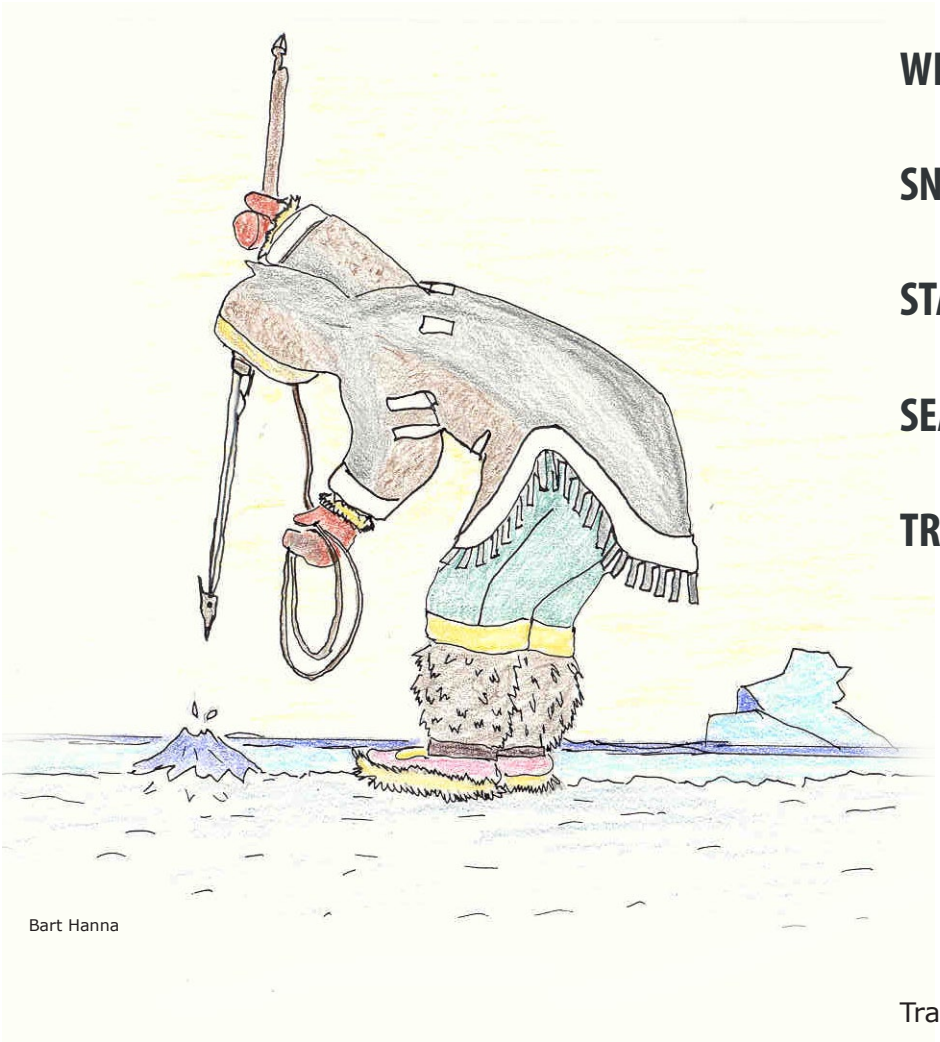

Bart Hanna

Transcripts of interviews from the Igloolik Oral History Project

INTRODUCTION

Screen: *Anijaarniq*

Hubert Amarualik
Q. In your early life, you had to observe the weather every day, but for us we just go out in the morning and see what kind of weather it is, and nothing more than today's weather is observed. You did more than just observing the day's weather, didn't you?

A. Yes, we had to *anijaaq*… go out immediately after dressing in the morning. We would observe the conditions of the sky, the kinds of clouds, and the position of the stars. Today, I don't even do that anymore. I listen to the radio to hear the weather forecasts. It was different before; we had to observe the weather, watching the clouds, and wind directions all the time (Hubert Amarualik IE-314, 1994).

WINDS

Screen: *Wind compass*

Noah Piugaattuk
The four main winds have names. The wind going towards Ungalujat and Igloolik Point is called *Uangnaq* (the NW wind). The wind coming from the right is called *Kanangnaq* (the NE wind). The opposite wind from *Uangnaq* (NW) is called the *Nigiq* (the SE wind). In the days when people survived on what they caught, the cry of *Nigiqparmaat!!!!* - "The wind is coming from Southeast" - would cause a sudden rush of activity as people prepared to go out hunting in the morning. To the left of *Nigiq* and the opposite of *Kanangnaq* (NE), the wind is called *Akinnaq* or *Pinnangnaq* (the SW wind). The SW wind, which does not occur very often, causes the ice near the flow-edge to drift away. People were wary of this wind. However, it does not make the ice drift far to the South, but instead it creates openings in the ice. *Kanangnaq* (NE) causes no problems for hunters at the flow-edge or on moving ice. It creates openings in the ice, but because the ice tends to drift back to solid ice, hunters were less afraid of that wind. As for the *Akinnaq* (SW), hunters are cautious about it, but it does not make the ice drift to the South.

They call the moving ice *aulajuq*. When the wind is coming from the direction of the *aulajuq* people say *nigiqpaqpuq*, meaning "the wind is coming from the Southeast". Further to the South the ice is more unstable and more frightening. Near the flow-edge, the current is not as strong, but to the South it is very strong and the ice moves faster. The stretch of the fast moving current is far to the South. You should make every effort to stay away from that area when the wind is coming from the *Uangnaq* (NW) or you could be marooned on the ice. That area is extremely dangerous.

Q. Which direction do we get the most common wind or prevailing wind?

A. Of the four wind directions, the *Uangnaq* (NW) and *Kanangnaq* (NE) are most common. Sometimes after a good number of clear calm days you see long thin black clouds forming towards the northwest over the land just above the horizon. When this happened they used to say that the "*ugjunnguaq* (bearded seal) has appeared". That is the name they gave these clouds, "*ugjunnguaq*". When you see such clouds you shouldn't make plans to hunt on the moving ice. The wind does not come up right away, sometimes after a day or two, but when it does come there is a continuous blow for a few days; that is what happens. In the direction of *Kanangnaq* when the black clouds that I mentioned appear, you know that it is going to be bad weather for some time. If you are out in the canoe you should make every effort to get to your destination while the weather is good. Sometimes people get stranded. The signs are there in the form of black, thin, clearly lined clouds. They indicate bad weather, which will last for some time. The hunters of the past knew these signs and the kind of weather they predicted. (Noah Piugaattuk IE-040, 1988).

Screen: *The in-between winds*

Noah Piugaattuk
Q. If the wind is coming from a direction between the four main winds, for instance neither from *Kanangnaq* or from *Uangnaq* then it is called *akurruttijuq*. Does *akurruttijuq* refer to the winds coming between any of the four main wind directions?

A. Yes. Winds can come from any direction other than the four mentioned (*Uangnaq, Kanangnaq, Nigiq, Akinnaq*) and the word for this (those winds

coming from a direction half way between any two main winds) is *akurruttijuq*.

Q. We talked about the names of the winds, but if I were to walk, say towards *Uangnaq*, in what direction would I say I was going?

A. You would be walking in the direction of *Uangnaq*. If you were to walk in the direction of *Akinnaq*, then *Akinnaq* would be your reference point and you would be walking in the direction of *Akinnaq*. The same applies with *Kanangnaq*. (The four main wind directions are used as reference points).

Q. If I were to go in this direction (pointing towards the Southeast)) then it would be *Nigiq*?

A. Yes, it would be the same, *Nigiq*.

Q. Are these the names used when you were a child or are they recently invented?
A. These are traditional names. When Inuit didn't have weather instruments and they were totally dependant on the weather, it was in their interest to pay close attention to these things (Noah Piugaattuk IE-040, 1988).

George Agiaq Kappianaq
Q. What is the name given to a wind blowing between *Akinnaq* and *Uangnaq*?

A. I have only heard of winds from that direction being referred to as *Akurrutingajuq* (in-between). This was used to refer to a wind coming from between *Uangnaq* and *Akinnaq*. Wind from this direction was known to blow the moving ice, *aulajuq,* onto the landfast ice, *tuvaq*. It blows the deeper moving ice towards the *tuvaq* so that the *aulajuq* eventually makes contact with the *tuvaq*. The *Akinnaq* wind, on the other hand, was said to keep the floe-edge free of moving ice and to pose a threat to those hunting on the *tuvaq,* at least around Akunniq and down towards Uqquat. This is because along that coastline it would be blowing from the land.

At Pingiqqalik, whenever conditions were favorable, they would hunt walrus on the moving ice. This would happen when the winds had been blowing from *Uangnaq* and there was a shift towards *Kanangnaq*, not directly, but tending towards *Uangnaq*. At Pingiqqalik this wind was termed as *qukturaaq* (meaning "the thigh has been broken"). The name *qukturaaq* was given to this wind because it was in line with a small lake shaped like a thigh, just to the northwest of Pingiqqalik. As soon as this wind was observed in the morning the men would immediately get ready to go out on to the moving ice. A wind from this direction meant that the moving ice (*aulajuq*) on the coast to the left of Pingiqqalik would come in contact with the landfast ice (*tuvaq*), while the bay to this side may be ice free. Akinnaq, on the other hand, allowed the moving ice to come in contact with the *tuvaq* on the other side of Ikiq towards Qaisut and right across to Nuvuk&it (George Agiaq Kappianaq IE-273, 1993).

Screen: *Explaining direction with wind*

George Kappianaq
So, I finally reached the top of the rise that I was heading for. I took out my binoculars and spent the day scanning the surrounding area. Finally, caribou came into view. I spotted two of them. I kept my focus on them right through to the late afternoon when they moved off towards *Uangnaq*, more towards *Kanangnaq*. The caribou climbed to the top of a rise and finally disappeared over the other side of it. During the day, they had settled down, then got up to feed. Finally they started to walk in the direction of prevailing wind, towards *Uangnaq*, but more to *Kanangnaq*. As it turned out, they were heading for a lake where there was a trail that caribou had used from time immemorial. The caribou had spent the day around the shore, and were then returning to their roaming area (George Kappianaq IE-439, 2000).

Screen: *Winds are not always reliable*

Hubert Amarualik
Q. After getting directions from a knowledgeable person, was it difficult to travel to a place where you had never been before?

A. It depended on the weather conditions at the time we were travelling. In good weather it was not hard. It would seem as if you knew the route because we were given instructions where to go. We could recognize places along the route. We still could practice this skill, but with fast machines nowadays it always seems as if we are travelling against the wind even if we are not --- so that makes things confusing very quickly. The slow speed of dog team travel made it clear as to where the wind was coming from and we did not get lost in distant places. It is the same way when you were walking in a fog when you were caribou hunting (Hubert Amarualik IE-314, 1994).

Screen: *Observing changing winds*

Noah Piugaattuk
There are two opposing winds namely *Uangnaq* and *Nigiq*. If the wind from either direction has blown for a prolonged period, then this will be followed by a shift of wind from the opposite direction, and it will blow with force. Therefore, after the wind has blown from the direction of the *aulajuq* for a period of time, it is with certainty that it will shift to *Uangnaq*. When this happened, hunters were warned of the dire consequences if they lingered on the *aulajuq*.

Younger people were always taught about the sea ice. (Noah Piugaattuk IE-054, no date).

George Agiaq Kappianaq
When the wind has been blowing from *Nigiq* and is about to change to the opposite direction, it is said that walrus move closer to the *aulajuq*. This meant that *Nigiq* would not be blowing for prolong periods. If you are out on the moving ice and it starts to snow, this is also a sign that the wind will soon shift to the opposite direction. Hunters were alert to this. When it started to snow while they were on the *aulajuq* they were told to get back to the *tuvaq,* immediately. So, when it started to snow on the *aulajuq* hunters were advised to be aware of the danger they might be in.

In those days our elders knew a great deal about weather prediction in comparison to what we know today. They were able to determine if the wind would

be prevailing for a prolonged period of time. Sometimes, even shortly after the wind shifted to *Nigiq* and you find that the walruses are deep in the moving ice, that means that *Nigiq* would be blowing for a prolong period of time. It was said that when this happens, the walruses would go farther into the moving ice where it is broken up, or at least where there is more open water. This is because the moving ice is pushed up against the landfast ice leaving hardly any open spaces to be seen. That is what I have heard anyway. When the wind is expected to shift then the walruses will remain closer to the *tuvaq*. (George Agiaq Kappianaq IE-273, 1993).

Screen: *Puikkatuq*

Hubert Amarualik

In the springtime there are great mirages showing over short distances. Sometimes, even when the skies are clear it gets hazy and sometimes the land seems to appear farther or closer. Mirages seem to move the land. Sometimes, they say it is the winds that make the land seem close or far. Even from here, the land across the strait sometimes seems far and sometimes very close. It is the wind that is making it look that way. When there is going to be wind, the land appears to be far away and when the wind is going to calm down the land appears to be nearer. Also, when there are great mirages it means there are winds ahead of us. Sometimes, these forecasts are true and sometimes they are not. When you live outside the community you still have to observe the weather. If you don't observe the land and weather it is very hard to know what kind of conditions to expect (Hubert Amarualik IE-314, 1994).

Screen: *Winds and their stories*

George Kappianaq

Q. What is the *Uangnaq* wind direction referred to as? Is it male or female?
A. From what I have heard, around here *Uangnaq* is female, but once in a while I hear that, in some places, it is referred to as a male. It is said that when the holes between the snow blocks of wind's igloo starts to melt, she [*Uangnaq*] will stay outdoors and the wind will just keep blowing.

Q. And what are the characteristics of the *Nigiq* wind?

A. Since it is said to a male, it will be steady in blowing with no sudden gusts. That is all I have heard from people of this area.

Q. There won't be any sudden gusts of wind?

A. No, the wind just steadily blows from one direction. Although it will blow harder at times, it will not come suddenly.
Q. Is *Uangnaq* referred to as female because it will suddenly blow and blow hard?

A. Yes, it will gust suddenly and then suddenly die down. That is why the people from this area call it female, so I've heard. In the winter when *Uangnaq* is blowing without any sign of easing off, a shaman would have to go and find the cause. He would discover the woman outdoors because she found it too miserable to stay inside the igloo with all its holes. Once the shaman has properly plugged the holes, then the woman would return indoors and the wind would die down.

Q. And what about the *Nigiq*?

A. There are no sudden gusts coming from this direction because they say it is male.
It will also smooth out the ground because it blows steadily with no sudden gusts of wind. It blows at an even pace without it ever suddenly becoming windy; that it what I have heard.

Q. Are *Uangnaq* and *Nigiq* referred to as female and male because of their special characteristics?

A. Yes. It is said that after the wind blows hard from *Uangnaq*, the wind direction will always shift to *Nigiq*. It is said that since *Nigiq* is male, he will always want to retaliate by blowing after *Uangnaq* has stopped. And when the *Uangnaq* starts to calm down, *Nigiq* will be making preparations to start blowing again (George Kappianaq IE-273, 1993).

SNOW & SNOWDRIFTS

Screen: *Talking about snow & snowdrifts*

Emile Imaruittuq
There are different names for the *aputit*. As the snow starts to fall it will *qannippuq*. The snow that has just fallen is called *qaniun,* which is the soft fresh snow. The snow that is formed on account of the cold is called *patuun*, or the hoarfrost. Once the snow has fallen, it will cover the ground so it is *apivuq*. Once the snow starts to shift on account of the winds, drifts such as *qimugjuit, uluangnait* and *uqalurait* will form. So, with the formation of these, drifts are identified accordingly. The first snow that has fallen and is later covered with the newer snow becomes *pukajaak*. This snow takes a shape that is similar in form to sugar. It is very crisp and will not hold together. New snow that has just been formed in a storm is called *aqilluqqaaq*. Once it has hardened it is called *aqilluqqaaviniq*.

Snow that has formed in blizzard conditions will harden immediately. It is called *tisijualuk*. This is because in some areas this snow is so hard that it cannot be cut into blocks. When planning to build an Igloo you must first find the right texture of snow. Snow may be hard, but that does not mean that all types of snow are suitable for building igloos (Emile Imaruittuq IE-201, 1990).

Michel Kupaaq
Concerning *aput*, there is *pukajaak,* which is the real soft snow that can be kicked around as if it were powder. *Qaniut* is fresh-fallen snow that also can be kicked around. *Patuun* is the frost snow that usually forms small packs if it were kicked. *Tisilluqqaaq* is the hard snow sometimes used for igloo building, and is usually harder than the rest. When the *tisilluqqaaq* becomes softer or is in the process of getting softer it is then called *pukakjiujaq*. This is the preferred material for making an Igloo: the texture is not as hard and the flexibility is such that it breaks easily off. This is the best material for igloo building. In addition, when the temperatures are extreme this material will heat up the Igloo faster then any other kind of snow, and it will not starve for oxygen as easily (*ijjaggugani*). This is on account of the fact that this snow is not as airtight as others would be. In addition, it will heat up faster than *tisilluqqaaq*. In the past, they used to remove the top layer of snow in order to get that material for their igloos. They would take the top layer off in order to get to the older, softer snow. For us today, however, we have a tendency of using any material to build an Igloo even the snow that does not insulate easily or that is

airtight. In the days when we used nothing else but camp stoves we would experience times when the stove would not stay lit and one would feel drowsy. This happened when the snow used for the igloo was too dense [to let sufficient air in]. This could also happen in the times time when *qulliit* were used (Michel Kupaaq IE-098, 1990).

Screen: *How snowdrifts are formed*

Abraham Ulaajuruluk
Q. There are usually a build up of snow drifts called *uqalurait* that result from a blizzard. How do these snowdrifts form?

A. During blizzards the snowfall is usually soft and forms into a mound called *uluangnaq* [because it is cheek shaped]. When this mound starts to harden some of it will worn off by the [*Uangnaq*] wind and the snow begins to take the form of drifts called *uqalurait* and *qimugjuit*. During a blizzard there would be some hardened snow mounds with tips that are pointed and elevated and resemble a tongue – *uqaq* [giving them the name *uqalurait*] From this formation, a snowdrift called *qimugjuk* ["ridged"] is going to built up.

Q. So *uqaluraq* is not the first part of the formation?
A. That is right. During a blizzard there is a build up of soft snow that later becomes an *uqaluraq* after it has been eroded. The wind erodes this mound thereby forming an *uqaluraq*. *Uangnaq* is the wind that forms these *uqalurait*. There is a very minimal build up of *uqalurait* formed by the *Nigiq* wind and these are usually very small. I believe *Uangnaq* is the strongest of all the winds, at least in our homeland. There are hardly any other winds that cause *uqalurait* except for *Nigiq*, which also causes *qimugjuit* on the lee side of rocks. A smooth surface without rocks or pressure ridges can form *qimugjuk* only by the *Uangnaq* wind direction. Some of these drifts will form into *uqalurait* while some remain *qimugjuit* (which sometimes form without the *uqalurait*). Should you come across an *uqaluraq* with a *qimugjuk* it will always face towards *Uangnaq* (Abraham Ulaajuruluk IE-256, 1993).

Screen: *Using uqalurait for wayfinding*

Aipilik Innuksuk
When one is on the land or on the landfast ice, the best indicators are the snowdrifts called *uqalurait*. These are caused by the wind and are the best to determine in which direction one is travelling. One has to keep observing these snow forms. After a strong snowstorm there are going to be drift formations on the ground caused by the storm so it is good to keep in mind the direction the wind was blowing from during the storm. There are times when one loses his bearing on land or on the ice, so it is best to position yourself on these snow forms. For instance, if you have a destination you should watch how you are cutting across the *uqalurait* drifts. There are times when the *uqalurait* drifts may be buried with fresh snow. In this case all you have to do is kick around the fresh snow to get at the *uqaluraq* form below. Those are the things that one should keep in mind. We just had a strong storm so all the drifts it created will now be stable for the rest of the winter even if they get covered with new snow. When a wind blows hard from any direction it will create a distinguished snow form that cannot be removed by any other snow or wind. So, it is important to keep these snowdrift forms in mind (Aipililik Inuksuk IE-165, 1990)

Abraham Ulaajuruluk
Q. Do these *uqalurait* have any use?

A. Definitely. Now you have started to drink tea and coffee, all you would have to do is cut off the *uqaluraq* and melt it to make tea. If you were traveling while it was dark or in a white-out with a specific destination in mind, or even in a blizzard or in fog, one thing to keep in mind is that the *qimugjuit* always face *Uangnaq*. So, with these as a navigational aid you can get to your destination. This is the only use these formations have, they have no other use. These snow formations are not what we want because they are nothing but hindrance in our journey. Nonetheless, they have a use that you really cannot do without in obscure conditions. Q*imugjuit* all face *Uangnaq,* therefore, *uqalurait* also face *Uangnaq*. When you are caught in the dark, or in a blizzard, and the visibility is low you will need the only aid that is available - and these are the snowdrifts. They have no other use. (Abraham Ulaajuruluk IE-256, 1993).

STARS

Screen: *Introducing stars*

Cain Iqaqsaq
When I am depending on a star to take me home I do not actually follow that star. I must follow behind the star, to the left. This is more so when you are walking. When walking you are slow and you have to stop to rest so the stars will appear to move faster. You would then have to change your course to the left in order to head away from that particular star. When you do that you can get close to your destination (Cain Iqaqsaq IE-257, 1993).

Screen: *The winter sky*

Hervé Paniaq
The stars *Ullaktut* usually appear towards the East when the days are short and as the days get longer they start to appear further to the South. Above the *Ullaktut* there are two stars set apart from each other. When the days are shorter they will appear to be climbing and with the start of longer days they seem to descend. These two stars are known as *Akuttujuuk*. Further to the right there is the big star we call *Nanurjuk*, which is not shining like the others but looks reddish in colour. It is situated between the group of stars called *Sakiattiak* and the *Ullaktut*. To the left of *Nanurjuk* there are two stars, placed vertically, and another two not far away and almost identical, but lower. This group is called *Quturjuuk*. As we move towards the left, there are a number of stars of about equal size, with some of them pointing in another direction, these are known as *Tukturjuit*. Well below *Tukturjuit* there are two stars that are late in appearing when the daylight is short: the one on the right is smaller than the one on the left, these two stars are known as *Sivulliik*. If we go to the stars which I referred to as *Tukturjuit*, and take a line from that section which points away, and follow it into that area where there appears to be a lesser concentration of stars, we come to one that stands out from the rest., This star is called *Nuuttuittuq*. In the winter, during the dark period, there is always a big star towards the north wind, this one we call *Kingullialuk* (Hervé Paniaq IE-126,1990).

Screen: *Nuuttuittuq*

Hubert Amarualik
Another important star is *Nuuttuittuq* because it is stationary while the rest of the stars move. This star was also called *Ulluriarjuaq*. It was important to determine the direction of the *Uangnaq* wind. If you were lost, this star can tell you which direction to go because it is never moves and can lead you in the right direction. The star is also useful when there is no wind to guide you. I have used this star for navigating. You can find *Nuuttuittuq* easily because it is the largest star in the location where it is situated. You can also locate this star even when there is a slight overcast (Hubert Amarualik IE-212, 1993).

Screen: *Using stars*

Pauli Kunnuk
I believe it is a legend, but there might be some truth to it as well. There were two hunters mentioned, but it is also that possibility that there might have been more involved. One of the hunters went off in the direction of *Singuuriq*. He never returned. The other hunter walked in the direction of *Kingullialuuk* (I might add that I do not know the star *Kingullilaluuk*), where he was able to get safely to the landfast ice, the *tuvaq* (Pauli Kunnuk IE-171, 1991).

Screen: *Remembering constellations*

Hubert Amarualik
Stars were well known and they were named so they could be easily identified whenever the sky was clear. They were used for directional purposes as well as to tell the time. Stars could be remembered by the legends associated with them. The people before us had no writing system so they had legends in order to remember (Hubert Amarualik IE-252, 1993).

Screen: *Ullaktut*

Suzanne Niviattian 1990, IE-079
The stars I am familiar with are the *Ullaktut*. I know a few names of the stars. [The story of *Ullaktut* goes like this] Some men were playing football when they came upon a polar bear. There were four men. They started to feel that they were leaving the ground. One of them dropped his mitt so he started to go back for it and the rest left him trailing behind. At that moment, they started to rise higher into the sky, but the bear was still ahead of them. While they ran, they started to turn into stars and so did the bear ahead of them. So, now we see *Nanurjuk* ahead of the *Ullaktut*. The fourth went back for his mitt so you will see it last and lower than the rest as he had fallen well behind the others (Suzanne Niviattian Aqatsiaq IE-079, 1990).

SEA ICE

Scene: *Agiuppiniit*

Louis Alianakuluk

Q. Do you know in the past if the families used to move their camp down there to get closer to the floe-edge?

A. Yes. In my childhood, we used to go to that place, Agiuppiniit. From Avvajja we would go to Agiuppiniit to get closer to the floe-edge, the entire family would move to that area. Agiuppiniit is close to the floe-edge.

Q. Would you then make a place to live there?

A. Yes, that would become our home for a while. This happened when the sun was getting higher. The main reason [for living here] was to vary our diet, which otherwise would have consisted mainly of *igunaq* [fermented walrus meat]. There would be marine animals such as seals and walruses, which were mainly the animals that were hunted during that time. So we used to get closer to the floe-edge by establishing ourselves at Agiuppiniit. This was usually the case when we did not move to Iglulik. It was only recently that someone started to live at Qikiqtaarjuk. The reason why no one lived there before was that it was too far from the ice hunting ground at the time when we depended solely on dog teams for our travel. As this was deemed to be too far, they would establish themselves at Agiuppiniit to get closer to the floe-edge.

Q. In comparison to the land, how different is it to have a dwelling on the sea ice?

A. The only thing is that material for bed platform that would cover the bed platform is not available on the sea ice. So they used to go and get gravel for this purpose from Nirlirnaqtuuq. I believe that was the only thing. It is much warmer than the land when you make your igloos on the ice. This is in the winter. This is something that I have heard, and I know that it keeps the igloo much warmer than the land. The sound you make when walking is also different between the land and the sea.

Q. As a child would you have things that would have kept you entertained?

A. Very much so, that was the only thing. There would be games such as: *Amaruujaq*, *Aammakasauti* (tag), *Uqsuutaaq*, and other games like *Taqqiujaq*. Then there are *Ajagaq* (cup-and-ball) and *Ajaraaq* (cats cradle), these were the games that we use to play. *Inugaq* and things like that.

Q. Would there be quite a few people in the ice camp?

A. No, there would be only a few of us [at first]. Then people would slowly move to our camp. That was the way it was; people would come to join us in our home, then there would be others that would move out to other locations. At first, there would be only a few, but the numbers would grow as families moved in, so that [eventually] there would be quite a few people. They would move here to get easier access to the floe-edge and to game animals. (Louis Alianakuluk IE-477, 2001).

Aipilik Innuksuk
We use to live in a *qarmaq* (a sod house), at least this is what we did – I and my adopted parents. I had not lived in an igloo while we were in this area. All we lived in was a *qarmaq*. Towards the spring when it was necessary to move close to the floe-edge they would make their dwelling in an igloo at Iglulik [Igloolik Point]. Sometimes, they would go elsewhere, in particular to the landfast ice at Agiuppiniq from Avvajja. This location was suitable for the hunters that would hunt on the ice through seal breathing holes on Ikiq. The place that I refer to as Agiuppiniq is located in this area. When the ice had started to freeze over the first freeze-up stage usually happens among the grounded ice floes where the first floe-edge would be located. We used to make our home just past the area where there is no danger of the ice breaking up and carrying us out to sea. The build-up of pressure ridges, caused by the moving ice before it freezes off Nirlirnaqtuuq, is called Agiuppiniq (Aipilik Innuksuk IE-004, 1986).

Screen: *Tuvaq*

Emile Imaruittuq
In the fall when temperatures are getting colder the lakes are first to freeze over. When the sea starts to freeze the first ice formations on the shores are known as *qinuaq*. This is usually caused by a snowfall that no longer melts and forms into ice when the winds blow it to the shore. So therefore it is called *qinuaq*. Thus starts the process of ice formation when snowfall, blown by the wind, collects on the shore. When the temperatures are cold the ice will form uniformly, and can soon be travelled on. However, after this ice makes, the temperature could become mild so that this newly formed ice will likely get soft. At the same time, ice that had formed in the areas where there are currents will gradually be thinned from below. When this happens, the ice is no longer safe to be travelled on in the fall. There is a constant battle between the warm and the cold especially as the ice starts to form. When the cold starts to loose out to the warm, ice that has formed earlier will start to decay, usually from below, in the areas where the currents are strongest. When the cold temperatures prevail the thickness of the ice will continue in the autumn. This also happens in the early spring when the temperatures are less severe and the formation of ice stops. After the freeze up, snowfalls that blanket the ice can prove to be dangerous. So close observation must be made of the surface conditions as some areas that may appear to be safe can in fact be very thin. So this is the reason why we always walk on the ice with a harpoon in our hand and poke the ice to test its thickness. Ice can be deceiving by the looks on the surface. The harpoon is the only tool that can be used to determine if the ice thickness is safe to walk on. We have all, at one time or another, fallen through the ice when we thought that the surface was the same as the one we had just been on. Sometimes, we would go to an area that is too thin to carry our weight, but the surface conditions will appear the same. So, for this reason one must always be alert when one is on the ice. This also applies to dog teams. Sometimes, the whole team and the sled can go through the ice when they get to an area that is too thin to carry their weight. This has happened on numerous occasions to practically by every hunter. *Sikuaq* is the thin ice that forms during the first stage of freeze-up; *sikuliaq* on the other hand is the ice formation that may still be thin, but it is able to carry weight; *tuvaq* is the [land-fast] ice that forms in the fall and remains throughout the winter months (Emile Imaruittuq IE-101, 1990).

Screen: *Aulajuq*

Noah Piugaattuk
The remains of the sod houses in Pingiqqalik show that this location used to have numerous inhabitants, as did Igloolik Point and the Ugliit Islands as well. These were the central locations of the *Iglulingmiut*. In the winder time our only hunting implement used to be the harpoon – our survival depended upon it. There were people who were responsible for caribou hunts in the summertime, but in Pingiqqalik that's the way it was. In Pingiqqalik, the people were much more aggressive in hunting walrus by comparison to those that lived in Iglulik [Igloolik Point]. People from Pingiqqalik were more walrus hunters. I knew it from personal experience. They did not hunt seals as much as those from Iglulik. Iglulik is a good location for seal hunting through ice; for this reason it was used as a central location where people gathered. In those days for those who stayed at Pingiqqalik, when the wind blew from the northwest it was the prime time to hunt walrus. When the winds shifted from the North towards the East, it was the time to hunt walrus as the newly formed ice makes contact with the land-fast ice. In addition, beyond Pingiqqalik the current is such that when there is a high tide the movement of the current usually runs towards the bay - there is a strong pull. With the currents pulling the moving ice it will inevitably make contact with the land-fast ice. Because of these conditions, the people from Pingiqqalik concentrated more on walrus hunting comparison to those from Iglulik (Noah Piugaattuk IE-054, no date).

Screen: *Aulajuq and winds*

Noah Piugaattuk
The Inuit who hunt marine animals still observe the conditions around the floe-edge. When the wind blows from the direction of the moving ice, it blows with moderate force and with increased velocity at times. If the wind continues to blow the hunters would be discouraged from staying in the area, particularly if the wind came from the direction of the moving ice. If the wind did not subside hunters were discouraged from future hunts. When the winds from this direction subsided (this was before we barometers), they would change and blow from the opposite direction. This would also be followed by winds of moderate velocity. There are two opposing winds namely *Uangnaq* and *Nigiq*. If the wind from either direction had blown for a prolonged period, then this will be followed by a shift of wind from the opposite direction, and it will blow with force. Therefore, after the wind has blown from the direction of the *aulajuq* for a period of time, it is with certainty that it will shift to *Uangnaq*. When this happened, hunters were warned of the dire consequences they would face should they linger on the *aulajuq*. Younger people were always taught about the sea ice. These things are still applicable as it is the way it has always been. The winds have a tendency of retaliating against each other from opposite directions. It is of utmost importance that the hunters are made aware of these facts (Noah Piugaattuk IE-054, no date).

Screen: *Aulajuq and the floe-edge*

Aipilik Innuksuk
The nature of moving ice is completely different from anything else. What I have mentioned are the places where you can go for safety in which their conditions are different. Sometimes, the ice had broken into pieces and frozen together. In cases like that you are to look for more stable ice, bigger pieces of ice that are solid. It is always like that because the older ice is usually further down. That is how the ice matures because they are behind the new ice that breaks up first. The ice that froze a few days ago drifts away. I heard not too long ago that the moving ice is quite flat because new ice had formed. There was a strong Northwest wind and part of the ice drifted away leaving the area for new ice to form. That is the nature of the ice. The ice conditions are never the same. Sometimes the ice clashes together more than once and breaks itself to pieces then it freezes together quite thick. When there is a South wind, that is the time when you can go on the ice to hunt. But when there is new snow on top of the ice we were warned not to hunt there. There will be times later on when you can go there to hunt. That is what we were told by the elders. Sometimes, when there are strong winds the ice cannot get together. The Northwest wind causes the ice to break up and drift away. After the wind, when the weather improves and the area that was cleared of ice freezes again, is the time when the current will move the ice back and forth, to and from e floe-edge. That is the time when it is the least dangerous to hunt. "*Agliurisimajuq*" (means that is even when there is a South wind --- the ice still moves back and forth to the main solid ice). That is the time when you can hunt without too much worry about drifting away. The wind will cause the ice to move together; then it will start to drift apart, and that is said to be the best time to hunt. This is true, and that is the nature of the moving ice (Aipilik Innuksuk, date, IE-035).

Screen: *Aulajuq and the tides*

Louis Alianakuluk
If you plan on spending day after day on the ice hunting, you must always pay attention to the tidal currents, especially in the winter when the temperatures are extreme. The ice tends to break off and detach itself from the land fast ice. It is dangerous when you do not pay attention; it may even look as if it would not break off. For generations it has been like this: the floe-edge always wants to break off. This is especially the case after the ice has formed at the floe-edge for a prolonged period and there has been no open water. It is said that when it wants to break off, it will break off anywhere it desires, especially when the tidal currents are strong during spring tide, even when it appears to be stable. It has been said that when the floe-edge gets the urge to become open water the ice breaks off. (Louis Alianakuluk IE-477, 2001).

Aipilik Inuksuk
[In conditions] where the ice is permanently frozen and it is very cold, and the wind has been coming from the northwest, should the wind shift from the northwest to the southeast and the moving ice still has not been broken by the pressure and current, then there is no doubt that it is possible to reach the main ice without trouble. There is absolutely no concern about the dangers regarding the ice. When we lived by hunting alone we always paid attention to every detail and change of the ice conditions. Even today, when someone goes out to hunt near the moving ice they should still pay attention to the

ice. In the morning when it is low tide the movement of the current will be inwards towards the main ice for the rest of the day. That is what happens. Sometimes, before the movement of the current is inwards it stays still and there is absolutely no doubt that you can make it to the main ice after hunting on the new ice. There are times when the new ice remains touching the older ice for a long time, and then it starts to drift away. It becomes very hard to make it to the main ice and the wind does not always co-operate. We used to get stranded on ice because we would go on to the new ice knowing that the wind was coming from the southeast. While we were at the centre of the new ice, quite a distance away from the main ice, the wind would die down then shift from the southeast to the northwest, causing the ice to drift away. I have experienced this before even though we didn't get stranded on purpose. When you are going to hunt on the moving ice then you should be prepared for any danger and pay attention to the ice conditions. It happens every now and then and they don't do it on purpose; but people do get stranded on the ice. People may not be aware of the dangers of getting stranded, but it happens sometimes when they are hunting near the flow-edge. I have experienced this before; sometimes you find yourself stranded on the moving ice and this happens every now and then (Aipilik Innuksuk IE-035, 1988).

Screen: *Preparing for going out*

Maurice Arnatsiaq
I am going to talk to young people and anyone who doesn't know navigation well. When we were growing up, we were growing up before the introduction of navigational instruments. We were taught by our fathers, grandfathers, uncles… and they taught us about the weather and snow forms. Going away from the community, the weather sometimes changes every day to different kinds of weather. Every day, when you are preparing to go on a hunting trip, prepare yourself by taking everything you will need, in case anything happens to you. Even if you were in a rush to get out there, make a list of the things you need. When you get stuck out there on the land, the things you left behind simply don't appear… they don't just walk to you! In that case, you need to know the snow forms, where you are going, and how far is it that you are going. As you are traveling towards your destination you always have to observe where you are traveling, what snow conditions there are, and the kinds of snowdrifts. These are formed by strong winds. These drifts always form in a certain way and this doesn't change.

Screen: *Place names*

Antonen Qunnut
Inuit always use the name of a location to determine where they are going. Most of the landmarks have their own names, so it is important that these place names are passed on. In our times, we knew the names of places… we knew place names from the time of our youth. Places should have names, these names should be well known. We knew the place names; we learned these from our parents. For instance, if a hunter had left behind a catch or something worth returning for, and I was to be asked to go and get it, if I knew the location of the place name that he mentioned, then, using the direction of the wind, I would be able to retrieve the item. He would also mention how far the object is from that place name. With these instructions, I would be able to go and retrieve the object. That was the way we used to do it in our youth (Antonen Qunnut 2001, IE-505).

Antonen Qunnut
Q. If you were to mention a named place, like Uqquarmiut and so on, were you able to identify its occupants only by mentioning the place name?

A. Yes. If someone mentioned a place name, and the target location is close to that place. The wind direction was the most helpful in finding a location. A place name is called out and your target location is at its *Uangnaq* (NW), or it might be at its *Kanangnaq*, *Akinnangani*, or to the direction of *Nigiq*, then you can go and look for an object based on those directions. It is important that place names are visible, as this would help you to go and look for something. It is just like using map bearings with all the numbers. It is identical to that.

Q. Even if you have never been to a place and were told go there and retrieve something, could you do it?

A. Yes, you will be given description of the land formation near the place. If I have this information, and if I was told the whereabouts of the location in relation to a known spot and how the land formations look, then I can go and find for the object

or thing in question. (Antonen Qunnut IE-486, 2001).

Screen: *Learning landmarks*

Hubert Amarualik
Q. Before the maps were used, how did the people find their way around?

A. It was someone who knew about routes that would give the directions to someone who would be travelling [to a specific location] for the first time. The directions would include mention of lakes, the shape of land, landmarks, *inuksugait*, and everything that could describe the way. Nothing was written. The instructions were given orally.

Q. I guess the person who gave instructions to someone who did not know the way had to visualize the entire route.

A. Some people gave very detailed information so that you could almost picture the place where you are going. Even if you had not taken the route before you would recognize the places from the instructions you were given. When I was growing up and learning to go places that was the only way I learned. Nothing was ever written, nor were maps not used (Hubert Amarualik IE-314, 1994).

Screen: *Using trails*

Louis Ilupaalik
A. Sometimes I hear, especially from younger people that they tend to make mistakes… at least I notice when they mention this. Whenever they see a track, even a single track, a track of something… it might even be a snowmobile... they would refer to it as *igliniq*. These are not what we would term a trail; they are only tracks, one track. The only time they become trails are when the same track is used over and over again, in both directions… this is what we term an *igliniq*.

Q. For instance, if Ikiq freezes over, how are we going to get a trail that leads across the strait?

A. There would be someone that crosses the strait first… I do not know whom, but somebody crosses the strait. Now we are living so conveniently, so, someone crosses the strait-- when he returns he will make it known how one can cross; he will make it known that his tracks can be followed should someone else plan to cross. This is the case of someone that has crossed first. If he found that the route that he took was good he would make it known when he returns that the trail he made was good, then others, after hearing him, will take the same route. They will start following his tracks; sometimes there are two skidoos as this is required. It would not be long before this route becomes a trail. Sometimes, you will see tracks all over the place, though they are heading in the same direction. Tracks all over cannot be referred to as *igliniq*. Only a trail that is constantly used can be referred to as *igliniq* (Louis Ilupaalik IE-482, 2001).

Louis Alianakuluk
Q. Is there another term for *igliniq*?

A. I [don't] believe so. At least I have not heard about it. Ever since I started to remember the things that happened around me it has always been referred to as *igliniq*. I always heard the word "*igliniq*". As soon as you hear this term you

immediately know what it means: that it is a trail that is used. Indeed a well-trodden trail.

Q. They are not *iniit* (tracks)?

A. They are not *iniit*, which are usually tracks left by one [snowmobile]. Then there are times when one can refer to a trail as *iglinikuluk* (a small *igliniq*). This is usually in reference to few tracks. If I were to say *inisiarpunga* ("I found a track"), it means I came across a lone track (Louis Alianakuluk IE-481, 2001).

Screen: *Remembering trails*

Herve Paniaq

[…] starting from Tuulliktalik, which has long been known as a camping site, pretty much guaranteeing that there is enough blown snow there with which to build an igloo. From there you'll note that if you look at your surroundings there's a route to Aggu. From here, if you are facing towards Arctic Bay, you can see a lower elevation to your right. There is also a lower elevation to your left and this is the route to Aggu. That's through Saputit Lake which is just over the hill. Continuing on, a bit to the right from here you would see Kiglavaarjuk. It is quite noticeable in that it is shaped like this [indicating]. It's a hill of some sort, and it looks like a snowplough went through it. And again towards the sea, going towards Arctic Bay, you'll note that the land is flat all the way… it looks flat. Again, you use the *Uangnaq* snowdrifts [*uqalurait*] to navigate towards the sea ice in that you are crossing them at somewhat of an angle; not crossing them at right angles, nor driving parallel to them, but at an angle closer to hitting them right on, in this way using the *uqalurait* to navigate. Once you get closer to sea ice, you'll notice that the land is slightly sloping downwards […] so you're slowly going down towards the sea ice. Once down at the shoreline, there will only be one [tidal] crack before you reach the ice proper… the smooth ice, indicating that there is not much of a tide here.

There is one crack along the shoreline. And that's indication that you have reached the sea. The difference between high and low tide here is very little. When you reach the sea, you'll notice that there is land ahead of you. This land is called Quurnguq.

Once you have reached Quurnguq you'll see [from the snowdrifts] that *Kanangnaq*, the [Northeast wind] now prevails. Snowdrifts [*uqalurait*] formed by the *Uangnaq* are absent and you find that the snow here is somewhat smoother. You should now keep close to the land, which will be on your right hand. The further you go from land the rougher the snow conditions will be; so therefore, try to stay close to the land in order to be on smooth snow. You will then reach a very obvious point of land that veers to the right. From this point you cross over some land to Imiq.

There are three places that you can cross over, though there and again, the points don't really have names. Before you get to the point, or when you get past the point, the route you have to take is across Sirmiq's Bay (Sirmiup Kangiq&ua). Sirmiq is the glacier on the [nearby] land from which the bay takes its name. Once at Imiq, the land you have crossed is now to your left. You continue on and get to the island called Simik. Simik means, "plug", and is the name given the island because it "plugs" the bay. From Simik you cross to the right, again to the other side and then follow the shoreline, because of the dangers of going through the middle of that

channel. There is a polynia here, but it [sometimes] freezes over making it dangerous to pass through the middle of the channel. For this reason, you have to follow the shoreline. The other two routes can be mentioned briefly. The first one from Imiq you would get right on to the land. Then go on the land again, as a safety factor to make sure that you miss the polynia all together. But the route just described is the one more commonly used.

The name that's used for the route past the polynia is called Sullukutaakut, because it's a long channel. When you have travelled along the shoreline you will be on the open sea ice. You'll see that there is a large hill on your left, ahead of you, and that it is quite dark in places, having dark markings. This hill is called Tallurutit. And then you'll also see another hill: this is Tulukaat. You can see these two hills across the bay very well. Travel [across the ice] towards them, aiming for centre point between them. Because these hills are inland you will reach land before you get to them. You'll notice that reach shore at a long, narrow point. This point is named Nuvukutaak. From here you start travelling inland…

Screen: *Finding your way*

Noah Piugaattuk
In the past when we used dog teams, we wouldn't be travelling as fast as they do nowadays... and even if it was poor visibility we wouldn't go round in circles [here, Piugaattuk indicates a circle with his hand]. Strong winds cause snowdrifts to form on the ground, and around rocks and rough ice. If there are no stars to navigate with and the visibility is poor, then using your feet to feel the snowdrifts would ensure that you stay on the right course. If there is a strong wind from this direction [pointing to the Northwest], then the snowdrifts will form in that direction. It is essential that people know about this today when visibility is poor. If you are aware of the snowdrifts you can generally go towards your destination. When there are no stars for guidance, cutting each snowdrift at a certain angle will keep you on a relatively straight course. People travel so fast nowadays that the minute they stop paying attention to the snowdrifts they tend to go off course. That is what happens today. In the past our travelling pace wasn't very fast and when there were no stars for guidance we would pay close attention to the snowdrifts and use them to maintain our course. Sometimes, we would be a little off course, but we would be relatively close to the area that we intended to go to, so the were used as a tool to maintain our route, especially if the wind was unpredictable (Noah Piugaattuk IE-040, 1988).