveal *Harvaqtuurmiut* land-use history on the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River], Nunavut Territory. The author collected previously unrecorded toponyms from the territory of this Caribou Inuit society, the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River], and corroborated the data of earlier researchers. The *Harvaqtuuq* landscape was organized from foci of subsistence activities by application of Inuktitut geographical terminology and concepts. These foci moved over time and betray changing land-use patterns. The *Harvaqtuuq* was a frontier for Inuit, due to the need to depend on caribou, and due to the conflict engendered by overlapping Dene occupation. The presence of anthroponyms, and the paucity of pan-Inuit myths in the landscape allow for the speculative interpretation that the names support current theories of a recent arrival of Inuit to the *Harvaqtuuq*.

RESUMÉ

Les Noms d'Endroits Inuit et l'Histoire d'Utilisation sur la *Harvaqtuuq* [Rivière Kazan],
Territoire du Nunavut

Darren Keith

Cette thèse classifie les noms d'endroits Inuit et analyse leurs significations pour révéler l'histoire d'utilisation de la terre *Harvaqtuurmiut* sur la *Harvaqtuuq* [Rivière Kazan], Territoire du Nunavut. L'auteur a collectionné des toponymes auparavant non reconnus des territoires de la société des Inuits du Caribou, la *Harvaqtuuq* [Rivière Kazan], et a corroboré ces données aux recherches antérieures. Le paysage *Harvaqtuuq* était organisé en foci d'activités de subsistance par l'application de termes et concepts géographiques Inuktitut. Ces foci ont migré avec le temps et démontrent les changements d'utilisation de la terre. La *Harvaqtuuq* était une frontière pour les Inuits était dépendant du caribou, et compliqué par l'occupation Dene. La présence d'anthroponymes, et la rareté des mythes pan-Inuit dans ce territoire permettent l'interprétation spéculative des noms d'endroits supportant la théorie courante que l'arrivée des Inuits est récente dans la *Harvaqtuuq*.

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I am grateful to the *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders: David Tiktaalaaq, Peter and Marion Aasivaaryuk, Luke Tunguaq, and Elizabeth Tunnuq with whom I have worked over the years. I recognize the investment they have made in my understanding their culture and history, and I can only hope that my field reports and this thesis due justice to their efforts.

Field collection of the toponyms used in this study was conducted during 1994 and 1997 for Parks Canada as background research for the establishment of Fall Caribou Crossing National Historic Site. A further research season was planned for the summer of 1998 and supported by the Northern Students Training Program and the Department of Geography, McGill University. This field trip was shortened due to a sudden death in the family which necessitated my early departure from *Qaman'tuaq* [Baker Lake].

I want to thank my friend and colleague Dr. Andrew Stewart for his constant support and encouragement during the writing of this thesis, and his assessments of the ideas and writing contained herein. He has my respect and admiration both as an academic and as an arctic field researcher.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Place names are part of the symbolic system used by societies to communicate spatial knowledge. Through intimate experience of their environment and the act of naming, people appropriate their geography (Basso 1990: 43) and establish their home territory. Place names are imbued with cultural information that is coded in their meanings, and in their associated narratives. In this way, place names function as mnemonics - archives of cultural knowledge to be read from the land.

Because of their inseparable connection to specific localities, place names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations - associations of time and space, of history and events, of persons and social activities, of oneself and stages in one's life. (Basso 1983: 103)

As Keith Basso explains place names are an expression, or reflection, of the individual and society. They are texts for individual or group reference. Because these texts are collectively known, they are an expression of a society's perception of a landscape. Place names are the embodiment of the cultural and linguistic concepts that a society brings to bear on the environment, and that society's experience of subsistence in a specific environment. For Mark Nuttall " 'thought space' or 'memoryscape' are more accurate terms to use when discussing how local areas are perceived and thought about by those living there (Nuttall 1993: 77)."

The Upernavik environment is ordered and conceptualized by Inuit through the interaction of imagination, thought, experience and language. The way people think and talk about their local landscapes reveal a complex knowledge not only about the physical environment but of real, mythical and imagined past events that have significance for the cultural construction of community (Nuttall 1993: 80).

This thesis analyses the meanings of the place names of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* society whose traditional territory is located south of *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake] on the

Harvaqtuuq [Kazan River] (see Figure 1), in order to illuminate what the names can tell us about their land-use history. According to current ethnohistorical theory, the *Harvaqtuurmiut* arrived in the area of the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River] around 1840, after migrating inland from the *Tariurjuaq* [Hudson Bay] coast. Analysis of the meanings of place names in *Harvaqtuurmiut* territory reveal information about: the important locations, or foci from which the landscape was organized; the application of geographical terminology; the orientation imposed by the environmental forces of hydrology, caribou migration, and the relative location of the coast; the important subsistence resources and the human activities associated with acquiring those resources; the mythological and historical events that have occurred; and, the locations that are an expression of their spiritual beliefs. These information topics, in conjunction with a survey of North American Aboriginal place name studies, form the basis of a typology that is applied to *Harvaqtuurmiut* toponyms. The results of this classification will be compared with other studies of Inuit toponyms, and names that were difficult to categorize will be discussed. The names are then addressed by each category in succession, and their meanings analysed for what they reveal about the history of Inuit land-use on the *Harvaqtuuq*. I speculate further about how the results may be interpreted as evidence of the recent migration of Caribou Inuit inland in the 1840s.

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 1 provides the sources and methodology of this study and situates it in the field of Inuit place names studies; Chapter 2 provides the ethnographic background of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* as reconstructed from ethnographic sources and oral traditions; Chapter 3 describes a typology of place name meanings; Chapter 4 contains the analysis of the meanings of *Harvaqtuurmiut* place names; Chapter 5 discusses the results of the analysis.

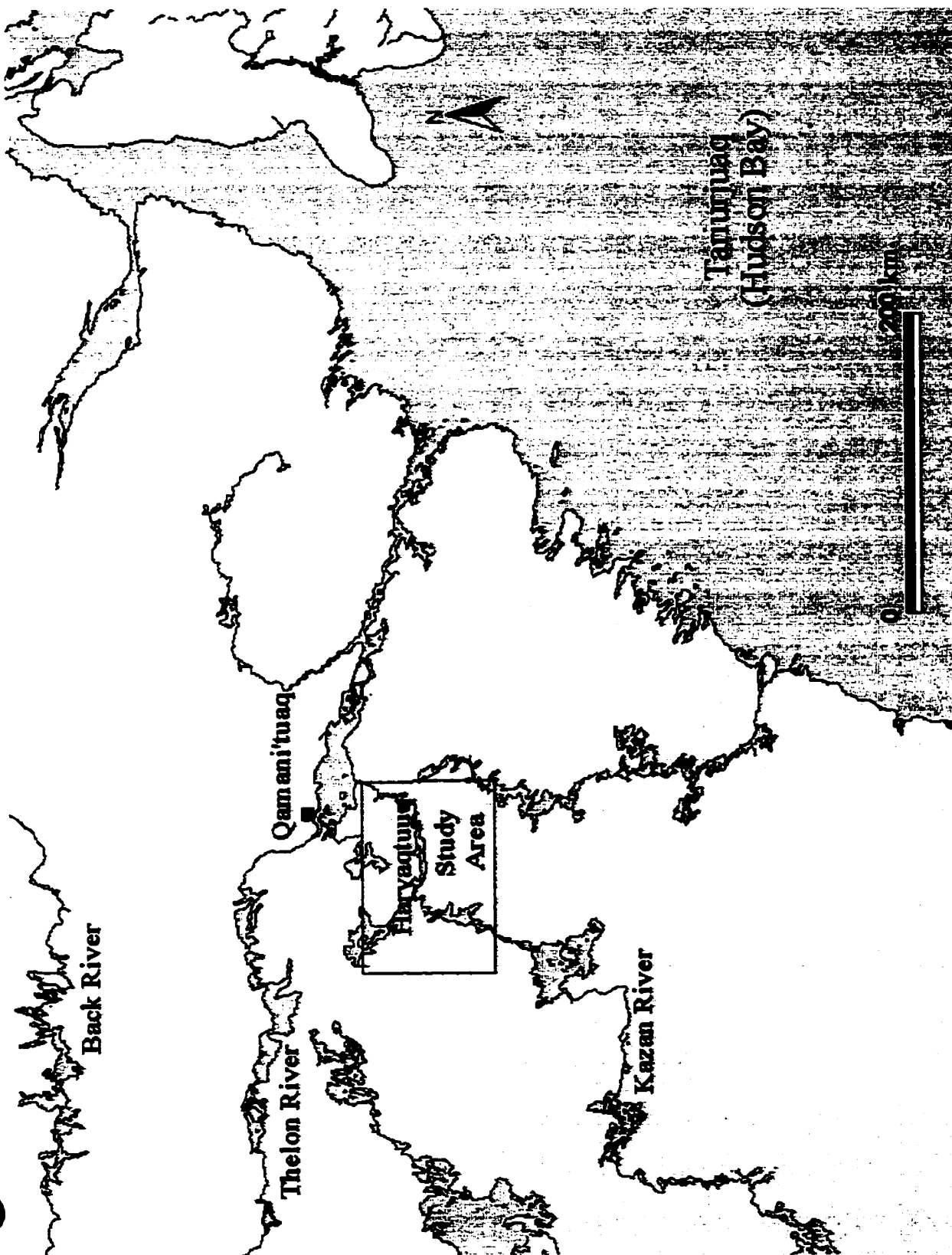


Figure 1: The Study Area

1.1 Sources and Methodology

Field collection of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* toponyms used in this study was conducted in collaboration with Joan Scottie during 1994 and 1997, and the data are contained in two field reports (*Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al. 1994; Keith and Scottie 1997).

Before going to the field, existing sources of data were studied. The toponyms of *Harvaqtuuq* were first recorded by anthropologist Knud Rasmussen of the Fifth Thule Expedition in the spring of 1922 (Rasmussen 1930b). Two *Harvaqtuurmiut* -*Kijurut* and *Pukirluk*- drew maps of the area surrounding *Harvaqtuuq*, upon which Rasmussen noted the locations of named places.

A second source of data was the extensive survey of *Kivalliq* [Keewatin region] carried out by Ludger Müller-Wille and Linna Weber Müller-Wille (1989-91) as part of their NUNA-TOP projects. This work included the community of *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake] and the territory of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* [see Figure 1 for Study Area]. Some of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders that were interviewed by the Müller-Willes during this work had passed away by the time of the 1994 field season.

1.1.1 Field Methodology

During the two field seasons, place names were collected on 1:50,000 NTS maps. The places were identified either by visual recognition during a site visit, or by reviewing maps at a site in the immediate area. Sites visible from the river, or river bank, were photographed to provide a visual record. Information about the meaning of the names and stories associated with named places and spaces was provided by Elders during video and audio taped interviews both on the river and in *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake], Nunavut. These recordings are archived with: the Inuit Heritage Centre in Baker Lake; the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife; and, with Parks Canada.

The field work confirmed and built on the data collected by the Müller-Willes (1989-91), which consists of names recorded onto 1:50,000 NTS maps as well as some meanings. The format which was used in the field reports is described in *A Guide to the Collection of Native Place Names* (CPCGN 1992). Each name has its own unique identification number which consists of its 1:50,000 map sheet number followed by a number of its own that was given consecutively as names were recorded. For example:

55 M-12 001 Qurluqtuq
Falls

Translation: "falls" (Scottie 1995)
- confirmed by Elizabeth Tunnuq and Thomas Oovayuk 1994.

Marked as "#25 qurlurtuq - the waterfall" on Kijurut's map (Rasmussen 1930)

Sources:

David Tiktaalaaq
Luke Tungvaq
Peter Aasivaarjuk
Barnabus Piryaq
Elizabeth Tunnuq
Thomas Oovayuk
NUNA-TOP (1989-91)
Rasmussen (1930b)

The designator 55 M/12 is the number of the 1:50,000 NTS map sheet. The 001 is the number given to the first named place on the map. This combination provides a unique locator number for each named place (CPCGN 1992: 14). Underneath the name that is in bold is the entity [i.e. what the name designates], followed by the translation or meaning of the name and a reference to who translated it or what other source it was taken from. Under the sub-heading "sources" are the people who provided the location, meaning and/or confirmation of the name.

Many new names were added to the Müller-Willes' data during this study and many previously recorded names were confirmed. In some cases the information provided by Elders differed from the Müller-Wille data as to the location, spelling or meaning of a place name. When the locations diverged, this was indicated in the field reports.

Information collected by the Müller-Willes concerning the meanings of the names was included in my reports, regardless of whether new and old data were the same. Spelling differences were not indicated.

1.1.2 Translations

Most of the English translations used in this thesis were provided by Joan Scottie of *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake, Nunavut], and are written in the standard Inuktitut Roman adopted by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Inuit Cultural Institute in 1976. These translations were based on: her knowledge as a native speaker of Inuktitut and the *Harvaqtuurmiut* dialect; and the guidance of *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders. In some cases, translations have been taken from one of two published Inuktitut dictionaries; *Ulinaisigutiit: An Inuktitut-English Dictionary of Northern Quebec, Labrador and Eastern Arctic Dialects* written by Lucien Schneider (Schneider 1985); and, *Comparative Eskimo Dictionary: With Aleut Cognates* written by Michael Fortescue, Steven Jacobson and Lawrence Kaplan (1994). Both of these reference works were very helpful in the analysis of place name meanings, as they cover many dialects including those of the western Hudson Bay. This allowed me to determine whether specific words are found in many or few dialects. In Schneider's dictionary northern Quebec dialects are strongly represented and in Fortescue's dictionary the entire Inuit region is covered allowing for comparison of dialects from Alaska to Greenland. I chose not to use Arthur Thibert's *English-Eskimo, Eskimo-English Dictionary* because it was not explicit about the dialects represented by each defined word (Thibert 1997).

1.1.3 Analytical Methods

The main thrust of the analysis in this thesis is to look at the semantic content, or meaning of toponyms. As a first step a typology is applied to organize the names into categories based on meaning. As I am not a fluent Inuktitut speaker with enough cultural context to

develop a typology based on Inuit categories of place name meaning, I have turned to the only approach open to me which is to create categories of significance from a western perspective. Application of the typology will in itself be a learning process, challenging the assumptions of the typology, and illuminating the concepts underlying Inuit toponyms.

Derivation of the typology is based on my own assumptions of appropriate categories derived from: my personal experience with Inuit Elders and the work of scholars working in combination with Aboriginal Elders in the field of Aboriginal place name analysis. Many scholars have taken the typology approach including those working with Athapaskans (Cruikshank 1984; Jett 1997), Inuit (Holmer 1969; Ray 1971; Collignon 1996; Fair 1997), and other Aboriginal groups (Hunn 1996). The typology used in this thesis is constructed in Chapter 3 and draws heavily on the work of these scholars.

The second part of the analysis is to look at the meanings of specific toponyms from each of the types. Inuktitut concepts are described by drawing on: translations given by Joan Scottie; ethnographic sources; oral traditions; or the dictionaries of Schneider (1985) and Fortescue et al. (1994). Attention is paid to the existence of shared landscape concepts among Inuit cultural groups and dialects. The dictionaries mentioned above were invaluable in this regard.

1.2 Contribution to Inuit Place Name Studies

It is intended that this thesis further the study of Inuit place names, an area of inquiry that has not had many adherents over the years. This section will begin with a look at the early contributors followed by a survey of more recent scholarly work. Lastly, I will explain how this thesis goes beyond the existing work and pushes the field into a new direction.

1.2.1 Early Contributors

The first formal study of Inuktitut place names was undertaken by Franz Boas as part of his geographical and ethnological investigations of southern Baffin Island in the years 1883 and 1884 (Boas 1885). In the introduction to the recent publication *Franz Boas Among the Inuit of Baffin Island*, the editor Ludger Müller-Wille explains that the objective of Boas's research was to investigate the relationship between the Inuit and their natural surroundings (Müller-Wille 1998: 1). Boas discerned a link between the conditions presented to Inuit by the arctic environment and the form of their settlement, economy and social organization (Müller-Wille 1998: 13). Boas collected place names from the outset of his fieldwork. This information, in concert with more extensive ethnographic material, provided him with "information on the Inuit's current and historical settlement patterns, migratory movements, distribution and utilization of resources, population distribution and density and linguistic and social relationships (Müller-Wille 1998: 15).

The Danish anthropologist Knud Rasmussen had a similar approach to Boas to the study of Inuit culture (1930b). Rasmussen and his colleagues combined the documentation of social and spiritual life with the documentation of Inuit place names. His toponym work enhanced his understanding of subsistence patterns and cultural beliefs, while at the same time elucidating the geographic extent of a groups territory. He came to understand travel routes and subsistence patterns through his familiarity with a named area and through the meanings of the names themselves.

As important as place names were to both Boas and Rasmussen as a source of ecological information, the analysis of place names was not the prime focus of their work. Their studies amount to inventories of names cross-referenced in larger ethnological works.

Other early contributors to the study of Inuktitut toponyms were predominately missionaries, but also whalers and traders who collected but did not otherwise analyse place names. Some of the more extensive and systematic collections were made by the Oblate missionaries, most notably Father Guy Mary-Rousselière (1940s-1990s; 1966) and Father Frans van de Velde (1930s-1980s) (Müller-Wille 1987: 22-23). These inventories are mostly still in handwritten form and are archived with the Secretariat of the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, Department of Natural Resources Canada (Ludger Müller-Wille, personal communication 1999).

1.2.2 Recent Scholarly Contributors

Since the 1960s work has continued on the inventory of Inuit geographical names. Much of this work was motivated by the land claims movement and the associated struggle for self-determination by Inuit throughout the circumpolar world. Bernard Saladin d'Anglure (1968) followed by Ludger Müller-Wille and Linna Weber Müller-Wille (1984-1995) did extensive inventory work in Nunavik resulting in the production of the Nunavik Inuit Place Name Map Series (Müller-Wille 1990) and a Gazetteer (Müller-Wille 1987). In the Nunavut area inventory work was also undertaken by K.F. Dudley (1972); Müller-Wille (1973); Ludger Müller-Wille and Linna Weber Müller-Wille. (1989-1991); George Qulaut. Nunavut Research Institute (1980s-1990s); Luke Suluk, Arviat Historical Society (1993-1996); *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al (1994); Tony Utuq, Luke Suluk, and Darren Keith (1994); Darren Keith and Martha Dwyer (1995); Lynn Peplinski (1990s).

The first scholars to analytically address the subject of Inuit place names were Nils Holmer (1969) and Dorothy Ray (1971). Both analysed inventories of Inuit toponyms and identified categories of name types based on their meanings. Holmer's was a comparative study over the whole Inuit area drawing on examples from Siberia to Greenland (Holmer 1969). Ray concentrated her typological analysis on the toponyms of the Bering Strait region (Ray 1971). Neither of these researchers went beyond the

exercise of categorizing Inuit place names to analyse what the meanings of the names could explain about the history of a society in its territory.

More recently, typological studies of Inuit toponyms have continued with the work of Beatrice Collignon and Susan Fair. Collignon's study of Copper Inuit place names and geographical knowledge involved the application of several typologies to a data set of 1,006 names (Collignon 1996: 107). Typological analysis of a collection of Alaskan Inupiat names was recently published by Susan Fair, a folklorist then associated with the University of Alaska, Anchorage (Fair 1997).

1.2.3 Contribution to Toponymic Research

The intent of the author is that this thesis go beyond simple inventory and classification and achieve an insightful analysis of the meanings of Inuit geographical names resulting in observations about the history of *Harvaqtuurmiut* land-use on the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River]. The analysis is undertaken in the spirit of the place name work of Franz Boas and Knud Rasmussen. Their toponymic collections provided valuable additional information to enhance their extensive ethnographic materials and helped them elucidate the Inuit relationship to the specific conditions of their environment, including current and historical land-use patterns..

Chapter 2: *Harvaqtuurmiut* Origins, History, Culture and Seasonal Round

2.1 Origins and History

The members of the Fifth Thule Expedition included the *Harvaqtuurmiut* in a category of cultural affiliation that they called the “Caribou Eskimo” (Csonka 1995: 4; Burch 1988: 82; Rasmussen 1927: 57), a classification that continues to be applied by contemporary anthropologists. The designation was chosen primarily due to the overwhelming importance of the caribou to the livelihood of *Paallirmiut*, *Ahiarmiut*, *Hauniqtuurmiut*, *Qairnirmiut* and *Harvaqtuurmiut* societies, who share a common cultural and linguistic heritage (see Figure 2¹).

As to the origin of the Caribou Inuit, it was hypothesized by Rasmussen (1930a) and Birket-Smith (1930), influenced by Steensby (1917; Burch 1988: 84), that they represented the remnants of an original Eskimo culture that developed in the interior, and subsequently spread throughout arctic North America and Greenland (Csonka 1995: 7; Rasmussen 1930a). Therkel Mathiassen of the same expedition had another theory, however, that postulated the in situ development of historic Inuit societies, including Caribou Inuit, from resident Thule culture populations who originally migrated from Alaska (Mathiassen 1927). Mathiassen’s theory has since been supported and elaborated by arctic archaeologists (See Burch 1978 for discussion). The most current theory of Caribou Inuit origins however is that of Ernest Burch. Burch argues in support of a

¹The names of the groups have been placed in within the general area of the historic territory of these societies and is not meant to accurately depict territorial extent. I have constructed the map partially based on that of Csonka (1995: 187) and partly based on my own knowledge. Joan Scottie (personal communication October 28, 1999) was told by *Qairnirmiut* Elders Titus Seeteenak and Martha Taliruaq, in October 1999, that designation *Qairnirmiut* comes from a hill named *Qairniq* located close to modern day Corbett Inlet. Seeteenak said that the society moved to the Chesterfield Inlet area in the early 1920s as there was a fur trader in the area. Later they moved up the inlet and into the *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake] area. For this reason I have placed *Qairnirmiut* between *Qairniq* and Chesterfield Inlet.

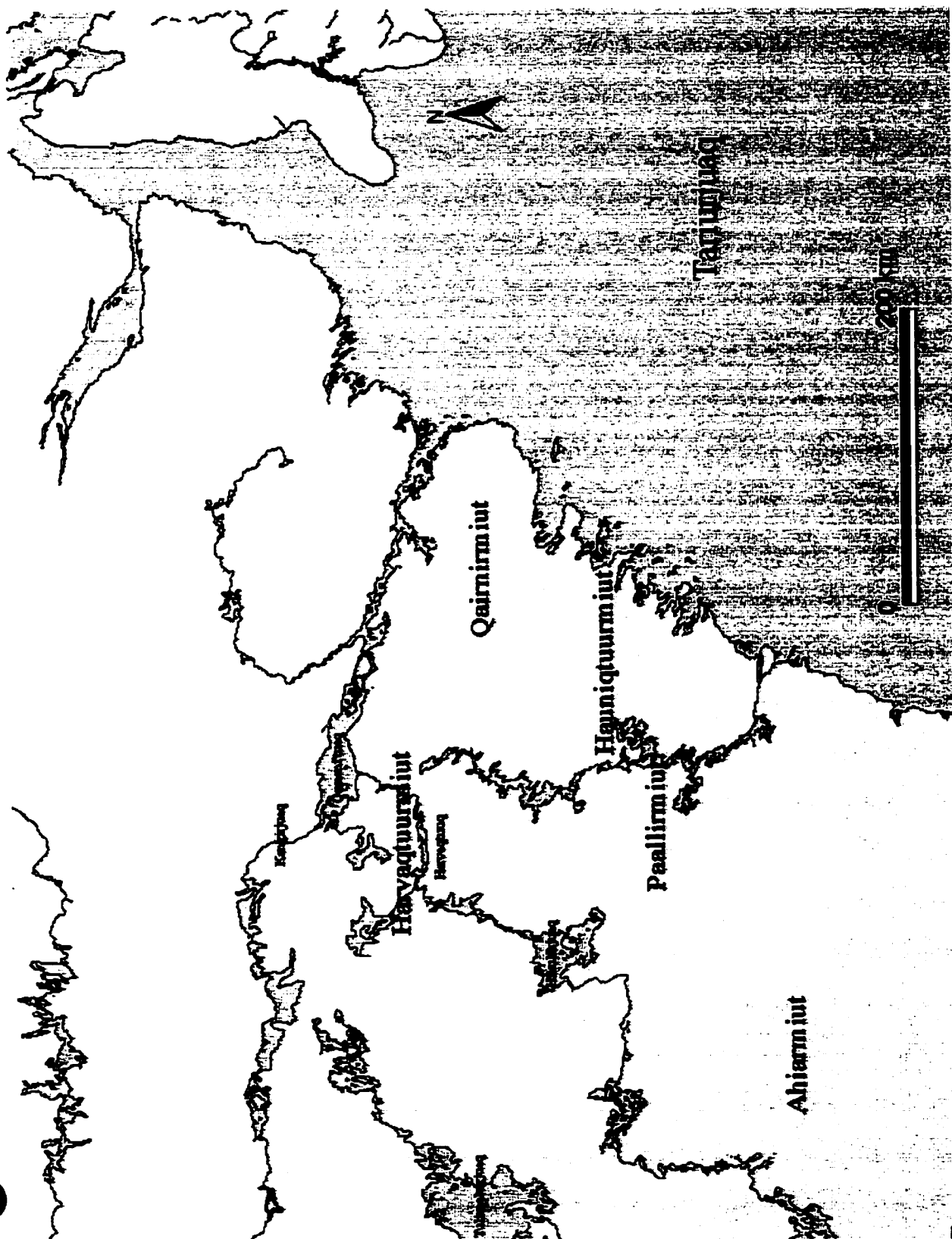


Figure 2: Caribou Inuit Societies in the 20th Century

theory originating with William E. Taylor (1972), that historic Caribou Inuit were descendants of a group of migrants from the Copper Inuit area of the arctic coast in the late 17th century (Burch 1978).² This corroboration of Taylor's hypothesis rests on two pieces of evidence: the sudden appearance in the archaeological record of the west coast of Hudson Bay of dwelling designs dated to the late 17th century and typical of, then, contemporary Copper Inuit building style; and, evidence of the level of linguistic relatedness of present day Copper and Caribou Inuit dialects (Burch 1978). In the most contemporary study of a Caribou Inuit society, Yvon Csonka point out that this version of events remains an hypothesis (Csonka 1995: 393).

No matter what their origins, ancestors of contemporary Caribou Inuit were definitely on the *Tariurjuaq* [Hudson Bay] coast in first half of the 18th century, when they traded with Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) vessels sailing north of Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill). Csonka (1995: 393) has them there as early as 1619. Based on historical documents, it is Burch's opinion that around the 1820's the Caribou Inuit of the *Tariurjuaq* [Hudson Bay] coast split into two different societies: one to the south, oriented toward the HBC post at *Kuugjuaq* [Churchill]; and one oriented towards *Igluligaarjuk* [Chesterfield Inlet] and *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake] (Burch 1986: 113). Following this initial split, a shortage of caribou along the coast in the 1840s forced members of the southern group to move further and further inland - as far as *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River] (Burch 1986: 114; Burch 1977: 143). By 1858 there was an inland population that had nothing to do with the sea (Csonka 1995: 394). Many stayed and thrived, and as the population grew, the original two societies of Burch's reconstruction, became five societies by 1880 (Burch 1986: 114).

The period 1880-1915 has been referred to a 'Classic Period' for Caribou Inuit, in which the five distinct societies, continued to grow, and fully elaborate a way of life based on

² Yvon Csonka (1995: 72-77) reviews this argument in his ethnohistorical study *Les Ahiamut*.

caribou (ibid: 115). A period referred to as the 'Great Famine' followed the 'Classic Period', lasting from 1915 to 1925 and devastating Caribou Inuit populations as a whole. Dramatically, a population of some 1500 individuals in 1915, was reduced to only 500 by 1925 (Ibid: 129). Recent archaeological research along the Harvaqtuuq [Kazan] and Kangirjuaq [Thelon] Rivers has supported Burch's thesis that there were once very large populations aggregating at campsites along those rivers, as evidenced by the size of their camps, and their investment in dwelling structures (Friesen and Stewart 1994).

The 'Great Famine' was rooted in two causal factors: first, the additional hardship of a cyclical population low in the caribou population made the already risky business of intercepting the annual migration a daunting task; second, to compound the situation further, the traditional emergency resource of muskox was absent due to their being hunted to an extremely low population by 1900 (Burch 1986: 24; Burch 1977).

Harvaqtuurmiut were nearing the end of this stage their history when the Fifth Thule Expedition visited the *Harvaqtuuq* in May 1922.

2.2 Seasonal Round

The reconstruction of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* seasonal round below is based on the oral traditions of the people themselves, as well as my own field notes from two research seasons. Where there are no specific references the reader should assume that the source is my field notes (Keith 1997)³. A summary of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* round is presented in Table 1.

³This specific description of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* seasonal round fits the general descriptions offered by previous fieldworkers (Rasmussen 1930a; Arima 1984; Burch 1986; Csonka 1995).

Table 1: *Harvaqtuurmiut* Seasonal Round

Inuktitut Season	Events and Activities
Upinngrahaq (April/May/June)	- families move from iglus into qarmaq and then skin tents - Inuit move to spring camp sites with good drainage due to melting snow. - Qangrallat caribou herd arrives when the ice is still on the river and crosses the river moving north. - Inuit shoot caribou from hiding places. - caribou skins are not good for clothing as they are shedding and full of warblefly larva. - Inuit make dry meat and store marrow. - Inuit repair kayaks and re-cover them with skins.
Upinngraaq (July/early August)	- Qivirat caribou herd returns from north to cross the now open Kazan river at known crossing places. - caribou are hunted by groups of kayak hunters with lances. - large numbers of caribou killed limited due to the time needed to process dry meat. Heat and flies cause spoilage of meat that is not processed fast enough. - caribou skins not good for winter clothing, as they are still shedding or have short hair. - continue to dry meat and store bone marrow. - after the Qivirat herd is passed Inuit spend the rest of this season hunting scattered groups of caribou on foot and small groups and individuals that pass through the water crossings.
Aujaqhajuq/Aujaq (mid-August/September)	- leaves start to change color on tundra vegetation. - weather turns colder - the hair on the caribou skins becomes the right thickness for winter clothing. - caribou are hunted by kayak as in Upinngraaq. - caribou meat not dried but cached as weather cold enough to avoid spoilage. - Inuit carried meat inland to be cached at selected wintering location at fishing lakes. - Inuit prepare and sort caribou skins for use as clothing skins.
Ukiaqhaq/Ukiaq (October to early November)	- in Ukiaqhaq the snow that falls stays on the ground. - later when the ponds and puddles freeze over for the season this is called Ukiaq. - snow accumulates on the downwind side of lakes and hills allowing people to move into iglus. - when in iglus women sew new winter clothing from gathered skins.
Ukiaq (early November to April)	- people move away from the Kazan River to selected wintering lake to be near their caribou caches. - if they did not have ample cached meat they would have to fish intensively through the ice for lake trout. - travel to the treeline by dog team to collect wood for building material. - travel to trading post by dog team. - fox trapping.

Upinngraqhaaq (April/May/June)

Members of the Fifth Thule Expedition arrived on *Harvaqtuuq* in May 1922, during the Inuktitut season of *upinngraqhaaq*. It is the season when the snow begins to melt, and bare spots appear on the land. In this period *Harvaqtuurmiut* abandoned their iglus and moved on foot to their spring camp sites (*auksiiviit* = melting places), where they would first move into *qarmat* (or convert their iglu into a *qarmaq*), and then into tents. Tents were erected on high ground where they could have a floor of large pebbles (*tuapaq*) that allowed meltwater to drain away from the site, while the occupants of the tents stayed dry (David Tiktaalaaq 1994, personal communication). Any cached meat or dry meat left over from the winter was brought along to the spring camp to sustain people while they waited for the return of the caribou (George Tatanniq in Mannik 1998: 224). When meat supplies were low, people would jig for lake trout (Julie Hanguhaaq Tuluqtuq in Mannik 1998: 200).

Spring camp site location was dictated by peoples' knowledge of where the migrating caribou herds were likely to pass. The first herd of caribou arrived in *upinngraqhaaq* in May or June and are called *Qangrallat* or the "shedding herd" (Peter Aasivaaryuk in Mannik 1993: 26). *Qangrallat* usually arrived at the *Harvaqtuuq* when there was still ice on the river, and the hunters hid at places on the land along their migration route and shot animals as they passed. During some years the ice conditions on the river would become unstable, and breakup would begin before the *Qangrallat* had crossed. This forced the herd to pass time on the south side of the river until breakup was finished. Many caribou could be killed by *Harvaqtuurmiut* when these conditions arose. Sometimes the *Qangrallat* did not arrive due to the herd moving through a different area and not passing through some, or all, of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* camps. This meant hardship for all (Peter Aasivaaryuk in Mannik 1993: 31).

Caribou harvested during *upinngraqhaaq* that were not immediately needed would be

processed into dried meat (*nipku*). In addition to *nipku*, *patqutit* was made by removing the marrow from caribou long bones and storing it in caribou stomachs. Openings in the stomach were tied off and it was then left in the shade to dry (Elizabeth Tunnuq in *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994: 123; Elizabeth Tunnuq in Mannik 1998: 240). *Patqutit* and whole marrow bones were cached for later consumption (Barnabus Piryuaq in Mannik 1998: 167). Although it was possible in times of plenty, to kill many caribou, Inuit would not kill too many as the meat could spoil, and warblefly infestation made skins useless for clothing (Peter Aasivaaryuk in Mannik 1993: 31).

In addition to the harvesting and processing of caribou, *upinngrahaaq* was also the season that kayaks were built, repaired and recovered. Wood collected during the winter months from trips to *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake] to the northwest of *Harvaqtuuq*, was used to build or repair kayak frames (Julie Hanguhaaq Tuluqtuq in Mannik 1998: 200). These new frames (or old frames that were removed from winter storage) were covered with bull caribou skins that had been used as bedding skins over the winter. It was important to have the thick skins of bulls to cover the kayak, and these normally stiff skins were softened by being slept on for a season. The skins were soaked and the hair removed. Wet skins were sewn together and allowed to dry on the kayak frame that was held in rock forms on the ground to maintain its shape.

Other bedding skins were also soaked, and the hair removed, for the purpose of making hairless summer clothing, *kamiks* and waterproof footwear (Elizabeth Tunnuq in Keith and Scottie 1997).

Upinngraaq (July/early August)

When the weather became hot, usually in July, the season is referred to as *upinngraaq*. During *upinngraaq* a portion of the herd which crossed the river moving north during *upinngrahaaq* returns, moving south. *Qivirat*, or the returning herd, crosses the now

open *Harvaqtuuq* at traditional crossing places. The *Qivirat* are the last of the large herds of the season at the *Harvaqtuuq*.

During *upinngraaq* *Harvaqtuurmiut* would move to their camps on the south shore of caribou water crossing places (*nalluit*), sometimes several families together, to intercept the caribou and hunt them from kayaks (George Tatanniq in Mannik 1998: 225). Caribou hunters in kayaks (*upaktut*) would work together as a group if there were enough hunters and kayaks. The leader of the group, usually an Elder, directed the hunt. Hunters in kayaks hid along the shoreline until the herd entered the water and the lead caribou passed. Once the herd was deemed to be committed to crossing the river, the hunters came out from their hiding places and surrounded a group of caribou in their kayaks. The lead hunter, and perhaps another, were at the back of the swimming group of caribou and lanced the caribou that they selected. Other hunters surrounded the caribou on both sides and forced them to swim slightly upstream, slowing them down and keeping them together (Keith 1994-1998). If a good animal, or animals, escaped and were about to reach the other shore, the lead hunter called to other members of the camp, who ran around on shore making noise and waving their arms to force the caribou back into the centre of the river (Tunguaq in Keith and Scottie 1997, Appendix: 20).

During these *upinngraaq* hunts at the caribou crossings many caribou could be killed. However, *Harvaqtuurmiut* would limit their kill due to the huge job of processing the meat into *nipku* or dry meat. The heat during *upinngraaq* meant that it would not be long before meat that was not properly dried would rot. The number of caribou that could be processed was limited to the number of members of the camp available to do the work. Meat was dried by cutting it all into thin strips and laying these strips out to dry on bushes or pebbles (*tuapaq*), allowing it to dry quickly and evenly, provided the weather conditions cooperated. Meat that was set out to dry on a flat surface did not dry quickly and would taste bad (Elizabeth Tunnuq in Mannik 1998: 240).

In addition to *nipku*, *Harvaqtuurmiut* would continue to prepare *Patqutit* by the same method it was prepared in *upinngrahaaq*. *Patqutit*, marrow bones and dried meat were cached during *upinngraaq*. This was done by packaging them in separate packages made of caribou skins. The skins of bulls taken during *upinngraaq* were called *itsat*, as they were often used to make tents (George Tatanniq in Mannik 1998: 228). Skins that were not good enough to be used for tents would be staked out to dry, and used to package items for caching.

Caribou bulls' skins were stretched and *pauqtuq* [cut along the edge of the skin and nailed down with old ribs and dried this way] to use for bundling. The spring [*upingraaq*] skins were used for this purpose. Everything was bundled into skins for storage. *Nipku* and all the intestines were packed separately. Even the bones were bundled separately and stored. They were all bundled and stored so well that they did not get wet in the fall rain. Blackberry grass was placed on top to prevent water leakage. It was also put in holes for sealing.
(Elizabeth Tunnuq in *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994: 123)

When we had a lot of dried meat from the spring and we were going to be travelling or moving to another land we would dig out the earth to make a hollow and put some of the dried meat into caribou skins. We would use bull caribou skins that had been caught in the spring, and stretched to dry. Two skins would be put together by tying ropes through holes along the edges of the skin, and the dried meat would be placed on the skins, which would then be tied together, making sure there wouldn't be any leaks. The skins full of dried meat would be placed in the hollow, with flat rocks around and over it, then earth and lichen would be used to cover up the holes.
(Elizabeth Tunnuq in Mannik 1998: 240-241)

The type of cache described by Tunnuq are called *Hirluaq* and are constructed out of flat stones piled so that they have the appearance of a small shelter when they are empty. The gaps between the rocks were stuffed with blackberry grass or other vegetation to make them water tight.

Aujahajuaq/Aujaq (mid-August/September)

The rest of the hot part of the summer was spent hunting the scattered individuals and groups of caribou. People would often visit other camps by boat or on foot to keep up communications (Tunguaq in Keith and Scottie 1997, Appendix: 19). In August the leaves on the tundra vegetation begin to turn colour, marking the season called *aujahajuaq*. This color change can readily be noticed on the *avaalaqiaq* or dwarf birch. Caribou continued to cross the river from north to south in August, although not in great herds like the *Qivirut* and *Qangrallat*. Only small groups would cross for the rest of the migration. Caribou taken in the early to middle of August, when the weather turns cold - *Aujaq* - are referred to as *hagalaat* or short hair, as their hair is just beginning to grow longer after shedding.

Later in August their hair becomes long enough to be good for making inner clothing for winter, and this is referred to as *urquqsat* ("future warmth") (Peter Aasivaaryuk in *Harvaqtuurmiut* et al 1994: 11). Even later in *aujaq*, the caribou's hair gets longer, and these skins are good for outer winter clothing (Tunnuq in Keith and Scottie 1997, Appendix: 17). Beginning when the caribous' skins reach *urquqsat* it was important for *Harvaqtuurmiut* to be at the water crossings to again hunt the caribou by kayak. Inuit might return to the same crossing hunted in *upinngraaq*, or move to another that was predicted as more likely to be used by the caribou, based on available information about their movements. The method of kayak hunting did not change from *upinngraaq* to *aujaq*. There were changes, however, in the processing of the meat that was harvested.

The weather is significantly colder in *aujaq* than in *upinngraaq*. By the time the caribou skins are right for inner winter clothing the weather is cold enough that butchered carcasses can be cached without drying the meat. Cooler temperatures also meant that *Harvaqtuurmiut* could maximize their kill, as there was no danger of carcasses rotting before people could process them. This was very important as it was *aujaq* surpluses that

were so important to the survival of the group through the winter until the return of the *Qangrallat*. Caribou harvested at this time were at their seasonal peak of health as evidenced by thick layers of fat (*tunnuk*). *Tunnuk* was boiled until it formed a kind of lard which was used to fuel the *qulliq* or soapstone lamp in winter.

Ukiaghag/Ukiaq (October/early November)

When the snow started falling and staying on the ground this season is called *ukiakhag*. Later when the ponds and puddles freeze so that they will not melt again this is termed *ukiaq*. This was a period of transition for *Harvaqtuurmiut*, when the caribou migration was over and there was very little snow on the ground for travelling. Women would use this time to sew the winter clothing that would soon be needed in *ukiuq*

Ukiuq (mid-November to April)

At the beginning of *ukiuq*, when the lakes are frozen solid and it is very cold⁴, *Harvaqtuurmiut* would move away from the river to one of the surrounding lakes. Selection of winter camping locations was based on an evaluation of available resources in the area. Availability of fish, wintering caribou and fuel (willows) for cooking and drying out clothing would all be assessed as early as the summer and early fall when cache locations were chosen (David Tiktaalaaq in Mannik 1993: 58-59).

In the months before Christmas people would start travelling by dog team to get close to their cached meat and winter camp near their cache all through the winter.... (George Tatanniq in Mannik 1998: 228)

The comfort of Inuit families through the winter was largely dependent on the success of the fall caribou crossing hunt. If families did not have ample cached meat, they would have to try and augment their resources by: hunting the scattered caribou which remained

⁴ Joan Scottie (1999, personal communication) explained that *ukiuq* usually started about mid-November when all the lakes are frozen and the weather has turned very cold.

around the Kazan year round: jigging for lake trout in the lakes; or hunting ptarmigan and arctic hare. Priorities were set in an emergency and the first members of the group not to eat were the dogs. If the situation was bad enough the dogs died leaving the family much less mobile (Luke Tunguaq in Keith and Scottie 1997, Appendix: 10).

The greater mobility afforded by the snow blanket allowed Inuit to travel further afield. In addition to trips to the trading post at *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake], the opportunity was there to obtain valuable wood supplies from sources to the south, or the *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake] area.

Men would bring meat with them when they were going to go out to bring some wood for their use. They'd go to the tree line in the Paaliqmiut area to get wood and to around the Thelon tree line. So during the early winter Harvaqtuuqmiut would go to these two places to get wood for tent poles or qayaq or qamutik or anything they want to make. (George Tatanniq in Mannik 1998: 228)

People who had qayaqs probably went to Tipyalik [Beverly Lake] to get the wood to build them. They needed large bushes and branches. The bushes were used as ribs across the qayaq and the ribs would be covered with caribou skin hides...
(Julie Hanguhaaq Tuluqtuq in Mannik 1998: 200)

2.3 Social Organization

Historical *Harvaqtuurmiut* society consisted of a group of people who were linked by kinship ties. Individual camps consisted of extended families, and it was this level of social organization that was most important in *Harvaqtuurmiut* life (Burch 1986: 116). Any hierarchy that existed amongst these egalitarian hunter-gatherers was limited to the extended family unit. Older generations had authority over younger generations, with men having authority over women within their generation (Burch 1986: 119). The leader of the camp, or *ihumataq*, was usually a middle aged or older man who had demonstrated his leadership skills, superiority in hunting and physical prowess (Burch 1986: 119; Arima 1984).

The tightness of kinship ties within the group and within *Harvaqtuurmiut* society as a whole was maintained through a preference for first cousin marriages, with the most preferential match being a brother sister exchange between two families (Burch 1986: 116). Manipulation of marriage partnerships for social purposes is evident as marriages were arranged at a very young age between the parents.

The level of social integration of the group, facilitated by blood and marital kinship ties, was further enhanced through other mechanisms such as adoption, spouse exchange, partnerships and namesakes (Guemple 1976; Burch 1986). All of these sets of relations meant that *Harvaqtuurmiut* society was one where an individual could reckon kinship ties with any other member of the group and therefore resources were shared freely.

Harvaqtuurmiut interrelatedness played an important role in their subsistence strategy, which was defined by the pursuit of caribou. Although Inuit were very aware of the traditional water crossings and travel routes of caribou, from year to year the animals could not be counted on to use any of them. An extended family or groups of extended families would place themselves at all of the known crossings during *upinngraaq* and

aujaq. This strategy would spread an east-west network of hunting camps across the path of the migrating herd. If caribou crossed at one point and a number were killed then many would turn away and either return to the same area later, or move along the river to the next crossing, where another extended family(s) would be waiting (Luke Tunguaq in Keith and Scottie 1997, Appendix: 18). In this way they could maximize their harvest of caribou as a group.

Results of the hunt were shared evenly among the members of a camp (Keith 1994-1998), but often the caribou crossed only in one area, or in greater numbers in one area. Therefore, some families would have a much greater surplus than others, who may have none. The web of kin and quasi-kin relations described above, ensured a redistribution of resources among the members of the society. This became very important towards the end of *ukiuq* when some families would run out of cached meat, and depending on their success at fishing, may have had to travel to reach another family that still had surplus.

2.4 Spiritual Beliefs

The respect and reciprocity that characterized *Harvaqtuurmiut* social life also extended to the non-human environment. The *Harvaqtuurmiut* world was inhabited by indwelling spirits (*Inue*) in the earth, rocks, animals and the weather. The most important of these indwelling spirits was *Hila* - indweller of the wind. As both animal and human souls (or life forces) were equated with breath (*anirniq*), all life participated in *Hila* (Merkur 1991: 35) and in this way *Hila* constituted the universal life force which underlay all phenomena (Merkur 1991: 45; Burch 1986: 125). The pervasive force of *Hila* was responsible for the many rules by which Inuit lived.

Although *Hila* was the source of rules of behaviour it was *Hila*'s female form *Pingna*⁵ ('the one up there') who dwelled in space, that was responsible for watching over human activities (Burch 1986: 125-126; Rasmussen 1930: 49). *Pingna*'s ultimate role in judgement of a person's behaviour was at death. After dying, the soul of a person who had lived according to the rules of *Hila* would rise up to *Pingna* and be returned to earth by *Pingna*'s helper, the spirit of the moon, as a human being or animal. The soul of someone who didn't live life according to the rules would spend eternity in misery underground (Burch 1986: 125-126; Rasmussen 1930: 50).

Rules or taboos were numerous in *Harvaqtuurmiut* tradition and many of the rules were related to the treatment of animals, the hunt and the land (Burch 1986: 126). When caribou were killed, all the parts that they were not carrying home had to be covered up with rocks (Rasmussen 1930: 50; Tony Utuq, personal communication 1994). They had to be careful not to be seen by *Pingna* to be disrespectful of caribou (Rasmussen 1930: 50; Merkur 1991: 89/90). In general animals were to be respected and only hunted when needed for food. Nothing was to be wasted.

The most important hunting method for the *Harvaqtuurmiut* was the hunt at the caribou crossing. The caribou crossing had many rules. People were not to work on skins or materials derived from the animals of the coast, as this could offend the caribou (Rasmussen 1930: 48). The land on the side of the river where the caribou would enter the water was also not to be disturbed, again, as this could offend the caribou and divert them from their migration route (Keith 1994-1998).

When people did transgress the rules and taboos concerning the hunting of caribou there could be consequences: sometimes for the individual hunter, but often for the entire band. *Pingna* was responsible for the delivery by the spirit of the moon, of the souls of

⁵ According to Joan Scottie (personal communication 1999) the proper spelling is *Pingna*, not *Pinga* as it was first related by Rasmussen (1930a: 56).

caribou back to the earth to replenish the herd (Rasmussen 1930; Merkur 1991: 157). She was capable of withholding the caribou from the people and *Hila* could expose them to the bad weather and natural disasters. This fact meant that people in a camp would watch each others behaviour closely, to ensure that no one broke the rules and brought bad luck to the group (Burch 1986: 126)

Among the Caribou Inuit, *Hila* is responsible for the traditional observances. She sees everything that occurs on earth, and she punishes violations of taboo by means of the weather and sickness (Merkur 1991: 56).

Harvaqtuurmiut spiritual beliefs were institutionalized through the rules of *Hila*. To transgress these rules was to invite the consequences. However if one behaved correctly, they could expect to have more success in hunting.

Chapter 3: A Typology of Place Name Meaning

This chapter describes a seven class typology derived from my own understanding of the information contained in place name meanings, and a review of the literature on Aboriginal place name systems in North America. These place name types reflect the classes of information that can be interpreted from names to aid in understanding a society's land-use history. The typology reflects my perspective as a western researcher who is not fluent in Inuktitut language and culture, and therefore does not represent an 'emic' perspective. Typing the data resulted in workable sized subsets of names for analysis. In chapter four, the results of the application of this typology to *Harvaqtuurmiut* toponyms will be discussed and compared with other studies of Inuit place names. The toponym types are: Geographical/Literal-Descriptive, Mythological, Historical, Spiritual, Resource, Metaphorical and Human Activity.

Place names aid in the appropriation of landscape by an Aboriginal society⁶. Naming is a creative process that anchors a society to a specific geographical area and acts to integrate the group socially, implying collective rights, privileges and stewardship. In addition, it broadcasts these territorial limits and implications to adjacent societies. For Inuit, and humankind generally, territory is occupied not only physically [land use] but linguistically [knowledge] by the application of language through place names (Correll 1976: 173; Fair 1997: 473). Amongst the Alaskan Athapaskans the literal meaning of the term 'person' is "the one who possesses territory", and place names knowledge is a key measure of one's credentials" (Kari 1989: 134).

⁶ Kaj Birket-Smith originally termed sub-groups of the Caribou Inuit "tribes" to denote "a population that is territorially discrete and characterised by a particularly high level of dialectical and cultural uniformity", however I will use equivalent term preferred by Burch which is "society" (Burch 1988: 87).

Through place names home is defined, and the social dichotomy of 'we and they' is reinforced. Common throughout Aboriginal North America is the practice of designating societies with the name of an important focal point in their territory. Inuit simply add the suffix *-miut* ("people of") to the name of the focal point (Ray 1971: 29; Correll 1976: Fair 1997: 473). This practice of societal naming is also generalized amongst Athapaskan groups (Kari 1989: 136; Basso 1980: 83) and occurs in the socially complex clan system of the Tlingit.

An important but often overlooked aspect of Tlingit clans is their geographical basis. Two aspects of clan geography are particularly significant: origin and distribution. Origin refers to the location where the clan was founded as a distinct social group and is typically from where it derives its name. The majority of Tlingit clans adopted their names from the specific places where they were formed (Thornton 1997: 297).

The named place associated with a society usually forms what Correll (1976: 176) calls a 'focal area' that is "the nexus of that populations activity [and is] an information centre out from which directions, distances, proximal relations, routes and locations are determined." For human beings home is the centre of their world and acts as the benchmark for the orientation of their surroundings (Tuan 1977: 35).

3.1 Geographical/Literal-Descriptive Place Names

At the most basic level place names are merely labels for the communication of relative location and direction in a field of known spatial objects. However, North American Aboriginal place names commonly contain ethno-geographical information concerning directionality and orientation. Place names expressing information about "direction, cardinal points or similar relations" are very common amongst Eskimos⁷ and Aleuts from the Aleutian Islands to Greenland (Holmer 1969: 146). These directions are not reckoned

⁷ 'Eskimo' is a term used in the study of linguistics to refer to people using the Inuit and Yupik languages (Dorais 1990).

in a cartographic sense but in relation to local geographical and ecological conditions (Holmer 1969: 146). As with many Aboriginal groups environmental indicators such as wind direction, sun position and the bearings of celestial bodies are used for gauging direction. The Navajo, whose names have directional elements, do not use cardinal directions (Jett 1997: 485).

In addition to the directionality provided by the factors discussed above, place names also contain ethno-geographical concepts concerning the sidedness, contiguity and adjacency of spatial objects and territories. Relative to the 'focal area', spatial objects or areas are understood to be 'in front', 'behind', 'above', 'below', 'across', 'beside', at the 'beginning' or the 'end'. This type of information is contained in the place names of Eskimos and Aleuts (Holmer 1969: 146; Ray 1971: 29) as well as Athapaskan groups like the Western Apache (Basso 1983: 111). For Western Apache the orientation of spatial objects is due to the vantage point from which these objects were viewed by the ancestors (Basso 1983: 111). Orientation is determined by the traditional or habitual way members of a society have traveled through a territory, and the means by which they have traveled.

For Caribou Inuit (Correll 1976) and other Aboriginal groups like the Sahaptin (Hunn 1996) rivers have been very important for travel through their territory and determines directionality and orientation. The direction of travel by trail is also relevant to orientation for Athapaskan groups (Kari 1989: 136; Basso 1980; Jett 1997). Place names are an expression of a society's placement and orientation in the landscape. Orientation is always reckoned from a home place or 'focal point', and place names contain specific information about the directionality and the relative sidedness of spatial objects in their territory.

The great majority of place names in all Aboriginal place name systems fall into the category of geographical/literal-descriptive. In the North American context, Aboriginal

languages are rich in geographic terms. Geographical/literal-descriptive toponyms sometimes use generic terminology such as 'lake', 'river' or 'hill' but often they are combined with modifiers that describe their relative size, shape, color, or other qualities. Alternatively they may describe the quality of a geographic feature alone, without reference to an ethno-geographical term. These are literal-descriptive toponyms.

Correll's (1976) term for geographical/literal-descriptive toponyms in the Caribou Inuit area is "underived" names. Underived names are "simply descriptive for landscape features (1976: 174)." In Inupiat studies this place name type has been called "descriptive or geographic toponyms" (Fair 1997: 473) and "generic descriptive toponyms" (Ray 1971: 29). Athapaskan place name systems largely consist of geographical/literal-descriptive toponyms (Jett 1997: 491; Basso 1984: 30). Jett (1997: 491) believes that this is due to the "well-known Navajo pragmatism" found generally in Athapaskans and that geographical/literal-descriptive place names are adaptive:

Traditional Athapaskans are all highly mobile, and to the extent that place-names were mnemonic devices facilitating travel, stable geographic/literal-descriptiveness had adaptive value (Jett: 1997: 491).

The geographic terms employed in geographical/literal-descriptive toponyms are demonstrative of a culture's geographic concepts. For instance the Alaskan Athapaskan concept of water shed is implicit in Kari's (1989: 135) observation that their:

Names for stream mouths, headwaters, and glaciers are derived from the basic stream name. A stream name never changes in mid-course (Kari 1989: 135).

Whereas the Alaskan Athapaskan broad understanding of watershed connectivity is demonstrated through the conservation of a root name throughout the system, Caribou Inuit are an example of an opposite system. Rivers travel hundreds of kilometres across the barrens of the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories. A river is perceived as a drainage made up of sections of flowing water, and wider river-lakes. Some flowing

sections may be named, but this name does not apply to the whole length of the river (Keith 1994-1998).

The category of literal-descriptive place names is the most common in all North American Aboriginal place name systems. Analysis of the geographic categories used in these names is indicative of a society's landscape perception.

3.2 Mythological Place Names

Place-names systematized territorial features within a tribe, and provided the Eskimo with continuity to the land from time immemorial (Ray 1971: 2).

Place names play an important role in anchoring a society to a geographical area, reinforcing a group's rights, responsibilities and ancestral origins in that territory. The history of a group's involvement with a geographical area is recorded in names through the geographical anchoring of historical narratives (discussed below) and mythological narratives. A society's myths are the source of its epistemology and cosmology. For Aboriginal people myths concerning the origin of: the world; the heavens; human beings; landscape features; animals; and, the rules by which these elements are to interact, are situated in their immediate surroundings. The names of sites where mythical activities have taken place are linked to these narratives.

The landscape of many Aboriginal peoples can be interpreted as a "mythscape" where mythical characters moved about their territory (Cruikshank 1990). In a mythscape the landscape is understood to have been created and shaped by forces and events in mythical time. There are many examples of names referring to this activity amongst Athapaskan groups for whom toponyms originated in that mythical time (Cruikshank 1990; Jett 1997; Basso 1984). Sahaptin Plateau Indians place names also originated in mythical time and

refer to the activities of mythical persons (Hunn 1996: 17/18). In contrast, Inuit place names are applied by humans, however, Inuit also have what Fair (1997: 473) calls “creation texts” in their landscape. Mythical characters known in much of the Inuit territory such as *Kiviuk* and the giant *Inukpasugjuk* are implicated in narratives that result in the creation of topographic features and other environmental phenomena.

Place names associated with mythological narratives strengthen a societies claim to specific rights and responsibilities for stewardship in a defined territory. They imply ancient genealogical links to the land and reinforce rules of behaviour towards the environment and other human beings. It is incumbent upon the current generations of these societies to uphold these traditional values.

3.3 Historical Place Names

A society’s connection with its territory is also anchored by place names that refer to historical events. As with mythological place names, historical place names invoke the ancestors and strengthen territorial claims and obligations. Cruikshank (1990: 56) explains that in an oral society, where there is no universal measure of time, history is recorded in places. Historical events are recorded in all North American Aboriginal place names systems that have been studied thus far, including: Inuit (Ray 1971: 29; Fair 1997: 473), Navajo (Jett 1997: 489; Jett 1990: 182), Apache (Basso 1984:30) , Alaskan Athapaskans (Kari 1989: 142), and Iroquois (Gordon 1984: 221).

Place names which record historic events strengthen a group’s connection to the land by referring to the acts of their ancestors. Thornton (1997: 300) provides an example of this in his discussion of the link between Tlingit clan members and named places associated with the historical travels of clan ancestors. The historic actions of the ancestors exemplify interpersonal relations within the society, or the group’s relationship with the

environment and neighbouring societies. Basso (1984) has described in detail the Western Apache use of historical place names for moral persuasion:

Like myths historical tales are intended to edify, but their main purpose is to alarm and criticize social delinquents...thereby impressing such individuals with the undesirability of improper behavior and alerting them to the punitive consequences of further misconduct (Basso 1984: 34).

The most direct invocation of the ancestors through place names is through the use of personal names. In many Aboriginal place name systems this is not acceptable practice. Athapaskans do not use personal names in toponyms (Jett 1997: 488; Kari 1989: 129, 142). Kari (1989: 142) explains that "it would be an overt insult to the ancestors for Athabaskans to intermix personal names and place names." Sahaptin Plateau Indians did not use personal names due to the fact that the naming process was controlled by the mythical figure Coyote (Hunn 1996: 18). In the case of Inupiat, the practice of naming places using personal names is in question. Ray (1971: 2, 28) feels that this practice was conceptually improper due to its consequences for the name-soul, but this is contradicted by Burch (1994: 419) who insists that it was common (Fair 1997: 469). The practice is quite common in the Kivalliq [Keewatin] region of Canada in Caribou Inuit territory (Keith and Scottie 1997; *Harvaqtuurmiut* et al 1994; Utuq, Suluk and Keith 1994).

Historical place names also record significant events involving different peoples/tribes. Caribou Inuit toponyms record events of engagements with Dene, and kidnappings of Inuit women by Dene (D. Keith 1994-1998). These specific names will be discussed in Chapter 4. Navajos also reference enemies in their place names (Jett 1970: 182).

History is also commemorated in toponyms for old sites associated with previous occupants of a territory. Inuit name many sites associated with the *Tuniit* and Inuit-*Tuniit* relations (Keith and Dwyer 1995). Archaeological sites affiliated with the people who

came before Navajo (Anasazi) are sometimes named and avoided due to the cultural association of ruins with burial places and ghosts (Jett 1997: 487).

Toponyms also keep account of changes in the environment and animal behaviour (Cruikshank 1990: 63). Fair (1997: 473) documented “memory names” in the Inupiat landscape that preserve the memory of rivers and islands that have disappeared. Past locations of animal behaviour such as caribou crossings that are no longer used may also be remembered through names, as is the case with southern Yukon Athapaskan systems (Cruikshank 1990: 63).

Like mythological place names, historical place names reference a band’s ancestral claims to their territory. For Aboriginal people this implies certain privileges with respect to the resources in the territory. Narratives associated with historical place names underline ancestral obligations to care for the land and the animals, and obligations to act in a socially appropriate manner. These narratives may be used to persuade those who would not uphold these obligations. They also preserve a record of inter-tribal relations, and demographic and environmental change.

3.4 Spiritual Place Names

In Aboriginal landscapes there exist more beings than can be accounted for by humans and wildlife species. Spiritual beings, or powers, are understood to dwell in the landscape, and therefore their presence or actions can sometimes be localized to a geographical area. Place names often record these locations and flag these areas as places to be avoided, or places to perform special observances, rites or ceremonies.

An example of a name connoting spiritual observances is Alaskan Athapaskan name Neqetsályaexden, ‘Where We Turn Around’, a hill on the upper Matanuska River where the last view of the sacred mountain Qéltáeni, Mts. Wrangell/Sanford. It was to this point

that the Ahtna would carry a handful of soil from their homes as they started down the trail to Cook Inlet. At Neqetsályaexden they turned around, scattered the soil, and made a prayer for a safe Journey (Kari 1989: 143).

Inuit have spiritual place names for sites that require specific observances or avoidance. In the Caribou Inuit area the Inuktitut name for Ferguson Lake is *Aklirnaqtuq*, meaning literally “a place of many taboos” (Keith 1994-1998). Some named sites of spiritual activity in Inupiat territory are said to inspire “cautionary toponym tales” (Fair 1997: 474). These “dangerous locations” are also named in Western Apache place name systems (Basso 1984: 30).

Place names identifying the sites of spiritual activity are common in Aboriginal place name systems. Spiritual place names are associated with cultural knowledge about the nature of these locations and about the proper behaviour demanded to ensure they are dealt with safely.

3.5 Resource Place Names

Maintenance of environmental knowledge is a key function of place names in all North American Aboriginal toponymic systems. Place names are archives of information about where to find the resources necessary for subsistence such as water, wildlife, plants and other resources. Athapaskan “place names and their associated stories perpetuate useful knowledge for locating resources” (Jett 1997: 491; Nelson 1983: 244; Jett 1970: 180). Inuit place names designate sites where animals may be harvested by referring to the species’ behaviour. The southern shore of a well known caribou water crossing on the *Harvaqtuuq* is identified only by reference to the specific way caribou walk before entering the water (*Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994). The resources identified in place names are indicative of the ecological relationship a society has with its environment. In Aboriginal toponymic systems generally, place names identify resource areas in three

ways: simple description of the resource; description of human actions or technologies associated with acquiring the resource; or in the case of wildlife, allusion to animal behaviours. In this study, place names referring to human behaviour are included in the classification “Human Activity” that will be covered below.

3.6 Metaphorical Place Names

A common category in North American Aboriginal place name systems is metaphorical toponyms. Human and animal body parts are the most popular metaphors. Hunn (1996: 16) identifies a category he calls “anatomical place names” in Sahaptin tradition that allude “to the resemblance between some physical feature of a site and the shape of the organ for which it is named.” Body part terms are very popular in Inuit place name systems also, with many examples of hills named “breast” or “buttocks” from Alaska to Canada (Ray 1971: 14; Keith and Dwyer 1995; Utuq, Suluk and Keith 1994). Metaphorical place names have also been mentioned in the toponymic systems of the Navajo (Jett 1997: 491) and the Tlingit (Thorton 1997: 304). Hunn (1996: 16) recorded a Sahaptin place name for a mountain which has the shapes of full human figures:

The sensuous slopes of this gentle peak are envisioned as a young man with a wife on each arm, one of whom holds his baby (Hunn 1996: 16)

Metaphorical place names are found in most of the literature on Aboriginal and other place name systems. It is clearly a common mode of naming, although it seems generally to represent a small percentage of the total names associated with a geographical area.

3.7 Human Activity Place Names

Place names can designate preferred sites of human activity in a society’s territory that have been proven through years of experience. These names may indicate the location

where specific resource may be had, or in the case of hunting, a strategic location. Human activity place names demarcate traditional locations of ceremonies, gaming, celebrations and trading. Sites with favourable environmental conditions may also be named.

In many Aboriginal place name systems, toponyms record the locations of human activities, flagging locations of subsistence or material resources. For the Inupiat of Alaska Susan Fair (1997:474) identified a category of toponyms she called 'activity toponyms'. The most common in this subset were names which refer to subsistence pursuits. Naming a location for associated human activities is another strategy to conserve knowledge of valuable resources or conditions at that site. In addition to conserving knowledge of a site as a source of wildlife, names sometimes specify preferred locations in the strategy of the hunt. Festival, trading or other sites of cultural activity may also be designated by Inupiat place names (Fair 1997: 473). Fair also includes sites of activity related to traditional taboos in the category 'activity toponyms' (1997: 474), but in this thesis they have included under spiritual place names. Athapaskan societies have place names that would fall into the human activity category. In the canyons of the Navajo landscape trails are important to mobility and they are sometimes named for the human activities associated with them (Jett 1997: 488).

3.8 Discussion

The history of human-environment interaction is expressed in place names. The history of a society's land-use involves the interface of cultural and linguistic concepts with the specific environmental forces of an area. The meanings of toponyms can be studied for what they communicate about this interface and this chapter has defined place name types according to what information their meanings offer this study. The relationship of a landscape with its human inhabitants is documented through geographical/literal-

descriptive, mythological, historical, spiritual, resource, metaphorical and human activity place names.

By reference to a focus point in the landscape, place names can communicate the orientation and the relative location of spatial objects and areas. Mythical and historical place names promote the ancestral connection of a society with its surroundings, and underline territorial claims to obligations. Mythical and historical place names provide models for how individuals are to relate to: their environment; other members of society; and adjacent societies. Aboriginal landscapes are inhabited by spiritual beings and forces that can be geographically located by place names. Environmental knowledge about the location of wildlife, plants, water, stone, wood and other resources is referenced in resource place names. Geographical features in the landscape are most often labeled with geographical/literal-descriptive place names. Fewer are represented with metaphorical place names that often draw on the anatomy of the humans and animals. The activity of people in their subsistence and cultural lives is recorded in human activity place names.

The place names of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* were classified into the seven place names types defined in this chapter. The results of this process will be analysed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Analysis

Essentially, the [Navajo] place-names represent an ongoing interplay between the habitat on the one hand and the perceptions and preoccupations of its inhabitants on the other (Jett 1997: 486).

Place names are the product of a society's adaptation to a specific landscape. They are a product of a process of mutual influence between the society and the environment. People construct a conceptual landscape by categorizing, organizing, and orienting spatial phenomena according to their cultural and linguistic heritage, and their experiences of the environment. Landscape sets some limits on this experience due to the presence of specific resources and environmental conditions (i.e. wildlife, plants, raw materials, weather) and thereby prescribes the parameters for human adaptation.

In the preceding chapter, a typology of place name meaning was specified. It describes the different types of information names contain that reflect the history of a society's land-use. In this chapter, the analysis of *Harvaqtuurmiut* toponymy is carried out in two distinct sections. First, the corpus of *Harvaqtuurmiut* names is divided into the seven typological categories and the results are compared with the findings of other studies of Inuit toponyms.

The typing process resulted in the division of the data set into workable subsets for analysis, and the second part of the analysis involves scrutinizing the meanings of the names. These meanings are discussed in terms of the Inuit concepts and ideas they express, and what they illuminate about the history *Harvaqtuurmiut* land-use on the *Harvaqtuuq*.

4.1 Application of Typology

The classification scheme developed in the preceding chapter was applied to place name data available from the *Harvaqtuurmiut* territory. The data set consists of 272 toponyms. I am confident of the accuracy of the English translation of the meanings, by Joan Scottie, of these 272 names. A total of were dropped from the data set because their meanings were not confidently known.⁸ Allocation of individual place names to previously defined types was based on assessment of the meaning of the name against the short definitions of each of the 7 classes (see Table 2). . Any translations present in original NUNA-TOP (Müller Wille and Müller-Wille 1989-91) data were either confirmed or rejected by Joan Scottie and the Elders. A few of the meanings were confirmed by, or derived from, the translations of Knud Rasmussen (1930b) or from one of two Inuktitut dictionaries (Schneider 1985; Fortescue et al 1994).

For the purposes of this analysis all 272 toponyms were entered into an electronic database using the program Corel Quattro Pro 7. Each place name was entered as a record under 4 fields: ID number; the spelling of the name; the landscape entity named; and the category type. A fifth field records the category type from A-F in which a particular place name fits. The results of this process is printed out and included in the Appendix of this thesis.

⁸ The meanings of these 54 names were unknown for two reasons: 1) due perhaps to their age or the obscurity of their references they have no meaning to modern Inuit, or; 2) there were often discrepancies in Roman orthographic spelling between the NUNA-TOP (Müller Wille and Müller-Wille 1989-91) project and my own work. When the Elders with whom I worked knew the name for a location recorded in NUNA-TOP the spelling could be corrected, but when the named place was unknown spelling was a sometimes a barrier to comprehension.

Table 2: Definitions of Place Name Types

Type A - Geographical/Literal Descriptive: Place names which employ geographical terminology with or without modifier information (i.e. big lake); and names that are simply descriptive of some sensory aspects of the location.

Type B - Mythological Place Names: Place names that locate an event in traditional Inuit myth. These stories usually have aetiological implications for some aspect of the environment.

Type C - Historical Place Names: Place names that record the locations of historical events or genealogical relations.

Type D - Spiritual Place Names: Place names that refer to supernatural phenomenon, religious objects or religious observances.

Type E - Resource Place Names: Place Names that record the location of floral, faunal, mineral and other material resources.

Type F - Metaphorical Place Names: Place names that point out the analogy between the named site or area and something else due to morphological similarity.

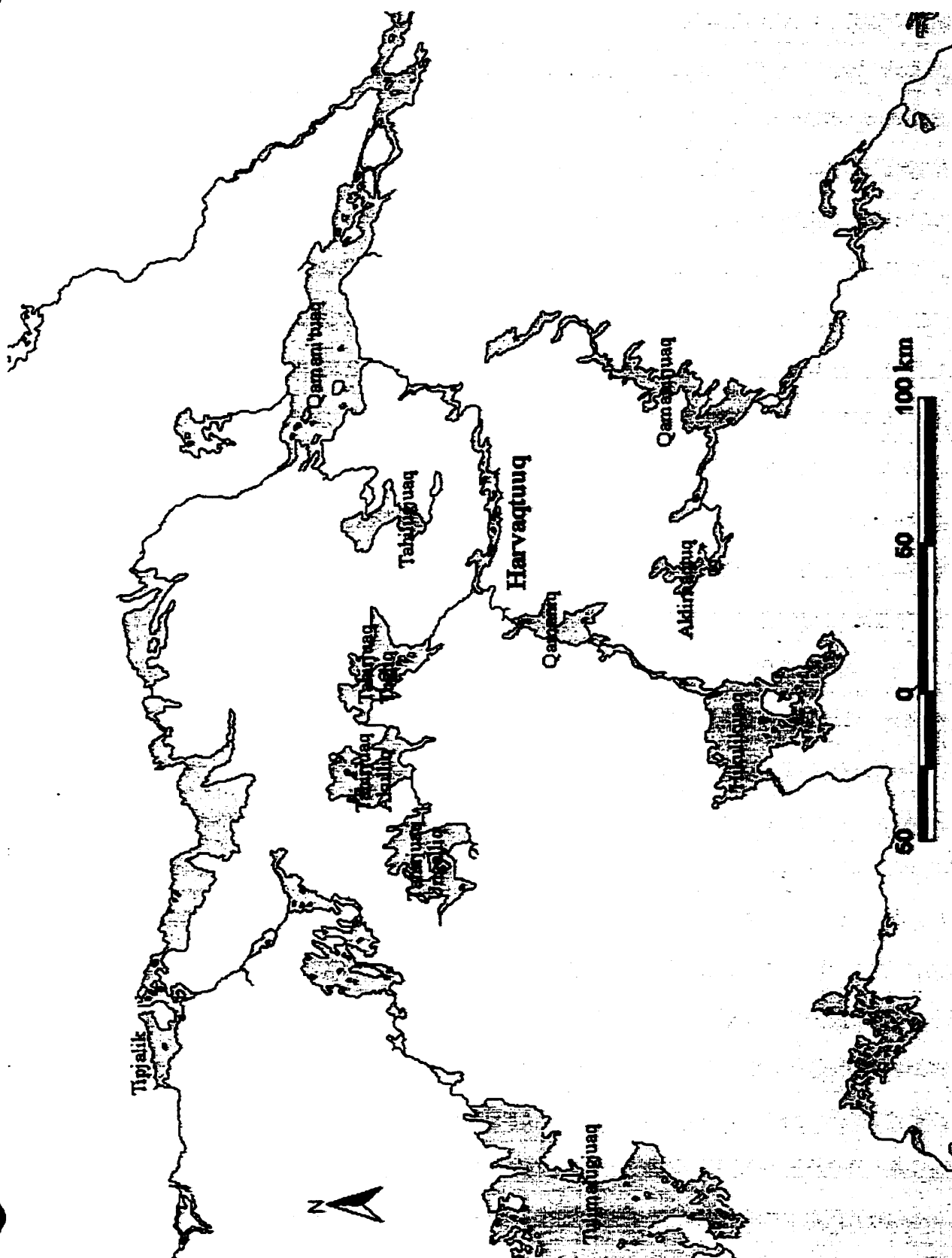


Figure 3: Study Area with Selected Toponyms

Table 3: Results of Typology

Category	# of Toponyms	% of Total
Type A - Geographical/Literal Descriptive	124	45
Type B - Mythological	2	1
Type C - Historical	28	10
Type D - Spiritual Place Names	6	2
Type E - Resource	49	18
Type F - Metaphorical	31	11
Type G - Human Activity	37	13
Total	272	100

Separation of the data into categories showed that almost half of the names in the data set are of the geographical/literal descriptive type. Although their studies were not quantitative this result is consistent with the general observations of Ray (1971) with respect to Alaskan Eskimo naming, and of Correll's (1976) in his investigation of *Paallirmiut* linguistic occupation of the southern Kivalliq [Keewatin]. Collignon's (1996: 107) study of Copper Inuit place names was based on a much larger data set than this study (1,006 names). She applied several typologies in her analysis of this data set, one of which included the categories "milieu physique" and "milieu humanisé" (ibid: 131). The subdivision "milieu physique" corresponds to the category geographic/literal descriptive in this study and represented 62% of her total data set. A result comparable in magnitude to that found here. Collignon also had a category in the same typology called "regular activities" which corresponds to "human activity" in this study (Collignon 1996: 131). Interestingly, 30% of Copper Inuit toponyms fall into this category (ibid: 134), double the percentage found in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area.

Based on my experience working in the *Utkuhiksalingmiut* and *Paallirmiut* areas (refer to Figure 2, page 15), I expected a higher number of place names in both the mythological and spiritual categories. *Paallirmiut* in particular have many sites of spiritual significance towards which one must act in a prescribed manner. Also in both the *Utkuhiksalingmiut* and *Paallirmiut* areas, major myths such as *kiviuq* are understood to have happened in the vicinity, and there are named sites where mythical events occurred. Both these phenomena are almost totally lacking in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area.

In general *Harvaqtuurmiut* toponyms separated well into the typology used in this study. However, as the classification scheme was derived from a western perspective, there were difficulties in typing some names. It was this very difficulty, however, which caused me to look more closely at the meaning and use of a name and arrive at some conclusions. There were cases, when names were initially classified as metaphorical place names, but, upon further analysis were found to be part of the systematic geographical terminology of Inuktitut. In addition, some names related to caribou crossings appear to be regularly applied terms for the structural features of crossings. In fact, the caribou crossing is conceived of by Inuit as a geographical or physical feature and therefore names using caribou crossing terms could be counted as geographical/literal descriptive place names.

4.2 Analysis of Meanings

4.2.1 Type A - Geographical/ Literal Descriptive Place Names

This category of place names is the most common in the *Harvaqtuurmiut*. This type captures names of two kinds: those that contain Inuktitut geographical terms; and those that simply contain a literal description of the physical characteristics of a place. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines “geography” as “the main physical features of an area”. The same source defines “term” as “a word used to express a definite concept...”.

Therefore, my intent in the delineation of this category was to tag those names that are made up of Inuktitut terms for physical features on the land.

What became apparent to me soon after commencing the separation of the toponyms into the different types was that geographical terms could not be cleanly separated from Resource (Type E) and Metaphorical (Type F). Some names that I originally classed as Type F rely on analogy to designate physical features, but they are used systematically for those features. In Inuktitut they are geographic terms for those environmental concepts and in the end I moved them to category A.

The other category that appears to contain Inuktitut geographic terminology is Resource (Type E). The Resource category includes toponyms that describe animal behaviour. Of particular interest to *Harvaqtuarmiut* was the movement of caribou through the area. It became clear in the analysis was that some of the toponyms for caribou crossings are in fact terms and that caribou crossings and their constituent components seem to be recognized as geographic features by Inuit. I have not moved these names into category "A" however, for reasons I will discuss below in the section on Resource (Type E) place names.

Relief Features

The environment of the *Harvaqtuq* is quite flat and what relief exists is most often in the form of rolling hills. The Inuktitut term for hill is *kinngaq*, a term that can stand on its own in a toponym or with further modifier information such as: *kinngatuaq* (big hill) or *kinnga'naaq* (little hill). Hills can be named as a group if they are located together i.e. *kinngarjuut* (big hills). Quite often a hill or a series of hills is named in association with another prominent feature and in accordance with Inuktitut grammar they are possessed by that feature as signified by the suffix *-nga* which is often shortened to *-a* in spoken language. *Itimniup Kinngaa* (65 P/9 015) or *Itimniq's* hill is an example of this construct.

This phenomena of “clusters” of names related to a prominent feature has been documented by others (Müller-Wille and Weber 1983).

Hills are often named based on a descriptions of their specific qualities. *Ungavaittuq* (65 P/09 069) meaning “it has no far” is the name of a hill visible when traveling upstream from *Itimniq*. Due to a mirage, the hill appears close but when traveling it takes a longer time then expected to reach it. *Qaliarulik* (65 P-10 049) “hill with another little hill on top” is also named for its appearance as it seems to have another small hill on the top of its base. It is common to name hills according to what can be found on them. Some examples are: *Inuksuli'naaq* (65 P/10 059) “a small hill with an inukshuk”; *Pamialuktalik* (65 P/10 048) “place with a caribou hip bone”; *Utkuhikjuaqtalik* (65 P/9 066) “place of a big soapstone pot”; *Hungaujaqtalik* (65 P/14 002) “there are beads there”. Hills with extreme slopes or cliffs are also noted with the term *imnaq* “cliff” (Schneider 1985: 83). *Imnalik* “it has a cliff” (55 M/14 009) is an example of this application in the study area. Another term for a relief feature is the sloped beach or sand dune called *ikpik* (65 P/10 023) (Schneider 1985: 92).

An esker named *Qingaugaqtuq* (55M/14 008) is one example of a name that I originally classed as a metaphorical. Its root *qinguq* means “the lower middle of the forehead” and it seems to be drawing an analogy between the bridge of the nose and the shape of an esker (Schneider 1984: 305). However the word *Qingaugaq* is the Inuktitut geographic term for esker and so this name belongs in category A.

Other Physical Features of the Land

As indicated by the name *Ikpiik* (“sand dune”), the presence of sand is worth noting for the *Harvaqtuurmiut*. The term for a beach in Inuktitut is simply *hiuraq* which means “sand” (Schneider 1985: 367). Sandy beaches are not common in an environment dominated by bedrock outcrops and tundra. Including *Ikpiik*, there is only one other beach indicated in

the study area and it is named *Hiura'tuaq* (55 M/12 009) "the big sand". In an area consisting mainly of exposed rock, tundra and water, Inuit distinguish between different surfaces on the land. Exposed bedrock (*qaiqtuq*) is distinguished from loose or independent rocks (*ujarak*); pebbles (*tuapak*); and sand (*hiuraq*). *Qiaqtuq* turns up once in the data set in the name *Qiaqtu'inaaq* (56 D/03 015) "the little bedrock outcrop". The term *tuapak* does not show up in a place name for the study area. This does not mean that it is not an important concept as pebbles or gravel are an essential substrate for successfully drying meat, and are also preferred when selecting a site for a spring campsite. The pebble or *tuapak* surface was good during the melting season as it would allow water to drain underneath the tent allowing the occupants to stay dry.

Islands and points tend to be quite distinct reference features in the environment and are often named. There are two terms for point [promontory or headland] in Inuktitut - *nuvuk* and *tikiraq* (Shneider 1985: 231, 405). Although many points of land extending into water are named in other ways, these two terms are also employed. Examples are: *Nuvuhivvik* (65 P/10 007) "a point discovered"; and, *Tikiralugjuaq* (65 P/09 029) "big point". The term *tikiraq* is defined by Schneider (1985: 405) as "a cape or point of land, promontory" and by Fortescue et al (1994: 338) as "point of land". It has the term *tikiq* "index finger" as a root and may be a metaphorical toponym in this sense, but it is so systematically applied that it must be considered a geographical term (Fortescue et al 1994: 338).

Points can, of course, be named using a literal-descriptive name. *Alaniriktuaq* (65 P-11 006) "it has a big shadow when the sun shines on it" is an example of such a toponym. In addition to action of the sun on a location, the wind conditions can be very important to camp location. One name which I have identified in different areas is *adguq&iniq* meaning "windwards" (Schneider 1985: 3). There is an example of this in the study area in the name *Adguq&inirjuaq* (65 P-09 055). This was a camping area and, based on my

own experience with camp site selection. I would posit that it is favourable in mosquito season to locate the camp where it would get the maximum benefit of the wind.

The Inuktitut term for island is *Qikiqtaq*. This term is often found in place names for islands, and tends to include reference to relative size. A very important area for the *Harvaqtuurmiut* was the area of *Qikiqtalugjuaq* (65 P/10 019) "huge island". The island is in the centre of a traditional caribou water crossing. One place name in the *Qikiqtalugjuaq* area shows that there is an understanding of the geological process of isostatic rebound. *Nuvuksat* (65 P/10 043) is a number of small islands adjacent to the shore of the river. It means "future points" as they will soon be connected to the shore by dry land. On the *Harvaqtuuq* there are many former islands that are now points. This can be accounted for both by isostatic rebound and the low water levels of recent years. A site that is perhaps a little further advanced in this process is a point in the *Qamaniq* [Forde Lake] area which has a very narrow land bridge connecting it to the shore that is called *Atani'naaq* (65P-11 018) "little connection".

Hydrology

The Inuktitut equivalent of river is the term *kuuk*; however this does not mean that the entire length of what would be called a river in English is recognized by Inuit as being a single entity to be named. For instance the name *Harvaqtuuq* is the name for the Kazan River from its outlet at *Hikulikjuaq* [Yathkyed Lake] to its mouth at *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake]. This is only a fraction of the river's length as it originates in northern Saskatchewan. A river is conceived of as sections of moving water and intervening widenings in the river or what the Müller-Willes (1989-1991) categorizes as river-lakes or river channels (Müller-Wille 1987). A lake which is the obvious product of an input river or stream and which is also drained by a river or stream is a river-lake or *qamaniq*. This type of lake is set apart from a lake which is not part of a moving water system but is either spring fed or fed by small feeder streams. This is called a *tahiq*. A *tahiq* may even

be drained by a stream or river, as long as it is not also fed by one. Perhaps what is important is that the *qamaniq* is a lake that is seen to have some directionality with respect to the drainage. It is an intervening body of water in the river's course.

The Penguin Dictionary of Geography defines lake as follows:

An extensive sheet of water enclosed by land, occupying a hollow in the earth's surface. The name is sometimes loosely applied, too, to the widened part of a river or to a sheet of water lying along a coast even when it is connected with the sea.... (Moore 1988: 120)

In English one may speak of a "widening in the river" and a "lake", but there is no comparable term to the Inuktitut *qamaniq*. There is some arbitrary point at which, in English, a widening in the river achieves a critical size for it to be called a lake. In Inuktitut a *qamaniq* remains a *qamaniq*, no matter how large, if it meets the criterion of being fed and drained by a sizeable stream.

The terms *qamaniq* and *tahiq* are often found in place names. The Inuktitut name for Baker Lake is *Qamani'tuaq* "huge lake". The term often stands on its own as a name or is associated with a dominant local feature such as in the case of 65P-06 001 that is known as either *Qamaniq* or *Tuglirutip Qamania* "Tuglirutik's river-lake". Many named places are simply geographical terms. In order to be more precise about the exact location, the name of a feature is often tied to a nearby prominent feature. An example of this is the name *qamanaarjuk* meaning "has the appearance of a *qamaniq*". There are two frequented places named *qamanaarjuk* in the Baker Lake area: one on the *Harvaqtuuq* [Kazan River] and one on the *Kangirjuaq* [Thelon River]. To be precise, the one on the *Harvaqtuuq* is called *Harvaqtuup Qamanaarjua*. A *Harvaqtuurmiut* person speaking about his/her own land would not have to add this marker however, and could simply refer to it as *qamanaarjuk* as the reference would be in the context of his/her geographical focus.

The above example demonstrates the fact that the Harvaqtuuq area is what Correll (1976: 176) calls the ‘focal area’ of the *Harvaqtuurmiut*. It is “the nexus of that population’s activity [and is] an information centre out from which directions, distances, proximal relations, routes and locations are determined (Correll 1976: 176).” Within the main focal area there are what we may call sub-foci - areas that were important camping areas or significant points of reference within a certain portion of the overall territory.

Tuglirutiq (65 P/06 007) is a significant hill in the western portion of the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area, and was a traditional camping location. Therefore, it acts as a sub-focus and it is referenced in the cluster of names for features in its immediate vicinity such as *Tuglirutip Qamania* (65 P/06 001) or “*Tuglirutiq*’s river-lake”.

Tahiq is also a very popular designation either as it is or with some adjective information such as big or small. Sometimes, though, there are so many lakes with the same name in a small area that there must be a way to sort them out. This is done in reference to one’s focus. Between the *Harvaqtuuq* and *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake] there are three lakes named *Tahirjuaq* that are named by *Harvaqtuurmiut* according to their relative distance from the *Harvaqtuuq*. Seen from the *Harvaqtuuq* they are named *Tahirjuaq Tugliq*, *Tahirjuaq Akulliq* and *Tahirjuaq Ungalliq* - the closest, the middle and the furthest. The designation of closest and furthest would reversed if one was standing at *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake]. This example is another demonstration of the concept of a *Harvaqtuurmiut* focus. People travelled away from home towards *Tipjalik* by dogteam in the winter, and these lakes lay on the route and therefore have an order with respect to the focus [home] - the *Harvaqtuuq*.

Another example of a named feature within the context of a sub-focus is the lake *Tumuhuk* (65 P/10 011) located south of the *Harvaqtuuq* in the *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* area (Figure 4). The name means “the back section” and the backness of the lake is determined with respect to the traditional campsite locations around *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* - the centre of this sub-focus. On the south side of the river there are three popular campsites

Direction of Caribou Movement



• 8a2jn

Qikiqtaalugjuaq

Pappikkaq •

Hannirut •

Ikpiq •

Tunuhuk

5 km



Figure 4: Orientation of Qikiqtaalugjuaq Area

along the shore: *Pappikaaq* (65 P/10 024), *Hannirut* (65 P/10 010) and *Ikpik* (65 P/10 023). If these campsites are thought of as facing the river and the direction that caribou move through the river crossing located there, then ‘front’ is to the north of the campsite. The lake is located immediately behind these camps in this orientational scheme and so is part of the “back section”.

The outlet from a *qamaniq* is termed a *murjungniq* in Inuktitut (Schneider 1985: 177) (Figure 5). Conversely, the inflow to a *qamaniq* is called an *akuq* (Fortescue et al 1994: 14). There is no equivalent term in English unless the widening in the river is judged to be large enough to be called a lake in which case this would be termed the mouth. The term *akuq* is defined by Schneider (1985: 15) as “the tail on the parka worn by Inuit women”. The use of this term for where a river enters the relatively still water of a *tahiq*, *qamaniq* or the ocean may be due to the characteristic shape it has which is reminiscent of the shape of a woman’s parka tail. There is also another term for where moving water enters a *tahiq*, *qamaniq* or the ocean and that is *paa*. Fortescue et al (1994: 245) defines *paa* as meaning “opening, entrance, mouth”.

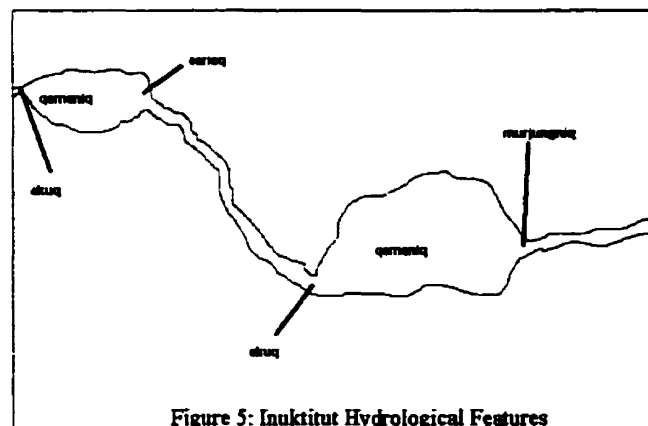


Figure 5: Inuktitut Hydrological Features

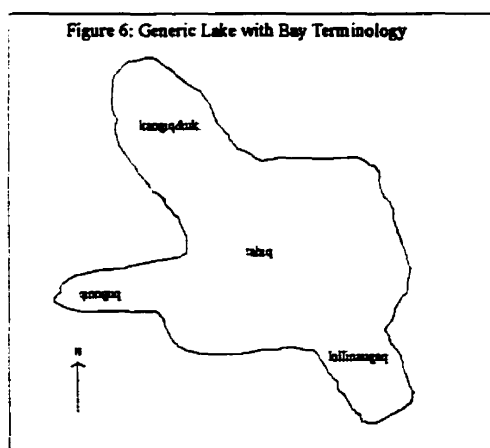
Beside the binary pair of *murjungniq/akuq* there is another which delineates the a similar phenomenon - *aariaq/akuq*. *Aariaq* is the area in a body of water located in a shallow bay just above and to the north of a *murjungniq* (see Figure 5). *Aariaq* has the meaning of “upper back and shoulders” (Schneider 1985: 3) and is yet another example of a metaphorically based geographical term. Both *Aariaq* and *Akuq* could have been included in the metaphorical place name category, however they are applied systematically to the same phenomena and so qualify as hydrological terminology. This binary terminology is demonstrated in a pair of names for the two hills *Aaria&iq* (65 P/11 007) and *Akuq&iq* (65 P/10 015) which are at opposite ends of a flowing water section including a significant area of rapids called *Itimningaq* (65 P/11 016).

The *kuuk, qamaniq, aariaq/akuq, murjungniq/akuq* system organizes the environment according to the flow of the catchment. Rivers are a force that give landscape an orientation. Another source of orientation, even as far inland as the *Harvaqtunuq* is the direction of the sea vis-à-vis the land. The binary terms *kangilliq/killiniq* represent this relationship. According to Schneider (1985: 139) *kangilliq* means “thing that is further inland than another”. Fortescue et al (1994: 157) agree with this definition and adds that the root **kangi* means “bottom of bay, direction towards land, source of river”. Schneider (1985: 139) gives the meaning of *Killiq* as “what is furthest toward the sea (opposite of *Kangilliq*)...”. This binary opposition is well known to linguists and is in use in *Kalaallit Nunaat* [Greenland], *Nunavik* [Northern Quebec], *Sanikiluaq* [Belcher Islands], *Kivalliq* [Keewatin] and the *Qitirmiut* [Kitikmeot] region [Canadian central Arctic coast] (Fortescue 1988: 6-16). In some areas it has a limited or local application, while in others it is applicable over a wide area (Fortescue 1988: 3).

In the *Kivalliq* [Keewatin], rivers flow to the sea from the west/northwest and this seems to fit well with the *Harvaqtunurmiut* application of the term *Kangilliq*. The corollary of this is that if one reckons the direction of the sea from the path of inland rivers, then the direction of the ocean is east/southeast. This fits well with the *Harvaqtunurmiut*

application of the term *Killiq*. This terminology is used in names descriptively as in the case of the lakes *Kangilliq Tullik* (65P/10 051) and *Killiq Tullik* (65P/10 050), which in the scheme used here would fit into the Resource place names as they denote lakes frequented by loons. However, they named as a pair with one being *kangilliq* to the other's *killiq*. Another example of this is in the descriptive naming of two points - *Tikira 'tuaq Kangilliq* (65P/15 004) and *Tikira 'tuaq Killiq* (65 P/15 007).

These directional terms are also embedded in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* terminology for bays. Bays on water bodies that have their heads oriented towards the northwest are referred to as *kangiq&uk* (See Figure 6). An example in the study area is *Kangiq&ulugjuaq* (65 P/9 005) "appearance of a large northwest pointing bay". Bays with their heads oriented to the southeast are called *killinaugaq*. There are a few examples of these type of bays in the area: *Killinauga 'naaq* (55M/12 018) "small southeast pointing bay"; *Killingaugaq* (55M/12 008) "bay pointing towards the southeast"; and 65 P/06 018 *Killiniq*. This system is applied regularly in the area. There is yet another class of bay which has a regular term that implies the bays orientation. *Qinnguq* has been defined by Fortescue et al (1994: 309) as meaning "west side of lake" for the Caribou Inuit. The use of this term by *Harvaqtuurmiut* is a west facing bay. There are two examples in the study area: *Qinngu 'naaq* (65 P/10 014) "little west pointing bay"; and *Qinnguraujaq* (55M/13 026) "long narrow west pointing bay".



Other Hydrological Structures

There are other hydrological features which are described in *Harvaqtuurmiut* place names. The name for the river itself is *Harvaqtuuq* “the big drift” (translation Joan Scottie). The root term of this toponym is *sarvaq* meaning “rapids in a river” (Schneider 1984: 346). There were no toponyms for specific sections of rapids that were named using the term *sarvaq*. Most rapids were named descriptively or according to their effect on the movement of people on the river. An example of a descriptively named rapid is *Aupaluktuq* (55 M/14 003) meaning simply “red” and refers to the color of the rock around the rapids. There was one example of the use of the Inuktitut term for waterfall and that is the name for Kazan Falls - *Qurluqtuq* (55 M/12 001).

On a smaller scale an area of disturbance in the current of a river, - a whirlpool or back eddy - is termed *angilluqtuq* (Schneider 1985: 28). There is one toponymic example of this term in the study area: *Angilluqta'tuaq* (65 P/10 038), which delineates a very confined area of current off the downstream end of the island *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* (65 P/10 019). Another place name relating to moving water is *Nuillak* (55 M/12 043), meaning “two water sections shooting water up spontaneously” (*Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994: 46). The work *nuillatuq* is defined by Schneider (1985: 218) as “it shows itself once”. This name describes two current sections of the river that are side by side that spurt up water once in a while thus showing themselves.

There is an equivalent to the English term narrow or narrows to describe a narrow in a river or possibly a lake. The base of the term for narrow seems to be *Quuk-* meaning “opening” (Schneider 1985: 330). There is a narrow in the *Harvaqtuuq* called *Quukilruq* (65 P/09 011) meaning simply narrows. I have also encountered the use of the name *Quukilruq* for a narrows in the ocean between King William Island and the Adelaide Peninsula that is called Simpson Strait in English. There is also a *Quunguq* - “narrows”

(Fortescue et al 1994: 311) - on the lower Back River and a *Quungurjuaq* in *Qamaniq* [Maguse Lake] near *Arviat*.

4.2.2 Type B - Mythological Place Names

Many of the same Inuit legends are told in slightly different versions throughout at least the Central Arctic and *Kalaallit Nunaat* [Greenland]. In my experience, in areas where these legends are told, the events in the legends, and any resultant landscape features or artifacts, tend to be located in the immediate geographical area of the people who are telling the story. This is also held to be true in *Nunavik* (Louis-Jacques Dorais, Personal Communication 1999).

Some of the more well known Inuit legends are those associated with the character *Kiviug* and the giant *Inukpahugjuk*. I have not heard of the existence of any stories concerning giants in the Caribou Inuit area. Conversely, giant stories and the locations of giant activities are known from the Copper Inuit area, along the arctic coast as far as northern Baffin Island.

Kiviug legends are told in the Caribou Inuit area. The *Paallirmiut* of the Hudson Bay coast have known locations where some of the events of these stories occurred. I was told a story of *Kiviug* by *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elder Elizabeth Tunnuq. She was quick to point out, however, that the story was set on the coast. The *Harvaqtuurmiut* know a song that is attributed to *Kiviug*, also known to the coastal *Paallirmiut* (Luke Suluk personal communication 1999). The song consists of a list of place names, sung in the order of the traveller's movements through the land. It begins on the coast and moves inland up the *Kangirjuaq* [Thelon River] past *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake], then starts at the *Harvaqtuuq* river mouth and moves up the Kazan River to the *Kunmuaq* River mouth.

The only legend that I have thus far been told which is located in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area is one associated with the place name *Amnapiurvik* (65 P/11 014). The name means essentially “get that one” and is a reference to the following legend:

There was a herd of caribou about to cross a river [*Kunnuaq*] and a big bull was leading. He was calling to the other side of the river “Inuligunna, Inuligunna” “Is there Inuit over there?” “Is there Inuit over there?”. No response. Inuit were supposed to respond. They didn’t respond. He said [the bull] “I know there is Inuit over there but they’re just hiding to get us. At the same time he started to enter the water. Just as they entered the water a bunch of qajaqs came out to hunt them. When they started to spear them, he told the hunter. “Don’t spear me yet or your wife won’t get tunnuq [caribou fat] this fall.” So he wasn’t speared. They were spearing others. So he made it inland and he shook and he said “I made it to the land since you wouldn’t spear me”. It is called *amnapiurvik* because the bull was saying *amna* - that one, *piuk* - get it. “Get that one, get that one” he was saying. “Not me, get that one”. *Amnapiurvik*. (Elizabeth Tunnuq in Keith and Scottie 1997).

Rasmussen recorded a *Paallirmiut* version of this story from *Kivgaarjuk* camped at *Hikulikjuaq* [Yathkyed Lake] in 1922 (Rasmussen 1930a:90).

An example of a place name derived from a local story is that of *Umingmaujaqtalik* (65 P/10 033), an island in the *Harvaqtunuaq* close to the island *Qikiqtalugjuaq* (65 P/10 019). It is said that a group of muskox were swimming in the river and then turned to stone to create this island (Peter Aasivaaryuk in *Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994). This site might be classified as a mythological place name of only local relevance.

4.2.3 Type C - Historical Place Names

Names that refer to historical events are not very numerous in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area, but they do exist. Some refer to what seem to be quite minor events such as *Tiriksiutaarvik* (65 P/14 006) which means “place where a belt broke off”, or *Uujuktalik* (65 P/14 007), “place of boiled meat”. These names appear to recall events that might

have been significant to the individual or group involved in the event, but are not historically meaningful in a wider sense.

The major historical events that are recalled in place names in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area testify to the attacks of Dene on Inuit. The sometimes violent relationship between the Caribou Inuit and the Dene has been well documented (Smith and Burch 1979). These two groups were quite wary of each other and there were many battles between them. The two place names *Upinngivik* (55 M/12 035) and *Minngirvik* (55 M/12 036) refer to one event where Dene fell on an Inuit camp in the spring time. *Upinngivik* means “where they snuck up” - Schneider (1985: 457) defines “*upinngapaa*” as meaning “he surprises him, by arriving unexpectedly.” *Minngirvik* means “attack place” - Fortescue et al (1994: 200) defines the base “*minngiq*” to mean “jump up” or “spring up”. The two names together document where the enemy approached from and where they finally fell in on the Inuit. There was no further narrative about the incident other than the statement that people were killed by Dene (Müller-Willes 1989-91).

A more extensive narrative of an historical Dene attack on Inuit is commemorated in the place name *Arnaquvvik* (65 P/13 007). The name means “where you put the women” and refers to an attack which occurred near the shore on the west side of *Tahirjuaq Tugliq* [Princess Mary Lake] (65P-13 001). The women were sent to stay on the island for their protection during the battle.

Tunnuq: There is a story in this area [Princess Mary Lake]. There is a little island. All the women with their children were taken to an island to keep them from harm by the indians. This particular woman, was a good swimmer and she swam back to the camp where she shouldn't be. The Indians shot her with an arrow through the nose. So she ended up with a short nose. This was very old, before their time. That island is called Arnaquvvik.

Tunnuq: The theory is that maybe that little girl [who was forgotten] was her daughter. The men placed them on an island when they were going out to search for the indians that had been doing the killing. I guess in the

rush or during the confusion that little girl when she got scared she [hid] where the dogs had dug. So the woman returned when she shouldn't have. It is quite a long way from that island to the land and the Indians were right there.

Joan Scottie: Why were they killing just for killing or because they were fighting over land?

Tunnuq: Just for killing.

Tunnuq: During the migration of the caribou the Indians used to follow. When the migration came there was more likelihood of the Indians [coming].
(Elizabeth Tunnuq in Keith and Scottie 1997:)

The attacks of foreign enemies are certainly events that would be remembered for some time. It is not surprising that the location of such stories are embedded in place names.

Graves

Another type of place name that I have included in the historical category are places named after buried ancestors. These anthroponyms are said by Ray (1971: 2, 28) to be disallowed in Inupiat tradition due to beliefs surrounding the name-soul complex. However, Fair (1997: 469) explains that this point is contradicted by Burch (1994: 419) who says it was quite common. This practice is popular among the Caribou Inuit, but I have not seen it amongst the *Nattilingmiut*, *Illuilirmiut* or *Utkuhiksalangmiut* to the north. It is also very uncommon in Nunavik (Louis-Jacques Dorais, personal communication 1999).

The attachment of an ancestor's name to the site of their grave is a way of recording the history of the people who live in the area. It preserves ancestral links to the landscape and reinforces territorial claims and obligations. Because the ancestors maintained the land by living as prescribed by belief and taboo, their descendants must also follow these

ways. The existence of the names of ancestors as place names in the environment is a continual reminder of this obligation.

The practice of Caribou Inuit was most commonly to bury a person on the top of a hill or high land relative to its surroundings. There were two types of burials seen on the *Harvaqtuuq*: either the body was covered in caribou skin and ringed by stones; or the body was covered by a pile of stones. The location of the head was marked by the placement of a quartzite stone or by the erection of a pole. Names referring to burials are always structured in one of two ways: either using just the person's name; or the name plus the suffix *-talik* meaning "is there". Some examples of hills with burials are: *Pipqa'naaqtalik* (65 P/9 049) "Place of Pipqa'naaq"; and *Atuat* (65 P/9 052) which is simply a person's name. There is one example of a lake taking on the name of a person buried there - *Akutaqtalik* (55M/12 042) "Place of Akutaq".

5.2.4 Type D - Spiritual Place Names

The pre-Christian *Harvaqtuurmiut* world was inhabited by indwelling spirits (*Imue*) in the earth, rocks, animals and the weather. The most important of these indwelling spirits was *Hila* - indweller of the wind. As both animal and human souls (or life forces) were equated with breath (*anirniq*), all life participated in *Hila* (Merkur 1991: 35). In this way *Hila* constituted the universal life force which underlay all phenomena (Merkur 1991: 45; Burch 1986: 125). The pervasive force of *Hila* was responsible for the many rules by which Inuit lived.

Although *Hila* was the source of rules of behaviour, it was *Hila's* female form *Pingna* ('the one up there'), who dwelled in space, that was responsible for watching over human activities (Burch 1986: 125/126; Rasmussen 1930a: 49). *Pingna's* ultimate role in judgement of a person's behaviour was at death. After dying the soul of a person who had lived according to the rules of *Hila* would rise up to *Pingna* and be returned to earth

by *Pingna*'s helper, the spirit of the moon, as a human being or animal. The soul of someone who didn't live life correctly would spend eternity in misery underground (Burch 1986: 125/126; Rasmussen 1930a: 50).

Rules or taboos were very extensive in *Harvaqtuurmiut* tradition and many of the rules were related to the treatment of animals, the hunt and the land (Burch 1986: 126). When caribou were killed, all the parts that were not carried home had to be covered with rocks (Rasmussen 1930a: 50; Tony Utuq, personal communication). They had to be careful not to be seen by *Pingna* as being disrespectful to caribou (Rasmussen 1930a: 50; Merkur 1991: 89/90). In general animals were to be respected and only hunted when needed for food. Nothing was to be wasted.

The most important hunting method for the *Harvaqtuurmiut* was the interception of caribou at water crossings. Hunting at a caribou crossing had many rules. These included: not working on skins or materials derived from the animals of the coast, as this could offend the caribou (Rasmussen 1930a: 48); and, not disturbing the land on the side of the river where the caribou would enter the water, as again, this could offend the caribou and divert them from their migration route (Keith 1994-1998).

When people did transgress the rules and taboos concerning caribou the consequences were rarely limited to the individual hunter; rather the entire band felt the effect. *Pingna* was responsible for the delivery of the souls of caribou to the spirit of the moon, for return back to the earth to replenish the herd (Rasmussen 1930a; Merkur 1991: 157). She was capable of withholding the caribou from the people and *Hila* could expose humans to bad weather and natural disasters. This possibility meant that people in a camp would watch each other's behaviour closely, to ensure that no one broke the rules and brought bad luck to the group (Burch 1986: 126)

Among the Caribou Inuit, Hila is responsible for the traditional observances. She sees everything that occurs on earth, and she punishes violations of taboo by means of the weather and sickness (Merkur 1991: 156)

Although taboo was an important part of pre-Christian *Harvaqtuurmiut* life there appear to be no place names in the study area which refer directly to taboos. *Aklirnaqtuq* [Ferguson Lake] is just to the south of the study area and was frequently visited by *Harvaqtuurmiut*. The root *akliq* means “refrain from something on account of taboo” (Fortescue et al 1994: 8) and so *aklirnaqtuq* means that this is a place where many taboos must be observed.

Indirectly, the naming of caribou crossings serves to identify areas where taboos must be followed.

Offerings

In my experience in the *Paallirmiut* area, there are many sites at which people are expected to give an offering such as a grave, an *inuksuk*, a cave, or a stone. These sites are described as *tunillarviit*. *Tunillaq* means offering or sacrifice. The material possession that was given in these cases was to be of value to the giver and so was a sacrifice. The *Harvaqtuurmiut* do not seem to have specific locations or *tunillarviit*.

Question: Did they have *Tunillarviit* in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area?

Elizabeth Tunnuq: *Tunillaq* usually means - they had that up here too but they didn't have a special place where you offer to a certain place. It would happen if there was a sickness in the family. Like during the time when Tunnuq was around, her mother in law ended up with a swollen neck. She had to give away, and sacrifice her nice skirting cloth, she had to take it up the hill or somewhere. That is a *tunillaq*, a sacrifice. In fact, it happened that at the same time her mother-in-law had a swollen neck she [Tunnuq] had a swollen neck the other way. While they were sacrificing her skirt dress. Her family were praying to a different god. She was a Christian. Also if you come across graves, you leave something - that's called *tunillaq*.

Tunillaq as we know it up here is usually where you give to a grave. Tuni means giving. In order to gain something you sacrifice something that is your favourite.

(Keith and Scottie 1997:52)

There are no place names in the data set that refer to offerings or to features that require offerings.

Spirit Beings

To the pre-Christian *Harvaqtuurmiut* spiritual beings like the *tuurngaq*, *qavavaq* and *ijiraaq* shared the land with people. A *tuurngaq* spirit can become the helping spirit of a shaman. A *qavavaq* is a spirit which is the food of the *tuurngaq* and with whom shamans sometimes battled. An *Ijiraaq* is a caribou-like creature. These beings inhabited particular areas where they were more readily encountered and these places are often named. In my study area there are 4 different islands just off the mouth of the *Harvaqtunuq* called: *Tuurngaqtalik* (56 D/03 005); *Tuurngaqtaliik* (56 D/03 009); and *Tuurngaqtalik* 56 D/03 010. All three of these mean “place of spirits” with the second actually referring to two islands. There is also a cave close to the *Qikiqtalugjuaq* area called *Tuurngalik* (65 P-10 045) which has the same meaning.

Aasivaaryuk: Well, I have heard Pukirluk and another person camped there before. It was getting dark when they arrived near Tuurngalik. They pitched their tent before dark. Just when they were getting ready for bed, they could hear someone chanting shamanism [irinaliuq]. They were afraid to sleep overnight, so they got ready to leave in the dark. This is because no one is allowed to sleep near it [the cave] any time of year.

Tunnuq: My father and my brother found the entrance to it in the summer time. They said it has a very nice walkway made out of small stones. They entered it, but when they got further in, it got darker and darker. My brother was too afraid so he just started running right back out, my father followed right behind him. I have also heard when ever you are on top of it you can hear someone chanting shamanism [irinaliuq]. (*Harvaqtuurmiut* Elders et al 1994:).

There is only one mention of the term *qavavaq* in the study area. *Qavvavaujarvik* (55/M12 021) is thought to refer to an event in the past where someone was pretending to be a *qavvavaq*.

There are no names in the study area that refer to the *ijiraq*. They are certainly well known in the area, but there are no specific sites that refer to them. Just to the north on the *Kangirjuuq* [Thelon River] there is a hill where an *ijiraq* is believed to live (Scottie 1995).

4.2.5 Type E - Resource Place Names

In the historic period the most important faunal resources were fish and caribou. Caribou was the staple providing a complete diet and raw materials for shelter, clothing and tools (Burch 1972). Fish were important as food when stores of caribou ran short, especially in late winter.

Fish

There are a few examples of water bodies whose names identify the species of fish living there or some quality of the fish. *Iqaluttialuktuq* (65 P/06 006) is a lake (*tahiq*) whose name means “place of hard biting fish”. As lakes were fished through the ice in the winter, often for emergency food, this information could be valuable: fish that attack the lure aggressively are much more likely to be caught.

Iqaluttialuktuq refers to hard biting lake trout (*I&uraaq*) for there are no char (*Iqalukpik*) in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area, at least above Kazan Falls (*Qurluqtuq*). Trout, therefore, was one of the main food fish for people living in the area. Other fish were also available: *Anngialik* (65 P/11 015) is the “place with suckers”; and *Hulukpaugalik* (65

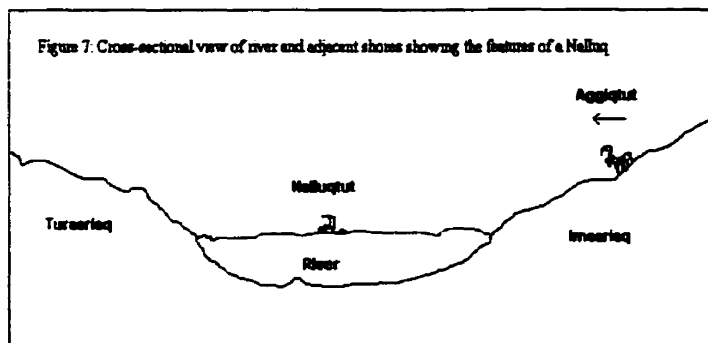
P/10 056) “has arctic grayling”. *Kavihiliit* (whitefish) were fished by *Harvaqtuurmiut*, but there is no place name in the study area that refers directly to this practice.

Caribou

During the period that the caribou herds were in the *Harvaqtuuq* area in large numbers (May to September) it was a matter of survival that *Harvaqtuurmiut* intercepted the herds and killed as many animals as possible. The number of place names in the study area referring directly to caribou and their movements or the activities of people hunting caribou reflects their importance.

The method of hunting caribou at water crossings produced the most animals and, therefore, was the key activity for survival. Most of the names referring to caribou in the study area refer in some way to caribou crossing the river. The names of caribou crossings can include the vocabulary for the constituent features of a crossing. These are systematically applied and therefore I argue that they should be more properly considered geographic terms. In the *Harvaqtuurmiut* understanding of the environment these are physical features that are as unchanging as a rapid, point, hill or other permanent landscape elements.

A caribou crossing is generally referred to as a *nalluq*. If a *nalluq* is used only in one season when the caribou are moving in one direction, then there is a fixed orientation to the crossing. Some *nalluit* [plural] are bidirectional. The slope or the river bank where the caribou move down to enter the water is called the *imaariaq* (See Figure 7). The slope where they emerge from the water is called the *turaariaq*.



The term *nalluq* is contained in three place names in the study area. There are two crossings called *Nallu'tuaq* (55M/13 010 and 55M/13 022) meaning “the only crossing place” and *Nalluqhiaq* (55 M/12 047) meaning “a found crossing”. The binary terms *imaariaq/turaariaq* are not contained in any place names in the region, although there is a place named *imaariaq* on the *Kangirjuaq* [Thelon River] (Scottie 1995).

There are many named places that refer to the presence of a crossing without using the terminology for a *nalluq*. These names often refer to the behaviour of the caribou in the crossing area or the activities of Inuit in relation to caribou. A good example of an important crossing which is not so named is the *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* area (See Figure 8). The most significant hunts that occurred at this site was the interception of the *Qivirut* (the returning herd) in July and the remaining caribou which cross in smaller groups in August and September. At these times of year the caribou were moving from north to south through the crossing. Inuit camped at one of the three sites in the area - *Ikpik*, *Hannirut* or *Pappikkaq*.

When caribou cross here they cross the island *Qikiqtaalugjuaq*. In order to get into position to do this they have to get around the lake *Aggiria&iq*. This name refers to the fact that this lake gets in the way of caribou that want to get down to the water crossing.

Direction of Caribou Movement

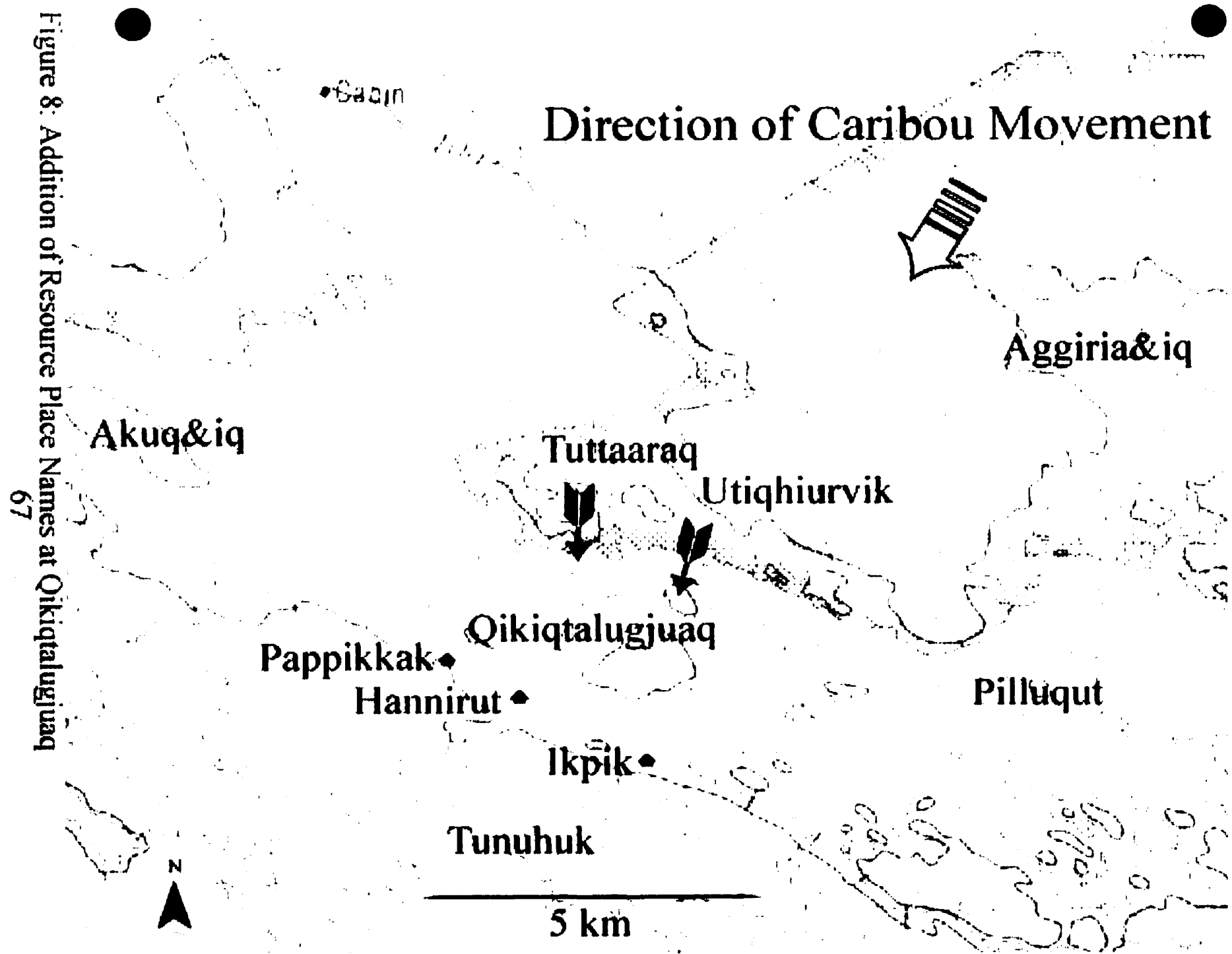


Figure 8: Addition of Resource Place Names at Qikiqtaalugjuaq

As they approach the water they are said to walk with a particular gait which is termed *aggiqtut*. The caribou must make their way around this lake in order to begin *aggiqtut*.

When the caribou enter the water they would often attempt to spend the least amount of time in the water and would get out on the small islands on the north side of *Qikiqtaalugjuaq*. The name for the island *Tuttaaraq* (65 P/10 039) means “stepping place” and refers to this phenomenon. When swimming across the river, the animals are taken by the current and often land in the *Utiqhiurvik* (65 P/10 063) area. This named area has the meaning “where they return”.

The caribou were attacked after they had crossed *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* and were committed to swimming across the channel on the south side of the island. Sometimes individual caribou would be wounded by an inaccurate blow from the lance and would be allowed to escape. The wounded animals often ended up on the island *Pilluqut* (65 P/10 028) where they would recover from their injuries and go on. *Pilluquti* is defined by Schneider (1984: 253) as a thing that is put together with another in the same place. The name refers to this common scenario of wounded caribou aggregating on the island.

There are two other examples of different names which refer indirectly to the status of an area as a crossing. *Amilrarviit* (65 P/06 005) “a place where you get the herd” are islands in the river. This name must refer to the fact that the big herd (*amilrat*) crosses over these islands while crossing the river. *Mitqiajurtalik* (65 P/11 010) refers to the caribou hair that accumulates on the shorelines the islands and the mainland when the caribou herd swims across the river.

Other Animals

Most references in place names in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area relate to caribou. A few, however, identify locations of the activity of other wildlife. Some of these species were marginally important to Inuit subsistence.

In the spring time many migratory species of birds fly into the arctic to have their young. Large numbers of geese aggregate on the barren lands of western Hudson Bay for this purpose. Although not nearly as important as the Arviat area, the Kazan River area is also used for nesting. *Kanguirvik* (55M/13 021) is the name for an island in the river and means “place of breeding geese”.

Another species which was used from time to time by *Harvaqtuurmiut* was the arctic hare. *Ukaliliit* (55 M/12 031) is a group of three lakes that harbours a high population of arctic hare as it's name means “they have arctic hare”.

Named places often refer to species which have nothing to do with subsistence at all. Some examples are: *Ugjungnalik* (55 M/12 027) lake “it has jumping mice” or “vole” (Fortescue et al 1994: 360); *Kivgalulik* (55 M/12 031) lake “it has muskrats”; and *Kiggaviaqtaalik* (55M/12 040) “place of young gyrfalcons”. These toponyms simply state observable facts in the environment without any direct connection to subsistence.

Plants

The use of plants by Inuit was a relatively small, but important, part of subsistence. Different berry producing plants were used to seasonally supplement the main diet. Trees of all sizes were used in the construction of *qamutik*, tent poles and *qajaq*, but no trees are available in the study area. The smaller dwarf birch (*avalaqiaq*) was used to weave a

kind of wicker mattress to keep caribou bedding skins off the snow. Willows (*Uqpik*) and any other small brush were collected and used for fuel wood in the winter and summer.

There is only one toponym in the study area that refers to plants and it is named *Uqpiktujuq* (55 M/13 08) a hill whose name means “place of willows”.

Mineral

Outcrops and lag deposits of different types of rock were useful to *Harvaqtuurmiut*. Prior to introduction of the rifle and metal trade goods mineral resources were quite important to their technology. Veins of quartzite (*tunuujak*) were quarried and quartzite river cobbles collected to manufacture projectile points and to produce sparks to ignite fires. Soapstone (*utkuhiksaq*) was used to make lamps (*qulliq*) and cooking pots (*utkuhik*).

There was one source for soapstone identified in the study area and it was a ridge named *Utkuhiksait* (65 P/09 071). I have visited another source in the *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* area which is not marked by a place name.

There were no names that indicated locations of good quartzite quarry sites. However, another valuable stone was indicated by the name *Ivitaalik* (65 P/09 023). *Ivitaalik* is a hill which has *ivitaaq* “a soft red stone used for colouring” (Fortescue et al 1994: 148). This stone was mixed with fish oil and applied to the seams of kayak (*qajaaq*) covers to keep them water proof.

A mineral resource need not be one that is quarried and taken away or further processed. *Mikkik* (65 P/10 042) is a named area of smooth textured hard rock that is ideal for sharpening edges (i.e. metal knives).

4.2.6 Type F - Metaphorical Place Names

There is a small number of place names in the study area which fall into the category of metaphorical place names. In every case, the name draws an analogy between the morphology of the named feature and something from *Harvaqtuurmiut* experience.

These analogies are common in Inuit and Aboriginal people generally. Of the small set of metaphorical place names in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area there is only one which refers to a human body part. *Kimmin'aaq* (55M/13 007) is a hill whose name means “little heel”.

Another type of analogy is between that feature and another natural feature. In the case of the plain *Qairnilugjuaq* is a temporary ice feature. When ice forms on something smooth like a stone it is also very smooth. This ice is called a *qairniq*. The plain “has the appearance of a big qairniq”.

More numerous in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area are names that refer to the similarities between geographic features and Inuit technology. *Huluraq* (65 P/10 005) is an island which is oblong in shape. Its name is the term for the “little cord added to the end of a whiplash to make it crack” (Schneider 1985: 376). The camping area *Hannirut* (65 P/10 010) is named due to the cross shape made where a small creek meets the river. *Sanniq* is defined by Fortescue et al. (1994: 68) as to “cross a vertical line”.

Qariahalluq (65 P/10 017) is an oddly shaped bay at the west end of Thirty Mile Lake. It has a narrow opening to the main river and then it opens up into a rather large bay. The root of its name is *qariaq* meaning “a second snow house opening onto the main snow house” (Schneider 1985: 288). Another reference to the snowhouse is found in the name *Tuqsujuqaq* (65 P/06 016) “it looks like an entrance”. This name refers to the similarity between this feature, a long deep valley, and the entrance to a snowhouse. The island *Panarjuaq* (65 P/10 040) is simply the “big snow knife” due to its narrow, curved shape.

4.2.7 Type G - Human Activity Place Names

Many toponyms refer to the activities of Inuit during their occupation of the *Harvaqtuuq*. Their meanings shed light on the activities involved in *Harvaqtuurmiut* subsistence and social life.

Fishing

Some important subsistence areas were labeled with resource place names, but more are named according to the human activities involved in subsistence. Two important fishing sites are identified by names that refer to the long hours people devoted to fishing in these places. *Aitaharvik* (65 P/06 002) is the outlet of a *qamaniq* in the river in the Forde Lake area. It is reported to have been a very productive fishing place (Luke Tunguaq, Appendix: 9). *Aitaharvik* means “yawning place” and refers to the long hours people would spend fishing at the site. A similar toponym is located just above the rapid *Itimniq* (65 P/09 001). *Pigaarvik* (65 P/09 057) is a small rock island in the river where Inuit would fish with *kakivak*. The name means “staying up place” and again relates to the amount of time people spent fishing there.

Caribou Hunting

As with resource place names, toponyms that relate to the search and pursuit of caribou are most numerous. For instance *Nahiksaqturvik* (65 P/11 001) was a very important campsite visited by Rasmussen in the spring of 1922 (Rasmussen 1930a). It was at this camp that Inuit first spotted the *qangrallat* herd of caribou coming from the south. *Nahiksaqturvik* means “look-out place” and is the name of a hill at that location with a good view of the surrounding area. Look-outs, a key element of any caribou hunting location, were high places, often with stone blinds to hide the hunters on look-out.

At *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* (see Figure 9), there are two look-outs, with blinds, for the observation of caribou crossing from the north side of the river. From these look-outs, observers signalled to the hunters waiting in qajaqs to ambush caribou when they entered the water. The look-outs are conceived in terms of contrasting size: *Utaqqivvigjuaq* “big waiting place”, located on a large hill; and *Utaqqivvi'naaq* “little waiting place”, a small knoll. Both have stone-constructed blinds on top of the hills with walls oriented to hide hunters from being seen from the north.

Behind the campsite *Pappikkaq* to the southwest there is another look-out on a hill called *Qatqa'tuaq* “big look-out hill”. A *qatqa* is a hill with a good vantage point for observing the surrounding landscape either for wildlife or for enemies (Joan Scottie, personal communication).

Plant Gathering

Just as there was only one toponym in the study area referring to plants in the resource category there are very few referring to plant gathering activities. *Nunivagiarvik* (65 P/10 022) is a hill in the *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* area which simply means “where you collect berries”. Schneider (1985: 225) defines *nunivagiartuq* as “she goes berry picking...”. *Qiuktariarvik* (65 P/13 002) means “place where one collects willows” and likely refers to a location close to a camping area that has ample willows.

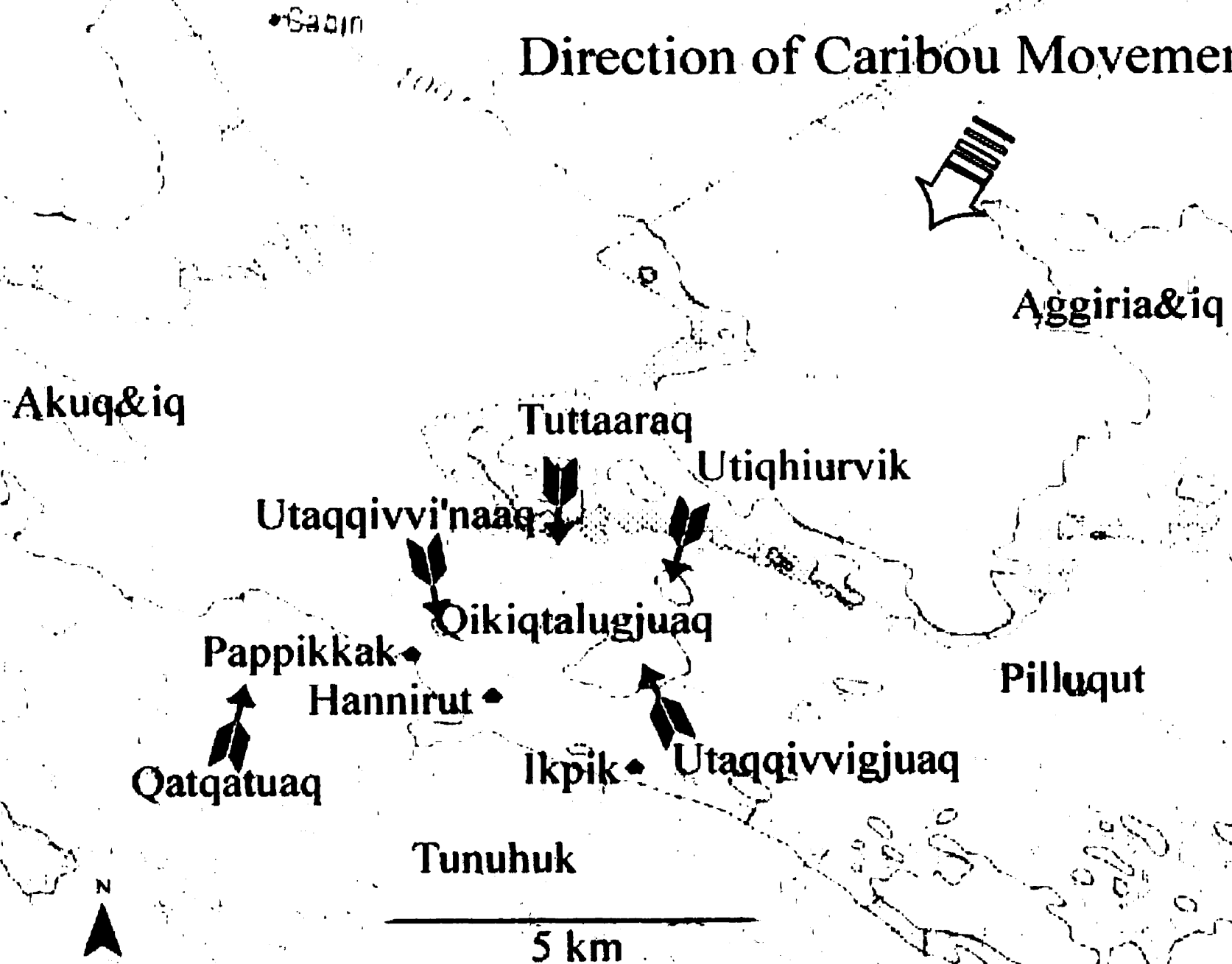
Work Places

Some named places are locations where specific work was done on the construction or maintenance of subsistence technology. There are qualities about these sites that make them the best for a particular activity. *Qarjiurvik* (65 P/10 031) is a site of recent importance which means “bullet-making place”. The root term in this name - *qarjuk* - is a term for arrow which has been appropriated to describe the bullet.

Direction of Caribou Movement

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Figure 9: Addition of Human Activity Place Name at Qikiqtaalugjuaq



To conserve bullets for their breech loading rifles, *Harvaqtuurmiut* would reload spent casings with powder and lead. Inuit would go to great lengths to try and recover spent casings and even lead from animal carcasses. They would insert the casing into cracks in the bedrock (*qaiqtuq*) before inserting powder and lead. *Qarjiurvik* has the particular quality of having cracks that are the perfect width for this operation.

The gentle sloping plain *Itsaliurvik* (55 M/12 006) “place where tents are made” on the east side of *Qurluqtuq* [Kazan Falls] is also refers to a specific activity. An *itsaq* is a conical caribou skin tent. This site had the same name in 1922 when Knud Rasmussen visited the area. It is unclear why this particular site would be superior for the sewing of tents. It may refer to only a single occasion when tents were sewn at this site. Perhaps it was simply the site Inuit were at in their seasonal round of movements, at the time when tents were made. Another possibility is that there was some kind of taboo prescription for making tents at this site. Joan Scottie (personal communication, 1999) feels that as the area is remarkably flat and even, this may have made it the perfect place to spread out all the skins in the process of sewing a tent.

Travel

A number of toponyms that refer to human activities are related to the movement of people through the landscape. These names are indicative of the seasonal movements of *Harvaqtuurmiut* and their mode of travel. They also tend to have a built-in sense of orientation.

There are two major rapids between *Qamaniq* [Forde Lake] and *Qurluqtuq* [Kazan Falls] whose names refer to the fact that they were barriers to the movement of people by *qajaq* down river from *Qamaniq* [Forde Lake]. *Itimningaq* (65 P/11 016) means “the first portage” and *Itimniq* (65 P/09 001) “the portage”. When these rapids were named, the area above *Itimningaq* was clearly a starting point for *qajaq* travel. One may speculate

that this is evidence that the area around *Qamaniq* [Forde Lake] was at one time a focus for Inuit subsistence activity. In the lifetime of the Elders interviewed in the 1990s, the more important camp sites were further down river. These same Elders testified that in their parents lives, much more time was spent above *Itimningaq* and as far south as *Aklirnaqtuq* [Ferguson Lake] (Joan Scottie, personal communication, 1999). Elizabeth Tunnuq even explained that her parents generation would not disturb the old tent rings at *Aariaq&iq* (65 P-11 007), just above *Itimningaq*, out of respect for their age (Joan Scottie, personal communication, 1999). Even in her parents time, this campsite was considered very old by *Harvaqtuurmiut*.

Akunni'tuaq (55M/12 028) is another example of a toponym related to the movement of people. It is a hill located between two historically important campsites in *Piqqiq* (55M/12 014) and *Piqqiarjuk* (55M/12 015). The meaning of *Akunni'tuaq* is the "big interval between" (Fortescue et al 1994: 15). The main method of travel between campsites in ethnographic times was by walking or by dogsled in the winter. This hill would have presented an obstacle to be surmounted when travelling between these camps.

Ipirarvik (65 P/13 008) is a name that indicates the fastest way to travel between points. When walking was the major mode of travel water bodies could present significant hindrances to travel. Many extra kilometres would have to be walked to go around long bays. *Ipirarvik* means "wading place" and indicates a body of water shallow enough that one can wade straight across and not have to walk around the very long bay that goes off to the south.

Harvaqtuurmiut had different tools for different seasonal activities and not all were needed at any one time. Therefore, equipment was stored when not in use so that it could safely be left behind. *Hirluaqtalik* (55M/13 020) is an island whose name means "place of storage". A *hirluaq* is an equipment cache for leaving things behind when travelling on to another area.

Games

The final type of human activity place name in the *Harvaqturmiut* area are names identifying gaming sites. All the gaming sites involve a stone which is the central focus of the game. There are two places named *Kivvakattaqtalik* (65 P/10 027 and 55 M/12 011) in the study area. They are both said to have the rounded stones that are typically called *kivvakattaq* or weight lifting stone. These stones are lifted in competitions of strength. I have seen these amongst the *Utkuhiksalingmiut* and *Paallirmiut* also.

Qapapaujaqtalik (65 P/11 008) is the name of a hill where the game *qapapaujaq* is played. I have also recorded a *qapapaujaq* site at *Itimnaarjuk* on the Back River. This game is played with a number of people standing in a ring around a stone, backs facing towards the centre, with their arms linked at the elbows. A person that is not in the group tries to push the group so that people must step off the stone. Those that do are out of the game, and then play continues with the group remaining on the rock trying to work together to stay on.

There is yet another game related to a stone that is located near the camp *Papikkaq*. *Auniujarvik* (65 P/10 058) refers to both a hill and a large boulder that is almost like a cube in shape. *Auniujaq* is a type of game of tag played by children involving climbing on this boulder.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Based on the ethno-historical studies of Ernest Burch (1986: 113), the Caribou Inuit of the *Tariurjuaq* [Hudson Bay] coast split into two different societies around the 1820's: one to the south, oriented toward the Hudson's Bay Company post at *Kuugjuaq* [Churchill]; and one oriented towards Chesterfield Inlet and *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake]. Following this initial split, a shortage of caribou along the coast in the 1840s forced members of the southern group to move further and further inland (Burch 1986: 114; Burch 1977: 143). Many stayed and thrived, and as the population grew, the original two societies of Burch's reconstruction, became five societies by 1880 (Burch 1986: 114; Csonka 1995: 123). Based on this reconstruction the *Harvaqtuurmiut* couldn't have arrived on the *Harvaqtuuq* until sometime after 1840. Before 1840 the Caribou Inuit were seasonal caribou hunters who spent part of the year hunting sea mammals, not unlike the coastal *Paallirmiut* of the 20th century. For the segment of the population who moved to the *Harvaqtuuq*, the landscape presented new challenges to which they had to adapt.

With the river - the *Harvaqtuuq* - as their new home. The immigrants came to call themselves *Harvaqtuurmiut* "people of *Harvaqtuuq*". The river became the main focus of their territory and gave the surrounding landscape orientation. The three lakes located on the dog team route to *Tipjalik* [Beverly Lake] are evidence of this phenomenon. They are all named *Tahirjuaq* with the modifiers *tukliq*, *akulliq* and *ungalliq* [closest, middle, furthest] designating the order they are encountered when travelling from the *Harvaqtuuq*. Within the main focus of the river there are several sub-foci. These were areas of land-use activity, especially caribou water crossings, to which extended families would return yearly. The names surrounding a sub-foci constitute an internally coherent network that is for the most part implicit, but some names were explicitly tagged as being possessed by the focus (i.e. *Itimniup Kinngaa* "Itimniq's hill).

Typological analysis identified the geographic/literal descriptive type place names as the most numerous in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* territory. This finding coincides with the results of other studies of Inuit names. The generic nature of many of the names is a further indication of the internal rationalization of names to localized foci. There are many names throughout arctic North America that are identical, however, each is imbedded in its own self-referential network.

Harvaqtuurmiut applied Inuktitut terminology to the *Harvaqtuuq*. Embedded in this terminology are uniquely Inuit concepts such as hydrological concepts that distinguish a *tahiq* from a *qamaniq*, and that view a river, not as an entity to be traced from source to mouth, but as a series of interconnected moving and still water sections. The Inuktitut language developed historically in the context of a coastal or seasonally coastal way of life. *Harvaqtuurmiut* were applying these coast-derived concepts in their organization of the *Harvaqtuuq* landscape. An example of this is the *kangilliq/killiq* or inland/sea opposition which was adapted by *Harvaqtuurmiut* for use inland. This is evident in the use of these terms to distinguish paired geographical features (i.e. *Killiq Tullik* and *Kangilliq Tullik*) and in the inclusion of these terms in *Harvaqtuurmiut* bay designations (i.e. *kangiq&uk* and *killinaugaq*).

The move to the *Harvaqtuuq* involved a break with coastal resources and hunting techniques. Much like the coastal *Paallirmiut* of the 20th century, the original migrants to the *Harvaqtuuq* must have already hunted caribou at water crossings. However, in the absence of other resources, caribou became the only staple available, and caribou crossing hunts became the most important subsistence activities. This fact is borne out in the many names denoting the presence of caribou, caribou behaviour and locations of caribou water crossings. As presented in the example of the *Qikiqtaalugjuaq* area in Chapter 4, the presence of a caribou crossing brought an implicit orientation to an area. Many of the names surrounding the area refer to the actions and strategies of the hunters, and the behaviours of the caribou. The influence that caribou movements had over the

Harvaqtuurmiut perception of landscape orientation has also been demonstrated by Robert Rundstrom in his analysis of Caribou Inuit hand drawn maps (Rundstrom 1987). Rundstrom found that in the maps Inuit tended to rotate landscape features “to conform to an east-west trend” and that these rotations “occurred at important caribou crossings” (Rundstrom 1987: 181).

Thus, the idea that caribou-hunting Inuit may have conceived selected locations as perpendicular blockades to the north-south seasonal migrations of the caribou finds support in this study. It appears that fluvial locations where caribou movements took place were crucial to the conceived directional orientation of places (Rundstrom 1987: 181/182).

The magnitude of influence caribou movements had on the *Harvaqtuurmiut* is embedded in their toponyms. The names reveal the adaptation of *Harvaqtuurmiut* subsistence strategies to the reality of resource availability on the *Harvaqtuuq*. The pursuit of caribou dictated *Harvaqtuurmiut* land-use patterns.

Fishing was also an important subsistence activity to the *Harvaqtuurmiut*, and this fact is borne out in the place names. However, the predominance of caribou hunting in subsistence was unrivalled, and for this reason areas that contained caribou crossings such as in the example of *Qikiqtalugjuaq* acted as foci. In the lifetimes of the Elders who were involved in this study, the most important foci in their territory were the caribou crossings at *Qikiqtalugjuaq*, *Itimniq*, *Piqqiarjuk* and *Piqqiq*. These areas were frequented by different groups of extended families, and while all shared the main focus of the *Harvaqtuuq*, each had a local network of place names that were self-referential. There is evidence apparent in the place name pair *Itimningaq/Itimniq* (1st and 2nd portages), that these crossings have not always been the only foci, or perhaps the most important. These two rapids are named in succession as they were met by a kayaker travelling down-river. The fact that *Itimningaq* was the first to be encountered suggests that the area above that rapid was at one time an important focus of land-use. Perhaps the most important historically.

The idea that a location (or locations) above *Itimningaq* were more important to *Harvaqtuurmiut* in the past is supported by Elders testimony. While working in the *Itimniq* area in 1997, Elders Luke Tunguaq and Elizabeth Tunnuq lamented that we would not be able to visit the area above those rapids, as this was the location frequented by their parents, and where one may find older sites (Keith 1994-1998)⁹. Elizabeth Tunnuq mention that in her mother's time they lived further up river around *Tuglirutik* and as far south as *Aklirnaqtuq* [Ferguson Lake], and that her mother recognized *Aariaq&iq* as being a very old campsite, so old that they would not disturb the old tent rings out of respect for their age (Joan Scottie, personal communication, 1999). These toponyms testify to a shift in land-use in the beginning of the 20th century from an area above *Itimningaq* and as far south as the outlet of *Hikulikjuaq* [Yathkyed Lake] and *Aklirnaqtuq* [Ferguson Lake], to the lower river at the sites of *Qikiqtalugjuaq*, *Itimniq*, *Piqqiarjuk* and *Piqqiq*. The timing of this move lends credibility to an interpretation that this move was motivated by the desire to be closer to the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at *Uqpiktuujuq* [Big Hips Island] in *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake], established in 1916.

The main conclusion of this thesis is that *Harvaqtuurmiut* place names have commemorated the Inuit historical land-use and land-use change since their arrival to the *Harvaqtuuq*. Historical toponyms support the fact that *Harvaqtuurmiut* began occupying a frontier territory that was seasonally frequented by Dene. Meetings between Inuit and Dene since Inuit immigration have occasioned conflict. Indeed the insecurity inherent in this situation was felt in the lifetime of Elizabeth Tunnuq who now lives in *Qamani'tuaq* [Baker Lake] (Keith 1994-1998). The ancestors of modern *Harvaqtuurmiut* must have been motivated by some hardship around 1840 to abandon life on the coast and search inland for a viable living. Ernest Burch attributes this move as a reaction to a shortage of caribou at the time. Over time the territory was experienced, and named based on that experience by drawing on the wellspring of terminology and concepts found in the

⁹ These discussions were recalled and confirmed by Joan Scottie (personal communication, 1999) in October, 1999.

Inuktitut language. In this way the landscape was appropriated by Inuit as their home territory.

It is by expanding on the idea of a process of landscape appropriation that I would like to add a more speculative interpretation of the place name data based on the presence of anthroponyms and, the paucity of pan-Inuit myths in the landscape. Logically, a group moving into a new area would have to undergo a process of landscape appropriation that would entail investigation and experience of an area, and naming of significant features. This process of increasing knowledge and psychological or emotional attachment would of necessity be gradual. Place names may be an indicator of the stage of landscape appropriation that a society has reached.

The use of personal names in toponyms is uncommon in the Inuit world. In the Netsilik culture area this practice may be non-existent (Keith and Kamookak 1999; Keith and Scottie 1997). *Harvaqtuurmiut*, and I believe all Caribou Inuit, name the locations of their buried kin using the name of the deceased. Perhaps by remembering their ancestors through landscape features the *Harvaqtuurmiut* were, in effect, laying down a genealogically based claim to a territory that they had occupied for a brief period. This act of landscape appropriation would have been a signal to outsiders of their claim, and also an internal impetus for members of their society to behave in accordance with their obligations to the land.

If anthroponyms can be interpreted, in the case of the *Harvaqtuurmiut*, to be a short term method of landscape appropriation, perhaps the appearance of names implicating a location in Inuit myth indicates a long occupation. Inuit societies that have a long time depth of occupation in an area, such as the *Nattilingmiut*, *Utkuhiksalingmiut* or even the *Paallirmiut*, have toponyms that narrate major mythological events as occurring in their territory (Keith and Dwyer 1995; Rasmussen 1931). For example all locate the myth of *Kiviuq* and the creation of fog in their home territory. This story is known by

Harvaqtuurmiut, albeit in a different version, but it is understood to have occurred on the coast (Keith 1994-1998). No major pan-Inuit myths are located in the *Harvaqtuuq* area, as indicated by place names.

However, the relationship of well known mythical characters and the *Harvaqtuurmiut* territory is not completely unknown. Though the culture hero *Kiviug* is not alluded to in any names in the *Harvaqtuurmiut* area, there is a song which lists the names of places he visited his immigration to the *Harvaqtuuq* from the *Tariurjuaq* [Hudson Bay] coast by travelling up Chesterfield Inlet and the *Kangirjuaq* [Thelon River], and then from the mouth of *Harvaqtuuq* to a point around the *Kuunnuaq* River junction (*Harvaqtuurmiut* et al 1994: 5). His motivation for this journey is that he was having no luck in hunting marine wildlife (*Harvaqtuurmiut* et al 1994: 5). Versions of this song are known amongst the coastal *Paallirmiut* and the *Aivilingmiut* (Luke Suluk, personal communication, 1999).

Taken together, these observations about the presence of anthroponyms, and the absence of mythical events in *Harvaqtuurmiut* territory seem to support current theory about the recent arrival of Inuit to the *Harvaqtuuq*. Perhaps *Kiviug*'s song about an immigration inland to the *Harvaqtuuq* from the coast, motivated by subsistence concerns, can be seen as commemorating this move.

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Appendix

Spread Sheets of Place Name Classification

ID#	Name	Entity	Type
55 M/12 001	Qurluqtuq	falls	A
55 M/12 002	Qairnilugjuaq	plain	F
55 M/12 003	Unahugiik	hill	C
55 M/12 004	Qairnilugjuup Itiqturjuanga	valley	A
55 M/12 005	Aggiriatjuaq	point	E
55 M/12 006	Itsaliurvik	slope	G
55 M/12 007	Kangiuurvik	site	E
55 M/12 008	Killinaugaq	bay	A
55 M/12 009	Hiura'tuaq	beach	A
55 M/12 010	Nallurhiaq	caribou crossing	E
55 M/12 011	Kivvakattaqtalik	site	G
55 M/12 012	Kiggaviaqtali'naaq	hill	E
55 M/12 013	Qarjariaqtalik	hill	A
55 M/12 014	Piqqiq	rapids	A
55 M/12 015	Piqqiarjuk	rapids	A
55 M/12 016	Hagli	island	A
55 M/12 017	Qarliari'naat	lakes	F
55 M/12 018	Killinauga'naaq	bay	A
55 M/12 019	Utaqqivvigjuaq	hill	G
55 M/12 020	Aqiarjuaq	lake	C
55 M/12 021	Qavvavaujarvik	hill	D
55 M/12 022	Qamanaugaq	river lake	A
55 M/12 023	Qamanaugarjuaq	river lake	A
55 M/12 024	Tasiqqusiakuluk	lake	A
55 M/12 025	Tasiqqusiaq	lake	A
55 M/12 026	Itsaliurvik	river lake	G
55 M/12 027	Ugjungnalik	lake	E
55 M/12 028	Akkunni'tuaq	hill	G
55 M/12 029	Itsaliurvik	shoreline	G
55 M/12 030	Qamanauga'naaq	river lake	A
55 M/12 031	Kivgalulik	lake	E
55 M/12 032	Itiplirjuaq	hill	G
55 M/12 033	Utaqqivvigjuaq	hill and campsite	G
55 M/12 034	Aptaniup Kuunga	river	A
55 M/12 035	Upinngivvik	hills	C
55 M/12 036	Minngirvik	hill	C
55 M/12 037	Aqiarjuaq	lake	C
55 M/12 038	Nallulik	lake	E
55 M/12 039	Atani'naaq	land connection	A
55 M/12 040	Kiggaviaqtalik	hill	E
55 M/12 041	Ugjungnalik	lake	E
55 M/12 042	Akutaqtalik	lake	C
55 M/12 043	Nuillak	river section	A
55 M/12 044	Aulatsivviarjuk	point	G
55 M/12 045	Akunni'tuaq	hill	G
55 M/12 046	Kivvakattaqtalik	point	G
55 M/12 047	Nallurhiaq	caribou crossing	E
55 M/12 048	Mannittuaq	hill	E
55 M/12 049	Kihimiajja	island	C
55 M/12 052	Niaqquarvik	point	C
65 P/9 001	Itimniq	rapids	G
65 P/9 002	Qamanaugaq	river lake	A
65 P/9 003	Amiruqtuuq	island	E
65 P/9 004	Qariahalluq	lake	F

65 P/9 005	Kangiq&ulugjuaq	bay	A
65 P/9 006	Ihaku'tuaq	point	F
65 P/9 007	Imariktuq	lake	A
65 P/9 008	Pualrinnalik	point	F
65 P/9 009	Pualrinnalik	lake	F
65 P/9 010	Nurrahivvik	river lake	E
65 P/9 011	Quukilruq	narrow	A
65 P/9 012	Ipjurjuaq	point/inuksuk	C
65 P/9 013	Killinaugaq	bay	A
65 P/9 014	Ipivvik	point	C
65 P/9 015	Itimniup Kingaa/Itimni'tuaq	hill	A
65 P/9 016	Innitaaq	island	A
65 P/9 017	Pigaarvik	island	G
65 P/9 018	Huluraq	point	F
65 P/9 019	Pualrinnaq	point	F
65 P/9 020	Itimniup Kinngaarjua	hills	A
65 P/9 021	Arnatquaksaannuak	2 hills	F
65 P/9 023	Ivitaalik	hill	E
65 P/9 024	Utkuhigjuaqtalik	hill	A
65 P/9 026	Tasira'tuaq	lake	A
65 P/9 027	Pualrinnaq	point	F
65 P/9 028	Itimniq	point	G
65 P/9 029	Tikiralugjuaq	point	F
65 P/9 031	Nurraqhiviit	3 islands	E
65 P/9 048	Auksiivik	camp	G
65 P/9 049	Pipqa'naaqtalik	hill	C
65 P/9 050	Mumirvik	site	G
65 P/9 051	Nillaq	hill	C
65 P/9 052	Atuat	hill	C
65 P/9 054	Aahivak	point	C
65 P/9 055	Adgu&inirjuaq	area	A
65 P/9 056	Innitaaq	island	A
65 P/9 057	Pigaarvik	island	G
65 P/9 058	Nurraqhivvigjuaq	island	E
65 P/9 060	Qaimilugjuaq	hill	F
65 P/9 061	Ujaraaqsivvik	site	G
65 P/9 066	Utkuhigjuaqtalik	hill	C
65 P/9 067	Nunaliaq	earthen mound	G
65 P/9 068	Ipjurjuup Qanilia	island	A
65 P/9 069	Ungavaituq	hill	A
65 P/9 070	Amiruqtuuq	island	E
65 P/9 071	Utkuhiksait	ridge	E
65 P/6 001	Qamaniq or Tiglirutip Qamania	river lake	A
65 P/6 002	Aitaharvik	Lake outlet	G
65 P/6 003	Tikira'tuaq	point	F
65 P/6 004	Uriarvik	hill	C
65 P/6 005	Amillarviit	island	E
65 P/6 006	Iqaluttialuktuq	lake	E
65 P/6 007	Tugliruti'tuaq	hill	A
65 P/6 009	Pualrinnalik	lake	F
65 P/6 011	Itaaqatugaq	bay	A
65 P/6 013	Tugliruti'naaq	island	A
65 P/6 015	Ilaituqtalik	lake	C
65 P/6 016	Tuqsujaq	bay	F
65 P/6 017	Itaaqatugaq	bay	A

65 P/6 018	Killiniq	bay	A
65 P/6 019	Ihuqtuq	lake	E
65 P/10 001	Harvaqtuuq	river	A
65 P/10 004	Supgutuaq	bay head	F
65 P/10 005	Huluraq	island	F
65 P/10 006	Nuvuk&ik	point	A
65 P/10 007	Nuvuhivvik	point	A
65 P/10 008	Naharahugaluq	island	F
65 P/10 010	Hannirut	river mouth	F
65 P/10 011	Tunuhuk	lake	A
65 P/10 012	Tuatturaujaq	lake	A
65 P/10 013	Ikpiaujuk		F
65 P/10 014	Qinngu'naaq	bay	A
65 P/10 015	Akuq&iq	hill	A
65 P/10 016	Tasiquttaaq	lake	A
65 P/10 017	Qariahalluq	bay	F
65 P/10 018	Kinngarjuit	hills	A
65 P/10 019	Qikiqtaalugjuaq	island	A
65 P/10 022	Nunivagiavik	hill	E
65 P/10 023	Ikpik	campsite	A
65 P/10 024	Papikkaq	campsite	C
65 P/10 025	Ihunngaq	hill/inuksuk	C
65 P/10 026	Qatqa'tuaq	hill	G
65 P/10 027	Kivvakattaqtalik/Halluhinariituaq	stone	G
65 P/10 028	Pilluqut	island	E
65 P/10 030	Huluraq	point	F
65 P/10 031	Qarjuirvik	hill	G
65 P/10 032	Qikiqhiqturliq	island	A
65 P/10 033	Umingmaujaqtalik	island	B
65 P/10 035	Igalaaraarjuktalik	hill	C
65 P/10 036	Pannigunia'naaq	grave	C
65 P/10 037	Qikita'tuaq	island	A
65 P/10 038	Angilluqta'tuaq	current	A
65 P/10 039	Tuttaaraq	island	E
65 P/10 040	Panarjuaq	island	F
65 P/10 041	Autuvik	island	A
65 P/10 042	Mikik	rock outcrop	G
65 P/10 043	Nuvuksat	island	A
65 P/10 044	Pilluquqaajuk	island	E
65 P/10 045	Tunngalik	hill/cave	D
65 P/10 046	Maniqutut	islands	A
65 P/10 047	Aggiria&iq	lake	E
65 P/10 048	Pamialuktalik	hill	A
65 P/10 049	Qaliarulik	hill	A
65 P/10 050	Killiq Tullik	lake	E
65 P/10 051	Kangilliq Tullik	lake	E
65 P/10 052	Tulligjuaqtalik	lake	E
65 P/10 053	Qariahalluup Kinngaa	hill	E
65 P/10 054	Utaqqivvi'naaq	hill	G
65 P/10 055	Utaqqivvi'naaq	hillock	G
65 P/10 056	Hulukpaugalik	lake	E
65 P/10 057	Hadliaruiq	hill	A
65 P/10 058	Aunuijarvik	hill and boulder	G
65 P/10 059	Inuksuli'naaq	hill	A
65 P/10 060	Pusingajuq	hill	F

65 P/10 061	Qarjiurvik	hill	G
65 P/10 062	Naujatuujuk	island	E
65 P/11 001	Nasiktarturvik	hill	G
65 P/11 002	Kuunnua'naaq	river	A
65 P/11 003	Kuunnuaq	river	A
65 P/11 004	Qamanaugaq	river lake	A
65 P/11 006	Alanariktuk	point	A
65 P/11 007	Aariaq&ik	hill	A
65 P/11 008	Qapapaujaqtalik	hill	G
65 P/11 009	Ukpalluqtuk	hill	A
65 P/11 010	Mitqiajurtalik	island	E
65 P/11 011	Qikiqtarjuaq	island	A
65 P/11 012	Qamanaugaq	river lake	A
65 P/11 013	Tunnuhuk	lake	A
65 P/11 014	Amnapirvik	hill	B
65 P/11 015	Anngialik	river lake	E
65 P/11 016	Itimningaq	rapids	G
65 P/11 017	Kahunnaq	islands	F
65 P/11 018	Atani'naaq	land connection	A
65 P/11 019	Tuurjuk	lake	A
65 P/11 020	Anngialik	river lake	E
65 P/11 021	Nurraaq	hill	E
65 P/13 001	Tahirjuaq Tugliq	lake	A
65 P/13 002	Qiuktariarvik	hill	G
65 P/13 003	Aggiriajat	hills	E
65 P/13 005	Qikiqtaalugjuaq	island	A
65 P/13 007	Amaqquvik	island	C
65 P/13 008	Ipirarvik	bay	G
65 P/13 009	Anaqtalik	hill	A
65 P/13 010	Anaqtaggujaaq	hill	A
65 P/13 011	Ikitinniq	point	A
65 P/13 012	Qikiqtarjuaq	island	A
65 P/13 013	Haningajukuluk	island	A
65 P/13 014	Kiggaviaqtalik	island	E
65 P/13 015	Nirllualalik	island	A
65 P/13 016	Uatinniq	area	A
65 P/13 017	Panngniqtuumavik	lake	E
65 P/13 018	Anaqtaliup Kuugaa	creek	A
65 P/13 019	Qimirugaqtalik	hill	A
65 P/14 001	Aariannuaq	lake outlet	A
65 P/14 002	Hungaujaqtalik	hills	A
65 P/14 003	Kinngarjuit	hills	A
65 P/14 004	Arna'naaq	hill	F
65 P/14 005	Tiritquq	bay	A
65 P/14 006	Tiriksiutaarvik	hill	C
65 P/14 007	Uujuktalik	hill	C
65 P/14 008	Kinnga'naaq	hill	A
65 P/14 009	Haviruut	area	C
65 P/14 010	Quglunnilik	lake	A
65 P/14 011	Tahirjua'tuaq	lake	A
65 P/15 001	Tahilugjuaq	lake	A
65 P/15 002	Kukiaktalik	point	A
65 P/15 003	Kukiaktaliup Kuunga	creek	E
65 P/15 004	Tikiratuaq Killiq	point	A
65 P/15 005	Amatquaqsannuak Kuunga	river	A

65 P/15 006	Arnatquaqsannuak Kuungata Al		A
65 P/15 007	Tikiratuaq Kangilliq	point	A
65 P/15 008	Isuqtuq	lake	E
65 P/15 009	Nuvurlaq	point	A
65 P/15 010	Qingu'tuaq	bay	A
65 P/15 011	Aniraujalik	hill	A
56 D/03 001	Harvaqtuup	river	A
56 D/03 002	Harvaqtuup Akua	delta/mouth	A
56 D/03 003	Hattiumanitjuaq	headland	A
56 D/03 004	Qurlaittuijarvik	river	A
56 D/03 005	Tuumgaqtalik	island	D
56 D/03 006	Qamani'tuaq	river lake	A
56 D/03 007	Hattiumani'tuit	hills	A
56 D/03 008	Niaqunguutik	2 hills	G
56 D/03 009	Tuumgaqtaliik	2 islands	D
56 D/03 010	Tuumgaqtalik	island	D
56 D/03 011	Anngaujarvik	rapids	A
56 D/03 012	Kakiaktu'naap Kuunga	river	A
56 D/03 013	Qamani'tuup Allininga	lake section	A
56 D/03 014	Ujaraktarvik	quarry	E
56 D/03 015	Qaiqtu'naaq	bedrock outcrop	A
56 D/03 016	Kakiaktu'naap Akua	river mouth	A
56 D/03 017	Qurlaittuijarvik	shallows	A
55 M/14 001	Quglunilik	lake	A
55 M/14 002	Niaqunguutip Tasia	lake	A
55 M/14 003	Aupaluktuq	rapids	A
55 M/14 004	Niaqunguut	mountain	F
55 M/14 005	Niaqunguutip Tasia	lake	A
55 M/14 006	Niaqunguutik	2 hills	F
55 M/14 007	Kakiaktu'naaq	lake	A
55 M/14 008	Qingaugaqtuq	eskers	A
55 M/14 009	Imnalik	cliff	A
55 M/14 010	Kakiaktu'naap Kinngaa	hill	A
55 M/13 001	Qamanaarjuk	river section	A
55 M/13 002	Nauhaaq	mountain	F
55 M/13 003	Amilukiaktalik	lake	C
55 M/13 004	Ukaliliit	3 lakes	E
55 M/13 005	Ukalilik	hill	E
55 M/13 007	Kimmi'naaq	hill	F
55 M/13 008	Uqpiktujuq	hill	E
55 M/13 009	Piqqiqtuq	rapids	A
55 M/13 010	Nallu'tuaq	caribou crossing	E
55 M/13 011	Qilamnguqtarvik	hill	A
55 M/13 012	Iqsarjuaq	hill	C
55 M/13 013	Qugluniliup Kuunga	river	A
55 M/13 014	Pialla'naaq	hillock	A
55 M/13 020	Hirluaqtalik	island	G
55 M/13 021	Kangiurvik	island	E
55 M/13 022	Nallu'tuaq	caribou crossing	E
55 M/13 023	Qilamngutarviik	2 hills	A
55 M/13 025	Kataujaqtalik	hill	A
55 M/13 026	Qinnguraujaq	bay	A
55 M/13 027	Uqpiktujuq	island	E