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VOIX INUIT : ARCHÉOLOGIE COMMUNAUTAIRE DANS L'ARCTIQUE NORD-AMÉRICAIN

INUIT VOICES: COMMUNITY-BASED ARCHAEOLOGY ACROSS THE NORTH AMERICAN ARCTIC.

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Introduction
Voix Inuit : Archéologie communautaire dans l'Arctique nord-américain

Sean P.A. Desjardins[i], Natasha Lyons[ii] et Mari Kleist[iii]

Traduction française par Aurélie Maire

Ce numéro thématique d'*Études Inuit Studies* célèbre les voix inuit en archéologie communautaire à travers l'Arctique nord-américain. Les communautés inuit et leurs ancêtres se sont toujours intéressés à leur histoire archéologique, à leurs récits d'origine et à leurs mythes fondateurs. Au cours des siècles derniers, de nombreuses facettes de ces relations ont été systématiquement rompues par des processus intensifs de colonisation et de bureaucratisation, ainsi que par le retrait concomitant des préoccupations patrimoniales des mains des familles et des communautés (Nicholas et Andrews 1997 ; Rowley 2002). Durant les cinquante dernières années, les Inuit ont réagi à ces processus d'effacement en reprenant régulièrement la parole, le pouvoir et l'autorité sur : (1) les processus archéologiques ; (2) les matériaux et les biens qu'ils impliquent ; (3) les lieux où les objets culturels sont conservés « en fiducie » ; et (4) les moyens de plus en plus nombreux par lesquels les connaissances archéologiques sont générées et utilisées (Griebel *et al.* 2016 ; Loring 2008 ; Lyons 2013, 2016 ; Hillerdal, ce volume). Ce travail exige une vigilance (et une agitation) constante, car les processus pernicieux de la colonisation se poursuivent à un rythme soutenu. Ainsi, l'acte de décolonisation n'a pas de fin prévisible (Audla et Smith 2014 ; Auger 2018 ; Desmarais *et al.* 2021).

Placer les perspectives inuit au centre de la recherche est fondamental pour changer la manière de pratiquer l'archéologie dans le Nord. Les archéologues non autochtones, bien que souvent bien intentionnés, ont un appétit féroce pour les connaissances scientifiques sur le passé (par exemple, Ferris et Dent 2020). Ils traversent/nous traversons le Nord à la fois fréquemment et intensément, et ils ne sont/nous ne sommes souvent pas

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conditionnés à accepter un « non » comme réponse (Marek-Martinez 2021). Les décideurs et les organisations culturelles inuit – tels que le Conseil inuit circumpolaire (CIC) (Commission Pikialasorsuaq 2017), Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) (2019), Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (n.d.) et Alaska Federation of Natives (n.d.) – ont affirmé leur contrôle souverain sur de nombreux aspects de la recherche et de la pratique, influençant désormais les structures de délivrance des permis et exigeant divers niveaux de consultation et de participation de la communauté dans les travaux archéologiques. Une proportion de plus en plus importante d'archéologues a adopté une pratique communautaire, avec ses principes de co-direction et de co-création des connaissances avec les membres des communautés autochtones, les gardiens de la terre et les détenteurs des connaissances, comme mode principal de pratique. Cette orientation est motivée par l'éthique et soutenue par les mandats de la Commission de vérité et de réconciliation du Canada, la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones et par les bailleurs de fonds qui ont modifié leurs recommandations en conséquence (par exemple, Supernant 2020).

Cependant, peu d'archéologues sont spécifiquement formés pour négocier les espaces de recherche et de pratique transdisciplinaires complexes exigés par l'archéologie communautaire, en particulier les formes de collaboration véritablement orientées vers les objectifs du patrimoine communautaire (Colwell et Ferguson 2007). Ce travail exige de perturber, de déstabiliser et de « dé-discipliner » les modes de pratique établis (Kelvin et Hodgetts 2020 ; Schneider et Panich 2022), tout en expérimentant simultanément de nouvelles approches de la pédagogie et de la formation sur le terrain, de prendre conscience des protocoles culturels, d'être sensible à l'éthique des soins, de prêter attention à la gouvernance des données, et de s'exercer à développer des principes de communauté et de capacité (par exemple, Douglass *et al.* 2020 ; Gupta *et al.* 2020 ; Laluk et Burnette 2021 ; Peuramaki-Brown 2020 ; Supernant *et al.* 2020). En demandant comment l'archéologie peut aider à décoloniser la façon dont les institutions (et les praticiens !) pensent, Atalay (2019, 519) a soutenu la force et la véracité du collectif par rapport aux caprices de l'individu : « penser avec, écouter et travailler aux côtés de nos partenaires communautaires et des territoires avec lesquels ils sont en relation… fournit des modèles pour savoir comment, et de quelle manière, nos pratiques peuvent être conçues à nouveau ». Dans le Nord, une telle pensée collectiviste est essentielle pour relever la myriade de défis posés par la crise climatique, une discussion menée par l'activisme inuit (Watt-Cloutier 2015 ; Pokiak 2020). Ici, la nature appliquée et multi-perspective de la recherche menée par les communautés est essentielle aux efforts d'évaluation et d'atténuation, et l'archéologie communautaire peut être une vitrine particulière de la recherche transdisciplinaire et de la pratique appliquée (Desjardins *et al.* 2020 ; Friesen 2015 ; Hillerdal *et al.* 2019 ; Lyons *et al.* 2023 ; O'Rourke 2018).

Ce numéro thématique a été organisé en partie pour inspirer les efforts d'une réflexion collective sur le travail archéologique dans le Nord circumpolaire. Nous sommes toujours optimistes et pensons qu'avec suffisamment de volonté, le changement peut être cultivé dans tous les espaces de la pratique archéologique, qu'il s'agisse de conformité, de gouvernement, d'université ou d'autres secteurs (Atalay 2019 ; Ferris et Dent 2020 ; Lyons *et al.* 2022 ; Novotny 2020 ; Rankin et Gaulton 2021). Nous reconnaissons qu'il n'y a pas une manière unique de mener l'archéologie communautaire, mais il est essentiel de porter une attention particulière à plusieurs aspects de cette pratique. Par exemple, nous pouvons tous apprendre des récits axés sur les processus qui examinent les origines et les voies de partenariats particuliers, la négociation de leurs objectifs, formes et orientations, et/ou les complexités, spécificités et dynamiques de leur personnel et de leurs trajectoires (Martindale *et al.* 2016 ; Supernant et Warrick 2014 ; Wylie 2019). Un autre élément essentiel est l'engagement soutenu des jeunes, ainsi que l'encouragement, le mentorat et le soutien financier des carrières des jeunes archéologues autochtones. Ensemble, ces pratiques modifient la politique de la voix et de la production de connaissances dans le domaine du patrimoine.

En tant que rédacteurs invités de ce numéro thématique, nous avons tenté de mettre en lumière une variété de projets archéologiques à long terme, basés sur la communauté. Nous avons invité un éventail de contributeurs à parler des questions éthiques, des succès et des faux pas qu'ils ont rencontrés dans leurs contextes de travail respectifs, selon des modalités qu'ils ont eux-mêmes choisies. Nous souhaitions tout particulièrement connaître le point de vue des Inuit qui pratiquent l'archéologie ou travaillent avec elle. Nous avons également cherché des contributeurs qui représentent différentes générations (en particulier des chercheurs émergents), des contextes de travail et des orientations sexospécifiques. Tous les articles présentés ont été rédigés par des équipes d'Inuit et leurs/nos alliés archéologues qui s'engagent dans des partenariats à travers l'Inuit Nunangat (les territoires inuit traditionnels de ce qui est maintenant le Canada), le Kalaallit Nunaat (Groenland) et l'Alaska. Les contributeurs ont répondu avec une variété de perspectives et de formats, rédigeant des histoires et des récits de projets dans un langage simple, capturant des dialogues entre partenaires de recherche, présentant des segments de récits oraux et d'expériences contemporaines.

La représentation des Inuit selon leurs propres voix et leurs propres langues était au cœur des objectifs de ce numéro. Vous trouverez quatre des sept articles rédigés par des Inuit, notamment Kleist et ses collègues, Gruben et ses collègues, Gross et Friesen, et Ulujuk Zawadski et Chemko. Un certain nombre des articles est entièrement traduit en langues inuit, notamment Gross et Friesen en inuinnaqtun et Rankin et ses collègues en inuttitut. Kleist et ses collègues ont rédigé leur article en kalaallisut et l'ont traduit en

anglais. Les résumés de tous les autres articles sont traduits de l'anglais vers les dialected inuit locaux et, dans le cas de Gruben et de ses collègues, vers plusieurs dialectes de l'inuvialuktun. Les résumés de presque tous les autres articles sont traduits de l'anglais vers les langues inuit régionales. Quatre articles et cette introduction sont également traduits en français.

Pour inverser l'ordre normatif/colonial, nous présentons les articles de ce numéro dans une configuration géographique allant du nord au sud (Figure 1). De manière appropriée, Mari Kleist, la première Groenlandaise à avoir obtenu un doctorat en archéologie, et ses collègues, Matthew Walls (Université de Calgary), Genoveva Sadorana, Otto Simigaq et Aleqatsiaq Peary (détenteurs de savoirs inughuit), ouvrent le présent ouvrage. Kleist et ses partenaires commencent par affirmer que l'accès au patrimoine n'est pas un droit inhérent aux archéologues, mais que le droit de collaborer doit être gagné. Travaillant sur les contingences des grandes distances pendant la pandémie de COVID-19, ils utilisent leur travail à Avanersuaq, dans le nord-ouest du Groenland, pour discuter de la manière dont des cadres de recherche productifs et mutuellement bénéfiques peuvent être développés. Sean Desjardins (Université de Groningue), Sylvie LeBlanc (ministère de la Culture et du Patrimoine du Nunavut), ainsi que les aînés George Qulaut et Eulalie Angutimarik documentent et partagent les souvenirs et les réflexions des aînés Iglulik (Igloolik)sur un site de campement ancestral primaire à Avvajja au cours de visites récentes du site. Ensemble, leurs récits fournissent un commentaire sur la création de sens en archéologie et en gestion du patrimoine, ainsi que sur la pratique du transfert intergénérationnel des connaissances.



Figure 1. Carte des projets d'archéologie communautaire représentés dans ce numéro par ordre de présentation. Carte réalisée par F. Steenhuisen.

En se déplaçant au sud et à l'ouest, deux articles sont consacrés aux initiatives patrimoniales des Inuvialuit et des Inuinnait. Les membres de l'équipe du projet d'histoire vivante inuvialuit, dirigée par Ethel-Jean Gruben, gestionnaire du Centre de ressources culturelles inuvialuit (avec Ashley Piskor [Université de Western Ontario], Mervin Joe [Parcs Canada, Inuvik], Lena Kotokak [Centre de ressources culturelles inuvialuit], Natasha Lyons [Ursus Heritage Consulting], Lisa Hodgetts [Université de Western Ontario]), Kate Hennessy [Université Simon Fraser], Elizabeth Edgerton [Projet d'histoire vivante inuvialuit], David Stewart [Centre de ressources culturelles inuvialuit] et David Stewart [Centre de ressources culturelles inuvialuit], Kate Hennessy [Simon Fraser University], Elizabeth Edgerton [Inuvialuit Living History Project], David Stewart [Inuvialuit Communications Society], Charles Arnold [Arctic Institute of North America], Chris von Szombathy et Jasmine Lukuku [YupLook]), dialogue sur la création en cours d'un nouveau site web qui s'appuie sur l'original, lancé en 2012, et le développe : www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca. La conversation porte sur la politique d'engagement et de représentation des histoires individuelles, des expériences familiales et des points de vue des six communautés de la région de peuplement des Inuvialuit, sur la perturbation des privilèges par la pratique et sur la célébration du travail en commun à travers ses succès et ses défis. Pamela Hakongak Gross, aujourd'hui ministre de l'éducation du Nunavut, et Max Friesen (Université de Toronto) présentent les leçons tirées de près de 25 ans de collaboration fructueuse entre la Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society à Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay), au Nunavut, et des chercheurs de l'Université de Toronto. Ils évoquent les raisons initiales qui les ont poussés à établir ce partenariat, l'évolution organique de leur modèle de prise de décision, la variété des produits livrables générés par la poursuite des intérêts des différents membres du projet, et la grande longévité du partenariat.

La dernière série d'articles sillonne l'Arctique à mesure que nous nous déplaçons vers le sud. Krista Ulujuk Zawadski (Carleton University) et Ericka Chemko (anciennement de l'Inuit Heritage Trust [IHT]) offrent leur perspective commune sur les écoles d'archéologie de terrain parrainées par l'IHT à travers le Nunavut, durant la première décennie des années 2000. Ces collaboratrices évoquent les considérations culturelles et pratiques nécessaires pour stimuler l'intérêt, l'engagement et la formation des jeunes Inuit dans le domaine de l'archéologie, ainsi que le rôle joué par l'IHT dans ce travail. Sur la côte ouest de l'Alaska, Charlotta Hillerdal (Université d'Aberdeen), Alice Watterson (Université d'Islande), M. Akiqaralria Williams, Lonny Alaskuk Strunk et Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland (membres de la communauté de Quinhagak) racontent à plusieurs voix le déroulement d'une décennie d'archéologie collaborative à Nunalleq, le site ancestral de la communauté de Quinhagak. Plusieurs générations de Yup'ik parlent de la myriade d'interactions communautaires engendrées par le projet, depuis les jeunes qui ont grandi

avec les fouilles jusqu'au rôle qu'elles ont joué dans l'apprentissage de la langue Yuptun, le retour à la danse traditionnelle et la construction d'une identité intergénérationnelle.

Notre article le plus méridional provient du nord du Labrador, où Lisa Rankin (Memorial University of Newfoundland) décrit le travail du Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum avec ses collègues Jamie Brake (Bureau d'archéologie du gouvernement de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador), Lena Onalik (Bureau d'archéologie du gouvernement du Nunatsiavut), Joan Anderson (Musée de l'éléphant blanc, Makkovik), Marjorie Flowers (Hopedale Inuit Community Government), Nicholas Flowers (Pirurvik Centre, Iqaluit), David Igloliorte (Apvitok Sivumuak Society, Hopedale), Inez Shiwak (Rigolet Heritage Society, Rigolet), Anthony 'Jack' Shiwak (retraité de la Rigolet Heritage Society, Rigolet). Depuis 2010, cet atelier annuel de plusieurs jours a été organisé pour réunir des spécialistes du patrimoine, des chercheurs et des régulateurs Nunatsiavummiut afin de discuter de questions d'intérêt commun et de promouvoir les priorités locales en matière de recherche, y compris son rôle dans la création de ressources touristiques et de sensibilisation au patrimoine.

Nous terminons cette introduction en remerciant chaleureusement nos contributeurs pour les articles réfléchis, provocateurs et perspicaces qu'ils ont rédigés. Le ton de ces documents est optimiste et constructif ; leur contenu est instructif et tourné vers l'avenir. De nombreux partenariats communautaires à long terme permettent de former des jeunes, de répondre aux besoins souverains des communautés inuit, d'intégrer les sciences et les connaissances inuit et occidentales, de développer les économies locales et de favoriser l'engagement interculturel toujours nécessaire. Dans le cadre de leurs activités, bon nombre de ces équipes de projet produisent des ressources patrimoniales en ligne destinées à l'éducation, à la sensibilisation et au tourisme. Dans certaines régions, comme à Quinhagak, en Alaska, les communautés travaillent avec des archéologues pour construire des infrastructures permettant de rapatrier et d'abriter les biens ancestraux. Des archéologues inuit, comme Mari Kleist et Krista Ulujuk Zawaski, obtiennent des doctorats et les mettent au service des intérêts inuit. Nous sommes encouragés par l'émergence d'une telle variété de formes de pratiques inclusives guidées par les intérêts des Inuit et nous nous réjouissons de faire partie de la nouvelle vague d'archéologie dirigée par les Inuit que ces projets inspirent.

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Introduction
Inuit Voices: Community-Based Archaeology across the North American Arctic

Sean P. A. Desjardins[i], Natasha Lyons[ii] and Mari Kleist[iii]

This special issue of *Études Inuit Studies* celebrates Inuit voices in community-based archaeology across the North American Arctic. Inuit communities and their ancestors have, of course, always been interested in and engaged with their archaeological histories, origin stories, and foundational narratives. Over the course of the past several centuries, many facets of these relationships have been systematically severed through intensive processes of colonization and bureaucratization, as well as the concomitant removal of heritage concerns from family and community hands (see papers in Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Rowley 2002). Over the past half-century, Inuit have responded to these processes of erasure through steady re-claiming of voice, power, and authority over (1) archaeological processes, (2) the materials and belongings they involve, (3) the places cultural objects are held "in trust", and (4) the expanding ways in which archaeological knowledge is generated and used (e.g., Dawson et al 2018; Griebel et al. 2016; Loring 2008; Lyons 2013, 2016; Hillerdal, this volume). This work requires constant vigilance (and agitation) because the pernicious processes of colonizing proceed apace; thus, the act of decolonizing has no foreseeable end (Audla and Smith 2014; Auger 2018; Desmarais et al. 2021).

Centering Inuit perspectives in research is fundamental to shifting the ways that archaeological practice is carried out in the North. Non-Indigenous archaeologists, while often well-intentioned, have voracious appetites for scientific knowledge about the past (e.g., Ferris and Dent 2020). They/we travel North with both frequency and intensity, and are often unconditioned to taking "no" for an answer (Marek-Martinez 2021). Inuit decision-makers and cultural organizations—such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council (or ICC,

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representing Inuit member organizations in Alaska, Canada and Greenland) (2021) and Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) (2018),—have asserted sovereign control over many aspects of research and practice and are now influencing permitting structures and demanding various levels of community consultation and participation in archaeological work. An ever-increasing proportion of archaeologists have embraced community practice, with its tenets of co-direction and co-creation of knowledge with Indigenous community members, land keepers, and knowledge holders, as a primary mode of practice. This orientation is ethically prompted and supported by the mandates of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and by funders who have changed their recommendations in response (e.g., Supernant 2020).

Few archaeologists, however, are formally trained to negotiate the complex transdisciplinary research and practice spaces demanded by community-based archaeology, especially those forms of collaboration truly directed by community heritage objectives (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007). This work requires the disrupting, un-settling and un-disciplining of established modes of practice (Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020; Schneider and Panich 2022), and the simultaneous experimentation with new approaches to pedagogy and field training, awareness of cultural protocols, sensitivities to the ethics of care, attention to data governance, and practice in developing principles of community and capacity (e.g., Douglass 2020; Gupta et al. 2020; Laluk and Burnette 2021; Peuramaki-Brown 2020; Supernant et al. 2020). In asking how archaeology can help decolonize the way institutions (and practitioners!) think, Atalay (2019, 519) has endorsed the strength and veracity of the collective over the whims of the individual: "thinking-with, listening to and working alongside our community partners and the lands they are in relationship with…provide[s] models for how, and in which ways, our practices can be designed anew." In the North, such collectivist thinking is essential to addressing the myriad challenges wrought by the climate crisis, a discussion led by Inuit activists (Watt-Cloutier 2015; Pokiak 2020). Here, the applied and multi-perspective nature of community-driven research is critical to assessment and mitigation efforts, and community archaeology can be a particular showcase for transdisciplinary research and applied practice (Desjardins et al. 2020; Friesen 2015; Hillerdal et al. 2019; Lyons et al. 2023; O'Rourke 2018).

This special issue has been organized in part to inspire the efforts of collective-thinking archaeological teams working across the circumpolar North. We take the ever-optimistic view that with enough will, change can be cultivated in all spaces of archaeological practice, whether in compliance, government, academia, or other sectors (Atalay 2019; Ferris and Dent 2020; Lyons et al. 2022; Novotny 2020; Rankin and Gaulton 2021). We recognize that there is no one way to conduct community-based archaeology, but close

attention to several facets of practice is key. For instance, we can all learn from process-oriented narratives examining the origins and pathways of particular partnerships; the negotiation of their goals, forms, and directions, and/or the complexities, specificities, and dynamics of their personnel and trajectories (Martindale et al. 2016; Supernant and Warrick 2014; Wylie 2019). Another critical piece is the sustained engagement of youth alongside the encouragement, mentoring, and financial support of the careers of young Indigenous archaeologists. Together, such practices are shifting the politics of voice and knowledge generation in the heritage arena.

As guest editors, we sought to highlight a variety of long-term, community-based archaeology projects in this special issue. We invited a range of contributors to speak to the questions, ethics, successes, and missteps they have experienced in their respective contexts of work, in ways of their own choosing. We particularly wished to hear the perspectives of Inuit who conduct or work with archaeology. And we sought contributors representing different generations (with emphasis on emerging scholars), working contexts, and gendered orientations. All of the papers presented are written by teams of Inuit and their/our archaeological allies who are engaging in partnerships across Inuit Nunangat (the traditional Inuit territories of what is now Canada), Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) and Alaska. Contributors responded with a variety of perspectives and formats, writing project histories and narratives in plain language, capturing dialogues between research partners, and presenting segments of orally-relayed stories and contemporary experiences.

Representing Inuit in our/their own voices and languages was central to the goals of this volume. You will find four of seven papers first-authored by Inuit, including Kleist and colleagues, Gruben and colleagues, Gross and Friesen, and Ulujuk Zawadski and Chemko. A number of papers are fully translated into Inuit languages, including Gross and Friesen into Inuinnaqtun and Rankin and colleagues into Innuttitut. Kleist and colleagues wrote their paper in Kalaallisut and translated it into English. The abstracts of all additional papers are translated from English into regional Inuit languages, and in the case of Gruben and colleagues, into several dialects of Inuvialuktun. Four papers and this introduction are also translated into French.

As an inversion of the normative/colonial order, we present the papers in this volume in a geographic configuration from north to south (Figure 1). Fittingly, this places Mari Kleist, the first Greenlander to have received a PhD in archaeology, and her colleagues, Matthew Walls (University of Calgary), Genoveva Sadorana, Otto Simigaq, and Aleqatsiaq Peary (Inughuit knowledge holders), as the opening paper. Kleist and partners begin with the assertion that access to heritage is not the inherent right of archaeologists; rather, the right to collaborate must be earned. Working through the contingencies of

vast distances during Covid, they use their work at Avanersuaq, in Northwest Greenland, to discuss how productive and mutually beneficial research frameworks can be developed. Sean Desjardins (University of Groningen), Sylvie LeBlanc (Nunavut Department of Culture and Heritage), and Elders George Qulaut and Eulalie Angutimarik document and share Igloolik/Iglulik Elders' memories of and reflections on an important ancestral campsite at Avvajja during recent site visits. Together, their narratives provide a commentary on meaning-making in archaeology and heritage management and the practice of intergenerational knowledge transfer.



Figure 1. Map showing the community-based archaeology projects represented in this issue in order of presentation. Figure by F. Steenhuisen.

Moving south and west, two papers focus on Inuvialuit and Inuinnait heritage initiatives. Members of the Inuvialuit Living History Project team, led by Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre Manager Ethel-Jean Gruben (with Ashley Piskor [University of Western Ontario], Mervin Joe [Parks Canada, Inuvik], Lena Kotokak [Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre], Natasha Lyons [Ursus Heritage Consulting], Lisa Hodgetts [University of Western Ontario], Kate Hennessy [Simon Fraser University], Elizabeth Edgerton [Inuvialuit Living History Project], David Stewart [Inuvialuit Communications Society], Charles Arnold [Arctic Institute of North America], and Chris von Szombathy and Jasmine Lukuku [YupLook]), dialogue about the ongoing creation of a new website that builds on and expands the original, launched in 2012: www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca. The conversation reflects on the politics of engaging and representing the individual histories, family experiences, and viewpoints of the six communities of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, on disrupting privilege through practice, and on celebrating the work together through its successes and challenges. Pamela Hakongak Gross, now the

Nunavut Minister of Education, and Max Friesen (University of Toronto) provide lessons learned from nearly 25 years of successful collaboration between Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society in Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay), Nunavut, and researchers from the University of Toronto. They reflect on the original reasons for pursuing the partnership, the organic evolution of their decision-making model, the variety of project deliverables generated through the pursuit of different project members' interests, and the great longevity of the partnership.

The final series of papers crisscross the Arctic as we move south. Krista Ulujuk Zawadski (Carleton University) and Ericka Chemko (formerly of Inuit Heritage Trust [IHT]) offer their shared perspective on archaeological field schools sponsored by IHT across Nunavut in the first decade of the 2000s. These collaborators speak to the cultural and practical considerations necessary to foster the interest, engagement, and training of Inuit youth in archaeology, and the role IHT has played in this work. On the west coast of Alaska, Charlotta Hillerdal (University of Aberdeen), with Alice Watterson (University of Iceland), M. Akiqaralria Williams, Lonny Alaskuk Strunk and Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland (Quinhagak community members), provide a multivocal narrative about the unfolding of a decade of collaborative archaeology at Nunalleq, the ancestral site of the Quinhagak community. Several generations of Yup'ik talk about the myriad nature of community interactions engendered by the project, from the youth who grew up with the dig to the role it has played in engagement with the Yuptun language, the return to traditional dance, and intergenerational identity making.

Our most southerly paper comes from Northern Labrador, where Lisa Rankin (Memorial University of Newfoundland) describes the work of the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum with colleagues Jamie Brake (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeology Office), Lena Onalik (Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Office), Joan Anderson (White Elephant Museum, Makkovik), Marjorie Flowers (Hopedale Inuit Community Government), Nicholas Flowers (Pirurvik Centre, Iqaluit), David Igloliorte (Apvitok Sivumuak Society, Hopedale), Inez Shiwak (Rigolet Heritage Society, Rigolet), and Anthony "Jack" Shiwak (retired from the Rigolet Heritage Society, Rigolet). Since 2010, this annual multi-day workshop has brought together Nunatsiavummiut heritage specialists, researchers, and regulators to discuss issues of shared interest and promote local research priorities, including its role in generating tourism and heritage outreach resources.

We close this introduction with heartfelt thanks to our contributors for the thoughtful, provocative, and insightful pieces they have written. The tone of these papers is hopeful and constructive, and their content is instructive and forward-facing. Many long-term community partnerships are nurturing young people, working in service of the sovereign needs of Inuit communities, integrating Inuit and Western sciences and knowledges, growing local economies, and fostering always necessary cross-cultural

engagement. As part of their deliverables, many of these project teams are producing web-based heritage resources targeted to education, outreach, and tourism. In some regions, such as in Quinhagak, Alaska, communities are working with archaeologists to build infrastructure to repatriate and house ancestral belongings. Inuit archaeologists, such as Mari Kleist and Krista Ulujuk Zawaski, are earning PhDs and putting them to work serving Inuit interests. We are encouraged by the emergence of such a variety of forms of inclusive practice driven by Inuit goals and leadership, and we look forward to being a part of the new wave of Inuit-directed archaeology that these projects inspire.

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Inughuit Nipaan: The Future of Archaeological Partnerships in Avanersuaq

Mari Kleist[i], Matthew Walls[ii], Genoveva Sadorana[iii], Otto Simigaq[iv], and Aleqatsiaq Peary[v]

ABSTRACT

Inuit across the Arctic regions have for generations echoed a wish for a greater involvement in research and have voiced the need for direct partnerships that include Indigenous perspectives. As a consequence, researchers are becoming increasingly aware that studying other people's past and heritage is not an inherent academic right but rather involves developing close Indigenous partnerships. Accordingly, partnership research frameworks are now being recognized as essential foundations to decolonize research practices in the Arctic, as vocalized by Inuit communities. In this paper, Inughuit community members share their personal and shared thoughts and reflections and present how they envision future partnership research approaches, how they can determine the objectives of partnered research, and what archaeology can ultimately contribute in a changing Arctic.

KEYWORDS

Inughuit voices, community members, developing research relationships, partnership visions, heritage, Indigenous knowledge, arctic archaeology, decolonization

RÉSUMÉ

Inughuit nipaan: L'avenir des pratiques de partenariat en archéologie à Avanersuaq

Depuis des générations, les Inuit des régions arctiques ont exprimé le souhait d'être davantage impliqués dans la recherche et la nécessité d'un partenariat direct incluant les perspectives indigènes. En conséquence, les chercheurs sont de plus en plus conscients que l'étude du passé et du patrimoine d'autres peuples n'est pas un droit académique inhérent, mais qu'elle implique le développement de partenariats autochtones étroits. En conséquence, les cadres de recherche en partenariat sont de plus en plus reconnus comme des fondements essentiels pour

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décoloniser les pratiques de recherche dans l'Arctique, comme l'ont exprimé les communautés Inuit. Dans cet article, nous présentons des membres de la communauté Inughuit qui partagent leurs pensées et réflexions personnelles et communes, et qui expliquent comment ils envisagent les futures approches de recherche en partenariat, comment ils peuvent déterminer les objectifs de la recherche en partenariat, et ce que l'archéologie peut finalement apporter dans un Arctique en mutation.

MOTS-CLÉS
Voix des Inughuit, membres de la communauté, développement de relations de recherche, visions de partenariat, patrimoine, savoir indigène, archéologie arctique, décoloniser

ABSTRAKTI

Inughuit nipaan: Avanersuarmi itsarnisarsiornermik suleqatigiinnerup siunissaa

Issittumi nunat immikkoortuini Inuit ilisimatusarnermut peqataatinneqarnerunissamik kinguaariit ingerlaneranni arlaleriarlutik kissaateqartarsimapput nunallu inoqqaavisa isiginnittaasiannik peqataatitsilluni toqqaannartumik suleqatigiinnissamik pisariaqartitsineq oqariartuutigisarlugu. Tamatuma kingunerisaanik allanut qanga pisimasunik kingornussassaannillu misissuinerit ilisimatuussutsikkut pisinnaatitaaffiunnginnerat ilisimatusartunit eqqumaffigineqarnerujartulerpoq, aallaqqaataaniillu qanimut suleqatigiinnerit ineriartortinneqarnissaat ilaatinneqalerluni. Ilisimatusarnermik suleqatigiinnernut sinaakkutit Issittumi ilisimatusariaatsit nunasiaataajunnaarsarneqarnerannut pingaarutilimmik tunngaviunerat taamaammat akuerisaajartuinnarpoq, soorlu Inunnit tamanna oqariartuutigineqarsimasoq. Pappiaqqami matumani Inughuit ilaasa namminneq ataatsimullu eqqarsaataat ilisaritippagut, siunissamilu suleqatigiilluni ilisimatusariaasissat qanoq takorloorneraat, suleqatigiilluni ilisimatusarnernut anguniagassat qanoq aalajangersinnaaneraat, kiisalu Issittumi allanngorartumi itsarnisarsiornerup qanoq ilanngussaqarsinnaanera saqqummiullutigu.

OQAATSIT QITIUSUT
Inughuit niipaat, inuiaqatigiinneersut, ilisimatusarnermi attaveqaatinik ineriartortitsineq, suleqatigiinnermut takorluukkat, kingornussat, nunat inoqqaavisa ilisimasaat, Issittumi itsarnisarsiorneq, nunasiaataajunnaarsaaneq

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In the last two decades or so, the voices of Indigenous community members and Arctic representatives have considerably increased at meetings, seminars, and conferences on Arctic subjects, calling for the cooperative inclusion of local populations in research projects and the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives (e.g. Inuit Tapiriit Kanadami 2019; Pikialasorsuaq Commission 2017). This growing wish to be heard and included in research projects stems from the intergenerational experience of not being made partners and not being provided a platform to contribute

local knowledge (Desmarais et al. 2021). For centuries, it has been a normal praxis to take away Indigenous heritage—including knowledge from its original and appropriate context—without considering the values of the people they belong to (see also Fromm 2016; Bravo and Sörlin 2002). To avoid repeating history, reconsideration of the form and context of conducting research in Indigenous homelands is crucial. Arctic researchers must be cognizant of this need to include and engage Indigenous partners and their perspectives in scientific research projects.

In 2017, the Inughuit Creativity and Environmental Responsiveness (ICER) project was initiated to study the process of how environment relationships are shaped by this Inuit community over the long term. Inughuit live in the Avanersuaq region of northern Greenland, and their traditional territory extends to areas of Umimmattooq (Ellesmere Island), Canada, including the landscapes that surround a polynya called Pikialasorsuaq (Figure 1). Polynyas are areas of Arctic Ocean that do not freeze over in the winter, creating localities where sea mammals and other migratory species thrive. Pikialasorsuaq, which means the "great upwelling"

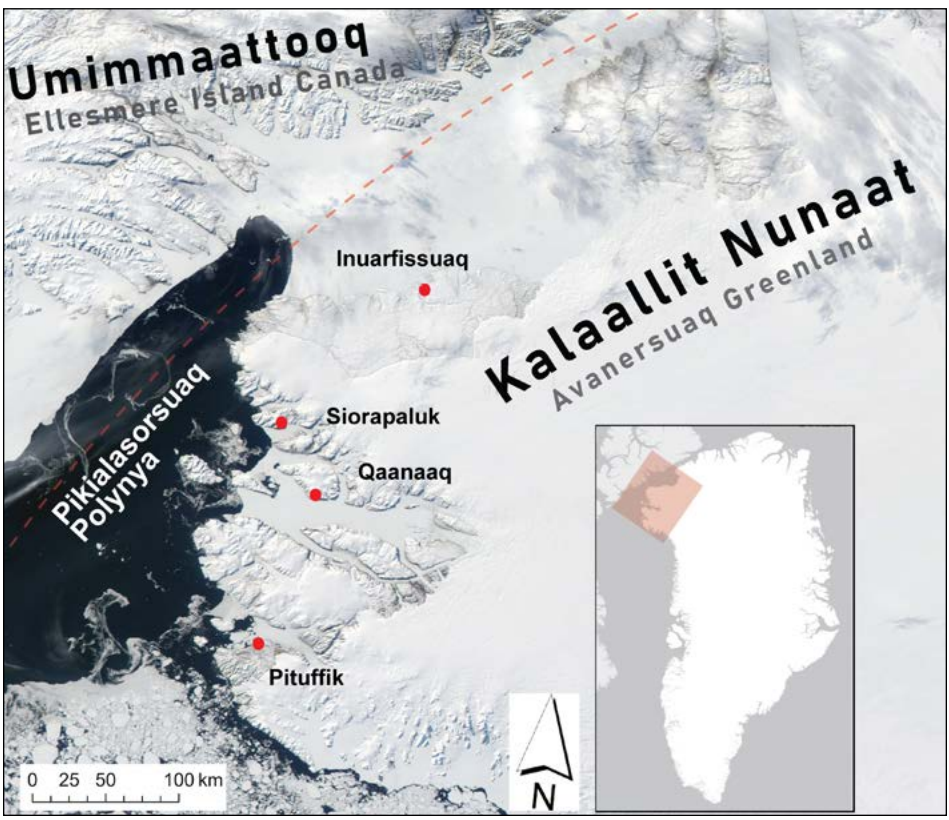


Figure 1. Map of Avanersuaq

in Kalaallisut, is the largest such polynya in the Arctic and comprises an ecologically rich but precarious environment. The ICER project has thus far included five seasons of fieldwork conducted to assess changes to archaeological landscapes and to survey previously unrecorded sites identified by Inughuit community members as being important in the present. The project is built on an ethics framework that was assembled with community members during interviews, meetings, and presentations. In this continued research, primary objectives co-produced with the Inughuit community include assessing the impact of climate change-related processes on archaeological landscapes and developing a framework for responsive efforts that prioritize sites according to Inughuit knowledge and needs.

This paper presents, in their own words, some of our Inughuit partners' reflections about cultural heritage, the process of working with archaeologists, and the relevance partnered research has in the present.

Avanersuaq and Inughuit

To understand Inughuit livelihoods and relationships with research in their homelands, it is necessary to take into account not only past decades of research but also local history in Avanersuaq. In the context of climate change, Avanersuaq has become a focal point for international environmental science and political advocacy. With increasing global attention on the Arctic (Pikialasorsuaq Commission 2017; see also Powell and Dodds 2014), Inughuit communities are often overlooked in decisions that impact governance of their homeland, despite their deep historical entanglement and continued management of ecological relationships (see also Kawelu 2014).

More so than any other Arctic topic, research on climate change and its effects on environments and biodiversity has direct consequences for Inuit communities. This is largely because the impacts of temperature change have had dramatic and immediate effects on Arctic ecology. Inughuit are also directly impacted by this continuous rise of global attention and the discourses of top-down political decisions on policies that do not always take local knowledge and history into account (Hayashi and Walls 2019; Powell 2008, 2010). As such, it is a critical moment to emphasize Inughuit perspectives of environmental change and long-term stewardship (see Crate 2011; Gearhead et al. 2013; Hastrup 2018a; Nuttall 2009). Archaeological sites and features are important to the community, as they document the Inughuit history of the Pikialasorsuaq area, which is often taken for granted in climate change research as being "natural" or separate from Indigenous histories of stewardship. Indeed, Inughuit have lived in the landscapes that surround Pikialasorsuaq since their ancestors first explored and settled the High Arctic about 800 years ago (ca. 1250 AD) (Alix 2009; Appelt et al. 2015; Darwent et al. 2007; Friesen and Arnold 2008; Hastrup et al. 2018a; LeMoine and

Darwent 2016; McGhee 1996; Moltke et al. 2015; Schledermann and McCullough 2003; Tackney et al. 2016). These earliest Inughuit ancestors inherited a position within ecological relationships that had first been established by Paleo-Inuit communities during the genesis of Pikialasorsuaq about 4500 years ago (Jackson et al. 2021; Hastrup 2018a; Lyberth and Egede 2013; Schledermann 1990; Sørensen and Diklev 2019).

Through time, the Pikialasorsuaq region saw long-distance trade and contact, became an important site of regional interaction during the colonial period, and remains a fishing and hunting ground for the modern Inughuit community (Flora et al. 2018; Hayashi 2017; LeMoine and Darwent 2010). As a result, the region has a rich archaeological landscape which has vital importance. Indeed, the most recent understandings of Pikialasorsuaq's environmental history indicate that its genesis about 4500 years ago coincided with the arrival of the first Paleo-Inuit peoples, meaning that archaeological landscapes attest that its complex ecological relationships do not have a "Pre-Inuit" stage of development (Jackson et al. 2021). This is in stark contrast to the ahuman environment that typifies how Pikialsorsuaq is portrayed in discourse on its governance (Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017; Sine 2022).

Historically, Inughuit and their environment have been portrayed in different ways by research projects they have supported and in which they have participated. Early studies of the region through the 19th and early 20th centuries were dominated by "discovery" and the search for the origins of Inuit as a race (Hastrup 2010; Thisted 2010). Expeditions were driven by the idea of discovering an untouched people in a pristine environment (Hastrup 2010, 2016; Rasmussen 1905; Thisted 2010), and the interactions between early explorers and Inughuit are an example of this quest. In the context of Danish and Canadian colonial expansion, Pikialasorsuaq and the Inughuit homelands were divided by the modern border during the first half of the 20th century and were eventually confined to what is today the Avanersuaq region of North Greenland (Gilberg 1971). Inughuit were further displaced to make room for Pituffik, the Thule Air Base, in the 1950s, which continues to impact their livelihood, access, and movement in the present. Through time, it was an area that was imagined, explored, studied, represented, intellectualized, and explained from an outsider's perspective. The region was continuously visited by Danish, British, and American explorers and scholars (see also Gilberg 1971; Hastrup 2015; Hastrup et al. 2018b) who played a significant role in the interpretation and description of the area and of Inughuit livelihood. Indeed, Western knowledge of Inughuit and their environment influenced geopolitical formations that continue to shape Inughuit life today (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Importantly, they were produced through a Western value system and perspectives, ultimately reflecting Western ideologies—not those of Inughuit.

Not surprisingly, over the last couple of decades, Inughuit have continuously expressed the need and importance to be engaged by those who study their region and cultural heritage, and to have agency in the questions and practices involved in research projects (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Most recently, Inughuit participated in the Pikialasorsuaq Commission organized by the Inuit Circumpolar Council, which clearly documents the impact that research has on community ambitions for self-autonomy in environmental governance. A core theme in the 2017 Report of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission is that the history of Inughuit stewardship in polynya ecology is often subverted by environmental sciences, in turn influencing conservation policy built on an assumed division of nature and culture (Hayashi and Walls 2019; Kleist and Walls 2019; Sine 2022; see also Nadasdy 1999 and Wilson et al. 2020 for resonances with political ecology). Between externally imposed regulations and the limits on movement imposed by the modern border, self-governance of Pikialasorsuaq is vital to Inughuit perceptions of the future, because capacity to respond to climate change is constrained. The contemporary importance of archaeology as a field that can highlight the deep relationship between Inughuit and the polynya is therefore clear in this context and is the foundation that supports the ICER project.

Inughuit Archaeology and the Wish to Mobilize Co-created Research

The ICER project builds on the outcomes and recommendations of the Pikialasorsuaq Commission and on long-term discussions on community-partnered research in Arctic archaeology. It was initiated by Pauline K. Knudsen and Matthew Walls and is co-directed with Mari Kleist and Naotaka Hayashi. The intent was that the premise of the project, its research objectives, practices, and intended outputs should all be co-created with and directed by community partners from the start. It was thus imperative from the very beginning that we assemble a research team comprised of both Inuit/Inughuit scholars and Inughuit community members. Partners from Greenland included Inuit archaeologists (Knudsen and Kleist), Inuit students from Ilisimatusarfik/University of Greenland, Inughuit community members (Sadorana, Simigaq, Peary, and many others), and researchers and students from the University of Calgary (Hayashi and Walls). Partners and participants from Greenland and Calgary speak or understand Inuktun, an Inughuit dialect, and Kalaallisut, a West Greenlandic dialect— making it easier to communicate, share, and co-create knowledge. As some partners and students from Calgary are at a beginner's level in Kalaallisut, we made sure to work together and translate when needed in order to conduct all community interactions in either Inuktun or Kalaallisut.

Approaching local collaboration in the practice of archaeology has many advantages, as we have discovered through this work. A collaborative approach actively involving Indigenous community members helps bring marginalized voices to the forefront, thus producing possibilities for richer narratives of the past (see also Atalay 2006; Caxaj 2015; Hogan and Topkok 2015; Tuck and Yang 2012). As with any other field-based research efforts, our project required funding, and necessarily started with a carefully prepared project description, with research goals and questions that were crafted initially from "campus" separated from the community. However, while undertaking dialogues, meetings, surveys, and in-field interviews, the project quickly adapted around community priorities.

We thus began in 2017 with pilot work that consisted of recorded unstructured and semi-structured interviews and meetings in Inuktun and Kalaallisut to understand why archaeological landscapes are so important to the Inughuit community in the present, and to identify community priorities on which a partnership could be developed. Concern for site damage and destruction related to climate change was immediately identified as a primary concern. Many community members were aware of archaeological sites impacted by coastal erosion and other processes; they had a firm sense of why research on these places matters in relation to community efforts toward environmental autonomy in the present. As we were to discover, archaeological destructions are extensive and appear to be accelerating (Walls et al. 2020). It became clear from the outset that it is not practical to conserve all sites; this opened an important first objective which was to develop a prioritization framework to direct archaeological efforts toward questions that contribute to community efforts at environmental autonomy in the present.

We let this concern for site damage and the need for a prioritization framework determine the early questions and methods of what we intend will become a long-term project with successive generations of work. In 2018, 2019, and 2022, we conducted field seasons that consisted primarily of survey activities at locations that were selected because they were identified by community members as being of immediate concern or interest. Sites of concern were selected either because of observed damage or because they invoke histories of management of key species such as walrus, narwhal, thick-billed murre, etc., which are at the center of governance disputes today. We traveled with hunters and their families to document sites while recording information they wanted to share about past historical events, ecological significance, and continued relevance in the present. We have found that damage and impact to archaeological landscapes is an important part of how the community apprehends the scale and magnitude of environmental change relative to the Inughuit history of this environment. As a result, we feel it is important to document the progress of our project and present "in

their own words" emerging community perspectives on the question: Why partner with archaeologists?

An important characteristic of how this work has progressed is that Inughuit community members are very passionate about their past and care very deeply for the sites that are part of their ancestors' stories. In many cases, and particularly for Elders who still live in the community, important life events and hunting experiences are connected to what might be perceived in other contexts as ruins. Our Inughuit community partners shared their knowledge about areas they identified as being important sites under threat, with the assertion that sites are necessary for the future preservation of knowledge. The narratives and deep knowledge that are shared, retold, produced, and co-constructed between generations reveals how Inughuit skills and land use have developed and changed through time. In reflecting on project development, it appears to us that this process of participants recommending and directing which sites they want to visit, examine, and record is crucial. It is in this context that the Inughuit community began to co-set and co-lead the research agenda while expressing the interest to co-create future research. In this way, the Inughuit community could, in a more direct sense, not only actively take part in the research but also have a say in which direction a research project should go, including formulating research questions.

The following passages are compiled reflections and opinions collected from our conversations and interviews with key Inughuit partners regarding the nature of archaeological work in Qaanaaq between 2017 and 2022. The conversations and interviews were conducted in either Inuktun or Kalaallisut, and the passages below have been translated into English by Mari Kleist and Pivinnguaq Mørch. Recordings and transcriptions have been presented and discussed with the community in successive trips to Qaanaaq. Their reflections are a clear indication of why archaeology is such a prominent feature of discussion in daily life for Inughuit and why it is part of both memory and perceptions of the future.

Genoveva Sadorana was born in 1957 in Aannartoq. Today, she lives in Qaanaaq with her family and works with her husband Inukitsoq teaching how to make and use the qilaat (drum). Initially, Genoveva participated as an informant in 2017 and participated thereafter in survey trips in 2018 and 2019 as a field assistant and knowledge holder.

> I was born in a time where hunting families lived moving from place to place. Moving around, I have seen many places with old ruins, sites, and settlements such as Inuarfissuaq [a site that features prominently in Inughuit history]. Therefore, ever since I was young, I have been very interested in wanting to know more about these things and what their

stories are like. I once saw what I believe used to be a huge house nearby Siorapaluk, where I lived during my childhood. It was further above the beach ridge, and it was very strange, but I did not investigate it carefully just out of respect. But I remember it seemed big and different, and I always wanted to know more about this old structure. Who did it belong to? What is the story of this place and how was it used? What did people do in this big house?

I always had so many questions and things I wanted to know more about. I have always been interested in knowing more about our ancestors and the first people's way of living. When I first started participating in this project [ICER], I said that I wanted to learn more about those things and about our cultural heritage. That is the very reason I wanted us to look for this place where I once saw this, what I believed, big house structure. I was not sure if I or we could find it again, but we did (Figure 2). I was all thrilled when I found the house structure and even more so when told it was a longhouse structure that belonged to the Torngit [the Dorset people]. This is what I have always wanted to do. To look for these sites and structures and learn more about their related story. It is our cultural heritage and the knowledge of our ancestors that are like frozen in time, and I feel so privileged to be able to locate sites that have remained since time immemorial, and this way share my knowledge but also learn more about them.



Figure 2. Genoveva Sadorana standing in the Dorset longhohuse she found.

We see scholars doing research and even cruise ships with the tourists traveling in our lands and we rarely know anything about them. We often do not know who they are, and we do not know what their purpose of visit or research is. We are not included in any of their traveling or doing research in our region. Sometimes individual hunters work with these researchers, but we have no say in how the research should be formed or what it should be about, such as what we would like to know more of and is of interest for us as Indigenous to this land. This can be very frustrating at times—especially when you are interested, and you want to take part in the work and the research process. We suspect that many people, both tourists and scholars, are scavenging both our material culture and natural resources, things that rightfully belong to us Inughuit.

I think it is important to work with Inughuit in research projects and it should be made mandatory to be included, as we are Indigenous to this land. Not everyone is interested in archaeology, but we are interested in our history and want to know more about our ancestors. When we talk about our cultural history and heritage, we get to be very proud of our ancestors and we want to know more about them. Therefore, it is very giving to work with archaeology and be able to tell what we would like to know more about and which sites we find important to examine. This way we would also get more and more used to working with archaeology, and future generations will be able to take part in controlling archaeological research and perhaps even conduct research formed by ourselves.

We live in a remote place compared to those who have direct access to education, universities, and the like. If scholars started to include us in the research projects, they would work with us directly and we would get the opportunity to learn how, for instance, archaeology is being conducted hands on, like we have learned through the last years. I hope in the future that more and more researchers from different disciplines will start including Inughuit community members as partners in their projects more and more.

Otto Simigaq was born in 1961 in Siorapaluk. He is a hunter and lives with his son and his family in Qaanaaq. Otto has been a partner since the beginning of the ICER project in 2017, and has previously worked closely with other research groups and films (e.g. Shari Gearheard).

I grew up to be a hunter and have, since childhood, lived as a hunter. I was raised by my aatarraa and aanarraa [grandparents] who lived as hunters, and I learned by watching, and when I was twelve years old, I got my own dog sledge. As time passed, I learned more and became

more independent and developed my own hunting methods and went to different hunting grounds with other hunters. So, I have been to many places and seen many old hunting grounds and settlements during the course of time. The past years, I have observed many old settlements or houses that used to be accessible disappearing due to erosion. We have seen change in the climate and sea ice conditions in the region [Avanersuaq], some places more than others. Some turf houses at certain old hunting grounds are lost or about to be lost soon.

I have always noticed our ancestors' hunting grounds and settlements and how they shape the landscape in a specific way, as these are part of our memories. We grew up listening to stories told by our ancestors. It was either about specific hunting grounds, people, and places, but I have not always been very good at remembering the exact stories the way they are told. I typically remember pieces of the stories. So, I find it important to have these specific sites, places, or ruins and their related stories recorded (Figure 3) so our descendants can always have access to our ancestors' knowledge, as it is our heritage. We have few Elders left who are knowledge bearers about these specific places, people, and animals and their related stories. Therefore, I have an interest in collecting information about these things and to have them recorded so we can have access to them for future generations. Many sites have already been eroded and lost, as we have seen when we surveyed, and their related stories will only be left in our memories if we do not record them.



Figure 3. tto Simigaq telling a story that took place at a key archaeological site, while archaeologist Pauline K. Knudsen listens.

I enjoy and find it rewarding working with archaeology. I get to point out which sites we find important and pass on what I and others have observed, and then to have these sites documented so we can save and pass information for future generations. Hopefully, Kuutak [his youngest son, who is also a hunter, lives in Qaanaaq, and has taken part in the research project since 2018] will continue participating; I am certain he will, as he has seen so many sites and knows so many places already, since he travels a lot when hunting. I am not a man with many words or strong opinions, but I would say that it is important that we can get to lead the way when taking part in research projects, since it is conducted in our lands, and it is our history.

Aleqatsiaq Peary was born in 1983 in Qaanaaq. He is a hunter and lives with his family in Qaanaaq. Aleqatsiaq has participated in the ICER project since 2019 and has become an important voice in shaping the future of the project.

I think a lot about our cultural heritage and especially the old turf houses that are now left as ruins in the landscape. People, institutions, or scholars, such as archaeologists, and other gatekeepers tend to want them protected and kept unchanged, as it is our cultural heritage. I dare to say that we are actually losing them—just because we want them to be kept as ruins, unchanged and untouched. But considering that our ancestors used to build and reuse materials and houses for centuries, we should be doing the same. This way we would start an actual protection from deterioration while preventing further loss. Not just leaving them to be preserved and untouched. Our ancestors always kept rebuilding and reusing the turf houses from generation to generation, this way they knew how to build these structures. We should start to do the same, I mean rebuild and reuse; then we could learn how to build and how to use them like our ancestors did for millennia.

If Inughuit were directly included as partners in research projects, these would be some examples that would have been developed over time, I think. If we were allowed to rebuild and reuse these sites and houses, we could learn more about how our ancestors lived—even until recently in the last century, when some of these types of houses were still in use. Then we could demonstrate to people from here and from abroad how our turf houses used to look and how they were built. We could then proudly tell people about our traditions inherited from our ancestors and be able to say that we now rebuild and reuse them like they did. If we only treasure the old turf houses and sites to be looked at from a distance and try to keep them untouched, then we will not be able to transmit our history and knowledge to future generations. Then

we will for sure lose what our ancestors left behind for us to use. If we, on the other hand, started reusing and rebuilding these turf houses and sites, they will once more become useful, and we will get to be even more proud of our cultural heritage.

We would know more about specific sites like who used to live there, and which purpose did this place have. We have Elders who have lived in some of these houses and who were even born in turf houses. Being able to tell that some turf houses were built 500 years ago and still being able to see these are rebuilt and reused would give the younger and future generation a sense of being proud but would also be able to gain more or new knowledge about our cultural history. This way, it would also give us a sense of cultural revitalization. Today, we—and even the younger generation—do not know enough about our cultural heritage, as we never get to examine how these turf houses look like and how they were built or even get to get inside to inspect them.

I think it is important that we are being included in the process of planning and conducting research projects as it is about our homelands, livelihoods, perspectives, cultural history and heritage, and so forth. We have our own knowledge and perspectives. Therefore, we should be involved, as we are the only ones who can tell what we need, what we would like to have, and what we would like to know more about, since we are the ones who live here in our homelands.

Future Considerations and Concluding Remarks

In our current work, we have experienced that direct consultation and partnering with Inughuit community members has led us to important archaeological sites and research questions that were not initially included in our plans. We have experienced how partnering with Inughuit community members who share their deep and detailed knowledge about the particular use of sites, features, landscapes, and seascapes can change our perspectives, insights, theories, and purpose as archaeologists. Inuit voices and knowledge that we, as academics, have typically read about from written ethnographic sources, should not be uncritically used, as these were collected and interpreted through a Western value system (see also Stewart-Harawira 2013). Therefore, partnering directly with local communities will in many respects be not only more fruitful but also more involving, legitimate, and respectful. What we may have learned during our academic training and work—even as Indigenous researchers—can rightfully be challenged by traditional knowledge of which only Indigenous communities have a deep understanding. As voiced by the partners in this paper, communities have a continued need for academic archaeological work, particularly when they are able to participate

in guiding objectives and the character of research. Therefore listening, observing, prioritizing community perspectives, and making Indigenous partnerships relevant in research projects will certainly reduce potential misconceptions, increase engagement, and generate greater awareness and respect for Indigenous wishes (see also Atalay 2006; Baird 2014; Caxaj 2015; Hogan and Topkok 2015; Kawelu 2014).

If the goal is to develop equal partnerships and decolonize archaeology and heritage research practices that have played a role in colonization (see also Atalay 2006), we as archaeologists must ensure that the results of our research benefit the communities in which we work. It is important that we listen to Indigenous interests and concerns and acknowledge that trusting relationships take significant investment and time to build (see also Hogan and Topkok 2015). Although we encountered no community members who were opposed to engaging with the research project, we emphasize that any opinions from community members are always to be taken seriously and respected. Indeed, we have faced challenges keeping up with community enthusiasm to build ICER into a multi-generational and long-term project. Long-term planning can in fact be difficult due to limitations in funding support and the short-term periodicity of grants. Working in Avanersuaq involves high travel costs, logistical challenges due to weather, challenges in sustained digital communication, and of course, our initial phases were significantly disrupted by the global pandemic. In these efforts, we have found that working to maintain and improve partnership is always beneficial, as communication and collaborative efforts engender inclusiveness and transparency.

If we are to decolonize our discipline and make it more inclusive and beneficial for Indigenous communities whose ancestors and culture are the focus of study, there is a need for reflection and self-awareness, which can be best achieved by learning about Inuit perceptions of archaeology. In our experience, flexibility and having an open mind are key while also avoiding the assumption that archaeologists have an inherent authority over the past of others. Partnered research is, rather, a privilege, and with this in mind, it is of the utmost importance that we continuously rethink our academic research practices in the Arctic.

At the very least, we must promote Indigenous community engagement, partnership, and ownership, and reconsider the way we plan and conduct academic research. As researchers, we have an obligation to write for and with Indigenous communities whose livelihood and heritage we are studying, and we must ensure that research outputs are not only directed at academic audiences. Moreover, we should strive to find ways to co-produce interpretations with Indigenous community members. In the context of the ICER project, this is increasingly important, as the deep history of Inughuit management and ecological creativity come into focus. If archaeological

research can be mobilized to challenge imposed environmental regulations—or even the border that limits Inughuit responses to climate change—it is vital that Inughuit voices be foremost in telling their archaeological story. It is through mindful partnership that archaeologists can prioritize Indigenous perspectives and start focusing more on what community members find important for archaeological processes to achieve. This is where true partnership between Indigenous communities and academic archaeologists can begin. As voiced by participants in this paper, emphasis on quality, standards, and empirical rigor in archaeological work can represent core values of partnered work if Indigenous partners have equal voice in creating the objectives and purpose behind the research.

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Inughuit nipaan: Avanersuarmi itsarnisarsiornermik suleqatigiinnerup siunissaa

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ABSTRAKTI

Issittumi nunat immikkoortuini Inuit ilisimatusarnermut peqataatinneqarnerunissamik kinguaariit ingerlaneranni arlaleriarlutik kissaateqartarsimapput nunallu inoqqaavisa isiginnittaasiannik peqataatitsilluni toqqaannartumik suleqatigiinnissamik pisariaqartitsineq oqariartuutigisarlugu. Tamatuma kingunerisaanik allanut qanga pisimasunik kingornussassaannillu misissuinerit ilisimatuussutsikkut pisinnaatitaaffiunnginnerat ilisimatusartunit eqqumaffigineqarnerujartulerpoq, aallaqqaataaniillu qanimut suleqatigiinnerit ineriartortinneqarnissaat ilaatinneqalerluni. Ilisimatusarnermik suleqatigiinnernut sinaakkutit Issittumi ilisimatusariaatsit nunasiaataajunnaarsarneqarnerannut pingaarutilimmik tunngaviunerat taamaammat akuerisaajartuinnarpoq, soorlu Inunnit tamanna oqariartuutigineqarsimasoq. Allaaserisami matumani Inughuit ilaasa namminneq ataatsimullu eqqarsaataat ilisaritippagut, siunissamilu suleqatigiilluni ilisimatusariaasissat qanoq takorloorneraat, suleqatigiilluni ilisimatusarnernut anguniagassat qanoq aalajangersinnaaneraat, kiisalu Issittumi allanngorartumi itsarnisarsiornerup qanoq ilanngussaqarsinnaanera saqqummiullutigu.

OQAATSIT QITIUSUT

Inughuit nipaat, inuiaqatigiinneersut, ilisimatusarnermi attaveqaatinik ineriartortitsineq, suleqatigiinnermut takorluukkat, kingornussat, nunat inoqqaavisa ilisimasaat, Issittumi itsarnisarsiorneq, nunasiaataajunnaarsaaneq

RÉSUMÉ

Inughuit nipaan : L'avenir des pratiques de partenariat en archéologie à Avanersuaq

Depuis des générations, les Inuit des régions arctiques ont exprimé le souhait d'être davantage impliqués dans la recherche et la nécessité d'un partenariat direct incluant les perspectives indigènes. En conséquence, les chercheurs sont de plus

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en plus conscients que l'étude du passé et du patrimoine d'autres peuples n'est pas un droit académique inhérent, mais qu'elle implique le développement de partenariats autochtones étroits. En conséquence, les cadres de recherche en partenariat sont de plus en plus reconnus comme des fondements essentiels pour décoloniser les pratiques de recherche dans l'Arctique, comme l'ont exprimé les communautés Inuit. Dans cet article, nous présentons des membres de la communauté Inughuit qui partagent leurs pensées et réflexions personnelles et communes, et qui expliquent comment ils envisagent les futures approches de recherche en partenariat, comment ils peuvent déterminer les objectifs de la recherche en partenariat, et ce que l'archéologie peut finalement apporter dans un Arctique en mutation.

MOTS-CLÉS
Voix des Inughuit, membres de la communauté, développement de relations de recherche, visions de partenariat, patrimoine, savoir indigène, archéologie arctique, décoloniser

ABSTRACT

Inughuit Nipaan: The Future of Archaeological Partnerships in Avanersuaq

Inuit across the Arctic regions have for generations echoed a wish for a greater involvement in research and have voiced the need for direct partnerships that include Indigenous perspectives. As a consequence, researchers are becoming increasingly aware that studying other people's past and heritage is not an inherent academic right but rather involves developing close Indigenous partnerships. Accordingly, partnership research frameworks are now being recognized as essential foundations to decolonize research practices in the Arctic, as vocalized by Inuit communities. In this paper, Inughuit community members share their personal and shared thoughts and reflections and present how they envision future partnership research approaches, how they can determine the objectives of partnered research, and what archaeology can ultimately contribute in a changing Arctic.

KEYWORDS
Inughuit voices, community members, developing research relationships, partnership visions, heritage, Indigenous knowledge, arctic archaeology, decolonization

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Ukiuni qulikkaani marlunni kingullerni missaanniluunniit nunat inoqqaavisa Issittumilu sinniisut nipaat issittumi sammisat pillugit ataatsimiinnerni, isumasioqatigiinnerni ataatsimeersuarnernilu ersarinnerulersimaqaat, ilisimatusarnernilu najukkani innuttaasut suleqatigiinnernut nunallu inoqqaavisa isiginnittaasiisa ilanngunneqarnissaannik innersuussillutik (e.g. Inuit Tapiriit Kanadami 2019; Pikialasorsuaq Commission

2017). Ilisimatusarnerni tusarneqarnissamik peqataatinneqarnissamillu kissaateqarneruleraluttuinnarneq kinguaariinni suleqatiserineqanngitsutut misigisimanermit najukkamilu ilisimasanik ilanngussinermi peqataatinneqartarsimannginnermit aallaaveqarpoq (Desmarais et al. 2021). Ukiuni untritilinni inuit naleqartitaat innimiginagit inoqqaatut kingornussassat piginnittunit peerneqartarnerat – tamatumani aallaaviusumik naleqquttumillu ataqatigiinnerannit ilisimasat ilanngullugit – nalinginnaasumik periusaasimavoq (aamma takuuk Fromm 2016; Bravo & Sörlin 2002). Oqaluttuarisaanerup uteqqinnissaa pinngitsoortinniarlugu nunat inoqqaavisa nunaanni ilisimatusarnerit qanoq iluserneqarnissaat ataqatigiinnerallu nalilersorneqarnissaat aalajangiisuuvoq. Issittumi ilisimatuut ilisimatuussutsikkut ilisimatusarnerni inoqqaanik suleqateqarnissaq peqataatitsinissarlu kiisalu isiginnittaasiannik ilanngussinissaq ilisimassavaat.

Suliniut Inughuit Creativity and Environmental Responsiveness (ICER) 2017-imi aallartinneqarpoq avatangiisini atugassarititaasut inunnit najugalinnit piffissaq ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu qanoq ilusilersorneqarnerata ingerlanera misissorniarlugu. Inughuit Kalaallit Nunaata avannaani nunap ilaani Avanersuarmi inuupput, nunallu ilaanit Canadami Umimmattuumiit ammalatarsuup Pikialasorsuup eqqaani nunat ilanngullugit qangarsuummalli angallavigisarsimallugit (Iluseq 1). Sikuiuitsumi Avannarlermi ammalatarsuit tassaapput ukiumi sikuneq ajortut, taakkulu imaani imarmiunit uumasunillu angalaartunit allanit neriniarfigilluarneqartarlutik. Pikialasorsuaq Issittumi ammalatarsuani annersaavoq avatangiisinilu pinngortitap pissuseqatigiinnera annertoorujussuulluni qajannaqalunili. Suliniut ICER maannamut ukiup ilaani ornigulluni misissuiartornernik ilaqarpoq nunami itsarnisarsiorfiit allannguutaat nalilersorneqarlutik sumiiffiillu Inughuarnit ullutsinni inuunermut pingaaruteqartutut isigineqartut siornatigut nalunaarsorneqarsimanngitsut misissorneqarlutik. Najukkami inunnik apersuinerit, ataatsimiinnerit saqqummiinerillu atorlugit katersorneqarsimasut atorlugit ileqqorissaarnissamik sinaakkusiarineqarsimasoq suliniummi tunngavigineqarpoq. Ilisimatusarnermik matuminnga ingerlatitseqqinnermi pingaarnertut anguniakkamut Inughuit peqatigalugit suliarineqarsimasumut ilaapput, nunami itsarnisarsiorfinni silap pissusaanut attuumassuteqartumik ingerlanerit sunniutaasa nalilersorneqarnerat kiisalu Inughuit ilisimasaannut pisariaqartitaannullu atatillugu sumiiffinnik pingaarnersiuilluni qisuariaatitut suliniutinut sinaakkutinik ineriartortitsineq.

Allaaserisami matumani Inughuarni suleqatitta ilaannit namminneq oqaatsitik atorlugit kulturikkut kingornussat, itsarnisarsiuunik suleqateqarnerup ingerlarnganut ilisimatusarnermilu suleqatigiinnerup massakkumut attuumassuteqarnera pillugit eqqarsaataat saqqummiunneqarput.



Iluseq 1. Avanersuarmi nunap assinga.

Avanersuaq aamma Inughuit

Inughuit inuussutaat nunaminnilu ilisimatuunut attaveqarnerat paasiniarlugu siornatigut ukiuni qulikkaani ilisimatusarsimanerit kisiisa eqqarsaatiginagit Avanersuarmi najukkami oqaluttuarisaanerup ilanngunneqarnissaa pisariaqarpoq.

Silap allanngoriartorneranut atatillugu nunani tamalaani avatangiisinik ilisimatusarnermi naalakkersuinikkullu illersuilluni oqariartuuteqarnerni Avanersuaq qitiulluinnalersimavoq. Issittoq nunarsuarmi eqqumaffigineqaleraluttuinnartillugit (Pikialasorsuaq Commission 2017; aamma takukkit Powell & Dodds 2014), oqaluttuarisaanikkut ataqatigiilluinnaraluarlutik pinngortitallu pissuseqatigiinneranni aqutsinermi ataqatigiikkaluarlutik Inughuit aalajangiinerni puigorneqakkajuttarput, nunagisaanni aqutsinermut sunniuteqartumik (aamma takuuk Kawelu 2014).

Issittumi sammisanut allanut sanilliullugu silap pissusaata allanngoriartorneranik kiisalu avatangiisinut uumasullu assigiinngisitaarnerannut sunniutinik ilisimatusarneq inunnut toqqaannartumik

sunniuteqarpoq. Tamatumunnga pingaarnertut pissutaavoq kiatsikkiartornerata sunniutaa issittumi pinngortitap pissuseqatigiinneranut annertuumik erngertumillu sunniuteqarsimammat. Nunarsuarmi ataavartumik eqqumaffigineqarnerulerneq najukkamilu ilisimasat oqaluttuarisaanerlu isiginiartuaannarnagu politikkinut naalakkersuinikkut qulaaniit ammut aalajangiinerit pillugit oqaloqatigiinnerit Inughuarnut aamma toqqaannartumik sunniuteqarpoq (Hayashi aamma Walls 2019; Powell 2008, 2010). Inughuit avatangiisit allanngoriartornerannut piffissarlu ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu aqutsinermut isiginninnerat erseqqissarneqarnissaat matumani pingaaruteqarluinnarpoq (takuuk Crate 2011; Gearhead et al. 2013; Hastrup 2013a; Nuttall 2009a). Sumiiffiit nuttarfiillu itsarnisarsiornermut pingaaruteqartut inunnut pingaaruteqarput, taakkuummata Inughuit Pikialasorsuup eqqaani oqaluttuarisaanerannik uppernarsaasut, taakkuullutillu silap allanngoriartorneranik ilisimatusarnermi "pissusissamisuuginnartutut" isigineqartut imaluunniit aqutsinermik tunngaviusumik oqaluttuarisaanermit avissaartinneqarsimasut. Inughuit siuaasaasa ukiut 800-t matuma siorna issittumi misissuillutillu nunassimmatali Pikialasorsuup eqqaani nunaqarsimapput (miss. 1250 Kr. king.) (Alix 2009; Appelt et al. 2015; Darwent et al. 2007; Friesen & Arnold 2008; Hastrup et al. 2018a; LeMoine & Darwent 2016; McGhee 1996 Moltke et al. 2015; Schledermann & McCullough 2003; Tackney et al. 2016). Inughuit siuaasaasa siullersaat pinngortitami pissuseqatigiinni attaveqatigiinnermi inissisimaffik kingornussimavaat, siullermik palæo-inunnit Pikialasorsuup ukiut 4500 missaasa matuma siorna pinngoriartornerani pilersinneqartumik (Jackson et al. 2021; Hastrup 2018a; Schledermann 1995; Sørensen & Diklev 2019). Piffissap ingerlanerani nunasiaataanerup nalaani nunap immikkoortuani attaveqarnermut Pikialasorsuarmi ungasissumut niuerneq attaveqarnerlu pingaaruteqalerpoq maannakkullu Inughuit aalisarnerannut piniarnerannullu suli pingaaruteqarluni (Flora et al. 2018 Hayashi 2017; LeMoine & Darwent 2010). Tamatuma nassatarisaanik nunap immikkoortuani itsarnisarsiornermi pingaarutilinnik sumiiffippassuaqarpoq aalajangiisuulluinnartunik. Pikialasorsuup avatangiisaanik oqaluttuarisaaneranik paasisat kingulliit takutippaat ukiut 4500 missaasa matuma siorna pinngornerata nalaani palæo-inuit siulliit tikissimasut, tamannalu isumaqartoq, tamaani pinngortitap pissuseqatigiinnera pisariusoq "præ-inuit" nalaani ineriartorneranik ilaqanngitsoq sumiiffinnit itsarnisarsiornermi pingaarutilinnit uppernarsarneqartoq (Jackson et al. 2021). Tamanna inuit avatangiisaannut Pikialasorsuup aqunneqarnera pillugu oqallinnermi qanoq saqqummiunneqarneranut ilisarnaataasumut akerliulluinnarpoq (Pikialasorsuaq Commission, 2017; Sine 2022).

Oqaluttuarisaanermi Inughuit avatangiisaallu, tapersersorlugillu peqataaffigisaminnik, ilisimatusarnerni assigiinngitsunik oqaluttuarineqartarsimapput. Nunap immikkoortuanik misissuinerit 1800-kkunni 1900-kkullu aallartinneranni "nassaarnernik" inuillu inuiattut

pinngoqqaarnerannik ujaasinermik imaqarsimapput (Hastrup 2010; Thisted 2010). Ilisimasassarsiornerit avatangiisini sunnerneqarsimanngitsuni inunnik sunnerneqarsimanngitsunik nassaarnissamik aallaaveqartarsimapput (Hastrup 2010, 2016; Rasmussen 1905; Thisted 2010), ujaasinermullu tassunga ilisimasassarsiortut siulliit Inughuillu sunniivigeqatigiissimanerat assersuutaavoq. Danskit Canadamiullu nunasiaataasa annertusinerannut atatillugu Pikialasorsuaq Inughuillu nunaat killeqarfimmik nutaaliaasumik 1900-p affaata siuliani avinneqarpoq naggataatigullu Kalaallit Nunaata avannaani nunap immikkoortuanut Avanersuarmut ullumikkut killeqalersimalluni (Gilberg 1971). Inughuit peersinneqaqqipput Pituffik, Thule Air Base/Pituffik Space Base, 1950-ikkunni inissaqartinniarlugu, tamatumalu inuuniutaannut, tikissinnaanerannut angalasinnaaneranullu ullumikkumut sunniuteqarfigalugu. Nunap ilaa piffissap ingerlanerani avataaneersup isaannit takorloorneqarpoq, misissuiffigineqarluni, ilinniarfigineqarluni nassuiarneqarlunilu (aamma takuuk Gilberg 1971; Hastrup 2015; Hastrup et al. 2018b), tamannalu nunap immikkoortuanik Inughuillu inuuniutaannik nassuiaanerni pingaarutilimmik inissisimasimalluni. Inughuit avatangiisaallu pillugit kitaamiut ilisimasaat naalagaaffiit naalakkersuinerisa ilusilersorneqarnerannut sunniuteqarpoq Inughuillu inuunerannut ullumikkumut tamanna ilusilersuilluni (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Kitaamiut naleqartitaat isiginnittaasaallu aqqutigalugit pilersinneqarsimanera naggataatigullu kitaamiut tunngaviusumik isumaannik takutitsinera – Inughuarniunngitsoq – tamatumani pingaaruteqarpoq.

Tupinnanngitsumik Inughuit ukiuni qulikkaani marlussunni nunartik kulturikkullu kingornussatik pillugit misissuisoqartillugu peqataatinneqarnissamik pisariaqarnera pingaaruteqassusaalu, kiisalu ilisimatusarnernut peqataanermi apeqqutinut periutsinullu iliuuseqarsinnaanissartik oqariartuutigisarsimavaat (Saammaateqatigiinnissamut Isumalioqatigiissitaq 2016). Kingullermik Inughuit Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Ataatsimiititaliarsuarmi Inuit Issittormiut Kattuffiannit aaqqissorneqarsimasumi ilaapput, tassani avatangiisinik aqutsinermi nammineq aqutsisinnaanissamik inuit angorusutaannut ilisimatusarnerup sunniuteqarnera ersarissumik uppernarsarneqarluni. Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Ataatsimiititaliarsuup 2017-imi nalunaarusiaani qitiusumik sammineqarpoq, Inughuit ammalatarsuarmi piunngortitami pissuseqatigiinnik aqutsinerannik oqaluttuaq avatangiisit pillugit ilisimatuussutsikkut akornusersorneqartarnera, tamatumalu aamma pinngortitap kulturillu immikkoornerannik isiginnittumik tunngavilimmik attassinissamik politikkimut sunniuteqarluni (Hayashi & Walls 2019; Kleist & Walls 2019 Sine 2022; aamma takuuk Nadasdy 1999 aamma Wilson et al. 2020 naalakkersuinikkut pinngortitami pissuseqatigiinnerup allanngorarnera pillugu). Piffinni nutaani killilersuinermi avataanit killilersuutit ingerlaarnissamullu killeqarfiit akornanni Pikialasorsuup nammineq aqunneqarnera Inughuit siunissamik isiginninnerannut aalajangiisuuvoq,

silap allanngoriartorneranut qisuariarsinnaanerup killeqarnera pissutigalugu. Inughuit ammalatarsuullu akornanni attaveqatigiinnerup annertussusaanik ullutsinni itsarnisarsiornerup suliassaqarfittut sunniutaa ersarissaasinnaasoq taamaammat ataqatigiinnerat ersarippoq taamaammallu suliniummut ICER-imut tunngaviulluni.

Inughuit pillugit itsarnisarsiorneq ilisimatusarnermillu ataatsimut pilersinneqarsimasunik aallartitsinissamik kissaateqarneq

Suliniut ICER Pikialasorsuaq pillugu Ataatsimiititaliarsuup sulinerata inerneranik innersuussutaanillu kiisalu Issittumi itsarnisarsiornermi suleqatigiinnernik pilersitsilluni ilisimatusarneq pillugu piffissaq ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu oqallinnernit tunngaveqarpoq. Suliniut Pauline K. Knudsenimit Matthew Wallsimillu aallartinneqarsimavoq kiisalu Mari Kleist Naotaka Hayashilu peqatigalugit aqutseqataallutik. Suliniummi ilisimatusarnissamut anguniakkat, periaatsit avammullu tusarliunniakkat aallaqqaataaniit ataatsimut pilersinneqarsimanissaat inunnillu suleqatigisanit aqunneqarnissaa aallaaviatigut siunertarineqarpoq. Inuit/Inughuit ilinniagallit Inughuillu akornanniit peqataaffigineqartumik ilisimatusaqatigiinnik katersisoqarnissaa taamaammat aallaqqaataaniit pisariaqavissimavoq. Kalaallit Nunaanni suleqataasunut ilaapput Inuit itsarnisarsiuut (Knudsen aamma Kleist), Ilisimatusarfimmi Inuit ilinniartut, Inughuit inuiaqatigiianni inuusut (Sadorana, Simigaq, Peary allarpassuillu), kiisalu Calgary Universitetimi ilisimatusartut ilinniartullu (Hayashi aamma Walls). Kalaallit Nunaannit Calgarymiillu suleqataasut peqataasullu Inuktun, Inughuit sumiorpaluutaat kiisalu kitaamiusullu kalaallisut oqalussinnaapput paasisinnaallutilluunniit – attaveqatigiinnermik avitseqatigiinnermik ilisimasanillu pilersitseqatigiinnermik ajornannginnerulersitsisumik. Calgarymit suleqataasut ilinniartullu ilai kalaallisut ilikkariartulersimammata suleqatigiinnissarput isumagaarput inuiaqatigiit akornanni attaveqaqatigiinnerup Inuktun Kalaallisulluunniit ingerlanneqartariaqaraangat nutserisarluta.

Itsarnisarsiornermi najukkami suleqateqarneq iluaqutissartarpassuaqartoq matumani sulinitsinni paasivarput. Suleqatigiinnissamik periaaseqarneq nunap inoqqaavinik peqataatitsisoq, ajattorneqartut isumaasa sallinngortinneqarnissaannut iluaqutaavoq taamalu qanga pisimasunik oqaluttuanik pisuujunerusunik pilersitsinissamut periarfissiilluni (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006; Caxaj 2015; Hogan & Topkok 2015; Tuck & Yang 2012). Ornigulluni ilisimatusarnermik suliaqarnerit allat assigalugit suliniummut aningaasaliisoqarnissaa pisariaqartinneqarsimavoq taamaammallu ilisimatusarnerup siunertaa ilisimatusarnermilu apeqqutit, tunngaviusumik ataatsimoorfik qimallugu "campus"-imi suliarineqartut, pillugit suliniummik nassuiaaqqissaarnermik aallartinneqarluni. Suliniutilli ornigulluni

oqaloqatigiinnernik, ataatsimiinnernik misissuinernik apersuinernillu ingerlataqarnerani suliniut inuit pingaartitaannut naleqqussapallappoq.

Aallartissutitut sulinerput taamaalilluta 2017-imi aallartipparput, tassani aaqqissuussaanngitsumik aaqqissukannerneqarsimasunillu Inuktun Kalaallisullu apersuinerit ataatsimiinnerillu immiunneqarsimasut atorlugit paasiniarlugu nunat itsarnisarsiornermi pingaaruteqartut Inughuarnut massakkut sooq taamak pingaaruteqartiginersut, paasiniarlugulu suleqateqarnissamik inerisaasinnaaniarluta inuit akornanni pingaartinneqartut suunersut. Silap allanngoriartornera pissutigalugu sumiiffiup ajoquserlunilu asersorneqarsinnaaneranik ernumassuteqarneq pingaarnertut ernumassutigineqartoq paasineqarpoq. Itsarnisaqarfiit sineriammi neriuinermit ingerlaatsinillu allanit sunnerneqarnerat inunnit arlalinnit eqqumaffigineqarpoq; inuit avatangiisinut autonomenut ullutsinni suliniuteqarnerannut atatillugu sumiiffinni taakkunani ilisimatusarnerup qanoq isumaqartiginerat malugisinnaalluarpaat. Soorlu paasisussaasimagipput najugaqarfiusimasut itsarnisarsiornermi pingaaruteqartut piuneerukkiartornerat annertupput sukkatsikkiartorpasillutillu (Walls et al. 2020). Aallaqqaataaniilli paasinarsivoq najugaqarfiusimasut tamarmik attanneqarsinnaanngitsut; tamanna anguniakkamik siullermik pingaarutilimmik ammaassivoq, tassalu inuit avatangiisinut autonomenut ullutsinni suliniuteqarnerannut ilaqutaasumik apeqqutinut itsarnisarsiornikkut suliniutit iluarsinissaannut pingaarnersuinermi sinaakkusiornissaq.

Najugaqarfiusimasut piuneerukkiartornerannik ernumassuteqarneq pingaarnersiuinermilu sinaakkutaqarnissamik pisariaqartitsineq kinguaariinni iluatsittumik suliaqaruni piffissamut ungasinnerusumut suliniutaalersinniakkatsinnut aallartinnerani apeqqutinut periaatsinullu aalajangiisuutippagut. 2018-imi, 2019-imi 2022-milu ornigulluta suliartorpugut, sumiiffinni innuttaasunit ernumanartutut soqutiginaateqartutulluunniit oqaatigineqarsimasuni misissuiartorluta. Najugaqarfiusimasut ernumanaateqartutut toqqarneqarsimapput ajoqusernerit takuneqarsimasut pissutigalugit imaluunniit killilersuinernik ullutsinni aporaaffiusunik qitiusunik uumasoqatigiinnik pingaarnernik soorlu aavernik, qilalukkanik, appanik il.il. aqutsinernik oqaluttuassartaqarneranik oqarnerat pissutigalugu. Piniartut ilaqutaallu angalaqatigaagut sumiiffiit uppernarsaasersorniarlugit, paasissutissat oqaluttuarisaanermi pisimasuneersut, pinngortitami pissuseqatigiinnut pingaarutillit ullutsinnilu suli pingaaruteqartut pillugit uatsinnut avitsivigerusutaannik nalunaarsuiitigaluta. Avatangiisini taakkunani Inughuit oqaluttuarisaanerannut atatillugu avatangiisit allanngoriartornerat sumiiffiit itsarnisarsiornermut pingaaruteqartut ajoqusersimanerat sunnerneqarsimanerallu tamaani avatangiisini Inughuit oqaluttuarisaanerannut atatillugu silap allanngoriartornerata qanoq annertutigineranut inuit qanoq paasinninnerannut pingaaruteqartunut ilaasoq paasivarput. Tamatumani inernerusoq aallaavigalugu misigisimavugut pingaaruteqartoq suliniutitsinni

siumut ingerlanerit uppernarsarnissaat inuillu nutaamik isiginnittaaseqarneqe pillugu "namminneq oqaatsitik atorlugit" saqqummiinissaat uunga apeqqummut: Itsarnisarsiuunik sooq suleqateqarneq?

Sulinerup matuma siumut qanoq ingerlasimaneranut ilisarnaatit pingaartut ilagaat Inughuit qanga pisimasumik pingaartitsisorujussuunerat sumiiffinnillu siuaasamik oqaluttuarisaanerannut ilaasimasunik soqutigisaqartorujussuunerat. Pisuni arlalinni, pingaartumik utoqqarnut suli tamaani inuusunut inuunermi pisunut pingaarutilinnut piniariarnermilu misilittakkat pingaarutilinnut attuumassuteqartarput, allaninngaanniit illukutut isigineqarsinnaasut.

Inughuit ataatsimut suleqatigisatta najugaqarfiusimasut pingaaruteqartut navianartorsiortutut isigisatik uatsinnut oqaluttuaraat, oqarlutik sumiiffiit ilisimasanik siunissamut attassinissamut pingaaruteqartuusut. Oqaluttuat ilisimasallu annertuut tunniunneqartut kinguaariit akornanni oqaluttuareqqinneqartarput, suliarineqartarput katiterneqartarlutillu, takutippaallu Inughuit piginnaasaat sumiiffinnillu atuinerat piffissap ingerlanerani qanoq ineriartorsimanersut allanngoriartorsimanersullu. Suliniutip ineriartorsimanera eqqarsaatigigutsigu najugaqarfiusimasut sorliit orninneqassanersut, misissornissaannut nalunaarsornissaannullu peqataasut innersuussutigalugillu ilitsersuutigisimasaat ingerlatsinermi aalajangiisuusimarpasipput. Tassunga atatillugu Inughuit ilisimatusarnerup qanoq ingerlanissaanut pilersitseqataallutillu aqutsilerput ilutigitillugulu siunissami ilisimatusarnissanik pilersitsinissamut soqutiginninnertik oqaatigalugu. Taamaaliornikkut Inughuit ilisimatusarnermut toqqaannarnerusumik ilaaliinnaratik ilisimatusarnerup sumut sammitinneqarnissaanut aamma sunniuteqalerput, tamatumani ilisimatusarnermi apeqqutiliorneq ilanngullugu.

Ilanngussat tulliuttut Qaanaami 2017-ip 2022-llu akornanni itsarnisarsiorluni sulinerup qanoq ittuunera pillugu Inughuarni suleqatitsinnik pingaaruteqartunik oqaloqateqarnitsinnit apersuinitsinniillu eqqarsaataannik isumaannillu katersorsimasatsinneerput. Oqaloqatigiinnerit apersuinerillu Inuktun Kalaallisulluunniit ingerlanneqarput, ilanngussallu ataaniittut Mari Kleistimit Pivinnguaq Mørchimiillu tuluttuunngortinneqarsimallutik. Immiussat oqaatigineqartullu allattornerat Qaanaamut iluatsittumik angalanerni najukkami inunnut saqqummiunneqarlutillu oqaluuserineqarsimapput. Eqqarsaataat itsarnisarsiornerup sooq Inughuit ulluinnarni inuuneranni oqaluuserineqartut saqqumilaarneranut soorlu siunissaq pillugu eqqaamasanut paasinninnernullu ilaanerannik ersarissumik takussutissaapput.

Genoveva Sadorana Aannartumi 1957-imi inunngorpoq. Ullumi Qaanaami ilaquttanilu najugaqarpoq uinilu Inukitsoq peqatigalugu qilaatersornermik ilinniartitsisarluni. Genoveva aallaqqaataani 2017-imi paasissutissanik tunniussaqarsimavoq kingornalu 2018-imi 2019-imilu

misissuiartorluni angalanerni ikiortitut ilisimasanillu tigummiartutut peeqataasimalluni.

> Piffissami inunngorpunga ilaqutariit piniartut sumiiffimmiit sumiiffimmut nuttarlutik inuuneranni. Angalagaangama sumiiffippassuit illutoqqallit, sumiiffiit nunassiffigineqartarsimasullu takusarpakka, soorlu Inuarfissuaq [sumiiffik Inughuit oqaluttuarisaanerannut pingaarutilik]. Inuusuttuullungali taamaammat taakku oqaluttuassartaat qanoq innerannik paasisaqarfigerusunnerusimavakka Taamaallunga meeraaffigisimasanni Siorapaluup eqqaani qanga illorujussuusimasorisara takuara. Sissap qattunersaata qulaaniippoq eqqumiittorujussuulluni, kisianni ataqqinermik misissunngilara. Kisianni angerpasillunilu allaanerunera eqqaamavara illutoqarlu paasisaqarfiginerorusuttuaannarsimavara. Kiap pigaa? Sumiiffiup oqaluttuassartaa suua, sumullu atorneqarpa? Illorujussuarmi tassani inuit sulerippat?
>
> Apeqqutissarpassuaqartuarsimavunga paasisaqarfiginerorusutaqartarlungalu. Siuaasatta inuillu siulliit inooriaaserisimasaat pillugit paasisaqarnerunissara soqutigiuaannarsimavara. Suliniummi matumani [ICER] ilaalerama aatsaat oqarpunga tamakku kulturikkullu kingornussassagut pillugit ilinniarnerujumallunga. Tassa sumiiffimmi siornatigut illup toqqammavitoqaata ujaasiffigerusuunneranut tunngavippiaa. Ilumut nassaareqqissinnaassanerlugu nalornisigisimavara, kisianni nassaaraarput (Iluseq 2). Illup toqqammavia nassaarigakku nuannaaqaanga nuannaarneraangalu illu takisuujusoq oqaluttuarigakku, Tornginit pigineqartoq [Dorsetit]. Tassa taamaaliorusuttuaannarsimavunga. Najugaqarfiusimasut toqqaviillu ujarnissaat oqaluttuassartaallu pillugit paasisaqarnerullunga.
>
> Kulturikkut kingornussassaraagut siuaasattalu ilisimasaat piffissami qerisimasutut illutik, qangarsuummalli uninngasut sumiissusersisinnaagakkit iluanaartutut misigaanga, tassuunakkullu ilisimasannik avitseqateqarsinnaagama, kisiannili aamma ilinniarfigalugu.
>
> Ilisimatuut ilisimatusartut takornariallumi umiarsuarnik takornariartaatinik nunatsinnik angalasut takusarpagut ilisimasaqarfigivallaarnerlu ajorpagut. Kikkuunersut ilisimaneq ajukkajuppagut tikeraarnerannullu ilisimatusarnerannullu siunertaasoq nalusarlutigu. Nunatta immikkoortuani angalanerannut misissuinerannulluunniit peqataatinneqarneq ajorpugut. Ilaanni piniartut ataasiakkaat ilisimatuunik taakkuninnga sullissisarput, kisianni ilisimatusarnerup qanoq ilusilersorneqarnissaanut sumulluunniit tunngassuteqarnissaanut sunniuteqanngilagut, soorlu nunami inoqqaajulluta suut paasisaqarfiginerorusuppagut suullu soqutigaagut.

Tamanna ilaannikkut ilungersunarsinnaasarpoq – pingaartumik soqutiginnikkuit kiisalu sulinermut ilisimatusarnermullu peqataarusukkuit. Inuppassuit takornarissat ilisimasallillu kulturikkut atortuutitsinnik pinngortitamilu isumalluutitsinnik Inughuarnit ilumoortumik pigineqartunik tigooraasut pasitsaqqavugut.

Ilisimatusarnerni Inughuit suleqatigineqarnissaat isumaqarpunga pingaaruteqartoq, tamannalu pinngitsuugassanngortittariaqarpoq nunamimi maani inoqqaajuvugut. Kikkut tamarmik itsarnisarsiornermik soqutiginninngillat, kisianni oqaluttuarisaanitsinnik soqutiginnippugut siuaasagullu pillugit paasisaqarnerorusulluta. Kulturitta oqaluttuarisaanera kingornussassagullu pillugit oqalukkaangatta siuaasagut tulluusimaarutigisaqaagut paasisaqarfigineroruSullutigillu. Itsarnisarsiornermik suliaqarneq taamaammat tunniussassarpassuaqarpoq paaserusutatsinnillu sumilu misissuisoqarnissaanik pingaartitsinitsinnik oqaluttuarsinnaalluni. Taamaalilluta itsarnisarsiornermik sulineq aamma sungiukkaluttuinnassavarput siunissamilu kinguaariit itsarnisarsiornermik ilisimatusarnernik nakkutilleeqataasinnaassallutik immaqalu nammineq immaqa ilisimatusarlutik.



Iluseq 2. Genoveva Sadoranap Torngit illukorujussuaannik nassaamini nikorfasoq.

Ilinniagaqarnissamut, ilisimatusarfinnut assigisaannullu toqqaannartumik attavilinnut sanilliullugit avinngarusimasorujussuarmi inuuvugut. Ilisimatuut ilisimatusarnerminni peqataatittalerunitigut toqqaannartumik suleqatigissavaatigut uagullu assersuutigalugu itsarnisarsiornermi qanoq sulisoqartarnera pillugu ilinniarsinnaalissalluta, soorlu ukiuni kingullerni ilinniarsimasugut. Neriuppunga siunissami ilisimatuut suliassaqarfinni assigiinngitsuneersut amerliartuinnartut suliniutiminni suleqatissatut Inughuarnik peqataatitsisalissasut.

Otto Simigaq Siorapalummi 1961-imi inunngorpoq. Piniartuuvoq Qaanaamilu ernini ilaquttanilu peqatigalugit najugaqarluni. Otto suliniutip ICER-ip 2017-imi aallartinneraniit suleqataavoq, kingullertigullu ilisimatusartunik allanik filmiliortunillu suleqateqarsimalluni (e.g. Shari Gearheard).

Piniartussatut peroriartorpunga meeraagallaramali piniartuullunga. Aatarraama aanarraamalu [aatama aanamalu] piniartutut inuusut perorsarpaannga, isiginnaarlungalu ilinniarpunga, aqqaneq marlunnillu ukioqarlunga nammineq qimussitaaqqaarlunga. Piffissap ingerlanerani nammineersinnaaleriartorpunga namminerlu piniariaatsikka inerisarlugit piniartullu allat ilagalugit assigiinngitsunut piniariartarlunga. Taamaammat sumiiffippassuarniissimavunga piffissallu ingerlanerani piniarfitoqqat inoqarfitoqqallu takusarsimallugit. Ukiuni kingullerni illutoqarpassuit tikinneqarsinnaasarsimasut neriuineq pissutigalugu tammarartut takusarpakka. Silap Avanersuarmilu imaani sikup allanngoriartornera takuarput, sumiiffiit ilaanni allanit annertunerusumik. Piniarfitoqqat ilaanni illut issumik ujaqqanillu qarmakkat ilai annaaneqarput annaaneqangajalerlutilluunniit.

Siuaasatta piniarfitoqaat inoqarfitoqaallu maluginiartuaannarsimavakka qanorlu nunamik aalajangersimasumik ilusilersuinersut, taakkuummata eqqaamasatta ilaat. Siuaasatta oqaluttuaannik tusarnaarluta peroriartorpugut. Taakku piniariartarfinnut, inunnut sumiiffinnulluunniit aalajangersimasunut tunngassuteqarput, kisianni oqaluttuat oqaluttuarineqarnerannik eqqaamallaqqippallaartuaannarsimanngilanga. Oqaluttuat ilaannik nalinginnaasumik eqqaamasaqartarpunga. Taamaammat sumiiffiit aalajangersimasut, najugaqarfiusimasut illukulluunniit taakkulu oqaluttuassartaasa nalunaarsorneqarnissaat (Iluseq 3) pingaartippara, kingornussassatsinnik siulitta ilisimasaannik kinguaagut pissarsisinnaajuarniassammata. Utoqqartagut sumiiffinnik, inunnik uumasunillu aalajangersimasunik taakkuninnga oqaluttuassartaannillu ilisimannittut ikittuinnanngorsimapput. Taamaammat tamakkua pillugit

paasissutissat katersornissaat nalunaarsornissaallu soqutigaara siunissami kinguaariinnit pissarsiarineqarsinnaaqqullugit. Najugaqarfiusimasut neriuinermit annaareerparput, soorlu misissuinitsinni takugigut oqaluttuassartaallu eqqaamasatsinniiginnalissapput nalunaarsorneqanngippata.

Itsarnisarsiornermik suliaqarneq nuannaraara tunniussaqarnartutullu misigalugu. Suut soqutiginerigut tikkuartortarpakka kiisalu nammineq allallu takusaannik ingerlatitseqqittarlunga, sumiiffiillu taakku uppernarsaasersortarlugit siunissami kinguaariinnut paasissutissat toqqorlugillu ingerlateqqinneqarniassammata. Neriuppunga Kuutak [ernera nukarleq, aamma piniartuullunilu Qaanaami najugaqartoq 2018-imiillu ilisimatusarnermut peqataasoq] peqataanini ingerlateqqissagaa. Ilimagaara piniartutummi angalasarnerpassuarminit najugaqarfiusimasorpassuit takusimavai sumiiffippassuillu ilisimasaqarfigalugit. Angutaavunga oqaaserpassuaqaranilu isumarpassuaqanngitsoq, kisianni oqarusuppunga ilisimatusarnerit nunatsinni ingerlanneqarmata uagullu oqaluttuarisaanitsinnut tunngassuteqarmata peqataagaangatta saarliusarnissarput pingaaruteqarmat.



Iluseq 3. Otto Simigaq itsarnisaqarfik aaliangersimasoq pingaarutilik pillugu oqaluttuartoq, saniani itsarnisarsiooq Pauline K. Knudsen tusarnaartoq.

Aleqatsiaq Peary Qaanaami 1983-imi inunngorpoq. Piniartuuvoq ilaquttanilu peqatigalugit Qaanaami najugaqarluni. Aleqatsiaq suliniummi ICER-imi 2019-imili peqataavoq suliniutillu siunissaata ilusilersorneranut pingaarutilimmik isummersortunut ilaalersimavoq.

Kulturikkut kingornussassagut eqqarsaatigeqaakka pingaartumik issumik ujaqqanillu qarmarlugit illuusimasut, maanna nunami illutoqqatut

uninngaannartut. Inuit, suliffeqarfiit ilinniagallilluunniit, soorlu itsarnisarsiuut allallu paarsisut kulturikkut kingornussassarinerat pissutigalugu nikisinnagit illersorlugillu attanneqarnissaat kissaatigikkajuttarpaat. Oqarsinnaavunga annaasarigut – illukutut allanngortinnagit nikisinnagillu uninngatinneqarnissaannik kissaateqarnerput pissutigiinnarlugu. Siuaasagut ukiuni untritilinni atortunik illunillu sanallutillu atoqqiisarput, uagut aamma taamaaliortariaqarpugut. Taamaaliornikkut ajornerulernissaannut illersuilissaagut saniatigullu annaasaqarnissaq pinngitsoortillutigu. Taamaallaat attallugillu nikisittussaatinnagit. Siuaasagut kinguaariinniit kinguaariinnut sanaqqittuaannarsimapput illullu issumik ujaqqanillu qarmakkat atoqqittarsimallugit, taamaaliornikkullu toqqaviit qanoq sanaqqissanerlugit ilisimasarlugit. Assinganik iliortalertariaqarpugut, sanaqqilluta atoqqiillutalu; sananissaq ilikkassagaluarparput siuaasattalu ukiuni tusintilinni periusaattut atorlugit.

Inughuit ilisimatusarnerni toqqaannartumik suleqatigut peqataatinneqaraluarpata piffissap ingerlanerani inerisarneqarsimasunik assersuutissaqassagaluartoq isumaqarpunga. Sumiiffiit illullu sanaqqillugillu atoqqissinnaagaluarutsigit siuaasatta qanoq inuusimanerannik ilinniarnerusinnaagaluarpugut – allaat nutaajunerusuni 1900-kkunni illut taamaattut suli atorneqarsimallutik. Inunnut tamaaniittunut nunaniillu allaneersunut takutissinnaassagaluarpagut illut issumik ujaqqanillu qarmakkat qanoq isikkoqartarsimanersut qanorlu sanaajusimanersut. Ileqqugut pillugit inunnut tulluusimaarutigalugit oqaluttuarisinnaassagaluarparput siuaasatsinnit kingornussimasagut oqarsinnaassallutalu taakkutut sanaqqillugillu atoqqittarivut. Qanga illut issumik ujaqqamillu qarmakkat sumiiffiillu avataanit isiginnaagassatut pingaartissagutsigit sapinngisamillu nikisinnaveersaarlugit oqaluttuarisaanitsinnik ilisimasanillu siunissami kinguaariinnut ingerlateqqissinnaanavianngilagut. Siuaasatta uatsinnut atugassanngorlugit qimataat taamaalilluta annaassavagut. Akerlianilli illut issumik ujaqqamillu qarmakkat sumiiffiillu atoqqillugillu sanaqqittalerutsigit atorfissaqalissapput kulturikkullu kingornussassatsinnik suli annertunerusumik tulluusimaarutiginnilerluta.

Sumiiffiit aalajangersimasut ilisimasaqarfiginerussagaluarpagut, soorlu kikkut tassani najugaqarsimappat, sumiiffillu sumik siunertaqarsimava. Utoqqartaqarpugut illut taakku ilaanni najugaqarsimasunik, illunilu issumik ujaqqamillu qarmakkami inunngorsimasunik. Illut issumik ujaqqanillu qarmakkat ukiut 500 matuma siorna sananeqarsimasut oqaluttuarisinnaallugu taakkulu sanaqqinneqarlutillu atoqqinneqartarnerat takuneqarsinnaalluni, tamanna inuusunnerusuni siunissamilu kinguaariinni tulluusimaarnassaaq, kisiannili aamma kulturikkut oqaluttuarisaanitsinnik annertunerusumik nutaamilluunniit aamma

ilisimasaqalersitsisinnaassalluni. Tamanna kulturitsinnik uummarsaanertut aamma misigitissavaatigut. Ullumikkut kulturikkut kingornussassagut pillugit ilisimasakippallaarpugut – aamma kinguaariinni inuusunnerusuni – illut issumik ujaqqanillu qarmakkat qanoq isikkoqarnersut, qanoq sanaajunersut imaluunniit isersinnaannginnatsigit misissoriartorlugit.

Ilisimatusarnissamik suliniutit pilersaarusiornerannut ingerlanneqarnerannullu peqataatinneqarnerput pingaaruteqartoq isumaqarpunga uagummi nunarput, inuuniuterput, isiginnittaaserput, kulturikkut oqaluttuarisaanerput kingornussassarpullu il.il. pineqarput. Nammineq ilisimasaqarlutalu isiginnittaaseqarpugut. Taamaammat peqataasariaqarpugut taakkutuaagatta sunik pisariaqartitsinitsinnik, sunik perusunnitsinnik sunillu ilisimasaqarnerulerusunnitsinnik oqaluttuarsinnaasut, uagummi nunatsinni maani najugaqarpugut.

Siunissamut eqqarsaatit aamma inaarutaasumik oqaaseqaatit

Massakkut sulinitsinni misigaarput Inughuarnik toqqaannartumik oqaloqateqarnigut suleqateqarnigullu aqqutigalugit sumiiffinnut itsarnisarsiornermi pingaarutilinnut ingerlatippaatigut pilersaarutitsinni ilaasimanngikkaluartunut. Inughuit suleqatigisatta sumiiffinnik, atuuffinnik, nunanik imaanilu avatangiisinik itisuumik immikkuualuttorpassuarnillu ilisimasaminnik avitseqateqarnerat pissutigalugu itsarnisarsiuutut isiginnittaatsitsinnik, ilisimasatsinnik teoriinik siunertanillu allannguisinnaanerat misigaarput. Inuit nipaat ilisimasaallu uagut ilinniagartuutut etnografiskimik allagaatini nalinginnaasumik atuarsimasagut apeqqusersornagit atorneqartariaqanngillat, taakku kitaamiusut naleqartitanik aaqqissuussineq atorlugu katersorneqarlutillu nassuiarneqarsimammata (aamma takuuk Stewart-Harawira 2013). Najukkani inunnik toqqaannartumik suleqateqarmat taamaammat amerlasuutigut ineritataqarluaannarani kisiannili aamma peqataatitsinerullunilu, naapertuunnerussaaq ataqqinninnerullunilu. Ilinniagartuutut ilinniarnitsinni sulinitsinnilu ilinniarsimasinnaasagut – aamma nunap inoqqaavi ilisimatusartutut – ileqquusumik ilisimasanit inunnit inoqqaanit paasisimalluarneqartunit unammillerneqarluarsinnaapput. Allaaserisami matumani suleqataasunit oqaatigineqartutut inuit ilinniagartuunit itsarnisarsiorfigineqarnissaq pisariaqartippaat, pingaartumik anguniagassatut siunnersuusiornermi ilisimatusarnerullu qanoq ittuunissaanut peqataatinneqarsinnaagunik.

Taamaammat ilisimatusarnissamik suliniutini inuit isiginnittaasiannik tusarnaarneq, malinnaaneq pingaarnersiuinerlu inoqqaanillu naleqquttunik suleqateqarnerit paatsooqatigiissutaasinnaasunik annikillisaataalluassaput, peqataatitsineq annertunerulersillugu kiisalu nunat inoqqaavi kissaataannut

eqqumanerusumik ataqqinninnerusumillu pilersitsisoqarluni (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006; Baird 2014; Caxaj 2015; Hogan & Topkok 2015; Kawelu 2014).

Naligiinnerusumik suleqatigiinnermik inerisaasoqarnissaa kiisalu itsarnisarsiornerup kulturikkullu kingornussassanik ilisimatusariaatsit nunasianngortitsinerni atuuffeqarsimasut nunasiaataajunnaarsarneqarnissaat siunertaappat (aamma takuuk Atalay 2006), ilisimatusarnitsinnit inernerusut inuiaqatigiinni suliffigisatsinni iluaqutaanissaat itsarnisarsiuutut qulakkiissavarput. Tamaani inunngorsimasut soqutigisaat ernumassutaallu tusarnaassallugit pingaaruteqarpoq, akueralugulu tatigeqatigiilluni attaveqatigiinneq nukippassuarnik atuiffiusarmat sivisuumillu sanarfineqartarluni (aamma takuuk Hogan & Topkok 2015).

Ilisimatusarnissamik suliniummut peeqataanissamut innuttaasunit akerliusoqanngikkaluartut erseqqissaatigissavarput innuttaasunit isummat suulluunniit tamatigut pimoorunneqarlutillu ataqqineqartariaqarmata. ICER-ip kinguaariinnut arlalinnut piffissami sivisuumi suliniutissatut sanarfinissaanut najukkami innuttaasut soqutiginninnerujussuanut malinnaaniapiloorsimavugut. Piffissaq ungasinnerusoq eqqarsaatigalugu pilersaarusiornissaq ajornakusoorsinnaavoq aningaasatigut tapiinerit killeqarnerat kiisalu piffissakkaartumik piffissamut qaninnerusumut tapiissuteqartarnerit pissutigalugit. Avanersuarmi sulineq angalanermut aningaasartuuterpassuarnik, sila pissutigalugu angalanermut qaangerniagassanik, ataavartumik digitalimik attaveqarnermik qaangerniagassanik kiisalu aallartitsiniarluta ingerlatsinigut nunarsuarmi tuniluuttoqarneranik soorunami ajoqusersorneqarujussuarnerannik nassataqarpoq. Suliatta iluatsinniarneranni paasivarput suleqatitsinnik attassillunilu pitsanngorsaanerit iluaqutaajuaannartut, attaveqaqatigiinneq suleqatiginnikkussuseqarnerlu inissaqartitsinermik ersarissuutitsinermillu pilersitsisarmata.

Sammisarput nunasiaataajunnaarsassagutsigu nunallu inoqqaavinut, siuaasaannik kulturiannillu misissuinermi sammisaqarnermi, peqataatitsinerullunilu iluaqutaanerulersissagutsigu eqqarsarnissaq imminullu maluginissaq pingaaruteqarpoq, tamannalu angujuminarnerpaassaaq inuit itsarnisarsiornermik paasinninnerannik ilinniarnikkut. Misilittagarivarput eqaatsumik ammasumillu isumaqarnissaq qitiulluinnartoq, ilutigitillugulu itsarnisarsiortut allanut qanga pisimasut pillugit naalagaanerannik isumaqarneq ingalassimaniarlugu. Suleqatigiilluni ilisimatusarneq immikkut misigisaavoq, taamaammallu Issittumi atuagartuutut ilisimatusariaatsitta nutaanngorsartuarnissaat pingaaruteqarluinnarluni.

Nunat inoqqaavi peqataanerat, suleqataanerat piginnittuunerallu minnerpaamik siuarsassavarput pilersaarusioriaaserpullu atuagartuutullu ilisimatusariaaserput eqqarsaatigeqqillutigu. Ilisimatuutut pisussaaffigaarput nunami inoqqaajusut pillugit peqatigalugillu allannissamut, taakku inooriaasiat kingornussaallu misissoratsigit, ilisimatusarnermilu inernerusut atuagartuunut allanut taamaallaat sammitinneqanngitsissaat qulakkiissallutigit. Nunat

inoqqaavi peqatigalugit nassuiaasiorniarnissaq aamma anguniartariaqarparput. Tassunga atatillugu suliniut ICER tamanna suli pingaarneruvoq, Inughuarnik aqutsineq pinngortitamilu pissuseqatigiinnermi pinngorartitsineq pillugit oqaluttuarisaaneq imartooq ukkatarineqalermat. Itsarnisarsiorluni ilisimatusarneq avatangiisinik aalajangersaanernut unammillertinneqarsinnaappat – imaluunniit killeqarfimmik Inughuit silap allanngoriartorneranut qisuariarnissaanut killiliisumik – itsarnisarsiornermik oqaluttuamik oqaluttarnermi Inughuit nipaat saarliunissaat aalajangiisuussaaq. Sissuertumik suleqatigiinnikkut itsarnisarsiuut nunap inoqqaavisa isiginnittaasiannik salliutitsisinnaassapput inuillu itsarnisarsiornermi angusassatut pingaartitaanik ukkataqalerlutik. Tassani nunap inoqqaavi itsarnisarsiuullu akornanni piviusumi suleqatigiinneq aallartissinnaavoq. Allaaserisami matumani peqataasunit oqaatigineqartutut itsarnisarsiornermi pitsaassuseq, missingiutit misilittakkallu uppernarsineqarsimasut atorlugit sulineq sulinermi qitiusumik naleqartitaniissapput, ilisimatusarnerup tunuani uuttuutinik siunertanillu pilersitsinermi nunap inoqqaavi suleqatigisat naligiimmik oqaasissaqartinneqarpata.

Qujassutit

Inughuit piffissap ingerlanerani ilisimasaminnik avitseqataasimasut siunnersuisarsimasullu qujaffigerusuppagut. Immikkut qujaffigerusuppagut matumani allaaserisami tunniusseqataasut suleqatigut Otto Simigaq, Genoveva Sadorana, aamma Aleqatsiaq Peary suliamut tapersersuillutik peqataasimanerannut, aamma Pauline K. Knudsen, Pivinnguaq Mørch, Pia Egede. Aningaasaliisunut ukununnga qujavugut Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada (IG 435- 2018-0449) Naalakkersuisunullu (Namminersorlutik Oqartussat – Tips- og Lottomidlernes Pulje C).

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Before Iglulik: Inuit Memory and Recent-Historic Archaeology at Avvajja, Nunavut

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ABSTRACT

Before Iglulik is an archaeological and oral-historical project undertaken to record and document Inuit settlements around Iglulik (Igloolik) during the period preceding the establishment of modern hamlets in the Canadian Arctic in the mid-20th century. The archaeological component of the research consisted of recording and mapping features at Avvajja, an early 20th-century campsite located approximately six kilometers northwest of Iglulik, while the oral history component involved the facilitation of Inuit engagement with these cultural remains. A series of interviews and site visits were held with former residents of Avvajja (Avvajjamiut). To promote cross-generational knowledge transmission, a reunion event at the site was coordinated by the authors for Avvajjamiut and their loved ones. Attendees shared a feast at the site and toured their ancestors' dwellings, where many stories were shared.

KEYWORDS
Iglulik (Igloolik), Avvajja (Abverdjar), Nunavut, oral history, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, archaeology

RÉSUMÉ

Avant Iglulik : Mémoire inuit et archéologie historique récente à Avvajja, Nunavut

Before Igloolik est un projet d'archéologie et d'histoire orale dont le but est d'inventorier et de documenter les établissements Inuit près d'Iglulik (Igloulik) durant la période précédant l'établissement de villages modernes dans l'Arctique Canadien, au milieu du XX[e] siècle. L'aspect archéologique de la recherche visait à inventorier et à cartographier les structures archéologiques à Avvajja, un campement du début du XX[e] siècle situé à environ six kilomètres au nord-ouest d'Iglulik. La composante d'histoire orale consistait à faciliter l'engagement des Inuit avec ces vestiges culturels. Une série d'entretiens et de visites sur l'île d'Avvajja ont été organisés

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avec d’anciens résidents (Avvajjamuit). Afin de favoriser la transmission intergénérationnelle des connaissances, un évènement de retrouvailles incluant les anciens résidents et leur descendance a été coordonné par les auteurs. Les participants ont d’abord partagé un festin sur le site ; puis, ont visité les habitations de leurs ancêtres, où de nombreuses histoires furent échangées.

MOTS-CLÉS
Iglulik (Igloulik), Avvajja (Abverdjar), Nunavut, histoire orale, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, archéologie

ᐅᓂᒃᑳᓚᐊᖅ translated by Gloria

ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᙵᒍᖅᑳᖅᑎᓐᓇᒍ ᐊᒻᒪ ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ–ᖅᑲᖕᒐᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᖅ ᑲᒪᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓗᓂ ᐊᒻᒪ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓗᓂ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᕆᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ ᓴᓂᐊᓂ (ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ) ᑕᐃᒪᙵᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᓴᖅᑭᖅᑳᖅᑎᓐᓇᒍ ᐅᓪᓗᒥ Hᐋᒻᖑᔪᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ ᐅᑭᐅᖅᑕᖅᑐᖓᓂ 1901-1999 ᐊᑯᓐᓂᖓᓂ. ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᕐᕕᑉ ᐃᓚᖓ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᖅᖃᖅᑐᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓄᓇᙳᐊᓕᐅᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᓴᓇᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥ, 1901-1999–ᐊᑯᓐᓂᖓ ᑕᒪᓖᕐᕕᒃ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᖓ ᐃᒻᒪᖅᑳ ᐊᕐᕕᓂᓕᑦ ᑭᓚᒦᑕ ᐃᒡᓗᓕᐅᑉ ᓂᒡᔨᐊᓂ, ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ ᖃᖓᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐃᓚᖓ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᖓ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑲᑎᖅᑲᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ ᑖᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᐃᓕᖅᑯᓯᕆᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᐱᕐᔪᑎᒥᓃᑦ. ᐊᔾᔨᒌᙱᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᐱᖅᓱᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒧᑦ ᐅᐸᒃᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐱᖃᑎᒋᓪᓗᒋᑦ ᓄᓇᖅᑲᖅᑲᖅᑕᖅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑕᐃᔅᓯᒪᓂ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥ (ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥᐅᑦ). ᖁᕝᕙᕆᐊᖅᑯᓪᓗᒍ ᐊᔾᔨᒌᙱᑦᑐᑦ ᐃᓅᖅᑲᑎᒌᒃᑐᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓂᖅ ᐅᖅᑲᖅᑲᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ, ᑲᑎᖅᑲᑎᒌᒃᑲᓐᓂᕐᓂᖅ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᖅ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒥ ᑲᒪᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᖅᑎᑦ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥᐅᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᓪᓕᒋᔭᖕᒋᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᐅᓚᐅᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᑲᑐᔾᔨᖅᑲᑎᒋᓚᐅᖅᑐᑦ ᓂᕆᖅᑲᑎᒌᓐᓂᖅ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒥ ᐊᒻᒪ ᖏᒥᖏᐊᖅᑐᑎᒃ ᓯᕗᓕᕗᑦ ᖃᒻᒪᕕᓃᑦ, ᑕᐃᑲᓂ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᐅᓂᒃᑳᖅᓯᒪᔪᑦ.

ᑎᑎᖅᑲᐃᑦ
ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ; ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭ; ᓄᓇᕗᑦ; ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ; ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᑐᖃᖏᑦ; ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ

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Non-Inuit archaeologists working in Nunavut have paid relatively little attention to the dynamic period preceding the establishment of contemporary Inuit communities in the mid-twentieth century. This is unfortunate, as not only do archaeological features and artifacts from the period abound, but Elders, many of whom are in their 80s and 90s, maintain vibrant memories of these days on the land, sea, and ice, and are keen to share their knowledge with other Inuit, especially younger generations who grew up in contemporary communities, as well as non-Inuit. In this paper, we describe a successful collaboration between Inuit knowledge holders and archaeologists working together toward the reconstruction of Inuit life at Avvajja[1] (NiHg-1), a cold-season camp in Nunavut’s Foxe Basin region. Avvajja

1. Variously transliterated in English and French as Abverdjar, Avjavar, Abvayak, and Avvajjaq.

was occupied by Inuit from at least the early 1930s to the period immediately preceding the permanent settlement in the municipality of Iglulik (Igloolik) in the 1960s (Figure 1). Avvajja was also the site of the first religious mission established in the region in 1931.

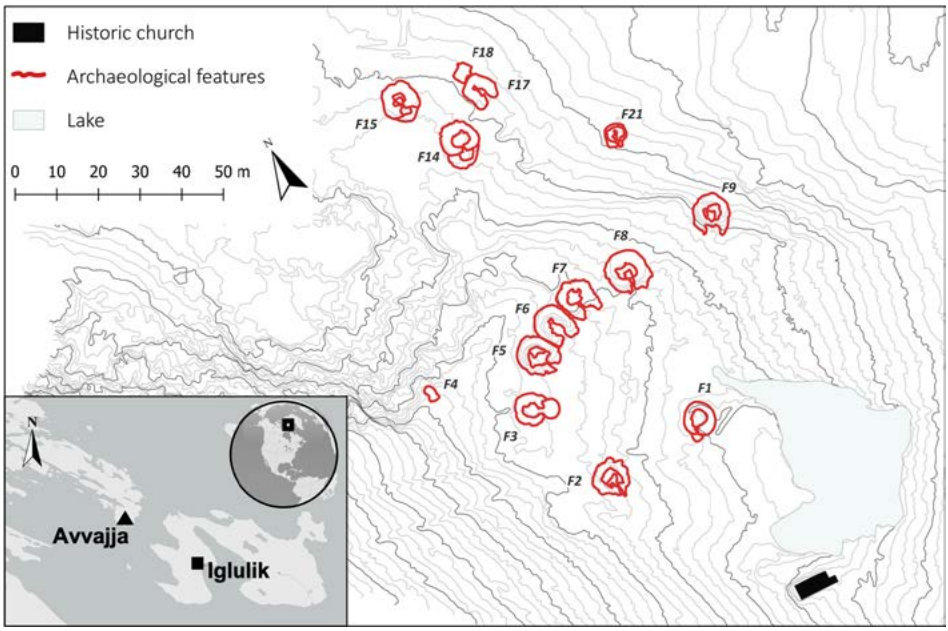


Figure 1. Map of Inuit archaeological features at Avvajja. In 2019, we excavated four test units in a supposed Pre-Inuit feature approximately 35 meters southeast of F9. Map by J. Take.

We thus present the evolving work of the interdisciplinary *Before Iglulik* project (2018), the initial goals of which—documenting the occupation history of Avvajja during the first half of the twentieth century—originally involved a straightforwardly-archaeological approach. However, preparatory work for the project in Iglulik showed how complementing the planned archaeological and historical/archival investigation with site visits by former residents (Avvajjamiut) was crucial to building a fuller and more meaningful, picture of recent-historic life at the site. We describe the archaeological work carried out as well as the engagement with Avvajjamiut Elders and their families in the project. We then present firsthand insights from three local participants in the project to gain perspective on a variety of topics they find most relevant to the ethical documentation of cultural history.

Methodology: Archaeology and Traditional Knowledge

Before Iglulik was intended as a one-year pilot project for *Limited Choices, Lasting Traditions* (2019-2022), an investigation of long-term human reliance on marine mammals in northern Foxe Basin, funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and led by Sean Desjardins (University of Groningen). In the summer of 2018, a field crew consisting of Desjardins, Scott Rufolo (Canadian Museum of Nature), guide Justin Mikki (Iglulik), and student assistant Noah Mikki (Iglulik) carried out an archaeological investigation at Avvajja. The main objectives were to (1) create a high-resolution map (orthomosaic) of Avvajja using a drone; (2) create a detailed map of semisubterranean cold-season (autumn/winter) sod house features at the site using differential GPS (DGPS) technology; and (3) conduct limited archaeological testing (four 1 m^2 test units) of a feature thought to be of Tuniit affiliation (Late Dorset Pre-Inuit; ca. AD 1000 to 1300). No Inuit houses or other features at Avvajja were disturbed during the project.

The archaeological work was complemented by research in the Iglulik Oral History Project (OHP) Archives, and the Deschâtelets-NDC archives of the Oblate Missionary Order (*Les Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, Richelieu, QC). In January 2018, Desjardins carried out semi-structured interviews in Iglulik with three Avvajjamiut Elders: Herve Paniaq, Julia Amarualik, and Alexina Makkik. These Elders, along with five others—Louis Uttak, Therese Uttak, Matilda Hanniliaq, Madeline Ivalu, and Eulalie Angutimarik—travelled to Avvajja during the 2018 summer field season to share memories about their life there during the early-to-mid twentieth century. Janet Airut of Iglulik provided Inuktitut-English interpretation during all engagements in 2018. In an effort to facilitate dialogue across generations, the Government of Nunavut Department of Culture and Heritage Territorial Archaeology Office coordinated and funded a reunion event at Avvajja toward the close of the 2018 field season. On August 4th, the above-mentioned Elders and approximately 140 of their relatives visited the site, feasted on country food, and traded stories about traditional life in the region.

As a follow-up to the reunion event, in November 2021, LeBlanc facilitated an exchange among three reunion attendees—George Qulaut, Eulalie Angutimarik, and E.H.[2]—who shared stories and impressions of the reunion, as well as other memories relating to Avvajja. The discussion, which underlies much of the reflection in this paper, was wide-ranging but ultimately focused on connection to place and the relationship between archaeology and Inuit priorities to further knowledge about their heritage. Most of the discussion was carried out in Inuktitut, and later translated and transcribed by Rhoda Inuksuuk. The transcripts are held at the Iglulik Oral History Project archives (Nunavut Arctic College).

2. This participant chose to be identified by her initials only.

Avvajja: Setting and Culture History

Avvajja is situated near the southeastern extreme of the Coxe Island group, approximately six kilometers northwest of Itivia (Ham Bay) on the west coast of Iglulik Island. The area is ecologically rich, with a wide variety of marine mammals abundant in the surrounding waters. The Tuniit were the first people to occupy Avvajja. Research carried out at the site by British archaeologist Graham Rowley (in 1940) and Danish archaeologist Jørgen Meldgaard (in 1965) revealed between three and four small, oval-shaped depressions interpreted as Tuniit house pits. These features were excavated by Rowley (1940), who recovered over a thousand cultural objects (artifacts) of various types; most of these objects are currently housed at the Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. Our 2018 excavation of a small Tuniit depression immediately east of the Inuit house row (see Figure 1) produced faunal material, lithic debris, microblades, and a seal-effigy pendant. (The analysis of this cultural material is ongoing.)

Our survey yielded no evidence of a Thule Inuit occupation (e.g., from ca. AD 1250 to 1600) at Avvajja; the reason for this apparent gap in occupation is unclear. What is certain is that by 1930 at Avvajja, Inuit had established a small but prosperous cold-season camp that soon became one of the focal points of colonial encounter in the region. According to the Diocese of Churchill, Inuit from the Iglulik area had learned about Catholicism through contacts with residents of Naujaat (Repulse Bay) and had traveled north to Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet) to request a resident priest for their area ("Thrilling Missionary Work" 1934, 27). In May 1931, Fr. Étienne Bazin (1903–1972), a Roman Catholic Oblate originally from Dijon, France, arrived at Avvajja from Mittimatalik, having traveled mostly by foot.

Upon his arrival at Avvajja, Fr. Bazin constructed a crude structure with spared pieces of wood he had brought with him. The building was used as a chapel, a storehouse, and living quarters. On July 24, 1933, the structure and nearly all its contents were lost in a fire. Fr. Bazin writes, "I had just finished saying mass […] A moment of inadvertence on my part, a candle started the fire, and in a few minutes, all flamed up like a torch. All I could save was the Blessed Sacrament, three small hosts in a pyx, and breaking the window from the outside, I could save my [Inuktitut] prayer book" ("Thrilling Missionary Work" 1934, 23).

Though Fr. Bazin was alone at Avvajja during this calamity, a local family who had been camping nearby saw the smoke and came to his aid. A few days later, they guided him in building a more locally-appropriate structure using stones from an old cache. The roof was covered with a walrus hide (kauk), as no seal skins were available. Following this event, Fr. Bazin became affectionally known as "Kaumiutaq" ("one who lives under a walrus skin"), a moniker Iglulingmiut still recall with humor (Amarualik 2018a). Eventually, Fr. Bazin was able to construct a new wood-framed church; this

was a much sturdier structure than the first one was, bolstered and insulated from the cold on all sides by sod blocks, much like an Inuit cold-season sod house (Figure 2). The Mission church, which was contemporaneous with the Inuit sod houses discussed below, was christened St. Étienne (French for St. Stephen) by the Diocese. To this day, "Kaumiutaq", who remained in Iglulik until 1948, is generally remembered fondly by the Elders who knew him.



(a)



(b)

Figure 2. The historic Catholic church at Avvajja; **(a)** n.d., facing north (photograph by R. Harrington, Library and Archives Canada); **(b)** 2018, facing southeast. Note the stacked sod and stones surrounding the structure.

At its peak, in the 1940s, Avvajja was led by a charismatic couple, a talented hunter named Ittuksaarjuat and his wife Attagutaaluk, who remains today a much-celebrated figure among Iglulingmiut (Wachowich et al. 1999, 68–72; Mary-Rousselière 1950). Ittuksaarjuat's influence went far beyond Avvajja. George Qulaut (2021) notes that stories have long circulated about his wisdom and guidance: "I […] knew that there was a well-known leader living [at Avvajja]. Many people from Amittuq[3] had sought his advice; other places did too, like Aivilik[4], Kivalliq[5], East Baffin, Tununiq[6], would come to seek his advice. Ittuksaarjuat was a leader mostly on social issues. That is what I've heard." Attagutaaluk was among the earliest Inuit converts to Catholicism in the Iglulik region. She and her husband were also close confidants to Bazin.

3. A large customary region extending roughly from Igloolik Island, south—including Sanirajak (Hall Beach)—to the Amitoke Peninsula.
4. The region including the present-day community of Naujaat (Repulse Bay).
5. A large region consisting of the western coast of Hudson Bay and including much of the inland caribou-hunting ranges.
6. The region surrounding the present-day community of Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet), north Baffin Island.

Life at Avvajja: Food, Shelter, and Religion

In addition to establishing themselves as lay spiritual leaders at Avvajja, Ittuksaarjuat and Attagutaaluk worked tirelessly to ensure regular food security for the camp. Prior to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post at Iglulik in 1939, the couple would venture regularly to the nearest HBC post at Mittimatalik, exchanging pelts for goods (e.g., tea, flour, sugar, ammunition, and tobacco) on behalf of the entire community (Wachowich et al. 1999, 71–72). Trips were also made to trade at HBC posts in Naujaat (Repulse Bay) and Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay). Though such forays provided surplus and luxury supplies, the necessities (i.e., country food) were always plentiful around Avvajja itself (Paniaq 2018a; Makkik 2018a, 2018b). Indeed, the 2018 archaeological crew noted large amounts of animal bones (e.g., of ringed seals, bearded seals, walruses, caribou, and polar bears) scattered across the surface of the site, attesting to past (and continuing) abundance.

Avvajja was used primarily as a fall and winter camp and was occupied alternately by a handful of nearby locales, such as Ikpiarjuk[7]—the site of the community of Iglulik, and Iglulik Point. The latter location is still actively used to stage walrus hunts and cache fermented walrus meat. The remains of a large Thule Inuit cold-season village [NiHe-2] can be found a short distance from the shore. During Thule Inuit times, cold-season houses (*qarmat*) were constructed using bowhead whale bones, large boulders, and thick rectangular slabs of sod. In recent-historic times, bones were replaced by wooden tent poles or ship masts, and sod slabs were replaced by thinner, cut sod blocks.

The 2018 archaeological survey at Avvajja revealed between 11 and 12 sod houses dating from the early 1930s to late 1950s, in addition to stone caches and graves. Most of the houses are situated approximately 100 m north/northeast of the shore at the base of a large granite outcropping. The overall condition of the site is good, and it is a regular stopover for hunting, fishing, and recreation parties traveling by boat to the channels a short distance northwest of the island. It is also a popular destination during Easter celebrations.

The remains of the houses are roughly circular in shape, measuring between 6.4 and 7.7 meters in diameter (outside wall dimensions). Each house could comfortably accommodate up to seven adults and four children (Amarualik 2018a) (Figure 3). The walls were constructed with stacked sod bricks cut from the broad, flat plain to the north and east of the main house-row. Over time, European architectural features such as wooden doors and window frames were integrated into the sod houses. Until relatively late, the penile skin of walruses and bearded seals was still preferred over glass for

7. Not to be confused with the contemporary community of Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay).

windows. Open, central floors were surrounded on three sides by raised gravel sleeping platforms (Paniaq 2018b). Each house featured a central roof-supporting post—usually a wooden boat mast—with its base positioned at the rear of the structure and angled upward. This post supported a sealskin or canvas tent roof, which could be up to two meters high (Paniaq 2018b; Uttak 2018). At the entrance of the house was a cold porch (vestibule) framed with ice blocks obtained mostly from the small pond near the church (Paniaq 2018b). These vestibules (some of which almost as large as the inside living spaces) were used to store clothing and meat (Uttak 2018). Each house had between one and three *qulliit* (soapstone oil lamps) providing light and heat. There was significant refurbishing and cleaning of houses as they were seasonally reoccupied.



Figure 3. Historic Inuit sod house Feature F8, 2018, facing south toward the entrance passage. Note the intact post-and-lintel structure, sleeping platforms, and central floor-space.

In describing daily life at Avvajja, Elders emphasized a sense of great belonging and community. For example, when babies were born, it was customary for each resident to shake the infant's hand, with an Elder intoning, "You are from Avvajja" (Angutimarik 2018, 2021). The family house of Herve Paniaq was one of Avvajja's largest. As such, it served as a kind of

"community" house, or *qaggiq*, where people would gather to plan activities and play games (Paniaq 2018b). As children, many of the Elders were given small chores around the camp. When a hunting foray had been successful, Paniaq was often tasked with running from house to house, yelling, "frozen food!" to advertise the bounty; similarly, Uttak was responsible for delivering European goods, such as tobacco, to each household, when they were brought in from the HBC posts (Uttak 2018).

Sometime around 1944, Ittuksaarjuat passed away. He had asked to be buried in a stone cairn on a high point west of Avvajja, as he wished to see the goings-on at Avvajja after he passed (Ivalu 2018; Makkik 2018b; Uttak 2018). Ataguttaaluk outlived her husband by four years, dying in June 1948, aged between 68 and 78 years old. Like her husband, she is widely revered by Iglulingmiut. Her grave near Alarniq on the mainland remains a popular pilgrimage site, and Iglulik's elementary school is named after her. Even after most families had left Avvajja, the small St. Etienne Church at Avvajja continued for some years to be favored over its intended replacement, the larger St. Stephen's Church in Iglulik, for its relative warmth and familiarity. Sisters Madeline Ivalu and Alexina Makkik believe their family was the last to leave Avvajja for Iglulik in either 1951 or 1952 (Makkik 2018b).

Crowe (1970) draws a direct correlation between the lower occurrence of walruses in the surrounding waters around 1948 and the abandonment of Avvajja in the late 1950s. However, many Elders recount that near the time of his death, Ittuksaarjuat had declared that Avvajja had been occupied too long and that the land itself had become "too hot"; it had to be abandoned and allowed to "cool down" for some years (Amarualik 2018a; Uttak 2018; Rowley 1985). George Qulaut (2021) argues the English word "hot" is "just a word," referring not to temperature but rather to a much more complicated phenomenon rooted in pre-Christian cosmological understandings of human-animal/human-environment relationships:

> [W]hat Ittuksaarjuat said is true. He's not the first man to say that, and leaders in other camps were also sensitive to the land as they get to know it. […] It was a common knowledge that they should not live in the same spot for more than three or four years because it gets hot. […] The land reacts if you stay in it too long and it can kill you or your dogs. Or you kill the land by driving away animals, you know when things are growing around it. They know that it's time to move before any kind of sickness happens either to themselves or their dogs. It was their tradition to keep moving.

Such an understanding does not bode well for long-term Inuit well-being in Nunavut's modern communities. Informal discussions the authors have had with Elders revealed a common understanding that many modern

illnesses, such as cancer and respiratory sickness, either did not exist or were less common when Inuit were moving seasonally. This longstanding view likely contributed to the widespread notion—supported by recent social-scientific research—that too much time spent away from the land and concentrating activities in a single place can be detrimental to multiple aspects of Inuit health and well-being (Cunsolo Willox et al. 2013; Robertson and Ljubicic 2019; Ward et al. 2023).

Belonging and Reconnection

On August 4, 2018, a reunion event facilitated by Sylvie LeBlanc of the Nunavut Department of Culture and Heritage and the *Before Iglulik* researchers was attended by more than 140 people, mainly Avvajjamiut and their descendants. By design, there was limited on-site organization on the part of the researchers beyond the coordination of boat transportation and food preparation. The authors were present to facilitate and respectfully observe the sharing of stories and memories across generations as Elders moved from house to house, telling stories about their respective house and reminiscing about relationships and life on the land (Figures 4a and 4b).



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. (a) Iglulingmiut Elders arriving at Avvajja for a knowledge-sharing event, 2018; **(b)** Elders (from l. to r.) Herve Paniaq, Louis Uttak, Therese Uttak, Matilda Hanniliaq, and Julia Amarualik at Avvajja, 2018.

In 2021, three Iglulingmiut who had attended the 2018 reunion—George Qulaut, Elder Eulalie Angutimarik, and E.H.—described to us how different it had been to visit Avvajja with their relatives and Elders who had lived there, and how the reunion had changed their perspectives about and strengthened their feelings of belonging and connection to the site.

George Qulaut's parents resided at Avvajja:

I've heard many stories from my mother and father about living in Avvajja, but they seemed just like stories, so I had no personal connection to Avvajja. I was a little child when I went south, and I was gone for a long time. By the time I came back, I had no sense of identity, I didn't know if I was Inuk or white. […] I've heard many stories from my mom talking about times when they lived in Avvajja […] My father was twelve years old when they came up with his parents Ukajuituq and Ittikutuq from Chesterfield Inlet. My grandfather Itikkutuq was originally from this area, who had gone down there with Qatuttalik. They came in on that small ship to Igloolik [Island] and worked their own way to Avvajja. They incidentally ended up with a couple they didn't know before named Qattalik and Saqpisuk, who are my other grandparents who already had a sod house there. It was the leader of Avvajja [Ittuksaarjuat] who organized them to share that sod house. So, they shared their place when my father was twelve and my mother was even younger, when they were still too young for a relationship. Both [sets of] parents had no idea that their children would marry later on as they did when they came of age.

[…]

Having heard all these stories of Avvajja, it's like a place of my parents. They both had a special connection to Avvajja. As for myself, I never went to Avvajja until I was a teenager when we started going up there to slide. We had Ski-doos then. We were the first young people to have Ski-doos, so we would go sliding and climbing. It was just like a playground for us, no other special connection other than the fact that I knew my parents had lived there.

[…]

It just sounded like old stuff, and I didn't think there would be any connection to my life. Much to my surprise, we were gathered in Avvajja [during the 2018 reunion], where I dealt with my own issues and began my healing journey. I became more aware of where I came from after seeing where my ancestors had lived and seeing their old sod houses. I found out that there was a large sod house shared by both grandparents. Uqajuittuk was on the left side and Qattalik was on the right side. That moment made me realize my history and my roots when I saw how they had all lived together. I was happier afterwards and it took away stigma, and that was the beginning of my healing journey.

Eulalie Angutimarik was born at Avvajja on November 30, 1943, and spent her earliest years there:

> As for myself, Avvajja is an important place to me because Avvajja has been occupied throughout our history. It's a very old place, possibly from the very beginning of time. I am one of the people who have lived in Avvajja. I have seen our old sod house, and it was clearly explained to me because I don't recall being there when I was a baby. […] When I saw our old sod house later on, it was explained to me that this is the sod house where my parents and adoptive parents lived.
>
> […]
>
> We were once hired to do a project in Avvajja in recent years. [Herve] Paniaq asked me if I had been to the sod house where I was born […] I said no, I've been to Avvajja one time in spring when all the old sod houses were still covered in snow, so I couldn't see anything. […] Paniaq said, "Let's go see your birthplace so that you will know, because I don't think your relatives would show it to you." […] [He] took me to where there were four sod houses; when we got to one of them, [he] said, "This was where your parents lived when you were born." I was born in a qarmaq, a sod house in Avvajja. When I saw the old sod house, my thoughts were, like, "So, this is where my parents lived, and this is where I got adopted."<CIT>

Eulalie's daughter (E.H.) had also attended the reunion, and like George spoke at length about how her impression of Avvajja changed after the event:

> **E.H.:** I feel like a new kind of person. I was born later than qarmait [qarmaq in plurial] days, when they lived in sod houses, nor did I ever get sent away to go to [residential] school. But living here [in Iglulik], Avvajja was always like part of Iglulik when I was growing up because we always went there [to Avvajja] towards the end of school year for picnics. For that reason, I'll think of Avvajja as part of Iglulik. I always knew since childhood that my mother was born in Avvajja and that it was a special place. […] So many of us would go at the same time […] to Avvajja for a picnic. I kept going even after school years were over, I went every spring. It's an annual event for us and it's like a playground, more like a place to go for fun. […]
>
> **E.A.:** That [the 2018 reunion] was when I felt more included by my mother's family because I always knew that my mother was adopted […].
>
> **E.H.:** I also knew that we returned to your biological parents, but they never seemed to include us in the family. That reunion was the first time

where they were ever included. I remember being included in that reunion to Avvajja. It was uplifting for me to be there with my biological uncle and aunt, it was a welcoming feeling. That was the time I got to see my dad's old sod house too. I was also shown my mother's old house. It was a realization for me to see where my parents and grandparents had lived before my time. It was very emotional. I was touched emotionally, and this is something I will never forget for the rest of my life.

E.A.: I've always known that I was born in Avvajja, but my adoptive mother never told me exactly where I was born. Since I went to that reunion, I have been more content with myself to find out so many details that one summer. Really to a point where our old sod house was pointed out and they knew everyone's exact spaces inside that sod house where I was born. […] My mind was more at ease after having seen and been to Avvajja.

E.H.: That was when I realized how long people have been living in Avvajja for so many years. When I was going to school it was like a playground for us even though I've heard that my mother was born there, but never realized how much further the history goes. It was my first time seeing all these old sod houses after all the years I had been going there.

The Legacy of Avvajja and the Future of the Past

The recent-historic period of Inuit history (i.e., from the twentieth century onward) has received relatively little attention by archaeologists. This transformative period was one of profound and often traumatic change for Inuit society, significantly affecting traditional harvesting, food security, and traditional belief systems (see Laugrand and Oosten 2010). The shift toward year-round settlement in communities has distanced many people from the special places of their ancestors. While gaining archaeological knowledge about such places is important, we argue that researchers should seek out opportunities to support and facilitate reconnecting and knowledge-transmission experiences. At Avvajja, scientifically-oriented archaeological work, experiential site visits, and the meaning-making reunion event all illuminated our various understandings of social change(s) in recent-historic times and provided a forum for former residents of Avvajja and their families to reify their experiences and understandings of the place.

At the close of the 2021 group interview, the conversation with participants turned to the relationship between Inuit and archaeology:

E.H.: As for myself, I know that we do not have Inuit graduate archaeologists, and this is usually done through [non-Inuit]

archaeological students. As long as they record all the findings and keep documentation with the intention of returning the artifacts to Nunavut, it's ok with me.

E.A.: It's ok with you?

E.H.: Yes, I'm ok with it because archaeologists preserve their findings that we wouldn't have found. As long as they return it to Inuit when Inuit are equipped to get these artifacts back, that has been my thinking.

E.A.: I, myself, am very protective of Inuit artifacts made by our ancestors. Inuit had no tools; they made all their tools themselves like using rocks which is a very hard work, making knives and ulus. They hunted with harpoons before they had guns. I would want artifacts to be returned to us and to be put into museums because even our generation didn't see that time and even local people are at awe when they see old pictures. They wonder. If they could be returned and put in museums with information of what it was, where it came from and with Elders explaining the use of these artifacts.

George continues:

I'm named after an archeologist [Jørgen Meldgaard] through baptism. My father wanted me named after him. (My father couldn't pronounce "Jørgen," which was pronounced that way by Greenlanders.) […] Archaeology is special to me and it lives with me and I totally understand different perceptions and different views of different generations. Such as my grandfather's generation, which didn't like what archaeologists do. Through shamanism influence, even the children weren't allowed to be around or to dig any old stuff, but I always knew that. Because these artifacts have owners, and you leave them alone. The older generations were very against the work of archaeologists.

[…]

My children's understanding is, like, […] "Why is there an archaeologist?" Like, white people, "Why?" They need to learn how Inuit lived before. Any findings must be properly stored so that they'll understand and learn from it. We don't know the future of these artifacts, but once there's a proper place to keep them, our youth can learn facts from them. So, they should be preserved for the future. The young people can learn from these stories, and they can ask questions to Elders about their history of that time.

[…]

My grandfather's reaction would've been, "They [archaeologists] don't know what they're talking about, just books and print, it's all trash." That part of my knowledge keeps me wondering how we can work together to make it useful for future generations. How can our

children and grandchildren use this information? Will they all be speaking more English? Will Inuktitut be less used? Will they be relying more on written material? Will they take Inuit oral history seriously? All these things are still tangled up in my mind.

Yes, I support the archaeological work, but I've also argued and spoken against [archeologists] at a university level. I made many people cry, archaeologists from Denmark, United States, and Canada. I made them cry because they don't recognize Inuit, so it's like that. Yes, I can spend a whole day on archaeological issues. Yes, I can give my support because this is today 2021. Do we need to change? There's an old saying that what you swallow will come out the other end. This is in my blood and I'm always working on how I can help in the future. [I am] Ready to work with [the Nunavut Department of] Culture and Heritage, as well as archaeologists or anyone else who are working in that area because I can speak on it.

Conclusion

Until an ideal means of meaningfully integrating—rather than pillarizing or essentializing—scientific and Indigenous knowledge systems is developed, it is incumbent upon non-Indigenous archaeologists to prioritize local/descendant interests for meaningful knowledge construction. We are certainly not the first to engage these issues; indeed, there is a rich body of work on Indigenous-focused and "heart-centered" methodologies (Supernant et al. 2020; Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020; Schneider and Panich 2022; see also the introduction to this special issue). However, we have shown how archaeologists can both learn from and facilitate reconnection to and intergenerational sharing of traditional knowledge. The work at Avvajja also demonstrates how Inuit priorities for research—in this case, a focus on family, connection to place, and the recent past, more generally—can be effectively centered throughout the research process without "diluting" scientific goals or rigor. We acknowledge that each effort to co-create knowledge will be different, and we believe that an integrative approach, coupled with flexibility in developing the research in accordance with local interests can be of significant benefit for everyone involved.

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Avant Iglulik : Mémoire inuit et archéologie récente à Avvajja, Nunavut

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et les Aînés Avvajjamiut d'Iglulik[iii]

Traduction française par Aurélie Maire

RÉSUMÉ

Before Igloolik est un projet d'archéologie et d'histoire orale dont le but est d'inventorier et de documenter les établissements Inuit près d'Iglulik (Igloulik) durant la période précédant l'établissement de villages modernes dans l'Arctique Canadien, au milieu du XXe siècle. L'aspect archéologique de la recherche visait à inventorier et à cartographier les structures archéologiques à Avvajja, un campement du début du XXe siècle situé à environ six kilomètres au nord-ouest d'Iglulik. La composante d'histoire orale consistait à faciliter l'engagement des Inuit avec ces vestiges culturels. Une série d'entretiens et de visites sur l'île d'Avvajja ont été organisés avec d'anciens résidents (Avvajjamuit). Afin de favoriser la transmission intergénérationnelle des connaissances, un évènement de retrouvailles incluant les anciens résidents et leur descendance a été coordonné par les auteurs. Les participants ont d'abord partagé un festin sur le site ; puis, ont visité les habitations de leurs ancêtres, où de nombreuses histoires furent échangées.

MOTS-CLÉS

Iglulik (Igloulik), Avvajja (Abverdjar), Nunavut, histoire orale, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, archéologie

ABSTRACT

Before Iglulik: Inuit Memory and Recent-Historic Archaeology at Avvajja, Nunavut

Before Iglulik is an archaeological and oral-historical project undertaken to record and document Inuit settlements around Iglulik (Igloolik) during the period preceding the establishment of modern hamlets in the Canadian Arctic in the mid-20th century. The archaeological component of the research consisted of recording and mapping archaeological features at Avvajja, an early 20th-century campsite located approximately six kilometers northwest of Iglulik, while the oral history component

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involved the facilitation of Inuit engagement with these cultural remains. A series of interviews and site visits were held with former residents of Avvajja (Avvajjamuit). To promote cross-generational knowledge transmission, a reunion event at the site was coordinated by the authors for Avvajjamiut and their loved ones. Attendees shared a feast at the site and toured their ancestors' dwellings, where many stories were shared.

KEYWORDS
Iglulik (Igloolik), Avvajja (Abverdjar), Nunavut, oral history, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, archaeology

ᐅᓂᒃᑳᓕᐊᕐᒃ translated by Gloria

ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᙱᕐᒃᑳᕐᒃᑎᓐᓇᒍ ᐊᒻᒪ ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ–ᕐᒃᖓᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᕐᒃ ᑲᒪᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᕐᒃ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓗᓂ ᐊᒻᒪ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᒃᑕᐅᓗᓂ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᒋᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ ᓴᓂᐊᓂ (ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ) ᑕᐃᒪᙵᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᓵᕐᑭᕐᒃᑳᕐᒃᑎᓐᓇᒍ ᐅᓪᓗᒥ Hᐋᒻᖑᔪᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ ᐅᑭᐅᕐᒃᑕᕐᒃᑐᖓᓂ 1901-1999 ᐊᑯᓐᓂᖓᓂ. ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᕐᕕᒃ ᐃᓚᖓ ᕐᒃᐅᐳᓴᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᕐᒃᑲᕐᒃᑐᑦ ᓂᐱᓕᐅᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓄᓇᙱᐊᓕᐅᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᓴᓇᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥ, 1901-1999–ᐊᑯᓐᓂᖓ ᑕᒻᒫᕐᕕᒃ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᖓ ᐃᒻᒪᕐᑳ ᐊᕐᕕᓂᓕᑦ ᑭᓚᒦᑕ ᐃᒡᓗᓕᐅᑉ ᓂᒡᒋᐊᓂ, ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ ᕐᒃᖓᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐃᓚᖓ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᖓ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑲᑎᕐᒃᑎᒌᓐᓂᕐᒃ ᑖᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᐃᓕᕐᒃᑯᓯᕆᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᐱᕐᑯᑎᒥᓃᑦ. ᐊᔾᔨᒌᙱᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᐱᕐᒃᓱᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒧᑦ ᐅᐸᒃᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐱᕐᑲᑎᒋᓪᓗᒋᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑲᕐᒃᑲᕐᒃᑕᕐᒃᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑕᐃᓯᒪᓂ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥ (ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥᐅᑦ). ᕐᑯᕝᕙᕿᐊᕐᒃᑯᓪᓗᒍ ᐊᔾᔨᒌᙱᑦᑐᑦ ᐃᓅᕐᑲᑎᒌᒃᑐᓄᑦ ᕐᑲᐅᔾᔭᒪᓂᕐᒃ ᐅᕐᑲᕐᑲᑎᒌᓐᓂᕐᒃ, ᑲᑎᕐᑲᑎᒌᒃᑲᓐᓂᕐᓂᕐᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᕐᒃ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒥ ᑲᒪᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᒃᑎᑦ ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭᒥᐅᑦ ᐊᒻᒪ ᓇᓪᓕᒋᔭᖏᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᐅᓚᐅᕐᒃᑐᑦ ᐃᓚᒋᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᑲᑦᔾᔮᕐᑲᑎᒌᓚᐅᕐᒃᑐᑦ ᓂᕆᕐᑲᑎᒌᓐᓂᕐᒃ ᓇᔪᕐᕕᒻᒥ ᐊᒻᒪ ᕿᒥᕐᕈᐊᕐᒃᑐᑎᒃ ᓯᕗᓕᕗᑦ ᕐᑲᒻᒪᕕᓐᓂᑦ, ᑕᐃᑲᓂ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᐅᓂᒃᑳᕐᒃᓯᒪᔪᑦ.

ᑎᑎᕐᒃᑲᐃᑦ
ᐃᒡᓗᓕᒃ; ᐊᕝᕙᔾᔭ; ᓄᓇᕗᑦ; ᐅᓂᒃᑳᑦ; ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᕐᑲᐅᔨᒪᔾᔪᕐᒃᑲᖏᑦ; ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ

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Au Nunavut, les archéologues non-inuit ont accordé relativement peu d'attention à la période dynamique qui a précédé l'établissement des communautés inuit contemporaines, au milieu du XXe siècle. Il existe malheureusement de nombreuses caractéristiques archéologiques et artefacts de l'époque. De plus, les Aînés, dont beaucoup sont âgés entre 80 et 90 ans, ont de vifs souvenirs de ces jours sur la terre, la mer et la glace, et veulent partager leurs connaissances avec d'autres Inuit, en particulier les jeunes générations. Dans cet article, nous décrivons une collaboration fructueuse entre des gardiens des savoirs inuit et des archéologues travaillant ensemble à la reconstruction de la vie inuit à Avvajja (NiHg-1), un campement saisonnier dans la région du bassin Foxe au Nunavut. Avvajja a été occupée par les Inuit au moins depuis le début des années 1930 jusqu'à la période

précédant immédiatement l'établissement permanent dans la municipalité d'Iglulik (Igloulik) dans les années 1960 (Figure 1). Il est important de mentionner qu'en 1931, Avvajja était le lieu de la première mission religieuse établie dans la région.

Ainsi, nous présentons le travail évolutif du projet interdisciplinaire *Before Iglulik* (2018), dont les objectifs initiaux visaient à documenter l'histoire de l'occupation d'Avvajja au cours de la première moitié du XXe siècle selon des approches archéologiques standard. Cependant, les travaux préparatoires du projet à Iglulik ont révélé à quel point il était important de compléter l'enquête archéologique et historique/archivistique prévue par des visites du site par d'anciens résidents (Avvajjamiut) pour dresser un tableau plus complet et plus significatif, axé sur la communauté et l'occupation historique récente du site. Nous décrivons les travaux archéologiques ainsi que l'engagement avec les Aînés Avvajjamiut et leurs familles dans le projet. Nous présentons ensuite les perspectives de trois participants au projet locaux pour acquérir des connaissances sur une variété de sujets jugés les plus pertinents pour une documentation éthique de l'histoire culturelle.

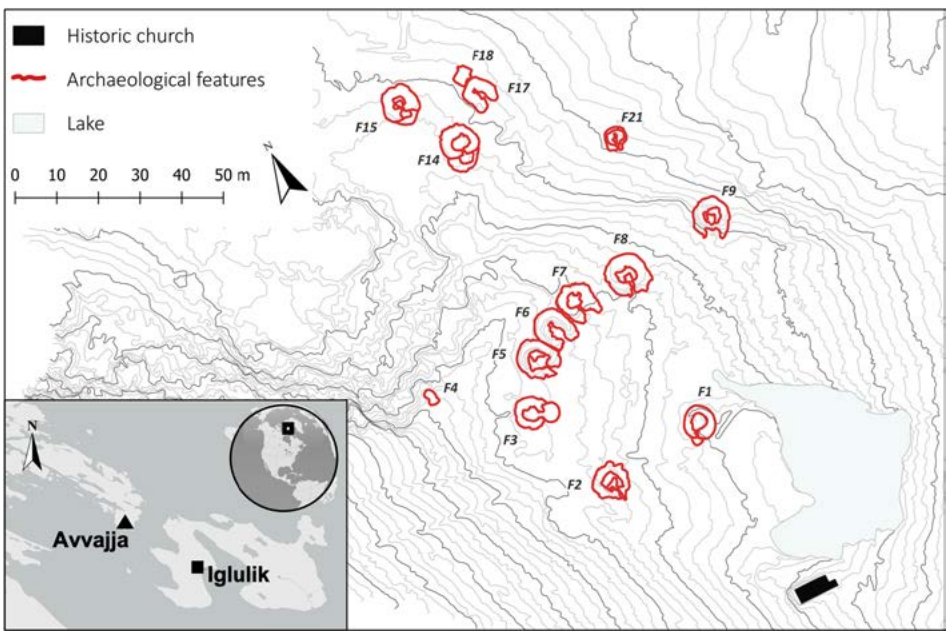


Figure 1. Carte des éléments archéologiques inuit à Avvajja. En 2019, nous avons fouillé quatre unités dans une caractéristique (présumée) pré-inuit à environ 35 mètres au sud-est de F9. Carte par J. Take.

Méthodologie : Archéologie et savoirs traditionnels

Before Iglulik était un projet pilote (d'un an) pour *Limited Choices, Lasting Traditions* (2019-2022), une enquête sur la dépendance à long terme de l'homme à l'égard des mammifères marins dans le nord du bassin de Foxe, financée par le Dutch Research Council (NWO) et dirigé par Sean Desjardins (Université de Groningue). Au cours de l'été 2018, une équipe de terrain, incluant Desjardins, Scott Rufolo (Musée canadien de la nature), du guide Justin Mikki (Iglulik) et de l'assistant étudiant Noah Mikki (Iglulik), a mené une enquête archéologique à Avvajja. Les principaux objectifs étaient : 1) de créer une carte haute résolution (orthomosaique) d'Avvajja à l'aide d'un drone ; 2) créer une carte détaillée des caractéristiques des huttes semi-souterraines de saison froide (automne/hiver) sur le site *via* la technologie GPS différentielle (DGPS) ; et 3) effectuer des tests archéologiques limités (quatre unités de 1 m^2) d'un milieu que l'on croit être d'affiliation Tuniit (Pré-inuit du Dorset, vers 1000 à 1300 après JC). Aucune maison inuit ni aucun autre élément d'Avvajja n'a été perturbé pendant le projet.

Le travail archéologique a été complété par des recherches dans les archives du Projet d'histoire orale d'Iglulik (Iglulik Oral History Project, OHP) et les archives Deschâtelets-NDC des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée, Richelieu (Québec). En janvier 2018, Desjardins a réalisé des entrevues semi-dirigées à Iglulik avec trois Aînés Avvajjamiut : Herve Paniaq, Julia Amarualik et Alexina Makkik. Ces aînés et cinq autres, Louis Uttak, Therese Uttak, Matilda Hanniliaq, Madeline Ivalu et Eulalie Angutimarik, se sont rendus à Avvajja pendant la saison 2018 pour partager des souvenirs de leur vie locale, du début au milieu du XXe siècle. (Janet Airut d'Iglulik a été l'interprête pour l'inuktitutet anglais lors de toutes les interactions en 2018). Pour faciliter le dialogue entre les générations, le bureau d'archéologie territoriale du ministère de la Culture et du Patrimoine du gouvernement du Nunavut (Government of Nunavut Department of Culture and Heritage Territorial Archaeology Office) a coordonné et financé un rassemblement à Avvajja vers la fin de la saison du terrain de 2018. Le 4 août, les Aînés susmentionnés et environ 140 membres de leur famille ont participé à l'évènement, se sont rassasiés des mets traditionnels et ont échangé des histoires sur la vie traditionnelle dans la région.

En novembre 2021, LeBlanc a animé une discussion entre trois participants lors de cet évènement avec George Qulaut, Eulalie Angutimarik et E.H. Ils ont partagé des histoires et leurs impressions de ce rassemblement, ainsi que d'autres souvenirs liés à Avvajja. La discussion, qui sous-tend une grande partie de la réflexion dans cet article, était vaste mais s'est finalement concentrée sur le lien entre le lieu et la relation entre l'archéologie et les préoccupations des Inuit pour approfondir les connaissances sur leur patrimoine. La plupart de la discussion s'est déroulée en inuktitut, puis a été traduite et transcrite en anglais par Rhoda Inuksuuk. Ces retranscriptions

sont conservées dans les archives du projet d'histoire orale d'Iglulik (Nunavut Arctic College).

Avvajja : Histoire de la culture

Avvajja est située près de l'extrême sud-est du groupe d'îles Coxe, à environ six kilomètres au nord-ouest d'Itivia (Ham Bay) sur la côte ouest de l'île d'Iglulik. La région est écologiquement riche, avec une grande variété de mammifères marins dans les eaux environnantes. Les Tuniit ont été les premiers à occuper Avvajja. Les recherches menées sur le site par l'archéologue britannique Graham Rowley (en 1940) et l'archéologue danois Jørgen Meldgaard (en 1965) ont révélé entre trois et quatre petites dépressions de forme ovale interprétées comme des fosses de maison Tuniit. Ces caractéristiques ont été fouillées par Rowley (1940), qui a récupéré plus d'un millier d'objets culturels (artefacts) de divers types. La plupart de ces objets sont actuellement conservés au Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. En 2018, nos fouilles d'une petite dépression de Tuniit immédiatement à l'est de la rangée de maisons inuit (Figure 1) ont révélé des matières biologiques, des débris lithiques, des microlames et un pendentif à l'effigie d'un sceau (l'analyse de ce matériel culturel est en cours.)

Notre enquête n'a montré aucune preuve de l'occupation des Inuit Thuléens (environ 1250 à 1600 après JC) à Avvajja. Or, la raison de cet écart apparent dans l'occupation du site n'est pas claire. En 1930, les Inuit avaient établi un petit campement hivernal mais prospère à Avvajja qui est rapidement devenu un point central de la rencontre coloniale dans la région. Selon le diocèse de Churchill, les Inuit de la région d'Iglulik ont appris l'existence du catholicisme grâce à des contacts avec des résidents de Naujaat (Repulse Bay) et ont voyagé vers le nord jusqu'à Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet) pour demander un prêtre résident pour leur région («Thrilling Missionary Work» 1934, 27). En mai 1931, le P. Étienne Bazin (1903-1972), un Oblat catholique originaire de Dijon, en France, est arrivé à Avvajja de Mittimatalik, après avoir voyagé principalement à pied.

À Avvajja, le P. Bazin a construit une structure grossière avec des morceaux de bois récupéré qu'il avait apporté avec lui. Le bâtiment servait de chapelle, d'entrepôt et de logement. Le 24 juillet 1933, la structure et presque tout son contenu ont été perdus dans un incendie. Pr. Bazin écrit : «Je venais de finir de dire la messe. […] Un moment d'inadvertance de ma part, une bougie a mis le feu, et en quelques minutes, tout s'est enflammé comme une torche. Tout ce que j'ai pu sauver, c'était le Saint-Sacrement, trois petites hosties dans une pyxide, et en cassant la fenêtre de l'extérieur, j'ai pu sauver mon livre de prières [en inuktitut]» («Thrilling Missionary Work» 1934, 23).

Si le P. Bazin était seul à Avvajja lors de cette calamité, une famille inuit locale qui campait à proximité a vu la fumée et est venue à son aide. Quelques jours plus tard, ils l'ont guidé dans la construction d'une structure plus adaptée à la région, en utilisant des pierres provenant d'une ancienne cache à viande. Le toit était recouvert d'une peau de morse (*kauk*), car aucune peau de phoque n'était disponible. Après cet évènement, le P. Bazin est devenu affectueusement connu sous le nom de « Kaumiutaq » (« celui qui vit sous une peau de morse »), un surnom dont les Iglulingmiut se souviennent encore avec humour (Amarualik 2018a). Enfin, le P. Bazin a pu construire une nouvelle église à pans de bois. Il s'agissait d'une structure beaucoup plus robuste que la première, renforcée et isolée du froid de chaque côté par des blocs de tourbe, un peu comme une hutte de tourbe inuit pendant la saison froide (Figure 2). L'église de la Mission, qui était contemporaine des huttes de terre inuit décrites ci-dessous, a été baptisée « Saint-Étienne » par le diocèse. À ce jour, Aînés qui ont connu Kaumiutaq (resté à Iglulik jusqu'en 1948) gardent de lui un souvenir affectueux.



(a) (b)

Figure 2. L'église catholique historique d'Avvajja. **(a)** s.d., face au nord (photographie de R. Harrington, Bibliothèque et Archives Canada); **(b)** 2018, face au sud-est ; notez le gazon empilé et les rochers entourant la structure.

À son apogée, dans les années 1940, Avvajja était dirigée par un couple charismatique, un chasseur talentueux nommé Ittuksaarjuat et sa femme Attagutaaluk, qui restent aujourd'hui une figure très populaire parmi les Iglulingmiut (Mary- Rousselière 1950 ; Wachowich *et al.* 1999, 68-72). L'influence d'Ittuksaarjuat est allée bien au-delà d'Avvajja. George Qulaut (2021) note que des histoires circulent depuis longtemps au sujet de sa sagesse et de ses conseils : « Je […] savais qu'il y avait un dirigeant bien connu vivant [à Avvajja]. De nombreuses personnes d'Amittuq avaient demandé son avis ; d'autres endroits aussi, comme Aivilik, Kivalliq, East Baffin, Tununiq, venaient lui demander conseil. Ittuksaarjuat était un *leader* principalement sur les questions sociales. C'est ce que j'ai entendu. ». Attagutaaluk a été

parmi les premiers Inuit convertis au catholicisme dans la région d'Iglulik. Elle et son mari étaient également de proches confidents de Bazin.

La vie à Avvajja : Nourriture, logement et religion

En plus de s'établir comme chefs spirituels laïcs à Avvajja, Ittuksaarjuat et Attagutaaluk ont travaillé sans relâche pour assurer la sécurité alimentaire régulière du camp. Avant l'établissement du poste de traite de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson (CBH) à Iglulik en 1939, le couple s'aventurait régulièrement au poste de traite le plus proche de la Compagnie à Mittimatalik, échangeant des peaux contre des marchandises (par exemple, du thé, de la farine, du sucre, des munitions et du tabac) au nom de toute la communauté (Wachowich *et al.* 1999, 71-72). Des voyages ont également été effectués pour commercer aux postes de la CBH à Naujaat (Repulse Bay) et Ikpiarjuk (Arctic Bay). Bien que ces incursions aient fourni des surplus et des produits de luxe, les produits de première nécessité (« country food ») étaient toujours abondants autour d'Avvajja même (Paniaq 2018a ; Makkik 2018a, 2018b). En effet, l'équipe archéologique de 2018 a noté de grandes quantités d'ossements d'animaux (phoques annelés, phoques barbus, morses, caribous et ours polaires) éparpillés sur la surface du site, attestant de l'abondance passée.

Avvajja était principalement utilisé comme camp d'automne et d'hiver et était occupé alternativement par une poignée de localités voisines, comme Ikpiarjuk, le site de la communauté d'Iglulik, et la Pointe d'Iglulik. Ce dernier site est encore activement utilisé pour la chasse aux morses et mettre en cache la viande de morse fermentée. Les vestiges d'un grand campement hivernal des Inuit de Thulé [NiHe-2] se trouvent à une courte distance du rivage. À l'époque des Inuit de Thulé, les maisons des saisons froides (*qarmat*) étaient construites à l'aide d'os de baleine boréale, de gros rochers et d'épais morceaux rectangulaires de tourbe. Dans l'histoire récente, des os étaient utilisés à la place du bois ou des mâts de navire pour l'armature des tentes, et les dalles de tourbe ont été remplacées par des pièces de tourbe plus minces et coupés.

L'enquête archéologique de 2018 à Avvajja a révélé de 11 à 12 maisons de terre, datant du début des années 1930 à la fin des années 1950, en plus des caches à viande en pierre et des tombes. La plupart des maisons sont situées à environ 100 m au nord/nord-est de la rive, au pied d'un grand affleurement granitique. Le site est bien conservé, et c'est une escale régulière pour la chasse, la pêche et les fêtes récréatives voyageant en bateau vers les canaux à une courte distance au nord-ouest de l'île. C'est aussi une destination populaire lors des fêtes de Pâques.

Les maisons sont de forme circulaire, mesurant de 6,4 à 7,7 mètres de diamètre (dimensions des murs extérieurs). Chaque maison pouvait accueillir

confortablement jusqu'à sept adultes et quatre enfants (Amarualik 2018a) (Figure 3). Les murs ont été construits avec des briques tourbe empilées taillées dans la large plaine plate au nord et à l'est de la rangée principale de maisons. Au fil du temps, des éléments architecturaux européens, tels que des portes et des cadres de fenêtres en bois, ont été intégrés aux maisons de terre. Jusqu'à récemment, la peau du pénis des morses et des phoques barbus était encore préférée au verre pour les fenêtres. Les planchers centraux ouverts étaient entourés sur trois côtés par des plateformes de couchage surélevées en gravier (Paniaq 2018b). Chaque maison comportait une poutre centrale de support de toit, généralement un mât de bateau en bois, avec sa base positionnée à l'arrière de la structure et inclinée vers le haut. Cette poutre supportait un toit de tente en peau de phoque ou en toile, qui pouvait mesurer jusqu'à deux mètres de haut (Paniaq 2018b ; Uttak 2018). À l'entrée de la maison se trouvait un porche froid (vestibule) encadré de blocs de glace provenant principalement du petit étang près de l'église (Paniaq 2018b). Ces vestibules (dont certains presque aussi grands que les espaces de vie intérieurs) servaient à entreposer vêtements et viande (Uttak 2018). Chaque maison avait entre une et trois *qulliit* (lampes à huile en stéatite) fournissant de la lumière et de la chaleur. Il y a eu d'importants travaux de rénovation et de nettoyage des maisons car elles étaient réoccupées de façon saisonnière.



Figure 3. Maison de terre inuit historique F8, 2018, face au sud vers le passage d'entrée. Notez la structure intacte de poteaux et de linteaux, les plates-formes de couchage et l'espace au sol central.

En décrivant la vie quotidienne à Avvajja, les Aînés ont souligné un grand sentiment d'appartenance à la communauté. Par exemple, à la naissance des bébés, il était d'usage pour chaque résident de serrer la main de l'enfant, avec un Aîné entonnant : « Tu es d'Avvajja » (Angutimarik 2018, 2021). La maison familiale d'Hervé Paniaq était l'une des plus grandes d'Avvajja. En tant que tel, elle servait de maison « communautaire », ou *qaggiq*, où les gens se rassemblaient pour planifier des activités et jouer à des jeux (Paniaq 2018b). Lorsqu'ils étaient enfants, de nombreux Aînés devaient effectuer de petites tâches autour du campement. Lorsqu'une incursion de chasse avait été couronnée de succès, Paniaq était souvent chargé de courir de maison en maison en criant : « Nourriture congelée ! » pour annoncer le butin. De même, Uttak était responsable de la livraison des produits européens, tels que le tabac, à chaque foyer, lorsqu'ils étaient amenés des postes CBH (Uttak 2018).

Ittuksaarjuat est décédé vers 1944. Il avait demandé à être enterré dans un cairn de pierres sur un point élevé à l'ouest d'Avvajja, car il souhaitait voir ce qui se passait à Avvajja après son décès (Ivalu 2018 ; Makkik 2018b ; Uttak 2018). Ataguttaaluk a survécu quatre ans à son mari, mourant en juin 1948 ; elle était alors âgée entre 68 et 78 ans. Comme son mari, elle est largement vénérée par les Iglulingmiut. Sa tombe près d'Alarniq, sur le continent, reste un lieu de pèlerinage populaire et l'école primaire d'Iglulik porte son nom. Même après que la plupart des familles aient quitté Avvajja, la petite église Saint-Étienne d'Avvajja a continué pendant quelques années à être préférée à son remplacement prévu, la plus grande église Saint-Étienne d'Iglulik, en raison de sa relative chaleur et sa familiarité. Les sœurs Madeline Ivalu et Alexina Makkik pensent que leur famille a été la dernière à quitter Avvajja pour Iglulik en 1951 ou 1952 (Makkik 2018b).

Crowe (1970) établit une corrélation directe entre la diminution de la présence des morses dans les eaux environnantes vers 1948 et l'abandon d'Avvajja à la fin des années 1950. Cependant, de nombreux Aînés racontent qu'au moment de sa mort, Ittuksaarjuat avait déclaré qu'Avvajja avait été occupé trop longtemps et que la terre était devenue « trop chaude ». Avvajja a dû être abandonné et laissé pour « refroidir » pendant quelques années (Amarualik 2018a ; Uttak 2018 ; Rowley 1985). George Qulaut (2021) soutient que le mot anglais « chaud » est « juste un mot », se référant non pas à la température, mais plutôt à un phénomène beaucoup plus compliqué enraciné dans les compréhensions cosmologiques pré-chrétiennes des relations homme-animal et homme-environnement :

> [C]e qu'Ittuksaarjuat a dit est vrai. Il n'est pas le premier homme à dire cela, et les dirigeants d'autres camps étaient également sensibles à la terre au fur et à mesure qu'ils la connaissaient. […] Il était de notoriété publique qu'ils ne devaient pas vivre au même endroit plus de trois ou

> quatre ans car il fait chaud. […] La terre réagit si vous y restez trop longtemps et elle peut vous tuer ou tuer vos chiens. Ou vous tuez la terre en chassant les animaux, vous savez quand les choses poussent autour d'elle. Ils savent qu'il est temps de déménager avant qu'une quelconque maladie n'arrive à eux-mêmes ou à leurs chiens. C'était leur tradition de continuer à se déplacer.

Une telle compréhension n'augure rien de bon pour le bien-être à long terme des Inuit dans les collectivités modernes du Nunavut. Les discussions informelles que les auteurs ont eues avec les aînés ont révélé une compréhension commune du fait que de nombreuses maladies modernes, telles que le cancer et les maladies respiratoires, n'existaient pas ou étaient moins courantes lorsque les Inuit se déplaçaient au rythme des saisons. Ce point de vue de longue date a probablement contribué à la notion largement répandue, appuyée par de récentes recherches en sciences sociales, selon laquelle trop de temps passé loin de la terre et la concentration des activités en un seul endroit peuvent nuire à de multiples aspects de la santé et du bien-être des Inuit (Cunsolo Willox *et al.* 2013 ; Robertson et Ljubicic 2019 ; Ward *et al.* 2023).

Appartenance et reconnexion

Le 4 août 2018, plus de 140 personnes, principalement des Avvajjamiut et leurs descendants, ont assisté à une réunion organisée par Sylvie LeBlanc du ministère de la Culture et du Patrimoine du Nunavut et les chercheurs d'Avant Iglulik. De par leur conception, l'organisation sur place a été limitée de la part des chercheurs, au-delà de la coordination du transport par bateau et de la préparation de la nourriture. Les auteurs étaient présents pour faciliter et observer respectueusement le partage d'histoires et de souvenirs entre les générations, alors que les aînés se déplaçaient d'une maison à l'autre, racontant des histoires sur leur maison respective et se remémorant les relations et la vie sur la terre (Figures 4a et 4b).

En 2021, trois Iglulingmiut qui avaient assisté à la réunion de 2018, George Qulaut, Elder Eulalie Angutimarik et E.H., nous ont décrit à quel point cela avait été différent de visiter Avvajja avec leurs proches et les anciens qui y avaient vécu, et comment la réunion avait changé leurs perspectives sur le site et renforcé leurs sentiments d'appartenance et leur lien avec celui-ci.



(a)



(b)

Figure 4. (a) Aînés Iglulingmiut arrivant à Avvajja pour un évènement de partage des connaissances, 2018 ; **(b)** Ailleurs (de g. à d.) Herve Paniaq, Louis Uttak, Therese Uttak, Matilda Hanniliaq et Julia Amarualik à Avvajja, 2018.

George Qulaut et ses parents vivaient à Avvajja :

J'ai entendu beaucoup d'histoires de ma mère et de mon père sur la vie à Avvajja, mais elles ressemblaient à des histoires, donc je n'avais aucun lien personnel avec Avvajja. J'étais un petit enfant quand je suis allé dans le Sud, et j'y suis resté longtemps. Au moment où je suis revenu, je n'avais aucun sentiment d'identité, je ne savais pas si j'étais Inuk ou Blanc. […] J'ai entendu beaucoup d'histoires de ma mère parlant de moments où ils vivaient à Avvajja […] Mon père avait 12 ans quand ils sont arrivés avec ses parents Ukajuituq et Ittikutuq de Chesterfield Inlet. Mon grand-père Itikkutuq était originaire de cette région, il y était descendu avec Qatuttalik. Ils sont arrivés sur ce petit bateau à Igloolik [île] et ont fait leur propre chemin jusqu'à Avvajja. Ils se sont d'ailleurs retrouvés avec un couple qu'ils ne connaissaient pas auparavant, nommé Qattalik et Saqpisuk, qui sont mes autres grands-parents qui avaient déjà une maison de terre là-bas. C'est le chef d'Avvajja [Ittuksaarjuat] qui les a organisés pour partager cette maison de terre. Alors, ils ont partagé leur place quand mon père avait 12 ans et ma mère était encore plus jeune, alors qu'ils étaient encore trop jeunes pour une relation amoureuse. Les deux [ensembles de] parents n'avaient aucune idée que leurs enfants se marieraient plus tard comme ils l'ont fait lorsqu'ils ont atteint l'âge adulte.

Après avoir entendu toutes ces histoires sur Avvajja, c'est comme un endroit où mes parents ont vécu. Ils avaient tous les deux un lien particulier avec Avvajja. Pour ma part, je ne suis jamais allé à Avvajja jusqu'à l'adolescence, lorsque nous avons commencé à y faire de la glisse. À l'époque, nous avions des ski-doos. Nous étions les premiers jeunes à avoir des ski-doos, alors nous faisions des glissades et de

l'escalade. C'était juste un terrain de jeu pour nous, sans autre lien particulier que le fait que je savais que mes parents y avaient vécu.

[…]

J'avais l'impression qu'il s'agissait de vieilles choses et je ne pensais pas qu'il y aurait un lien avec ma vie. À ma grande surprise, nous étions réunis à Avvajja [lors de la réunion de 2018], où j'ai réglé mes propres problèmes et entamé mon parcours de guérison. J'ai pris conscience de mes origines après avoir vu où mes ancêtres avaient vécu et leurs vieilles huttes de terre. J'ai découvert qu'il y avait une grande hutte de terre partagée par mes deux grands-parents. Uqajuittuk était du côté gauche et Qattalik du côté droit. Ce moment m'a fait prendre conscience de mon histoire et de mes racines lorsque j'ai vu comment ils avaient tous vécu ensemble. J'étais plus heureuse par la suite et cela m'a débarrassée des préjugés, et ce fut le début de mon parcours de guérison.

Eulalie Angutimarik est née à Avvajja le 30 novembre 1943 et y a passé ses premières années :

En ce qui me concerne, Avvajja est un lieu important pour moi parce qu'Avvajja a été occupé tout au long de notre histoire. C'est un endroit très ancien, qui remonte peut-être au tout début des temps. Je fais partie des personnes qui ont vécu à Avvajja. J'ai vu notre vieille hutte de terre, et on me l'a clairement expliquée parce que je ne me souviens pas d'avoir été là quand j'étais bébé. […] Lorsque j'ai vu notre vieille hutte plus tard, on m'a expliqué qu'il s'agissait de la hutte où vivaient mes parents [biologiques] et mes parents adoptifs.

Ces dernières années, nous avons été engagés pour un projet à Avvajja. [Hervé] Paniaq m'a demandé si j'étais allé à la hutte de terre où je suis né. […] J'ai répondu que non, que j'étais allé à Avvajja une fois au printemps, lorsque toutes les vieilles huttes de terre étaient encore recouvertes de neige et que je ne voyais rien. […] Paniaq a dit : « Allons voir ton lieu de naissance pour que tu le saches, parce que je ne pense pas que tes parents te le montreront ». […] [Il] m'a emmené là où il y avait quatre huttes de terre. Quand nous sommes arrivés devant l'une d'entre elles, [il] a dit : « C'est là que tes parents vivaient quand tu es né ». Je suis né dans un *qarmaq*, une hutte de terre à Avvajja. Quand j'ai vu la vieille maison en terre, j'ai pensé : « C'est donc là que mes parents vivaient, et c'est là que j'ai été adopté ».

La fille d'Eulalie (E.H.) avait également assisté à la réunion et, comme George, elle a longuement parlé de la façon dont son impression d'Avvajja avait changé après l'évènement :

> **E.H.:** J'ai l'impression d'être une nouvelle personne. Je suis née après l'époque des *qarmait* [pluriel de *qarmaq*], quand ils vivaient dans des huttes de terre, et je n'ai jamais été envoyée dans un pensionnat. Mais en vivant ici [à Iglulik], Avvajja a toujours fait partie d'Iglulik lorsque j'étais enfant, car nous y allions toujours [à Avvajja] vers la fin de l'année scolaire pour pique-niquer. C'est pourquoi je considère Avvajja comme une partie d'Iglulik. J'ai toujours su, depuis mon enfance, que ma mère était née à Avvajja et que c'était un endroit spécial. […] Nous étions nombreux à nous rendre en même temps […] à Avvajja pour un pique-nique. J'ai continué à y aller même après la fin de l'école, j'y allais chaque printemps. C'est un évènement annuel pour nous et c'est comme un terrain de jeu, plutôt un endroit où l'on s'amuse. […]
> **E.A.:** C'est [la réunion de 2018] où je me suis sentie la plus incluse dans la famille de ma mère parce que j'ai toujours su que ma mère était adoptée […]
> **E.H.:** Je savais aussi que nous étions retournés chez tes parents biologiques, mais ils n'ont jamais semblé nous inclure dans la famille. Cette réunion a été la première fois où ils ont été inclus. Je me souviens d'avoir participé à cette réunion à Avvajja. Cela m'a fait du bien d'être là avec mon oncle et ma tante biologiques, c'était un sentiment d'accueil. C'est aussi à cette occasion que j'ai pu voir la vieille maison en terre de mon père. On m'a également montré la vieille maison de ma mère. J'ai pris conscience de l'endroit où mes parents et mes grands-parents avaient vécu avant moi. C'était très émouvant. J'ai été touchée émotionnellement et c'est quelque chose que je n'oublierai jamais.
> **E.A.:** J'ai toujours su que j'étais née à Avvajja, mais ma mère adoptive ne m'a jamais dit exactement où j'étais née. Depuis que j'ai participé à cette réunion, je suis plus satisfaite de moi-même d'avoir découvert tant de détails en un seul été. À tel point qu'on nous a montré notre ancienne hutte de terre et qu'on connaissait la place exacte de chacun à l'intérieur de cette hutte où je suis né. […] Mon esprit était plus à l'aise après avoir vu et visité Avvajja.
> **E.H:** C'est à ce moment-là que j'ai réalisé depuis combien de temps les gens vivaient à Avvajja. Quand j'allais à l'école, c'était comme un terrain de jeu pour nous, même si j'avais entendu dire que ma mère était née là-bas, mais je n'avais jamais réalisé à quel point l'histoire remontait loin. C'était la première fois que je voyais toutes ces vieilles huttes de terre après toutes ces années passées là-bas.

L'héritage d'Avvajja

La période historique récente de l'histoire des Inuit (c'est-à-dire à partir du XXe siècle) a reçu relativement peu d'attention de la part des archéologues. Cette période de transformation a été marquée par des changements profonds et souvent traumatisants pour les sociétés inuit, affectant considérablement les pratiques de subsistance, la sécurité alimentaire et les systèmes de croyances traditionnels (Laugrand et Oosten 2010). Le passage à l'établissement à longueur d'année dans les communautés a éloigné de nombreuses personnes des lieux privilégiés de leurs ancêtres. Bien qu'il soit important d'acquérir des connaissances archéologiques sur ces lieux, nous soutenons que les chercheurs devraient rechercher des opportunités pour soutenir et faciliter les expériences de reconnexion et de transmission des connaissances. À Avvajja, des travaux archéologiques à vocation scientifique, des visites de sites expérientielles et des rassemblement des familles ont tous éclairé nos diverses compréhensions du ou des changements sociaux dans les temps historiques récents et ont fourni un forum aux anciens résidents d'Avvajja et à leurs familles pour réifier leurs expériences et leurs compréhensions du lieu.

À l'issue de la série des entrevues de 2021, la conversation avec les participants s'est tournée vers la relation entre les Inuit et l'archéologie :

> **E.H. :** Pour ma part, je sais que nous n'avons pas d'archéologues diplômés inuit, et cela se fait généralement par l'intermédiaire d'étudiants en archéologie [non inuit]. Tant qu'ils enregistrent toutes les découvertes et conservent la documentation avec l'intention de retourner les artefacts au Nunavut, ça me va.
> **E.A. :** Ça te va ?
> **E.H. :** Oui, je suis d'accord parce que les archéologues conservent leurs découvertes que nous n'aurions pas trouvées. Tant qu'ils les rendent aux Inuit lorsque les Inuit ont les équipements pour conserver ces artefacts, c'est ce que j'ai pensé.
> **E.A :** Moi-même, je suis très protecteur des artefacts inuit fabriqués par nos ancêtres. Les Inuit n'avaient pas d'outils. Ils fabriquaient tous leurs outils eux-mêmes comme utiliser des pierres qui est un travail très dur, fabriquer des couteaux et des *uluit* [couteaux hémicirculaires féminins]. Ils chassaient avec des harpons avant d'avoir des fusils. Je voudrais que les artefacts nous soient rendus et soient mis dans des musées parce que même notre génération n'a pas vu cette époque et même les habitants locaux sont impressionnés quand ils voient de vieilles images. Ils se demandent s'ils pouvaient être restitués et placés dans des musées avec des informations sur ce que c'était, d'où cela venait et avec des Aînés expliquant l'utilisation de ces artefacts.

George poursuit :

Je porte le nom d'un archéologue [Jørgen Meldgaard] par le baptême. Mon père voulait que je porte son nom. (Mon père ne pouvait pas prononcer « Jørgen », qui était prononcé ainsi par les Groenlandais). […] L'archéologie est spéciale pour moi, elle vit avec moi et je comprends parfaitement les différentes perceptions et les différents points de vue des différentes générations. La génération de mon grand-père, par exemple, n'aimait pas ce que faisaient les archéologues. Sous l'influence du chamanisme, même les enfants n'avaient pas le droit d'approcher ou de creuser de vieux objets, mais je l'ai toujours su. Parce que ces artefacts ont des propriétaires et qu'il faut les laisser tranquilles. Les anciennes générations étaient très opposées au travail des archéologues.

[…]

Pour mes enfants, […] « Pourquoi y a-t-il un archéologue ? ». Comme les Blancs : « Pourquoi ? ». Ils doivent apprendre comment les Inuit vivaient avant. Les découvertes doivent être conservées de manière appropriée afin qu'ils puissent les comprendre et en tirer des enseignements. Nous ne connaissons pas l'avenir de ces artefacts, mais une fois qu'ils seront conservés dans un endroit approprié, nos jeunes pourront en tirer des enseignements. Il faut donc les préserver pour l'avenir. Les jeunes peuvent apprendre de ces histoires et poser des questions aux anciens sur l'histoire de cette époque.

[…]

La réaction de mon grand-père aurait été : « Ils [les archéologues] ne savent pas de quoi ils parlent, ce ne sont que des livres et des imprimés, ce ne sont que des déchets ». Cette partie de mes connaissances me pousse à me demander comment nous pouvons travailler ensemble pour les rendre utiles aux générations futures. Comment nos enfants et petits-enfants peuvent-ils utiliser ces informations ? Parleront-ils tous davantage en anglais ? L'inuktitut sera-t-il moins utilisé ? S'appuieront-ils davantage sur des documents écrits ? Prendront-ils au sérieux l'histoire orale inuit ? Toutes ces questions sont encore enchevêtrées dans mon esprit.

Oui, je soutiens le travail archéologique, mais j'ai aussi plaidé et parlé contre [les archéologues] au niveau universitaire. J'ai fait pleurer beaucoup de gens, des archéologues du Danemark, des États-Unis et du Canada. Je les ai fait pleurer parce qu'ils ne reconnaissent pas les Inuit, c'est comme ça. Oui, je peux passer une journée entière sur des questions archéologiques. Oui, je peux apporter mon soutien parce que nous sommes en 2021. Devons-nous changer ? Un vieil adage dit que ce que l'on avale ressort par l'autre bout. J'ai cela dans le sang et je réfléchis toujours à la manière dont je pourrais aider à l'avenir. [Je suis

prêt à travailler avec le ministère de la Culture et du Patrimoine du Nunavut, ainsi qu'avec les archéologues et tous ceux qui travaillent dans ce domaine, car je peux m'exprimer à ce sujet.

Conclusion

Jusqu'à ce qu'un moyen idéal d'intégrer de manière significative – plutôt que d'établir des piliers ou d'essentialiser – les systèmes de connaissances scientifiques et autochtones soit développé, il incombe aux archéologues allochtones de donner la priorité aux intérêts locaux et aux descendants pour une construction significative des connaissances. Nous ne sommes certainement pas les premiers à aborder ces questions ; en effet, il existe un riche corpus de travaux sur les méthodologies axées sur les autochtones et « centrées sur le cœur » (Supernant *et al.* 2020 ; Hodgetts et Kelvin 2020 ; Schneider et Panich 2022). Cependant, nous avons montré comment les archéologues peuvent à la fois apprendre et faciliter la reconnexion et le partage intergénérationnel des connaissances traditionnelles. Le travail effectué à Avvajja montre également comment les priorités inuit en matière de recherche – dans ce cas, l'accent mis sur la famille, le lien avec le lieu et le passé récent, de manière plus générale – peuvent être centrées efficacement tout au long du processus de recherche sans diluer les objectifs ou la rigueur scientifiques. Nous reconnaissons que chaque effort de co-création de connaissances sera différent, et nous pensons qu'une approche intégrative, associée à une flexibilité dans le développement de la recherche en fonction des intérêts locaux, peut être très bénéfique pour toutes les personnes impliquées.

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“You Help Us Tell our Story”: Making Inuvialuit Living Histories in Digital and Real Time

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ABSTRACT

Inuvialuit have always created culture through our/their living and land-based practices. For us, making culture means doing, practicing, and sharing activities and songs and country food, on the land and in town, together with our families and communities. These layers of history are embedded in the landscape of Inuvialuit Nunangat, our homeland, and in the voices of Elders past and present speaking about their knowledges and experiences. In this paper, we describe how Inuvialuit communities are practicing our living traditions today and capturing them using digital methods to produce a new Inuvialuit Living History website that celebrates the past, present, and future of our communities.

KEYWORDS

Inuvialuit, Digital Heritage, Inuvialuktun, Community archaeology, Canadian Western Arctic

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RÉSUMÉ

« Vous nous aidez à raconter notre histoire » : Restituer les histoires de vie des Inuvialuit en mode numérique et en temps réel

Les Inuvialuit ont toujours créé leur culture à travers nos/leurs pratiques de vie ancrées dans le territoire. Pour nous, « faire la culture » signifie réaliser, pratiquer et partager des activités, des chants et de la nourriture locale, dans la nature et dans les villages, ensemble avec nos familles et nos communautés. Ces niveaux d'histoire sont inscrits dans le paysage inuvialuit de langue nunangat, notre pays, et dans les voix des Aînés du passé et du présent qui parlent de leur savoir et de leur expérience. Dans cet article, nous décrivons la façon dont les communautés inuvialuit vivent en pratique encore aujourd'hui leurs traditions et les enregistrent au moyen de méthodes numériques pour élaborer un nouveau site Internet d'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit qui rende hommage au passé, au présent et à l'avenir de nos communautés.

MOTS-CLÉS

Inuvialuit, patrimoine digitalisé, Inuvialuktun, archéologie communautaire, Arctique de l'Ouest canadien

INUINNAQTUN, translated by Emily Kudlak

'Unipkaaqput unipkaaruhia ilvit ikayuqtat': Inuvialuit Qangaraaluk Inuuniarutainik Pitquhiiniklu Qaritauyangmunggaqtiruta imalu Hatdja Inuuyutut – Ilipkaqhugit

Inuvialuit taima idjuhiit pitquhiliuqhimaaqpakhimayut inuudtjuhingmikut ubluq tamaat atuqtatik ukualut nunami hulilukaarutitik. Uvaptingni ima ittuq pitquhiliungniq, hulilukarutivut atuqhimaaqhugit, hulilukaaqtavut avanmut aituqhugit, pihiitigutlu, niqainangnilu niriplutik, aavaqhunilu nunami, Igluqarviptingniitutalu hulilukaangniq, Ilagiivaluvut ilagiplugit hulilukaqatigiplugit nunalaatlu aallat. Inuvialuit Nunagani tahapkuat Pitquhiraluavut nunami naunaitut, nunagiyaptingnilu, innakhat ublumi inuuyuni tahpkuatlu huiqhimayunilu uqauhiini tuhangnaqtut ilihimayamingnik imaalu atuqpaktakhimayamingniklu inuuniarutimingni. Uvani titiqami, uqariyaqut qanuq ublumi Inuvialuit Nunalaat qanuq tahapkut pitquhivut huli ublu aulapkaininganik atuqhimaqhugit atdjiliuqhugitlu qaritauyangmut iliyukhanik, tigumiaqtanutlu, nutaanik Inuvialuit Qangaraaluk Inuuniarutainik Pitquhiiniklu qaritauyakut takuuriliuqhutik qarauluk pitquhingit aliahuutigiplugit, ublumilu atuqtainik, kiguvaapta nunalaani pihimayakhainik.

KEYWORDS

Inuvialuit, Qaritauyami Qangaraaluk Inuniarutiat, Inuvialuktun, Nunalaani Ilituqhiungniq, Kanadamilu Ualiningmiut Ukiuqtaqtumi

SALLIRMIUTUN, translated by Albert Elias

'Ikayuqtigut Quliaqtuarutiptigun': Inuvialuit Pitqusingit Ingilraan Qaritauyan iliblugit

Inuvialuit nunalu silalu niryutillu malirullugit pitqusiruaqpaktuat. Uvaptingni, inuusiqput immana ittuq nunamilu inuuniarvingnilu: angunilukutik, savangnilukluta, nigaaqtuqluta, ikayuqtigiikluta atuutitigun niqitigunlu, tamarmik inuuqatigiit. Taapkuat pitqusit ilurriliqtauyut Inuvialuit Nunangani nayuqtaptingni. Inirnirillu ingilraan qangmagaluaq quliaqtuarivagait pitqusitik. Uvani makpiraami, quliaqtuariyavut qanuq Inuvialuit inuuniarvingni piqusingit itilaangitigun qangma. Nutaamik Inuvialuit Pitqusingit Ingilraan quliaqtuat qaritauyanun ililugit inuuniarviit takuyaksangit.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, Qaritauyanun Tutquqtat Pitqusivut, Inuvialuktun, Inuuniarviit Ilisarningit Pitqusiptigun, Canada-mi Ualinirmi Nuna

UUMMARMIUTUN, translated by Lillian Elias

«Quliaqtuaʃtin ikayuqtigut»: Inuuniarutingitigun Inuvialuit ililugi ilumuuqtuat.

Inuvialuit inuuniaruhimiktigun inuuniarutiktingni aturaat inuuniaqhuting aulaaqturvingmingni nuami unuuniaqhuting atʃamik niqiqaqhuting nunahinamin. Uvaptingnun inuuniarniq itnaittuq inuuniarniq aturnaqtuq uuturarnaqtuq, avanmun aviktuarnaqtuq inuuniarnit niqinik,aulaaqturvingmingni inauʃamillu. Ukuat qaligiiktuat inuuniarningi aipaarnihat nalunaingutchirait inuuniarvikting Inuvialuit nunangat. Aimavikput nunakput, utuqhanaat nipingat aipaarnihat pangmanikun ilihimakaminiklu inuuʃamingniglu,Uumani maqpiraami, ilitchuripkaiʃugut qanuqinupiat inuuniaruhinginik inaʃani utiqtitchiniaqtuat inuuniaruhomingnik pangmapak,pikachaliuqługit tuquqtaqʃugit qanuq inuuniarningigun Inupiat aipaani qaqhauʃanunlu ilivlugit tautuakʃanginik qviahuutikʃanginik tautuktuarumihigi,pangma aipaanihat inaʃani.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, qaqhauʃatikun, Inuvialuktun, Inauʃani tutqutaniniaqtut, Kanatami westeren Arcticmi

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Inuvialuit of the Canadian Western Arctic have always created culture through our/their[1] lived practices. This is as evident through a thousand years of archaeological history as it is through living traditions of the present. Making culture involves doing, practicing, and sharing Inuvialuit activities, songs, language, and country food, on the land and in town, together with family and in the community (e.g., Amos 2019; Lyons et al. 2022; Pokiak 2020; Tod-Tims and Stern 2022). These layers and layers of lived history and practice are embedded in the archaeological and historical landscapes of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) (Figure 1) and in the voices of Elders past and present speaking about their experiences and knowledges. In this paper, we describe the ongoing process of making Inuvialuit culture in digital and real time through the practice of living traditions by multiple generations of community members and their capture and curation in various media. We focus on the longstanding *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait*, the Inuvialuit Living History Project, and our ongoing production of a new website.

1. The authors of this paper include Inuvialuit and non-Inuvialuit people. To intentionally reflect this positionality, we use a combination of pronouns throughout to show that some of us identify "our culture", "our language", and otherwise, and some of us recognize and experience these concepts as cultural outsiders.

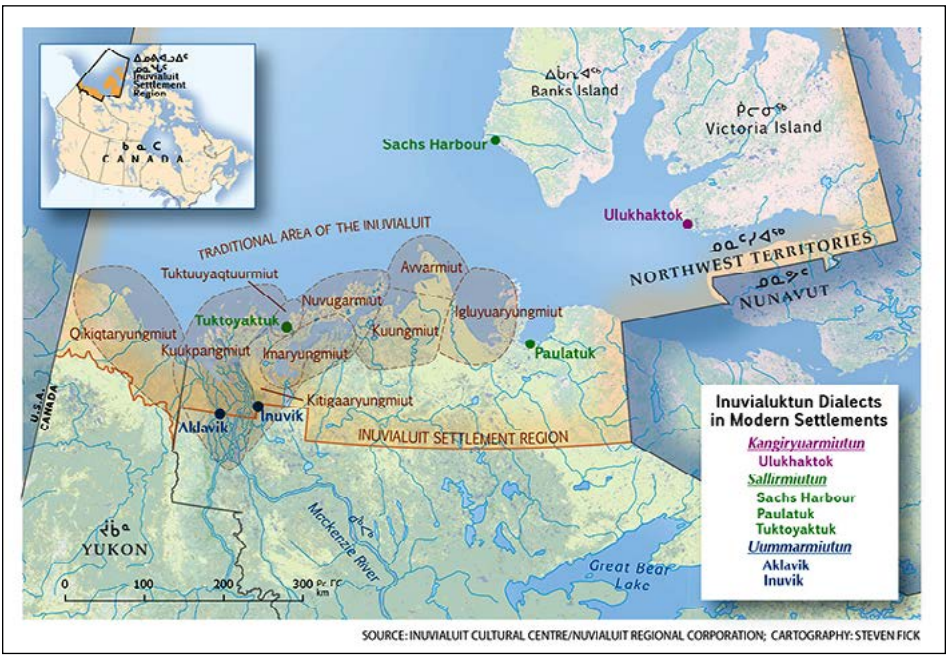


Figure 1. Inuvialuit communities and Inuvialuktun dialects.

Both family and community histories are central to how Inuvialuit identify ourselves/themselves, relate to others, and establish connections with the world. The strong tradition of Inuvialuit storytelling fluoresced early on into robust publishing and film industries, and more recently, into an ever-increasing digital presence. Many of these efforts are spearheaded by the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC), the cultural arm of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, and the Inuvialuit Communications Society (ICS), both organizations formed as part of the signing of the Inuvialuit Land Claim in 1984 to document, promote, and assert the histories and futures of this community. ICRC, one of several strong regional heritage organizations across Inuit Nunangat (as exemplified by the papers in this volume), produces Inuvialuktun language and cultural resources for Inuvialuit, delivers a variety of cultural programs in Inuvialuit communities related to language revitalization, and conducts workshops focused on cultural practices such as sewing, hide work, and story-telling. ICS produces film, television, and media content, in addition to publishing the quarterly glossy magazine *Tusaayaksat*. Inuvialuit media production has developed within a broader context of Inuit self-representation such as Isuma Productions[2] and the Arctic Arts Summit[3].

2. http://www.isuma.tv/isuma

3. https://arcticartssummit.ca/articles/unikkausivut-sharing-our-stories/

Inuvialuit and partner organizations are currently working on the twin goals of producing digital content representing language, identity, and land-based practices from community perspectives as well as digitizing the vast archive of cultural records and collections in and outside of our/their care. The Inuvialuit Digital Library is an ongoing partnership with the University of Alberta, which is making ICRC's resources—language lessons, books, photo collections, videos, and audio files—digitally available.[4] Another partnership, between the University of Calgary, Yukon Government, and Inuvialuit organizations, is using reality capture technologies like terrestrial laser scanning and aerial photogrammetry to archive the cultural and natural resources of Qikiqtaruk (Herschel Island), a significant Inuvialuit place threatened by rising sea levels, shoreline erosion, and increasingly violent storms caused by the disappearance of sea ice[5].

The subject of this paper is the Inuvialuit Living History Project, a longstanding partnership directed by Lisa Hodgetts and Natasha Lyons, between the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, Parks Canada, Inuvialuit Communications Society, University of Western Ontario, Ursus Heritage Consulting, Simon Fraser University, and Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, which focuses on documenting and celebrating Inuvialuit culture and traditions. Phase I of the project was initiated in 2009 with a community visit to the MacFarlane Collection at the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington D.C., which resulted in the launch in 2012 of *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait*, the Inuvialuit Living History website: www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca (Hennessy et al. 2013; Lyons 2013). Phase 2 of the project kicked off in 2017 with the goal of hosting events to facilitate knowledge exchange and transmission between different generations in the community and having participants generate digital content together about living Inuvialuit traditions. We hosted a large, well-attended cultural gathering at East Three School in Inuvik in 2018 focused on storytelling, games, and crafts, and in 2019, held a culture camp at Imniarvik (Sheep Creek), a remote base camp in the heart of Ivvavik National Park (Lyons et al. 2022).

Currently, our team is working on two main digital goals. The first is a major revision to our original website to add ethnographic and archaeological content from additional Inuvialuit museum collections, starting with the Collinson Collection from the British Museum and the Cadzow Collection from the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. The renewed site will enable users to learn more about these collections, which represent different eras of Inuvialuit land-based living, and to explore them by type, raw material, activity, and so on. Because the site is now over a decade old, there are limits to how responsive we can

4. https://inuvialuitdigitallibrary.ca/

5. https://herschel.preserve.ucalgary.ca/

make it for mobile phone use, the primary way we expect users to interact with it. The expanded site will therefore become one component of a new Inuvialuit Living History website featuring a broad cross-section of Inuvialuit voices, experiences, knowledge, skills, geographies, and time periods in multiple media. The two sites will cross-reference each other and share some of their design elements.

While the focus of our original site was narrower, the intention of the new site is to bring together both existing and newly generated Inuvialuit-created media content in one digital platform (Figure 2). Built with both youth and phone accessibility in mind, it is organized around five primary themes. **Inuvialuuyuanni** (Who We Are) showcases Inuvialuit people, families, and communities. On this page, *Our Communities* highlights the six settlements of the ISR—Ulukhaktok, Paulatuk, Aklavik, Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour), Tuktoyaktuk, and Inuvik—and *Our People* profiles the cultural interests and activities of different individuals and families from across the region. **Taimani**, the second theme, is a re-creation of the Inuvialuit Timeline (an IRC-produced website that is now obsolete), and incorporates the scope of Inuvialuit history from Ingilraani (Time Immemorial) to Qangma (Today) using multiple media. The third theme, **Pimaariktaksaq nunakput imaqpullu** (Caring for Our Land and Water) presents an interactive map of archaeological, traditional, and contemporary use sites across Inuvialuit Nunangat and allows users to see and experience these places in different ways (Figure 3). **Inuuniurutikput** (How We Live), the fourth theme, curates archival and contemporary videos of Inuvialuit doing and sharing land-based and other cultural practices, such as ice fishing, beluga harvesting, and making drums and clothing (Figure 4). The final theme, **Ikayuqatigiingniq pitqusiptigu** (Sharing Our Culture), provides excerpts of significant Inuvialuit texts that speak to our/their histories and to the shape and strength of Inuvialuit values. Sample texts include Inuvialuit memoirs such as *I, Nuligak* (Nuligak 1966) and *Fatty Legs* (Jordan-Fenton and Pokiak-Fenton 2010), oral histories and stories by Agnes Nanogak Goose (Figure 5; 1972, 1986) and Ishmael Alunik (1998), and such foundational documents as the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984) and the report on the Berger Commission (Berger 1977). As part of our work ahead, we will co-produce and integrate classroom resources, an Inuvialuktun glossary, and other language support materials into the website.

Below, we feature several members of our core Inuvialuit project team in conversation with Ashley Piskor, a PhD student at the University of Western Ontario, discussing the development and production of the new website. Ethel-Jean Gruben is Manager and Lena Kotokak is Regional Language Coordinator at the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre. Mervin Joe worked for Parks Canada in Inuvik for 30 years in capacities ranging from resource conservation to asset support and management. Ethel-Jean, Mervin,



Figure 2. Mataya Gillis and Cassidy Lennie-Ipana on the main page of the new Inuvialuit Living History website.

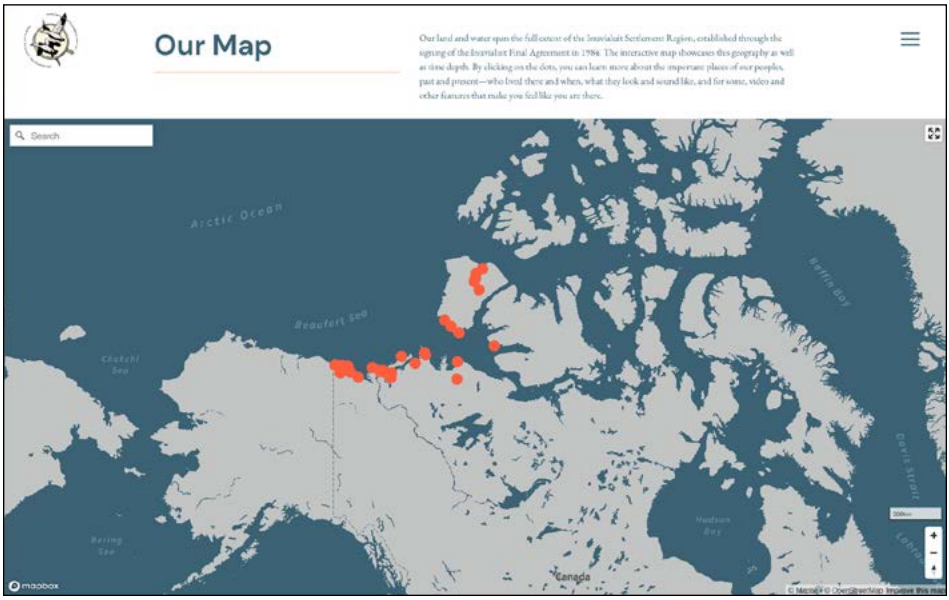


Figure 3. Interactive map on the Caring for our Land and Water page.

and Lena's comments speak to both the process and the substance of our work, addressing: why the new website is important to them; what key messages they want to get across; the scope and nature of content chosen and how best to represent Inuvialuit interests of the past and present as well as distinctive experiences, histories, and geographies across the wider community; intended audiences for and outcomes of the site; and aspirations for ensuring an inclusive process. In discussion, we reflect on some challenges of co-creating knowledge and how they influence the dynamics of voice, in terms of whose gets privileged and how we can disrupt and de-colonize these trajectories (Desmarais et al. 2021; Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020). We consider how best to step forward, continually course-correcting in our own collective practice, and what recommendations we can offer other established and burgeoning community-based projects in the Inuit North.

Significance of the Website

Ethel-Jean: [The new website is] an opportunity to learn the history of the Inuvialuit people and the region, the lifestyle and the culture. It's an educational opportunity for anyone interested in learning about Inuvialuit, but also for Inuvialuit themselves who may live outside the Settlement Region. And for those even living in the region that may not have the knowledge. Maybe they've never left their community before and they know that there's a big region out there, but they've never had the opportunity to travel. So it's a … website to educate people and help people understand what Inuvialuit are all about.

[A] really important piece of what we're working on right now in the organization [ICRC] is what kind of resources can we create? Like the Living History, like the Digital North—[for the latter, we are] uploading thousands of pieces of information into a digital website for future use. And we're thinking of many ways we can develop tools and resources for people to use …. [These resources] tell how Inuvialuit lived back then, and it compliments how we live today, because even though we live in a town now, we still do a lot of things traditionally.

Mervin: My littlest grandchild is just one year old, and in 15, 20 years, she'll look at the [web]site and say: 'Hey, look! That's my Daduk right there!' (Figure 6). She'll hear my voice and see my picture. I'll be telling her … the importance of [our values and knowledge] and how they should be passed on generation to generation.

Ashley: Like a way of preserving ….

Mervin: Preserving! Yes! …. Because our T. K., our traditional knowledge, was passed on … from my parents, my grandparents, and other Elders; they pass it on to me, and me, I don't want to be the last one to hold it. I want to pass it on to my kids.

Key Messages

Ethel: [Our goal is to] talk about the values and principles that Inuvialuit people live by, like through the IFA, our land claim. We talk about the guiding principles of why the land claim was signed. It talks about us being the stewards of the land, the waters, the animals, taking care of our environment and taking care of our people and also creating opportunities for our people to succeed in life.

Lena: 'Who am I?' is a basic … part of the website. As well as our cultural values surrounding the land. Like for example, why do we hunt whale? Because it's one of our staple foods …. How to hunt it? How to preserve it? [It's important] to know how to provide [for our families]. Whaling is just one example of this.

Mervin: [There are key messages] [t]hat we have to teach our kids, you know? We always shared … growing up, our people shared when they were hunting, traveling together. At the whaling camp, there used to be like 20 tents in a row. I could remember [at] Niaqunaq (West Whitefish) all those tents all lined up along like that. And on a nice day, we're having lunch outside. Everybody sits outside on the ground with a tarp or something and we eat together. The oldest one would say a prayer, say grace. And then everybody would eat -- one [family] would bring [Inuvialuit] donuts, or bread, meat, muktuk … just like a big potluck. [W]e used to all live like that amongst each other. Our kids' future [depends on] learn[ing] how to share.

… My auntie said, 'Don't make fun of [another person]; they got a heartbeat too, and two feet. Even same way as animals …. You respect animals, they feed you …. Don't make fun of animals, and only shoot what you can handle. You know, don't go up there and get 20 caribou.' And you know, a lot of these young hunters leave parts out there. I grew up watching and learning and now, my kids and grandkids, if [we] go hunting, I'm going to ask them 'Did you bring everything back with you?' Like that …. [I]f the antlers are good, take them home, we can make something out of them.

The people that made those tools [pictured in the interactive map (Figure 3)], they had something in mind: they were mak[ing] something to survive …. What little did they have? [J]ust bones and wood and animal parts and whatever they had to use. And look what they made!—and they survived, five, 600 years ago, a thousand years ago. Like [our ancestors], the Thule people.

Scope of Experiences, Temporalities, Community and Family Histories

Ethel-Jean: Through this website, it's an opportunity to showcase the culture, the pride, our land, our waters, our resources, and how we can, how we show our pride for it, you know, and how we take care of our land and

our waterways and our lifestyle. Even after residential schools, it never broke us. We just keep going. You know, when we might have lost a lot of things along the way, like our language, for instance, but we're really working hard now to try to save what we can. And that too, I think, is an important piece of the Living History website: putting the language into the website, you know, along with the translation.

Ashley: I was chatting with Peter Green in Paulatuk, and he was talking about how, because he went to [residential] school, he missed learning a lot of on-the-land traditions and activities. And to this day, he doesn't really know a lot of the stuff that would have been passed down to him, but … how he learned a lot of his traditional and local knowledge from Elders was through his travels around the ISR [for the land claim] and learning from each community and having the opportunity to speak to Elders from each region. So it's kind of like what you were saying with helping each other, like where he lacked, he was able to learn and to gather different information and different knowledge, right?

Ethel-Jean: That's basically how Inuvialuit do things today. You know, it's because we are post-residential—you got to remember it was over 80 years of residential [schooling]. We're doing the best we can with the language we have left to save it. Worst case scenario, we lose our speakers in the next 10, 20 years, all our fluent speakers. And we are depending now on technology to help us revive our language …. Whoever is interested in learning, they'll have that opportunity. We know that we can't force it on our people, we want to see all our people become fluent, but it's an individual choice now, you know, and we have accepted it because we realized that for the last hundred years, we were forced to speak English. And now we're trying to tell our people, you know, '*you need to speak your language*.' Really challenging, when a lot of people don't know how to speak the language because all they know is English.

Lena: The history of impacts on Inuvialuit is important to share. First it was … the whalers, then … the fur traders … then the Catholics, and all the churches. Because that has a big impact for all of us.

It's important to have different points of view on each and every topic. As an Inuvialuit person who went to residential school … I had different impacts and experiences [from others who didn't]. So we have different backgrounds, right? [Similarly], we all live in different areas of the ISR so we have, I think, similar values but different traditions. It is important to share lineages and family histories.

Mervin: To find our history, [you have to know how] it's passed on … talking like this. [Once], you got a lot of people like Elders sitting around and they would talk together. You hear them tell stories. And … the events they did when they were younger and all that.

You know, a lot of [EuroCanadian] people came up north and had [a] tough time. But living with the locals, that's why they survived. [The ethnographer Viljhalmur] Stefansson lived amongst native people, along the coast, Herschel Island. And that's how he survived. The RCMP, another example, they would hire special [Inuvialuit] constables to … help them out for traveling; they would also make clothes for the RCMP … now you see them they had mukluks on! And all those stories of survival were passed on in [history] books.

The website is a great way to keep our culture going with the changing times. All that technology can keep it going, but [using] plain and simple [language]; [we're] not scientists or educated people and whatever.

Audiences and Outcomes

Ethel-Jean: Everyone will be accessing [the new website], but, you know, [it] would be really nice if it was the younger generation. And I mean 16 to 30-year-olds, plus the younger ones in high school. Like for me, the whole intent of this Living History Project was to see it in the school system as part of a curriculum program through Northern studies or Social studies or … those programs, so that people have an opportunity to learn about Inuvialuit, the[ir] history, their lifestyle, all the beautiful stuff about Inuvialuit people.

[N]owhere in Social studies did they ever talk about Indigenous people in Canada or in the Northwest Territories … and here we are sitting here 40 years later and we're still talking about it. Like why aren't people around the rest of the world learning about that, the real Indigenous people of the Northwest Territories and how we lived and survived, and live today, you know, and how we are harvesters!? Like right now, we just finished harvesting berries, aqpiit [cloudberries], and people are still harvesting blueberries and we're just both getting ready to harvest cranberries. And then we're also going to harvesting our season of caribou, you know, and then right after caribou is moose season (Figure 7). Well almost at the same time, and then it's freeze up and people kind of settled down and laid low…

[T]his project and others like it, it's an opportunity to … plant a seed of interest for some Inuvialuit that maybe didn't grow up out on the land or didn't grow up with a lot of traditional activities. It's a starting point … for some people to maybe seek out, especially for those living outside the Settlement Region that were raised down south—and the life down south is totally different than the life up north.

Mervin: The audience is going to be all ages … and different cultures. Like, Gwich'in and Inuvialuit, you know, years ago they used to fight. And then they got over their fighting and now they live with each other [in ISR communities like Inuvik, and Aklavik, where Mervin grew up]. We can

understand each other. We grew up the same, you know, off the land, fishing, hunting, and then there's even some other people whaling—Gwich'in, they go down to the coast and they're with another family of Inuvialuit. And then they're learning parts of both cultures. Gwich'in, they love muktuk. They do. They go crazy. When my family goes to McPherson or Tsiigehtchic, they [his Gwich'in in-laws] ask, 'Did you bring any muktuk!?'

On Co-Creating Knowledge

Ethel-Jean: You're going out to the communities and you're having the open houses and you're creating an opportunity for people in the communities to come in and learn about the website and maybe answer some questions, give some feedback about their Living History. [And we ask them]: 'Tell us if we're doing a good job or tell us if we're way off in left field,' because that helps us come back and say, 'Well, we missed that' …. Feedback is so important from the communities because they'll tell you, they're really straightforward people. They'll just tell you like it is.

When we don't know [something] … that's when we're usually reaching out to Elders in the community saying, 'Hey, [we've] got a question … We're designing this website and this question came up. What do you think?' And then we'll send it out to all six communities. Sometimes it's amazing [that] the response comes back almost the same and sometimes it comes back really different: That's the diversity of the communities.

Mervin: We got to work together, and then like you archaeologists, you come and help us do excavation. You help us tell our story. And then that story, we'll bring it to the school. And then … in the school, they do a history class of that. And then, you know, the teachers will learn, the students will learn, all different age groups. Like, if we brought an artifact to a kindergarten kid, you ask them, 'what's this?' And if it's snow knife, that kid's going to go outside and try to cut snow! They're already trying to learn how to use it! The website is a starting point for that process, to make them curious.

Lena: You're gonna have to really utilise the Elders to pass on their knowledge; have close contact with them as administrators for the site.

Ashley: Like you said, the website is for everyone … and hopefully, the making of the website creates opportunities for Elders and youth, and other ages, to sit down together and share in that learning experience.

Lena: It's important that Inuvialuit users perceive that [the website is] theirs! Because they're Inuvialuit and they feel that they're represented, part of something [they feel ownership of], that they really want to get into.

Discussion. Making Inuvialuit Living Histories in Digital and Real Time

This paper is about the process of making and presenting Inuvialuit living histories and cultural traditions in digital and real-time format. In this discussion, we reflect on some of challenges of co-creating knowledge, representing a multiplicity of voices, and disrupting the dynamics of privilege (see Desmarais et al. 2021; Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020). As alluded to by team members above, part of this story is about colonial processes and part of it is about the forming of the Inuvialuit community itself in response (Pokiak 2020). As Lena intimates, sustained colonial contact began very early in the Western Arctic with the coming of EuroCanadian bowhead whalers in the 1890s, who were rapidly followed by fur traders and missionaries. Colonial outsiders forced continual economic and social change to Inuvialuit lifeways (Bockstoce 1986; Hodgetts 2013; Lyons 2010, 2013; Usher 1971)—and Inuvialuit responded (in part) by becoming some of the most commercially successful hunters and trappers in the world (Alunik, Kolausok, and Morrison 2003). Ethel-Jean notes the major disruption and impacts to the culture, including the language—which, unlike in other parts of the circumpolar north, is no longer widely spoken—and the challenges this presents (Amos 2019).

In order to counter colonial and state incursion, Gwich'in and Inuvialuit leaders came together in the early 1970s to form the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), an organization that would lobby for respective land claims in these communities (Alunik et al. 2003; Pokiak 2020; Usher 1976). For Inuvialuit, this included members of three interrelated linguistic groups across a huge geographic expanse: communities of Uummarmiutun speakers in the west, Sallirmiutun (Siglitun) speakers in the lower Mackenzie Delta, and Kangiryuarmiutun (Inuinnaqtun) speakers to the east (Figure 1). Signed in 1984, the Inuvialuit claim formed social, cultural, and economic institutions built on common values and interests to document, shape, and assert the histories and futures of this collective community. Yet, as Ethel-Jean and Lena speak to above, these communities have diverse histories, identities, and interests, as well as knowledge and resource bases. Several, as Mervin indicates, have long and close interrelations with Alaskan Iñupiat, Gwich'in, and other Dene communities that are important to acknowledge; others have significant relationships with eastern Arctic Inuit communities. Those at the centre of the ISR—and especially in Inuvik, where the main governing structures are—tend to have greater voice. From the earliest stages of our project, Inuvialuit team members have emphasized the importance of ensuring that people from all six ISR communities have opportunities to participate in project activities, and to contribute to and be reflected in project outcomes.

For this reason, voice and viewpoint are primary concerns in representing Inuvialuit (his)stories, (her)stories, and (their)stories. Part of our strategy in developing the website was to create a structure where content could be continually added, and to design pages with broad themes where a variety of perspectives could be showcased in multiple media (Figure 4). Inuvialuit always note the significance of family names and histories—where people are from, where they have moved, who they are interrelated with. We have sought to show these relationships in maps, personal videos and profiles, and excerpts from Inuvialuit memoirs (Figures 5 and 6). In future, we may add family genealogy and other community-endorsed projects.

Voice is also rendered in text. Lena and others noted the importance of Inuvialuit users recognizing the site as *theirs*, thus asking, who is the speaker and what is their point of view? In response, we collectively chose to write the site in first person plural, but there are multiple plurals within this. For instance, profiles of contemporary ISR communities (Figure 6) were



Figure 4. The Inuuniurutikput (How We Live) page features archival and contemporary videos.

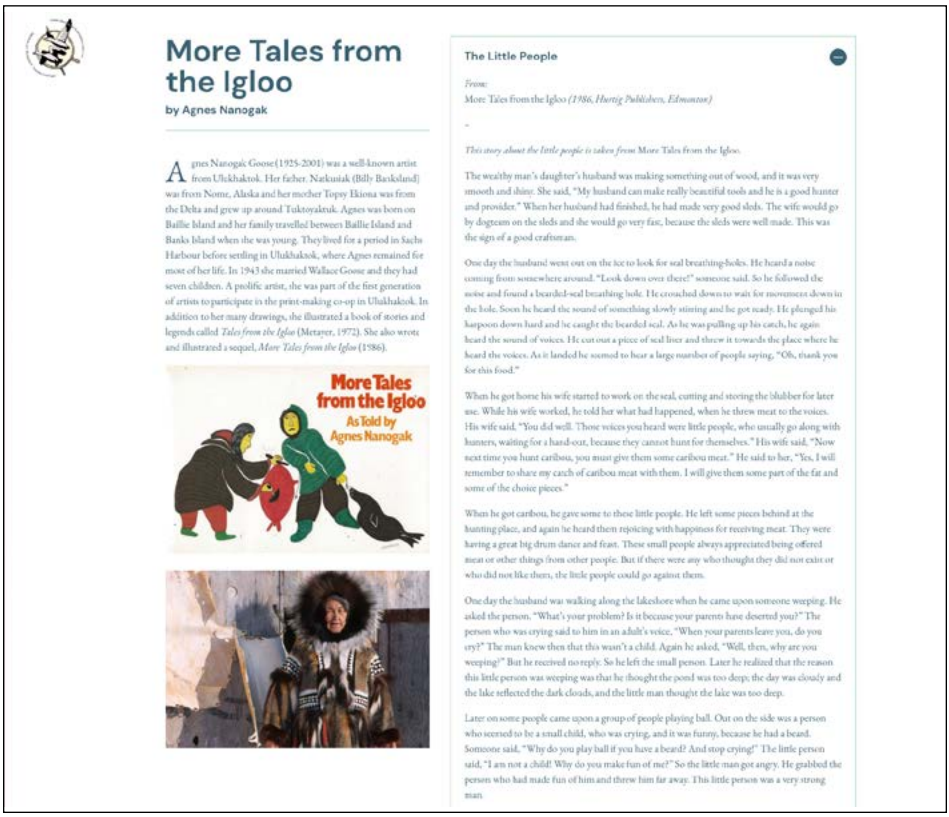


Figure 5. The Ikayuqatigiingniq pitqusiptigu (Sharing Our Culture) page shows an excerpt from Agnes Nanogak's stories.



Figure 6. Mervin Joe's profile on the Inuvialuuyuanni (Who We Are) page.

vetted by community members from these places. We excerpted and curated video from the incredibly rich Inuvialuit Communications Society archives that represent different cultural activities, geographies, and time periods stretching back to the 1960s. The interactive map showcases archaeological, traditional, and contemporary use sites and artifacts spanning 1000 years of ancestral use of the territory (Figure 3).

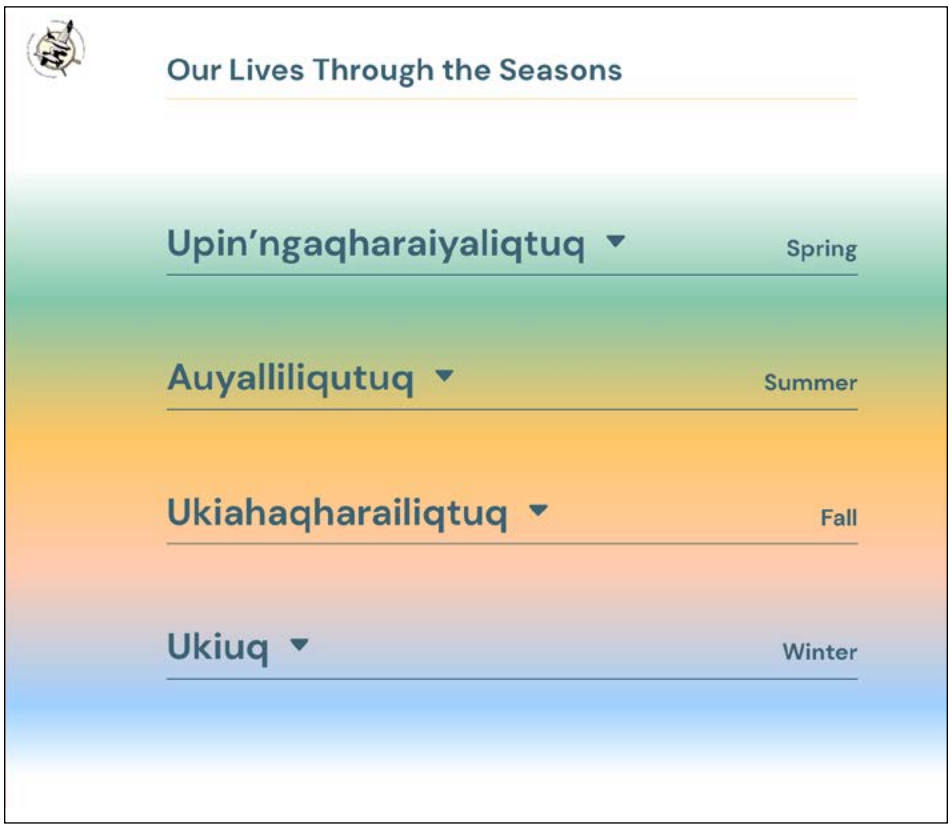


Figure 7. Our Lives through the Seasons on the Inuuniurutikput (How We Live) page.

Another question of voice revolves around production itself. The process of rendering Inuvialuit voices must go through many filters, such as who makes the choices about what to include and how. We must continually revisit our processes of knowledge production. During a conversation partially recounted above, Mervin said to Ashley: "*You help us tell our story*." He was referring to the non-Inuvialuit members of our project team, many of whom are authors on this paper and who hold different varieties of technical expertise: archaeologists, anthropologists, archivists, film-makers, and web developers. Making a website requires a small army of such expertise. Mervin was essentially observing a dynamic that works for our

project (and many like it): Inuvialuit are knowledge-holders who have stories, ideas, histories, and other knowledge they want to share with our/their children and the wider world in ways of their own choosing. ICRC does not yet have the capacity to keep all production in house and thus engages many partnerships such as our own. For non-Inuvialuit team members, our task is to listen carefully to the direction, views, and concerns of community partners and members and to draft content around these needs to in turn be verified and vetted by the community in a cyclical process until we reach a satisfying result.

This is a long process, and even with the best intentions, we have faced many challenges (but also experienced much joy!) in creating and receiving rounds of feedback on the various components of the new website. Geography and travel costs are already issues for northern projects. The pandemic, of course, threw a spanner into our field and community-based processes, as well as our regular communication schedule, but we managed to keep aspects moving with creativity and problem-solving together. Our working "beta" website will be ready for feedback in the fall of 2023, and we are planning a tour of all six ISR communities with northern team members and the aid of hired local assistants. Over the long course of the project, we have established ties in all of these communities, which we look forward to renewing. We need to collectively establish a good set of methods for engaging each community, for developing methods of reviewing and inviting community voices into various sections of the website in the ways that people choose. These will likely vary from place to place. We have also been working with the Beaufort Delta Education Council, local teachers, and administrators to determine best strategies to integrate the final website and educational resources with local and territorial curriculum.

Our main lessons over nearly 15 years of co-producing the Inuvialuit Living History Project are relatively simple. First, it takes time, commitment, and care to conduct meaningful community-based research (see Hodgetts and Kelvin 2020; Lyons et al. 2022). Our team members are strong, kind, and intelligent people, and while we don't agree on every plan, direction, or interpretation, we all work to find solutions and accommodate all perspectives. Second, the relationships we have developed and the experiences we have shared are equally important to the deliverables we produce. For example, it is a great pleasure to watch young people employed by the project as researchers, students, assistants, videographers, and otherwise, grow into capable adults and continue their work in different community capacities. Equally, it is remarkable to watch knowledge sharing happening in real time on the land and captured in digital footage for later viewing. The resources we have created over the span of the project—websites, documentary, curriculum, academic and public-oriented writings—are important as well, as they channel community voices, share who the Inuvialuit are and assert

who they wish to be, offering longstanding land-based wisdom and pragmatic solutions in a rapidly changing world.

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We mourn the passing of several important Inuvialuit who passed on during the writing and production of this paper, including Mervin Joe and Peter Green.

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« Vous nous aidez à raconter notre histoire » : Restituer les histoires de vie des Inuvialuit en mode numérique et en temps réel

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Traduction française par Anne-Hélène Kerbiriou

RÉSUMÉ

Les Inuvialuit ont toujours créé leur culture à travers nos/leurs pratiques de vie ancrées dans le territoire. Pour nous, « faire la culture » signifie réaliser, pratiquer et partager des activités, des chants et de la nourriture locale, dans la nature et dans les villages, ensemble avec nos familles et nos communautés. Ces niveaux d'histoire sont inscrits dans le paysage inuvialuit de langue nunangat, notre pays, et dans les voix des Aînés du passé et du présent qui parlent de leur savoir et de leur expérience. Dans cet article, nous décrivons la façon dont les communautés inuvialuit vivent en pratique encore aujourd'hui leurs traditions et les enregistrent au moyen de méthodes numériques pour élaborer un nouveau site Internet d'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit qui rende hommage au passé, au présent et à l'avenir de nos communautés.

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MOTS-CLÉS
Inuvialuit, patrimoine digitalisé, Inuvialuktun, archéologie communautaire, Arctique de l'Ouest canadien

ABSTRACT
"You Help Us Tell our Story": Making Inuvialuit Living Histories in Digital and Real Time

Inuvialuit have always created culture through our/their living and land-based practices. For us, making culture means doing, practicing, and sharing activities and songs and country food, on the land and in town, together with our families and communities. These layers of history are embedded in the landscape of Inuvialuit Nunangat, our homeland, and in the voices of Elders past and present speaking about their knowledges and experiences. In this paper, we describe how Inuvialuit communities are practicing our living traditions today and capturing them using digital methods to produce a new Inuvialuit Living History website that celebrates the past, present, and future of our communities.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, Digital Heritage, Inuvialuktun, Community archaeology, Canadian Western Arctic

INUINNAQTUN, translated by Emily Kudlak
'Unipkaaqput unipkaaruhia ilvit ikayuqtat': Inuvialuit Qangaraaluk Inuuniarutainik Pitquhiiniklu Qaritauyangmunggaqtiruta imalu Hatdja Inuuyutut – Ilipkaqhugit

Inuvialuit taima idjuhiit pitquhiliuqhimaaqpakhimayut inuudtjuhingmikut ubluq tamaat atuqtatik ukualut nunami hulilukaarutitik. Uvaptingni ima ittuq pitquhiliungniq, hulilukarutivut atuqhimaaqhugit, hulilukaaqtavut avanmut aituqhugit, pihiitigutlu, niqainangnilu niriplutik, aavaqhunilu nunami, Igluqarviptingniitutalu hulilukaangniq, Ilagiivaluvut ilagiplugit hulilukaqatigiplugit nunalaatlu aallat. Inuvialuit Nunagani tahapkuat Pitquhiraluavut nunami naunaitut, nunagiyaptingnilu, innakhat ublumi inuuyuni tahpkuatlu huiqhimayunilu uqauhiini tuhangnaqtut ilihimayamingnik imaalu atuqpaktakhimayamingniklu inuuniarutimingni. Uvani titiqami, uqariyaqut qanuq ublumi Inuvialuit Nunalaat qanuq tahapkut pitquhivut huli ublu aulapkaininganik atuqhimaqhugit atdjiliuqhugitlu qaritauyangmut iliyukhanik, tigumiaqtanutlu, nutaanik Inuvialuit Qangaraaluk Inuuniarutainik Pitquhiiniklu qaritauyakut takuuriliuqhutik qarauluk pitquhingit aliahuutigiplugit, ublumilu atuqtainik, kiguvaapta nunalaani pihimayakhainik.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, Qaritauyami Qangaraaluk Inuniarutiat, Inuvialuktun, Nunalaani Ilituqhiungniq, Kanadamilu Ualiningmiut Ukiuqtaqtumi

SALLIRMIUTUN, translated by Albert Elias
'Ikayuqtigut Quliaqtuarutiptigun': Inuvialuit Pitqusingit Ingilraan Qaritauyan iliblugit

Inuvialuit nunalu silalu niryutillu malirullugit pitqusiruaqpaktuat. Uvaptingni, inuusiqput immana ittuq nunamilu inuuniarvingnilu: anguniluklutik, savangnilukluta, nigaaqtuqluta, ikayuqtigiikluta atuutitigun niqitigunlu, tamarmik inuuqatigiit. Taapkuat pitqusit ilurriliqtauyut Inuvialuit Nunangani nayuqtaptingni. Inirnirillu ingilraan

qangmagaluaq quliaqtuarivagait pitqusitik. Uvani makpiraami, quliaqtuariyavut qanuq Inuvialuit inuuniarvingni piqusingit itilaangitigun qangma. Nutaamik Inuvialuit Pitqusingit Ingilraan quliaqtuat qaritauyanun ililugit inuuniarviit takuyaksangit.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, Qaritauyanun Tutquqtat Pitqusivut, Inuvialuktun, Inuuniarviit Ilisarningit Pitqusiptigun, Canada-mi Ualinirmi Nuna

UUMMARMIUTUN, translated by Lillian Elias

«Quliaqtuaȓtin ikayuqtigut»: Inuuniarutingitigun Inuvialuit ililugi ilumuuqtuat.

Inuvialuit inuuniaruhimiktigun inuuniarutiktingni aturaat inuuniaqhuting aulaaqturvingmingni nuami unuuniaqhuting atȓamik niqiqaqhuting nunahinamin. Uvaptingnun inuuniarniq itnaittuq inuuniarniq aturnaqtuq uuturarnaqtuq, avanmun aviktuarnaqtuq inuuniarnit niqinik,aulaaqturvingmingni inauȓamillu. Ukuat qaligiiktuat inuuniarningi aipaarnihat nalunaingutchirait inuuniarvikting Inuvialuit nunangat. Aimavikput nunakput, utuqhanaat nipingat aipaarnihat pangmanikun ilihimakaminiklu inuuȓamingniglu,Uumani maqpiraami, ilitchuripkaiȓugut qanuqinupiat inuuniaruhinginik inaȓani utiqtitchiniaqtuat inuuniaruhomingnik pangmapak,pikachaliuqługit tuquqtaqȓugit qanuq inuuniarningigun Inupiat aipaani qaqhauȓanunlu ilivlugit tautuakȓanginik qviahuutikȓanginik tautuktuarumihigi,pangma aipaanihat inaȓani.

KEYWORDS
Inuvialuit, qaqhauȓatikun, Inuvialuktun, Inauȓani tutqutaniniaqtut,
Kanatami westeren Arcticmi

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Les Inuvialuit de l'Arctique de l'Ouest canadien ont toujours créé leur culture à travers nos/leurs[1] pratiques de vie. Cela apparaît aussi clairement à travers un millier d'années d'histoire archéologique que dans les traditions vivantes du présent. «Faire la culture» implique de réaliser, pratiquer et partager les activités, les chants, la langue et la nourriture locale des Inuvialuit, dans la nature et dans les villages, ensemble avec les familles et dans la communauté (voir par exemple Amos 2019; Lyons *et al.* 2022; Pokiak 2020; Tod-Tims et Stern 2022). Ces multiples niveaux superposés d'histoire et de pratiques vécues sont incrustés dans les paysages archéologiques et historiques de la Région désignée des Inuvialuit (RDI) (Figure 1) et dans les voix des Aînés du passé et du présent qui évoquent

1. Les auteur-e-s de cet article incluent tant les Inuvialuit que les non-Inuvialuit. Afin de refléter intentionnellement cette prise de position, nous utilisons tout du long une combinaison de pronoms pour montrer que certains d'entre nous identifient «notre culture», «notre langue», et que par ailleurs certains d'entre nous reconnaissent et vivent ces concepts en tant que personnes extérieures à cette culture.

leurs expériences et leur savoir. Dans cet article, nous décrivons le processus continu par lequel se fait la culture inuvialuit, numériquement et en temps réel, à travers la pratique des traditions vivantes par de multiples générations de membres de la communauté, et leur enregistrement et leur conservation dans divers médias. Nous nous concentrons sur le projet de longue date intitulé *Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait*, le «Projet d'histoire vivante des Inuvialuit» (Inuvialuit Living History Project), et notre réalisation d'un nouveau site Internet, en cours à l'heure actuelle.

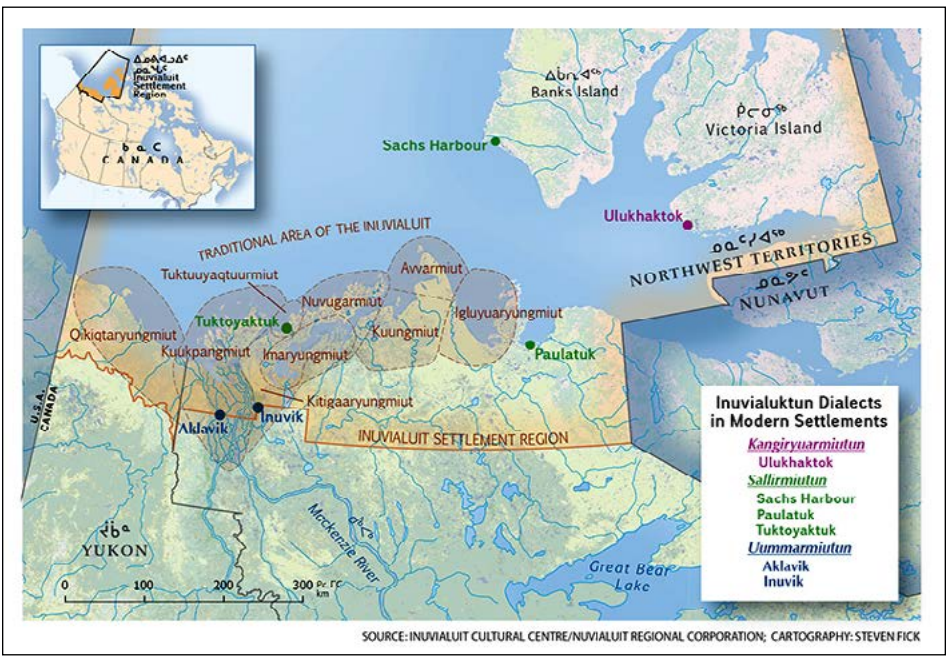


Figure 1. Communautés inuvialuit et dialectes inuvialuktun.

Tant les histoires des familles que celles de la communauté sont essentielles à la façon dont les Inuvialuit nous identifient et s'identifient, communiquent avec les autres et nouent des liens avec le monde. La forte tradition d'histoire orale des Inuvialuit a rayonné de bonne heure au moyen de solides publications et de réalisations filmiques, et plus récemment au moyen d'une présence numérique toujours croissante. Nombre de ces efforts ont été initiés par le Centre des ressources culturelles des Inuvialuit (Inuvialuit Cultural Ressources Centre, ICRC), l'antenne culturelle de la Corporation régionale des Inuvialuit et de la Société des communications des Inuvialuit (ICS), ces deux organismes ayant été constitués dans le cadre de la signature de l'Accord final au sujet des revendications territoriales des Inuvialuit en 1984 afin de documenter, promouvoir et affirmer les histoires et les avenirs de cette communauté.

L'ICRC, l'un des solides organismes voués au patrimoine régional dans la région de langue nunangat (ainsi que le montrent les articles de ce numéro thématique), produit des ressources culturelles et linguistiques inuvialuktun pour les Inuvialuit, propose aux communautés inuvialuit divers programmes culturels destinés à revitaliser leur langue, et organise des ateliers consacrés aux pratiques culturelles telles que la couture, le travail des peaux et l'histoire orale. L'ICS produit des films, des émissions de télévision et du contenu médiatique, en plus de publier *Tusaayaksat*, magazine trimestriel sur papier glacé. La production médiatique des Inuvialuit s'est développée dans le contexte élargi de l'autoreprésentation des Inuit qui compte les Productions Isuma[2] et l'Arctic Arts Summit[3].

Les Inuvialuit et leurs organismes partenaires travaillent actuellement à deux objectifs jumeaux : produire un contenu numérique représentant la langue, l'identité et les pratiques territoriales à partir des points de vue de la communauté ; et numériser les vastes archives d'enregistrements et de collections culturelles se trouvant sous notre/leur garde. La Bibliothèque numérique des Inuvialuit se constitue en un partenariat continu avec l'Université de l'Alberta, qui rend disponibles numériquement les ressources de l'ICRC – leçons linguistiques, livres, collections de photographies, vidéos et enregistrements audio[4]. Un autre partenariat, celui-là avec l'Université de Calgary, le Gouvernement du Yukon et les associations inuvialuit, recourt aux techniques de « capture de la réalité » telles que le balayage laser du territoire et la photogrammétrie aérienne pour archiver les ressources culturelles et naturelles de Qikiqtaruk (l'île Herschel), lieu de grande importance pour les Inuvialuit qui est menacé par la montée du niveau de la mer, l'érosion du rivage et des tempêtes de plus en plus violentes causées par la disparition des glaces maritimes[5].

Le sujet de cet article est le Projet d'histoire vivante des Inuvialuit, un partenariat de longue date dirigé par Lisa Hodgetts et Natasha Lyons, entre le Centre des ressources culturelles des Inuvialuit, Parcs Canada, l'Inuvialuit Communications Society, l'Université Western Ontario, Ursus Heritage Consulting, l'Université Simon Fraser et le Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, dont l'objectif est de documenter la culture et les traditions inuvialuit et de leur rendre hommage. La Phase I du projet a été lancée en 2009 par une visite de la communauté à la Collection MacFarlane de l'Institut Smithsonian, à Washington, qui a abouti en 2012 au lancement de l'*Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait*, le site Internet de l'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit : www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca (Hennessy *et al.* 2013 ; Lyons 2013). La Phase II

2. Voir : http://www.isuma.tv/isuma.
3. Voir : https://arcticartssummit.ca/articles/unikkausivut-sharing-our-stories/.
4. https://inuvialuitdigitallibrary.ca
5. https://herschel.preserve.ucalgary.ca/

du projet a commencé en 2017 dans le but d'organiser des évènements destinés à faciliter l'échange et la transmission de savoirs entre les différentes générations de la communauté et à permettre aux participants de créer ensemble un contenu numérique au sujet des traditions inuvialuit vivantes. Nous avons organisé un grand rassemblement culturel, qui a attiré beaucoup de monde, à l'East Three School d'Inuvik en 2018 ; cet évènement portait sur la narration d'histoires, les jeux et l'artisanat, et, en 2019, nous avons organisé un « campement culturel » à Imniarvik (Sheep Creek), campement de base reculé au cœur du Parc national d'Ivvavik (Lyons *et al.* 2022).

Actuellement, notre équipe œuvre à deux objectifs numériques majeurs. Le premier est une considérable révision de notre site Internet d'origine pour y ajouter un contenu ethnographique et archéologique provenant d'autres collections muséales inuvialuit, à commencer par la Collection Collinson du British Museum et la Collection Cadzow du National Museum of the American Indian à Washington. Ce site renouvelé permettra aux usagers d'en apprendre davantage sur ces collections qui représentent différentes époques de la vie des Inuvialuit sur leur territoire, et de les explorer par types, matériaux bruts, activités, etc. Puisque le site a désormais plus de dix ans, il présente certaines limitations lorsqu'il s'agit de sa réactivité aux téléphones mobiles et de la façon dont les usagers peuvent interagir avec lui, qui n'est plus telle que nous l'espérions à l'origine. Le site amélioré deviendra par conséquent une composante d'un nouveau site Internet de l'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit et comportera une large section de voix, d'expériences, de compétences, de géographie et de périodes temporelles des Inuvialuit en intersection avec de multiples médias. Les deux sites se référenceront mutuellement et partageront certains éléments de leur conception.

Bien que notre site d'origine ait eu une moindre portée, l'intention du nouveau site est de rassembler tant le contenu médiatique existant que celui nouvellement créé par les Inuvialuit en une seule plateforme numérique (Figure 2). Conçu en gardant à l'esprit autant les jeunes que l'accessibilité par téléphone, il s'organise autour de cinq thèmes primordiaux. **Inuvialuuyuanni** (Qui nous sommes) présente les Inuvialuit, leurs familles et leurs communautés. Sur cette page, « Nos communautés » indique les six villages de la RDI – Ulukhaktok, Paulatuk, Aklavik, Ikaahuk (Sachs Harbour), Tuktoyaktuk et Inuvik – et « Notre peuple » dessine le profil des intérêts et des activités culturelles de différents individus et de différentes familles dans toute la région. Le second thème, **Taimani**, recrée l'échelle temporelle des Inuvialuit (*Inuvialuit Timeline*, site Internet produit par l'IRC qui est désormais obsolète) et décrit l'ampleur de l'histoire des Inuvialuit depuis *Ingilraani* (les temps immémoriaux) jusqu'à *Quangma* (aujourd'hui) à partir de plusieurs médias. Le troisième thème, **Pimaariktaksaq nunakput imaqpullu** (Prendre soin de notre terre et de notre eau) présente une carte interactive des sites archéologiques, traditionnels et contemporains, utilisés au fil du

temps par les Inuvialuit de langue nunangat et permet aux usagers de voir et de faire l'expérience de ces lieux de différentes manières (Figure 3). **Inuuniurutikput** (Comment nous vivons), le quatrième thème, présente des images d'archives et des vidéos contemporaines des Inuvialuit dans leurs



Figure 2. Mataya Gillis et Cassidy Lennie-Ipana sur la page principale du nouveau site Internet d'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit.

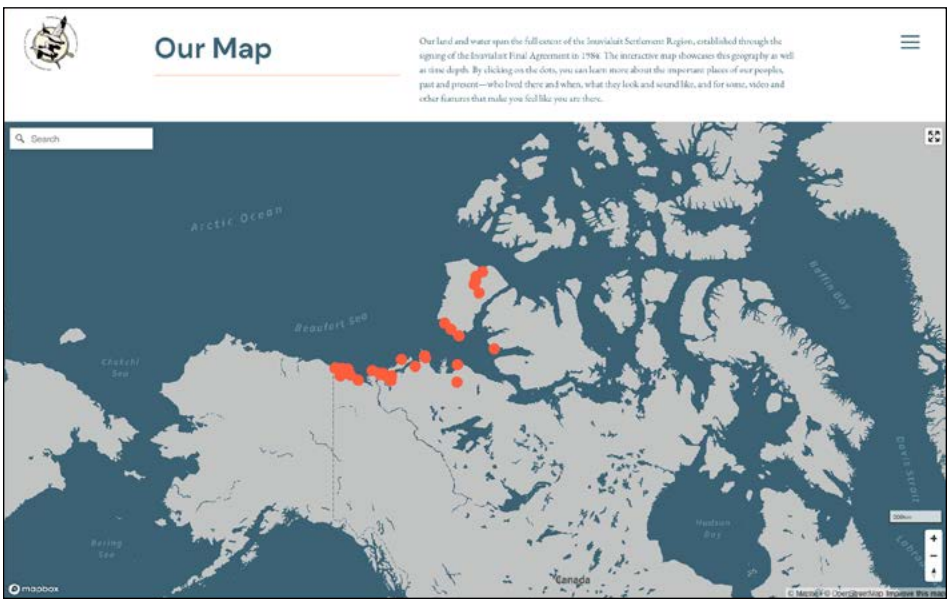


Figure 3. Carte interactive de la page «Caring for our Land and Water» (Prendre soin de notre terre et de nos eaux).

pratiques territoriales ou culturelles dans la nature, telles que la pêche sous la glace, la chasse au bélouga et la fabrique de tambours et de vêtements (Figure 4). Le dernier thème, **Ikayuqatigiingniq pitqusiptigu** (Partager notre culture), présente des extraits d'importants textes inuvialuit qui évoquent nos/leurs histoires, ainsi que la forme et la force des valeurs des Inuvialuit. Parmi ces extraits de textes, on compte des mémoires d'Inuvialuit tels que *I, Nuligak* (Nuligak 1966) et *Fatty Legs* (Jordan-Fenton et Pokiak-Fenton 2010), des histoires orales et des histoires racontées par Agnes Nanogak-Gosse (1972, 1986) (Figure 5) et Ishmael Alunik (1998), ainsi que des documents fondateurs tels que l'Accord final des Inuvialuit (1984) et le rapport de la Commission Berger (Berger 1977). Pour ce qui est de notre travail à venir, nous allons coproduire des ressources pour les écoles à intégrer sur le site Internet, en plus d'un glossaire inuvialuktun et d'autres matériaux de soutien linguistique.



Figure 4. La page «Inuuniurutikput» (Comment nous vivons) présente des vidéos d'archives et contemporaines.

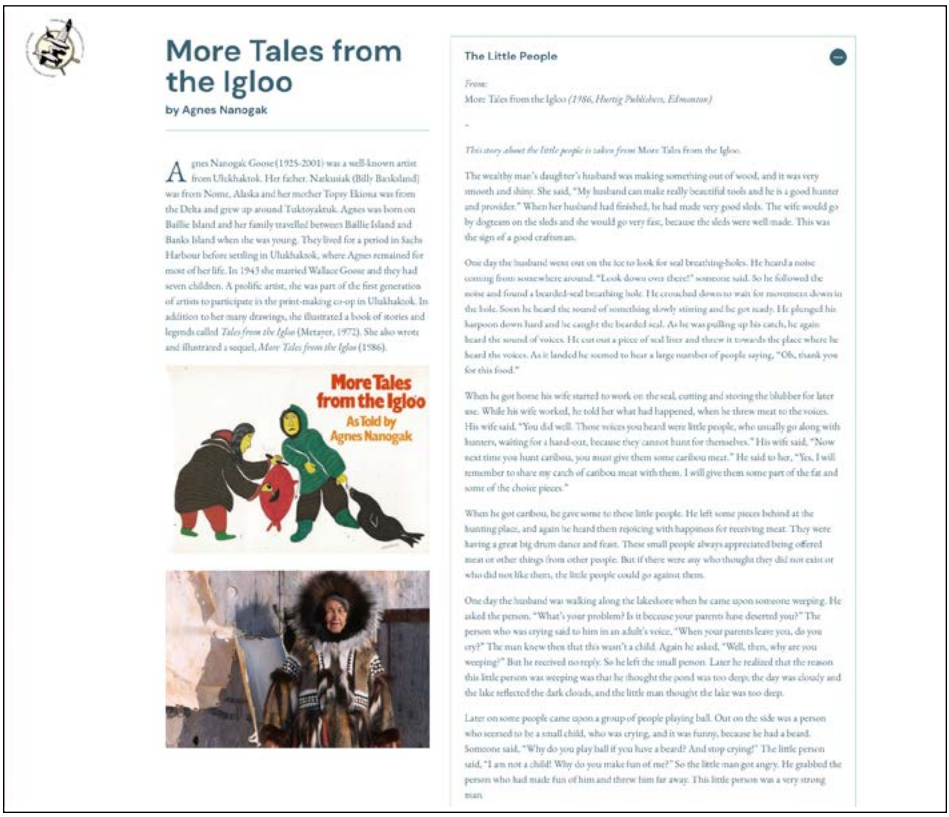


Figure 5. La page « Ikayuqatigiingniq pitqusiptigu » (Partager notre culture) présente un extrait des histoires d'Agnes Nanogak.

Ci-dessous nous faisons figurer plusieurs membres de l'équipe d'Inuvialuit au cœur de notre projet en conversation avec Ashley Piskor, une étudiante au doctorat de l'Université Western Ontario ; ils discutent de l'élaboration et de la création du nouveau site Internet. Ethel-Jean Gruben est gérante et Lena Kotokak coordonnatrice de la langue régionale au Centre des ressources culturelles inuvialuit. Mervin Joe a travaillé pour Parcs Canada à Inuvik pendant trente ans à divers titres, allant de conservateur des ressources à agent de soutien et de gestion. Les commentaires d'Ethel-Jean, Mervin et Lena portent à la fois sur le processus et la substance de notre travail et ils expriment : pourquoi le nouveau site Internet est important à leurs yeux ; quels sont les messages essentiels qu'ils souhaitent y voir diffusés ; l'envergure et la nature du contenu choisi et comment mieux représenter les intérêts des Inuvialuit d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui ainsi que les expériences, les histoires et les géographies les plus représentatives à

travers la communauté élargie ; les publics visés et les retombées du site ; et leur désir de certitude d'un processus inclusif. Dans la discussion qui suivra, nous réfléchissons à certaines difficultés inhérentes à la co-création de savoir et à la façon dont celles-ci influencent la dynamique des voix, certaines étant davantage privilégiées, et comment nous pouvons interrompre et décoloniser ces trajectoires (Desmarais *et al.* 2021 ; Kelvin et Hodgetts 2020). Nous envisageons la façon dont nous pouvons avancer au mieux, en ajustant continuellement le parcours de notre propre pratique collective et les recommandations que nous pouvons formuler quant aux autres projets communautaires établis ou naissants dans le Nord inuit.

Signification du site Internet

Ethel-Jean : [Le nouveau site Internet] est une opportunité d'apprendre l'histoire du peuple Inuvialuit et de la région, le mode de vie et la culture. C'est une chance éducative pour quiconque souhaite en savoir davantage au sujet des Inuvialuit, mais aussi pour les Inuvialuit eux-mêmes, qui peuvent vivre en-dehors de la Région désignée. Et même pour ceux qui vivent dans la région mais n'ont peut-être pas cette connaissance. Peut-être qu'ils n'ont jamais quitté leur communauté avant et qu'ils savent qu'il y a une grande région, là, au-dehors, mais qu'ils n'ont jamais eu l'opportunité de s'y rendre. Aussi, c'est un… site Internet pour éduquer les gens et pour aider les gens à comprendre qui sont les Inuvialuit.

Une partie vraiment importante de ce sur quoi nous travaillons en ce moment dans l'organisme [ICRC], c'est : quel genre de ressources pouvons-nous créer ? Comme l'Histoire vivante, comme le « Nord numérique » (Digital North) – [pour ce dernier, nous allons] télécharger des milliers d'éléments d'informations sur un site Internet pour un usage futur. Et nous réfléchissons aux différentes manières de développer des outils et des ressources que les gens puissent utiliser… [Ces ressources] raconteront comment vivaient les Inuvialuit autrefois, et elles sont un éloge de la façon dont nous vivons aujourd'hui, parce que même si nous vivons dans des villages maintenant, nous faisons encore beaucoup de choses de façon traditionnelle.

Mervin : La plus jeune de mes petites-filles a tout juste un an et dans quinze, vingt ans, elle regardera le site [Internet] et dira : « Hé, regarde ! C'est mon Daduk là ! (Figure 6). Je serai peut-être parti, mais elle entendra ma voix et verra ma photo. Je lui dirai… l'importance de [nos valeurs et nos savoirs] et comment ils devraient être transmis de génération en génération ».

Ashley : Comme une façon de préserver…

Mervin : Préserver ! Oui ! … Parce que notre T.K., notre savoir traditionnel, a été transmis… par mes parents, mes grands-parents et d'autres Aînés ; ils me l'ont transmis et moi, je ne veux pas être le dernier à le détenir. Je veux le transmettre à mes enfants.

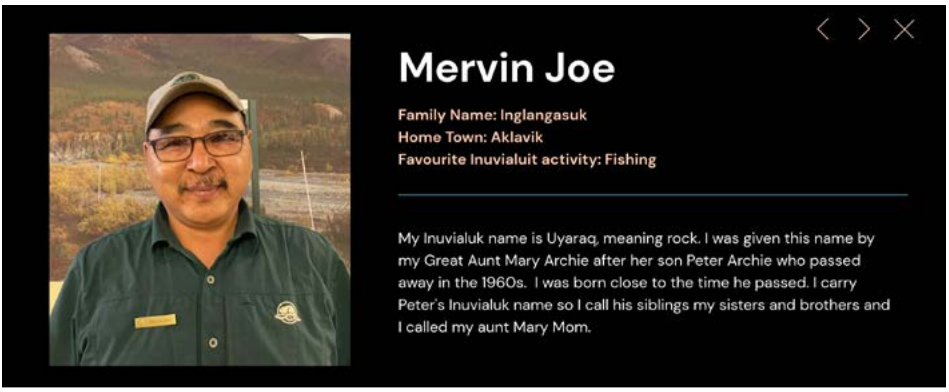


Figure 6. Profil de Mervin Joe sur la page « Inuvialuuyuanni » (Qui nous sommes).

Messages clés

Ethel : [Notre but est de] parler des valeurs et des principes selon lesquels vivent les Inuvialuit, comme à travers l'IFA, notre revendication territoriale. Nous parlons des principes qui guidaient la raison pour laquelle la revendication territoriale a été signée. Cela parle de nous qui sommes les gardiens de la terre, des eaux, des animaux, les gardiens qui prennent soin de notre environnement et qui prennent soin de notre peuple, et qui créent aussi des opportunités pour que les gens de notre peuple réussissent dans la vie.

Lena : « Qui suis-je? » C'est une partie… de base du site Internet. Autant que nos valeurs culturelles au sujet de la terre. Comme, par exemple, pourquoi chassons-nous les baleines? Parce que cela fait partie de nos aliments de base… Comment les chassons-nous? Comment les préserver? [C'est important] de savoir comment procurer de la nourriture [à nos familles]. La chasse à la baleine est un exemple parmi d'autres de cela.

Mervin : [Il y a des messages essentiels] que nous devons enseigner à nos enfants, vous savez. Nous avons toujours partagé… en grandissant, les gens de notre peuple partageaient lorsqu'ils chassaient, qu'ils voyageaient ensemble. Au camp de chasse à la baleine, il y avait d'ordinaire vingt tentes en ligne. Je me rappelle qu'à Niaqunaq (West Whitefish), toutes ces tentes étaient alignées comme ça. Et quand il faisait beau, on mangeait dehors. Tout le monde s'asseyait à l'extérieur, par terre, sur une bâche ou autre, et nous mangions ensemble. Le plus vieux disait une prière, disait les grâces. Et ensuite tout le monde mangeait – une famille apportait des beignes [inuvialuit] ou du pain, de la viande, du muktuk… exactement comme un grand repas communautaire [*potluck*]. On vivait tous comme ça, les uns auprès des autres. L'avenir de nos enfants dépend de l'apprentissage de la façon de partager.

Ma tatie disait, « Ne te moque pas [des autres] ; ils ont un cœur qui bat aussi, et deux pieds. C'est la même chose pour les animaux… On respecte les animaux, ils nous nourrissent… Ne te moque pas des animaux et ne tue que ce que tu peux porter. Tu sais, ne va pas là-bas pour tirer sur vingt caribous ». Et tu sais, beaucoup de ces jeunes chasseurs laissent des morceaux sur place. J'ai grandi en observant et en apprenant, et maintenant, mes enfants et mes petits-enfants, si [nous] allons chasser, je vais leur demander : « Est-ce que vous avez bien tout rapporté ? » Comme ça… si les bois [des caribous] sont bons, ramenez-les à la maison, on pourra en faire quelque chose.

Les gens qui ont fabriqué ces outils [en photo dans la carte interactive (Figure 3)], ils avaient quelque chose à l'esprit : ils fabriquaient quelque chose pour survivre… Ils avaient peu de choses, et à quel point ! Rien que des os, et du bois, et des parties d'animaux, et n'importe quelle chose qu'ils pouvaient utiliser. Et regardez ce qu'ils ont fait ! – et ils ont survécu, il y a cinq, six cents ans, un millier d'années. Comme [nos ancêtres], les gens de Thulé.

Étendue des expériences, des temporalités et des histoires des familles et de la communauté

Ethel-Jean : Avec ce site Internet, on a une opportunité de montrer la culture, la fierté, notre terre, nos eaux, nos ressources, et comment nous pouvons, comment nous montrons la fierté que nous en avons, tu sais, et comment nous prenons soin de notre terre et de nos cours d'eau et de notre mode de vie. Même après les pensionnats autochtones, cela ne nous a jamais brisés. Nous continuons, simplement. Tu sais, il est possible que nous ayons perdu beaucoup de choses en cours de route, comme notre langue par exemple, mais nous travaillons vraiment dur maintenant pour essayer de sauver ce que nous pouvons. Et ça aussi, je pense, c'est une partie importante du site Internet d'Histoire vivante : mettre la langue sur le site Internet, tu sais, en même temps que la traduction.

Ashley : J'ai discuté avec Peter Green à Paulatuk, et il racontait comment, parce qu'il était allé au pensionnat, il avait raté l'apprentissage de beaucoup de traditions de la vie et des activités dans la nature. Et jusqu'à aujourd'hui, il ne connaissait pas vraiment beaucoup de ces choses qui auraient dû lui être transmises mais… il a appris beaucoup de ces connaissances traditionnelles et locales avec les Aînés quand il voyageait pour la RDI [pour les revendications territoriales] et il a appris de chaque communauté, et il a eu l'opportunité de parler avec les Aînés de chaque région. Alors, c'est un peu comme ce que tu disais au sujet de s'aider les uns les autres, comme… ce qui lui manquait, il a pu l'apprendre et rassembler différentes informations et différents savoirs, pas vrai ?

Ethel-Jean : C'est, dans le fond, la façon dont les Inuvialuit font les choses aujourd'hui. Tu sais, c'est parce que nous sommes post-pensionnats – il faut se rappeler qu'on a eu plus de 80 ans [de scolarité] dans les pensionnats [autochtones]. Nous faisons tout ce que nous pouvons pour sauver ce qui reste de notre langue. Dans le pire des cas, nous perdrons nos locuteurs dans les dix, vingt prochaines années, tous ceux qui parlent [notre langue] couramment. Et maintenant, nous dépendons de la technologie pour nous aider à revitaliser notre langue… Quiconque souhaite apprendre pourra avoir cette opportunité. Nous savons que nous ne pouvons pas l'imposer à notre peuple, nous voulons voir tous les gens de notre peuple parler couramment [notre langue], mais c'est un choix individuel maintenant, nous avons été forcés de parler l'anglais et nous l'avons accepté parce que nous avons réalisé que pendant les cent dernières années, nous avons été forcés de parler anglais. Et à présent nous essayons de dire à notre peuple, tu sais, « vous devez parler notre langue ». C'est un vrai défi quand beaucoup de gens ne savent pas parler la langue parce que tout ce qu'ils connaissent, c'est l'anglais.

Lena : Il est important de faire connaître l'histoire des impacts sur les Inuvialuit. D'abord, il y a eu… les chasseurs de baleine, puis… les traiteurs de fourrure… puis les catholiques et toutes les Églises. Parce que cela a eu un grand impact sur nous tous.

Il est important d'avoir différents points de vue sur chacun de ces sujets. En tant que personne inuvialuit qui est allée dans un pensionnat autochtone… j'ai eu des impacts et des expériences différentes [de ceux qui n'y sont pas allés]. Aussi, nous avons différents parcours, pas vrai ? [De même], nous vivons tous dans des zones différentes de la RDI, alors je pense que nous avons des valeurs identiques mais des traditions différentes. Il est important de partager les lignées et les histoires familiales.

Mervin : Pour découvrir notre histoire, [il faut savoir comment] elle se transmet… en parlant comme ça. Avant, il y avait beaucoup de gens, comme les Aînés, qui s'asseyaient en rond et parlaient ensemble. On les écoutait raconter leurs histoires. Et… les évènements qu'ils avaient vécus quand ils étaient jeunes, et tout ça.

Tu sais, beaucoup de gens [Euro-canadiens] sont venus au nord et ont eu la vie dure. Mais en vivant avec les gens du coin, c'est comme ça qu'ils ont survécu. [L'ethnographe Viljhalmur] Stefansson vivait avec les autochtones, le long de la côte, sur l'île Herschel. Et c'est comme ça qu'il a survécu. Autre exemple, la GRC, ils recrutaient des sergents [*constables*] spéciaux inuvialuit pour… les aider dans leurs déplacements ; ils fabriquaient aussi des vêtements pour les membres de la GRC… et vous pouviez les voir porter des mukluks ! Et toutes ces histoires de survie ont été transmises dans les livres [d'histoire].

Le site Internet est un excellent moyen de continuer à faire vivre notre culture dans cette époque de changements. Tout ce que la technologie peut permettre de continuer à faire vivre, mais au moyen d'un langage clair et simple ; nous ne sommes pas des scientifiques ou des gens très instruits, ou quoi que ce soit.

Publics et retombées

Ethel-Jean : Tout le monde pourra accéder [au nouveau site Internet] mais, tu sais, ce serait vraiment bien si c'était la jeune génération. Et je veux dire les gens de 16 à 30 ans, plus les plus jeunes au secondaire. Comme, pour moi, tout l'objectif de ce Projet d'histoire vivante était de le voir dans le système scolaire comme une partie intégrante du programme, à travers les études nordiques, ou les études sociales, ou… ces programmes, pour que les gens puissent avoir l'opportunité d'apprendre au sujet des Inuvialuit, leur histoire, leur mode de vie, et toutes les belles choses au sujet du peuple inuvialuit.

Nulle part, en études sociales, ils n'ont parlé des peuples autochtones du Canada ou des Territoires du Nord-Ouest… et là, nous sommes assis là 40 ans plus tard, et nous en parlons encore. Comme, pourquoi est-ce que les gens du reste du monde n'apprennent pas cela, les véritables peuples autochtones des Territoires du Nord-Ouest et la façon dont nous avons vécu et survécu et vivons aujourd'hui, tu sais, et que nous sommes des chasseurs-cueilleurs !? Comme, juste maintenant, nous venons de finir de récolter les baies, les *aqpiit* [plaquebière ou « ronce petit-mûrier »], et les gens ramassent encore les bleuets et nous nous apprêtons à aller ensemble ramasser les canneberges. Et après, nous allons aussi commencer notre saison de chasse au caribou, tu sais, et après le caribou, il y aura la saison de l'orignal (Figure 7). Enfin, presque en même temps, et ensuite c'est le temps des grands froids et les gens rentrent chez eux et restent tranquilles…

Ce projet, et d'autres comme celui-ci, c'est une chance de… semer une graine d'intérêt pour quelques Inuvialuit qui n'ont peut-être pas grandi sur le territoire ou n'ont pas grandi au contact de beaucoup d'activités traditionnelles. C'est un point de départ… pour quelques personnes, de commencer peut-être à se renseigner, surtout pour ceux qui vivent hors de la Région désignée et qui ont été élevés plus loin au sud – et la vie là-bas, au sud, est totalement différente de la vie ici, au nord.

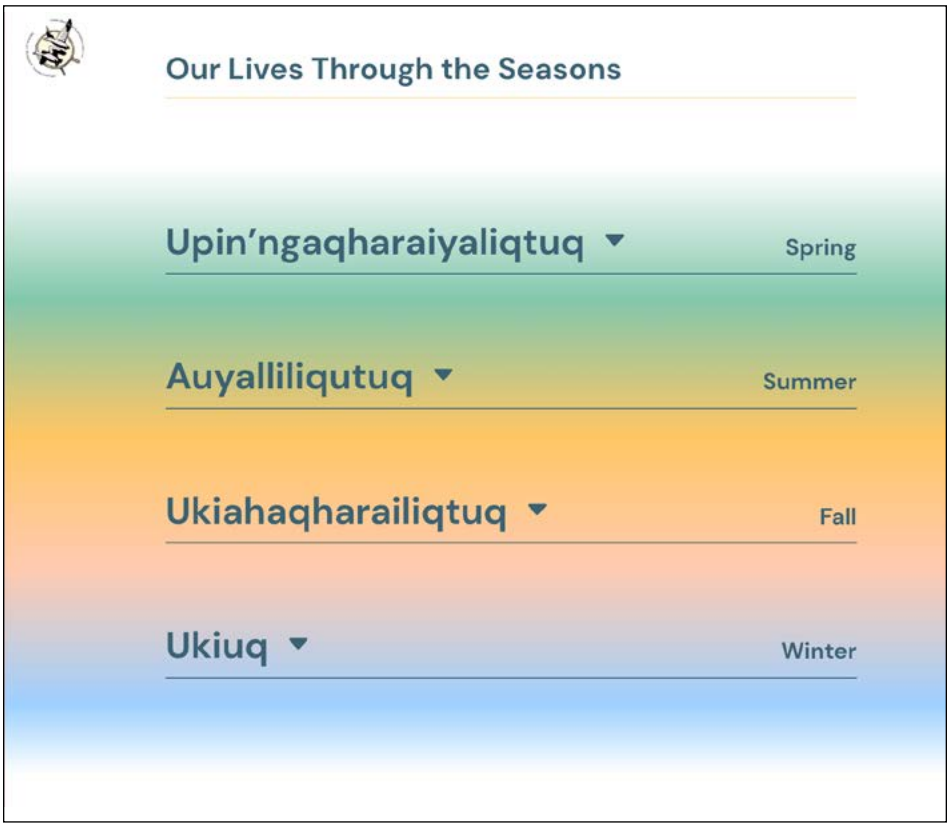


Figure 7. Nos vies à travers les saisons sur la page « Inuuniurutikput » (Comment nous vivons).

Mervin : Le public sera de tous les âges… et de différentes cultures. Comme, les Gwich'in et les Inuvialuit, tu sais, il y a des années, ils se battaient entre eux. Et puis ils ont surmonté leurs raisons de se battre et maintenant ils vivent les uns avec les autres [dans des communautés de la Région désignée telles qu'Inuvik et Aklavik où a grandi Mervin]. Nous arrivons à nous comprendre. Nous avons grandi de la même façon, tu vois, sur le territoire, à pêcher, chasser, et puis il y a même encore certains qui chassent la baleine – les Gwich'in, s'ils descendent sur la côte et qu'ils se trouvent avec une autre famille inuvialuit. Et alors, ils apprennent des parties de chaque culture. Les Gwich'in, ils adorent le muktuk. Ils l'adorent, ça les rend fous. Quand ma famille se rend à McPherson ou Tsiigehtchic, ils [les membres de sa belle-famille gwich'in] demandent, « est-ce que vous avec apporté du muktuk !? »

Au sujet de la co-création des savoirs

Ethel-Jean : On va dans les communautés, et on fait des portes ouvertes, et on crée l'opportunité pour les gens de venir et d'en savoir davantage sur le site Internet, et on répond peut-être à quelques questions, on donne quelques renseignements au sujet de leur Histoire vivante. [Et nous leur demandons :] « Dites-nous si nous faisons du bon travail ou dites-nous si nous sommes "dans le champ", parce que cela nous aide, quand nous rentrons, à nous dire, « Bien, nous avons raté ça… » C'est tellement important d'avoir les remarques des communautés, parce qu'ils vous le disent, ce sont des gens vraiment directs. Ils vous disent les choses telles qu'elles sont.

Quand on ne sait pas [quelque chose] … c'est là qu'en général nous allons voir les Aînés de la communauté en leur disant, « Hé, on a une question… Nous sommes en train de concevoir ce site Internet, et cette question a surgi. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez? Et alors on la fait parvenir aux six communautés. Quelquefois, c'est incroyable, les réponses nous reviennent presque identiques, et quelquefois elles nous reviennent complètement différentes : c'est ça la diversité des communautés.

Mervin : Nous devons travailler ensemble et, comme vous les archéologues, vous venez et vous nous aidez à fouiller. Vous nous aidez à raconter notre histoire. Et ensuite cette histoire, nous l'apporterons à l'école. Et ensuite… à l'école, ils ont un cours d'histoire sur cela. Et après, tu vois, les professeurs apprendront, les étudiants apprendront, tous les différents groupes d'âge. Comme, si nous apportons un artefact à un enfant de maternelle, on lui demande, « qu'est-ce que c'est? » Et si c'est un couteau à neige, l'enfant va aller dehors et essayer de couper de la neige! Il essaie déjà d'apprendre à s'en servir! Le site Internet est un point de départ pour ce processus, pour les rendre curieux.

Lena : Il va vous falloir utiliser vraiment les Aînés pour qu'ils transmettent leur savoir ; avoir un contact étroit avec eux en tant qu'administrateurs du site.

Ashley : Comme tu l'as dit, le site Internet est pour tout le monde… et on peut espérer que la construction de ce site créera des opportunités pour les Aînés et pour les jeunes, et d'autres âges, de s'assoir ensemble et de partager cette expérience d'apprentissage.

Lena : Il est important que les usagers inuvialuit se rendent compte que [le site Internet] leur appartient! Parce que ce sont des Inuvialuit et qu'ils sentent qu'ils sont représentés, qu'ils font partie de quelque chose [dont ils se sentent propriétaires], dont ils veulent vraiment faire partie.

Discussion. Restituer les Histoires vivantes des Inuvialuit numériquement et en temps réel

Cet article porte sur le processus de restitution et de présentation des histoires vivantes et des traditions culturelles des Inuvialuit en format numérique et en temps réel. Dans cette discussion, nous réfléchissons à certaines des difficultés de la co-création de savoir, de la représentation d'une multitude de voix, et de la rupture de la dynamique des privilèges (Desmarais *et al.* 2021 ; Kelvin et Hodgetts 2020). Ainsi que certains membres de l'équipe y ont fait allusion ci-dessus, une partie de cette histoire porte sur des processus coloniaux et une autre partie sur la constitution de la communauté inuvialuit elle-même en réaction à ces derniers (Pokiak 2020). Ainsi que le laisse entendre Lena, le contact colonial soutenu a commencé très tôt dans l'Arctique de l'Ouest avec l'arrivée des Euro-canadiens chasseurs de baleines boréales dans les années 1890, rapidement suivis par les traiteurs de fourrures et les missionnaires. Durant cette époque coloniale, les gens de l'extérieur ont continuellement imposé des changements économiques et sociaux au mode de vie des Inuvialuit (Bockstoce 1986 ; Hodgett 2013 ; Lyons 2010, 2013 ; Usher 1971) – et les Inuvialuit y ont réagi (en partie) en devenant l'un des groupes de chasseurs et de trappeurs les plus efficaces au monde sur le plan commercial (Alunik, Kolausok et Morrison 2003). Ethel-Jean insiste sur le bouleversement majeur et son impact sur la culture, y compris la langue – qui, contrairement à d'autres langues du nord circumpolaire, n'est désormais plus beaucoup parlée – et les difficultés que cela représente (Amos 2019).

Afin de contrecarrer les incursions coloniales et étatiques, les chefs gwich'in et inuvialuit se sont unis au début des années 1970 pour constituer le Comité des droits des peuples premiers (Committee of Original People's Entitlement, COPE), organisme qui allait œuvrer aux revendications territoriales respectives de ces communautés (Alunik *et al.* 2003 ; Pokiak 2020 ; Usher 1976). Côté Inuvialuit, il incluait des membres de trois groupes linguistiques apparentés malgré un immense éloignement géographique : les communautés des locuteurs de l'uummarmiutun à l'ouest, les locuteurs du sallirmiutun (siglitun) en bordure maritime du delta du Mackenzie, et les locuteurs du kangiryuarmiutun (isnuinnaqtun) à l'est (Figure 1). Signée en 1984, l'entente territoriale des Inuvialuit recouvrait des institutions sociales, culturelles et économiques édifiées sur une communauté de valeurs et d'intérêts pour documenter, façonner et affirmer les histoires et l'avenir de la collectivité. Cependant, ainsi que l'ont évoqué Ethel-Jean et Lena ci-dessus, ces communautés ont des histoires, des identités et des intérêts divers, ainsi que des connaissances et des ressources fondamentales. Plusieurs d'entre elles, comme le fait remarquer Mervin, entretiennent des relations étroites et de longue date avec les Inupiat, les Gwich'in et d'autres communautés dénées de l'Alaska qu'il est important de reconnaître ; d'autres ont d'importantes relations avec des communautés inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est. Celles qui se trouvent au centre de la RDI – en particulier à Inuvik où se

trouvent les principales structures de gouvernement – tendent à se faire davantage entendre. Depuis les premières étapes de notre projet, les membres inuvialuit de l'équipe ont insisté sur l'importance de s'assurer que les gens des six communautés de la Région désignée aient des opportunités de participer aux activités du projet, d'y contribuer et de se voir représenter dans ses aboutissements.

Pour cette raison, leurs voix et leurs points de vue sont primordiaux dans la représentation des histoires des femmes et des hommes de ces communautés. Lors de l'élaboration du site Internet, nous avions en partie pour stratégie de créer une structure où l'on pourrait sans cesse ajouter du contenu, et de concevoir des pages aux thématiques larges pour pouvoir y inclure une diversité de perspectives présentées dans de multiples médias (Figure 4). Les Inuvialuit font constamment remarquer la signification de leurs noms de famille et leurs parcours familiaux – d'où venaient les gens, où ils s'étaient installés, à qui ils étaient apparentés. Nous avons cherché à montrer ces relations dans des cartes, des vidéos personnelles et des portraits, ainsi que par des extraits de mémoires d'Inuvialuit (Figures 5 et 6). À l'avenir, nous pourrons y ajouter des généalogies familiales et d'autres projets portés par les communautés.

Les voix sont également rendues par le texte. Lena et d'autres ont insisté sur l'importance du fait que les usagers inuvialuit reconnaissent ce site comme étant bien le leur, demandant par conséquent qui parle, et quel est son point de vue ? En réponse, nous avons choisi collectivement de rédiger les textes du site à la première personne du pluriel, mais cela renferme de multiples pluriels. Par exemple, des descriptions des communautés contemporaines de la Région désignée (Figure 6) ont été approuvées par des membres de ces communautés. Nous avons extrait et conservé des vidéos à partir des archives de l'Inuvialuit Communications Society, qui sont incroyablement riches ; ces vidéos montrent différentes activités culturelles, zones géographiques et périodes de temps qui remontent jusqu'aux années 1960. La carte interactive présente des sites et des artefacts archéologiques, traditionnels et contemporains qui couvrent un millier d'années d'usage ancestral du territoire (Figure 3).

Une autre question au sujet des voix est celle de la production elle-même. Le processus consistant à restituer les voix des Inuvialuit les fait passer à travers de nombreux filtres, tels que la ou les personnes qui choisiront ce qu'il faut inclure ou non. Nous devons continuellement revisiter nos procédés de production de savoir. Au cours d'une conversation partiellement relatée ci-dessus, Mervin disait à Ashley : « Vous nous aidez à raconter notre histoire ». Il désignait ainsi les membres non-Inuvialuit de notre équipe, dont plusieurs sont des auteurs de cet article et qui détiennent des compétences techniques très différentes : archéologues, anthropologues, archivistes, réalisateurs/réalisatrices et concepteurs de sites Internet. Élaborer un site Internet exige une petite armée de gens détenant de telles

compétences. Mervin faisait essentiellement observer une dynamique qui fonctionne pour notre projet (et pour un grand nombre d'autres semblables) : les Inuvialuit sont des détenteurs de savoir qui ont une histoire, des histoires, des idées et des connaissances qu'ils souhaitent partager avec nos/leurs enfants et le reste du monde d'une façon qui relève uniquement de leur choix propre. L'ICRC n'a pas encore la capacité de veiller sur toute la production sur place et c'est la raison pour laquelle il recourt à de nombreux partenariats tels que le nôtre. Pour les membres de l'équipe non-inuvialuit, notre tâche est d'écouter attentivement les points de vue et les préoccupations des partenaires des communautés, de discerner l'orientation qu'ils veulent prendre, et de rédiger des contenus en fonction de ces besoins, ceux-ci étant à leur tour vérifiés et entérinés par la communauté en un processus cyclique jusqu'à ce que nous parvenions à un résultat satisfaisant.

Ce processus est long, et même avec les meilleures intentions du monde, nous avons été confrontés à de nombreuses difficultés (mais nous avons aussi éprouvé beaucoup de joie !) lors de la création et de la réception des rondes de commentaires au sujet des différentes composantes du nouveau site Internet. Outre la géographie et les coûts des déplacements qui sont déjà des problèmes pour les projets nordiques, la pandémie nous a, bien sûr, mis d'autres bâtons dans les roues pour ce qui était du travail de terrain et des processus communautaires, ainsi que pour notre programme de communication habituel, mais nous avons réussi, en résolvant ensemble les problèmes de façon créative, à maintenir le projet en mouvement.

Notre site Internet de travail « beta » sera prêt à recevoir des commentaires à l'automne 2023, et nous prévoyons nous rendre dans les six communautés de la RDI avec les membres de l'équipe qui vivent au nord à l'aide d'assistants embauchés sur place. Tout au long du projet, nous avons noué des liens dans toutes ces communautés, et nous sommes impatient-e-s de les renouer. Il nous est nécessaire d'instaurer, au niveau collectif, un bon ensemble de méthodes pour nous engager dans chacune des communautés, pour élaborer des méthodes de révision critique et pour inviter les gens de la communauté à faire entendre leur voix dans les différentes sections du site Internet de la façon qu'ils ou elles choisiront. Il est probable que cela sera variable en fonction des endroits. Nous avons également travaillé avec le Conseil de l'éducation Beaufort-Delta, des enseignants locaux et des administrateurs pour déterminer les meilleures stratégies pour intégrer la version finale du site Internet et les ressources éducatives dans les programmes scolaires locaux et territoriaux.

Le principal enseignement que nous retirons de nos quinze années, ou presque, passées à coproduire le Projet d'Histoire vivante des Inuvialuit est relativement simple. Tout d'abord, mener une recherche significative basée dans une communauté exige du temps, un véritable engagement, et cela doit nous tenir à cœur (Hodgetts et Kelvin 2020 ; Lyons *et al.* 2022). Les membres de notre équipe sont forts, aimables et intelligents, et bien que nous ne

soyons pas toujours d'accord sur tous les plans, toutes les orientations ou toutes les interprétations, nous travaillons tous et toutes à trouver des solutions et à accueillir les différentes perspectives. Ensuite, les relations que nous avons nouées et les expériences que nous avons partagées sont d'importance égale pour les livrables que nous produisons. Par exemple, c'est un grand plaisir pour nous que de voir les jeunes qui sont employés par le projet en tant que chercheur-e-s, étudiant-e-s, assistant-e-s, vidéographes ou autres, devenir des adultes compétent-e-s qui poursuivent leur travail à divers titres dans les communautés. De même, il est remarquable d'observer un partage de savoirs se dérouler en temps réel dans la nature et être saisi en images numériques qui permettront de le regarder plus tard. Les ressources que nous avons créées durant toute la durée du projet – sites Internet, documentaire, programme scolaire, écrits universitaires ou grand public – sont également importantes, car elles véhiculent les voix de la communauté, font connaître les Inuvialuit et affirment ce qu'ils veulent être, offrant une sagesse ancienne ancrée dans la terre et des solutions pratiques dans un monde qui change.

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Nous pleurons la disparition de plusieurs Inuvialuit importants qui sont décédés pendant la rédaction et la production de cet article, notamment Mervin Joe et Peter Green.

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Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut ("Learning about Our Culture"): A Collaborative Approach to Archaeology and Traditional Knowledge in Inuit Nunangat

Max Friesen[i], Emily Angulalik[ii], Kim Crockatt[iii], and Pamela Hakongak Gross[iv]

ABSTRACT

This paper describes a long-term collaboration between the Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/ Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) of Cambridge Bay, Nunavut and the University of Toronto. The PI/KHS is a very active, Elder-run organization with activities ranging across oral history, traditional knowledge, language, place names, school programs, and the running of a museum. They have been collaborating with archaeologists from the University of Toronto since 1999 to expand their programming, learn more about very early time periods in their region, and provide additional opportunities to record traditional knowledge and involve Inuit youth in heritage programming. We discuss the history of this collaboration and its practical organizational aspects, and we conclude with thoughts on why it continues to work after over 20 years.

KEYWORDS

Archaeology, Traditional Knowledge, Community-Based Research, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

RÉSUMÉ

***Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut* («en savoir davantage sur notre culture»): Une approche collaborative de l'archéologie et du savoir traditionnel dans l'Inuit Nunangat**

Cet article décrit une collaboration à long terme entre le Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/ Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) de Cambridge Bay, au Nunavut, et l'Université de Toronto. Cette association patrimoniale de Kitikmeot, le PI/KHS, est une organisation très active, régie par des aînés, dont les activités vont de l'histoire orale au savoir traditionnel en passant par la langue, la toponymie, les programmes scolaires et la gestion d'un musée. Ses membres collaborent avec des archéologues de l'Université de Toronto depuis 1999 afin d'élargir leur programmation, d'en savoir

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davantage sur les périodes les plus anciennes de leur région, et ils procurent en outre des opportunités d'enregistrer le savoir traditionnel et d'impliquer les jeunes Inuit dans les programmes patrimoniaux. Nous discutons de l'histoire de cette collaboration et de ses aspects organisationnels pratiques, en concluant par des réflexions sur les raisons pour lesquelles elle continue de fonctionner au bout de plus de 20 ans.

MOTS-CLÉS
Archéologie, savoir traditionnel, recherche dans une communauté, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

IHUMAGIJAAT translated by Gwen Angulalik

Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut: Atauttikkuuqhutik Havauhirijumajaat Utuqqaqhiurniq Qaujimajatuqanngillu Inuit Nunanganni

Una titiraq atauttikkuurutigijumajaat ukuak Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq / Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) Iqaluktuuttiami, Nunavut ukualu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto). Ukuat PI/KHS-tkut hulilukaanginnaqtut, Inirnirit-havaariblutigik unipkaatuqanik, qaujimajatuqanginnik, uqauhikkut, initurliit taihiniinnik, iliharvingmi piliriarutikhainnik, utuqqaqarvingmilu havarvigiblutigik. Uvanngat 1999, havaqatigiblutigik utuqqaliqijitkut uvanngaaqhimajut Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto) pivaallirumadjutigiblugu piliriarutigijamingnik, ilitpalliadjutigiblugit qangaraaluk inuminngit nunamingni aviktuqhimajumi, pivikhaqaqtittilugillu nipiliurlugit qaujimajauhimajut piqatigilugillu Inuit inulrammiit ingilraanittat havauhirilugit. Uvani titirarmi, uqautigiblutigu atauttikkuuqpangniat qanurlu tutqikhaivauhiat, iniqtirutigiblutigulu ihumagiblutigu huurlikiaq huli havauhirimmaaqtaat 20-nik ukiuni.

KEYWORDS
Utuqqaliqiniq, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Nunallaani-Tunngaviqaqtut Qaujiharniq, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

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Inuit Nunangat (the Canadian Arctic) has a long and complex history, and over the past century there have been many archaeological projects across its huge territory. This archaeology has covered every period, from the earliest ancestors of the Tuniit people who were here 5,000 years ago to camps where Inuit lived within living memory. These different projects have been connected to Inuit communities in various ways, from not at all to cases involving deep and meaningful collaborations.

In this paper, we discuss our collaborative project, which is unusual because it was started by a community heritage organization run by Elders: the Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq / Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) of Cambridge Bay, in western Nunavut. The PI/KHS wanted to see how

archaeology could fit with their ongoing activities, which were mainly centered on recording Elders' knowledge. It has developed into a long-running partnership that includes many different projects and is still going strong today (Figure 1).

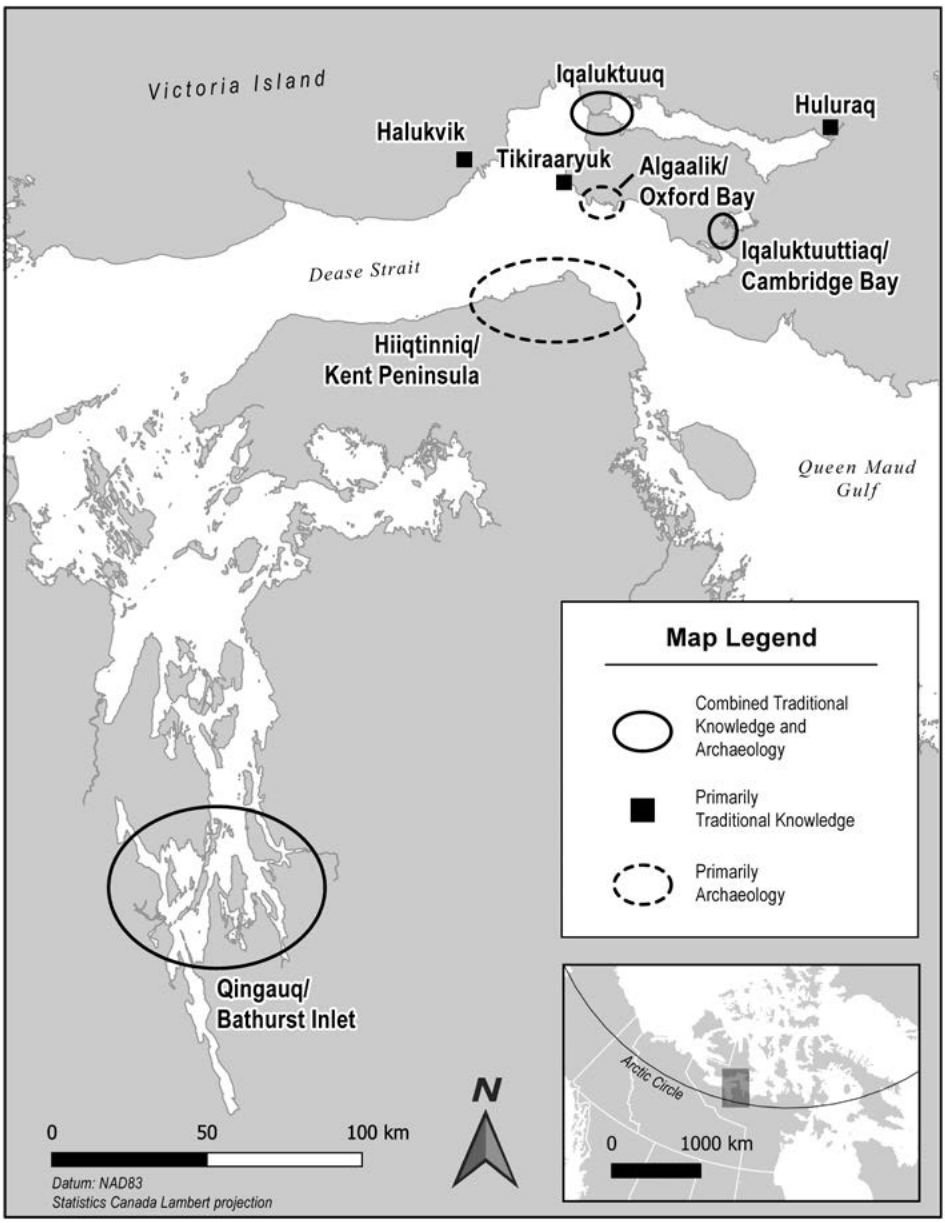


Figure 1. Map of the Cambridge Bay region, showing areas where we have worked collaboratively. Map: Max Friesen and Taylor Thornton.

History of Our Collaboration

Founded in 1996, the PI/KHS is a highly active Elder-run Inuit cultural organization whose activities include collecting and archiving traditional knowledge and place names, operating the northernmost museum in Canada, organizing programs on the land that bring together Elders and youth, designing school programs, and coordinating a range of research initiatives. It is particularly involved with Inuinnait (Inuit of western Nunavut) and the Inuinnaqtun language.

Early on, the PI/KHS was interested in how archaeology might relate to their other activities. In their first year in 1996, they worked with archaeologist Andrew Stewart in connection with oral history work at Uvayuq, a prominent hill north of Cambridge Bay. Over the next few years, they continued to consider how collaborative work with archaeologists might benefit their activities, and decided there were at least six reasons why a new partnership would be worthwhile:

1. Archaeology could contribute to the deep interest of the PI/KHS in the long-term history of the Inuinnait region and how it fits with the recent history they had been recording.
2. This partnership could involve joint traditional knowledge/archaeology projects, which in turn could expand the PI/KHS's exploration of traditional knowledge and link it directly to heritage sites on the land.
3. Archaeology is a way to engage local students with heritage to draw connections with Inuit history on the land and learn how researchers conduct work in Nunavut.
4. Such a partnership could potentially lead to collaborations in obtaining funding and organizing complex projects.
5. Archaeology could expand the range of PI/KHS activities by providing content for its programs, museum exhibits, and website.
6. The PI/KHS wished to contribute to important scientific knowledge and thought this could best be accomplished by bringing together archaeology and traditional knowledge.

In 1999, the original volunteer President of the PI/KHS, Kim Crockatt, invited Max Friesen of the University of Toronto (UofT) up to Cambridge Bay for an initial meeting to discuss a possible collaborative research plan. Its main purpose was to see if there was a good fit in terms of personalities and visions for the future. Kim, Max, and several Elders travelled by helicopter to an important heritage landscape called Iqaluktuuq to talk about the history of the area, and more generally to discuss how the integration of archaeology and community heritage goals could work (Figure 2). Based on that meeting, both groups committed to getting a long-term project going.



Figure 2. Our first meeting at Iqaluktuuq in 1999. Left to right: Frank Analok, David Kaomayok, Annie Kaosoni, Mackie Kaosoni, Mabel Angulalik, James Panioyak, and Kim Crockatt. Photo: Max Friesen.

After acquiring funding, they organized their first full field season in 2000, and the project continued almost every year up to 2010. At that point, as the archaeology and oral history at Iqaluktuuq appeared to have reached a logical conclusion, Max developed a separate project to the west in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. However, contact and cooperation was maintained between the PI/KHS and the UofT during this period.

In 2016, Pamela Hakongak Gross took over as Executive Director of the PI/KHS. Pamela had been a student participant in the 2010 field season of this collaborative project (Figure 3), and one of her priorities for the PI/KHS was to make archaeology a bigger part of their activities again. In 2017, Pamela and Max met in Ottawa and enthusiastically decided to renew the partnership. Fieldwork started back up in 2018 with two field seasons in Bathurst Inlet, combining the recording of oral histories and place names with archaeological work.

In 2021, Emily Angulalik became the new Executive Director of the PI/KHS. She has been a part of the PI/KHS since its first year in 1996, and had been a researcher at several of the collaborative traditional knowledge / archaeology camps at Iqaluktuuq and other locations over the years (Figure 4). Emily is currently developing a new set of activities and priorities for the PI/KHS, which will continue to include archaeology. The top priority



Figure 3. Pamela Hakongak Gross excavating at Iqaluktuuq in 2010. Photo: Max Friesen.

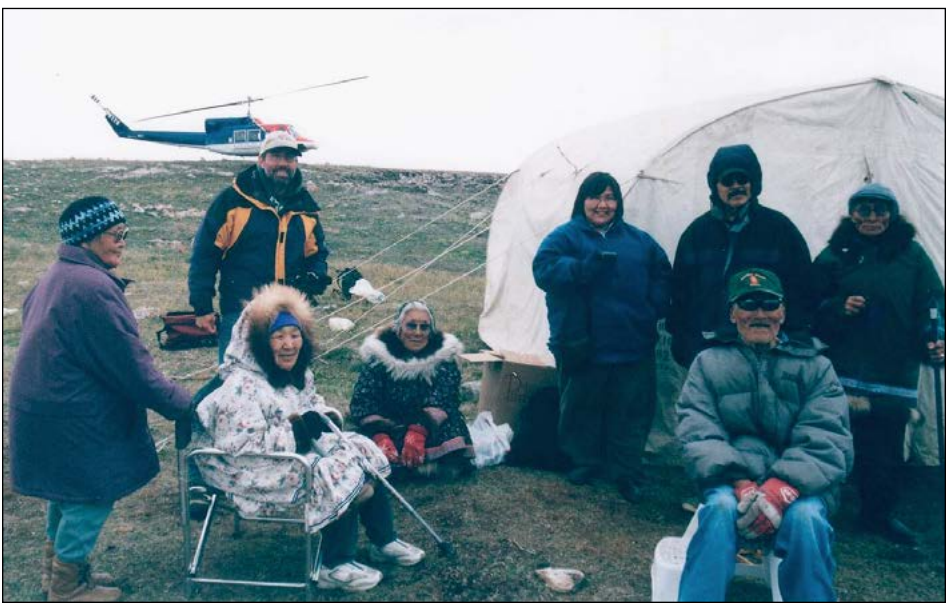


Figure 4. Elders' visit to Iqaluktuuq in 2003. Left to right: Marjorie Taptoona, Bessie Emingak (seated), Max Friesen, Bessie Omilgoetok, Emily Angulalik, James Panioyak, Frank Analok (seated), and Moses Koihok. Photo: Max Friesen.

at the moment is to continue expanding programs related to the Inuinnaqtun language, and in particular to find ways to help "silent speakers"—those who know the language but cannot always speak it fluently—to use it more. 2021 also marked the 25th Anniversary of the PI/KHS, involving a social media campaign that included a timeline with the "Top 10 Archaeological Discoveries" on the PI/KHS website (Figure 5).

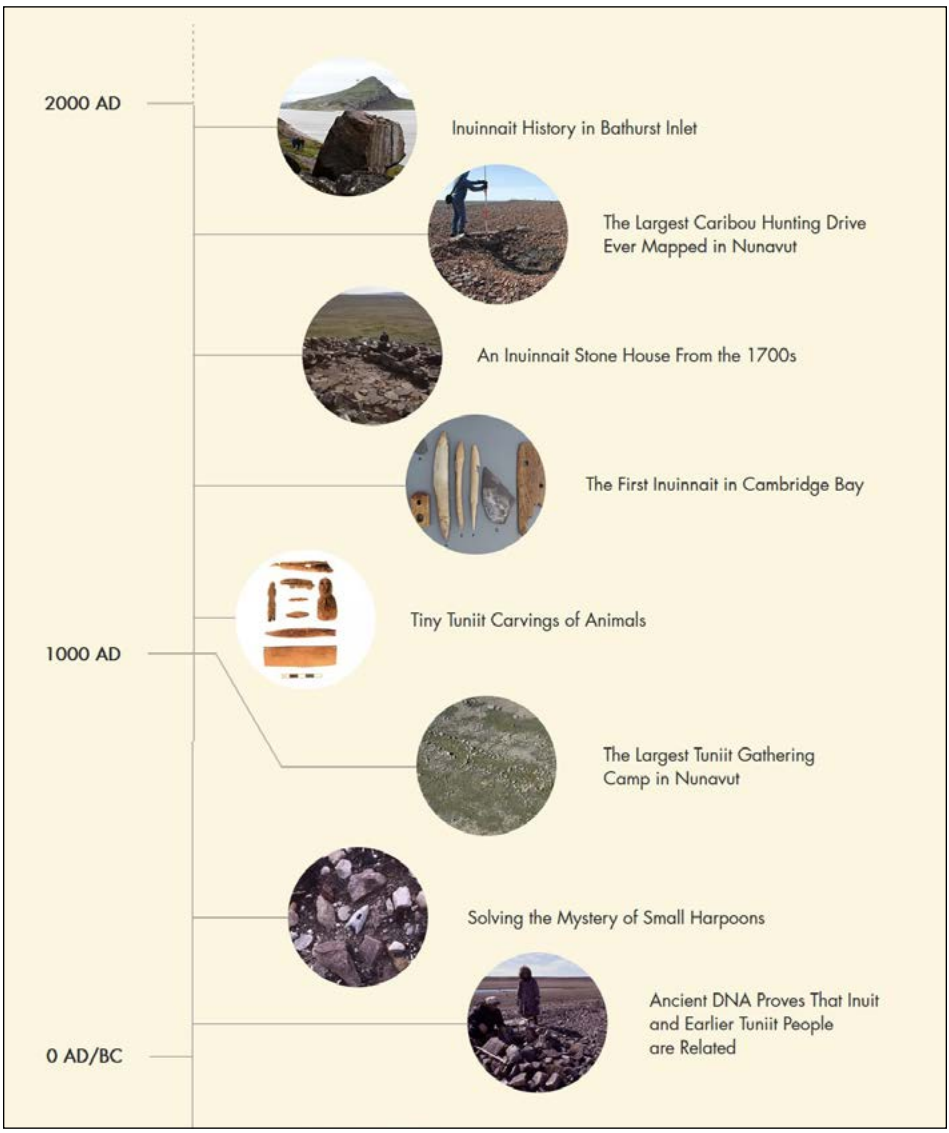


Figure 5. A screen shot from the PI/KHS website showing part of our "Top 10 Archaeological Discoveries" page (https://www.kitikmeotheritage.ca/top10discoveries). Clicking on the circular picture on each discovery leads to additional photos and descriptions.

How Our Project Works

We believe our project is truly collaborative because it is not only driven by shared decision-making at all stages of the research but is also intended to maximize the benefits for both the PI/KHS and the UofT. Planning for collaborative activities begins with the PI/KHS, who develop their research priorities in discussions with Elders. Once this outline of priorities is established, Max is encouraged to explore issues and activities that are also significant from an "academic" perspective. Thus, for example, for our long-term project at Iqaluktuuq, the PI/KHS defined the area to be investigated, and prioritized the recording of oral histories on site and the meaningful involvement of Inuinnait youth for the remainder of the project. Most of the field seasons began with a 5-day traditional knowledge camp, where Elders recounted regional histories, followed by visits to heritage sites to discuss and interpret them with the participating archaeologists and youth (Figure 6). However, Max was also encouraged to study the most significant and interesting aspects of the sites from an archaeological viewpoint. The rationale for this is that the PI/KHS wants to be involved in better understanding the full archaeological history of the area, which can then be used to develop programs and communications.



Figure 6. Drumming and singing traditional songs at Iqaluktuuq. Left to right: Frank Analok, Jenny Analok, Mary Kilaodluk (drumdancing), David Kaomayok (behind drum), Tommy Kilaodluk, David Kaniak, and Matthew Ehaloak. Photo: Max Friesen.



Figure 7. Discussing early stone structures at Huluraq. Left to right: Matthew Nakashook, Max Friesen, Emily Angulalik, Mary Kaotalok, Matthew Ehaloak, David Kaniak (behind Matthew); Mabel Etegik, Lesley Howse, and Tommy Kilaodluk. Photo: Max Friesen.

Over the years, most of our work has taken place at Iqaluktuuq, where we had multiple Elders' Traditional Knowledge camps as well as extensive archaeological excavations. However, we also visited a number of other areas, usually because of a desire by groups of Elders to visit places of significance from their younger years and to record histories and place names while there. Excursions have included a one-day trip to the important fishing river of Halukvik on the west side of Wellington Bay, a 5-day camp at Huluraq at the east end of Ferguson Lake (Figure 7), and a visit to Tikiraaryuk, which had been the Fall Sewing Camp for Iqaluktuurmiut (people of Iqaluktuuq) in the early 20th century. These trips yielded many unexpected insights into Inuinnait history in the region (see Figure 1 for locations). As just one example, the following is the story of how the site of Huluraq got its name. This story was told by Matthew Nakashook, who was interviewed by Emily Angulalik and Max Friesen in July of 2007 at Huluraq (translated from Inuinnaqtun):

> This is where Huluraq may have passed away, that is why this place bears its name: Huluraq. This is an ancient story of Huluraq, this is what Pannaktannuaq used to tell the story of Huluraq. He had two wives at that time, this is where he used to live. He was almost killed by men,

> he was approached by many men that wanted to kill him, the reason being that the men wanted to have his wives. The two women ran up the hill to hide because they didn't want to watch their husband being killed by these men, they ran up to a place called Nahiqhurvik… Huluraq escaped this encounter with stab wounds from the bow and arrows; he escaped to a place called Uqilittiivik. He was almost killed but escaped to that place beyond Uvajuq to heal his wounds.

In terms of training and experience, the project is designed to benefit Northern student trainees and other youth, who gain experience in field archaeology, Inuit history on the land, and oral history research, and also Southern graduate students, who gain experience working on community-based projects and who, in many cases, collect data for their own research. A large part of the benefit to students has come from their working alongside one another. Northern and Southern students learn about each other's worlds and often develop real and lasting friendships. In fact, the project has even led to a romance and eventually a marriage between a Southern undergraduate and a Northern student!

Other aspects of the research are also integrated. For example, archaeological specimens are transported to Toronto for analysis (Figure 8) prior to their eventual storage with Nunavut collections currently located in the Canadian Museum of Nature building in Gatineau. On the other hand, all products of the oral history research are controlled and stored by the PI/KHS in Cambridge Bay. Most interviews with Elders are conducted by



Figure 8. Elders discussing artifacts from Iqaluktuuq at the University of Toronto Arctic Archaeology Lab. Left to right: Darren Keith, Joseph Tikhak, and Bessie Omilgoitok. Photo: Andrew Stewart.

PI/KHS researchers, though Max often takes part. These interviews have led to several extremely important insights which have guided the interpretation of archaeological sites. For example, the Iqaluktuuq area is the location of dozens of a very small simple type of harpoon head that archaeologists have been unable to understand. Archaeologist William Taylor, who worked at Iqaluktuuq in the 1960s, was unsure if they had been used to hunt caribou or to fish for Arctic char. In an interview at Iqaluktuuq, Elder Frank Analok, who had spent his childhood there, was absolutely certain that these were fishing harpoons similar to ones used by Inuit to fish for Arctic char; this has led to important insights into how 2,000-year-old sites along the riverbank were used.

On an administrative level, both partners apply for funding and permits, and each is responsible for managing its own budgets. It is safe to say that the scale of the activities of each partner would not be possible without the collaboration of the other. In addition, both partners provide the complementary expertise needed to efficiently run the project. The PI/KHS provides important regional knowledge about heritage site locations, environmental factors, local transportation information such as the best boating routes, and safety information relating to wildlife, among many others, while UofT personnel provide technical archaeological expertise, logistical coordination of helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft schedules, and information on additional aspects of field equipment and communications.

Ultimately, this collaborative research results in greater progress than either of the two partners could achieve on their own. The current phase of the project, which saw fieldwork in 2018 and 2019, provides a good example. The PI/KHS had long wanted to pursue research in the Qingauq (Bathurst Inlet) region southwest of Cambridge Bay on the mainland. Many Cambridge Bay Elders had grown up in the area and had wished to record oral histories, place names, and other information—before it was lost. However, because of the significant expenses involved and logistical difficulties, they had been unable to mount this project. With the help of grants secured by the UofT and aircraft support from the Polar Continental Shelf Program, they were able to fly to Bathurst Inlet in 2018 with a team of 11 (three Elders, an interpreter, two PI/KHS researchers, three youth trainees, and two UofT researchers). Meanwhile, the PI/KHS funded Elders' honoraria, researchers' time, student wages, and accommodations in Bathurst Inlet. Both partners applied for different permits and licences, each including letters of support from the other. Once in Bathurst Inlet, they established a field camp that also included several additional families who spend their summers in the region. The result was a series of recordings documenting Inuinnait history in the region as well as many previously unrecorded place names. Most interviews took place on sites where the Elders had lived in the mid-20th century, and which contain archaeological remains going back hundreds and in some cases thousands of years (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Interviewing Elders in a caribou blind at the Hiuqqitaaq River, 2018. Left to right: Darren Keith, Pam Gross, Mary Kaniak, Lena Kamoayok, and Connie Kapolak. Photo: Max Friesen.



Figure 10. Mapping a seal oil caching rock (urhuqaqvik) with a drone, 2019. Note the trails of seal oil on the sides of the vertical boulder and the stones on top that had been used to hold down a skin cover. Photo: Max Friesen.

In 2019, Max returned with a smaller crew that included one graduate student, one PI/KHS researcher, and two Inuit trainees. They returned to the same sites where the Elders had been interviewed during the previous year to carry out detailed site surveys and to map them in three dimensions with a drone (Figure 10). These continued surveys were led by Allen Kapolak, who lives in Bathurst Inlet for much of the year. PI/KHS and UofT researchers are currently combining the products of both seasons into a planned publicly accessible web-based map that directly links modern Elders' knowledge (including videos of interviews) with place names, environmental and geographic knowledge, and high-resolution 3D imagery of the archaeological sites.

Final Thoughts

For us, this partnership works very well. Much of our work brings together traditional knowledge and Western science in a meaningful way. This does not mean that every activity and every product is a perfect blend of the two, but the end result is that a high proportion of the work that has been done brings together these two ways of knowing, with the questions asked, and the way they are answered, based on multiple sources of insight.

Can we offer any advice to others seeking to perform collaborative work? Most of what we have to say is obvious, and while we recognize that there are other very successful collaborative projects taking place in the North, here are a few comments from our perspective:

First, time is an important variable—to make a project like this work, it has to be able to grow over a significant period. In 1999, none of us knew each other, so we were all probably cautious for the first while, especially in the first full fieldwork year in 2000. After that initial period, however, things got much easier because we had established close relationships, and eventually everyone could trust each other to do the right thing. Now, after 23 years, our internal conversations and decision-making run very smoothly, mainly because we have a straightforward trust that every member of the group has the best interests of all at heart. While we come from very different backgrounds, we believe we have shared values as they relate to our work together.

Second, we have been very lucky in that we have a history of each group working hard to support the other. Whenever one needs input, for example a letter of support, the other prioritizes this and gets it in as soon as possible. Max makes a point of designing the logistics of each season's work as much as possible around local priorities, within the constraints imposed by outside forces such as funding agencies. In turn, the PI/KHS has been very supportive of research in more remote early time periods, even when the links to recent Inuinnait lifeways are slender. In other words, we all try to be flexible and willing to assume that everything that happens will ultimately lead to a better outcome for both groups.

Third, a key part of our positive outcomes results from having excellent student participants on both sides of the partnership (Figure 11). Inuinnait students have added immeasurably to the results of the fieldwork, including bringing their detailed understanding of the land and its history to the project, while also benefitting from a rare opportunity to work directly with local heritage. Graduate students from UofT have also made immense contributions, with several students playing key roles in the collaborative relationship. This has been a great help to Max by giving him more time to keep other aspects of the project running smoothly.



Figure 11. Three students at Iqaluktuuq: Sherry Kadlun from Cambridge Bay, Mari Kleist from Nuuk, Greenland, and Lesley Howse from the University of Toronto. Photo: Max Friesen.

Fourth, it is important for all participants to keep an open mind about how the project might develop and what will come out of it. For example, Max's research has been taken in completely new directions by this collaboration. Before working with the PI/KHS, his research focused on quite recent Inuit and Inuvialuit archaeology, but the work at Iqaluktuuq pulled him into much older Tuniit (Paleo-Inuit) time periods. From the perspective of the PI/KHS, the project has led to the exploration of new ways not only to use and pass on language between generations but also to involve youth in Inuit heritage activities in general. It has also enabled the collection of place names and traditional knowledge at important places that were previously difficult to get to, due to a lack of helicopter support.

Fifth, and finally, it is important for all of us to recognize that for Inuinnait, digging up the land to understand history is a new way of learning. We regularly discuss the process as a group to ensure that a consensus exists around the types of activities (including excavation) that will take place in any given year. Through the years, the community has continued to support the archaeology; in fact, in our most recent 2022 field season, Elders participated actively in the excavation process (Figure 12). This support is based on a sense of mutual respect and continues because traditional knowledge is incorporated and passed on during each project, with Elders sharing their knowledge with the next generations and with researchers.



Figure 12. Elders and researchers excavate at a Middle Dorset site north of Cambridge Bay during a Community Archaeology Day in 2022. Left to right: Mabel Etegik, Mary Kaotalok, Tammy Omilgoitok, Bessie Omilgoetok, and Max Friesen. Photo: Max Friesen.

Acknowledgements

We thank, first and foremost, all the Elders who have helped to shape this project and have contributed so much knowledge and support. We also thank all the students, PI/KHS researchers, and others involved, as well as Taylor Thornton for drafting the map, and Gwen Angulalik for the translation into Inuinnaqtun. Funding came from many sources, including several programs of the Government of Nunavut and the Government of Canada, particularly the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Government of Canada Program for the International Polar Year. Most importantly, none of this could have happened without the Polar Continental Shelf Program that over the years has provided all the aircraft time, equipment, and logistical expertise that has enabled us to pursue this work.

Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut: Atauttikkuuqhutik Havauhirijumajaat Utuqqaqhiurniq Qaujimajatuqanngillu Inuit Nunanganni

Max Friesen[i], Emily Angulalik[ii], Kim Crockatt[iii], unalu Pamela Hakongak Gross[iv]

Translated into Inuinnaqtun by Gwen Angulalik

IHUMAGIJAAT

Una titiraq atauttikkuurutigijumajaat ukuak Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq / Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) Iqaluktuuttiami, Nunavut ukualu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto). Ukuat PI/KHS-tkut hulilukaanginnaqtut, Inirnirit-havaariblutigik unipkaatuqanik, qaujimajatuqanginnik, uqauhikkut, initurliit taihiniinnik, iliharvingmi piliriarutikhainnik, utuqqaqarvingmilu havarvigiblutigik. Uvanngat 1999, havaqatigiblutigik utuqqaliqijitkut uvanngaaqhimajut Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto) pivaallirumadjutigiblugu piliriarutigijamingnik, ilitpalliadjutigiblugit qangaraaluk inuminngit nunamingni aviktuqhimajumi, pivikhaqaqtittilugillu nipiliurlugit qaujimajauhimajut piqatigilugillu Inuit inulrammiit ingilraanittat havauhirilugit. Uvani titirarmi, uqautigiblutigu atauttikkuuqpangniat qanurlu tutqikhaivauhiat, iniqtirutigiblutigulu ihumagiblutigu huurlikiaq huli havauhirimmaaqtaat 20-nik ukiuni.

KEYWORDS

Utuqqaliqiniq, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Nunallaani-Tunngaviqaqtut Qaujiharniq, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

ABSTRACT

Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut ("Learning about Our Culture"): A Collaborative Approach to Archaeology and Traditional Knowledge in Inuit Nunangat

This paper describes a long-term collaboration between the Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/ Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) of Cambridge Bay, Nunavut and the University of Toronto. The PI/KHS is a very active, Elder-run organization with activities ranging across oral history, traditional knowledge, language, place names, school programs, and the running of a museum. They have been collaborating with archaeologists from the University of Toronto since 1999 to expand their programming, learn more

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about very early time periods in their region, and provide additional opportunities to record traditional knowledge and involve Inuit youth in heritage programming. We discuss the history of this collaboration and its practical organizational aspects, and we conclude with thoughts on why it continues to work after over 20 years.

KEYWORDS
Archaeology, Traditional Knowledge, Community-Based Research, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

RÉSUMÉ

***Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut* («en savoir davantage sur notre culture»): Une approche collaborative de l'archéologie et du savoir traditionnel dans l'Inuit Nunangat**

Cet article décrit une collaboration à long terme entre le Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/ Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) de Cambridge Bay, au Nunavut, et l'Université de Toronto. Cette association patrimoniale de Kitikmeot, le PI/KHS, est une organisation très active, régie par des aînés, dont les activités vont de l'histoire orale au savoir traditionnel en passant par la langue, la toponymie, les programmes scolaires et la gestion d'un musée. Ses membres collaborent avec des archéologues de l'Université de Toronto depuis 1999 afin d'élargir leur programmation, d'en savoir davantage sur les périodes les plus anciennes de leur région, et ils procurent en outre des opportunités d'enregistrer le savoir traditionnel et d'impliquer les jeunes Inuit dans les programmes patrimoniaux. Nous discutons de l'histoire de cette collaboration et de ses aspects organisationnels pratiques, en concluant par des réflexions sur les raisons pour lesquelles elle continue de fonctionner au bout de plus de 20 ans.

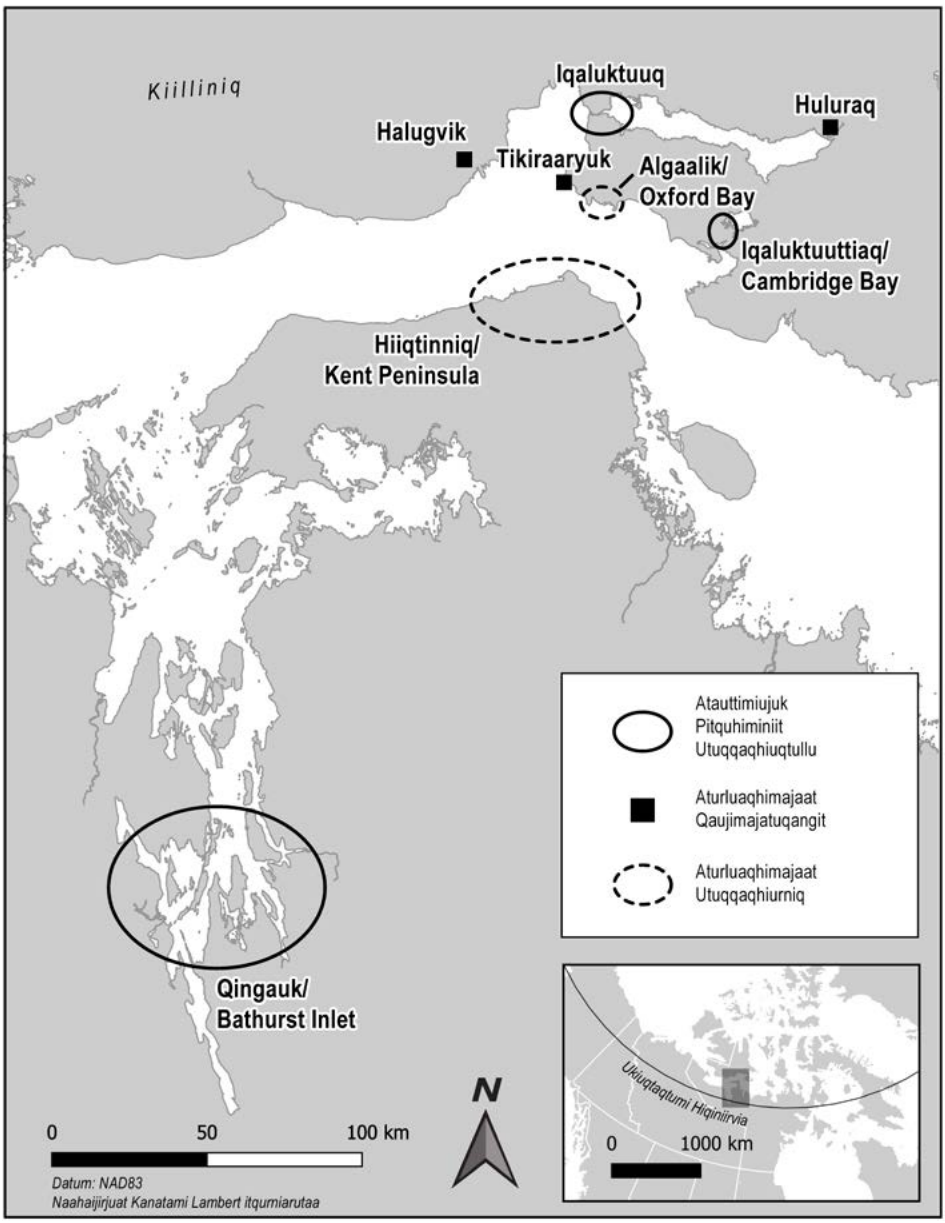
MOTS-CLÉS
Archéologie, savoir traditionnel, recherche dans une communauté, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

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Inuit Nunangat (the Canadian Arctic) qangaraaluk amigaittuublutiglu pitquhiminiqaqtuq, uvvalu ukiut 100-ngujuni amigaittuujunik utuqqalirijauvaktuq angijumi nunattiami. Hamna utuqqaliridjutingat nalvaarvigihimajaat taimaniraaluk angajuqqaaminiit Tuniit inuit hamaniihimajut 5,000 ukiut qaangiqhimajuni, initurlirivagait Inuit qangaraaluk. Hapkuat aallatqiit havauhikhat aktuumadjutiqaqtuq Inuit nunallaanginni, uvanngaunngittumi, ukununnga ilumuuqtumik piqpagijaujunilu iligiikhutik.

Uvani titirarmi, uqautiginiaqtavut havaarijaqqut aadjikkutaqanngittumi imaittuungmat nunalaami pitquhilirijut katimablutik havaarijaat Inirnirit. Unaujuq Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq / Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) Iqaluktuuttiami uataani Nunavut. Ukuat PI/KHS qanurittuuniarumi

utuqqaliriniq hulilukaarutiginiarumikku havauhiriliqtamingni, nipiliuqpakhutigik Inirnirit qaujimajatuqangit. Qangaraaluk iligiiliqhutik amigaittuujunik aallatqiinik havaakhaqaqhutik, huli havauhirimmaaqtait ublumi (Naunaipkut 1).



Naunaipkut 1. Nunaujaq Iqaluktuuttiap nunaani, naunaipkutaubluni havagvgiijauvaktut. Nunaujaq: Max Friesen unalu Taylor Thornton.

Qanurittuuhia Havaqatigiigutikput

Ukuat PI/KHS, havaarijauliqtuq 1996-mi, hulilukaarnikkut katimajiujut Inuit Inirnirit havagvigijaat hapkuninnga katitiriblutik ilittuqhaiblugillu qaujimajatuqaujut nunallu atiinik havaariblutigik, ukiuqtaqtumi utuqqaliriviubluni Kanatami, havaariblutigik maniqqamiujukhanik Inirnirit inulrammiillu, ilihaqtaujukhallu iliharvingni, qaujiharnirmullu hunaniglikiaq aallatqiiktunik. Ilauqataulluaqpaktut Inuinnait (Inuit uataani Nunavut), haffuminngalu Inuinnaqtun uqauhiitigut.

Havalihaaqhutik, ukuat PI/KHS-tkut ihumagilluaqhutigik utuqqaliriniit hulilukaarutiginiarumikku ahiit huliniannik. Havalihaarutigijamingni 1996-mi havaqatigiblutigu Andrew Stewart unipkaaminiit ilaginiarutikhaannik Uvayurmi, kingingninnuaq tunuani Iqaluktuuttiaq. Ukiuni qaangiqtuni, ihumaliurutigiblutigik havaqatigijumablutikik utuqqaqhiuqtit ikajuutiginiariakhaita hulilukaarutimingnik, ihumaliurutigiblutigik siksiujut hulilukaarutikhaat iligiiglutik havaarijakhatigut uukturumajaat:

- Hivulliqpaami, utuqqaqhiurniq ihumagijaulluarutigilugit PI/KHS-tkut qangaraaluk pitquhiminiqarniit Inuinnait nunaanni qanurlu ihuariniqaqtuq qangahaannuaq pitquhinininiit nipiliuqpagainnik.
- Aippaani, iligiiglutik havaarijungnaqtaat pitquhilirinikkut/utuqqaqhiurnirmut havaanginnik, pivaallirutigijungnaqtaat PI/KHS-tkut ilitturinahuarlutigik qaujimajatuqanginnik ilaliutigilugulu initurliminirnut maniqqami.
- Pingahuanni, utuqqaliqiniq ilitpaallirutigijungnaqtaat ilihaqtut pitquhilirinikkut, ilitpaallirutigijungnaqtaat Inuit maniqqamiunikkut pitquhiminiannik, ilitpalliarutigilugillu qanuq qaujihaqtit havakpaktut Nunavunmi.
- Hitamaanni, iligiiglutik manikhaqtaarungnaqtut ihuaqhailutiglu amigaittut havaarijaujukhat.
- Tallimanianni, utuqqaliqiniq pivaallirutigijungnaqtaat PI/KHS-tkut hulilukaarutigijainnik havauhirijakhamingnik, utuqqanik takuvikhaannik, qaritaujarjuakkuurnikhakkullu.
- Siksianni, ukuat PI/KHS-tkut ikajurluarumajut nalunaqtunik qaujimajaujukhanik ihumablutiglu nakuatut hivumuurutigijungnaqtaat atauttimiupkailutik utuqqaliqiniq ilaliutilugu qaujimajatuqarninik.

Uvani 1999, akiittumik ikajuqtuijuq Angajuqqaangubluni PI/KHS-tkunni, Kim Crockatt, qaitquhimajaa Max Friesen uvanngaaqhimajuq Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi [University of Toronto] (U of T) Iqaluktuuttiamut katimajaqtuqublugu uqautigilugulu qaujiharnikhaup parnaijautikhaanik. Naunaiqpaallirumablutigik ihuariakhaa qanurlikiaq tautuqquuqtaillu hivumuurutigijakhaitigut. Kim, Max, qaffiujullu Inirnirit Iqaluktuumunngaujut

halikaaptakkut ingilraanittat najuqpakhimajainni, pitquhiminiit uqautigilutigu tahamani, uqautigilugulu ilaliutigilugu utuqqaliqiniq nunallaanilu pitquhiminiit havauhirijumajaat (Naunaipkut 2). Katimanianni talvani, ukuak atuni iligiiktuk tuniqhidjutiqaqhutik hivitujumik havauhiqalirlutik. Maniktuutikhaqtaaramik, hivulliqpaami aullaarutikhamingnik 2000-mi, unalu havaarihimajaat ukiuq tamaat havaarivagait uvunga ukiumut 2010. Talvani, hamna utuqqaqhiurniq uvvalu unipkaariblutigik pitquhiminiit Iqaluktuumi havaarittiaqhutigik iniqtirihimajaat, uvvalu Max havaariliqhuniuk atuni havaarijaujukhaq uataanut uvani Inuvialuit Nunataarutaanni. Qanurlikiaq, uqaqatigiikpakhutik havaqatigiikpakhutiglu PI/KHS-tkut ukualu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T) uqaqatigiiqattaqhutik.



Naunaipkut 2. Katimanngaqhuta Iqaluktuumi 1999-mi. Frank Analok, David Kaomayok, Annie Kaosoni, Mackie Kaosoni, Mabel Angulalik, James Panioyak, Kim Crockatt. Piksauqtaa: Max Friesen.

Uvani 2016, Pamela Hakongak Gross Atanngujauliqtuq PI/KHS-tkunni. Pamela ilihaqhuni ilauqatauhimajuq 2010-mi utuqqaqhiuqataubluni haffumani havakhutik (Naunaipkut 3), haffuminngalu hivulliutipkaijumabluni PI/KHS-tkunni utuqqalirinikhakkut havaarijumablutigik. Uvani 2017 Pamela unalu Max katimajuk Ottawa-mi, talvanngat iligiilirmiblutik havaqatigiingnikkut. Utuqqaqhiulirmiblutik 2018-mi, malrungni ukiunik Qingaungmi nipiliuqhutik unipkaanik nunallu atiinik havaariblutigik.

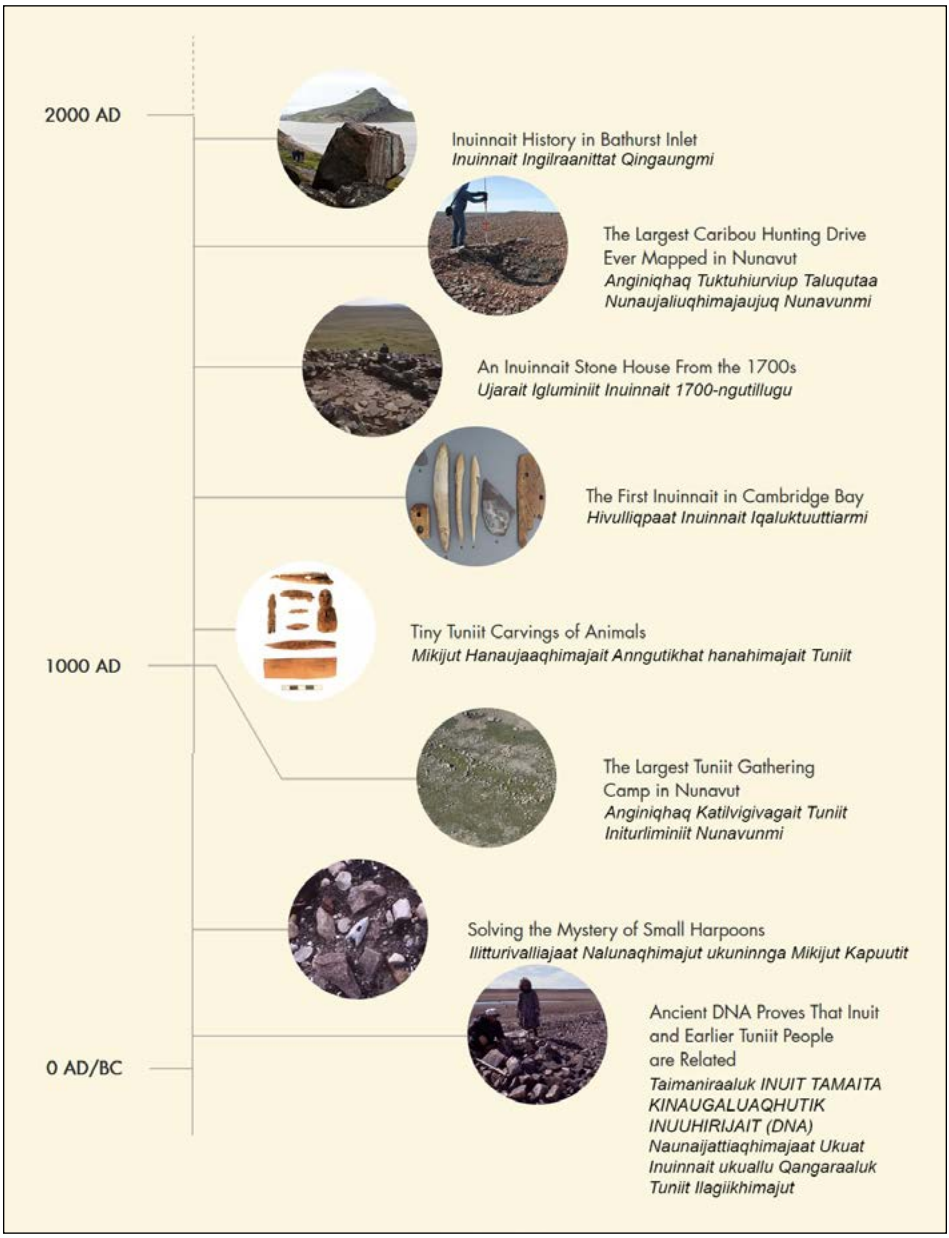


Naunaipkut 3. Pamela Hakongak Gross pualriqhuqtuq Iqaluktuumi 2010-mi. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.



Naunaipkut 4. Inirnirit pulaaqtut Iqaluktuumut 2003-mi. Marjorie Taptoona, Bessie Emingak, Max Friesen, Bessie Omilgoetok, Emily Angulalik, James Panioyak, Frank Analok, Moses Koihok. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Uvani 2021, Emily Angulalik atanngujauliqtuq PI/KHS-tkunni. Ilauqatauliqhimajuq PI/KHS-tkunni havalihaaqhutik 1996-mi, qaujihaqtiuhimablunilu havaqatigiikhutik qaujimajatuqanik/utuqqaqhiuqhutik Iqaluktuumi ahinilu qiniqhianikkut havakhutik ukiuni qaangiqtuni (Naunaipkut 4). Emily tadja havaarijaa hulidjutikhanik pilraarumajainniglu PI/KHS-tkut, havaarimmaarniaqtaallu utuqqaqhiurniq. Una hivulliutilluarumajaat tadja amigaiqpaallirnahuarlugu Inuinnaqtun uqauhia, qanurli ikajuqpaallirnahuarlugit "uqattiajuittut", ukuat uqauhiq ilihimattiaqtaat kihimi uqattiajuittutigik, uqaqpattialirlutik. 2021 unaujurlu 25th Ukiunik Nalliutigihimablutigik PI/KHS-tkut, tuhaqtittinahuaqhutik pivikhaqarniqaqhutik haffuminnga "Quuliqpaat 10-ngujut Utuqqaqhiuqhutik Nalvaangujut" uvani PI/KHS-tkut qaritaujarjuakkuurutainni (Naunaipkut 5).



Naunaipkut 5. Piksat takukhaujut PI/KHS-tkut qaritaujarjuakkuurutainni takukhaublutik "Quuliqpaat 10-ngujut Utuqqaqhiuqhutik Nalvaangujut" (https://www.kitikmeotheritage.ca/top10discoveries). Naqiqattarlugit kaimalluriktumiittut nalvaarviuhimajut piksanit aallanik uqauhirijauniillu takukhauniaqtut.

Qanuq Havaarijaqqut

Ihumajugut havaqatigiittiaqtugut, atauttikkut ihumaliuqhuta qaujihaqpaktugut, ikajuutigilluaqtakhaat ukununnga PI/KHS ukununngalu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T). Hulilukaarutikhanik parnaijautigivagaat PI/KHS-tkut, qaujihautigilluaqtakhaat uqaqatigiblutigik Inirnirit. Pilraaqtaujukhat naunaijaqtautaaqqata, Max ihumaaluutaujunik hulilukaarutiniglu paqittinahuaqhuni "iliharnikkut" ihumagijaujuniglu. Taimaatut, uuktuutigilugu, havaarikhaaqtakhaat Iqaluktuumi, ukuat PI/KHS-tkut naunaijaivaktut nani qiniqhiavikhanik, hivulliutilugillu nipiliuqtaujukhat initurliit ilaupkaqpaglugillu Inuinnait inulrammiit haffumani havaarijaujuni. Tahamna tunngavigiblugu, havaliqtinnagit 5-ubunik maniqqamiuvaktut, Inirnirit unipkaaqpakhutik pulaaqpakhutiglu initurliminirnut uqautibilugit naunaijaivakhutiglu utuqqaliqijit inulrammiillu piqatigiblugit (Naunaipkut 6). Qanurlikiaq, Max qimilruuttiaqujauhimajuq naunaittut ilihimajaujullu initurliminiit utuqqaliqijiubluni qanuq ihumagijaqariakhaani. Hamna pijumalluaqtaat PI/KHS-tkut kangiqhittiarumablutigik utuqqaliqiniit pitquhiminiatigut talvani iniqarvingmi, talvanngat havauhikhaliurutikhaannik tuhaqatigiigutikhamingniglu.



Naunaipkut 6. Katuudjaqtut ingiuqhutiglu pihirnik Iqaluktuumi. Frank Analok, Jenny Analok, Mary Kilaodluk, David Kaomayok, Tommy Kilaodluk, David Kaniak, Matthew Ehaloak. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.



Naunaipkut 7. Uqautiblugit initurliminiit Hulurarmi. Matthew Nakashook, Max Friesen, Emily Angulalik, Mary Kaotalok, Matthew Ehaloak, David Kaniak; Mabel Etegik, Lesley Howse, Tommy Kilaodluk. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Ukiuq tamaat, havagvigilluaqpaktavut Iqaluktuumi, qaffiiqtuqhuta ilauqatiqaqpaktugut Inirnirit Qaujimajatuqanginnik maniqqamiubluta utuqqaqhiuqpakhutalu. Qanurlikiaq, ahinullu pulaaqattaqpakhuta, Inirnirit qaffiujullikiaq pulaarumavakkamikku qauhijarvingmingni, unipkaaniglu nipiliuqpakhutik nunaniglu attiqtuivakhutik atituqamingnik. Hapkuat uuktuutigiblugit atauhirmik ublumi iqalukhiurvigihimavaktainnut Halugvingmi uataaniittuq Iqaluktuup; 5-ublut maniqqamiublutik Hulurarmi kivataani Tahirjuap (Naunaipkut 7), pulaarvigiblutigiglu Tikiraaryuk, Ukiakhami Miqhurviuvakhimajuq Iqaluktuurmiuttanut (inuit Iqaluktuumi) 1900-ngujumi atulihaaqtillugu. Hapkuat upaqattaqpagait niriugihimajaunngittunik itqaumannarviuvaktait Inuinnait pitquhiminiitigut nunamingni (takulugu Naunaipkut 1 nainiittaakhaita nunat). Una uuktuutigilugu, una unipkaangujuq qanuq attiqtauhimajuq Hulurarmik. Una unipkaarihimajaa Matthew Nakashook, apiqhuqhimajaa Emily Angulalik uumablu Max Friesen July 2007-mi Hulurarmi (Inuinnaqtun numiktitauhimajuq):

> Immaqaak Huluraq hamani inuuhuiqhimajuq, ilaa hamna attiqtauhimavuq Hulurarmik. Hamna ingilraanittani unipkaarijaat Huluraq, unipkaarivagaa Pannaqtannuap unipkauhiatigut Huluraq.

> Malrungnik nuliaqaqhimajuq, hamani nunaqaqpakhimajuq. Inuaqtauqajaqhimajuq angutinit, amigaittut angutit inuarumahimajaat, imaatuungmat, angutit pijumagamikku nuliangik. Ukuak arnak qimaahimajuk kingingninnuamut iiriaqtuqhutik tautugumannginnamikkik uigijaak tuqutaunikhaanik, qimaablutik nunamut atilik Nahiqhurvik… Huluraq annakhimajuq kapijauhimajuq pitiktauhimabluni, qimaavigiblugu nuna atilik Uqilittiivik. Tuqutautqajaqhimajuq talva kihimi annakhimajuq nunamut akiani Uvajup mamittiriaqtuqhuni.

Ajuiqharnikkut atuqpakhimajaitigullu mikhaagut, hamna havauhiq ikajuqtuidjutaujukhaq ukiuqtaqtumi ilihaqtut ajuiqhajut ahiillu inulrammirnut, utuqqaqhiurnikkut ilihimattialiqtukhat, Inuit pitquhiminiit maniqqamiuhimaniinnik, unipkaaminiinniglu qauhijaqpakhutik; ukuallu tatpaanngaaqhimajut ilihaqtamingnik aniguihimajut, ilihimattialiqpaktut havakpakhutik nunallaani-tunngaviqaqtunik havauhiannik uvvalu naahautiqaliqpakhutik qaujihaqpaktamingnik ilikkut. Ikajuutigilluaqpagaat ilihaqtut havaqatigiittiaqhutigik havaktiujut. Ukiuqtaqtumiuttat tatpaanngaaqhimajullu ilihaqtut ilitpalliadjutigivagaat qanurittaakhaa nunagijainni, talvanngat ilattiariliiqpaktut. Ilaa taimaa, hamna havauhiq nuliariiliqtittihimavuq, ukunangni tatpaanngaaqhimajuq ilihaqtuq unalu ukiuqtaqtumiuttamik!

Ahiillu qaujiharnirutimi ilaliutihimajuttauq. Una uuktuutigilugu, utuqqaminiit hunallikiaq aullaqtitauvaktut Toronto-mut qimilruuqtaujukhat (Naunaipkut 8) tutquqtautinnagit Nunavunmi katitiqtauhimajuni, tadja uvaniittut Kanatami Takujaqarviat Nunamiuttat tutquqhimavianni Gatineau-mi. Ahiatiguttauq, tamaita unipkaatigut qauhijarniit pihimavagait tutquumavagaillu PI/KHS-tkut Iqaluktuuttiami. Apiqhuqtauningit Inirnirit havaarivagait PI/KHS-tkunni qaujihaqtiinit, ilaani Max ilauqatauvakhuni. Imaatut, hapkuat apiqhuutit ihumagijaulluaqhutik naunaijaivaktaat initurliminirnik. Una uuktuutigilugu, Iqaluktuup nunagijaani amigaittuujut mikijut naulat ukuat utuqqaqhiuqtit kangiqhimalluanngitaat huurlikiaq mikkataujut. Una utuqqaqhiuqti William Taylor, havakhimajuq Iqaluktuumi 1960-ngutillugu, ilihimattianngibluni atuqtauvagiakhaita tuktuhiurnirmut uvvaluunniit iqalukhiurutauvagiakhaita. Apiqhuqtillugit Iqaluktuumi, Inutuqaq Frank Analok, nutaraubluni tahamaniihimajuq, ilihimattiaqhuni hapkuat iqalukhiutauvakhimajut kapuqtuiblutik atuqpakhimajait Inuit iqalukhiuraangamik Iqalukpingnik; hamna ihumagillualiqhimajaat qanuq 2,000-ukiuqaqtut-initurliminiit atuqtauhimavaktut kuukkap hinaani.



Naunaipkut 8. Inirnirik uqautigijaat utuqqat ingilrutit Iqaluktuuminngaaqhimajut uqautigiblugit uvani Iliharvigjuanga Toronto Ukiuqtaqtumi Utuqqaqhiuqtut Qauhijarvianni. Darren Keith, Joseph Tikhak, Bessie Omilgoitok. Piksautaa: Andrew Stewart.

Aulapkaijutiguttauq, ukuak iligiiktuk tukhiqtuqhimajuk maniktuutikhamingnik angirutikhamingniglu, uvvalu atuni munarittiaqtukhaujuk manikhaqtaaqhimaniannik. Imaatuujuq hapkuat havautigihimajaak pilimaittuuhimajuq kihiani havaqatigiikhutik pijuminarniqaqquq. Uvaniluttauq, ukuak iligiiktuk ilihimajauttiaqtutik havauhirittiaqtauhimavuq. Ukuat PI/KHS-tkut qaujimapkaittiaqhutik hamna havaarijauttiaqhimabluni havaarijauhimajuq initurliminiit naniittaakhaita, avatilirinirmut pivigivagainnik, nunallaani ingilravikhakkut tuhaqtittiqattaqhutik qajakkuurvikhaatigut, qajangnaittukkullu anngutikhat mikhaagut, ahiillu ilaa. Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T) havaktiit utuqqaqhiurnirmut ikajuqpaktut, halikaaptuurvikhakkullu tingmiakkuurvikhaannullu, tuhaqtittivakhutiglu havauhikhamingnik tuhaqtittiqattarnikhakkullu.

Kinguagut, imaatut qauhijaqatigiikhutik hivumuurutigilluaqhimajaak iligiikhutik ilaa inmikkuurlutik pilimaitaak. Tadja pilihaarutigijaak havaarijaanni, havaariblutigik 2018-mi 2019-milu, uuktuutigittiaqaqtuq. Ukuat PI/KHS-tkut qangaraaluk qauhijarvigijumajaat Qingauk (Bathurst Inlet) nunaa hivuraani uataaniittuq Iqaluktuuttiap uvani ahiarmiittuq. Amigaittut Inirnirit Iqaluktuuttiamiiliqtut nunagihimajaat Qingaup haniani nipiliuquiblutik unipkaamingnirnik, nunat atiinik, ahiillu tuhagakhat puiguqtautinnagit. Qanurlikiaq, akitunirmut ihuaqutikhakkullu ajurnarniqarmat, haffuminnga havaaqanngitput. Naunaipkutigiblugu manikhaarutikhaat Iliharvigjuanganut Toronto-mi (U of T)

tingmiakkuurutikhaallu ikajuqtuidjutikhaat uvanngaaqhimajut Ukiuqtaqtumi Imarjuami Havauhiat, tingmidjutigijaat Qingaungmut 2018-mi ilagiblugit 11-ngujut pingahuublutik Inirnirit, numiktittijimiglu, malruk PI/KHS-tkunni qauhijaqtik, pingajut inulrammiit ilihaqtut, uvvalu malruk Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T) qaujihaqtiik. Talvani, ukuat PI/KHS-tkut manikhaqtittihimajut Inirnirit akiliuhiarutikhainnik, qaujijaqtiik akiliuhiarutikhaannik, ilihaqtut akiliuhiarutikhaannik, najugakhainniglu Qingaungmi. Ukuak iligiiktuk tukhiqtuutiqaqtuk aadjikkiinngittunik angirutikhamik laisitaarnikhakkullu, atuni titiraqhutik ikajuqtuidjutimik, tupiqtuqhutik ahiillu qatannguqatigiit ilauqataublutik aujiblutik tahamani. Nipiliuqpakhutik Inuinnait pitquhiminiinnik tahamani nunami uvvalu titiraqhimanngittut huli nunat atiinnik. Nipiliurvigivagaat initurliminiinni Inirnirit tahamaniihimajut qitqani 1900-ngutillugu, utuqqaqaqhimajuq qangaraaluk ukiut imaaqaak 100 ukiut avataani ilanginnittauq imaaqaak 1,000 ukiut qaangiqhimajuni (Naunaipkut 9).



Naunaipkut 9. Inirnirit Apiqhuqtaujut Hiuqqitaaq Kuugaq, 2018-mi. Darren Keith, Pam Gross, Mary Kaniak, Lena Kamoayok, Connie Kapolak. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Uvani 2019, Max utiffaarmijuq ikittunik piqatiqaqhuni ukuangujut inmi, aniguihimajuq ilihaqtaminik ilihaqtuq, atauhiq PI/KHS-tkunni qaujihaqti, malruglu Inuinnak ajuiqhajuk. Utirvigijaat initurliit apiqhuqtauvianni Inirnirit aippaangani, qauhijaqtuqhutigik initurliit ihivriurvigihimajatik nunaujaliuriaqturvigiblutigiglu tingmijunnuakkut (Naunaipkut 10). Hapkuat ihivriuqhirviit havaarihimajaa Allen Kapolak, Qingaungmi nunaqaqpakhimajuq. PI/KHS-tkut ukuallu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T) qaujihaqtiit tadja huli atauttimuktuqtait ukuat malruk aujangni havaarijaujut parnaijariiqhutigik inungnut pijuminaqtunut qaritaujarjuakkuuqtukhat nunaujaa ataviqaqtunut Inirnirit tadja qaujimajatuqanginnik (ilaqaqhutik nipiliuqtauhimajut qunnialiuqtauhimajut) nunat atiit, avatilirinirmut nunalirinirmullu qaujimajauhimajut, qunnialiuqtaublutik taututtiarnaqtutigut 3D utuqqaqhiurviit initurliinnik.



Naunaipkut 10. Nunaujaliuqtaat uqhuliqivik ujarak (uqhuqarvik) tingmijunnuakkut, 2019. Naunaiqhimalugu nattip uqhuq qurluarvia uvani ujaragjuarmi, ujaqqallu uvani qulaani atuqtauvaktut ammiqitillugit. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Kingulliqpaami ihumagijaujut

Uvaptingnut, hamna iligiikhuta havauhirittiaqtavut. Talvani, ikpiguhuktugut havauhirijaqqut atauttimuktuihimajuq uvaptingnut qaujimajatuqanginnik ukuallu tatpaaniittut nalunaqhiuqtut ilaa havauhirittiaqtavut. Imaittuunngittuq tamaita hulidjutait havaarijaujullu nakuatuuqpiaqhimajuk, talva kihimi nakuatut havauhirittiaqtauhimajuq atauttimuktuihimablutik nalunaijainikkut, apiqhuqattaqhutik, qanurli kiujauniqaqpakhuni, aadjikkiinngittut ihumaliurutigiblutigik ilihimajamingnik.

Ilaa, tuhaqtaujukhanik kiuttiarungnaqqita ukununnga imaatut havauhiqarumajunut? Uqautigijakhaqqut naunaittuq, ilitarihimajaqqullu ahiit nakuatuuqhimajut atauttikkuuqhutik havaaqaqpaktut Ukiuqtaqtumi, talva kihimi hamma ikittut uqauhirijauvaktut ilihimajaptingnik.

Hivullirmik, pivikhaq ihumagijaulluarniqaqtuq – imaatut havauhikhamik nakuatuuriami, ilaa angiglivalliajukhaujuq pivikhaqarniani. Uvani 1999, ilihimaqatigiikhimanngittugut, ilaa talvani qajaguhukhuta taimaihimajungnaqhijugut, uvanivalluq kihiani havalihaaqhuta 2000-mi. Tahamna aniguutingmat, imaa, ajurnaiqpalliahimajuq havaqatigiittialirapta, tamapta ukpirihukpallialirapta nakuatut havaliqhimajugut. Tadja, 23 ukiut qaangiqtillugu, uqaqatigiikhuta ihumaliuqatigiikhutalu havauhiqatigiittialiqtugut, imaatuungmat ukpirihuutiqalirapta havauhirmut ikpiruhuutiqaqhuta. Aadjikkiinngittumik inuuhiqaraluaqhuta, piqpaginnikkut ihumabluta havaqatigiittiaqtugut.

Aippaanik, nakuatuurvigijaqqut pitquhiminirnik atauttimiubluta havaqatigiittiaqhimajugut ikajuqatigiikhuta. Kinaliqaak ikajuqtaujumagumi, imaatut titiqqakkut ikajurnikhaanik, hivulliutilraaqhugit pivaktaat

qilaminnuaq. Max havaarivagait aujaq tamaat havaliqtinnagit pilraaqtaujukhat havaaribluniuk pijuminaqqat, ihumagibluniuk ajurnarniqarnikhaat imaatulluunniit manikhaarvikhaanni havagviat. Talvanittauq, ukuat PI/KHS-tkut ikajurluaqpaktut qaujiharnirup mikhaagut ungahiktuni, taimanimi atavigiblugit tadja Inuinnait pitquhiit pivikhaqarluanngitkaluaqhuni. Imaatut uqautigiluguttauq, tamapta havaqatigiigumabluta pinahuaqpaktugut nakuatuurviginiarumikku tamarmik iligiiktuk.

Pingahuanni, hamna nakuatuurvigilluaqtavut ilihaqtut ilauqatauttiaqhutik iligiittiaqhimajut (Naunaipkut 11). Inuinnait ilihaqtut nakuatuurutigilluaqtavut haffuminnga havauhirmut ilihimattiarmadjuk nunamingnik pitquhiminirniglu, imaatullu havaqatigiblutigik nunamingni pitquhiminiitigut. Ilihaqtut aniguihimajut uvani Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (U of T) uvvaluttauq ikajurluaqhimajut – talvuuna, qaffiujullikiaq ilihaqtut iligiittialiqhimadjutigijaat. Hamna ikajuutigilluaqhimajaa Max-mut, piviqaqhimadjutigiblugu ahiit havaakhat nakuatuuqtittiniatigut.



Naunaipkut 11. Pingahut ilihaqtut Iqaluktuumi: Sherry Kadlun Iqaluktuuttiamit, Mari Kleist uvanngaaqhimajuq Nuuk, Kalaalliit Nunaat (Greenland), unalu Lesley Howse uvanngaaqhimajuq Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto). Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Hitamaanni, ilaa tamaita ilauqataujut ihumagijaqattiarlutik pijukhaujut qanuq hamna havauhiq aniguutiqarniarmangaat. Una uuktuutigilugu, Max-up qaujiharninga nutaangujumik tiliurutiqaqhimajuq havaqatigiikhutik. Havaqatigitinnagit PI/KHS-tkut qaujiharutigilluaqhimajaa qangahaannuaq Inuit ukuallu Inuvialuit utuqqaqhiurningat, talva kihimi havaariblugu

Iqaluktuumi havauhirilluarumaliqhimajaa utuqqautqijat Tuniit [Taimaniraaluk-Inuit] (Paleo-Inuit) taimani inuuhiqarningannik. Ihumaginningannik PI/KHS-tkut, hamna havauhiq qiniqhiadjutigilirmijaat nutaanik atuqpauhiannik puiguqtailianniglu uqauhirijait qangaraaluk, ilauqatauvakhutiglu Inuit pitquhiminirniannik hulidjutigivaktaitigut. Nunat atiinik katitirivaliqhutik qaujimajatuqaujuniglu ihumagijaulluaqpaktut nunat atiit puiguqtailiblutigik ilaa ukiuni qaangiqhimajuni ajurnarniqaqpakhimajuugaluit, halikaaptaqannginnirmut.

Tallimanianni, kingulliqpaami, tamapta uvaptingnut ilitarittiaqtakhaqqut pualriqhuqhutigu nuna kangiqhittiarahuaqhutigu pitquhiminiit Inuinnait ilitpalliadjutiginiaqtavut. Hamna uqautigiqattaqpaktavut iligiikhuta, naunaittumik angiqatigiikhimagiaptingni hapkuninnga havaarijaujunik (pualriqhuinirlu) havaarijauniaqtukhat kitumi aujami. Ukiuni atuqtillugit, una nunallaaq huli ikajuqtuqpagaat utuqqaqhiurniq; imaatullu, qangahaannuaq 2022-mi havagviptingni, Inirnirit ilauqatauvaktut pualriqhuqtillugit (Naunaipkut 12). Imaa ikajuqatigiikhutik pittiarutigiikhutik, huli qaujimajatuqanginniit atuqhugit havauhirivagaat tamainni havaakhani, ukuat Inirnirit piqatigiblutigik qaujimattiarnikhaat kingulivut ukununngalu qaujihaqtinut.



Naunaipkut 12. Inirnirit qaujihaqtillu pualriqhuqtut Middle Dorset-mi initurliinni tunuani Iqaluktuuttiap, Nunallaani Utuqqaliqijut Ubluangani 2022-mi. Mabel Etegik, Mary Kaotalok, Tammy Omilgoitok, Bessie Omilgoetok, Max Friesen. Piksautaa: Max Friesen.

Ilitarijumajatka

Qujagijavut, hivullirmik hivunniutiblugillu, tamaita Inirnirit ikajuqtuittiaqhimajut haffuminnga havaamik qaujimattiaqhimajamingni ikajuttiaqhimanianniglu. Qujagijumajaqquttauq tamaita ilihaqtut, PI/KHS-tkunni qaujihaqtit, ihiillu ilauqatauhimajut, uvungalu Taylor Thornton nunaujaliuqhimangmat. Manikhaarvigijaqqut amigaittuujut, ukunanngaaqhimajut qaffiujullikiaq havaakhat uvanngat Kavamatkuannit Nunavut Kavamatkuannillu Kanata, ukunanngallurlu Inulirinirmut Qaujihaqtauniat ukuallu Inulirinirmut Qaujiharviat Kanatami ukuninngalu Kavamatkuat Kanatami Piliriarutainnik uvani Hilarjuami Ukiuqtaqtumi Ukiunganni. Uvanngaaqhimalluaqtuni, hamna hivumuurungnanngittuq ikajuqtiginngitkuptigu Ukiuqtaqtumi Imarjuami Havagviat, ukiuni qaangiqtuni tingmidjutikhakkut, ingilrutikhakkut, ihuaqtukkuurutikhakkullu ikajuqpaktut ilaa haffuminnga havauhirittiaqhimadjutigiblutigu. Quanaqtuq Gwen Angulalik haffuminnga numiktittirijuq.

Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut (« en savoir davantage sur notre culture ») : Une approche collaborative de l'archéologie et du savoir traditionnel dans l'Inuit Nunangat

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Traduction française par Anne-Hélène Kerbiriou

RÉSUMÉ

***Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut* (« en savoir davantage sur notre culture ») : Une approche collaborative de l'archéologie et du savoir traditionnel dans l'Inuit Nunangat**

Cet article décrit une collaboration à long terme entre le Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) de Cambridge Bay, au Nunavut, et l'Université de Toronto. Cette association patrimoniale de Kitikmeot, le PI/KHS, est une organisation très active, régie par des aînés, dont les activités vont de l'histoire orale au savoir traditionnel en passant par la langue, la toponymie, les programmes scolaires et la gestion d'un musée. Ses membres collaborent avec des archéologues de l'Université de Toronto depuis 1999 afin d'élargir leur programmation, d'en savoir davantage sur les périodes les plus anciennes de leur région, et ils procurent en outre des opportunités d'enregistrer le savoir traditionnel et d'impliquer les jeunes Inuit dans les programmes patrimoniaux. Nous discutons de l'histoire de cette collaboration et de ses aspects organisationnels pratiques, en concluant par des réflexions sur les raisons pour lesquelles elle continue de fonctionner au bout de plus de 20 ans.

MOTS-CLÉS

Archéologie, savoir traditionnel, recherche dans une communauté, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes a long-term collaboration between the Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/ Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) of Cambridge Bay, Nunavut and the University of Toronto. The PI/KHS is a very active, Elder-run organization with activities ranging across oral history, traditional knowledge, language, place names, school programs, and the running of a museum. They have been collaborating with archaeologists from the University of Toronto since 1999 to expand their programming, learn more about very early time periods in their region, and provide additional opportunities to record traditional knowledge and involve Inuit youth in heritage programming. We discuss the history of this collaboration and its practical organizational aspects, and we conclude with thoughts on why it continues to work after over 20 years.

KEYWORDS
Archaeology, Traditional Knowledge, Community-Based Research, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

IHUMAGIJAAT

Una titiraq atauttikkuurutigijumajaat ukuak Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq / Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) Iqaluktuuttiami, Nunavut ukualu Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto). Ukuat PI/KHS-tkut hulilukaanginnaqtut, Inirnirit-havaariblutigik unipkaatuqanik, qaujimajatuqanginnik, uqauhikkut, initurliit taihiniinnik, iliharvingmi piliriarutikhainnik, utuqqaqarvingmilu havarvigiblutigik. Uvanngat 1999, havaqatigiblutigik utuqqaliqijitkut uvanngaaqhimajut Iliharvigjuanga Toronto-mi (University of Toronto) pivaallirumadjutigiblugu piliriarutigijamingnik, ilitpalliadjutigiblugit qangaraaluk inuminngit nunamingni aviktuqhimajumi, pivikhaqaqtittilugillu nipiliurlugit qaujimajauhimajut piqatigilugillu Inuit inulrammiit ingilraanittat havauhirilugit. Uvani titirarmi, uqautigiblutigu atauttikkuuqpangniat qanurlu tutqikhaivauhiat, iniqtirutigiblutigulu ihumagiblutigu huurlikiaq huli havauhirimmaaqtaat 20-nik ukiuni.

KEYWORDS
Utuqqaliqiniq, Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, Nunallaani-Tunngaviqaqtut Qaujiharniq, Inuinnait, Inuit, Nunavut

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L'histoire de l'Inuit Nunangat (l'Arctique canadien) est longue et complexe et, au cours du siècle dernier, de nombreux projets archéologiques se sont intéressés à cet immense territoire. L'archéologie a couvert chaque période, depuis les plus lointains ancêtres du peuple Tuniit qui y vivaient il y a cinq mille ans jusqu'aux campements habités par des Inuit et dont la mémoire n'est pas encore perdue. Ces différents projets se sont déroulés de diverses manières vis-à-vis des communautés inuit, certains sans aucun lien avec celles-ci, d'autres impliquant avec elles des collaborations profondes et significatives.

Dans cet article, nous discutons de notre projet collaboratif, qui est inhabituel parce qu'il a été lancé par une association patrimoniale communautaire régie par des aînés : le Pitquhirnikkut Ilihautiniq/Kitikmeot Heritage Society (PI/KHS) de Cambridge Bay, dans l'ouest du Nunavut. Le PI/KHS désirait voir comment l'archéologie pouvait s'insérer dans ses activités courantes, qui étaient principalement centrées sur l'enregistrement du savoir des aînés. Cette idée a évolué en un partenariat au long cours qui comprend de nombreux projets différents et qui reste encore vigoureux à ce jour (Figure 1).

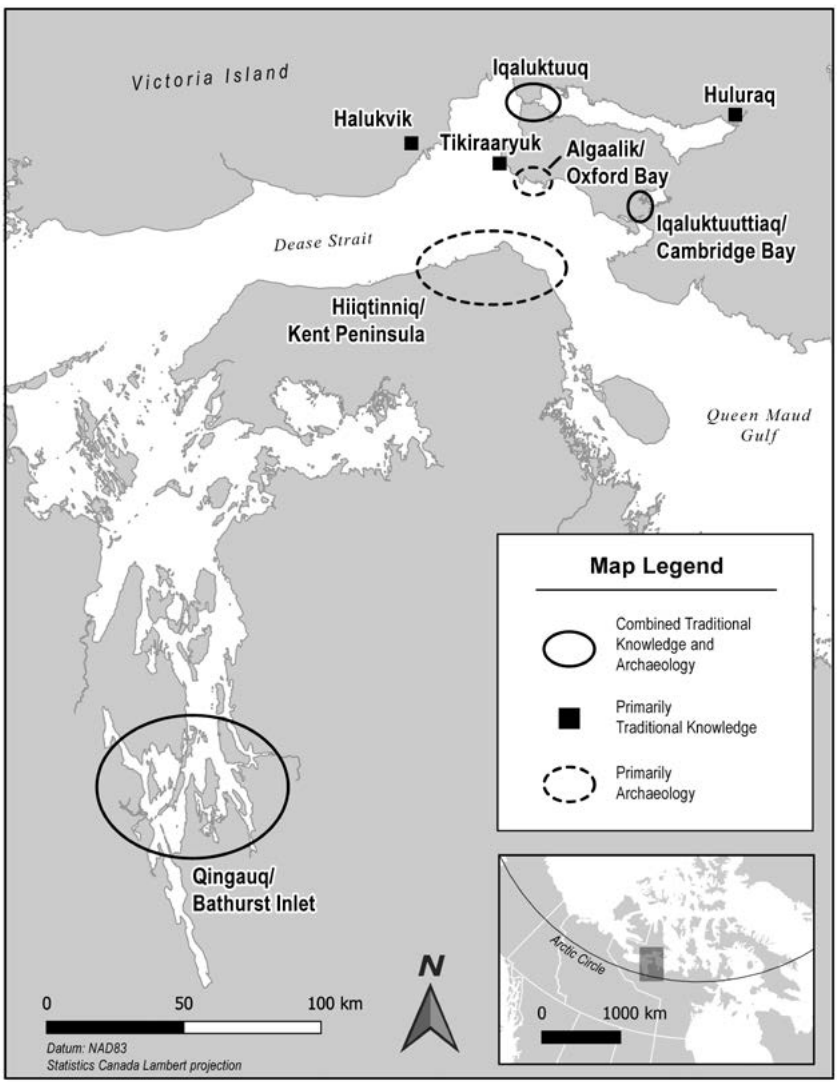


Figure 1. *Carte de la région de Cambridge Bay montrant les zones où nous avons travaillé en collaboration*. Réalisée par Max Friesen et Taylor Thornton.

Histoire de notre collaboration

Fondé en 1996, le PI/KHS est une organisation culturelle inuit très dynamique, régie par des aînés, et dont les activités portent sur la collecte et l'archivage du savoir traditionnel et des noms de lieux, la gestion du musée situé le plus au nord du Canada, l'organisation de projets éducatifs en extérieur réunissant des aînés et des jeunes, la conception de programmes scolaires et la coordination d'un éventail d'initiatives de recherche. Il s'implique tout particulièrement avec les Inuinnait (Inuit de l'ouest du Nunavut) et la langue inuinnaqtun.

Dès son origine, le PI/KHS était désireux de savoir comment l'archéologie pouvait intégrer ses autres activités. Dès sa première année, en 1996, ses membres ont œuvré avec l'archéologue Andrew Stewart à un travail d'histoire orale à Uvayuq, une haute colline au nord de Cambridge Bay. Au cours des années suivantes, ils ont continué d'envisager la façon dont un travail en collaboration avec des archéologues pourrait bénéficier à leurs activités, et ils en ont déduit qu'il y avait au moins six raisons pour qu'un nouveau partenariat soit profitable :

1. L'archéologie pouvait soutenir le profond intérêt du PI/KHS dans la longue histoire de la région Inuinnait et s'ajuster à l'histoire récente qu'ils enregistraient.
2. Ce partenariat pouvait impliquer conjointement savoir traditionnel et projets archéologiques, qui à leur tour pouvaient approfondir l'exploration par le PI/KHS du savoir traditionnel et relier directement celui-ci aux sites patrimoniaux du territoire.
3. L'archéologie était un moyen d'intéresser les étudiants du lieu au patrimoine, de leur faire comprendre les liens entre l'histoire des Inuit et leur territoire, et de leur montrer la façon dont les scientifiques menaient leurs recherches au Nunavut.
4. Un tel partenariat avait le potentiel de mener à des collaborations pour obtenir des financements et organiser des projets complexes.
5. L'archéologie pouvait élargir le spectre des activités du PI/KHS en lui procurant du contenu pour ses programmes, ses expositions muséales et son site Internet.
6. Le PI/KHS souhaitait contribuer de façon substantielle aux connaissances scientifiques et pensait que la meilleure façon d'y parvenir était d'associer archéologie et savoir traditionnel.

En 1999, le premier président bénévole du PI/KHS, Kim Crockatt, invita Max Friesen de l'Université de Toronto à Cambridge Bay pour discuter, lors d'une réunion initiale, des possibilités d'un plan de recherche en collaboration. Son principal objectif était de voir si leurs personnalités et leurs visions de l'avenir pouvaient s'accorder. Kim, Max et plusieurs aînés se

sont rendus en hélicoptère sur les lieux d'un important site patrimonial du nom d'Iqaluktuuq pour parler de l'histoire de cet endroit, et plus généralement pour discuter de la façon dont pouvait fonctionner la conjonction des objectifs de l'archéologie et du patrimoine communautaire (Figure 2). À la suite de cette réunion, les deux groupes se sont engagés à lancer un projet à long terme. Après avoir obtenu un financement, ils ont organisé leur première saison entière de fouilles en 2000, et le projet s'est poursuivi presque tous les ans jusqu'en 2010. À ce moment, l'archéologie et l'histoire orale à Iqaluktuuq paraissaient avoir atteint leur conclusion logique et Max élabora un projet distinct dans l'ouest, dans la Région désignée des Inuvialuit. Cependant, les contacts et la coopération entre le PI/KHS et l'Université de Toronto se poursuivirent durant cette période.



Figure 2. *Notre première réunion à Iqaluktuuq en 1999. De gauche à droite : Frank Analok, David Kaomayok, Annie Kaosoni, Mackie Kaosoni, Mabel Angulalik, James Panioyak et Kim Crockatt.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

En 2016, Pamela Hakongak Gross prit la suite au titre de Directrice exécutive du PI/KHS. Pamela avait participé en tant qu'étudiante à la saison de fouilles 2010 de ce projet collaboratif (Figure 3), et l'une de ses priorités était de faire à nouveau de l'archéologie une plus grande partie des activités du PI/KHS. En 2017, Pamela et Max se sont rencontrés à Ottawa et ont décidé, avec enthousiasme, de renouveler le partenariat. Le travail de terrain a repris en 2018, avec deux saisons de fouilles à Bathurst Inlet, en combinant l'enregistrement des histoires orales et des noms de lieux avec le travail archéologique.



Figure 3. *Pamela Hakongak Gross fouillant à Iqaluktuuq en 2010.* Photographie de Max Friesen.



Figure 4. *Visite des aînés à Iqaluktuuq en 2003. De gauche à droite: Marjorie Taptoona, Bessie Emingak (assise), Max Friesen, Bessie Omilgoetok, Emily Angulalik, James Panioyak, Frank Analok (assis) et Moses Koibok.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

En 2021, Emily Angulalik est devenue la nouvelle Directrice exécutive du PI/KHS. Elle avait fait partie de cet organisme dès l'année de sa création, en 1996, et elle avait été chercheuse lors de plusieurs camps de collaboration entre archéologie et savoir traditionnel, à Iqaluktuuq et dans d'autres lieux au cours des ans (Figure 4). Emily élabore actuellement un nouvel ensemble d'activités et de priorités pour le PI/KHS, qui continueront d'inclure l'archéologie. Sa priorité en ce moment est de continuer à élargir les programmes relatifs à la langue inuinnaqtun, et en particulier de trouver des

moyens d'aider les «locuteurs silencieux» – ceux qui connaissent la langue mais ne la parlent pas toujours couramment – à l'employer davantage. L'année 2021 était aussi celle du 25e anniversaire du PI/KHS, et l'occasion d'une campagne sur les médias sociaux incluant une échelle temporelle des «Dix principales découvertes archéologiques» sur le site Internet du PI/KHS (Figure 5).

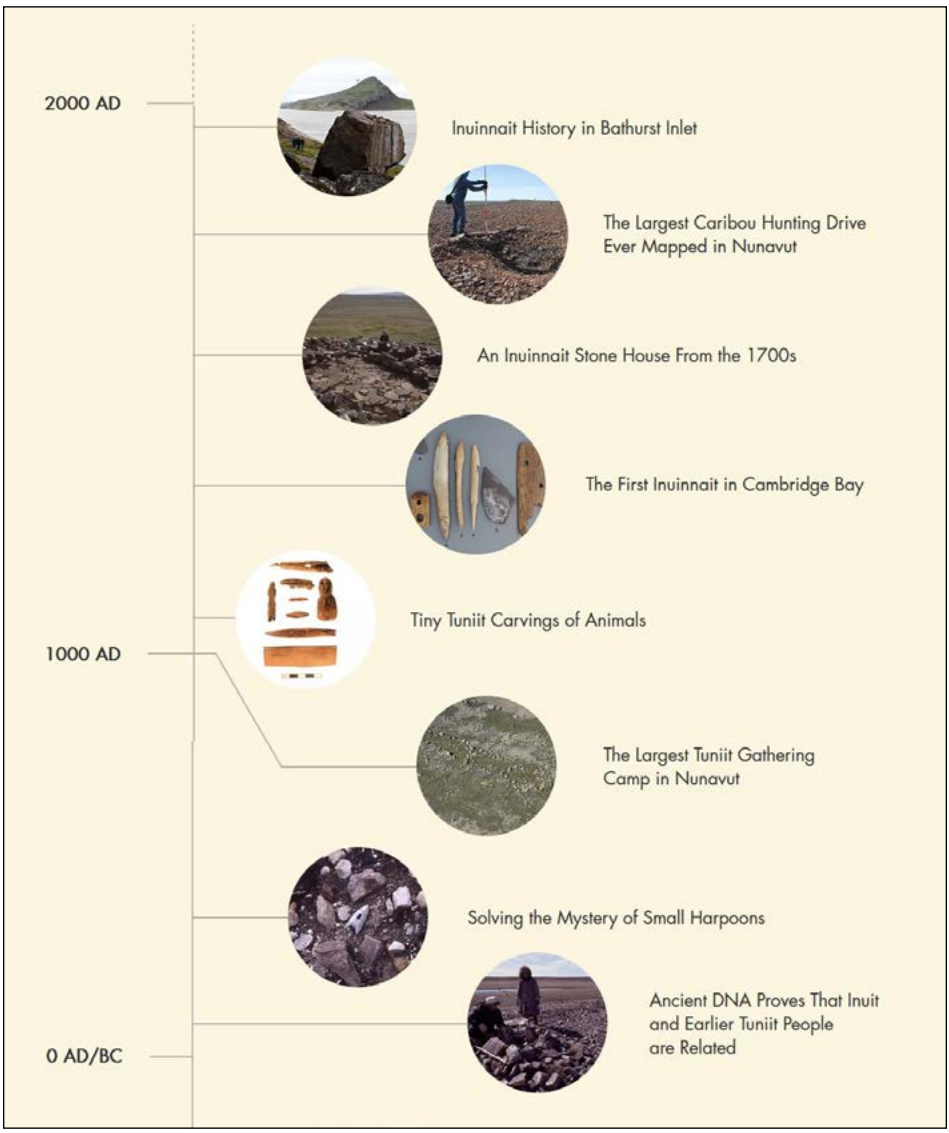


Figure 5. *Photographie d'écran du site Internet du PI/KHS montrant une partie de la page des «Dix principales découvertes archéologiques»* (https://www.kitikmeotheritage.ca/top10discoveries). En cliquant sur les photos rondes de chaque découverte, on aboutit à d'autres photos et descriptions.

Fonctionnement de notre projet

Nous croyons que notre projet est réellement collaboratif pare qu'il n'est pas seulement régi par des prises de décision communes à toutes les étapes de la recherche, mais parce qu'il est conçu pour maximiser les bénéfices autant pour le PI/KHS que pour l'Université de Toronto. La planification des activités en collaboration commence avec le PI/KHS, qui élabore ses projets de recherche à partir de discussions avec les aînés. Une fois tracé le contour des priorités, Max est encouragé à explorer les questions et les activités qui soient aussi significatives d'un point de vue «universitaire». Ainsi, par exemple, pour notre projet à long terme à Iqaluktuuq, le PI/KHS a déterminé la zone à investiguer et a donné la priorité à l'enregistrement des histoires orales sur le site et à l'implication significative de jeunes Inuinnait pour la durée du projet. La plupart des saisons de fouilles ont commencé par un campement de savoir traditionnel d'une durée de cinq jours, où les aînés racontaient les histoires de la région, suivi de visites de lieux patrimoniaux pour en parler et les interpréter avec la participation des jeunes et des archéologues (Figure 6). Cependant, Max était également encouragé à étudier les aspects les plus intéressants et signifiants des sites d'un point de vue archéologique. La raison d'être de tout ceci était que le PI/KHS souhaite participer à une meilleure compréhension de l'entière histoire archéologique de la région, qui pourra ensuite servir à élaborer des programmes et des éléments de communication.



Figure 6. *Tambour et chants traditionnels à Iqaluktuuq. De gauche à droite: Frank Analok, Jenny Analok, Mary Kilaodluk (danse du tambour), David Kaomayok (derrière le tambour), Tommy Kilaodluk, David Kaniak et Matthew Ehaloak.* Photographie de Max Friesen.



Figure 7. *Discussion au sujet d'anciennes structures de pierre à Huluraq. De gauche à droite: Matthew Nakashook, Max Friesen, Emily Angulalik, Mary Kaotalok, Matthew Ehaloak, David Kaniak (derrière Matthew), Mabel Etegik, Lesley Howse et Tommy Kilaodluk.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

Au cours des années, l'essentiel de notre travail s'était déroulé à Iqaluktuuq, où nous avons tenu de nombreux camps de savoir traditionnel des aînés de même que d'exhaustives fouilles archéologiques. Cependant, nous avons également visité bon nombre d'autres endroits, en général à l'initiative de groupes d'aînés désireux de se rendre sur les lieux importants de leurs jeunes années afin d'enregistrer sur place des histoires et des toponymes. Parmi ces excursions, mentionnons un déplacement d'une journée à la rivière Halukvik, importante pour la pêche, sur la côte ouest de la baie de Wellington, un camp de cinq jours à Huluraq, à l'extrémité est du lac Ferguson (Figure 7), et une visite à Tikiraaryuk, qui était autrefois le «camp de couture de l'automne» des Iqaluktuurmiut (gens d'Iqaluktuuq) au début du XXe siècle. Ces excursions ont permis de recueillir de nombreux renseignements inattendus sur l'histoire des Inuinnait de la région (voir la Figure 1 pour la localisation des sites). Pour ne mentionner qu'un seul exemple, ce qui suit est l'histoire de la façon dont le site de Huluraq a reçu son nom. Cette histoire a été racontée par Matthew Nakashook, qui était interrogé par Emily Angulalik et Max Friesen en juillet 2007 à Huluraq, et elle est traduite de l'unuinnaqtun.

> C'est ici que Huluraq a failli mourir, c'est pourquoi ce lieu porte son nom : Huluraq. C'est une histoire ancienne de Huluraq, c'est ainsi que Pannaktannuaq racontait l'histoire de Huluraq. Il avait deux femmes à cette époque, et c'est aussi ici qu'il vivait. Il fut presque tué par des hommes, beaucoup d'hommes qui voulaient le tuer se rapprochaient de lui, pour la raison que les hommes voulaient avoir ses femmes. Les deux femmes ont couru jusqu'en haut de la colline pour se cacher parce qu'elles ne voulaient pas voir leur mari être tué par ces hommes, elles ont couru jusqu'à un endroit appelé Nahiqjurvik… Huluraq a réchappé de cette rencontre avec des blessures causées par des arcs et des flèches. Il s'est sauvé jusqu'à un endroit appelé Uqilittiivik. Il a failli être tué mais il s'est sauvé jusqu'à cet endroit au-delà d'Uvajuq pour guérir de ses blessures.

Sur le plan de la formation et de l'expérience, le projet est conçu pour bénéficier aux étudiants et apprentis du Nord et à d'autres jeunes, qui acquièrent de l'expérience en archéologie sur le terrain, en histoire inuit associée au territoire, et en recherche sur l'histoire orale, ainsi qu'aux étudiants de deuxième et troisième cycles du Sud, qui acquièrent de l'expérience en participant aux projets communautaires et qui, dans de nombreux cas, recueillent des données pour leurs propres recherches. Une grande partie de ces bénéfices pour les étudiants provient du fait qu'ils travaillent aux côtés les uns des autres. Les étudiants du Nord et du Sud s'informent mutuellement au sujet de leurs mondes respectifs, et nouent souvent des amitiés concrètes et durables. En fait, ce projet a même fait naître une idylle, puis un mariage, entre une étudiante au premier cycle du Sud et un étudiant du Nord !

D'autres aspects de cette recherche relèvent également de cette intégration. Par exemple, des spécimens archéologiques sont envoyés à Toronto pour analyse (Figure 8) avant d'être finalement entreposés dans les collections du Nunavut actuellement situées dans le bâtiment du Musée canadien de la nature à Gatineau. D'un autre côté, tous les produits de la recherche en histoire orale sont contrôlés et conservés par le PI/KHS à Cambridge Bay. La plupart des entrevues avec les aînés sont menées par des chercheurs du PI/KHS, bien que Max y prenne souvent part. Ces entrevues ont permis plusieurs aperçus extrêmement importants qui ont orienté l'interprétation de sites archéologiques. Par exemple, on trouve, dans les environs d'Iqaluktuuq, des dizaines de petites pointes de harpon d'un type très simple dont les archéologues ne parvenaient pas à comprendre l'usage. L'archéologue William Taylor, qui a travaillé à Iqaluktuuq dans les années 1960, était dans le doute, quant à savoir s'ils avaient été utilisés pour chasser le caribou ou pour pêcher l'omble chevalier. Lors d'une entrevue à Iqaluktuuq, l'aîné Frank Analok, qui y avait passé son enfance, était

absolument certain qu'il s'agissait de harpons de pêche semblables à ceux que les Inuit utilisaient pour pêcher l'omble arctique ; cela a permis d'avoir une bonne idée de la façon dont étaient utilisés les sites des berges de la rivière il y a 2000 ans.



Figure 8. *Des aînés discutent d'artefacts provenant d'Iqaluktuuq dans le laboratoire d'archéologie arctique de l'Université de Toronto. De gauche à droite : Darren Keith, Joseph Tikhak et Bessie Omilgoitok.* Photographie d'Andrew Stewart.

Au niveau administratif, les deux partenaires posent leur candidature pour des financements et des permis, et chacun est responsable de la gestion de ses propres budgets. On peut raisonnablement affirmer que les activités de chaque partenaire n'atteindraient pas une telle ampleur sans la collaboration de l'autre. En outre, les deux partenaires apportent chacun une expertise complémentaire de celle de l'autre, ce qui est nécessaire pour mener efficacement ce projet. Le PI/KHS procure une importante connaissance de la région au sujet de la localisation des sites, des facteurs environnementaux, des transports locaux tels que les meilleurs itinéraires par bateau, et des informations de sécurité relatives à la faune et à la nature, parmi beaucoup d'autres choses, tandis que le personnel de l'Université de Toronto procure une expertise technique en archéologie, une coordination logistique avec des horaires d'hélicoptères et d'avions, et des informations sur d'autres aspects de l'équipement de terrain et des communications.

En fin de compte, cette recherche collaborative a permis de progresser davantage que n'auraient pu le faire les deux partenaires travaillant chacun de son côté. La phase actuelle du projet, qui a vu se dérouler du travail de terrain en 2018 et 2019, en constitue un bon exemple. Le PI/KHS souhaitait depuis longtemps mener des recherches dans la région de Qingauq (Bathurst

Inlet) au sud-ouest de Cambridge Bay, sur le continent. De nombreux aînés de Cambridge Bay qui ont grandi dans cette région souhaitaient enregistrer des histoires orales, des noms de lieux et d'autres informations sur place – avant que cela ne soit perdu. Cependant, en raison des dépenses considérables que cela impliquait et de difficultés logistiques, ils n'avaient jamais pu concrétiser ce projet. Grâce à des subventions obtenues par l'Université de Toronto et un soutien aérien du Programme du plateau continental polaire, une équipe de onze personnes (trois aînés, un interprète, deux chercheurs du PI/KHS, trois jeunes stagiaires et deux chercheurs de l'Université de Toronto) a pu se rendre par avion à Bathurst Inlet en 2018. En même temps, le PI/KHS finançait les honoraires des aînés, le temps des chercheurs, les salaires des étudiants et leur logement à Bathurst Inlet. Les deux partenaires ont soumis différentes demandes de permis et d'autorisations, chacun disposant de lettres de recommandation de l'autre. Une fois à Bathurst Inlet, ils ont établi un campement de terrain qui comprenait aussi plusieurs autres familles qui passaient leurs étés dans la région. Cela aboutit à une série d'enregistrements documentant l'histoire des Inuinnait dans la région ainsi qu'à l'identification de nombreux noms de lieux auparavant non enregistrés. La plupart des entrevues se sont déroulées sur les sites où avaient vécu les aînés au milieu du XXe siècle, et qui renfermaient des vestiges archéologiques remontant à des centaines, voire, dans certains cas, des milliers d'années (Figure 9).



Figure 9. *Entrevue avec des aînés à l'emplacement d'un affût pour la chasse au caribou sur la rivière Hiuqqitaaq, 2018. De gauche à droite : Darren Keith, Pam Gross, Mary Kaniak, Lena Kamoyaok et Connie Kapolak.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

En 2019, Max est revenu avec une plus petite équipe qui comptait un étudiant gradué, un chercheur du PI/KHS et deux stagiaires inuit. Ils sont retournés sur les sites où s'étaient déroulées les entrevues avec les aînés l'année précédente pour entreprendre un examen détaillé de ces sites et pour les cartographier en trois dimensions à l'aide d'un drone (Figure 10). Ces relevés continuels étaient dirigés par Allen Kapolak, qui vit à Bathurst Inlet la majeure partie de l'année. Les chercheurs du PI/KHS et de l'Université de Toronto sont actuellement en train de combiner les produits des deux saisons pour réaliser une carte en ligne accessible au grand public comportant des liens menant directement au savoir des aînés d'aujourd'hui (y compris des vidéos des entrevues), ainsi que des noms de lieux, des connaissances environnementales et géographiques et des images 3D en haute définition des sites archéologiques.



Figure 10. *Relevé cartographique d'un rocher servant de cache à huile de phoque (urhuqaqvik) au moyen d'un drone, 2019. Noter les traînées verticales d'huile de phoque sur les pans du rocher, et les pierres au sommet qui ont servi à maintenir en place une couverture de peau.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

Quelques réflexions pour conclure

Pour nous, ce partenariat fonctionne très bien. Une grande partie de notre travail consiste à réunir le savoir traditionnel et la recherche occidentale d'une façon qui ait un sens. Cela ne signifie pas que toute activité et que tout produit soit un parfait mélange des deux, mais le résultat final est qu'une grande proportion du travail réalisé rassemble ces deux façons de savoir, les questions posées et la façon dont on y a répondu étant placées sous de multiples éclairages.

Pouvons-nous donner des conseils à d'autres personnes cherchant à travailler en collaboration ? L'essentiel de ce que nous avons à dire est

évident, et bien que nous reconnaissions qu'il existe d'autres projets en collaboration très fructueux dans le Nord, voici quelques-uns de nos points de vue :

Tout d'abord, le temps est une variable d'importance – pour qu'un projet tel que celui-ci fonctionne, il doit pouvoir se dérouler sur une longue période. En 1999, aucun de nous ne connaissait les autres, aussi étions-nous probablement réservés au début, surtout lors des premières véritables fouilles, en 2000. Après cette période initiale, cependant, les choses sont devenues bien plus faciles parce que nous avions noué des relations étroites et que finalement, nous nous faisions mutuellement confiance. À présent, au bout de vingt-trois ans, nos conversations et nos prises de décision à l'interne se déroulent sans heurts, principalement parce que nous sommes absolument certains que chaque membre du groupe a à cœur les intérêts de tous. Bien que nous soyons d'origines différentes, nous croyons que nous partageons les mêmes valeurs lorsqu'il s'agit de travailler ensemble.

Deuxièmement, nous avons eu beaucoup de chance qu'au fil du temps chacun des deux groupes se soit efforcé de soutenir l'autre. Chaque fois que quelqu'un a besoin de quelque chose, par exemple une lettre de recommandation, les autres lui donnent la priorité et la lui font parvenir aussi vite que possible. Max se fait un devoir de prévoir la logistique de chaque saison de travail en prenant le plus possible en compte les priorités locales, dans le cadre des contraintes imposées de l'extérieur, celles des organismes subventionnaires par exemple. En retour, le PI/KHS a apporté tout son soutien à la recherche portant sur les époques les plus reculées, même lorsque les liens de celles-ci avec les modes de vie récents des Inuinnait étaient ténus. Autrement dit, nous essayons tous d'agir avec souplesse et le désir de croire que tout ce qui arrive finira par aboutir au meilleur résultat pour les deux groupes.

Troisièmement, une partie essentielle de nos bons résultats est due à la participation d'étudiants d'excellence de part et d'autre du partenariat (Figure 11). Les étudiants inuinnait ont apporté une dimension incommensurable aux résultats du travail de terrain, y compris en apportant au projet leur fine compréhension de la contrée et de son histoire, tout en bénéficiant également d'une rare opportunité de travailler directement sur le patrimoine local. Les étudiants de deuxième et troisième cycles de l'Université de Toronto ont également apporté d'immenses contributions, plusieurs étudiants ayant joué des rôles clés dans la relation collaborative. Ils ont tous apporté une grande aide à Max en lui permettant d'avoir plus de temps à consacrer à d'autres aspects du projet pour qu'il se déroule sans heurts.

Quatrièmement, il est important que tous les participants conservent leur ouverture d'esprit quant à la façon dont ce projet pourrait se développer et ce qui pourrait en sortir. Par exemple, les recherches de Max ont pris de



Figure 11. *Trois étudiants à Iqaluktuuq : Sherry Kadlun de Cambridge Bay, Mari Kleist de Nuuk, au Groenland, et Lesley Howse de l'Université de Toronto.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

toutes nouvelles directions du fait de cette collaboration. Avant de travailler avec le PI/KHS, ses recherches portaient sur l'archéologie relativement récente des Inuit et des Inuvialuit, mais son travail à Iqaluktuuq l'a entraîné vers les périodes bien plus anciennes des Tuniit (Paléo-Inuit). Du côté du PI/KHS, le projet a conduit à l'exploration de nouvelles façons, non seulement d'employer la langue et de la transmettre entre les générations, mais aussi d'impliquer les jeunes dans les activités patrimoniales inuit en général. Il a aussi permis de collecter des toponymes et des savoirs traditionnels dans des lieux importants où il était auparavant difficile de se rendre en raison de faibles possibilités de déplacement en hélicoptère.

Cinquièmement et finalement, il est important pour nous tous de reconnaître que pour les Inuinnait, fouiller la terre pour comprendre l'histoire est une nouvelle façon d'apprendre. Nous discutons régulièrement en groupe de ce processus afin de nous assurer qu'il existe un consensus au sujet des types d'activités (y compris les fouilles) qui se dérouleront chaque année. Au cours des ans, la communauté a continué de soutenir l'archéologie ; en fait, lors de notre dernière saison de fouilles, en 2022, les aînés ont activement participé au processus de fouilles (Figure 12). Ce soutien est fondé sur un respect mutuel et se poursuit parce que le savoir traditionnel est incorporé et transmis au cours de chaque projet, les aînés partageant leurs connaissances avec les générations suivantes ainsi qu'avec les chercheurs.



Figure 12. *Des aînés et des chercheurs fouillent un site du dorsétien moyen au nord de Cambridge Bay, durant la Journée de l'archéologie communautaire en 2022. De gauche à droite : Mabel Etegik, Mary Kaotalok, Tammy Omilgoitok, Bessie Omilgoetok et Max Friesen.* Photographie de Max Friesen.

Remerciements

Nous remercions, d'abord et avant quiconque, tous les aînés qui nous ont aidés à façonner ce projet et qui y ont contribué de leur savoir et de leur soutien. Nous remercions également tous les étudiants, les chercheurs du PI/KHS et les autres personnes impliquées, ainsi que Taylor Thornton pour le tracé de la carte, et Gwen Angulalik pour la traduction en inuinnaqtun. Les financements proviennent de nombreuses sources, y compris de plusieurs programmes du Gouvernement du Nunavut et du Gouvernement du Canada, en particulier du Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines et sociales du Canada, et du Programme canadien de l'Année polaire internationale. Plus important, rien de tout ceci n'aurait pu être réalisé sans le Programme du plateau continental polaire qui, au cours des ans, nous a procuré du transport aérien, de l'équipement et une expertise logistique qui nous a permis de poursuivre ce travail.

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Krista Ulujuk Zawadski[i] and Ericka Chemko[ii]

ABSTRACT

Inuit have contributed to museum collections for centuries, first through ethnographic collecting for early explorers, and later for traders, whalers, and government officials. Inuit have also contributed to collections through archaeological work as field assistants, archaeologists and through field schools. Archaeological field schools in Nunavut have trained young Inuit in archaeological field methods and community collaboration since the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Building on the field schools in Iglulik in the 1990s, archaeological work with Inuit communities in Nunavut since 1999 fostered the concepts of Indigenous archaeology early in the history of field schools in Nunavut. In this paper, Krista Ulujuk Zawadski and Ericka Chemko share their experiences on field schools that took place in Nunavut as organized by the Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT) from 2002-2008 through discussions and personal reflections, offering insight into the field schools and Inuit contributions to contemporary Arctic archaeology and anthropology.

KEYWORDS

Nunavut, Indigenous archaeology, field school, community collaboration, education

RÉSUMÉ

ᐃᓕᓐᓂᓴᓕᓂᕆᓂᖅ ᖁᐅᔨᓴᕕᓂᖅᓯᒪᓂᖅ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥ (Ittarnisaliriniq Qaujisariaqsimaniq Nunavummi) : Les écoles de fouilles archéologiques au Nunavut

Les Inuit contribuent aux collections des musées depuis des siècles, d'abord en collectant des données ethnographiques pour les premiers explorateurs, puis pour les commerçants, les baleiniers et les fonctionnaires. Les Inuit ont également contribué aux collections en travaillant dans le domaine de l'archéologie en tant qu'assistants de terrain, archéologues et dans le cadre d'écoles de fouilles archéologiques. Depuis les années 1990 et jusqu'au début des années 2000, les écoles de fouilles archéologiques du Nunavut forment de jeunes Inuit aux méthodes

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de l’archéologie de terrain et à la collaboration avec les communautés. S’appuyant sur les écoles de fouilles d’Iglulik dans les années 1990, le travail archéologique avec les communautés inuit du Nunavut depuis 1999 a favorisé les concepts de l’archéologie autochtone dès le début de l’histoire des écoles de fouilles archéologiques au Nunavut. Dans cet article, Krista Ulujuk Zawadski et Ericka Chemko partagent leurs expériences sur les écoles de fouilles archéologiques organisées au Nunavut par l’Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT) de 2002 à 2008 à travers des discussions et des réflexions personnelles, offrant un aperçu des écoles d’archologie, et des contributions inuit à l’archéologie et à l’anthropologie contemporaines de l’Arctique.

MOTS-CLÉS
Nunavut, archéologie autochtone, écoles de fouilles archéologiques, collaboration communautaire, éducation

ᐅᓂᖅᑲᓕᐊᖅ translated by Gloria Putumiraqtuq
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ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑐᓂᓯᓯᒪᔾᑦ ᑕᑯᓐᓇᑦᑎᖏᓐᓇᑦᑐᒃ ᑲᑎᖅᓯᐃᓂᖅ ᐊᒥᓯᒪᓕᓐᓄᑦ ᐅᑭᐅᓂᑦ, ᓯᕗᓕᓂᖅ ᖃᖅᑐᓴᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᓂᐅᓇᐃ ᑲᑎᖅᓯᐃᓂᖅ ᓯᕗᓕᓂᖅᓴᐅᑦ ᖃᑭᒥᕋᖅᑐᑐᓂᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᐅᕙᑦᑎᐊᕈᑦ ᑕᐅᑲᓯᑐᑦ, ᐊᓇᓕᖅᓯᐅᕐᔪᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᓴᕙᒪᓕᓚᓗᐊᖅᓂᑦ. ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑐᓂᓯᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔾᑦ ᑲᑎᖅᓯᐃᓯᒪᔪᓂᖅᑲ ᐊᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᑲᓐᓂᑦ ᓇᔪᓇᕐᒥᐅ ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑎᓂᑦ, ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐊᔪᓇᕐᒥᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓂᑦ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒃ ᐊᑎᒪ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᐅ ᐱᓕᒪᓐᓇᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᒪᓐᓇᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ ᐊᐳᔅᑭᓂᑐᑐᓂᑐᒃ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᓄᓇᓕᒥ ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑎᑭᓐᓂᑦ 1990 ᐱᑎᐊᖅᑐᐃᒍ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ 2000 ᐱᑎᐊᓕᓴᖅᑎᑦᓗᐃᒍ. ᐃᓕᑎᐊᖅᓯᑎ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕆᐊᖅᓯᒪᓂᖅ ᐃᓐᓇᓕᒥ 1990 ᐱᑎᐊᖅᑎᑦᓗᐃᒍ, ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ ᐱᓕᓚᐊᔭᕆᐃᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᑭᓂᒃᓂ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᐅ 1999 ᐱᑎᐊᖅᑐᐃᒍ ᑎᐃᓯᑎᓐᓇᑎᑦ ᓄᓇᖅᑲᖅᑲᕆᓯᒪᓂᖅᑐᑦ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ ᖃᖅᓴᓂᑕᐃᑦ ᐱᕐᔨᑎᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓂᑦ ᐊᑎᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᕐᓂᒃ ᐱᑎᐊᓕᓴᖅᑎᑦᓗᐃᒍ. ᒐᕐᓯᒪ ᐅᖃᖅᑎᒐᓚᐅᖅᓯᓂ, ᓯᓚᑦᑕ ᐅᑐᔪᒃ ᓴᖅᑭᕐᓴ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᐃᓚᒃ ᑭᓚᓯ ᑐᐊᓯᓂᑦᑎᓕᐅᖅᑐᓂᑦ ᓇᔪᓇᕐᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓯᒪᕐᓂᒃᓂᑦ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᐅ ᐊᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ (IHT) ᐱᑎᐊᖅᑐᐃᒍ 2002-2008 ᐅᖃᖅᑎᑎᑲᓂᓯᓂᖅᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᐃᓚᒋᓂᑦ ᐃᓯᒪᑎᓐᖅᑎᑎᒍᑦ, ᑐᓂᐅᕙᖅᑲᐃᓂᖅᑲ ᖃᓄᐃᑦᑕᐅᕙᖅᓯᒪᔪᓂᑦ ᓇᔪᓇᕐᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓯᒪᓇᕐᓂᕐᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑐᓂᓴᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐅᓪᓗᒥ ᐅᑭᐅᖅᑕᖅᑐᒥ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓕ ᐃᓕᖅᑲᓂᓚᓂᖅᓴᒥᑦ.

ᑎᑎᖅᑲᐃᑦ
ᓄᓇᕗᑦ; ᓄᓇᖅᑲᖅᑲᖅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐃᑦᑕᕐᓂᑕᐃᑦ; ᓇᔪᓇᕐᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓯᒪᓇᕐᒃ; ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥᐅ ᐃᑲᔪᖅᑎᑦ; ᐃᓕᓴᐅᓯᒪᓇᕐᒃ

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Inuit cultural material seen and visited in museums around the world has been mostly collected through the trade or selling of ethnographic material to collectors, or more nefarious methods of looting graves or collecting from people during times of duress. Although anthropology and archaeology cannot be separated from their colonial roots, there are efforts today towards a more respectful form of engagement (Mackenthun and Mucher 2021), including

through community-based and Indigenous archaeology. The Institute of Prairie and Indigenous Archaeology at the University of Alberta (2023) is a shining example of the trailblazing work of Indigenous archaeologists in Canada today.

Krista Ulujuk Zawadski is Inuk and raised in Igluligaarjuk. She met Ericka, who is from southern Canada and not Inuk, in 1997 when Ericka moved to Rankin Inlet to volunteer and subsequently stayed in Nunavut for 14 years. Krista and Ericka's paths would cross in several ways over the years and both found themselves on a similar path, loving archaeology and anthropology through Nunavut and their engagement with the Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT). They are first and foremost friends and have maintained their friendship based on this foundation, formed in large part by days and weeks in the field together. In their conversations, they realized that there was a time of intense field schoolwork, organized in large part by Ericka Chemko when she was a Program Manager at IHT (2003-2011) and during which time Krista went over time from being a field school student to a field and lab assistant in 2005. Although the stories of these field schools have not been documented, they are a critical piece of awareness and development in Nunavut's archaeological outreach and engagement with Inuit youth (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Naujaat Field School excavation.

In 2004, with financial support from the Government of Nunavut (GN), Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) organized an archaeological field school at a site just north of the Hamlet of Naujaat, Nunavut. This was not Krista's first field school, as she had participated in the 2002 field school at Kugluktuk, Nunavut—which was also organized by IHT, but not by Ericka. IHT brought 10 Inuit students from Nunavut to Naujaat, with Dr. Sue Rowley from the University of British Columbia (UBC) as head archaeologist. Three undergraduate students from UBC accompanied Dr. Rowley that field season. The archaeological site selected was from the Thule culture and one that we revisited from the Therkel Mathiassen (1927) excavation during the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924).

The students excavated a qammaviniq—a semi-subterranean single-room dwelling used by Inuit and ancestral Inuit that is no longer in use—at the Naujaat site, first labeled as the "Naujan Site" by Mathiassen (1927). A few of the students were encouraged to do test pits outside of the main excavation area (Figure 2). Krista Ulujuk Zawadski was given the opportunity to revisit a qammaviniq that Mathiassen had excavated almost 100 years prior, and opted to test-pit the refuse heap, as Mathiassen called it. Zawadski recalls feeling a sense of empowerment with the task, and says it is one of the highlights of her training in archaeology, especially because she feels that the approach is in line with Inuit educational practices:

> Although I was not trained extensively in archaeology at this point, I was entrusted to plan out a series of test pits and was given agency to conduct the small study, which is a way of learning that I was most familiar with in my own upbringing. There was no micromanagement, like that is often experienced in colonial structures of education, and there was trust given for me to learn from hands-on experience. Perhaps the idea of being able to make mistakes without devastating the overall project gave me confidence to go forward in my education. In other words, I was not turned off by the work, which might have happened had I been in a different situation where the learning atmosphere was less open and more stressful. I feel people can be easily deterred from fields because of a bad experience, like where people might be overworked with little reward, or they feel the environment is not aligned with our own educational practices. Inuit are often taught to observe first, listen to stories or instruction, and then are expected to go forward and do what they have learned. Generally, there is no micromanagement in Inuit teaching methodologies (Zawadski 2021).



Figure 2. Naujaat Field School. Mapping out the site together.

Zawadski's experience goes hand in hand with decolonial work in Indigenous academia. Although it was not labelled as Indigenous archaeology at the time, it was an important introduction to the budding field for Zawadski. Placing importance on the ways in which Inuit themselves educate each other, Zawadski was able to find a place for herself in Indigenous archaeology. Central to Indigenous archaeology is making space for Indigenous ways and methodologies (Gonzalez et al. 2006; Panich and Gonzalez 2021; Smith and Wobst 2005) and doing archaeology in a more community-oriented and informed way (Atalay 2012; Steffian et al. 2015; Supernant et al. 2020).

In 2005, again with the financial upport of the GN, IHT organized another field school with Dr. Rowley, bringing Inuit students from across Nunavut to Mittimatalik (Chemko, 2006). The sites chosen for excavation and mapping were Mittimatalik and Qilalukkat (Figure 3). The plan was to map both sites and excavate another qammaviniq. The first week of the field school focused on salvage archaeology in Salmon River, due to the erosion happening along the river. We then planned to tackle a qammaviniq after the local fishing derby that took place the first weekend of the field school. The weather was rainy the entire weekend, and coupled with the extensive foot and ATV traffic through the site as people made their way to the mouth of the Salmon River, the site became a huge mud pool. A local business

opened shop selling goods and fishing gear to the fisherpeople in a shipping container, which they brought to the site using a loader. To our dismay and horror, the loader trampled through Qilalukkat, digging up the mud as its tires tore right down the middle of the Thule site. To our surprise, however, Rowley did discover burin spalls—a specific type of flake debitage that comes from the production of burins—on the surface of the loader tracks. Rowley and the team made the decision to change the field school from a Thule excavation to a Pre-Dorset excavation, since burin spalls were an indication that it was older than a Thule site.

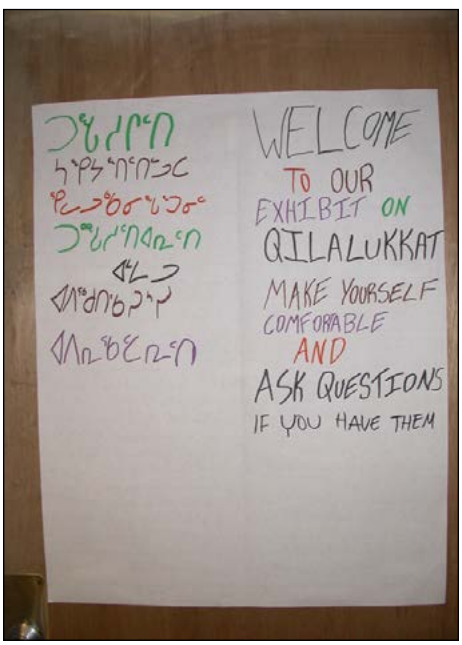


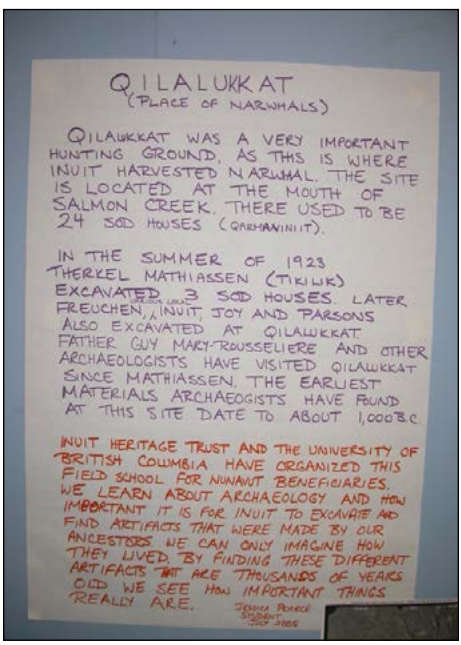
Figure 3. Student excavating at the Qilalukkat field school.

The Qilalukkat field school was an exciting field school for Zawadski because Dr. Rowley and IHT had agreed to bring her as the lab and field assistant. The opportunity for Zawadski to participate in the planning, execution, and subsequent lab work of the field school was one way the field school incorporated Indigenous archaeology. Another way it incorporated Indigenous archaeological methods was to bring in the late Elder Cornelius Nutarak Sr, one of Nunavut's earliest (and oldest) archaeologists. Nutarak did archaeology with Father Guy Mary-Rousselière decades prior to our field school, and was honoured by IHT in 1999 for his promotion and preservation

of Inuit culture and language, as well as his contributions to archaeology (Webster 1999).

The IHT field schools were partly based on a series of field schools Dr. Rowley had organized with Caroline McDonald in Iglulik in the 1990s. Dr. Rowley and MacDonald worked with the local school board to allow the students to get high school credits. They created a strong foundation for community-based and Indigenous archeology during this time, setting up precedents of how field schools could and should be organized in Nunavut. On one hand, by focusing on training local students, they fostered a strong community perspective on the field school, and on the other hand, the community was involved in the field schools through the invaluable engagement with Elders. A local exhibition was organized after each field season to further foster community engagement (Figures 4 and 5). This is certainly a step away from the colonial way of extraction that traditional archaeology is based on.





Figures 4 and 5. Qilalukkat Community Archaeology Exhibit.

Through their many conversations, Ericka Chemko and Zawadski reflected on their experience, including discussing some of the highlights and challenges of the field schools over the years. The following is a transcription of excerpts of their conversations.

Pathway to Learning about Anthropology and Archaeology

***Ericka*:** Krista, I think you went to university and then you did your first field school. I would love to hear how you first got interested or became aware of archaeology and what your early educational path was.

***Krista*:** When I went to Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS), I knew instantly I wanted to study people and cultures. I wanted to study why people did things, and why cultures do things the way they do. I knew I wanted to be in the cultural field, but I didn't know what anthropology was at that time. Part of it is you don't know what you don't know, as I've heard many times. I didn't know what anthropology was, and I didn't know what archaeology was, and I didn't know what a collection was until I was exposed to them. As I was being exposed to these things it was always clear to me "yes, this is what I want to do" or "no, this is not the path I want to take." After NS, I knew I wanted to study anthropology and declared it as my major.

Part of the reason why I wanted to study anthropology was that I realized that I wanted to study cultures, and in particular, my own culture. It was clear to me that I wanted to learn more about cultural practices from around the world and how people interacted with each other and their environment. There was no doubt that I wanted to study anthropology and I never wavered in my decision. However, it wasn't until I went to my first field school that I realized that I loved archaeology.

I don't remember seeing an advertisement for the field schools from IHT, but I had seen it somewhere and applied to it. I went in and didn't necessarily think "this is going to be my career path." Maybe I thought it was just going to be a cool thing for the summer, and it would give me a chance to see friends in Kugluktuk.

I started to learn about archeological methods, and it hooked me. It got me thinking, why did I enjoy it so much? In my reflection of the experience, I realized it was because we were outside, we got to travel, and we had interesting conversations with people that hooked me. I had the same experience with collections. It wasn't until I was in a collection that I realized "wow, this is fun!"

I first went to an archaeology field school in 2002 in Kugluktuk, with a handful of other Inuit students from Nunavut. This field school was organized by IHT, organized by Lynn Peplinski as a pilot project to make youth more aware of archaeology as a field and with Inuit cultural material. It wasn't a particularly successful or exciting field school experience, personally. We excavated in the town itself, and we stayed at the local hotel. I don't remember doing any sort of community engagement, but we took a small trip up the river to Bloody Falls as a field trip with an Elder. I remember the conversations we had in the

boat, and I remember the interactions I had with my friends in the community. What has stuck with me are the stories my friends told me, during my free time in the community, about their hunting experiences in Kugluktuk and local ecological knowledge. It wasn't exactly the Indiana Jones type experience for me in the field, but it still made me believe archeology was what I loved most.

There were other field schools at the university that I had applied for, but they were cancelled for one reason or another, including one in Tunisia and one on Baffin Island. This didn't deter me. I was determined to continue down the path of archaeology. My thinking was that archaeology accomplished two things that are important to me: research about Indigenous people and history, and spending time outdoors.

Archaeology Field Schools as the Entryway to Cultural and Museum Studies

Ericka: When you went into working with collections, your first exposure to a collection was perhaps at the field school when objects had been found, although the objects weren't managed in community in a robust way. Can you give an overview of your pathway, where you're at now, and some highlights along the way? Can you talk about some of the challenges or some of the biggest supports that you had on your path?
Krista: As I said, it was NS that pushed me down the path of cultural studies, and then it was the field schools that pushed me down the path farther into archaeology. It was during the Mittimatalik field school, where I was able to work with Sue at UBC preparing for the field school and then do some of the lab work after the field school at the Laboratory of Archaeology at the Museum of Anthropology that really pushed me down the path towards collections-based work. Prior to that experience, as a student from Nunavut, you don't know where belongings go to after excavation and what happens to them. It was the exposure to lab work and collections-based work that really made me think there are so many belongings in the collection and in museums that we, as Inuit, see a lot of photographs of or have seen glimpses of or we have heard about our cultural material, but are inaccessible to us. In the tangible sense, a lot of our cultural material heritage sits in museums and not always in our homes. I have had a lot of exposure to my tangible heritage, to Inuit cultural material in our homes, at my grandparents' home, out on the land we use our cultural material, but there's more out there in museums that I've never seen or heard of or don't know how they work. We are disconnected from that material, and we have lost knowledge about some of the things that sit in museums. Being in the collection got me thinking "this is important, this is our culture, and

they are outside of our lands." I began to think "how do we access them? How do we bring students into this space to engage with them?" That's what has really pushed me to continue in collections-based research. I want people to be in there engaging with the material. Whether they are familiar with the material or not, what's important is just engaging with the material.

The biggest challenge for me along the way, since I have been in post-secondary education for decades now, was always having to leave home to get an education. I have always been in a cycle of going away for the fall and winter for university and then spend summers at home either at field school or working. It's challenging, and I think it really dissuades students from pursuing post-secondary education in the south. It's hard to be away for school for so long.

What has really brought me this far in education has been the support I have gotten from so many people and so many institutions. I have received never-ending support from family and friends (thank you!) but also support from people at my university, funding agencies and Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students (FANS). I would never have been in school this long if I didn't get support from FANS. Everyone has made the work, the research, the hardships worthwhile.

There have been many people who have made this possible for me, including yourself, Ericka! When I dropped out of my undergrad because I had my son and no childcare, it was you who supported the idea of me returning to finish my 4th year of undergrad. I knew I needed an honours degree to get into grad school, and I needed to get into grad school to be able to hold an archaeological permit in Nunavut. I was worried about the effects moving away to finish my degree might have on my three-year-old son, at the time. You said to me children are more resilient than we can imagine, and that's what got me back into university. That little step, from your encouragement, led me to a Master's degree, and now a PhD program. It's people like you who have ushered—or dragged—me through the challenges of student life.

Ericka: I was also in the same shoes, going to school as a single mom with my oldest son when he was a baby, so I knew it is always helpful to encourage people to keep going. It's often not just being a student but it's everything else: being a parent, being a member of community, having spheres of obligation or responsibility, but then you also benefit from them as well so it's not a negative thing. Perhaps being a parent while a student is more complex than the journey of other students.

When you were in the archaeological field schools, did you feel supported academically and intellectually, logistically, and socially? Is there anything that worked well? Or could there have been improvements?

Krista: I felt supported overall, and I think everything worked well. I think the students were supported. We were given opportunities to do different things. We did flint knapping. We did a field trip. We engaged with Elders. We engaged with the community. It was a well-planned and well-thought-out experience for us as students.

I think the gap for me, personally, was figuring out how to transfer what I learned into something practical. How can I take these skills I learned and translate them into something I can do? I remember thinking "what do I do next?" I think IHT filled some of that gap, through the Heritage Leadership Program. The field school itself fulfilled what it was set out to do, and the other programs complemented the field school.

History of IHT's Archaeological Field Schools

Ericka: In 2003, IHT decided that it was worth continuing to hold archaeological field schools, based on the success from 2002 in Kugluktuk, to raise the profile of archaeology and Inuit cultural material with Inuit youth in the territory. This direction was rooted in filling IHT's mandate set out in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA), Article 33.2.2, whereby "The archaeological record of the Nunavut Settlement Area is of spiritual, cultural, religious and educational importance to Inuit. Accordingly, the identification, protection and conservation of archaeological sites and specimens and the interpretation of the archaeological record is of primary importance to Inuit and their involvement is both desirable and necessary" and related in parallel to IHT's purpose, in which "The Trust shall assume increasing responsibilities for supporting, encouraging, and facilitating the conservation, maintenance, restoration and display of archaeological sites and specimens in the Nunavut Settlement Area, in addition to any other functions set out in the Agreement." (Article 33, Section 33.4.3).

IHT realized that no one else had the mandate nor the specific focus on increasing trained Inuit to lead archaeology projects and to be in positions of power that would help to bring Inuit perspectives, such as significant or sacred sites. It was the opinion that for Inuit youth to move into this space, Inuit would need exposure and education.

At first, there wasn't a robust plan to fill in gaps and how IHT could build, grow, and support Inuit so that they could step into positions of power, and that their voices would be the more dominant voices within archaeology. In theory, the field school was one pathway into supporting Inuit individuals and communities to learn more about archaeology and heritage work, and I think they were successful.

The way that I've looked at how all these other IHT programs unfolded was organic. There was always that intention or goal to support Inuit to step into those positions, and to hopefully be the ones making decisions.

I realized it wasn't just one project or one season, and that it was a process. A long term process. Looking back, I feel that all the work was successful, but it wasn't fast.

In 2003 IHT organized a second field school in the Kugluktuk area. I, a new employee at the time, was assigned to the youth field school file for 2004 on. In 2004 in Naujaat, and in 2005 in Pond Inlet, IHT partnered directly with Rowley to provide the academic framework to the summer field school and to hold the archaeological permit that was required to conduct any archaeology in the territory.

IHT committed to holding annual field schools as one of the pathways into Inuit learning about and committed to becoming the dominant voice around Inuit culture and heritage. IHT realized one of the major gaps to Inuit employment within archaeology and the heritage sector in Nunavut was that they didn't have the formal qualifications to hold positions of power. It was a difficult realization that Inuit could not be hired to key leadership roles within the current hiring processes unless they had university-level qualifications and degrees. This issue persists today across Canada, and not just in Nunavut. Becoming a qualified individual to hold a permit in Nunavut means they had to leave Nunavut and enter colonial institutions that, for the most part, would not be prepared to welcome Indigenous perspectives in classically colonial academic environments. The power dynamics at the time were unbalanced within academia as well as within hiring Inuit in the heritage sector within Nunavut (Figure 6).

In 2005, 2006, and 2007, IHT partnered with the Government of Nunavut and the Territorial Archaeologist created the archaeological field school program. It helped some of the archaeological learning among Inuit youth be directly tied to building a relationship between the GN and IHT, both of which are responsible for supporting archaeological work in the territory.

In finding the right formula for success, IHT worked to partner with an academic partner to create the archaeological program, to meet the requests IHT received from communities for more to be known about archaeological sites in their area, and to meet the need to be located close to a community so that it was possible to billet students and provide ongoing group and one-on-one support. IHT provided and applied for additional funding from the Government of Nunavut to help cover the costs and provide a small daily stipend to students for their participation.



Figure 6. Histories and cultures juxtaposed at the Sanirajak field school.

IHT developed an application process where community public schools helped to share the summer fieldwork opportunity and nominate students for consideration for the field school. Also, a key element of the field school was to bring Elders out to the site, where available, and to have opportunities for students to visit relevant organizations in the community to understand how their work fed into knowledge that was helpful to the field work. The students would present a basic exhibit at the end of the field school and hold an open community event where the community could share information they knew, learn what the students had found, and create further interest and dialogue around archaeology throughout the community and region.

The model used for the 2000s field schools was very similar to that of the 1990s field schools that Rowley and MacDonald held in Iglulik. Students from across Nunavut were brought into the community where the field schools took place, and the sites chosen for excavation were close to or within the community itself. I think this allowed for a larger cohort to be brought in, as bringing a large group of youth on the land would have been a huge logistical endeavour.

Lessons Learned and Elements of Success

Ericka: One of the biggest lessons that I learned from the field schools was around logistics. We always tried to go to communities that expressed interest to IHT for holding archaeology projects. Sometimes they had a site in mind, which helped us when we applied for the permit for that field season. There was a lot of relationship building in communities, and we looked for billets or for renting houses. My background is anthropology, not archaeology, so I could hold the project management logistics coordination aspect, but I could never hold the academic part of it. It was important that we developed those relationships with those who could hold the permits, the researchers. The last thing that we wanted was to hire someone who wasn't really committed to the teaching and to the work with the community, as well as the legacy that we wanted to create with you and other students. That was one of the biggest lessons I learned, aside from the one where I realized you can't excavate water. I kept trying to dig down into the water because I'm not an archaeologist, and I remember someone said "Ericka, what are you doing?" And I was like, "I'm trying to get in there," and they said, "but it's water, you have to stop!" That was perhaps the biggest field lesson I learned, much to the amusement of those around me.

I remember some good times, and I'm thinking of some of the positive outcomes and proud moments. I'd say my proudest moment was that there were several people who came out of field schools who continued and have claimed their space in the areas that they were interested in. I remember a lot of great things, like when we had bad weather, and everyone crammed into the tent and talking or crying or just silliness around camp food and camp duties. I think that's where I got my love of mac and cheese with hot dogs, it's become one of my favorite meals.

Krista: I remember one of the things that really impressed me in 2004 when the ice broke from Naujaat and people started to hunt narwhal (Figure 7). You and Sue said, "Let's take a break from excavating so we can watch the hunting" because boats were whizzing by the site. You were more laid back than I anticipated. I thought you guys would be more uptight, and I liked this approach to education. You were not trying to smother students and forcing us to meet a daily quota of excavating.

Ericka: I think that's a big element of what learning is: learning on the land and learning from the land. The field school was structured with archaeological methods, but I was aware of different types of learning. And knowing that some of the students may not have access to those hunting or land experiences or opportunities. I think it's really important



Figure 7. Narwhal hunting in Naujaat.

to be flexible and allow people to have those different sorts of opportunities that present themselves because that may be someone's story that they tell their kids when they're old and letting the wisdom of the community or people come about in that way is important.

Challenges at the Field Schools

Ericka: Krista, going back to some of the challenges of the field schools (Figure 8), there were some challenges we could anticipate, and some we didn't know about or weren't as prepared for. For example, within a couple of days of excavating, the students realize the work is physically difficult. We knew that some people wouldn't enjoy it, but I never fully thought that someone would want to completely withdraw from the field school, and then having to do the logistical parts of making that happen. Another big challenge was just finding ways to support students who needed mental health support. We aren't trained in dealing with some of the complexity of that. Prior to arriving at the community, we would engage with the health centre and let them know there would be an influx of people, as a courtesy.



Figure 8. Sanirajak Field School near the old DEW Line Station.

Krista: That is something that we don't talk about enough. When we're doing projects like this, there's always a possibility that someone might need mental health support at some point. How do you prepare for that? How do you support the students? This issue comes up often in these types of scenarios, and I'm happy you brought it up. How do we prepare for those scenarios where mental health support is needed by someone?

The Way Forward

Ericka: In the planning of field schools, and any engagement with community, I think mental health and trauma-informed teaching needs to be embedded as a foundational principle. We need people to know how to respond to these situations and hold the space until you can connect them with someone who has the skills to help them. It is irresponsible to be willing to take people and only support them in some ways, but not take the whole person and commit to them and their journey. One person doesn't have to know everything or have all the training, but they should be prepared to hold those spaces and to support people if they need support.

Thinking about the future, how can we bring momentum back to training more Inuit in the heritage sector in Nunavut?

Krista: We need to expand the training in Nunavut. Why isn't there an introduction to archaeology course in high schools or Nunavut Arctic College? I know it can be taught in high schools; my friend taught it this fall in Rankin Inlet. She is teaching high school and asked me to give a guest lecture in her introduction to archaeology section of the course. Why isn't it offered more broadly across Nunavut?

What I'm trying to say is we need to focus on exposing youth to these fields. Remember, that's what made a big impact on me: exposure. Another way is to continue the field schools. Even if people don't go down the archaeology route, we are still exposing youth to education, to our heritage, to our stories, and our history. That's what's important here, giving people a sense of pride in identity through learning our history. I can't stress it enough; we need to teach our history in Nunavut. It's not taught widely enough through schools.

This is in line with the field of Indigenous archaeology, where a big part of that field is to engage with and empower Indigenous people to preserve their heritage how they see appropriate. It is also a way to right the wrongs of archaeology's colonial past. The work of people like Sven Haakanson Jr., Kisha Supernant, Margaret Bruchac, Sara Gonzalez and many others are excellent examples of the impact of Indigenous research and archaeology on communities and cultural groups. They show the impact their work has in their communities, across Indigenous academia and in the field of archaeology in general.

Supporting students in leadership roles is important also. I would like to be in those roles and leadership positions, but I can't. Part of it is because other people, Inuit and non-Inuit, are filling those roles, but the other part is they are not existent. They need to be created so that we can fill them.

I've had discussions with other Indigenous archaeologists, and it's the same for many of us. There are too many barriers that we come across in our journeys and in our work. How do we get Inuit permit holders? It was very difficult for me to get a Class 1 permit in Nunavut. I would like to see more support for students to get over some of the hurdles placed in front of us and help support students navigate the permitting system.

It comes back to what we already discussed: How do we train Inuit in archaeological methods? Taking that one step farther, how do we train Inuit in Indigenous archaeological methods? To my knowledge, there is little talk about Indigenous or even Inuit archaeology in Nunavut. How do we support students to study Inuit archaeology in Nunavut? This is a big challenge today.

Ericka: Going back to the history of the field schools, sometimes there comes a natural point where you pause and evaluate the program and reassess the structure. Perhaps we should think about how to re-start the field schools in a different way, such as a smaller cohort or a broader approach to see what might work better in the future.

It's also important to realize systemic issues that are barriers for youth. Filling roles that currently exist but a lack of imagination or commitment to create positions are barriers. What other roles and positions can we create that would really meet a larger mandate or vision of Inuit engagement with culture and heritage?

Krista: I have a specific skill set. I have training and education in archaeology, Indigenous archaeology, museum and collections-based work, curatorial work, academic research, and Inuit research. Yet, there is no position for me to fill in Nunavut, there is no space for me as a heritage leader in Nunavut.

Ericka: That goes against the spirit of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA). There's a real opportunity to revisit the Spirit and the intent beyond just the words in the NLCA. There's an opportunity to create a place of dreaming and contemplation and bring the wisdom from several different people and think about what this next phase or what the future could look like for Inuit in Nunavut. Krista, what do you want to do when you finish your PhD?

Krista: My dream job is to work in collections with Inuit in Nunavut. There was a point when I realized that everything we excavate ends up outside of Nunavut. At that point, I made the decision to focus on existing collections until there is a museum and repository in Nunavut. To me, what is the point of excavating and extracting our tangible heritage if our belongings end up outside of Nunavut? I don't want to contribute to the dislocation of our belongings outside of Inuit Nunaat.

Conclusion

Prior to the Nunavut field schools, archaeology did not have the same presence as it does today (Griebel 2010; Griebel and Kitikmeot Heritage Society 2013; Lyons 2013). People or communities were not as aware about archaeological projects and were not as involved as they were through the field schools. There was some early archaeology with Inuit like Nutarak (Figure 9) during the early



Figure 9. Elder Cornelius Nutarak Sr.

days of settlement in Nunavut, as well as Deborah Webster's work in the 1990s and onward (Webster and Bennet 1997). However, a lot of archaeology prior to the NLCA was of the colonial model, where Qablunaat (Inuktitut word for Euro-Western settlers; singular form is Qablunaaq) went to Nunavut and were granted a permit with no or little relationship building in the community. We believe this type of extractive and colonial archaeology influenced Inuit leaders when the NLCA was signed, where they wanted to ensure more Inuit control over Inuit tangible and intangible heritage. We feel reconnecting with the principles of the NLCA can guide the future of Inuit archaeology in Nunavut, especially by making space for Inuit archaeologists to be trained and to hold positions of leadership in the heritage sector.

Since the field schools in the early 2000s, one participant pursued anthropology in post-secondary education, and received a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology in 2012. She has since participated in other field schools in western Nunavut, and was a director of a heritage centre in her home community. Another participant of one of the field schools has participated in underwater archaeology with Parks Canada, and had a role in the excavation of one of the Franklin ships. One other participant from the field schools has been trained as a conservator and has since become Director of a local museum in Nunavut. In personal communication with these individuals, they have expressed the impact of the field schools in helping them navigate heritage work in Nunavut, whether it was to support a pre-existing interest in anthropology, archaeology, or other heritage work, or to help steer them toward the field. Like many Indigenous archaeologists have experienced (Bruchac, Hart, and Wobst 2010), there are many paths one can take toward archaeology.

The aspects of the field schools that have stayed with Zawadski are the moments of connection with her peers, Elders, and community members. These included sharing stories with other students about Inuit oral histories—such as those about the Tunniit, or the people who lived in the Arctic before Inuit—as well as learning about the preservation of language and culture through archaeological work, as exemplified by Nutarak. The three things that the field schools did that encompassed those aspects that have impacted Zawadski are the community exhibition of the excavations that were organized by the students (including the writing of labels in Inuktitut and English), seeing Nutarak work in the field and share stories after a morning of excavating alongside one of the participants, and the field trips with community members and Elders who shared knowledge and stories about the land surrounding their communities. Although not exactly archaeological methods, they were contributing factors to the success of the field schools.

Going forward, we believe that creating inclusive spaces for Inuit students to feel welcome in the field is of utmost importance, and that includes providing support while in the field, such as the inclusion of Inuit ways of

teaching and being, not underestimating or tokenizing Inuit, teaching through a trauma-informed approach, offering mental health support if it is needed, and enabling students to explore their own individual interests and strengths within the broader project. A certain focus and approach in the field is important to accomplish time- and weather-sensitive work, but too much rigidity can also be the downfall of maintaining the interest of young people—and cause youth harm by continuously imposing colonial systems of structure, organization, and values. Lastly, creating a spectrum of long-term opportunities for students to pursue archaeology is important. We hope the colonial and antiquated "helicopter research" is a thing of the past, and look forward to seeing more Inuit become leaders in the heritage sector in Nunavut, Canada, and the world.

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Krista Ulujuk Zawadski[i] et Ericka Chemko[ii]

Traduction française par Aurélie Maire

RÉSUMÉ

Les Inuit contribuent aux collections des musées depuis des siècles, d'abord en collectant des données ethnographiques pour les premiers explorateurs, puis pour les commerçants, les baleiniers et les fonctionnaires. Les Inuit ont également contribué aux collections en travaillant dans le domaine de l'archéologie en tant qu'assistants de terrain, archéologues et dans le cadre d'écoles de fouilles archéologiques. Depuis les années 1990 et jusqu'au début des années 2000, les écoles de fouilles archéologiques du Nunavut forment de jeunes Inuit aux méthodes de l'archéologie de terrain et à la collaboration avec les communautés. S'appuyant sur les écoles de fouilles d'Iglulik dans les années 1990, le travail archéologique avec les communautés inuit du Nunavut depuis 1999 a favorisé les concepts de l'archéologie autochtone dès le début de l'histoire des écoles de fouilles archéologiques au Nunavut. Dans cet article, Krista Ulujuk Zawadski et Ericka Chemko partagent leurs expériences sur les écoles de fouilles archéologiques organisées au Nunavut par l'Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT) de 2002 à 2008 à travers des discussions et des réflexions personnelles, offrant un aperçu des écoles d'archologie, et des contributions inuit à l'archéologie et à l'anthropologie contemporaines de l'Arctique.

MOTS-CLÉS

Nunavut, archéologie autochtone, écoles de fouilles archéologiques, collaboration communautaire, éducation

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ABSTRACT

ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᕆᓕᕆᓂᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕆᔨᖅᑕᐅᓂᖅ ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥ (Ittarnisaliriniq Qaujisariaqsimaniq Nunavummi): Archaeology Field Schools in Nunavut

Inuit have contributed to museum collections for centuries, first through ethnographic collecting for early explorers, and later for traders, whalers, and government officials. Inuit have also contributed to collections through archaeological work as field assistants, archaeologists and through field schools since. Archaeological field schools in Nunavut have been training young Inuit in archaeological field methods and community collaboration since the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Building on the field schools in Iglulik in the 1990s, archaeological work with Inuit communities in Nunavut since 1999 fostered the concepts of Indigenous archaeology early in the history of field schools in Nunavut. In this paper, Krista Ulujuk Zawadski and Ericka Chemko share their experiences on field schools that took place in Nunavut as organized by the Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT) from 2002-2008 through discussions and personal reflections, offering insight into the field schools and Inuit contributions to contemporary Arctic archaeology and anthropology.

KEYWORDS

Nunavut, Indigenous archaeology, field school, community collaboration, education

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ᑎᑎᖅᑲᐃᑦ

ᓄᓇᕗᑦ; ᓄᓇᖅᑲᖅᑲᖅᓱᒪᔨᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᕆᑕᐃᑦ; ᓇᓴᖃᓕᒥ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᕆᓕᕆᓂᒃ; ᓄᓇᕗᒻᒥ ᐃᒃᓴᖅᑎᑦ; ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᕆᓕᕆᓂᒃ

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La culture inuit matérielle que l'on voit et que l'on visite dans les musées internationaux a été principalement collectée par l'intermédiaire du commerce ou de la vente de matériel ethnographique à des collectionneurs,

ou par des méthodes plus néfastes consistant à piller des tombes ou à collecter des fonds auprès de personnes vulnérables. Bien que l'anthropologie et l'archéologie ne puissent être dissociées de leurs origines coloniales, des efforts sont aujourd'hui déployés en faveur d'une forme d'engagement plus respectueuse (Mackenthun et Mucher 2021), notamment par le biais de l'archéologie communautaire autochtone. L'Institute of Prairie and Indigenous Archaeology de l'Université de l'Alberta (2023) est un brillant exemple du travail d'avant-garde des archéologues autochtones au Canada aujourd'hui.

Krista, qui réside à Rankin Inlet, a fait ses études secondaires, et Ericka, qui n'est pas Inuk, s'est d'abord installée à Rankin Inlet en tant que bénévole et y est restée pendant 14 ans. Les chemins de Krista et d'Ericka se sont croisés de plusieurs manière au fil des années et toutes deux se sont retrouvées sur un chemin similaire, aimant l'archéologie et l'anthropologie à travers le Nunavut et leur engagement avec l'Inuit Heritage Trust Inc. (IHT). Elles sont avant tout des amies et ont maintenu leur amitié qui s'est développée au fil des jours et des semaines passés ensemble sur le terrain. Au cours de leurs conversations, elles ont réalisé qu'il y avait eu une période d'intense travail scolaire sur le terrain, organisé en grande partie par Ericka Chemko lorsqu'elle était gestionnaire de programme à l'IHT (2003-2011) et au cours de laquelle Krista est passée d'étudiante en école d'archéologie à assistante de terrain et de laboratoire, en 2005. Bien que les histoires de ces écoles de fouilles archéologiques n'aient pas été documentées, elles constituent un élément essentiel de sensibilisation et de développement dans le domaine de l'archéologie au Nunavut et de l'engagement auprès des jeunes Inuit (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Excavation à l'école d'archéologie de Naujaat.

En 2004, avec le soutien financier du gouvernement du Nunavut (GN), l'Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) a organisé une école de fouilles archéologiques sur un site situé juste au nord du hameau de Naujaat, au Nunavut. Ce n'était pas la première école d'archéologie de Krista, puisqu'elle avait déjà participé à celle de 2002 à Kugluktuk, au Nunavut, également organisée par l'IHT, mais pas par Ericka. L'IHT a emmené dix étudiants inuit du Nunavut à Naujaat, avec la Docteure Sue Rowley de l'Université de Colombie-Britannique (UBC) en tant qu'archéologue en chef. Trois étudiants de premier

cycle de l'UBC ont accompagné la Docteure Rowley pendant cette saison de terrain. Le site archéologique choisi appartenait à la culture Thulé et avait été revisité lors des fouilles menées par Therkel Mathiassen (1927) au cours de la cinquième expédition Thulé (1921-1924).

Les étudiants ont fouillé un *qammaviniq* – une habitation semi-souterraine d'une seule pièce utilisée par les Inuit et les Inuit ancestraux, mais qui n'est plus utilisée aujourd'hui –sur le site Naujaat, d'abord appelé « site Naujan » par Mathiassen (1927). Quelques étudiants ont été encouragés à faire des sondages en dehors de la zone de fouilles principale (Figure 2). Krista Ulujuk Zawadski a eu l'occasion de revisiter un *qammaviniq* que Mathiassen avait fouillé près de 100 ans auparavant, et a choisi de faire des sondages sur « le tas de déchets », comme Mathiassen l'appelait. Zawadski se souvient d'avoir ressenti un sentiment d'autonomie dans cette tâche et affirme qu'il s'agit de l'un des points forts de sa formation en archéologie, en particulier parce qu'elle estime que cette approche est conforme aux pratiques éducatives inuit :

> Bien que je n'aie pas reçu de formation approfondie en archéologie à ce moment-là, on m'a confié la planification d'une série de sondages et on m'a confié la conduite de la petite étude, ce qui est une façon d'apprendre qui m'était plus familière selon ma propre éducation. Il n'y avait pas de microgestion, comme c'est souvent le cas dans les structures coloniales d'éducation, et on m'a fait confiance pour que j'apprenne par l'expérience pratique. C'est peut-être l'idée de pouvoir faire des erreurs sans nuire à l'ensemble du projet qui m'a donné confiance en moi et m'a permis de poursuivre mes études. En d'autres termes, je n'ai pas été découragée par le travail, ce qui aurait pu se produire si j'avais été dans une situation différente où l'atmosphère d'apprentissage était moins ouverte et plus stressante. Je pense que les gens peuvent être facilement dissuadés de travailler dans un domaine en raison d'une mauvaise expérience, par exemple lorsqu'ils sont surchargés de travail et peu récompensés, ou lorsqu'ils ont l'impression que l'environnement n'est pas conforme à nos propres pratiques éducatives. On apprend souvent aux Inuit à observer d'abord, à écouter des histoires ou des instructions, puis à aller de l'avant et à mettre en pratique ce qu'ils ont appris. En général, il n'y a pas de microgestion dans les méthodes d'enseignement inuit (Zawadski 2021).

L'expérience de Zawadski va de pair avec le travail de décolonisation mené au sein des universités autochtones. Si elle n'est pas été qualifiée d'archéologie autochtone à l'époque, elle a constitué pour Zawadski une introduction importante à ce domaine naissant. En accordant de l'importance à la manière dont les Inuit eux-mêmes s'éduquent les uns les autres,

Zawadski a pu trouver sa place dans l'archéologie autochtone. L'archéologie autochtone consiste essentiellement à faire de la place aux méthodes et aux méthodologies autochtones (Gonzalez *et al.* 2006 ; Panich et Gonzalez 2021 ; Smith et Wobst 2005) et à pratiquer l'archéologie d'une manière plus orientée vers la communauté et mieux informée (Atalay 2012 ; Steffian *et al.* 2015 ; Supernant *et al.* 2020).



Figure 2. École d'archéologie de Naujaat : établir ensemble le plan du site.

En 2005, toujours avec le soutien financier du GN, l'IHT a organisé une autre école d'archéologie avec M. Rowley, qui a réuni à Mittimatalik des étudiants inuit de tout le Nunavut (Chemko 2006). Les sites choisis pour les fouilles et la cartographie étaient Mittimatalik et Qilalukkat (Figure 3). L'objectif était de cartographier les deux sites et de fouiller un autre *qammaviniq*. La première semaine de l'école d'archéologie a été consacrée à l'archéologie de sauvetage à Salmon River, en raison de l'érosion qui se produit le long de la rivière. Nous avions prévu de nous attaquer à un *qammaviniq* après le concours de pêche local qui s'est déroulé la première fin de semaine de l'école d'archéologie. Le temps a été pluvieux toute la fin de semaine et, en plus de l'importante circulation des piétons et des VTT qui se rendaient à l'embouchure de la rivière Salmon, le site s'est transformé en une immense mare de boue. Une entreprise locale a ouvert un magasin vendant des marchandises et du matériel de pêche aux pêcheurs dans un

conteneur d'expédition, qu'elle a amené sur le site à l'aide d'un camion. À notre grande consternation et horreur, le camion a traversé le site Qilalukkat, en creusant la boue tandis que les pneus s'enfonçaient au beau milieu du site de l'époque de Thulé. À notre grande surprise, cependant, Rowley a découvert des éclats de burin – un type spécifique de débitage d'écailles provenant de la production de burins – à la surface des chenilles de la chargeuse. Rowley et l'équipe ont décidé de changer l'école d'archéologie, passant d'une fouille de Thulé à une fouille Pré-Dorset, puisque les éclats de burin indiquaient qu'il s'agissait d'un site plus ancien qu'un site Thulé.

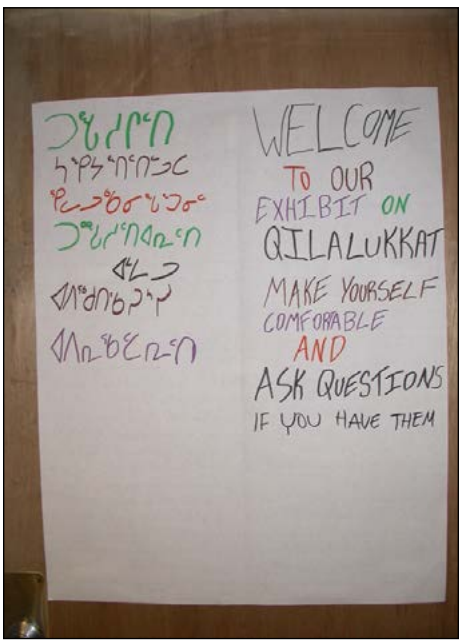


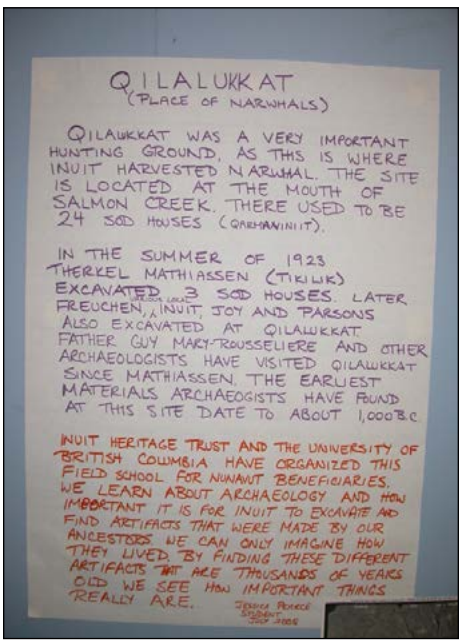
Figure 3. Étudiant effectuant des fouilles à l'école d'archéologie de Qilalukkat.

L'école d'archéologie de Qilalukkat a été passionnante pour Zawadski car Rowley et l'IHT avaient accepté de l'emmener en tant qu'assistante de laboratoire et de terrain. La possibilité pour Zawadski de participer à la planification, à l'exécution et aux travaux de laboratoire de l'école d'archéologie a été l'une des façons dont l'école d'archéologie a intégré l'archéologie autochtone. Une autre façon d'intégrer les méthodes archéologiques indigènes a été de faire appel à feu l'aîné Cornelius Nutarak Sr, l'un des premiers (et des plus anciens) archéologues du Nunavut. Nutarak a fait de l'archéologie avec le père Guy Mary-Rousselière des décennies avant notre école de terrain, et a été honoré par l'IHT en 1999 pour sa promotion

et sa préservation de la culture et de la langue inuit, ainsi que pour ses contributions à l'archéologie (Webster 1999).

Les écoles de fouilles archéologiques de l'IHT étaient en partie basées sur une série d'écoles de fouilles que Rowley avait organisées avec Caroline McDonald à Iglulik dans les années 1990. Rowley et MacDonald ont travaillé avec le conseil scolaire local pour permettre aux étudiants d'obtenir des crédits d'études secondaires. Ils ont créé une base solide pour l'archéologie communautaire et autochtone à cette époque, en établissant des précédents sur la façon dont les écoles de fouilles archéologiques pourraient et devraient être organisées au Nunavut. D'une part, en se concentrant sur la formation des étudiants locaux, ils ont favorisé une perspective communautaire forte sur l'école d'archéologie ; et d'autre part, la communauté a été impliquée dans les écoles de fouilles grâce à l'engagement inestimable des aînés. Une exposition locale a été organisée après chaque saison de travail sur le terrain afin de renforcer l'engagement de la communauté (Figures 4 et 5). Il s'agit certainement d'un pas en avant par rapport au mode d'extraction colonial sur lequel repose l'archéologie traditionnelle.





Figures 4 et 5. Exposition archéologique de la communauté de Qilalukkat.

Au cours de leurs nombreuses conversations, Ericka Chemko et Krista Ulujuk Zawadski ont réfléchi à leur expérience, notamment en discutant des points forts et des défis des écoles de fouilles archéologiques au fil des ans. Ce qui suit est une transcription d'extraits de leurs conversations.

Parcours d'apprentissage de l'anthropologie et de l'archéologie

Ericka : Krista, Je pense que tu es allée à l'université et que tu as fait ta première école d'archéologie. J'aimerais savoir comment tu as commencé à t'intéresser à l'archéologie et quel a été ton parcours scolaire.

Krista : Quand je suis allée au Nunavut Sivuniksavut (NS), j'ai tout de suite su que je voulais étudier les gens et les cultures. Je voulais savoir pourquoi les gens faisaient des choses et pourquoi les cultures faisaient les choses comme elles le faisaient. Je savais que je voulais travailler dans le domaine culturel, mais je ne savais pas ce qu'était l'anthropologie à l'époque. Comme on me l'a souvent dit, on ne sait pas ce que l'on ne sait pas, mais je ne savais pas ce qu'était l'anthropologie. Je ne savais pas ce qu'était l'anthropologie, je ne savais pas ce qu'était l'archéologie et je ne savais pas ce qu'était une collection jusqu'à ce que j'y sois exposée. Au fur et à mesure que je découvrais ces choses, il m'est toujours apparu clairement que « c'était ce que je voulais faire » ou que « ce n'était pas la voie que je voulais suivre ». Après la NS, j'ai su que je voulais étudier l'anthropologie et j'en ai fait ma matière principale.

Si j'ai voulu étudier l'anthropologie, c'est en partie parce que je me suis rendu compte que je voulais étudier les cultures, et en particulier ma propre culture. Il était clair pour moi que je voulais en savoir plus sur les pratiques culturelles du monde entier et sur la manière dont les gens interagissaient les uns avec les autres et avec leur environnement. Il ne faisait aucun doute que je voulais étudier l'anthropologie et je n'ai jamais hésité à prendre cette décision. Cependant, ce n'est que lorsque j'ai participé à ma première école de terrain que j'ai réalisé que j'aimais l'archéologie.

Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir vu une annonce pour les écoles de fouilles archéologiques de l'IHT, mais je l'avais vue quelque part et j'ai posé ma candidature. J'y suis allée sans nécessairement me dire : « c'est ce que je vais faire de ma carrière ». Je pensais peut-être que ce serait juste une activité sympa pour l'été et que cela me permettrait de revoir des amis à Kugluktuk.

J'ai commencé à me familiariser avec les méthodes archéologiques et j'ai été séduite. Je me suis demandée pourquoi j'aimais tant cela. En réfléchissant à cette expérience, j'ai réalisé que c'était parce que nous étions à l'extérieur, que nous avions voyagé et que nous avions eu des conversations intéressantes avec des gens qui m'avaient intéressée. J'ai vécu la même expérience avec les collections. Ce n'est que lorsque je me suis retrouvée dans une collection que j'ai réalisé : « Wow, c'est amusant ! ».

J'ai participé pour la première fois à une école d'archéologie sur le terrain, en 2002, à Kugluktuk, avec une poignée d'autres étudiants inuit du Nunavut. Cette école était organisée par Lynn Peplinski dans le cadre d'un projet pilote visant à sensibiliser les jeunes à l'archéologie, en tant que domaine et au matériel culturel inuit. Personnellement, l'expérience de cette école n'a pas été particulièrement réussie ou passionnante. Nous avons fait des fouilles dans la ville même et nous avons logé à l'hôtel local. Je ne me souviens pas d'avoir participé à un quelconque engagement communautaire, mais nous avons fait une petite excursion le long de la rivière jusqu'à Bloody Falls, en compagnie d'un aîné. Je me souviens des conversations que nous avons eues dans le bateau et des échanges que j'ai eus avec mes amis de la communauté. Ce qui m'a marquée, ce sont les histoires que mes amis m'ont racontées, pendant mon temps libre dans la communauté, à propos de leurs expériences de chasse à Kugluktuk et des connaissances écologiques locales. Ce n'était pas exactement une expérience du type Indiana Jones pour moi sur le terrain, mais cela m'a quand même fait croire que l'archéologie était ce que j'aimais le plus.

J'avais déposé ma candidature pour d'autres écoles de fouilles archéologiques à l'université, mais elles ont été annulées pour une raison ou une autre, notamment une en Tunisie et une sur l'île de Baffin. Cela ne m'a pas découragée. J'étais déterminée à poursuivre sur la voie de l'archéologie. Je pensais que l'archéologie permettait de réaliser deux choses importantes pour moi : la recherche sur les peuples autochtones et leur histoire, et le fait de passer du temps à l'extérieur.

Les écoles de fouilles archéologiques comme porte d'entrée vers les études culturelles et muséales

Ericka : Quand tu as commencé à travailler avec les collections, ton premier contact avec une collection a peut-être eu lieu à l'école d'archéologie, lorsque des objets avaient été trouvés, bien qu'ils n'aient pas été gérés de manière rigoureuse au sein de la communauté. Peux-tu nous donner un aperçu de ton parcours, de ta situation actuelle et des points forts de ton parcours? Peux-tu nous parler de certains défis ou de certains des plus grands soutiens que tu as eus sur ton chemin?

Krista : Comme je l'ai dit, c'est le eNS qui m'a poussée vers les études culturelles, puis ce sont les écoles de fouilles archéologiques qui m'ont poussée vers l'archéologie. C'est au cours de l'école d'archéologie de Mittimatalik, où j'ai pu travailler avec Sue à l'UBC pour la préparer, puis effectuer une partie du travail de laboratoire après cette école d'archéologie au Laboratoire d'archéologie du Musée d'anthropologie, que je me suis vraiment orientée vers un travail basé sur les collections.

Avant cette expérience, en tant qu'étudiante du Nunavut, on ne sait pas où vont les objets après les fouilles et ce qu'il en advient. C'est l'exposition au travail en laboratoire et au travail sur les collections qui m'a vraiment fait penser qu'il y a tant d'objets dans les collections et dans les musées dont nous, en tant qu'Inuit, voyons beaucoup de photographies, dont nous avons vu des aperçus ou dont nous avons entendu parler de notre matériel culturel, mais qui nous sont inaccessibles. Au sens tangible, une grande partie de notre patrimoine culturel se trouve dans les musées et pas toujours dans nos maisons. J'ai été très exposée à mon patrimoine tangible, au matériel culturel inuit dans nos maisons, chez mes grands-parents, sur la terre où nous utilisons notre matériel culturel, mais il y en a encore plus dans les musées que je n'ai jamais vus ou dont je n'ai jamais entendu parler, ou dont je ne sais pas comment ils fonctionnent. Nous sommes déconnectés de ce matériel et nous avons perdu la connaissance de certaines des choses qui se trouvent dans les musées. Le fait d'être dans la collection m'a fait penser : « C'est important, c'est notre culture, et ils sont en dehors de nos terres ». J'ai commencé à me demander comment y accéder. Comment amener les élèves dans cet espace pour qu'ils s'y intéressent ? C'est ce qui m'a vraiment poussée à poursuivre mes recherches sur les collections. Je veux que les gens soient là pour s'intéresser au matériel. Qu'ils connaissent ou non le matériel, ce qui est important, c'est de s'y intéresser.

Le plus grand défi que j'ai eu à relever, puisque je suis dans l'enseignement post-secondaire depuis des décennies maintenant, a toujours été de devoir quitter la maison pour faire des études. J'ai toujours été dans un cycle où je partais à l'automne et à l'hiver pour aller à l'université et où je passais l'été à la maison, soit à l'école, soit à travailler. C'est difficile, et je pense que cela dissuade vraiment les étudiants de poursuivre des études post-secondaires dans le Sud. Il est difficile de s'absenter si longtemps pour aller à l'école.

Ce qui m'a permis d'aller aussi loin dans l'éducation, c'est le soutien que j'ai reçu de tant de personnes et de tant d'institutions. J'ai reçu un soutien sans faille de ma famille et de mes amis (merci !), mais aussi du personnel de mon université, des organismes de financement et de la Financial Assistance for Nunavut Students (FANS). Je ne serais jamais restée aussi longtemps à l'école si je n'avais pas reçu l'aide de la FANS. Grâce à tous ces gens, le travail, la recherche et les difficultés en valent la peine.

De nombreuses personnes ont rendu cela possible pour moi, y compris toi-même, Ericka ! Lorsque j'ai abandonné mes études parce que j'avais mon fils et que je n'avais pas de service de garde, c'est toi

qui as soutenu l'idée que je revienne pour terminer ma quatrième année d'études. Je savais que j'avais besoin d'un diplôme avec mention pour entrer à l'école supérieure, et j'avais besoin d'entrer à l'école supérieure pour être en mesure de détenir un permis de fouilles archéologiques au Nunavut. Je m'inquiétais des effets que le fait de déménager pour terminer mon diplôme pourrait avoir sur mon fils de 3 ans, à l'époque. Tu m'as dit que les enfants sont plus résistants que nous ne pouvons l'imaginer, et c'est ce qui m'a poussée à retourner à l'université. Ce petit pas, grâce à tes encouragements, m'a conduite à une maîtrise et maintenant à un programme de doctorat. Ce sont des personnes comme toi qui m'ont aidée (ou encouragée) à relever les défis de la vie étudiante.

Ericka : Je me suis retrouvée dans la même situation, à aller à l'école en tant que mère célibataire avec mon fils aîné alors qu'il était bébé, et j'ai donc compris qu'il était toujours utile d'encourager les gens à continuer. Souvent, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'être étudiant, mais de tout le reste : être parent, être membre de la communauté, avoir des sphères d'obligations ou de responsabilités, mais on en profite aussi, donc ce n'est pas une chose négative. Peut-être qu'être parent tout en étant étudiant est plus complexe que le parcours d'autres étudiants.

Ericka : Krista, quand tu es sur le terrain, à l'école d'archéologie, te sens-tu soutenue sur le plan académique et intellectuel, logistique et social? Y a-t-il des éléments qui ont bien fonctionné ou des améliorations auraient-elles pu être apportées?

Krista : Dans l'ensemble, je me suis sentie soutenue et je pense que tout a bien fonctionné. Je pense que les étudiants ont été soutenus. Nous avons eu l'occasion de faire différentes choses. Nous avons taillé des silex. Nous avons fait une excursion. Nous avons rencontré des aînés. Nous avons dialogué avec la communauté. C'était une expérience bien planifiée et bien pensée pour nous en tant qu'étudiants.

Je pense que pour moi, personnellement, la difficulté a été de trouver un moyen de mettre en pratique ce que j'avais appris. Comment puis-je utiliser les compétences que j'ai acquises et les traduire en quelque chose que je peux faire? Je me souviens m'être demandée ce que j'allais faire ensuite. Je pense que l'IHT a comblé une partie de cette lacune, grâce au Heritage Leadership Program et à sa bourse. L'école d'archéologie elle-même a rempli son objectif et les autres programmes l'ont complétée.

Historique des écoles de fouilles archéologiques de l'IHT

Ericka : En 2003, la IHT a décidé qu'il valait la peine de continuer à organiser des écoles de fouilles archéologiques, compte tenu du succès rencontré en 2002 à Kugluktuk, afin de mieux faire connaître l'archéologie et le matériel culturel inuit aux jeunes Inuit du territoire. Cette orientation était ancrée dans le mandat de l'IHT défini dans l'Accord sur les revendications territoriales du Nunavut (Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, NLCA), à l'article 33.2.2, qui stipule : « le dossier archéologique de la région du Nunavut revêt une importance spirituelle, culturelle, religieuse et éducative pour les Inuit. Par conséquent, l'identification, la protection et la conservation des sites et des spécimens archéologiques, ainsi que l'interprétation du dossier archéologique revêtent une importance primordiale pour les Inuit, et leur participation est à la fois souhaitable et nécessaire », et parallèlement à l'objet de la fiducie, selon lequel « la fiducie assume des responsabilités croissantes pour soutenir, encourager et faciliter la conservation, l'entretien, la restauration et l'exposition des sites et des spécimens archéologiques dans la région du Nunavut, en plus de toute autre fonction énoncée dans l'Accord ». (Article 33, section 33.4.3).

L'IHT s'est rendu compte que personne d'autre n'avait le mandat ni l'objectif spécifique d'augmenter le nombre d'Inuit formés pour diriger des projets d'archéologie et pour occuper des positions de pouvoir qui permettraient d'apporter des perspectives inuit, comme dans le cas de sites importants ou sacrés. L'opinion était que pour que les jeunes Inuit puissent évoluer dans ce domaine, ils devaient être exposés et éduqués.

Au début, il n'y avait pas de plan solide pour combler les lacunes et déterminer comment l'IHT pourrait construire, développer et soutenir les Inuit afin qu'ils puissent accéder à des positions de pouvoir et que leurs voix soient les plus dominantes au sein de l'archéologie. En théorie, l'école d'archéologie était un moyen d'aider les individus et les communautés inuit à en apprendre davantage sur l'archéologie et le travail sur le patrimoine, et je pense qu'elle a été couronnée de succès.

La façon dont j'ai observé le déroulement de tous les autres programmes de l'IHT était organique. Il y a toujours eu l'intention ou l'objectif d'aider les Inuit à accéder à ces postes et, espérons-le, à prendre les décisions.

J'ai réalisé qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un seul projet ou d'une seule saison, mais d'un processus. Un processus à long terme. Avec le recul, j'ai le sentiment que tout ce travail a été couronné de succès, mais qu'il n'a pas été rapide.

En 2003, IHT a organisé une deuxième école d'archéologie dans la région de Kugluktuk. En tant que nouvelle employée à l'époque, j'ai été affectée au dossier de l'école de terrain pour les jeunes à partir de 2004.

En 2004, à Naujaat et en 2005, à Pond Inlet, l'IHT s'est associée directement à Rowley pour fournir le cadre académique de l'école d'archéologie estivale et pour détenir le permis archéologique requis pour mener toute activité archéologique sur le territoire.

L'IHT s'est engagée à organiser des écoles de fouilles annuelles pour permettre aux Inuit de se familiariser avec la culture et le patrimoine inuit et à devenir la voix dominante dans ce domaine. La TSI s'est rendu compte que l'un des principaux obstacles à l'emploi des Inuit dans le secteur de l'archéologie et du patrimoine au Nunavut était qu'ils ne possédaient pas les qualifications officielles nécessaires pour occuper des postes de pouvoir. Il a été difficile de réaliser que les Inuit ne pouvaient pas être embauchés à des postes de direction clés dans le cadre des processus d'embauche actuels s'ils ne possédaient pas de qualifications et de diplômes de niveau universitaire. Ce problème persiste aujourd'hui dans tout le Canada, et pas seulement au Nunavut. Pour obtenir un permis au Nunavut, il fallait quitter le Nunavut et entrer dans des institutions coloniales qui, pour la plupart, n'étaient pas prêtes à accueillir des perspectives autochtones dans des environnements universitaires coloniaux classiques. À l'époque, la dynamique du pouvoir était déséquilibrée dans le milieu universitaire ainsi que dans l'embauche d'Inuit dans le secteur du patrimoine au Nunavut (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Histoires et cultures juxtaposées à l'école d'archéologie de Sanirajak.

En 2005, 2006 et 2007, l'HTI s'est associée au gouvernement du Nunavut et à l'archéologue territorial pour créer le programme d'école de fouilles archéologiques. Ce programme a permis d'établir un lien direct entre l'apprentissage de l'archéologie chez les jeunes Inuit et l'établissement d'une relation entre le gouvernement du Nunavut et l'IHT, tous deux responsables du soutien des travaux archéologiques sur le territoire.

Pour trouver la bonne formule, la IHT s'est associée à un partenaire universitaire pour créer le programme archéologique, répondre aux demandes des communautés qui souhaitaient que la IHT en sache plus sur les sites archéologiques de leur région, et répondre au besoin d'être située à proximité d'une communauté afin de pouvoir loger les étudiants et de leur fournir un soutien continu en groupe et individuel. L'IHT a fourni et demandé un financement supplémentaire au gouvernement du Nunavut pour aider à couvrir les coûts et fournir une petite allocation journalière aux étudiants pour leur participation. L'IHT a mis au point un processus de candidature dans le cadre duquel les écoles publiques de la communauté ont contribué à faire connaître les possibilités de travail d'été sur le terrain et à nommer les élèves susceptibles d'être pris en considération pour l'école de terrain. Par ailleurs, l'un des éléments clés de l'école de terrain consistait à faire venir des aînés sur le site, lorsqu'ils étaient disponibles, et à donner aux étudiants l'occasion de visiter des organisations pertinentes au sein de la communauté afin de comprendre comment leur travail alimentait les connaissances utiles au travail sur le terrain. Les étudiants devaient présenter une exposition de base à la fin de l'école de terrain et organiser un évènement communautaire ouvert où la communauté pouvait partager les informations qu'elle connaissait, apprendre ce que les étudiants avaient trouvé et susciter davantage d'intérêt et de dialogue autour de l'archéologie au sein de la communauté et de la région.

Le modèle utilisé pour les écoles de fouilles archéologiques des années 2000 était très similaire à celui des années 1990 que Rowley et MacDonald avaient organisées à Iglulik. Des étudiants de tout le Nunavut ont été accueillis dans la communauté où se déroulaient ces écoles d'archéologie, et les sites choisis pour les fouilles se trouvaient à proximité ou au sein même de la communauté. Je pense que cela a permis d'accueillir une plus grande cohorte, car amener un grand groupe de jeunes sur le terrain aurait été un énorme effort logistique.

Leçons apprises et éléments de réussite

Ericka : L'une des plus grandes leçons que j'ai tirées des écoles de fouilles archéologiques concernait la logistique. Nous avons toujours essayé d'aller dans les communautés qui ont exprimé leur intérêt pour l'IHT en vue d'organiser des projets archéologiques. Parfois, elles avaient un site en tête, ce qui nous a aidés lorsque nous avons demandé le permis pour cette saison de terrain. Nous avons beaucoup travaillé sur les relations avec les communautés, et nous avons cherché des logements ou des maisons à louer. Ma formation est l'anthropologie, pas l'archéologie, donc je pouvais m'occuper de la coordination et de la logistique de gestion du projet, mais je ne pourrais jamais m'occuper de l'aspect académique. Il était important que nous développions ces relations avec ceux qui pouvaient détenir les permis, les chercheurs. La dernière chose que nous voulions, c'était d'engager quelqu'un qui n'était pas vraiment engagé dans l'enseignement et le travail avec la communauté, ainsi que dans l'héritage que nous voulions créer avec toi et d'autres étudiants. C'est l'une des plus grandes leçons que j'ai apprises, à part celle où j'ai réalisé qu'on ne peut pas creuser l'eau. Je n'arrêtais pas d'essayer de creuser dans l'eau parce que je ne suis pas archéologue, et je me souviens que quelqu'un m'a dit : « Ericka, qu'est-ce que tu fais ? ». J'ai répondu : « J'essaie d'entrer là-dedans » et ils ont dit : « Mais c'est de l'eau, tu dois arrêter ! ». C'est peut-être la plus grande leçon de terrain que j'ai apprise, au grand amusement de tous.

Je me souviens des bons moments, et je pense à certains résultats positifs et à des moments de fierté. Je dirais que ma plus grande fierté réside dans le fait que plusieurs personnes issues des écoles de fouilles archéologiques ont poursuivi et revendiqué leur place dans les domaines qui les intéressaient. Je me souviens de beaucoup de bons moments, comme lorsque nous avions du mauvais temps et que tout le monde s'entassait dans la tente pour parler, pleurer ou simplement faire des bêtises autour de la nourriture et des tâches du camp. Je pense que c'est de là que vient mon amour des macaronis au fromage avec des hot-dogs, c'est devenu l'un de mes repas préférés.

Krista : Je me souviens d'une chose qui m'a vraiment impressionné en 2004, lorsque la glace s'est brisée à Naujaat et que les gens ont commencé à chasser le narval (Figure 7). Sue et toi avez dit : « Prenons une pause pour observer la chasse » parce que les bateaux passaient à toute allure devant le site archéologique. Vous étiez plus détendus que je ne l'avais imaginé. Je pensais que vous seriez plus tendus, et j'ai aimé cette approche de l'éducation. Vous n'essayiez pas d'étouffer les étudiants et de nous forcer à respecter un quota quotidien de fouilles.



Figure 7. Chasse au narval à Naujaat.

Ericka : Je pense qu'il s'agit là d'un élément important de l'apprentissage : apprendre sur le terrain et apprendre du terrain. L'école de terrain était structurée autour de méthodes archéologiques, mais j'étais consciente des différents types d'apprentissage. Et je savais que certains élèves n'avaient peut-être pas accès à ces expériences ou à ces opportunités de chasse ou de terrain. Je pense qu'il est très important d'être flexible et de permettre aux gens d'avoir ces différentes opportunités qui se présentent parce que cela peut être l'histoire que quelqu'un racontera à ses enfants quand ils seront vieux et il est important de laisser la sagesse de la communauté ou des gens s'exprimer de cette manière.

Les défis des écoles de fouilles archéologiques

Ericka : Krista, pour en revenir à certains défis des écoles de fouilles archéologiques (Figure 8), nous pouvions en anticiper certains, mais nous n'en connaissions pas d'autres ou nous n'étions pas aussi bien préparés. Par exemple, après quelques jours de fouilles, les étudiants

se rendent compte que le travail est physiquement difficile. Nous savions que certains n'apprécieraient pas ce travail, mais je n'avais jamais pensé que quelqu'un voudrait se retirer complètement de l'école d'archéologie, et qu'il faudrait ensuite s'occuper des aspects logistiques pour que cela puisse se faire. Un autre grand défi a été de trouver des moyens d'aider les étudiants qui avaient besoin d'un soutien en matière de santé mentale. Nous ne sommes pas formés pour faire face à la complexité de ces problèmes. Avant d'arriver dans la communauté, nous prenions contact avec le centre de santé pour lui faire savoir qu'il y aurait un afflux de personnes, par courtoisie.

Krista : C'est un sujet dont nous ne parlons pas assez. Lorsque nous réalisons des projets comme celui-ci, il est toujours possible que quelqu'un ait besoin d'un soutien en matière de santé mentale, à un moment ou à un autre. Comment s'y prépare-t-on ? Comment soutenir les étudiants ? Ces questions reviennent souvent dans ce genre de scénario, et je suis heureuse que tu l'aies soulevée. Comment nous préparons-nous à ce scénario où quelqu'un a besoin d'un soutien en matière de santé mentale ?



Figure 8. L'école d'archéologie de Sanirajak près de l'ancienne station de la *DEW line*.

La voie à suivre

Ericka : Dans la planification des écoles d'archéologie sur le terrain et dans tout engagement avec la communauté, je pense que la santé mentale et l'enseignement tenant compte des traumatismes doivent être intégrés en tant que principe fondamental. Il faut que les gens sachent comment réagir à ces situations et qu'ils gardent l'espace jusqu'à ce qu'ils puissent entrer en contact avec quelqu'un ayant les compétences pour les aider. Il est irresponsable d'accepter des personnes et de ne les soutenir que d'une certaine manière, mais de ne pas prendre la personne dans son ensemble et de ne pas s'engager à ses côtés et dans son parcours. Il n'est pas nécessaire qu'une seule personne sache tout ou ait une formation complète, mais elle doit être prête à occuper ces espaces et à soutenir les gens s'ils ont besoin d'aide.

En pensant à l'avenir, comment pouvons-nous redonner de l'élan à la formation d'un plus grand nombre d'Inuit dans le secteur du patrimoine au Nunavut ?

Krista : Il est nécessaire de développer la formation au Nunavut. Pourquoi n'y a-t-il pas de cours d'introduction à l'archéologie dans les écoles secondaires ou au Nunavut Arctic College ? Je sais que ce cours peut être enseigné dans les écoles secondaires ; mon amie l'a enseigné cet automne à Rankin Inlet. Elle enseigne au secondaire et m'a demandé de donner une conférence invitée dans la section d'introduction à l'archéologie de son cours. Pourquoi ce cours n'est-il pas offert plus largement au Nunavut ?

Ce que j'essaie de dire, c'est que nous devons nous efforcer d'exposer les jeunes à ces domaines. Rappelle-toi, c'est ce qui a eu un impact important sur moi : l'exposition. Un autre moyen est de poursuivre les écoles d'archéologie sur le terrain. Même si les gens ne choisissent pas la voie de l'archéologie, nous exposons les jeunes à l'éducation, à notre patrimoine, à nos récits et à notre histoire. C'est ce qui est important ici : donner aux gens un sentiment de fierté de leur identité en apprenant notre histoire. Je n'insisterai jamais assez sur le fait que nous devons enseigner notre histoire au Nunavut. Elle n'est pas suffisamment enseignée dans les écoles.

Cette démarche s'inscrit directement dans l'archéologie autochtone, dont une grande partie consiste à s'engager auprès des populations autochtones, en leur donnant les moyens de préserver leur patrimoine de la manière qu'elles jugent la plus appropriée. C'est aussi une façon de réparer les erreurs du passé colonial de l'archéologie. Le travail de personnes comme Sven Haakanson Jr, Kisha Supernant, Margaret Bruchac, Sara Gonzalez et bien d'autres sont d'excellents exemples de l'impact de la recherche et de l'archéologie autochtones sur les communautés et les groupes culturels. Ils montrent l'impact de leur

travail sur leurs communautés, sur le monde universitaire autochtone et sur le domaine de l'archéologie en général.

Il est également important de soutenir les étudiants dans leur rôle de *leader*. J'aimerais occuper ces rôles et ces postes de direction, mais je ne le peux pas. Cela s'explique en partie par le fait que d'autres personnes, inuit et non inuit, remplissent ces rôles, mais aussi par le fait qu'ils n'existent pas. Il faut les créer pour que nous puissions les occuper.

J'ai discuté avec d'autres archéologues autochtones, et c'est la même chose pour beaucoup d'entre nous. Il y a trop d'obstacles que nous rencontrons dans nos voyages et dans notre travail. Comment devenir les titulaires des permis inuit? Il m'a été très difficile d'obtenir un permis de classe 1 au Nunavut. J'aimerais que l'on aide davantage les étudiants à surmonter certains des obstacles qui se dressent devant nous et qu'on les aide à naviguer dans le système de délivrance des permis.

On en revient à ce dont nous avons déjà discuté : Comment former les Inuit aux méthodes archéologiques? En allant plus loin, comment former les Inuit aux méthodes archéologiques autochtones? À ma connaissance, on parle peu d'archéologie autochtone ou même inuit au Nunavut. Comment aider les étudiants à étudier l'archéologie inuit au Nunavut? C'est un défi majeur aujourd'hui.

Ericka : Pour en revenir à l'histoire des écoles de fouilles archéologiques, il arrive parfois un moment naturel où l'on fait une pause, où l'on évalue le programme et où l'on réévalue la structure. Peut-être devrions-nous réfléchir à la manière de relancer les écoles de fouilles archéologiques d'une manière différente, par exemple avec une cohorte plus petite ou une approche plus large, afin de voir ce qui pourrait mieux fonctionner à l'avenir.

Il est également important de prendre conscience des problèmes systémiques qui constituent des obstacles pour les jeunes. Remplir les rôles qui existent actuellement, mais le manque d'imagination ou d'engagement pour créer des postes sont des obstacles. Quels autres rôles et postes pouvons-nous créer qui répondraient vraiment à un mandat ou à une vision plus large de l'engagement des Inuit dans la culture et le patrimoine?

Krista : J'ai un ensemble de compétences spécifiques. J'ai une formation et une éducation en archéologie, en archéologie autochtone, en muséologie et en travail sur les collections, en conservation, en recherche universitaire et en recherche inuit. Pourtant, il n'y a pas de poste à pourvoir au Nunavut, il n'y a pas de place pour moi en tant que *leader* du patrimoine au Nunavut.

Ericka : Cela va à l'encontre de l'esprit de l'Accord sur les revendications territoriales du Nunavut (Nunavut Land Claims Agreement, NLCA). Il

existe une réelle opportunité de revisiter l'esprit et l'intention au-delà des mots de l'Accord. Nous avons la possibilité de créer un lieu de rêve et de contemplation, de faire appel à la sagesse de plusieurs personnes et de réfléchir à la prochaine étape ou à l'avenir des Inuit du Nunavut. Krista, que veux-tu faire lorsque tu aura terminé votre doctorat?

Krista: Le métier de mes rêves est de travailler dans les collections avec les Inuit du Nunavut. À un moment donné, je me suis rendue compte que tout ce que nous excavons finit en dehors du Nunavut. J'ai alors décidé de me concentrer sur les collections existantes jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait un musée et un dépôt au Nunavut. À mon avis, quel est l'intérêt de fouiller et d'extraire notre patrimoine tangible si nos biens finissent à l'extérieur du Nunavut? Je ne veux pas contribuer à la dislocation de nos biens en dehors de l'Inuit Nunaat.

Conclusion

Avant les écoles de fouilles archéologiques du Nunavut, l'archéologie n'était pas aussi présente qu'aujourd'hui (Griebel 2010; Griebel et Kitikmeot Heritage Society 2013; Lyons 2013). Les gens ou les communautés n'étaient pas aussi au courant des projets archéologiques et n'étaient pas aussi impliqués que par le biais des écoles d'archéologie. Il y a eu des travaux archéologiques préliminaires avec des Inuit comme Nutarak (Figure 9) au début de la colonisation du Nunavut, ainsi que les travaux de Deborah Webster dans les années 1990 et suivantes (Webster et Bennet 1997). Cependant, une grande partie de l'archéologie antérieure au NLCA s'inscrivait dans le modèle colonial, où les *Qallunaat* (mot inuktitut désignant les colons euro-occidentaux; la forme singulière est *Qallunaaq*) se rendaient au Nunavut et se voyaient accorder un permis sans avoir établi de relations avec la communauté, ou très peu. Nous pensons que ce type d'archéologie extractive et coloniale a influencé les dirigeants inuit lors de la signature du NLCA, où ils voulaient garantir un contrôle accru des Inuit sur le patrimoine matériel et immatériel inuit. Nous pensons que le fait de renouer avec les principes du NLCA peut guider l'avenir de l'archéologie inuit au Nunavut, notamment en permettant aux archéologues inuit d'être formés et d'occuper des postes de direction dans le secteur du patrimoine.



Figure. 9. L'aîné Cornelius Nutarak Sr.

Depuis les écoles de fouilles archéologiques du début des années 2000, une participante a poursuivi des études post-secondaires en anthropologie et a obtenu une licence en anthropologie en 2012. Elle a depuis participé à d'autres écoles de fouilles archéologiques dans l'ouest du Nunavut et a été directrice d'un centre du patrimoine dans sa communauté d'origine. Un autre participant à l'une des écoles de terrain a participé à des activités d'archéologie sous-marine avec Parcs Canada et a joué un rôle dans l'excavation de l'un des navires de Franklin. Un autre participant aux écoles d'archéologie a suivi une formation de conservateur et est devenu directeur d'un musée local au Nunavut. Lors de communications personnelles avec ces personnes, elles ont fait part de l'impact des écoles de fouilles qui les ont aidées à s'orienter dans le travail sur le patrimoine au Nunavut, que ce soit pour soutenir un intérêt préexistant pour l'anthropologie, l'archéologie ou d'autres travaux sur le patrimoine, ou pour les aider à s'orienter vers le domaine. Comme l'ont constaté de nombreux archéologues autochtones (Bruchac, Hart et Wobst 2010), il existe de nombreux chemins vers l'archéologie.

Les aspects des écoles de fouilles archéologiques qui sont restés gravés dans la mémoire de Zawadski sont les moments de connexion avec ses pairs, les anciens et les membres de la communauté. Elle a notamment partagé avec d'autres élèves des histoires orales inuit, comme celles des Tunniit, ou des personnes qui vivaient dans l'Arctique avant les Inuit, et s'est familiarisée avec la préservation de la langue et de la culture par le biais de travaux archéologiques, comme l'illustre Nutarak. Les trois activités des écoles de fouilles qui englobent ces aspects et qui ont eu un impact sur Zawadski sont l'exposition communautaire des fouilles organisées par les étudiants (y compris la rédaction d'étiquettes en inuktitut et en anglais), le fait de voir Nutarak travailler sur le terrain et partager des histoires après une matinée de fouilles avec l'un des participants, et les excursions sur le terrain avec des membres de la communauté et des aînés qui ont partagé leurs connaissances et leurs histoires sur la terre entourant leurs communautés. Même s'il ne s'agit pas exactement de méthodes archéologiques, elles ont contribué au succès des écoles de fouilles archéologiques.

À l'avenir, nous pensons qu'il est de la plus haute importance de créer des espaces inclusifs pour que les étudiants inuit se sentent les bienvenus sur le terrain, ce qui implique de leur apporter un soutien pendant qu'ils sont sur le terrain, par exemple, en incluant les manières inuit d'enseigner et d'être, en ne sous-estimant pas les Inuit et en ne leur donnant pas un rôle symbolique, en enseignant selon une approche qui tient compte des traumatismes, en offrant un soutien en matière de santé mentale si nécessaire, et en permettant aux étudiants d'explorer leurs propres intérêts et points forts dans le cadre d'un projet de plus grande envergure. Il est important d'avoir une certaine orientation et une certaine approche sur le terrain pour

accomplir un travail sensible au temps et aux conditions météorologiques, mais une trop grande rigidité peut aussi nuire au maintien de l'intérêt des jeunes et leur causer du tort en imposant continuellement des systèmes coloniaux de structure, d'organisation et de valeurs. Enfin, il est important de créer un éventail d'opportunités à long terme pour les étudiants afin qu'ils poursuivent leurs études dans le domaine de l'archéologie. Nous espérons que la « recherche par hélicoptère » coloniale et désuète appartiendra au passé, et nous nous réjouissons de voir davantage d'Inuit devenir des *leaders* dans le secteur du patrimoine au Nunavut, au Canada et dans le monde.

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Giving the Past a Future: Community Archaeology, Youth Engagement and Heritage in Quinhagak, Alaska

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ABSTRACT

Initiated by the descendant community of Quinhagak and endorsed by village Elders, the Nunalleq Archaeology Project was unique for Yup'ik Alaska when it began in 2009. Since then, this embedded community project has provided the village with over a decade of archaeological presence in the form of excavations, finds processing, conservation lab work, and, since 2018, a local repository housing the entire archaeological collection.

Accounts of collaborations between archaeologists and Indigenous communities often focus on Elders and cultural bearers. However, whilst these collaborators are, and continue to be, invaluable for the Nunalleq project, here we want to acknowledge the generation of young adults who have grown up with the Project, and to whom archaeological finds and artifacts are now an intrinsic part of their heritage. This paper discusses how the Nunalleq Archaeology Project has come to influence local heritage, and how community engagement has in turn shaped the archaeological practice and co-designed outreach work. We constructively reflect upon insights borne from a decade of collaborative practice and critically ask how such community collaborations may be strengthened for the future.

KEYWORDS

Community Archaeology, Indigenous Archaeology, Yup'ik, Yup'ik Heritage, Youth Engagement

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RÉSUMÉ

Donner au passé un avenir : Archéologie communautaire, engagement des jeunes et patrimoine à Quinhagak, en Alaska

Initié par la communauté des descendants de Quinhagak et approuvé par les Aînés du village, le Projet Archéologique de Nunalleq était unique pour l'Alaska Yup'ik lorsqu'il a débuté en 2009. Depuis lors, ce projet communautaire intégré a fourni au village plus d'une décennie de présence archéologique sous la forme de fouilles, du traitement des découvertes, de travaux de conservation en laboratoire et, depuis 2018, un dépôt local abritant l'ensemble de la collection archéologique.

Les récits de collaborations entre archéologues et communautés autochtones se concentrent souvent sur les Aînés et les détenteurs culturels. Cependant, bien que ces collaborateurs soient et continuent d'être inestimables pour le projet Nunalleq, nous tenons ici à remercier la génération de jeunes adultes qui ont grandi avec le projet et pour qui les découvertes archéologiques et les artefacts font désormais partie intégrante de leur patrimoine. Cet article explique comment le Projet Archéologique de Nunalleq en est venu à influencer le patrimoine local et comment l'engagement communautaire a à son tour façonné la pratique archéologique et le travail de sensibilisation co-conçu. Nous réfléchissons de manière constructive aux idées issues d'une décennie de pratique collaborative et nous nous demandons de manière critique comment de telles collaborations communautaires peuvent être renforcées à l'avenir.

MOTS-CLÉS

Archéologie communautaire, archéologie autochtone, Yup'ik, patrimoine Yup'ik, engagement des jeunes.

ARCAQALRIIT translated by Corey Al'aq Joseph

Kuinerrarmiut kinguvrita ayagniuskiit Tegganrita-llu cingumakiit Nunallermek Elakengaliuryaranek Caliarat [*Nunalleq Archaeology Project*] Yup'igni Alaska-rmiuni ayuqaitellruuq ayagniatni 2009-aami. Tuakenirnek nakmiin nunameggni caliamegteggun qulen allrakut cipluki elakengaliuryararluteng elakengengnaqellrianek, elakenganek yuvrilrianek, kangingnaurvigteggun qelkilrianek, 2018-aarnirnek-llu nunameggni elakengellmeng tamalkuita qellekviatnek.

Elakengaliurtet Nutemllaat-llu Kinguvrita caliaritnek qanemcini Tegganret kinguvarturtet-llu arcaqaketuit. Tau͡gaam tamakut calillgutkuciat man'a engelkarrluku arcaqaqapigcaaqengraan Nunallermek caliaratnun, makuni eneqakaput ayagyuat anglillret Caliarat maliggluku, maa-i-llu elakengat tapeqluki paitaqsagutellruluki. Makuni igani qalarutkaput Nunallermek Elakengaliuryaranek Caliarata agtuumaciat nunalget paitaitnun, mumiggluku-llu nunalget ilagautellermegteggun elakengaliuryaranun agtuumaciat, atunem-llu yugnun paivtellerkiullrat. Qulen allrakut cipluki iluatni murilkelput umyuangcautekenqegcaarluki, qaillun-llu tamakucit nunalgutkellriit-llu calillguteksarait kinguvqaarni elluarcaryugngaciatnek.

APERYARAT ARCAQALRIIT

Nunalget Elakengaliuryarait, Nutemllaat Kinguvrita Elakengaliuryarait, Yup'ik, Yupiit Paitait, Ayagyuat Ilagauciat

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Situating the Authors

Charlotta Hillerdal is an archaeologist and academic co-lead for the Nunalleq Archaeology Project. In addition to excavation, her work focuses on community engagement with heritage. Alice Watterson is an archaeologist and digital artist who led the development of the community co-designed Nunalleq Educational Resource (Watterson et al. 2019). They contribute their observations and thoughts as professional archaeologists and incomers to the community. Quinhagak residents M. Akiqaralria Williams and Lonny Alaskuk Strunk are now in their 20s and belong to a generation in the village who have grown up with the archaeological project ever-present in their community. They give personal accounts of their experience of Nunalleq and reflect on the impact of archaeology locally for themselves and their peers. Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland is from the generation before and offers a retrospective look at the changes she has witnessed in her community over the past two decades since she herself was a young adult.

The Nunalleq Project

The Nunalleq Project is an embedded community archaeology project set up in collaboration between the Alaska Native village of Quinhagak and the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, UK. This project was initiated by the local community, and born out of fear of loss of cultural heritage to coastal erosion. The local community began finding ancient artifacts on the beach, which made them seek archaeological advice. In 2009, an initial small-scale excavation on the tundra erosion edge facing the Bering Sea was the starting point of the Nunalleq Project and over a decade of archaeological research in Quinhagak (Hillerdal et al. 2019; Knecht and Jones 2019).

Nunalleq (the Old Village), given its name by local Elders, would prove to be an extremely well-preserved Yup'ik settlement, dating to the late pre-contact period, a time little known by previous archaeological and historic research. Thousands of well-preserved artifacts, ranging from everyday household objects, hunting equipment, ceremonial objects such as masks and drums, pieces of clothing and jewelry, and even toys, together with architectural evidence, and an abundance of faunal and plant remains and other biological material, have steadily built a picture of life at Nunalleq AD 1570-1675 (Ledger et al. 2018). Many of the artifacts allude to Yup'ik life in the village today, and it is easy to recognise the link between Yup'ik subsistence on the tundra, river, and sea, then and now—hunting equipment and practices may have changed, but the importance of these activities and the strong link to a land that provides, remain (cf. Kawagley and Barnhardt 1998; Corntrassel and Hardbarger 2019). Others tell the story of a way of life that is no longer practiced, echoes of drums and dances long since forgotten (cf. Mossolova and Knecht 2019, 33). Both these sentiments—a sense of

familiarity and a sense of wonder—evoke a deeply felt engagement with the past for many community members visiting the site or interacting with the artifacts at the annual end-of-season community workshops. Since 2018, such encounters are facilitated by the artifacts being accessible in the local archaeological repository *The Nunalleq Culture and Archaeology Center*, in everyday speech known as "the museum".

This engagement was exactly what Elders and cultural bearers were hoping for when they went against traditional beliefs and supported excavation, and it was also what motivated community leaders to pursue and invest in an archaeological project in the first place (Knecht and Jones 2019, 27). As expressed by Warren Jones, Qanirtuuq Inc. CEO, and the instigator behind the project: "This Nunalleq project was started with future generations in mind. So that they will never forget where they came from" (KYUK Media 2018). This statement should be understood against a backdrop of colonial oppression and marginalisation. Moravian missionaries arrived in the Kuskokwim area in the late 19th century, shortly followed by the Catholic Church establishing itself on the Yukon River. Missionaries banned Yup'ik practices recognised as shamanism, including dancing (Fienup-Riordan 1987; Barker et al. 2010). A Moravian mission was established in Quinhagak in 1893. Quinhagak residents are proud of their Moravian heritage, but it also resulted in certain traditional practices being suppressed (Fienup-Riordan and Rearden 2013). The church has since somewhat revised their views, and are now much more acceptant and inclusive of Native spirituality (Henkelman and Vitt 1985). Whilst a sense of belonging is important for the well-being of any group of young people, it is even more so for Indigenous youth who often see their way of life and traditions questioned (Taylor and Usborne 2010; Rivkin et al. 2018). The archaeological material from Nunalleq has provided a point of interaction with the past for many Quinhagak residents, and we have seen it work as a catalyst for other types of involvement in cultural activities, such as dance and artwork (Hillerdal 2017, 72-75; Watterson and Hillerdal 2020, 213-215).

Nevertheless, older generations in the community often express a prevailing apprehension of disconnectedness among a generation of young people who seek their connections, cohesion, and context elsewhere. Reflecting on her own relationship with her Yup'ik identity as a teenager, Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland considers the Elders' concerns, ultimately empathising with both parties. She sees that it is especially challenging to be a young Yup'ik person today, finding themselves conflicted between a desire to be engaged in western culture, lingering repercussions of Yup'ik historically being demeaned for their traditions and speaking their language, and presently, a growing expectation to be connected to your Indigenous roots—it is not uncommon for young people today to feel social pressure for *not* knowing their culture. Consequently, today's younger generations

have a great deal to process and reconcile. Their resilience, it seems, manifests in negotiating new and evolving ways to identify with their culture.

The sentiment from older generations that young people have lost touch with their culture might in fact reflect these changing forms of interaction rather than an outright detachment. Something which, to some extent, was recognised by the Qanirtuuq Inc. Village Board in the brief for the digital media-based Nunalleq Educational Resource, with the motivation that this outreach material reach the younger generation in a format they would readily engage with "on their devices" (Watterson and Hillerdal 2020, 200).

An important point of engagement has always been the excavations themselves. During the season, there are regular visits from Quinhagak community members to the site, and many volunteer helpers for varying stretches of time, from a few hours to more or less the whole season. The majority of these volunteers are children and young people, and many of them return every year and become knowledgeable members of the archaeology crew. M. Akiqaralria Williams is one of these dedicated participants and has worked at the excavations and in the artifact lab since 2010, when she herself was a child. Younger generations in Quinhagak are thus forging their own relationships with the earth and archaeology of Nunalleq, and creating their own links with the past.

> Vignette 1: *Encounter*, by M. Akiqaralria Williams:
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> A ride down to the beach was something I had never expected. A ride for fresh air. As I was near the end of the beach, there were a bunch of people not known to me in the particular spot. Until curiosity got the best of me. Indeed! Did I learn what archaeology was! Being introduced, by a "Santa Claus" man known as Dr Richard Knecht into the field of my history hiding underground in the tundra. Things like this never really occurred to me. Only stories from the elders who had shared their stories passed down from generation to generation. My first few artifacts I have found, are a little too far back to remember. The artifact I can only recall with clarity was a small little ryegrass of a basket starter (Figure 1). The starter for a certain basketry I still have to learn how to make. Now up to this day, I am still learning what the artifacts are and how they are used. I will proceed to learn and continue the knowledge I have obtained and pass it on to the future generations.

Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland acknowledges that the Project and unravelling 500 years of local history has been fascinating for the whole community, but that it has had a particular impact on their young people. From her vantage point of being from the generation before the "children of the dig" (Branstetter 2018), she witnessed an explosion of cultural revival within the community's young people and a reinvigorated sense of Yup'ik pride.



Figure 1. M. Akiqaralria Williams digging at Nunalleq in 2013 and the "little basket starter" she uncovered. (Photo: Rick Knecht and Julie Masson-MacLean).

Charlotta Hillerdal looks back to the beginning of the Project; the first few years of excavating Nunalleq, we were accepted, but extraneously foreign. For most people in Quinhagak, archaeology was not something that concerned them. Ultimately, what sparked engagement was the artifacts themselves, but the scientific team made an effort to make archaeology a matter of concern for the community, maybe most successfully by providing an arena for interaction through the annual end-of-season "Show and Tell" community workshops (Hillerdal 2018, 378–380; Hillerdal et al. 2019). However, the most valuable advocates for archaeology in the community have been the children and young people volunteering and helping out at the site or in the lab, visiting with the school, and bringing the stories back to their families—story by story weaving the archaeology into the local history.

Traditionally, Yup'ik history is transmitted in stories told by Elders, and as *qanruyutet*, wise words and teachings from the ancestors, linking past knowledge to the present in guiding young people on how to live a good life (Fienup-Riordan 2005, 9-12). Finding the story in objects from the past is an evolving contemporary concept. One of the strengths of Nunalleq is the way in which oral history and archaeology combine to write the story for us. As expressed by Yup'ik Quinhagak resident and local community

historian Willard Church, "It validates the history of the people" (Branstetter 2019). From a community perspective, archaeology is able to expand the story with details from the artifacts and the excavation. Oral history is able to tell us why, but the artifacts are able to tell us what, when, and how.

Lonny Alaskuk Strunk shares Willard Church's sentiments: "For me personally, Nunalleq archaeology and artifacts endorse all of the oral history that I have been told. I've heard stories growing up about how the bow and arrow war started and admonishments not to go towards the old village. I'm glad that the archaeology team was able to dig there and extract all of the artifacts and information before the coastal erosion reached the site."

The archaeology also adds a depth of time to local history, which was not necessarily evident before. For Alaskuk, whose family is closely connected to the church, encountering Nunalleq artifacts was the first time he thought about his village history prior to western contact.

Akiqaralria believes that the excavation has changed many people's perceptions of the past. She observes many similarities in practices now and then, with differences found mainly in materials and methods; the net mender, uluat, steambath dipper, spoons and ladles, darts, fishing lures. We still use them up to this day. Just in various sizes and modern fishing. She also sees how archaeology and local knowledge collaborate to form a stronger narrative about the past, each contributing with their strengths.

Vignette 2: *Discovery*, by Lonny Alaskuk Strunk:

During summer breaks, it was a common occurence to hear my best friend say "do you want to go check out the archaeologists?" We would get on the four-wheel and head down the beach, where we would meet the strangers who were so interested in our own culture. They would show us, with great excitement, the artifacts from that day's dig. I was always intrigued by each artifact and the mystery of how my ancestors lived. But one day in particular stands out, the day the caribou mask was unearthed from the grounds of Nunalleq (Figure 2).

My parents were interested in visiting the archaeologists, so we took a ride down to the beach and walked to the dig site. Everyone there was focused on their work in one corner of the site. A few minutes after we arrived Charlotta dislodged a mask out of the mud, flipped it over and revealed a smiling caribou. It felt surreal seeing and experiencing a dance mask, so close to my home and we were all in awe with how unique and cute it was.

Whenever I see the Nunalleq artifacts, they feel foreign to me, a place in time that I don't fully comprehend. Before western contact, they had only materials gathered from the land, only spoke the Yup'ik language, lived with different social structures, held different spiritual practices, and possessed a different worldview. Despite the differences

in our lives throughout time, there are common threads that I can feel living in the present-day in the village. They pull me into the mysteries of the artifacts and the lives of my ancestors who left them behind. I want to learn more and unravel the connections between my village's past and how we live today.



Figure 2. The day the caribou mask was found. Lonny Alaskuk Strunk at the top of the trench, taking photos. (Photo: Dora Apurin Strunk).

The importance of Yup'ik language, Yugtun, for Yup'ik identity is often emphasised in the community. The loss of "proper" spoken Yugtun among younger generations, who in their daily use of the language often mix Yugtun and English, is a large cause for concern among older generations and Elders. Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland belongs to one of the last generations to speak Yup'ik fluently. She grew up with her grandparents, speaking Yup'ik every day, living the subsistence lifestyle and hearing the old stories and teachings—which was the only life she thought existed when she was young.

For Lonny Alaskuk Strunk, a year studying overseas in Japan dawned a realisation that he had a better grasp of the Japanese language than he did of his own. This spurred him on to combine Yugtun with his studies in computer science. Today he is working towards strengthening the knowledge of Yugtun among younger generations through computational linguistics and the development of a digital Yup'ik language learning tool (Liu et al. 2021). Both generations recognise the importance of language to cultural identity, something which in turn has been emphasised to the archaeologists and

manifests most frequently in correctly naming artifacts from the excavations in the local dialect (i.e. Watterson et al. 2019). Another area where the language is actively represented in youth culture is in *yuraq*, the Yup'ik drum dances, which have seen a revival locally in recent years.

The full size caribou mask described by Lonny Alaskuk Strunk in the vignette 2 was as the very last mask to be found at Nunalleq. It was found at the base of a wall belonging to the earliest occupation on the site, so this caribou mask had been sitting hidden in the sod wall of the house for almost as long as it stood there. For the excavator, a find like this is meaningful beyond archaeological discovery. These artifacts have an innate intensity that leaves no one unaffected.

Yuraq, pre-Christianity, was essentially spiritual and a means of connecting and communicating different worlds (Ayunerak et al. 2014, 94; Fienup-Riordan 1996, 307). Hence, Yup'ik dancing was often targeted by missionaries, discouraged, and eventually disappeared in many communities (Barker et al. 2010, 6), including Quinhagak (Mossolova and Michael 2021, 6). Masks, drum handles, and other regalia linked to dancing uncovered at Nunalleq witness the time-depth and significance of this spiritual tradition, and dancing has played a substantial part in cultural revitalisation movements. In the annual "Show and Tell" of 2013, Yup'ik dancing once again became part of the Quinhagak cultural fabric, with what was for many community members the first public performance in living memory taking place outside the school setting (Figure 3). In our discussion of archaeology and heritage in Quinhagak, the relationship between material culture, language, dancing, and Yup'ik identity is intrinsically connected.



Figure 3. Quinhagak dancers at their first Quinhagak performance at the 2013 Show and Tell. (Photo: Charlotta Hillerdal).

For Alaskuk, *yuraq* represents an intersection between past and present, and has become a vibrant part of his culture and heritage. He shares his passion for dance with Nalikutaar, who learned Yup'ik dancing when living outside of Quinhagak, attending high school in Sitka, AK. She recalls it took her nearly two years to muster the courage to join the school's Yup'ik dance group. She admired the dancers for their calm confidence and was intimidated by how natural it seemed for them. She had never known dance in her own community, nor had her mother's generation, and she worried for some time that due to this, she was perhaps less deserving of taking part.

The first time there was a dance performance in Quinhagak after more than forty years since Quinhagak lost the art of *yuraq* was in the late 1990s, when Nalikutaar and her sister, Jenine Capenruilnguq Heakin, performed two songs for an event at school. It was an unconventional performance, just the two sisters taking turns drumming and singing, while the other one would dance. She explains that the old Yup'ik ways are that men are the only drummers and singers, and women dance—men can dance too but traditionally, women did not drum or sing. She recollects it as being an awkward experience; knowing all of these unconventional factors, knowing *yuraq* had been lost in Quinhagak for decades, not being able to figure out the expressions on people's faces and if it was accepted or not. In the end, people commended them, saying they were good singers and dancers. But she recalls them being somewhat stunned, as dance simply had not been done publicly for so long. Following this, she explains that over the years, others began teaching *yuraq* within the school and it gradually became more present within the community.

With the excavation of Nunalleq, and the wealth of ceremonial life expressed in the dance related artifacts, attitudes towards dancing became more accepting in the village, and dance has, since that first performance at the 2013 Show and Tell, become part of the Nunalleq story. Nalikutaar reflects that although the language may not be spoken as much, *yuraq* has in many ways expanded to fill that space, becoming a new means for younger generations to explore their Yup'ik identity.

Vignette 3: *Presence*, by M. Akiqaralria Williams:

> After the first time I learned about archeology, I always wondered what it was like to see and learn about things that never really occurred to anyone including me. It was like a little child asking for candy and getting it; the rush of adrenaline after finding something at the site that was a part of my history. It was a type of awakening inside no one can explain. When you think about it, the artifacts hold something no one ever knew much of, until someone who knows about it comes and tells a story. The lab holds many more stories that will give you a sense of rush as you are seeing and looking at the artifacts. Cataloging was a homophone that I had never expected—before the project I thought it

was a magazine to look at only! My other thrill is fixing something as intricate as baleen. That was a woo for me right there! As time went by completing most of the tasks, I had to learn what it was like to give a tour to people. My friends were my final rush, and seeing the people intrigued (Figure 4). The stories made sense and changed the way I thought about our past. Who would have thought that everything was made of wood and grass? Even what is still used to today, fur clothing for warmth.



Figure 4. M. Akiqaralria Williams (on the left, in red) at the 2017 Show and Tell. (Photo: Rick Knecht).

In the summer of 2018, 80 crates with over 60,000 artifacts arrived in Quinhagak. This was the Nunalleq collection coming back home from Scotland, where it had been on loan to the University of Aberdeen for the purpose of research and conservation. The largest Yup'ik pre-contact collection in the world is now housed in the Nunalleq Culture and Archaeology Center at the center of Quinhagak, under custodian of the community, and directly available to anyone in the descendant community (cf. Ornicul 2015). Following the ethos of the yearly end-of-season community Show and Tell sessions, the artifacts are not behind glass (cf. Andrews 2017), but accessible in purpose-built cabinets with drawers facilitating interaction (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Children visit the Culture and Archaeology Center in Quinhagak to see the artifacts, as Nalikutaar notes, "It seems to never get old for them!" (Photo: Stephan Jones).

This is the first repository of its kind in the region, with artifacts located in their original environment and managed by the same people whose story they represent. Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland reflects on the impact of having the Nunalleq material home in the village: "We are very proud of having our own museum, the kids have such a sense of pride in it as well, there are always trips going back and forth from the school to the museum—it seems to never get old for them!"

The presence of the artifacts in Quinhagak, themselves tangible connections to Yup'ik culture, are witness to a more intangible effect on the community, particularly the younger generations. Latour and Lowe (2011) consider the intangible presence or "aura" of original artworks and artifacts, something Yup'ik culture would attribute to *yuk*, the spirit that inhabits all physical things, both alive or inanimate. In Quinhagak, the intangible presence of the artifacts appears to spark an insatiable curiosity with many. We would argue that this spark is a vital component to inspiring life-long learning, where individuals take initiative to engage more directly with their heritage following an initial encounter with the collection.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic hit Quinhagak and forced all in-person community gatherings to cease, the Center had already taken on its intended function as a hub for all kinds of cultural activities. The Quinhagak dancers had taken their regular practices here, dancing next to the artifacts. One of their first rehearsals in the "museum" they performed especially for the collection to "make peace with the artifacts that first scared them" (Mossolova and Michael 2021, 8). The archaeological material is thus active—and interactive—in the community.

An important aspect of artifacts for people in the community, and how they often interact with them, is what they *do* rather than what they *are*. In the hands of local craftspeople, as well as Elders, an artifact can take on an active form. Theirs are stories of fishing and hunting, carving and weaving, dancing and playing. Approaching the artifact in their active form—as doing rather than being—has also been a learning experience for us professionals. The story of Nunalleq is not contained within sod walls, but travels in the entire landscape.

This is also where Lonny Alaskuk Strunk identifies an especially valuable contribution made by the artifacts, in how the techniques used to design and create the crafts could be studied and learned. He sees how these techniques are connected to cultural activities such as carving, weaving, and sewing. They should be preserved and passed on in order to help connect and solidify a shared identity as Yup'ik people.

The Nunalleq collection contains a uniquely large number of well-preserved grass basketry and cordage (Masson-MacLean et al. 2019). The main technique used for manufacturing grass artifacts at Nunalleq was twining, a technique that has largely been abandoned for coiling in contemporary grass crafts (Masson-MacLean et al. 2019, 90-95). Finding these grass artifacts created strong interest among the community to bring these old techniques back into practice, and in the summer of 2019, the Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center sponsored a couple of workshops at the Nunalleq Culture and Archaeology Center. The workshops were led by Quinhagak resident Grace Anaver, one of the few Yup'ik artists who still practice the twining tradition (Crowell 2019). Both Akiqaralria and Nalikutaar attended the workshop. To Nalikutaar, realising the complexity of the old ways of making basketry was astounding and led to a sense of wonderment at how her Elders knew these things and how the people of Nunalleq had mastered it so seemingly effortlessly (Figure 6).

Akiqaralria and Alaskuk both think it is significant that the village owns the Nunalleq artifacts. They see it as beneficial for the village members and especially for the youth to experience and interact with them regularly. However, Alaskuk also expresses a concern that their remote location in Quinhagak somewhat prevents them from reaching a broader audience, and that opportunities for experts to study and learn from them might be missed.



Figure 6. Grass basketry workshop and Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland with her finished basket. (Photo: Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland).

This concern is addressed by the ongoing development of a co-curated "Digital museum", which will make artifacts available to an international audience in digital form as 3D objects and photographs. Ultimately, the impact of their presence in the community is more valuable than easy accessibility for a global community. As expressed by Akiqaralria, it is important to share the story and history which defines the people of the community and for them to know where they came from.

Vignette 4: *Immersion*, by Lonny Alaskuk Strunk:

A few weeks after the caribou mask was unearthed, there was the annual Show and Tell. This year was special because the conserved artifacts from previous years would be returning home. To commemorate this, they were going to hold workshops and a potluck celebration, Alice and Charlotta reached out to the local dance group and asked if they could perform. They proposed crafting a new song to honor the occasion.

When performing at a celebration it is customary to prepare 3-5 songs to share. At *yuraq* practices we learn and dance songs from other villages, but at performances we only dance the songs we have permission to perform. Because Kuinerraq doesn't have a long history of dancing, the number of songs to perform is pretty limited. It's customary to create new songs while still practicing older songs to freshen and expand the selection. As a dance group, we decided the theme of the Nunalleq dig site would be a great idea to add to our repertoire.

I was lucky enough to have lived in another village, Atmautluak, that practiced *yuraq*. It was during middle school, when I lived there, that I first learned how to *yuraq* regional and local songs. Here I found a new thread of my culture tying me to my heritage. I was able to travel and perform the past and present. These threads grew when I joined the Inu-Yupiaq dance group during college and learned more songs from throughout the region. I was even able to compose my first *yuraq* song during an Alaska Native art appreciation class. It was a struggle not only to find the rhythm and words to express my vision but also to gather the confidence in myself that I knew enough to honor my culture in song. In the end, I learned enough about the structure of *yuraq* songs and the emotions tied into songwriting that I felt comfortable in helping the Quinhagak dance group compose a song about Nunalleq (Figure 7).

One of the guests for the celebration was Chuna McIntrye, a renowned Yup'ik artist from the neighboring village of Eek. He ran a small *yuraq* workshop that the dance group and I attended. There he stunned us by teaching a song that his grandmother taught him. Chuna

told us it was originally from the Nunalleq area. I was surprised to learn that a song from my own area lived on with our neighbors for years and years. With two new songs, the Nunalleq song and the gift from Chuna, we performed at the potluck. It was a very special moment to be able to share a once lost song and a new composition, both that would not have happened without Nunalleq. The dig site has brought us back so much, reconnecting my village with artifacts and reuniting us with songs. Without Nunalleq, there might not have been the push to revitalize the dance group and strengthen the connections to our histories.



Figure 7. Left, some of the Quinhagak dancers songwriting in the site tent led by Crystal Carter and below, at dance practice in the village. Right, demonstrating the Nunalleq Song, led by Lonny Alaskuk Strunk drumming; the dancers motion checking for finds during trowelling and finding an artifact from their ancestors. (credit: Alice Watterson).

Alice Watterson considers the influence of the younger generations on the design and content of the 2019 *Nunalleq Educational Resource* which was co-designed with the community in Quinhagak and aimed at regional schools in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta area. Somewhat understandably, our default position at the beginning of the project was to engage with the Elders and archaeologists as the core sources of knowledge. We quickly realised,

however, that in addition to these voices, the younger generation had much to contribute, and that this contribution was different, but no less valuable. Their contributions varied, from helping shape interviews with Elders and archaeologists by submitting questions they would like to ask, to recording sound bites and voiceovers to guide users through the Resource. Most notably, in writing the new *yuraq* song for Nunalleq, we also worked closely together to make a short film documenting the process from their perspectives (Watterson 2018). Dance revealed itself as a significant anchor point for the younger generation as both a means to connect with tradition and the archaeology of Nunalleq, and a way to forge a new and evolving relationship with their Yup'ik cultural heritage.

Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland witnessed the conflicting ideas about *yuraq* that were prevalent among the Elders in Quinahgak in the late 90s and early 2000s, when she was hired by the local tribal organisation to form a Youth dance group one summer. A couple of Elders were upset about the practicing of *yuraq* and they asked the dance group to stop. Nalikutaar's grandmother was the one who encouraged her to continue: "My grandma, she was all about it!" Despite the encouragement, Nalikutaar felt uncomfortable continuing dancing in the village, so she took the dance practice to the beach. She recollects taking her grandpa's four wheeler with the trailer to pick up the dancers and drive down to the beach with the kids in the trailer, sometimes as far as the Arolik: "We were dancing without knowing we were near Nunalleq!" Sometimes, her grandmother would join them and dance with the kids, being so proud of them. She also acknowledges the support of a number of older members of the community over the years who supported the dancers in the school and helped with song composition and practices.

Attitudes towards *yuraq* have changed in the village since Nalikutaar was young. The artifacts related to dancing and ceremonial life helped resolve some of the conflicts, and brought back a general acceptance and appreciation of dancing to Quinhagak. Nalikutaar speculates that reluctance was maybe connected to a sense of loss and feeling despondent about being unable to pass songs on like other communities. This change in attitude she sees as linked to the Elders' acceptance of Nunalleq to be explored and excavated, an open mindedness that led to some of their local history being saved and unravelled, eventually leading to cultural revival.

M. Akiqaralria Williams perceives the artifacts as unknown, but somehow, at the same time, familiar. She links this to an embedded cultural knowledge, and the artifacts visualising the stories shared by Elders. Lynn Church, originally from Quinhagak, who was employed by the Project as camp manager in the first years of excavation, also sees how this visualisation actually inspired story telling: "People started seeing artifacts (…) That's when the Elders started talking. They started talking about their stories that

they didn't want to tell before. Their memories started to come back" (Branstetter 2019).

In many ways, the Nunalleq excavation has worked as an incentive in the community for reconnecting with traditional Yup'ik culture, and to emphasise the worth of history. It also provided an area where younger and older generations can meet and find a common language to move forward into a future that is strengthened by the past.

Final Reflections: Past, Present and Future

Archaeology and traditional transmission of Yup'ik history are expressions of different ontologies. Jacqueline Nalikutaar Cleveland puts forth that Yup'ik ways of being are different to western science structure, where all the "whys" are answered. "Part of being Yup'ik is just knowing that, just knowing and not asking why, because some of that is tied into traditional knowledge and all the stories for teachings." If archaeology is to be relevant in a Yup'ik context, it needs to be aware of this and allow for a more collaborative and open-ended relationship with the past. Perhaps the reason archaeology has resonated so clearly with younger generations is their ability to navigate and reconcile these different cultural traditions.

The link between artifacts and Elders' knowledge is repeatedly emphasised by the Yup'ik authors of this paper. To them, the artifacts are closely linked to ancestral voices and teachings. They are not mute, but vivid, embedded with knowledge, and, as expressed by Lonny Alaskuk Strunk, they let you see and feel the creativity in the material and tools used in their craft. When Elders know what particular artifacts are used for, they bring out more stories and knowledge of our history and how our ancestors lived.

M. Akiqaralria Williams also reflects on an inherited resilience of her people, that seemingly lasts through time, and that may be strengthened from insights drawn from the past. She expresses an admiration for the ancient engineering and accomplished craftsmanship reflected in the archaeology and artifacts created by ancestors who lived their lives without any of the modern technology we rely on today. She ponders, "From what I know and heard, sometimes they say that we have it the easy way instead of the hard way. Then again, we learn it the hard way before it gets easy…" She sees how artifacts had, and continue to have, a practical use in peoples' daily lives, and how the hard work her ancestors went through, led up to where we are today. This insight can work as a learning experience for future generations, in the challenges they face from a changing world. She points to the importance of sharing the knowledge from the past; so, when hardship comes, generations to come will be prepared for anything that conflicts with their modern lifestyle. Thus, past, present and future are linked, collective, and active.

The biggest concern for the future, as expressed by all the Yup'ik authors of this paper, is that these voices will go silent with the passing of their older Elders, those in their 80s, and their fear of not capturing their Indigenous local knowledge in time to pass it on. Their hope is to engage in and transmit as much traditional local knowledge as possible before it is too late. The stories and local knowledge, the lived experiences, leave with the mind and body when Elders pass. This needs to be seized and shared with the generations yet to come. Without it, what will become of us, without telling them what it was like and where they came from?

In retrospect, drawing from what we have learned over the course of more than a decade of collaborative community-based research in Quinhagak, we can identify some key insights for future collaborations. Firstly, the importance of planning for and facilitating youth engagement at an early stage of a project, and in a more formalised way than on an ad-hoc basis. We would also encourage actively seeking those contact areas, often found by engaging with the local school. Always, we acknowledge the vitally important guidance and knowledge of Elders in the community, without whom we would not have the rich insights or immediacy of lived experience that they bring to the interpretation of the Nunalleq collection. Consequently, a core aim for the future will look towards creating more opportunities for intergenerational teaching spaces, where stories, skills, and ideas can be born and shared between Elders and these young culture bearers of the future.

Concluding Remarks

Community leaders and Elders often express concern over the lack of engagement with traditional ways of life among younger generations, while many from these younger generations, as evidenced by our authors, are acutely aware of what knowledge risks being lost. What these generations have in common is a shared resilience, as Chuna Macintyre observes: "Culture persists, it comes through in many forms, sometimes in very unexpected ways" (Watterson 2018). Ultimately, this resilience and connection to Yup'ik heritage looks different for each generation.

The generations now making up the community leaders have themselves often experienced a forceful estrangement from their culture in the form of boarding schools and regimental colonial legislation, and many have had to rediscover their heritage and reconnect with their roots. It is these generations who have been leading in cultural revival movements, of which the Nunalleq Project can be seen as forming a part. The generation who is now in their 20s, on the other hand, has formed a strong connection with their past, their heritage, and their culture. They are thus defining their own engagements, perhaps differently from what their Elders expect. They are empowered in their cultural connection in a different way—via cultural

revival, postcolonial influences, and colonial structures being made increasingly accountable for the continued trauma they are causing among Indigenous people. Thus, standing on a different platform and with decidedly differing experiences of being Indigenous, they are now forming their own relationships with their traditional culture. These are the future community leaders, and they have a strong sense of Self and being Yup'ik.

Acknowledgements

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Kinguneq Ciunerkiurluku: Nunalget Elakengaliuryarait, Ayagyuat Ilagauciat, Paitait-llu Kuinerrami Alaska-mi

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Translation into Yugtun by Corey Al'aq Joseph

ARCAQALRIIT

Kuinerrarmiut kinguvrita ayagniuskiit Tegganrita-llu cingumakiit Nunallermek Elakengaliuryaranek Caliarat [*Nunalleq Archaeology Project*] Yup'igni Alaska-rmiuni ayuqaitellruuq ayagniatni 2009-aami. Tuakenirnek nakmiin nunameggni caliamegteggun qulen allrakut cipluki elakengaliuryararluteng elakengengnaqellrianek, elakenganek yuvrilrianek, kangingnaurvigteggun qelkilrianek, 2018-aarnirnek-llu nunameggni elakengellmeng tamalkuita qellekviatnek.

Elakengaliurtet Nutemllaat-llu Kinguvrita caliaritnek qanemcini Tegganret kinguvarturtet-llu arcaqaketuit. Tau͡gaam tamakut calillgutkuciat man'a engelkarrluku arcaqaqapigcaaqengraan Nunallermek caliaratnun, makuni eneqakaput ayagyuat anglillret Caliarat maliggluku, maa-i-llu elakengat tapeqluki paitaqsagutellruluki. Makuni igani qalarutkaput Nunallermek Elakengaliuryaranek Caliarata agtuumaciat nunalget paitaitnun, mumiggluku-llu nunalget ilagautellermegteggun elakengaliuryaranun agtuumaciat, atunem-llu yugnun paivtellerkiullrat. Qulen allrakut cipluki iluatni murilkelput umyuangcautekenqegcaarluki, qaillun-llu tamakucit nunalgutkellriit-llu calillguteksarait kinguvqaarni elluarcaryugngaciatnek.

APERYARAT ARCAQALRIIT

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RÉSUMÉ

Donner au passé un avenir : Archéologie communautaire, engagement des jeunes et patrimoine à Quinhagak, en Alaska

Initié par la communauté des descendants de Quinhagak et approuvé par les Aînés du village, le Projet Archéologique de Nunalleq était unique pour l'Alaska Yup'ik lorsqu'il a débuté en 2009. Depuis lors, ce projet communautaire intégré a fourni au village plus d'une décennie de présence archéologique sous la forme de fouilles, du traitement des découvertes, de travaux de conservation en laboratoire et, depuis 2018, un dépôt local abritant l'ensemble de la collection archéologique.

Les récits de collaborations entre archéologues et communautés autochtones se concentrent souvent sur les Aînés et les détenteurs culturels. Cependant, bien que ces collaborateurs soient et continuent d'être inestimables pour le projet Nunalleq, nous tenons ici à remercier la génération de jeunes adultes qui ont grandi avec le projet et pour qui les découvertes archéologiques et les artefacts font désormais partie intégrante de leur patrimoine. Cet article explique comment le Projet Archéologique de Nunalleq en est venu à influencer le patrimoine local et comment l'engagement communautaire a à son tour façonné la pratique archéologique et le travail de sensibilisation co-conçu. Nous réfléchissons de manière constructive aux idées issues d'une décennie de pratique collaborative et nous nous demandons de manière critique comment de telles collaborations communautaires peuvent être renforcées à l'avenir.

MOTS-CLÉS

Archéologie communautaire, archéologie autochtone, Yup'ik, patrimoine Yup'ik, engagement des jeunes.

ABSTRACT

Giving the Past a Future: Community Archaeology, Youth Engagement and Heritage in Quinhagak, Alaska

Initiated by the descendant community of Quinhagak and endorsed by village Elders, the Nunalleq Archaeology Project was unique for Yup'ik Alaska when it began in 2009. Since then, this embedded community project has provided the village with over a decade of archaeological presence in the form of excavations, finds processing, conservation lab work, and, since 2018, a local repository housing the entire archaeological collection.

Accounts of collaborations between archaeologists and Indigenous communities often focus on Elders and cultural bearers. However, whilst these collaborators are, and continue to be, invaluable for the Nunalleq project, here we want to acknowledge the generation of young adults who have grown up with the Project, and to whom archaeological finds and artifacts are now an intrinsic part of their heritage. This paper discusses how the Nunalleq Archaeology Project has come to influence local heritage, and how community engagement has in turn shaped the archaeological practice and co-designed outreach work. We constructively reflect upon insights borne from a decade of collaborative practice and critically ask how such community collaborations may be strengthened for the future.

KEYWORDS
Community Archaeology, Indigenous Archaeology, Yup'ik, Yup'ik Heritage, Youth Engagement

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Igartet Nalqigutait

Charlotta Hillerdal-aq elakengaliurteńguuq, Nunallermek-llu Elakengaliuryaranek Calilriani ciuliqagtait ilakluki. Elakengengnaqsaram avatiini, caliamikun nunalget paitamegteńun ilagauciat cumigutkaqluku. Alice Watterson-aaq-wa elakengaliurta *computer*-aatgun-llu pilinguarta, nunalget-llu ciuliqaggluki ayuqucirkiullgutkellruluki Nunallermek Elitnaurutkanek [*Nunalleq Educational Resource*] (Watterson et al. 2019). Caliamegnegun elakengaliurteńgulutek nunataulutek-llu murilkeltek umyuangeltek-llu pugquraraqluki. Kuinerrarmiuk-wa Akiqaralriinkuk M. Williams-aankuk Alaskuk-llu Lonny Strunk-aq maa-i yuinaq cipluku allrakungellrulriik, nunameggni-llu elakengaliurturalriit takuatni angliurallret ilakluki. Nunallrem tungiinun qanemcilutek, elakengaliulriit-llu ellmegnun ilamegnun-llu agtuumaciat umyuangcautekluku. Nalikutaar-wa Jacqueline Cleveland-aaq ciungagni anglillrulria, ellii-llu ayagyuarraanerminek yuinaat allrakut iluatni nunameggni cimirturallret kingutmun umyuangcautekluki.

Nunallermek Caliarat

Nunallermek Caliarat nunalegni nakmiin yum'egteggun elakengaliuryaranek caliaruuq, atunem calistengqerrluni Alaska-mi Nutemllaat Kinguvritnek Kuinerrarmiunek Aberdeen-aam-llu Elitnaurvianek Scotland-aami United Kingdom-aani. Nunalegni nakmiin yum'egteggun ayagnillruluku, ceńa usquraan paitateng tamarnayukngamegteki. Tamakut nunalget ceńami elakengengameng elakengaliurteńun alerqurcetaarluteng. Allrakumi 2009-aami Imarpiim [*Bering Sea*] tungiini nunapigmi elakengengnaqeqerraallermegteggun Nunallermek Caliarat ayagnilria, Kuinerrami-llu qulen allrakut cipluki elakengliurturalriit (Hillerdal et al. 2019; Knecht and Jones 2019).

Nunalleq, nunalget Tegganrita acillrat, Yugtaq nunalleq cunawa elucickellria, Kass'artangvailgan nalliin iquanek ak'allataluteng, ciungani elakengaliurtet kinguneliurtet-llu nalluyaaqellrat. Tiissicaanqigtaat elucickellriit elakengat, ilakurluki enem tamarmi aklukekai, pissurcuutet, agayussuutet kegginaqutun cauyatun-llu, aturat kenugutet-llu, naanguat tuaten, cali-llu enet nautait, amlleret-llu unguvallret naumallret unegtait cali-llu amlleret-llu unguvalrialiuryarartaat, Nunallermi yuucillrat tangrruarnarivkaqiit allrakuni

AD 1570-1675 (Ledger et al. 2018). Amlleret elakengat maa-i Yuuciacetun ayuqellrianek qanemcitulriit, imumillaat maa-i-llaat-llu Yupiit anangnaqsarait yuilqumi, kuigni, imarpigmi-llu ataciat nallunaunani – pissurcuutet pissuryarat-llu cimillrung'e'rmeng, arcaqauciat nunamun-llu aulukestem̀un ataqapiguciat cakanirpek'natek (cf. Kawagley and Barnhardt 1998; Corntrassel and Hardbarger 2019). Allat-wa maa-i yuuyaraqsuiruskaitnek qanemciaqluteng, cauyat yurat-llu paqritellret tuar akiugutaicetun (cf. Mossolova and Knecht 2019, 33). Tamarkegnegun – elitaqucimegteggun irr'icimegteggun-llu – amlleret nunalget paqtellriit wall'u allamiaquaqan pinam iquani quyurutkellriani elakengaliulriit kinguneq tukniluku elpekaqluku. Allrakumek 2018-aarnirnek tuatnayugngalriit elakengat paivngiita nunameggni qellekviatni *Nunallrem Yuuyarainek Elakengaliuryarainek-llu Caliviatni* [*The Nunalleq Culture and Archaeology Center*], aptukiitni "manimavigmi."

Tamana ilagauciat Tegganret kinguvartet-llu neryuniurutiit natairpek'naku piciryarateng narurrluki elakengengnaqellriit cingumallermegteki, tamana-llu pitekluku nunalget ciuliqagtaita elakengaliulrianek caliarkat cingumaciata ayagneqellruluku (Knecht and Jones 2019, 27). Warren Jones-aam, Qanirtuuq Inc.-at Atanrata [*CEO*] cali-llu Nunallermek caliarata ayagnirtiita, qanellratun: "Man'a Nunallermek caliarput kinguverkaput umyuaqluki ayagnillruuq. Naken kingunengqerrucirteng watqapik nalluyagutesqevkenaku" (KYUK Media 2018). Qanellra taringumaarkauluku nunaiqengelriartarteggun nanikuarqumallret allakaukumallret-llu [*colonial oppression and marginalization*] umyuaqluki. Moravian-aat agayulirtet 1800-aat iluatni Kusquqvagmiunun tekitellrulriit, ak'anivkenateng-llu Catholic-aat-llu ellmeggnek piurciluteng Kuigpagmiuni. Yugtaat angalkurtaunikteng inerquutekellrukait, yuraryarartuumaita (Fienup-Riordan 1987; Barker et al. 2010). Moravian-aat Kuinerramun 1893-aami ayagceciillruluteng. Kuinerrarmiut Moravian-aarucirteng quyaksaaqeng'e'rmegteggu, Yugtarnek piciryarameng ilaitnek taqutekluku (Fienup-Riordan and Rearden 2013). Agayuviim tamakut tungiitnun ukverucirteng nutarteqallruluku, Nutemllaat ukveryarait cangalkevvakayuirulluki ilaucugngariluki-llu (Henkelman and Vitt 1985). Ayagyuat tamarmeng calritlerkarteng pitekluku akurtuumaluteng umyuangqerrarkauyaaqellriit, nutaan tau͡gaam Nutemllaat Kinguvrita ayagyuarit, amllermi yuuciteng piciryarateng-llu cangakumaluki tangvatuamegteki (Taylor and Usborne 2010; Rivkin et al. 2018). Nunallermek elakengatgun amlleret Kuinerrarmiut kingunerteng agturyugngakiit, tuaken-llu allat Yugtarnek pilriit ayagniutekluki, yuraryaratun piliyaratun-llu (Hillerdal 2017, 72-75; Watterson and Hillerdal 2020, 213-215).

Tau͡gken cali nunalegni ciuqliit peng'garrnitulriit kinguvemeggnek ayagyuameggnek avvusngangalucimeggnek, taukunek ayagyuanek atatekameggnek, ilakucirkameggnek, elisngacirkameggnek-llu allanek ciuliaqenrilkemeggnek pingnaquralrianek. Ayagyuallermini Yupiucini cakellrucini umyuangcautekluku, Nalikutaaraam Jacqueline Cleveland-aam

Tegganret peng'garutait eneqaktukai, tamarkenka tau͡gaam taringurainarlukek. Maa-i ayagyuat Yupiuciata cakviurnarqeqapigucia tangerqii, nalirrugqurluteng Kass'at piciryarait maligcugyaaqluki, ciuliameng Yupiit piciryarateng qaneryarateng-llu pitekluki caunrilkumallrata agtuumaluki, maa-i-llu Nutemllaat piciryarateng maligtaqusqumaluki – akultuvkenateng maa-i ayagyuat piciryarateng nalluaqamegteki cangakumalriit. Taumek maa-i ayagyuat kinguvret amllermek caliarkangqellriit kitugtarkarluteng-llu. Cirlakumanrilkuruciat tuar alaitulria nutaratgun cimirturalriitgun-llu piciryarateng atungnaqaqatki.

Ciuliat umyugaat ayagyuat piciryarateng unitniluki aipaagni aturyaraita cimiuciatnek kingunengqellilria, ilumun avvusnganricaaqluteng. Tamatum ilii Qanirtuuq Inc.-at Nunalget *Board*-aita elitaqellrukiit *computer*-aartaat Nunallermek Elitnaurutkat quyurutkellermegteki, paivtarkat tamakut ayagyuanun "tegumiamegteggun" paqcukaaraasqelluki (Watterson and Hillerdal 2020, 200).

Ilagaucetaalriani elakengengnaqsaraq kesianek arcaqerturatulria. Pinami Kuinerrarmiut paqteqtaaraqluku elakengengnaqvik, amlleret-llu taktallgutkenrilngurnek ikayuucartuqtaaraqluteng, ilait qavcirrarnek sass'anek, allat-wa pinam taktaciatun. Ikayuutellriit amllenrit mikelnguulriit ayagyuat-llu, amlleret-llu allamiaquaqan tainqigquratuameng elakengaliulriani elisngariaqluteng. Akiqaralria M. Williams-aaq ilagarturatulit ilakekai, 2010-aarnirnek-llu elakengengnaqellriani elakengat-llu yuvrirviatni caliuraraqluni mikqaanerminek. Kuinerrarmiut kinguvrita ellmeggnek Nunallermi nuna elakengaliuryaraq-llu piciryaraqsaguskegket, ellmegcetun kinguneq piksagulluku.

> Qanemciar 1: *Encounter* [Nall'arutelleq], Akiqaralriamek M. Williams-aamek:
>
> Ceńakun ikamraneq umyuaqsugnaicaaqekeka. Anumaqautmek ikamraneq. Ceńam iqua mallgiamku yugugaat elitaqenrilkenka ataucimi uitalriit. Paqnayuuciqa niicaqliqka. Ilumun! Elakengaliuryaram caucia elipailukeka! "Santa Claus"-arngalnguum Dr Richard Knecht-am ayagniullua camaken nunapiim acianek kingunemta tungiinun kangingnauryaramun. Tamakucinek umyuangeqaqsaicaaqlua. Kiingan tau͡gaam ciuliamta qanemciitnek imuken kinguvatukaitnek. Elakengqerraarutenka akaurtessiyaagan eneqakenrilkenka. Atauciq tau͡gaam eneqakqapigeskeka taperrnaq mingqaarkam ayagniutii (Tang. 1). Cali elicungcararkama mingqiiyaram ayagniutii. Man'a engelkarrluku elakengat cauciitnek aturyaraitnek-llu eliquralrianga. Eliqurciqlua, elitellrenka-llu egmiulluki, kinguvarluki-llu.

Nalikutaaraam Jacqueline Cleveland-aam elitaqaa Caliarata, 500-aat-llu allrakut iluatnek nunameng kingunranek nataqutellrita nunalegnun

irr'inarqucia, tau͡gaam ayagyuarit allakarmeng agtuumacirluteng. Tangrrucimikun "elakengelriit mikelnguut" (Branstetter 2018) ciungatnek pitaluni, nunalget ayagyuaritnun piciryarateng tegunqiguciatnek tangerrluni, Yuucimeggnek-llu quyatiitnek tuknirikanilriamek.



Tangercetaarun 1. Akiqaralria M. Williams-aaq Nunallermi elakengengnaqluni 2013-aami, "mingqaarkam-llu ayagniutii" elakengellra. (Quyatekun: Rick Knecht-ankuk Julie Masson-MacLean-aq-llu).

Charlotta Hillerdal-am Caliameng ayagnera umyuaqekii; allrakuni Nunallermi elakengengnaqeqerraallemteńi ciuniurumayaaqellrulriakut, tau͡gken allanarqenqestaunata. Kuinerrarmiut amllenritni elakengaliuryaraq cakenricaaqekiit. Pegnem elakengat piyugteq'ngutkurainarluki, tau͡gaam kangingnaurtet elakengaliuryaraq nunalegnun arcakecetaallruluku, aipaagni-llu nutaan pinam iquani "Maniicetaaryarakun" tungaunaki tamakuliurvigkiuraceteng (Hillerdal 2018, 378-380; Hillerdal et al. 2019). Tau͡gaam nunalegni elakengaliuryaram arcaqalriit ciutmurutestai mikelnguulriit ayagyuat-llu ikayuucartulriit elakengengnaqvigmi yuvrirvigmi-llu, elitnaurvik ceńirtaqluku, ilateng-llu qanemcicarturaqluki – qanemcit ataucitaarluki maliggluki elakengaliuryaraq kingunerkamun ilaurluku.

Piciryarameggni Yupiit kingunrat Tegganret qanemciitgun kinguvatulria, qanruyutetgun-llu ciuliameggnek imuken maa-i ayagyuat yuuluaqallerkaata tungiitnun alerqurluki (Fienup-Riordan 2005, 9-12). Kingunertaat qanemciitgun kangingnauryaraq maa-i-llauguq cimirturalria. Nunallrem-wa elluarutii,

qanemcit elakengaliuryarat-llu quyurmeng qanemciuruciat. Kuinerrarmium Yupiim, nunameggni-llu kinguneliurtem, Willard Church-am qanellratun, "Yuut kingunrat asguranaituat" (Branstetter 2019). Nunalget tangrruciatgun, elakengaliuryaram qanemcit nalqigcugngaluki elakengatgun elakengengnaqellriitgun-llu. Qanemcitgun ciin piciat taringluku, tau͡gaam elakengatgun cauciat, qangvaq, qaillun-llu piciat.

Alaskuum Lonny Strunk-am Willard Church-aq umyuallgutkekii: "Umyuarteqlemni, Nunallermek elakengaliuryarat elakengat-llu qanemcit niitellrenka asguranaituit. Angliurallemni urluverteggun anguyalrianek niitetullrulrianga, nunallrem-llu tungiinun ayaasqevkenata inerquutnek. Quyaunga elakengaliurtet tamaani elallratnek, elakengat-llu teguluki kangingellratnek ceńam usquralriim tekipailgaki."

Elakengaliuryarat-llu tamakumiut kingunrat sass'ilriatun pikiit, ciungani taringnaicaaqellermek. Alaskugmun, ilani-llu agayuvigmun ataqapigtellriit, Nunallermek elakengat tungaunaki tangrramiki, Kass'artangvailgan nunameng ayuqucillranek umyuangcarpailulria.

Akiqaralriim-wa umyuarteqellrani, elakengengnaqellriit amlleret kingunemeggnek umyuartequciat cimillrukiit. Imumillaat maa-i-llaat-llu ayuqekulluki, cimillret pilitekarpalluuluteng piliyarait-llu; qilagcuutet, uluat, kuvuurutet, uilut ipuutet-llu, napatat, manat-llu. Man'a engelkarrluku cali atutukput. Kiingan angtatkevkenateng, neqsuryarat-llu maa-i-llauluteng. Cali-llu elakengaliuryarat tamakumiut-llu nallunrilkait ikayuulluteng kingunermek asguranaillrulriamek qanemcilauciat tangerqii, piyunartacimegcetun ikayuutaqluteng.

> Qanemciar 2: *Discovery* [Nataqutleq], Alaskugmek Lonny Strunk-amek:
>
> Kiagmi elitnaunritnami ken'gutka qanerturatullrulria "elakengaliurtet-qaa paqcugaten?" Ikamrakun ceńavirtaqlunuk, wangkuta piciryaramteńek paqnayulriit allanret paqcarturluki. Tengruqapiggluteng ernerpak elakengellmeggnek maniitaqluta. Elakengat ataucitaarluki irr'iktullrukenka, ciuliama-llu yuuyaraita kangiiturnarquciat. Tau͡gaam erenret iliit arcaqerluni aviurnarqellria, Nunallermek tuntunguam kegginaqu͡ranek elakengellratni (Tang. 2).
>
> Angayuqaagma elakengaliurtet paqcuamegneki ceńamun ikamralriakut, elakengengnaqvigmun-llu piyualuta. Tamatum kangiraani tamarmeng cumigtellriit. Tekiqaarluta ak'anivkenani Charlotta kegginaqumek elakengelria marayami, mumiggluku-llu quuyuarturalria tuntunguaq alairrluku. Nunamta canimelkiini yurarcuun kegginaquq ukvernailngurmek tangerrluku anguluku-llu, tamamta-llu ayuqailucianek kumegnarqucianek-llu irr'iluta.
>
> Nunallermek elakengat tangrraqamki allaketukenka, qangvaq nani-llu kingunengqerruciat taringeluaqerciiganaku. Kass'artangvailgan

nunamek kiingan aklungqetullrulriit, Yugturrlainaq qalartaqluteng, allakucinek ilaliuryararluteng, allakucinek agayuyararluteng, allakucimek-llu ella tangrrucirluku. Ciungani maa-i-llu yuuyaraput ayuqenrilengraata, maa-i nunamteńi yuugurallemteńi kingunemteńun atalriit elpektuanka. Elakengat kangiiturnarquciatnun paqnayugcetaqlua, unitestaita-llu ciuliama yuuyaraitnun. Cali elicugtua, nunama-llu kingunranun maa-i-llu yuuyaramteńun atalrianek kangingyuglua.



Tangercetaarun 2. Tuntunguam kegginaqum nataqumallra. Alaskuk Lonny Strunk-aq ilutunrem qaingani tarenrairiluni. (Quyatekun: Apurin Dora Strunk).

Yugtun qaneryaram Yupiucimun arcaqaucia nunalget pirpakuratuat. Ayagyuat "elluarrluku" Yugtun qanyuirut'nguciat, qangkun Yugtun Kass'atun-llu mumigteqtaaraqluteng, ciuqliit Tegganret-llu peng'garutekaqluku. Nalikutaar Jacqueline Cleveland-aaq Yugtun puqilriit nangneqliit ilakekai. Maurluugni anglitkellrulukek Yugturrlainaq qalarquraraqluteng, yuungnaqluteng, imumillaat-llu qanemcit, qulirat, qanruyutet-llu niiqurluki – miktellermini kiirraan yuuyarauyukluku.

Alaskuk-wa Lonny Strunk-aq akmani Ipuuncaat Nunaitni allrakiluni elitnauryartuami qaneryaraitgun ellmi qaneryaramini puqinruciminek ellangellrulria. Tamana ayagniutekluku *computer*-aaliuryaranek [*computer science*] elitnaullni Yugtun qaneryaramun aturyunga'arrluki. Maa-i-rpak caliluni naaqut'liulriatun qaneryiuryaratgun [*computational linguistics*] *computer*-aakun-llu Yugtun qaneryariurut'liluni ayagyuat Yugtun puqigicaasqelluki (Liu et al. 2021). Taukuk pitallgutkenrilnguuk Yugtun qaneryaram kituucimeggnun

arcaqaucia ukveqluku, ayumian elakengaliurteńun arcaqalriarurrluni, tangerrnarqenruaqluni-llu elakengat tamakumiut qaneryaraicetun aciryaraitgun (i.e. Watterson el al. 2019). Ataucikun allakun ayagyuat piciryarameggni qaneryaraat alaitetulria yuraryarakun Yugtun cauyarluteng, icivarpak tamakumiuni tegunqigtellrukiit.

Qaqimalria tuntunguaq kegginaquq Alaskuum Lonny Strunk-am qanemcikellra Nunallermek kegginaqut elakengat nangneqellruat. Elakengengnaqvigmi ak'allanqurraam enem qacarneran kanagaani nataqumiimi, wagg'uq nevum enem qacarneran napallra taktacillgutkenrita'arluku uitamallruluni. Tamana elakengengnaqesteḿun elakengaliuryaraqainaunrilngurkun carpaulria. Tamakut elakengat elucimegcetun carpaucim ugaani kituunge'rmi agtuumaarkauluni.

Yuraryaraq Agayumaciq tekipailgan agayuyaratun ayuqellrulria, allat-llu ellat pillgutekluki qalarutellriatun piyaraqluku (Ayunerak et al. 2014, 94; Fienup-Riordan 1996, 307). Taumek agayulirtet yuraryaraq inglukellrukiit, inerquutekluku, kiituani amllerni nunani tamarluni (Barker et al. 2010, 6), Kuinerrarmiut ilakluki (Mossolova and Michael 2021, 6). Kegginaqut, mumret, allat-llu yuraryarartaat Nunallermi elakengat tamatum agayuyaram envanek picia arcaqaucia-llu asguranaiqegket, piciryarateng-llu tegunqigtengnaqlermegteki yuraryaraq angelriaruluni. Allamiaquaqan "Maniicetaaryarameggni" 2013-aami yuraryaraq ataam Kuinerrarmiut piciryarameggnun ilallruat, nunalget amllenritni elitnaurviim avatiini yuralrianek yuucimeggni tangnerrarluteng (Tang. 3). Kuinerrarmiut elakengaliuryaraitnek paitaitnek-llu qalartellemteńi, elucilget, qaneryaraq, yuraryaraq, Yupiit-llu kituuciat elucimegcetun ataut.



Tangercetaarun 3. Kuinerrarmiut yurartait yuraqerraallrat 2013-aami Maniicetaaryarami. (Quyatekun: Charlotta Hillerdal).

Alaskuum umyuarteqellrani, yuraryaraq-gguq kingunrem mat'um-llu nalliin atatekaak, piciryarami paitami-llu ilaksagulluku. Nalikutaar-llu tamarmek yuraryunqellriik, ellii-llu Kuinerraunrilngurmi uitallermini yuraryaurtellrulria, Sitka-mi Alaska-mi *high school*-aryartuumaluni. Malruk-gguq allrakuk naayarpiarlukek elitnaurviim yurartai ilagaryugngariurainarluki. Qacigmeng-gguq yurayungalnguut ayuqnialuki, ellaitnun-llu-gguq cayarailngalucia takaryuutekluku. Kingunermini-gguq yuralrianek niiteqayuilami, aanami tuaten nalliini, tamana-llu-gguq uitacurlautekluku ilagayunaicukutekluku.

Kuinerrami yuraryaram taqraanranek yuinaak malruk cipluki allrakut kinguatni yuraqerraallruut 1990-t iluatni, Nalikutaaraankuk kinguqlini-llu Capenruilnguq Jenine Heakin-aaq elitnaurvigmi caqcillratni malrugnek yurarlutek. Piciryarat uniurrluki yuralriik, alqaqellriik kiimek cauyaqtaarlutek aturaqlutek, aipaa yurarluni. Nutem-gguq Yupiit piciryaraitni angutet kiimeng cauyarluteng atutuyaaqellriit, arnat-wa yurarteńguluteng – angutet-llu yuraryugngaayaaqluteng, tau͡gaam piciryarameggni arnat cauyarluteng atuyuunateng. Temcinarqerrlugluku-gguq eneqakekii; piciryarat uniuruciat nallunrilamiu, yuinaak allrakut cipluki Kuinerrami yuraqaqsailameng, tangvalriit-llu kegginaitgun cangalkuciat nallunaqngan. Kinguani tau͡gken yuut quyaviklukek, atuyunilukek yurayunilukek-llu. Tau͡gaam-gguq alangaaruciat eneqakluku, ak'anek yuut takuatni yuraqaqsailameng. Tuakenirnek-gguq allrakut maliggluki allat elitnaurvigmi yuraryaurtellruluteng, nunameggni-llu tangrruuyaurrluni.

Nunallermi elakengelriit yuraryarartaat-llu agayuyarallermek qanemcit maliggluki, nunameggni yuraryaraq cangalkenriinallruit, 2013-aami-llu Maniicetaarraanratnek yuraryaraq Nunallrem qanemcian ilaksagulluku. Nalikutaar umyuangcalria, Yugtun-gguq qanssiyaayuileng'e'rmeng yuraryarakun ilii utumateksagulluku, tuaggun ayagyuat Yuucirteng aturyugngaluku.

Qanemciar 3: *Presence* [Eluciq], Akiqaralriamek M. Williams-aamek:

> Elakengaliuryaramek niiteqarraanemnek, wangtuumaan kia anguksailkainek tangelriit elitellriit-llu ayuquciatnek paqnayutulrianga. Mikelngurtun saarralamek kaigarraarluni pingelriatun ayuqluni; kingunema ilakekiinek elakengelriani qiilerrneq. Kia qanrutkesciigalkiinek qamani cangelriatun. Umyuangcautekellriani, amlleret nalluyaaqekaitnek elakengat imangqellriit, nallunritestiin tainatkaanun qanemciteksarturluku. Yuvrirvik-wa amllernek cali qanemcikangqellria elakenganek tangelriani qiilerrnarqellrianek. *Catalogue*-am [allakariyaram] aperyarallgutngucia umyuqsugnaicaaqellrukeka – caliarata ciungani cucucetaanek kalikainauyukluku! Alla tengruktukeka tumarciyaraq cuqertun nallunarqellrianek. Tua-i wiinga tengrutka! Caliarkat amllenritnek

caliinanemni, yuut maniiqurluki ciuliqagcaraatnek elitarkaullrulrianga. Yugnikek'nganka qiilerutema nangneqluki, yuut-llu cali irr'iciat (Tang. 4). Qanemcit taringnaqluteng, kingunemteńek-llu umyuarteqsaraqa cimirluku. Kia umyuaqngailkiinek cunawa tamarmeng muragnek canegnek-llu pilimallinilriit. Maa-i cali tuaten atutukput, melqut maqarqutet.



Tangercetaarun 4. Akiqaralria M. Williams-aaq (iqsulirneq kavirlimek aturluni) 2017-aami Maniicetaalriani. (Quyatekun: Rick Knecht).

Kiagmi 2018-aami yuinaat cetaman (80) yaassiiget imalget yuinaat pingayun tiissicaat (60,000) cipluku elakenganek Kuinerramun tekitellruut. Nunallrem piutai Scotland-aamek uterrluteng, Aberdeen-am Elitnaurvianun navritat yuvrillerkaat qelleksaraat-llu piteklukek. Ellam tamiini Kass'artangvailgan Yugtaat qelkat amllenqurraat maa-i Kuinerrami Nunallrem Yuuyarainek Elakengaliuryarainek-llu Caliviatni uitaluteng, nunalget aulukestekluki, tamakumiut-llu kinguvritnun paivngaluteng (Ornicul 2015). Allamiaquaqan pinam iquani Maniicetaalriit ayuquciat tangerrluku, elakengat cikunguanek caputaunateng (Andrews 2017), taugaam piyunarqellrianek qulqiciumaluteng amukaryaralegnek agtuyunariluki (Tang. 5).



Tangercetaarun 5. Mikelnguut Kuinerrami Yuuyarat Elakengaliuryarat-llu Caliviat ceńireskiit elakengat tangaayarturluki, Nalikutaaraam qanellratun, "Tuar pilnguksagucuilkiit!" (Quyatekun: Stephan Jones).

Tamakuni nunani tamakucit qellekviit ciuqliqaat, elakengat nutem uitavillermeggni uitaluteng, nakmiin-llu qanemcik'meggnek yum'eggnek aulukestengqerrluteng. Nalikutaaraam Jacqueline Cleveland-aam umyuangcautekekii Nunallermek elakengat nunameggni qelkumaciata agtuumacianek: "Nakmiin manimavingqerrucimteńek quyaqapigtukut, mikelnguut tuaten quyatekluku, elitnaurvigmek manimavigmun utqetaarturaraqluteng – tuar pilnguksagucuilkiit!"

Kuinerrami elakengartangqerruciq, elucimegcetun Yupiit piciryaraitnun atatngululteng, nunalegnun agtuumalriamek nallunailkutngululteng, arcaqerluteng ayagyuanun. Latour-ankuk Lower-aq-llu (2011) piliat imumillaat-llu elpegnarqellriamek cangqerruciit wall'u "tarnerit" umyuangcautekekekek, Yupiit piciryarameggni kangiliryaqait yuitnek, elucilget tamarmeng, unguvalriit unguvanrilnguut-llu, yungqerruciicetun. Kuinerrami elakengat yuit amlleret paqnayungararutkaqluki. Tamana pitekluku ukvelriakut tamaaggun yuucimeng taktaciicetun elicungevkalriani nancunailucianek, qelkat tangerqerraarluki ataucitaarluteng paitameggnun cumikaniutekluki.

Cangerliim COVID-19-aam Kuinerrarmiut tekilluki nunalget quyurrnanrirpailegmeng, Nunallermek Caliviat ayuqenrilngurnek Yugtarnek

caliviurtarkaucimitun ak'a piurtellruuq. Kuinerrarmiut yurartait naspaavikluku, elakengat takuatni yuraraqluteng. "Manimavigmi" yuraqerraallermeng iliitni elakengat yurautellruit "aliksaaqelteng elakengat uitanqegcillgutkesqelluki" (Mossolova and Michael 2021, 8). Wagg'uq nunalegni elakengat calilriatun, calillgutkelriatun-llu, ayuqaqluteng.

Nunalget yuitnun elakengat ayuquciitni arcaqalria, qaillun-llu caliaqsaraitni, cayaraqaat cauciat kiingan pivkenani. Tamakumiuni pilisteńi Tegganerni-llu elakengat calilriatun ayuqaqluteng. Neqsulrianek pissulrianek-llu, canalrianek tupilrianek-llu, yuralrianek-llu aquilrianek-llu qanemciaqluteng. Calilriatun elakengat umyuaqluki – piunginarpek'nateng tau͡gaam caliluteng – wangkuta cali calitulini elitarkaullruukut. Nunallrem qanemcii nevut qacarneret iluatni kiingan uitavkenateng, tau͡gaam nunami tamiini.

Uuggun cali Alaskuum Lonny Strunk-am elakengat atawaqautaitni angelriamek tangerkengelria, piliat ayuqucirkiuryaraita piliyaraita-llu kangingnaurnarquciatnek elitnaqluteng-llu. Makut-gguq piyarait Yugtarnun ataciat tangerrluku, canaryaratun, tupigyaratun, mingeqsaratun-llu. Tamayunaunateng kinguvarnaqluteng-llu Yuullgut'megcetun yuungnaqellriit asvaingnaqellriit-llu ikayuusqelluki.

Nunallermek qelkat ayuqailngurmek elucickellrianek miingqaanek piirranek-llu imangqertut (Masson-MacLean et al. 2019). Nunallermi canegkun pililriani amllermi tupitullrulriit, maa-i mingqiiyaram enairpallurluku (Masson-MacLean et al. 2019, 90-95). Makut tupigat elakengengamegteki imumillaat piliyarat aturyaurtenqigcunga'artellruit, kiagmi-llu 2019-aami Smithsonian-aani Negeqlikaacaartarnek Kangingnaulriit Caliviata [*Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center*] quyuruciarkanek akililriit Nunallrem Yuuyarainek Elakengaliuryarainek-llu Caliviatni. Quyurucilriit ciuliqagterluteng Kuinerrarmiumek Grace Anaver-aamek, Yupiit tupitulit qavcirraat iliit (Crowell 2019). Akiqaralriinkuk Nalikutaar-llu tamarmek quyurut'liyallrulriik. Nalikutaarmun, imumillaat mingqiiyarat caperrnarquciat irr'inaqluni, Tegganemi-llu qaillun tamakunek nallunriluciatnek irr'iluni, qaillun-llu Nunallermiut qacigmeng elitellruciatnek (Tang. 6).

Akiqaralriinkuk Alaskuk-llu tamarmek umyuarteqlermegni nunalegnun Nunallermek elakengat qelkarkauciat arcaqakaak. Nunam yuinun atawaqautnguluki tangerrluki, arcaqerluki-llu ayagyuanun tangerrsugngallerkaat caliaqluki-llu. Tau͡gaam Alaskuum elluakevkenaku Kuinerraq tekicunailan yugnun paivngallerkaat iqlutmurrniluku, elisngalrianun-llu yuvrillerkait kangingellerkait-llu pisciigaluteknayukluku. Tamana elluakenrilkeseng caliaqurqiit aulukestellgutkellriitgun "*Computer*-aakun manimavigkun," akemkumiunun paivtarkauciqluki 3D-kun tangrruarutetgun tarenratgun-llu. Caarkaunge'rmeng tau͡gaam paivngaciata nunalegnun agtuumacia arcaqanruluni ellam tamiini paivtellerkaatni. Akiqaralriim qanellratun, qanemcit-gguq kingunertaat-llu nunam yuita kituucimeggnun atalriit paivuciat arcaqerluni, kingunerteng-llu nalluarkauvkenaku.



Tangercetaarun 6. Mingqiiyarat quyurutiit, Nalikutaar-llu Jacqueline Cleveland-aaq mingqaani-llu qaqimalria. (Quyatekun: Nalikutaar Jacqueline Cleveland).

Qanemciar 4: *Immersion* [Ekumaciq], Alaskugmek Lonny Strunk-amek:

Tuntunguam kegginaqum elakengrraanranek qavcin nitilit kinguatni, allamiaquaqan piciryaramegcetun Manicetaalriit. Tamatum nallii arcaqerluni, qavcin allrakut ciungatnek elakengat qelkat uterteqataata. Tamana quyatekluku quyurutkiuqatalriit kalukarluteng-llu, Alice-aankuk-llu Charlotta-m-llu tamakumiut yurartait kaigavikluki yuraasqelluki. Pirpakngamegteggu yuarucillerkamek pugciluteng.

Kalukani yuralriani piciryarat maligtaquluki pingayun talliman-llu akuliigni yurallerkiutuut. Naspaalriani allat nunat yuarutaitnek elicungcaraqluta yuraraqluta-llu, tau͡gaam yurapialriani kiingan piyunarquciit maligtaquluki yuraryugngaaqluta. Kuinerrarmiut yuraumallrunrilameng yuraryugngakput qavcirraulriit. Piciryaratgun cali nallunrilkeput naspaagurainanemteki nutaranek yuaruciaqluta yurararkaput ilaurluki. Yurarteńi Nunallrem elakengengnaqviucia yurautekamteńun ilayunakellruarput.

Allami nunami, Atmaulluarmi, yuratulini arenqiutmek uitallruunga. *Middle school*-ainanemni tamakumiungullemni tamakumiutarnek yuralangqerraallrulua. Tamaaggun piciryaramteńun paitamnun atatenga'arrlua. Ayagalua imumillarnek maa-i-llarnek-llu yuraryugngalua. Tamana-llu atateka ilangluni *college*-aaryartuinanemni Inu-Yupiat yurartet ilagaamki, allanek-llu cali yurautnek elicama. Cali tuaten Alaska-rmiut Nutemllaat Kinguvrita piliyaraita pirpaksaraitnek elitnaurutni yurartarmek yuaruciqerraarlua. Cauyaryaraa aperyarai-llu pisqumakemtun piurtengnaqsarait caperrnaqsaaqellruluteng, cali-llu alegyuucirkaqa piciryaraput ucurnarqutkengnaqluki yuarutkun. Pegnem tau͡gaam yuarutemta ayuquciit eliqurarraarluki, umyuaqa-llu yuaruciyarakun anlluku, Kuinerrarmiut yurartait ikayuryugngarillrukenka Nunallermek yuarucillratni (Tang. 7).

Kalukaliyalriit iliit Chuna McIntyre-aarullruuq, Yup'igtarnek pilista kiatemteńek Iigmiu. Yuramek quyurutecuarmi ciuliqagteńguluni yurartet-llu piliyallemteńi. Irr'iluta maurluminek elitellerminek yuarutmek elicungcaakut. Chuna-m qanruskiikut Nunallrem nuniinek kingunengqerrniluku. Alangaalrianga nunamteńek yuaurutem cunawa kinguvarturaucianek avatemteńi. Nutaragnek yuarutengluta, Nunallermek yuaruciamteńek Chuna-mek-llu, kalukami yurarluta. Paqricaaqellermek nutaramek-llu yuralleq ayuqaunani, Nunallertaitellrukan piungailnguugnek. Elakengengnaqvigmek amllernek unakengluteng, nunamta elakengat atateksagulluki, yuarutet-llu quyuqaniutekluki. Nunallertaitellrukan yurartet eguaqurtekaicallruyugnarqut, kingunemteńun-llu atakaniutekaicarluta.



Tangercetaarun 7. Iqsulirnermi, Kuinerrarmiut yurartaita ilait yuaruciuralriit elakengengnaqvigmi pelatekami Crystal Carter-aamek ciuliqagterluteng, aciqlirmi-llu nunameggni yurarkameggnek naspaalriit. Tallirpilirnermi Nunallrem Yuarutiinek yuraucilriit Alaskugmek Lonny Strunk-amek cauyarterluteng; yagiracirluteng elagcuuksuarkun elakengengnaqellrianek, ciuliameng-llu piitnek elakengluteng. (Quyatekun: Alice Watterson).

Alice Watterson-aaq umyuangcalria 2019-aami Nunallermek Elitnaurutkat ayuqucirkaitnun imarkaitnun-llu ayagyuat agtuumaciatnek, Kuinerrarmiut ilakurluki piurtelleq Kuigpagmiuni Kusquqvagmiuni-llu elitnaurviit umyuaqluki. Alangaarnailngurmek, caliaqengqerraallemteggu Tegganret elakengaliurtet-llu kangilirtekluki ayagnillruukut. Wanirpak tau͡gaam ellangluta tamakut ilakluki ayagyuat ikayurpauciatnek, ikayuutait-llu allarraunge'rmeng nancunaunateng. Ikayuutait ayuqevkenateng, Tegganret apqauryarait elluatmun pingnaqluki, elakengaliurtet-llu kaigavikaqaceteng apyutkait arenqiirtuutekaqluki, Elitnaurutkat-llu aturtaita ikayuutekaitnek imiriluteng. Arcaqerluku Nunallermek yuaruciata calillgutkellriakut ellaita tangrruciitgun nanilngurmek nalqigutmek tangvagcetaaliluta (Watterson 2018). Cunawa yuraryaraq ayagyuat asvailutkarkaullinikiit, piciryarameggnun Nunallrem-llu elakengaliuryarainun atuutekluku, Yugtarnun-llu piciryarameggnun paitameggnun-llu cimirturauciatgun atatekluku.

Nalikutaaraam Jacqueline Cleveland-aam tangellrukii Kuinerrarmiut Tegganritni 90-t iquatni 2000-aat-llu ayagneratni yuraryaram tungiinun umyuallgutkenriluciat, kiagucit iliitni nunameng *council*-aaritnun Ayagyuanek yurartelisqeńgatni. Tegganret ilait yuraryaraq cangakngamegteggu taqesqessaaqluki. Nalikutaaraam-gguq maurluan piuraasqelluku eguaqurallrukii: "Maurluma-wa cingumaqapigtellrukai!" Eguaqungraani-gguq Nalikutaaraam nunameggni yuraryaraq uitacurlautekngamiu ceńamun kanaulluki yuraryartuucarturaqluki. Eneqaklermikun-gguq apa'urlumi ikamraa nangcarluku yurartet aqvaaqluki, mikelnguut ucikluki ceńamun kanautaqluki, iliini tuaten Agaligmun: "Nunallermun mallgucirput nalluluku yurarturatullrullinilriakut!" Iliini-gguq maurluan ilagarluki mikelnguut yurallgutkaqluki, quyatekqapiggluki. Piurainanermeggni allrakut iluitni ciuqliit yurarteńek eguaquuciat eneqakluku, yuarucillratni naspaallratni-llu ikayutullret.

Yuraryaram tungiinun umyuartequtait cimillrulriit Nalikutaaraam ayagyuarraanranek. Yurartarnek agayuyarartarnek-llu elakengatgun nalirrugtellriit ilaita asvairutekluki, Kuinerrarmiuni-llu yuraryaraq ciuniuryaurcelluku quyaksaurrluku-llu. Nalikutaaraam umyuangcallrani, cangayuuciat tamarillermeggnek allatun-llu nunalegtun yuarutnek kinguvarcisciigalameng qacuvallaucimeggnek kingunengqerrsukluku. Murilkellermikun man'a umyuartequciata cimilria, Nunallrem paqtaarucia elakengengnaqviucia-llu Tegganret cangalkenriatgu, cangakilaagarkaunriameng nunameng kingunrat qellekngatki kangilirluki-llu, kiituani piciryurateng tegunqigtait.

Akiqaralriim M. Williams-aam elakengat nallunauluki umyuartequtetui, taugaam qaillun tayima cali elitaqluki. Piciryarameggnek nallunriluciminun tamana kangilirluku, elakengatgun-llu Tegganret qanemciit tangrrucirluki. Lynn Church-am-gguq cali, nutem Kuinerrarmiungullrem elakengengnaqeqerraallratni Caliratnun qavartalrianun ciuliqagteńguluni calisqumallrem, tangrrucingarcameng qanemciyungararuciat tangerqii: "Yuut elakengat tangengekait (…) tuaken-llu Tegganret qalartengluteng. Ciungani piyuyuicaaqelteng qanemcik'ngarrluki. Eneqakucingengarrluteng" (Branstetter 2019).

Nunallermi elakengengnaqellriitgun nunalget Yugtaat piciryarateng tegunqigcukutekluki tengrutait amllelriit, kingunrem-llu arcaqaucia asguranairluku. Tamakut-llu ayagyuat ciuqliit-llu quyurutekluki qalaruyutengluteng ciutmurutekameggnek kingunermeggnek asvailucirluteng.

Umyuangcautet Nangenrit: Kinguneq, Mat'um Nallii, Ciunerkaq

Elakengaliuryarat Yupiit-llu piciryaramegcetun kingunemeggnek kinguvarciyarait eluciliuryarani [*ontologies*] allakaugut. Nalikutaaraam Jacqueline Cleveland-aam pugeskii Yugtun elucit Kass'at kangingnauryaraicetun

ayuqenriluciat, Kass'at piciryaraitni tamarmeng ciin piciit kangilirrlainaraqluki. Yupiuyaram iliikun nallunritaqluteng, nallunrilnginarluteng ciin piciatnek aptevkenateng, tamakut ilait piciryaramegteggun nalluncilucimeggnun qanruyutet-llu qanemciitnun quliraitnun-llu atiita. Elakengaliuryaraq Yugtarnun ataarkaukuni tamana nalluarkauvkenaku, kingunrem-llu tungiinun atunem calillgutkanirarkauluteng tangerrluku-llu maligqurluku cimirarkaulriamek. Aipaagni elakengaliuryaram ayagyuanun teguyukaaraucia tuaten piciryarallgutkenrilnge'rmeng calillguteksugngaciatnek kingunengqerrliuq.

Elakengat Tegganret-llu nallunrilutaita ataciat makut igartaitni Yupiit arcaqakuratuat. Ellaitnun, elakengat ciuliat erinaitnun qanruyutaitnun-llu ataqapiggluteng. Nepaitevkenateng, tau͡gaam mistuluteng, usvicimek imarugarluteng, Alaskuum-llu Lonny Strunk-am qanellratun pilitekaitgun pilissuutaitgun-llu umyuartuciat tangerrnaqluteng elpegnaqluteng-llu. Tegganret elakengat camun atuuciit nallunritaqamegteki, kingunemta ciuliamta-llu yuuyarallrita tungiitnun cali qanemcinek nallunrilutemeggnek-llu pugciaqluteng.

Akiqaralriim M. Williams-aam cali umyuangcautekekii yum'i kinguvarturalriamek anagturainaryaraat, tuar envanek envanun, kingunemeggnek-llu kangingluteng tuknirikaniryugngalngurmek. Maa-i-llarnek piicunailkemteńek piileng'e'rmeng yuugurallret imumillaat piliyarait munauciat-llu irr'ikluki, elakengaliuryaratgun elakengatgun-llu tangerrnarqellriit. Umyuangcarluni, "Nallunrilkemnek niitellemnek-llu, iliini-gguq qacigtetuukut cakviurpek'nata. Tau͡gken cakviurluta elicungcatulriakut qaciggnatkamteńun…" Yuut unuaquaqan yuugurallratnun elakengat atuuciat tangerrluku, ciuliami-llu cakviullermegteggun man'a nall'vut tekilluku egmiuciat. Man'a kangingellra uka-i kinguverkanun eliyutnguyugngaluni, cimirturalriami ellami cakviurinanermeggni. Kingunemeggnek kangingellmeng kinguvarnarquciat puggluku; cakviurnaq tekiskan kinguverkat nallmeggni yuuyarameng inglukaitnek upinganiartut. Wagg'uq kinguneq, mat'um nallii, ciunerkaq-llu ataluteng, quyungqaluteng, caliurluteng-llu.

Ciunerkam tungiinun pengegnarqutet angenqurraat, makut igartaitni Yupiit tamarmeng qanrutkekiit, Tegganret ciuqliit 80-lriit catairuskuneng niitnaunrirnayukluki, nunameggni-llu Nutem Kinguvrita nallunrilutaita kinguvallerkaat angungaitnayukluku. Neryuniurluteng kinguraupailegmeng piciryarameggnek nallunrilutait caliaqsugluki kinguvarluki-llu. Qanemcit, nunameggni nallunrilutait, angullrit, atullrit-llu, umyuaq tema-llu maliklukek catairutaqluteng Tegganret piunriraqata. Teguarkauluki uka-i-llu kinguverkanun kinguvararkauluki. Tamaqata qaillun ellirciqceta, ayuqucillatnek kingunratnek-llu qanrutenrilkumteki?

Kingutmun umyuangcautmek, qulen allrakut cipluki Kuinerrarmiut atunem kangingnaullgutekluki elitellemteggun, ciunerkami calillgutkarkat tungiitnun kangingutput pugcugngaaput. Ciumek, caliarkam ayagnerani ayagyuat ilagautellerkaatnek upcaram aturyaram-llu arcaqauciak, tekitaqata

kiingan pivkenaki piciryaraliluki. Cingumaluku-llu tamakut nall'arrviita yuallerkaat, amllermi nunaita elitnaurviatni. Pilaucimcetun nunalget Tegganrita arcaqalriit ciuliqagcarait nallunrilutait-llu elitaqluki, cataitellrukata amllermek kangingutaitnek piicarluta, cali-llu Nunallermek qelkat tungiitnun atullermegteggun taringutaitnek. Taumek ciunerkam tungiinun piyuutengqellriakut arcaqalriamek, pitallgutkenrilnguut quyurmeng elicungcarvigkiuresqelluki, Tegganret uka-i-llu kinguvarteńguarkat ayagyuat qanemcinek, caliyaranek, umyuangutnek-llu piurciyugngaluteng atunem-llu piksugngaluki.

Iquliutet

Nunalget ciuliqagtaita Tegganrita-llu amllermi pengegyuuteseng qanrutketuat, ayagyuat piciryarateng atussiyaayuitniluki, amlleret-llu ayagyuat, igartemta asguranairluku, nallunritarkameng tamararkauciat nalluyugnaunaku. Pitallgutkenrilnge'rmeng tau͡gken atunem anagturainaryarallgutekluteng, Chuna Macintyre-aam murilkuciatun: "Piciryarat egmirturatuut, ayuqenrilngurteggun alairaqluteng, iliini-llu umyuaqumayugnailngurteggun" (Watterson 2018). Tua-i tamana anagturainaryaraq Yugtarnun-llu paitameggnun ataciat pitallgutkenrilngurni allarraugaqlutek.

Maa-i pitallgutkellriit nunalget ciuliqagteksaguskait tuaten amlleret piyuumiileng'e'rmeng piciryarameggnek avvusngaurcecimallruut elitnaurvikarraatgun anguyagtetgun-llu nunaiqengelriartarteggun pisqutetgun, amlleret-llu Yuucirteng yualriatun piarkaullruluku, piciryarameggnun-llu utertengnaqerkauluteng. Tuaten pitallgutkellriit piciryarameggnek tegunqigtellriani ciuliqagteńguluteng, Nunallermek-llu Caliarat tamatum ilarraqluku. Maa-i tau͡gken yuinarnek allrakungellret kingunemeggnun, paitameggnun, piciryarameggnun-llu tuknilriamek atatengellrulriit. Taumek aturyarateng ellmeggnek piureskait, aipaagni Tegganemeng umyuaqenrilkaitgun. Allakun piciryarameggnun ataciit cacetutengqerrluteng – piciryarateng tegunqigtellermegteggun, nunaiqengelriit kinguitni agtuumalriitgun, nunaiqengelriartaat-llu Nutemllaat Kinguvritnek kingullugcequrauciatnek anucimirqecetaaruciatgun. Taumek allamek tusngavigluteng, Nutemllarnun-llu Kinguvequcirteng allauluku atuamegteggu, maa-i piciryarameggnun ellmeggnek atatekiulriit. Uka-i nunalegni ciuliqagteńguarkat, tuknilriamek-llu Kituucirluteng Yuucirluteng-llu.

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The Role of the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum in the Development of Community Archaeology

Lisa K. Rankin[i], Jamie Brake[ii], Lena Onalik[iii], Joan Andersen[iv], Marjorie Flowers[v], Nicholas Flowers[vi], David Igloliorte[vii], Inez Shiwak[viii], and Anthony "Jack" Shiwak[ix]

ABSTRACT

The Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum, held annually since 2010 and overseen by the Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Office, brings together people involved in heritage work from all five constituent Inuit Communities as well as interested public to discuss issues of concern and set goals to address them. It has rapidly become the primary venue for public engagement on heritage matters as well as the planning and practice of archaeology in the territory. The forum is held in a different community each year, providing an opportunity to celebrate the unique history of each hamlet and prioritize their specific needs. Archaeology, the request for specific local projects, and how they are undertaken, have been discussed at each forum to date. In 2015, a SSHRC-supported partnership grant between the Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University called *Tradition and Transition Among the Labrador Inuit* was created to address community heritage concerns and interests raised through the forum by partnering archaeologists and other heritage specialists with communities to help Nunatsiavut meet these goals. Today, as the partnership draws to a close, we reflect back on what has been accomplished, what has been learned, and how we might move forward together.

KEYWORDS

Nunatsiavut, heritage, community-engagement, partnerships, tourism

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RÉSUMÉ

Le rôle du « Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum » dans le développement de l'archéologie communautaire

Le forum Nunatsiavut Heritage qui se tient annuellement depuis 2010 sous la gouverne du Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Office, rassemble les acteurs de cinq communautés inuit impliqués dans le secteur du patrimoine ainsi que des membres du public. Au cours du forum, les préoccupations associées au patrimoine sur le territoire sont identifiées, et on tente de trouver des moyens d'y répondre. Ce forum est rapidement devenu l'évènement principal au cours duquel les questions associées à la mobilisation du public dans le domaine du patrimoine étaient discutées, de même que la planification des activités archéologiques sur le territoire. Chaque année, le forum a lieu dans un village différent pour célébrer son histoire distincte et identifier les besoins spécifiques à la communauté. Jusqu'à présent, chaque forum a donné lieu à des discussions sur l'archéologie, la nécessité de mettre en place des projets spécifiques et la manière de les réaliser. En 2015, une subvention CRSH de développement de partenariat entre le gouvernement du Nunatsiavut et Memorial University a permis de mettre en place le projet Tradition & Transition Among the Labrador Inuit pour répondre aux différentes préoccupations et promouvoir les intérêts des communautés inuit à propos du patrimoine. Les archéologues ont collaboré avec d'autres spécialistes du patrimoine ainsi qu'avec le public pour atteindre les objectifs définis au cours des forums. Maintenant que ce projet est terminé, nous analysons ce qui a été accompli et ce que nous avons appris pour définir de manière collective quelles seront les actions à entreprendre dans le futur.

MOTS-CLÉS

Nunatsiavut, patromoine, engagement communautaire, partenariat, tourisme

PIGIASIUTINGA

Tânna Suliatsagijangit Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katingaKatigejut Pivalliatitsigiamut Nunalimmi Itsasuanittanik

Tânna Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katimaKatigeKattajut, sakKititauKattajuk jâri tamât taimanganit 2010 ammalu kamagijauKattajut taikkununga Nunatsiavut kavamakkut Itsasuanitanik SuliaKapvinganut, katiutitsiKattajut inunnik ilauKatauKattajunut taimangasuaniusimajunut suliaKaKattajunut pisimajunit ilonnainit annigusuKattajunut Inuit Nunalinnit ammalugiallak kinakkutuinnanut KanuttogutiKaKattajunut uKâlautiKagiamut pitjutaujunut isumâlotigijaujunut ammalu sakKititsigiamut tugâgutitsanik taikkuninga kamagunnagiamut. Sukkajumik taimâk akKutiKaliaKisimajut kinakkutuinnanik ilautitsigiamut ilinganiKajunut taimangasuaniusimajunik pitjutaujunut ammalugiallak pannaigutiliugiamut ammalu ottugagiamut itsasuanitanik iluani nunagijaujunmut. Taikkua katimaKatigeKattajut atjigengitunik nunalinni jâri tamât, pivitsaKattisigiamut ullusiugiamut atjigengitunik piusigijaujunut atunik nunalinni ammalu sivulliutitsigiamut ilinganiKaluattunik atuKattagialinginnik. Itsasuanitak, tânna Kinugautigijaujuk nalunaittauluajunut nunalimmi suliatsanut, ammalu Kanuk suliagijaugajammangâmmik, uKâlautigijausimajut tamât katimaKatigeniammata ullumimut. Jâringani 2015, una SSHRC-ikajutsisimajut ikajuttigetlutik tuniggusiammik akungani Nunatsiavut kavamakkut ammalu Memorial Ilinniavitsuanga taijaujumut *PiusituKak ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Akungani Labrador Inunginnut* sanajausimajut kamagiamut nunalimmi taimangasuaniusimajunik isumâlotigijaujunut ammalu

Kanuttogutigijaujunut sakKititausimajunut taikkutigona katimatsuaKattasimajunut ikajuttigenikkut itsasuanittaligijiujunut ammalu asigiallanut taimangasuanit ilisimallagijunut nunalinnut ikajugiamut Nunatsiavummik angutigiamut taikkuninga tugâgutinnik. Ullumi, ikajuttigennik matukasâlimmat, tunumut takuniavugut sunait pijagettausimammangâmmk, sunait ilinniatausimajut, ammalu Kanuk sivuppiaKatigegajammangâtta.

ATUNIKATSIATUT UKAUSET
Nunatsiavut, taimangasuanit, nunalik-ilautitaujut, ikajuttigennik, niuggutuliginimmut

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Community archaeology has had a lengthy, albeit sporadic history in northern Labrador but has become the predominant model for archaeological research in the region since the formalization of the Nunatsiavut Land Claims Agreement in 2005. With self-governance, the Nunatsiavut Inuit Government (NG) took on the responsibility of permitting and overseeing archaeological work in the territory by establishing the Nunatsiavut Archaeology Office as part of the Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism (now Language, Culture, and Tourism). This office also works closely with the five constituent communities of Nunatsiavut to help ensure their heritage concerns are addressed (Figure 1).

Since 2010, the annual Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum, a community-initiated, multi-day meeting of Nunatsiavummiut heritage specialists, interested community members, and invited guests (including archaeologists) —which is budgeted and managed by the NG Archaeology Office—has been the primary venue to discuss heritage matters. The *Tradition & Transition Research Partnership*, a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)-funded partnership grant between the Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador (MUNL), was first conceived during the Heritage Forum as a vehicle to invest much needed research skills, training, and assistance to address community heritage issues. More than that, the multimillion-dollar partnership aimed to formalize a model of Indigenous research that was inclusive and balanced by the co-management of projects and the co-creation of academic and Traditional Knowledge, with its primary goals being to enrich Inuit communities and support the continuing vitality of Labrador Inuit culture. The scope of projects supported by the Tradition & Transition Research Partnership was massive, focusing variously on artistic performance, story-telling and oral tradition, language, archival access and data management, politics, leadership, deep history, and the intersection of these components as daily-lived Inuit experience and tradition. Multiple archaeology projects were proposed and supported over the duration of the grant.

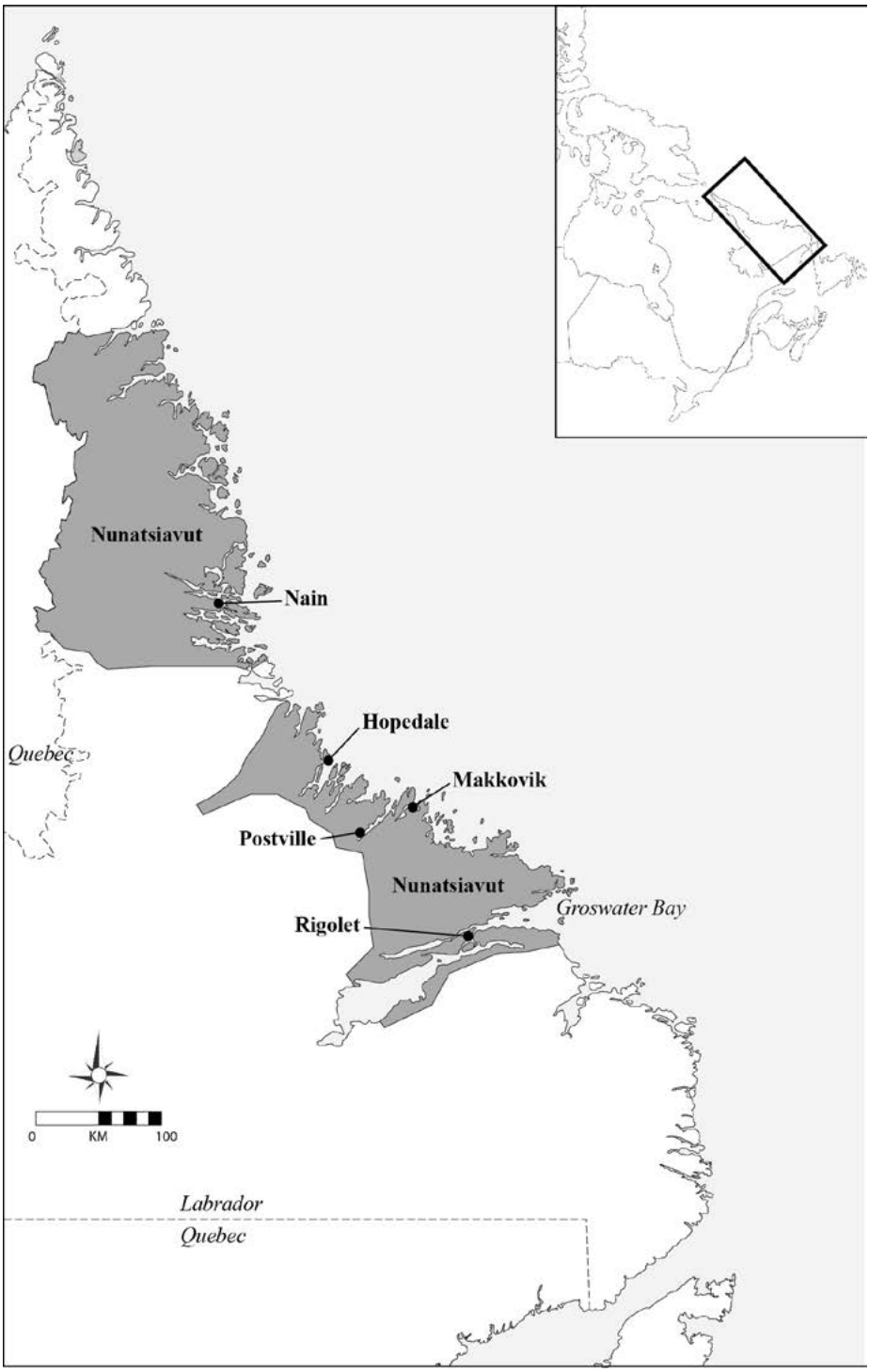


Figure 1. Map of Nunatsiavut

This paper examines the impact that both the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum and the Tradition & Transition Research Partnership have had on the practice of archaeology in Nunatsiavut, with focus on archaeological work undertaken in Rigolet and Hopedale, two communities that developed substantial archaeological projects during this constructive partnership between 2015 and 2022. We incorporate a narrative discussion between the archaeologists and community members involved in the two projects over the course of seven years to reflect on what has been learned and accomplished and how we might move forward together to address the challenges and best practices of archaeological research in Nunatsiavut.

From the Heritage Forum to Archaeological Project Implementation

The first Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum was held in Nain in the winter of 2010 at the suggestion of Joan Andersen, chair of the museums committee of Makkovik's White Elephant Museum. At the time, the people of Nunatsiavut were facing several challenging heritage-related issues. In the spring of 2009, a heritage building containing an extensive cultural archive burned to the ground in Nain. About the same time, the collections of Nain's former Moravian Mission Museum were re-discovered in a dilapidated mission building. Although Nain's museum had burned in 2000, the collections survived through the efforts of Nain's volunteer fire brigade, Torngâsok Cultural Centre staff, and provincial government conservators who flew in to provide emergency services immediately after the fire, at the request of the Director of Torngâsok. Then the Torngâsok Cultural Centre itself was consumed by fire in 2005, resulting in a tremendous loss of cultural materials of all types. With the causes of the fires undetermined, there was ongoing concern about the potential for fire elsewhere on the Nunatsiavut coast, particularly in the community of Hopedale where extremely important collections of both artifacts and archival materials are kept in historic Moravian mission buildings.

In 2009, Joan Andersen and Jamie Brake (the Nunatsiavut Government's archaeologist at the time) discussed how best to handle these challenges. Joan suggested holding a heritage forum with representatives from all five Labrador Inuit communities as a way to begin to resolve these issues. The NG Archaeology Office was able to secure funding through the Tasijujasoak Trust to hold a forum, and when it took place a few months later, one of the most important outcomes was the unanimous decision by participants that this become an annual event. It is now part of the NG Archaeology Office's annual budget as the most important event for public engagement on heritage issues and archaeological matters in the region.

The first brief discussion on the possibility of a SSHRC Partnership Program grant to support heritage-related work in Nunatsiavut took place during the 2012 forum in Makkovik. At that time, Dr. Hans Rollmann, who studies Moravian/Inuit history at MUNL, mentioned the SSHRC-funded Community-University Research Alliance project (led by Lisa Rankin) in which he collaborated with communities in southern Labrador, and he suggested that something similar might be worth considering for Nunatsiavut to address its heritage concerns. In 2014, the possibility of a long-term research partnership took a step forward when the Nunatsiavut Government's Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism signed a memorandum of understanding on collaboration in culture-related research and capacity building with Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. Following this agreement, Dr. Tom Gordon, the Dean of Music at MUNL and scholar of Inuit-Moravian music traditions, was invited to the 2014 Heritage Forum to present the opportunities associated with a SSHRC Partnership Grant. Project development funds had been acquired by this time, and engagement toward the design of a long-term research partnership was the major topic of discussion during the 2014 forum. These discussions provided the foundations for numerous collaborative projects that would be developed and implemented by the Tradition & Transition Research Partnership. Archaeological research was considered a priority by many community members from the beginning of the partnership, and there was a history of successful community archaeology projects to provide inspiration and models to build on (Table 1).

Table 1. Examples of Community Archaeology Projects in Northern Labrador

Community/ Local Organization	Researcher/Institution	Publications
Torngâsok Cultural Centre	Stephen Loring/Smithsonian	Loring 1998
Torngâsok Cultural Centre	Melanie Cabak/University of South Carolina	Cabak 1991
Makkovik	Stephen Loring/Smithsonian; Leah Rosenmeier/Brown University	Loring and Rosenmeier 2000; 2001; 2005
Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik	Jamie Brake/Nunatsiavut Government	Brake 2012; 2013
Makkovik	Henry Cary/Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador	Cary 2004

Since 2014, all of Nunatsiavut's Heritage Forums have included substantial discussions about the Tradition & Transition Research Partnership and its constituent projects. Indeed, the Forums have provided crucial

opportunities for engagement between community members and researchers, for delegates from one community to learn about the successes and challenges in other communities, for networking, suggesting new projects, and identifying important issues being faced by the region or by individual municipalities, and for participants to report back and provide updates on research activity. They have also provided opportunities for students and researchers to visit the region and learn something about Nunatsiavut, its people, and their goals. To top it off, it has been a chance to celebrate and explore the unique history and contemporary context of the host community and to focus on its particular needs and aspirations.

Ultimately, 15 archaeological projects were supported by the Tradition & Transition Partnership. These projects were situated along the spectrum of what might be considered community-archaeological projects (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). A minimal number of projects were conceived and managed almost entirely by academic archaeologists (with largely academic priorities) who hired and trained Inuit youth in field and lab techniques and engaged with Nunatsiavut communities during presentations and workshops at the end of each season. Other initiatives were run almost exclusively by Nunatsiavummiut and NG archaeologists to address colonial trauma directly through internalist methodologies (Davies 2020; Yellowhorn 2006). Initially, the archaeology projects in Rigolet and Hopedale fell somewhere toward the middle of the spectrum, perhaps indicative of Silliman's "hybrid practice" (2009) of collaborative archaeology with the research requested specifically by Inuit communities, co-managed by community and academic leads, and undertaken with both Inuit and academic outcomes in mind (Rankin et al. 2022).

All projects, regardless of level of integration and engagement, were subject to numerous oversights. Every project team first submitted a proposal for funding to a partnership-initiated Project Management Committee (PMC) composed of equal numbers of academic and Nunatsiavummiut members, including youth and Elders (Tradition and Transition 2015). Here, projects were discussed at length and their value to both Inuit and academia debated. Proposals were often returned to authors for multiple revisions to address concerns. Following PMC funding approval, projects were routed for ethical clearance, approval by the Nunatsiavut Government Research Advisory Committee, and permits through the NG Archaeology Office. Each of these committees received annual progress reports, which were similarly scrutinized. The entire Tradition & Transition Partnership was ultimately subject to a series of external reviews, including a mandatory SSHRC mid-term review and two privately commissioned evaluations undertaken by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) (the first of which was completed mid-way through the partnership prior to the release of ITK's National Strategy on Inuit research). The second ITK review was released in the spring of 2022.

The archaeology projects undertaken in Rigolet and Hopedale were initially conceived by local Inuit Community Governments as part of the Nunatsiavut Government's 2014–2020 Tourism Strategy. During the winter of 2011–2012, the Rigolet Historical Society invited then NG Deputy Minister Dave Lough and NG archaeologist Jamie Brake to the community to discuss their vision for local tourism. They proposed to engage day-trippers from expedition cruises and local ferries, as well short-stay tourists using Rigolet as a gateway to the Mealy Mountains National Park (Akami-Uapishkᵘ-KakKasuak) through a series of local activities that would celebrate Inuit culture and contribute to the local economy (Brake 2013; Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2022). Their ideas included the development of an eight-kilometre-long coastal boardwalk from the present village and culminating at the Double Mer Point Archaeological site, an 18th century Inuit village that could be excavated and reconstructed. They also requested archaeological survey work in the area to learn more about their history and potential heritage resources in the region that could be added to their list of tourist activities (Brake 2013). These projects were brought to the NG Heritage Forum for further discussion, where archaeologist William Fitzhugh of the Smithsonian Institution and Lisa Rankin of MUNL were invited to participate in the survey and excavations, respectively. Community consultations as well as some initial survey work and site testing began immediately (Brake 2013; Rankin 2014), but work began in earnest following joint submissions to the Tradition & Transition Partnership in 2015.

Hopedale's contribution to the NG Tourism Strategy initially revolved around the development of the already well-known Hopedale Mission National Historic Site, in partnership with Parks Canada (Nunatsiavut Government 2014). However, after hearing about the archaeology underway in Rigolet at the 2016 Heritage Forum, Hopedale requested archaeological research to further the development of an application for inclusion on Canada's Tentative List for World Heritage sites. Their plan required archaeological excavation within the current community, which is constructed on top of the 16th–18th-century Agvituk Inuit whaling village (Bird 1945), as well as further archaeological exploration of the many Inuit sites surrounding the community to provide context for the application. Rankin and her students were invited to assist in this research effort (Gaulton and Rankin 2018; Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2022).

Although both projects were initiated and co-managed by Inuit communities, they began with relatively traditional archaeological objectives. This presented a challenge to both the communities and the archaeologists to find ways to elevate these goals in keeping with the mandate of the Tradition & Transition Partnership to be inclusive, merge academic inquiry with Traditional Knowledge, enrich Inuit communities, and support the vitality of Inuit culture in ways that might transcend the tourism strategy.

This process is ongoing and has followed different trajectories in the two communities, reflecting differences in community history, culture and demographics, ultimately leading to different activities and priorities in each hamlet (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Lyons 2013).

The archaeology in Rigolet began simply as excavation and survey where local youth were hired to work alongside the archaeologists in the field and lab, but even this presented obstacles. There was an abundance of archaeological work to be undertaken, but given that Rigolet is a small village of fewer than 250 residents, there were few youths available to participate. This was countered by the strong local heritage society who assisted the project. From the first year of archaeological work, the Rigolet Heritage Society prioritized local lab space for the excavation team in the Netloft Museum—a community heritage building where families had traditionally stored fishing gear—so that locals would be able to see the results of daily excavation work. The Netloft is located in a very accessible space adjacent to the town grocery store, craft shop, ferry dock, and boat launch. Each day, part of the archaeology team opened the doors of the Netloft to the village while they cleaned and catalogued finds from the excavation. We immediately had many visitors, some spending the day. It was the perfect place for community members and archaeologists to get to know each other and learn from one another, and for members of the community to exchange knowledge. In this manner, local knowledge was firmly integrated into the archaeological analyses through direct interaction with artifacts, researchers, and one another. At the same time, the survey team working with the Nunatsiavut Department of Health and Social Development began using the Smithsonian research vessel to take youth and Elders to visit significant places they could not easily access on their own. These trips became a much-anticipated event, contributing to the health and well-being of these community members, while the archaeologists learned much about Inuit life in the region (Jolicoeur et al. 2016).

Over time, more activities were added to increase local contributions and shift important decision making to the community. For example, graduate student Kayley Sherret worked with community members to select archaeological objects for 3D scanning that could be displayed in the Netloft. This was significant, as current NG policy does not consider the Netloft or any other facilities in Rigolet to be safe repositories for collections. We also worked together through many community meetings to design informational plaques to be placed at the archaeological site to provide interpretation that reflected community knowledge. Social media promoting the project locally and beyond were overseen by the archaeological crew and local students. Where possible, we hired local expertise to enhance the archaeological work. Birdseye Inc., a Rigolet Inuk-owned-and-operated drone company, was hired to produce beautiful imagery and 3D models of the excavation. In the end,

participation in the annual Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum gave Rigolet community members the opportunity to take ownership of their "archaeology project" by speaking to fellow Nunatsiavummiut about the research results and providing ideas for the direction of the work. Today, the archaeological projects in Rigolet continue as we attempt to complete the excavations in line with Rigolet's vision for tourism. However, the work is much less about an archaeological excavation and tourism strategy and more about community pride in living and sharing their culture and history.

Having learned about the Rigolet archaeology projects through the Heritage Forum, the community of Hopedale expressed interest in a similar project designed to kick-start their application for inclusion on Canada's Tentative List for World Heritage designation. The application entitled *The Three Ages of Hopedale* outlined three significant periods of local history, including: the 16th–18th-century Inuit settlement known as Agvituk and other regionally important Inuit settlements; the 18th–19th-century Moravian mission and associated Inuit village; and the contemporary role of Hopedale as the legislative capital of Nunatsiavut. Archaeology was requested to determine what remained of the original Inuit village that had been impacted by recent community growth. A survey of adjacent Inuit settlements occupied in the same era would also be undertaken to provide regional context. Ground-penetrating radar was also called for in the Moravian cemetery which had fallen into disrepair. Hopedale was aware of the focus on the knowledge transmission taking place in Rigolet and thus specifically requested that knowledge exchange between youth and Elders be a significant element of the work to be undertaken. In Hopedale, the co-management team began with the premise that we could integrate several of the successful strategies we had developed in Rigolet—specifically, using an open lab to create opportunities for knowledge exchange. The Hopedale Heritage Society, Apvitok Sivumuak, provided the archaeology team with access to laboratory space in the beautiful historic mission house located in the heart of the community. Because Hopedale is much larger than Rigolet, with a population of approximately 600, many youths applied to work with us. Nevertheless, it became clear after the project began in the summer of 2017 that we would need to adjust the strategy we had used in Rigolet to create a successful community project in Hopedale that better suited both the archaeology and the local culture.

Unfortunately, little remained of the Agvituk village to excavate, and boat access to the regional sites and survey areas was not often available. Furthermore, the open-door lab in the Moravian Mission complex was seldom visited, as many community members believed that the space was haunted (Rankin et al. 2022; Rankin and Ramsden, forthcoming). As a result, the Agvituk archaeology project had to quickly adapt to new circumstances and identify new ways to meet Hopedale's goals. To do this,

we had to use archaeology in new ways and take archaeology out of the lab and into other community spaces, while continuing to provide opportunities for local youth to complete work terms, learn from Elders, and gather scientific archaeological data for the Tentative List application.

In the first year, team member Dr. Laura Kelvin worked with students to determine their interests and what they would like to learn over the summer. They decided as a group to interview Hopedale Elders about traditions related to the few archaeological finds we had, such as items related to hunting, sewing, kayak making, and dog teams. The team worked together to develop interview questions and identify local Elders having knowledge about different traditional activities. These interviews were filmed and edited by the students to create short movies. This format was continued over the course of three years, and the Agvituk Archaeology YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCE7rjhJFWhVbnHqXC7ueqbA) was used to share these films in the community. This project has become the primary source of knowledge exchange between youth and Elders and from a community perspective has proved to have lasting rewards. Indeed, youth involved in the projects say they are now much more comfortable visiting Elders when they have questions about their history and culture and Elders continue to express their pride in youth who have welcomed the initiative to learn about traditions (Rankin et al. 2022).

We incorporated similar learning experiences on trips to nearby sites. We were never certain what archaeological remains we would find on these surveys, so alongside archaeological reconnaissance we built in other traditional activities, such as berry picking, where everyone could spend time together and learn through experience on the land. The traditional archaeology has continued and youth are involved in excavation, GPR, and lab work, but it is secondary to the facilitation of knowledge exchange that it helped to create. As with Rigolet, the details of the Agvituk Archaeology project have been shared at the Heritage Forum, often with local youth taking the lead in presentations. In Hopedale, what started as a traditional archaeology project has now become more about community well-being and cultural continuity (Rankin et al. 2022).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, neither of the Rigolet or Hopedale projects have reached a satisfactory conclusion, thus work is likely to continue for at least one more season. Furthermore, the pandemic prevented the 2020 Heritage Forum meeting. As a result, the following discussion was initiated at the 2021 Heritage Forum held in Nain, and continued over the summer as the authors were slowly able to meet and discuss the results of the archaeological partnerships. The importance of the relationships that have developed—for both researchers and community members—is evident in our conversations, as is the immense potential for continuing collaboration.

"When are the Archaeologists Coming Back?": A Narrative Discussion

> *I think it's very important because we learn so much from all the things that community archaeology is. With youth involved, and with Elders involved, it just gives everyone a better appreciation of each other, and we learn so much about the past. I think it's very important.* (Joan Andersen, Makkovik)

Joan Andersen, curator of the White Elephant Museum in Makkovik and the person who initiated the Heritage Forum, believes that archaeology projects that are community-oriented can have a positive impact in Nunatsiavut. Joan was introduced to archaeology through her involvement in two early community archaeology projects in the late 1990s and early 2000s in Makkovik with local youth (Cary 2004; Loring and Rosenmeier 2000). One of these projects, which focused on an 18th-century Inuit winter settlement on the Adlavik Islands (Loring and Rosenmeier 2000; 2001), not only involved local youth in fieldwork over several years but also provided them with opportunities to attend conferences, explore museum collections, and interact with professional archaeologists and other researchers. Consequently, these experiences fostered an interest in archaeology that resulted in some local students choosing to study the discipline at university. In fact, author and current NG archaeologist Lena Onalik is an alumnus of one such program. Joan's personal experience with these archaeology projects contributed to her desire to develop the annual Heritage Forum so more Nunatsiavummiut could have the opportunity to learn about their history.

Joan noted that both the forums and the partnership broadened her knowledge of archaeology and provided her with opportunities to meet other researchers, such as William Fitzhugh and Lisa Rankin. While no archaeology was undertaken in Makkovik by the Tradition & Transition Partnership, "learning about the projects underway in Rigolet and Hopedale at the Heritage Forums had provided ideas for Makkovik community members who have now been in touch with Rankin about conducting GPR surveys in the community in the coming years." Similar thoughts were echoed by other authors. Marjorie Flowers, AngajukKâk of the Hopedale Inuit Community Government and member of the Agvituk Archaeology Project management team, stated that "the forums were a good way to find out what was going on in other communities and provide ideas on what could be done in Hopedale" and that the archaeology she learned about at the Forums served as a reminder that Inuit once lived all over Nunatsiavut and not just in the villages occupied today: "The archaeology helps to fill in the gaps between the current communities. We know we lived in them, and if the archaeological sites are alive then so are we." Jack and Inez Shiwak, a

father and daughter from Rigolet who were involved in the management of the Rigolet Archaeology Project, had similar praise for the Heritage Forum as "a way to meet people, find out about projects and funding sources, and come together to learn and support each other," and both noted that archaeology was an important tool for learning more about their history and "where they came from." Jack, who is now 70, lamented that archaeology was one of the only ways to learn their history because "they had never asked their fathers and grandfathers enough questions." Nicholas Flowers, a Nunatsiavut Language Program community worker and youth participant in the Agvituk Archaeology Project, attended his first Heritage Forum in 2018 with his parents and grandmother, where "they all became fascinated by archaeology at the same time." "Learning about the archaeology projects through the Heritage Forum inspired me to continue learning about my past, not only through archaeology but spending time with Elders and learning Inuttut—there is so much more to archaeology than discovering artifacts; for us, it's about restoring connections, restoring traditions."

In our conversations it was clear, however, that many of the authors (both community members and archaeologists) did not fully comprehend the scope of the partnership goals when they first requested archaeology projects to be undertaken through Tradition & Transition and were perhaps unaware that these archaeology projects were meant to be more than commissioned research. David Igloliorte, curator of the Apvitok Sivumuak Society in Hopedale and member of the Agvituk Archaeology Project management team, thought "archaeology was something done in remote places by archaeologists who 'owned' a research area." He had "no idea that archaeologists were interested in protecting sites. I thought you just dug them up, but now it is about the thoughts of local people and helping us to save and share their culture." Joan and Marjorie both mentioned that "community consultation is so respectful and so important" and "what a delight it was to be asked permission and opinions." Inez stated that "Tradition & Transition started to help with funding to get the boardwalk archaeology project going, but it has actually helped the community to validate its sense of identity and given us a sense of pride in that history." Her father, Jack, was equally delighted that his knowledge played a role in the archaeological interpretations because "we have information to share about our history and know so much more about the past than researchers who are only in town for a few weeks." For Nicholas, who had never been involved in archaeology prior to the Agvituk project, "the work was about equal opportunity and access to information to learn and understand who we are as a people and where we came from. It provided a chance to share experience and make memories and create stories with archaeologists, community, Elders, and ancestors that now connect us and give us pride, that we can now share with our children."

With regard to the outcomes of the two archaeology projects, Joan mentioned that "the Hopedale archaeology videos as really useful teaching tools" and that "the local youth got so much out of working on community archaeology projects—that exchange between Elders and youth is important too. That's community archaeology." She also mentioned the opportunities for local people to visit active sites during excavations and to see collections and presentations with interpretations of the archeological record. Marjorie mentioned "how proud the community of Hopedale was to see the students working together and the Elders are so proud that the youth are learning the traditions." Inez mentioned that "it was wonderful to see the archaeologists in the schools" while Jack stated that the archaeology "had really piqued the interest of the kids who want to know much more about the culture now." Inez also appreciated the 3D printing of artifacts: "It was good because we can store those safely and share them in the community and with tourists, plus it had community input." Like elsewhere, there is likely to be a diversity of opinions about the role and contributions of archaeology in Nunatsiavut, but among our group, everyone mentioned how happy they were to contribute and have community knowledge be such a big part of the projects.

Everyone also wants to see Tradition & Transition or a partnership like it continue. Jack claimed that he was regularly asked "when are the archaeologists coming back?" and everyone insisted that there was so much more to do. Interestingly, there was no mention of the Tourism Strategy in this context. Our community authors all envision an archaeology for Nunatsiavummiut. Jack claims that "he has so much more to learn," while David mentioned that more archaeological work is imperative "now that we are losing sites to climate change." Joan mentioned the momentum associated with all of the activity and how "there are so many research directions that local people are interested in going in, and how great it would be if partnership research could continue."

Several authors commented on what could be done in a new partnership. Inez would like to see archaeology programs expand beyond youth and Elders and "provide more opportunities for middle generations to learn about their culture and history." Jack also feels that archaeology programs are a "perfect opportunity to engage youth with disabilities with a certificate program." David is concerned about losing Inuit sites to climate change, and Joan would like to see us work together toward developing a repository "as it is sad when artifacts need to be taken out of the region." Nicholas thinks "the next step should be reconstructions—whether sod houses or kayaks—as it would provide many more opportunities to work with knowledge holders and reclaim traditions." Everyone agreed that community archaeology is the way forward and that the equity of the contributions and knowledge sharing was worth so much more than 'digging'—at least for now, until, as Jack says "one day our kids take over."

Discussion and Conclusion

The Tradition & Transition Research Partnership was initiated to help Nunatsiavut communities address heritage concerns originally raised at the annual Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum. The Forum also provided an opportunity for partnership participants to discuss the governance, management, and results of its constituent projects (including archaeology), address Nunatsiavummiut concerns, and ensure benefits as we progressed. But community archaeology is more than just governance and management, and sometimes the goals are not the ones you set out with. We have found that the real *heart* of community archaeology lies in its ability to enrich and uphold Inuit communities. There is no blueprint to accomplish this goal; each of the aforementioned projects followed different routes. The Rigolet Archaeology Project began as a traditional excavation to meet tourism needs but became a genuine and organic community archaeology project, as archaeologists and community members got to know one another. The Agvituk Archaeology Project in Hopedale was initiated with a clear community goal to use archaeological heritage to connect youth and Elders. In truth, neither project became a real community archaeology without a myriad of changes along the way. Our projects benefitted immensely from having several years of dedicated funding, which gave both archaeologists and community members enough time to not only develop relationships of trust but also gain a deeper understanding of archaeological processes and community culture. This enabled us to learn how best to work with one another and pursue goals with lasting community impact. Nunatsiavut's annual Heritage Forum was central to this process and gave everyone—especially the communities—opportunities to speak about and evaluate the progress of the archaeological projects with an audience of peers as well as gain insight from the input of Nunatsiavummiut heritage workers and Elders from other communities. It would be deceptive to suggest that this process was easy. Sometimes, decisions were time-consuming and the discussions difficult, but everyone was committed to work together to create something of value. Without this annual meeting, much less would have been accomplished in Rigolet and Hopedale, and certainly the projects would have been undertaken with less confidence.

A final meeting of all Tradition & Transition research partners took place on October 25th and 26th, 2021 with over 80 participants (the majority representing Nunatsiavut) who presented the conclusions of their various research projects. The event was clearly a celebration not only of how much had been accomplished but *how it had been done*. Community members were eager to discuss the value of research consultation and approval and the benefits of community-based research projects that centre equity in decision making, knowledge sharing, and cultural revitalization. The participating academic researchers were delighted by how much these new

pathways to community research had enriched their own knowledge. Yet even as we acknowledged our successes, it was clear that much more remained to be done.

As the projects draw to a close, publications arising from the work are rapidly emerging. With this, questions regarding intellectual property and the equity of dissemination must be addressed. The co-management teams associated with both Rigolet and the Agvituk Archaeology projects made an early decision to include traditional academic publications and thesis writing because they believed these documents would further the aims of their tourism strategies. However, the approach to publishing the experiential work undertaken with youth and Elders is less clear. For example, this past summer, Lena Onalik was faced with questions about the publication of toponyms associated with one of the youth/Elder projects in Hopedale, given that this Traditional Knowledge would be accessible to resource development companies. As we wade through these emerging issues, the Rigolet and Hopedale teams have begun to jointly author publications wherever possible to demonstrate what can be accomplished when working in partnership. We are particularly excited to share the less traditional aspects of our work together—such as the open labs and YouTube channels that were developed to ensure that youth, Elders, and archaeologists all had opportunities to learn from one another—and which really influenced the direction of the archaeological work (see, for example, Edmunds et al. 2019; Flowers et al. 2018; Kelvin et al. 2020; Rankin et al. 2022).

Apart from one final season to complete the work delayed by the pandemic, the future of archaeological research in Rigolet and Hopedale also remains uncertain, for the time being. After spending years developing relationships, it is sad and somewhat intimidating to think that these partnerships might end. However, the communities have many more projects in mind that they would like to pursue and are hopeful that Tradition & Transition, or something similar, will continue. Climate change and the development of a Nunatsiavut artifact repository have become important topics at the Heritage Forum, since the partnership was first conceived. Addressing these issues might well be part of a future community archaeology partnership. Recently, some of us have been awarded a SSHRC development grant to study a community-based strategy for the repatriation of archaeological collections to Nunatsiavut. What is certain is that the archaeologists and community members feel much more connected to one another than we were before the partnership. As Nicholas stated, "we have shared experience and created memories because of archaeology" and "we can now share those stories with our peers and families." These lessons will inevitably influence how we all approach archaeological research in the future. For Nunatsiavummiut, that means greater self-determination in making informed decisions about archaeological research, what research will

take place, what the goals will be, and who will be involved. Thankfully, the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum continues to provide a place where these decisions can be addressed.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all of the students, Elders, and families who supported the Tradition & Transition projects in their communities. We also extend our appreciation to the Editors for inviting us to participate in this special volume and to the two external reviewers who took time from their schedules to help us create a better paper.

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Tânna Suliatsagijangit Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katingaKatigejut Pivalliatitsigiamut Nunalimmi Itsasuanittanik

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Translation into Inuttut by Katie Winters

PIGIASIUTINGA

Tânna Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katimaKatigeKattajut, sakKititauKattajuk jâri tamât taimanganit 2010 ammalu kamagijauKattajut taikkununga Nunatsiavut kavamakkut Itsasuanitanik SuliaKapvinganut, katiutitsiKattajut inunnik ilauKatauKattajunut taimangasuaniusimajunut suliaKaKattajunut pisimajunit ilonnainit annigusuKattajunut Inuit Nunalinnit ammalugiallak kinakkutuinnanut KanuttogutiKaKattajunut uKâlautiKagiamut pitjutaujunut isumâlotigijaujunut ammalu sakKititsigiamut tugâgutitsanik taikkuninga kamagunnagiamut. Sukkajumik taimâk akKutiKaliaKisimajut kinakkutuinnanik ilautitsigiamut ilinganiKajunut taimangasuaniusimajunik pitjutaujunut ammalugiallak pannaigutiliugiamut ammalu ottugagiamut itsasuanitanik iluani nunagijaujunmut. Taikkua katimaKatigeKattajut atjigengitunik nunalinni jâri tamât, pivitsaKattisigiamut ullusiugiamut atjigengitunik piusigijaujunut atunik nunalinni ammalu sivulliutitsigiamut ilinganiKaluattunik atuKattagialinginnik. Itsasuanitak, tânna Kinugautigijaujuk nalunaittauluajunut

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nunalimmi suliatsanut, ammalu Kanuk suliagijaugajammangâmmik, uKâlautigijausimajut tamât katimaKatigeniammata ullumimut. Jâringani 2015, una SSHRC-ikajutsisimajut ikajuttigetlutik tuniggusiammik akungani Nunatsiavut kavamakkut ammalu Memorial Ilinniavitsuanga taijaujumut *PiusituKak ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Akungani Labrador Inunginnut* sanajausimajut kamagiamut nunalimmi taimangasuaniusimajunik isumâlotigijaujunut ammalu Kanuttogutigijaujunut sakKititausimajunut taikkutigona katimatsuaKattasimajunut ikajuttigenikkut itsasuanittaligijiujunut ammalu asigiallanut taimangasuanit ilisimallagijunut nunalinnut ikajugiamut Nunatsiavummik angutigiamut taikkuninga tugâgutinnik. Ullumi, ikajuttigennik matukasâlimmat, tunumut takuniavugut sunait pijagettausimammangâmmk, sunait ilinniatausimajut, ammalu Kanuk sivuppiaKatigegajammangâtta.

ATUNIKATSIATUT UKAUSET
Nunatsiavut, taimangasuanit, nunalik-ilautitaujut, ikajuttigennik, niuggutuliginimmut

RÉSUMÉ

Le rôle du « Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum » dans le développement de l'archéologie communautaire

Le forum Nunatsiavut Heritage qui se tient annuellement depuis 2010 sous la gouverne du Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Office, rassemble les acteurs de cinq communautés inuit impliqués dans le secteur du patrimoine ainsi que des membres du public. Au cours du forum, les préoccupations associées au patrimoine sur le territoire sont identifiées, et on tente de trouver des moyens d'y répondre. Ce forum est rapidement devenu l'évènement principal au cours duquel les questions associées à la mobilisation du public dans le domaine du patrimoine étaient discutées, de même que la planification des activités archéologiques sur le territoire. Chaque année, le forum a lieu dans un village différent pour célébrer son histoire distincte et identifier les besoins spécifiques à la communauté. Jusqu'à présent, chaque forum a donné lieu à des discussions sur l'archéologie, la nécessité de mettre en place des projets spécifiques et la manière de les réaliser. En 2015, une subvention CRSH de développement de partenariat entre le gouvernement du Nunatsiavut et Memorial University a permis de mettre en place le projet Tradition & Transition Among the Labrador Inuit pour répondre aux différentes préoccupations et promouvoir les intérêts des communautés inuit à propos du patrimoine. Les archéologues ont collaboré avec d'autres spécialistes du patrimoine ainsi qu'avec le public pour atteindre les objectifs définis au cours des forums. Maintenant que ce projet est terminé, nous analysons ce qui a été accompli et ce que nous avons appris pour définir de manière collective quelles seront les actions à entreprendre dans le futur.

MOTS-CLÉS
Nunatsiavut, patromoine, engagement communautaire, partenariat, tourisme

ABSTRACT

The Role of the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum in the Development of Community Archaeology

The Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum, held annually since 2010 and overseen by the Nunatsiavut Government Archaeology Office, brings together people involved in

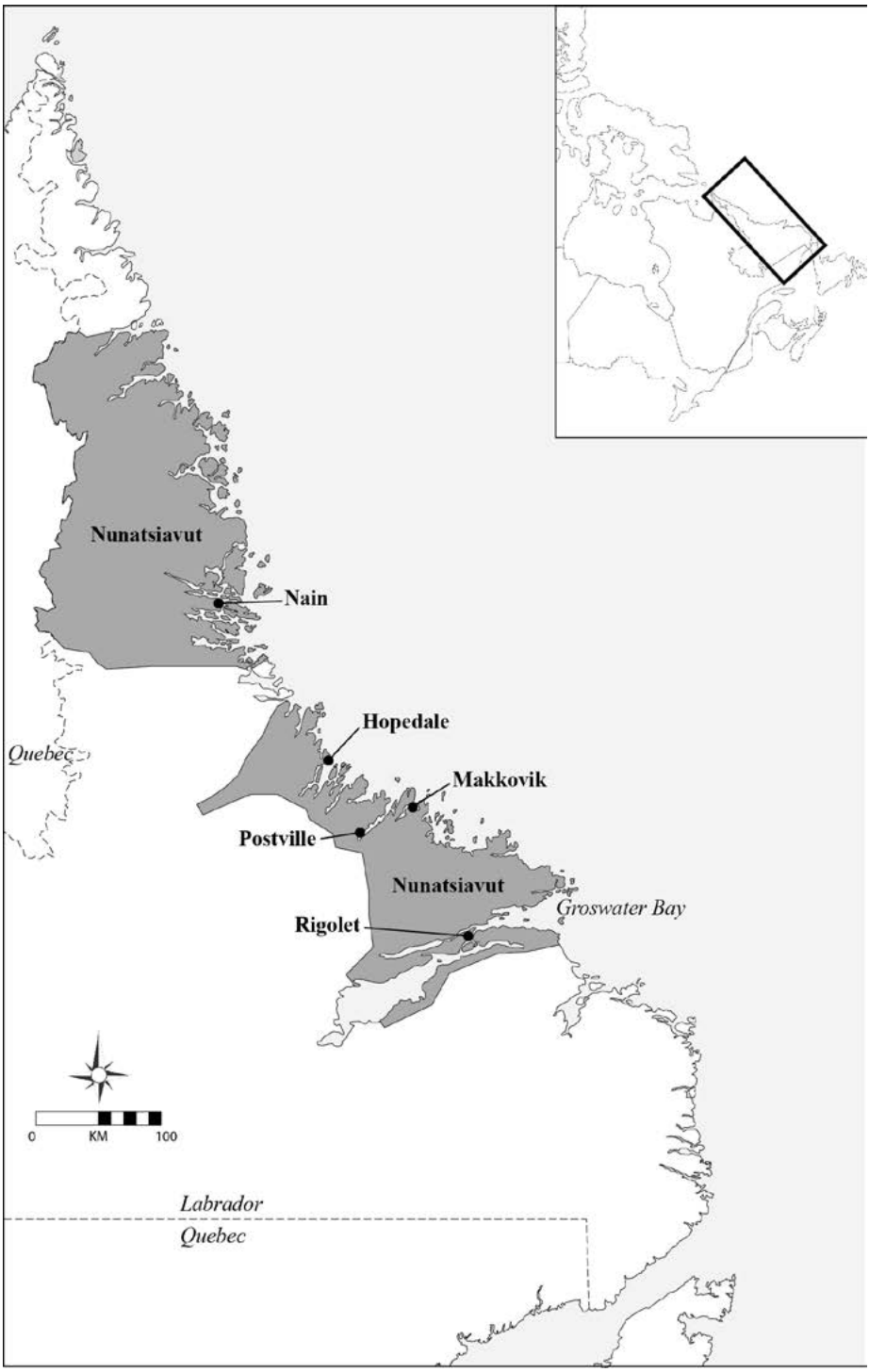
heritage work from all five constituent Inuit Communities as well as interested public to discuss issues of concern and set goals to address them. It has rapidly become the primary venue for public engagement on heritage matters as well as the planning and practice of archaeology in the territory. The forum is held in a different community each year, providing an opportunity to celebrate the unique history of each hamlet and prioritize their specific needs. Archaeology, the request for specific local projects, and how they are undertaken, have been discussed at each forum to date. In 2015, a SSHRC-supported partnership grant between the Nunatsiavut Government and Memorial University called *Tradition and Transition Among the Labrador Inuit* was created to address community heritage concerns and interests raised through the forum by partnering archaeologists and other heritage specialists with communities to help Nunatsiavut meet these goals. Today, as the partnership draws to a close, we reflect back on what has been accomplished, what has been learned, and how we might move forward together.

KEYWORDS
Nunatsiavut, heritage, community-engagement, partnerships, tourism

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Nunalimmi itsasuanitaliginik akunialuk, tamannaugaluatluni avittusimatsiatumik piusiKasimajut iluani taggami Labradorimi tâvatuak atuttaulualittuk itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut iluani nunakKatigengitumi taimanganit sakKititaulaugami Nunatsiavut Nunamut Satusattausimajop AngiKatigegutinganik taimanganit 2005 (Takugatsak 1). Imminik aulatsilimmata, tânna Nunatsiavut Inuit kavamanga (Nk) kamaliaKilauttut pigunnautitsigiamut ammalu kamagiamut itsasuanitanik suliatsanik iluani nunami sakKititsitlutik Nunatsiavut Itsasuanitanik SuliaKapvinganik ilangagijaulluni SuliaKapvinganik Ilukkusiliginimmut, Pinguatuliginimmut, ammalu Niuggutuliginimmut (manna UKausiliginimmut, Ilukkusiliginimmut ammalu Niuggutuliginimmut). Tânna suliaKapvik suliaKaKatiKatsialauttut tallimanik annigusuKattajunut nunalinnik Nunatsiavummi ikajugiamut kamatsialutillu namminigijangit taimangasuanit isumâlotigijangit kamagijaugiaKanninginnik.

Taimanganit 2010, tânna jâri tamât Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katimatsuanik, nunalimmit pigiasittausimajuk, sutaijajunik-ullumi katima-Kattajut Nunatsiavummiunit taimangasuanit ilisimallagijut, KanuttogutiKajut nunalimmiut, ammalu KaikKujausimajut (ilautillugit itsasuanittaligijet) ammalu kenaujattâKattajut ammalu aulatautlunillu taikkununga Nk Itsasuanittanik SuliaKapvinganut, atuttauluasimalittuk uKâlautiKagiamut taimangasuanit pitjutaujunut. Tânna *PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigennik,* Inulimânut Kaujisattilagijet ammalu Inunnut Kaujisannik kaunsalinga Canadami (IKIKk) – kenaujannik tunitsilauttut ikajuttigetlutik taikkunungalu Nunatsiavut kavamakkunut ammalu Memorial



Takugatsak 1. Nunanguak Nunatsiavummik

Ilinniavitsuanga Newfoundland ammalu Labradorimi (MINL), sivullipâmik tigujaulauttuk Taimangasuanit katimatsuaniammata atuttautluni kenaujannik atugiamut atuttaulagijaugiaKasimajumut Kaujisagunnagiamut, ilinniatitsik, ammalu ikajullutik nunalimmi taimangasuanik pitjutaujunut. Tamannatuinnaungituk, tainna Atautsituinnautuk-miliun tâlatut ikajuttigennik tugâgutigijaulauttuk pijagegiamut atuttaugajattumik NunaKakKâsimajuit Kaujisannik ilautitaulauttuk ammalu atjigettisitluni ikajuttigetlutik aulatsigiamut suliatsanut ammalu sanaKatigetlutik ilinniataullagigajattunut ammalu PiusituKannik Kaujimajaugettunut, tugâgutigigumallagijanginnik pitâvalliaKullugit Inuit nunagijangit ammalu ikajullugit pimmagittumik Labrador Inuit ilukkusingit. Tamanna takunnâtauluattuk suliatsanut ikajutsitaulauttuk taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigejunut angijualolauttuk, takunnâtlutik sunatuinnanik allanguattiujunik pinguajunut, unikkâgalajunut ammalu uKausikkut piusituKait, uKausiliginimmik, piulimajaujunik atugunnagiamut ammalu Kaujigatsanik aulatsigunnagiamut, kavamaligijet, sivukkatet, sivunganiusimajunik piusigijauKattasimajunut, ammalu ilauKatauliaKilluni taikkununga pitagijanginnik imâk ullu tamât inopvigijaujunut Inuit atuKattajanginnik ammalu piusituKagijanginnik. Sutaijajut itsasuanitanik suliatsait Kinugautigijaulauttut ammalu ikajuttautlutik atuttaulimmat tuniggusiangusimajuk.

Tânna alakkasâjak Kimiggujuk attuijunut taikkununga tamâgennik Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanik katimatsuaKattajunut ammalu PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigejunut ottugattauKattajunut itsasuanitanik iluani Nunatsiavummi, takunnâluatlutik itsasuanitanik suliagijaujunut suliagijausimajunut Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-imi, maggok nunalek pivalliatitsisimajunut angijualummik itsasuanitani suliatsagijausimajunut sanajautsiasimajumut ikajuttigeniammata akungani 2015 ammalu 2022. Ilisilaukkugut uKausikkut uKâlaKatigennimik akungani taikkununga itsasuanittaligijiujunut ammalu nunalimmiunik taikkununga maggonut suliatsagijausimajunut sepanik jârini takunnâgiamut sunait ilinniatitausimammangâmmik ammalu pijagettausimajunut ammalu Kanuk sivuppiagajakKomangâtta katingaluta kamagiamut apomautigijaujunut ammalu piunippâmik atuttausonik itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut iluani Nunatsiavummi.

Pisimajumit Taimangasuanitanik katimatsuasimajunut omunga Itsasuanitanik Suliatsanik AtuliaKigiamut

Tânna sivullipâk Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanitanik katimatsuanik sakKilauttuk Nainimi ukiumi 2010 pikKujilaummat Joan Andersen, itsivautak piulimapvilialuk katimajinginnut Makkovimmi Taijamut White Elephant Museum. Taipsumani, inuit Nunatsiavummi sâpviKalauttut sutaijajunik

apomautinnik taimangasuanit-ilinganiKajunut pitjutaujunut. Upingasâmi 2009, taimangasuanit illualuk pitaKajumk ilukkusinnik piulimajausimajunik ikilauttuk nungutluni Nainimi. Taipsumanitsainak, katitsutausimajut Nainimi Moraiviap Misiuninga Piulimapvilialunga napvâtaugiallataulauttut sujuttausimajumut misiunet illualungani. Tamannaugaluatluni Nainiup piulimapvilialunga ikisimagaluatluni 2000-imi, taikkua katitsutausimajut Kanuilaungitut piggautiKasimammata Nainiup akilittutaulugatik ikijunniatinginnut, Torngâsok Ilukkusiligijet Iningata suliaKattingit, ammalu prâvinsikkut kavamangata nungotsitailigijet tingijokkut tikilauttut sakKititsigiattugamut tuavittaugiaKajunik kiggatotinik tapvainak ikisimaligemmat, KinugautiKalaummat Aulatsijinga Torngâsokkunut. Nuti Torngâsok Ilukkusiligijet Ininga ikiniatluni 2005-imi, asiujiniatlutik unuttualunni ilukkusiligijet piKutinginnik Kanuittusuatuinnanik. Kanuk ikisimammangâmmik Kaujijaulautsimagatik, isumâlotigijaunginnaniatluni ikijuKagiallagajanninganik nanigiallakiak Nunatsiavut satjugiangani, piluattumik iluani nunalimmi Hopedale-imi ikKanattumagimmik katitsuisimammata tamâgennik nutaungitutsajannik ammalu piulimajaujunik piKutinik tigumiattaumata iluani taimangasuanit Moraviap misiunet illualungani.

Jâringani 2009, Joan Andersen ammalu Jamie Brake (tainna Nunatsiavut kavamakkut itsasuanittaligijinga taipsumaniulauttuk) uKâlautiKalauttut Kanuk piunippâmik kamagajammangâmmik taikkuninga apomautigijaujunut. Joan pikKujilauttuk taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut kiggatuttinginnit ilonnainit Labrador Inuit nunagijanginnik Kanukkiak pigiasigajammangâmmik sittutitsigajammangâmmik taikkuninga pitjutaujunut. Tânna Nk Itsasuanitanik SuliaKapvinga kenaujattâgunnalauttut Tasiujatsuak kenaujakkuvinginnit katimatsuatitsigiamut, ammalu katimaniammata siagugiangulimmat takKinik, atautsik ikKanannipâK sakKilauttuk ilonnainut kajusiutigijautluni ilauKataujunut una tamannaugiaKanialittuk jâri tamât. IlangagijaulikKuk Nk Itsasuanitanik SuliaKapvinganut jâri tamât kenaujattâKattalittut ikKanannipângutluni kinakkutuinnait KaikKujauKattatillugit ilinganiKajunut taimangasuanit pitjutaujunut nunakKatigengitumi.

Tânna sivullipâk naittuk uKâlautausimajuk ukua SSHRC Ikajuttigegajammangâmmik Suliangulluni tuniggusiak ikajutsigiamut taimangasuanit-ilinganiKajunut suliagijaulluni Nunatsiavummi sakKilauttuk 2012-imi katimatsuaniammata Makkovimmi. Taipsumani tainna, Dr. Hans Rollmann, ilinniaKattajut Moraviap/Inuit piusigilautsimajanginnik taikani MINL, taisilauttuk tainna SSHRC-kenaujattâKattatuk Nunalik-Ilinniavitsuak Kaujisannik Suliangujuk (sivukkatinga una Lisa Rankin) ikajuttigesimajut nunalinnut siKinganettunut Labradorimi, ammalu pikKujilauttuk sunakiak atjigalanganik isumagijaugajakKotuk Nunatsiavummi kamagiamut taimangasuaniusimajunik isumâlotigijaujunut. Jâringani 2014, suliagijaugajakKomangât akuni Kaujisagiamut ikajuttigellutik sivuppialauttuk taipsumani Nunatsiavut kavamanga SuliaKapvinga Ilukkusiliginimmut,

Pinguatuliginimmut, ammalu Niuggutuliginimmut atittâviKaniammata tukisiKatigennikut ikajuttigegiamut ilinganiKajunut ilukkusiliginimmut Kaujisagiamut ammalu sakKijânginnaKullugit taikkununga Memorial Ilinniavitsuanganik Newfoundland ammalu Labradorimi. Malitluni tâpsuminga angiKatigegutimmik, Dr. Tom Gordon, tainna AngajukKâk Nitjâtuliginimmut taikani MINL ammalu sâlaKattisiKattajuk Inuit-Moraviap nitjâguset piusituKanginnik, KaikKujaulauttuk taipsumunga 2014 Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut Kaujititsigiattugiamut pivitsagijaujunut ilinganiKajunut SSHRC IkajuttigeKattajunut Tuniggusianganut. Suliatsak pivalliatitsigiamut kenaujait pitâgijausimajut taipsumaniuniammat, ammalu ilautitsigiamut sanajaunninganut akuni Kaujisagiamut ikajuttigenimmik pimmagiulauttuk pitjutautluni uKâlautigijaulauttuk 2014 katimatsuaniammata. Tamakkua uKâlaKatigennik sakKititsilauttuk tungavimmik sutaijajunut ikajuttigegiamut suliatsanik ammalu atuttauliaKittauniatluni taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigejunut. Itsasuanitanik Kaujisannik isumagijaulaummijuk sivulliutitaugialik unuttumaginnut nunalimmiunit pigiannimit ikajuttigeliaKiniammata, ammalu piusigijautsiaKattasimajuk kajusiutigijauKattasimajunut itsasuanitanik suliangujunut sakKititsigiamut pigumaliaKigiamut ammalu atuttausongujumik sanaliaKigunnagiamut (Sâk 1).

Sâk 1. Ottotik ilinganiKajunut Nunalimmi Itsasuanitanik Suliangujuk iluani Taggami Labradorimi

Community/ Local Organization	**Researcher/Institution**	**Publications**
Torngâsok Cultural Centre	Stephen Loring/Smithsonian	Loring 1998
Torngâsok Cultural Centre	Melanie Cabak/University of South Carolina	Cabak 1991
Makkovik	Stephen Loring/Smithsonian; Leah Rosenmeier/Brown University	Loring and Rosenmeier 2000; 2001; 2005
Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik	Jamie Brake/Nunatsiavut Government	Brake 2012; 2013
Makkovik	Henry Cary/Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador	Cary 2004

Taimanganit 2014, ilonnait Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanik katimatsuaKattasimajut ilautitsiKattasimavut angijumik uKâlautisijauKattatluni pitjutigillugu PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigejut ammalu suliaKaKatigejangit suliatsanit. Nalunallungituk, tainna katimatsuanik sakKititsisimajuk pimmagittunik pivitsanik ilautitsigiamut akungani nunalimmiunik ammalu KaujisattiuKattajunut, katimaKataugunnatunut

atautsimit nunalimmit ilinniagiamut pitjutigillugit kajusiutigijauKattasimajunut ammalu apomautigijauKattajunut iluani asinginni nunalinni, Kaujima-Katigegiamut, pikKujaujunut nutânik suliagijaugajattunut, ammalu nalunaitsigiamut ikKanattunik pitjutaujunut sâpvigijaujunut nunak-Katigengitunut upvalu immigolingajunut nunaliujunut, ammalu ilauKataujut KaujititsigunnaKullugit utipvigillugit ammalu sakKititsigiamut nutânik Kaujititsiutinik Kaujisattaujunut pinianniujunut. SakKititslaummijut pivitsanik ilinniavimmejunut ammalu Kaujisattinut niuggugiamut nunakKatigengitumk ammalu ilinnialutik sunamikkiak Nunatsiavummit, inuKutinginnik, ammalu tugâgutigijanginnik. Nâjigiamut, pivitsaKalaummijut ullusiugiamut ammalu Kimiggugiamut atjiKangitumik piusigijaulautsimajunut ammalu ullumiulittuk pitagijanginnik taipsumunga nunalimmut ammalu takunnâluagiamut ilinganKaluattunut pigigialinginnik ammalu pigumajautsiatunut.

Nânningani, 15 itasaunitaliginimmut suliatsait ikajutsitaulauttut taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Ikajuttigejunut. Tamakkua suliatsait ilijaulauttut ilinganiKajumut isumagijaugalajunut nunalimmi itsasuanitanik suliagijaugajattunut (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Ikittut suliangujut pitâgijaulauttut ammalu aulatautlutik ilisimallagijunut itsasuanittaligijinnut (angijummagimmik ilisimallagijut sivulliutitautlutik) tigusilauttut ammalu ilinniatitsitlutik Inuit inosuttunik nunami sulia-Kagiattugiamut ammalu kamagunnagiamut atugunnalutillu Kimiggugiamut ammalu kamagunnagiamut ottugattaugiaKajunut ammalu ilautitsigiamut Nunatsiavut nunagijangit Kaujititsiniammata ammalu katimanialimmata nânningani atunik nalliuvinni. Asigiallait pigiasittausimajut aulataulualauttut Nunatsiavummiunut ammalu Nk itsasuanittaligijinginnut kamagiamut nokkujuKattasimajunut isumakkut ânniatausimajunut taikkutigona iluani suliaKapvini piusiKatlutk (Davies 2020; Yellowhorn 2006). Pigianniami, tânna itsasuanitanik suliangujuk Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-imi katalauttut nanikiak KikKagalangani pigumajaujunut, immaKâ, nalunalungituk pisimatluni Sillimanniup taijamik “hybrid practice” (2009) ikajuttigejunut itsasuanittaligijet Kaujisagiamut Kinugautigijausimajumut aulatauluatilluni Inuit nunagijanginnut, aulatsiKatigetillugit nunalimmut ammalu ilisimallagijunut sivukkatinginnut, ammalu suliagijautluni tamâgennut Inunnut ammalu ilisimallagijunut sakKitillugit isumakkut (Rankin et al. 2022).

Ilonnait suliangujut, isumagilunnagit Kanuk angitigijumik ilijausimagaluatlutik ammalu ilautitsisimagaluatlutik, unuttumaget puiguttausimalauttut. Atunik suliatsanut iliget sivullimi tunitsilauttut Kinugautimmik kenaujattâgumatlutik ikajuttigegiamut-pigiasititsilauttuk Suliatsanut Aulatsigiamut katimajinginnut (SAk) ilauttitsilauttut atjigengutlutik numarangit ilisimallagijunut ammalu Nunatsiavummiunik, ilautillugit inosuttut ammalu InutuKait (PiusituKat ammalu Asianottauvalliajut 2015). Tamâni suliatsait uKâlautigijaulauttut akuni ammalu illigijaujut tamâgennut

Inunnut ammalu ilisimallagijut uKâlaKatigetsialauttut. Kinugautet Kangaulimmat utittitauKattalauttut allaKattasimajunut sutaijajut tautsetauKattagiaKalaummata kamagiamut taikkununga isumâlotigijaujunut. Malitluni SAk kenaujait angittausimatlutik, suliatsait nottitauKattalauttut malitsiagaluammangâmmk kamagijauKattagiaKalaummata, angittausimagia-Katlutik taikkununga Nunatsiavut kavamakkut Kaujisattet UKautjigiajet katimattinginnut, ammalu pigunnautet taikkutigona Nk Itsasuanittaligijet SuliaKapvinganut. Atunik takkunangat katmajinnit pitâKattalauttut jâri tamât Kanuk pitsiasimammangâmmik allaKutinnik, tamâtsainak Kimiggutaunginnatlutik. Tânna ilonnasiammaginga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Ikajuttigejut sutaijajunik silatânimiunit Kimiggutaugia-Kasimajut, ilautillugit pimmagijaugiaKasimajumut SSHRC KikKanganelimmat Kimiggutaunimmut ammalu maggonut immigolingajunut katimajinnut Kimiggutautlutik taikkununga Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami-ikunut (ITK) (tânna sivullipângulauttuk pijagettautluni KikKanganelimmat ikajuttigennik sivungagut nuititaukKâgani ITK-ikut Nunatsualimâmi Tugâgutigijaujumut ilinganiKajunut Inuit Kaujisannimk). Tainna tullinga ITK Kimigguniammata nuititauniatluni upingasâmi 2022-imi.

Tânna itsasuanittanik suliangujut suliagijausimajut Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-mi pigiannimit tigujaulauttut nunalimmiunut Inuit Nunalet kavamakkunut ilangagijaulluni Nunatsavut kavamakkut 2014–2020 Niuggutuliginimmut Tugâgutinganut. Ukiungunialimmat 2011–2012-im, tainna Rigolet Piusigijaulautsimajunut katimajingit KaikKujilauttut nuti Nk Tullia Ministeringa Dave Lough ammalu Nk itsasuanittaligijinga Jamie Brake nunalimmogiamut uKâlautiKagiamut takunnajanginnik ilinganiattumut niuggutuliginimmut nunalimmi. KinugautiKalauttut ilautitsigiamut ullotillugu aullaKattagiamut umiakkut ammalu nunalimmi inuttatiuiKattajunut, ammalugiallak naittumik taikaneKattagiamut niuggugiattuKattajut atutillugit Rigolettimik akKutigijausongutilluni taikunga Mealy KakKasuanginnut Nunatsualimâmi SilakKijâpvinga (Akami-Uapishk^{u}-KakKasuak) atutillugit Kanuittusuatuinnanik pinianniujunik ullusiugutautillugit Inuit ilukkusingit ammalu tunitsigunnagiamut nunalimmi kenaujaliugutaugajattunik (Brake 2013; Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2022). Isumagisimajangit ilautitsilauttuk pivalliatitsigiamut attanik-kilometer takiniKajumut satjugiami pisupvimik pisimajumit mânnaluatsiak nunagijangank ammalu aijumut Double Mer Nuvunganut Itsasuanitanik inigijaujumut, tainna 18th century jâringita nunak aggatausongujuk ammalu sanattaugiallataulluni. Kinugauti-Kalaummijut itsasuanitanik Kaujisattaugiamut iningani ilinnialualiagiamut pitjutigillugit piusigijaulautsimajunut ammalu sakKigajakKotunut taimangasuanit piviannatunik iluani nunakKatigengitumi ilagiattaugajattumut tulligegettaminik niuggutuliginimmut pinianniujunut (Brake 2013). Tamakkua suliangujut âtitaulauttut Nk Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut uKâlautigijausonguniammata, taipsumani itsasuanittaligijik William Fitzhugh

pismajumit Smithsonian Institution ammalu Lisa Rankin pisimajumit MINL KaikKujausimalauttut ilauKataugiamut Kaujisajunut ammalu aggajunut, isumagillugit. Nunalet Kaujimattitaulauttut ammalugiallak pigiannimit Kaujisattausimajunut ammalu inet ottugattauliaKilauttut tapvainak (Brake 2013; Rankin 2014), tâvatuak suliangujuk pigiasittaulauttut ikajuttigetluni tunitsigeniammata taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Ikajuttigejunut jâringani 2015.

Hopedale-ik tunitsisimajangit taikkununga Nk Niuggutuligijet Tugâgutinga sivullimi asiangulauttuk ilingajumut pivalliataunninganik Kaujimajautsiagettumut Hopedale Misiunet Nunatsualimâmi Piusigijaulautsimajunut Ininganut, ikajuttigetlutik SilakKijâpviligijet Canadami (Nunatsiavut kavamanga 2014). Tâvatualli, tusaumakKâluni pitjutigillugit itsasuanitaligijauniattumut Rigolettimi taikani 2016 Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut, Hopedale KinugautiKalauttut itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut pivalliatitsigiallagiamut ottugautinik ilautitaugiamut iluani Canadami Pijagettausimangitumut Tulligegutingani ilingajumut silatsuami Taimangasuanet inigijaujunut. Pannaigutingit ptâgiaKalauttut itsasuanitanik aggagiamut iluani mânnaluatsiak nunagijaujumut, sanajausimajumut Kângani 16th–18th-jârigijausimajunut. Agvituk Inuit apviniattet nunagisimajanga (Bird 1945), ammalugiallak itsasuanitanik KimiggutaugiallagiaKalauttuk unuttumaginnut Inuit inigijausimajunut Kanitangani nunalimmik sakKititsigiamut pitagijanginnik ottugagunnagiamut. Rankin ammalu ilinniatamminik KaikKujaulauttut ikajugiamut tâpsuminga Kaujisannimik piggautigijaugasuajumut (Gaulton and Rankin 2018; Rankin and Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2022).

Tamannaugaluatluni tamammik suliangujut pigiasittaulauttut ammalu aulatauKatigettautlutik Inuit nunagijaujunut, pigiasilauttut piusituKannik itsasuanitanik tugâgutigijaujunut. Tamanna apomattaulauttuk tamâgennut nunalinnut ammalu itsasuanittaligijiujunut Kanukkiak mikilligiattisigiamut taikkununga tugâgutnnik tigumiagiamut pigumajaujunut taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvallajunut Ikajuttigejunut ilautitsigiamut, sakKititsigiamut ilisimallagijunit Kaujisagiamut, ilinganiKajunut PiusituKannik Kaujimajaugettunut, pitâvalliaKullugit Inuit nunagijangit, ammalu ikajutsigiamut pimmagittumik Inuit ilukkusingit takutauniattumut niuggutiliginimmut tugâgutiuijunut. Tamanna piusinga kajusiutigijaujuk ammalu malitluni atjigengitunik pigumajaujunut iluani maggonik nunaliujunut, isumagillugt atjigengitojunik iluani nunalet piusigilautsimajunut, ilukkuset ammalu KanuilingatsiaKonninga, nânninganik sakKititsiniatluni atjigengitunik pinianniujunut ammalu sivulliutitaugumajunut atunik nunaliujunut. (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Lyons 2013).

Tainna itsasunitaliginimmik Rigolettimi pigiasilauttuk ajunnatongitumik aggatlutik ammalu Kaujisatlutik nunalet inosuttungit tigujaulauttut

suliaKaKatiKagiamut itsasuanittaligijinnik nunami ammalu suliaKapvigijanginnik, tâvatuak sakKititsilauttuk apomautigijaujunut. SuliatsaluviniKalauttut itsasuanitanik, tâvatuak Rigolet mikijutuinnak nunalinga ikinnisanik inunnik 250-imit, ikittut inosuttut atuinnaulauttut suliaKagunnagamut atuinnaujunut ilauKataugiamut. Tamanna takujaulauttuk sangijumik nunalmmi taimangasuanit katimajinnut ikajulauttunut suliangujumik. Sivullipânganik jâringanik itsasuanitanik suliagijaujunut, taikkua Rigolettimi Taimangasuanit katimajingit sivulliutitsilauttut suliaKapvisaup initsanganik aggagunnagiamut iliget taikani taijamut Netloft Piulimatsivialungani—nunalimmi taimangasuanit illualunga ilaget pitaKalauttunut piusituKannik piulimatsiKattajunut oganniatet piKutinginnik—taikkua nunalimmiut takusonguniammata sakKisimajunut ullu tamât aggataujunit. Tainna Netloft ininga atuttausiasok ininga atajuk nunalet niuvipvinganut, sananguavik, inuttatinut itsavinga, ammalu umiannut imânopvinga. Ullu tamât, ilangit itsasuanitanik iliget ammaigiattuKattalauttut ukuanginnik taikani Netloft-ingani nunaliimmiunut salummasainialimmata ammalu allaKattalutik napvâjanginnik aggatausimajunit. Tapvainak pulâgiattauKattalaukKugut, ilangit ullu tamât tamâneKattatillugit. Piujualolauttuk ininga nunalimmiunit ammalu itsasuanittaliigijinnut KaujimaKatigetsiagiamut ammalu ilinniaKatigegunnagiamut asimminit, ammalu nunalimmiut nunalimmit tautsegiattugiamut Kaujimagettanginnik. Taimâk piusiKalluni, nunalimmit Kaujimajaugettut tigujaulauttuk itsasuanitank Kimiggugunnagiamut takuKatigennikut piKutivininnit, Kaujisattinut ammalu asigijanginnit. Atautsikut, Kaujisattet iligengit suliaKaKatiKatlutik Nunatsiavut SuliaKapvinganik Inositsiagittonimmut ammalu Inulimânut Pivalliatuligijiujunut atutillugit tânna Smithsonian Kaujisattet umianganik tigusigunnagiamut inosuttunik ammalu inutuKannik niuggugiattugiamut atuniKatsiatunut iniujunut aivigisongujanginnik imminik. Taimâk aullasimannik nigiugijaunginnalauttuk, tunitsijumut inositsiagittonimmik ammalu KanuittailikKulugit taikkua nunalimmiut, itsasuanittaligijet ilinniatillugit unuttumaginnik ilinganiKajunut Inuit inosinginnik iluani nunakKatigengitumi (Jolicoeur et al. 2016).

Kângivallialimmat, asigiallait piniannisait ilagiattaulauttut puttusivallagiamut nunalimmi tunitsiKullugit ammalu asianut nollutik ikKanajttunik kajusiutigijaugiaKanjunut nunalimmut. Ottotigllugu, ilinniavimmit pijagesimajuk Kayley Sherret suliaKaKatiKalauttuk nunalimmiunik annigusugiattugiamut itsasuanitanik piKutinik sanagiamut 3D Kimiggutaugiamut takugatsausonik iluani Netloft-imi. Tamanna angijualolauttuk, mânnaluatsiak Nk maligatsangit isumajâgutiKattalungitut taipsuminga Netloft-imik upvalu asigiallanik illualunnik Rigolettimi kamagijautsiagiamut ilijaumajunut katitsutaugunnagiamut. SuliaKaKatigilaummijavut sutaijajunut nunalimmi katimatluta sanagamut Kaujigatsanik nalunaikkutannik ilijaugiamut itsasuanittaligijet iniujunut

sakKititsigiamut tukisijaugajattunik ilinganiKaniattumut nunalimmi Kaujimajaugettunut. Inulimânut tusagatsaligijingit KaujimakKujijut suliagijaujunut nunalimmi ammalu ungatâni puiguttaulauttut itsasuanittaligijet suliaKattinginnut ammalu nunalimmi ilinniavimmejunut. Pigunnalippata, tigusilaukKugut ilisimallagijunik pivalliatitsigiamut itsasuanittanik suliagijaujunut. Birdseye Inc., Rigolettimit Inummut- nammnigijaujuk-ammalu-aulataujuk tingittitausot atjiliugutik kamapanik, tigujaulauttut sanagiamut takuminattunik takugatsanik ammalu 3D atuttausonik aggatausimajunut. Nânningani, ilauKataujut jâri tamât Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut pivitsaKattisisimajuk Rigolettimiunik namminiKagiamut "itsasuanitanik suliangujumik" uKâlaKatigennikut NunatsuavummiuKatinginnik pitjutigillugit Kaujijausimajunut ammalu sakKititsigiamut isumagijaugajattunut namut aigiamut suliagisimajangnnik. Ullumi itsasuanitanik suliangujuk Rigolettimi suli pijagettaugasuajuk aggatillugit malitsialutik Rigolettimi pigumajaujunut ilinganiKajunut niuggutuliginimmut ammalu unuluanik nunalik pijugiutigijanginnik ammalu atuKatigegiamut. Tâvatualli, suliangujuk unuttolungituk itsasuanitanik aggagiamut ammalu niuggutuliginimmut tugâgutigijaujunut iniKagiamut ammalu atuKatigegiamut ilukkusinginnik ammalu piusigijaulautsimajunut.

Ilinniasimalluni pitjutigillugu Rigolet itsasuanitanik suliangujunut taikkutigona Taimangasuanit katimatsuaKatigejunut, tainna nunalik Hopedale-imi Kaujititsilauttut taimâtsainak suliaKakKujijut pigiasititsigiamut ottugautinginnik ilautitsigiamut Canadami Pijagettausimangitumut Tulligegutinganut ilingajumut Silatsuami Taimangasuanit nalunaittaunitsanganut. Tainna ottugautik taijaujuk *Tânna Pingasut Jârilet Hopedale* sakKititsilauttuk pingasunik pimmagittunik ullosimajunut nunalimmi piusigijaulautsimajunut, ilautigillugit 16th–18th-jârigilautsimajanginnik Moraviap misiuningit ammalu ilinganiKajunut Inuit nunanga; ammalu ullumiulittuk inigijaulittunut Hopedale-imit maligaliattigut inigijaullagiujuk Nunatsiavummut. Itsasuanitaliginimmik Kinugautigijausimajuk Kaujigiamut sunait tamânekKomangâmmik sivullimi inigijaulautsimajumut Inuit nunanga attutausmajumut mânnaKammik nunalik piguvallialimmat. Kaujisannik atajuk Inuit nunanganut inuKalauttumut taipsumanitsanak suliagijaunialauttuk sakKititsigiamut nunakKatigengitumik pitagijanginnik. Nunammotaujut-sajuppalattisijuk takujaliutik Kinugautigijaulaummijuk iluanut Moraviap iluvipvinganut tainna siKumilauttuk âkKitaugunnangiumatluni. Hopedale Kaujimagelauttut takunnâtaujumut ilinganiKajunut Kaujimajaugettunut asianottausimajunut Rigolettimi ammalu taimaimmat Kinugautigijaulauttuk Kaujimajaugettunut tautseKatigegiamut akungani inosuttunut ammalu InutuKannut angijummagiulauttuk atuttausimajuk suliangujumut suliagijauguamatluni. Hopedale-imi, aulatsiKatigejut iliget pigiasilauttut atugajannitinik sutaijajunik kajusiuitigijautsiatunut tugâgutinnik pivalliasimajattinik Rigolettimi—piluattumik, atulluta suliaKapvitinnik sanagiamut pivitsanik Kaujimajaugettunik tautseKatigegiamut. Tânna

Hopedale Taimangasuanit katimajingit, Apvitok Sivumuak, sakKititsilauttut itsasuanitanik iliigenik atugunnagiamut suliaKapvinik Kimiggusonik initsamik iluani takuminattumik taimangasuanit misiunet illunganik iniKajumut ommatigijaujumut nunalimmik. Hopedale anginitsaumat Rigolettimit, inuKajumik Kanitangani 600-inik, unuttumaget inosuttut ottugalauttut uvattinik suliaKaKatiKagumatlutik. Tamannaugaluatluni, tukisinattolauttuk suliatsak pigiasimmat aujami 2017-imi âkKigiattaugia-Kalauttuk tugâgutinga atusimajattinik Rigolettim kajusitsiagunnagiamut nunalimmi suliangujumut Hopedale-imi nâmmaluattumut tamâgennut itsasuanitanut ammalu nunalimmi ilukkusigijanganut.

Ajunnalaummat, ikittut amiakkolaukKut taikani Agvituk nunangani aggagunnagiamut, ammalu umiannik atugunnagiamut nunakKatigengitumut aigiamut ininganut ammalu Kaujisattaugumajumut atuinnaunginnalaungitut. Ammalugiallak, tainna ammanginnalauttuk suliaKapvik iluani Moraviap Misiuningani pulâgiattausiaKattalaungituk, unuttumaget nunalimmiut uppiniKalaummata ininga ijuguKalaummat (Rankin et al. 2022; Rankin and Ramsden In Press). Taimaimmat, tânna Agvituk itsasuanitanik suliangujuk tapvainak sungiutigiaKalauttut nutânik sakKiKattasimajunut ammalu nalunaitsigasuagiamut nutânik atuttausonik angutigasuagiamut Hopedale-imi tugâgutigijaugumasimajunut. Taimâk pigiamut, atulaukKugut itsasuanitanik nutânik pinianniujunut ammalu tigusitluta itsasuanitanik piKutinginnik silatânut siliaKapvimit ammalu asianut notlugit nunalet ininganut, suli sakKititsitluta pivitsanik nunalinnut inosuttunut pijagegiamut suliatsaginiattanginnik, ilinnialuta inutuKannit, ammalu katitsuigiamut Kaujisattilagijinnit itsasuanitanik Kaujisimajanginnik ilinganiattumut atuttaujumut Tulligettitausimajop ottugautinginnut.

Sivullipânganik jâringani, iligek Dr. Laura Kelvin suliaKaKatiKalauttuk ilinniavimmejunik Kaujigiamut pigumajaujunut ammalu sunanik ilinniagumammangâmmik aujauniammat. Taikkua kajusiutiKalauttut katingaKatigetlutik apitsugiamut Hopedale-imi inutuKanginnik pitjutigillugit piusituKannik ilinganiKajunut ikittunut itsasuanitanik napvâsimajattinik, sollu piKutinik ilinganiKajunut pinasuannimik, mitsunik, Kajaliugiamut, ammalu Kimutsinik. Taikkua iliget suliaKaKatigelauttut pivalliatitsigiamut apitsotitsanik ammalu nalunaitsitlutik nunalimmi InutuKannik Kaujimagettunut pitjutigillugit atjgengitunik piusituKannik pinianniujunut. Tamakkua apitsutausimajut taggajâliuttaulauttut ammalu âkKisuttautlutik taikkununga ilinniavimmejunut sanagiamut naittunik taggajânnik. Tamanna atuttausimaniattiluni pingasunik jârinik, ammalu taikkua Agvituk Itsasuanitanik YouTube takujausok (https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCE7rjhJFWhVbnHqXC7ueqbA) atuttausimajuk takutitsigiamut taikkuninga takkajânik iluani nunalimmi. Tânna suliangujuk atuttauluasimalittuk Kaujimajaugettunik asianottisigiamut akungani inosuttunut ammalu InutuKannut ammalu nunalimmit takunnausigijaujunut sakKititsisimavuk akuni ikajuniattumut. Nalunalungilak, inosuttut ilauKatausimajuk suliatsanut

uKasimajut itlukkijâlualittut pulâgiagiattugiamut InutuKannik Kangatuinnak apitsugumalimmata pitjutigillugit piusigijaulautsimajunut ammalu ilukkusigijanginnut ammalu InutuKait suli takutitsigiKattavut pijugiutigijanginnik inosuttojunut pigiasititsilauttunut tâpsuminga ilinniagamut pitjutigillugit piusituKagisimajanginnik. (Rankin et al. 2022).

Taimâtsainak ilisilaugivugut atjigijanganik ilinniatausimajunut aullaKattaniammata Kanittumut iniujunut. KaujimaKattalaungilagut Kanuittunik piKutivinannik napvâKattanialaummangâtta taikkuningat Kaujisattaujunut, taimaimmat ilagillugit itsasuanitanik napvâsimajattinik sanalaukKugut asigiallanik piusituKannik pinianniujunut, sollu paungatagiak, taimâk ilonnait ilinniasonguniammata katingaKatigetillugit ammalu ilinniagunnagiamut nunamelimmata. Tânna piusituKannik itsasuanitanik suli ammalu inosuttut ilauKataujut aggagiamut, GPR, ammalu suliaKapvimi suliagijaugialet, tâvatuak aippagijauvuk kamagiamut Kaujimajaugettunik tautseKatgegiamut ikajulauttumut sanagunnagiamut. Rigolettimilli, allatausimajut pisimajumit Agvituk Itsasuanitanik suliangujumit atuKatigettaulauttuk taikkununga Taimangasuanit katimatsualauttunut, Kangaulimmat nunalimmit inosuttut sivukkatiuKattalauttuKaujititsiutinni. Iluani Hopedaleimi, suna pigiasititsisimajuk piusituKannik itsasuanitanik suliangujut manna atuttauKattalittuk nunalimmi KanuittailikKunagit ammalu ilukkusinnik kajusiutiKagiamut (Rankin et al. 2022).

KanimmasiKalaummat Covid-19 silatsuamut siammasimajumut, nallengit ukunangat Rigolet upvalu Hopedale suliangujunut nâmmangitumik nâjisimajut, ammalu suliatsak suli suliagijaugiallagiaKakKotuk atautsigiallamut nalliuvmmut. Ammalugiallak, tainna silatsuamut siammasijuk nukKatitsilauttuk 2020 Taimangasuanit katimatsuagiamut. Tamannausimmat, ukua uKâla-Katigennik pigiasittaulauttut 2021 Taimangasuanit katimatsuaniammata Nainimi, ammalu suli aujauniammata taikkua allasimajut sukkaitumik katigunnasimaniammata ammalu uKâlaKatigillugit sakKisimajunk itsasuanitanik ikajuttigejunut. Tânna ikKanattoninga iligenimmik pivalliasimajuk – tamâgennut Kaujisattinut ammalu nunalimmiunut – takutsauvuk uKâlaKatiKaniagatta, pimmagiummat suli ikajuttigegiamut.

“Kanga Itsasuniattaligijet Utilâtton?”: Tânna UKausikkut uKâlaKatigennik

> *ImmaKâ ikKanattumagiuvuk tamannauluattuk unuttualunnik ilisimagatta ilonnanginnik nunalimmit Kanuilingatsiamangât itsasuanittaliginik. Inosuttut ilautillugt, ammalu InutuKait ilautillugit, pivitsaKattisiluattuk iilonnanginnik piuntsamik nakutsagiamut atunik ilonnanginnik, ammalu unuttualunnik ilinniasimavugut pitjutigillugu sivulliviniusimajut. ImmaKa ikKanattumagik.* (Joan Andersen, Makkovik)

Joan Andersen, uKâlattik taikani White Elephant Piulimapvivialungani Makkovimmi ammalu tainna pigiasititsisimajuk taipsuminga Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut, uppiniKajuk itsasuanitanik suliangujut ilinganiKajut nunalimmi piujumik attuisot Nunatsiavummi. Joan takugiulautsimajuk itsasuanittaliginimmut ilauKataulautsimagami sivungani maggunut pigiannimi nunalimmi itsasuanitanik suliagijaulautsimajut nânningani 1990-inik ammalu pigiannimi 2000-ini Makkovimmi taikkuninga nunalet inosuttunut (Cary 2004; Loring and Rosenmeier 2000). Atautsik tâkkunangat suliangujunut, takunnâluatlutik nutaungutigijumik 18th jâringnnit Inuit ukiumi inigijaulautsimajumut taikani Adlavik Kikittanginni (Loring and Rosenmeier 2000; 2001), ilautitsituinnalaungituk nunalet inosuttunginnik nunami ungatânik sutaijajunut jârini tâvatuak sakKititsilauttuk pivitsanik ilauKataugiamut katimatsuajunut, Kimiggugiamut piulimatsivialunni katitsutausimajunut, ammalu takuKatigellugit ilisimallagijut itsasuanittanut ammalu asigiallanik Kaujisattiujunut. Tamannausimmat, tamakkua atuttausimajut sakKititsiliaKilauttuk Kanuttugutinnimik itsasuanittaliginimmut sakKititsiniattumik ilanginnik nunalimmi ilinnavimmejunut ilinniagiamut ilinniavitsuami. Allât, allasimajut ammalu mânnaluatsak Nk Itsasuanittaligijinga Lena Onalik pijagesimajut atautsimik taimattusainamik suliagijausimajumut. Joan imminik atusimajanga taikkununga itsasuanittanik suliangujunut tunitsilauttuk pigumaliaKigiamut pivalliatitsigiamut jâri tamât Taimangasuant katimatsuatitsigiamut taimaimmat Nunatsiavummiut pivitsaKasonguniammata ilinniagiamut piusigijaulautsimajunut.

Joan uKasimajuk tamammik katimatsuasimajut ammalu ikajuttigesimajuk angilligiattisisimajuk Kaujimagettanginnik itsasuanittaliginimmut ammalu sakKititsisimajuk pivitsanik katimaKati-Kagiamut asinginnik Kaujisattinik, sollu William Fitzhugh ammalu Lisa Rankin. Suliagijausimangikaluatluni Makkovimmi taikkununga PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Ikajuttigejunut, 'ilinnialuni pitjutigillugit suliagijaujunut Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-imi taikani Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut sakKititsisimajut Makkovimmiunut KaujimaKatigeKattalttunut taipsumunga Rankin-imut pitjutigillugit suliagijaugajakKotunut GPR atutillugit Kaujisannimik iluani nunalimmi jârini Kaijuni. Isumagisimajait innaminuattausimajuk asinginnut allaKattajunut. Marjorie Flowers, AngajukKâk Hopedale Inuit Nunalet kavamangan ammalu iligengujut taikkununga Agvituk itsasuanittaligijet suliangujut aulatsijingit, uKasimavut "tainna katimatsuanik piujosimavuk Kaujigiangit ammalu asigiallait suliagijaujunut asinginni nunaliujunut ammalu sakKititsilaummijuk isumagijaugajakKotunut sunait suliagijaugajakKomangâmmik Hopedale-imi" ammalu itsasuanittaliginimmut ilinniasimajuk pitjutigillugit katimatsua-Kattajunik kiggatusimajuk ikKaumajamminik Inuit atautsiatlutik iniKasimajut nanituinnak Nunatsiavummi ammalu nunagijausimangituinnatunut ullumiulittuk: "Tânna itsasuanitaliginik ikajuKattajuk Kaujigiamut

Kaujimajaungitunik akungani mânnaluatsiak nunagjaulittunut. Kaujimavugut inigisimajavut, ammalu itsasuanattiliginnik inet omappata taimaimmat uvagullu." Jack ammalu Inez Shiwak, atâtak ammalu panigek Rigolettimit ilauKatausimajut aulatsigiamut Rigolettimi Itsasuanittank suliangujumut, taimâtsainak nittugelauttuk taipsumunga Taimangasuanit katimatsua-Kattajunut imâk "takuKattagiamut nutânik inunnik, Kaujigiamut pitjutigillugit suliatsanik ammalu kenaujattâvnik, ammalu katiutillutik ilinniagiamut ammalu ikajuttigegamut ammalu nakit pisimammangâmmik. " Jack, manna 70-inik jâriKalittuk, ilisitsisimalauttuk itsasuanittaliginnik atuttaugajattuk ilinniagiamut piusigijaulautsimajunut tamannauluattuk "apigilautsimalungimata atâtakkunginnik ammalu atâtsiakunginnik nâmmatunik apitsotinnik." Nicholas Flowers, tainna Nunatsiavut UKausiliginimmut Suliangujunut nunalimmi suliaKattik ammalu inosuttunut ilauKataujuk iluani Agvituk Itsasuanittaliginimmut Suliangujumut, ilauKataugiulauttuk sivullipânganik Taimangasuanit katimatsualauttunut 2018-imi angajukKângillu ammalu anânatsanga, taikani tatamiliaKilauttut itsasuanittanik taipsumaniulauttuk." "Ilinnialuni pitjutigillugit itsasuanittanik suliangujunut taikkutigona Taimangasuanit katimatsuajunut attuilauttuk uvannik kajusiutiKagiamut pitjutigillugit sivullivinigilautsimajaganik, itsasuanittaliginituinnaungitumut tâvatuak InutuKannegalagiamut ammalu ilinnialuni Inuttut—itsasuanitaliginimmut unulualik itsasuanituinnaungitumik napvâgamut piKutivininnik; uvattinulli, pitjutiKajuk utittisivalliagiamut piKutivinannik, uvattinut, utittisivallagiamut ataKatigennimik, utittisivalliagiamut piusituKannik."

UKâlaKatigeniagatta tukisinatsialauttuk, tâvatualli, unuttumaget allasimajut (tamâget nunalimmiut ammalu itsasuanittaligijet) tukisitsialaungitut takunnâtaujumut ikajuttigennimik tugâgutinginnik sivullimi Kinugauti-Kaniammata itsasuanitanik suliangujunut suliagijaugasuajunut taikkutigona PiusituKannik ammalu Asianottauvalliajunut ammalu immaKâ Kaujimalugani tamakkua itsasuanitanik suliangujut sakKititsiluagiaKasimajut Kaujisattaugia-Kajunut. David Igloliorte, uKâlattik taipsumunga Apvitok Sivumuak katimajinnut Hopedale-imi ammalu iliget taikkununga Agvituk Itsasuanittaliginimut suliangujumut aulatsijet iligenut, isumaKalauttut "itsasuanittaliginimmut suliagijauKattajuk aiviuttausiagunnangitunut iniujunut taikkununga itsasuanittaligijinnut taikkua 'namminilet' Kaujisattaujumut iniujumut." "IsumaKalaungitullonet itsasuanittaligijet KanuttogutiKasmajut paitsigiamut iniujunik. Aggatuinnasimagasugijakka, tâvatuak manna pitjutiKajuk isumagijaujunut nunalimmiunut ammalu uvattinik ikajugiamut piulitsigiamut ammalu atuKatgegamut ilukkusigijanginnik." Joan ammalu Marjorie tamammik taisilauttut tânna "nunalinnut Kaujimatitsinik sulijugijautsiatuk ammalu ikKanattovuk" ammalu "piujolauttuk apigittaugiamut pigajammangâmmik ammalu isumagijakkanik." Inez uKalauttuk tainna "PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut pigiasilauttuk

ikajugiamut pisupvitâgiamut itsasuanitanik suliatsanik pigiasititsigiamut, tâvatuak ikajungâsimajuk nunalimmik nalunaitsisiagiamut isumagijaujumut nalunaitsigiamut ammalu uvattinik ippiniattisisimajuk pijugiutiKagamut iluani taimangasuaniusimajunut." Atâtanga, Jack, piuitsalaummijuk Kaujimagettanginnik atuttausimalaummat iluani itsasuanitanik tukisititsiKattalaugami "KaujigatsaKavugut pitjutigillugit piusigilautsimajattink ammalu KaujimalualikKugut sivulliviniusimajunut Kaujisattinit nunalinnejunut ikittunik woginut." Taipsumungali Nicholas, ilauKatausimajumut itsasuanitank sivungani tainna Agvituk suliangujumut, "tainna suliak taimâtsainak pivitsaKattisilauttuk ammalu takugunnagiamik Kaujigatsanik ilinniagiamut ammalu tukisigunnagiamut kinakkolaummangâmmik ammalu nakit pisimammangâtta. SakKititsilauttuk pivitsamik atuKatigegiamut ammalu sanagiamut ikKaumaniattanik ammalu unikkausiliugiamut taikkununga itsasuanittaligijiujunut, nunalik, InutuKait, ammalu sivullivinivut manna uvattinik atautiKajunut ammalu uvattinik pijugititsijuk, atuKatigesongulittavuttinik sugusittinut."

Isumagillugit sakKisimajut maggonit itsasuanittaliginimmut suliagijausimajunut, Joan taisisimajuk "tainna Hopedale itsasuanitanik taggajât atuniKatsialauttut ilinniatitsigiamut atuttausok" ammalu una "tânna nunalet inosuttungit suliatsaluviniKalauttut itsasuanitanik suliatsanut – tautseKatigelauttunut InutuKannut ammalu inosuttunut ikKanattomimmat. Tamanna nunalik itsasuanitanik." Taisilaummijuk pivitsagijaujunut nunalimmiunut niuggugiamut suliagijaujunut inet aggaliippata ammalu katitsutaujunut ammalu Kaujititsiutet tukiKatsiatunut itsasuanitanik allaKutinnik. Marjorie taisijuk " Kanuk pijugiutiKalauttut nunalik Hopedale takugiamut ilinniavimmejunut suliaKaKatigejunut ammalu InutuKait pijugijunik inosuttut ilinniamata piusituKannik." Inez taisilauttuk "piujualolauttuk takugiamut itsasuanittaligijet ilinniavilajunut." Jack uKatilluni itsasuanitanik KanuttogutitsiliaKilauttuk sugusinik ilinnialuagumajunut ilukkusigijanginnik ullumiulittuk." Inez nakutasaulaummijuk tainna 3D nenitsijumik piKutivinannik: "Piujolauttuk piulimatsisiasongugatta ammalu atuKatigellugit nunalimmi ammalu taikkununga niugguKattajunut, ammalugiallak nunalimmit tusalauttut." Taimâtsainak nannituinnak atjigengitosongummijut isumagijaujut pitjutigillugit inigijauKattajunik ammalu tunitsiKattajunut itsasuanitanik iluani Nunatsiavummi, tâvatuak akunga katiKatigelauttunut ilonnait taisilauttut Kanuk Kuviasutsiamagilauttunut tunitsigunnagiamut ammalu nunalimmit Kaujimagiamut ilangagijaugiamut suliagijaujunut.

Ilonnait takugumammijut PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut upvalu ikajuttigejunut kajusiutigijaugiamut. Jack apiginginnalauttuk "Kanga itsasuanittaligijet utilâtton?" ammalu ilonnait uKanginnalauttut suli suliatsaluviniKavuk. Takuminattuk, taijaulaungituk Niuiggutiliginimmut Tugâgutet pitagijanginnik. Nunagijavut allatet takunnâmijut itsasuanitanik

ilingajumut Nunatsiavummiunut. Jack uKajuk "suli ilinnialuvinigialik," David taisitilluni itsasuanittaliginik suliatsait atuniKatsiatut " asiujiliaKiligatta iniujunut silak asianguvallialimmat." Joan taisijuk piusigijautsiatuk ilinganiKajumut ilonnanginnik pinianniujunut ammalu Kanuk "KaujigatsaluviniKavuk namut aigiamut nunalimmiut pigumajanginnik ilauKatauliaKigumajanginnik, ammalu Kanuk piujogajanninganik ikajuttigegajappata Kaujisannik kajusigajanninganik."

Sutaijajut allatet uKasimajut sunait pijagettaugajammangâmmik nutâmik ikajuttigennikut. Inez takugumajuk itsasuanitanik suliatsanik angilligiattautillugit ungatâni inosuttunut ammalu InutuKannut ammalu "sakKititsiluallutik pivitsanik KikKanginni kinguvânejunut ilinniagiamut ilukkusigijanginnik ammalu piusigijaulautsimajunut." Jack ippiniammijuk itsasuanitanik suliatsait "piujulovuk pivitsak ilautitsigiamut inosuttunut sukkuKajunut nalunaikkutanut suliangujunut." David isumâlotiKajuk asiujigiamut Inuit ininginnik silamut asianguvalliajumut, ammalu Joan takugumajuk uvagut suliaKaKatigegiamut pivalliatitsigiamut piulimatsiviugajattumik "katanganammat piKutivinâluit aullatitaugia-KaKattamata silatânut nunakKatigengitumut." Nicholas isumaKajuk "tânna kingullimik piniannigijaugiamut sanagiallagiamut – illusuanillonet upvalu Kajannik – sakKititsivallianiammat pivitsaluanik suliaKaKatigigunnagiangit Kaujimajaugettunik tigumiagettunut ammalu utittilugit piusituKait." Ilonnait angiutijuk nunalik itsasuanitanik sivuppiagutigijaugajattunik atjigengujunik tunitsilutik ammalu Kaujimajaugettunik atuKatigellutk anginitsak 'aggatuinnalugani'- mânnaluatsiak, utakKinittinik, Jack uKajuk "Kangakiak ullumi sugusivut kamangâlâttut."

UKâlaKatigennik ammalu Nâjinnik

Tânna PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik Ikajuttigejut pigiasittaulauttuk ikajugiamut Nunatsiavut nunagijanginnik kamagiamut taimangasuaniujunik isumâlotigijaujunut sivullimi taijaulautsimajumut jâri tamât Nunatsiavut Taimangasuant katimatsualauttunut. Tanna katimatsuanik sakKititsilaummijuk pivitsanik ikajuttigegunnagiamut ilauKataujunut uKâlaKatiKagiamut aulatsinimmik, aulatsinik, ammalu taikkununga sakKijunut ikajujunut suliagjaujunut (ilautillugit itsasuanittaliginimmik), kamagiamut Nunatsiavummi isumâlotigijaujunut, ammalu kamatsiagiamut ikajotinnik sivuppianittinik. Tâvatuak nunalimmi itsasuanittanik anginitsauvuk aulatsituinnanginimmut ammalu aulatsigiamut, ammalu ilangani tugâgutet taikkuangutuinnaulungituk âkKisuijannik. Kaujisimavugut *ommatilluasiak* nunalet itsasuanitanik najuttiKangituinnatuk ammalu tigumianninganik Inuit nunagijanginnik. PitaKalungilak malittausomik pijagegiamut tâpsuminga tugâgutimmik; atunik taijaujut suliatsait malijut atjigengitumik akKutimmik. Tânna Rigolet Itsasuanitanik Suliangujuk

pigiasilautsimajuk piusituKannik aggagiamut kamagunnagiamut niuggutuliginimmut pigumajaujunut tâvatuak aninniuliaKisimajuk nunalimmi itsasuanitanik suliatsanut, taikkua itsasuanittaligijet ammalu nunalimmiiut KaujimaKatigeliaKisimajut. Tânna Agvituk Itsasuanitanik Suliangujuk Hopedale-mi pigiasittaulautsimajuk tukisinatsiatumik nunalimmi tugâgutiKatlutik atugiamut itsasuanittaliginimmut taimangasuanit atautiKagiamut inosuttunik ammalu InutuKannik. Sulijumut, nallet suliangujut suliliaKilautut nunalimmi itsasuanitank pitaKalaungipata asiangujunut Kângivallianinganik. Suliagijavut ikajulauttuk angijualummik pitaKalaummata sutaijaujunut jârinik kenaujanik, aittuilauttumut tamâgennik itsasuanittaligijinnut ammalu nunalimmiunik nâmmatumik pivitsamik pivalliatitsituinnalugatik iligennimk sulitsiatumik tâvatuak anginitsamik tukisigiamut itsasuanittanik piusigijanginnik ammalu nunalet ilukkusinginnik. Tamanna pivitsaKattisisimajuk uvattinik ilinninagiamut Kanuk piunitsamik suliaKaKatigegunnagiamut ammalu suliagigasuallugit tugâgutet akuni nunalimmik attuiniattumut. Nunatsiavut jâri tamât Taimangasuanit katimatsuanet atuniKatsialauttuk tâpsuminga piusitsamk ammalu pivitsaKattisisimajuk ilonnainik – piluattumik nunalinnut – pivitsamik uKâlaKatiKagiamut pitjutigillugit ammalu Kimiggugiamut kajusiutigijaujaunut ilinganiKajunut itsasuanittanik suliagijaujunut ilagillugit takunnâsimajunut jâriKatigijanginnut ammalugiallak uKagunnatillugit Nunatsiavummiut taimangasuanitanik suliaKattet ammalu InutuKait pisimajunit asinginnit nunalinnit. TammagajakKunga pikKujigumi tânna piusik ajunnatosimangituk. Ilangani, kajusiutigijaujut akuneKattasimajuk ammalu uKâlaKatigennik ajunnatoKattasimajuk, tâvatuak ilonnait pigumatsialauttut suliaKaKatigegiamut sanagiamut sunamikkiak illinattumik. Tamannausimangipat jâri tamât katimatsuanik, ikinninsait pijagettaugajasimajut Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-mi, ammalu nalunalungituk tânna suliangujut suliagijaugajasimajuk isumaKatillugit pigunnanginimmik.

kingullipâmik katimalauttut ilonnait PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut Kaujisannik ikajuttigejunut sakKilauttuk Octobera 25th ammalu 26th, 2021 ungatâni 80 ilauKatautillugit (kiggatuttiKaluatlutk Nunatsiavummit) kiggatulauttunut KaujitsiutiKatlutik nâjisiutinik atjigengitunik Kaujisattausimajunut suliangujunut. Tânna sakKilauttuk tukisinatsialauttuk ullusiugutigijautluni ilingatuinnalugani sunait pijagettausimajunut tâvatuak *Kanuk suliagijausimammangâmmik.* Nunalimmiut uKâlaKatiKatsiagumalauttut illinattonnganik Kaujisagiamut KaujimatitsiKattagiamut ammalu angittaugiaKajunut ammalu ikajotinnik nunalimmi-ilinganiKajunut Kaujisannik suliangujut tainna ininga atjigegialet kajusiutiliulippata, Kaujimajaugettunik KaujimatitsiKattanik, ammalu ilukkusinnik utittisivallanik. Taikkua ilisimallagijut ilauKataujut Kaujisattet piutsalauttut Kanuk tamakkua nutât akKutitsait taikkununga nunalet Kaujisattaujunut piguvalliatitsilauttuk namminik Kaujimanialittanginnik.

Tamannaugaluatluni ilitagitlugit kajusiutigisimajavut, tukisinalaukKuk suli unuttumaget suli suliagijaugialet.

Suliangujut nâjikasâlimmata, tusagatsait sakKivallialangavut suliagijausimjunut sukkajumik sakKivalliatillugit. Tamannaumat, apitsotet pitjutiKajunut namminijaujunut ammalu atjigengujumut pejauvalliagialet kamagijaugiaKajut. Tânna aulatsiKatigennik iliget ilinganiKajunut tamâgennik Rigolet ammalu tânna Agvituk Itsasuanittaliginimmut suliangujut tapvainak kajusiutiliulauttut ilautillugit piusituKait ilisimallagijut tusagatsaliuttaugialet ammalu allatausimagialet tamannauluattuk uppiniKalaummata taikkua allaKutet anginitsamik tugâgutiKammata ilinganiKajumut niuggutuliginimmut pigumajaujunut. Tâvatualli, tânna piniannik tusagatsaliugiamut ottugattautuinnalauttuk suliangutluni taikkununga inosuttunut ammalu InutuKannut tukisinatsialaungituk. Ottotigillugu, Lena Onalik sâpviKalauttuk apitsotiluvininnik pitjutigillugit tusagatsaliuttaujunut nunait atingita ilinganiKajunut atautsimut inosuttumut/InutuKak suliangujunut Hopdale-imi, isumagillugu mânnaluatsiak PiustuKait Kaujimajaugettut atuttaugunnatilluni pivalliatitsigiamut kampaniujunut. Pijagevallialigatta tamakkuninga sakKivalliajunut pitjutaujunut, tânna Rigolet ammalu Hopedale iligengit pigiasisimavut ikajuttigegiamut allatillugit tusagatsanik Kangatuinnak pigunnalippata takutitsigiamut sunait pijagettaugajakKomangâmmik suliaKaKatigelippata. KittaingaluakKugut atuKatigegiamut ikinnisanik piusituKannik ilinganiKajunut suliaKaKatigesimajattnik – sollu ammailugit suliaKapvivut ammalu YouTube takutsauKattajunut pivalliatausimajunut kamagasuatsianiagatta inosuttut, InutuKait ammalu itsasuanittaligijet ilonnangit pivitsaKasimagiamut ilinniaKatigegiamut asimminit – ammalu attuisimatsiasimajuk namut aigiamut ilinganiKajumut itsasuanittanik suliagijaugiaKajunut (takullugu, ottotik, Edmunds et al. 2019; Flowers et al. 2018; Kelvin et al. 2020; Rankin et al. 2022).

Asiagut kingullipânganik jâringani pijagegiamut suliatsamik upalungatttaulauttuk siammasimalaummat silatsuami Kanimmasik, sivunitsanga itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut Rigolettimi ammalu Hopedale-mi suli nalunavuk, utakKinittinik. SuliaKasimakkâluni sutaijajunik jârinik pivalliatitsigiamut iligenimmik, katanganattovuk ammalu ilangani kangunattuk isumaKagiamut tamakkut ikajuttigennik nâjilânninganik. Tâvatualli, tamakkua nunalet suliatsaluviniKavut isumagijanginnik pigiasigumajanginnik ammalu KanuttogutiKavugut tânna PiusituKait ammalu Asianottauvalliajut, upvalu atjikasânga, kajusilânninganik. Silak Asianguvallianinga ammalu pivalliataujut Nunatsiavut piKutivinait piulimatsivitsak ikKanalualittuk pitjutautluni taikani Taimangasuanit katimatsuaKattajunut, taimanganit ikajuttigeliaKiniammata. Tamakkuninga pitjutaujunut kamagiamut ilangagijaugajattuk sivunittini nunalimmi itsasuanitanik ikajuttigegiamut. MânnaKammik, ilangit uvagut tunijausimagaluatluta SSHRC pivalliatitsigiamut tuniggusianik Kaujisagiamut

nunalimmi-ilinganKajunut tugâgutitsanik utittisigiamut itsasuanitanik katitsutausimajunut Nunatsiavummut. Una nalunalungituk itsasuanittaligijet ammalu nunalimmiut ippinialualittut atanimmik asimminut sivunganinit ikajuttigeliaKikKâgatat. Nicholas uKasimammat, "atuKatigesimavugut ammalu sanatluta ikKaumaniattanik tamannauluattuk itsasuanitaliginimmit" ammalu "duvaugt manna atuKatigegajakKugut unikkausinnik jâriKatittinut ammalu ilagijattinut." Tamakkua ilisimajavut nalunalungituk attuisimajuk Kanuk piniannikaKattamangâmmik itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut sivunittini. Ilingajumut Nunatsiavummiunut, tamanna tukiKattisijuk anginitsaminik imminik-pigumagiamut sanagiamut Kaujimatsialuta kajusiutiliugiamut pitjutigillugit itsasuanitanik Kaujisagiamut, Kanuk Kaujisannik suliagijauniakKomangâmmik, sunait tugâgutigijauniammangâmmik, ammalu kinakkut ilauKatauniammangâmmik. Nakutsavugut, tânna Nunatsiavut Taimangasuanit katimatsuanet suli sakKititsiKattavuk initsamik kajusiutiliugiamut kamagijausongutillugit.

Ilitagijaugialet

Nakummegumavugut ilonnait ilinniavimmejunut, InutuKait, ammalu ilaget ikajusimajunut tânna PiusituKait Asianottauvalliajut suliangujunut iluani nunagijanginnik. Nakummegiallavugut taikkununga âkKisuijinik KaikKujismammata ilauKataugunnagiamut tapvani ikKanattumik inigijaujunut ammalu maggonut silatânimiunik Kimiggusimajunut pivitsaKasimajunut suliatsagijanginnik ikajugunnagiamut sanagiamut piunitsamik alakkasâjammik.

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Recension d’ouvrage
Book Review

Scottie, Joan, Warren Bernauer et Jack Hicks, 2022. *I will Live for Both of Us. A History of Colonialism, Uranium Mining, and Inuit Resistance*. Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press.

Recension d'ouvrage par **Pascale Laneuville**[i]

Bien que cet ouvrage soit le fruit d'un travail collectif mené par trois auteurs, il est rédigé à la première personne du singulier afin de mettre de l'avant la perspective de la collaboratrice inuit, Joan Scottie, une aînée inuk, chasseuse et activiste du Nunavut. Warren Bernauer est chercheur post-doctoral au Natural Resources Institute ainsi qu'au département de l'Environnement et de la géographie de l'Université du Manitoba. Jack Hicks est professeur adjoint au département de Santé communautaire et d'épidémiologie du Collège de médecine de l'Université de Saskatchewan. Il a également travaillé pour des organisations inuit pendant plus de 30 ans.

L'ouvrage présente l'histoire d'une lutte menée par des groupes inuit contre l'industrie de l'uranium dans la région du Kivalliq (anciennement nommé Keewatin) au Nunavut, et plus particulièrement de la victoire remportée à deux reprises contre le projet situé sur le site de Kiggavik. Cette histoire, essentiellement politique, prend comme trame narrative la vie de Joan Scottie, son engagement, sa vision ainsi que sa compréhension des évènements. Joan a travaillé et œuvré au sein de plusieurs instances gouvernementales, à la fois locales et territoriales, et d'organisations non gouvernementales. Le récit se fonde donc sur ses expériences, ses souvenirs, sur les témoignages qu'elle a recueillis auprès d'aînés et sur une documentation amassée à travers les années. Il est également appuyé par des informations, des documents et des données collectés par les deux co-auteurs.

Le combat de Joan contre l'industrie de l'uranium est d'abord une bataille pour la survie du mode de vie des Inuit de sa région qui est fondé sur la chasse au caribou ; il est donc aussi une bataille pour la protection des caribous. Joan est originaire de Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), où vivent

i. Chaire de recherche Sentinelle Nord sur les relations avec les sociétés inuit, Université Laval. pascale.laneuville.1@ulaval.ca

aujourd'hui les descendants de groupes familiaux autrefois surnommés les « Inuit du caribou » (Birket-Smith 1929 ; Rasmussen 1927 ; 1930), ou encore les « Inland Inuit » (Mannik 1990).

En documentant le mouvement anti-uranium au Nunavut, Joan souhaite d'une part démontrer que les Inuit n'ont pas toujours été passifs devant les politiques gouvernementales et l'industrie minière. Bien que, dans l'histoire coloniale, la majorité des Inuit se soit sentie intimidée, apeurée et inférieure vis-à-vis des non-Inuit (état d'être traduit par le terme *ilirahungniq*, en inuktitut), en se mobilisant et en osant dire « non », les Inuit ont la capacité de s'imposer et de faire valoir leurs droits. D'autre part, tout au long de l'ouvrage, Joan partage sa grande déception à l'égard des organisations gouvernementales inuit qui ont été créées par l'Accord du Nunavut en 1999. Alors qu'elle espérait que l'autodétermination des Nunavummiut permette l'implantation de règlements et de politiques en accord avec leurs valeurs et leurs règles traditionnelles, elle dénonce le fait que le gouvernement du Nunavut et les organisations représentatives inuit n'aient jamais fait de l'environnement et de la protection du caribou une priorité. Ces derniers auraient plutôt adopté une position favorable à l'industrie minière dès leur création. Joan souligne à ce sujet le conflit d'intérêt dans lequel sont placées ces organisations ; bien qu'elles aient le devoir de défendre les Inuit, elles tirent de grands avantages financiers en accordant des permis d'exploration et d'exploitation sur les terres qui leur ont été accordées.

Dans le premier chapitre, Joan retrace son enfance dans un campement près du lac Ferguson. Un petit camp minier s'y trouvait déjà à l'époque et son père y avait obtenu un emploi. En raison de ses préférences pour les activités traditionnellement masculines, Joan raconte avoir été élevée comme un garçon, apprenant à chasser et à voyager sur le territoire. Elle se rappelle par ailleurs que les filles et les femmes inuit étaient parfois maltraitées et opprimées dans le passé. La petite sœur de Joan est décédée étant bébé, dans des circonstances encore nébuleuses pour Joan. Elle dédit d'ailleurs son combat et son ouvrage à elle, comme le démontre le titre : « Je vivrai pour nous deux » (traduction libre). Dans le second chapitre, Joan raconte comment le gouvernement canadien a commencé à intervenir auprès des groupes inuit à la suite de la Deuxième guerre mondiale. Les agents du gouvernement ont alors fortement incité les Inuit à s'établir dans les communautés permanentes. Selon Joan, c'est le processus de sédentarisation qui a rendu les Inuit dépendant du gouvernement puisque, dans les villages, les *Qallunaat* détenaient toutes les positions d'autorité.

Le troisième chapitre retrace la première vague d'exploration minière dans la région et le début d'une forte mobilisation communautaire et régionale. Les Inuit constatent déjà que les activités minières provoquent un changement des routes migratoires des caribous. Suivant un projet de documentation de l'usage et de l'occupation du territoire ainsi qu'une étude

sur les impacts des activités minières sur la faune et la chasse, le gouvernement impose des restrictions saisonnières sur les activités d'exploration. Au chapitre 4, Joan expose la première bataille menée contre le projet de mine d'uranium Kiggavik. Cette bataille mobilise des organisations inuit à tous les niveaux, du local à l'international. La victoire est en grande partie redevable au travail du Baker Lake Concerned Citizens Committee, formé par Joan dans le but d'informer la population sur les risques de l'exploitation de l'uranium, et de la Northern Anti-Uranium Coalition (NAUC), une nouvelle entité régionale qui regroupe des organisations inuit et d'autres groupes de la région du Kivallik. Lors d'un référendum municipal, la population de Qamani'tuaq vote à 90% contre le projet.

Au chapitre 5, le Gouvernement du Nunavut est créé. En 2010, la mine d'or de Meadowbank, située près de Qamani'tuaq, entre en phase d'exploitation après un processus de révision environnementale mené par les nouvelles instances de co gestion. Selon Joan, ce sont les non-Inuit demeurant à l'extérieur du territoire qui retirent les plus grands bénéfices de cette mine. À l'image de leurs relations avec le gouvernement, les Inuit se sentent intimidés en face des compagnies minières et n'osent pas les contredire, figurant une nouvelle forme de colonialisme. Par ailleurs, selon Joan, les compagnies ne démontrent pas une réelle volonté à protéger les caribous. En somme, elle n'a pas plus confiance envers les compagnies minières qu'envers le gouvernement fédéral et les organisations représentatives inuit. Au chapitre 6, nous voyons le retour de l'industrie de l'uranium au Nunavut. Une nouvelle organisation inuit non gouvernementale nommée Nunavummiut Makitagunarningit («The people of Nunavut can rise up», surnommé «Makita») est créée afin de favoriser un débat public sur le sujet et de pousser le gouvernement à revoir sa position en mettant en place une enquête publique.

C'est au chapitre 7 que le projet Kiggavik refait surface. Makita et l'Association des chasseurs et trappeurs de Baker Lake participent aux processus de révision environnementale et réussissent à freiner le projet. Malgré cette victoire, Joan affirme que le processus de révision ne favorise en rien la participation des citoyens et n'adresse pas les réels enjeux qui préoccupent la communauté. En somme, il n'est ni démocratique, ni suffisamment critique. Au chapitre 8, Joan relate d'autres combats menés pour la protection du caribou, la plupart étant liés à l'industrie minière. Elle déplore le fait que les compagnies ne respectent pas les mesures de protections mises en place. En conclusion, Joan rappelle son constat : l'Accord du Nunavut n'a pas permis de protéger les valeurs et les traditions inuit en lien avec le caribou. Elles réitèrent aussi quelques leçons tirées de son expérience, tel que la pertinence de s'allier avec des activistes non inuit pour mener cette lutte.

Cet ouvrage s'adresse à toute personne intéressée par les politiques environnementales et minières. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir des connaissances très approfondies sur l'histoire politique de la région, sur les sociétés inuit, ni sur l'industrie minière, puisque les éléments de contexte sont présentés et le contenu, bien vulgarisé. L'ouvrage a le mérite de proposer une histoire originale et très critique. Il est en effet peu fréquent que l'histoire nous soit racontée par une voix autochtone, une voix fort assumée de surcroit. L'ouvrage est donc le résultat d'un exercice de décolonisation de l'histoire écrite (Delâge 2012).

Cependant, si l'histoire racontée part de l'expérience première, elle est aussi située et en quelque sorte biaisée par le parti pris des auteurs. Nous pouvons à juste titre nous demander si le point de vue affirmé de l'auteure inuit est représentatif de sa communauté. Par exemple, il est étonnant qu'aucune référence ne soit faite à une étude menée en 2011 à propos des points de vue plus variés de plusieurs chasseurs de Qamani'tuaq vis-à-vis de la mine de Meadowbank et de celle de Kiggavik (Laneuville 2013; 2014). Joan fait cependant part d'une certaine introspection en mentionnant les critiques exprimées à son égard et en reconnaissant son caractère frondeur, peu commun au reste de sa société. Enfin, nous nous devons ici de saluer le travail remarquable de co rédaction de l'ouvrage qui a certainement nécessité du temps, de la patience et une persévérance hors du commun.

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