Inuit Understandings of Space: An Oral Historical and GIS Approach to Toponyms with Knowledge Holders in Hopedale, Nunatsiavut

By

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to provide resources for culturally meaningful, place-based communication of toponyms surrounding Hopedale, Nunatsiavut, including Traditional Knowledge and Oral History regarding these places. By interviewing Elders and Knowledge Holders in Hopedale and on the land, information and memories about toponyms were shared that helped contribute to the creation of an interactive website and an accessible book summarizing the interviews for the community. By looking beyond place names as a dot on a map, a thorough and relational exploration of the history behind toponyms honours the validity of Indigenous ways of understanding past landscapes and encourages local archaeological learning. These different understandings of place are important for the formation of Inuit identity and community connections in Nunatsiavut, fostering understanding that Inuit identity is intrinsically connected to the idea of being and becoming within a geography. A fundamental part of this research is to step away from Western ontologies of landscape in order to understand Inuit history and place in a culturally relevant way.

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List of Abbreviations

GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning System
MA	Master of Arts
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NGRAC	Nunatsiavut Government Research Advisory Committee
URL	Uniform Resource Locators (webpage address)
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Scope and Objectives

Western thought often conceptualizes a dichotomy between place (as a location with a name and meaning) and space (as the background environment that holds places). Place names (toponyms) are therefore often simplified to a dot on a map. Many Indigenous perspectives look beyond this dichotomy to view toponyms as entities experienced within a wider environment (Whitridge 2004:220). This wider view acknowledges how changing landscapes and relational experiences can impact the understanding of place, and the role of place in history. Exploring archaeologies that see space and place in this way can honour the validity of Indigenous ways of understanding past landscapes and encourages local archaeological learning. These different understandings of place are important for the formation of Inuit identity and community connections in Nunatsiavut (an Inuit territory located in Labrador, Canada), fostering understanding that Inuit identity is intrinsically connected to the idea of being and becoming within a geography. The research presented in this thesis attempts to step away from Western ontologies of landscape in order to understand Inuit history and place in a culturally relevant way. A land-based approach to Traditional Knowledge transmission highlights the focus of Indigenous understandings of the past on place as opposed to the Western focus on temporality divorced from place

I chose to conduct research in Hopedale, Nunatsiavut, an Inuit community where there is a desire to record local toponyms. This desire stems from a need to create a sense of home for people in their environment as well as to encourage meaningful connections between Elders/Knowledge Holders and the community (Collignon 2006; Procter 2018:35). An interest in place names, and Nunatsiavut heritage in general, has recently inspired community led initiatives

such as the Heritage Forums held annually across Nunatsiavut since 2010. These forums are organized by a committee with representatives from all five of Nunatsiavut's hamlets (Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum 2020). The forums exist to share the cultural work, community heritage projects, research presentations, and opportunities for people in Nunatsiavut. At the Ninth Heritage Forum in Hopedale (June 25-28, 2018) the community expressed interest in continuing Inuttitut place names work that had started earlier through the Nunatsiavut Government (Procter 2018:39-40). This forum, as well as Jamie Brake's Public Engagement Tour undertaken as part of his ongoing dissertation research at Memorial University, stressed the desire of those in Hopedale for a project that involved local people, heritage societies, and the recording of Inuttitut place names over English place names (Brake 2021).

The gathering of toponym data represents the processes of consolidating Inuit understandings of Inuit past and landscape. This in itself can increase community interest in history and local intergenerational cohesion.

The first objective of this research was to identify local place names around Hopedale and their meaning through interviews with Elders and other Knowledge Holders to gain a more complete grasp of the relational landscape. This meant locating and mapping known and previously unrecorded toponym sites through interviews with Knowledge Holders outdoors at these toponym locations. This also included recording any relevant Oral Historical knowledge about these sites. To accomplish this, Geographical Information Systems (GIS) were generated using the programs QGIS and ArcGIS. This combination of Indigenous and Western perspectives in dissemination provides a more complete picture of the Hopedale landscape that can be understood by both the community and archaeologists. The second objective was to

disseminate this information to the Hopedale community in a culturally relevant, collaboratively determined way.

1.2 Introduction to Theory

In order to accomplish these goals, both Indigenous and traditional archaeological theories and methods (including GIS) were incorporated. This marriage of perspectives represents a form of Two-Eyed seeing which is defined as bridging the gap between Inuit and Western ideas of understanding landscape and the past (Bartlett et al. 2012).

Indigenous / Postcolonial Theory in archaeology seeks to affirm the validity of Oral History as a primary resource that is internally accurate, far-reaching, and valuable to the study of Indigenous history (Collignon 2006:188). As well, this way of viewing the past values collective knowledge beyond and encompassing individual perspectives (Atalay 2006:281). This holistic approach allows for the inclusion of Traditional Environmental Knowledge in history.

Phenomenology / Landscape Theory aids this research by looking beyond traditional Western views of space. Landscape can be thought of as a present object that also acts as a fluid repository of the past (Ingold 1993). This perspective recognizes the past not as point on a line left behind, but as an entity travelling along with people in the present that simply needs to be recognized (De la Cadena 2015). All life exists amongst what once was. Allowing experiences with the landscape and with individuals to shape the research process (by conducting as many outdoor interviews as possible) hopefully honoured Inuit ideas of landscape and toponyms as entities being constantly reworked and personally interacted with (Whitridge 2004:215).

Lastly, community archaeology affirms that research should be relevant to whom it is about (in this case, the Inuit community of Hopedale) (Gaulton and Rankin 2018; Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2022). The construction of research agendas and design were driven

by local input to ensure the work has a valuable impact on the community (Gaulton and Rankin 2018).

These larger ideas challenged the project to go beyond gathering as many place names as possible, but to take the time to experience the land and to listen to the memories of the Knowledge Holders. My focus was quality, not quantity.

1.3 Community Significance - The Need for a Place Names Project

This project's objective to record Inuttitut place names and their meanings to gain a more complete grasp of the relational landscape is significant to the community of Hopedale in many ways.

First, the place names themselves can aid in preserving the Inuttitut language by situating Inuttitut in the everyday lives of the community. Secondly, by creating dissemination that is accessible to youth, Elders, and other community members, people will hopefully cultivate an appreciation for local understandings about the past. The hope in this is that young people will carry this knowledge of Inuit past and culture forward to future generations.

Thirdly, the mapping of toponyms and meaning will hopefully aid community members in "feeling at home in (their) surroundings" by knowing the landscape personally (Collignon 2006:110; Fossett 2003). This concept builds on Inuit ideas of land-based learning that connects relationality with knowing the landscape (Fossett 2003). This type of local understanding falls outside of Eurocentric frameworks of mapping/toponym research, and instead, affirms a multiplicity of perspectives on place and the past. Put simply, there may be a number of ways of understanding the meaning of a place and its past that varies between individuals within a group such as the Hopedale Inuit community. The stories and memories stemming from these places reveal an intensely personal and familiar view of the landscape that everyone can connect with.

If youth feel that their personal connection to the past has meaning, this can empower and inform much richer understandings of Inuit culture and history for them. For the community in general, building a place of home centred on the past makes history accessible for those whom it is relevant to (Collignon 2006:196; Fossett 2003; Rankin and Gaulton 2021).

The study of Inuttitut place names is also an act against the assimilative practices in the past, which sought to erase Indigenous cultures (McNicoll et al. 1999). Like all other Indigenous nations in Canada, the Labrador Inuit were subject to the government's goals of assimilation through legislation and residential schooling. The common narrative from survivors of these schools is the extensive physical and sexual abuse, a well as the pointed loss of Inuit language, values, and family traditions (Molema 2017). Specifically, the isolation of the schools led to a loss of knowledge of the land, alienating that generation from being able to pursue a subsistence living heavily reliant on place name knowledge (Kelvin et al. 2020; Molema 2017).

Assimilation, and more recently, climate change, has affected both landscapes and landscape learning, altering many elements of life in the North; from food, to transportation, community leadership, resources, and technology (Woollett 2010). Ways of life familiar to Elders are almost unrecognizable to the youth (Molema 2017). Passing down language and familiar knowledge about the landscape helps to bridge the gap between these generations and promotes pride and continuation of Inuit culture (Collignon 2006:189).

1.4 Academic Significance

This research also contributes academically to previously unknown understandings of the Labrador Inuit cultural landscape. Previous toponym studies with Inuit groups have focused on collecting a large quantity of place names, without delving into the personal cultural significance

of each one (ibid:189). This study will apply techniques used in other place name studies using GIS (Middleton 2010; O'Rourke 2018; Stewart et al. 2000).

Past studies in Hopedale generally sought to use "scientific" techniques and Western views of knowledge to represent the Labrador Inuit as a dying people. This academic work was used up to the 20th century to justify government intrusion to Inuit life (Procter 2020). While more recent research has certainly been less nefarious and has sought to benefit communities, there is a persistent reliance on the scientific method and Western ideas of place to generate conclusions (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). Though these methods do have an important place in research, they must be combined with Indigenous ways of knowing in order to be relevant to current populations as well as to understandings of the past. More recently, research in Hopedale has explored more inclusive techniques that invite local participation in archaeological work, which this research builds from (Arendt 2013; Flowers 2020; Rankin et al. 2022). This can aid in meaningful discussions with the present community about what it means to be Inuit throughout time.

Using Oral Histories and Traditional Knowledge as the primary source of immaterial "data" presents a unique opportunity to challenge academia as the ultimate authority over the past and representations of the past (Silliman 2016). The inclusion of these techniques as valid sources of data has only begun to be appreciated in Inuit research (Gaulton and Rankin 2018; Lyons et al. 2010:3). Oral History, which has been shown to be internally accurate, far-reaching, and factual, has especially been ignored (Lyons et al. 2010:13). Hopefully, this technique will encourage other academics to approach research in this way, and thereby come to more complete understandings of past Inuit lifeways.

Lastly, this research presents a novel way of exploring Two-Eyed seeing through the coalescence of GIS and Inuit knowledge/landscapes (Bartlett et al. 2012; Nickels et al. 2006; Remondino and Campana 2014). In this project, that meant expanding beyond traditional Western ideas of GIS mapping and vulgarization of knowledge (planar map layers, conference posters, academic papers, et cetera). Through this cohesion of technology and phenomenology, new ways of thinking and representing Inuit place emerged that are hopefully useful to both the community and to academia.

Along with being socially useful for Inuit culture, toponym and Oral Historical recording can improve fundamental archaeological understandings of the history of the Inuit in Labrador, for instance by revealing previously unrecorded sites and features, and adding new understandings to already known sites. This has the potential to dramatically increase the wealth of public Oral Historical knowledge about Nunatsiavut. The curation of this knowledge can provide the basis for future archaeological study.

1.5 Thesis Organization

The theoretical framework that began this research is outlined in Chapter Two. 2.1 describes the broad theories of postcolonialism and phenomenology that guided this project. 2.2 discusses the history of toponym research in general, as well as the previous toponym work done in Hopedale. 2.3 provides a background of Oral Historical research, and lastly, 2.4 describes research in Inuit communities in general.

The background of the project is presented in Chapter Three. 3.1 explains the origin of the location now known as Hopedale, specifically the arrival of Inuit to Northern Labrador. 3.2 describes Agvitok, the original Inuit settlement, while 3.3 describes this location when it was known as Hoffental after the introduction of the Moravian missionaries. 3.4 discusses the

changes seen in Hopedale in the 20th century. 3.5 is centred on modern Hopedale and its current socio-cultural issues. Lastly 3.6 describes Hopedale's continuing relationship with heritage resources.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology used for organizing and completing interview research. 4.1 begins by explaining the how this methodology came to be and how it is based on previous work. 4.2 discusses the preparations I made before going to Hopedale. 4.3 is centred on how I increased community awareness of the project, with 4.4 describing how I specifically approached Elders in this regard. 4.5 is about the process of organizing and conducting on the land interviews, and 4.6 is centred on the indoor interviews. 4.7 demonstrates how I organized all this data and returned it to the community. 4.8 describes the initial steps of planning dissemination.

Chapter 5 is the Results of the project. 5.1 Goes into detail about each specific interview and interviewee. 5.2 presents the totality of toponyms collected through these interviews, and 5.3 compares the collected data to existent toponym resources. 5.4 outlines common topics within the interviews.

Chapter 6 focuses on a Discussion of the project. 6.1 describes four general themes demonstrated in the interviews: commitment to community, resilience, connection to land, and favouring place over time. 6.2 describes why these themes have cultural importance, whereas 6.3 describes their archaeological potential. Lastly, the articles of dissemination are described in 6.4.

Chapter 7 is the Conclusion of this thesis and includes subchapters focused on a summary of the research (7.1), suggestions for future research (7.2), and final remarks (7.3).

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Broad Theory

Postcolonialism / Microhistory

What is it:

Postcolonial theory suggests that archaeology regarding Indigenous peoples should validate and seek out Indigenous knowledge about the past and not simply look to settler understandings (Loring 2009). Initially, research about Indigenous people centered on the belief that Indigenous cultures were "dying out" or were intrinsically inferior and in constant danger of extinction by "dominant" cultures (Rankin 2018; Shackel and Chambers 2004). Postcolonial theory seeks to refute this belief and honour Indigenous agency and survivance while recognizing the impact of assimilative practices in the past (Silliman 2016).

This means honouring non-Western forms of knowledge holding, such as Oral History, Traditional Environmental Knowledge, and other forms of collective knowledge (Atalay 2006:297). This legitimization includes the microhistories and perspectives of individual Knowledge Holders, acknowledging that there is no neutral understanding of the past (Gregory 1999). Microhistories are the memories and experiences of individual Knowledge Holders (Szijártó 2002). These memories have the benefit of conveying a more poignant and personal realism, while also containing generality that applies to the wider historical circumstance (in this case of being Inuit in Labrador) (ibid).

Why it is Important:

Viewing Oral Histories and individual experiences critically acknowledges the legitimacy of Indigenous ways of knowledge. This can add to fuller, multi-faceted ways of understanding the complexity of the past. Clarifying details of events with respected Elders, or corroborating

stories through multiple people can cement histories in collective memory and make the past more personal to the community (Lyons et al. 2010:21). It should be noted that personal experiences or views on the past that have meaning to the individual but do not fit into a communal understanding of history are still valuable and legitimate (Gregory 1999).

Past External Research:

We now understand that Oral Histories and micro-histories can be long-lasting, internally accurate, and extremely valuable to community (Atalay 2006:304; Collignon 2006:189). Using these knowledges has proven useful to challenging conclusions made by "traditional" scholarship. In the case of Leonard 2009, listening to community Oral History demonstrated that a language determined by academics to be extinct was in fact, experiencing a revitalization. In many cases, postcolonial theory can be combined with technological knowledge to generate more nuanced understandings that could not be understood by either theory alone. Some recent examples of this marriage include Doddridge's study of survey and place names (2020), Friesen's conclusions on climate change (2015), and Stewart et al.'s work with Inuit land use (2000).

How it's Guiding Research:

This research has been guided by postcolonialism in several ways. Oral Histories and Traditional Knowledge are the primary forms of raw data gathered through interviews with Elders and Knowledge Holders. This information was analyzed using GIS techniques, combining scientific and Indigenous ways of understanding to better present these knowledges. I explored microhistories in relation to specific geographies, in order to tie Inuit ways of knowing landscapes to the past (Szijártó 2002). Lastly, all dissemination that stemmed from this project

aimed to be culturally relevant (in ways determined by community) and benefit the current Inuit community (Gaulton and Rankin 2018).

Landscape Theory / Phenomenology

What is it:

Landscape theory involves conceptualizing landscape as a container for the presence of the past at the current time (Ingold 1993). The past does not exist on another plane of existence, but exists in the here and now, albeit in a different form (artifacts, memory, et cetera) than it once did (Basso 1996). A "place" (or toponym) can be thought of as a "spatialized imaginary at an interaction with the real" (Whitridge 2004:215). This means that places are specific geographic locations that interact in very real ways through encounters with humans and other beings. These encounters may have internal meaning and relevance. This meaning is constantly reworked symbolically and physically and is understood through relational experience.

The idea that landscape is experienced relationally could be a layman's definition of phenomenology. This idea extends to the notion that place is not simply a description of physical features, but includes aspects such as the feeling of weather, the experience of travel and the circumstances of visit.

Why it is Important:

Understanding that a landscape can be interpreted in many ways helps to recognize how Inuit comprehend space and place differently from Western cultures. Exploring these factors in a historical context can enhance understanding and personal connection to place and to the past. Phenomenology is interesting as an archaeological theory because unlike other more "scientific" techniques, it does not fear diving into subjectivity, therefore opening multiplicity, emotion, and meaning into grounded discussions of the past (Johnson 2012). It puts humanity back in history.

In this way, through phenomenology, space becomes place and is able to capture the complex moral, emotional, and behavioural relationships between people and territory (Kahn 1996:168). I wanted to clearly recognize that while place names themselves may be attached to a deeper meaning, it is the actual location that holds the memory and significance (ibid). Kahn describes this as the "veiled speech" of landscape (ibid). In some way, this is true of all cultures. The name "Grande Prairie" is not significant to me because it means big prairie, but because it is where I grew up. Considering the experiences of many individuals, a place name can then become incredibly dense with memory (ibid).

Past External Research:

Since their initial development, landscape theory and phenomenology have been used as building blocks in wider understandings of the past. Most historical analyses do not rely solely on phenomenology and landscape theory but include elements of both along with other techniques to construct a view of the past from many angles (Stone and Planel 1999). These techniques together also "promote an interest in the wider social practices that mediated experience of the landscape in the past" (Johnson 2012:273). For example, this has led to the study of prehistoric monuments as mnemonic devices for collective memory (Jones 2007).

How it's Guiding Research:

Archaeological understandings of landscape and phenomenology are paramount in this research. Building from a phenomenological viewpoint, I recognized that the dichotomy between specific toponyms and general landscapes may be a Western view, and I determined to view place names as representative of larger entities of meaning from an Inuit perspective. To do this I kept in mind that GIS as a technology can never perfectly model a landscape (Gillings 2012). I also recognized that Inuit are a people in the present, not confined to some distant past, and the

community members I engaged with had varying and complex ideas and experiences with the landscape, the past, as well as both the Indigenous and "scientific" methods I employed.

2.2 Toponym Research

Approaching history / archaeology using toponyms can be thought of as a niche form of Oral History, which in turn is a niche form of historical analysis. As mentioned before, Inuit toponyms exist in this unique crossing of personal experience, specific geography, and post-colonial action. This reveals something interesting that other methods of archaeology cannot access. As mentioned before, toponym research can become very subjective. Different groups / individuals may have different names / spellings for locations, or different memories / knowledge associated with the place. A certain lack of consistency in toponym data does not invalidate it but serves to reveal the multiplicity of perspectives on the past of that area (De la Cadena 2015). It should be noted that some consistency is needed to ensure the information is genuine and valuable to the community, but in general, differences in opinion only adds to the interpretation.

In generic Western thought, historical events are learnt by primarily memorizing dates and names (1867 – Confederation, 1969 – Neil Armstrong and the Moon landing). In many Indigenous understandings, historical events are learnt by memorizing places and names (Lyons et al. 2010:14). This explains why so many nations today are interested in toponym projects; atlases can be the equivalent of history books (Collignon 2006:189; Martel 2020; Rollmann 2014).

This method of recording history in place necessitates that learning be based on meaningful relationships with Knowledge Holders (Doddridge 2020). A level of trust must exist for a Knowledge Holder to share the exact location of meaningful places, as this aspect is

extremely important to fully understand the history (ibid). The act of learning necessitates respect for the knowledge, its purpose, and who gets to hear it (ibid). In some cases, it may even be necessary to know the language to fully grasp the meaning of the place, making loss of language a threat to knowledge preservation (Molema 2017). These inherent "requirements" tend to align toponym research with postcolonial / community archaeology more than traditional archaeology / archival research (Schneider and Hayes 2020). Previous recordings of toponyms around Hopedale have worked within these assumptions.

The study of Inuit place names and place-based relationships is useful far beyond local toponymic research. Tobias' methods demonstrate that the mapping of place names associated with different resources can help understand the population distribution of people and animals (Tobias 2009:19). This can directly aid in resource procurement and understanding of territory (ibid:38-41). As seen in Brice-Bennett and the Inuit Land Claims Agreement, the mapping of place names and evidence of people in place is legally significant (Brice-Bennett 1977:VII; Newfoundland and Labrador 2005). This process can be used by other Indigenous groups for similar purposes. Likewise, research into the effects of land-based relations amongst the Inuit is extensive. For example, Middleton et al. examined Inuit relations to winter landscapes as a means of measuring changing seasonal mental well-being (2020:5-7). This project hopes to build on this pattern of useful research outcomes.

2.3 Oral Historical Research

Oral History is a (primarily) Indigenous form of history keeping that passes down culturally important information through generations in an exclusively verbal manner (Mahuika 2019:1). This culturally important information could be memories, histories, songs, rituals, legends, parables, et cetera (ibid:2). Oral History is sometimes defined as the actual

anthropological approach of interviewing and gathering data from Indigenous speakers (ibid:1). This definition diminishes the importance of traditional Oral History sharing, which existed long before its use as an anthropological research tool (ibid:2).

In many contexts, Oral History is not simply a convenient way to pass on information, but is intrinsic to strengthening identity, remembrance, and building up community (ibid:4). It is often Elders who are passing on this vital information to younger people, as a means to continue cultural traditions. Oral traditions also don't necessarily need to be wordy stories about creation myths. They can be dances or ceremonies with important meaning, personal memories, genealogies, children named after certain ancestors, et cetera. It is anything in a non-written context that serves to make the past a significant part of the present in everyday life. Situations where Oral History is passed down are then likely to be collective, even celebratory occasions. They are moments when intergenerational groups are gathered.

And to clarify, Oral Histories are not usually (though they can be) the personal memories of a recent time. Telling you what I had for lunch yesterday is not a form of Oral History. Oral Histories have some significance, either personally or to the community. There must be a reason why that story is being remembered. For example, sharing stories about a friend after their passing can be a way of memorializing that person.

Uniquely Indigenous

The curation of Oral History is uniquely Indigenous. Descriptions of a non-written form of communicating the past are present in almost all Indigenous communities (Echo-Hawk 2000:267). For example, the "passing or reproduction of knowledge, through experience, from elder to younger generations" is defined in the Anishinaabe concept of gikinawaabi (Atalay 2006:296). Most ethnic communities, worldwide, have some form of Oral History, whether that

be fairy tales or creation stories. In retrospect, written history is the new and uncommon method of record keeping.

In the North American context, the keeping of Oral History represents an act of resilience against assimilative practices. Its continued existence despite pointed governmental goals to destroy Indigenous culture shows the prevalence and importance of Oral History to Indigenous identity in general. The need to acknowledge the importance of Oral History is now cemented in the USA in NAGPRA (Echo-Hawk 2000:267). Colonizers used the fact that Indigenous people did not have a written history as evidence that they were "savages" in need of being "civilized". This shows a willful ignorance of the depth and cultural value of collective memory within Indigenous societies. These groups were most likely just as surprised that the Europeans had to write everything down in order to remember it!

Oral History sharing necessitates the coming together of community, as previously stated. Therefore, Oral Histories can sometimes become associated with certain ceremonies such as powwows and potlatches. Certain histories are shared to mark the changing of seasons, such as the Anishinaabe story of Nanabozho (Perkinson 2019). The modern and continual use of Oral History as a method of record-keeping about the past remains a practice that is common to Indigenous peoples but rather rare otherwise.

Personal

Oral Histories are also intensely personal. For this reason, Oral Histories have often been discredited by archaeologists and historians for being biased and too subjective. Atalay et al. (2014:55) argues that the scientific practice of archaeology has never been inherently objective, and that chasing neutrality while studying humanity is an unwise goal. "You can't be neutral on

a moving train" (ibid:12). If neutrality is unattainable while studying Indigenous history, then it must be done for and by the perspective of Indigenous peoples.

This intense closeness emerges partly because Oral Histories can sometimes relate to specific memories or genealogical information. This can mean there is not only information, but emotion tied to these histories. This is one of the most appealing things about using Oral History archaeologically, as it moves history beyond a list of facts, and demonstrates that it can be a highly complex, relational, emotional net of connections between a people group and their place of meaning. Oral History is not written down but is interwoven between people, place, physicality and territory, young and old. It instructs behaviour during times of grief and times of celebration; it enters into personal lives and exits with a different meaning. Archaeologists often worry that Oral History is not a sustainable method of research. On the contrary, Oral History is unlikely to be forgotten, it is a part of identity, the memory of who one is. This is evidenced in this project by certain memories or stories that were shared by different people from different perspectives.

Therefore, it is an extremely weighty thing as a researcher to ask for, and to be trusted with Oral Historical data. The community has entrusted you with not just facts about the past, but with parts of themselves. The job of the researcher then becomes to act as a reflection, an academic mirror, that organizes this information and makes it accessible for the whole body of the community.

Valid, Accurate, Far Reaching

Further to this point, Oral Historical research has been found to be a valid, accurate, long-lasting method of studying the past, even though archaeology and Oral History are often accused of being incompatible (Edinborough et al. 2017:12436). But multiple recent studies suggest that

Oral Histories may contain a high degree of accuracy. For example, Edinborough et al. used calibrated radiocarbon dates to compare the dating a historical event (Black Plague) and a Tsimshian Oral Historical event (War with Tlingit and abandonment of the coast) (2017:12437). This study found that the Tsimshian estimation for the timing of this event was compatible with the radiocarbon evidence (ibid:12439). Whitely's study of Zuni Oral History revealed that over decades and between disconnected sources, Oral Historical records remained consistent and accurate (2002:412).

Despite these (and other) very clear examples, it has taken a long time for Indigenous Oral Histories to even be considered as valid forms of evidence. Many researchers perceived that there was an impossible gap between rigorous scientific testing, and qualitative accounts of history (ibid). In extreme cases, the study of Oral History as a record of the past would mean the "adoption of perspectives that are incommensurate with the archaeologist's conception of reality" (Atalay et al. 2014:11). Part of this dismissal has been the perceived inclusion of supernatural, moralistic, or religious aspects of Oral Histories which are interwoven with the natural-historic aspects (Whitely 2002:412). However, even historical accounts of the distant past (including Classical texts) include these elements and are still considered legitimate (ibid:406). On the other hand, extreme post-processualists would claim that there is no need to try and combine Oral History and the scientific methods, as both could exist as "alternative narratives" (ibid:405). This dismisses the true validity of both. The historical aspects must be viewed in cultural context and interwoven with parable and metaphor to still be useful and accurate (ibid:407). Including Oral History in history does not mean embracing blind relativism, but rather considering a critical multivocality that does not exist in direct opposition to scientific study (Atalay et al. 2014:11; Steeves 2021:2).

Different than Historical Research

The primary, though somewhat obvious difference between Oral Historical and Western historical evidence is that the latter exists primarily in a written form, whereas the former exists in a primarily oral form. Also, history has the potential to exist in an impersonal form. That is, once it is recorded, it can be forgotten by all Knowledge Holders and be rediscovered in its original form by rediscovering the text (Echo-Hawk 2000:275). Oral History, however, relies on deliberate communication and knowledge retention (ibid:267). As described earlier, this can make Oral History intensely personal.

In the North American context, Indigenous histories have been recorded primarily in an Oral Historical format. More generally, it is understood that a distinct dichotomy between colonial and Indigenous groups is that colonial groups produce written histories, whereas recording the past through Oral History is a distinctly Indigenous method (ibid:267). This distinction, and the inherent sociality of passing on Oral History, has a profound impact on the differences between colonial and Indigenous communities, especially just before the time of contact (ibid:286).

Furthermore, Oral History is decidedly not prehistory. Anthropologists and historians have used the term "prehistory" through the years to diminish the legitimacy of records of the past before written records (Mahuika 2019:11). Describing Indigenous Oral Histories as prehistories has erased real individuals (such as Māui and Paikea, in a New Zealand context) from the historical record (ibid:10). People and events who existed before written records did not exist in some ephemeral, timeless past, but were situated in literal time and geography just like Julius Caesar, Monet, and Princess Diana. Appreciating Indigenous histories as "Oral Histories" and not "prehistories" helps re-evaluate this perspective.

Different than Archaeology

Oral History is also distinctly different than archaeology, though the two are very complementary. Archaeology deals with the material past as opposed to oral records. Likewise, many people have dismissed Oral Historical inferences as hearsay, and guesses when used to interpret archaeological finds (Moshenska 2007:91). In more well-meaning and rigorous studies, the cross between the two disciplines has often been simplified to trite statements like "the Oral History supports the archaeological findings" (Beck and Somerville 2005:471). Though decidedly different, these two disciplines can work remarkably well together if applied the right way.

In general, archaeological research can be thought of as "time based", that is, looking at the dating and change within a certain location over time (ibid:471). A site is excavated, and the temporal story of the site is explored (ibid:471). Oral History, alternatively, is often much more place-based (ibid:471). Anecdotal histories are often placed squarely in their geographic locations before their temporal position, or if they are given a temporal position, this is compared to other locations of the same time (ibid:471). This places archaeology as a vertical record of the past representing time, and Oral History as a horizontal record representing place. At the intersection of these two planes are place names – which record a situated moment of time or meaning with a certain location (Figure 1). Imagining this interaction can aid interdisciplinary research and avoids historical

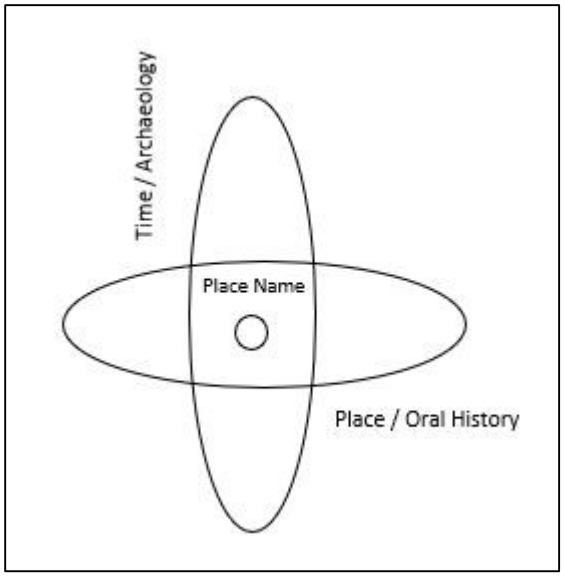

Figure 1: Intersection of Archaeology and Oral History.

archaeology from becoming simply "social history plus artifacts" (Moshenska 2007:92).

For example, during the Yarrawarra project in Australia, sites were clustered by space (rather than time period), according to the interest of community members (Beck and Somerville 2005:473). Traditional, stratigraphic archaeology was then conducted at each of these sites and then compared, not to sites of similar time period, but to sites of the same geographic cluster (ibid:474). This positionality expands archaeological research beyond a site as a singular event, but as larger understandings of time placed in the context of an entire geography. It allows archaeology to see the entire multifaceted history, not a solitary pin prick of an event. To simplify, this means going past the story of a certain place over time, to the story of a certain time over place. Generating meta-narratives from archaeology and Oral History can allow academia to appreciate the actual usefulness of true interdisciplinarity (Moshenska 2007:97).

2.4 Research in Inuit Communities

These theoretical frameworks must be understood within the context of research in Inuit communities.

Past Research

Early archaeological research in Hopedale was not situated in postcolonialism, landscape theory, phenomenology, or Oral History. As will be discussed later, the earliest archaeological work in Hopedale could aptly be considered "colonial archaeology" (Bird 1945).

Research was carried out under a number of assumptions. First, that the scientific method could reveal an accurate and objective view of past reality (Whiteley 2002). Perhaps the greatest flaw in this statement is the assumption of one determinable reality (Whitridge 2004:218). As was discussed above, phenomenology presents the idea of multiple, tangible, valid realities experienced differently by each individual / community (ibid:218). A second assumption

justified the necessity of Indigenous place name research to record this information before these "inferior" Indigenous cultures inevitably became extinct (Collignon 2006:187). Franz Boas' work with the Inuit particularly operated from this perspective (ibid:187). And lastly, that Indigenous input could at best provide possible identification and suggestions of meaning, and at worst, contribute anecdotal myths or stories to fit in an introduction (Whiteley 2002). Oral History was often discounted as irrelevant, false, or untrustworthy (Leonard 2009). However, it must be noted that many early researchers did use and depend on Indigenous informants; Junius Bird himself worked with Inuk Heinrich Usiak in Hopedale (Bird 1945). Still, these individuals were rarely credited or compensated for their work.

This colonial framework was the basis of Indigenous archaeology for much of the 20th century (Habu et al. 2008). Unfortunately, this has resulted in projects that ultimately harmed Indigenous communities, removed significant cultural material, and impacted current research relationships (Nickels et al. 2006). Therefore, in any archaeological project involving Indigenous people, the effects of past research must be considered as well as current approaches.

Current Research

Current research in Indigenous communities has thankfully, moved beyond its colonial beginnings. Discussed more below, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethics in Human Research* was released in 2010 and requires that research involving Indigenous peoples must be "respectful, egalitarian, and participatory" (Felt and Natcher 2011:108).

Though still using common archaeological excavation techniques and building on past research, the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing is becoming essential (Gaulton and Rankin 2018). This change in perspective has affected not only how results are interpreted, but how the research process is carried out (ibid). Entrenching Indigenous

knowledge in archaeological research can take many different forms, such as: conducting research agendas as set by communities, consulting community leaders about project planning, hiring locals for fieldwork and analysis, and using local talent for the dissemination of results.

However, this attitude still rubs against academia in some ways. The question of "who owns the past?" is ever present. Though this question can be highly theoretical, it can lead to very tangible discussions such as intellectual property rights, long-term storage of artifacts, and access to results and publications (Canadian Association for Conservation of Cultural Property 2000; Nickels and Knotsch 2011). The policies and procedures used by some universities can often make the idea of giving up ownership very tricky (Felt and Natcher 2011:110). However, it is specifically those situations that force academics and traditional archaeologists to give more than lip service to Indigenous ways of understanding and curating the past (ibid:118). It means trusting processes that are inherently Indigenous, not inherently scientific or academic, with handling the past, and ultimately, to acknowledge that Indigenous history is not owned by institutions.

Furthermore, though current research strives to act within an ethical and inclusive framework, the ghosts of colonial perspectives still haunt Anthropology and Archaeology Departments (not to mention museums) around the country. Collections from early avocational archaeologists sit un-accessioned in the backs of labs, artifacts are displayed in cases that have not been touched for years, and outdated resources line shelves. Cleaning out internal colonial perspectives is perhaps the most difficult job of all.

As well, any type of research continues to exist within power imbalances put into place by earlier colonial structures (Smith 2021:50). By and large, research in Indigenous communities is still initiated and / or conducted by non-Indigenous scholars (ibid). This poses a particular

problem when it comes to dissemination, with academics deciding what it ultimately worthy / correct for publication (Doering et al. 2022:2). This is why working within an Indigenous methodology of free, prior, ongoing, and informed consent is critical to humble the power of the academic and honour the agency of the community (Doering et al. 2022:3). It is my hope that this project can serve as an example to future academics to approach research in a way that challenges traditional power imbalances. I attempted to do this by asking each interviewee to review and edit their contributions, respecting requests to remove certain stories, and creating dissemination that was ultimately significant to the community over academia.

Research Ethics

Research ethics can be viewed differently between academic and Indigenous stakeholders (ibid). Recently, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethics in Human Research* has tried to codify how research ethics are interpreted (ibid). The general purpose of this is to make research "more respectful, egalitarian and participatory" (ibid:108).

The basis of this is the fundamental understanding that Indigenous and Western ontologies might define ethics in very different ways. Generally, in Western thought, ethics are considered moral duties to a person or persons based on common knowledge of right and wrong (ibid). Western research then, is guided by this definition of ethics and carried out using the scientific method and positivist understandings of falsifiability (ibid).

Every Indigenous community may understand research ethics in a unique way, but for Labrador Inuit, there is no exact definition. It could be understood as respect for "Inuit quajimajatuqangnit" (Inuit Traditional Knowledge or "that understanding which is known for a long time"), or nipingit (Inuit voices here and everywhere) (ibid:113). Neither of these however

fully encapsulate the holistic understanding of embedded respect, that the definition of ethics as a proper attitude and appropriate conduct is part of every aspect of life.

Therefore, collaboration between these two views is needed to ensure healthy research relationships. The best way (and the method adopted by Indigenous research ethics boards lately) is to give as much control and consultation possible to the Indigenous community (ibid). This means giving intellectual property rights to the communities, discussing all aspects of community design with Indigenous leaders, and ensuring results are communicated back in a meaningful way (ibid). Many of these methods challenge the assumed "data sovereignty" of academia but are nevertheless gaining more traction (ibid).

Inuit Connections to Place

Inuit connections to place also impacts theoretical approaches to research. Culturally, the Inuit are very connected to the land, seeing it as a place of healing, learning, being, and travelling (Kelvin et al. 2020; Rankin et al. 2022; Whitridge 2004:218). It would be impossible to fully grasp and explain the entirety of the Inuit connection to land. Regarding toponyms specifically, this historic information is literally displayed in the landscape, creating a physical map of memories (Whitridge 2004:223). Cartography then becomes an act of teaching, of passing on Oral History (Lyons et al. 2010:16). As well, information and stories regarding the land, including navigation, are deliberately communicated to younger generations to continue traditional ways of life and to pass on culture (Collignon 2006:188).

What makes this form of learning especially unique is that each individual has a different experience with and knowledge of the landscape (Atalay 2006:11). This makes the history and meaning of place textured and rich, so that the information that is passed on is not forgotten but becomes embedded in the physical and emotional nature of life and memory (Stewart et al.

2004). The history of the land is intrinsically tied to the physical location and to the individual who holds and passes on the knowledge. The entire landscape becomes the textbook.

This multi-layered, personal knowledge is just as rigorous, if not more, as Western methods of teaching and instructing – and far more effective at encouraging active learning (Atalay et al. 2014:18). When applied archaeologically, we can understand sites themselves as part of a greater memoryscape (Whitridge 2004:223). Generating new information about a site adds to the memoryscape of that place; therefore, the results and knowledge from that place need to be shared with the greater community so this knowledge can be passed on (ibid:221). Research may be academic, but the land is personal, and requires care and attention according to the direction of Indigenous leaders (Doddridge 2020).

Inuit Ideas and Use of Place Names

Table 1: Landscape Types for Collected Place Names.

Islands	Bays / Shorelines	Points	Other
27	23	14	2

Operating within these ideas of place, the Inuit perspective of place names is very unique. Around Hopedale, most of the traditional place names (in this project) are associated with islands (Table 1). Therefore, place names are used primarily for navigation, and are associated with hunting and fishing locations (Hawkes 1916).

Though there is immense and important history behind each Inuttitut place name, there is often discrepancy around what the place name is, how it is spelled and how it is pronounced (Tulloch 2013:160). Such discrepancies can occur intergenerationally, with youth calling a place by a different (often English) name (ibid:152). This practice is often thought to contribute to language loss (ibid:152).

Therefore, learning and passing on place names has been encouraged more recently not just for navigation, but for linguistic and cultural survival (ibid:149). As mentioned previously,

place names do not exist in a vacuum, representing an impersonal label for a location (Whitridge 2004:222, 227). Rather, a place name is part of the intrinsic nature of the place, much like a person's name. Knowing the name is part of knowing the history and cultural importance of a place. Many names carry information about the use of the place from its root word, such as a place to cross over or a place for berry picking (see Results). This represents the ancestors' identification of the previous use of the location. Learning the place names then represents listening to the teachings of the ancestors (Tulloch 2013:158). Place names that are passed down for many generations value the continued use and importance of those places (ibid:158). Alternatively, a place name may represent a person or specific story (Ingold 1993). This can be meant as remembrance for that individual, or to carry on that story (and its moral if applicable; ibid).

This is somewhat different from Western views of toponyms. The meaning and origin of place names are mostly unknown to the average person or traveler unless this information is specifically sought out (Collignon 2006:196). Even so, it is very rare for a place name to be connected to a wider sense of community attachment or meaning (ibid:204). Often names are seen as a necessary way marker, something easily replaced by numbers if need be (Atalay 2006:15). This detached view of place names separates person from place and does not incorporate the Indigenous idea of connecting to the land (ibid:18). This is why toponym research is specifically important within Indigenous contexts.

Inuit and Maps

Contemporary Inuit are highly familiar with the use of maps, again for the use of navigation. Inuit communities have various opinions on the use of maps. Often, in "activist" archaeologies, products of research are delivered directly back to the community, which is

fantastic. However, many forms of dissemination come in Western forms, including maps (O'Rourke 2018:156). It is forgotten that "the map is not the territory" (ibid:156).

Ultimately the actual territory, it's worth and heritage, is important. Maps and other resources can act to represent these areas, and to spread knowledge, but the ultimate knowledge belongs to the landscape. Interaction with toponyms must go beyond reading to interaction with the physical places. In this way, for maps to be valuable they must point to the actual use of the land. This is similar to reading about history in a book versus actually interacting with the artifacts associated with it.

Inuit ideas of maps are also different than Western ideas. Whereas Western maps are almost always planar (looking from the top down), this is not the case for all Inuit maps. There has been some evidence for profile maps, with the elevation of various locations, carved into ivory as a kind of vertical map (Whitridge 2004:228). This way of representing landscape is perhaps more useful for actual interactions with the land and recognition of features.

These ideas are uniquely related to the practice of GIS (Geographical Information Systems). GIS has often been accused of being overly positivist (O'Rourke 2018:156). Focusing on certain aspects of the landscape, defined by numbers and categories, reduces a larger complete picture of landscape down to zeroes and ones (ibid:156). GIS, understood in this way, does not fit with Indigenous epistemologies of subjective experience with landscape (ibid:158). However, in community-based GIS projects, this does not necessarily need to be the case. The use of GIS is results-based; data is collected for a specific purpose. If that purpose is community engagement and empowerment, the map must exist beyond "objective" analysis (ibid:152). Pursuing qualitative GIS, or "radical geography", is an activist form of interdisciplinarity that is

just beginning to be explored academically (ibid:153). In this way, Indigenous and Western views of mapping do not need to be seen as separate entities (ibid:153).

Chapter 3: Background

3.1 Origin of Hopedale

The place now known as Hopedale is located on the Northern Labrador coast. It is 225 kilometres north of modern Happy Valley – Goose Bay and attached to the mainland by a 260-metre-wide strip of land. The exact date that this area was first occupied by Inuit is difficult to determine but likely dates to the early 1500s (Arendt 2013:304).

Archaeological evidence from the western Arctic indicates that Inuit migrated from northern Alaska 800 years ago (Friesen and Arnold 2008). Over the next 50 years these migrants continued travelling east, reaching Greenland by the 14th century (Sørensen and Gulløv 2012). There are many proposed reasons for this move which include environmental, economic, and social motives. One possible motive is that the Inuit were following the bowhead whale population, which was a significant source of subsistence (McGhee 2007:124). A desire to access meteoric iron or Norse metals in Greenland could have also attracted the group (ibid:123). There is also the potential that the move was motivated by a desire to avoid war and social conflict within the Bering Strait (ibid:120). Perhaps stimulated by the climatic events of the Little Ice Age (1300 – 1600 CE), the Inuit undertook another migration around 1400 CE, ultimately arriving in Labrador, likely via Baffin Island, in the mid-15th century (Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Life Projects Network 2014).

When the Inuit arrived in Labrador, they arrived in a land that had already been occupied (Rankin and Crompton 2016:13). Inuit may have displaced the pre-Inuit and Ancestral Innu

populations who were occupying the Labrador coast at that time (ibid:13). However, it is also possible that these groups may have vacated the area for other reasons (Friesen 2004). Ultimately, Inuit presence dominated the cultural landscape of the Labrador coast by the late 1500s.

In addition to bowhead whales, seals, porpoise, cod, beaver, many other marine and terrestrial animals, and the extensive berries found in the area contributed to the Labrador Inuit diet (Woollett 2003:606). Clothing at this time was made from the animals that were also used for meat (Martin 2011:389). Waterproof seal-skin boots were essential for every hunter (ibid:389). Seal skins, rabbit fur, caribou skin, and other materials made warm clothing for the harsh winters (ibid:390). Dog teams, kayaks and umiaks were used for travel (Riewe 1991:7). Dog teams were essential for long travel, particularly in winter (ibid:7). In stormy weather, Inuit could rely on the dog's intuition to avoid dangerous ice and find a safe way home (ibid:7).

In this early phase of Labrador Inuit settlement, sometimes called the Pre-Communal House Phase (1450-1700 CE), families lived in one or two-roomed single nuclear family semi-subterranean sod houses in the Hopedale area between October and April (Bird 1945; Brice-Bennett 1977:35). Dwellings in the early spring were often Iglus in the same area, and from April to October were skin tents on the outer islands (ibid:35). Summer dwellings were more dispersed so that families could hunt in different areas (Rankin 2009:28).

During the aptly named Communal House Phase (1700-1850 CE), inhabitants in the Hopedale area, and Labrador Inuit communities in general, adopted large, rectangular, communal sod houses for winter dwellings (ibid:31). These structures could house several families (ibid:31). It is unknown exactly why this change occurred, though there are many proposed options. Junius Bird believed that these large sod houses replaced nuclear family

homes because of a decrease in availability of wood (1945). A common hypothesis is that as the bowhead whale population decreased and Inuit transitioned to seal hunting, more pressure was put on individual hunters to provide for their families, and families joined together to increase efficiency (Woollett 2007:81). Ultimately, there was most likely multiple reasons for this change, which was correlated with the increase of European trade (Brice-Bennett 1977:35). In the summer, families continued to stay in dispersed seal-skin tents (Stewart et al. 2000).

3.2 Agvitok

Agvitok (sometimes referred to as Avertok) means "place of the bowhead whales" and was the original Inuit name of the Hopedale area (Kelvin et al. 2020). Prior to Moravian influence, Agvitok was a dispersed settlement (Brice-Bennett 1977:101). Families would move around the islands and bays of the region depending on the movement of game and the quality of the landscape (ibid:101). As mentioned previously, bowhead whale hunting had cultural importance, but like elsewhere in Labrador, seals were likely the primary food (Bird 1945:169; Flowers 2020; Rankin 2009:32).

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, Agvitok became a prominent Inuit community and an important meeting place of the Inuit coastal trade network (Kelvin et al. 2020). Inuit would meet at Agvitok to exchange traditional Inuit commodities such as baleen, sea mammal oils, fish, and furs for European-manufactured goods carried north from European fishing stations in the Strait of Belle Isle by Inuit trading captains (Brice-Bennett 1977:103; Jordan and Kaplan 1980). This inter-Inuit trade allowed rare European goods to travel into northern Labrador without the need for European traders to come north (Kaplan and Woollett 2000).

In fact, it was because of Agvitok's prominence as an Inuit meeting place that the Moravian missionaries later selected it as a mission location (Kelvin et al. 2020). After

Moravians began to settle Northern Labrador in 1771, bringing food, clothing, and other desired goods, the Inuit coastal trade network declined. However, the southern trade continued, albeit reduced, until 1786 because the Moravians initially refused to trade firearms to the Inuit, fearing the "violent potential" of guns in Inuit hands (Rollmann 2011:8). Illicit trade for alcohol also continued, as this was another good that the Moravians forbade (Arendt 2013:317).

3.3 Hoffental

Moravian missionaries were some of the earliest settlers to enter Labrador (Hiller 1971). These Protestant German speaking missionaries began their mission in Northern Labrador in 1752 (Bird 1945). However, the initial mission, led by Johann Christian Erhardt, lasted less than a month and ended with a violent conflict and the death of seven settlers at the hands of the Inuit (Cary 2004:19; Hiller 1971). It took almost twenty years before Moravians would attempt to establish a mission again (ibid).

In 1767 an Inuk named Mikak was captured in southern Labrador by the British following a dispute over the Inuit theft of British fishing boats (Stopp 2007). After being held in captivity in St. John's, it was decided that it might be advantageous to take Mikak to England in effort to establish better communication between the Inuit and the British (ibid:2). It was thought that upon Mikak's return to Labrador, she would give a good report of the English to the Inuit, and that this would encourage further oil and baleen trade between the Inuit and English (ibid:4). While in England, she met the royal family and the Moravian missionary Jens Haven, who was set on establishing missions in Labrador (ibid:2). Having developed a friendship with Haven (who had learnt Inuktitut from a previous mission in Greenland; ibid:6) and learnt about the Moravian faith, Mikak agreed to aid Haven in his goal (ibid:9). When Mikak returned, she described and made more palatable the Moravians' message to the Inuit, which helped Jens

Haven and other missionaries establish the first mission in Nain in 1771 (ibid:11). Over time, eight missions were established in Labrador, including one on the edges of Agvitok in 1777 (Brice-Bennett 1977:87; Stopp 2007:17). As southern Labrador became more populated by settlers and demand for Inuit goods decreased, the land for the missions was transferred to the Moravians from the British in the hopes that they would keep the Inuit out of southern Labrador and away from the English fishing fleet (Rollmann 2013:163).

Agvitok changed dramatically with the arrival of the Moravian missionaries. The mission set up beside Agvitok was called Hoffental, meaning "vale of hope" (Brice-Bennett 1977:87). At the time when these first missionaries arrived in Agvitok, there were only four tents (to the disappointment of the missionaries) (ibid:87).

At the beginning, the Moravians were respectful of the community's right to the land. They bought the land and remained only at the consent of those who were there, and compensated each man, woman, and child (ibid:87). These agreements were written informally on the spot and signed by both the Inuit and the Moravians (ibid:87).

Nevertheless, the Moravians imposed massive change on trade in Agvitok. By taking control of trade, the Moravians undermined the importance of Inuit who had previously travelled along the coast, managing the trade network (Jordan and Kaplan 1980). In turn, this trade allowed Moravians to raise funds to support other Moravian missions, and to exert greater influence and dependence of the Inuit on European goods (Hiller 1971). The missions also supplied food and shelter in exchange for the chance to Christianize the Inuit (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). Furthermore, the church separated their new converts from the rest of the community, further disrupting traditional Inuit economic alliances (ibid).

During this time, traditional hunting and resource procurement strategies were disrupted to fit the needs of the Moravians. Game that could be exchanged for goods at the store (cod, fox fur, seal oil, and seal skin) were highly valued (Brice Bennet 1977:101). Agvitok became characterized by cod fishing. Income generated from cod fishing paid for debt at the mission store and helped people prepare for the winter ahead (ibid:101). These changes ultimately decreased reliance on wild game and increased reliance on European food (ibid:115). Over time, this endangered Traditional Knowledge of hunting, fishing and seasonal migration routes of various animals and sea mammals (ibid:115). This high dependence on one resource made the Inuit economy very unstable.

Moravian Impact on Culture / Language

The goal of the Moravians was to spread Christianity, but to also spread European ideas of "civilization" (Arendt 2013). Therefore, the church challenged many traditional Inuit beliefs and cultural traditions (Hiller 1971). The Moravians banned traditional Inuit dancing, throat singing, and "forbade (the) Inuit from consuming alcohol at the mission and grew increasingly frustrated by Inuit who chose to travel south to visit the Europeans to buy alcohol" (Arendt 2013:317; Procter 2020:38). The punishment for this was exclusion from the church (Procter 2020:38). Many Inuit challenged these changes by continuing traditional practices such as shamanic rituals, polygyny and whale hunting (Kaplan and Woollett 2000:355). Because the mission disrupted seasonal travel, most Inuit relocated to live and hunt within 45 kilometres of the mission (Brice-Bennett 1977:103).

The Moravians developed the first writing system for Inuttitut (Felt and Natcher 2011:112). This was one of the first writing systems developed for an Indigenous language in Canada (ibid:112). This writing system is used on some of the first hand-drawn maps of place

names in the area, created by Moravians (Rollmann 2014). At first, the Moravians encouraged the preservation of Inuttitut and self-sufficiency of the Inuit (ibid). However, as seen in the German name "Hoffental", Moravian presence led to the adoption of certain German words. German and Moravian presence is still seen throughout Hopedale. For example, John Amos Comenius Memorial School in Hopedale is named after a Czech Moravian who is credited with being the "father of modern education".

In 1780 a day school was established in Hopedale, which was initially free and voluntary and scheduled at the convenience of Inuit families (between Christmas and Easter) (Procter 2020:45). The primary purpose of this school (and other day schools in Labrador) was to expose the children to Christianity, though it was the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic that attracted many Inuit families (Procter 2020:45). However, by 1920 the school in Hopedale was closed and children were encouraged to attend the boarding school in Makkovik (Procter 2020:65). This school (and other residential schools in Labrador) was harsher and less well funded (Procter 2020:60). Attendance at these schools meant cultural and linguistic separation from families, and sometimes physical and verbal abuse (Procter 2020:72-79). In 2017, the Prime Minister of Canada issued an official apology to Newfoundland and Labrador residential school survivors (Procter 2020:1). The Moravian church in Hopedale is no longer involved in schooling or trade in any way (Procter 2020:90).

Though the emergence of the Moravians did have a large impact on the Hopedale community, their presence did not mean an end to Inuit autonomy (Procter 2018:11). Inuit were and are still making decisions and interacting with their world in culturally meaningful ways, as seen in the survivance of cultural practices and (more recently) the establishment of self-government (Nunatsiavut government; Procter 2018:11).

Moravian Church Today

Because the Moravian church was so intertwined with Hopedale and Labrador Inuit history, it is no surprise that the church still impacts life today. The official mission sites began to close in the late 19th and early 20th centuries though the churches remained (Whitely 1964). The mission in Hopedale has never formally ended. The original church complex, which is now a National Historic Site, is still in use and is currently the only church in Hopedale (Rankin and Gaulton 2021). Church leaders are no longer outsiders but Inuit (Whitely 1964). The church is mostly supported and run by Inuit women in the town, including Marjorie Flowers, who acts as deacon and is also the AngajukKâk (Mayor) of Hopedale. The church holds services in Inuttitut and English.

As of 2016, approximately 87% of Hopedale identifies as Protestant Christian, though this number is not reflected in church attendance (Statistics Canada 2016). Most families in Hopedale have their infants baptised in the church.

In many ways, Inuit in Hopedale have made Moravian Christianity their own. As the church is now run almost primarily by Inuit community members, the ban on traditional practices is obviously no longer in place (Procter 2020:38). The church is also a centre of celebrations. Christmas and Easter traditions are tied to the church and act as a way to bring the community together. However, many individuals today are reconnecting with their Inuit spiritual roots and have a combination of Christian and traditional beliefs.

One of the original goals of the church was to keep the Inuit population living year-round at the mission, in order to "civilise them" (Arendt 2013). Inuit culture and language has shown great resilience during these times of aggressive assimilation, and traditional practices and beliefs are still highly valued (Procter 2018:11). However, more of the population, especially the

elderly and families, now stay in the town year-round. This is somewhat due to the school year and the necessity of wage labour. This was exacerbated by the emergence of lucrative wage labour available during the building of the American Base in the 1950s (mentioned later, Richling 1978:406). Families and individuals do still go out on the land for long periods of time to stay in cabins, and to hunt or to fish, but it is less of a seasonal rotation than it once was.

3.4 Hopedale

Over time, Hoffental began to be called by its English name, Hopedale. The 20th century brought new changes for the area. During World War I the demand for furs declined and poverty increased in northern Labrador (Brice-Bennett 1977:103). The Spanish Flu in 1918 greatly impacted Hopedale; one third of the northern Labrador Inuit population died (Budgell 2018:50). In 1919, the 59 survivors from Okak (out of a population of 266) were relocated to Hopedale (which had a population around 220, ibid:8).

The 1920s and beyond saw the arrival of non-Moravian settlers in Hopedale and other Labrador Inuit communities (Brice-Bennett 1977:105). Until 1926 trade was still controlled by the Moravian mission, when it was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company (ibid:101). However, these trading rights were given up by 1942 to the government as the Hudson's Bay Company did not understand how to operate within the established Moravian-Inuit pattern of trading, which relied on the movement of local animals and subsistence needs of the people (ibid:107). During and after World War II, prices of local goods continued to drop (ibid:107).

Even after the Moravians relinquished control of trade at Hopedale, like many other outports of Newfoundland and Labrador, Hopedale remained reliant on cod fishing (ibid:101). It became part of the traditional way of life – combined with Inuit ideas of landscape use. Over

time, cod fishing became very lucrative. International vessels would come to Labrador just to participate in the cod fishery (Schrank and Roy 2013).

In 1949 Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada. This too had a great impact on Labrador Inuit, including those in Hopedale who had previously had some level of autonomy (Evans 2012). The government began to deliver welfare services such as health and education instead of the Moravians (ibid). This challenged the traditional political structure of Inuit communities (ibid). Furthermore, these services were most often delivered in English, which contributed to language loss and the loss of traditional lifestyles (ibid).

Life changed for Inuit in Hopedale even more when the United States military began to build a radar station near the town (1951-1959) (Brice-Bennett 1977:109). This greatly increased the population of Hopedale, as both Inuit from nearby communities and settlers from southern Labrador arrived seeking construction work (ibid). A movie theatre and a bowling alley were even built. For many, this was their closest extended contact with a large group of settlers (ibid). Though the existence of the American Base was originally helpful, it did increase reliance on employed work, as mentioned previously, instead of subsistence living (Richling 1978:408). The base closed in 1959.

One goal of the Canadian government was to relocate northern Inuit communities further south to make providing services easier (Evans 2012). In 1959, the government decided to close the mission and char fishery in Hebron, effectively closing the town, without consultation with the community (Brice-Bennett 1977:109; Davies 2020). This was a tragic time for the people of Hebron, many of whom were deeply connected to their land. Ten families were relocated to Hopedale at this time, causing a local housing crisis (Brice-Bennett 1977:111; Davies 2020).

Many of the abandoned United States barracks were temporarily turned into housing (Brice-Bennett 1977:111).

As fishing technology and boats advanced (1950s-1980s), cod fishing became more productive and efficient (Schrank and Roy 2013). Unfortunately, this ultimately led to the near extinction of cod (ibid). The government tried to subsidize the cod and char fisheries, but cod populations and prices continued to decrease because of over-fishing (Brice-Bennett 1977:11).

The development of new infrastructure has always been a difficult process in Hopedale. In 1974 the community debated moving the entire town to a more favourable location, since the terrain of Hopedale made construction of the water and sewage system, as well as additional homes, very difficult (Brice-Bennett 2003:137). This debate delayed any significant community development until 1981 (ibid).

In 1992 the Atlantic cod moratorium was passed by the federal government which caused 25,000 fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador to lose their traditional livelihood (Gaulton and Rankin 2018). This is often thought of as the largest layoff in Canadian history (Schrank and Roy 2013). This affected fishers in Hopedale as well, who were suddenly unable to practice traditional cod fishing for subsistence or wage work (Hanrahan 2012:134). In Hopedale, the cod moratorium job shortage increased unemployment and brought new social issues such as poverty, reliance on government welfare, and substance abuse throughout the late 20th century (Richling 1978:417). The intrusion of federal and provincial government into Labrador Inuit traditional subsistence practices slowly eroded these systems to a reliance on government welfare and wage economy (Evans 2012). Regardless, hunting and fishing are still very important parts of subsistence and culture for families.

3.5 Modern Hopedale

There has been rapid social change in Hopedale and Nunatsiavut in general over the last thirty years. Hopedale is now one of the largest communities on the northern Labrador coast (Brice-Bennett 1977:97). As of the 2016 census the community had a population of 574 (Statistics Canada 2016). Around 27% of the population is 0 to 19 years old, which is about equal to the percentage of people over the age of 50 (ibid).

With no roads connecting it to any other community, Hopedale is only accessible by ferry (in the summer) and plane. Most resources are brought in as freight. Speed boats and motorboats have replaced kayaks and umiaks (Riewe 1991:7). Skidoos have replaced dog teams. There is only one dog team that still exists in Hopedale. Many people who use the land have satellite phones and GPS. This has greatly decreased reliance on traditional forms of navigation and knowledge of place names. However, the people in Hopedale continue to hold strongly to their heritage and culture.

Government

On December 1, 2005, Nunatsiavut became the first Indigenous group in Canada to achieve self-governance (Newfoundland and Labrador 2020). This law applies to 6500 beneficiaries, 2500 of whom live within the settlement area (Nunatsiavut Government 2021a). The result of this agreement is that Nunatsiavut is governed under their own constitution (Newfoundland and Labrador 2005). Nunatsiavut is still part of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador but has the authority to create and enforce laws (ibid). The legislative capital of Nunatsiavut is in Hopedale (ibid).

Land Use Today

The land is still a vital part of Inuit culture and livelihood in Hopedale. Under the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, beneficiaries “have the right to harvest as much wildlife

and plants as they need for their family for food, shelter, social, and ceremonial purposes, anywhere in the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area, at any time of the year" (Nunatsiavut Government 2021b). While the seasonal rhythm of travel across the land has been greatly altered, many traditional food procurement activities still occur (Brice-Bennett 1977:34). These traditional practices and skills are crucial to pass on to future generations for the continuation of culture and for the ability to contribute to a subsistence lifestyle (Stewart et al. 2004). Many families and individuals continue to rely on wild food, such as trout, salmon, and berries, as much as possible. Besides traditional food procurement, the two stores in town supply much of the subsistence for families. Most, if not all, of fruit and vegetables are shipped in.

There is also a general belief that the animals and birds are becoming "wilder" (Brice-Bennett 1977:114). Wildlife is becoming more frightened by human presence, by guns, and by skidoos, most likely because modern hunters take less care to be quiet and not disturb the animals they are not hunting (ibid). Local populations of wildlife fluctuate according to many environmental factors such as climate change. This has impacted and still impacts the practices of hunters and fishers.

In the past twenty years, climate change has had a major impact on the Hopedale community. Decreasing sea ice, reduced freeze times, and early melting snowfall has all influenced the ability to carry out a subsistence lifestyle in Hopedale (Fleming et al. 2012:213). Ultimately, these factors lead to a reduced time on the land in the winter (Fleming et al. 2012:216). This has an impact on multiple aspects of life.

A later freeze up means an inability to access wood resources earlier in the winter, which can lead to shortages and added stress for community members trying to heat their homes and avoid expensive natural gas bills (Fleming et al. 2012:213). Reduced ability to hunt on the land

in winter leads to decreased yields of meat and fish (Fleming et al. 2012:219). This scarcity creates a social issue; once abundant resources that would normally be shared with neighbours and extended family are kept within one family (ibid).

In addition, knowledge held by Elders regarding the migration patterns of certain animals, and traditional practices for being on the land are disrupted (Fleming et al. 2012:220). Changing climates change the applicability of this knowledge, causing a disconnect between older and younger generation (ibid).

However, the community is also taking part in many active strategies of adaptation. The land skills course offered at the Amos Comenius Memorial School aims to connect youth to relevant knowledge for hunting and fishing on the changing landscape (Fleming et al. 2012:225). These classes hope to pass on tools to maintain culture and well-being (ibid).

Despite all the changes to Inuit culture over time, archaeological evidence suggests that the geographical extent of land use has not changed much since pre-colonial times (Brice-Bennett 1977:38). Hunting camps are still used on many islands surrounding Hopedale alongside archaeological evidence of Inuit occupation (Brice-Bennett 2003:23). Besides being practically important for food procurement, the land is also still considered socially and spiritually important (Brice-Bennett 2003:24).

Social Issues

The long-lasting effects of settler colonialism have had an effect on Hopedalemiut and Nunatsiavut as a whole (Procter 2020:4). Many adults are survivors of residential schools, and continually live with that trauma (ibid). Intergenerational trauma and substance abuse are issues that remain prevalent (ibid). These problems most certainly cause a disconnect between individuals and cultural preservation (ibid).

Nunatsiavut also has an issue of job availability. The unemployment rate in Hopedale is 15.6%, though this is highly skewed by gender with 26.3% of men unemployed (Statistics Canada 2016). With a statistically very young population, there are consistently many individuals seeking to enter the workforce, and not enough jobs for them. As well, the jobs available are often seasonal (Fugmann 2012). Many youths do not see opportunities for themselves in the community and leave to go elsewhere (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2015).

Language Loss

The assimilative effects of residential schools and contact with Anglo-Europeans has led to a decline in the use of Inuttitut, especially amongst young people. In 2016, of the Inuit in Canada who did not have Inuktitut as their first language, 70% were under 25 years old (Lepage et al. 2019).

Language loss is a particularly prevalent issue because language is often thought of as a shield against other forms of cultural loss (Theron et al. 2015). It provides a means to communicate and live within the ontology of Inuit culture, and as that language changes to English, so does that ontology (ibid). Furthermore, disruption to cultural connections and language is a "strong predictor of (decreasing) health and wellbeing" (ibid:108). The loss of place names specifically is destructive to language preservation (ibid). The use of Inuttitut place names situates Inuttitut in everyday life and the surrounding geography (Tulloch 2013:158). This necessitates the learning of place names for navigation and understanding one's place in the world. Therefore, extending knowledge of traditional place names can act as a catalyst for linguistic and cultural revitalization.

Language Revitalization

Youth are central to language preservation, as they are the carriers of this knowledge to the next generation (ibid:158). Unfortunately, many youths have insufficient opportunity to learn their language, or they are focused on more immediate threats to their well-being, such as social issues, education, and unemployment (ibid:164). Despite these factors, there are also many Inuit youth who are holding on to their language and participating in its protection. There is no one solution to language preservation, it must be a relational pluralistic collection of practices that surround and encourage youth (Theron et al. 2015:107).

Learning and using a language is dependent on having other people to talk to, so language preservation must also include community building and mutual interest in culture (Tulloch 2013:165). An interesting issue in this regard is the many dialects of Inuktitut (including Inuttitut) across Alaska, Canada, and Greenland (ibid:154). The Inuit Circumpolar Council seeks to preserve Inuit language, but often finds difficulty discerning which dialects need most attention, and also how to communicate between them (ibid:156).

Language preservation is a pivotal goal of the Inuit Circumpolar Youth Council (a subset of the Inuit Circumpolar Council) (ibid:157). This organization holds two youth language symposia a year and interacts with larger international organizations (ibid:157). More practically, this organization advocates for local and regional policies that promote language learning (ibid:157). This practice is especially important, as locally derived solutions connect most directly with the cultural reality of youth (Theron et al. 2015:107).

A quantitative and qualitative study by Theron et al. (2015:114) has demonstrated that youth who are more connected to their communities are more likely to retain their language. Therefore, readily available programs for youth in community, even those not directly related to culture, have the potential to build up language retention (ibid:110). Connections to language,

better relationships, and greater potential / prevention of destructive lifestyles become greatly intertwined.

Some examples of youth centred programs in Hopedale include volleyball nights, business development programs for high school students, youth rooms, and Inuttitut game nights. Access to learning Inuttitut in school is very good in Hopedale. At the John Amos Comenius Memorial School (the first contemporary school built in Hopedale in 1963), Inuttitut is a core course from kindergarten until Grade 9 (Brice-Bennettt 2003:137). It is offered as an elective for high school.

The Nunatsiavut Government has created a language strategy under the Department of Language, Culture and Tourism, and has many ongoing efforts to strengthen Inuttitut, including (Nunatsiavut Government 2021c):

- Providing translation services.
- An Inuttitut radio program.
- The Inuttitut Master Apprentice Program which pairs fluent speakers with students.
- The Labrador Inuttitut Training Program: An education curriculum delivered through MUN's Department of Education.
- An Inuttitut Rosetta Stone.

Lastly, individual young people who are committed to language preservation have great potential to inspire other youth. Nicholas Flowers, the senior research assistant on this project, was recently hired as the Language Program Community worker for Hopedale. As a young Inuk, he is using his love of language to take an active role in promoting Inuttitut for not only youth, but the entire community.

Cultural Revitalization

Beyond language, there are many other efforts within Hopedale and the greater Nunatsiavut community that are working to celebrate Inuit culture. In many ways, the manner in which culture is celebrated is far different than it would be in a Western context. First off, connection to culture is essentially connected to landscape, which is fundamental to well-being (Sawatzky et al. 2019). This compliments an ontology of land-based history, as opposed to a time-based history (ibid). Western ideas might look to past practices to preserve cultural history, whereas Inuit views emphasize reconnecting to the land that is already there – that which intrinsically holds what it means to be Inuit in a personal way (ibid). Therefore, reconnecting to the land acts as an essential node of spirituality, relationality, and healing in a cultural context.

Similar to language transmission, cultural transmission to youth is critical for continuation. Several communities in Nunatsiavut, including Rigolet, Makkovik and Postville have recently piloted programs for youth focusing on the Inuit concept of piliriqatigiinniq (working in a collaborative way for the common good) (Cunsolo et al. 2017). This program (called Culture-Connect) pairs youth with adult mentors to learn traditional skills such as snowshoe-making, trapping, sewing, carving and art (ibid). Grassroots, relational based efforts like this demonstrate that despite the difficult history of Inuit in Nunatsiavut, Inuit culture is strong and growing (ibid). Studying place names and connecting to heritage in Hopedale is a continuation of this journey.

3.6 Hopedale and Heritage

Hopedale and Archaeology

Hopedale has had a long-standing relationship with archaeology. In 1934, archaeologist Junius Bird began excavations around Hopedale with his Inuit assistant Heinrich Uisak (Bird 1945). Bird and Uisak excavated five sites to study sod house formations: Agvitok,

Anniowaktook, Mapatalik Island, Kamakulluk, and Iglosoataligarsuk (ibid). There was then little archaeological interest in the community till the early 2000s. Researchers such as Beatrix Arendt, Laura Kelvin, Lisa Rankin and her students, and the Nunatsiavut government have recently renewed studies in and around Hopedale (Arendt 2013; Flowers 2020; Kelvin et al. 2020; Lear 2017; Loring and Arendt 2009; Penney 2002; Penney 2018; Rankin et al. 2019, 2022; Rollmann 2014). Hopedale has also been involved in long-lasting research projects such as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada sponsored partnership grant between the Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University known as *Tradition and Transition*. The town has also encouraged ongoing historical research at the Moravian Mission House Complex with Parks Canada. Compared to the earlier research by Bird, more recent archaeological investigations have been designed to respond to community research requests and have integrated community participation into the work. My project acts as a continuation of this established research.

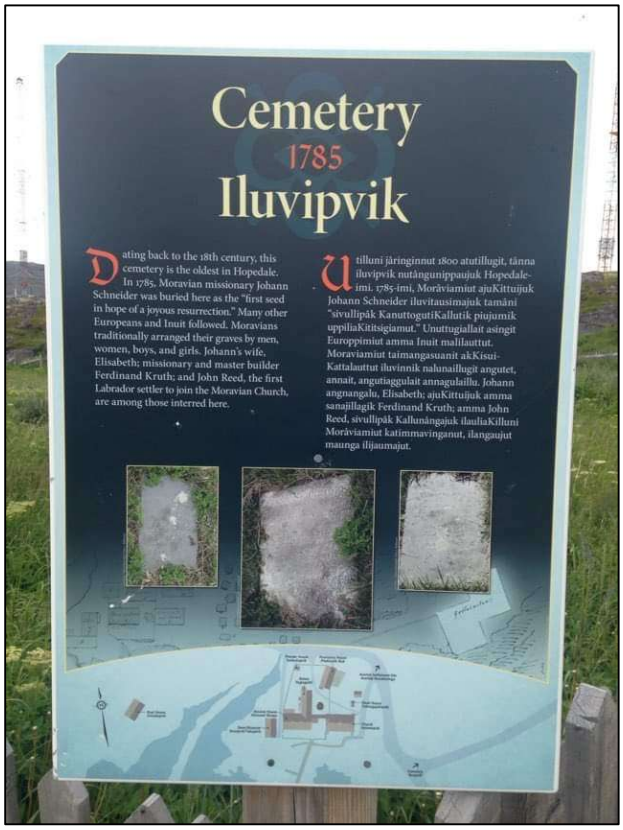

Figure 2: Historic Plaque in Hopedale

Accessibility of Heritage Resources

Hopedale has a need for accessible heritage resources. However, Hopedale's history can already be learnt throughout town. The Hopedale Moravian Mission House Complex is a National Historic Site which is made up of the Moravian church and its surrounding buildings. The attached museum holds many Moravian archival materials as

well as local artifacts. There are also plaques indicating the historic sites around town (Figure 2) which serve to remind locals of the situated history. These signs are perhaps the most effective method of communication of historical knowledge in Hopedale.

Though these language and cultural initiatives do well in preserving Inuttitut as a whole, Hopedale is still in need of accessible and relevant heritage resources focused specifically on place names.

Toponym Resources

The historical context of Hopedale and its landscape are crucial in understanding the importance of toponym research. Toponyms are not only situated in place, but also in time, as each toponym was created in a culturally embedded moment. Understanding the greater story of Hopedale can help to pinpoint toponyms to a certain aspect or context of that story. There are several extant sources of toponym data that aid this by going beyond what can be learnt from a single toponym. These resources gather these pinpointed relational moments together to represent the greater cultural environment.

Our Footprints are Everywhere – Carol Brice-Bennett:

Carol Brice-Bennett's "Our Footprints Are Everywhere", first published in 1977, is greatly coveted in Hopedale for its detailed information about the Nunatsiavut communities, extensive place name lists, personal and recorded histories, maps, and resources regarding traditional use areas (Brice-Bennett 1977). Locally it is considered the most important volume documenting the history of the community. However, very few families in town own a copy, and they are very difficult to acquire. This knowledge is therefore unattainable for most people in Hopedale. The creation of the book was requested by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in order to support the Labrador Inuit land claim (ibid:V). The study was sponsored by the Labrador Inuit

Association and funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (ibid :VII). Combining archaeological, Oral Historical, geographic, and environmental knowledge, the book seeks to represent the holistic relationship of Inuit to the land (ibid:VII).

The information in "Our Footprints" was compiled through interviews with Inuit, some of which were conducted in Inuttitut (ibid). Therefore, some of the original meaning was lost, but the English speaking authors "tried to convey as faithfully as possible the original sentiments and intention of the Inuktut speakers" (ibid:VII). Archaeological studies, community land use reports and maps, and existing resources were also used to contribute to the volume (ibid)

"Our Footprints" contains a labelled map listing 120 place names around the Hopedale area (ibid:196-199). The English and Inuttitut name are included, as well as the English meaning or related information (ibid:196-199). The place names themselves represent those recorded in official 1: 250,000 government topographic maps, except when these maps do not cover / contradict Moravian Church maps, in which case the Moravian maps were given preference (ibid:VII, see below). However, names that appear in E.P. Wheeler's 1953 list are given preference over both (see below). Unfortunately, Brice-Bennettt did not record the original source for each toponym (ibid:197). Nevertheless, this volume is the most extensive and accessible place names resource currently available to the public in Hopedale.

Government Records:

The Canadian government maintains an array of open-source digital map data for the entire country, including Hopedale. Many of these data are housed in the online repository GeoGratis. These map data can be used in GIS systems, and include vector, raster, image, and elevation data (Government of Canada 2020). Generally, these data are available at a 1:50,000 and 1:250,000 scale, useful for highlighting certain aspects of the geography. GeoGratis provides

orthomosaic photos as well, which were created between 2005-2010 and provide more detailed location-specific imagery than an average Google base map (ibid).

Through the Strategic Policy and Innovation Sector of Natural Resources Canada more data is available (Natural Resources Canada 2020). This resource provides specific vector data regarding a range of geographic features through the CanVec Series (ibid). Examples include hydrographic features, communication networks, wooded areas, transport networks, manmade features, et cetera (ibid). These layers can help to situate place names within a wider geographic context.

Lastly, within these layers is the government's "official" record of toponyms in Canada (ibid). This record is extensive, containing tens if not hundreds of thousands of names (ibid). The coverage over Hopedale is impressive, with labels on nearly ever nearby island (ibid). It should be noted that there are no polygon or line data in this file, it is literally "dot on a map" data.

The government of Canada has been gathering and creating this map data since the 1800s. Under jurisdiction of the Geographical Names Board of Canada, the federal government, along with provincial and territorial governments, assumes authority over deciding official and standardized place names. Unfortunately, it is not clear based on the actual place name data or the Geographical Names Board website how these data were created and where the names were sourced (https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/earth-sciences/geography/geographical-names-board-canada/geographical-names-board-canada/9174). Furthermore, these data do not favour Inuit names over English names in the area. All together these government files provide aid in interpretation but cannot be used alone to understand the landscape.

Chapter 16 of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement explains that the Nunatsiavut Government is the authority on spelling and pronunciation of Inuktitut place names in

Newfoundland and Labrador (Newfoundland and Labrador 2005). The Nunatsiavut Government holds official authority over naming, renaming, and recognizing alternate place names in Nunatsiavut (ibid). As an Inuit government, this structure places more control into the hands of Inuit people (ibid). However, the curation of a definitive, "official" list will always miss out on the individual experiences of people with place.

Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel:

Figure 3: Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel Map of Hopedale

In 1861 a hand-drawn map of Hopedale, including many traditional place names, was created by the Moravian missionaries (Rollmann 2014:2) (Figure 3). Sometime following, missionary August Ferdinand Elsner (1822-1895) developed a list of toponyms and their meanings from the original 1861 map (ibid:2). Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel used this map and its annotations (adding corrections and generating additional maps) from 1861-1876 (ibid:2).

This map is an example of one of the earliest written records of Hopedale area toponyms (ibid:3). Although skewed geographically, this map is unique as it contains almost no English toponyms. The names on the map provided a historical basis to compare more recently recorded toponyms to (ibid:5). Moravian place names are underlined in red on the map (ibid:3).

Researcher Hans Rollmann has completed much of the modern research on these maps, which are now preserved at the Unity Archives at Hernhut, Saxony, Germany (ibid:3). Rollmann has recorded the geographical coordinates of each toponym according to the Reichel maps, and transcribed Reichel's information (noting difficulties of interpreting and translating the handwritten German annotations; ibid:3).

Rollmann also suggests that the coordinate system of the Reichel maps should be skewed in future research to reflect the actual coordinates of the place names (ibid:5).

Wheeler Data:

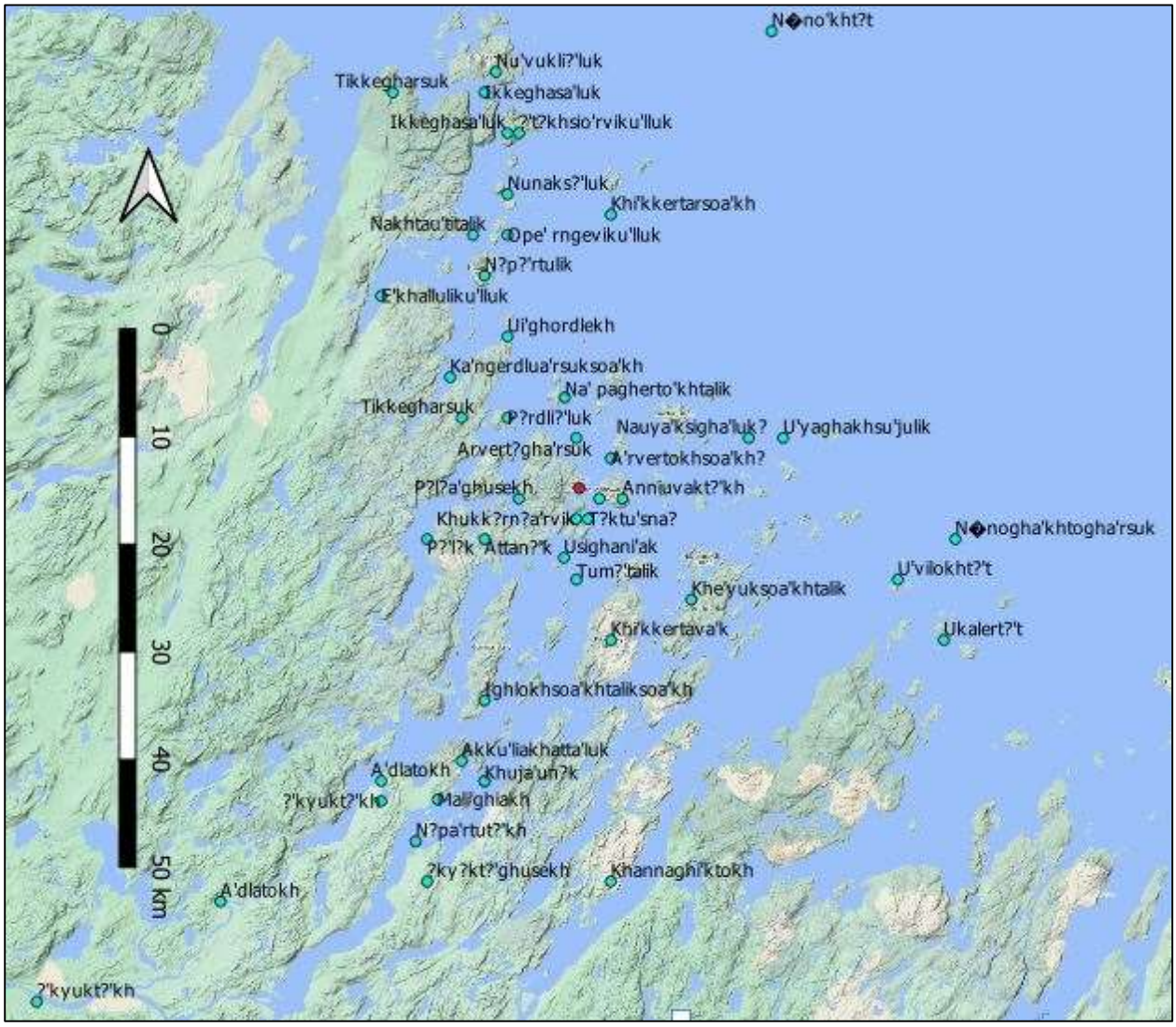

Figure 4: Map of Wheeler Data Surrounding Hopedale (red dot).

In 1953, geologist Everett Pepperrell Wheeler 2nd released his book "List of Labrador Eskimo Place Names", containing around 729 place names, including the area around Hopedale (Wheeler 1953). The names were collected during Wheeler's travels in the 1940s and early 1950s around Nain and Okak (ibid:1). Wheeler believed place names were important for nautical navigation and also provided important environmental information (Morse 1977). He used place names that concerned flora, fauna, and geography to infer changes in the climate overtime (Wheeler 1953:1-7). Furthermore, Wheeler compared the Inuttitut used in Reichel's map to the Inuttitut used in 1953 to infer changes in language and grammar (ibid).

As with most early research, there are several issues apparent in Wheeler's work. First, the book has racist undertones and assumes that Inuit culture is going extinct. The dedication of the book reads: "Dedicated to the Inuit of Labrador, a lovable people whose culture is being destroyed without provision of an adequate substitute. Let us at least treat with respect their names for the lands we inherit from them." (Wheeler 1953:ii). This obviously carries assimilative assumptions. Secondly, the Inuit sources are uncited, which he blamed on a "unsystematic" beginning of the research (Wheeler 1953). Though gathered from Inuit communities, Wheeler "confirmed" these place names with the Moravian missionaries present in Labrador (ibid). Furthermore, Wheeler notes that he often questioned the validity of knowledge from his main Moravian informant, Reverand Paul Hettasch, who died before the completion of the book (ibid:1). Wheeler does admit that these factors may have led to errors (ibid:1). In his favour, Wheeler lists the "type" of feature (island, shoreline, peninsula et cetera) associated with each toponym along with its general dimensions, going beyond the "dot on a map" mentality. The similarity between the Wheeler data and the Reichel data is due to the fact that Wheeler consulted Reichel's map for some of his place names (ibid:2).

Recently, Chelsea Arbour completed a transcription of this original data (Whitridge and Venovcevs 2016). The entire database was then used to create a shapefile highlighting all these names (ibid; Figure 4).

Nicholas Flowers:

Nicholas Flowers had also begun some place name research prior to this project. Nicholas compiled his data on Google Earth. The information he gathered was mostly sourced from Ian Winters, a Hopedale Knowledge Holder who also participated as an interviewee in this project.

This background information as well as the external resources has helped me situate my project in a historical context. The necessity to record and analyze toponyms in a culturally relevant way is made apparent by the importance of toponyms to the past and present relational landscape of Hopedale. It is my hope that the methodology used to complete this project (outlined in the next chapter) has succeeded in respecting this importance by honouring Inuit cultural understandings of landscape and contributing to toponym scholarship by integrating Oral History with place name data.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction to Methodology

In this project I hoped to interview between five and ten individuals and collect approximately fifty place names. To do this I chose to conduct open-ended interviews situated in place (either at a place name location or with maps). It was my hope that conducting interviews outside at the toponym location would allow the participants to connect with the landscape and narrate their relational experiences with past landscapes and toponyms in the present. This methodology directed our attention to the details of the location, in order to expand our

understanding of the toponym place beyond just its name. Indoor interviews with maps were also conducted and proved useful to connect place names relationally across the landscape.

The methodology described here was adapted from Terry Tobias' *Living Proof: The Essential Data Collection Guide for Indigenous Use and Occupancy Map Surveys* which is focused on Indigenous place name mapping and interviews in British Columbia (2010). Though developed for indoor map-making, Tobias' methods were easily adapted to an outdoor context (ibid). Tobias' methods actually begin prior to the interview process. Tobias instructed: to gain permission and ethics clearance prior to field work, to identify respected interviewees through other individuals in the community, to describe the project and honourarium ethically, and to respect the time of interviewees (ibid:313,149,193,267). Tobias provides detailed instructions of how to conduct interviews, including how to note place names while recording, what supplies to bring, the maximum amount of time an interview should take, et cetera (ibid:203-222). Transcription methods and the importance of returning materials to interviewees was stressed (ibid:257-277, 125). Tobias also described how to sort the information post-interview (ibid:171). As Tobias' examples mostly focused on land use, this organization involved determining hunting and fishing extents, whereas mine included identifying key themes (ibid).

Tobias developed this method to provide a standardized format for mapping using Oral History (ibid). As these types of maps have the potential to be used in land claims discussions or in court, rigour and attention to detail are necessary in order for the research to be considered as evidence (ibid:171). The methodology works because it was developed in partnership and consultation with Indigenous communities in British Columbia, which determined the most effective, ethical, and respectful way to record the needed information (ibid:303-313). This is

significant to me because his methodology turns the focus of the interview from the data to the interviewee, which connects to the highly personal and relational nature of this project (ibid).

Based on this model, the general methodology of this project began by obtaining ethics clearance, followed by increasing community awareness of the project, identifying participants, travelling and conducting interviews (when possible on the land), identifying key themes and comparing with the extant toponym information described previously.

Tobias also discusses how place name mapping is uniquely challenging in ways that traditional land use and occupancy mapping is not. Firstly, there is often great personal importance and sacredness attached to different place names (Tobias 2010:324). For example, Uvingajualuk Island means "Leaning Island" and is connected to a traditional story about an argument between two shamans. These specific stories make "toponymic mapping [like] a form of time travel, a portal transporting elders back to an age when life seemed simpler, land and animals healthier, and culture stronger" (ibid:325). This is challenging because this kind of mapping requires humble discretion and care. What I mapped is important to other people, and within my methodology I worked to respect that. One way I did that was by recording multiple different meanings, names, and spellings of places. It is not up to me to decide the personal importance or legitimacy of a name. Another difference between place name mapping and traditional land use and occupancy mapping is that the data is disappearing as language is forgotten, thus there is an urgency for this kind of project (ibid:329). Perhaps this is why the 2018 Heritage Forum stressed the need for a place names project (Procter 2018:39-40).

Furthermore, the methodology for this project was not fixed. I started with this general plan but had to adapt it according to community needs and wishes. The research team for this project included myself, research assistant Jacinda Sinclair: a fellow MA student who

accompanied me, and (previously mentioned) research assistant Nicholas Flowers: an Inuit Hopedale youth with a great interest in heritage (hereby referred to as Jacinda and Nicholas).

4.2 Preparations Before Hopedale

Attaining ethical clearance for this project was necessary as it involved interviewing members of the public. In the ethics clearance I had to demonstrate that I had received permission from the Nunatsiavut Government to conduct the research and create a consent form. I also had to receive clearance from the Nunatsiavut Government Research Advisory Committee (NGRAC).

4.3 Increasing Community Awareness

I initially had issues increasing community awareness of this project. Before I left for Hopedale, I made several Facebook posts on the Hopedale News page, which had some positive responses that indicated that several people were interested in the project. These posts directed people to the community meeting I planned on Thursday, July 15 from 7-8 pm. The project advertisement was included in all of these posts (Figure 5). Once I arrived in Hopedale, we also put-up physical copies of this poster at various places.

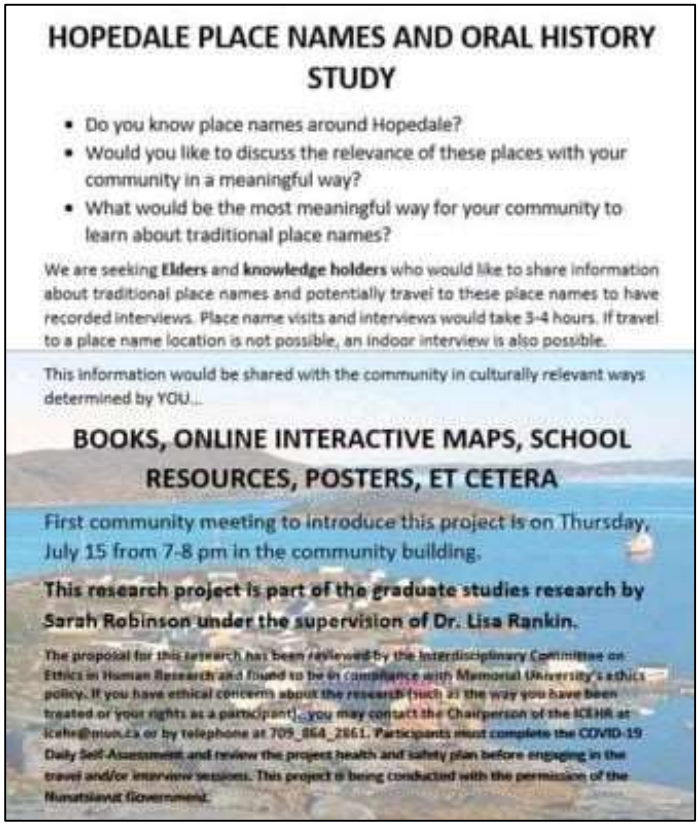

Figure 5: Advertisement Used for First Community Meeting.

First Meeting

The first meeting, which took place at the Nunatsiavut Government Building

outlined the purpose and goals of the project. Unfortunately, only two people attended, though they later became two of our interviewees. Afterwards we made a recording of the presentation and uploaded it to YouTube, sharing it on the Hopedale News Facebook page for those who might be interested.

Continued Advertising and Community Events

As a team, we began brainstorming different ways we could get the community involved and interested in the project. A large part of this became participation in community events. We attended community barbeques, parts of the Annual Rhubarb Festival, and community fireworks. At these events I was able to connect with individuals and describe the project to them one-on-one. This proved far more effective than the initial meeting, potentially because I was seen being involved in the community. I also used a radio interview with Regan Burden from CBC's Labrador Morning and continued Facebook posts to try and spread awareness about the project.

4.4 Approaching Elders

In order to spread the word to more elderly participants, as well as to make the project more personal, I decided that approaching individuals directly and in person would be the most efficient way to gain participants for the project.

Nicholas and I spent quite a few days driving around town, trying to locate potential interviewees at their homes or places of work. Nicholas, having knowledge of the people in the town who would potentially know place names and want to participate, identified potential interviewees and we planned who we would approach for each day. At some points it was very difficult to locate people, as many often travelled in the summer. Once we found individuals, I explained the project, including the honorarium and time commitment, and offered a consent form and project information letter. I described the purpose of the project, and that this project

was part of my MA thesis. Some people approved of the project and agreed to participate. There were others who were interested in the project but did not want to / were unable to participate. There were also individuals who said no. No one openly opposed the project.

In order to ensure free, prior and informed consent, I tried to give the interviewee two days before deciding on a time and a date for an interview, but people's availability would change unexpectedly, and I would often have to reschedule. I ended up conducting nine interviews with twelve interviewees, five on the land, three in the interviewee's homes, and one in the Nunatsiavut Government building.

4.5 On the Land

"Heading out on Boat" (Figure 6)

Figure 6: Heading out on boat for Rosina (left) and Walter (far right) Piercy's Interview.

Five interviews were conducted on the land at a place name location. The place name location was determined by the interviewee. Each of the outdoor interviews took place at a location with deep personal and historical meaning to the interviewees, often a place they grew up spending extended time at. Before travelling, I ensured that the interviewee was comfortable with using their own boat and had the necessary safety items. I collected the completed consent

form from the interviewee and provided them a copy. After this we departed to the place name location.

Arrival

Upon arrival, we would find a comfortable place to sit and conduct the interview. I took a GPS point at each location and gave it a recognizable waypoint name. I set up the recorder and attached one lapel microphone to myself and instructed the interviewee how to place the other microphone to themselves.

Audio Recording

Before pressing record, I would take out my guiding questions for the interview, and let the interviewee know how I would begin the interview and what questions I would ask. I began every recording by stating the date, who was present, and where we were. Then I would ask a very open-ended question such as "What is this place and why is it meaningful to you?". After this, the interviewee's answers would guide the conversation. For example, if they began to tell a story about the location, Nicholas and I would ask follow-up questions about this story. If conversation waned or slowed at any point, I would continue the conversation with questions like:

- Are there any other names / spellings for this place?
- What is the extent of this place (where does it geographically start and end)?
- Do you have any personal memories associated with this place?
- Is there any community knowledge / Oral History / Traditional Knowledge associated with this place?
- Where did you learn the name of this place?
- When was the first time you came here?

Nicholas was particularly helpful in this case. He would ask the participant about specific historical events or Traditional Knowledge he was aware of, mutual personal memories, and clarification on spelling and pronounciation. I would let the interview come to a natural end, which ranged anywhere from 15 minutes to 45 minutes.

Figure 7: Nicholas Preparing Sanamajuk with Philip Abel.

Video Recording

For three of the interviews (Gus and Lena Semigak, Rosina and Walter Piercy, and Ian Winters), with consent, Jacinda video recorded the interviews as well. The interview then proceeded as normal.

Eating and Talking Together

The most important part of these place name trips usually occurred after the official interview. With the supplies we brought, we drank tea and ate snacks with the interviewees. Nicholas often made a traditional treat of fried bread called sanamajuk (Figure 7). The conversations that happened then were much more relaxed. This helped the interviewees get to know me and vice versa. This is where I would hear about the current realities of their lives and what was important to them. Here, more meaningful connections were made. Often, we would walk around the place name location, sometimes picking berries along the way, and experiencing the location as a whole. This process acted to expand my understanding of the location as a relational landscape, beyond the "dot on a map" mentality I am so committed to challenging.

After each interview, I asked the interviewees what they would like to see as dissemination from the project. Several ideas were brought up including a book, town signage, large maps, school curricula, colouring books, social media, website, podcasts, et cetera…

Heading Back

Figure 8: Nicholas Fishing at Trout Brook after Philip Abel's Interview.

Nicholas would often continue to ask questions about Inuttitut or place names on the way back, which also helped my understanding of the overall landscape. On a couple of our outdoor interviews, we assisted the interviewee with their fish lines (Figure 8). With Philip Abel, we even stopped to fish for a while (which included a close encounter with a black bear). I am thankful for these experiences as they allowed us to become immersed in the landscape beyond simply talking about it. Upon our return, I would thank the interviewee and pay their honorarium.

4.6 Indoor Interviews

Alternate Locations

Three interviews were conducted in the interviewee's home (Kate Pijogge, Abraham Nochasak, and Frances Williams). The interview with Gus and Lena Semigak took place in a conference room in the Nunatsiavut Government building. These arrangements were made because of the interviewee's mobility or convenience. The home interviews took place in the living room or dining room.

Recording

The procedure for these interviews was identical to the land-based interviews. The indoor interviews were better shielded from outdoor noises and winds, which generally made for better sound quality. Of the indoor interviews, only one was video recorded.

Not Being on the Land

Not being on the land definitely changed the atmosphere of the interviews. We were not able to physically situate ourselves within a specific location in order to focus our discussion. It was a loss not being able to immerse ourselves in the landscape. However, the non-centralized format of the indoor interviews allowed us to discuss many geographically distant locations, as opposed to just a few. This also led us to discussing the distances and routes between locations.

Use of Maps

The use of printed maps guided these indoor discussions. The physical maps I had available were:

- Canadian Topographic Map 013N, Hopedale – 1:250,000 (Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada 1982).
- Canadian Topographic Map 013N08W, Hopedale – 1:50,000 (Canadian Army Survey Establishment R.C.E. 1963c).
- Canadian Topographic Map 013N08E, Hopedale – 1:50,000 (Canadian Army Survey Establishment R.C.E. 1963a).
- Canadian Topographic Map 013O, Makkovik – 1:250,000 (Department of Mines and Technical Surveys 1965).
- Canadian Army Survey Establishment R.C.E. 13N/8E – 1:50,000 (1963b).
- Levin Theodor Reichel's Map of Nain and Hopedale from 1861 (Rollman 2014).
- Hopedale centric 1:50,0000 (made by author using GeoGratis).

- Hopedale centric 1:250,000 (made by author using GeoGratis).

Over the course of the project, two of the Hopedale centric maps made by GeoGratis were used as "master maps" which were a physical record of all of the place names recorded. However, the map that was most preferred by the interviewees was the Reichel map. This was perhaps because this map looks the most "old fashioned" or is more geographically skewed with unique / changed spellings of place names. Regardless, these maps helped guide the indoor interviews, so the focus was still on stories situated in place.

4.7 Organization of Data

Transcription

There were several steps post-interview that were required to organize the data. The first was to transcribe the interviews. The team attempted to transcribe immediately following the interview, so that the interview was fresh in our minds in case there was mumbling or instances where we spoke over one another. We did not use a software for this, but simply listened to the audio recordings and transcribed to a Word document. Nicholas translated the few Inuttitut phrases that were in the interviews, which I included in the transcripts. Before leaving Hopedale, I gave a printed copy of the interview transcript to each interviewee for them to review and remove / edit any information. Some interviewees chose to make minor edits.

Mapping Place Names and Attributes

Another incredibly important part of the data processing was mapping the place names in the GIS program QGIS. QGIS is an open-source program that could operate on my laptop, as opposed to a more "heavy duty" GIS program such as ArcGIS. In this program, the place names were separated into locations that were singular points (ironically, dots on the map), shorelines (lines), or islands / areas (polygons).

Attached to each place name in the program are several attributes which describe important aspects of the place names. These attributes were: the place name number, the actual name, alternate spellings, pronounciation, alternate pronounciation, English meaning, associated interviews, first date mentioned (first interview), associated interviewees, audio file name, time the name is first mentioned in each interview, GPS waypoint, GPS coordinates, elevation, shape type (point, line, or polygon), and comments. Not all these fields were filled for each toponym. For example, only the locations visited received a GPS waypoint or GPS coordinates. The purpose of attaching these attributes was to make the place names easily comparable and to make the attribute information available in the eventual dissemination. For example, the GIS layers created from the place names are easily exportable to ArcGIS Online and Story Maps to view on a digital map.

In traditional place name research, an attribute of precision / accuracy of a place name and its location is often included. This field was omitted because of this project's focus on looking at place names as part of the broader landscape, and beyond simply a dot on a map. As well, I hoped to gather the individual meaning of place names, even if they did not reflect the collective understanding, to better represent the unique and varied memoryscape.

Analysis of Data

The data collected was used for a qualitative analysis of the place names. The interview transcripts were used to identify repeated stories of cultural importance, historical areas with archaeological potential, and common themes across the interviews. The created digital maps and previously mentioned map resources were used to situate these stories and themes geographically. This organization of data topically and geographically is based on Tobias (2010) and was implemented to capture the richness of data including and beyond the attributes

collected for each place name. This worked to accomplish the objective of gaining a more complete grasp of Hopedale's relational landscape in an archaeologically and culturally relevant way (see Chapter 5).

Return of Materials to Interviewees

Files in my Google Drive account were created for each interview. These files each contained: the audio file for the interview, the transcript for the interview, and the .GPX file for any waypoints collected (if applicable). These files, plus the Microsoft Excel log of all the attributes for all place names were shared with Hopedale AngajukKâk Marjorie Flowers. This way, any of the interviewees in Hopedale may view their interviews at the Town Office, and anyone in Hopedale may view the place names log. Obviously, the articles of dissemination are also available to the community.

4.8 Planning Dissemination (Figure 9)

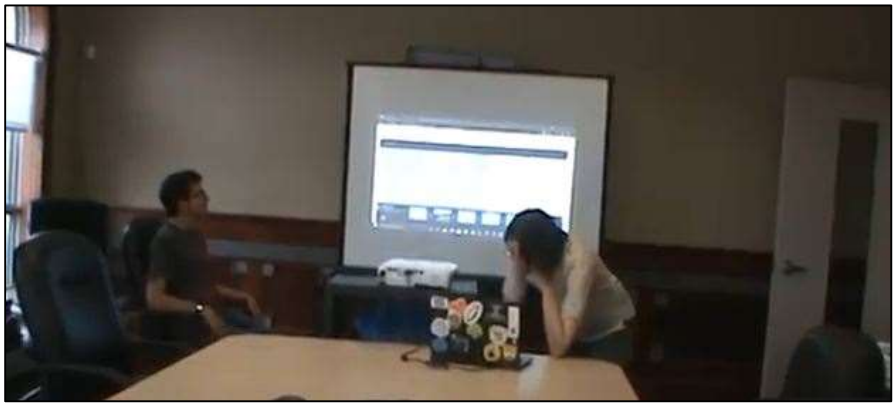

Figure 9: Preparing for our Last Meeting.

We held a community meeting to summarize the project on August 18. People were much more involved in our last meeting. It was attended by AngajukKâk Marjorie Flowers, David Igloliorte, and Valerie and Reuben Flowers. As well, several of our interviewees apologized for not being able to make it to the meeting. I discussed the outcomes of the project, the maps, and how many names I had collected.

Of the ideas generated by the interviewees, I presented what I believed to be the most viable options for dissemination based on my resources and time for the MA project: a place

names atlas and an interactive map-based website (Story Map). This proposal was accepted by those at the meeting, who were very excited for these outcomes. This information was also shared on the Facebook page for comment. I had a separate meeting with AngajukKâk Marjorie Flowers, discussing the details of these articles of dissemination. AngajukKâk Flowers approved of this plan for dissemination and gave me a contact for the school in order to distribute the final results. In the consent form, all interviewees gave their permission for the interviews and information shared to be widely distributed.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Interviews

In this section I will describe the process and the highlights from each interview. During each interview, the physical maps mentioned in Chapter 4 were provided for the interviewees to use and refer to as they wanted.

Interview 1 – Nicholas Flowers – A

Figure 10: Jacinda Looking out at the Islands from the American Base.

As mentioned previously, Nicholas Flowers was the senior research assistant for the project. Nicholas had collected a great wealth of Inuttitut place names out of personal interest and in preparation for the project,

so he and I decided he should be the first interviewee. His interview (on Wednesday, July 14, 2021) was unlike the ones that followed. We did not conduct an indoor interview, or travel to a specific place name location. Rather we travelled to the highest point in town (known locally as The Base – Location #1 in our data; Table 2). This point was the site of the American military base which operated from 1951-1959 (Brice-Bennett 1977:109). At an elevation of 156 m above sea level we could see many of the surrounding islands around Hopedale (Figure 10).

In order to gain a larger picture of the area, I asked Nicholas to name the significant areas that we could see. This area generated locations #1-28 (Table 2), as well as some basic information about each point. Though I conducted this interview mostly as a practice run for the recording equipment, it proved very useful to the rest of the project. Many of the locations Nicholas pointed out were mentioned by other interviewees (such as #7, Âllukâk, which was mentioned by interviewees B, C, and D) and provided a baseline understanding of the area (Table 4).

This introductory glance helped me to understand the extent of the study area, and in further interviews I was able to recollect the names that Nicholas mentioned, which helped me to spatially situate the stories that were told to me. This interview was about 20 minutes long.

Interview 2 – Kate Pijogge - B

Kate (Katie) Pijogge was my first indoor interview which was conducted at her home on Tuesday, July 20, 2021. After hearing about the project, Katie thought it was more convenient to conduct the interview that day, instead of waiting a few days. I conducted Katie's interview on her couch with some of the maps laid out on a coffee table.

Katie had no issue jumping right into stories. The question I began with was "Is there a location you wanted to talk to us about today?" which began a great narrative about Âllukâk (#7;

Table 2) and the cod fishery. She discussed how hardworking the fishermen were, getting up before daylight and working till after dark. Katie told stories about wooding (gathering wood for fuel and construction), how families would share resources, and how working on the land this way is a traditional way of life. Lastly, I clarified some spelling and meaning of Inuttitut words, such as "alluk", meaning to step into. Every story that Katie told us was situated in place, the time they occurred was very much secondary. For example, when asked about the years of the cod moratorium or when she travelled to Napâttutok, she gave very general answers. But locations and seasonality ("that's where everybody goes ice fishing in the spring", "You can alluk to the New Year") were very prevalent in our discussions. This interview was about 21 minutes long, and included six locations (#s: 7, 29, 30, 37, 38, 41; Table 7).

As this was our first "real" interview, I had to work out a few practical bugs. My initial expectation / plan was to pause whenever a new place name was mentioned and number it then on the map. This quickly proved unfeasible as it meant interrupting the flow of the conversation. Instead, I made sure either Nicholas or I noted the location of each name, and we assigned the numbers afterward.

Interview 3 – Philip Abel – C (Figures 11 and 12)

Figure 11: Interview with Philip Abel.

Philip Abel was my first interview on the land and was conducted at his cabin at Itilliasuk (#31; Table 2) on Wednesday, July 21, 2021. The trip to the cabin took about 50 minutes, and once we were there, we sat down around a campfire outside of his cabin.

Figure 12: At Itilliasuk with Philip Abel.

I started with the question: "Can you tell me what you know of the history of this place or any memories you might have here?". Philip began talking about his family, and about how multiple generations had had cabins on Itilliasuk. One striking story he told was how his grandmother, Martha Josua, had survived the Spanish Flu when she was seven years old, alone on an island near Okak. Everyone else in the cabin had died, and she was kept alive by her father's lead dog, eating snow and hard bread.

Philip generally described the traditions of seal hunting and cod fishing at various locations nearby, including how he was sometimes taken out of school to help with these tasks. Other place names and stories were also mentioned. This interview was about 20 minutes long. Five place names were discussed (#s: 7, 8, 31, 35, 39; Table 7).

After I stopped recording, we boiled water to make tea and ate food together. Nicholas showed us how to make sanamajuk. We got to hear a bit more about Philip's past, and we shared stories about ourselves as well.

After we left Itilliasuk, Nicholas helped Philip clean his net. We headed over to Trout Brook to fish. Other community members were also there. As people were chatting and cleaning their fish, a black bear appeared on the opposite bank. It was scared away, but after this, we all decided to head back. Nicholas chatted with Philip all the way back about place names and Inuttitut. This also helped me to orient myself in the landscape. Overall, I felt very honoured to

be included in the experience. This was clearly a time of experiencing the landscape, and I was thankful to be allowed to be part of it.

Interview 4 – Abraham Nochasak – D

Abraham (Abba) Nochasak's interview was conducted indoors at his home on Thursday, July 22, 2021. Like Katie's, this interview was not planned at the beginning of the day. I had had another interviewee cancel unexpectedly, so we went to visit Abba on a whim. He was very interested in the project. Due to mobility issues, an outdoor interview was not feasible, so we decided to do an indoor interview in his living room that day.

Unlike the previous interviews, our conversation with Abba focused less on larger narratives surrounding a few locations, but on small pieces of information regarding many different places (19 different place names were discussed: #s: 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 18, 22, 31-34, 39-45, Table 7). This was particularly useful in helping me identify the pronounciation for difficult names (such as kangitjualuksuakuluk, #32) (Table 2). As well, Abba shared information regarding the traditional places to find different plants and animals, and how their geographic ranges have changed over time. We relied on the maps a lot in this conversation to identify the toponyms and distances between them. Abba's interview helped me record some place names that Nicholas had never heard of before.

Despite this different approach, Abba did share some stories with me. Abba described how even from a young age, he was expected to help with fishing and other traditional tasks. He also identified places that were personally important to him, such as Zacharias where he caught his first fox. This interview was also around 20 minutes long.

Interview 5 – Frances Williams – E

Frances (Fran) William's interview was conducted indoors at her kitchen table on Monday, July 26, 2021. I began by asking the question "What is a place around here that's important to you and why is it important?". Fran required very little prompting throughout the interview and was eager to jump into stories about her childhood and places that were meaningful to her.

The interview focused on a few key places, namely: Tikigâtsuk, Udjutok, Onattuk, and Uviluktok (respectively, #s: 35, 46, 10, 8, Table 7). Fran interwove her personal memories with specific details of how the landscape looked and felt, including watching the bubbles the water insects made while she washed clothes in a pond, or the brown and yellow butterflies she chased in summer.

Her stories also included how her friends and family interacted with each other and the land. She described how she and her anânsiak (grandmother) got stuck on the ice with their dog team, since the dogs would only listen to her atâtsiak (grandfather) who had walked ahead. Unique from the other interviews, Fran described her family's interaction with the Americans while they were at the Base. She told a story where some American friends came to visit unexpectedly, and Fran's mother told her to hide the Kuak (a traditional meal of frozen meat), afraid that they would judge or find it smelly. This demonstrates the interesting influence that the American presence had on Hopedale.

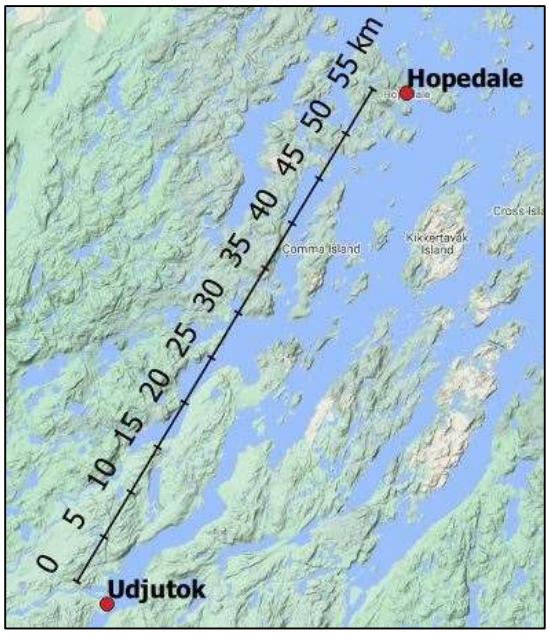

Figure 13: Natan Frieda's Advent Trek to Play the Organ in Hopedale.

Her other atâtsiak, Natan Frieda, was the organist at the Moravian church in Hopedale. One Advent, the ice did not freeze properly, but Natan Frieda knew he was still needed at the church, so he walked nearly sixty kilometres from Udjutok to reach Hopedale (Figure 13). Fran also shared memories of attending the little church on Uviluktok before it was torn down, and how special that was for her.

Fran's descriptions of using the land for subsistence were fascinating. She shared with us the proper technique for egging (collecting wild eggs for food), how to make suvalik (a traditional New Year's dish of black berries and salmon roe), and other memories of berry picking and fishing. Her interview concluded after about 45 minutes.

<u>Interview 6 – Reuben and Valerie Flowers – F/G (Figure 14)</u>

Reuben and Valerie Flowers' interview was conducted at Appilikuluk (#36, Table 2) on Monday, August 2, 2021. Reuben and Valerie are Nicholas Flowers' parents. I had been trying to find a time to interview Reuben, and though we did not have an interview scheduled that day, Valerie and Reuben became available, and we set out to Appilikuluk. We originally only intended to interview Reuben, but Valerie's additions became an indispensable part of the narrativee.

It is important to note is that shortly before this interview, a tragedy involving a youth had occurred in Hopedale. This definitely changed the tone of all interviews following.

Appilikuluk (meaning Bakeapple Island) is one of the Flowers' bakeapple picking spots. I sat down to interview Reuben, while Valerie, Nicholas and Jacinda went out to pick bakeapples. I began the interview by asking where we were and if Reuben had any memories associated with the place. We talked mainly about the cultural importance of bakeapple picking to Inuit, and how it represents continuing traditions. Reuben also discussed other nearby place names that we did not have recorded yet (#s: 36, 48-50, Table 7). Lastly, we talked about the importance of remembering place names for the continuation of Inuit culture, and especially passing the information onto the youth.

After Reuben's portion of the interview, we reconvened with Valerie and the others. Valerie told us she wished to be recorded as well. Valerie expressed how learning about the place names and experiencing the landscape can be a form of healing for the Inuit. She described how the land provided protection and food, but also taught the people how to fight to overcome difficult circumstances. Recognizing the teachings of the land can rebuild strength. Nicholas chimed in to describe how this helped him to respect the land and recognize the time it takes for the land to heal a person. In that moment, it was incredibly clear how much Appilikuluk meant to the Flowers family. I was honoured to be able to experience that healing and teachings with them. The two sections together were around 17 minutes long.

Figure 14: Valerie and Jacinda Picking Bakeapples on Appilikuluk.

Interview 7 – Gus and Lena Semigak – H/I

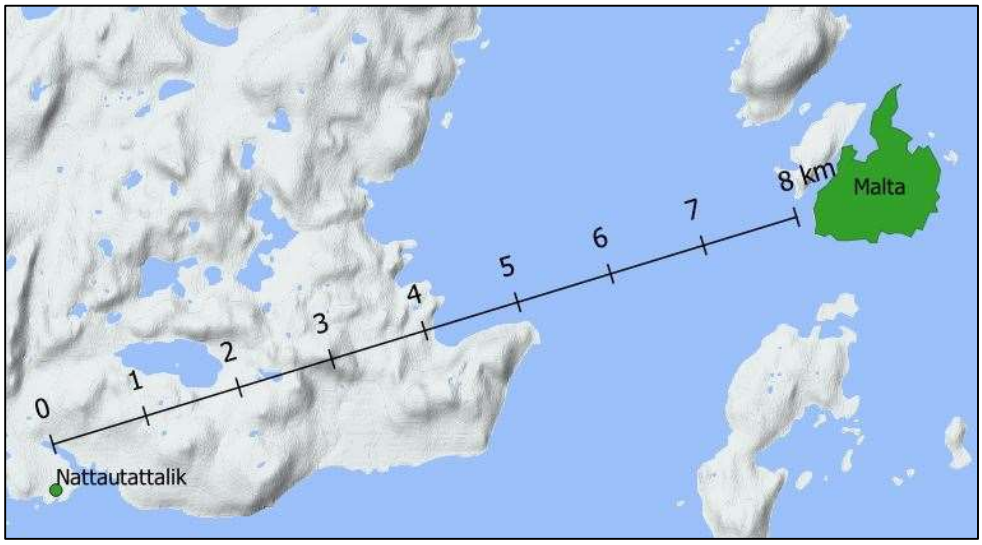

Figure 15: Distance from Malta to Nattauttalik Travelled by Gus' Family Dogs in a Storm.

Gus and Lena Semigak's interview was conducted in the Nunatsiavut Government building on Tuesday, August 3, 2021. This, again, was for the convenience of Gus and Lena. This interview was video recorded. I started by asking them about a place that is important to them and why it is important. Gus led the discussion more in this interview, though Lena contributed some thoughtful responses. In this interview, we relied heavily on the maps, especially Canadian Topographic Maps 013N 1:250,000 (Hopedale), and 013O 1:250,000 (Makkovik) (Department of Mines and Technical Surveys 1965; Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada 1982). Using these, Gus and Lena were able to identify many different places with similar purposes (hunting, fishing, et cetera).

Gus, Lena, and Nicholas communicated a lot in Inuttitut during this interview, which seemed easier to communicate features of the landscape ("Nunait ukua ilonnatik" - these are all of the land parts) and seasonality ("Upingasâmi" – in the early springtime).

Fishing locations (specifically cod) were a large focus of the interview because, as Gus said, "it was really important (because) that's the only way they used to make money". Gus and

Lena focused specifically on the communal nature of fishing: the need to work together and use every part of the fish. Gus told many stories about using dog teams, and how they were more reliable than skidoos. Specifically, he told us about a time his family was travelling from Malta (#56, Table 2) to Nattauttalik (#65, Table 2) during a heavy snowstorm (Figure 15). Not being able to see anything, Gus' father simply told the dogs "Huit!" (go), and they were able to navigate to Nattauttalik.

Finally, Gus told me a little about what it was like being relocated from Hebron, which was very touching to hear from someone who had experienced it firsthand. Like the other interviews, Gus and Lena's stories were more situated in place than they were in time. They expressed concern over how the young people were losing the Inuttitut names, and how this was causing a disconnect between young and old people. Gus and Lena's interview was about 28 minutes long, and we discussed twenty place names (#s: 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 31, 38, 42, 46, 50, 56-65; Table 7).

Interview 8 – Rosina and Walter A.S. Piercy – J/K (Figure 16)

Rosina (Rosie) and Walter Piercy's interview was conducted at AmmomajukKutok (#55; Table 2). This is where Rosie and Walter used to have a cabin. We travelled to this location with members of their family. Once we arrived, we sat down near the shore and began the interview. This interview was video recorded. Rosie led most of the discussion though Walter did add interesting stories. I began by asking if they could tell me about where we were and if they had any memories associated with the place. Rosie focused mainly on AmmomajukKutok throughout the interview.

Figure 16: Rosie Unloading Gear from the Boat as we Arrived at AmmomajukKutok.

Rosie told us not only of their personal memories of the land, where their kids played and anecdotal experience, but of the deeper cultural meaning. She described how being on AmmomajukKutok meant "feeling the heartbeat of the land", and that the land was "part of who we are, our ancestors". It was clear they had deep respect for the strength and intelligence of their Inuit ancestors, and their relationship with the land. Rosie explained how her relationship with the land has changed over time, how now she is more cautious and fearful than she used to be. She described this as part of the circular nature of life on the land. Again, experiences and stories were situated more so on where they occurred than when they occurred, including many stories of resource procurement (cod and wood). Walter shared a more unusual story of how he had to kill an injured caribou with a knife and that not letting it suffer was a way of respecting the animals and land.

Besides their memories, Rosie and Walter described the changes they had seen in the land over time and some Traditional Knowledge of how to tell the weather by observing parts of the land (the number of cones on trees, the quality of fur on seals, the crops of birds, and sundogs in winter). Perhaps because of her experience as a teacher, Rosie made sure to explain the meaning of any Inuttitut she spoke. This definitely helped Nicholas and I learn the language

more. The interview was 25 minutes long and eight place names were mentioned (#s: 7, 8, 31, 41, 51, 52, 55, 66; Table 7).

After the interview concluded, we walked around the area more, continuing our discussions. Nicholas prepared sanamajuk again, as well as muktuk using his grandmother's ulu. It was a very touching experience. Rosie expressed that she was thankful we were doing this project.

Interview 9 – Ian Winters – L

Ian Winters' interview was conducted at Sâttuk (#54; Table 2) on Friday, August 6, 2021. Sâttuk is one of Ian's goose hunting and berry picking spots. This interview was also video recorded. I began by asking "Where are we and can you tell me a bit about the importance or history of this place?".

Being Hopedale's Conservation Officer, Ian was able to provide me with interesting information about the traditional places for geese, bakeapples, and various fish, one of which being Sâttuk. Like many of the other interviews, Ian expressed how each family has their own "spot" or area for hunting / fishing that is respected by other families.

Ian expressed many concerns for the current cultural reality. He saw the transition to store-bought food as a loss, not just culturally but nutritionally as well. Over the past generation, Ian told us how many traditional place names have been lost as young hunters came up with new English names for areas. We then talked about the current common usage of GPS for navigation, which Ian saw as an ineffective tool for learning the landscape as opposed to travelling by compass or learning place names.

A unique story that Ian told us was about the visit of explorers Donald MacMillan and Robert Peary in the early 1900s. These two individuals captured many photographs and tapes of

life in Labrador from 1891 to 1954, including a photo of Frances Williams, Ian Winters' mother (Labrador Campus, Memorial University n.d.). These resources are now archived at the Labrador Campus (ibid). Ian's interview lasted 15 minutes, and noted three locations (#s: 35, 53, 54, Table 7).

After the interview, we sat on the rocky shore of Sâttuk and enjoyed tea and sanamajuk. This, again, was accompanied by more casual conversation. It was a joy to be able to have another experience directly on the land and definitely aided to situate the conversation.

5.2 Locations and Toponyms

The following represent the toponym data collected. A note on pronounciation: an upper-case K is pronounced as a deep "ha" sound, whereas a lower-case k is pronounced similar to an English k sound. An A without an accent (â) is pronounced with a short sound (as in "hat"). An A with an accent is pronounced with a long "ah" sound (as in "talk").

Table 2: Toponym Data Part 1, Locations #1-66.

#	Name	Alternate spellings	Pronounciation	Alternate Pronounciation
1	The Base	The American Base		
2	Kukinniavik	Tuktusina	Ku-kin-nia-vik	
3	AkuliaKattak	Southern Point	A-ku-lia-Kat-tak	
4	Aniuvattogâluk	Aniuvattok / Big Island	A-niu-vat-to-gaa-luk	
5	Aniuvattogusikuluk	Aniuvattokuluk / Aniuvattogusik / Anivattokuluk / Ellen Island	A-niu-vat-to-gu-si-ku-luk	
6	Ukalik	Barge Island	U-ka-lik	
7	Âllukâk	Railroads	Al-lu-kaak	
8	Uviluktok	Double Island South, Mussel Island	U-vi-luk-tok	
9	Uvingajualuk	Leaning Island	U-vi-nga-jua-luk	
10	Onattuk	Paradise Island	Uu-nat-tuk	
11	Oganniavik		Uu-gan-nia-vik	
12	Zacharias		Sa-ka-rias	
13	Agvituatsuk	Blackheads	Ag-vi-tuat-suk	
14	PâkKialuk	PâKialuk	Paak-Kia-luk	
15	Pilik	Pillik	Pi-lik	
16	Kammakuluk		Kam-ma-ku-luk	
17	Isunnut		I-sun-nut	
18	Settinik		Siit-ti-nik	Sin-a-tik, Sheet-nik (youth)
19	Iluviktalik	Grave Island	I-lu-vik-ta-lik	
20	Kikittavak		Ki-kit-ta-vak	
21	Umiattugiak		U-miat-tu-giak	
22	Uipvak	Uivak	Uip-vak	
23	Nigutlik	Uigutlikuluk / Uigullik	Ni-gu-tlik	
24	Illusuattaligâtsuk		Il-lu-suat-ta-li-gât-suk	
25	Agvitok		Ag-vi-tuuk	
26	Imnâluk	Imnalik, Innalik, Innâluk	Im-nâ-luk	
27	kokuluk		kuu-ku-luk	
28	Inganikuluk		Ing-a-ni-ku-luk	
29	Napâttutok		Na-paa-tu-tuuk	
30	Allatogusik		Al-la-to-gu-sik	
31	Itilliasuk	Itipliasuk	I-til-lia-suk	

#	Name	Alternate spellings	Pronounciation	Alternate Pronounciation
31	Itilliasuk	Itipliasuk	I-til-lia-suk	
32	kangitjualuksuakuluk	Little Bay North / kangikjorkolok	ka-ngit-jua-luk-sua-ku-luk	
33	Fred's Bay			
34	Ikigasakuluk		I-ki-ga-sa-ku-luk	
35	Tikigâtsuk	Tikigâtsuk siKinilik	Tik-e-gaat-sook	
36	Appilikuluk	Akpilikulluk / Bakeapple Island	Ap-pi-li-ku-luk	
37	Hunt's River			
38	Niuttuavik	Flowers Bay	Niut-tua-vik	
39	Kanagittuk	Kanairiktok	Ka-na-git-tuk	
40	Little Bay South			
41	Allatok		Al-la-tok	
42	kogâluk	kugâluk / kugaluk	kuu-gaa-luk	
43	Natsasuak	Tom's Cove	Nat-sa-suak	
44	Natsalialuk	Natsatok	Nat-sa-lia-luk	
45	D.O.T. Point	Salvation / Salvesik / Department of Transportation Point	Salv-e-sik	
46	Udjutok		Udj-u-tuuk	
47	Kudjaunak	kuijonok	Ku-djau-nak	
48	Kinnitâluk	Black Island	Kin-ni-taa-luk	
49	Napagutaktalik	Manuel's Island	Na-pa-gu-tak-ta-lik	
50	Tasiujalik	Harbour Deep / Tasiujalialuk	Ta-siu-ja-lik	
51	Maligiak		Mal-ee-gak	
52	Ikinilik	Burnt Island	I-ki-ni-lik	
53	NauliKattavik	Canoe Island	Nau-li-hat-ta-vik	
54	Sâttuk		S-ah-took	
55	AmmomajukKutok		A-moo-ma-yuk-ka-took	
56	Malta		mul-ta	
57	Ikigasâluk	Windy Tickle / Shoal Tickle	iki-ga-saa-luk	
58	UtakKiuvikuluk		U-tak-Kiu-vi-ku-luk	
59	kangitlualuk	Big Bay	ka-ngi-tlua-luk	
60	IngikKanialuk		I-ngik-ha-nia-luk	

#	Name	Alternate spellings	Pronounciation	Alternate Pronounciation
61	Kaligusilik		Ka-li-gu-si-lik	
62	Ojugutlik	Winsor's Harbour	Uu-yu-gu-tlik	
63	Itillialuk	Big Bay Neck	I-til-lia-luk	
64	Tikigâtsuk taggâni	Tikigâtsuk North	Tik-e-gaat-sook tag-gaa-ni	
65	Nattautattalik		Nat-tau-tat-ta-lik	
66	Kikittaujak		Hi-kit-tau-yak	

Table 3: Toponym Data Part 2, Locations #1-66.

#	Name	English Meaning	Date First Mentioned
1	The Base		14/07/2021
2	Kukinniavik	A place for shooting.	14/07/2021
3	AkuliaKattak	In between.	14/07/2021
4	Aniuvattogâluk	A large place where there is a big snowbank.	14/07/2021
5	Aniuvattogusikuluk	A small place nearby Aniuvattok.	14/07/2021
6	Ukalik	Arctic Hare.	14/07/2021
7	Âllukâk	A place for orca whales (alluk). With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
8	Uviluktok	Where there are mussels.	14/07/2021
9	Uvingajualuk	Tilted to one side.	14/07/2021
10	Onattuk	It is hot.	14/07/2021
11	Oganniavik	A place to go fishing.	14/07/2021
12	Zacharias	Zacharias	14/07/2021
13	Agvituatsuk	A place that you have to go around / a place where whales used to be. With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
14	PâkKialuk	The mouth of a bay.	14/07/2021
15	Pilik	Something owned. With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
16	Kammakuluk	A little wall.	14/07/2021
17	Isunnut	Our end. With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
18	Settinik	Frozen waterfall / the edge of Hopedale	14/07/2021
19	Iluviktalik	A place with a grave or graves. With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
20	Kikittavak	A big island.	14/07/2021
21	Umiattugiak	A safe place for boats. With reference to Our Footprints are Everywhere.	14/07/2021
22	Uipvak	A cape of land.	14/07/2021
23	Nigutlik	A slimy place (from working with cod) / Small island almost joined	14/07/2021
24	Illusuattaligâtsuk	A place that has many small sod houses.	14/07/2021
25	Agvitok	Where there are bowhead whales	14/07/2021
26	Imnâluk	A large cliff.	14/07/2021
27	kokuluk	A little brook	14/07/2021
28	Inganikuluk	A small place with a strong tide	14/07/2021
29	Napâttutok	A place where there are trees	20/07/2021
30	Allatogusik	Nearby Allatok	20/07/2021

#	Name	English Meaning	Date First Mentioned
31	Itilliasuk	A place for entering or crossing over	21/07/2021
32	kangitjualuksuakuluk		22/07/2021
33	Fred's Bay		22/07/2021
34	Ikigasakuluk	A small strait.	22/07/2021
35	Tikigâtsuk	A beautiful place for arriving.	21/07/2021
36	Appilikuluk	A small place that has appik (bakeapples).	02/08/2021
37	Hunt's River		20/07/2021
38	Niuttuavik	A place for using a bird spear.	20/07/2021
39	Kanagittuk	Where there are good tent poles (from trees).	21/07/2021
40	Little Bay South		22/07/2021
41	Allatok		20/07/2021
42	kogâluk	A big brook.	22/07/2021
43	Natsasuak	A large load to carry / A large valley	22/07/2021
44	Natsalialuk	Has a big valley / Where there is a valley	22/07/2021
45	D.O.T. Point	Salvesik is an English loan word in Inuttut for Salvation.	22/07/2021
46	Udjutok	Where there are bearded seals (also known as square flipper seals).	26/07/2021
47	Kudjaunak	A razorback fish / A tanzee eel	26/07/2021
48	Kinnitâluk	A large place that is black.	02/08/2021
49	Napagutaktalik	A place that has something sticking up.	02/08/2021
50	Tasiujalik	A place that has a lake / Has a large lake	02/08/2021
51	Maligiak	To follow the place	04/08/2021
52	Ikinilik		04/08/2021
53	NauliKattavik		06/08/2021
54	Sâttuk	Flat Island	06/08/2021
55	AmmomajukKutok	Place of the clams	04/08/2021
56	Malta		03/08/2021
57	Ikigasâluk	A large strait	03/08/2021
58	UtakKiuvikuluk	Maybe "A small place for waiting"	03/08/2021
59	kangitlualuk	A large bay	03/08/2021
60	IngikKanialuk	A large rattle (it doesn't freeze over)	03/08/2021

#	Name	English Meaning	Date First Mentioned
61	Kaligusilik	A belly button	03/08/2021
62	Ojugutlik	A double island	03/08/2021
63	Itillialuk	Big crossing place	03/08/2021
64	Tikigâtsuk taggâni	A beatiful place for arriving, North	03/08/2021
65	Nattautattalik	Lichen (Old Man's Beard) on Trees	03/08/2021
66	Kikittaujak	A peninsula / almost an island	06/08/2021

Table 4: Toponym Data Part 3, Locations #1-66.

#	Name	Associated Interviews	Interviewee Letter	Audio File	Audio Time - First Mention	GPS Waypoint	GPS Coordinates	Elevation
1	The Base	1, 5	A, E	03	Complete	A1	N 55˚27.981' W 060˚13.686'	156 m
2	Kukinniavik	1	A	03	1:34	Seen from A1		
3	AkuliaKattak	1	A	03	1:54	Seen from A1		
4	Aniuvattogâluk	1, 4, 5	A, D , E	03, 07, 09	03 : 2:24, 07 : 0:36, 09 : 43:15	Seen from A1		
5	Aniuvattogusikuluk	1, 4, 5	A, D, E	03, 08, 09	03 : 2:44, 08 : 5:32, 09 : 43:15	Seen from A1		
6	Ukalik	1	A	03	3:08	Seen from A1		
7	Âllukâk	1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8	A, B, C, D, H, I, J, K	03, 04, 05, 08, 13, 14	03: 3:47, 04: 1:16, 05: 7:20, 08: 4:18, 13 : 0:53, 14 : 21:00	Seen from A1		
8	Uviluktok	1, 3, 5, 7, 8	A, C, E, H, I, J, K	03, 05, 09, 13, 14	03: 4:08, 05: 1:15, 09: 31:19, 13 : 14:05, 14 : 21:45	Seen from A1		
9	Uvingajualuk	1	A	03	4:47	Seen from A1		
10	Onattuk	1, 4, 5, 7	A, D, E, H, I	03, 08, 09, 13	03 : 5:37, 08 : 6:20, 09 : 20:24, 13 : 0:53	Seen from A1		
11	Oganniavik	1	A	03	5:51	Seen from A1		
12	Zacharias	1, 4	A, D	03, 07	03 : 6:11, 07 : 9:19	Seen from A1		
13	Agvituatsuk	1	A, D	03, 07	03 : 6:47, 07 : 7:14	Seen from A1		
14	PâkKialuk	1, 7	A, H, I	03, 13	03 : 7:12, 13 : 7:36	Seen from A1		
15	Pilik	1, 4, 7	A, D, H, I	03, 07, 13	03 : 7:16, 07 : 11:15, 13 : 9:01	Seen from A1		
16	Kammakuluk	1	A	03	7:23	Seen from A1		
17	Isunnut	1	A	03	7:41	Seen from A1		
18	Settinik	1, 4	A, D	03, 08	03 : 8:37, 08 : 1:18	Seen from A1		
19	Iluviktalik	1	A	03	9:43	Seen from A1		
20	Kikittavak	1	A	03	11:10	Seen from A1		
21	Umiattugiak	1	A	03	11:10	Seen from A1		
22	Uipvak	1, 4	A, D	03, 07	03 : 13:02, 07 : 11:54	Seen from A1		
23	Nigutlik	1	A	03	13:24	Seen from A1		
24	Illusuattaligâtsuk	1	A	03	14:12	Seen from A1		
25	Agvitok	1	A	03	15:22	Seen from A1		
26	Imnâluk	1	A	03	16:30	Seen from A1		
27	kokuluk	1	A	03	17:10	Seen from A1		
28	Inganikuluk	1	A	03	18:43	Seen from A1		
29	Napâttutok	2	B	04	8:14			
30	Allatogusik	2	B	04	10:42			

#	Name	Associated Interviews	Interviewee Letter	Audio File	Audio Time - First Mention	GPS Waypoint	GPS Coordinates	Elevation
31	Itilliasuk	3, 4, 7, 8	C, D, H, I, J, K	05 and 06, 07, 13, 14	05 : Complete, 7 : 5:45, 13 : 16:55, 14 : 21:50	C31	N 55˚15.213' W 060˚02.799	minus 1 m
32	kangitjualuksuakuluk	4	D	07 , 08	07 : 0:31			
33	Fred's Bay	4	D	07 , 08	0:31			
34	Ikigasakuluk	4	D	7	7:13			
35	Tikigâtsuk	3, 5, 9	C, E, L	05, 06, 09, 10, 15	05 : 7:25, 09 : 1:11, 15 : 5:56			
36	Appilikuluk	6	F, G	11, Video 101-0026	Complete	RFAUG2	N 55˚30.751' W 060˚09.856'	90 m
37	Hunt's River	2	B	04	12:51			
38	Niuttuavik	2, 7	B, H, I	04, 13	04 : 12:51, 13 : 15:35			
39	Kanagittuk	3, 4	C, D	05, 07	05 : 6:04, 07 : 5:41			
40	Little Bay South	4	D	07 , 08	07 : 0:31			
41	Allatok	2, 4, 8	B, D, J, K	04, 07, 14	04 : 11:33, 07 : 0:31, 14 : 5:43			
42	kogâluk	4,7	D, H, I	07, 12, 13	07 : 0:31, 13 : 3:33			
43	Natsasuak	4	D	08	08 : 0:19			
44	Natsalialuk	4	D	07	07 : 12:56			
45	D.O.T. Point	4	D	08	2:21			
46	Udjutok	5, 7	E, H, I	09, 13	09 : 3:03, 13 : 10:04			
47	Kudjaunak	5, 8	E, J, K, L	09, 14	09 : 15:15, 14 : 23:33			
48	Kinnitâluk	6	F, G	11, Video 101-0026	8:16			
49	Napagutaktalik	6	F, G	11, Video 101-0026	8:48			
50	Tasiujalik	6, 7	F, G, H, I	11, Video 101-0026, 13	11 : 9:38, 13: 10:46			
51	Maligiak	8	J, K	14	5:30			
52	Ikinilik	8	J, K	14	23:23			
53	NauliKattavik	9	L	15	4:37			
54	Sâttuk	9	L	15	Complete	IAN6	N 55˚26.534' W 060˚02.022'	44 m
55	AmmomajukKutok	8	J, K	14	0:29	ROSIE&WALTER	N 55˚17.961' W 060˚18.356'	17 m
56	Malta	7	H, I	12, 13	13 : 3:30			
57	Ikigasâluk	7	H,I	13	0:36			
58	UtakKiuvikuluk	7	H,I	13	1:47			
59	kangitlualuk	7	H, I	13	5:23			
60	IngikKanialuk	7	H, I	13	8:37			

#	Name	Associated Interviews	Interviewee Letter	Audio File	Audio Time - First Mention	GPS Waypoint	GPS Coordinates	Elevation
61	Kaligusilik	7	H, I	13	11:37			
62	Ojugutlik	7	H, I	13	13:12			
63	Itillialuk	7	H, I	13	16:15			
64	Tikigâtsuk taggâni	7	H, I	13	17:10			
65	Nattautattalik	7	H, I	13	21:19			
66	Kikittaujak	8	J,K	14	23:29			

Table 5: Toponym Data Part 4, Locations #1-66.

#	Name	Point Line Polygon	Comments
1	The Base	Point	First location mapped.
2	Kukinniavik	Line	Cove behind the airport. A good hunting place for ptarmigan in the early winter.
3	AkuliaKattak	Point	A point of land in between two bays, Kukinniavik and Hopedale Harbour.
4	Aniuvattogâluk	Polygon	A good hunting area for ukalik (arctic hare) in October.
5	Aniuvattogusikuluk	Polygon	A good hunting area for seals near this island.
6	Ukalik	Polygon	A barge from the American Base went ashore on this island. Confirmed by Interviewee F.
7	Âllukâk	Line	There used to be a summer fishing community here.
8	Uviluktok	Polygon	There used to be a Moravian Church here when the island was a summer cod fishing community. This is a double island. The north Island (Uviluktok B) is where the church was.
9	Uvingajualuk	Polygon	Two Shamans were having a competition. One Shaman said he could step on an island. The island went onto one side after he did.
10	Onattuk	Polygon	There is a pond for waiting and hunting for geese on this island.
11	Oganniavik	Polygon	There used to be a fishing stage on this island near Onattuk.
12	Zacharias	Polygon	Named after a man who may have lived here or who was laid to rest here.
13	Agvituatsuk	Polygon	A good fishing area for rockcods (ogâtsuk). There are many nesting sea pigeons (pitsiulâk) on the cliff facing the northwest in the summertime.
14	PâkKialuk	Polygon	This island is in the mouth of Pilik Bay.
15	Pilik	Line	A good hunting area for partridges (ptarmigan) in the winter. Also a good place to hunt seals in the winter and spring.
16	Kammakuluk	Line	There are sod houses on the north side of Kammakuluk. The Inuttitut place name, Kammakuluk, may refer to a small wall of a sod house (illusuak) here.
17	Isunnut	Point	This is the most northerly point of land on the Hopedale peninsula.
18	Settinik	Polygon	Refers to the whole area, including the swimming pond and highest hill.
19	Iluviktalik	Polygon	This is an island where people were laid to rest.
20	Kikittavak	Polygon	
21	Umiattugiak	Polygon	Island named after the sheltered tickle between Kikittavak and Umiattgiak.
22	Uipvak	Line	A good place for bakeapple (appik) picking in the late summer.
23	Nigutlik	Point	People used to fish for cod here and their hands would get slimy from working with them. William Flowers moved here from the Rigolet area and had a homestead for the next three generations.
24	Illusuattaligâtsuk	Polygon	
25	Agvitok	Point	The original settlement of Hopedale.
26	Imnâluk	Point	
27	kokuluk	Point	This area was originally a cove, but later became a pond after the road construction
28	Inganikuluk	Point	
29	Napâttutok	Polygon	On this island, there is a story about an open campfire that accidentally caught trees on fire a long time ago.
30	Allatogusik	Line	Interviewee B's father-in-law had a campsite here.

#	Name	Point Line Polygon	Comments
31	Itilliasuk	Line	
32	kangitjualuksuakuluk	Line	There are whale bones here.
33	Fred's Bay	Line	
34	Ikigasakuluk	Point	Located at the big hill. This location is on the island known as Blackheads or Agvituatsuk (13).
35	Tikigâtsuk	Point	Interviewee E used to come here with her family when she was a child.
36	Appilikuluk	Polygon	Refers to the two islands nearby each other.
37	Hunt's River	Line	There is a hunting and fishing lodge here.
38	Niuttuavik	Line	George Flowers (Interviewee A's great great great grandfather) moved here from England and had a homestead for his family's next three generations.
39	Kanagittuk	Line	
40	Little Bay South	Line	
41	Allatok	Line	First Nations Innu would travel here from the Allatok River.
42	kogâluk	Point	
43	Natsasuak	Line	Tom Edmunds had a salmon/char net berth here that was passed down to George Flowers.
44	Natsalialuk	Polygon	
45	D.O.T. Point	Point	The Department of Transportation used to have a weather station here. People from the Salvation Army would gather here for Sunday services during the cod fishery a long time ago.
46	Udjutok	Line	Natan and Louisa Frieda had a winter home here. Natan was an organist is the Hopedale Moravian Church, and he once walked from Udjutok to Hopedale during the early winter to play the organ at the Advent celebrations.
47	Kudjaunak	Polygon	Interviewee K killed a caribou here with a knife. Interviewee L told us this place meant "a tanzee eel".
48	Kinnitâluk	Polygon	The island has dark coloured rock.
49	Napagutaktalik	Polygon	
50	Tasiujalik	Polygon	This island has a deep, sheltered harbour.
51	Maligiak	Line	
52	Ikinilik	Polygon	
53	NauliKattavik	Polygon	
54	Sâttuk	Polygon	
55	AmmomajukKutok	Polygon	Where Interviewees J and K have a cabin
56	Malta	Polygon	
57	Ikigasâluk	Line	The East-West portion is Shaol Tickle, and the North-South portion is Windy Tickle
58	UtakKiuvikuluk	Point	
59	kangitlualuk	Line	
60	IngikKanialuk	Polygon	Within Pilik (15)

#	Name	Point Line Polygon	Comments
61	Kaligusilik	Polygon	
62	Ojugutlik	Line	
63	Itillialuk	Line	
64	Tikigâtsuk taggâni	Line	
65	Nattautattalik	Point	
66	Kikittaujak	Line	

Participant Key

Table 6: Participant Key.

Letter	Name	Associated Interview(s)	Interview Date	Associated Location(s) - #
A	Nicholas Flowers	1	14/07/2021	1 to 28
B	Kate Pijogge	2	20/07/2021	7, 29-30, 37, 38, 41
C	Philip Abel	3	21/07/2021	7, 8, 31, 35, 39
D	Abraham Nochasak	4	22/07/2021	4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 18, 22, 31-34, 39-45
E	Frances Williams	5	26/07/2021	4, 5, 8, 10, 35, 46, 47
F	Reuben Flowers	6, Video 101-0026	02/08/2021	36, 48-50
G	Valerie Flowers	6, Video 101-0026	02/08/2021	36, 48-50
H	Gus Semigak	7	03/08/2021	7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 31, 38, 42, 46, 50, 56-65
I	Lena Semigak	7	03/08/2021	7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 31, 38, 42, 46, 50, 56-65
J	Rosina Piercy	8	04/08/2021	7, 8, 31, 41, 51, 52, 55, 66
K	Walter A. S. Piercy	8	04/08/2021	7, 8, 31, 41, 51, 52, 55, 66
L	Ian Winters	9	06/08/2021	35, 53, 54

Interview Key

Table 7: Interview Key.

Interview #	Interview File Name	Associated Participants	Associated Locations
1	ZOOM0003.MP3	A	1 to 28
2	ZOOM0004.MP3	B	7, 29-30, 37, 38, 41
3	ZOOM0005.MP3	C	7, 8, 31, 35, 39
3	ZOOM0006.MP3	C	31
4	ZOOM0007.MP3	D	5, 7, 10, 12, 16, 18, 22,
4	ZOOM0008.MP3	D	5, 7, 10, 12, 16, 18, 22,
5	ZOOM0009.MP3	E	4, 5, 8, 10, 35, 46, 47
5	ZOOM0010.MP3	E	4, 5, 8, 10, 35, 46, 47
6	ZOOM0011.MP3	F, G	36, 48-50
6	Video 101-0026	F, G	36, 48-50
7	ZOOM0012.MP3	H, I	7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 31, 38,
7	ZOOM0013.MP3	H, I	7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 31, 38,
8	ZOOM0014.MP3	J, K	7, 8, 31, 41, 51, 52
9	ZOOM0015.MP3	L	35, 53, 54

5.3 Compared with Existent Toponym Resources

This research adds to the existing record of toponyms around Hopedale. Combining this project information with these other sources leads to a more complete view of the relational landscape surrounding Hopedale.

Our Footprints Are Everywhere (Table 8)

Table 8: "Our Footprints are Everywhere" Data Compared to Project Data.

Our Footprints	Project Data	Project Number	Our Footprints	Project Data	Project Number
Allatuk	Allatok	41	Akpillikoluk	Appilikuluk	36
Ammumajukutok	AmmomajukKutok	55	Allukak	Âllukâk	7
Annivatugaluk	Aniuvattogâluk	4	Issunut	Isunnut	17
Ikinilik	Ikinilik	52	Kinnitaluk	Kinnitâluk	48
Imnalik	Imnâluk	26	Naulikattavik	NauliKattavik	53
Inganikoluk	Inganikuluk	28	Ogganiavik	Oganniavik	11
Ittiliasuk	Itilliasuk	31	Onatuk	Onattuk	10
Kekkitaujak	Kikittaujak	66	Pilik	Pillik	15
Kekkittavak	Kikittavak	20	Salvation	D.O.T. Point	45
Kokkinniavik	Kukinniavik	2	Satuk	Sâttuk	54
Kujaunnak	Kudjaunak	47	Tasiujalik	Tasiujalik	50
Maligiak	Maligiak	51	Tikkigatsuk tagani	Tikigâtsuk taggâni*	64
Napatutok	Napâttutok	29	Zacharias	Zacharias	12
Natsalialuk	Natsalialuk	44			
Niguklik	Nigutlik	23			
Udjuktok	Udjutok	46			
Uviluktok	Uviluktok	8			

120 toponyms surrounding the Hopedale area are recorded in *Our Footprints* (Brice-Bennett 1977:197-199). 31 of these names overlap with my project data. Many of these names have similar spelling to my data, however the *Our Footprints* data does not differentiate between the uppercase and lowercase "K" sounds and does not include "â" for the long "A" sound.

Looking at the overlap of names themselves, the meanings recorded in *Our Footprints* are nearly identical to the project data, which perhaps demonstrates that there has been continuity in place names for at least the last 50 years. The only places that were different were: Maligiak (*Our Footprints* – think of coming) and Maligiak (project data – to follow the place), and

Tikkigatsuk tagani (*Our Footprints* – someone has been there) and Tikigâtsuk taggâni (project data – a beautiful place for arriving). The first seems like a translation problem of a difficult phrase, whereas the second is a result of Frances Williams providing us with "her interpretation" of the place name. Therefore, in this case *Our Footprints* does not reveal how names change over time. This data is relevant to the project in that it confirms that the toponym data I collected has been passed down over time (since the publication of *Our Footprints*).

Within the larger context of the whole of the *Our Footprints* data, the recording of these place names does demonstrate the deep connection between the Hopedale Inuit and the landscape. For this purpose, it is relevant to Hopedale. While recording a larger quantity of names, I believe my research builds on the *Our Footprints* data by focusing not solely on the name, but on the informant as well, and their relationship to the name.

Government Records (Table 9)

The place names recorded by the Government of Canada are unique in that they do not exclusively include Inuit names but English names as well. Forty of my project names were also included in this data set. Clearly, there is great overlap between my project data and the governmental data. This could potentially be seen as further affirmation of the validity of my data and therefore have relevance to my project. However, I believe affirmation from the Inuit community is more valuable than affirmation from the government. As well the governmental data does not provide information on the meaning of the place names, though the records are very extensive, covering nearly every island, river, and bay. The great volume of data may be useful for future place name studies covering larger areas than this project. Most, if not all, of the overlapping names were spelled differently in the government record than in the project.

Table 9: Government Records Compared to Project Data.

Government Record	Project Data	Project Number	Government Record	Project Data	Project Number
Akpilikulluk Islands	Appilikuluk A	36	Neksarsoak Cove	Natsasuak	43
Amomajokutak Island	AmmomajukKutok	55	Nigordlek Island	Nigutlik	23
Anniowaktook Island	Aniuvattogâluk	4	Oganiovik Island	Oganniavik	11
Arlorkak Island	Âllukâk	7	Okalik Island	Ukalik	6
Big Bay	kangitlualuk	59	Onartok Island	Onattuk	10
Burnt Island	Ikinilik	52	Pardlik Island	PâkKialuk	14
Ellen Island (Anniowaktorusek)	Aniuvattogusikuluk	5	Pilik Island	Pilik	15
Flowers Bay	Niuttuavik	38	Salvation	D.O.T. Point	45
Iglosoaktaligarsuk Island	Illusuattaligâtsuk	24	Satok Island	Sâttuk	54
Illuviktalik Island	Iluviktalik	19	Shaol Tickle	Ikigasâluk	57
Kammakulluk Cove	Kammakuluk	16	Tessiujalik (Lake Island)	Tasiujalik	50
Kanairiktok Bay	Kanagittuk	39	Tickle Arichat	Tikigâtsuk	35
Kernertaluk (Black) Island	Kinnitâluk	48	Udjuktok Bay	Udjutok	46
Kikkertavak Island	Kikittavak	20	Uivak Point	Uipvak	22
Kujaunak Island	Kudjaunak	47	Umiatoriak Island	Umiattugiak	21
Kukkiniarvik Point	Kukinniavik	2	Uvingajok (Leaning) Island	Uvingajualuk	9
Little Bay	Little Bay South	40	Windy Tickle	Ikigasâluk	57
Mussel Islands	Uviluktok A	8	Zacharias Island	Zacharias	12
Naksalialuk Island	Natsalialuk	44			
Napakataktalik (Manuel) Island	Napagutaktalik	49			
Napartok Island	Napâttutok	29			
Naulikattarvik Island	NauliKattavik	53			

Likely because it is not drawing from an Inuit perspective, the governmental data does not provide further evidence of Inuit connection to the land. As the data is accurate to 2017 / 2018, it does not provide evidence of how place names change over time (except in the last 4-5 years). Therefore, in reconciling this information with government data, the government data must be taken with a grain of salt. Though the official toponymy of the Canadian government, the names come from unspecified sources and consider the government as the ultimate authority for place names.

Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel (Table 10)

Of the names recorded in the Reichel map (approximately 59 surrounding Hopedale), 13 were also recorded in this project (Rollmann 2014:14-18). Many of these had different spellings than the ones I collected, perhaps due to the age of the Reichel data. The Reichel map is far more

Table 10: Reichel Data Compared to Project Data.

Reichel	Project Data	Project Number
Allatok	Allatok	41
Amumajakortok	AmmomajuKutok	55
Aniovatok	Aniuvattogâluk	4
Ellen Island	Aniuvattogusikuluk	5
Ikikimlik	Ikinilik	52
Kiktaujak	Kikittaujak	66
Malta	Malta	56
Naulikattavik	NauliKattavik	53
Onartok	Onattuk	10
Pillik	Pilik	15
Uivak	Uipvak	22
Ukalek	Ukalik	6
Zacharias	Zacharias	12

extensive than my research, identifying nearly every island and bay in the area. For many locations, such as Fred's Bay, the map provides the Inuttitut name: Kangerdluarsuksoak. Some locations had different names than the ones I collected. For example, the bay that was identified as kangitjualutsuakuluk is named Ekalullikulluk in the Reichel data (Rollmann 2014:14). There is no discernable connection between these two names. Comparisons like this show how place names have changed between 1861 and the present. These differences contributed to the interest interviewees showed in this map. The Reichel data is a good resource for comparisons and adds to the historical interpretation of the area.

I believe the Reichel map is relevant to my work because of the effect the map had on the participants. It definitely increased their interest in talking about and identifying place names, especially in how names, spelling, or even location of places had changed over time. This aided the productivity of the interviews. I cannot speak for the participants of the project, but perhaps looking at how people understood their landscape in the past encouraged them to consider their own relationship to the landscape, and to understand that generations of Inuit have also had deep connections in Hopedale. In this way, the Reichel map provides more depth to the place names I collected. Despite its age, I believe this connection continues to make the Reichel map relevant to Hopedale. The differences between the Reichel data and my own may be explained by

changes in place names over the last 160 years. Therefore, these two data sets can be reconciled even though there are many differences.

Wheeler (Table 11)

Table 11: Wheeler Data Compared to Project Data.

Wheeler Data	Project Data	Project Number
Akku'liakhatta'luk	AkuliaKattak	3
Ikkeghasa'luk	Ikigasâluk	57
Khannaghi'ktokh	Kanagittok	39
Khi'kkertava'k	Kikittavak	20
Khuja'un?k	Kudjaunak	47
Khukk?rn?a'rvik	Kukinniavik	2
Mali'ghiakh	Maligiak	51
N?pa'rtut?'kh	Napâttutok	29
Na'pagherto'khtalik	Napagutaktalik	49
Nakhtau'titalik	Nattautattalik	65
Pilik	Pilik	15
Tikkegharsuk	Tikigâtsuk taggâni	64
Uv'vilokht?'t	Uviluktok	8

The Wheeler data includes 729 names. Through the generous help of Whitridge and Venovcevs, I gained access to 48 of these names which basically covered the same geographic extent as the names I collected (Figure 4). Of these 48 names, 13 overlapped with my data. Again, the spellings of these names published by Wheeler (1953:8) were quite different from the ones that I gathered. There is great similarity between the Wheeler (1953) data and the Reichel (Rollmann 2014) data. In a way, these two sources verify one another. The names that are different than mine in the Wheeler data are (basically) the same names that are different from mine in the Reichel data (noting the same changes over time). As in the Reichel data, kangitjualutsuakuluk was named E'khalluliku'lluk. This perhaps provides evidence that this second name is the more common name for the area. Also similar to the Reichel data, the Wheeler data provided a Inuttitut name for Fred's Bay: Ka'ngerdlua'rsuksoa'kh.

Though the names in the Wheeler data are abundant, this project focused on the quality, not quantity of names. Wheeler was attempting to name as many places as he could to provide a reference, he had no interest in recording the Inuit's personal connection to the places. Therefore, the only relevance the Wheeler data has to my project is in confirming / comparing the spelling /

location of place names. As said previously, the Wheeler data reveals how place names change over time in the same way that the Reichel data does. The reason for this change of names over time is unknown.

Beyond the scope of this project, the Wheeler data could be considered useful to Hopedale in that it could confirm the names of places that have been forgotten by Elders and Knowledge Holders. Though this would not provide much information on the history or memory of the name, it would at least be a basic record.

Nicholas Flowers

Nicholas Flowers' work acted as our base knowledge of the local place names at the beginning of the project. This data was particularly useful because it was based on local knowledge, so others that we interviewed recognized and had knowledge of those specific locations. Unlike the other previous toponym sources, Nicholas' data was a unique, highly accurate, and valuable asset to this research**.** Of the 21 toponyms that Nicholas had recorded, only two were part of the data I collected (Uivak – Uipvak #22, and Ukaliak – Ukalik #6). This was probably because as a team we naturally focused on names he had not collected / heard of before. The toponyms that Nicholas had collected generally covered a smaller geographical range than the project data, with most clustered in and around Hopedale itself. Since this place name data was based on the personal experiences of a few individuals, it provided more information on how people today connect with the landscape. Both the project data and Nicholas' data were compiled around the same time, so Nicholas' data does not reveal how place names change over time.

The names from these alternate toponym resources are useful tools for future studies.

5.4 Common Topics within Interviews (Figure 17)

For the dates of quotes, see Table 6 above.

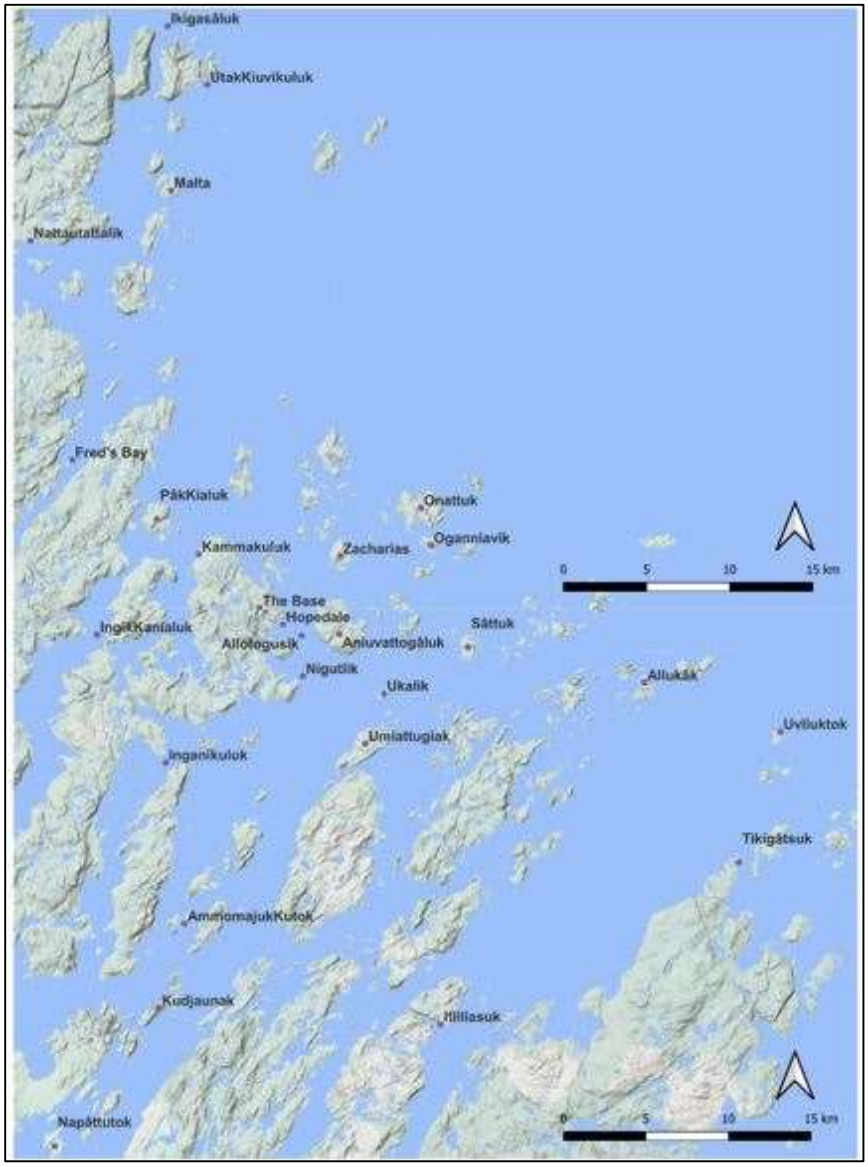

Figure 17: Locations Mentioned in the Stories Below.

<u>Hunting / Fishing / Resource Procurement</u>

The topics most discussed in the interviews were stories of hunting, fishing, or other resource procurement. This was the most common way people related to certain locations and memories. The different stories surrounded the different types of resources.

Berries:

"Big Island only. Used to go blackberry picking, bakeapple picking, and redberry and all kinds of berries, and blue ones too. On Big Island, the blueberries are like that *makes large space with hand*." **Abraham Nochasak**

"There'd be all kinds of berries, bakeapples, blueberries, blackberries. We loved blackberries because they, you could freeze them. We picked them off and had what we call sivalik (a dessert made with fish roe and berries)." **Frances Williams**

> **Reuben Flowers**: Out here (on Appilikuluk there is) bakeapple picking and later in the fall doing a bit of goose hunting around.
> **Sarah Robinson:** How did people get here to pick bakeapples?
> **Reuben Flowers**: I would imagine row boats, and maybe before that Kajak (kayak), but I haven't really heard any stories myself of other than before the motorboat age.

"Sâttuk is kind of a traditional goose hunting area for geese in this pond here and also a good bake-apple picking island for the community." **Ian Winters**

Eggs:

> **Frances Williams:** We used to go to these little isles around areas where either ducks or gulls laid their eggs. In the summertime we always wanted to be the first to jump off the boat to look for the nests and eggs. It was an exciting little thing to do. But we always had to, if there was a little pond or any water around, to check to see if the egg floated or not. If it floated it was too…
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Sated (seeded). If it was starting to not be good to take, that the bird was soon hatching.

Wooding:

> **Kate Pijogge**: Yeah, and they used to raft some wood for their fall, for their winter supplies, for firewood, from Napâttutok.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Was there lots of dry wood?
> **Kate Pijogge**: Yeah, there was quite a bit of dry wood. I think they used to do that if they found a good boat – raft it together and haul it from up the bay more, where there's wood. Because there's no wood in Hopedale, hardly. And still no wood yet, hard to get wood here. So, they used to raft it in the motorboat, haul it with lines and that. Hauling it in (went) really slowly (because the) motorboat was full of wood. They burnt it to keep the heat going in the winter or in the fall. I think they used to share the wood out then, in them days, to whoever went with them, so families had their wood together. To cut up the wood and haul it back it must have been 30 or 25 miles! Must have took long coming

back with the heavy load and rafting the wood, a motorboat full of wood too, and everything you know?

"We'd come here (Itilliasuk) on the weekend sometimes when we went hunting or wooding or whatever. (My father would) take me out and go up there on dog team, maybe for the day or a couple of nights, to go hunting and wooding." **Philip Abel**

Whales:

"Agvitok means a place where there are bowhead whales. And it's really interesting because nowadays there are no bowhead whales here in Hopedale. We do get pamiuligait, grumpus whales, minke whales. But no bowhead whales, so we can learn the names of places from such a long time ago, from even when there was a different species here. And their names have been passed down through the generations, so we know what would've been here even a long time ago way back in history."
Nicholas Flowers

Seals:

"Kukinniavik means a place for shooting and it's a really great place for hunting seals in the fall. Ukalik is also known as Barge Island. In the early winter it can be quite good for hunting seals around here where the ice is just starting to freeze up and that's sometimes where what we call the sinâ is, and sinâ is the floe edge of the ice where people wait and hunt for seals."
Nicholas Flowers

Nicholas Flowers: So, do you have many memories of helping to clean the seal skins afterwards? After you caught them?
Philip Abel: I never really cleaned seal skins myself, eh? Not 'til, well, after my father died. But he and his brother, my Uncle Bill, they worked together at it. He did that every year, every year he'd do that. He'd come here (Itilliasuk) in the spring and in the fall sealing.

"Yep. That's (UtakKiuvikuluk) a small island. That's where we used to have our tents. Especially in the springtime. Because that's where my father used to be hunting seals all the time. That's where I killed my first seal. I was five years old. We used to be there (PâKialuk) in the springtime too. That's where we used to kill our seals. IngikKanialuk was important also to my family because the seals coming from North, they go in there and they stop there. And that's when we killed our seals then. Like harps, and whatever."
Gus Semigak

Walter Piercy: Over here (AmmomajukKutok) one year, just behind a little point there, I shot a seal in the nose and he came ashore and I had to kill him. He couldn't stay by. And I had a good meal that day. Just up behind this little rock – that grassy place.

Nicholas Flowers: Must have been good when you got him afterwards.
Walter Piercy: Had a good feed after.
Nicholas Flowers: Very good hey? Mamattuk (it is tasty).
Walter Piercy: Didn't have to row out anyway, he came right out to me.

Geese and Arctic Hare:

"Oganniavik is a place to go fishing, and it's also a really great hunting place for Canada Geese in the fall. And continuing our journey going to the east, there are a lot of beautiful places that we go hunting especially in the fall for geese. People go porpoise hunting in the summertime too, and also arctic hare, ukalik, hunting in the fall. Looking at Ukalik for example, I'm not sure exactly how the name originated, but I can imagine that it's great for hunting arctic hare on the fall, in the fall on the island. So, it was most likely named after the arctic hare that's why the island's called Ukalik."
Nicholas Flowers

"Yep. That's where I killed my first hare, on Big Island. I was like, around 14 or 15. Killed it with .22. When the hills are black, you can see them a long ways, they're white! When they turn white in October." **Abraham Nochasak**

Fox:

Nicholas Flowers: Zacharias, it's quite good there hunting around that area for geese in the fall eh?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah. That's the same place where I got my first fox in the trap.

Caribou:

Walter Piercy: This island up here one year I had to kill a caribou with a knife.
Sarah Robinson: With a knife?!
Walter Piercy: Yeah.
Sarah Robinson: How was that?
Walter Piercy: I had to go after it, he was shot, but wasn't shot in the right place so I had to run after it.
Sarah Robinson: Oh my.
Walter Piercy: Jump on it. Before I jumped on it, he kicked me. Knocked me down.
Sarah Robinson: He was fighting back!
Walter Piercy: So, I had to wrestle with it and killed it after a while with a knife.
Nicholas Flowers: Was that up here on the island (AmmomajukKutok)?
Walter Piercy: Next one up. Kudjaunak I think?
Sarah Robinson: That must have been an interesting experience. A difficult experience?
Walter Piercy: I was scared for a little bit.
Sarah Robinson: Yeah, you were scared! Who would win, the caribou or you?

Rosina Piercy: Because we were taught, "never leave an animal that's injured go on." Because if you got something injured you have to go and kill it.
Sarah Robinson: Yeah.
Walter Piercy: Didn't want to waste a bullet.
Rosina Piercy: And take what you want like, don't overkill, just take what you want and… this is why our caribou is gone! It's been overhunted.

General Hunting:

"So, it's really cool to think about how the people who created the names, Inuit living along the coast and near Hopedale area, would've been inspired by the landscape surrounding them, from the animals, from the seasonal practices like hunting and gathering, and yeah it's a beautiful place."
Nicholas Flowers

"Because it used to be really good hunting in this spot (Itilliasuk) along here before all them cabins that's up there now used to be in there. I used to walk around these hills here sometimes and father used to give me just a handful of .22 cartridges. Yeah, and we used to walk around here and make sure we were handy around the house here eh? He wouldn't let us go far. I'd either walk over to that cove over there or on the hills for partridge hunting or look for porcupine or whatever. In the wintertime."
Philip Abel

General Fishing:

"Umiattugiak, that's a place where we go fishing and where we travel through in boats this time of year." **Nicholas Flower**

"We used to go up to Napâttutok up there. And another place we used to go to was Allatogusik, that's where they went trouting. And Allatogusik was where my late father-in-law, stayed. We had tents, we was in tupik (tent) eh? We was in tupik (tent) and we used to put the small net out, or use a rod, and catch some iKaluk (arctic char), iKalujak (dried char) and that. And dried the pitsik (dried fish) up there. Allatogusik – that's where everybody goes ice fishing in the spring. Lot of people go there, I mean quite a lot of skidoos in the spring eh? They make a hole through the ice (to) go fishing for rainbow trout or…"
Kate Pijogge

Sarah Robinson: What was it like char fishing down there (Fred's Bay)?
Abraham Nochasak: It was only for food that time. It's great, leave your net there for a few hours, you're going to get full of kelp and full of fish!

Laying Claim:

A common theme stressed in the interviews was that families respected each other's traditional hunting and fishing grounds.

> "It was sort of a tradition where the first person that was here or whatever, it was their traditional hunting ground. And you had to get permission from that person to maybe go hunt in there if you want to. There wasn't any fishing like now, like with a rod and nets and whatever. It was all busy, like just for collecting for your own food or selling it to whoever's buying it right?"
> **Philip Abel**

"Everyone has their spots, each spot means something different to them." **Valerie Flowers**

> "You can see there's hundreds and hundreds of islands here, so everybody's got their own area and their own little island to go to. Some years are different than others. There are some years there's some on some islands, and other years there's none on the islands. You got to look around in order to find them. Most people had their a – little places to go for the summer, each family had their different spot to go in the summertime and they would have a different place to go again in the winter. They would have two different places to go to."
> **Ian Winters**

Fresh Food:

The importance of using the land for subsistence was stressed as a marker of connection to culture.

"The tradition keeps going on for the same purpose as years ago: to make their living and have fresh wildlife food and anything else like that you know? To think about their ancestors and what they've done." **Kate Pijogge**

> "Yes, the price of food in the stores here is not cheap, so anything you can do to subsidize your food at the store comes in handy. It's a lot more beneficial and it's better for you, it's more nutritious for you, so. As far as I'm concerned, the more you can hunt and fish the better off you'll be."
> **Ian Winters**

<u>Cod Fishing</u>

Perhaps Philip put it best when he said, “we had to help out - there was a lot of fish”. The cod-fishery was a central theme, appearing in six of the nine interviews. Beyond the impact of other subsistence practices, cod fishing was especially enshrined in Inuit culture.

Âllukâk:

Âllukâk (also known as Railroads) was a primary location associated with cod fishing. There was a time in the height of the cod fishery (between 1950 – 1990) when Âllukâk was so popular, it attracted attention from outside of Hopedale (Richling 1978:357). In addition to operating as a fishing stage, Âllukâk functioned as a summer village for many people from Hopedale.

> “Railroads is a place that had a fishing community and people from Hopedale would go there in the summertime. And there were houses there, and you can still see the foundations to this day.”
> **Nicholas Flowers**

> “With all (our) children and relatives and all that, we used to go to Âllukâk to go cod fishing. …There (were) quite a few families there and they had their houses built there and cabins for their fishing places and their wharfs… making their living from cod fishing in the motorboat.”
> **Kate Pijogge**

> “That’s where the schooners from all over Newfoundland and wherever else would go, all gathered there for their cod fishing. It’d be row by row; I counted 21 schooners, one summer, all side by side.”
> **Philip Abel**

“And when I was smaller, I used to go summer fishing with my family up in Railroads when there used to be lots of codfish.” **Rosina Piercy**

Working Hard:

The interviewees stressed the necessity of the cod fishery, and the strenuous hours of hard work put in by the fishermen. The interviewees all had profound respect for this profession.

> “They had their own captains; they had a crew of four or five or more men to work pronging up the cod fish from the motorboat. They went off early in the

> morning before daylight - five o'clock. And if they got a lot of fish, they used to work all day 'til the dark and then go to sleep and wake up early in the morning again. And they stayed there all summer, (travelling) back and forth to Hopedale to go get their supplies in the motorboat or if somebody got sick or something. … They had hardship trying to make a living in them days. But they still went out there and made their living."
> **Kate Pijogge**
>
> **Philip Abel:** There were some days where we finished 12, 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning. And then by maybe 4 or 5 o'clock we were up and at it again.
> **Sarah Robinson**: Was it still light out when you finished work at that time?
> **Philip Abel**: Nah, we had to work by lamp light eh in the evening, in the night?

Working Together:

The cod fishery was not a solo task, community members had to work together in crews to catch and process the large amounts of fish, as well as live out at the fishing communities.

> "One of the motorboats used to go to Hopedale and get the medical suppl(ies) or food. They used to go hunting for food too, like sea birds or seal, (but they also) got their food supply and smokes from Hopedale in the store supply. Only one boat used to go back and forth."
> **Kate Pijogge**

"We all worked, everybody worked together." **Philip Abel**

"All my relatives, like they used to go together, fishing together. So it was really important."

Gus Semigak

Impact on Culture:

As the livelihood of many families for a long time, cod fishing became enshrined in Inuit culture. It impacted place names, traditions, and where families spent most of their time.

"One (place), looking at the traditional Inuttitut land place names, is called Nigutlik, and Nigutlik means a slimy place where people would get their hands slimy from working with fish and cod." **Nicholas Flowers**

> "We'd go there (Uviluktok) in the summertime to fish cod. It was like a little village. They even built a small church there, eh? According to Hans Rollmann, I think the Elders here in Hopedale went and built it. I couldn't remember what other families used to go

there. But there used to be other families, other ones who would need a little church." **Frances Williams**

Sarah Robinson: So, at Uviluktok where everybody gathered on Sunday, that must have been a happy place!
Philip Abel: Yeah, that was really like, almost like a festive occasion, eh? Like after all the work at the cod fishing area, everybody gets together and have one cooked meal in one house. Everybody gets together and had a feast. And then they'd go back to the same grind again on Monday.

"Mmhmm. And when I was a little girl living in Railroads they used to be like three places, they used to be called Manasse's Place, Jobe's Place, and Joe Milik's Place, so there was three places in Railroads. And every Sunday we used to go to Joe Milik's Place to go to Church in his house. Yeah, in Railroads when Daddy was cod fishing." **Rosina Piercy**

Other locations:

There were, of course, many places that were important to the cod-fishing industry.

"And near Onattuk was a cod fishing stage and it's right near an island called Oganniavik -

Oganniavik is a place to go fishing." **Nicholas Flowers**

"Now, Ikigasâluk is Windy Tickle. That's where it was important to me and my family because

we used to go cod fishing there. And also, down to Paradise. That's where also we fished."

Gus Semigak

Gus Semigak: They used to go fishing out in the harbour, catch rock cods for their dogs. Even here in Hopedale. First when we moved here, we used to be rock cod fishing here – we used to get a lot of them right along the shore there.
Nicholas Flowers: Oh, in the harbour?
Gus Semigak: Right here! Just down below!
Sarah Robinson: Down the shore by the NG building!
Nicholas Flowers: Were there lots of ogâtsuk? (Rock cods)
Gus Semigak: Yes.
Nicholas Flowers: Taitsumani. (A long time ago, back in them days).
Gus Semigak: Yeah. There used to be lots of people fishing right here, but today it's not like that. I guess you know why. The sewer line is near here.

Moratorium:

It is clear then, that the cod fishery moratorium in 1992 had a great impact in Hopedale.

“But lots of cod fish was there though, before they got the cod fish moratorium, hey?” **Kate Pijogge**

“Onattuk – I can’t remember really how long we used to keep going down there, I think until mom and them stopped after the cod was deleted from our waters.” **Frances Williams**

“So, (cod fishing) was really important for, especially my parents, that’s the only way they used to make money. And there was no work then yet, at that time.” **Gus Semigak**

Living on the Land, Then and Now

Living on the land was and is crucial to the continuation of Inuit culture. Many interviewees discussed how their families and others had lived on the land for many generations and discussed how this impacted their awareness of Traditional Knowledge and familial memories.

Places to Live:

Central to these discussions of living on the land were the places themselves, which situated the memories within place.

“Kammakuluk is a place where there is a little sod house. So that would’ve been a winter settlement.” **Nicholas Flowers**

> **Philip Abel**: As far as I can remember, my great-grandfather built a cabin (on Itilliasuk), that I’ll show you after, over there. But it’s run down now. It was their winter, fall and spring place, where they spent most of the year. And in the summer, they would go to Uviluktok, out Double Island, cod fishing.
> **Sarah Robinson:** That’s great, so multiple generations in this one spot then.

Playing:

Important to remember is that living on the land was a joyful experience, especially reflected in childhood memories of interacting with the landscape recreationally.

> “And in the summertime, we used to chase butterflies a lot (at Tikigâtsuk). And they used to be really nice those – never see them around anymore. Brown and yellow, brown,

black and yellow or brown and white spots on it eh? We just used to chase them and if we caught them, we'd just hold them in our hands for a while, and just let them go again." **Frances Williams**

"Anânsiak (grandmother) and whoever was off on the land at that time, they used to wash clothes in the pond. On a little hill, or wherever, there'd be a pond. Washed the clothes there. And there were these little insects that used to be in those ponds. I don't know what you'd call them. They dived down ass up, and we used to say, 'itinga, itinga puijillalik!' when we saw them. Because when they went back and dove in the water back there, there used to be little bubbles they made, on the top of the water. As kids we used to have lots to do: play on the shore, pick good smooth rocks. If they were shaped like anything we'd pretend they were pots and pans or cups and saucers or something, whatever shape they were eh? And they still would do this: the smooth rocks they used to throw them, see how many times it would bounce. And we loved looking for kanajugak, the little baby sculpins when it was low tide, they'd be down like there eh, amongst the kelp. (We'd) see who got the most, put them in the smaller pond, and count them. A lot of my relatives used to go there. Mainly from Anânsiak's (grandmother's) and Atâtsiak's (grandfather's) family. What else did we do in Tikigâtsuk? Just go out for boat rides, for fun." **Frances Williams**

Sarah Robinson: So, you were here (AmmomajukKutok) with three of your kids you said right? So how did the kids like being here, was it a good place to play?
Rosina Piercy: They had fun. They'd run around, pick berries, and go jumping over to the island over there when the water was low, play with the baby gulls and just have an all time fun, like just being here. Feeling the heartbeat of the land you know? This is a part of who we are, our ancestors. There's nothing that you can beat. Like living off the land, being on the land, it's who we are.

Learning:

Living on the land was and is a crucial way to learn and connect with the Labrador environment. The interviewees described how teachings from Elders and ancestors were passed down to them and impact how they understand the land today.

"Yes. Because long ago that's all, like, the people existed on is living off the land and the sea and the birds in the air, you know? We learn how to survive; this is how come we're here. Our ancestors took us here. I find that very powerful, like our ancestors are the strongest people. They know how to move when the seasons were changing, what animals to hunt and what like, how to have a shelter. They were very smart in that way. And we are very smart in that way, this is why we're here." **Rosina Piercy**

Nicholas Flowers: There's so many cones on top of the napâttuk (tree), hey (at AmmomajukKutok)?

Rosina Piercy: Ilai (yes hey). That means we're going to have lots of snow. Uppivit taimaittuneng? Do you believe in that kind of stuff, like that you see lots of cones and the dogberries on the tree, that means it's going to be lots of snow?
Nicholas Flowers: Â, uppippunga. (Yes, I believe). Yes, that was like a couple years ago there was so many dog berries, eh? And that was the most snow I can remember but it was also the same year that I got a natsik – a jar seal. And my grandmother told me, "There's going to be a lot of snow this year" she said. And I said, "How come?" And she said, "look at the fur, it's right long" she said. My father used to say to me, "When there's a lot of hair, and it's long fur on the sealskin, there's going to be lots of snow, they're preparing for the coming year."
Rosina Piercy: Yeah, like you have a lot of predictions of the weather too. Like the Elders long ago never used to have radios and stuff, or TV or whatever to tell them what the weather was, they just looked up in the sky to see what was going on and they could tell pretty well what it was for tomorrow.

Nicholas Flowers: Not today but when it's going to be bad weather, the next day after there's a circle around the sun, predicting precipitation.
Rosina Piercy: And ukiumi – when it's in the winter, it means like, it's going to be lots of snow. And then there's a little sun dog, not a full one round but there's a little rainbow on the side of the sun. And in the summertime when the gulls are soaring high, high, high, that means a lot of wind too.
Nicholas Flowers: I heard that one lots of times too, and it is so true. The land knows and you got to trust and listen to the land because it's going to tell you what's going to go on.
Rosina Piercy: You can't tell Mother Nature, "no."

"More people are getting dependent on store food, the younger people. Boxed food – you open up a box and throw it in the oven. It's not the best for you but it's convenient and fast, I guess. Back in the day when I was growing up with my grandparents, I'd hardly ever eat that kind of food. It was mainly stuff from off the land." **Ian Winters**

Hardship:

Of course, living on the land was not always easy. Being in remote locations away from the central community support in Hopedale and braving the elements made living on the land sometimes challenging.

"Onattuk – once while we were there, my Atâtsiak Boas came in the night to let us know my Aunt Rosie was really sick. So, we travelled back here (Hopedale) during the night. Thank goodness she survived." **Frances Williams**

"(I remember) fetching water, like we are so spoiled now. We have everything like running water and all that kind of stuff. I had a chat with the little kids in school about when we were younger. I said 'when I was younger, we never used to have no toilets in the school or nothing. As our little bucket used to be in the porch, we used to pee in the

> porch.' 'Eww!' like that kind, they can't understand it. Long ago, like we never had that kind, because it was a different generation." **Rosina Piercy**

Family

Relational connections to the land were / are not an individual experience. The interaction between the land, individual, and close relationships (like family) complete the whole picture of what living on the land was like. Evidenced by these stories, Inuit families now and then were very tight knit, with grandparents sometimes taking over the primary care of the children of young parents. When living in challenging and remote environments, the support of families was crucial for survival and well-being. Families worked together in resource procurement.

Family Support:

All members of the family had roles to play to ensure the well-being of the whole. From young to old, everyone was expected to help each other out.

> **Philip Abel:** There were times where dad and mom used to go home by themselves on dog team and leave us at the cabin. And me and my oldest sister, we had to take care of our brothers and sisters. So, there was always something to do.
> **Sarah Robinson**: So how many siblings do you have then?
> **Philip**: Let's see. There's seven of us right now. I have one brother, one stepbrother and five sisters. My older sister, she's two years older than I am, and I'm the second one, well my stepbrother is older than both of us so. He stayed with his grandmother and grandfather most of his life.

"At that time, I lived with my grandparents. How old was I? I wonder. It was during the time they travelled by dog team to their aullâsimapvik (cabin) on those little motorboats." **Frances Williams**

Challenging Environments:

Life in northern Labrador was not without its challenges, whether that be environmental risks or hard work in the cod fishery. Families needed to bond together to face these challenges.

> "We would always travel to the south or southwest of here to go out to our cabin maybe after schools on a Friday for the weekend when the school was finished, and the area

where our cabin is now is called Inganikuluk. And it's really interesting, because Inganikuluk also provides information on a safe travel route or, technically speaking, which place to avoid because Inganikuluk means a little rattle and it's an area where the water flows in and out and the sea ice doesn't freeze completely. But that's near where our cabin is in close from the bay from there, and it, definitely this place has a lot of connection to my family and it means a lot." **Nicholas Flowers**

Philip Abel: My grandmother Martha Josua was the one that survived the Spanish Flu when she was seven years old. She was kept alive by one of her father's lead dogs from November to, I think it was January. She survived in the cabin, that's where they found her.
Sarah Robinson: Why was she there alone?
Philip Abel: Everybody else that was in the cabin died from the Spanish Flu. All she lived on was hard bread and snow. This was near OKak.

Resource Procurement:

Hunting and fishing were usually done within families, with younger people learning from their parents and grandparents. This was an important way for families to bond and support one another.

"Me and my grandfather used to fish there for cod fish in punt. We jigged one up and lots of the fish was chasing." **Abraham Nochasak**

Down to Paradise and Railroads. That's where also we fished. So, it was really important for, especially my parents, that's the only way they used to make money. And there was no work then yet, at that time. All my relatives, like they used to go together, fishing together. So, it was really important. We saved everything. Everything I killed, I had to give that to my godmother. Even a snowbird, anything I killed I had to give that to my godmother. **Gus Semigak**

Emotional Memories:

Beyond survival, the familial experience of landscape was emotional, represented in joy, laughter, grief, and common memories. Families valued spending time on the land with family.

Frances Williams: Must be in the 50s, Mom and them had a really good friend on (The American Base). And they came down to visit in the summertime. one time they came unexpectedly, and we were eating Kuak (frozen meat). My mom said, "Hurry it up!" and hid it.
Sarah Robinson: Why did you hide it?

Frances Williams: Because that was the instinct mom and them had! To hide it. Because she didn't know whether they would find it smelly or whatever.

"We spent a lot of time here (Itilliasuk) when I was growing up eh? I spent, I could say, the majority of the time. Because our father used to take us out of school sometimes. Until one year we had a really hard principal, and we couldn't leave. But that used to be the custom maybe a week before school was out he'd take us over to the old place, to the cabin. It's nice and quiet here. That's one of the main reasons why I love being here is always coming over, and now my granddaughters love being here too now. I would've built over there *gesturing* but that's a bad spot for the children, so I built it here, where they have the freedom of roaming around. (My grandchildren) love it. Oldest one, she don't want to leave eh? When we get here." **Philip Abel**

"Aunt Audrey, who was Atâtsiak's daughter, sent me a picture of my father. First picture I'd ever seen of my father. And they were in Uviluktok. It's taken from a distance so you really can't make out the face. But it's a really old-fashioned picture. I don't know who took it. It was a small picture and just had been enlarged. Turned out kind of brownish those old pictures. I wonder if they were on, what was the method of photography that the Missionaries used? Glass slides?" **Frances Williams**

"You came to Hopedale to work on your thesis about the land and the different names and the people and their stories. You've got firsthand experience today of exactly what the land has done for the people. The people had to encounter a lot of hardships just like the waves we see right now. And a lot of hardships came their way. A lot of their people died. But they were fighters. They looked around them. They saw the creation, and they knew that they had to fight for their family, for their children. Because someday they would pass on. But their children would be left. And they fought hard, and the land provided protection, it gave them food, fish. And we have witnessed today, throughout these last few days, how hardship can come your way. But once you get out on the land you ponder the creation, and that's what the land means to people… Because it's where their ancestors, it's where their people were from. But it does a person a world of good to get out. It motivates them. We could be so down, but you get out and look around and you get your strength back." **Valerie Flowers**

Rosina Piercy: I always talk about how like; we had all kinds of freighters and all kinds of boats coming in. Now we have one little steamer coming in bringing all kinds of stuff, eh? And then we had two airlines, we gone back to one. We had two school boards, we gone back to one. So, you know everything is going backwards, starting from here. I think that's the way the world is going, to go like this way *motioning backwards*, it's going to go back to where we came from. It's like us aging, we're going back to where we came from too, we're going probably back to childhood like – because we go back into Pampers. *Laughter* Circle of life.
Nicholas Flowers: And then your grandchildren get to come and experience the same places that you did when you were their age hey?
Rosina Piercy: Yes. I'm glad my ingutak (grandchild) is here because he can see where we were before.

Dogs

Especially before the introduction of snowmobiles, dogs and dog teams were essential for travel and resource procurement in Hopedale. As well, travel by dog team make up some important personal memories for people in Hopedale.

> "I remember one story, especially in the winter when we went (to Tikigâtsuk) by dog team. It's just my grandfather, my grandmother, me, and I can't remember, I think my brother was with us. They had a little cabin where they stayed while they were hunting. Of course, the dog team has only one leader. So, when we neared the place, atâtsiak said (which is grandfather), atâtsiak said he was going to walk ahead and light the fire so that it'd be warm by the time we got there. And left us, grandma and us, with the team. Well as soon as he got out of sight, the dogs wouldn't budge. They just sat down there on the ice. My anânsiak, grandmother was trying to get them going but no way. Atâtsiak (grandfather) started worrying about us because we weren't there yet when we should have been. So, he came and walked back, and anânsiak (grandmother) told him 'why of course he should have thought about it!'. But by the time we got to the cabin it was nice, nice and warm."
> **Frances Williams**
>
> **Frances Williams**: And when you were going by motorboat (to Tikigâtsuk), at all times the boat would be filled up with blankets, food, dogs. Everything. Everything you'd need.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Everything you'd need for the coming seasons. Wow. Even the dog team?
> **Frances Williams**: Even the dogs. So that you could feed them while you were there all summer.
>
> **Gus Semigak**: In the fall of the year, some people used to go out for the winter. They'd be there 'til the ice is formed, and they'd go back on dog team. But today we goes on skidoo. So, we have to be careful what we're doing. But dog knows what they were doing. They could smell, and they knows where to go. But skidoo don't.
> **Sarah Robinson:** So, the dogs would know what location to go to?
> **Gus Semigak**: Yep.
> **Sarah Robinson:** And with skidoo you have to kind of rely on your own navigation.
> **Gus Semigak**: Yeah. Dogs were very important, because they didn't break down. They didn't get out of gas. All they need was food. And people carried that all the time, they'd have some food for the dogs.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Mostly puijivinik (seal meat), or?
> **Gus Semigak**: Anything. Capelin and all.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Anything that they could eat. Did your family had a dog team growing up?
> **Gus Semigak**: They all did.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Everyone?

> **Gus Semigak**: My father did. Right there *pointing at map*, one time we was going out for the spring, and we travelled to Malta, where we had a tent. And our tent got torn down, blown away. And it was white out *Referring to the snowstorm*. So, my father started getting the dogs ready, and my mother was getting ready inside, and taking our belongings. So, we left there, and we went to Nattautattalik. It was white out, couldn't even see our dogs sometimes. My father just let the dogs go. All he said was "Huit!". He never spoke to them after. Even though we couldn't see the dogs, they went right to Nattautattalik.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: They took you there through the storm, you trusted them.
> **Gus Semigak**: The dogs were smart.
> **Nicholas Flowers**: Yeah, it's something to hear the story but to live that experience it gives your trust in the dog team so much more hey.
> **Gus Semigak**: The dogs were also important up there (in Hebron). There was no skidoos then, nothing. They hunted there - and there were more animals than there were here. As I started working up there, I heard more stories about it. They used to have a hard time, hunting with the dogs. But they were my people, walking down the ice, hunting with the harpoon. And they killed what they wanted.

The transition to snowmobiles was rapid and altered the collective memory of a generation.

> **Sarah Robinson**: Do you have any memories of dog team or your parents using dog team or anything like that?
> **Ian Winters**: No I don't, no. That was just at the turn of the snowmobiles when I was a young boy. They were starting to use snowmobiles and boats, and so I don't really have any memories of my father using dog team. It's been over fifty years since the introduction of snowmobiles I guess, because that's all I remember as a kid growing up. Even when the earliest snowmobiles were around when I was a kid in the early 70s so no, I have no memories of dog team.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 General Themes

Through reflection of this vast amount of information regarding places, histories, individuals, and meaning, I have identified several key themes from the interviews, outlined below. While the articles of dissemination aim to examine this information from a geographical lens, these themes examine what these place names and their stories reveal about Hopedale Inuit culture as a whole. While these ideas may be obvious aspects of identity for those living in

Hopedale, I believe they serve as a poignant reflection of what it means to be Inuit in the Hopedale context.

Commitment to Community

The Hopedale Inuit commitment to community is represented in many ways. Generally, the interviewees demonstrated an outwardly focused attitude in which the needs of others, or groups, were put above oneself. This is especially seen in activities of resource procurement that required more than one person, such as Kate's story of the families who went wooding together and split up the wood afterwards.

In the past, Hopedale was made up of tightly knit families, and day to day tasks involved the whole community. Grandparents would take primary care of children, older children were given responsibility over younger children, and aunts and uncles played pivotal roles within families. This tight knit nature was necessary to support one another in remote and challenging environments.

Resilience

Another common theme was the resilience of the people. Northern Labrador can be a treacherous and difficult place to live, requiring skill and tenacity to survive and thrive. Rosie explained this well by describing her respect for the ancestors who learnt to live by observing and listening to the land. Difficult times did come, such as when Walter had a dangerous experience with the caribou, and when Gus' family had to rely on their dogs in a snowstorm.

Beyond natural dangers, people had to endure long hours in the cod fishery, working hard to earn a living for their families. In all of this, the Inuit demonstrated a resilience and commitment to hard work, understanding the necessity of learning from the land.

Connection to Land

In all the interviews the importance of a meaningful connection to the land was made clear. All our interviewees communicated how intimate knowledge of the landscape and locations for resource procurement were passed down through families. Different locations had different meanings to each person. Tikigâtsuk was a place for relaxation and fun for Fran. Appilikuluk was a place for bakeapples, but also for healing, for the Flowers. AmmomajukKutok was a nostalgic place full of knowledge for the Piercy's. Itilliasuk was a place for family for Philip. The landscape was not merely background, but an intrinsic part of those memories and relationships, embedded with personal meaning. Returning to those places was a way of returning to those memories and meaning. As many of the interviews expressed, everyone has their spot on the land. This is expressed even further in the annual "claiming" of hunting / fishing grounds, where hunters / fishers would avoid the areas of other people without express permission from them.

This was felt even more poignantly after the tragedy mentioned previously (page 71). Though all of the interviews were meaningful, interviews 6-9 carried a very different tone. In interviews 6-9, interviewees placed greater emphasis on the meaning of the land to them, and more specifically, how being on the land allowed for healing. Although beyond the context of this project, it was clear that the people of Hopedale made a point to travel to their cabins or to go hunting / fishing after this event. The land was a source of comfort, perhaps a connection to the resilience and community of the past.

Beyond these personal experiences at / concerning the place name locations, the names themselves demonstrated this connection to the land. So many of the place names (Agvitok, Kukinniavik, Kanagittuk, Udjutok, et cetera) describe either the resources found at the location or a physical description of the place. The places were named in order to allow people to interact

with the land and resources in a logical and meaningful way. For example, Ukalik means Arctic hare, therefore hunters know this is a good place to hunt Arctic hare. Naming places this way is unique from a Western toponomy, where names are often arbitrarily assigned to a location (Mencken 2006:537).

As Rosie said, experiencing the landscape was the way to feel the "heartbeat of the land", to understand its vitality and importance to everyday life.

Place Over Time

As mentioned previously, most interviewees situated their stories in place, rather than in time. So many stories, especially those told by male interviewees, began with "this is where I killed my first (blank)". There was a pride in where they were when they reached these hunting milestones. Though potentially acquainted with their age at the time (5 years old, 14 years old, et cetera), the actual year seemed unimportant. These stories added to their personal history and connection to place, increasing the richness of that connection.

The locations associated with important communal activities were also described this way. Though generally described as "in the cod fishing days" the stories of cod fishing were situated in place: Âllukâk, Ikigasâluk, Onattuk, et cetera. Likewise, stories of the church were situated at Uviluktok. In a way this helped to "gather" the stories from different interviewees together, instilling each location with a multi-faceted interpretation of these places and their meaning (Tobias 2010; Whitridge 2004:239). Each toponym became more than a place name, but a repository for these stories (Ingold 1993). Perhaps the most meaningful point of this is that, unlike stories situated in time (for example, the 1960s), the places in which the stories were situated can be visited in the here and now (Whitridge 2004:220). Furthermore, memories situated in time can only be recollected by the individual, while stories situated in space can be

meaningfully shared with others: *this* is where I killed my first hare, *this* is where I came as a child (Lyons et al. 2010:17). As Philip described, generations of meaning can be embedded in place. This makes the past personal, communal, with great depth and meaning.

6.2 Cultural Importance of Themes

Commitment to Community

Commitment to community is important to Inuit cultural identity in that it emphasizes the importance of local bonds. Tight knit groups of family and friends are necessary in order for people to survive and thrive (Cunsolo et al. 2017:287). This encourages communal participation in activities like hunting and fishing to increase efficiency and have greater success (ibid). Other cultural activities are also done communally for the same purpose, such as making nets or seal-skin boots (ibid).

The commitment to community frames toponyms as areas to bond. Travelling to different locations then becomes more than just an arbitrary convenience but represents returning to areas of collective memory and connection (Lyons et al. 2010:10). Travelling to places with others strengthens and adds to these memories, embedding the landscape with even deeper meaning.

Being committed to community strengthens culture by encouraging selflessness. So many of these stories demonstrated people putting others (children, relatives, friends) before themselves. This attitude is reflected today in people working towards initiatives that seek to encourage the learning of culture and language within others – especially vulnerable groups such as youth. The 2021-2026 Inuttitut Language Strategy from the Department of Language, Culture, and Tourism of the Nunatsiavut Government demonstrates this by focusing on providing practical tools and resources for the learning and growth of Inuttitut (Department of Language, Culture and Tourism 2021).

> Inuttitut is a significant piece of our core identity as Inuit. It is something that connects Inuit today with their past and is something that ignites a passion for the future… This strategy is a key piece in reigniting a spark in Beneficiaries and within our division that will allow us to progress the state of Inuttitut within Nunatsiavut and beyond.
> **Department of Language, Culture and Tourism 2021:5.**

Lastly, commitment to community reveals the importance of deep respect for one another. In any cultural context, seeing the worth in oneself and in one another encourages the need to preserve elements of identity – such as language and culture (Felt and Natcher 2011:113). Recognizing Inuttitut and Inuttitut place names as something worth saving is the first step to their preservation (ibid:113).

Resilience

The theme of resilience is culturally important because it encourages continued respect for Inuit identity. Learning how Inuit ancestors survived and thrived on the landscape helps to demonstrate how Inuit culture is adaptive, wise, and important to living in the Labrador landscape (Martin 2011:386). Understanding past Inuit relations to the land aids in interpreting history through an Inuit lens (Whitridge 2004:219). Situating self in the midst of this historical background of strength, survivance, and connection empowers people to embrace Indigeneity (or Inuit-ness) as an intrinsic part of identity.

Recognizing the importance of Inuit-ness leads to a commitment to cultural survivance. Though assimilative practices in the past sought to demean the worth and longevity of Inuit culture, rediscovering and embracing these stories of continued Inuit resilience can strengthen people to frankly, continue being Inuit (Procter 2020). They have always been Inuit, so they will always be Inuit. If individuals see themselves as the continuation of something strong, important, and resilient, they will be more willing to work towards its ability to survive and thrive (Martin 2011:386). This manifests itself practically in many different ways, such as the language,

heritage, and culture initiatives organized locally and through the Nunatsiavut government, as described above.

Another way this commitment manifests itself is through the continuation of traditional practices and lifeways, such as hunting, fishing, and the creation of traditional goods and crafts (ie: ulus, slippers, seal-skin boots, qulliqs, et cetera…). Apart from knowing and committing to the importance of Inuit culture, the presence of these practices, physical traditional objects, and their methods of production provides evidence of this continued resilience. The strength of Inuit culture is made visible and present. Using these stories to celebrate Inuit resilience is incredibly important to Inuit culture (Gaulton and Rankin 2018:35).

Connection to Land

The continued drive to learn toponyms empowers the connection of people to landscape (and vice versa) (Doddridge 2020). Gaining practical instruction on land use through understanding toponym meanings promotes meaningful and personal interactions with the landscape (ibid:14:17). These interactions result in further memories and meaning which then become embedded in that place, continuing to enrich the cultural meaning of that toponym / location. As these stories build on each other and are passed within communities and down through generations, the collective / communal understanding of the land as part of Inuit cultural identity is strengthened. Connecting with others through landscape and building these collective memories acts to bind individuals and families together. Understanding oneself as part of this interconnected network situates the individual not as a solitary node existing in time, but as a being defined by relations (including the land), intrinsic and inseparable from these relations (Collignon 2006:204). To simplify, toponyms identify meaning, which encourages interaction,

which builds memory, which strengthens community, which builds identity (Lepage et al. 2019:9).

Connecting to landscape and others as part of identity promotes the continued importance of learning Traditional Knowledge. This knowledge is often crucial to interact with the landscape in a safe and respectful way, such as understanding the natural indications of weather (as Rosie described), the habits and territories of different animals, and where it is and is not safe to travel on the ice (such as IngikKanialuk). If one sees and learns Traditional Knowledge as practically and culturally important, this will lead to the continuation of this knowledge (Bartlett et al. 2012:337).

Lastly, striving to build personal connections to place allows these areas to become places of healing. If the land is part of identity, when the physical part of identity is in turmoil, connecting and focusing on the landscape aspect of identity can recenter focus, and bring peace. As many of my interviewees said, being on the land reminded them of the resilience and connection to place of their ancestors. It reminded them that they are not alone but connected and supported by a network which includes the peoples and places of the past and present. Therefore, something as simple as picking berries or sleeping in a tupik could be meaningful and comforting.

Place Over Time

Understanding the past by focusing on place over time is culturally important for several reasons. Primarily, this understanding is intrinsically Inuit (or Indigenous) (Whitridge 2004:223). A focus on place over time not only allows a more meaningful connection to the past, but can in fact make the past part of identity (De la Cadena 2015). Likewise, one's identity can become an important and intrinsic part of the past (ibid)

I can never fight in World War II, but I can visit Normandy and make myself part of the story and history of that place. Inherently, understanding this perspective is a matter of shifting focus and deciding what is the most important factor in the story. What is more important in understanding the significance of D-Day, that it happened 78 years ago, or that it happened on the beaches of Normandy? One separates the individual by years that can never be revisited, the other immediately allows the individual to access and take part in the story (Basso 1996). Perhaps this is why visitors to historic sites often remark that visiting the place made the history more "real" to them (or perhaps this is simply my personal experience). It should be noted that each of these approaches are valid, and both necessary in gaining a holistic understanding of the past – part of the understanding of Two-Eyed Seeing (Bartlett et al. 2012). Focusing on place as the most important aspect of this past is more of an Inuit view than focusing on time, and celebrating this view respects and honours Inuit understandings of landscape, contributing to the connection of people and families to past peoples and events (Collignon 2006:199).

6.3 Archaeological Potential of Themes

Commitment to Community

Thematically, commitment to community as revealed in the place name stories has archaeological potential. Being in tight knit community means that communal history is shared and solidified in memory. This gives strength to the validity of Oral History as records of the past (Lyons et al. 2010:11). If many families have the same memories of the same place / event / person, the historical record is made more complete and solid. For example, within interviews and in casual conversation, the story of Fran's atâtsiak, Natan Frieda, walking from Udjutok to Hopedale to play the organ at Advent is famous throughout Hopedale. The organ itself as an

artifact (now housed at the museum in Hopedale), has its history enriched. Other artifacts and archaeological sites can be strengthened in understanding this way as well.

Secondly, the longevity of Inuit commitment to community reveals potential patterns seen in archaeological evidence. As already seen in the Communal House Phase of Inuit history, it is not unusual for families and communities to bond together for common purposes or for resource procurement (Woollett 2003:17). Understanding these patterns in Inuit history can help archaeologists to interpret and understand similar patterns seen in the archaeological record.

Community in the archaeological record is often studied in the context of house sites. But an individual's life is not contained in one spot, or a single artifact in situ. Lives span over space as well as time. Understanding individuals as well as communities is strengthened when a bird's eye view is taken. Focusing on a non-site archaeology through this project provides insight into the everyday community connections of the past.

Lastly, a commitment to community includes deep respect for Elders and their histories / knowledge of Oral Histories. Recognizing the validity and importance of the histories shared by Elders in this project will hopefully encourage other researchers and community members to seek out Elders and Knowledge Holders for information about the past (Lyons et al. 2010:11).

Resilience

The resilience demonstrated in the stories also has the potential to influence archaeological interpretations. For example, cultural resilience is represented in the continuation of traditional craft production, such as seal-skin kayaks, ulus, and other goods. When similar artifacts are found in archaeological contexts, they can be more easily identified (Schneider and Hayes 2020). For example, knowing that the crop of a partridge can be inflated and used as a

barometer can offer insight if one of these is found at a house site. The longevity of Inuit culture despite resistance can offer insight on the deep past of Inuit history.

Archaeology might also have a role in furthering Inuit resilience. In the past, archaeological projects were mostly conducted by academics for the purpose of "filling a knowledge gap" (Stump 2013). As archaeology reveals the resilience of Inuit culture in the past, this can inspire cultural survivance and revitalization in the present. This can in-turn increase community interest in future local archaeological projects. This cyclical process builds community-researcher bonds and facilitates community-based archaeology that is culturally relevant and meaningful.

Connection to Land

Inuit relational connection to the land has archaeological potential. Continued meaningful connections to place name locations leads to the continuation of place names and their meaning (Lepage et al. 2019). This can preserve the archaeological history of a location over time. For example, remembering that Iluviktalik means "Grave Island", provides information that there are most likely human remains on this island, and that it was used historically as a burial location.

Understanding the Inuit connection to landscape provides information about what archaeologists should look for on the landscape to identify archaeological sites (Beck and Somerville 2005:474). By understanding that certain areas are good for summer dwellings (like Tikigâtsuk), one can assume there may be tent rings in that area. Or, knowing that Âllukâk was once a thriving fishing location, one might expect to find artifacts from the cod fishing days, or evidence of larger numbers of people.

The Inuit connection to landscape can inform where to look for archaeological sites. From Brice-Bennett, it is known that 17th to 18th century Labrador Inuit communities were

dispersed over a 650-kilometre-long coastal region (1977:101). There could be innumerable amounts of archaeological sites to be found at these locations. Understanding how Inuit relations to the landscape play out in the material culture can help narrow down where certain types of sites may be found (Collignon 2006:200).

Realizing the importance of the Inuit connection to land can aid in understanding why communities ask for certain projects. This toponymic study was asked for to aid the community in remembering the names and getting people more connected to the land. Understanding that land is a crucial part of Inuit identity, researchers should be able to build and support research projects that build on and respect this concept. Hopedale Inuit are more likely to be interested in an archaeological project that examines fishing berths across the islands instead of the taxonomy of metal nails at one site. This is a form of "reading the room" archaeologically.

Place Over Time

Understanding place-based (landscape) vs time-based archaeology changes how the past is approached and is likely to make it more socially relevant for Inuit. Comparing places used / occupied at the same time as opposed to comparing times at the same place opens up many interesting archaeological questions that are not usually approached to study the past (ibid). Where are there places with similar functions (other grave islands, cod-fishing locations)? This is not entirely divorced from the aspect of temporality either, it is useful to combine these two perspectives. How did the use of cod fishing wharves vary over the fishery days? Why were people using different places for the same purpose? In general, it means asking "who was doing what where?" This requires a landscape view of the past, instead of looking at just one site over time.

Through continual interaction, places turn from physical entities to meaningful locations (Fowles 2010:455). For Fran, growing up at Tikigâtsuk transformed that place from a point by the sea to a meaningful summer memory. Her experience there, and her relationships with others who also visited, imbued the place with historical meaning (Creese 2018:48). This process is continual and active. When I, Nicholas, Philip, and the others encountered the black bear at Trout Brook, that changed our relationship with one another and with Trout Brook. The place had taken on new meanings because of its new history (ibid). By focusing on where history occurred, as opposed to when, this project placed the human experience with landscape at the forefront of archaeological analysis (Fowles 2010:463). As mentioned earlier, studying place-making in Hopedale brings together the temporal and spatial aspects to gain a holistic view of the past. Making archaeology two-dimensional in this sense has great archaeological potential, beyond just understanding Inuit culture in Labrador.

6.4 Articles of Dissemination

The creation of dissemination began upon return from Hopedale.

Story Map

Creation:

The toponym layers created within QGIS were transferred over to ArcGIS so that they could be used within ArcGIS Story Maps. Story Maps is a program which allows simple websites to be built alongside interactive map data, making it perfect for sharing the project results with Hopedale. There are currently two versions of Story Maps available for use: the classic version and the updated version. Both versions have different features. For example, classic Story Maps can embed Story Maps within other Story Maps. This was particularly useful for creating sub-tabs in the Stories section.

An original design for the Story Map was created that included the sections: Home, Participants, Map, Stories, Resources and Interviews, and Project Information. The Participants section includes information on the interviewees, links to their interviews, and toponyms they discussed. The Map section is an interactive map of the place names collected. Clicking any specific place name displays the attributes collected in the place names log. A user can also view georeferenced photos of the map resources described above with the collected place names. The Stories section focuses on themed stories mentioned in the interviews. There are sections for stories regarding Winter, Summer, Good Times, Hard Times, and Hunting / Fishing (these themes were decided because of their frequency within the interviews). The stories are accompanied by photos, audio clips, and appropriate maps. The Resources and Interviews section includes all the interview audio and video files, a photo gallery, and references to other toponym sources, such as Carol Brice-Bennett's *Our Footprints are Everywhere* (1977). The Project Information section includes information about me and the project in general. The creation of the Story Map would not have been possible without the help of David Mercer from Memorial University's map room. Furthermore, the text has been sent to the Nunatsiavut Government for translation to Inuttitut and will soon be available as a language learning resource. The creation of the Story Map took approximately eight months, from September 2021 to April 2022, and can be accessed through: https://arcg.is/18Krqn0.

Distribution:

Upon completion, the Story Map URL was sent to Nicholas Flowers and AngajukKâk Marjorie Flowers for review before wider distribution. Some edits were made based on Nicholas' comments. Afterwards, the website was shared on the Hopedale News Facebook page, as well as emailed to the Nunatsiavut Government. This was done to share to as wide an audience as

possible within Hopedale. My email is included on the website so that I can answer further questions or fix any technical issues. I also created a Hopedale Place Names Project Facebook page to update community members on changes / upgrades of the website.

Why it is a Suitable Article of Dissemination:

The Story Map is a suitable article of dissemination for multiple reasons. First, as a website, it is accessible to anyone with an internet connection. The information can be updated in the future if need be. The Story Map is an interactive form of data dissemination. The map page is especially interactive since each location can be explored individually. The story tabs (Winter, Summer, et cetera) allow users to connect personally with the stories and view them situated in place.

The Story Map goes beyond the "dot on a map" mentality in several ways. First, the actual place names are represented as islands, shorelines / bays, points, and areas, thus more accurately showing the full extent of the place name area. Secondly, the association of place with specific interviews and Knowledge Holders embeds each location with personal memory and meaning.

The format of the Story Map celebrates the individual Knowledge Holders. In the Participants section, each Knowledge Holder is named alongside the place names that they provided. By identifying the Knowledge Holders personally, this will hopefully encourage people from Hopedale to approach these people for further knowledge and clarification.

By uploading the actual interviews / videos to the Story Map, the "raw data" of the project is made available. This is useful for future research, and also for site visitors to hear the stories from the interviewees' own words. However, it may be difficult to discern the overall themes through that volume of data. This is why the stories of the interviews were grouped by

topic. Therefore, the Story Map hopefully acts as the "academic mirror" mentioned previously to celebrate specific perspectives of the cultural landscape. An Inuttitut version of the website is currently being built. Still, not all people have access to the internet, which is why the atlas was also developed.

Place Names Project Atlas

Creation:

The second piece of dissemination is a small atlas (see Appendix 1). The data collection log was used to identify which locations were mentioned in each interview. Then the interview transcript was used to extract information / stories about each location. About 1-2 pages were written on each location, for a total of 81 pages. Each location page includes a zoomed in image of the location on the QGIS map, any photos if applicable, all of the stories associated with that place, and a text box of the attributes collected regarding that location. At the end of the book, two maps are included; one of the larger area encompassing all of the toponyms, and one close up on the Hopedale town area, which had a large concentration of place names. A legend is provided for this map in order to visualize all the toponyms in the larger landscape. An index of common words is included. It took about eight months to write the book (September 2021 – April 2022), and several weeks to distribute**.**

Distribution:

On March 15, 2022, ten copies of this book were distributed to the interviewees to receive their comments. After making minor corrections upon their advice, I printed 100 copies of the book in St. John's on March 31, 2022. I sent these copies to Nicholas Flowers in Hopedale, who kindly distributed the book at multiple locations around Hopedale, including both grocery stores, the Nunatsiavut Government building, the Moravian church, the museum, the

hotel, and the school. Like the website, the atlas is free of charge. It is my hope that at least one copy will be accessible for every family in Hopedale.

Why it is a Suitable Article of Dissemination:

The atlas is a suitable article of dissemination because it allows the knowledge to be accessed by those who cannot access the Story Map. As a physical resource, it is good for older people or people not connected to the internet. Because of its small size and format, the book is easy to pick up and just begin reading, unlike a lengthy textbook. This puts the place name information at peoples' fingertips, perhaps as a coffee table book or something to share with family.

While the book itself is certainly not a navigation tool, it can be brought while travelling on the land. This way, it can act almost like a guidebook, describing the interesting features and history of the locations people are seeing everyday in their travels.

While *Our Footprints are Everywhere* is an excellent, extensive resource, it is not easily accessible (Brice-Bennett 1977). It is my hope that the atlas can be a "mini" *Our Footprints are Everywhere,* with less information overall, but widely accessible, specific to the Hopedale area, and free to every family in Hopedale.

Furthermore, the atlas can be a great resource for children in school. The atlas can, as stated before, highlight Elders in the community they can go to with questions about place names. Much of the book's content, especially the attributes of pronounciation and spelling, can help with learning Inuttitut. The atlas is included as Appendix I in this thesis. At this point there are no plans to translate this piece due to lack of funds, but we hope to pursue this in the future. With these two resources, the information gathered in this project can be distributed to all people in Hopedale.

Feedback from Participants

It is very simplistic and perhaps trite to count the success of a project like this through social media "likes and shares". However, not being in Hopedale myself, it was a good way for me to quantify the reach of the project.

Story Map:

My initial post about the Story Map (March 29, 2022) in the Hopedale News group received two likes in the first two weeks and was shared twice. David Igloliorte said, "This is awesome, job well done to you and Nick… enjoyed both your presentations last summer… kudos." Frances Williams (interviewee E) commented, "I learned a lot from this project. And it also brough back great memories of my childhood at our aullaasimaviks." On April 11, 2022, after I invited feedback from the community, Jararuse Thomas Joshua commented, "Mark the shoals and main cabins in case of emergencies." I replied to this: "Hi Jararuse, thanks for the feedback! That is a great idea for future research. Unfortunately, I no longer have funding for another field season in Hopedale to gather new information. But I will include this in my written thesis so future researchers are aware of it."

Looking at the Story Map statistics themselves, the views of the site (as of April 11, 2022) are 825. Approximately 700 of those are from my editing, but at least 100 are organic clicks on the website.

Place Names Project Atlas:

On April 25, 2022, I posted on the Hopedale News page that the hard copy books were now available in Hopedale. Within twenty-four hours, fourteen people had requested copies of the book, and twenty-five people had liked the post. Though I do not have a measurable way to

determine the availability of the book in Hopedale (how many copies are left), I will keep in contact with Nicholas to determine if another round of printing is necessary.

General:

My second post in the Hopedale News group (April 6, 2022) invited people to like the Hopedale Place Names Project page I had created. This post was liked by 16 people in five days and was shared once.

Of the Hopedale Place Names Project page itself, the activity on the page as of April 11, 2022, is as follows: 15 people follow the page, 191 people were reached over all of the posts (some of those people are overlapping – that is the total for all the posts), and 11 people have engaged with the page (shared posts or clicked links in posts).

Also on April 11, Labrador Morning released an interview regarding the project with myself, Nicholas, and CBC's Regan Burden (Goudie 2022). The combination of the growth of the page and the reach of the radio interview will hopefully increase the distribution of the website and book. Overall, it seems as if people from Hopedale are enjoying the content.

<u>Effectiveness of Dissemination</u>

The purpose of the dissemination of this project was to create culturally relevant tools for the learning of place names in Hopedale, Nunatsiavut. The Story Map and atlas meet this goal by providing readily available place name information for those connected to the internet and those who are not. The initial feedback I am now receiving about these products has shown me that resources like these are desired by the community. Many individuals have expressed their thanks for the project and its outcomes. It is my hope that these products continue to be used in the future for Hopedale toponym education.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Summary of Research

This project presents a new, accessible study of toponyms and their meanings from the Hopedale, Nunatsiavut region. This research is built upon a theoretical framework of postcolonial microhistories, landscape theory, phenomenology, and Oral Historical research which seeks to view the past from a distinctly non-Western view, situating place, and not time, at the centre of historical focus (Atalay 2006:282; De la Cadena 2015; Echo-Hawk 2000:286). This framework is used not only to create an Inuit context in which to understand toponym data, but also to honour Inuit understandings of research and conduct this research in a more ethical manner (Collignon 2006:201).

The Labrador Inuit have a long and rich history. Understanding this history is important for grasping the significance of toponyms and their origins. The Inuit first arrived in Labrador in the mid 15th century (Kaplan and Woollett 2000). The Agvitok (later Hoffental, then Hopedale) community became a prominent centre, where Inuit from Southern and Northern Labrador came together to hunt and to exchange goods as part of the Inuit coastal trade network (Kelvin et al. 2020; Woollett 2003:56). The Moravian presence in Hoffental starting in 1777 dramatically changed the social landscape of the region, exercising cultural and economic control over Inuit life (Brice-Bennett 1977:87). In the 20th century, Hopedale was influenced by many changes, including WW1, the Spanish Flu, WW2, the American Base (1951-1959), and the cod fishing moratorium (Budgell 2018:50; Brice-Bennett 1977:103, 109; Evans 2012; Gaulton and Rankin 2018). Today, Hopedale is a community of around 600 people and is the capital of the Nunatsiavut government (Statistics Canada 2016). Over time, English place names have slowly replaced some Inuttitut place names. This poses an issue for language preservation. However,

despite prolonged attempts at assimilation, traditional land use and language are being revitalized by local programs (Stewart et al. 2004). In the last 20 years, ethical archaeology research has increased in the Hopedale area through researchers like Lisa Rankin and Laura Kelvin (Kelvin et al. 2020; Rankin et al. 2019, 2022).

The methods for this project were designed to identify the underlying themes of Hopedale toponomy and reflect these themes back in a culturally meaningful way. This project involved Elders and Knowledge Holders in the community, with whom land-focused interviews were conducted regarding different place names. After each interview, the interviews were transcribed, place names mapped, and transcripts analyzed for common topics. All the raw data has been made available to the participants. With consultation with the community, two forms of dissemination were decided upon: a place names atlas and an interactive map-based website (Story Map).

Over six weeks, nine interviews were conducted with twelve interviewees, generating sixty-six place names. Where possible we visited place name locations with interviewees, including: The Base, Itilliasuk, Appilikuluk, AmmomajukKutok and Sâttuk. The stories told at each of the place names locations were intensely personal and emotional, and used the land as the grounding feature of memory. Some common topics expressed in the interviews were: hunting / fishing, cod fishing, living on the land, family, and dogs. The place names collected added to existent toponym resources, providing increased depth of knowledge of these places. The focus of the project was quality, not quantity of place names.

The interviews and place names reflected several general themes about Inuit culture in Northern Labrador, including commitment to community, resilience, connection to land, and situating memory in place over time. Recognizing each of these themes is culturally important as

they build local bonds, encourage respect for Inuit culture and identity, manifests cultural revitalization, and continues traditional practices (Cunsolo et al. 2017; Lyons et al. 2010; Procter 2020). These themes are also archaeologically important as they situate research in an Inuit place-based ontology; this produces a richer and meaning-filled understanding of the past. Lastly, the themes recognize the validity of Oral History, aid in the identification of archaeological patterns, and encourage further community-based archaeological research (Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Schneider and Hayes 2020).

The Story Map and the atlas were created over eight months. The Story Map focused on the general topics of the interviews, whereas the atlas focused on each place name individually. Both articles of dissemination were made available to everyone in Hopedale and were appreciated by the community.

This project demonstrates that research that looks beyond academic assumptions and goals can produce real benefits for present communities. The past is not something arbitrary left behind, it is carried constantly in the identities and lives of everyday people. Reflecting this past back in a culturally relevant way is more than a nice thing to do, it is the responsibility of researchers who are privileged to witness and study this past.

7.2 Suggestions for Future Research

The information presented in this project can be used in future research to benefit Hopedale community members. As with this project, further research would need to be based upon the research requests of the community. All outcomes of future projects should continue to benefit the community. Some ideas for potential future dissemination concerning toponyms are language and map curricula for schools, updated signage around town, podcasts, and news articles.

This project could be continued by interviewing more Elders and corroborating their histories with the histories already collected to gain the whole community perspective of the past. It could be interesting to do a comparison of the features of places used for similar activities over time, such as places for fishing or vacationing. Perhaps to go along with this, archaeological evidence of long-lasting activities (such as the cod fishery) could be searched for at some of the notable locations (such as Âllukâk). This could add material culture information to the Oral Historical testimony.

7.3 Conclusion and Final Remarks

As an outside researcher, I am incredibly grateful for the opportunity to come into Hopedale and be trusted with the personal memories and stories of respected individuals in the community. I saw my role as a way to act like an academic mirror, taking in raw data and reflecting back the history and themes to be interpreted by the community in their own way.

Interpreting Inuit histories through a Western lens is not good enough anymore. The past is complex, multifaceted, and subjective. Place names exist at this unique intersection of traditional time-based studies of the past, and Indigenous (and Inuit) place-based understandings. Studying toponyms relationally allows the past to become two dimensional and intrinsically connected to life in the modern day. The Elders and Knowledge Holders I interviewed are an invaluable source of knowledge to Hopedale, and it is my hope that the Hopedale Inuit continue to value their toponym knowledge to the benefit of cultural revitalization.

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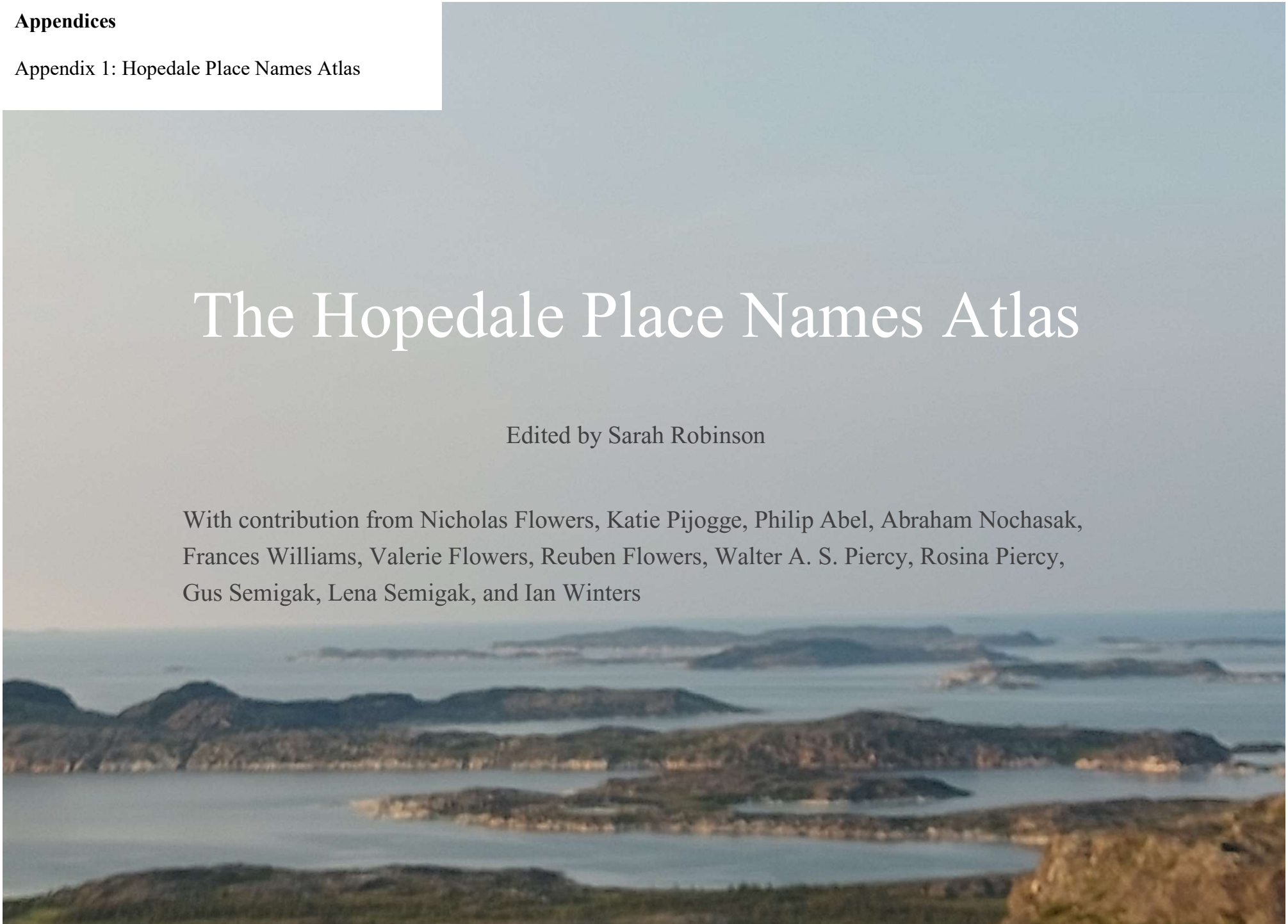
Appendices

Appendix 1: Hopedale Place Names Atlas



The Hopedale Place Names Atlas

Edited by Sarah Robinson

With contribution from Nicholas Flowers, Katie Pijogge, Philip Abel, Abraham Nochasak, Frances Williams, Valerie Flowers, Reuben Flowers, Walter A. S. Piercy, Rosina Piercy, Gus Semigak, Lena Semigak, and Ian Winters

This atlas is dedicated to the people and land of Hopedale.

Important Note: The information in this atlas is based solely on information shared in interviews with the contributors above, conducted in summer 2021. It does not claim to be totally accurate or include all iterations of spelling or meaning. Nakummek.

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Agvitok

Alternate Spellings: Avertok
Pronunciation: Ag-vi-tuuk
English Meaning: Where there are bowhead whales.
Comments: The original settlement of Hopedale.

This was one of the places where archaeologist, Junius Bird excavated. The Agvitok site is originally where Hopedale began, it's near where the Government Store is now, it's along the beach where there would've been a winter dwelling.

And there would have been sod houses located there, and I believe Agvitok means a place where there are bowhead whales. And it's really interesting because nowadays there are no bowhead whales here in Hopedale. We do get pamiuligait, grumpus whales, minke whales. But no bowhead whales.

And the name has been passed down through the generations, so we know what would've been here even a long time ago way back in history.

So, there's Agvitok down in the farthest point back of Hopedale and that's also near where the Hoffenthal site began with the Moravian missionaries.

Nicholas Flowers

Agvituatsuk

And also looking to the north from here, it's kind of covered by the bushes, but I believe [that's] either Agvituatsuak or Agvituatsuk. I'll have to get some clarification, I'm not a hundred percent on how to pronounce it. But looking at the old maps I believe it means a place where whales used to be, and most people call it Blackheads now, but it would be great to learn from our Elders what they remember about Agvituatsuak.

Nicholas Flowers

Alternate spellings: Blackheads
Pronunciation: Ag-vi-tuat-suk
Meaning: A place that you have to go around / a place where whales used to be.
Comments: A good fishing area for rockcods (ogâtsuk). There are many nesting sea pigeons (pitsiulâk) on the cliff facing the northwest in the summer.

AkuliaKattak

The hill that most often people know as the Southern Point is also known as AkuliaKattak. And I could be mistaken but I think that AkuliaKattak means a hill, like a location in between two bays that kind of is in between these two places.

Nicholas Flowers

Alternate spellings: Southern Point
Pronunciation: A-ku-lia-hat-tak
Meaning: In between.
Comments: A point of land in between two bays, Kukinniavik and Hopedale Harbour.

Allatogusik

Pronunciation: Al-la-to-gu-sik
Meaning: Nearby Allatok.

Kate Pijogge: And another place we used to go to was Allatogusik, that's where they went trouting. My late father-in-law stayed there. We had tents, we was in tupik (tent) eh? We was in tupik and we used to put the small net out, or use a rod, and catch some iKaluk (arctic char), iKalujak (dried char) and that. And dried the pitsik (dried fish) up there.

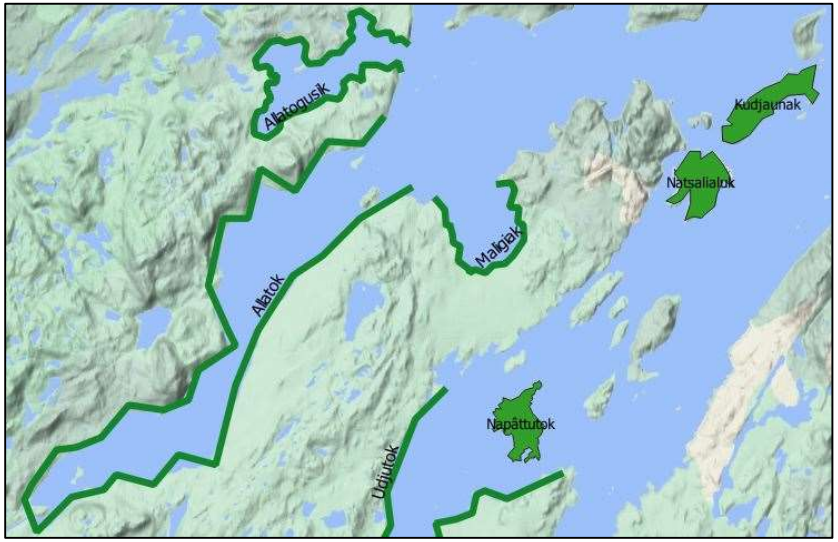
Nicholas Flowers: And it's also nearby Allatok eh? So that's right nearby hey?

Kate Pijogge: Allatogusik is right up behind there. We stayed in a tent, but there's a few cabins there now. I've not been there since my late husband died. So, I don't know proper right now. I'm scared to go in speedboat too now.

Nicholas Flowers: Would you ever like to go back on sikito someday? Skidoo?

Kate Pijogge: No. I'm not much for speedboat or skidoo now. Not far, only handy eh? Only around here you know? I don't really like it now.

Allatok



Pronunciation: Al-la-tok
Comments: First Nations Innu would travel here from the Allatok River (Brice-Bennett 1977:197).

Kate Pijogge: Allatok mânejuk, â. (Allatok is right here, yes). Behind an island* called Allatogusik – that's where everybody goes ice fishing in the spring. Lots of people go there, I mean quite a lot of skidoos in the spring eh? They make a hole through the ice to go fishing for rainbow trout or…
Nicholas Flowers: Ânâtlik. (Brook trout).
Kate Pijogge: Ânâtlik or iKaluk (Brook trout or arctic char). Taimaittuni. They go up there, yup. So, they go back and forth in the spring, that's their – what do you call it again – is it their culture or heritage or what?
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah, like, going back. That's their tradition.
Kate Pijogge: Tradition! That's their tradition now eh? Go back and forth to wherever they could find a place for… where they can catch some iKaluk (arctic char) or rainbow trout or iKaluk (arctic char). And they go up north too, to Hunt's River and Flowers' Bay, and wherever they can catch some fish for their supply in the spring. That's their traditions from long ago 'til now.
Nicholas Flowers: I was going to ask, Katie, do you know what the English meaning [of Allatok is]?
Kate Pijogge: I think it's like stepping, Allatok? You can allatok or alluk on New Year's, eh? New Year's Eve. You can alluk to the New Year.

* This location is represented as a bay instead of an island according to the advice of Nicholas Flowers.

Âllukâk

Philip Abel: It's what they call Railroads. I don't know who named that place but that's what they call it eh? I guess with two islands together like that looked like train tracks?
Nicholas Flowers: And can you recall what the English meaning of Âllukâk is?
Philip Abel: A place where you go through, or rail, what they call, railroad tracks? That was another cod fishing place. And that's where the schooners from all over Newfoundland and wherever else would go – all gathered there for their cod fishing. It'd be row by row, I counted twenty-one schooners, one summer, all side by side.

Kate Pijogge: I would like to talk about, when my late husband was living, where we used to go cod fishing with cod traps with his father. With all their children and relatives and all that, we used to go to Âllukâk to go cod fishing. Tamaunga motakkut (We used to go this way in boat). In the boat, we used to go there to Âllukâk.
Nicholas Flowers: Did it take long to go in motorboat from Hopedale to Âllukâk?
Kate Pijogge: I think it used to take two hours, or something like that, I can't remember proper boy. It might've been two hours I think? Back and forth? I'm not sure. Might have been lesser than that, depends on how fast the boat was eh? Yeah, there was Âllukâk there we used to go to, but they call it Railroads, now.

Alternate spellings: Railroads
Pronunciation: Allu-kaak
English Meaning: A place for orca whales (âlluk).
Comments: There used to be a summer fishing community here.

Nicholas Flowers: And looking out the Hopedale Run, there was a fishing community at Railroads or Âllukâk?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah.
Nicholas Flowers: Do you have many memories of fishing out to Âllukâk?
Abraham Nochasak: Lots. In the 1980s I was fishing with Alvin, there's a trench right there in the middle eh, for turbot.
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah? Oh, even turbot too eh?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah, turbot and cod fish.

When I was smaller, I used to go fishing in the summer with my family up in Railroads when there used to be lots of codfish. So I never used to be in Hopedale hardly, just like being at fishing camps. And when I was a little girl living in Railroads they used to be like three places, they used to be called Manasse's Place, Jobe's Place, and Joe Milik's Place, so there was three places in Railroads. And every Sunday we used to go to Joe Milik's Place to go to Church in his house. Yeah, in Railroads when we were cod fishing, when Daddy was cod fishing.
Rosina Piercy

That also was our fishing place.
Gus Semigak

There were houses there, and you can still see the foundations to this day!
Nicholas Flowers

AmmomajukKutok

Pronunciation: A-moo-ma-yuk-ha-took
Meaning: Place of the clams.

Rosina Piercy: We're at the place called AmmomajukKutok. We used to live here in…
Walter A.S. Piercy: Long ago.
Rosina Piercy: No, no. 34 years ago. I was like 26 years old, my children, only had three children at the time. This place has a lot of memories. It's a very good place for puijik – seal, nillik – geese, appik – bakeapples, ammomajuk – the place of the clams, AmmomajukKutok this is this place.
Walter A.S. Piercy: IKaluk (char).
Rosina Piercy: IKaluluviniKalauttuk amma mâni - there used to be lots of trout here, char.
Walter A.S. Piercy: Mitiluvinik. (There are lots of eider ducks).
Rosina Piercy: MitiluviniKavuk mâni amma. OmajuluviniKavuk. There is lots of ducks here, there's lots of wildlife.

Heartbeat of the Land

Sarah Robinson: So how did the kids like being here, was it a good place to play?
Rosina Piercy: They had fun. They'd run around, pick berries, and go jumping over to the island over there when the water was low, play with the baby gulls and just have an all time fun, like just being here. Feeling the heartbeat of the land you know? This is a part of who we are, our ancestors. There's nothing that you can beat. Like living off the land, being on the land, it's who we are.

Sarah Robinson: You can tell just by looking around and from the berries you were pointing out as we were going out that [people have] clearly been able to live here for long time and live off of the things that were here.
Rosina Piercy: Yes. Because long ago that's all, like, the people existed on is living off the land and the sea and the birds in the air, you know? We learnt how to survive; this is how come we're here. Our ancestors took us here. I find that very powerful, like our ancestors are the strongest people. They know how to move when the seasons were changing, what animals to hunt and what like, how to have a shelter. They were very smart in that way. And we are very smart in that way, this is why we're here.

Circle of Life

Rosina Piercy: I always talk about how like; we had all kinds of freighters and all kinds of boats coming in. Now we have one little steamer coming in bringing all kinds of stuff, eh? And then we had two airlines, we gone back to one. We had two school boards, we gone back to one. So, you know everything is going backwards, starting from here. I think that's the way the world is going, to go like this way *motioning backwards*, it's going to go back to where we came from. And it's like us aging, we're going back to where we came from too, we're going probably back to childhood like – we do actually, because we go back into Pampers, but I never had Pampers. *Laughter*

Nicholas Flowers: A circle – it's like all a circle. **Rosina Piercy**: It is! Circle of life.
Nicholas Flowers: And then your grandchildren get to come and experience the same places that you did when you were their age hey?
Rosina Piercy: Yes. I'm glad my ingutak (grandchild) is here because he can see where we were before.
Rosina Piercy: And like, I wasn't even afraid to be alone you know? Right now, I'm right cautious, afraid? I don't like to be alone anymore. Like I don't like to be alone anymore by myself, I'm just afraid something might happen. I'm that kind, cautious. Yeah, I think as you age your body goes back to little childhood ways again. Because we were very fearless when we were young. But now we're like "Eh! Eh!" like, you know.

Memories on the Land

Sarah Robinson: Was this the same place that you came to when you were small or you Walter?
Walter A.S. Piercy: No. Just found it by hunting here one day. And I liked it, so I said, I'll build a cabin here.
Nicholas Flowers: Yes, and when you come to the place like we are today, you can envision what the land looks like from a map, it puts everything into perspective, and you make more memories of the places. And that's like, when hunting on the land you come to a place, and it reminded me when Walter said that's why he liked it here is because you come back and you make good memories, right? And of course, this is where the wildlife is so you follow the wildlife, and you come, and you respect the wildlife, and you live amongst the wildlife, just like our ancestors used to.

Hard Times

Sarah Robinson: While you were living here was there any hard times living on the land or things that were more difficult about it?
Rosina Piercy: Just getting used to peeing in a bucket.
Laughter
Rosina Piercy: And fetching water, like we are so spoiled now, we have everything like running water and all that kind of stuff. I had a chat with the little kids in school about when we were smaller, when we were younger, I mean. I said "when I was younger, we never used to have no toilets in the school or nothing. As our little bucket used to be in the porch, we used to pee in the porch." "Eeee" like that kind, they can't understand it. Long ago, like we never had that kind, because it was a different generation.

Learning from the Land

Nicholas Flowers: The land knows, and you got to trust and listen to the land because it's going to tell you what's going to go on.
Rosina Piercy: You can't tell Mother Nature, "no." Or you can't tell God no either because He's the ruler of all things that happens. He's going to tell you when to go and when not to go and, you know. You never know if we're not going to be blessed for tomorrow.
Sarah Robinson: That's true.
Rosina Piercy: Live for today but be reasonable. Reasonable about it.

Nicholas Flowers: I was just looking, and I couldn't help but think there's so many cones on top of the napâttuk (tree), hey?
Rosina Piercy: Ilai (yes hey). That means we're going to have lots of snow.
Nicholas Flowers:: Â, uppippunga. (Yes, I believe). Yes, that was like a couple years ago there was so many dog berries, eh? And that was the most snow I can remember but it was also the same year that I got a natsik – a jar seal. And my grandmother told me, "there's going to be a lot of snow this year" she said. And I said, "How come?" And she said, "look at the fur, it's right long" she said. My father used to

say to me, “When there’s a lot of hair, and like it’s long fur on the sealskin, there’s going to be lots of snow, they’re preparing for the coming year.”
Sarah Robinson: So, the seals know before.
Rosina Piercy: Yeah, like you have a lot of predictions of the weather too. Like the Elders long ago never used to have radios and stuff, or TV or whatever to tell them what the weather was they just looked up in the sky or see what was going on and they could tell pretty well what it was for tomorrow. And some of them used to have little mason jar glass and have their own barometer to see the water rising or falling. If it rose it was, bad? And if it fell, good. Is it? Which way does it go Walter, up – that means good weather or bad weather?
Walter A.S. Piercy: Up good.
Rosina Piercy: Up good, down bad.
Sarah Robinson: That’s like, what were you telling me about, the bird…
Rosina Piercy: Oh yes, the crop of the partridge.
Sarah Robinson: Do you know about that?
Walter A.S. Piercy: If it blows up, there’s a high-pressure coming in. And in low pressure it flattens, deflates.
Rosina Piercy: Yeah, it tells the pressures of the thing but if there’s a lot of crop in the imaittuk (thing), if there’s lots inside of it that means –
Nicholas Flowers: The partridge is preparing for storm?
Rosina Piercy: Yeah, there’s going to be lots of snow and storms, that’s why they got so much in their crop.
Nicholas Flowers: Lots of food.
When you were talking about the weather predictions, I thought about the siKiniup aumaluanga (the circle around the sun).

Rosina Piercy: Oh, aumaluanga (the circle belonging to it).
Nicholas Flowers: Â (yes). Not today but when it's going to be bad weather, there's a circle around the sun, predicting precipitation.
Rosina Piercy: And ukiumi – when it's in the winter, it means like, it's going to be lots of snow. And then there's a little sun dog, not a full one round but there's a little rainbow on the side of the sun. And in the summertime when the gulls are soaring high, high, high, that means a lot of wind too.

Changes on the Land

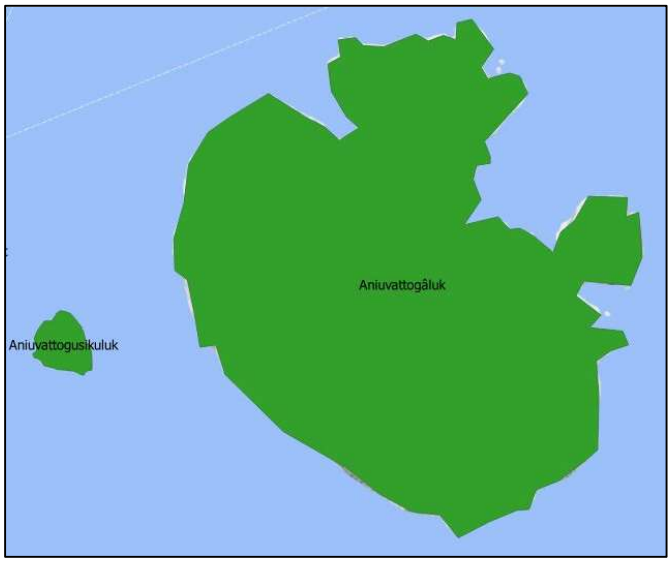
Sarah Robinson: So how have you seen this place change between when you made your cabin, or before you had your cabin here 'til now?
Walter A.S. Piercy: Willows got a lot bigger.
Rosina Piercy: The vegetation has grown a lot. I don't remember seeing the appet (bakeapples) here when we was here. And our little tupiujak used to be over here when we was building the cabin, just over here.
Nicholas Flowers: Oh, you can see the aumaluak (tent ring).
Rosina Piercy: And we used to imittak (to get water) just over here in the pond. I'm sure there's lots of little beetles in there. Yeah. Nice place, I wish I had a little tupik to sleep here tonight.

Walter A.S. Piercy: There's tent rings over there, on the point.
Rosina Piercy: *Showing place* Amma mâni pitaKalauttuk (There used to be things here also). Over here.

The Story of a Seal

Walter A.S. Piercy: Over here one year, just behind a little point there, I shot a seal in the nose, and he came ashore, and I had to shoot him over. Just shot him in the nose. He couldn't stay by, he came ashore, and I shot him. And I had a good meal that day.
Nicholas Flowers: Just down here, Walter?
Walter A.S. Piercy: Just up behind this little rock. That grassy place? Waiting for a seal there and shot him in the nose, and he come ashore, and I had to kill him.
Nicholas Flowers: Must have been good when you got him afterwards.
Walter A.S. Piercy: Had a good feed after.
Nicholas Flowers: Very good hey? Mamattuk (it is tasty).
Walter A.S. Piercy: Didn't have to row out anyway, he came right out to me.
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah, it was meant to be. You got him.

Aniuvattogâluk

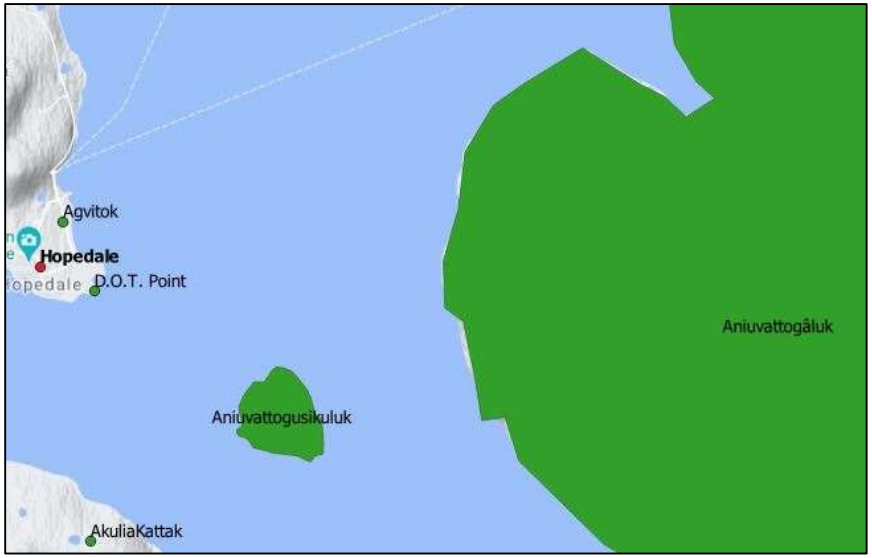


Alternate Spellings: Aniuvattok / Big Island
Pronunciation: A-niu-vat-to-gaa-luk
Meaning: A large place where there is a big snowbank.

Nicholas Flowers: And, also from here on the hill we can see Anivattogâluk. And I think there's a few different names for the place, but it does mean a place where there is a big snowbank, and this is also known as Big Island. I've heard Anivattogâluk and also Aniuvattok, and both would mean place where there is a big snowbank.

Abraham Nochasak: That's where I killed my first hare, on Big Island. I was like, around 14 or 15. Killed it with a .22.
Nicholas Flowers: Your first ukalik at Aniuvattok?
Abraham Nochasak.: Yep.
Nicholas Flowers: It is really good there for ukalet (Arctic hare) in the fall eh?
Abraham Nochasak: When the hills are black, you can see them a long ways, they're white! When they turn white in October.
Sarah Robinson: What place do you think you have your earliest memory of going out onto the land?
Abraham Nochasak: Big Island. Used to go blackberry picking, bakeapple picking, and redberry and all kinds of berries, and blue ones too. But they're all too small eh?

Aniuvattogusikuluk



Nicholas Flowers: And nearby Aniuvattok or Anivattogâluk is Ellen Island, and Ellen Island in Inuktitut would be Aniuvattogusikuluk or Anivattokuluk meaning a little place nearby Big Island, or a little place nearby a place that has a big snowbank.

Abraham Nochasak: All Hopedale, or the Hopedale fisheries people that spoke Inuttitut, they used to tell me all the places and names. Âllukâk, this kind of big island here, Aniuvattuk, and the ones right beside, the small one, Aniuvattukuluk.

Alternate Spellings: Aniuvattokuluk / Aniuvattogusik / Anivattokuluk / Ellen Island
Pronunciation: A-niu-vat-to-gu-si-ku-luk
Meaning: A small place nearby Aniuvattok.
Comments: A good hunting area for seals near this island.

Appilikuluk

Alternate Spelling: Akpilikulluk / Bakeapple Island
Pronunciation: Ap-pi-li-ku-luk
Meaning: A small place that has appik (bakeapples).
Comments: Refers to the two islands nearby each other.

Reuben Flowers: We're at Appilikuluk, meaning Bakeapple Island, or just, "place where there's bakeapples".
Sarah Robinson: What memories do you have associated with this place?
Reuben Flowers: Bakeapple picking and later in the fall doing a bit of goose hunting around. Years ago, we used to have some salmon nets near here but not exactly right on this island though. It was an important bakeapple picking place for a long time, I guess. Well, according to the name I guess people knew about it before, many, many years. Just around here and the other islands nearby also. Yep, I guess traditionally a long time ago.
Sarah Robinson: What sort of things have people made from the bakeapples throughout the years?
Reuben Flowers: Bakeapple jam mostly. Bakeapple pies. And I guess just having the bakeapples like they are. There's bakeapple cheesecake nowadays. That wasn't a traditional thing though. Just jams and pies.
Sarah Robinson: Yeah, it's interesting how traditions kind of change over time.

Valerie Flowers:

You came to Hopedale to work on your thesis about the land and the different names and the people and their stories. You've got firsthand experience today of exactly what the land has done for the people. The people had to encounter a lot of hardships just like the waves we see right now.

A lot of hardships came their way. A lot of their people died. But they were fighters. They looked around them. They saw the creation, and they knew that they had to fight for their family, for their children. Because someday they would pass on. But their children would be left.

And they fought hard, and the land provided protection, it gave them food, fish. And we have witnessed today, throughout these last few days, how hardship can come your way. But once you get out on the land you ponder the creation, and that's what the land means to people. Everyone has their spots; each spot means something different to them.

Because it's where their ancestors, it's where their people were from. But it does a person a world of good to get out. It motivates them. For sure, eh? We could be so down, but you get out and look around and you get your strength back. You get out there and look

at the simple things in life, and sometimes we don't look, do we? But when you look beyond, you're at peace eh? God has provided, many things. And we love our land.

Nicholas Flowers:

For sure, it's very important and I thought about a saying I once heard by one of our community members and they said, "if you respect the land, it'll respect you" when you take time to learn about the land and really appreciate the land you know that people come and go but the land is always here. And when you see the land, you think about how resilient the people are, just like mom said.

But also, how it's so very important to take time for the land to heal you. Because when we take time to look out to the land, whether it's cleaning up after ourselves or spending time with our parents to harvest for the winter, just like the bakeapples, the appik. It's really important to know that when you take time to go on the land, it heals you in ways that it's just like medicine. So, I'm really thankful for the archaeology project.

D.O.T. Point

Alternate spellings: Salvation / Salvesik / Department of Transportation Point
Alternate pronunciation: Salv-e-sik
Meaning: Salvation – loan word from English.
Comments: The Department of Transportation used to have a weather station here. People from the Salvation Army would gather here for Sunday services during the cod fishery.

Abraham Nochasak: There's D.O. T. Point and there's an island on the point. Me and my grandfather used to fish there for cod fish in punt. Cod fish were smaller then. We used to catch the younger ones.
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah that's interesting, because there was way, of course nowadays there's no cod fish, just rock cods, but it's good to learn about how there was a lot hey?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah.

Fred's Bay and Hunt's River

Sarah Robinson: What was it like char fishing down there?
Abraham Nochasak: It was only for food that time. It's great, leave your net there for a few hours, you're going to get full of kelp and full of fish!
Sarah Robinson: Did you go there with friends or family?
Abraham Nochasak: There was this old man in Hopedale who needed my help when I was 12 years old. He couldn't even fix his boat. So, at the age of 12 I could lift that boat.
Sarah Robinson: So, you helped him get his boat ready and get fish at that time?
Nicholas Flowers: He must have been really thankful for your help.
Sarah Robinson: Have you ever seen bears around this area?
Abraham Nochasak: All over.
Sarah Robinson: Did you ever get too close to one?
Abraham Nochasak: In Fred's Bay I did. I was going up and they were coming down. Must've been about that *gesturing* from here to the door I suppose.
Nicholas Flowers: Did he get scared of you?
Abraham Nochasak: Got scared of me, we both ran away.
Sarah Robinson: You both ran away!
Nicholas Flowers: In different directions!
Abraham Nochasak: Yep!

Katie Pijogge: And they [fishers] go up north too, to Hunt's River and Flowers' Bay, and wherever they can catch some fish for their supply in the spring. That's their traditions from long ago 'til now.

Ikigasakuluk

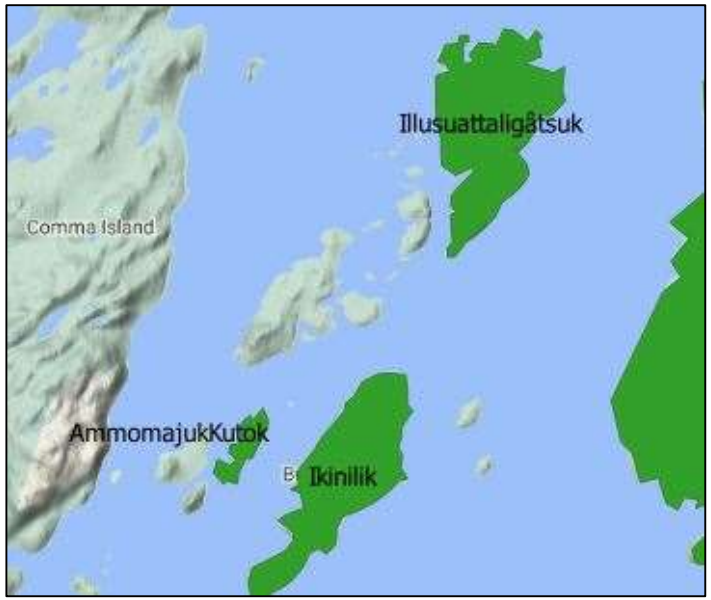
Abraham Nochasak: It's called Ikigasakuluk, small little bay.
Nicholas Flowers: So, it'll be on the high mountain?
Abraham Nochasak: You can see it from a long ways to, eh? From way up to Little Bay North and South.
Nicholas Flowers: You can know that you're coming home.

Pronunciation: I-ki-ga-sa-ku-luk
Meaning: A small strait.
Comments: Located at the big hill. This location is on the island known as Blackheads or Agvituatsuk.

Ikigasâluk

Nicholas Flowers: Okay, Ikigasâluk and that's the one at Shoal Tickle?
Gus Semigak: Yeah, Shoal Tickle, Ikigasâluk, it's right there. That's where we used to have our fishing stage.

Alternate spellings: Windy Tickle / Shoal Tickle
Pronunciation: iki-ga-saa-luk
Meaning: A large strait.
Comments: The east – west portion is referred to as Shoal Tickle, and the north – south portion is referred to as Windy Tickle.



Pronunciation: Il-lu-suat-ta-li-gât-suk
Meaning: A place that has many small sod houses.

Ikinilik

Alternate spellings: Burnt Island
Pronunciation: I-ki-ni-lik

Illusuattaligâtsuk

It's really interesting because you learn about these places and then you think about what they actually are translated from English to Inuttitut, or Inuttitut to English.

And that also reminds me while we're looking up to the south from here [the Base] we can see another beautiful place that's called Illusuattaligâtsuk, and Illusuattaligâtsuk means a place that has many small sod houses. And this was one of the places where archaeologist, Junius Bird excavated.

And it's really interesting because, I recall, one time during the Agvitok Archaeology Project, a few years back in February, and we were wondering where could we find the sod houses that Bird had excavated in the 1930s.

And then we read on the map Illusuattaligâtsuk, and in learning what the translated meaning is, then you can tell that this is where sod houses are. So, then you can match the map up, and you can visit the place and see where they would've been recorded. And I can imagine that the place name was called Illusuattaligâtsuk when the houses were [being used by people who lived there] in the wintertime. **Nicholas Flowers**

Iluviktalik

Alternate spelling: Grave Island
Pronunciation: I-lu-vik-ta-lik
Meaning: A place with a grave or graves.

Sarah Robinson: Before there was maps and things like that, there was just the place names. So, do you think those place names would've helped people navigate the land or was it more of just a personal connection?

Nicholas Flowers: I'd say a lot of it had to do with travelling. And Inuit really did live a nomadic lifestyle and they travelled from place to place depending on the season, depending on where the food was to be harvested.

And I think for example, learning about a place where people could come to and [learn] from the name for example, looking to the south from here, there's an island called Iluviktalik. And Iluviktalik means a place that has a grave or graves. And on this island is where Inuit who lived in this area were laid to rest. On the southwest side of the island there's a beautiful place and the traditional burial site is there. So, people would know that this is where there are graves and it's very important to give respect to this island and the entire land around as well.

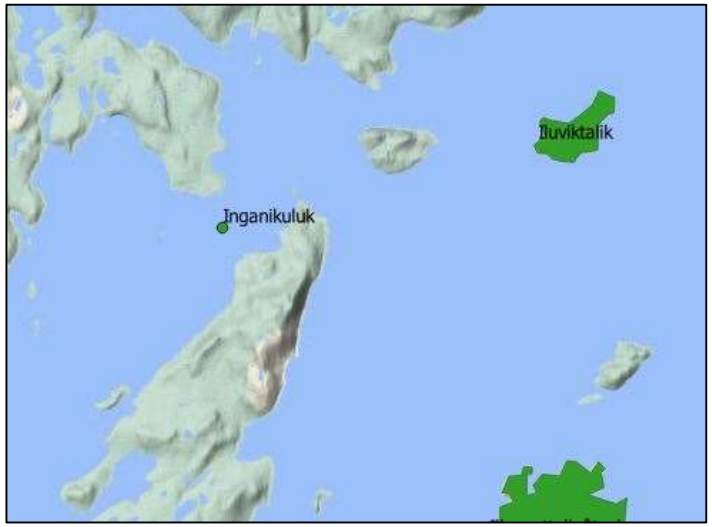
Imnâluk

Alternate spellings: Imnalik, Innalik, Innâluk
Pronunciation: Im-nâ-luk
Meaning: A large cliff.

It means a cliff, so there's a cliff there. And before the road was there it was hard, I remember hearing stories from my dad when he told me it was hard to get around, and they would go like, Kuleliganniak, like looking for capelin and it was hard to get around there,

Nicholas Flowers

Inganikuluk



Pronunciation: Ing-a-ni-ku-luk
Meaning: A small place with a strong tide.

My family's cabin is not too far away, maybe 25 minutes on snowmobile or on speed boat, but we would always travel to the south or southwest of here to go out to our cabin maybe after schools on a Friday for the weekend when the school was finished. And the area where our cabin is now is called Inganikuluk.

Inganikuluk also provides information on a safe travel route or, technically speaking, which place to avoid because Inganikuluk means a little rattle and it's an area where the water flows in and out and the sea ice doesn't freeze completely. It can be a dangerous place for travelling on snowmobile on the sea ice.

But that's near where our cabin is in close from the bay from there, and definitely this place has a lot of connection to my family and it means a lot. So, when creating awareness about the Inuktitut place names, places like Inganikuluk would be very important so that people know that "ok there's a rattle here, so I better stick to the land and avoid going on the ice around the point just to stay on the safe side".

And that's exactly true because we always cut across on what we call Rattle Point just inside. So, it'd be really interesting to have this on a map for the community especially for people who may be going out on the land in the wintertime.

Nicholas Flowers

IngikKanialuk

Pronunciation: I-ngik-ha-nia-luk
English Meaning: A large rattle (it doesn't freeze over).
Comments: Within Pilik.

It was also important inside here, that's where seals used to go in the Fall. That was important to my family because the seals coming from North, they go in there and they [stopped] there. And that's when we kill our seals then. Like harps.

Gus Semigak

Isunnut

Pronunciation: I-sun-nut
English meaning: Our end.
Comments: This is the most northerly point of land on the Hopedale peninsula.

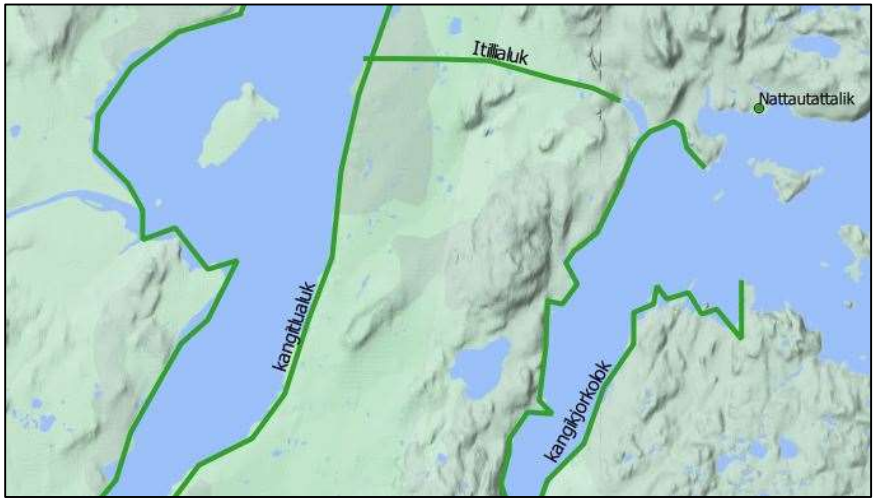
Kammakuluk is a place where there is a little sod house, like a little low wall. And there were sod houses there that were excavated a few summers back. So that would've been a winter settlement.

And it's right nearby the point that's called Isunnut. And Isunnut means "our end". So, if you look at Hopedale from a distance, we're on a big peninsula, and the farthest point north would be what's called "our end" or Isunnut.

And it just amazes me to think about all of these place names [that] would've been named before the maps and before satellite imagery. So, it's really cool to think about how the people who created the names, Inuit living along the coast and near Hopedale area, would've come up with the names, and would've been inspired by the landscape surrounding them, from the animals, from the seasonal practices like hunting and gathering. It's a beautiful place.

Nicholas Flowers

Itillialuk



Alternate spellings: Big Bay Neck
Pronounciation: I-til-lia-luk
English Meaning: Big crossing place

Gus Semigak: They all used to come out anywhere here, caribou, a long time ago. We call it Itillialuk.
Nicholas Flowers: Where you have to cross over?
Gus Semigak: Yeah.

Itilliasuk

Alternate spelling: Itipliasuk
Pronounciation: I-til-lia-suk
English Meaning: A place for entering or crossing over

“Itillik” means “to cross”

Gus Semigak

Philip Abel: Itilliasuk, the place where you enter or cross over. There’s a neck over here where you cross over to come in. And this *gesturing* is where you enter. As far as I can remember, my great-grandfather built a cabin over there, but it’s run down now. It was their winter, fall and spring place, where they spent most of the year. It’s nice and quiet. That’s one of the main reasons why I love being here and now my granddaughters love being here too now. I would’ve built over there *gesturing* but that’s a bad spot for the children, so I built it here, where they have the freedom of roaming around. Oldest one, she don’t want to leave eh? When we get here.

We spent a lot of time here when I was growing up eh? I spent, I could say, the majority of the time. Because our father used to take us out of school sometimes. Until one year we had a really hard principal and we couldn’t leave. But that used to be the custom, maybe a week before school was out he’d take us over to the old place, to the cabin.
[My father] would take me out and go up there on dog team, maybe for the day or a couple of nights, to go hunting and wooding. Because it used to be really good hunting in this spot along here before all them cabins that’s up there now used to be in there.

So, it was like sort of a tradition where the first person that was here or whatever, it was their traditional hunting ground. And you had to get permission from that person to maybe go hunt in there if they want to. There wasn't any fishing like now, like with a rod and nets and whatever. It was all busy, like just for collecting for your own food or selling it to whoever's buying it right? It was always busy times then. Seemed like we were never bored, there was always something to do. I used to walk around these hills here sometimes and father used to give me just a handful of .22 cartridges. We used to walk around here and make sure we were handy around the house, eh? [My father] wouldn't let us go far. I'd either walk over to that cove over there or on the hills for partridge hunting or look for porcupine or whatever. In the wintertime. It was mostly partridge hunting or mostly wooding, eh? There were times where he and mom used to go home by themselves on dog team and leave us at the cabin. And me and my oldest sister, we had to take care of our brothers and sisters. So, there was always something to do.

Nicholas Flowers: And also, as you were telling us earlier, this is where there was a campsite here for a summer tent?

Philip Abel: Yep, there's an old tent place there. And there's another tent place over on that other hill here. And somebody had a cabin here, *gesturing* here before. Began digging down and see where that stump is eh? That's where I found an old door hinge. So, somebody had a cabin here before, but I don't know who.

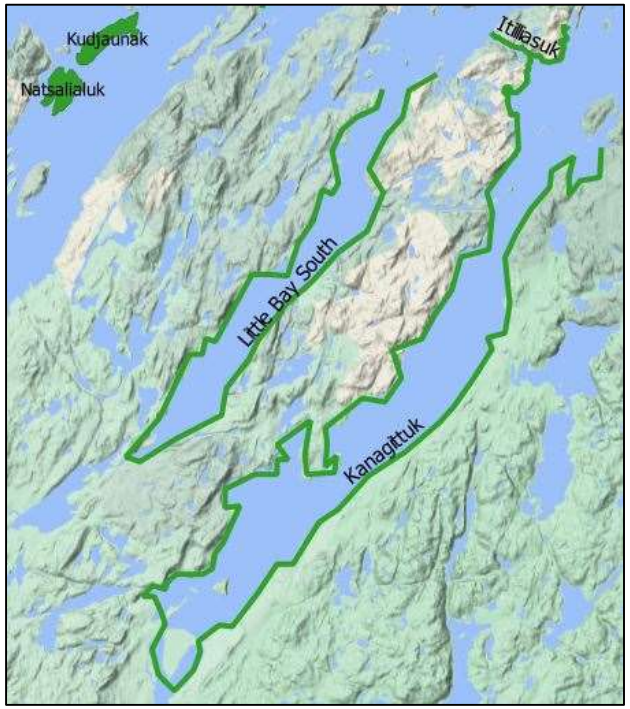
Kaligusilik

Pronounciation: Ka-li-gu-si-lik
English Meaning: A belly button.

Kammakuluk (See Isunnut)

Pronounciation: Ham-ma-ku-luk
English meaning: A little wall.
Comments: There are sod houses on the north side of Kammakuluk. The Inuttitut place name may refer to a small wall of a sod house (illusuak) here.

Kanagittuk

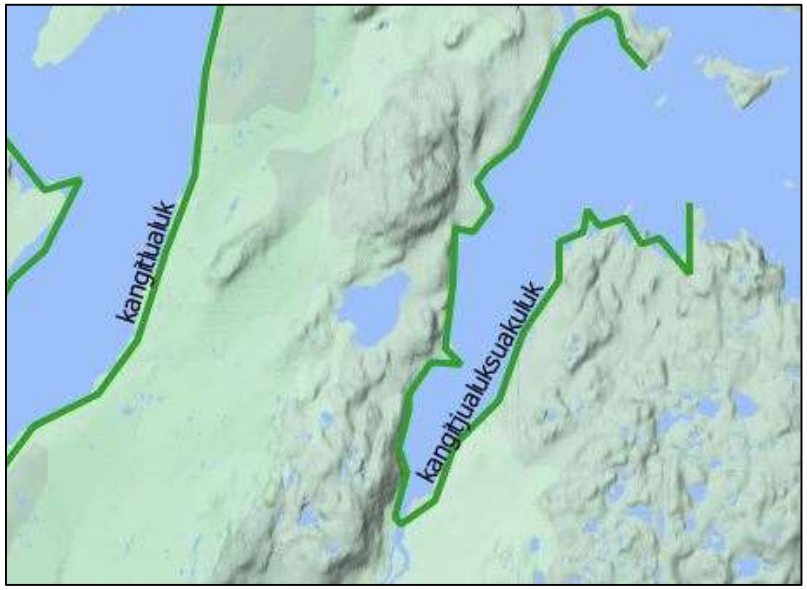


Alternate spelling: Kanairiktok
Pronounciation: Ka-na-git-tuk
English Meaning: Where there are good trees for tent poles.

Philip Abel: We would be sealing up there in the spring and sometimes in the fall. We'd all go up there till the spring seals went back out. Every spring it was like that.
Nicholas Flowers: Must've been hard work.
Philip Abel: It was a lot of work. But it seemed like we didn't mind it then, it's just the natural thing to do.
Nicholas Flowers: Do you have many memories of helping to clean the seal skins afterwards?
Philip Abel: I never really cleaned seal skins myself, eh? Not till, well, after my father died. But he and his brother worked together at it. He did that every year.

Nicholas Flowers: At Kanagittok, we caught one ânâtlik (brook trout) and one iKaluk (arctic char) at Trout Brook. There were lots heading up, heading up Trout Brook. But they were hard to catch.
Abraham Nochasak: It's easier when you go up to the falls. Just got to hook them.
Nicholas Flowers: Yes eh.
Sarah Robinson: When we were up there, we saw a bear too.
Abraham Nochasak: Yes!?
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah an atlasuak (large black bear).
Sarah Robinson: Have you ever seen bears around this area.
Abraham Nochasak: All over Kanagittok.

kangitjualuksuakuluk

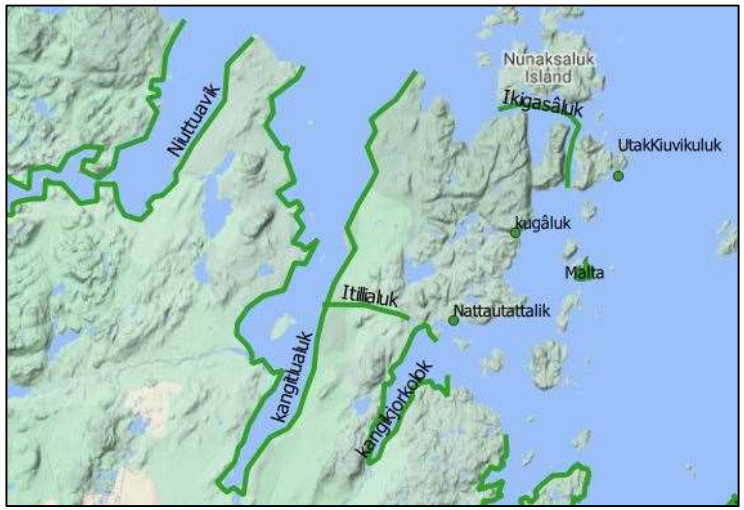


Alternate spelling: Little Bay North / kangikjorkolok
Pronounciation: kan-git-jua-luk-sua-ku-luk
Alternate pronounciation: kan-git-jor-ko-luk

Abraham Nochasak: Little Bay North is full of whale bones. That's where they used to go to die. There are great big whale bones over there. I can show you where they are. They're on this side where the southerly winds drive them ashore.
Sarah Robinson: So, was it a good place for hunting whales down there?
Abraham Nochasak: All over the place they used to hunt whales here. But they used to dive down there in that Little Bay.

Nicholas Flowers: Abba do you know if there's an Inuktitut place name for Little Bay North?
Abraham Nochasak: It's only called kangitjualuksuakuluk, small one. Little Bay North.

kangitlualuk



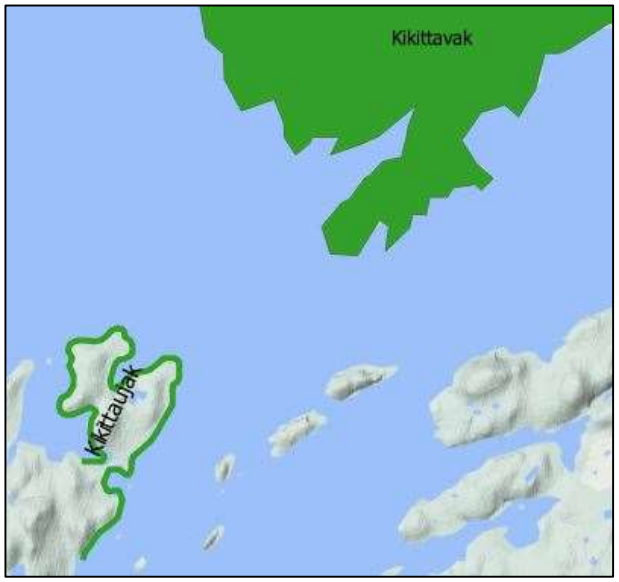
Alternate spelling: Big Bay
Pronounciation: kan-gi-tlua-luk
English Meaning: A large bay

kangitlualuk means Big Bay. The way I learned those were from my father, and from people that lived here before us, that's why we call it kangitlualuk. When the Moravians come, they started naming names in Kallunâtitut, in English. But today I know both languages, so I would just say Big Bay. Because those younger people now, they wouldn't understand what I'm saying if I say it in Inuttitut.

Gus Semigak

Kikittaujak

Pronounciation: Hi-kit-tau-yak
English Meaning: A peninsula / almost an island



Kikittavak

Pronounciation: Hi-kit-ta-vak
English Meaning: A big island.

Learning about the place names helped people not only in the past, but in the present day how to navigate while going on the land or to their cabins. There's a place here to the southeast, and it's Kikittavak - meaning big island.
Nicholas Flowers

Kinnitâluk

Alternate spelling: Black Island
Pronounciation: Hin-ni-taa-luk
English meaning: A large place that is black.
Comments: This island has dark coloured rock.

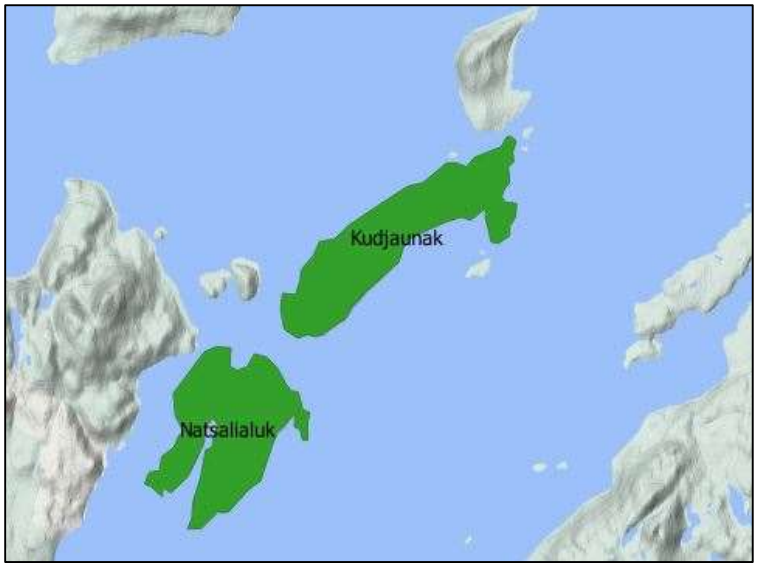
kokuluk

Pronounciation: kuu-ku-luk
English Meaning: A little brook.
Comments: This area was originally a cove, but later became a pond after the road construction.

Also, there's a little [pond] near where I live in inland further from the road by the Nunatsiavut Government office. And there's a brook that trickles down into the pond. kokuluk is right nearby where the council office is. Long ago, people had different names within what is now modern-day Hopedale, and it's really interesting to see and learn about.

Nicholas Flowers

Kudjaunak



Alternate spellings: kuijonok
Pronounciation: hu-djau-nak
English meaning: A razorback fish / a tanzee eel.

Walter A.S. Piercy: This island up here one year I had to kill a caribou with a knife.
Sarah Robinson: With a knife?!
Walter A.S. Piercy: Yeah.
Sarah Robinson: How was that?
Walter A.S. Piercy: I had to go after it, he was shot, but wasn't shot in the right place so I had to run after it. Jump[ed] on it. Before I jumped on it, he kicked me. Knocked me down.
Sarah Robinson: He was fighting back!
Walter A.S. Piercy: So, I had to wrestle with it and killed it after a while with a knife.

Nicholas Flowers: Was that up here on the island (AmmomajukKutok)?
Walter A.S. Piercy: Kudjaunak I think?
Sarah Robinson: That must have been an interesting experience. A difficult experience?
Walter A.S. Piercy: I was scared for a little bit.
Sarah Robinson: Yeah, you were scared! Who would win, the caribou or you?

Rosina Piercy: Because we were taught, "never leave an animal that's injured go on." Because if you got something injured you have to go and kill it.
Walter A.S. Piercy: Didn't want to waste a bullet.
Rosina Piercy: And take what you want like, don't overkill, just take what you want. This is why our caribou is gone! It's been overhunted.

kogâluk

Alternate spellings: kugâluk, kugaluk
Pronounciation: kuu-gaa-luk
English meaning: A big brook

Kukinniavik

So, where we are now standing at the American Base and I can see a few places looking towards the south from here. I can see Kukinniavik, and Kukinniavik is the cove just behind the airstrip. Kukinniavik means a place for waiting and shooting and it's a really great place for hunting seals in the fall. And Kukinniavik is also near a hill which is between the two bays, Kukinniavik Bay and Hopedale Harbour. But as we talked about earlier, [with] places such as Kukinniavik you know, you can tell from the name that it would be good for hunting. So, if you're in the area and you're stopping by and you're wondering where a good place is to go hunting in the fall, and you would say, okay let's go to Kukinniavik because that means a place for waiting and shooting.
Nicholas Flowers

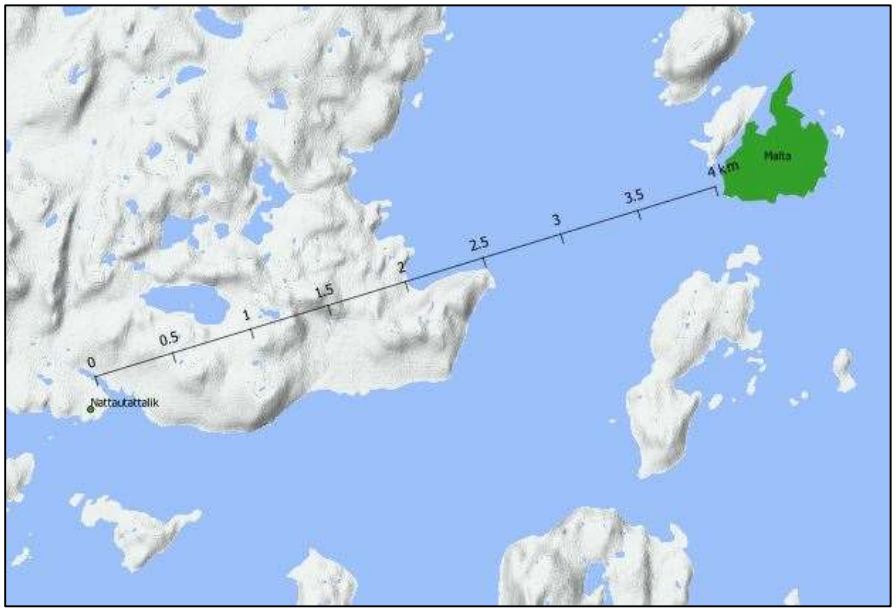
Alternate spellings: Tuktusina
Pronounciation: Hu-kin-nia-vik
Alternate pronounciation: Ho-kin-nia-vik
English Meaning: A place for shooting.
Comments: This is a cove behind the airport. It is a good hunting place for ptarmigan in the early winter.

Maligiak

Rosina Piercy: And when I was smaller, I used to go summer fishing with my family up in Railroads when there used to be lots of codfish. And after that was done, we used to go up into Maligiak to do some more fishing up in there. So, I never used to be in Hopedale hardly, just like being at fishing camps.
Sarah Robinson: And that was a place for more codfishing?
Walter A.S. Piercy: IKaluk (char).
Rosina Piercy: Char. Yep, and it used to just be tupik, tupiujak (tents), there. No cabins.

Pronounciation: Mal-ee-gak
English Meaning: To follow the place.

Malta and Nattautattalik



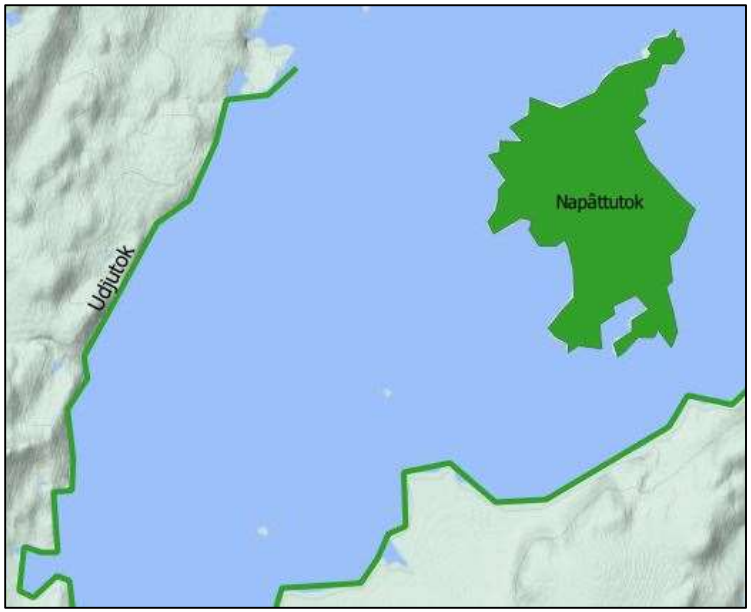
Malta Pronounciation: Mul-ta
Nattautattalik Pronounciation: Nat-tau-tat-ta-lik
English Meaning: Lichen (Old Man's Beard) on Trees.

Nicholas Flowers: Did your family have a dog team growing up?
Gus Semigak: They all did.
Nicholas Flowers: Everyone?
Gus Semigak: My father did. One time we were going out for the spring, right here look (pointing at Malta). We had that old tent there one time. And our tent got torn down, blown away. So, it was white out (referring to the snowstorm). So, my father started getting the dogs ready, and my mother was getting ready inside, and taking our belongings. So, we left there, and we went… Nautaima? (Where is it?) Right here (Nattautattalik). It was white out, couldn't even see our dogs sometimes. My father just let the dogs go. All he said was "huit!" He never spoke to them after. Even though we couldn't see the dogs, they went right there.
Nicholas Flowers: They took you there through the storm.
Gus Semigak: Yeah. We couldn't even see our dogs sometimes.
Nicholas Flowers: But you trusted them.
Gus Semigak: Yep. The dogs were smart.
Sarah Robinson: That's a lot of trust to put in the dogs, that's good.
Gus Semigak: Yeah.
Nicholas Flowers: Yeah, it's something to hear the story but to live that experience it gives you trust in the dog team so much more hey?

Napagutaktalik

Alternate Spellings: Manuel's Island
Pronounciation: Na-pa-gu-tak-ta-lik
English Meaning: A place that has something sticking up.

Napâttutok



Pronounciation: Na-paa-tu-tuuk
English Meaning: A place where there are trees.
Comments: The English meaning probably comes from a story about an open campfire that accidentally caught many trees on fire a long time ago.

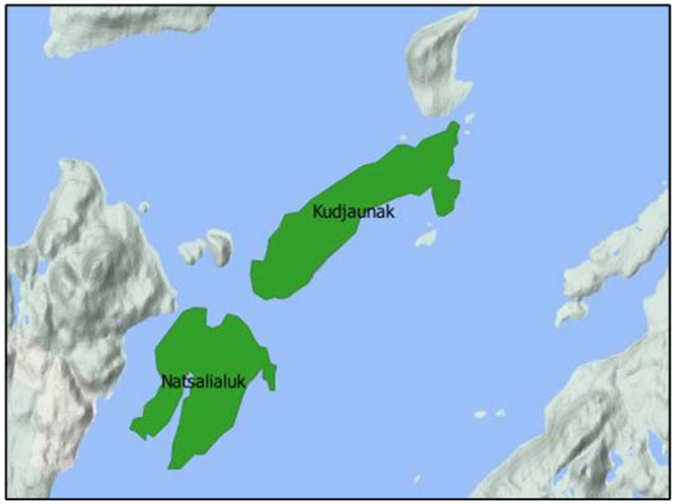
Getting Wood

Katie Pijogge: We used to go to Napâttutok in the fall sometimes. They used to raft logs, some wood for their fall and winter firewood.
Nicholas Flowers: Was there lots of dry wood?
Katie Pijogge: Yeah, there was some – quite a bit of dry wood. Because there's no wood in Hopedale, hardly. And still no wood yet, hard to get wood here. So, they used to raft it in the motorboat, haul it with lines and that. Hauling it in the motorboat was real slow.
They burnt it to keep the heat going in the winter or in the fall. I think they used to share the wood out then, in them days, to whoever went with them. So, they shared out the wood when they arrived, so families had their wood together.
Sarah Robinson: So, the families would all share the wood, when they came in?
Katie Pijogge: Yeah. With whoever went in the motorboat with them. To cut up the wood and haul it back from up there… 30 or 25 miles must be! Must have taken a long coming back with the heavy load and rafting the wood, a motorboat full of wood too, and everything you know?

Music

Katie Pijogge: There was a man that used to live up there at Napâttutok before, and they had a cabin. And that's the man that used to play accordion on the hill in Hopedale. I think? He used to play accordion outdoors on the steps. Yeah, on a chair out playing the accordion. Used to be good ole, religious songs like, eh? Mostly on Sunday morning or mornings like that. Oh, that used to be nice. Yeah, we could hear him from where we were living before, you know?

Natsalialuk



Abraham Nochasak: It's a white island with white rocks, covered with grass and shrubs and trees.
Nicholas Flowers: Can you recall what the white rocks were used for? For carving?
Abraham Nochasak: Oh, Fred Tutu used to put them by his house on the side of the road, so you can see better. They shine in the night eh, they're white! His old house was on top of the hill.

Alternate spelling: Natsatok
Pronounciation: Nat-sa-lia-luk
English Meaning: Has a big valley / Where there is a valley.

Natsasuak

Alternate spelling: Tom's Cove
Pronounciation: Nat-sa-suak
English Meaning: A large load to carry / a large valley.

NauliKattavik

Alternate spelling: Canoe Island
Pronounciation: Nau-li-hat-ta-vik
English Meaning: Where they used to harpoon seals.

Ian Winters: There are more and more young hunters now that don't know the traditional place names that they just put a name on an island because I don't know, because they seem to like the name.
Sarah Robinson: So, do you think those new English names are new with this generation or were they kind of around a bit before then?
Ian Winters: Yeah, just this generation. The last 10-15 years, I think. Like I'll give you an example over, just to the southeast of me there's a place called NauliKattavik, but I think some younger hunters call it Canoe Island, for some reason. Maybe there's a canoe found there I don't know.
It has something to do with the harpoon head, the [Inuttitut] name of the island. Or where they used to harpoon seals.

Nigutlik

Alternate spellings: Uigutlikuluk, Uigullik
Pronounciation: Ni-gu-tlik
English Meaning: A slimy place (from working with cod) / Small island almost joined.

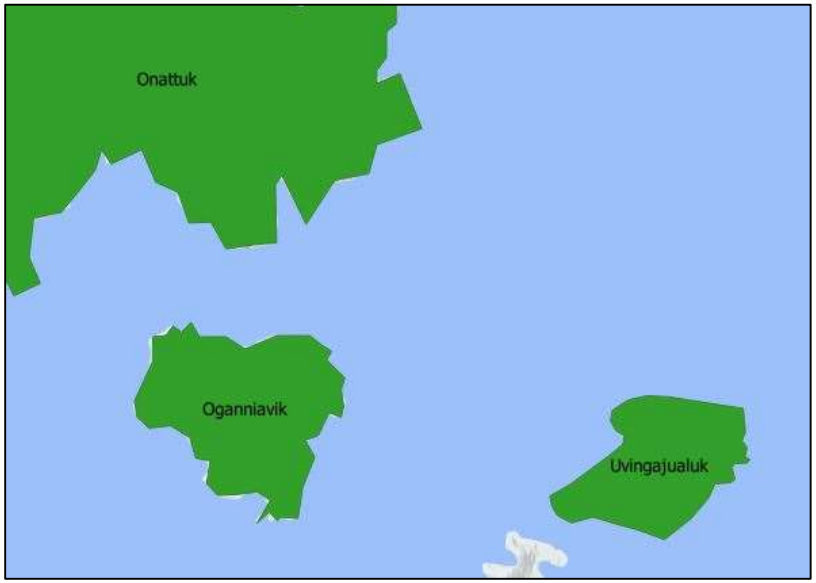
Alternate spellings: Flowers Bay
Pronounciation: Niut-tua-vik
English meaning: A place for using a bird spear.
Comments: William Flowers moved here from the Rigolet area and had a homestead for the next three generations.

Niuttuavik

Katie Pijogge: They used to go up north to to Hunt's River and Flowers' Bay, and wherever they could to catch some fish for their supply in the spring. That's their tradition from long ago 'til now.

Gus Semigak: Big Bay and Flowers' Bay was also very important to people. Because there used to be a lot of caribou that came out from in the country in the fall. And up here, caribou all used to come out anywhere here, a long time ago.

Oganniavik



Pronounciation: Uu-gan-nia-vik
English Meaning: A place to go fishing
Comments: There used to be a fishing stage on this island.

So, there was a cod fishing stage there and, in the summertime, just like now there was a fishery, and it's also a really great hunting place for Canada Geese in the fall.

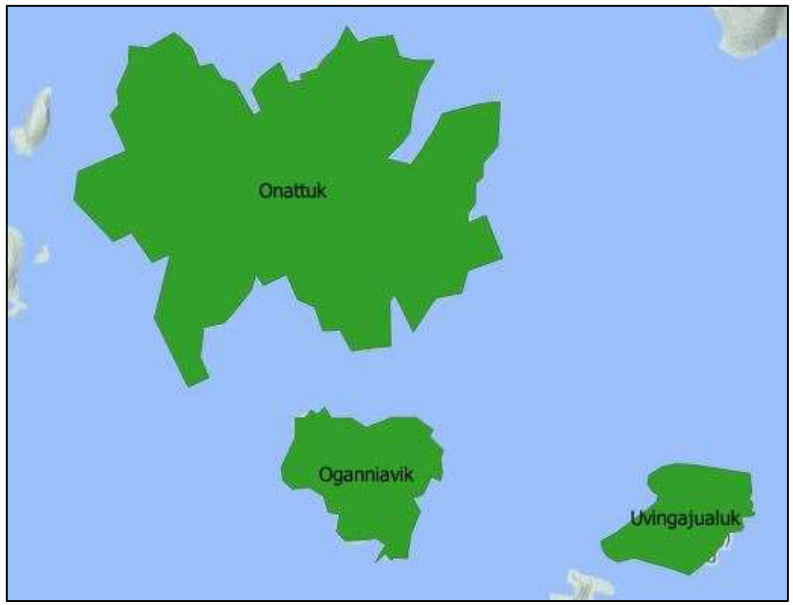
Nicholas Flowers

Ojugutlik

Alternate spellings: Winsor's Harbour
Pronounciation: Uu-yu-gu-tlik
English Meaning: A double island.

Nicholas Flowers: Ojugutlik. I wonder what does Ojugutlik mean?
Gus Semigak: Like, almost double island. Because you go in a little – what do you call that – a rattle I suppose. You can go right through it. That's how far I go South.
Nicholas Flowers: I don't think I've ever went to Winsor's Harbour. Just farthest to Uviluktok.

Onattuk



Alternate spellings: Paradise Island
Pronounciation: Uu-na-tuk
English Meaning: It is hot.
Comments: On this island there is a good pond for waiting and hunting for Canada geese in the fall.

We used to go there with Mom and Stepfather, you can see it from here. I can't remember how long it took us by tukutok. But you'd get there in no time by speed boat I suppose.

Lot of cod, there used to be a lot of cod, we would jig them, eh. And I was gone with them one time, jigging, and they caught a great big cod. Like everywhere, if you're fishing there were wharves where you kept the fish and cleaned the fish and salted it. That was, when I was older, we used to go to Onattuk, and [had] a little house there. That's when the Americans were here actually, when did they come (1951-1959)?

Onattuk – I can't remember really how long we used to keep going down there, I think until mom and them stopped after the cod was deleted from our waters. My Atâtsiak Boas, and my Aunt Rosie, my mom's sister, were down there with us one time in the summer. Once, Atâtsiak came in the night to Onattuk. By that time, they [Atâtsiak and Aunt Rosie] had moved back [to Hopedale from Onattuk], Atâtsiak came to let us know Aunt Rosie was really sick. So, we travelled back [to Hopedale] during the night. Thank goodness she survived. We didn't do as many activities on Onattuk as we used to in Tikigâtsuk. It was more like a rocky place where you fished. We used to help with fishing, and like in Tikigâtsuk, we would play with the rocks and find shells to put them on and things like that. kanajuganniak (going after baby sculpins) and all that. **Frances Williams**

PâkKialuk

Alternate spellings: PâKialuk
Pronounciation: Paak-Hia-luk
English meaning: The mouth of a bay.
Comments: This island is in the mouth of Pilik Bay.

This island was also important to us. We used to be there [in] springtime too. That's where we used to kill our seals. It was our hunting place also. It wasn't too far from Hopedale, so we'd just go there so we didn't have to go back that far.

Gus Semigak

Pilik

Alternate spellings: Pillik
Pronounciation: Pi-lik
English meaning: Something owned.
Comments: A good hunting area for partridges (ptarmigan) in the winter. Also, a good place to hunt seals in the winter and spring.

Sâttuk

Pronounciation: S-ah-took
English Meaning: Flat Island.

We're at a place called Sâttuk, it's an island about 10 kilometres from Hopedale. This is kind of a traditional goose hunting area in this pond here and also a good bakeapple picking island for the community. I've been coming here for 10 or 15 years now, mainly bakeapple picking, and a scattered goose hunt, I guess.

It means flat island – a flat island. It appears flat from a distance. I don't know if there's any land use here in the wintertime other than maybe late late winter and early spring for seal hunting. There's no ptarmigan out here. Arctic hare might be a reason they would come out here but, I've never heard tell of too many people coming out here to hunt in the wintertime. This is more like a fall and summer place.

Ian Winters

Settinik

Pronounciation: Siit-ti-nik
Alternate pronounciation: Sin-a-tik, Sheet-nik
English meaning: Frozen waterfall / the edge of Hopedale.
Comments: The name refers to the whole area, including the swimming pond and the highest hill.

The high hill here near the swimming pond is called Settinik hill and Settinik means a frozen waterfall. And the frozen waterfall comes from the swimming pond when it freezes in the colder seasons, that would be the late fall. And then the entire area is called Settinik after this place.
Nicholas Flowers

Nicholas Flowers: towards Hopedale here, there's also a hill here – Settinik Hill, hey?
Abraham Nochasak: *Pronouncing* Sen-ni-tik
Sarah Robinson: Sen-ni-tik, is that how you say it?
Abraham Nochasak: The edge of the Hopedale is what it means.
Nicholas Flowers: Oh, edge of Hopedale yeah?
Abraham Nochasak: But your people [youth] call it Sheet-nik. That way it doesn't sound right. *Laughter*
Nicholas Flowers: Sen-ni-tik. It's good to learn the original place names hey? Just so they could be passed down to our children in the future.

Tasiujalik

Alternate spellings: Harbour Deep, Tasiujalialuk
Pronounciation: Ta-siu-ja-lik
English Meaning: A place that has a lake / Has a large lake.
Comments: This island has a deep, sheltered harbour.

I can't really see them from right here but just over out to the North here more is Harbour Deep, Tasiujalik There's several ponds on there. I guess English names were used quite a bit too.

Rosina Piercy

Nicholas Flowers: Tasiujalialuk, that's what most people call Harbour Deep?
Gus Semigak: Yeah. It's like a lake. Almost the last island before Kaligusilik.

The Base

Alternate spellings: The American Base

Nicholas Flowers: This is a very beautiful place here in Hopedale. We can really see many directions, we can see looking towards the south, looking towards the east, and to the north, and even to the west. And where we are we're really high up, so we can see a great overlook of the community, and we can also see many of the islands that are around Hopedale. And it's a very interesting place because when you look at the land, the maps that we read and look at come to life and we can actually see where the Inuktitut place names are located.

Frances Williams: Mom and them had a really good friend on The Base. And a couple of Americans came down to visit in the summertime. One time they came unexpectedly, and we were eating Kuak (frozen meat). Mom said "Hurry it up!" and hid it.
Sarah Robinson: Why did you hide it?
Frances Williams: That was the instinct mom and them had! To hide it. Because she didn't know whether they would find it smelly or whatever.

Tikigâtsuk

Alternate spellings: Tikigâtsuk siKinilik
Pronounciation: Tik-e-gaat-sook
English Meaning: A beautiful place for arriving.

Stuck on the Snow

Frances Williams: At that time, I lived with my grandparents. It was during the time they travelled by dog team to their aullâsimapvik (cabin) or those little motorboats. So, there was no speedboats then. So we used to go [to the cabin], I would follow my grandparents, either in the winter or summer.

I remember one story, when we went there by dog team. It was just my grandfather, my grandmother, me, and I think my brother was with us. They had a little cabin where they stayed while they were hunting. Of course, the dog team has only one leader. So, when we neared the place atâtsiak said he was going to walk ahead and light the fire so that it'd be warm by the time we got there. And he left grandma and us with the team. Well as soon as he got out of sight, the dogs wouldn't budge. They just sat down there on the ice. My anânsiak was trying to get them going but no way. Atâtsiak started worrying about us because we weren't there yet when we should have been. So, he came and walked back, and anânsiak said "why of course you should have thought about that!" But by the time we got to the cabin it was nice and warm.

Egging

Frances Williams: In summertime we used to fish, pick berries, go egging. We used to go to these little isles around areas where either ducks or gulls laid their eggs. In the summertime, we always wanted to be the first to jump off the boat and look for the nests and eggs. It was an exciting little thing to do. If there was a little pond or any water around, we always had to check to see if the egg floated or not. If it floated it was...

Nicholas Flowers: It is starting to not be good to take, the bird will soon be hatching.
Frances Williams: Yes. Of course there were pigeon eggs too! That was fun because they were in these crevices and hard to get at.

Berries and Butterflies

Frances Williams: There'd be all kinds of berries, bakeapples, blueberries, blackberries. We loved blackberries because you could freeze them. We picked them off and had what we call sivalik (a dessert made with fish roe and berries).
And in the summertime, we used to chase butterflies a lot. And they used to be really nice – never see them around anymore.
Sarah Robinson: Like big ones?
Frances Williams: Yeah, brown and yellow, brown, black and yellow or brown and white spots on it eh? We just used to chase them and if we caught them, we'd just hold them in our hands for a while, and just let them go again.

Packing Up

Frances Williams: And when you were going [to Tikigâtsuk] by motorboat the boat would be filled up with blankets, food, dogs. Everything. Everything you'd need.
Nicholas Flowers: Everything you'd need for the coming seasons. Wow. Even the dog team?
Frances Williams: Even the dogs. So that you could feed them while you were there all summer.

In the Water

Frances Williams: And we (Anânsiak and whoever was off on the land at that time) used to wash clothes in the pond. And there were these little insects that used to be in those ponds. I don't know what you'd call them. They dived down ass up, and we used to say, "itinga, itinga puijillalik!" when we saw

them. Because when they went back and dove in the water back there, there used to be little bubbles they made, on the top of the water.
As kids we used to have lots to do: play on the shore, pick good smooth rocks. If they were shaped like anything we'd pretend they were pots and pans or cups and saucers or something, whatever shape they were, eh? And we would throw the smooth rocks to see how many times they would bounce.
And we looked for kanajugak, the little baby sculpins when it was low tide, they'd be down amongst the kelp. We would see who could get the most kanajugait and put them in a smaller pool.

Time for Family

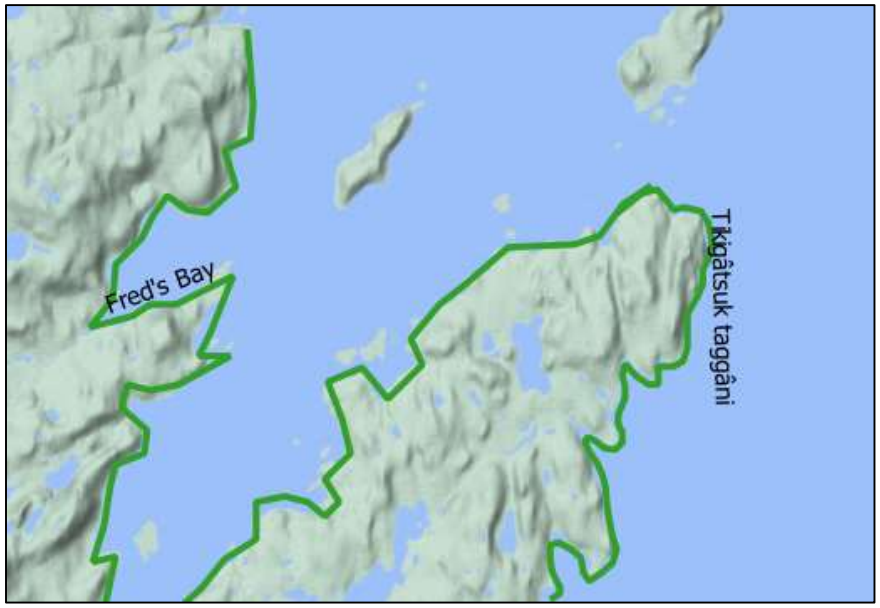
Frances Williams: A lot of my relatives used to go there. Mainly from Anânsiak's and Atâtsiak's family.
Nicholas Flowers: Were there many other children who you would play with?
Frances Williams: Oh yeah. My aunts and uncles, they were older than me, but we'd all play together. My brother, and we'd get visits sometimes from others around the area. We went there when the water opened, and I think we came back before the snow fall. Tikigâtsuk was more like a vacation. What else did we do in Tikigâtsuk? Just go out for boat rides I suppose for fun.
Sarah Robinson: It sounds like a lot of fun!
Frances Williams: People still go there; I think they go there fishing. It's not inhabited now like it used to be. I guess all the things I talked about are still there like berries, I don't know about those big butterflies. And those little things (kanajugait) are everywhere I suppose.

A Beautiful Place

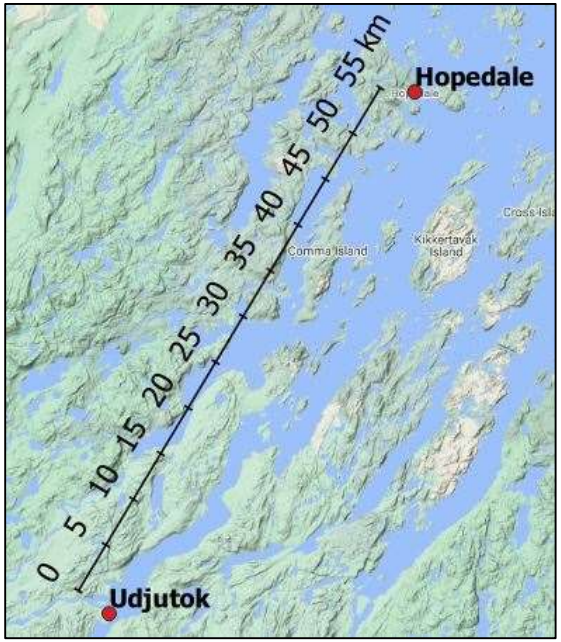
Nicholas Flowers: What would Tikigâtsuk mean in English?
Frances Williams: Tikigâtsuk, I'm not sure really. We always called it Tikigâtsuk. Tikik means to arrive. Arrive – gâtsuk. If I had to translate it whole, I'd say, "Arriving in a Beautiful Place." I made that up, it's not right but it's just my version, haha.
Nicholas Flowers: And that's what it could be because Tikigâtsuk meant a lot to the people who would come back to gather and to be with family, you know? "Tikigâtsuk," it is a really nice name hey?

Tikigâtsuk taggâni

Alternate Spellings: Tikigâtsuk North
Alternate Pronounciation: Tik-e-gaat-sook tag-gaa-ni



Udjutok



Pronounciation: Udj-u-tuuk
English Meaning: Where there are bearded seals (also known as square flipper seals).

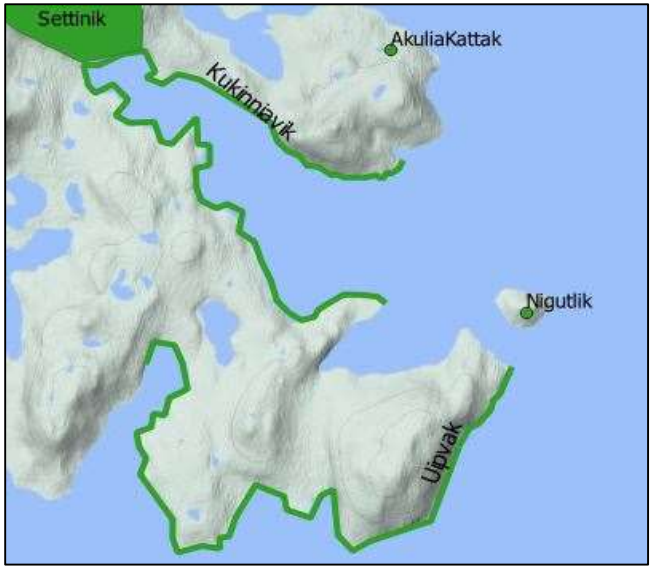
Frances Williams: I'll mention my other atâtsiak (grandfather) a bit, Natan Frieda. He used to live in Udjutok. And Atâtsiak Natan Frieda was the organist in Church. And one winter when they were there, at Advent time, the ice hadn't frozen, but he knew he had to play the organ at church. So he walked from Udjutok to Hopedale in time to play the organ. He was really good at music.

And I inherited his organ after he passed away. Actually, it's at the museum here now. He passed away when I was away, and my aunt said he wanted to leave the organ with me. They still had it at the house and when I lived in Goose Bay they shipped it up to Goose Bay. When I moved to Nain I didn't take it with me, I left it with someone in Goose Bay. After that, I can't remember how many years later, I suggested that maybe the organ should be shipped to Hopedale's church because he used to be the organist there. And that was arranged, and it ended up in the museum here.
Sarah Robinson: So, the organ came back home.

On Udjutok you can see some household items that were left behind, like the legs of an old iron stove. In wintertime it was a place that was really sheltered from the snow.
Nicholas Flowers

I've been there before, but not for hunting. I'd usually go there for fishing in the spring. Upingasâmi (In the early springtime).
Gus Semigak

Uipvak



Alternate spellings: Uivak
Pronounciation: Uip-vak
English meaning: A cape of land.
Comments: A good place for bakeapple (appik) picking in the late summer.

Nicholas Flowers: So, it's really interesting thinking about how some places are named for their literal meaning, or for what they may look like. For example, Uipvak is a cape, or peninsula of land. And we've always known it to be Uipvak, like growing up from a young age. And right near Uipvak is an island that is almost attached

Nicholas Flowers: Did your father William Nochasak have a net berth at Uipvak?
Abraham Nochasak: Yes, he shared it with your grandfather.
Nicholas Flowers: Really?
Abraham Nochasak: They used to call each other "Fisher Man".
Nicholas Flowers: So, they would work together sometimes?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah, only for food.

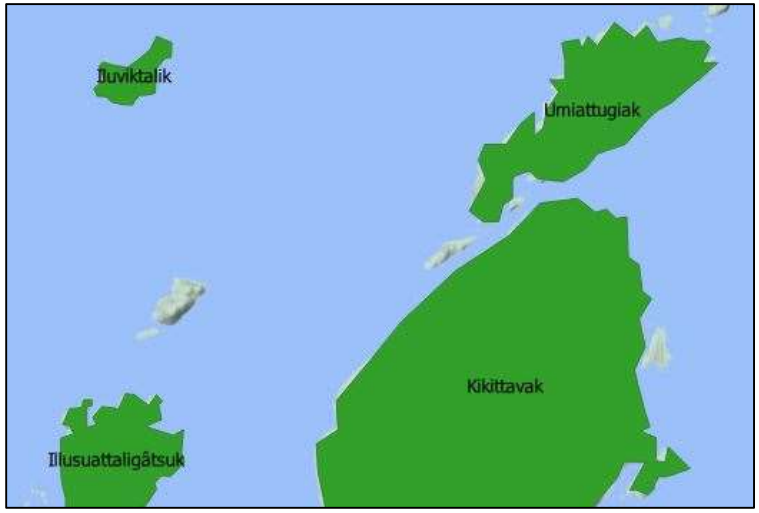
Ukalik

Alternate spellings: Barge Island
Pronounciation: U-ka-lik
English Meaning: Arctic Hare.
Comments: A barge from the American Base went ashore on this island.

Ukalik is also known as Barge Island. In the early winter it can be quite good for hunting seals where the ice is just starting to freeze up. That's sometimes where what we call the sinâ is, Sinâ is the floe edge of the ice where people wait and hunt for seals. **Nicholas Flowers**

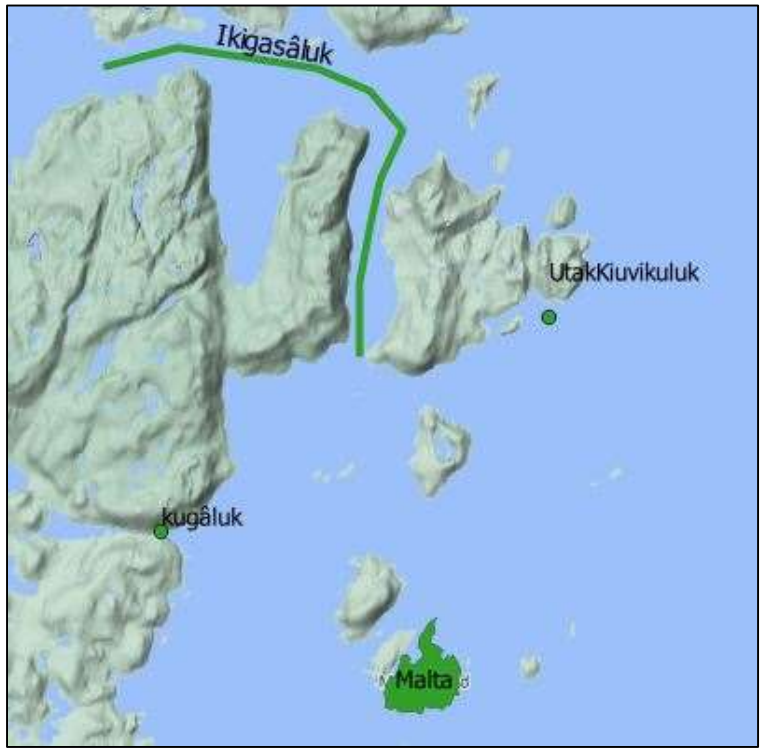
Umiattugiak

Umiattugiak means a safe place for boats, and it certainly is because there is a channel that goes across and if you ever got caught in weather or if you need to know how to get across to the other bay, you can remember the name Umiattugiak. That's a place where we go fishing and where we travel through in boats this time of year [summer]. **Nicholas Flowers**



Pronounciation: U-miat-tu-giak
English Meaning: A safe place for boats.
Comments: Island named after the sheltered tickle between Kikittavak and Umiattgiak.

UtakKiuvikuluk



Gus Semigak: That's a small island. That's where we used to have our tents. Especially in the springtime. Because that's where my father used to hunt seals all the time. That's where I killed my first seal. I was 5 years old. We saved everything [we hunted]. Everything I killed, I had to give that to my godmother. Even a snowbird, anything I killed I had to give that to my godmother.
Sarah Robinson: Just for her to kind of process the meat and everything?
Gus Semigak: Yep.

Pronounciation: U-tak-hia-vi-ku-luk
English Meaning: A small place for waiting.

Uviluktok

Alternate spellings: Double Island South, Mussel Island
Pronounciation: U-vi-luk-tok
English Meaning: Where there are mussels.
Comments: This is a double island. There used to be a Moravian Church here (on the northern island, Uviluktok B) when the island was a summer cod fishing community.

Sunday Morning

Frances Williams: We also used to spend a lot of time in Uviluktok. That used to be my Atâtsiak Frieda's place. We'd go there in the summertime to fish cod. It was like a little village. They even built a small church there, eh? I couldn't remember what other families used to go there. But there used to be other families, other ones who would need a little church. We used to enjoy going into that little church. Atâtsiak Frieda, he always held the services like they do here now. It was not so much like a berry – place for picking berries, but there were all kinds of other different fish. Kind of rocky there eh? Have you been there?

Nicholas Flowers: Oh yes, it's a really nice place between two islands. A couple summers ago we travelled there to see the church foundation. And although the church is not standing anymore, you can still see the area where it was, along with campsites. But it's really far out to the ocean. And you can see the big ocean in the distance, right? But it's a really beautiful place and I could just feel and envision the services on Sundays, and how nice it must have felt, and welcoming too.

Away From School

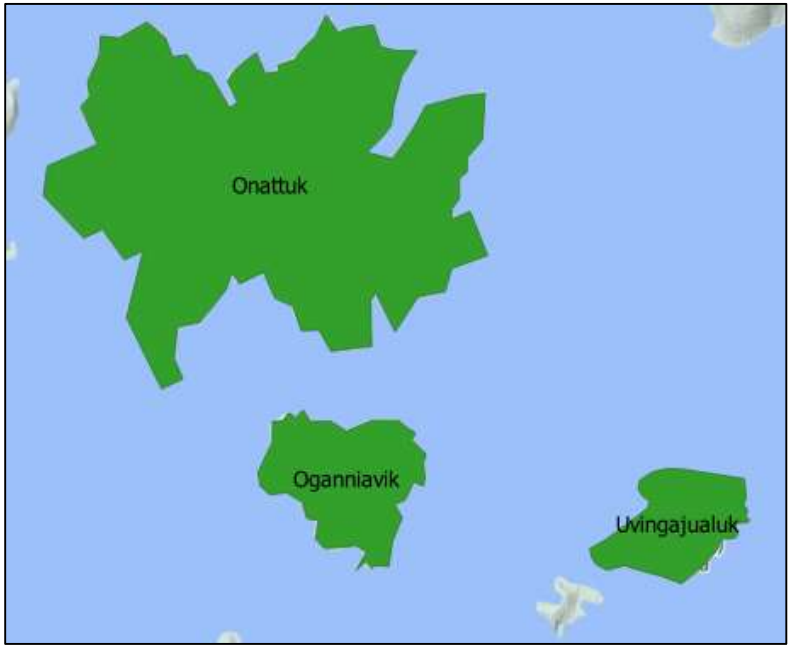
In the summer [my great-grandparents], they would go to Uviluktok, out Double Island, cod fishing. And that's where they spent most of their life, the same way with my father. There were years sometimes where they'd take us out for the whole year and be away from school and spend our time there.
Philip Abel

A Place to Fish

Uviluktok was also important to older people, but we didn't used to go there. The church was already down, so, we didn't hardly go there. But we still go cod fishing – jigging.
Gus Semigak

We used to eagerly wait for the tukutok to arrive with all their fish. Watch them split them and things like that and help to put them on the rocks. Salted – that was salted fish then eh? The cod and the schooners that picked them up.
Frances Williams

Uvingajualuk



Alternate spellings: Leaning Island
Pronounciation: U-vi-nga-jua-luk
English Meaning: Tilted to one side.

It means Tilted Island or Lopsided Island. And we can see there it has sort of like a point and it does look like it's kind of leaning to one side. And I believe there was a legend where a Shaman said that he could tilt the island to one side which he did by stepping on it, and then the island tilted. I'm not sure whether or not if the Shaman was in a competition but it's a very interesting legend - you can see where Uvingajualuk would've got its name from the legend.

Nicholas Flowers

Zacharias

Pronounciation: Sa-ka-rias

So, between Onattuk and where we are right here [The Base], there's an island called Zacharias, named after a man with the same name. And the man I believe would've either lived there or would've been laid to rest on the island. So, we commemorate Zacharias by naming it after him.

Nicholas Flowers

Nicholas Flowers: It's quite good hunting around that area for geese in the fall, eh?
Abraham Nochasak: Yeah. That's the same place where I got my first fox in the trap. There're fox dens over there and a place for mice holes too.
Nicholas Flowers: Along the shore?
Abraham Nochasak: Right in the middle of it, in the old valley.

Other Stories

New Words

Rosina Piercy: Some stuff right now you don't have no Inuttitut word for coffee? You don't have it for sugar, because like long time ago they never had coffee, sugar and all that. And now they just call "kâfik." "Sukarak," you know? Because they never had them kind of stuff long time ago so they had to make it up. And some funny one is octopus. Octopus has eight arms eh? And octopus in Inuttitut is "talituinnâluk," that means "thing with many arms."
Sarah Robinson: Yeah, I was telling Nicholas that I found when studying languages and things it's often the shortest words that are the most important, because they are made first. Like appik, the bakeapples? It's nice and short.
Nicholas Flowers: And then like is raspberry or strawberry that was introduced afterwards called appiujak?
Rosina Piercy: Appiujak. Yeah. It looks like it has bumps like an appik (bakeapple), eh? Kiannatuk is onion meaning "makes you cry." And turnip, "nakatannak" can also mean –
Walter A.S. Piercy: It's chubby.
Rosina Piercy: "Little chubby one." Because little turnips are nice and round.

Heartbeat of the Land – Circle of Life

Sarah Robinson: So how did the kids like being here [AmmomajukKutok], was it a good place to play?
Rosina Piercy: They had fun. They'd run around, pick berries, and go jumping over to the island over there when the water was low, play with the baby gulls and just have an all time fun, like just being here. Feeling the heartbeat of the land you know? This is a part of who we are, our ancestors. There's nothing that you can beat. Like living off the land, being on the land, it's who we are.

Sarah Robinson: Yeah that's great. You can tell just by looking around and from the berries you were pointing out, you've clearly been able to live here for long time and live off of the things that were here.
Rosina Piercy: Yes. Because long ago that's all the people existed on: living off the land and the sea and the birds in the air, you know? We learn how to survive; this is how come we're here. Our ancestors took us here. I find that very powerful, like our ancestors are the strongest people. They know how to move when the seasons were changing, what animals to hunt and what like, how to have a shelter. They were very smart in that way. And we are very smart in that way, this is why we're here.

Sarah Robinson: It's been very good, it's been interesting as we talk to people about the place names, how, like, we're able to kind of learn the landscape a bit more. People say "oh we did this on this island" or "this on this", they become more than dots on a map.
Nicholas Flowers: Yes, and when you come to the place like we are today, you can envision what the land looks like from a map, it puts everything into perspective, and you make more memories of the places. And that's like, when hunting on the land and you come to a place, it reminded me when Walter said that's why he liked it here, because you come back and you make good memories, right? And of course this is where the wildlife is so you follow the wildlife, and you come, and you respect the wildlife, and you live amongst the wildlife, just like our ancestors used to, hey Miss?
Rosina Piercy: Yeah. I always talk about how we had all kinds of freighters and all kinds of boats coming in. Now we have one little steamer coming in bringing all kinds of stuff eh? And then we had two airlines, we gone back to one. We had two school boards, we gone back to one. So, you know everything is going backwards, starting from here. I think that's the way the world is going, to go like this way *motioning backwards*, it's going to go back to where we came from.
Sarah Robinson: Going backwards.
Rosina Piercy: And it's like us aging, we're going back to where we came from too, we're going probably back to childhood like – we do actually, because we go back into pampers, but I never had pampers.
Laughter
Nicholas Flowers: A circle – it's like all a circle.
Rosina Piercy: It is! Circle of life.

Nicholas Flowers: And then your grandchildren get to come and experience the same places that you did when you were their age hey?
Rosina Piercy: Yes. I'm glad my ingutak (grandchild) is here, because he can see where we were before.

Changing Times

Ian Winters: Well you can see there's hundreds and hundreds of islands here, so everybody's got their own area and their own little island to go to. Some years are different than others. There're some years there's some on some islands, and other years there's none on the islands. You got to look around in order to find them.
Yes, the price of food in the stores here is not cheap, so anything you can do to subsidize your food at the store comes in handy. It's a lot more beneficial and it's better for you, it's more nutritious for you, so. As far as I'm concerned, the more you can hunt and fish the better off you'll be.
Sarah Robinson: How do you think that has changed from many years ago, say like a hundred years ago to now. How do you think using food has changed?
Ian Winters: Well it's a lot more easier access to food now, nowadays. And more people are getting dependent on store food, the younger people. Boxed food – you open up a box and throw it in the oven. It's not the best for you but it's convenient and fast I guess. Back in the day when I was growing up with my grandparents, I'd hardly ever eat that kind of food. It was mainly stuff from off the land. We even used to eat gulls when we were younger.
Sarah Robinson: How has navigation changed over the years?
Ian Winters: Most people nowadays use GPS and not so much compass I guess, but almost every person that travels has a GPS and whether it's by boat or snowmobile. I don't know if you can learn as good with a GPS as opposed to not having one. I don't know if it becomes any less natural to you or… Like back in the day, people obviously never used GPSs and it was part of their genetics to know the land. And I don't know if that's plays a part anymore as much as it used to.

Why is it important to learn Inuttitut place names?

Gus Semigak: Today the younger people only know the places by English. And they only guess the name of the island or where they came from or where they are going. So, you can hardly understand. I can't anyway! So, for the young people, they know where to go now, I'm sure they do. And if they need translation or whatever, the name of the place, they'll forget that right away. Because they don't talk like we used to. So those young people, they know what they are doing. They do, but they don't know names of the places in Inuttitut, but there are a lot of people that don't.

Ian Winters: I took an interest in it because I found it interesting, my father knew a lot of the older place names that're not marked and mapped. And I would ask him the name of this place and that place, plus other Elders after he died. And it doesn't seem to be important to the youth as it used to be. Seems like they are more interested in hunting and showing their stuff on Facebook, and their catch on Facebook instead of the traditional place names and what it means and, you know?
Sarah Robinson: So, they are kind of disconnected from that at this point.

Reuben Flowers: To help keep the culture alive, and for the younger ones to know what the names, the islands and places were really called first. It's very important – language is very important to culture, and it would be good to carry on those names. Some places, like I knew growing up, might have been forgotten now, the Inuktitut name places. But sometimes newer names are changing it a little bit, English names.

Map Legend

Name	#	Name	#
Agvitok	25	kokuluk	27
Agvituatsuk	13	Kudjaunak	47
AkuliaKattak	3	kugâluk	42
Allatogusik	30	Kukinniavik	2
Allatok	41	Little Bay South	40
Âllukâk	7	Maligiak	51
AmmomajukKutok	55	Malta	56
Aniuvattogâluk	4	Napagutaktalik	49
Aniuvattogusikuluk	5	Napâttutok	29
Appilikuluk	36	Natsalialuk	44
D.O.T. Point	45	Natsasuak	43
Fred's Bay	33	Nattautattalik	65
Hunt's River	37	NauliKattavik	53
Ikigasakuluk	34	Nigutlik	23
Ikigasâluk	57	Niuttuavik	38
Ikinilik	52	Oganniavik	11
Illusuattaligâtsuk	24	Ojugutlik	62
Iluviktalik	19	Onattuk	10
Imnâluk	26	PâkKialuk	14
Inganikuluk	28	Pilik	15
IngikKanialuk	60	Sâttuk	54
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Itilliasuk	31	The Base	1
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Kikittavak	20	UtakKiuvikuluk	58
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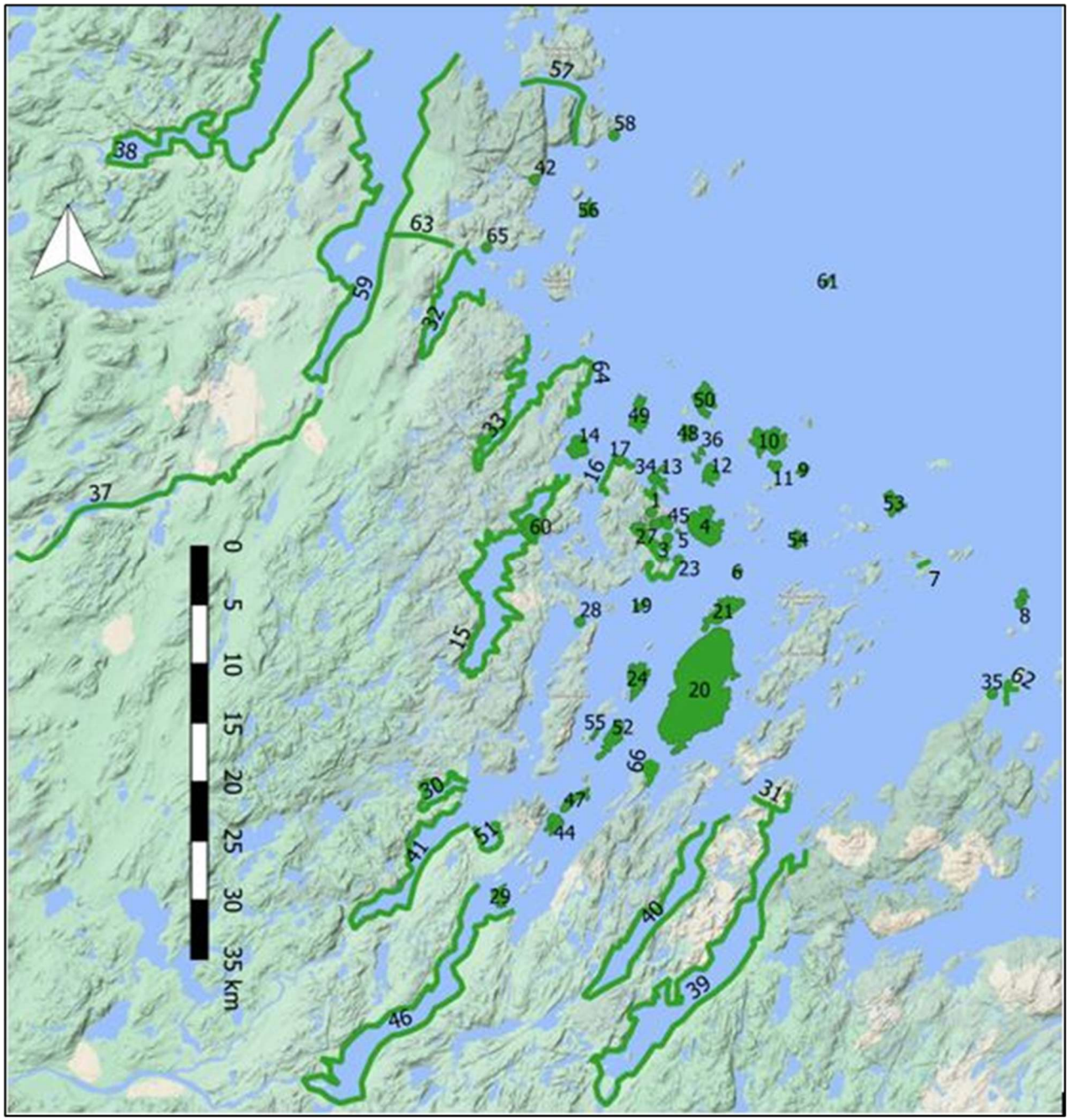
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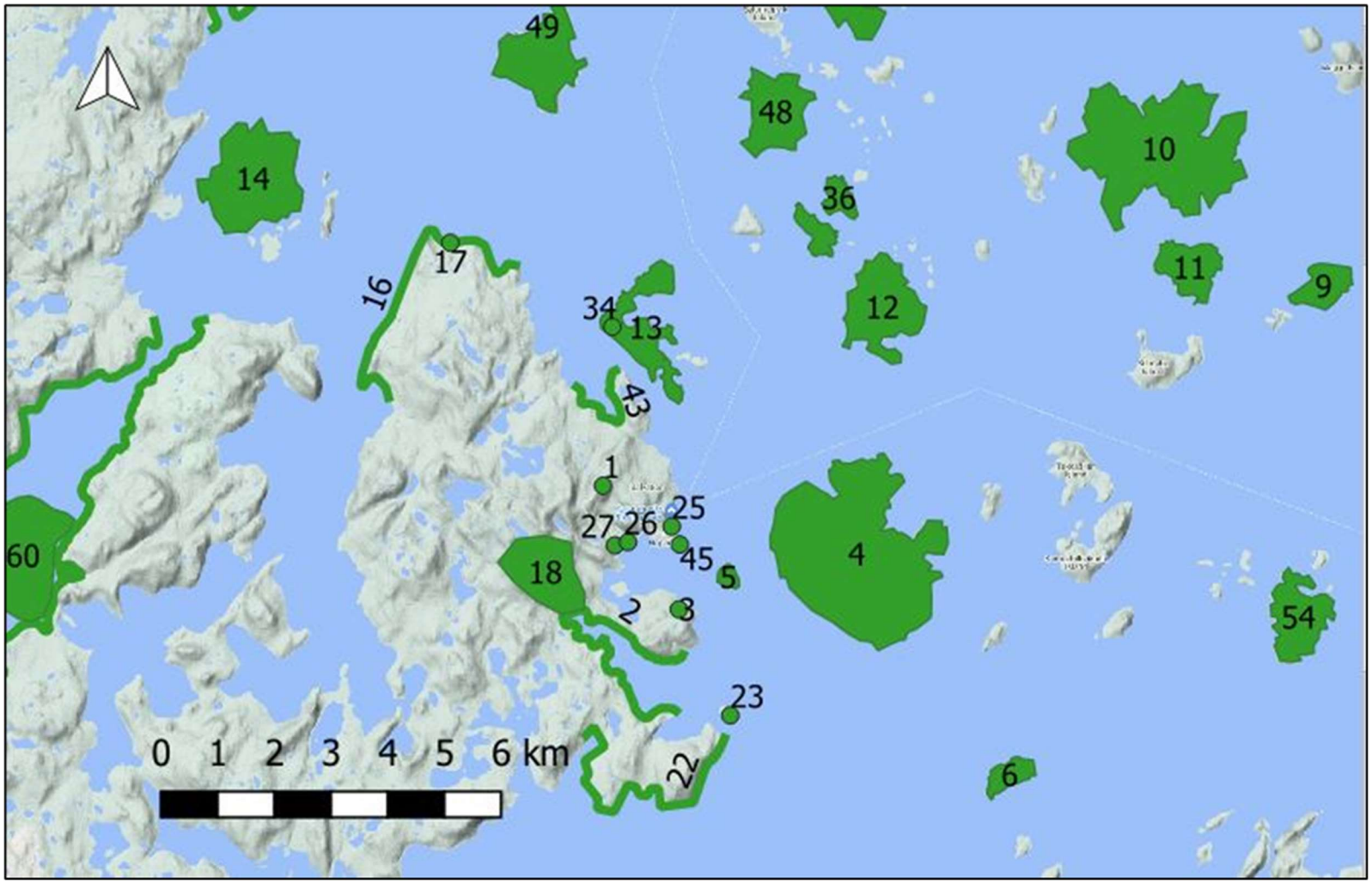
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Summer – 2, 6, 7, 13, 28, 31, 40, 48, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 64, 65

Tents – 4, 13, 31, 33, 40, 41, 63

Water – 8, 11, 12, 13, 26, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 68

Winter – 1, 13, 19, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 39, 43, 51, 52, 56, 60, 62

Whales – 1, 2, 7, 34

Wood – 30, 31, 43

Resources

See these resources for additional Hopedale place names information:

By Author: The Hopedale Place Names Project – An interactive map-based website. https://arcg.is/18Krqn0

Brice-Bennettt, Carol (editor). (1977) *Our Footprints are Everywhere*. Dollco Printing Ltd, Nain, Labrador, Canada.

Government of Canada Geographical Names database

Nunatsiavut Government. https://www.nunatsiavut.com/

Tradition and Transition Project. https://traditionandtransition.com/

Wheeler, E.P. (1953) *List of Labrador Eskimo Place Names*. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 131. Gatineau, Quebec.

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