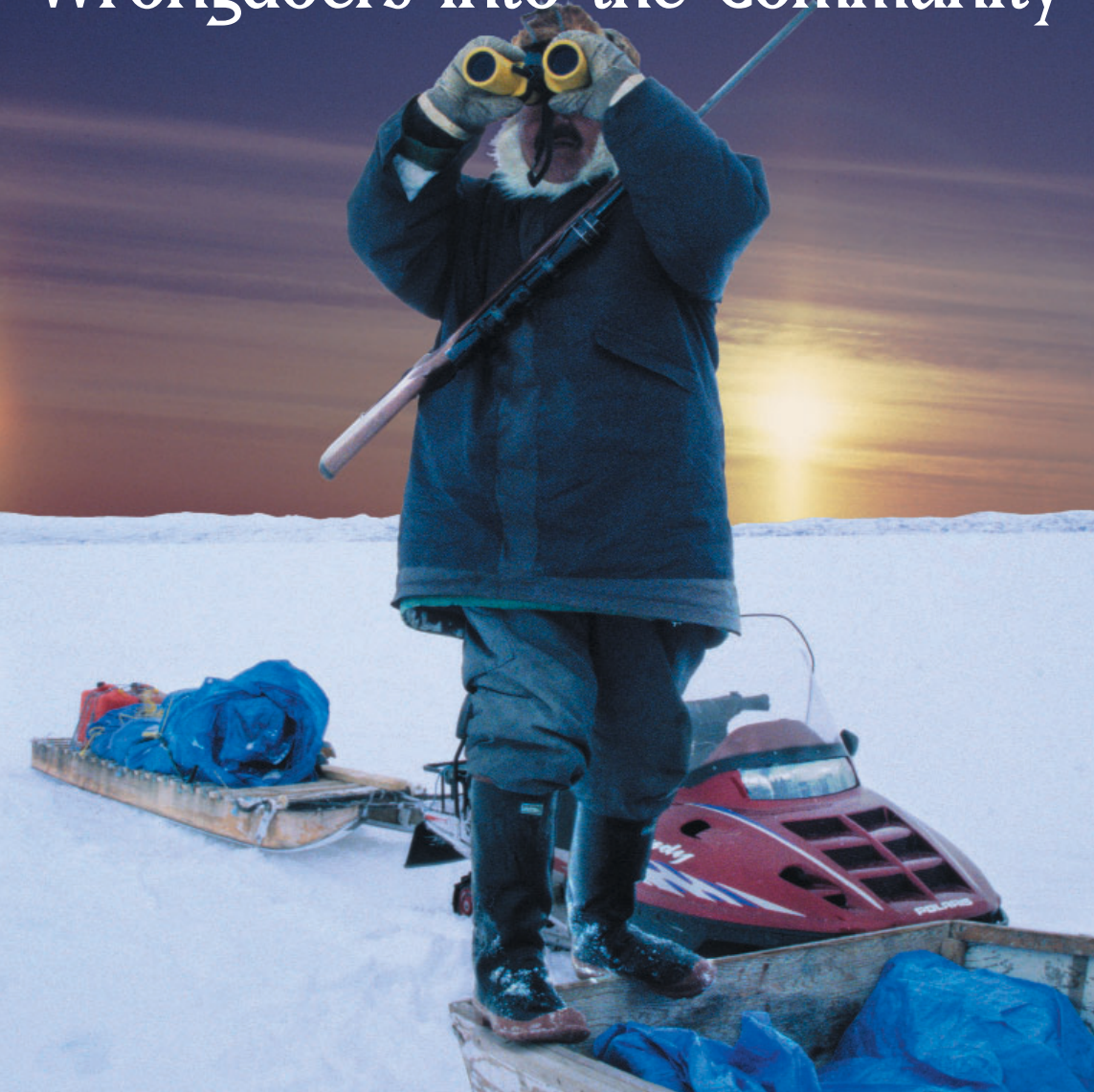


INUIT PERSPECTIVES ON THE 20TH CENTURY

# Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Shamanism and Reintegrating Wrongdoers into the Community



Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Peter Suvaksuiq, Felix Pisuk, Pujuat Tapaqti,  
Levi Iluittuq, Luke Nulijuk, Ollie Itinnuaq, Jose Angutinngurniq

Edited by Jarich Oosten & Frédéric Laugrand



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ON THE 20TH CENTURY

Volume 4

# Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: Shamanism and Reintegrating Wrongdoers into the Community



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Nunavut  
Arctic College

Mariano Aupilaarjuk, Peter Suvaksuq, Felix Pisuk, Pujuat Tapaqti, Levi Iluittuq,  
Luke Nuliajuk, Ollie Itinnuaq, Jose Angutinngurniq

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Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century

Volume 4

Inuit Qaujimagatuqangit: Shamanism and Reintegrating  
Wrongdoers into the Community

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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

In 2000, Susan Sammons from the Language and Culture Program at Nunavut Arctic College invited us to a meeting at her house with Alexina Kublu and Henry Kablaalik, to discuss the feasibility of a project on *angakkuuniq* and rehabilitating wrongdoers in Kangiq&iniq [Rankin Inlet]. When the idea was enthusiastically received by all participants, she took the initiative to submit a research proposal for funding and took care of its financial management and logistics. Without her, this project would never have been feasible.

Alexina Kublu consented to be the interpreter and translator for the project. Her great skill and experience were of great value to the project's success. She not only provided an excellent translation of the various dialects of the elders, but also crucial advice in the exploration of the touchy and sometimes even controversial subject of *angakkuuniq*. She also prepared the glossary for this book. Papatsi Kublu-Hill, took care of the transcription of the text.

Henry Kablaalik was responsible for the co-ordination and practical logistics of the project. He approached the elders, arranged their travelling and lodging, and took care of the provisions. He also contributed actively to the discussions in the workshop.

Ollie Itinnuaq and his wife Lizzy Itinnuaq hosted the workshop. Ollie renovated his cabin and spent much time and energy on the project. Lizzy took care of the cooking and our day-to-day needs during the workshop.

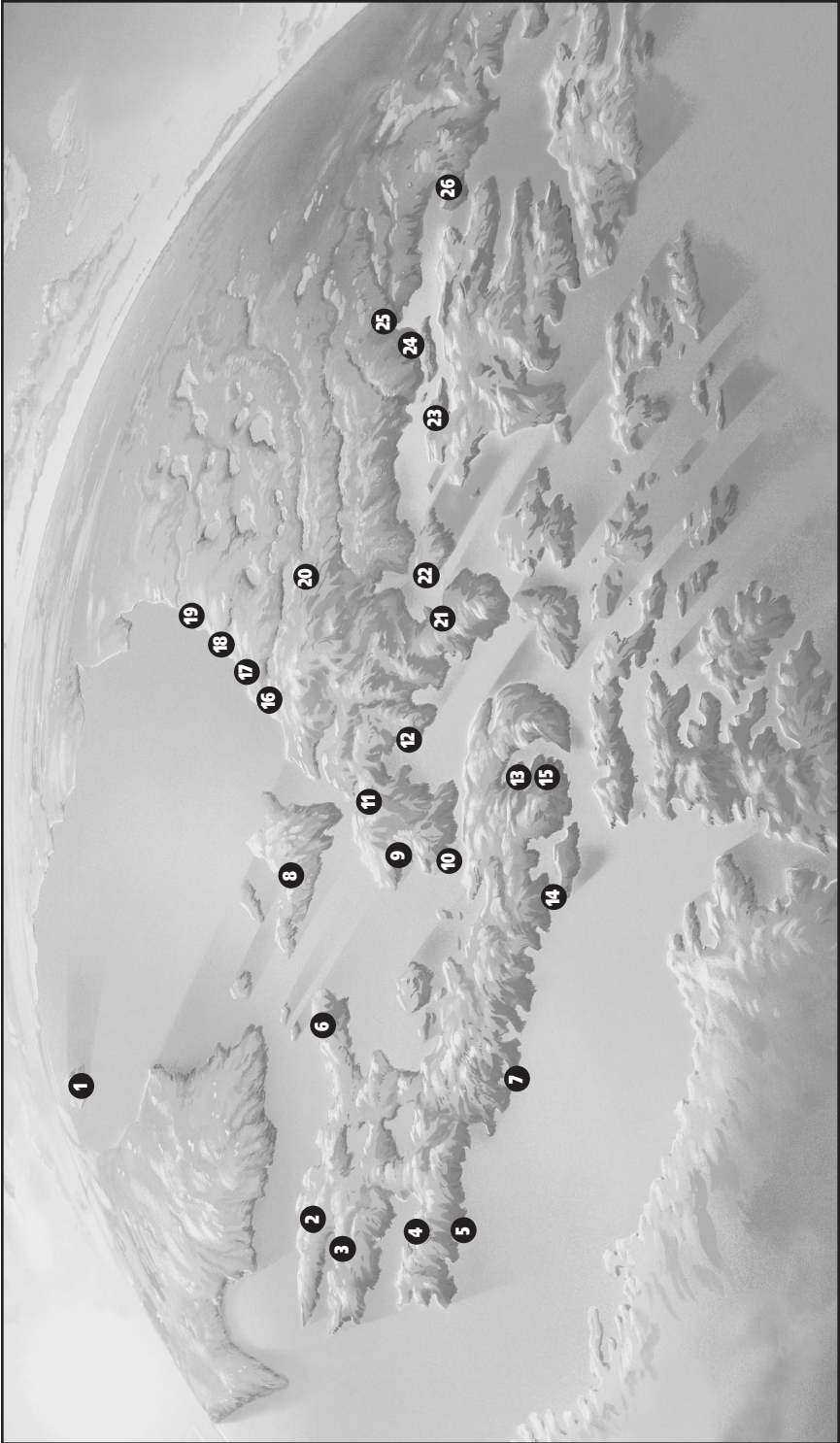
The eight elders participating in the project were Ollie Itinuar [Itinnuaq], Felix Pissuk [Pisuk], Mariano Aupilarjuk [Aupilarjuk] and Maryanne Pujuat Taparti [Tapaqti] from Kangiq&iniq, Peter Suwaksiork [Suvaksiuq] from Arviat, Luke Nuliajuk [Nuliajuk] from Uqsuqtuuq and Jose Angotigogniq [Angutinngurniq] and Levi Illuitok [Iluittuq] from Kuugaarruk. All spoke openly and freely about their experiences. They shared a strong commitment to convey the knowledge of the past to young Inuit and to use traditional wisdom to solve modern problems.

The Federal Department of Justice provided the funding for the workshop. We wish particularly to thank Scott Clarke, Mireille Provost and Chantal Marion from Justice Canada for their interest in and support of this project.

It was a great experience for all who participated and we trust that it will contribute to the transfer and use of Inuit knowledge in solving the social problems facing modern Inuit society.

Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand







<b>1</b>	ᐱᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Sanikiluaq	Sanikiluaq	Mittimatalik
<b>2</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Kimmirut	Kimmirut	Nanisivik
<b>3</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Iqaluit	Iqaluit	Igluligaariuk
<b>4</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Pangnirtung	Panniqtuq	Kangiq&iniq
<b>5</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Qikiqtaaluaq	Qikiqtaaluaq	Tikrarjuaq
<b>6</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Cape Dorset	Kimmigait	Arviat
<b>7</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Clyde River	Kangiqtuqaapik	Qamanittuaq
<b>8</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Coral Harbour	Salliq	Talurluaq
<b>9</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Hall Beach	Sanirajak	Uqsuqtuq
<b>10</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Igloolik	Iglulik	Iqaluktuittiaq
<b>11</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Repulse Bay	Nauyasat	Umingmaktuq
<b>12</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Pelly Bay / Arviligjuaq	Kuugaarruk	Kingauk
<b>13</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Arctic Bay	Tununirusiq	Qurluqtuq
<b>14</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Pond Inlet	Pond Inlet	Mittimatalik
<b>15</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Nanisivik	Nanisivik	Nanisivik
<b>16</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Chesterfield Inlet	Chesterfield Inlet	Igluligaariuk
<b>17</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Rankin Inlet	Rankin Inlet	Kangiq&iniq
<b>18</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Whale Cove	Whale Cove	Tikrarjuaq
<b>19</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Arviat	Arviat	Arviat
<b>20</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Baker Lake	Baker Lake	Qamanittuaq
<b>21</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Taloyoak	Taloyoak	Talurluaq
<b>22</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Gjoa Haven	Gjoa Haven	Uqsuqtuq
<b>23</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Cambridge Bay	Cambridge Bay	Iqaluktuittiaq
<b>24</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Bay Chimo	Bay Chimo	Umingmaktuq
<b>25</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Bathurst Inlet	Bathurst Inlet	Kingauk
<b>26</b>	ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ	Kugluktuk	Kugluktuk	Qurluqtuq



## Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit<sup>1</sup>

*“Qallunaat must have more understanding that there is a different way of acting. For us, justice was governed by elders and that was it. It is a relationship based on trust.”*

Francis Piugattug  
(In Livingstone 1993: 17)

### Inuit and *qallunaat*

Inuit and *qallunaat* have been in contact since Martin Frobisher explored the Arctic seas at the end of the sixteenth century. Explorers and missionaries assumed that contacts with Europeans and Americans would lead to the disappearance of Inuit and their culture. Thus the Moravian Brother Mathias Warmow (1858: 88 f.) wrote in 1858:

I am always sorry to see the Esquimaux wearing European clothes, and, in short, imitating the Europeans in all respects. They were undoubtedly better off in their original state and more likely to be gained for the kingdom of God. But when they begin to copy our mode of life, they are neither properly Europeans nor Esquimaux, and will speedily die out, in consequence of the change.

These predictions never materialized. Inuit integrated Western religion and technology, adapted to the Western market economy, and successfully managed to preserve their identity. Inuit have amply proved that they are perfectly capable of dealing with Western discourses while retaining and preserving their own cultural traditions. Today, the value placed on the past is changing and Inuit are claiming respect for their own cultural institutions, not only from Inuit, but also from *qallunaat*. Inuit emphasize that cultural institutions that were imported from the south can only function satisfactorily if their relations to Inuit institutions, customs and traditions are taken into account.

The Canadian law system was introduced from the south at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially with the assertion of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic and the Northwest regions<sup>2</sup>. Even before the 1920s, Canadian law intervened in occasions of famous murder cases such as the killings of Rouvière and Le Roux in the Western Arctic, and Robert Janes in the East. Although Canadian law is now a generally accepted

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institution in the North, Inuit still perceive it as a *qallunaat* institution. *Images of Justice* by Dorothy Eber (1997) aptly illustrates the problems of applying Western principles of law to Inuit culture, in her description of a few famous cases in the fifties and sixties.

## **Inuit qaujimajatuqangit**

Nowadays, Inuit elders feel that their own perceptions of law deserve more attention. Emile Imaruittuq from Iglulik stated, "We should have used traditional practices when dealing with crimes." (In Oosten, Laugrand and Rasing 1999: 7) Mariano Aupilaarjuk from Kangiq&iniq acknowledged the usefulness of Inuit traditions of the past. "When I think about this, I wonder how we can solve the problem. I would like to look at the Inuit *maligait* that we had in the past and compare them with the laws we have today, so we could develop better laws for the future" (In Oosten, Laugrand & Rasing 1999: 13). Among the younger generation, the same feeling is present. Francis Piugattuq from Iglulik, for example, organized cross-cultural workshops for legal professionals in the Eastern Arctic, relying heavily on the input from Baffin elders. Susan Enuaraq from Iqaluit, a member of the Akitsiraq Law School Society, stated that although the creation of a southern law degree program was exciting, she still believed that were she to become a lawyer, she could offer an understanding of Inuit culture and society that a southerner could not (McKibbon 2000). Susan Enuaraq (1995: 261) is very well aware that many changes have occurred in the field of justice, "(In the past) [...] the power of the elders and shamans were intertwined together to form a very unique system of justice. For a long time this has been largely ignored. There is a movement now across Canada trying to utilize 'Aboriginal Justice'. Perhaps some of the traditional aspects of justice will make a comeback, but the Inuit culture will never be the way it was, even just sixty years ago."

Today, the Canadian court system is part of modern Inuit life. Modern Inuit culture is comprised of an uneasy alliance between Inuit and *qallunaat* traditions. Most Inuit today are bilingual, and immersed in both cultural traditions, whereas most *qallunaat* in the North are monolingual, and oriented mainly to *qallunaat* traditions. Obviously contemporary Inuit worldviews have been deeply influenced by *qallunaat* culture, but modern Inuit culture nevertheless preserves and retains important parts and values from the past.

While modern Inuit societies are still adapting themselves to the new lifestyles required by integration in a global economic market and life in much larger communities, they are affected by many social problems such as unemployment, drugs and alcohol, spousal abuse, and suicide (see the various reports and recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; see also Finkler 1976, 1982, 1985 and Griffith et al. 1995). Many Inuit feel that the modern justice system is inadequate in dealing with these major issues and wish to turn to Inuit tradition to solve these

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problems. At the Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit* workshop in September 1999, Jose Angutinnurniq stated, "If Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* is properly recorded, it will be very useful to Inuit and to Government" (p.11). Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit*, Inuit knowledge, has become a key concept in the quest for solutions to social and political problems, and Inuit as well as the Canadian Government accept that a better understanding and application of Inuit knowledge may contribute to solving social problems in the North.

But what is Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit*? The Working Group Presentations defined it as:

- The long practiced tradition of passing Inuit knowledge, values and teachings from the elders down to the younger generations.
- Inuit knowledge in all areas of life.
- A philosophy and a way of living and thinking that is difficult to put into a few words in a short period of time.
- The knowledge of wildlife, hunting techniques and an understanding of animal life, biology and migratory patterns.
- A knowledge of survival skills without the use of modern technology, such as, but not limited to, making clothing appropriate for the climate, how to make and use traditional tools and weapons, weather forecasting and navigation skills.
- A knowledge of traditional healing and counselling methods and a system of dealing with fellow Inuit who need help that is based on trust and love.
- An understanding of complex family relationships that is explained by Inuktitut kinship terminology. Every family member has a special word or term to explain his or her relationship to each other.
- A system of laws, values and consultations used before making important decisions that affect the community. (pp. 14-15)

In the interviews conducted at Nunavut Arctic College in the Oral Traditions projects, the dynamic aspect of Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* often came to the fore. Traditional knowledge is not static and not something abstract and separated from the context in which it is produced, but always related to the present. In this respect, it contrasts with the modern education system, which sets great value on the absorption of objectified knowledge. Elders repeatedly expressed their disappointment with the modern education system and wondered whether they had been wise in sending their children to these modern schools which taught nothing about Inuit life and values. They thought the schools played a part in alienating children from their roots (see Oosten and Laugrand 1999: 7). In the course of the interviews, the elders professed great interest in

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each other's comments. The point was not so much to come to a common opinion, but to come to an awareness of the existing variations. Variation is an essential characteristic of the knowledge of the elders. As each one has his or her own knowledge, it is absolutely essential that this knowledge is seen as related only to that particular elder. Once the source, more specifically the name of the elder, is lost, the knowledge loses its roots and becomes devoid of much value to most Inuit.

As traditional knowledge is not objectively given, but always produced in relational terms, we must remain aware of the context in which it is produced. In Inuit society, knowledge was always related to practise. That also pertains to the transmission of knowledge. There is no value in talking when it is not functional. In this perspective, Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* is not only a matter of content, but also of form. It implies an attitude to life, a way of speaking and interacting with other people.

Knowledge is only valuable if it is based on experience. That point was clearly made in the first volume of the Interviewing Inuit Elders Series:

The elders had no wish to speak about things of which they had no personal experience, but they wished to teach the students by giving an account of what they had heard and seen themselves. Thus Saullu Nakasuk, an elder from Panniqtuuq stated: "I am only telling you about what I have experienced. I am not going to tell you about anything I have not experienced. [...] Even if it is something I know about, if I have not experienced it, I am not going to tell about it." (In Oosten and Laugrand 1999: 5)

Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* is shaped in a process of communication, transferred from elders to the younger generation, as emphasized by the Working Group Presentations.

The acknowledgement of the importance of Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* implies a major shift in attitudes toward the value of Inuit culture, but we should not expect too much too quickly. The generation gap is great. Elders, *qallunaat* and young Inuit will all have to learn how to deal with the new value placed on Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit*. Procedures for teaching Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* will have to be developed and it will take time to build up experiences and ways of dealing with it. Disappointments cannot be avoided. There is a risk that the interpretation of Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* itself will become a major issue. Different parties may try to define it in terms of their own interests. It is essential that Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* preserves its open and dynamic nature. It takes shape in the interaction between the elders and the younger generation. Without the elders there is no Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit*, and all elders should be allowed to take part in its development.

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## Law and *maligait*

In 1954, Adamson Hoebel devoted the first chapter of *The Law of Primitive Man* to the Inuit and concluded that only “rudimentary law in a primitive anarchy” existed among the Inuit. Gert Van den Steenhoven did fieldwork among the Inuit of the Kivalliq district. He gave a systematic account of many cases of conflict (1955, 1956) and concluded (1962: 113) finally that the existence of some form of law among the Kivalliq Inuit could not be demonstrated. Van den Steenhoven was well aware that Inuit were perfectly capable of managing their own affairs and in the last chapter of his book he discussed the problem of keeping the peace, and examined some of the principles which served that purpose in Inuit communities. In many respects the importance of Van den Steenhoven’s pioneer study was never fully realized, and many scholars continued to search for some sort of legal system in Inuit societies which could be studied as an equivalent to the Western system of law (Rouland, 1979). Other researchers opted for an alternative strategy, either by studying a few social institutions<sup>3</sup>, or by focussing on ‘social control’ (Rasing, 1989, 1994). These categories are useful in applying Western theoretical perspectives to Inuit society, but they do not help us to understand the Inuit perspectives. Inuit leaders and elders did not see themselves as agents of law and order or social control (Oosten, Laugrand & Rasing 1999: 3).

Social norms and cosmic norms are difficult to separate in Inuit culture. Relations between the communities and the world around them are interdependent, as was already perceived by Hoebel. The issue was again raised by Wim Rasing in his study of *Order and Non-conformity in Iglulingmiut Social Process*. He concluded: “Iglulingmiut social norms, that is the norms that affected the interactions with other persons, were tied in with the norms pertaining to their dealings with nature. The acute, strong dependence on nature, animals in particular, had its pendant in the direct dependence on other people” (Rasing 1994: 269). Therefore studies of Inuit social norms should take their worldview into account. In this perspective we understand why Susan Enuaraq (1995) opened a paper on *Traditional Justice among the Inuit* with an account of the famous creation myth of the woman who did not want to get a husband and then married a dog. For Susan Enuaraq, a discussion of traditional law starts with a discussion of the origin of the cosmic order of the world. The woman who did not want to marry became the ancestress of different peoples as well as the mother of the sea game, illustrating that the relations between human beings on one side and between human beings and game on the other can not be separated. A social order that only aims for social control and does not involve the relationship to game and the spirits makes no sense to Inuit. In the interviews with the elders in the Oral Traditions project at Nunavut Arctic College, in Iqaluit, it was repeatedly emphasized that transgressions were not so much sanctioned by the community, as by spiritual ‘agencies’ such as the weather or game. Stingy people



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would catch less game. Sins would evoke bad weather. Transgressions would not only affect the offenders, but also their relatives and their descendants.

Elders, shamans and camp leaders all contributed to the preservation of social values. Many anthropologists of law (Pospisil 1964; Graburn 1969; Van den Steenhoven 1962) have stressed that there are many variations and even contradictions in the ways of preserving Inuit social order. Thus one should not look for a uniform system but for general principles that could be applied in a variety of ways. Shamans, elders, and camp leaders all played an important part in assuring that the social order as it was embedded in Inuit traditions (songs, tales and rituals, as well as social practices) was preserved.

*Maligait*, *piqujait* and *tirigusuusiit* refer to what had to be followed, done or not done in Inuit culture. Nowadays, these words are often used as equivalents to modern Western notions of law. In the process of translation, Western concepts as well as Inuit notions have changed. Western concepts acquired new connotations and meanings associated with the old Inuktitut words that are not always sufficiently acknowledged by Westerners. Old Inuktitut concepts became imbued with new meanings attached to Western concepts of law. The use of these translations tends to obscure that *maligait*, *piqujait* and *tirigusuusiit* on one side and notions such as law on the other, derive from completely different cultural perspectives. Thus *piqujaq* is translated as 'Inuit customary law'. This translation is useful in the context of the modern law system, but obviously 'customary law' is a Western concept that did not exist in Inuit society before the introduction of the Canadian system of law. The back translation of *piqujaq* is 'which is asked to be done (by somebody)' and its implicit meaning is 'which is asked by an authorized person to be done'. Therrien (In Brice-Bennet, 1997: 253) explains that *piqujaq* "is used as a general concept pertaining to the obligation to respect rules imposed within Inuit society. These rules are orally transmitted and not codified. Only authorized persons have the right to make rules. Rules most often taught by parents concern offering help to the family or the elders, and respect due to animals" (Brice-Bennet, 1997: 253). In this explanation we come much closer to the meaning of *piqujaq* than in the translation 'customary law' but even here it is difficult to avoid terms such as 'rules' and 'authorized persons' that suggest a much more formalized structure than actually existed in Inuit society. Elders had much authority and were highly respected, but no one was under any obligation to follow their advice. The term 'rule' suggests a general principle which is always applied, whereas the term *piqujaq* emphasized the importance of the relationship involved: people will comply with what people they respect ask from them. To understand how the principle worked we have to understand the social fabric of Inuit society (Oosten, Laugrand & Rasing 1999: 1-3).

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## Elders and shamans

From these perspectives, two courses on traditional law were set up in Iqaluit in 1997 and 1998. In both courses Inuit students interviewed elders from different regions of Nunavut. Mariano Aupilaarjuk and his wife Marie Tulimaaq from Kangiq&iniq, Akeeshoo Joamie from Iqaluit, and Emile Imaruittuq from Iglulik, were the elders in the first course. The elders in the second course were the late Lucassie Nutaraaluk from Iqaluit (originally from Kinngait), and Emile Imaruittuq.

The courses dealt with themes such as rules for dealing with nature (with animals in particular), rules for dealing with other people, rules for dealing with wrongdoers, and rules for dealing with the spiritual world, rules and values of family life (ownership, distribution, sharing), dealing with murder and the sanctions connected to it, the use of stories in guiding the behaviour of community members, and the role of elders, camp leaders and shamans in guiding people.

The elders were greatly concerned with contemporary social problems, notably among adolescents. They felt the need for a new synthesis of Inuit and Western culture. The elders were not so much interested in punishment as in the correction and integration of individuals into society. Each human being was considered to be potentially valuable to society. Only when a person proved unable or unwilling to reconsider his position and accept the guidance of elders, camp leaders or kinsmen, would he be dealt with very harshly. He could be killed, and often close kinsmen who had to accept the responsibility for getting rid of the unmanageable relative took care of the killing. There was not the intent to do justice to this person. The reason was the wish to protect the survival of the community and to prevent (further) killings (Oosten, Laugrand & Rasing 1999: 3).

Elders, shamans and camp leaders all had their own responsibilities in keeping the peace and settling conflicts within the camps. The elders had great authority. As Kim Kangok states in her essay for the law course, "The *Innatuqat* were known to have a powerful mind. So powerful that they were capable of changing one's future for good or bad." When they thought people were not behaving correctly they would counsel them, and their words carried great weight. The shamans were particularly important in cases of disease or when the relationship with game was disrupted. Aaju Peter states in her essay for the law course, "The *angakkuq* was not there to judge a person, neither was he there to set the laws. He was there to find out who had broken the *tirigusuusit* and get them to confess, but at the same time he held a lot of power since he could kill people with his *tuurnngaaq*." Finally, the camp leaders exercised considerable authority. In Aaju's words, "These great *angajuqqaat* who got their status through their abilities as great hunters, or a combination of both ability and birth right, held a lot of power. In a world where you depend totally on game you owe your life to persons who feed you."

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But if the camp leaders went astray, the elders would not hesitate to counsel them. (Oosten, Laugrand & Rasing 1999: 113)

The question of *angakkuuniq* (shamanism) came up frequently. It was quite clear that shamanism played an important part in the maintenance of social order in traditional Inuit society. The subject is controversial and even today many elders hesitate to discuss shamanism in public. At the same time the generation that still has vivid recollections of their experiences with shamanism is on the verge of disappearing. Victor Tungilik from Naujaat, Simon Shaimaijuk from Panniqtuuq, Lucassie Nutaraaluk from Iqaluit and Rosie Iqallijuq from Iglulik, who provided important information about the *angakkuit* and their *tuurngait*, died recently. Therefore it was with a sense of urgency that we approached Henry Kablaalik from Kangiq&iniq and Susan Sammons and Alexina Kublu from Nunavut Arctic College. After a few exploratory interviews with four elders in Kangiq&iniq in December 1999, we approached Scott Clarke and Mireille Provost from Justice Canada, with a proposal to further explore the relationship between shamanism and social control in order to chart the Inuit worldview that served as a framework for social norms.

## 1) The Kangiq&iniq Project

### *Main objectives*

The Kangiq&iniq project was set up in close consultation with Alexina Kublu and Henry Kablaalik. We used our experiences in the law course in Iqaluit and based the structure of the project on three basic assumptions:

Law did not exist in Inuit traditions as an abstract or autonomous body of knowledge that only needed to be recorded on tape to be available. Moral and social principles operating in the maintenance of social order varied in different contexts. Moreover, these principles varied in different areas and changed over the course of time. The elders themselves stressed the importance of the changes they had experienced since their childhood.

- The Inuit complex of norms, behaviours, beliefs and values is culturally structured but also very flexible and dynamic. Inuit assume that only useful or efficient traditions need to be transmitted to the next generation.
- An adequate understanding of Inuit practices and beliefs requires that principles of control by outside forces such as game, weather, ancestors and spirits be taken into account. In other words, there is a strong linkage between Inuit cosmology, values and social order.

On this basis three main objectives were identified:

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### ***Objective 1:***

To collect new data on shamanism and to explore more deeply the shamanic complex with the intention of grasping its implications for social control. In this respect we followed the suggestions from the NSDC (n.d.: 12). The first recommendation regarding Spirituality, Shamanism and Customary Law states: “Traditional Inuit laws, practices and beliefs, including those pertaining to spirituality and shamanism, need to be researched, recorded and shared. Customary laws of Inuit are not known or respected by government.”

### ***Objective 2:***

To apply a comparative perspective in order to identify the structural patterns that emerge beyond familial variations and cultural diversity, notably in regional variations. Therefore we were intent on recording the richness of Inuit traditions in their regional variations, avoiding discussions on their relative value and validity.

### ***Objective 3:***

To focus on the views of elders, even if they are sometimes of a controversial nature. Elders are passing away so quickly that the knowledge obtained from their personal experiences may be lost forever if it is not shared in time. Elders played a key role in the field of social control, in the shamanic context as well as within the process of Christianization before the introduction of a Western school system. Many elders share the views expressed by François Quassa (1995: 11), an elder from Iglulik (see also Inuit Cultural Institute, n.d.):

I was never to repeat what I had heard from the people I had visited. We had all kinds of guidelines to follow as children, and even the adults were given lectures if they broke the rules. The elders gathered together with the rule breaker and confronted him about his actions. They never just talked amongst themselves, they took the rule breaker and let him face the consequences, a stiff lecture. When the elders gathered to deal with someone who had done wrong, they made sure the person acknowledged their suggestions. If that person did not show any fear in his face, or he could not answer in any way, it was felt that the person was not going to listen to their suggestions or advice, and he would still do wrong. If he showed embarrassment by blushing, and acknowledged what was being said to him, then he was sure to be listening to what was being said to him, and that he had a chance to right whatever he had done wrong. The outcome was positive for this person, but one who did not show remorse

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was sure to repeat the same kind of behaviour. That is what I have heard. The elders were very helpful in this way. Today we have no such leaders. We are leaders only in our homes. Our leaders are the ones who are elected, with even younger people being our leaders nowadays. Elders are not respected now. What a pity! We respected our elders because they were very knowledgeable, and wiser; now we don't show respect for them.

Leadership has passed to a younger generation. Today, the elders often feel left out. They know they can still play an important role in modern Inuit society. There is a need for synthesis of old and new conceptions of leadership that takes the role of the elders as well as of the new leaders into account.

## 2) A new setting

To realize these goals and to keep a sharp focus on the subject, a closed-door workshop was held on the land outside the community of Kangiq&iniq from June 29 to July 6, 2000. Many elders in this area have recollections from the pre-Christian period. Henry Kablaalik, from Kangiq&iniq, agreed to act as co-ordinator of the project. Eight elders from different areas were selected: Ollie Itinnuaq, Felix Pisuk, Mariano Aupilaarjuk and Pujuat Tapaqti from Kangiq&iniq, Peter Suvaksiuq from Arviat, Luke Nuliajuk from Uqsuqtuuq, and Jose Angutinnurniq and Levi Iluittuq from Kuugaarruk. In addition to the elders, the two anthropologists acting as facilitators, and the co-ordinator of the project, Henry Kablaalik, Alexina Kublu and Lizzy Itinnuaq also played important roles. Alexina Kublu took care of the translation and interpretation. Her advice regarding the direction of discussions was often invaluable. Ollie's wife Lizzy Itinnuaq took care of the cooking and the social setting in which the food was served. She created an informal context of general well-being. In this atmosphere even sensitive subjects could be discussed quite openly. A session was also devoted to a demonstration of the *qilaniq* technique, and drum dances were performed.



*The camp.*

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The setting of the workshop was of great importance to its success or failure. It took place at Ollie Itinnuaq's camp. He spent much time, money and energy to prepare the workshop and rebuilt and adapted a cabin for that purpose. The meetings each day were held in this wooden cabin. Sessions took place during the day as well as the evening. Elders appreciated the format very much. Some elders taped the sessions themselves to preserve their own records. Collective activities such as games, and fishing helped to retain a good and relaxed atmosphere among the participants. The use of tapes and video was appreciated by the elders.

Interference from outsiders was another matter. Many visitors came to the camp, and they were welcome between the sessions. Elders and facilitators agreed that during the sessions outside interference should be kept to a minimum so that the concentration in the sessions would not be broken and the twelve participants would feel free to communicate their personal experiences. Not only did many visitors come to the camp, elders frequently went to the community to visit their relatives or communicate with their families.



*Alakannuaq with her grandmother Lizzie and grandfather Itinnuaq.*

The sensitivity of the topics selected generated some apprehension during the first days. The facilitators explained the main objectives of the workshop: preparing a report for the Department of Justice and recording the traditional knowledge of the elders so that it would become available to the younger generation. The facilitators emphasized that they wished to record the richness of the traditions, taking account of the great variety of traditions in Inuit culture. Initial uneasiness between elders, as well as between elders and facilitators was soon overcome. All the elders agreed on the objectives of the workshop and productive discussions involving all participants took place. All elders were willing to share personal experiences when they were convinced of their usefulness for younger Inuit generations.

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An important feature that contributed considerably to the success of the workshop was that most of these elders were related to each other. This facilitated a relaxed context, which allowed the elders to discuss difficult issues quite deeply relying on their own personal experiences. Elders involved themselves wholeheartedly in these issues. One of the elders, Levi Iluittuq, could only participate in part of the workshop as he was on his way to Yellowknife to be treated in the hospital. He was worried about his condition, and after the divination technique of *qilaniq* had been discussed by the elders, he asked to have it performed on him. After a lengthy discussion, all elders agreed to perform the ritual for Levi. The demonstration showed how *qilaniq* still may be performed as it was frequently done in the past. Descriptions of *qilaniq* go back as far as the 16th Century (cf. Frobisher's description of *qilaniq*). The ritual and the ensuing discussions clearly showed the strong commitment of the participants to the well-being and health of the one for whose benefit the ritual was performed. The elders still consider a health problem a consequence of past actions. The technique of *qilaniq*, like so many traditional Inuit healing practices, implied a "public confession" of wrongdoings. In these practices, a person was treated collectively, all participants helping the patient to bring out the wrongdoings that made him sick. The holistic and collective dynamics of the process contrast with *qallunaat* ways of treating illness as a private affair implying a confidential relationship between a doctor and his patient. Obviously this perception of the correction of individual wrongdoings as a collective community responsibility has major implications for the treatment of social problems. The interaction between the community and a wrongdoer was traditionally based on a shared commitment to prevent the community as a whole from suffering the consequences of an individual's action. It required a public confession as well as a shared effort by all members of the community to re-integrate the wrongdoer into society.

### ***Procedures adopted during the workshop***

Special procedures were developed to ensure that various sensitive topics could be discussed in the workshop in order to realize our main objectives. All procedures were discussed with the elders. The general procedure, well appreciated by the elders, was that all elders should be allowed all the time they needed to explain their points of view and give an account of their personal experiences with regard to a specific topic.

All interviews were taped and some sessions were recorded on video. At the beginning of the workshop, these procedures were discussed and approved by the elders. The elders were very much aware of the sensitivity of the issue of shamanism in the community. They emphasized that their words should not be taken out of context. They insisted on recording the *qilaniq* session on videotape as they thought it important



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that the correct way of performing the ritual was preserved for younger generations. In total, six hours of film were made of some of the sessions, the *qilaniq* performance and drum dancing.



*Workshop participants. Back row from left to right: Suvaksiuq, Aupilaarjuk, Pisuk, Itinnuaq, Angutinnurniq, Pujuat, Kablaalik, Iluittuq and Nuliajuk. Front Row: Frédéric Laugrand, and Alexina Kublu.*

Topics were first selected on the basis of shared interests and priorities. In this, Henry Kablaalik's help was indispensable. He prepared topics with elders and facilitators a few months in advance. Elders used this period to focus their minds on the topics and to think about them, while the facilitators prepared the topics on the basis of the existing literature and their experience in interviews, and in the oral tradition courses at Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit. Whereas general topics were planned in advance, each day special topics were selected for the various sessions on the basis of the flow of the interviews, the wishes of the participants and issues raised during previous sessions.



*Henry Kablaalik, Jarich Oosten and Alexina Kublu deep in thought.*

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For each session on a selected topic, at least two round-tables were proposed in which all elders in turn could present their experiences and views. After a few days, it was decided that the first speaker would change at every round. During the rounds the participants confined themselves to short comments or inquiries for more information. After each round more extensive discussions did take place in which all elders expressed their views.

During the session, the facilitators only asked questions to trigger the memories of the elders or to develop a few points of interest. The main goal was that the elders would discuss the issues themselves without too much interference. After a few sessions, interventions by the facilitators were hardly necessary. Alexina Kublu and Henry Kablaalik contributed significantly to the discussions.

### ***Angakkuuniq***

The meeting was set up on the assumption that a search for solutions to social problems in contemporary Inuit communities requires an adequate understanding of Inuit knowledge and traditions, particularly *angakkuuniq*, shamanism. Shamanism is a topic that has long been suppressed in Inuit society. The elders strongly felt that it was part of the essence of Inuit tradition. The topic inspired them very much and they were in favour of exploring various aspects of shamanism further. A wide range of topics on shamanism was discussed in the workshop, such as initiation, *qaumaniq* or shamanic enlightenment, *tuurngait* or helping spirits, and *irinaliutiit* or powerful words.



*Pisuk, and Pujuat listening to Suvaksiuq.*

All elders in the workshop had recollections of the practice of shamanism. They emphasized that they had never practiced shamanism and that they were Christians. They pointed out that shamanism had always played an important part in preserving social order. They stressed the need to retain what was useful from the shamanic

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tradition in modern society and were prepared to combine useful shamanic practices with their Christian beliefs. Itinnuaq stated:

Being an *angakkuq* can be helpful, just as prayer can be helpful. Both have their usefulness, both can work. The *angakkuuit* and the ministers both pursue good.

The elders were well aware that combining shamanic and Christian traditions is a controversial issue. They did not want to proceed too quickly and agreed that everything should be more deeply considered. Aupilaarjuk stated:

“We don’t want to bring back everything from the past, but we should bring back some things. We need to bring back the things that were good. I’m not trying to eradicate Christianity, but we need to put it together with the good aspects of *angakkuuniq* if we are to really follow the Inuit way of life.”

The elders also pointed out the inherent dangers of shamanism. In the past, there was also much fear because of shamans. Nuliajuk stated, “The *angakkuuit* would *tirliaq*, try to kill each other. They did not have to be together. They could see each other even if they weren’t in the same place.”

The elders emphasized the necessity of broadening the notions of right, order, and law, as they concern not only human beings but also animals and spirits. Thus animals are said to have *tarniit*, shades or souls, just like human beings. They can retaliate. Hunters have to respect animals and not abuse them. In the perspective of the elders, maintenance of the social order requires that relationships with animals and spirits are preserved and maintained in the correct way. This belief was essential to the shamanic traditions.

The elders agreed that people should stop considering shamanism as a diabolical or an objectionable practice, and acknowledge that it has been very useful and might still be very useful. They explained that it had been very powerful in the past; it allowed their ancestors to survive, and it could still be used in desperate situations. Elders explained that while you can hide things in a confession to the priest, you can’t do so with the *angakkuq*, because of his *qaumaniq* (enlightenment): Itinnuaq stated, “An *angakkuq* is capable of getting all wrongdoings out. It is a very heavy task, being an *angakkuq*.” Thus *angakkuuit* played an important role in discerning the causes of wrongdoings and setting out remedies to deal with them.

*Angakkuuit* also might play a part in preventing suicide. They disclosed bad things and thoughts and could heal and cure. Itinnuaq emphasized that the healing power of

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shamanism has to be acknowledged. He said, "Being an *angakkuq* does not shorten your life if you are trying to help others. An *angakkuq* needs to think, and to search for the right answers." The elders think shamanism and Christianity are, to some extent, compatible. While the ministers only try to heal the soul, the *angakkuit* also tries to heal the body.

The importance of shamanism for hunting was stressed. Shamans were important in preserving correct relations with animals and could procure game. The elders thought that *manilirijjutit*, incantations used to procure game, were compatible with Christianity.

If Inuit were to take recourse to shamanic traditions, they would have to do it selectively. Inuit should benefit from the good traditions from the past (such as the divination technique of *qilaniq*) but bad things such as *ilisiqsirniq* (hexing) or *isumalungniq* (bad thoughts) should be rejected. In fact, many elders still practiced *tirigusungniq* (abstaining from certain practices); no contact for a hunter with a menstruating woman, no eating of fish bones after a death, etc. These rules that were transmitted within families gave the elders a frame of reference in retaining the traditions of their parents and grandparents.

The beliefs and practices of shamanism reflect values with respect to people, animals, and the land. The importance of these values should be acknowledged. Itinnuaq stated, "We have been talking about following the Inuit way and leading good lives. Now that we have Nunavut, I think we need to get together more. The young people should hear more and more about these things." In this respect elders also share a responsibility. Itinnuaq went on to say, "Elders are also to blame because we are not talking to our young people as much anymore." Elders do not just envisage a return to the past and stressed the importance of keeping their religion. Itinnuaq emphasized, "When we have a belief, we don't change it, we hang on to it. We stay with it. I think we should tell our young people this."

Elders are very well aware of the complexity of the relationship between Inuit traditions and the exigencies of modern society. They know the younger generation faces different problems than they did. They do not claim to possess the keys to solve the problems of modern society. Angutinnugurniq stated emphatically: "I don't have any solutions to help people lead a good life." In the past, life seemed easier. The elders think that the prearranged marriages of the past provided a more stable marital life. When explaining these marriages Aupilaarjuk stated, "I think one thing that is different is that our way was paved for us. We were given a future spouse from the time we were children." Today, marriages may easily break up. Mixed marriages between *qallunaat* and Inuit contribute to the complexity of modern life. Suvaksuiq stated: "There are more and more relationships now between *qablunaat* and Inuit. It is hard to have the same

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understanding with them.” referring specifically to the numerous unions between *qallunaat* and Inuit who do not have the same way of thinking.

Whatever the solutions will be, all the elders agreed that passing traditional knowledge on to the younger generation was of great importance. Shamanic traditions should be preserved so that they could contribute to the health and well-being of the communities.

### 3) Findings and recommendations

The elders emphasized their gratitude for the request to share their knowledge. They stressed the importance of a close relationship between the preservation of knowledge and the maintenance of social order in the community. The elders’ comments, the dynamics of the workshop itself and the performance of the *qilaniq* ritual were very instructive in this respect. Three important structural principles that came up in the workshop should be highlighted:

- a) The importance of taking into account traditional ways of knowledge and experience pertaining to animals as well as spirits. The necessity of sharing experiences and bringing them out into the open should be particularly emphasized. Inuit collective confession was a key element in any healing process and the sharing of experiences is thought to be crucial to maintaining harmony and peace within the community.
- b) The importance of the involvement of all the members of the community in the process of consultation. Social problems concern the whole community, not only individuals. Both the offender and the victim have to be listened to. In dealing with wrongdoers the community has to find ways to prevent the community from falling apart and to reintegrate wrongdoers. The first responsibility should be with the community. In this perspective, the court system is perceived by the Inuit as an external agent. The community and the court system should have complementary responsibilities:
  - i) To give more space to Inuit views and community initiatives. Community justice committees should be strengthened and have more responsibilities in dealing with minor offences and domestic violence.
  - ii) In cases where the community can no longer deal with problems, and in cases of major offences, the court system has an essential role to play.

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- c) Elders feel that there is great continuity between the past and the present, tradition and modernity. Inuit have always known how to adapt to new contexts. They do not just want to go back to the traditions of the past, but they wish to apply Inuit traditions that have proven their value, in solving modern problems. They wish to integrate the good and useful traditions from the past into modern institutions. More specifically, they want to keep in touch with their traditions in order to incorporate Inuit values into the justice system to improve its effectiveness.

The elders emphasized the importance of five recommendations specifically:

- a) Imprisonment, any form of isolation of an individual, or taking a person out of the community as a punishment has a negative impact on the community itself as well as on the individual, especially from a long-term perspective. The elders believed that incarcerating an offender should be done as a last resort. Communication has to be developed and preserved as long as possible.
- b) Instead of isolating an individual, Inuit emphasize reconciliation, if necessary healing, and reintegration of that individual into the community. More programs should be developed to facilitate these processes. Youngsters should be involved in small groups in such meetings and be brought into contact with elders. Iluittuq stated, "When you take young people out hunting, you talk to them about what they should and should not do. You should not scold them when you are out there with them [...] You can teach them to do things, and give them skills. When you do this, it is much better for them." Young people should work with elders to help them to begin to think more, and to keep harmony in the family.
- c) Knowledge should be transferred from the elders to younger generations. Angutinngurniq stated, "We elders have not passed this knowledge on enough to our young people. If we started to talk to them about what we know, I think the number of offences would go down. We seem to have been hiding our knowledge. We have based this on our thinking that it conflicted with religion."
- d) Confessions should play a part in preventing wrongdoings and healing wrongdoers. Henry Kablaalik explained the relation between mind, soul and body, "If my mind is good, my soul will be as well. If my soul is more at ease, my body will be more relaxed." Itinnuaq stated, "I think it

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can be very uplifting to talk about one's wrongdoings. I don't think it's just your body that feels lighter; I think your *tarniq*, your soul, does as well. Your soul really feels the wrongdoings that your body has committed."

- e) The elders emphasized the importance of counselling. They think that both the accused and the victim should be involved in the consultation process. Reconciliation and integration of the wrongdoer in the community, not punishment, should be the main goal except for very serious offences. Itinnuaq stated, "Now there are justice committees but this is still a *qablunaat* way of doing things [...]. They don't really rely on the Inuit way." Elders would prefer that wrongdoers should not always have to go through the court system. Itinnuaq went on to say, "If it is not a serious offence, and the person could benefit by not going through the court system, then this would be better." In the past, in case of a serious incident, elders would get together and they would talk to the person so he could correct his behaviour.

The recommendations of the elders emphasize the close relationship between the community, game, spirits and land. The elders feel that they can play an important part in the process of preventing wrongdoing and integrating wrongdoers into the community again.

The elders are well aware of their limitations. They acknowledge that modern society demands new skills and different lifestyles. They are aware that their values are not necessarily those of the younger generation. In this perspective the discussion of the women's shelter was instructive. All elders opposed the establishment of such shelters as they thought them detrimental to family life. Yet, these shelters are part of modern life and they reflect new values and priorities in a changing modern society.

The elders are also aware that social and economic factors outside their control are at the root of many social and economic problems in modern Inuit society. It is obvious that economic development and the creation of jobs are essential to solve many of the social problems of modern communities in Nunavut.

Developing new strategies for dealing with social problems does not imply an uncritical application of traditional values to modern society. It implies a dialogue between tradition and modernity, elders and the younger generation.

The development of new programmes to prevent wrongdoings and integrate wrongdoers into the communities again will take much time. No immediate success can be expected. Communications between elders and the younger generation will unavoidably create misunderstandings and disappointments. Only by working on these



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programmes with patience and by building on earlier experiences can success be expected.

Acknowledging the values of Inuit culture and society will contribute to the building of a new pride in being Inuit and a new self-confidence in communities, where these qualities are too often lacking and too many young people feel useless.

The nature of Inuit knowledge is neither esoteric nor hidden. The fact that the workshop was set up in a cabin on the land does not mean that there was any intent to hide what was going on. The format was chosen to create a context that favoured open communication between the elders on difficult and controversial issues. At this stage, the elders were not yet willing to discuss all aspects of shamanism. They agreed to share experiences but only those that could be useful for the next generation. They insisted that all the results should be made public.

## **General recommendations**

At the end of the workshop, four recommendations were collectively suggested for the future:

### ***Recommendation 1***

When the elders looked at the good of both Christianity and *angakkuuniq*, they did not perceive any conflict but a common goal of helping people. In this perspective, knowledge on *angakkuuniq* should be passed on, not to replace Christianity but to be acknowledged for its value in the past. Specific knowledge that could be used in a bad way should not be made public but only be passed on to trustworthy persons in whom elders have complete confidence.

### ***Recommendation 2***

Elders should take their responsibilities seriously and should be more deeply involved in the passing on of Inuit knowledge and counselling wrongdoers. They emphasized that the court system constitutes a last resource and that the correction of wrongdoers should be as much as possible the responsibility of the community, especially of the elders. Elders stress that both parties in a conflict should be counselled. Talking to an elder, or going out on the land with him appear as crucial actions in this context. Instead of imprisoning individuals outside the community, which will make their return more difficult in the future, the elders prefer to concentrate on reintegrating wrongdoers immediately into the community. Therefore, land programs should be more developed as alternatives to jail. Wrongdoers should serve their sentences as much as possible not outside the community, but within it, not within the court system but outside of it. Skilled elders are considered the best persons to help the wrongdoer to deal with the

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consequences of his actions. Inuit elders emphasize advice, love, care, communication, counselling, reconciliation, and healing as central values, contrasting with the dynamics of the present justice system and its tendency to isolate offenders, a procedure that is considered inappropriate for Inuit.

### ***Recommendation 3***

In the meeting it was constantly emphasized that every participant should express his/her knowledge in order to assess the richness of regional variation. Variation has always been a striking feature of Inuit knowledge. Each family has its own traditions in this respect. Elders recommend that the importance of maintaining this variation is acknowledged and that we should not try to establish a body of Inuit knowledge thought to be acceptable in the same way to all Inuit communities.

### ***Recommendation 4***

In the meeting, Inuit knowledge was explored by elders from different communities. The resulting exchange of knowledge was thought to be extremely fruitful by the elders. Elders strongly recommend that meetings of this sort should recur more often in the near future. Further exploration of Inuit tradition, and communication between elders from different areas, are seen as essential to the application of Inuit traditions to the problems of modern society.

## **Conclusions**

The Kangiq&iniq workshop was set up from an anthropological perspective to record the views of Inuit elders on shamanism and social control. In many respects the results of the workshop confirm current trends and efforts to strengthen the involvement of Inuit communities in the judicial processes, especially with respect to minor offences. Today, in many communities, programmes are being developed to facilitate the transfer of knowledge from the elders to the younger generation, to take young people out on hunting trips with experienced hunters, to teach traditional Inuit skills and techniques to young Inuit, and to involve communities in justice committees and the reintegration of young offenders into society. In the workshop there was general agreement that this is the right course. But there was considerable concern that the traditional knowledge of Inuit societies is rapidly eroding. New romantic ideas about Inuit culture of the past can easily emerge when the elders who experienced that culture are no longer there. Therefore it is of utmost importance that now that the great value of that tradition is acknowledged, it should be recorded with care, paying attention to its richness and variation.

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Similar workshops should be set up elsewhere, e.g. in Naujaat or Qamanittuaq. It would be important to involve more women.

There is an urgent need to organize these workshops quickly, not only because of the urgency of the problems we are dealing with, but also because many knowledgeable elders who grew up in the pre-Christian era are now passing away. With them passes the knowledge of the great traditions of shamanism and related beliefs and practices. As Myriam Aglukkaq stated: “[...] these elders who know of the traditional life are passing away very quickly. One of my major regrets is losing my elder advisor last year. Right away I had no one else to turn to. With this in mind, for the elders here and at home, let us record their knowledge now. Many of us do not know the wisdom and knowledge of these elders.” (NSDC 1999).

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This introduction is based on the report *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit and Canadian Law* presented to the Department of Justice in 2000.

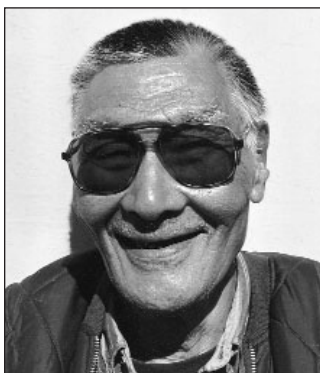
<sup>2</sup> See more recently Haring (1989) and Moyles (1989) but also Diubaldo (1985), Morrison (1985), Macleod (1976) and Mathiasson (1967).

<sup>3</sup> Except for the question of infanticide which has been documented in the Canadian Arctic, most of the studies that have been done in this perspective do not concern the Nunavut region but Greenland and Alaska: see Lantis (1982) on Inuit leadership, Hoebel (1967), Kleivan (1971), Smidt & Smidt (1975) and Sonne (1982) on song duels and blood feuds, Kjellström (1974-75) on senilicide and invalidicide. See references for further readings on ‘traditional law’ in the Arctic.

# “Different People, Different Traditions”: Presentation of the Elders

## Luke Nuliajuk

**Nuliajuk:** I am Luke Nuliajuk. I am named after my grandfather Nuliajuk. My father was Iqaluk. My mother was Pamiuq. My older brother is Nakasuk. My sister Qamukkaaq is also older than me. My other sister is Quvvialuk. Those are my siblings.



Luke Nuliajuk

I wonder what we will be saying about *angakkuit*. I don't envy them their abilities. I have always known that I did not want to be an *angakkuq*. I have seen *angakkuit*. I have watched an *angakkuq* healing a sick person. When this person became sick the *tarniq*, the soul, did not want to remain with this person. The term that the *angakkuq* that I saw used for this was *tarniritaqtuq*. He took the outer layer of a parka outdoors with him. It was only the *angakkuq* that went outside. He tied a rope around the middle of the parka. When he came back into the tent, he was pulling on the rope which was very taut. I saw this with my own eyes. There were a number of us who were pulling on this rope together. It was very difficult to pull. The rope was being pulled very hard but there was nobody out there. When we finally pulled the parka inside, it was very light.

It is said that we have *tarniit* and I think that this is true. I believe that this is correct. I don't think there is any falsehood about this. I don't think I have more to say. Maybe other people can add to this.

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*Could you tell us more about the rest of your family?*

**Nuliajuk:** I had another older brother, Ujaqqataittuq, and a brother older than him named Angutittaujuq. Both of them are dead. My mother's younger sister was Sivuraq, my *arnarvik*. I probably had more relatives but I can't remember all of them. They moved to different places so I don't know who they are.

*The grandfather you were named after, was he your father's father?*

**Nuliajuk:** No. He was my mother's father.

*Did the parka they were pulling belong to the angakkuq?*

**Nuliajuk:** No. It belonged to the sick person.

*What happened to the sick person?*

**Nuliajuk:** After this was done the sick person got better.

*Did they often use the parka of a sick person?*

**Nuliajuk:** Yes.

*Has anyone else heard of this happening?*

**Angutinnurniq:** No.

*When the parka was being pulled, it was very heavy when it was outside the tent, but very light inside the tent. Do you think there was someone else pulling it from the outside?*

**Nuliajuk:** There was no one outside. Only the *angakkuq* had gone out. Then he came back inside holding the rope. The rope was being pulled by those who were indoors. It was the *tarniq*, the soul, of the sick person who was pulling it because the *tarniq* no longer wanted to be with the sick person.

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**Angutinngurniq:** I understand what he is talking about now but I am unable to add to what he said. Were you pulling also?

**Nuliajuk:** Yes. Because this person was so sick, the *angakkuq* was unable to heal him. He was so sick that his *tarniq* was going to leave him. It was in his *atigi*, his parka cover, and they were pulling the *tarniq* back. After they pulled it back, it returned to him.

I was adopted by Kublu. She always told me not to steal anything from another person and I have always followed that advice. But she also told me it was okay to take food if you were hungry. If you take someone's personal effects that is real stealing. A person who has stolen something is not going to go around telling people about it. If you take something that belongs to someone else, there is *tuqu*, death, associated with it. She told me something even stronger than this. She said that if I stole something and I died, everything I had purchased, all my possessions, everything I had, would be left behind except the thing I had stolen. When I was buried, the thing I had stolen would come with me to the grave if I had not told anyone about it. This has always scared me. I have never ever wanted to steal.

My grandmother Nujaittuq had no hair. She stole a seal skin that had had the fur removed and ended up with no hair. I did not see her steal the skin, but I heard about this and I believed it because she had no hair. I don't have anything more to say.

*You said that the tarniq did not want to return to the sick person and that it was pulling and you were pulling it back. Why did the tarniq not want to return to the person who was sick?*

**Nuliajuk:** It was probably because whatever was making the person sick wanted the *tarniq*.

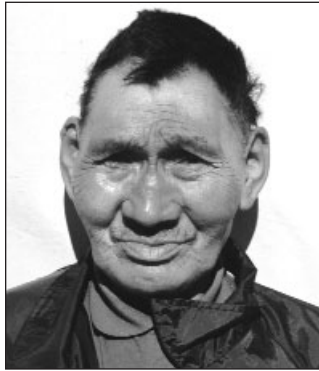
*Do you think that was an angakkuq or a tuurngaq?*

**Nuliajuk:** Perhaps it was Satan who wanted the *tarniq*.

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## Felix Pisuk

**Pisuk:** My mother Kukijaut's stepfather was Tigumiaq. Tigumiaq was not able to have children, so my mother was fathered by Tamuasuk. *Qablunaat* called him Inukpasugjuk. Her mother was Salui Ulliaq. They were my maternal grandparents. On my father's side, my grandfather was Miqquilik. Augannaq was the youngest in that family. I have a lot of relatives that I don't know. I am only going to talk about the ones I know.



Felix Pisuk

I was the eldest in my family. Victor Alurniq is next after me and then there is Elizabeth Qarlik. Then there is my sister Isaluk who is Qapuk's wife. Alisi Talluk, who is now Alisi Ipkarnak, is also my sister. I have four sisters in all. I had one brother who died in a fire while he was intoxicated, Louis Inuksuk. Kanaaq Matiusi, Joseph Inuksuk, and Henry Inuksuk are also my brothers. There are ten of us still alive.

I too have seen *angakkuit*. I have seen Qimuksiraaq, his wife Pangakkaq and his brother Nagjuk. Qaviajak, Nukallaq's second wife, would visit when she was in town. We were friends with him and his wife. When I was sixteen years old I almost died. Qaviajak was in town while I was ill. I was so sick that I knew I was not going to get better. I told myself that I still wanted to walk on the land. I was still in my teens. If I died, it was going to be very hard on my family. I wanted someone to heal me. Because she was an *angakkuq*, she knew that I wanted to be healed. She said she was unable to heal me while I was awake. She brought my parents in front of her and had them tell her about any wrongdoings that might be affecting me. Although I was quite young, I too was to tell her about any wrongdoings I had committed.

I told her about a little bird I had shot. I shot a sandpiper in the wing. I ran after it. I kept the bird even though it was in pain. When I was sixteen years old, my right arm became useless and I had to start using my left hand. I tried to write with my right hand but I could not. This was because I had caused this bird to suffer. It could not eat or drink. This was what was causing me to be sick. Later on, I was told that nothing, not



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even the smallest little worm, should be caused pain and I believe this. Because I had spoken truthfully, this *angakkuq* knew the cause of my pain.

There are a lot of other things I could say about *angakkuuit*. Qimuksiraaq his brother Nagjuk, and Qimuksiraaq's wife were all *angakkuuit*. Qaviajak, my uncle Ujjuk, and my father Inuksuk, were as well. They were four very powerful *angakkuuit*, especially Qaviajak, whom I saw in person. She could go backwards into the wall and come in through the door. I saw a number of them perform but there were two who were extra powerful. My uncle would chase away sickness, whether in a child or in an adult. He would go to the person and would identify the person's wrongdoings. On a clear day like this he would use a chisel because he did not like using his hands. He would take the chisel and place it in an area that had no footprints. He used it to kill *tuurngait*. The chisel would rise off the ground and become horizontal, and it would move through the air. Then it would start dripping blood. I am not lying. I have seen this myself. I didn't believe in my father's ability as an *angakkuq* much, but he too had ability.

*Qalugiujait* were very tiny little knives made of antler. Because my father did not like using his hands to fight *tuurngait* either, he took a tiny knife to an area that had no footprints. Again, although it was at a distance, you could see blood. His little knife would be covered in blood. It would kill what was causing the sickness. I really believe this. I can tell you a lot of stories. I feel I have told you what I know, but if you ask me questions, I will try to answer.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have a question to ask about something I did not quite understand. I want to know more about *qalugiujait*. My cousin Aalu had a number of them across his shoulders. When we were young we got together for the first time in the Arviligjuaq area. He had a number of *qalugiujait* across the top of his back. Are the *qalugiujait* the weapons of the *angakkuuit* or of the *tuurngait*?

**Pisuk:** They are the weapons of the *tuurngait*. To a regular person they seem like tiny little toys.

We all have thoughts. My uncle was an *angakkuq*, and I envied him. I thought it was easy to get *tuurngait*. I thought after an *angakkuq* died you just had to request their *tuurngait* to come. I used to think that when my father and my uncle died, I would ask their *tuurngait* to come. When they died, I think their *tuurngait* died with them. I never became an *angakkuq*, perhaps because my mind was not strong enough for this. When my uncle and my father died, their *tuurngait* never came to me. Maybe their *tuurngait* died with them. This is all I have to say.

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**Angutinngurniq:** I too have seen *qalugiujait* being used. My uncle Iksivalitaq had *qalugiujait*. I have a question about these. I have seen an *angaluk*. The *angakkuit* wore *angaluit*. I want to know what they were used for.

**Pisuk:** I can tell you this. The *angaluit* were worn by the *angakkuit*. Sometimes they were worn across the shoulder, sometimes they were worn as a belt and sometimes they were worn over the neck. Even though *angakkuit* would not make their *tuurngait* visible, they would be known to the *angakkuit*.

**Angutinngurniq:** They say that *angakkuit* who had the bird of the ‘one controlling Sila, the sky, and Nuna, the land,’ as a *tuurngaq* were powerful. Even though I have seen *angaluit*, I never really knew what they were used for. I know Iksivalitaq had *qalugiujait*, and he used them against *tuurngait*.

**Pisuk:** *Qalugiujait* such as little knives, were made from bones found on the land, especially from graves. Those have real *tuurngait*. *Angakkuit* that wore those on the *angaluk*, whether at their neck or at their waist, were able to make *tuurngait* visible when they were fighting them. Other *angakkuit* were unable to equal them. The *angaluit* are very powerful. *Angakkuit* that were very powerful would wear *angaluit* around their neck, or across their chest or as a belt. They would not be overpowered by a *tuurngaq* because of their *angaluit*. *Silajuaq*, the spirit of the universe, would always protect those *angakkuit*. They would always be helped. There are people who know more about this than I do. I am unable to say anything more.

*What kind of material was this angaluk made of? Was it made by the angakkuq himself or by someone else?*

**Pisuk:** My father had some that my mother had made for him. When he died my mother wanted me to hang on to them. She said, “You’re going to keep these. Don’t show them to anyone at all.” When he died in Churchill, Victor Alurniq searched for them and burned them. Therefore I do not have them. That caused a problem between us, because he burned them.

*What were they made of?*

**Pisuk:** They were made from the *pukiq*, the white underbelly fur of a caribou.

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*Were the small objects attached to it made by the angakkuq or by others?*

**Pisuk:** The ones he had were not sewn on to the *angaluk*. They were attached on a sinew. They were not visible because he did not want them to be seen.

**Angutinngurniq:** I have seen an *angakkuq's qalugiujait*. They belonged to my uncle Iksivalitaq. There were a number of small knives attached to a seal skin with sinew.

*Were the qalugiujait all little knives?*

**Angutinngurniq:** The ones I saw were all small knives.

*Pisuk, could you tell us more about the time you got sick because of the bird?*

**Pisuk:** I thought that because Qaviajak was an *angakkuq* she could heal me. I did not want to leave my family. She knew this. It was like I was falling into an abyss and she pulled me up and put me back into my body. Maybe it was my soul that was falling. Because of her, I am still alive today. When I was about to turn sixteen, she told me I was never to eat a caribou heart or a caribou liver. To this day I have never eaten caribou heart or liver. She told me that if someone more powerful than me gave me a heart on a plate, I was to eat part of it but not finish it. When I was in Arviat that happened to me. I was given a heart to eat by a powerful *angakkuq*, but I remembered being told not to finish it. If I had finished the heart, I would have died. After I returned to Kangiq&iniq the person who had given me this food died, not even a month later.

Out here we are listening to each other. We all have power. To this day I search for power but I can't find it. There are whole families that want me to die but I was told these people would die before me. I have not seen this happen.

I want to say that I don't know how to *ilisiqsijuq*. A *qablunaaq* whose mind is not working properly should not *ilisiqsijuq* because a *qablunaaq* can't retaliate faster than anyone else. I was told to take care of others, whether male or female, and whether they were children or elders. I was to take care of them as if they were my spouse or my own children and I have always followed this. That is all I have to say.

*Pisuk you said you were trying to request a tuurngaq but were unable to get one. How do you do this? Do you use irinaliutit?*

**Pisuk:** When I was sleeping, I would try to get them to call me in my dream. My uncle had a male *tuurngaq* named Ubluriasugjuk. This was a dangerous *tuurngaq* who was able to kill. This *tuurngaq* would help people who were not successful while hunting. It was good to people who were good, but could kill people who were not. I am not quite

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sure who this *tuurngaq* had been, but he had been a relative. I think that when my uncle was becoming an *angakkuq*, he was not on the right path so Ubluriasugjuk came to help him. One day an evil *tuurngaq* came and Ubluriasugjuk wanted to fight it. This *tuurngaq* was coming to kill him but Ubluriasugjuk killed it by putting a harpoon through its liver and it fell down and died.

*You were trying to acquire the tuurngaq through a dream?*

**Pisuk:** Yes, but I could not do it. If it had become my *tuurngaq*, I would have become a good hunter, but it never came to me.

*Why did you try to acquire it through a dream? Were you told you should do this through a dream?*

**Pisuk:** I was told not to be an *angakkuq*. Maybe the *tuurngait* heard this and did not want me to be an *angakkuq*, and that is why they did not hear me. Perhaps that is why they did not listen.

*Was it your uncle's tuurngaq?*

**Pisuk:** Yes. One of my grandchildren, Ukaliq, who's almost sixteen, is named after this *tuurngaq* Ubluriasugjuk. He sleepwalks a lot when he's done things he was not supposed to during the day. He gets up in the middle of the night and acts as if he is cutting something out and then sewing it. Once his grandmother saw him just doze off and go right back to sleep.

*When could a relative inherit a tuurngaq?*

**Pisuk:** I don't know this myself, maybe someone else does. What I have heard is that if an *angakkuq* was about to die, if there was someone he wanted to help, he could bestow his *tuurngaq* on that person. I have not heard anything else. I was told this by my mother and my grandfather.

**Angutinngurniq:** I believe what he has said because my grandmother said this as well. I don't have much more to say.

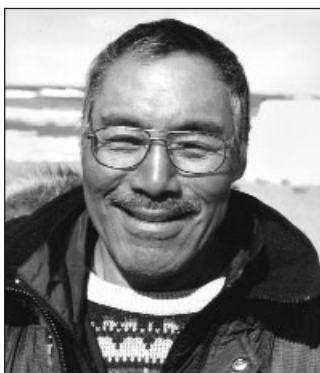
## **Levi Iluittuq**

**Iluittuq:** I don't really know much about my ancestors. Maybe my uncle Angutinngurniq can help me out. My mother was Tunnuq. My father was Quttiutituq. One of my brothers is Inutuinnaq. Another older brother, Ivu Anguti, died a year ago. I

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have a sister named Niaqunnuaq who is also called Pujuat. I have another sister Monica Aupaluktaaq, and an adopted brother named after my father Quttiutituuq.

I have five children. Atami, the eldest, is also called Amaaq. My second child, Innaksanajuk, is also called Michael. He also has a brother named David Aasivak. I have a daughter, Joanne, who is named after my uncle Ivittuq. My youngest is Paul Naaktaq. My wife is Mangak. Her English name is Emily. Iluittuq is not my real name even though that is what I am called. My uncle can probably tell you more about this. I am called Livi or Livai at times.



Levi Iluittuq

I don't have many memories from when I was young. I am not going to talk about what I don't know because I don't want to make mistakes. I am only going to talk about what I have experienced personally. What I wanted to talk about when I came here was about *angakkuksaniq*, the process of becoming an *angakkuq*, because I know this from experience and from what my mother and father have told me.

I almost became an *angakkuq*. I fled from it for months because it was not a pleasant experience. One time I was out caribou hunting in deep winter. I had just finished building an *iglu*. I ate and I made some tea. I was all alone. I had caught some caribou and I had butchered them all. I was about to go to bed when I started hearing voices in the *iglu*. There were sounds outside. I could hear footsteps and I started to become frightened. I thought that if I remained there, I was not going to be able to sleep. I felt these voices had come to take me away. When I went out, it was dark because it was winter. What I am telling you is true. I have told this to some other people, but not many.

When I went out, I searched all around the *iglu*. Because it was dark, I could not see very far. I had killed a calf and cut it up. I took that, and I took my stove and things I needed to make tea with, and a ten-gallon gas can that was half-full. I even left my sleeping bag. I filled up my snowmachine. I had one of those old Skidoos, one of the first Skidoos that came out. I knew that before I got home, I would need to fill the tank.

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Because it was dark, I did not search around at all. I started the machine and headed for home. Because it was so dark, I could not tell which direction I was heading. I could only see the snow and what was right in front of me. I took off not really thinking about what direction I was heading. You can feel the machine when you are driving. When I was driving, I could not feel anything underneath me anymore. I usually don't look behind me at my *qamutiik*. I did not even think of it at all. I did not want to look. All I thought about was that I did not want to run out of gas. I could not even feel the ground underneath me anymore. I could see the snow going past my face and my *qulittaq*, my caribou parka. I just looked straight ahead. Sometimes when you are travelling, you can see the red light of a snowmachine ahead of you. Even though I could not feel the ground underneath me anymore, I still held onto the throttle. I could see a tail light ahead of me. I could see the light for a while.

On each side of the machine there were fairly high hills close together. There was only one path I could take, and it was only wide enough for my snowmachine. Even in the winter some of the boulders aren't covered with snow. The smaller ones were farther apart but there were bigger ones you could not go over with a snowmachine. They were not snow-covered at all. I went through the only part I could get through even though there was a possibility I could get stuck in-between the rocks. I just continued on. This happened late at night while it was dark. I could feel the air. That was all I could feel as I was driving. I was speeding. Suddenly, it seemed I was back on the ground. When you are landing on a plane, sometimes you land with a jar, and that is the way it was, as if I was suddenly back down on the ground. I could feel the ground again.

There is a part of the river where people go fishing. It seemed as though I landed right there. I had totally forgotten about my *qamutiik* that was behind me. I had had to refuel on my way out, but I had not had to refuel at all on my way back. I recognized where I was and where I had to go. There was another lake where people go fishing. There was a cabin at this other lake and there was a pole there for the radio antennae. It was a pole they got from the old DEW Line site and I passed that by.

I don't like talking about this because I recognized afterwards what it was. There was a fox climbing with its legs around the pole. The tail was black, but it was not dark black, and it was climbing like a person with its legs around the pole. It was not really possible for it to climb, but yet I saw it sit on top of the pole. I was trying to keep my eyes on it, but when I turned away for a moment it was gone. I stopped and searched for it but I could not find it at all.

I started travelling again and I saw this snowmachine up ahead. When I caught up to it, it was early morning and people were just waking up. It was the camp of my older brother and my brother-in-law, now deceased. I could not feel my *qamutiik*. Because I

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was no longer scared and there were people around, I looked back at it. It was not a recognizable *qamutiik* any more. It was so snow-covered. The whole *qamutiik* was covered with snow. Only the front of the runners was visible. The snow should have blown off, but it was completely covered with snow. The snow was very level on the *qamutiik*. I was thinking, "No one is going to believe this". I took my mitts off and started to take the snow off but then I started thinking, "I have to show this to someone". So I went into the *iglu* as no one had come out and I said, "I am going to be leaving now." It was like I did not have all my senses about me. If they had recognized me, they would have said, "Come and have tea with us before you go home," but they did not. I said, "I might become sleepy so I am going to go home now." They agreed to that.

There is a place close to the community where people go fishing in the spring. There were two machines there. When I got close to them, I recognized whose machines they were. Juuti, who used to be from Uqsuqtuuq, was on the second one. Nirlungajuk was up ahead. Juuti stopped behind Nirlungajuk and came towards me. He said, "Have you just gone through a bad experience?" I did not say anything because he seemed to sense something already. Then he said, "Home is close now." The younger man did not say a thing. I had lost all sense of fear. I had forgotten about my *qamutiik* that had been totally covered with snow. When I remembered it, I looked back at it but there was no snow left on it at all. I don't know why there was not any more snow. The only part that had snow was around the runners. This is not really the end but I am going to end it here right now because I don't want to add things that I am not sure about. When I got home I seemed like my normal self again but after this incident, I was told I had been seen at two places at the same time.

I didn't think there was anything wrong with me. It was only after I had been home for a while that I told my parents about this incident. My mother said she wanted me to have a long life. She said, "The *tuurngait* are wanting you more and more. They are going after you. I don't want you to be an *angakkuq*." My father never talked much. Although my father seemed not to know as much as my mother, when I started telling him about the fox, he said that I had travelled, counter-clockwise, opposite the path of the sun. He said that it was my uncle Qimuksiraaq's *tuurngaq* that I saw. Afterwards, when the now deceased Arnaluk was coming home for the last time and came to visit us, she started telling stories. She has always called me her *attak*, her aunt. She said, "Attak, there are two who want you. Neither of them is bad. But if it is possible, follow Christianity instead. If you can leave the other behind, your life will be longer." I said, "Because I did not know this, I needed to be told." She said, "There are two people behind you. One is a female and one is a male." My hair just stood on end when she said that. I am trying to talk about this but it is hard. She said, "I don't know who they are. I don't know anything much about this but I know that this will end." At the time, I did not believe her when she said it would end, but after that, I did not have any scary



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feelings. Even afterwards when I went out alone, I never experienced fear and I was never forced to flee. I don't want to talk about things I don't know. People here have more knowledge about *angakkuit* than me. I am only talking about things I have experienced.

Another incident that I recall that happened around the time I was forced to flee, was being approached, and it is known by you people who are older than myself, by those that we call *inuunnigittut*. This happened shortly after the first incident. They were after me as well. I heard noises and I fled but they were not as scary. They got close but I never saw them. This time when I fled it was not as intense as the first incident. It was during the day when the days were longer and the sun was warmer. I was fuelling my Skidoo when I heard a sound. I turned quickly and tried to splash one with fuel. It seemed that I startled it. I said, "You are trying to scare me." I have not seen this being since. That is all I know about this. If anyone knows more about this, they can talk about it.

*I wonder why someone was trying to make you ilimmaqtuqtuq, fly through the air?*

**Iluittuq:** Maybe it was one of those *tuurngait* that could *ilimmaqtuqtuq*. I am not quite sure. The snowmachine should have needed fuelling on the way home, but it did not need fuel at all. Having travelled there I knew I needed to fuel up on the way back. I knew I would have to stop and fuel up half-way home.

*You were able to travel without using fuel and you weren't happy about it? [laughter]*

**Iluittuq:** I could feel the air. It wasn't moving that fast, but I felt the air. When I suddenly landed I could feel a jar. I don't know how I got there. Maybe I was flying through the air.

*Your mother said that if you had become an angakkuq you would have had a shorter life. Did she explain why you would have had a shorter life?*

**Iluittuq:** She did not exactly say, but she told me that if I became an *angakkuq* with *tuurngait* there would be times when I would be displeased with them. I am not exactly sure why, but because she told me that my life would be shortened by this, I believed her.

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*This is well known and other people know about it. Maybe one of the other elders wants to comment on why it is that an angakkuq has a shorter life.*

**Angutinngurniq:** I had always wanted to ask about that. He told me this more than once, and I always thought it was because he was named after my mother. You have never really told me about your name.

**Iluittuq:** I have not disclosed this before but I used to think that I wanted my name as my helper. I have never said this before.

**Angutinngurniq:** I have heard about this, but I don't know about it personally. I believe that *angakkuq* tend to have short lives when they try to kill other people. When they don't go after other people, they too can have long lives. The ones that kill tend to have short lives. Even though I have only heard about this, I believe it, and that is why I am saying this.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I would like to add to this, based on what I know and what I believe. Before we had outside help our parents had to rely on themselves. There were no doctors to care for them medically. There were no priests to take care of them spiritually. They had only themselves to rely on. I, too, would be aware of some things, even though I did not know what they were. My parents noticed this. I would end up remaining awake and I could not sleep at all. I went through a time of euphoria when I felt I could do anything at all. I was not aware of reality. I was like that. My grandparents and my parents were aware of this. I was short-tempered and my parents told me that I was going to put myself in danger because *tuurngait* could not reason like people. If I became an *angakkuq* and I got angry and wanted my *tuurngait* to go after a person, they would listen to me. If I were to send them to kill someone, those *tuurngait* would become dangerous to me. They would start taking some of my life. That is why I was told not to become an *angakkuq*. I was also told this by someone other than my father. Saumik who I am named after, said that he was not going to teach me how to become an *angakkuq* because I was too short-tempered. I have never seen this, but I believe it.

*Do you understand what is meant by qiluriaqsiut?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I am going to explain a bit about *qiluriaqsiut*. I don't know everything about this, but I think I am able to tell you a little. I believe this is possible. A *qiluriaqsiut* is like a fold in the land. Sometimes there can be more than one fold, and you can go from one place to another in an instant. I learned about this from my father as he could do this. When I was young, he told me never to do this. He said it shortened his life. I know that my father would go through a fold in the land when he had to go a long

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distance. There was one time he had a great distance to go and he covered it in a very short time. That time there were around three folds. My father said, “We are going to *qiluriaqsiuqtuguk*”. Some people had left earlier in the day but we were leaving late at night. We started walking. We went there through the folds and we arrived shortly after the other people. My father told me never to do this on my own and I have never attempted to do so.

*Is this different from ilimmaqtuqtuq? Is this used for travelling on the land?*

**Angutinngurniq:** Exactly. It is like the land folds, and you only have to cover a short distance. These folds can be quite high.

*Is it like ilimmaqtuqtuq?*

**Angutinngurniq:** I don’t know about *ilimmaqtuqtuq*.

*Ilimmaqtuqtuq is flying through the air.*

**Pujuat:** *Qiluriaqsiuqtuq* is done on the land.

**Angutinngurniq:** Even a person who is not an *angakkuq*, who knows the *irinaliuti*, can do this because they can make the land fold. To me, there is a difference between them.

**Aupilaarjuk:** A person who is *qiluriaqsiuqtuq* is never up in the air, they are always on land. I saw your grandfather *ilimmaqtuqtuq*. I was quite small; I had to look way up to see the adults. There were no caribou. There were no animals. There were not any muskoxen at all. We were going to go back home. My father said to the fellow hunter we were with, “I am going home tomorrow because we have not had any success at all.” He said, “Before you head home, look out through the telescope for game.” The old man was facing the door. I did not hear what he said. When we finished getting ready, I went to look through the telescope. When my father looked through the telescope he said there were two muskoxen close by. He could not believe it. My father wanted to kill them. Alakannuaq was Angutinngurniq’s grandfather. I saw him again after this incident, when I went to Naujaat.

Much later, I was told that Iluittuq’s father wanted to see me, so I went to see him. After I went to see him I headed home alone. When I got close to the south end of this island, I decided to continue on home even though the weather had turned bad because I did not want anyone to become worried about me. I knew that Alakannuaq was buried on an island but I was not sure what island it was. At that time I used to smoke. I

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thought if he were around there, he would hear me. I took out one of my cigarettes. I was not sure where he was, so I threw some tobacco and I said, "I would like the weather to clear up." After this I continued to travel. Even though the snow was still falling, I started seeing sky ahead. As I got closer, there were no clouds at all. I feel that he heard me. I wanted to get home. Even though it was dark and the moon was full, I could see my way home. I have never tried this since, because this isn't the type of thing to do on a whim. You only do this kind of thing when you really need to. I think we are still able to do these things today even though we don't think about them much any more. But now that we are talking about them, we are going to feel them more.

**Angutinnurniq:** My grandfather was quite powerful. He was born a long while before there were any *qablunaat*. One time I went out rabbit hunting with him. It was in the spring and the snow had become soft. We were going through a lot of deep snow, and it was quite tiring. He said that he was quite tired and he did not want to go through the deep snow anymore. He started saying an *irinaliuti* while we were tracking a rabbit. He said, "This deep snow is very tiring. Let it be solid snow." He called me his *sanaugaq*, "the one whom I made." Later my older brother came to visit. He called him Utara'naaq. He said, "I hope nobody is going to get blown away because the wind is going to get very strong." There was a strong wind for three days. You could hear it howling in the hills. After three days of very strong winds we went rabbit hunting again, and there was no longer any soft snow to go through. We went out seal hunting, and all the seal holes were open because there was no longer any soft snow. He said to me, "Don't do this. You are not to use *irinaliutit* when you are young." When we are told to follow something we have to follow it. Because I was told this, I never tried it. When you are told something you believe, you want to follow it throughout your life.

*How did you learn irinaliutit?*

**Itinnuaq:** I was not taught *irinaliutit*. We just heard them. When we talk about these now, they seem just like stories, but they are not just stories, they are experiences that we had. Because we are Christian, we are not going to practise these things now, but we can talk about them. Even those who don't believe can try to go back to them in a time of need.

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## Pujaat Tapaqti

**Pujaat:** Officially my name is Maryanne Taparti. My mother was Putuguq. My father was Tina&&uk. My mother's mother was Qalalaaq. I never knew my mother's father Qalasiq. My father's father was Qimuksiraaq, and his mother was Pangakkaq. I don't know the month I was born, but I was born in this area in 1931.



*Pujaat Tapaqti*

My grandmother used to teach me about living a good life. As I grew older, I had to go out early in the morning before I had even put my *kamiik* on. This was so I would have easy deliveries when I had children. She wanted me to have numerous sons. I had seven sons. Two have died since, and it was not through sickness that they died. Since then I have had two sons given to me, so I have seven sons. I have a daughter as well. I grew up here at the point over there. That is where I grew up. We did not live with other people.

My grandmother continued to pray throughout her life. She was the first person to be baptized when she went to Igluligaarjuk. She really believed in prayer. My step-grandfather Tullik was a Qairnirmiutaq. He lived apart from others. He did not share his things with other camp members. He did not want anybody to touch his things. He kept them away from everyone just in case they got taken. During ship time we would go to Igluligaarjuk, on a boat with a sail to help to unload the ship. Then we would come back. This was when I was growing up with my grandmother. Once while we were heading home, we ended up on shore waiting for a really high tide. We stayed there for a while waiting for the tide to come back up. My other grandfather Qimuksiraaq started worrying about us. We were outdoors in a really good camping area. My grandfather Tullik was carving and my grandmother was sewing with my aunt Sinisiaq. I had been out walking. We heard my grandfather Qimuksiraaq say, "I don't want to startle you."

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He was there standing beside us suddenly. We did not hear him come at all. He had come to us through *ilimmaqturmiq* to see how we were. I know that he was a very powerful *angakkuq*. He worked at the hospital, and even the nuns got accustomed to seeing him with his polar bear teeth. The nuns who prayed constantly, became so accustomed to seeing him this way that they didn't pay attention to it anymore. That is how they were.

He always said he loved everybody. My grandmother's second husband Tullik also was an *angakkuq*. He also had a *nanuq* as a *tuurngaq*. I don't know why Tullik and Qimuksiraaq were always fighting as old men. I think that is why my step-father died. He was out hunting when he started to throw up. That is when he died.

They would *qilajuq* whenever they wanted to find out about someone they were worried about. I watched them doing all sorts of things. Maybe if we started to perform *qilaniq* here, we could find out about everyone's wrongdoings. You could always tell if they were good *angakkuit* because they were helpful. We were told to stop following *angakkuuniq* when we became Christians, and so we did.

I had a vision once when we were out hunting. We had all become sick. This was in the month of August. My two sons, my brother-in-law Qapuk, my husband, and I were there. My husband went to get help and the rest of us stayed there. We were really sick. We did not just have colds. We could not eat. We were just skin and bones. We would drink water because that was all we could swallow. We were all skinny. My husband said, "If one of us dies, we are all going to die." He went to Kangiq&iniq to tell people we were sick. Our two dogs were with my husband. The dogs were very useful. They knew what they were supposed to do. My other brother-in-law started looking for us. Qilak met his brother on his way to Kangiq&iniq while he was looking for us. Because my husband was so skinny, he did not recognize him. Later that night I became short of breath and I said to Qapuk, "Take my son because I don't think I am going to live through the night." I loved my son and I did not want to die with him in my arms. My older son was a little less sick.

I lay there waiting for my last breath. I saw these stairs. There were two angels on each side of the stairs. One of them had a wreath that was going to be placed on my head. The other one had flowers that I was going to hold. I lay there waiting for my last breath, but it never happened. I was ready to die. I was ready to climb those stairs. I was ready to leave my sons and my husband and go above. Up above the stairs I could hear singing. I had heard that I was going to have to go through a narrow opening, but what I saw were stairs as wide as this room. There were two angels that had come to get me. I tried my utmost to die, but I did not die. I lay there waiting for my last breath. Because it did not happen I took my son back.

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At that time I had never been on a plane. All sorts of planes started to come for me. There were small ones, there were big ones. This was after I tried to climb up to heaven. This was before there were planes that came up here. These planes that I was going to go on later in life were shown to me.

I really believe in prayer, especially because of these visions I had. I was baptized on Christmas Day, 1931. Elisapee Quvvaqaaq from Arviat was my sponsor when I was being baptized, and she told me never to change my faith. I remember her words. I will never change my faith because of what she said to me. I go every Sunday. I have always been part of the choir. Because I almost always go to church, whenever I don't go to church I am missed. I am just an ordinary human being. I am not really religious. I am not very religious, but I am never going to change my faith. If anyone has questions they can ask me, but I don't remember anything more.

*I would like to ask if you could talk more about akiraqtuqtuq.*

**Pujuat:** This was when one *angakkuq* wanted to be stronger than another. I would hear people say my grandfathers were fighting each other, but because I was a child I did not pay much attention to it. My step-grandfather would always say, "You've gone to church. What were you given?" He would never go to church with us.

One time he said he was going out fishing on foot. This was when I was newly married before I had children. When we got into Igluligaarjuk, we were told that he was two days overdue. My uncle, Henry's father, Kablaalik was at Qaiqtuarjuk then. We were told to go and tell him Tullik had not returned. We travelled non-stop without sleeping. After we arrived there, because we had not slept for quite a while, we fell asleep immediately. I don't think we even ate or drank anything. We went back to Igluligaarjuk the next day. Because he had been my uncle's step-father since he was a child, he considered him as his real father. When we got close to Igluligaarjuk we saw a dogteam that had a white flag. The white flag let us know Tullik was all right. We were told that he came home on his own.

When we arrived we went to see him. He said that he had fallen asleep beside a boulder. He had been woken up by two beings who were only wearing white clothing. He could not see their faces even though he tried to. He was told, "You are going home. You are being searched for. Get up and go home." After they woke him up, he got up and headed home. He used to carve ivory. After this experience he carved only religious figures. After this occurred he became religious. He stopped asking those who had gone to church, "What were you given?" He, too, became a believer. By that time both my grandfathers had stopped fighting each other because they had become Christians.



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*When they fought each other, was it always serious or was it sometimes for fun?*

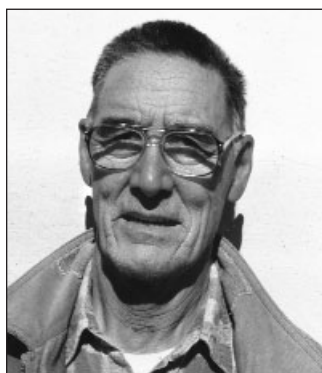
**Pujuat:** It was probably not that serious.

*Do you think your father's death was related to akiraqturniq?*

**Pujuat:** Yes. One of my older brothers had seen one of Tullik's *tuurngait* around. It was shortly after my brother had seen the *tuurngaaq* that my father died. I don't have anything more to say.

## **Ollie Itinnuaq**

**Itinnuaq:** I really enjoy listening to what others are saying. I can relate to what they are talking about. My father was an *angakkuq*. My father was Anaqqaq. My mother was Qakuqtinniq. They were both from the Nattilik area. Myself, I am from this area. My father Anaqqaq had Itinnuaq as a father. I was named after him. He was not Ollie, he was Itinnuaq. His mother's name was Apaapaaluk. My mother did not talk much about her family. She was not talkative at all. Sometimes when she was not too busy she would talk.



*Ollie Itinnuaq*

Her parents died when she was very young. They drowned. Her father was going out in his *qajaq* to get some caribou that were crossing. It was quite windy and the ice was forming. When bull caribou are dying, they kick their feet to so his *qajaq* was capsized. There were two other men with *qajaak* but they did not go to rescue him because they were envious of him. They did not want to go and get him. He was in the water clinging to his *qajaq*. Because it was in the fall, and it was cold, he never made it to land. He continued to hang on to his *qajaq*, but he died of hypothermia.

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My grandmother fell into the water while she was fishing. They said that she did this on purpose. There was no outside assistance from *qablunaat* back then. She had three children with her; two boys, Kagjuk and Sammuqtuk, and my mother who was the middle child. When they became orphaned, my mother would try to *amaaqtuq* her little brother but he was too heavy for her. They went through a very difficult time.

I had other relatives. I could go on indefinitely if I were to talk about all my relatives. I had an older brother who I think of quite often. He lived in the Natilik area. My mother left him behind at Talurjuaq. She was with the man I consider as my father, Anaqqaq, then. She had been with Piita [Peter Freuchen.] My father had been his guide to Naujaat with Kunut [Knud Rasmussen.] My mother was single when they went up there. They stopped off at Talurjuaq. Rasmussen continued on to Uqsuqtuuq. It turns out that he spent the summer there. Freuchen had frozen his foot and needed to have a toe removed. That was why he wanted to return to Naujaat. He returned with Anaqqaq, the man I consider as my father. My mother was accompanying them at that time. I am thankful to those who still remember my mother's departure from Talurjuaq because they were able to tell me about it. When they left for Naujaat they went by sailboat because there were no motorboats. Itiniqut brought them and my mother to Igluligaarjuk, because Igluligaarjuk was closer. On the way, they had stopped at Qatiktalik, Cape Fullerton, because my mother wanted to see her brothers who she had left behind as a child. When they got to Igluligaarjuk, the ship was there. Peter Freuchen was leaving on the ship that had arrived. He told my mother to get ready to leave because he wanted her to accompany him. After she had seen them, she did not want to leave her brothers again. Because his toe had to be amputated, he left on the ship. My mother was pregnant with me at that time. The man whom I consider as my father, Anaqqaq, became by mother's husband. I know this from what my mother has told me.

My brother came from Talurjuaq to see my mother. I was still very young then. I was still not able to hunt on my own. I had learned how to operate a dogteam but I was not old enough to have my own team. Back then young people would challenge their companions. There was no alcohol to pass the time. They spent their time playing *amaruujaq* and wrestling. My brother was quite athletic. He was a fast runner. He was able to beat other young people, so they started picking on him. There was a dogteam that was going to leave for Talurjuaq. He told my mother that he wanted to go back to Talurjuaq but he would stay if she wanted him to. He wanted to leave because he was being picked on. My mother was aware of this, so she told him it was okay for him to leave.

In those days when two people got angry with each other, they hit each other back and forth on the shoulder. This was called *tigluutijut*. I remember my father fighting with someone like this over his step-son. My older brother already had a wife then. He

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had left his wife behind when he came over here. The only possessions we had back then were dogs. When he returned back home, his wife had taken another husband. He was an old man. I don't know this personally, I have only heard about it. When he returned home he took his wife back. I was told this by someone who saw what happened.

Pitarusi [Taqtu] was a child when she saw my brother shot. Having been out hunting all day, he was sleeping in the evening when she looked in through the *qarmaq* window. She used to go sliding with him. She went sliding on her own while she waited for him to wake up. In those days they used to hang their rifles over the door of the *qarmaq*. She continued to slide without a thought that anything was about to happen. Then she heard a rifle shot, down below her. Her paternal uncle was carrying a seal out of the *qarmaq*. They had caught numerous seals during the day. He started shouting while he was crying. "I didn't mean to shoot him but I have done so." She said she heard Qimmittiaq, shout back at him. "If you did not mean to shoot him you would not have done so. It is only because you meant to do so that you have shot him."

Although Pitarusi was a child and was scared, she looked in through the window and saw part of my brother's head and hair hanging from the bed that he was still lying on. This is what I heard about my brother's death from a person who saw it happen.

I don't often talk about my family, about *angakkuuniq* or about being Christian. I know that prayer is effective. I was baptized when I was a child. I have never thought of anything beyond being Christian. Father Fafard baptized me. I know there are people who change from one denomination to another. There is no point in changing denominations because everyone prays to the same God. There are some people that start out in one church and then start going to another. I don't believe in that. Even though I myself don't go to church, I think if you are a Christian you should stay in one church.

I hear people who are preaching say that they have had dreams. When I was young, I started praying. We went to church every morning without fail. We would wake up in the morning in a cold *iglu* and we would go to church every morning and every evening, every single day. I don't try to miss church. These days I have people coming to see me to tell me to go to their church. They are really religious and because they are, they come and talk to me. I know I cannot change denominations. These people come and tell me that they have been healed through prayer. It is through prayer that they have overcome their fears. They put their hands on me and pray over me. This has shaken some of my faith in those who taught me before. I now know that everybody dies, whether they are *angakkuuit* or not. I will never change my religion.

I also believe in *angakkuuniq*. I have never been an *angakkuq*. I am not an *angakkuq*, but I have seen *angakkuuit*. I can talk about *angakkuuniq*. I believe in this as well. That was

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all that my mother and my father knew. It was only when I was old enough to understand, that I was baptized. After that, my parents only relied on *qilaniq*. My father was a powerful *angakkuq*. That was the life he knew. I won't forget what I have seen. I believe in what I have seen.

People will often say, "He is an *angakkuq*. You shouldn't listen to him." This is not true. That is not right. Anyone who ends up in a situation under stress, where they are really desperate, will seek help from anywhere. They will seek out an *angakkuq*. If a child is sick or if they need help, or healing, they forget to pray. If you have a belief, you hang on to it. If you are a Christian you don't forget to pray. That's what gives you strength. Some people say, "Oh, that person has already gone to heaven." The moment a person dies they say, "That person has died. The soul has gone to heaven."

Pujuat was talking about stairs. When someone is lost, I keep searching until the body is found. Once I went out searching during the fall. We could see footprints. I said, "Where were the footprints last seen." I wanted to go and help. Somebody said, "There is no need to go and search anymore because somebody saw him climb up stairs, so we won't find the body." I was taken aback. I said, "How is it that this person was seen climbing stairs?" I was told, "This person was religious. He has gone up the stairs." I thought, "I hope they find him before he dies." I started going home. The next year his body was found. The person who said he had gone up the stairs had lied. I talked about people coming to me to try to change my faith. I think that when we have a belief, we don't change it. We hang on to it. We stay with it. I think we should tell our young people this.

Getting back to *angakkuuniq*, I often saw *angakkuuit* perform. My father Anaqqaq was an *angakkuq*. I saw Qimuksiraaq perform. He was very powerful. His brother Nagjuk was a powerful *angakkuq* as well. There were three powerful *angakkuuit*. There was a fourth one named Taliriktuk. He was a strong and powerful *angakkuq* also, but I never saw him perform in person. I saw the other three.

I heard earlier this morning about someone who did not want to get blood on his hands. In those days they would *tupilattuk* when they were fighting with an evil *tuurngaq*. I have seen *tarniit*. There is a brightness to them. We've seen pictures of saints and religious pictures. Pictures of saints are always depicted with brightness around the head or around the body. *Angakkuuit*, too, used to see brightness. There is an aura. If a person has a bright aura, it is all around them. If you aren't an *angakkuq*, it is hard to look at it. If someone is said to be bad, even though they have a *qaumaniq*, it is not as bright, as there is a darkness in the centre. When a person is really good, the centre is bright also. This is just the *tarniq*. I think that after people die, sometimes their *tarniit* are still around. Probably some go up to heaven, but not all of them go. When you read in prayer books about the lives of the saints, these are written by people of flesh and blood who

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say the saints have gone to heaven. The *angakkuit* were given things, *tuniliqtaijuq*. They would be given things and they would try their best to help. They would think of themselves as incapable but they would try their best. They would try to fix whatever the problem was, whether it was someone who was sick, or someone in labour or someone who was lost. They felt that they had to do their utmost, so they would think about how they could best help a person. There were always *ikajuqtit* around. The *angakkuit* would find what they would use as their helpers because they gained more confidence from them. Some of them wouldn't state what the problem was right away.

In court the prosecutors ask the witnesses questions to get to the truth. They do this through asking questions that draw the answers out from a person. They do not ask immediately about what happened. They start asking related questions and the person discloses what happened. That's what the *angakkuit* did as well.

I really believe what Iluittuq told us. If you had never seen a *tuurngaq* or something unseen before, you would get scared easily, especially if you were alone. This would happen when an *angakkuq's* helpers first started to come to him. The *angakkuit* become accustomed to this and did not flee because they knew they were being protected. I also heard that if an *angakkuq* only wanted to help others, this was not going to shorten his life. If people knew that a person was not suitable to be an *angakkuq*, for example, if this person had a short temper, they would tell them, "Don't become an *angakkuq* because it is going to shorten your life." Being an *angakkuq* does not shorten your life if you are trying to help others. An *angakkuq* needs to think, and to search for the right answers. When a person does not think clearly, then evil can take over. There is danger to it. There is also joy as I was saying earlier. It was like that. If a person is able to love, and wants to help, and treats all people equally, then there is no fear in that person becoming an *angakkuq*.

We have people pray for us. We go to confession and we confess what we want to say. We sometimes just pay lip service, and don't always confess everything. An *angakkuq* is capable of getting all wrongdoings out. It is a very heavy task being an *angakkuq*. *Angakkuuniq* can be helpful just as prayer can be helpful. Both have their usefulness; both can work. The *angakkuit* and the ministers both pursue what is good. The missionaries think only of the soul, they do not think about life. An *angakkuq* knows that life is short and therefore he wants people to have good lives. I think that *angakkuit* are useful spiritually because they take away all wrongdoings. If only ministers and priests deal with a person, the person will die with wrongdoings still not confessed. It was not like that with an *angakkuq*.

I have said that my father was an *angakkuq*. There were two other powerful *angakkuuk* that I saw. I knew they were powerful *angakkuit*. There were other *angakkuit* but they were not as strong. They were real *angakkuit* but there were a number of things they were not able to do. Some *angakkuit* were much more powerful than others. They

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were able to *tupilattuq*, kill evil *tuurngait*. I have said already that I have seen *tarniit*. When an *angakkuq* does not have this ability, it is not possible for him to kill *tarniit*. The only way that he can fight these *tarniit*, is to bring them into his *qaumaniq*. It was not possible to touch a *tuurngaq* outside the *qaumaniq*. There were a number of *angakkuit* around. Sometimes they would try to grab a *tarniq* but it would just disappear. Those of us here don't know where they go.

I have seen Qimuksiraaq. He was not a proud man. When he was content and happy he would show us a few of his capabilities. When I saw him he was bare-chested and he held a knife in his hand. Without moving his hand at all, the knife suddenly ended up in his chest under his skin. He was fat. When he turned around I could see that the knife had not gone through him. He called my father and told him to pull it out. There was no blood at all. He would make a little bit of noise when it was pulled. He would look at it and say, "I thought I had been stabbed, but I haven't been stabbed at all." I remember this. He had no scar. He had no wound at all. He said that the knife was like a paper. It did not go through him, it folded. I have also seen him with fangs and sometimes he would roar like a bear. This was in fun.

His brother was named Nagjuk. There were many people that he could heal. Because people knew that he healed, many people came to him. They gave him many things to be healed. He would tie them to his *angaluk*. He often killed *tupilait*. He did not even go into a trance. The ones who did not *tupilattuq* often would go into a trance first. Because my father would not *tupilattuq* very often he would go into a trance which affected him. When he went into a trance he would become very strong. If you touched him on the ear or slapped him on the shoulder he would come out of it. Nagjuk became so accustomed to performing *tupilattuq* that he stopped having to go into a trance to do so.

He had a son named Qaaqu. His son became ill and was no longer breathing. Nagjuk told people not to touch him. His son lay there for three days, and on the third day he got up and was totally fine. I found this totally awesome. We were there. We could eat, but we were not to break any rules. We did what he told us to do.

There was one sickness in Igluligaarjuk where many people were dying. One night there were three who died. During the week there would be one or two who died each night. In our area we also have an area we call Umingmattuq. Before this started, Nagjuk was there and he said, "There is going to be a lot of death in Igluligaarjuk." We had an *iglu* on flat land. There were hills around. I said to my father, "I think I just saw a whale". My father did not see this but he could tell that something was going to happen. My wife is able to talk about this more easily because they were her relatives who died.

After Christmas we went to Igluligaarjuk from inland. That was when people started to die. Nagjuk said that the thing that was causing the deaths was at Qimmirjuak and was coming closer. He said he would stop it because it was coming closer. Many



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people were encouraging him to do so. Young people were saying, "Stop it! Stop it! Make it stop! Make it stop!" I am sorry that his wife and his son cannot be here to hear this because they are no longer alive. They told him, "Nobody is going to believe that you have done it. Don't do it." The son then said, "Why would you bother to do this. Nobody is going to believe you can do it." After they said this, he stopped preparing to fight it. He said, "My wife has told me not to do this, so I can't do it now". Many people wanted him to stop the sickness, but he did not do anything. For a week after there would be two deaths every night. Henry's father and I were the only ones up and walking around.

The police asked us to go and take away the dead bodies. We were trying to bury the dead as soon as possible but because it was winter and the land was frozen, we had to start piling them up in a cold building. There were coffins being built at the hospital. Some of the bodies were just wrapped in a shroud. We brought all the bodies to one place. I cannot remember how many people died. I heard how many there were, but I don't remember now.

Nagjuk was living in the last house. His grandchild had died the day before. There was also another person who had become sick. Nagjuk was not sick at all. He was recalling what he had said. He said, "I am not able to do anything, because I was told not to. My whole family is going to die. It is only if I die that they can survive." He was speaking in Nattilingmiutut, and he said that it was only if he died that they would live. When I saw him he looked all right. I believed what he said, but Henry's father and I just left. He told us this during the evening. We started our visits at 7:00 the next morning. Those who became sick died with their backs arched because they were dying of polio. We were accustomed to visiting those who had become sick, knowing they would be dead the next day. That day we went to the houses of those who had become sick, but they were all alive.

When we started doing this, it was very difficult to deal with dead bodies, but we had become accustomed to it. We were chatting when we went into Nagjuk's house. His wife was crying. She said, "My husband has stopped breathing." My companion who was older than me, Henry's father, said, "*Hiiruluuk*, Oh, how sad." We wrapped him up. When we were wrapping him up, he seemed as light as a child. Some people can be very heavy, extremely heavy. Having dealt with many bodies I have learned this. He was an elderly man. His body was as light as a child's. He was not emaciated though. We put him onto the *qamutiik*. His son was with us. We always took the bodies to the church first. Father Courtemanche was there. He told us to take the body to an empty house. We took it there. We had become accustomed to getting up at 7:00 in the morning. We



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started going on our rounds again but nobody else had died. People had begun to heal. I believe it when Nagjuk said that the only way he could prevent more deaths was through his own death. He had been told not to prevent the deaths while still alive.

**Pisuk:** Nagjuk was my father's brother-in-law. What he said about him is true.

### *How are tarniit and tupilait different?*

**Itinnuaq:** We call a bad *tarniq* a *tupilaq*. Everything has a *tarniq* as long as it is alive. Even inanimate objects such as tape recorders can have *tarniit*. If I am wrong, someone can tell me. Some people talk about Satan. The Arviarmiut call them *paijaa*. If an *angakkuq* was good and the *tarniq* was good, the *angakkuq* would not go after it. He would kill only the bad *tupilait*, because the bad ones go after people. They don't actually do things physically. Everything has a *qaumaniq*. When the *tarniq* starts being touched by something bad, then the person becomes sick. The person starts getting bad things inside them.

We talk about *anirniq* as well, which is good. When it starts coming to people, then it can make people better. It does not actually do things to people such as doctors do. It is only with its *qaumaniq* that it heals. It does so by just touching a person. It doesn't actually touch someone, but it comes close to a person. Its presence is felt. I have never actually felt this myself, but I have heard of people that felt a presence or had a feeling.

I think that whenever you are touched by something evil, then you have a feeling of fear. You want to run away and you are not comfortable. That is probably because something bad has come close to you. If a good *tarniq* came to you, you would not feel like that. If you were not accustomed to this, you would not feel comfortable. Even if it were good, it would still startle you. You would not want to feel its presence. A person would feel like this. You can mistake one for the other if you don't know them well. When ministers are preaching, they always talk about part of this. The ministers try to heal the soul, whereas the *angakkuut* try to heal the body and the soul. It is only through getting rid of the bad, by making the *tarniq* better that they are able to heal. Through that, the *angakkuut* are helpful. I hope this answered your question.

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*Yes, very much.*

*Most of the tuurngait drawings collected by Knud Rasmussen during the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924) come from Anarqâq (Rasmussen 1929: 145, 160, 161, 176, 177, 192, 193). You have probably seen them. Can you tell us a little bit more about your father? You told us you had seen him perform as an angakkuq. Did you ever experience or see tuurngait?*

**Itinnuaq:** I have seen them. When he was relaxed, his *tuurngait* would be visible. Ordinary people could see *tuurngait* when a real *angakkuq* wanted them to see them. My father, too, decided to become a Christian. Although he never forgot about *angakkuuniq*, it was hard for him because he was trying to become a Christian. Yet, he still retained his old traditions. I was not with him when he died. Although I heard he was sick, I was not able to go and visit him because money was a lot harder to get back then. Now people are able to go to different places to attend a funeral. I think it is better to go and visit the person before they die. You hear if a person is sick. You should go to see them before they die when you are still able to talk to them. Those are my thoughts. I was not able to go long distances. I don't mind if after I die nobody comes from a great distance to my funeral. Today Inuit are beginning to live like *qablunaat*. They are going to different places to attend funerals through the help of others.

*What happened to your father's tuurngait? Were they taken over by another angakkuq?*

**Itinnuaq:** I don't know what happened to them, or who got them. I am not able to say what happened to them. He did not relinquish them. He did not send them away so I can't tell you where they went. I know they did not disappear because a *tarniq* cannot disappear.

*Did he keep them after his baptism?*

**Itinnuaq:** Even though you are baptized with water, you cannot just let go of your *tuurngait*. That is not the end of them. When we pray we are praying to a spirit even though we've never seen it. We don't know what has happened to the *tuurngait* of the *angakkuuit*. Right now we are just giving our own opinions. I believe there can be healing through *angakkuuniq*. Part of this workshop is to show the good about *angakkuuniq*.

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*After your father became Christian, did he also begin to heal through prayer or did he continue to heal through his tuurngait?*

**Itinnuaq:** Even long after he was baptized, he still continued to heal. Prayer and healing by the *angakkuq* should work together.

*Does anyone else have questions or comments?*

**Itinnuaq:** The *qablunaak's* questions come from what they have read. I would like questions from other people because I think they would be harder to answer.

**Aupilaarjuk:** People are alive because they have *tarniit*. We have been talking about *angakkuik* performing *tupilattuq*. The *tupilait* appear in all kinds of shapes. I have never seen one but I believe this. Do *tarniit* have blood?

**Itinnuaq:** I have never heard whether or not *tarniit* have blood. Maybe they do. I have never performed *tupilattuq* so I don't know for sure. I was not able to observe when a *tupilaq* was about to be killed. I only know what my father recounted to me. He said the skin is very thin. It has a very thin covering. The moment it is touched it is cut and it bleeds right away. There are some *tarniit* that will become good if they are made to bleed more than once.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have heard about these things and I have talked to *qablunaat* about souls. Although the *angakkuik* were able to see the *tarniq*, I have only heard that the *tarniq* was like a bubble. I believe this, but I have never seen it.

**Itinnuaq:** What you are talking about, the bubble, is *anirniq*. The life of a person is just like this bubble.

**Aupilaarjuk:** In the prayer books in the Bible the spirit has no blood. It has no flesh. In Inuktitut the spirit and the soul are both called *anirniq*. I have never known whether the spirit, or *tarniq*, was like this. Maybe it has always been this way. That is why I am asking about the difference.

**Itinnuaq:** These stories have always been told. People have always talked about *tarniit*. People have always had *tarniit*. Even though some people are said to go to heaven, they don't always go there. Some remain on earth. Some of them probably do not go to heaven.

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**Pisuk:** From what I have heard, even though I am not that knowledgeable, this bubble, even though we don't see it, is always above us. Once the bubble leaves the body, the *tarniq* will leave the body as well. The *tarniq* looks like our physical being. I have fought with a *tarniq* thinking it was a person. If I scratched it, it would just disappear. A year after a *tupilaq* had been scratched it would reappear as its former physical self but it would be a better being.

*You were talking about tarniit and qaumaniq. I would like to ask if tarniit have bones or not?*

**Suvaksiuq:** Although I am a person who died and returned, I believe that we have *tarniit*. I don't know if I remembered it or if I just dreamed it, but I was taken by two *anirniik*. My mother and father were waiting for me. I was asked whether I wanted to return. I said, "My children are very young, I need to return." I did not really want to return, but because of my children I had to. *Tarniit* do not have bones. There are many things that remind us of other things. Some souls go to heaven, some souls go to the great fire. I apologize for crying, but this experience was very intense. Whether a person is an Inuk or a *qablunaaq* or an Indian, at the end I was led to understand that you can't not believe in *angakkuuniq* and you can't not believe in Christianity. You have to do your best. I, too, have seen *angakkuuit*. I, too, know that they exist. You cannot not believe what the elders have said. We have always been told not to abuse animals. When I died, the *qamutiik* was on top of me. My shoulder was dislocated. I don't know if I just dreamed this or if it happened, but my father and my mother were there. They said that our flesh and our bones are part of the earth. At the time that I died, this is what I experienced.

I knew five people who died of starvation. I was an adult when I buried them. I too have also dealt with *paijaa*. We can talk about *paijaa*. The only way they could be chased away was by being fought. Even though a person might be small of stature, the mind can be very strong. There are still *angakkuuit* around. I would just like to sit back and reflect and listen because if we all talk at once we are going to start talking without thinking. We still have a number of days to talk about this.

*I would like to know if animals have tarniit? Do all tarniit have the same shape?*

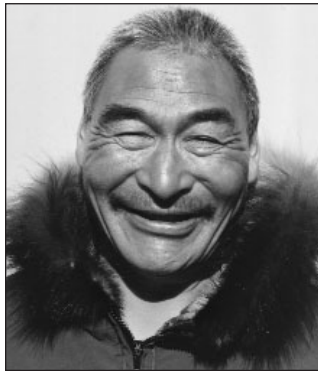
**Itinnuaq:** *Tarniit* have the body shape of whatever they are, whether they are muskrats or dogs or foxes. If it is the *tarniq* of a person you had seen a long time ago, it would have that shape. I am not lying when I say that *tuurngait* can take on a human shape. *Tuurngait* will sometimes appear in human form, or in animal form, or in the form of a dog. *Tuurngait* are able to take on different shapes. If you were an *angakkuq* and you had

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a *tuurngaq*, you might say, “So this is what it looks like,” because it could have taken on another shape.

## Peter Suvaksiuq

**Suvaksiuq:** I was told that both *angakkuuniq* and prayer have *qaumaniq*. When I died, I think I was dead for around three hours. Whenever I would shake the hands of the *tarniit*, I noticed that they had no bones. I saw this as if in a dream. I was asked if I wanted to go back to my body. I could see it. I had broken one rib and I had also vomited blood. I had haemorrhaged. Behind me there were footprints of all the things I had done. When I was asked if I wanted to go back, I said, “Yes”, because my children were still young. The place I was at was so wonderful I did not want to return. We have scars. Some people have lost body parts and such but when you are just your *tarniq*, you are complete. You are whole but you have no bones. It turned out that there was an *angakkuq* who had been trying to get me but he had been unable to do so. This *angakkuq* had been trying to get me for some time. I believe that there will always be *angakkuit* until the end of time. Even though we think the *angakkuit* and *angakkuuniq* are gone, they will always be there.



*Peter Suvaksiuq*

Once we were at a place called Sikuligjuaq. I had to deal with five people who had starved to death. There was one person who I buried that I found in an *iglu*. I wrapped him up. Afterwards I was told to swallow a small piece of meat. Because I was so busy, I was unable to swallow this. I was told to do this so if anyone were trying to go after me, I would be healed. You are to believe what an old person tells you.

I, too, have seen *angakkuit*. My grandmother Kikpaq was a very powerful *angakkuq*. Some people had gone from inland around Arviat down to the shore. They were pretending to be seagulls and were imitating the way they sounded. They started dying because they damaged their throats. My grandmother Kikpaq placed a rock where they

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died. In the early morning, we had to go and lick that rock. I know where it is. Donald Suluk, a very well-known *angakkuq*, arrived later in the winter. He could make of those see things. We had a little house. He went over to this little house that I lived in with my grandmother. At that time there was someone there who had tuberculosis and we were shown tiny little lungs. I am just telling you what I saw. It might not seem believable. He went out with what we call a *paijaa*. He said it was a bad *tupilaq*. He came back covered in blood. When he re-entered the second time, there was no blood at all. It's hard to believe this.

When you look at people who are religious, some of those who are overly religious seem to be self-important. But this was not true of *angakkuit*. I was told by elders to believe in *angakkuit*. I lived with Eric Anoe for a while. His father's fingers had been broken by a tractor and were spurting blood. My grandmother grabbed his fingers and held them in her hands for a while. After she released his hands his blood was no longer spurting. There was no need to give him medication or anything. Although his fingertips were gone, they were no longer bleeding.

In the next few days I will talk about these people who starved. I have seen *angakkuit* perform more than once. When they believe in what they are doing, they can be very powerful.

My mother was Qitiq&iluk, and my father was Pinngiqqaajuk. Anoe's parents were elderly, and I spent a lot of time with them. Because I believed in things easily, I was aware of things.

**Pisuk:** From what I have seen, I think everyone here is going to tell the truth. My brother Kanaaq Matusi once cut himself so badly when he fell that he scraped himself to the bone. My mother rushed to him. He was fairly big by then. He had been trying to shoot something. My mother went to him but my father told her not to touch him. He licked the cut which was spurting blood and it healed. Even though he had a wound there, it looked like an old scar. We all have healing powers. There were no bandages back then.

*Did you know who the angakkuq was who was going after you?*

**Suvaksiuq:** An *angakkuq* from the Ahiaarmiut named Aarjaut. He told me he was going after me because of my abilities to hunt and do other things.

*How did you relate to him after that? It would seem difficult to relate to someone who had tried to kill you?*

**Suvaksiuq:** I had always been told by my parents never to retaliate, so I tried not to change towards him at all. It was only afterwards he told me about this. He gave me a

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brand-new roasting pan and told me that he had tried to kill me, but was no longer going to do so and asked me to accept this gift.

*Did you accept the gift?*

**Suvaksiuq:** He wanted me to have it, so I took it. I still have it to this day.

**Pujuat:** I would like to add something about healing a wound. Archie Siqiniq, my brother, cut himself with a scraping tool while he was running around. A *sakuuti* always has a blade. It is very sharp. He cut his foot and was bleeding profusely. My grandmother Pangakkaq happened to be there at the time. She took my brother who was around two or three years old and put his heel in her mouth. When she took his heel out of her mouth there was only a tiny little cut that had stopped bleeding. I believe *angakkuit* were able to heal. Whenever someone is given the ability to heal, then they will do so.

**Angutinnurniq:** I too have gone through what Suvaksiuq has gone through. I fell from a great height and the *qamutiik* fell on top of me. I ended up in the snow. The first time I woke up, I was unable to move at all. When I next regained consciousness, I tried to move but I was still unable to get up. I could move my left arm, so I tried to get myself out of the snow. I was unable to move my body at all. Slowly I got myself out. I saw what had fallen on top of me. I had two unbutchered caribou on the *qamutiik*. I had fallen into a crevice. When I stood up, I was standing right beside my father's grave and my rifle was standing totally upright beside the Skidoo. I was amazed. I felt that I had been helped. I can relate to what Suvaksiuq was talking about. When we were young, we would be given abilities by our grandparents. My grandfather had said to me, "You will always get home." And so it seems, because after that I was able to come home. I'll talk more about this tomorrow.

## **Mariano Aupilaarjuk**

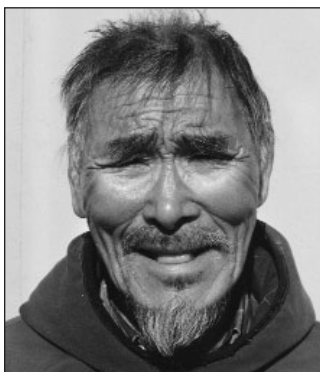
**Aupilaarjuk:** Before I came, I wrote some things down because I did not want to move around from one topic to another too much. I talked about these things before in Iqaluit, so it will be the same as in the two books that I contributed to with Nunavut Arctic College [see *Perspectives on Traditional Law* (1999) and *Cosmology and Shamanism* (2001)].

I can't tell you where my father came from. He told me but I was not paying attention. My father's real name was Innaksaujuuq, but he was called Siutinnuaq because it was his *aqausiq* name. He was named after the man who had been his father,



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Innaksaujuuq, who died before he was born. He harpooned a bearded seal and fell into the water and drowned. Because his father had died, he had been adopted. My father's adoptive parents were Qinngunnuaq and Arnattiaksaq. After his adopted parents died, he moved in with his biological mother. His mother was not accustomed to him because he had been raised by other parents. His mother had considered him so different that he was mistreated. His step-father's name was Suruqsiquq. He said as a child he was easily intimidated. He was blamed for things he had not done. He told me later that when I was born, he did not want me to be raised like he was. He would tell me this but I did not really understand. Not understanding, I would give all kinds of replies. That was my father's family.



*Mariano Aupilaarjuk*

His step-father was Suruqsiquq. His mother was Mablik. His older brother was Uqqarluk. The next one after him was Qamukkaa, then Qaviut, then Akuarjuk. The youngest brother was Katuqqaq. They were all boys. He had one older brother.

On my mother's side, my mother was called Kumaksiut, although this wasn't her real name. Her real name was Tanujaq. Her father was called Qimmirluk although his real name was Ujarasuk. Her mother was Aasivak. She was blind. She was not born blind. She became blind shortly after she became my grandfather's wife. Whenever they would travel my mother would walk with her holding her hand. My grandmother would sometimes get so tired about the way she was living that she would attempt to strangle herself with a rope she carried her pack with. She eventually did succeed in committing suicide by hanging herself. I never knew about my ancestors that lived before them. I can't talk about them because I don't know them. I'll now move on to my wife's family. My wife's mother's name was Kanajuq. Her younger sister is named Qavvik. I didn't pay much attention to the rest of her family.

I will talk about what I have felt from then to now. It was only much later that I wondered where Inuit came from. I am very aware of this now and about the abilities

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of our ancestors. I am very aware of this, and about the powers they had. I thought about this only in retrospect. I also think about what we are like today. I think about the tremendous difference between the two. We hear about how people lived before. I have never experienced this but I believe it. It was amazing how they were able to survive. These were my ancestors.

I grew up with Angutinngurniq's older brother. I read what Rasmussen wrote about his birth in Arviligjuaq. I was born there too. I was not aware of what was going on when I was born. It was only afterwards I became more aware. There were only Inuit then. I was born before religion arrived, even though there were people being baptized around us. I really became aware in 1934 when I saw a priest for the first time. All around us there were people who had been baptized. I was baptized then. After I was baptized, my life became very different. We started being told that the Inuit way of life was bad and to follow it was to follow Satan. Being a child I believed this. The way I see it now, I was placed into a void. I was told what I was to aim towards. It was only later I realized that I was not following the Inuit way of life or what I was being taught in church. I was living in a void. I started reading the Bible. I started gaining more understanding that way. I started finding very strong messages in the Bible. I started looking at my life as an Inuk more. Even though the words were not the same, even though the tone was different, it was still the same. When I started feeling this, I started thinking about how I could use this knowledge to help others. I became a *tuksiaqti*.

My father and mother were not *angakkuit*. We are not trying to rejuvenate *angakkuuniq* here. We are talking about how people lived before and what are they like now. They are different. We are not trying to go back to what was before. We are trying to help people who are incarcerated today.

In the past those of us who did not have much sense would not follow what we were told to do. I am not trying to judge anyone. When my mother told me something, I never listened. I did not follow her advice. I never told anybody about this but it eventually was brought out. When an *angakkuq* brings something out, you can't keep it hidden. On the one hand *angakkuuniq* was good. But I cannot say Inuit *tirigusungniq* was all good. Some parts of *angakkuuniq* made you feel better, but other parts were used to have power over others. I would really like it if it were used to make people feel better. The *angakkuq* who brought out my wrongdoings did not stop there. She made me admit my wrongdoings on my own. If some parts of *angakkuuniq* were to come back, I think it would be a tremendous help. I have thought about this a lot. Parts of it could be used in courts. We know that people do not speak out enough. When they have something to say, it is done on paper. I am not comfortable with that because I don't think enough is disclosed.

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Even though my parents were not *angakkuit*, they were able to *qilajuq*. They were also able to predict things through dreams. Even though my father was not an *angakkuq*, he was able to make predictions. If I had seen other *angakkuit*, maybe I would have said that he was an *angakkuq*. When he was making predictions, he would say words that seemed to be just coming from his thoughts. They would make sense. He would hear things. It would be like that. When I saw him I was amazed by him. When I lost a child, even though he had tremendous feeling for my loss, I thought, "You were able to help me. Why haven't you helped my child?" When I was a child, I got a scratch which became really infected. My father told my mother he had had a feeling. He called to me. He said, "I have been trying to get my *ataatanaaq* a hand replacement from a peregrine falcon, but it's too small. I am going to go and get a raven hand for you." Even though he was not an *angakkuq*, these are some of the things he did. He had the inner strength of our ancestors. I am going to go over something else, even though I talked about it in Iqaluit and it is in a book already.

Once I saw an *angakkuq* who was performing *tupilattuq*. At first there was nothing and then his hands were covered with blood. I was very aware of this because I was a child. It just amazed me that his hands became bloody just like that. There was a place where we would pour the *qurvik*, the urine pot, out. I remember that he peed into it, and then put the urine in his mouth and washed his hands with it. His hands became very clean.

There are sayings about Utkusiksalik, which is close to here. I believe all the sayings about that place. There is a river there where the fish go up stream. Being a child I was not really aware of what the name of the river was, but I remember going up it. There was an *angakkuq* with us. This *angakkuq* became very sick and he became deranged. My mother told me that he was sick when we were going after fish in the *saputit*. She told me not to eat the cartilage of the fish they had caught. Being a child I went and hid and ate the cartilage between the spine.

This *angakkuq* died during the night when my father was out hunting. He was not aware of what he was doing anymore. He would start digging away at the ground on the tent floor in front of him. He was lying on a bed. He would push away and then he would take a stone and it seemed like he was eating it. My mother would ask, "What is the matter? What are you doing?" He would say, "I am gathering berries." That would be his reply.

One of the *maligait* about Utkusiksalik was not to eat anything from there for a year after going there for the first time. He had eaten berries. We surmised this from his words. Because of what happened to him, we knew the Inuit *maligait* were very strong. Because he had not followed this *maligaaq*, he shortened his life. After he died, we put his sleeping bag down on the floor. He had put a *pauktuut*, a drying peg, into it. We did not have many possessions. We had our own cups, and our own dogs but we did not have

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many other things. He had taken my cup and put it in his sleeping bag. He had been lying on the sleeping bag when he died.

That fall I became very sick and I heard my father say to his wife, "I caught a fish today but part of the cartilage was missing." I thought to myself, "They know about me eating cartilage." I did not voice this thought. I am not suggesting that we revert to the way things were. When I look back at that now, I don't think that breaking a *tirigusuusiq* should result in someone being arrested.

On another topic, elders' feelings can be hurt. Some elders feel frustrated. There were things in the past that we had to follow. We don't want to bring back everything from the past, but we should bring back some things. We need to bring back things that were good. I am not trying to eradicate Christianity, but we need to put it together with the good aspects of *angakkuuniq* if we are to really follow the Inuit way of life. We should not bring back the dangerous aspects of *angakkuuniq*. It was good when *angakkuuit* used to heal people, but there is a lot of danger associated with *angakkuuniq* as well. Satan is always present. He is always busy. He is always going after people. This has always been the case. But good does not come to us; we have to go to it. This is all I can say. I think I am saying too much.

Before I was saved, in the time before there were doctors and nurses, I was healed by having my wrongdoings removed. This has always amazed me. That is where I am going to end for now.

**Itinnuaq:** You said you talked about this twice before. When you were at these meetings, can you tell us what the other elders were like when you talked about *angakkuuniq*. Did they talk about *angakkuuniq* also? I would like to hear about what you heard.

**Aupilaarjuk:** We were doing workshops with students. The first time was about *maligait*. Paul Quassa was in attendance. There were other students as well. Lucassie Nutaraaluk, Akisu Joamie, my wife and I were the four elders. The second time was about *angakkuuniq*. We weren't teaching. We were responding to questions. When we were asked questions, we would reply to the questions we were asked.

*Aupilaarjuk mentioned something about aniattijuq, disclosing wrongdoings. Can any of you tell us more about this?*

**Suvaksuiq:** I think in my dialect this is *aktirijuq*.

**Angutinnurniq:** I think another term for this is *naqqiqsuqtuq*.

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**Aupilaarjuk:** This is when a person is made to disclose their wrongdoings by an *angakkuq*. It is when an *angakkuq* is posing questions surrounding the person's wrongdoings.

**Itinnuaq:** For example, when a person has committed a wrongdoing such as suffocating someone.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I think everybody here has heard about this. It is not just hearsay. I too have heard about this from someone who had knowledge about it. What we have heard from our elders is true. My father told me about an older man who had no children of his own. This man had a second wife who had a small child and they were travelling together. Because they did not have many dogs, his wife was walking ahead of the dogs leading them. The old man put a piece of caribou fur into the child's mouth to stop her crying, and shoved it in further with the handle of his knife and suffocated her. The woman did not know what had happened to the child because she did not see what had been done. Afterwards this old man became sick. He was no longer able to urinate. They sought out an *angakkuq* because this old man wanted to be healed. I am not sure about the exact words the *angakkuq* used because the Nattilingmiut don't sing much. They sing more here. The *angakkuq* saw what caused him to be sick and said,

**Quarinngitanuna qualiqsiujjali**

This is not your child, it is your step child

**Sanililviniqpilli quangaluuna**

This is the child of your former wife

**Qanialuuna tukturavinirmik hiniqakallak&uni**

The mouth has caribou fur stuffed inside it

The old man said, "When my wife Ilumigaarjuk's child started to cry, I stuffed caribou fur in her mouth. I seem to have the same thing blocking my urethra and I can't urinate." When he said this he was able to urinate again.

We know that when somebody does something wrong, the same type of thing can happen to them. We should start following some of our traditions again, but not all of them. The old man was like me as he did something he was not supposed to do. Although I was not to eat the cartilage of a fish, I did so behind my parents' back. Here is another song.

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Ukunnuaq sinaa ikaannuinnuuq  
Uvannili arnaqsariliqpiguk  
Tuurnganut apiqsat  
Usuli&&ungnut kisiani

These would be the words in modern Inuktitut:

**Tuurngarnut arnaqsariviuk?**

Are you having sex with your *tuurngaq*?

**Nauk! Igvittuk usungnut.**

No! It is for yourself, for your penis only.

**Igvi&&uk kisiani.**

For yourself only.

**Pisuk:** This song is about an *angakkuq* and one of his *tuurngait* that went after a woman. Another *angakkuq* told him that it was not his *tuurngaq* that went after the woman, it was the *angakkuq* himself. *Naqqiqsuqtittijug* is the term when an *angakkuq* made a person admit their wrongdoings and therefore brought closure to them.

The *angakkuq* who made the old man who suffocated his second wife's child confess his wrongdoing was Niranaaq. Niranaaq was a very powerful *angakkuq* among the Naujaarmiut. The old man was Naparinaluk. Naparinaluk had committed all kinds of wrongdoings. The day after he visited the first *angakkuq*, Naparinaluk ended up with a sore back. He then gave another *angakkuq* a gift because he did not want to deal with the same man whom he had told about the suffocation. There was a young girl who had very powerful dreams, and he gave something to her. She called herself Qijuk. She said, "You killed a bull caribou. After you butchered it, you did not want to eat it." Even though Naparinaluk was an old man, he had been given a young girl as a wife. Qijuk said, "Even though you killed and butchered this bull caribou, you did not want to eat it. All you wanted to do was have sex with this virgin, who you had intercourse with by force. That's why you are having problems with your back." He said, "Oh, yes." Then he started talking about the incident. It was only after this that his back became better. Because he had used force to have intercourse with this young girl, he would have died if he had not disclosed it. It turned out Qijuk was a very powerful *angakkuq*.

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## Jose Angutinngurniq

**Angutinngurniq:** My name is Jose Angutinngurniq. I come from Kuugaarruk. Like everyone else, I'm first going to mention who my parents were. My mother was called Iluittuq. I did not refer to her as my *anaana*, my mother, because I was named after her brother. Therefore I called her my *najannuaq*, my sister. She in turn called me her *aninnuaq*, her brother. My father was Niptajuk. I didn't call him *ataata*, father, either. I called him my *ituutik*. I think it was more of an *aqausiq*, a nickname, than a *tuq&uraisiq*, what you would call someone to avoid using their name. My oldest brother was adopted into the Aivilik area. His name was Angutinguaq. I have a sister who has tattoos and her name is Tunnuq. My other sisters have passed away. My older brother next to me was Inuksaq, but he has since died. My sister Iminngaqaq is still alive.



Jose Angutinngurniq

My father had five younger brothers. There are too many to state by name. They had one sister. My mother had numerous relatives. Her older sister was Qalalaaq whom I have never seen. Since there are so many of them I'm not going to list them by name. Since I am very forgetful I'm not able to tell you all their names.

We have been talking about *angakkuit*. I don't know any now, but I too have seen *angakkuit*, for my father's brother Iksivalitaq was one and I have watched him perform. One time when others could see the *tupilaq* he was after, I searched for it, but I couldn't see it. I was a child then. When he killed it, there was a sharp sound and his hands and the floor became bloody. I can't remember what happened after that.

I knew he was an *angakkuq*. My father Niptajuk was not an *angakkuq*, but he was able to predict things. He was what was called a *nalauttaiji*. Even though Iksivalitaq was an *angakkuq*, he called his older brother Nuqannuaq, younger brother. Itsivalitaq would say, "If my brother had been an *angakkuq*, he would have been more powerful than me." I never knew my father to perform *angakkuuniq*, not even once. I don't believe he ever



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did this. There was once I suspected him of it though. One spring, he cached five caribou he had killed. He said, "You will see two rocks. Come with me." So I accompanied him. It was in the spring. He moved one of the rocks. It was a big rock, not much smaller than this table. He pushed it, even though it was a very big rock. To this day I would like to go and see it again to ascertain for myself just how big it was. For an ordinary human it was just too big to move. He moved the other rock as well though it was smaller. I can't say that my father was an *angakkuq* as I never saw him performing. *Angakkuit* were not to be vain. It seemed to be a very big rock that he moved. I don't have much to say about *angakkuit*.

Regarding Christianity and *angakkuuniq*, even though I am Catholic, I believe in both. I learned about being a Catholic and also about *angakkuuniq*. I don't know how, but I really believe in both of them.

Nowadays, there are doctors and nurses. I think about this. Others don't want to think about this at all. Some people don't want to have anything to do with *angakkuuniq*. They do not want to speak about *angakkuit* at all. I have often thought that if any of my relatives became sick, I could request the help of something unseen to heal them. I know that I can use both Christianity and what Inuit believed in the past. I believe in both and I am never going to stop doing so. I think that the good of what was done in the past and Christianity are one. I see them as one. Because I believe in both, I wanted to say this. I don't have that much to say because my mind is not that strong, and I'm not a great thinker. I would like to hear from others. If I am wrong, I would like others to tell me.

**Pisuk:** I have heard about what's been talked about, and I've experienced some of it. I have experienced Christianity and I have experienced the good in what Inuit did in the past. I cannot tell anyone, "This is where you are wrong." I can't add to what Angutinnurniq has said.

**Suvaksiuq:** I would like to talk more about what Angutinnurniq said because I don't fully understand everything. I am going to use myself as an example. If I became sick, do you think it would be possible for me to take away my own sickness? Do you think you can take away someone else's sickness?

**Itinnaq:** If he was not feeling well himself, could he remove his own sickness? If you requested a helper, could you remove your own sickness?

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**Angutinnurniq:** In the past, if I had a sickness in my chest, I would give something to the *angakkuq*. The *angakkuq* would see what was the cause of the problem. Based on that, the *angakkuq* would be able to heal me. If there was something I had not disclosed, then I would have to disclose it. If there had been any wrongdoing I had not confessed, if it remained within me, it would make me sick. I think that's the way it was. If I was able to give something to an *angakkuq*, I could be healed and my sickness could be removed.

If I had something inside me that I had never disclosed because I was too embarrassed, and I became sick because of it, then it could be seen. If I did not want to disclose it, if I hung on to it, then I would remain sick. If there was something I had taken, or if I had committed a wrongdoing towards another person, once this was seen, it was very hard to deny. Some *angakkuq* used their powers to kill, but not all of them did so. Some *angakkuq* used their powers to heal. I really think that in the past the *angakkuq* could see people's wrongdoings.

What I don't like about the court system today is that they sometimes deal with crimes that are minor, and the offenders are sent to jail. This causes the parents a lot of pain. I feel that small crimes should be dealt with within the community. If those were dealt with within the community, then the offender could be rehabilitated. I think that rather than going through the court system, offenders should be dealt with by the community first. If the community finds that they are unable to deal with a person, then they could be brought to court. I think it would be better all around if the community was more involved. The parents would be more at ease. I think that those who have committed wrongdoings have a reason for doing so, and if we talked to them, we could find out why. Instead, they end up being sent to jail. This does not help the young people when they are sent away. It does not seem to be helpful at all, either to the young people or to the community. I often wonder, "How can these young people who commit crimes be helped? What would decrease the crime rate in the community? Also, how could those who try to commit suicide be helped?" The parents are pitiable when they are put through hardship like this. I have been a member of the community justice committee for a long time now. I have thought about this for a number of years. I often think, "How can the community help these young people." I have not been able to find the answer.

**Iluittuq:** Although I am no longer young, you are all older than me. I too, have thought of these things, especially as they relate to my children and to my wife, to my family. Back then, if I did something I was not supposed to do and I was unable to talk about it with people in my community, and was depressed, people who knew me would know that there was something wrong with me. Now, because things are different, I wonder if people would find out if something were wrong.

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**Angutinnurniq:** I probably can't answer that. I am not intimidated by you and you are not intimidated by me. I will try to answer you though. If you are in a state where you have something on your mind, you are not thinking about the future and you are not thinking about your wife and your family and others around you. You are thinking only about yourself. I, too, make mistakes sometimes. I try to look to the future and figure out what's best for me and my children and my grandchildren. When you look for ways to lead a good life, it is hard to dwell upon the things that are making you sad. Sometimes it really helps just to talk things out. Even though what you say does not always make sense, as long as you are communicating with others and you are not dwelling on your own thoughts, it helps. Especially when you are on your own, and alone in your house, you can have thoughts, but you should keep your children and grandchildren in mind and try to be happy. It is when you start dwelling on your own thoughts that you become depressed. Maybe I am wrong. I would like to let others who know more contribute.

**Iluittuq:** I am going to ask my question again. You are all older than I am. There are times when we do not disclose something we are embarrassed about. If I did not talk to anyone, but someone older than myself noticed this, I know that in the past it would be dealt with. How is this dealt with today? Young people are still the same. They still do things they are not supposed to. Young people seem to do the opposite of what they are told. They seem to be changed by what they see on television and radio. I think it would really help young people if they could hear what we are saying. I think it could help them if we talked to them. It would help them if older people came and talked to them about the way of life in the past. They could hold meetings about how they could improve their lives. I have often thought about this. I occasionally go to my uncle Angutinnurniq's place and he talks to me and I listen to him. Sometimes I agree with what he tells me, and sometimes I don't. He is now the only person I have to turn to, to tell me how to lead a good life. I am not always good even though I try to be. I often think of my wife, my children and my grandchildren when I am away from home. I know that those around me who are older than me shouldn't be like me and worry about things. It causes you to become sick. I am talking about this because I haven't been able to find the answer within myself. When any one of you here says something, it is really meaningful to me. I gained much understanding from yesterday and today. I want to improve my knowledge. I am a member of the youth justice committee, but my mind is not set and I would like to gain more understanding.

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**Angutinngurniq:** We all have our own thoughts and do things we are not supposed to. There are things that are good and there are things that can cause disharmony. I think that if young people knew more about this, they would end up in fewer dangerous situations. If they had more of an idea of the consequences of their actions, I think they would stop doing bad things. I think this would be a deterrent to wrongdoing. Wrongdoings have always occurred, but if people had more of an understanding about how to improve themselves, this would be useful. I have thought about this a lot. We all have thoughts and our thoughts are different. People, whether they are young or old, sometimes don't know why what they are doing is wrong. If they had a better understanding about why what they are doing is considered wrong, it would really help. If they had an understanding of what was considered good and what was considered dangerous it would help to correct their behaviour.

**Iluittuq:** I spoke yesterday about the time I was forced to flee. This occurred not too long ago. Why did this happen to me? Maybe I almost became an *angakkuq* or maybe someone was after me. I would like to understand this. Those of you who are here know more about this than I do. I would like someone who knows about this to explain it to me. Sometimes I still wonder about this.

**Angutinngurniq:** I understand what you are saying. I don't have an answer, except to say that I believe that my mother, who you are named after, wanted you to be powerful because she had disabilities. It is not that she wanted you to go after your fellow people, but I think because she was so easily intimidated by others, she wanted some power.

**Kablaalik:** I am the youngest here. From the time we started this workshop, people seem to be concerned about whether their words are being heard by the younger generation. I would like to say that I have gained a lot of understanding from what has been said. Yesterday, Nulijuk said on a coffee break that he did not want his children and his grandchildren to die before him. All of us feel like this because we love our children and our grandchildren. He said he never wanted to steal because everything you steal has death attached to it. I will always try to remember this, and won't want to steal.

The things that are being said here are important. I have tried to help elders whenever I can, because I am thinking about my wife, my children and those who will be my grandchildren. I have always tried not to abuse animals. I will work at following what I have heard here at this workshop. This workshop has a lot of information about how to live a good life that needs to be heard by young people.

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I often talk to my uncle and I have learned a lot from him. I have also learned a lot from Aupilaarjuk. What has been said by Itinnuaq and the others will be of much use to us young people. I would like this to be known. The elders here today and the elders before them have said there has always been good and there will always be evil. I have a great love for you who are present and for my children and for my grandchildren. What you are talking about here is very powerful. Because of that, I will really try to follow what I have heard here.

**Angutinngurniq:** Sometimes I think about *tirigusungniq*. When there is too much *tirigusungniq*, it is not good. It causes disability. It can be so powerful, it can cause death. Even though it can help people lead a good life, I don't want *tirigusungniq* being used at all anymore. I have many children and grandchildren. This is what I tell them, "Be good to other people, even when I am no longer with you. People will be good to you if you are good to them. People will be thankful to you. You will find help." I say this to them because I want them to be helped even when I am no longer with them.

I did not have these thoughts when my wife was my partner, but my wife has since died. There are many thoughts that I have now, even though I try to be happy. I try to think of my children and my grandchildren.

**Itinnuaq:** I have two comments. One about what Angutinngurniq said and also one for Iluittuq. The first is about what Angutinngurniq said about *tirigusungniq*. I was taught to do this but I don't have any feelings about it. There is nothing that I *tirigusuktuq* any more. When we became Christian, we were told not to *tirigusuktuq*. I have always wondered why we were told this when Christians have a lot of things that they are told not to do. These things seem similar to *tirigusungniq*. I often hear that no one follows *tirigusungniq* anymore, but yet people who are religious have things they will try not to do. When they try not to do something, this seems like *tirigusungniq*.

I would like to talk more about *tirigusungniq*. When Iluittuq talked about not being able to counsel his children and grandchildren, I understood what he was trying to say. There are many reasons why you are unable to counsel someone. This could be due to problems with alcohol or other reasons such as having to go to court. If you start counselling someone closely related to you, then you could end up having to go to court. There are many reasons why you end up not talking to someone. If you try to do things the way people did in the past, you can end up going to court. I was born before there was a court system, before the justice system came into existence. When I became aware of things, the R.C.M.P. was the only 'government' in existence. There were no

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government administrators and no judges back then. If a person committed a murder, there were a number of us who helped the R.C.M.P. go to where the crime had been committed. That was how the R.C.M.P. began to dominate Inuit life. Iluittuq asked how a person could improve their life. This is very hard these days because there are so many situations where one can end up in the court system.

**Kablaalik:** I would like to add to what Itinnuaq has said. I, too, have thought about this. I have often thought about *tirigusungniq*. There are Ten Commandments in the Bible. What are those Ten Commandments? I don't think we are following the Ten Commandments very well. Following the Ten Commandments seems to be a form of *tirigusungniq*. I don't really know all the commandments but I think that following them is a form of *tirigusungniq*.

**Pisuk:** I know a bit about *tirigusungniq*. I will give you an example of this. My mother was not to eat an animal that had been wounded in the intestines, the liver or the stomach. If those three parts had been wounded, she was not to eat them when she was pregnant. When she was pregnant with her younger children, she said she was not going to follow this anymore because she had become religious. She was also not supposed to eat any caribou glands. They used to say that if you ate the glands of a caribou, cuts and wounds would tend to fester. I can talk about this personally because I was saved by an *angakkuq*. Qaviajak said, "If you want to die, you can eat caribou heart. If you want to die, you can eat caribou liver." People eat both of these, but to this day I have never eaten a whole caribou liver or heart. She said if somebody served me caribou heart, then I was only to take a bite of it. I did not really understand this, but fear made me not eat it. I believe this to be a *tirigusungniq*. I was almost sixteen years old when I started this, and I follow this to this day.

Different people followed different *tirigusuusit*. I was told if there was a fish that had died in the net, I was not to give it to anyone, in case something bad happened to someone in my family. I was not to give it to anyone outside the family, otherwise my children and my grandchildren would develop a cough they would not recover from. To this day my wife and I have never fed other people fish that died in a net. We have always put those aside. We will eat them ourselves, but if we are going to feed anybody else, we never feed them fish that died in a net because we fear what might happen to our children and grandchildren. I have heard that if you always take care of your children and grandchildren they in turn will take care of you. We are proud of them.

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**Aupilaarjuk:** I would like to add to what has been said. I don't always understand *tirigusungniq*, but I believe in it. Moses was given the Ten Commandments by God that we were to follow. They were a form of *tirigusungniq*. We were to not break those commandments. When Jesus came down the ten were reduced to seven. We know that Jesus used to perform miracles before he was crucified. If we had not become Christian, when we heard about Jesus, we would have considered him to be a very powerful *angakkuq*. I would not like our old vocabulary to disappear, now that we have Nunavut. I have heard that people don't even like the term *tirigusungniq*. I am not trying to go back to what used to be. I think if we put the word aside for a moment, we can see that we still need to continue to *tirigusuktuq*. If we work at not doing the things we are not supposed to, that would really help us. That is *tirigusungniq*. I am not trying to follow the old rules of *tirigusungniq*. But I would like it known that this is part of being an Inuk. These are my personal thoughts.

**Angutinngurniq:** I am going to ask more about *tirigusungniq*. I know the *tirigusungniit* that are followed in the Catholic church. The young people do not follow these. We know that. If the young people started following these, it would be good. It would be better. I know that when our children were first sent to school they became very distant from us. Recently, they are becoming closer.



# The Value of Angakkuuniq: Recollections of the Past

**A**ll of you have talked about your experiences and thoughts. We started with the idea that we were going to look at the value of angakkuuniq and the old traditions, their relationship to the problems of modern society, and the younger generation that is going through hard times. Not only have experiences come up but also discussions about the relationship between Christianity and angakkuuniq and the problems of youth and how to deal with them. All these things will be discussed again later on. We will proceed very carefully, very slowly. We don't want to make angakkuuniq any better or worse than it was. We just want to understand its value. How can we do this? All of you have said that you are not practising angakkuit but you have heard and known many of them. You have seen many things and received many traditions.

We will take topics and make rounds. Each of you can talk about your own experiences or recollections, or those of your parents or relatives, or other things you want to say. It is not a matter of agreeing or disagreeing, we just want to see the richness of all the traditions.

### Shamanic initiation

**Pujaat:** I have never seen an *angakkuq* initiated, and I have not been initiated so I have nothing to say.

*Do you have any recollections about shamanic initiation from your parents or ancestors that were passed on to you?*

**Nuliajuk:** I can talk a little about this. I have been told about initiation. I have always known that I did not want to be an *angakkuq*. They say it is very difficult when a child starts becoming an *angakkuq*, but they also say it is all right. It is much more difficult for a person to become an *angakkuq* as an adult. It is very hard. I have never gone through it. I have only been told about it. I have never been told that they bump heads. When someone is becoming an *angakkuq*, nothing can be hidden from them. When someone is becoming an *angakkuq*, it is not pleasurable to see clothing that had been given to them all torn up. Even when the lakes are frozen because it is winter, they can still see the gravel at the bottom. When someone was going to the hospital in Yellowknife, one

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*angakkuq* would put his healing power underneath the plane to accompany the sick person. When the sick person landed in Yellowknife, the *angakkuq* would arrive at the same time. This is what I have heard. This was told to me by someone who was becoming an *angakkuq*. I think there are others who know more than I do.

**Pisuk:** I probably won't say this properly. Qaaqu's father, Nagjuk was trying to make me into an *angakkuq*. What we are talking about is really important, so I am not going to keep anything hidden. My mother and father agreed when he told them he wanted to make me into an *angakkuq*. I got to the point where I was able to see what Nagjuk was going to *tupilattuq*. I would see it with him. On the third day, I was told I was to *tupilattuq* on my own. I was to use my hands to kill it. I was able to see it.

My uncle didn't want me to become an *angakkuq*. He said that there would be times when people would be displeased with me. At times I would be given thoughts that weren't my own. They say that sometimes a person is given the breath of a deceased grandmother, mother or father to protect them against *inuarniut*, the power of another *angakkuq* to kill. This breath becomes their *tuurngaq*. I'm not the only one who knows about this. If I didn't want to die I would have to fight the *tuurngaq* of the *angakkuq* that was trying to kill me. If this *tuurngaq* that I fought with returned to the owner, the *angakkuq* would die. Because my uncle did not want me to become the type of *angakkuq* that would cause death, he didn't want me to become an *angakkuq*.

I would see things that I did not really understand. The *angakkuq* would explain them to me and tell me the meaning. On the third day I was supposed to kill my own *tupilaq*. I felt confident I would be able to do this. Then my uncle said that even if I had no intention of killing anyone, if somebody forced me to think that way I would. When an *angakkuq* is killed, then his family members start to die as well. My uncle feared for me and did not want me to become an *angakkuq*. After that, I stopped dreaming like a child. I kept dreaming, but not like a child. After my uncle said that to me, I could not see what Nagjuk was going to *tupilattuq* anymore. I could only see his hands. This power was to be given to me. I desired it to be given to me. This is all I can tell you about becoming one. I am not an *angakkuq* and I am happy not to be an *angakkuq*. Maybe if I had become an *angakkuq*, I would have shortened my life. Because of that, I am thankful that I was asked not to become one.

*Could you repeat what you said about the breath and the tuurngaq?*

**Pisuk:** When an *angakkuq* tells his *tuurngaq* to go after a person, they have to give breath to it. They have to give life to the *tuurngaq* if the *tuurngaq* is going to go after someone. The *tarniq* of the *angakkuq* is within this *tuurngaq*. That's the way these *angakkuq* shorten their lives. My uncle was afraid this would happen to me. I have never made an *ilisiqsiniq*, a hex. I don't even know one *irinaliuti*, incantation.

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**Iluittuq:** Nuliajuk reminded me that when you are an adult, becoming an *angakkuq* is very difficult. You go through a lot of difficulties. Everything around you, even if it is far away, becomes very clear. You can see your neighbours close up. They become very visible to you. Even when you are trying to sleep at night, you see everybody, and you wake up. Because of this, it is not pleasant at all. It is very difficult. It is very hard. I have put my wife through hardship because of this. I forgot about this yesterday. It is much more difficult when you become an adult. I believe what Nuliajuk has said. I don't want to lie because this is very important.

People would see two of me. I have been seen by more than one person in two places at the same time. There were times I would be seen, but only up to my chest. I don't know how or why this happened. Because Nuliajuk mentioned this, I understand it more. I mentioned earlier today that I wanted to understand things more, and Nuliajuk has helped me to do this.

I don't know anything more about this. I can only tell you what I have heard and what I have personally gone through. I don't know more about this, so I am looking forward to hearing from those older than myself. What he said earlier fits what I have gone through. I think that others have heard about this also. I am not going to talk about what others have gone through, just about my own experiences. Sometimes, when you are going to be talking about something that is very important, you have an uncomfortable feeling. I am disclosing to you that I never wanted to be an *angakkuq*. I wanted to be a good person, even though I was not always good. I know it feels better when you talk about things that are difficult. I don't know much more about this. If anyone wants to add more to this, it would be really helpful to me.

**Pujuat:** I have no knowledge at all about becoming an *angakkuq*. I never saw anyone becoming an *angakkuq*. I am not able to talk about this. My grandmother always talked to me about being a good person. She said I was always to be good to others. I looked after elders. Even though they did not request my help, she told me I was to help them, and I have always tried to follow this. I also try to help those who aren't capable. My grandmother's words have always stayed with me. I was to help those who were not capable and to help elders. Even though elders would not ask me to come, they would always be thankful when I did. My grandmother just told me to be a good person. I was not to *akiraqtuqtuq*, go against other people. Even if someone was bad, I was not to gossip about them. I was told not to talk about them. This is not a part of becoming an *angakkuq*, but of becoming a good person.

I was also told how to take care of children, and how to sew clothing for my husband and children. I was also told to always have our house in order for my husband when he came back from hunting. She told me this because she wanted my husband to

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be good to me. To this day, I remember her words even though she died quite a while ago. I remember them still.

I don't know much about *angakkuit*. I know some of the songs that my grandmother sang. If I had listened more, I would have remembered more of them because she always sang. We did not have any radio or television. The elders were the only entertainment that we had. I was told never to stay up late at night. I would be woken up in the morning while it was still dark. My grandmother told me to get up before other people started waking up and walking around. When I got up, I had to go outside right away. I had to go and see what the weather was like. I had to note what direction the wind came from. They taught us all this. Maybe if I keep talking without stopping, I will become an *angakkuq*!

**Itinnuaq:** Have you ever heard of a *qablunaaq* becoming an *angakkuq*?

**Frédéric:** Yes, there are *qablunaaq angakkuit*. In my area in France there are some.

**Itinnuaq:** We will be asking questions of you to gain a greater understanding. You might deny things even though you know.

**Jarich:** I might, but I won't.

**Itinnuaq:** We are talking about the initiation of an *angakkuq*. These two have talked about beginning to become *angakkuit*, and I understand what they have said. I have never been initiated as an *angakkuq*. I am not an *angakkuq*. When someone is being initiated as an *angakkuq*, they say they are able to see everything, even neighbours seem closer than they really are. Sometimes, when it is cloudy, and the weather is about to clear, you can see the clear sky, you can see the light becoming brighter and brighter. That's the way people becoming *angakkuit* see things.

I have watched someone close to me being initiated as an *angakkuq*. That person was a friend of mine. Although that person became an *angakkuq*, and was able to speak like an *angakkuq*, he never became a powerful one. Maybe he lied to himself, maybe he misused his powers. I have thought about this. *Tuurngait* are very finicky about things. They are finicky like some *qablunaaq* or like some very good people or beautiful women or handsome men are. *Tuurngait* are very picky. The *tuurngait* do not choose people by their appearance, but by their character, just as animals do not choose people that way. The *angakkuit* used everything and anything as *tuurngait*, even bees, foxes and snakes. There are numerous *tuurngait*. Some of them are good and some of them are not.

I really believe what these two have said. When a cloud is leaving, there are clear patches along the horizon. We start seeing things that are further away. I don't know if

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there are people nowadays who would like to have these *tuurngait*. There are still people who have received this power in the past. Maybe there are some young people today who would like them, but not many.

Regarding initiation, becoming an *angakkuq* can be very hard. Even though you are not being attacked, it is still very hard. Yesterday, Iluittuq said he did not know how he had travelled. He was able to do that only because he had help. If he did not have help, he would not have made it home on his Skidoo. Those of us who are elders know that he had help. We can't say for sure what happened. None of us can say that, but he was helped. Even though a person says they gave up their powers, if I became desperate, if I or someone in my household needed help, I would seek help from anyone. It really bothers me when someone says they don't want anything to do with *angakkuuniq* because when someone is in need, they might turn to it. Based on that, I will never turn my back on the past. I would prefer it if people would admit that. Those that vehemently deny the powers of the past might turn towards them in a time of need. When Inuit decided to become Christians, none of us knew if what was on paper was the real thing. The Bible was written by human beings. Nobody knows for sure if it is true. We are always going to say that evil will not be near us. I have often thought about this. Becoming an *angakkuq* has been mentioned as being very difficult. I don't know this personally because nobody had ever attempted to make me into an *angakkuq*. I can only say that I, too, have dreams. I am not able to say that when you become an *angakkuq* things seem different, but maybe that is what it is like at the beginning. This is all I can say.

**Pisuk:** You have talked about your life, and I have talked about mine. We did not have radios or televisions back then. We did not have two-way radios either. Even though I was not an *angakkuq*, I had this ability to search for animals. Itinnuaq talked about the weather clearing and things becoming more visible. I have this ability to search for animals. I didn't acquire it on my own. It was given to me. It looks like a little rainbow. When I go out, I look for it. It is not created by humans or *tuurngait*. I know when I see it that is where the caribou are.

Before, we had no electronic means of communication. Only Igluligaarjuk had a radio station back then. I was not born with this ability. Nagjuk gave it to me. He wanted to give this to me. He never lied to me. He said that when I went out, whenever I saw this little rainbow, there would be caribou. Whenever I would see it, my father would want to go in that direction. Even though I have been told not to summon the animals to come, I have had to do it a number of times. We all have electronic means of communication now. It's been less than twenty years since I have stopped doing this.

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**Suvaksiuq:** I can only tell you what I have heard. My brother-in-law Amarurjuaq's father was Kana'juaq. He was a Hauniqtuurmiut. He was well known. There was also another *angakkuq* from Asiaq that I knew named Atgaaqtu'nuaq who had been Iitaaq's father and one who was really well known, Ijjugaajjuk. Atgaaqtu'nuaq had made Ijjugaajjuk into an *angakkuq*. The person who I heard this from was my mother's younger sister's second husband Pinguqsat, who was Ijjugaajjuk's older brother. He was also Pujua'nuaq's and Alikasuaq's step-brother. I heard about Ijjugaajjuk being made into an *angakkuq* by Atgaaqtu'nuaq while we were at Sikuligjuaq. I did not watch it. I just heard about it.

They made a hole in the ice and Atgaaqtu'nuaq tied him to a piece of wood and put him down through the hole and kept him down there for five days. He did this because whenever something happened, such as a death, they had to wait for five days to pass. When my step-mother died, my grandmother waited for five days to pass at the foot of the bed.

When Ijjugaajjuk was being made into an *angakkuq* he was tied to a piece of wood and put into a hole in the ice for five days. A lot of people have heard about this. He said that when large trout would start coming near him their mouths would seem huge. The trout were the most fearsome fish that would come by because they had such big mouths. They would make him turn following the path of the sun which is *i&urramut*. *I&uurait*, trout, always turn following the path of the sun, which is *i&urramut*.

I heard this from Pinguqsat. Tijji had been with me when he told me about this. Tijji had been adopted by Pinguqsat. When we were out hunting past Sikuligjuaq, we spent a night in an *iglu*. Ijjugaajjuk was at Murjurnarjuaq when he was initiated. He became a powerful *anagakkuq*. When he was dying, he wanted to give his powers to his brother but his brother did not want them. I worked in the church and got to know the scriptures quite well. There was an *angakkuq* who attempted to heal me. When you become a lay minister, the bishop puts his hands over you and prays over you. When ministers pray over you, you shake. I was healed by an *angakkuq*. I gave the *angakkuq* a telescope and a hammer. I believed in this. That *angakkuq* has to hear you confess your wrongdoings. When an *angakkuq* has you disclose, only then can he heal you. You can't disbelieve either. They both have brightness, they both have power. I heard this from my grandmother Kikpaq. Even though I had no desire to become an *angakkuq*, I often think about *angakkuit* because if it hadn't been for them, I would not exist. My father was not an *angakkuq*. My father was Pinitqaarjuk and my mother was Qitiq&iluk. Somebody was going to make my father into an *angakkuq*, and he was about to agree but then changed his mind. Later on, I realized that you can't just get rid of the past. Even though I might want to be Christian, I would still continue to sin because that is part of being human. There is not a single human being who does not sin.



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*After being kept in the water for five days was he pulled out?*

**Suvaksiuq:** Yes, Ijjugaajuk was pulled out of the water. It was because he was being initiated that he was put into the water under the ice. He was a small man. *Tuurngait* were real. When people were thankful, they always gave something to the *angakkuq*, even if it was something small like a piece of meat. An *angakkuq*'s mind can go a great distance. It seems to go a lot further than the *qablunaat* mind. That *angakkuq* was so thankful to Ijjugaajuk that he made him into an *angakkuq*. He put a hole into the river at Murjurnarjuaq and placed him inside the hole. It must have been very cold, but he spent five days there. They pulled him out after five days. There was nothing wrong with his body. I am telling you about this because I believe it is true.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Is that the Ijjugaajuk who has relatives around Tikirarjuaq?

**Suvaksiuq:** Yes, Kautak and Alikasuaq are his descendants.

**Itinnuaq:** Was that Alikasuaq's father?

**Suvaksiuq:** It was either his father or his grandfather. There was also Kanajjuaq, my brother-in-law Amarurjuaq's father who was well known around here.

**Itinnuaq:** I have seen him.

**Suvaksiuq:** He got a *pisiq* when they arrived at Utkusiksalik, Wager Bay. I know his *pisiq* well. I am not that old, but I have done numerous things. I would like to say to those here that I will be talking about things I have heard and seen. Those who know things should also tell what they know. I don't want to say too much.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have never seen anyone initiated. I have only heard about this. I have never been through it. My father was not an *angakkuq*. I can tell you about one time when someone was trying to make my father into an *angakkuq*. I never experienced this. It was my father's story. Tuupi was an old woman who wanted to make him into an *angakkuq*. I did not know her. She was an *angakkuq*. Some of you know of her. I told Joan Atuat about her and she said Tuupi was not to be believed. She was a Qairnirmiut. Tuupi was not always truthful.

Suvaksiuq's words have reminded me of something my father said. Tuupi told him that when she was going to make him into an *angakkuq*, that he had to be in the water for five days. She said that those who ended up with polar bear fangs were not real *angakkuq*. It was those who had fox teeth that were real *angakkuq*. If he did not want to end up in the water for five days, then he had to stay in an *iglu* by himself. This would



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take longer than five days. He had to be in there alone, without water, and without food. He was going to be very hungry but no matter how hungry he was, he had to wait out those days he had to remain in the *iglu*. I can't remember how many days. After that, his thirst and hunger would be gone because a *tuurngaq* would be feeding him and giving him water to drink. When he was ready to rejoin people, he would have to swallow a brown lemming alive. This is what he would have to do, as an alternative to being in the water.

I have never seen anyone being initiated. Maybe there are different ways of being made into an *angakkuq*. Maybe there are different powers attached to them. I have also heard that people do not become *angakkuit* on their own. There are some who become *angakkuit* during childhood. You could tell if this was the case. It is not as difficult to become an *angakkuq* when you are a child as it is when you are an adult. Although I did not become an *angakkuq*, I know how powerful it is when you start having these powers come close to you. It is very scary. When I started having these feelings, I did not realize I was becoming an *angakkuq*. My father was aware of what was happening to me and told me that I was not to become an *angakkuq* because I had too quick a temper. I don't know how my father took this away, but I never became an *angakkuq*.

If I had become an *angakkuq*, I would have started seeing my neighbours and those around me. I think the *angakkuit* must have had different powers. I think some of them could see people even far away. If I ever felt I was powerful enough to see my neighbours, I was not supposed to try to find out things about them. That I believed, even though this was not from personal experience.

*Rasmussen said that swallowing a white lemming was good for getting qaumaniq because these lemmings come from heaven. Have you heard that?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** My father did not explain why he had to swallow the brown lemming. He just believed what he was told. He was told that if he swallowed the brown lemming, then there was nothing he would have to refrain from.

**Angutinnurniq:** I have heard others talking about initiation but I have never seen anybody initiated. I can't tell you anything at all about this personally, nothing whatsoever. I have heard that the *angakkuq* would go behind a blind with the one they were initiating and they would go down to another place. There was one who was being initiated named Anaijjaq who was not brought down but was taken elsewhere. I have talked to this person. He was not taken down. He was taken to another location. When the *angakkuq* took this initiate to this place, there were *tuurngait* coming up to the blind. The *tuurngait* did not seem to be aware of them at all. Then an *angakkuq* took him by the

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sleeve and took him down. I don't know this personally but I believe it because my father and my grandfather told me about it. I believe the *angakkuit* went through an initiation.

There is also something else I have heard. We call peregrine falcons *kiggaviarjuit*. They always nest up high. You would put your *qulittaaq*, your outer caribou parka, down below and try to get one of the eggs to fall down on the *qulittaaq*. If it fell and broke, you could not use it but if it fell safely on the *qulittaaq*, then it was given to the initiate as an *aarnguaq*, an amulet. I have heard of this. I don't have anything else to say about initiation. I don't know much about it. I don't want to tell you about things I don't know much about. My uncle Iksivalitaq was initiated in this manner.

**Aupilaarjuk:** The *angakkuit* had specific places they would go down through. I don't remember much about this but I too have heard about it. I have heard there were specific places they would go down through the earth to, and specific places they would go through to other places. I have heard that the specific places they went down through were scary.

**Aungutinnurniq:** It was scary because it was in a chasm which was called the *aqqaqtarvik*. It had shifting platforms they stepped on on their way down which tended to tip easily, but they would only tip to a certain angle. There was another place which was above this place that allowed them to go sideways. It was called the *sanivaqtarvik*. I believe this. My father talked about this. Others talked about this as well.

My uncle was given something to heal someone. He was trying to kill a *tupilaq*. Others saw it, but being a child, I searched for it but could not see it. They said it was big but I could not see it at all. My uncle was down on the floor, and suddenly his hands were very bloody. I remember this. He washed his hands in the urine pot, and his hands became clean. When I woke up the next day, we could see the shapes of a dog and a human on the floor. We were told that they were the images of the *tupilaak* that had been killed. We children were told to kill those *tupilait* so we started beating at those images. I remember this as a child. They were the images of the *tupilaak* that had been killed the day before. Maybe they were what had made the person sick.

**Kablaalik:** How would a person know when a child was becoming an *angakkuq*?

**Angutinnurniq:** I will use myself as an example. I started to become an *angakkuq* as a child but I wasn't aware of it. They say I started levitating when I was inside the *iglu*. When my mother told my grandfather that I was becoming an *angakkuq*, my grandfather who I called my *sanaji* said, "I don't want my *sanaugaq* to be one." That was the end of it. I did not become an *angakkuq*. This is what I have been told. I have heard that those

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who become *angakkuit* as children will be good *angakkuit* but those who become *angakkuit* as adults tend to use their powers for their own personal use.

My parents always lived on their own. Maybe if we had lived among other people I would know more, but my parents never lived where there were others, so as a result I don't know a lot. My mother did not tell us much.

The place that we went in the summer was very beautiful. All the camps where my father made his *pipsi* and his *mipku* are still there. I don't want them to change so people can see how they were. The places where he cached seals, the places where he dried caribou meat and fish, and the places where he gathered blubber are all there. I try to tell young people about these places so they know what uses my parents had for them.

**Itinnuaq:** As far as Henry's question is concerned, I can't really answer it. Maybe someone else can.

**Angutinngurniq:** All I can say is that I was not made into an *angakkuq* by someone else. The same thing happened to my *atiq*. He started to become an *angakkuq* on his own. He wasn't made into an *angakkuq* by anyone else. I was told the same thing happened to me, and I believe it.

**Itinnuaq:** My father also became an *angakkuq* on his own.

**Angutinngurniq:** I was such a young child I don't really remember this. I can't say one way or the other whether I found displeasure or joy in it. There are two things I remember from my childhood that gave me abilities. The one time when I levitated, I did not experience either displeasure or pleasure. I think I had helpers that made me able. They were my grandfather's and then they were gone.

**Iluittuq:** Do you know how this was removed? How was this done?

**Angutinngurniq:** I am not able to answer you. All I can tell you is that it was based on my grandfather's words. He said he did not want me to be an *angakkuq* and that was that.

**Pisuk:** I can add to that. I have already said that an *angakkuq* tried to make me into one but my father's brother did not want me to become one. He was worried about me becoming an *angakkuq*. He was afraid if there were people who did not like me that I would murder them. I might have started out as a good *angakkuq* but then later start killing people. He said he did not want me to be an *angakkuq*. As Angutinngurniq said, this was based on words.

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**Angutinnurniq:** That seemed to be the end of it. My grandfather said that he did not want me to become an *angakkuq* because if I used my powers for evil, if I used my powers to kill, I would shorten my life. Because he did not want me to use my powers for evil, he did not want me to become an *angakkuq*.

### ***Qaumaniq***

**Nuliajuk:** I can only tell you what I have heard. I have not seen this personally. They say that an *angakkuq* has *qaumaniq*. Some *angakkuuit* have more, some have less. Some of them are more powerful than others. They are able to see things that normal people can't see, such as Satan. They say they can see Satan in person, and even for an *angakkuq* it's a horrible sight. When there are people you like, you look forward to seeing them, but when it is Satan this is not the case. I can only tell you what I have heard.

*Have you heard whether the angakkuuit were able to perceive a tarniq?*

**Nuliajuk:** They say that they know about this. Those of us who are not *angakkuuit* cannot see *tarniit*, but the *angakkuuit* can see them.

*Are there different kinds of angakkuuit. Can you explain more about this?*

**Nuliajuk:** Some *angakkuuit* were vain and some were modest. Some of them liked to perform but others were more reluctant. Perhaps the ones that were vain tended to want to perform. I will learn more from others as they talk about it.

**Pisuk:** I honestly don't know much about this even though an *angakkuq* tried to make me into one. I sometimes regret that I did not become an *angakkuq*. I think the *angakkuuit* could see each other through their *qaumaniq*. They say that they have helpers from above, and there is brightness all around them. There are *tuurngait* like those little ones that go down, that had more of a red glow. Those that were told not to become *angakkuuit* don't see them anymore. I can only tell you what I have heard. The *angakkuuit* who have *qaumaniq* are still able to go to church, they are able to take communion, they are able to wear the cross. I have seen an *angakkuq* with fangs. Are there *qablunaaq angakkuuit* able to do the same? Can they go to church and take communion? Are they able to be Christians as well as *angakkuuit*?

**Jarich:** This is difficult to answer because there are so many different forms of *angakkuuniq* in my society. One year I gave a course on *angakkuuniq* to my students, and then I asked them if they wanted to watch a *qablunaaq angakkuq* perform. We went to see a woman who was a Christian healer. The people who were there, who were not

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*angakkuit*, went into a trance, including some of my students. This woman could heal through prayer and through seeing disease, by combining Christianity and *angakkuuniq*.

**Pisuk:** Maybe the ones who went into the trance were not really believers. Perhaps they found this event so powerful it was beyond them, so they ended up in a trance. I don't know how to add to this. Some *angakkuit* can tell if someone else is an *angakkuq* by their *qaumaniq*. I don't know this personally, I have just heard of it. I don't want to add more because it might not be true.

**Angutinnurniq:** If a person is not an *angakkuq*, do they have *qaumaniq* or not?

**Pisuk:** We all have a *tarniq*, so we all have a bit of *qaumaniq* like an *angakkuq*. If it is desired by some entity that we learn about something, we wouldn't learn about it in the same way an *angakkuq* would because we are just mere humans, but I think we are made to find out about it through dreams.

**Angutinnurniq:** My mother said she was never an *angakkuq* but she was told she had a large *qaumaniq* by an *angakkuq* who wanted to make her into one. That's why I thought *non-angakkuit* could have *qaumaniq*. The *angakkuq* Anaijjaq came to my mother and said, "You have a great amount of *qaumaniq*. I would like to make you into an *angakkuq*." Her mother-in-law did not want her to become an *angakkuq*, so she did not become one. When you are told things like this by your parents or grandparents, you believe them.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know much about this at all. I can only tell you about what I have experienced. I don't want to lie. I am not afraid to speak, but I can't talk about something I don't know about. I don't remember this at all from when I was a child. It was only as an adult that I heard about this.

**Pujuat:** I might not have *qaumaniq* but I know that I have a *tarniq*. *Tuurngait* never come close to me because they are scared of me. Maybe I am joking. I have never seen *qaumaniq*. Maybe I have seen it and forgotten. My grandmother, who looked after me, used to periodically put her saliva into my mouth. I would like to know why she did this. Maybe she wanted me to have a full long life and that's why she did it. I know I will never try to kill myself. I have never seen *qaumaniq*. I have never seen darkness either. I told you about the beings who came to get me who were dressed in white. Maybe I was just being shown what was ahead of me before I died. I have given my own meaning to this. When we die that's not the end, there is more. That's all I can add.

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**Itinnuaq:** I talked about *qaumaniq* earlier. I don't know what more to add. I said at the beginning that both good and evil possess *qaumaniq*. That which is evil has a much smaller *qaumaniq*, and the center of it is black. That which is good has a much bigger *qaumaniq*, and the center is white. That's the way it is with *tarniit*. We humans don't have *qaumaniq*. Our *tarniit* have *qaumaniq*. We are talking about *tarniit*, we are not talking about the flesh. We are talking about *angakkuuniq*. We are trying to find out about what is possible to be seen. I have only heard that everybody has a *qaumaniq* and that the *angakkuuit* see it. We have said that the *angakkuuit* can see *qaumaniq*. When an opening is made, then it is possible to see the *qaumaniq*. Maybe you don't understand what is meant by *qaumaniq*. We have seen pictures that depict what *qaumaniq* is. In the pictures of saints, in the religious pictures, they show brightness around the head. Those are images of what is good. I can't add more to this because I have talked about it already. I would like to hear about how *qablunaat* see it. We are trying to talk about what we have experienced, and it would really help us if either of you could tell us what you know.

**Frédéric:** I just know a little bit about the *angakkuuniq* practised in my region in France. I have heard about people following *angakkuuit*. Some of them go to church but some don't. Some of them are said to have the power to heal. They can also predict the future, but I never experienced this myself. This is all that I am able to answer.

**Jarich:** Sometimes it is a question of seeing. Different people see different things. There are some people that are able to see certain illnesses and qualities of a person. Usually each one is a specialist in a different field. It is not like there is someone with perfect vision, someone who sees everything. Some seers see some things, and others see other things.

**Suvaksiuq:** I know about *qaumaniq*. It has affected me. In 1952, my brother and I were on a boat. We had left from a place around Usugana'naaq. We saw two *qaumaniik* outside. One was very bright. The other was less so. We had taken off without a paddle. The water was so deep that you could not see the bottom. I fell into the water even though my brother tried to prevent this from happening. Although my brother was able to swim, I was unable to. It was very windy. My brother yelled out into the air, "Let me be helped," three times. My brother had also fallen into the water. There was this brightness that came to us. We were in the light that was less bright. My father's adopted father was an *angakkuq*. We saw two *qaumaniik*; the *qaumaniq* of *angakkuuniq* and the *qaumaniq* of prayer. The *qaumaniq* of prayer was bright. They both had brightness. You cannot disbelieve this because they both were there.

It took us a long time to get to shore. We had swallowed a lot of seawater. We knew that our parents were going to be very displeased with us but we still continued home.

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Our parents could not scold us. There was nothing they could say. Even the person whose boat we lost could not say anything to us. This happened in the spring. We were brought to shore by this *qaumaniq*. This happened in 1952. It was impossible to find that boat again. We were throwing up a lot of salt water. This is what we experienced.

There is indeed *qaumaniq*. Everything has a *qaumaniq*, good *tuurngait* and bad ones as well. I have experienced this. My brother had given up hope that we would live. Neither prayer nor *angakkuuniq* are to be taken lightly. I know for a fact that there is *qaumaniq*.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I, too, am unable to say much about this. I will tell you what Iksivalitaq said, and what I have experienced. I did not believe in *qaumaniq* at first. It was someone else's words that convinced me. No one asked where it comes from this time. I never try to explain where *qaumaniq* comes from. The *angakkuit* have known about *qaumaniq* for a long time. People who pray also believe in it. We know it does not come from people themselves. I feel that it is related to 'The Most Powerful One.'

Suvaksiuq said that you can experience it. From what I understand, it can show you if something is going to happen. I have lost numerous children. You can pray for them but you can only accept what will happen. I have lost eight children and I have seen *qaumaniq* each time. There would be an instant of brightness. It would be extremely bright, brighter than the sun. I don't know where it came from. It did not come from me. Perhaps it was a sign to me that my children were not going to live.

They say that *angakkuit* have *qaumaniq*. Does it come from people? That is a question that's always being asked. I can't say that *qaumaniq* doesn't come from people, but I think it comes from the 'The Most Powerful One.' We can't say for sure that *qaumaniq* comes from people.

**Angutinngurniq:** I don't know where *qaumaniq* comes from. I don't understand it. I believe there is a God, and therefore I think it comes from God. I don't think it is something that originates here on earth, from this world. I think that Christianity and the good in Inuit spirituality come from the same source. Since I don't know for sure where it comes from, I would like to know where you two think *qaumaniq* comes from.

*Rasmussen reported that qaumaniq came from white polar bears that had a human shape, deceased persons, the spirit of the moon or the spirit of the caribou.*

**Angutinngurniq:** That is Rasmussen's answer, what is your answer?

**Frédéric:** I don't know.



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*Qaumaniq, the shamanic vision, is often associated with joy. Is that something anyone has heard about?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I don't know if I can answer. I don't know where it comes from. I have seen the *angakkuq* Saumik perform. I think there is joy in being an *angakkuq*. Whenever he had walrus tusks, he had a lot of joy. But when he had the *ak&ak*, black bear, with him there was no joy. I think that there is both.

I would like to add something. I know that there are mistakes in what Rasmussen wrote. Therefore, I think Inuit should be the ones doing the teaching.

*Do you think it is through qaumaniq that the angakkuit can see wrongdoings?*

**Itinnuaq:** I think it is very easy to answer that question. Only when the *qaumaniq* comes to the *angakkuq*, is he able to see. If the *qaumaniq* is not upon him, he is just like the rest of us. He is not able to see.

**Itinnuaq to Aupilaarjuk:** I heard that when you were in Iqaluit that you performed *qilaniq*. Did others do it as well?

**Aupilaarjuk:** The students did not have any idea about it at all. I showed them a little bit about how it was done when I was in Iqaluit. If you just talk about it without demonstrating it, they will never know what it is like. That's why I showed them how it was done.

*Maybe it is done in different ways in different places.*

**Suvaksiuq:** They would use wood and rocks, and people's heads.

**Itinnuaq:** We Nattilingmiut used people's heads.

**Angutinngurniq:** I'm a Nattilingmiutaq. I have seen *angakkuit* use people's heads. Others use their legs and their feet.

**Itinnuaq:** Among the Aivilingmiut, I think they used rocks.

**Pisuk:** From what I have heard there were also others that used a piece of wood. They would also use a piece of *pukiq*, the white fur from a caribou's belly, wrapped around it. If anyone else, other than the person who it belonged to, moved it they would not be

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able to put it back. Even two strong men working together wouldn't be able to move it. I think that's the way they did it among the Paallirmiut.

**Suvaksiuq:** I have actually seen Iqsaarjuaq's *qillati*, the object used to perform *qilaniq* with. It is near the end of the inlet at Qamujjuaqtalik. We used to play with a piece of wood that had a piece of *pukiq* tied around it. It would actually seem that it would stick to the ground. Everybody in Arviat knows about this. Even I have pulled at it and it actually seems to stick. This one is not scary. They say that some of them are scary and some of them aren't.

**Pujuat to Suvaksiuq:** What kind of rope did it have around it? Was it made of caribou skin?

**Suvaksiuq:** There was no rope. You pulled at the piece of wood.

**Pujuat:** There are indeed different ways to perform *qilaniq*.

**Lizzy Itinnuaq:** Not all *angakkuit* belong to Satan. They have *qaumaniq* from heaven, not from Satan. There are *angakkuit* that do not use their powers for evil. Some people can see things that not everyone can see. If they want to help, they are good. They have different helpers with different names. Even after Christianity arrived, even today, disharmony still exists. I know that many people don't like *angakkuit*. I am named after an *angakkuq* who was a very powerful person. I am also named after the Virgin Mary who was a very powerful person also.

One day I found a spider. I went to spray it and it disappeared. I thought maybe this spider belonged to someone who did not like me who was using the spider as a helper. I never think about wanting someone to become sick, that I want them to die. I know there might be people who dislike me, who despise me, who might want something bad to happen to me. We used to have *angakkuit*. Those that were vain and just showing off did not use their abilities to help.

*Can you tell us about a qilaniq ritual you observed?*

**Pisuk:** If I were to imitate someone who was performing *qilajuq*, I could make it seem that I was really doing it. I have never actually tried it, whether it was to try to get animals to come closer or to heal a sick person.

**Pujuat:** My adopted parents used to *qilajuq*. I did see this, but it was such an ordinary occurrence, I didn't think to pay attention. Sometimes, when there were people who were out hunting too long and they became concerned about them, this was a way of

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finding out if they were okay, because back then there were no electronic forms of communication. During *qilaniq* they would be able to find out if the people who were overdue were all right. Also, when we were experiencing a scarcity of game they would use *qilaniq* to find out where the animals were. Maybe it was also used to find out the cause of illness, but I don't recall that being done. All that I really know is that it was used to locate people and to find animals.

**Pisuk:** I, too, would see people who were *qilajuq*. When they were doing it they were doing it in earnest. I never acquired the ability to do this. I am totally unable to perform *qilaniq*. If I were to try to show *qilaniq* to you, I would only be demonstrating it; I would not be actually doing it. Those that would perform *qilaniq* would end up exposing wrongdoings that a person was trying to hide. Through a questioning process, they would come up with the answer.

**Suvaksiuq:** I, too, saw people perform *qilaniq* but I have never tried it. I got to hold the *qillati* once when someone was doing a form of *qilaniq*, and the stick was very light. Many people were taking turns. Sometimes it would be heavy and sometimes it would be light. Another time, when we were at Sikuligjuaq, I tried lifting the *qillati*. We weren't actually performing *qilaniq*, we were just playing around. We were asking questions, all kinds of questions. Even though we were just playing, it is possible to really do this in earnest. Those who were capable of doing this could really do it. There are some people who do not always disclose their abilities. I do know there are people who know how to do this. I really believe in *qilaniq*.

**Angutinnurniq:** My parents often lived alone, away from others. Whenever any of us became sick, they would resort to *qilaniq*. They would perform *qilaniq* because they were really concerned; they wouldn't just be doing it for fun. My father attempted to use me as a *qilajaaq* but he wasn't able to get any results using me at all. When we were young we would try it. I have tried to perform *qilajuq* but I have never been successful. I would observe my parents when they did this. They would do this for our sakes. Whenever any one of us got sick, they would rely on *qilaniq* to find out why we were sick.

There was another person I saw do this. She was a middle-aged woman. I also saw an old woman do this. These were the only other ones I saw do this.

**Nuliajuk:** I, too, have seen people *qilajuq*. They did this to try to help people who were sick. Those that were performing *qilaniq* were not *angakkuut*. They would be asking questions to try to find out the cause of something. I, too, have never tried it. Although I have never tried it, I know the procedure one has to follow.

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**Itinnuaq:** I, too, have seen it done. They would use *qilaniq* to help a person who was sick. They would ask questions and when the answer was no, the head would be very easy to lift. When the head would become heavy the answer was yes. That would be the head of the person who was *qilajajuuq*, the *qilajaq*. When the head is heavy, it is very hard to lift. Suvaksiuq mentioned that sometimes even two people are unable to lift the object being used as the *qilajajuuq*. When it becomes *uqumangiqtuq*, it is not possible to lift at all. Earlier we talked about *qaumaniq*. When the *qillati* being used is approached by a *tuurngaq* it either becomes heavy or light. That's what we were told. *Tuurngait* are not like people. They tend to be squeamish very easily. Therefore, if you were getting ready to *qila*, you had to be very aware of them, because they did not want to come close if you were not really prepared. Although someone has the ability to *qilajuuq*, if they are not really prepared, they will not be successful.

**Iluittuq:** When I was a child I, too, used to see people *qilajuuq* but I didn't see this very often. I saw it, but being a child, I didn't stop to think, "That is *qilaniq* being performed." It was only afterwards that the full realization of what used to take place became apparent to me. My mother is the only one I have ever known to perform *qilaniq*. I have never tried it. I think maybe if I'd seen people other than my mother doing this I would feel more confident talking about it. I can only talk about what I know. Although I would see it happening, I wouldn't be told, "This is how you do it. This is how it's done." When you are a child you don't pay much attention to things that weren't out of the ordinary. Therefore, I can't tell you much about it.

**Jarich:** I have something to add. What I have seen in the readings comes to the fore. *Qilaniq* is very old and was done for hundreds of years. *Qilaniq* was not only performed by *angakkuit*. It was also done by ordinary Inuit who were able to do so. Would you like to try to perform *qilaniq*? Aupilaarjuk has said that sometimes, even if you are told about something, if you haven't seen it, it is difficult to know what is being talked about. You have said you were willing to demonstrate *qilaniq* on video. Would you be willing to demonstrate it in this room?

**Suvaksiuq:** We could do it on the floor. We could move the table over. We should move the table because we should be on something firm and the table moves.

**Itinnuaq:** Although Jarich has said that anyone could do this, I don't agree with that. Only some people are able to perform *qilaniq*. Some people will have no success in *uqumangiiniq*. Maybe if someone was shown how to be successful, they would be able to do it. There are some people who are unable to succeed in having the object become heavy at all. Anyone is capable of tying a rope around the head or an object and

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attempting to perform *qilaniq*. However, not everyone can succeed in making the object become heavy. *Qilaniq* is not a means of entertainment. Because it was very useful, it was done in earnest. It wasn't done just for fun. They did it if they wanted someone who was sick to get better. Because they relied solely on animals for food, if they were experiencing hunger, they would use it to find out where the animals were. They might be worried about a child who was out hunting and want to know how he was. These reasons have been stated before. Not everyone could perform *qilaniq*.

*Do any of you remember the specific words that were used when they were asking questions?*

**Itinnuaq:** Yes. You had to ask the questions seriously.

**Pujuat:** You had to ask the questions seriously, and rely on the answer you were given. In *pre-qablunaat* times they had to depend on animals for food and this was really serious.

**Pisuk:** I said that I would demonstrate it, but it would only be a demonstration because I am one of those people who are unable to do it. Although I am aware that *qilaniq* is serious, I am willing to demonstrate it for the video. I am even willing to pretend that the object is heavy. I am willing to do this to demonstrate how it was done. *Qilaniq* was serious and it wasn't something to play at. It is dangerous to play at it. Maybe if young people or even children were able to see it done, they might be able to do this as well. They might have the ability to do it in earnest.

**Angutinnurniq:** Have either of you actually ever seen someone *qilajuq*?

**Jarich:** I've seen it in a movie, and I've seen it in a demonstration, but I've never seen it done for real.

**Itinnuaq:** Since you said anyone could perform *qilaniq*, I would like to see you do it.

**Kublu:** The reason why he said anyone could do it was because you elders said it could be performed by *non-angakkuit*. We know for a fact that *non-angakkuit* could not perform *sakaniq*. Is it true that *non-angakkuit* could perform *qilaniq*?

**Itinnuaq:** Yes. Any one of us could perform *qilaniq*.

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**Angutinngurniq:** I would like to emphasize that *qilaniq* was not performed for mere entertainment. In the past, before there were nurses, and they were unsure of what to do, they relied on *qilaniq*. It is serious and therefore not something to be taken lightly. If we are going to demonstrate it, we are going to have to explain the serious nature of *qilaniq*. It would be useful if someone here who has the ability, and is willing to carry it out would do so. If people are not willing to do this, we should think more carefully about it.

**Pisuk:** If a young boy wanted to be able to perform *qilaniq*, then he had to abstain from wearing or playing with anything that belonged to a girl. If a girl wanted to do this, she had to abstain from wearing or playing with boys' things. If there was anyone who thought you were worthy to become an *angakkuq*, then you could suddenly become an *angakkuq*. Anybody who wanted to be able to perform *qilaniq* could give a small object to someone who was able to do so, to indicate their gratitude to those things that made the person able to perform *qilaniq*.

*What type of object could be given?*

**Pisuk:** Anything could be given. Any little object would do.

**Jarich:** You have to think about this very carefully. You elders have seen this, have witnessed this great tradition in the Inuit culture. If younger people were to learn this, it would have to be from you, the elders.

**Kublu:** If young people are not shown an actual *qilaniq* performance, it just becomes words to them. They would say *qilaniq* was something that Inuit used to do, which belongs to the past.

**Pisuk:** I have talked about *qilaniq* with one of my grandchildren, but I haven't talked about it with anyone else.

**Nuliajuk:** I have seen *qilaniq*. Whenever the person who was *qilajuq* did not take it lightly, they would try to find the cause of a sickness through questions. When they found the cause, the *qilajuq* would be able to *uqumangiijuq*.

**Angutinngurniq:** If we don't want it seen, we have to think about why we are gathered here. We have to determine whether or not we want young people to know about this. Would it be of use to later generations? If we feel that it is not going to be of any use, then we can end it here. We have to decide on this.

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**Nuliajuk:** Would showing *qilaniq* to young people be of any use to them?

**Jarich:** The whole purpose of this workshop is to find ways to help young people. We do not know yet what is going to work and what is not. We are still looking for ways. I don't think we should do anything you feel uncomfortable with.

**Pisuk:** I think we should try to make what we are talking about understandable to others. I was told that I should not make fun of anything. I was told if I did this, I would die early. I have now become an elder because I listened to what I was told.

*When do people perform qilaniq using their own leg?*

**Angutinngurniq:** I couldn't do that because I am not even able to make an object heavy. I have heard that people were told not to use their leg as a *qillati*. I would never try using my leg. I have never seen that done.

**Pujuat:** I, too, have never seen that. I don't think it was done very often, at least not among us.

**Nuliajuk:** They say that those who would perform *qilaniq* using their leg ended up having difficulty walking.

**Pisuk:** I, too, have heard that, and therefore I have never tried it, just in case I started walking poorly.

**Angutinngurniq:** The reason why I said I was unable to do this is because those who use their own leg to perform *qilaniq* are said to develop difficulty walking early on. I have never seen it done and I wouldn't try it.

*Do you think that qilaniq could be used for finding wrongdoers?*

**Pujuat:** Of course. It could be very useful. If people who commit wrongdoings started being found out, I think it would be a great deterrent. If a person stole something, people could find this out.

**Itinnuaq:** From what I have seen, a person who is going to perform *qilaniq* can only perform it with someone they choose to do this with. They can't be told by someone else who they will be performing *qilaniq* on. I have seen a few people performing *qilaniq* using stones. I have also seen someone using a piece of wood as well as a beater, but I



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most often saw *qilaniq* performed using a person. Whoever was doing the *qilaniq* was serious about doing it.

I have already stated that *tuurngait* are squeamish. If there is too much sound around, even outside, we are not going to be successful. If there is noise in here we won't be successful either. If a Honda goes by or there is a knock at the door, we are not going to be successful. I know this myself. I don't know about anyone else.

**Pisuk:** I agree with Itinnuaq about the *tuurngait* being very sensitive.

**Jarich:** I don't think we should try this if anyone feels uncomfortable because it is quite clear we are dealing with a serious thing. If you don't feel comfortable doing this at this session, but sometime later on you feel comfortable doing so with others, then it is all right.

**Itinnuaq:** I am willing to go ahead but with people going back and forth and in and out and noise constantly, I have been reluctant and not forthcoming. Because we are going to be here for some time, we could do it some evening. I don't think we should just let this slip by, but I don't think we are ready to do this right now. We should use all our abilities to ensure that when we do this, it is done properly so that it is useful for people, especially for young people and offenders. Perhaps if *qilaniq* became a common practice, it could be a deterrent to offenders. I know that it wouldn't totally eliminate wrongdoings. We could look at the positive aspects of using *qilaniq*.

**Angutinnurniq:** I agree with what Itinnuaq has said about the need for quiet. My parents always used to tell us to be quiet when they did this because it was important. It has always been of use and it is not to be taken lightly.

**Nuliajuk:** During *qilaniq*, whoever was the *qilajaujuq* would have their face covered with a pair of mitts so they couldn't see. The one who was performing *qilajuq* could see. That's the way I saw it being done.

*Aupilaarjuk, you weren't here so you weren't able to tell us about your experiences with qilaniq.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I, too, have seen *qilaniq* but there are parts of it I have forgotten about. I am able to perform *qilaniq*, but I am also aware that the *tuurngait* could choose to tell me lies. One time I was trying to perform *qilaniq* when I was out with someone. We were out hunting but weren't having any success at all and were hungry. Because we were desperate, I started to *qilajuq*. Although I could manage to *uqumangiijjuq*, have the object

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become heavy, I didn't feel I was getting the truth. Because of this experience I know you don't always get the truth through *qilaniq*. Anyone who was *qilagiktuq*, who had powers come to them easily, could be successful. *Qilaniq* could be of use, but there were some people to whom lies could be told. Of those of us present, some of us would be able to *uqumangiijuq*, but we don't know which of us that is.

Angutinngurniq, you mentioned that you were one of those people who was not able to *uqumangiijuq*. I can say that *qilaniq* can be of use, but we also have to be aware that it might not be true. This is based upon personal experience. Not everyone here is like me. I grew up seeing *qilaniq* being performed by my parents. Whenever anything out of the ordinary occurred, they would rely on *qilaniq*. Often they would seem to find the answers. I know that *qilaniq* can be useful to some people because they have the ability to do this. We all have varying abilities. I can also say that some powerful *angakkuit* were not always successful performing *qilaniq*. On the other hand, some *non-angakkuit* could be very successful at it. I think if we decided to use it again today, it would not be dangerous. There is no danger attached to it. There are some people who are *qilagiktuq*.

When my daughter who lives in Naujaat was very sick, Tiaksaq, who was not an ordinary person, and who was more powerful than her husband, offered to perform *qilaniq* for her. I hadn't asked her to. It was out of compassion that she offered to do it. She took a stone that wasn't all that large and put her hat over it. She called for an *apiqsaq* and when one came to her, she was no longer able to lift the stone. She was blind at that point. She tried to lift that stone with all her might. She knew she wasn't going to damage it. I could see what was going on. I thought the rope was going to slip off but I felt too intimidated to tell her so. Not knowing what to do or say, I just stared. Suddenly the rope slipped and she fell over backwards. That's one *qilaniq* performance that I remember clearly. I have talked about other people's experiences that I have heard about, but this one I experienced myself.

**Angutinngurniq:** Aupilaarjuk has said that you can be told lies during *qilaniq* and there are times when you hit upon the truth. There was a time when we were without food. My father decided to perform *qilaniq* because we were hungry. Through *qilaniq* we found out where we could get animals, but there weren't any, so I know for a fact that lies can be told during *qilaniq*. My father was very serious performing it because we were without food. The answer that was given was that there were caribou close by, but when we went out, there weren't any. I would also like to add that when I saw my parents perform *qilaniq*, the person who was the *qilajaujuq* would have their hood up and their face covered. I thought I should add this.

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**Pisuk:** Having seen *qilaniq* performed as well, I agree with those who have said that lies could be told. They are telling the truth. The *tuurngait* that are called *miqqiijautit* are liars. They are terrible *tuurngait* to end up with as *apiqsait*. They are mischievous and if possible you should try to get another *apiqsait* instead.

They say that the best *tuurngait* to have as *apiqsait* were Ubluriasugjuk and the invisible shovels, because if they were present even things that were shameful to the patient could be disclosed. I remember once someone not wanting *miqqiijautit* as *apiqsait*.

**Itinnuaq:** Since we have been talking about *qilaniq*, I would like to make a comment about the truth not always being told. I, too, have seen a lot of *qilaniq* performances. When we are young, we want immediate results. You so much want the answer to be true that you believe it. Also, someone who was capable would not always be successful at *uqumangiiniq*. When that same person tried again, they might be successful later on. I, too, saw that happen. I think that when someone becomes desperate, for instance if someone close to them is ill, then they start looking for help from elsewhere. Sometimes, someone who ordinarily doesn't seem to be successful can be of help. I think because we were very young, we were too quick to judge whether a person was *qilagiktuq* or not.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Itinnuaq has just reminded me of something else that I have seen. Both my mother and my father used to perform *qilaniq* when they became desperate, such as when one of us became sick. They relied on *qilaniq* because they were not *angakkuit*, even though my father had the ability to make predictions. First of all, he would ask if what was around was his *apiqsait*, as he would not be able to lift the object at all. When he was not able to lift the object, although he was asking questions he was not getting an answer. He would say it wasn't his *apiqsait*. He would say, "Atai," and clap his hands, and then it would suddenly get light. I saw my father when he was like that. I don't know if it was only my father that did that or if others did that as well.

**Angutinnurniq:** It was the same thing with my father. I had forgotten to include that.

**Itinnuaq:** That must have been a Nattilik trait.

**Aupilaarjuk:** *Tuurngait* are easily startled. They must have done that to startle them. We are all talking about what we have seen and are telling the truth.

**Angutinnurniq:** The term for startling a *tuurngaq* like that is *qugluijaqtuq*. Whenever there was a mischievous *tuurngaq* who didn't want to answer questions and people didn't want it, they would startle it by clapping their hands. We have said that *tuurngait* startle very easily. Both my mother and my father would want us to be quiet because of

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this. I have seen this personally. *Qilaniq* is a serious matter and those who perform it, perform it in earnest.

*They say that angakkuit were able to influence the weather, for example when there were bad snowstorms. Have you heard about stopping such storms?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** This is a topic I don't really know about. I know that the *angakkuit* worked really hard to influence the weather, especially since we would end up with times of hunger because of it. In those days we depended entirely on dogs and our legs. We survived by hunting. We had no Skidoos or any means of travelling quickly. We did not have Social Services to turn to. People were completely on their own. They had to completely rely on their own abilities, whether physical, or metaphysical. However, I am not really able to talk about this. I haven't seen anyone actually influence the weather; I've only heard about it. They say that if the weather was bad for a long time, there was a reason for this. There were those who were able to influence the weather. Whoever had this ability would be given an object to get them to attempt to influence the weather. The weather would be changed, but I don't know how. I was in awe of this. I don't think we could do this now. I think it is the most difficult thing for an *angakkuq* to do, because the weather is not controlled by people.

**Angutinngurniq:** I am going to talk about what I have heard and what I have seen. The *angakkuit* could deal with some things but they were not able to deal with all things. Although the *angakkuit* were good at helping people, if they didn't have the ability to influence the weather they couldn't do it. I have seen an *angakkuq* who was unable to do anything about the weather. Maybe he wasn't a very powerful *angakkuq*. There had been a blizzard for some time. This *angakkuq* was given an object to improve the weather. This *angakkuq* performed *sakaniq*. In Nattilingmiut the term for this is *tuurngijjuq*. He couldn't do anything about it. I have also seen someone who was not an *angakkuq*, but because he had been bestowed the quality of changing the weather at birth, was able to improve the weather. In order to improve the weather he had to go for a period of time without drinking water. After he had observed this period of time and not drunk any water, he would start trying to influence the weather. He would put one hand in his sleeve. He would wear a mitt on his other hand and he would go around visiting house to house. I have seen him do this. When he would go into a house, he would state to the people within, "I am going to go and get Naarjuk's *aquiji*, the one who fetches things, for him." I remember him saying those words. The next day, the weather would get better. Years later when he was an old man, he was asked to try and change the weather. He replied

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that since it caused a lot of thirst to go for five days without drinking water, he felt he was not able to meet the challenge.

**Pisuk:** I have heard a little bit about people trying to influence the weather. I will rely on others to talk more about it. The Nattilingmiut believe it is Naarjuk who cause blizzards. I heard a story about an *angakkuq* who tried to find out why the weather was as bad as it was. I have only heard this. Someone else might be able to tell this better than I can. The *angakkuq* wanted to kill Naarjuk but he was afraid that if he killed him Naarjuk might kick over the rainbow and make the sky fall down. Although he was a powerful *angakkuq*, he was afraid. He started thinking he could lace up Naarjuk's clothes. After he did that, the weather improved and warmed up. The weather was good for a whole month. There was frost everywhere because it was so warm. On the one hand, it was good because those who went out seal hunting could get seals. The *angakkuq* went back to see Naarjuk. After he got there, he cut the lacing he had made, because Naarjuk told him that because the weather had been so warm, he had been shivering. Because Naarjuk didn't like being cold, the *angakkuq* undid the laces halfway. The *angakkuq* said that if Naarjuk was going to continue making blizzards that were very long, he would kill him. So Naarjuk said he would be good. When the weather was colder, they became more successful at hunting.

**Suvaksiuq:** I have not seen this first hand. I can only tell you what I have heard. The weather is an enormous thing. I had an uncle named Naarlugjuaq. He was the old woman Elizabeth Nutaraaluk's father. Naarlugjuaq lived with us when he was an old man. He told me this story when I was removing lice and white hair from his head. He said that one day in deep winter there was a blizzard. He was an *angakkuq* and people started to give him things to improve the weather. Although *angakkuq* were very powerful, some would claim not to have that ability. Although it was winter, there was thunder and lightning and it was raining. Naarlugjuaq told them that he was going to go to visit the *Aagjuuk* to ask them why the weather was being the way it was. Whenever an earth egg is broken, there is usually a lot of fog. It usually rains only in the summer. The rain starts after the eggs have been laid and the caribou calves have grown a bit. During that time there seems to be a lot of wind as though the ground is being cleansed. Because this occurred during the winter, he said he had to go and find out what was happening. He also wanted to find out from the *Aagjuuk* how to fix the weather. I may have omitted part of the story. Although we can feel the wind, we can't see it. He started being given objects to improve the weather. Of all the things that he had done, changing the weather was the most difficult. There is a term among the Paallirmiut for dispersing the clouds, which is *qugjaqtuq*. There were some that had the ability to disperse clouds.

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I only know about this because Naarlugjuaq told me this. He stayed with us when he became a widower without a family. My father looked after him.

**Pujuat:** I am unable to improve the weather. I have heard about people trying to do this, but I don't know of anyone who has actually done this using *apiqsait* or anything else for that matter. I can tell you something I experienced personally. We used to live down at Aulattivik. Everyone here knows we lived there for a long time. My adopted parents Tullik and Qalalaaq and my aunt Sinisiaq were there. She was older than me. We would get ice in a lake that was over the hill. We usually did this in the early spring, when the days started to get longer. The night before, there had been ground snow. We noticed that there were tiny little tracks. Along-side the tracks there were tiny little footprints with the toes pointed outwards. Here we lived all alone and we hardly ever had any visitors. Sometimes, people on route to Kuugjuaq stopped by on their way to get their mail from Igluligaarjuk. These tracks that we came upon were very fresh. We didn't try to find what had made the tracks and I'm glad we didn't. They say the *inugarulligait* will try and wrestle with whoever comes upon them. Because my aunt was older, she wanted to quickly get the ice and go home, so we did so. She told her father about coming across these tiny little tracks and footprints. Tullik said that they belonged to *inugarulligait* and that there would be a blizzard. Shortly after we got home, the blizzard started. It was so bad that we couldn't see even a short distance. This is the only thing I know about the weather, that when *inugarulligait* are near, there is a blizzard.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know about the weather. I have been told things but I have never given them much thought. I don't have any personal experience. If I did, I could talk about it. I'll let those who know more talk about this.

**Nuliajuk:** I'll tell you what I have heard about Naarjuk who has already been mentioned, and who causes blizzards. They say that the Naarjuk that causes blizzards is the son of an *inugarulligasugjuk*. An *inukpasugjuk*, a giant, tried to kill him but was unsuccessful so he became Naarjuk. I have only heard about him. I have not seen him. Whenever he causes a blizzard, his clothing is open. They say that when the weather is nice for stretches of time, he shivers because of the warmth. The *angakkuuit* would go and lace his clothing up. They lace up his clothing because they are unable to kill him. They tie up his parka the same way they would tie a walrus hide. When he undoes it, then the blizzards start again.

**Itinnuaq:** I don't know anything about weather. I have only heard what others have said. Whenever the weather was bad for a long time, they would think of ways to improve it. They would use *qilaniq*. Sometimes they would find the cause and



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sometimes they wouldn't. I can only tell you what I have heard. You cannot always predict the weather. We call those east of us on Baffin Island the Uqqurmiut.

When he was a child, my father Anaqqaq observed a crowd of people who were out in a boat when the wind blew up. There were times when you had to wait for days to go boating. There was this person named Saimanaaq who was an *angakkuq*. He was asked to deal with the weather. People repeatedly asked him to improve the weather and they eventually gave him something because they had become desperate. He asked for a number of *alit*, ropes made from walrus hide. Since there were a number of people there, he said, "You will witness an event." He took the harpoon lines. He went a little ways away and stood up. He started turning following the path of the sun, *i&urramut*. He started aiming upwards with the harpoon. When he threw the harpoon up into the sky, the harpoon embedded itself in something so deeply, that almost the whole harpoon line went into it before it stopped. He was holding the harpoon line and he was almost pulled off his feet. He was dragged a bit and then the harpoon fell. My father told this story often because he had been one of the people who had witnessed this event. He probably told it this way because it was true. I believe it. The term is not *silanniaqtuq*, going after the weather. It is *nukinniaqtuq*, going after tendons. The *angakkuit* cut the tendons of Sila. I remember to this day this story that my father told me. That's the only story I have heard about the weather.

## Earth eggs

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have heard about earth eggs but I have not seen one myself. My mother told me about them. She said I was never to break one because this caused bad weather. She also said an earth egg would hatch into an albino animal. There is an egg outside my house that I did not know about for a long time. It has never been stepped on. I have seen bird eggs on the ground. This one is in the ground. Never having seen an earth egg, I don't know if it is in fact an earth egg. It is still there. Qapuk's son-in-law looked at it and said that it might be an earth egg. This is the only thing I have to say. I believe in them but I don't know anything more. I believe what I have been told. You are not to break them. If you do, it will become a *silaaq*, an albino animal.

**Pisuk:** I, too, have heard that the earth has eggs. Once we were up inland in September. By that time I had already heard that the earth had eggs. I found an egg lying on peat moss, pointing upwards. It looked like a duck egg. I was a child back then. It was the year I caught my first caribou. I told my father about it and he asked where it was. I told him, "Not too far from here." It was as far away as our outhouse is. He said, "Let's go and see what you saw." I took him back there. The narrow part was pointed downwards. He told me it was an earth egg and that if I broke it, would become very windy. He said if we were to cook it whole and eat it, then nothing would happen to the



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weather, but that the weather would really be aware of it if we broke it. When my father told me you were not supposed to break them, he seemed afraid. He said that if it was really an earth egg, then it would be fresh. It was as fresh as a newly laid egg. My mother cooked it and cut it into pieces, and my brothers and sisters and I all ate it. It was in the Saagluk area near Qamanittuaq. Whenever I start trying to tell stories I am not sure of, I start adding and deleting things, so I am going to stop here.

**Suvaksiuq:** I, too, have heard that you are not to break an earth egg because if you do, it causes bad weather. I am not going to say much about this because I don't want to start telling lies. I think that all of us here have heard that if you break one, it causes bad weather. In addition to the earth having eggs there are things on the earth that cause accidents. When you happen to hit them, then accidents happen, and there are hardships. The people in our area who lived inland would sometimes come across them. If you happened to hit one of these things, then hardship would occur.

**Pujuat:** I, too, have heard from my grandmother that the earth had eggs. She told me if I were ever to find an egg on the ground, I was never to pick it up. She always told me to respect the earth. Also, I was not to damage the land just for the sake of doing so. I was only to do so if I had a reason. I was not to pick plants unless I was going to use them. I was not to damage the ground in any way at all. I used to hear that Inuit did not have laws. But the Inuit had many, many laws that they had to follow. Not following them would be dangerous. We would have ended up with a thick book if they had all been written down. Although they have never been written, they are in our minds because we heard them from our parents and from our grandparents. None of them are written, but we know what we have to follow. I have never seen an egg but I have always been told that if I saw one, I was not to take it or break it. I don't know anything more about this.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know anything more about earth eggs other than what has been said. I have also heard what Pisuk said. If you found one and you did not know what it was, you were not to break it because it could influence the weather. If you were going to eat it, you were not to break it at all. If you accidentally broke it, you had to eat the contents right away. If you were to break it and just leave it, then that would cause bad weather. I heard that if you wanted to eat it, you could take it home or you could eat it right there. I was told this by an old woman. She told me not to break it and leave it because that could influence the weather. That is all I know.

**Nulijuk:** I have heard of earth eggs but I don't have any stories. I am learning more about them from those around me.

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**Itinnuaq:** I don't know much about earth eggs, but I've seen them. My wife broke an egg while we were out boating, and it became really windy. It was only because we were on a large boat that we were able to make it to shore. The next time we came across an earth egg it was when my daughter was small. We were walking and I was holding her hand. My wife was ahead of us and my sons were also running on ahead. My daughter said, "Look there is a little egg." There was a little egg and part of it was protruding from the ground. The narrow part was pointed downwards. I repeated over and over, "She's going to break it!" Then I picked it up. It was like a bird's egg but white. Having dealt with them before, my wife knew about earth eggs. Because, I too, had heard about these eggs, I put it back where it had come from. I have not gone back there to see what happened to it. Maybe it became a *silaaq*, or perhaps it's still there. If it is still there I could probably find it again. I know that it was there. I've told you everything I know and have heard about them. This is all I know.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't know much about earth eggs even though I am an old man. I, too, have seen an egg that I considered to be an earth egg because it was upright sticking out of the ground. It was around the size of a duck egg. At that time, I had not heard that they caused bad weather. The next year, I was about to take it, but I could not remember where it was. I searched for it but I could not find it. I think it was an earth egg. It was upright in the ground. It was more brownish than a duck egg. I don't have more to say about it. I heard from my mother that if you broke one and you did not eat it, it causes the wind to blow. My mother said that if an earth egg breaks and spatters, if any splatter touches the arc that holds the rainbow up in the sky, then it would be windy.

*Do the silaat hatch from earth eggs?*

**Angutinnurniq:** *Silaaat* is what they are called after they hatch. I have heard that the eggs are not all the same colour, but they all become *silaaat*. They become different animals depending on the colour of the eggs.

*Were the animals different colours, not just albino?*

**Pujuat:** They could become anything. They could become large animals.

**Angutinnurniq:** They could have different coloured fur, because the egg shells were different colours.

**Aupilaarjuk:** You asked if they all become albino. That is different. The ones that are all white are called *pukiit*. *Pukiit* are not *silaaat*. They are all white, albino. *Silaaat* are animals, but they are very big.

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*Pukiit are not silaat?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** No. *Pukiit* are not *silaat*. *Silaat* are large animals.

**Angutinngurniq:** I've seen two. They are just like caribou but they are white.

**Pujuat:** Maybe they are food for *inukpasugjuit*, giants?

*Were you not supposed to kill silaat?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I don't know.

**Itinnuaq:** Maybe *inukpasugjuit* are *silaat* also.

**Angutinngurniq:** Probably. *Nanurluit* are just ordinary bears for *inukpasugjuit*.

*Are silaat sometimes caribou?*

**Angutinngurniq:** Sometimes they are caribou. I'm going to tell you something I've just heard about, not something I've experienced. They say that *silaat* are at times caribou. There is a story about a man in a *qajaaq* waiting for a *silaaq* which was a caribou. It was coming towards him. When the *silaaq* got to the other side, it said, "That's a *qajaaq* I'm going to remove." The man who was waiting for the *silaaq* said back insultingly, "It seems to have the appearance of a *qajaaq*." Then the *silaaq* continued on its way. The man continued waiting and the *silaaq* again came towards him. Once again when it got to the other side it said, "That's a *qajaaq* I'm going to remove." When there was no reply, the *silaaq* said, "If he did indeed have a *qajaaq* he would have said something." So it went into the water and come night-time the man who had been waiting for it killed it, but he was unable to bring it to land. He was only able to get meat off the one side. He got a lot of *tunnuq*, fat, from it, even though it was just from the one side. He was not able to bring it to land because being a *silaaq*, it was very large. This is all that I have heard about it. I heard a lot from my grandfather. I now regret not paying attention back then, as I am not able to remember everything he said.

**Pisuk:** *Qaummaqsiuq* was an *Ahiarmiut*. He was down at *Uqsuriaq*. He truly saw a *silaaq* that was a *nanurluk*. It seemed like a large piece of ice. He thought it was a large piece of ice that was moving eastward but there were bubbles behind it and it seemed to have ears and a snout. He then realized it was a *nanurluk* because there were air bubbles behind it.

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There were three boats. Sammuqtuq, and Kajuk were there, but I can't remember who was on the third one. I was a young boy so I don't remember it all. It was a beautiful day. We were on our way to Igluligaarjuk. The water was very calm. We were travelling with sails because Igluligaarjuk was really close. Although it was mirror calm we were able to use the sail for a while because there was suddenly movement. It turns out that the movement was caused from what Qaummaqsuiq had seen in the morning. I didn't know what was happening so I was scared for a while. It turns out the air bubbles were caused by what was causing the movement. Qaummaqsuiq had seen it in the morning at Uqsuriaq and in the evening it was at Igluligaarjuk. That's the way they think it was. I can't add more. That's all I experienced, so that's where I'm going to end.

## Healing

**Aupilaarjuk:** I don't know a lot about healing, but I have seen my wife being healed, and I too have been healed. If it were not for the *angakkuit*, neither of us would be alive today. I think that our wrongdoings and the wrongdoings of our parents can both be the cause of sickness. Our parents said that if they had done something wrong and it was not disclosed, then this could cause illness. If my mother or father had done something wrong and not disclosed it, and I became sick, it would not be possible to heal me. I have already told you about the incident where I ate cartilage from a fish head. That was seen, even though I had not disclosed it. Because I was very young, I had not disclosed it. It was only afterwards that it became apparent that that was the reason I was sick.

My wife has had problems with her back since childhood. The doctors have removed some discs from her back and repaired it. She was in a body cast for three winters and three summers. In all, she was in a body cast for five years. She never got up all this time. When you consider the Inuit *piusiq*, the ways of the Inuit, there is a reason for this having happened. I don't think much has changed.

My wife's grandfather was an *angakkuq*. I don't know if her grandmother was too. My father's mother was probably an *angakkuq* also, because her husband was. His name was Suruqsigtuq. He used his *tuurngait* to kill people. I heard him being talked about by *angakkuit* who were trying to heal someone who was sick. From the time of our ancestors, it was said that if there was someone who had done something wrong and not disclosed it, the sickness would search for that person, and I believe this. We were told not to commit wrongdoings.

I had an uncle named Qamukkaa. He was that *angakkuq's* son. I went hunting with him one time when I was a boy. He accidentally shot himself while he was out hunting. He did not know that the rifle was loaded. He put the rifle on the ground and he shot himself in the face. This was Suruqsigtuq's son and he mourned his loss. He put all his belongings in a trunk, the metal kind with the blue covering, and put tea and tobacco inside. It was left beside his grave. Even a brand new tent was left. Later these things

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were stolen. I heard about that theft the next year. Sukuluk, who was Ukaliq's and Panniuq's father, capsized at Salliq. Maybe he was the one who had taken those things. Ukaliq from Tikirarjuaq told me about this incident years later. His father had been out seal hunting in calm weather. There was no reason for Sukuluk's boat to capsize. The boat hit a rock and then capsized. Because this *angakkuq*'s son's personal things had been stolen, he had used his *tuurngaq* to go after the person who had taken these personal effects. This occurred a long time ago.

They say that when a wrongdoing is committed, it is passed on from one generation to the other. Some wrongdoings can cause sickness. When they are bad, *tuurngait* can cause sickness. When an *angakkuq* tells his *tuurngaq* to do something bad, then the *tuurngaq* will do it. I was told that if I ever became an *angakkuq*, I was not to use my *tuurngaq* to kill, because this was very dangerous. This was because if the *tuurngaq* returned after being unsuccessful, it was still dangerous and could kill all the members of my family. This could happen even though it was not seen. Whenever a person was sick, the *angakkuq* would search for the cause. Other people can talk about this as well.

**Pisuk:** I can only tell you what I have already told you. I mentioned to you that when I was around sixteen years old, I lost all my strength because I had killed a sandpiper. I shot the little bird and I chased it. I kept it and caused it harm. Simon Quliit's grandmother was a well-known *angakkuq*. She saw me falling into an abyss and she lifted me up. When I was young I would also go after *ugjuujait*, water worms. I'd scoop them up into my hands and shoot them with an elastic band. She had no difficulty getting rid of the wrongdoing I committed towards the bird because it was from on top of the land but she had difficulty getting rid of the abuse I had committed towards the water worms. There are holes in the sand in the tidal flats where the *ugjuujait* live. Because they were from the water she said she had more difficulty dealing with them. That is why she saw me falling into an abyss, which is the hole where the dog from below lies.

I was with my sister Talluk when she was very sick. She was around four years old. Nagjuk was my uncle's son-in-law. My uncle gave him my sister's dog which was around two years old because he felt that if he was given something with life he was confident that he could heal her. She was very sick and had lost a lot of weight. The *angakkuq* started to try to find the cause of her sickness in the evening. He said it was the child's adopted mother who was making her sick. He said there had been a number of people gathered together, and this woman had fed them fish. She had caught the fish in a lake. These were fish that had died in the net, but she had told them they were fresh. He said this was why she was unable to have children, and why her daughter was sick. The *angakkuq* was able to see this and was able to fight the cause of the sickness by fighting a *tupilaq*. His hands became bloody.

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One thing that made me really squeamish was when my uncle urinated in a pot and washed his hands in his urine. I would have known, had I not fled, that there was no smell. He wanted me to smell his hands. My father indicated with his eyes that he wanted me to do so, but I just thought how awful it was and couldn't do this. Afterwards my uncle told me that if I had done this I would have realized that the smell of urine didn't linger. There is another smell that was good that didn't smell like urine. It's too bad I didn't do so.

**Suvaksiuq:** I am a Paallirmiutaq from Arviat. You are talking about things I don't know about. I can only talk about what I have heard and what I have seen. Sometimes, when we are under a lot of stress, we end up with headaches. When you put your hands in cold water and you put a towel around your head, it can take the headache away. Seawater is very healing. When those of us who require eyeglasses take them off, and go into the water and swim, our eyes become very clear. When you come out again your vision is better.

In one *unikkaaqtuaq* there was a blind boy who killed a polar bear. His stepmother told him he had missed the bear, and fed him dog meat instead. Much later, he asked his sister to take him to a lake. There were loons close by. The loons started licking his eyes, and asked him if he could see. Although he could now see a bit he said he couldn't. They continued licking his eyes until he was able to see the leaves and the grasses. When he returned back home, he asked, "Where is this polar bear from?" because there was a polar bear skin drying. His stepmother said, "Oh some people passing by forgot it." He recognized it as the bear he had caught and started plotting. One day his stepmother was out whale hunting with him. He tied her to the harpoon to help weight it down, and the stepmother was dragged behind and is now a whale. There is more to the story but this is where I am going to end it.

**Pujuat:** I have never seen anyone being healed. My grandmother's second husband was an *angakkuq*. He tried to heal me when I was sick but he was not able to. There would be some people passing by our camp at Aulattivik. A priest being taken to Kuugjuaq on his way to the war had stopped at our camp. I don't remember who was taking him to Kuugjuaq. I could not eat because I was so sick. I had lost a lot of weight. The priest who was passing through was called Ataata Piaqsu. He prayed for me and said I would get better. After he prayed for me, I was able to drink some water and I ate a bit of food. I started getting better. The *angakkuq* was not able to heal me. The *angakkuit* were not able to heal everyone, although they were able to heal some people. I was healed through prayer and I am alive today. This is all that I have to say in regards to healing.

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**Iluittuq:** I don't know about healing at all. Others who know more about this can talk about it. I am just going to listen.

**Nuliajuk:** I have never seen an *angakkuq* heal someone. When I was sick I was healed by nurses. I was taught not to have bad thoughts about other people. I was never to think about wanting a person to die because the thought that I sent out would not forget who sent it. Therefore it could come back and kill me.

**Itinnuaq:** We have talked about how *angakkuut* would try to heal through *qilaniq*, and about other ways they used their abilities to heal. They tried to use their abilities for such things because there was nothing else to rely on. There were no doctors, there was no church. We can't ignore what the *angakkuut* have done. We have to talk about it. Some *angakkuut* were very powerful, and some were less so. If I were to talk about what I heard in the past, I could go on and on. I liked the story Sivaksiuq told. It is a bit different from the Nattilingmiut version.

**Angutinngurniq:** I can't add much to what has been said. The *angakkuut* would heal through *qilaniq*, through *sakaniq* and through *irinaliutit*. I have seen these all being used. I know that some of this was helpful, and some of it was not. *Qilaniq*, *sakaniq* and *irinaliutit* were used because there were not any doctors. I became aware when there were no doctors. When I was a child, I was not really aware of what was going on. I have heard both my parents, my mother and my father, use *irinaliutit*. My mother was not able to *qilajuq*, but my father was. I saw him do this, but I never saw him perform *sakaniq*. My uncle Iksivalitaq was said to have been a powerful *angakkuq*. There were times when he was able to heal, but there were also times when he was unable to do so. They did these things in earnest because that was the only way they were able to help. When we were young, we were told not to have bad thoughts about a person because later, if they retaliated, there would be no recourse. We were always told this when we were young. We were told that the same thing we had thought could happen to us.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I was told not to learn any *irinaliutit*. I have seen Angutinngurniq's grandfather summon *umingmait*, muskoxen, using an *irinaliuti*. That was the only time that I saw an *irinaliuti* being used.

**Pisuk:** My grandmother had wanted to teach me one, when I caught a caribou in Igluligaarjuk. She was staying at the hospital run by the Grey Nuns. She was kept under a tent to help her lungs. In the fall, in November, my father and his brother were coming to get me, so warm clothing was made for me to wear. I was crying because I did not want to leave my grandmother, and my grandmother cried as well. If my father had not



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come to get me, maybe I would have learned some *irinaliutit* because I was able to learn things quickly when they were not that difficult. To this day I don't know any *irinaliutit*. I can't add more to this.

**Pujuat:** I am full of *irinaliutit*. My head is like a computer full of them. I am stretching the truth actually! You should know when I am stretching the truth. My grandmother taught me numerous *irinaliutit*. None of them were to be used against others. When she made a hole in the ice, she taught me the words to an *irinaliuti* to catch fish. Because we depended on catching fish, she taught me the words. I can't remember them though. She taught me so many. Also, if there was someone who was trying to do something against me, she taught me how to send back the bad thoughts. That seems to be the only one I remember. I don't want to use it here in front of so many people. She taught me that *irinaliutit* are a type of prayer for us Inuit.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know any. I don't even know a single one. I am not lying at all. I don't know any. I can't add to this topic.

**Nuliajuk:** I have been taught two *irinaliutit*. I have not used either of them and I don't want to use them. I was taught to use one if I was hungry and there were no caribou. The other one was about using an *avataq*, a float. I have also heard that they can be dangerous. I have not used either of them.

*Who taught you those?*

**Nuliajuk:** My mother.

*Were you a child?*

**Nuliajuk:** Yes. I heard another *irinaliuti* from Uviuvinaaq who has since died. He did not teach it to me. He just told me a very powerful story. He was seal hunting at an *aglu*. There was a seal that came up, and he stabbed it. While he was trying to remove the snow, the seal came up from the hole.

*Did the seal come up when he used the irinaliuti?*

**Nuliajuk:** Yes. I think some *irinaliutit* can be used to catch animals. This is all I have to say about it.

**Itinnuaq:** He and I are probably not the only ones who have knowledge. There are those here who know a number of *irinaliutit* who claim they don't know any. They shouldn't

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be lying about this. If there are still *irinaliutit*, we are the ones that young people look to for them. I would be told *irinaliutit* and I was made to listen to them but I have not used them. I know more than one. I, too, know the one that Pujuat has talked about for deflecting bad thoughts. I also know of one for healing a sick person. These are two I distinctly remember. There were also others that were used for healing. Although I remember them, I have never used them. If there was anyone who was not feeling well, they would use *irinaliutit* to heal them. If they were not going to *qilajuq* or perform *sakaniq*, they would use *irinaliutit*. I have heard that a woman had to wait for five days to pass, and a man had to wait for three days to pass, if they were going to use *irinaliutit* for healing. I have observed people being healed through this. The *irinaliutit* are very similar to using *qilaniq*.

Those who are ignorant, think that people who dance with a drum are performing shamanic rituals, which is not the case at all. Maybe they consider *irinaliutit* the same way. Using an *irinaliutit* has nothing to do with being an *angakkuq*. It can be used for healing and for procuring animals.

There are always people who will use bad thoughts against others. I think prayer helps to deter bad thoughts. Nowadays, people have bad thoughts towards others, but these are not as strong as people's bad thoughts back then. I was related to Pujuat's grandmother, and that is how I learned the deflecting *irinaliuti*. I was not taught it but I heard it.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't know many *irinaliutit*. I was not taught them. I only know three. They have talked about the one that we are calling the deflector. I can deflect back bad thoughts. I can use this *irinaliuti*. I would use my grandfather Paksikkaq's *irinaliuti* as a deflector. I could deflect polar bears as well. I know these, but I have never used them. Sometimes, it seems that I don't have much knowledge. There are some things that I know a little about. Sometimes I think I am on the right track about something and sometimes I think maybe I am not. That is why I will sometimes say I don't know something when I am not sure.

I know another *irinaliuti* to heal someone who is ill. I have not used any of them. I don't really know a lot about them, but yet I know a bit. Yesterday, and the day before, I was tired. I sometimes think I could cause a blizzard. Because I have never tried it, I say I don't know about this. I don't want people to think I have great knowledge. There are some things I have some knowledge of, but I am not really certain about. I sometimes hear people talking. Based on their words I think that they have a lot of knowledge about what they are talking about. I know that *irinaliutit* have numerous uses. I have only heard the *irinaliutit* I told you about. I have never used them. If a polar bear is fleeing, there is an *irinaliuti* called an *avalaqsiut* which can be used to surround the bear. It could also be used to surround an adult or a child. That is where the danger

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lies with that *irinaliuti*. I would not use it because I have numerous children and grandchildren. It could also affect future generations.

My mother tried to teach me one to use if I was lost in a dangerous area and wanted to go home. I can't say that I really know about this, because I haven't really tried it. There is one to make someone fall asleep. There are numerous uses for them. I have heard some of them but I don't really know much about them.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know anything about *irinaliuti*. I was told an *irinaliuti* once but I never used it. I was taught this by an old man who was thankful to me. He had caught five caribou and I helped him cache them. He told me he was going to teach me an *irinaliuti* in case I ever needed to use it. I only heard it once but I haven't forgotten it.

There was one time I wanted to use it. Although I knew the words, I could not bring myself to say them. Back then, elders would be really thankful for any help they were given. Because he got five caribou and I helped him carry these caribou to a cache, he taught me this *irinaliuti*.

Once, I was playing with an antler from a caribou I had caught and one of the antler points ended up embedded in my leg. My father said, "What would happen if you used that *irinaliuti* you were taught?" I did not want to use it even though I had not forgotten it. There are three verses to that *irinaliuti*. I have an *irinaliuti* that was given to me that I have never used.

*Maybe you could explain why you have never used it. What is the danger of using it if you have a good irinaliuti?*

**Itinnuaq:** I think the reason we don't use them now is because we have prayer, and there are doctors. I think those are the main reasons we don't use *irinaliuti* anymore. Because we are following the *qallunaat* way, we don't use our traditional ways; but we haven't forgotten them. We now rely on doctors and nurses and not on traditional ways anymore. We also rely on prayer. Prayer is a form of *irinaliuti*. Our children have never learned these. Here I have this knowledge, it is within me, but my children don't know it. Maybe the reason why those of us who know them are not disclosing, is because nobody wants to talk about this. It is very difficult to believe an elder who says they don't know anything about these things. Maybe that is one of the reasons we are unable to use them, because of our environment.

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*How do others feel about this? Probably these irinaliutit will be forgotten if they are not passed on.*

**Itinnuaq:** I only know the ones from Nattilingmiut. My children don't know them, but they are known by other Nattilingmiut. When I die they will be lost to my children, but they will not be lost to other Nattilingmiut.

*Can prayers be used in the same way as irinaliutit?*

**Suvaksiuq:** No. *Irinaliutit* are good and prayers are good. People in church pray because they want to be good. Only one person can make an *irinaliuti* whereas numerous people can pray at once. That is the way I see it. I am saying this based on the knowledge of older people.

**Angutinnurniq:** I want to know for whom this workshop will be used, for *qablunaat*, or for young people.

**Kublu:** It is for Inuit; especially to help us with the problems we have with young people going through the court system. Putting people in jail is not working. They go to jail, they come out, and then they go back to jail. There are a number of people who say that if we followed the Inuit way of doing things, things would be better. But what is the Inuit way of doing things? As a Justice of the Peace I follow only the Canadian court system because that is all I know. I have never been taught any other way. Whatever we learn here will be coming out in books and we will be trying to use the material to help Inuit, especially young people.

**Pisuk:** When some people have children, they try to impart some of their knowledge through words. Some of them will say, "Because I was a victim, you are not going to grow up to be a victim" or they might say, "I want you to have a quick temper" or, "I want you to retaliate easily." They are not raising their children properly. Some of us have been raised by our parents or our grandparents like this. This is not a good way to raise a child, because a person who is raised this way is going to be wary of people as an adult.

When my daughter was born I said in jest, "When you have a husband you're not going to be like you're mother. You're going to have a pattern of getting a husband and then being left." It turned out that this was the way it was going to be. I jokingly said to my oldest child, "When you start hunting you will not survive long," and that's what happened. I said to my next child, "You will answer back to no one." That child is able to scold all of us. I said to the middle child, the one who brings things here, when I held him, "You are going to be helpful. Everyone is going to turn to you," and everybody

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likes him. When I held the youngest one I said, “I want you to bring home food,” and he does. I was wrong in what I said to the first three. You should not just think of the child. You should think about their environment, and of the life around them when they are born. That is all I have to say.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Concerning this meeting, I would like to say that I don’t want any of our comments removed or made anonymous in the book. I don’t want any of it removed or added to. Some of us have more knowledge than others. What is ahead is very hard. We have to think about those who commit suicide, and about families that break up. There are a number of people who have committed suicide, who in the past would have been helped before this happened. Those who have ended up in jail might not have done so if somebody had known more about them. It would not have been that way if there had been *angakkuit*. I keep saying that we need to have *angakkuit*, not for bad but for good. I have been working on this, but on a personal basis. I have talked to many people who are suicidal. When I am talking to these people, they have so many things to disclose, and yet I know there are some times when they are not telling me everything that is bothering them. I often think that in the past, the *angakkuit* would have known about what was on their minds, even before they started talking about what was bothering them. When these people who are suicidal want to live, they come and talk to me. We are not talking about this for the first time. I would like the ideas from this workshop to be implemented. The outcomes from this meeting are not for *qablunaat*. They are for us.

I have seen *angakkuit*. I have also seen *inuunnngittut*, non-humans. When I was in Tikirarjuaq, I saw a caribou. I could tell by the antlers it was not a real caribou. It was quite far away. Caribou tend to look up, but this one did not look up at all. Its antlers were different too. Another time I was out caribou hunting with my sons. We went different ways. When I was on my own, I saw three caribou. They were quite close. I looked at them through my binoculars. They were running one behind the other. These caribou had antlers that seemed to be short and twisted as though they were human hair. I waited for them to show up again, but they had totally disappeared. I would not have been amazed at this, but Tiinaaq, who has since died, had also been out, and he saw a big bull caribou. He thought it was a caribou but when it disappeared, he saw me instead afterwards. I think that Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* should be recorded while there are still people around with this knowledge.

## Procuring game

*What is the term for angakkuit procuring game?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** The term for procuring game is *manilirijjuq*. I was told never to do this unless I was hungry, because they say the animals retaliate easily. If I was hungry, I

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could do this. I am going to say something that I heard. This is not something I have experienced personally. When I was young, I was not that capable. I had to try very hard to get animals. I was so desperate that I used to dream about them. Sometimes I thought I could see land that was far away. When you have a vision, it is not quite the same as reality, because it is not as bright, there is no sun. My father used to tell me that if I was not in need, I was not to go after game. I was told not to use *manilirijjutiit*. I was told there was danger in desiring game when you were not in need. He told me if I used *manilirijjutiit* when I didn't need to, I would not have any offspring.

I have never been able to heal someone. There was one time I was in Arviat. Suvaksiuq knows Qinurat. Qinurat had a hole by his ear and was bleeding profusely. He said that of all the times he had bled this time was the worst. He had a vein that was ready to burst and he was sent out on a medical evacuation. I went over to lead a prayer in the Catholic Church because there was no priest. I prayed with the people who attended. We prayed for three days. He came back before the time he was supposed to. When he arrived, he wanted to see me. He told me that he was not healed by an *angakkuq* but he was not healed by himself either. He said that the Arviarmiut must have been the ones to heal him. We relied on prayer to heal him. We knew that he had been healed by God, and not by us. I did not talk about this before when we were talking about healing. He came to me and he thanked me. He said that if it had not been for me, he would not be healed. I kept telling him that it was the people who attended the prayer service, who listened to me requesting help through prayer, that healed him.

There is a *manilirijjuti* for requesting game. I was not able to heal people but I seemed to be able to locate game. I talked about the person who was healed through prayer because prayer can heal. I know that healing will occur if it's allowed to happen. Not all people can heal even though they try to do so. Through the *angakkuit*, healing could happen immediately. I believe in both. I have already said there should be *angakkuit*. The word *angakkuq* is considered evil, but the *angakkuit* were not bad. There was good connected to *angakkuuniq* as well. They didn't exist to lead people astray. Because they were healers they were really helpful. I would like the good parts of shamanism to be used again in the future. We had a meeting this winter with the R.C.M.P. about how to help people. The ability of the Inuit has to become more prominent. I think it is all right that we are talking about these things today.

**Pisuk:** I was told by my father that there was a priest named Father Thibert who was present when there was a famine around Qamanittuaq. Father Thibert told people not to constantly pray for animals. He said that just praying once would be enough. There is a place called Sattiumanittuaq. Father Thibert was waiting there to see if we got any caribou, and prayed for my father. He said that he hoped he would get enough. He said that when my father shot his rifle, none of the caribou would flee. It seemed as though

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it was the priest who was doing the *manilirijjuti*. During this time of hunger Iqqukti was camped at Nuvugusiq. We camped there although we were supposed to leave the next day to go caribou hunting. My father had started walking inland and came upon eighteen caribou that were gathered together grazing. They were in an area that was partly hidden from us. He thought that if he shot one, the others would flee. When he shot his rifle, they all looked up and moved slightly, but none of them fled. It seemed like the priest had made the *manilirijjuti* for him.

My uncle also taught me that if I were ever in a situation where I thought I was going to starve to death or I would no longer be able to use this *manilirijjuti*, I was to give it to a person younger than myself. The only thing I heard from my father about this was about the time the priest said that *manilirijjuti* for him. My father died still being amazed over this incident.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't have anything really interesting to say. I used to work with wildlife officers. When we were dealing with caribou, we would go out by helicopter and put collars on them. The door of the helicopter would be removed and we would tranquilize them. I was using a 440 snowmachine and I would go all over the place at full speed. There was a basket dangling from the helicopter. There were four caribou. One had been shot with a tranquilizer and had been netted. When the helicopter landed, the wildlife officer and I went to the caribou and released it. There was a small hill nearby. The weather was extremely clear. After this caribou disappeared, I was afraid. You could see where the caribou had gone, but its footprints disappeared at the hill. There were no footprints at all. They say that caribou can become *ijirait*. That caribou just disappeared. We went after more caribou. When you are collaring caribou and you cover their eyes, they become totally docile. When you remove the cover from their eyes, they start moving around again. There was one caribou that we were putting a collar on whose eyes had been covered that started walking on its hind legs.

Another time we were at Kinnga'naaq. This is in the Paallirmiut area past Aqiarurnak, past Arviat. It was night-time. There were four tents. It was a practice to give a *tunillaq* containing things such as tea or tobacco to the *angakkuq*. People wanted my father to call caribou. He said he was not able to do so, but they kept on asking him. The next day was very clear even though there was a light snowfall. You could hear a rumbling sound from the east that sounded like thunder. That's the sound that caribou make when they come in herds. My father said that if everything went well, then there would be caribou. He said when they got their first caribou, they were to keep the legs, but the rest was to be distributed. There were a lot of caribou that came. I believe there were people who had this ability to call game. We believed in them. They could be Inuit or *qablunaat*. We, too, should follow our own way of doing things. All people in the world have been given a culture. We should use the culture that we have been given.



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There are things that we do not see, there are powers that are still around. They are not lost. I would like to end there.

**Pujuat:** I am not a hunter. I have never experienced hunger. I do remember one time we were out of food. My step-grandfather was not able to walk, so we were hungry for a while. Henry's father lived at Qamaniq. Qamaniq was one place that usually had caribou. There were not even caribou around there then. The old people I lived with were the only ones there. That was one time when we were hungry.

Another time I was there with other people. It was in the deep winter, and there was no floe edge around there at all, so hunters were not able to get any seals. They would try to go down to the floe edge but they were not able to get them to come out of the water. I don't know why they did not try to hunt at seal holes. Maybe it was too cold. When the dogteams were coming back, you could tell the difference between a sled with a light load and one with a heavy load. We could tell that the dogs were pulling a heavy load. That time I thought they might have had an *ugjuk* because the dogs were so tired. When they arrived, they had so many ducks. These ducks were fat. Tullik, that old man, my uncle Kablaalik, Henry's father, Ajaruaq, Amirmiarjuk, and Simiuni were there. There were five dogteams and everyone had a heavy load of ducks. I often thought afterwards that these ducks were given to us. When they first started shooting them, they did not fly away. They were hitting them with the handles of the whips. Since they were not flying away, they just started grabbing them and killing them. Without those ducks, we would have starved. I have never known of anyone who said a *manilirijjuti*. My former brother-in-law Qilak experienced hunger quite often. When they were hungry, I remember hearing him pray because he wanted food for his family. Not being a hunter, even though I have killed more than one caribou, I don't have much to say. I have killed more than one seal, too, at an *aglu* and on the ice. I enjoy hunting. I grew up participating in hunting. This is all I have to say.

*Did you get tired of eating ducks?*

**Pujuat:** I was a child then, so I don't recall whether we got tired of eating them or not. But I remember they were numerous. There were so many ducks.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know much about *manilirijjuti*. I know the term. I can only agree with what others have said, because that's the way it was. I have not seen this being done. What I have heard is the same thing as Pisuk and Aupilaarjuk. It seems to be the same.

**Nuliajuk:** I have not seen anyone saying a *manilirijjuti*, but I will tell you what I have heard. When you talk about what you have heard and not experienced personally, sometimes I think you are not really telling the truth. This is Kubluruq's *unikkaa*q about

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Iminngaaq. There is a place called Nuvutiqquq. That is where I was born. There were numerous fish there. Whenever people were fishing there, they stood one beside the other. One time when they were there, they weren't catching any fish. Iminngaaq jabbed his *kakivak* into the water. He did not get a fish but he pulled out the skin of a caribou calf that was ruddy in colour. A woman there had sewn a caribou skin when she was not supposed to, and had never disclosed it. Iminngaaq hooked the skin and unveiled this incident that had not been disclosed. She hadn't disclosed this because she had been embarrassed to do so. After she admitted what she had done, there were lots of fish once again. That's all I have to add.

**Ifinnuaq:** People only relied on game. Even after there were *qablunaa*t they still relied on game for food. They still lived in their own places out on their own. They had tea, and tobacco, and store-bought weapons. That's all they had. They had to rely on game for food. In the winter when there was no game, they would use *qilaniq* or *irinaliutit* or their dreams. They would look for signs to show them where there was going to be game. The term *niriujaaqtuq* means looking for signs. I can only say what the others have already said so I am going to end here.

**Angutinngurniq:** It was not only the *angakkuit*; those who were desperate could call the animals as well. *Manilirijjutit* were used by *angakkuit* and *non-angakkuit* when they needed food. This is what I have heard. I have not experienced this. I heard this from my mother. She said that her father used to call game. Sometimes in the spring when he became older if he missed a caribou, he had an *irinaliuti* for calling it back. When he went back out, the caribou he missed would be there. But those caribou were never really good. Maybe it was the flesh without the *tarniq* that made it not good to eat.

*You often hear that every animal had it's own human person or it's inua or inuk. Did you ever hear about that?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** The people I was in Iqaluit with said there is one being in charge of the animals. We call her Nuliajuk. They say there is one being that has power over the animals and that is Nuliajuk. Nuliajuk can operate in the dark. I would like to hear from others about this.

**Kublu:** In Iglulik she is called Takannaaluk.

**Pujuat:** Is that the one on the land or in the water?

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**Aupilaarjuk:** Nuliajuk is from the water. I have never seen this being called Nuliajuk. Because Nuliajuk is present, I have been very hesitant to say the name, but we are not talking about the Nuliajuk who is in the meeting here.

**Pisuk:** I have not really heard much about Nuliajuk, but I know Nuliajuk exists. She has power over the beings in the water. If I were down at the sea ice, and I started tearing up a summer caribou skin, she would become angry and make me unable to catch any more game. That's how powerful she is. Nuliajuk has so much power. I could be made to become a poor hunter. I have never attempted to wreck a caribou skin down at the floe edge. I don't think it is just women who are the cause of poor hunting. I have forgotten who has power over the land animals. Nuliajuk has power over all the sea animals. I am only going to talk about what was told to me. I was told that if my wife and I were going to have an *iglu* on the ice, my wife was never to work on summer skins when we were there because Nuliajuk would be angry and refuse to give us game.

My wife was also not to destroy the skin of a calf that was still suckling from its mother because I would lose my abilities to catch polar bears, as bears are both land and sea animals. If I was out bear hunting, it might hunt me instead. We were told to wash our hands and our faces so we would be successful with animals. When my wife was menstruating, she was not to use old clothing as a menstrual pad, for if she did, I would see what would have been animals, appear as seaweed. Because I was afraid, I have never tried to test this, as it is dangerous.

*In the Paallirmiut area, which is more inland, what has power over the animals?*

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know at all. I have heard that the animals don't belong to anyone. I have heard that nature looks after them. We all live on the earth and no one owns the animals. Anybody can get animals because they are our food.

I don't know anything about who has power over the sea animals. Just last year there was something seen by many people in Arviat with arms and long hair and a tail like a fish.

**Pujuat:** I have only heard about the intimidating being in the sea called Nuliajuk. As Pisuk has said, we had all kinds of things we had to follow. We used to go inland because we relied only on caribou for clothing. When we were inland, we softened the caribou skin right away. We could only prepare the skins when we were about to use them. One of my grandparents was from the Qairniq area. The other was from Kuugaarruk. We always listened to what we were told. Those of us who come from Qalalaaq still follow our traditions. We were told not to destroy anything. We were to

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look after things. When I had my first child, based on what my grandmother had said, I refrained from drinking anything, except in the presence of another person, in order to give my son a good life. I was not allowed to eat or drink when I was alone. It was only after my son had survived for a year that I was able to do what I wanted. I was told I could do as I wanted with future children, but as this was my first child, I had to follow everything I was told. If I was going to drink outside, I had to cover my head so that Sila could not see me. There were so many things I had to follow. It was very hard to follow these traditions when people were gathered together in large numbers. If you said something, people just looked at you and did not pay any heed. In the early days we did not live in large communities. There were not all kinds of things happening at the same time, so we always did what we were supposed to do. I can only repeat what was told to me.

**Nuliajuk:** My name is Nuliajuk. I have never seen the Nuliajuk that we are talking about. Someone told me about a Nuliajuk who had been a real person and known by everyone. Before he died in Arviligjuaq, he left instructions that were to be followed by his relatives. He said they were not to go down to the sea for a year. When Nuliajuk died, they did not listen to him and they went down to the coast. It was deep winter. Suddenly, the ice started to break. They were in an *iglu*. The pot started moving back and forth following the flame of the *qulliq*. Some *angakkuit* there performed, in order to protect them from the ice. They said if Nuliajuk really wanted the ice to break, she could do so. They were able to stop the ice from breaking because the pot moved following the flame of the *qulliq*. They said if it was going in the opposite direction, they wouldn't have been able to stop the ice from breaking. Inirnaqhiaq told me this story. He had been out with his mother and had seen the ice piled up. He was quite a distance from the *iglu* the others were in.

When Nuliajuk's fingers were cut off, the seals were created from her fingertips. Because they are part of her body, she considers them to be her possessions. She has very long hair. Even though I am named Nuliajuk, I have never seen Nuliajuk.

**Itinnuaq:** I don't know if the animals have an owner. I have heard that animals belong to everyone. I have heard you can hunt them. I have never heard of anyone other than Nuliajuk that had any power over them. Mothers have power over their young because they cannot do things on their own. They follow their mother everywhere. My mother's grandfather was one of many people who saw Nuliajuk. Qakuqtinniq had seen Nuliajuk when she came up through a hole in the ice. He said that he wanted the other people he was with to see Nuliajuk, so they went towards her. They harpooned her in the chest. Then Nuliajuk went down into the water. Because Nuliajuk was very strong, Qakuqtinniq called his son who was named Nuliajuk to help him. He had him get the

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dogteam to help pull. He told him to let go. Then he harpooned Nuliajuk in the arm. When he told his son to let go he was able to stop her from pulling. He managed to stop Nuliajuk but only for a short time. Then she disappeared. There was a *pisiq* that Qakuqtinniq created about this. Because he had distracted Nuliajuk, he had been able to harpoon her, and stop her for a while. I cannot say who has power over the animals. I have heard they were created by God. I have only heard about this recently. This is all that I know. I can't say anything from experience.

**Angutinngurniq:** I can only say the same thing that others have said about Nuliajuk. I don't know whether she really has powers over animals. I have heard that if she is displeased about how a young caribou or young seal is treated, whoever she is displeased with would have difficulty. There was a young person called Isarrataittuq. Isarrataittuq and Nuliajuk share a husband who is a *kanajuq*. Whenever anything was made from seal parts, and she was displeased, Nuliajuk would cause them to have difficulties catching animals. Isarrataittuq would feel embarrassed because she cared for the people. In the days when we would *tirigusuktuq*, I heard that she made it difficult for sea animals to be caught. I have not heard whether she had power over them. I have heard this from my grandfather and my mother. My *avvaq* talked about Qakuqtinniq harpooning Nuliajuk. I know this story is said to have happened at the top part of Nattilik Lake. That's all that I can add.

*What happens to an animal's tarniq when it dies?*

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't think animals like dogs have a *tarniq*. Humans have *tarniit*.

**Itinnuaq:** From what I have heard *tuurngait* are just *tarniit*. They are not like people when they grow old. Bad *tuurngait* become good as they grow older. Even though they were bad, they could become good. This is what I have heard.

**Angutinngurniq:** I have heard that everything, no matter how small, has a *tarniq* and should not be abused. Maybe everything does have a *tarniq*. No matter how small the *tarniq*, the *tarniq* is very strong and very powerful. Therefore the animal belonging to the *tarniq* should not be abused.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have also heard that all living things have a *tarniq*. I have heard that up to today, and I believe this. Although I don't know this for sure, I believe this. Maybe I am the only one who has seen this, but I think that others have seen the *tarniq* of the polar bear which is very powerful. Anything said regarding a bear is very powerful. We would be told that bears could take on human form and that they used to be human. If a bear was killed, especially a female, it was to be shown the things of a woman. If it was

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male, it was to be shown the things of a man. I have seen this done. Even non-humans such as animals have a *tarniq* and that is why they are alive.

I have suddenly remembered that when some people die, they are given a *sitauraut*, which is something that can be used for sliding. They can also be given a *qiiralrut* something that has a thrumming sound. I have heard this more than once. People had things that they had to follow. Some of these were very powerful. Some of these could be brought back because they are so powerful. I think even animals have *tarniit*.

**Pisuk:** Some people say that animals do not have *tarniit*, and some people say they do. I think it is because they do have *tarniit* that they can retaliate. If you abuse animals, then they can pay you back. They can retaliate. I have never tried to abuse animals. I was told if I ever abused an animal, that when I was hungry, whenever I thought of that animal, I was not going to get it.

**Angutinngurniq:** Did you understand the significance of being given a *sitauraut*? If a person who was going to die had said bad things to their family, a *sitauraut* was placed on their grave after their death. This was to prevent the person from going after others. This *sitauraut* in the grave would take up all their attention and they would only think of sliding. They would not be able to go after the people around them.

## Dreams

**Aupilaarjuk:** I believe some of my dreams; others I don't believe. Some seem to be true. I sometimes dream about what I have seen or thought about during the day. When I dream about something I have not seen or thought about already, I believe it. Even though I want to believe it and understand it, I can't. It is only when something actually happens that I understand what my dream had meant. This happens very infrequently. I have never really seen anything in a vision. Maybe the things I saw were just in my mind. Maybe I did not actually see them. I used to see something before I was going to lose someone. I would see a brightness above the person's head. This is a very uncomfortable feeling. This is not the same as *qaumaniq*. It is very bright and clear. Even the land becomes very clean and bright. This has not happened very often. I would see this brightness whenever I was going to lose one of my children. I can't say what it was. I don't know how people are made, but I think they are made in an amazing way. I think some people know more than I do.

**Pisuk:** I think we all dream. I just have ordinary dreams. There are times when I have bad dreams and I believe them. One time I had a dream about a boat. This is not something new I am going to talk about. The top of the boat had holes punctured in it. I was going to go to the floe edge. I told my mother about my dream and she said, "You

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are going to have a bad accident. Don't go." I disobeyed her and I went down to the floe edge. My cousin Simiuni heard that I was going so he accompanied me. The water was calm. This was around May. It was high tide. We went down to the floe edge and we started making tea. We had some tea, and then the wind started blowing from the water. We got to the edge of the water, and the moving ice started getting closer. We started making more tea, and while we were doing this, the moving ice started breaking the ice we were on. The wind started getting stronger. The ice around us started pulling us. The stove was still burning. That is when the companion I was with drowned. My mother had warned me. She had said that there was going to be a bad accident and told me not to go. She told me to wait for another day. I want to learn more about my dreams. I did not pay attention to that dream and that is why I lost my hunting companion. There is a lot of truth to some dreams. Some of them have no meaning at all.

Another time I dreamed about my mother's boat. Women used to have boats. In my dream I was on my mother's boat, and I could see Anawak's wife's boat. The stern of the boat had seaweed stuck to it. I told my dream to my mother and father. I told them my mother's boat was fine, but Anawak's wife's boat had seaweed stuck to it. My mother said, "She's going to die in the water." Since I had more of an idea about dreams, I said, "I think that's what will happen," because I was beginning to believe in my dreams. I told my mother I did not want to talk about my dreams anymore. My mother said I should talk about them because otherwise my dreams would destroy my life. My father said, "Pisuk has had a dream. I think I should go home just for today." He went home. When he arrived he heard that Anawak's wife's boat had capsized, and she had drowned.

Another time I was out walrus hunting with three of my sons and two of my grandsons and nephews down at the floe edge. I knew there was going to be an accident but I did not know the details. Somebody else had had a dream. I did not have it myself. I said we would be fine and nothing was going to happen. My three sons and I ended up in the water. I had become caught between the ice. I was able to see some tiny little krill. I was thinking that I was going to end up with orphaned sons, and that my wife was waiting for me at home. I had gone down and swallowed seawater twice. I had been pushing upwards. The *qamutiik* was down in the water and I went towards it. I felt it on my stomach. It was William that pulled me up. He had taken a harpoon line that was about twenty-five feet long. He said, "Ataata, father, try to climb up on the ice." He was in the water with me. He went under a bit and grabbed the ice and then suddenly he was standing on it. William gave me the harpoon line and I wound it around my wrist. I found that amazing. I searched around for my children and the others and I saw three of them and I said, "Where is Qinguq?" He was in the water holding me up by my armpits. I was told, "Qinguq is right behind you." Qinguq told me to try to get up on the ice. I said, "I am okay now. I have a rope." I told him to try to get himself up



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on the ice. Since I had the rope around my wrist, I was okay. He got up out of the water over my shoulder. Maybe if we had not had that rope, I would not have survived.

When you have dreams, whether they are good dreams or bad dreams, you shouldn't try to stop having them. When my mother and my father were still alive, whenever I had a bad dream, I would tell them about it. Once I told my father that I was not going to dream any more, and my father said, "It is up to you." My father said that it was okay. After that, my family members started going back and forth to the hospital one after the other, and I said that I thought I should take my dreams back. After I accepted my dreams, my family members stopped having to go out to the hospital. Everyone who has dreams should accept them.

I am not an *angakkuq* but I do have visions. I don't know if they are good or not. I never know what they mean, so I can't be of any help at all.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't remember much about my dreams. When my mother died, I did not cry. I had grief but I could not cry. When I was young, my older brother, my adopted mother, and I buried her because there was no one else around. She died at *Usvini'naaq*. I tried to cry but I was unable to form tears. Whenever I dream about my mother, I know that something is going to happen. It might be good, or it might be intimidating, but I always know that something is going to happen that same day. Whenever I dream about my father, I don't have any expectations whatsoever. I now have an understanding about my dreams. When I dream about my mother, it has a meaning. When my mother was about to die, she told me not to cry for her because I was going to dream about her. When she died, I tried to cry but I was unable to. They say that when you don't express your grief over a person through tears, you tend to dream about them a lot. I believe this.

**Kublu:** Pujuat said she was going to try to dream that someone was going to perform *qilaniq*.

**Pujuat:** I have never had a vision of any kind. I have never seen anything amazing. I don't have any worthwhile dreams. When my stepfather was sick, I looked after him. I would give him tea and cigarettes. I spent a lot of time with him because he was alone and he was blind. He was not aware of anything around him but he knew me. He would lose his senses. He would tell me that he wanted his visitors to have tea but there would not be any. He would lie in bed and have conversations with his visitors who were not there. He had spent his life driving a dogteam. He would start commanding his dogteam while he was lying in bed. His face and arms were swollen and he was in pain. He was a good stepfather to me, even though he would scold me. When someone scolds you, and isn't reluctant to speak their mind with you, they are easier to talk to than

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someone who keeps their thoughts inside. After he died, I had numerous dreams about him. I dreamed about him constantly, not every day, but I dreamed about him a lot. I was there with him the whole time he was ill, giving him tea or cigarettes. He had had a wife before my mother, but she had died. Up to this day, I remember the clothing he wore when he was with his first wife. I still see him in those. Even though my mother made him clothes, I never remember him dressed that way. In my dreams he was no longer swollen and I would be helping him get ready to travel. In my last dream he left, and I never dreamed of him after that. This is all I can tell you about dreams.

**Iluittuq:** We all have dreams because we are human. I, too, have had numerous dreams. Sometimes I will wake up crying from dreams I have had. My dreams are quite varied. I have had visions more than once, but I never know what they mean. I had one vision where I recognized this person. I was indoors at the time. I was looking through a window and I saw this person walking by, wearing caribou clothing. I don't want to say who's place I was visiting but it was during the day.

I am not able to talk about the other visions I have had. They are okay. They don't deal with people. I don't know what they mean, but I believe them. There are others I find difficult to talk about, because they cause me discomfort.

**Nulijuk:** I, too, have dreams. I think my dreams are just dreams. I sometimes have dreams about things I have not thought about before at all. I had one dream that was a prediction, but that was the only one that came true. At that time we had meat, but we had run out of sugar and tea. We were without a radio of any kind. I dreamed that a plane arrived, and then one did. I had no way of knowing that the plane would arrive in advance. We were without tea, although we did have some meat. When I woke up, it was late in the day. A plane appeared from the south, not from the west, from Kuugaarruk, but from the south. They had been searching for us, and when they saw us they landed. It was the police plane.

There was a five gallon jerrycan and they poured some gas into it for us. That was one dream I had that actually came true. I have not had other dreams that came true. I have never had visions of any kind. I have no stories about visions.

**Itinnuaq:** I just have ordinary dreams. I have not had any dreams that came true. I am sure I am not an *angakkuq*. I lost my cousin in a Bombardier accident [a multi-passenger snow vehicle with skis and tracks.] That is the only incident I can talk about. We had built an *iglu* and had put a cover over the top of the Bombardier. We were going to close up the Bombardier but I wanted to drink a cup of tea in a warm place so I started it up. My cousin was at the doorway. I had closed the Bombardier tight. I started smelling

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something. I had two other companions so I went to locate them. I was going to tell them there was a strange smell, when everything went dark. I blacked out.

It was winter so there was not much daylight. We had seen caribou tracks and were going to follow the tracks the next day. We were waiting for daylight. We had stopped to stay the night because we did not want to lose our way in the dark and there were no caribou there.

We had all lost consciousness in the snow. When I regained consciousness, when I opened my eyes, I had my *kamiik* on, but I had no parka. I started dreaming that the Bombardier was pointing at me. Something woke me up. I couldn't see what woke me up, and I was going to try to say something when I fell back asleep. The thing that woke me up, woke me up two more times. When I woke up again, I was lying on my side facing the Bombardier. I was trying to stop the sound I was hearing. I was thinking, "I thought we were going to go caribou hunting." Then I passed out again. It was daylight when I regained consciousness and I wanted to look at my watch. That was all I was concentrating on. I could not see my watch because of the strap. I was trying to take my watch off, but I could not grasp it with my fingers. They couldn't grasp anything so I used my thumbs. I dropped it and picked it up with my thumbs. I recall this very clearly. It was again four in the afternoon. We had stopped for the day around four, because the days were short and it was going to get dark soon. I started wondering where my two companions were. I started to look around. The Bombardier entrance was open and I saw a foot. We were on a lake and my cousin was there lying on the ground on his back. He had opened up his jacket. His hands were at his sides and they were very, very white. He had foam in his mouth and his face was very white also. This startled me, and I became more clear-headed. I tried to get up. I was unable to, so I rolled over. I was unaware I was up high, and I rolled down and almost fell on him. I went to touch him. His stomach and his hands were frozen. He had foam around his mouth, which was also frozen. The Bombardier was not running. Then I thought of our other companion. The front door of the Bombardier was open. I tried to get there but it was difficult for me to move. I finally managed to get to the door. It was ajar but not fully open. There was a blanket there. When I noticed that my second companion was breathing, I was really relieved. Then I lost consciousness again. When I regained consciousness, I was woken up by something or someone. I went over to my companion and I tried to wake him up. I told him something had happened to us and that one of our companions had frozen to death. He sat up and put his arms around me. When he got up, I started retching inside the Bombardier. After I had finished throwing up, I looked around. Finally I was really aware of our surroundings. I was unable to stand because my feet had frozen. I crawled around in there. The Bombardier had two tanks and one of the tanks was empty. That's why it had stopped while the engine was still running. It had become very hot in there. I tried to run the engine, and it started right away. I thought we needed to take the body

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home. My other companion was fine. We were unable to load my cousin into the Bombardier because he was frozen. We checked, but we knew he was dead so we wrapped him in a tarp. We went around the Bombardier to the *iglu* and we headed home. We were going to follow our tracks home. While we were travelling, I was afraid we would pass out. Although I would almost fall asleep I managed to stay awake. I kept my companion awake as well, because I was afraid he was going to die. He too wanted to sleep. I kept on saying, "Don't go to sleep. Don't fall asleep." We got to where we had stopped to eat the previous day. Because I was thirsty, I wanted to stop but I thought if I stopped and had a drink, I would not be able to continue. Then we came across a person from Tikirarjuaq at Qamanaarjuk. Uqaqtialaaq [Norman Voisey] was there. I told him, "One of my companions is dead and wrapped in a tarp, and the other is falling asleep. I want to be taken home." He said, "Go home. I'm going home by dogteam." I got angry because he did not agree to take us home. I had stopped for quite a while but I did not feel I had stopped at all. When I arrived, I was not able to walk. I recall being dragged to the hospital by my arms. I am telling you about this incident because I dreamed someone was waking me up.

**Angutinngurniq:** I have never any visions. I have never had visions in my life. I think I can see what is going to happen through my dreams. Sometimes I have dreams that make no sense at all. When you have dreams that seem to make sense, you believe in them because they come true. When you have dreams that make sense there is nothing you can do about it.

**Itinnuaq:** Do either of you have dreams?

**Jarich:** Before this workshop started I had a very strong dream. I arrived here from Holland. I had just been ill and I was pretty tired. I won't say much about the first dream I had. It was mainly about deceased people. I felt there was some bad energy around me so I said the Lord's Prayer. The next day I had a dream that I can tell you about very briefly. In it, we were having a workshop with elders. We were sitting in a very modern building. It was three stories high. It was made out of concrete and there was almost nothing in it. We were having this meeting. I looked outside and I saw they were making this tunnel almost next to the building. I thought this was stupid and dangerous because this very heavy building could slide in. And just after I thought that, the building began to slide and it rapidly disappeared into the earth. Suddenly I realized that we were very deep inside the earth. I thought there must be around one hundred and fifty feet of earth on top of us. Then I said a prayer. The strange thing was, I was not really afraid. Even in this dream I had this feeling that even when there is something negative, it can be overcome. The next day I discussed it with Henry. Henry suggested that I should sleep

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at his place but I preferred to be out here with Frédéric on the land. I thought if there was bad energy around, I preferred not to use my energy on that but be out on the land and concentrate on what we would be doing instead. Since I have been here at Itinnuaq's camp, I haven't had any bad dreams at all. I feel completely happy being here. I thought it would be very good to work in harmony and I think we have done that. I was very happy with what happened yesterday. That is what I wanted to say about my dream.

**Frédéric:** I have dreams but it is very unusual that I remember them in the morning. I remember one dream I had the day before my birthday. What happened on my birthday was almost exactly what I had dreamed. There was a surprise party set up by one of my friends, and it happened almost like in my dream. I did not know about it beforehand but I dreamed of it. The day of my birthday I saw all my friends I dreamed about there. That is the only dream I remember.

*While we were in Iqaluit in January or February, people were saying that some young people had dreams about deceased relatives asking them to join them before they tried to commit suicide.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I remember an incident with a person who wanted to commit suicide. He wanted to kill himself. I was working outside one day. My house was near his. I heard a knock. He was knocking on the window and he asked me to come. I thought that it had been this person I had seen, but it had been another person who had knocked and asked me to come. I went over and found him really depressed. I asked him what was the matter. He said he wanted to kill himself. He said that he wanted to follow his deceased father. His father was calling for him to come. I was told that once. His father had died of cancer. I talked to him for a long time while he was talking about killing himself.

## ***Aarnguat***

**Kablaalik:** I would like to hear about *aarnguat*, amulets.

**Angutinnurniq:** I have seen *aarnguat*. I know I was given two of them. My older brother, Inuksaq had a lot of them. He had them all across his back, all around his hood and even on his mitts; there were so many of them. They were placed inside a loon skin and a fish skin. Each of them had a particular use. These were given to him by our grandfather. There was not just one. He had *aarnguat* for many things. I only had two of them. We call the largest of the loons a *tullik*. I remember twice having the skin of a *tullik* with the head attached placed on my back between my shoulders. I don't know what it

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was used for. I had one after the other. We call middle sized loons *kaglulik*. I was given one of them to wear as well. The head and the wings were attached. The head had a string through its eyes. I wore that. I don't know if it was an *aarnnguaq*. It was called a *gangirut*. That is all I can say regarding *aarnguat*.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I, too, had an *aarnnguaq*. It was a *qutjau'naq*, an eel-like sea creature. My grandfather Qimirluk, who was also called Ujarasuk, who I never knew, was a good seal hunter. I had his *uqsiut*, a thong used for dragging seal, as an *aarnnguaq* placed on my hood. My father threw it away when we became Christian. He said we did not need those things any more. If then was now, I would have kept it. Maybe these weren't *aarnguat*, but I was also given part of a ptarmigan and the fangs of a wolverine. I also wore the penis of an old squaw duck around my wrist. I don't know what they were used for, but these were what I wore.

**Pisuk:** I think I had an *aarnnguaq*. The fore-claws and the eye teeth of a *siksik* were pierced and beaded into a necklace for me. My grandmother said that they were my protection, and no bear would chase after me. I am not a bear hunter at all. They say that *siksiit* can be used as a protection from ferocious animals such as walrus, and polar bears. When I was born, they must have known that I was going to be afraid of fierce animals because I was given this as a protection against them. I think my father's older brother cut them off and threw them away.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't recall if I had *aarnguat*. When I caught my first fish, my grandmother took the dorsal fin and placed it on my back. That's all I remember. She did not tell me why she had done this.

**Pujuat:** I like the name Pujuat. I am also named Niaqunnuaq. I don't recall ever having *aarnguat*. I don't remember if one was ever placed on me. I do remember my grandmother putting her saliva in my mouth, maybe because she wanted me to be a great talker. She was my grandmother and I nursed from her. She gave me her saliva to swallow. She placed an *aarnnguaq* on my first son. She took a bee and placed it on his coat. Since I was not supposed to ask questions, I did not ask her why she did this. She said, "It will fall off when it is ready to." He is the only one I know who had an *aarnnguaq*. I think it might have made him into a very quiet person. I am getting older. He was born when I was twenty. I don't have anything more to add about *aarnguat*.

**Iluittuq:** I know about *aarnguat*. This is the only thing I do know a lot about. I had an *aarnnguaq* placed on my knees. It was made from ptarmigan feet and the front paws of a

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rabbit. I was told that when it was ready to fall off, it would do so. That is all I can say about *aarnguat*.

**Nuliajuk:** I was not given any abilities by my mother. I don't remember this, but the skin of an owl head was put on my head so I did not get grey hair quickly. Maybe this was an *aarnguaq*. It was also placed there so I would look at people. This was another reason it was placed on my head.

**Itinnuaq:** Thank goodness *aarnguat* are no longer a source of embarrassment! I used to be embarrassed about them. I had an ermine stitched on my shoulder. I don't know what the purpose of it was. It was always embarrassing to be wearing this when we were going visiting. I was also given the skin of a seal that had died in the winter. The outer claws had been tied together. I was told it would protect me and that I would not be struck whenever there was lightning. That's the reason I was given this. I think this was considered an *aarnguaq*. One time during the winter, Amaruq's deceased brother Naqijaani and I were out and there was lightning. When you see thunder and lightning in the summer it is bad enough, but in the winter it is worse. When we were experiencing this lightning storm, although I had been embarrassed by my *aarnguaq* when I still had it, I thought of it. We were no longer able to travel because there was lightning all around us. There was also thunder and our dogs were howling in fright because it was very loud. I did not think about it right away; maybe because I was under stress. It was very loud. This is all I can say. I am glad to say that *aarnguat* are no longer embarrassing.

*A long time ago did dogs also wear aarnguat?*

**Angutinnurniq:** Back then when pups were born, their characters were also shaped. I think after they were born there was something placed in their mouths but I can't remember what it was. I remember if they were born in the summer, a mosquito or a krill called an *uqummiutaa* was placed there. When they became adult dogs, they would be the ones that were good at finding seal holes. *Itturniuvak* are sea creatures that are a little bit yellow and a little bit long, but not that long. I remember one being placed around this dog's neck so it would have long legs. I have seen this but I don't know if it was considered as an *aarnguaq*. It was also so the dog would not have a big stomach.



# Passing On Shamanic Knowledge: A Selective Process

## Keeping shamanic knowledge alive

**Aupilaarjuk:** All the things that have been said so far have been true even though we don't use these things today. I have been thinking for some time that in the future I would like the good of what we have been discussing to be implemented. When you tell the nurses that there is someone who is sick, you are told they are too busy and they can't deal with it. When you are told that, you become like a child and don't know what else to do. I frequently wish there was someone that I could go and talk to. That's one part of the past that I wish still existed. We have talked about this as being part of the past but I would like it to be part of the future. None of what we talked about has anything to do with the bad aspects of *angakkuuniq*. This was not a question, but I wanted to bring this up.

**Pisuk:** When I fully understand what is being talked about, then I can add to the discussion. I tend to forget things. I think, "Oh I should have added this," and then the time has passed. It does not seem that way now.

**Jarich:** I have a question about *irinaliutit*. Is the best way of preserving *irinaliutit* by communicating them to specific younger persons, or by bringing them out here in a general discussion?

**Angutinngurniq:** Before we talk about *irinaliutit*, I would like to say something. People tend to become sick frequently. I would like to know more about how people in the past dealt with this, because as I grow older, I become more sickly. I go to the nurses and they just tell me to wait. Although I tell them what's wrong with me, they are unable to help me. Sometimes I think that there should be someone people who are feeling sick can go to when they need help. I would like this possibility to still exist because sickness is always with us. I am talking about myself personally. If my children or my grandchildren became sick and we were outside the community of Kuugaarruk, then I would like to be able to have some way to help them. I think if healing abilities still exist, they could be of use to people.

**Itinnuaq:** I would like to add to this as well. It has already been said that when you go to the nurses and they are busy, they will put you off until the next day, or tell you that

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they can't help you because they have a lot to do. But when you know people who are often sick, and they are really sick, you start wondering about how else they could be helped. Since we are talking about the ability to heal, I think if there is someone who is capable of helping others through *qilaniq* or *irinaliutit*, they should do so. If they are not *angakkuit*, they will not be able to rely on *sakaniq*. I think it would be really helpful if those practices were used again. There are many people out there who have never heard of these things. Maybe if we started talking about these practices they would be used more. You often hear about people complaining about the nursing station. There are so many complaints about not getting medical attention. Maybe people could have something else to turn to. If people have one religion, and they find that they are getting help from another religion, they turn towards that religion instead. In the same way, when people learn more about alternative methods, they could be used. These practices were very strong. They were very powerful in the past, and they are still very strong today.

**Kablaalik:** I would like to add to what has been said about people who are sick. Illness is never going to disappear. It is always going to exist. I feel that what is being said about taking a sick person to the health centre and the nurses not being of help is true. When you feel you've been turned away by the nurses, you wonder how else this sick person could be helped. You turn to prayer when you are not getting the assistance you are seeking from the nurses. You start wondering if there might be an elder or someone else who might be able to help you. When you have heard a bit about the abilities that people had in the past, but you don't have anyone to turn to, it can be very difficult and trying.

**Iluittuq:** I would like to add to this because I, too, have experienced difficulties with nurses. I am not displeased with the nurses, but sometimes it is hard to find someone to turn to after you feel you have been treated like a child. When you know a person is sick and the nurses say, "We can't deal with it right now. Come back tomorrow," it is hard. You start wondering where else you could turn for help. Even though you want to seek help, you can't get any from the people around you. Even though certain people come to mind, you think they won't be able to heal the sick person. I often think that even though we are talking about rejuvenating this, there might not be anyone left who has the ability to heal. If we used *qilaniq*, it might not be a method that would work for everybody. I don't know whether it would be useful or not, but I have seen people using *qilaniq* so I think it could be of help. I think it would help the nurses as well, if there were people being helped outside the nursing station. I think that if people found out more about these practices, they would start using them. That's what I have thought about this recently.

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**Nuliajuk:** The things that were used in the past before there were many *qablunaat* around, have not changed. If people tried *qilaniq*, that would prove that there has been no change and that it was still possible to use it. I think that this could be useful, if it was used to help people and not to get power. When you are desperate, you don't know who to turn to for help.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I don't think anyone of us is thinking about this for the first time. I have thought about *qilaniq* a number of times. I know there would be differences in how it was used. Some people would have more success than others with *qilaniq*. It has always been that way. When the ones with real ability became known, people would turn to them because they would not be using their ability for themselves. They would be using their ability to help other people. We do a lot of teaching. We teach young people about the ways things were done in the past. They hear our words and they probably believe what we are telling them, but they have never experienced what we are talking about. I am sure there are people around who have abilities. Those who end up in the court system would benefit more if they were helped by Inuit. Maybe their problems would be more out in the open.

**Pisuk:** I have just thought of something based on what Aupilaarjuk has just said. We are talking about what would happen if there were to be *angakkuit* again. There were bad things that could happen when *angakkuit* exposed wrongdoings. Sometimes people have something they are very embarrassed about, something they are really ashamed of. Exposing this might lead to the person committing suicide. That is something we have to keep in mind as well. That's what happened in the past when people were too embarrassed about a wrongdoing that had been exposed. I'm telling you something I have heard about, not something I have experienced personally.

*Old traditions could be used to help people today. Still, young people need to know that there were also dangerous sides to angakkuuniq. One of these is the whole area of ilisiqsiniq, hexing.*

### ***Ilisiqsiniq***

**Aupilaarjuk:** I do not know much but I will tell you what I know. I have heard of *ilisiirrutit*. Although they did not want us to use *irinaliutit*, *ilisiirrutit* could protect us from *ilisiqtauniq*, from being hexed. I was told they could shorten our life if we used them. If young people knew this, they would know not to try and use them. What I am about to say are just my thoughts. *Ilisiqsiniq* and killing using a *tuurngaq*, are two different things. I don't think when someone uses an *ilisiirrutit*, they are sending out a

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*tuurngaq* to kill someone. I think an *ilisiirrutit* uses something else but I don't know what. I can't really put this into words, so I am going to tell you what I have experienced.

An *angakkuq* was after me. Whenever I was alone, I would flee because I was afraid, but I was never able to see what it was I was afraid of. It turned out that someone had had bad thoughts about me. Although my father was not an *angakkuq*, he started to help me. He called me his *ataatannaq*. He was one who was able to make predictions. When somebody voiced my father's thoughts, my father would let out a deep breath. He said he wanted an elephant's *iparautaq* cut because he was afraid for me. I did not know that elephants had *iparautait*, whips. He said this more than once to his wife. He talked about this afterwards. He said that somebody had had an elephant as a *tuurngaq*. I started thinking that maybe that person who had an elephant as a *tuurngaq* was after me. This was a case of someone using his *tuurngaq* to kill. The *ilisiirrutit* were not only used to kill. I don't know much, so I will rely on those who know more about this to talk about it.

**Pisuk:** I have heard about *ilisiiqsiniq*. I was told not to be vain so I would not be *ilisiiqtaujuq*. I was not to say I was a good hunter. I was not to tell stories about my hunting exploits before I had been asked about them. Then it would be difficult to *ilisiiqsijuq* me. If some people felt that they had an ability, such as being able to run fast, and they were vain about it, then they might end up not being able to run. I was also told not to be proud about my dogs or about anything at all. I was not to act in a vain manner. I have tried not to talk about my abilities, my exploits and what I have done before I have been asked. Because I am not the only one to talk, I will end here.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't have anything at all to add to the topic of *ilisiiqsiniq*. If I had that ability, I probably would have used it against a number of people. Maybe there would have been a number of people I would have done away with using *ilisiiqsiniq*. I don't know anything about this so I am going to end here.

**Pujuat:** I don't know any *ilisiirrutit*. I have heard of people being *ilisiiqtaujuq*. My grandmother was the only person to tell me things and she always told me never to be vain in any way. She said, "Don't ever be vain just in case someone want to *ilisiiqsijuq* you out of envy." She told me never to place my children's clothing face down. I was always to place it face up. Whenever I saw my children just throw their clothes down, I always placed them properly. If my children had fallen asleep after me and I woke up during the night, I would always check up on them. At night I see my children as babies even though they are now adults. Maybe that is why my sons are so good to me. There are four of them around me. I make breakfast for them every morning even though I know they are able to do it themselves. One of them even told me he was able to do it on his own. I have continued to look after them; maybe that is why they have always

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looked after me. I have passed on what my grandmother told me to them, to look after and care for other people. I don't know any *ilisiirrutit*. I don't know of anyone being hexed. I can't really add to this.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know any *ilisiirrutit* at all, not even one, so I can't add to this topic. I have heard about them from my mother, but I have never seen anyone hexed. Maybe those who know more about it can speak, and I'll just listen.

**Nulajuk:** I have searched for help because I want people to live. I don't want to learn any *ilisiirrutit* at all. I would be very displeased with a person who tried to teach me an *ilisiirrutit*. I do not want to learn any at all, because I am afraid if I were to learn one, I would use it.

**Itinnuaq:** I, too, don't know what *ilisiirrutit* are like or what kind of *ilisiirrutit* people used. I have heard that they were used by those who had bad thoughts. They say that *angakkuut* were able to see bad thoughts. Whenever they would see that someone had bad thoughts towards them, the *angakkuut* tended to act before they were hexed. Maybe people who tended to have bad thoughts quickly would be the ones who would use *ilisiirrutit*. Maybe part of hexing would be wanting someone to be sick, or to have difficulty hunting, or to not have good dogs. That's how these *ilisiirrutit* would be used. I think if anyone possessed *ilisiirrutit*, the desire to use them would be there. I don't know any *ilisiirrutit*.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't know any *ilisiirrutit*. I can only tell you what I have heard. They would use them if they wanted someone to be poor in hunting, if they wanted them to be slow in the *qajaq*, or if they wanted to slow down someone who was a fast runner. That was what the *ilisiirrutit* were used for. There is a difference between *ilisiirrutit*, hexes, and *isumaluutit*, bad thoughts. A person who has bad thoughts will wish a person was dead, or was harmed. I think people have a tendency to mix the two of them, but they are not the same in Nattilingmiut. When an *ilisiirrutit* was placed on a person, it was to impair their abilities, whether it was hunting or running. When we talk about *isumaluutit*, this is when a person has bad thoughts about someone they are displeased with. It could be an *angakkuq* or a *non-angakkuq* who had those thoughts. That is what I have heard.

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*If a person had an unfortunate experience or a relative had an accident, and the person thought it was caused by an ilisiirruṭi, what would you as an elder advise the person to do? How could you relate to what happened?*

**Angutinngurniq:** I want to say a little bit more about *isumaluutit*. If I had a tendency towards bad thoughts, and if you were in these, if that bad thought came back to me, it would come back and be really strong. If you wished someone to die and that person did not die, that thought could come back to you or to your children.

*Isumaluutit* are said to be very strong. We have been told not to use *isumaluutit*. Young people should know this because if they were to *isumaluktuq*, this could come back to them or to someone they care about. I think this should be taught to young people. If a young person doesn't know the consequences, and the person did not die, then it could come back to them and make life difficult. I might be wrong but these are my thoughts.

## Meeting with spirits and non-human beings

*We could discuss tupilait now.*

**Pisuk:** I have seen many *angakkuṭ* such as Qimuksiraaq and his brother Nagjuk. My father would never *tupilattuq*, but he would have a tiny little knife and he would go around outside, and it would drip blood when he was trying to chase away sickness. My uncle seemed much stronger. He used a *tuuq*, an ice chisel. I have talked about this before. He would ask me to put the chisel into the snow, in an area that had no footprints. After I left it there, the chisel rose up in the air. It went sideways and seemed to embed itself into something. Then there was blood. He said, "The *tupilaq* has fled", because we couldn't see the body. Once I saw Qimuksiraaq using his hands. Everyone saw his brother Nagjuk using his hands. His hands would become very bloody when he was killing a *tupilaq*. Those were the four I saw. I don't know of any others. I can't add more unless you ask questions.

**Suvaksiuq:** Among the Paallirmiut we say *angakkuaqijjuq* for *sakajuq*. I am not an *angakkuq*, but I can tell what I have seen. There were real *angakkuṭ*. There was a person named Saumik. He was Sigjariaq's father, who was the present day Nibguaqsii's father. They were at Kinnga'aq. Saumik was a very powerful *angakkuq*. There are some people who are unable to have children. I watched this *angakkuq* get a child for this woman. He would go out and come back in, because those that were *angakkuaqijjuq* would do that at night. Then he would go out again. There was a very bad blizzard. We wear parkas with a flap. He went outdoors into a blizzard and when he came in, you could see something moving around in his parka and hear a baby crying. There was no baby out

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there beforehand, but I saw him bring back a baby. Some people were very powerful and I believe in them.

Donald Suluk claimed he was not an *angakkuq*. He used to predict the weather. He was able to speak English because he worked for a *qablunaaq* who had been Qumaaluk's husband. Qumaaluk used to live at Siuraarjuk. Savikataaq and his family and two or three others lived there as well. They too would tell stories. These are the *angakkuuit* I have seen in person. I myself am not an *angakkuq*, but I have seen *angakkuuit*. I am only telling you what I have seen in person. I was not that young when these events occurred. They were not the only ones I saw, but those were the ones that amazed me most. Saunik was a very powerful *angakkuq*. He was able to give a baby to a woman who could not have one. Siutiruaq and his wife were the ones who were unable to have children. After he got the baby for her, she had many children. They have many descendants in Arviat. I have seen these things in person so I believe them.

**Pujuat:** I have never seen anyone *tupilattuq* so I can't add to this at all. I have heard that *tupilait* were bad. Maybe they were used for *ilisiirrutit*, for hexing. I have heard about them but I have never seen them. Maybe because we lived out on our own, I don't have any experiences to recount. Because we did not live with other people, I have never seen this.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know about this at all. I have never seen it. I might make mistakes if I talked about it. I have to admit when I don't know about something.

**Nuliajuk:** I have seen an *angakkuq tupilattuq* once. His hands became bloody, but we could not see what made them that way. He had to wash them off with urine. I believe this as I saw it. The person's name was Alikammik. He was a Ki'lini'miutaq. That's all I can say. I don't want to say more.

**Itinnuaq:** I have seen *tupilattuq* very often, ever since I was a child. It was after I became an adult that I no longer saw it. This was something that *angakkuuit* did a lot. Even after Christianity arrived, you still saw *tupilattuq*. I saw Nagjuk, the *angakkuq* that Pisuk was talking about, do this numerous times. I also saw my father Anaqqaaq *tupilattuq* more than once. Their hands would become bloody, and they would clean them with urine. Maybe their hands did not become better smelling. Some *angakkuuit* would allow others to see *tupilait* if they were able to do so. You could actually see the *tupilait*. The *angakkuuit* were on the floor with them. The *tupilaq* was just a *tarniq*. When they were ready to kill it, you could not see it at all. You could only observe the *angakkuq*. If you were not an *angakkuq*, all you would see was the *angakkuq* moving about. I don't know how they did it, but when you saw it, it seemed like they were all alone fighting. Their hands would



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become all bloody but their clothing never did. It was only their skin. Maybe *tarniit* have blood and that's why they would become bloody too. There was nothing visible at all, and yet they would become bloody. I know this about *tupilaak*, but if I tried to add more it would not be of use, so I am ending here.

**Angutinngurniq:** I have seen one *angakkuq tupilattuq*. My uncle Iksivalitaq was said to have been an *angakkuq*. I saw him once. They said the thing he was going to *tupilattuq* was indoors. Others could see it and I was trying to see it too. I did not see anything at all. I heard people saying it was big. I heard a snap and then the floor was all bloody. His hands were all bloody too. I remember him jumping on it. He seemed to be in a trance when he was doing this. The next day when we children woke up, we were told that we were going to fight the *tupilaak* that had been killed. There were two images of a dog and a person, made of snow. We children started beating against these images. I often remember this incident. That's all I have to say about *tupilattuq*.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I cannot say much about this. I recall seeing the *angakkuq* Kuugjuaq while I was a child. I recall the blood. There was not a bit of flesh at all. There was a pot he urinated into. He poured the urine on his hands and then wiped them off. There was not a single drop of blood left. Because he did not describe what he had been fighting, I don't know what it looked like. I don't know what it was he was fighting. That's all I can add regarding *tupilattuq*.

*Have any of you met ijirait or other kinds of beings?*

**Suvaksiuq:** In our area there is a place called Ijiralik. I have never seen an *ijirait*. They say that they do exist around Arviat. Others have seen them. They look like caribou, but they also have a human form. People say that those who go there often lose things like pocket knives, etc. There is a cabin out there because it is on the caribou migration trail. That's all I have to add.

**Pujuat:** If you go up to Ijiralik, you can see them. I have never seen one though. One time we were close to that area. My husband and I only had one child then. We set up a tent there in the summer. It was a wonderful day. We decided to make tea so I went inside to get some and I heard a whistling sound. My husband said someone was arriving but we did not see anybody at all. The whistle sounded human. It was broad daylight so we weren't scared at all, because we knew there wouldn't be *tuurngait* during the day. Maybe if it had been dark, we would have been scared. I don't think beings which can be seen are scary.

Quite some time after this, not so long ago, we women went out fishing at Qamanaarjuk. Kukilasak, who's English name is Monica, and I were on our way out

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fishing. We met up with her sister Hannah Benoit at the store. We said we were going to go fishing and Hannah said she would join us later. We were happy that there were going to be more of us, because it is quite enjoyable when there are a number of people out there. It was in the spring. We were going to enjoy each other's company. Hannah left before us. Much later, she told us she had seen two Hondas ahead of her. One was yellow and one was red. Those were the colours of Monica's and my Hondas. Hannah said she could hear two people conversing with each other. She hadn't even thought that you can't hear people conversing in front of you. She stayed behind the dirt from our Hondas. The two machines went over a rise. The two people that had been on the machines were not nicely dressed. Monica and I are never nicely dressed when we go out fishing. She said that after the two people went over the rise, she did not see them anymore. Shortly after that, Monica and I caught up with her. We had been behind her. When we caught up with her she had totally forgotten what she had seen. I have heard that *ijirait* make you forget what you have seen. You only recall it afterwards.

I also heard that around that time, before a lot of people started going out there, two people had been seen fishing at Iqalugaarjuk. That's all I know about this.

**Iluittuq:** I have never seen any *ijirait*. One day I was on a boat. I went to shore to make tea, because I wanted to make tea on land. My wife and I were alone. We walked inland but we did not see anything at all. There were no caribou there. We were walking along, and then all of a sudden there was this caribou right beside us, and it jumped out at my wife. She saw it before I did. She was walking right beside me. When she saw it, she yelled out because she was startled, and ran to the other side of me. I was holding a rifle so I shot the caribou, which was right beside us. It was very dark. The antlers weren't that large, but they were a good size. It seemed to us that this caribou came out of the ground. I did not notice when it came out. It suddenly appeared out of the ground. That is the only one I know about. I don't want to talk about things I don't know.

**Pujuat:** Did you eat it?

**Iluittuq:** We were going to eat it because we were hungry, but my wife said if we ate it, something bad might happen to us. I said, "Okay let's not eat it, let's just go home." I wanted to eat it, but my wife told me not to. If we had eaten it, I wonder what would have happened to us. I had forgotten about this.

**Nuliajuk:** I have heard of *ijirait*. I have never seen them but I believe they exist.

**Kublu:** Have you seen anything other than *ijirait*?

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**Nuliajuk:** I have heard that there are *inugarulligait*. I have never seen an *inugarulligarjuk*. When you have never seen something, you can't talk about it.

**Itinnuaq:** I, too, have never seen an *ijiraq*. I suspect there are some at Ijiralik. I left a bull caribou at Ijiralik. At that time I didn't know that hill was called Ijiralik. It was in the summer when there were mosquitoes. This bull caribou's head was down as it was eating. It never looked up at all. I whistled and tried to startle it. I started thinking how I would make a clean kill. I had my rifle. The tail went up and I shot it right through the anus. I did not miss. It did not even bleed. It dropped down right away. I cut it, butchered it and cached it in the rocks that were around, and I stretched the skin out beside it, but I never went back for it. A number of years later when I started living here in Kangiq&iniq after having lived in Lynn Lake, I suddenly remembered the caribou I had cached. I went looking for it, but I did not find it. I have never been able to find it. I have not even been able to find the rocks that I used to cache it. I remembered where I had been. After I cached it, I went back to my tent. Then I went to a place that has recently been named Uqutalik. I camped the night there. The next day, the weather cleared up. When I told other people about this, they suspected that it was an *ijiraq*. It was only then that I started thinking it was one. Maybe it was the *ijiraq* of Ijiralik.

**Angutinngurniq:** I don't know much about *ijirait*, but I think I might have seen one. It was a male caribou but it was not a full-grown bull. It seemed shorter than a bull caribou but it was still quite tall. It was not moving. I waited for it to move, and it started walking towards me. There was a pond there. When it got to the point, it went into the pond, and did not move at all. When it started moving again it starting coming directly towards me. I was waiting for it, but by the time I got it into my sights, it had disappeared. It had dark summer fur. It looked like a caribou. I thought it must be resting on the ground so I started walking towards where it had been. The land was very flat. There was nowhere for it to hide. Then I thought that maybe it was an *ijiraq* and that's why it had disappeared. That's what made me believe in them. I don't think *ijirait* can only be seen by *angakkuuit*.

There was another time the caribou were in herds. There was a dip in the land but otherwise it was flat. I saw a herd of caribou but when I tried to find it again, it had totally disappeared. They say if you shoot them on the antler with a bow and arrow, they reappear the next day. The ones that I saw were very close but they disappeared. Because they were very close, I tried to shoot one on the antler, because I knew that if I did so, it would return the next day. I have heard that when you get them as caribou, the meat is good and they have a lot of fat.

Another time Aupilaarjuk's brother, Guy Kakiarniut, and I were out caribou hunting in the fall. We came across some caribou and were trying to stalk them. When

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we looked for them again, they were gone. We could not see them at all. The area around was flat. We had seen them from a distance. They had stopped to graze. There was a little bit of a dip in the land, and the moment they got out of sight, they disappeared. They had seemed to be rising up from the ground, because there were so many of them. We could see where they had stopped to graze. The only place they had to flee to was over a rise. When they started to flee, they looked back at us before they disappeared over the rise. We did not see them again, so we both thought that they were *ijirait*. I don't think that they are only seen by *angakkuut*.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I am not an *angakkuq*, but I will tell you about something I have seen, even though it seems unbelievable. I have never told this to people outside my family, because sometimes you aren't always believed. When other people haven't seen the same thing, you often think that you won't be believed. My father and I were living in a place called Qariaq, past Naujaat. It was a very clear day, and we were going to get caribou that had been cached. We travelled by sea ice. My father was the only person I was travelling with. He stopped his dogs. In those days when you stopped your dogs, they stopped immediately. My father got up from the *qamutiik* and he called to me. He called me his *ataatannaq*. He said, "I think there is something coming towards us." It was a bird. Its wing span was wider than the length of this room. I didn't notice its head, but I saw its feet. It was wearing clothing made from fabric. Its feet were curled. My mind went blank. My father said, "There is an angel coming towards us," and I said, "If it is an angel it would be very bright." That's the last recollection that I had. The next thing I remember I was at home. We both thought we had lost our senses. My father never said what happened to it or where it went. It was not an angel. It was very big, but it was not a plane. It was something with wings like a bird. I was not scared of it. It did not fill me with fear. It was only long afterwards that I started remembering it. I can't tell you more than this. I can only tell you that I saw it.

I told you about the bull caribou I had seen at Tikirarjuaq. It was larger than a bull caribou but the front of the antler was missing. It never raised its head when it was grazing; it would look from side to side. Because I assumed it was not a real caribou, I never went after it.

I am going to tell you about the third thing that I saw. Again, it was at Tikirarjuaq. First, I would just like to mention that Ukaliq from Tikirarjuaq was out caribou hunting and also had an experience like Angutinngurniq. He would go towards caribou, and then they would disappear, and appear further off. He talked about having that experience.

At Tikirarjuaq I saw three caribou together. When they went behind something, I could not see them at all. The people before us used to wear braids tied in a knot at the sides of their heads. The antlers of the caribou looked something like this. I was

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following three caribou that had very short antlers. I did not think of being scared because they were caribou. At that time, there was a person I hadn't met yet. I did not know who he was. His name was Tiinaaq. He, too, had been out caribou hunting. He was up on a hill looking through his binoculars. He said that he saw a caribou coming towards him. It looked like a big bull caribou but he wondered if it was really a caribou. When it appeared again, it was me that he saw. When he told me about it, I wondered why he saw me as a caribou because I am not an *angakkuq*.

Another time I was not alone. I was with my wife. We were at a tent we had to cut up caribou for drying. One day when the sun was shining, Samuili, our adopted child, was very sick. We left him behind. I went out, and there in front of me on the tidal flat I saw something, but I was not sure what it was. It was close enough to shoot it. I thought about shooting it and told my wife this, but decided to shoot it later. When I looked back, it was not there. It was not a seal. I don't know what it was. These are my personal experiences.

**Pujuat:** Did you tend to become a caribou?

**Aupilaarjuk:** Maybe if I were an *angakkuq*! I have never run as fast as a caribou. If Tiinaaq had told you this himself, it would have been believable. I am not an *angakkuq*. At the time this happened, I was a Christian but I was not as firm a believer as I am now. I think that all powers come from one. Through Jesus' coming and through Jesus' death we are saved. We have to believe that.

**Pisuk:** I have not seen numerous *ijirait*, but I have seen them since I was a child. Once I was out and I saw five of them, a calf, its mother, a yearling, a young bull and a large bull. I don't know if the yearling was male or female. I had gone out to check my traps and these five were following my tracks.

I was with Inuusaq and he said, "Maybe those aren't real caribou." I told him that I had seen *ijirait* from the time I had been a child. They say that when you see *ijirait*, you are not to kill them. If they are not doing anything to you, you are not to kill them unless they attack you first. I have never heard of anyone being attacked by *ijirait*. I have seen something else but I can't talk about it.

## **Practising *qilaniq***

**Iluittuq:** I would like someone to perform *qilaniq* while I am still here. If this is not possible, then I will accept it. It is all right. But before I leave, I would like to see someone perform this. I will accept it if it happens after I am gone, but I would like it to happen before I leave. I would like to be here with you people if someone will do it. I would accept it if it is not going to happen.

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**Itinnuaq:** We have talked about this. Iluittuq probably has an idea of what he would like to happen. We could try it here. We could pull the table over a bit. It would not take that long. We could continue with the meeting while we are waiting for the tide to ebb. Suvaksiuq and I are going to check the nets again when the tide goes out. It would be useless for us to continue talking about this and not even try it. Suvaksiuq has also said he wants to see it being done. I am just supporting his thought.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I agree with what is being said. I think it should be more than a demonstration. It should be shown. I know that people can believe what is said, but it is sometimes better to be shown. I think that if there is someone who is sick, whether it is a child or an adult, this method can be used to heal, to find out why someone is sick. This method can continue to be used. I will not *qilajuq*. I used to try, but I had difficulty. The reason why I am not going to try to *qilajuq* is because I officiate in the church. That is the reason why I will not do it. I have seen it. I would recognize it being done. I am not going to do it, because I am not able to do it. I believe in it. I will not do it, but I am in agreement with it being done.

**Pisuk:** It isn't the first time I have seen *qilaniq* performed. I would recognize it if I saw it performed, but I will not do it because I am unable to. If anyone wants to try it, I won't belittle it, because I believe in it. I am in agreement with what is being said.

**Angutinnurniq:** I have seen a person perform *qilaniq* when someone was sick. Those of us who are older have seen it. I am in agreement with it being tried. I do know for a fact that I am not able to perform *qilaniq*. I don't have the ability. I would like future generations to know about it, so if there were people with the ability, they would be able to use it to find out how to help someone who was sick. I don't think it would be something that was used often, only occasionally. For instance if you were outside the community, then you could use this.

**Nulijuk:** I too have seen people perform *qilaniq*. I believe in it. We Inuit believe in *qilaniq*. Although I haven't tried it, I would not stop whoever wanted to do it.

**Itinnuaq:** It is possible to perform *qilaniq* any time. The other thing we need to discuss is whether or not we are going to have *irinaliutit* taped. Those who know *irinaliutit* should have them recorded, because they will add more substance to the tapes and to what is being discussed.

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**Iluittuq:** I would like to add that although I have indicated that I would like to see *qilaniq* being done, I am not pushing anyone. If there is reluctance, then I will accept that. If there is anyone who is willing to do it, then I would like to see it done.

**Angutinnurniq:** I would like to say that Iluittuq has a problem with his hand and maybe we could find out the cause of it. As far as the *irinaliutit* are concerned, I don't know if I could say an *irinaliuti* if I was not in dire need.

**Suvaksiuq:** I now know it is possible to perform *qilaniq* even though we have eaten. Whether we actually succeed in performing *qilaniq* or not, it could be shown. I believe in it as well. We are talking about what we have heard and what we have seen. We know that religion came from the *qablunaat*. It was not a part of Inuit tradition. It was when religion started that the Inuit ways of doing things stopped being used.

I have seen *qilaniq*. I am in favour of it and I believe in it. It was not done all the time. In the past, people relied on *qilaniq* because there were no doctors or any other outside help. There were times of hunger. There were times of extreme cold. This helped us to survive and therefore we should not disregard it. There is a fundamentalist Christian group that has been trying to help prevent suicide through prayer. We have seen that it is not helping. Those of us who are older should rely on what we know from the past. I, too, am a believer, but I would like what was used in the past to be revitalized. I am here and I would like to participate freely in the workshop.

I had a son whom I had difficulty with. He ended up incarcerated a number of times. There was one time my wife said she started seeing images of my son feeling very isolated. I think that when people are feeling isolated, this could be used as a means of helping them. Things have improved and my son and his wife have a good relationship now. They don't seem to have any more problems. I am now an elder. When you become an elder, you are different from the way you were when you were young. You become easily *tunniasuktuq*, uneasy, if you are not made to feel welcome. We should mention all the things that would help younger people to live a good life. Whenever we are brought together as people with knowledge, people with some wisdom, we should work our hardest.



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## The *qilaniq* session

The *qilaniq* session took place in Itinnuaq's cabin during the evening and was recorded on video by Laugrand and Oosten. All the elders were present. The table was moved to the side. Iluittuq had requested that the *qilaniq* session be conducted on his behalf, so he was lying down on the floor with his head positioned towards the door and his face completely covered. Nulijuk took hold of the rope. When the head became heavy, suggesting the presence of an *apiqsaq*, the elders in the cabin posed various questions. Everyone was completely focused and concentrated on the proceedings. In the course of the process Suvaksiuq, Kablaalik and Oosten were invited to lift Iluittuq's head and assess its lightness or heaviness. After the first *qilaniq* session, two more followed.

During the second session, Iluittuq was lying down again and Itinnuaq took the rope while the audience once more asked questions. Oosten was invited by Itinnuaq to pull the rope. During the last session, Angutinngurniq was lying down and Kablaalik and Suvaksiuq held the rope. The sessions not only demonstrated the technique of *qilaniq* but also the strong involvement of all the participants in the proceedings. Everyone enjoyed the sessions which gave rise to many discussions and comments afterwards. It provided an opportunity for the elders to put into practise what they had witnessed and experienced in their youth.

[The following are comments that were recorded after *qilaniq* had been performed.]

**Angutinngurniq:** I have had people experienced in performing *qilaniq* try to use me but I have never become heavy. The *tuurngait* are squeamish about me, even the ones that are not evil. This is the first time that I have ever become heavy, when Suvaksiuq used me to perform *qilaniq*. Those who have the capability of finding out the cause of sickness easily are *qilagiktut*. I feel that Suvaksiuq is *qilagiktut*. Even though he was pulling hard, I could not feel the rope. This is the first time I have ever become heavy so I consider him to be *qilagiktut*. Others have tried in the past but have not managed to make me reach heaviness.

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**Suvaksiuq:** Yesterday I thought if we did this, I would give someone a brand-new pen. I did not voice this but I thought about it. I thought whoever reaches heaviness is the person I am going to give the pen to. I hadn't voiced that thought, but I am telling you about it in retrospect. I am going to go get a pen for Angutinngurniq when the store opens.

**Pujuat:** I have heard that *qilaniq* and prayer have something in common.

**Itinnuaq:** You should have tried it.

**Pujuat:** I am not going to try it without being told to try. I'll try it when I get home.

**Kablaalik:** I have a question. I have heard the term *kigluriktuq*. I would like it further explained.

**Itinnuaq:** It is something evil, a big *paijaa*.

**Kablaalik:** I saw those who had difficulty pulling. When I was trying to pull it, it became light. I was told the *apiqsait* were squeamish of me. Why were they squeamish?

**Itinnuaq:** There are numerous reasons. It's hard to know the exact reason. Maybe your grandmother or your grandfather wanted it that way. Personally I know that you are trying your best to find out more about this. Maybe next time you try you will find it easier, if you continue your endeavours to find out more.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I did not understand what you meant when you said you wanted to give someone a pen. You wanted to give him a pen?

**Suvaksiuq:** Yes.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Even though you didn't say it, you thought, "If someone who has never become heavy, becomes heavy, I will give him a pen."

**Suvaksiuq:** Yes.

**Aupilaarjuk:** It's because you thought this, the *apiqsaaq* really heard you.

**Suvaksiuq:** I only thought this, that I would give him a pen.

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**Aupilaarjuk:** Then that's what you have to do. In the past if I really needed to turn to someone for help, I would have come to you. I can see this in you.

**Itinnuaq:** I misunderstood what he meant. I thought he was talking about *tunillainiq*, giving someone something to perform.

**Angutinnurniq:** I wasn't aware of what he'd been thinking, but when he made my head heavy, and someone mentioned someone sitting, I pictured my cousin Pujuat's deceased husband. This thought came to me suddenly.

**Pujuat:** My husband teasingly once said to a *qablunaaq*, "If I was to use *qilaniq*, I would be able to find out all your wrongdoings." He would tell young people that he would be able to find out which of them had committed a crime. When he was still alive, he would say he wanted to be able to use *qilaniq* in court.

**Suvaksiuq:** When you are actually trying to pull, you end up with shivers.

**Kablaalik:** Even if you are just watching, you end up with the shivers.

**Itinnuaq to Jarich:** It's too bad when you were pulling, it suddenly became light.

**Jarich:** No. It was okay. When I pulled the head, it was very heavy. It is quite clear that there was something happening. When we started, suddenly everyone was trying to help Iluittuq out. That was the thing that was started by doing the *qilaniq*. Apart from what was happening in the *qilaniq* itself, at the same time it was affecting everybody, as they were trying to help Iluittuq out.

**Suvaksiuq:** When our ancestors used it, they did not use it as a means of entertainment. In the same way when priests and ministers preach, the words don't just come out of their mouths. They come from within. That's why I did not want this to be just a means of entertainment here. It is something real. It is something to be used in earnest.

**Pujuat:** Now we have done *qilaniq*.

**Itinnuaq:** It was physically painful, but we don't seem to have gotten anywhere.

**Kablaalik:** Maybe Itinnuaq is very strong but I did not feel him.

**Pisuk:** Nulijuk's hand became very red from pulling very hard.

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**Itinnuaq:** When a person becomes light, they become very, very light. It is like pulling on a lure.

**Kablaalik:** When your head becomes light, you can feel the difference.

**Angutinnurniq:** This is the first time my head has become heavy. When you become heavy, it doesn't seem as though you are being pulled at all. It's like being on an airplane. You feel it when you take off, but when you are in the air you don't feel the difference.

### **Passing down *irinaliutit***

**Pisuk:** I have two *irinaliutik* I can tell you. They are not dangerous or scary. The others are ones that I have sort of learned, but don't know well enough to tell. They say if you try to use them without really knowing them, they don't help you and they can harm you. There are two I can tell you. Maybe they will be recognized and even laughed at. One is very short. The very short one can be used for someone who is very sick, especially when that person is not closely related to you. The other one is known by numerous people. They call it the *pisiq* of Nuliajuk's sea mammals. It concerns an *ugjuk* that was seen by an *angakkuq*.

They say that it is very dangerous to want to see a bear because they can hear this thought. It can be dangerous to you. The first *irinaliut* can be helpful to a sick person. I will be laughing at myself because it is so short.

#### **naujaguq ititjatkut qalruuvingit.**

They say that the sea gulls go over those, crossing over to the sea ice.

#### **pangnirni naujaguq ikitjatkut qalruuvingit.**

They say that the sea gulls go over bull caribou, crossing over to the sea ice.

#### **pangnirni naujaguq isatqukkut aupillaktut.**

They say that those sea gulls of bull caribou, they say that their wings have become red.

#### **hapkuat naujaguq.**

Those sea gulls they say.

In this one, I was told never to substitute and use a bear instead, unless I felt I was about to go hungry. If I had a good rifle, then I could use the *irinaliuti* for a bear, but otherwise I was not to use it.

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The second one is the *pisiq* of an *ugjuk*. All the sea mammals like this one. Using it doesn't stop you from having success at hunting. I believe it is useful because I used it this fall. An *ugjuk* took on a human form and taught this to an *angakkuq*.

**tuummatituumli qaga manna suviliqtijat qasilliqtuvat.**

*Tuummatituuq*, this that you make drafty has become sore easily.

**uvli'taa'juut uvliq taamna qangamanna suviliqtijat qasilliqtuvat?**

*Uvli'taa'juut uvliq* when is it that this you make drafty has become sore easily?

**kinngarjuut uqqua hamna ujaktiqpakpit nuvujarjuut.**

Because the weather down there is warm, he finds clouds to be bothersome.

**papiqqutiksapkua nuna miksaanut qiksinngitittit.**

Don't look towards the land because that is for

**sila qangna ibjai'mat aniiqtuarijit nuvajatqanga pagviqpangmajit mitqiiijianijagat uvavasuktuq.**

your mischievous lying *tuurngaq* which tends to *uvavaq*.

**Suvaksiuq:** You keep looking at me like you want me to take a turn. Perhaps this is not an *irinaliutiti*, just something that would make people pleased. My father and I learned this from my grandmother Kikpaq. It is not scary. I can sing it. I am not going to sing the whole thing. If I were in a situation that was difficult, then I could use it. I haven't forgotten it. If I had to deal with something difficult, I was to sing it, but I haven't had to use it yet. It's not scary. It's enjoyable. My grandmother also told me to help people. This is what it is.

**ua ua airut tallingit atilunga, qariarjuaq tagvaulugut uuh!**

*Ua ua* I'll put on the arms of the sleeve part, the big room is there *uuh!*

I learned this from my grandmother. My grandmother told me that songs were to be sung because they are enjoyable, they are not scary. This other one I learned from Angutiatjuaq, who was the father of Jimmy Uvinik who worked for the police.

He was also Johnny Qaritaq's and Siluk's father. The three of them had their wives with them. My father and I were there as well. I am going to sing this, so in the future, people will be happy with Suvaksiuq. This song will probably be recognized. I haven't forgotten it since then. It's a very old song. This is the way it goes.

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**ajijaa. qinaujaqpaa uniu&&araanguuq.**

*Aijjaa.* He searches for what he has missed.

**ailuqqaquarjunguna inuqsqsinnaq&ugu.**

What he is trying to get he is not able to reach.

**nunamiunut nattilingmiunut inutjarvingmiunut,**

From those of the land of Nattilik, of Inutjarvik,

**tusavillakkajakkakkit.**

I would hear a bit.

**nunatqatitka qaki'maqimapanajaaqtut qa'ma.**

There inside, my fellow camp-members are.

**iglaqatijaaqtut qa'ma tuhaajatka pangmiuna.**

I hear them laughing together in there *pangmiuna*.

**kihimiguuq ipkua utqurmiurjuit piqalujjarikturjuinnguq.**

They say that only the Uqqurmiut have large icebergs.

**kuugaarjuk atuinnaq&ugu ilupkulli qamuuna angu&&aqpunga**

Following the stream, I catch up within me

**niqivagiginngitamnik qiqquarjuinnarnik pinnuq&ungali maunga.**

of food that which I usually don't eat. I'm tired of only seaweed over here.

**irngujaluulillarma aktikasaqpara tumitkali kingummulli tubjaq&ugit aijaa.**

Because I'm *irngujuq* I almost get rid of it. My footprints I follow back, *aijaa*

**Pujuat:** I don't know any *irinaliutit*, so I'm going to sing a song, but it's not an *irinaliuti*.

I want to be told what this song is after I've sung it.

**ikaikkami uvalu quvairurami.**

*Ikaikkami uvalu quvairurami.*

**sinaani akinnaani sinaani natirnaani.**

On it's edge, on it's side, on it's edge, on it's plane.

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**isikkakkak taasakkuak qajuaq atiikkik.**  
My feet down there of seal, put them on.

**naat&unga, naat&unga.**  
I tripped, I tripped.

**ijajjaa aqiggit tumait, ijajjaa ukallit tumait.**  
*Ijajjaa* ptarmigans' footprints, *ijajjaa* rabbits' footprints.

I don't think this is the end, but this is where I'm stopping because I think I might have made a mistake. I think it's okay because I've said something.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Even if you've made a mistake, I'm not able to say, "This is where you've made a mistake," because I don't know it.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know any *irinaliutit* at all. If I were to say something I would be lying. I just want to listen.

**Nuliajuk:** *Irinaliutit* were not said when there were many people around. They were only said when people close to you were present, so I'm not going to say anything at all. They were taught to those who were listening.

**Itinnuaq:** When we started, it was mentioned that *irinaliutit* could be used to deflect bad thoughts and to help sick people. I don't have any *irinaliutit*. Maybe I will say part of the deflecting one. I have never used it so I might make a mistake. I have heard it used.

**apapaa apapaa uqauhirjuaq taurjuaq.**  
*Apapaa apapaa* strong words strong human.

**arnaqpinnuuq iviangingiik maksuktuuk unniq&ugiik,**  
You tell about your mother's breasts which are unkempt,

**utiqu'matit utiruvit aksarlugu annivikpatit aagiuk nirigiuk.**  
because she wants you to come back. If you go back, push her over, cut her up, eat her.



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They say this was a deflecting *irinaliuti*. This other one was used for healing so it's a happy one. Some of Pisuk's family were from Aivilik and others from Nattilik. The one Pisuk knows is from Aivilik. There are also those from Nattilik. I can say it a little bit differently. Because it's said in fun, it's okay to tape it.

**naujauguuq nibjukuuk pagga ii.**

They say two sea gulls are making noise up there *ii*.

**nigalaajukuuk jaajaa.**

Making noise back and forth *jaajaa*.

**qukiajasi.**

You shoot at them.

**naujap paksuma aggiuvaanga qulaugaanga.**

That sea gull up there brushes against me, goes over me.

**pagga pagga isaqqukkik aupilatquk.**

Up there, up there, your wings become reddened.

**qukiajasi.**

You shoot them.

**Angutinngurniq to Itinnuaq:** Would you like me to try?

**Itinnuaq to Angutinngurniq:** Try! If you don't try you're going to have less of a name! <sup>1</sup>

**Angutinngurniq:** That's too bad. Is it okay even if I make a mistake?

**naujaguuq mijukuuk pangna.**

They say that a sea gull up there is being protective.

**quli'ni panga ijaa.**

That one up there above me *ijaa*.

**naujap paksumali uvanga qulaanga.**

That sea gull up there goes over me.

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**naujabli paksuma ijaajaangaangai.**

That sea gull up there *ijaajaangaangai*.

**ihatqukkik aupqilakkuuk pama panarikkii aijaa.**

Your wings become reddened *pama panarikkii aijaa*.

**naujap paksuma ii uvanga qulaanga anganga i.**

That sea gull up there goes over me, *anganga i*.

**Angutinngurniq:** It is longer but I didn't sing the whole thing.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I said I hadn't heard any *irinaliutit*, but I heard one from Angutinngurniq's grandfather. I have heard that there are many different *irinaliutit*. I have never known them to be used. Saumik did not want to teach me a *qiluriaqsiut* to fold the land, because I had too quick a temper. There is danger in using *irinaliutit* because people have different abilities with words. Some people don't even have to say the words. That's why I don't know any *irinaliutit*. I am saying this in earnest. I have heard they have the power to heal. I believe you have said what you know. It is not out of embarrassment or fear that I'm not saying any. If I knew any, I would say them as well.

**Kablaalik:** I have heard about *irinaliutit* from the beginning of the session. I believe I have more of an understanding of the wisdom of those around the table; and also the wisdom of the words. I have heard one that was used for healing and it was used for healing out of love. It has been put on tape and I've heard our interpreter say it. It was used when someone was not able to swallow anymore. I heard it on tape and I will try to repeat it. I remember that one. I know that I don't know any other ones. This is one that I heard.

**arnaquaksaarjuglu aipatautaanik,**

When an old woman,

**situajumik kiviajumik.**

That which slides down, that which sinks down.

**iilugu. iilugu**

Swallow it. Swallow it.

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**Kublu:** I've already mentioned that this came from my grandmother Iqallijuq. She learned it at the time when her parents were so sick they were unable to swallow. An old woman named Tulugaarjuk used this *irinaliuti* on them. My grandmother in turn used it on a woman named after that old lady. This woman had cancer and was no longer able to eat as she couldn't swallow. She wanted fish so my grandmother used it on her so she could eat.

## Shamanic words

*There are topics related to shamanism we have not covered. We would like to talk about shamanic words you remember and wish to pass on to the younger generation.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I personally don't know many of the *angakkuit's* words. I probably will make mistakes, so I will rely on others for assistance. From what I have heard an *angakkuq* is a *tarriummak*. I don't know this for a fact. It is based on what I have heard. When they were doing *qilaniq*, they would request a helper. When they were requesting a helper, they said they wanted an *apiqsaq*. Animals had different names. I don't know what they were. There were also different terms for weather conditions and different land features. Also the sea and the lakes had different names. I don't know this personally, it is just based on what I have heard.

**Pisuk:** There is something I would like to say first. I have seen *angakkuit*. I have seen *qilajuq*. My uncle Ujjuk was also called Harry. I don't remember my father Charlie Inuksuk performing *qilaniq* but my uncle did, as we did yesterday. He had two *tuurngaak*, Ubluriasugjuk and Simigiarjuaq. I have seen Qimuksiraaq and his brother Nagjuk. I only heard about Pangakkaq, Qimuksiraaq's wife. I have seen Qaviajak. There were others, but those were the main ones. I can talk about my father even though it won't be pleasant. When we are talking about this in earnest, it is not always pleasant. He put on what was called an *angaluk* to get caribou. He put it around his neck. It was made from the white belly of a caribou skin. I think that if he had tried harder, he might have been a more powerful *angakkuq* than his brother. He said that caribou were called *kumaruat* in the language of the *angakkuit*. They were also called *aqiggit*. They would say things like, "By such and such a lake," because all lakes have names, "there are some *aqiggit*," meaning there were caribou there. We did not have electronic forms of communication. Based on what I have experienced, this was used as our only means of communication.

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**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know much about *angakkuuit* and shamanic words. I might not be entirely correct. I, too, have heard they called their *tuurngait*, *apiqsait*, when they were going to do a shamanic ritual. They could use anything at all as a *tuurngaq*. Some of them used animals such as *siksiit*, *ukaliit*; others used things from the land. These performances were their only means of entertainment. There was nothing else. We had only things from nature. People searched for food, they sang, and they danced with a drum. There were no other means to make music. There was not much to help pass the time when I was growing up. I don't know any shamanic words so I am not going to say anything more.

**Pujuat:** I don't know any shamanic words; maybe because I have started forgetting things. You tend to forget easily when you become older. I have understood what has been said. What they have said is the same as what I know. We don't hear these terms anymore. The *angakkuuit* used different terms for things than we did, but I can't remember what they were. *Kumaruaq* was one. That's one I remember, because it's also the name of a person. I know that *angakkuuit* called caribou by that name. I know that they called the land *iqqaq*. I know that they used metaphors for the words we use, but I have forgotten what they were.

**Nulijuk:** I, too, have heard that when they were trying to call caribou they called them *kumaruat*. When they were trying to call seals they called them *qajruat*. *Tigvaruaq* was the term for an adult deceased person. A dead child was called *quatsiaq*. I might not have got them all correct, but these were the terms that I heard. I don't know many terms so I am going to end here.

**Itinnuaq:** I, too, don't know many at all. The *tuurngait* that are called through *qilaniq*, had different names. The *tuurngait* had numerous names. There was *Nuvaqqiq*. There was also *Nulijuk*, and *Kanaju&&uk*. There were so many names for *tuurngait*. I could go on and on. If they had *apiqsait*, they would ask which one it was. They would then ask them what they wanted to know. If they were trying to heal a person or they were trying to call animals, they would do that after they had determined what *tuurngaq* was present. The real *angakkuuit* depended on them. They would rely on their own *tuurngait*. They did not say, "I wonder what it is." The *tuurngaq* started speaking through the *angakkuq* and it explained what it was. We can go on and on about this. The *tuurngait* had different names, just like we people have different names. When questions were being asked, they would call out the names of their ancestors. They would say, "*ipqaani*," which means in the direction of, because they wanted to know if whatever it came from, came from an ancestor.

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**Angutinnurniq:** It is very difficult when you are not an *angakkuq* to talk about this. From what I remember, when they performed *qilaniq* or other rituals, people were called *tau*, dead people were called *tauviniiit*, *qablunaat* were called *taurusiiit*. I have heard those. My uncle used those terms. He, too, called caribou *kumaruat*. That is the term he used. *Minnngiriat* was the word used for fish. When they used the words of the *tuurngaq*, they were not using Inuktitut. I knew a number of them, but I have forgotten them. Dogs were called *punnnguit*. They all had terms because the *tuurngait* did not use human language. They had their own terms for things. Wolves were called *qilluit*. Maybe I know more, but I can't remember. I don't want to go beyond the truth, so I am going to end here.

*We began talking about shamanic language and information about tuurngait. Maybe we can continue the round including which tuurngait you remember, what their names were, where they lived and what they were used for.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** We lived alone. My father relied completely on *qilaniq* because he was not an *angakkuq*. He also used this to protect himself and his children. When he was getting an answer, and he wanted to know if it was evil, he would say *imngarmiutaq*. When he said *imngarmiutaq mamaitturjuarmiutaq*, he meant from the sea, when he said *aq&ai'narmiutaq*, he meant from the wind, and *iki'jarmiutaq* was from the air. There were many terms that we did not understand. I know some of them. I had totally forgotten the name for wolves and now I have remembered it. I, too, have heard that there is a woman who was the *inua*, the owner of the *nuna*, land. It was used by Arnarulluk, my father's sister, when she would *qilajuq*. She had a term for the *inua*, the owner of the *nuna*, the land, who was female. They all had these names as identifiers. It's hard to know what we are talking about if we don't use names. In the same way we who are present at this meeting need to indicate whom we are talking about, because if we didn't say Pujuat or Aupilaarjuk, others listening to the tape wouldn't know who was talking. In the same way whoever is *qilajuq* or *tuurngijjuq* has to identify who they are talking about. This is all I can say about this. I have seen it and I believe it.

**Pisuk:** I understand what is being discussed. I think the *tuurngait* had names for things. It was not just in the Kivalliq, that they had names for animals. I have heard the term *mamaitturjuarmiutaq*. *Siksaralik* is the word for a walrus. When *tuurngait* were talking,

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they would say *mak&aq* for what we call an *ugjuk*. When an *angakkuq* used the words of the *tuurngait*, we understood those. In the Kivalliq, when the *tuurngaq* was talking, it would say *singaqt* for a wolf. *Punnguaq* was used for a dog. We would all understand. When you start talking about this, you can go on and on.

**Suvaksuiq:** I can't add to this. I don't know any terms.

**Pujuat:** The *tuurngait* had their own terms but I did not learn them. The *tuurngait* had a totally different language. I don't understand it. I understand the words as they are being said, but I never learned the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Nuliajuk:** I have heard that my deceased uncle Isarrataittuq had a human named Halluqtalik and a dog named Kurvialuk as *nakurutit*, helpers. That's all I can say.

**Itinnuaq:** If I were to *qilajuq*, or *tuurngijjuq*, I would call my *tuurngaq* by name. As long as I had determined it was good, I would request it to call an animal or to heal a person. All things pertaining to good were referred to as *i&urraq*. Women were called *saniliaq*. *Isarutaalik* was the term for a male. You could use a *tuurngaq* for whatever you needed it for, once you determined that it was a good *tuurngaq*, whether to heal, to cure someone who was sick, or as a protection for yourself. They did not have just one use if they were good *tuurngait*.

**Angutinnurniq:** I think all the words I know have been said. Some *angakku* gave the names of their *tuurngait* to people or to themselves if they wanted that name. I'm going to use myself as an example. One of my names is Kanajuq; it was also the name of a *tuurngaq*. I was given the name as a child because it was from the sea. It was called *mamaitturjuarmiutaq*, from the sea. I don't remember these names, but as they are being said, I recognize them, because I have heard them in the past.

The term Pisuk mentioned, *singaqt*, is in a *pisiq*. I'd like to know what the term means.

**Pisuk:** My uncle, Qimuksiraaq, and Nagjuk, all had different terms for things. From what I understand we humans call wolves *amaruit* but the *angakku* called them *singaqtit*. Even rocks had a name. They called them *qiqut*.

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*Pisuk, did you ever hear a story about Nagjuk or Qimuksiraaq sending away their tuurngait?*

**Pisuk:** I don't know much about *tuurngait*. I know there are people around here who know more than myself. When we were in Igluligaarjuk, Qimuksiraaq and his brother Nagjuk were trying to send away sickness. Qimuksiraaq had a rabbit as a *tuurngaq*. He said it was a *pisukti*, a land animal. It was not used for shamanic ritual. It was just for show. I have heard that Nagjuk was going to try to chase away a *tuurngaq* using Kaugjagjuk, as a helper. Qimuksiraaq had just lit his pipe. I am going to imitate this. He put his forefinger up in the air and sang this song.

**sunaili tamanna qairajaa&&aqpa.**

What is it, that which is coming.

**uvangaliguuq ai pisuktiugama.**

It is said to be I, for I am a walker.

This is the song that Qimuksiraaq sang. Then his finger became bloody and started dripping blood. This is all I can say about this. If I start talking too much I can stop. There are many questions you could ask.

**Pujuat:** I think that because we have been talking about *tuurngait*, they are all around us. We are saying the names of the *tuurngait*. Maybe nobody knows this, but my oldest son is named after a *tuurngaq*. He has the name of Tullik's *tuurngaq*. I think it was a tiny little man. The reason why he was named Kinilik was because his *qulittaq* did not have an *akuq*, only a *kini*, the front flap of a parka. My other son is named Ajakkitauti, my mother's name. That, too, is the name of an *angakkuq's tuurngaq*. Kaugjagjuk and Simigiaq, are others. These are all names that were given because they wanted them to be named after a *tuurngaq*. I do not have a *tuurngaq* name. My *atiq* was named Aumauq after a *tuurngaq*. I am able to sing my *atiq's pisiq* to the end.

**aumauq ningujaqtujannginnama**

Aumauq I'm not about to *ningujaq*

**tuurngamut saanngajaksinnajuni...**

facing a *tuurngaq*...



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I had forgotten about this. There are numerous names of *tuurngait* that I remember as we start talking. I think if I continue I might end up being entranced so I'll stop here.

**Kublu:** I would like Pujuat to finish the song she started.

**Pujuat:**

**uvanga, mirajungna&&arivuq**  
I, like a newborn child

**surrijamut saanngijaksinnarluni,**  
facing towards *surrijaq*,

**uvanga jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.**  
I, *jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.*

**aijaa aumaup sivulliqsuqsuringmanga.**  
*aijaa.* Aumauq thinks that I'm like my forebearers.

**suinnamut saagiaqsinnajuvit?**  
Have you turned toward that which is awful?

**uvanga jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.**  
I, *jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.*

**aijaa pivalluit uningituarmagguuq.**  
*aijaa.* They say that the *pivalluit* aren't over-desirous.

**miqqukittuq mak&uqtitturasugigaa.**  
The short haired one that he thinks has *mak&uqtittuq.*

**uvanga jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.**  
I, *jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.*

**aijaa qimmi&&uga pijavalugigaa.**  
*aijaa.* My dog that he seems to have taken.

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**miqqukittuq mak&uqtitturasugigaa.**

The short haired one that he thinks has *mak&uqtittuq*.

**uvanga jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii.**

I, *jija ijajija ijajaajaaja ijaajaajii*.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I can't say more than I have said. I'm not able to say what other names the land had. I only know the land was called *iqqaq*. The lakes were called *inngaq mamaqtuq*. I don't know what other names they had. I have forgotten what the word for polar bear was in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Pisuk:** When a *tuurngaq* is speaking in its language it would call a bear *tulurialik*. That's why some people are called *Tulurialik*. That's why my grandchild has that name. Land features also have different names. When an *angakkuq* is speaking as an *angakkuq* he might say something like, "On that *iqqaq* by the highest *qiqut* there are *qumaruat*." They talked and added bits and pieces of human speech. A wolverine is called *tulurialigaarjuk*. A *tiriaoq*, an ermine was called *tulurialigaarjuk mikinniqsaq*. An *ugjungnaaq*, a vole was called an *amugjunngnaaq*. When an ermine or a vole were used as *tuurngaak* they were very powerful. I know this, especially when they have been made to appear in a house. When a vole is being used as a means of going after someone, it can begin running around on the floor. When a vole is being used to go after someone's cache, it can start running around with the head of an ermine.

A *Qainirmiutaq*, an *angakkuq* from *Qamanittuaq*, must have been able to see me, but I don't know how. Maybe he was envious of some ability I had. I think he was trying to *ilisiqsijuq* me once. Every night I went to sleep, a vole started running around my pillow. My uncle chased it away, and only then was I unable to see it. That is the only experience that I've had personally.

*Does anybody know any more shamanic words?*

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know a thing about this at all. There are numerous things I don't know about. I can only talk about what I have seen and what I know. I could tell many stories, but I don't want to go beyond the truth because our workshop is very important. That is why when I speak, I only want to speak about things I know. When I don't know something, I don't want to go beyond the truth. That's why I don't have anything to add.

**Pujuat:** I don't have anything to add either. Although I am someone who does not have much knowledge, I am grateful to have been a participant because I have learned so

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much more about the Inuit way of life. I am also grateful to have been reminded of things I have forgotten. I don't know what more to add.

**Nuliajuk:** I know what the names for the land are in Inuktitut. I can say the different names for land I have seen, but I don't know what they were called by *tuurngait*.

**Itinnuaq:** Sometimes I think I don't really understand something. Sometimes I think I understand it afterwards. I think we are talking about different places. Some places are *aglirnaqtuq*, they have sanctions attached to them. I know of two such places. One of them is on the shore by the sea in Qamanittuaq. There is a big boulder right at the water's edge that I have known about since I was a child. You were to leave an offering at that place. It didn't have to be large. That place is called Ulimaaq. An *angakkuq* from Qamanittuaq caused the wind to blow at that boulder. In the days when they travelled in boats, they either had to use their sails, or they had to paddle. There were some people who wanted to use their sails, so they asked the *angakkuq* to bring up a wind. He was *tuniliqtaujuq*, given gifts to do this. He said to them, "When the wind comes up and there are waves you will be afraid." They still insisted that he make the wind blow. Shortly after he said this, the wind started to blow and the tents were blown down, and people had to bring their boats to shore. This is what I have heard.

There is another place, called Miluriaq. South of our Panniqtuuq there is an *inuksuk* on a hill. It is named after a person, as lands and lakes used to be named after people. When you got to that place you were to take a small stone and try to hit the edge of it. This we have heard from our forefathers. Whenever people have heard from elders that they needed to do something, they would do what they were asked to do. I don't think we are teaching our young people enough about these things.

Uqsuriak, Marble Island, is a place where one has to crawl up to the end of the tide line. There is a saying attached to this place. If a person doesn't crawl, they will die within a year. I don't know if this is true because I have never known of anyone to die. This wasn't felt as strongly after Christianity. I have never known of anyone dying, but because of the saying attached to this place I crawled there when I was a young teenager. It is said that you only need to do this once, and you don't need to do it again. Even *qablunaat* crawl there. I used to take people to the island by boat. Those who respected this saying, would crawl. They only had to crawl up to the end of the tide line. There is another place I don't know very well, and therefore I don't want to talk about it. There were quite a few things that our ancestors followed, because that was all they had. We are holding this workshop for our young people. We have to continue this kind of meeting. What we have said at this meeting needs to be published so that young people can read about what we have recorded. We should have another meeting like

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this, but with young people present. I would really like it if we had another meeting like this again.

**Angutinnurniq:** We make mistakes. We all make mistakes. We even make mistakes about things we know. When someone mentioned the word *iqqaq*, that was something we all remembered. My grandmother had a song that she sang that was the *pisiq* of a *tuurngaq*. In that *pisiq* that word *iqqaq* is used in the language of the *tuurngaq*. We all have names for the land. Everywhere there are people, the land has names, so we know where we are.

### The songs of the *angakkuit*

**Pisuk:** I'm only going to tell you what I have heard. Iqqukti's *atiq* was not an *angakkuq*. Whenever he would *qilajuq* he would hit upon the truth. They say that the real *tuurngait* are called *miqqiajuut*. My grandmother said that women had tattoos on their faces so these *tuurngait* would ignore them. The only *tuurngaq pisiq* that I know is about the *ugjuk* in human form which I already sang.

**Sivaksiuq:** If I were a *tuurngaq* and this person was my human, I would call him my *kiggaarjuk*. This I all I know. I have heard one *tuurngaq pisiq*. This I heard from Ningauk Amarujuaq who learned it from his father Kana'juaq. I'm going to sing a small part of it because I don't want to make it too long.

**pangmungaajaajijjaa iliranarluqpa pangmungaaja ajaajaa.**

*Pangmungaajaajijjaa* is it not intimidating? *Pangmungaaja ajaajaa.*

**taringimaaluk sivurngiqturapku,**

I go ahead of a shaman,

**njuvui'nuat majuq.**

to climb *njuvui'nuat*.

I'm ending it here because I don't want to make it too long.

**Pujuat:** I'm going to sing the song that my stepgrandfather Tullik made about his dream.

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**tuurngait unnuami sumaa&&alirmata tusarnaatsainnaaq**  
When the *tuurngait* are busy through the night, you get

**tupaluiganniqtunga samunga aijjaa aijaa kiakiarli.**  
to hear (music). I've woken others, *samunga aijjaa aijaa*.

**Nuliajuk:** I don't know any *tuurngaq pisiit* although I think that *irinaliutit* came from *tuurngait*.

**Itinnuaq:** He has just said what I was thinking. I, too, think that *irinaliutit* come from *tuurngait*. I watched people saying them. I have heard that those that Pisuk called his uncle and his father, also say them. There are numerous *irinaliutit*, and therefore I don't want to say them. Some were used to get the assistance of *tuurngait*. That's all I know.

**Angutinngurniq:** I don't know any *tuurngaq pisiit*. I have only heard a song about a *punguq* in human form. I'm going to try and sing it.

**anivunga aniiqtuaqqunga nuvujalli, ataa'ni ihaa'naat**  
I go out. I happen to go out beneath the clouds

**ak&amunngaugani&&aqtaarjunga**  
to a grizzly bear. I have one and

**Ilagijakka ak&amunnguq paggiqturmagit.**  
my relatives by a grizzly bear have been torn.

**uvvali sapmuat pullakkaaluit.**  
Those that run.

**qaga manna qailiqtunga.**  
I'm coming now.

**anivunga. aniiqtuaqqunga kinngarjuilli**  
I go out. I happen to go out

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**uqquaq samna ataa kiguliitkaa samna.**

beneath to shelter of the hills.

**ailajjarigaa tummatituubli upirngaaq aupaluigigaa.**

The bear happens to be red this spring.

I've forgotten the rest.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I can't really sing a *tuurngaq pisiq*. The *angakkuit* that I saw were in a trance when their *tuurngait* entered them. The ones I saw did not sing. They used the words of their *tuurngait*. I think this singing came from the Aivilingmiut because the Nattilingmiut that I know, only used words when they had their *tuurngaq's* voice. My uncle who I think was an Aivilingmiutaq, used singing. I heard another *pisiq* from a person who has since died. I was out hunting with him overnight, and I had not been feeling well. He was trying to get at those who were making me sick. This is what I recall. I am not going to start from the beginning. This is what he sang. Maybe I am not going to get the exact words.

**taungublunga alianait.**

I enjoy being home.

**qulittinnit paanngat, alianait.**

From up there above us, I enjoy.

**akpaqsa&&alirama. alianait.**

Coming downward. I enjoy.

I like to hear these *pisiit*. Even though I sing them, because a *tuurngaq* is not with me, it's not going to affect anything. I am not going to use them. I know I will just be singing them. I think maybe they don't want me to remember any others, so I won't sing more now.

**Pisuk:** They say that sometimes there is something out there that causes people to forget. Even those that are very powerful can be caused to forget. Sometimes it is their own *tuurngait* that cause them to forget. Although there may not be something present here, maybe there is something that has caused you to forget. I really enjoy the songs I've been hearing. My father's mother Iktuuq would sing about her *tuurngaq*. She was able to see many things with that *tuurngaq*. Now we watch television and movies and you see people change their faces and seem to become like *tuurngait*. My father once

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cried while he was watching a movie like this when the mine was open, because it reminded him of what his mother had been like. That *tuurngaq* had been a source of strength for her. Although I am called Pisuk, I am named after her, and I'm going to sing her song. It was her song, but maybe because she was vain, it was also her way of showing off. She was vain, and although she was a powerful *angakkuq*, she died after she was hexed.

**ungaginnaliqpangmanga suruttibli ungatimni,**  
They keep on being happy to be with me. Children behind me,

**makitatigiliqpakpit qangatauvaalugli ijaja ijaa.**  
Are you up just like them, from way long ago, *ijaa ijaa*.

**aa, ittaquttig&arnirmagu uqimmagaalungminiti.**  
It had put a weight on it from something that was heavy for it.

**makitatigiliqpakpit qangatauvaalugli ijaja ijaa.**  
Are you up just like them from way long ago, *ijaa ijaa*.

I think it is longer than this, but this is all that I know. Whenever she started singing this, we knew she wanted to *angakkuajijuq*, perform *sakanig*. Although she was a powerful *angakkuq*, because she was vain, she was killed by another *angakkuq* through *ilisiqtauniq*.

**Sivaksiuq:** We are talking about the *pisiit* of *tuurngait*. I think the *tuurngait* talked, but I don't know for sure because I am not an *angakkuq*. A number of times I have talked about what I have heard. I have seen *angakkuuit* and observed them. When I was growing up, I was only told of things that would be of help. The *tuurngait* called stones *uqimaarrat*. I have seen *angakkuuit* and I believe in them. I have seen them dancing with *qilautit* using *pisiit* and I have seen them perform *angakkuajijuq*.

## Remembering the abilities of *angakkuuit*

**Suvaksiuq:** I have observed people who were *angakkuuit*. Donald Suluk had a *tuurngaq* who was an Uqqurmiutaq whom he would talk through. He was someone who could make predictions. I am going to tell you what I know. In the days when there was tuberculosis, my mother-in-law Annaluq once showed us a pair of miniature lungs in her hands. My wife has talked about this and I have seen this in person.

A priest called Ataata Jaaq, Aa'ma'naaq, and Nanauq, who were father and son, had disappeared. They had gotten lost when they were out seal hunting in the fall. At



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midday we could here the sound of their boat for a while. There was a strong wind and a blizzard developed. Donald had known they would not return. He said he could hear the sound of people walking wearing frozen clothing. He said he recognized the voices of Ataata Jaaq, Aa'ma'naaq and Nanauq. We hadn't heard that they had died yet. It was only some time after that that their bodies were found. I remember this. Even though Donald Suluk always said he was not an *angakkuq*, he was able to predict the future.

One time in the summer there was a Japanese boat that came in. I think there were five or six of us working on the boat. The boat was not able to get us back to shore, so we continued on down to Churchill. The wind was really bad. The waves were so bad that sometimes we would think we would tip over. There were things that were falling off the boat. We were taken to Churchill and stayed there for a while. Donald Suluk was with us. He said he had gone home before after being frightened like this. He told us what day we would be going home. Ulivvaq was my father-in-law. He did not believe in Donald Suluk at all. He looked through the window and shouted that Moses was coming. He said, "Here is the big Moses." He was referring to Donald. I believe that Suluk was very powerful.

My grandmother Kikpaq was a powerful *angakkuq*. She had a stone that we had to lick. She said that she did not want anything bad to happen to my brother and me so she placed a stone that we had to lick. I told you about the time that her husband cut his fingers off and they were spurting blood. She grabbed his hands in her hands and she stopped the bleeding. I have seen other amazing things, but these were the ones that I remember the most.

Whenever Donald Suluk was *angakkuqijjuq*, he always talked about prayer and having to include compassion as an ingredient in everything you were doing. Because of that, I have deep faith in what we are doing here. I have been to numerous meetings on all kinds of issues, but I really believe in this workshop and in what we are doing. I'd like to end here.

**Pujuat:** I saw my grandfather Qimuksiraaq when he had polar bear fangs. When he would roar, he would start to salivate, and then his fangs would come out. We would see him do this, but we never thought to be scared of him. He would continue to do whatever he was doing. I heard that he used to *ilimmaqtuqtuq* to Igluligaarjuk. One time he was on his way from Naujaat to Igluligaarjuk to trade. When he wanted to see people here, he would *ilimmaqtuqtuq*. While he was on his way, there was a bird coming from the opposite direction that flew above him, and he fell. After he fell, the bird went away. He thought to himself, I hope it does not just leave me here. He thought that it would not come back, but it did. It swooped down at him, and he was able to get up again. He tried to go above it, because he wanted to pay it back. After he made it fall, he saw that it was a person down on the ground. He was still up in the air. He was some distance

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away, as he had wanted to leave it behind. Then he thought, “That person didn’t abandon me, so I shouldn’t abandon him.” He went back. He swooped towards it, and then they both were up in the air. They turned their backs on one another and flew in different directions. Some time later, he travelled to the trading post in spring. After he had set up camp in Igluligaarjuk he went to the *qaggiq*. The people who were more powerful would sit near the back of the bed. He went in and recognized Ijjugaajjuk, Qalusiraut’s grandfather, the person he had been flying with. After that, they called each other *illuq* and were great friends. I heard that he would go to the moon. All of this is probably true. I have heard of other *angakkuit* going to the moon. The people before us, such as Qakuqtinniq and Iksivalitaq, could have done this. If somebody says anything that helps me to remember more, I’ll add to it.

**Nulijuk:** I have seen my uncle Isarrataittuq and Tarraatjuq. I have seen their abilities. I am going to tell you about what I heard about them. One time they were out on the floe edge with a *non-angakkuq*. The *non-angakkuq* said to these two *angakkuuk*, “When one of you starts carrying things, I wonder why, because your *tuurngaak* are able to do it for you.” The two *angakkuuk* did not reply. This *non-angakkuq* kept repeating this over and over again. He kept taunting them. Isarrataittuq finally said, “One *tuurngaq* would not be able to do it.” The day after that, the floe edge, which was usually open, did not open at all. You could not hunt any seals. Because they were both *angakkuuk*, they probably had their *iqajuktiik*, their helpers work together. They did this to make the *non-angakkuq* believe.

**Itinnuaq:** I will tell you something I have seen personally. We were down at Uqsuriak. The wind was blowing from the east, like it did last week. There was so much ice, that we could not find a path through it. There were a number of us. I can’t exactly remember how many. People started giving my father objects because he was all that they had to rely on. We must have been without tea and tobacco. I can’t recall what all he was given. I think one object was a .22 rifle. They wanted him to create an opening in the ice. I think it was in the evening because we had a tent over us. It was not as if we were without food; we had just run out of store-bought provisions. We had run out of kerosene as well. That is what we were using to cook with. Come nightfall, people started talking amongst themselves. They had just given him the rifle. They said if something got kicked, there would be an opening. I did not believe anything would happen, but when we woke up in the morning there was water. There was a path we could take all the way to land. Everybody started getting ready. Everybody had become light-hearted. My two maternal uncles were with us. There were three boats. We travelled using sails.

Another time we went to an island. We were spending the spring at Pikiuliarjuk. There were others at a place that was close to Igluligaarjuk called Nivugijiaq. We

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stopped off at Pikiuliarjuk. The others who were going to go on stopped and had tea, and probably smoked. Because they wanted a path created, they had given my father an object. He was *tuniliqtaujuq*. There was a lot of ice. When there is ice you can't travel at all. There was a path the next day. I don't remember there being any more ice the rest of that summer. Sometimes you are grateful for being able to say something.

**Angutinngurniq:** I remember my uncle Iksivalitaq. There was one time that I started experiencing fear; I was really afraid to be alone. Even if there was a dog with me, if no one else was around, I started experiencing fear. I had been like that for some time. It was very, very unpleasant. I think my parents gave something to my uncle. They lived next door, and he came over to us to *tuurngijjuq*. He started jumping up as though he were very light even though he was an old man. He said that there had been an evil dog and an evil person around me that were making me afraid. He said I was going to be given a pair of scissors. I thought his *tuurngaq* was going to get them. There was a sound and then a shadow at the window and suddenly the scissors were there on the floor. I was afraid to pick those scissors up, but I was told to do so, so that I would stop being afraid. I picked them up and held them for a while and then gave them back. I had been afraid for days and days. I had even been afraid during broad daylight. Iksivalitaq told me that his *tuurngaq* had said that I was no longer going to be afraid. I did not believe this was going to happen, but the next day I went out and was not afraid at all. You can believe in the words of the *angakkuit*. It is possible to get help from them. I lost my fear. My parents did not spend that much time around other people, so I did not really see any other *angakkuit*. I believe *angakkuit* were able to heal people who were sick.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I am just going to add something short. I've told this story before. I did not see this, because it happened while we were out hunting. I am going to talk about Saumik. His wife was Tiaksaq whom I called *anaana*, mother. We were at Akuli. My in-laws and my uncle were the only adults there with us. Saumik and his wife were our next-door neighbours. We went down to the floe edge at Itigut. While we were down there, there was a noise that sounded like a plane at our camp. It got closer and closer. It went around the tent. There was no wind at all. Everyone was afraid so they went over to Saumik's. Saumik started to *tuurngijjuq*. While he was calling his *tuurngaq*, the sound started to get closer. He said he saw something that looked like two huge seal floats that were black, but he was not able to ascertain what they were. Saumik was the only male present. He was old and he had become sickly. We felt helpless. Nobody knew that Tiaksaq was also an *angakkuuq*. She removed the clothing that she had on. My wife saw her do this. She put on clothing that made her look ugly. She did not look like a well-dressed woman at all. She did not request the assistance of *tuurngait*. She did not perform, but the moment she went out, the sound started to get further and further

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away until it disappeared. We never knew what it was. We did not think it came from *qablunaat*. Saumik could see it but he could not do anything about it.

This other incident that happened, I saw myself, at Naujaat. We were visiting our next-door neighbours. My sister from Iqaluit came in and said that my brother Guy Kakiarniut had swallowed a bone and had lost consciousness, so we rushed out to him. He had been eating a fish head when he became unconscious. We had no idea how to remove the fish bone. I was pretty sure there was no hope for him, and he was going to die. There were no doctors around. We were not in a community. Tiaksaq was next door. We asked for her assistance. It seemed like it was a long time before she came. She got down on the floor and started spinning around and around and became quite lively. She was quite an old woman but she seemed quite spry. She started jumping up in the air as if her body was quite light. She said what she thought was the cause. She said it was not an Inuit dog but a *qauviq*, a small *qablunaat* dog, that was the cause. After she said that, Guy was all right. He hadn't swallowed a fish bone. This had been caused by the *qauviq*. I'm telling you something I really believe. That's what the *angakkuq* were like.

**Pisuk:** I think I have said everything I know. I can talk about Makiggaq's father who was from Utkusiqsalik, the Back River area. I observed him when he was *sakajuq*. We also call this *angakkuaqijjuq* and *tuurngijjuq*. Qaaqu's brother Ullijjaq's son was in his mother's *amauti* and very sick. We were on this side of Qamanittuaq. The *angakkuq* was given a tiny little gift to see if the sick child could be healed. He said that the *tarniq* had been pierced. He could see the *tarniq*, but I could not. The *angakkuq* said he had little hope for the child. He cut off a foot-long piece of thread and wound it around his finger and cut it. He said that if this child was going to recover, the piece of thread was going to become whole again. He put it in his mouth and started chewing it. He said it had become whole. He started pulling it out. I could see the thread. He pulled it out, and it started standing upright. It was quite taut like a piece of wire. He said that if it remained upright the child would be healed. When it fell, he said he was unable to heal the child. The people accepted this. In the morning the child was dead. The *angakkuq* was not able to heal it. His daughter-in-law Naalungiaq lives here. I found this amazing to watch because you did not often see this. He pulled the string out of his mouth, and it became taut. He kept on holding it until it fell over. He said, "Although I am an *angakkuq* when you are not able to do something, it can't be helped." He said he was not going to be an *angakkuq* anymore because he was not able to help the child.

**Pujuat:** I have suddenly remembered something about open ice coming together. People would travel to different places. My grandmother, Tullik and Kablaalik's father, who was only three years old at the time, went down to the floe edge. They were in front of Uqsuriak. Sometimes the floe edge is far away. They had been blown away from the

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edge. Those who spend time on moving ice know that sometimes you can't get back to the fast ice. It was spring and new ice wasn't forming. There was a lot of wind. My grandmother had talked about spending more than one day over there. They had no choice. They were trying to get to the fast ice but there was a lot of water in front of them. When the water stops freezing, there is a lot of water. They could see the fast ice but could not get to it. Tullik told his wife to turn her back. The child was also to turn his back. He said, "I wonder what I am going to close this with." In the past, they used the term *ukkuaqtuijuq* for sealing the entrance to the *iglu*. The last person who came in would have to seal the entrance to the *iglu*. He said, "I wonder what it is that I can use to close the doorway with." He said there was ice moving all around. There was one piece of ice that wedged itself between the piece of ice they were on and the fast ice. After having talked about sealing the doorway, he was able to get onto land. I had forgotten about my step-grandfather doing this.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I would like to add to what Pujuat said. We had been told to always close the doorway properly so we would return home safely. We were especially to seal the bottom of the entrance. The top was not as important. But we were told that bad *tuurngait* could enter from the bottom. Because I was told that, I always did this. Those of us who are older, still have all these *maligait* in our heads. They have stayed with us. I am just adding to what Pujuat has said.

**Angutinngurniq:** I, too, have heard about *ukkuaqturniq* but I can't add to it.

**Itinnuaq:** I, too, would go down to the moving ice. I was told that if I were to go from the fast ice to the moving ice, I was to take a small piece of ice and throw it behind me onto the fast ice because I could use it as a peg if I needed to. I have never experienced having the ice I was on blown away, because I always did this. There were things we had to follow, especially those who frequently hunted on the sea ice. The sea ice can be dangerous in the winter when it is cold. It is one of the most dangerous places I have ever hunted. Not that many people go down to the moving ice. We did not have snowmachines so we walked down there. When we got a walrus or a bearded seal, we had no choice but to drag it to the fast ice. Sometimes we would have dogs with us when we went down to the moving ice. This was part of hunting.

Sometimes walrus will surface through ice that is not that thin. You can tell which way the walrus is going by the way it comes up. You can see where it goes down, and you look for where it will surface next, and there it will be. People are fearful of walrus, and fearful of moving ice. There was one walrus I harpooned on the ice, and I had to hold the line taut. I had the harpoon line around my arm. The walrus will tighten on the line three times. The first two pulls are very strong. The third pull is only half as strong

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as the first two. Then you would start being able to pull it in. If you had an implement, you could kill it. Whales can be very strong too. When the line is taut, they are very strong. A walrus could be stopped by one person, even if it had not been wounded before it was harpooned, if you harpooned it around the head or the shoulders. Our young people need to know that a walrus will try to get away by sinking. We older people know this. I know that young people will continue to hunt walrus. Seals are very easy to get compared to walrus, but even seals are not that easy to get if you are not that strong. Walrus are the most dangerous to hunt. Some people have been dragged down into the water. That's what makes them dangerous. When you are hunting them, you have to be very cautious and very careful.

*Pujuat was talking about the tradition of the angakkuit travelling to the moon. We know there are many traditions about shamanic travelling. Maybe we could talk about what the angakkuit saw and why they made these journeys.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** My mother would tell me a story about a woman who was abused and was taken to the moon. The moon was very powerful. She was outdoors when she heard a dogteam. The dogteam appeared from below the moon and it came to her and stopped. There was a lame brown dog that was following them. This is an *unikkaaqtuaq* that I am telling you. When the driver motioned for her to come, she went over to him. He motioned for her to get on the *qamutiik*, and to close her eyes, so she did. She could hear the sound of the *qamutiik* on the snow. Then she could only hear the wind. Because she could only hear the wind, she opened her eyes slightly and the dogteam driver, who had not said anything at all, started to say, "ai, ai, ai" and so she closed her eyes again. Once more, she could only feel motion, and then it seemed as though the sled touched the ground, and she heard the runners on the snow. She was told to open her eyes. There were numerous houses, and there were people who were playing kickball with a walrus head. They were extremely happy. She was told to go into the largest *iglu* and when she went in, she recognized her sister who had died some time ago.

**Pisuk:** From what I have heard, the name of this story is *Taqqiliaqtuq*. I don't think this story is from that long ago. That is the way it was. I don't know more.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know many *unikkaaqtuat*. I will only tell you one that I heard from my mother and father. This is just a story. You should not believe it. There were a brother and sister who went to get water who ended up on the moon. You can see their buckets there. The Paallirmiut and Qainirmiut tell this story slightly differently. This brother and sister were out fetching water when they ended up on the moon. The brother and sister



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are facing each other still holding their buckets. They ended up on the moon and stayed up there.

They say that the *angakkuit* could do anything at all. They could just put their arms out and end up in the air. This was before Christianity. Church and religion came from *qablunaat*. Because I was not allowed to follow my traditions any more, when we would go out hunting we would experience hardship. Everybody experienced this. I don't think the people in the past went through this hardship. I think I should end it here because I don't want to add more than I know.

**Pujuat:** I mentioned that my grandfather Qimuksiraaq could go to the moon. It is unfortunate that Pierre Qarlik is not here because he would be able to relate this better; I have only heard about *angakkuit* going to the moon. I am going to tell you my grandmother's story. My aunt used to tell this story. At night-time they would play *amaruujaq* when the moon was full. Qalasiq's parents had a daughter. My grandmother and her sister-in-law, Qalasiq's sister, were playing *amaruujaq* when they found a piece of metal on the ground that was circular in shape. Qalasiq's sister picked it up. This was before there were *qablunaat*. On the disk there was a picture of a woman who was well-dressed. It was only long afterwards when they went to Igluligaarjuk that they saw a picture of the Virgin Mary for the first time. It was exactly like the picture that her sister-in-law had found on the ground when they were playing in the winter. That sister-in-law had died shortly after she found the disk, before she was even married. When she died, they had to wait a number of days before she could be buried. When they went to bury her there was a brightness around her. Her father had said that because he loved his daughter, he did not want her to be placed in the ground, so they just put her body at the top of a hill and placed stones around her. He did not want her in the ground. When they went to go to see her later, her body was gone. I believe this story that my aunt told me, because she saw what had happened. We were always told to tell the truth. She, too, was always told to tell the truth. Because she in turn told me not to tell lies, I am telling you the truth.

**Nulijuk:** I have never known of an *angakkuq* going to the moon. I've only heard about this, so I can't add anything.

**Itinnuaq:** I think it was only *angakkuit* who had the ability to take people to the moon. I, too, can only talk about what I have heard. I have never seen anyone do it. People were *majuujjaujut*, taken up to the moon. I believe the people who told me about this. Aupilaarjuk told us this story. Obviously the dogteam driver was not going to leave the lame dog behind, so that's why it was following. They would see their deceased relatives there.



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My father told me the following story. My father, too, was taken to the moon. When he was up there, his deceased grandmother told him to look down, so he looked down through a hole in the floor. This hole was located in the part of the floor where we used to step in the *iglu*. When he tried to look down, he felt a hand on his back and he could feel the wind. He closed his eyes and even before he could re-open them, he could feel that his feet were back on the ground. He had been on his way to fetch water. He landed right at the spot where his water buckets lay. The ice had formed in the buckets while he was away. By the time he got home, he had totally forgotten about this. When he started to eat, he bit his tongue and could no longer open his mouth. He started pointing upwards, and they learned what had happened to him. Because he was no longer able to talk, they asked him if he was *majuujjaujuq*. He indicated 'yes' with his eyes. Then he was able to open his mouth again. I have heard this story from my parents. I am not able to add to it. I would like to hear from others.

**Angutinngurniq:** I can't add much more to this. My father had a cousin named Atqaqtuq. He was out seal hunting at an *aglu* in the winter. He had left his dog at another hole. The moon was full. He could hear the sound of a whip. He looked up at the moon and there was a dogteam coming toward him just beneath the moon. My father's cousin Atqaqtuq told this story. He said that the sled was strapped lengthwise, not crosswise as we do it. He was told to lie flat on his stomach on the *qamutiik* and to close his eyes. So he got on his stomach and he heard the driver start the dogteam. Then he could feel the wind. He was on this dogteam with this person who had come to get him. He said he was very curious, but when the dogteam driver said, "*aikai, aikai, aikai*" he stopped trying to look. He put his face down once more and he could feel the wind again. It sounded as if they had touched down and he could hear the runners on the ground. He was told to look up and he saw this huge *iglu*, which the dogteam driver told him to enter. When he entered, he saw a woman who looked exactly like his deceased aunt. It was his father's stepsister and she asked him if he was thirsty. He said he was not. She then asked him if he was hungry, and he said he was. She said to look down before he ate so he looked down through a hole. He could see his daughter-in-law and his wife in bed sleeping. He thought he was about to remain up there for all time, so he lied and said he needed to go out to urinate. As he was about to go out, there was a brown dog that started snarling and baring its teeth at him. He started running around the *iglu*, and as he was running he could feel that his feet were no longer on the ground. He could feel the wind. Then he landed right where he had started, at the hole where he had been hunting. When he got there, his dog was at the hole waiting for him. When he got home, he told people he thought he had been up at the moon. That's all I have to say.

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**Pisuk:** There were times when Nuliajuk would help but there were times when she would not. There were times when those performing *qilaniq* would try to ascertain who was present, and I would hear Nuliajuk's name being mentioned, but it would not be her. They would find that others were present. In the stories I have heard, Kanajuk was her husband, and Isarrataittuq was her housemate. They say that Kanajuk had been out hunting at the *aglu* in the winter but he could not get anything. He was trying hard to catch something but all the seals were beside Nuliajuk. Because he wanted to get a seal, Kanajuk started poking near where she was kneeling with his harpoon. The seals started moving around. When he went seal hunting again the next day he was successful. Here her husband was trying his best to get a seal, and she had gathered all the seals around her. We are not talking about the Nuliajuk who is here. We're not making fun of him. He has a very strong namesake.

I will attempt to tell a story. We were talking about Nuliajuk. It is intimidating while he is here listening. But this is just his name. We are going to talk about the actual Nuliajuk. My father's father Miqqulilik, his younger brother Augannaaq and his older brother Unguuriq talked about having watched *angakkuik* going down to Nuliajuk for the Aivilingmiut and the Nattilingmiut in a time of hunger. The Nattilingmiut had travelled from their area to Uqsuriak to get metal. There was an old woman named Arnapak who was given an object to help them find out why they were unable to procure game. She went to the right side of the door of the *iglu* behind a blind and started asking what was causing the poor hunting. She said a woman had been pregnant and had miscarried. It was recognizable as a little boy. The woman who had miscarried knew that if she had disclosed this, she would have had to follow *pittailiniq*, so she put the foetus in a crack in the ice. Arnapak was given an object, and Nuliajuk was trying to make this woman disclose but she refused to do so. Nuliajuk started becoming angry. Arnapak had a son named Utaratjuaq who was also an *angakkuq*. He was trying to help his mother. She said she was trying to knock down the door to Nuliajuk's *iglu*, but was having difficulty doing so and was beginning to get angry also. When Nuliajuk started getting angry, they said she would get angry at the person who did not want to confess, and would pull the person who had committed the offence down under the water. The *angakkuq* told the woman if she did not confess, she would be pulled under the water and so the woman confessed what had happened. It is not possible to keep wrongdoings from Nuliajuk. Nuliajuk was very strong and no one could best her. They say all sea mammals are *quinaqtuq*, squeamish of foetuses. The next day when they went down to the floe edge, there were numerous walrus and they started harpooning them.

**Pujuat:** I have heard of Nuliajuk. Those who went hunting down at the floe edge often talked about Nuliajuk. If the weather was bad or they were not being successful, they would often blame it on Nuliajuk. We relied solely on blubber from bearded seal for

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heat, for drying our clothes, and for cooking our food. Although I have heard about her, I can't add anything. I know that the hunters would try to find out what the cause was, if they were not being successful.

**Nuliajuk:** I don't want the fact that I am Nuliajuk to be a reason for people to be intimidated by me or to be scared of me, because I am only human. I am going to talk about Anaqti, who was Nuliajuk's relative. They said that when Anaqti saw Nuliajuk, he would ask if anyone had capsized. When he thought that somebody had, he made a beating stick out of caribou antler and said, "That person down there is not to get them." Then he went out on the flat cold water. When he went out a distance, he went into the water and went down to Nuliajuk. They say that Kanajuk is her husband. Isarrataittuq was her *igluqati*, her housemate. Nuliajuk had a bag that contained human bones. Anaqti asked Nuliajuk if she was to blame for the person having capsized. She said that she hadn't done it. Anaqti knew that she had, because she looked out the corner of her eye. Anaqti showed his club to her, and she started pulling out the bones and putting them together. Whenever she started putting the human bones together, they would stand up and then fall down again. Anaqti said to Nuliajuk, "I am going to hit you with this club." Then she put the bones together until they finally remained upright. He brought the bones up out of the water and brought the person home.

**Itinnuaq:** I have no stories about Nuliajuk. Others have already said what I know, and I don't want to repeat what was said. I am not trying to hold anything back. My wife and I would often remember a story Suvaksiuq told, but it was not about Nuliajuk.

One time we decided we would try to live the way our ancestors did. When we got together, there was no one to record what we had done. There was no one to video it or to record it. At that time we did things the way they had been done in the past. We pretended we had never seen *qablunaat*, and pretended we were *angakkuut*. We were trying to follow the ways of Inuit in the past. Nobody videotaped it. Nobody wrote any account of it. I think if somebody had recorded it, it would have been useful to young people. I often regret there is no record of it because numerous people could have seen it.

**Angutinngurniq:** Nuliajuk has reminded me of something. I am just going to add a bit to what he said about Anaqti. I have heard a slightly different story. I have heard it was Anaqti that was the one who capsized. When he capsized the people on shore said that perhaps it was Nuliajuk who had caused this to happen. He had an ivory walrus tusk in his hand when he went under the water. When he entered her dwelling, he addressed Nuliajuk, but she did not even look up at him. We have heard different things. When he was addressing her she would not look at him at all. Isarrataittuq lives with Nuliajuk in her house. Nuliajuk's long hair was in total disarray. They say that those who have eaten

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human flesh do not braid their hair. Anaqti had a club in his hand. When he looked at Isarrataittuq she was indicating with her eyes that it was Nuliajuk who had made him capsize. He showed the club to her and Nuliajuk said, “*Usi*, I thought.” She started pulling out bones from her bag. That part is the same. She put the bones together. As long as the bones were incomplete, they would fall. It was only when all the bones were together that the skeleton finally stayed upright. It was only then that Anaqti could leave the water.

I forgot a part. Those on shore had said that Nuliajuk had probably taken him, so they went over to where he had capsized in their *qajaak*. After Nuliajuk put the bones together, Anaqti made it back to the surface of the water. The two who had gone over by *qajaak* were looking into the water. There were three that came back. Before they came to shore one said, “If I were Anaqti, I would have capsized. Anaqti said to him, “Although I don’t want to make you capsize, I’m tired of being in the water.” These two who were brothers, were caused to capsize and became part of Nuliajuk’s community. They were told to go and tell their deceased parents they were there. They went to tell the old couple that they were playing with the others. The old couple probably understood what was said but they said, “*Suvaguuq*.” They wanted to know what was being said. The stories are similar; but they are slightly different.

**Itinnuaq:** I had heard the *natquti*, the knob end of an antler used to make arrowheads, was used for the club. This is the first time I heard he used a walrus tusk as a club.

**Suvaksiuq:** We have talked about what we have experienced, and what we have seen. We have talked about prayer and other things that were used. We have been here without being shy with one another, without feeling any embarrassment, without feeling intimidated. I would like to end this session with the Greenlandic Lord’s Prayer.

**ataataqput qilammiusutit**

Our father who art in heaven

**atqit i&&irnaqsili.**

Hallowed be thy name.

**naalagauffiit tikiu&&i.**

Thy kingdom come.

**pitqusat qilammiusut nunamissaaq pili.**

Thy will be done on earth as in heaven.

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**inuutissatinnik u&&umi tunisigut.**  
Give us this day our daily bread.

**akiitgukkatinni&&u isumakkaiqsigitigut.**  
Forgive us our trespasses.

**suuq&u uaguttaaq akiitsuqtivut isumakkaiqfigigivut.**  
As we forgive those who trespass against us.

**ussirnaqtumu&&u pitinnata ajuqtumi&&I annaaitigut.**  
Deliver us from evil.

**naalagaaffik pissaaniq&u naakannasusiq&u,**  
For the kingdom, the power and the glory,

**i&&it pigigakki naassaannngitsumik.**  
Are yours forever.

## **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> This was said because they share the same name.



# Dealing with Social Conflicts: The Inuit Way

*We continue with confession, tirigusuusiit, counselling and other practices which existed in the past that could be used today in different ways. We will first discuss how something was used in the past, and then how it could be used today.*

### ***Tirigusungniq***

**Itinnuaq:** People would follow *tirigusuusiit*. There were a lot of them to follow. Whenever there was a death, there were things people were not allowed to do. When they were trying to heal someone through *qilaniq* or through *irinaliutit*, or through shamanic rituals, there were things people had to refrain from. *Tirigusungniq* had so many purposes. There were things that people had to do and things they had to refrain from doing. When we became Christian, we were told not to *tirigusuktuq* any more. We still have things we have to refrain from. As Catholics, if we have not gone to confession we are not to go to communion. That is *tirigusuktuq*. There is *tirigusungniq* even within the church. When we say that we don't *tirigusuktuq* any more, we are lying, because there are still things we have to refrain from doing.

When there is a death, it affects you. There are things that you have to refrain from. Even though you have not been told to, you still have a tendency to refrain from doing certain things. I think *tirigusungniq* is going to exist forever. When you talk about *tirigusungniq*, people say, "Oh we don't do that. That was just something that was done in the past." Yet you hear and see that it is still being done. It is used to make something better, not to make something worse. It is because people want to live a good life that there is *tirigusungniq*. That's the way I see it. I know you can go on and on about *tirigusungniq*. Even *qablunaat* and Dene have things they are to do and not do. I am telling you what I know.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't know much about *tirigusungniq*. I do know that in the past if there was a death in the family, they had to wait a number of days, even up to a year, before doing certain things. This was a part of *tirigusungniq*. If young people started following this, and I am not talking about the ones relating to religion such as not having communion, I think it would be beneficial. I have heard that it can help you in your life. If you are a member of the Catholic church, you are not to take communion if



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you have committed a sin. In the same way, if you have lost a family member there are some kinds of meat you should refrain from eating. *Tirigusungniq* is very strong. That is why they said it could shorten your life if you misused it. The ones who are very *tirigusuktut* tend to shorten their lives because they have placed so many *tirigusuusiit* upon themselves.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I know a number of people who don't want to hear about *tirigusungniq* at all. They think it conflicts with religion. People see it as being something bad, yet in their daily life there are things that they refrain from doing. I think it would be better if we used a term other than *tirigusungniq*. As Christians there are things that we are to refrain from. Looking at it from an Inuit perspective, it is the same as *tirigusungniq*. We are using an Inuktitut word when we put a name to this action. There were so many *tirigusuusiit*. I have not experienced them all. I was raised by my father; my father "made" me. He gave me *tirigusuusiit* to follow. I was not to wear any item of my wife's clothing and I had to follow that until my father died. He decreed that I alone was to bury him. On the third day after his death, I was to put my wife's right mitt on my left hand. That was to signify that this was the end of this *tirigusuusiit* and that it would be okay for me to put on any item of my wife's clothing. Once that ended, my life became easier. When you refrain from doing something, the term is *tirigusungniq*. There are so many things that are included in *tirigusungniq*. I think a number of us will be saying the same thing so I am going to end here.

**Pisuk:** I have a niece who just committed suicide. I am going to tell you that for the next five days I am going to observe a *tirigusungniq*. I will not break any fish bones with a knife. I was told to do this by my grandmother. As we grow older, we lose more and more family members. I am not going to tell anybody else to do what I am doing. It is because of my grandmother's words that I am here today. Because I did not know enough about the floe edge, I lost a cousin. Another time, I fell into the water and if it had not been for my sons and grandchildren, I would not be here today. Although I know in advance when I am going to have an accident, I cannot prevent it. My youngest son really knows me. He has always said to me, "Father you know when you are going to have a bad accident. You should stay put, even if it is just for a day." Although I did not personally experience every *tirigusuusiit*, I had to follow several of them. When my wife was young, she had to follow some too. When my wife had her first child, she could not break a bone for one year. Even though I really felt for her because she was my wife, that's what she had to do. When the year was over, she could cut fish up, and she could break bones but only if she was not menstruating. I recognize what Aupilaarjuk said. If my wife was to put on my mitts, even though it looked odd, she was always to put them on the wrong hand. It was only when she reached menopause that

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it became all right. There is no *tirigusungniq* now between my wife and me. She can now wear my mitts properly; not on the wrong hands. We listened to what we were told. We are not the only ones like that. We can go on and on talking about *tirigusungniq*. Some things we have only heard of. I would like to talk only about what I have experienced.

**Suvaksiuq:** In Paalliq we call these *aglirnaqtut*. I remember my grandparents and my parents going through this. There were five days of *aglirnaqtuq* that we had to follow. I remember this well. Even though it was not pleasant, for example when we lost a family member, the *aglirnaqtut* seemed to build your character. We have always been told that everybody is going to die. In the past, we followed *aglirnaqtut*. Then we became Christian and we didn't follow these any more. Yet it is part of our past, and therefore we can't really forget it. We went through a lot of difficulties in the past related to this. I would be woken up early in the morning. I was told that would add to my life. I was not free to do as I wanted. I am telling you about what I have experienced and what I have seen.

**Pujuat:** I grew up with an old couple. I was told when I had my first child that I was not to drink water for a whole year even though I would have a lot of thirst. After the year was over, I was able to drink as much as I wanted. I was allowed to drink tea. I was allowed to eat during this time, but I was not allowed to break any bones. My grandmother told me I would not have to do this with my other children. Also, I was not to wear anybody else's clothing at all.

From the time I was a child, I would go to sleep when I was told to. I would be woken up even before the dawn broke and told to go out, even before I had my *kamiik* on properly. From the time I woke up, I was even not allowed to sit down. I had to stand up and keep busy all day. I went through all this because they wanted me to have a good life and a long life.

When I got my first fish, there was a way of cutting it, keeping the insides intact. You had to cut it open, and take out the insides without cutting the stomach. Even to this day, I still do that. Even though I say I don't *tirigusuktuq*, I still do. I still follow it, even for things that seem small. There are times I still think, "I was told not to do this in the past."

Being female I had to learn to sew. I had been "bestowed" from someone other than my grandmother, with the ability to sew. When I was born, I was told that even though my stitches were not tiny and close together, they would be stitches that stayed firm. I had been "bestowed" with that ability, and told that when I was young. When I cut out a pair of mitts, even though I just stitch them hurriedly, and the stitches are not close together, the mitts will last for a year. They are comfortable and they don't come apart at all. I am very conscious of what I was told. Since last September, I have made eighty

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pairs of mitts. When I was born, my hands were made to *putujaqtuq*, open and close, open and close. I have numerous sons. This year, I counted how many pairs of mitts I made and that's how I know there were eighty. I am boasting about being able to sew, but it is true. If I am going to make something for myself, I will just cut it out and sew it and it will be useful. That's because I was made 'to be someone who was able to sew.' There are so many qualities that Inuit would bestow on babies.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know much about *tirigusungniq*. There are no major *tirigusuusiit* now. I have heard they could be dangerous. I can't add much to this at all, as I was born after *tirigusungniq* was practised.

**Nuliajuk:** I saw my mother *tirigusuktuq*. She was doing this so her son would be a good hunter. When my older brother started going out hunting overnight, she stopped drinking water while he was gone. Not knowing, being ignorant, I would urge her to drink water. Because she did not listen to me, and she did what she was supposed to, it helped my brother. I have heard that *tirigusungniq* was bad, and yet I don't know if this is true, because it can be useful. It can help. My brother-in-law Agluukkaq stopped breathing and was revived. He told me that somebody named Aqattak had told him to take the frost from his moustache and put it in his mouth, and even though he was disgusted and did not want to, he swallowed it because he had to. Aqattak had said, "In order for you to overcome your first sickness, swallow it." I think Inuit can be strong if they follow what they are supposed to.

**Kablaalik:** I have been thinking about *tirigusungniq* for some time. On Sunday, we are not supposed to work. I have always heard this. There are also some days when we are not supposed to eat meat. I don't remember when those days are, but I have heard of days when we are not supposed to eat meat. I know that Christians do *tirigusuktuq*. There was also *tirigusungniq* attached to the way that Inuit did things. We were told not to follow the major *tirigusuusiit* of the past. I was told something a few years ago that I have not forgotten. I think it relates to *tirigusungniq*. Elizabeth Nutaraaluk, who had become an old woman, was living in the elders centre. Because I try to visit elders, I went to visit her. She had lost some of her eyesight. Therefore the person who was working there explained who I was, and introduced me through my relatives. She recognized me through my past relatives, my ancestors. She had very bad eyesight and she took my hand and said, "I am going to tell you things to help you live well." She said that people are different. Even though there are different races, I was to try to be good to everyone. She said that this would help me live a good life. I have always remembered this. Whenever I meet someone I haven't met before, I try to be welcoming to them because I remember her words.

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I regret times when I have bad thoughts because I can't take them back once they have happened. But I do try to follow her words. I know that for me this is a *tirigusungniq*, to follow her words.

*There were a lot of tirigusuusiit in the past. Which of them should be followed today?*

**Angutinnurniq:** I am not sure which ones should be followed. Those surrounding a death in the family, or those concerning childbirth, could be followed. I think some are still being followed. When a woman has a newborn and is told not to do certain things, some women don't do them. *Tirigusuusiit* are not universal, they can be individual. There have been times when I was told not to do things, and I followed those when the time came to do so. If I remember something else after everybody else has had a turn, I will add to this, but that is all I have for now.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I have thought of this question before. I have often wondered how *tirigusungniq* could be of use. I think that if we were to use it, people who have newborn children would stop putting second-hand clothing on them. I am not saying this is bad, but it is not what I experienced. I often think that maybe if the clothing was washed, it would be all right. I am very aware of this. Here we are at a time in our lives when we have no difficulty acquiring clothing. Yet, people put on other people's clothing. My father always told me not to drop clothing in the entrance. I was told that if I put my clothing where people could step on it, it would be detrimental to my life. This applied to both clothing and *kamiik*. You were never to drop them where they could be stepped on. I am still very conscious of this. It might not be much use, but that is a personal *tirigusungniq* for me.

**Pisuk:** We seem to be saying the same thing. I don't know what to add. I don't want to say the same thing twice, so I would like someone else to speak. Maybe I could add more later, but I don't have anything to add right now.

**Pujuat:** There are some of us that understand how *tirigusuusiit* were used. I don't think our young people would be able to use them. We were never to leave our clothing where people could step on it. I have always tried to make sure clothing was not on the floor. I have always told my children this. When you walk in and everything is all over the floor, this is an awful sight. I have one daughter-in-law who leaves everything all over the floor. I have always told my son not to leave his clothing in this manner. He has always followed what I told him, but his children's clothes are always all over the floor.

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I said to my daughter-in-law, “No wonder you are always so sour-tempered. Your house is so messy.” I equate being messy with being bad tempered.

**Itinnuaq:** I don’t know what could be used. Nowadays, we elders feel if we stopped what we were doing, maybe we could talk to our young people more. They would remember our words in retrospect. I think it would be easier that way. That’s what I think.

### ***Naqqiqsurniq***

*We have already discussed bringing things out in the open. Confession was very important in the past and may be important today. We can look at how it was used in the past, and then we can see how we can build on that for the present.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** I am going to state my own thoughts regarding this. I saw one *angakkuq* perform *tupilattuq*. Although my father was able to make predictions, he was not an *angakkuq*. Once I had something that I did not want to disclose, but an *angakkuq* could see what it was, and I had no choice but to disclose what I was trying to keep hidden. It was only after I disclosed this that I was forgiven. None of us are *angakkuq*. I think there will be *angakkuq* in the future, and there are still some left today in a few communities. I think that if we know someone with this ability, we should go to that person and tell them that we would like his assistance. Maybe that person would make us disclose what we did not want to disclose. It is hard to get someone to help us without making a request. If I found someone, even though they weren’t a doctor, they could find the cause of my sickness. It might be me, it might be my wife, it might be something from the past, or even something from long ago in the past that was causing it. Sometimes the sins of our fathers are very dangerous. I believe this. I know what I am talking about. I can’t say anymore than this. I would like this understood.

**Pisuk:** Leaving footwear at the door has already been mentioned. Sometimes you see the footwear of tiny little children at the door. Maybe if I were to say, “You’re not to do this,” it would help. Although not all my daughters-in-law or grandchildren would listen, it would help a bit.

**Pujuat:** I have heard that our elders would make people *naqqiqsuqtuq*. I know all about that. Inuit had different ways of doing things. When I went to Churchill to have one of my children, I was told by my aunt to *naqqiqsuqtuq* first.

Everyone who went to Uqsuriak for the first time had to *naqqiqsuqtuq*. We still do that. My grandfather Tullik told me that a person who had never been to Uqsuriak

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before had to say *ungaa!* and then crawl on the ground. My aunt had me crawl quite a long way when we went there by dogteam. My step grandfather Tullik was slow of speech. Because Tullik was from around here, he remembered how that island had been formed. It was created by an *angakkuq*. On the south side of the island there was a piece of ice and the *angakkuq* made it into land. There are small caves there. I have been to the smaller one. He said there used to be numerous things in there. You have to *tunirrusiq* to go in there. That cave is near a *qablunaat* gravesite. My cousin Kanajuq's grandfather told him he had to walk around the whole island without even stopping at the graves, following the path of the sun because of a *tirigusuusiq* that he had to follow. There were numerous *tirigusuusit*. We could spend all day talking about them.

I don't think young people today would follow the difficult ones. We *naqqiqsuqtuq* when we go to confess to a priest. We even do that when we talk to someone we are comfortable with. That, too, is *naqqiqsuqtuq*.

**Pisuk:** I would like to add something about *aglirnaqtuq*. The island possesses this. I don't think it would be possible to get rid of this even if people were trying to. Even if they relied on a bishop, I don't think they would be able to get rid of the *aglirnaqtuq* that is attached to that island.

**Iluittuq:** I don't know anything about *naqqiqsuqtuq*. I have to admit that I don't know about this. I would like those older than me to talk. I don't want to talk about something I don't know about.

**Itinnuaq:** When we go to confess the sins we have committed, this is *naqqiqsuqtuq*. If people don't go to church, they can *naqqiqsuqtuq* using *qilaniq*. Yesterday, we demonstrated *qilaniq*. We were thinking that the person who was *qilajaujuq* needed an *angakkuq* because perhaps he had not disclosed everything. Because we are now Christian, we probably won't use this anymore. When you have grown up with people who confess, you are very aware when someone doesn't disclose the wrongdoings they have committed. I think it can be very uplifting to talk about one's wrongdoings. I don't think it's just the body that feels lighter, I think your *tarniq* feels better as well. Your soul really feels the wrongdoings that your body has committed.

**Angutinngurniq:** This was used in the past. When we became Christian, we stopped using this. Long ago, if our parents had something that they did not disclose, it could affect future generations. It could make you sick. It could be detrimental to your health. If a person had not confessed everything to another person or to a priest, an *angakkuq* could see this. I have talked about our parents. If I too had done something wrong and did not confess to a priest or someone else, that would stay with me and it would affect



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others. There is danger in not disclosing a wrongdoing. If I were to disclose my wrongdoings, then those who lived after me would have a better life. We have always been told, from the time we were children, to tell someone if we had done something wrong. I can't think of any wrongdoing I have not disclosed because I think about my children and grandchildren. I want them to have a good life, so I have not held back from talking about any of my wrongdoings.

**Itinnuaq:** I don't think young people really believe in anything anymore. They don't feel for religion. They don't have any feeling for *angakkuuniq*. They are not given this knowledge by their parents. They only learn in school and not from anywhere else.

**Angutinnurniq:** In the past people would care about someone who had a new child. Nobody cares anymore. We have talked about people wearing other people's clothing, and stepping on clothing that is on the floor. Maybe if people started hearing this, they would start thinking more. Maybe a person who has just had a child, would start thinking more about the child's future.

*Is there anything that needs to be discussed that we have forgotten about?*

**Aupilaarjuk:** There are so many things about Inuit *maligait* that have not been brought up, but I can't think of any at the moment. I have written down a few things. We talked about *angakkuuit* and *tirigusungniq*. We also talked about *naqqiqsurniq*. I think these are all important, and we have talked about them. I know we could add much more, but I can't think of anything right now.

**Pisuk:** We have talked about *angakkuuit*. We have talked about children. A *pisuqsauti* was something that enabled you to do something. My father had a small *niviwvaq*, a dung fly, to help him get home. Three days after we buried him, my brother Aattaaluk was visiting Kanaaq and saw my father knocking on the door. He recognized him through the window. My father had said if he wasn't taken right away, he wasn't going to keep trying. He had told us he was going to go to Kanaaq's, and not to our house. People don't seem to be using *pisuqsautit* any more. In the past, people used to come back. *Tarralikitat*, butterflies, were also used as a means of helping you to come home. Someone would wipe the butterfly on the back of the parka of a young girl or boy. This was different from using house and dung flies. Maybe if we tried this with our children or grandchildren, it would help them.

**Suvaksuiq:** I can't recall anything that we need to talk about. The people before us used a lot of different things to survive. There was a lot of hunger in Paalliq at the time when they did not have dogs. In those days when they didn't have dogs they would walk



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pulling their belongings. They depended on *inuksuit*. The *inuksuit* told them things. For instance, if they were in a line, you would know that was a place where there was good fishing. We did not talk about *inuksuit*. We also did not talk about *ublisautit*, fox traps. There are many things we still haven't talked about. If we were to try and cover everything, there would not be time. We used numerous things for survival. People helped each other. If there were one group that had food and another group that did not, they would share amongst each other. There is a lot we haven't talked about. I am sure those who know more than I do can bring out these other things.

**Pujuat:** *Inuksuit* were definitely used as a means of communication. They say that people who lived beneath an *inuksuk* lived there in happiness. *Inuksuit* around a lake show where there are fish. There are also *inuksuit* called *igliqsiutit* that have a red stone and a black stone. My grandfather Tullik said that if an *inuksuk* had a red stone and a black one, it would show you where there were schools of fish in the fall. I would count how many paces there were from the *inuksuk* to the shore. I would then count the same number of paces onto the lake. Even if there was snow, and you couldn't see them, that is where the fish would be. Because the people before us experienced hunger, they developed sophisticated means of finding where there was food. Once, when I was with my sister-in-law Tuutalik, I counted the number of paces from the two rocks to the shore, and then again onto the lake. The ice was quite thick because it was spring. I made a hole and there were fish down below. This was in the days before her arthritis got bad, so she ran towards me. She was amazed. Those *inuksuit* were a means to pass on information.

If there was an *inuksuk* up on a hill, it was made for pleasure. No one said anything about them. They could not be used in times of hunger or need, but the ones by the lake were used to signify where there were fish. Another thing we did not talk about are the *apsait*. Our elders knew about them. There are *apsait* on the land, especially around lakes. They are probably not good because people tend to flee from them. They sound as though they are coming closer and closer. They belong to the earth.

**Iluittuq:** I have heard about *apsait* but I have never seen them. You can tell if they are coming closer. They are very scary. Maybe someone who knows more can add to this. One day we had an *iglu* beside a lake called Ikpik in the winter. You could hear *apsait* daily. They started off quietly in the distance but as they came closer and closer, they got louder. We never saw anything. There was a crack that formed in the *iglu*. I was still living with my parents. I was not quite an adult then. I am talking about this because I have experienced it.

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**Nuliajuk:** I have heard about *apsait*. I have also heard about *tikiqqutit*, things that helped you arrive at your destination, but I have never used them.

**Itinnuaq:** We have not talked about *nunaturliit*, campsites. People spent the spring in some places and the fall in others. They went back to them year after year when they went caribou hunting or fishing. This was part of survival in the days when people depended on animals. I, too, used to go inland on foot, before we lived among *qablunaat*. Whenever we arrived at a site, we always felt comfortable. We were home and we knew where there were animals. People spent the spring fishing down at the shore. We have not talked about this.

I, too, have experienced *apsait*. They don't always go after people. When you chopped the heart of an animal such as a caribou, the *apsait* came right away. If the heart was frozen and you started chopping it, they came. This didn't happen if you just cut it. If you were to pound on it with a stone, an axe or a hammer, the *apsait* would also come right away. The place where you were living would get an *apsaq*. Those who spent time out on the land had to be cautious. The people before us survived by being aware of everything around them, because they did not want anything to happen to them or to their family. They were cautious.

**Angutinngurniq:** The fishing places in the fall and in the spring were places where you caught fish year after year. They placed the *inuksuit* in the direction where the fish were located. My parents taught me about this. I was not always successful in finding out where the fish were.

My parents also talked about *apsait*. One time we were travelling to Aivilik. We were at a place called Imiktuulik in the Nattilik area. We had stopped, and the people I was travelling with were icing the runners of their *qamutiik* and untangling the dog traces. I felt like walking, so I started on ahead of them. I came upon an abandoned *iglu* that people had slept in. There were sounds coming from this old *iglu*, and they got louder and louder so I fled. I do believe there are *apsait*. I believe there are all kinds of things you can't see.

**Pujuat:** I would like to add something I had forgotten about. There were two types of fox traps. One was a *pullati*. It was placed on the ground. Once the fox went in, it was unable to get out. There was also the *ublisauti*. It was more like a cairn that the fox would fall in. There would be a piece of meat down at the bottom. Those would be quite wide. There were some at a place named Mumirvik, but unfortunately they were damaged. Those things that were created by our ancestors should be preserved. Things such as the *ublisautit* used to catch fox should not be damaged. I consider them to be like *inuksuit*.

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**Aupilaarjuk:** I am going to add something about *apsait*. When you left an *iglu*, you weren't to leave any rocks inside, because if you did, the *apsait* would go inside the rocks. Whenever we were going to leave an *iglu* permanently, we were told not to leave any rocks in there. Up to this day, I have never left any rocks in an *iglu* that I was leaving.

Some people were "bestowed" with the ability to deal with sick people. I used to think that if I had been given the ability to heal a sick person, I would have tried my abilities out on a dog first. I don't know this from experience, but I believe some people had this ability.

I also forgot to talk about something else. At night, we were told to put a piece of snow in the doorway. It was said you could always make it to shore with the piece of snow you put in the doorway.

**Pisuk:** They say that yellow butterflies were the strongest. I wanted to add something about *inuksuit*. In the place we used to go caribou hunting, there were stones placed in a line down to the shore. They said if you placed something on them such as a small branch, then the caribou would go down to the water. When the caribou appeared, we would be down in the water in our *qajait* waiting for them.

**Suvaksiuq:** In our dialect we call them *apsijaqtuut*. We, too, had them in January and February in the deep winter. They say they are dangerous. They say if you cut a caribou ear off and place it in a crack, that would stop them. I talked about *ublisautit*, and about Alumiraq, the rock I had to lick. We have not talked about cutting a tongue with a very sharp knife and freezing it. We have also not talked about *saputit*, fish weirs, or *kakivait*, fish spears. There are many things we have missed. If there is something I remember, I will add it.

## Murder and counselling

*How were social conflicts and problems resolved in the past? When murder occurred, how did people deal with it? Did the angakkuit play a part in finding the cause, or trying to solve the problems?*

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know much about how they dealt with problems like that in the past. I have heard that people would resolve conflicts through games where they would hit each other on the temple. There used to be spousal exchanges. This was before the police arrived. I heard about two men who started fighting after having exchanged spouses in Arviliguaq. They were about to kill each other. This woman, who was an *angakkuq*, went to deal with them. That old woman threw her *kamiik* between them, and told them to stop doing what they were doing, and they stopped fighting. They went inside their tents and they did not come out until the next day because they were so embarrassed.

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I haven't heard how they used to deal with murder, but I do recall that when we arrived at Sikuligjuaq in 1955, there was a well-known man named Tijji there. He was a short little man and he had good dogs. An R.C.M.P. officer had beaten him up because he had made his adopted daughter pregnant. There are those of us who remember him.

It is said that men who become embarrassed can disappear. We call those who are very skilful *angutillariit*. He was an *angutillarik*. He had a big sled and thirteen young dogs. Johnny Qaritaq, who was with the police, and I searched for him. We came upon his footprints. He had been barefoot. We found two of his dogs, his rifle and his adopted son Pukiq. He was going to be incarcerated for a month but he didn't think he would handle being in jail for that long.

He used to wake up early in the morning. He had placed his Primus stove by the door. I saw him as he was beginning to get ready. His dogs were very swift. I saw him leave. I went for the police, and Johnny and I took off after him. We were on foot and the police were behind us with my dogs. He had been travelling through a crevice and then he went up over a hill. We could see he had really forced his dogs to travel. We used to trade at Kinngarjualik. We would exchange skins for rope. We found a bow and arrow. We saw where there had been a shot and found blood. We saw the sled on its side and Tijji's things were everywhere. He had shredded everything. He had shot all his dogs. While we were digging them out, the police were taking pictures. I had Johnny as my interpreter and I asked one of the officers, "Are you going to use this as evidence against him?" He said, "No, he was not going to do so." They had a ration box with them. One officer said that if we were to find him, he would give me a carton of cigarettes and some matches. We searched for him all spring. One day we came across old man Pinguqsaq. He said that as he was travelling there was a bit of breeze from the north, and his dogs smelled something. There appeared to be a person lying on the ground in that direction. When we got there, there was nothing.

I don't know what they did about murder long ago in the past. This incident I am talking about occurred in my lifetime. They thought that Tijji lived for a long time afterwards. We heard that some *qablunaat* become outlaws and live out on the land. When we were at Kinngarjualik, we were able to get ammunition while we were there. The people there said that a man had been seen at an exploration camp. People used to go fishing and would find that objects had gone missing from their cabins. Another person said he had seen a bull caribou and then heard a rifle shot. A *qablunaaq* said that he was out fishing and had seen a man wearing caribou clothing in late spring. He was an old man and he had long hair. We thought it might have been him. For four or five years afterwards, we heard of these incidents. We thought that he was still alive. This is one story from the past that I remember, but I don't have any others.

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**Pujuat:** I don't recall anyone ever committing murder. I never knew anyone who experienced conflict so I can't add to this subject at all.

**Suvaksiuq:** I omitted something. There had been a fishing derby and a *qablunaaq* who had been out paddling never returned. He was found underneath his canoe. He had been shot with a 30.30. I don't know why the police never went after Tijji. This was the kind of thing they usually dealt with; it was a serious incident. We had suspicions that it might have been him who committed that murder.

**Nulijuk:** I don't know how they dealt with murderers in the past before the police arrived. Even if I were to try and talk about it, I don't know much.

**Itinnuaq:** I don't know anyone who committed murder. I know that it was an awful thing when there was conflict in the community. In the past the elders would deal with those who would argue with each other. They would also have people hit each other on the temples to deal with a conflict. I don't know anyone who has committed murder. I know there is conflict in the community, but I don't know anything else.

**Angutinngurniq:** I don't know anything regarding murder. I have never seen anyone murdered. I have heard that Qipingajuq and Aturajukkiut murdered Arnanaaq's husband. Tungilik's grandfather had wanted to *tigluutijuq* with Qipingajuq, hit him on the shoulder or the temple, but he did not get to see him. I have not heard anything else.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I, too, can't say much about this. I have never seen a murder committed. I have never seen anyone in conflict being dealt with. I have heard that *tigluutiniq* was used. I have heard that people used to commit murders in the past, and that elders would talk to them.

**Itinnuaq:** I have not experienced this personally, but when people lived in the same camp, there were always wrongdoings committed, by both males and females. The elders got together and talked to that person. They would tell them if they continued that behaviour, that people would be displeased with them. They would be told to correct their behaviour. Maybe people who were counselled were those who had been suicidal or had committed a wrongdoing. Nowadays we hear about people committing suicide, because we elders don't counsel people anymore. We rely on the police and the courts to deal with others for us. I think we should be making ourselves available to help others more.

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*According to Itinnuaq, counselling by elders was important. Is this something to which you all agree?*

**Angutinnurniq:** I agree with it.

**Itinnuaq:** Counselling by elders should be part of the way we deal with offenders. We have talked about how offenders end up being incarcerated. We should think about how young people should be dealt with. We should get together and talk to them. I think it would be beneficial if we did this.

**Angutinnurniq:** I won't say anything other than this. In the past, if there were a couple who had conflict, the elders would get together in one place to help them come to a solution. I have heard this was done, but I have not experienced it. This might be a bit different. We have a justice committee that deals with offenders. This past winter, there were some offenders who weren't comfortable with some members of the justice committee, so they started coming to us elders instead.

**Suvaksiuq:** In the past, and still today, when a person is sick, people will gather together. Here in the Kivalliq if there is someone who is sick and emaciated, people stay with them and they are well looked after. I find that when we lose a family member, it is felt by the whole community. *Qablunaat* can lose a lot of people at once, for example if there is a war. In Arviat and other places when a person is sick, someone will stay with them around the clock. When people are about to die, they try to leave words for those they love, for those they care about. I am talking about something I have experienced.

*These forms of counselling would obviously be very useful for people who get depressed or who feel they are losing their way, but it would be difficult to counsel people who use alcohol or drugs and who don't want to talk at all. How can you deal with those people? How can you help them?*

**Itinnuaq:** There are indeed people in those situations. And now we have people from different communities living in one place. Although the elders try to talk to them, they are dealing with people who have a totally different way of life than they did at that age. I think we should carry through with what we have discussed here. If an offence has occurred, and the elders are brought together with the offender after being informed about what he has done, after he has been talked to, it would be hard for him to deny he had done something wrong. The difficult cases are the ones that make the elders reluctant to get involved.

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*Regarding murder, you sometimes hear that the angakkuit would compete with each other, would try to kill each other.*

**Nuliajuk:** I have heard about *angakkuit* fighting with each other but I have never seen this personally. They would *tirliagtug* each other. They did not have to be together. They could see each other even if they did not live in the same place. They could still *tirliagtug* each other. I can tell you this about *angakkuit*; but I have never seen this in person.

**Itinnuaq:** I, too, have heard about this. I can reply in the same way because I, too, don't know what exactly they did. Sometimes when people talk about what they have only heard, then it becomes a story. When you hear the same story afterwards, it will be slightly different. Even though you have heard something, if you haven't experienced it in person, you don't want to talk about it. Although, if you have heard a story and you believe it, you can tell it. I, too, have heard the same thing about *angakkuit* as Nuliajuk did.

**Angutinnurniq:** Maybe if you are an *angakkuq*, you understand this, but if you are not one you can't. I don't feel I can talk about something I have just heard about. I agree with what Itinnuaq said about *angakkuit* being able to see each other from a distance and being able to *tirliagtug* each other. On the one hand you believe what you have heard, but on the other hand you think it might be wrong.

**Aupilaarjuk:** Vain *angakkuit* would *tirliagtug* others. I haven't seen this, but I have heard about it. They say that this is dangerous. It was not my father, but someone else, who told me that if I was ever to become an *angakkuq*, I was not to *tirliagsijug* another *angakkuq*. I have not experienced this, nor have I seen it, but I have been told about it by people who are no longer living. That is all I can say.

**Suvaksiuq:** I, too, can only add what I have heard. I will use caribou as an example. When they come from the east in the fall when it is starting to freeze, the calf and its mother will walk and sniff the ground periodically. They say that between the hooves, they have this yellow spot which they use to smell the ground with. In the same way, even when *angakkuit* are in different places, they know what is happening with other *angakkuit*. I heard this from Donald Suluk who was an *angakkuq*.

*We did not talk about whether the angakkuit played a part in counselling.*

**Itinnuaq:** That was a bit different. The *angakkuit* would try to remove the cause of what was bothering someone whereas ordinary people would try to improve the person's behaviour. Ordinary people would act more like judges. There would be nothing shamanic about it.



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## Using Inuit traditions to solve contemporary problems

*What are the most important problems facing Inuit today? How can we use Inuit traditions to solve them?*

**Pujuat:** In the future, I don't know how, but I think we should bring young people together, but not in groups that are too large. We should not try to bring all of them together at once. Maybe it would be best if they were in groups of ten or so, and we could talk to them about ways of living a better life. For example, I often hear about vandalism. All my children are boys. I have always talked to them about not taking other's things. Maybe they do, but I have never heard about it. Maybe they, too, have participated in vandalism. When I hear about vandalism occurring, I always ask my children, including the two I adopted, if they were involved. They always say that they were told not to take other people's things or to vandalize them. They might be lying to me. When I see them with something I never saw before, I always ask them where they got it. Then they would explain that someone gave it to them. After I listen to others, I might have something more to say but this is where I am going to end.

**Iluittuq:** I, too, don't know how, but we have to find ways of trying to help young people. I agree that we should get them together in small groups and have someone talk to them. They should be told about what kind of future they should be aiming for. They should be told about ways our elders used to counsel people. They could talk with another young person. I have grandchildren. I have sons and sons-in-law. I think that if they were counselled by an elder or participated in group meetings, their lives would be better. Perhaps some of them have never been counselled by someone older than they are. Maybe there hasn't been anyone to give them direction. Because the communities are now very large, young people are not doing anything worthwhile and they are searching for something to do. Maybe if they were taken out hunting with an elder, this would really help. These are the kinds of thoughts I have had.

**Nuliajuk:** I have four children. I have talked to my children about not stealing since they were young. When you are young, you want to seek pleasure. As you grow older, you start thinking. "If I were like this, I would be a better person." I always tell my children not to steal. As I don't see them all of the time, maybe they do in fact steal. I think stealing can cause disharmony. I don't feel that I am able to contribute much else. I believe in what other people are saying.

**Itinnuaq:** I think it is the same in all the communities. There are a lot of distractions. We are all living in between the *qablunaat* world and the Inuit world. There are movies and television shows that the young people emulate. There are also alcohol and drugs and

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other substances. But there is now the fear of being brought to court if what you are trying to say to a person is too harsh when you try to counsel someone. Now there are so many more difficulties experienced than in the past. We are trying to talk about what was known in the past in this workshop. If this comes out in book form, or if it comes out on tape, maybe there are people who want to be good who will listen. It is the others who are not good that need to be helped. They seem to be turning their backs on the ways they need to follow, to live a good life. This is very heavy for us elders.

**Angutinngurniq:** I don't have any solutions to help people lead a good life. I have many children and many grandchildren. It is not just young people who are becoming hard to deal with. Adults, too, are having difficulties. There are the television programs that affect people. There is the problem gambling. People are neglecting their children. They don't stay at home. If they were at home, they would look after their children more and talk to them more. Parents too are turning to things that bring them pleasure, such as alcohol and playing cards. They emulate the bad parts from what they see on television. I think that all these contribute to the deterioration of our way of life. I think that if parents were able to take care of their children more, then young people would start behaving better. Some parents only seek their own pleasure. Some of them don't come home all night. This is not just a problem with young people. It is a problem with older people who are not looking after their children. I am telling you what has been on my mind. It might not be of any help. There are so many distractions now in the community.

**Aupilaarjuk:** As elders we all have thoughts regarding our children and grandchildren. We have reached a situation where we don't want to accept that we don't know what to do about it. We would be more effective if we were saying the same things, and if we put to use what we have been saying here in the workshop. During the workshop there has been no disharmony. Our young people seem like they have no hope for the future. I think one thing that is different is that our way was paved for us. We were given a future spouse from the time we were children. We were told whom we were going to marry. We would see that person periodically. Even though I would think sometimes that I didn't want that person as a spouse, I knew that that was the way it was going to be. When I was young, I had my wife, but I would see other women and I would think that I desired them instead. Now as an adult, as an elder, I am very grateful that I listened to my parents, because those girls that I desired are not that desirable any more. I think that nowadays, relationships are only temporary. I think that when a woman leaves a young man behind, there is a lot of pain. It is not just the young man, it is also his parents who feel the pain. I think it is very dangerous.

Bringing young people together with an elder has already been mentioned as a way of helping young people. I think this would help young people to start thinking. I have

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sons and numerous grandchildren. I have a couple of daughters-in-law. My wife provides them with their winter clothing. If my wife were to die, they would be completely helpless. I tell them that when she dies, they will be very helpless, but they don't try to do things on their own. They are not out there trying to learn these skills. In the past, people learned how to do things from their parents. They learned how to take care of their children from their parents. All these things have changed. I think there is a lot of fixing up that needs to be done. We will need more than just the few of us working on this. We are going to have to rely on others who are in elected positions. It seems like a very daunting task. If we had support, it would not be difficult. There are also other distractions such as alcohol that have been mentioned. We see members of our family who spend their time gambling. You know they had money, and then they come to you asking for more. It is very hard not to be displeased with them. People spend anywhere from loonies to five or six hundred dollars at a time on gambling. That is a lot of money. We hear about people who have ended up winning a lot of money, but there are people who have ended up losing a lot of money also. I think it becomes an addiction like alcohol. They think, "Maybe this time I will win back the money I have lost". There are other problems as well, and it will be very difficult to work on them. Those are some of the thoughts I have had.

**Pisuk:** My grandfather, my father, and my uncle talked to me about the importance of keeping harmony in the family. My grandmother told me these things too. She would say that if I wanted to keep harmony in the family, not to do bad things, because they would be passed on to the next generation. When we were children, we played games because that was all we could do to amuse ourselves. When I was young, I often had people laugh at me. I was determined never to get angry when I was being laughed at. They weren't laughing at me because they were angry with me. My grandmother told me not to laugh at someone who was new, or someone who was orphaned. They say that a child's life can be as dangerous as the water. I have always tried not to laugh at people because I remember my grandmother's words. We had nine children, but I have lost five. One of my sons had seven children when he died. I have lost five children. My daughter did not grow up with me. She grew up with her grandparents, so I never really knew her. I have always tried to talk to my children. I used to tell them never to lie, not even to a child. They were not to lie to anyone; not to those of their own age, or to those who were older than they were. When people gather together, you see other people passing by. Someone would say, "There is a person who lies." When that person comes up to them and someone says something funny, they would all laugh together, but the person who lies would not know they were being laughed at. I have always tried to follow the advice I was given. I think all of us have difficulty giving advice to young people. If my sons were given something, even if it was small, they would come to me

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and say, "Father I have been given this as a gift." I would say. "That's okay. You in turn will some time give them a gift."

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know what our future is going to be like. In Arviat, the children are taken out camping when school is out. Young people are taken outside the community in the spring. They are placed in two groups; a group of school children, and a group of offenders. They are only taken out a short distance. Even though it is not that far away, they are outside the community. You can hear the young people on the radio. You hear how much happier they are. They are being kept busy. They make dried meat. They go out hunting. They also participate in building their dwellings. There are two people who look after them, Uttuq and Uunniq. Those people are also in charge of the men who would have been incarcerated if they weren't out at the camp.

I also agree with what Aupilaarjuk has just said about gambling, and about how women end up not looking after their children. When couples get together, there are times when they are happy to be together and times when they have problems. Also I agree with what Itinnuaq said about how people are emulating what they see on television. They are not following the Inuit way of life. Maybe we are not teaching our children enough. School children nowadays are very quick tempered. When they get angry they use words they have heard on television. They don't use Inuktitut any more. I don't know what we should be teaching them.

When I look at my immediate family, counting my children and my grandchildren, there are between twenty and thirty of us. That is a lot of people. When you are the oldest in the group, you try to be positive and give them direction. Some of them will listen and some of them will think they know more than you do. When you don't deal with them in a light enough manner they stop listening, because they think they know more than you. Because there are so many of us, even though my wife and I have tried to give direction to our children and grandchildren, and although we love them, we find our grandchildren bothersome at times.

Maybe that's the way it is with grandchildren. When they start fighting too much with each other, we always scold them. I always did that with my own children. Some of them are more educated than I am. They speak English and they can write in English. I always tell them that they are my grandchildren and that they have to listen to me. They might know more than I do on paper but if we were out in blizzard conditions I would have more knowledge than them.

I lived on the land with my brothers and my sisters. My parents died before I had children. There were five of us children, but one sister was somewhere else so we didn't have to worry about her. My brothers and I would check up on each other to see if we were all right. I have heard a lot of things from elders, including advice regarding

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women and food. There are many things that young people should be aware of. I don't know what to say about our future.

There are more and more relationships now between *qablunaat* and Inuit. It is hard to have the same understanding with them. You understand Inuit. You know that they will agree with you. We don't understand *qablunaat*. It is very hard to try to get them to see your way of thinking. I have two *qablunaat* sons-in-law, two Inuk sons-in-law and one Inuk daughter-in-law. It is sometimes very hard to see things the same way as your *qablunaat* sons-in-law, especially regarding belongings.

*How should elders pass on their experience and knowledge? What knowledge should be passed on and how should this be done?*

**Kablaalik:** I have four children and one grandchild. My wife and I attempted to raise our children properly. We have felt that because our eldest child was our first child, he was the most lovable, but we have never said we loved this child more than the others within their hearing. We have always tried to show them the same amount of love. I have heard others say they love one child the most. The others who feel they aren't loved as much are the ones who start misbehaving. It seems as though they are trying to gain attention through their misbehaviour. That is why we have never said that we loved one child more in front of the others. We tell them to always respect their elders and try to help them. I think this is all part of learning about life for a young person. I don't have all that much wisdom, but I know that if you have your spouse's assistance, when you think the same way as your spouse, you work well together. We don't always agree, but when we are going to disagree, we try to make sure that our children don't hear us.

Our mind, soul and body are all one. If my mind is healthy my soul will be as well. If my soul is at ease, my body will be more relaxed. Yesterday, I noticed there are always things we don't see going on. I have always heard that we are to be good, and to respect the land as well. I have told my children that if they were bad to anyone in any way, they were to tell someone about it. It seems that if you start doing something bad, it grows. I don't always smoke. There has been more than one person who has really noticed me when I smoke. I know in my head that cigarette smoking is not good for my body but I still do it. Why do I do this when I know it's not good for me? If I wanted my body and my mind to be better, I would stop smoking. I don't smoke all the time. There are other things I do as well. I will try to put to use what I have heard from elders and pass these things on to my children. I don't have that much knowledge. What I have heard is very useful to help live a good life.

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**Angutinnurniq:** We are trying to find ways to help our young people. In our community we take young people out, especially those who have become orphaned or don't have anyone to teach them. We take out both boys and girls when they become orphaned so they can become capable. We know they are going to go through many more hardships. We know that if these boys had been taught about hunting, and making hunting equipment, and if these girls had been taught sewing while their parents were alive, they would know these things. When young people are in jail, it is like they have no parents and no one to teach them. There are many things that our young people need to understand. If they gained more understanding about the Inuit way of doing things, it would be easier for them.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I would like to add something about how elders and young people could talk to each other more. I have often thought that if there were an actual location where an elder was able to talk to young people, then young people could hear and understand the elders more, and learn the knowledge that should be passed on. That knowledge can only be passed on if elders teach it. I have said all kinds of things to people in Kangiq&iniq once a week by phone. It is hard to deal with someone by phone. If you have someone right there in front of you, it is easier. I have people come to my house when they are in need of counselling. Sometimes if there is someone else there, like my wife, they are unable to talk. When they are totally alone with me, they start talking. I don't ask them questions. They tell me what is bothering them on their own. These are some of the things we have to start thinking about. There have to be elders who are designated to do this. There would also have to be someone who would do the administration as well. Maybe this should be thought about more.

**Itinnuaq:** I would like to add to what Aupilaarjuk has said. Whenever there is an attempt in one of the communities to do this type of thing, those who commit crimes don't go to them. I agree with the idea, but you also have to think about where the funding would come from. The government finds things like this very expensive, especially when it is going to be utilized by so few. Maybe those of us who are elders, especially those of us who have these thoughts, should start bringing out some written materials. We know young people are able to read. Even if they aren't able to read Inuktitut, if the materials were written in both English and Inuktitut that would really help. I would like to add this to what Aupilaarjuk said.



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*At the end of the workshop we have to come up with recommendations for the Department of Justice. Which things could be taken over by the communities from the court system using Inuit traditions and knowledge in dealing with wrongdoings?*

**Iluittuq:** I am going to talk about my own experience. I belong to the justice committee in my community. We deal with people who would have ended up being sent to jail. We try to intervene. We deal with them instead. Even though they are known to the court, we deal with them instead. This is very rewarding because we know the people involved better. These people would have ended up in jail. The R.C.M.P. gives us a form which we fill out and we agree to look after the offender. When there are sentences passed down, and somebody has to do community service, we make sure the person carries out their sentence. We give funding to different committees, and they help us out on this. When a person does the sentence through us, the sentence is carried out, and everyone is happy. If we have a person who is a repeat offender, the amount of community service they have to do is increased. Some listen and others don't. The ones who won't listen are much harder to deal with. They are your community members and you know them and you feel sorry for them. Because they are part of your community, you can't just abandon them. You have to deal with them.

We have had this committee for some time now, and I have been a member for quite a while. We have found that it has decreased the number of people who needed to be sent to jail. It is so much better because the person remains in the community. The parents of the offender are also more at ease. If the person has children, then the children don't end up without a father. If possible these people are taken out hunting and fishing with a person older than they are. Even though I myself am a member of the justice committee, I take out offenders. When you take someone out of the community, you think about how to help this person and how to talk to him. I notice that when we take them outside the community, they are so much more at ease. They have left behind their difficulties. They have left behind their offences. They are enjoying nature. They are so much more aware of things around them. They enjoy hunting. I notice that when they start going out, they don't dwell as much on their offences. When they remain in the community, things fester and they search for something to do. Usually what they are searching for is not good, and is *pirijannngniq*, criminal in nature. They might find another person to do this with. When they are taken out of the community, they have better thoughts.

**Nuliajuk:** I am not a member of a justice committee. I don't want to be on any committees at all. This is the only meeting I have willingly attended. I often feel I would



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not be of use on a committee. I have often been nominated but I always refuse. But I do take young people out on the land. Those who have no one to take them out, those who don't get out on the land very often, I take out so that they can gain more understanding. I don't think I can say anything more, because I don't belong to any committees, so I will listen to others.

**Itinnuaq:** Going through the court system is not an easy task. I was once requested by the Department of Justice to put something together about the Inuit way of dealing with offenders. The judges wanted to compare the Inuit way of doing things with the Canadian system. I was told it would take a long time to change things. I am still waiting for this. I know that it is not easy dealing with offenders. I know that the old way of doing things and the current system are not going to be easily merged. There are now justice committees, but this still is a *qablunaat* way of doing things. The justice committees seem to follow the *qablunaat* way of doing things. They don't really rely on the Inuit way, maybe because they think they have to follow the *qablunaat* system.

I think that if there is a serious offender and there is no way of helping him, then he should go through the court system. If it is not a serious offence and the person could benefit by not going through the court system, then this would be better. I worked with the police for eight years. I ended up being split in two. I had to deal with the R.C.M.P. boss and I had to deal with the parents of the offender. You try to find a place in the middle. With the present committees, we are told we can't deal with a person unless the person has pled guilty. Even if the person has not pled guilty, I think you can start counselling them and talking to them. I think that if we just continue to wait, nothing will change. In our community, we know when an offence has been committed and who has committed it. I think that in our own communities we should take the initiative.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't know what should be done. I have been a member of our justice committee for three years. I don't feel I can talk about being a justice member. I think that there are some offences that should not go through the court system. They should be dealt with by fellow Inuit. Sometimes, what could be dealt with in the community ends up being dealt with in the court system. Incarcerating the offender is no solution. I think when people are dealt with by fellow Inuit, it is better. I agree that serious offences should be dealt with by the court, but it is very hard on the parents when the offender gets sent away. I think it is better when the offenders are dealt with by community members. I take young people out in the summer. I occasionally take young people out in the winter but only on day trips. When I take young people out in the summer, I try to teach them how Inuit lived on the land in the past. I have been told by a number of people that if offenders were part of my group, then that would help them improve. They said they would pay me for taking them out. We have had

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offenders attend our summer camps, and I have found this to be detrimental because these offenders influence the other young people. They might not want to sleep all night. Here we are trying to teach the Inuit ways, and then we have these offenders come along. I have stated that I don't want to have offenders with us. If offenders are to be taken out, they should be taken out by the justice committee. I might have taken young people out with me that were offenders, but I don't know this. The two times I have knowingly taken offenders along, they have taught the other young people how to commit offences. I am telling you what I have experienced. I think it would be better if the ones who commit wrongdoings were dealt with by Inuit. Sometimes you are not going to see results right away, and it's going to be difficult.

**Aupilaarjuk:** In the court system, even though we are called *iqqaqtuijiralaat*, we don't do any judging. We are there to talk to offenders. If an offence is committed, the offenders are dealt with by the police. We only deal with people who have already been found guilty of an offence. We have to decide how to deal with the offender. We have to decide if they should pay a fine, or do community service. This would be for something like a property offence. Since the time I have been part of the justice committee, I have noticed that we have prevented numerous people from going through the court system and ending up being incarcerated, but there is more that we could do.

I have been told by some young people that if they had been dealt with by Inuit, it would have been beneficial to them. If Inuit were to deal with them, then they would be able to start disclosing more. Even though you are a member of the justice committee, you don't always know that an offence has been committed or that an offender has been arrested. I think it would help us more if we were told this right away. Then we could start thinking about what could be done. Our justice committee does the same types of things that they do in Arviligjuaq. I think that if offenders went through the justice committee, it would be better. There is another thing that holds us back. There is no way around the Criminal Code. The Criminal Code is the law, and we find it holds us back from feeling we have any power.

**Pisuk:** I have never really heard much about justice committees. I have only dealt with my immediate family. I regret that that is the way it is. This is the first time I have heard from people on justice committees. I knew that they existed, but because I never tried to find out about them, I don't know much about them. This is the first time I have ever really heard about what they do. I regret that I have only dealt with my own young people.

I know some young people are not accustomed to being counselled. It is difficult to try to deal with them. I think that if the justice committee is not able to deal with someone, they should go through the court system. I will use my son as an example. I

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have a son that ended up being incarcerated because somebody said he had committed an offence. The same thing happened to another one of my children. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, this woman took her son and went to the R.C.M.P. and said that her husband had been abusing her and others. Because of that lie he ended up committing suicide.

There is another person in our community who has ended up in jail very frequently. There was one occasion where my wife and I saw that he had a snowmachine. His sister falsely accused him of stealing it. That same woman tried to make a false accusation about my son as well but she was not successful. Once I said to my daughter-in-law that if she falsely accused my son again, I would *ilisiqtuq*, hex her. Maybe she was scared. She has since become so truthful that we all believe her. She doesn't lie any more. We can feel it. Her brothers-in-law and their wives can all feel it.

**Suvaksiuq:** I don't know very many people who have committed offences. I am pleased that there are more and more committees that are trying to help people. I think that if offenders were dealt with in the communities more, and weren't always sent away, it would be better. We now have this place outside Arviat where offenders from other communities are brought as well. I think this is very helpful. It is very difficult to help a young person when they are depressed, even when they are your son or your daughter. Some offenders have no fear of authority, whether it's of the church or of the police. I think they have learned this from what they have seen on television. The ones who don't want to lose in arguments and such are the ones who commit suicide. They are constantly watching movies where the main characters never lose. That's why I don't like these kinds of movies. I think that if they had been taken out on the land, they would have improved their outlook. I think that if they had been given to Inuit to look after out on the land, they would have fewer problems. I think it is very hard when you have a son or a daughter that is incarcerated. You don't know what is happening to them so you can't help them at all. I think that if they stayed in the community it would be beneficial for all concerned. The cost for everything is high, but if funding were provided to take people out on the land, this would be useful. If they were taken outside the community, they would learn how to survive in a blizzard and would learn other survival skills. Nowadays, we have young people who end up freezing very close to the community because they don't know how to take care of themselves. When we send our children to school, they are being taught by someone else. Because they are being taught for many hours, you think you don't have to teach them, because they are being taught how to be good in school, but this is not the case.

**Pujuat:** I don't know much about this but I, too, think that if we took offenders out of town and started teaching them how to live a better life, it would help improve things.

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Those who are willing to listen remember your words and they come to you afterwards and say, "I remember what you told me." I think that even when you take young ones out, even ten year olds, and you start teaching them how to survive, even young children will not forget. They are very eager and ask when they are going out again. Even children that young enjoy going out. There is a group here called Sanngitiliqput. They are up at Iqaluit, the Diane River, at the moment. Maybe not every single one of those children is happy right now, but they are much more content when they are out on the land. Regarding offenders, I think there are offenders that can be dealt with by Inuit and those that commit more serious offences that should be dealt with by the court system. Perhaps it is due to lack of funding that offenders aren't dealt with by the community. Nowadays, everything depends on funding. We pay for our houses, we pay for our fuel, we pay for our electricity. We are always told that it is not possible to implement programs because of lack of funding. This topic is difficult to talk about, but I am grateful that I have been able to add something.

**Iluittuq:** I forgot to add something about taking young people out. When you take young people out hunting, you talk to them about what they should and shouldn't do. You should not scold them when you are out there with them. When you scold them or you are displeased with them, then you are adding to their hurt. This I know. It is possible to talk to them without scolding them. You can teach them to do things and give them skills. When you do this, it is so much better for them. That is what we try to do, even though there are not that many of us. We are being given more and more autonomy by the court system to deal with our offenders. We have been told that we should not be afraid to talk about the Inuit way of doing things, and I believe this will continue. I agree that when a serious offence is committed, we should not deal with it. We should be concerned about it, but the court system should deal with serious offences. Our committee does not always run smoothly but it runs well. It helps young people. I have a lot to say to young people. We shouldn't just hear about them and then ignore them. We should be talking with them. If that is how we deal with them, there would be an improvement. In our justice committee we are gaining more and more confidence. We have been given more autonomy. If we don't want the court system to take a person to jail, then it does not happen. There are very few times when our wishes are not carried out. Although I am the youngest one here, I was always told not to neglect a person who was in need of help or assistance. We have to tell that to our young people. We not only have to listen, we have to talk to them too. We do this, but not as much as we should. Our community is small, but I find the number of offences has decreased since we have started dealing with offenders.

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**Itinnuaq:** We elders are also to blame because we are not talking to young people as much anymore. We are relying on the teachers. Our parents did not have teachers or anyone else to rely on. If we talk to them once or twice, then we say we have talked to our young people, but it is not enough. Some people think that because their children are able to speak English, even though they can't understand them, they follow them, because they think they are more capable than they are. That is not the way it is. We elders are just as much to blame because we don't talk to our young people enough. I find that I, too, don't teach my children enough. People fluctuate in the amount of time they spend talking to young people. Sometimes they become too preachy and other times they totally neglect them. This, too, is not good for young people.

*We will submit a report to the Department of Justice after this workshop. They gave us money to set this up. We don't know if we will get more money in the future, but we would like to.*

**Itinnuaq:** We have been talking about following the Inuit way and about leading good lives. Now that we have Nunavut, I think we need to get together more. The young people should hear more and more about these things. If we do it only once, that does not give us that much strength. I think we should start searching for funding right away. That funding should be sought as soon as possible so that this could happen again.

**Suvaksiuq:** If we disseminated what we talked about here first, then it would be easier to get funding. If there were more funding, people from different communities could be invited. As Itinnuaq said, it would be more believable if we had this kind of meeting more than once. It would be more beneficial to young people if we had more than one meeting.

*This is our last session. We will talk about the recommendations we are going to make. Because this is our last session we will review what we have done. Is there something anyone wants to add?*

**Aupilarjuk:** I am at a stage in life where I am forgetting what we talked about. I think that if the recommendations we made were written down, then the things that we haven't talked about would probably show up. If we forgot anything about Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit*, we could talk about it again in the future.

**Pisuk:** In the schools there are some students you have to go over things with time and time again. We have talked about boots being in the doorway, and clothing being stepped over. I am just using this as an example. My parents did not want me to do these

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things. I wanted to check how difficult it was going to be to talk about this to my children. If they were not going to listen to me, they were not going to listen to me. I was using this as a test. I said the boots aren't supposed to be in the walkway. They made a path and moved their boots aside. I told them this would help them to have a good life. I realized that we who have knowledge have not been passing it on enough.

**Suvaksiuq:** There are numerous topics we have not talked about. I wanted to know if we were going to have another meeting because we have only talked about a few things. I am pleased we have had a good meeting. We have also been provided with really good food.

**Pisuk:** When I was using clothing as an example I don't think I said what I meant to say. A young woman who recently had a child was not to step over clothing so that the mother and the baby and the father did not endanger their lives. Also, when a girl started to menstruate she was not to step on men's clothing, so that her future children would be healthy. People wanted her to have a good life. That was the reason for this.

**Pujuat:** I don't think I can talk about anything else. I have tried to talk about what I remember. I am not sure about what recommendations to make. I am aware that not all our recommendations are going to be followed, but I think young people should start to hear about how things were done in the past. I agree that we elders have not been imparting our knowledge enough. I am personally going to tell my children about how people in the past lived. No one ever talks to their children about how to be bad. There is no one who tells their children, "This is what to do to be bad to your neighbours." We all try to teach our children about good. I don't know what more to add.

**Nuliajuk:** I am thankful that I have gained more understanding from this meeting. Although I would like to be of more assistance, I don't think I am capable. I would like to learn more. I am thankful to have learned that if we start talking to our young people, they will listen to us. I don't know of anything else I could say that would be helpful.

**Itinnuaq:** With regards to this meeting, it seems that we all possessed knowledge, and yet we required *qablunaat* to facilitate this workshop. It seems as though we were embarrassed about the knowledge that we possessed and tried to hide it. Although all the recommendations that are made are not going to be followed, I know that other people are taking back their traditional ways of doing things and we, too, could do this. I know that our way of doing things came to an abrupt end when we got religion. It was as though we were incarcerated and our thoughts were imprisoned. I think our thoughts are beginning to resurface. We still have not expressed all that we know. If we



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don't get our thoughts out, then nobody is going to know about them. I think we need to start letting people know about the knowledge that we have, in order for it to be used.

**Angutinnurniq:** I don't have much to add to this. We were advised from the time we were children to aim towards being good people. We have not done all that our ancestors did, but we have knowledge that our parents passed on to us. I think that if we were to impart this knowledge, it would really improve our young people's lives. I agree that we elders have not passed this knowledge on enough to our young people. If we started talking to them about what we know, I think the number of offences would go down. We seem to have been hiding our knowledge. We have based this on our thinking that it conflicted with religion. We have a lot of knowledge that we should be passing on.

I, too, am going to use clothing left at an entrance as an example. Although this really bothers me, I have never said anything to my children about it. I have gone and moved things aside myself. I feel that I am more motivated now to let my children, my daughters-in-law, and my grandchildren know more about what we were told. I will tell them why we were told this, so we would have a good life. I probably won't tell them everything we have talked about in this workshop, but I am going to talk about not leaving clothing at the entrance when I get home. We know there are many things that are *tiringnaqtuq*. I will tell them more about this. I won't tell everyone, but I will tell this to my daughters-in-law and to my children and grandchildren.

**Kablaalik:** I, too, will add my thoughts on this. Frédéric was here in the past and interviewed four elders in Kangiq&iniq. After he did these interviews, although I felt it would not happen, I decided to ask whether it would be possible for elders to meet together here in Kangiq&iniq. He said when he went back to Iqaluit, he would see if it was possible to get funding for a meeting. I can't recall exactly what month this was, but it was before Christmas. We talked with each other and we started anticipating funding.

Then he informed me that a request had been made to the federal Department of Justice, and that we would find out in April if there was funding. I was told there was a good possibility we would get it. Even though we were told there was a possibility, because I know how government works, I was not that hopeful. When we were told that there was indeed funding for a meeting we were both very happy about this.

Because there was a lot to do, we started planning in February for this meeting. We met about this over dinner. I started thinking about who we would bring to this meeting, about who had knowledge in this area. There were a number of people I thought of that were not able to be present, but the majority of the people I mentioned were able to attend. I am very happy those people were able to be here.



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I often think about the life our ancestors lived. People already know this about me. I heard that life before was bad and so I believed this to be true. I thought maybe those people that lived before Christianity arrived, all went to hell. I know almost everyone present. I am pretty good friends with Suvaksiuq. We are not related, but he is a friend. I know everyone else who is here. You are not strangers to me. I have gained more of an understanding from this workshop. I now know that people in the past always tried to lead a good life. I also know that when those who were *angakkuit* became Christian, they became true Christians and followed the ways of Christianity. They were trying to lead a good life.

Love is present here. I can feel its presence. I hope there will be another workshop. Two years from now has been mentioned for the next one, but I think that is too far away, because the people present are elderly and because we don't know what our future holds.

I have really enjoyed hearing what has been said. I have heard the kinds of things I had wanted to hear. I have heard that with icebergs, the part that you don't see is larger than the part that you can see. I feel that what I have heard here is like that. There is so much more that has not been said. There are many things we would still like to hear, but we don't know when we will have the next opportunity.

I have also gained more understanding of the wisdom of the people present. I recognized this when we were discussing *irinaliutit*. I had anticipated hearing a whole *irinaliutit*, but it was because of the elder's wisdom, that they gave us only parts. They were able to show me what *irinaliutit* were like. I am happy to have learned about that. I hope nothing happens to you. Although I am thinking this in my mind, my mind is not all that strong.

*Nowadays, Inuit qaujimajatuqangit is becoming a political issue. We should make sure that it is not the politicians or the bureaucrats who decide what it is. It is really important that the elders come forward because the knowledge is with them. It is not certain that the politicians and bureaucrats will listen to the elders, so we will have to think very carefully about how we want to pass knowledge on. We have to include in our recommendations how traditional knowledge is to be passed on and received by the people who will use it. Can you give some advice on how we are to proceed here.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** We know that Inuit *qaujimajatuqangit* should not become a political issue. I totally agree with you because if the politicians and the bureaucrats only rely on what they put on paper, they are going to be making mistakes. I want to voice this, because I,

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too, have had this thought. I have been approached by Inuit teachers about how Inuit lived, and they bring their students down. When they finished dealing with what they have asked about, they come back to ask more questions. Inuit traditional knowledge is limitless. Elders have to really teach what is the true Inuit way.

**Suvaksiuq:** I have been thinking of the meeting that will be happening two years from now, and I know that not all of us will still be here. Even though we are always told there is no funding, there is funding. I have been working with mining exploration sites. I have been given all kinds of places to seek funding from. I, too, feel that two years is too long to wait to have another workshop. I feel there is a need to hurry, because we need to leave our knowledge to our children. If there is knowledge that will be gained from it, whether it is about the land or whatever, then there will be ways to find funding.

**Pujuat:** I agree that two years is too long to wait. There are games that happen annually that are funded. There are numerous people that get together just to play, and yet there is funding every year. We are not just playing. This is very serious. Why would we not be able to get funding for something serious like this? I went to Salliq last summer and there were people from all over there. This coming summer, we are going to Tikirarjuaq. There is plenty of funding for games. Our meeting too, is aimed at helping people live a good life and it should be funded. Maybe people who provide funding don't know enough about it. We have more knowledge that has to be discussed. There is so much more knowledge; the use of medicinal plants, and place names. There are so many things we have not talked about that we have learned from our ancestors.

**Nulijuk:** I would really like it if what we are talking about became better known, because it is important. I believe in it and I believe it is very important. There are ways and means of living a good life.

**Itinnuaq:** I think people don't know about this, because we elders are not talking about it enough. If we are going to request more funding, maybe we should talk about our knowledge more and that might speed it up. It is true that if the politicians define what is traditional knowledge, that is not good. If someone who did not really know about this was writing down things and making mistakes, then others would be led astray. I think it is much better for those who are knowledgeable, through their experience and what they have heard, to decide what is traditional knowledge. It was mentioned that there is planning made for games annually. If there is prior planning, then it could be possible to get funding for another meeting. It is actually more important than playing games. I know there are people around who can search for this funding. We should use whatever means we can to try to get funding, but we have to talk about it. I know it

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would be possible. Once we make a proposal, it would be possible. We should be ready to ask the Nunavut government for funding. If they say there is no funding, there is no funding; if they say there is funding, it will be there.

**Angutinnurniq:** I, too, agree that knowledge should only be imparted by those who are knowledgeable, by the elders. These recommendations will be given to those who will do something about it. I feel because this has been our first meeting we have just dealt with a little tiny part of our knowledge. There are other elders who have this knowledge that could also pass it on. If there is another meeting, we should have it with young people present. They could then talk to other young people. Young people are able to write better than we are. They could write about the Inuit way of life for other young people. They would be able to get their peers to understand.

*We have prepared a few preliminary points and recommendations so that we can discuss them. The meeting was set up with the understanding that finding solutions for contemporary social problems requires a good understanding of Inuit knowledge and traditions, particularly of angakkuuniq.*

**Aupilaarjuk:** Inuit have never followed evil. But after religion arrived, the missionaries thought the Inuit way of doing things was evil. Even though there were *angakkuuit*, and there was *tirigusungniq*, this was used for good. When the *angakkuuit* became Christian, they followed Christianity in earnest. They put the same amount of effort into following Christianity as they had put into following their traditional beliefs.

**Itinnuaq:** When we are doing something for the first time, it is very hard to make strong recommendations. Maybe if we were doing it for the second time, we would have a better idea of what to aim for. Our recommendations are not as strong as they could be, and I would like this to be recognized.

*Does anyone want to add something to this now?*

**Pisuk:** I would like to add something. Sometimes I did not listen to my father. When I did not listen to him, he would say, "You are only worthy of living in the porch." Being a child I would burst into tears. I don't know much about the court system. I would like to say that when young offenders become adults they usually continue their bad behaviour. They and their children end up dying violently and not from sickness.

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**Itinnuaq:** When we talk about the court system, I think we should recommend that those who have not committed serious offences should be given to a group of elders to be dealt with, not to the justice committee. In the past the elders talked to offenders about how to be good. Serious offences such as murder should go to the court system immediately. Even the R.C.M.P. is waiting to see how justice could be dealt with in the community. If there were a clear understanding about this, and a written procedure to follow, they would be willing to listen to how we want things to be done.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I, too, agree with Itinnuaq. We have mentioned this in the past, but still this is not happening. We think that offenders should be dealt with by elders first so that the elders can ascertain why the person is acting the way they are. We have mentioned this time and time again, but it has not happened. If we felt that we were not able to handle an offender, especially if they were accused of a serious offence, then we would not handle that, but if we are not afraid of the offender, we should be allowed to deal with him in order to help him.

**Angutinngurniq:** I understand what others are saying about offenders. It is not just young offenders; older people also commit offences. There are also spousal assaults. This past year for the first time, we had couples come and talk to us twice. They wanted us elders to talk to them about how they should work towards having a better future. Our elders group talked to them and some time afterwards I asked them if they were still having problems. They said that after talking to us, they were doing much better. I think that if we were to start talking to those who were offending, about how to lead a good life, it would really decrease the number of offences. It would act as a deterrent.

**Nuliajuk:** I noticed that those who end up in the court system, end up becoming repeat offenders. I think if they were dealt with by the elders, their behaviour would improve. I, too, support this recommendation of having offenders being dealt with by elders before they go through the court system if it is not a serious offence such as murder.

**Angutinngurniq:** I think that if a person presses charges against someone else, then both parties should be talked to so that it is not just one-sided. I think there would be fewer people incarcerated if we tried to find out both sides of the situation.

**Pujuat:** What is being said is true. There are women who end up being sent to a shelter. Children go to Social Services and complain about their parents after they are scolded, and then they are sent away to foster homes in other communities. If we were able to start dealing with this as a community, we would be able to help them. Social Services immediately sends a child away as soon as they receive a complaint. Young women who

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are assaulted by their spouses in some minor way, go to social services and say they want to leave. The couple's parents would not know about this at all so there would be no chance for anybody to talk with them. I think the situation could be improved if there was more understanding. I agree with what is being said by others.

**Suvaksuiq:** I, too, am not always pleased with Social Services. Two years ago they were about to send away an adopted child of ours because she had gone to Social Services and complained about the care we gave her. I don't think it is good to be on welfare. You end up being at the mercy of the social workers. Social Services was about to send her away, but in the end they did not do so. When we have children, we reprimand them if they don't listen to us. We still continue to do so. Those who have their parents following their every whim are the ones that end up as offenders. Sometimes when there are spousal problems, both the male and the female are at fault. Before anybody ends up in the court system, the parents should talk to them.

When the parents don't know what has happened, and they suddenly find out that their son or their daughter is about to end up in court, it is a shock. I think they should be informed beforehand.

This funding comes from the Department of Justice. They provided the funding to help us. We, too, are trying to help. I don't think children are listening in school anymore either. Some children are hard to talk to and although they might pretend to listen, they do not change their behaviour. Maybe we parents are not taking enough responsibility either.

*This meeting was set up on the land. We talked about the land quite often in this workshop. Why it is so important to be on the land to help offenders or to have a workshop like this?*

**Itinnuaq:** I feel it is because we are alone outside. We are not in a building where there are phones and other disruptions. I have attended other meetings held on the land. Although offenders that are sent outside the community might think they are not bad, they abused their parents, and hurt their spouses and their children. Offenders are capable of being rehabilitated, but when they are sent to other communities, even though they want to come home, they are unable to do so. When you are a parent, it hurts to have a child sent away. Each community should make its own arrangements and work towards finding their own solutions.

**Suvaksuiq:** Another thought I have had is about shelters. I still don't want a women's shelter in Arviat. I don't agree with these places that women run away to. There is

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always spousal disharmony. Sometimes it will be for a short while, and other times it takes longer to resolve. I believe what we are meeting about should be written down. I want it recorded that I don't want a women's shelter in Arviat during my lifetime.

**Pujuat:** There is a shelter in Kangiq&iniq. There were two of us who did not want the shelter, Joan Atuat, Moses Alijaq's mother, and myself. We felt that this was not going to improve family life. We thought it would be better if these problems were dealt with within the family. Now we find that as soon as a child or a woman is mistreated, they go there right away. When any of my relatives do this, I give them a severe talking to. I tell the woman who has left that she shouldn't have, and that she has brought the problem upon herself. When I am not related to the person, if I feel that I am able to do so, I tell them the same thing also. I, too, did not want a shelter here in Kangiq&iniq at all.

**Pisuk:** There were a number of people who found out about a woman who went to the shelter because she said that she was being mistreated by her husband. She was lying to the people who were working at the shelter. She was brought here to Kangiq&iniq. I don't mind if there is a shelter as long as it is not misused. When funding is so hard to come by, I don't like it when it's misused, when someone lies and ends up in the shelter.

**Nulijuk:** I once went to teach at the women's shelter in Iqaluktuuttiaq. There were numerous rules people had to follow, and things had to be done at certain times. Even though it was a shelter, women were not free to do as they pleased.

**Angutinnurniq:** I, too, do not want to see a shelter in my community in my lifetime. I feel when a woman leaves her husband, things get worse for the couple, because when the man is left behind he starts getting angrier and angrier. There is a split in our community. There are those who want a shelter and those who don't. I feel that spousal abuse is alcohol related. Women go to the shelter, because they want to be able to drink. There might be some things that are good about a shelter but there are also things that are not.

**Suvaksiuq:** We have so many things that we still have to talk about. We have met for only one week. We have talked about *angakkuit*, *apiqsait*, and *qilaniq*. There is so much more to talk about, such as different survival techniques, living on the land, and social relationships, etc. There is so much more to be covered. I have enjoyed the meeting we have had, especially being outside the community. When we get home we will be asked what the meeting was about. When I am home in Arviat I will say we had a meeting on how we can improve our way of life. That's what I am going to say. We searched to find goodness and how to live a good life. We talked about *angakkuit*, about prayer, and

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about how to deal with offenders. I am very thankful that we were well taken care of the whole time, and were given good food. I thank those who were at the meeting with me. I will use whatever role I have in the community to try to help.

**Itinnuaq:** I remained out here because I'm a member of the Rangers. I took into consideration that Jarich and Frédéric stayed out here. There is indeed vandalism that occurs these days. That is another reason why I stayed out here the whole time. I talked a bit about this yesterday while we were drum dancing. I am grateful that we didn't experience any bad incidents. I think part of the reason we were unable to say all that we know is because we needed more time to think about what we were going to say. There were times when we felt that we could not say all that we knew because other people also wanted to talk. We will have to think about this before we meet next time. Thank you.

**Aupilaarjuk:** I also have enjoyed this. I have more of an idea of what to work towards when we have our next meeting. I will think about how offenders should be dealt with in the future. One of the problems is that what we want to do sometimes conflicts with the Criminal Code of Canada. I would like to wish everyone a safe journey.

**Angutinnurniq:** I, too, would like to express my thanks. There were things that I knew, things that I had heard in the past, and I was reminded of them by those of you here at this meeting. I am thankful to you for bringing them up. I think I am better able to impart this knowledge to those in my community now, to my children and to my grandchildren. I was reminded of things which I knew but had forgotten. I would like to express my gratitude to everyone here equally, not thanking one more than another. I have enjoyed this because there has been a spirit of harmony here. I also gained a greater understanding of things I did not know. I have felt the joy of this meeting in my body. I feel we will be able to leave this knowledge to those who will be our future. I have thoroughly enjoyed the meeting.

I, too, agree that if we are to have a meeting in the future with elders, that it would be really beneficial to have young people there as well. I am also very grateful to my nephew Henry Kablaalik, and also to Jarich and Frédéric. I am very grateful because they helped us remember the past. They were able to remind us of things that we had forgotten. Jarich has been a very good facilitator. I would also like to thank Alexina Kublu. She is also my *ingutaq*, grandchild. I have found her to be a good interpreter, and I would like to thank her. My gratitude has been expressed and I am very thankful.



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**Pisuk:** Everyone else has expressed my gratitude. Thank you.

**Pujuat:** I am grateful to the facilitators and to my *ani*, my cousin, Henry. There was knowledge that I had that remained inside me that I had never talked about before, but I was able to express it here. I feel that I have opened up and I have started to talk about what I know. I feel that I will now be able to talk to others about living a good life. I have always thought that if I talked about what I knew, no one was going to understand. I have come to the understanding that we elders are not expressing our knowledge enough. We are not imparting it to our children. I am grateful for having been allowed to participate in this meeting. My *angak*, my uncle, and my other *ani* whom I don't see very often, were fellow participants. I am grateful I have been given the opportunity to spend time with them. I am grateful I gained additional knowledge.

**Nulijuk:** I, too, am grateful that I have been given more knowledge. I am grateful to the people I stayed with, and I am grateful to the two facilitators who are trying to preserve Inuit knowledge. My extreme gratitude to you.



## Aagjuuk

Two specific stars, one bigger than the other. [Two stars in the constellation Aquila; Alitair and Tarazed].

## Aarnguaq

[pl. *aarnguat*] An amulet used to protect the wearer against something.

## Aglirnaqtuq

The Paallirmiut term for *tirigusuusiit*; injunctions imposed on a person which one had to follow.

## Aglu

[pl. *agluit*] A seal breathing hole in the ice.

## Ak&ak

A grizzly bear.

## Akiraqtuqtuq

To say bad things or do bad things against another person.

## Akiraqturniq

The act of saying bad things or doing bad things against another person.

## Aktirijujq

[See also *naqqiqsuqtuq*, *aniattijujq*] When a person is made to disclose their wrongdoings by an *angakkuq*. The literal meaning is to throw something out.

## Akuq

The black flap of an *amauti* or parka.

## Aliq

[pl. *aliit*] A harpoon line that is longer and thicker than a regular harpoon line.

## Amaaqtuq

To carrying a baby in the hood of an *amauti*.

## Amaruujajq

A game of chasing called “being like wolves” [similar to British Bulldog] played by people of all ages. Young men liked it because it gave them the excuse to chase the girl they were interested in. Young girls liked it because they got to see who was interested in them. Old women liked it because it gave them the chance to run around. Young children liked it because they got to see who they could out-run.

## Amauti

A woman’s parka with a large hood and a pouch for carrying a baby.

## Amugjunngnaaq

A vole in the language of the *tuurngait*.

## Anaana

Mother.

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### Angajuqqaq

[pl. *angajjuqqaat*] The boss. It also means parent in some dialects.

### Angak

Mother's brother or male cousin.

### Angakkuajjuq

[Paallirmiut] The term used for *sakajuq* in the Paallirmiut dialect.

### Angakkuksaniq

The process of becoming an *angakkuq*.

### Angakkuq

[d. *angakkuuk*; pl. *angakkuuit*] A shaman.

### Angakkuuniq

Shamanism.

### Angaluk

[pl. *angaluit*] A shaman's belt. It would hold his *qalugiuujait*, gifts made for his *tuurngait*, by those who needed his services.

### Angutillarik

[pl. *angautillariit*] A very skillful hunter. The literal translation is 'a real man'.

### Ani

A female's brother, or male cousin.

### Aniattijuq

[see also *aktirijuq*, *naqqiqsuqtuq*] When a person is made to disclose their wrongdoings because of an *angakkuq*.

### Aninnuaq

A *tuq&uraisiq* term to avoid using names used for brother or male cousin by a female with *-nnuaq* added to indicate endearment. The reciprocal *tuq&uraisiq* is *najannuaq*.

### Anirniq

[d. *anirniik*] Breath, spirit of life.

### Apiqsaq

[pl. *apiqsait*] The helping spirit of a *qilajuq*, and for the Nattilik, the helping spirit of an *angakkuq*. See also *tuurngaq*.

### Apsaq

[pl. *apsait*] A being that only has a head and legs. They usually travel in family groups and become noisier as they get closer. They are said to live in the rocks that oil lamps were placed on in an *iglu*, if the rocks were not thrown out of the *iglu* when it was permanently vacated. They are considered dangerous as they can create fires in *igluit*. Dialectal variation *apsijaqtuq*. [Nattilik]

### Apsijaqtuq

[pl. *apsijaqtuut*] Dialectal variation *apsaq*.

### Aq&ai'narmiutaq

Something an *angakkuq* would ask if he was trying to find out if his helper was from the wind.

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**Aqausiq**

[pl. *aqausiit*] Loving songs or words used with children. Each child has his or her own. Different people may have different *aqausiit* for the same child. Anyone may pick up a mother's or grandmother's *aqausiq* for a particular child. Some *aqausiit* form a person's identity and get treated as though they are that person's name.

**Aqiggit**

A word for caribou in the language of the *tuurngait*. They were also called *kumaruat*.

**Aqqaqtarvik**

A chasm that *angakkuit* could go down into the earth through. It had shifting platforms they stepped on on their way down which tended to tip easily, but they would only tip to a certain angle.

**Aquiji**

The one who fetches things; particularly meat in the winter that had been cached in the summer.

**Arnarvik**

[Kivalliq, Qitirmiut, Iglulik] Aunt; mother's sister [dialectal variant; *aja*].

**Ataata**

Father.

**Ataatannaq**

A *tuq&surausiq* for a man who is considered to be a father to someone, but not by blood or adoption.

**Atigi**

Inside caribou tunic that is worn with the fur facing inside.

**Atiq**

Name; namesake.

**Attak**

Aunt; father's sister.

**Avalaqsiut**

An *irinaliuti* which could be used to surround a bear and keep it from fleeing. It could also be used to surround children or adults, which could be dangerous.

**Avataq**

A float formerly made of an inflated seal skin.

**Avvaq**

[Iglulik] One who shares the same name.

**I&urramut**

Going around following the path of the sun; clockwise. Going the opposite direction is *kiglurmut*.

**I&urraq**

The word for something good in the language of the *tuurngait*.

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**I&uuraq**

[pl. *i&uurait*] Lake trout.

**Igliqsiuti**

[pl. *igliqsiutit*] *Inuksuit* that had a red and a black stone that were used to show where there were schools of fish.

**Iglu**

[pl. *igluit*] Snow house; also any dwelling.

**Igluqati**

A housemate; the traditional definition is a husband's other wife.

**Ijiraq**

[pl. *ijirait*] Human-like being who shows itself as a caribou. Invisible people; when *Uinigumasuittuq* sent her dog children off, these are the ones who remained in the land of the Inuit, but who are not visible to them except in the form of caribou.

**Ikajuqti**

[d. *ikajuqtiik*; pl. *ikajuqtit*] A shaman's spirit helper. Also called a *tuurngaq*.

**Iki'jarmiutaq**

Something an *angakkuq* would ask if he was trying to find out if his helper was from the air.

**Ilimmaqtuqtuq**

A spiritual journey through the air by an *angakkuq*.

**Ilimmaqturniq**

The act of flying through the air by an *angakkuq*.

**Ilisiiq**

A hex.

**Ilisiiqsiniq**

Hexing a person.

**Ilisiiqtauniq**

Being hexed.

**Ilisiirrutit**

[pl. *ilisiirrutit*] Hexes that were used to impair a person's abilities, such as hunting or running.

**Illuq**

Cross cousins, i.e. mother and father are siblings (male to male and female to female); also, two people though not related by blood, who want to denote a close tie with one another.

**Imngarmiutaq mamaitturjuarmiutaq**

Something an *angakkuq* would ask if he was trying to find out if his helper was from the sea.

**Ingutaq**

A grandchild.

**Innatuqaq**

[pl. *innatuqat*] A variant of *innaq*, elder.

**Inngaq mamaqtuq**

Word for lakes in the language of the *tuurngait*.

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**Inua**

Spirit of a natural object.

**Inuarniut**

When the breath of a dead ancestor becomes an *angakkuq's tuurngaq* and he uses this to kill another *angakkuq*.

**Inugarulligaq**

[pl. *inugarulligait*] Small human-like beings said to have lived near the shore. If you looked at them from their feet up they would look very large. They were strong. They suffocate people with their groins. [Aivilik] *inugarulligaarjukuluk* [Nattilik] *inugarulligannua&&uk*.

**Inugarulligasugjuk**

Human-like beings that are larger than Inuit but smaller than *inukpasugjuit*.

**Inuit qaujimajatuqangit**

Inuit knowledge, values and teachings passed on from one generation to the next.

**Inuk**

[pl. *Inuit*] A person.

**Inukpasugjuk**

[pl. *inukpasugjuit*] A race of giant beings [*inukpasujjuk* dialectal variant].

**Inuksuk**

[pl. *inuksuit*] A stone function with many functions, such as serving as a beacon for travellers. It was also used when hunting caribou.

**Inuunngittut**

Non-human entities.

**Iparautaq**

[pl. *iparautait*] A whip.

**Ipqaani**

In the direction of.

**Iqqaq**

The word for land in the language of the *tuurngait*. In human terms the ocean floor that can be seen.

**Irinaliuti**

[pl. *irinaliutit*] An incantation.

**Isarrataittuq**

Nuliajuk's housemate. They both had Kanajuq as their husband.

**Isarutaalik**

The word for a male in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Isumaluktuq**

Having bad thoughts about a person where you wished they were dead or harmed.

**Isumaluuti**

[pl. *isumaluutit*] A bad thought about a person where you wished them dead or harmed.

**Itturniuvak**

A small sea creature.



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**Ituutik**

A particular individual's *tuq&urausiq* for his grandfather.

**Kaglulik**

A medium sized loon.

**Kakivak**

[pl. *kakivait*] A three pronged spear used for catching fish.

**Kamiik**

Sealskin boots; any footwear.

**Kanajuq**

A sculpin.

**Kiggaarjuk**

The word a *tuurngaq* would use to describe its *angakkuq*.

**Kiggaviarjuq**

[pl. *kiggaviarjuut*] A Peregrine falcon.

**Kigluriktuq**

An evil being; a big *paijaa*.

**Kini**

The front flap of a parka.

**Kumaruaq**

[pl. *kumaruat*] A word for caribou in the language of the *tuurngait*. They are also called *aqiggit*.

**Majuujjaujuq**

Being taken up to the moon by an *angakkuq*.

**Mak&aq**

The word for a bearded seal in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Maligaq**

[pl. *maligait*] Accepted guidelines for doing things that need to be done. Today the word is often used as a translation for Canadian law.

**Manilirijjutiit**

An *irinaliuti* used to help procure game.

**Manilirijjuq**

Using *irinaliutit* made for procuring game.

**Minngiriaq**

The word for fish in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Mipku**

Dried meat.

**Miqqiajuut**

The name that was given to real *tuurngait*.

**Miqqiijaut**

Mischievous bad *tuurngait* that don't tell the truth.

**Naarjuk**

The name of *Silaup inua*, the spirit of the weather.

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**Najannuaq**

A *tuq&urausiq* term to avoid using names. Used by a male for a sister or female cousin. With *-nnuaq* to indicate endearment. The reciprocal *tuq&urausiq* is *aninnuaq*.

**Nakuruti**

A term for an *angakkuq*'s helper. See also *ikajuqti*, *apiqsaaq*, *tuurngaq*.

**Nalauttaiji**

A person who has the ability to predict things.

**Nanuq**

A polar bear.

**Nanurluk**

[pl. *nanurluit*] A giant polar bear that lives in the ocean and is said to be bigger than large ships. An appreciated spirit - helper of the *angakkuut*.

**Naqqiqsuqtuq**

[See also *aniattijuq*, *aktirijuq*] When a person is made to disclose their wrongdoings by an *angakkuq*.

**Naqqiqsurniq**

The act of confessing or disclosing a wrongdoing to an *angakkuq*.

**Natquti**

The knob end of an antler, used to make arrowheads.

**Niriujaaqtuq**

To have a premonition. When a person dreams that something good is going to happen.

**Niviuvaq**

A dung fly.

**Nukinniaqtuq**

When an *angakkuq* cuts the tendons of *Sila* in order to improve the weather.

**Nuliajuk**

[Nattilik] Spiritual being who lives in the sea. The *angakkuut* would go to visit her when game was scarce. [Iglulik] Takannaaluk. [S.B.] Sanna.

**Nuna**

The land.

**Nunaturliq**

[pl. *nunaturliit*] Campsites.

**Paijaa**

An evil *tuurngaq*; see also *tupilaq*. See also *kigluriktuq*.

**Pauktuut**

A peg used when drying skins.

**Pipsi**

Dried fish.

**Piquajaq**

[pl. *piquajait*] Acceptable behaviour, or required ways of doing things.

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**Pisiq**

[pl. *pisiit*] Traditional songs. Term now also used for hymns.

**Pisukti**

A being that lives on the land; also all animals that walk on four legs.

**Pisuqsauti**

[pl. *pisuqsautit*] Something such as a butterfly being wiped on the parka of a young boy or girl that enabled them to do something.

**Pittailiniq**

Refraining from doing something that was forbidden. Breaking a *pittailiniq* would result in serious consequences to the individual or to the camp.

**Piusiq**

The way things are done.

**Pukiit**

An albino caribou.

**Pukiq**

[pl. *pukiit*] The white underbelly fur of a caribou skin; often used as fur trim on a garment.

**Pullati**

[pl. *pullatit*] A fox trap that was placed on the ground. Once the fox went in, it was unable to get out.

**Punnguq**

[pl. *punnguit*] The word for dog in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Putujaqtuq**

To open and close one's hands repeatedly.

**Qablunaaq**

[pl. *qablunaaq*] A white person [dialectal variant *qallunaaq*].

**Qaggiq**

Large *iglu* used when people gather together; a feast house.

**Qajaq**

[d. *qajaak*; pl. *qajait*] A one-person boat.

**Qajruat**

The word for seal in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Qalugiujaq**

[pl. *qalugiujaq*] A gift that was made to an **angakkuq**, which was attached to his belt.

**Qamutiik**

A dogsled.

**Qarmaq**

A sod house; also a snow house with the top covered by a tent [dialectal variant *qammaq*].

**Qaumaniq**

[d. *qaumaniik*; pl. *qaumaniit*] The light of an *angakkuq*; the capacity of an *angakkuq* to see what is hidden.

**Qauviq**

A small *qablunaaq* dog.

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**Qīralrut**

Something that made a throbbing sound that was put on the grave of a person one thought would go after others, to prevent them from doing so.

**Qilagiktuq**

A person who, when performing *qilaniq*, almost always succeeded in securing an *apiqsaq*.

**Qilajaq**

A person tied by a rope, and used for the ritual *qilaniq*; could be the head or the leg of a human being, or a piece of clothing or a stone.

**Qilajaujuq**

See *qilajaq*.

**Qilajuq**

The person performing the *qilaniq* ritual.

**Qilaniq**

A ritual to find out the cause of what was bothering someone. It could be used by both *angakkuit* and *non-angakkuit*. When the person's head or leg or an object became heavy, the cause of the problem was identified.

**Qilauti**

[pl. *qilautit*] The drum which is used for drum dancing.

**Qillati**

The rope or thong used in the *qilaniq* ritual.

**Qilluit**

A term for wolves in the language of the *tuurngait*. See also *singaqti*.

**Qiluriaqsuiqtuq**

Using an *irinaliuti* to create folds in the land so that distances travelled by foot could be made more quickly.

**Qiluriaqsiut**

The *irinaliuti* said to create folds in the land, used in order to cover ground more quickly.

**Qiqut**

The term for rocks in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Quatsiaq**

The name for a dead child in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Qugjaqtuq**

[Paallirmiut] Term used when a person had the ability to disperse the clouds.

**Qugluijaqtuq**

A term for startling a mischievous *tuurngaq* a person didn't want around.

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**Quinaqtuq**

To be squeamish about something.

**Qulittaq**

Outer parka.

**Qulliq**

The traditional seal oil lamp.

**Qurvik**

A urine pot.

**Qutjau'naq**

A small sea creature which looks like an eel.

**Sakaniq**

A shamanic ritual where the *angakkuq's* *tuurngait* or helping spirit enters him. It is used for healing and to escape hunger and misfortune. [Paallirmiut] *angakkuaqijjuq*.

**Sakuuti**

A sharp scraper for taking the inner skin from dry skins to make ready for clothing.

**Sanaji**

Literally one who 'creates' or 'makes.' The midwife at a birth or someone who creates the characteristics of a person.

**Sanaugaq**

Literal meaning: object or person which or who has been made or formed. As a *tuq&uraisiq* a term for avoiding using someone's name; it refers to that person's character or behaviour.

**Saniliaq**

The word for a woman in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Sanivaqtarvik**

A place above the *aqqaqtarvik* [the place where *angakkuit* went down through the earth] which allowed the *angakkuq* to go sideways.

**Sanna**

[South Baffin] Spiritual being who lives in the sea. The *angakkuit* would go to visit her when game was scarce. [Nattilik] Nuliajuk. [Iglulik] Takannaaluk.

**Saputit**

A fish weir.

**Siksarialik**

The word for a walrus in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Siksik**

[pl. *siksiit*] A ground squirrel.

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**Silaaq**

[pl. *silaat*] An animal hatched from an earth-egg. It has the colour of a lemming. It will become a giant male caribou. It is supposed to be a child of Sila.

**Silanniaqtuq**

Term often used by mistake for *nukinniaqtuq*, cutting the tendons of Sila to improve the weather.

**Singaqtı**

A word for a wolf in the language of the *tuurngait*. See also *qiluit*.

**Siturauti**

Something used for sliding, which was put on the grave of a person one thought was going to go after others, to prevent them from doing so.

**Suvaguuq “**

What?”, “What did you say?”

**Takannaaluk**

[Iglulik] Spiritual being who lives in the sea. The *angakkuit* would go to visit her when game was scarce. [Nattilik] Nuliajuk. [S.B.] Sanna

**Tarniq**

[pl. *tarniit*] The soul. Also described as a bubble. It is not made of blood or bone.

**Tarniritaqtuq**

When the *tarniq* of a person no longer wants to remain with them.

**Tarralikitaq**

[pl. *tarralikitaat*] A butterfly.

**Tarriummak**

The word for an *angakkuq* in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tau**

The word for a person in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Taurusiq**

[pl. *taurusiiit*] The word for a white person in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tauviniq**

[pl. *tauvoiniit*] The word for a dead person in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tigluutijuuk**

When two people got angry with each other and hit each other back and forth on their shoulders to resolve a dispute.

**Tigluutiniq**

A dispute resolution method where two people would hit each other back and forth on the shoulder as a means of trying to resolve a dispute.

**Tigvaruaq**

The word used for an adult deceased person in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tikiqquiti**

[pl. *tikiqquutit*] Things that were used to help you arrive at your destination.

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**Tiriaoq**

An ermine.

**Tirigusuktuq**

Refraining from doing something that has been imposed. Breaking the *malignait* concerning a *tirigusungniq* would result in negative consequences.

**Tirigusungniq**

A system of injunctions that were imposed, which people believed in and followed.

**Tirigusuusiq**

[pl. *tirigusuusiit*] An injunction imposed on a person which one has to follow.

**Tiringnaqtuq**

Anything that is the cause of one needing to observe a *tirigusuusiq* i.e. death, birth, etc.

**Tirliaqtuq**

When one *angakkuq* would try to attack another *angakkuq* using his *tuurngaq*.

**Tuksiaqti**

A lay preacher.

**Tullik**

The largest of the loons.

**Tulurialigaarjuk mikinnisaaq**

The word for an ermine in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tulurialigaarjuk**

The word for a wolverine in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tulurialik**

The word for a polar bear in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Tuniliqtaujuq**

An *angakkuq* being given an object to entice the *tuurngait* to assist him so that his/her powers would be increased while performing.

**Tunillainiq**

The act of giving an *angakkuq* something as a gift to perform.

**Tunillaqtuq**

Giving something to an *angakkuq* as a gift to perform.

**Tunirrusiq**

An offering.

**Tunniasuktuq**

A feeling of uneasiness.

**Tunnuq**

Caribou fat.

**Tupilaq**

[pl. *tupilait*] An evil spirit in human form, only visible to the *angakkuq*. It is like a pouch full of blood. For some people it is an evil *tuurngaq*; for others it is the unsatisfied soul of a deceased person.



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**Tupilattuq**

When an *angakkuq* kills a *tupilaq*, an evil *tuurngaq*.

**Tuq&urausiq**

The way two people address each other by a kinship term; a term for their relationship through their names, or an invented term. [Dialectal variants: *tuqsurausiq*, *tuqturausiq*].

**Tuqu**

Death.

**Tuuq**

An ice chisel.

**Tuurngaq**

[pl. *tuurngait*] An *angakkuq*'s helping spirit.

**Tuurngijuq**

[Nattilik] Term for *sakajuq*.

**Ublisauti**

[pl. *ublisautit*] A fox trap that looked like a cairn, quite wide at the top, that the fox would fall into. There would be a piece of meat placed down at the bottom.

**Ubluriasugjuk**

A good *tuurngait* to have as an *apiqsaq*. If it was present even things that were shameful to the patient could be disclosed during *qilaniq*.

**Ugjuk**

Bearded seal.

**Ujungnaaq**

A vole.

**Ugjuujait**

Water worms.

**Ukaliq**

[pl. *ukaliit*] A rabbit.

**Ukkuaqtuijuq**

Placing a piece of snow at the entrance to the *iglu* to seal it.

**Ukkuaqturniq**

The act of placing a piece of snow at the entrance to the *iglu* to seal it.

**Umingmak**

[pl. *umingmaid*] A muskox.

**Unikkaaqtuaq**

[pl. *unikkaaqtuat*] A story passed from generation to generation.

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**Uqimaarrat**

The word for stones in the language of the *tuurngait*.

**Uqsiut**

A piece of thong for dragging a seal over the ice. A hole is pierced through the nostril and the *uqsiut*, which has a loop at one end, is looped through.

**Uqumangiijuq**

When the person who is performing the *qilaniq* ritual succeeds in securing an *apiqsaq* to aid him/her in divining answers and the presence is indicated by the object becoming heavy.

**Uqumangiiniq**

Act of succeeding in securing an *apiqsaq* while performing the *qilaniq* ritual by having the *qilajaq*, the object used to perform the ritual, become heavy.

**Uqumangiqtuq**

When the *qilajaq* object used to perform the *qilaniq* ritual becomes heavy.

**Uqummiutaa**

A type of krill.

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